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THE
CHURCHMAN

DECEMBER, 1891.

ART. I.—THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE AND THE
JEWISH HISTORIES.

THERE lies before me a fine quarto volume entitled "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation and Notes," by the Rev. J. Ingram, B.D., late Professor of Anglo-Saxon in Oxford, published in London in 1823. This work is printed in double columns, which give the original and the translation, and it thus presents to our view one of the greatest treasures among our ancestral literature. It contains the story of our country from the time of Christ to the reign of Henry II., written in the pure language of our fathers, chiefly in prose, with occasional sections in poetry; and it represents the golden age of Anglo-Saxon, which, in fact, melted into English shortly after its completion. The book is pure in another sense, for it contains no unpleasant gossip such as occasionally disfigures early chronicles. Let us look at its structure.

After a brief introduction concerning Britain and its first inhabitants, the Chronicle starts with A.D. 1, drawing from two sources, the one ecclesiastical and the other national, combining written and oral traditions and records with the testimony of contemporaries, which increase in proportion as the work proceeds. At first there are many intervals between the years, and the contents are the barest outlines—very little more in bulk than may be seen in the lately-discovered Assyrian Canon; but gradually the Chronicle takes the nature of true annals, recording something more or less important for each year. The manuscripts from which it is printed are chiefly of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and we can readily perceive that copyists were tempted to interpolate what they had learnt from private sources, or to add some

expression of their feeling when relating anything which distressed them. Whoever the writers were they were not historians in the modern sense of the word. They did not attempt to give things in their true proportions or in their right perspective; but their materials are all the more valuable for the purposes of the student. Usually they keep themselves out of sight, though the first person plural, and even the singular, may be observed in certain general expressions, thus under A.D. 1009, "This year were the ships ready that we before spoke about"; under A.D. 1065, "Wist we not who first advised the wicked deed"; under A.D. 1100, "And—though I be tedious — (he did) all that was loathsome to God and to righteous men." How far the work is to be called original, and how far it has incorporated at certain stages the writings of Bede and others, it may be difficult to say. The writers never quote authorities, whilst Bede does. They are more condensed than Bede, and as their work is manifestly a growth, it is possible that Bede owes more to them than they to him.

It is time now to give some idea of the contents so far as they are of special interest to us as students of the past history of our Church and country. Mr. Ingram says in his Preface that the Chronicle "contains the original and authentic testimony of contemporary writers to the most important transactions of our forefathers, both by sea and land, from their first arrival in this country to the year 1154." "Philosophically considered," he continues, "this ancient record is the second great phenomenon in the history of mankind. For, if we except the sacred annals of the Jews, there is no other work extant, ancient or modern, which exhibits at one view a regular and chronological panorama of a people, described in rapid succession by different writers, through so many ages, in their own vernacular language."

A few instances will illustrate the nature of the work more closely.

A.D. 430: "This year Patricius (Patrick) was sent from Pope Celestinus to preach baptism to the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish)."

A.D. 435: "This year the Goths sacked the city of Rome; and never since have the Romans reigned in Britain. This was about 1,110 winters after it was built. They reigned altogether in Britain 470 winters since Gaius Julius first sought that land."

A.D. 1042: "This year died King Hardicanute at Lambeth as he stood drinking. He fell suddenly to the earth with a tremendous struggle, and spoke not a word afterwards, but expired on the 6th day before the ides of June. He was king over all England two years wanting ten nights; and he is

buried in the old Minster at Winchester with King Canute his father."

A.D. 1065: "About midwinter King Edward came to Westminster, and had the Minster there consecrated, which he had himself built to the honour of God, and St. Peter, and all God's Saints. This Church-hallowing was on Childermass-day. He died on the eve of twelfth-day; and he was buried on twelfth-day in the same Minster."

To the student of Saxon topography and archæology it is pleasant to come across such names as Portsmouth, Sherburne, Bampton, Dorchester, Wimborne, Beverley, Carisbrooke, Hatfield, Wimbledon, Oundle, Ripon, Lichfield, Aylesbury, Flat-Holmes, Reading, Wallingford, Cirencester, and Bath-cestre, in writings which have come down from the early centuries of our era. It is interesting also to read the original of the Domesday Book (A.D. 1085), how "the King had a large meeting, and very deep consultation with his council about this land, how it was occupied and by what sort of men." The chronicler evidently thought his Majesty too particular in his investigations, for he concludes the account by saying that "so narrowly did the king commission them to trace it out, that there was not a single hide nor a yard of land, nay, moreover (it is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it), not even an ox, a cow, nor a swine, was there left that was not set down in his writ."

Politicians will do well to notice what is said about tithing in the days of Ethelwulf (A.D. 854); missionaries will be struck with the notice of alms sent to India by King Alfred (A.D. 883); and ecclesiastics will notice with curiosity the referring to the English College at Rome, which was burnt down in A.D. 816, and subsequently rebuilt. The Easter controversy finds a place in the Chronicle, for we are told that in A.D. 627 an injunction was sent to the Scots (Irish) on the matter by Pope Honorius, and that in A.D. 716 the venerable Egbert converted the monks of Iona to the right faith, in the matter of the regulation of Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure. Baptisms of kings are frequently recorded. Thus we read of Cynegils that he first of West-Saxon kings received baptism. The same thing is said of Ethelbert, King of Kent.

The writers are very respectful to Rome, and again and again refer to the papal influence over England, the conferring of the archiepiscopal pall, etc., but they are not altogether blind to Rome's weakness. When there was a quarrel between the Archbishops of York and Canterbury (A.D. 1123), both parties repaired to Rome, and "that overcame Rome which overcometh all the world, *i.e.*, gold and silver." A similar difficulty had arisen between the archbishops half a

century earlier (A.D. 1070). Rome had been appealed to, but had been overcome by the force of Lanfranc's argument without the aid of bribery.

Before leaving episcopal matters, it may be well to refer to the date A.D. 604, where we read, "This year Augustine consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus. Mellitus he sent to preach baptism to the East-Saxons. Their king was called Seabert, the son of Ricola Ethelbert's sister, whom Ethelbert placed there as king. Ethelbert also gave Mellitus the bishopric of London; and to Justus he gave the bishopric of Rochester, which is twenty-four miles from Canterbury."

Among the phenomena noticed in the Chronicle we shall not be surprised to find mention of eclipses and other celestial marvels. Thus, the only event in A.D. 538 is an eclipse of the sun, fourteen days before the calends of March, from before morning until nine. Of solar effects, the most remarkable was that of A.D. 1104, when, on the Tuesday following Pentecost (which was on the nones of June) were seen four circles at mid-day about the sun, of a white line, each described under the other, as if they were measured. All that saw it wondered, for they had never remembered such before." An *aurora borealis* is apparently described as having been seen in 1122, when the shipmen "saw in the north-east, level with the earth, a fire, huge and broad, which anon waxed in length up to the welkin; and the welkin undid itself in four parts, and fought against it, as if it would quench it; and the fire waxed nevertheless up to the heaven. That was on the seventh day before the ides of December." Of comets we read, in A.D. 729, "This year appeared the comet-star," and in the celebrated year 1066, "This year came King Harold from York to Westminster, on the Easter succeeding the mid-winter when the King (Edward) died. Easter was then on the sixteenth day before the Calends of May. Then was over all England such a token seen as no man ever saw before. Some men said that it was the comet-star, which others denominate the long-haired star. It appeared first on the eve called *Litania major*, that is, on the eighth before the calends of May; and so shone all the week." In A.D. 685, we read, "This year there was in Britain a bloody rain, and milk and butter were turned to blood."; whilst, in 1087, we are told of "a heavy and pestilent season. Such a sickness came on men that full nigh every other man was in the worst disorder, that is, in the diarrhoea; and that so dreadfully, that many men died in the disorder. Afterwards came, through the badness of the weather, as we before mentioned, so great a famine over all England, that many hundreds of men died a miserable death through hunger. Alas! how wretched

and rueful a time was there. When the poor wretches lay full nigh driven to death prematurely, and afterwards came sharp hunger, and despatched them withal. Who will not be penetrated with grief at such a season? Or, who is so hard-hearted as not to weep at such misfortune? Yet such things happen for folk's sins, that they will not love God and righteousness."

The expression of feeling noticeable in this last extract may be illustrated by other passages. Thus the invasions of the Danes are described with brevity but with bitterness. In 1006, we are told that "they harrowed and burned and slew as they were wont." "They provided themselves everywhere with what they wanted." "About midwinter they went to their ready farm throughout Hampshire into Berkshire to Reading. And they did according to their custom; they lighted their camp-fires as they advanced . . . afterwards they carried their spoils to the sea. There, might the people of Winchester see the rank and iniquitous foe as they passed by their gates to the sea, fetching their meat and plunder over an extent of fifty miles from sea." "Everywhere they plundered and burnt, as their custom is." The Norman conquest is not described with quite so much feeling; but the narrator of the death of William, after describing some of his unjust deeds, speaks thus of his death: "Rueful was the thing he did, but a more rueful him befell. How more rueful? He fell sick, and it dreadfully ailed him—what shall I say? Sharp death, that passes by neither rich man nor poor, seized him also. He died in Normandy, on the next day after the nativity of St. Mary, and he was buried at Caen in St. Stephen's Minster, which he had formerly reared and afterwards endowed with manifold gifts. Alas! how false and how uncertain is this world's weal! He that was before a rich king and lord of many lands, had not then of all his land more than a space of seven feet; and he that was whilom enshrouded in gold and gems lay there covered with mould." The writer then surveys the Conqueror's life, and sketches his character with considerable power and vividness.

Enough has now been said to show the nature of this wonderful book, and to illustrate its style. The question of authorship remains to be considered. The work is anonymous. Experts tell us that, so far as language is concerned, the whole is in the main of one style, though simpler and purer in the oldest parts. It would seem to be the work of a series of men who kept the records and added to them from time to time. Were these men civilians? were they politicians? were they ecclesiastics? There cannot be a doubt as to the true answer. These chronicles were kept up in the old

religious houses. Probably one monastery set the example, and others not only took the hint but borrowed the materials. This idea, which naturally suggests itself to the mind from one's knowledge of the state of things in those ages, is confirmed by the fact that there is a strong monastic element in the book itself. Events bearing on the rights of the Church are carefully related.

Thus (A.D. 560), in the reign of Ethelbert, we are told that "Columba, the mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the belief of Christ. They are the dwellers by the northern moors. And their king gave him the island of Hii, where he built a monastery. There he was abbot 32 winters, and there he died when he was 77 years old. The place his successors yet have. . . . Now, therefore, shall there ever be in Hii an abbot, and no bishop; and to him shall be subject all the bishops of the Scots; because Columba was an abbot—no bishop." In A.D. 694, we are told that "King Wihtred ordained a great council to meet at Bapchild, in which presided Wihtred, King of Kent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Brihtwald, and Bishop Tobias of Rochester, and with them were collected abbots and abbesses and many wise men, all to consult about the advantage of God's Churches that are in Kent." Then is given, apparently *verbatim*, the king's grant of rights to the Church in the matter of property and appointment to office. Another ratification of grants to monasteries is given under A.D. 796, when Ethelard, the new archbishop, acting in the name of Pope Leo, decrees "that henceforth none dare choose their lords from lewd men (laymen) over God's inheritance."

It is natural that special interest gathers round Canterbury in the Chronicle. Up to the year 596 British ecclesiastical affairs are most slenderly dealt with, and no special interest is shown in the Church, attention rather being directed to warfare; but in that year we read, "Pope Gregory sent Augustine to Britain with very many monks to preach the Word of God to the English people." In 597 there is the dry statement, "This year came Augustine and his companions to England." But the ecclesiastical element in the Chronicle rapidly develops, and largely gathers round Canterbury. In 1023 there is a full and graphic account of the translation of St. Alphege's bones from London to Canterbury. In 1031 Canute grants "to Christ's Church in Canterbury the haven of Sandwich and all the rights that arise therefrom, on either side of the haven; so that when the tide is highest and fullest, and there be a ship floating as near the land as possible, and there be a man standing upon the ship with a taper-axe in his hand, whithersoever the larger taper-axe might be thrown out

of the ship, throughout all that land the ministers of Christ's Church should enjoy their rights."

It might be thought from these passages that the Chronicle is derived from Canterbury; but this is improbable. Some of the contents point to Abingdon; but on the whole there can be little doubt that the Chronicle as we have it is traceable to *Peterborough*. So far back as A.D. 655 we read that when the Mercians had become Christians it was resolved to build a minster to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. "And they did so, and gave it the name of Medhamsted, because there is a well there called Meadswell. And they begun the ground-wall and wrought thereon; after which they committed the work to a monk whose name was Saxulf. He was very much the friend of God, and himself also loved all people. He was nobly born in the world, and rich; he is now much richer with Christ." In the next year there is a full and elaborate account of its dedication and of the borders of its property, all described in the name of the king in the first person, and with the names of all who signed the deeds, including six royal personages, the archbishop (*Deus-Dedit*), and various bishops, priests, abbots, aldermen and others, the whole being subsequently ratified by the pope. "Thus was the minster of Medhamsted begun, that was afterwards called (*Peter*) *Borough*." In 963 the minster is found to be in ruins, "and in the old walls were found hidden the writings which Abbot Hedda had formerly written," containing the grants referred to above. Bishop Athelwold, the finder, ordered the minster to be rebuilt. "He then came to the king (*Edgar*) and let him look at the writings which before were found." The king made, in consequence, various fresh grants, which are given in full with the names of those who signed. Again and again, as the Chronicle proceeds, reference is made to the affairs of *Peterborough*, notably in the time of the Abbot *Thorold*, "a very stern man, who was then come into *Stamford* with all his Frenchmen." A detailed account is given of the burning of the minster and all its contents in those days. In the days of *Henry II.*, *Ernulf*, Abbot of *Peterborough*, was made Bishop of *Rochester*, to his own great grief and to the sorrow of the monks: "God Almighty abide ever with him." When, shortly afterwards, *Henry* gave the abbacy to *Henry of Poitou*, the chronicler is still more grieved; all the details of the appointment are given. "Thus wretchedly was the abbacy given away, and so he went with the king to *Winchester*, and thence he came to *Peterbro'* and there he dwelt right so as a drone doth in a hive. . . . This was his entry; of his exit we can as yet say nought. God provide." Probably the abbot was not allowed to see this Chronicle; at any rate, being

written in Anglo-Saxon he could not understand it. Another monk took up the pen in 1132, and tells of the abbot's disgrace and how he desired that his nephew should succeed him, "but Christ forbad." The last entry in the Chronicle, A.D. 1154, has to do with the election of a new abbot, "a good clerk, a good man, and well beloved of the king and of all good men." So the story ends.

There are two other elements in the book to be mentioned, though we have no space to dwell on them: one is the inter-spersion of bits of old Anglo-Saxon lyrical poetry, consisting of war-songs, memorial lines, something in the Saga style. They are deeply interesting to the student of our early poetry. The other is the frequent extracts from genealogies, especially in the early part. These genealogies sometimes go down; *e.g.*, under A.D. 495, "Cerdic died and his son Cynric succeeded to the government and held it twenty-six winters. Then he died and Ceawlin his son succeeded," etc. Sometimes they run upward. Thus in the same year, "Ethelwulf was the son of Egbert, Egbert of Ealmund, Ealmund of Eoppa," etc. In many these are inserted by copyists from other sources, *e.g.*, from that of King Alfred. Ethelwulf's genealogy is given again in his own lifetime (under A.D. 854), and it travels up through various people until it reaches one Sceaf, who was born in Noah's ark (!), whence it goes on to Adam, "and our Father, that is Christ."

In closing this sketch of the Chronicle I desire to point out its remarkable analogy with some of the historical books of the Old Testament, on the composition of which it throws a very interesting light. The series of monks who kept up the one answer to the sons of the prophets who kept up the other. The Levitical element in the Book of Chronicles answers to the Peterborough element in the Anglo-Saxon work. Each is historical. Each combines things sacred and secular, things pacific and warlike. Each gives us fragments of poetry, and verbatim extracts from important documents. Each has its genealogical element and its ancient topography. But there are notable differences between the two classes of document. The Anglo-Saxon work is much more of the nature of *annals*; it betrays more personal feeling; it is given to introduce matters of purely local interest. The Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, on the contrary, never attempt anything like annals; everything political, local and personal is subordinated to a common end—to exhibit the working out of the laws, promises and providences of God; all bears the marks of being instinct with that wonderful breath of God's Spirit which we call inspiration, and which leads us to regard the books as canonical and authoritative. R. B. GIRDLESTONE.

ART. II.—THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

SOCIALISM is a term the exact meaning of which there is considerable difficulty in defining; it has so many forms, and embraces so many different theories and projects. Perhaps Socialism may be roughly defined as "a principle of terminating the existing order of society, and of substituting another in which the distribution of wealth shall be less unequal." This seems to cover both the more moderate proposals and also those of a thoroughgoing Communism. A rhymist at the time of the Corn Law agitation attempted a definition in these lines:

What is a Communist? One who hath yearnings
 For equal division of unequal earnings;
 Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing
 To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling.

But this verse does little more than aim its satire at a weak point in the system.

What relation, it may well be asked, subsists between Socialism and the Church? Of *direct* relation surely there is none. The Church of Christ did not originate in Socialism, nor Socialism originate in the Church of Christ. The existence of either is not essentially connected with that of the other. But of *indirect* relation there is abundance. The Church professes to concern itself with the welfare of mankind and the increase of human happiness. Socialism professes to do the same. Here, then, is the meeting-place of the two systems where their mutual relations arise—relations obviously extending over a very wide surface, and which may be either relations of agreement or relations of opposition.

In considering the connection between the Church of Christ and Socialism it may be well to try and estimate the manner in which Christ Himself would have regarded it. He chose to enter the world as a member of a State which was not of a communistic order. Excepting in the case of the communities of Essenes, among whom it was a rule that all things should be held in common, it does not appear that He came into contact with socialistic practices; and of these Essenes, so far as we can tell from the New Testament record, He took not the smallest notice. But if our Lord had been brought into more direct and general contact with Communism than He was, we are perhaps justified in assuming that He would not explicitly have inveighed against it. It was not His custom to give direct instruction on subjects which lay outside the sphere of His immediate purpose. And that purpose in His incarnation was certainly not to give scientific instruction in political

economy, or indeed in any subject which men, using the endowments already bestowed on them by Heaven, were capable of mastering for themselves. In confirmation of this view, it may be noticed that our Lord was brought into contact with another manner of life equally connected with economics, and equally harmful to the welfare and progress of mankind. Surely slavery is hardly less inimical than Communism to human happiness and the true rights of man. Yet we look in vain among our Lord's recorded words for direct denunciations of slavery or slave-masters: He nowhere forbids His disciples either to hold or to be slaves. True, He enunciates principles which strike at the root of slavery and are found to make for its abolition; but He does not immediately attack it, any more than He attacks false theories of astronomy, barbarous practices in surgery or errors in other arts and sciences, which men had it in their power themselves to correct. In like manner, looking upon Communism as a mistaken method of political economy, we may conclude that Christ, even if brought into constant contact with it, would not have inveighed directly against it. Further, in support of this opinion it is interesting to recollect that on the one occasion when He was expressly requested to assist in a redistribution of wealth, and His judgment invoked in the matter, He distinctly refused to give it, or to entertain the question at all. "Man, who made Me a judge or divider over you?" (Luke xii. 14) are the words by which He declines to deal with the subject. To discharge the office of arbiter in such matters was not the purpose of His mission. He left the question open.

And so His disciples appear to have perceived; for although at the time of the Crucifixion we know that St. John, at any rate, had property of his own, we find within seven or eight weeks of that time a distinctly communistic system at work amongst them, apparently with the consent of all; and this system appears to have lasted amongst the Jerusalem Christians for a year or two, if not more, as we have a second mention of it later on. It has been pointed out, however, that this apostolic system of Communism was a voluntary and not a compulsory one, as is plain from St. Peter's statement to Ananias that his land was his own to do what he liked with it, to keep it or to throw it into the common stock. But although there was no decision of the apostolic college in this matter binding upon the Church, there must have been a very strong moral pressure upon its members to follow the general custom. The case of Ananias proves this fact as well as the other, for it is evident that both he and his wife were of such a character that they would certainly have preferred to retain not only a part, but the whole of their property, if they had not disliked to appear

less generous than their fellow-Churchmen. It has been surmised, with much probability, that the *cause* of this communistic practice of the first Christians was the necessity of providing for the poor Jewish converts who would be disinherited and left destitute by their natural supporters; and it has been surmised also, with equal likelihood, that the *result* of this adoption of communistic principles was the chronic state of poverty which seems to have existed among the Christians of Jerusalem. The system of having all things in common does not seem to have been adopted elsewhere, and even there it soon died out, probably not surviving the dispersion following upon St. Stephen's martyrdom and the closely succeeding persecution. As the Church had taken up the practice of one of the extreme forms of Socialism without any misgivings that she was disobeying the spirit of her Founder by such action, so, on the other hand, she laid it aside after trial, without any suspicion that that course also was not within her competence. She regarded it as a matter in which she was perfectly at liberty to modify her conduct according to the exigencies of the time and the dictates of experience.

But these dictates have been such that, from that early period down to the present latter day, the Church as a whole has never reverted—or, I think, even attempted to revert—to communistic practices. Voluntary societies and orders within her pale of one type or another have constantly renounced private property in the persons of their members, and held their goods in common. But the Catholic Church as a body has never tried to impose any such rule upon all her members. There is, however, a sentence in Tertullian's Apology (§ 39) which has sometimes been quoted in support of the notion that community of goods was practised by the Church in his day. The sentence, taken alone, certainly seems almost as strong an assertion as can be made: "Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, præter uxores." But Tertullian was in the habit of making not unfrequently trenchant assertions of a rough and ready kind, with a view of building upon them some telling retort against his adversaries. This is what he is doing here, as anyone may see who reads on to the end of the section. Little as anyone might suppose from the sentence itself, its real point, as he uses it, lies in its last words, "præter uxores"; for it is concerning conjugal relations that he goes on to speak, drawing, with much irony, a contrast between Christians and pagans in this matter distinctly unfavourable to the latter. Moreover, a strict interpretation of this sentence, as signifying entire community of goods, is quite inconsistent with what Tertullian says a few sentences before in this very same section of the Apology. Here he states that each Christian gave something monthly for the relief of

the distressed, but exactly when and how he might wish and might be able: "Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert." This obviously would be impracticable in a really communistic body.

Many attempts have been made in various sects to enforce a rigorous Socialism upon their adherents. From the early Ebionites down to the most modern Shaker communities in the United States, such practices have constantly cropped up among those outside the Church's fold. But thorough-going Socialism of this kind has generally had a very short life, ending in calamitous failure; or where its existence has been prolonged, it has been either by the virtual abandonment of some of its severest rules as intolerably onerous and unfair, or by its restriction to a very peculiar and limited community. It is, however, to the socialistic excesses of one of these sects that we are indebted for any official pronouncement of the English Church upon the subject. Communism was advocated amongst the Anabaptists of the Reformation period, and had its most disastrous development at Munster, in Westphalia, in 1534. Consequently, our Thirty-eighth Article asserts that "the riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast." And it proceeds to recommend liberal almsgiving, doubtless as the divinely-prescribed corrective to the danger which ever attends those rights of property which the first half of it upholds. Unfortunately, a certain ambiguity attaches to the leading clause of the Article alike in its English and its Latin form. "The riches and goods of Christians are not common." This may be taken to mean either that Communism is not *permissible*, or merely that it is not *commanded*, to Christians. The alteration of the Latin title at the last revision from the old "Christianorum bona non sunt communia" to the new and somewhat stronger form, "De illicitâ bonorum communicatione," might seem to make for the former interpretation; but when we reflect that the communistic practice of the first Christians could not have been overlooked by the promulgators of the Article, I think the latter interpretation is the one which may be most reasonably maintained; for it was not against their practices that the assertions of the Article were aimed, but against those of certain Protestant sectaries who contended, not that community of goods was permissible, but that it was compulsory. So far, then, has the English Church spoken on the subject, affirming, in contradiction of those who held the opposite, that community of goods is not a part of the Christian religion.

It is difficult to find, until quite recently, any authorized pronouncement on socialistic theories. References to the subject

may exist, but if so, I have not been able to trace them either in the canons or the homilies. It is, indeed, not unfrequently contended that every direction of the Church to the giving of alms, every injunction in the Bible to the same effect, is of itself an absolute condemnation of the principles of Communism. At the first glance it may look as if it was so; because where community of goods is complete, almsgiving becomes an impossibility. But the object of almsgiving, on the side of the giver, surely is to remind him that his property is a trust; and on the side of the receiver, to relieve his necessity and evoke his gratitude. In a state of ideal communism, however, there is no private property out of which alms can be given, nor are there any indigent on whom they can be bestowed. Now, neither God nor His Church expect obedience to their commands from those who are so circumstanced as to render obedience impossible. It would be as unreasonable to accuse a Christian in a communistic state of sin for neglecting the duty of almsgiving, as to accuse a man of disobedience to the Fifth Commandment who had 'no parents, or of failing to comply with the order, "Honour the king," if he lived in a republic. It seems probable that the argument against extreme Socialism, based upon the frequent injunctions to almsgiving, has been unduly strained to an extent which it will not bear. Others will no doubt entertain a different opinion; but to the present writer it appears that even Communism, the extreme form of Socialism, however erroneous it may be as a principle of economics, is for all that not radically irreconcilable with Christ's Church. They are not of necessity mutually exclusive systems. And if the extreme form of Socialism is not radically irreconcilable with Christianity, its partial and more moderate forms are, of course, still less so. Nevertheless, though Communism may co-exist with Christianity, it can hardly be deemed favourable to its best development; because, like all mistaken principles of action, it is more or less injurious to the interests of mankind. It is so in many ways. It hinders, *e.g.*, not the use, but the most advantageous use, of God's gifts; it tends to a reckless management of such personal affairs as are left within the power of each; it relaxes family bonds; it is antagonistic to industry; it is unfavourable to the duties of perseverance and self-support; it diminishes the sense of responsibility; and in its stricter forms it seriously curtails the liberty of the individual. And thus, in all these and many other respects, it reacts—indirectly indeed, but very unfavourably—upon the development of the Church, especially as it is influenced by the characters, creditable or discreditable, of its separate members. Although obedience to communistic laws may be

perfectly *permissible* to Christians, it presupposes a state of society which is eminently undesirable, and, while not being of necessity hostile, is at all events more of a hindrance than a help to the full life and progress of the Church.

On such matters as the State regulation of labour, wages, price of food, and hours of work, no expression of opinion is here given; for their connection with the Church is remote, and a specialist in political economy is required for the satisfactory treatment of such questions. Many of my readers will remember how the Bishop of Rochester (now of Winchester) in his recent Charge, recommended the clergy, unless particularly qualified, not to interfere directly in the discussion of these topics; because that, as a body, their previous education and training had not fitted them to give valuable opinions on matters for the due treatment of which an accurate and prolonged study of economics is indispensable. One of the London Radical newspapers (by no means so unfair to the Church as many of them) immediately had an article on the subject, in which it remarked that if the bishop's estimate of the clerical knowledge of political economy was correct, it only afforded another proof of the unfitness of the clergy at the present day for the public positions which they held. The writer of this comment overlooked the fact that it is only of recent years that questions of Socialism have been at all of a prominent or practical character in England; nor till quite lately has the subject had any interest to the great mass of our parishioners. He overlooked also the fact that at the Lambeth Conference of 1888 one of the recommendations of the Committee on Socialism was that in future the Church should "require some knowledge of economic science from her candidates for orders."

To this great Conference we are indebted for the latest official, or rather semi-official, utterance of the Anglican Church throughout the world on the subject of Socialism. And the Bishop of Ely, in appointing "Church and Socialism" as a subject for discussion in the deaneries, specially recommends his clergy to study it. The "Report of the Committee appointed to consider the subject of the Church's practical work in relation to Socialism" was received by the Conference, and is of much value. There is also in the Encyclical Letter a paragraph, of which these are the concluding sentences: "To study schemes proposed for redressing the social balance; to welcome the good which may be found in the aims and operations of any; and to devise methods, whether by legislation or by social combinations, or in any other way, for a peaceful solution of the problems, without violence or injustice, is one of the noblest pursuits which can engage the thoughts of those who strive to follow in the footsteps of Christ. Suggest-

tions are offered in the Report which may assist in solving this problem." That Report was drawn up by an episcopal committee, whose chairman was the Bishop of Manchester, known to take, like his predecessor, a keen interest in social subjects. It is an admirably drawn-up document of some seven pages, containing a very clear statement of the matured opinions of those who have thought upon this subject from an ecclesiastical point of view. The Report begins with a discussion of some of the definitions of Socialism, and then it makes a statement as to the relations between the Church and Socialism, with which the opinions expressed earlier in this paper are not at variance. It is this: "Between Socialism (as thus defined) and Christianity there is obviously no necessary contradiction. Christianity sets forth no theory of the distribution of the instruments or the products of labour; and if some Socialists are found to be in opposition to the Christian religion, this must be due to the accidents, and not to the essence, of their social creed." The Report makes several practical proposals as to the Church's duty in the matter at the present time, and answers certain objections which may be made to those proposals.

As far as individual (in contradistinction to State) action goes, almsgiving and self-sacrifice are recommended on the part of the rich, thrift and self-help on the part of the poor. These virtues have no doubt been practised to some extent, but it is to be feared only by the minority. And a warning is given of a Nemesis arising to punish the neglect of them, which may involve in one common social catastrophe both majority and minority alike. The principles of even an extreme Socialism may not be irreconcilable with those of the Christian Church; but the methods which are talked of for bringing those principles into action undoubtedly are. An unjust confiscation of private property, enforced, if necessary, by violence and bloodshed, is, of course, entirely so. But the half-starved proletarian is little likely to be checked in his schemes by a consideration of this kind when his cupidity is excited by demagogues themselves generally well fed and paid. Indeed, the thoroughgoing Socialist is generally ignorant of the true principles of the Church of Christ, and of the relation in which it stands to himself and his aspirations. And to whom is this ignorance due? Chiefly, it is to be feared, to the apathy, selfishness, and insensibility to the duties of Christian brotherhood on the part of those moneyed classes whose property the Communist now covets. They have not taken care that the Church of Christ should have ample means in men and money to present herself adequately before him in the fulness of her loving power to satisfy, with the gifts and graces she holds in

trust, all the desires of man. We can, no doubt, point to a multitude of noble examples to the contrary among the wealthy: but, if one set about it, how very much larger a multitude might be discerned, many of whom do very little, and still more do nothing appreciable, for the real good of those below them! If one could obtain an income-tax return from one of our so-called fashionable parishes either in London or elsewhere, and also a return of the full amount expended by the same taxpayers in pious and charitable works, the latter amount, taken absolutely, might seem large; but, taken relatively to the other, it will probably always be found woefully disproportionate and small. The faults are, of course, not all on one side. Those on the other must not be blinked, notably ingratitude to those rich who do try to help the poor, and a narrow-mindedness and want of foresight which often baffles the most carefully-planned schemes for their benefit. But are not even these and other faults of the poor greatly discounted by a marvellously patient endurance of lots which are often very hard, and in some cases seem to us to be almost insupportably so?

This paper may conclude in the cautious but wise words with which the Report terminates: "There is less temptation to over-haste in forcing on social experiments, inasmuch as the history of the past shows convincingly that the principles of the Gospel contain germs from which social renovation is surely, if slowly, developed by the continuous action of Christian thought and feeling upon every form of evil and suffering. If all will only labour, under the impulse of Christian love, for the highest benefit of each, we shall advance by the shortest possible path to that better and happier future for which our Master taught us to hope and pray."

W. H. DAUBNEY.



ART. III.—SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

No. I.

NOT long since the question was asked, we believe, in one of the weekly journals: "Did authors correct their printers' proofs in the sixteenth century?" We can see no reason whatever to doubt that they did. That they did so in the early part of the seventeenth century can hardly be doubted. If we had no other evidence of this, it might suffice to appeal to the prefatory matter which stands before an edition of the

works of Fulbert of Chartres which appeared in the year 1608. The editor was Charles De Villiers, a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Paris. And the evidence of his correcting the proofs of his publication stands connected with a most remarkable literary curiosity. It is one to which attention has been called anew only a few years ago. But it is one generally so little known, and one of so startling a character, that we believe the readers of the CHURCHMAN will, many of them at least, be thankful to have this extraordinary history once more simply set before them.

De Villiers in his introduction directs special attention, in rather an unusual way, to his list of *Errata* at the end. And in a very unusual way he makes an apology for these errors of the press. He pleads the difficulty of avoiding misprints, and urges, in effect, that it requires more than the eyes of an Argus to detect them.¹ This is unquestionably the defence of one who regarded himself—not the printer—as responsible for mistakes, and therefore of one who had himself corrected the press.

But the remarkable thing to be observed is this: When we turn to the page of *Errata*, in obedience to the expressive admonition “ad lectores,” we find (with one exception) nothing to be very much noted either as regards the number or the character of the misprints. They are all of a rather ordinary character, with only one very extraordinary exception. What are we to say of this one singular exception? We must say this, that it is certainly one which it did not require the eyes of an Argus to detect, and that, regarded as an *erratum* of the press, it is such an one as never was heard of before, and is never likely to be witnessed again.

We are, in fact, admonished that two words have found insertion in the text which have no place there, and are to be omitted. Strange that a printer's error should have put in thirteen letters which were not in his *copy*! Stranger still that those thirteen letters should have shaped themselves into two Latin words correctly spelt! Stranger still that those two Latin words should have fitted in, in the text, as if they were made to fit! Stranger still that the two words thus fitted should have completely changed the meaning of the author, altering quite the character of his doctrine, and, in the matter of a controversy dividing Christendom at the time of the publication, bringing him over from one side of the contest to the other. The words interpolated are “dicet hæreticus.”

¹ The words of the notice should be well marked: “Lectores admonitos velim, si forte quosdam errores invenerint, ad errata recurrant. Etiam si Argus esses, Lector, in eo munere, tamen aliquis error semper irrepit in Tipog.”

Truly the faith of the faithful, or the credulity of the credulous was never put to a severer test than when it was taught to believe that these words had found their way into the text of Fulbert only by an *erratum* of typography.

But we are treating this matter too lightly. It is a matter which should be regarded with all sad and sober seriousness. It is, of course, obvious to all that this insertion was not made by the printer, and was the result of no accident. It is utterly incredible that De Villiers should have supposed that it could pass as a typographical error with any who really took the trouble to examine with care his table of *errata*.

But De Villiers was in a great strait. He had made the insertion. He had to make what provision he could to meet the possible detection of the error, and safeguard himself from the consequent charge of dealing fraudulently with his materials, and making his author denounce his own teaching as heresy. And it can hardly be doubted that *after the printing of the sheets* he had been made sensible of the probability of detection, and the exceeding difficulty of persuading theologians to believe that "*dicet hæreticus*" had ever been written by Fulbert.

His work was published at a time when Christendom was being shaken by the doctrines of the Reformed, doctrines which denied the "Real Presence" in the sense in which that novel term had become associated with the novel doctrine of Transubstantiation. This "Reformed" teaching was heresy in the eyes of all who upheld the mediæval system of doctrine. It maintains a figurative interpretation of the language of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as well as of the teaching of our Lord as contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. The publication of the works of Fulbert was confessedly intended by De Villiers (in part) to be an antidote to the prevailing "*hæresies*."¹ But then Fulbert, who had been at one time the instructor of Berengarius,² was found to have in his

¹ In his title-page De Villiers commends the writings which he edits as availing for the confutation of the heresies of his day. His words are: "Quæ tam ad refutandas hæresés hujus temporis quam ad Gallorum Hist. pertinent."

² Not very much is known of the history of Fulbert. He was a disciple of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. After acquiring a great reputation by his lectures at Chartres, he became Bishop of the See in 1007, and died April 10, 1028 (or 1029, according to Fleuri). See Du Pin, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ix., ch. i., p. 1.

It must not be inferred that Berengarius derived his doctrine from Fulbert. Adelman's letters would rather suggest the contrary. See Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 398, edit. Clark, and Hospinian, *Op.*, tom. iii., p. 287, Geneva, 1681. See also "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 294, 297. But the views of Berengarius himself were by no means what are sometimes regarded as Berengarian (see "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 12),

writings one passage, at least, which might quite fairly be claimed as giving most unequivocal support to the teaching of these very heretics themselves.¹ How should this passage be dealt with? It was easy to neutralize its effect by a little insertion; and if an insertion was to be made, why not have it made in a form which would contain a clear condemnation of the language which might be adduced in support of Protestant doctrine? Let it be made to appear to be the language of a heretic in the time of Fulbert himself, language which Fulbert himself shall denounce as heretical. Let the two words "*dicet hæreticus*" be put in as the words of Fulbert; and what could be desired more? what to show more clearly that the doctrines of the Reformed were in the time of Fulbert, and in the view of Fulbert, doctrines of corruption, doctrines of a corrupt and heretical faith, yea, rather, doctrines of sinful unbelief?²

But when De Villiers thus carried out his design of making his author denounce his own language and renounce his own doctrine, he cannot have been aware that the language and the doctrine of Fulbert here, was not only Fulbert's, that it was the language and the doctrine of the great St. Augustin, which Fulbert was making his own.

And so that little insertion had been now set up in position, as a piece of artillery pointed to fire its terrible condemnation against the force not only of English and Swiss and Swabian

just as the true and matured views of Zwingle and his followers were not altogether what are commonly denounced as Zwinglian. See Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, book v., ch. lxxvii., § 2; Works, vol. ii., p. 349, edit. Keble; and especially the "Consensus Tigurinus." See also "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 34, 35, 36, 742, 743.

¹ Bishop Cosin quotes largely from the epistle of Fulbert to Adeodatus as against the Corporal Presence, adding: "*Quæ omnia clarissime dicta sunt contra eos, qui Christum in hoc mysterio corporaliter in os et ventrem hominum intrare minus crasse docuerunt*" (see *Hist. Transub.*, cap. vii., § 3; Works, A.C.L., vol. iv., p. 114). The extracts will be found in De Villiers' edition of Fulbert, fol. 8 *sqq.* Cosin might have added that Fulbert says of Christ: "*Ne sublati Corporis fraudemur præsentî munimene, Corporis nihilominus et sanguinis sui pignus salutare nobis reliquit*" (fol. 8). Still there seem to be indications that he was not altogether free from the growing superstition of the age. And some of his language may be thought to point to some approximation to the view of Rupert of Deutz. See ff. 8-10, and "Eucharistic Worship," p. 294, note, and 297, note. See also Du Pin, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ix., p. 2, London, 1699.

² Schröckh says that De Villiers, full of wretched apprehension that the words *figura ergo est* might be damaging to the doctrine of the Church, inserted *dicat hæreticus*, and that this shameless falsification has drawn on him the lasting suspicion that he may probably have altered by his own authority other passages of his edition (*Christliche Kirchengesch.*, vol. xxiii., p. 506. See Canon Robertson, *Hist. of Ch. Ch.*, vol. iii., p. 344).

Sacramentaries of the sixteenth century, not only against the real teaching of Fulbert himself, but against that which had been the doctrine of the great Doctor of the Christian Church of old time, whom all subsequent generations of Christians had agreed to recognise as a great Catholic authority.

This was a serious matter. And there can be little doubt that this serious matter had come to the knowledge of De Villiers between the time of the printing the sheets of his text, and the time of his making out his list of *errata*. It is not to be supposed for a moment that he could have made Fulbert write that "*dicet hæreticus*" if at the time he had been aware that that *hæreticus* was the great Bishop of Hippo. And having once made Fulbert write this condemnation of the teaching of St. Augustin, he would hardly have wished to publish to the world that that "*dicet hæreticus*" had got in by printer's error—that it was not in the MS. of Petavius which he was using, and was not the writing of Fulbert, unless it had now been made known to him that the doctrine he had to make Fulbert condemn was indeed the doctrine of the great Catholic Doctor.¹

The insertion had been made. The printer's work had been done. It was too late to withdraw it. Yet he dare not let it go uncorrected. It would never do to let it be said that he was attributing heresy, the heresy of Protestant Reformers, to St. Augustin the Great.

What was to be done? The error must be corrected in the list of *errata*. And accordingly in the list of *errata*, to which he directs the reader's special attention, and for the errors of which he pleads the lack of Argus eyes, we find it stated that the words "*dicet hæreticus*" are an addition² which is not found in the MS. of Petavius.

¹ Cave, in his "Historia Literaria" (p. 418, Geneva, 1694), notes: "Hic loci misellus editor, refutandis hæresibus hujus temporis (uti in editionis fronte gloriatur) intentus, post voces istas *figura ergo est*, glossam istam, *dicet hæreticus*, inseruerat. Tandem post emissum prælo librum, integram periodum in S. Augustin Operibus legi, et exinde a Fulberto descriptam esse admonitus, binas istas voces, *dicet hæreticus*, inter *errata typographica* retulit, eas præter Codicis, quo usus est, MS. fidem, additas esse confessus."

But Aubertin had already denounced the falsification in his work on the Eucharist (De Eucharistia, p. 667)—the French edition of which appeared in 1633—following the lead of Ussher (then Bishop of Meath), who, in 1625, had written: "He that put in those words '*dicet hæreticus*' thought he had notably met with the heretics of this time, but was not aware that thereby he made St. Augustin a heretic for company. . . . Which some belike having put the publisher in mind of, he was glad to put this among his *Errata*, and to confess that these two words were not to be found in the manuscript copy which he had from Petavius" ("Answer to Jesuit's Challenge," Intr. Ch., Works, edit. Elrington, vol. iii., p. 22).

² The following is a *verbatim et literatim* copy of the words which appear in the *Errata* of the edition of 1608: "Fol. 168. Adverte ista

Does the reader stand amazed at reading such an admission as this? Does he say to himself, Why, what a support, then, after all, is here for the doctrine of the Reformed! What an utter defeat is here for the purpose that Fulbert had in view! Intending to curse the Sacramentaries, he has blessed them altogether! Having made Fulbert say their language was heretical, he is now constrained to confess that the language thus condemned was really the language of Fulbert himself—language, too, which was the very echo of the teaching of the greatest among the Doctors of Christian antiquity. Does the reader stand aghast?

We cannot doubt that De Villiers must have anticipated some such result, must have felt the reader would naturally judge that the words in his text—now deprived of the *dicet hæreticus* of his pious fraud—must give support to the teaching which he wished to denounce. And to deprive his adversaries of the advantage they might derive, and to deprive the words of his author of the meaning they would naturally bear, he makes this addition to his statement: “Interpretatio est mystica.”

And now, have we come to the end of this strange history? Not quite. Perhaps the strangest part yet remains to be told.

We should surely have expected that succeeding editors of the works of Fulbert would have omitted the insertion made by De Villiers, and so have avoided the necessity of inserting also his correction. But such a reasonable expectation will be found to be mistaken. It is not so. The “Sermones” of Fulbert have been reprinted (under Romish auspices) in the “Bibliotheca Magna,”¹ and again in Despont’s “Bibliotheca Maxima”² of 1677, and again in Migne’s “Patrologia,” of more recent date.

And still, in each of these editions (*mirabile dictu*) has reappeared the “*dicet hæreticus*” of De Villiers, and in each case with a note taken (not quite *verbatim*³) from his *Errata*, stating

verba figura ergo est, additum est, *dicet hæreticus*, nam non habentur hæc duo verba in Manuscript. D. Petavii, ne quis tamen fallatur cum leget ista, figura ergo est, interpretatio est mystica.”

¹ As regards the “Bibliotheca Magna,” we are relying on an old memorandum, which, however, we believe to be quite reliable. As regards the “Bibliotheca Maxima” and Migne, we have verified our assertion by recent examination.

² It is right to add that here the works of Fulbert appear as professedly a reprint of the edition of De Villiers. In other cases, however, the editor has generally (not without exception) made the corrections indicated in the *Errata*.

³ The marginal note is “Interpretatio est mystica, et nota hæc duo verba *dicet hæreticus* non haberi in MS. D. Petavii.” See “Bibliotheca Maxima,” tom. xviii., p. 47. In Migne’s edition the same words are found in a footnote (Patrol. Lat., tom. cxli., c. 334).

that these words are not found in the MS. of Petavius, and anew admonishing the reader that the interpretation is mystical.

It will hardly be expected of us that we should bring to a close a paper on this literary curiosity without desiring to point the reader's attention to the instruction it may convey to us. It is an example full of instruction.

Regarded as an example of a method of dealing with ancient records of the Christian Church, it is one which unhappily does not stand alone. To deal with other examples, however, is outside our present purpose.

But with reference to De Villiers' subsequent explanation of Fulbert's plain words as "mystical" language, it is important for us to observe that we have here an example of the way in which not only Romanists of the age of De Villiers, but modern controversialists also explain away some of the clearest and most distinct statements of the Fathers on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

As De Villiers would bring to nought, so of necessity do modern Romanist and Romanizing theologians seek to bring to nought assertions, not of St. Augustin only, but of other Patristic authorities, which, in their obvious meaning, give sure and solid support to that doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper which is maintained by the theology of the "Reformed," and supported by the consensus of all the great doctors of the English Church (High Churchmen as well as Low Churchmen) since the Reformation.

On what ground do they justify their explaining away such plain language? How can they support their strange glosses? What apology can they offer for emasculating the force of such unmistakable language as this of St. Augustin by anything like the marginal note, "Interpretatio est mystica"?

They can affirm, and do affirm—and they affirm truly—that, except as thus explained, these passages from St. Augustin and others are inconsistent with another class of passages which may easily be adduced in abundance from other Fathers, and from St. Augustin himself—passages which (unexplained) contain the affirmation of that which *these* seem to deny.

It is quite true there are two classes of quotations to be deduced from the Fathers (and from the Holy Scriptures also) which on this subject (as unexplained) are contradictory. An explanation there must be of one or other of these two classes of passages if a harmony is to be effected between them.

The only question is, which of these classes is to be interpretative of the other—which class is to submit to receive explanation from the other class?

The answer to this question is of supreme importance in the Eucharistic controversy. It demands the most careful and candid consideration of all who are really anxious to be guided into the truth of sacramental doctrine.

And for a true answer to this question we need to give due attention to these two other questions:

(1) Is there anything in the nature of the quotations themselves which makes the one class of sayings more tolerant of explanation than the other?

(2) Is there any indication in the writings of the Fathers themselves as to *which* of these classes of sayings they intended to be interpretative of the other?

I. We must touch very briefly on the first of these questions. The two classes of sayings may be described thus. One class speaks of the Eucharistic elements as *being* the Body and Blood of Christ. The other class speaks of them as figures, types, symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, and accordingly regards the language of eating and drinking that Body and Blood as figurative language, and thus implies that the outward elements are not the Body and Blood of Christ in reality, but in figurative representation, as effectual signs or equivalent proxies for the purpose for which they were ordained.

And if this is anything like a fair statement of the case, we are certainly not making an unreasonable demand when we claim to have it allowed that the sayings of the latter class are naturally and necessarily the legitimate interpreters of the former class.

There are certain propositions in which the sense of the verbal copula is restricted by the application of common sense—so clearly restricted that no one would ever think of understanding it in its literal meaning. In such cases language may use unbridled liberty; and that without fear, from the very fact of its being so impossible for any to give the words a literal interpretation. Take as an example from the Old Testament the words of David, which he spake concerning the water from the well of Bethlehem, "Is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?" Take as an example from the New Testament the word of Christ, which declares "I am the Vine, ye are the branches."

And are we to say that such an application of common sense must needs have been utterly out of place in the under-

standing of the words of Institution and of Patristic language built upon them? And must it be accounted heresy to class these words beside similar Scriptural statements which everyone acknowledges are not to be understood *ut verba sonant*? And what if such statements require limitation or explanation to bring them into harmony with the true faith of Christ's glorified Body and of His session at the right hand of God?

Assuredly the one class of sayings are perfectly tolerant of simple explanation by the teaching of the other class.

But when, on the other hand, you attempt to explain away the second class of quotations to bring them into harmony with the literal meaning of the other class, what a hopeless task is before you! You may make your marginal gloss, "*Interpretatio est mystica*," but what does it mean? Try to make clear its meaning, and see whether it is possible to make it mean anything but absolute nonsense!

II. The second question need not detain us. There are sayings of the Fathers in abundance (especially in the writings of St. Augustin) which indicate with a clearness which it is impossible to controvert, that the sayings of the first class are intended to be understood as interpreted by sayings of the second class. It is surprising to mark how these interpretative sayings of the Fathers have been ignored in much that has been written on one side of the present Eucharistic controversy.¹

¹ One such extract as the following would suffice to turn the force of any number of extracts in which the sacramental elements are called the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Eucharist is spoken of as the sacrifice of Christ: "*Die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit. . . . Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ista loquentes arguet esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus hæc gesta sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus? . . . Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen . . . omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandem similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. En hæc similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut enim secundum quandam modum sacramentum Corporis Christi Corpus Christi est, ita et Sacramentum Fidei Fides est" (Augustin, *Epist. ad Bonifacium*, Ep. xcviij., § 9, Op. tom. ii., c. 267, 268, Paris, 1683).*

Such interpretative sayings, however, might easily be multiplied. See "*Eucharistic Worship*," pp. 253-266.

The Fathers, trusting to the common sense of Christian men not to misunderstand their sacramental language, freely gave names to the signs which they considered it impossible for sensible men to understand otherwise than as pertaining only to the things signified. Augustin says: "*Ut literam sequi, et signa pro rebus quæ iis significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita inutiliter signa interpretari, male vagantis error est*" (*De Doct. Christianâ*, lib. iii., cap. ix., Op. tom. iii., par. i.,

After anything like a fair investigation of such passages, it is strange that it should not be seen that very much of the language which has been so confidently appealed to as supporting the doctrine of the so-called Real Objective Presence is—by the teaching of the Fathers themselves, to be sacramentally understood.¹ That is to say, it is mystical or sacramental language; and sacramental language is that in which the sign bears the name of that which is signified. In this sense the gloss of De Villiers (so absurd and ridiculous as applied to the other class) might fitly be applied to this whole class of sayings, “*Interpretatio est mystica.*”²

But never let it be supposed that this mystical interpretation of Patristic and Scriptural language is intended to make “the outward sign” a less “*effectual sign*” for conveying to the faith of the faithful the full Blessed Reality which it signifies. It is not the less a real communion of the Body and Blood of Christ because the *res sacramenti* is not *in* or *under the form of* the elements. The Body and Blood of Christ are not less “*verily and indeed taken and received,*” because “*only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.*” Herein the theology of the Reformed has been grievously misrepresented. In its true teaching it leads our faith to feed indeed on the one perfect sacrifice once offered, that by the merits and death of Christ, and through faith in His Blood we may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion.

Could we have a clearer, a more beautiful exposition of

c. 49). And so (with another reference) Cyril of Alexandria says: *Διαγελᾶν ὅμαι πρέπει τοὺς ἀνοήτως αἰρετικούς, το ἐν τάξει σημείου τεθῆν, εἰς ἀλήθειαν πράγματος ἐκλαμβάνοντας* (In Joan. I., 32, 33. Com., lib. ii., cap. i., Op. ed. Migne, tom. vi., c. 213).

¹ On this matter Canon Birch's little book may be very strongly recommended, “The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the teaching of the Primitive Church and of Anglican Divines” (Longmans).

A brief review of this book which appeared in the *Guardian* of July 29, 1891, affords a curious example of the mistakes into which so many are led by neglecting the interpretative value of sayings of the second class as applied to the language both of the Fathers and of English divines. The writer says, “That he [Canon Birch] can shelter some of his statements under great names of Anglican divines is not denied, yet ‘long catenæ’ of extracts might easily be drawn up in which *opposite views* are expressed, and sometimes by *the same writers.*” Does the reviewer really suppose that “opposite views” were *held* by “Anglican divines” of “great names”? If not, let him ask which of these seemingly “opposite views” as expressed is capable of being fairly interpreted by the language expressive of the other?

² Compare the words quoted by Gratian as from Augustin (see “Eucharistic Worship,” p. 308): “*Vocatur ipsa immolatio carnis quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*” (Decret., Par. II., De Consecr. Dist. II., c. xlviiii.).

the Scriptural, the Patristic,¹ the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper (as upheld by such men as Andrewes and Cosin, and Jeremy Taylor and Bull) than that to which we are led by those words of St. Augustin and that teaching of Fulbert, on which De Villiers in vain set the stigma of heresy? Let the reader be asked to mark the saying and to ponder it well: "Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoriâ, quod pro nobis Caro Ejus crucifixa et vulnerata est" (De Doct. Christ., iii. 16).

N. DIMOCK.

ART. IV.—BISHOP WORDSWORTH'S "ANNALS."

Annals of my Early Life, 1806-1840. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews, and Fellow of Winchester College. Longmans, Green and Co.

THE volume which the venerable Bishop Wordsworth has given to the public will be read with great interest. It is, indeed, a real contribution to the memoirs and autobiographies in which English literature is rich. There is a certain charm in the pleasant record of individual experiences, and the admirable English for which Bishop Wordsworth is so remarkable may claim a place for this volume near the graphic narratives of Hume, Gibbon, and the less known but most striking story of Gifford, the first editor of the *Quarterly Review*. In recent years we have had interesting volumes from Sir Henry Taylor and Sir Francis Doyle. Bishop Wordsworth's introduction, written in a vein of true piety, distinguishes it entirely from the literary reminiscences of the writers we have mentioned, and his appeal to the candour of his reader is in a high and noble strain.

Everything connected with the Wordsworth family is full of interest. Literature and theology seem to have exercised a real spell over this remarkable brotherhood and sisterhood. All students of the poet Wordsworth's life know what a debt he owed to the admirable Dorothy. A new generation has succeeded, and the present gifted Head of Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford, daughter of the late Bishop of Lincoln, and sister of the learned Bishop of Salisbury, has shown, in her recent study of the poet's life, that pure style, and true appreciation of all that is distinctive and beautiful in the world of

¹ Not that there were no approaches being made in Patristic Theology to subsequent erroneous and superstitious views—chiefly, perhaps, in the direction of the doctrine commonly associated with the name of Rupertus Tuitiensis. But of this we may have occasion to speak in a future paper of this series.

poetry, are still the possession of her family. One of the most remarkable features of the Bishop's volume is the extent of his accomplishments, and the grasp he has always maintained over classics and general literature. He has been known for many years as a first-rate scholar and a deep and independent divine. There are many, however, who are hardly aware of the interest and vigour of his edition of Shakespeare's historical plays, and his charming volume on that poet's "Use and knowledge of the Bible." It is, indeed, a satisfaction of no ordinary kind to find in one of the Bishop's advanced age a keen relish for all that is highest and best in literature, united to an intense desire for the union of Christians in divided Scotland, and, as his last Charge witnesses, a true instinct as to the gravity of the critical questions which are now being raised regarding the books of the Old Testament.

Bishop Wordsworth's mother was one of a well-known Quaker family of Lloyds. The account of the Bishop's early days is full of interest. There is a story told of the care with which Mrs. Wordsworth's memory was cherished in her Essex home, which shows her to have been a person of remarkable character. The Bishop's father, the well-known Master of Trinity, was, indeed, fortunate in his three sons, all possessing the same aptitude for study. The Bishop was at Harrow, and from his connection with Cambridge enjoyed some special advantages. Bishop Claughton, comparing the Oxford and Cambridge systems, wrote to his life-long friend, "You have been nurtured in both soils, one may say; I hope you have the good of both, and the harm of neither, and I think it is so." The history of the Bishop's Oxford days is a history of academical triumphs. In 1830 his name appeared in the first class, and his uncle the poet's letter to him on this occasion will be read with great interest. After giving some valuable advice, there is a charming passage about a walk with his wife across Kirkstone: "Down hill we tripped it away, side by side, charmingly; think of that, my dear Charles, for a Darby and Joan sixty each."

Very soon after he had taken his degree, Mr. Wordsworth commenced his work at Oxford as a private tutor. He had, indeed, a remarkable list of pupils. James Hope Scott, W. E. Gladstone, Henry E. Manning, Francis Doyle, and Walter K. Hamilton were no ordinary men. To these were added Lord Lincoln, Sir Thos. D. Acland, and Charles J. Canning. The memorials of this remarkable group are a prominent feature in this volume. Opinions and faiths divide men greatly in these days, but men never forget the obligations they owe to the "coach" under whose care they increased their knowledge and formed their taste, and it is

no secret that every one of the Bishop's pupils has again and again expressed his sense of the benefit derived from his pure and high-minded power of inspiring his pupils with a love of all that is finest and noblest in classical literature.

We cannot but regret that Bishop Wordsworth, who arrived at Abbotsford on the evening of the memorable day on which Yarrow had been revisited by the two poets, had not an opportunity of being present at the interview which has been made immortal in the poem of "Yarrow Revisited." The short account of his stay at Abbotsford makes us long for more. The Bishop does not seem to have been aware, however, that the false quantity on poor Maida's statue was a slip of Lockhart's, not Sir Walter's.

Maidæ marmoreâ dormis sub imagine Maida,
Ad januam domini: sit tibi terra levis.

So stands the epitaph. The Bishop, with his keen Oxford eye, detected an error, and wrote:

I am afraid I was *priggish* enough not to think quite so well of Sir Walter when I had observed, quite conspicuous at his front door, a *false quantity* engraved upon the base of a statue of a favourite dog. I forget the former line of the distich, containing the dog's name. The latter ran thus:

Ad iānuam Domini: sit tibi terra levis.

The correction would have been easy—*i.e.*, *ante fores* or *ad portam*.

The verses written by Sir Walter, in Dora Wordsworth's album, have been printed before. Although showing the imperfection and cloudiness of Sir Walter's mind, the first stanza, alluding to his early acquaintance with Wordsworth, has a peculiar pathos. The exquisite sonnet of Wordsworth on Sir Walter's departure for Italy was the result of this, the last meeting of these two great men. Few portions of this volume will be read with more interest than the Bishop's account of his experiences in Germany. We wish, indeed, that he had kept a journal, with minute record of the lectures of Schleiermacher and Neander; men who have influenced greatly the thought and theology of their time.

In the second mastership of Winchester the Bishop was fortunate in finding a most desirable sphere for his energies. His fame as an athlete was only equalled by his fame as a classic. In Bishop Moberly he had a fellow-worker of the very highest ability, and the full account of their joint labours to improve and elevate the condition of Winchester is feelingly and forcibly described by the Bishop. The Bishop is of opinion that Dr. Moberly, in his memorable letter contained in Stanley's "Life of Arnold," hardly did justice to the movement which had been initiated at Winchester, and in other public schools besides Rugby. The truth is, that in many public

schools, especially at Eton, when Archbishop Sumner was an under-master there, much had already been done, and at Winchester, as the sermons of Moberly and Wordsworth testify, there was a real current of life and religion, as at Rugby under Arnold, elevating and purifying boy-nature. In Bishop Wordsworth's two volumes, "Christian Boyhood at a Public School," there are many noble passages, written in the purest English, well worthy of standing by the side of Arnold's Rugby sermons, of which the Bishop says, in a most pleasing note, "Some ten years ago I read nearly the whole of his Rugby sermons for the first time, and I wished I had read them sooner."¹

At Winchester the first wife of the Bishop died. She was laid in the college cloisters, and a tablet bearing a most touching inscription was placed there :

M.S.
 Coniugis dulcissimae
 CAROLETTÆ WORDSWORTH,
 quae,
 vixdum facta mater,
 ex amplexu mariti
 sublata est
 nocte Ascensionis Domini
 Maiæ X., MDCCCXXXIX.
 Aetat. XXII.

I, nimium dilecta, vocat Deus ; I, bona nostrae
 Pars animae : moerens altera, disce sequi.

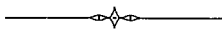
A translation by the late Lord Derby may be new to many :

Too dearly loved, thy God hath called thee : go,
 Go, thou best portion of this widowed heart :
 And thou, poor remnant lingering here in woe,
 So learn to follow as no more to part.

¹ What can be more admirable than the following extract from the first volume of "Christian Boyhood"? "I say that you must not choose to occupy your minds—no, not for a moment—with anything that is evil, for this is inconsistent with the law of God. What books are evil you must either inquire of others, or you must judge for yourselves. But I may so far assist your judgment as to give you this one rule: *Have the Bible always, as it were, at your right hand, and let the book that is at your left hand be no unfit companion for it.* If you cannot pass with a safe and with a pure conscience from the reading of the one to the reading of the other, be sure the book has no tendency to God's glory; and as such is not fit entertainment for the mind of one who desires to love God wholly and sincerely. And as you will read nothing that is plainly at variance with God's law, so you will judge of all that you do read by the standard of that law; you will be pleased or offended, you will approve or condemn, according as God's law requires, that so, 'by reason of this use,' as the Apostle speaks, 'you may have your senses exercised to discern both good and evil.' And that you may be able to do this, I need scarcely say, you must be very conversant with that law; you must not only set the Bible, as I have said, at your right hand, but you must make it a main portion of what you read."

This volume brings the Bishop's life down to the year 1846, and we shall look with great interest to the conclusion, which we trust he will live to finish. We have no space to notice the very interesting review of the Oxford movement, and especially the keen analysis of John Henry Newman's changes. Bishop Wordsworth has always been in a position of remarkable independence. From his father he inherited a true love for the great giants of English theology. He is now, in his old age, anxious to discover points of contact with those who do not accept the service and discipline of the Church of England. He longs for the reunion of England and Scotland in one united communion, and his earnest labours, though not productive of immediate fruit, will tell, and are telling, on many who are panting for reconciliation and longing for peace. We commend this volume with its varied contents most heartily to our readers. It is the work of a strong intellect and a firm faith.

G. D. BOYLE.



ART. V.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON ST. JOHN XX.

II.

IN the previous paper mention was made of the "three days" which came between the Lord's death and His resurrection, the silent interval referred to in the $\delta\epsilon$ of our ver. 1. Let us so far return to that point as to remind ourselves of the extreme importance to us of that interval from one particular point of view. "The third day I will rise again"; that promise of delay was pregnant with many mercies. Putting aside all thought and question (never by us on earth to be answered with certainty) what the Lord Jesus Himself might have to do in that mysterious time, we see at once that the interval was momentous, not only for our greater assurance of His literal death, but—this is the point here in my mind—for our better appreciation of the real state of mind of His followers. Their blank surprise, their despair, their mistakes, their broken faith but not broken love—all are before us now, for all had time to come out. And thus we are able to estimate better the massive solidity of the evidence of the resurrection, looking at the absolute contrast between the former and after states of the disciples. The disciples between Friday and Sunday—the disciples after the Sunday, thenceforward for ever—what a difference! Before, all is misunderstanding, bewilderment, helplessness; after, all is one strong consistency (if we except a passing check in the case of one person, Thomas) of holy certainty, peace, energy, and joy.

But now we draw near the scene of resurrection.

Perhaps it was soon after midnight, the vernal midnight, that the Lord arose. Indeed, as soon as the sun of Saturday had set, and the first moments of the First Day had come, the letter of His promise permitted Him to return; for the *πρωθήμερον* could be represented by ever so small a fraction of its course. But, as a fact, the Revival took place not long before the discovery of its occurrence. In one place (Mark xvi. 9) we read distinctly that "Jesus rose early" (*πρωί*), in the early morning, on the first day of the week. It was probably a very silent resurrection. It was not till the great Angel, afterwards, came down that the stone was rolled fairly away, and the earth shaken around the place of burial. It may be that, in a way unknown to us, and unknowable, the Body of the Resurrection was made able to pass through the stone which as yet lay unmoved in the doorway.¹ But, however, It passed out from the cell. He stood up, in His veritable, immortal body, dropping aside, so that they lay on the floor, just as and where they had been worn, the long linen cloths which had so recently pressed "an hundred-pound weight" of spices round His lacerated limbs²; and so He reappeared, "in the power of an indissoluble life," "according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself."

In that resurrection life "He dieth no more." The human form, flesh and bones, which stepped forth in the light of dawn into Joseph's garden that wonderful morning, was alive eternally. Identical in continuity with the body of His birth and His death, it was in a state infinitely new, "a spiritual body." For it, time was, as it were, no more. Eighteen centuries have not worn it into age, nor shall the coming æons do so. In it, He is "this same Jesus," yesterday, to-day, and when He comes again. And every moment of its holy permanence is proof both that we are accepted in His death and are being saved for ever in His life.

So the Risen Saviour triumphed in the deep silence of that

¹ I own to a greater unwillingness than formerly to admit this theory, which *seems* to put an essential difference between the Lord's Risen Body and our body. Yet it must be observed that the theory does not suppose the contradiction of any apparent necessary law of thought. It does not suppose any ubiquity, or practical ubiquity, of the Body, nor that the same space would be occupied by the atoms of the stone and of the body; but that the sacred material of the Body was so subtilized by the action of the Lord's Spirit that the dense stone became, relatively to It, a network of large interstices. But the hypothesis is, perhaps, too far-fetched.

² Where had the spices gone? Had they been, as it were, consumed by that contact?

early morning. Meanwhile the disciples were weeping and groaning because of His death, and were coming to bid His remains the last farewell.

Verse 1. *On the first day of the week, τῆ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων.* The Greek plural σαββάθᾱ is a transliteration of the Aramaic *shabbāthā*, and has no plural meaning. *Μιᾷ* for *πρώτῃ* is Hebraistic.

Cometh Mary the Magdalene, Mary of Magdala, or Migdol, a place (probably) near Tiberias, and still perhaps to be identified. This much-favoured disciple is mentioned fourteen times in the Gospels, and always (except only Luke viii. 2, where she is seen, along with "many other women," accompanying the Lord through Galilee, and assisting Him with her personal means) in connection with the story of the Passion. There is no real evidence to identify her with the "woman that was a sinner." From her (Mark xvi. 9) Jesus had "cast out seven devils." But this tells us nothing of any special impurity in her life. All it does is to account most instructively and nobly for her deep, devoted, energetic love. That love began with this simple but mighty motive—gratitude for immense blessings, profoundly certain to her consciousness. She had been a tortured, perhaps a terrible, demoniac; now she was at rest, and Jesus was the cause. So she came to the sepulchre early, in the dusk, earlier than the Apostles; brought by no superhuman courage, but by special grateful love.

She did not come alone. "The other Mary," wife of Clopas, mother of James the Less, and very possibly sister of the Virgin,¹ was with her; and other women came to the same spot about the same hour, Johanna and Salome among them. But, with one minute exception, which we shall notice as it comes, their presence does not appear in *this* narrative. In it we have the whole scene from *Mary's* point of view; and deeply truth-like it is, when we remember Mary's condition of feeling, that that point of view should have regarded herself and her own experiences alone. As she told the sacred incidents over, when she went to the disciples with the message that "she had seen the Lord," she would speak as one whose whole being had been concentrated on what He had said to *her*.

She came *early, while it was still dusk, to the sepulchre*; finding her way to the walled garden whither she had seen Joseph and Nicodemus convey the body, and there deposit it, within the mass of linen-folded spicery, inside the chamber

¹ See Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," s.v. *Mary of Clopas*.

cut in the rock, at the back or the side of the enclosure. The sun was near his rising; but it was dusk still in the nooks and corners of the place.

And now, *she sees the stone taken out of the sepulchre.* This view, very probably, was not from the garden itself. A glance as she approached it would be enough to show her the black void recess. And perhaps, accordingly, she did not now go up to the tomb at all, but hastened on alone, leaving whoever might have come with her, or have met her, to follow or not as it might happen.

However, the stone was moved. "*The stone,*" says St. John, though he had said nothing about a stone before. To be sure, the definite article may be accounted for by the fact that every rock-tomb would have *its* stone. But knowing as we do from the other Gospel narratives how large a part "the stone" did play on that momentous morning, I cannot help seeing here one of the many details in which St. John, in his Gospel, *takes for granted* the main Evangelic narrative, and passingly and without anxiety uses his reader's knowledge of it.

Verse 2. *So Mary runs.* How much eager speed there was that hour! The holy woman, the two Apostles, all *run*, from the sepulchre, or to it, in the self-oblivion of great grief or of great hope.

And she comes to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved; so John describes himself, with a *naïveté* inimitable, and altogether unlike a fabricator (when we have regard to the literary conditions of the early generations of Christianity¹), about fourteen times.

So she found Peter and John in company; perhaps in the same house, though the repetition of the *πρὸς* before *τὸν ἄλλον μαθητὴν* slightly suggests that she needed to call at two doors. Very beautiful is the sight of this special intimacy of the two Apostles. We seem to see it first when they go (Luke xxii. 8) to prepare the room for the Last Passover; then, when they stand together at the door of the Palace of the Priest; again in this incident; again in the following chapter, and again and again in the early passages of the Acts. How different was each from each—how helpful each to each manifestly became! And we may specially note how "the disciple whom Jesus loved" had learnt in that wonderful friendship to "love his brother also." John had never actually denied his Lord; Peter, probably in John's hearing, had denied Him. Many a

¹ It cannot be too often remembered, when we study the inner marks of the authenticity of the Scripture narratives, of both Testaments, that anything like finished and really deceptive personation of the past (if I may say so) is a very modern literary phenomenon. Is it much older than Sir Walter Scott?

“saint” of later days would, I fear, have thrust Peter away from all fellowship with himself. But not so John. At once, before the Resurrection, before the hope of it, while there was yet no joy in his own heart, John has joined himself to Peter; has taken him to be his brother as well as Mary to be his mother.

If for us, in our day, the sense of our Redeemer’s love, our rest upon the bosom of His forgiving friendship, does anything, it will make us condemn and renounce the spiritual self-righteousness which shuts up sympathy. It will make us feel how wonderfully welcome to the Lord is “whosoever cometh,” even if he comes fresh from some grievous fall, some denial of the blessed Name. It will make us so far like Him who loved us, that while we shall see and feel sin, as sin, more and more keenly and painfully (and not least, the sin of not loving the Lord Christ, and submitting the whole being to Him), we shall more and yet more truly love, and seek to help, others for whom our aid may avail, however strange the case, however great the fall.

So, to Peter and to John, Mary of Magdala comes running.

And she says to them, They have taken the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we do not know where they have put Him.

I turn the aorists by perfects; not, of course, forgetting an important grammatical difference, but remembering that the genius of Greek places an act or event in the complete past more promptly than the genius of English. Accordingly we have often, for the sake of English, to represent the Greek completed past by the English past connected with the present.

“*They have taken.*” The expression is quite indefinite. It appears to be fairly equivalent to the *on* of French; *on a enlevé le Seigneur*; Joseph, Joseph’s servants, anyone, had done it. Mary may have thought of the soldiers, who had already left the place pell-mell. But probably she did not even know of their having been there, nor of the seal upon the stone. The guard had not been sent to the place till the Sabbath; and the women had kept the Sabbath most strictly (Luke xxiii. 5, 6¹), moving about very little, probably.

“*They have taken away the LORD*”; wonderful word! It was only the corpse; yes, but to Mary that was JESUS. And she was right. The body, as much as the soul, is an integral part of perfect man; it is so with the Christian, it was so with Christ. We are amply justified in mourning, loving, honouring the precious bodies of our departed dear ones; *they are* a part of *them*. And truly we are justified in longing, in praying, for the Resurrection hour when they shall actually and eternally be part of them again.

“*And WE do not know where they have put Him.*” Here,

¹ Their Master, it appears, had taught them no neglect of the “Commandments.”

surely, we have a distinct, though minute, indication of the presence of other seekers along with Mary. Some even devout scholars (I think Dr. Sanday is among them) say that we cannot argue thus; that the memory of the aged Apostle could not charge itself with the presence or absence of a mere syllable (a mere *μεν*, if she spoke Greek). But it seems obvious to remark that to recall a syllable may mean much more than merely to recall the sound. The word is bound up with the thing. Not so much the sounds spelt *οἱδαμεν* cling to the mind as the represented idea of the more-than-one who "did not know."

Anywise, St. John has carefully written *οἱδαμεν*, and (to speak of no deeper considerations) it is in harmony with his whole style to imply details which he leaves unrecorded, because recorded otherwise already. I take it that he makes Mary here conscious of having approached the sepulchre with her friend, and now refer to their united thought.

"*We know not where they have put Him.*" What strange words, at such a moment! What a sublime *ειρωνεία* about them! Let us try to enter into the anguish and bewilderment of this blessed forerunner of our faith and lover of our Lord. Intensely devoted to the Person of Jesus; bound to Him by ties of the tenderest gratitude, by her knowledge that reason, and rest, and friends, were all the special gift of Him who had disencumbered her soul of the seven foul spirits; bound to Him also by longing hopes, cherished visions (in the light of true prophecy) of His passionless triumph and world-wide glory and fame; longing, no doubt, for all this wholly for His sake, and not at all for her own; she now saw Him murdered, buried, and—stolen from her. And her only resource was to run to two poor men, as hopeless and helpless as herself, and even more paralyzed. And yet, she loves. She is energized by love; she will still do anything for "the Lord."

How shall it be with us? We know immeasurably more (it is strictly true) about Christ Jesus than Mary at that moment did. We know Him as the Eternal SON given for our sins, according to the Scriptures. We know Him as the Risen One, according to the Scriptures, living at this hour—and for ever—for us, with us, in us. He is revealed to us as the Ascended One, our Mediator and Head at the right hand of Eternal Love. Ah, what should be our thanksgiving as we contrast it all with the anguish and despair of Mary at that moment? What should be our gladness, as we come daily and hourly to Him, and receive, instead of deserved condemnation, HIMSELF, and all the fulness of our salvation in Him? It is for us to be strong with a strength greater than that of the Magdalene that hour; for hers was a love full of darkness and distress, ours is a love which is full of joy.

H. C. G. MOULE.

ART. VI.—DIDON'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

Jésus Christ. Par le R. P. DIDON. Paris : Librairie Plon, 1891.

THERE is something about this book which is very fascinating, as is shown by the success which has attended it. It was published this year in two volumes, quickly followed by a smaller edition in one volume, of which many thousands have been sold, and now an English translation has just been issued. At a time when many are inclined to ask, Can any *new* thing come out of Nazareth? such a popularity must result from an unusual merit or novelty; it is probably due to the latter, the book being written by a priest of the Church of Rome. Accurate as the author is, and familiar with the latest results of English and German as well as French scholarship, he cannot lay claim to any originality of exegesis, or brilliance in theorizing. The traditional views are deftly defended, and set in picturesque and earnest phraseology.

If we compare Père Didon's work with the latest three "Lives" by English divines it will certainly not suffer in some respects. Archdeacon Farrar's ambitious rhetoric ill accords with the solemn and sweet simplicity of his subject; and, though he has caught the glitter of the classical world, yet it is the French writer who can make us breathe the cool, pure air of the Judean hills, and hear the little waves splash on the beach of the Sea of Galilee, and see the Master moving about doing good to the people. Again, Dr. Geikie's careful and thoroughly English book, able as it is, lags behind in the direction of literary grace and fire, and for the same reason, though Dr. Edersheim is more learned and original in his own special line than any of the four, he will not be appreciated by so wide a circle, perhaps, as his latest successor. Didon is both accurate and interesting, precise and poetic, evidently knowing all that is to be said, and yet attractive in the manner of saying it. An important feature, too, for readers who above all things value Scriptural truth, lies in the fact that, though a Romanist, Didon evidently, for some reason or other, avoids, as much as possible, all points of debate.

The author begins by an Introduction, in which he deals with the part played by criticism and history in a life of Jesus Christ. Here, perhaps, many would think he was seen at his best; he is perfectly fair and candid, yet gives nothing away. The old shield, sword and buckler are brought out, but newly-scoured and furbished. The style is judiciously mixed; curt, epigrammatic phrases alternate with passages of genuine eloquence.

In the Introduction, the manuscripts, contemporary evi-

dence, prophecy, miracles, *à priori* evidence, and subsequent results of Christianity are all considered in their bearing upon the life of our Lord. The whole really forms a very clear synopsis of the arguments for and against our Lord's divinity as they stand at present. We give as an example a sketch of his treatment of miracles :

If prophecy exists, why not miracles? If there is a prophesied Christ, why not a wonder-working Christ? This interrogation is put, not to the pantheist, materialist, positivist, sceptic, unbeliever or believer—to man. Then the question is dealt with: Does the miraculous happen? and the following answers are imagined :

I. "Miracles are impossible." This is the answer of the pantheist, or positivist. From the standpoint of those systems it is logical, but it is not the reply of man. Who has proved these systems themselves? It is an insult to human dignity that they should treat as knaves and fools all those who said they saw the miracles. But what will pure and impersonal reason say? That a Superior Being is capable of intervening in the laws which He Himself has laid down.

II. "They have not been observed;" present-day science has not met with them. But what does a scientific experience of a few men and a few years prove against an array of past centuries? Nowadays we see no being arise like unto Jesus; yet Jesus has lived. To set the experience of a day or a century against the experience of the history of humanity is so naïve that it disarms criticism.

III. "The Gospel miracles are like the false cycles of miracles." But we must draw an essential distinction between the miraculous and the marvellous: the former is essentially conceivable, implying in itself no contradiction, possessing a *raison d'être* and a moral direction; the latter is often absurd, we cannot find the cause which produced it, its tendency is either useless or immoral. The miracles of Jesus reveal divinity; those attributed to Buddha or Mohammed reveal ostentation, or intimidation. Christ's miracles are *signs*, and, moreover, Christ without His miracles is not Christ. Finally, he sums up by showing that the miracles were written of on, or immediately after, their event; they are in themselves conceivable, and aim at the virtue, instruction and safety of mankind; they are related by men whose holy life and martyrdom attest their sincerity.

The preceding, of course, is only an abstract of the clear and full argument with which Père Didon meets those who, like Matthew Arnold, lay down the axiom that miracles do not happen. He devotes a good deal of attention to this abstract view of the theory of miracles, which indeed everyone will

acknowledge to be of the first importance in discussing the miracles themselves. Unless that point be settled one way or the other, it is of little use discussing the details of the different wonder-works. If one man holds it as an axiom that miracles do not happen, and another that the miraculous is possible, they can never agree, and cannot even enter upon any profitable argument. It would be like trying to learn Euclid without admitting that the halves of equal things are equal.

As an example of the more fervent and impassioned parts of Didon's work we translate the following close to the Introduction :

"Towards Christ, as the Church keeps Him, I want to turn the eyes of this generation.

"She is called ill, He will cure her ; old and taking pleasure in nothing, He will make her young again and bring back her dreams of greatness,¹ for His disciple is a man of eternal hope ; she is accused of being positive, of believing only in the palpable and visible, the useful and pleasurable, He will teach her to see the invisible, to taste the immaterial, to understand that the most useful man to himself and others, to country and humanity, is he who knows how to deny himself, and that of all blessings which refined minds can appreciate, the highest is the sacrifice of self ; she is called mad after pleasure and money, perhaps that is why her strength is failing, for pleasure kills, and money may lead to every vice ; Christ will teach her to disdain pleasure and to use her riches well. In any case, the world is exposed to a thousand griefs, agonies and despairs. All who boast of the joy of living are well aware that this joy has terrible drawbacks, and that the more happy a life is, the more cruel is the death which shatters it. Christ alone teaches the joy of suffering, because He alone inspires the soul with a divine life that no grief can extinguish, that is fortified by trial, and that contemns death, since it allows us to contemplate death with hearts full of hope."

The "Life" proper is divided into five books. The first deals with the period in which our Lord appeared, His birth, youth and education. A general sketch of that epoch is given, in which four great facts are selected for special treatment ; the Roman policy, paganism, Greek philosophy, and Judaism. These are investigated, because, says the author, "the life of Christ does not only form the last scene of a national drama which took twenty centuries to play, from Abraham to the

¹ "Il lui rendra ses vingt ans et ses grands rêves."

destruction of the Jews—it deals with universal history, of which it is the centre and the summit.” The writer is seen to great advantage in this book; with a reverently realistic pen he draws an accurate picture of the Divine Child growing up in His village home, and waiting His appointed hour. While He is getting ready for the task “one of those voices which stir multitudes and bend consciences is breaking up the road and summoning the soul of the nation.”

Accordingly the next book is entitled “Jean le Précurseur et l'avènement de Jésus.” In the course of his remarks on our Lord's baptism Didon writes: “Quiconque, à l'appel du Christ, sortira de ses vices, de son ignorance, de son égoïsme, par le repentir, le sacrifice et la foi, quiconque entrera dans la parole de Jésus, verra, comme lui, le ciel obstinément muré s'ouvrir; les fils de la terre et de l'humanité corrompue deviendront des fils de Dieu, ils entendront, au fond de leur conscience, l'Esprit murmurer ce titre ineffable, et apprendront de lui à nommer Dieu leur Père céleste.”

The third book deals with the Galilean mission and the “Kingdom of God.” The miracles and parables with which this period abounds are treated in a manner that is full of suggestion for the preacher. There can be found not only beautiful ideas, but terse and epigrammatic sentences. For example, speaking of our Lord's fondness for open-air preaching, Didon writes: “Les murs d'un Synagogue étaient trop étroits pour la plus grande parole que la terre ait jamais entendue; il lui fallait le ciel libre, la solitude pleine d'échos, la mer avec le murmure des vagues.” On the deeds of benevolence wrought by Christ in the plain of Gennesaret we read, “The way in which He understands His Royalty is to walk surrounded by all those who are in need. This explosion of goodness is the crown of the Galilean mission.” We select one or two other phrases. “Neither a wise man nor a prophet can save the world; only God.” “Jesus demands heroism, and when He imposes it on man He does so by reminding him that he must act like God.” “They hoped that the movement would die a natural death, but on the contrary it increased, and those who opposed it were brought face to face with this dilemma, to accept God's messenger, or to put Him to death.” “God is known and understood only by those who bear Him living within them.” “The kingdom of God is the kingdom of love, under its most essential characteristic, pardon.”

In the fourth book, the author deals with the struggles at Jerusalem, which preceded our Lord's trial and execution, and on that stormy period he remarks, “Strange! the lowest of the people, sinners and harlots, understood; and the highest, the

self-styled righteous, pontiffs and doctors, cannot see it. It is always so; the manifestations of God to humanity enlighten simple souls and repentant consciences; they blind the minds that fancy themselves to be strong."

When the disciples came to Jesus and asked whether they were few that would be saved, He answered, Strive to enter in yourselves. On this Didon writes very truly:

L'unique question pour l'homme est d'être incorporé au Royaume. S'il entre, il trouvera la vie dans la joie de l'éternel festin, à la table du Père, avec Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, et tous les prophètes et tous les élus des quatre coins du monde. S'il reste dehors, chassé au loin, il aura en partage la douleur sans fin et le désespoir. Mais que l'homme prenne garde: l'entrée dans la maison paternelle et dans le palais du Royaume est difficile, car la porte est étroite. Cette porte est la foi en Jésus—le Messie pauvre et inconnu, humilié et souffrant. Pour que l'homme pénètre par cette porte, il faut qu'il se réduise à rien, qu'il s'anéantisse dans la parole de Jésus et lui sacrifie tout. S'il refuse au renoncement total, il n'entrera pas. Les contemporains du Maître l'ont prouvé; le grand nombre a reculé devant le sacrifice de la foi, préférant, à la doctrine du Sauveur, ses rites, sa science et ses vices; il n'a point été admis à la gloire du Royaume.

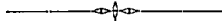
In a similar style our author speaks of the saying of Jesus that wherever the carcass is, there will the eagles (or vultures) be gathered together. Didon applies this to God's punishment: "Par cette image énergique empruntée à la nature galiléenne, le Maître ne formulait-il pas une des lois terribles du gouvernement de Dieu, la loi des destructions nécessaires? Malheur à ceux qui ne se rattachent pas à la vie! Le cadavre, c'est tout ce qui, dans l'humanité, n'a pas l'Esprit vivifiant de Dieu; les vautours sont les forces destructives qui accomplissent sur ces morts, partout où ils se trouvent, les volontés vengeresses de l'éternelle justice."

There is a coincidence of thought between our author and Newman, in noticing that the usual level of Christ's human humiliation is relieved by brilliant flashes of divinity which serve to heighten the perception of His condescension.¹ Newman selects the Epiphany as an example of this, Didon the Transfiguration. Many other points might be noticed, but in this short summary it must be enough to say that the

¹ See the great Hooker: "For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require, which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either enlarge or restrain themselves."—*Eccles. Polity*, v. 54.

whole of this fourth book is written in picturesque and vivid style, and yet so that, due regard being had to the slight tendencies of Romanism displayed, one feels that he is always treading on common Christian ground.

It is when we turn to the fifth and final division, "The death of Jesus, and after," that a sense of weakness specially strikes us. If we were about at any length to criticise this work, it is certainly here that we should chiefly turn. The thought is thinner than elsewhere, the treatment is hurried, and worst of all, very little is made out of the Resurrection. The Ascension is dismissed with a few meagre remarks. It is difficult to say why this is; and we can assign no reason, unless it be the fact that the Church of Rome has been, and always must be, from the necessities of an unscriptural system, feeble and defective in dealing with the Resurrection and the Risen Life. The author would not feel compelled to intimately describe the tremendous results of the Resurrection who can write such passages as that with which he closes his Introduction: "Je remets ce livre au jugement infaillible de l'Eglise, approuvant ce qu'elle approuve, rejetant ce qu'elle rejette, me souvenant des paroles de Jésus: 'Qui vous écoute, m'écoute: qui vous méprise, me méprise.'" In short (though this is most prominent in the fifth book) one cannot help being reminded that the author is one of the order of Frères Prêcheurs, that his work is recommended by a warm letter from the Pope through his secretary, Cardinal Rampolla, and that though his Romanist faith is reticent, it is yet present. A.



THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL.—(A correction.)—The Rev. W. T. HOBSON writes to us: "I find I have made two very careless mistakes in my figures on p. 75 in my article in THE CHURCHMAN for this month [November] on 'The Seventy Weeks of Daniel,' for which I ask your pardon, and that of your readers, and which I shall be much obliged by being allowed to correct. 1. I wrote as follows: 'Reckoning 490 years from . . . Mr. Guinness' *terminus a quo*'—B.C. 457—'brings us to the year 39, if not to the year 45.' This is obviously wrong. I should have said, 'brings us to the year 33, or rather to the year 39'—Mr. Guinness' date for the Nativity being B.C. 6 of the ordinary chronology. Mr. Guinness himself, in his 'Appendix' Calendar, gives A.D. 34 as the end of the seventy weeks, and A.D. 29 as the date of the crucifixion. But adding the above-mentioned six years to each of these dates, we have A.D. 40 as his end of the seventy weeks, and A.D. 35 as his date for the cutting off of the Messiah. 2. I also wrote: 'Reckoning, however, from B.C. 444, which we have seen good reason for maintaining as the true *terminus a quo*, seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, or 483 years, bring us exactly to Mr. Milner's time for "Messiah the Prince," i.e., His crucifixion, or to the year A.D. 29, which Mr. Guinness rightly assigns as the date of the crucifixion.' But I find that not 483, but 473 years, bring us to that date. My mistake has arisen from too readily assuming Mr. Guinness' date, B.C. 444, as the twentieth year of Artaxerxes.

Taking instead, as I ought to have done, Archbishop Ussher's date for the twentieth of Artaxerxes, A.M. 3550 or B.C. 454, then deducting four years (according to Alford, Farrar, etc.) for the truer date of the Nativity, and adding thirty-three years for the earthly life of our Lord, we have exactly 483 years, or the required $7 + 62$ weeks, to Messiah the Prince and His 'cutting off' a few days after His public entry as King into Jerusalem. Wherever the date 'B.C. 444' occurs in my article as my date for the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, my readers are requested to read 'B.C. 454' instead."

Notes on Bible Words.

NO. XV.—"HAPPY."

THE word "Blessed" in the Sermon on the Mount is μακάριοι. Vulg. *beati*. Jeremy Taylor says:

Our excellent and gracious Lawgiver, knowing that the great argument in all practical disciplines is the proposal of the end, which is their crown and reward, begins His sermon, as David began his most divine collection of hymns, with "blessedness." And having enumerated eight duties . . . He begins every duty with a beatitude, and concludes it with a reward; to manifest the reasonableness, and to invite and determine our choice to such graces which are circumscribed with felicities. . . .

In Ps. i. 1, μακάριος (beatus¹; heureux;) "Blessed is the man," R.V. marg., "happy."

רָשָׁע, says Gesenius, is upright, or straight on; to be successful, to be fortunate; *happy*: to be congratulated. See Gen. xxx. 13, Asher. "Happy am I; for the daughters will call me happy."

The same word, μακ., in St. John xiii. 17, is rendered *happy*: "Happy are ye if ye do them!" R.V. "blessed."

For μακάριος, also, see 1 Tim. i. 11; "the gospel of the glory of the blessed God." Tit. ii. 13, "that blessed hope." 1 Pet. iii. 14, "but and if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye"; iv. 14.

Prov. iii. 13, "Happy is the man," literally "*blessings of the man.*"

In 1 Cor. vii. 40, R.V., as well as A.V., has "she is happier."

In Acts xxvi. 2, "I think myself happy," is ἡγημαι ἑμαυτὸν μακάριον; but in St. James v. 11, "we count them happy" (R.V., *blessed*) is μακαρίζομεν: Vulg., *beatificamus*.¹ This verb—to pronounce blessed (Luke i. 48)—is the Sept. for רָשָׁע.

In Rom. iv. 9, declaration of blessedness is μακαρισμὸς: Gal. iv. 15.

The New Testament use of this word, μακάριος, throws light upon Christian *happiness*, and will help to understand such songs of trust² as that which closes thus:

There are briars besetting every path
That call for patient care;
There is a cross in every lot,
And an earnest need for prayer.
But a lowly heart that leans on Thee
Is happy anywhere.

¹ For *beatus*, the student may compare Hor. Od. iv. 9, *recte beatum*, and Ep. ii., *beatus ille*, "Happy the man . . ."

² Prov. xvi. 20, "Whoso trusteth in the Lord, happy is he."

Review.

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Darkness and Dawn ; or, Scenes in the Days of Nero. By F. W. FARRAR.
Two Volumes. London : Longmans, Green and Co.

HERE Archdeacon Farrar is at home. The picture he gives us of the reign of Nero is painted in colours the most vivid and lifelike, bringing before us as we read the darkness of paganism and the first bright rays of the Christian truth piercing the mists. Such a conflict offers an opportunity for much effective contrast, which has not been lost, but rather accentuated by many a device of description and effort of imagination. The book will be found to be not altogether a novel, not even an ordinary historical tale, and yet it is equally far removed from a series of descriptions with no connecting interest. It is rather a sequence of scenes, showing the same persons, and unfolding a drama ; or an exhibition of magic-lantern slides explained by a continuous narrative. While it is strictly what it professes to be—the history of a reign—there is enough of human interest involved to make us feel the story, as well as read it.

Of course, in some respects, Dr. Farrar's task was an easy one. The darkness of decadent paganism was so dark ; underneath the superficial glitter and orderliness was fermenting such a chaos of human lust and despair, that even a timid attempt to draw the beams of Gospel light as they stole softly over the disordered scene, would not fail to impress. The awful nature of the slave system—a system which was so engrained in the fabric of those times that even St. Paul did not ask his friend Philemon to *free* the runaway slave ; the dreadful fiction of a Divine Caesar, who was constantly being assassinated to make room for another brief-lived god ; the hardihood in immorality, and despair of better things—these and other thoughts will at once rise in the mind as we think of the early empire. The most careless cannot fail to see a pre-ordained fitness in the selection by the Almighty of this period as the time for the propagation of the new truth, just as a feeble light is most easily seen in the darkest room. For it brought to the people, amongst other gifts, the one of which at the immediate time most want was felt, and that was hope. All that was best and purest in the early empire was pessimistic. Even Horace had to play the plaintive, for his melancholy, gentle as it was, is probably assumed, and not a real part of his nature, but only adopted to suit the prevailing tone. All that was optimistic was self-indulgent ; to be cheerful in one's personal life was to be callous as regarded other people's sufferings. Thræsea and the other stoics looked upon life as a mistake, as an unwelcome present, which it did not chafe them to abandon, while Petronius and his fellow *viveurs* enjoyed life as a thing of which no account would have to be given hereafter. Dr. Farrar's task, then, was to show how Christianity breathed into this morbid atmosphere a pure exhilaration for the first life of man,

with a sure and certain hope of a second. He has performed it admirably.

Many characters are crowded into his brilliant canvas. Nero, of course, is the central figure, but we suppose that the place of hero would be rightly shared by Onesimus, the runaway slave, and Titus, the future conqueror of Jerusalem. The slave, says the author, must be regarded as an imaginary person, except in name. He is made to run away from Colossæ, where Philemon lived, and come to Rome to see life. Here, although he is a Christian, he sinks very low and sins deeply. The climax of his degradation is reached when he becomes a gladiator. Later he meets with St. Paul, who reconverts him, and of course, sends him back to Philemon. His kind master frees him, allowing him to return to Rome, where he waits upon St. Paul's last days, and is the only Christian to attend him at his martyrdom. He is represented as a young Phrygian, beautiful, brave, but weak and wayward, though in the end he nobly redeems his transgressions. Acte, Nero's first and faithful love, is made his cousin.

We see Titus growing up as the companion of Britannicus, and represented as a manly and virtuous lad, good-tempered and vigorous, qualities which were partly due to his plebeian birth. His humble home-life, too, is shown, with his honest soldier-father Vespasian, who afterwards ruled Rome, and his savage brother Domitian, his own successor in the empire. Titus grows up to a brave and honest Roman, acquainted with, but despising, Christianity on account of what he fancied its superstition. He is sitting next to Britannicus when the young prince is poisoned. That ill-fated prince is represented as a shy, but noble boy, resenting his ousting by Nero, but aware of the futility of resisting it. Archdeacon Farrar takes a somewhat bold step in making him a Christian, though the scene where the young Claudius is taken to a secret meeting, hears the *Glossolalia*, and is himself affected by the Spirit, is one of the most powerful in the whole story. Octavia, too, his hapless sister, sacrificed to Poppæa, is made a Christian; so, of course, is the beautiful Acte.

The forms of Agrippina, Seneca, Burrus, Lucan, Pudens, Claudia, Poppæa, Gallio, and many others, are full of interest. As for Nero, we see him under every light—as the comparatively innocent boy; the young tiger learning his strength; the matricide; the unchecked tyrant; the craven, dreading death. We see him chafing under Seneca's philosophic restraint; rioting with Petronius, Otho, Tigellinus and the rest; flinging princely gifts to the pantomimists, Paris and Aliturus; poisoning with consummate coolness his adoptive brother, Britannicus, at a feast at which the *élite* of Rome were present; contending in the arena; touring through Greece, and winning his prizes in blood; gloating over burning Rome and burning Christians; and finally whimpering, "Only to think that such an artist must perish!" as his fate finds him. His strange character is displayed with a master hand—the music-hall tyrant, as he would be called nowadays: "He was but thirty-one when he died; and he had crowded all that colossal criminality, all that mean rascality, all that insane degradation, extravagance and lust, into a reign of fourteen years!" (vol. ii., p. 324).

But no doubt the main interest circles round the glimpses of the beginnings of the Gospel. The secret meetings, the pass-words, the simple worship, the talking with tongues—all are drawn reverently and with skill. The figures of the three Apostles who are introduced are drawn with honourable delicacy and respect, and so far from offending, are a help towards realizing their personality. We give the descriptions of their appearances.

St. John "was dressed, as was not unusual at Rome, in Eastern costume. He was a man a little past the prime of life. The hair which escaped from under his turban was already sprinkled with gray. His dark eyes seemed to be lighted from within by a spiritual fire; his figure was commanding, his attitude full of dignity. His face was a perfect oval, and the features were of the finest type of Eastern manhood. When once you had gazed upon him it seemed impossible to take the eyes from a countenance so perfect in its light and spiritual beauty—a countenance in which a fiery vehemence was exquisitely tempered by a pathetic tenderness. His whole appearance was magnetic. It seemed to flash into all around him its own nobleness, and to kindle there that flame of love to God and man which burnt on the altar of his own heart" (vol. i., p. 231).

As to St. Paul: "Julius pointed to a prisoner chained to the foremost soldier. He was a man with the aquiline nose and features of his race; somewhat bent, somewhat short of stature; evidently, from his gestures, a man of nervous and emotional temperament. His hair had grown gray in long years of hardship. Many a care of peril and anxiety had driven its ploughshare across his brow. His cheeks were sunken, and the eyes, though bright, were disfigured by ophthalmia. He was evidently short-sighted; but, as he turned his fixed and earnest look now on one, now on another of his companions, the expression of his deeply-marked face was so translucent with some Divine light within, that those who once saw him felt compelled to look long on a countenance of no ordinary type of nobleness" (vol. ii., p. 96).

Of St. Peter we are told: "His gray hair added to the venerable aspect of his advancing years; but his eye was undimmed, his cheek still ruddy with the long years of the winds of Galilee, and holy courage shone in his weather-beaten features. There was a certain fire and force in all he said which gave it an impressiveness beyond that which was contained in the words themselves. Plain and practical as was 'the pilot of the Galilean lake,' there hung about him a reflection of something which elevated him above himself—as though the sunlight of Gennesareth still played around him, and the glory of Hermon shone upon his face. Everywhere among the good he commanded the deep reverence which his simplicity did not seek; and everywhere among the evil, he inspired the awe which his humble manliness might seem to deprecate" (vol. ii., p. 210).

Peter and Paul are martyred at Rome. John escapes the cauldron of oil, and, owing to superstitious terror on Nero's part, is banished to Patmos.

Without revealing any more of the tale, we think we have said enough to show that it is one of no ordinary interest. Here and there a careful observer may detect slight slips in matters of fact. Here and there the speech bewrayeth the Archdeacon. Figures are occasionally lugged in, merely, as far as one can see, for the sake of introducing them. But the tone is so true, the imagination is so vivid, the aim is so high, that this is a noble book.]

Short Notices.

Africa Rediviva. The occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries of Europe and North America. By R. N. CUSSE, LL.D., author of *Modern Languages of Africa, Bible Translations, and Notes on Missionary Subjects.* Pp. 117. Elliot Stock.

THIS book demands a longer notice than at present we are able to afford it. Full of statements and suggestions, on which no doubt the well-informed will make, in due course, worthy comment, it merits careful reading. The eminent writer, second to none in zeal for Missions, uses considerable freedom in his criticisms. It is well. The Missionary cause will lose nothing by it. In his Introduction, he says: "My book is compiled in a Catholic spirit of sincere love to all earnest Christian work, but the criticism on method employed is none the less severe, because in my opinion it is required: there are several radical errors which must be eradicated."

The volume contains four Mission-Maps compiled under the author's instructions, by Messrs. Stanford.

We quote a few specimen sentences, from the concluding remarks, on Woman's Work:

To send a young European or American married woman into the Equatorial regions with the possibility of maternity without the surroundings of decent civilized life is a downright wickedness. Do we read of any such folly in the great Missions of the early centuries? . . . I heard this year (1891) on a missionary platform a colonial Bishop, who ought to have known better, say that the exhibition of a white baby to the simple African or Indian people was *favourable to conversion*. This seems to my mind sheer folly.

The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature. Edited by Professor SALMOND, D.D. Pp. 460. T. and T. Clark.

With the first volume of the "Critical Review" as a whole, we are not able to say we are thoroughly satisfied. Many of the papers of course are helpful, and nearly all reach a high literary level.

The Days of Queen Mary. Annals of her reign, containing particulars of the restoration of Romanism and the sufferings of the martyrs during that period. Religious Tract Society.

This is a new edition of a carefully-written book.

The Story of the Life of Mackay of Uganda, told for boys. By his Sister. With portrait and twelve illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton.

Full of interest. Handsomely got up as a gift-book.

The Well-spring of Immortality. A Tale of Indian Life. By S. S. HEWLETT, Superintendent of St. Catherine's Hospital, Amritsar, N. India. Nisbet and Co.

Amritsar, we are told, means the *not-death spring*. This Missionary Tale is likely to be useful.

How to Keep Healthy. By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, M.D. Religious Tract Society.

Chatty papers on Hygiene of Daily Life, from the *Leisure Hour*, revised. All are sensible and suggestive; the paper on the Science of Old Age is particularly good.

Life and Times of Bishop William Morgan. By the Rev. W. HUGHES, Vicar of Llannwchllyn, Bala. S.P.C.K.

Mr. Hughes, the title-page reminds us, was joint hon. secretary of the Welsh Bible Tercentenary Commemoration Fund. He dedicates this book to Archbishop Benson, "a successor to Whitgift, whose liberality in A.D. 1588 first gave the Bible in the vernacular to the Church in Wales"; and he speaks of Bishop Morgan as one of the greatest of the long succession of Bishops in the ancient British Church. We have pleasure in inviting attention to this timely book.

St. Paul's Song of Songs. A practical exposition of the eighth chapter of Romans. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. Nisbet and Co.

Dr. Macduff's writings have long been well known and esteemed. The book before us is, to say the least, an average specimen.

Stories from the Bible. Second series. By the Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH, with illustrations after Julius Schnorr. Macmillan and Co.

We have not seen the "first series" of these "Stories," but the book before us is undoubtedly interesting. Some of the footnotes, however, strike us as being rather too learned for a book of this kind.

The Christian's Aims. By the Rev. ALFRED PEARSON, M.A., Incumbent of St. Margaret's Church, Brighton. Nisbet and Co.

Mr. Pearson is known as an earnest and instructive preacher, a scholar, and a thinker. This little book shows his soundness and common-sense as a practical writer.

The Races of the Old Testament. By A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., author of "Fresh Light from the Monuments," "The Hittites," etc. The Religious Tract Society.

The Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore. By Rev. H. G. TOMKINS, late Vicar of Branscombe, author of "Studies on the Times of Abraham," etc.

Here are Nos. XVI. and XVII. of the very serviceable "By-Paths of Bible Knowledge" series.

After an introduction treating of the science of ethnology, language and race, and Genesis x., Dr. Sayce proceeds with the Semitic race, the Egyptians, the peoples of Canaan, the Hittites (his "Story of a Forgotten Empire" was admirable), and sums up with general conclusions. Mr. Petrie's photographs are used in the illustrations.

Mr. Tomkins has done well, and his book, full of interest, may be confidently recommended. In his preface, we notice, he refers to Canon Girdlestone's "The Foundations of the Bible" for "an able and candid exposition of the conservative views of the Biblical text."

The Economic Review, a quarterly (Percival and Co.), will have attraction for many of our readers.

In *Blackwood's Magazine* appears an interesting article on the Blantyre Mission, by Dr. D. Kerr Cross. The Blantyre Mission, we read, is situated half way between Katunga and Matopé, and nearly opposite the Murchison Cataracts. Mandala and Blantyre are adjacent. Travelling towards Blantyre from Mandala you cross a wooden bridge and enter an avenue of blue gum-trees half a mile in length. This leads to a square of several acres in extent, beautifully laid out. And, what! a cathedral! at the top of this avenue rise the dome and turrets of one of the most beautiful churches in Africa. Considering everything, that building is a marvel! It was designed by a missionary and built by the natives. Clean, well-clothed, intelligent English-speaking natives are seen walking about or engaged in their several occupations. No exotics of foster growth are these, but men of the Ajawa, Manganja, or Atonga tribes. Some of them are builders, some joiners, some gardeners, some carriers—for this is an industrial mission, as are all the missions in Nyassaland. You inquire as to the schools, and find there are 200 young people in attendance, that 146 girls and lads are boarders, drawn from the tribes around, and all from families of influence. The garden is equally interesting. The soil in Blantyre is by no means the best, yet its productiveness is wonderful. Most English vegetables are here, and most fruit-trees—apples, peaches, oranges, etc. You are led by the head of the mission along one of the garden terraces to a tall coffee-plant—I had almost called it a tree—standing by itself; and speaking of it he points you to the regular lines of the coffee-plantations that have sprung up around. These hundreds of thousands of coffee-plants have sprung from that one tree. Blantyre is admirably situated. Besides being high and healthy, it is in the heart of no one powerful people, but between three—the Ajawa, Manganja, and Angoni. Formerly these three were at constant warfare one with the other. Now, however, that mission influence has been brought to bear on them, they manage to live at peace. To most of us the greatest work of the Blantyre Mission is the uniting and guiding influence on these three tribes of quarrelsome people. Instead of war-ravages devastating the country, you have the powerful Angoni coming from the hills to the west of Blantyre, and working peaceably with their former enemies the Ajawas; and the Manganja from the Lower Shiré joining them as porters. Between these three the spear has been broken. A work of similar magnitude, continues *Blackwood*, has been done by the Livingstonia and Universities Missions on the lake.

Foods for the Fat is a little book on corpulence and its scientific dietary cure, by Dr. Yorke-Davies; third edition. (Chatto and Windus.)

The Power of the Presence of God, by the author of "Prayers and Responses for the Household" (Skeffington and Son), has a commendatory note by Bishop Bromby. It is simple and earnest.

Home Words for Heart and Hearth is capital. An interesting book, very cheap, which many will find helpful.

The Inheritance of the Saints is a selection of passages from "English writers," with a preface by Canon H. Scott Holland. (Longmans.) The "writers" are such as Body, Carter, Ellicott, Knox Little, Pusey and Randall.

The annual volume of the *Child's Pictorial* is wonderfully pretty and attractive. With the coloured pictures, of course, little folks are delighted. But the whole is good. (S.P.C.K.)

Mr. Elliot Stock has published an excellent edition of Bogatzky's

Golden Treasury, with a preface by Principal Moule, a volume of which we hope to give a worthy notice.

In the *Newbery House Magazine* (Griffith, Farran and Co.) the first paper, "Sacramental Confession," has the writer's name on the contents-page "Rev. Fr. Black," which stands doubtless for "Rev. *Father* Black," as the paper is signed "William Black." It has an illustration, "Confessional in S. Mary's Church, Clumber." "Father" Black states that there are this year 566 churches in England "where the Sacramental system of the Church is taught in its fulness (including the practice of Confession), as testified by the use of Eucharistic lights and vestments."

About the *Annals* of the *Leisure Hour* and *Sunday at Home*, what words of commendation can we use which we have not used before? The contents of these valuable Magazines are mentioned occasionally in our short notices; and the volumes are worthy of unstinted praise.

The new—very timely—work by Dr. Leathes, *The Law and the Prophets*, No. II. of the "Bible Students' Library," is published by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, Canon Girdlestone's being No. I. Our notice of the learned Prebendary's important work is unavoidably postponed.

We heartily recommend *Countess Maud*, a new Tale by that accomplished author to whom readers who are fond of historical stories, very clever, and with bits of history given first-hand, are so much indebted—we mean Miss Holt (John F. Shaw and Co.); one of the best Christmas books of the kind.

From the Religious Tract Society we have received a tastefully got up book, *Heroisms in Humble Life*, being "stories from the records of the Montyon Prize of the French Academy." From a prefatory note many will hear for the first time of Monsieur le Baron de Montyon, who returned from England to France in 1816, and left a sum of money to be applied to benevolent purposes.—*Brief Counsels concerning Business*, by "An Old Man of Business," is very shrewd and sensible. Some may think it "too long" and "a trifle dry"; but it has real merit.—*Italian Explorers in Africa*, by Sofia Bompiani, with several portraits, is readable and gives much information.—An edifying little book is *The King's Cupbearer*, by the author of "Christie's Old Organ"; a series of expository sketches on Nehemiah.

From *Home Words* Publishing Office (1, Paternoster Buildings) we have received *Old Oscar*; or, *The Faithful Dog*, illustrated after Landseer, Wilkie and Weir; a pleasing gift-book.—*The Day of Days Annual*, vol. xx., is as usual full of good things. The indefatigable Editor, the Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D., always provides what is in the best ways helpful.—The fifteenth annual volume of *Hand and Heart* is exceedingly good; cheap, bright, and wholesome.

Sunshine Annual is about as usual (G. Stoneman, 21, Warwick Lane).

From Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton we have received *The Preacher and his Models*, the Yale Lectures on Preaching this year, by Dr. Stalker. A vigorous and suggestive book. We give an extract:

"I once heard Mr. Spurgeon preach a characteristic sermon on an unusual text. It was on these words in Hosea: 'I was unto them as they that take off the yoke on their jaws, and I laid meat unto them.' To illustrate the first clause he drew a graphic picture of a London carter in Cornhill loosening the harness, when his horse had surmounted the incline, taking the bit out of its mouth, and fastening on the corn-bag; and he applied the second clause with humorous wisdom to the behaviour of preachers. As the carter in the stable 'lays' the hay to

"his horse, so the preacher has to 'lay' the food to the congregation. "The carter must not put the food too high, where the horse cannot reach up to it, nor too low, where it cannot get down to it, but just where it can seize and devour it with comfort. So the preacher must neither pitch his message too high, where it will be above the comprehension of the congregation, nor too low, where it will not command their respect, but just where they can reach it easily and comfortably. "This quaint illustration has often recurred to me in the study, and made me anxiously consider whether I was putting the truth in such a way that the congregation could grasp it.

"Many rules have been proposed for winning the attention of the congregation. Some have laid stress on commencing the sermon with something striking. Mr. Moody, the evangelist, whose opinion on such a subject ought to be valuable, recommends the preacher to crowd in his best things at the beginning, when the attention is still fresh. Others have favoured the opposite procedure. During the first half of the discourse nearly every audience will give the speaker a chance. At this point, therefore, the heavier and drier things which need to be said ought to occur. But about the middle of the discourse the attention begins to waver. Here, therefore, the more picturesque and interesting things should begin to come; and the very best should be reserved for the close, so that the impression may be strongest at the last.¹ St. Augustine says that a discourse should instruct, delight and convince, and perhaps these three impressions should, upon the whole, follow this order."

The Two Homes, "A Story of Life's Discipline," by Mrs. Marshall, comes to us from *Home Words* Publishing Office, 7, Paternoster Square. The esteemed writer does well in protesting against the too common notion that children under a second mother cannot be happy—that a stepmother must bring into a family disquiet and trouble.

An interesting and informing book is *Heroes of the Telegraph*, by Mr. J. Munro, a sequel to his "Pioneers of Electricity." (R.T.S.) Beginning with Wheatstone, identified with the telegraph as Watt is with the steam-engine, and Stephenson with the railway (though Cooke's work is never to be forgotten), Mr. Munro proceeds to Morse. Cooke and Wheatstone were the first to introduce a public telegraph worked by electro-magnetism; but it had the disadvantage of not marking down the message. Morse, born in Charlestown in 1791, carried on the good work. Sir W. Thomson became known in connection with the laying of the first Atlantic cable. In the year 1839, on the Great Western Railway, a wire was laid for several miles from Paddington, and in 1841 was continued as far as Slough; its utility was noised abroad through the capture of the murderer Tawell. This man, a respected Quaker in Berkhamstead, had guilty relations with a woman near Slough, and one day he poisoned her with prussic acid. The telegraph message, "He is in the garb of a Quaker," was of necessity spelt by the clerk at Slough *Kwaker*. It turned out, at the trial, that Tawell had been transported in 1820.

The third volume of *The Weekly Pulpit*, new series, contains a good deal of helpful material. (Elliot Stock.)

We have received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge a very interesting little book, *Church Work in North China*, with a preface by the Right Rev. C. P. Scott, D.D., Bishop in North China. The Bishop writes: "The friends of the Church of England

¹ "The strongest part of all great sermons is the close. More depends on the last two minutes than on the first ten."—From a choice little tract on Preaching, by "Prediger."

"Mission in North China will, I am sure, be grateful for the appearance of this sketch. It is the first time that any connected account of the mission from its earliest beginning has been put forth. Many, too, who have been acquainted with the work of their Church in North China during its first stages, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, will be glad to trace the progress onwards from the time when that society ceased to take a direct part in the work, and will thank God that the foundations laid by the missionaries of the C.M.S. have been of great value to us who have come afterwards to build upon them. Others, again, who have only had their interest aroused in the mission since the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began its work in this field, or, later still, since the consecration of the first Bishop for the new diocese, will be pleased to have the thread of the story carried backwards, and will understand more clearly than before the references either to existing institutions, places and persons, or to those of the past."

In the *History of my Life*, just published (Longmans) an interesting book, to which we must return, Bishop Oxenden makes some noteworthy remarks on "extreme parties" and party spirit. In his earlier years, he says, the "Body which had the decided impress of earnest personal and personal religion was that which went by the name of Evangelical." "The *Church System*, however, had little or no place in their creed. Christ, and His glorious sacrifice; the work of the Holy Spirit in individual hearts; conversion from sin and the world to a godly and Christian life; the efficacy of prayer, and the devout study of God's Word—on all these points I was heart and soul with them. But the view of the Church as a Corporate Body called into existence by our Lord Himself, and employed by Him as the appointed agency to carry on His work, was scarcely recognised by them." Bishop Oxenden refers also to ritualistic or extreme High Churchmen. He says: "Much as I approve of hearty, warm, reverential services, I have always entertained a rooted objection to the childish displays, the studied postures and movements, the unauthorized gorgeousness of vestments, and the subtle phraseology unknown in the Church's formularies." Dilutions of Romish teaching and practice, instead of having any attraction for him, have ever been subjects to which his mind and taste were decidedly averse. One thing, adds the Bishop, has often filled him with wonder and thankfulness, namely, that some very High Churchmen, when called upon to preach, as in Missions, with the express object of awakening souls, are in the habit of putting aside their special conventionalities and their fanciful observances, and proclaiming Gospel truths as simply and as earnestly as their Evangelical brethren. "And why so, but because they feel a strong conviction that these great and glorious truths can alone effectually stir the heart and turn men to God; hence the presence of a real want has in this case practically called forth the full exhibition of the Gospel message."

The *Church Monthly* and the *Church Almanack* are excellent. Mr. Sherlock's estimates for localizing are very favourable to the clergy.

An interesting little pamphlet, by Mr. Newberry, *Seventy Prophetic Weeks*, is published by Messrs. Nisbet.

The *Fireside Almanac* for 1892 is charming ("Home Words" office, 7, Paternoster Square, London).

Mr. Ballantyne's new tale of the sea, *The Coxswain's Bride*, and other tales, form a capital gift-book. (Nisbet and Co.)

THE MONTH.

THE reports of the proceedings at the Diocesan Conferences are full of interest and encouragement. They exhibit a wonderful amount of earnestness and devotion, with a pleasing agreement between the lay and clerical representatives.

At York the President delivered a devotional address.¹ The Bishop of Hull (Dr. Blunt) read a paper on "Systematic Instruction in Church History and Doctrine"; and a Committee for the subject was appointed.

At Hove, Brighton, the Bishop of Chichester, who has entered on his ninetieth year, presided with his usual spirit and success.

At Durham the Bishop spoke on "Home Reunion."

At Liverpool, in an impressive address,² the Bishop referred to his recent illness, and the valuable help received from Bishop Royston.

In the Chester Conference Canon Blackburn proposed—not in vain—a scheme for inquiring into the attendance in rural parishes.

Bishop Barry (in charge of the Diocese of Exeter during the Bishop's visit to Japan) opened the Conference with an address.

The condition of affairs in regard to Uganda varies from month to month. An enthusiastic effort has been made, by friends of the C.M.S., to preserve British influence.

Dr. Paget is appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, made vacant by the resignation of Dr. Liddell.

The Rev. Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot, Rector of Walcot, succeeds Dean Forrest in the Incumbency of St. Jude's, Kensington.

On the widow of Mr. W. H. Smith, as on the widow of Canning and the wife of Disraeli, has been conferred a peerage.

The lesson of the South Molton election—a decisive defeat to the Government candidate—whatever else may be said about it, is, as we have pointed out before, that agricultural labourers take comparatively little interest in the success of the Government policy in Ireland.

The Bishop of Worcester presided at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Birmingham.

The Archbishop of York has, through Canon McCormick, expressed a desire for more churches in Hull, and his Grace proposes to give £1,000 towards a £20,000 fund. The Archbishop has paid a visit to Sheffield, and is said to have been much pleased and gratified therewith.

¹ The *Guardian* says: "Grounding his remarks upon the concluding words of the Gospel for the day, St. Simon and St. Jude, 'He shall testify of Me,' the Archbishop enlarged upon the work of God the Holy Ghost in relation to Christ and the soul. The stillness of the assembly was an evidence of the impression which his Grace made by his earnest and solemn utterances."

² "Bishop Ryle's utterances," says the *Guardian*, "whether we agree with them or not, never fail in clearness and outspoken courage. If he thinks evil days are approaching, he says so without any attempt to pretend an optimism which he does not feel."

At a remarkable gathering, representative of all Sheffield, Arch-deacon Blakeney's portrait was presented to the Cutlers' Hall.

The Cork election ended, as was expected, in the thorough defeat of the Pannellite candidate. The victory is clearly the victory of the priests. While Mr. O'Brien and other members are the nominal leaders of the Separatist movement, Archbishops Walsh and Croke have decidedly the guiding power.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol's Charge—in the best sense of the word, timely—is of singular importance. The remarkable passage on "the Appeal to Christ" is by far the most forcible reply to recent mischievous attempts to define and limit the Knowledge of our Lord. The Bishop said :

We now turn to an argument of a very different nature. Hitherto we have considered the details of opposing theories, and the facts on which the two modes of regarding the Old Testament claim respectively to be based. We now turn to a final Authority. We now make our appeal to the Great Teacher, and aver that the view which we have thus far shown to be the more probable of the two, on the merits of the case, can, with every appearance of probability, claim His approving authority, and that the traditional view of the Old Testament can, for its justification, appeal to the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But here, at the very outset, two of the gravest possible questions present themselves, and must, as far as we can do so, be answered in the present address.

The first question is this—Have we a right to make such an appeal? Is the subject of the composition and of the historical credibility of the books of the Old Testament a subject on which we can, with propriety, appeal to the teaching of our blessed Lord?

The second question is a more difficult one, and may be thus formulated: Does the doctrine of the two natures permit us to ascribe to our Lord in His human nature an intuitive and unerring knowledge in matters relating to the Old Testament which belong to the general domain of research and criticism? Or, to put this really momentous question in another form, was the limitation of our Lord's humanity, and the degree of what is technically called His *Kenosis*, of such a nature that His knowledge in regard of the authorship and composition of the books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of His own time?

Till these two questions, the one relating to the rightfulness of the appeal, the other to the validity of the appeal, in reference to the Old Testament, are fully answered, it is waste of time for us to investigate those individual passages which may appear likely to form a secure basis for our inferences as to the teaching of our Lord on the nature and authority of the Old Testament. Let us begin, then, with the first question—Is such an appeal proper and permissible?

1. At first sight it might seem unnecessary to enter into such a question

at all. Who could doubt that it is proper and permissible? When we pause for a moment to recall the plain fact that our blessed Lord either cites or refers to passages in the Old Testament Scriptures probably more than four hundred times, and when we further remember that in many of these He speaks of the Old Testament in a direct and definite manner, the question of St. Peter seems to rise to our lips, and we ask to whom can we go for guidance save to Him who has the words of eternal life, and who not only before His resurrection, but after it, in His holy risen Body, made the Old Testament and its relation to Himself the subject of His inspired teaching. When we call this to mind it does seem strange that we should have to pause and vindicate the rightfulness of such an appeal as that which we are now preparing to make.

If those that labour and are heavy laden are invited by Christ to come to Him, surely those who are in doubt and difficulty as to the nature of an integral portion of God's Holy Word may come to Him—nay, must come to Him, if they are to hope to find rest for their souls. I should hardly have dwelt on this had it not been stated by one of our Bishops to a body like that which I am now addressing that he objected on fundamental grounds to the argument that if our Lord Jesus Christ has virtually asserted a certain character for a certain writing, there is no appeal from His verdict. If the objection to the argument were really valid, then an appeal to the authority of our blessed Lord might be useless and out of place. But is not the argument objected to perfectly sound? Is it not certain that in the case supposed there *is* no appeal? Surely there can be no appeal, unless we are prepared to take up the startling position that virtual assertions of Christ are to be considered open to challenge. . . . What is meant by a virtual assertion? If it means that it is an assertion in an indirect rather than a direct form, then, in the case of Jesus Christ, it plainly cannot be challenged, unless we can bring ourselves to believe (which God forbid!) that the indirect assertions of Christ may involve fallibility owing to the limitation of His human nature. What *may* be challenged is whether, in what our Lord says, there is a virtual assertion at all. This, in any particular case, may be deemed fairly open to inquiry and investigation, and when we deal with particular cases, as we shall do in the two following addresses, then the utmost care will be taken not to claim as virtual assertions what the words, critically examined, may not distinctly evince to be such. But if, on critical investigation, it seems beyond reasonable controversy that a virtual assertion *is* made, then that assertion, if we have every reason to believe that the words are correctly reported—whether it relates to doctrine, ethics, or to questions relating to the authority or credibility of the Old Testament—is certainly to be deemed conclusive and incontrovertible.

We cannot, then, consider that the exception taken to the argument above alluded to can in any degree affect the confidence with which we may appeal to Christ in reference to the nature and authority of the Old Testament. Not only may we appeal, but we ought to appeal. What we especially need in these complicated questions, and in the discussion of the subtleties of argument involved in the analytical view, is the steadying element which a careful consideration of the tenor of our Lord's refer-

ences to the Old Testament will always be found to impart. It is not prejudgment that the appeal to Christ brings with it, but rather that wholesome reverence which it infuses in our investigations. It reminds us that the place we are entering is holy ground, and that we cannot treat the matter as a mere literary question, or leave it to be worked out by competent critics, and patiently wait for the result. We must go at once to Christ for guidance, and through the medium of His references to the Old Testament—references which one of our keenest opponents speaks of as “furnishing ample material for admiration”—prepare ourselves for making our final choice between the two views of the Scriptures of the Old Testament which we have analyzed in the preceding address.

II. But here we pass into the second and graver question: Can we rely absolutely and unconditionally on the results of this appeal? Can we ascribe to our Lord in His human nature such an unerring knowledge, in regard of the details of the subject-matter of the controversy, as may enable us without a hesitation or a doubt to accept the conclusions which equitable criticism may deduce from His words? Or, to put the question in another form, and partially in the words of a direct opponent, are we, or are we not, prepared to admit the possibility, on the part of our Lord, of exegetical mistakes? This is really the momentous question. It has received recent answers from contemporary writers of our own Church that are very far from reassuring. One writer has contended for the possibility of “intellectual fallibility” on the part of our Lord, but has afterwards had the loyalty and good sense to withdraw words which, we are forced to say, ought never to have been written. Another has used language with regard to the circumscription, as it were, of the Word by the human body which opens a wide door to inferences of a somewhat similar nature, and, to say the least, cannot be harmonised with the teaching of St. Athanasius. Another form of the same tendency to minimize the knowledge of our Lord in His human nature is to be recognised in the attempt to place on a parallel the Lord’s evincing of no more than the human knowledge of the time, in the realm of science, when He spoke of the sun “rising;” with His supposed evincing of no more than the same limited knowledge in the realm of history. The comparison, however, is hardly even plausible. In the one member of the comparison, the Lord spoke from what the eye beheld, and as we, who know fully that the sun does not rise, speak to this very hour; according to the other member, the Lord would have to be supposed to have placed limits on His historical knowledge which *we* claim to have overstepped—and, to use perfectly plain language, to be ignorant of that about which *we* use no conventional language, but distinctly assert that we know.

All these varied attempts practically to reduce the knowledge of the Lord, in reference to the actual facts connected with the history of the Old Testament, to the level of the knowledge of the times in which He vouchsafed to “dwell among us,” impose upon us the duty of attempting to return some definite answer to the general question we are now considering. We must face it humbly and reverently, but yet distinctly and without subterfuge, otherwise our appeal to Christ will be in vain; the counter-appeal from Christ’s words to Christ’s alleged ignorance will be

made, and we shall be reminded, as we have been reminded by one of the most able supporters of the analytical view, that "with regard to the revered Master must the right of criticism be maintained." In other words, the teaching of Him, "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," must be subjected to the testing of the sin-clouded intellect of mortal man.

The confusion of thought on this subject is simply portentous. When, in this very passing year, a Bishop, preaching from a University pulpit, speaks in one portion of his sermon of the Lord's voluntarily leaving to His human nature its associated limitations, "its human weakness and ignorance"; and, in another, affirms "our Lord's human ignorance of natural science, historical criticism, and the-like," but does not deny "the possibility of the miraculous communication of such knowledge"; and when, still further, he concludes with asserting "the reality of our Lord's human limitation as well in knowledge as in moral energy," when we read such things, it does seem that the holy doctrine of the two natures does need reiteration and re-enforcement.

Let us then again hear old truths, and for a brief space again tread in the old pathways of Catholic thought.

We may begin with this simple but most vital question—On what does modern thought base its imputation of ignorance to our blessed Lord in subjects such as we are now considering—viz., the real nature, texture, and historical trustworthiness of the Scriptures of the Old Testament? The answer of modern thought is promptly returned—On the experiences of *our own* human nature. As *we* cannot by intuition arrive at a knowledge of the age, authorship, and composition of these ancient writings, but can only hope to do so by patient investigation and long-continued critical research, so also must it have been with Christ; otherwise the humanity He vouchsafed to assume would not have been a true humanity, the Incarnation would not have been that true emptying Himself of His Divine glories and prerogatives which is involved in the Apostle's significant term. In a word, the reasoning in this answer is from the characteristics of human nature, *as known to us by experience*, to the characteristics of the human nature of our Lord. If, to use the language of Athanasius, "ignorance is the property of man," so, it is contended, must it have been in the case of the human nature of Christ. But such reasoning is utterly inadmissible.

The Bishop, in concluding, adds :

This only do we unhesitatingly deny, that the Lord's general teaching as to the Old Testament, and those characteristics of His teaching on the subject which all reasonable interpreters would be willing to recognise, could by any possibility be attributed to any principle of accommodation, in the ordinary sense of the words. That He who was the Truth and Light, as well as the Way, could have systematically so taught in reference to God's Holy Word, out of deference to the prejudices or the ignorance of His hearers, is utterly inconceivable.

We have quoted from the *Guardian*. This noble Charge will soon, we hope, be published.