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THE
CHURCHMAN

JULY, 1900.

ART. I.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY
SINCE THE RESTORATION.

VII. THOMAS TENISON (*concluded*).

THE accession of Queen Anne seemed to bring for the time being considerable changes in both Church and State. The centres of gravity were shifted, though things after a while returned to the former settlement. William III. won the sincere respect, but never the love, of the nation which invited him to rule it. His manners were shy, cold, even repellent. His religious creed was a narrow, sour Calvinism. But he was scrupulous and earnest in following out his convictions and fulfilling the duties which he believed to be laid upon him. Ever since the accession of the Stuarts there had been struggle and confusion as to the relative powers of the Crown and the Parliament, Charles I. was not more conscientious than James II. in asserting his prerogative. And the nation had learned by its experience of the Commonwealth that the Parliament could be tyrannical as well as the King. It was William III. who really solved the problem of constitutional monarchy, and did so in the face of difficulties which might have appalled most men. A Stadtholder in Holland, with Republican forms, he was invited to become a king over England and Scotland, with constitutions which had never been defined. English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, all had separate interests, instincts, and animosities; his Ministers he could not trust with safety; he was at war almost uninterruptedly with the greatest power in Europe, or undermined by its intrigues, which were even more dangerous. And yet with all these terrible difficulties, added to sickness of body which kept him in perpetual suffering, he built up the British constitution, and proved himself a very great king.

From that day, in spite of all drawbacks, things have worked uninterruptedly. In the very centenary of his accession the French Revolution broke out, and whilst almost every country was convulsed by throes of that earthquake, England remained loyal and peaceable, thanks, under God's guidance, first to the foresight of William III., and secondly, to a very different man, to whose times we hope to come, John Wesley.

But when King William died he was probably more unpopular than he had ever been. Queen Anne at her accession was thirty-eight years old, uneducated, and at this time as much under the tutelage of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, as if she had been a girl in the schoolroom. But she had strong convictions. She was firmly attached to the Church of England, and she detested the Whigs both for their political and their religious principles. The Tories had taken her part when she got into conflict with King William, and even the Jacobites had been civil to her by way of showing their animosity to him. So the Ministers of the late King found themselves for the most part in the cold, and Tories took their places. Archbishop Tenison, of course, crowned her, but she let him see that he was not in favour. Her coronation sermon was preached by the High Church Archbishop of York, Sharp. When she met her new Parliament, in which the Tories had an overpowering majority, she spoke in the highest of High Church tones, and was warmly congratulated as the champion of the Church of England. A resolution was passed thanking her for having through the Duke of Marlborough "*retrieved* the ancient glory of this English nation." The Whigs, seeing that this was a slur on the dead King, moved to substitute the word "*maintained*," but were altogether beaten. Burnet says truly enough that this was ungenerous and ungrateful.

This reign is largely occupied with events and incidents which will not come within our scope. We have little or nothing to do with the great war with which the names of the Duke of Marlborough and some of the ablest of French generals were connected, the war wherein were fought the Battles of Blenheim, Ramilies, Malplaquet; nor have we with the question, "What good came of it at last?" Neither have we much to do with the great outburst of literature which undoubtedly contains illustrious names, but which falsely arrogated to itself the title of the "Augustan Age." We have just to mention the rivalries of bedchamber women, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and Abigail Hill, because they had much to do with the variations of the Queen from Tory to Whig politicians and back again. All these things have to be taken into account in the history of Queen Anne, but we

pass them over lightly, since our subject is the life of Archbishop Tenison.

As we have seen, when the Queen mounted the throne the Tories were paramount. Parliament no sooner met than they brought in their "Occasional Conformity Bill," the professed object of which was to prevent hypocrisy, but which was really intended to destroy King William's Toleration Act. It provided that all who should receive the Sacrament and test in qualification for office, and afterwards attended any worship not according to the liturgy of the Church of England, should be disqualified from holding their employments, and also liable to fine. Few men seemed to see as yet that the test itself was bad, the forcing of the most solemn and divine of sacred mysteries on those who doubted or disbelieved in its efficacy. So we can hardly accept Burnet's comment on it, though the concluding words as to the intention are no doubt true enough. "The preamble of this Bill asserted toleration, and condemned all prosecution for conscience sake in a high strain. Some thought the Bill of no consequence, and that, if it should pass into a law, it would be of no effect; or that the occasional conformists would become constant ones; others thought it was such a breaking in upon toleration as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect upon Corporations; as, indeed, the intent of it was believed to be the modelling elections, and by consequence the House of Commons. On behalf of the Bill it was said the design of the Test Act was, that all in office should continue in the Communion of the Church; that coming only once to the Sacrament for an office, and going afterwards to the meetings of Dissenters was both an eluding the intent of the Law and a profanation of the Sacrament. . . . Those who were against the Bill said, the nation had been quiet ever since the toleration; the Dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it than the Church; the nation was now engaged in a great war; it seemed, therefore, unreasonable to raise animosities at home in matters of religion, and to encourage a tribe of informers, who were the worst sort of men; the fines were excessive, higher than any laid on Papists by law; and, since no limitation of time nor concurrence of witnesses was provided for in the Bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold swearer or wicked servant." The Bill passed the Commons by a large majority, but was in trouble as soon as it reached the Upper House. It was a characteristic circumstance that the Queen, who was strongly in favour of the Bill, made her husband vote for it, though he himself was an "occasional conformist"; he kept Lutheran chaplains and attended their ministry, but received the

Sacrament of the English Church to qualify him for the office of Lord High Admiral. The secular peers were on the whole hostile, so were the bishops, almost to a man. But they were ready to pass the Bill with some modifications. Burnet says that they introduced these as a plausible way of getting rid of it altogether; the two chief objections were the high fines, with which the Commons declared that the Lords had no business, and the additional safeguards which they inserted about informers. The Commons refused the amendments, the Lords insisted on them, and so the Bill was lost. Burnet comments thus: "Angry men took occasion from hence to charge the bishops as enemies to the Church, and betrayers of its interests, because we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill-tempered men." We may note in passing that the Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who had been educated a Dissenter, but had now no religion at all, but he had attached himself to the Tory party, and therefore adopted their scheme. Marlborough threw all his influence on the same side, thereby ingratiating himself not only with the majority in the Commons, but with the Queen. "Always sacrifice your principles to your selfishness," was the unchanging resolve of that great captain. But even at this moment the cleavage between him and the Tories was beginning, for they were resisting the Queen's desire, instigated by his wife, to increase his money grants. As time passed on he became their bitter enemy.

In the first meeting of the new House of Convocation the same demonstration against the Whiggism of the previous reign was at once made. Aldrich was chosen prolocutor of the Lower House, and an address to the Crown was drawn up, worded so as to cast reflections not only on the dead King but on the bishops. After a contest lasting some days a form was agreed to in which both Houses expressed their sense of "the Divine favour in placing Her Majesty on the throne of these realms." The Queen, in her reply, expressed her confidence that this concurrence was a "good presage of their union in all other matters, which was very desirable for her service, and for the good of the Church." The result showed that she was over sanguine. The Lower House then requested that measures should be taken to put an end to the disputes about privilege, which had disturbed the previous Sessions, so that the work of the Church might be carried on. The Bishops replied that they were anxious to terminate all differences, and that therefore, though the right of prorogation was with them, they would use it in such a manner as should conduce to amity; that a committee of Bishops had been

appointed by them to meet deputies from the Lower House for the adjustment of differences; and that meanwhile the Lower House might appoint committees who, during the intervals of Session, might prepare matters for deliberation, which the Archbishop would take care should receive time for discussion. Many of the rank and file were satisfied with this, but the majority were not; they insisted on their right to sit independently. The Bishops answered to this that they could not give up the Archbishop's right. Then the Lower House proposed a joint address to the Queen praying her to adjudicate on the question through such persons as she might appoint, and the Bishops replied that the rights which the Constitution of the Church had vested in them were trusts which they were bound to bequeath to their successors as they had received them, and, therefore, could not be referred to anyone. They added that it would be a strange sight, and acceptable to their enemies, to see the Convocation pleading its rights before a committee of the Privy Council. Then the clergy sought the assistance of the House of Commons, but the Tory majority there would do no more than promise to support them in all their just rights. This proving a failure, they resorted to the extreme measure of making a separate appeal direct to the Queen desiring her protection, as if the Bishops were so many heathens. To this she returned no reply.

By this time their action had exposed them to the taunt that was thrown at them, that they were really Presbyterians, insubordinate, and despisers of Episcopal rule. To meet this they drew up a Declaration that they "acknowledged the Order of Bishops as superior to Presbyters, to be of Divine Apostolical Institution," and they sent this up to the Bishops with a request that they would concur with it and make it a Canon of the Church. But here again there was an intention of putting the Bishops in a difficulty. No new Canon could be made without the Royal License previously obtained. As a matter of fact, in the eyes of all reasonable men, the opening words of the Preface to the Ordination Service contains all that they were contending for, but the more turbulent spirits hoped that the Bishops, by refusing, might lay themselves open to the charge of favouring Presbyterian opinions. The Archbishop, after due consideration, replied that the Ordination Preface contained all that they were affirming, commended their zeal for Episcopacy, and hoped that they would continue to act in accordance with it. It was a clever answer, and a puzzler for their antagonists. Soon afterwards Parliament and Convocation were prorogued for the season, but the war of pamphlets grew hotter than ever. But the

only really important work, a book which is still regarded as authoritative, is Gibson's "Synodus Anglicana," which contains in full the registers of the Upper House in 1562, 1640, 1661, and the journals of the Lower for 1586 and 1588, and treats the whole question with strict moderation, and comes to conclusions which have never been refuted.

It would be impossible to follow in detail the history of the continuous quarrel, for such it was, between the two Houses. The Lower House certainly were not unreasonable in their desire to have their rights recognised, but that they claimed more power than the Constitution gave them is also clear. Their condemnation of Burnet's book was *ultra vires*, and the terms of that condemnation were such as no man would admit as just to-day. They took steps to protest against the union with Scotland in 1707, and were only prevented from carrying out their purpose by Tenison's proroguing the Convocation for three weeks by the Queen's command. Before they reassembled the Act of Parliament was passed. Thus the breach continued to widen. In 1708 they were prorogued by Royal Writ even before the customary sermon had been preached. But in 1710 they met for despatch of business, and the Queen, who had shaken off the Whig influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, and was returning to her Tory views, sent down a number of questions for them to discuss: the growth of infidelity and profaneness, the establishing rural deans where such were lacking, the preparing a form for the visitation of prisoners, the proceedings in excommunication, the regulation of marriage services, with a view to preventing clandestine marriages, the preserving exact terriers, and accounts of glebes. All this pointed to a sign of favour towards the clergy, which was further indicated by a change in the form of license. Instead of the nomination of the Archbishop as President, it named certain Bishops as a quorum, before whom all matters were to be brought. The fact was that Atterbury was in the confidence of the Premier, and his hand was now visible. Two strong Tories, Blackhall and Dawes, were raised to the Episcopal bench. The former, ordered to preach before the Queen, enunciated the duty of passive obedience, and was answered by a man afterwards to become notorious, Benjamin Hoadly, Rector of St. Peter-le-Poer. Again the tide of public opinion turned to the Tory side.

The cry of "the Church in danger" was again raised; the Whig Bishops were denounced, and a crisis was reached, of absorbing interest for the time being, though we can afford to laugh at it now. Dr. Henry Sacheverell, incumbent of St. Saviour's, Southwark, a man of handsome presence and

with a fine voice, had obtained the character of a High Churchman by violent sermons delivered in a striking, energetic manner. One of these sermons, preached at Oxford in 1702, had called forth Defoe's celebrated pamphlet "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." On November 5, 1709, he preached before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's, on the words "perils among false brethren," a violent tirade against the Dissenters and Whig Churchmen. Burnet and the Earl of Godolphin were both pointedly denounced. A proposal that it should be printed was rejected by the Court of Aldermen, but Sacheverell printed it on his own account. For this he was impeached by the Whig Ministry then in power, and his trial before the House of Lords in Westminster Hall became a matter of such importance as had never been seen since the day of the Seven Bishops. Prayers were said for him in many London churches, vast multitudes cheered him as he went down to the Hall, and the Queen, who went in a private manner to listen, was greeted by the crowd with cries: "God bless your Majesty and the Church! We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." He defended himself with much ability; Macaulay says that the defence was written for him by Atterbury. The Lords voted him guilty by sixty-nine to fifty-two; of the thirteen Bishops who voted, seven were for guilty, six for acquittal. Sentence was given that his sermon was to be burned by the common hangman, and he was suspended from preaching for three years, but might perform all other clerical duties, and might accept preferment. Such a result was really a triumph for him, and the ovation which he received was only second to that of the Seven Bishops. Ladies hastened to the churches where he was announced to say prayers, and besought him to christen their children with his own name. In a word, the Whig party was for the time ruined by this impeachment, and Sacheverell died a rich man. The discomfiture of the Whig party was so complete that the restoration of the Stuarts was as near as possible brought about.

The immediate result was that the Church party rose at once to higher power and influence than ever. Some of the divines of that time added to our permanent literature. The ablest of them, without doubt, was a man who had chosen his vocation wrongly, Jonathan Swift. The marvellous ability of his writings was even surpassed by their grossness and ribaldry. And consequently, when he looked for a mitre as the reward of his brilliant pamphlets, the Queen firmly refused it, and he had to be content with the deanery of St. Patrick's and departed thither with fierce rage in his heart. But Bingham, the author of the "Antiquities of the

Christian Church," Wall, of the great and exhaustive treatise on Infant Baptism, and Prideaux, of the "Connexion of Sacred and Profane History," all claim high mention. Bull and Beveridge, Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph's, stand in the front rank of our divines both for learning and piety.

As soon as the Convocation of 1711 met, a resolution of loyalty was drawn up as usual. But the Lower House, rejoicing in the flowing tide of the High Church triumph, contrived to introduce into it a severe reflection on the late Administration. The Bishops rejected it, and framed another. This being in turn rejected by the Lower House, the resolution fell through. But now a serious question came up, and called for settlement.

Whiston, Mathematical Professor at Cambridge, published a work entitled "An Historical Preface to Primitive Christianity Revived," for which the University deprived him, on the ground that it contained doctrines subversive of the Catholic faith. He published a vindication of himself, and dedicated it to Convocation. The Lower House drew up a document condemning the book, and sent it up to the Bishops. Tenison addressed the Bishops with moderation. He considered that it was a proper subject for Convocation to take in hand, but that a condemnation for heresy could only pass under license from the Crown, and the Court of High Commission had been suppressed. He suggested two alternatives: the Archbishop might hold a court of audience, his suffragans being present, or the Bishop might cite the offender into his own court. As the case was involved in difficulties, the Upper House presented an address to the Queen, stating that Whiston was charged with contradicting the Nicene Creed, and that they were desirous of defending the faith, but wished to be resolved on the question whether an appeal would lie from the Convocation to the Crown, or whether Convocation was a final court. They prayed Her Majesty to submit the case to the judges. She did so, with the result that eight of the twelve judges concurred in opinion that the Convocation had jurisdiction in cases of heresy, but that there was a right of appeal from it to the Crown. The other four judges were of opinion that not Convocation, but the Episcopal Courts, were the right tribunal in charges of heresy. The opinion of the majority was adopted, and Convocation proceeded to examine the book. The Bishops began, and declared that certain passages were Arian in their tendency, and therefore contrary to the creeds and the decisions of the first four Councils. This was sent down to the Lower House, which concurred with it. But Whiston having sent to the Convocation House a request to be heard in explanation, he was cited to appear. Before he

could do so Convocation had closed, and when it reassembled, in the following winter, the Queen had lost the paper of censure, and it could nowhere be found. And thus Whiston escaped condemnation. Burnet expresses his satisfaction, but one can hardly join in it, so far as the method of procedure goes. Some resolutions respecting the other matters were agreed to, but there was still constant friction. The question of Lay Baptism came under much discussion. The Bishops declared that baptism otherwise than by persons in Holy Orders was irregular, but that when administered by lay hands in the name of the Holy Trinity it was valid. The Lower House rejected this declaration, on the ground that the Catholic Church had always avoided any synodical determination of the question, and that at present it was ill advised to appear to undervalue the work of the Christian Ministry. And thus the matter remained as the Church had previously left it. Once more the Occasional Conformity Bill was brought forward, not, as before, in the Commons first, but in the Lords. They had previously wrecked it, but now passed it without a division, sent it down to the Commons, and it became law.

Again another question of heresy. Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of learning and a royal chaplain, published a treatise on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity which there can be no doubt was in fact semi-Arian. This in turn was taken up by Convocation; but Clarke, who certainly had no intention of contravening the teaching of the Church, withdrew his book, and the subject was dropped.

We must not omit here mention of the constitution of the fund which is still known as Queen Anne's Bounty. From ancient times it had been required of the receivers of all spiritual preferments that they should pay the whole of the first year's income, and a tenth part afterwards, to the Pope. At the Reformation this payment was transferred to the Crown. Burnet urged King William to restore this to the Church, and the King had acknowledged the justice of the appeal, but the many difficulties in which his wars had involved him barred his action upon it. Queen Anne threw herself warmly into the scheme, and Parliament passed readily the Bills necessary to carry it out. Instead, however, of simply relieving the clergy of their payments, which would have enriched the large livings and done nothing for the small, the money was formed into a central fund for the augmentation of livings of small value, under the management of a body of "Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty," and thus it remains to this day.

One other proposal which might have had important conse-

quences unhappily came to naught, that of the union between the Lutheran Church of Prussia and the Church of England. In 1701 the electorate of Prussia became a kingdom, and the new monarch, Frederick, was anxious to introduce into it the liturgy, doctrine, and discipline of the Anglican Communion. Through Dr. Ernest Jablonsky, who was thoroughly acquainted with the latter through long stay in this country, he made his proposals. He would certainly have accepted the English Episcopate. But the scheme fell through. Sharp, Archbishop of York, was keen for it, but Tenison, whether through indolence or indifference, appeared so hostile that the Prussian monarch, in disgust, threw up the design. The modification of this design—or, rather, its repetition in different form—in 1841 will meet us when we reach that year.

Things seemed now to look hopeful for the exiled Stuarts. The Tories were in full power; the Queen, though political exigencies had led her to accept the doubts which were cast on the birth of her brother, knew in her heart that he *was* her brother, and secretly wished him to succeed her, for she hated the House of Hanover. But the Tory party split on the question. Harley was for Hanover, Bolingbroke for “the Pretender,” and with him went Atterbury and Swift. The former of these two clever politicians had now become Bishop of Rochester, and he brought a Bill into the House of Lords providing that every tutor and schoolmaster in Great Britain must sign a declaration that he would conform to the Church of England, and that he must obtain Episcopal license. It actually passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, but was never acted upon. The result was a quarrel within the party, and the dismissal of Harley. But so powerful for the moment was the victorious party that Bolingbroke was meditating the public designation of James as the Queen’s successor, and Anne was now so popular that if it had been then and there done it would have been successful; but she died before the arrangements were completed. On her death-bed she placed the white staff of the Treasurer into the hands of a Jacobite, the Earl of Shrewsbury. But the friends of the Elector of Hanover had also been active, and in spite of Atterbury’s eager endeavours and vehemence of language, George I. ascended the throne without opposition. From that day his Crown was never seriously menaced. He was uncouth and disagreeable, could speak only wretched English, and was surrounded by vulgar German mistresses. The country clergy were Tories, and by preaching hereditary right strove to spread discontent; yet the dread of Popery was stronger than all these adverse influences. Tenison, who, we need hardly say, had supported his claims against the Jacobite

Prince, crowned him in Westminster Abbey on October 20, 1714; and he followed this by issuing a declaration, which thirteen other Bishops signed, expressing his horror of the Rebellion of 1715, and the danger which would ensue from the accession of a Popish Prince.

Tenison died at Lambeth, December 14, 1715, and is buried in the chancel of Lambeth Church. James II. called him "that dull man," and the epithet stuck. Swift, who hated him not only for his views, but for his having opposed his elevation to the Episcopate, wrote of him as "a very dull man, who had a horror of anything like levity in the clergy, especially of whist," and is reported by tradition to have said that "he was hot and heavy, like a tailor's goose." Calamy the Dissenter, and Evelyn the High Churchman, both speak of him as a man of deep piety. "I never knew a man," says the latter, "of more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence, and piety." Everything that we gather about him confirms this estimate. He had neither the handsome presence nor the brilliant eloquence of his predecessor, but he is said to have been popularly called in his lifetime "the Rock," because of his steadfast, heavy character. We have had occasion to mention his zeal for public libraries. In addition to this, we have to note that he bought the library of Robert Grey, Vicar of Islington, and made it the nucleus of the Chapter Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, and that he gathered a most valuable collection of books and MSS., which he placed in the library of Lambeth. "They embrace a mass of miscellaneous information—historical, topographical, genealogical, legal, and polemical—as various perhaps as those which comprise the far better known, but scarcely more valuable, Harleian Collection. The most important of them is probably that portion which contains the Archbishop's own extensive correspondence with the leaders of the different Protestant and reforming bodies in France, Germany, and Geneva, from which may be obtained the clearest and fullest insight into the real state of religion and the various phases of religious opinion through which the nations of Europe were passing between the times of the Commonwealth and the Revolution" (J. Cave Browne). There are no less than 289 volumes of Tenison's MSS. in the Lambeth Library. The fine portrait of him in the guard-room at Lambeth is by Simon du Bois.

W. BENHAM.

ART. II.—THE USE AND MISUSE OF RITUAL IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

PART III.

THERE is yet another word to be said concerning the use and misuse of Christian ritual.

There are certain facts, obvious and notorious, which, in the light of Christian common-sense, should serve to show us the true place of ritual in the service of the Christian Church, and to point out the danger of its being allowed to take a place which does not belong to it in the energies and exercises of the Church's spiritual life.

The fact can hardly be too strongly emphasized that throughout the whole of the New Testament there is not one word of instruction concerning Christian ritual, not one word of direction as to its use, not one word to encourage its careful cultivation, not one word to indicate that in times to come its elaboration should be diligently aimed at, not one word of rebuke for its neglect, not one word of regret for its absence, or reproach for want of due attention to its details.

The sayings of our blessed Lord which have sometimes been made much of—such as the word concerning the bringing of “the gift to the altar”—are evidently precepts which take their shape and form as adapted to the ritual of the Old Testament then in force—to the service of the Jews, as Jews, in their Temple at Jerusalem.

The injunction of St. Paul that all things should be done “decently and in order” (*εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν*—1 Cor. xiv. 40) when appealed to (as it is) for evidence of a ritual precept, testifying to the importance of Christian ceremonial, needs but to be read in connection with its context. It will then be seen clearly how utterly it falls short of reaching any such goal as that for the purpose of which it is quoted. Indeed, the very fact of this text being quoted at all for such a purpose can only be regarded as evidence of the hopelessness of the search for any injunction in the New Testament that really will avail to serve the purpose of those who would fain bring evidence from Scripture for the importance of Church ceremonial.

Equally vain is the appeal to the symbolism of the Apocalypse,¹ in the vision of the worship of heaven, as if this were revealed for a pattern to be followed in the worship of the Church upon earth. Viewed in relation to the marked absence of all ritual observance and ritual instruction in the

¹ See Dr. Rock's “*Hierurgia*,” p. 188, second edition, and “*Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*,” pp. 53, 56.

writings of the New Testament, it can but serve to give emphasis to the very significant fact that, with such glories set before its *faith*, the Church of the living God—the Church of the New Covenant—has no mandate (as the Church of the Old Covenant had) to fashion a ceremonial service for *sight*, after a pattern shown in the mount.

In the face, then, of this proposition—that, in the sacred Canon of the New Testament Scriptures, with instructions for the future from our blessed Lord Himself, with Apostolic admonitions addressed to bishops and presbyters, with long epistles of doctrine and warning and directions to various Churches, we find nothing but a marked silence as regards Christian ritual—an entire absence of any sort of provision for the ceremonial of the Christian Church—we can hardly fail to be led on to make the inquiry, “How is this to be accounted for?” And all the more—when we mark the contrast with the ordinances of Divine service given to God’s people before—all the more we are constrained to ask, “Why is this?” “Surely,” we say, “some cause for this there must be. How is this very remarkable absence in the writings of the New Testament to be accounted for?”

And when we learn that attempts have been made to account for it by those who maintain the religious importance of Christian ceremonial and the sacred character of the Church’s ritual, and would have us persuaded that in this silence of Scripture there is nothing that militates at all with their high view of the Divine symbolism and the glorious magnificence rightly pertaining to the due celebration of the Christian mysteries, we can hardly do otherwise than inquire with some interested and expectant inquiry, “What are the causes alleged as accounting for the phenomenon we have in view? And are they sufficient to satisfy the demand of Christian common-sense?”

Let us look at them for a few moments, and endeavour fairly to estimate the value of the arguments which can be urged in their favour.

I. We know that during the great forty days before the Ascension, our blessed Lord charged His Apostles to teach the baptized to observe all things whatsoever He had commanded them (Matt. xxviii. 20). And in the Acts of the Apostles we are distinctly told that in the course of this period He was appearing unto His Apostles, and speaking of the things concerning the kingdom of God (Acts i. 3).

“What, then,” it may be asked, “more natural than to suppose that He was then giving instructions to His Apostles concerning the ordering of all things pertaining to the order and discipline, the worship and ritual, as well as the govern-

ment¹ of His Church? And how can we suppose that directions as to the important details of ceremonial were omitted?"

There is much which at first sight is attractive and plausible

¹ Thus, it has been said: "To the faithful it becomes abundantly clear that the order and discipline of the Church, no less than its doctrine, were instituted by Christ Himself—were part of the deposit committed by Him to the Apostles" ("The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist," p. 61).

To this theory has sometimes been superadded a strange parasitical conception, according to which the sacred *deposit* committed to the Apostles is viewed as a germ out of which future regulations for the Church were to be developed. Thus, Father Clarke, S.J., writes: "In this passage it [the kingdom of God] has *reference* to the Church on earth. *It informs us* that our Lord instructed His disciples on the nature of the Church which He had come to found on earth, its *constitution*, its *government*, its *discipline*, its Sacraments, and, above all, on the sacred doctrines which it was commissioned to teach mankind. . . . Hence it follows that every dogma that has been defined from then till now is a part of this inviolable and exclusive body of doctrine. Every decree of Councils, every infallible utterance of Popes, is but the *unfolding* of some further portion of this body of doctrine which had *not been previously unfolded*" (quoted from *The News*, March 9, 1900, p. 286). If we understand this aright, we seem driven to the conclusion that the decisions of the Church and of the Pope are not the outcome of *what is or was known* to be contained in the deposit; but that what is contained in the deposit is *to be known* by the decrees of the Church (see Wordsworth on Apocalypse, p. 132). And it follows that the changes in the religion of Western Christianity—so changed from that of Apostolic times—are due to that which was indeed *in* the deposit, but which was *not known* to be in it till a Council or a Pope determined and decreed that so it should be. In the light of Christian common-sense, is not this a specious but very subtle form of teaching for doctrines the commandments of men? How was a similar process in the earlier dispensation dealt with in the Word of the Lord by His prophet? "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely" (Jer. viii. 8, R.V.); or, rather, "Verily, lo! the lying pen of the Scribes hath made it—the law—into a lie." See Dean Payne Smith, *in loc.*, and additional note, pp. 381, 382, in "Speaker's Commentary."

Compare the following: "For this reason, the text cited [1 Cor. xi. 24] is not found to be quoted by the earlier Fathers as proof of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It remained for the divines of a later age to find in it a strong corroborative proof of the current doctrine of the Church concerning the Blessed Sacrament. Nor is it any argument against this interpretation of the text to say that it is not primitive, since in every word of our Lord is hidden a depth of meaning which is only fully revealed in the course of ages" (Rev. Provost Ball, preaching on Festival of C.B.S. at St. Alban's, Holborn, as reported in *Church Times*, June 12, 1896, p. 687).

How will this theory of the unfolding in the course of ages of hidden truths unknown to Christian antiquity, but now to be held as *de fide*, agree with the teaching of Holy Scripture? How can it be made consistent with a rule of "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus"? How can it be made to stand beside the truth of the "ONE FAITH" "once for all delivered unto the saints"?

in this plea. But when it is further urged that to admit this is to admit that which makes all written direction superfluous, and therefore sufficiently accounts for the silence of the New Testament Scriptures, we are brought face to face with a very serious difficulty.

We are constrained to ask, Is it in accordance with what we should expect?—much rather, Is it in accordance with what we know of the Divine dealings in relation to man, that important precepts and ordinances to be observed by all as of Divine authority should be, not committed to writing, but simply trusted to a human tradition secretly committed by word of mouth to a select few?

Let this question be examined in the light which may be shed upon it from the history of the Old Testament, and from the sayings of our Lord concerning traditions in the New, and we can hardly believe that the answer will be doubtful.

But the fatal blow to any such claim will be found in this—that the assertion of such a tradition has to meet the opposition of tradition itself. The time *did* come when for certain ritual practices it was claimed that they had their origin in primitive tradition. Now, what was meant by this primitive tradition? The claim which this tradition commonly made was the claim, not of directly Divine precept, not of the ordering of the Saviour Himself, but the claim of simply *Apostolic* authority—the claim of having been ordered by the authority or power committed to the Apostles of Christ.¹

II. And what shall we say, then, of *this* claim? It is the claim which is most strongly insisted on, and it is no novelty of modern Roman invention. The germ of it, at least, must in fairness be acknowledged to be of ancient days. But here, again, in the light of Christian common-sense, we are of necessity called to ask certain questions before allowing ourselves to be led to a definite conclusion.

1. First, we naturally ask how far any evidence for or against this theory may be taken out of Holy Scripture.

And, not to make too much of incidental allusions, it must be acknowledged that, as regards Apostolic practice, there is, to say the least, nothing suggestive of ornate ritual or ceremonial service in what we read of the Apostolic Christians continuing steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread and in prayers.

¹ Not, indeed, without exceptions. Such statements, however, as that of Dionysius Barsalibi, that the Liturgy of St. James, as it existed in the twelfth century, had been received by the Apostle James from the lips of our Lord Himself (see Renandot, "Lit. O. Collectio," tom. ii., p. 74), are scarcely worthy of being taken into serious account.

Shall we think that in those days of the early freshness of joyful Christian faith, when holy men were seen breaking bread from house to house, they took with them wherever they went that which should serve to give outward magnificence and glory to the service of their Eucharists?

But to pass this by, what shall we say of the view which is set before us of the practice in the Corinthian Church, and of the Apostle's method of dealing with its errors?

Not many, I think, will be disposed to maintain that much ritual was in use when the Christians at Corinth met together to receive the Lord's Supper. The Apostle's rebuke was sharp and severe. Can we wonder? They met together, not for the better, but for the worse. They came to eat and to drink. It was a breaking of bread, but the supper was not the Supper of the Lord. The rebuke was severe; but in the word of rebuke there is nothing found of reproach for the absence of ordained or suitable ritual. In the word of correction, is there anything to be found in the way of injunction to add in future some magnificence of ceremonial to their service of memorial? Mark well what it is which the Apostle *does* rebuke, and what it is that he *does* enjoin, and then say—Is it conceivable that this could have been accounted an adequate mode of dealing with the irregularities in the practice of the Corinthian Church, if the desire and purpose of the Apostles had been to surround the Eucharistic service with anything like the ordinances pertaining to the ceremonial law?

On such a hypothesis, some ceremonial details might well indeed have been left to be regulated among the things which the Apostle would "set in order" at his next visit to Corinth. But the injunction of *some* ritual adornments would have been a matter of very urgent and immediate and pressing necessity.

2. But not to press further the Scriptural argument—which, however, is certainly of great weight in the scales of Christian common-sense—let us turn to regard this claim of a traditional ritual handed down from Apostolic ordinance in the light which is shed upon it from tradition itself.

Let it be admitted that in early times certain customs and practices, which may be classed under the broad sense of ritual, and which became prevalent and perhaps Catholic, being not mentioned at all in Holy Scripture, were defended or maintained as having descended by unwritten tradition from the times of the Apostles. In some cases this plea was certainly a mistake; in other cases the claim may well be questioned. But anyhow, as regards this matter of ritual accessories of glory to the Eucharistic Service of the Christian Church, there are some important questions to be asked, the

answers to which may be given by the known facts of history, and by the testimony of tradition itself.

Let us begin with asking, Was anything like the Missal Service of the Church of Rome, with its adjuncts of ceremonial grandeur, known in the Church in its Apostolic and primitive days?

In answer, we may take the witness of ancient Romish liturgical writers, who will tell us when and by whom various parts of the Romish liturgical service were added in the course of ages. But we also receive abundant testimony from history and from tradition as to the simplicity of the Eucharistic Service in the Apostolic days of the Christian Church.

We can take witness, not only from various liturgical writers of lesser note, but from Popes of high esteem, to the tradition that the Apostles were wont to celebrate the Lord's Supper simply by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

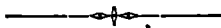
But, further we can take witness from ancient times. And one of our witnesses shall be one who is relied upon for the claim of ritual customs derived from Apostolic tradition—a witness to the fact that this simplicity of the Church's sacramental services was not to be regarded as a temporary and deplorable accident inseparable from the low estate of the Church in those days, but was to be regarded—as in contrast with the pomps of non-Christian worship—was to be regarded (I say) as that which the Christian Church not only preferred, but accepted, and accepted as that which was most fitting, as *the* suitable accompaniment of Christian Sacraments.

Further still, we can question tradition as to the first beginnings of Christian ritual, and we shall find, in answer, discordant statements. We shall hear witness after witness testifying to different traditions as to the ritual of early times, which can never by any ingenuity be reconciled one with another.¹ Can we believe that these are Apostolical ordinances? We leave it for Christian common-sense to answer the question.

N. DIMOCK.

¹ For evidence of the statements in the text I must be allowed to refer to a recent publication of the National Protestant Church Union entitled "Light from History on Christian Ritual."

(*To be continued.*)



ART. III.—MOSES AND THE PHARAOHS.

PART II.

II. THE identification of the next Pharaoh with whom Moses had to do, THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS, is now easily made. He was, of course, as the sacred narrative implies, the successor of Rameses II., namely, his thirteenth son, Menephtah.

In the fifth year of his reign, this king had a great battle with the Libyan and other people of the Mediterranean coasts. These were chiefly of the Japhetic or Aryan race, and included the Achaioi (*i.e.*, the Achæans, or Greeks, previously termed on the monuments Hanebu or Ionians¹). They had invaded the Egyptian Delta from the Libyan borders on the west. They were driven back with great slaughter, leaving behind them many wounded and immense spoils. The record of this on the temple at Karnak has long been known, but another and very rhetorical and bombastic version of it was discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie, in the ruins of Menephtah's temple at Thebes, in 1895. The importance of this Stele of Menephtah, as it is called, is that it gives, for the first time in the monuments of the ancient Egyptians, so far as has yet been discovered, the name of the children of Israel. This occurs in the short concluding summary, which describes the condition to which all Egypt's neighbours and enemies had been reduced, thanks, of course, to Menephtah's prowess! The passage, in effect, is this: "Kheta [the country of the Hittites] is brought to peace; Canaan is captured, and all the wicked; Ascalon is led away; Gezer is taken; Jamnia is brought to nought; *Israel (the people) is eradicated and has no fruit more.*"

There may be some distant reference here to previous attempts made to destroy the male seed of Israel (Exod. i. 15, ff.), but seeing that the name of Israel alone, of all the people here mentioned, is not followed by any determinative of country (thus implying that Israel alone had no country of its own), as well as from other considerations, it is most probable that Menephtah refers to the Hebrews as having fled from his country, and now wandering, no doubt to destruction, in the wilderness. Thus we should have distinct contemporary allusion to the Exodus of Israel.

¹ Achaioi was the name of the Greeks in Homeric times, and one used for the space of not more than 140 years. Hence the Exodus of the Children of Israel and the Greek war with Troy would both fall, approximately, into the same period of time. See Dr. Birch's "History of Egypt." p. 132.

Of further interest to us, and directly bearing upon our subject, is an inscription on another monument of Menephtah's reign telling us that he was engaged in building at Paramessu (or Raamses), his father's city in the Delta, and that he condemned the brickmakers to send in a daily tale of bricks, just as we know the Hebrews had to do (Exod. v. 8) in the reign and by the command of this very tyrant. The inscription and the Bible record appear to refer to the same circumstances—the task imposed upon the Children of Israel in brick-making for the store city of Raamses. But even if they do not refer to identically the same thing, we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable confirmation of the sacred narrative, for here we have a record of a peculiar feature of the despotism of this Pharaoh, a record authorized by himself, and of a feature of his history unknown to all later times, except from the Bible, until nineteenth century discovery and decipherment revealed absolutely independent contemporary proof.

Further testimony to Menephtah being the Pharaoh of the Exodus is shown by the fact that most of his work was in the Delta, where, as we now perceive, his presence was necessary to deal with the troubles of his land which chiefly arose in that part. Alone of the kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty, his constant residence was in the Delta; sometimes, no doubt like that of his father before him at Tanis (Zoar) and other cities in the district, but more usually perhaps at Memphis. And this exactly meets the requirements of the Bible narrative, for the continual comings and goings of Moses between Goshen and Pharaoh's abode seem to necessitate the Court being near to Goshen, *i.e.*, in the Delta.

Menephtah's tomb is shown in Bâb el Malûk, near Thebes, where are so many of the sepulchres of the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. But his body has never been found or traced, and it is doubtful whether he was ever interred there. The ancient Egyptians, like the ancient Jews, were in the habit of preparing their tombs during their own lifetime. Still, as we have previously seen, the Scripture history does not tell us that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was himself drowned—it avoids doing so; while as to Psalm cxxxvi. 15, it may quite reasonably and reverently be doubted whether the words "He overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea" are to be interpreted as declaring, what the historical narrative does not declare, namely, that the Pharaoh himself then and there perished.

III. There remains, however, one difficulty with respect to our identification of the Pharaohs, and it is this: Rameses III. of the Twentieth Dynasty, is known to have made a series of

incursions or raids into Palestine and adjacent regions, with the object of obtaining booty. In Northern Syria, where his expedition would appear to have been more of an invasion than a mere raid, he even built a temple to which the Rutennu brought tribute. This was quite early in his reign. A little later his incursions north of Egypt were chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Southern Palestine. A list of the places thus visited by Rameses III., that monarch, on his return to Egypt, caused to be engraved on the pylon of a temple he built at Medinet Habou, near Thebes. A careful re-examination of that list was made by Professor Sayce in 1892, and showed the names to include Beth Anoth, Carmel of Judah, Hebron, Libnah, Aphekah, Karmel-Judah;¹ the district of Salem or Jerusalem, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and even the land of Moab.

The great Harris papyrus, which contains the annals of the reign of Rameses III., tells us also that—probably in a later year—he penetrated into Edom, attacking some of the villages of Mount Seir and carrying away some of the villagers captive into Egypt, along with cattle and other spoil. It does not tell us how this great Pharaoh came to be content with such paltry results of so far an expedition. Did he meet with more than his match in Edom, and was he glad to retreat, plundering a few poor villagers on his way home?

At all events, it is very remarkable that neither in Rameses' accounts of his invasion of Edom nor in the more detailed ones of his Palestine raids, is there any mention of the Children of Israel.

It is also remarkable, on the other hand, that all these raids of Rameses III. are unknown to the Books of Joshua and Judges, although, if Manetho's numbers could be relied on, the later raids must have been some seventy or eighty years after the Exodus, or about the time, according to Archbishop Ussher's chronology, that the Children of Israel were grievously oppressed by and "sold into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim King of Mesopotamia" (Judges iii. 8-10).

This total silence on the part of both Israel and of Rameses III. with regard to each other, at a time when they must have been well within each other's "sphere of influence," is an obvious difficulty.

The explanation of it might be that these were only raids and not settled conquests or oppressions on the part of Rameses III., as was the contemporary oppression of Chushan-rishathaim, which (Judges iii. 8) lasted eight years; moreover,

¹ The foregoing names are of places in Southern Judah, and will be found in the lists of Joshua xv.

they only affected temporarily one part of the country, and may not therefore have seemed worthy of permanent record in the sacred narrative—a narrative always extremely compressed (and never more so than at this particular period), unless the circumstances have a special religious significance.

This explanation might be sufficient in itself, but it assumes the correctness both of Archbishop Ussher's calculated dates (which are given as only "circa" or approximate in every case in the Book of Judges, in the margin of our reference Bibles), and also of Manetho's statement of the number of years or Pharaohs from the death of Menepthah to Rameses III. It behoves us, therefore, to look into Manetho's figures of this period as they have come down to us.

The names of the Pharaohs next after Menepthah are, of the same Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti II., Amenmeses Sa-Pthah; and of the twentieth Dynasty, Setnecht and Rameses III.

Seti II. is called by Josephus, Sethos-Rhameses, but by the Epitomists of Manetho, Rhameses simply, and of these, Africanus alone gives us the length of his reign, and that as 60 years. Now, as little is known of this king from the monuments, and as the latest date of his reign which they supply is of his second year, the general opinion of Egyptologists is that Manetho's number of 60 years is very greatly in error, and probably arises from confusing him with his predecessor Rameses II.

There is confusion, again, in Manetho's copyists with regard to the next King Amenmeses, Africanus giving his reign as of 5 years only, Syncellus as 26 years! None of the few references that there are to him on the monuments are dated in any year of his reign, which probably was a very short one.

The length of the reign of the last Pharaoh of the nineteenth Dynasty, Sa-Pthah, according to Manetho's list, was 7 years; this is probably not far wrong, the highest date given on any monument being of the third year of his reign.

Manetho's remains give us no particulars of the kings of the twentieth Dynasty, so that Set-necht's name even does not occur in them. The monuments give, however, a reference to the first year of his reign, and also, it is said, to the seventh year. His son Rameses III. succeeded him, and reigned apparently 32 years. On the pylon or temple he built at Medinet Habu, the latest of the raids he made into Palestine which are mentioned are those of the eleventh and twelfth years of his reign, but his last raid in that region, as recorded at Karnak, was in the sixteenth of his rule.

Now let us set down the probable chronology of the Egyptian kings from the death of Menepthah, the Pharaoh

of the Exodus, until the last invasion of Palestine by Rameses III. Here I am indebted to the very helpful kindness of Professor W. M. Flinders-Petrie for communicating to me his reckoning of the years in question. It is as follows :

	Years.
Seti II.—The highest date of his rule given by the monuments is of his second year. (The sixty years of the Greek writers is an error, arising from the confusion of Seti II.'s with Rameses II.'s reign.) Judging by the remains of Seti II., he reigned at the <i>outside</i> - - - - -	10
Amen-messu, in the Greek lists, reigned five years. His monuments are very rare. He reigned not more, probably, than	5
Si-pthah, only three years mentioned on the monuments; in the Greek lists - - - - -	7
Set-nekht, a monument is said to allow him - - - - -	7
Rameses III., last campaign in Palestine - - - - -	16
Therefore, from the death of Menepthah to the end of Egyptian raids into Palestine, not more than - -	
	45

The foregoing is necessarily only an approximate statement but is probably very near to the truth, although I should be inclined to reduce a little the length of two or three of the reigns.

The main result, however, to our present study is this, that the ordinary Bible chronology gives us about forty years from the Exodus until the Children of Israel crossed the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan (Num. xiv. 33, 34; Deut. i. 3, ii. 7, 14; Josh. v. 6) and five years more (Josh. xiv. 7, 10) before Hebron and Southern Palestine generally (which was the part overrun by Rameses III.) were given to Caleb to conquer for himself and his tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 13 ff.), and these forty-five years bring us to exactly the date of the last invasion by Rameses III. of these parts.

Thus Egyptian and Scripture chronology are again in full agreement.

And the *circumstances* of the two contemporary histories are also in full accord. For the ravages of the southern part of Palestine had so weakened it that its people easily fell before the advance of Israel, and no tribe seems to have had an easier task in taking possession of the land of its inheritance (excepting the city of Jerusalem) than had Judah (see, *e.g.*, Joshua x., especially verse 40), although that southern part of Canaan had once been strong and well fortified. Secondly, the invasions of Rameses were chiefly for booty (of which his monuments give long lists), and so, as Professor Petrie has pointed out,¹ the Amorites had been despoiled before the Children of Israel came upon them with the righteous sword

¹ In a letter to the *Times* (weekly edition), September 30, 1892.

of destruction. Hence, although we read of the Hebrews taking the goods of the slain and vanquished, there is no mention of precious metals among the booty, or other articles of value, except cattle. The single case to the contrary, that of Ai, was of a city lying too far north to come within the reach of Rameses III., as doubtless were those places from which the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xxii. 8) obtained their silver and gold, etc.

It has been further suggested¹ (and the chronology *might* allow) that the Children of Israel may really have encountered in battle the army of Rameses III., while on one of these raiding expeditions, and that not in Palestine but in Edom, where, as we have seen, his marauding army penetrated.

That Israel did actually meet with opposition and deliverance in Edom we learn from Num. xxi. 14, 15, which reads as follows in the Authorized Version: "Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord, what He did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, and at the stream of the brook that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab." "In the brooks of Arnon" and the rest of the passage refers to the complete victories of Israel over Sihon, King of the Amorites, from the River Arnon (their south boundary separating them from Moab) northwards. The beginning of the passage, however, *apparently* refers to the Lord's great deliverance of Israel at the Exodus: "what He did in the Red Sea." If that were so, it is somewhat remarkable to find an allusion to those circumstances in a passage speaking of Israel's passage through North-East Edom and Moab. But the Authorized Version here gives a curious mistranslation of a curiously obscure text. As a matter of fact, there is no verb at all in the Hebrew of the sentence which consists of only two words, with a prefixed particle to each. The particle prefixed to the first word "Vâhêb" signifies that the word is in the objective case and governed by a transitive verb, though the verb itself is not given. Moses and the Children of Israel of that time of course knew quite well what verb was understood. In all probability the meaning is: "He (the Lord) gave victory," or "conquered," or "delivered." The Authorized Version is quite right therefore in inserting the words "what He did," and that was not "in the Red Sea," but in, as the margin tells us, "Vaheb in Suphah." Where "Vaheb" was has not yet been made out. The LXX., instead of Vaheb, read "Zahab," which may mean the same as Di-Zahab (*i.e.*, Zahab territory) of Deut. i. 1. But "Suphah" is probably the same, practically, as "Suph" in the first verse

¹ By Professor Sayce in the *Academy* of October 22, 1892.

of Deuteronomy, which begins thus in the Revised Version: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah¹ over against Suph." Suph, then, and therefore we assume "Vaheb in Suphah," was in the wilderness valley of Edom, and there God did great things for Israel, that is to say, probably (as the Book of the Wars of the Lord sang of it) in "Vaheb, in Suphah," in Edom, the Lord gave Israel victory from their enemies in the battle.

This war was not apparently with the Edomites themselves (Num. xx. 14-22), nor apparently was it with the Amorites, who did not now possess this part, and from whom, when at Sinai, forty years before, the presumptuous host of Israel had fled to Mount Seir (Num. xiv. 45; Deut. i. 44). But, as we have seen, the army of Rameses III. about this time did actually invade Edom. It may quite well have been, therefore, that the enemy from whom the Lord at this time delivered His people was none other than the ravaging army of Rameses III., in which case that monarch was the third and last Pharaoh with whom Moses had to do.

On July 5, 1881, acting on information received, Herr Emil Brugsch, of the Khedivial Museum, Cairo, discovered hidden in a cavernous passage opening out of a deep pit in the rocky ravine of Dêr el Bahari, near Thebes, no fewer than thirty-nine mummies of kings, queens, princes, princesses and priests of ancient Egypt—one of them being of the seventeenth, all the rest of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twenty-first Dynasties. It was a marvellous archæological treasure-trove. There were the mummied remains of, among others, kings Aahmes, Amenhotep I., Thothmes I., II., III. (the great king), Rameses I., Seti I., Rameses II., but *not* of Menephtah, and of Rameses III.

The most interesting of these to us now is Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression of Israel, the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses was born and attained manhood.

His mummy was in a state of perfect preservation. It was wrapped in rose-coloured linen, of a texture finer than the finest Indian muslin, upon which lotus-flowers were strewn. One of the bands which pass across the shrouds to keep them in place bears a hieratic inscription stating that this, the

¹ Here a note in the margin explains the name Arabah, "that is, the deep valley running north and south of the Dead Sea." More commonly the name Arabah is restricted, as in this place, to the depression south of the Dead Sea, on the western front of Mount Seir, Edom.

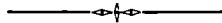
mummy of Rameses II., was concealed in a pit at a time when a foreign army entered Egypt.

All the mummies found were brought down to Cairo and placed in the Boolak Museum. It was my good fortune to see them there; and was it not indeed a strange and marvellous thing, after 3,300 years, to look upon, literally "in the flesh," the haughty, tyrannical Pharaoh whom Moses knew under such extremely different circumstances? The lotus-flowers (a flower very similar to our white water-lily) interred with him now crossed his breast, and—or was it pure fancy on my part?—still gave out their characteristic smell.

Five years after the discovery of the mummies, on June 1, 1886, in the presence of the Khedive, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and other Egyptian and foreign personages, the swathing bands of the body of Rameses II. were unrolled. His features were shown to be remarkably well preserved, and betokened a man of very advanced years. "The expression," writes M. Maspero in his official report, "is unintellectual, perhaps slightly animal." The nose was strongly curved or aquiline; the crown of the head was, of course, shaven, the hair of the sides and back of the head, however, had kept well, was very fine and soft in texture, but yellow in colour from the ingredients used in embalming. The chest is broad, the shoulders square, the arms were laid crosswise on the breast, the fingers and the nails of both hands and feet dyed red with henna or some similar dye. The mummy measured 173 centimetres in length, or about 5 feet 8 inches, and, as something must be allowed for drying and shrinking since death, in life Rameses II. must have been of above the average height.

Photographs of the mummy were taken on the same day that it was unrolled.

W. T. PILTER.



ART. IV.—"DARIUS THE MEDIAN"—WHO WAS HE?

WE are indebted to contemporary cuneiform inscriptions for the identification of the Belshazzar of Daniel, chap. v., with Bil-sar-utsur, the son of Nabonidus, the last King of the Empire of Babylon. The object of this paper is to show that from the same source a remarkable light is thrown on that much-debated, much-doubted-of personage, "Darius the Median."

The particulars stated regarding Darius in the Book of Daniel are as follows:

1. His name and descent. He is "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus" (Dan. ix. 1).

2. His nationality. He is "of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. ix. 1; xi. 1); "Darius the Median," as contrasted with "Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. v. 31; vi. 28).

3. The circumstances of his accession. We are told that after Belshazzar was slain he "received the kingdom," received it evidently from some other person, by whom he "was made King over the realm of the Chaldeans" (Dan. v. 31; R.V. ix. 1).

4. His age at the time of his accession, viz., "about threescore and two years" (Dan. v. 31).

5. The extent of his authority. Though apparently an under-King, he nevertheless acts as governor of "the whole kingdom," and puts forth a proclamation addressed to "all the peoples, nations and languages that dwell in all the earth," a royal decree, in which he speaks of "all the dominion of my kingdom" (Dan. vi. 1, 25, 26, R.V.).

6. The length of his reign. We read of his first year, and of that year only (Dan. ix. 1, 2; xi. 1).

7. His successor: "Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. vi. 28).

Bearing the above particulars in mind, we turn to the contemporary cuneiform documents, and first to the Babylonian Contract Tablets, a very ample collection of which has been published in the cuneiform character by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier.¹ The Contract Tablets are dated according to the day, month and year of the reigning monarch, and are thus especially useful in enabling us to determine approximately the length of the reign. On these tablets the year commences with the 1st of Nisan (March—April), and is the same as the Jewish religious year. It is also to be noted that the interval from the date of the monarch's accession to the close of the year is termed *ris sarrûti*, "the beginning of the reign," the following year being reckoned as the first year of the reign. In describing any particular tablet a very convenient system of notation has been adopted as follows: A tablet drawn up in the second year, the fifth month, and fourteenth day, is briefly described as, 2.5.14; one drawn up during the *ris sarrûti*, or accession year, in the ninth month, and on the twenty-fourth day, is described as Acc. 9.24. Any

¹ "Babylonische Texte. Inschriften von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums, copirt und autographirt von J. N. Strassmaier, S.J." The Inscriptions of Cyrus and Cambyses, alluded to in this article, are contained in parts vii., viii. and ix. A very useful selection from Strassmaier's collection will be found transliterated and translated into German by Dr. F. E. Peiser in vol. iv. of Professor Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek."

doubtful date, due to obliteration or omission, is indicated by an 0: thus, 4.0.26 tells us at a glance the year and the day, while it shows at the same time that the month is uncertain.

We shall now endeavour to show from these tablets, by a proof necessarily somewhat dry and complex, that Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, was King of Babylon for about ten months, or nearly so, dating from the first New Year after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

In the first place, then, in the Strassmaier "Inscriptions of Cambyses" that monarch is styled "Cambyses, King of Babylon, son of Cyrus, King of the countries," on the tablets dated 1.2.9, 1.4.7, 1.8.9, and 1.0.8. This style suggests that the above tablets belong, *in point of time*, to the reign of Cyrus, and that Cyrus was reigning as "King of the countries" at the same time that his son Cambyses was on the throne of Babylon. This natural inference is rendered a certainty by two other tablets among the "Inscriptions of Cambyses." The first bears date 1.4.25, and has the following style: *Kambuzia sar Babili inusu Kurasu abisu sar matâti*—"Cambyses, King of Babylon, at the time when Cyrus, his father, was King of the countries." The second, dated 1.9.25, reads thus: *Kambuzia sar Babili ina umisuma Kuras abisu sar matâti*, "Cambyses, King of Babylon; at that time Cyrus, his father, was King of the countries."

The question now arises, At what time during the reign of Cyrus, after the capture of Babylon, was his son Cambyses seated on the throne of Babylon? One would naturally suppose at the outset that it must have been toward the close of his reign that Cyrus allowed his son to have a share in the sovereignty; but we shall hope to show that the reign of Cambyses, as King of Babylon during his father's lifetime, belongs rather to the first year of Cyrus. This important point would be settled at once if we could only be sure of the reading of a certain tablet of the reign of Cyrus, dated 1.3.10, which runs thus: *sattu I KAN Kuras sar matâti [inusu] Kambuzia sar Babili*—"The first year of Cyrus, King of the countries [at the time when] Cambyses was King of Babylon." Unfortunately, however, the characters between *matâti* and *Kambuzia* are obliterated; but the tablets of Cambyses, dated 1.4.25 and 1.9.25, quoted above, suggest the insertion of *inusu*, or its equivalent *umisu*. This tablet then alone renders it highly probable that it was during the first year of Cyrus that his son Cambyses bore sway at Babylon. However, in a point so critical we hesitate to rest on the not quite certain evidence of a single tablet, and look about us for further proof. This may be obtained in the following manner:

In the Strassmaier "Inscriptions of Cambyses" there are no

fewer than twenty-three tablets, all dated the first year of Cambyses, and covering a period of rather less than ten months, viz., from 1.1.3 to 1.10.20, on which that monarch has the single title "King of Babylon" in contra-distinction to the more usual double title, "King of Babylon and King of the countries," or, as it is sometimes given, "King of Babylon and of the countries." Now, there is good reason for thinking that all, or nearly all, of these twenty-three tablets belong, *not* to the reign of Cambyses as sole monarch, but to his reign as King of Babylon in his father's lifetime; seeing that in the 310 inscriptions bearing date the succeeding years of his reign, the single title "King of Babylon" occurs for certain in but two instances,¹ and is never found in the tablets which are marked with his accession year.

To what time, then, in the reign of Cyrus do the above twenty-three tablets belong? If, as is only natural, we refer them to the close of that reign, then Cyrus must have died about the end of the tenth month, for the latest of the twenty-three is dated 1.10.20. But when we look at Strassmaier's "Inscriptions of Cyrus" this does not appear to have been the case, for the latest of the 346 dated tablets of Cyrus is marked 9.4.27, agreeably to which the earliest tablet of Cambyses is dated Acc. 6.12, only some six weeks later. Thus, then, these twenty-three tablets cannot belong to the close of Cyrus' reign. We shall now show that they belong to the first year of that reign, commencing on Nisan I., after the taking of Babylon. To arrive at this result we proceed to analyze Strassmaier's "Inscriptions of Cyrus." In Cyrus' accession-year Strassmaier furnishes us with ten tablets, on three of which, viz., Acc. 7.0,² Acc. 9.7 and Acc. 12.5, Cyrus is styled both "King of Babylon" and "King of the countries." Probably the double title was also found on the partly obliterated tablet Acc. 0.0. Clearly, then, during the six months or so of his accession year, Cyrus, and *not* Cambyses, was King of Babylon. Passing on to the first year of Cyrus, we are furnished with twenty-one tablets. On the earliest of these, dated 1.1.4, Cyrus is styled "King of Babylon," but after this date the title does not appear again, with three notable exceptions, until we reach the tablet dated 1.11.6. Of these exceptions, the first is the much-obliterated tablet 1.1.10, where the characters, which stand for *sar Babili*, "King of Babylon," are too uncertain to be depended upon. The second, dated 1.5.30, is only an apparent exception, for the real date of this tablet, as the contents show, is 1.10.0,

¹ Viz., on the tablets dated 3.9.9 and 5.7.21.

² This is the earliest tablet of Cyrus.

i.e., some four or five months later.¹ Also with regard to the third exception, dated 1.7.16, a close investigation will show that the year is uncertain, being in part obliterated.² Hence it appears that there is no dependable tablet between 1.1.4 and 1.11.6, on which Cyrus is styled "King of Babylon." On the other hand, during the short interval from 1.11.6 to the close of the year, to which no less than nine of the twenty-one first-year tablets belong, we note the striking fact that the title "King of Babylon" appears *in no less than six cases out of the nine*. Thus for the first year of Cyrus we have the following result: During some ten months, from about the beginning of the year, Cyrus is not styled "King of Babylon" on the tablets, whilst during the last two months, at the close of the year, he receives that title on six tablets out of nine.

Proceeding next to analyze the fifty-eight tablets of Cyrus' second year, we find that in no less than forty-three cases the double title is given, "King of Babylon and king of the countries"; in three cases "King of Babylon" only; in eight "King of the countries" only; whilst the remaining four are partly obliterated, or without any title. Similar results are obtained from an analysis of the succeeding years of the reign; *i.e.*, Cyrus is *almost invariably styled "King of Babylon,"* generally with the addition of the second title, "King of the countries."

The above results make the absence of the title "King of Babylon," during the interval 1.1.4 to 1.11.6, the more remarkable; and when we notice how that interval, both as regards its duration and its position in the circle of the year,

¹ The tablet in question reads as follows :

"576 sheep from the month Dhabatu
the 1st year of Cyrus, King of Babylon,
to the 20th day of the month Abu
under the care of Samas-sum-iksi."

Hence its date is Dhabatu, the tenth month, from which the contract starts, and not Abu, the fifth month, which forms the close of the agreement.

² In explanation of the above, note that at the end of the fifth line of this tablet in its present condition stand two cuneiform signs. The first of these signifies *sattu* ("year"); the second, a single perpendicular wedge, gives the number of the year, so that the *apparent* reading is "year 1." Observe, however, that this number must originally have been followed by the determinative sign, which is used in Assyrian to indicate that the previous sign represents a number. Now, as this determinative has vanished, it is clear that the end of the line is obliterated. Hence very possibly the number itself is in part obliterated, and instead of a single wedge, there may originally have been two or three (hardly four, for that would have necessitated a different arrangement of the wedges); *i.e.*, this tablet may quite as possibly belong to the second or third year of Cyrus as to the first. It ought, therefore, to be marked 0.7.16, the year being uncertain.

tallies with the interval 1.1.3 to 1.10.20 covered by the twenty-three tablets on which Cambyses bears the title in question the proof is conclusive, and we are forced to admit that during some ten months in the first year of Cyrus, Cambyses held the office of King of Babylon. Further, since all those twenty-three tablets of Cambyses are dated the first year, and no tablet on which he has the single title "King of Babylon" makes mention of any accession year; and since also Cyrus bore the title certainly as late as the Cyrus tablet dated 1.1.4, it is reasonable to infer that Cambyses was appointed to the post at the New Year. On this point very interesting evidence will meet us later, but for the present we pause to observe that in particulars (3), (6) and (7), Cambyses has now been shown to answer to the Darius of the Book of Daniel. His reign, which follows soon after the capture of Babylon,¹ has been proved to be limited to a first year; he evidently "receives the kingdom" from another—namely, his father Cyrus, and before the year is out he is succeeded by Cyrus on the throne.

Our next question will be, Would Cambyses, when only King of Babylon under his father Cyrus, be likely to put forth a decree in such royal style as that which meets us in Dan. vi. 25, 26? To this it might be sufficient to reply that the Babylonian scribes were jealous of the honour and glory of their ancient city, or, at least, slaves to usage and to the long-established styles and titles. But a better answer and more definite may be obtained from a deeply interesting, though sadly obliterated, passage in the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus. In this passage, which follows the account of the peaceful² entry of Cyrus into Babylon, and the sending back the images of the gods to their own cities, we are told that on a certain day, apparently near the close of the year, "the wife of the King," *i.e.*, of Nabonidus, died.³ "From the 27th day of Adar (the twelfth month) to the 3rd day of Nisan (the first month) there was lamentation in the country of Akkad. All the people of the land smote their heads. The fourth day

¹ According to the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus, his general, Gobryas, entered Babylon "without fighting" on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, Cyrus himself making his entry on the third day of the eighth month. That all, however, was not peaceful, despite the solemn assurance of the tablet, and that the whole town was not captured at once, may be gathered from a comparison of these dates with those found on the two latest tablets of Nabonidus, dated respectively 17.8.10 and 17.9.0. In fact, the tablets of Nabonidus overlap those of Cyrus, for the earliest tablet of Cyrus is dated Acc. 7.0. All this is a striking confirmation of Dan. v. 30, where surely the clash of arms is heard.

² See the previous note.

³ She was probably "the queen" of Dan. v. 10, a woman of great influence and commanding respect, as is clear from the Scripture account as well as from the record on the tablet.

Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, conducted the burial at the Temple of the Sceptre of the World. The men of the Temple of the Sceptre of the World . . .¹; here the inscription becomes partly obliterated, but in the next line some one is spoken of as “taking the hands of Nebo,” and in the following line we catch the words “The son of the King.” Clearly Cambyses is the subject of the passage and the leading figure. But what was he doing at the temple of Nebo, “the Temple of the Sceptre of the World”? According to Professor Sayce’s translation, just quoted, he was burying the wife of the late King. Mr. Budge makes out that he was “establishing a festival.”² Professor Schrader gives the simple rendering: “Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, went to the Temple of the Sceptre of the World.” But to see *what he went for* we must turn to another inscription.

In the year 1895, Dr. Victor Schiel discovered in the mound of Mujelibeh, on the site of Babylon, a semicircular pillar of diorite, on the flat side of which was an inscription of Nabonidus in archaic characters, drawn up in eleven columns.³ The King is telling how, with a view to make his reign prosperous, he went into different temples to secure the blessings of the several divinities. Among others, he entered this very temple which was now entered by Cambyses, entered it no doubt with the same object. His words are: “To the Temple of the Sceptre of the World, into the presence of Nebo, the prolonger of my reign, I entered. A right sceptre, a firm sword, a royal name ruling the world, he entrusted to my hands.” So then, when Cambyses “took the hands of Nebo,” the god entrusted to *his* hands “a right sceptre, a firm sword, a royal name ruling the world.” As is well known, the Assyrian Kings obtained recognition at Babylon of their authority as world-rulers by “taking the hands” of Bel.⁴ But that Nebo also had a voice in such matters is evident from the famous India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, where, after telling how “Merodach, the great lord, invested me with the lordship over the multitude of peoples,” the monarch adds: “And Nebo, the overseer of the multitudes of heaven and earth, for the governing of the peoples, a righteous sceptre placed in my hands.”⁵ We may infer, then, from the above

¹ See “Records of the Past,” New Series, vol. v., p. 163.

² See “Babylonian Life and History,” p. 85.

³ I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Boscawen for my information about this inscription, and for the translation given below, which has since been published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for September, 1896.

⁴ See “The Assyrian Chronicle” for B.C. 728 and 729. “Records of the Past,” N.S., vol. ii., p. 126.

⁵ See “Records of the Past,” N.S., vol. iii., p. 105.

that Cambyses, though only styled "King of Babylon" on those twenty-three Contract Tablets so often referred to, was yet, in the eyes of the Babylonian world, regarded as an empire-ruler, the vicegerent of his father Cyrus. And, indeed, the language of the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus certainly suggests that to some extent Cyrus associated his son with himself in his wider rule over the whole empire. Thus, in line 27 we read: "Unto me Cyrus the King, his worshipper, and to Cambyses, my son, the offspring of my heart, and to all my people, he (*i.e.*, Merodach) graciously drew near, and in peace before him we duly mar[ched]."¹ Again, in lines 34, 35: "May all the gods, whom I have brought into their own cities, intercede daily before Bel and Nebo. . . . May they say to Merodach, my lord: Let Cyrus the King, thy worshipper, and Cambyses his son [accomplish the desire] of their heart."

With regard, however, to the specially delegated sovereignty of Babylon, the most probable supposition is, that "after the year was expired, at the time when Kings go forth to battle,"² Cyrus, anxious to prosecute his schemes of conquest, deemed it advisable to set his son on the throne of Babylon. The actual date of the coronation ceremony was, we may suppose, the 4th of Nisan, the day on which Cambyses went into the Temple of the Sceptre of the World to take the hands of Nebo. It could not very well take place before that date because of the week of mourning for the venerated Queen, lasting from the 27th of Adar to the 3rd of Nisan. The reign, however, would be looked upon as beginning on Nisan I., so that already on the third of the month the title "King of Babylon" is found given to Cambyses on the Contract Tablets, while Cyrus receives it for the last time, previous to the ten months' interval, on the following day, the day when his son was crowned.³ A further evidence that Cambyses' reign was reckoned from the New Year is to be found in the fact that none of the twenty-three tablets in which he bears the single title "King of Babylon" are dated from the *ris sarruti*, for the simple reason that a reign beginning at the New Year could have no *ris sarruti*.

It thus appears that in particular (5) Cambyses corresponds admirably to the Darius of the Book of Daniel. Let us next proceed to consider particulars (2) and (4). First, then, as to the nationality of Cambyses. On his father's side he would

¹ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 167. The last word is partially obliterated, but enough remains to make the above translation probable. See Lyon's "Assyrian Manual," 1st edition, p. 41.

² 2 Sam. xi. 1.

³ *I.e.*, if we except the doubtful tablet I.1.10.

doubtless be considered a Persian, for Cyrus, on his monuments at Pasargadæ, claims descent from Achæmenes: "I am Cyrus the King, the Achæmenian."¹ Further, the Annalistic Tablet under the year B.C. 548 gives him the title "King of the Country of Persia."² In what sense, then, could his son Cambyses be called a Mede? The answer to this question is that Cambyses probably had a Median mother, and that for certain political reasons, of which we shall speak later on, it was desirable to present him to the Babylonian world as a Mede.³ According to the Greek historian Ctesias, Cambyses was the son of Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, a Median princess whom Cyrus married after he had conquered Astyages, and captured his royal city of Ecbatana.

But if Cambyses was born after the capture of Ecbatana, he could not be "about threescore and two years old" when Cyrus entered Babylon. Let us inquire what his age might have been at that time. According to the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus it was at the commencement of the third year of that King's reign, B.C. 554, that Cyrus, hitherto a petty prince, "overthrew the widespread people of the Manda, and captured Astyages, the King of the people of the Manda,"⁴ The Annalistic Tablet, however, places this event apparently⁵ in the sixth year of Nabonidus, B.C. 551. In the first case, Cambyses might be as old as fourteen years, and in the second case as old as eleven years at the New Year, Nisan I., B.C. 539. At first sight this difference of age seems to present an insurmountable obstacle to the identification of Cambyses with "Darius the Mede." But, as has often been pointed out, numbers, being anciently represented by the letters of the Phœnician alphabet, are especially liable to be corrupted.⁶ How numerous such corruptions are is evident from a comparison of Scripture with Scripture,⁷ and also from the fact that the Assyrian historical records, though in substantial agreement with the Bible story, are yet irreconcilable in this matter of numbers. In the present instance a very slight change would transform the letters Yod Beth, which stand for twelve, into the letters Samech Beth, which represent

¹ See "Media," pp. 299, 301, in the "Story of the Nations" series.

² "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 160.

³ Compare the well-known story of our first Prince of Wales.

⁴ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 169.

⁵ "Apparently," because the succeeding context refers to the seventh year of Nabonidus. See "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 159.

⁶ The representation of numbers by the letters of the Phœnician alphabet is prior to the development of the Aramean and Greek alphabets from the parent stock—i.e., prior to the twelfth century B.C. See "The Alphabet," by Isaac Taylor, vol. ii., p. 23.

⁷ See Haley's "Discrepancies of the Bible," pp. 380-392.

sixty-two.¹ It may well be, then, that the true reading of Daniel v. 31 is "twelve" rather than "threescore and two" years. And surely this more tender age suits better with the touching story of the following chapter. For into whose presence did the presidents and satraps "come tumultuously"?² Into the presence of a man of sixty-two years wielding the rod of empire? Hardly so; but they might thus break in on a boy of twelve. Again: Who is it whose whole heart goes out to the aged prophet in those warm sympathetic words, "Thy God, whom thou servest continually, He will deliver thee." Surely this is the language of some young, generous, impressible nature as yet not hardened by contact with the world. Thus, then, the internal evidence of the narrative favours the younger age. But if it should be objected that it is very unlikely that a boy of twelve should be thus invested by his father with sovereignty, we can only answer that such a practice is not unknown in the East.³ Also it is very possible that Cyrus may have had special reasons for such a step. For instance, it has often been suggested that he wished to gratify his Median allies by setting a Mede on the throne.⁴ How conveniently might he do this if that Mede were his own son, born of a Median mother! May he not also have wished to soothe and gratify the Babylonians? The wife of their renowned Nebuchadnezzar was a Median princess, daughter of the great Cyaxares, and his own son Cambyses was also sprung from Cyaxares.

But whatever may have led to the appointment of the youthful Cambyses to the throne of Babylon, Cyrus, on his return home, as we may suppose, saw fit to remove his son from that important post. Perhaps he discerned in him some of those signs of weakness so conspicuous in his later life, the traces of which are not wanting in the character of "Darius the Median," as portrayed in the Book of Daniel.

We come lastly to particular (1). How are we to explain the difference of names? How can Cambyses be Darius, and how can he be called "the son of Ahasuerus"? The difficulty

¹ The resemblance of Yod to Samech is very noticeable both on the Baal-Lebanon Inscription and on the Moabite Stone. Each of these letters is formed by three horizontal bars and a transverse bar, so that a carelessly formed Yod might be taken for a Samech, sixty-two seeming a more likely age for the new King of Babylon than twelve years. See Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," vol. i., pp. 204, 213.

² Dan. vi. 6, 11, 15, Revised Version, margin.

³ See the striking instance of a lad of twelve years acting as governor of Hillah, given by Layard in his "Nineveh and Babylon," and quoted in the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. vi., p. 298.

⁴ See the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. vi., p. 313.

which meets us here is very similar to that with which we are confronted in Ezra iv. 6, where Cambyses is called Ahasuerus, and the pseudo-Smerdis is called Artaxerxes. Probably the best solution is to be found in the statement of Herodotus that these royal names are merely appellatives. The name Ahasuerus—in its Greek dress Cyaxares and Xerxes—signifies, according to Herodotus, "the warlike," and the name Darius signifies "the strenuous." Professor Rawlinson adopts the same view, but with etymologies taken from the Old Persian. To the name Ahasuerus he gives the signification "Ruling Eye," and connects the name Darius with the Old Persian root *dar*, "to hold, possess."¹

In Dan. ix. 1 Darius is spoken of as "the son," or descendant, of "Ahasuerus," and also as being "of the seed of the Medes"—*i.e.*, his Median origin and his descent from Ahasuerus are put side by side as two facts closely related to each other. Who is the Ahasuerus here spoken of? In all probability he is the great Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, and founder of the Median monarchy, who, according to Herodotus, reigned over Media for forty years. How great this man was in the eyes of succeeding generations we know from the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis, column ii., paragraph 5, where Phraortes the Median, stirring up rebellion against Darius, is made to say, "I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares."² If, as Ctesias states, Cambyses was the son of Amytis the daughter of Astyages, then nothing would be more natural than to speak of him as "the son," or descendant, "of Ahasuerus"—*i.e.*, of Cyaxares.

It only remains to add a further note on particular (2). The Book of Daniel expressly states that Darius was "of the seed of the Medes." Now, the subjects of Astyages are called in the cuneiform inscription the "Manda," a word which, according to Professor Sayer, means "nomads." Hence it is a doubtful point whether we are to regard them as genuine Medes, or as a nomad race, whom the Greek historians have confused with the Medes.³ If they were not Medes, or, at any rate, if Astyages was not a Mede, then, as we believe the Book of Daniel, we cannot follow the statement of Ctesias, that Cambyses was the son of Cyrus by the daughter of Astyages. There is, however, another account of the relationship between the two families, for which we have the authority of both Herodotus and Xenophon. According to these

¹ See the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. iii., p. 422.

² According to the Behistun Inscription, the same claim was also advanced by a Sagartian rebel.

³ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. iii., Preface, p. xiii.

writers it was Cambyses the elder, the father of Cyrus, who married Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, by whom he had issue Cyrus.¹ In this case it was the mother of Cyrus who belonged to the "Manda," of which perhaps there is a reminiscence in her name, Mandane; but who was the mother of Cambyses? Herodotus declares that she was a Persian lady, Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes;² Xenophon, that she was a Median princess, the daughter of a second Cyaxares.³ Though Herodotus is the more trustworthy writer, and Xenophon's "Cyropædia" according to Cicero was written "non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad effigiem justî imperii,"⁴ yet in this instance we are by no means inclined to place implicit trust in the Father of History, for he is undoubtedly at fault in regard to certain repeated statements, which evidently rest on this supposed pure Persian descent of Cambyses. For example, the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis is frequently referred to by Herodotus as a Median triumph; and Cambyses when nearing his end is represented as saying to his chief men: "I charge you all, and specially such of you as are Achæmenids, that ye do not tamely allow the kingdom to go back to the Medes." Yet what are the facts of the case? Professor Rawlinson has shown from the Behistun Inscription of Darius that the pseudo-Smerdis, so far from being a Mede, was probably born in Persia, and certainly obtained there his first adherents; also that his usurpation had nothing to do with the Medes.⁵ Hence in this question as to the nationality of the mother of Cambyses we prefer to side with Xenophon and Ctesias, or if need be with Xenophon alone, against Herodotus.

To some readers of this article the proposed identification of Cambyses with "Darius the Median" will perhaps seem allowable save for that one obstacle, the difference of age. Such persons, instead of an identification will choose rather to recognise a connection between the Cambyses, son of Cyrus, the "King of Babylon" of the Contract Tablets and the Darius of the Book of Daniel. For instance, they will prefer to regard Darius as the guardian of the youthful Cambyses, a post which the Persian general Gobryas may very well have occupied. But in view of the language used in Dan. vi. 25, 26, it seems harder to the writer to adopt such a solution of the difficulty than to believe in the comparatively easy corruption of the letters which stand for the number twelve into those

¹ See "Herodotus," i., § 108, and the "Cyropædia," i. 2, 1.

² See "Herodotus," ii., § 1, and iii., § 2.

³ See the "Cyropædia," viii. 5, 17, and 7, 9.

⁴ "Cicero ad Q. Fratr.," i. 1, 8.

⁵ See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Essay II., in Appendix to Book III.

which stand for sixty-two. To put the matter in a nutshell: with the cuneiform documents before us, and the agreement thereto of the Scripture account in several important particulars, there certainly seems some ground for the presumption that this is a case in which the numerals have suffered corruption, and that the number sixty-two is at fault, even though we cannot be sure what number ought to stand in its place.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.



ART. V.—"THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

ALLEGORY has an undying interest for the human heart, and is one of the most effective ways of conveying and impressing religious truth. It was employed by our Lord; and all allegorists who have had a lesson to teach and have been true to nature have been general favourites with the people. Of those who have followed our Lord in this matter, the greatest is certainly John Bunyan, and the greatest of his works is undoubtedly "The Pilgrim's Progress." "Bunyan," wrote Lord Macaulay, "is indeed decidedly the first of allegorists as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakespeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown equal ingenuity; but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love." Macaulay tells us that though "The Pilgrim's Progress" was translated into several foreign languages during the author's lifetime, and passed far and wide amongst the people, it was not highly rated by the critical and fashionable world in the eighteenth century. The poet Young placed Bunyan among very inferior writers. Late in the eighteenth century Cowper did not venture to do more than to allude to the great allegorist:

"I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame."

It is not so now. Macaulay was, of course, attracted towards Bunyan by his religious and political principles; but he speaks with discrimination, and notices points of weakness. "That wonderful book," he says of "The Pilgrim's Progress," "while it obtains admiration from the most fastidious critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it." Doctor Johnson, all whose studies were desultory, and who hated, as he said, to read books through, made an exception in favour

of "The Pilgrim's Progress." That work was one of the two or three works he wished longer. It was by no common merit that the illiterate sectary extracted praise like this from the most pedantic of critics and the most bigoted of Tories. In the wildest parts of Scotland "The Pilgrim's Progress" is the delight of the peasantry. In every nursery "The Pilgrim's Progress" is a greater favourite than "Jack the Giant-killer." Every reader knows the straight and narrow path as well as he knows a road in which he has gone backward and forward a hundred times. This is the highest miracle of genius, that things which are not should be as though they were—that the imaginations of one mind should become the personal recollections of another. And this miracle the thinker John Bunyan has wrought.

Hallam does not give him quite so lofty a place, but his estimate is also very high. Speaking of romance and the deficiency of early English literature in this department, he says that "The Pilgrim's Progress" essentially belongs to it, and John Bunyan may pass for the father of our novelists. His success in a line of composition, like the spiritual romance or allegory, which seems to have been frigid and unreadable in the few instances where it had been attempted, is doubtless enhanced by his want of learning and his low station in life. He was therefore rarely, if ever, an imitator; he was never enchained by rules. Bunyan possessed in a remarkable degree the power of *representation*; his inventive faculty was considerable, but representation is his distinguishing excellence. He saw, and makes us see, what he describes; he is circumstantial without prolixity, and in the variety and frequent change of his incidents never loses sight of the unity of his allegorical fable.

I will quote one more estimate, that of the historian Green. Speaking of "The Pilgrim's Progress," he says that its publication was the earliest result of Bunyan's long imprisonment for preaching, and that the popularity which it enjoyed from the first proves that the religious sympathies of the English people were still (even in the reign of Charles II.) mainly Puritan. "Before Bunyan's death, in 1688, ten editions of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' had already been sold. . . . It is now the most popular and the most widely-known of all English books. In none do we see more clearly the new imaginative force which had been given to the common life of Englishmen by their study of the Bible. The English is the simplest and homeliest English which has ever been used by any great English writer; but it is the English of the Bible. The images of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' are the images used by prophet and evangelist; it borrows for its

tenderer outbursts the very verse of the Song of Songs, and pictures the Heavenly City in the words of the Apocalypse. But so completely has the Bible become Bunyan's life, that one feels its phrases as the natural expression of his thoughts. He has lived in the Bible till the words have become his own. He has lived among its visions and voices of heaven till all sense of possible unreality has died away. He tells his tale with such a perfect naturalness that allegories become living things, that the Slough of Despond and Doubting Castle are as real to us as places we see every day, that we know Mr. Legality and Mr. Worldly Wiseman as if we had met them in the street. It is in this amazing reality of impersonation that Bunyan's imaginative genius specially displays itself. But this is far from being his only excellence. In its range, in its directness, in its simple grace, in the ease with which it changes from lively dialogue to dramatic action, from simple pathos to passionate earnestness, in the subtle and delicate fancy which often suffuses its child-like words, in its playful humour, its bold character painting, in the even and balanced power which passes without effort from the Valley of the Shadow of Death to the land 'where the shining ones commonly walked because it was on the borders of heaven,' in its sunny kindliness unbroken by one bitter word, '*The Pilgrim's Progress*' is among the noblest of English poems. For if Puritanism had first discovered the poetry which contact with the spiritual world awakes in the meanest souls, Bunyan was the first of the Puritans who revealed this poetry to the outer world. The journey of Christian from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City is simply a record of the life of such a Puritan as Bunyan himself, seen through an imaginative haze of spiritual idealism in which its commonest incidents are heightened and glorified. He is himself the pilgrim who flies from the City of Destruction, who climbs the Hill Difficulty, who faces Apollyon, who sees his loved ones cross the River of Death towards the Heavenly City, and who, 'because the hill on which the river was framed was higher than the clouds, they therefore went up through the region of the air, sweetly talking as they went.' "

Bunyan was born in the quiet little village of Elstow, in Bedfordshire, in the latter part of the year 1628, and was baptized in the parish church the last day of November. Elstow is about a mile on the south side of Bedford, on the road leading towards Ampthill and the Chiltern Hills, which are about four miles distant. It is still an old-fashioned place, probably little altered since the time of Bunyan. The year 1628 was momentous in the history of England. Charles I.

had reluctantly granted the Petition of Rights; Strafford, as President of the North, had begun his policy of "Thorough"; Buckingham had just been murdered; Charles was promoting the very men against whom the Commons petitioned, and generally, with steady and determined hand, sowing the wind from which he, Strafford, Laud and the Church of England were to reap the whirlwind. The tide of Puritanism was rising, swelled by what seemed the wilful arbitrariness of the heads of Church and State.

The Bunyans had long been settled in Bedfordshire, and in former generations had owned property. The great writer's father, Thomas, was a brazier, or whitesmith, working in his own cottage. To call him a tinker gives a wrong impression, for, though he carried his wares to distant places, he had his workshop at home at Elstow. John was a vigorous, lively, popular boy, the leader of all the village sports. His homely wit, vigorous powers of expression, quickness, and observation, his kindness and good-temper, as well as strength and agility of body, must have endeared him to all his companions. After his conversion, when he began to review his conduct with more than ordinary strictness, he accuses himself of great sinfulness. He published a sort of spiritual autobiography in a work written during his twelve years' imprisonment called "Grace Abounding," which is almost as remarkable as "The Pilgrim's Progress" itself, and may be compared to the Confessions of St. Augustine. He distinctly says that he was never unchaste, and he married at the early age of twenty. The sins he laments are neglect of God, indifference to religion, dancing, indulging in sports on the village green on Sunday afternoon, and the habit of perpetual swearing. He was much interested in the services of the parish church, and was one of the bell-ringers. The habits he thought so sinful would, with the exception of the swearing, be quite in accordance with the standard of James I.'s "Book of Sports." "In spite of his self-reproaches," says the historian Green, "his life was a religious one; and the purity and sobriety of his youth was shown by his admission, at seventeen, into the ranks of the 'New Model'"—that is, he enlisted in a regiment of Cromwell's army. Two years later the war was over, and when he was scarcely twenty the young soldier married a girl of the set whom it was the fashion of the day to call "godly." As they neither of them had any money, nor even a plate or a spoon, they lived with Bunyan's father, and John worked with him in his trade.

When still a child of but nine or ten years old, John was racked with convictions of sin and haunted with religious fears. He had fearful dreams and dreadful visions, and was

haunted in his sleep with apprehensions of devils and wicked spirits. The thought of the Day of Judgment and the torments of the lost often came over him as a dark cloud in his boyish sports. This was evidently the result of the Puritan atmosphere acting on a growing lad of vivid imagination and keen nervous excitability. As he grew older he put all these impressions aside. He could not even endure to see others read pious books: "it would be as a poison to me." Yet he had a secret reverence and respect for those who were truly good; and hearing on one occasion a religious man swear made his heart ache. Conviction of sin burst upon him through a sermon of the Vicar, Christopher Hall, on Sabbath-breaking. His young wife also had been preparing him for this by reading with him some pious works which her father had left her. For a month or more after the sermon John resolutely put away all thought of reformation. But a poor godly neighbour induced him to read the Bible; and then he began to lead a stricter life. He was not yet converted in the full sense of the word, and says that for a whole year after this change of habit he, poor wretch as he was, was ignorant of Jesus Christ, and going about to establish his own righteousness, and had perished therein had not God in mercy shown him more of his state by nature.

One day, as he was in Bedford, he came upon three or four poor women sitting at a door in the sun, and talking of the things of God. These women were members of the congregation of the holy Mr. John Gifford, the prototype of Evangelist in "The Pilgrim's Progress," who subsequently became Rector of St. John's Church, Bedford, and Master of the Hospital. The words of these women opened a new spiritual region to John. "They spoke of their own wretchedness of heart, of their unbelief, of their miserable state by nature, of the new birth, and the work of God in their souls, and how the Lord refreshed them and supported them against the temptations of the devil by His words and promises." It was the happiness of these poor women that struck John. Religion had seemed to him a matter of restrictions and commands. Of religion as a Divine life kindled in the soul, and flooding it with a joy which creates a heaven on earth, he had no idea whatever. "They spake as if joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world." The young soldier felt that they knew something of which he, with all his efforts, was still quite ignorant. He made it his business to go again and again into the company of those good women. The more he heard the more he was dissatisfied with himself. The salvation of his

soul became the one great question of his life. At every spare moment he studied the Bible. "I read it with new eyes, as I never did before. I was, indeed, then never out of the Bible, either by reading or meditation." The Epistles of St. Paul, which before he could not away with, were now sweet and pleasant to him. He was ever crying out to God that he might know the truth and the way to heaven and glory. He became troubled about election and predestination. "Oh, that he had turned sooner! Oh, that he had turned seven years before! What a fool he had been to trifle away his time till his soul and heaven were lost! Was he called?" All those who seemed truly converted were now lovely in his eyes. "They shone, they walked like people that carried the broad seal of heaven about them. Oh, that he were like them, and shared in their goodly heritage!"

At last he took counsel. He spoke to the good women of Bedford to whom he had so often listened. By them he was introduced to the admirable and excellent Mr. Gifford. For a time his experiences were discouraging. The more he heard, the more hopeless his condition seemed, and the stronger grew his love of those habits which bound him to the world, and which he thought he ought to give up. He thought his case solitary. "This much sunk me. I thought my condition was alone; but how to get rid of, to get out of, these things I knew not." The very ground of his faith was shaken. "Was the Bible true, or was it not rather a fable and cunning story? All thought their own religion true. Might not the Turks have as good Scriptures to prove their Mahomet Saviour as Christians had for Christ? What if all we believed in should be but a 'think so,' too?"

For some years he continued like this. At times God's light and favour shone upon him, at others he was in the depths of despair. He thought he had sold Christ. His health began to suffer. Pains in his chest made him fear that he would burst asunder like Judas; it was Puritanism acting on a sensitive conscience, a vivid imagination, and a real gift of genius, without proper guidance. At last deliverance came. As he was walking in the fields, still with fears in his heart, the sentence fell on his soul: "Thy righteousness is in heaven." He looked up, and "saw with the eyes of his soul our Saviour at God's right hand." "There, I say, was my righteousness, so that wherever I was, or whatever I was a-doing, God could not say of me: 'He wants My righteousness,' for that was just before Him. Now did the chains fall from off my legs. I was loosed from my affliction and irons. My temptations also fled away, so that from that time those dreadful Scriptures left off to trouble me. Oh, methought,

Christ, Christ, there was nothing but Christ that was before mine eyes. I could look from myself to Him, and should reckon that all those graces of God that were now green upon me, were yet but like those crack-groats and fourpence-halfpennies that rich men carry in their purses, while their gold is in their trunks at home. Oh, I saw that my gold was in my trunk at home—in Christ, my Lord and Saviour. Further, the Lord did lead me into the mystery of union with the Son of God. His righteousness was mine, His merits mine, His victory also mine. Now I could see myself in heaven and earth at once; in heaven by my Christ, my Head, by my Righteousness and life, though on earth by my body or person. These blessed considerations were made to spangle in mine eyes. Christ was my all—all my Wisdom, all my Righteousness, all my Sanctification, all my Redemption."

The rest of the story of his life is easily told. He became a member of Mr. Gifford's congregation. His spiritual torments had nearly ruined his health, but now his robust constitution began to recover. Two daughters were born to him—one in 1650, the other in 1654. He left Elstow, and settled in Bedford, near his spiritual friends. A great sorrow befell him: his first wife died. Then he began to preach, following, though he did not know it, the example of the Primitive Church, and the maxim of the greatest of the Apologists, Justin Martyr, who said: "He who knows the Gospel, and can preach the Gospel, and does not preach it, is guilty before God." At first he preached with diffidence and modesty, then his wonderful gifts of genius brought him growing fame. He preached with all the directness, the fervour, the absolute conviction and the power of illustration of the great preacher of modern days, Mr. Spurgeon. He was still subject sometimes to his old fears: his natural self was hard to part with. The authorized ministers of the Commonwealth were just as tenacious of their supposed exclusive rights and prerogatives as any rectors or vicars of the discarded Church could afterwards be. Religious liberty meant to them only religious liberty to themselves. So bitter was the feeling aroused against him by the marvellous success of his irregular ministry, that his enemies, even before the restoration of Church and Crown, tried to put the arm of the law in motion to restrain him. In the better days of the medieval Church he would have been recognised, utilized, canonized, and become after his death St. John of Elstow; in these meagre days of faction and exclusiveness he was thwarted and threatened. But he persisted. He disputed openly with the Quakers for explaining away all the ordinances of the Christian Church. It was against them that he published his first book; we may be

grateful to them for teaching him to put his thoughts into writing. To a rejoinder of their champion he replied. In 1658 appeared his third book, in 1659 his fourth.

Then came the Restoration. Charles II.'s Declaration of amnesty and toleration from Breda put hopes into the hearts of the Puritans. But it was coupled with a proviso referring to the consent of Parliament, and the Parliament that once more assembled was full of those who had suffered severely from the sect that had dominated the Commonwealth. There was a reaction against Puritanism. Old laws were put in force against sectaries. In November, 1660, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the brave and simple preacher who had no license. The authorities knew nothing of the Primitive Church or of the maxim of Justin Martyr; they cared nothing for policy or conciliation. They had suffered, and they meant to retaliate. They thought the Church could best be reunited by force, not by persuasion. John was advised by some of his friends to seek safety by flight; he refused. He was taken before a county magistrate—Mr. Wingate. With sturdy English independence and an unconscious loyalty to the Primitive Church, he refused to give up preaching, and was taken to Bedford county gaol.

His imprisonment lasted twelve years, but it was not very severe, for on several occasions he took part in the proceedings of his Church. His friends tried to get him out on bail, but he would make no concession. In January, 1661, he was tried at Quarter Sessions. The presiding judge was the blustering, bullying, time-serving, notorious Sir John Keating. John refused to amend. The Clerk of the Peace was sent to argue with his good neighbour Bunyan, but he failed. A general pardon was issued at the Coronation, in 1661; but John was omitted. His heroic wife (he had married again) went to London to appeal to the House of Lords. The matter was brought before the judges at the next assize in August. Three times his wife presented her husband's appeal for a re-hearing before the judges Twisden and Sir Matthew Hale. Twisden was violent; Sir Matthew explained that an alteration in the law was required. Again in January, 1662, John made an attempt to get a hearing; but he was not released till the twelfth year of his imprisonment, 1672.

The liberty which John had at first was gradually curtailed. Then it was withdrawn. Melancholy feelings and forebodings of death naturally followed. In order to support his wife and family he made hundreds of thousands of long-tagged laces, as St. Paul worked at tent-making. Like St. Paul, he preached in prison, with great effect. He had two books, the Bible and "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," and these he con-

stantly studied. As in the case of St. Paul, gradually his life in prison became more endurable. For a short time in 1666 he was released, but soon again imprisoned. During the first half of his confinement his pen was very prolific; during the second half, after regaining his liberty for a space, he was naturally discouraged, and he wrote less. He did not regain his literary activity till his final release. The force that was mainly instrumental in obtaining the relaxation of the penal laws against sectaries was, oddly enough, that of his old opponents, the Quakers. He reaped the advantage of Charles II.'s Declaration of Indulgence, was licensed to preach in May, 1672, and four months afterwards was formally pardoned. How deplorable that this eminent servant of God, whose works, next to the Bible, have done more to bring the Christian faith home to the hearts of the people than those of any other writer, should, through the mistakes and misunderstandings of human controversies and arrangements, have spent twelve of the best years of his life in the county gaol of Bedford!

Among the works that he wrote during the earlier part of his imprisonment were the famous “Grace Abounding,” “Praying in the Spirit,” “Christian Behaviour,” and “Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith.”

His later years were happy and uneventful, and consequently, as he was the least self-important of men, little is known about them. They were full of the purest and most zealous evangelistic work, though he did not abandon his trade as a brazier. His fame as a preacher rapidly spread, and he was urgently pressed to remove from Bedford to London; but he had no worldly ambition, and could not separate himself from his friends in and round Bedford. In 1675 he was again imprisoned for a short time, on some outburst of arbitrary fanaticism, but was released through the good offices of Dr. Owen, formerly Cromwell's chaplain, who had become a person of influence. During this later imprisonment he began “*The Pilgrim's Progress.*” The first part was published in 1678, the second in 1685. Between the two he wrote the very shrewd and amusing counterpart, “*The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,*” which Macaulay says would have made him immortal even if he had never written his greater work. At this time he also composed his other celebrated allegory, “*The Holy War.*”

In 1685 he was once more threatened with persecution; but the danger passed over. When James II., in his hope of restoring the Holy Roman Church, turned to the Dissenters for support of his pretended liberality, the assistance of Bunyan was sought in the endeavour to secure Bedfordshire.

Bunyan, with his natural shrewd sagacity, refused to be cajoled. His last days were full of peace and manifold good works. When civic honours in Bedford were offered him, he refused all worldly advancement. At last, when on a mission of kindness in London, he got wet through. Stricken with mortal illness, his strong frame succumbed on August 31, 1688, in his sixty-first year. His remains were buried in Bunhill Fields. A statue has lately been erected to him in Bedford; but neither in St. Paul's Cathedral nor Westminster Abbey is there any memorial to one who has done more than any other modern theologian to plant the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in the hearts of the people.

Of "*The Pilgrim's Progress*," no better account could be given than that of Macaulay. It is the history of the growth of Bunyan's own soul, in all its varied experiences, translated into language and scenes of the most exquisite truth and beauty. The reader forgets that the writer is a humble sectary, and only realizes that he is a Christian after the very heart of St. Paul. His one limitation, that he believed with his whole heart and soul in the literal and verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture, a belief which had caused him years of anguish and torment, is in some degree the secret of his strength. At any rate, unhesitating belief and convinced enthusiasm have been the secret of every Christian achievement in all ages.

"The wicket-gate," says Macaulay, "and the desolate swamp which separates it from the City of Destruction; the long line of road, as straight as a rule can make it; the Interpreter's house, and all its fair shows; the prisoner in the iron cage; the palace, at the doors of which armed men kept guard, and on the battlements of which walked persons all clothed in gold; the cross and the sepulchre; the steep hill and the pleasant arbour; the stately front of the House Beautiful by the wayside (a description which he evidently borrowed on one of his journeys from the charming family religious House of Little Gidding); the chained lions crouching in the porch; the low, green Valley of Humiliation, rich with grass and covered with flocks—all are as well known to us as the sights of our own street. Then we come to the narrow place where Apollyon strode right across the whole breadth of the way to stop the journey of Christian, and where afterwards the pillar was set up to testify how bravely the Pilgrim had fought the good fight. As we advance the valley becomes deeper and deeper. The shade of the precipices on both sides becomes blacker and blacker. The clouds gather overhead. Doleful voices, the clanking of chains, and the rushing of many feet to and fro, are heard through the darkness. The way, hardly

discernible in gloom, runs close by the mouth of the burning pit, which sends forth its flames, its noisome smoke, and its hideous shapes, to terrify the adventurer. Thence he goes on amidst the snares and pitfalls, with the mangled bodies of those who have perished lying in the ditch by his side. At the end of the long dark valley he passes the dens in which the old giants (Paganism and Popery) dwelt, amidst the bones of those whom they had slain.

“Then the road passes straight on through a waste moor, till at length the towers of a distant city appear before the traveller, and soon he is in the midst of the innumerable multitudes of Vanity Fair. There are the jugglers and the apes, the shops and the puppet-shows. There are Italian Row, and French Row, and Spanish Row, and Britain Row, with their crowds of buyers, sellers, and loungers, jabbering all the languages of the earth.

“Thence we go on by the little hill of the silver mine and through the meadow of lilies, along the banks of that pleasant river which is bordered on both sides by fruit-trees. On the left branches off the path leading to the horrible castle, the courtyard of which is paved with the skulls of pilgrims; and right onward are the sheepfolds and orchards of the Delectable Mountains.

“From the Delectable Mountains the way lies through the fogs and briars of the Enchanted Ground, with here and there a bed of soft cushions spread under a green arbour. And beyond is the Land of Beulah, where the flowers, the grapes, and the songs of birds never cease, and where the sun shines night and day. Thence are plainly seen the golden pavements and streets of pearl on the other side of that black and cold river (of death) over which there is no bridge.”

This is the briefest possible outline of the marvellous chain of spiritual experiences which the inspired allegorist weaves. Every incident is full of suggestiveness and instruction. Every thought is illuminated by truths of Holy Scripture. Every illustration carries conviction to the soul as in entire harmony with the very mind of Christ.

What strikes one most in reading again this immortal friend of our childhood is the extraordinary beauty of the whole narrative, and the exquisite grace of many a passage. I will conclude with a few. The style itself is a model of vigorous simplicity, equal to Sir Thomas Malory's beautiful “*Morte d'Arthur.*”

Here is one. Christian is in the House Beautiful, and the charming sisters are talking with him. Prudence says: “Do you not find sometimes as if those things were vanquished which at other times are your perplexity?” Christian

answers: "Yes, but that is but seldom; but they are to me golden hours in which such things happen to me." "Can you remember," says Prudence, "by what means you find your annoyances at times as if they were vanquished?" "Yes," replies Christian, "when I think what I saw at the Cross, that will do it; and when I look upon my brodered coat, that will do it; and when I look into the roll that I carry in my bosom, that will do it; and when my thoughts wax warm about whither I am going, that will do it." "And what is it," asked Prudence, "that makes you so desirous to go to Mount Zion?" "Why," answered Christian, "there I hope to see Him alive that did hang dead on the Cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things that to this day are in me an annoyance to me; there they say there is no death, and there I shall dwell with such company as I like best. For, to tell you the truth, I love Him, because I was by Him eased of my burden. And I am weary of my inward sickness; I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the company that shall continually cry, 'Holy, holy, holy.'"

Or take this description of a time of spiritual peace and rest: "I saw then that they went on their way to a pleasant river, which David the king called The River of God, but John The River of the Water of Life. Now their way lay just upon the bank of this river; here, therefore, Christian and his companion walked with great delight; they drank also of the water of the river, which was pleasant and enlivening to their weary spirits. Besides, on the bank of this river, on either side, were green trees, with all manner of fruit, and the leaves they ate to prevent surfeits and other diseases that are incident to those that heat their blood by travels. On either side of the river was also a meadow, curiously beautified with lilies, and it was green all the year long. In this meadow they lay down and slept, for here they might lie down safely. When they awoke they gathered again of the fruit of the trees, and drank again of the water of the river, and then lay down to sleep. This they did several days and nights."

Or take this picture of the land of spiritual experience and contentment which comes towards the close of life: "Now I saw in my dream that by this time the Pilgrims were got over the Enchanted Ground (of spiritual self-satisfaction and other dangers) and entering into the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant. The way lying direct through it, they solaced themselves there for a season; yea, here they heard continually the singing of birds, and saw every day the flowers appear on the earth, and heard the voice of the turtle in the land. In this country the sun shineth night and day;

wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and also out of the reach of Giant Despair; neither from this place could they so much as see Doubting Castle. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to; also here met them some of the inhabitants thereof, for in this land the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the borders of Heaven."

Lastly, what could be more beautiful than this passage from one of much greater length, and of no less eloquence throughout: "Now while they were thus drawing towards the gate, behold! a company of the Heavenly Host came out to meet them, to whom it was said by the other two Shining Ones: These are the men that have loved our Lord when they were in the world, and that have forsaken all for His Holy Name; and He hath sent us to fetch them, and we have brought them thus far on their desired journey, that they may go in and look their Redeemer in the face with joy. Then the Heavenly Host gave a great shout, saying: Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. There came out also to meet them several of the King's trumpeters, clothed in white and shining raiment, who with melodious voices made even the heavens to echo with their sound. These trumpeters saluted Christian and his fellow with ten thousand welcomes from the world, and this they did with shouting and sound of trumpets.

"This done, they compassed them round about on every side; some went before, some behind, and some on the right hand, some on the left (as it were to guard them through the upper regions), continually sounding as they went, with melodious noise, in notes on high, so that the very sight was to them that could behold it as if Heaven itself was come down to meet them. Thus, therefore, they went, and as they walked, ever and anon those trumpeters, ever with joyful sound, would, by mixing their music by looks and gestures, still signify to Christian and his brother how welcome they were into their company, and with what gladness they came to meet them. And now were those two men in Heaven before they came at it, being swallowed up with the sight of Angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. Here, also, they had the City itself in view, and they thought they heard all the bells therein to ring, to welcome them thereto; but, above all, the warm and joyful thoughts that they had about their own dwelling there with such company, and that for ever and ever. Oh, by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed!"

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Short Notices.

Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. By HENRY GREY GRAHAM. Two vols. Pp. 265 and 272. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1899.

THESE very interesting and carefully compiled volumes give a somewhat gloomy and austere picture of the subject. The evidence quoted is very abundant, and the author has a wide knowledge of the literature of the century; but the inferences are sometimes too general. There were many Scottish families of rank and wealth who had constant intercourse with England, and who were quite on a par with English civilization, refinement, and manners; many of the Scottish nobility and gentry were educated in England. These naturally set up a standard of comfort different from that of which Mr. Graham has evidence, and family traditions and letters do not bear out his statements on social matters as universal. But the work is very ably performed and extremely amusing.

The Sacred Vestments. By the Rev. T. S. PASSMORE. Sampson Low and Co. Pp. 183.

This is a translation of the third book of "The Rationale of Divine Service," by Durandus, Bishop of Mens, Legate and Chaplain to various Popes of the thirteenth century. It is a curious and most fanciful account of the meaning of the various vestments of the Mediæval Church, and is a very vivid illustration of the puerilities of that era.

Knots Untied. By the late Bishop RYLE. C. J. Thynne. Pp. 442. Price 1s.

This cheap reprint of Bishop Ryle's important exposition of the Evangelical standpoint in matters of religion is now within the reach of everybody, and should be studied by all those who desire to have a clear idea of the controversies which are now rending the Church of England.

The Primacy of England. By SAMUEL F. HULTON. Simpkin, Marshall and Co. Pp. 355.

This very interesting work deals with the struggle between Canterbury and York. It describes the eclipse of both sees in importance by Henry VIII. and his successor, and, finally, the days of Parliamentary supremacy. The present condition of the Church, which has now no discipline but moral suasion, is ably placed to the gradual extinction or suspension of ecclesiastical courts.

Bishop Walsham How. By F. DOUGLAS HOW. Isbister and Co. Pp. 480. Price 16s.

There was no Bishop of the Church of England more beloved in his day than Bishop Walsham How, and he will be long remembered by his hymns, his Commentaries, and his "Plain Words." He had a frank

and bright disposition, was a very earnest Christian, and a man of good sense. Optimism led him frequently to form too high estimates of those about him; but he had a power of creating enthusiasm, and he did much to inspire the clergy of the East End of London with courage and hope. His life was brightened with humour, and it is pleasant to have, in a single volume, a well-drawn reminiscence of so interesting a personality.

Public School Sermons. By H. MONTAGUE BUTLER, D.D. Isbister and Co. Pp. 271. Price 5s.

The Master of Trinity's sermons are always helpful and suggestive. His language is graceful and scholarly, and the argument clear. These sermons to boys are extremely useful and valuable, and contain much that is really beautiful in conception and style. They are framed directly on the teaching of the New Testament.

Shakespeare's "Hamlet": a New Theory. By HAROLD FORD, D.C.L. Elliot Stock.

This interesting critique works out a new theory as to Shakespeare's intention in the creation of "Hamlet." "'Hamlet' is not merely a psychological tragedy, but a moral and spiritual history of a pure and lofty soul in its interminable conflict with the malignant powers of evil in the world, which it would fain renounce." The writer brings many influential arguments from the play to bear out his conception, which, of course, add greatly to the interest of the play.

The Apostle Paul's Reply to Lord Halifax. BY REV. WALTER WYNN. Elliot Stock. 1899.

Under this somewhat quaint title Mr. Wynn offers us an extended commentary on the Galatians, which he regards, not without justice, as the great bulwark of spiritual Christianity against formalism and ceremonial religion. The author believes that the man who preaches any truth that destroys sacerdotalism in the Church is doing a great work for modern England, and is confident that if St. Paul were living to-day he would be the greatest antagonist that sacerdotalism, whether Roman or Anglican, would have to face.

The book is far too prolix, but we sympathize with the writer's objects, and are inclined to think that his volume may prove useful. His main contention cannot, we think, be set aside.

The Month.

ALL present news from the seat of war seems to indicate the breakdown of the Boer resistance, and accordingly the break-up of the Dutch oligarchy that has been the cause of all the mischief hitherto. Lord Roberts occupied Johannesburg on May 30, thus saving the mines. Within a few days the fall of Pretoria was announced, and the release of

nearly 4,000 British prisoners followed. Acting under Lord Roberts' instructions, General Buller invaded the Transvaal just at this juncture, and since that date he has completely cleared Natal of the Boers.

Desultory fighting has continued at intervals since Pretoria fell and Kruger fled, but the end of the war is practically certain. At the same time, we expect that a good deal of trouble may be caused Lord Roberts by scattered parties of Boers worrying our communications by guerilla tactics. One thing is certain: whatever ought to be done will be done, and that effectively, by the Commander-in-chief.

Reports to hand tell of most valuable services rendered in connection with the tents of the Soldiers' Christian Association at Wynberg, Orange River, Enslin Camp, Sterkstroom, Dordrecht, Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Ladysmith, Dewdrop Camp, Arcadia, Frere Camp, and other places. Lord Roberts, who kindly opened the first tent at Bloemfontein, has taken a deep personal interest in the work, and recently wrote advising the placing of the S.C.A. iron buildings—two at Bloemfontein (so as to admit of the tents there being moved forward with the troops), one at Kimberley, and one at Ladysmith.

Besides serious troubles in Ashanti, which we are obliged to meet under difficulties of which ordinary folk have no idea whatever, other troubles—graver, because involving tremendous issues—are ready to meet us in China. The "Boxer" (= Big-Sword) rising is perfectly comprehensible, if justly regarded. Here is an ancient nation constantly being patronized or humbled by alien peoples; here is a nation whose life is almost as old as history, that prides itself on its mighty past, and is ill-disposed to welcome foreign exploitations and foreign ideas. "China for the Chinese!" is the inarticulate cry of the people. Who should deny that there is much to be said for this attitude of China? Unfortunately, the "Boxers," who proclaim themselves champions of Chinese sentiment, are low ruffians and murderers, and have completely alienated the sympathies of intelligent watchers in Europe. And sinister rumours are afloat that Russia's hand is only too visible in all the play of circumstance; that she is moving forward for her own ends, regardless of the probable result. Hence there is the making of great trouble in the Far East. And who can tell how soon Europe may not herself be flung into the melting-pot of war?

Lord Rosebery, in congratulating the *Western Daily Mercury* on its fortieth anniversary, says the present moment (the letter was written on the 9th ult.) finds faction annihilated by a war in which the great mass of the nation desires to stand shoulder to shoulder. It may brace, mould, and unite a nation. With regard to a sane appreciation of the destinies and responsibilities of Empire, we stand at the parting of the ways. Will Britain flinch or falter in her world-wide task? How is she best to pursue it? What new forces and inspirations will it need? What changes does it involve? These are the questions which require clear sight, cool courage, and freedom from formula.

The Queen, who became patron of the S.P.G. in 1838, has given a donation of £200 to the bicentenary fund of that society. Her Majesty has also accepted very graciously a copy of a book of "Hymns, Sonnets, and other Poems for the Bicentenary," which has recently been published.

The annual meeting of the Church Reform League was held at the Church House, Westminster, last Friday afternoon. The Bishop of London presided, and was supported by the Bishops of Salisbury,

Gloucester, and Rochester, and Bishop Barry. The Bishop of London, in his opening speech, alluded to the draft Bill for the reform of Convocation and for the constitution of Houses of Laymen. It was universally acknowledged that the Church of England should have a greater amount of self-government. The Bill which had been drafted set forth that, as a first step towards the attainment by the Church of a greater measure of autonomy, it is desirable that the Convocations should obtain from Parliament a declaration that they should have power to reform their own constitution, irrespective of the representation of the clergy; that power should be given to constitute in connection with themselves representative Houses of Laymen, and to arrange for the joint sitting and acting of the two Convocations and Houses of Laymen as united bodies. Sir John Kennaway, Lord Hugh Cecil, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Earl of Stamford also addressed the meeting.

The recent debate in the Lower House of Convocation on the supply and training of candidates for Holy Orders was of exceptional interest. Archdeacon Sandford, as chairman of the committee which had presented a report on the subject, dealt with its recommendations in a very just manner. There was a general agreement that more attention should be paid to the study of Holy Scripture, the Archdeacon, the Dean of Canterbury, and Canon Bright all following the lines of the report, emphasizing this point. Archdeacon Sandford remarked that "The true spirit of doctrine must be wanting unless a man knew his Bible. It was painfully the case that when a man examined candidates for Holy Orders, as he had done for many years, he would sometimes find that men had their views about the Bible, and that they had read books about the Bible, but did not know the Bible itself. They did not know it in that old-fashioned sense in which it was known by the best of the clergy half a century ago."

In a letter to the *Record* Prebendary Webb-Peploe thus further explains his position with regard to the projected "Round Table" Conference :

"(1) I only moved a resolution on the subject by special suggestion and desire from those in authority.

"(2) I never made any request for the summoning of a 'Round Table Conference.' On the contrary, I positively declined to accept such a resolution, and only consented (after I had weighed the proposal carefully) to move 'That this conference consider the desirability,' etc.

"(3) I specially announced, in the opening words of my address, that 'the resolution was interrogatory and not affirmative in form,' and in every part of my speech I displayed my conviction that the calling together of such a conference would be futile and absurd unless all the members were bound by conditions and 'terms of reference' such as I hardly dared to believe, or even hope, that the Ritualists would accept.

"And (4), in the words of the *Guardian* describing my address, 'the greater part of the speech would have been more appropriate had I been moving the rejection of the proposal.'"

A Church of England paper is to be started in which an active propaganda will be carried on to bring about Disestablishment. The direction and scope of this movement must be very closely watched.

We regret to announce the death of Sir George Grove, who, as Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company, director of the Royal College of Music, and editor of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, has been

for nearly half a century actively associated with musical culture in this country. He was born in 1820.

The following resolution of congratulation from the Church Missionary Society was cordially welcomed by the Standing Committee of the S.P.G. on Thursday :

“ Extract from Minutes of Committee, May 8th, 1900.

“ That the committee of the C.M.S., remembering the terms of cordial sympathy in which the committee of the S.P.G. addressed them but a year ago on the occasion of their centenary, and having in mind the many tokens of practical goodwill by which members of that venerable society marked the event, have peculiar pleasure in conveying to the committee of the S.P.G., on the happy occasion of its bicentenary, the expression of a sympathy not less heartfelt and of an interest not less prayerful. Considering the place occupied by the two societies in seeking the fulfilment of their Master's great command, and the discharge in some measure of the great responsibility resting upon the Church of England to take a large part in the evangelization of the world, the committee of the C.M.S. earnestly pray that this unique event may more widely direct men's minds to that responsibility, and engage them to seize and utilize the vast opportunities of the present.

“ The committee of the C.M.S. cannot fail to share with that of the S.P.G. a feeling of deep gratitude to God for the blessing which has rested on the labours of that society in the past, as well as to participate in the anxiety with which all missionary agencies must regard the vastness of the work which yet remains to be done. But, being confident, as well from the assurances of the Word of God as from their own experience, that He is blessing and will bless all efforts to propagate the Gospel, until by His Church the world has been fully evangelized, they look to the members of their venerable sister society in all parts of the world to go forth upon a new century of missionary service with yet larger hope, with more urgent prayer for the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit, and with deeper personal self-sacrifice, knowing that labours so carried on cannot be in vain in the Lord.”

The programme of the next Church Congress (which will take place at Newcastle on September 25 to 28) has just been issued. The opening sermons will be preached by the Archbishop of York at the Cathedral and by the Bishop of St. Andrew's at St. Andrew's Church. The Bishop of Newcastle's presidential address will be delivered in the Congress Hall, Olympia, where the chief meetings will be held. The subjects down for discussion may be divided into Home Work, Doctrine, and Foreign Work. Under the first head comes a review of the Church's progress during the nineteenth century. The Bishop of Ripon and Canon Overton will discuss this for the Church as a whole, and Canon Savage and Canon Henderson will speak of advances made in the two local dioceses of Durham and Newcastle. The question of the educational policy of the Church, which will be in the hands of Mr. E. Flower, M.P., Prebendary Gibson, Mr. T. C. Horsfall, the Bishop of Coventry, and Sir William Plowden. A discussion as to the way in which the self-government of the Church can best be brought about will be conducted by Chancellor P. V. Smith and others. The Housing of the Working Classes is to be dealt with by the Rev. J. W. Horsley, Dr. Bowmaker, Professor Steggall, and Sir T. Wrightson, M.P. Doctrinal questions are represented, first, by “ The Reformation in England ; what it

was in its Essence, and to what it has committed the Church of England," the speakers being Mr. F. S. Stevenson, M.P., Professor Moule, Professor Lock, Dr. Gee, and the Rev. W. H. Hutton; and, secondly, by "Old Testament Criticism in its Bearing on Teaching," in the hands of Professor Ryle, Professor Margoliouth, Dr. J. H. Bernard, and Canon Watson.

The Bishop of Newcastle is to be chairman of the Friday morning meeting on the subject of Foreign Missions, and there will be a review of nineteenth century progress in the colonies, in India, and elsewhere, by the Bishop of Trinidad, Bishop Webb, Bishop Johnson, Sir Charles Elliott, Mrs. Bishop, and the Rev. H. E. Fox. The devotional subject is "Our Lord's Ascension," which will be expounded by Archdeacon Diggle, the Bishop of Thetford, Canon Body, Canon Bernard, the Rev. F. S. Webster, and the Rev. E. A. Stuart.

The sectional meetings are confined to the evenings, and great interest will centre on the subject of "War: the Attitude and Duties of the Church." The Bishop of Durham, who has strong views on the matter, will preside.

The E.C.U. declaration has not been allowed to pass unnoticed. The Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford (Dr. Ince), in an able and unanswerable letter to the *Times* of June 21, has rightly designated it as a disingenuous performance. The notes to the declaration are full of quotations that have been carefully "cooked," in order to give readers an idea that the "authorities" quoted support the doctrine of the Eucharist favoured by the E.C.U. committee. To appeal to Jeremy Taylor, Ridley, and others as being in favour of the adoration of the Sacrament, by the process of mutilating quotations from the works of these divines, is really too bad. *Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi.*

The Bicentenary of the S.P.G. was inaugurated on June 16 by a choral Celebration at St. Paul's, when the Bishop of Albany preached. There were twenty-five bishops present. A popular meeting was held in Exeter Hall on the 18th, the Archbishop of Armagh in the chair. The great meeting, however, did not take place till the 19th (at Exeter Hall), and the occasion was honoured with the presence both of the Primate and the Premier. Lord Salisbury's speech was in many ways a memorable performance, and has called the attention of the secular press to the work of the society in quite special fashion. How large a part the S.P.G. has had in the evangelization of America was fully recognised by the Bishop of Albany in his sermon; but the society has done a vast deal of good in laying the foundations of the African Church on a broad and comprehensive basis.

The World's Temperance Congress has taken place during the month. The speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury was vigorous, of course, and contained some striking statistics as to the progress of the national evil in our midst.



Obituary.

BISHOP RYLE, first Bishop of Liverpool, has not long survived his retirement. He has gone from us, full of days and honour. With him passes away the most prominent among the Evangelical Churchmen of the last quarter of a century.

The papers have given such full accounts of the Bishop's life and labours that we shall not do more here than make a few quotations from notices that have already appeared. The first, a striking one, is from the *Times*, and runs thus:

"Was the first Bishop of Liverpool a failure on the pastoral side of his office? We cannot see how this can in justice be met by anything save an emphatic negative. It is true that Dr. Ryle did not set about building a cathedral, as Dr. Benson did as first Bishop of Truro; but the needs of the two dioceses were different. Cornwall was overstocked with empty churches, and Church-life wanted a centre. Liverpool was crying out for churches and mission-rooms for its seething population, and cathedral-building could wait. This was the Bishop's view, though he never frustrated the cathedral scheme, and it was justified of its effects. In his twenty years' episcopate forty-two new churches and forty-eight new mission-halls were consecrated and opened for Divine service, and there was a proportionate increase in the ranks of his clergy; the number of incumbents rose from 170 to 206, and that of the assistant curates from 120 to 220. His administration settled problems such as that of 'poor livings' and clergy pensions while others were thinking about them; and a diocese in which there are now few livings under £250 a year, and which can boast a pension fund of £1,000 a year to relieve the aged and out-worn clergy, can scarcely have suffered serious mismanagement."

The second quotation (given by the *Guardian*) is from words of the late Bishop himself, uttered by him on his first visit to Liverpool:

"You know what are my opinions. I am a committed man. . . . I come among you a Protestant and Evangelical Bishop of the Church of England, but I do not come among you the Bishop of any one particular party. I come with a desire to hold out the right hand to all loyal Churchmen, by whatever name they are known, holding at the same time my own opinions determinedly."

The last is from a letter of Ruskin, whom the Bishop has survived so short a while; it is valuable as giving expression to the universal conviction that Ryle's greatest work was done through the medium of the oft-despised tract:

"I forgot to say that the pleasantest and most useful reading I know on nearly all religious questions whatever are Ryle's tracts. They are not professedly doctrinal, but chiefly exhortative; the doctrine, however, comes in incidentally, very pure and clear."

