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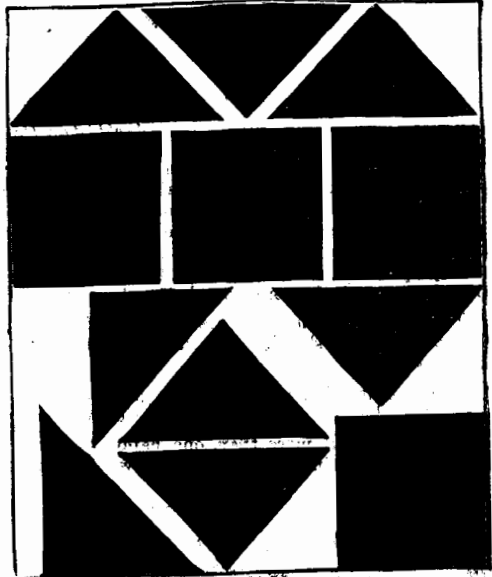
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THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1898.

ART. I.—WESLEYANISM.

IN taking a survey of the movement initiated by Wesley, and in trying to form an estimate of his attitude and that of his followers, one obvious remark occurs to us at the very outset, and it is this: That whereas other bodies of English Nonconformists or movements of dissent have begun from some point of disagreement with the Church, this has not been the case with the Wesleys and Wesleyanism.

The Rev. John Wesley, who was the originator of the movement that bears his name, was, as everyone knows, a clergyman of the Church of England. After his ordination, for a short time he served as his father's curate. In 1726 he was elected Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and in 1729 he returned to Oxford, apparently with the intention of residing there permanently as a tutor. He had previously been deeply impressed by spiritual convictions, and had recognised the importance and necessity of cultivating personal holiness and of leading a pious life. But, although during his earlier residence he had to some extent endeavoured to communicate these ideas to others, it was on his return to Oxford that he seems to have set before himself this task deliberately and of set purpose.

With his brother Charles, and probably some twelve or thirteen others, he determined to live under a common rule of strict and serious conduct, to attend at Holy Communion every week, and to observe a methodical and conscientious arrangement of their time. It was in this way, no doubt, that the very name *Methodist* came to be given to those who formed this little company, as well as to the larger numbers of those who may be regarded as afterwards their followers. The resolution which led to such a systematic course of conduct is probably traceable in a large degree to the influence of Wesley's

mother, who, in a letter to one of her sons, gives the following advice: "I would advise you as much as possible to throw your business into a certain *method*. Appoint so much time for sleep, eating, company, etc. In all things, endeavour to act on principle."

In narrating the genesis of Methodism, it is all-important to bear in mind the condition of the Church and of religion generally in the early part of the eighteenth century. Coldness, apathy, and indifference as regards spiritual things, accompanied by worldly-mindedness and love of pleasure, were leading characteristics. Dry rationalism and barren theories of morality were well-nigh the highest outcome of the serious thought of the time, whilst the organization and official positions of the Church were largely held by persons steeped in the spirit of the age, who, so far from setting themselves to right the state of things around them, saw in it the opportunity for self-gratification and enrichment.

In periods such as this, no less than in times of intense spiritual enthusiasm and activity, the promise of the great Head of the Church is verified, "Lo, I am with you always." And so at the particular time of which we are speaking, we cannot but believe that the Holy Spirit was using Wesley and his friends, as at other times and in other places other agencies were used, to counteract the hardening and deadening influences that prevailed. Their action and their activity were, at all events, amongst the means used by the Divine Spirit for energizing the religion of the land, and for preserving and promoting real godliness. Indeed, the claim set forth on the tombstone of John Wesley, that "This great light arose (by the singular providence of God) to enlighten these nations, and to revive, enforce, and defend the pure apostolical doctrines and practices of the Primitive Church," does not seem excessive. In agreement with this claim, indeed, we may quote here the words of Mr. Curteis in his Bampton Lectures on *Dissent in its relation to the Church of England*: "In short, the Wesleys were in those days very much what would now be called 'Ritualists.' They did not profess to invent new practices of devotion, but simply to revive what the Church already had."

John Wesley himself describes as follows the origin and objects of the societies that he founded: "One, and another, and another came to us, asking what they should do, being distressed on every side, as everyone strove to weaken, and none to strengthen, their hands in God. We advised them, 'Strengthen you one another. Talk together as often as you can, and pray earnestly with and for one another, that you may "endure to the end, and be saved."' Against this advice

we presumed there could be no objection, as being grounded on the plainest reason, and on so many Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and New, that it would be tedious to recite them. They said, 'But we want you likewise to talk with us often, to direct and quicken us in our way, to give us the advice which you well know we need, and to pray with us, as well as for us.'" He then explains that the numbers who desired this spiritual help were so great that he could not deal with them individually. He therefore arranged that they should meet together every Thursday evening, when he said he would gladly spend some time with them in prayer, and give them the best advice he could. And then he goes on to say: "They therefore united themselves in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they might help each other to work out their salvation. There is one only condition previously required in those who desire admission into this society—a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins."

It will thus be seen that Wesley's action, and the movement of which he was the head, did not mean opposition to the Church, its doctrines, discipline, or worship, but to the apathy, irreligion, and worldliness that prevailed.

It should also be noted that, although in certain subsequent incidents of his life he refused to be bound by ecclesiastical custom, and by the rulings of ecclesiastical authorities, yet at the beginning of his career he sought episcopal counsel and encouragement. It was with the Bishop's express leave that he undertook the duty of visiting the gaols, and by his advice he refused to settle down in a country parish. He and his brother Charles had frequent interviews with Bishop Gibson, of London, who warned them against courting unnecessary persecutions; and Archbishop Potter, of Canterbury, gave them the valuable advice not to spend their time in controversy, but in attacking the strongholds of vice, and in promoting practical holiness. Nor can we refuse to moderate our condemnation of Wesley for his resistance to episcopal authority on certain occasions, when we make due allowance for his zeal in promoting his purely spiritual ends at a time when spiritual life in the Church was at a peculiarly low ebb.

It ought further to be borne in mind that there was apparently no intention or desire on the part of Wesley to separate from the Church, or found a sect. Nor amongst his followers does there seem to have been any such intention during his lifetime. In a tract contained in Mr. Wesley's works, entitled "A Short History of Methodism," we find these statements

descriptive of the attitude of his followers: "They were all zealous members of the Church of England, not only tenacious of all her doctrines, so far as they knew them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance. . . . The one charge then advanced against them was that they were 'righteous overmuch'; that they were abundantly too scrupulous and too strict, carrying to great extremes. In particular, that they laid too much stress upon the Rubrics and Canons of the Church." On this point Mr. Curteis's words are worthy of being noted: "Even yet secession can hardly be said to be accomplished, when so many Wesleyans habitually avail themselves of the ministrations of the Church; when so many cordially welcome the visits of her clergy; and when, amid all confusions and party cries, there are so many indications abroad that the Methodist societies have never forgotten, and will never be able to forget, their venerable founder's almost dying words: 'I live and die a member of the Church of England, and none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.' The fact is (as one of their own most intelligent writers affirms), that 'there was no intention in Wesley's mind of a separation from the Church; nor was it even . . . foreseen as a consequence. A necessary consequence it certainly was not.' No; John Wesley's purpose was not secession. It was simply—if we may believe his own words—that of a revival of religion within the Church of England." Mr. Curteis also has the following: "Half a century ago a distinguished Wesleyan could write as follows: 'Though Methodism stands now in a different relation to the Establishment than in the days of Mr. Wesley, *dissent* has never been professed by the body, and for obvious reasons: (1) A separation of a part of the society from the Church has not arisen from the principles assumed by the professed Dissenters, and usually made so prominent in their discussions on the subject of Establishment; (2) a considerable number of our members actually continue in the Communion of the Church of England to this day; (3) to leave that Communion is not in any sense a condition of membership with us.' "

In treating of the doctrines of Wesleyanism, we must necessarily take note of what we may perhaps call its central teachings—viz., Instantaneous and sensible Conversion, and Christian Perfection.

These doctrines were doubtless held strongly by Wesley, and are put forward prominently and authoritatively by his followers. But whilst it cannot be allowed that in the bold and extreme manner in which they are promulgated in these teachings of Wesleyanism, they embody or express the doctrine of the Church, yet, on the other hand, it cannot be said that

there is no trace or element of truth to be found in them. We cannot surely deny that in the case of some there is such a thing as sudden or instantaneous conversion in the sense in which it is understood by those who teach it. In forming an opinion upon such a question as this, very much, I suppose, will depend upon the particular meaning we attach to the word "conversion." Does it mean the knowledge that God is ready to forgive the sinner upon certain conditions, and the conscious realization by the sinner that, so far as he is concerned, those conditions are fulfilled? Or does it mean the actual turning-point from a life of sin to a life of righteousness—from a course of evil to a walk with God—from a state of apathy as regards spiritual things, or opposition to all that is good, to a condition in which personal responsibility is realized and love to God awakened?

Whichever of these two explanations be taken as rightly describing what is meant by conversion—and the second seems to me much nearer the truth than the first—it is quite conceivable that there is such a thing as might be called "instantaneous conversion." Though here I would remark that if, on the one hand, the strict meaning of the word "instantaneous" be insisted upon, the word "conversion" must be taken somewhat loosely; and so, on the other hand, if "conversion" be taken in its strict sense, we must relax to some extent the meaning of "instantaneous."

There seems to be in the teaching of Wesley some confusion with regard to "conversion," "justification," and "regeneration," and he does not certainly mark off with sufficient accuracy the precise shades of meaning to be attached to such terms respectively. At the same time, it is quite possible that his substantial belief was not so erroneous as would seem to be implied by his confused use of certain terms. We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that, whilst we know there may be, and doubtless are, cases of what is known as "instantaneous conversion," yet to teach that this must be the experience of every faithful child of God is foreign to the views and doctrine of the Church.

What the teaching of the Church really is as regards the normal spiritual life and growth of the baptized is surely seen in the passage of the Church Catechism which speaks of their position as a "state of salvation," and suggests hearty thanks to God for its attainment, and earnest prayer for grace to persevere in it. If there is no realization of this, and consequently no discharge of responsibility, but forgetfulness, indifference, or flagrant sin, then indeed there is need for "conversion." But if there is a continuous enlightenment of the conscience, a constant submission of the will, and a regular

growth in holiness, there seems to be no place, or rather no necessity, for conversion in the sense in which it was understood by Wesley—at all events, for what is generally understood by “instantaneous conversion.”

The sharp conflict with the teaching of the Church into which Wesley's views as to conversion led him is perhaps nowhere more plainly shown than in the following passage in one of his sermons: “It follows that baptism is not the new birth: they are not one and the same thing. Many, indeed, seem to imagine that they are just the same; at least, they speak as if they thought so; but I do not know that this opinion is publicly avowed by any denomination of Christians whatever.” In proof of this latter assertion, so far as the teaching of the Church of England is concerned, he goes on to say: “In the Church Catechism likewise the judgment of our Church is declared with the utmost clearness, ‘What meanest thou by this word, Sacrament?—A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. Q. What is the outward part or form in baptism?—A. Water, wherein the person is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Q. What is the inward part, or thing signified?—A. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.’ Nothing, therefore, is plainer than that, according to the Church of England, baptism is not the new birth” (Sermon XLV.). The weakness of this conclusion would be apparent if the answer in the Church Catechism were quoted in its entirety. The words omitted, “for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace,” explain pretty clearly the teaching of the Church to be that the new birth unto righteousness is an essential part of the Sacrament of Baptism.

In commenting upon the other conspicuous doctrine of Wesley, viz., what is called Christian Perfection, it will be necessary to discriminate between that presentation of it which is to be found in the irresponsible utterances of some of his followers, and that account of it which is to be gathered from his writings. I have heard some of those who profess to be guided by the teaching of Wesley speaking in such a tone of confidence as to imply that they believed not only that they were free from sin, but that it could not be otherwise if they were the children of God. Such presentation bears a different complexion from that which Wesley's own language reflects, as, for instance, in the following passage: “The sum of all is this: There are in every person, even after he is justified, two contrary principles, nature and grace, termed by St. Paul the *flesh* and the *spirit*. Hence, although even babes in Christ

are *sanctified*, yet it is only in part. In a degree, according to the measure of their faith, they are spiritual; yet, in a degree, they are carnal. Accordingly, believers are continually exhorted to watch against the flesh, as well as the world and the devil. And to this agrees the constant experience of the children of God. While they feel this witness in themselves, they feel a will not wholly resigned to the will of God. They know they are in Him, and yet find a heart ready to depart from Him, a proneness to evil in many instances, and a backwardness to that which is good. The contrary doctrine is wholly new, never heard of in the Church of Christ from the time of His coming into the world till the time of Count Zinzendorf; and it is attended with the most fatal consequences. . . . Let us, therefore, hold fast the sound doctrine 'once delivered to the saints,' and delivered down by them with the written word to all succeeding generations: That although we are renewed, cleansed, purified, sanctified, the moment we truly believe in Christ, yet we are not then renewed, cleansed, purified altogether; but the flesh, the evil nature, still *remains* (though subdued) and wars against the spirit. So much the more let us use all diligence in 'fighting the good fight of faith.' So much the more earnestly let us 'watch and pray' against the enemy within" (Sermon XIII.).

But, although the language in the above passage is clear, and such as to give no countenance to the extravagance of statement which may be laid to the charge of some of his followers, Wesley is sometimes not altogether free from blame-worthiness or the imputation of obscurity, as, for instance, when he says in Sermon XL. (on Perfection): "In conformity, therefore, both to the doctrine of St. John and to the whole tenor of the New Testament, we fix this conclusion, *A Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin*. This is the glorious privilege of every Christian; yea, though he be but *a babe in Christ*. But it is only of those who *are strong* in the Lord, 'and have overcome the wicked one,' or, rather, of those who 'have known him that is from the beginning,' that it can be affirmed they are in such a sense perfect as . . . to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers." The distinction made in this passage and elsewhere in his Sermons seems somewhat arbitrary and unsafe. It is a distinction between outward and inward sin. But it will scarcely be held correct to say that the man does not commit sin who, though he abstains from committing murder, yet harbours a thought of hatred in his heart, and therefore any teaching as to freedom from the commission of sin which is based upon such an arbitrary and apparently groundless distinction is scarcely trustworthy.

We may, however, thankfully recognise in Wesley's teaching

as to Christian perfection a strong protest against anti-nomianism, and a splendid call to holy zeal and what we may call *spiritual ambition*. In whatever way, and to whatever extent it was capable of being abused, this doctrine as taught by him was used for the purpose of promoting in his hearers and followers a vigilant and prayerful pursuit of holiness. And none who in any real sense looked up to him as a teacher could be satisfied with deliverance from the guilt of sin whilst the power of sin remained any longer in them.

Two or three obvious remarks remain to be made.

Wesley loved the Church of his birth—our Church—and, notwithstanding what was then her weakness and sluggishness and apparent deadness, he believed in her potentiality for good. He did not despair of her even in that dark hour of her spiritual history in which his lot was cast. For this, amongst other things, we do well to cherish his memory with respect and affection.

We may also regard with grateful satisfaction the emphatic testimony borne by Wesley and his movement to the value of our liturgy, our services, and, we may say, our whole organization. Here was a movement animated by a tone of piety and deep spirituality, and yet there was no revolt against the institutions of the Church such as there had been on other similar occasions when bodies of pious, religious-minded people thought it right to separate and form a distinct sect. The Wesleyans in the early days of their history, and at all events till after the death of their leader, were careful, in accordance with his emphatic teaching, to maintain their attendance at the services and ordinances of the Church and their connection with its organization. And when in the lapse of time and owing to the exigencies of their history they drifted off from the Church, they took with them their old love and respect for our liturgy and services, and also, indeed, the very liturgy and services themselves, modified, it is true, in some important points, and even mutilated, but still bearing eloquent and emphatic testimony to the value of stated services and fixed forms of prayer.

Lastly, whilst we regret that a movement containing within it so much of spiritual vitality and power should have resulted in so large a separation from the Church, we cannot help being thankful that at a period of lamentable and almost unexampled deadness and lethargy such a movement as that led by Wesley took place for the revival of religion and as a testimony to the mission of the Church.

For the Wesleyan movement did both. It may be said to have been the means in God's hand of arousing the spiritual life of the nation, and of bringing into prominence amongst

the masses of the people the importance and necessity of personal religion.

And in doing this, whilst maintaining its love for, and its connection with, the Church's system, it emphasized the duty of the Church, and indicated some of the lines along which that duty might be performed. The beneficial effects of the Wesleyan movement have been, and are being, felt in the Church of England, probably to a greater extent than anywhere else. And much of the spirituality of tone evinced in her to-day, as well as many developments of her methods of work, are, under God, traceable in a great measure to the Wesleyan revival of religion.

JAMES P. ROUNTREE.



ART. II.—THE ATONEMENT.

THE word atonement, as the readers of this article are aware, if taken in its etymological sense, means reconciliation, and in the only passage of the New Testament in which our Authorized Version employs it, it is the translation of *καταλλαγή*, and in its place the revisers have rightly substituted "reconciliation." But in the Old Testament it has a sacrificial reference, and conveys the idea of expiation and propitiation, as in the familiar expression, "to make an atonement for your souls." It is in this vicarious and sacrificial sense that the word is commonly understood, and in which it is here employed, its etymology not really affecting the different opinions regarding its nature. And the object of the writer is not to formulate any theory on the subject, but first to let Holy Scripture speak for itself, and then to add some thoughts—subsidiary, but not unimportant—in support of its (apparent) verdict.

When we speak of the practice and doctrine of sacrifice for sin in the Mosaic ritual, we are well aware that the very fact of its existence among the Jews, and of their regarding it as they did, has been used, *not* to strengthen, but to account for and to explain away the language in which Christ's death is spoken of in the New Testament. Does not rather the very opposite conclusion follow from the same premises? Let us look at the facts. We need not now consider whether sacrifice was originally a Divine institution, or the product of human instinct. Certainly it was adopted in the Levitical code, and an expiatory power attributed to it. And so far as we believe in the Old Testament Dispensation being ordered by special

Divine guidance, so far must we also believe that the practice itself, and the idea manifestly associated with it, had likewise the highest sanction. But not now to dwell on the daily morning and evening sacrifice, or the innumerable sin-offerings of individual offenders, let us call to mind the institution of the Passover—the lamb slain, and the blood sprinkled on the doorposts, as a security to those who dwelt within that the Destroying Angel would not injure them, would, in fact, pass over every door, and only those, on which that blood was seen. Or take the strange rite of the cleansing of the leper—two birds, one slain and the other dipped in his fellow's blood and set free—which, if not a sacrifice, yet symbolized the truth of life by death and out of death. Or, lastly, let us consider the Great Day of Atonement. A victim must be slain to put away the sins of the High Priest himself, before he is fit, after all his ablutions and purifications, to offer sacrifice for the people. Then the memorial of both these sacrifices must be presented before God in the sprinkling of blood within the veil, by which the holiest things were to be cleansed. And, finally, the High Priest, after slaying one of the two goats selected as a sin-offering for the people, laying both his hands on the head of the other, confesses over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and then sends him away to bear all those iniquities into a land not inhabited. We ask, What must have been the idea impressed by these startling ceremonies on the Jewish mind? Surely, that forgiveness of sin was somehow mysteriously connected with sacrifice, whilst yet this multiplication of forms of sacrifice witnessed to their insufficiency. There were, no doubt, customs religious and social among the Jews, derived from their ancestors or from other nations; and sacrifices, it may be said, were so universal that we might expect to find them in Israel as amongst the heathen. True, but granting a special Divine direction of this people, what can we say to the fact, not merely of the permission and continuance of sacrifices, as of that which they were accustomed to, and could not easily abandon, but of the institution of a very solemn, elaborate and expressive ceremonial, eminently calculated to emphasize and impress indelibly on the minds and feelings of the people the expiatory, propitiatory and vicarious nature of sacrifice, and fully to authorize the conclusion that "without shedding of blood there is no remission"? Will anyone reply: "We admit the difficulty; we can only suppose that this was necessary for the time—the New Testament has taught us a higher truth"? Let us turn to the New Testament; let us weigh well its statements, remembering that they were made in speech and writing to a people deeply imbued with the idea of the

remission of sin by sacrifice, and that the death of the sin-offering was instead of the forfeited life of the penitent offender. What terms do our Lord and His Apostles employ in dealing with such persons? Christ's forerunner introduces Him to his disciples as "The Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," suggesting certainly a sacrificial idea, whether the language be referred to the lamb of the daily sacrifice, or to the paschal lamb, or to that Lamb of whom Isaiah writes that "He was brought to the slaughter, but opened not His mouth; He was stricken for the transgression of His people, and bore their iniquities." Christ Himself says, "The Son of man came to give His life a ransom for many"—*λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*—not *ὑπὲρ* in behalf of, but *ἀντὶ* instead of—and using the same word, *λύτρον*, which is employed by the LXX. in Num. xxxv.: "Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer." Again, "This cup is the New Covenant in My blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." St. Paul, with little alteration of his Master's language, writes, "Who gave Himself a ransom for all" (*ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων*)—"Who gave Himself that He might redeem us (*λυτρώσεται*) from all iniquity; in whom we have redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσιν*) through His blood, the forgiveness of sins; through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth as a propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*) through faith in (or by) His blood, having made peace through the blood of His Cross." St. Peter's words are no less expressive: "Knowing that ye were redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot"—"Christ has once suffered for us, the just for the unjust; who Himself bore our sins in His own body on the tree." St. John is equally clear, where he says: "God loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation (*ἱλασμός*) for our sins"—"We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins"—for the sins of the whole world; "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

The Epistle to the Hebrews is yet more strong, because more full and explicit, its peculiar strength lying in this, that it declares Christ to be the end of the Law on its ceremonial side, as does the Epistle to the Romans more particularly on its moral side; and sets forth in detail how in Christ's full and perfect sacrifice is contained, and is available for evermore, all that those shadowy and ineffectual sacrifices symbolized but could not bestow. It draws out at length the parallel between "the High Priest entering yearly into the Holy Place by the blood of bulls and of goats, and Christ by His own blood entering once for all into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us; having offered the

sacrifice for sins, and thereby having perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and obtained eternal redemption for us." And it goes on to state that "by the blood of Jesus"—that is, making Christ's atoning death the ground of access—all true Christians have now "boldness to enter into the holiest." With these passages agrees the expression in Acts xx. 28: "The Church of God which He purchased with His own blood"; and the song of the redeemed in Revelation v. 9: "Thou art worthy, for Thou didst purchase us to God by Thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation." And it should be observed that, whatever weight these passages possess, it is certainly increased by the fact that neither in them, nor in any other part, does the New Testament give one word of caution against interpreting too strictly expressions used only by way of illustration. It simply emphasizes the meaning of all preceding sacrifices for sin, and declares their inability to remove it, by asserting that they were signs and types of one real sacrifice, which by its unique character and value effected what they only shadowed forth. And further, whilst isolated passages, such as have been quoted above, have their weight, it is to the testimony of the Scriptures as a whole that our appeal is made, when we maintain that in them an objective reality as well as a subjective efficiency, an expiation as well as an attraction, is attributed to the Saviour's death. We fully admit that such subjective efficacy is insisted on, and that its motive power is still felt, and ever will be felt, by Christians; but we contend that, unless Holy Scripture uses language calculated to mislead on a vital point, the words applied to Christ's sufferings, severally and collectively taken, mean more than that He died as our example, to call forth our love and gratitude by acting on our moral nature by the sense of His own love. We contend that the impression made by these words is at least this: that by His death He removed some obstacle to God's dealing with us as now in grace He can and does; and that He thus restored to penitent believers the lost right of access—"access through Him by one Spirit to the Father."

Before proceeding to some further thoughts, let us, at the risk of tediousness, recall the twofold argument which it has been attempted above to educe from the testimony of Scripture. Firstly, it has been shown that under the Old Dispensation sacrifice was not only permitted and enjoined, but that its expiatory character was set forth and emphasized by striking ordinances, calculated to make a deep and permanent impression. So that, without denying Divine sanction to such institutions, we cannot but suppose that it was intended to produce

and perpetuate this view of sacrifice in the minds of the Jews. But, if this was intended, must it not have been because these sacrifices were types of a real and true sacrifice for sin which was to come? Secondly, the language of the New Testament, taking particular passages or the general effect of the whole—especially when we consider the pre-existing conception of sacrifice in the minds of those to whom it was addressed—does convey to the thoughtful reader the impression and conviction that Christ's death was a vicarious and expiatory atonement for sin.

We now briefly address ourselves to those earnest minds who find it difficult to admit the idea of expiation, and who regard Christ's death merely as the highest proof of love, and an example of heroic self-sacrifice. Truly, it was all this. As truly do we deprecate any statement of the doctrine of Atonement which implies anger, in our low sense, in the Holy One, or unwillingness to bless in Him who is Love. We, too, sympathize with the gentleness of modern feeling and with the difficulties of the subject, and we claim of all honest seekers after truth to give us credit for this. But we cannot but ask them, if what they suppose sufficient were the sole ends of Christ's death, could there not have been given a less awful manifestation of love than the startling and soul-harrowing drama of Calvary?

If there existed no antecedent necessity for this death, no obstacle to our salvation to be removed by an expiatory sacrifice, can we conceive of the beloved of the Father being brought to the agonizing cry, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me"? Do we not here stand face to face with a most vital question, the nature of Him who died—not merely a righteous man, but the Incarnate Son of God? For in the long run men will be driven to the necessity of denying the true Deity of the sufferer, or of confessing the marvellous and blessed mystery that He was in His death, and is in its ever-enduring efficacy, the propitiation for the sins of the world. This argument, the inseparableness of the two doctrines of the Deity and the Atonement of Christ, demands the Christian's most serious thought; and to those who admit that Deity, seems well-nigh conclusive as to the expiatory nature of His death.

Closely allied to this is the testimony of experience. Mr. Gladstone has written his belief—in which the present writer concurs—that the great defect of modern Christianity is a weak sense of sin. Those who have but a slight feeling of its guilt and pollution will naturally be content with an emasculated doctrine of the Atonement, whilst, conversely, low views of Christ's sacrifice tend to lower our estimate of human demerit and corruption. It is, as Melancthon so frequently and so

feelingly asserts, "in the struggle of conscience, in real spiritual alarm,"¹ that the grace of Christ is understood. When faith is fighting with despair, and anguished fear with hope and confidence in mercy, then pardon through an atoning Saviour is the stay of the sinking soul. Such an one cannot be comforted by the assurance, so lightly given, that God will of course forgive sin upon repentance, still less by the theory that forgiveness is impossible, and that repentance and amendment—whence is the motive and the power to come?—must be man's only hope. He feels too acutely, as the noblest Christians have felt, the contrast between Divine purity and the heinousness of sin. He believes indeed that God is Love, but holy love, not easy, indulgent kindness—both Scripture and experience forbid the thought. He sees without him the wreck which sin has made in this fair but polluted world, how it has filled it with abominations which the Righteous One abhors, and with sufferings with which "He does not willingly afflict the children of men"—nay, how it has cast a shadow on the very holiness of God. And, turning to the world within, he has to mourn over mixed motives and selfish and inadequate contrition, whilst the nearer he comes to the light, the more clearly does he discern the stains on his spiritual purity, and the poverty of his highest attainments. "Cleanse Thou me from my secret faults" will ever be his prayer; but "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanses us from all sin" his only hope.

As was stated at the commencement of this article, no attempt has been made to formulate a theory of the Atonement. The writer is certainly incompetent to do this, and he sees none in Holy Scripture; but as in the case of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, it is not less a truth because we cannot fathom its depth. Great thinkers—amongst them two Archbishops Magee—have written upon it, and perhaps Dr. Dale's treatise, highly commended by the late Canon Liddon, is one of the most important on the subject. St. Paul, of all writers of the New Testament, comes nearest to a theory, only to stop far short of it, in the celebrated passage partially given above (Rom. iii. 25, 26): "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith in (or by) His blood to show His righteousness, because of the passing over of sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, at this present season of His righteousness, that He might Himself be just and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." Can anything less be implied in these words than that without that wondrous death a doubt, a slur, would have been cast on the character of

¹ "In luctâ conscientiæ, in veris animi terroribus."

the Holy One, because of His indulgent dealing with a rebellious world; but that now—His righteousness having been thus vindicated—He can pour forth on all who trust in Christ the riches of His grace? That is sufficient. The Atonement was a necessity, not only to show the love of God, but to demonstrate sin's desert and Divine righteousness, and to remove an otherwise insuperable barrier to the full outflow of His mercy on sinful man.

One concluding thought of considerable importance borrowed from Dr. Dale. We have in Holy Scripture the words "ransom," "propitiation," "sacrifice," and "offering," applied to Christ's death, as well as the very strong verb, in passages quoted above, to "purchase." Let us bear in mind two cautions. On the one hand, no one of these expressions must be isolated from the others, and made the basis of a theory of the Atonement; neither can the idea of each be fully followed out without landing us in confusion and contradiction—a common danger in the application of human analogies to Divine truths. But, on the other hand, no theory can be true and adequate which does not account for the employment of all these various terms. All must be felt to be apt and suggestive, though partial, expressions of this great truth. This great truth—which, as it has been endeavoured above to show, (1) Holy Scripture distinctly commends to our faith, (2) which seems to follow of necessity from the true Deity of Him who died, (3) and which, tried by the test of experience in practical religion, works a sense of sin which nothing else has been found able to produce, gives peace, comfort, and strength to the humble and contrite, together with a prevailing motive and desire for holiness of heart and life.

HAY S. ESCOTT.



ART. III.—"DARIUS, SON OF AHASUERUS OF THE SEED OF THE MEDES" (DAN. IX. 1).

BEING AN OLD HYPOTHESIS REHABILITATED.

INTRODUCTORY.

BY a truthful paradox we may say of Darius that he is celebrated chiefly for his obscurity. So very hard is he to find in the field of history that everyone is on his trail. Yet in view of the hundred-and-one contradictory legends which constitute our entire knowledge of the Median and early Persian Empires—as seen nowhere more glaringly than

in the discordant stories about the world-renowned Cyrus himself—would it be really surprising if such an one as Darius the Mede had left “not a wrack behind”? (On this point, see the final section of this article). Nevertheless, it is a fact that many Biblical critics look askance at the Book of Daniel, and that chiefly by reason of this poor Darius. For I strongly feel that if once his historicity is made clear, the other objections urged against the book would shrink into exceeding small compass.

I take for certain that some of the points I shall treat of have been ably handled already by others; for I do not profess acquaintance with all that has been written about the book in general, or even about Darius in particular. But I hope to have succeeded, at least here and there, in weaving together some old but neglected facts into new and pertinent arguments.

SECTION I.—THE CUNEIFORM DISCOVERIES.

Any new light suddenly let in is apt at first to dazzle the eyes. Thus it is that certain scholars are now declaring that, in view of the silence of the new-found inscriptions, positively no place in history can be found for our Darius. Let us consider this. At the period in question Cyrus was, by all indications, very largely dependent upon Median goodwill. He probably had the majority on his side when he vanquished their King Astyages and took some of his cities. But it seems that after Cyrus's power was well consolidated, those friendly relations gave place to Medo-Persian jealousies and feuds. (The point is excellently handled in “Speaker's Commentary,” vol. vi., pp. 313, 314.) Now it was most likely towards the end of his reign that court annalists engraved his achievements on tablet and cylinder. It was far from his wish, or theirs, to extol his insignificant predecessor. And can he even be conceived of as handing down to memory that for two years he had even *nominally* acknowledged a Median suzerain? It is significant of the pervading *animus* that both the inscriptions coolly ignore the Medes *in toto*, from the fall of Ekbatana onwards. It behoves us to remember that if Daniel be the author of his eponymous book, we there have contemporary testimony equal to that of the cuneiforms, and, indeed, superior to them in so far as the word of an impartial witness is more trustworthy than that of a king “blowing his own trumpet.” Well might Dr. Johnson say: “Writers of inscriptions are not on their oath.” But now, turning to the *Behistun* Inscriptions, we detect what is remarkably like a direct mention of our Darius (=Cyaxares II.).

Among the dangerous revolts quelled by Darius Hystaspes appears that of Khshatrita, claiming the Median throne by right of inheritance from Cyaxares (Uwakshatara). Now, according to Xenophon, Cyaxares admits to Cyrus that he leaves no *legitimate* male issue, which, of course, nowise means that he left no male issue at all, but the contrary. It seems that in Media Khshatrita passed as a son of his. This is a far easier supposition than to consider him as harking back for his title so far as to Cyaxares I. A little farther on we meet with a second claimant asserting himself as "of Cyaxares' family."

And now for a last glance at the *Cyrus* tablet. Does it not help us to determine the relative positions of Darius and the Conqueror? We learn that Cyrus left Gobryas (Gubaru), the commander of the forces, in charge of the city of Babylon, where, by Xenophon's account, Cyrus provided Cyaxares a splendid palace. Now, if Cyrus kept the main army under his own command, as doubtless he did, for the prosecution of his Northern conquests, and also left his victorious general with a strong detachment at the seat of government, we may judge with what absolute safety he might concede to the weak son of the conquered Astyages all the "pomp and circumstance" of royalty! He is not the only king-maker who has taken care to retain a firm grasp of the sovereignty, as Niebuhr ("Geschichte Assurs," p. 93) very plainly shows. Even at this present, the native sovereigns of India are firmly held in leading-strings by the ever-vigilant British Resident—as witness the recent deposition of a Gaikwar of Baroda. Remark, too, that under this regime the relation of Cyrus to Darius would closely resemble that previously subsisting between the energetic Nabunahid and his *fainéant* son Bilsaruzur (Belshazzar), if, as seems likely, the latter was Nebuchadnezzar's maternal grandson. He, though but a phantom king, satisfied the claims of legitimacy, the real dominion resting with his father. In the case of Cyrus, it was the uncle who represented the legitimate line, and held the phantom sceptre under the potent sway of his nephew (and, by most accounts, son-in-law as well).

SECTION II.—THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

In strict accord with the view now propounded, Daniel informs us, not that, upon Belshazzar's murder, Darius *seized* the kingdom, but "received" it (precisely as, chap. vii. 18, the saints "receive" the kingdom assigned them by the Most High). Again he states, not that he made himself king, but "was made king." (His age is stated as sixty-two, which also

well accords with our view.) And, to my thinking, in chap. vi. he is depicted as little better than a puppet in the hands of his entourage—Gubaru possibly amongst the number. For only hear them: “Know, O king, that” (whatever you might have done at Ekbatana) “our *Medo-Persic* law is that no statute that the king decrees may be changed.”¹ Note well that the appeal is not to old *Medic* precedents—now obsolete—but to modern *Medo-Persic* law. Pray, from whence came this constitutional canon imported into the *new-born* empire? Came it not in with the conqueror, from Elam or Persia? And may we not descry the same master spirit organizing the empire under 120 commandants, whom “it pleased Darius” accordingly to ordain? Just so does Cyaxares II. in Xenophon’s story take his cue upon all vital issues from his nephew’s prompting; and Xenophon says that a commandant was appointed to every principal city. The usual assumption, though not as yet fully confirmed, is probable enough: that after a brief reign, say of two years, the feeble king passed away, leaving Cyrus, alike by conquest and by heirship, the paramount lord of the East. As far as my knowledge goes, there is nothing whatever in the new-found inscriptions to forbid our dating “the first year of Cyrus and release of the Jews from captivity” from B.C. 536—not from the occupation of Babylon in 538—no determining dates having come to light.

To the stock objection that “Darius” is not “Cyaxares,” the obvious reply is that “Cyaxares” was also the name of the *Medish* hero, his warlike and victorious grandfather, and would in Persian ears savour strong of *Medish* ascendancy. By exchanging it for a name so thoroughly Persian as “Darius,” he signalized his frank acceptance of the new regime. Similar cases will occur to the reader, as, *e.g.*, that in 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

I now feel bound to challenge our “higher critics,” who reject the story of Darius, to explain whence it could have originated, especially as a twin-story of a Cyaxares II. assuredly had vogue in Greece (see next section, also the last). Even at the late date assigned by them to this book, the Rabbis, by the light of their copious records, canonical and other—nay, even from mere world-wide hearsay—must have still been vividly conscious that Cyrus, not Darius, had been conqueror of Babylon and the Eastern world. However, we are asked to assume that an idle tale of a *Medish* predecessor to Cyrus had obtained currency among them—unless, indeed, the story of

¹ So, too, they demand rather than advise signature to a decree concocted in his absence; much as our Queen signs whatever the Legislature chooses to enact, be it ever so foolish.

Darius were a deliberate figment from end to end. Well, that legend could not assuredly be due, like most others, to national vanity; for the great Cyrus himself would have "pointed the moral and adorned the tale" to far finer effect. As a fact, such tales always need to be fathered upon some well-known personage. A pure nonentity, as in this (assumed) case, would be quite out of place in a legend of the sort. Again, in order to take root, the legend need not, of course, be *true*; but it *must* possess some plausibility. And what could be less plausible than to interpose a Medish king between Cyrus' conquests and the first year of his reign? The inevitable conclusion would appear to be that the author wrote no legend at all, but *history* well within the horizon of those well-trained divines, who solemnly added it to the sacred canon. Assailants of the book's authenticity, after giving a very easy birth to some objections (with not a little cackling), invariably leave their callow offspring to take care of themselves, which is rough upon the poor chicks. So in the present case. Some probable origin for this so-called "legend" is still sadly to seek—when found, it shall be made a note of.

SECTION III.—THE "CYROPÆDIA."

I have more than once made reference to Xenophon's historical romance, thus entitled. Apparently, in some men's eyes any accord with statements there set forth is quite intolerable. To such a pitch is unreason carried that the bare fact of an author's showing some measure of agreement with Xenophon's account has been held to put him out of court *ipso facto*. Thus that astoundingly omnivorous student Aben Ezra states "from a Book of the Kings of Persia" that Cyrus was son-in-law to our Darius; but as Xenophon confirms this, even though Aben Ezra seems ignorant of his *further* statement of actual blood-relationship, of course what Aben Ezra says is to go for nothing. So with the Armenian Eusebius; so with Josephus. Critics jump to the conclusion that they both rest upon Xenophon, for no earthly reason, save that they take the same view. Now, this is babyish! To cite that novel in the light of grave history is, I own, worse than silly; but to conclude that Xenophon invariably states "the thing which is not" is not a whit more wise. There never was nor will be an historical novel which did not occasionally deviate into truth. At least two or three of the central figures have some sort of living prototype, and yet critics who ought to know better have laid it down that Xenophon's tale presents no similitude to the true Cyrus beyond his bare name; while as for the secondary hero, his uncle Cyaxares, why, he is the

veriest shadow of nothing—a myth alike in name and in nature!

Now look at the facts. Between Xenophon and the Cuneiforms we find resemblances which speak volumes. They both make Gubaru leader of the force which surprised Babylon, which fell without any need of fighting. They both make him an Assyrian by birth, for his name is simply the Assyrian adjective “Strong,” being a modification of “Gabbaru,” as I suppose. Both alike vaunt Cyrus’ extreme clemency towards the captured city. Last, but not least, both depict him a polytheist, and as sacrificing at the local shrines.

Now, even if *Daniel’s* veracity be held in as low repute as Xenophon’s, a judicial mind knows that when two suspected witnesses are found in agreement, with no suspicion of collusion, the fact needs must distinctly raise the credit of them both. Moreover, those who would banish all reference to the “Cyropædia” are willing, mostly, to admit it as a fair exponent of the Cyrus traditions current in Athenian society; and I must submit that a tradition of a Medish Darius or Cyaxares II., if devoid of historic basis, requires to be accounted for, no less than does the like tradition among the Jews, on which I have commented already, especially so when we recollect that from the days of Cyrus onward the Greeks had been brought into constant (mostly unfriendly) relations with Persia. Æschylus (“*Persæ*,” 771-774)¹ manifestly points to the same tradition at Athens. Let nobody, therefore, feel any misgiving at finding himself in the same boat with Xenophon.

SECTION IV.—WHO WAS DARIUS’ FATHER “AHASUERUS”?

All argument will avail but little which totally fails to identify “Ahasuerus” with “Astyages.” Doubtless *hoc opus, hic labor est*.

“Ahasuerus” is not “Astyages.” On this sole ground the “Speaker’s Commentary” rejects the whole theory which I espouse. *Prima facie*, every honest critic would do the same, just as, *e.g.*, he would stoutly reject as synonymous “*Sphandadates*,”² “Bardsiya,” “Oropasta,” “Bardes,” and “Smerdis.” Yet they are the same individual, and almost demonstrably they arise from a common form like “Svardavatsiya.” Or, again, take Ctesias’ line of eight apocryphal kings of Media

¹ Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ.
Ἄλλος δ’ ἐκείνου παῖς τὸδ’ ἔργον ἤνευσε.
Τρίτος δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Κῦρος.

Æschylus produced “*The Persæ*” within fifty-seven years of the death of Cyrus. Herodotus was his junior by forty-one years.

² Son of Cyrus, and joint-heir with Kambyses.

before Astyages (cited by Diodorus, Book II.). At least four of them are simple dialectic disguises of one name—for among the six Medic tribes there was abundant scope for dialects. So now we come down to Astyages. Ctesias, *more suo*, thrusts in as predecessor Astivaras (Ἀστιβαράς). Now, there could be no possible gap between the reign of Cyaxares and that of his son Astyages (=Astuvagas: obtained by comparison of Assyrian “Istuvigu”; in Ctesias, “Astvigas”). We are thus strongly induced to identify him with the aforesaid “Astivaras”; and I believe that the evidence I shall now adduce establishes this beyond reasonable doubt. Further, I shall show that in “Astivaras” we have the source of Heb. “Akhshverosh” (Ahasuerus), and that, in a word, these three names are found in actual use denoting the self-same king of Media.

In that foggy period of history which embraces (a) the Medo-Babylonian sack of Nineveh; (b) the Medo-Babylonian attack upon Judea and Egypt; (c) the Medo-Lyidian war, numerous accounts name Cyaxares as the then king of Media, but some name Astyages. It concerns us not to decide between the two accounts; it suffices that we can safely identify the Medish king connected with these events with one or other of the two, no matter how his name be distorted. As to event marked *a*, Berosus makes Astyages the ally of Nebuchadnezzar, which Eusebius (Chron. xlvi.) confirms. The author of Tobit (xlv. 15) varies the name to “Assweros” (Ἀσ[σ]ουήρος). As no process of twisting can deduce this from Cyaxares (of which the native form was “Kai-Wakshatara” (the “Kai” being the common prefix of the Median dynasty), we are led on to his son Astivaras (Astyages) as the only alternative. As to *b*, which probably followed quickly after *a*, Eupolemus (in Euseb., Praep., Ev. ix. 39) records that Nebuchadnezzar, in attacking Judea and Egypt, had for ally “Astivaras, king of Media.” As to *c*, several authors named by Grote give the Mede’s name as “Astyages.” Therefore Astuvagas = Astivaras = { Akhshverosh (Heb.)
Assweros (Gk.)

After all (as previously shown), much harder identifications have been made and substantiated. Again, in the later (*pacè* the critics) Books of Ezra and Esther, the same Hebrew word, as is by all admitted, came to be applied (*and with certainly less propriety*) to represent “Khsharsha” (Xerxes). We will compare them thus:

1. Ahasuerus is AKH (a)ShVEROSH.
2. Astyages } is AS TVARAS.
or
Astivaras }
3. Xerxes is Kh ShaYAR—Sha.

Even as they stand, 1 and 2 pair better than 1 and 3; but in Benfey (*Monatsnamen*, 189) I find that that Orientalist tries to prove that the initial syllable of the Grecized Persian word *ast-andes*, otherwise *askandes*, was originally "akshb." All this is utterly out of my depth, but if he is right, then the identification of *Akshsverosh* with *Astivaras* becomes practically perfect. (The important bearing of this upon the priority of the Book of Daniel compared to Ezra needs no pointing out.)

The full form of the name, possibly, would be "Aksvargas," then corrupted to "Astuva-gas, Astua-ges, Istuvi-gu," on the one hand, and to "Ahsuer-os, Asswer-os, Astivar-as," on the other.

SECTION V.—DARIUS ONCE MORE.

The preceding sections, I cannot help feeling, go a long way towards identifying Ahasuerus and Darius with Astyages and his son Cyaxares II. respectively.

Let me close this paper by adding one more to the several faint yet significant traces of our "hero" detected in Greek literature up to now (for others see "Speaker's Commentary").

Apollodorus (B.C. 143), in his once famed "Chronicles" (as cited in Clem. Alex. Strom., i. 14), records that Xenophanes the Eleatic lived so long that "*παρατέτακεν ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε, καὶ Κύρου χρόνων*"—"He survived up to the days of Darius, and of Cyrus too." If he means Darius of Persia, this is even worse than to state: "Lord Eldon was born in 1751, and lived to see Victoria's reign, and George IV.'s as well." For Cyrus had subdued both Mede and Persian twenty-five or twenty-six years before the accession of Darius the Persian. Naturally, the statement has excited much remark. Thus, the learned Bayle wonders how *un auteur aussi bon* could have perpetrated it. Is it, I ask, such a wild guess that Apollodorus, amidst his historical researches, found records of the same king whom Xenophon, under another name, calls Cyaxares, whose legend, we have seen, was most undoubtedly current at Athens? If this were so, then his words are the exact counterpart of others more familiar to us: "So this (Xenophanes) prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."

Should these imperfect notes, compiled in the course of my reading, stimulate some scholar to probe more deeply into the matters here broached, I shall feel myself abundantly rewarded.

CUTHBERT ROUTH.

ART. IV.—THE OLD CHURCHWARDEN:
MR. CHRISTOPHER HEY.

OFTEN when wandering on the seashore beneath the overhanging cliffs, and listening to the surf of the sea, as it splashes and dashes and rises and falls among the rocks at our feet, we have picked up some stray old bones, loosened by the long and patient action of the waves from their ancient resting-place in the dark cliffside, and having carried them home, after perhaps considerable toil, we have failed to make anything of them; and not quite liking to throw them away after all the trouble, we have pushed them into some dark cupboard, there to abide till some geological friend shall drop in one winter evening, when we shall produce them and listen with deepening interest while he takes the dry and musty remnants of a former creation, and, rebuilding them in imagination and by the light of experience, shall tell us what sort of animals they belonged to, and their habits and peculiarities.

Now, when looking into my old Town Book, I have very much the feelings of a geologist when he begins speculating on some strange monster of a remote age, and by carefully considering a few bones attempts to reconstruct the whole skeleton in his mind's eye. I see before me some notices, not very voluminous or very connected, about some faithful old parishioner, who evidently served his generation by the grace of God truly and well, and I like to bring together the scattered items of intelligence, and picture to myself the good, honest, hearty, genial farmer, or the quiet, demure, timid spinster—the Dorcas of the village—or the bustling, sharp-tongued, yet kind-hearted mistress of the farmhouse, whose voice made the serving-maids tremble, yet who was the very soul of pity and tenderness to the weary wayfarer, the orphan, and the widow. I can see enough from the scanty entries in the parish books just to afford me pleasant groundwork for day-dreams on the subject, and there is nothing like looking at the past to inspire faith for the future. God's faithfulness and love and patience, as shown in moulding and disciplining the lives of the past, makes us humbly and prayerfully commit our lives to Him that we may through His all-sufficient grace fill our niche as honestly and well as they did theirs.

Now, if there is one person more than another amongst those old-time friends of mine who has won my respectful admiration and affectionate regard, it is the old churchwarden, Mr. Christopher Hey.

Let us pause at that word "churchwarden." How infinitely much does the Church and nation of England owe to her

churchwardens! When we consider the care and time and thought that they, without any remuneration whatever, have ungrudgingly spent on the temporal interests committed to their charge, we are amazed at the devotion which for hundreds of years has been expended on the public welfare. Few men have a more difficult or thankless office to fulfil, for while considering conflicting interests, and striving to best conserve the revenues and rights of the Church, they are always liable to be misunderstood and misjudged. The clergyman is generally fitted neither by education nor position to manage the letting of lands, repairs of barns, sheds, gates, and hedges; the sale of old timber, the repairs of the church, the grazing and general tidiness of the churchyard, and the distribution of parish charities and doles—although he may like to be consulted (and very rightly so) in all these things, yet as a wise man he leaves them confidently for all practical purposes in the hands of those whom a long experience and local esteem have pointed out as the fit and proper persons to manage them.

I should think, however, that my old friend Mr. Christopher Hey would take first prize for long and devoted service in parochial matters. He appears as churchwarden first in 1607, and after filling all kinds of public offices he disappears from view, and goes to his great reward in 1682, so that for seventy-five years he was a well-known and evidently most highly-respected parish friend, which fact further means that he must have lived to be nearly, if not quite, a centenarian; so that honest and hearty attention to the public weal, as well as a busy private life, evidently did not wear out his energies nor shorten his days. Herein we have another proof that *work* never kills any man; it is *worry*. Probably Mr. Hey was an even-tempered man who never worried, off whose shoulders vexations and anxieties slipped like water off a duck's back. Happy man! would there were more like him! Moses managed all Israel so "that his eye was not dimmed, nor his natural force abated," because of his trust in God; perhaps it was the same quiet confidence that gave Mr. Hey his long and useful life.

Mr. Christopher Hey was a tradesman in the town—a mercer, and I am certain he was as shrewd and nice a man in his private affairs as in his public capacity. When he first entered on public life in 1607, he must have been a very young man, perhaps a comparatively new-comer to the town, whom his neighbours had speedily recognised as "a man of parts," and who was not unwilling to come forward into the arena of parish conflicts, so as to get himself known and make his influence felt. But his experience in this line was not

satisfactory, we imagine; perhaps he was too young to command respect, or maybe the occupations of home and business became too absorbing to admit of spending time on outside interests—any way, we hear no more of him as a parish officer for several years.

But we have omitted one item of interest. In 1603 he was the "Towne Armer," and kept in his custody the various pieces of armour and the ancient weapons that were thought necessary for the parish constable or constables in the execution of their duties—*then* much more real and urgent than now—but in that year he handed them over to the care of others, as, I opine, he was rising in the world, and thought himself rather above such a menial position; it was certainly through no want of public confidence, or he would not have been elected churchwarden four years later.

But, however this may be, Mr. Hey teaches all energetic young men a very useful and needful lesson, in not aspiring after public celebrity till he had acquired a sure and substantial basis for himself in private life. This lesson is specially needed in the present day, when, with our multiplicity of councils, boards, committees, etc., young men with plenty of "push" are tempted to neglect their businesses and their homes, for the purpose of prematurely making "a name" in political or parish matters. Mr. Hey made his home, secured his prosperity, and then devoted himself most self-denyingly and ably to the service and welfare of his fellow-townsmen. But as the years roll on, Christopher Hey gradually slips more and more into public notice and public usefulness. In 1612 he is one of the four parishioners annually appointed "to serve the Sheriff's turn," which was, in fact, to act as jurors if called upon (or else it means to be parish constable, only the notices are rather confused on this subject). But the notices of his activity and devotion to the general good become more constant as time passes on. Instead of age making him desire to seek seclusion and well-earned repose, it only apparently stirred him up to livelier exhibitions of public spirit. From 1640 and onwards until 1681 he fills the responsible office of churchwarden over and over again, but not for long periods together; he gave other men a chance of learning how to serve Church and State, yet we never find many years without his familiar name appearing as "chosen and appointed" to fill this important post. But when he is not churchwarden he is not idle. One of those men who *must* be busy, and *will* be useful, he always fills some other post of public responsibility. We find him as "questman"—that is, sidesman, or assistant to the churchwarden—an office that for a long space of time dropped into

abeyance, but which was of such great utility that it has now been very generally revived.

He becomes "overseer of the highways" and "overseer of the poor" many times, in both of which positions his long experience of country ways and country people must have been of immense value, while his practical knowledge of rural needs would give weight to his suggestions.

There can be no higher testimonial to a man's worth than to find him continuously for nearly three-quarters of a century being appointed by his fellow-townsmen to fill every important parochial position of trust there was. It speaks volumes for the man himself, as witnessing to his unblemished character. With old and new friends alike the man was esteemed; his equal could not be found; he kept the confidence of the old generation and won the confidence of the new. It says much also for the times in which he lived; when people found a good public servant they valued him, and "were not given to change" (Prov. xxiv. 21). These lessons must not be overlooked in the present day. We are apt to forget public merit, and become only too willing to discard real and experienced leaders for "new men" with flaring manifestoes and Utopian schemes for bringing in "a golden age."

But the churchwarden of those days, as now, was the parochial "chancellor of the exchequer"; he had to look after the letting of parish lands, the distribution of parish charities, and the general well-being of parish property. Through his hands passed all the parish revenues, and he had to fulfil the difficult task of being just both to the vestry and the tenants.

Over and over again does the name of Christopher Hey appear amidst the curious financial arrangements chronicled in the old Town Book. He it is who receives the rents, sometimes evidently paid very tardily and unwillingly; who decides and records the conditions of the letting, what the tenant was to do and not to do, whether he might cut faggots or not, whether he should trim the hedges, etc.—these things our old friend carefully arranged.

When the dole of bread fell due, and the poor anxiously awaited the *then* deeply-valued gift, it was good Mr. Hey had the task—often a thankless one, I doubt not—of distributing to the needy.

In 1643, when he was overseer (not churchwarden that year), a still valued charity became the property of the town. "There is given by Mr. Turner, late deceased, 4 acres of land to the town of Watton for the use of the poor, and Mr. George Lamb is to pay 26 shillings a year, 13 shillings every half year for the term of 21 years, and after the term be ended it

is at the disposal of the Churchwardens for the use of the poor as aforesaid, to be dealt out in bread, 6 pence every week to the poorest sort of people, given in the year 1643." This charity is even now a blessing to the parish, though it is at present united by a scheme with other charities and no longer takes the form of bread, which under our present conditions of life is not the courted gift it was in those days.

How many years did old Hey's honest hands deal out the gracious and acceptable gift! How well he must have known the circumstances of all the applicants, the worthy and unworthy! No use trying to take him in, who for so many years had had every knowledge of each person's "ups and downs," good and evil deeds. Honest poverty would feel happy in his presence, while profligacy and vice would slink away, hopeless and ashamed. In addition to this, we constantly find small sums of money left in his hands, for him to have "the use of it"—*why* does not certainly appear, but, from the connection of events, I think it was a mild species of parish speculation, and the townfolk knew by experience that no one could or would turn the money to such good account as shrewd old Hey.

What form these speculations took we can but dimly imagine. Perhaps it was the purchase and sale of "stock" or "crops"; any way, they evidently resulted to the general satisfaction, or the experiment would not have been so often repeated. We should scarcely expect churchwardens to do this now!

I verily believe, if the venerable Christopher had been called to as active a part in the control of national finances as of parochial, he would have made himself a great name; he would have been immortalized in more important documents than those I have the charge of, and would have started, perhaps, wondrous schemes of political economy and fiscal reform.

Many were the cares that occupied his attention. One begins to realize, in perusing these old pages, how much of a churchwarden's time and thought was engaged on matters that now are wisely delegated to various administrative bodies. The apprenticing of pauper and orphan children was then a parish matter demanding the anxious solicitude of the churchwardens. Mr. Hey would not fail here, we are certain, both in seeking out the suitable master and safely counselling the youthful apprentice. But, as if these things were not enough for his abundant energy, in 1655 I find him having "the middle bell" retuned, making careful note both of the weight of metal when delivered to the founder and the cost of the proceeding, which latter was rather more than the parish

could that year bear, for the accounts closed with a sum of £1 3s. 7d. due to him.

And yet, with all these multifarious good deeds recorded to his perpetual credit, we have not at present reached the most notable evidence of his public spirit.

When the shades of life's evening began to gather around him, Christopher Hey seems to have wished to leave behind, both a substantial memorial of his own deep interest in the little township, and also a seasonable reminder to his neighbours of the fleeting nature of time. We therefore find this interesting and pathetic entry under date April 12, 1680 (when the good old man must have been a good bit over ninety):

“Memorandum the day and year above said: it was agreed by the Minister and Churchwardens and the rest of the inhabitants of the town of Watton, that Mr. Christopher Hey having delivered in an account of £70 19s. 6d., disbursed in building a Clock House, and setting up of a Clock and Bell, and which was upon the accounts, £40 was allowed out of the Collection towards the said building, and that being deducted, there appeared due to the said Mr. Hey £30 19s. 6d., which sum of money he shall have paid him in manner and form following, that is to say, Six Pounds yearly to be paid him upon a Churchwardens' rate, and so yearly, six pounds for five years next ensuing the date hereof, which of the first six pounds is to be paid now before the Churchwardens for the former year, 1679, go off; and it is further agreed that the Inhabitants of Watton shall pay for the ground on which the house stands, and that the said Mr. Christopher Hey do give sufficient assurance of the ground, upon such a rent paid to the Minister and Churchwardens of the parish of Watton for ever.

“HENRY TOOLEY, VICAR OF WATTON”

(with about twenty other signatories).

“And it is agreed the Rent of the Town lands be paid him yearly till the debt is discharged.”

And here ever since has the old clock-tower stood, and tells the hours with unfailing regularity, a lasting witness to the grand old churchwarden. The old market cross is gone, the parish stocks have disappeared, the parish weights and scales, which he doubtless often handled, have been melted down or gone into other hands; but the clock-tower stands still, teaching all the solemn lesson so “to number their days as to apply their hearts unto wisdom.”

For very many years the old Watton Town Book was lost,

and only recovered by a gentleman of antiquarian tastes living in a neighbouring parish, who accidentally came across it in an old Norwich shop. He had its tattered leaves mended and a strong new cover put on. But within this cover is pasted a small discoloured fragment of paper of decided interest to us, with these words, "Christopher Hey gave this cover of this Booke, the 29th of M^{ch}, 1656." So we see that the faithful old parish friend and servant had cared even for the cover of the Town Book ; it seems to me he doted over the interests of the place like a fond father over a dearly-loved child.

And now the valuable life had nearly run its course ; he had lost his wife (Mary Hey) in December, 1673, but his son's name (Thomas) appears written with his own in the parish annals, showing that the son was following in the father's steps, and also that they were kindred spirits in public affairs. We can guess how the son loved to cheer and comfort the declining years of his revered father, and how the townfolk watched with sad and affectionate interest the growing infirmities of the veteran churchwarden. We think we can see the old man leaning on his son's arm going to look at the new clock-tower, and hear him recount the changes that had taken place since his young days.

Not for many months, however, did the tones of the new parish clock delight the ears of the aged Christopher. On July 5, 1682, the parishioners gathered round the last resting-place of him who has been the most tried and trusty friend our little town has ever known. The venerable patriarch was dead, and every heart must have felt that in him they had lost a wise and loving friend. Very peculiarly suitable must have sounded the glorious words of promise: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours ;" and very earnestly may have ascended the prayer from many hearts: "Grant us grace so to follow him in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys that Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee." The Apostolic command had certainly been no dead letter with him: "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

For such quiet, self-denying, holy lives the world and the Church are all the richer. What countless instances of patient industry and self-denying public service could many old village registers bear witness to! Let us be thankful there have been such men, let us endeavour to follow prayerfully and humbly their good examples, to see in them something of "the great Example," and let us try to imitate them, even as they did Christ.

The daily round, the common task,
 Will furnish all we need to ask,
 Room to deny ourselves, a road
 To bring us daily nearer God.

And of such noble lives we can truly say :

“Such souls
 Vanish like lightning, but they leave behind
 A voice that, in the distance far away,
 Wakens the slumbering ages.”

W. B. RUSSELL-CALEY.



ART. V.—DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES.

CHURCH history is always interesting, especially that of primitive times. The third century was a time of transition, and there are six or seven points on which it is worth while to collect together the evidence of competent scholars and historians. First, I may be permitted to reproduce statements from the illustrious Bishop Lightfoot. They are on two points : 1. *The Development of Episcopal Prerogatives.* 2. *The Growth of the Idea of the Sacrifice in the Communion.* Throughout this paper I shall use the language of others rather than my own, as I do not wish to be involved in controversy, or to make inferences, but merely to exhibit historical facts.

1. *The Development of Episcopal Prerogatives.*

On this point Bishop Lightfoot writes as follows :¹ “If with Ignatius the bishop is the centre of Christian unity, if with Irenæus he is the depository of apostolical tradition, with Cyprian he is the *absolute vicegerent of Christ* in things spiritual. In mere strength of language, indeed, it would be difficult to surpass Ignatius, who lived about a century and a half earlier. With the single exception of the sacerdotal view of the ministry which had grown up meanwhile, Cyprian puts forward no assumption which this father had not advanced either literally or substantially long before. This one exception, however, is all-important, for it raised the sanctions of the episcopate to a higher level, and put new force into old titles of respect. Theoretically, therefore, it may be said that Cyprian took his stand on the combination of the ecclesiastical authority as asserted by Ignatius, with the sacerdotal claims which had been developed in the century just past. But the real influence which he exercised in the elevation of the

¹ Epistle to the Philippians, “Christian Ministry.”

episcopate consisted, not in the novelty of his theoretical views, but in his practical energy and success. The absolute supremacy of the bishop had remained hitherto a lofty title, or at least a vague, ill-defined assumption; it became through his exertions a substantial and patent and world-wide fact. The first prelate whose force of character vibrated through the whole of Christendom, he was driven not less by the circumstances of his position than by his own temperament and conviction to throw all his energy into this scale. And the permanent result was much vaster than he could have anticipated beforehand or realized after the fact. Forced into the episcopate against his will, he raised it to a position of absolute independence, from which it has never since been deposed."

And again: "The greatness of Cyprian's influence on the episcopate is indeed due to this fact, that with him the statement of the principle precedes and necessitates the practical measures. Of the sharpness and distinctness of his sacerdotal views it will be time to speak presently, but of his conception of the episcopal office generally thus much may be said here, that he regards the bishop as exclusively the representative of God to the congregation, and hardly, if at all, as the representative of the congregation before God. The bishop is the indispensable channel of Divine grace, the indispensable bond of Christian brotherhood. The episcopate is not so much the roof as the foundation-stone of the ecclesiastical edifice; not so much the legitimate development as the primary condition of a Church. The bishop is appointed directly by God, is responsible directly to God, is inspired directly from God. This last point deserves especial notice. Though in words he frequently defers to the established use of consulting the presbyters and even the laity in the appointment of officers and in other matters affecting the well-being of the community, yet he only makes the concession to nullify it immediately. He pleads a direct official inspiration which enables him to dispense with ecclesiastical custom and to act on his own responsibility. Though the presbyters may still have retained the shadow of a controlling power over the acts of the bishop, though the courtesy of language by which they were recognised as fellow-presbyters was not laid aside, yet for all practical ends the independent supremacy of the episcopate was completely established by the principles and measures of Cyprian."

2. *The Growth of the Idea of the Sacrifice in the Communion.*

Tracing the change from the silence of the New Testament on particular sacerdotalism and speaking of the era of Cyprian, Bishop Lightfoot says: "Hitherto the sacerdotal view of the

Christian ministry has not been held apart from a distinct recognition of the sacerdotal functions of the whole Christian body. The minister is thus regarded as a priest because he is the mouth-piece, the representative of the priestly race. Such appears to be the conception of Tertullian, who speaks of the clergy as separate from the laity only because the Church, in the exercise of her prerogative, has for convenience entrusted to them the performance of certain sacerdotal functions belonging properly to the whole congregation, and of Origen, who, giving a moral and spiritual interpretation to the sacerdotal office, considers the priesthood of the clergy to differ from the priesthood of the laity only in degree, in so far as the former devote their time and their thoughts more entirely to God than the latter. So long as this important aspect is kept in view, so long as the priesthood of the ministry is regarded as springing from the priesthood of the whole body, the teaching of the Apostle has not been directly violated. But, still, it was not a safe nomenclature which assigned the terms sacerdos, ἱερεύς, and the like, to the ministry as a *special* designation. The appearance of this phenomenon marks the period of transition from the universal sacerdotalism of the New Testament to the particular sacerdotalism of a later age.

“If Tertullian and Origen are still hovering on the border, Cyprian has boldly transferred himself into the new domain. It is not only that he uses the terms sacerdos, sacerdotium, sacerdotialis, of the ministry with a frequency hitherto without parallel, but he treats all the passages in the Old Testament which refer to the privileges, the sanctions, the duties, and the responsibilities of the Aaronic priesthood, as applying to the officers of the Christian Church. His opponents are profane and sacrilegious; they have passed sentence of death on themselves by disobeying the command of the Lord in Deuteronomy to ‘hear the priest’; they have forgotten the injunction of Solomon to honour and reverence God’s priests; they have despised the example of St. Paul, who regretted that he ‘did not know it was the high priest’; they have been guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. These passages are urged again and again. They are urged, moreover, not by parity of reasoning, not by analogy of circumstance, but as absolute and immediate and unquestionable. As Cyprian crowned the edifice of episcopal power, so also was he the first to put forward without relief or disguise these sacerdotal assumptions; and so uncompromising was the tone in which he asserted them that nothing was left to his successors but to enforce his principles and reiterate his language.”

3. I pass now to other points. And here I quote the historian Schaff. First, as to *Clerical Celibacy*.

“The first step in the direction of clerical celibacy was the prohibition of second marriage to the clergy, on the ground that Paul’s direction concerning “the husband of *one* wife” is a restriction rather than a command. In the Western Church, in the early part of the third century, there were many clergymen who had been married a second or even a third time, and this practice was defended on the ground that Paul allowed re-marriage, after the death of one party, as lawful without any restriction or censure. This fact appears from the protest of the Montanistic Tertullian, who makes it a serious objection to the Catholics that they allow bigamists to preside, to baptize, and to celebrate the Communion. Hippolytus, who had equally rigoristic views on discipline, reproaches about the same time the Roman bishop Callistus with admitting to sacerdotal and episcopal office those who were married a second and even a third time, and permitting the clergy to marry, after having been ordained. But the rigorous practice prevailed and was legalized in the Eastern Church. The (so-called) “Apostolic Constitutions” expressly forbid bishops, priests and deacons to marry a second time . . . and extend the prohibition of second marriage even to cantors, readers and porters . . . The “Apostolic Canons” give similar regulations, and declare that the husband of a second wife . . . was ineligible to the priesthood.

“(b) The second step was the prohibition of marriage and conjugal intercourse *after* ordination. This implies the incompatibility of the priesthood with the duties and privileges of marriage. Before the Council of Elvira in Spain (306) no distinction was made in the Latin Church between marriages before and after ordination. But that rigoristic Council forbade nuptial intercourse to priests of all ranks upon pain of excommunication. The Council of Arles (314) passed a similar canon. And so did the Council of Ancyra (314), which, however, allows deacons to marry as deacons in case they stipulated for it before taking orders. This exception was subsequently removed by the 27th ‘Apostolic Canon,’ which allows only the lectors and cantors to contract marriage.

“The Œcumenical Council of Nicæa (325), led by the vigorous protest of Paphutius, a venerable bishop and confessor of the Upper Thebaid, left the continuance or discontinuance of the married relation to the free choice of every clergyman, and passed no law in favour of celibacy.

“The Greek Church substantially retained the position of the fourth century, and gradually adopted the principle and practice of limiting the law of celibacy to bishops (who are usually taken from monasteries), and making a single marriage the rule for the lower clergy, the marriage to take place *before*

ordination, and not to be repeated. Justinian excluded married men from the episcopate, and the Trullan Synod in 692 legalized the existing practice. In Russia (probably since 1274) the single marriage of the lower clergy was made obligatory. This is an error in the opposite direction. Marriage as well as celibacy should be left free to each man's conscience.

"(c) The Latin Church took the third and last step—the absolute prohibition of clerical marriage, including even the lower orders. . . . Sacerdotal marriage was first prohibited by Pope Siricius (A.D. 385), then by Innocent I. (402), Leo I. (440), Gregory I. (590), and by provincial synods of Carthage (390 and 401), Toledo (400), Orleans (538), Orange (441), Arles (443 or 452), Agdé (506), Gerunda (517). The great teachers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age—Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom—by their extravagant laudations of the superior sanctity of virginity, gave this legislation the weight of their authority. St. Jerome . . . took the lead in this ascetic crusade against marriage, and held up to the clergy as the ideal aim of the saint, 'to cut down the wood of marriage by the axe of virginity.' He was willing to praise marriage, but only as the nursery of virgins.

"Thus, celibacy was gradually enforced in the West under the combined influence of the sacerdotal and hierarchical interests, to the advantage of the hierarchy, but to the injury of morality."

4. I pass to a fourth point—the *Change in the Theory of Church Worship*.

"In the Nicene age,¹ the Church laid aside her lowly servant form, and put on a splendid imperial garb. She exchanged the primitive simplicity of her cultus for a richly-coloured multiplicity. . . . In place of the pagan temple and altar arose everywhere the stately church, and the chapel in honour of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of martyrs and saints. The kindred ideas of priesthood, sacrifice, and altar became more fully developed and more firmly fixed as the outward hierarchy grew. The Mass, or daily repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ by the hand of the priest, became the mysterious centre of the whole system of worship. The number of Church festivals was increased; processions and pilgrimages, and a multitude of significant and superstitious customs and ceremonies were introduced. The public worship of God assumed, if we may so speak, a dramatic theatrical character, which made it attractive and imposing to the mass of the people, who were as yet incapable, for the most part, of

¹ Schaff's "History of the Christian Church."

worshipping God in spirit and in truth. It was addressed rather to the eye and to the ear, to feeling and imagination than to intelligence and will. In short, we already find in the Nicene age almost all the essential features of the sacerdotal, mysterious, ceremonial, symbolical cultus of the Greek and Roman Churches of the present day.

“Not a few pagan habits and ceremonies, concealed under new names, crept into the Church. . . . In the Christian martyr worship and saint worship, which now spread with giant strides over the whole Christian world, we cannot possibly mistake the succession of the pagan worship of gods and heroes with its noisy popular festivities. Augustine puts into the mouth of a heathen the question: ‘Wherefore must we forsake gods which the Christians themselves worship with us?’ He deplores the frequent revels and amusements at the tombs of the martyrs, though he thinks that allowance should be made for these weaknesses out of regard to the ancient custom. Leo the Great speaks of Christians in Rome who first worshipped the rising sun, doing homage to the pagan Apollo, before repairing to the basilica of St. Peter. Theodoret defends the Christian practices at the graves of the martyrs by pointing to the pagan libations, propitiations, gods and demigods. Since Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, the Dioscuri, and many other objects of pagan worship were mere deified men, the Christians, he thinks, cannot be blamed for honouring these martyrs—not making them gods, but venerating them as witnesses and servants of the only true God. Chrysostom mourns over the theatrical customs, such as loud clapping in applause, which the Christians at Antioch and Constantinople brought with them into the Church. In the Christmas festival, which from the fourth century spread from Rome over the entire Church, the holy commemoration of the birth of the Redeemer is associated . . . with the wanton merriments of the pagan Saturnalia.”

5. Next, *the Change from Respect to the Blessed Virgin Mary to Mariolatry.*

“She modestly stands back throughout from the Gospel history,¹ and in the Acts and the Epistles she is barely mentioned once, and then simply as the ‘mother of Jesus.’ Even her birth and her death are unknown. Her glory fades in holy humility before the higher glory of her Son. In truth, there are plain indications that the Lord, with prophetic reference to the future apotheosis of His mother according to the flesh, from the first gave warning against it. At the wedding in Cana He administered to her, though leniently and respectfully,

¹ Schaff's "History of the Christian Church."

a rebuke for premature zeal, mingled perhaps with maternal vanity. On a subsequent occasion he puts her on a level with other female disciples, and made the carnal consanguinity subordinate to the spiritual kinship of the doing of the will of God. The well-meant, and in itself quite innocent, benediction of an unknown woman upon His mother He did not indeed censure; but He corrected it with a benediction upon all who hear the Word of God and keep it, and thus forestalled the deification of Mary by confining the ascription within the bounds of moderation.

"In striking contrast with this healthful and sober representation of Mary in the canonical Gospels are the numerous apocryphal Gospels of the third and fourth centuries, which decorated the life of Mary with fantastic fables and wonders of every kind, and thus furnished a pseudo-historical foundation for an unscriptural Mariology and Mariolatry. The Catholic Church, it is true, condemned this apocryphal literature so early as the decrees of Gelasius; yet many of the fabulous elements of it—such as the names of the parents of Mary, Joachim (instead of Eli, Luke iii. 23) and Anna, the birth of Mary in a cave, her education in the temple, and her mock marriage with the aged Joseph—passed into the Catholic tradition.

"The development of the orthodox Catholic Mariology and Mariolatry originated as early as the second century in an allegorical interpretation of the history of the Fall, and in the assumption of an antithetic relation of Eve and Mary, according to which the mother of Christ occupies the same position in the history of redemption as the wife of Adam in the history of sin and death. This idea, so fruitful of many errors, is ingenious, but unscriptural, and an apocryphal substitute for the true Pauline doctrine of an antitypical parallel between the first and second Adam. It tends to substitute Mary for Christ. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian are the first who present Mary as a counterpart of Eve, as a 'mother of all living' in the higher spiritual sense, and teach that she became through her obedience the mediate or instrumental cause of the blessings of redemption to the human race, as Eve, by her disobedience, was the fountain of sin and death. . . .

"Augustine went a step farther. In an incidental remark against Pelagius, he agreed with him in excepting Mary 'propter honorem Domini' from actual (but not from original) sin. This exception he is willing to make from the universal sinfulness of the race, but no other. He taught the sinless birth and life of Mary, but not her immaculate conception. . . .

"Notwithstanding this exalted representation of Mary, there appear no clear traces of a proper worship of Mary, as distinct

from the worship of saints in general, until the Nestorian controversy of 430. This dispute formed an important turning-point, not only in Christology, but in Mariology also. The leading interest in it was, without doubt, the connection of the Virgin with the mystery of the incarnation. The perfect union of the Divine and human natures seemed to demand that Mary might be called in *some* sense the *mother of God*—*Θεοτόκος*, *Deipara*; for that which was born of her was not merely the man Jesus, but the God-man, Jesus Christ. The Church, however, did, of course, not intend by that to assert that she was the mother of the uncreated Divine essence—for this would be palpably absurd and blasphemous—nor that she herself was Divine, but only that she was the human point of entrance, or the mysterious channel for the Divine eternal Logos. . . . Thenceforth the *Θεοτόκος* was a test of orthodox Christianity, and the rejection of it amounted to the beginning and end of all heresy. The overthrow of Nestorianism was at the same time the victory of Mary-worship. . . . (The popular usage could not be confined by the subtle theological distinction.) The opponents of Nestorius, especially Proclus, his successor in Constantinople (*d.* 447), and Cyril of Alexandria (*d.* 444), could scarcely find predicates enough to express the transcendent glory of the mother of God. She was the crown of virginity, the indestructible temple of God, the dwelling-place of the Holy Trinity, the paradise of the Second Adam, the bridge from God to man, the loom of the incarnation, the sceptre of orthodoxy; through her the Trinity is glorified and adored, the devils and demons are put to flight, the nations converted, and the fallen creature raised to heaven. . . . From this Mariology follows Mariolatry. If Mary is in the *strict* sense of the word the mother of God, it seems to follow as a logical consequence that she herself is Divine, and therefore an object of Divine worship. This was not indeed the meaning and purpose of the ancient Church, as, in fact, it never asserted that Mary was the mother of the essential eternal divinity of the Logos. She was, and continues to be, a created being, a human mother, even according to the Roman and Greek doctrine; but according to the once-prevailing conception of her peculiar relation to deity, a certain degree of Divine homage to Mary, and some invocation of her powerful intercession with God, seemed unavoidable, and soon became a universal practice.

“The first instance of the formal *invocation* of Mary occurs in the prayers of Ephraim Syrus (*d.* 379), addressed to Mary and the saints, and attributed by the tradition of the Syrian Church, though perhaps in part incorrectly, to that author. The first more certain example appears in Gregory Nazianzen

(d. 389), who, in his eulogy on Cyprian, relates of Justina that she besought the Virgin Mary to protect her threatened virginity. . . . But, on the other hand, the numerous writings of Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine furnish no example of an invocation of Mary. Epiphanius even condemned the worship of Mary, and calls the practice of making offerings to her by the Collyridian women blasphemous and dangerous to the soul. The entire silence of history respecting the worship of the Virgin down to the end of the fourth century proves clearly that it was foreign to the original spirit of Christianity, and belongs to the many innovations of the post-Nicene age.

“In the beginning of the fifth century, however, the worship of saints appears in full bloom, and then Mary, by reason of her singular relation to the Lord, was soon placed at the head, as the most blessed queen of the heavenly host.”

6. *The Worship of Martyrs and Saints.*

“In the first three centuries, the veneration of the martyrs in general restricted itself to the thankful remembrance of their virtues, and the celebration of the day of their death as the day of their heavenly birth. . . .

“But in the Nicene age it advanced to a formal invocation of the saints as our patrons (*patroni*) and intercessors (*intercessores, mediatores*) before the throne of grace, and degenerated into a form of refined polytheism and idolatry. The saints came into the place of the demigods (*Penates and Lares*), the patrons of the domestic hearth and of the country. As once temples and altars to the heroes, so now churches and chapels came to be built over the graves of the martyrs, and consecrated to their names (or, more precisely, to God through them). People laid in them, as they used to do in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, the sick, that they might be healed, and hung in them, as in the temples of the gods, sacred gifts of silver and gold. Their graves were, as Chrysostom says, more splendidly adorned and more frequently visited than the palaces of kings. Banquets were held there in their honour, which recall the heathen sacrificial feasts for the welfare of the masses. Their relics were preserved with scrupulous care, and believed to possess miraculous virtues. Earlier it was the custom to pray for the martyrs (as if they were not yet perfect), and to thank God for their fellowship and their pious example; now such intercessions for them were considered unbecoming, and their intercession was invoked for the living.”

7. *The Worship of Relics.*

“Pious fondness for relics, if it is confined within proper limits, is very natural and innocent, and appears even in the Puritans of New England, where the rock in Plymouth, the

landing-place of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, has the attraction of a place of pilgrimage. . . . But towards the middle of the fourth century the veneration of relics, simultaneously with the worship of the saints, assumed a decidedly superstitious and idolatrous character. The earthly remains of the martyrs were discovered commonly by visions and revelations, often not till centuries after their death, then borne in solemn processions to the churches and chapels erected to their memory, and deposited under the altar; and this event was annually celebrated by a festival. . . . The relics were from time to time displayed to the veneration of the believing multitude, carried about in processions, preserved in gold and silver boxes, worn on the neck as amulets against disease and danger of every kind, and considered as possessing miraculous virtue, or, more strictly, as instruments through which the saints in heaven, in virtue of their connection with Christ, wrought miracles of healing, and even of raising the dead. Their number soon reached the incredible, even from one and the same original: there were, for example, countless splinters of the pretended cross of Christ from Jerusalem, while the cross itself is said to have remained, by a continued miracle, whole and undiminished! Veneration of the cross and crucifix knew no bounds, but can by no means be taken as a true measure of the worship of the crucified; on the contrary, with the great mass the outward form came into the place of the spiritual intent, and the wooden and silver Christ was very often a poor substitute for the living Christ in the heart."

Such were some of the chief developments in the third and fourth centuries.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



ART. VI.—THE MOSAICS AT ST. PAUL'S.

WE have it on record, by Sir Christopher Wren's son, in his "Parentalia," or notes on his father's life and works, that when the structure of his great Cathedral of St. Paul was finished, he sent for four artists from Italy to continue the completion of the design, by filling with mosaics the interior of the dome and the spaces which he had left in the roofs of choir, nave, transepts and aisles, consisting of brick vaulting, covered temporarily with plaster. But the Building Committee, which had been at work from first to last for more than thirty-seven years, and some of the older members of which had of course passed away, were tired of collecting money, and were not at all sure about the idea of mosaics.

To the great architect's sorrow and disgust they refused to sanction the scheme, or to do anything more for St. Paul's, which Wren considered quite unfinished, and the Italian artists were countermanded.

There are many kinds of mosaics, but they may be roughly divided into two: the smooth work, where a polished surface is produced, and where the effect is intended to be pictorial, as in the modern Italian style, known chiefly in this country through the designs of Salviati; and the rough style, where the facets of the tesserae are placed for the most part at a slight angle to each other, and where the result aimed at is mainly jewel-like and decorative. These latter qualities are principally characteristic of the Byzantine period.

Sir William Richmond, R.A., was suggested to the present Decoration Committee in March, 1891, as the best authority for the treatment of the roof of the Cathedral by Messrs. Bodley and Garner. These architects had already done a great deal. Since the great impetus to the decoration of St. Paul's was given in connection with the Thanksgiving Service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his dangerous illness a quarter of a century ago, they had raised the level of the choir, removed the organ-screen, placed the organ in two blocks on each side of the entrance to the choir near the dome, removed the choir-stalls from the far east and brought them to the very edge of the dome, erected a new platform for the holy table considerably to the west of the apse, built the new marble reredos at a cost of upwards of £30,000, and placed Tijou's exquisite iron-work gates in a new gilt-brass framework under the two great easternmost arches of the choir rendered vacant by the pushing of the stalls to the west. The question now arose, What was to be done to the walls, which were extremely dull and dirty, and to the roof? The advice of Mr. Richmond (as he then was) was in favour of mosaics, not only in the vacant spaces of the roof, but also in those of the upper walls; the vigorous cleaning and brightening of the walls and arches; and the touching of the stonework at salient points with gold and colour. Mr. Richmond also offered to give up almost the whole of his time for three years, at a very moderate stipend, to the production of designs and the superintendence of the work.

This offer was gladly accepted by the Decoration Committee, of which the Dean and Chapter form the permanent basis. Mr. Richmond, who had for many years studied the art of mosaic in every part of Italy and Sicily, at Constantinople, and other places where the Byzantine influence reigned, and who had a studio at Hammersmith surrounded by a spacious garden, built a new *atelier* of enormous height, so as to give

something of the effect of vast design seen at a considerable distance. The manufacture of the glass materials (the tesserae are all squares of glass specially prepared) was entrusted to Messrs. James and Harry Powell, partners in the well-known firm at Whitefriars, which has existed for over two hundred years, as well as the engagement of the workmen, who were to be all British. Thus the designer, the manufacturers, and the artificers were all of home birth. The treatment of the stone was handed over to Messrs. MacMillan and Houghton. The Cathedral, fortunate in having on its permanent staff a clerk of the works, Mr. E. J. Harding, whose skill and care in designing and erecting from time to time the firm and admirable scaffolding, which gave access, in the most difficult positions, to the various portions of the roof and walls, was of integral importance to the whole scheme, and ensured the whole body engaged in the work from even a single accident. Great numbers of people visited the scaffolding in the choir during the progress of the decoration, and they always found the platforms as firm as a drawing-room floor. Among them H.R.H. the Princess of Wales and the Princesses Victoria and Maud climbed without difficulty to the very highest parts, and placed some of the tesserae in their position in the cement.

Mr. Richmond first submitted small coloured designs to the Decoration Committee, which from time to time gave the general effect of the various portions. When these were approved he had them enlarged to the exact scale of the space which they would occupy, with every line strongly marked, and then coloured according to the tones of the design and of the tesserae. Most of the several designs so enlarged were exhibited in position in the Cathedral, so that their effect might be judged. The enlargement and colouring having been completed, the design was then transferred in pieces of suitable sizes to tracing-paper, and handed to the artificers for execution in the tesserae on the cement. The artificers pierced the pattern through the lines with a brad-awl on the space of cement affixed to the brickwork of such a size as not to dry up and become hard before the day's work was finished. The cement was composed of putty, silica, pounded marble, and various hard and durable substances.

Meantime the thick coloured glass had been prepared by Messrs. Powell for the tesserae. A large and convenient workshop was provided by the garret story of the aisles, above the vaulting of the roof, a wide and lofty space. Here all the materials were stored, and the tracings carried out. The glass appeared in flat cakes, about 6 or 7 inches in length by 4 or 5 inches in breadth. These were separated into square inches, or whatever the required size of the tesserae might be,

by boys manipulating a steel chopping-machine. In 1894 about one hundred and fifty tints were in use; at first the number was considerably larger. In 1896 those in general use were not more than about fifty. A considerable difference in tone was produced by some of the tesserae being produced in what is technically called "Pot-metal," prepared in a different way from the ordinary glass, having a richer and whiter appearance, and looking as if it was mixed with what water-colour artists call "body-colour."

The actual number of artificers engaged in placing the tesserae was nineteen; they were chiefly young men, artists in the employment of Messrs. Powell, and for the most part trained to this special work in Mr. Richmond's studio.

The first design completed was that of the two warrior angels seated on the ramparts of the citadel of heaven in the spandrels over the eastern of the three arches on the north side of the choir. It will be noticed that the treatment here is rather lighter than it subsequently became. The next portion filled in was the easternmost of the three great "saucerdomes," as they are called, or vast concave circles, in the roof of the choir. This depicts the Creation of the Birds. There is a landscape, rising from the circular edge, of mountains, rivers, lakes, lawns and trees, among which are a great variety of birds in different attitudes of exultation—peacocks, pelicans, cranes, swans, and the like; above them is a great circle of eagles, on a gold sky, approaching the central sun. The scale here was afterwards judged by Mr. Richmond to be somewhat delicate and minute. On a clear day every leaf and every bird are visible from below, but the atmosphere of St. Paul's is not often clear, and Mr. Richmond felt impelled as the work progressed to strengthen his scale, outline and tone.

It is unnecessary to record the progress of the decorations in chronological order. That which forms the central point of the whole, and which is seen by all who approach the choir, is formed by the three converging panels of the roof of the apse, and presents the Lord seated on the rainbow throne after the description in the Revelation of St. John, surrounded by recording angels. The Saviour is robed in white, with a crimson and gold mantle falling back over His shoulders. His head wears a crown, magnificently rich, and His hand is lifted in the attitude of blessing. The face has a wonderful expression of mingled majesty and sweetness. It has been twice altered: firstly, to give greater strength, and secondly, to lessen the sternness induced by the access of depth of line. Behind is a great whirl of wings, to imply eternity and infinity, and below are the sun and moon darkened by the glory of the True Light. The northern side panel contains a group of

recording angels, who are beckoning to the righteous to approach. The southern group are in an attitude of repelling; all their heads glow with fire, and some are evidently weeping tears of sorrow.

It is impossible to mention all the minor details. The most prominent decorations near the roof of the apse are two large rectangular panels, north and south, on a lower level, surmounting what may be called the transverse gangway of the apse, and under the great broad, embossed arch which springs from north to south and separates apse from choir. The same construction, an exceedingly broad embossed arch, with rectangular panels on the wall spaces which support it, springs again from wall to wall, and separates choir from dome, dome from north and south transepts, and dome from nave. The construction of St. Paul's is exceedingly simple: the dome in the centre; these four vast and broad arches crossing the interior spaces and forming part of the roof, subtended by rectangular panels, leading the way to the choir, nave and two transepts; three great arches to the east, forming the choir; three great arches to the west, forming the nave; one corresponding arch, forming the north, and another the south, transept; the broad embossed arch springing from north to south, forming part of the roof, and finishing the choir; the apse standing beyond the choir to the east, and the vast portico or vestibule, with its great north and south chapels, rising beyond the three arches of the nave to the west. The two great rectangular panels, then, north and south, over the transverse gangway of the apse, are filled with exquisite mosaic pictures, with rich and broad mosaic borders of flowers and fruit, corresponding to Wren's frequent wreaths of the same in stonework, both within and without the Cathedral, and to Grinling Gibbons's employment of the same in the oak and limewood carvings of the choir-stalls and organ. The northern picture is Melchisedek blessing Abraham, with numerous attendant figures; the southern is Noah returning thanks after his departure from the ark. Both are emblematically illustrative of the important subject of patriarchal religion. The broad, tying, embossed arches which spring from wall to wall, forming part of the roof, are, so far, treated alike; the flat surfaces are covered with gold, which has a delicate pattern traced on it in blue, hardly visible from below, to prevent heaviness and monotony, and the huge bosses, which are formed of divers flowers or leaves, are relieved on their interior surfaces with white, and tipped externally with gold.

The next objects which strike the eye after those which have been described are the two remaining concave circles, or saucer-domes, in the roof of the choir. It has been said that

the third, or easternmost, represents the creation of the birds. The central circle has for its subject the creation of the fishes; the western the creation of the animals. In the one eight whales divide the space, looking towards the spectator from the edge, and sending up silver sprays of water towards the centre. Blue and green waves, curling with foam, recede in perspective towards the golden central horizon; among them play dolphins and other brilliant fishes, all in the exultation of their newly-created being. In the other, the compartments are provided by eight conventional palm-trees, in the spaces between which are groups of lions, tigers, elephants, camels, rhinoceri, hippopotami, and other notable beasts. The same circle of eagles floats round the golden central sun as in the creation of the birds. Each circle has a suitable Latin inscription: for the birds, "Et volatile sub firmamento," "And fowl in the open firmament" (Gen. i. 20); for the fishes, "Creavit Deus cete grandia," "God created great whales" (Gen. i. 21); for the animals, "Producat terra animam viventem," "Let the earth bring forth the living creature" (Gen. i. 24).

Each of the circles is surrounded by a magnificent embossed wreath, treated in the same way as the broad embossed roof-arches. Each wreath bears four boldly-sculptured shields, north, south, east, and west. The four shields of the western wreath bear the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, the four of the central, short texts alluding emblematically to fishing subjects: "Vado piscari," "I go a-fishing" (John xxi. 3); "Mitte in dexteram," "Cast the net on the right side" (John xxi. 6); "Bonos in vasa," "The good into vessels" (Matt. xiii. 48); "Centum quinquaginta iii," "An hundred and fifty and three" (John xxi. 2); the four of the western, the arms of four of the great City Companies who have been large contributors to the Decoration Fund, the Fishmongers, Merchant Taylors, Goldsmiths and Mercers.

After the central circles of the roof, the eye rests on graceful sloping, triangular spaces, four of which join each circle to the walls. These pendentives, as they are called, each contain an angel, with uplifted wings and outstretched arms, "the sons of God shouting for joy" at the creation. Each figure is after the same design, a fine form, neither male nor female, or rather perhaps that of a radiant celestial youth, but differing in colour. Each pendentive has a Latin text. The four eastern give us: "Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam," "The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light" (Isaiah ix. 2); "Parvulus enim natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis," "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given" (ver. 6); "Factus est principatus super humerum ejus," "The government shall be upon His

shoulder" (ver. 6); "Vocabitur nomen ejus Admirabilis," "His name shall be called Wonderful" (ver. 6). The four central gives us: "Laudate Dominum omnes angeli ejus, laudate Eum sol et luna," "Praise Him, all ye angels of His; praise Him, sun and moon" (Ps. cxlviii. 2, 3); "Ignis, grando, nix, glacies, spiritus procellarum laudate," "Fire and hail, snow and vapours, wind and storm, praise Him" (ver. 8); "Laudate Dominum de terra dracones et omnes abyssi," "Praise the Lord upon earth, ye dragons and all deeps" (ver. 7); "Laudate Eum omnes stellæ et lumen: laudent nomen Domini," "Praise Him, all ye stars and light; let them praise the name of the Lord" (vers. 3, 5). The western pendentives give us sentences from the 104th Psalm: "Benedic anima mea Domino: Domine Deus meus magnificatus es," "Praise the Lord, O my soul: O Lord my God, Thou art become glorious" (ver. 1); "Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine: omnia in sapientia fecisti," "O Lord, how glorious are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all" (ver. 24); "Hoc mare magnum et spatiosum manibus animalia pusilla cum magnis," "So is the great and wide sea; both small and great beasts" (ver. 25); "Qui facis angelos tuos spiritus, et ministros tuos ignem urentem," "Who maketh Thine angels spirits, and Thy ministers a flaming fire" (ver. 4).

The six pictures on the north wall on either side of the windows represent the Persian and Delphic Sibyls, Alexander and Cyprus, Abraham and the three angels, and Job and his three friends. Those on the south side give David and Solomon, Aholiab and Bezaleel, Moses receiving the law, and Jacob's dream. The panels below contain gorgeous birds, fishes, animals, and figures suitable to the subjects of the domes in the roof.

It remains to describe the spandrels, or wall-spaces filling up between the three arches of the two arcades north and south of the choir, and the flat line of the great cornice which surmounts them. Two of them, belonging to the eastern arch on the north side, have been mentioned already, because they were the first work which Mr. Richmond began. They were two warrior angels reclining on the citadel of heaven. Opposite, on the south side, are two more of these sublime figures, somewhat stronger in tone and colour, with more emblems of the Passion. The spandrels of the central arch on the north give a beautiful and very brilliant picture of the Annunciation: the angel on one side, the Virgin Mary at her cottage-door on the other, with the landscape of Nazareth at the back, and a dove floating gently towards the Virgin. The spandrels over the arch nearest the dome on the north are exceedingly rich, and represent two glorious angels engaged in carrying

out the mandates of creation, reducing order out of chaos, and starting vast spheres on their orbits, in the midst of whirling masses of blue and purple vapour signifying infinity.

On the south side, the spandrels over the central arch are occupied with a delineation of the Temptation. On one side is a noble figure of Adam in the Garden: the sadness of the coming Fall seems already to have put a tinge of melancholy into his face. On the other side a dark, handsome, malevolent figure is whispering in the ear of Eve, who also has an expression of doubt and sadness. The spandrels of the western arch nearest the dome, opposite the angels rolling the spheres, are used for the scene of the Fall: an angel with a sword of light on one side; on the other, Eve bending in an attitude of bitterest and most crushing despair and remorse, Adam still upright in figure, and with a protecting arm around Eve, but his fine manly face stern with misery and dejection.

There are many other mottos and texts, principally on the faces of the great ribs which divide the bays of the choir roof, all appropriate and suggestive, which cannot here be enumerated.

The extreme pillars of the north and south arcade nearest the sacrum have been cased in very splendid white Pavonazzo marble, with veins of green and gold. The pilasters of the apse behind the reredos have likewise been cased in dark-green verd-antique. The other pillars have been cleansed and whitened, and their acanthus-leaved capitals touched with gold. Mr. Richmond has shown how he would treat the embossed interior surface of the archways by what he has done in the case of the northern arcade; the bosses are gold and white, the square spaces behind them blue, the surface of the stone gold, white and silver, and the carved patterns picked out with scarlet. All the colour-work on the stone surfaces is in indelible and unfading tints of wax.

The choir is now fairly complete (except for certain small finishing details here and there), and stands rich with extraordinary beauty and splendour in comparison with the dingy appearance of the dull yellow-washed surfaces which can be remembered. Sir William Richmond is going on with the four great concave spaces under the lower arches which support the four corners of the dome. These are to contain the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and the Commission to St. Paul: all emblematically, rather than realistically, treated after the custom of the Primitive Church. Sir William is also anxious to treat one or two bays of the aisles of the choir, so that his method and ideas may be seen if, unhappily, the work should cease for want of funds.

But this can hardly be possible. While the artist lives, and

the decoration can go on as conceived and executed by the same cultured and experienced mind year by year, it is most unlikely that public interest will be checked, still less cease. The City Companies, the Duke of Westminster, the family of the late W. H. Smith, and others who might be named, have been amongst the most liberal contributors. The Freemasons of England are about to decorate one panel, or space, in commemoration of the bicentenary of the reopening of the Cathedral, December 2, 1697, with a thanksgiving service for the Peace of Ryswick. The idea of mosaics which Wren conceived is now being carried out. Other benefactors and subscribers will surely come forward year by year. Probably not more than a sum of £100,000 is needed for the completion. It is a matter which concerns not only England, but the Empire, and even the English-speaking race. We shall not look in vain to our prosperous merchants and capitalists all over the world. When the commercial princes of Venice made a successful voyage, they always brought something home to adorn St. Mark's. The patriotism of the wealth of the capital and the Empire may well be directed to St. Paul's.

Review.

St. Paul's Conception of Christ. (The Sixteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures.) By DAVID SOMERVILLE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Price 9s.

AMID the heap of brochures and treatises that have recently been published upon the subject of St. Paul and his work, the present book will take a very high place. It is one of those carefully and patiently thought-out books which we are in the habit of connecting with Scottish theology in particular, books which are weighty in thought and by no means lightly to be shelved. After such a shallow account of St. Paul's history as Mr. Baring Gould has recently seen fit to print, we are glad to welcome Mr. Somerville's excellent piece of work.

Beginning with the origin and characteristics of St. Paul's conception of Christ, the author next deals with the subject of Christ as the Archetype of Humanity, passing on to consider (in Lecture III.) the redemptive work of our Lord in His character as the Founder of a new humanity. Lecture V. Mr. Somerville heads thus: "Later Developments: Christ the Fulness of God, the Head of the Church and of all Principalities and Powers." In Lecture VI. he proceeds to discuss the Eternal Nature of Christ; while in the seventh and concluding lecture we are invited to consider afresh the Pauline interpretation of the *historic* Christ.

In some respects this final lecture is the best in the book; reverently handled and fully dealt with, the subject is throughout illuminated by a searching criticism, which appears to have neglected nothing important in the works of recent exegesis, English or foreign. Mr. Somerville notes (on p. 223) that St. Paul's own conception of Christ is based on

the Apostle's own *personal experience* of the power of an exalted and living Lord. To forget this is to forget the main thesis which the Apostle set out to establish and to justify.

Roughly, we may divide writers upon New Testament dogmatics into Paulinists and Johannists, according as they regard the Resurrection or the Incarnation as the main motive and wonder of the entire history of redemption. According to St. Paul, the Incarnation is a humiliation to Christ; it is not till after his Death and Ascension that He is fully revealed to the world. St. John appears, on the other hand, to regard the Incarnation as the continuous unveiling of Christ's Divine glory. This is the line of thought adopted by Bishop Westcott in his great commentary on St. John's Gospel. Now, as Mr. Somerville justly insists, these views are not to be regarded as antagonistic, but as complementary.

Again, whereas in the Gospels the *outer* of Christ's life is manifested for our instruction and guidance, in the Epistles we find the main stress laid upon the *inner*. Paul—to put it shortly—interprets for us Christ's earthly life in the light of His (announced) doctrine; the Evangelists regard and interpret that doctrine in the light of His (known) life-history. Hence the two presentations of a single Divine truth must be regarded as parallel the one to the other, not as declaring any real discrepancy of thought or idea.

We may add that, in his appendix, Mr. Somerville, by means of a multitude of careful excursions, in every case attempts to justify his own view, while scrupulously comparing the views of those from whom he differs on particular interpretations.

E. H. B.

Short Notices.

The Illustrated Teacher's Bible. Prices from 2s. 6d. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

THIS is greatly enlarged since the original issue in 1875, which was the pioneer of all other Teacher's Bibles. The present new edition, with revised aids and monumental illustrations, is edited with autotypes of antiquities, photographic views of important sites and cities, portraits of notable personages, and photographic reproductions of MSS. and Versions. The illustrations are arranged chronologically, and form a marvellous and fascinating gallery of Biblical illustration. Interesting features are: The History of Writing, pushing its origin to 7,000 or 6,000 B.C.; the History of the Transmission of the Texts; Parallels to Holy Scripture; and Local Illustrations of the Life of Christ. Every department has been completely revised. The amount of valuable matter gathered into a small space by the admirable printing and strong, thin paper, is extraordinary.

Young's Literal Translation of the Bible. New and Revised Edition. Pp. 784. G. A. Young and Co.

This is an important help to those who do not understand Hebrew and Greek. It gives them the vividness of the original construction. Something is conveyed of the genius of the original languages, and a comparison with the Authorized or Revised Version has the effect of a commentary. It is printed in paragraphs, in admirable type, and in a convenient size.

The Churchman's Pocket Testament. By the Hon. and Rev. F. G. PELHAM. S.P.C.K.

This small and neat volume contains the daily and proper lessons and the Psalter, marked and arranged, and will be found very useful for church and devotional use.

The Christian Year. Vols. I. and II. Pp. 401. Price 5s. Elliot Stock.

This is an exact facsimile of the original edition of "The Christian Year"—a form in which many will be glad to possess this great classic of the English Church.

The Greek and Latin Private Prayers of Bishop Andrewes. Parts I. and II. Cheap Edition. By the Rev. HENRY VEALE. Pp. 431. Elliot Stock.

This work was already noticed in the former edition. The points are : Careful collation with all previous editions and numerous corrections ; the addition of a large number of Scripture references ; the arrangement of the Greek and Latin text of Part I. in sections ; indexes to all the paragraphs ; new headlines throughout ; much subsidiary information ; glossaries of selected Greek and Latin words ; and a general attention to the requirements of students. It is a work of great and successful labour, and is probably the most complete edition of this treasure of the English Church that exists.

Lives of the Saints. By S. BARING-GOULD. June, pp. 500 ; July, Parts I. and II., pp. 788 ; August, pp. 404 ; September, pp. 464. Price 5s. per vol. Nimmo.

The volume for June is notable from containing St. Boniface, St. Columba, St. Basil, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The first volume for July contains St. Otto, St. Willibald, Cardinal Bonaventura, and St. Vladimir ; the second volume for July contains St. Vincent of Paul, St. Christopher, St. Olaf, St. Germanus, Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuit martyrs in Canada. The volume for August gives St. Dominic, St. Oswald, St. Aloysius of Tagaste, St. Helena, St. Louis, St. Bernard, and St. Augustine. Some of the most important articles in the September volume are St. Stephen of Hungary, St. Cornelia, St. Cyprian, St. Theodore, St. Robert of Knaresborough, and St. Gregory. This volume, like the others, has numerous excellent woodcuts.

The legends need taking, of course, with discrimination ; but the incidents and the devotion are of universal interest, and large-minded Christian readers ought to be acquainted with the best of what the unreformed Church could produce.

Spurgeon's Autobiography. Vol. I. Pp. 373. Passmore and Alabaster.

The innumerable admirers of Mr. Spurgeon will be grateful to his widow and secretary for compiling these records of a most remarkable life. The first volume only deals with twenty years (1834-1854), but it is full of racy reminiscence and pleasant sketches. The earnest, full, devout faith of the future great Baptist orator comes out with very remarkable force. Spurgeon's was always a faith founded on the view of the literal and verbal inspiration of the Bible ; if that somewhat narrowed his creed, it made it strong and fertile.

Christina Rossetti. By MACKENZIE BELL. Pp. 364. Hurst and Blackett.

The inner thoughts and life of the gifted sister of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his brother must be of great interest to all students of contemporary literature and to all lovers of religious poetry. It was an exceedingly quiet life, and the whole interest centres on her devotional character and literary genius. Mr. Bell has done his work with sympathetic care and thoroughness. If he has been criticised for inserting

The Month.

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They train them up to successfully pass a searching examination on the Greek particles, but to give them a firm foundation on which to resist modern scepticism apparently is not within their province. It is held that a man should fight out his religion for himself, and a very good thing too, for he will probably value it the more; but why send him into the fight unarmed? I am not advocating that boys should be trained up as theologians and masters of casuistry, but that they should, at least, have their religious knowledge placed on a sounder basis than it is at present."

A meeting, convened by Sir Michael R. Shaw Stewart, Lord-Lieutenant of Renfrewshire, was held early in March to consider the restoration scheme of Paisley Abbey. Recommendations were made that the restoration be accompanied by an improvement in the surroundings of the Abbey. A committee consisting of noblemen and gentlemen and representatives of corporate bodies, with power to add to their number, was appointed. Among the supporters of the scheme were the Earl of Glasgow, Lord Blythwood, and the Marquis of Hamilton.

The Bishop of Sodor and Man will preach the Annual Sermon of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, on Ascension Day, and Sir Charles E. Bernard, K.C.S.I., will take the chair at the evening meeting at St. Martin's Hall, on May 6.

Mr. Davies, organist of Christ Church, Hampstead (of which Mr. Neville Sherbrooke's successor at Clifton, the Rev. G. F. Head, had been Vicar for twelve years), has been elected organist of the Temple Church in succession to Dr. Hopkins, who recently resigned the post after having held it for upwards of fifty-four years.

The Dean of Winchester, the author of the "Life of Dean Hook," has undertaken to write the life of the late Bishop Durnford, of Chichester, in whose diocese he was until his preferment to Winchester. The monument to the late Bishop is now in course of erection in Chichester Cathedral.

As a noteworthy instance of what may be accomplished by the scholars in Sunday-schools on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, it was stated at a special service at St. George's Church, Birmingham, that the amount received from the scholars during the past year amounted to the handsome sum of upwards of £80.

The Earl of Zetland has contributed £1,000 towards the cost of rebuilding the tower of Saltburn Parish Church.

The Central News is informed that the rebellion in Uganda has completely disorganized the Church missionary and educational work in that region, and it is feared that considerable time must elapse before their representatives will be able to resume work in a satisfactory manner.

REQUESTS.

Lord Iveagh has sent a donation of £1,000 to the Bishop of London's Fund, and the Grocers' Company have made a grant of £250.

The Church of England Scripture Readers' Association, in response to a recent appeal, has received from a donor under the initials F. H. the sum of £500, as well as smaller contributions amounting to about £30. A further sum of at least £1,000 is urgently needed by this society before the close of its financial year on the 31st inst.

NEW BOOKS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I. Edited by Rev. JAMES HASTINGS, D.D. 4to., pp. xv, 864. Edinburgh, 1898: T. and T. Clark. Price £1 8s. [An important work, which we hope shortly to notice at length.]

Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect. In 2 vols., 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Price £2 2s.

The Works of Bishop Berkeley. Edited by GEORGE SAMPSON. Vol. II. London, 1898: Bell. Price 5s.

Thomas Cranmer (Leaders of Religion). By Rev. Prof. MASON, D.D. London, 1898: Methuen. Price 3s. 6d.

Messrs. J. Hall and Son, of Cambridge, have just ready a new and enlarged edition of Mr. Foakes-Jackson's "History of the Christian Church from the Earliest Times to the Death of Pope Leo the Great, A.D. 461." The work has been partly rewritten.

The first part of Messrs. A. and C. Black's "Encyclopædia Biblica" will be ready in October. The scheme of the work was drawn up by the late Professor Robertson Smith and Dr. Sutherland Black soon after the completion of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

Under the title "English Theological Library" Messrs. Macmillan and Co. propose to publish a series of either complete editions or selected portions of the writings of the principal English Church theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with introductions and notes for students, and with especial reference to the needs of those preparing for University or ordination examinations. The volumes will be classified under the headings of dogmatic, historical, homiletical, and exegetical. The general editor of the series is the Rev. Frederic Relton, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Stoke Newington, and among the volumes already in hand are Law's "Serious Call," edited by Canon Overton; Book V. of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," edited by the Rev. Ronald Bayne, Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel; Butler's "Analogy" and Sermons, edited by the Rev. J. H. Bernard, Trinity College, Dublin; Jewel's "Apology," edited by the Rev. G. Schneider, late Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall; Laud's "Controversy with Fisher," edited by the Rev. C. H. Simpkinson; Winchcote's "Aphorisms," edited by Professor Ryle; and Bishop Wilson's "Maxims," by the general editor. The Bishop of London will contribute a general preface. It is expected that Canon Overton's edition of Law's "Serious Call," and Mr. Bayne's edition of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" (Book V.), will appear in the course of the present year.

Obituary.

WE regret to announce the recent death of the Right Rev. Robert Claudius Billing, D.D., Bishop of Bedford, Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, City, and formerly Bishop Suffragan for East London. Dr. Billing was born at Maidstone on April 15, 1834, and was educated at Worcester College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1857. In the same year he was ordained deacon to the curacy of St. Peter, Colchester, and after taking priest's orders he was for a time curate of Compton Bishop, Somerset. Subsequently he held the vicarage of Holy Trinity, Louth, and Holy Trinity, Islington. From the latter post he was preferred in 1878 to the rectory of Spitalfields, and was also made Rural Dean of that district. On the translation of Bishop Walsham How to the new bishopric of Wakefield, Mr. Billing was selected to succeed him as second

Bishop Suffragan of Bedford, on the nomination of Bishop Temple. His University thereupon conferred on him the degree of D.D. *honoris causa*, and the Bishop of London appointed him Rector of St. Andrew Under-shaft with St. Mary Axe, in the City of London. Dr. Billing endeavoured to the utmost of his power to maintain the work which had been initiated by his predecessor in East London, but, unfortunately, his physical powers were not equal to the task. His health gradually gave way, and in March, 1895, he was obliged to resign his commission as Bishop Suffragan. Under the terms of the Act of Parliament, Dr. Billing retained the title of Bishop of Bedford, and no successor could be appointed under that title while he lived. His successor as Bishop Suffragan for East London was therefore consecrated as Bishop of Stepney. Since his resignation Bishop Billing has resided at Englefield Green. Dr. Billing's earnest work and personal piety won for him universal respect and esteem throughout the diocese of London.

The death is announced of the Rev. Abraham Haworth, Rector of St. Catherine's, Manchester, for nearly forty years. He was educated at St. Bees College, was ordained in 1853, and became the first Rector of St. Catherine's in 1859. He was seventy-four years of age. The *Manchester Guardian* says that the congregation which he gathered round him, and which increased year by year with the knowledge of his kindly character and zeal, was drawn very largely from among the poorer people. He was a staunch member of the Low Church party. His church was the centre of several very active agencies, the Sunday-schools and day-schools being very largely attended.

The death of Mr. George Müller, the Christian philanthropist, which took place March 10, attracted an extraordinary amount of attention throughout the country, and the Press, from the *Times* downwards, has contained full and sympathetic notices of this remarkable man. The *St. James's Gazette*, which is not distinguished for religious fervour, remarks: "His was the faith that moves mountains, for his simplicity was his strength, and he never wearied in well-doing." We gather from his last report that "the total amount of money received by prayer and faith for the various objects of the institution since March 5, 1834, is one million four hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and forty-six pounds six shillings and ninepence-halfpenny (£1,424,646 6s. 9½)." Mr. Müller was not a Churchman, as is well known; but it may without exaggeration be said that few lives have ever been more truly potent in Christian worth than his.

The *English Churchman* deeply regrets to record the death of Mr. A. J. Arnold, the devoted secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, which took place, after an illness of several weeks, at his residence at West Norwood.

Mr. Arnold's connection with the Alliance extended over some forty years, and his personal influence and energy contributed very largely to promote the International Conferences at Florence, Copenhagen, and other places, and especially the Jubilee meetings in London in 1896. He was highly esteemed by a large circle of Christian friends at home and on the Continent, and enjoyed the confidence of members of more than one European Court. He was in frequent correspondence with the British Foreign Office in behalf of persecuted peoples, and the late Turkish Ambassador in London—Rustem Pasha—once made the commendatory observation: "The Evangelical Alliance never exaggerates." The cause of oppressed and persecuted Christians throughout the world has lost in Mr. Arnold a sympathizing and faithful advocate.