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THE DOLLINGER-REUSCH HISTORY OF THE INTESTINE CONFLICT ON MORALS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Part I.

THE name of either Dr. von Döllinger or Dr. Reusch, singly, would engage for any book the interest of scholars and men of thought; but the two names conjoined challenge redoubled attention. The new work on which those names stand together forms two octavo volumes, and bears the date of 1889. An important portion of the sheets having come into my hands before the booksellers could procure for me the work itself, I was not obliged to wait till New Year's Day before acquiring some idea of its contents.

Of the two volumes of this *History of the Controversy on Morals within the Roman Catholic Church since the Sixteenth Century*, the first consists of narrative, the second of documents.¹ The narrative, relating as it does to opinions, to their development and conflict, often opens out into exposition. It is always very clear, readable, and scrupulously faithful to the documents. This first volume itself falls into

¹ Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der Römisch-Katolischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens. Auf Grund ungedructer Aktenstücke bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ignatz von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch, zwei Bänder, erster Band, Ss. 687, zweiter Band, Ss. 398. Nördlingen : 1889.

NO. II.-VOL. I.-NEW SERIES.-T. M.

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two distinct portions, the first portion giving the history of the controversies on moral principle and practice, mainly as waged between the Roman Catholic Church in general, and the Jesuits in particular; the second portion giving passages illustrative of the internal history of the Jesuit order, and of its characteristics. In these we have, together with unknown episodes in histories previously known, other histories altogether new, each unfolding itself as the hitherto secret manuscripts are opened out. The abundant instruction conveyed in the Gonzalez episode is accompanied with a lively personal and polemical interest. So in another way is it with the episode of Liguori. That of La Quintinye, a man to me at least entirely new, is of deep interest, and the forms and settings are fresh. Touches illustrating Bellarmin's character, and that of others who have played a part in shaping the morals of courts and nations, are frequent; and if every page of the thousand and more needs study, no pages are dull except the few occupied with a mere statement of authors who have written on certain points-a statement of great moment to the student. The notes are a store of exact and helpful indications, at every turn letting in the light.

The authors regard their work as calculated to fill up a lacuna long felt, and felt by many in historic and theological literature. It was well known, say they, that within the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church had long raged a conflict of importance both for priest and layman. But practically all that had come before the general public to show the nature of this conflict was limited to the episode of Pascal and the Provencal Letters. But what heretofore has been little known and little attended to is the fact, that the controversy between Rigorist and Laxist raged within the Jesuit Society itself, that a General of that Society, supported by the Pope, strove to repress the movement in favour of laxer morals, which was encouraged by the bulk of the Company; and that the efforts of both in the end proved abortive. Two Dominicans, Concina and Patuzzi, had indeed supplied certain material for the history of this internal drama. The means, however, of giving a clear and complete account of it, one unfolding the

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motives and judgments of contemporaries, were afforded to the authors by treasure-trove dug out of the archives of Munich, and consisting in hitherto unknown letters and memoranda. The general struggle in the Church between Rigorist and Laxist was drawn out all through the last century. Now France, now Italy, became its chief theatre, but everywhere the Jesuits were the principal actors. The Order was suppressed, the Order was restored. At its suppression many hopes were entertained of deep-reaching reforms in the discipline of the Church. At its restoration it came back with its darling doctrine of Probabilism. That doctrine the Society has upheld and set forward until it has attained to a dominion such as in former times it was far from possessing. Furthermore, the elevating to the altar, and the solemn proclamation as the unassailable Doctor and Teacher of the Roman Catholic Church of Liguori, has won for the doctrine of Probabilism not only its most brilliant, but its most practical victory. No one will confound with the ordinary title of Doctor in Theology the altogether special and rare title of "Doctor of the Chur h," not "in the Church," whereto with much display was elevated a person so unlikely as Liguori; Pius IX. might in this act see only a due reward to the hardy advocate of Papal Infallibility, as contrasted with the Infallibility of the Church; but others saw more. "For a parallel to such an event," say our authors (Vorwort), "we should in vain seek in Church history. How this has come to pass, through what ways and byways, through what windings and vicissitudes the catastrophe was wrought out, have we here, for the first time as we believe, set forth with such measure of completeness as at present is attainable."

The two volumes, running as they do on parallel lines, are necessary one to the other, not in the common relation of prelude and sequel, but as text and comment, or as statement and authority. For instance, the first document in the list is a protest addressed to the General of the Jesuits, Oliva, by Father La Quintinye, against the lax moral teaching prevailing amongst his brethren of the Company in his own province in Gascony. The title of this in the table of contents is accom-

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panied by a reference to the place in the first volume where its tenor is described. By this means at every point the reader can turn from the analysis of the authors to the original, or, when reading the documents themselves, can turn to the narrative exposition and judge how far the authors, justly or otherwise, represent their contents. The documents are in Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French; notes to them, summaries of contents, and so forth in the German.

As it will be here used, the word Practice must not be misunderstood. It but slightly refers to the personal conduct of the priest in his private walk, but almost exclusively to his official conduct in the tribunal as confessor and director of penitents. If he hold the principle that marriage contracted without the consent of parents is null, not merely censurable but null, that cannot directly affect his own relations, seeing he is not to marry with or without consent of his parents. Very soon, however, will such a tenet affect his "practice" when, as judge in the "tribunal," he has to decide whether a certain sin, confessed under sting of conscience, is to be remitted or not. "He told me," says Father La Quintinye, "that he consoled her and sent her away tranquil and pacified, saying that the matter was of no importance."

What was this matter of which the Jesuit confessor told the woman that it was of no importance, dixit rem esse nihili, sicque tranquillam (ut aiebat) et pacatam dimisit? The matter was this, as stated by Father La Quintinye :- A certain noble virgin, against the will of her parents, privately, but in presence of the parish priest and of several witnesses brought on purpose, married a nobleman. Some months later another nobleman sued her parents for her hand, to which they consented. For fear, she concealed her private marriage. She was married a second time and lived with the man. Some years afterwards, stung by conscience, she told her confessor, "one of ours," says Father La Quintinye, that she had two husbands, a first and legitimate one, whom, out of fear, she had forsaken, a second with whom she lived. This case the confessor cited to his brother Jesuit, adding, as we saw, that "he had consoled her" and sent her away content. When asked

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for his reasons, he simply replied, that considering, as he did, the opinion of those who teach the nullity of a marriage contracted without consent of the parents to be a probable opinion, he acted in the manner described, and took it that he had acted right well.

This simple instance illustrates the practical influence of a principle, and its influence over others as well as over the person who embraces it. It also shows that in a confessor or spiritual director private conduct is, in point of moral significance, of subordinate importance as compared with the principles of conduct which he instils. In fact, the more correct the walk of a man who, in the inner tribunal, should administer the moral law on loose principles, the greater would be his power of corrupting society. The same remark applies to teachers who in the pulpit propound lax moral principles. In the accrediting of such, a man of irregular life could exercise little influence, but one of correct life great.

The five interesting documents of the La Quintinye episode open the case of Rigorist and Laxist in such a manner as to give one, who will take the pains to master them, a tolerably good view of the theoretical points in dispute, and at the same time of the practical bearing of the theories. Next to mastering the nineteen pages of closely printed Latin, the best thing is to peruse the readable and faithful analysis of our authors in the German. The General, Oliva, found rather tedious the statement of La Quintinye reclaiming against the deteriorated condition as to morals of the Society. The epistle greatly taxed his time-was one non exigui otii laborisque egentem. We may, however, take it for granted that all will not receive Father La Quintinye, now for the first time made known to us, in the same state of mind as did his General. He simply desired to keep the man quiet. He was resolved that the dispute in the Society should end; and therefore while acknowledging the virtue of the remonstrant, held his zeal not to be according to knowledge, and treated the controversy as idle contention. He would not have conflicting opinions, forgetting that the views impugned had come up as new views, had been censured by great writers and public authorities of the Church; but had been pertinaciously pushed forward.

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Between the three inner circles of jurisdiction—Rector of College, Provincial, General—the connexion is illustrated by two curious pieces. Of these, the first consists of charges against La Quintinye, preferred under fourteen heads, and the second of his replies *seriatim*. These charges had been secretly laid before the Provincial, who does not give any names of accusers. They allege errors in doctrine tending to Rigorism. The replies protest that the opinions of La Quintinye are distorted; that his true ones are those of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Popes,—he scorns the accusers who dare not meet him face to face, or even to put in writing any false doctrine of his heard from his lips or found in his writings; all they dare even behind backs to say is, that they conjecture that he holds such and such errors.

Father La Quintinye, having already carried his complaint from his Rector and Provincial to the General, next proceeded to carry it from the General to the Pontiff. In the first case, his action represented only the conflict as carried on within the Company of Loyola itself; in the second case, it represented the conflict as carried on between that Company and the general body of the Romish Church. In the fifth of our documents, addressing himself to Innocent XI., La Quintinye says, "Most blessed Father, concerning the wretched state at present of our Society, in which I have passed more than thirty years of my life, I have to lay before Your Holiness several matters of great weight and moment, whereof Your Holiness, peradventure, may not be informed. . . . I come a suppliant to the common parent of the entire Church to notify him of the condition of our affairs, in order that, of his singular charity and prudence, he may take measures against such evils; for assuredly adequate measures against them had ere now been taken if our chiefs, who daily commend to others obedience, did not, with sundry arts, decline to yield obedience to the decrees of the holy and apostolical See."1

¹ It may be well to give the original of this passage, as it illustrates peculiar relations which at times arise between the Pope and his subordinate authorities—relations of which an example has of late occurred in Ireland, and that, too, on a question of morals :—Quapropter ad communem totius ecclesiae parentem supplex

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As heads of complaint he specifies-"(I) Bad moral doctrine; (2) Evil practice arising out of this doctrine; (3) The conduct of his chiefs in fomenting this doctrine; (4) The 'arts' for foiling Papal decrees, particularly in keeping from the knowledge of the ordinary members of the Society such decrees of the Holy See as censure too great liberty of theorising upon moral conduct, or of procuring that those decrees, when known, should be neither submitted to nor obeyed. He proceeds to say that it is for the Pope to consider, whether by such means the Holy See, and indeed the whole Church, is not mocked, seeing that before the Pontiff 'our men' profess one thing-namely, that they are strict observers of 'apostolic constitutions,' that they abhor laxity, and that the General often enjoins restraint of lax teaching, saying that offenders will be punished, while, on the other hand, these same officers secretly, and in private letters, exert themselves to bring the minds of all members of the Society into accord with the lax opinions published by its writers, which have been censured. Therefore, he concludes, by solemnly urging upon His Holiness one measure-namely, that the decree which is said to be in preparation on these matters shall, by express order of the Holy See, be once a year read in every house of all the religious orders. Without such a provision, he fears the decree will be futile, especially in France; because ever since its preparation began to be spoken of, he had heard it constantly said that "such decrees to be valid for us, so as to hold us to obedience, must be made known to us by our superiors."

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With this letter he sends the one in which he had long previously laid the whole case before his General; and with allusion to the arts whereby the members of the Society are kept in subjection to the Chiefs, says that he does not fairly lie open to the reproach of having known of the matters complained of without representing them to the Holy See, because

accedo illi significaturus quomodo se res nostrae habeant, circa id ut pro sua singulari charitate et prudentia tantis malis provideat, quibus profecto jam satis fuisset provisum, si Præpositi nostri qui quotidie caeteris obedientiam adeo commendant, Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ decretis parere variis artibus minime detrectassent (vol. ii., p. 18).

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he had repeatedly written to former Popes, but knew not whether his letters had ever reached their hands. So to the Pontiff did this troubled priest send his elaborate statement thirteen years after he had written it for his General. He signs himself Sanctitatis Vestrae Humillissimus et obsequissimus in Christo servus P. La Quintinye Sacerdos S. J. He dates from Pau in 1679, and his whole story is in the days of Louis XIV.

What then are his complaints? In the first place, one of false doctrine as to morals. "I know," says La Quintinye, "what doctrine St. Ignatius, what Congregations in Rome, what our Generals in Epistles have commended, but all these injunctions, notwithstanding, the evil seems to grow in proportion as it is prohibited. An axiom prevails in this province, which if it be, as I believe it is, perverse, will eventually corrupt and dissolve all moral doctrine if it do not abolish it. By implication it contains all of laxity and corruption that is found in the most notorious authors on moral doctrine. Already out of it have sprung innumerable errors, laws human and divine are struck down (profligantur), countless sins are excused; in fine, everything is disordered, and because chiefly of this axiom, if I do not err, some of our Society, as fame has it, have in these matters offended, and now almost everywhere, as was indeed noted by our latest General Congregation, the Society is evilspoken of and traduced." The axiom in question he names as that touching bona fides. It runs thus-bona fides in one who doeth anything evil always excuseth him from sin; or more briefly, never is anything sin which is done with bona fides.¹

They argue, he states, that as St. Paul declares that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, so whatsoever is of faith (*ex fide*) is not sin. Thus he shows they mean by *bona fides*, that the conscience of the doer pronounces the deed to be not sinful. Wherever the doer judges himself in performing a certain act not to commit sin, there never can be sin, whatever evil he may do. This is the dogma, he cries, for which our men fight as for hearth and altar. This, they proclaim, is a doctrine akin (*germana*) to the Society, the doctrine which every Jesuit

¹ "Bona fides operantis aliquid mali semper eum excusat a peccato vel quod idem est quidquid fit bona fide nunquam est peccatum" (vol. ii. p. 2).

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holds; and often have I heard it asserted *that never is there a* sin save where the doer has that actual and present knowledge by which he judges himself to do evil. But such actual and present knowledge of doing evil cannot co-exist with bona fides, therefore wherever bona fides is, there sin is not.

Whence, then, does this *bona fides* which excuses from sin come? It comes into the heart *in cor hominis introducitur* by two means, one intrinsic and the other extrinsic. The intrinsic is when the reason of the doer himself represents to him that evil thing which he does as a thing not evil, not to be shunned, whether this (state of mind) may arise from negligence in seeking for the truth, from blindness of heart through sin, from too great eagerness in worldly affairs, or from any other culpable cause whereof he is the author, and which he should remove, as he is bound to do and can do.¹

So much for the intrinsic source of good faith. Now as to the extrinsic-that consists in the authority of theologians. It requires a few authors, or in any case one, only he or they must be held by the doer of the action to be learned and horest. With them ("our men"), he continues, such is the value of "authority" that it excludes all doubt, yea, all scruple of running into danger of sin in any given action, and thus introduces bona fides into the heart of the doer; for they aver that he acts with prudence who acts on the opinion of men by him believed to be learned and honest, and that whether these doctors do err or do not err. Now, he who acts with prudence may truly reckon that he does no wrong. In the lips of our men, he adds, nothing is more common than the saying, "Such and such an action is indeed sin, and he who commits it sins, unless, however, he is excused by bona fides." Or again, "In such a case, such an one did not sin, because he did not reckon that he was sinning. Any one sins so far, and

¹ "Medium ab intrinseco est ratio ipsius operantis, quæ id mali quod operatur, illi repraesentat tanquam rem minime malam aut fugiendam, sive id fiat propter negligentiam in inquirenda veritate, sive propter caecitatem cordis per peccata, sive propter nimios animi affectus erga res terrenas, aut quamcumque aliam causam culpabilem, cujus ipse est autor et quam deberet removere, ut tenetur et potest" (vol. ii. page 2).

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no farther than as he thinks that he sins; *tantum peccat quis*, *quantum putat se peccare et non magis*. The illustration of the principle is then given. "If Peter committing fornication think that he sins mortally, then he sins mortally; if he think that he sins venially, then he sins venially; but if he think that he sins not at all, then he sins not at all" (vol. ii. page 3).

What, then, is the amount of authority which will warrant one in thinking that in doing a certain action, generally believed to be sinful, he does not sin? Must many authors concur or several, or on the contrary will one suffice? Some, he asserts, contend that one will suffice, provided the person believes him to be learned and honest. Moreover, does a person sin if he seek after an author who will allow the act in question, and when he has found him will do the act? Busenbaum holds that such do not sin, for this reason, that they intend to follow a probable opinion, and Busenbaum is, laments La Quintinye, in the hands of all our men. Hence the doctrine of Probabilism comes to this, that any opinion affirming the lawfulness of an action given by even one teacher whom you esteem learned and honest, warrants you in holding that action as lawful, and that your own estimate at the time of its lawfulness or unlawfulness decides your innocence or guilt. But in the sequel it will appear that by many Probabilists, even the guard of your own approbation is withdrawn, that also being overridden by an "authority."

Here is no room for any such principle as this: "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in the thing that he alloweth." If the man's own mind at the moment allow the deed, then he cannot condemn himself, and God will not condemn him. A banker learns that two of his clerks have robbed him, but that one of them, though he had fallen into crime, felt that he was sinning, and now feels that he did sin, but the other has a theory of pay and self-compensation which prevents him from thinking the robbery wrong, and now prevents him from feeling condemned. According to our theory this man is no sinner, the other is a great one, and that just in proportion to his correctness of judgment on the sin of theft. The banker will have his opinion as to which of the two is the more dangerous man in a bank.

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Father La Quintinye does not fail to give illustrations of the practical application of these principles. Some of our men declare, he says, that they have met with women who, in committing fornication, do not sin, for they do not think that they sin. Our authors speak of what they call haarsträubend examples. One is of a confessor who declares that when he found it impossible to persuade a certain nobleman that it was sinful to do as he intended, namely, to give false evidence in an approaching trial in order to save a friend from loss, he gave him absolution. The next cannot go in English-Alii in confessionibus audiendis invenisse se guosdam jam ætate grandiores qui non peccabant coeundo cum pecore. Again he declares that he had heard a certain Father Confessor, in presence of the rector of his own college, and his consulters, boldly assert that a mother, in a given case, had not sinned, seeing that she firmly believed it no sin to act as she did. Audacter affirmavit fæminam qui saepius sciens et volens rem habuerat cum filio suo in hoc non peccasse quia (inquiebat supradictus Pater) illa fæmina putabat firmiter non esse peccatum matrem cum filio *Commisceri* (vol. ii. p. 4). The position of this "benevolent" Father, viz., that in a case so heinous the woman was without sin, naturally resulted from other positions which La Quintinye says were maintained in presence of the rector and his consulters, none but himself (La Quintinye) objecting. These positions are, "In order that anyone here and now shall sin, it is necessary that here and now he shall know and deem that he sins." And again : "Whoever firmly, that is without doubting or hesitating, reckons that here and now, in doing what he does, he is not acting wrongly, does not here and now blamably sin before God, nor does he merit a penalty for such a work, whatever he may do." As the essence of this doctrine he cites another position taken up by the same Father P. N.—Theologians of great name teach this or that, therefore this or that is true, or certainly probable. This proposition (affirms the said P. N.) is a principle or axiom. These, cries La Quintinye, are the doctrines which I lately brought to the notice of our Provincial; but, so far from rebuking them, he wondered that I did not share them.

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I shall only remark that this doctrine on the one side exalts private judgment to a height above all law and authority, and on the other makes authority seem to be the sole warrant of private judgment! It exalts private judgment above all law and authority, for what I deem to be innocent is to me innocent, say law and authority what they will. For a second reason, because the opinion of the one or two or more theologians, which opinion is called authority, acquits me, only provided I myself deem the men to be learned and pious. Moreover, these are but private persons, and their expressed opinions are only the utterance of their private judgment. Yet while thus exalting private judgment, the doctrine makes what is called authority seem to be the sole warrant of private judgment. For the opinion of a writer or writers, being accepted as that of the learned and honest by my private judgment, is called authority. This whimsically-constituted authority is then made the sole ground on which is based my innocence in doing an act generally believed to be sinful. My judgment that the bad act is innocent renders it innocent, and the judgment of another man lifts my erring judgment above blame. No place here for the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," none for the allowing of yourself in that which condemns you, your deepest condemnation being that you not only do it but allow it, as "quite fair" in yourself; ay, and take pleasure in it as done by others.

The practical consequences of such a theory of morals are thus summarised by our reclaiming Jesuit : "According to the doctrine of *bona fides* always excusing from sin, taken as they explain it, countless unbelievers have not sinned when in many things, because of corrupt usage and habit, or because of evil counsel, they in good faith acted against the law of nature; for instance, when they worshipped idols, sacrificed their children to the gods, in honour of their gods slaughtered the martyrs, or celebrated foul rites with indecency, fornication, adultery, and other such actions. No more do countless heretics sin, when in good faith they persecute the true Church of God, lay waste its temples, slay the pastors of the Lord's flock. Nor yet do the faithful sin, or

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any wise put in peril their salvation, when in countless number, under the shield of *bona fides*, they daily war against the divine law with divers and manifold abuses in usury, simony, false witness, calumny, sacrilege, and omission of duties pertaining to their office, secular or sacred, with other similar things whereof the world is full." Yea, he avers, the Probabilists do not shrink from these consequences.

In the tribunal all this has to be put into practice by every confessor, just as his view of the criminal law has to be put into practice on the bench by every magistrate. In passing on to treat of the practice. La Ouintinve refers to the rule for confessors laid down by Caramuel to this effect : "In the tribunal of confession, since thou art the judge, and sins are such evil deeds as are done against the judgment of the penitent, thou oughtest to follow not thine opinion but his, and to philosophise and judge after his mind !" Wherefore, he adds, "they-that is, his colleagues-assert that a confessor dealing with penitents of quality, whether men or women, should question them only respecting such sins as they confess : not respecting other sins which they do not make mention of to him. For the confessor ought to assume that if the penitents do not confess them, they do not reckon them to be sins, and therefore they do not sin;" since, on being interrogated by the confessor whether they have anything further to say, the penitents reply that they have nothing further.

Be it here noted that if, on the side of the theory already spoken of, the private judgment of an author was set up as judge of the law, and the private judgment of a man or woman drawn away of desire was set up as judge of the worthiness of the author, here, and that expressly, is the private judgment of the "penitent" (a word abusively employed as equivalent to a person in the confessional), is set up as judge of the Confessor. What the person making confession happens to reckon as in him or her no sin is to be covered up from trial or sentence. All I shall here add is to give the notable consequence drawn by these Jesuit fathers of Aquitaine from the pregnant antecedents here laid down as axioms. And I must give not only a close rendering of our original, but the

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marks of quotation: "It' is more proper," they say, "to leave penitents in that state in which they do not sin, than to give them the occasion of sinning, by making manifest to them the sins which they do not see, and in which they sin not (as these reasoners will have it) unless, indeed, it be materially" (vol. ii. page 6).

The term "materially" is the schoolman's antithesis to "formally:" for instance, if by accident I kill my child, "materially," the act is one of manslaughter; "formally," it is not blameworthy, provided there was no negligence. Now, then, we have seen that when a nobleman intended to take a false oath, a Probabilist Confessor held that whatever the deed might be "materially," it was in him no sin "formally," seeing that his non-perception and disbelief of its sinfulness robbed it of the malignity of sin. Thus he was consoled with absolution. We have also seen that the noblewoman who had two husbands, though self-convicted of sin, was also consoled and absolved, the authority of the Probabilist Confessor being, in her case, put forth to reduce what was "formally" an act of falsehood, fraud, hypocrisy, impurity, and breach of civil law, to the significance of an act which was only "materially" irregular, and one under the weight of which a noble lady might be tranquil and at ease. Both perjured nobleman and bigamous noblewoman were consoled by the "benevolent" morals of a Probabilist Confessor.

The personal relations and incidents of the La Quintinye episode, as revealed in these documents, are extremely interesting. Still more so are those of two other principal episodes, that of the long struggles and harassing trials of the Jesuit General Gonzalez, in his vain attempt to stem the tide of laxity; and that of Liguori, his teaching, combats, and strange rise to rank with Augustine, and two or three others of the greater lights who rule the day of the Romish Church. Into these episodes, as well as into the differing shades of Probabilism, I may in a second paper give some little insight.

WILLIAM ARTHUR.

IN the "Mystery of Miracles" all arguments that we usually draw from Faith and Revelation are laid aside. The unwarranted statements so positively made that there are no miracles, and never have been any, were refuted on scientific grounds. By hundreds of facts it was made plain that mystery and miracle are the source and foundation of nature, underlie all science, are everywhere, and interpenetrate all things. The following thoughts are presented that this glad and gladdening truth may be familiar as household words :—

WHAT IS A MIRACLE?

A miracle is some creative manifestation of Divine power —not necessarily in matter, as matter is usually known; but always in force, and to our intelligence.

A miracle is a token of Divine Personal Existence and Presence in the world. It tells of Moral Being; of Power in, yet exceeding the material order of things; and proves the truth of any statement so attested.

A miracle is not contrary to, or subversive of nature; but wrought when time is out of joint on behalf of nature by Him who created and sustains nature. It is by the action of a controlling power to effect something beyond the use of ordinary means. The effect is never for derangement, but always for establishment of greater order. Even the Deluge was the means of bringing higher moral conditions. If a man rolls away a stone, that is not a miracle. If an angel roll one from Christ's sepulchre, that is a miracle. If a physician heals by use of medicine, that is not counted miraculous, however wonderful the cure. We do not count it a miracle if, when a man is pronounced dead and laid out for burial, he revives : the lifeless frame filling with life, and the cold sunk eyes

becoming deep with meaning and full of glow. If Christ, with a touch, or a word, quickens a dead body, that is a miracle.

A revelation from God to man by vision or dream, by word or act; a prophecy of things that could not be foreseen, nor brought about, by human wisdom or power; whether for the world at large, a nation, or an individual, concerning doctrine, precept, ritual, sacrifice, law, are miracles.

A miracle is a mighty work, a Divine kindling of light for intellectual and moral purposes; an altering of the usual course, not to correct nature's blunders, not to repair defective machinery, not to abrogate law; a divinely free volitional act to meet, restrain, instruct intelligent creatures; and to establish special relations between God and man.

The providential ordering of events to accomplish any specially predicted occurrence is a miracle.

Natural process greatly partakes of the miracle. No limit can be set as to where either begins or ends. Every event, viewed as standing by itself, is a miracle: the multitude magnifies the marvel. When Professor Tyndall inadvertently touched a wire leading from an electric battery, the discharge went through his body. Life was absolutely blotted out for a very sensible interval without a trace of pain. He states that in a second or so consciousness returned. The appearance which his body presented to himself was that of a number of separate pieces. The arms were detached from the trunk, and seemed suspended in the air. Doubtless the whole of this was natural; but who will prove that the naturalness was not by a miracle interpenetrating every part?

The Godward intellect sees all as a miracle. When God is not in a man's thoughts, that man says of every miracle : "it is nought;" yet that man, if scientific, knows, so far as science is concerned, nothing warrants belief that nature, or any part of it, exists at any moment apart from Divine spontaneous action. It seems due to this action that, little by little, everything seems to work in its own way towards some good it is most fit for. Every advance from ignorance to knowledge is really a marvel. If we speak to the earth it teaches us; and sometimes an unbelieving man obtains a reply

wonderful as that to Balaam, which revealed the animal's capacity to overcome in argument: the ass spoke, and spoke well. Sometimes we discern the future in an instant; with thoughts beyond the ordinary reaches of our soul. At other times we feel that our world is the outer yet beautiful porch of an infinite cathedral, where dwells the Divine magnificence. It is well, in seeking to have a sense of nearness to the miraculous, to imagine that, in full use of every faculty, we look on nature for the first time. The sight of her glory bursting like a splendid vision on the raptured gaze, excites powerful emotions: God is felt to be very near, we reverently worship.

Every miracle has two sides: subjective, in our consciousness; objective, external to our consciousness. Natural means may awake the consciousness, and present the object; or both may be a supernatural effect. The presentment is always to intelligence; and with such force that the spirit is without doubt as to the inward or mental view. Whatever the wonder experienced by Moses and Isaiah, by Peter and John, it was full of undoubted conviction as to the reality.

OBJECTIONS TO A MIRACLE, AND REPLIES.

1. A miracle is so highly improbable, that it is more likely the few persons who say they have seen one are deceivers, or deceived; than that all the world besides should never have seen such an event.

Not so. All events, except those personally known by an individual, are contrary to his experience, therefore so far improbable; some very improbable. Daily experience shows that metals, all metals, are ponderous; but a few individuals are aware that the metal potassium is not ponderous. It is well known that ice can remain in the midst of a fire, formerly it was deemed impossible. The rarity of a miracle, rendering it more signal, is no ground for unbelief. An event in science, or art, or history, however unusual and improbable, is received as a fact when adequately testified of by qualified persons. The testimony for Scripture miracles, witnessed by millions of Jews in the wilderness who could not have been deceived; the myriads afterwards who witnessed the prophets' wonders, and were convinced by them; the marvels wrought

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by Christ and His Apostles, subjected more than once to judicial investigation; the course and fulfilment of prophecy cannot be invalidated by the inexperience of modern unbelief.

2. The government of the universe is carried forward by general rules; not by special interpositions, which are marks of weakness.

On the whole certainly; but surprises, eccentricities, interpositions, marvels, are so many, that no scientific man now refuses to accept what previously was counted impossible. Day by day we are doing that which was never done before. The more we know, the more are we called to believe. Faith grows with knowledge which, by revealing the substance of things hoped for, gives evidence of those not seen.

3. The laws of nature are so fixed and continuous, that no change, no interference, no crossing, by any, even Divine power, can be detected, or should be thought possible.

Unbelievers in miracle are very guilty in making such inaccurate statements. It is ascertained that the apparent continuous fixity of things is a mask for operations so flexible, so variable, so interfered with every moment and everywhere by forces acting from all parts of the universe, that checks and interferences with gravitation, alterations in molecular arrangements, the direction of forces, the form and position of things, are of universal occurrence. As the worlds are constituted, fixity is not the rule. There is nothing more certain than that things do not continue in one stay. Government is maintained by ceaseless changes and crossings, as harbingers, omens, proofs, of interference by a higher power.

4. We know of Divine existence by the course of nature : we have no right to assign Him other attributes than we find in nature.

The reply is: Miracles being found in nature are part of its teaching. Scripture contains no marvel, no doctrine, of which the analogy may not be found in nature. He who made nature can change nature. We do not know all, nor have we reason to think all is done that can or will be done.

5. Great or small unnatural stoppages and changes in any part of the universe would derange every part. The arrest of our earth, the extinction or lawless wandering of a star, would cause universal confusion.

Not so. The Almighty could, with more ease, arrest or blot out the whole solar system than we pluck a weed from the garden. Changes are not marks of weakness, but steps in an onward process, indications of a vaster scheme, perturbations by advancing influences, the earth is a subsidiary part. The present incompleteness of our greatest and best men, the slender effects of patience, love and work, are proof that the good in us is rudimentary. At the same time, so many are the wonders wrought by mental, moral, spiritual effort; and they are so in accord with vast physical transactions; that the world's benefactors have always felt "our destined proper home is in the eternal future."

6. GENERAL OBJECTIONS.—There are scientific men who speak of eternally impressed consequences, of some necessary chain of orderly causation in nature, of infinite potentialities in matter, before it was like any known matter, by which new things, such as life, sensation, thought, will, were for ever being brought into the world, though really nothing is new.

We want more matter and less art in these objections. The proofs given are obscure rather than profound statements, are mutually inconsistent, and would not convince any one who did not start with implicit confidence in the truth of that which had to be proved. There is no defect in our systems of belief, from which scientific systems are free. The deniers of miracle are generally ignorant of the fact that the premisses of their science are inferred, and not yet properly determined. The fact is we cannot rid ourselves of mystery and miracle : they are everywhere. Nature seems spontaneously to do things as if she knew how. Metals and earths, crystals and plants, animals-specially human beings-have a sort of individual characteristic behaviour. The free-will which we act upon in thought and work, in law and morals, is weakly discernible in the voluntaryism of lower animals, in the sensitiveness of plants, in the earth bringing forth of itself, and in that complex balancing of action and interaction of which the universe is the ever-varying outcome. The automatism of lower things, and its reflex voluntaryism in higher things, could not act with sufficient regularity; nor could any

finite intelligence have reasonable assurance as to the future, if laws were unduly or frequently interfered with, or could not be interfered with at all. A world with everything fated or uncertain would not be a good world for intelligent or responsible creatures. Miracles are in relation to those modifications of physical things which render religion and morals wonderful in their nature and effects. The depressing influence of sin is weakened, God becomes the present and final stay of the human soul, and it has no fears for the past, nor doubts for the future.

In considering the preceding six objections, as types of the various ancient and modern reasonings against miracles, one does not find justifiable unwillingness of common sense to revive old wives' fables; but determination to be rid of miracles at any cost. The devil, in old stories of diablerie. was sure to start up at the elbow of anyone who nursed diabolical plans, and psychological investigation shows that the willing unbelief of a godless spirit disfurnishes man's inner chamber as to spiritual faculties, and closes it against every sacred influence. This mental insanity or debility has analogies in the powerlessness to enjoy music, poetry, painting, sculpture, which disfigures some lives. Physical counterparts are found in colour-blindness, and incapacity to distinguish various notes as they combine in harmonies. Some men, in other respects highly intelligent, are insensible to the proof of Divine existence; though, as John Locke says, "it is as certain that there is a God as that the opposite angles, made by the intersection of two straight lines, are equal." Such men cannot see that the absence of miracles is irreconcilable with a true idea of an Eternal God, consistent with Himself, presenting to a free and erring world, persuasive, not compulsory proofs, of His sovereign rule. They suffer the greatest misfortune : congenital affliction with tendency to unbelief. It destroys their happiness, exposes them to temptation, the most beautiful part of their nature is aborted, true holiness is made impossible. They are always found short at the leap when put to the trial. The ruinous effects are traced in many individuals and families. The national effects, not naming others,

are prominent in the godlessness, instability, vanity, of the French government and people; vices that once were as cobwebs are now shackles of iron. A pure heart given to worship; a sound mind, capable of noble thoughts; a healthy body, strong to labour; we should pray for, we should strive for.

If a man, tempted to unbelief, examined himself he would detect a growing inclination to indulge besetting vanities and lusts. Some poisons are so active, that a few drops will infect a whole fountain, and destroy precious life. One false principle, one taint of unbelief, causes irreparable evil. When men pale with fear, hands compressed in agony, life poured forth with terror, thus show that but to live they are ready to endure disgraces, accumulate crimes and sorrows, they present fearful pictures of the faithless. Those who, like butchers' dogs in the shambles, fatten on garbage and delight in slaughter, are examples of the fiendishness of men who fear not God. The so-called scientific and philosophical objections to miracles are not children of a true and vast intellect; they are the brood of subtlety, not the offspring of wisdom. Not to believe the manifestation of God by miracles is a confession of inability to discern the time because springs, counterbalances, wheels, all the inner machinery, are hidden away behind the face of the clock.

THE PROOF OF MIRACLES.

To deny miracles is great folly: everything is due to miracle. Matter does not make matter, force not make force; both, traced furthest, rest on the transcendental—resolve into miracle. We are as far from explaining an atom as is Sirius from the earth. Life is the rhythm of the universe, the secret of all secrets: he who can tell the mystery knows all. These facts, so well investigated by science, are a response concerning the want for what may be called immediate knowledge that miracles are wrought every moment; and that many others may be wrought at any time by the will of God. Strange to say, the universality of miracle is used by the mania of unbelief to show that, where all is miraculous, there are no special or distinct miracles.

We reply-Not one potsherd has power to break another,

save by Divine permission. Not a word is uttered but echoes through all time. Not a deed is done that will be forgotten. Not a prayer is breathed that stamps not itself by law on nature. Tact and skill, even more than force, control adventitious agencies to the winning of great results from remote and unseen events. Subduing matter by the power of thought, we make it the slave of mind. Every man is in himself an abridgment of the past, and a prophecy of the future. The meaning of common things becomes uncommon, and the capacity of our finite powers to create, develop, and adorn, shows that they are penetrated by a more excellent power-symbol of diviner things; and as one star exceeds another star in glory, miracle rises above miracle. The spirit of the age is the momentary pulsation of our heart and head, with use of hands, good or bad, as we make them accord or disagree with the rhythm of the universe. By light shining through the skeleton hands of poverty men read the mysteries of trial, and find amongst the unnoticed and obscure those whom kings may be proud of as subjects. Others, greater in spiritual science, discern natural and supernatural guidings mingling everywhere, and touching as do earth and heaven. Everything known reveals the Unknown.

The human spirit is more penetrative than logical, gathers more than it can garner. That natural events may be lifted into a higher science than the physical, the miracles of nature have counterparts in revelation. The narrative of creation records the origin, conditioning, and using of matter. Mechanical force, expending itself in motion, is a reflection of the Divine movement with which God makes everything to move, as of itself, in obedience to His will. Life lives not only by force acting on combined elements, but rises into the complexity of man who apprehends the Divine Being. Nature is the shadow, Revelation is the light. By means of both we have science and philosophy which know matter as a visible temporal representation of the invisible eternal Substance, know movement as the outcome of almighty Power, know forces as the symbol of infinite Will doing work.

Nature is one summary of miracles, Revelation is another.

Revelation is the Divine Word to our intelligence. Another form of Revelation is Christ, the Divine Word in our flesh abiding in the heart of believers. In ordinary miracles, God shows Himself for a moment, that we may know He is with us every moment. In the beauty and iridescence of heaven are the glow and refraction of light, for our physical eye. In Holy Scripture; in the Work, Person, Life, of the Lord Jesus; we have appeals to reason, and manifestations to conscience.

Which are the chief abiding miracles of our faith?

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is not something of which we obtain a crude notion. Our faith is a spirit of intuition, the gift of God (Heb. xi. 3), by which we understand that the worlds were framed. Understand-not merely think: possess a power of discernment by which we obtain evidence of the far-off, and a view of the Science, in the hands of unbelieving men, has been unseen. strained to the utmost and in vain to disprove this. Exacter science displays the truth of the divine narrative as grander and more accurate than the letter is able to declare—a miracle of accuracy in every part. The men and language of every day, by misunderstanding, made it seem other than it is, and would have put it away, but could not. Children delight in the theme; poets see in it a splendour; and the greatest men, in depths below depths, and heights beyond heights, read into every seeming inaccuracy a greater precision, and into all contradictions a confirmation of truth more excellent.

REDEMPTION.

The credulity of men as to things not in the Bible is a marvel. The acceptance by irreligious men of evolution, not as a partial explanation of the way God uses one thing to bring about another, but wholly to get rid of God, is the great delusion of our day. According to evolution, things began so long ago, and so slowly, that there was no definite beginning. Matter came together of itself from so vast a space, and during ages so endless, that it was eternally coming together, and did come together, yet never specifically at any time or in any place. From this, which was no beginning, things grew as if they had begun; and one thing

became another though, for the most part, remaining as it was, until things are as they are. There never was any man so in God's image that he could fall; and being no first Adam to sin, there could be no second Adam to redeem. Against this theory, a shadow's shadow, of our being from the beast "that wants discourse of reason," redemption by Christ is the Divine protest. The doctrines and facts of original sin, of the Lord's incarnation, atonement, resurrection, and all the wonders connected with these are false, if evolution is true. There must be no mistake. If man rose from a beast, we ought to proclaim the doctrine of original merit. He is of singular merit, the merit all his own: for God did not make him-he made himself, or a pair of beasts, or many beasts, after considerable effort, none of them knowing what they did. We are not to worship God, but a something more insensate than any idol set up by lowest beings. Against this our consciousness, the greatest and best of witnesses, rebels; the universal common sense of our race protests; science itself begins to utter rebuke. The Old Testament preserved by the Jews; the New Testament kept intact by Christians, in prophecy and fulfilment, in types, ritual, sacrifices, laws, summed in Christ; are an authority accepted by the world's best men, condemning evolution as not less false than dishonouring to God and degrading to man. What greater proof of miracles than that which, to be rid of them, requires tenfold greater ? Greatly is faith commended, seeing its bitterest enemies can give but grossest superstition in place thereof! When the parting hour comes, and our hidden faults, disguised sins, accuse us, can any sane man refuse that blessed redemption which sings in the winter of our life of the lifting up of day, and turns past evils to advantage?

PRESENT WORKINGS OF DIVINE POWER.

There is no waste, science affirms, in the Divine economy; and miracles were always few, otherwise they would cease to be signal. Christ and the Church are the two great moral and spiritual marvels, with saving sanctifying grace of various supernatural signatures. In the sacraments are continual miracles. Men folded in communion with patriarchs, prophets,

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apostles, martyrs, receive benedictions, beneficences, and all the charities of heaven from ministers of apostolic succession. Men sit at the table of angels, put their hand into the dish with the king of all creatures, and heavenly so mingle with earthly things that mortality is swallowed up of life. Dying men receive light from on high. Their face at departing is as the face of an angel, and those standing near feel the presence of Him who is eternal. In use of prayer request is not limited to nature's use, it extends to Divine. Believers are engraft with the nature of the Holy by conversion to Christ. The Divine Word conveys personal experience of help continually received, and believers know special wonders by law of the spiritual kingdom. There are crystals by polarisation of forces, organisms by unconscious operation, intelligence by conscious process called cerebration,-these manifestations of energy are changed in our most gifted men to ascents of spirituality approaching the supreme, to premonitions of a final state absorbing all transitory life. They know of an eternal world gathering into itself the whole spiritual population of the uni-The millions verse to form a grand simultaneous existence. of men, from all climes and times, who passed through mortal states; the angels of all worlds in their ranks, are being formed into one glorious host of glorious work. This constitutes one of the present miracles. The miracle of miracles is

CHRIST.

Gather first-hand from nature the molecules of the human body—not to replace or renew a pre-existent form, but to make a new being; the molecules being put in the same positions, with the same forces, as those constituting a living man. Will there be a sentient living creature? Science says there is no valid reason why there should not. A man, thus divinely prepared, would be as the Adam of Paradise. Christ, the Adam of the Wilderness, divinely prepared, made of the woman, shrined the Perfect God—bodily. Woman was by the Lord transcendentally taken from man; afterwards, man was by the Lord taken from woman. In Christ's two natures, as in Nature generally, are the natural and the supernatural in one Being. The more wonderful the truth, the more real.

Christ did read human thought; not sinning, did bear human sin; did works never before done by man; every inward tendency represented some outward reality; even as the mortal body contained the Divine Personal Form. Seeing Christ was, in a sense, seeing God; He was the Supernatural in Nature, and Nature in the Supernatural. The whole of Nature came to view in His miracles: matter, to do homage to mind; force, to be controlled by Spirit; mortal life, to be transformed by the Immortal. Christ has done more for morality than all other men for physics. The science of the world, as the old Babel builders, leaves the tower to heaven unadvanced and in All the good is of His doing. He, "a Jew," confusion. makes all the world akin. He had no learning, as of the school, yet He is the Light that lighteth every man. His childhood does not explain His genius; nor His nationality the universal power of His teaching. Where, in any other poverty, are such riches? In any other so sorrowful life, fulness of joy for all? He transmits influence from generation to generation, the spring of progress: and without Him the centuries and nations are silent and powerless. He is winning, and must win, universal dominion; though all the powers of evil, human and Satanic, are leagued against Him. Words molten in the fire of His heart, elaborated in His Divine intellect, came forth with intense earnestness, calling us; and we shall certainly answer every one in his own place.

No light subject has been handled, no little question as to this or that marvellous act, but the truth of the miraculous credentials of Christianity; that every man may have in his own mind a miniature of the universal miracle; in his own reason the microscope for searching investigation; and, like the Apostles, possess unfaltering assurance of the Divine Presence. The pages of the book of our life turn quickly. The leaves of the universe fold slowly. In that little time we learn lessons for the great time, and endeavour to perform every act aright. In the completion of God Almighty's plan we shall inherit true dignity, and a destiny supremely glorious. Our spirit will not fail, our courage will not falter, our fidelity will not flinch, our life will be a triumph.

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.

PART I.

A VERY noticeable and important expansion of literature accompanied the invention of printing in China as in Europe. Printing was known in China in the Sui dynasty, A.D. 600, but Buddhism had put the nation to sleep then, and it was the anarchy of the tenth century that shook men's minds sufficiently to bring this useful invention into prominence. At any rate, whatever the cause of delay, we see early in that century, for the first time, books beginning to be printed on a large scale. This led to a succession of intellectual changes. The scope and tone of authors visibly became modified as the effect of extensive reading, and the collision of opinions developed in the works they read. Each thinking man had a large library, and from that time literature became richer, and assumed composite forms which were quite new.

Taking advantage of a decided fancy that the founder of the Sung dynasty had for Tauism, the Tauists stepped to the front, and began to print certain old works and compose new ones of a class adapted to produce a definite impression on the contemporary Confucian mind. As a consequence, early in the eleventh century, we find Shau yau fu, a most influential philosopher, publishing novelties on the Book of Changes, the old classic of Divination, with whose mystic diagrams all Chinese pupils who intend to graduate must begin to be familiar at about eleven years old. Shau yau fu read new meanings into old texts, and his views were adopted, and remain even now in the school editions of this book. Thev were based on the elemental philosophy of Babylonia, which, among the Greeks and Hindoo Buddhists, took the form of four elements-fire, air, earth, and water; and among the Persians and Chinese took the form of five-metal, wood,

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water, fire, and earth. Shau yau fu's system was a modification of it, and this is still the recognised physical philosophy of China. Yet it is dead, and only awaits interment.

The historical school of the eleventh century was most important. Si ma kwang, its leader, ought to be known in Europe for the noble idea he had of history as a moral He was in this something like Confucius. teacher. He placed the year at the head of each section in his General History of China, and a selected text in large type was followed by amplifications in small type. This method was new. He also wrote a small abridgment of the History of China, in five volumes-a model of conciseness. Ngeu vang sieu was a contemporary historian on the old lines, which present, as in Plutarch, each historical person in a complete biography, and adds dissertations on the various departments of the administration for each age, with brief accounts of foreign countries. A school of political writers sprang up at this The most conspicuous was Wang an shi. He attime. tempted a revolution in taxation and in the agricultural system. A school of moral philosophy and comments on the classics of an orthodox type, led by very eminent men, commenced at this time, and took the form of a championship against the views of writers of the Han dynasty school, which were too physical and too astrological. The study of ancient vases, bells, weights, measures and coins, brought into existence a large class of archaeological writers on these subjects. A school of authors on bells and vases, and another on the early forms of the characters engraved on these ancient implements, were the chief sub-divisions of the science of archæology as then prosecuted. Philology was represented in a twofold form. One class of authors studied sounds, and made dictionaries ; another studied the laws of the formation of the characters. Poetry was represented by the Su family, the chief man of genius being Su tung po. Scientific inquiry was not unknown in this age. The most distinguished man in this field was Shen kwo, who studied the mariner's compass, and experimented himself on magnetism and the variation of the needle. There was a school of Buddhist literature at this time, and the division of the monasteries of this religion

into sub-divisions, based on differences in teaching, which had begun many centuries before, went on now with increased vigour through the facilities afforded by the art of printing. Medicine, too, had its new works. Then there were about twelve schools of research, of literary inventiveness, and of intellectual speculation during this important century.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the most conspicuous name is that of Chu hi. He was a continuator of the orthodox school of the preceding age. He had great influence on edu-His comments on the Four Books and on the Classic cation. of Poetry are used from that day till now in every school, and he has been called the Modern Confucius. When the Sung dynasty had lasted 150 years many vases and bells had been collected in the emperor's palaces. The imperial work on antiquities, called *Po ku tu*, was compiled, and while it has too much of the peculiar Chinese philosophy, it helped to fix the canons of art for the period. China became more than ever conscious of the value of her old vases as relics of ancient art, and of high importance for historical research. The Buddhist monks had among them patient, hard-working students at this time, who produced works of importance for the history of their religion. Foreign influences increased with the conquest of North China by the Golden Tartars, and then by the Mongols. A school of romance and the drama rose suddenly into vigorous life, and as a result the mandarin tongue, the current speech of Northern and Western China, became a literary medium. In the eleventh century education had been improved by introducing works which compressed history into compendiums. The time was now come to teach far and wide history and morality by historical dramas and romances. This novelty brought about changes in the reading habits of the people, though not in the opinions of literary men, and was partly caused by foreign theatrical representations and music. These were favourite amusements to Tartar sovereigns and their courtiers. The Chinese play is entirely of foreign stamp in its construction and representation. Clever writers, whose names are not known or uncertain, took up eagerly the idea, and in a few decades composed an enormous quantity of historical and comic plays, with choruses and musical accompani-

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To these were added colloquial novels, which became ments. pictures in finished detail of the history of each dynasty. Persia and India had taken the idea of the drama from the Greeks, and now when the Mongols ruled China, and set up their thrones in all Asiatic countries, the drama became thoroughly naturalised in China, and caused there an entirely new sort of literary work, such as makes the people weep with its pathos, and inspires them with the ardent desire to be loval To the kindling of the deeper emotions by the and filial. pathos of loving fidelity and noble filial piety is added an unfailing supply of amusing incidents and laughable rencontres. which help to keep the people light-hearted. The influence of this literature has been in China certainly of the most farreaching kind, and it has for more than five centuries furnished the nation with its chief amusement. But who would have supposed that mathematical science would spring into vigorous creativeness just at the time when imaginative literature was developing in this remarkable way? Yet so it was. While in the south Chu hi was writing tomes of ponderous and grave philosophy, men possessed of a poetic spirit in North China were beginning to compose colloquial dramas and romances; and while music and song spread into every village, and the temples which were devoted to Tauist worship admitted the drama to minister to the amusement of the people, mathematicians here and there were elaborating a Chinese algebra from such gleams of Hindoo arithmetic as had shone in upon them through the extension of foreign intercourse. Travels in foreign countries at the same time became more common, and novels were written to combine stories of magicians and fairies with the wonders to be seen in distant lands. The press multiplied these books, and the ordinary village elders and the shopkeepers of market towns turned to account the education of their youth, and learned to read romances. While this was happening such a profound scholar as Ma twan lin was writing his elaborate critical view of laws, literature, ceremonies, and natural history, in more than a hundred closely-printed volumes-a monument of the author's candour and learning.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the literature of

China crystallising into two distinct forms. The definite settlement of the examinations for degrees in the Ming dynasty led every student to give his chief attention to the essay style required by the examiners. This cramped the writing power of students, limited the number of able writers, and prevented a healthy literary development. Romances, however, continued to be written during both these centuries, and the influence of the literature of the Mongol period was con-That literature was still popular in spite of its not firmed. being encouraged by the class of scholars. The people read the novels and plays, and the schoolmasters and officers read them too, because they woke up those emotions which give pleasure, but the literati did not cease to condemn them as deserving no serious attention. Narratives of foreign travel were published, and the geographical notions of the nation were improved by voyages to India and the Red Sea, which, from the twelfth century onward, they made with the use of the compass. Philosophy and poetry became less conspicuous in the literary firmament, for want of original power in those who studied them.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries philosophy underwent a change. Wang show jen studied Chu hi and his opponent Lu siang shan. He also read Buddhist works, and combined Buddhism and Confucianism in a new way. He initiated a new school in moral philosophy of an eclectic kind. finding good in all the three national religions, and thinking less of orthodoxy. The example of this philosopher has helped to impart intellectual freedom and toleration to native students of religion and of philosophy, and has somewhat weakened the hold of traditional orthodoxy on their minds. Natural history and medicine were studied at this period with success by the author of the Pen tsau, an extensive work on medicines and their uses. Original novels and plays now almost ceased to Foreign countries continued to be studied with be written. great interest. Roman Catholic books brought to the Chinese reader a knowledge of Christianity and Western science. Euclid, and books on astronomy and geography, had an excellent effect, and the native mind being at this time somewhat shaken in its attachment to the old Con-

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fucianism by the influence of Wang show jen, Christianity had a period of prosperity. The result was that the literary tone of book-making was improved. Argument became more scientific. There were more persons who appreciated natural philosophy. The literary zeal of Mohammedans now began to appear, and books were written to teach the dogmas of their religion, but they were only apologetic, never proselytising; and the effect of Mohammedan books in Chinese in liberalising or otherwise affecting native thought is not at all to be compared in extent to that of the works produced at that time in the Roman Catholic missions.

A new era had dawned. A most important change was now beginning in the study of the classics and antiquity generally. An effort was made by Ku ven wu and others to shake off the bonds of system, and clear the judgment of prejudices. Ku yen wu died two centuries ago. His school has lasted to the present time. The Sung dynasty authority was with him of little weight. Deserting its mode of criticism of the classics, he raised the standard of freedom. If he had been alone the effect would not have been so powerful as it has been, but many great scholars followed in his track and imbibed his spirit, and those who have since achieved a great reputation by their writings have all preferred to forsake the standard of Chu hi, and adopt such conclusions in their researches as the facts called for, without waiting to know whether they were or were not known to and approved by the Sung dynasty philosophers. This great school of independence in critical research dates from the seventeenth century. The Sung dynasty authors were disposed to exalt morality at the expense even of historical accuracy. Chu hi interfered in the History of the Three Kingdoms, and twisted it to suit his moral programme. Before his time it was not claimed for the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220 to 265) that either of them was the legitimate inheritor of the Han dynasty rights, to the prejudice of the other two. In history the imperial title of the sovereign of each of the three kingdoms had been recognised. But Chu hi made the ruler of Western China the true emperor, and the other two sovereigns were usurpers. The critics of the new school decline to follow Chu hi in this

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needless upsetting of former men's work, and prefer to return to the view held by Si ma kwang and other historians. This example from history of the changes made by the new school shows what sort of faults they wished to see corrected in the work of the Sung philosophers, and what sort of credit they deserve for returning to a straightforward course.

Another example will show the character of the new school still more plainly. Hwang tsung hi studied the Book of Changes, and adopted a view the reverse of Shau yau fu. He condemned Chu hi for admitting Shau yau fu's diagrams into school editions of this work, on the ground that there is nothing to support them. He sounded a loud note of warning against the Sung dynasty philosophy. The Sung authors honestly thought they were right in making use of mystic numbers to explain the Book of Changes, but in this they fell into a snare. The Tauists succeeded in obtaining the insertion in Confucian books of some of their favourite diagrams. The magic square, counting fifteen every way, the diagram to represent cosmogony, the eight divining words of Fu hi arranged round the compass at certain points, are here. These things are of little aid to the scholar, except as waymarks in the history of philosophy. All that is useful in the Book of Changes is the moral and philosophical portion; but these misleading diagrams, being neither ethical nor philosophical, may be safely omitted. Chu hi then was wrong in retaining them, and Hwang tsung hi and the new school are right in decrying them. Good native critics tell us that the condemnation of these useless diagrams was first pronounced distinctly in the early part of the fourteenth century by Chen ying jun, who deserves much of the credit of founding the new school, because he pointed out the defects of the Sung dynasty criticism of the Book of Changes. It was not, however, till three centuries and a half had passed away that the age was ripe for such views. In the fourteenth century the influence of Chu hi was still paramount, as is shown by the fact that the system of literary examinations for the Chinese civil service was then completely organised in almost its present shape, and based on his opinions. But the move-NO. II.-VOL I.-NEW SERIES.-T. M. H

ment of intellectual thought is to a large extent independent of the views and action of the Government, and when the best scholars in the country at the end of the 17th century adopted a reasonable criticism of the ancient books, their doing so produced no effect on the system of literary examinations.

In the seventeenth century the Ming dynasty came to an end, and the Ching dynasty commenced. The advance of the Chinese intellect in clearness of perception during the 260 years of the rule of the Choo family is undoubted. There was a falling off in the number of eminent literary names, but the eye of the nation was on the whole profitably withdrawn from metaphysics to natural science. When the Western geography, geometry, astronomy and physics were brought by the missionaries, they were accepted as they were taught. Philosophy lost its influence, and he who could make good cannon was considered a man of ability. The Ming dynasty made the system of examinations what it now is, but the programme was unfortunately tabulated at the beginning of the dynasty, and its defects are conspicuous. It takes no account of science, and it has forced education into too narrow a groove. Students give long years of study to acquire the power of writing an essay divided into eight heads and a few short poems. Beside this the literary shortcomings of the Ming period are further shown by the fact that the number of valuable works compiled by imperial commissions, and printed at the imperial press, was not so great as in the present dynasty, which commenced in 1644.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have in their literary history done great honour to China, and shown that the intellect of the nation has not fallen back. The native genius is penetrating without being creative, and analytical without being constructive. Yet the present dynasty has been more creative of new science than the Ming dynasty, and it has compiled better dictionaries and cyclopædias. In these works passages are selected from the literature of all dynasties, and arranged under classified heads, which are named in the index placed at the beginning. Thus the cyclopædias are made up. Dictionaries of the better class contain as examples of the use of words citations classical, mediæval, and modern,

in prose and verse. The history and ancient pronunciation of words are given. The criticism of ancient books has reached a point far in advance of any former period. Scholars of the present dynasty, having a wider range of reading, judge far more correctly of the claims of old books to acceptance than those of former ages did. Confucius was indeed an editor. but his mind was too exclusively occupied with moral judgments to allow of his taking the position of an independent observer and witness. This example of one intensely admired has so operated as to prevent, to some extent, Chinese scholars in all ages from accurately judging as to facts. But during the present dynasty independence and freedom have been exercised by many writers. What is particularly noticeable is that all eminent writers have exhibited a fair share of these qualities. It is not a mere sprinkling, one here and another there, that has come under the influence of this Zeitgeist.

The greatest constructive power of a literary nation is shown in the history of its philosophy. Thus in China, in the Chow dynasty and in the Sung dynasty, the philosophical power of the nation is seen to beat its maximum. When one philosopher appeared a dozen more appeared too. In both these periods this was true. The greatest periods of critical acumen, on the other hand, are found to be destitute of great names in philosophy. This was the case partially in the Han dynasty, but still more distinctly in the present dynasty. As to philosophy in China at present, it may be said, desolate is the dwelling of Morna. But criticism and science have made a good beginning, and they show that the intellect of the nation has not deteriorated.

In this condition of things it was an occasion of extreme interest when, two years ago, an encounter took place between the Conservative and the Progressive party in literature in the Court of Peking. Some one proposed that Kuyenwu and Hwang-tsung-hi should be honoured with tablets in the temple of Confucius. These men deserved honour as the founders of the new critical school, and the high value of the influence they exerted is shown by the improvement in scholarly literature since their time. The supporters of the Confucian doctrine, as taught in the Sung dynasty by Chu hi and others.

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did their utmost to resist this proposition, because these two men had opposed the common habit of putting too much confidence in that philosopher, and did not properly belong to the ethical school of the Sung dynasty. Any one who receives the honour of sacrifices in the spring and autumn in the temple of Confucius must be one who has helped to transmit the orthodox doctrine, which it was insisted these two scholars had not done. There was also a strong party in favour of their claims. But the numbers of those who were opposed, as compared with this party, was as two to one, and the result was that a decree was promulgated enacting that the two great scholars should be honoured with a place among "the virtuous men of the villages." This would ensure their receiving sacrifices, but of a lower grade. The Viceroy, Li hung chang, led the opposition. The opinions of the opponents are plainly that Chu hi ought not to be dethroned from his position of authority, that criticism is less important than the powerful advocacy of ethical doctrine, and that the time is not yet come for remodelling the system of examinations. It is to be regretted that the party gladly following the lead of Chu hi is so strong, for the authority of Chu hi is relied on to bolster up a system of physics which is unscientific, and ought to be abandoned. The Chinese school-books have not been revised for six centuries through the great repute of this one man. Consequently the people still believe in the dual philosophy of light and darkness, and in the five elements, without a suspicion that the system of thought which teaches these principles is supernatural and cannot be sustained. All honour is due to those who in this struggle of science against error were found among the supporters of modern progress.

Soon we shall see the scientific party reinforced by new adherents. The defenders of the Sung philosophy will regret their policy when they find, as they will probably soon do, that science, becoming stronger, will attack not only Chu hi, but Confucius himself. At present the men of independent thought are beginning to doubt if Confucius was so great a sage as he has been thought. They do not dare print this, but they are not afraid to say it in conversation.

JOSEPH EDKINS.

THE prevalent feeling as to unfulfilled prophecy has undergone a great change. Formerly the mind of most men, even in the Christian world, was expressed in the witticism, "Its study either finds men mad, or makes them so." Now, all thinking men recognise that in the social, political and moral world our times are pregnant with issues of the most momentous kind. The Christian has what the mere worldly politician has not, a key to the solution of the perplexing problems of our age. We have "the word of prophecy made more sure" by past and present fulfilments, and "shining as a lamp in a dark place until the day dawn." Hence, to neglect this divinely-given lamp would involve us in our Lord's rebuke to the Pharisees, "Ye can discern the face of the sky but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

If the investigation were merely for the gratification of curiosity, it might be dismissed as having no practical bearing. But since, whilst "the secret things belong unto the Lord our God, those things which are revealed belong unto us, that we may DO all the words;" and since God has promised a special blessing to them that "hear, read, and keep the words of the prophecy, for the time is at hand," our wisdom is to be "like the children of Issachar, men having understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do."

A difficulty may here suggest itself: Our Lord announced beforehand certain signs to precede His Second Advent; and accordingly many have reasoned, His return cannot be in my time, because these signs have not yet been all fulfilled. Yet He with equal distinctness declares that His coming shall be as that of a thief in the night, in such a day or hour as men think not. How shall we reconcile these seemingly conflicting announcements? The answer is furnished by distinguishing, as Scripture guides us, between His

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coming FOR His saints, and His coming WITH them to inflict judgment on apostate Christendom and Antichrist. "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a bidding word of command ($\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\mu a$), and the dead in Christ shall rise first, and those saints that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." He might have, and He might come FOR His saints at any moment, as St. Paul implies, before the signs predicted have come to pass; but His coming WITH His saints subsequently (Zech. xiv. 5) to decide the issue between Himself and the last Antichrist, must be preceded by the foretold signs.

The present age is defined by our Lord as "the times (kaipoi, the opportunities) of the Gentiles" (Luke xxi. 24). In the Gentile season of grace, "the fulness (the full number) of the Gentiles" (the Judæo-Gentile elect Church) is coming in (Rom. xi. 25). When this season is closing our Lord foretells, "There shall be signs in the sun, moon, and stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity," etc. Now this sign is being palpably fulfilled. The times of Israel's depression are closing by the emancipation of the Jews in almost all countries in this century; and, simultaneously, the near-ending of the times of the Gentiles is marked by the revolutionary disintegration of the monarchies and republics (succeeding the Roman Empire where the Jews have been scattered), through the democratic theory that all men are equal. S. Kellog, in his remarkable book, The Jews, observes, "The French Revolution made Israel's oppressors drunk with their own blood. As the thrones fell, the chains fell off the Jews. After the Revolution of 1848, the emancipated Jews ruled where before they had been ruled. As Fould and Cremieux in France, Jacobi in Berlin. The threatened disintegration of society arises from (I) Pantheistic Rationalism, of which the Jew Spinoza is the parent; (2) from Communism, of which the ringleaders were the Jews, Carl Marx and Liebknecht. The fundamental principle of their International Workmen's Association is, 'Property is Robbery." Stocker, the Berlin court chaplain, says, "Germany is threatened with de-Christianisation by the Jews."

IIO

The preliminary stages of Israel's restoration, as foretold by Ezekiel (xxxvii.) are already being realised. The Turkish Government, which for centuries has held the Holy Land, is slowly but surely falling to pieces. The restrictions which had forbidden the Jews settling in their own country are removed; and not only in the country parts, but in Jerusalem itself, there is a considerable Jewish population, which is ever on the increase through accession of fresh immigrants. There is now a larger Jewish population in Jerusalem than that of Christians and Mohammedans put together. Bishop Blyth states, that whereas twelve years ago there were only about 15,000 Jews in all Palestine, now there are 25,000 in Jerusalem alone, and in all Palestine not less than 60,000.

Then the outbreak of persecution against the Jews in continental lands, Russia and Germany, is something surprising in an age of light and toleration. The Jews had been acquiring wealth and standing in Gentile lands, and were beginning to give up the hope of Israel. But prophecy solves the enigma. We see fulfilled before our eyes the words (Ezek. xx. 32-34), "That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the nations. . . . I will bring you out from the countries wherein ye are scattered." For 1800 years the only attempt to reconstitute the Jewish state at Jerusalem, under the apostate Emperor Julian, failed through Divine interposition (balls of fire hindering the workmen): the time was not yet. Now, as Ezekiel foretold, there is a noise and shaking among the dry bones, bone is joining bone; there is going on an external process of national reorganisation, preliminary to their return in an unconverted state to their own land. Their conversion is not to be till the Spirit is poured on them in the day of their great tribulation there (Zech. xii., xiii., xiv.) But, politically, statesmen are now entertaining seriously the question, hitherto outside the range of practical politics, whether the best solution of the Eastern difficulty would not be the restoration of the Jews as a nation to their own land? The Turk must soon give up his hold on it, and the mutual jealousy of European nations will not allow Russia or any other great power to seize it.

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A striking sign being fulfilled in our days, as foretold in Ps. cii. 13-17, is the extraordinary interest taken in the localities and the very stones of Palestine : "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come." The inducing *cause* is the deep interest taken in her by God's praying people; and the time is when her very stones will be objects of research: "For Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." Never since Jerusalem was first trodden down by the Gentiles has such interest been felt in identifying the exact localities and ancient stones of the Holy Land as now. Almost every famous site mentioned in Scripture is familiar to us now, as marked on the map of Western Palestine, completed by the Palestine Exploration Society. The "stones" of Solomon's Temple, with the subsequent additions of Herod; the marks of the Phœnician stone-masons on the base of the south-east wall of the Haram or temple area; Solomon's Palace: the arches of the bridge connecting the Temple Hill with the western city; the Greek inscription on the balustrade separating the court of Israel from the court of the Gentiles, forbidding any Gentile to enter on pain of death (illustrating Acts xxi. 28, 29); the Hebrew and Greek-inscribed stone marking the boundary without the walls of the Levitical city Gezer, at the exact distance given in Num. xxxv. 2-5; the Moabite stone of Dibon, inscribed by King Mesha in the 10th century B.C., so remarkable by its references to Omri and the cities of Gad, confirming Holy Writ (2 Kings iii. 4); the inscribed tunnel from the Virgin's Pool to the Pool of Siloam, of Ahaz's or else Hezekiah's time: the twin pools of Bethesda, accounting for the five porches in John v. 2 (four on the sides, and one between the two pools); the Reubenite altar of Ed;-all, and more, if space would admit of their enumeration, identify our age as "the set time" of the Lord's coming, foretold by the Psalmist (cii. 13-17); for it is "when the Lord shall build up Zion" that "He shall appear in His glory."

The droppings of the spiritual showers, foretold as precursory to the Lord's coming to reign, are already falling.

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The prophet Joel (ii. 23, 28, 29) foretells an outpouring of the Holy Spirit towards the close of our age, even as it began with the Pentecostal outpouring, "Be glad, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God, for He giveth you the former rain in just measure, and He causeth to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain: And afterwards I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh." The full blessing shall come to the Jews first in the midst of their last great tribulation (Zech. xii. 10, xiii., xiv.); then to The spiritual movement among the Jews the Gentile world. of Bessarabia towards Jesus Christ, whom they and Rabbinowitz, their leader, claim as their "brother," illustrates this. The special revivals of religion in various lands of Gentile Christendom by evangelistic missions also attest it. Before the Lord comes to take His saints, and to inflict vengeance on apostate Christendom, as we might expect from His loving character, He gives one last message of mercy. Before the tempest the Good Shepherd gathers all His sheep into the fold.

Connected with this is the sign of His coming which the Lord Himself gives (Matt. xxiv. 14): "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a WITNESS unto all nations; and then shall the end come." The end meant is plainly not the end of the world (κόσμος), but of the AGE (aiwv). Nor does the Lord say that all nations are in this age to be converted. If He had said so, there would have been ground for the charge laid against Christian Missions, that after the preaching of eighteen centuries they are a failure. The Lord's command is, that His disciples shall preach the gospel as a witness to the world; and His revealed purpose is, when that witness shall have been completed, that He will come Himself to convert first Israel, and then the Thus missions are doing successfully the very work nations. which God appointed; they are being used by God, in "the times of the Gentiles," "to take out of them a people for His name" (Acts xv. 14), which with the Jewish "remnant according to the election of grace," as one Church, shall be at His coming the glorified Bride of the Lamb. Then on earth shall begin the millennial age, when "a nation shall be born at

once;" and so "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ," The sign of His near approach is the fact, that there is now scarcely a nation where the gospel has not been preached for a witness, by means of the vernacular Bible and the living missionary.

About the time of the end, the apocalyptic seer "saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and of the beast, and of the false prophet" (Rev. xvi. 13). As before the First Advent, Satan by his demons took possession of men's bodies, so before the Second Advent the anti-trinity of the evil spirit seeks to counterwork the good Spirit of God. "The unclean spirit out of the dragon's mouth," now especially repeats the old serpent's lie, "yea, hath God said?" denying plenary inspiration of Scripture : "ye shall not die," denying the eternal punishment of the lost; "ye shall be as gods," proclaiming man's apotheosis. "The unclean spirit out of the beast's mouth" (as the beast represents the world-power with face like the brute earthward, man no longer looking heavenward and reflecting the image of God in which he was made, and therefore, like Nebuchadnezzar, degraded to the brutelevel, notwithstanding all his earthly culture), is in these "last days" especially seducing men to intense worldliness, selfishness, and lawlessness. Worldliness is what our Lord fixes on as the feature of likeness between the people just before the flood, and men at the time of His manifestation for judgment. St. Paul (2 Tim. iii.) gives us marks of the last days: "Men shall be lovers of their own selves, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having the form of godliness, but denying the power." "Lawlessness (avoµía) in mystery," as it has been in mediæval Christendom, will (2 Thess. ii.) culminate in "the revelation of the Lawless one (o avopos), the man of sin, the son of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of His coming." Our Lord also foretells the "abounding lawlessness" (avouia, Matt. xxiv. 12), and that, because of it, "the love of the majority $(\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu)$ shall wax cold." The rebuke against the Laodicean Church, the last of the seven, which together represent the whole Church of all ages, is, "Thou art neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm." Could there be a better photograph of the majority of Christendom?

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"The unclean spirit out of the mouth of the false prophet" is already in part represented by the spiritualism and necromancy which have lately broken out. St. Paul (2 Tim. iii.) also foretells the revived pretensions of "seducers" like the Egyptian magicians, "Jannes and Jambres." If the alleged communications from the unseen world be genuine (and the spiritualistic publications may be named as legion), it certainly is not the dead who answer the necromancers, but demons personating them. Prophecy tells us that "sorcerers" shall be among those cast into the lake of fire at the close of the age (Rev. xxi. 8, xxii. 15); and that "the Lord Himself will come as a swift witness against the sorcerers" (Mal. iii. 5), and "will cause the unclean spirit to pass out of the land" (Zech. xiii. 2).

But the full manifestation of the false prophet is yet future. The last Antichrist to whom he shall minister is only manifested fully when the ten kingdoms (the last form of Daniel's fourth kingdom) shall have stripped of all her possessions the apostate church, or Babylon (i.e., all outward Christendom, of which Romanism is the prominent representative, Rev. xiii., xvi., xvii., xviii., xix). The beginning of the process is one of the most significant signs of our times, that we are on the eve of the consummation. When the professing Church forsakes the Lord her husband for the world, she becomes spiritually "the harlot." Jerusalem the holy becomes "Babylon, mother of abominations of the earth." Isaiah (i. 21) furnishes the key, "How is the faithful city become an harlot!" God's retributive law is-the instrument of her sin is made the instrument of her punishment (Jer. ii. 19). The world-power on whom she rested, and whose scarlet livery she wore, being conformed to the world instead of being transformed to Christ's image, at last wearies of and casts her off. France, which first by the usurper Pepin gave the usurping see of Rome temporal dominion, was the first under the usurper Napoleon to strip her of it. The beast has similarly stripped the harlot in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Belgium. The process is not yet complete. The world is casting off its profession of subjection to the Church, and is abridging her privileges more and more, not only in Romanist

but in Protestant lands. "Babylon" includes ALL Christendom, except the elect Church, the pure bride; as the Old Testament Babylon included all who amidst outward privileges retained the fleshly mind which is enmity with God: for (what proves "Babylon" is not to be restricted to Romanism, is) the Spirit by St. John predicates the same of the WHOLE New Testament apostate Church, that the Lord Jesus predicates of the WHOLE Old Testament apostacy down from Cain —viz., that in her is found ALL the blood of the slain saints.

As Babylon was upon the Euphrates, so "she sits upon many waters, *i.e.*, peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues." As Babylon is termed "the great," so is she, and so is the Euphrates. Therefore the "drying up of the Euphrates' water" must mean the drying up of her resources, and the withdrawal of the peoples on whom she sat for support. It corresponds to the beast making her "naked :" compare Rev. xvi. 12, xvii. 1, 3, 15, 16, 18, xviii. 2, 15, 16, 17. Babylon the harlot is certainly not Mohammedanism. Therefore the drying up of the Euphrates, upon which Babylon is, cannot mean (as so many interpret it) the present waning of the Turkish empire. Nay, Mohammedanism was the harlot's scourge. Nor is Mohammedanism Antichrist. For Antichrist shall deny the Father (I John ii. 22); but Mohammedanism owes much of its success to its vindicating against the apostate church's "lords many" the truth-"There is one God."

The weakening of the Mohammedan empire, simultaneously with the draining of the apostate church's resources, is a significant fact of our times, seeing that the usurpations of both began about the same time in the seventh century. Both have persecuted the Jews. As the fall of literal Babylon, by Cyrus' drying the channel of the Euphrates, prepared the way for the return of the Jews through Cyrus, so the draining of mystical Babylon, apostate Christendom, and that of Turkey, which has long trodden Jerusalem under foot, is "preparing the way for the kings from the East," Israel and Israel's King.

The waning faith of our day, with its impatience of dogma, its unblushingly avowed Positivism, Secularism, and Agnosticism, is fulfilling the predicted sign of His approach, "When

the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" The growing realisation of the communion of saints at this very time, when men (as was foretold) are tempting God with stout words, "It is vain to serve God," is a sign closely allied to the former. When men "call the proud happy," "then they that fear Jehovah speak often one to another, and Jehovah hearkens, and a book of remembrance is written before Him for them that fear Jehovah and think upon His name; and they shall be His in the day that He does make a peculiar treasure" (Mal. iii. 13-16, iv. 1). How sweetly suggestive it is that the same Greek ($\epsilon \pi \omega \nu \nu \alpha \gamma \omega \gamma \eta$) which expresses the assembling or gathering of the saints for communion on earth, expresses also their gathering together to Jesus at His appearing. The communion together now is the earnest of perfect and eternal communion then (Heb. x. 25; 2 Thess. ii. I). The frequent conferences of Christians for prayer and study of the Word are fulfilments of this appointed sign of the end.

Growth in knowledge of the prophecies, but little understood in past times, is another of the foretold signs of the time before the end. This sign is certainly being now fulfilled. In Dan. xii. 4, 8, 9, viii. 26, the divine direction is, "Seal the book to the time of the end." But at the time of the Gospel revelation of what had been previously veiled, it is, "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy, for the time is at hand" (Rev. xxii. IO). "It was sealed to Daniel, for then the time was distant; it is unsealed to us, for the end is near." The fuller understanding of it at the close of our age is further foretold : "Many shall run to and fro (*i.e.*, scrutinise every word; as the phrase means in Amos viii. 12, run to fro in diligent search), and so THE knowledge (of it) shall be increased."

Earthquakes, famines, pestilences in divers places, "wars and rumours of wars," have been in other times also. The peculiarity of our days is, those physical phenomena, foretold as signs by our Lord, seem to be intensifying and converging now towards a focus. Scientific men have noticed the increase of earthquakes in this century above any preceding one. Mr. Mallet, C.E., states that the number recorded from 1800 to 1882 is 6637; whereas from 1500 to

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1800 it is 2804. All the great powers are armed, expecting at any day a universal and deadly conflict.

Instinctively, therefore, now the weary world sighs for its only Deliverer. The Mohammedans look for the second coming of *Isa Mussa* (Jesus). The Hindoos believe in the last coming of Vishnu, the second person of this trinity. Just as, according to Tacitus and Suetonius, there was "an ancient and common opinion" before the First Advent that One was coming, sprung from the East, who should rule the world, our thinking men of the world see and feel that there is no barrier to arrest the advancing wave of Socialistic anarchy but some one Ruler, at once beneficent, righteous and absolute.

Just as at the First Advent there were the three schools of thought-the Pharisees, the champions for legal ritual and church traditions; the Sadducees, accepting the Pentateuch, but denying the resurrection and angel and spirit; and the Herodians, the time-servers, who regarded religion as a useful political engine, and only so far as it did not interfere with worldly interests, subserviency to the ruling powers and the favour of man: so now, just before the Second Advent, we have Ritualistic Sacerdotalists, Latitudinarian Rationalists, who doubt all that is supernatural in Scripture; and worldly professors, who make gain, pleasure and ambition their chief concern, and give the self-denying religion of Christ a secondary place. Here we have the seed plots ready for the deadly sowing of the three evil spirits out of the mouths (the organs of speech) of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet.

The expiration of the mystical 1260 days or 42 months, or "time, times, and dividing of a time," *i.e.*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, is by most interpreters with reason thought to be imminent. But as the terminus *a quo* is debated, and as futurist interpreters believe these periods to be literal and still to come, it is better to restrict ourselves to the signs which seem beyond dispute.

One last sign remains to be noticed: the remarkable analogy between our times and those preceding the First Advent of our Lord, as respects the unification of the world. The providence of God then remarkably prepared the nations for

the manifestation of Messiah. Had He come earlier, the progress of the Gospel must have been slow, owing to the isolation of nation from nation, and the barbarism in which so many countries lay; and also the barrier which the want of any generally understood language and literature interposed. But precisely at the time when Rome combined the nations in one almost universal polity, and with one state language-significantly marked by the emperor's decree that all the world should be registered for taxation (Luke ii. 1), "the days were accomplished" for Jesus' birth; so now the hedges are being broken down between the peoples, not merely of Europe, Western Asia and North Africa, as at the First Advent, but on a grander scale between all nations near and far. "We are living," said the late Prince Consort, "in a period of transition which tends rapidly to that great end to which all history points-the realisation of the unity of mankind. The languages of all nations are becoming known and being put within the reach of all. Thought is communicated with the rapidity and by the power of lightning." By the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, and kindred appliances uniting the peoples in solidarity, the grand field is all but ready for the manifestation of the Lord Jesus to sweep out the unbelieving, and then to "take His great power" and reign as "King over all the earth" with His transfigured saints.

Thus we have given good reasons, we trust, for the blessed hope we cherish, that it is no dream of enthusiasm. We speak the words of soberness and truth. We know that faithful is He who hath promised, and who will never break His word. We cannot but be wise in taking heed to the signs which His providence and His word alike are now giving us. Let our motto be, "Praying, loving, working, watching." As a lady in the glow of her first love wrote: "Safe, happy, thankful, waiting."

> "I am watching for the morning When He who for me died, In triumphant state returning Shall claim the Church, His Bride."

A. R. FAUSSET, D.D.

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MR. LESLIE STEPHEN'S clever essay in the Nineteenth Century¹ suggests some thoughts which may perhaps tend towards a solution of the very large and very interesting question which it discusses. I hope that in what I shall say I shall not do any injustice to him or to his essay.

Some of the points which he touches incidentally, although they are interesting in themselves, I may not stop to notice. How far Paley's line of argument, or Cardinal Newman's theory of development can be defended, I will not attempt to say; nor in what proportion popular superstitions alloy even the purest of creeds; nor whether an idolater is rather to be classed as an atheist or a theist of a low order. Avoiding these and other collateral questions I will confine myself to what is, I think, the main drift of Mr. Stephen's argument —the relation of morality to religion.

I must however, as a preliminary, take leave to protest against a misrepresentation (I doubt not, unintentional) of the essential doctrines of Christianity. A Gospel which heralds peace and forgiveness, and which, whatever else it may be said to omit, certainly lays a paramount stress on inward holiness, is described as "bullying men to act as if they were good." The God of the Christian is spoken of as a "jealous, arbitrary, revengeful tyrant, to be pacified or enraged by mysterious charms," as "taking sheer pleasure in the torment of a sinner" as "exacting a savage and vindictive punishment." That which in the New Testament is a subordinate motive, a counterweight to the seductions of vice, a help towards realising the greatness of the deliverance, is made to be the very core of the evangelic teaching, as if it were the great message of the Gospel, that

¹ No. CXXXIX.

"all sins lead to infinite sufferings." The self-sacrifice on the Cross, and the love which prompted the guiltless One to identify Himself with the guilty, are summed up in a stereotyped phrase about "God punishing the innocent." Surely this cannot seriously be accepted as an adequate description of Christianity. It is a travesty, a caricature.

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It is surprising also to find from a writer of Mr. Stephen's calibre the assertion which, whatever may have been the errors of theologians, it would not be easy to substantiate even from the testimony of historians inimical to Christianity, that "theology has been opposed to the innovations which contain all possible germs of improvement." And it really seems as if it were possible to be conversant with other subjects, and yet to be unconscious of what is going on in regard to religion, when, in an age notoriously prolific of religious sects and of religious controversies, we read that "the creeds of to-day are not vigorous enough to throw off heretical branches," and that "the most intelligent part of the world has ceased to believe."

Again, and this is of scarcely less importance than the misrepresentation of Christianity, it is surely a misstatement of the whole question to speak as if believers in Christianity claim that the truth of what they believe can be demonstrated. Mr. Stephen speaks of "the demonstrable truth of a religion," as if such a thing were possible. He argues from the analogy of scientific demonstration . . . from Euclid's propositions, Archimedes' theory, Newton's doctrine of gravitation on the one hand, and, on the other, from the exploded "geocentric theory," as if the correctness of faith in unseen verities could be proved with the precision of a problem in mathematics.

He puts into the mouth of the Christian, "I am absolutely certain that the ultimate cause (of things) is the existence of a Being of whom I know nothing," in place of "I have reasons sufficient, practically, for believing (not for being absolutely certain) in the existence of a Being, of whom I know all that I need know for this life."

When we come more particularly to the question of the relation of religion to morality, there is the same apparent NO. II.—VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.—T. M. I

inability to appreciate the real standpoint of advocates of Christianity. They are represented as affirming that "morality is caused by a belief in Christianity;" that "morality dropped from the clouds about 1800 years ago;" that "morality is the product of a particular creed;" that (to use Mr. Stephen's own illustration) "Christianity is the ultimate cause of goodwill towards mankind."

This is to attach a fictitious meaning to the phrase which Mr. Leslie Stephen combats, "the dependence of morality upon religion." Rather, in saying that morality depends upon religion, we mean not only, what indeed Mr. Stephen admits, that, speaking generally, morality finds in religion a motive and a sanction, but that (as even adversaries allow) morality is elevated, purified, ennobled by the teaching of Christianity.

The creed does not create the consciousness of a distinction between right and wrong, but it enlightens and develops it. It brings out clearly and fully the characters traced, as it were, in invisible ink; it emphasises and expands man's surmisings about duty and God. In this sense it may fairly be maintained that "morality depends upon theology."

The converse of the proposition is true. Religion depends upon morality, inasmuch as the strongest appeal which religion can make is an appeal to the enlightened conscience of mankind.

Mr. Leslie Stephen may term this a "vicious circle of argument," but where the subject-matter is hypothetical and experimental there must of necessity be recourse to what is nothing more nor less than a mutual corroboration. After all, for practical purposes, if the ethical excellence of Christianity is granted, there is a probability of the doctrines being true as well as the precepts. To a certain degree this is admitted by Mr. Stephen. "The fact that a creed has long satisfied the intellectual and moral wants of mankind is a conclusive proof that it has some value," and may serve, he allows, as a "verification." It would seem to follow, that if the ethics of Christianity are unique in their excellence, the creed of which they are an integral part holds a position which is unique in its claim to be believed.

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But Mr. Stephen argues (and paradoxical as it may sound, it is not an argument to be dismissed lightly) that the moral excellence of a religion may, from one point of view, become an argument against the credibility of that religion. "The reasonableness of a belief," he says, may be regarded as that which accounts "for its existence." In one sense this is indisputable. If a religion merely formulates what people have acknowledged already without its aid, it brings no credentials of this kind worth noticing. But is it so in regard to Christianity? Theologians, Mr. Stephen reminds us, insist on the suitability of the Gospel to the circumstances in which it appeared, that it "was adapted to the various wants of the time." But before proceeding to infer that the Gospel was therefore merely the product of the age it is to be observed that the Gospel was, without question, on many points of great importance, diametrically antagonistic to the age in which it made its appearance. It came sympathising tenderly and profoundly with the needs of humanity, but, as every student of history knows, it confronted the inveterate prejudices and prepossessions of the world, without fear and without favour. It pandered to no selfishness in high nor low. Mr. Stephen says (what, indeed, is true generally) that "the quality produces the institution" as much as the "institution the quality;" but in the advent of Christianity the antecedents are wanting which should produce it. No theory of evolution can explain the origin and growth of Christianity, if the character of its surroundings is counted in.

To infer from the moral loveliness of a creed that the creed is true, is not to say that we ought to accept the creed whether true or false. We must not believe, just because we wish it. Mr. Stephen makes the advocates of Christianity guilty of this sophism. "The old creed," he makes the advocates of Christianity say, "whether true or false" (the italics are not his) "is so beautiful, so consoling, so edifying, that a world from which it had decayed would be intolerable."

No one who cares for truth would try to prop up Christianity in this way. The conscience would be killed by the very effort to save it. "A lie as to my religious belief," Mr.

Stephen says rightly, "(though) dictated by amiable motives is a lie." But all this involves a misapprehension. We say not, the results of Christianity are so beautiful that we will hold it fast whether truth or fiction; but, the results of Christianity confirm our faith that Christianity is true.

This brings us to what is indeed the real question underlying all other questions about "Belief and Conduct." Why do we, who call ourselves Christians, believe as we do? "Right belief," Mr. Stephen says, "is determined by a clear perception of facts." What then are the facts on which the belief in Christianity rests? Why do Christians believe in Christianity?

The very name supplies the answer, too often missed. Because we trust Him who is the Christ. Too often in controversies about Christianity this seems to be lost sight of. And yet everything really turns on this. Have we or have we not reason for trusting Him whose life on earth, death, resurrection, are recorded in the Bible? The Christian answers, yes; because there never has been one like Him, perfect in holiness. If I can eliminate sin from my calculations; if there is no such thing in the world as sin, or if I do not care whether there is or not; if there is any other than Christ who can help me as effectually to overcome evil with good in myself, in others-then the argument for me is worth nothing. But if I really long, as did Saul of Tarsus, to conquer this baneful influence, corroding, destroying all that is fair and good, and if I cannot find elsewhere what I want to make me able, then the argument draws me to the Christ irresistibly. Difficulties, perplexities, mysteries, there will be still, such as are inherent in a limited intelligence environed by almost limitless experiences-the existence of evil, the compatibility of man's free will with God's omnipotence, and so forth. But just as you trust a friend, proved your friend, so you trust Christ, and because you trust Him you accept all that emanates from Him, doctrine and precept-and you are a Christian. Other evidences may be subsidiary, but the question, Christian or infidel, must turn on this, Is Christ Jesus worthy or not of credence?

I. GREGORY SMITH.

THE question of the disposal of the dead is one which is of almost equal interest to clergy and laity; perhaps, I may say, of especial interest to the clergy, because they have so wide a control over burial places both in town and country, and they are so likely to be asked to solve the doubts of some of their parishioners as to the choice between burial in the earth and There are some who doubt whether a return to cremation. a so-called "heathenish" custom may not be irreligious or unchristian. It would be impertinent for me to say much as to the possible danger foreshadowed by a former Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth), who said that "some weak-minded brethren" might have their belief shaken in the doctrine of the resurrection. But I am reminded of the reply of the best of the Shaftesbury's: The late Lord said to me, "What an audacious limitation of the power of the Almighty !-- what has become of the blessed martyrs who were burned at the stake?" And I cannot help repeating what another Bishop -Fraser of Manchester-remarked : "No intelligent faith can suppose that any Christian doctrine is affected by the manner in which, or the time in which, this mortal body of ours crumbles into dust and sees corruption." To the same effect spoke Canon Liddon in the pulpit of St. Paul's, "The resurrection of a body from its ashes is not a greater miracle than the resurrection of an unburnt body; each must be purely miraculous." I will say no more on this part of the subject than to express my own conviction in the belief repeated week after week in all the churches of our country in the "resurrection of the body and the life everlasting," or the "resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come," however this may be understood, or whatever may be the idea of the "spiritual body" which is raised in incorruption, but is sown a "natural body"-I say this belief cannot be affected in any conceivable manner or degree by the question, whether the "natural

body" is burnt or buried in the earth or in the sea, or is carried off by vultures from a tower of silence, or eaten by wild beasts. The question is really not one of religious belief; it is purely a sanitary one. "This is a subject," as Bishop Fraser says, "which will have to be seriously considered before long. Cemeteries are becoming not only a difficulty, and an expense and an inconvenience, but an actual danger." And the "Church of England Burial, Funeral, and Mourning Reform Association," early this year, at a meeting held in the Charter House, the Master in the chair, passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"The time has arrived when a determined and united effort should be made on the part of ministers of religion, members of the medical profession, sanitarians, and persons of influence generally, to put a stop, as far as possible, to the prevalent, repulsive, and utterly indefensible practice of storing up, in the neighbourhood of great populations, vast accumulations of human remains in every stage of arrested and prolonged decay."

And at a number of ruri-decanal meetings and conferences in various parts of the country, the following was passed as an addition to the foregoing resolution :—

"That the present mode of burial in solid coffins in vaults, or in already crowded graves, is seriously and increasingly dangerous to the public health; and that the Home Secretary be memorialised to inquire into the condition of cemeteries, and the mode of burial adopted, with a view to legislation."

A memorial has been recently presented to the Home Secretary by a deputation, introduced by the Duke of Westminster, showing cause why a Government inquiry should be instituted into the condition of cemeteries and other burial places, with a view to further legislation. The advocates of cremation support the Association in nearly all their suggestions for proposed reforms, but they do not believe that any form of burial in the earth can be free from danger to the living, and therefore do not stop at burial reform, but go further, and advise a return to the ancient custom of cremation and urn-burial. They do not propose any compulsory system, even when death has been caused by infectious diseases. But

they hope to see a voluntary preference for cremation gradually arising in public opinion, and they submit that if cremation is practised under proper regulations any objections to the custom may be answered.

I need add no more as to the religious objections. The only real objection is the medico-legal: namely, that if a poisoned or murdered body is burnt, all traces of the crime are destroyed, as no exhumation of the body is possible, where suspicion is not aroused until some time after death. The answer to this is that much more exact certificates as to death having been caused by well-known causes must be required than are required at present before burial. Two medical men, instead of one only, must sign the certificates; and in case of the slightest doubt a *post mortem* examination must be made. One case of accidental poisoning has been already discovered by the officials at the Milan Crematorium, which would have escaped notice had the child been buried. At present a considerable percentage of the dead are buried without any medical certificate, and a still larger proportion with very inaccurate or insufficient certificates. Under proper regulations it is almost impossible that murder or suicide could be concealed by cremation.

Before replying to the sentimental objections, let me say a few words as to the sanitary advantages of cremation over burial. In addition to checking all the evils of crowded burial-places, stopping the pollution of air and water, an immense gain may be hoped for by the destruction of the germs of contagious and infectious diseases. We never can stamp out these diseases if their germs are stored up in the earth. I have published a case where an epidemic of scarlet fever was distinctly traced to opening some graves where scarlet fever patients had been buried thirty years before. Eight years ago I read a paper at Cambridge to the British Medical Association, and I invite attention to the following remarks which I then made :—

"I must allude to one most remarkable argument in favour of cremation which has just been advanced by Pasteur, after his examination of the soil of fields where cattle had been buried, whose death had been caused by that fatal disease known as 'charbon,' or

splenic fever. The observations of our own Darwin 'on the formation of mould,' made more than forty years ago, when he was a young man, are curiously confirmatory of the recent conclusions of Pasteur. In his paper, read at the Geological Society of London in 1837, he proved that, in old pasture-land, every particle of the superficial layer of earth, overlying different kinds of subsoil, has passed through the intestines of earth-worms. The worms swallow earthy matter, and, after separating the digestible or serviceable portion, they eject the remainder in little coils or heaps at the mouth of their burrows. In dry weather the worm descends to a considerable depth, and brings up to the surface the particles which it ejects. This agency of earthworms is not so trivial as it might seem. By observation in different fields, Mr. Darwin proved, in one case, that a depth of more than three inches of this worm-mould had been accumulated in fifteen years; and, in another, that the earth-worms had covered a bed of marl with their mould in eighty years, to an average depth of thirteen inches.

" Pasteur's recent researches on the etiology of 'charbon' show that this earth-mould positively contains the specific germs which propagate the disease; and that the same specific germs are found within the intestines of the worms. The parasitic organism, or bacteridium, which, inoculated from a diseased to a healthy animal, propagates the specific disease, may be destroyed by putrefaction after burial. But, before this process has been completed, germs or spores may have been formed which will resist the putrefactive process for many years, and lie in a condition of latent life, like a grain of corn, or any flower-seed, ready to germinate, and communicate the specific In a field in the Jura, where a diseased cow had been disease. buried two years before, at a depth of nearly seven feet, the surfaceearth not having been disturbed in the interval, Pasteur found that the mould contained germs which, introduced by inoculation into a guinea-pig, produced charbon and death. And, further, if a worm be taken from an infected spot, the earth in the alimentary canal of the worm contains these spores or germs of charbon, which, inoculated, propagate the disease. And the mould deposited on the surface by the worms, when dried into dust, is blown over the grass and plants on which the cattle feed, and may thus spread the disease. After various farming operations of tilling and harvest, Pasteur has found the germs just over the graves of the diseased cattle, but not to any great distance. After rains, or morning dews, the germs of charbon, with a quantity of other germs, were found about the neighbouring

plants: and Pasteur suggests that, in cemeteries, it is very possible that germs capable of propagating specific diseases of different kinds, quite harmless to the earth-worm, may be carried to the surface of the soil ready to cause disease in the proper animals. The practical inferences in favour of cremation are so strong that, in Pasteur's words, they 'need not be enforced.'"

And now, with regard to public sentiment as preventing the progress of cremation, let me say that it is changing very rapidly from opposition to support. Ten years ago every one was shocked at the proposed innovation. It was opposed by two Home Secretaries, Sir R. Cross and Sir W. Harcourt, but Dr. Cameron carried seventy-nine members of the House of Commons with him in support of a Bill in its favour. Since the practice has been judicially declared not to be illegal, the Cremation Society has burned fifty-three bodies at Woking. We are now erecting a beautiful chapel there. The ashes of some of the bodies have been taken to their own parish churches, and buried, with scarcely any alteration in the funeral service. Others have been preserved in urns by the relatives. At New York more than a hundred bodies have been burned in the Crematorium there, at Buffalo between forty and fifty, and there are nine other Cremation Societies and buildings in the United States. In Italy and Germany, and in Sweden and Denmark, the practice is rapidly spreading, and it can scarcely be doubted that we are now entering upon a period of rapid progress here. And if you reflect, not only upon the sanitary, but the sentimental advantages of the ancient custom of urn burial, I trust that the clergy will be among the leaders of the movement in its advance. Here again I will quote from my Cambridge address :---

"As to the ceremony of burial and performance of any religious service, distinguished members of the clergy of the Church of England have shown that scarcely any alteration would be called for in our burial-service; and it is felt that, as urn-burial might be practised to any extent and for any length of time in or around churches and public buildings, in towns as well as in distant cemeteries, and without the expensive transport and ugly expensive forms of our present system of burial, men might again, as of old, rest in death near the scene of their work in life; and the restoration of the family tomb to

the chapel or crypt would renew and add to the tie between the family and the church. Our places of worship and the spaces which surround them, if urn-burial became general, would be amply sufficient for the preservation of the remains of our dead for generations to come, and would enable us to convert existing cemeteries, which are rapidly becoming sources of danger to the public health, into permanently beautiful gardens."

A word as to the economy of cremation, as compared with burial. The mere furnace, with chimney, need not cost £100. A pretty chapel and waiting-rooms may be erected for two or three hundred more. Half an acre or an acre of land would suffice for the safe disposal of the ashes of the dead of a large population for a century to come. The mere cost of the fuel, whether wood, or coal and coke, does not exceed seven shillings. Compare this with the thousands of acres of valuable land now occupied by the dead, instead of being used to produce food for the living. Think, too, of the cost of each grave in any cemetery, and the charge for digging it, as compared with the cost of fuel. By cremation all expensive coffins become unnecessary; and the cost of an urn or monument of any kind, depends entirely upon the wishes of the family or friends.

The advocates of cremation go quite as far as the Church of England Burial Reform Association in advocating simplicity in funerals, and in reforming the practices in cemeteries which endanger the public health. But they go further, and urge upon the clergy the advantages of a return to the ancient custom of burial of the ashes of the dead, either in, or beneath, or immediately around places of worship. This may be done with absolute safety to the living, beautifying by surrounding cloisters or columbaria many a plain church, and making our cathedrals and abbeys unlimited receptacles for the dead of generations to come-each one a national mausoleum. If all this is well thought over, I can scarcely doubt that both clergy and laity will, before very long, be of one mind in the conviction that a purer public sentiment will spread against a mode of disposal of the dead which is necessarily followed by putrefactive corruption, and in favour of the purifying fire. T. SPENCER WELLS.

PALESTINE LIFE.

THE CLAPPING OF HANDS.

"LET the rivers clap their hands, Let the mountains sing-triumphantly together."—PSALM xcviii. 8.

I HAD scarcely resided a night in Jerusalem before I heard a noise that afterwards became very familiar. It was the loud and regular repetition of a sound caused by concussion, repeated again and again, to a kind of tune always the same. Though it seemed to a Western ear very monotonous, from the rapid recurrence of a few bars for long periods at a time, it was really conducted in as bright and lively a manner as possible, sometimes increasingly fast. At intervals it was accompanied by music and singing, and lasted, with every sign of the greatest hilarity, late into the night.

Afterwards I ascertained that it was produced by the simultaneous clapping of hands, and proceeded either from the coffee-shops, in which it was carried on for the entertainment of the smokers, or from private houses, where it formed part of the rejoicings upon any festive occasion. The words which invariably accompany this clapping of hands are those of the Arabic verse :—

"Heh aman, Allah aman,

Heh aman, ou-rouddoo caman;"

which may be translated—

"O verily, God is faithful;

O verily, and repeat it again,"

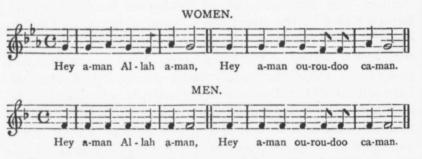
or still more literally, and so as to preserve the sound and rhythm—

"O amen, God is Amen;

O amen, and repeat it again."

The leader starts by clapping his hands and singing the first line, and upon this the others respond with the words,

"O amen, and repeat it again." It appears a kind of national hymn throughout the East, and may be heard equally at the festivities, accompanying a Latin or Greek baptism, a Jewish circumcision, or a Muslim wedding. The following is the musical score of this very simple tune, showing the way in which it is sung by men and women respectively:—



For years, hardly a night passed but this sound rung out loud and clear in the still midnight air of the Judæan hills.

I frequently met with it too in the daytime. In processions, such as those which accompany a Muslim adult circumcision, or the public parade of some order of dervishes with banners and music, both dancing and clapping of hands, to excite the dancers, form an important part. So also in the wedding processions of various sects in Palestine, the loud beating of time in this way attends the *phantasia*, or spectacle, in which a Syrian so much delights.¹ At such times, while watching the man who dances before the bride, as he moves backwards with exaggerated steps, and brandishes a drawn sword, I have been able to realise vividly the wonderful and affecting scene, when King David, with an earnestness and holy joy that threw to the winds the decorum of kingly life, thus danced before the ark, after a fashion certainly most

¹ This word *phantasia* (pronounced *phant'azee'a*), so frequently on the lips of the present *fellahheen* (peasant) inhabitants of Palestine, is the very Greek word $\phi a \nu \tau a \sigma i a$ (*phantasia*), used of the procession or show with which King Agrippa and Bernice came to hear Paul, and translated "pomp" in our English version (Acts xxv. 23). It is deeply interesting to find a Greek word now in common use amongst the ignorant Arabic-speaking *fellahheen* throughout the Holy Land, which would appear to have been incorporated into the colloquial language of the country more than 1800 years ago.

undignified, and which very naturally drew forth the reproaches of his proud, worldly-minded wife.

Once I was witness to a remarkable instance of this clapping the hands by way of rejoicing. A number of young conscripts, fresh from the country, belonging to a regiment quartered in Jerusalem, whose barracks were under my study window, one afternoon, in an exuberant burst of spirits, formed a ring in the street like so many children, and fell to clapping their hands in unison, while they sang and moved their feet in a kind of measured step. I subsequently learnt that this is one of the usual country dances, called *sahhdjeh*. Like almost all the dances of the East, it is only practised by men and women separately, and, indeed, is chiefly confined to men, is rather a solemn and grotesque than a light affair, and consists in movements of the body rather than of the feet, which latter are only lifted as if in slow stamping.

In a word, all seasons of great mirth or rejoicing throughout the Holy Land are marked by such clapping of the hands, and both performers and audience never seem to weary of this simple but universal amusement. When it stops, the audience call loudly for its continuance, with the cry, "*kaph*, *kaph*," that is, "palm, palm," meaning "go on striking the palm of your hand."

There can be little doubt that what is known amongst us as "Kentish fire" is a plain survival of this most ancient and interesting Eastern custom. The "fire" in question consists of clapping the hands in rhythm, after the lead of a fugleman, and takes place now at political meetings. When thus delivered by a large and enthusiastic audience, the performance of it is very striking. The practice appears to be derived from Orange Lodges, and is one of those exceedingly ancient Eastern customs which are so characteristic of the Irish people, and so distinctly mark their Oriental origin. As far as I have been able to trace the name "Kentish," given to this so-called "fire," it seems to be comparatively modern, and to have been first applied to it in 1829. It was then, according to some writers, heard for the first time in England, and formed the chief feature of the continuous cheering,

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common at the great Protestant and Conservative meetings held in Kent to oppose the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act. At these meetings speakers were, in all probability, brought from the north of Ireland, who were members of the Orange Lodges, and familiar with their customs, and thus specially introduced this one of clapping the hands in rhythm, which has ever since been called in this country, after the name of the county where it was first heard, "Kentish fire." But as Kent is a Saxon part of England, where many exceedingly primitive customs have lingered, it is just possible that this mode of applause has been peculiar to that part from ancient times.

Dr. Van-Lennep, in his very valuable work on Bible lands, has a brief passing allusion to the custom, though he does not trace the references to it in the Bible. He proves, however, by an Egyptian sculpture, that it was usual in ancient times amongst that people as an accompaniment of dancing.1 To this may be added, that the same practice, at the time of singing, is shown by a picture from "a tomb of unknown but very remote antiquity, at Elethya, in Upper Egypt. They beat the measure as they sing by clapping their hands. This is the case with all other representations of singers on the Egyptian tombs. It is mentioned by Herodotus (Eut., c. lx.) as a peculiarity of their singing. This custom would seem to have passed over to the Hebrews. Probably it was in the choral hymn of praise, in which all the people joined, that the custom of beating the measure by clapping the hands was practised."² So writes the author of Egypt: her Testimony to the Truth, but I have observed the practice of clapping the hands as an accompaniment of instrumental music shown in several other Egyptian sculptures.

Doubtless it is to this that allusion is made by the Psalmist:

"Clap your hands, all ye peoples!

Shout unto God with the voice of triumphant-singing."

(Ter, Rinnah).3

¹ Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners illustrative of Scripture. By H. J. Van-Lennep, D.D. London: John Murray, 1875, p. 623.

² Egypt: her Testimony to the Truth, p. 238.

³ Psalm xlvii. I. "The voice of triumphant-singing" may well refer to the

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In the preceding Psalm (xlv.) Messiah is foretold, under the character of the Kingly Bridegroom in the day of His espousals. This discovery of the power and love of Christ calls for immediate confidence and trust, the subject of the following Psalm; and in the next place for the liveliest rejoicing, of which Psalm xlvii. is full. To this gladness the people are exhorted under the figure, so familiar to all, of clapping the hands. It is still, as I have said, universal on the occasion of a marriage; and it would appear to have been equally the ancient accompaniment of a coronation. When Jehoiada placed the crown on the head of Jehoash, "and they made him king, and anointed him;" then "they clapped their hands and said: 'Long live the king!""¹

It was, therefore, especially appropriate that the manifestation of Israel's Eternal Lord, the Great King and Heavenly Bridegroom, and His solemn union with the Church at the "Bridal of the Lamb," should both be celebrated in the same way. What wonder that the people should be so exhorted to rejoice, when, on the announcement of salvation, even inanimate nature is represented, by a sublime personification, as breaking forth into like jubilant action !

"The Lord has made known His salvation,

His righteousness He has openly showed in the sight of the heathen-nations.

Let the rivers clap their hands, Let the mountains sing-triumphantly together, Before Jehovah."²

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"Let the violently-wicked forsake his way,

very words of the choral song, that, as I have said, always accompanies this clapping of hands: "O verily, God is faithful;" literally, "O amen! God is Amen!" The whole Bible bears abundant witness in every page to the faithfulness of God. If these words were the ancient, as they may certainly be said to be the modern, national anthem of Bible lands, it is very significant that Christ Jesus the Lord should call Himself "The Amen," in addressing Laodicea in that prophetic letter which sets forth in "a mystery" the seventh last stage of the Church in which He will come again in glory to set up His reign on earth.— Rev. iii. 14.

¹ 2 Kings xi. 12.

² Psalm xcviii. 2, 8.

And the depraved man his thoughts, And let him return unto Jehovah, And He will have mercy upon him ; And to our God, For He will abundantly pardon.

For you shall go out with joy, And be led forth with peace : The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into triumphant-singing,

And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands !"1

In this bold and truly Oriental imagery, the mountains and hills are represented as singers at the glad millennial festival; while the sound of the rushing rivers, and the waving boughs of the forests around their feet, is compared to the clapping of hands. "For we know that the whole creation groans and travails in pain together until now," under the curse of man's sin, and the coming of Christ will be the day of its deliverance.² The Lord hasten it in its time !

It seems that it was in this way that the people of Ammon malignantly rejoiced over the downfall of the land of Israel, and in so doing brought upon themselves the sentence of national extinction.

"Thus said the Lord Jehovah :

- Because thou hast clapped hands and stretched forth with the foot,
- And rejoiced in soul with all thy spiteful-contempt

Against the land of Israel;

Therefore, behold, I have stretched out My hand upon thee,

And I will cut thee off from the peoples,

And I will cause thee to perish out of the countries."³

This seems like a vivid description of the country dance called *Sahhdjeh*, which I have already described. This dance is mainly a slow "stretching forth" or stately stamping of the

¹ Isaiah lv. 7, 12.

² Rom. viii. 22.

³ Ezekiel xxv. 6, 7. See also a similar allusion in Ezekiel vi. 11, "Clap with thy hand and stretch forth with thy foot."

feet, whilst the hands are clapped, and is engaged in specially as a sign of triumph and rejoicing.

But it should be observed that the hands are often clapped in the presence of another, purposely to indicate scorn and contempt, in a somewhat different fashion. This practice may be witnessed more especially amongst the Sephardeem, the Eastern, Spanish-speaking Jews. The action in such case is the striking the tip of the fingers of the right hand on the hinder part of the left, whilst the scorner, at the same time, gives utterance to some sarcastic or vengeful sentiment. Job may be referring to this when he says-

> " Men clap their hands at him, And hiss him out of his place."1

It was probably the charge of scorning that Elihu brought against the much-tried patriarch, when he said-

> "He claps [his hands] amongst us, And multiplies his words against God."2

The Most High Himself is represented as thus exhibiting a holy indignation and righteous scorn against Jerusalem, "the bloody city," for its abominable wickedness. After a fearful catalogue of its crimes, He declares, "Behold, therefore, I have smitten My hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made, and at thy blood which hath been in the midst of thee. . . . And I will scatter thee among the heathen-nations, and disperse thee in the countries, and I will consume thy filthiness out of thee." 3

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There is another form of clapping the hands, which must be carefully distinguished from the mirthful practice I have described as accompanying music, singing, and dancing, namely, the smiting of the hands together for grief or anger. When the "mourning women," and "such as are skilful of lamentation," assemble round a corpse,⁴ amongst other signs of great sorrow, which it is their business to simulate, may constantly be seen the smiting together of the hands. This action is distinctly different from that of clapping the hands for joy.

¹ Job xxvii. 23.	² Job xxxiv. 37.	³ Ezek. xxii. 13, 15.
4 Jer. ix. 17; Amos v.	. 16; Micah ii. 4; Acts viii. 2.	
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In grief or passion they do not strike palm upon palm, but the back of one hand is struck upon the palm of the other alternately. It answers very much to our wringing the hands, which it closely resembles. Both men and women may also be seen to strike their hands together violently in this way when any accident or sudden misfortune overtakes them, or when they are in any paroxysm of anger, terror, or grief. At such time, too, they beat with their hands upon their breasts, as in the case of the conscience-stricken tax-collector in the parable, and of the terrified multitude returning from the supernatural darkness of the crucifixion; and also upon their thigh, as alluded to by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.¹

This smiting the hands for grief or rage seems in Hebrew to be distinguished from the clapping for joy by the use of the plural "hands," in each passage in which the former is signified. An instance occurs in that graphic scene where Moab's king gives vent to his bitter disappointment and fury at being compelled to listen to a thrice-pronounced blessing on the Israel of God. "And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together," that is, "he wrung his hands in uncontrollable wrath and dismay."² The violence and malignancy of Zion's foes are set forth under this figure—

" All that pass by clap their hands at thee,

They hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, [Saying], 'Is this the city that they call the perfection of beauty, The joy of the whole earth?'

All thine enemies open their mouth against thee :

They hiss and gnash the teeth."3

Paxton, following Burder, however, explains all this otherwise. In such passages as I have shown to refer to the customary clapping of the hands for joy, he sees only an allusion to the practice of Oriental females paying respect to persons of high rank, by striking their fingers rapidly upon their cheek and lips, and at the same time making a shrill cry by quick

¹ Jer. xxxi. 19; Ezek. xxi. 12; Luke xviii. 13, xxiii. 48.

² Num. xxiv. 10, 11. ³ Lam. ii. 15, 16.

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vibrations of the tongue. This is called tahleel, woolwal, or olooleh, and is constantly set up by Eastern women on all occasions of excitement. By men, however, it is only used as an Arab war-cry. I have fully described this remarkable yell in another place.¹ Both these authors justly remark, that in several passages clapping the "hand" in the singular is mentioned, which is the case in all the instances alluded to above as illustrations of clapping for gladness.

But they do not seem to have been aware of the fact that, in the clapping of hands for joy, such as I have described, the palm of the left hand remains comparatively motionless whilst it is struck by the palm of the right, so that it is literally a clapping of the "hand," that is, the left hand. In further confirmation of this, let the reader observe that, as I have already had occasion to remark, the onlookers to this day always call out, "kaph, kaph !" " palm, palm !" in the singular; that is, "go on striking the palm" (not "the palms"), when encouraging the mirthful clapping of hands. As distinguished from this, the clapping or smiting of the hands in mourning or anger is emphatically a clapping of "hands"always in the plural; for, as I have shown in the latter case, first one hand is struck, and then the other. We may indeed point to this as an excellent example of the fine accuracy of language in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Both Paxton and Burder admit that clapping of hands, when in the plural, was also used to express joy, but generally to denote a "malignant satisfaction, a triumphant or insulting joy," and quote in proof of this assertion a passage where hands are in the dual, that is, "two hands."² But if we apply this test to one of the plainest instances of the kind in all Scripture, that already quoted, where Ammon is represented as rejoicing over Israel's downfall, it fails; for "hand" is here in the singular.³ Besides—and this really settles the matter -the cry of tahleel, woolwal, or olooleh is, save in the case of the war-cry of Bedouin Arabs, practised by women only;

* Lam. ii. 15.

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¹ Salute One Another; or, The "Kiss" of the Bible, pp. 76, 77. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1885. ³ Ezek. xxv. 6.

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whereas men are evidently called upon in Ps. xlvii. to join in the act of rejoicing. Moreover, the clapping of the hands in this and the other similar passages is not spoken of as a tribute of respect, or warm regard, or mere excitement, either grave or gay, as in the case of the *tahleel*, but rather as a sign and accompaniment of exuberant joy.

While considering this subject, it may not be out of place to observe, that when two Easterns desire solemnly to enter into covenant, or confirm a promise of help or friendship, they strike each other's hand. Thus, a man will say to another, "You will see the Pasha on my behalf, will you not?" and then stretch out his hand to the person so appealed to, that he may touch it in token that he will assuredly keep his word. A promise or undertaking thus made is binding under any circumstances. It would seem that this custom prevails throughout India. A Hindoo Mussulman gentleman, writing to the Daily Telegraph some time ago about the case of a poor fellow-countryman who had come to England to present a petition to "the Empress of India," said that his compatriot addressed to him the request, "'You will write to the Rani (the Indian name for the Queen); write to the Rani, pray?' he repeated, and stretched out his hand that I might touch itan Eastern form which renders a promise binding under any circumstances." Bargains throughout the East are specially ratified in this way, and covenants of all kinds between man and man.

It is therefore most interesting to observe Scriptural allusions to becoming a surety to another in just this way. Speaking of the folly of rashly accepting suretyship, the wise man says—

" My son, if thou hast become surety for thy friend,

Hast stricken thy hand with a stranger,

Hast been ensnared by the words of thy mouth,

Hast been caught by the words of thy mouth,

Do this now, my son, and deliver thyself."1

Job, boldly appealing to God from the accusations of his friends, says to the Most High—

¹ Prov. vi. I. See also Prov. xxii. 6.

"Appoint now, be surety for me with Thyself. Who is he that will strike at my hand?"¹

That is, "who else but God can be my Surety, or engage to help me?"

An instance of this is given in the history of Jehu, who, on meeting Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, saluted him and said, "Is it right with thy heart, as my heart is with thy heart?" —and on an affirmative reply demanded the usual sign of covenant, "Give thy hand, and he gave his hand."²

There is yet another striking of the hands together that calls for mention. The usual mode of summoning a servant or attendant throughout the East is by loudly clapping the Whilst residing in Jerusalem, in common with all hands. masters there, I struck my hands smartly together, in place of ringing a bell, or calling to a servant by name, and the signal was immediately understood and answered. This practice throughout the East is constant and universal, and that it has come down from very ancient times may be certainly gathered by readers of such works as the Arabian Nights. It seems to be referred to in that passage of Ezekiel, where God's judgment upon Jerusalem, in the Chaldean invasion, is represented by the coming of a sharp, glittering sword. The prophet is told, "Clap [your] hands [literally, smite hand to hand], and let a sword be doubled the third time." That is, "smite thy hands together, in order to summon a great sword as my chastisement of Israel, three times."³ This would seem plainly to signify a threefold calamity in the shape of war, which the Babylonians, as the servants of God for this purpose, are thus called to execute. David, addressing God, speaks of the wicked as His "sword,"4 for He can as readily raise them up for the punishment of His unfaithful people, as a man can summon his servant by clapping his hands!

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¹ Job xvii. 3. ² 2 Kings x. xv. See also allusions to this practice in Exodus xxiii. 1; Lev. vi. 2; Ezra x. 19; Lam. v. 6; Ezek. xvii. 18. ³ Ezekiel xxi. 14. "A sword doubled" stands for "a sword ample or great." See this sense of double in I Tim. v. 17; 2 Kings ii. 9; Job xi. 6, etc. ⁴ Psalm xvii. 13.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

An irresistibly charming book is before us (1). We do not know how to put it down. It is one of those rare works in which we can pursue recreative study. It is equally fit for a place of honour in the library, or in the drawing-room. The title so neatly describes the nature of this compilation that no special description of its contents need be given. On the whole, the classification has been skilfully made, though occasionally we spot some misplacements. For instance, the Italian proverb, "Whoever brings finds the door open for him," stands alone under the heading "bringing." Its proper place would be under "giving," where there are 105 proverbs, and would naturally stand beside "He who can give has many a good neighbour." Again, a large section like "giving," of which there are several such, might with advantage have been split up into a number of convenient sized groups, each bearing an appropriate and suggestive heading. We know that this would have taxed the skill and judgment of the writer to the utmost, as well as testing his patience and perseverance; but this additional service would have rendered the book ten times more valuable. It would have been really remunerative labour. There is again another department upon which in future editions more time and thought might be bestowed. Much more ought to have been attempted in the way of tersely explaining those proverbs which, through being torn away from their context, or from the want of some special knowledge, are as hard for ordinary persons to solve as if they were conundrums. But perhaps our chief complaint is occasioned by serious omissions.

The warmest thanks, however, of the English public are due to the American compiler for furnishing a book of ready reference to the proverbs of all ages and nations, and one which enables the reader to see different thoughts of different men upon the same subject, oftentimes supplementing or modifying each other, in many cases harmoniously blending together, and always enlarging the mental horizon of the thoughtful reader.

(1) Proverbs, Maxims and Phrases of all ages, classified subjectively and arranged alphabetically. In two volumes, compiled by Robert Christy. T. Fisher Unwin, 1888. Price 215.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

HERE are some of the best thoughts of some of the best poets on the best of books. On the silver thread of Holy Scripture Mr. Horder has strung a succession of poetical pearls which form altogether a necklace

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Immense pains must have been taken by the editor in the compilation of the present series, and he is to be congratulated on the success of his labours. He has done good service to the Church in thus bringing together these jewels from a hundred mines. The student of Scripture and the student of poetry are alike indebted to him. Probably no reader, however wide his acquaintance with English literature, will fail to find here some gems of poetry which are new to him—some pleasant surprises of sacred song.

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(2) The Poets' Bible. Old Testament Series. Selected and edited by W. Garrett Horder. London: W. Isbister, 56 Ludgate Hill. Price 7s. 6d.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Figurative Language of the Bible (3), a striking work by the Rev. James Neil, on one of the most generally neglected, least known, and most important branches of Bible study. It will be welcomed by those who were so much interested in listening to his lectures given before great crowds last winter in Exeter Hall, and at the first of which the Lord High Chancellor presided, and pronounced it "very interesting" and "most important." In the Bible there are hundreds of figures of speech which, through not being recognised as such, but, taken literally, on the one hand raise doubts as to its perfect accuracy, and on the other seem to favour superstition. If the Bible did not abound in figures, it would lack one of the most valuable evidences of its Eastern origin. Mr. Neil has pointed this out on page 2 : "The Bible," he says, "on its human side, and as to the whole letter of it, is an Eastern book. It was written in the East, about events which happened in the East, by Eastern penmen, and for Eastern readers," therefore, both in "thought and language, it must speak as men speak in the East." Now Easterns can scarcely speak without using highly-figurative language. Much in this work is set in the fresh light of Mr. Neil's discoveries in Palestine. The following figures are fully explained and illustrated in a manner which makes some obscure passages really radiant-their obscurity completely vanishing in the light of this neglected science-Simile or Comparison, Metaphor or Transfer, Hypocatastasis or Implication, Metonymy or Change of Name, Hendiadys or One by means of two, Ellipsis or Omission, Enallage or Exchange. Under one or other of these Mr. Neil sets forth the evident meaning of texts long misapplied and made to contradict some other portion of Scripture, or which have been explained away to mean nothing at all. A very beautiful Simile is dealt with in Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2. A powerful Hypocatastasis tells how "puppies" (κυνάρια), "under the table, eat of the children's crumbs" (Mark vii. 28), which full-grown dogs may never do. Hendiadys is shown to correct errors, touching the nature of the New Birth and the nature of Worship; and the calm, clear light of tropical language, which Mr. Neil turns on these subjects, and upon the nature and need of Communion, and the nature of Absolution, is of the utmost value to the Protestant cause.

(3) Figurative Language of the Bible. By James Neil, M.A. Messrs. Woodford, Fawcett & Co., Dorset Works, Salisbury Square, London. 1888. Price 1s.

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