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THE
CHURCHMAN

NOVEMBER, 1891.

ART. I.—THE "APOLOGY" OF ARISTIDES.

IN these days of unrest and disquietude, when the very foundations of the Creed are assailed, and the contents of the canon itself are subjected to the new criticism, we hail with satisfaction any discovery which throws light upon the faith which was held by the primitive Christians of the sub-Apostolic age. Such a very real help we have in the "Apology" of Aristides on behalf of the Christians, a fresh find in the regions of sub-Apostolic literature. It is one of the earliest of the apologies made to the Roman Emperor. Aristides takes rank with the other Greek apologists of that early age—with Papias and Quadratus, "a disciple of the Apostles," and with the Jewish apologists Agrippa Castor and Justin Martyr, "the true representative of the age"; with Dionysius of Corinth, and Pinytus; with Hermas and Hegeppus; with Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras of Athens. The work of the early apologists was, as we know, twofold—to determine the relations of Christianity to heathendom and to Judaism.¹

The first Athenian apologists were Quadratus and Aristides, who are supposed to have been almost contemporaries. The "Apology" of Quadratus was generally current in the time of Eusebius, who himself possessed a copy of it; and "one may see in it," he says, "clear proof of the intellect of the man and of his Apostolic orthodoxy." The single passage which he has preserved shows that Quadratus insisted rightly on

¹ The word "apology" (*ἀπολογία*), a defence, has always had a technical meaning in Christian literature. When St. Paul refers to the time, when he gave a reason for the hope that was in him, he says "at my first answer"—open defence, before a court of justice—"apology" (*ἀπολογία*), "No man stood with me" (2 Tim. iv. 16). See also Philipp. i. 7-16.

the historic worth of Christianity. "The works of our Saviour," he argues, "were ever present, for they were real: being the men who were healed; the men who were raised from the dead: who were not only seen at the moment when the miracles were wrought, but were also seen continually like other men, being ever present; and that not only while the Saviour sojourned on earth, but also after His departure for a considerable time, so that some of them survived to our own time" (Euseb. H. E., iv. 3).

A second "Apology for the Faith; a Rationale of Christian Doctrine," was addressed, according to Eusebius, to Hadrian by Aristides, "a man of the greatest eloquence," who likewise was an Athenian, and probably wrote on the same occasion as Quadratus. Eusebius and Jerome speak of the book as still current in their time, but they do not appear to have read it.

This latest addition to our Christian literature, this precious relic of antiquity, has been, comparatively speaking, little known; all information on the subject depended chiefly upon certain allusions of Eusebius in his "Ecclesiastical History," and in his "Chronicon." But as Eusebius did not preserve any extracts from the book, and only presents us with an obscure figure in a philosopher's garb; and as subsequent writers have told us nothing more than what we find in the pages of Eusebius, it must be confessed that our information as to the character and scope of one of the earliest apologetic treatises on Christianity was about as vague as it was possible to be. 'Tis true that there was an idea, which came, we believe, from Jerome, that the lost work of Aristides had been imitated by Justin, the representative apologist, and Jerome also ventured the opinion that this "Apology" had been woven out of materials derived from the philosophers. But it was not considered possible to pin one's faith to Jerome's statements, which were proved to be mere expansions and colourings on the part of an editor of what were found in the pages of Eusebius. Assuredly there was no antecedent improbability that one Christian apologist had imitated another, as there is a strong family likeness in all the "Apologies"; and it would not be difficult to maintain, if we took any two writers of this school at random, that one had not imitated, if not actually laid the other under contribution. The difficulty lay in want of literary faith in the statements of Jerome; but apart from this, we should not be much the wiser.

All that we could glean from the researches of our most trusted scholars, with regard to these lost "Apologies," was, that we had Eusebian tradition for their existence, and even their date, and a Eusebian extract or two from one of them,

as a specimen of sub-Apostolic defence, a very scanty remnant from a vanished house.

Fresh light was, however, thrown on the obscurity when an Armenian translation of the opening chapter of the lost "Apology" of Aristides was discovered by the learned Armenians of the Lazarist monastery of Venice; and although the results of their scholarly labours were received in some quarters with incredulity, yet we shall hope to show the reader in the course of this paper that the document in question has been rightly entitled, and that the monks had opened the door for a satisfactory conception of the dogmatics which underlay the apologetics, which has been a step in the right direction. It is true that M. Rénan, in his "Origines de Christianisme," throws great doubt upon its authenticity, and maintains that the Armenian fragment contains a theology later than the fourth century; and its historical, or rather mythological, erudition is unworthy of a writer of the second century. He scoffed at the alleged relic of antiquity, pointing out that it contains terms and phrases which were unknown till the fourth century. M. Rénan, however, has been rightly opposed in this sweeping denunciation by Doulcet, who has pointed out relations between Aristides and the "Timæus" of Plato as a justification of the philosophical character of the work; but, unfortunately, Doulcet went too far, when he tried to identify Aristides with the author of the "Epistle to Diognetus." At all events, the published fragment of the Armenian brothers shows traces of an interesting originality of method in the classification of the religious beliefs of the time.

Mr. Rendel Harris, Professor of Biblical languages in Haverford College, Pennsylvania, contributes to the subject a Syriac translation of substantially the whole of the missing "Apology," but without the terms to which Rénan objected. The original text was discovered in a volume of Syriac extracts preserved in the library of the convent of St. Catharine, upon Mount Sinai, only as short a time ago as the spring of 1889. The copy has suffered somewhat in the course of time from successive transcriptions, and needs occasionally critical treatment. "The language and thought of the writer are, however," says the translator, "so simple and straightforward, that the limits of error are much narrower than they would be in a document wherein the structure was more highly complicated: the unintelligible sentences which accumulate in a translation so much more rapidly than in the copying of an original document, are almost entirely absent. In fact, the writer is more of a child than a philosopher, a child well trained in creed and practised in ethics, rather than either a

dogmatist defending a new system, or an iconoclast destroying an old one; but this simplicity of treatment, so far from being a weakness, adds often greatly to the natural impressiveness of the subject, and gives the work a place by the side of the best Christian writing of his age" (p. 3)—the palmy age of the Greek apologists.

The translation is from a manuscript numbered "16" among the Syriac MSS. of the Sinaitic convent. Doubtless it was the ethical character of the "Apology" of Aristides that secured its incorporation with the volume. It will be well to discuss the effect which this recovered document has upon our estimate of the Eusebian statements concerning the earliest Church apologists. Photographs of the Syriac text were taken by Professor Harris, and special pains have been taken in the reproduction of the correct punctuation. In fact, everything seems to have been done to make this new discovery of the lost "Apology" as complete and trustworthy as possible.

1. The allusions to Aristides on the part of Eusebius claim our first attention. The "Chronicon" of Eusebius gives the following date for the "Apologies" of Quadratus and Aristides. The Armenian version of it is as follows:

O. L.	A. ABR.	IMP. ROM.	
d226	2140	8e	d Adrianus Eleusinarum rerum quarus fuit multaue dona Atheniensium largitus est.
			e Romanorum ecclesia episcopatum excepit septimus Telesphorus annis xi.

Eusebius, in his "Church History," says: "Aristides, also a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, left, like Quadratus, an 'Apology' for the faith, addressed to Hadrian. His work, too, has been preserved even to the present day by a great many persons."¹ Aristides of Athens is called by Eusebius, in his "Chronicon," "a philosopher" ("nostri dogmatis philosophus Atheniensis"). Eusebius does not quote his work, perhaps because he did not possess a copy, perhaps because it contained no historical matter suited to his purpose, nor does he refer to him again. But he says:

Codratus Apostolorum auditor et Aristides nostri dogmatis (nostræ rei) philosophus Atheniensis Adriano supplicationes dedere apogeticas (apologiae, responsionis) ob mandatum. Acceperat tamen a Serennio splendido præside (judice) scriptum de Christianis, quod nempe iniquum sit occidere eos rumore sine inquisitione, neque ulla accusatione. Scribit Armonicus Fundius proconsuli Asianorum ut sine ullo damno et incusatione non damnarentur: et exemplar edicto ejus hucusque circumfertur.

We may say, then, that it is the intention of Eusebius to refer the presentation of both these apologies to the time

¹ Eusebius, book iv., c. iii.

when Hadrian was spending his first winter in Athens, and to make them the reason for the imperial rescript to Minucius Fundanus which is attached to the first "Apology" of Justin Martyr. Minucius Fundanus was consul 107, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he held the Asian proconsulate A.D. 124 or 125. If, then, Aristides and Quadratus presented apologies to Hadrian, knowing Hadrian's devotion to Greek literature, it is reasonable to connect them with his first Athenian winter, and not the second (A.D. 129-130).

Three difficulties appear to be in the way of this suggestion: first, doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the Emperor's rescript to Minucius Fundanus; and next, there is a suspicious resemblance between Quadratus the apologist and Quadratus Bishop of Athens in the time of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Publius, who was martyred, according to Jerome. Lastly, the newly-found document cannot be referred to the time assigned to it by Eusebius, and there is only a possibility that it was ever presented to Hadrian.

The Syriac version has a preface to the following effect: "Apology made by Aristides the philosopher before Hadrianus the King, concerning the Worship of Almighty God." But this is immediately followed by another introduction, which cannot be anything else than a part of the primitive "Apology." It runs as follows: "Cæsar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, worshipful and clement, from Marcianus Aristides, philosopher, of Athens."

The additional information conveyed by this sentence is a sufficient guarantee of its genuineness. Two points are gained: the name of the philosopher given as Marcianus, and the full name of the Emperor addressed. We find, to our surprise, that this is not Hadrian, but his successor, Antoninus Pius, who bears the name of Hadrian by adoption from Publius Ælius Hadrianus. Professor Rendel Harris, then, comes to this conclusion: "Unless, therefore, we can show that there is an error or a deficiency in the opening sentence of the 'Apology,' we shall be obliged to refer it to the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and to say that Eusebius has made a mistake in reading the title of the 'Apology,' or has followed someone who had made the mistake before him" (p. 8). The Professor offers several proofs in favour of his theory, and thus sums up: "Seeing, then, the extreme difficulty of maintaining the Hadrianic or Eusebian hypothesis, we are driven to refer the 'Apology' to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and to affirm that Eusebius made a mistake in reading or quoting the title of the book, in which mistake he has been followed by a host of other writers. If he followed a text

which had the heading as in the Syriac, he has misunderstood the person spoken of as Hadrian the King; and if, on the other hand, he takes the opening sentences as his guide, he has made a superficial reference, which a closer reading would have corrected" (p. 9).

This would seem to have been the very age of the Christian apologist. George Long, in the preface to his translation of the "Philosophy of M. Aurelius Antoninus," says: "During the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus there appeared the first 'Apology' of Justinus, and under M. Antoninus the 'Oration of Tatian against the Greeks,' which was a fierce attack on the established religions, the address of Athenagoras to M. Antoninus on behalf of the Christians, and the 'Apology' of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, also addressed to the Emperor, and that of Apolinarius" (p. xvii.). Mr. Long slyly adds, "but we do not know whether they read it." He, however, makes no mention of that of Aristides. But, then, neither the Armenian fragment nor the Syriac and Greek versions had been discovered in Mr. Long's time. Whatever, then, be the date of our "Apology," the simplicity of its style is in favour of an early one. The religious ideas and practices are of an antique cast; the ethics show a remarkable continuity with Jewish ethics: the care for the stranger and the friendless, the burial of the dead and the like, fasting and almsgiving, are given as characteristic virtues both of Judaism and Christianity. Indeed, we may say one of the remarkable things about the "Apology" is the friendly tone in which the Jews are spoken about. We should not certainly suspect that the chasm between the Church and the Synagogue had become as impassable as it was in the second century. The hostile tone which we find in the "Martyrdom of Polycarp" is wanting, and the severity of contempt in the "Epistle to Diognetus" is conspicuous by its absence. If the Church is not in the writer's time any longer under the wing of the Synagogue, it has apparently no objection to taking the Synagogue occasionally under its own wing.

After critically examining the difficulties of the rival hypotheses, Mr. Rendel Harris thus sums up: "We have found it difficult to assign the 'Apology' to any other period than the early years of Antoninus Pius; and it is at least conceivable that it may have been presented to the Emperor, along with other Christian writings, during an unrecorded visit of his to the ancient seat of government in Smyrna" (p. 7).

2. There seems to have been some possible connection between the "True Word" of Celsus and the "Apology" of Aristides. Celsus, the great opponent of Christianity, must have been very nearly a contemporary with Aristides; but though it may

be difficult to assign to him a particular date, he must have been at the height of his fame in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nor is it easy to discover what Christian books Celsus had come across, whether Gospels or other literature. All we can ascertain is that he knew the dialogue written between Jason and Papiscus, a work of Aristo of Pella, written at the close of the Jewish war under Hadrian, and if he were reading contemporary Christian literature he would naturally know Aristides. Indeed, it may fairly be asked whether Aristides was not one of the persons to whom Celsus undertook to reply, as we find many parallels between the fragments of the great work of Celsus preserved by Origen and our "Apology."

One of the leading ideas of Aristides is that God made everything *for the sake of man*. This he illustrates in various ways by pointing out that the different elements—earth, air, fire, and water, together with the heavenly bodies—are his ministers. Celsus seems to have been much opposed to this doctrine, and to have diffusely discussed it; indeed, it was the chief point of contact between the stoic philosophy and religious faith, whether Jewish or Christian.

Celsus draws ridiculous pictures of the philosophy of frogs in the swamp, of the ants in their ant-hill, and beves of bats, discussing the proposition—which might be obvious to them—that the world had been made solely for their benefit. He covers the argument from Providence, as stated by Aristides, by asking the question, Were the elements and the stars made for the self-congratulation of the bat, the frog, or the man? But he carries out the argument in detail. According to Celsus, Providence is more apparent in the case of ants and bees, which obtain their food without labour, or with less than that of man. He will not listen to the statement that the sun and stars serve man, much less what Aristides affirms, that the sun was created to serve the many needs of man. "Do not," says he, "quote to me verses from Euripides about sunshine and shade serving man; how do they serve him any more than the ants or the flies, which sleep and wake much as we do?" In Aristides the argument is repeated again and again, and Celsus (too much as Origen thinks) answers it at great length.

Another point about which Aristides is original is the doctrine of the races of the world and their origin. He divides the world into four—Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians. As for Christians—the new race—they derive their origin from Jesus the Messiah, and He is called Son of God Most High. Now, Celsus dilates on this very point, which Origen draws attention to, and his agreement with Aristides on this head is very striking. Again, when Aristides discusses the beliefs of the Jew, he remarks that their ritual is rather an

adoration of angels than a worship of God. What shall we say when we find Celsus affirming that the Jews worshipped angels? Origen, in his astonishment, asks: "Where in the world did Celsus find in the Mosaic writings instructions in the worship of angels?" It is certainly remarkable that we find the missing link in the "Apology" of Aristides.

Further analogies might be traced, but from what has been stated it is very reasonable to suppose that Celsus had read the "Apology" of Aristides before he penned his "True Word."

3. The figure of Aristides, then, the author of the "Apology," the philosopher of Athens, is presented to us as that of a Christian, who has preserved the dress and garb of his order, with a view to service in the Gospel. Not a few of the famous second-century Christians seem to have attracted an audience in this way. Most certainly Justin did this, and Tatian, nor should we be wrong in assuming the same with regard to Aristides. But the professedly dispassionate presentation of the Christian soon breaks down, and the real man soon gives the note of challenge—"Christianus sum, nihil Christianum alienum a me puto." We notice that Aristides does not appeal to miracles and prophecy on behalf of Christianity, but to the surpassing beauty and supernatural morality of the Gospel, as its highest witness and most convincing evidence. His strong point is the moral and spiritual character of the Christian religion. He mentions angels as quite familiar subjects, and refers to the dogmatic statements of the Church as "household words," and without any beating about the bush makes a peroration of the impending day of judgment. And so the philosopher, with an imperial audience, is another illustration of the city set upon the hill—the light on a candlestick. Aristides "apologizing" among the *entourage* of the imperial court is another Paul preaching on Mars' Hill.

St. Paul, in his Epistles, talks about a pattern of sound words—a *παραθήκη*, a depositum—the germ of the Christian creed—the faith once fully, and once for all, delivered: shall we find anything of the kind in our "Apology"? Now, it is very interesting to notice that in the time of Aristides the Church had a "Symbolum of the Faith," and from his "Apology" we may reconstruct a good many of its sentences. In it we discover some elements in the baptismal creed of the Athenian Church. In this investigation we start at a time when the memory of the Apostles was still fresh and green, from what is practically certain to what is less demonstrable. We should not assume, for example, that the words "Maker of heaven and earth" were proof of the existence of a possibly fixed creed. But if other sentences can be reliably established, we need not omit these words in the reconstructed formula.

The certain passage with which we set out is :

He was pierced (crucified) by the Jews ;
He died, and was buried ;

and they say that

After three days He rose,
And ascended into heaven.

That these words represent a part of the "Symbolum Fidei," as known to Aristides, there can be no shadow of doubt.

What else, then, was contained in the Creed? Surely we may add the words which must have stood at the beginning and end of the Creed—*e.g.*, that God was the Maker of heaven and earth, and that Jesus Christ would come to judge the world.

But can we go further? There is a shrewd suspicion that the Creed contained the clause "He was born of the Virgin Mary," for in the language of Aristides the clause the "Hebrew Virgin" preceded the account of the crucifixion. Besides, we find Aristides most pronounced in stating this doctrine, and Celsus is emphatic in his scornful rejection of it. Thus Celsus brings out the old story of the infidelity of Mary, and says the father of Jesus was a soldier whose name was Panthera. This is the story which appears in the Talmud under the name Pandera—clearly a transliteration of the former. This legend was supposed to be invented by the Jews to account for our Lord's birth, which proves that they were in search of a more tenable hypothesis than the paternity of Joseph. The story which we find in the Talmud and in Celsus may be traced to some piece of Jewish scandal.

If, however, the story was Jewish in its origin, it was Greek in its manufacture. Some fancy the word Panthera is a symbol of unbridled lust. But this is a mistake, for it is simply an anagram on the word "Parthenos," by which the mother of our Lord was commonly known. That this is the true solution must be evident to all who are familiar with the anagrams and acrostics of that interesting period. The order of the letters has been changed and the ending of the word slightly altered. All we know of the dogmatics of the early part of the second century agrees with the belief that the virginity of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian symbol. Nor need we hesitate to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides. We restore the fragments of Aristides' creed as follows :

We believe in one God Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth ;
And in Jesus Christ, His Son,
* * * * *
Born of the Virgin Mary ;
* * * * *

He was pierced by the Jews ;
 He died and was buried ;
 The third day He rose again ;
 He ascended into heaven ;

* * * *

He is about to come to judge.

At all events, we may maintain that there is evidence of the Creed in very early times under a slightly different form to that generally received, and if so, we may call it a mark of antiquity to have the "Apology" of Aristides expressing itself to that effect; for certainly no such sentence in the generally received Creed existed in later times, however widely diffused the animosity against the Jews may have been.

4. We have already alluded to the original idea on the part of Aristides in dividing mankind into four tribes, the Barbarian, the Greek, the Jew, and the Christian. The Armenian fragment of the "Apology" before mentioned thus speaks of the last named; "But the Christians reckon their race from the Lord Jesus Christ. He is Himself Son of God on high, Who was manifested of the Holy Spirit, came down from heaven, and, being born of a Hebrew Virgin, took on His flesh from the Virgin, and was manifested in the nature of humanity the Son of God; Who sought to win the entire world to His eternal goodness by His life-giving preaching. He it is who was according to the flesh born of the race of the Hebrews, by the God-bearing (the word *θεοτόκος* is implied) Virgin Miriam. He chose the twelve disciples, and He by His illuminating truth, dispensing it, taught all the world, and was nailed on the cross by the Jews; Who rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, and sent forth His disciples into the whole world (*οικουμένην*), and taught all with divinely miraculous and profoundly wise wonders."

Mr. Rendel Harris, to whom we are indebted for the translation of the Syriac version lately discovered by him, tells us that it has been much improved by the Greek version, which has been even more recently discovered by Mr. J. Armitage Robinson. By one of those happy accidents, as we call them, upon which progress depends, this gentleman discovered that substantially the whole of the Greek text was extant, and had been incorporated in that charming half-Greek and half-Oriental story, "The Lives of Barlaam and Joasaph." Of course this means that for the greater part of the "Apology" of Aristides we have copies and versions in goodly numbers in various languages, which opens up quite a new field before the student of Christian apologetics. This Greek version has enabled Mr. Harris to improve his translation by filling up the *lacunae* in the Syriac version. It was discovered by Mr. Armitage Robinson (of Cambridge) when he was turning

over the Latin "Passionals" at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost MS. of the "Passion of St. Perpetua." Happening to be reading portions, he tells us (p. 67), of the Latin version of the "Life of Barlaam and Josaphat," he stumbled across words which recalled the manner and thought of Aristides. This led to a comparison of it with the Syriac version, and the fresh light which was thrown upon it. The result of a careful collation of the two versions, shedding mutual light one on the other, has been to settle on a firm basis the genuineness of this long-lost "Apology."

5. This discovery of the Greek version has proved especially valuable in ascertaining the bearing of the "Apology" on the canon. The notices in support of the sacred books are perhaps scanty, but they are there if a little trouble is taken to discover them, and the position of the man gives importance to the most meagre references. But such references as there are belong to separate Apostolic writings; not to these collected into a canon, as we find in the writers of the third or fourth centuries, because the second-century Christianity of Rome and Athens knew nothing of a *canon* of the New Testament in a technical sense. Men have troubled because they have not been able to find distinct references to this or that portion of the canon. But if they did find them, it would be good evidence that they were really the productions of a later age. How can we expect to find reference to a canon of the New Testament in documents of the sub-Apostolic age, when no such *canon* had yet been formed as a matter of fact, but was only in process of formation? Aristides investigated Christianity in the spirit of a philosopher, and yet he is as conspicuous for faith as for wisdom. His work was not only able, but in the opinion of competent judges it was orthodox. These scanty references to the books of Scripture are in marked contrast with the "Apology" of Justin. The Emperor is referred to Christian writings on two occasions. On one of these a written Gospel is certainly implied, as the subject-matter is the sketch of our Lord's life. Thus we find the following words: "This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye also will read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it" (p. 36). This is the next reference, which may include books outside the canon: "Take now these writings, and read in them; and, lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward, nor as their advocate have I said them; but as I have read in these writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come" (p. 50). There are no direct quotations from the New Testament itself, although the diction of the "Apology" is

much tinged by the language of the Apostolic writers at times.

The opening sentence of the "Apology" runs thus: "I, O King, by the grace of God came into this world, and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that He that moveth them is God." This may be compared with 2 Macc. vii. 28: "I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made these of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise."

The passage "For He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him consists all that consists" (p. 36), may be compared with St. Paul to the Colossians (i. 17): "And He is before all things, and by Him all things consist," and "by Him all things were created" (verse 16).

Again: "And they began to worship the creature more than Him who had created them." This is certainly based on Rom. i. 25: "And worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator." The addition of the pronoun in the "Apology" is interesting. The Syriac translator renders: "And they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them," the change being due to the Syriac version, where the word "Creator" has the suffix of the feminine plural.

We may compare the passage "The Greeks, then, because they are wiser than the Barbarians, have erred even more" (p. 401), "saying that they are wise, they have become fools" (Greek version), with Rom. i. 22: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

Take, again, these words: "Whence men, taking the starting point, or pretext (*ἀφορμή*), from their gods, committed every lawlessness and lewdness and impiety" (p. 107), which seems to be an echo, though in a different sense, of Rom. vii. 8: "But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence."

We seem, in the apologist's words, "Now the laws are good and just" (p. 109), to be under the influence of the same chapter: "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good" (verse 12), and "the law that it is good" (verse 16).

One more quotation from the "Apology" must suffice: "For they, being the descendants of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, sojourned in Egypt; whence God brought them out

in a strong hand and lofty arm." The first part of the sentence seems to have affinities with Heb. xi. 8, 9: "By faith Abraham . . . sojourned in the land of promise with Isaac and Jacob." And the whole may be compared with Acts xiii. 17: "When they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm brought He them out of it." It should be mentioned that the second part is not attested by the Syriac and Armenian versions, and may have been introduced by the author of "Barlaam and Josaphat" from Psa. cxxxiv. 16-18. Other passages might be mentioned, which prove that the apologist was quite familiar with the Apostolic writers.

6. The "Apology" of Aristides is not the first agreeable surprise which has come upon the students of Christian apologetics of late years. It is not so long ago that the *Didaché*—the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"—made its unexpected appearance. This remarkable and "very important document" appears, according to Bishop Lightfoot, "to belong to the latter decades of the first or the beginning of the second century." It is ("Apostolic Fathers," i. 391), "a primitive book of Church discipline and ordinances" (St. Clement, i. 9). At all events, it is an older work than the "Apology" of Aristides. Now, it is from this work ("The Two Ways") our author has drawn his description of the life and conduct of the Christians, though it may be doubted if he knew it in the form preserved to us in the *Didaché*.

The following quotation is taken from the "Apology" (cxv.):

They [*i.e.* the Christians] do not commit adultery nor fornication; they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit, nor covet what is not theirs; they honour father and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly; and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards anyone. Those who grieve them, they comfort and make them their friends; and they do good to their enemies. They walk in all humility and kindness; falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another. And from the widow they do not turn away their countenance; and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence. And he who has, gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as a true brother, for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit of God.

The following parallels will be found in the *Didaché*:

C. ii.: "Thou shalt not commit adultery or fornication; thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's things; thou shalt not bear false witness."

C. i.: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour."

C. iv.: "Thou shalt judge justly;" *i.e.*, give right judgment.

C. i.: "All things whatsoever thou dost not wish to be done to thee, do not do to another."

C. iii. : "Be kind and gentle."

Perhaps there may also be adduced as a last parallel :

C. iv. : "Thou shalt not turn away from the needy, but thou shalt have all things in common with thy brother."

It may be added that the whole passage is prefaced by the words : "They have the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ, and keep them."

Comparing the passage with the Epistle of Barnabas—a still earlier document—we find there the same parallels adduced from the *Didaché*, with two exceptions : "Thou shalt not bear false witness" and the negative form of the *Golden Rule*.

It is therefore possible that Aristides may have drawn some of his precepts from the earlier document, the *Didaché*.

7. Besides other apocryphal gospels, the following four were the principal deutero-canonical writings which knocked at the door of the canon for admission : the *Didaché*, (just alluded to), the Epistle of Barnabas, the "Shepherd of Hermas," and the "Preaching of Peter." The last-named work enjoyed a good deal of popularity in the early Church, though its claim to a place in the canon was disallowed even more emphatically than the claims of those other competitors. But the Church in her councils it was which drew the line. "It is to the Church," says Dr. Westcott, "that we must look both for the formation and proof of the canon" (p. 12). We are indebted to the Church, which is "the keeper and witness of Holy Writ" (Art. XX.), for our canonical Scriptures, and she it was who settled the books of the New Testament for us. "Many have rightly perceived that the reception of the canon implies the existence of one Catholic Church," says Dr. Westcott, "and the growth of the Catholic Church is the comprehensive fact of which the formation of the canon is one element" ("On Canon," pp. 21, 327).

The "Preaching of Peter" is classed by Eusebius (H. E., iii. 3), together with his Acts, his Gospel, and his Apocalypse, as outside the canon of writings accepted by the universal Church. He goes on to say of these books, that none of the early writers or of his contemporaries used quotations from them. This statement, however, is incorrect, for it was mentioned frequently by the early Fathers, and Clement of Alexandria repeatedly quotes both from the "Preaching" and Apocalypse, as authoritative works in his day. It is mentioned twice by Origen, but it is classed by him among spurious works. It was, according to Lipsius, closely connected with the "Preaching of Peter and Paul." He says the work is not of an Ebionite character, as supposed by some, but is a Petro-Pauline production. Salmon holds that the "Preaching" was as old as the middle of the second century.

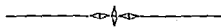
We have already noticed that Aristides refers to a written Gospel for his statements regarding our Lord. We have also seen that he has drawn part of his description of the conduct of the Christians from the *Didaché*. In several parts of his "Apology" we notice his method and language were influenced by the Book of Wisdom. But it is evident that he owes a still greater debt to the "Preaching of Peter," a work, indeed, now lost, but one which exercised a considerable influence upon the writings of the second century.

It is to be hoped that this may be recovered, as the "Apology" and *Didaché* have been, in the literary treasures of some monastery or library. Meantime, by gathering all the fragments together, which can with certainty be assigned to this work, a step in the right direction is being taken. And many do undoubtedly exist in the "Apology," though we have not space to notice them all, which may be used in its reconstruction. The "Preaching of Peter" is quoted by Heracleon, and it was probably used by Celsus. It seems also to have been in the hands of the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus. Moreover, in the "Sibylline Oracles" there are several passages which seem to be based on it. From these three or four extant works, which have drawn upon the missing document, there is a possibility that it may be critically reconstructed by a consideration of matter common to them. Towards such a reconstruction contributions, many of them scattered here and there, may be found in our "Apology," which seems to have made so free a use of it. It is not easy to say whether it was the "Preaching of Peter" or the "Apology" of Aristides which lay before Celsus, but there cannot be a doubt that it must have been one or the other. But the "Apology" gives no starting-point for the attack of Celsus on Jewish prophecies about the Messiah, whereas the "Preaching" laid great stress on this point.

We have had the pleasure of drawing attention to this newest surprise for the learned world, and, indeed, the fact that it has been discovered quite recently in an Armenian fragment and Syriac version, as well as the Greek, inspires us with hope for the future. Our age has seen the Epistles of Clement, the "Diatessaron" of Tatian (which has done so much to confirm the canonical position of the Gospels from the same distant region), and the *Didaché* (or the "Teaching of the Apostles") brought to light. Who can tell what will be the next find? We shall be looking to the libraries of the monasteries buried amid the depths of Syrian deserts and Armenian mountains for the recovery of the most ancient documents touching the Christian faith. What has become

of the "Preaching of Peter" just alluded to? Where is the lost "Apology" of Quadratus, Aristides' immediate predecessor? This would be a much more precious find, because it went into the details of the Gospel history, and was an exposition of the faith, as we gather from a meagre fragment preserved by Eusebius, for the benefit of the more cultured pagans. Where, too, is the last work of Papias (of Hierapolis), before him again, and where is the oft-quoted by Eusebius "Ecclesiastical History of Hegesippus"? This newly-found but inestimable treasure should encourage our scholars to pursue their investigations in those distant homes of learning, happily respected by the Mohammedan conquerors, with a keener and livelier expectation for the speedy restoration of those great legacies of Christian antiquity which Eusebius so often mentions, and the ante-Nicene Fathers so frequently allude to.

MORRIS FULLER.



ART. II.—THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL.

WHAT is the *terminus a quo* of these seventy weeks, or *hebdomads*? What is their *terminus ad quem*?

It ought not to be an unprofitable or a hopeless task to ascertain and to set forth the truth in answer to these two questions.

I. The *terminus a quo* is given us in these words: "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks" (Dan. ix. 25). Exactly such a command, or decree, was given by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign to, and at the instance of, Nehemiah, "according to the good hand of his God upon him." This was in the year B.C. 444. This ought to be, one would think, the *terminus a quo* we are in search of.

But there are three other *termini a quo* suggested by expositors. One is the command issued by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, B.C. 536, as commonly reckoned, or B.C. 506, according to the Rev. John Milner, in his suggestive article in the *CHURCHMAN* for November, 1890, entitled "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel and Persian Chronology." Another is the decree of Darius, B.C. 518, which, however, as Mr. Milner observes, merely confirms that of Cyrus. The third is the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes in the seventh

year of his reign, B.C. 457, of which Mr. Milner remarks that the decree given thirteen years later to Nehemiah by the same king was but a renewal.

But, in the first place, none of these commands, or decrees, was "a command to restore and to build Jerusalem." They referred only to the temple; they never mention the city. The building of the city, indeed, is mentioned, as if it, and it alone, were in progress, in the letter written and sent to Artaxerxes by "Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions." They wrote to prejudice and alarm the king about the rebuilding of "the rebellious and the bad city," and even went so far as to say that the Jews had already "finished the walls and repaired the foundations." But if these unscrupulous men deceived the king by what seems to have been their very untruthful letter, that is no reason why they should deceive us. And not a word is said in the Book of Ezra, except in this wicked letter, about any building of the city, while much is said of the building of the house of the Lord, and of that alone. And, again, in the year B.C. 444, Nehemiah could complain before the king that "the city, the place of his father's sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire." So that if any previous decree had gone forth "to restore and to build Jerusalem," it was an ineffectual and abortive decree, and no fitting *terminus a quo* for anything—not, at any rate, for the period in which Jerusalem was to be "built again, with street and moat even in troublous times." So that the year B.C. 444, with its command from Artaxerxes to Nehemiah, sending him "unto the city of his fathers' sepulchres that he may build it," stands, to our mind, the only and unmistakable *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks. We shall consider further on what Mr. Milner urges against it, and in favour of the first year of Cyrus instead.

II. But what is their *terminus ad quem*? A very strange mistake has been made here by many expositors—a mistake which the words of Scripture are surely plain enough to have prevented anyone making. The *terminus ad quem* of the seventy weeks has actually been fixed by one expositor after another at "Messiah the Prince," notwithstanding that the angel said plainly to the prophet that "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks," probably for restoring and building Jerusalem, "and threescore and two weeks." Now seven *plus* threescore and two are sixty-nine, not seventy. And yet the late Mr. Elliott, in the preface to his great and learned work, "Horæ Apocalypticæ," confesses that "the prophecy of the seventy weeks, 'until Messiah the

Prince' in Daniel," is one of those that "present certain difficulties and obscurities." But the "difficulties and obscurities" must be, to some extent at least, of his own making; for certainly there is no prophecy in Daniel of seventy weeks "until Messiah the Prince." There is one of $7+62=69$ weeks "unto Messiah the Prince," which is surely a somewhat different thing.

Mr. Grattan Guinness, too, in his very interesting work, "The Approaching End of the Age," without making or confessing any difficulty or obscurity in the matter, speaks repeatedly of "the seventy weeks," as being "unto Messiah the Prince." For instance (on p. 280, sixth ed.), he says: "It"—*i.e.*, that period of 490 years—"was the time that elapsed between Artaxerxes' decree to restore and to build Jerusalem and the days of 'Messiah the Prince.'" "The seventy weeks of Daniel ix. elapsed between the decree of Artaxerxes and the advent of Messiah" (p. 302). Again (p. 345), speaking of the "'seventy weeks,' or 490 years," he says: "This extended to the coming of Messiah the Prince and the destruction of Jerusalem, consequent on his rejection"—though how it could extend to both these events, so far apart from each other, he does not explain. In his Appendix, however (p. 596), he makes the seventy weeks end, neither at the coming of Messiah the Prince nor at the destruction of Jerusalem, but in the year A.D. 34, just five years after the crucifixion in A.D. 29—the nativity being fixed, for sufficient reasons, at A.D. 6 of our ordinary reckoning. The seventy weeks are thus made to end at no particular period at all, and the seventieth week to begin nowhere in particular—somewhere in the middle of the earthly ministry of our Lord.

It seems plain that Mr. Milner also in his interesting article, already alluded to, considers the seventy weeks as reaching "unto the Messiah the Prince." He says (p. 97): "The 490 years must date from the first of Cyrus, and we have, therefore, to reduce the 569 years of the common chronology to the requisite 490," the 569 years being the time, in the common chronology, from the first year of Cyrus to the crucifixion. But why reduce this 569 to 490, unless in order to bring the end of the "seventy weeks" (or 490 years) of Daniel to what he considers—and rightly, as we believe—the time of "Messiah the Prince"?

While Mr. Milner, for reasons which he gives, and which we shall consider presently, makes the seventy weeks begin with the edict issued in the first year of Cyrus, B.C. 536 or 506, Mr. Guinness makes them begin in B.C. 457, with the command given to Ezra by Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign,

to restore and to build Jerusalem, though in neither of those edicts, as we have already observed, was there any such command or permission given, so far as we know from Scripture. Seventy weeks, however, or 490 years, from any of those three dates bring us to nothing which can be spoken of as "Messiah the Prince." Reckoning 490 years from the first brings us to 46 or 40 years before the birth of Christ; reckoning them from the second brings us to B.C. 16 or 10; reckoning them from the third—Mr. Guinness's *terminus a quo*—brings us to the year A.D. 39, if not to the year A.D. 45. 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. In other words reckoning the right number of years—483—from the right *terminus a quo*—the twentieth year of Artaxerxes—brings us exactly to the right time for "Messiah the Prince," unto whom those 483 years were to run. We might almost write "Q.E.D." after this. It was the very thing, so far, to be proved, and it seems proved to demonstration.

Our reasons, which no doubt were Mr. Milner's also, for making the crucifixion rather than the nativity or the baptism of Christ to be the time of "Messiah the Prince" are these: (1) It is said in Daniel, "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off." But this would more naturally mean "immediately after" than "three and a half years after," or "thirty-three years after," or some indefinite time after. (2) "Unto the Messiah the Prince" may well mean, "unto the time of the Messiah manifesting Himself and offering Himself to Israel as the Prince," which He did when, but not before, He rode into Jerusalem—as it was predicted Zion's King should come unto her—a few days before His crucifixion. We confess we are also influenced by the fact that this juncture occurs exactly at the end of the 483 years from the commission to Nehemiah, and so exactly suits the prophecy as its fulfilment. When a key fits the lock, it is sufficient proof that it is the right key.

But let us notice now the arguments put forward by Mr. Milner on behalf of the decree of Cyrus as the true *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks:

(1) He quotes Calvin and Gregg in support of the exegesis which makes the object of the word "restore"—in the words "to restore and to build Jerusalem"—to be not "Jerusalem" as expressed, but "thy people," as understood. But this is by no means obvious, nor does it seem natural. It seems adopted

to suit and support the theory of the first year of Cyrus as the *terminus*. "To restore and to build" seems far more naturally explained by the marginal rendering of the A.V., "to build again." So it is in the Vulgate, "*ut iterum aedificetur*." Moreover, in the same verse, when we read that "it"—*i.e.*, Jerusalem—"shall be built again," the Hebrew idiom is, "it shall return and be builded," which seems an exactly similar idiom to that other, "to restore and to build Jerusalem." Indeed, Dr. Pusey's rendering of the two passages in Dan. ix. 25 are, "to restore and rebuild Jerusalem," and "street and wall shall be restored and builded." Pool, Auberlen, and Guinness make "Jerusalem" the object to "restore" as well as to "rebuild."

(2) Mr. Milner alludes to Isa. xlv. 28 as if it predicted that Cyrus was to say to Jerusalem, "*Thou shalt be built*." But this is more than doubtful. All through the passage, vers. 24-28, it is the LORD that is the subject of the verbs "that maketh;" "that stretcheth forth;" "that spreadeth abroad;" "that frustrateth . . . and maketh foolish;" "that confirmeth . . . and performeth;" "that saith of Jerusalem, she shall be built;" "that saith to the deep;" "that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure"—that alone is said of Cyrus; "even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." In the Septuagint this is clearly understood and set forth. Thus, in vers. 26-28, we have, "ὁ λέγων τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . ὁ λέγων τῇ αβυσσῶ . . . ὁ λέγων Κύρῳ . . . ὁ λεγων Ἱερουσαλήμ." So in the Vulgate, ver. 28, "Qui dico Cyro . . . qui dico Jerusalem." Bishop Lowth also takes the same view, "Who sayeth to Cyrus . . . who sayeth to Jerusalem," etc. It is certainly not predicted of Cyrus in this passage that he should say to Jerusalem, "Thou shalt be built."

(3) Mr. Milner quotes from Josephus a certain document as the letter from Cyrus to Sisinnes and Sathrabuzanes, in which the "rebuilding their city" is mentioned. We are not particularly interested in discrediting this document; but it may be well to draw attention to the fact that, as Prof. Whiston, the editor, says in his note, "This leave to build Jerusalem and this epistle of Cyrus to the same purpose are most unfortunately omitted in all our copies, but this best and completest copy of Josephus." Whiston goes on to take the same ground as Mr. Milner in reference to Isa. xlv. 28, which we think we have shown to be untenable.

(4) But Mr. Milner has another argument for the first year of Cyrus, which he considers a "a fatal objection to the seventh or twentieth of Artaxerxes." It is that, according to Nehemiah, it was *not* the city, but merely *the outer wall*, or fortifications,

that they—the recipients of the decrees of Artaxerxes—“were engaged in rebuilding”; also, that Nehemiah mentions two or more houses as already built while the wall was being built. So that, “Beyond all question, when Artaxerxes gave these orders *the city was already rebuilt*, and it must have been done in consequence of some previous edict; but there was no previous edict except that of Cyrus.” Now, in answer to this, it occurs to us (1) that, notwithstanding those few houses that are mentioned by Nehemiah—supposing they were built at the time—he complains to Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of that king’s reign, that “*the city, the place of my fathers’ sepulchres, lieth waste*,” and he asks and gets permission to go to the city, that he “*may build it*.” Strange that Mr. Milner should say that “*the city was already rebuilt*” at the time. (2) That Nehemiah tells us (chap. vii. 1, 4), “When the wall was built . . . the city was wide and large; but the people were few therein, and *the houses were not builded*.” We may observe that Ezra, the recipient of the first decree of Artaxerxes, makes mention of no building as the result of that decree but that of the temple. It is only in Nehemiah that the “houses” alluded to by Mr. Milner are mentioned. It is not inconceivable, however, that the builders of the temple may have lived in houses of some sort while that work was going on, even before any permission had been given by Artaxerxes to build the city; and even though Nehemiah could say some thirteen years after, “the houses were not builded.”

But it seems to us that the *terminus a quo* is absolutely fixed, at any rate for Mr. Milner, as the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, in this way. He has taken—and rightly taken—the crucifixion as the time of “Messiah the Prince.” Let him—as we suppose he will, and as we think he ought—accept, with Mr. Guinness, A.D. 29 of the ordinary chronology as the date of the crucifixion. Let him then reckon back from that date the number of years till then as given by the angel to the prophet, viz., 483 (not 490). This will bring him exactly to the year B.C. 444, or the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, which accordingly must be the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks.

But we have not yet really reached the *terminus ad quem* of the seventy weeks. We have been occupied so far with the *terminus ad quem* of the sixty-nine weeks. What about the seventieth week? We have seen how Mr. Elliott merges it in “the seventy weeks ‘until Messiah the Prince,’” getting himself into confessed and hopeless difficulty thereby; and how Mr. Guinness does the same, making it and the seventy weeks end in the year A.D. 34, five years after the cutting off of the Messiah or the crucifixion of Christ. According to the

prophecy in Daniel it would appear, as we have seen, that the sixty-nine weeks run their course right up to the cutting off of the Messiah. The seventieth week thus occurs after, not any part of it before, the crucifixion. Now seven years—or for that matter Mr. Guinness' five years—after the crucifixion bring us to nothing that can in any way be alluded to as taking place at the end of the seventy weeks. But is not the missing seventieth week sufficiently accounted for by identifying it with the "one week" of Dan. ix. 27. This, we may remark, is a week divided in "the midst," so that we can hardly help identifying the latter half of it with the "time, times, and half a time" of Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7, and Rev. xii. 14, the twelve hundred and sixty days of Rev. xi. 3 and xii. 6, the forty and two months of Rev. xiii. 5, and, let us add, the "shortened" time of the great tribulation of Matt. xxiv. 22. At the end of the "seventy seven times" (Pusey) which close with this terrible half week, will that be fulfilled, we doubt not, which is meant by the words of Dan. ix. 25—we give them in Dr. Pusey's rendering—"to close the transgression, and to seal up sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity (or to forgive iniquity), to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint a Holy of Holies." As to what is meant by all this, we will only say that the seventy weeks in which it was to be fulfilled were "decreed upon Daniel's people and upon his holy city," and that it seems to point unmistakably to the time when Jerusalem's "iniquity is pardoned" (Isa. xl. 2), when "her people shall be all righteous, and they shall inherit the land for ever" (Isa. lx. 21), when "the Lord shall be her everlasting light and her God her glory," when "the days of her mourning shall be ended" (vers. 19, 20).

It may be objected by some that we have no right thus to break off this seventieth week from the rest of the seventy. But it seems to us that it is unmistakably broken off for us. And, besides, how natural that the seventy weeks should be broken off on the rejection and crucifixion of Messiah the Prince, and should be taken up again when guilty Jerusalem and her Christ-rejecting people come again into remembrance before God. Where else after the crucifixion does that seventieth week come in? Is it possible to doubt the identity of the latter half of that week with the prophetic period for the closing scenes of this dispensation—the twelve hundred and sixty days, the forty and two months, the time, times, and a half (or three and a half years)? We may remark that it seems to be not the only instance on record of the continuity of a prophetic period being thus broken up. At least Mr. Elliott (*Hor. Apoc.*, vol. iii., p. 227 n., 3rd ed.) quotes with

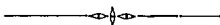
approval Archbishop Newcomb's account of the forty last years of Judah's iniquity as including fifteen and a half years of Manasseh's reign, two of Amon's, eleven of Jehoiakim's, three months of Jehoiachin's, and eleven years of Zedekiah's. This leaves out Josiah's reign of thirty years and Jehoahaz's reign of three months between Amon's and Jehoiakim's, gross idolatry not having prevailed in those two reigns.

But the breaking off of the last week of the seventy and reserving it for the end of the dispensation is no new thing in prophetic interpretation. It is at least as old as Hippolytus, the martyr Bishop of Portus, A.D. 210. He says: "By one week, therefore, he (Daniel) meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world (or age); of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach twelve hundred and sixty days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations."¹ Again, still more clearly, "when the threescore and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the Gospel is preached in every place, the times being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested, viz., Antichrist announcing desolation to the world."² Mr. Milner says of the prophecy of the seventy weeks of Daniel that it is "known to have been fulfilled." We are constrained to differ with him. The prophecy of the sixty-nine weeks has been fulfilled, but not that of the seventy, except in part; nor that of the seventieth. It will bring us through what remains of this present age to the beginning of the better age to come; through what remains of the night which is far spent, aye, through its darkest and most trying hours, to the dawn of the everlasting day which is at hand—to the Sun of righteousness arising on the world with much-needed healing in His wings, to be indeed, as never before, "a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of His people Israel."

W. T. HOBSON.

¹ Treatise on "Christ and Antichrist," ch. xliii. (see also ch. lxiv.) (Clark's Anti-Nicene Library), p. 25.

² Fragment on Daniel—"Secundum Septuaginta," ch. xxii., p. 454.



ART. III.—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

Wordsworthiana. A selection from papers read to the Wordsworth Society. Edited by Prof. W. KNIGHT. 1889.

TOWARD the close of the last century poetry was at a very low ebb. The school of Pope, so long in the ascendant, had completely triumphed over the simpler and more natural styles of verse. It is true that Burns and Cowper were far otherwise—that their best work recalled the brighter movement, the childlike joy in nature—that are the distinctive features of the great Elizabethan revival. But they were, more or less, isolated from the great mass of their contemporaries, who still clung fondly to the affectations and conceits of that school where Pope was an acknowledged master. Nay, further, though their work was an indirect challenge to the eighteenth-century versifiers, the position they took up was neither direct enough nor decided enough to effect any conspicuous change of front among the serried ranks of their opponents. To the great and splendid task—to that sacred duty (if one may call it so) of bringing poetry back to the truths that nature teaches, was “consecrated” the lifework of one man—William Wordsworth.

Anyone who will take the trouble to peruse that little volume of 1798 entitled “Lyrical Ballads,”¹ can hardly fail to observe, if he has any fairly extensive acquaintance with the model poets in which the eighteenth century delighted, that the verse contained within the covers of that book was something wholly different from the soulless metrical stuff then in vogue. “Lyrical Ballads” might be bad, wrong as to choice of material, false in its art, but it was certainly different from any contemporaneous work. It needed to be judged from a new standpoint. The book was violently enough handled, and only a few of the more discerning spirits of the age detected that a great poet had indeed arisen. There were the beautiful lines on “Early Spring,” the simple spontaneity and humanity of “We are Seven,” besides other pieces which have since become the permanent treasures of English song. In all these poems there was a grave exultation, an elemental strength, which, despite all defects of execution, forcibly communicated themselves to thinking readers; there was a “spontaneous overflow” of powerful feeling, indicative of a sympathetic insight into, and knowledge of, human life in all its varied and intricate conditions of existence. The poet himself, some years later, in a valuable prose preface to the

¹ A facsimile edition of this famous volume has recently appeared—nearly one hundred years after its first publication.

reprint of "Lyrical Ballads," endeavoured to describe the object which he had in view in the composition of these pieces, in the following remarkable words: "What I proposed to myself was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them throughout, as far as was possible, in a selection of language really used by men: and, at the same time, to throw over them a certain colouring of the imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual way; and, further and above all, to make these incidents and situations interesting by tracing in them, truly, though not ostentatiously, the primary laws of our nature; chiefly, as far as regards the manner in which we associate ideas in a state of excitement." Wordsworth was convinced in his own mind that the simple sorrows and joys of the humble dalesman are, if we will but really and honestly face the matter, quite as suitable material for the poet to exercise his most serious art upon as the "majestic pains" of a "Dion" or a "Laodamia." And, up to a point, Wordsworth was right.¹ Feelings that are the common heritage of the race—those great *elementary* passions of the human heart which manifest themselves, irrespective of the accidents of social condition or of birth, equally in the patrician and the peasant—these were what appealed to the loftier moods of Wordsworth's genius, and these were what he endeavoured, in the light of a noble imaginative faculty, to bring within the sphere of the poet's creative skill. And, such being his purpose, his effort was to depict those elemental feelings of humanity in words suited thereto; and for this he resolutely disclaimed the "gaudiness and inane phraseology" which passed under the sounding title of poetic diction, and chose rather a language used by men in everyday life. But, as Coleridge once observed, Wordsworth strangely overrated the poetic possibilities of everyday speech. In his laudable desire to set down nothing but what he felt to be true, he too often became utterly commonplace; and his verse assumed in such cases a dowdiness and prosy staleness that are wholly incompatible with poetry. To use the late J. Russell Lowell's² apt expression: "Wordsworth never quite learned the distinction between fact, which suffocates the muse, and truth, which is the very breath of her nostrils." This lack of discernment,

¹ Cf. Dean Church's criticism ("Essay on Wordsworth," reprinted in his "Collected Works," vol. ii., p. 218): "Wordsworth was right in protesting against the doctrine that a thing is not poetical because it is not expressed in a certain conventional mintage; he was wrong in denying that there is a mintage of words fit for poetry and unsuited to ordinary prose."

² "Essays on the English Poets," article "Wordsworth."

combined with a strange want of humour, caused Wordsworth to present to his readers such poems as "Simon Lee" and the "Blind Highland Boy," both of which—and they are representative of this class of uninspired episodes—are tedious by reason of their over-minute attention to needless and contemptible detail, and distasteful from their ludicrous commonplace.¹ Wordsworth was certainly a perplexing mixture. Side by side with some parochial triviality, we shall come across such lines as those on "Tintern Abbey," of which we may safely affirm that no more inspired piece of writing had been seen since the ink was wet upon the paper whereon were traced the thoughts of Milton himself. The sustained power of imagination, the noble dignity of thought and expression, the perfect ease and translucent strength of the nervous sinewy lines, combine to make that immortal poem, not merely the gem of the collection known as "Lyrical Ballads," but the finest piece in the whole body of Wordsworth's poetry. Only the "Great Ode" and the lines on "Duty" come anywhere near it.

Perhaps it may seem an exaggeration to say that, of all poets, Wordsworth is the most difficult to make a selection from. But the reader, who keeps his attention on the watch, and is careful to note the turn here and the touch there of the poet's clear "outlining of visible imagery," will not fail to understand what is signified. One is afraid, as Mr. Pater justly remarks, to miss even the most unpromising contribution, "lest some precious morsel should be lying within—the few perfect lines, the phrase, the single word, perhaps, to which he often works up mechanically through a poem, almost the whole of which may be tame enough." Take a well-known poem, "The Thorn," which is not a very promising production—not one where the imaginative light plays often or much—and yet what a subtle suggestiveness is there in the two brief lines :

And she is known to every star,
And every wind that blows.

This is what one is constantly finding in Wordsworth : the secret vein of purest gold embedded in a heap of quartz ; the

¹ Speaking of the "little muddy pond," in his poem of "The Thorn," he cannot avoid writing such doggerel as

"I've measured it from side to side,
'Tis three feet long and two feet wide."

And this is no unusual instance, as many of his verses will amply show. The odd part of it is that, when such examples were pointed out to him, he never could see the faultiness in them. "They ought to be liked!" was his remark to Crabb Robinson, who confessed that there were passages which he dared not read aloud in company.

touch of the imagination, setting everything a gleam, half-concealed in the prosaic numbers of the understanding. Or again, what delicacy, insight, and rare felicity of diction are combined in that single stanza from "Yarrow Visited":

But thou, that didst appear so fair
To fond imagination,
Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation ;

a stanza which Charles Lamb—no mean critic—pronounced to be inferior to none in the whole wide world of poetry for its simple loveliness. It should be noticed that the real character of Wordsworth's best work, at its highest level, comes out rather in the shorter poems than in long and sustained efforts, like the "Prelude" or the "Excursion." It was by the shorter lyrics and ballads (nearly every one of which was composed during the period beginning with "Lyrical Ballads," in 1798, and terminating with the two-volumed collection of "Poems" in 1807) that the revolution in English poetry was inaugurated—a revolution for which we have, be it remembered, to be profoundly grateful to this day. In the best of the shorter lyrics, such as the "Solitary Reaper" or the "Fountain," Wordsworth comes before us as the poet of nature, the portrayer of elemental passions in lowly hearts, the sympathetic friend and companion of humanity in its simple, unadorned, everyday guise; in the "Prelude" and in the "Excursion" he appears rather as the philosophic thinker and high-priest of nature. Yet it was through nature that he approached the spectacle of human life; it was in the hour of deep meditation upon the mystery of the universe about him that the voice of travailing humanity broke in upon his heart. He has told us this in immortal lines, and he has given us the reason :

I have learned
To look on Nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth ; but hearing oftentimes
The still sad music of humanity—
Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue.

To use¹ Mr. Pater's words, "these (natural) influences tended to the dignity of human nature, because they tended to tranquillize it. By raising nature to the level of human thought he gives it power and expression; he subdues man to the level of nature, and gives him thereby a certain breadth, and coolness, and solemnity."

¹ I quote from his luminous essay on Wordsworth in "Appreciations" (1889), where will be found some of the most thoughtful criticism that has yet appeared on the poet.

In the year 1807 Wordsworth gave to the world a fresh collection of his poems, in two volumes; and with that the first great period of his literary activity definitely closed. And, though it is a sad mistake to lay it down too rigidly that in the decade which began with 1798 and ended in 1807 *all* Wordsworth's best work was produced (for how, then, are we to account for "Dion" and "Laodamia," to say nothing of many other pieces?), yet we may with truth allow that during that period were composed those poems which have had the most serious and lasting effect on all subsequent poetry—those poems which are most clearly distinctive of Wordsworth, which first sounded the challenge to the scribblers of the last century, which were the most effective protest against their hollow artificiality and poverty of thought. The spirit of Homer, free and beautiful, had come back, and the Claudians were routed. Now it is just this that constitutes Wordsworth's chief claim upon our gratitude: he brought poetry back to Nature. Long divorced from Nature, and the truths which she inculcates and on every side proclaims, poetry had languished more and more, till only the form remained. The grate was there and the bars, but whoso looked within to find fire, discovered nothing save ashes.¹ Wordsworth, not fancifully careful for the form, sought rather that something without which the form is an empty abstraction; he sought Truth, the real content of poetry, for this end threading the mazes of life in all its classes and under all circumstances, common as well as romantic, seeing in all things matter for inference and instruction.²

In later years Wordsworth's style had a tendency almost to revert to a less direct and natural mode of expression, as a comparison of the three "Yarrows" will show. There was a simplicity almost amounting to barrenness in his early work, a bleakness well-nigh painful at times; none the less, it achieved its appointed end. Moreover, Wordsworth, however bleak, had always something to say, something definite and clear, which he wished to impart to his readers—a virtue, by the way, as admirable as it is rare. Then, again, at his best he is so earnest, so simple, so childlike in the way in which he looks, and bids us look, at things. There is, withal, a subtle delicacy of instinct, which enables him in his exalted moments to set the right word in the right place, to fit the description

¹ A similar state of things prevailed among the Italian *humanists* of the fifteenth century. With them, too, correctness of diction and elegance of form were everything, while matter went for little or nothing. Compare Beard's "Hibbert Lectures" (1883), cap. ii., p. 39.

² See the interesting preface (dated 1834) to Sir Henry Taylor's "Philip van Artevelde."

given to the thing described, that seems wholly unique. Take, as a suggestive instance, his lines on the "Cuckoo":

O blithe new-comer, I have heard,
I hear thee, and rejoice ;
O cuckoo, shall I call thee bird,
Or but a wandering voice ?

These lines are useful as a typical instance of Wordsworth's extraordinary power of transmuting some seemingly trivial incident into a subject for meditative joy and the substance of pleasurable recollection. And then there is the imaginative element, which is one of Wordsworth's highest qualities :

I hear thee babbling to the vale
Of sunshine and of flowers ;
And unto me thou bring'st a tale
Of visionary hours.
Thrice welcome, darling of the spring !
Ev'n yet thou art to me
No bird, but an invisible thing—
A voice, a mystery.

Nor is this haunting mystery, this sense of the supernatural, wherewith Nature fills the meditative heart, the only blessings she has to bestow. Above all is the "deep power of joy," that upholds us and cherishes us, and this is something which does not pass away with the object which has given rise to the emotion ; rather the picture remains for ever imprinted on the mind, presenting itself to

That inner eye
Which is the bliss of solitude.

Matthew Arnold, who has done so much to interpret the *true* Wordsworth to our day and generation, speaks¹ of his power of hope and happiness, his "deep power of joy," as what is perhaps Wordsworth's most distinctive virtue of all. And, be it noted, this note is sounded, not in one or two poems, but is distinctive of all Wordsworth's best work. Mention has been made of the bleakness of much of that work, but, after all, is it not the bleakness of a fresh wind, healthy and invigorating, that seems to come piping over cool hills ?

This "power of joy" which Wordsworth teaches us ; this power to transfuse a tranquil happiness into the lives and hearts of his fellows, is the outcome—not of momentary passion—but of a soul truly in harmony with the mind that "rolls through all things." Even in the sweetest poets there is a vague feeling of unrest, the sadness—so plaintive yet so eloquent in its dim world-weariness—of unsatisfied longings,

¹ In his address as President of the Wordsworth Society, 1883.

of unsatisfied endeavour. It was Wordsworth's brave desire to overcome this, not by making the weary heart wearier, and the tortured soul more miserable still, by "high debate" on this or that insoluble problem, wherein we

Find no end, in wandering mazes lost,

but by the simple process of bringing us back again to the eternal, elemental truths and sanctities of Nature. And by interpreting Nature to us, he helped to interpret the workings of our own minds. He comes to regard Nature as a single life, capable of exercising a deep influence on himself, and with an open heart, and observant eye, and sympathetic love, he listens to what she has to teach. Nature will not solve the great riddle, the mystery of being; but her influences may help to soothe and pacify the hearts and tranquillize the lives of men.

He had felt the power
Of Nature, and already was prepared,
By his intense convictions, to receive
Deeply the lesson deep of love which he
Whom Nature, by whatever means, has taught
To feel intensely, cannot but receive.

Employ yourself, he would seem to reiterate, in appreciative study of what is not too high nor deep for human thought; be busy to see the "beauteous forms of things," and suffer the glad light of the universe to shed its beneficent beams upon your mind and soul.

Come forth into the light of things,
Let Nature be your teacher;
She has a world of ready wealth,
Our minds and hearts to bless—
Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,
Truth breathed by cheerfulness.

It is this *animism* of Wordsworth (if it may be permitted thus to adopt what is a favourite word, nowadays, among our anthropologists) which causes him to regard Nature, not merely as a deep power of joy both to the external vision and also to the inner reflective mind, but as productive of a moral power for good. The well-known lines on Tintern Abbey express his meaning fully, where, after speaking of the "tranquil restoration" effected by reflective contemplation upon the visible workings of the natural world, he goes on to say:

Not less, I trust,
To them I may have owed another gift,
Of aspect more divine; *that blessed mood,*
In which the burden of the mystery—
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened;

while it is the happiest result of this that, at length,

With an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

One can hardly marvel, when one reads those noble lines, that Matthew Arnold, himself a true poet of much exquisite sensibility, should have recommended a study of Wordsworth to those oppressed with the gloom and moroseness engendered by latter-day¹ pessimism. Not that the *nature-cure*, as it has been called, always is effectual in everyone; but the tranquilizing influences of natural objects, calling forth and strengthening (as they do) the imagination, is of the utmost value oftentimes in restoring the mental balance; for, if the heart and eye be truly open to the genial influences of nature,² every revelation of beauty, of love, and of joy, may be treasured up in the memory, to prove an abiding solace in hours of weariness, and an ever-recurring delight in after-years. In the simplest and commonest things then, whether they be the innocent loveliness of the earth flowers, or the solemn grandeur of the hills, or the mystic light of the sunset, Wordsworth finds lessons of endurance and comfort by the way, and with unfailing felicity of language he has told us so:

To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

“The true office,” says Dr. Jowett,³ “of a poet is not merely to give amusement, or to be the expression of the feelings of mankind, good or bad, or even to increase our knowledge of human nature. There have been poets in modern times, such as Goethe and Wordsworth, who have not forgotten their high

¹ The horrible blankness of this despair seems to be gaining ground everywhere, among *dilettanti*, men of science, politicians and the rest. And nobody seems to see the reason, though it is not far to seek. “Truly, we are on the brink of the most fearful crisis in the whole world’s history. Knowledge is to be all in all.” These are the deliberate words of the greatest metaphysician of the age, Dr. J. H. Stirling (notes to the translation of Schwegler’s “History of Philosophy,” p. 474). The same thinker exclaims elsewhere: “We have had enough of this at the hands of the general Aufklärung; we would not protract the agony. What is wanted now is something quite else—an end to the misery: a renewal of faith.” (“Secret of Hegel,” vol. ii., p. 592).

² Compare the passage in the “Excursion” (Book IV.):

Then trust yourself abroad etc.,
Where living things, and things inanimate,
Do speak, at Heaven’s command, to eye and ear:
And speak to social reason’s inner sense
With inarticulate language.

³ Introduction to Plato, “Gorgias.”

vocation of teachers; and the two greatest of the Greek dramatists owe their sublimity to their ethical character. The noblest truths, sung of in the purest and sweetest language, are still the proper material of poetry. . . . The poet's mission is not to disguise men from themselves, but to reveal to them their own nature, and make them better acquainted with the world around them." These principles it is important to understand, if we would adequately comprehend the meaning of Wordsworth's life-work in its fullest extent. For, just as it is true that he found in Nature a sublime teacher of truths, and a source of peace and joy to the simple heart, so also he bids us remember that, "transcending all this, there must stand forth, as the highest goal of our best resolves and ambitions, the grand concept of duty, enforced with absolute certainty on every rational being."¹ None, perhaps, of our generation has more clearly perceived the binding necessity of duty than Wordsworth himself. Uncompromising, with its stern and unflinching "Thou must, for thou oughtest," duty will surely remain one of the few elemental *certainties* underlying our entire nature, which no rude force can shake, nor a false science make to falter. Our poet has not forgotten to give a prominent place among his poems to the well-known ode on "Duty," which, with "Tintern" and the "Great Ode," together form the high-water mark of his genius. There it stands—pure, stern, unyielding as the virtue herself, "daughter of the voice of God." Though Wordsworth invested Nature with a deeply spiritual significance, his poetry was throughout strongly tinged, nay, rather deep-dyed, in mighty convictions of truth *as* truth, eternal and divine, and therefore of God Himself. This is continually coming out in his delineation of natural surroundings, for instance, in which his truthfulness of presentation is remarkable. Even in his fieriest moods of imaginative insight, when his inspiration and spiritual passion were at their height, he never allowed himself to relax his genuine hold of truth; the feelings that prompted utterance he would faithfully record, reading them from the clear image of his own mind. Nor is his interpretation of nature characterized by anything more elaborately convincing than by his view of the great "primal duties," clearly seeing and evolving the beauty which lies in all that is truly natural in human life.²

¹ *I.e.*, what Kant calls the "imperative of morality." See his "Metaphysic of Morality," p. 264, *sqq.* (works, ed. Hartenstein). But duty must never remain a concept; it is necessary that it should be realized in every department of human action. Dr. J. H. Stirling has some thoughtful remarks on the subject ("Philosophy of Law," Lecture II., pp. 18-28).

² See a short but interesting paper by the Dean of Salisbury on "Wordsworth's Position as an Ethical Teacher," printed in "Words

This being his attitude towards ethical questions, we may now briefly inquire what constituted the poet's conception of the religious ideal. I would gladly state my conviction that Wordsworth was no pantheist, in the ordinary acceptation of the term: Pantheism is naturally to be understood in the Spinozistic sense—that all God is nature, and all nature God, with all that this involves; but, surely Wordsworth would have been the first to repudiate such a creed. Of the pantheism, too, ascribed to some passages he must have been unconscious; his creed being, as Mr. Gostwick¹ observes, that commonly accepted in the Anglican Church. If, however, by pantheism we signify that God, as

Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe,

is everywhere existent in His creations, great and small, yet at the same time transcending their mere material natures, then Wordsworth was a pantheist. But in that case are we making a legitimate use of the word? No doubt Wordsworth intuitively believed in the real *immanence* of God in the world, but allowed a certain mysticism to colour his belief, which gave rise to the notion of his possessing Pantheistic views. His mysticism mainly consisted in a vague theory of a certain sympathy existing between the material world and the human soul. What Wordsworth held merely as a vague theory was made the subject of a careful and serious inquiry by Heinrich Steffens, the Norwegian mystic. In the discourse of the Wanderer in the "Excursion" (Bk. IX.), at the very opening words, we find, it is true, such words as these:

To every form of being is assigned
An *active* principle; how'er removed
From sense and observation, it subsists
In all things;

but one should note that Wordsworth actually italicizes the word *active*, as if to guard against a Spinozistic interpretation being put on his declaration. The ground-plan of Spinoza's system was that of a *passive* principle, which is merely another term for the modern Force; to Spinoza God is as a vast and slumbering whole, whose infinite surface is fretted into infinite shapes, which are the outward bodies that reflect themselves into the inward ideas. Wordsworth's conception was something other than this:

Eternal Spirit! universal God!
Power inaccessible to human thought

worthiana," pp. 157-161. Dean Boyle says justly: "Again and again throughout Wordsworth's poetry the outward picture is nothing to the poet unless it be connected with the freedom of duty, the hope of immortality, where he finds the 'diviner air' in which man is destined to expatiate."

¹ In his work "German Culture and Christianity" (1882).

Save by degrees and steps which Thou hast deigned
 To furnish; for this image of Thyself,
 To the infirmity of mortal sense
 Vouchsafed; this local, transitory type
 Of Thy paternal splendours, and the pomp
 Of those who fill Thy courts in highest heaven,
 The radiant cherubim; accept the thanks
 Which we, Thy humble creatures here convened,
 Presume to offer; we, who from the breast
 Of the frail earth, permitted to behold
 The faint reflections only of Thy face,
 Are yet exalted and in soul adore.

"Excursion," Book IX.

Wordsworth's God was the *Θεός*¹ of Aristotle; no mere "everlastingness of successive thoughts in time; no mere perpetual series of relations; not the mere order of perceptions of thoughts ever going on; but 'the eternity of thought'—the ground, the substratum, the very permanent of all thinking."² The single energy (or what you please to call it) manifesting itself in all conceivable modes and every thinkable attribute, but always conscious of its own oneness of aim, and perfect self-identity, and therefore, in the highest sense personal—that was the conception which Wordsworth formed of God. The secret (I think) of Wordsworth's inspiration is to be found in the fact that thought, with him, was pre-eminent; thought in its widest scope, manifested in the realm of nature and the mind of man, controlling action, strengthening the imagination, directing the affections, and ennobling and purifying life.

For though in whispers speaking, the full heart
 Will find a vent; and thought is praise to Him,
 Audible vent to Thee, omniscient Mind,
 From whom all gifts descend, all praises flow!

"Excursion," Book IX.

"All things," says Dr. Stirling, "are for Aristotle directed to an end—an end which is good, an end and a good which are ultimate—God. There is but one life, one inspiring principle, one specular example in the whole. All is for God, and from God, and to God. He is the all-comprehending unity, in whose infinite I AM all things rest; but He is the *ἐνέργεια*, the actuality that realizes them all from the least to the greatest." And not alone for Aristotle, but for Wordsworth also. For him, too, God is something other than a mere potentiality; He alone *is*, too, the single existent and

¹ Compare, for a masterly dissertation on the *Θεός* of Aristotle, Dr. J. H. Stirling's eighth Gifford Lecture, as published in his "Philosophy and Theology" (1890).

² This passage is quoted from Prof. Veitch's most searching paper entitled "The Theism of Wordsworth," reprinted in "Wordsworthiana."

truly self-conscious actuality; for him, too, there is that sublime

Faith in life endless, the sustaining thought
Of human being, Eternity and God.

Finally, Wordsworth firmly believed in the essentially divine nature of the human soul, and did not hesitate to insist upon the full logical issue of his premiss. Not only are our souls journeying to heaven, which is our home; but, further, this very journeying is but the return of the soul

To that imperial palace whence it came.

This idea, wrought out with superb majesty of diction and the most splendid imaginative insight, has frequently been compared with the Myth in Plato's Republic. But we must be careful to distinguish the difference between Plato's and Wordsworth's conceptions. To use Mr. Archer-Hind's¹ words: "According to Wordsworth, we are born with the ante-natal radiance clinging about us, and spend our lives in losing it; according to Plato, we lose the vision at birth, and spend our lives in trying to find it." This we can readily see by looking for a moment at Wordsworth's lines:

In trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home.

But the Earth, the kindly mother of our corporeal selves, does all she can to make the child forget

The glories he hath known.

Heaven lies about us in our infancy, and it is the increasing years that make the vision fade, still fade, through boyhood and ever on through youth.

At length the man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day.

And yet not altogether. Still something remains of all the gone glory, which the years may not utterly take away. There still lives on something to remind us of the sweet fugitiveness of the dream. And this is the thought which to the poet's heart brings "perpetual benediction." We *cannot* quite put off from us the light and the radiance, even as Moses could not at once put away the troubled glory from his face, when he came down from the crags of Sinai, after that mysterious communion with his Creator.

Although the poet of nature in a special sense, Wordsworth was even more the poet of humanity. His theme, as he himself confesses, was "no other than the very heart of man." The love of nature led him, in his later years especially, to the love of man. If, in his study of natural objects, he has

¹ Note on Plato, "Phædo," p. 76 D.

ART. IV.—CHEYNE'S "ORIGIN OF THE PSALTER."¹

PROFESSOR CHEYNE has added a new feature to the annual volume of Bampton Lectures by prefacing the lectures with an autobiography of himself. We do not quarrel with him for this innovation, for a man who publishes theories so contradictory to any opinions that have ever before been ventilated by a Bampton Lecturer in St. Mary's pulpit may well think himself called upon to explain to his readers who he is, and to show that he has a claim to be heard. If he can thereby prove himself to be at once capable and trustworthy, he will have gone far to conciliate the respect and goodwill even of those who are still obliged to differ from his conclusions.

Dr. Cheyne tells us that "he springs from an Evangelical stock" (p. xxvii.); that he became a disciple and sat at the feet of Ewald, but passed from his school in 1870 to that of Kuenen, and became as devoted to his new leader as he had been to his first teacher. He rests his claim for a hearing not only upon his being the "prophet" or interpreter of Kuenenism to English readers, but also on having advanced beyond Kuenen as an original thinker and critic on the lines laid down by his German master. So far, our sympathies for or against Dr. Cheyne will depend on the degree in which we sympathize with or are repelled by Kuenenism, which stands as a symbol of that system of Continental theological criticism which resolves the Bible into a number of discontinuous and often contradictory fragments whose authority, if any, is to be determined by the *schola criticorum* of the nineteenth and subsequent centuries. The English writers of the last generation of whom Dr. Cheyne speaks with approbation are Bishop Colenso, who wrote "a thankworthy book on the Pentateuch," the results of which Dr. Cheyne prophesied in 1871 "would be confirmed by an increasing number of critics"; and Mr. H. B. Wilson, of St. John's College, Oxford, whose name is well known as a writer in the once notorious *Essays and Reviews*. These names give some indication of the position taken up by Dr. Cheyne.

There is more to be learned from the Introduction. In 1870 Dr. Cheyne published a volume called "Isaiah Chronologically Arranged," containing "incisive statements" (p. xiii.), such as

¹ "The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions," with an Introduction and Appendix. By THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Canon of Rochester. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1891. Pp. 517.

that the Book of Isaiah was written by a number of authors, five at least of whom lived in Babylon, and that the Servant of the Lord in Isa. lii. and liii. "personified a purely poetical figure," and "was a glorification of the prophetic office." In 1880 he wrote another work on the "Prophecies of Isaiah," in which the authorship of the prophecies was restored to Isaiah, and the Servant of the Lord again became the Messiah; and other changes of like character were made, leading people to think that Dr. Cheyne had sown his critical wild oats and was becoming a sober theologian. From the reputation thus earned Dr. Cheyne derived much benefit, gaining admission for his Scriptural notes and comments in places where they would else have been excluded, and probably owing to it his Professorship, to which he was elected in 1885. Now we learn that he never really underwent any change of sentiment; but the years between 1870 and 1880 were "bitter years," when "the Church and the University would none of those things which criticism [supposed that it] had discovered." Dr. Cheyne found that his book of 1870 was unpopular; so, "to regain full sympathy with brethren *left behind*," without "the thought of a palinode entering his head," but simply adapting himself to his readers' backwardness in unbelief, on the principle of "seeing with the eyes of his expected readers," he maintained positions in 1880 which he now acknowledges that he did not at the time think to be true, and against which he all along believed that there was a preponderating weight of argument. This "self-suppression" Dr. Cheyne terms "a strong effort of faith in the unseen." Most men would apply a different name to it. With cynical contempt for his readers, he says that he took care that the *data* for the views which he really held should appear in the commentary; but "through the deliberate self-suppression which is the soul of that work," he "reserved his *results*" for an article which he was writing at the time for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on Isaiah; the consequence of which was, he pathetically laments, that Stade and Kuenen did not know that he had anticipated them in their views, and that he had taken "not only a step in advance, but a step which other critics are only just beginning to take" (p. xix.). What does this mean but that Dr. Cheyne, finding that his views were making him unpopular in England, set out other views as though they were his own, when they really were not, still trying to make converts to his real opinions by introducing statements which made for them, while he professed and appeared to be arguing for their opposites? How are we to designate such conduct? How are we to trust the man who confesses to it without blushing, and only laments that the course adopted by him to gain repu-

tation in England lost it in Germany? As late as 1885 he acknowledges that his method (in his "Jeremiah") was still, as a rule, to avoid drawing the conclusion to which his premisses led; but he allowed himself to do so on some occasions, from "a dawning consciousness that the necessity for minimizing the results of literary criticism, even in addressing clerical students, was passing away." But "the transitional period is not yet quite over"; when it is, he will "reconstruct his commentaries." Meantime he is "not ashamed to have offered one more sacrifice" (*i.e.*, taught what he does not believe) "to the temporary needs of the Church."

We have, therefore, no grounds for believing that the present volume contains the whole extent of Dr. Cheyne's divergences from received opinions. He goes as far as he thinks that Church opinion will allow him in 1891, just as he did in 1880, and if he can educate English Churchmen to go further, we may expect him to abandon his "provisional standing-ground," and to advocate theories still more destructive and more subversive of the fragments of the Christian faith, which superficially he seems still to retain.

We have not completed the survey of the Introduction, and shall presently return to it; but it is time now to turn to the lectures themselves. They profess to be, in the first place, an inquiry into the origin of the Psalms. We may remind our readers that the Psalms are ordinarily divided into five books. Speaking broadly and generally, the first book is commonly assigned to the reign of David, the second to the reign of Hezekiah, the third to the reign of Josiah; the fourth containing the rest of the Psalms down to the Captivity, and the fifth those of the Captivity. This, we repeat, is only a broad view, requiring modification and correction in particulars. Hebrew tradition, embodied in the superscriptions, gives the authorship of seventy-three Psalms to David, of two to Solomon, of twelve to Asaph, of twelve to the sons of Korah, of one to Ethan, and of one to Moses, the remaining forty-nine being anonymous. Dr. Cheyne's aim is to throw all the Psalms into as late a period as possible. In this he deserts the guidance of his old teacher, Ewald, who declares that "nothing can be more untrue and more perverse than the opinion that there are any Maccabean psalms at all in the Psalter," and he follows Hitzig, Lengerke, Reuss, Grätz, and his later masters. Improving, as he thinks, on their views, he comes to the conclusion that there may be *one* psalm composed previous to the Captivity—the eighteenth; but he "cannot complain if some prefer to regard the psalm as an *imaginative work* of the Exile." (This is Dr. Cheyne's manner of insinuating that it is post-Exilic, though he does not like to say so.) Putting this one psalm

aside, which is "rich in mythic elements" (p. 204), Dr. Cheyne pronounces *ex cathedra* that all the rest, with the possible exception of "lines or verses embedded in the later psalms," are the product of an age subsequent to the Captivity; and that forty-two of them are of the date of the Maccabees or just before them.

It may be asked why Dr. Cheyne should be so urgent to throw forward the date of the Psalms. He enables us to answer this question, though, according to his manner, which he has described and justified, he puts his statement in the form of a premiss, leaving the conclusion to be drawn by his reader. The school of which Dr. Cheyne aspires to be the English Coryphæus regards the Law as a pious fraud foisted upon the world at the earliest in the reigns of Hezekiah or Josiah, and more probably after the return from Babylon. But "that the Psalter as a whole presupposes the Law is not to be doubted" (p. xxx.). In that case, supposing that the Psalter dates from David or Hezekiah or Josiah, the Pentateuch cannot be a post-Exilic forgery, but it must have had an existence previous to those kings' reigns. Therefore the Psalter *must not* have been written till after the return from Captivity, or—if such a theory can possibly be made to look plausible—till the Maccabean era.

There is another reason. Dr. Cheyne holds that the doctrines of resurrection and eternal life, as well as other great truths, came to the Jews from Zoroaster, or at least that they would not have been developed in the Hebrew mind except by contact with Zoroastrianism in the Persian period of Jewish history. But they are to be found in the Psalms—in some of those, even, that are attributed to David, as *Psa. xvi.* But on the Zoroastrian theory it is impossible that such a conception could have existed in pre-Exilic times, "except, indeed, upon the hypothesis of a 'heaven-descended theology'" (p. xxxi.). In other words, a Hebrew psalmist could not teach resurrection, immortality, and future judgment before contact with Persia, except we grant that those truths were imparted to him by a Divine revelation instead of being worked out by the operation of the human mind; and that hypothesis is inadmissible. Therefore the Psalms that deal with this conception and several other spiritual truths *must be* post-Exilic.

What are the grounds on which Dr. Cheyne relegates the more important Psalms to the Maccabean era? What is the evidence external and internal? External evidence there is none. We read that Simon Maccabeus took a tower in Jerusalem that had been occupied by the enemy, and "entered it with harps and cymbals, and with viols and hymns and songs, because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.

He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness" (1 Macc. xiii. 51). We read further, "Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low, the law he searched out, and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away. He beautified the sanctuary and multiplied the vessels of the temple" (xiv. 14). This is absolutely all the external evidence. How is it evidence at all? Thus, according to Dr. Cheyne, "What *more natural* than that Simon should follow the example of David, his prototype, as described in Chronicles, and make fresh regulations for the liturgical services of the sanctuary?" But is there any statement made that he did so? None at all. "Is it *likely*," continues Dr. Cheyne, "that he beautified the exterior and took no thought for the greatest of the spiritual glories of the temple, those 'praises of Israel' which Jehovah was well pleased to 'inhabit'? If so, he had no feeling for that exquisite psalm which calls the ministers of the temple happy because 'they can be always praising' God." Well, suppose he had not any such feeling, which is much more likely than that he had. But whether he had or not, is there any statement here that he collected, for use or in a book, a number of psalms composed by a galaxy of contemporary poets? Dr. Cheyne's external evidence exists solely in his own imagination. He says that "Maccabean enthusiasm *ought to have produced*" (therefore it *did* produce) "an appreciable effect on sacred poetry" (p. xxxi.), and that "we *may and must conjecture* that Simon" (who "did not despise Greek architecture") "devoted himself to the reconstitution of the temple psalmody" (p. 11), though "we have no record of it" (*ibid.*).

What of the internal evidence? Dr. Cheyne allows that nothing is to be learnt from "linguistic criteria." "But then we may and must require that in typical Maccabean psalms there should be some fairly distinct allusions to Maccabean circumstances, I mean expressions which lose half their meaning when interpreted of other times" (p. 16). We are bold to say that there is not a single psalm that will answer to that requirement, which Dr. Cheyne allows to be a necessary requirement. Take the psalm that he selects first of all to deal with, as the most favourable to his cause—"one of the most promising of the psalms," as he calls it—Psa. cxviii. We ask our readers to read that psalm through, and to say whether they find any "fairly distinct allusion to Maccabean circumstances" in it. We venture to say that there is not a word in it more applicable to the battle of Bethsura and the subsequent rededication of the profaned altar by Judas Maccabeus in 165 than to any other victory or deliverance of the Jews from the time of David to that date, or to any other

festive occasion, such as the anointing of David after Ishbosheth's death, or one of his conquests of the Philistines (Rudinger), or the deliverance of Hezekiah from Sennacherib (Dæderlein, Dean Johnson), or the setting up of the altar of burnt offering in 536 (Ewald), or the foundation of the second temple (Delitzsch), or its dedication (Hengstenberg), or any other remarkable event. There is absolutely no Maccabean colouring in it. Dr. Cheyne finds "allusions" in two expressions. Verse 22 is one well known to us by its being quoted in a Messianic acceptance by our Lord (Matt. xxi. 42, Mark xii. 10, Luke xx. 17), and by St. Peter (Acts iv. 11, 1 Pet. ii. 7), and referred to in like manner by St. Paul (Eph. ii. 20): "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." This "stone" is, according to Dr. Cheyne, "the Asmonæan family" (p. 17), and this "allusion" to that family is proof that the psalm is Maccabean. Can anyone except Dr. Cheyne see why the stone should mean the Asmonæan family? He assumes an "allusion," and then argues from his assumption. This is his method.

The other allusion which Dr. Cheyne finds to Maccabean times is the use of the word "light": "God is the Lord which hath showed us light" (ver. 27). This he assumes to be an allusion to the feast of dedication, instituted in Maccabean times, which Josephus says was called "Light." Therefore the psalm belongs to Maccabean times. Again, we find that an assumption is first made and then argued from. Why should not the word be equally well an allusion to the pillar of light in the wilderness (see Neh. ix. 21), or to the light and gladness which the Jews experienced on Mordecai's being honoured (Esth. viii. 16), or to the "Let there be light" of Gen. i. 3, or any other place where light is spoken of?

Psa. cxviii. is the one psalm which Dr. Cheyne has selected first out of the whole Psalter as the psalm on which to lay the foundation of his theory, because "containing fairly distinct allusions to Maccabean circumstances," and we have seen what those allusions are, and what Dr. Cheyne's arguments from them amount to. Having thus got a *πὸν στῶ*, he proceeds swimmingly. He takes the psalm which by such "distinct allusions" has been *proved* to be Maccabean, and finds in it a sentiment, perhaps of thanksgiving, perhaps of penitence, or anything else, similar to a sentiment in another psalm. Then that other psalm is shown by that similarity to be of the same date as the first. Thus we get two Maccabean psalms; then there is something in the second psalm like something in a third, therefore the third is Maccabean, and so on *ad libitum*. This he calls his comparative method, and he is very proud of

it. It certainly is a very easy process, and by Dr. Cheyne's two methods combined we would undertake to prove that any thing was written at any time. We believe that there is not an argument in the whole of this volume which would be pronounced sound after being submitted to a logical test in accordance with the acknowledged canons of reasoning.

We have shown what Dr. Cheyne's Maccabean allusions are in the psalm which he instances as most favourable to him. We shall not follow him in his other instances, where his case is still weaker. We will notice a few of the results of his system, and bring to an end an ungrateful task. The "headstone of the corner" we have already seen to be the Asmonæan family. "Thine Holy One," in Psa. xvi. 10, who is "not to see corruption," is the psalmist, as the representative of faithful Israel (p. 217). Psa. xxii. ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?") is of the date of Nehemiah, and it is the personified Genius of Israel that is meant by it and by Isa. liii. Psa. xlv. ("Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh") is "a courtier's love-poem in the post-Exile period," and its subject is Ptolemy Philadelphus. Psa. lxxii. ("Give the king thy judgments") is also a poem glorifying Ptolemy Philadelphus (a singularly wicked man, we may note in passing, who, though a Greek, married his sister). Psa. cx. ("The Lord said unto my Lord") is, "in the fullest sense, a glorification of Simon Maccabeus" (p. 24). "Who else *can be* meant but Simon?" (*ibid.*). It is "an encomium upon Simon, who, by the capture of Acra and the expulsion of its garrison (May, 142), had completed the liberation of Jerusalem, and rendered it possible for a psalmist to say, "All eagerness are Thy people in the day of Thy muster upon the sacred mountains, cx. 3" (p. 25). Enough. The Messianic conception is evacuated by Dr. Cheyne's system. Here is his account of it. "What is the fundamental idea of the Messianic psalms? Simply this, that the people of Israel is to work out the Divine purpose in the earth, and to do this with such utter self-forgetfulness that each of its own successes shall but add a fresh jewel to Jehovah's crown" (p. 340). No wonder that he should add: "All these psalms are only Messianic in a sense which is psychologically justifiable; they are, as I have shown, neither typically nor in the ordinary sense prophetically Messianic" (*ibid.*).

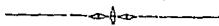
We must sorrowfully acknowledge that the school originated in England by some of the Essayists and Reviewists, and by Bishop Colenso, is revived and reconstructed among us. Its immediate object is the overthrow of the authority of the Old Testament, which Dr. Cheyne calls "a reform of Apologetic," and to succeed in this, under the present conditions of "our English orthodoxy," he tells us that two principles must be

constantly urged until they are admitted. One of these is the ignorance (called "self-limitation") of our Lord, the other is the illumination by the Holy Spirit of "each faithful Christian" (called "continual guidance"). At two Church Congresses, and before the London Biblical Society, and in various publications, Dr. Cheyne has pressed these views, he tells us, on the English clergy. He found some support and encouragement, but it was uphill work.

It seemed too much to hope to see results, when—who could have believed it?—in the autumn of 1889 a very able recognition of both principles proceeded from the pen of the Principal of Pusey House (see his fine essay in "Lux Mundi"). Now, I will not accuse Mr. Gore, who is a ripe theological thinker, of borrowing from me without acknowledgment. But fairness and brotherly feeling must compel him to recognise that the movement which he advocates for the reform of the Old Testament sections of apologetic theology, was initiated in the Anglican Church on almost the same lines by another (p. xxv.).

When the rationalist school first lifted its head in England the two great parties in the English Church combined to repudiate its doctrines, and the Church showed its vitality and healthiness by shaking itself free of them. Will it do so now? Dr. Cheyne jubilantly announces that in that respect 1890 is not 1880. Nor is it. Church Congresses have much to answer for, from the Congress held at Reading onwards, in allowing themselves to become an arena for ventilating semi-agnostic and "critical" views. The electors to the Bampton Lectures have much to answer for, who are bound to appoint lecturers whose aim it shall be "to confirm and establish the Christian faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics," and have not done so. But the person that has most to answer for is Mr. Gore, who has held open the door between the High Church Party and the Rationalists, and has perplexed the younger school of Pusey and Keble, by making them feel that they cannot condemn rationalism without at the same time condemning him whom they have learnt to look upon as one of their present leaders. Men are standing now, for the moment, at the parting of paths. In which direction will they move onwards? "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls" (Jer. vi. 16).

F. MEYRICK.



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

MANY years ago—it was in 1869—I received a kind letter from the late Lord Chancellor Hatherley (Sir W. Page Wood). I had been much helped in thought and faith by his small but valuable book—as well worthy attentive study now as ever—“The Continuity of Scripture,” and I ventured to thank him. His reply contained the following sentences :

“I thought that many young and ardent minds become embroiled in controversy before they have had the thought or inclination to make *proof* of Scripture by its effects on their own hearts when read with a simple, prayerful wish to believe. In my youth (I cannot express the benefit thus derived from Holy Writ) I used, when under trial, to read, say, two or three chapters of the New Testament, specially the closing chapters of the Gospel of St. John, and never found my doubts so cleared as by that expedient. I have now for more than thirty years perused the whole Volume yearly. I fear I may not have time now allowed me to expose the very shallow reasoning powers of very eminent German scholars. Their learning I admire ; but at the bar we often find a man’s logic swamped by his learning ; and so it is in divinity.”

I quote these words of that good man and great judge—perhaps as great a master of legal evidence as there has ever been—to introduce the following simple paper on these same last pages of St. John, and more particularly on the precious narratives of chapter xx. As with a previous series in the CHURCHMAN (on chapter xxi.), so with this—the object is not criticism specially, nor speculation, but reverent verbal study, carried on “with the simple, prayerful wish to” realize, and so the more gladly to “believe.” Whatever such studies do, or fail to do, may they lead us a little nearer to Him who is the Life and the Light—Jesus Christ, our sacrifice, our hiding-place, our resting-place ; our strength for watching and for work ; our panacea for all temptation ; our resurrection ; our heaven in prospect !

We begin with a translation :

“Now on the first day of the week Mary of Magdala comes early, while it was still dusk, to the tomb, and sees the stone taken out of the tomb. So she runs and comes to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and says to them, They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have put Him. So they went out, Peter and the other disciple, and set out for (ἤρχοντο) the tomb. So they were running (ἔτρεχον), the two together ;

and now the other disciple ran forward (προέδραμε), quicker than Peter, and came first to the tomb; and, stooping from the side, he sees lying the linen cloths. He did not go in, however. So Simon Peter comes, following him, and went into the tomb, and views (θεωρεῖ) the linen cloths lying, and the napkin that was over His head, not lying with the linen cloths, but apart, rolled up and put in a separate place. So the other disciple, who came first to the tomb, then went in, and he saw, and believed. For not as yet did they know the Scripture, that of necessity He would rise from the dead."

Verse 1. Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ ("Now on the first day"). We observe the connecting "now," δὲ. It points to previous details, and reminds us that the Resurrection is indissolubly linked, in significance as in fact, to what precedes—the Cross. It is the two which make the one glory of the work of Christ. It is "the Living One who became dead" (Rev. i. 18) who is our Peace, and can lay His hand on us and say, "Fear not."

So this brief particle leads us back, over some forty hours, to that mid-afternoon of the Friday when the Lord expired; to the short interval before sunset, when Joseph and Nicodemus had buried Him in the adjoining garden, watched, perhaps from under the city wall,¹ by some of the Galilean women; then to the hushed interval of that sunset, and evening, and night, and following day. That interval the disciples spent in grief and tears, and apparently in different places, isolated into groups. For Peter and John, having with them no doubt the Lord's Mother, seem to have been found apart from the rest when Mary Magdalene sought them; and Thomas was definitely withdrawn; and the women, again, appear to have set out, on the Sunday morning, from different points. Then we are led to the evening of our Saturday—the close of their Sabbath—when, as the sun set, the women, or some of them, at once set out to buy and to prepare the odours with which to complete the work of Nicodemus. So we reach the middle of that night, and the breaking of the first-day morning, when from their various lodging-places the women came—Mary of Magdala, Mary "of Joseph," Salome, and perhaps others too.

As we review that interval, I would touch on one point only in the picture of the disciples drawn for us in the Gospel

¹ I venture to assume the rightness of "General Gordon's site" of the crucifixion, outside the Damascus Gate. Near that "green hill," I am told, there is still a sort of garden in a rocky nook, and two handsome graves are to be traced within its small limits. If Gordon is right, the only question about those graves (for there is no appearance of other gardens, or place for them, near) will be—Out of which did the Lord Jesus come in resurrection?

narrative; I mean the collocation and contrast, so startling yet so deeply truth-like, between the total failure of their faith and the survival of their love.

When the Lord rose, perhaps no living person, excepting (surely) His Mother, consciously and intelligently "believed on His name." No living person, except her, trusted His promise to rise again, and understood His death in the light of it, resting the soul upon His sacrifice. So this very passage tells us, in regard of no less personages than John and Peter. But such a statement would have been the very last thing which a fabricator would have excogitated, and the very last which would have arisen unconsciously in minds (such as many "critics" assume all the minds of the primeval Church to have been) pregnant with legend, or facile vehicles for the growth of myths. Who in that simple age, with its literary "helplessness," would have thought of *constructing* an utter collapse of faith in the central circle of the disciples just when Jesus was accomplishing His alleged victory—just *because of* the Cross, which so soon somehow became the hope and glory of His followers?

But knowledge and reflection *now* show us how true to history, to time, and conditions, and the human soul, all this picture is. All the prepossessions of those men and women, and their cherished wishes, lay in the direction of a triumph not through death at all. The attention they ought to have given to their Master's words about His death had been all the while distracted and neutralized by these intense expectations and preferences. When the stern fact of the crucifixion came, their confidence was not only surprised, but crushed; and so it would have remained if Jesus had not risen again.

And yet—they loved Him. They must have been tortured with worse than doubts about His Messianic character, if, indeed, in those distressing hours they had mental leisure to *doubt* amidst their absorbing *grief*. But *some* formidable questionings, not only about Him, but about all they had known or hoped about God, must have mingled with their tears. And yet—they loved Him. Women, Apostles, all, in one degree or another, they loved Him still. And in this, too, there is a deep and verifiable truth of the human heart. Mere grief and alarm may easily be imagined over the unlooked-for death of any strong leader. But the leader these persons had lost was JESUS—the Man JESUS, such as the Gospels draw Him. Such a chief, even had He misled them in the end must still (it is true in the logic of the heart, which alone is in question here), be loved, for the time, with an intensity only the greater for His fall. Take the case of Magdalene. Jesus, contrary to her dearest longings and most confident expecta-

tions, had died :—what could she believe? But Jesus, whatever else had happened, had liberated her from awful physical and mental suffering (Mark xvi. 9) :—how could she not love?

May I draw a somewhat evident lesson? Let us give continual thanks for the broad, strong foundations of fact and reason, of cogent and manifold proof, which lie beneath the assertion of the Creed, that He who died for our sins rose again the third day. History has nothing else in it so firm and solid, in the historical sense, as that position. But the human mind is a strange and subtle thing, and it is possible that we may, in certain states of it, find ourselves doubting, as it were, against our reason; seeing the steps and links, but so as to fail to combine them at the moment into a result of conscious and invigorating certainty. Then let us be thankful indeed if we bear about in us another part of the vast evidence of Christianity—that is, of Jesus Christ; the thing which kept the adherence of those disciples tenacious when for a dark season their full faith was gone. This Jesus Christ has, somehow, touched, and changed, and set free my soul, my being. He, and only He—His name, His person—has had a power over me which is like nothing else. The more I have seen, trusted, loved Him, the more always I have stood clear of sin, of self. I cannot but love Him still. And as for these haunting doubts, I will at least drag them into the light of His love, and look at them there. If I feel for a sad moment, “They have taken away my Lord,” I will at that very moment remember why, among other reasons, I can call Him “my Lord” at all; He, or if not He, then nothing, has freed me from many more than seven sins. Is not doubt about such a power a self-detected fallacy already?

But, on the other side, we must not press too far the resemblance between Mary’s case and our own. What was, after all, this passionate love of the disciples when their faith was gone? In a great measure, it was only passionate. It was affection for a being whom they had (on their then hypothesis, Luke xxiv. 21) much mistaken; affection for someone who, if the faith had been “vain,” was less than the Son of God; affection, indeed, for Jesus of Nazareth, but for a Jesus infinitely short of His reality—a dead, a vanished, a disappointed Friend.

So, warm as it was, that love could not well have persisted. As time went on it must have been infected with the bitterness of an ever-growing pain at the loss, the blank, the *mis-take*. Many of the company would be tempted to forget Him, if they could. Some would have come to dread, perhaps even to hate, the spectre of His memory. Those who still loved would love on, not in joy and strength, but in gloom. It was the

love more of nature than of grace—let us not fear to say it—which brought Mary to the tomb. The heavenly love—the joyful, holy, undecaying love—was yet to come: love stirred from its depths by light and power Divine. But in order to this she had yet to know Jesus as the Risen One, who was dead, but is alive for evermore.

As such we know Him, and have felt His power.

Let us stand by the side of Mary of Magdala, with that knowledge and consciousness in our grateful hearts. Let us look into that tomb, and see it full of light—the seat of angels, the gate of heaven. Let us turn round with her, and see the reason of it all—the Lord Jesus risen indeed; Jesus calling us by name, while we answer, *Rabboni*—my Master, O my Master!

H. C. G. MOULE.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW.—The Rev. R. W. Kennion (Rector of Acle) writes to us: "The readers of THE CHURCHMAN have reason to thank Prebendary Leathes for many of his contributions; and not least now for his article on 'Extreme Criticism.' But I hope he will forgive me for doubting whether in one sentence (p. 3) he has not conceded too much to the 'critics.' He says: 'We mainly receive the Old on the authority of the New.' In many important ways the converse is equally true. For we could hardly accept the New if the Old had not prepared for it. As a genuine history, the Old is confirmed by many infallible proofs: from Egypt, from Nineveh, from Babylon, from the past history and present condition alike of the land and the people. In the Mosaic institutions, and in the continual dealings of God's providence, as recorded in the Psalms and the Prophets, we have, as in an architect's plans of a house which he intends to build, the clear delineation of that grand scheme of salvation which was to be revealed, but which no human imagination could have conceived—no human power accomplished! And the result of the whole is that the more closely we study and compare the Old and the New together, the more we are astonished at the correspondence of the two in an almost infinite number of particulars. And we have this wonderful confirmation of our Faith, that the O.T. has all along been in the custody of the unbelieving Jews; so that none can say that it has been tampered with by Christians."

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Notes on Bible Words.

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No. XIV.—"KEPT" (*guarded and preserved*).

THE ignoring the difference in the two words of our Lord, John xvii. 12, "I kept . . . I kept," is perhaps, even now, not uncommon. The A.V. runs thus: "While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name. Those that Thou gavest Me I have kept."

The first "kept" is *ἐτήρουν*, and the second *ἐφύλαξα*; and while

kept does well for τηρεῖν, *guarded* is better for φυλάσσειν. (*Vulg.*, servabam eos in nomine tuo : quos dedisti mihi custodivi.)

Thus Trench :

The first is "servare," or better "conservare"; the second "custodire"; and the first, the keeping or preserving, is the consequence of the second, the guarding. What the Lord would say is : "I so guarded, so protected (ἐφύλαξα) those whom Thou hast given Me, that I kept and preserved them (this the τήρησις) unto the present day."¹

(Cf. Prov. xix. 16, ὅς φυλάσσει ἐντολὴν τηρεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.)

The distinction between "kept" and "guarded" (say Milligan and Moulton, on verse 12) is to be found in the fact that the latter word points to the watchfulness by which the former is attained.² (Pop. Com.)

In verse 11 the word is τήρησον—"keep," *preserve*.

Short Notices.

Dr. Liddon's Tour in Egypt and Palestine in 1886. Letters descriptive of the Tour, written by his Sister, Mrs. King. Longmans, Green and Co.

MRS. KING has done well in printing these letters, written to two of her daughters, and "never intended to go beyond the family circle." They will be read with interest. Two or three extracts from them, in recommending the book, are enough. First, after the return to Cairo :

We hear a good deal about fever in Cairo. I should think this is at no time a very healthy place, and people talk so much about their health that one-half of them are ill from fright. We already bemoan the loss of the fresh Nile breezes, and fancy the air here is very stale. H. [Dr. Liddon] has spent to-day just after his own heart. As soon as our early service and breakfast were over, he started, under the guidance of Mr. S—ky, a young Copt, who is in a Government office, to the new Coptic cathedral, where he heard their liturgy, his friend translating as the service proceeded. The Dean preached, of course in Arabic, an excellent sermon on the prodigal son. The church was crowded. Three screened galleries were filled with women, the men occupying the body of the church ; for the Coptic women are as secluded in their lives as their Mohammedan sisters. At the communion service there were large numbers of people. The Eucharist was administered in both kinds separately, as in our Church, and quite young children were amongst the communicants, as in the Russian. After lunch Mr. S—ky again took H. with him to see some old Coptic churches ; they rode through old Cairo, and visited a very beautiful church, with a sisterhood attached to it. Your uncle was introduced to the superior, and after having coffee with her she showed him several devotional books they used which were compiled by the Bishop of Khartoum, who is occupying his time in this way at Cairo until he can return to his see. H. asked if he might be allowed to see the bishop, and this being arranged, he had a long talk with him. The bishop is a venerable old man, who has led a very active and hard-working life, having had a large body of Copt Christians in Khartoum. He spoke of Gordon as his dearest friend and a constant attendant at their services.

¹ Trench (A.V. New Test., 1859. p. 110).

² In xii. 47 the Professors prefer the other reading (φυλάξῃ, Tisch. ; *Vulg.*, custodierit), and render, "If anyone shall have heard My sayings and *have guarded* them not" (R.V. "and *keep* them not"). They write : "To 'keep' the sayings of Jesus is a phrase which often meets us in this Gospel (viii. 51, etc.). 'Guard' is an uncommon word with the Evangelist, found only here and in v. 25, and (in conjunction with 'keep') in xvii. 12."

The next day, March 24, Mrs. King wrote :

Your uncle is much interested in a movement that is contemplated for uniting the Coptic with the Greek Church. The Copt Patriarch, however, is less keen about pressing the matter than his flock appear to be, as the last time the negotiations were being carried on, they met with no encouragement from the English or Egyptian Government.

In the letter of March 30 we read :

The Dean of the Copt Cathedral paid your uncle a long visit this morning. He is a very cultured man, far more able than the Patriarch, but, being married, he can never be a bishop, as, like the Greek Church, the patriarchs and bishops are chosen from the monks, the parochial clergy only being allowed to marry.

On the next day, March 31, the daily record mentions that Dr. Liddon "has caught a cold, which is vexatious, but not surprising, as he takes endless liberties in the matter of draughts, and constantly is out at sunset, and unprepared for the great fall of temperature, often 20°."

It is singular that this tour in the East began at Cairo, in December, with a letter from Lord Salisbury offering Canon Liddon the Deanery of Worcester, "which he was far too unwell at the time to accept," and closed at Constantinople, about six months later, with a letter from the Dean of Edinburgh offering the bishopric.

The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall. By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. The Religious Tract Society. Pp. 608.

The distinguished author mentions in his preface that this work was intended as an abridgment of the "Annals of the Early Caliphate," with continuation to the fall of the Abbassides; but he found, as he went on, the matter less compressible than he hoped. The volume is indeed a large one; and we are inclined to think that these records, purely Arabian, of strife and slaughter, interesting in a way of course, are too lengthy. On the other hand, the "review" at the end, contrasting Christianity and Mahometanism, is too short.

The Buffalo Hunters. A Tale of the Red River Plains. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. Nisbet and Co.

If not one of Mr. Ballantyne's best productions, this is at all events a good specimen of his Tales, and that is saying a good deal. It is full of life, with plenty of incident, and (*this*, of course) is thoroughly wholesome and good.

The Dalrymples. By AGNES GIBERNE. Nisbet and Co.

A well-written Tale, wholesome and pleasing. Hermione is a good study, the best part of the book; and Mrs. Trevor is capital. The wind-up appears too abrupt.

Sermons Preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE. In six volumes. Vol. I., new edition. Macmillan and Co.

We are glad to see a new issue of Maurice's sermons. The volumes are "handy" and well printed in clear type, and will make a good series. We shall notice it later on.

Fellowship with Christ. By R. W. DALE, LL.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

This volume is dedicated "to the church and congregation meeting in Carr's Lane, Birmingham, in grateful acknowledgment of the unmeasured affection and generous consideration shown to their Pastor during serious illness and many months of weakness." It contains fourteen sermons, the first of which was preached on behalf of the London Missionary Society, in the City Temple; all are well worth reading.

My Life. By T. SIDNEY COOPER, R.A. A new edition. Richard Bentley and Son.

A cheap edition of this delightful book is very welcome. Many of our readers, no doubt, have read "My Life," and thoroughly enjoyed it. A glance at the heading of the twenty-first chapter will show some features of the chatty descriptions of men and manners: "Elected to the Athenæum Club—Charles Dickens . . . Academy Banquet—Mr. Gladstone . . . The Earl of Beaconsfield . . . Public Dinner given in my Honour at Canterbury." At this Canterbury banquet, in 1870, Dean Alford proposed Mr. Cooper's health.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the teaching of the Primitive Church and of Anglican Divines. By E. J. BIRCH, M.A., Rector of Overstone, and Hon. Canon of Peterborough. Pp. 34. Longmans.

The author of this excellent little book, keeping before him the lines of his title-page, gives short statements of certain Fathers, and of such great teachers in the Church of England as Andrewes, Cosin, and Jeremy Taylor. For many readers, we think, the statements are too short, but at all events they are suggestive, and will help the truth-seeking. Canon Birch justly praises "Eucharistic Worship," a masterly work which is by no means so well known as it ought to be; and in that very learned book students will find quotations in abundance clear and strong, with sufficient comment. On page 19 Canon Birch writes:

Thus Bishop Andrewes, speaking of the Eucharist, says, the Body is "not Christ's Body as it now is, but as it then was when it was offered, rent, slain, and sacrificed for us; not as now He is, glorified . . . but as then He was when He suffered death. . . . So and no otherwise do we represent Him. By the incomprehensible power of the Holy Spirit, not He alone, but He as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate with His death, and invested in the benefit of it. If an Host (the consecrated bread) could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, it would not serve; Christ offered is it—thither we must look. 'Lo the Serpent lifted up, thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*; we must *hoc facere*, do that is then done" (Serm. vii. on Resurrection). Now if this is the right explanation of our Lord's words, as it surely is, if the bread and the wine are His Body and Blood in the sense of being His crucified Body and His Blood poured forth for our redemption, then they are not His Body in the sense of being His present glorified Body; and accordingly the great Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, as Andrewes in the above quotation, repudiated any presence in the bread and wine of Christ's present spiritual Body, and they denied also that the early Fathers had taught any such doctrine.

The Annual of *The Quiver* (Cassell and Co.) is, as usual, worthy of warm commendation; full of pictures and well-written stories, with papers edifying and in many ways informing. A better book for a lending library there can hardly be.

The October issue of (No. 6) *Outdoor Games and Recreations* ("Boy's Own Paper" Office) is first-rate.

In the *Sunday at Home* appears an interesting biographical sketch of that noble man, Bishop French. "Heroes of the Goodwin Sands," by Rev. T. Stanley Treanor, is one of the best things of the kind we have ever seen.

"Mr. Smith in his New Home," a second paper about a favourite dog, by Evelyn Everett Green, will be welcome to many readers of *Cassell's Family Magazine*. It is a pleasing paper. "Mr. Smith," it seems, is growing old.

We have received from Messrs. Novello, Ewer and Co., the *Cathedral Prayer Book*, edited by Professor Sir John Stainer; truly excellent, and admirably printed. A notice of it will appear in due course.

Another Tale by Mrs. Marshall, *Born in the Purple*, comes from Messrs. Nisbet. It is not unworthy of the gifted writer's reputation.

In the *C. M. Intelligencer* appears an able article on the Lambeth "Advice" from the pen of Mr. Philip Vernon Smith. A paper on Proselytism, signed E. S., has greatly exercised the *Guardian*. One tribute is paid to the late Rev. George Knox, Vicar of Exton, and for some time Editor of the *Christian Observer*. The "K" articles in the *Intelligencer* were always independent and vigorous. Mr. Knox, a few years ago, contributed several papers to the *Churchman*. From the Editorial remarks on the Lambeth "Advice," we quote the following: "The Five Prelates have in the quietest and most reasonable and dignified way pronounced what amounts to an absolute acquittal of the Society from all the charges brought against it; and not only so, but they have virtually settled in the Society's favour some important questions which we scarcely expected to see settled at all, and which certainly the Society could not have hoped to see settled in its favour in any other way. No one who has followed the controversy throughout can fail to see that the Society comes out of the inquiry in a stronger position than it appeared to occupy when the Archbishop invited the co-operation of the Committee in his proposed investigation. It is distinctly the gainer, and not the loser, by its frank acceptance of the Archbishop's kind offer to inquire into the difficulties which had arisen."

The Annual of the *Church Monthly* is a charming gift-book, full of good things of various kinds, and wonderfully cheap.

In *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which in every way keeps up its reputation, one is sure to find papers not only readable, but informing and of much merit. In the September number appears a very interesting paper on "Diamond-Digging in South Africa," by Lieut.-Colonel Henry Knollys, R.A. The conclusion of the paper is as follows:

"Before dismissing the mines, justice demands I should allude to the Beaconsfield Institute three miles distant, and to which access will shortly be provided by cheap conveyances, established for the benefit of the numerous Europeans who have taken up their abode in these wild regions. The extensive grounds have been planted with an immense number of ornamental trees, and laid out in a manner which in two or three years' time will result in delightful gardens. The handsome, large, red-brick buildings are divided into dwellings for families, and into a club and boarding-house for both married and single. Here every provision has been made for supplying meals, for washing, and for reading, writing, and recreation, on a complete scale of civilised comfort. Granted that the Institute more than pays its own expenses, its establishment reflects high credit on those who designed and carried out the scheme, and notably on one of the chief mining shareholders, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the present Premier of Cape Colony.

"Another admirable adjunct of Kimberley is its town hospital. I speak advisedly in declaring my opinion that in no other part of the world have I seen a similar institution so attractive to a non-professional visitor, from its kindly administration, its graceful comforts, and its pitying efforts to relieve all sufferers, so that it has undoubtedly won the confidence and affection of all classes, both inside and beyond the district. The expense of its maintenance is high; but Kimberley is the headquarters of numerous speculators and financial magnates, and probably a generous superstition prompts many a large contribution in tacit recognition of fortunate *coups*. Some of the wards are entirely

"self-supporting, and are made up of private rooms for patients who
 "are willing to pay a higher price—an indescribable blessing for those
 "who have endured the bitter evil of illness in a strange country, far
 "separated from relations. Some wards are partly self-supporting,
 "and still more are entirely free. A careful classification of races is
 "naturally most essential; and as I pass through the corridors, I observe
 "that the inmates comprise all classes and all ages, from the infant to the
 "old man, and from the wealthy European gentleman to the semi-animal
 "Bushman; while the variety of the diseases ranges from the rickety
 "Koranna baby to the appalling leper adult.¹ Probably some of the
 "cases would prove of interest to the greatest scientists of the leading
 "London hospitals. A Bushman boy of fourteen, walking about with
 "a conspicuous cicatrice in his throat, is pointed out as the subject of
 "successful tracheotomy for malignant growth. I am assured that the
 "extraordinary number of eighty per cent. of these fearful operations
 "are successful in this 'Carnarvon Hospital.' The chief medical officer,
 "Dr. Smith, to whom a large share of credit for the efficiency of the
 "hospital must be awarded, stated that the natives possess a recuperative
 "power, when subjected to corporeal wounds, which is characteristic of
 "animals rather than of human beings; and he instanced the recent case
 "of a native suffering from an incised wound in the abdomen seven
 "inches long, and so deep that the viscera were exposed, though not
 "injured. No means were available for antiseptic or any special treat-
 "ment; cold water and common bandages were the sole expedients; but
 "the wound healed by first intention, and in seven days the patient was
 "walking about as sound as though he had never received a pin-prick
 "in his life. The nurses, who possess advantages beyond the common
 "of attractive appearance and ladylike demeanour, undergo a strictly
 "orthodox, practical hospital training; and so high is their repute, that
 "their services are not infrequently telegraphed for from fever-stricken,
 "drain-soaked Cape Town, 600 miles distant. That scrupulous cleanli-
 "ness and order should prevail throughout was a matter of course; but
 "I was not prepared for the aspect of decorative comfort, of luxurious
 "brightness, of the almost smiling spirits of the adults, and of the
 "ecstasies of merriment among the children. To those who have con-
 "tributed to infuse such happiness in the midst of wonted pain and
 "sorrow, I venture to think we may fitly apply that quotation whereof
 "the first words are, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it . . .'

"In truth, Englishmen have every reason to be proud of this South
 "African town as worthily representing our nation. Free from much
 "of the rowdyism and sharp practice of many gold-mining districts,
 "from the surly loutishness and savage treatment of natives which
 "render odious certain Boer settlements, and from the bar-and-billiard
 "propensities of a very considerable section of torpid Cape Town man-
 "hood, the law-abiding characteristics of Kimberley are unimpeachable,
 "its energy and enterprise are incontestable, and the gentleman-like,
 "highly-educated tone of its society is unsurpassed throughout this part
 "of the world. If I must needs qualify by some cynical detraction a
 "description which otherwise might appear a mere eulogistic rhapsody,
 "I can only refer to the prime motive power of all Kimberley's expendi-
 "ture of toil, money, and ingenuity—the collection of small shining
 "white stones, almost valueless except for the capricious adornment of
 "youthful beauty which requires no such adventitious aids, or for the
 "illustration of the ugliness of aged hags. The irony of the con-
 "sideration can scarcely be exceeded by the matchless sarcasm of Captain
 "Lemuel Gulliver when he parodies our craze for alphabetical titular
 "distinctions, by representing the best and wisest of the Lilliputians

¹ In the veldt districts leprosy is by no means uncommon among the natives.

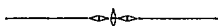
“as crouching and crawling, hopping, bounding, and grovelling, for the award of a piece of blue thread.”

Some of our readers, no doubt, take an interest in the publications of the London Necropolis Company. To others they may be recommended. A little pamphlet, *The London Necropolis and National Mausoleum* (2, Lancaster Place, Strand), contains a good deal of information, with several extracts from leading papers and periodicals on the “Earth to Earth” system. A letter in the *Times* from his Grace the Duke of Westminster, on overcrowded cemeteries and the proper disposal of the dead, has been published by the Company. *Sanitary Leaflet* No. 7, entitled “Burial of the Dead without Danger to the Living,” has this paragraph :

The *Times* of January 15, 1879, while contrasting the claims of cremation with “Earth-to-Earth” burial, after a dispassionate review of the proposed system of incineration in its several bearings, puts its *veto* on the undesirable and unpopular project. With the full weight of its authority it thus concludes :—
 “All that cremation proposes to do might, it seems to us, be attained, equally well by some other and less questionable process. If our mode of burial were changed after the fashion Mr. Seymour Haden has recommended, if wooden or leaden coffins were done away with, and *if earth were simply restored to earth*, there would be the least possible room left for offence prospectively or subsequently. This system the London Necropolis Company properly claim the merit of having initiated. By it the dead are subjected to a natural process of resolution, which at the same time perfectly provides for the safety of the living, inasmuch as no noxious exhalations arise from graves to pollute the air, or putrefactive deposits come therefrom to poison the water.”

From Mr. Murray we have received the new *Quarterly Review*. The papers on Laurence Oliphant and Archbishop Tait will especially attract many. “Warwick, the Kingmaker,” “Taine on Napoleon I.,” “Abraham Lincoln,” and “Poaching,” are very readable, and make up a *Quarterly* above the average. “Church Progress and Church Defence” is written with ability. This opportune article, rich in telling facts, thus concludes :
 “It is one thing to defend the Church on the plea of the work that it is now performing, and we frankly admit that this is the one supreme plea which will probably exert the greatest force in guiding public opinion. It is another thing to abandon ground which is in truth not only Scriptural and impregnable, but which, rightly understood, is democratic in the highest and best sense, in that it makes the tenderest ministrations the right of every member of the community, and honours all men alike as brethren in the household of God. The average Englishman is touched far more keenly through his imagination, and is impressed more powerfully by a lofty ideal, than with their worship of strong common-sense many politicians have been able to realize ; and it is a true instinct which leads Liberationists to try to deprive the Church of so grand an advantage, by pretending that the abstract conception of a National Church is now exploded. Let us assure them that we are not thus to be beguiled. The sacredness of the National Church, as a divine institution moulded under God’s providential care to form the special character, and to meet the exceptional wants, of this nation, is the citadel within which we are intrenched, and woe to us if we desert it and occupy the open ground of mere political expediency ! We hold that her endowments belong to the Church by a more indefeasible title

“ than any other property can show, and that length of possession, which
 “ is recognised as inalienable in private estate, ought in all justice to be
 “ so in Church possessions also. We hold that the quasi-public nature of the
 “ tithe is no valid ground for its confiscation, so long as the objects to
 “ which it has been assigned, mainly by private benefaction, are in them-
 “ selves useful to the community. We hold, and have given abundant
 “ reasons for holding, that no money held in trust is so prolific of good
 “ to the nation at large, and that disendowment would be at once a crime
 “ and a blunder. But if so disastrous an alternative were forced on
 “ us—and it will never be if the Church is only true to herself
 “ —we would say unhesitatingly let us have disendowment rather than
 “ disestablishment. Let the Church be stripped rather than God dis-
 “ honoured. Individual generosity may replenish the Church’s empty
 “ treasury; no individual action would atone for national repudiation of
 “ its Christian life and name.”



THE MONTH.

THE Congress at Rhyl seems to have been a decided success. A noble speech on the Church in Wales was made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the opening address by the President (the Bishop of St. Asaph) was worthy of the occasion. The *Guardian* says :

The disestablishment question entered, it may be said, on a new phase. Appeals to the tender feelings or even to the conscience of the political Nonconformist may be useless. But the world at large will be able to appreciate the full strength of the Bishop of St. Asaph’s vigorous and elevated defence of the Welsh Church. Henceforth it will be vain to reproduce anti-Church statistics, or to deny the life and efficiency of the Welsh dioceses, except in election declamations. The appearance of the Primate, the reception he met with, and his generous and determined championship of that outlying portion of his province will also have very great weight. It is always a gain to have it understood that the moment of compromise and concession has passed—to have it made clear that the Church does not propose to be trampled on. After this, mendacious appeals, manipulated statistics, and the violent diatribes of partisans lose their force. Even politicians must begin to realize the seriousness of the struggle they have before them in the piecemeal disendowment of the Church of England.

The sermons by the Bishops of Manchester and Ripon will repay reading.—The Missionary debate was in its way both entertaining and helpful. Mr. Eugene Stock’s speech was an effective answer to many of the attacks on the C.M.S.—With some of the addresses on O.T. criticism, it is said, many hearers—if not the great majority—were by no means pleased. Professor Sanday’s paper was really practical.

We record with sincere regret the death of Mr. W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury.

The death of Mr. Parnell may, possibly, result in the Separatist representatives from Ireland appearing as one body.

Dean Pigou is appointed to the Deanery of Bristol; a loss to the Diocese of Chichester.

Mr. Balfour, Chief Secretary, with general approval, becomes Leader of the House of Commons and First Lord of the Treasury.

Professor Jebb is the new Member for the University of Cambridge.