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The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of The Rev. John Bacchus Dykes MA., MUS.DOC.:

A Critical Re-appraisal

GRAHAM MICHAEL CORY

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Music Department

Durham University

2016

ABSTRACT

One hundred and forty years after his death John Bacchus Dykes remains well known in the pews as a prolific Victorian hymn-tune composer, many of whose tunes are numbered amongst the most highly regarded and popular of any from that period. He is less well remembered for his anthems and services, for his theological writings and for his scholarly lectures on church music. And he is scarcely remembered at all as an Anglo-Catholic ritualist who clashed spectacularly with his evangelical bishop, sought from the Court of Queen's Bench a writ to compel his Bishop to do those things which the law required him to do, lost the case and died shortly thereafter, a broken man.

But despite the fact that some of Dykes's hymn-tunes have become almost inseparable from the words for which they were written, in the century following his death he earned a level of disparagement that often crossed the boundary of objective criticism and strayed into vituperative, cliché-laden condemnation. He was vilified for his music's supposed chromaticism and sentimentality, and was portrayed as an amateur who wrote too much.

In this study I contend that Dykes's music cannot be fully appreciated without understanding Dykes in all his manifestations. So I examine Dykes the man, the priest and pastor, the theologian and teacher, the organist and conductor, the wit, the scholar and the Anglo-Catholic ritualist, revealing in the process a dark secret which he took to his grave and kept there for a century and a half. In doing so, I aim to show that Dykes was an important musical pioneer, unafraid to experiment with harmonic, melodic and metrical forms; that many of the adverse criticisms levelled at him were unfounded; and that the incontrovertible integrity of the man is mirrored in the integrity of his music.

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Abbreviations

A&M	Hymns Ancient & Modern
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
CCS	Cambridge Camden Society
CT	Church Times
JBD	John Bacchus Dykes
MT	Musical Times
NT	New Testament
OM	Oxford Movement
OT	Old Testament
RCO	Royal College of Organists

Acknowledgements

As usual in a project of this sort, I have depended on the help and goodwill of many people. First and foremost, my supervisors at Durham University, Professors Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon have been generous in sharing their knowledge and enthusiasm, and their criticisms have been benign. Then, in alphabetical order, the late Dr Brian Crosby, scholar and expert on the music of Durham Cathedral; William Grassick, a descendant of Dykes, who kindly allowed me to make use of his genealogical research; Dr John Henderson, RSCM Librarian; the Revd. Dr Michael Hinton; the Rev. Peter Kashouris, current Vicar of St Oswald's, Durham (who, if he ever wearied at hearing about the saintly virtues of his predecessor, was masterful in disguising the fact); Frances Pond, who provided access to, and invaluable help with, manuscripts in the RCO library; Dr David Pound, for making medical matters simple enough for me to understand; Sue Stapleford, for help and support which went beyond generous access to the *A&M* Archives; and Norman Staveley, who has kept Dykes's memory and honour alive in Hull. Twice the Trustees of Hymns Ancient & Modern financed my public presentations on Dykes, and I am very grateful indeed for their liberality.

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In 1876 Dykes left a widow to mourn her loss. My embarkation on this all-consuming project in 2012 created another 'Dykes widow', and I am grateful to Penny for handling the loneliness of her intermittent loss of a husband with fortitude. ADORO TE DEVOTE

The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.: A Critical Re-appraisal

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'There has probably been no form of any art in the history of the world which has been so overrun by the unqualified amateur as English Church Music from about 1860 to 1900.'[1]

'The advancement of church music in this century will have been indebted to no one more than John B. Dykes.'[2]

'Most of Dykes's tunes exhibit weaknesses which make musicians blush.'[3]

Introduction

An illuminating study on the life of John Bacchus Dykes could be constructed simply by reproducing the plaudits and brickbats he inspired: taken together, the chapter epigraphs tell his story in a few sentences. Not only would the essayist have a rich seam to mine, the contrasts are stark enough to be wryly amusing, his critics tending to gravitate towards the extremes. Few of those whose attention has been caught by his music have shown themselves to be indifferent to it. He is both exemplar and whipping-boy, hero and villain. Even when looking at the same tunes commentators see different things. 'The uplifting ALFORD,' for example, combines being 'one of the finest modern tunes'[4] with being 'of doubtful value for congregational use.'[5] VOX DILECTI and COME UNTO ME are Dykes at his 'most beautiful and popular'[6] and 'Dykes at his worst'.[7] He is to some a mere amateur, a panderer to low tastes. Even merits are nullified with a patronising sniff: 'singability' — a neologism bearing the whiff of faint praise — is one of those attributes which is conceded rather than acknowledged.

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1 Hadow, W.H. *Church Music* (Longmans, Green and Co: London, 1926), p. 23.

2 *MT*, 1 July 1868, p. 454.

3 Long, K. *The Music of the English Church* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1971) p. 355.

4 Lutkin, P.C. *Music in the Church* (Young Churchman Company: Milwaukee, 1910) p. 31.

5 Brown, J.N. *A Critical and Descriptive Index of Hymn Tunes* (John L Murray: Trenton, 1889) p. 5.

6 Jones, F.A. in *The Strand Magazine* Vol. 9 1895 p. 588.

7 *Times,* 18 March 1939 p. 10.

If there is something surprising in this contradiction it is not that tastes differ so markedly, nor that some detractors are so vituperative, nor yet that some have elevated personal preference to the status of critical theory. It is that Dykes the man, Dykes the priest and pastor, the theologian and teacher, the organist and conductor, the wit and the scholar, the Anglo-Catholic ritualist, was and is widely regarded as a near saint of the Victorian church and a church music composer of exceptional merit. As I aim to show, Dykes the composer cannot be properly appreciated without understanding Dykes in all his manifestations, including one dark secret which he took to his grave and kept there for a century and a half. But this study does not seek to prove that one or other view was objectively correct — that Dykes was either musical genius or dilettante. Qualitatively speaking, his musical output is undeniably uneven. Without committing the Routleyism[1] of equating 'I don't like' with 'this is bad', most of his detractors would admit that some tunes have merit, and most of his apologists would concede that some tend towards the banal and, occasionally, the technically inept. So be it: we need not reveal our prejudices by suggesting our own good/bad taxonomy. Having arrived on common ground, better to rest on it.

Thesis structure

It is unfortunate that, apart from his largely uncollated and widely dispersed correspondence, official documents and contemporary newspaper reports, the principal source of biographical information is a single volume, a hagiography penned by two sisters and edited by a friend.[2] (A work printed the previous year[3] provides additional material, but its author being also one of the co-authors of the hagiography, it anticipates the later book's sycophancy.) The slim, uncritical and sketchy work has been the store which subsequent writers have plundered, irrespective of its occasional implausibility and inaccuracies, and its want of critical evaluation. Whilst there are no obvious deliberate misstatements of fact (although there are numerous factual errors), the biographer's editorial prerogative — invariably exercised in a direction which burnishes the subject's reputation — introduces the error of inveracity by deliberate omission: the picture, whilst accurate in its general statements, is inaccurate by virtue of its particular omissions. (And if Fowler comes across as unrelentingly deferential, Fanny's *Memories* take obsequiousness

[1] Erik Routley's opinions, predominantly disparaging but wildly inconsistent, are examined at various points in this study.

[2] Fowler, J.T. (ed.) *The Life and Letters of the Rev. John Bacchus Dykes* (John Murray: London, 1897). Fowler states that the authors were a sister and a niece but this is incorrect.

[3] Dykes, Fanny *Personal Memories* (William Andrews: London, 1896).

to a cloying level.) Whereas a biographical study sufficient to replace Fowler would over-extend the current project, I nevertheless introduce a significant amount of new material which reveals more of the man and his work.

The established church at the time of Dykes's birth had still not fully embraced hymnody as a central component of the liturgy. Although Dykes himself was frequently to lecture on the centrality of hymns to public and private worship from earliest times, the power of Bishops to determine their own policies in the matter was more or less absolute. It was for the non-conformists to discover and exploit the potency of hymns as a means of filling pews and as an additional medium, both for spreading the gospel and for directing peoples' minds to God. However, even as Dykes's was embarking on his second decade, Keble, Newman and others had laid the foundations of the Oxford Movement which also came to appreciate the value of hymnody. So Chapters 1 to 5 survey the roots of the society into which Dykes was born and in which he grew up; the political and social background; and the Church in England as it had developed between 1800 and 1850. The continuing biography divides Dykes's life into four convenient periods.

Chapter 6 provides a taxonomy and critique of all Dykes's music while Chapter 7 looks at the critical reception given to his music from 1860 to the present. Chapter 8 provides a taxonomy of his extensive theological, ecclesiological and musicological writings, yielding further valuable clues about the man himself. Given that a frequent criticism of Dykes's music is that it is 'sentimental', Chapter 9 considers the questions of sentimentality and emotion in his music. And as communication in whatever medium can be either truthful or false, it considers whether we can discern truth or falsity in his music. Chapter 10 draws the study to a conclusion. The Appendices contain his compositions; annotated correspondence and other documents; and his annotated writings.

My first objective has been to present a picture of Dykes — as seen and heard through nineteenth-century eyes and ears, using correspondence, articles and official records — as a man of his time and place. My second has been, by reviewing the literature from 1876 onwards, to assess the validity of his critics' judgements. My final aim has been to assess his enduring significance in the sphere of English hymnody.

Part One

Chapter 1

Church and society in Hull, and their shaping of, and by, the Dikes[1] family.

'Puseyism…seems like a smoke from the bottomless pit,
which threatens to shed darkness over the whole land.'[2]

'I wish [my congregation] were more spiritual;…I
have heard of some persons receiving benefit.'[3]

'I have been much struck with the awful consequences of debauchery.'[4]

Hull history

A wide-ranging account of the early history of Hull[5] charts the town's development from a medieval river port to a greatly expanded modern seaport, such expansion facilitated by the development of inland waterways which traversed the Pennines. The subsequent arrival of the railways — in the development of which Dykes's father had an interest — occurred too late to reverse a decline which had become apparent by the mid-1820s. Nevertheless, the vibrancy of the port contributed to the enrichment of the town, bringing advances in healthcare and popular education. But if this transformation brought obvious economic and social benefits, an unhappy corollary has a tangential relevance for this account of an as-yet unborn scion of the town: the expansion of the mercantile marine and the consequent growth of a transitory population of seafarers had a depressing effect on the aggregate moral tone of the populace. And where Satan lurks, can the admonitory arm of the church be far away? (As we shall see, one influential cleric, closely connected with our subject and with a burden to lift the town out of the state of moral turpitude into which it had sunk, was moved to publish a sermon entitled *The fatal tendency of Lewdneſs to corrupt the Morals and deſtroy the Happineſs of Society expoſed…*[6])

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1 Fowler explains the spelling anomaly (p.19). For our purposes we need merely note that John Bacchus (and his father and grandfather before him) were Christened 'Dikes' (see Baptismal Certificate, App. B p. 16) but JBD reverted to the family's original spelling during his years at Cambridge. When original sources are quoted verbatim, the given spelling is retained without use of *sic*.

2 King, J. *Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Dykes LL.B* (Seeleys: London, 1849) pp. 207–208.

3 *ibid*, p. 30.

4 *ibid.* p. 69.

5 Allison, K.J. 'Hull, 1700-1835' in *A History of the County of York: East Riding: Vol 1: The City of Kingston upon Hull* (1969) pp. 174–214.

6 King, p. 75.

The English Church

In the wider Realm, the eighteenth century was a period of unrelenting internecine conflict within the church. Ironically, the vigour which infused the infighting had an equal and opposite counterpart in the lethargy of a church whose purpose was supposedly to preach the Gospel and to 'direct sinners in the way'. 'From the accession of George III to the close of the eighteenth century, [the English Church] was in a most prosperous, peaceful, and, to tell the truth, sleepy state.'[1]

The century had opened with the Calvinist King William III on the throne, between whom and the High, predominantly Tory, Anglicans there was mutual antipathy.[2] And anyway, 'Like many foreigners, he found Anglicanism an enigma, neither wholly catholic nor wholly protestant',[3] a chronic — some might say a characteristic — ambiguity within the established church which was to bring it to the threshold of schism in the following century, with the profoundest of consequences for the subject of this study. William's succession by Queen Anne, whose religious sympathies lay with the opposite wing of the church, did nothing to bring stability to the Church. Instead, what may be characterised as a triple alliance between High Church Queen, a High Church Tory party and a Parliament dominated by the Tories, set the general tone — a tone vehemently (and statutorily) antagonistic to all forms of dissent, but especially Roman Catholicism, Quakerism and Deism — for the Church in England until the period of Low Church, Whig supremacy between 1714 and 1760. Almost to guarantee the continued alienation of the dissenters from the established church, Moorman notes[4] that the *de facto* emasculation of the Convocations of Canterbury and York denied to the established church a forum for the rational consideration of matters of great importance. Hardly surprising, then, that this vacuum gave a free rein for polemicists to inveigh against dissenters of every stripe. Although the Whig revival saw a degree of reaction against the more extreme examples of repression and a rather more tolerant attitude generally, the position of Roman Catholics and Quakers remained highly disadvantageous.

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1 Overton, J.H. *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)* (Longmans, Green, & Co.: London, 1893) p. 14.

2 Moorman, J.R.H. *A History of the Church in England* (Adam and Charles Black: London, 1953).

3 *ibid.* p. 269.

4 *ibid.* pp. 271–2.

Quite apart from internal politics — and the century from 1700 had witnessed major, more or less peaceful, advances in industry, agriculture, education and society generally — there had for many years been turbulence on the continent and, most significantly, war on land and sea between Britain and Napoleonic France. However, the threat that such proximate political and social upheaval represented to our own domestic tranquillity had a beneficial side effect for the church in England, no matter how languorous it had become. The turmoil

> affected the attitude of Englishmen towards their own Church in more ways than one. It undoubtedly increased their attachment to that Church, simply because she was a type of all settled institutions; and settled institutions were at all hazards to be upheld when the unsettlement of them in France was giving so fearful a warning. Not undeservedly was the Church regarded as the great bulwark of stability in England. She had been inactive; but there was a *vis inertia* in her very inactivity which constituted an effectual barrier against all dreaded change.[1]

And if her clergy, far from occupying some rarefied, sanctified, academically-elevated cloister, instead 'mixed freely in social life; not perhaps giving a high spiritual tone to it,' they nevertheless were perceived to be vaguely 'influencing it for good'.[2] As they were part of a church which itself was an inalienable part of the established order of things, they aligned themselves foursquare against the pernicious influence of the French.

Whereas some of the clergy were unquestionably supine and dissolute, others were seized of their higher calling. Indeed, a redeeming feature of the English church in the eighteenth century can be seen in the emergence of a sect which recognised the urgency, both of stripping away the inessentials of formalised religion and of persuading each individual of his or her need for personal redemption. Increasingly known as 'Methodists', and galvanised by the soul-stirring preaching of John Wesley and George Whitefield, this evangelising party — at this stage still firmly rooted in the established church — generated something of a renaissance within the Church of England (and with it, of course, fuel for further internecine disputes). Arriving on the scene 'when a deadly torpor of indifference and sloth was slowly creeping over her' the evangelical or Low Church party 'interested the masses in religious things, at a time when among the people religion was being largely forgotten.'[3] By the start of the nineteenth century the evangelical party had increased in

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1 Overton, p. 2.

2 *loc. cit.*

3 Spence-Jones, H.D.M. *The Church of England: a history for the people*, Vol. 4 (The Waverley Book Company: London, 1904) p. 274.

importance and influence in the English church. The key figures 'infused into the English Church a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the tone and tendency of the preaching of its ministers…the evangelical movement had become the almost undisputed centre of religious activity in England.'[1]

But if the imperative for change had become irresistible, the two opposing parties, whereas they had the motivation, lacked the numbers. With the High and Low Church parties occupying the opposing wings, a far greater number occupied the centre ground, people 'whose creed consisted mainly in a sort of general amiability;…who were mere worldlings; some, alas! who were absolutely immoral.'[2] However, even if the evangelicals represented only a small proportion of those, lay and ordained, who belonged to the Church of England, they were the strongest single party in the Church at that time. But still they did not exercise a wide, practical influence over the Church and nation at large.

> The views which they held about the Church were not held generally. Even many of those who valued most deeply the Church of England valued it chiefly as a great national institution, the preserver of order and decorum, and the home of culture. Inward spiritual religion was tacitly assumed by some, loudly proclaimed by others, to be the almost exclusive possession of quite another school of thought. To be "serious" meant to be a Low Churchman, not a High Churchman.[3]

Without the weight of numbers those wishing reform needed leaders of exceptional character, charisma and ability to follow where Wesley and Whitefield had led if they were to achieve pre-eminence. Sir James Stephen, in his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849)[4] identified the four great evangelists of the Church of England in these times as being Henry Venn, former slave trader John Newton, Thomas Scott and Hull's Joseph Milner. And despite the antipathy on the part of many churchmen to those whose enthusiasm exhibited an unbecoming zeal, the evangelical party had important support within the laity, of whom Hull's own MP William Wilberforce is perhaps one of the best remembered. William Hague recounts how 'Wilberforce would… describe his emergence as an Evangelical convert as being akin to wakening from a dream and recovering "the use

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1 Lecky, W.E.H. *England in the Eighteenth Century, Chapter ix*. quoted in Spence-Jones p. 270.

2 Overton, p. 16.

3 *ibid*. p. 47.

4 Cited in Spence-Jones, p. 265.

of my reason after a delirium"'.[1] Wilberforce's championing of the anti-slavery cause needs no rehearsal but it is worth remarking that, by the Emancipation Act of 1833 'the greatest blot on Christianity was wiped out, so far as England and her empire was concerned, mainly owing to the exertions of the evangelical party and its devoted leader.'[2]

The Church in Hull

The fact that geographical circumstances made pre-nineteenth-century Hull more accessible to trade by water than by land had long exerted an important influence on the development of Christian religion in the town.[3] Whereas the westward port of Liverpool looked over the water towards Catholic Ireland, Hull was its mirror image, its eastward situation and, specifically, its proximity to the Baltic ports, made it virtually inevitable that it would derive its ideas and practices principally from Protestant northern Europe. And if any reinforcement of the moral ascendancy of Protestantism were needed, the Roman Catholic Governor of Hull, Lord Langdale, provided it when he and his Catholic contingent, at the bidding of James II, occupied the town in 1689, thereby 'confirming the suspicions of Hull's citizens that Catholicism was synonymous with oppression.'[4] As we have seen in more recent times, the memory of ancient wrongs perceived by one religious party to have been inflicted against it by another is a hardy plant.

The undisputed dominance of the evangelical tendency in Hull in the late eighteenth century is ascribed by Stubley primarily to the influence of the Rev. Joseph Milner, Master of Hull Grammar School and curate of North Ferriby in 1767. It was Milner who persuaded another evangelical clergyman, the Rev. Edmund Garwood, to prepare the son of an Ipswich wine merchant, Thomas Dikes, for university and ordination. As we shall now see, this son of merchant stock was eventually to become one of the foremost members of the Evangelical party. As Overton notes, 'Many…of the best and ablest of the Evangelical clergy were to be found in the great centres of industry. Hull was particularly favoured; Thomas Dykes, John Scott, John King, and William Knight were stars of the first magnitude, and the traditions of Joseph Milner still hung about the place.'[5]

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1 Hague, W. *William Wilberforce* (Harper Press; London, 2007) p. 90.

2 *ibid*., p. 276.

3 Stubley, P., *Serious religion and the improvement of public manners: the scope and limitations of Evangelicalism in Hull 1770–1914*. Durham theses, Durham University (1991).

4 *ibid.* p. 8.

5 Overton, p. 86.

Thomas Dikes

The life of Thomas Dikes was captured vividly, if not exactly neutrally, in memoirs written two years after his death by the Rev. John King. The decorated ecclesiastical rococo of the uncritical prose which links episodes of direct biblical quotation has a tendency towards the saccharine. However, whereas this would suggest the need for more than usual discrimination in selecting subjective judgements for inclusion within a summary of his life, King's encomiums are reinforced by many other sources. Although, as will later be seen, Dikes's position on the evangelical wing of the established church was diametrically opposed to the position later adopted by the subject of this study, an appreciation of his life, opinions, character and work are essential to an understanding of the formative influences on the latter.

Dikes was born on 21 December 1761. Attending a boarding school near his home in Ipswich, he was apparently an athlete though not a scholar. At some point in his adolescence Dikes was struck down by unidentified illness, the imminent mortality which this suggested to him causing him to perceive a call 'to devote himself unreservedly to the service of that Saviour to whom he owed, not only his *earthly* life, as one snatched from the opening grave, but the life of his immortal *soul*'.[1] Thus inspired, he gave up all thought of following his father in the trade of Bacchus and instead travelled to Hull to seek the counsel of Joseph Milner.

Remaining in Hull, he began preparations for Cambridge under Garwood before going up in 1786 to Magdalene College, 'the general resort of young men seriously impressed with a sense of religion'.[2] Here he formed lasting friendships with, amongst others, Charles Simeon and Robert Jarratt. Quite why the young, impressionable and fervid Dikes should have been attracted to a preacher who delivered 'the most crude and indigested discourses, containing ever and anon some striking remark, but abounding in incorrect statements, and in allusions offensive to good taste' is not clear. Nevertheless 'he has held forth Mr Simeon as an example of what might be done by a truly earnest Christian, for the formation of his own mind, for the improvement of his own talents, and for making them extensively useful to others.'[3] Jarratt was Dikes's most intimate friend for life, with whom in later years he was in the habit of corresponding in Latin. Coincidentally, it was whilst he

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1 King. p. 4.

2 *ibid.* p. 6.

3 *ibid.* pp. 8–9.

was in his first year at Cambridge that he wrote the first of his many extant, deeply affecting, letters of consolation (in this instance, to Jarratt) following a bereavement.

Upon graduation in 1788 Dikes was ordained Deacon to the curacy of Cottingham, a village to the north west of Hull, while Jarratt secured a curacy at Hotham, some ten miles to the west. At first uncertain about whether he should return to Ipswich (as an incentive, his father proposed to procure for him the advowson of Hepworth) or to make Hull his permanent home, three factors combined to settle the matter: his marriage on 13 March 1879 to Mary, eldest daughter of William Hey, 'the celebrated surgeon of Leeds';[1] the curacy of Barwick-in-Elmet, to the north east of Leeds, where he was ordained Priest in October 1789; and the concentration in the town of important and influential friends — Milner, Jarratt and Wilberforce among them. He remained at Barwick in Elmet, where his daughter Mary was born on 12 December 1789, for two years. At this stage King describes him thus:

> His youthful appearance, his blooming countenance, his piercing eye, his vivacity of manner, his soft and gentle tones of voice, his clear utterance and impressive fervour of address, joined to the importance of his theme, and the plainness with which he proclaimed, in the ears of dying men, the only name given under heaven whereby they could be saved, soon brought around him an attractive and deeply interested auditory.[2]

Dikes the Church-builder

In 1790 Dikes received a sizeable bequest which, as a result of a decision he made about its use, was to have a profound effect on the course of his life. Whereas a natural, human, reaction to such sudden wealth — especially on the part of a country parson supporting a growing family on a small income — might have been to establish for himself a securer lifestyle, he decided instead to use it for the building of a new church in Hull, the parish churches of Holy Trinity and St Mary's being no longer adequate for the fast-growing town. Although the Corporation of Hull (who, as Patrons of the living of Holy Trinity, had jurisdiction in the matter) at first objected to this usurpation of their authority and would not consent, they eventually relented. Interestingly, and foreshadowing what was to become almost a leitmotiv running through King's memoir, the greatest doubts surrounding the project on the part of Dikes's growing circle of friends were neither financial nor political but concerned Dikes's prospects for a life which would be long

[1] *ibid.* p. 15.

[2] *ibid.* p. 18.

enough to see the project through to completion. As King puts it, his 'personal appearance, and the known delicacy of his health, gave very faint promise of long life.'[1] (The conviction that, as the hymn-writer put it, 'brief life is here our portion' was to remain with Dikes until his death in 1847 at the age of 85.)

Although costs exceeded the original budget, the building work which began early in 1791 was substantially completed in time for its consecration on 30 August that same year, and formal opening on 13 May 1792. (More or less framing the construction programme came the birth of Dikes's two sons, Thomas on 3 March 1791, and William Hey on 13 February 1792.) The church — the first post-Reformation church in Hull[2] — is described as being '86 feet long, and 59 broad. It is wholly built upon arches, raised seven feet above the surface, and contains more than 70 vaults for burying the dead.'[3] and 'a brick building, neat and simple without, and elegant and commodious within'.[4] While Dikes used his legacy to fund the building it was his hope and intention to recoup his outlay by selling pews. In a letter to Jarratt he revealed that he had sold 202 pews out of 240 available, raising £3,600. Fortunately for Dikes, the balance was provided by his supporters although little was left to pay for the minister.

Within ten years of consecration, St John's church needed to be enlarged by 200 seats, financed once again by sale of pews. (One can only speculate as to whether, when King observed of the new works 'nothing was added to the beauty of the church'[5] he was implying that an already beautiful church was not made any more so by the additions or, subtly, that a regrettably ugly church was not in any degree redeemed.)[6]

Details of the music at St John's are scanty, but we are told that

> in…churches in the hands of clergy so pronouncedly Evangelical as…Thomas Dykes...anything of an ornate character, whether in ceremonial or music, was rigorously avoided. The "use" was that of the black gown in the pulpit. The Responses and Psalms were read, the hymns and canticles alone receiving

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1 *ibid.* p. 24.

2 Allison

3 Anon, *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* Vol. X (Parker: Philadelphia,1832) p. 685.

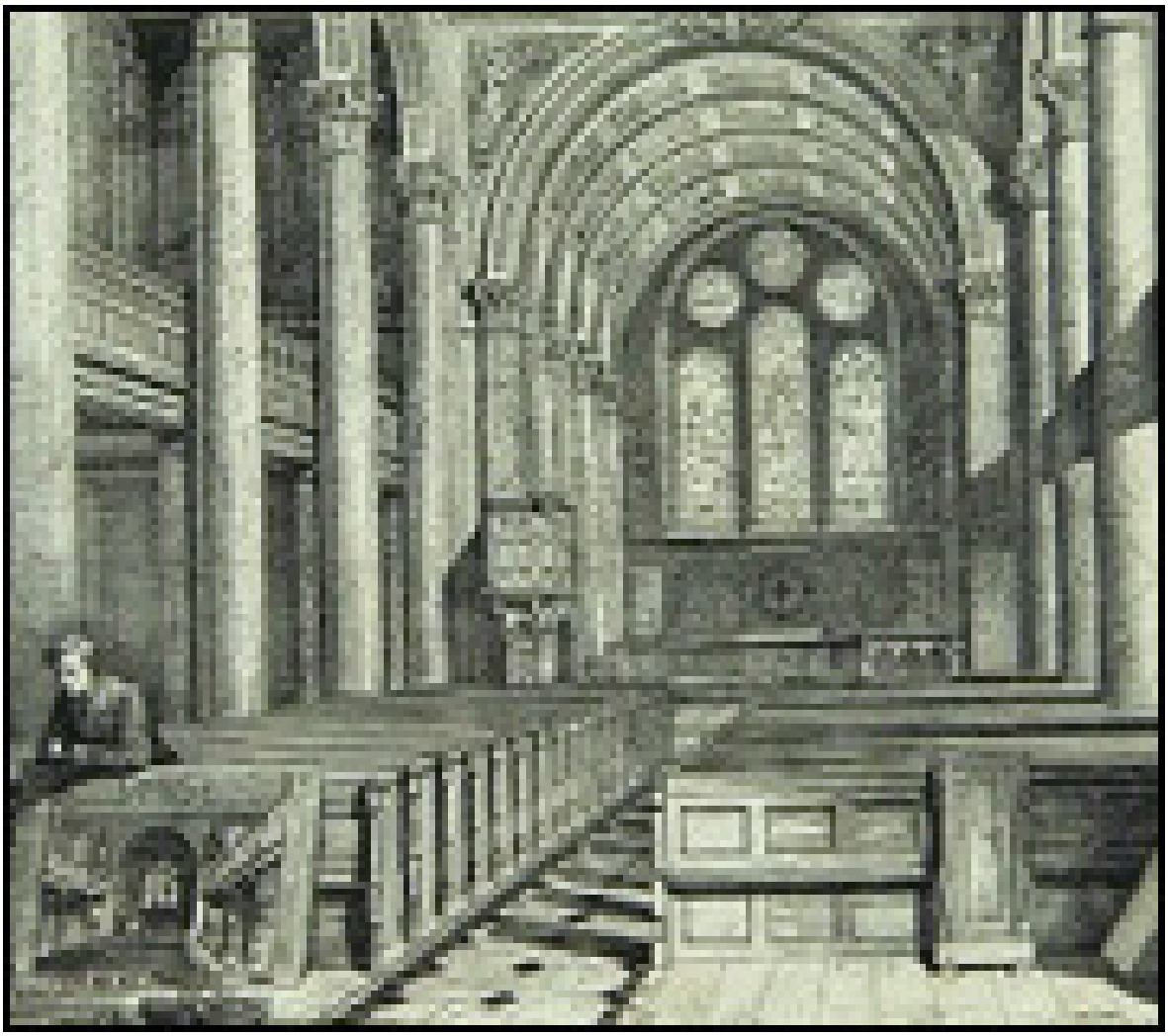
4 Baines, E. *History, Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York* (Baines: Leeds, 1823) p. 240

5 King, p. 60.

6 The church was closed in 1917, its parish united to that of Holy Trinity, and the fabric demolished. (Allison). Thomas, who was eventually to be interred at the east end of the church, was later disinterred and buried in Hessle Cemetery.

musical treatment. The organ and mixed choir were placed in the west gallery.'[1]

This would seem to be only partly correct, or correct only in the earlier years of Dikes's incumbency: he compiled his own collection of metrical Psalms, which would surely have been sung, together with 248 hymns.



An artist's representation of St John's Church

http://www.bbc.co.uk/humber/content/articles/2007/06/04/abolition_architecture.shtml

(One infers this to be a post-April 1866 view, with the organ at the east end of the north gallery, rather than 'over the Altar table', which is where the first organ had been erected (see p. 14). JBD himself gave the opening recital of this new organ. It may be remarked that neither the evidence of this picture nor the record in the Church Minute Book accord with Smith's assertion that the organ was placed in the west gallery.)

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[1] Smith, G.H. *A History of Hull Organs and Organists* (Brown: London, c1910) pp. 1–2.

Title page of
A Collection of Psalms and Hymns
edited by Thomas Dikes

St John's Church, Hull
Drawing by F.S. Smith, 1888

The earliest known reference to an organ in the church is recorded in the Church Minute Book which records a meeting on 16 June 1813: 'That this meeting does approve of the intended erection of an organ in this church by voluntary subscription. That a subscription be now opened for the purpose of raising a sufficient fund for that purpose. That the organ be erected over the Altar Table.'[1] The typically English specification of the two manual organ, which was thought by some to be one of the best in the country (it attracted John Camidge, Organist of York Minster, to give the opening recital[2]) is given in Smith at p. 85.

With the social characteristics of his congregation at St John's, which regularly numbered a thousand, Dikes was evidently disappointed: 'I wish they were more spiritual; but we have many here that are of the higher class…[although] I have heard of some persons receiving benefit.'[3] But perhaps he had just cause to look askance at some of his flock for, as the press reported, on one occasion a woman — 'supposed to be insane' — lunged at Dikes's curate with a knife as he was reading the lesson.[4]

There is enough material for a separate monograph on Dikes the church-builder but we must satisfy ourselves with noting that he had a hand (and often took the lead) in the building of St James's, Christ Church, St Mark's, St Stephen's and St Paul's. It is worth noting that he viewed the church building — the bricks and mortar — as somewhat more significant than many evangelicals who, sharing a sentiment expressed by William Cowper, believed that every place was potentially a temple of God:

> For thou, within no walls confin'd,
> Inhabitest the humble mind;
> Such ever bring thee, where they come,
> And going, take Thee to their home.[5]

Thomas, on the other hand, believed that 'If there were no Churches, no public worship, no instruction given from Sabbath to Sabbath, I am fully persuaded that our poor must literally live without hope and without God.'[6]

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1 *ibid.* p. 84.

2 *ibid.* p. 85.

3 King, p. 30.

4 Whitehall Evening Post, 27–29 October 1796 p. 1.

5 Newton, J. (ed.) *Olney Hymns*, 1st Edition (W. Oliver; London 1779) p. 234.

6 King, p. 115.

Dikes the Leader

As if to portend the *primus inter pares* position in the town which Dikes was later to assume, and as an illustration of his accommodating views towards other Christian groups (a toleration which, as will become apparent, had its limits), leadership of the monthly meetings of Anglican clergy and dissenting ministers, initially led by the aged Milner, soon passed to him. Dikes evidently had a particularly cordial relationship with Mr Lambert, minister of the Independent church, although even here Dikes's view was that one need not get *too* close to the dissenters: 'harmony and cordiality', he opined, 'may best be preserved by acting separately.'[1] But the French Revolution, during which the dissenters had been inclined to take a benign view of the revolutionaries, strained relations between them and the established church.

Prince's Dock, Hull
(b/w photo, unknown photographer)
Bridgeman Education

St John's Church is on the left. The monument in the centre commemorates William Wilberforce.

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[1] *ibid.* pp. 80–1.

With Milner's death in 1797, Dikes rose, it would appear by acclamation, to pre-eminence within the established Church in Hull. Although both men were evangelicals, the difference between the two men, as described by King, was marked:

> Milner…wore a venerable, dignified and commanding aspect; Dykes was juvenile in look, graceful in manner, full of life, and overflowing with kindly feeling. The one all gravity, the other all vivacity; the one as if formed to correct the vices of the age, the other to augment its virtues; the one the stern reprover of human follies, the other the mild example of whatsoever thing are pure, lovely and of good report.[1]

Whereas Milner was 'a Boanerges[2] in the pulpit'…'much force, but little gracefulness', Dikes 'stood forth rather to *persuade* than to overawe his audience. His amiable temper beamed in his eye and lighted up his countenance, and his clear, mellifluent voice added greatly to the effect of his discourses.'[3] Even though Milner, through his many years of work and his estimable character, had won acceptance in Hull, and despite Dikes's growing stature, the latter was unsuccessful in his bid for the living of Holy Trinity due to continuing institutional prejudice against evangelicalism. (The historical irony will become apparent in our narrative of his grandson.)

Dikes and Roman Catholicism

Ripples in the domestic calm caused by the French Revolution were further disturbed by violent disaffection on the part of Roman Catholics in Ireland. And it is with Roman Catholicism (and the Plymouth Brethren) that the limits to Dikes's ecumenism were reached. Responding to the insurrection in Ireland, he preached and published a sermon entitled *The Effects of Irreligion* on the moral character and happiness of a nation, entreating his hearers to cherish a firm attachment to the government of the country. The attempt by Grenville's Whig administration in 1807 to introduce a reforming Bill into Parliament which would remove many of the constitutional disabilities inflicted on Roman Catholics sparked nationwide unrest. With George III being reluctant to go as far as Grenville wanted, the administration dissolved. Public meetings up and down the country

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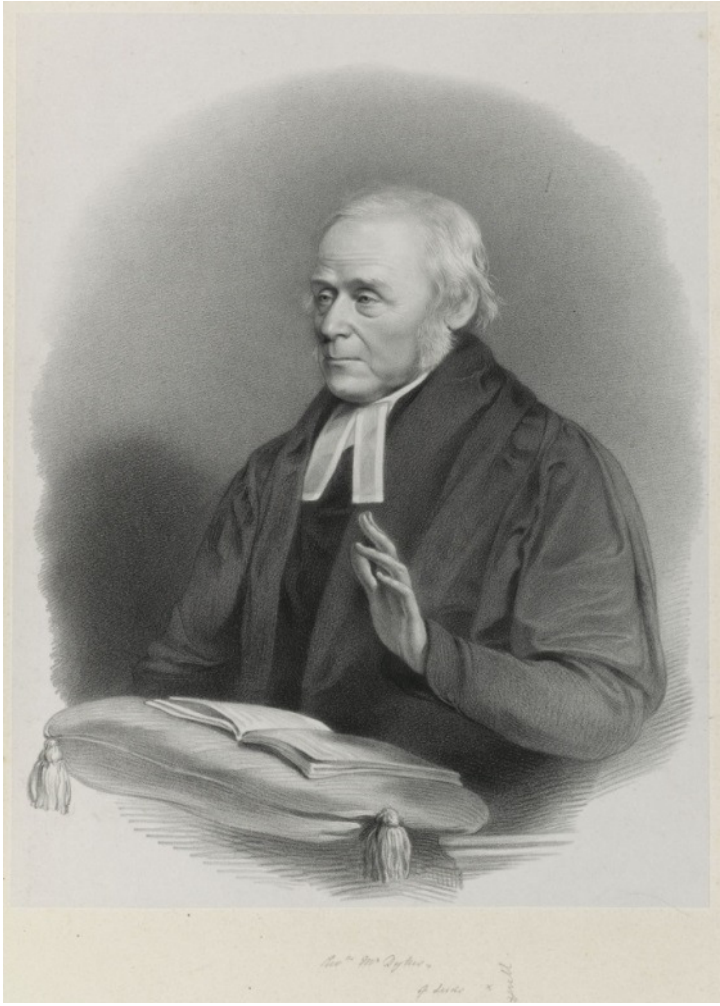
1 *ibid.* p. 36.

2 'And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and [Jesus] surnamed them Boanerges, which is, the sons of thunder.' (Mark 3:17).

3 King, p. 37.

were largely supportive of the anti-RC position. In Hull, Dikes was vociferous in his condemnation of 'Popery'.[1]

Two decades later, in what was to be the culmination (for the time being, at any rate) of the process of Roman Catholic emancipation, Wellington and Peel introduced the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. In a last attempt to stave off the inevitable, Dikes was one of several dozen signatories (which included his two sons) who petitioned the Mayor to call a public meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning the King against the granting of any concessions.[2]



The Rev. Thomas Dikes LL.B
(*Lithograph*)
Richard James Lane
Reproduced by permission of the National Portrait Gallery

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 *Hull Packet*, 24 February, 1829.

Evidence that the national mood was moving towards a greater tolerance for Roman Catholicism did nothing to moderate Dikes's antipathy towards Popery. So when, apropos a discussion within the British and Foreign Bible Society, he published the tract *A Call to Union*, in which he wrote 'The mutual affection and esteem which has prevailed here, not only amongst the clergy in particular, but amongst Christians in general has been as a light shining upon the vale of years into which I am now descending…' he was evidently excluding Roman Catholics from the set of 'Christians in general'[1] In fact, Dikes's antipathy became even more vitriolic, as witness his writing in 1839 'The Catholics seem to be making strenuous efforts to arise from the dust, and to shake off their mourning garments, and deck themselves with scarlet and precious stones; and some of our Oxford scholars seem to rally round their standard.'[2] Whether or not God was an Englishman he was certainly, in Dikes's eyes, a Protestant for, as the local newspaper had previously reported him in a speech, 'Protestantism…gave us liberty of conscience *and it was the religion of the Bible*' [my italics].[3]

The Oxford Movement

And here, with this reference to 'our Oxford scholars' we see the equation of Tractarianism with Roman Catholicism, a misunderstanding which was to make particularly bitter the feud between them and the evangelicals. Dikes's own letters make clear that his antagonism towards the disciples of the Oxford Movement (a group to which his grandson was eventually to ally himself) was every bit as strong as that towards Rome and the Plymouth Brethren. 'The more I read of the Oxford Tracts, the less I like them.'[4] The surprising thing is that, even though Dikes himself was in the vanguard of the resistance to Tractarianism, he saw nothing hypocritical in his plaint that 'This schism, which now divides the Church, is greatly to be deprecated'.[5] It is interesting to see how his contempt for Tracts which were 'compositions of surpassing dullness and arrogant assumption',[6] and which came from a movement which he was sure could not last, had metamorphosed into a sustained attack on this evil which 'seems like a smoke from the bottomless pit, which

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1 King, p. 142.

2 *ibid.* p. 168.

3 *Hull Packet*, 15 January 1836 p. 4.

4 King, p. 166. King reproduces several of Dikes's anti-Tractarian harangues (e.g. pp. 169, 171 and 191).

5 *ibid.* p. 203.

6 *ibid.* p. 204.

threatens to shed darkness over the whole land.'[1] But as people were becoming less hostile to Catholicism generally the literary value of the Tracts was neither here nor there. How this bitterness to which Dikes was contributing an eloquent share would damage his own grandson will become apparent in due course.

Addressing Immorality

Turning from abstract theology to matters more immediately pertinent to life in Hull,[2] Dikes's attribution of vice on his own doorstep to godlessness was a recurring theme in his ministry. In January 1804 he preached a sermon entitled *A sermon on the Abounding of Open Profligacy and Immorality*, hoping to enlist support for the establishment of a 'Society for the Suppression of Vice'.[3] (Whether the lukewarm response — no such society was formed until 1807 — was due to inadequate powers of persuasion on his part, or a guilty consensus on the part of his audience that the suppression of vice was not a priority ('O Lord make us chaste, but not yet') has not been determined. One is bound to remark, however, that without a ready market the purveyors of vice would presumably have moved on to the next town.) Another sermon — there are many one could select to make the point — was quoted in the first paragraph of this chapter. But Dikes was not all condemnation and no understanding of the underlying human condition: 'Suppose that, instead of being brought up in a decent and virtuous neighbourhood, you had lived from your infancy in those lanes of moral turpitude, from which are emitted fumes of pollution that might almost corrupt an angel of light — can you say what, under these circumstances, you might have been?'[4] Nor did he just pray for the good of his flock: 'No cabin was sufficiently dirty to repel his presence, no disease sufficiently infectious to preclude his visits.'[5]

The other moral cause of the day, for which Hull coincidentally provided a podium, was slavery. Dikes was a strong supporter of his friend William Wilberforce, referring to Africa as the source of national shame. Recognising that we cannot undo the past he preached that 'we may make some compensation: we may send to Africa the blessing of the Gospel; and

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1 *ibid.* pp. 207–8. JBD, who was later to write extensively on matters pertaining to the Apocalypse, would surely have deprecated the use of any metaphor which equated Keble, Newman, Pusey *et al* with the '*predicatores Antichristi*'.

2 I doubt if Dikes would have seen the distinction.

3 King, p. 61.

4 *ibid*, pp. 451–2.

5 *ibid.* pp. 62–3.

a greater blessing we cannot send.'[1] He does not appear to have considered whether the victims would actually *welcome* news of the God of those who had, in his own words, 'waded deep in blood;…dealt in human flesh, and torn [their] fellow creatures from their native land, and doomed them to slavery, misery, and death, because they had a different skin colour.' But he nevertheless recognised a strong need for national atonement.

Public Esteem

The high regard in which Dikes was held, at least by the upper echelons of Hull society, was shown by a public breakfast, chaired by his long-time friend Avison Terry and attended by the great and the good, which was given in his honour in December 1840. Aside from the generous encomiums offered up on that occasion ('In the midst of darkness light often arises to cheer the bewildered traveller; and, God be thanked "that when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."'[2]) details of an imaginative testimonial gift: a Scholarship 'for the education of young men at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, to be called the "Dikes' Scholarship."' The trust deed explicitly provided that the first beneficiary was to be his grandson, Thomas Dikes, (John Bacchus's elder brother), with a preference for the first three subsequent recipients being shown to a descendant of (the Rev.) Thomas Dikes. John Bacchus was to become the second.

From his lengthy reply we must necessarily be selective, but the following points summarise his guiding principles:

> I have not obtained wealth; but I have obtained something far more congenial to my own feelings; for I have, in pursuing the noiseless tenor of my way, obtained the respect and kindness of the good and wise. I hope I may descend to the grave in peace, and in charity with all men… I have had to preach the Gospel of Christ… I have been a minister of the Church of England: on this subject, I dare say, there may be some little degree of partiality and prejudice existing; for I have always liked the formulas and articles of our church' [a sentiment which would have been less surprising coming from a High churchman] 'and I do think, that the Church of England has been the cause of great blessings to this country. I will compare her to some old edifice, which has stood unscathed the storms of many winters:—and which being founded upon a rock, the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.
>
> I have never been blind to the necessity there was for some reform in the church, and feel gratified that I have lived to see that reform in part effected... I

[1] *ibid.* p. 87.

[2] *Hull Packet* 25 December 1840 p. 8.

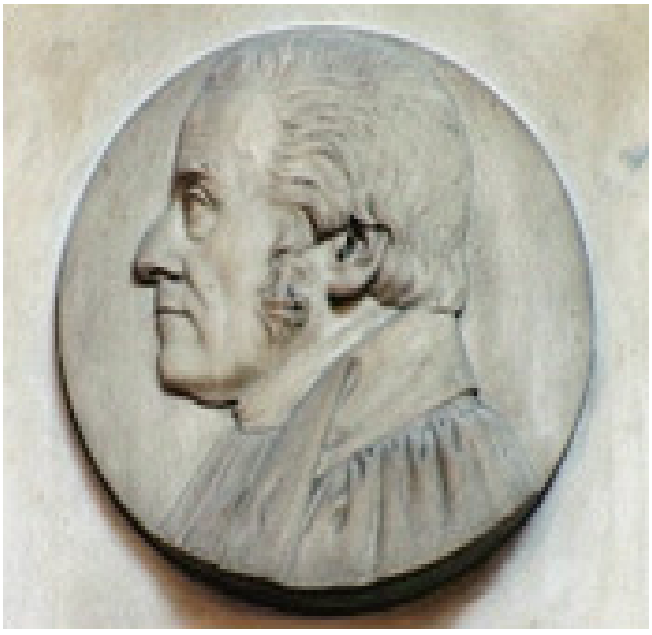
have endeavoured to preserve union; and hope, in all things I have not lost sight of the good of the town.[1]

Decline and death

In so far as John Bacchus left Hull in 1841, Thomas's final years lose their direct significance. In a few sentences, his letters reveal him increasingly to be focusing on his imminent death as he becomes more and more frail and beset with a failing memory. He moved into the home of Avison Terry where, on his death bed on 23 August 1847, he sang his favourite hymn (No. 1 in the collection he edited), of which verse four runs:

> But oh! when that last conflict's o'er,
> And I am chain'd to earth no more,
> With what glad accents shall I rise,
> To join the music of the skies![2]

With the single word 'Peace', he fell into a sleep 'from which he awoke, no more to complain of weakness and of sorrow, but to behold the glory of his God and Saviour.'[3] As might be expected, his many friends lined the route of his cortege until his coffin was interred in a vault at the east end of St John's.



Rev. Thomas Dikes's memorial in Charterhouse Chapel
www.bbc.co.uk/humber/content/articles/2007/06/04/abolition_architecture.shtml

1 *Hull Packet*, 25 December 1840, p. 8.

2 King, p. 235 (slightly corrected).

3 *ibid.* p. 236.

William Hey Dikes

Much of the information we have about John Bacchus's father's early life and his domestic arrangements come from the memoirs of his daughter, Fanny. (As we shall see, Fanny viewed her family and their doings through rose tinted spectacles, requiring due allowance to be made for her subjective, sometimes fawning, judgments.) From this volume we deduce that William's own personal antagonism to public schools — the result of his own unhappy experiences — disinclined him to inflict such an education upon his own children. As to his character, Fanny describes his being 'Naturally extremely reserved, he seldom spoke of the subjects nearest his heart; but his holy, consistent life spake more strongly than any words.'[1] Although he had at one time contemplated forsaking the shipbuilding career on which he had recently embarked and taking Holy Orders, his father decided that it would be better for him to delay marriage, go to university and 'abide in the calling to which he has been called; he can serve God as well as a layman as a clergyman.'[2] And so it was. William married Elizabeth Huntington on 7 May 1816, the couple first living with Thomas Dikes for about three years before moving into their own house in the Groves. Fanny provides an indication of the discipline he exerted (albeit with kid gloves) in his household: 'I think it would be difficult to find a kinder and better father than ours was. His natural reserve made us at all times feel a little afraid of him. His word was always law in the family. I do not think any child ever disobeyed him.'[3] (This stern characterisation had softened a year later into a father whose 'sound sense and loving discipline won their respect and affection.'[4])

Fanny records the impression made on all the Dikes children by their 'deeply religious' father. We find, in an account of his systematic daily routine, a foreshadowing of John Bacchus's routines at Cambridge and Durham.

> He always rose at six, and spent a long time alone before mixing with others, even, when able, going into his own little library early in the evening, in order that he might give his best time to devotion, before he was wearied at night. He never allowed any excuse to keep him from church on Sunday. In days when Sunday Schools were a new thing in Hull, he established one in a most neglected district, taking the superintendence, and teaching morning and afternoon, leaving his own father's church, his wife and children, that he might take the Sunday School children from the New George Street district to Christ

1 Dykes, F., p. 4.

2 *ibid.* p. 5.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 Fowler, p. 3.

> Church. On his return home in the afternoon, he would read the Bible and explain it to his own children, in later days he would read the Greek Testament with his sons, while his wife had a similar class for the servants.[1]

But Fanny also gives evidence that the straight-laced father occasionally unbent (although never on religious matters) and there is nothing in her memoir to suggest that his firmness exceeded that exerted by the commonly conceived Victorian paterfamilias.

Although the nature and class of his degree is not known, it is clear, from the evidence of his well-respected and scholarly writings and associations (he was a corresponding Fellow of the Geological Society) that he was well schooled in the natural sciences.[2] An article he co-wrote 'Outlines of the Geology of Nettleton Hill, Lincolnshire' appeared in the *Magazine of Natural History and Journal of Zoology &c* in November 1837.[3] In one publication, in a chapter describing the history of the village of Atwick and, more particularly, the effects of coastal erosion, a footnote refers to 'an interesting paper read to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Hull, March 6, 1832, by William Hey Dikes, Esq. F.G.S.'[4] He was also listed as a subscriber to scholarly books. The Presidential Address to the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society includes praise for 'the Curator of the Institution, William Hey Dikes, Esq., a gentleman whose unremitting endeavours to promote the progress of Science, and the cultivation of the Fine Arts, merit the warmest praise and gratitude, not only of the Society, of which he is an invaluable member, but of the town at large.'[5] In *Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire &c.* the author confesses that 'The merit of first calling attention to the ossiferous marl deposit of Bielbecks near Market Weighton belongs, in a great degree, to Mr William Hey Dikes, of Hull, who, after a careful study of the circumstances of the deposit, favoured me with the information which he had collected.'[6] (Dikes had apparently also discovered here bones dating from the Pleistocene period, including elephant, ox and rhinoceros.)[7] And if further evidence of his

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1 *ibid.* pp. 5–6.

2 The Society's records show 'William Hey Dikes, no.656, elected 3 Jun 1825. Reported to Council as being deceased at the meeting of 22 Feb 1871.'

3 p. 561ff.

4 Poulson, G. *The History and Antiquities of the Seigniory of Holderness in the East-Riding of the County of York* (Brown: Hull, 1840), p. 174.

5 Frost, C. *An Address delivered to the Literary and Philosophical Society at Kingston-Upon-Hull* (Wilson, London; 1831), pp. 105–6.

6 Phillips, J. *Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire &c.* (John Murray: London, 1875), p. 12.

7 Knell, S.J. 1994. 'Palaeontological excavation: historical perspectives' in *Geological Curator* 6(2): p. 63. www.geocurator.org/arch/curator/vol6no2.pdf

erudition were needed, in an article on the Hull Literary & Philosophical Society (object: 'the promotion of Literature, Science, and the Arts, by the following means: Public Lectures; by the reading of original Essays and Papers; by Literary and Philosophical conversation; by requesting the communications and correspondence of Scientific Persons; by collecting Books and Philosophical Apparatus: and by forming a Museum of specimens of Natural History and of the Arts'), William is shown as a Trustee and a Member of the Council.[1, 2]

Of his musical abilities we know that he 'had a beautiful tenor voice, and played the flute and French horn.'[3] He also had a sufficiently discriminating ear (not to mention the personal standing necessary to secure an invitation to the home of Vincent Novello), after hearing Clara Novello sing at her father's home, to recommend her engagement by the organising committee of a 'grand music festival' to be held in Holy Trinity Church in 1834.[4] And when a speaker at the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society delivered a paper 'On Music', in which he concluded that the practice of instrumental music was 'not to be compared to the pleasure arising from literary composition, liberal conversation, instructive reading, useful philosophical lectures' — the list of adverse comparisons went on — William was one of those who publicly demurred. He advanced counter-arguments 'in an interesting address', advocating that 'the study of instrumental music [was] not only a rational amusement but at once innocent and useful to society' and pointing out 'the several discrepancies contained in the essay by its treatment on the nature and history of music.'[5]

William's politics are confirmed by a notice in the *Yorkshire Gazette* of 11 August 1832, which reveal him to be a founding member of the Hull Conservative Society, formed that month. Fowler records that he was engaged first in ship-building, and then in banking. Robinson[6] records that, in the early 1820s he was a partner in Dikes, King and Company

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1 *Hull Packet*, 5 November 1841.

2 A little caution is needed in identifying William Hey Dikes's achievements from contemporary journals: from the mid 1850s onwards, the scholarship of another William Hey Dikes — son of the father — is noticed in print, usually in matters relating to church architecture.

3 Fowler, p. 8.

4 *ibid.* pp. 8–9.

5 Minutes of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, 2 November 1827.

6 Robinson, Robb *Far Horizons: to the ends of the earth* (Maritime Historical Studies Centre, University of Hull: Hull, 2008).

and, later, in Dikes & Gibson. Of the many vessels built by Dikes during this period, the *William Lee*, launched in 1823 (the year of Dykes's birth), was depicted by a local artist.

The William Lee entering the Humber Dock, Hull
Oil on panel
John Ward (1798–1849)
Ferens Art Gallery, Hull Museums, UK. Bridgeman Education

As Robinson notes, William also had a care for the spiritual wellbeing of sailors. The first Anglican mariners' church was erected in Hull as the result of 'the churchbuilding zeal of the renowned Rector of St John's the Rev. Thomas Dykes, and his son, William Dykes, of shipbuilding fame.'[1] Both had been prime movers in the foundation, in 1821, and subsequent expansion of the nondenominational 'Port of Hull Society for the Religious Instruction of Seamen', of which William was Treasurer.

[1] Kverndal, R. *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth* (William Carey Library: Pasadena, 1986) p. 289.

But Fowler does not explain why William moved from the one profession to the other — it is not an obvious career move. The *London Gazette* records three instances of boat-building partnerships in which William was involved being dissolved (in 1815, 1834 and 1838) although there is no suggestion that any had become bankrupt: one infers that the Yorkshire and District Bank would have scrupled at employing a bankrupt to manage their Hull Branch. Perhaps his career diversification (in a letter of 1843 to John Bacchus on his matriculation he reveals that he retained some form of pecuniary interest in shipping) followed a realisation that future profits from transport lay in another sphere entirely, as a press article records that he was a shareholder in the Hull and Selby Railway Company, in which capacity he seconded a motion of thanks to the chairman and members who served on the committee of the House of Commons, for their constant and assiduous attention to the bill in its progress through the committee of that House.[1]

HULL AND SELBY, OR HULL AND LEEDS JUNCTION, RAILWAY.

OPENING OF THE LINE

FOR PASSENGERS AND PARCELS ONLY,

ON THURSDAY, JULY THE 2nd, 1840

THE Public are respectfully informed that this RAILWAY will be OPENED THROUGHOUT from HULL to the JUNCTION with the LEEDS and SELBY RAILWAY, at Selby, on WEDNESDAY, the First Day of July next, and that PASSENGERS and PARCELS only will be conveyed on THURSDAY, July 2nd; thus presenting a direct Railway Conveyance from Hull to Selby, Leeds, and York without change of Carriage.

TRAINS WITH PASSENGERS WILL START FROM HULL AS UNDER

AT SEVEN O'CLOCK, A.M | AT THREE O'CLOCK, P.M.
AT TEN O'CLOCK, A.M. | AT SIX O'CLOCK, P.M.

ON SUNDAYS, AT SEVEN O'CLOCK, A.M., AND SIX O'CLOCK, P.M.

The Trains from LEEDS and YORK, for HULL, will depart from those Places at the same Hours; and Passengers and Parcels may be Booked through at the Leeds, York, and Hull Stations. Arrangements are also in progress for Booking Passengers to Sheffield, Derby, Birmingham, and London.

THE FARES TO BE CHARGED ARE AS UNDER:

	First Class.	*Second Class.*	*Third Class.*
Hull to Selby	4*s.* 6*d.*	4*s.* 0*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Hull to York	8*s.* 0*d.*	6*s.* 6*d.*	4*s.* 6*d.*
Hull to Leeds	8*s.* 0*d.*	6*s.* 6*d.*	4*s.* 6*d.*

No Fees are allowed to be taken by the Guards, Porters, or any other Servants of the Company.

The Trains, both up and down, will call at the Stations on the Line, viz.:—Hessle, Ferriby, Brough, Staddlethorpe, Eastrington, Howden, and Cliff.

Arrangements for carrying Goods, Cattle, Sheep, &c., will be completed in a short time, of which due Notice will be given.

By Order,

GEORGE LOCKING, Secretary.

Railway Office, Hull, June 24th, 1840.

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[1] *London Standard*, 10 September 1836, p. 1.

That his name alone must have carried some weight in the town is suggested by a notice in the local press announcing that 'Mrs Mark Robinson intends to re-open her establishment for the education of Young Ladies on Thursday 27th July instant. Mrs Robinson is happy in being allowed the honour of referring to… William Hey Dikes Esq…'[1]

As final intimations of the high regard in which he was held, the local press printed two testimonials:

> On Wednesday last, a deputation… waited on Wm. Hey Dikes, Esq., at Wakefield, to present him with a tea-service. The coffee-pot bore the following appropriate inscription:– "The service of plate, of which this coffee-pot forms a part, is presented to William Hey Dikes, Esqe., on his leaving Hull, by a few friends, who have appreciated his zealous and efficient labours, while resident among them, and who deeply regret his removal form the town. Hull, Nov. 5, 1841"[2]

And, a week later:

> We last week noticed the tribute of esteem which had recently been presented to our late valuable townsman, whose removal has been by none more deeply regretted than by the friends of the religious education of the rising generation; as a token of which, and of his valuable services in the cause having been appreciated, a deputation …waited upon that gentleman in Wakefield, on Wednesday last, and presented him with a very elegant time piece, in gold and bronze…bearing the following inscription: "Presented to William Hey Dikes, Esq., by a few of his fellow-labourers in connexion with the Hull Church of England Sunday School Association, as a token of affectionate esteem for his Christian zeal during a period of 25 years, in promoting the religious education of the children of the poor in this town. Hull, November, 1841."[3]

In sum, we see that John Bacchus's grandfather was an educated, well respected, dedicated priest and pastor located securely within the evangelical tradition of the established church; that his commitment to saving the souls of his parishioners extended to using his own wealth to build new churches; that his moral sense was as outraged by slavery as it was by sexual depravity; and that he was tolerant of dissent, but within clear limits. His father was similarly an educated man whose intellect embraced science, literature and music; was highly regarded in the elevated circles in which he moved; and was Tory, evangelical and anti-Roman Catholic. It was within this family, religious, civic and political setting that John Bacchus was to spend his first eighteen years.

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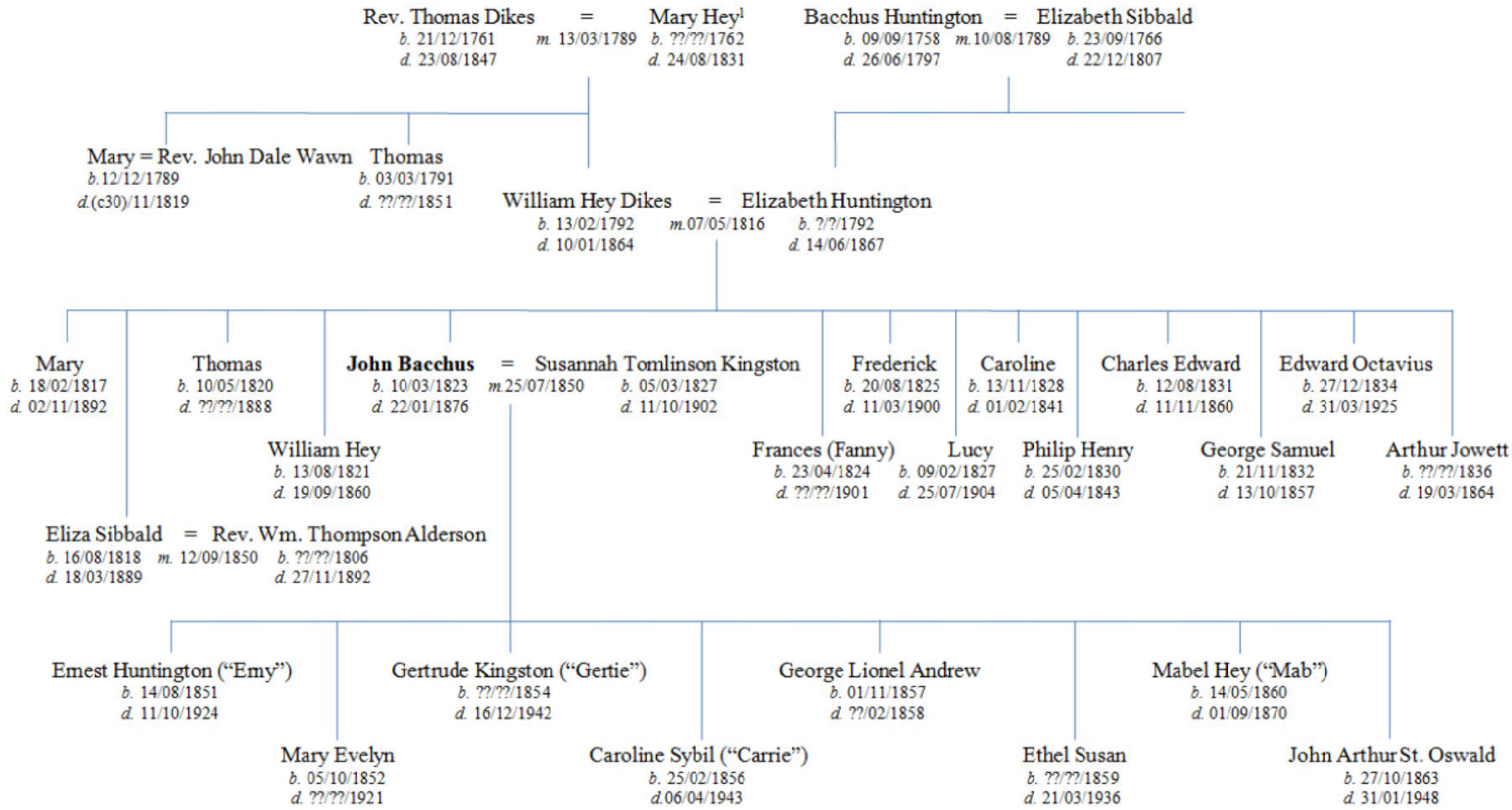
1 *Yorkshire Gazette*, 8 July 1837, p. 2.

2 *Hull Packet*, 3 December 1841, p. 2.

3 *Hull Packet*, 10 December 1841, p. 4.

The Genealogy of The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes



[1] In the cases of Mary Hey, her daughter Mary and her granddaughter Caroline, their shared gravestone in Hessle Churchyard adds one year to each of their respective birth years.

Chapter 2

From Dykes's birth in 1823 to his graduation in 1847

'John is certainly a very fine youth, of good abilities and amiable temper; these things, and his talent for music, will always render his company agreeable in society; whether he has seriousness enough to resist temptation, I doubt.'[1]

'Dykes…commenced with the then popular and well-known comic song from the music halls, *Who killed my Dolly*, on full organ.'[2]

Hull

Dykes was born on 10th March 1823[3] in Ivy House, Lime Street, Hull, the fifth of William's fourteen children and third of his nine sons, and was baptized by his Grandfather in Sutton Church. His mother, Elizabeth Dykes *née* Huntington, was born in Sculcoates in 1792 and died in Leeds on 14 June 1867.[4] It was from her father, Bacchus Huntington, that Dykes acquired the middle name which became an inseparable component of his public identity.[5] From Lime Street the family moved first to Dock Street and thence to Lowgate on the father's appointment to manage the Yorkshire District Bank. But theirs was no genteel middle class upbringing, for although servants were retained 'a Spartan discipline was enforced, which seemed to make cold water, long walks, and the very plainest food necessary for our health… Only one piece of bread…was allowed us in the week, and this was forfeited if the servants, with whom we sat at Church, reported that we had behaved badly there.'[6] Unsurprisingly, there were few parties, and dancing, public amusements, cards, backgammon, billiards and dominoes (but not chess) were forbidden.[7]

When it comes to the nature of the child Dykes we must rely, *faut de mieux*, on Fowler and on Fanny's *Memories*, although their implication that he was unrelievedly saintly detracts from their credibility. Apparently he was

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1 Revd. Thomas Dikes, quoted in Dykes, F., p. 80.

2 Unnamed 'elderly relative', quoted in West Yorkshire Archive Service Doc C692/1/1/2

3 http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=wdgrassick&id=I05504

4 http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=wdgrassick&id=I05470

5 It is possible that 'Bacchus' is a corruption of the common Yorkshire surname 'Backhouse'.

6 Dykes, F., p. 2.

7 Huntington, G. *Random Recollections of Some Noted Bishops, Divines &c.* (Griffith Farran: London, 1893) p. 230.

> a sensitive child of excitable feelings, with much mental power. He learnt by heart with the least possible trouble, and was his mother's pride, from the quickness with which he could repeat long lists of dates, names, and events. It used to be said that he was heard quietly repeating the counties and kings of England to himself in church; but in excuse for this it must be stated that the long, dull services in those days were most trying for little children.[1]

An aunt set him off on his musical studies at a basic level although it is surely hyperbole that he could play by ear 'almost anything' he heard. As an aspiring pianist, organist and violinist with a clear soprano voice, 'he soon overcame all difficulties' and, in church, brought 'so much power out of the organ'.[2] One small description is worth noting, however, and that is Fanny's comment that he was a 'small, pale child — for he never was tall or robust-looking.'[3] George Huntington (Dykes's cousin) offers a slightly fuller description, complete with phrenological observations, of the young Dykes which nevertheless betrays Fanny's influence:

> In stature he was a little over middle height, hair light brown, eyes blue and expressive, head intellectual and indicative of genius; he talked rapidly, as did all his family, had a merry laugh, with a keen appreciation of fun; he walked with a light and 'springy' step. Few men changed less till work and anxiety told upon him; in the best sense the boy was father to the man.[4]

The insularity of the family had two important consequences. First, owing to his father's antipathy to public schools, Dykes's mother assumed responsibility for his early schooling. Although the account in Fowler suggests that his mother was a Greek scholar, Fanny reports — rather more endearingly — that she '[learnt] Greek from my father after the children had gone to bed at night, that she might be able to teach her boys'.[5] When home schooling had reached its limits, Dykes was enrolled as a day-boy at Kingston College, where he and his brothers received 'a thoroughly good early education',[6] but there is a difficulty with this account. The college did not open until 1837, when Dykes would have been 14, so this cannot be represented as having provided him with an 'early' education, good or bad. Fowler therefore leaves us in the dark as to whether schooling at his mother's knee continued into his teens, or whether he attended some other establishment in the interim. However the missing years might have been accounted for, any fear that attention

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1 Dykes, F., p. 4.

2 *loc. cit*. All further instances of Fanny's ridiculous hyperbole will be left uncommented.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 Huntington, p. 232.

5 Dykes, F., p. 2.

6 Fowler, p. 3.

to his musical activities could only be at the expense of his academic studies was allayed by 'the number of prizes he brought home'[1] from school. A second consequence of insularity was that, where others might have looked beyond the home for their entertainment, the Dykes family made its own, with drawing, painting and music-making led by the flute-and-horn playing, tenor-singing father.

It is significant that immersion in music *en famille* acquainted — perhaps saturated — Dykes with music, the style of which was later so closely to influence his own compositions: 'As child after child in the large family developed the same love of music, the chorus became richer and fuller, and many who joined it can still tell of a whole oratorio, as *The Elijah*,[2] *Spohr's Last Judgement*, *The Hymn of Praise*, etc., sung through on some Sunday evening.'[3] Other glimpses of his musical exposure come from the programme of the 'grand music festival', the brainchild of the local organist G.J. Skelton, which took place in October 1840. It included Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum*, a selection from Haydn's *Creation*, Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*, Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, Spohr's *Calvary* and Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus*.[4] It was while Dykes's father was on the committee for a music festival in Trinity Church that he engaged — and Dykes first met — the 15-year-old Clara Novello, who had been engaged to sing.[5]

With a priest for a grandfather and a spiritual lay worker for a father, it is unsurprising that the church featured strongly throughout Dykes's upbringing. It is difficult to imagine that children in any century, however spiritual their background, could have found church exciting, interesting or stimulating. The way Fanny describes St John's hardly helps us in that imagination:

> The ritual of those old days [was relatively] dull and dreary. The cold aspect of the galleried churches, shut, as they generally were, from Sunday to Sunday, the duet in which the Psalms were read between parson and clerk…Yet there

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1 Dykes, F., p. 4.

2 Fanny's memory must be letting her down here: *Elijah* was not premiered until 1846, by which time JBD was up at Cambridge and most of the Dikes 'children' were children no more. And the thought of any child (or adult) enduring the 'whole oratorio…sung through on some Sunday evening' is difficult to credit.

3 Dykes, F., p. 10

4 Smith, G. pp. 25–26.

5 Fowler inaccurately states (footnote, p. 11) that this was Clara's first public appearance, whereas she had appeared the previous year at the Three Choirs Festival in Worcester. (Sadie, S. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol.13* (Macmillan: London 1980/1995), p. 439.)

> was a depth of earnestness in the religion of some who lived at that time, which it seems hard to reproduce now.[1]

It is interesting that the boy who was to become famous for his contribution to the musical worship of the church was introduced to psalmody at the tail end of the wearying practice of 'lining out' the psalms. But his grandfather was certainly not hidebound, for although Tate and Brady remained the default psalm book in most churches, he compiled, as we have already seen, his own hymnal 'making it most attractive by the introduction of many poetical and beautiful hymns.'[2] And whether by personal inclination (which is possible, as we are informed that Dykes had some feeling for poetry) or injunction from their father, Fowler reveals that Dykes and his brothers and sisters added to the corpus of hymns sung in the church, especially for the Sunday School Anniversary services. Although none of these hymns is known to have survived, it is possible that traces of them found their way into the maturer works of Dykes and of his eldest sister, Eliza — later known, under her married name of Alderson, as the writer of *And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning*; *Lord of glory, who has bought us;* and *In terra, pax*, to all of which Dykes composed the music.

The organist of St John's at the time was Dykes's uncle, the local wine merchant Thomas Dikes Jnr. But fittingly, when the wine seller was away from home, Bacchus deputised. Smith records that he played his first service when he was ten and thereafter deputised frequently until the family moved away in 1841. However, neither the dignified clerical status of his grandfather, nor the asceticism of his father, had totally dampened the boy's spirits:

> The church had a very influential congregation, and one fine Sunday afternoon Master John, who had a talent for extemporisation, took as the theme of his concluding voluntary the then popular music-hall song, "Old Jim Crow," much to the delight of the young people present, and the astonishment and consternation of the older ones.[3]

Another tale, recounted as a tradition in the family, is that he once extemporised a concluding voluntary of the theme *Pop Goes the Weasel*.[4]

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1 Dykes, F., pp. 3–4.

2 *loc. cit*.

3 Smith, G., p. 86.

4 *CT*, 9 March 1923 p.285. As will be seen, this propensity for rendering extra-liturgical music on the organ was not diminished in adulthood.

We do not need to rely entirely on Fanny's assessments of the young Dykes's unusual talent as an organist: the Vicar of St James was evidently, though unavailingly, keen to appoint the 12-year-old to the vacancy in his church, it being 'the decided wish of his congregation, who preferred his playing to others who had played there before.'[1] An early musical influence would have been the aforementioned G.J. Skelton, organist of Holy Trinity and former assistant organist of Lincoln Cathedral, from whom he received lessons. From Smith we learn that Skelton 'was essentially a piano-player — and a very good one — of the old classical school, having been in his youth a pupil of Cramer. As an organist, he was inclined towards a somewhat florid style, so far as the keyboard was concerned; but his accompaniments were always in good taste, and bespoke the reverent and cultivated mind.'[2] Smith further reports that Dykes and Skelton 'always remained on terms of intimacy and affection' although no record of future dealings is known to have survived.

The story of Dykes could easily have ended as a promising teenager who never attained his majority, because on Christmas Eve 1840 he became ill, his condition worsening to the point of delirium on the following day. The diagnosis was scarlet fever, a disease which was to bring repeated tragedy to the family. Dykes's condition remained critical for some days, although he retained the strength (and moral fortitude) to write a farewell letter to an old friend, hoping to meet him again in Paradise. Although he recovered (his youngest sister, the 12 year old Caroline, was not so fortunate) the illness had a lasting adverse effect on his throat and voice and prompted him thereafter 'to take more sober, earnest views of the responsibilities of his renewed life.'[3]

In 1840 Dykes's eldest brother, Thomas, went up to Cambridge as the first 'Dikes Scholar'. This brother had 'a sunny smile, blue eyes, and golden hair' — or at least he did until 'his appearance was…sadly spoilt, when as a School-boy, he managed to blow the skin off his face, and to burn off his eye-brows and eye-lashes, with some gunpowder which he had got hold of, and which exploded in his face, when as it refused to go off, he blew it.'[4] We learn a little later (in 1843 when Dykes himself was preparing to go up to Cambridge) that Tom was, to his father at least, a wastrel, with references in a letter to 'the

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1 Fowler, p. 9.

2 Smith, G., p. 34.

3 Fowler, p. 12.

4 Dykes, F., pp. 105–106.

extravagant idle habits into which Tom has fallen.'[1] Whereas Thomas's subsequent ordination would doubtless have redeemed him somewhat in his parents' eyes, his later defection, not just to Rome but to the Society of Jesus, came as a blow: 'no sorrow that had come to them seemed so heavy to bear as this'.[2] Their second son, William Hey Jnr., who was eventually to practise as an architect, also moved away from the Evangelical position of his father when he became enthralled by the Ecclesiological Society. At least William Hey Snr.'s death in 1864 spared him the grief of witnessing John Bacchus's mortal anguish within the Anglican fold.

In 1841 the family left Hull on the appointment of Dykes's father to the management of Wakefield and Barnsley Union Bank. We noted in Chapter 1 the testimonial given to Dykes Snr, but the loss to the town of John Bacchus was also the occasion for public regret. After mentioning the father the local paper, in an article headed 'Tribute of Esteem', adverted to the son:

> Mr John B. Dikes had for many years been assistant organist at his grandfather's church; and the friends both of the son and the father resolved to present them, on leaving, with some lasting memorial of their esteem. [So]… a very handsome gold watch, value upwards of twenty guineas, and four volumes of sacred music, elegantly bound, consisting of Handel's Messiah, Beethoven's Mount of Olives, Haydn's Creation, Mozart's Requiem, Spohr's Crucifixion, Last Judgment, and Christian Prayer, and a Selection of Voluntaries, was presented to Mr John B. Dikes by the congregation of St John's church; each bearing an appropriate inscription, in acknowledgement of his services for several years past.'[3]

Smith records the inscription on the watch to have been: 'Presented to John B. Dikes with a selection of sacred music, by the congregation of Saint John's Church, Hull, in acknowledgment of his services for several years as assistant organist, 27th November, 1841'.[4]

By way of a postscript to Dykes's involvement with the organ in St John's, by 1865 the 50 year old organ had fallen into disrepair. A new organ was commissioned from the Hull firm of Forster and Andrews and, for its inauguration on 11th April 1866, the by-now celebrated Dr Dykes, was invited to play. We are told that 'his playing of the two services

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1 Letter from William Hey Dikes to JBD dated 16 October 1843. (App. B p. 13.)

2 Dykes, F., p. 109.

3 *Hull Packet*, 3 December 1841, p. 2.

4 Smith, G., p. 86. One infers that this must have been either a sizeable watch or tiny engraving.

was much admired for its artistic restraint and devotional spirit'[1] — a tribute whose precise meaning is elusive. Another grateful reminiscence of Dykes's younger days is represented by a compliment paid by the authorities of Christ Church, when two stops on the 1860 rebuild of their organ were labelled with the initials J.B.D..[2] Later still, in 1904 a new organ was installed in St Mary's Church, Lowgate, and dedicated to the memory of Dykes and of his sisters Fanny and Lucy.[3]

Wakefield

In November the family settled in at Bank House in Westgate, Wakefield, with Dykes and his brothers enrolling at the local Proprietary School. Although Dykes was there for a little under two years, these years would have marked an important stage in his transition from school child to undergraduate, from boy to man. At its foundation in 1834, the Director's Report to the financial backers stated that

> The classics and mathematics will be very efficiently taught both in the higher and lower branches, and a foreigner of talent had been engaged to attend three days in the week to give instruction in the modern languages…So far as is practicable, general religious knowledge will be inculcated, for which purpose the Greek Testament, and some such epitome of the arguments for the truth of Christianity as is furnished in Porteus' or Paley's Evidences will be used.[4]

The Directors concluded by promoting the advantages of a liberal education, contending that the new school was 'remarkably well adapted to furnish it to the youth of that important body, the middle class of society.'[5]

From the Principal, the Rev. G.A. Butterton, we learn that the daily regime, invariably began with prayers and Scripture readings. In addition to modern languages there were five lectures in mathematics and ten in classics (under which heading were included theology, history, geography, grammar, exercises, and the reading of classical authors). The theology curriculum included Scripture history and the Greek Testament, and a consideration of the works of Paley, Doddridge, Michaelis, and other writers.

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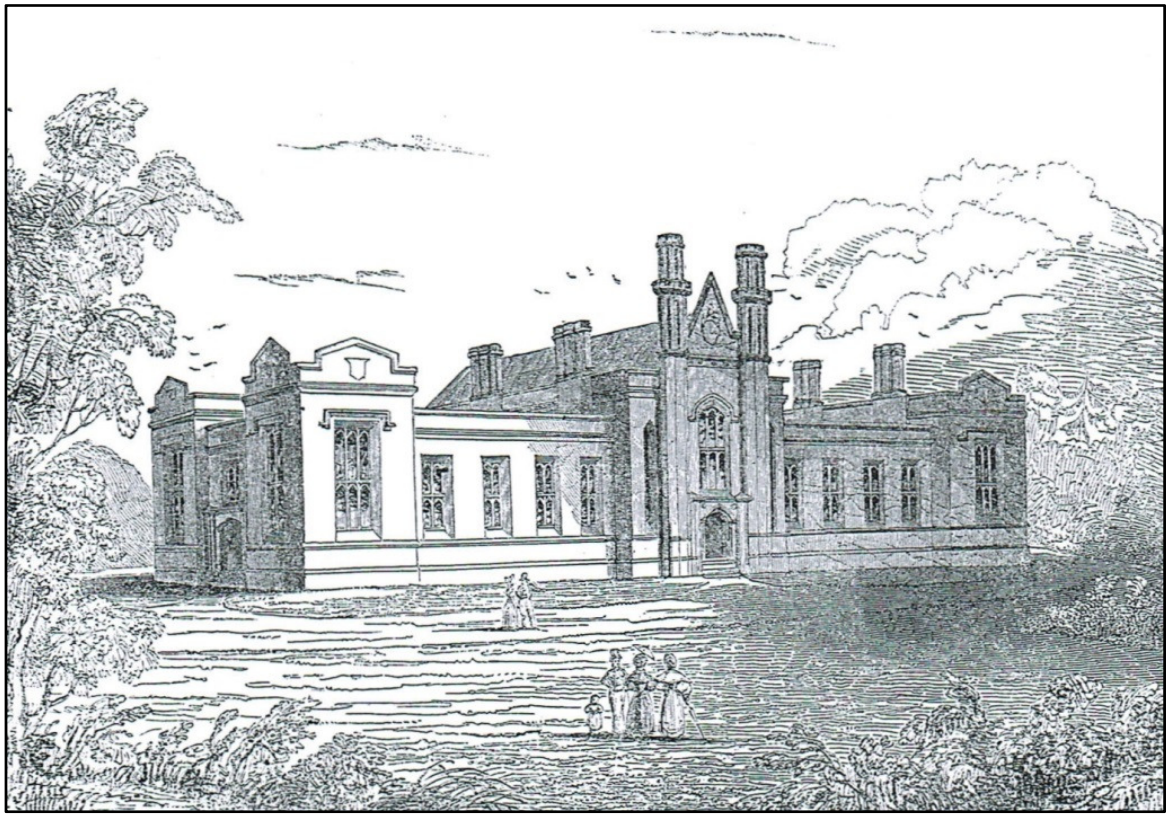
1 *ibid*., p. 93.

2 *loc. cit.*

3 *CT*, 30 December 1904, p. 874.

4 *Bradford Observer*, p. 222.

5 *loc. cit.*



West-Riding Proprietary School c1834

Reprinted from *The Proceedings at the Opening of the West-Riding Proprietary School &c.*

According to Fowler, 'In his first year, 1842, Dykes gained a prize for English verse. Next year he won three prizes.'[1] In fact, he won four: The Morpeth Prize (which would appear to be for an essay, the details of which are not recorded); The Member's Prize (again, what this rewarded is not known); 2nd Prize in French; and a Classics Prize.[2] However, any elation he and his parents might have experienced at this scholastic success would have been overwhelmed by the tragedy represented by the drowning of his 13-year-old brother, Philip, on the 5th April 1842. (Those of a cynical turn of mind might find the pathos in Fowler's (i.e. Fanny's) story — that Philip had been due, that very night, to sing the aria *Angels, ever bright and fair, Take, oh! take me to your care* — a far-fetched coincidence.)

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1 Fowler, p. 14.

2 'List of Honors [*sic*] awarded to the pupils of the West-Riding Proprietary School, Midsummer, 1843' (Archives of Wakefield Grammar School).

In Wakefield Dykes attended Holy Trinity Church where his father was choirmaster and where we learn, with no surprise, that he often played the organ. We also learn that his propensity for irreverence at the organ had not disappeared.

> On one occasion at [Holy] Trinity both men[1] went to play the organ and thinking that the church was deserted, Dykes who was playing the organ with Francis pumping, commenced with the then popular and well-known comic song from the music halls *Who killed my Dolly* on full organ. However one of Dyke's 'elderly' relatives was holding a prayer meeting in the vestry and upon hearing the music came out of the vestry and hollered "*John, John whatever are you about?!*" With that both men left the church, it was reported convulsed with laughter.[2]

Of greater significance in the longer term is his formation of a lasting attachment to the incumbent, the Rev. Charles Davies, to the extent that, when the latter was subsequently appointed to a church in Plymouth, Dykes stayed with him for the three months prior to going up to Katherine Hall (later to become St. Catherine's College), Cambridge.[3] Once again his departure brought forth tokens of esteem from the church which he had served, albeit briefly. After being at first minded to discourage any gift, he subsequently let it be known that he 'should exceedingly like [Spohr's] *The Fall of Babylon*, [Crotch's] *Palestine*, [Mendelssohn's] *St Paul*, and Weber's *Oberon*.'[4] It was while he was in Plymouth that he composed one of his first, serious, post-childhood compositions. A diary entry in July 1843 records that he had received 'A letter from M.T. thanking me for a copy of my waltzes which I had sent her, with an Arietta.' An undated, but earlier, recollection of his brother Frederic speaks of 'a song to Tom Moore's words, *As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean*,'[5] We know that this latter ballad was sung by Dykes at a concert in Cambridge but, unfortunately, none of these compositions is known to have survived.

Cambridge

With his typical attribution to his subject of sound judgement and good sense, Fowler says that, on arriving at Cambridge, Dykes's 'great fear seems to have been lest he should be led into idleness or extravagance, and lest his music should interfere with his more solid studies. To guard against these dangers he laid down definite rules for his daily work,

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1 The other was Francis Booth, Wakefield organ builder.

2 Lindsay Dawson, pp. 77–78, citing West Yorkshire Archive Service Doc C692/1/1/2.

3 Fowler, p. 16.

4 *ibid.*, p. 17.

5 *loc. cit.*

arranging his reading so as not to be interrupted.'[1] However, this is to ascribe to Dykes virtues which the father did not recognise in the son. A letter from the former to the latter, sent when Dykes first went up, makes abundantly clear that the 'great fear' of extravagance was entertained by Dykes *père*, who was concerned lest his son should not be similarly mindful of the need for economy. Likewise, the imperative of establishing and keeping to a disciplined work plan emanated from father rather than son.[2] The same letter, pointing out to Dykes the great change in his life represented by his matriculation, alerting him to the fact that he would largely be responsible for how he turned out, and exhorting him to work hard and to behave with befitting decorum, drew on the vocabulary of his profession to issue a stark warning.

> You are going into a scene of temptation & danger where thousands have made shipwreck, have disappointed all the hopes of their friends, & brought on themselves miseries from which they never could extricate themselves. It therefore surely becomes every one who has any desire to order his conduct aright, which I sincerely believe is the case with you, most seriously to reflect on the means by which he may escape the snares to which he is exposed, & pass thro' the severe ordeal unscathed. If a man can maintain his integrity & pass thro' a college life without partaking of its usual follies & sins, it [is] of great benefit to him & eminently fits him in after life to maintain that conflict with an evil world which is essential to his so living as to have peace with his own conscience & with his God.[3]

Whereas this is wise counsel of a sort which could have been sent by any father to any son, the next subject is specific, and relates to a recognised character defect in John.

> It is of the utmost importance that you should cultivate a spirit of self-denial, & manfully resist those inclinations which proceeding from a fallen and corrupt nature must lead to sin and misery. There is one species of self denial in which I think you are very deficient, which I consider quite essential to your maintaining your ground, & which I must earnestly beg of you to seek after namely the denial of the love of approbation. I don't mean the approbation of the great & the good, this is an object worth our ambition but I mean the approbation of the gang, the worldly, the light, & thoughtless which constitutes so large a proportion of society in which we are compelled to mix; can you bear to tread the path of duty if it exposes you to their disapprobation? Can you maintain a standard of conduct which is above their mark & which brings upon you their scorn and derision? Now this is the point to which you must come. You must make up your mind to this trial, & it is a very hard one, otherwise you are totally unfit to undergo the probation of a college life…I give you my consent in the hope that you will have wisdom to see what is your

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1 *ibid.*, p. 18.

2 Letter from W.H. Dikes to JBD dated 16 October 1843. (App. B p. 13.)

3 *loc. cit.*

> true interest, conduct yourself well & with the blessing of God you will be comfortably provided for thro' life.'

After deprecating Tom's extravagance, his father alludes to his own personal circumstances. 'I am sending you in faith for I have no idea how I am to get your expenses paid & in fact unless it please God to give us such improvement in trade that I may derive some profit from my shipping I cannot meet your expenses.' As a consequence, Dykes was forbidden from buying clothes in Cambridge which could be obtained more cheaply at home, from keeping company and from joining clubs as 'they lead to many expenses & naturally involve visitings & feastings.' In his first term he was warned against seeking to make new acquaintances but should instead 'look about you and see who will be likely to do you good.' Returning for his peroration to the language of the sea, he closes stirringly:

> Now you know perfectly well that in following this advice you will have to sail against a strong stream & nothing can enable you to steer it but God's grace. If you pray earnestly to him for assistance at the same time using your best endeavours all will be well. If you trust to your own strength & resolution you are sure to fall.

It soon became apparent that Dykes took this advice as a counsel of perfection rather than as unbreakable rules. His grandfather evidently had a more benevolent view of his character, even if he did identify one weak spot. In a letter to Dykes's father, he says 'John is certainly a very fine youth, of good abilities and amiable temper; these things, and his talent for music, will always render his company agreeable in society; whether he has seriousness enough to resist temptation, I doubt.'[1] Perhaps predictably, Fanny saw only piety in Dykes's character: 'there was another side, of which the grandfather perhaps knew nothing; deep humility leading him to a fear of himself, and of his liability to fall into temptation. This proved his safety against temptation, for it made him lean on a strength greater than his own. This humility and a fear of himself were very strong feelings with him.'[2]

Cambridge Life: Music

Although music was for Dykes an extracurricular subject, it occupied a significant part of his free time. Within days of his arrival a letter home mentioned the 'immense…and…very beautiful' organ in Trinity College, on which, before he himself was permitted to play, he heard Walmisley perform 'one of Bach's most difficult fugues'[3] (Unless this was one of

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1 Dykes, F., p. 80.

2 *loc. cit.*

3 Fowler, p. 21.

the fugues written for clavier, it is difficult to identify which of Bach's 'most difficult fugues' could have been played on an organ with just two octaves of pedals.)[1]

His diary, quoted by Fowler, shows that, in his first few weeks, he attended a meeting of the Peterhouse Musical Society (later renamed the Cambridge University Music Society) where he was deputed to play the piano, and also went to Walmisley's Madrigal Society. It is evident that CUMS was to occupy a considerable portion of his spare time, as performer, composer and, eventually, President. (The Society's first President is stated by Lord Kelvin[2] to have been G.E. Smith, upon whose death in 1844 'Blow' succeeded to the Presidency. On Blow's retirement, Dykes declined the nomination, citing pressure of work, with the Presidency instead being conferred on William Thomson (later Lord Kelvin). The 'incomparable John Dykes' (Kelvin's words) became the Society's fourth president in 1846. It is clear, from Kelvin's letter to Dykes's sister, Lucy, that the two men established a close and lasting friendship, with high jinks alternating with the music-making when Kelvin visited the Dykes family at home. Dykes's younger brother, Edward wrote

> I remember it quite well and the awful noises made when my father gave [Kelvin] lessons on the French horn. Also how we had to hunt through the house for old umbrellas to extract the whalebone, of which the ribs were made in those days, for the purpose of [his] model flying machine; and he succeeded in making it fly across the drawing room.[3].

The *MT* reports[4] the first semi-public concert given by the new Society as having taken place in the Red Lion in 8 December 1843, less than two months after Dykes arrived in Cambridge. The distinguishing feature of the eclectic programme, which included a Haydn symphony and music by Mozart, Rossini and Donizetti, was the aforementioned Dikes ballad, *As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean*. The *MT* records the notice given to the concert by the *Cambridge Chronicle* on 16 December: 'The members of the Peterhouse Musical Society met on the evening of yesterday[5] at the large room in the Red Lion, and gave a concert of vocal and instrumental music to their friends. The audience consisted almost entirely of gownsmen, of whom there were between two and three hundred

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1 See *Smith, J.J, The Cambridge Portfolio* (John Parker: London, 1840) p. 194.

2 Quoted in Fowler, p. 24.

3 *MT,* 1 February 1908 p. 99.

4 *ibid*. p. 98.

5 There is an incongruity in a report, appearing on 16 December about a concert which took place on 8 December, referring to 'yesterday'. We may infer the reporter wrote the piece the following day and the sub-editor failed to make the adjustment.

present.' The report also states that the ensemble numbered eleven. For the first concert of the renamed CUMS (1 May 1844), the *MT* records Dykes as having sung, with two others, the riotous ballad *Calcott's glee*, which 'although good in style and ably sustained, is, we think, more suited for a convivial party than a concert-room.'[1] The *MT* was less precious about the 'pretty little ballad which, we believe, was [Dykes's] own composition. Most deservedly, he was encored, when he threw the whole room into fits of laughter by an imitation of [John] Parry in his songs of *The nice young man* and *Berlin wool*; the whole style of this gentleman's performance stamps him at once as a thorough musician.'[2] Much later it was recorded that Parry himself came to hear Dykes's performance of his songs.[3]

From time to time Dykes went up to London for concerts and exhibitions, after one such describing in a letter to Fanny[4] his rapture at hearing Jenny Lind. He also spoke of hearing the *Eroica* which 'nearly drove me mad. What a grand, wild, extraordinary and sublime production it is.' He also heard a Haydn Symphony, a Sterndale Bennett Overture and an excerpt from *Der Freischutz*. After another he wrote of his delight hearing *Elijah*, in which he 'was so excessively delighted and absorbed by the magnificence, grandeur, and excessive beauty of the oratorio'.[5]

Chapel

In Dykes's time daily attendance at chapel was obligatory[6] although one infers that this would have been no chore. Speaking of the value of a praying community represented by the College Chapel, Smith asks, rhetorically, a question to which there is little doubt that Dykes would have answered in the affirmative:

> Is it not something in the nature of an evidence [for the truth of the Christian religion for a student] to feel himself borne in to the House of Prayer with such a stream as this, in company with some of the highest intellects and ablest scholars of his country? We do not hesitate to say, that it is precisely that evidence which a young man at this period of life should have set before him; the testimony of maturer minds, who have thought and examined for themselves. It is an evidence which speaks to his heart as well to his head; a

1 *MT*, 1 July 1893, p. 402.

2 *ibid*., p. 403.

3 *CT*, 9 March 1923 p. 285.

4 Fowler, pp. 32–33.

5 *ibid*., pp. 38–39.

6 Smith, J.

> practical evidence, which will strengthen and confirm the argumentative and historical proofs presented to him in the course of his Academical Studies.[1]

From Huntington we learn that the father's intention was that Dykes should be placed 'under Simeonite influence, in accordance with family traditions, but it might have been foreseen that, gifted as he was, fond of society, devoted to music, and literary in his tastes, he would recoil from its narrowness.'[2] We know from Fowler that he heard the preaching of James Scholefield, Regius Professor of Greek; the Rev William Carus, Fellow and Senior Dean of Trinity College; and Harvey Goodwin. (Significantly, in terms of lasting influences, Goodwin was a close friend of John Mason Neale, a noted disciple of the Oxford Movement. More importantly, the two had co-founded the Cambridge Camden Society.) But Fowler records as 'his special delight' the University sermon, 'his scholarlike theological mind' being profoundly impressed by Drs. Mill (another supporter of the CCS), Wordsworth and Professor Blunt (Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity).[3]

The evolving Zeitgeist of doctrine, ecclesiology and ritual

Dykes's readings in Theology were aided by the fact that, whereas the Katherine Hall Library contained little, it did possess 'a few early printed books and the standard works which were likely to interest the clerics.'[4] By chance, however, developments in the religious environment of the University (and indeed the wider church) when Dykes arrived were approaching a watershed moment and it is highly improbable that he could have been untouched by, much less uninterested in, them. And whereas it is beyond the scope of this study to encompass, except superficially, the histories and doctrines of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Movement, it is evident that something within the Cambridge melting pot between 1843 and 1846 effected a lasting change in Dykes's churchmanship. As none of his own writings gives any clue as to what this might have been, and given that the controversies which raged around the two movements — his second year coincided with an existential crisis for the CCS and the defection to Rome of John Henry Newman — reached a peak during his Cambridge sojourn, encapsulating their complementary histories and doctrines into a few paragraphs may help us draw reasonable inferences.

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1 *ibid*., p. 91.

2 Huntington, p. 233.

3 Fowler, pp. 18–19.

4 Roach, J.P.C. 'The colleges and halls: St Catharine's', *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3: The City and University of Cambridge* (1959) p. 415.

In Chapter 1 we saw how, for the Church of England, the early decades of the nineteenth century were a time of neglect, impiety and shameful abuses, with those in the aristocratic reaches of the clergy holding multiple appointments in which there was no requirement for them to be resident or indeed ever to do anything to earn their emoluments. William Gladstone, looking back on the time, was scathing:

> the actual state of things, as to worship, was bad beyond all parallel known to me in experience or reading. Taking together the expulsion of the poor and labouring classes (especially from the town churches), the mutilation and blockages of the fabrics, the baldness of the service, the elaborate horrors of the so-called-music…and above all the coldness and indifference of the lounging or sleeping congregation, our services were probably without parallel in the world for their debasement.[1]

But Gladstone was describing the nadir: strong forces for change had already become active within the two Universities. And the forces were directed at two, discrete though broadly complementary, aspects of worship: *forms* and *doctrine* or, as some would later characterise the two movements, the externalities and the internalities of worship.

Cambridge Camden Society

The imperative, as its founders would have seen it, which necessitated the creation of the CCS in 1839 was generated three centuries previously by an un-looked for consequence of the Reformation: new, Protestant, forms of worship had to be accommodated within old, Roman Catholic, structures. In the ensuing centuries, the chancel lost its relevance, altars were moved and often treated disrespectfully, three-decker pulpits displaced the altar as the focal point, and Wren's idea that people needed to see and hear clearly what was going on supplanted old ideas that congregations would be satisfied in being vaguely associated with the mystery acted out on their behalf by the priest. Church buildings, far from being venerated as God's temples, were often dirty, damp and dilapidated. Pews not only emphasised social division but were seen by reformers as being inimical to the very idea of the church as a hallowed place — sometimes 'half-roofed like country villas, and sometimes even *embattled*…it is still worse when the great pew is fitted up like a drawing-room, with fire-place and chimney and a separate entrance.'[2] In sum, 'Reverence for the

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1 White, J.F. *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (CUP: Cambridge, 1962) p. 17, citing Gladstone, W.E. *Gleanings of Past Years, 1843-78* (John Murray: London, 1879), vi, p. 119.

2 White, p. 7, citing *A Few Words to Churchwardens: Part II, 5th ed.,* pp. 5–6.

church building and its furnishings had been thoroughly leached out of Anglicanism by the 1830s.'[1]

Ironically, it took a convert to Roman Catholicism, Augustus Pugin, to articulate the problem and to warn that there could be no solution 'unless the same feelings which influenced the old designers in the composition of their Works, can be restored.'[2] Pugin was a functionalist rather than an aesthete — the goal should not be beauty *per se* but an architecture which was appropriate for the service which it performed. For this to happen, the Christian architect needed to 'imbue his mind with the mysteries of Faith, the history of the Church, the lives of those glorious Saints and Martyrs that it has produced in all ages'.[3] And as far as Pugin was concerned, any architect so imbuing his mind would inevitably conclude that the decorated gothic style (being the style developed during a past age when the church was assumed to have been at its most pious) was the only true Christian architecture. It was to restore the church to its pre-Reformation piety, not least by promoting the architectural principles so eloquently expounded by Pugin, that Neale and likeminded fellow undergraduates formed the CCS, the stated object of which was 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains'.[4] And in a PR master-stroke, they generated kudos by attracting Patrons from the upper echelons of the Church and University (not realising until five years later that kudos gained by the securing of distinguished patronage can easily turn to kudos surrendered by its withdrawal). Unsurprisingly, not all Anglicans were happy to accept, as a spur to action, criticism from a Roman Catholic even if they were happy to appropriate his ideas, but some years later the CCS's own journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, lamenting Pugin's death with the fraternal 'now that we have lost him', was happy to overlook past arguments and claim him as a *de facto* fellow-traveller.[5]

Although neither Pugin nor the CCS instigated the Gothic Revival in England, they embraced it wholeheartedly. When in 1845 Newman built Littlemore Chapel in a broadly gothic style the *Ecclesiologist*, whilst not blind to its shortcomings, hailed it as 'a greater

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1 White, p. 4.

2 White, p. 11, citing Pugin, A., *Contrasts* (Pugin: London, 1836) p.iii.

3 White, p. 12, citing Pugin, A., *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (John Grant: Edinburgh, 1895) p. 21.

4 White, p. 225, citing 'Laws of the Cambridge Camden Society' in *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for 1842,* pp. 44–46.

5 *Ecclesiologist*, Vol. 13 (1852) p. 352.

step in advance beyond what was known before it', and welcomed all that it represented in terms of heralding an emergence from 'the depth[s] of the abyss' into which the church had sunk. It was 'not so much a sermon-house [but] a temple to the MOST HIGH.'[1]

Whereas the CCS concentrated on architecture and antiquities, other subjects fell into their purview. In a retrospective assessment of the Society, Neale wrote

> Bearing in mind, that as Churchmen, our first object was to edify the spiritual, through the advancement of the material, temple; feeling, that is, that the living Church in all its functions was typified by the formal Church in all its aspects; we have sought to introduce into our studies other subjects, not only of Christian art, but of ritual and liturgical importance, of which Church architecture is only a single development. Not forgetting that architecture is our first work, we have associated Church Music as a parallel branch of ecclesiology, and with this object, a musical committee has been added to our ecclesiological staff, whose works and responsibility, though not shared in by the Committee of the Ecclesiological Society, as such, yet cannot but be considered an allied and important movement, naturally arising out of our general purpose.[2]

But if the CCS had a fault (besides any argument which may be raised against its central tenets) it is that it was governed by an all-powerful Committee, which also exercised absolute editorial control over the journal. A consequence was that any tendency towards arrogance, dilettantism, complacency as regards its interpretation of ecclesiastical history or simple rudeness had no check. The dogmatism of Society and Journal could not help but antagonise as many as it pleased, and it gave the impression of delighting in the controversies it started — or prolonged. One of its most vociferous critics, the Rev. F. Close (whose standpoint is apparent in the title of his published sermon: *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*), alluding to the untrammelled power of the ruling committee, did not mince his words:

> Without imputing any dishonourable motive it must be said that *a practical fraud* is thus committed on the public. The Ecclesiologist is NOT "*published by the Cambridge Camden Society,"* but by its *committee* — with whose proceedings it is to be charitably hoped, the great body of those whose names are placed at the head of the Society, know little or nothing.[3]

Reacting to the growing clamour, in January 1845 the Journal was ostensibly severed from the Society, although its editors, principles and combative tone remained unaltered.

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1 *Ecclesiologist,* Vol. 4 (1845) p. 33.

2 *Ecclesiologist,* Vol. 15 (1854) p. 3.

3 Close, F. *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery* (Hatchards: London, 1844) p. 13.

However, the reputation the Society was earning for itself for being polemical, ideological and authoritarian alarmed those senior supporters from whom it had originally gained prestige and, led by the Bishop of Exeter, several resigned. In the ensuing period of crisis it was proposed that the Society should be dissolved. With acrimonious arguments continuing both within the Society and in the press — a public battle of which Dykes, billeted within the sound of its gunfire, could hardly have been unaware and in which it would be fantastical to claim that he would have been uninterested — a compromise was agreed, under which the Society would be reformed, renamed and separated from the University.

Oxford Movement

These, then, were the external, almost tangible, aspects of worship which a disinterested outsider could have witnessed. Earlier in the same decade, the Oxford cleric John Keble preached his famous anti-Erastrian Assize Sermon, the seminal event to which Newman attributed the birth of the Oxford Movement. In the eight years following Keble's sermon, some 90 combative Tracts — ostensibly anti-Popery and anti-Dissent but not universally perceived as such — were published by this informal group centred around Newman and Edward Pusey. Although initially the OM appeared to be a reaction against Erastrianism, their principal concerns were the falling off in respect by the establishment for its sacred duties, the neglect by the church of its catholic heritage and of its pre-Reformation historical and theological insights, and the indispensable principle of the Apostolic Succession. In other words, Newman, Pusey *et al* were interested in the teaching of correct doctrine, rather than the form and ritual which engaged the passion of Neale and his confrères, even though the Tractarians tended to get the blame for the advance of ritualism from their earliest days. Ironically, Pusey was positively anti-ritualist in the early days of Tractarianism on the grounds that ritualism might distract people into superficiality. It was, he said, 'much easier to change a dress than to change the heart…externals might be gained at the cost of the doctrines themselves.'[1] Newman, who appeared likewise indifferent to the arguments of ecclesiology and ritualism, penned a more graphic criticism: the Ecclesiologists '[make] a fair outside, while within are dead men's bones.'[2]

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[1] White, p. 21, citing Liddon, H P *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Vol 4* (Longmans; London, 1897) p. 212.

[2] White, p. 21, citing Newman, J H *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845* (Longmans; London, 1917).

Although it is sometimes believed that the Oxford Movement and the Evangelical party were at opposite ends of the spectrum, this is not so. As Schlossber explains, the Evangelicals represented a reaction to the morally lax, doctrinally suspect, latitudinarian Anglican low-church and so started out as natural allies of Tractarianism. And Newman himself attributed his own conversion to the teaching of the Calvinist Oxford academic, Walter Mayers. Moreover, even though the Evangelicals focused on personal justification by faith and the Tractarians on sanctification and inner holiness, these were matters of emphasis, and neither side explicitly denied the other doctrine. What connected them was a shared relative indifference to the externals and a greater interest in the inner religion of the heart. But as time passed (and with it the patriarchs of Anglican Evangelicalism) a distance set in: the Evangelicals' emphasis on personal feeling and their willingness to overlook the liberalism which was then gaining ground in the established church, ran against the grain of Tractarianism. The irretrievable parting of the ways came when the suspicion gained ground that Tractarianism was tantamount to Popery — that it was allowing Roman Catholicism in by the back door. And this suspicion, whether justified or not, was fuelled by the defection of Newman, Manning and others to Rome.

We *know* that, at Cambridge, Dykes was living in interesting times although, aside from a few names cited by Fowler, we do not know the extent to which he involved himself with the persons or in the debates of either the CCS or the OM. But that he had a grandstand view of the controversies we cannot doubt. And, two decades later, when Dykes was involved in a skirmish with the Archdeacon of Durham in the matter of the reordering of St Oswald's church, his discipleship of the ecclesiological movement could best be encapsulated by borrowing from Wren's tomb: *si monumentum requiris, circumspice*. Of his complete conversion to the high church, ritualist camp and his sympathy with the doctrines expounded by the founders of the OM, his last years bear eloquent testimony

Preparation for ordination

Whatever Dykes imbibed through his own private studies, formal training for the ordained ministry at the University was still negligible at that time. And as for any requirement for qualifications as a precondition for ordination, there was none. Referring to a period a little more than a decade before Dykes's graduation and first curacy, the historian Overton writes of

> strange tales of one bishop examining his candidates for ordination in a tent on a cricket-field, he himself being one of the players; of another sending a

> message, by his butler, to the candidate, to write an essay; of another performing the difficult process of examining a man while shaving, and, not unnaturally, stopping the examination when the examinee had construed two words.[1]

In her memoires, Fanny records that 'Very often in later years he regretted that the opportunity of entering one of the theological schools, now so universal, had not been granted him.'[2] However, a voluntary theological examination was established in 1842 for those who had taken their degrees, with most bishops requiring Cambridge ordination candidates to have taken it.[3] Having graduated earlier in the year as Senior Optime, in a letter to a sister dated 16 September 1847 he reports that his preparations for the 'Voluntary' are proceeding well and, on 2 November, his name is included in the press announcement of successful candidates.[4]

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1 Overton, J.H. pp. 7–8.

2 Dykes, F., p. 81.

3 Roach

4 *Daily News,* 2 November 1847, p. 4.

Chapter 3

From his curacy in 1847, through his precentorship and first contributions to *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, to his appointment to St Oswald's in 1862

'I just send up these slight contributions, in case they may be of any service.'[1]

'Dr Dykes' tunes are just like himself…so full of feeling, so gentle, so unselfish.'[2]

In 1847 Dykes was appointed curate in the two-church North Yorkshire parish of Malton and, after his ordination as Deacon in York Minster on Sunday 16th January 1848[3] he took up residence in the parish. Aside from preaching duties in the two churches (he was reassured by his vicar that the same sermon would suffice for both churches) he tells of the heavy workload, not just of routine parish duties but also the coaching, in his absence, of the vicar's pupils. But evidently he had some time left over from parish duties: a two-and-three-quarter hour lecture on 'sound', delivered to the Malton Mechanics Institute was, by his own estimation, 'highly satisfactory', if too long.[4] Unsurprisingly, he also found time to keep in practice on the organ. When on 20th June a new organ was installed in Old Malton church — an organ which, according to the typically meaningless description of the times, was 'furnished with a variety of richly toned stops' — its attributes 'were admirably displayed by the Rev. J.B. Dykes, who kindly presided on the occasion, and delighted the audience with his masterly execution.'[5] His reputation as a competent musician had evidently spread for, on 14th September, he was recruited to oversee the music for the ceremonies attendant on the opening of St Michael's Church, Whitby, 30 miles distant. The choir, we learn, 'was most efficient, and the Rev. J.B. Dykes, curate of Malton, conducted the musical department with considerable ability, and presided at the harmonican.'[6] When, the following year, the church acquired a pipe organ Dykes was called back to play at the opening service. Except for the fact that he was ordained Priest

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1 Letter from Dykes to W H Monk, 12 October 1860, reprinted in Fowler p. 72.

2 Sir H.W. Baker, quoted in Welsh, R.E. and Edwards, F.G. *Romance of Psalter and Hymnal* (Hodder: London, 1889) p. 308.

3 *Daily News*, Tuesday 18 January 1848 p. 4.

4 Fowler, p. 44.

5 *York Herald*, 24 June 1848 p. 6.

6 *Hull Packet*, 22 September 1848 p. 5. Much though the image may delight, this mysterious instrument is less likely to be either a harmonica or a panharmonican than a harmonium.

by the Archbishop of York on 21 December in Bishopthorpe Parish Church,[1] the only other point of enduring significance dating from his curacy is that, at some stage, he met the woman whom he was later to marry — Susannah Kingston.[2]

After a curacy of eighteen months, he was appointed a minor canon of Durham Cathedral, along with a man who was to become a lifelong friend, Edward Greatorex.[3] A long letter to his future wife records his apparently effortless integration into Durham's exclusive cultural, intellectual and social circle, his assumption of Cathedral duties and his enthrallment — by the city, by the view from his window, by the walk through the woods and along the river bank to the Cathedral, and by a rendition by the choir of Mendelssohn's *Te Deum.* On 19 November he was appointed Precentor, with Greatorex becoming Sacrist at the same time.[4] (Welsh and Edwards[5] assert that his appointment was attributable in part to 'his success as conductor at Cambridge', although what their authority may be for so saying is not clear.) In a letter to his father announcing his appointment he wrote (*anent* his grandfather's upbraiding in earlier years 'What, John, fiddling again, fiddling again? I don't know what will come of it'), 'I wonder what my grandfather would have said could he have known what "fiddling again" has done for me.'[6]

At that time Durham had six minor canons, of whom at least two were expected to be present at divine service every morning and evening of the year.

> From the precentor (a minor canon by statute and annually appointed) it is further required that he be present on all Sundays and festivals, and generally at the daily services of the church, in superintendence of the choir; that he select music for the church, subject to revision by the chapter; that he recommend to the chapter boys proper to be appointed by them to the choir; that he undertake the religious and moral instruction of the choristers; that he examine them twice a year in general learning, and give classical and other additional instruction to such of them as may desire it, subject to the approbation of the chapter, on a small additional payment.[7]

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1 *London Standard*, 25 December 1848 p. 1.

2 In his letters he refers to her as Susan, as does Fowler.

3 *Daily News* 30 July 1849 p. 6.

4 *Newcastle Courant*, 30 November 1849 p. 4.

5 Welsh and Edwards, p. 305.

6 Huntington, pp. 235–236.

7 Anon, *First Report of Her Majesty's commissioners, appointed November 10, A.D. 1852, to inquire into the state and condition of the cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales* (HMSO: London, 1854) Appendix, p. 50.

For this full programme of work Dykes was paid about £360 per annum (including additional emoluments for preaching on Good Friday and Ash Wednesday), in comparison with the organist's £209pa.

Until his personal diaries resurface, we have little first hand information about the musical situation he inherited but Anne Page has provided some colour. In the nineteenth century 'bad behaviour was rife both inside and outside [Durham] cathedral and several boys were even accused of stealing lead. The Dean and Chapter took the sensible view that the boys had not enough to occupy them. They also decreed that funding for an apprenticing system must be given, at the same time expelling at least two choristers…'[1] When the reforming campaigner Maria Hackett visited Durham to enquire about the general wellbeing of the choristers she was given short shrift by the Dean and Chapter. Perhaps they were embarrassed by the poor provision for their education or by the general lack of discipline: in 1846 the Cathedral organist William Henshaw complained about the boys' unpunctuality and disorderly conduct. But there was a light on the horizon: a new precentor was in the offing, and with his educational responsibilities outlined above, 'a period of academic expansion had begun… The new precentor was the Reverend J B Dykes… Discipline aside, musical standards appear to have been low, as Dykes 'found matters at Durham in a neglected state. A collection of chants was in use which paid no regard to the character of the Psalms, and which led to the singing of jubilant words to plaintive music, and *vice versa*.'[2] In 1853 Dykes reported that the state of the school was now very satisfactory although the curriculum still needed some expansion; so geography and history were quickly added.[3]

Huntington suggests[4] that, in labouring to raise the musical standards of the Cathedral and thereby popularise the services, Dykes was motivated by a concern to protect cathedrals generally from the 'drastic reforms' inherent in Bishop Blomfield's measure for the suppression of prebends. But it is improbable that Dykes needed any motivation over and above his own skill and delight in the music of the church — as executant, historian and theorist — and his personal conviction that praising God was an absolute duty:

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1 Page, A.

2 Welsh and Edwards p. 305.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 Huntington, pp. 236–237.

> If any of us fail in contributing our share to that grand chorus of Praise which is ascending up to the Majesty on high from the whole creation; the very stones, the elements, irrational nature, will all lift up their voices against us. And the "Heavens," as "they declare the Glory of God;" the "firmament," as without articulate "speech or language" it showeth forth to all lands "His handiwork;" the hills, as they clap their hands in exultation before their Creator; and the heaving ocean, as it murmurs forth from its surging bosom its hoarse Hallelujahs "before the Lord the King" — will all put us to shame, and bear earnest witness against us.[1]

A fortnight after his appointment to the precentorship he wrote again to 'My dearest Susan', in terms both more intimate and domestic than those quoted in Fowler.

> It is my painful duty to inform you that circumstances having occurred to prevent my having the felicity of sending you my usual weekly budget today you must wait patiently till tomorrow for it. I suppose I must send it to Mr Hudsons of York.
>
> I am much obliged by your very direct & sapient remarks with regard to the house, as it is just post time I have not time to comment upon them or answer them but I hope to do so satisfactorily tomorrow.
>
> I have had a wonderfully busy day; got no end of work done.
>
> …
>
> I shall hope to be with you, at least in <u>spirit</u> if not in body, at the concert tomorrow night. I wonder if you will have a dance afterwards. Wont I get my ghost to haunt you & see you get into no mischief.
>
> But I have no more time, my sweet one, than to say that I love you better than ever & remain, darling Susan, your most devotedly attached & affectionate, John.[2]

However busy his schedule as precentor, he nevertheless welcomed the extra duties occasioned by Henshaw's illness. If his own account of his competence, as recorded in his letter to Susan (dated 'Sunday 1849'),[3] is to be credited it would appear that any difference in standard between the professional organist and the amateur was slight. The fact (or myth) of Dykes's competence as a cathedral organist is perpetuated by the report that 'on one occasion, on a visit to one of our largest northern cathedrals, he was asked to take the instrument. The Dean was not aware of the substitute, and hastened up to the organ-loft to

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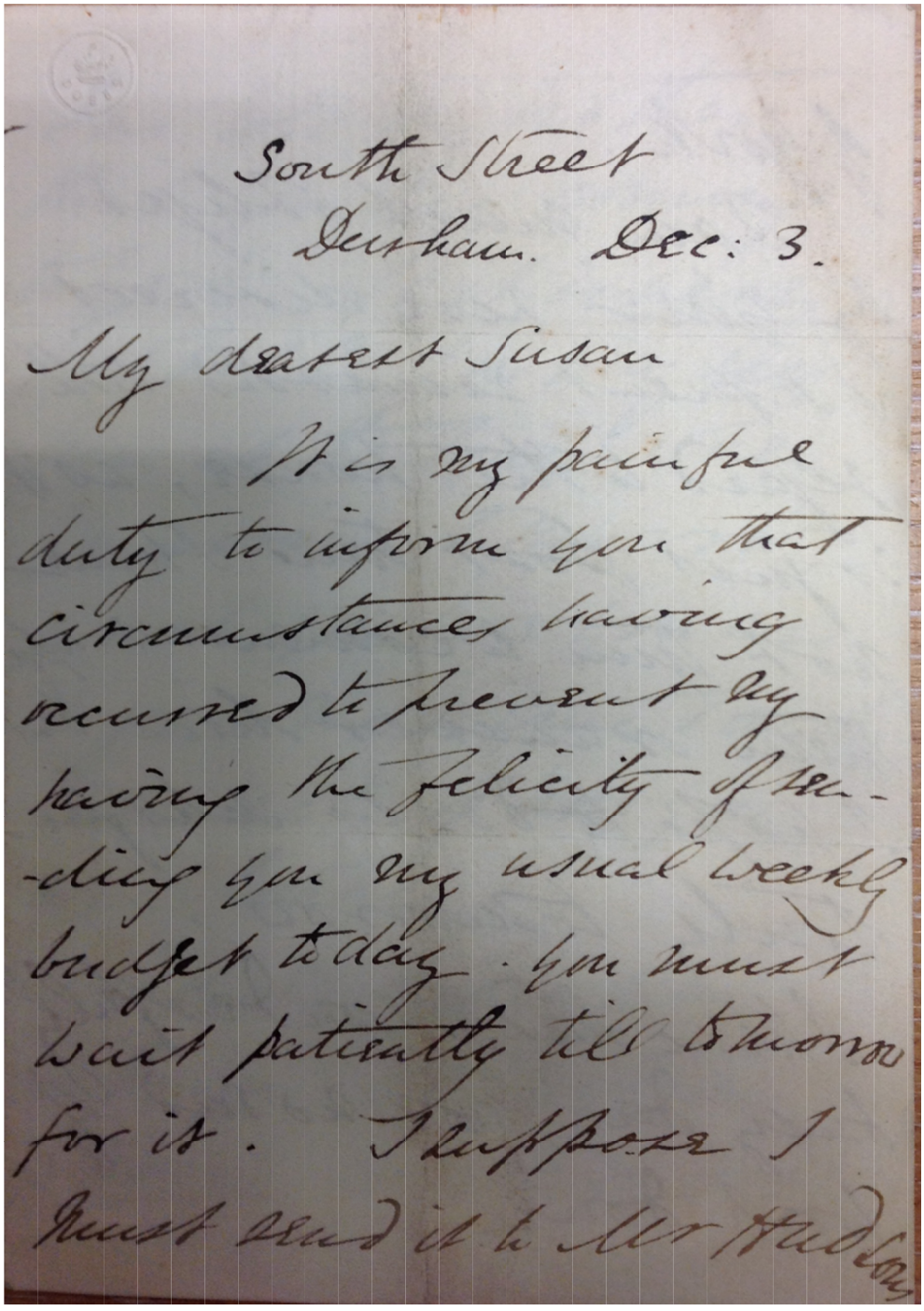
1 Dykes, J.B. 'Church Worship, in Connection with the Mediatorial Work of Christ' in *Two Sermons Preached in St Peter's Church, Derby on the Second Sunday in Advent, Dec. 9, 1860* (Bemrose: Derby, 1861) p. 19. (See p. 320 *sub.*)

2 Letter from JBD to his wife 3 December 1849. (App. B p. 18.)

3 Fowler, pp. 52–53.

compliment the performer. Great was his surprise, on drawing aside the curtain, to find the seat occupied by Dr Dykes.'[1]


South Street
Durham. Dec: 3.

My dearest Susan

It is my painful duty to inform you that circumstances having occurred to prevent my having the felicity of sending you my usual weekly budget to day. you must wait patiently till to morrow for it. I suppose I must send it to Mr Hudson

Dykes's handwriting in this letter compares favourably with his sometimes indecipherable writing in the last couple of years of his life.
(See App. B p. xvii.)
(*Letter reproduced by courtesy of the Royal College of Organists*)

[1] Huntington, p. 245.

If Dykes had accepted the precentorship on the understanding that he would be given *carte blanche* in the direction of the choral worship of the Cathedral, he had evidently overlooked, or underestimated the effect of, the *caveat* (as reported to the Commissioners) that his choice of music would be 'subject to revision by the chapter'. In an undated draft of a letter addressed to the Dean and Chapter,[1] his irritation at unwanted interference was not concealed by his careful drafting and redrafting, which still allowed a hint of sarcasm to slip through the net. Whether or not the Dean and Chapter replied, we do not know. We *do* know that, on 25 July 1850, two months after he moved from South Street into Hollingside Cottage ('the low, one-storied cottage, with its deep veranda, covered with creepers, the undulating garden, which surrounded it, the beauty of the woods around, and the walk to the cathedral…'[2]), he married Susannah in Malton.[3] Less than two months later he assisted his brother Thomas in the marriage of his sister, Eliza to the Rev. W.T. Alderson at Wakefield Parish Church.[4] To round off an eventful year, in November he was conferred with an MA *Ad Eundem* by Durham University.[5]

This was the start of a decade of fecundity interspersed with tragedy. The Dykes's first child, Ernest Huntington — "Erny" — was born in Hollingside on 14 August 1851.[6] On 5 October 1852, their first daughter, Mary Evelyn was born,[7] followed by Gertrude Kingston sometime in 1854.[8] On 8 February 1855 he co-officiated at the wedding of his sister Lucy to the Rev. John Cheape at Wakefield,[9] with Caroline Sybil being the next child to be born at Hollingside, on 25 February the following year.[10] Joy, closely attended by heartbreak, was occasioned by George Lionel Andrew's birth on 1 November 1857 and his death three months later. Ethel Susan (born sometime in 1859) and Mabel Hey (14 May 1860) were the last of the Hollingside children. As a counterpoise to the delight occasioned by Mabel's

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1 App. B p. 2.

2 Dykes, F., p. 84.

3 *Bradford Observer* 1 August 1850 p. 8.

4 *Hull Packet*, 13 September 1850, p. 5.

5 *Newcastle Courant*, 8 November 1850, p. 3.

6 *York Herald*, 23 August 1851, p. 5.

7 *Newcastle Courant*, 15 October 1852, p. 8.

8 http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=wdgrassick&id=I10744

9 *York Herald*, 10 February 1855, p. 3.

10 *Hull Packet,* 29 February 1856, p. 1.

birth came the deaths of two of his brothers, William (a church architect and keen disciple of the Ecclesiology movement) and the Rev. Charles Dykes, in the same year.[1]

Returning to his musical duties, interfering Chapter colleagues were not the only cause of his frustration as the Cathedral's notional music supremo. A Royal Commission, established 'to inquire into the state and condition of the cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales', considered the effectiveness of their several choirs. In a letter to all such establishments dated 20 July 1853 the Commission asked if, in the respondent's opinion: (i) their choir was big enough for the effective discharge of their duties; (ii) the situation would be improved by the recruitment of amateur singers; and (iii) how the qualifications of such potential recruits should be established and their regular attendance secured. On 26 August Dykes answered these questions concisely: the choir was big enough for routine services but inadequate for festivals; the use of amateurs to make up numbers was problematical; and he had insufficient personal knowledge to say much about the third question. His obligation to the Commissioners satisfied, he seized the opportunity to vent his two-fold frustration with his choir: (i) their disinclination to attend practices and his inability to demand that they should do so 'save by begging it as a *personal favour*;…The choir…consider it as no part of their stated duty, but as an encroachment upon their privileges, which they are justified in resisting whensoever their attendance is not represented to them as a personal obligation conferred on the precentor'; [2] and (ii) the impossibility of dismissing choirmen whose performance had fallen below an acceptable level. No records have yet been unearthed to show whether or not the situation complained of by Dykes improved during the remaining years of his precentorship.

It is worth a brief digression to note another eminent church musician's even more discursive reply to the Commission, a reply which its author judged to be so valuable that he published it. Given our interest in the wider ecclesiological movement of the time as it affected the subject of this study, of equal interest to Samuel Sebastian Wesley's actual views [(i) that the Commissioners' three questions related to matters 'of secondary moment'; (ii) that the more important question related to the generally poor standard of contemporary musical *compositions* intended for use in church, especially the 'services'; and (iii) the low status accorded, and salary paid, to organists], is the review of his

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1 Dykes, F., pp. 44ff.

2 Anon 1854 (Appendix thereto), pp. 685–686. (App. C Part 2 p. 60).

pamphlet in the journal of the Ecclesiological Society.[1] Conceding the inherent value of comments emanating from the pen of a musician of Wesley's status, but with the acerbic, not to say sarcastic, tone typically reserved for those with whose views the Society disagreed, the writer suggested that Wesley had completely missed the point about the poor quality of the services. It would be better, the writer said, if composers of services followed the plan adopted by the *Hymnal Noted,*[2] with specific services appropriated to specific seasons. As regards the proposed stratagem of increasing pay to attract better organists (many of whom, it was noted, were already better paid than parochial clergymen) this would not lead to better compositions, as these *virtuosi* would need to spend the greater part of their time practising, rather than studying vocal counterpoint. As proof of the contention that excellent organists are not necessarily excellent composers, the writer held up Wesley's anthems as examples of second-rate composition. Whilst he admitted that they 'exhibit considerable talent, and contain a good many beautiful passages here and there [!], chiefly in the style of Spohr', he regretted that they took more trouble to learn than they were worth. For this he blamed Wesley's 'relish for the crudest discords', the sound of which put the writer in mind of 'some human beings we have heard of, who had so hardened their throats and stomachs by habitual gin-drinking, that a dram of sulphuric acid was to them nothing more than an agreeable stimulant. But to be serious…'[3]

As one of the minor canons, Dykes's duties extended beyond his musical responsibilities. (In an unusually detailed account of one of the commonplace tasks falling to him, the papers reported his chores in respect of the election of a new bishop.[4]) But neither his cathedral duties, nor the additional pastoral work in the parish of St Oswald, for which he had volunteered, nor yet his journalistic side-line which we shall notice later, precluded his engaging in extra-curricular musical activities. Even though Fanny had noted that his juvenile attack of scarlet fever had 'laid the foundation of a weakness in the throat which

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1 *Ecclesiologist* October 1854, pp. 307–310. No evidence has emerged to suggest that Dykes was a member of the Ecclesiological Society in either of its incarnations, although there is plenty to show that he was in sympathy with its principles.

2 Published 1851 (2nd ed. 1854) and edited by the Rev. John Mason Neale (co-founder of the Cambridge Camden Society, later the Ecclesiological Society), and that arch-apologist for Gregorian Chant, the Rev. Thomas Helmore. Given that Neale was also *de facto* Editor of the *Ecclesiologist*, and that he reserved to a select few persons of sound (i.e. convergent) opinions the right to contribute to the journal, it is likely that this review was written by Helmore.

3 *Ecclesiologist*, No. 104 October 1854 p. 309.

4 *Times*, 8 November 1856, p. 7.

made him unequal to any great exertion of the vocal organs'[1] (a weakness which appeared not to have hindered his singing at Cambridge, nor yet his singing of the daily Offices) we read that, in January 1853 he was one of the soloists in the part-song *Merry Boys Away* by Sir Henry Bishop in a fund-raising concert in Newcastle.[2] It need hardly be added that he continued to be in demand to play the organ all over the diocese. And not only was he recognised as a competent player: his judgment was evidently respected by those seeking to appoint organists — from the mildly exotic (he selected a new organist for St John's Church, Calcutta[3]) to the First Division. His status as a reliable judge of character and competence is suggested by the reference he provided for Stainer in support of the latter's application for the position of organist at Magdalen College, Oxford.[4] And Philip Armes, speaking of his auditioning for the post at Durham in 1862, revealed not just that Dykes was the adjudicator but also that 'he…supplied the subject for the four-part fugue which each competitor had to extemporize.'[5]

Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, 2nd Bt.
by Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson)
Spring 1860
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Moving from bench to podium, time and again Dykes proved popular as a lecturer. At the invitation of the Church Institute in Hull early in 1860, he delivered a lecture on English Church music and, at the end of the same year, he and Ouseley delivered sermons on the choral worship of the Church at St Peter's Church, Derby (discussed at p. 320 *sub*). Quite when Dykes began the friendship with Ouseley, a friendship which was to last all his life, is not clear but in 1857 the two travelled together to the Farne Islands for a break.[6] The following year Dykes wrote an anthem

1 Dykes, F., p. 78.

2 *Newcastle Courant*, 28 January 1853, p. 5.

3 *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 20 December 1856 p. 5.

4 Letter from Dykes to Stainer, 16 December 1859. (App. B p. 26.)

5 *MT*, 1 February 1900, p. 86.

6 Bland, D. *Ouseley and His Angels: The Life of St, Michael's College, Tenbury and its Founder* (Bland: Eton, 2000) p. 72.

for a collection which Ouseley was preparing (discussed later) and, in the years leading up to Dykes's death, the pair sustained a cordial correspondence, with occasional visits to each other's homes.

Another notable composer of the day with whom Dykes had evidently struck up a cordial relationship was Herbert Stanley Oakeley (1830–1903). At the time of the first exchange of letters, the 29 year old Oakeley was still looking for a full-time appointment (six years later, with his candidature promoted *inter alia* by Dykes,[1] he was appointed Professor of Music at Edinburgh University and 11 years later still he was knighted) but he was nevertheless managing to get his anthems published. Although the available correspondence is one-sided, it nevertheless presents Dykes in a favourable light — for his courtesy and his musical judgment. It also suggests that Dykes was no great admirer of Wesley (an opinion which appears to have been mutual — see Chapter 7). In the first letter (of four which have come to light), after complimenting him on a recently published sermon,[2] Oakeley thanked Dykes for a critique he had supplied of Oakeley's anthems: 'As I have often said, I value no one's opinion more than yours: & it was an agreeable change to receive an opinion at all, for out of about a dozen acknowledgements of the receipt of these four anthems from musical people, yours is the only letter containing any thing like real criticism.'[3] In this regard, lamented Oakeley, Dykes contrasted with 'the general habit adopted by some of our great musical gurus [which] is to return a very civil answer, with a profusion of thanks, but with "regret at not having had time to look at the music"'. After acknowledging with gratitude the list of errata Dykes had sent, he expressed agreement with Dykes in a critical comment (not precisely identified but, by inference, less than complimentary) about an unidentified anthem by Wesley. With the two men apparently holding similar views on the composer[4] Oakeley gave Dykes advance notice of a review he was preparing for the *Guardian* of a volume of Wesley's anthems, a review in which (he said) 'I…shall, unless you object, use your almost exact words, in speaking of this particular anthem, & also whilst I am having a cut at the "unctionless" school, your

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1 *Musical Herald*, 1 December 1903, p. 358.

2 Probably his Ash Wednesday (9 March 1859) Sermon *Natural and Supernatural Life*—discussed on pp. 319ff and reproduced in App. C Part 2 pp. 1ff

3 Letter from H.S. Oakeley to JBD 18 April 1859. It may be remarked that Oakeley's high regard for Dykes was expressed two years before the publication of A&M.

4 They need not have felt any qualms about denigrating the work of one who, if he was beset by self-doubt, did a magnificent job in concealing it: Wesley was contemptuous of the 'ignorant provincials' whose talents restricted them to the composition of hymn tunes. See Chapter 7.

epithets being just what I wanted.' Finally, Oakeley alluded to Dykes *magnum opus*[1] in Ouseley's recent collection which, he was sure, was 'enough to establish your name as a composer'. Oakeley wrote again six months later, from which we may note a few points: 'I am…glad that…you entirely agree with my opinion of Ouseley's music... You seem to understand Wesley so exactly…I never did admire [Walmisley's] writing, but I may not know what you do about him…'[2]

During his Cathedral years Dykes was a frequent contributor to *The Ecclesiastic*, although the custom of the time to anonymise contributors, or to conceal their identities behind a pseudonym, make it difficult to know how many pieces he contributed, nor which articles and reviews came from his pen. The twenty-three I have been able to identify are reproduced in Appendix C, with analysis, including what they reveal of Dykes's theology, being reserved for Chapter 8.

Although we have no record of Dykes having composed anything at Malton, it is improbable that these would have been barren months for an active musician. We do know, however, that he was composing again during the early days of his precentorship. From Fanny we learn of his first *surviving* hymn tune, the eponymous tune composed during his second year at Hollingside Cottage. In her trademark purple prose she writes of the

> calm Sunday evening [in the summer of 1851], when I sat in the veranda in the deepening twilight, and heard through the open window, my brother composing and playing over the tune "Hollingside," to the words "Jesus, [*sic*] lover of my soul"' and of 'the Creed, which he was composing, and which was sung for the first time, in the cathedral in the October of that year.[3]

We know from a later letter to Monk that he had, at different times, composed hymns for use in the Cathedral's Galilee Chapel, having been unable to identify suitable tunes from the existing stock. Disdaining false modesty, he reported that these were 'very popular'. But his first taste of the limelight came not with HOLLINGSIDE, nor with the Creed, nor yet with any of the tunes which were to be the subject of the letter to Monk, but with the nine tunes he composed or arranged for a hymn book compiled by the Hon. and Rev. John Grey, published in 1857.[4] Of these nine, only ST BERNARD and ST AGNES survive in

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1 *These are they which came out of great tribulation*.

2 Letter from Oakeley to JBD 20 October 1859. (App. B. p. 25.)

3 Dykes, F., pp. 84–85.

4 Grey, Hon. and Rev. John *Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes used in the Parish Church of St Michael, Houghton-le-Spring* (Cleaver: London, 1857) LINDISFARNE, MECKLENBURG (arr.), ST AGNES, ST AIDAN

common usage. (Harper implies[1] that Dykes's first published tunes appeared in the 1853 edition of *Congregational Church Music*, whereas they did not make their appearance in that work until the edition of 1871.) However pleased Dykes may have been to see his tunes in print, it is evident that he was unimpressed by the book's presentation, which he described as 'badly got up & so abominably printed'.[2]

On a larger scale even than the Creed is the first of Dykes's two large-scale anthems, for SATB, Tenor Solo and Organ, on text drawn from Revelations: *These are they which came out of great tribulation*, composed in 1858[3] for Ouseley's collection of *Special Anthems for Certain Seasons and Festivals &c.* — a collection to which Wesley refused to contribute.[4] (According to Fanny,[5] it was this work which prompted the University to confer on Dykes the honorary degree of Mus.Doc on 18 June 1861, an opinion which the University's records are unable to substantiate. Whatever may have been the impetus lying behind the award, it marked a first: although the University had been founded in 1831, it had awarded no music degrees until Dykes's doctorate.)[6] But even though this was an estimable work (it takes 16 minutes to perform and displays a fair imitation of Mendelssohnian counter-point and pre-echoes of Edwardian grandeur), and was composed when Dykes was on a family holiday in Flamborough 'where the only instrument available in the house was an old harpsicord,'[7] he was not the only mid-century cleric to write hymns and anthems, as contemporary catalogues attest. But whereas most of these dilettante composers and their works have long been forgotten, Dykes somehow managed to achieve immortality.

Given that his most ardent apologists recognise that his music is of uneven quality, his better fortune cannot simply be a matter of his genius towering over their mediocrity. And yet, so far we have seen nothing to foreshadow Dykes's 'enduring significance': a boy born into a lower middle class family in the first quarter of the nineteenth century showed

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(arr.), ST ALPHEGE, ST BERNARD (more commonly known under its later names of SYCHAR or ST OSWALD), ST CECILIA, ST EDMUND and ST NINIAN.

1 Harper, 'Towards an Understanding of Tractarian Hymnody: A Critical Appraisal of the Interaction between Theology, Poetry and Music in Anglican Hymnody between 1840 and 1900.' Ph.D. thesis, Durham University. 2010 p. clxix.

2 Letter from Dykes to H.H. Bemrose, 25 April 1861. (App. B p. 32.) For an example of the engraving, see p. 256 and compare it to the engraving, four years later, of the first music edition of *A&M* (see p. 64).

3 But not published until 1861.

4 Bland, p. 73.

5 Dykes, F., p. 92.

6 *MT*, 1 Feb 1900, p. 86.

7 Fowler, pp. 74–75.

musical promise as a child, won a scholarship to Cambridge for which he was the only contender, achieved a reasonable (but not distinguished) degree, entered the priesthood without any formal vocational training, secured a comfortable position at a northern cathedral, contributed articles for a theological magazine and dabbled in composition — a CV which presages no more significance than that achieved by tens of thousands of ivory-tickling, scholar-manqué, nineteenth-century provincial clerics. And this was how the position stood on the evening of Thursday 11th October 1860.

William Henry Monk
by Walter & Allen Hastings Fry
albumen carte-de-visite, circa 1870
© National Portrait Gallery, London

The following day he wrote a speculative letter to the organist of St Matthias Church, Stoke Newington, who had been employed by a small group of clerical entrepreneurs of a high church persuasion to oversee the musical element of a proposed new hymnbook — yet another to join the many hymnbooks already published over the previous six decades, with no better chance of securing more than a niche position than any of the others.[1]

> You will I trust pardon the liberty I am taking, in addressing you, being personally a stranger to you. I venture however at the request of Mr Twells…to send you a few MS. Tunes for your inspection, thinking it is possible that some of them might do for your forth-coming book. I may perhaps, in case I can find time, send one or two more to-morrow. Of course you will fully understand that you are not, in any sense whatever, bound to accept any one of the accompanying Tunes. I trust that in your responsible position of Musical Editor of the work, you will…adopt none but such as you deem really worthy of admission.[2]

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1 The story of the underlying theology, origin and subsequent development of *A&M* has been told elsewhere, most notably in Frost, M. (ed.) *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern*; Lowther Clarke, W.K. *A Hundred Years of Hymns Ancient & Modern*; Drain, S. *The Anglican Church in Nineteenth Century Britain: Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1860-75* (Edwin Mellen Press; New York, 1989); and Wilkinson, R.W. 'A History of Hymns Ancient and Modern. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hull 1985.

2 Fowler, pp. 71–72. A variant account of Dykes's introduction to *A&M* was told years later by one of his nephews. In that version, 'Bishop' Twells (it was actually *Canon* Henry Twells, elder brother of Bishop Edward Twells) told Dykes 'he was looking out for tunes' for the nascent hymnal, at which Dykes played him some of his compositions which he hoped 'might be suitable.' Twells then showed them to Baker (sic), who was 'taken' by them. This version, related 30 years after the event, is incompatible with Dykes's letter to Monk. (*qv* Musical Opinion 1 September 1890, p. 498.)

In the event, all seven of the original tunes he submitted — DIES IRÆ, HOLLINGSIDE, HORBURY, MELITA, NICÆA, ST CROSS and ST CUTHBERT — were accepted and, with the exception of the first of these (the sentiment of the words of which more or less ensured that hymn and tune would die with the century) achieved instant and lasting success. (The arrangement of STOCKTON (155) is also by Dykes.) There is no evidence to suggest that, had Dykes not made the first move, Monk would have come to him. On the contrary, the fact that a project which had begun in 1858 was only five months from publication when Dykes wrote suggests that neither Monk nor any of the other members of the group were even aware of his existence. From this letter, therefore, may be traced the genesis of Dykes's significance as a composer. Interestingly, this was the last occasion on which Dykes needed to hawk his wares to hymnal compilers: hereafter they sought him out.

The first edition of *Hymns A&M* with tunes[1] appeared on 20 March 1861. Whether or not Dykes expected to be paid, or indeed to be acknowledged, a letter to the editor-in-chief of the new hymnal, shows that he was gratified to receive both payment and acknowledgement.

> My best thanks are indeed due to you for your very handsome present and also for the kindly notice you have been pleased to make of me in your Preface.[2]
>
> I have esteemed it a great privilege to have been permitted to offer any aid, however humble, to a work in which I feel so warm an interest.
>
> The book really seems to have turned out admirably. My <u>first</u> copy reached me yesterday: and I have yet hardly found time to look through it: but I do indeed hope & trust that you will find abundant cause to be satisfied with the result of your long & anxious labours.[3]

It is evident, not least from the reference to the 'much valuable assistance' in the acknowledgement, that there were exchanges between Dykes and Monk and/or Baker after the initial letter and we must hope these exchanges will soon come to light. Without the establishment of the sort of relationship that invites candour, Dykes's letter to Baker might not have continued

> I see that my good friend Sir F. Ouseley has made a little slip (if it is not due to the printer) in the last bar of the 5th line of his Tune for "Sweet Saviour bless us" — The Treble and Tenor of the latter ½ of this bar at present stand <u>thus</u>:

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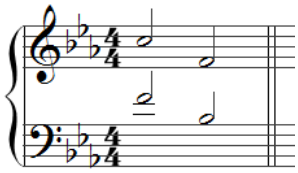
1 The words edition had been published the previous year.

2 '[The Compilers cannot thank everyone] But to a few (especially those whose names cannot but be linked to their tunes) their thanks must be given separately;…to the Rev. J.B. Dykes, Precentor of Durham Cathedral, for several new tunes, especially that to the "Dies Irae," and for much valuable assistance.'

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker dated 20 March 1861. (App. B p. 28.)

making 5ths (which of course is wrong). I have dropped him a line on the subject in order that the inadvertency may be corrected before more copies of the Tune are struck off.

I am surprised that neither he nor Mr Monk have observed it before.[1]

Whatever may have been the reception given to the hymnbook as a whole — its critics included the Rev. James Ormiston, the tenor of whose tract was obvious from its title: *Hymns Ancient and Modern, and Their Romanizing Teaching* — it is clear that Dykes's tunes had been noticed and appreciated, not least by competitors in the hymnal market. In a letter to the compiler of *The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book*, Dykes wrote:

I beg to thank you for your kind note which I received here today — and to acknowledge the cheque for 5 guineas enclosed therein.[2] I am much gratified that two of my tunes have been successful. Over the future publication of these and the other tunes I have sent you (not already printed) I willingly give you entire control.[3]

With regard to my tunes in Hymns *A&M* I fear that, in case there may be any which you would like to introduce into your book, you will have to obtain permission from Sir Henry Baker, as I gave the tunes up to him and his committee.

"S. Cross" I have given you permission to print, which I shall not retract. For the others…you must apply elsewhere.

Don't hesitate however to write in case you are in difficulty respecting any particular Hymn or Tune. If I can help you I will gladly do so to the best of my power. [4]

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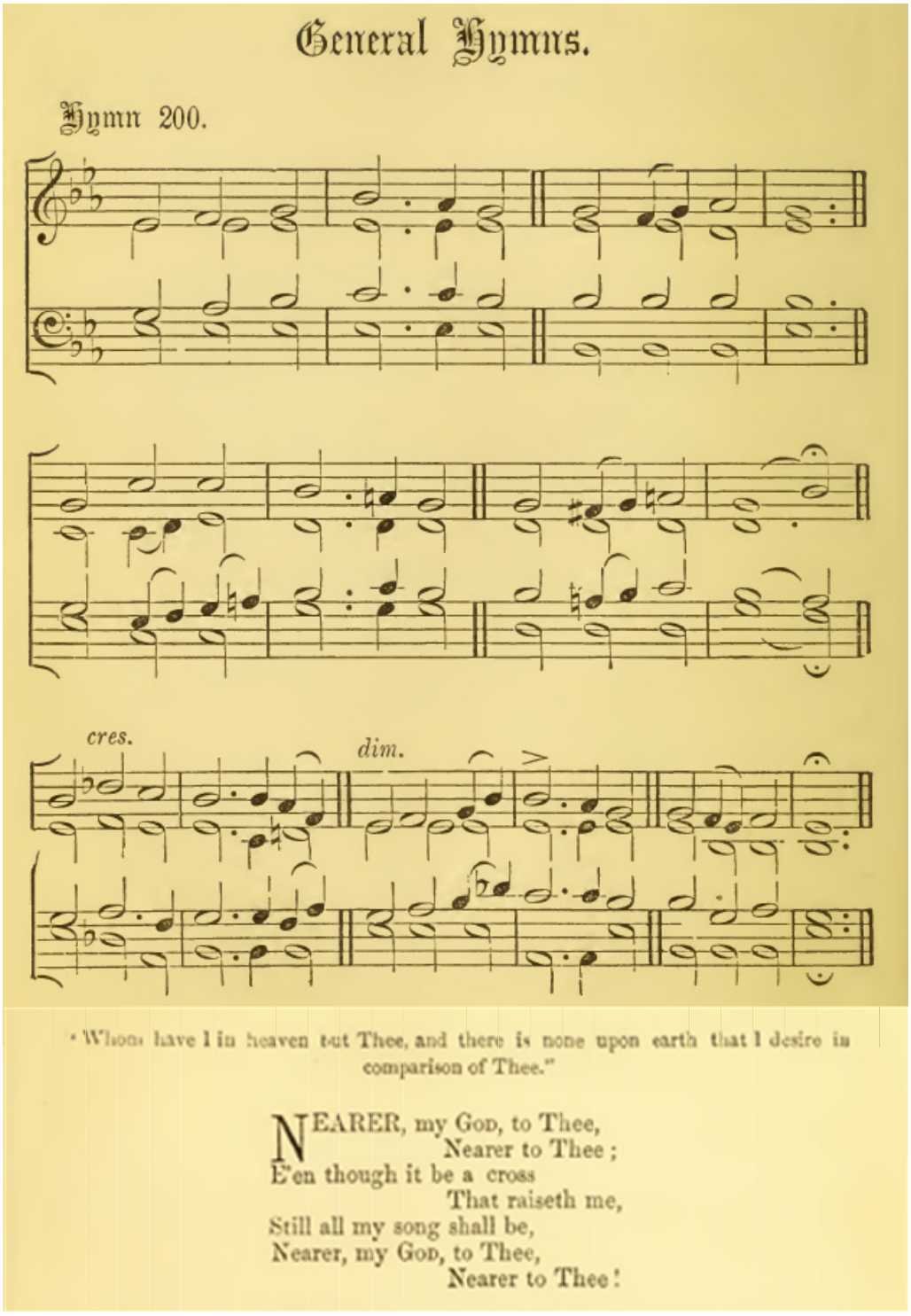
1 Nor was this the only error. A comparison between a first printing and a later printing reveals nearly 70 tunes to have been corrected or amended without a printed corrigenda. Given that many tunes were used more than once, this means that nearly a third were quietly amended. The changes range from the *de minimis* (slurs or cautionary accidentals added, or 'Amens' modified), through engraving errors corrected, to *ten* consecutive fifths or octaves — an egregious offence for a music editor — removed. It is difficult to exculpate Monk from charges of carelessness (these errors should have been picked up at proof-reading stage), incompetence or both: Baker and the committee will not have been pleased with a bill for correcting the plates. And it is unsurprising that they effected these changes covertly. To have announced so many corrections would surely have harmed the reputation of the new book. So although received wisdom is that there were (i) an 1861 music edition; (ii) the same plus Appendix in 1868; and (iii) a second edition in 1875, the truth is that there was a revised music edition published in about 1862.

2 This represents the prize won by Dykes for two of his tunes, GETHSEMANE and JERUSALEM.

3 In the index Chope claims the following tunes to have been written especially for that hymnal: ARUNDEL, BUTTERBY, CILICIA, CROXDALE, DIES IRÆ (No.3), DYKES, ELVET, FINCHALE, GETHSEMANE, JERUSALEM, LAUD, MAGDALENE, MILMAN, PITTINGTON, ST AELRED [with its original c minor ending], ST ANATOLIUS, ST ANDREW, ST BARNABAS, ST BEES, ST CONSTANTINE, ST DROSTANE, ST GODRIC, ST HELEN, ST JOSEPH, ST OSWALD [not to be confused with the tune, originally called SYCHAR (as in this hymnal) and commonly set to *Through the night of doubt and sorrow*], ST OSWIN, ST SYLVESTER, ST WERBURG, ST WULSTAN and WATERBROOK. Fowler (pp. 322–323) omits DIES IRÆ and ST WULSTAN from his list of exclusive tunes.

4 Letter from JBD to the Rev. R.R. Chope dated 27 June 1862. (App. B p. 33.)



Horbury

'The book seems beautifully got up — the type so clear & good.'
(Letter from Dykes to Baker dated 20 March 1861) (App. B p. 29.)
Note that the key signature appears in the first stave only.

As will be seen in the next chapter, this letter — and particularly the ambiguity in the reference to Chope's having 'entire control' over 'the other tunes' — was to resurface more than a decade later, in a bitter tripartite dispute over copyright involving Dykes, Baker and Chope.

As regards his political inclinations, Dykes described himself as 'a staunch and lifelong Conservative'.[1] Of his general demeanour at the time we have scant information. Although the pen-portrait provided by Thomas Collinson (apprentice to Philip Armes and sometime assistant to Dykes at St Oswald's) was offered as a eulogy and was based on evidence of Dykes in his later years, there is no reason to believe he changed much.

> My recollections of the saintly Dykes are altogether inspiring, tinted withal with the haze of intervening years. A spare form, a serene countenance, a preoccupied mind — commonly called absence of mind — a voice not strong nor specially musical, will picture to the seeing eye in some sort the living presentment of the revered composer of *These are they* and of our best hymn-tunes. It seemed natural in the reverend Doctor to stumble over the order of the Lesson which he had just read, and say, "Here endeth the first, second," or the "second, first lesson"; but give him a choir poor and plain, and an organ of moderate dimensions — as in St Oswald's church, Durham — and then you might wonder at the virile grasp and imaginative power of his accompaniments. Bold they were, firm in touch, replete with colour, original in harmony; as, for instance, in his inimitable harmonizations of the Creed in monotone. And then his improvisations between the carols after a Christmastide Evensong! They were joys for the memory, idyllic in their naïveté, even gleeful and picturesque in their freedom.[2]

Although we are led to believe that, on being ordained, Dykes renounced frivolity, it is difficult to imagine that, suddenly and by dint of will, the mischievous ten year old organist and the sociable undergraduate suddenly became humourless. We have seen how Fanny referred to a letter from Dykes's grandfather to his father in which he spoke of an 'amiable temper'. In support of the contention that he retained his agreeableness in company, Huntington gives an example of Dykes's after-dinner badinage, albeit with all port-lubricated sparkle and spontaneity sacrificed on the altar of conventional written prose.

> The churchwardens of a Yorkshire village had placed an organ in their church, and, in the delight of their hearts at the new acquisition, told what they had done to the Archdeacon at the next visitation. The Archdeacon, not knowing the nature of the instrument, and bethinking himself of a means of acquiring

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1 Dykes, J.B., 1874, p. 95.

2 *MT*, 1 April 1908, p. 226.

> funds for some needful repairs, advised them to have a grand opening, with a collection, to invite Dr C. to play, and to advertise the service in the local papers. Well, the advice was taken, the invitations sent out, the placards printed and posted, and the all-important day arrived, and with it Dr C., who was at once shown up to the singing-loft, where stood the instrument in a case brilliant with gilded pipes, know to the profession as 'dummies.' 'But where is the key-board?' inquired the great man, who had already been somewhat disconcerted by the insignificant size of the organ. 'Oh,' replied the churchwarden, 'we turns *un* round wi' that there,' pointing to the handle. The amazement and indignation of Dr C. on finding that he had been invited to open a *barrel*-organ, may be better imagined than described.[1]

Having arrived at Durham as a young, inexperienced and therefore relatively insignificant employee of the Dean and Chapter, in 13 years Dykes had transformed the worship of the Cathedral: according to one source 'during the thirteen years of his precentorship the choral service in Durham Cathedral was justly regarded as the best in England.'[2] And not just in terms of the music: he reformed the conduct of the choir: 'e.g. attention to the said ritual, seemly entrances and exits and behaviour in the stalls, punctuality and preparation for services, care of personal appearance and the wearing of cassocks beneath surplices.'[3] (An interesting parallel can be seen in the conditions prevailing at St Paul's Cathedral when, in 1872, Stainer replaced Goss as organist and began a process of choral reform no less radical and successful than that effected by his friend at Durham.[4]) Dykes had also established his credentials as a theological scholar and quietly laid the foundations of his career as a composer. On 21 July 1862 'The Rev. John Bacchus Dykes, precentor in Durham Cathedral, was, on Monday, elected by the Dean and Chapter of Durham to the Vicarage of St Oswald, in that city, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Edward Sneyd. The living is worth £402 per annum.[5,6] On hearing of his move to St Oswald's, Ouseley was genuinely dismayed. 'I am terribly sorry you are about to resign the precentorship — I know no man better qualified for such an office…This is no mere compliment, but a

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1 Huntington, pp. 239–240.

2 *Monthly Musical Record* 1 March 1876, p. 38.

3 Hutchings, A., 'Dykes the Musician' in Roe, W.G. and Hutchings, A.J.B. *J.B. Dykes, Priest and Musician* (St Oswald's PCC: Durham, 1976) p. 19.

4 See for instance Cadle, P.J. 'A new broom in the Augean Stable: Robert Gregory and Liturgical Changes at St Paul's Cathedral, London, 1868–1890' in Swanson, R.N. (ed.) *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* (Studies in Church History Vol. 35) (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 1999). For a comprehensive account of the life and work of Stainer see Dibble, J. *John Stainer: A Life in Music* (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2007)

5 From the Chapter's response to the Cathedral Commissioners, we may infer that Dykes, who retained his minor canonry, also retained the £190 payable to minor canons who also had a benefice.

6 *Newcastle Courant* 25 July 1862, p. 8.

genuine expression of strong feeling on my part which wd come out. I liked to think of you as my best coadjutor in matters choral. Ever most sincerely and faith^{ly} y^{rs}, Frederick A Gore Ouseley.'[1]

[1] Letter from Ouseley to Dykes, 11 September 1862. (App. B p. 35)

Chapter 4

Part 1.

From his appointment to the living of St Oswald's in 1862 to 1870.

Sub-theme:
Ritualism and internecine conflict in the Durham diocese.

Part 2.

Dykes's contribution to the music of the church throughout this period.

'Your tunes are the making of Monk's Tune-book'[1]

'With the objection of some most sorry rubbish
by…J.B. Dykes…the music is good…'[2]

A simple chronology is an ineffective way of presenting the two subjects which defined Dykes's life during his last 14 years: his increasing success as a composer; and the increasing hostility (sometimes directed at him personally) of time, place and creed. So this chapter and the next, whilst broadly following a timeline, isolate these discrete issues within the sequential narrative.

Part 1

From his appointment to the living of St Oswald's in 1862 to 1866

St Oswald's church and the Cathedral
(Unknown artist, 1846)

[1] Letter from William Walsham How to Dykes, 6 January 1873. (App. B p. 153.)

[2] *CT*, 10 January 1873, p. 12.

Although clerical sinecures were a lingering feature of the English church, Dykes's appointment to the living of St Oswald's, almost in the shadow of the Cathedral, was manifestly not one of them. And if the clergy could be divided into the industrious and conscientious on the one hand, and the indolent, indifferent and *bon vivant* on the other, then the record puts Dykes firmly in the former division.

An assistant organist at the cathedral and sometime deputy at St Oswald's commented:

> He had a most wonderful capacity for work, and the amount he would get through in a day was wonderful. I have often known him, at his own church, read, intone, preach, and also play the entire service. He was one of the strictest observers of Lenten fasts, and in consequence his health frequently gave way. He was the most charitable man I have ever known; he could no more turn a deaf ear to the appeals of poverty than he could say an unkind or harsh word, of even those who were most prominent in his persecution.[1]

Taken together, the pastoral care of his flock, (in respect of which Fowler describes him as 'unremitting in his attention to the sick and dying, in going after the wandering sheep, in keeping up the daily services, and frequent celebrations of Holy Communion, so far as his strength would permit'[2]); his 'ghostly counsel and advice' to the many who came to him; and his output as a composer, performer, conductor, lecturer, theologian and critic sum to an extraordinarily productive thirteen year incumbency. It is unfortunate that Fowler excludes those diary entries which relate to the daily round and even more unfortunate that the whereabouts of these diaries is currently unknown. Nevertheless, Dykes's correspondence, his published writings and secondary sources all shine a light into areas which Fowler leaves in shadow, not least in the circumstances leading to his decline and fall.

On the debit side, the routine of parish administration was evidently neither his forte nor his passion:

> He was full of zeal and energy then, only anxious to work while it was day, and yet often feeling that he longed for more organization in his large parish, his own mind not being naturally fitted for the details of parish work. More given to the contemplative than to the active work, he loved to read and write in his own beautiful study, or to find time to write out the musical compositions which so often floated in his own mind. Thus, many of the details of parish work were a

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1 Charles Bennett Kaye, quoted by Jones, F.A. in 'John Bacchus Dykes', *The Music Magazine*, October 1896, p. 650.

2 Fowler, p. 81.

> weariness to him. And yet with his strict conscientiousness, he felt most painfully that parish work was often neglected.[1]

We noted in Chapter 3 Collinson's description of Dykes's absent-minded, gentle but inspiring and saintly disposition which was galvanised by the challenge of delivering the music of the church to the highest standards achievable with the materials available. Dykes's own estimation of his abilities is consistent with Collinson's assessment of an unassertive personality. His diaries suggest that he was nervous in public gatherings, but he saw this weakness as a guarantee that he would be kept humble.

Sketch of JBD by unknown artist
The Musical Herald, 1 January 1898, p. 8.

Within three months of his induction he made an entry into his diary which provided a hint that his contributions to Grey's *Manual* five years previously, and his more recent contributions to the new venture taking shape at Monkland, were more than passing side-lines: '*Octr. 31st*—Sent off the last batch of Tunes to Chope.'[2] And it is significant that, even before his fame was truly established, his tunes were regarded as more than the emanations of yet another musically insignificant provincial clergyman that he began to attract criticism. From organist and composer Henry Gauntlett he received a long, rambling letter, a letter which is interesting for a number of reasons. Besides criticising Dykes for transgressing against what be held to be an inflexible and fundamental rule of music (using HOLLINGSIDE to demonstrate his point), he was damning of the entire *A&M* project. The nub of his criticism of Dykes's tunes was that his harmonic 'sound progressions', being intuitive, were simply wrong.

> In composing music the mind is limited to the sounds in the key — for sounds out of the key are not in relation. The sounds in the key, as you know, come from three roots, all the other sounds are fractional parts of the three units. Knowing the fractional parts, there follows the order of their movement and

[1] Dykes, F., pp. 85–86.

[2] Fowler. p. 80.

> their combination, upon the order of their movement depends life in music or that motion which we call rhythm: bars do not make rhythm, it is the position of the sounds that creates that organic force, or pulse, which is the index of all life. [1]

Concentrating his fire on HOLLINGSIDE, Gauntlett patronisingly describes 'the spirit of the tune' as being 'excellent' and Dykes's intention as being 'good'. Thereafter the criticism hardens. 'No man can with propriety make a chord go where it ought not to go — any more than he can move a star out of its place in the firmament…I do not deny the right to send the sound to that particular place, but, standing as it does, this is the only place it should go to.' He then bids Dykes play HOLLINGSIDE — but only the first chord in every bar 'recollecting that it is only the first sound in the bar, that breathes in the ear the aural and harmonic life.' By doing so, and by noting Gauntlett's comments on each progression, he hopes that Dykes will notice that the successive chords sometimes bear no legitimate relation to each other, to the fatal extent that they deceive the singers. Continuing to patronise Dykes (whose hymns possess 'a heart and spirit that appeal to humanity, *& require but little to make them perfect*' [my italics]), he condescends — 'with much diffidence' — to proffer his own, reharmonised version of HOLLINGSIDE (unfortunately not preserved) which adheres to 'the principle of never deceiving the ear, & always containing the life in music by a right harmonic pulsation on the Bar.' It is difficult to leave Gauntlett's imperious letter without noticing first that, by following his own precepts, he bequeathed to posterity IRBY,[2] a tune of such harmonic blandness that it never once escapes the tonic key and, second, that his own *ländler*-style tune ST BARNABAS[3] has consecutive bars beginning with chords of C major and E♭ major. To turn Gauntlett's

Henry John Gauntlett
by Maull & Co, after Unknown photographer
albumen carte-de-visite, late 1860s
© National Portrait Gallery, London

[1] Letter from Gauntlett to Dykes, 14 November 1862. (App. B p. 37)

[2] *Once in Royal David's city.*

[3] *A&M* 1889 No. 413.

question upon himself, by what law does E♭ major follow C major? The concluding irony is that, as Gauntlett himself said in the letter, 'the affection of the ear is stronger than the understanding', a profound observation which, at a stroke, exculpates IRBY, HOLLINGSIDE and every other popular tune from the charge that it fails through a disregard for the rules of sound progression which he so earnestly propounds.[1]

Paradoxically, Dykes's appointment as vicar deprived St Oswald's of his services as the *de facto* curate. His predecessor, Edward Sneyd, had benefitted from Dykes's anxiety to share the burden of the pastoral work of a parish which numbered about four thousand:[2] now that Dykes occupied the vicar's stall, the curacy fell vacant, loading the burden onto one set of shoulders. Years later, when Dykes's life had reached crisis point, he wrote to his Bishop of his

> having in the early part of my incumbency so injured my chest by remaining too long without a curate that my voice entirely gave way; I was for several years absolutely unable to take a full Service without assistance; and I have been seriously warned by medical men…of the great danger I incur if I overstrain my voice.[3]

However, relief dropped onto his doormat at the end of his first year. His diary records an offer from Alan Greenwell[4] to become his unpaid curate. Unsurprisingly he viewed the prospect as 'a grand thing for the Parish, and a wonderful support and comfort to me.'[5] (It is perhaps churlish to suggest that an easier way to reduce the burden would have been to clear his diary of some of its extra-curricular commitments.) An example of an additional burden willingly assumed was the direction of a choir festival in the Cathedral at the beginning of his second year. The novelty of the occasion evidently caused something of a hubbub, the Press reporting that

> 'the great doors…were thrown open, [the Cathedral] becoming densely packed, the unseemly crushing and struggling at the doors, and the irreverent behaviour of many who gained admission, was the great drawback to the whole. About

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1 It is presumably a disdain for false modesty which allowed Gauntlett, in the Preface to the Congregational Psalmist (or which he was music editor) to summarise his career in 23 lines, as compared with Orlando Gibbons' 12 and J.S. Bach's seven.

2 Fowler, p. 171.

3 Dykes, J.B., *Eucharist Truth and Ritual* (Masters & Co: London, 1874) p. 63 (App. C Part 2 p. 113).

4 Brother of the poet and hymn writer Dora Greenwell (1821–1882), with whom Dykes was later to correspond.

5 Fowler, p. 82. The 1861 Census records Greenwell as Curate at St Oswald's, so Greenwell was evidently returning to St Oswald's after a period of absence.

> the west end, many men wore their hats, while women rushed helplessly about with screaming babies; very few seemed to think they were in a church.'[1]

Nevertheless, the report continued, 'Dr Dykes sustained the difficult office of conductor with his usual ability and spirit, "humouring" the voices a little now and then, with great judgment.' On one of the busiest days Durham had seen for some time some 1,600 members of parochial choirs participated, with the audience reportedly swelling the total number to 10,000.[2] Dykes's diary recorded the event: 'I gave the signal, and away we went. Thank God, everything was most satisfactory. There was really no hitch. The whole mass kept together throughout. It was a great success, for which I felt humbly grateful.'[3] These festivals continued in subsequent years, with Dykes's coadjutor being William Ions (1833–1906), organist of St Nicholas, Newcastle.[4]

With press reports that Erny (by then age 12) was at that time achieving distinction as a rower and the birth on 27 October of his youngest son and last child, John Arthur St Oswald, this was a year to remember. (From his obituary 85 years later[5] we learn that this former piano professor at the RCM would, as a small boy, sometimes play the organ in St Oswald's. As an adult both shy and modest (but also sarcastic and prone to asperity), this pupil of Clara Schumann became 'a really inspired teacher'. As a player 'he shone with real brilliance', revealing 'the delicate touch, the intensely musical approach that were characteristic of [Clara Schumann's] school. Sir Percy Buck was one of his pupils.)

The new year opened on a sombre note, with his father's sudden death. In view of the care Dykes *père* took to ensure that all his children were brought up to love and fear God according to the truth as revealed to their father and grandfather, it must have been painful for him to watch Thomas, William, John and Charles move to the opposite end of the spectrum (in Thomas's case beyond it and into the Roman church). And yet his theology was neither blindly unthinking nor narrow-minded. In a letter, unfortunately undated, to Dykes he identified what he perceived to lie at the root of the division currently afflicting the English Church: intolerance and a want of true Christian charity. The long letter (it runs

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1 *CT* 19 September 1863, p. 259.

2 This is hyperbole: the current Organist suggests that the capacity of the Cathedral is little more than 2,000.

3 Fowler, p. 83.

4 Humphreys, M. and Evans, R., *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (Mansell: London, 1997) p. 180.

5 Obituary, RCM Magazine, 1948 p. 67, available at http://www.cph.rcm.ac.uk/Tour/Pages/Dykes.htm

to ten pages) was devoted entirely to a book which Dykes had introduced into a family discussion. Although not specifically identified — it is referred to simply, and scathingly, as 'that book of Barter's' — the author is almost certainly the Rev. William Brudenell Barter (1788–1858), whose published works give an indication of his High-Church standpoint: *A Word In Defense Of Our Altars And Catholic Church*; *Observations on a Work By Mr Bickersteth, Entitled, 'Remarks on the Progress of Popery', and an Answer to His Attack on the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*; and *The Gainsaying of Core in the Nineteenth Century or an Apology for the Christian Priesthood*. Launching straight away into 'the evil tendency' of the book, and admitting that he disliked 'exceedingly…the man and his spirit' whose book was 'calculated to do irreparable mischief' he summarised his thesis, little appreciating how aptly it described the *casus belli* which was eventually to consume his son:

> The greatest evil under which the Church is labouring at the present day, that which is rejoicing the heart of its enemies, while it is dismaying & discouraging its best friends, is the discord and division prevailing within itself, & converting those who should be loving brethren, the meek & gentle disciples of Christ, into angry disputants hateful & hating one another. A house divided against itself cannot stand — is unerring truth, & be assured that till it can be again said of the Church as of its primitive members " see how these Christians love one another", it will be trodden underfoot of the heathen despised & mocked at by the world.[1]

Describing man's duty 'earnestly to contend for the truth', nevertheless he recognised that the truth *as revealed to one man* may be hidden from another, using examples to show how the Bible, in appearing sometimes to contain passages which contradict each other, can generate a variety of explanations and spawn a slew of conflicting doctrines. But it was, he contended, a grievous error to launch *ad hominem* attacks on those whose conclusions differed from one's own or, worse, to attribute to those with whom one disagreed doctrines which they would utterly repudiate. This, in his view, was the sin by which Barter was condemned: 'he holds up to contempt a large section of the Church, & points by name to many men whom he cannot deny to have been holy & devoted Christians as promulgating opinions…which I know they never held, I think I am not wrong in considering his book as likely to do much injury.' It is inconceivable that Dykes would not have responded thoughtfully to his father's letter although unfortunately the reply, if it survives, is currently lost from view. But from all of his writings which have survived, not least (or perhaps most perfectly demonstrated in) his seminal treatise *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*,

[1] Letter from William Hey Dikes to Dykes, undated. (App. B p. 3.)

we can see that Dykes's arguments were almost exclusively *ad rem*,[1] often explicitly conceding the underlying integrity of those with whose doctrines he profoundly disagreed.[2]

Of his father's death, Dykes wrote 'His last few years had been in some sense, but labour and sorrow. His weakness and trials are for ever over. He is at rest! God grant that I may follow him, as he followed his Master. God support and comfort and bless dear Mother. How can I be sufficiently thankful to God for giving me such a Father, and such a Mother?'[3]

Meanwhile the performances away from home continued: in Wakefield he conducted 'A grand performance of Handel's *Messiah*…'.[4]; in Berwick on 27 September he directed the annual parochial choirs festival (with Psalms sung to Gregorian tones and the final hymn sung to Dykes's eponymous tune); and in a service in North Shields, where MELITA 'was sung with wonderful power and effect', the judgment was proffered that to 'Dr Dykes much credit is due for the way in which he has devoted his valuable services towards rendering the service successful.'[5] At the Newcastle Church Institute his 'able and interesting' lecture on church music was so popular that some hopefuls had to be turned away at the door.[6]

And so it continued into 1865 with a choir festival at Houghton Le Spring (in whose incumbent's 1857 *Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* Dykes's tunes first appeared). Once again, the event was so popular that aspirant choirs had to be turned away and, once again, the event ended with *The strain upraise* (DYKES). But the year also gave Dykes a far more prestigious platform, the Church Congress held in Norwich in October. The paper[7] is discussed further on p. 307 but we may simply note here that it traced the history of music in liturgy from the earliest times to the present day.

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1 *Almost* exclusively: Dykes's accusation against his Bishop — 'And here, once again, I have to complain of your Lordship's language. I must speak plainly. But I can only read it as designed to mislead' — is a circumlocutory way of saying 'You have set out to lie', which itself is only a short semantic step away from 'You, Bishop, are a liar'.

2 It is perhaps right to temper this virtuous appraisal by pointing out that, as Dykes evidently appreciated, assurances of respect and lavish praise, when carried to excess, can convey the contrary sense—as we shall see.

3 Fowler, p. 85.

4 *MT*, 1 May 1864 p. 289.

5 *Newcastle Courant* 30 September 1864 p. 2.

6 *Newcastle Courant* 16 December 1864 p. 8.

7 App. C Part 2 p. 175.

And then into his life came an unheralded jarring note in the form of a heated exchange with a representative of the Dean and Chapter. This altercation revealed the existence of a major ecclesiastical fault-line between Dykes and his Diocesan superiors, and foreshadowed the calamity which was eventually to engulf him. The exchange, which is recorded in the St Oswald's Vestry Minute Book[1] is so important — for its content, its tone and the evident willingness it shows of Dykes to stand his ground against authority, especially when that authority is abused — that it repays reading in full. But in summary, Dykes is reprimanded by the Ven. George Bland, for blocking the stained glass window at the East end of the Chancel with a structure placed above the Altar (or 'Communion Table', as Bland referred to it); modifying and enlarging the Altar without the authority of the churchwardens; and raising the floor of the Chancel without consent, with the consequence that the celebrant could not stand 'at the North side' of the Altar. He further stipulated that no gifts of any description were to be used until such time as they had been formally accepted by the Parish and delivered to the churchwardens: the Altar candlesticks then in use, having not been formally accepted, must be removed. And in what must to any dispassionate observer appear a point of surpassing pettiness, he opined that a small picture of the Crucifixion hanging in the Vestry 'may be considered dangerous and liable to misconstruction. It seems contrary to the principles of the Church of England that her children should be encouraged to look at pictures in order to keep alive holy and devotional feelings' and recommended its removal. He finished his strictures with some minor points of parish administration.

After the rebuke, the riposte. Beginning with a 'respectful protest'[2] at the fact that the Venerable gentleman had taken possession of, and written in, the Minute Book without authorisation, Dykes noted that the various criticisms and directions revealed a confusion (on *Bland's* part) as to which of his two hats — a representative of the Dean and Chapter (i) *qua* Lay Rectors/Appropriators, and (ii) *qua* Archdeacons — he was wearing as he made each criticism or direction. This, Dykes noted in almost as many words, left him to sort out Bland's confused mind for himself. He then proceeded, with copious references to law and precedent, to undermine the canonical and legal basis on which the various criticisms, directions and recommendations were made, and therefore to reject them. As

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1 *The Minute Book of the Select Vestry and later of the Four and Twenty* (St Oswald's PCC: Durham) (App. C Part 2 p. 86.)

2 Assurances of respect were repeated with such frequency that they took on a contrary meaning, in a parallel with Mark Antony's repeated reference to 'honourable men' in Act III Scene II of *Julius Caesar*.

regards the East window and related internal arrangements, the Dean and Chapter, as Lay Rectors, had no authority in the matter ('I refer to the case of Griffin *v*. Dighton…'). Accordingly, 'with no feeling of disrespect but simply for the protection of my own rights as Incumbent' Dykes declared himself unable to follow the instruction.

Yes, Dykes conceded that the 'Communion Table' had indeed been enlarged some time ago, but simply because it was out of scale with the 'stately' Chancel. What is more, the enlargement had been superintended by the Chapter's very own architect, without cost to the Parish and with no word of protest from Churchwardens or Parishioners. And the plinth on which the Altar stood, which had been enlarged at the same time as the Altar, had generated no objections — not even by the Archdeacon[1] during any of his previous Visitations or when he had taken services in the Church. Indeed, he had 'expressed his general approbation of everything'. So once again Dykes felt himself 'respectfully' compelled to 'decline to adopt the recommendation to remove this 'platform''.

Dykes's next point really did imply, without the balm of deferential circumlocution, that Bland was simply ignorant of the laws and customs of the Church of England. Referring to the position of the celebrant at the Eucharist, Dykes pointed out, with a lengthy exposition of ecclesiastical history, that 'his place is, not at the North *end*, but at the "*North-side*"[2] of the Holy Table — an old liturgical expression which has one, and only one, legitimate meaning', a contention Dykes supported with reference to one of the standard reference works of the day.

As regards the legal status of gifts and the assertion that these needed to be formally accepted before they could be used, Dykes, citing authority, felt 'bound to record [his] respectful, but very earnest, dissent from the decision here pronounced, and [his] opinion

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1 The Ven. Edward Prest, M.A. Prest's name arises frequently in the account of Dykes's clash with the anti-ritualists, for which cause he was an outspoken advocate.

2 *Latus septentrionale* (North side)/*Latus sinistrum* (Left side):

East

North *end*	*Latus sinistrum/ Septrionale* (Left side/North side)	*Media Pars*	*Latus dextrum/ Australe* (Right side/South side)	South *end*

Priest

that a power is here attributed to the churchwardens of which the Law and custom alike are ignorant.' The recommendation relating to the picture of the Crucifixion in the Vestry met with the same 'respectful' response. Only the administrative directions were accepted. Dykes summed up the purpose of his 1,884 word response to Bland's 637 word report — a response which was made 'in no captious or disrespectful spirit' nor with any 'desire to resist legitimate authority' — as being 'to defend [his] own rights as Incumbent, and to guard [himself] from implicit acquiescence in a Document the tenor of which appears to divest the Parish Priest of his proper authority and responsibility, in regulating the details and accessories of Divine Service.'

The Minute Book contains no further mention of the disagreement and, in the absence of further documentary evidence, we must assume that Dykes acted (or declined to act, as the case may be) in accordance with his stated intentions. It is reasonable to infer, however, that a *de bas en haut* rebuke of this nature and a rejection which so blatantly questions the authority and learning of the person administering it, would have created a *froidure* in relations between Dykes and the Chapter. We can see now that this was merely an opening skirmish in a war of attrition between the ritualist Dykes and his clerical brethren of the Evangelical party, but if this opening salvo (mirrored by skirmishes being fought throughout the country) was confined to the pages of a parish church Minute Book and therefore all but hidden from the wider world, the theatre of battle was soon to move to the pages of the local and national press, and ultimately to the Court of Queen's Bench. So at this point we suspend the strict chronology to consider how an atmosphere characterised by increasingly virulent, and sometimes personal, attacks (bearing out the criticism made by Dykes's father that the focus of debate was all too often *ad hominem* rather than *ad rem*) — an atmosphere to which Dykes must be seen to have contributed, whether one takes his part or not — must have affected the mind and temper of our subject.

A rarely seen portrait taken at about the time of the Norwich Church Congress, 1865
(from an original in the Norfolk Record Office, ref MC 580/3. Reproduced by permission.)
cf. ink portrait on p. 304.

Ritualism and internecine conflict in the Durham diocese

As Chapter One illustrated, factionalism in Dykes's time was the consequence not of the zeal of early-to-mid-nineteenth-century Dissenters, Tractarians and Ecclesiologists but rather of the nadir to which a long and gradual moral decline had brought the Church of England. However, the emergence of energetic, charismatic and eloquent leaders — Wesley, Simeon, Newman, Pusey (whom Dykes heard preach at a meeting of the English Church Union in 1867[1]), Neale[2] — crystalized the issues and provided flags around which the masses could rally, and it was natural that they should default, even if only by apathy, to the camp which most closely matched their prejudices. Each camp needed only a few gifted polemicists, aided by an ever growing press and a country shrunk by a rapidly expanding railway network, to ensure that points of difference, energetically expounded and constantly reinforced, should become unbridgeable gulfs: We are right, you are wrong — and *bad*.

The nub of the issue was whether or not the Reformation had liberated the English church from Popish ritual and superstition, or whether careless neglect had deprived the church of one of its essential links to the Catholic Church at its very inception. There is, of course, no objectively correct answer to this question, which means that in examining the acrimony which characterised the ecclesiastical *Zeitgeist* in which Dykes lived and worked we must avoid characterising it as a clash between virtue and vice, integrity and dishonesty, biblical orthodoxy and diabolical heresy. Neither are the various protagonists — Dykes and his Bishop included — heroes or villains simply by virtue of their stance. And yet it cannot be overlooked that whereas ritualism was sometimes the catalyst for riots, and ritualist priests were prosecuted and sometimes imprisoned, records of Anglican clergymen being persecuted for being too Low Church are scarce (although it will be recalled that Thomas Dikes had been passed over for the incumbency of Holy Trinity, Hull, on account of his low church evangelical position): the High Church party, being in the minority, was hardly in a position to be meaningfully intolerant of those with whom they disagreed.

Of the court cases involving ritualist priests, two cases typify the case against the whole. Alexander Mackonochie became curate in charge of St Alban's, Holborn in the year

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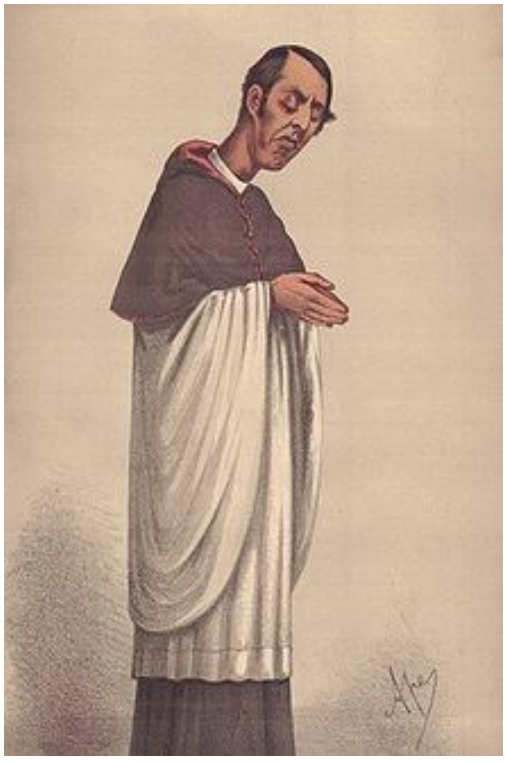
1 Fowler, p. 118.

2 And, if we are to include those whose influence was more local we might add the evangelical Rev. Thomas Dikes.

Dykes was appointed to the living of St Oswald's.[1] By this time a committed ritualist, his crimes — as perceived by the Church Association — included facing East during the celebration of the Eucharist, mixing water and wine in the chalice, placing candles on the Altar, elevating the bread and kneeling during the prayer of consecration. After attending a service in St Alban's in 1866, Lord Shaftesbury described it as being 'in outward form and ritual…the worship of Jupiter or Juno'.[2] (Dykes heard Mackonochie preach in February 1868. In his diary he recorded: 'Celebration at 7 at St Barnabas. High Celebration. Service too long; too much music, and the music altogether too slow. Sermon nearly an hour by Mackonochie.'[3]) Away from the Eucharist, Mackonochie introduced the decidedly un-Anglican practice of hearing confession. On one occasion, the Rev James Ormiston (whom we shall encounter in Chapter 7 as a trenchant critic of the 'Romish' *Hymns A&M*) inveigled himself into the St Alban's confessional where, instead of meekly confessing his sins, delivered himself of an anti-ritualist protest.[4] Mackonochie was subjected to a succession of prosecutions and judgments between 1867 and 1875, as a result of which he was ordered to pay costs, was suspended for varying lengths of time and inhibited from preaching in the Ripon diocese. The prospect of a further prosecution sapped his resolve and he resigned his living in 1882.[5]



Alexander Heriot Mackonochie

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1 For an expanded biography (from which this account is drawn) see Archbold, W.A.J. 'Mackonochie, Alexander Heriot' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1900, Volume 35

2 *loc. cit.*

3 Fowler, p. 120.

4 Scotland, N. *Evangelicals, Anglicans and Ritualism in Victorian England* [http://archive.churchsociety.org/ churchman/documents/Cman_111_3_Scotland.pdf] p. 9.

5 In the ultimate indignity, Mackonochie's death in 1887 was given the full poetic treatment by the celebrated 'Poet and Tragedian of Dundee', William McGonagall:

> *Then the party pressed on right manfully,*
> *And sure enough there were the dogs guarding the body of Mackonochie;*
> *And the corpse was cold and stiff, having been long dead,*
> *Alas! almost frozen, and a wreath of snow around the head.*

McGonagall, W. 'The Tragic Death of A. H. Mackonochie' in *Poetic Gems* (David Winter: Dundee 1932) pp. 185–187.

Perhaps the ritualist *cause célèbre* involved the Brighton-based Rev. John Purchas (1823–1872). In 1871 the Privy Council held, in what became known as 'The Purchas Judgment', that the adoption of the Eastward position during the Eucharist, the mixed chalice, the use of wafer bread and the wearing of vestments other than cassock and surplice[1] were illegal. (In his diary Dykes recorded: 'Feb. 24th, Friday. — Read the dreadful Purchas Judgment; — may God have mercy on His poor Church, and direct us what to do.'[2]) However, the fact that the law cannot prevent what the law prohibits was demonstrated by the fact that those who disagreed with this secular court's judgment (and the critics included eminent legal minds) simply ignored it. Nevertheless, the judgment was followed three years later by the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874, introduced (with a veiled attack on Dykes himself) as a Private Members Bill by Archbishop Tait. In summary, its effect was to give statutory backing to the anti-ritualist's inflexible demands in the matters of church fabric, furnishings, ornaments, services, rites and ceremonies.

THE CHICHESTER EXTINGUISHER
Bishop of Chichester: "Go! Go! You insolent, rebellious boy. What with your nonsense and incense and candles you'll be setting the church on fire."
Master P-ch-s: "Just what I'd like to do. There!"

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1 A practice drolly referred to by the dissenting minister C.H. Spurgeon as 'salvation by haberdashery'. Scotland *op.cit.*

2 Fowler, p. 148.

Frontispiece from John Purchas's Directorium Anglicanum (Bosworth: London, 1858)
Although Dykes was too cautious to allow the ritual in St Oswald's to extend quite so far, it is an image which would have accorded with his conception of how the mystery of the Eucharist should be reflected in practice.

In 1866 Dykes contributed to John Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* a substantial treatise entitled *The Manner of Performing Divine Service.*[1] This is discussed at length in Chapter 8, but here we may simply note that, in it, he alludes to the directions contained within the Prayer Book which are replete with significance to those who are familiar with the earlier usages of the English Church. *The Ecclesiastic*, to which Dykes was a frequent contributor, was impressed with the whole book but described Dykes's contribution as being 'of most permanent value'[2] On the same subject, Dykes wrote to the Archdeacon of Exeter, his letter evidently expressing sentiments consonant with those of

[1] Blunt, J.H. *Annotated Book of Common Prayer &c.*(Rivington: London 1866) pp. li.ff. (App. C Part 2 p. 64.)

[2] *Ecclesiastic* 1866 Vol. 18 p. 349.

Neale and his fellow Ecclesiologists, as the *Ecclesiologist* reproduced the letter in full and without comment.[1]

Had this been a more liberal and tolerant age, those who were unable to subscribe to this particular interpretation of the ritual implied by rubric and custom would simply have ignored it, but this was a distinctly illiberal (and, as W.H. Dikes had written, intolerant) age for the Church of England, as many High Church Priests found out to their cost. Much as the term 'sentimental', when applied to the arts, was later to become offence, accusation, proof and judgment, so the words 'ritual/ritualism/ritualist' were, in the mouths of some, unequivocally damning.[2] In the same year that Dykes's treatise appeared the *Church Times* included comment from 'a valued correspondent'. Headed 'The Anti-Ritualists',[3] the writer tells of having received a circular from the Church Association containing, amongst other things, forms of petition to Parliament and the Archbishops, and a paper entitled 'Startling Facts as to Romanism in the Church'. Whereas the circular proclaimed itself to be non-partisan, the writer noted that two of the Association's executive committee — Archdeacon Prest and the Rev. G.T. Fox,[4] both of Durham, were as partisan as they come. Their petition ran: "We believe it to be so great importance [*sic*], both for the honour of God, and the peace and welfare of the country, that the ceremonial of the Church should be maintained in the form in which it had existed, with rare exceptions for the last 300 years:" — again — "We pray that your — — will adopt such legislative measures as will effectually put a stop to innovations upon the customary ceremonial." However, in this solemn defence of inviolable ecclesiastical custom Archdeacon Prest was, according to the *CT* correspondent, hypocritical. Despite its having been the custom in Durham Cathedral 'from time immemorial' for the Canons to turn to the east and bow their heads on leaving

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1 Dykes, J.B. 'A Letter to the Venerable Archdeacon of Easter' in *The Ecclesiologist,* Vol. 17 (John Masters: London; 1866) at pp. 146–148. (App. C Part 2 p. 91).

2 In *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual* Dykes, with equal contempt, waves away the nicknames applied to this group: 'How many new nicknames have been tried, in order to bring the Movement into discredit. It has been styled successively "The New-mania," "Puseyism," "Tractarianism," "Ceremonialism," "Ritualism," "Sacerdotalism," "Sacramentarianism." Chancing to see a recent number of the *Rock*, [an anti-ritualist publication, the vitriol characterising whose attacks on 'traitors' and 'conspirators' (with Mackonochie a particular target) would be seen today, even by those antipathetic to the ritualists' position, as being noticeably nasty, juvenile and *ad hominem*] I was interested in observing a new effort at a name, "*Shuffling, Drivelling, Ecclesiastical Jesuitism.*" This looks as if matters were becoming desperate. However, calling names will never do any real harm. If the Master was called "Beelzebub," His work will not escape.' p. 68. (See App. C Part 2 p. 153).

3 *CT* 4 February 1866 p. 66.

4 George Townshend Fox MA was Vicar of St Nicholas Church in the centre of Durham from 1856 to 1872. He was 'noted for his strong Evangelical ministry' (Abernethy, M. *A History of St Nicholas Church, Durham* (1981)), p. 17 at http://www.stnics.org.uk/who_we_are/history/

the choir stalls, Archdeacon Prest, on assuming office, had peremptorily abolished it. As for Mr Fox he had recently condemned the ritual in one of Durham's churches — not identifying Dykes by name but leaving little doubt as to his target — as 'tom-foolery…meretricious trumpery, &c., &c.'. (An opportunity was soon to present itself for Dykes to subject Mr Fox and his arguments to exacting public scrutiny.) The correspondent pointed out that it would be easy to attract signatures for the anti-ritualist petitions: 'A few active paid canvassers could in a few hours obtain the signatures of nearly all Dissenters and irreligious people in every parish in England and Ireland.' It is against the background of vituperation of which this is a single example that the significance of Dykes's *The Manner of Performing Divine Service* should be assessed.

But if his argument the previous year with George Bland over his actions in St Oswald's had been conducted in the relative privacy of the Vestry Minute Book, his letter to the [Church of England] *Guardian* in June 1867 must surely have generated a frisson around vicarage breakfast tables. Using the most temperate of language he publicly arraigned his Bishop, Charles Baring, on an implicit charge of acting — indeed, massively over-reacting — without thinking or checking his facts. The letter[1] is worth reading in full simply for the example it provides of Dykes's skill at marshalling his argument and presenting it with such impeccable restraint and courtesy that it hits home all the harder. The cause of the upset is more easily stated than credited: Dykes had invited the Bishop of Edinburgh to deliver a Lenten sermon in St Oswald's. At the beginning of his sermon the Bishop, in a practice which would be more remarkable today if it were omitted, invoked the Holy Trinity: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' For his introduction of this 'Popish' practice, to the distress of the congregation, the affronted evangelical Baring issued an Inhibition, preventing his episcopal brother from preaching again in the Diocese.

If Dykes was rendered temporarily speechless at Baring's actions — the introduction to his letter reveals him to have been incredulous when he discovered what his Bishop had done — his eloquence with pen and paper was undiminished. In a carefully constructed response which was studiedly *ad rem*, he quietly dismantled every leg of the Bishop's position. First, Bishop Terrot had not *introduced* the practice of invoking the Holy Trinity; he had 'with characteristic delicacy and courtesy' asked Dykes how he should preface his sermon.

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[1] *The Guardian*, 26 June 1867, p. 691. (App. C Part 2 p. 94).

Dykes, having previously been perplexed by the random practice within the Church of England of saying nothing, or reciting the Lord's Prayer, or delivering 'a long extempore prayer', or doing something else entirely, according to the caprice of the incumbent, had *himself* decided that an invocation to the Holy Trinity should become the settled practice in St Oswald's, and he advised the Bishop accordingly. It hadn't crossed his mind, Dykes wrote, that anyone should find anything objectionable about it, and as to its being 'Popish', the idea had never occurred to him. That the use of this 'innocent and sacred form' should have been cause enough for this 'grave indignity' being imposed on a brother Bishop seemed to Dykes 'so inconceivably sad and strange that I can hardly bear to contemplate it, still less to write about it.'

Dykes's second point addressed Baring's assertion that the use of the Invocation had caused 'great distress and annoyance' to those present. But surely, Dykes reasoned, if this had been the case he — Dykes — 'must have been in some measure aware of it'. And yet he had not heard so much as a whisper of dissent from within his congregation. Perhaps it was a mischief-maker outside the St Oswald's family who made this false allegation to the Bishop 'otherwise his lordship would not have made the…assertion'. But unless he can identify distressed and annoyed individuals within his own congregation he must remain 'incredulous' that anyone should genuinely feel distress or annoyance because the preacher had begun his sermon 'with the brief but reverent recognition of that Blessed God in whose holy name they desire to preach, and by whose gracious aid alone their sermons can effectually reach the hearts of the people.' (It should be appreciated that Dykes was not given to using words carelessly. To say that he was *incredulous* of the Bishop's statement has a very clear and damning implication: 'I cannot believe the Bishop has spoken truthfully'.) At least one *Guardian*

reader approved of Dykes's letter. The Revd. Edward Churton, himself a disciple of the Oxford Movement, believed that 'Nothing can be better than the tone of it. I suppose one must not ask Bishop Baring, whether he believes the Scottish Bishops to worship the Platonic or Hindoo Trinity. Well, there is strength in patience, and all tyranny is short-lived as well as short-sighted.[1]

Although Baring's response to this challenge to his episcopal judgment and authority is not recorded, it is reasonable to infer that he would have felt affronted and belittled, if not humiliated, in the eyes of his peers by one to whose deference he imagined he was entitled. But even though the course of events would reveal this to have marked the beginning of a protracted and ever more acrimonious conflict between the two men, it would be wholly inaccurate to portray it as a personal conflict, or a conflict between saintly priest and malevolent, vindictive or (*pace* Edward Churton) tyrannical bishop, as will be seen in due course. But that decisive conflict was still half a decade in the future.

On the 3rd November 1867 Dykes preached a sermon in St Oswald's which was subsequently published.[2] This is discussed at length in Chapter 8 but here we need simply note that its subject, *The Holy Eucharist the Christian Peace Offering*, offered the opportunity for an attack on his near-neighbour, the aforementioned George Fox and, by association, his own Bishop. But despite all this local enmity and ecclesiastical polarisation, Dykes was careful to temper his ritualistic inclinations, perhaps recognising that his congregation (whom he had inherited from the Evangelical Sneyd) needed to be gently persuaded rather than browbeaten. It was not until he had been in post for five years that, on Christmas Day 1867, he was able to reveal in his diary that he 'Wore Vestments at St Oswald's for the first time (white linen chasuble) (D.G.).'[3] And when, more than two years later, his Curate, Kempe suggested that coloured stoles should always be worn, he demurred: 'I do not quite think that the time has yet come.'[4]

We may now resume the chronological narrative although we cannot hereafter escape the ever tightening grip of ecclesiastical discord.

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1 Letter from Edward Churton to Dykes, 27 June 1867.

2 Dykes, J.B., *The Holy Eucharist: the Christian Peace-offering* (Rivingtons: London 1867) (App. C Part 2 p. 21).

3 Fowler, p. 118.

4 *ibid*. p. 129.

From 1866 to 1870

With bitter internecine disputes raging within the English church, in Durham as in the rest of the country, Dykes's extra-curricular activities will have provided a distraction and perhaps a little light relief. The *Church Times* reported that Dykes had occupied the organ bench when a new instrument was dedicated at Willington, Durham (his accompaniment throughout being 'most beautiful and effective')[1] in February 1866. But even a report on so routine an event as this could not resist partisan point-scoring. Having reported a detail which nowadays would be considered too trite to merit notice — the lighting of the Altar candles[2] — we read that 'The celebrant was *properly* vested in alb and chasuble, *the Catholic and legal vestments of the Church of England* [my italics].' If few or none of *CT*'s readers bridled at such 'ritualistic tom-foolery' it is probably because such as would have taken exception would have been unlikely subscribers to this mouthpiece of the High Church party. However much Dykes must have enjoyed all opportunities to indulge his interests as organ consultant and performer, one imagines that he must have derived particular pleasure from being invited to preside at the inauguration of the new Forster and Andrews organ in St John's Church, Hull — his grandfather's old church — on 11 April of that year.

In June 1867 Dykes's mother died, probably from a stroke, his reaction being chronicled in Fowler. In a diary entry for August 30 his appraisal of the music he had heard at a concert will come as no surprise to those who are familiar with his own compositions. 'Heard Gounod's Mass. Most delicious music…The Gloria, Et Incarnatus, and Vitam Venturi, most thrilling… Evening, "St Paul." In front gallery. Enjoyed the performance immensely, having never heard "St Paul" straight through, since I had come to "years of musical discretion."[3] (The following year he provided more evidence of his musical influences: 'Down to College Hall [Tenbury]. [Mendelssohn's] "Hymn of Praise" being performed. Then Rossini's Mass. Enjoyed the last much.' The next day: 'Cathedral. Rossini's Mass. It contains frivolities and objectionable movements, but on the whole I was charmed with it; especially the Kyrie, Gloria, Crucifixus, and conclusion of the "Credo."[4])

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1 *CT* 17 February 1866 p. 1.

2 In fact, two details—the lit candles and 'Altar' rather than 'Communion Table'.

3 Fowler, p. 114.

4 Fowler, pp. 124–125.

In September Dykes conducted another festival in the Cathedral. To the *MT* the event was 'in every respect, a great success';[1] to the *Newcastle Courant* a slightly more qualified 'as good as could well be expected',[2] given the inadequate rehearsal time available. The otherwise unremarkable programme was crowned with Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum*, the *To Thee, Cherubim* chorus 'being grand in the extreme, with Dykes, Greatorex and Armes being accorded 'great credit'.[3] Dykes was evidently relieved and pleased with how things went. 'On the whole a great success (thank God). The Dean was much moved and pleased, and said he would not have missed it for a thousand pounds.'[4] His tally of new organs opened was added to in Whitley (the organ built by his friend, Thomas Harrison[5]) and his workload added to by his appointment to the vice presidency of the newly formed diocesan Church Choral Association, the principal aim of which was to cultivate choral music among members of church and school choirs.[6]

It was in this year, a full six years after publication of the first music edition of *A&M* and only a year before the 1868 Appendix came out that Dykes first met Baker. His diary of 1st October recorded the excitement of the meeting: 'While writing letters, in Ouseley's study, was suddenly rushed in upon by Sir Henry Baker, who expressed his delight at seeing, at last, my face in the flesh. Quite a different style of man to what I had anticipated.'[7]

The new year started with another lecture on Church Music in Leeds (discussed in Chapter 8). In April he preached a sermon on Christian Unity[8] to members of the English Church Union, a body whose very existence testified to the *dis*unity of the Church of England at that time. Discussed more fully in Chapter 8, the core of his argument was that men would not be united with men until they were united with God; but they could not be united with God unless they accepted the priestly ministry, infant baptism and all the other nostrums which made the High Church ritualists anathema to the Evangelicals. This, while it would have been well received by his Penrith congregation, is unlikely to have won over many

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1 *MT* 1 October 1867, p. 175.

2 *Newcastle Courant* 20 September 1867, p. 8.

3 *MT.,* October 1867 p. 175.

4 Fowler p. 114.

5 *Newcastle Courant* 6 September 1867 p. 8.

6 *Newcastle Courant* 11 October 1867 p. 2.

7 Fowler, p. 115.

8 Dykes, J.B., *A Sermon preached in the Parish Church, Penrith, before the members of the Penrith Branch of the English Church Union &c.* (Palmer: London, 1868) (App. C Part 2 p. 32).

converts from the opposing faction. In October he is shown as being an examiner for the University Middle Class Examination, although precisely what the duties of an examiner were in this context is not known.[1]

In addition to accounts of his routine organ-inaugurating events (he preached at a service to celebrate the new Wadsworth organ on Penistone Parish Church in February[2]) and choir festivals (Newcastle in September[3]) his name came up in the context of a most unusual, indeed salacious, court case. The newspaper which reported the case of a 'Friar'[4] against whom charges of gross indecency were brought, professed a puritanical belief that 'the details [were] totally unfit for publication'. Even so, it provided sufficient information of homosexual bed-sharing and nudity to enable even the dullest imagination to fill the gaps.[5] In cross examination it was revealed that Dykes came every three weeks to this Newcastle Priory to hear confessions and that the accused had made his confession to him. Whereas the secrets of the confessional are sacrosanct, one doubts that Dykes's spiritual counsel to the penitent would have matched that of another clergyman, who is reported to have advised the allegedly over-amorous monk to 'hook it'.[6]

The grief in 1864 and 1867 of losing his parents will have been surpassed in 1870 by what Fowler describes understatedly as 'a time of great trial and anxiety'[7] for Dykes and his wife. His eight year old son John, ten-year-old daughter Mabel and 16-year-old Gertie all contracted scarlet fever. Whereas John and Gertie were to recover (living to the ages of 85 and 88 respectively) Mabel was not so fortunate, and Fowler cites diary entries that chronicle her last days, culminating on 1st September with

> Darling Mab has had another very bad night, and seems no better this morning...She has now got inflammation on the windpipe...Came home from post (11p.m.), was reading the war news, when I heard my dear wife calling. Hastened upstairs, and at once saw that our little darling was very near her end. Said the commendatory prayer, etc., and in a very few moments her happy spirit had taken its flight, and she had sunk into the cold, calm sleep of Death.

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1 *Newcastle Courant* 2 October 1868, p. 1.

2 *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 5 February 1869, p. 2.

3 *Newcastle Courant* 3 September 1869 p. 5.

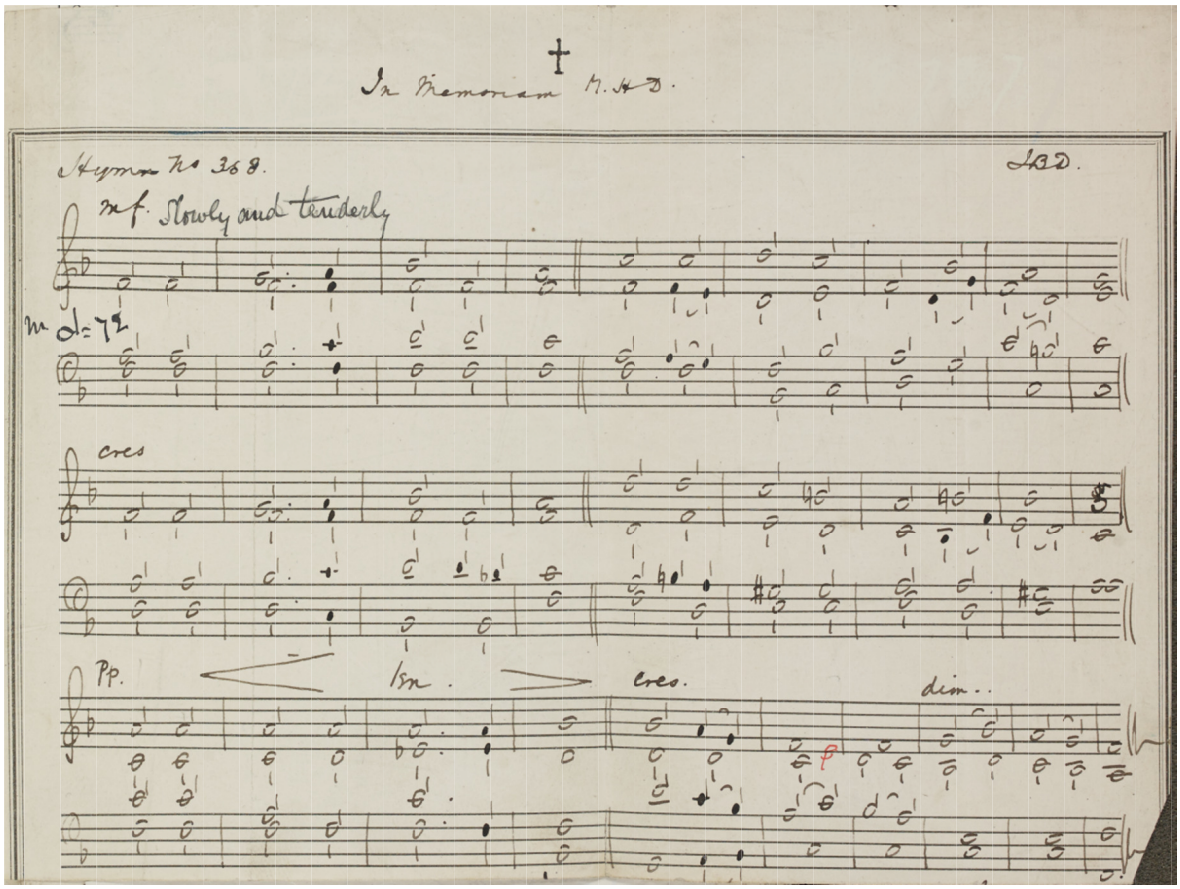
4 His authority so to style himself, and the legitimacy of his establishment were represented as being questionable.

5 *Newcastle Courant*, 24 December 1869, p. 8.

6 *loc. cit.*

7 Fowler pp. 136–137.

> It was a stunning blow to us all. "Lord Jesu, receive her soul." "Eternal rest be with her.''[1]

The following day his diary recorded his writing a new tune for the impossibly harrowing funeral hymn *Gentle Shepherd, thou hast stilled/Now thy little lamb's brief weeping*. This hymn was sung at Mabel's funeral four days later. It has never appeared in any hymnal.

Manuscript of IN MEMORIAM MHD
Pratt Green MS17 Durham Univesity
(This image has been cleaned of later red ink and blue crayon markings (presumably EOD's) and strike-throughs of Dykes's initials and the hymn number (for the words) in the 1868 Supplement of HA&M.)

[1] *loc. cit.*

Reprising his lecture delivered in Leeds the previous year he spoke in Wakefield in January 1870 and in Hereford the following month.[1]

Dykes's only known composition for organ solo appeared in an 1870 collection, *The Village Organist.*[2] Although the *MT* was disdainful of the sort of collection, popular in earlier days, 'in which hymn tunes, and chants, kyries and anthems, interludes and postludes were mixed up in one ridiculous jumble',[3] it adduced the presence of pieces by such eminences as Barnby, Dykes, Macfarren, Smart, Stainer (&c.) as justification for the collection. Dykes's little 6/8 *Andante Sostenuto,*[4] although somewhat twee to modern ears (one reviewer nevertheless thought it 'pleasing, and its moving bass is decidedly clever'[5]) and difficult to imagine performed in any liturgical context, is nevertheless a coherent piece in binary form which stands out above some of the company it keeps in the book.

The correspondent reporting on Dykes's performance at the inauguration of the new Nicholson organ for Whickham Parish Church on 28 July 1870 was in no doubt as to the calibre of the executant 'the Rev. J.B. Dykes…one of the most eminent authorities in all matters pertaining to music — more especially to the organ — that we have in this part of the kingdom.'[6] No such encomium accompanied the report of his conducting to the Parochial Choirs Festival in Alnwick in July.[7]

At this point we may again take a pause the chronology to consider the single aspect of his life which gives rise to this study.

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1 Fowler, p. 127.

2 Not to be confused with the multi-volume collection of the same name published later in the century.

3 *MT*, 1 July 1870 p. 535.

4 Reproduced in full in App. A Pt. 2. p. 178

5 *Musical Standard*, 24 June 1871, p. 87.

6 *Newcastle Courant*, 22 April 1870, p. 5.

7 *Newcastle Courant*, 29 July 1870, p. 5.

Part 2
Dykes's contribution to the music of the church throughout this period

We have noted how Dykes's career as the composer of hymn tunes began without flourish with his tunes for use in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral. We do not know how eighteen of his tunes (including arrangements of others' tunes) came to appear in Grey's *Manual*, published in 1857 — his friendship with Grey suggests that he may have been invited to supply them — but the fact is that when he wrote his letter to W H Monk on 12 October 1860, he was already a published composer.[1] Nevertheless, it was the immediate commercial success of the 1861 musical edition of *A&M* which brought Dykes's tunes to wide public attention.

A complete taxonomy and critique of all tunes published during his lifetime is provided in Chapter 6: here we must confine ourselves to little more than a brief roll call of the hymnals in which his tunes appeared, and the circumstances surrounding a few individual commissions, beginning with those for which he wrote more than one tune, in broadly chronological order but considering the 1875 edition of *A&M* last. Such documentary evidence as we possess suggests that the first few of these hymn tunes were composed during a period in which the internecine strife between ritualists and anti-ritualists had not yet eclipsed the light.

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book 1862[2]

Besides the increased public exposure which Chope's book will have brought him, it also earned Dykes a five guinea prize for two very diatonic tunes — JERUSALEM (150) and LINDISFARNE (103):

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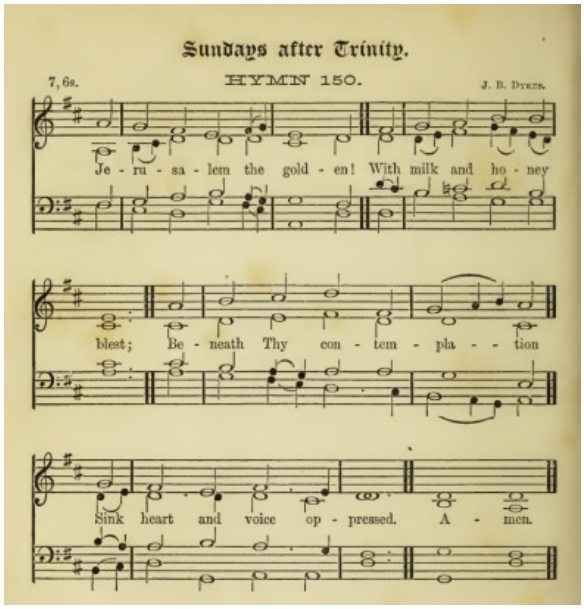
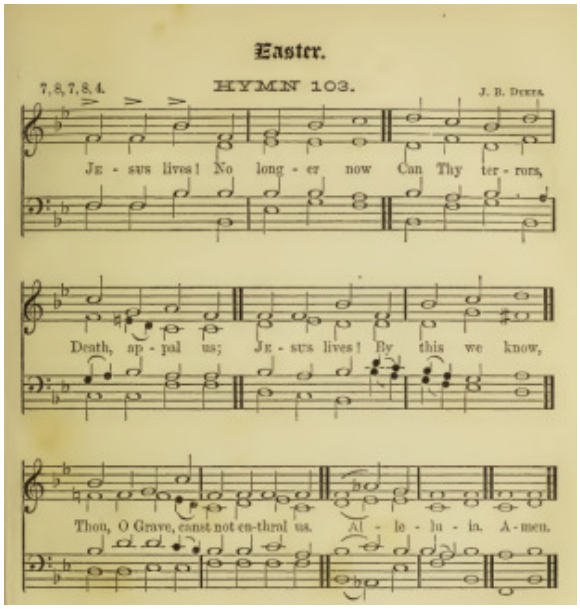
1 Bradley (1997) writes '*Hymns Ancient and Modern* was the first book to take up his tunes' (p. 147) but this is clearly wrong.

2 Chope, R.R. (ed). *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* (William Mackenzie: London, 1862).



In addition to these, thirty-one new Dykes tunes made their first appearance in Chope's book, with two tunes originally published in *A&M* and Grey's *Manual* also included.

It is evident, from the naming of Dykes on the title page as a coadjutor in the compilation of the book (incidentally, placing his name at the top of a list which included, amongst others, E.G. Monk of York Minster and James Turle of Westminster Abbey) and from the glowing tribute to him in the Preface:

> there is one to be remembered whose name and musical writings are indeed well known, though not so well as they deserve to be, as his tunes in the present work will abundantly prove — the Rev. J. B. Dykes, M.A., Mus. Doc., and Precentor of Durham Cathedral: it is impossible to value too much the assistance which he has rendered the Author in this Work.[1]

that the relationship between these two men was of a cordial and constructive character. Indeed, Dykes says as much in a letter written to Chope some 13 years later — except for the fact that Dykes described the pleasant association in the past tense, describing Chope as 'one with whom I *was* [my italics] for some time so pleasantly associated.'[2] The reason for the breakdown in relationship between Dykes and Chope, recorded in an acrimonious three-way correspondence which included Baker, will become apparent when we come to discuss the 1875 edition of *A&M*. But it may here be noted that, at this time, Dykes evinced little appreciation of the propensity for hard business interests to sweep aside gentlemanly understandings. For a while, however, the horizon was blue and distant.

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1 Chope, pp. vii–viii. Dykes was, of course, no longer Precentor when the hymnal was published.

2 Letter from Dykes to Chope dated 20 February 1875. (App. B p. 301).

Hymns for Infant Children 1862[1]

This is the only known instance of Dykes initiating the publication of a tune book himself. However, Fowler is mistaken in his account of its genesis. In his telling, it was in May 1868 that Dykes proposed to the publisher Joseph Masters a musical edition of a small collection of twenty Children's Hymns, first published without tunes in 1852 whereas the first edition had already been published some six years earlier. Of its twenty tunes, Dykes provided thirteen. In his Preface, he alluded to a perceived dearth, amidst the welcome abundance of new hymns for children, of 'suitable tunes wherewith to associate them': having been asked more than once to supply the deficit, this work was the consequence. His aim, he said, was

> to provide music which…shall be pleasing and attractive to *children*. To ensure this latter most important result, he [had] taken the precaution of submitting all the little tunes to an august tribunal of very juvenile critics, anxious to admit none which did not seem to 'take' with them, and meet their general approbation. And, in deference to their judgment, he [had] willingly altered or withdrawn tunes which, after a fair trial, did not appear to commend themselves.[2]

(It must be remarked that Fowler's assertion that Dykes considered his texts carefully is challenged by this collection. It is nonsense to have children singing *O come, dear child, along with me*, or *One day, dear children, you must die* — surely an unnecessarily cruel reminder in those day — unless they are singing to each other.)

The Chorale-Book 1863[3]

The only correspondence discovered which pertains to Henry Bemrose's *Chorale Book* (for the third [1863] edition of which Dykes composed two new tunes) is a letter dated 25 April 1861. Aside from directing Bemrose to relevant copyright holders for permission to reproduce existing tunes, Dykes refers to misprints in the second edition in tunes reproduced from Grey's 1857 *Manual*: 'Mr Grey's book is so badly got up & so abominably printed that I can well understand any number of mistakes in copying from it.' (See example on p. 256.)

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1 Dykes, J.B. (ed.) *Accompanying Tunes to Hymns for Infant Children* (Masters: London, 1862).

2 *loc. cit.* For the full Preface see App. C Part 2 p. 62.

3 Bemrose, H.H. (ed.) *The chorale book: A collection of 211 psalm and hymn tunes, suited for upwards of fifty metres (3rd edition)* (W. Bemrose: Derby, 1863).

The Holy Year 1865[1]

As we shall see later in an antagonistic context, Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln and editor of this collection, was particularly taken with the first of the six tunes Dykes composed for his collection (of which, incidentally, W.H. Monk was musical editor) ALMSGIVING, to *O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea.*

Hymns for the Church of England 1865[2]

Of the two tunes composed for Thomas Darling's hymnal we might note that HOSANNA bears a striking resemblance, in its first ten notes, to DOMINUS REGIT ME and, in its first six, with CREPUSCULUM.

A Hymnal for Use in the English Church 1866

The eighteen tunes and arrangements for Grey's 1857 *Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* were supplemented by a further seventeen for the larger collection published nine years later.[3] (Fowler, whose list of original compositions conflates Grey's 1857 *Manual* and his 1866 *Hymnal*, asserts that ST AMBROSE was composed for this hymnal, whereas it had appeared originally in the Bristol Tune Book 1863 as ST OSWALD.)

Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book 1867 [4]

If much of Dykes's forgotten output is best left that way, one of his two contributions to Brown-Borthwick's book — BETHLEHEM, set to *Hark! the herald angels sing* — is a gem which outsparkles the pedestrian, eponymous, tune by Mendelssohn by which it has been universally eclipsed — a tune more reminiscent of a municipal mayoral procession than the chorus of jubilant herald angels, something which cannot be said of BETHLEHEM. Midway through, Dykes uses his trademark repeated-note melody as a springboard, from *Joyful all ye nations rise, join the triumph of the skies* to a skywards leap at the words *Christ is* ***born*** *in Bethlehem* and ending with an affirmative coda. (Although Mendelssohn cannot be blamed for the purloining of his tune, when Wesley's words are appended to it, congregations are enjoined to scream *Mild He lays his glory by* on a high note, when Dykes's tune more appositely matches the climax of words and tune in every verse.

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1 Wordsworth, C. and Monk, W.H. (eds.) *The Holy Year* (Rivingtons: London, 1865).

2 Darling, T. and Steggall, C (eds.) *Hymns for the Church of England* (Longmans: London, 1865).

3 Grey, J. (ed.) *Hymnal for the Use of the English Church* (Mozley: London, 1866).

4 Brown-Borthwick, R. (ed.) *A Supplemental Hymn- and Tune-Book* (Novello Ewer; London, 1867).

Incidentally, had Dykes's tune featured a note repeated in the tenor fourteen times, as happens in Mendelssohn's tune, Routley, Long *et al* would surely have disapproved.)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship 1867

Both Fowler and E.O. Dykes[1] ascribe the tunes which appear in this hymnal to *Church Praise*[2] but, given that the book was not published until 1883, albeit as a development of the earlier book, this is manifestly wrong.

Hymns Ancient and Modern: The 1868 Appendix

Virulent anti-high church sentiment notwithstanding, the 1861 music edition of *A&M* (as discreetly revised the following year — see fn. 1 on p. 63) was such a success it is unsurprising that the Proprietors should have seen the commercial attractiveness of adding to their original offering of 273 hymns. In 1868 they published an Appendix of 127 hymns, to which Dykes contributed 12 additional tunes, bringing his total to 21 original tunes and seven arrangements. (An idea of the critical reception given to these new tunes is given in Chapter 7.) Although detailed analysis of these hymns is deferred to Chapter 6, we might note here that LUX BENIGNA was originally published — confusingly under the overused name of ST OSWALD — the previous year,[3] but this was a modified arrangement in the soon-to-be-orthodox key of A♭ rather than the original G, and with revised harmonies and rhythms. We may also note a coda to the story of the tune, related half a century later.[4] In 1873 a Mr John Brown wrote a three-verse addendum to the hymn, beginning *The night is gone, and beams from eastern skies the orient morn* (completely missing the spiritual ambiguity left in the original by Newman, the troubled seeker after lux benigna) and sent Dykes a copy. Dykes declined to give his consent for Brown to use LUX BENIGNA on the grounds that the tune should be reserved exclusively for the words for which it had been written. Nevertheless, he proffered a new tune in the same style (the first three bars of which echo COMMENDATIO).[5] Although, as the *MT* pointed out, there are harmonic weaknesses in the tune, not least the harmonic stasis in bars 11 to 14, THE NIGHT IS GONE works well, both as a stand-alone tune and as a complement to the original.)

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1 Dykes, E.O. *Hymn Tunes composed by John Bacchus Dykes* (Novello: London, 1902).

2 Hopkins, E.J. and Oakeley, H.S (eds.) *Church Praise* (Nisbet: London, 1883).

3 Barry, D.T. (Ed) *Psalms and Hymns for the Church, School and Home* (Warne: London, 1867).

4 *MT* 1 October 1926 p. 922.

5 App. A Pt. 1 p. 376, where I have diffidently proposed an alternative harmony to bars 11 to 14.

With the 1868 augmented edition apparently selling well, Baker recorded his thanks to Dykes in a letter:

> I am rather unhappy with the Appendix actually coming out without our having sent you a wee present, over & above your mere guineas, as a little token of our sense of what we are indebted to you for all your most generous & hearty sympathy & help. But it is felt to be better that it should come as a formal vote of committee: & so I cannot send you anything till we happen to have another full committee which will be I know not when. Only I *must* first say this much *privately*, that you *will* have a very hearty vote of thanks & a little token of gratitude. I *know* you do not wish it nor expect it.[1]

But not all of Dykes's tunes were universally applauded, even by the compiler-in-chief or other close friends. And although Dykes can hardly have been pleased to read the criticism, it pointed (as succeeding letters also pointed) to a developing intimacy between the correspondents such as to allow diplomatic circumlocution to be dispensed with in the cause of candour:

> Though *he bade me not* say so, I must say that our dear friend Sir. F.O.[2] (& others) were much against your "Art thou weary"[3] the other day. And you know that *I* never quite liked it. So I bethought me that we must give a 2^{d} Tune to that Hymn: & wrote to Monk thereon — saying that *he* might write a very simple one as an alternative — And in the course of writing I suggested a very simple melody — Well, he actually harmonized that melody — so it is to go in as a 2^{d} Tune, for the melody of w^{h} *I* ! am responsible & he for the harmony.[4] You will call it commonplace enough, but I think it is really right to have an easy one as an alternative to a Hymn that ought to be widely used.

But after the sting, the balm:

> I don't want to build up present *Times* in the Appendix without adding a few Tunes. E.g. where a Hymn has only a Tune like Vexilla Regis to it we ought to give a 2^{d} Tune — And then I should so like to give your "Sweet Saviour"[5] with the close altered as I suggested — can you send it me at once?

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1 Undated letter from HWB to JBD, internal evidence pointing to June or July 1868. (App. B p. 45).

2 Ouseley.

3 CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.

4 STEPHANOS. Both tunes appeared in the 1875 and 1889 editions; STEPHANOS alone survived in the ill-fated 1904 edition; both reappeared in the consolidated edition of 1922; STEPHANOS held on to the 1950 Revised Edition; both had disappeared (along with the words) in the New Standard Edition of 1983. So, in the end, the 'commonplace', anodyne diatonic tune outlived the chromatic one.

5 IN TENEBRIS LUMEN.

The formal vote of thanks was duly recorded at the next meeting of the Proprietors when 'it was proposed…that £100 be sent to Dr Dykes with the most grateful thanks of the Compilers in acknowledgment of the services rendered by him in the musical edition of the Appendix.'[1] A further £25 was paid for his travel expenses.

Christmas Carols New and Old 1868 and 1871 [2]

A collection which, in its own way, achieved widespread and lasting acclaim, was *Christmas Carols New and Old*, edited by Henry Bramley and John Stainer. Dykes set five of the carols, including *Infant of days*, the words being by his sister, Eliza Alderson. Another setting, *On the birthday of the Lord*, was singled out for special mention by the *MT*: 'both melody and harmony…will delight all who can appreciate pure and unpretentious religious writing'.[3] As for his *Christmas Song*, Bramley noted[4] that Stainer was 'fidgety' about it, a Delphic expression which does not suggest approbation.

The Sarum Hymnal 1869[5]

Compiled by Horatio, 3rd Earl Nelson and with music edited by Thomas Aylward, the circumstances surrounding the commission of Dykes's three tunes are not known.

The Hymnal Companion 1870 [6]

For Edward Bickersteth, poet, hymnodist and eventual Bishop of Exeter, Dykes wrote six new tunes, of which three merit a brief notice. IRENE was set to Bickersteth's own hymn *Rest in the Lord, from harps above*. In a letter to Bickersteth[7] Dykes revealed that his inspiration came from Mendelssohn's *O rest in the Lord*, albeit that the tune is not exactly derived from it.[8] Bickersteth was evidently very pleased: 'Pray accept my heartiest thanks… for your great kindness in writing the very beautiful [tune] you enclosed for my Marriage Hymn. It was unanimously and gratefully accepted, by our Musical

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1 Minutes of a meeting of the Proprietors of Hymns Ancient & Modern on 4 February 1869.

2 Bramley, H and Stainer, J. (eds.) *Christmas Carols New and Old* (Novello Ewer: London 1868 and 1871).

3 Review 'Christmas Carols New and Old' in *MT* 1 December 1868 p. 616.

4 Letter from H.R. Bramley to Dykes, 10 August 1870. (App. B p. 63).

5 Aylward, T.E (ed.) *The Sarum Hymnal with proper tunes* (Brown: Salisbury, 1869).

6 Bickersteth, E.H. (ed.) *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer, with Tunes* (Sampson Low: London, 1870).

7 Letter from Dykes to Bickersteth 23 July 1870, Fowler p. 132.

8 Barnby also composed a tune (BICKERSTETH) to these words, again drawing his inspiration from *Elijah.*

Committee...We think of calling it "*Irene*," if you had not thought of any other name.'[1] OLIVET (so named by Bickersteth), too, was well received:

> I do not know how to thank you, as I ought, for your most beautiful Tunes. The one to "Thou art gone up on high" seems to me to breathe the very language of the Hymn, in music, and reminds me of Tennyson's lines on Woman. "Till at the last she set herself to man, Like perfect music unto noble words."[2]

Revd. Edward Bickersteth

(As we shall see in Chapter 7, the idea that a tune might be adjudged by a contemporary priest and poet to 'breathe the very language of the Hymn' was not seen by Vaughan Williams, Routley or Long to exonerate a style for which they had no personal affection.) The letter, which continued in a highly cordial vein and hoped for a social meeting in the near future, drew forth a reply in similarly friendly terms.[3]

A final, affecting, exchange on one of these tunes is illuminating. Bickersteth revealed that the hymn *We would see Jesus* had a particular resonance with him at the present time.

> I cannot but think that this Hymn, if only wedded to a tune that breathed its longing, would be an added wealth for ever to our Hymnody. I have loved the hymn for years, but never knew a tune for it — and now it speaks to my heart as never before; for the Master has come, and is calling to Himself my third daughter — a lovely girl of 18. She is gently sinking in consumption; but her happy trust and love have been without a cloud. She has so been the sunshine of our home circle, we can hardly venture to anticipate what it will be without her. Forgive my writing so freely — but your former kindness makes me bold.[4]

Dykes's reply gives an idea of how tunes sometimes appeared to suggest themselves to him as he contemplated the words (much as LUX BENIGNA had famously suggested itself to him as he walked down the Strand in London):[5]

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1 Undated letter from Bickersteth to Dykes, Fowler p. 133.

2 Letter from Bickersteth to Dykes, 17 August 1870, Fowler p. 134.

3 Letter from Dykes to Bickersteth, 19 August 1870, Fowler pp. 134–135.

4 Letter from Bickersteth to Dykes, 11 June 1872, Fowler pp. 161–162.

5 Fowler, p. 104.

> As soon as I had read [the words], the tune for them seemed at once to come into my head. I wrote it out, but have let it wait a day or so, to see if I liked it on second thoughts. As I do not think I shall improve upon it, I send it. Sometimes first impressions are the best.[1]

The Anglican Hymn Book 1871[2]

There is something of a mystery as to how Dykes came to be composing tunes for this Novello-published hymnal: two years previously he was being leant upon by Baker to refuse to have anything to do with hymnbooks emanating from the Novello publishing house, from which the Proprietors of *A&M* had become terminally estranged. (An outline of the position can be traced in letters written by Baker, William Pulling and *A&M*'s legal adviser in April 1869.)[3] Although Novello had published the 1860 (words only) and 1861 (with music) editions, relations between the publisher and the Proprietors suffered an irretrievable reverse when the latter demanded of the former, who had earned substantial profits from that book. that their costs be considerably reduced. The Director of the publishing house, Henry Littleton, refused to do so and even threatened to injunct the Proprietors on the grounds that Novello held key copyrights. However, the Proprietors stood firm, called Littleton's bluff, and no injunction ensued (their easy victory probably guaranteed from the point at which Littleton's lawyers pointed out to him that, fatally to his case, he had neglected to register the copyrights he claimed).[4] The contract was duly transferred to William Clowes and Sons, ending Novello's brief but profitable connection with the world's best-selling hymnal. With tempers on both sides running high, Baker and the Proprietors' lawyers both sought strongly to dissuade Dykes from contributing to a hymnal whose principal object, according to Baker, was '*simply* to put money into a tradesman's pocket.'[5] However, the mystery lies in the fact that Baker *et al* were explicitly referring to *The Hymnary*, which was eventually published a year after *The Anglican*. Both Baker and Pulling refer to Barnby (musical editor of *The Hymnary*) and make no mention of the other book, of which the music editor was E.G. Monk.[6] (Incidentally, Pulling, in his letter, was evidently exasperated by Dykes, referring to his 'simplicity' in swallowing

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1 Letter from Dykes to Bickersteth, 14 June 1872, Fowler pp. 162.

2 Singleton, R.C and Monk, E.G (eds.) *The Anglican Hymn Book (2nd edition)* (Novello Ewer: London 1871).

3 Letters from: Alfred A Pollock to JBD 20 April 1869; HWB to JBD 22 April 1869; HWB to JBD 27 April 1869; and an incomplete and undated (but surely contemporaneous) letter from William Pelling, probably to HWB. (App. B pp. 53; 54; 55; and 10).

4 Hurd, Michael *Vincent Novello—and Company* (Granada: London, 1981).

5 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 22 April 1869. (App. B p. 53).

6 Edwin George Monk, Organist of York Minster, no relation to W.H. Monk.

Littleton's defence, such simplicity being 'above or below reasoning with.') A possible answer is that *The Hymnary* was longer in the making and so got caught up in the acrimony, whereas the *Anglican*, if it was started later and completed more quickly, might have been conceived and executed when relations had thawed somewhat.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the *Anglican Hymnbook* contained eleven of Dykes's tunes, of which four were specially commissioned and a further two, although not written expressly for this book, made their first appearance in it. Such of the correspondence between Monk and Dykes as we have available is revealing in certain details. First, Monk invited Dykes to name his fee for the assignment of copyright in the tunes written expressly for their hymnal.[1] Second, and in the same letter, he reveals that 'Mr Chope has given us *his* permission to use your Tune written for him, to "The day is past"':[2] the clear implication that Chope's permission was a necessary precondition for the tune's use is one which, as we shall shortly see, Dykes would find himself strenuously repudiating until months before his death, in ever increasing exasperation and mental anguish. In his next letter, Monk refers to Dykes being 'so well represented, among my contributors',[3] although his eleven tunes pale into insignificance in comparison to Monk's fifty seven. And a little later, Monk writes[4] with some suggestions for the improvement of Dykes's tunes. For example, he proposes that the *Amen* for ST AELRED should end with a *tierce de Picardie*. This, along with proposed amendments to three others (including one which contained 'this most extreme of all possible chords' — see the complete letter for a fuller discussion of the offending F♭s), Dykes evidently rejected. Before leaving Monk's hymnal we may note an intriguing reference — intriguing because we only have Monk's response to Dykes's suggestion — to the idea of an organ introduction to each verse. However Dykes may have presented the idea, Monk was evidently unpersuaded:

> What you say anent an Organ "*Introduction*" to a Hymn, in Church, takes me quite by surprise: I never heard of such a practice; & am sure it w.[d] prove, if generally adopted, a very great nuisance! Surely every Tune sh.[d] be made "fit to run alone" — without any such help! I must always feel that what is a deformity in Art, cannot be justified by any plea urged on behalf of a special

[1] Letter from E.G. Monk to Dykes, 9 October 1870. (App. B p. 71).

[2] ST ANATOLIUS.

[3] Letter from E.G. Monk to Dykes, 19 October 1870. (App. B p. 78).

[4] Letter from E.G. Monk to Dykes, 26 October 1870. (App. B p. 83).

> expression; were it otherwise all laws w.[d] go for nothing! & legitimately w.[d] have to succumb to the ordeal of a "French Revolution" in Music![1]

(Monk was either overplaying his horror or revealing his lack of imagination, as the idea was neither a startling innovation — they would have been the staple of the old West Gallery bands — nor uniquely appealing to Dykes. For example, the organ introductions to his *Sleep, holy Babe* and HORA NOVISSIMA, and, much later, that to Parry's JERUSALEM are all perfectly consonant with the mood of the hymn and tune. And, during his tenure at St Pancras Parish Church, Henshaw — Dykes's first organist at Durham Cathedral — had been in the habit of playing an interlude before every verse.[2])

The Hymnary 1872[3]

Notwithstanding Baker's acerbic denunciation and his imputations of base mercenary motives to Henry Littleton, this hymnal had, in Joseph Barnby, an estimable music editor. His Preface is worth reading for its concise view of what is appropriate in the music of hymnody, and what sets it apart from the profane. Deprecating alike the severe music of the past and the flippant jollity of some contemporary tunes which seek to emulate the visceral popularity of secular music, he advocates a *via media* which is at once more seemly and more fitting to the worship of God. Tempi, too, are a trap for the unwary:

> Nothing could well be imagined more indecorous than the pace at which hymn music is taken in very many churches. Not alone may it be said that the music is utterly ruined by it — that the sanctuary is profaned — that the sacred words to which these strains are sung degenerate into a mockery: these evils are as nothing compared with the fact that those hurried strains are supposed to represent a sacrifice of praise, humbly offered at the foot of the throne of grace.[4]

Evidently, Barnby recognised that Dykes's tunes occupied the middle ground and did not need to be sung at breakneck speed to achieve their effect. Although Dykes declined, out of loyalty to Baker and to *A&M*, to compose anything new for this book, he allowed sixteen pre-published tunes to be used. In a letter, Barnby asserted that he believed '*The Hymnary* will contain more Tunes of yours than of any other single individual',[5] a belief

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1 Letter from E.G. Monk to Dykes, 17 November 1870. (App. B p. 85).

2 Spark, William *Henry Smart: His Life and Work* (William Reeves: London, 1881).

3 Barnby, J (ed.) *The Hymnary, 2nd edition, with tunes* (Novello Ewer: London, 1872).

4 Barnby, pp. 7–8.

5 Letter from Joseph Barnby to Dykes, 20 January 1872. (App. B p. 134).

which stands up to scrutiny only if one ignores Garrett's seventeen, Smart's thirty-three, Gauntlett's forty-five and Barnby's generous self-allocation of fifty.

The Parish Church Hymnal 1872[1]

It is to be wondered at why, with *A&M* sweeping all before it, and with the *Hymnary* and the *Anglican Hymnal* trailing in its wake, anyone should think it a viable commercial proposition to introduce yet another hymn book into the market. But even if its chances of ousting these books was slight, at least Robert Minton Taylor's book was aiming for musical quality: by the time he approached Dykes he had already signed up (amongst others) Gauntlet, Irons, Steggall and Dykes's former Cathedral organist, Armes. He had also written to S.S. Wesley but doubted getting any help 'as he, I know, is such a crotchety fellow.'[2] For him Dykes wrote DISMISSAL; DOMINE DIRIGE ME; ORIENS EX ALTO; and LUX VERA. The words to which this last was set seemed, to Taylor, 'not easy to set satisfactorily; but both as regards the coupling of the verses, & the music you have written for it, you have met the difficulty well.'

The Hymnal 1872[3] and *The Children's Hymnal 1877*[4]

Dykes first overseas commission came from the American, J. Ireland Tucker, for whose *Hymnal* and *Children's Hymnal* Dykes wrote BETHANY; FAITH; and ST EDITHA, and *There's a friend for little children* and *It came upon a midnight clear* respectively. In a letter to Tucker, Dykes broached, rather diffidently, the subject of remuneration.

> I have never been accustomed to write for money, although I have frequently had an "Honorarium" sent me for work done. I therefore seem hardly to know what is a fair remuneration to ask for tunes sent.
>
> As far as feeling is concerned I would much rather not take anything. But when a man has a large parish, and a family growing up, and is not overburdened with this world's goods, and finds considerable difficulty in making both ends meet, I suppose there is nothing objectionable in his resorting to any legitimate means which GOD's good Providence may throw in his way for enabling him to pay his just and lawful debts, and obtain a little help for those who are dependent on him.[5]

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1 Taylor, R.M (ed.) *The Parish Church Hymnal* (Longmans, Green: London, 1872).

2 Letter from Minton Taylor to Dykes, 23 May 1870. (App. B p. 59).

3 Tucker, J.I. (ed.) *The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New* (Huntington: New York, 1872).

4 Tucker, J.I. (ed.) *The Children's Hymnal, with Tunes* (Huntington: New York, 1877).

5 Letter from Dykes to Tucker 13 January 1872, cited in Knauff, C.W. *Doctor Tucker, Priest-Musician: A Sketch which Concerns the Doings and Thinkings of the Rev. John Ireland Tucker, S.T.D.* (A.D.F. Randolph: New York 1897).

As a steer, he revealed that, for his most recent commissions 'the Editor insisted on sending me three guineas for every tune. I told him that it seemed to me a good deal: but he never would send less.' Of course, an advantage of keeping the fee high (he suggested) was that it acted as a brake on demand, and as he was being 'deluged' with requests this was no bad thing. But in the end (having planted the seed that three guineas was a handsome fee — but not *too* handsome) Dykes put the ball back into Tucker's court and suggested that *he* should suggest what would be appropriate. As to the hymns for which Tucker had sought tunes, *Rock of Ages* was 'of course …a beautiful, almost unequalled hymn.' Of the other two he didn't think much, hoping that they were 'not a specimen of the average hymns in the Authorized Hymnal.' But, working with the material available, he had done his best, setting them 'to tunes of a rather melodious character, as I suppose in your country there is a feeling for and appreciation of melody; and if the people cannot get good religious melodies, they will get hold of secular melodies for their hymns.'

Three months later he wrote again,[1] with thanks for the cheque he had received (unfortunately with no clue as to how Tucker had interpreted the hint). He also asked to see a copy of the hymnal as he wanted to 'see it in its entireness, and learn something of its general tone and character.' Expressing regret at the news that divisions within the Episcopal Church in America meant that satisfying all parties with a single hymnal was proving hard, he feared that the attempt could not but lead to 'a somewhat colourless and timid production'. On the other hand 'Our *Hymns Ancient and Modern* being a private work, has been an immense boon to our Church at home, and has stopped, at least for a time, any attempt at an authoritative hymnal. It has been wonderfully blessed by GOD in greatly raising the tone of the Churchmanship throughout the English Communion.'

The People's Hymnal Tune Book 1873[2]

The author of *On the birthday,* the Rev. R. F. Littledale, is perhaps best remembered today as the translator of Bianco da Siena's hymn, *Come down, O love divine.* But he was also co-compiler with the Rev. James Vaux of *The People's Hymnal* and he approached Dykes with a request for tunes to six hymns for the hymnal's forthcoming tune book (edited by Richard Redhead) which, he said, should 'be at once melodious and vigorously accented'. Unfortunately, unlike the bountiful E.G. Monk, Littledale and Vaux were financially embarrassed after laying out considerable sums for the words edition of their hymnal so

[1] Letter from Dykes to Tucker, 29 April 1872, reproduced in Knauff *op.cit.*

[2] Redhead, R (ed.) *The People's Hymnal Tune Book* (Metzler: London, 1872).

could only 'hope one day to repay you with something better than mere thanks'.[1] That day evidently had still not arrived when, a year later, Littledale wrote to thank Dykes for his 'beautiful' Reproaches — but regretted that the co-compilers had still to recoup their costs. However, they hoped to 'yield a profit ere long'.[2] Besides *The Reproaches*, Dykes also wrote PROME VOCEM, IN NOMINE DOMINI and PARACLETE for this hymnal, none of which is believed to survive in modern hymnals.

Church Hymns 1874[3]

Nowadays, William Walsham How is better remembered as a hymnodist — *For all the saints; It is a thing most wonderful; &c.* — than a hymnal compiler, but in 1872 he was engaged, with Sullivan, in the compilation of *Church Hymns*. 'I was working with Arthur Sullivan last week at his forthcoming tune-book', he wrote to Dykes. 'I need not tell you that again & again, as we went thro' the Hymns, your name was in our mouths. We are in perplexity, longing for your tunes yet afraid to ask, & wishing to avoid any approach to what wd. be distasteful to the Committee of Hymns *A&M*.'[4] He instanced ST SYLVESTER and MELITA as 'tunes which it seems almost impossible to do without', although they would be happy to receive permission to use *any* of his tunes. (If further evidence is needed of the high regard in which Walsham How held Dykes's music it can be found in his unambiguous assessment: 'Your tunes are the making of Monk's Tune-book.'[5]) In the event, the published hymnal contained fourteen Dykes tunes, of which *a revised version* of the previously-published OSWESTRY;[6] CREDO, DOMINE; and a LITANY for the Rogation Days were composed especially for the book.[7]

Four Hymns 1873[8]

The well-connected Rev. Godfrey Thring who, as a hymnodist and hymnal compiler, merits more than three columns in Julian's *Dictionary*, secured four tunes for this

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1 Letter from R.F. Littledale to Dykes, 11 March 1870. (App. B p. 58).

2 Letter from R.F. Littledale to Dykes, 4 April 1871. (App. B p. 89).

3 Sullivan, A (ed.) *Church Hymns with Tunes* (SPCK: London, 1874).

4 Letter from Wm Walsham How to Dykes, 11 December 1872. (App. B p. 152).

5 Letter from Wm Walsham How to Dykes, 6 January 1873. (It is not clear whether he was referring to W.H. Monk's musical editorship of *A&M* or to E.G. Monk's *Anglican Hymn Book.* of 1871.)

6 Fowler mis-attributes this tune to the *Reading Supplement* in his taxonomy.

7 Letter from Wm. Walsham How to Dykes, 15 January 1873. (App. B p. 154). See also letter from Walsham How to Baker, 27 February 1873, (App. B p. 156) in which Sullivan is quoted as saying that he wants 'as few as possible of Dr Dykes' [tunes], as he felt we had no right to pick out plums and ask for them.'

8 Thring, G. *Four Hymns, Words by Godfrey Thring &c.* (Novello Ewer: London, 1873).

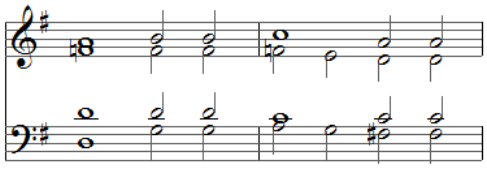
collection: AD VESPERUM, GOD'S ACRE; GOD'S HOUSE and GRATIAS AGIMUS. (Julian wrongly states that AD VESPERUM was first published in his 1874 collection *Hymns & Sacred Lyrics.*) GOD'S HOUSE, set to the words *O thou who sitt'st enthroned above all worlds*, was used at the consecration of the church which Thring himself built in Hornblotton, Somerset, in 1874.[1] More than these long-forgotten hymns, the enduring Thring/Dykes connection is best represented by the hymn *Fierce raged the tempest*/ST AELRED.

Book of Litanies, Prose and Metrical 1875[2]

William Hoyte, at that time organist of All Saints, Margaret Street, was commissioned to secure appropriate musical settings from 'a few eminent church musicians' for a set of Litanies then being compiled.[3] For this collection Dykes wrote LITANY IN ANY CALAMITY; LITANY FOR ADVENT; LITANY OF PENITENCE; and LITANY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT. (In a review of the collection the *MT*, noting that the last named of these 'treads controversial ground, its contents would be sufficient to condemn the whole volume in the opinion of the opponents of the doctrine of real presence' — of which Dykes was a vigorous proponent — opines that 'with contributors such as Dr Stainer, the Rev. J.B. Dykes [&c] the editor has secured music of proportionate merit.'[4])

The Church Hymnal 1875 [5]

As with *The Hymnary*, so with this hymnal, Dykes's initially friendly relationship soured following pressure from Baker and the Proprietors of *A&M*. The music editor, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D., and Dykes had enjoyed a cordial correspondence over a period of several months. In one letter, evidently not the first between the two, Stewart quite understandably queried the weak harmony in Dykes's ST NINIAN and sought consent to modify it for the forthcoming hymnal:[6]

I don't like this, is it yours?

[1] Julian, John (ed.) *A Dictionary of Hymnology , 2nd Revised Edition with New Supplement*, (John Murray: London, 1907).

[2] Hoyte, W.S. (ed.) *Book of Litanies, Metrical and Prose* (Rivingtons: London, 1875).

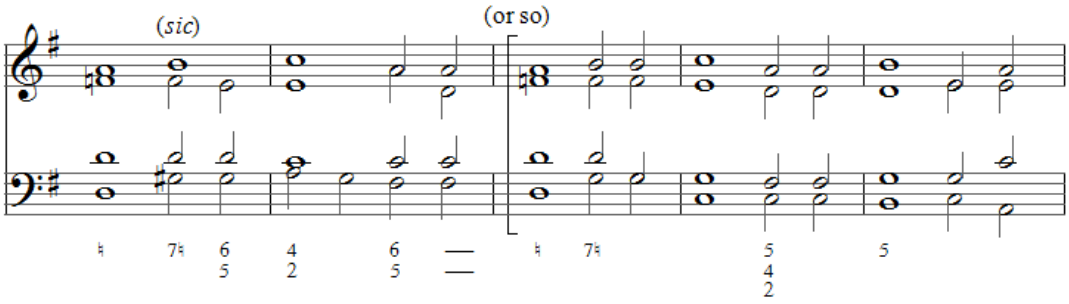
[3] Letter from Wm Stevenson Hoyte to Dykes, 20 February 1871. (App. B p. 87).

[4] *MT,* 1December 1875, p. 307.

[5] Stewart, Sir R.P (ed.) *Church Hymnal…Set to appropriate Tunes* (APCK: Dublin, 1875).

[6] Letter from Sir Robert P Stewart to Dykes, 2 July 1873. (App. B p. 174).

It seems to my perhaps hypercritical taste to involve a false relation F♮ F♯ & a fifth CF—AD but I would not presume to alter it without your consent; may I suggest



(The version as published did have amended harmonies,[1] but they were not those proposed by Stewart.) In a further letter Stewart regrets the common practice of setting the tenor part too low, sometimes leaving the singers no option on the lowest notes but to 'grunt with a feeble church-yard tone' and draws Dykes's attention to Handel's general predisposition to set the tenors high. Spohr's flaw in choral writing, he says, is to equate the tenor voice with that of the viola.[2] A few weeks later he describes Dykes's tune COME LABOUR ON as being 'very nice, far nicer than the one I had attempted [for that hymn]…it is quite certain our Committee will choose your tune.'[3] They didn't.

A month later Stewart had cause to write again on a discord, but this time the disharmony was of men not music — specifically, 'the churlish action of the Committee who own *A&M* in reference to the Irish Church New Hymnal. We don't care *very* much for their tunes, but there *are* a few of yours, which we *do not* want to part company with.'[4] This churlish action was further enlarged upon in a letter the following month by Dr H. H. Dickinson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dublin. After referring to earlier correspondence, in which Dykes had evinced a constructive attitude to the new hymnal, Dickinson was

> sorry…to say that Sir H. Baker, to whom you said that you wished "as a rule, to refer all applicants", has refused his consent. Now there are some words…in respect of w^{h} this refusal places us in great difficulty. What we feel is that no one who knows y^{r} tunes will ever like to use any other with these Hymns.[5]

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1 See App. A Pt. 1 p. 356.

2 Letter from Stewart to Dykes, 23 July 1873. (App. B p. 189).

3 Letter from Stewart to Dykes, 28 August 1873. (App. B p. 200).

4 Letter from Stewart to Dykes, 31 October 1873. (App. B p. 213).

5 Letter from Dickenson to Dykes, 18 November 1873. (App. B p. 215).

He referred particularly to ST CROSS, ST ANDREW OF CRETE, PAX DEI and VOX DILECTI. Would it be reasonable, he asked, to hope that Dykes might use his influence to bring about a change of heart on the part of the Proprietors? Alternatively, could he perhaps provide new arrangements of these tunes which would not be covered by the *A&M* copyright or, as a last resort, write some new tunes for these hymns?

Dykes did indeed use his influence in favour of the Irish book although he must have known at the outset that it would be a difficult task. The previous month Baker had written to Dykes in terms which could have left him in no doubt of his bitter antagonism towards that particular hymnal:

> The Irish Church Synod has sanctioned a most wretched Book doctrinally — e.g. they have actually altered a well-known Hymn like "O GOD unseen yet ever near" (our H. 207) & put "*table*" for "Altar". They have put "Jesus Son of David" for "Son of Mary" in Dean Millman's (*sic*) Hymn — cruelly murdered "Christian dost thou see them" — &c &c…Now if we give Tunes, don't we sanction on our part this act of the Irish Synod?[1]

And then, as an apparent afterthought which may conceivably have been the principal forethought, he asked whether giving consent would not 'deliberately deprive ourselves of all sales of H.A. & M in Ireland?' After further animadversions on the perfidy of the Irish, he concluded, quite touchingly, 'NO, my dear friend: your own loving and amiable heart is I think wrong here in trying to help this book.' Although Dykes's reply is not available, it is evident from Baker's next letter[2] that he had not been convinced by his last one. 'Do *have done* with these Irishmen', he begged. And, after lambasting them for 'parodying' his hymn *We love the place, O God* ('They are *not gentlemen*…no real gentlemen *could* have done such a thing') he pleaded 'Oh! don't you be so very foolish as to have anything more to do with them. Forgive me. You *know* I love you — *never stoop* to write a 2^{d} tune for "O come & mourn"' Better, Baker conceded, that the Proprietors swallow their pride and yield Dykes's tunes to the Irish than that he writes new ones.

If anything, Baker's letter of the following day was even more impassioned: 'do be hard hearted for once in your life, & just cast those Irishmen adrift altogether.'[3] After applying further pressure on Dykes not to compose new tunes for them he added: 'Forgive me for saying that you puzzle me. I cannot make out what claims they have on you: if they were

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1 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 8 October 1873. (App. B p. 210).

2 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 28 February 1874. (App. B p. 225).

3 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 1 March 1874. (App. B p. 226).

thorough gentlemen, they could not ask you as they do, knowing how you are almost one of us.' And if that was not enough he continues 'their conduct throughout has been as un-English as well can be: and I do indeed pray you to have done with them — there now: do just write a final no no no. It will do you good to be cross & hard-hearted for once and you will at least have the satisfaction of being fair to us.'

In the end, Baker capitulated and assented to the use by the Irish of the tunes requested.[1] By way of postscript to this affair, Dykes wrote to Baker when the *Church Hymnal* was eventually published,[2] pointing out that, whereas it 'is very nicely got up and seems full of pleasing & popular tunes very chastely harmonised', with 'printing [which] strikes me as remarkably clear & good', Stewart was culpable in failing to preserve the original form of the melodies he uses.

The full portrait, of which a cropped version is often seen
(see p. 86)
© Lambeth Palace Library
MS 4936/4

[1] Letter from Dykes to Baker, 21 April 1874. (App. B p. 238).

[2] Letter from Dykes to Baker, 23 August 1874. (App. B p. 254).

The Song of Praise 1875[1]

In addition to securing consent to use some of his tunes (although Baker was adamant in his refusal as regards tunes which were the copyright of *A&M*) Lady Victoria Evans-Freke was able to extract eleven new tunes from Dykes for her book:[2] CREPUSCULUM; DEUS NOSTER REFUGIAM; DIES TENEBROSA; EUCHARISTICA; JESU, MAGISTER BONE; PASCHA; QUID RETRIBUAM; RESURRECTIO; SALVATOR ET AMICUS; SALVUM ME FAC and VESPERI LUX. Perhaps the most remarkable fact about these late-career tunes is that they are so *un*remarkable, to the point of being ignorable — as witness the fact that most were ignored by subsequent hymnal compilers. The first three bars of CREPUSCULUM are too similar to the first three of DOMINUS REGIT ME and HOSANNA to be excusable. DEUS NOSTER REFUGIAM is serviceable, as is VESPERI LUX although the latter never came close to displacing Stainer's VESPER as a setting for *Holy Father, cheer our way*. SALVUM ME FAC is as close as Dykes ever got to Moody and Sankey, with its slow, lilting triple time, its lugubrious harmonies and its progressions upon which no parody could improve: if this had been the very type of his output Vaughan Williams, Routley and Long would have been vindicated. At least DIES TENEBROSA — '*Oh! dark and dreary day*' indeed — was every bit the match for the doom-laden words. Moving in six beats from D♭ major to F minor (an opening gambit he liked so much he repeated it) he arrived midway, conventionally enough, at the dominant. And then, with only a single, intervening, chromatic sag we are transported to the supertonic — E♭ minor — thence to the subdominant — G♭ minor — before being returned, mercifully, to the tonic. EUCHARISTICA exemplifies the 'heavy-laden soul' of the penultimate line of the first verse with a melody which proceeds thereafter in lumbering semibreves and breves. SALVATOR ET AMICUS has some painful modulations (e.g. A major to G major in a beat) and QUID RETRIBUAM ends each verse in the dominant of the relative minor and perpetrates the cruel trick of changing the last two lines of music in the last verse, doubtless resulting in performances of the hymn ending in a whimper as bemused congregations conclude that the organist must have turned over two pages at once. All in all, a hymnal to be set aside by those looking for Dykes's finest tunes.

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1 Evans-Freke, V, (ed.) *The Song of Praise* (Routledge: London, 1875).

2 See letter from Lady Victoria Evans Freke to Dykes dated 20 May 1873 (App. B p. 160). What started as a project to provide tunes for an existing words-only hymn book eventually became *The Song of Praise* (1875).

Swahili hymn book c1875

A small scale commission, but perhaps the most intriguing came from the Rev. Edward Steere, a missionary priest with the Universities' Mission to Central Africa under William Tozer, Bishop of Nyasaland. In 1871 he sent Dykes a number of stanzas in the Swahili language with a view to securing appropriate tunes.[1] He pointed out that reading Swahili is not difficult 'if you pronounce the vowels as in Italian & the consonants as in English', and that 'the soft sweet sounding language' which is 'full of open vowel sounds' is 'peculiarly pleasant when sung.' More significantly as far as the setting of exotic text to western music of a particularly inflexible form is concerned, 'the accents…are very well marked…answering…very nearly to the accent on the first beat of a musical bar.'[2] It is interesting to note that the Swahili stanzas are clearly divisible into the classical metres: a separate hand (probably Dykes's) has superscribed the written copy to show the dactyls, trochees and iambs (calling into question Fowler's assertion that 'the Swahili language did not lend itself well to musical rhythm',[3] as indeed does the fact that a twentieth-century edition of a tune book for Swahili hymns[4] contains twenty of Dykes's most well-known tunes, including HOLLINGSIDE, HORBURY, RIVAULX and, perhaps most surprisingly, LUX BENIGNA). Tozer himself, after suggesting that the popular African 'modes' are closer to Gregorian chant than to the diatonic scale, nevertheless notes that (for example) Barnby's CLOISTERS goes very well to one of their native hymns, and finishes by affirming that 'At our English services we have to acknowledge that, like, I imagine, English Xtians in every part of the world, our deep obligations to you as a Composer.'[5] Unfortunately, no trace of this hymnbook has yet come to light.

The Congregational Psalmist 1875–1880 [6]

In illustration of Dykes's willingness to write for non-Anglican hymnals as long as their underpinning doctrines were not antagonistic to those of the Anglican church, he co-

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1 Letter from Steere to Dykes, 24 April 1871. (App. B p. 95).

2 It is worth reading 'Recollections of Bishop Steere' in Heanley, R. *A Memoir of Edward Steere, D.D., LL.D.* (George Bell: London, 1888), p. 185 for an amusing opinion of Steere's over-imagined musical abilities (reproduced as a footnote to the transcript of the above letter in App. B).

3 Fowler p. 157. Ignoring the point that there are more rhythmic patterns in the world than those of classical western music, the Swahili hymn texts in Steere's letter are clearly stated to be in either a dactylic, trochaic or iambic metre, which will scarcely have represented a challenge to Dykes: GERONTIUS is dactylic; BUTTERBY is trochaic; ST DROSTANE is iambic.

4 *Nyimbo Za Mulungu* (Oliver and Boyd: London, 1916).

5 Letter from Tozer to Dykes, 25 March 1872. (App. B p. 137).

6 Allon, H and Gauntlett, H.J (eds.) *Congregational Psalmist* (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1875–1880).

operated with the dissenting minister, the Rev Henry Allon in his three part *Congregational Psalmist.*[1] (Indeed, the last tune he ever wrote was written for Allon.)[2] Allon clearly held Dykes and his tunes in the highest regard: 'Your tunes are so full of the true feeling of worship that we sing them I think more than any others. There is not one bearing your name in my book that we have not in constant use.'[3] In this letter he asks specifically for a new tune to a Charles Wesley hymn written in a peculiar metre. And certainly the hymn *Come let us anew our journey pursue* (for which Dykes wrote MIZPAH)[4] has a metre–5.5.5.11.5.5.5.11 — which would only be a realistic proposition for congregations which, like Allon's, had weekly practices.

But Allon was no sycophant. For all his praise of Dykes's tunes generally, he did not hold back from expressing the occasional reservation. 'I do not feel quite drawn to *Lead kindly light*.[5] I hardly know why, it has not taken hold of me as some of your tunes do. *Art thou weary*[6] again is very charming — but I can scarcely judge how it sings congregationally.' The last part of the *Congregational Psalmist* trilogy contained two congregational anthems by Dykes — *Lay not up for yourselves* and *Unto Him that loved us* — both as trite as one would expect for use by an ambitious but unauditioned congregation. Whether or not one believes they deserved the contemporaneous description of being 'most sorry rubbish'[7] when they are scarcely bettered by many of their companion pieces in the volume, depends on where one believes the line should be drawn between singability after one or two practices by an otherwise untutored congregation on the one hand, and harmonic and

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1 Of course such discrimination in choosing which commissions to accept was no guarantee that one's works would not one day appear in a hymnal for which one might not have knowingly written. One wonders how Dykes would have reacted had he known that one of his most famous tunes—ST BERNARD/SYCHAR/ST OSWALD—would appear in *Z'miroth Ut'Filoth Ysroel*, *a Synagogue Hymnal* (Halpern, M. (ed.) Schirmer: London, 1915) to the words *Call Jehovah Thy salvation*. His reaction to the inclusion of LUX BENIGNA, NICAEA and ST AGNES (to name but three) in hymn books from Unitarian, Seventh Day Adventist, and Latter Day Saints churches can probably be imagined with greater certainty.

2 See undated letter from Allon to *The Guardian*, quoted in Fowler p. 228.

3 Letter from Henry Allon to Dykes, 29 October 1874. (App. B p. 281).

4 It is interesting to note that, whereas many of Dykes's tunes bear names whose personal associations clearly show them to have been bestowed by their composer—e.g. HOLLINGSIDE, ELVET, HORBURY, ST CUTHBERT—this particular name was chosen by Allon (see letter from Allon to Dykes, 4 December 1874). The many instances, either of several names attaching to the same tune in different hymnals, or several tunes being given the same name, suggest either that music editors saw the naming of tunes as their prerogative or else that the manuscripts of new tunes were often submitted without names.

5 LUX BENIGNA.

6 CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.

7 *CT*, 10 January 1873, p. 12.

contrapuntal interest on the other. Certainly, their interest today is historic rather than aesthetic and they are best left within the pages of a closed book.[1]

The Child's Book of Praise 1880 [2]

Revealing that one of Dykes's last undertakings was to prepare a musical edition of C.F. Hernaman's *The Child's Book of Praise* (1873) a reviewer noted that Dykes died having composed tunes for only five hymns: *Alleluia! Now all the bells are ringing; Holy Jesus! we adore Thee; Now to Bethlehem haste we; Reverently we worship Thee;* and *The Holy Angels sing*. If quantity was lacking, quality (in the opinion of the reviewer) was not: 'The five tunes by Dr Dykes are not only excellent, musically speaking, but deeply sympathetic to the words to which they are allied, No. 8, 'Easter,' especially being noticeable for its simple eloquence and appropriateness for the season for which it is written.'[3] (This, perhaps, is a generous overstatement, especially as regards *Reverently we worship Thee*, whose second two bars answer the first two, bringing the tune to a premature full stop. The ensuing sequence of random modulations takes the tune everywhere and nowhere, before finally returning to the tonic.)

Of the hymnals appearing after Dykes's death, and before the Novello edition, no information is available on requests made or permission granted for use of his tunes. They are nevertheless shown here in order to complete the record of first publications before 1902.

Eight Original Harvest Hymns 1880 [4]

FAITHFUL IN THY LOVE

A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns used at Reading c1885[5]

JESUS VICTOR; MALTON and TENBURY.

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1 The anthems are reproduced in App. A Pt. 2.

2 Dykes, J.B. and Hernaman, C.F. *The Child's Book of Praise: A Manual of Devotion, in Simple verse &c.* (Novello: London, 1880).

3 *MT* 1 January 1880, p. 33.

4 Brown, A.H. (ed.). *Eight Original Harvest Hymns* (Wilkie, Wood & Co.: London, 1880).

5 Barkworth, S.M. (ed.) *A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns, as used by the congregations of Grey Friars, St John's, and St Mary's Episcopal Chapel, Reading, with appropriate tunes.* (Strickland: Reading, c1885).

Other Hymnals with a single tune by Dykes

It was not just the begetters of the larger projects who beat a pathway to Dykes's door, and it would appear he was not disposed to turn away those of his supplicants who were ploughing lonely furrows. The Rev. Christopher Knipe, vicar of a small parish in North Norfolk, whilst having 'no doubt that you receive many and perhaps troublesome communications on the subject of hymns' apologised for adding to them with a solicitation of Dykes's view on his own attempt to render *St Bernard's Rhythm* into English and a tentative hope that Dykes might 'rescue it from obscurity by wedding it to [his] music'.[1] Dykes's setting — HORA NOVISSIMA — whilst an attractive part-song, was not published until the 1902 edition and so, unfortunately for Knipe, could not be said to have rescued his translation from obscurity. The Ven. John Sandford, Archdeacon of Coventry and Vicar of Alvechurch, Redditch, was more ambitious in seeking that Holy Grail of Anglican hymnody: a single, authorized hymnal for the C of E. In furtherance of this aim he had tabled a motion for consideration at the forthcoming Convocation of Canterbury and hoped that Dykes, as 'a distinguished Mus. Doct.' would lead a committee of similarly eminent musicians in ordering the music of the proposed hymnal.[2] Although his reply is currently lost, it is evident that he did not accept the flattering offer. And a 'Mr M. Miller' was clearly engaged in his own project to compile a new hymnal, as he asked Dykes for permission to use four of his tunes.[3] (Whether his hymnal saw the light of day is not known.)

As to the requests which are known to have elicited a positive response we can list the following. ***The Bristol Tune-Book 1863***[4] (ST HILARY); ***Psalms and Hymns for the Church, School and Home 1867*** [5] (ST OSWALD, later better known, with revisions, as LUX BENIGNA); ***Advent Hymns &c 1870***[6] (PARATE VIAM); ***The Wesley Tune Book 1871***[7] (BEATUS ISRAEL); ***Processional Hymns with accompanying Tunes 1872***[8] (*Children of the*

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1 Letter from Knipe to Dykes, 9 August 1869. (App. B p. 55).

2 Letter from Sandford to Dykes, 1 September 1870. (App. B p. 68).

3 Letter from Dykes to M. Miller, 16 January 1873. (App. B p. 155).

4 Anon. *The Bristol Tune-Book: A Manual of Tunes and Chants* (Novello Ewer: London, 1863).

5 Barry, D.T. (Ed) *Psalms and Hymns for the Church, School and Home* (Warne: London, 1867).

6 Joyce, G.P *Advent Hymns (with appropriate tunes). Extracted from the Church of England Hymnology of G. P. Joyce* (Novello Ewer: London, 1870).

7 *Wesley Tune Book* (Novello Ewer: London, 1871).

8 Biden, J. (ed.) *Processional Hymns with Accompany Tunes* (Biden: Northampton, 1872).

Heavenly King); ***Reid's Praise Book 1872***[1] (CONSECRATION); ***XIII Hymns for Advent and Lent 1873***[2] (ST LEONARD); the ***New Mitre Hymnal 1875***[3] (whose compiler, the Rev W.J. Hall, confessed himself 'entirely dissatisfied' with existing hymn books and aimed to 'expunge a great quantity of rubbish' in his book[4]) (ELEUTHERIA); ***The Leeds Tune Book 1875***[5] (ILKLEY); ***The St Asaph Tune-book 1876***[6] (BOSNIA); ***Popular Congregational Music***[7] (*Hark! the herald Angels sing*); ***The Children's Hymn Book 1877***[8] OUR FATHER'S VOICE; and ***The Day School Hymn Book 1896***[9] VIA, VERITAS, VITA.

An example of the musical minnows is Aberdeen-based Alan Machray. He informed Dykes (who one imagines must have received hundreds of tunes composed by would-be hymnodists, all presumably hoping that, by touching the hem of the master's garment, their tunes would be miraculously raised from their condition of terminal mediocrity) that he had 'made a small effort at composition…as an amateur', adding, unnecessarily, 'I do not profess to know much about harmony.'[10] Nevertheless, he sent Dykes some examples, asking for his opinion of their merits 'if [they are] of any merit at all'. If the single example surviving with the original letter is representative of the whole, then Dykes's anxiety neither to discourage nor offend will have been exercised to the full in his reply.

Hymns Ancient & Modern 1875[11]

All these compositions notwithstanding, Dykes's focus and first allegiance lay with Baker and *A&M*. Since publication of the 1868 Appendix the Compilers had been developing a new and enlarged edition, to which Dykes added twenty-one new tunes: ALFORD; BEATITUDO; COME UNTO ME; COMMENDATIO; CONSENT; EASTER CHANT; FIAT LUX; FIRST FRUITS; GLEBE FIELD; HOSANNA WE SING; IN TENEBRIS LUMEN; KEBLE; LITANY FOR

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1 Reid, M.A. *The Praise Book* (Nisbet: London, 1873).

2 R.T XIII *Hymns for Advent and Lent* (Jackson: Manchester, 1873).

3 Hall, W.J. (ed.) *The New Mitre Hymnal, adapted to the services of the Church of England with accompanying tunes* (Rivingtons: London 1875).

4 Letter from Hall to Dykes, 6 May 1873. (App. B p. 157).

5 Lancaster, J (ed.) *The Leeds Tune Book, with Supplement &c.* (Novello Ewer: London, 1875).

6 Hughes, W.J. (ed.) *The St Asaph Tune-book* (J. Morris: Rhyl, 1876).

7 Shown in the online catalogue of the Georgia Historical Society to be 'a new monthly series of popular congregational music, ed. by W.H. Jude' (no date shown).

8 Brock, Mrs Carey (ed.) *The Children's Hymn Book* (Rivingtons: London, 1877).

9 Mundella, E (ed.) *The Day School Hymn Book with Tunes* (Novello Ewer: London, 1896).

10 Letter from Machray to Dykes, 2 May 1871. (App. B p. 99).

11 Baker, W.H (ed.) *Hymns Ancient & Modern for the Use of the Church, 2nd edition* (Clowes: London, 1875).

CHILDREN; LITANY OF THE INCARNATE WORD; LITANY OF THE PASSION; REQUIESCAT; SALVETE FLORES; SANCTI VENITE; STABAT MATER; STRENGTH AND STAY; and VENI CREATOR, together with revised editions of CHARITAS and VOX DILECTI and arrangements of (at least) INTERCESSION, MARTYRDOM, MILES LANE, O LUX BEATA, O QUANTA QUALIA, STOCKTON, VEXILLA REGIS and WIR PFLÜGEN. The unprecedented success of the first edition, and then of the Appendix, did not guarantee to the Compilers an easy time of it. Two episodes in particular caused them a headache, with Dykes involved in both. In the first, he was an innocent caught in the crossfire.

Both Dykes and Christopher Wordsworth (Bishop of Lincoln, nephew of the poet, Public Orator at Cambridge, hymnodist and compiler of *The Holy Year*) attended the Church Congress in Nottingham in October 1871, with Dykes delivering a paper on Hymnology and Church Music.[1] In his summation of the afternoon session Wordsworth, as President, delivered himself of an 'expostulation' against 'some modern hymnal compilers' — he mentioned no names but his target was not in doubt — for the 'mutilation' they inflicted on some hymns. 'It would be egotistical on my own part', he admitted,

> to speak of what I have suffered from this process of amputation and curtailment; but in the presence of Dr Dykes, if he has not yet left the hall, to whom I am indebted for one of the most beautiful tunes[2] set to one of my own unworthy hymns — viz., *O Lord of Heaven and Earth and Sea* — I think he will agree with me in the wish that I express that it had not suffered from that process.[3]

The source and course of his indignation can be traced in a series of letters between himself, Dykes and Baker, reproduced in Appendix B. The ranging shot in the salvo came in a letter from Wordsworth to Baker three months before the Congress. Referring to his aforementioned almsgiving hymn, he speaks of it often being performed in his Diocese but 'I never hear it without regret [as] in H. A. & M. it is garbled and mutilated.'[4] The burden of his complaint is that two of his original verses were omitted in the 1868 Appendix, verses which were so important to the sense of the hymn that their omission renders him, as author, 'liable to the charge of the "heresy of silence."' He ends his letter with a threat of 'public steps to have the injury redressed' but also a hope that Baker's 'sympathy as a

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1 For a discussion of Dykes's paper see Chapter 8. The paper is reproduced in App. C. Pt. 2 pp. 197ff.

2 ALMSGIVING.

3 Anon (ed.) *Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1871"* (W. Wells Gardner: London 1871), p. 397.

4 Letter from Christopher Wordsworth to Baker, 4 July 1871. (App. B p. 103).

Hymn writer, and [his] assistance as a friend' will obviate the need for such steps. It overreaches the scope of this study to follow the course of this dispute in detail, although Dykes (who points out to Wordsworth in one letter that his poetical use of the word 'outrun' to mean 'to issue' or 'to give' is not the meaning — 'to exceed', 'to beat' — that most people would attach to the word)[1] strongly and repeatedly counsels Baker to go public in his refutation of Wordsworth's damaging accusations — not least because Wordsworth saw, and commented on, the proofs of all the hymns before the Appendix went to print and therefore implicitly sanctioned the omissions. Successive letters reveal Wordsworth, at the receiving end of direct hit after direct hit from Baker, attempting to retreat from his original position of high dudgeon and affront to one where he is pleading for allowance to be made for his 'neglect' — a somewhat humiliating position for Cambridge's Public Orator to find himself in.[2]

In the Compilers' other headache Dykes found himself, to his mortification and increasing anxiety, at the centre of the problem.[3] It will be recalled that, in his dealings with Robert Chope, Dykes had evinced little appreciation of the need to temper generosity of spirit with an appropriate degree of business prudence. And now, in an ironic coincidence of timing (as I shall shortly seek to demonstrate), he was to discover how easily errors committed in the past, in two wholly unrelated spheres, could return to yield their destructive consequences years later. In this particular instance his error was to have failed to protect his copyright or, alternatively (but with much the same consequence), to have failed to keep an accurate record of the terms upon which he had provided Chope with tunes for his book. Although the correspondence is incomplete there is sufficient to plot the course of the dispute and make reasonable inferences to fill the gaps. In early 1874 Dykes wrote to Baker, enclosing a letter he had received from Chope. 'I am <u>very</u> <u>very</u> sorry at all this. It does seem a thousand pities that there sh.[d] be these tiresome misunderstandings. But I suppose harmonies and discords always did and always will go together.'[4] Ten days later

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1 Letter from JBD to HWB 4 November 1871. (App. B p. 126).

2 As evidence that Dykes was scrupulous in separating the issue from the man, we can see, in a book review two decades earlier, that he had a high regard for Wordsworth's character: 'High position, ecclesiastical and academical, honourably attained; practical energy and generosity of character; a blameless and consistent life; deep acquaintance with the learning of ages past, with the ability and courage to apply its stores to the present, and grapple fearlessly with the great questions of the day…' Then came the harsh criticism. Dykes, J.B., 'The Babylon of the Apocalypse' in *The Ecclesiastic* Vol. 12 (Joseph Masters: London, 1851). (App. C Part 1 p. 1).

3 This is such an important episode in Dykes's life, one which extended into, and doubtless exacerbated his anguish during, his final illness that it is surprising that Fowler makes no mention of it.

4 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 17 February 1874. (App. B p. 222).

he wrote again, outlining the content of his most recent letter to Chope. Beginning with a suggestion that Chope was praying in aid of his claim to certain copyrights a letter which actually predated the tunes' composition, he implicitly admitted that he had not kept records with which he could effectively counter Chope's claims and accepted that Chope might, conceivably, have been in the right:

> If what he says is really correct I must have been much in the wrong. But this is the very first time I ever realized that I had done what I seem to have done…If the extract given is a fair one, I have injured the man (God knows, unwittingly) and caused you & others much needless annoyance & vexation: for which I am heartily sorry…Here is a miserable effect of a bad memory & of not doing a business thing in a business way…I do hope his claims will be conceded & that we may have an end of it.[1]

It is clear, from a letter Dykes had sent to Chope twelve years previously, that at the very least he had been culpably negligent in *appearing* to cede to Chope copyright in the tunes (thirty in all) he had composed especially for that book: 'Over the future publication of these and the other tunes I have sent you (not already printed) I willingly give you entire control.'[2] And then, six years later, he himself lent weight to the suggestion that the rights in at least one of those tunes (but then why only one?) vested in Chope:

> The Compilers of H.A.M. are shortly about to bring out an Appendix to their work, and amongst other Hymns are proposing to introduce "The day is past & over", and have asked me for the use of my tune.[3] I keep no memorandum about my tunes, but still I have a sort of impression that I am under some sort of special promise to you about this. Should this be the case, I write a line to ask for your sanction to giving them use of it…In case I do not hear from you I shall assume *that you give permission* [my italics].'[4]

A full year after Dykes's first intimation to Baker that Chope was claiming copyright in some of his tunes, the matter was no closer to being resolved. In February 1875 Dykes wrote again to Chope on this 'disagreeable matter', asking him to justify his (Chope's) claim made to Baker that he had purchased from Dykes the copyright of ST SYLVESTER, ST ANDREW, ST BEES, ST DROSTANE and ST ANATOLIUS.[5] With a letter which evidently crossed in the post, Chope wrote to Dykes the following day, alluding to the specific points already

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1 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 27 February 1874. (App. B p. 224).

2 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 27 June 1862. (App. B p. 33).

3 ST ANATOLIUS.

4 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 15 June 1868. (App. B p. 44).

5 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 18 February 1875. (App. B p. 298).

mentioned and claiming to possess 'scores of letters *in proof* of my right'.[1] One of those from which he quotes (from the compiler of a Methodist hymnal) gives further credence to his claim that Dykes had transferred to him copyright in the tunes in question.

The tri-partite correspondence continued although, for the first time, we see an intimation in it that Dykes was unwell. 'You kindly ask after my health', he wrote to Baker. 'I fear I cannot give a very good account.'[2] And then, the following day, 'I am pained beyond measure that this miserable squabble has arisen as I have neither head nor memory at present to engage in it...I wish my head were a little clearer but it has never been right all the year.'[3] In that letter, whilst describing Chope's claim as 'monstrous' (which is not how the available correspondence would appear to present it) and one which should be resisted, he lamented that he could not lay his hands on papers which would disprove Chope's claims. As for the June 1862 letter in which he granted Chope control over the tunes he composed for the hymnal, he said that he never intended that this should be interpreted as the grant of copyright — although he did not elucidate what else might be meant by 'entire control'. Two days later, with corroborating documents still proving elusive (and possibly destroyed), Dykes now only *believed* that he was right in his account of what was agreed about ST ANATOLIUS — 'but my memory is very hazy on the subject. I have got thoroughly bewildered on the subject of Tunes.'[4] And in a peroration which pointed in two directions, 'I have instinctively felt for some time that he has been try[g] to take advantage of us. All the same I wish to give everyone their due.'

On 24 February Chope became more aggressive and unfriendly, describing Dykes's letters as being worse than evasive, declining to correspond further with him over the copyrights which he had purchased (so he claimed) and threatening to publish the correspondence.[5] A letter written the following day showed that Baker had his own reasons to be aggrieved with Chope, but this time Chope was the alleged misfeasor for breaching copyright and 'murdering' a hymn by excising verses. (One wonders whether, in making this complaint, Baker recalled the allegations of mutilation made against *A&M* by the Bishop of Lincoln.) Baker was certainly in no mood to appease Chope:

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1 Letter from Chope to Dykes, 19 February 1875. (App. B p. 299).

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 19 February 1875. (App. B p. 300).

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 20 February 1875. (App. B p. 303).

4 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 22 February 1875. (App. B p. 304).

5 Letter from Chope to Dykes, 24 February 1875. (App. B p. 305).

> We found we could do noth[g] with him twelve years ago except suffer the injury & insult *or* go to law. So we suffered. Now he complains of *us*! because we printed *by your* permission your own Tunes of which he has no sort of proof that he possesses the copyright. *NO*. *this* question is not to be settled so easily.[1]

Touchingly, the tone and focus of the letter then changed, from a tirade about an injustice suffered by *A&M* at the hands of Chope to concern for Dykes's health:

> I do indeed most earnestly trust that it may not be a cause of worry to one who has been *so* kind & is *so* far from well as you are… as to yourself, my dear Friend — do pray *rest.* Surely it is your plain duty. Let my Curate come & carry on the services *any* how rather than you become seriously & permanently ill. I have a great mind to write to M[rs] Dykes about you.

But the matter dragged on. In his reply, Dykes spoke of his anxiety to avoid litigation, alluding to trials to which we will shortly cover, he wrote: 'I have had such bitter experience of it that I dare not again have any thing to do with it: else I shall be losing my head.'[2] Instead, Dykes counselled that they should heed St Paul's advice to ''take worry' & 'suffer worry'' rather than 'to answer wrath with wrath.' He ends with an impassioned wish: 'May God avert all this! Thank you much for yr kind advice abt myself: I feel it to be wise. My dear wife is at present from home. I must get away as soon as I can. This wretched business has quite upset me again.'

The final available letter on the subject came the following week. Dykes, revealing himself to be 'distressed to hear that a 'Restrainer' (or whatever you call it) has been issued restraining the sale of H.A. & M, in consequence of this difficulty with Chope'[3] again pleads for an agreement to be reached quickly and 'any how'. 'I feel wretched until the dispute is settled, as it is all my fault. I am certain Chope will go to law…if the affair is not settled at once: and then the miseries & uncertainties & scandal & gossip & ill blood wh accompanies law: Oh, not this —' Precisely how the matter was resolved the *A&M* Archives do not reveal, but the 1875 edition *was* published and Chope's Hymnal did not run to any further editions.[4]

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1 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 25 February 1875. (App. B p. 306).

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 26 February 1875. (App. B p. 307).

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 6 March 1875. (App. B p. 309).

4 He did publish *Carols for Use in the Church* (Metzler: London, 1875), music edited by H.S. Irons, which included Dykes's *Once again, O blessèd time*. Interestingly, thanks are duly recorded in the prefatory 'Advertisement' to Baker personally, to the Compilers of *A&M* and to Dykes himself. This points either to an astonishingly quick mending of fences or, more likely, a collection which had been so long in the making that consents were given before the storm broke. Or perhaps Baker capitulated: the 1902 Novello edition of his tunes acknowledges Chope as the holder of the disputed copyrights.

Dykes was also to be the source of ever mounting exasperation to Baker in the matter of the *words* of a hymn — *And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning* — for which he provided the tune COMMENDATIO. The to-ing and fro-ing between the two men, which never departed from the cordial (and was sometimes remarkably affectionate), concerned the theological point as to whether or not Christ died *still bearing* the sins of the world, or whether he was relieved of them moments before he died: Baker was convinced he did die still bearing our sins, Dykes was of the contrary view. An evident complication was the fact that the words had been written by his sister, Eliza Alderson. We do not need to analyse in detail here the theological aspect of the argument, but simply to notice that Dykes's reluctance to concede the point was holding up progress on the book. 'I am sorely disappointed at nothing from you on Mrs Alderson yet as to her Hymn on the 7th hour — I *really do not know* <u>*what*</u> to do. I have [been] expecting your promised letter day by day — you said ten days ago or more that you should see her "in a day or two"'[1] And, with nothing forthcoming, Baker wrote the following week, gently suggesting that 'a Brother may easily be a little too partial & think a sister's verses better than others do.'[2] Hoping to bring the matter to a conclusion, he adds 'I feel so truly grateful to you (for so vy vy much) *and to Mrs Alderson* that it pains me even to seem to find fault: but I am *bound* to decide as I think best for our Book.' But Dykes continued to press the theological point, citing published authorities;[3] again Baker demurs;[4] and again Baker presses *Dykes* to press *Mrs Alderson* for consent to revised words, regretting as he does so that he ever involved Dykes as an intermediary in a matter which he (Baker) could have more quickly settled had he dealt with Mrs Alderson directly.[5] In a final letter[6] which positively screams of his exasperation (but with no loss of personal affection), the hymnodist Baker proposes a revised verse which neatly fits in with either interpretation of Christ's last moments and this, we can see from the hymn as published in the new edition, was accepted.

Of the general run of affairs relating to the compilation of the new edition, and specifically of Dykes's contributions, the RCO and *A&M* archives contain some interesting material. Of general interest is the question as to whether double bar lines at the ends of lines of

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1 Letter from Baker to Dykes 15 September 1874. (App. B p. 261).

2 Letter from Baker to Dykes 21 September 1874. (App. B p. 265).

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker 22 September 1874. (App. B p. 270).

4 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 24 September 1874. (App. B p. 273).

5 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 1 October 1874. (App. B p. 278).

6 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 6 October 1874. (App. B p. 279).

words are a help or a hindrance. (Barnby, in the preface to his *Original Tunes to Popular Hymns*[1] had stated his antipathy towards them, believing them to impede the forward impulse.) The question was addressed in a *pro forma* letter to about twenty 'Musical friends', including Dykes, Elvey, Hullah, Oakeley, Ouseley, H. Smart, Stainer, Steggall, Sterndale Bennett and Wesley.[2] Not all the replies have been retained, but we know that Stainer believed that 'the book would appear better without bars at the end of lines of words — but I believe them to be an absolute necessity.'[3] He also cautioned against the over-use of expression marks: if there are too many they will be overlooked and, anyway, 'congregational singing is hopeless where a choir is alternately rising on a high wave of sound and suddenly dropping down into its trough.' Dykes's view was that each tune should be considered independently 'so that we must lay down no unbending law on the subject'.[4] In the same letter he opined that 'The type is clear and good. I wish the page was larger because the book is at present, and will be more so, of a very awkward size — too thick and stumpy.' And he, like Stainer, cautioned against the over-use of expression marks which 'become fidgetting [*sic*] when multiplied'. When asked by Baker which other composers might be invited to supply tunes, Dykes proposed Edward Thorne, Sterndale Bennett and G.A. Macfarren. And then Prof. Sir Robert Stewart, music editor of the Irish Church Hymnal, 'but I suppose this cannot be now: as he seems annoyed & disappointed at the line whi your excell.^{t} Comm^{tee} have adopted in ref^{ce} to the Irish Book.'[5]

The archives of the RCO hold two letters from Macfarren to Dykes, discussing matters of correct harmony and pointing tantalisingly to a more significant correspondence between the two, currently lost from view. As usual when only one side of the exchange is available to us, the *responses* hint at intriguing *questions* and even more intriguing harmonic *faux pas* by Dykes (at least in Macfarren's eyes). The letters must be read in full to appreciate the full discussion on what is and is not acceptable as far as use of the dominant seventh is concerned and how chords may (and may not) be resolved. But Macfarren is scathing of some of Dykes's progressions, giving as an example the law that 'when two notes next

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1 Two volumes, Novello: London, 1869–1883.

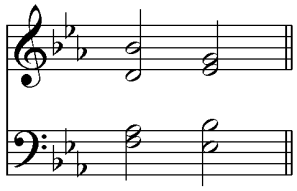
2 Letter from the Committee of *A&M* to various addressees 11 September 1872. (App. B p. 142).

3 Letter from John Stainer to Baker, 17 September 1872. (App. B p. 143).

4 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 17 September 1873. (App. B p. 203).

5 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 12 March 1874. (App. B p. 228).

each other in alphabetical order, (as A B) are sounded together, the later in the alphabet may never descend a 3rd.'[1] The progression he cites as an example



is the progression used by Dykes in HOLLINGSIDE as the fourth beat of bar three resolves to the first beat of bar four. 'If the 7$^{\underline{th}}$ may rise thus while the root makes that abominable descent,' wrote Macfarren, 'then rain will fall upwards & wicked men go to heaven.'

Perhaps the more pertinent letter on form and harmony is one Dykes wrote to Baker three years later.[2] Once again we have only part of an exchange but the points at issue are clear. In a discussion about the last line of Dykes's tune SALVETE FLORES (in which, it is evident, Dykes had originally sought, for art's sake, to elongate the penultimate bar) Dykes cautions against imposing hard and fast rules on which forms are acceptable and which are not: such rigid stereotyping, he suggests, would lead to the ensuing type of tune quickly going out of fashion. But then he alludes to a comment which Baker had evidently made, to the effect that he (Baker) did not want *too much* of Dykes's harmony in the book, and it is clear that Dykes is frustrated. 'You tell me I must be patient. Well I have tried to *be very*: and I will have another try.' But then he shows why he believes his 'dear friend' is not being even-handed:

> How much of my harmony have you in the book? In the original book there are some 93 tunes arr^{d} by Monk and *not one* by myself except my own tunes:[3] so that you cannot say it is overdone with my style. In the Appendix Monk has rather a less share. I am responsible (leaving out my *own tunes* — which are not now the matter of discussion) for the harmonization of "Intercession", "Miles Lane", "O quanta qualia", "Onward X^{n} Soldiers"[4], "Wir pflügen", and "Martyrdom"[5] (wh I wish to alter) — I think these are all. And I confidently ask if the harmony of these is in any way below the general run of the harmony of the best? In myself I honestly believe that all those tunes have been considerably *helped* by the harmony.[6]

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1 Letter from Macfarren to JBD 21 September 1871. (App. B p. 112).

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker 15 July 1874. (App. B p. 246).

3 Dykes is being forgetful here: STOCKTON (155) is shown clearly in the index to be his arrangement.

4 ST ALBAN.

5 There are at least three harmonisations by JBD of this tune, in HAM 1868 and 1875 and in Tucker's *Hymnal with Tunes New and Old*, 1872.

6 Letter from Dykes to Baker 15 July 1874. (App. B p. 246).

But when he goes on to reveal the hours of work spent over a period of years, making 'all sorts of experiments, harmonizing and reharmonizing so as to try what was the most perfect form' he cannot help revealing the underlying source of his grievance.

> At Mr Monk's request I sent a great number to him. And there they have remained. For all the good they have done they might never have been attempted. The whole set of tunes hitherto has reappeared, (with scarcely any exception) just if as of old. There seems to have been no attempt to get out of the everlasting rut of Dull mediocrity. Almost all the tunes that have been *re*harmonised seem to me *worse* harmonised than they were: at least, I *know* they might be infinitely improved but there seems no chance of this.

Stainer's harmonies, he says, are always '(or almost always)' excellent. 'But I cannot say this of that of our other good friend.' And then it seems as if months of pent up frustration can be contained no longer.

> I can only say that my earlier work hitherto, almost without intermission, has been work of protest. Tune after tune has reached me with which I sh[d] feel *thoroughly ashamed* to have any thing to do.[1] The waste of good money in revision of work wh ought never to have gone to the Press seems to me to have been most prodigal & extravagant. Tunes have been printed off anyhow, instead of being carefully prepared in MS. & thus the difficulties of thorough correction very much intensified, for one does not like to render a whole plate useless.

And then, no sooner had the storm blown up than it subsided: 'There now! I feel better!'

Of his tune STRENGTH AND STAY, which he was pleased to note Baker liked, he tantalisingly refers to 'two very slight alterations in it…suggested by a remark of Monk's'[2] but without elaborating on what these alterations were. (As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, this gloriously chromatic tune, with its unprecedented consecutive diminished 7[th] chords in the second line, was emasculated by the Compilers of the 1904 edition, turning it into something blandly diatonic.) In the same letter he discusses the hymn *Hail, Gladdening Light*. While a chant setting would work (and indeed Stainer's chant-like setting was eventually used), Dykes proffered a grander setting — O LUMEN HILARE — for Baker's consideration, a setting which he thought 'w[d] be acceptable for choral festivals &c.'[3] In the event, this setting, which is too complex for congregational use, remained unpublished until the 1902 collected edition of his tunes. Nevertheless, its composition, Dykes said, afforded him a welcome distraction from the worries of his

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1 Bradley (1997, p. 153) misattributes this complaint to Stainer.

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 5 May 1874. (App. B p. 240).

3 *loc. cit.*

continuing conflict with his Bishop. As for his tune for *At Thy feet O Christ we lay* (now lost) Dykes admitted that he wrote in in a hurry and didn't much care for it. Sullivan's tune although 'not one of his best' would be 'found to work well'.[1] (The Compilers eventually opted for Macfarren's BARMOUTH.)

A tune against which Long later inveighed — LINDISFARNE — met with Stainer's approval[2] (a fact which Long would doubtless have adduced in support of his opinion) whilst he gently demurred from Dykes's suggestion that his own tune, ST FRANCIS XAVIER, should be amended. LINDISFARNE had first been published in Grey's 1857 *Manual,* going through two intermediate revisions (Chope 1862 and Grey 1866) before attaining a form in the 1875 edition which reflected Baker's insisted alterations. Dykes was evidently not fully persuaded of the merits of these alterations: 'It is sometimes rather a hazardous thing to alter in a hurry a tune that he has carefully thought out: & which has worked well' but he was prepared to accept them and 'hope for the best'.[3]

That the collaborators in the project by no means formed a mutual admiration society is evidenced in correspondence. We have already noted that neither Baker nor Ouseley much liked Dykes's CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR, a tune now long out of favour. But that was not the only tune of Dykes's that Baker was less than keen on.

> I have allowed 2 pages for your "O Paradise", tho' that is a case in which my own judgment would most decidedly omit it and be content with Smart's Tune only — unless we come across another more taking. So far as I have ever heard, Smart's is always preferred to your's — altho' many people are not satisfied with either — But I saw that you wished it to remain: and I have given up my own judgment.[4]

Dykes evidently did not want to let this rather mild criticism of PARADISE go without a defence. He wrote

> I wd have written a better tune to 'Opus Dei' if I could, but I do not think I can. If *properly sung*, the present tune is *very effective*: & it is a great favourite here. A clergyman (I think in Yorkshire) told me that he had had his choir divided & has put one portion under the belfry simply to get the proper effect of the echo of the 2nd "O Paradise" [which I had marked *PP* and is only printed P] He said the effect was very striking & charm[g]. If you have never heard this tune properly & intelligently sung of course you will fail to appreciate its merits.

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 Letter from Stainer to Dykes, 11 August 1874. (App. B p. 251).

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 13 August 1874. (App. B p. 253).

4 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 21 September 1874. (App. B p. 265).

> Both the American books have adopted it (besides other books), therefore it must have something to commend it.[1]

At least in that instance Dykes's tune was used (albeit relegated to second tune status): with EXSPECTO he was left in no doubt: 'Perhaps you will be more displeased with Monk & me for not taking your "Jesu Thou art standing". I can only trust that you will remember *how* <u>*decidedly*</u> Stainer was satisfied with the present Tune: and I know you too well to think that you will wish to have your Tune inserted only because you yourself wish it.' But he added, to soften the blow, 'You will be gloriously represented in our Book now, and may well be content to let that not-very-good Hymn (*me judice*) be as it has been.'[2]

The soft soap about his glorious representation was evidently well intentioned, but it drew from Dykes a revealing comment.

> I really wish & pray to care less & less about being *myself* represented. But I do wish to see each & every hymn worthily set and this is why I have been obliged at times to press some of my own tunes because I felt that they expressed the words more truly than the tunes (not even written for the special words) to which they were being wedded.[3]

(We have a problem with this self-proclaimed virtuous motive. Only six months previously he had written: 'I have written some new L.M.s to be used in case of emergency…Any of these can be used merely *in case* no *more satisfactory setting* turns up.'[4] This admission that he wrote a number of off-the-shelf tunes sits uneasily with the assertion made by Fowler that he always took pains to match tune with words.)

Of course, Dykes was as free as anyone else to criticise the work of others. Samuel Webbe's venerable MELCOMBE he thought a 'hack tune'[5] Of current compositions, 'I fear I do not care for *either* of the 2 tunes of Sullivan wh W.H.M. sent me.'[6] And as for Smart's four-square, diatonic EVERTON 'I fear I do not care much for it. It is harmless: and that is about all one can say about it. Moreover I do not like the repetition of the two first lines.' (Baker was evidently unmoved by Dykes's lukewarm reaction, as the tune was used for the hymn *Lord her watch thy church is keeping*.) Monk, too, recognised Dykes's undoubted

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1 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 22 September 1874. (App. B p. 270).

2 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 21 September 1874. (App. B p. 265).

3 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 22 September 1874. (App. B p. 270).

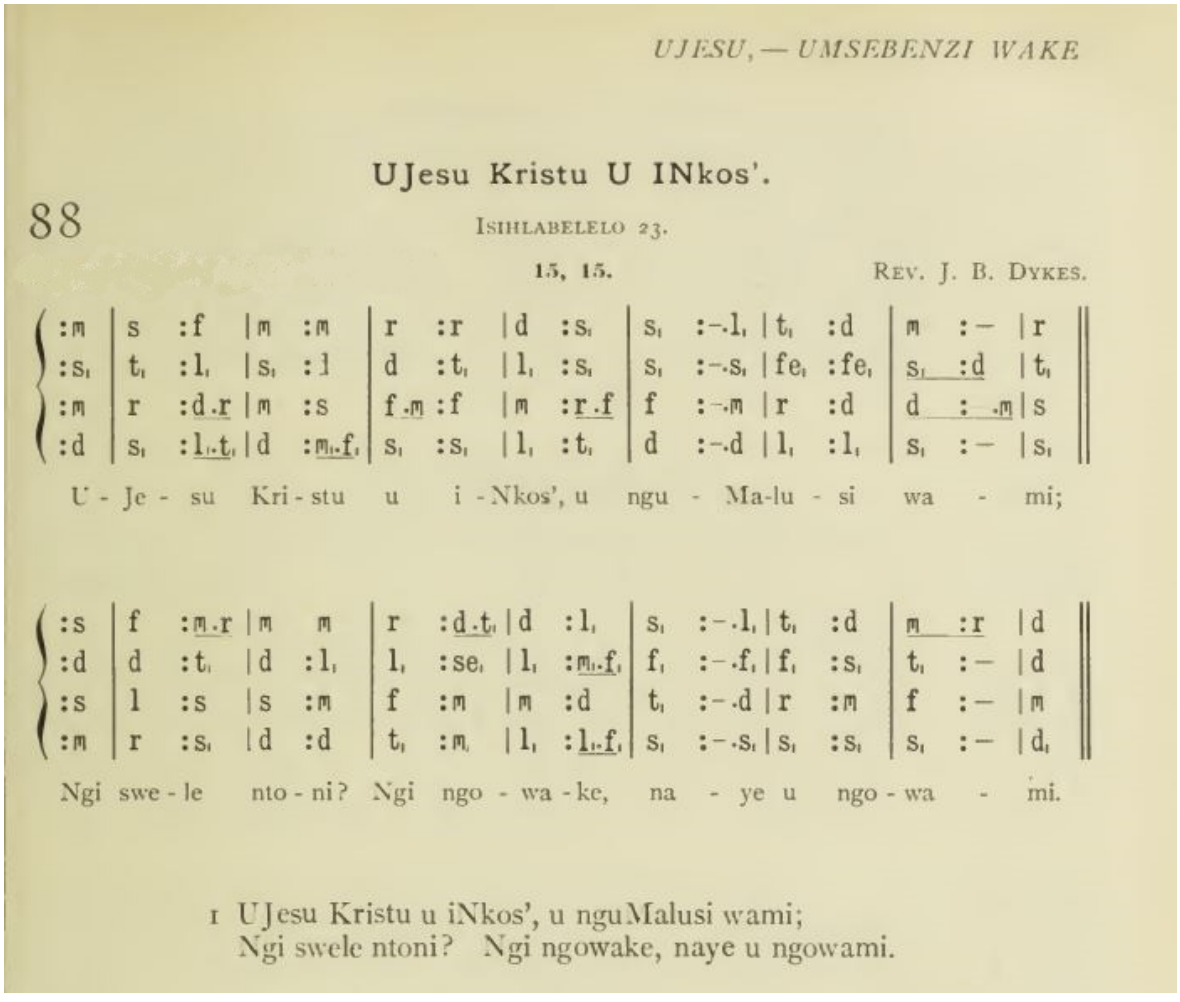
4 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 12 March 1874. (App. B p. 228).

5 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 22 December 1874. (App. B p. 287).

6 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 21 April 1874. (App. B p. 238).

qualification to offer constructive criticism: 'you may always rest sure that everything you say is considered valuable, and is well thought out. Many of the suggestions offered I have followed: others I have not thought myself at liberty to accept without first consulting Stainer — & in one or two instances he disagrees with you.'[1]

Further, detailed analysis of Dykes's hymn tunes is reserved for Chapter 6, but we will simply mention here some of the other works composed during this period: a short Morning, Communion and Evening Service in F (which was given a gushing reception in the *MT* — see p. 283); his *Burial Sentences* (p. 173); the anthem *Lay not up for yourselves*; and his anthem setting of the 23rd Psalm (p. 179).



UJESU, — UMSEBENZI WAKE

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ISIHLABELELO 23.

15, 15. REV. J. B. DYKES.

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Ngi swe - le nto - ni? Ngi ngo - wa - ke, na - ye u ngo - wa - mi.

1 UJesu Kristu u iNkos', u nguMalusi wami;
Ngi swele ntoni? Ngi ngowake, naye u ngowami.

DOMINUS REGIT ME in a Zulu hymnal
Amagama Okuhlabelela (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Boston, 1911)

(Fowler records (p.7) how the younger Dykes and Fanny, had 'arranged to go out as missionaries, taking with them a barrel organ and a box of lucifer matches, a great wonder, in those days of tinder and flint. These were to attract and astonish the natives, so that they might be more easily converted.' Whereas his ministry was eventually to be exercised solely in England, his music was to be used by missions in countries as far apart as Zululand, Japan and Jordan (in addition, of course, to America). See pp. 241 and 245.)

[1] Letter from Monk to Dykes, 12 March 1874. (App. B p. 235).

Chapter 5

From 1871 until his death in 1876

Sub-theme:

The circumstances surrounding his conflict with Bishop Baring.

'Do you know we can't quite make you out always.'[1]

'There is no denying that there are rocks ahead.'[2]

'May God's blessing be with Dr Dykes in his important struggle for true Christian liberty.[3]

'He is violent at times … [and] occasionally hears the cries of people a long distance off and declares they are plotting against him.'[4]

'The parish has lost one of the most kind, generous, and hard-working pastors that has ever presided over a flock. He was a model parish minister.'[5]

In 1871 Dykes addressed the Nottingham Church Congress (discussed in p. 310ff). Organ inaugurations continued, with the new four manual Harrison and Harrison in St Martin's Church, Scarborough being 'well displayed' by Dykes who also, when accompanying the evening service there on 20th August 1872 'successfully brought out many excellent effects.'[6] On 4th December of the same year, Dykes played for the evening service on the day the new Lewis organ was inaugurated in St Mark's Church, Sunderland[7] and again the following August, when he played at the inauguration of the three manual Harrison at Holy Trinity Church. Here, where the music for the service was largely of his composition, the 'impromptu voluntaries were given in his usual masterly style.'[8]

Aside from the sermons which, after their preaching, he published on his own initiative, his sermons were sought out for collections edited by the Rev. Edward Fowle: *The Fruit of the Spirit*;[9] *The Two Places*;[1] *The Mother of Jesus*;[2] and *The Foundation and the Building*

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1 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 30 December 1874. (App. B p. 291).

2 Letter from Ouseley to Dykes, September 1874. (App. B p. 260).

3 Letter from Stainer to Baker, 17 September 1872. (App. B p. 143).

4 Wellcome Western MS 6320.

5 Welsh, R.E and Edwards, F.G., p. 306.

6 *MT* 1 September 1872 p. 603.

7 *MT* 1 January 1873 p. 734.

8 *MT* 1 August 1873 p. 186.

9 Dykes, J.B., 'The Fruit of the Spirit' in Fowle, E (ed.) *Plain Preaching for a Year,* Vol. 2 (Skeffington: London, 1873) pp. 207–221. (App. C Part 2 p. 40.)

(Jude 20, 21).[3] These are discussed further in Chapter 8 but it may here be simply noted that these are indeed 'plain preaching', straightforward sermons for Everyman, in distinction from his more cerebral writings in *The Ecclesiastic*.

In a letter of January 1872 to his brother Dykes tells of a 14th century cross having been presented to the church by an elderly parishioner. Fowler describes it as

> a crucifix with figures of SS Mary and John…[which] was found in a portmanteau left in a coach, and was never inquired for. The late Mr Caldcleugh, of Silver Street, had possession of it for many years, and after his death, his widow, a devout communicant at St Oswald's, presented it to Dr Dykes for the church…The nimbi, and the label over the head of the central figure were supplied [by a restorer], the old work gilded and silvered, and a new staff and knop made. It has been in constant use up to the present year, and has been valued, not only for its sacred use and intrinsic beauty, but as an interesting link between the earlier and the latter days of our national Church.[4]

Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar, St Oswald's church, Durham

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1 Dykes, J.B., 'The Two Places' in Fowle, E (ed.) *Plain Preaching for a Year,* Vol. 3 (Skeffington: London, 1873) pp. 94–106. App. C Part 2 p. 50.

2 *ibid.* pp. 95–121.

3 Dykes, J.B., 'The Foundation and the Building' in Fowle, E (ed.) *Plain Preaching to Poor People Series 6* (Skeffington: London, 1875) pp. 131ff. App. C Part 2 p. 54.

4 Fowler, p. ix.

The circumstances surrounding his conflict with Bishop Baring

We have seen not only the unbridgeable chasm which divided ritualists and anti-ritualists, both nationally and in Durham, but also Dykes's determination to stand his ground and to adduce biblical and historical authority in defence of his principles, irrespective of the status of his antagonist. Already we have noticed his confident rejection of the directions of George Bland in the matter of his ordering of the affairs of St Oswald's and the more remarkable public arraignment of his Bishop in the national press over his peremptory inhibition of the Bishop of Edinburgh. It would therefore have been against his nature to have meekly accepted his Bishop's authority when he firmly believed that authority to be misdirected, even though he recognised his duty to defer to his Father in God. But before analysing the ultimately destructive conflict between the two, it would be well to consider very briefly the character of the senior protagonist in order to dismiss any suggestion that this was a fight of good against evil: this was good against good; principled against principled; godly against godly. This equivalence of virtue is not reflected in Fowler's account.

Drawing largely on the *Diocesan Calendar*[1] we learn that Charles Baring (1807–1879), a scion of the eponymous banking firm, took a double first in classics and mathematics at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1829. As incumbent from 1847 of All Saints, Langham Place, he earned a reputation as an earnest preacher of the evangelical school before being appointed in 1850 Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. After a brief sojourn in Surrey he was elevated to the See of Gloucester and Bristol in 1856 before, finally, being translated to Durham in 1861. His conflict with Dykes and other ritualists aside, he is chiefly remembered for his work of church extension in the diocese: during his seventeen-year episcopate 102 new parishes were formed, 119 churches built and 186 additional clergy provided. He concentrated almost exclusively on his diocese, rarely appearing in the House of Lords or speaking on subjects beyond his immediate diocesan concerns. He was recognised in his day as being kind and pious, 'his benignant disposition endeared him to a wide circle of friends'[2] — a judgment in which Dykes concurred:

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1 *Durham Diocesan Calendar* 1880, reproduced in Stephen, L. (ed.) *DNB*, Vol.3 (Elder Smith: London, 1885) at pp. 191–192.

2 *Northern Echo*, 17 September 1879, p. 3.

> I am anxious most emphatically to repudiate any thought or word of disrespect to your Lordship individually. I will yield to no man in sincere appreciation of your *personal* character — your honest goodness, your warm sympathy, your generous kindness, your open-handed liberality, your single-hearted and transparent sincerity of purpose, your genuine Christian simplicity, your untiring zeal in your Master's service. No, my Lord, believe me it is on no personal grounds that I have presumed to remonstrate with you; but solely on public and official grounds.[1]

Baring's simple lifestyle belied his personal wealth, and he ploughed back into the work of the diocese more than he received from it, 'his deeds of private charity and benevolence [being] as numerous as they were unobtrusive'.[2] (In only one respect does the *Calendar* overstate his virtue: it could not have been the 'stern modesty which was characteristic of him' which led him to refuse to sit for his portrait when asked to do so in 1877, with the consequence that 'no portrait of him remains', as evidenced by the portrait of him (apparently predating the 1877 request by some years) hanging in the Cathedral Library and reproduced on p. 86.

It is likely that Dykes had an early presentiment that his relations with his Bishop would not be smooth. In *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual* he reminds Baring 'The only time I ever asked your Lordship for your Blessing you declined to give it,' explaining in a footnote

> I had come to Auckland for the purpose of being admitted to my present Incumbency. I had to kneel before your Lordship in order to receive from your hands the formal Instrument committing to me this Charge and cure of souls; and I waited a moment, earnestly longing for and expecting an accompanying Blessing. I ventured at last to ask for this privilege. Your Lordship at once rose and said, "Oh no, I do not give Blessings!"[3]

Fowler records that the Parish of St Oswald's had grown significantly from the four thousand souls it numbered in 1862, largely due to its absorption of a nearby pit village. The impending departure of his curate, The Revd. William Wray (a lifelong friend since his Cambridge days), was compensated for by the news that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had agreed to defray the stipends of *two* curates and the rent for one of them. A succession of unsuitable applicants was at last followed by a more promising candidate, the Rev. George Peake, recommended by a friend, the Hon. and Rev. Francis Grey. 'Is this,' Dykes asked rhetorically in his diary for 12 June 1873, 'some token that

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1 Dykes, J.B., (1874)(b) p. 65.

2 *Durham Diocesan Calendar*, p. 192.

3 Dykes, J.B., (1874)(b) p. 66.

CURATE WANTED, for St. Oswald's Parish, Durham. Sound Churchman; musical; experienced. Stipend, £140. WANTED, also, for a colliery district in the same parish, where at present there is neither church nor school, a MISSIONARY CURATE (unmarried), active, and willing to work for Christ. Stipend, £165.—Apply, with references, &c., to the Rev. Dr. Dykes Durham.

God has heard our prayers?'[1] If it was, the answer was not delivered in the manner which Dykes had hoped: having written to the Bishop asking for Peake to be licensed, he received a startling reply. Prefacing his decision by noticing the 'open defiance lawfully constituted authority' by certain (unnamed) members of the clergy, causing 'grievous offence…to many right-minded Churchmen of the laity' he would not license Peake unless Dykes and Peake gave a solemn written undertaking that the latter would not wear coloured stoles, take part in or be present at the burning of incense or adopt the eastward position at the Eucharist except when ordering the bread.[2]

However disconcerted he might have been (and his diary suggests that he was deeply upset), his customary eloquence and restraint, together with his equally customary certainty as to where right lay, is evidenced in his reply. In a long and detailed letter which sought to challenge the Bishop's conception of what the law of the land, and of the Church of England, mandated, he said 'I have no alternative but to decline most respectfully, but firmly, to sign, or require a curate to sign, any such document whatever. The request is one which your Lordship has no right to make, and I have no right to grant.'[3] Although he was 'ready to fulfil all the antecedent conditions which the law requires, in the shape of declaration, nomination, etc.' he would go no further. 'The law does not require, and never has required, the supplementary document which your Lordship wishes to demand; and I must be pardoned if I decline to take any step which may tend to the imposition of this new yoke about the necks of the incumbents and curates of the diocese.' But it was not to the detail of the Bishop's decision — the stoles, the incense, the eastward position — that

1 Fowler, p. 172.

2 Letter from Baring to Dykes, 4 July 1873, reproduced in Fowler pp. 174–175.

3 Letter from Dykes to Baring, 5 July 1873, reproduced in Fowler p. 305.

Dykes most strongly objected but to the underlying principle that High Church clergy should be crushed.

> Your Lordship may think it wise and right — instead of adopting a liberal policy of acknowledging the fact that there are, and always have been, and always will be, more than one narrow school of thought in the Church, and allowing to all parties who are striving to work for Christ according to their several lights, generous recognition and scope within certain fair limits — to adopt the exterminating policy, which your Archdeacon thought it becoming to thank God at a public meeting you were adopting, viz., of "using every opportunity to stamp out Ritualism" (the cant expression of the day for distinctive Church teaching and practice) in your diocese. But depend upon it, my Lord, you will not succeed.[1]

If Dykes believed that the Bishop would be persuaded by his eloquence he was quickly disabused with a curt response, dated 7 July, which declined to address the issue afresh. Nothing daunted, Dykes wrote an even longer letter, full of authoritative justification of his position, assuring the Bishop that, whilst 'it is from no feeling of insubordination, or desire to withstand lawful authority'[2] that he acted as he did, nevertheless he would be acting without integrity if he acquiesced in the Bishop's *ultra vires* demands. If the Bishop continued in his refusal Dykes would 'be driven to appeal to the Archbishop's Court, or else to apply for a Mandamus to compel your Lordship to put your office in force.'[3] The Bishop's reply[4] was every more perfunctory than his last. Acting partly on the advice of friends, including Francis Grey (whose equally antagonistic relationship with the Bishop on much the same ground had come to a hostile stalemate the previous month),[5] Dykes sent all the correspondence to the *Durham County Advertiser*, which printed it on 25 July. The lid was now well and truly off Pandora's box, never again to be shut. In response to a supportive letter Dykes wrote

> I very much dislike the idea of being at war with my Bishop, & of having (as I fear will be the case) to go to law with him. But I really see no other alternative I could not bring myself to feel that it was right for me to yield to his requirements, & to contribute, by yielding, to the imposition of this new yoke on the necks of the incumbents & Curates of our Diocese & perhaps of other

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1 Fowler, p. 307.

2 Letter from Dykes to Baring, 16 July 1873, reproduced in Fowler pp. 309–320.

3 Fowler, p. 309.

4 Letter from Baring to Dykes, 19 July 1873, reproduced in Fowler p. 320.

5 Baring, Charles & Grey, F.R. *Correspondence between the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Durham and the Rev. and Hon. F.R. Grey, Rector of Morpeth* (Longhurst: London, 1873).

> Dioceses: for had the Bp of Durham firstly succeeded, other Bishops, I fear, would only have been too glad to try the same experiment.[1]

To Baker he wrote, briefly explaining the issue, and ending 'Please remember me meantime in this difficulty, in y.^{r} prayers that I may be guided by that which is *right* & accord^{g} to GOD's will — avoiding alike the Scylla of Cowardice & the Charybdis of Rebellion.'[2] Baker offered to take Peake on a temporary basis,[3] until such time as the way was cleared for his licensing at St Oswald's but, despite being offered rent free lodgings, his rail fare and an honorarium of two guineas per week, Peake could not afford to accept the berth. A little later, after Baker had sent Dykes a financial contribution towards his legal costs, Dykes observed: 'It seems a horrible shame that good money sh.^{d} have to be so thrown away, merely to fill the pockets of certain lawyers.'[4] Supportively, although perhaps optimistically, his friend J.H. Blunt (for whose *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* he had contributed an introduction) wrote 'My hearty sympathy is with you. Your plain speaking about dishonest treatment of the Bible will certainly do good.'[5]

An examination of contemporary newspapers reveals that both men had their supporters. Predictably, a meeting of the High Church English Church Union in Darlington recorded 'substantial support' to, and 'a hearty vote of sympathy with' Dykes, a subscription list was opened and £7 raised on the night.[6] In Newcastle support for Dykes was matched by measured criticism of the Bishop: 'the spirit of Christianity did not call upon [High Church people] tamely to submit to a usurpation of [their] rights, but…they were called upon to exercise the grace of charity and forbearance…'[7] Dismissing objections to coloured stoles as being an excuse for attacking the High Church, a speaker alluded to clergymen who had to manage without the help of a curate, 'among them one who stood at the fore front, and he being at issue with the Bishop on this point was suffering very great inconvenience in his parish from the want of…a curate. Being…the champion of [the doctrine of the true presence at the Eucharist] they ought at that meeting to let it go forth into the world that

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1 Letter from Dykes to the Revd. Cecil Wray, 23 September 1873. (App. B p. 204).

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 20 July 1873. (App. B p. 188).

3 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 21 August 1873. (App. B p. 199).

4 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 24 December 1873. (App. B p. 217).

5 Letter from Blunt to Dykes, 28 July 1873. (App. B p. 198).

6 *CT* 21 November 1873, p. 544.

7 *CT* 28 November 1873, p. 556.

they fully appreciated the championship of their clergy upon this point.' The meeting duly supported a motion of 'cordial sympathy' with Dykes in his current trials.

In general, however, the secular press tended firmly towards the Establishment:

> Dr Dykes' feud with his Bishop is exercising the minds of North Country Churchmen. The "influential" meeting [in] Darlington, in defence of the Doctor, which, it seems, was only attended by one or two laymen of intelligence, a few ladies, three or four youths, some clerical nondescripts, and a select detachment from Middleton-St George, has been completely thrown into the shade by the really influential meeting at Newcastle, on Tuesday. It was presided over by the Mayor of Newcastle, and attended by a dozen justices of the peace, while the Marquis of Londonderry, and about half-a-dozen other J.P.'s, sent letters betokening their approval of its object. The wealthiest and most influential Churchmen of Northumberland and Durham were represented; and when it was determined to raise a Guarantee Fund to pay the Bishop's costs, the sum of 5,150*l.* was at once promised, including six subscriptions of 500*l.* each. The sympathy which the exhibition of a little energy on the part of the Bishop in repressing Ritualism has elicited from the laity should infuse some courage into our Episcopal shepherds, who at present seem more afraid of the wolves which are ravaging their flocks than ashamed of neglecting their duty…[1]

The *Guardian* published a letter from Dykes, commenting upon the expressed view of a Low Churchman who considered the Bishop to be 'very noble' in his refusal to license ritualist curates, the Bishop's 'vigorous line' being likely 'to commend itself to all unprejudiced persons.' Yes, wrote Dykes,

> Very noble…for a Bishop [whose] diocese [is] probably the most wicked in the country, with a teeming and yearly increasing colliery population fast drifting away from the Church and from religion altogether, and needing every possible spiritual appliance, whether High or Low Church, to seek to cripple and harass the High Church clergy of his diocese by cutting off the means of grace from thousands of people, by excommunicating large masses of the population.[2]

Dykes alluded to the aforementioned 'influential meeting of laymen at Newcastle,' the dozen or so coal owners who met to consider these matters.

> And what did they do? Did they consult on how best to bring the means of grace within the reach of the vast mining population whom they themselves have gathered together, and through whom they have become rich? Did they subscribe for new churches, new schools, and the like? No, they moved a vote of thanks to the Bishop for his noble scheme of cutting off the supply of clergy

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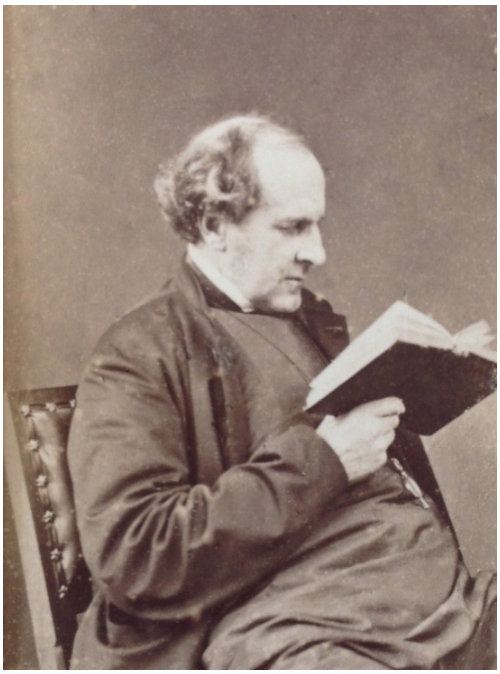
1 *Northern Echo,* 20 November 1873.

2 Reprinted in *Northern Echo* 20 March 1874, p. 3.

and the means of grace from these poor colliers, and also for his suppression of "Hyperritualism."[1]



The Ven. George Denison

He received many messages of support, including 'a long and kind letter' from the Archbishop of York[2] who counselled submission and sought to dissuade him from appealing to himself judicially. Archdeacon George Denison, on the other hand, was one of those who urged him to stand firm. In a letter of 31 May 1873 he was unambiguous in his references to this 'manifest tyranny', the 'lack of all equity and fairness' and 'the tyrannous exercise of Power'[3] And then, a few weeks later, he removed any possibility of misunderstanding:

> Extreme tyranny is best met by passive resistance…. if you were to give way one hair's breadth now, a precedent of the most disastrous kind would be established. We are embarked in a great struggle. We must be prepared to *carry it out* — suffer individually as we May. It may very possibly be, that upon the moral courage and steadfastness of the men, in this particular time, hangs the whole future character of the Church of England.[4]

More weighty (certainly more wealthy) support came from Alexander Beresford-Hope. The *DNB* relates[5] that Beresford-Hope, a conservative MP, was known as a staunch defender of the rights of the Church against the state (in 1839 he had been, with John Mason Neale, a founder of the Cambridge Camden Society). Using some of his considerable wealth, he bought St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, for the creation of a missionary college and built All Saints' Church, Margaret Street. In 1855 he first published *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, in the January 1874 edition of which appeared a strongly supportive account of the Baring *v.* Dykes case. Beresford-Hope, the ECU and the subscribers to *The Dykes Defence Fund* ensured that the crippling costs of the case would not fall to be met from his own, meagre, purse.

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 Fowler, p. 177.

3 *ibid*, p. 178.

4 *ibid,* p. 179.

5 Boase, G.C. 'Hope, Alexander James Beresford' in *DNB*, 1885–1900, Volume 27.

Fowler records that, with financial indemnities secured, Dykes sought Counsel's Opinion as to the Bishop's right to exact the pledges. (His solicitors, Messrs. Few and Co. were commendably quick off the starting blocks, having retained both the Attorney General[1] and Dr A.J. Stephens QC[2] before the Bishop could retain the latter.) Following a consultation in which the case was examined in depth, their Opinion (delivered on 3 September, 1873) as to the Bishop's claimed right to enforce the requirements set out in his letter to Dykes, and what Dykes should do to obtain the desired licence, was that (i) the Bishop has no right to enforce the requirements, and (ii) Dykes and Peake should apply to the Court of Queen's Bench for the Bishop to be compelled to show why a writ of mandamus should not be issued against him. Although the granting of such a writ is discretionary, Counsel believed that it would nevertheless be granted.

And so the case was heard on 19 January 1874 and was reported in some detail in the *Northern Echo*. Dykes's diary entry for the day sets the scene — and the judicial tone — economically: 'Small Court, full of Barristers; Judges Blackburn, Archibald, Quain. My case soon came on, but it was obvious, from the very first, that the Judges determined not to interfere.'[3] After Stephens had set out the grounds for the application, Blackburn responded with what appears a rather obtuse summary: 'A *mandamus* to a bishop to appoint a curate — is that your application?'[4] Stephens directed Blackburn's mind to the *legal* ground for the application, namely that the Bishop of Durham be directed 'to perform all matters and things required by law to be done by him,' such that Peake be licensed to the curacy. With his second interjection, Blackburn revealed his prejudice (in the precise sense of the word) with his 'impression' — generously discounted by the caveat that 'he might be wrong' — that the bishop had full discretion in the matter. Stephens pressed on, stating the crux of the issue: 'whether the Bishop of Durham could compel an incumbent or a stipendiary curate to make any subscription or declaration other than those prescribed by the 28th and 29th of the Queen, chapter 122, cited as the Clerical Subscription Act of 1865.' Having again sought (and received) clarification as to what, precisely, was being requested, Blackburn opined that Stephens needed to demonstrate that the Court had power

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1 The Liberal MP John Coleridge. In November 1873 (when he had to resign from the case) he was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and, in November 1880, Lord Chief Justice.

2 See p. 314 for criticism by Dykes of an opinion given by Stephens on the matter of intoning parts of the service.

3 Fowler, p. 189.

4 *Northern Echo* 20 January 1874 p. 3.

or control over the bishop's discretion in the matter. The paper records that, after Stephens had read Dykes's affidavits,[1] Blackburn 'entered a strong opinion that the bishop was the sole judge, and that this Court had no jurisdiction under the circumstances.' Stephens persevered in his argument, doubtless realising as he did so that the case had been lost in its first few minutes. He asserted that the provisions of the Clerical Subscriptions Act provided that the bishop had no powers to demand any such promises from the curate.

> The 12th section said that "nothing shall affect the canonical obedience to the bishop taken by curates on consecration." In this case there was no allegation or suggestion by the bishop that Dr Dykes had ever disobeyed any requirements of the Acts of Uniformity, the canons or other formularies of the Church. Although Dr Dykes had been for eleven years vicar of St Oswald's, he never received from the bishop any remonstrance, repulse, or complaint, or disapprobation whatsoever.

Again Blackburn demurred, believing that the only question was whether the Bishop, if he chooses not to do license a curate, can be compelled by the Court to do so. 'Whatever the Ecclesiastical Court may say about the coloured stoles and other things, I don't see but we can enter with that. Can we interfere, when the Bishop entertains different views from the curate, to compel him to grant a license?' Stephens reiterated his argument, that the Bishop was claiming a discretion which the law did not accord to him: by requiring of Peake a formal promise before his licensing, 'he presupposes that Mr Peake will violate his solemn declaration of assent and his canonical oath, and it is because Mr Peake will not submit to the degradation of giving a written promise that he will not violate these sacred promises that the Bishop refuses to license.' The end of the case was nigh. Blackburn told Stephens that, unless and until he could prove to the Court's satisfaction that the Bishop's role was, in effect, a rubber-stamping role devoid of discretion, 'this court is not a proper tribunal to come to.' Blackburn *thought* it had happened (but gave no authority for his whimsy) that other bishops of a High Church hue had exercised a similar discretion but in the opposite direction (i.e. refusing to licence Low Church curates). When, after being challenged so to do, Stephens could not immediately point to any legal authority which denied to a bishop any discretion under the Clerical Subscription Act (on the perfectly reasonable ground that the question had never before been tested by the courts), Blackburn noted that bishops had 'exercised a very extensive jurisdiction over curates for the last 200 years' — missing the rather obvious point that the Act upon which the case rested was less than a decade old. 'Our present impression,' he said — as if Stephens were in any doubt — 'is decidedly

[1] In his diary (Fowler p. 189) Dykes asserts that the affidavits were *not* read.

against you'. In response to Stephens' final point — that 'the object of this statute was to prevent any additional declaration or subscription', Blackburn conclusively demurred. 'Not at all. The bishop has said, rightly or wrongly, that certain practices are likely to make dissensions in his diocese, and, therefore, he won't license any curate unless he promises to give up those practices. Then the question is whether we can compel him.' And with that, the case was concluded, to be reopened only if Stephens could come forward with conclusive legal authority to support his contention that the Bishop did not possess the authority he claimed.

Dykes's diary for the day summed up his resignation. 'Well! "*Fiat voluntas Tua*." Went to Few's, who seemed much surprised at the collapse of my case. So ends my first appeal, and I hope my last, to the Court of Queen's Bench.'[1] In a letter to his son Erny he reported the outcome: 'As soon as the case was opened, I saw at once that the Judges *intended* to take this line…The line which the Judges took was, that whatever power of discretion a Bishop had, *before* the passing of the Clerical Subscription Act in 1865 — that power he still possesses.' The Judges refused to see that the Act provided the *sole* declarations that a Bishop was entitled to seek from a curate. Although Stephens had 'tried to hammer it into them…they had so plainly made up their minds *ab initio*, that there was no chance for Counsel. Although I am bound to say that Dr Stephens rather disappointed me — there seemed to me several points which he might have made; and which he failed to make.'[2] Hardly surprisingly, Dykes declared himself to be surprised, disappointed and anxious for the future.

Although this marked the end of Dykes's recourse to the law, there was no let-up in the anti-ritualist agitation in Durham. In May, in a letter thanking Baker and the Compilers for the 'handsome, and unexpected gift (£100)'[3] he wrote of the solace to be found in composition.

> On the very day [your letter] came, the Bishop was over at Durham, and the important meeting of the Laity took place to present the money of the Guarantee fund (£7,000 and more), with a most offensive address about the "Romanism" and "unfaithfulness" of *certain* of the Clergy — an address responded to in a still more offensive reply on the part of the Bishop, strongly confirming and repeating all the ignorant slander of the laity. The whole thing

1 Fowler, p. 189.

2 *ibid,* p. 190.

3 *ibid,* p. 192.

> worried me much. I was therefore so very, very thankful to have *this* [the composition of O LUMEN HILARE] to think about.[1]

So incensed was Dykes at the calumnies uttered by this delegation and, even more, by the Bishop's conduct in condoning it, that he wrote him a long letter which, upon the urgings of friends, he published as *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*.[2] (Writing to him, Ouseley said: 'I am very much pleased with your pamphlet, & greatly obliged to you for sending me a copy. Without absolutely endorsing every sentence in it, I can truly say that *in the main* it endorses my own views — & I really believe will do much good.'[3]) This very detailed apologia for the ritualist position (which, repeating and expanding as it does on points already outlined, we do not need to examine here) is reproduced in full, with annotations, in Appendix C. But in a Postscript, he inveighs against the Public Worship Bill — a Bill to enshrine various anti-ritualist restrictions into law, at that time being rushed through Parliament 'with such unseemly and panic-stricken haste'.[4] His peroration is a heartfelt encapsulation of his theology:

> And now the Church of England has to endure the degradation of seeing her Ecclesiastical Heads going pitiably to the State, and telling it that the clergy have become so rebellious and lawless that Archbishops and Bishops can control them no longer, that the Supernatural Powers committed to themselves by our Lord Jesus Christ for the government of His Mystical Body have proved altogether inadequate, that they *cannot* do the work which Almighty God has solemnly charged and *enabled* them to do, and that Cæsar must "come over and help them," or do it for them. We are called upon to see the Rulers of God's Israel consciously and impotently *surrendering* their Judicial Powers to the World.
>
> If this is not a *traitorous* act, I know not what is!
>
> The sooner our Archbishops and Bishops take home to themselves the lesson God is trying to teach them, that the Catholic Church of Christ cannot be ruled on Protestant principles, the better for themselves, their clergy, their Dioceses, and the whole country.
>
> *Da pacem, Domine!*

Dykes sent a personal copy to W.E. Gladstone (a politician whom Dykes acknowledged in his covering letter[5] to be of a different political hue to his own, but whose principled stance

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1 *ibid,* p. 193.

2 Dykes, J.B., (1874)(b).

3 Letter from Ouseley to Dykes, 'September' 1874. (App. B p. 260).

4 Dykes, J.B., (1874b) p. 94.

5 25 August 1874, BL Add. MS 44444 f.226. (App. B p. 256.)

in support of the established church Dykes admired) but although Gladstone sent a postcard acknowledging receipt,[1] his views on it are not known.[2]

No more needs to be said about the internecine strife between ritualists and anti-ritualists, nor about Dykes's feud with his Bishop, although Fowler records that he received generous support from friends, the ECU and John Newman. The final part of the chronology to which we now return is simply the narrative of his decline.

1874–1876

Superficially, parish life and his extra-curricular activities continued unabated. He was one of a panel deputed to audition for an alto vacancy in the Cathedral choir, with Philip Armes at the organ. With the four candidates all currently holding Cathedral appointments (including St Paul's and York Minster) one infers that the attraction of relocating to remotest Durham was probably pecuniary. And it would be unusual today for the Organist to be banished to the console and thus effectively precluded from the selection process when the Vicar of a local church (albeit one who had been Precentor a dozen years previously) was given a say. In the same year he was consulted in the matter of the new Willis organ in the Cathedral.[3]

In July he received a letter from John McKinlay, an American whom Dykes and his wife had previously met in a social context. Speaking of the immense musical possibilities (coupled with an 'outrageously extravagant' purse to exploit them) in New York City, McKinlay tells Dykes that 'Dr Stainer is the man I want to see in N.Y. — just him.'[4] McKinlay also alludes, sympathetically, to the harsh criticism of his *The Lord is my Shepherd* in the *MT*: 'when our position demands of us once…that we *must* throw stones, it is far better to wrap a bit of cotton about them & toss them gently than to hurl them with terrific force. It must be a mournful subject for thought… that if one is a vicar, one must write nothing but sermons!'

Of course, work on the 1875 edition of *A&M* was well advanced, and the clash with Chope was causing him much anxiety. An excursion to the Lake District, and visits to Baker at

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1 Fowler, p. 201.

2 In a touching coincidence, Dykes's GERONTIUS was sung at Gladstone's funeral in Westminster Abbey.

3 Lancelot, J., and Hird, R., *Durham Cathedral: The Father Willis Organ of 1876/7*.

4 Letter from John McKinlay to Dykes, 23 July 1874. (App. B p. 249). See also Dykes's response to the criticism in App. C Part 2 p. 205.

Monkland provided some relaxation although his diary records that work and pleasure were invariably commingled. But it would seem, from his diaries and — significantly — Fowler's interpretation of them that the weight of managing a large and growing parish without assistance and the anguish of his clash with the Bishop, combined with a never-strong constitution, were taking a heavy toll. 'His wearied, anxious mind was needing rest,' he wrote, 'and from this time his work gradually became too great a strain upon his strength.'[1] And a little later, 'Throughout the early part of 1875 may be traced the gradual failing of Dr Dykes's health, and the sad reality is revealed that his work and grave anxieties were rapidly undermining his strength.'[2] Fowler reproduces entries from his diary towards the end of 1874 which reveal the inexorable decline: 'Tried to think of sermon; got perplexed and bewildered.' 'Again utterly upset.' 'Disconcerted. Feel all unhinged to-day, nervous and incapable.' 'Awake from before 4 o'clock, feeling fagged and restless. Could get nothing done.' 'Could do nothing; quite disheartened.' 'Awake since four. Tired! Tried to do a bit of sermon — could not.' 'My health is breaking down. I have had very little unhappiness in my life; now it has come upon me.' 'Tried to write a sermon, could do nothing. Tried to pray, could not.' 'Slept only from 12 to 1. The most miserable night I have ever passed.' 'Never had such difficulty in my life in speaking. Could not articulate.' And he concludes a letter to Chope 'I must apologise if I have not made my reply quite clear: but I am far from well & am writing with great difficulty'.[3] His friend Ouseley wrote to him:

> I only heard the day before yesterday of your illness, & projected tour abroad — & I cannot let a day pass without writing a few lines of sympathy — Whenever you have nothing better to do, it will be a gratification to me if you will write & tell me all about yourself. If a visit here would be of use to you, I know you will not wait to be invited. Ever most sin.^{ly} and aff.^{tly} yours.[4]

After March 1875 he never again preached in St Oswald's: 'The struggle had been too much for him...[Besides his altercation with the Bishop] the pressing needs of his parish weighed heavily on his mind.'[5] On his doctor's advice he went abroad, first to Paris, then Switzerland where 'it was hoped that the perfect rest and beautiful air and scenery would restore the wasted, wearied frame; for Dr Dykes seemed stricken with a general

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1 Fowler, p. 212.

2 *ibid.* pp. 215–216.

3 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 20 Feb 1875. (App. B p. 301).

4 Letter from Ouseley to Dykes, 19 April 1875. (App. B p. 310).

5 Fowler, p. 219.

atrophy. However, he became much worse, was entirely confined to bed, and for some time had to be fed every hour.'[1] He returned to England as soon as he was well enough to travel, going first to Wharfedale to stay with friends, and subsequently to St Leonard's. And then, on 29th January, he died. Not in St Leonard's but in the tiny village of Ticehurst, although Fowler does not mention this particular detail — and, I think, for a reason which he studiously avoids and which, as a consequence, suggests an ending to Dykes's life which is sufficiently inaccurate as to be disingenuous.

Ticehurst today retains the tranquillity it doubtless enjoyed in 1875. It also retains the mental hospital to which Dykes was admitted in December of that year. The Admissions Register of this private establishment[2] records, under the heading 'Bodily Condition', that 'His health is very feeble and excessively emaciated, his weight being only 6 stone 5 lbs, when in health he was 9 stone 2 lbs'. Under the heading 'Form of Mental Disorder' it records that 'He is suffering from acute mania and delusions.'[3] The entry also indicates that he has been suffering from these symptoms for the past eight months. A Medical Certificate recommending his admission to the hospital, completed by Dr Robert Wilson,[4] confirmed that Dykes was 'a person of unsound mind', with a 'gloomy downcast look', showing signs of 'extreme emaciation', from whom he had 'difficulty in getting replies to questions put' and who displayed 'great horror of food taking which he says aggravates his [unspecified] pain'. Dr Wilson further noted that Dykes assured his attendant that 'he is constituted differently to the rest of mankind, & can exist say for 1 month of even 1 year without [food]'. More distressing still, he 'is violent at times when the food is presented, occasionally hears the cries of people a long distance off and declares they are plotting against him.' This violence was confirmed by his own wife. A second Medical Certificate completed by Dr Charles Adey, confirmed the reluctance to eat and the violent tendencies which made restraint necessary. The hospital's Order for the Reception of a Private Patient attributed all these symptoms to 'overwork'.

But can overwork, *tout court*, cause this late onset psychosis, the violent tendencies and the pains associated with eating? It is certainly a dignified and reputation-preserving

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1 Fowler, p. 221.

2 Described by one historian in terms which relieve it of most of the dark and forbidding connotations usually associated with the Victorian 'mad house'. Wise, Sarah *Inconvenient People* (Bodley Head: London, 2012).

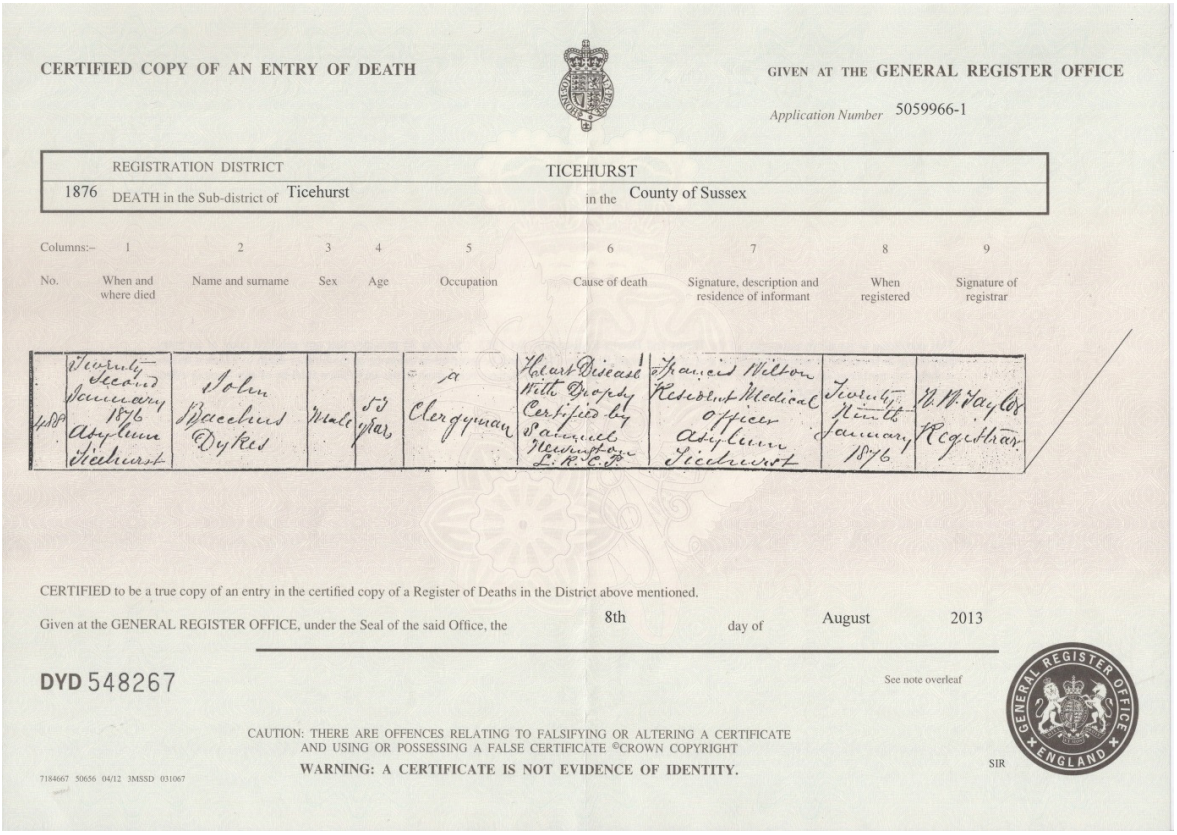
3 Wellcome Western MS 6286.

4 Wellcome Western MS 6320.

explanation, but not an entirely convincing one. In the absence of further detailed medical records the truth of the matter cannot be known. But certain alternative explanations have their own statistical probability, even if some may recoil at the thought of them.

Functional paranoid schizophrenia most commonly appears in adolescence or early adulthood. Dykes being about 50 at the onset of his symptoms it would therefore be more likely that these were due to some organic cause. With nothing to go on apart from these slender pieces of evidence, a discussion of possible diagnoses with and amongst twenty-first century physicians and psychiatrists put forward neurosyphilis as the front runner. Even if *the Reverend* J B Dykes had lived a life of unimpeachable moral rectitude, every admiral was once a midshipman and every priest an undergraduate. The symptoms of primary and secondary syphilis, if left untreated, disappear within about a year and the sufferer is no longer infectious after between two and four years. So by the time Dykes married in 1850, the kings' evil — if he had ever contracted it — would have assumed the status of a bad dream, which was at least good news for Susannah and the eight children with whom they were eventually blessed. But tertiary syphilis — the Great Pretender — could resurface many years later, with common manifestations including fatigue, insomnia, depression, personality changes, antisocial behaviour and paranoia. So both the timing and the symptoms are consistent with such a diagnosis. Absent the relevant medical records, the only possible justification for *ruling out* neurosyphilis in an age where the disease was killing more British soldiers than the enemy is an unwillingness to consider anything so morally distasteful attaching to a near-saint of the Victorian English church. But possibility is no certainty and, fortunately for those who are unable to bring themselves to contemplate a priest harbouring a sexually transmitted infection, there are others. Slightly less damaging to his reputation would be alcoholic hallucinosis. Or conceivably addiction to laudanum. But Fowler gives no clue that Dykes succumbed to either vice. And surely his wife, from whom he would have been unable to keep these demons secret, would have mentioned the fact to the doctors responsible for his admission to Ticehurst, whereas the contraction of syphilis some three decades previously might well have remained Dykes's guilty secret through twenty-five years of marriage. Dementia, secondary cerebral lesions and lead poisoning are among the many possibilities which would exculpate Dykes from moral taint, although one would imagine that these possibilities would have suggested themselves to the doctors, prompting a tentative note in the records. (The doctors are likewise silent on the possibility of typhoid, as claimed by a Mr James Hall in information

provided to a journal,[1] so we may safely discount that particular speculation.) On the other hand, regard for the sensibilities of Mrs Dykes might have induced them to leave unsaid an unsavoury possibility, the fatal consequences of which could not long be delayed. No conclusive proof of the underlying cause of Dykes's final illness is known to have survived. The hospital's Death Register, confirmed by the Death Certificate, gives as the cause of death 'Disease of the heart [note no mention of the liver] and dropsy'.[2] This does not help. Certainly, dropsy (or oedema, as we now call it — the abnormal accumulation of fluids in parts of the body) can result from alcoholic liver failure, which we have not entirely ruled out, malnutrition, which he certainly had, or heart failure — which itself can be caused by syphilis. But the heart failure could also be attributable, at least in part, to the legacy of the scarlet fever he suffered at the age of seventeen, although heart disease *per se* does not provide an answer to the paranoia and behavioural changes already noted. We may never know the truth, and perhaps we do not need to know.



CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF DEATH

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number 5059966-1

REGISTRATION DISTRICT TICEHURST

1876 DEATH in the Sub-district of Ticehurst in the County of Sussex

Columns:– 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No. When and where died	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Occupation	Cause of death	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar
1188 Twenty Second January 1876 Asylum Ticehurst	John Wasdins Dykes	Male	53 years	A Clergyman	Heart Disease With Dropsy Certified by Samuel Mumpton L.R.C.P.	Francis Wilton Resident Medical Officer Asylum Ticehurst	Twenty Ninth January 1876	W. W. Taylor Registrar

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Deaths in the District above mentioned.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the 8th day of August 2013

DYD 548267

See note overleaf

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GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE ENGLAND

SIR

Dykes's Death Certificate

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1 *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter*, 15 February 1876, p. 53.

2 Wellcome Western MS 6317.

The local press reported his funeral in detail. The body having arrived 'from St Leonard's'[1] (already the fiction was taking hold), it lay overnight in the vicarage. Early the following day it was carried into the Church and placed in the middle of the chancel, having been met at the door by the officiating clergy, who included Fowler and the Rev. W.M. Wray. The pall-bearers included his friends Francis Grey and Edward Greatorex. After the Communion Service attended by a capacity congregation, the burial service began, with Wray officiating and Fowler reading the lesson. 'Every part of the sacred building was now filled, and many could not obtain seating accommodation, while many of those present wept freely during the whole time the service was being performed.'[2] Unsurprisingly, the service was fully choral and musically eclectic, 'the surpliced choristers numbering about thirty',[3] with Thomas Collinson playing the organ. The opening hymn was *The King of love my Shepherd is* to DOMINUS REGIT ME, the sentences were sung to harmonised Gregorian chant,[4] with Psalm 51 'to the Chant of the Spanish Jews'[5] sung on the solemn procession to the grave in the new churchyard, to a plot which had been occupied for the last five years by his 'darling Mab'. 'A considerable multitude assembled in and around the graveyard to see the mortal remains of the late doctor lowered into the grave',[6] this multitude including many clergy from the district, of all denominations. At the grave they sang *O heavenly Jerusalem* to ST ALPHEGE, and ended the service with *Jesus lives*, to Dykes's tune LINDISFARNE. The paper reported that, during the service 'the blinds in most of the dwelling houses in the neighbourhood of the church remained undrawn as a mark of respect to their departed pastor.' On the following Sunday morning the

Dykes's (and 'darling Mab's) grave

1 *Newcastle Courant* 4 February 1876.

2 *loc. cit.*

3 *York Herald* 31 January 1876 p. 6.

4 *Musical Standard*, 5 February 1876.

5 *ibid*, p. 82. See App. C Part 2 p. 71 fn.

6 *loc. cit.*

anthem in the Cathedral *Blest are the departed* (Spohr), with, as an introit, *Thou knowest, Lord* (Purcell); in the afternoon the choir sang *When the ear heard him* (Handel).

Obituaries are not typically the repositories of candid assessments — *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* — but when the picture they paint is more or less consistent they can be instructive. One locally published obituary recorded, 'The parish has lost one of the most kind, generous, and hard-working pastors that has ever presided over a flock. He was a model parish minister.'[1] Given that ecclesiastical publications must have been notified of hundreds of clerical deaths a year it would have invited ridicule had they unwaveringly beatified every one of the departed. The obit in *The Literary Churchman* may therefore be accepted as painting a broadly credible picture, even if there are facts about his early family life contained within it which can only have emanated from a family member, probably Fanny. The assessment of his personal character will come as no surprise. 'Wherever he was known, he was alike beloved and reverenced…Lovingness, devoutness, unselfishness, single-minded devotion to duty, and an utter unworldliness were stamped upon his character so deeply.'[2] His appointment to the precentorship 'gave him opportunity of gaining an influence over the members of the Cathedral choir, both boys and men, and this influence he exerted to their mutual good, so that the precentorship in his hands was not a merely musical or professional office.' Collinson's picture of his somewhat distracted personality is reinforced in this account. 'Dykes was unworldly in the sense of living above the world, and that view of the unseen side of this world's present history which is opened out by the Apocalypse was naturally congenial to him.' But 'he was not a mystic, but a practical Christian man…with a touch of the ascetic temper too.'

Already the circumstances surrounding his final days were being gently finessed. 'For a while he struggled on, curateless and single-handed, in that great parish. But the effort was too much. Health gave way under the combined pressure of work and of anxiety.' Then came the account of his European health break which followed precisely the line taken by Fanny in her 1896 *Memories* and in Fowler's 1897 *Life* — Switzerland, Wharfedale, St Leonard's 'where the doctors still had hope that rest and time would restore him. Alas ! it was not to be. He grew weaker and weaker, and sank away, quite suddenly at the last, though not so suddenly but that the commendatory prayer was being said, the while, by the voice which he loved best.'

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1 Cited in Welsh, R.E. and Edwards, F.G, p. 306.

2 Anon 'In Memoriam J.B. Dykes' reprint from *The Literary Churchman* (Skeffington: London, 1876).

The report in the *Northern Echo*[1] almost certainly lacked Fanny's input, if one notes the many factual errors, two of them neatly providing the bookends to his life — his birth 'in Wakefield' and his death 'in Hastings'. But if there was no familial provision of biographical facts we may assume there was no airbrushing of personal shortcomings, which are slightly tempered in this account. Although 'the city of Durham was yesterday painfully affected' at the news of his death, this successor to the evangelical Edward Sneyd 'soon showed his High Church leanings by introducing practices of an *extremely* [my italics] Ritualistic character.' This extreme ritualism 'naturally excited considerable opposition, and the Vicar…came into open rupture with the head of the diocese...The litigation and controversy which ensued are fresh in the minds of all, and can now be regarded only with pain and regret.' After noting that he numbered amongst his friends people of different personal creeds, the account describes him as 'more argumentative than eloquent,' with his 'talents [showing] better in written controversy than in pulpit discourse.' Turning inevitably to his musical legacy, in the judgment of the obituarist 'As a composer of hymn tunes [he] had no living rival,' and then, perceptively, 'His controversial works have during his lifetime tended somewhat to prejudice the reputation of his musical compositions, although the latter will be remembered and enjoyed long after his theological writings and doings have passed into oblivion.'

If distance lends enchantment to the view it also offers the opportunity for more measured assessment: and if this remains consistent with earlier, eulogistic, accounts these are given extra weight. And so it is that, two and a half years after his death, Dykes was still remembered with affection and regard. 'His unceasing labours in the parish of St Oswald's are lovingly remembered by his parishioners, and many are the nameless acts of kindness which his death has brought to light.'[2] Noting his work to raise the tone of the services in St Oswald's and his 'zealous labours' in the Cathedral 'no man could better appreciate [the] religious power and beauty [of the services], and no man regarded his office in a more religious light and laboured more personally to make those who attended and who assisted in them feel that to sing the praise and glory of God is an essential function and part of God's worship.' Comments about his writing for the organ and his performance on the instrument bear out what many others had said:

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1 *Northern Echo* 25 January 1876 p. 3.

2 *Newcastle Courant* 4 October 1878 p. 6.

> He is excelled by no modern composer in the judicious use of the organ in his various compositions…[which] is chiefly traceable to his great skill as an accompanist. Those who have heard him play…will bear out our testimony to his pre-eminent abilities…The marvellous powers of extempore performance he exhibited in his boyhood unmistakeably expanded as his years advanced. Never will be forgotten his introduction to the anthem, his voluntary after the psalm, and perhaps above all his short extempore pieces played whilst the people were being communicated, — perfect as regards form, often a golden melody floating in the richest sea of harmony; and frequently subject to the clearest thematic treatment.[1]

Personal tributes came by letter to the family and the press, sometimes in poetic form:

> O gentle spirit! hast thou found thy rest
> Beyond the oppressor's voice,
> Beyond the strife of tongues, where all the blest
> Eternally rejoice?[2]

Perhaps the most unarguable evidence of the high esteem in which he was held is evidenced by the public reaction to the impecunious state in which his wife and family had been left. The 'Dykes Memorial Fund' was established, with the Committee, chaired by the Dean, numbering amongst its members George Bland, Archdeacon of Durham, (the very person whom he had so forcefully put down in the Vestry Minute Book a decade earlier) and his friend and successor as Precentor, Edward Greatorex. Philip Armes and Dykes's biographer J.T. Fowler were two of the Secretaries.[3] Once again, the publicity accompanying the launch of the fund was lavish in its encomiums (it would have been manifestly self-defeating to have provided a warts-and-all assessment) but, had the tribute not been honest, would these Durham luminaries have gone to all this trouble: would they not simply have left his memory, had it been unremarkable, to die with him?

Noting that his fragile health having precluded any life insurance and claims on his modest means having been so great, the Committee revealed that his widow was left with an annual income of only £40. The committee therefore solicited contributions, both for the family's support and for the placing of a simple stone above his grave. The Committee's assessment of Dykes's character matches the others quoted: '[We] need hardly say how much Dr Dykes was respected and beloved by all who knew him, and especially by those who, whether as parishioners or as friends, were in a position to estimate justly the

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 CFH 'In Memoriam' in *CT*, 25 February 1876 p. 88. Claudia F. Hernaman, editor of *The Child's Book of Praise,* included the poem at the beginning of the 1876 reissue of that work.

3 *MT* 1 March 1876 p. 1.

devotion of his life, and the gentleness and beauty of his character.' Of course, it was by his hymn tunes that he was most widely known and most highly acclaimed. 'Indeed,' they claimed, in the closest they came to hyperbole, (and after wrongly assigning to him the office of joint editor of *A&M*) 'it may be said, without injustice to other composers, that it is to his original mode of treating hymnody that the present wonderful revival of congregational singing is greatly due.'

It is unreasonable to believe otherwise than that Bishop Baring's own 'handsome subscription' to the fund was inspired by the genuine Christian charity for which he was known and not in any degree by a sense of guilt for precipitating the demise (so some might have believed) of his erstwhile co-litigant. The subscription list for the appeal (which was boosted by a donation of £13.18s 4d, the proceeds of a concert in New Zealand[1]) was closed when it reached £10,250 although a further £300 was received from Australia thereafter.[2] The Proprietors of *A&M* also made a payment to Dykes's widow of £200, although this was probably made direct, rather than as a response to the appeal.[3]

Summation

The paucity of information in Fowler of an intimate character, if we discount Fanny's attributions of saintliness, leaves us with an incomplete picture of the man, of the many facets which combine to make the character: his mien, his temper, his patience (or lack of it), his sense of humour in the years after his coming down from Cambridge, his world view (beyond the fact that he was a Tory), his taste in arts other than music, his view of sport. His friend, Edward Greatorex, referred to 'his cheerful and kindly manner, [leading to his being] valued, not only for his social and musical qualities, but for the depth and earnestness of religious character which pervaded his life.'[4] Physically, aside from his own comments on his frail constitution, we learn that 'he had long fingers and a big hand (and very long legs, his stride was tremendous).'[5] Did he smoke or drink? (Apparently, he used snuff.[6]) What was he like in company? We know that he recoiled at the prospect of

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1 *MT* 1 October 1876 p. 630.

2 *MT* 1 February 1900 p. 85.

3 Lowther Clarke, W.K. 'Financial Notes [Compiled from the Minute Books]', Hymns Ancient & Modern, 1938 p. 2. The same document reveals that payments were also made, *inter alia,* to the families of Baker and Monk.

4 Fowler, p. 76.

5 Kaye, C.B., quoted in Jones, F.A. (1896), p. 650.

6 *loc. cit.*

public speaking — a rather limiting handicap for a preacher — but did he open up when in the company of friends? The picture painted by Roe is of a stern and moralistic Victorian cleric, even if 'the overwhelmingly sober impression given by his sermons and other writings' (one person who knew him well observed that 'As a preacher Dr Dykes was classical in style, and I never knew him to introduce an anecdote or illustration'[1]) is belied by the 'unmistakeable twinkle in the eye'[2] of the most commonly reproduced photograph of the man (p. 86 *supra*). There must, surely, have been something in his nature above and beyond his integrity and moral virtue to inspire the genuine affection of Baker, Ouseley and his wider flock at St Oswald's. We have already seen in Chapter 2 evidence of his playful antics in Wakefield; in Chapter 3, an example of his after-dinner badinage; and throughout his serious writings glimpses of wit which evidently he could not contain. Those who knew him spoke repeatedly of his agreeable company, a compliment which would surely have been withheld from a pietistic curmudgeon. On the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth, 'one who knew him' wrote

> He was a man of outstanding character [who] seemed to tower in goodness above his fellows. There was not one particle of pretence or much seeming about him. He rang sound metal right through. You could not conceive him doing anything merely for effect….Stern and severe towards himself, to others he was a large-hearted, generous-minded man, full of boundless sympathy. This gave him a wonderful grace and charm of manner, and, coupled as it was with a quiet sense of humour, made him a most attractive personality. He had his faults, like other men. Procrastination, over-sensitiveness, a foolish shrinking from anything like speech-making marred him, whilst a want of grit in trying to overcome his difficulties…caused him acute suffering to the end.[3]

But we may leave the last words to two musicians of unquestionable competence who knew Dykes very well. Durham Cathedral organist Philip Armes, speaking a quarter of a century after his death, referred to 'a valued friend, an excellent critic, and a beautiful player.'[4] Armes's Deputy and Dykes's sometime organist Thomas Collinson wrote:

> As a deputy-organist during the Doctor's last illness, and afterwards organist at St Oswald's, I had opportunity to learn something of his spirituality of temperament from his devoted parishioners, to whom he was a fatherly counsellor and sweet friend; and there were in certain manuscript books of the organ traces of his painstaking care in the ordering of the simple music, and

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 Roe and Hutchings, p. 2.

3 *CT* 9 March 1923 (Cutting, Pratt Green MS 22/7)

4 *MT*, 1 February 1900 p. 85.

also of his tentative and progressive settings of well-known hymns such as "Sun of my soul." The solemn obsequies of Dykes occupy a sacred niche in my memory — the humble parish choir, with myself at the organ, doing our best with simple hymn and psalm to voice the grief of a city.[1]

Dykes memorial window
with angels carrying the first two lines of HARK, THE SOUND OF ANGEL VOICES
Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar, St Oswald's church, Durham

[1] *MT*, 1 April 1908 p. 226.

Part Two

Chapter 6

Taxonomy and critique of Dykes's Music

'I really think there should be a heavy fine imposed upon the Editor of every new Hymnal for the next six years. Our hymn-books, public and private, may now be counted by hundreds; and, nearly every week, some new supplement, or appendix, or complete hymnal is projected.'[1]

There exists no definitive catalogue of Dykes's music — he has no Schneider or Köchel — but we need a basic taxonomy and a sufficient musical analysis to allow a general description and evaluation of his output. To the greatest extent possible, this chapter addresses that need, with a focus on his major anthems and hymn-tunes.

It might be imagined that his hymn-tunes have already been catalogued in the 1902 Novello edition but the Preface to that collection reveals two facts which diminish its value. First, some tunes were rejected on the advice of Stainer, the consulting editor; second, John Dykes Junior and others 'made a few necessary corrections and alterations'.[2] No list is given of the missing tunes (which include all his harmonisations and arrangements), nor is any explanation provided for their rejection. Worse, the alterations are effected covertly. So the 1902 edition is at best a selection of Dykes's hymn-tunes, as surreptitiously altered by invisible hands. The discreet changes are all the more pernicious when they are made to tunes which existed only in manuscript: whereas those who, justifiably suspicious, might wish to validate the reproduction in the 1902 edition of previously published tunes can consult the original hymnal, we have no means of authenticating previously unpublished tunes until the manuscripts come to light. The problem is exemplified in THE STRIFE IS O'ER. In the original,[3] the first line begins with an anacrusis and has a lilt: 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅝. The 1902 version omits the anacrusis and replaces the first semibreve with two minims. Whereas this is arguably a stronger opening (mirroring that of the all-conquering VICTORY by Palestrina/Monk), it is not *Dykes's* opening — but who would know who had not access to the original? The Preface also wrongly asserts that the tunes have been set 'to the words to which they were originally

1 Dykes, J.B., (1871) p. 379.

2 Dykes, E.O.. p. viii.

3 British Library MS Mus. 86.

written'. Sometimes they are, sometimes they are not.[1] And what other aberrations lurk within the book's covers?

A copy of the 1902 edition[2] contains many pasted-in letters and manuscript annotations by E.O. Dykes and others which hold clues about some of the changes — for example, the re-writing of the first line of ST LAWRENCE, on the grounds that the original mirrors TALLIS' ORDINAL. There is another significant shortcoming. Some tunes were revised by the composer himself — for example LUX BENIGNA (confusingly, first published as ST OSWALD), ST OSWALD (first published as ST BERNARD), CALM (a.k.a. ILKLEY), VOX DILECTI — but which versions are chosen and which of their several names are they given? In both respects the selections appear to be arbitrary. The second thoughts explicit in Dykes's own revisions are illuminative, but only when they are available for comparison.

It would be bold to claim that Appendix A represents a complete edition: we cannot include those tunes of whose existence we are unaware, nor those which we know once to have existed but which have disappeared (a category which, unfortunately, includes tunes which we know he composed to Swahili texts). Still less can it claim to be an *Urtext* edition. But it marks the most complete collection, and the first bringing together of his hymn-tune arrangements.

Each tune reproduced in Appendix A is shown as it appeared on first publication (except IN MEMORIAM MHD, THE STRIFE IS O'ER, the Burial Service and the anthem *O God, forasmuch as without thee*, which are reproduced from original manuscripts), with its original name and with the words to which it was originally set. When one or more revisions of the tune appeared during Dykes's lifetime — and therefore bearing his presumed imprimatur — the revisions are also provided. Although Dykes had been dead for 28 years when the notorious 1904 edition of *A&M* was published, the harmonic emasculation of STRENGTH AND STAY; the 'simplification' of the Mendelssohnian harmonies borrowed for PAX DEI; the pointless tinkering with ESCA VIATORUM, ETIAM ET MIHI, HORBURY, MELITA, LITANY FOR CHILDREN (including the gratuitously introduced parallel 5th in bar 3) and THANKSGIVING; the 'correction' of perceived errors in DOMINUS REGIT ME; and (in an example of harmonic cleansing 'to avoid… monotony'[3]) ST BERNARD, are reproduced as warnings to history of

[1] For example, words are given for DUX CŒLESTIS which were not written until after Dykes's death.

[2] Pratt Green MS 17.

[3] Anon (ed.) *Hymns Ancient and Modern &c. Historical Edition* (Clowes: London, 1909), p. 430.

what happens when editors, seeking to protect modern-day worshippers from the poor taste of their forefathers, commit the musical equivalent of de-grinning *Mona Lisa*. (As one contemporary cynic surmised, 'it is only to be accounted for on the supposition that the musical editors desire to make some show for the fees paid to them.'[1])

≥ 305	**Original hymn-tunes** including Graces, Litanies and Reproaches, but excluding an unknown number of untraced tunes for Swahili hymns. Of the 305, seven have been identified by name or first line but are currently lost.
≥ 25	**Hymn-tune harmonisations/arrangements** (probably an underestimation as they often appeared without attribution)
6	**Single chants**
1	**Communion Service in F** i. *Kyrie I* ii. *Kyrie II* iii. *Credo* iv. *Sursum corda* v. *Sanctus* vi. *Gloria*
1	**Morning Service in F** i. *Te Deum* ii. *Benedictus*
1	**Evening Service in F** i. *Magnificat* ii. *Nunc Dimittis*
1	**Service in Eb**
1	**Burial Service** for SAATBB
2	**Major anthems**: i. *These are they which came out of great tribulation* (SATTB and organ) ii. *The Lord is my shepherd* (SATTB and organ)
8	**Shorter choral anthems**: i. *Alleluia* ii *At the Name of Jesus* iii. *Blessing and honour* iv. *Come, Holy Ghost* v. *Lay not up for yourselves* vi. *O God, forasmuch as without Thee* vii. *The Merciful and Gracious Lord* viii. *The Spirit and the Bride*
2	**Congregational anthems**: i. *Unto Him that loved us* ii. *I am the way*
1	**Trio for Piano, Violin and Cello**
	Waltzes
1	**Organ solo**: *Andante Sostenuto*
	Songs: *i. Arietta* *ii. As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean* *iii. Come, schoolmates, let us jovial be* *iv. Christmas, happy Christmas* v. Humorous songs from Cambridge (unknown number) vi. *Too Late* *vii. To the winds with thy care and trouble!*
Improbable attributions	
The *Musical Standard* 19 October 1889 refers to a choral festival in which 'The Lord is my Strength' (by Dykes) was sung. In the absence of any other reference to such an anthem, this is probably a mis-reporting of 'The Lord is my Shepherd'.	

Table 1: Dykes's known compositions

[1] *Musical Opinion*, 28 February 1905 p. 339.

The 'Dykes style'

Pace Kenneth Long (see pp. 298ff), there is no 'Dykes style'. Or, rather, there is no single, definitive, Dykes style: who, never before having heard them, would imagine that ST GODRIC, EXSPECTO and CHRISTMAS SONG are emanations of the same pen? This being so, those who deride Dykes with a few all-embracing characterisations expose themselves to the accusation, either that their knowledge is restricted to a small and unrepresentative sample of his tunes or that they have deliberately ignored tunes the character of which does not support their prejudice. It is noteworthy, too, that the preponderance of criticism has centred around the chromaticism which is supposed to characterise his tunes and the sentimental character which necessarily ensues. And yet, far from being over-chromatic the overwhelming majority are, as we shall shortly see, either wholly diatonic, or predominantly diatonic but with occasional chromatic moments. Moreover, what in Beethoven, Brahms or Mussorgsky was recognised as the mark of genius — a pedal bass or multiple repetitions of a note — is, to some, proof of Dykes's amateurishness. Yet one has to hunt for them, so rarely does Dykes use the devices which are adduced as evidence of his ineptitude or poor taste. As for the question of sentimentality, this is dealt with at length in Chapter 9.

Laying aside subjective judgment, there is more to hymn-tune analysis than a simple chromatic/diatonic categorisation. What is more, concentrating on Dykes's supposed *but relatively rare* chromaticism to the virtual exclusion of all else — as most commentators have done — can obscure other important factors. Each tune displays an amalgamation of melodic, harmonic, metrical and rhythmic characteristics, including the choice of key (with performers adding such variables as loudness and tempo) which determine its overall character. As will become apparent, certain of these characteristics exerted a gravitational pull on Dykes which, whilst not summing to a style, sometimes amount to a tell-tale identifier, just as a carved mouse suggests Robert Thompson or chiaroscuro hints at Caravaggio. Examining the entirety of Dykes's output, some devices tend towards the idiosyncratic, with certain mannerisms also manifesting themselves. But first it should be acknowledged that, whereas we can analyse Dykes's output in terms of various parameters, such analyses become revealing only when they are compared with those of one or more other composers, or indeed the set of 'the average composer': is he typical or atypical? Within the limits imposed by the wider scope of this study I have chosen his Tractarian-sympathetic fellow-traveller Joseph Barnby (and in particular the 1897 edition of his 246 hymn-tunes) as the single-composer comparator. More broadly based and skilled a

Joseph Barnby
(Oil on canvas)
J.W. Knowles
York Museums Trust

musician, Barnby suffered much the same fate as Dykes at the hands of later critics: his compositions 'were singled out…as particularly deplorable examples of Victorian Sentimentality, and are now virtually obsolete.'[1]. The 1875 edition of *A&M* serves as a proxy for the set 'the average composer'. Putting to one side the laboured issue of chromaticism, we will look first at two other identifiable elements in hymn-tunes generally — (i) rhythm; and (ii) the choice between major and minor key — and consider whether either of these parameters reveal anything about Dykes's output.

Hughes and Lowis, taking as a given the proposition that music can inspire powerful emotions and mystical experiences, not least when they occur in religious settings, selected these two variables for consideration. In particular, they sought to discover if the emotional impact on congregations was affected by whether the hymn-tune was (a) in a major or minor key; and (b) whether the rhythm was triple or quadruple.[2] Their study was informed by earlier work, *inter alia* that of Greenbank,[3] whose research suggested that quadruple-time rhythms (being synchronous with neural rhythms) were easier to recall than triple-time rhythms, and Hevner[4] who noted that flowing, triple, rhythms were most frequently perceived as joyous, gay and yearning, whereas quadruple rhythm tended to be perceived as lofty, dignified and vigorous. Hughes's and Lowis's experiments led them to conclude that triple time tunes were more likely to trigger emotional responses than quadruple but major/minor differentiation, whilst measurable, was not statistically significant.

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1 Temperley, N. 'Barnby, Sir Joseph' in Sadie, S., (ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Vol.2 (Macmillan: London 1980, reprinted with minor corrections 1995), p. 166.

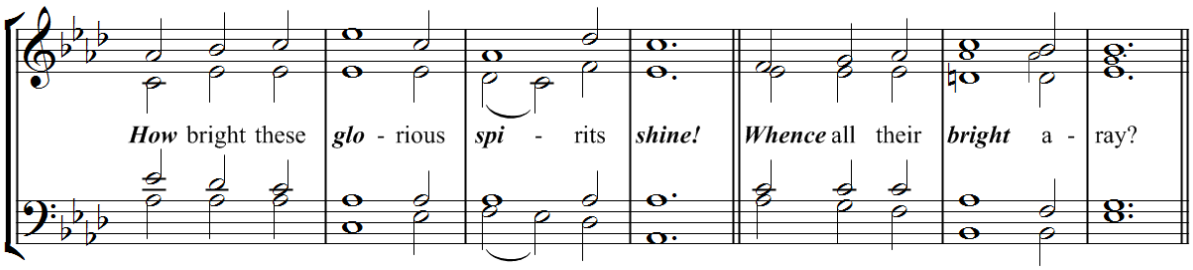
2 Hughes, A. G. & Lowis, M. J. (2002). 'The role of rhythm and mode in emotional responses to hymn tunes' in *The Mankind Quarterly, 42*(4): 441–454. Given that a notionally quadruple rhythm can, at the performers' discretion, be treated as if it were duple, we may reasonably treat them as synonymous.

3 Greenbank, C. S. (2000). *The effect of rhythm on memory for shapes and memory for words*. Unpublished dissertation, University College Northampton, Northampton, UK.

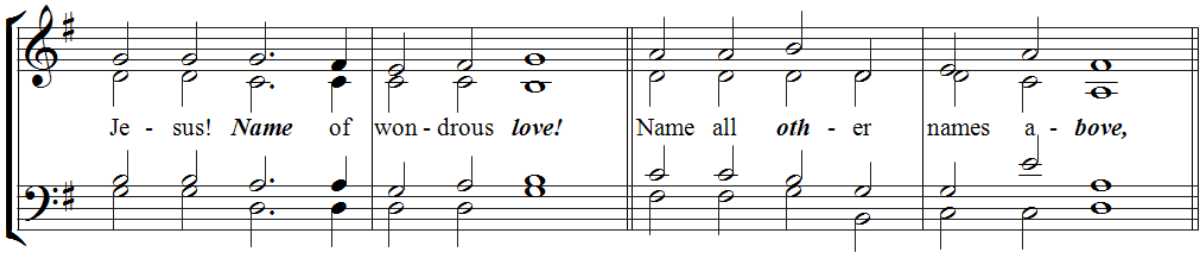
4 Cited in Dowling, W. J., & Harwood, D. L., *Music cognition*. (Orlando: Academic Press, 1986).

Although thought-provoking, a degree of caution is appropriate before accepting these conclusions at face value. First, hymn-tunes are not pure music: the words are extremely significant. So whereas a tune such as SINE NOMINE (*For all the saints*) might well be perceived as 'lofty, dignified and vigorous', or QUEM PASTORES (*Jesus, good above all other*) might well be yearning, how are the sentiments of the words and the emotional impact of the music to be separated? Or how is the poignant circumstance of Good Friday to be stripped out of any consideration of the emotional impact of Bach's PASSION CHORALE? If the tune commonly sung to '*Hark, the herald angels sing*' is treated as pure music it is surely commonplace — albeit when sung it arouses a heightened, positive, joyous emotion. Second, what allowance is to be made for any antagonism between the metre of the words and that of the music? Whereas one might reasonably expect the musical setting of an iambic poem to be in quadruple time and commencing with an anacrusis; or the setting of dactylic verses to be in triple time and starting on the first beat of the bar, neither pairing is the invariable practice.

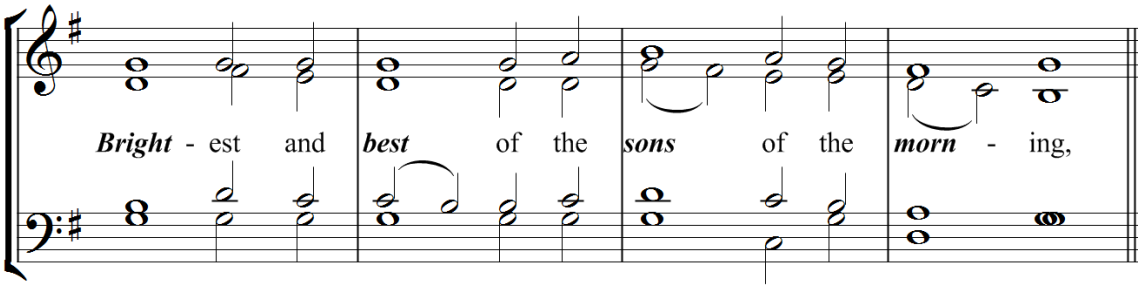
For example, whereas Isaac Watts's text is clearly iambic, Dykes's BEATITUDO ignores this and makes the verse dactylic by the perverse elongation of certain first beats:



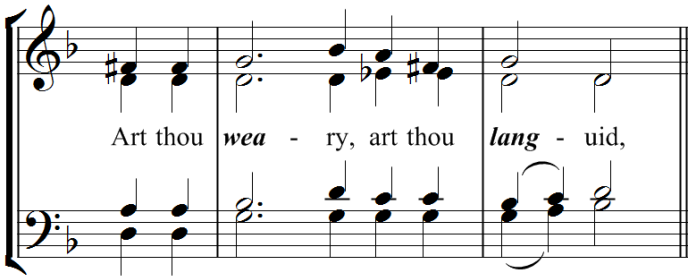
Similarly, to Walsham How's trochaic text, Dykes's (mis-barred) ST BEES is tertius paeon:



Heber's lilting dactyls meet with trochees in Dykes's ST NINIAN:



And Neale's tertius paeon meets with Dykes's dactyls in CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR:



It is probable — Hughes and Lowis do not discuss the point — that the rhythm of the music is so overbearing that it effectively suppresses the rhythm of the words. At any rate, it is evident from these and other examples that Dykes (and not only Dykes) felt no obligation to follow the poet's lead as regards metre although we will shortly note something interesting about his rhythmic predispositions. As Fig 1 shows clearly, the predominance of duple/quadruple time is evident in the outputs of both composers and in those of 'the average composer', but with Dykes lagging behind both. The interesting corollary is that Dykes's use of triple time (including compound time signatures which yield a triple time inflection) — a rhythm which Hevner suggested was particularly expressive of joy, gaiety and yearning — is significantly greater than Barnby's or the average composer's.[1]

Before moving on, there is one further point which may determine the *nominal* metre of a hymn: the verse as it presents itself to the eye is subject to the very prosaic constraints of page and font size. A moment's consideration suggests that the familiar metre 8787, for

[1] We should note that not every triple time tune yields a discernible lilt. LUX BENIGNA, for instance, whilst technically in triple time has a forward impulse which masks any dactylic inflection. And COMMENDATIO, whilst written out as three languorous semibreves to the bar, is aurally ambiguous: a singer without the music could well hear it as being in duple time.

which Dykes composed a number of tunes, should often be recognised for what it is — a trochaic tetrameter of fifteen syllables. For example,

> Hark the sound of holy voices chanting at the crystal sea;
> Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia Lord, to Thee.

Christopher Wordsworth, compiler of *The Holy Year*, refers to the 'ancient rhythmical principle' that this longer metre

> 'should be specially employed on occasions where there is a sudden burst of feeling, after a patient waiting, or a continuous struggle…never…at the beginning, but…reserved for a later period in the Drama. The long rapid sweep of this noble Metre, and the jubilant movement of the verse, render it very suitable for use on the great Festivals of the Christian Year, such as Easter and Ascension when, after severe trial, or quiet endurance, the Church is suddenly cheered by a glorious vision which gladdens her heart, and evokes a song of rapture from her lips.'[1]

However, when set out in four lines of 8787, the damage done to this 'long rapid sweep' becomes apparent, rendering it in effect

> Hark the sound of holy voices**.**
> Chanting at the crystal sea**.**
> Alleluia, Alleluia**.**
> Alleluia Lord, to Thee**.**

As Wordsworth remarked, 'The majestic flow of the line which [bears] the reader onward, as on a smooth and rapid current, is suddenly checked, as by a reef or bar thrown across it."[2]

It is evident, both by the uninterrupted sweep of the musical phrase and the absence of intrusive double bar lines that, in HARK THE SOUND, Dykes was *composing* in trochaic tetrameters of fifteen syllables, even if the verse was typeset (and the metre shown above the score) as alternating 8s and 7s. It is unfortunate that Hughes and Lowis did not further analyse the duple/quadruple tunes according to their respective metres. One cannot discount the possibility that they may unwittingly have ascribed characteristics to quadruple tunes generally which, in fact, belonged specifically (or at any rate predominantly) to specific metres.

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1 Wordsworth, C. *The Holy Year* (Rivingtons: London, 1863) p. xliv.

2 *loc. cit.*

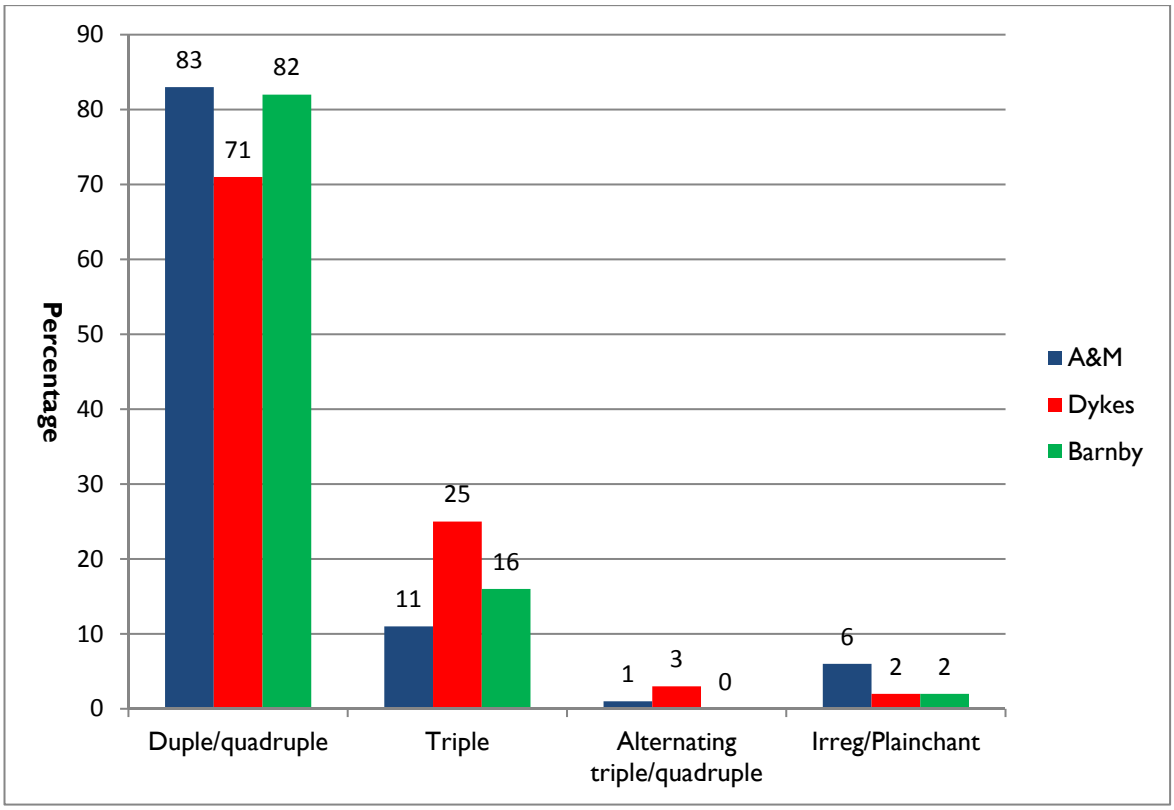


Figure 1: Rhythmic preferences

As regards key choice (Figure 2), the invariables are that major keys are overwhelmingly predominant and, of these, E♭ leads the field, with both Dykes and Barnby even more attracted by the key than the average composer. (A separate study is needed to determine why E♭ should attract such a pull on hymn-tune composers.) Of Dykes's next major keys of choice, he shows a greater propensity for F, G and E (and, lower down the list, A♭) than Barnby or the average composer. Minor keys (Figure 3) represent for all composers the occasional foray, with Dykes being less attracted to single-key minor tunes (2.6%) than Barnby (5.6%) or the average composer (8.4%) but more attracted to two-key tunes (8.4%) in which one of the keys is minor (Barnby 2%, the average composer 1.4%).

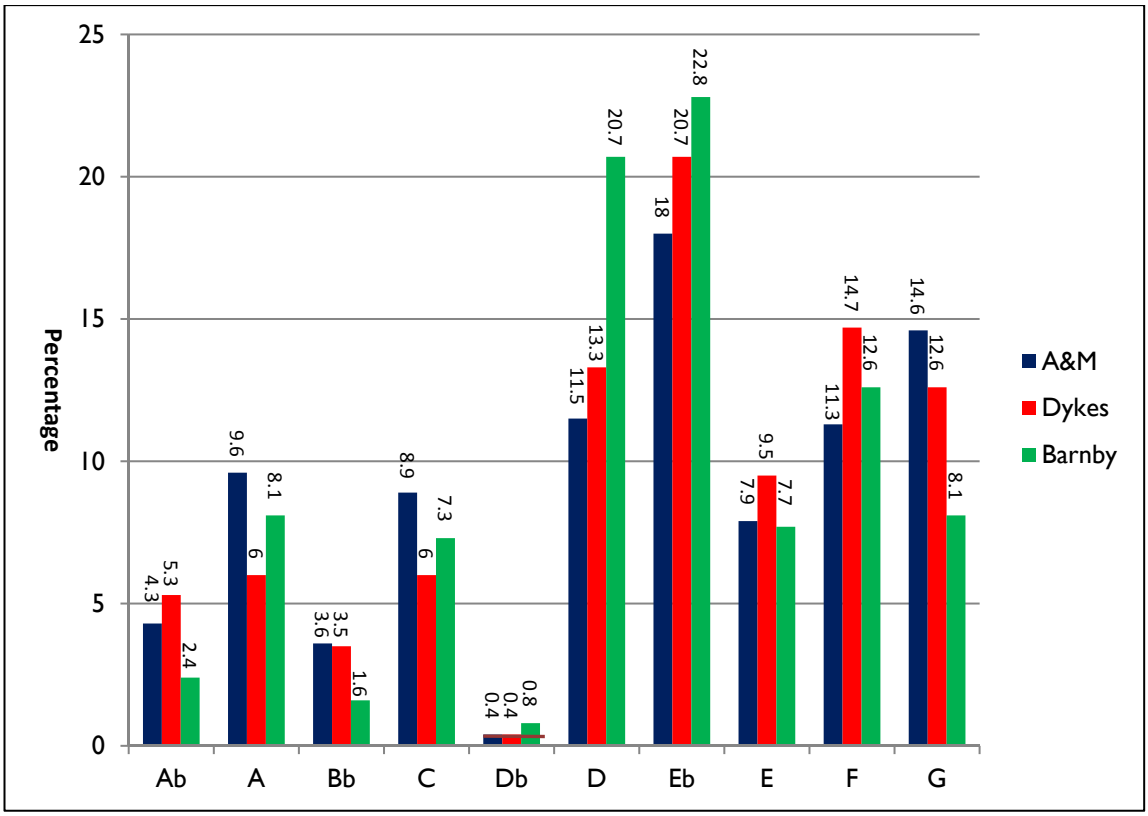


Figure 2: Preferences for major keys

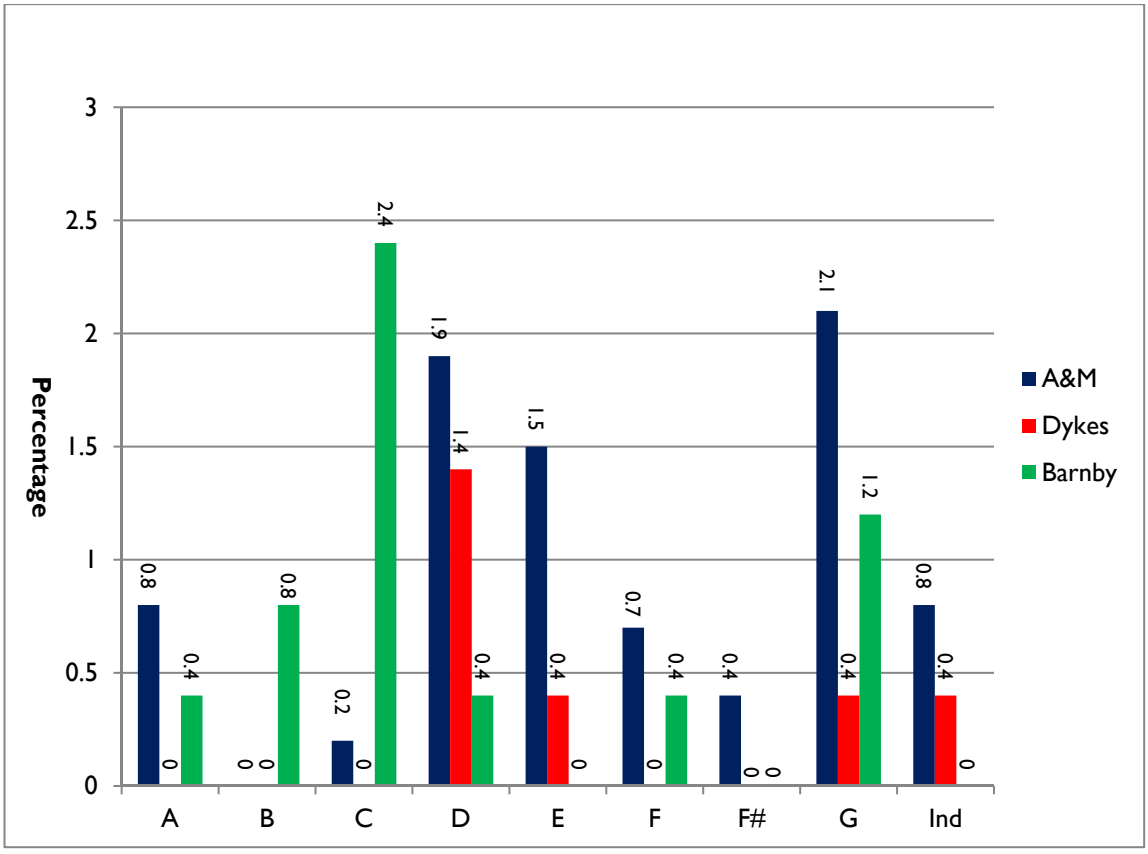


Figure 3: Preference for minor or indeterminate keys

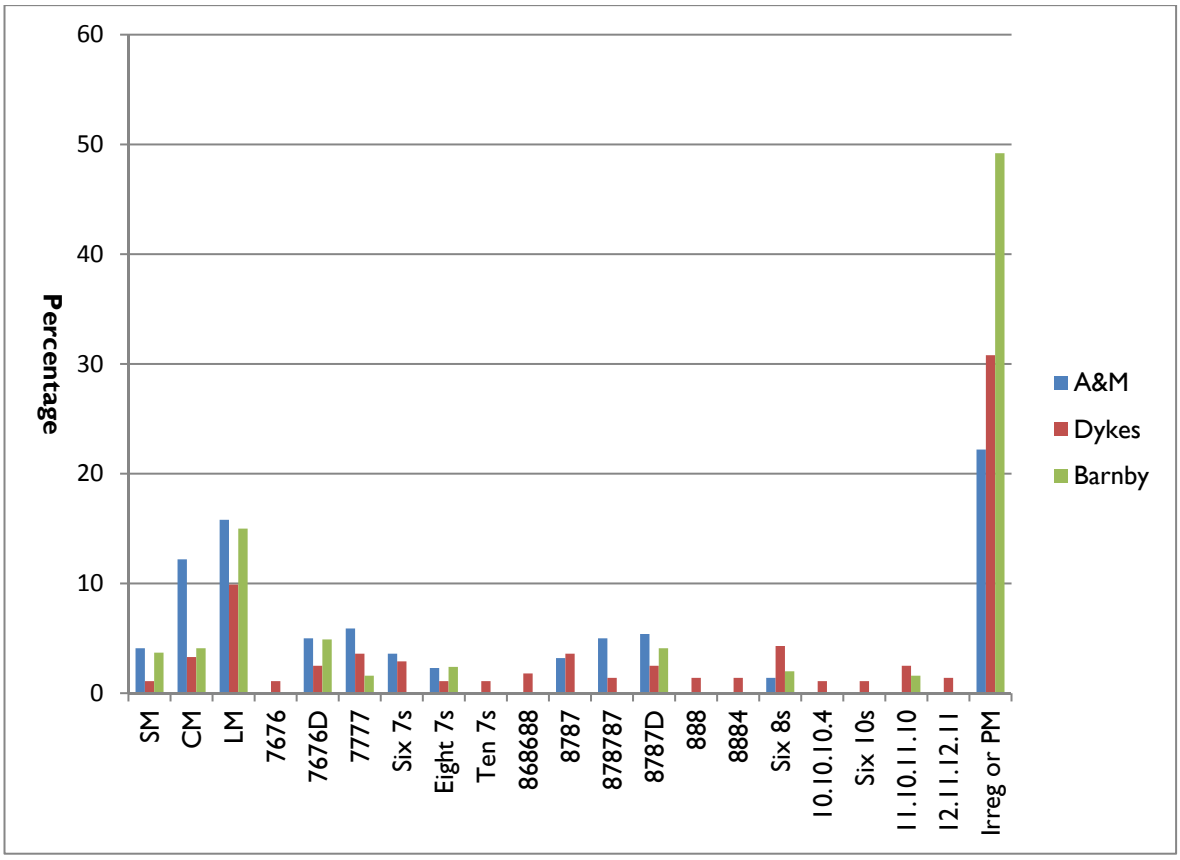


Figure 4: Preference for metres

Selecting only metres which are used three or more times by at least one out of the three comparators, and filtering out those which show no significant difference, one statistic is particularly interesting. In the eight metres most commonly appearing in the proxy set of 'every composer' (excluding the aggregate group of irregular and peculiar metres), Dykes lags behind. The difference is made up by his attraction to longer metres and irregular/peculiar metres. We can only speculate as to why this might be, but it may be that the more unusual (and longer) metres give greater scope for invention.

Analysis of a range of other parameters yields the following data:

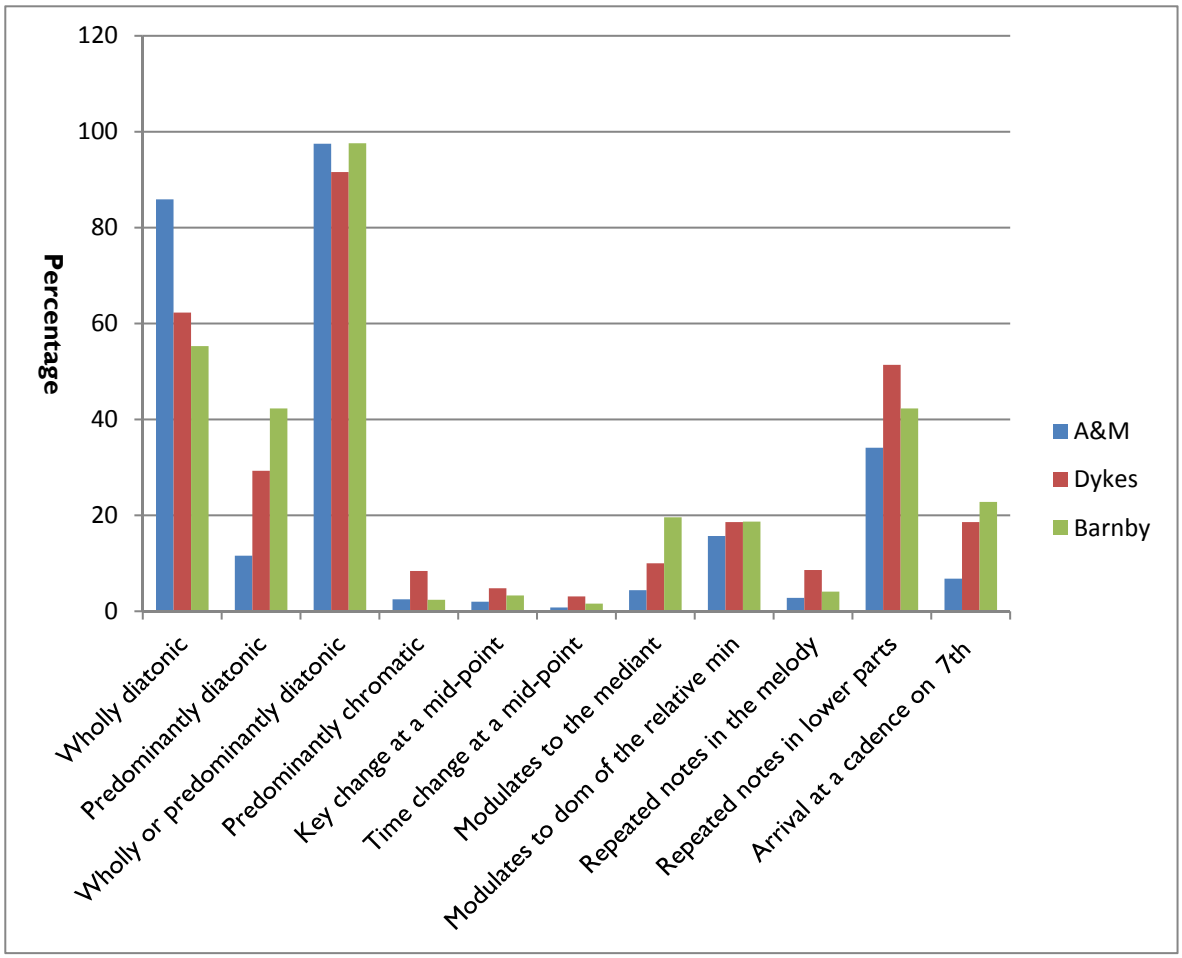


Figure 5: Harmonic and melodic characteristics
(*In this chart 'repeated notes' means notes repeated six or more times.*)

These data are self explanatory, although a striking statistic is that 91.6% of Dykes's tunes are wholly or predominantly diatonic.[1] Although this is less than either Barnby or the average composer, it nevertheless challenges the assertion that a defining characteristic of Dykes's hymn-tunes (as opposed to a carefully selected sample of his less popular, one might even say experimental, hymn-tunes) is their chromaticism: of his 24 most popular tunes,[2] *only one* has a significantly chromatic character, and 21 percent are in triple time.

[1] There is a high degree of subjectivity in deciding whether or not a chromatic element within a tune makes it 'a chromatic tune', in much the same way that subjective judgment decides whether a stew is well seasoned or salty. For example, ALFORD has a few chromatic moments, and MELITA has a chromatic series of modulations in the last line, but few would identify the predominant character of either tune as exemplifying the use of a 'rich chromatic musical language'. One is tempted to use, as a touchstone, the harmonic idiom of Dykes's American contemporary in deciding if a tune is diatonic by asking 'What would Lowell do?' If the chronic-diatonic Lowell Mason would have been comfortable with the harmony (and even he needed chromatics to modulate), it is unquestionably diatonic.

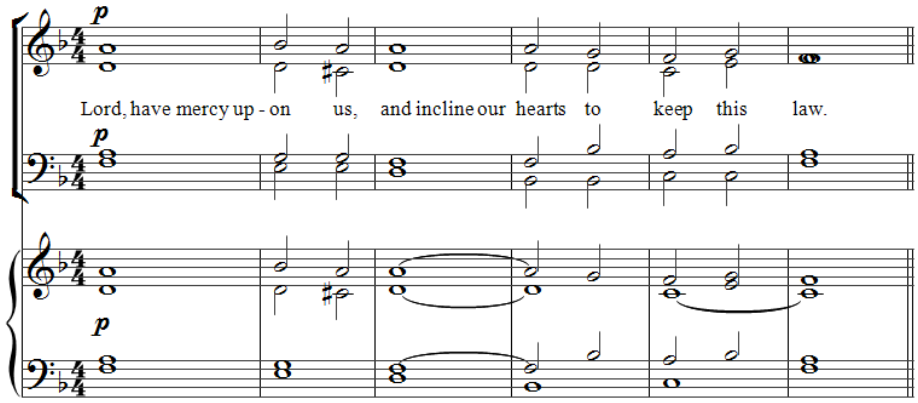
[2] Defined as the 24 tunes which appeared most frequently in hymnals published between 1857 and 1900, extrapolating from a sample of 60 hymnals, including every hymnal which included a first publication of a Dykes tune. (Multiple appearances of a tune in a hymnal are not counted.) (1) HOLLINGSIDE; (2) ST CUTHBERT; (3) MELITA; (4) NICAEA; (5) LUX BENIGNA; (6=) ST BERNARD [a.k.a. ST OSWALD] and ST CROSS; (8) ST AGNES; (9=) ST AELRED, ST GODRIC and ST SYLVESTER; (12) ST BEES; (13=) ALMSGIVING and HARK! THE SOUND OF ANGEL VOICES; (15=) DIES IRAE [A&M 1861], DOMINUS REGIT ME and ST ANATOLIUS; (18)

The Services

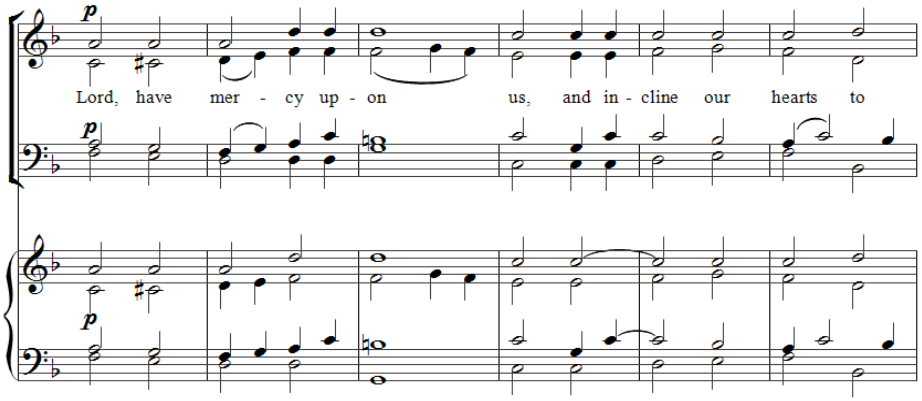
i. Communion Service in F

A cursory glance at the Sunday music lists for cathedrals and major parish churches between about 1870 and the First World War reveals that Dykes's Communion Service in F was a staple. This is unsurprising: if it is melodically, harmonically and rhythmically unremarkable it is, by those same characteristics, undemanding of the skills of the singers and on the ears of the listeners: it is *comfortable*. The *Kyries* (one for ferial, one for festal use) have little scope for innovation, although the latter contains the first (of two) instances of Dykes juxtaposing the harmonically distant chords of F major and E♭ major (bars 14–15).

Kyrie No. 1 (for Ferial use)

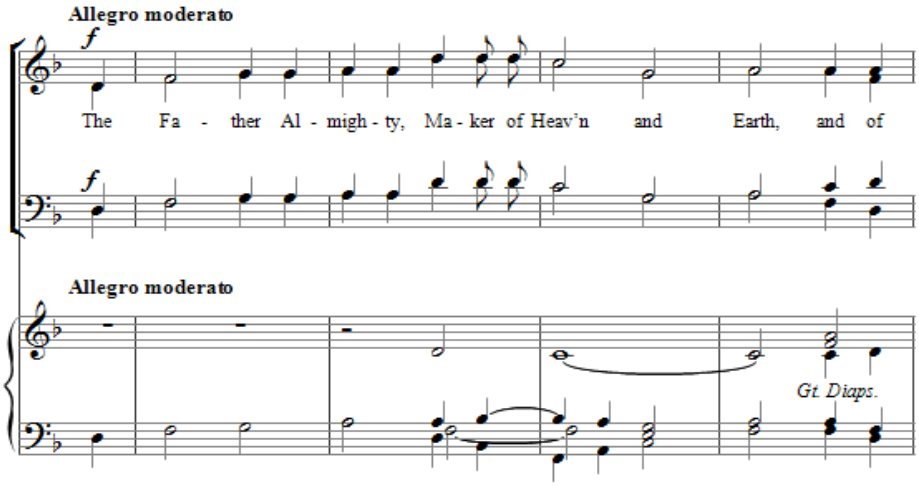


Kyrie No. 2 (for Festal use)

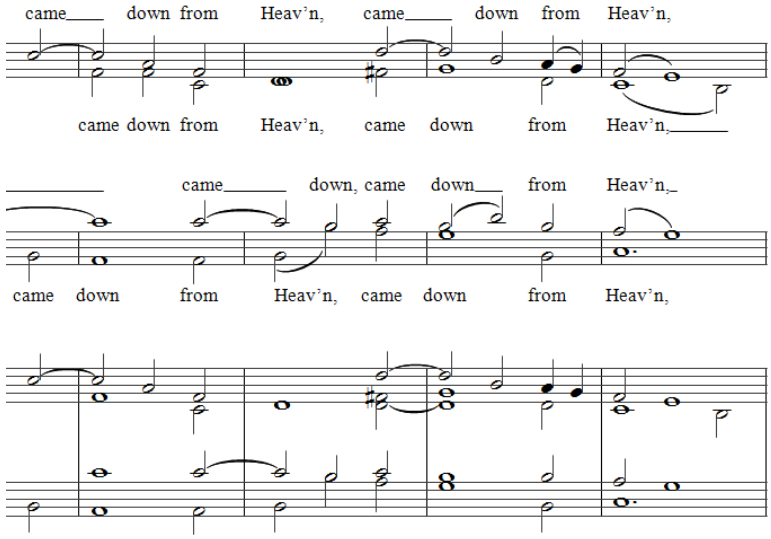


VOX DILECTI; (19=) MAGDALENE and PAX DEI; (21=) HORBURY, ST DROSTANE, ST WERBURG and VOX ANGELICA.

Credo

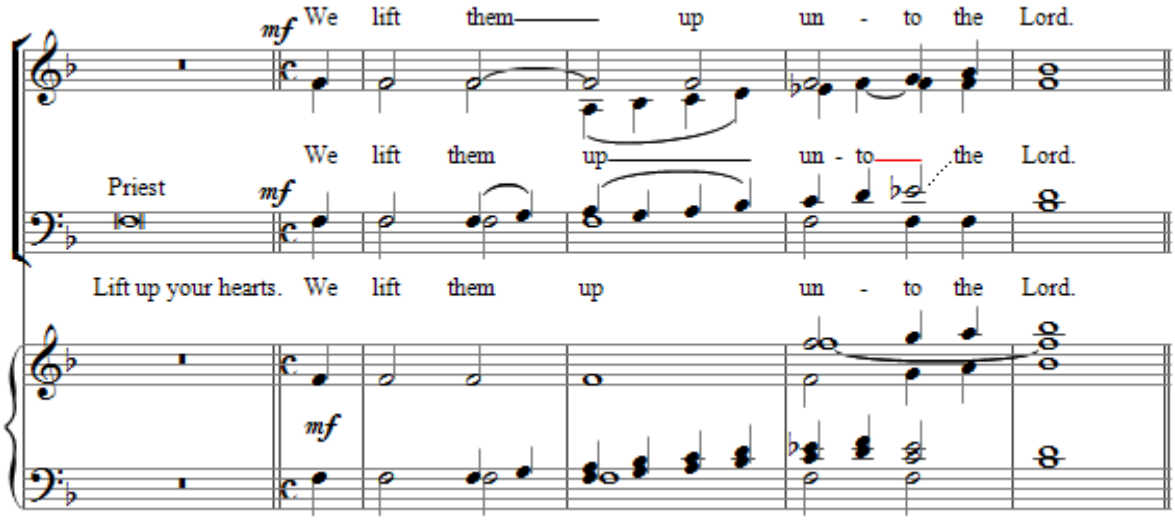


The *Credo* has a little more scope for invention, and is built around two leitmotifs. The first, of nine bars is repeated in variant form before the second appears at bar 24. This again is repeated in variation before we arrive, at bar 44, at a gentle, triple time interlude ('Who for us men'), with its simple word painting:

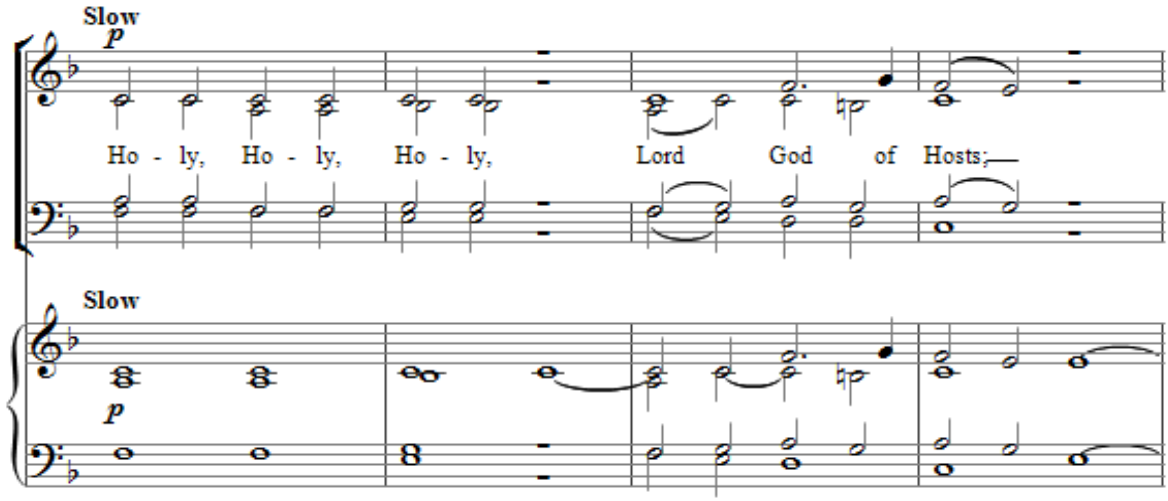


After this, the second theme returns, first in the relative minor, then back (with variations, and another F/E♭ juxtaposition) in the tonic. A brief return to the first theme precedes the short, subdued coda.

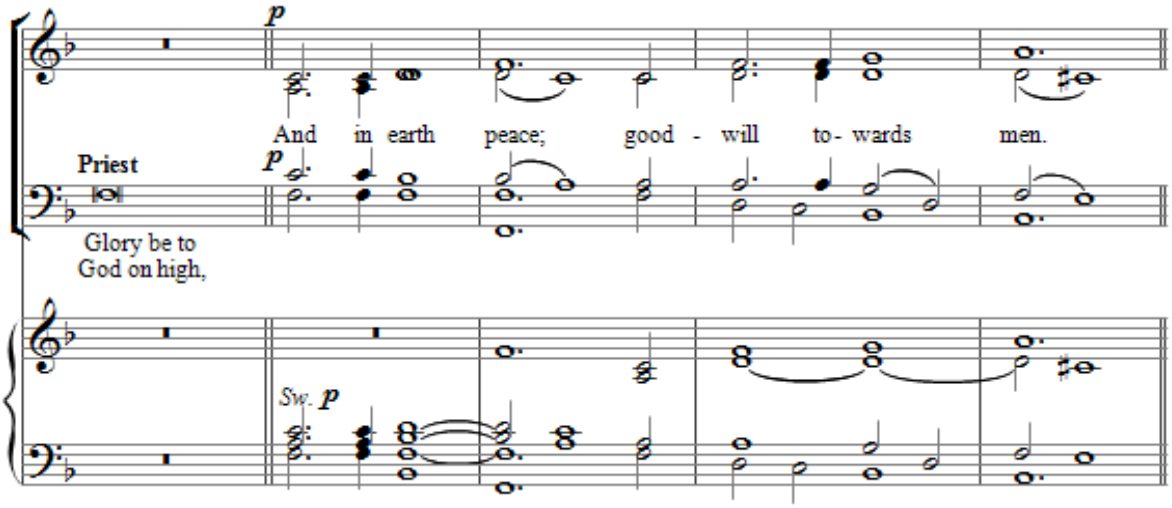
In the *Sursum Corda*, more directional word painting, this time an uninterrupted ascending scale ('We lift them up') in B♭, from tenor F to treble B♭ (with the high-set organ part, eschewing the opportunity for a low pedal B♭ on the final chord, continuing the idea of hearts being lifted right up).

Sursum Corda

The *Sanctus* is unremarkable, although it provides another example of Dykes's penchant for arriving at a cadence point (bar 12) directly onto the dominant 7th (as we noted he did in nearly one in five of his hymn tunes).

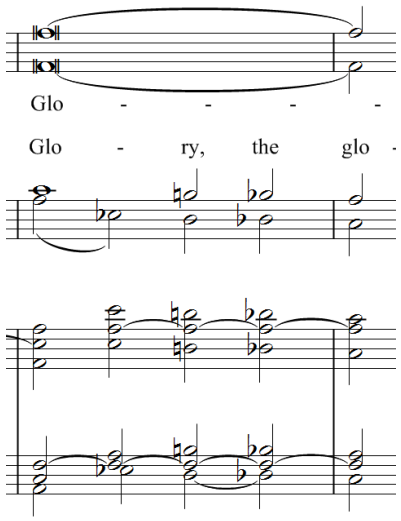
Sanctus



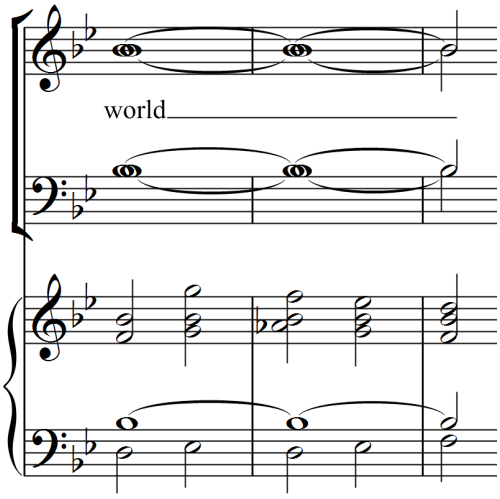
The *Gloria* is perhaps the most successful section of all, being (if we may succumb to that ambiguous adjective) eminently singable by congregations and displaying a number of Dykes's hallmarks, but all kept well in check. Alternating between the tonic and the relative minor, the introduction ends in the dominant of the relative minor — but this is a false clue, as the music resumes in the tonic with theme *A*. Three dominant 7ths (a chord which critics have suggested held a fatal attraction to Victorian church composers) in three successive bars ('We ***praise*** Thee, we ***bless*** Thee, we worship ***Thee***') lead to another teasing relative minor dominant before the theme concludes.

Gloria

A *quasi* recitative between bars 244 and 248 leads to new theme *B* in d minor. This is reprised twice, with the third iteration ending in F major, with the theme ascending chromatically and descending diatonically each time. A fourth entry of the theme ascends chromatically, as before, but keeps on ascending for another minor third, before the section ends on a sudden octave drop. The final section returns to theme *A*, with a progression at bar 290 which, with a chromaticism which Stanford would have abjured, faintly pre-echoes the latter:

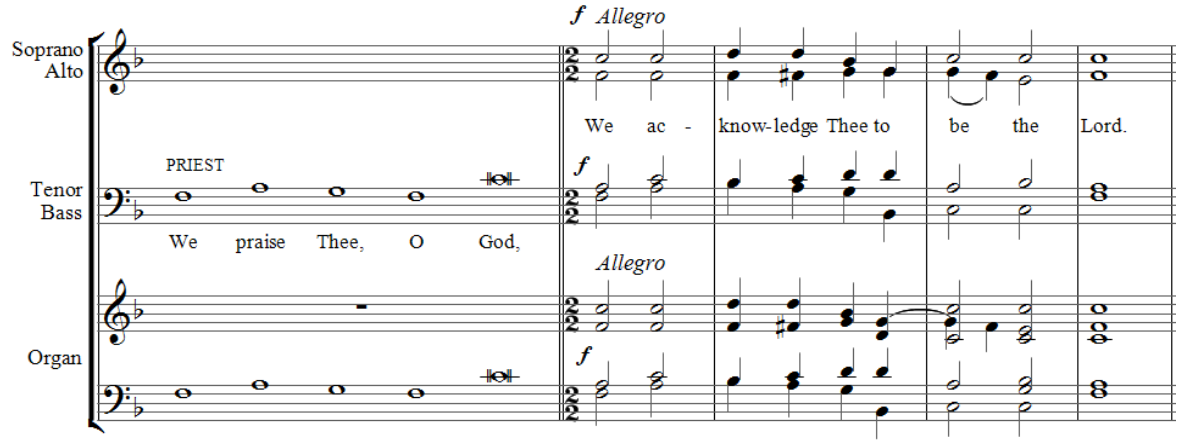
Dykes



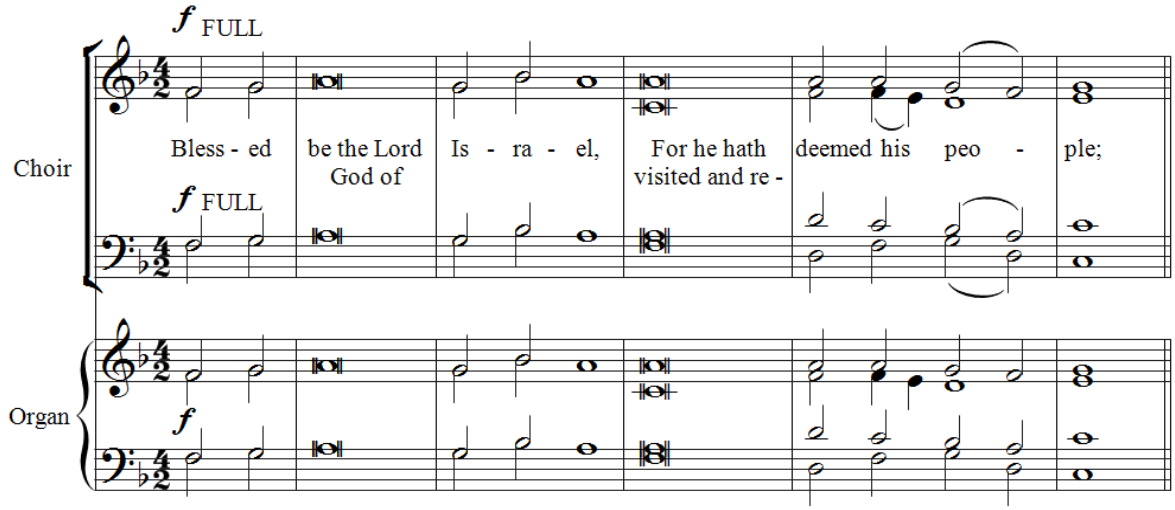
Stanford, *Nunc Dimittis* in B♭ bars 63–65



ii. Morning Service in F

Te Deum Laudamus SATB

'No one of the *Te Deums* which have at present passed under our notice, displays more originality of idea, vigour or treatment, or variety of expression than this; and we call the attention of all young Church composers to this *Te Deum*, as one which, in nearly all respects, represents the *beau ideal* of a modern service.'[1]

Benedictus SATB



A contemporary review speaks of 'the originality of the conception, together with the masterly treatment of the subject'. It continues 'the harmonies [of the quasi Gregorian melody] are occasionally varied very carefully and judiciously'. Otherwise this harmonised setting of the plainchant is unremarkable.[2]

[1] *MT* 1 October 1868 p. 5.

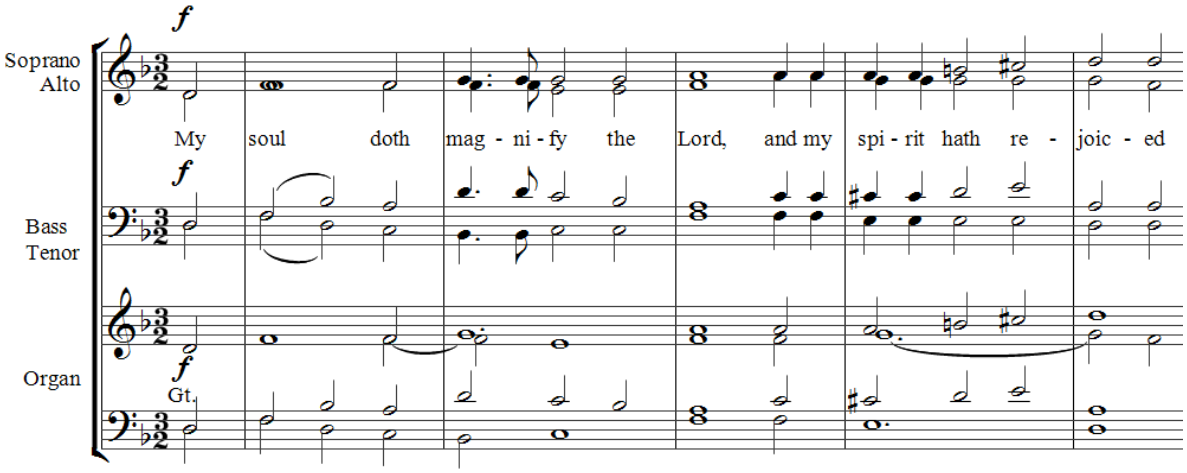
[2] *MT* I July 1868, p. 454.

iii. Evening Service in F

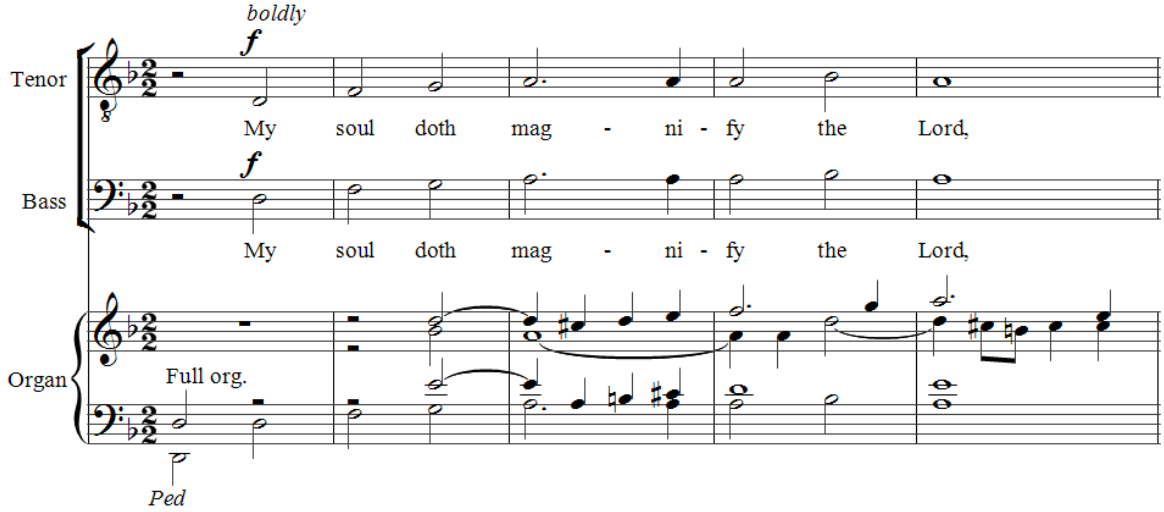
Magnificat

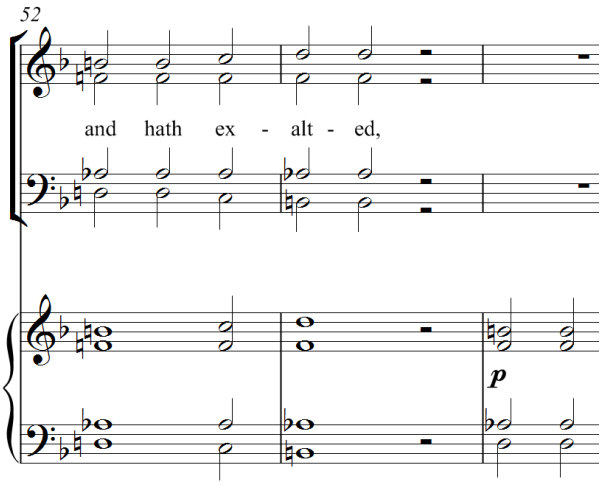
In the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis we see Dykes at his closest, stylistically speaking, to his former teacher, Walmisley. Both writing in the key of d minor, both starting with a melodic Doh Me Fa So, both alternating between full SATB chorus and upper/lower or Cantoris/Decani divisions and both beginning the Magnificat in union:

Dykes



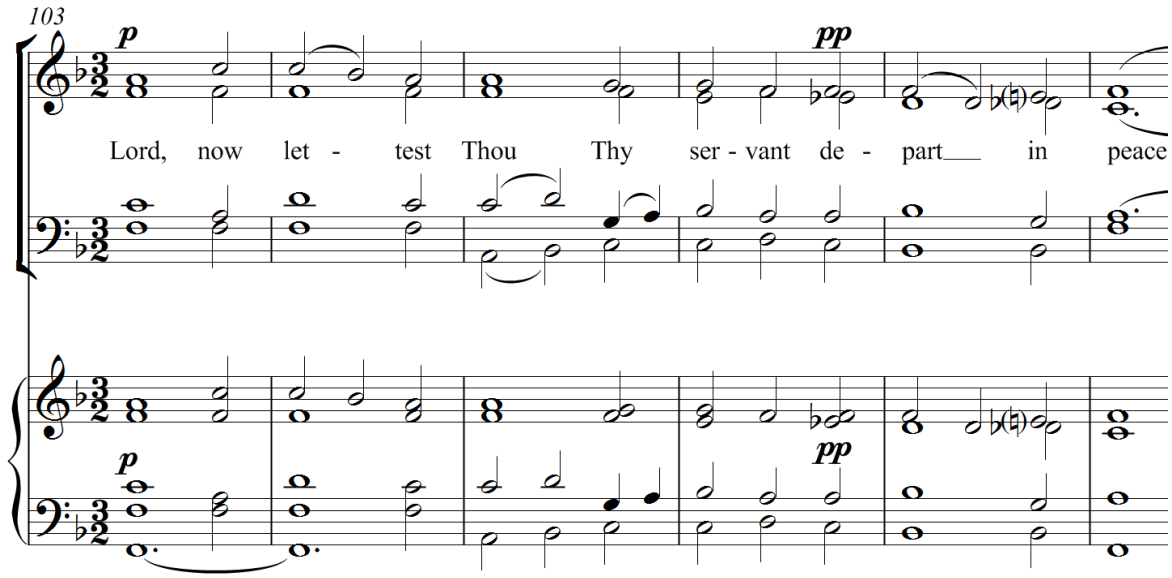
Walmisley



Whereas their respective harmonies are, on the whole, not a world apart, Dykes's weakness for diminished chords is surely overdone in bars 52–54:

and the too-numerous-to-mention 7th chords would surely have struck Walmisley as being in bad taste. On the other hand, the ostinato pedal part beginning in bar 24 is an effective way of providing harmonic and rhythmic impulse to fairly static voice parts and the echoing in the pedal of the first theme of the *Gloria* pre-echoes the imitative pedal part in Stanford's B♭ *Te Deum* at, e.g., bar 30.

A contemporary review of the Magnificat noted 'the composer has attained the highest flight. Nothing more beautiful in effect, and nothing more musical in treatment has come under our notice than the setting of this charming author.'[1]

Nunc Dimittis



iv. Service in E♭

Referred to in correspondence[1] and in Fowler p. 165 as being in preparation, but now lost.

[1] *MT* 1 July 1868, p. 454.

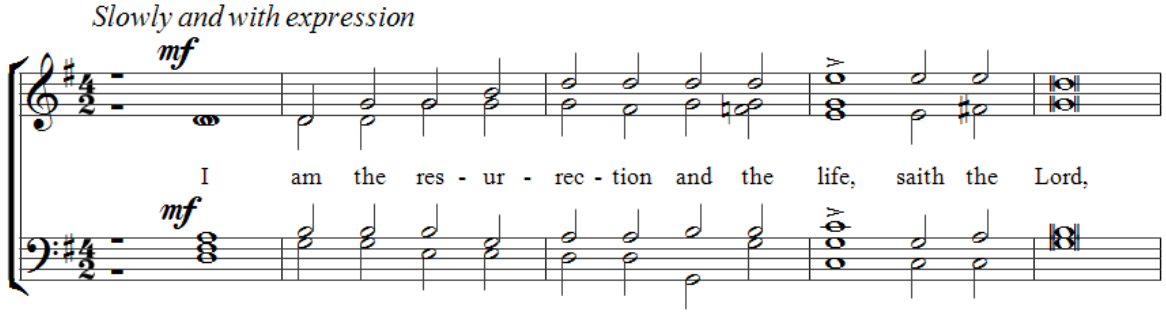
v. Burial Service

Although George Huntington is scarcely a dispassionate critic, he quotes in his praise of the music Thomas Collinson, apprentice under Philip Armes between 1871 and 1875 and sometime assistant at St Oswald's. He 'speaks of his Burial Service…as "the most devotional composition that has ever been written for the English Church."' Referring to a performance of the work some years after Dykes's death, Huntington continues

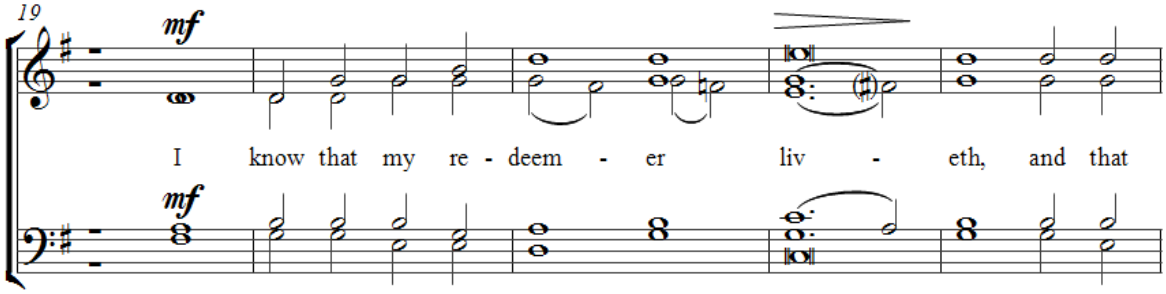
> It is a matter of everlasting regret that it was not sung at the author's own funeral. Yet who that was present among the sympathising thousands gathered together around the grave of the late Bishop of Durham could fail to be touched by its affecting strains and the associations thereby recalled? In the midst of the absorbing grief for the loss of that great scholar and prelate, many a one was thinking also of Dykes, and of the joy it would have been to him to have used the good gifts with which he was endowed under the episcopal rule of a Lightfoot instead of a Baring.[2]

But Bishop Lightfoot's funeral in 1889 was not the first performance of this piece: the report of the funeral of Dean Waddington on 24 July 1869 reports that 'On entering the cloisters, the choir began to sing the burial service — the music being the composition of Dr Dykes and Mr Purcell. The singing was continued along the cloister, and up the nave; and, with the slow and measured steps of the mourners, had a very solemn effect.'[3]

i. I am the resurrection and the life



ii. I know that my redeemer liveth



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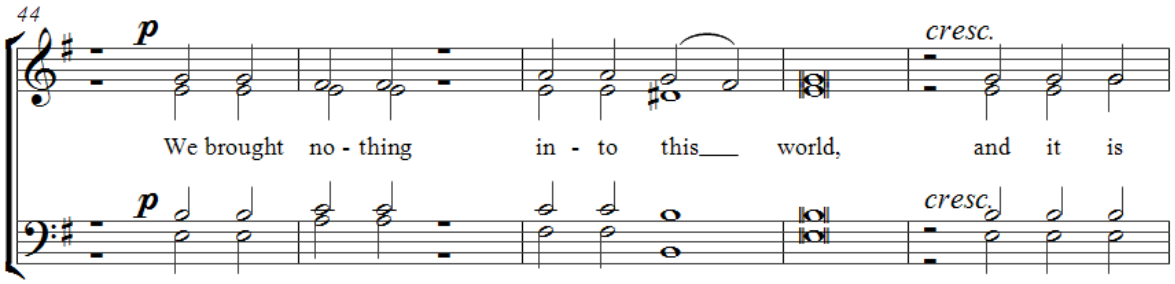
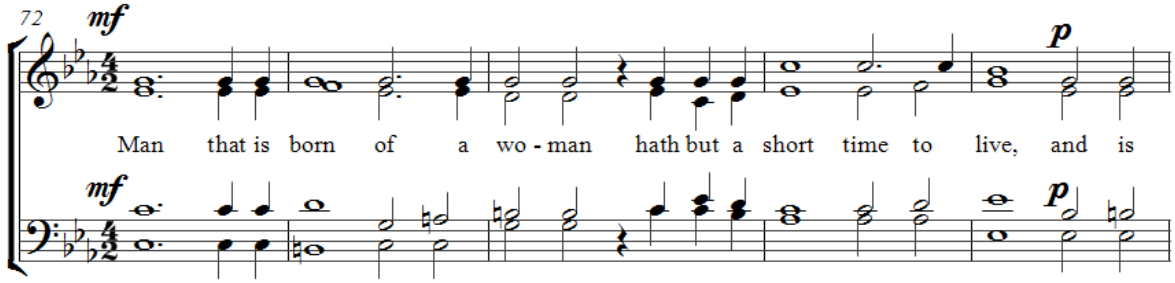
1 Letter from Henry Littleton to Dykes, 19 May 1873. (App. B p. 159).

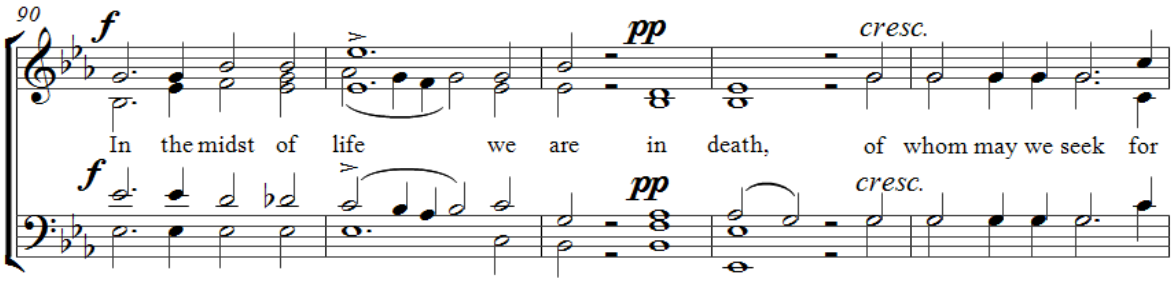
2 Huntington p. 247.

3 *Newcastle Courant* 30 July 1869, p. 6.

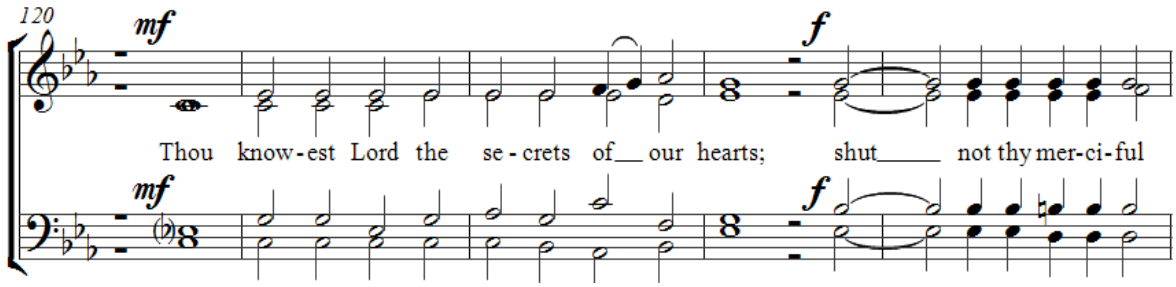
iii. We brought nothing into this world

iv. Man that is born of a woman

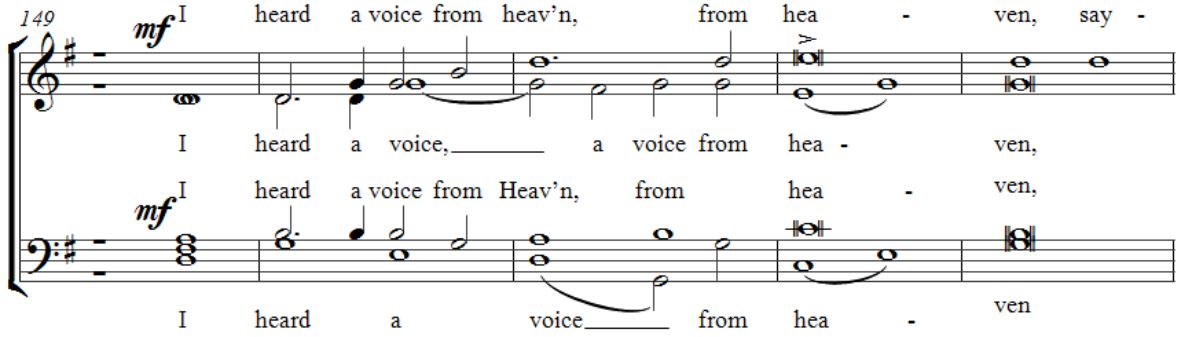


v. In the midst of life we are in death



vi. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts

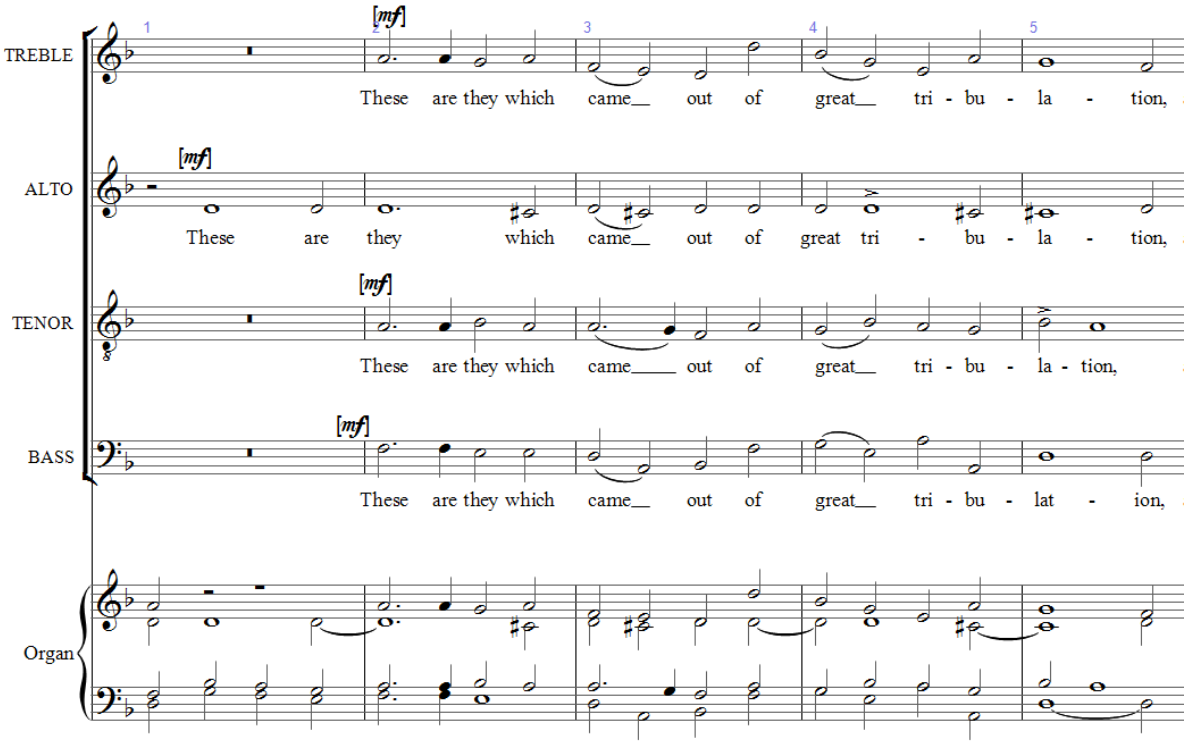


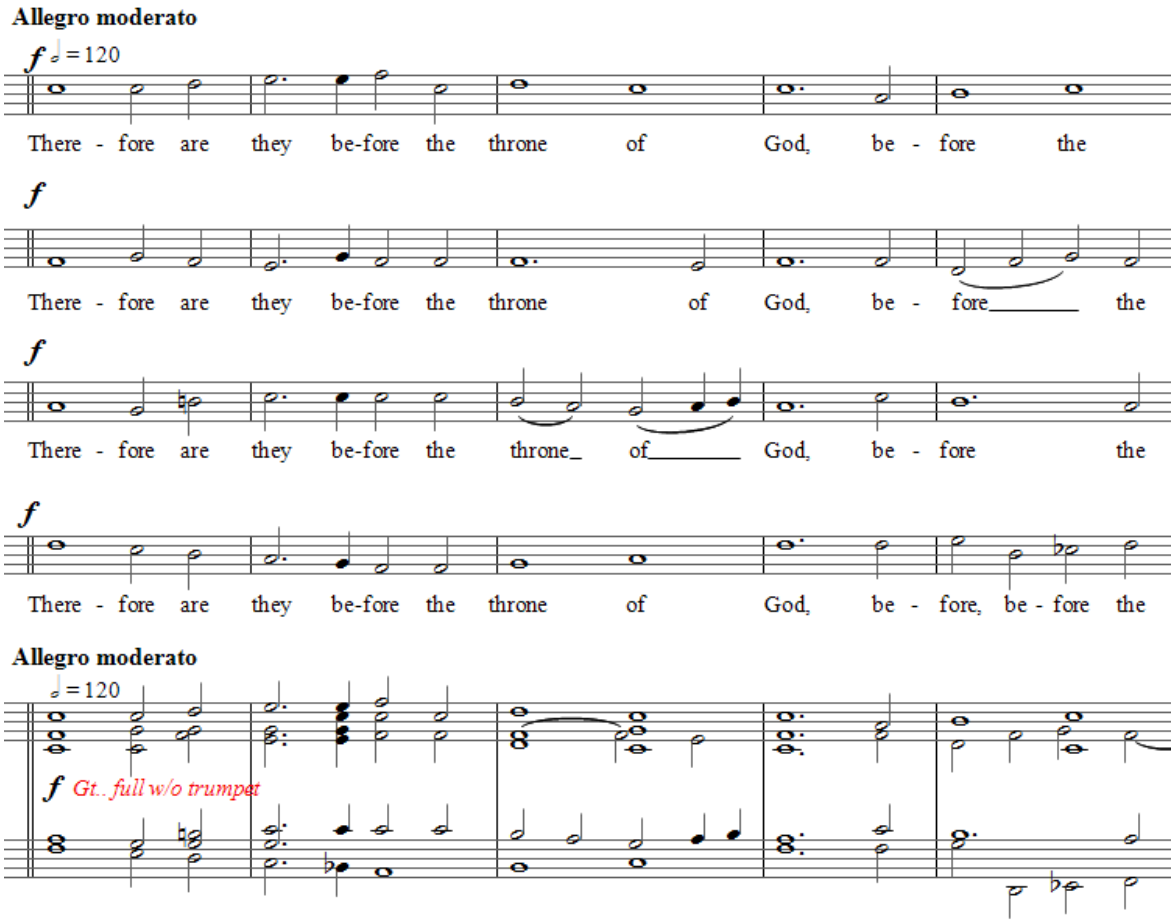
vii. I heard a voice from heaven

Anthems

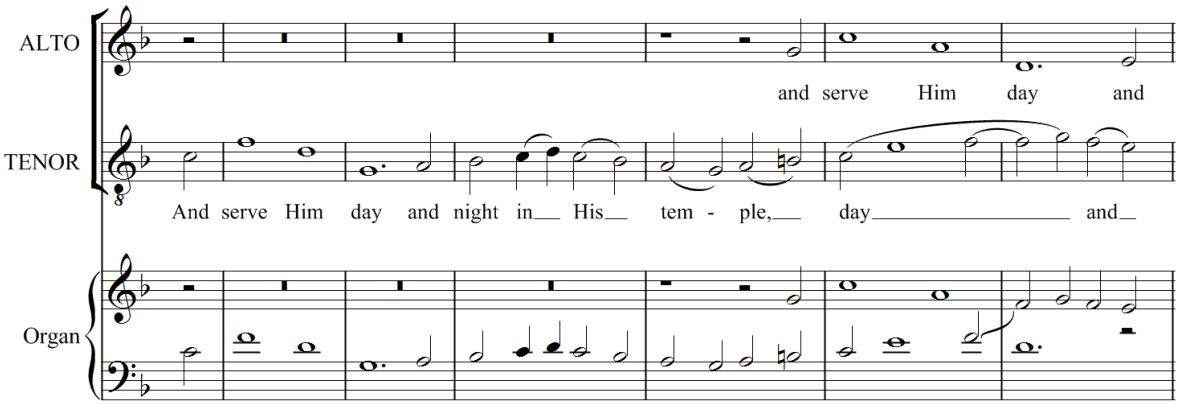
a. Large scale

These are they which came out of great tribulation SATB
418 bars (c15 minutes) *Special Anthems for Certain Seasons and Festivals &c.* (Robert Cocks: London, 1861)

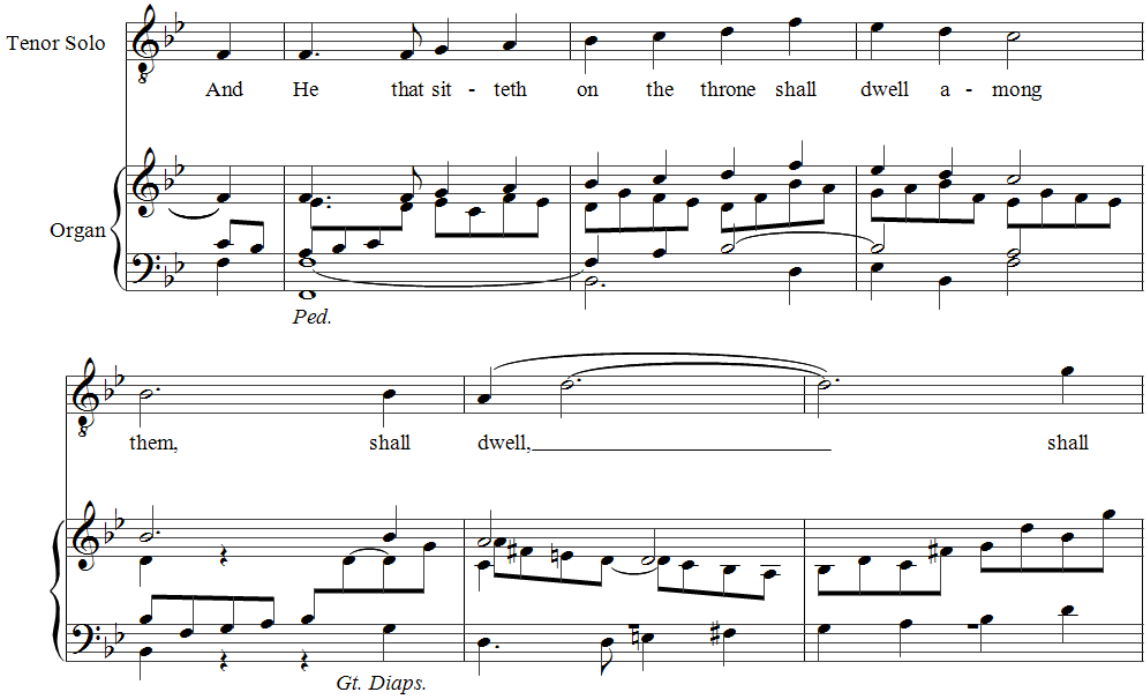
> 'Some foretaste of those sorrows which would ultimately break his too sensitive heart must have led my brother to write that anthem…for it was written before any great sorrow had crushed his spirit. How well I remember his playing over passages of it, and turning again and again from the piano, when some of those on whose judgment he relied were present, to ask whether they thought the melodies suited the words he was seeking to illustrate. But it had been chiefly composed at Flamborough, when he was staying at a farm house there, with his wife and little children. He would wander by the sea; and as the waves beat upon the steep cliffs, or lonely caves, he composed that anthem, the significance of which was brought painfully home to him in later life. He had only an old harpsicord to play on in that farm house.'[1]

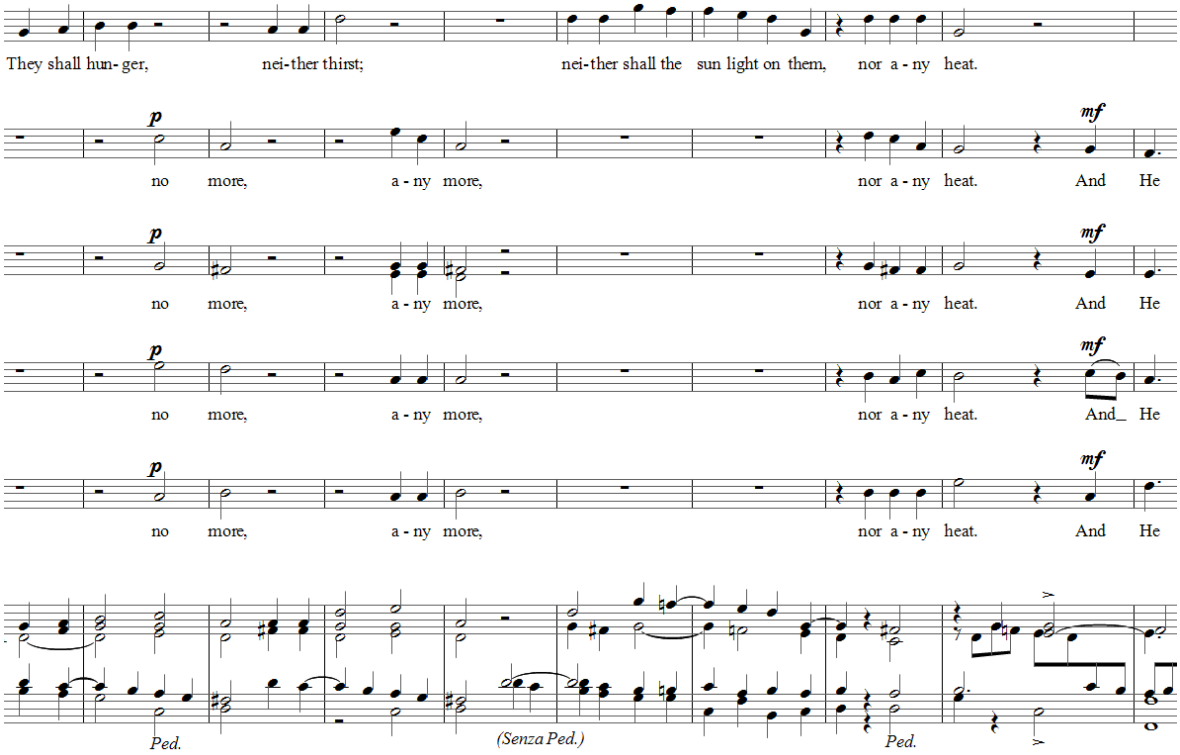
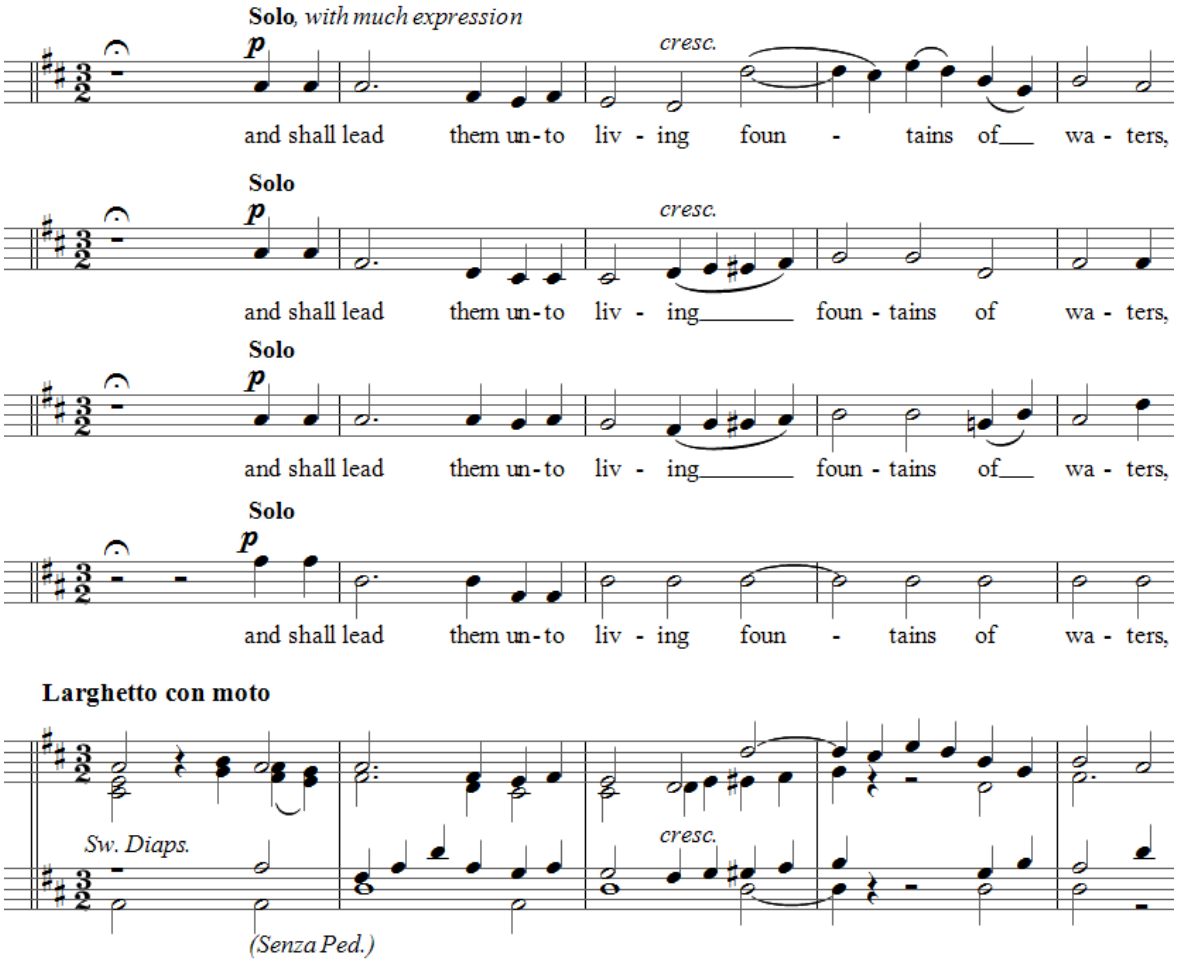
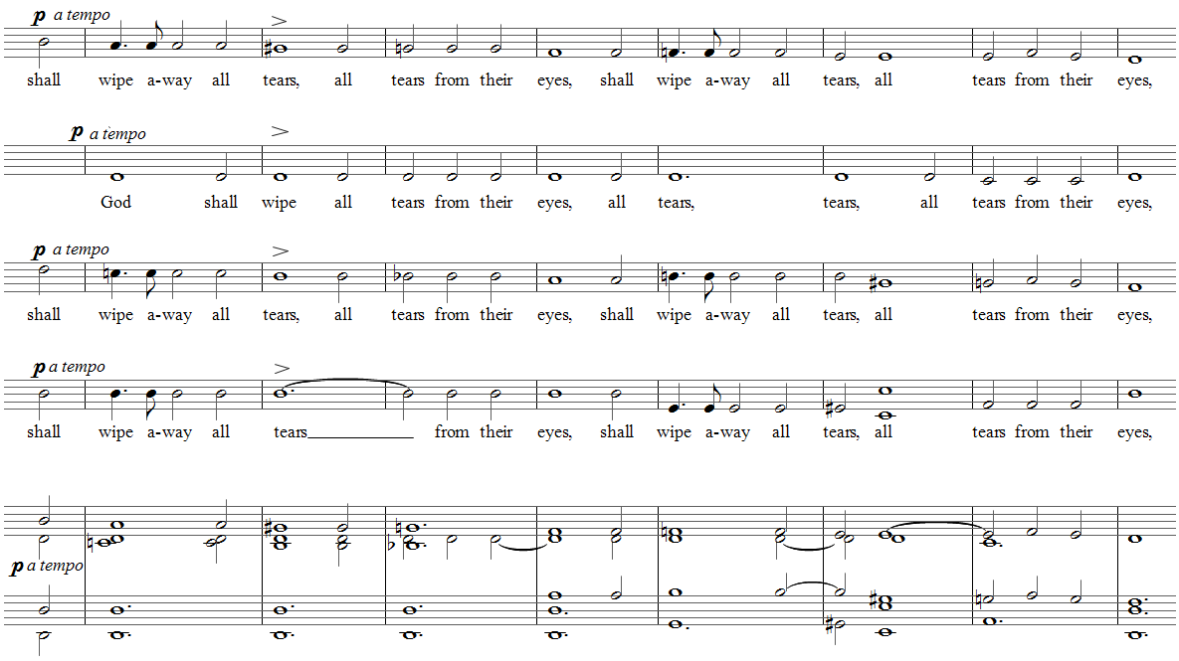
This anthem, which Fanny says was adduced as the evidence underpinning Dykes's award of his Mus.Doc, starts with a largely homophonic section which could as easily have come from Walmisley's pen:

[1] Dykes, F., pp. 91–92.

At bar 62 an organ interlude introduces the second, 148 bar section. At first, this remains homophonic and not particularly interesting, albeit at a slightly faster tempo:

Recognising that this is a long section, Dykes offers a cut from bar 97 to 198 which, if taken, deprives the section of its principal redeeming feature — a competently executed four part fugue:



At bar 210 a lyrical tenor solo (with an organ accompaniment, noticeably *à mode* S.S. Wesley/*Blessed be the God and Father*, but which is sometimes physically impossible) marked *Andante con moto* starts a section which works well as a free-standing anthem:



The chorus joins the soloist in bar 246, leading to a series of sighing progressions, before the main theme returns *tutti*:

With a few more sighing cadences, a coda leads to a short chorus for tenor and bass before a key and mood change:

A falling chromatic phrase leads to the eight bar Amen:

Francis Grey praised this anthem which he had heard recently, its poignancy enhanced by the recollection that Dykes's ten-year-old daughter, Mabel, had recently died.[1]

The Lord is my shepherd SATTB

538 bars (c28 minutes) (Novello: London, 1872)

The *Church Times* described this piece as being almost of cantata proportions.[2] While in the reviewer's opinion it fell short of brilliance, 'yet it evidently is the work of a master. The first movement, a fugal chorus in which the subject is cleverly treated, must be very effective when well sung. The…author understands the capabilities of the organ[3] and appreciates its worth as an instrument for accompaniment'. Furthermore, 'It fully sustains the reputation of the author as a musician, and bears the evident impress of a mind attuned to that deep religious feeling which, more than all, seems to be developed in the Catholic Church.'

The first, seventy-six-bar, section is restricted to an imitative treatment of the first ten words:[4]

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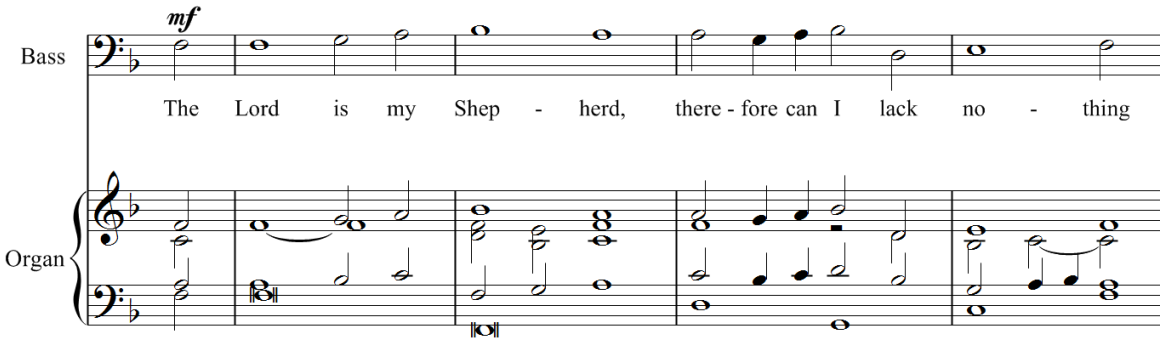
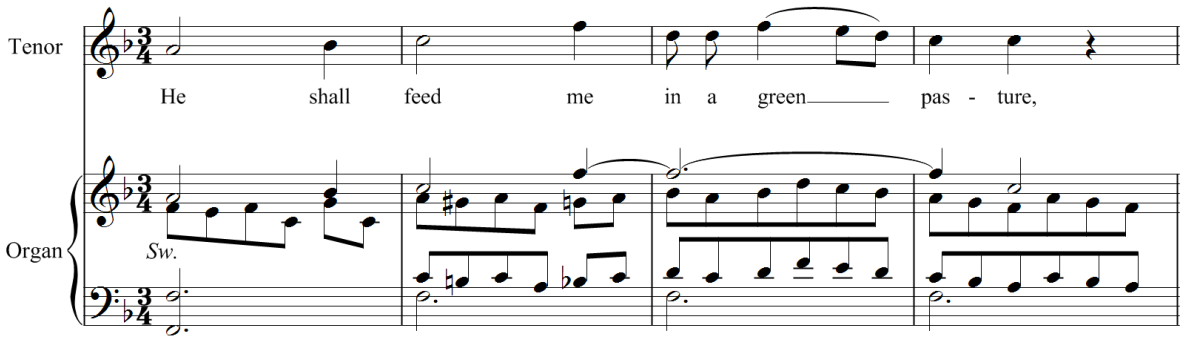
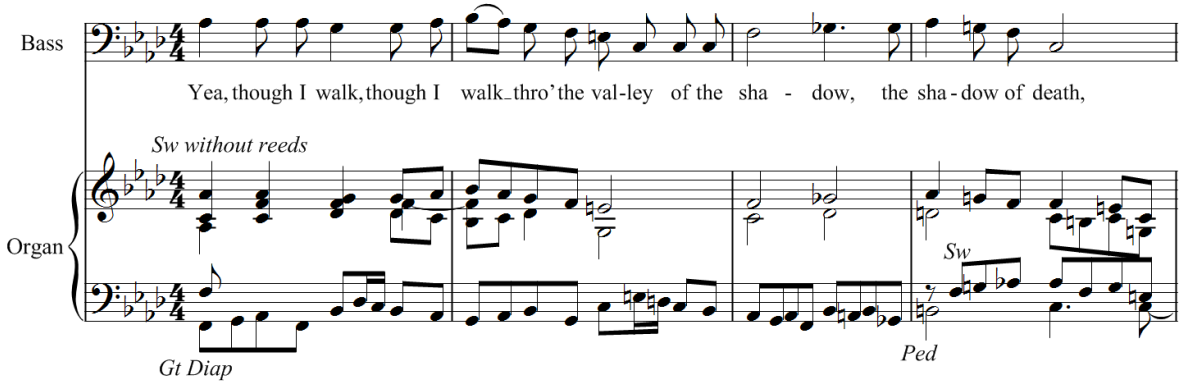
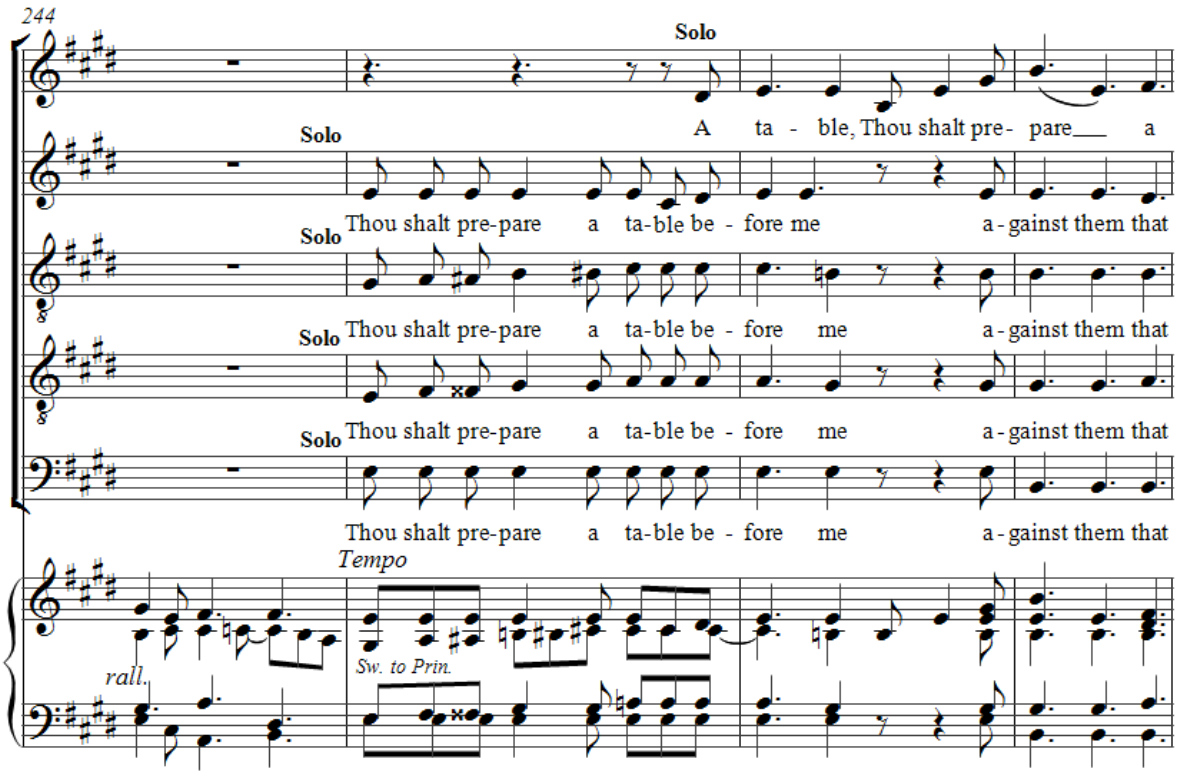
1 Letter from Grey to Dykes, 29 September 1870. (App. B p. 70).

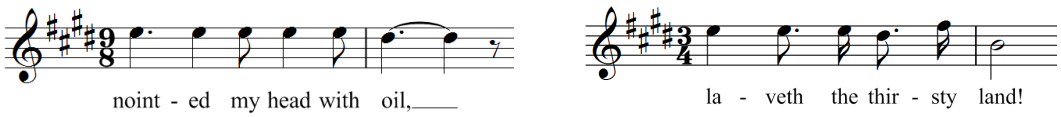
2 *CT* 27 March 1874, p. 152.

3 Though apparently forgetting that the pedalboard extends downwards only to CCC.

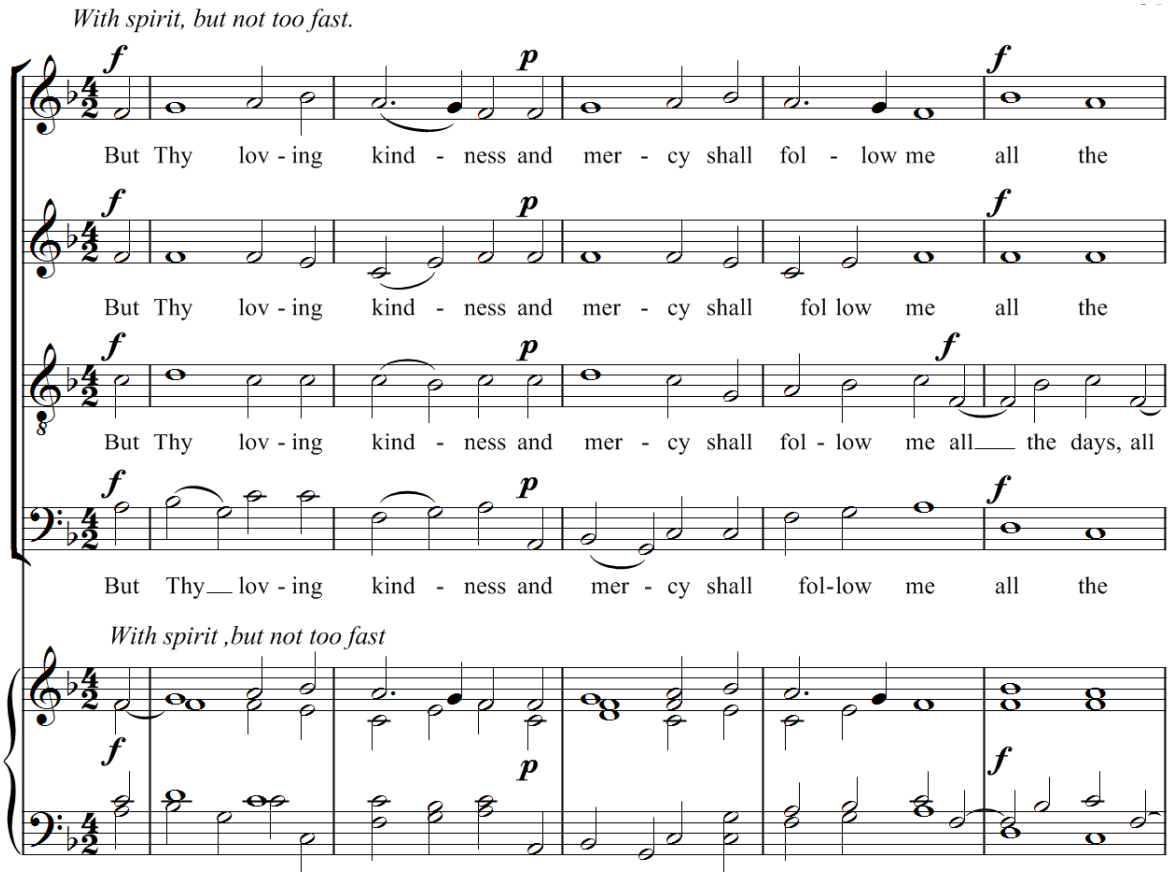
4 Dykes acknowledged in a footnote that he had unwittingly plagiarised Handel's *Nasce al Bosco* in the phrase 'therefore can I lack nothing'.

At bar 77 an eight-bar organ interlude introduces a suitably pastoral tenor solo, which takes the text forward for eighty-two bars:

A nine bar reprise of the opening theme takes the anthem into the programmatic valley of the shadow of death, with the solo now taken up by the bass:



The mood changes at bar 224 with a twenty-one bar interlude in a lilting 9/8 introducing a quintet and chorus which goes on (and on) for 114 bars in the remote key of E major:

The insistent, jaunty rhythms (Dykes himself describes 'the joyous and mirthful character of the music [which] is suggested by the *"Calix inebrianus"* of the Vulgate'[1]) running for page after page lend a Mendelssohnian feeling:



The final section is, at 199 bars, the longest and least successful. After the spirited section which precedes it, it returns to a stiff and largely homophonic style which even a passage of quasi-fugal writing does not quite enliven:

[1] *MT, 1 August 1874,* p. 589. See App. C Part 2 p. 206.

Although competently crafted, it would take a competent choir, a well-resourced organ and a reverberant acoustic to disguise from listeners the fact that limited material is made to go a very long way, with the first 'Amen' appearing a full *ten minutes* before the end. (See p. 285 for a discussion of Dykes's response to a critic of this piece.)

b. Small scale

i. **Alleluia** (currently lost)[1]

ii. **At the Name of Jesus** (currently lost)[2]

iii. **Blessing and honour** (currently lost)[3]

iv. **Come, Holy Ghost** (only T&B parts extant)

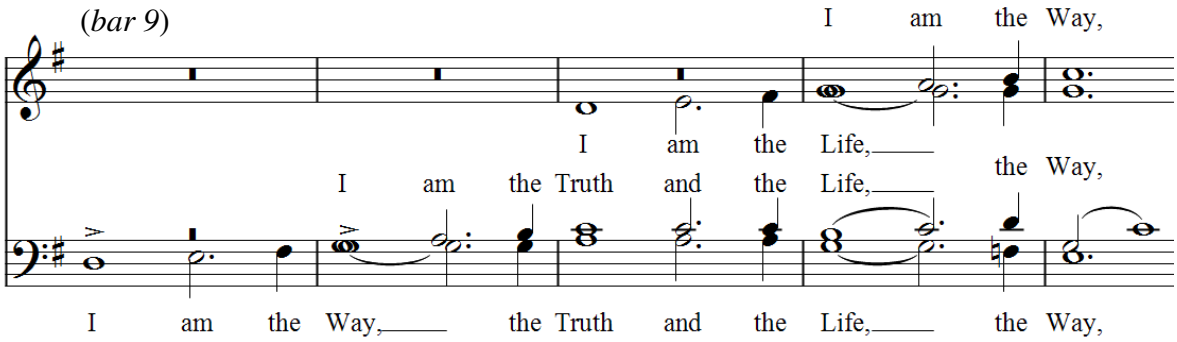
[1] The only reference to this anthem is a report in *MT* (1 March 1869), p. 26. It is possible that this is a reference to some other piece, perhaps the hymn *Alleluia! Now all the bells are ringing.*

[2] Referred to in Anon (ed) *Anthems Used in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Andrews: Durham, 1871).

[3] *loc. cit.*

v. **I am the way**

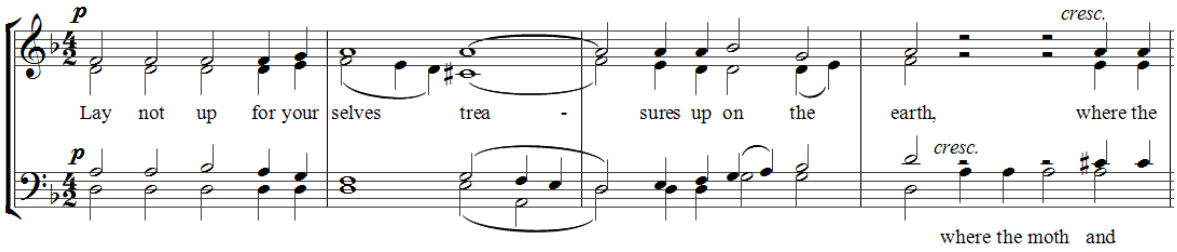
98 bars (7 mins 50 secs) **Congregational Psalmist, Third Section (1872)**



This over-long anthem, largely diatonic but with chromatic moments, is demanding only insofar as it demands patience from singers and listeners as it meanders from nowhere to nowhere via nowhere. In the reasonable opinion of the *MT* this anthem, and *Unto Him that loved us*, constitute 'most sorry rubbish'.[1]

vi. **Lay not up for yourselves**

48 bars (c3 mins 45 secs) **The Parish Choir Vol. V (Hutchins: Medford, Mass., 1887)**

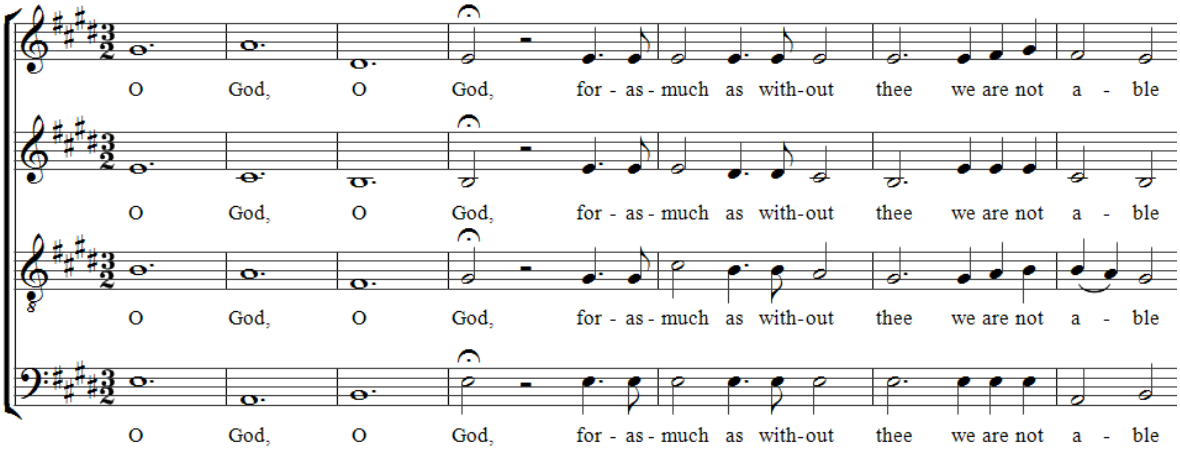


An undemanding homophonic anthem, a stylistic fusion of Ouseley (*Is it nothing to you*), Goss (*I heard a voice*), Wesley (*Man that is born of a woman*) and even Tallis (*If ye love me*) — but with none of their inspiration.

[1] *CT*, 10 January 1873, p. 12.

vii. **O God, forasmuch as without Thee**

61 bars (c2 mins 20 secs) **Unpublished MS**, not later than 1861

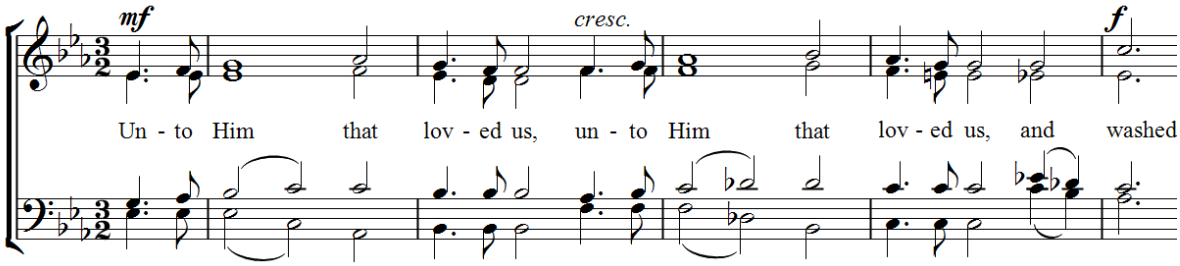


This plain and simple anthem has distinct echoes of Attwood's *Teach me, O Lord* (although Attwood would surely have avoided the consecutive 5ths in bar 32). The closest it comes to an interesting moment is in bars 12–16. Fowler reprints (p. 77) a letter from Edward Greatorex in which he asserts that it was composed before *These are they*, but this appears to be inaccurate. Conrad Eden drew attention to a note written on the organist's copy of the anthem 'First introduced in [Durham] Cathedral, January 29th 1861, W. Henshaw, organist.'[1] It is, of course, possible that Dykes composed *Forasmuch* before 1858 and kept it in a drawer until 1861, but that seems improbable.

viii. **The Spirit and the Bride** (currently lost)[2]

ix. **Unto Him that loved us**

60 bars (4 mins 50 secs) Congregational Psalmist, Third Section (1872)



A simple congregational anthem for SATB and organ. Described by the *MT*, along with *I am the way*, (*q.v.*) as 'most sorry rubbish'. But the anthem's commissioner was more

[1] Eden, C., *Homage to Dykes*, BBC Northern Programme, 3 April 1937. Transcript Durham University Add. MS 34 at p. 6.

[2] Anon (1871)(b).

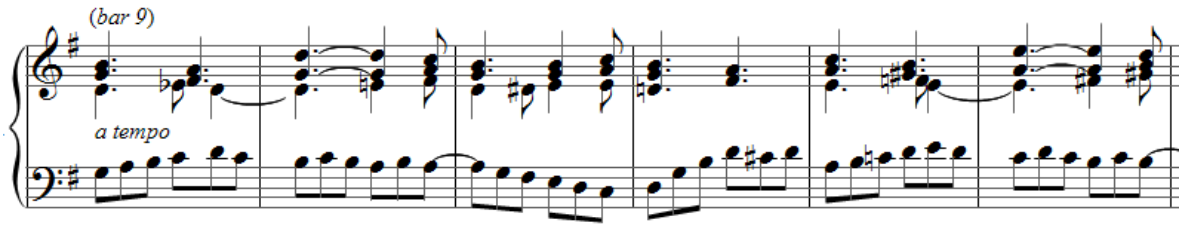
appreciative: 'Your anthem *Unto him that loved us* has got into our common use. Eleven hundred people sang it last Sunday with a great effect.'[1]

Chants

Six unremarkable single chants are reproduced in App. A Pt. 2 pp. 176–177. No double chants by Dykes are known to exist and, in a letter, Dykes referred to quadruple chants as 'an utter mistake'.[2]

Organ solo

Andante Sostenuto

Length: 86 bars (c3mins). Matthews, T.R. (ed.) ***The Village Organist*** **(Novello: London, 1870)**. A simple piece in 6/8 time in the form Introduction—A—B—A—Coda. It is difficult to imagine an appropriate liturgical use for it.

Piano Trio (currently lost)

'His few essays in extended structure, such as the trio for strings and piano, were composed when people asked for them. They show technical competence but lack the emotional spontaneity which, liked and disliked, gives his hymn tunes a personal stamp and memorability.'[3]

Waltzes (currently lost)

Referred to in Dykes's diary for July 1843: 'A letter from M.T. thanking me for a copy of my waltzes which I had sent her…'[4]

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1 Letter from Allon to Dykes, 29 October 1874. (App. B p. 281).

2 Letter from Dykes to Morley, 4 January 1872. (App. B p. 131).

3 Hutchings, A.J.B., 'Dykes's Music' in Gibby, C.W. *The Story of St Oswald's Church, Durham* (British Publishing Company: Gloucester, n.d.) p. 23.

4 Fowler, p. 17.

Songs and miscellaneous choral pieces

i. *Come, schoolmates, let us jovial be.* Author: Samuel Childs Clarke. Shown in Pazdírek[1] (under the title *Breaking up for the Christmas holidays*) to have been published by Novello (n.d.). Words printed in *Festival and Other Hymns &c.*[2] with a footnote which reads 'The music by Rev. J. B. Dykes, Mus. Doc. Written for the boys of the Launceston Grammar School.' (Currently lost.)

ii. *The Merciful and Gracious Lord.* Author: Biblical text with chorus by S.C. Clarke. Words printed in *Festival and Other Hymns &c.* with a footnote which reads 'Music by J. B. Dykes.' (Currently lost.)

iii. *Christmas, happy Christmas*. Referred to in Pazdírek[3] as being for mixed voices and published by Novello (n.d.). (Currently lost.)

iv. *As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean*. Referred to in a letter from Frederic Dykes to JBD: I remember his writing a song to Tom Moore's words, "As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean," which he dedicated to Miss Harriet Spence, in Hull.'[4] (Currently lost.)

v. *Arietta*. Referred to in Dykes's diary for July 1843.[5] (Currently lost.)

vi. *Too Late*. Referred to in Fowler p. 167. (Currently lost.)

vii. *To the winds with thy care and trouble!* Referred to in Fowler p. 202. (Currently lost.)

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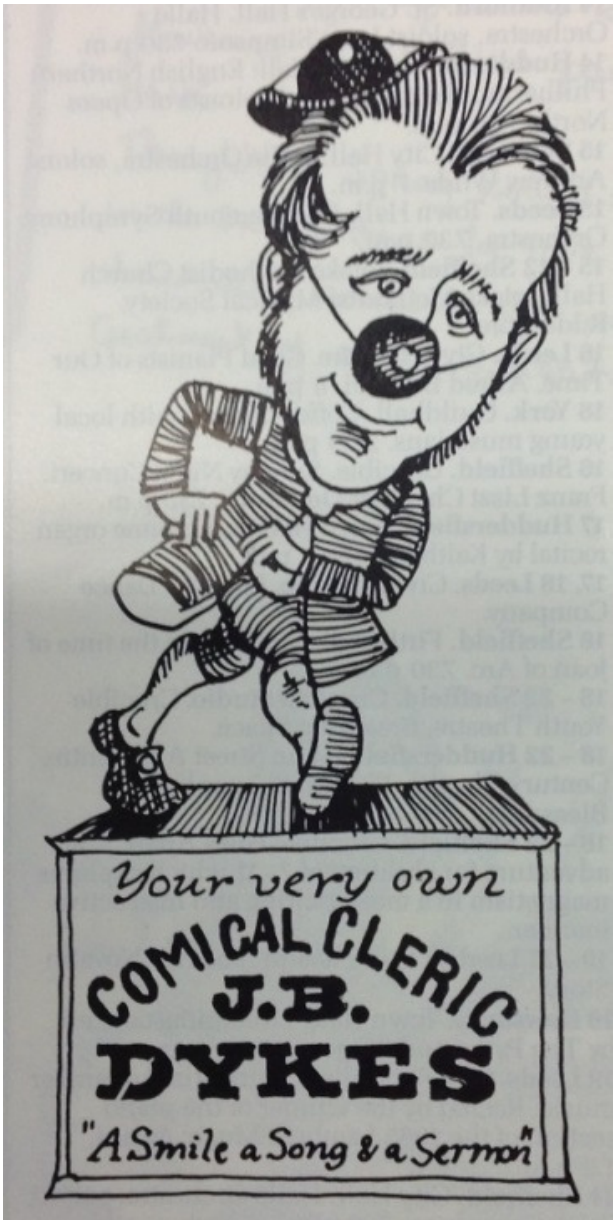
1 Pazdírek, F., (ed.) *The Universal Handbook of Musical Literature*. Vol. 6 (Augener: London, n.d.) p. 530.

2 Childs Clarke, S. *Festival and Other Hymns &c.* (Skeffington: London, 1896).

3 *op.cit.* p. 530.

4 Fowler, p. 17.

5 *loc. cit.*



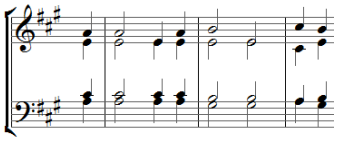
(*Unknown cartoonist*)

Hymns

For each tune in this index the following information is shown beside the incipit: other names by which it is known, if any, (CAPITALS); an abbreviation of the first published source (**bold**); the original words (*italics*); and the author[s]/translator of the original words (plain text). A § by the name of the hymnal denotes that the tune is omitted from the 1902 edition; a ✠ denotes that the tune is not mentioned in Fowler.

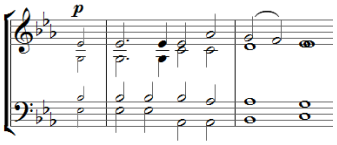
Key to hymnals. (For full publication details see Bibliography)

1902 edition	*Hymn Tunes by John Bacchus Dykes*
A&M	*Hymns Ancient & Modern*, with date
Allon	*The Congregational Psalmist*
Aylward	*The Sarum Hymnal*
Barkworth	*Supplement to the Collection of Psalms & Hymns &*c.
Barnby	*The Hymnary*
Barry	*Psalms & Hymns for Church, School and Home*
Bemrose	*The Chorale-Book*
Bickersteth	*The Hymnal Companion*
Borthwick	*The Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book*
Biden	*Processional Hymns with Accompanying Tunes*
Bramley	*Christmas Carols New and Old*
Bristol	*The Bristol Tune Book*
Brock	*Children's Hymn Book*
Brown	*Eight Original Harvest Hymns*
Child's Book	*Child's Book of Praise*
Chope	*Congregational Hymn & Tune Book*
Cooke	*Congregational Church Music*
Darling	*Hymns for the Church of England*
Evans-Freke	*The Song of Praise*
Grey I	*Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*
Grey II	*Hymnal for the Use of the English Church*
Hall	*New Mitre Hymnal*
Hiles	*Wesley Tune Book*
Hoyte	*Book of Litanies, Prose and Metrical*
Hughes	*The St Asaph Hymn Book*
Infant Children	*Accompanying Tunes to Hymns for Infant Children*
Lancaster	*The Leeds Tune Book*
Littledale	*The People's Hymnal*
Monk	*Anglican Hymn Book*
MT	*Musical Times*, with date
Mundella	*The Day School Hymn Book with Tunes*
PCB	*Parish Choir Book*
Psalms & Hymns	*Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*
Reid	*Praise Book*
Sullivan	*Church Hymns*
Taylor	*The Parish Church Hymnal*
Thring	*Four Hymns by Godfrey Thring*
Tucker I	*Hymnal with Tunes*
Tucker II	*Children's Hymnal, with Tunes*
Wordsworth	*The Holy Year*
XIII Hymns	*XIII Hymns for Advent and Lent*

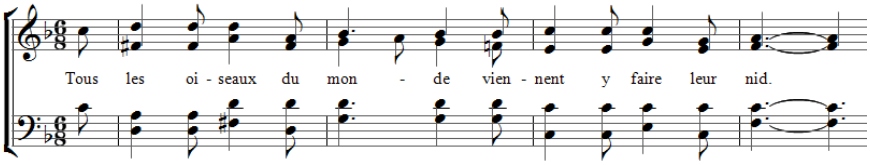
ADESTE FIDELIS (arr.) (Irregular)

Grey I §✠
O Come, all ye faithful
attr. J.F. Wade (1711–1786), *tr.* F. Oakeley (1802–1880)

- The melody has been dated to c1743. Oakeley was appointed Minister of the strongly Tractarian Margaret Chapel in 1839 but seceded to the Roman Catholic church in 1845.

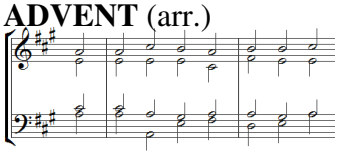
ADORO TE DEVOTE (11.11.11.11.11.14)



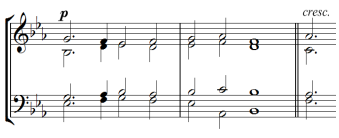
1902 edition
Devoutly I adore thee
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- Includes a phrase reminiscent of *Auprès de ma blonde*:

(although Dykes would doubtless have flattened the tenor D at the end of the second complete bar.) The same melodic and harmonic motif can be seen in CONFIRMATION PT.2., ELUTHERIA, HOLY GHOST COME DOWN, PASSIO, PAX DEI, THE HOLY ANGELS and, more faintly, in LAUD.

- 'During this visit [to London, July 1874] he wrote for Mr [W.H.] Monk, for some specially solemn occasion, a tune to a translation of the hymn "*Adoro te devote*".'[1]

ADVENT (arr.) (8.7.8.7.8.8.7.)

LUTHER'S HYMN
Chope §✠
Great God, what do I see and hear?
Thomas Cotterill (1779–1823) *et al*

- The melody has been dated to 1529 or 1533.[2] The harmonies are unimaginative.

AD VESPERUM (7.7.5.D)

Thring
God the Father, God the Son
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)

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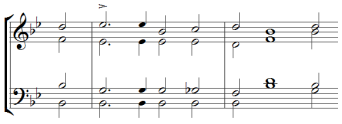
1 Fowler, p. 196.

2 Frost, p. 702.

· Bars 10–12 are similar to bars 13–17 of VIA CRUCIS.

AGNUS DEI (see **'BEHOLD, THE LAMB OF GOD'**)

ALFORD (7.6.8.6.D)

***A&M* 1875**
Ten thousand times ten thousand
Henry Alford (1820–1871)

· In a letter to Dykes's widow following his death, Baker wrote: 'We are going to sing only his tunes to every hymn next Sunday, and the *Dies Irae* after Evensong — for him; followed by *Ten thousand times ten thousand*.'[1]

· '…the most jubilant and spirit-stirring of all his tunes.'[2]

· 'Not that [pedal bases were] always commendable. It makes no springboard at the opening of Dykes's vulgar old screamer Alford…which can be sung a whole *fourth* lower and then only touch middle B for its lowermost note! (It would then lose almost the only point it has, the colouring of the words by high notes.)'[3]

· 'Such hymns as…*Ten thousand times ten thousand* would not be themselves without Dykes's tunes.'[4]

· '…the uplifting ALFORD…one of the very finest modern tunes.'[5]

· 'Sung through without any reference to its harmonization, everyone will feel that the inspiration of the first phrase is unfulfilled by any subsequent event, that the rhythm halts and sticks with almost every line…Dykes, having shot his bolt in the first line, keeps the composition moving by harmonic effects, mostly of chromatic sevenths, through the remainder of the verse. This is not said with any wish to pillory a favourite tune by an admired composer, but simply to give an instance of how easily harmonic design usurps the place of tune.'[6]

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1 Fowler, p. 233.

2 Letter from Baker to the *Guardian*, 30 January 1876. (App. B p. 312).

3 Hutchings, A.J.B. *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Herbert Jenkins: London, 1967) p. 155.

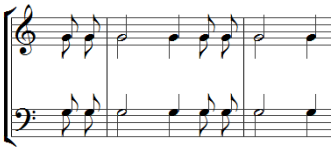
4 *Times*, 18 March 1939, p. 10.

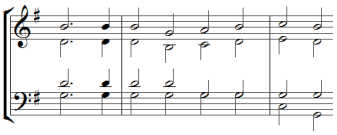
5 Lutkin, p. 31.

6 Colles, H.C. 'Choice of Church Music (Theoretical)' in Gardner, G. and Nicholson, S.H. *A Manual of English Church Music* (SPCK: London, 1923) p. 39.

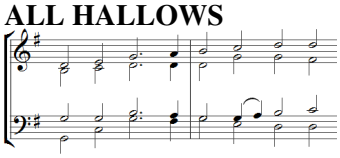
· ‘Of doubtful value for congregational use.’[1]

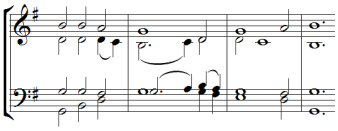
ALLELUIA (see **THE STRIFE IS O’ER**)

ALLELUIA!
NOW ALL THE BELLS

(7.6.7.6.D)
EASTER DAY
Child’s Book
Now all the bells are ringing
Claudia Frances Hernaman (1838–1898)

ALLELUIA! SING
TO JESUS

(8.7.8.7.D)
1902 edition
Alleluia! sing to Jesus
W.C. Dix (1837–1898)

· This tune comes to an unequivocal full stop half way through, picking up lamely in line three, only to come to another full stop (in the dominant) at the end of the line. Line four, which also starts with a seventh, serves as a musical bookend, linking the first and last lines.

ALL HALLOWS

(8.7.8.7.)
Grey II
Spouse of Christ, for Him contending
tr. William Palmer (1811–1879)

ALMSGIVING

(8.8.8.4.)
ELLIOTT
Wordsworth
O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

· ‘…one of the most beautiful tunes set to one of my own unworthy hymns’ — Wordsworth.[2]
· The changes made by the Proprietors of *A&M* to Wordsworth’s words were the subject of acrimonious correspondence between the two parties (see p. 117.) More cordial was the correspondence between Dykes and Wordsworth in which the former proposed, and the latter accepted, improvements to the words.[3]

· The tune shares a six-note opening melodic motif with GERONTIUS.

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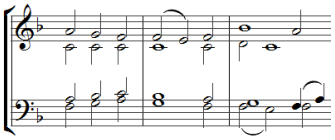
1 Brown, J.N. p. 5.

2 Anon (1871a) p. 397.

3 Letters from Dykes to Baker, 4 November 1871 and Wordsworth to Dykes, 14 November 1871. (App. B pp. 127 and 131.

AMOR FIDELIS (See '**FAITHFUL IN THY LOVE'**)

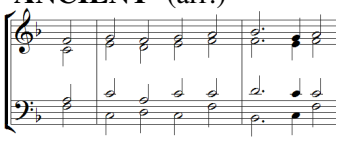
AMPLIUS

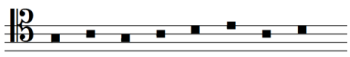
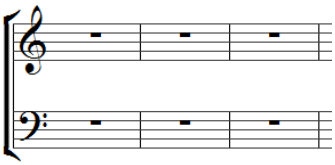


(8.8.8.8.8.8.)
Monk
Jesu my Lord, my God, my All
Henry Collins (1827–1919)

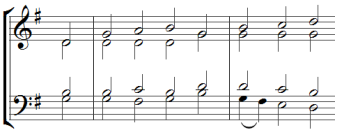
- W.H. Monk proposed changes to the harmony.[1]

- This tune shares a six-note opening melody and rhythm with Hemy's ST CATHERINE. Hemy (1818–1888) was organist of a Church in Newcastle and taught in Durham. It is possible that Dykes was familiar with *Crown of Jesus Music*, edited by Hemy and published in 1864 in which ST CATHERINE first appeared.

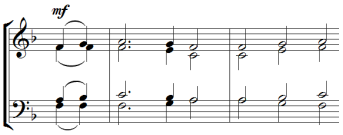
'ANCIENT' (arr.)

(LM)
Chope §✠
To Thee, O God, our praise belongs

This is an arrangement of the plainsong melody AURORA LUCIS RUTILAT:

ANIMA CHRISTI

(?)
(?) §✠
(?)
(?)

The tune, mentioned in a letter from Dykes to Baker,[2] has yet to be traced.

ANNINGSLEY

(8.8.7.D)
Grey II
O God Most High! Creator! King!
Anon

- Dykes's diary records his sending of the tune to Grey's wife on 18 August 1865.[3]

ARDWICK

(12.11.12.11)
1902 edition
Oh! come to the merciful Saviour
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

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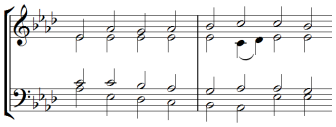
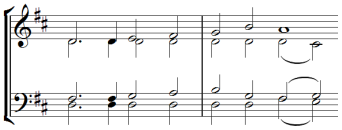
1 Letter from Monk to Dykes, 26 October 1870. (App. B p. 83).

2 30 September 1873. (App. B p. 207).

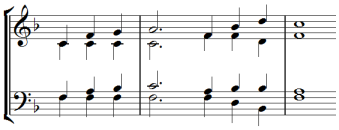
3 Fowler, p. 103.

ARUNDEL (8.7.8.7.)

Chope
Lord, have mercy and remove us
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

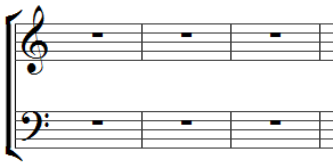
- The harmonisation of this tune is unimaginative. The initial move, from the tonic in root position to the tonic in its second inversion, is very weak, with other missed opportunities for harmonic interest suggesting themselves throughout.

ASCENSION (7.7.7.7.)

Grey II
Hail the day that sees Him rise
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

- This is not one of the better examples of Dykes's tunes matching the sentiment of the words: the musical pathos of the third line, ending with its reticent 'Alleluia', and the throw-away Alleluia at the end of the hymn give clues as to why Robert Williams's LLANFAIR became the inseparable partner to this hymn. The 1902 version has significant variations.

'AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND' (8.6.8.6.8.6.)

Infant Children
At God's right hand, in Heav'n above
Eleanor Steward

- See Dykes's *Preface* to this hymnal.[1]
- Either the tenor F in the first chord is a printer's error (the 1902 edition copies the original) or else Dykes chose a weak chord with which to start this tune. (When the melody is repeated at the beginning of line 5 a stronger harmony is used.) The conclusion is abruptly anti-climactic.

'AT THY FEET, O CHRIST, WE LAY' (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

Unpublished §
At Thy feet, O Christ, we lay
William Bright (1824–1901)

- A manuscript note by Henry King (Novello) indicates that this is one of several 'tunes [which] were rejected by the advice of Sir John Stainer & Jack Dykes…He examined all the tunes in m.s. many of which contained his remarks.'[2] No trace of this tune has yet been found.

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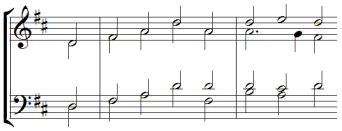
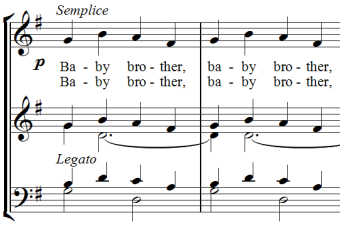
1 App. C Part 2 p. 62.

2 Pratt Green MS 17.

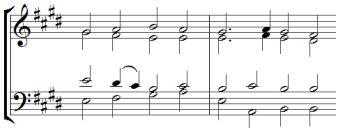
AWAKE, AWAKE (CMD)

EXSURGE
Anglican
Awake! awake, put on thy strength
"T.T.N."

· The 1902 edition and Fowler name this tune EXSURGE but the *Anglican HB* names it simply 'Awake! Awake!'

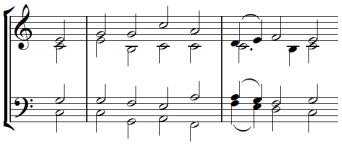
'BABY BROTHER' (8.7.8.7.)

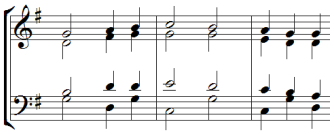


CRADLE HYMN
Infant Children
Baby brother, baby brother, you must shut those little eyes
Emily Mary Steward Shapcote (1828–1909)

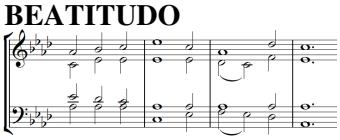
BAMBOROUGH (8.7.8.7.D)

Psalms and Hymns
Hail, thou once despisèd Jesus
John Bakewell (1721–1819)

· The form of this tune is **AB AC DE AC**. In its first appearance, the harmony of **A** is weak, moving from chord I back, via IV, to I in the space of five beats without having gone anywhere; at its second appearance the progression in **A** is a slightly stronger. The tune returns at the mid-way point back in the tonic (from which it had scarcely departed) in what is aurally a full stop and from which any continuation is laboured. But continue it does. The next section, **D**, moves promisingly (if conventionally), from the tonic, via the subdominant and then, apparently (and conventionally) to the dominant of the home key — except that it does not: the flattening of the third in the dominant seventh of the key (B major) to which our imagination had been led takes us directly to the dominant seventh of the home key of E without having quite arrived at the dominant. The last phrase, **AC**, has one more surprise — the dominant to which our ears were led at the end of **A** is chromatically diminished, leading to the chord of I^7 (which does not immediately resolve, as convention would dictate, to IV) before returning to the tonic. The result of these aural misleadings is unsettling.

BARRINGTON (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

Psalms and Hymns
When gathering clouds around I view
Robert Grant (1785–1838)

BASLE (arr.)

(10.10.10.10.)
Chope §✠
Glory and praise, to Thee, Redeemer Blest
attr. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans

- This is a truncated version of the six-line OLD 124th, attributed to Bourgeois, first printed in the Genevan Psalter 1551. Dykes's harmonisation is unremarkable and inelegant, with the transition from the dominant of the relative minor at the end of line 3 to a first inversion of the tonic (when the truncation has already removed the leap in the melody anticipated by the harmony) being awkward.

BEATITUDO

(CM)
***A&M* 1875**
How bright these glorious spirits shine
Isaac Watts (1674–1748) and William Cameron (1751–1811)

- One of Dykes's best known, most loved, most derided, most sentimental, most effective tunes, it is difficult to pinpoint the source of its beatitudinous effects: the lilting rhythm; the nine successive chords, of which only two are concords (following the first twelve beats of the tune in which there is only a single discordant beat and throughout which the note of A♭ is a cypher); the echo of Liszt's *Liebestraume No. 3* in the second line (a motif also used in the last line of DOMINUS REGIT ME); the descending tenor at the beginning of lines one and three; the sequence V^7, VI^7, Vb^7, I, VI leading to the poignant dominant of the relative minor in line three; or the quintessentially Dykesian chromatic ascending sequence Ic, V°, V^7 over a pedal in line four.

- 'Dr Dykes contrives to do violence to the accent of the words in about 17 lines out of 28, by making an iambic hymn begin, as he is wont, on the first beat of the bar!'[1]

- '[Dykes's] style is to be seen at its…weakest in…'How bright these glorious spirits shine'.'[2]

- Explaining the tune's omission from the 1904 edition of *A&M*, the Proprietors wrote that it was a tune 'whose rhythm approaches so closely to a dance-rhythm as to make [it] unsuitable for permanent used in ordinary worship; though [it] may be suitable in exceptional circumstances and with special congregations.'[3]

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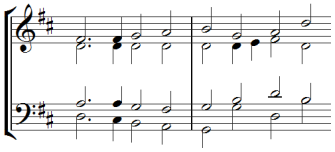
1 Heywood, J. *Our Church Hymnody* (Simpkin, Marshall and Co: London, 1881) p. 63.

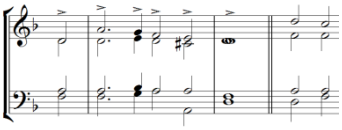
2 Phillips, C.J. *Hymnody, Past and Present* (SPCK: London, 1937) p. 223.

3 *The New Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Survey of the Reviews* (n.d.), Archives of *A&M,* p. 22.

- ‘Dykes’s “pulling out” of a style to suit words affects those tunes nowadays thought sentimental, of which he wrote very few indeed. One source of saccharine is a reminiscence of Mozart. Dykes knew Don Giovanni well. Punctuating the quartet “Non ti fidar” in that opera is a cadence which drops a diminished fifth — key B♭, drop from E♭ to A♮. Its pathetic effect becomes sentimental when the cadence is divorced from Mozart’s context, and Dykes provides a swoop for the congregation by using this interval at the end of [BEATITUDO], in the first line of [ST AGNES] and in at least five other hymns [ALFORD; ALLELUIA, SING TO JESUS; FATHERLAND; JESU, MAGISTER BONE; JUST AS I AM; MERCY-SEAT], most of which are not well known for the tunes are dull.’[1]

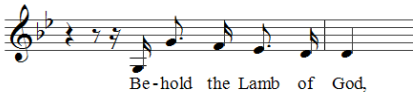
BEATUS ISRAEL

(13.13.14.13.)
Hiles
None is like Jeshurun’s God
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

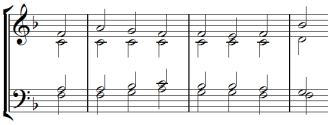
- The melody in the second half of line one mirrors that of DIES DOMINICA.

‘BEHOLD, THE LAMB OF GOD’

(6.6.6.4.8.8.4.)
AGNUS DEI; ECCE AGNUS; ST JOHN;
Darling
Behold the Lamb of God!
Matthew Bridges (1800–1893)

- ‘…his dramatic…“Behold the Lamb of God!” a tune which begins in the Middle Ages and closes rather all too sweetly in the nineteenth century.’[2]

- Note the echo in Dykes’s setting and Handel’s:



BETHANY

(11.11.11.11.)
JUDEA
Tucker I
I would not live alway; I ask not to stay
William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877)

- After the third line’s typically Dykesian pathos, the last line contains an inelegant harmonic sequence — have we modulated to B♭ or are we still in F? — with a 7th between T&B which does not properly resolve and an awkward melodic drop of a major seventh, creating another abrupt anti-climactic ending.

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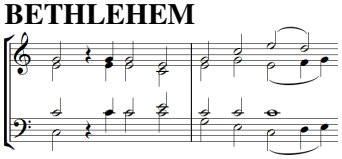
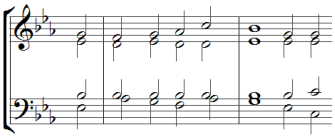
1 Roe and Hutchings, p. 21.

2 Lutkin, p. 32.

BETHLEHEM (Ten 7s)

BETHLEHEM NEW; HERALD ANGELS
Borthwick
Hark! the herald angels sing
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

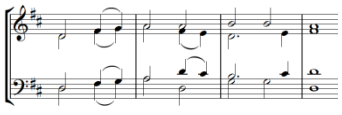
- In this joyous setting, Dykes's oft-criticised use of repeated notes heightens anticipation of the impending launching of the melody to its highest point at the very climax of the verse: *Christ is **born** in Bethlehem*.

- 'Would that the tune were more frequently used, but, unfortunately… [MENDELSSOHN] has gained a monopoly…This tune affords a proof how careful Dr Dykes was in his settings to consider the whole of a hymn and not only the first verse. Not a few composers would have wedded the line, "Joyful, all ye nations rise," to a jubilant strain, without looking on to the corresponding lines in the two subsequent verses. But Dykes remembers that the words of the second verse — "Veiled in flesh the Godhead see" — and those of the third verse — "Mild he lays his glory by" — require a subdued rendering, as expressing the profound mystery of the incarnation.'[1]

BLAIRGOWRIE (7676D)

EDEN, HARTFORD
PCB?
The voice that breathed o'er Eden
John Keble (1792–1866)

- The first seven notes are melodically and harmonically identical to THERE'S A FRIEND FOR LITTLE CHILDREN. The last two lines closely match the last lines of STRENGTH AND STAY.

- The 1902 edition is silent as to the provenance of this tune. The Novello *Parish Choir Book* series, No. 612 (n.d.), names it BLAIRGOWRIE. Dykes wrote the tune in February 1872 for the wedding of a friend.[2] Fowler also gives the name of the tune as BLAIRGOWRIE. The Congregational Psalmist prints the tune as EDEN, but to different words, further casting doubt on that book's claim to first publication.

BLESSED TRINITY (7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition
Glory to the Father give
James Montgomerie (1771–1854)

- The opening melody echoes TALLIS' ORDINAL.

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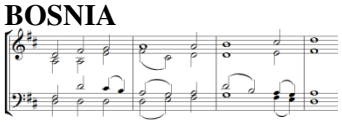
1 *Musical Opinion* 1 October 1890, p. 11.

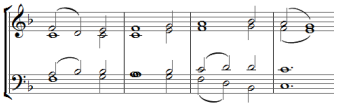
2 Fowler, p. 157.

BONE PASTOR (See **FAITH**)

BOSNIA (8.6.5.5.8.)

Hughes
Dadseiniwn orfoleddus glod
Anon

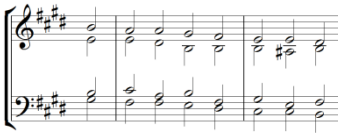
· The tune shares a melodic, though not rhythmic, opening with TRURO.

'*BOUND UPON THE ACCURSED TREE*' (See **ECCE HOMO**)

'BREAD OF HEAVEN' (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition
Bread of heaven, on Thee we feed
Josiah Conder (1789–1855)

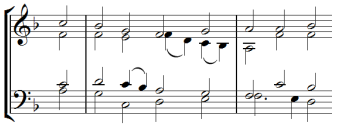
· An unusual, although intriguing, hybrid tune, it contains echoes of HYFRYDOL in line two; a German Passiontide chorale in line three; and a melodic and harmonic progression in the final line which is both piquant and almost certain to trip up any congregation.

BRIGHTON (LM)

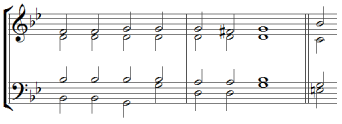


1902 edition
O Zion, when we think of thee
Thomas Kelly (1769–1855)

· See note to AD VESPERUM. The close similarity between BRIGHTON and BURTON AGNES suggests that this tune, published posthumously, was an early draft of the other.

BURTON AGNES (CM)

Psalms & Hymns
Oh for a heart to praise my God
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

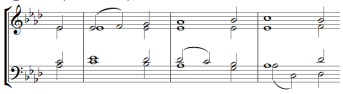
· See note on BRIGHTON.

BUTTERBY (7.7.7.7.)

SUBMISSION
Chope
When our heads are bowed with woe
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

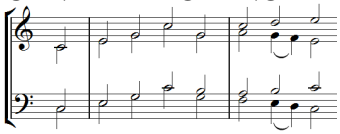
· Unusual both for its limited melodic range — a fourth — and for the fact that the tune has no climax, the tune feels homeless as regards its key.

CALVARY (See **HARK, THE VOICE OF LOVE**)

CANAAN (CM)

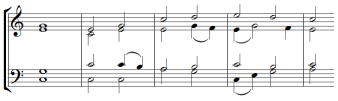


Psalms & Hymns
[*Not set to any specific words.*]

CANTATE DOMINO (DLM)

1902 edition
Sing to the Lord a joyful song
John Samuel Bewley Monsell (1811–1875)

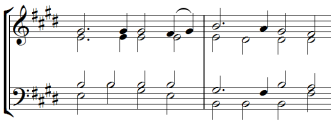
- Aside from the parallel 5ths between alto and tenor in bar 11, and parallel 8ves between alto and bass in bars 12 and 13, this tune does not suggest itself to be the product of inspiration. The transition through five keys in nine successive beats (bars 14–17) seems a contrived and pointless device for getting from the tonic to the subdominant. And with 14 of the final 15 notes in the melody being semibreves, the tune struggles to arrive at its conclusion from about two thirds of the way through.

- Fowler states that the tune was in print in 1897 but no evidence of pre-1902 printing has been found.

CATFORD (8.6.8.6.8.8.)

Cooke
Thou art the Everlasting Word
Josiah Conder (1789–1855)

- There is something of *The Grand Old Duke of York* in this tune, in that the melody is marched (three times) up to the top of the hill (top E) and then back down again, although never to any discernible purpose. And the three-chord progression D—C—D in bar 13 is crass.

CHANCEL (See **HARK, THE SOUND**)

CHARITAS (8.7.8.7.D)

CARITAS
***A&M* 1868**, (revised version *A&M* **1875**)
Lord of glory, who has brought us
Eliza Alderson (1819–1889)

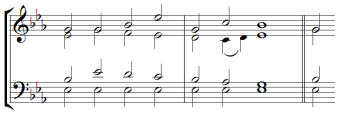
- The 1875 version irons out the dotted rhythms in the melody and improves the harmonies.

- 'CHARITAS is a highly sophisticated set of variations on the opening two lines, with special pathos reserved for the tonal shift from the dominant of E to D major.'[1]

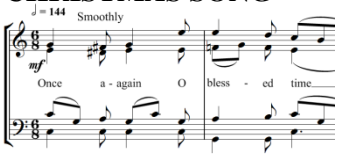
[1] Dibble (2014).

- '…tunes that unsuccessfully employ modulation, as a refuge from the necessity of working out their implications within their home key, like…[CHARITAS]'[1]

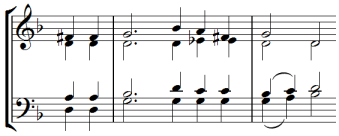
- The author is Dykes's sister. Several of his proposed amendments to the text were accepted.[2]

'CHILDREN OF THE HEAVENLY KING' (7.7.7.7.)

HOMEWARD
Biden
Children of the heavenly King
John Cennick (1718–1755)

CHILD'S LITANY (See **'HEAVENLY FATHER, FROM THY THRONE'**)

CHRISTMAS SONG (Irregular)

Bramley
Once again, O blessèd time
William Bright (1824–1891)

- Dykes was evidently not much taken by the text.[3]

CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR (8.5.8.3.)

***A&M* 1868**
Art thou weary, art thou languid?
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- This tune is ambiguous as to tonality and key. The key signature suggests F major/d minor; the tune starts with the dominant of *g* minor, leading to the tonic of g minor then back to the dominant at the end of the second line; at the beginning of the second bar of line three the tune lurches (there seems no other word for it) from g minor to F major, in which key the tune ends—but with another un-comfortable three chord transition—F/F7—D—g minor. So, the initial key signature not-withstanding, the *effective* key signatures are G minor at the beginning, F major a little over half way through.

- This tune was not popular with either Baker or Ouseley.[4] Nevertheless this tune, with which congregations are likely to have struggled, survived in *A&M* until it was finally rejected by the editors of the 1950 edition.

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1 Routley, Erik *The Music of Christian Hymnody* (Independent Press: London, 1957) p. 23.

2 Fowler, pp. 163–164.

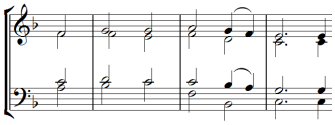
3 Letter from Bramley 4 March 1870. (App. B p. 56).

4 Letter from Baker to Dykes, June/July 1868. (App. B p. 45).

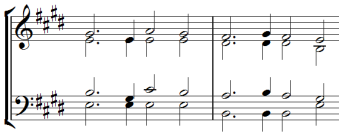
· Allon describes the tune as 'very charming' but probably difficult for congregations.[1]

CHURCH CONSECRATION (See **GOD'S HOUSE**)

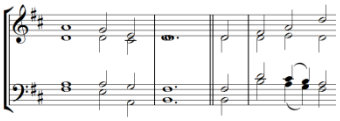
CHURCHYARD CONSECRATION (See **GOD'S ACRE**)

CILICIA

(8.8.8.)
Chope
O God of Life, whose Power Divine
Arthur Tozer Russell (1806–1874)

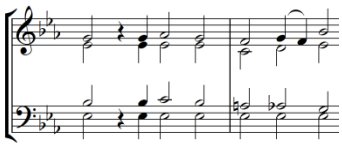
· Whereas Dykes, in a life-defining transition, moved from the Evangelical to the High Church wing of the Church, Russell moved in the opposite direction, becoming 'a moderate Calvinist'.[2]

CŒNA DOMINI

(8.7.8.7.8.7.)
1902 edition
Of that glorious body broken
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

· This tune is harmonically weak. The 7ths in bars 2, 6 and 8 resolve the wrong way; in bar 8 a II^7 (in two different inversions) arrives limply on a Ib; and the climax in the penultimate bar slumps suddenly to an off-the-shelf ending in the final bar.

'COME LABOUR ON'

(4.10.10.10.4.)
1902 edition
Come labour on, who dares stand idle
Jane Borthwick (1813–1897)

· The melody in line four echoes line three of STRENGTH AND STAY. The sense of lines two and three requires that they be sung without a break (*Who dares stand idle on the harvest plain while all around us waves the golden grain?*), but Dykes's tune creates an unhelpful comma after the word 'plain'. (The question mark after 'plain' in the 1902 edition is evidently an editorial error.)

'COME! OUR FATHER'S VOICE'

(8.7.8.7.)
OUR FATHER'S VOICE
Brock
Come! our Father's Voice is calling
Laurence Tuttiett (1825–1894)

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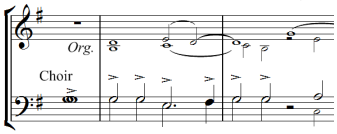
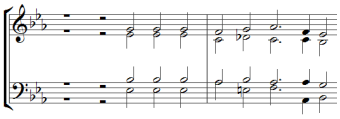
1 Letter from Henry Allon to Dykes, 10 November 1874. (App. B p. 283).

2 Julian, p. 981.

'COME UNTO ME' (7.6.7.6.D)

***A&M* 1875**
Come unto me, ye weary
William Chatterton Dix (1837–1898)

- It would be difficult to say which of the two somewhat similar hymns, "I heard the voice of Jesus say" and "Come unto me, ye weary," is the most beautiful and popular. The thought in both is the same; the manner of expression is not dissimilar; while the composer of the exquisite tune to each is the late Dr J.B. Dykes…"[1]

- 'What has given so many of Dykes's tunes their sure place in English hymnody is that he felt the character of the hymn for which he wrote his tune, not the character of the first verse but of the whole, and this made him successful where many better musicians have failed. A good hymn tune is not like a chant, which may be applied to any psalm. It belongs to its words…There is a pair of hymns…which many people dislike to-day "Come unto Me ye weary" and "I heard the voice of Jesus say" — because "weary" hymns are out of fashion in an age too conscious of its weariness. Many people would say that the tunes to them are Dykes at his worst, but no one can deny that they exactly fit the tone and temper of the words. He brought a dramatic sense to bear on his treatment of words, as every song-writer worth his salt must do.'[2]

COMMENDATIO (11.10.11.10.)

***A&M* 1875**
And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning
Eliza Alderson (1819–1889)

- The author was Dykes's eldest sister. He proposed modifications to her text.

- The theology inherent in Alderson's original text was the subject of extended and impassioned correspondence between Dykes and Baker. (See letters from Baker to Dykes 15, 21 & 24 September, and 1 and 6 October 1874; and from Dykes to Baker 11 August and 22 Sept 1874.)
- The pathos of the tune (the melody of which never rises above, and only once attains, B♭) is established in line one bar two with the progression IIb—V°—II, but the spell is broken in the last line when c minor abruptly moves to F^7.

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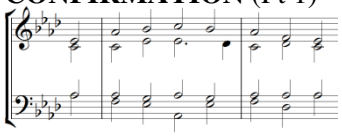
1 Jones (1895), p. 588.

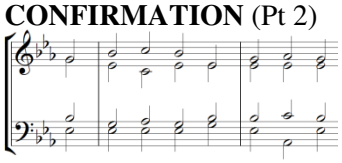
2 *Times,*18 March 1939, p. 10.

· '…each line…with its characteristic rhythm of triple anacruses and central dotted rhythm, is subtly variegated through repetition at different pitch levels, modulation to the subdominant and mediant keys, and, in line three, the inversion of a rising fourth to a descending fifth.'[1]

CONFIRMATION (Pt 1)

(DLM)
Wordsworth
Father of all, in Whom we live
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

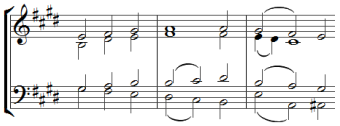
· This tune struggles to get going, arriving at full stops at the end of lines two (still in the tonic) and four, with the restart being laboured. Lines seven and eight reprise lines one and two.

CONFIRMATION (Pt 2)

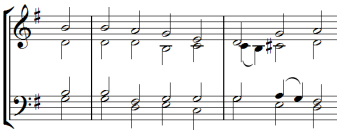


(DLM)
Wordsworth
O God, in Whose all-searching eye
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

· See note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

CONSECRATION

(DLM)
Reid
Lord, we are Thine: in Thee we live
James Deck (1802–1884)

· James Deck was a member of the Plymouth Brethren.[2] It would have appalled Dykes's grandfather to think that his grandson had the slightest connection with what he regarded as a heretical sect.

CONSENT

(8.8.8.6.)
ST BARNABAS [2]; DERRY
Reid
Just as I am, without one plea
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

· In his rearrangement of the tune for *A&M* (1875), Dykes strengthened the harmonies without altering the tune's overall character.

· A letter to the *MT* (26 April 1911)[3] seeks to clarify the publication history of this tune, without total success. Whereas the letter correctly identifies Reid's *Praise Book* as the first hymnal to include the tune, and therefore correctly notes that the 1909 *Historical Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern* mistakenly asserts that the tune was written 'for the 1875 edition',

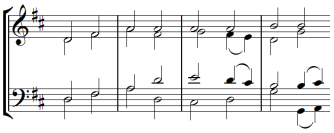
1 Dibble (2014)

2 Julian, p. 285.

3 Pratt Green MS 17/4.

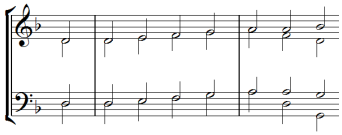
nevertheless (and *pace* the letter's author) the 1875 could still claim copyright to this *revision* of the tune. However, the 1902 edition is misleading in suggesting that the *source* of the tune can be traced to the 1875 edition.

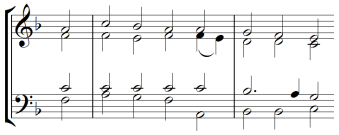
- The versions in Reid's *Praise Book*, Smart's *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*, the 1875 edition of *H&AM* and the 1902 Novello edition are different.

CORDE NATUS (8.7.8.7.8.7.7.)

MT (1 Dec 1866)
Of the Father's love begotten
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- The first six bars are a quotation from *Wachet Auf*, with appropriate eighteenth century harmonies.

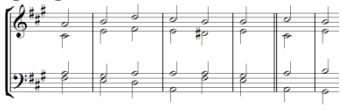
CRADLE HYMN (See **BABY BROTHER)**

CREDO DOMINE (10.10.10.10.10.10.)

Sullivan
My sins have taken such a hold on me
John Samuel Bewley Monsell (1811–1875)

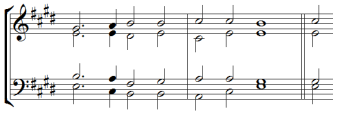
CREPUSCULUM (8.8.8.4.)

Evans-Freke
The radiant morn hath passed away
Godfrey Thring (1821–1887)

- The six-note opening motif is identical to DOMINUS REGIT ME and similar to HOSANNA.

- The arrival at the end of line two on E^7 creates the expectation of a modulation to a minor but, within a beat, a C^7 takes the tune straight back to F. The base progression in line three, bar two, beats three and four is particularly weak.

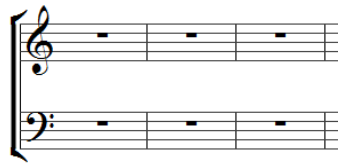
CROXDALE (SM)

Chope
When on creation's morn
Anon

- This tune deceives the ear at all points. Ostensibly in A major, the first five chords are f♯ minor, E, D, A, B^7 and E, this last chord establishing the tune's first sense of being in *any* particular key. Line three offers hope of the tonic, but the tenor and bass D♯s frustrate that hope, with A major not being achieved until the antepenultimate bar.

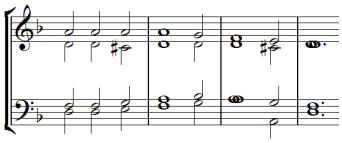
DA PACEM (7.7.7.7.D)

1902 edition
Lord! thou didst arise and say
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

- The eighteen beats of repeated bass notes, supported for sixteen beats by a sustained note on the organ pedals, mark the apogee (or nadir, according to one's taste) of Dykes's use of a pedal. Stainer managed a sixteen beat pedal in HOLY OFFERINGS.

- It is difficult to escape the feeling that Dykes's inspiration extended only as far as bar eight, by which point the tune returned to the tonic (from whence it had ventured only as far as the dominant). The continuation to and beyond bar 9 seems painfully contrived.

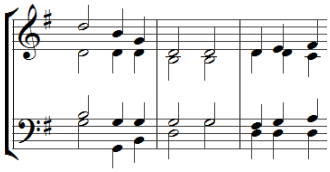
'DAY OF RESURRECTION' (?)

(?)
(?)
(?)

- Referred to (by title only) in Pazdírek.[1]

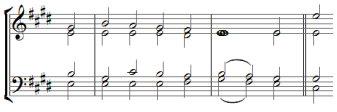
DEFENSOR (8.8.8.6.)

1902 edition
O Thou, the contrite sinner's friend
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

DELIVERANCE (See **HEAVENLY FATHER, FROM THY THRONE**)

DERRY (See **CONSENT**)

DEUS NOSTER REFUGIAM (11.11.11.5.)

Evans-Freke §
Now God be with us, for the night is closing
tr. Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878)

- The unrelieved tonic for bars one and two, and the unrelieved dominant for bars three and four, are lame; and the passing notes in bars eight and nine respectively weaken the original chords.

DIES DOMINICA (7.6.7.6.D)

Monk
O day of rest and gladness
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

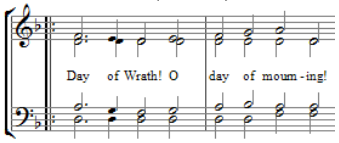
[1] Pazdírek, p. 530.

- Written for St John's Church, Leeds, where his brother, E.O. Dykes was Choirmaster. Dykes first heard it performed, in that Church, on Low Sunday, 1871.[1]

- In all subsequent appearances, the soprano dotted semibreve in bar 18 is an F♯. It is possible that the B in the *Anglican HB* is an engraving error.

- Monk makes unspecific references to 'alterations' and 'improvements' made to this tune.[2]

DIES IRÆ (No. 1)



(8.8.8.8.8.8.)
***A&M* 1861**
Day of Wrath! O day of mourning
tr. W.J. Irons

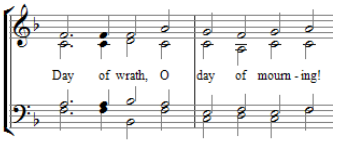
- This is one of the plethora of tunes in the 1861 edition with engraving errors (in this case, cautionary accidentals applied to the wrong note) which Monk's proof-reading failed to spot.

- Dykes writes of the 'much anxious thought' this hymn had caused, which he had tried to keep 'as easy' as the words would allow. (Letter from Dykes to W.H. Monk, 12 October 1860).[3]

- 'Dykes' dramatic feeling, tempered by his keen sense of balance and propriety, has full sway in his DIES IRAE…and it is also another successful example of breaking the bonds of limitation in hymn music and hinting at methods which tend to enlarge the scope of congregational singing.'[4]

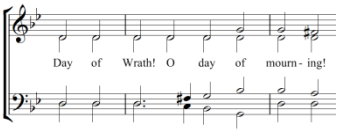
- 'ghoulish'.[5]

DIES IRÆ (No. 2)



(Nine 8s)
Chope §
Day of Wrath! O day of mourning
tr. W.J. Irons

DIES IRÆ (No. 3)



(Nine 8s)
1902 edition
Day of Wrath! O day of mourning
tr. W.J. Irons

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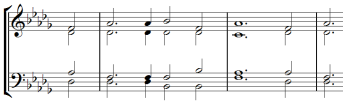
1 Fowler, p. 148.

2 Letter from E.G. Monk to Dykes, 19 October 1870. (App. B p. 78).

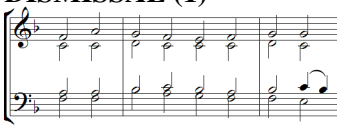
3 Fowler, p. 72.

4 Lutkin, p. 32.

5 Routley (1957), p. 124.

DIES TENEBROSA (666D)

Evans-Freke
Oh! dark and dreary day
Samuel Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

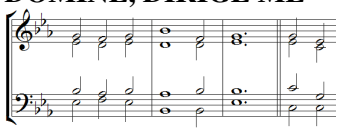
DISMISSAL (1) (8.7.8.7.4.7.)



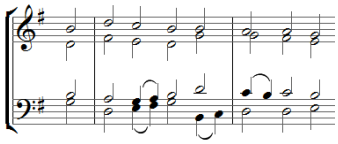
Taylor
Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing
'Probably' Dr John Fawcett[1]

DISMISSAL (2)

- This tune is mentioned in Fowler[2] as having been set to the hymn *God the Father, God the Son, Holy Spirit, three in one*, but it doesn't fit that metre and no such coupling has been found.

DOMINE, DIRIGE ME (6.4.6.6.)

Taylor §
Father, Thy way, not mine
Horatius Bonar (1808–1889)

- The tenor dominant 7ths in bars 2 and 6 resolve upwards.

DOMINUS REGIT ME (8.7.8.7.)

***A&M* 1868**
The King of Love my Shepherd is
Henry Williams Baker (1821–1877)

- Sung at Dykes's funeral.

- Shares a six-note opening motif with CRESPUCULUM and, the first note excepted, a nine-note opening motif with HOSANNA.

- 'To speak of a "Victorian hymn tune" is to set off in any remotely musical mind the strains of John Bacchus Dykes' tune to "The King of Love". There is nothing more centrally Victorian in all English religion than those words set to that tune. Probably, without the least consciousness that he was doing anything of the kind, that folk-genius Dykes gathered up there everything that this kind of Victorian music has to say... It is beautiful indeed; cunning in its simplicity, inerrant in its choice of melodic texture and intervals. The way the second line is nearly, but not quite, repeated in the fourth, yet without any sense of setting a trap for the unwary is in itself a stroke of inspiration…The sheer friendliness of the tune depends primarily on its choice of key and its use of the major-sixth between the low dominant and the mediant of that key in its background

[1] Julian, p. 687.

[2] p. 331.

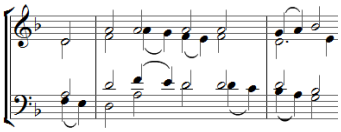
structure – a device which Dykes loved, but never again brought off with so little sense of mawkishness.'[1]

- '…one of his best and one of his most famous [tunes]; by it he may be fairly judged. [It] is in every book worth mentioning…Its melody is completely simple and easy, moving by attractive intervals, and without any of the melodic failures…in some of his other tunes. It has a typical "feminine" cadence in the second line; but this is demanded by the words. Two points in the tune, however, call for special comment; of which the first is the melodic phrase in the second and fourth lines (E—F♯—G—B—A). This is a phrase which better than any other sums up the "natural" music of the nineteenth century…The other point to be noticed is the stationary bass in the last line. Here is the contrapuntal breakdown which arises directly from the musical temper of the time, and which has so close a parallel in contemporary piety. It is a weakness which runs through all Dykes's music, and almost all the English music of the time, from top to bottom.'[2]

- 'Such hymns as…"The King of Love,"…would not be themselves without Dykes's tunes.'[3]
- The 1904 edition of *A&M* corrected what it saw as errors in the harmony in bars 1, 9 and 10.

DULCIS MEMORIA (See **FAITH**)

DUNELM (See **ST BARNABAS (3)**)

DUNHOLME (LM)

Hymn for the End of the Year, Novello 1863
The tide of time is rolling on
Isaac Gregory Smith (1826–1920)

- The tune starts in d minor; from line two onwards it tends towards F major; it reverts to d minor at the end of line three; and closes in F major. The ambiguity is unsettling.

- 'The idea of this tune, like some others by the same author, is evidently prompted by the words of the first verse. The constant progression of the parts in the first line conveys very well the idea, "The tide of time is rolling on," but, unfortunately, the congregation will have to "roll on" just as much in the other verses.'[4]

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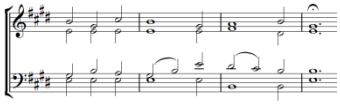
1 Routley (1968), p. 197.

2 Routley (1948), p. 4.

3 *Times*, 18 March 1939, p. 10.

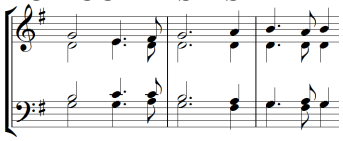
4 *Choir and Musical Record,* 21 November 1863 p. 216.

- There is a slight harmonic change in bar 2 of the 1902 Novello edition.

DURHAM

(8.8.8.8.8.8.)
Bemrose
When gathering clouds around I view
Sir Robert Grant (1785–1838)

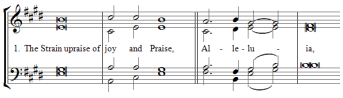
DURHAM (See **ST EDMUND**)

DURHAM (See **ST AGNES**)

DUX COELESTIS

(11.10.11.6.)
1902 edition
When on my day of life the night is falling
John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892)

- Contrary to the assertion made in the Preface, this tune cannot have been written for these words, which were written after Dykes's death.

DYKES



(Irregular)
THE STRAIN UPRAISE
Chope
The strain upraise of joy and praise
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

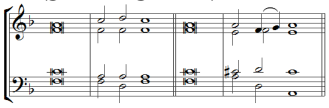
- In form this is closer to two, discrete, double chants.

- 'Fair, but not inspiring'[1]

- 'The best music for *The strain upraise,* is undoubtedly that by Dr Dykes in Chope's Hymnal.'[2]

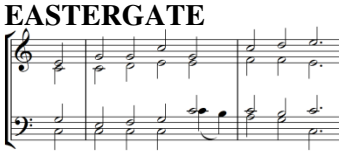
EASTER (See **RESURRECTION**)

EASTER CHANT



(LM)
***A&M* 1875**
Light's glitt'ring morn bedecks the sky
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- In form this is a double chant.

EASTERGATE

(8.8.8.8.8.8.)
Cooke
We sing His love, Who once was slain
Rowland Hill (1744–1833)

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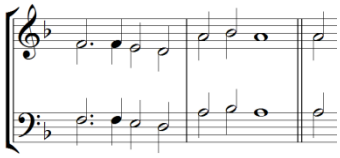
1 Brown, J.N., p. 17.

2 *The Choir and Musical Record*, 12 September 1863 p. 106.

ECCE AGNUS (See '**BEHOLD, THE LAMB OF GOD'**)

ECCE HOMO (Ten 7s)

BOUND UPON THE ACCURSED TREE
1902 edition
Bound upon the accursèd tree
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

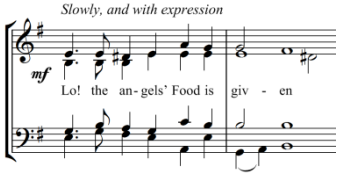
- This tune was written for Part II of the *Parish Church Hymnal, Part II* but this was never completed.[1]

- Dykes's dairy records 'Sept. 23 [1870]—Sent off "Bound upon the accursed tree" to Mr Taylor.'[2]

- '[this] tune shows how a skilful composer can modulate into remote keys without rendering his music strained or unnatural.'[3]

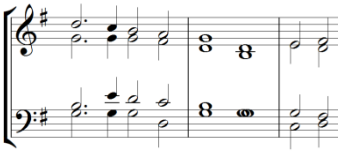
- Bars 23–25, including the interrupted cadence, resemble bars 9–10 of Henry Smart's HEATHLANDS.

ECCE PANIS (Irregular)



***A&M* 1868**
Lo! the angels' food is given
Anon (*tr.* from the Latin)

- More a motet than a hymn.

ECCE SIGNUM (6.5.6.5.6.5.D)

1902 edition
Forward! be our watchword
Henry Alford (1820–1871)

- Although the key signature does not change, the tune modulates into B♭ C, D and E♭. This, and the melody ending on top G are unlikely ever to have made this tune popular with congregations.

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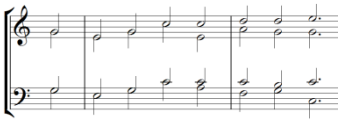
1 Malim, A.W. 'English Hymn Tunes: from the Sixteenth Century to the Present time' in *Musical Opinion*, 1 September 1890 p. 499.

2 Fowler, p. 147.

3 Musical Opinion, 1 October 1890, p. 10.

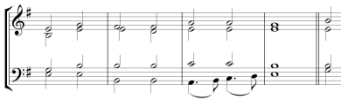
ECCE VICTOR (DCM)

THE SON OF GOD GOES FORTH TO WAR
1902 edition
The Son of God goes forth to war
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

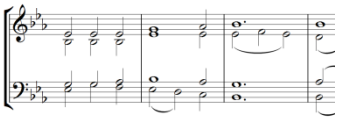
- Dykes's diary records that the tune was composed on August 2nd and 5th 1874. He evidently had second thoughts about it for, on 24 August, he wrote to Ouseley about revisions he had made to it on a train journey.[1] However, neither Baker, Monk nor Stainer liked it and it was rejected for the 1875 edition.[2] It is difficult to disagree with their collective opinion. Simple matters of taste apart, there are structural problems with the tune, which has pretensions to grandeur which never quite pay off. Not only does a dominant 7th in bar five fail to resolve, unambiguous expectations of a melodic leap implied by the seventh chord are disappointed, putting one in mind of a diver on the end of a springboard who loses courage and then retreats. (We have to wait until the last line for the ^{7}Vb to energise a melodic leap to a top E, chord I). And in an unusually careless harmonisation, there is a consecutive 5th between alto and tenor in bar 17.

- Robert Jackson's (later) NIAGARA copied exactly the first eight notes of the melody.

EDEN (See **BLAIRGOWRIE**)

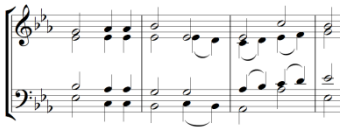
EDMUND (See **LENT**)

ELEISON (7.7.7.)

1902 edition ✠
Lord, in this Thy mercy's day
Isaac Williams (1802–1865)

ELEUTHERIA (7.6.7.6.D)

Hall
Hail to the Lord's anointed
James Montgomery (1771–1854)

- See note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

ELLIOTT (See **ALMSGIVING**)

ELVET (CM)

Chope
Spirit of wisdom, guide Thine own
Joseph Henry Butterworth (1816–1900)

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1 Fowler pp. 197–198.

2 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 30 December 1874. (App. B p. 291).

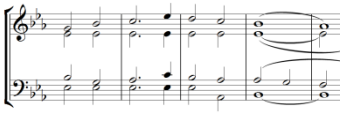
· Elvet lies within the parish of St Oswald. Dykes's second home was in Old Elvet.

· Bars 1–5 echo bars 1–5 of SOUTHWELL by H.S. Irons (composed in 1861).

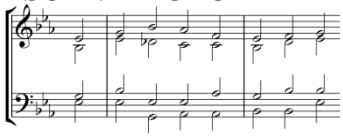
· 'Fair'[1]

ENDEL (See **FOR ALL THE SAINTS** (1st setting))

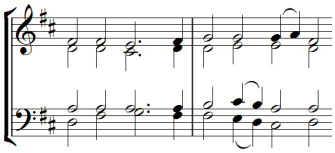
EPIPHANY (See **NOW TO BETHLEHEM**)

'ERE I SLEEP'

(8.3.3.6.)
1902 edition
Ere I sleep, for ev'ry favour
John Cennick (1718–1755)

· Of the 23 Alto notes, 18 are E♭. For ten of those notes the Alto and Bass are in octaves. However, notwithstanding the potential for monotony, the effect is tranquil rather then tedious.

ESCA VIATORUM

(8.8.6.D)
***A&M* 1868**
O food that weary pilgrims love
Anon, *tr.* from the Latin

· 'One of your very best tunes'.[2] The tune re-appeared with a strengthened harmony in the 1875 edition of *A&M*.

ETIAM ET MIHI

(8.7.8.7.3.)
Evans-Freke
Lord, I hear of showers of blessing
Elizabeth Codner (1824–1919)

· The 1877 edition of *The Hymnal Companion* reproduced the tune without alteration. But the harmonies in bars 1 and 2, and the rhythm of the last two words of each line, were changed in the 1890 edition of that hymnal.

· Fowler wrongly shows this tune to have appeared first in *The Hymnal Companion.*

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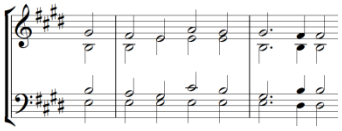
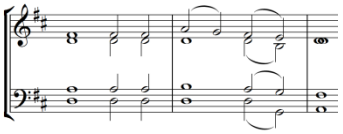
1 Brown, J.N., p. 18.

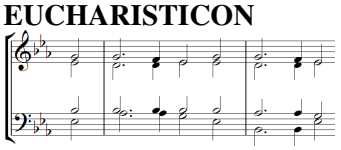
2 Letter from Ouseley to Dykes, 1 September 1871. (App. B p. 109). The letter includes a detailed critique of Dykes's original harmony.)

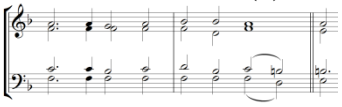
EUCHARIST (8.6.8.6.8.8.)

Bickersteth
Lord, when before Thy Throne we meet
Tressilian George Nicholas (1822–1891)

- Fowler mentions a letter from Bickersteth to Dykes about this tune.[1]

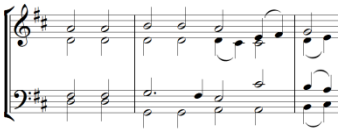
'…pretty, but lacks backbone, as, by the way, many of his tunes do.'[2]

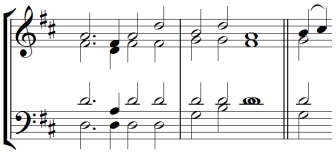
EUCHARISTICA (8.10.10.10.8.6)

Evans-Freke
O Holy Jesu, Prince of Peace!
Robert Brown-Borthwick (1840–1894)

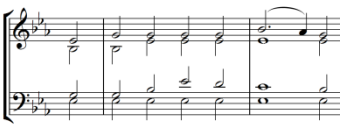
EUCHARISTICON (DCM)

1902 edition ✠
Again before Thine Altar, Lord
R.K. Bolton

EVENING HYMN (1) (8.4.8.4.8.8.8.4)

1902 edition ✠
God, Who madest earth and heaven
Archbp Richard Whately (1787–1863)

EVENING HYMN (2) (See **I HAVE SEEN THE SETTING SUN**)

EVERMORE (8.7.8.7.8.7.7.)

1902 edition ✠
Of the Father's love begotten
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

'EVERY MORNING THE RED SUN' (7.5.7.5.7.7.)

Aylward
Every morning the red sun
Cecil Frances Alexander (1823–1895)

EXSPECTO (7.6.7.6.D)

1902 edition
O Jesu, Thou art standing
Bp Wm. Waltham How (1823–1897)

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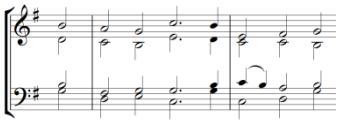
1 *op.cit*, p. 133.

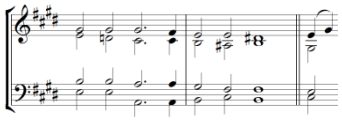
2 Heywood, p. 45.

· Baker tries to break it gently to Dykes that neither he, Monk nor Stainer liked this tune.[1] A trained choir can make much of the subtle chromaticism, but the surprising F^7 in the modulation $A^\flat$—F^7—$B^\flat$ in bars 10–14 is likely to be unsettling for unrehearsed singers.

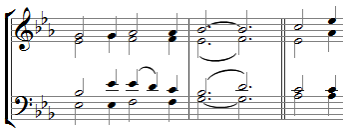
EXSURGE (See **AWAKE, AWAKE**)

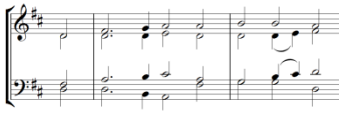
FAITH (1) (CM)

BONE PASTOR; FIDES
Psalms & Hymns

· The 1902 edition assigns the tune's first appearance to *Church Praise*, under the name BONE PASTOR, and set to '*The Lord Himself, the mighty Lord*.' All three propositions are mistaken. *Church Praise* (1883) was a new hymnal based on *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* (1866). In *Psalms and Hymns* the tune was set to a metrical version of Psalm 115 and to three hymns, of which '*The Lord Himself*' was not one.

FAITH (2) (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

ROCK OF AGES; TRUST
Tucker
Rock of Ages, cleft for me
Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–1778)

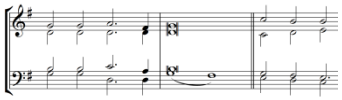
· Although an Anglican Priest, Toplady was a Calvinist and so, ecclesiastically, a pole apart from Dykes.

'FAITHFUL IN THY LOVE' (5.5.10.D)

AMOR FIDELIS; LUX MATUTINA; 'FRAMER OF THE LIGHT'
Brown
Faithful in Thy love, As the seasons move
Samuel Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

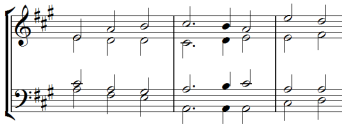
FARNE (8.8.8.8.6.)

1902 edition ✠
O Lord, Thy heavenly grace impart
tr. Lucy Wilson (1802–1863)

· The melody of the first line is the same as TALLIS' ORDINAL. (*q.v.* BLESSED TRINITY and ST LAWRENCE.)

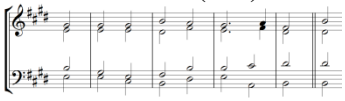
[1] Letters from Baker to Dykes, 21 and 24 September 1874. (App. B pp. 266 and 274).

FATHERLAND (5.5.8.8.5.5.)

1902 edition ✠
Jesu, still lead on
tr. Jane Borthwick (1813–1897)

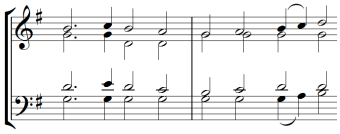
FERRIER (See '**JESUS, HOLY, UNDEFILED'**)

FIAT LUX (6.6.4.6.6.6.4.)

***A&M* 1875**
Thou, Whose almighty word
John Marriott (1780–1825)

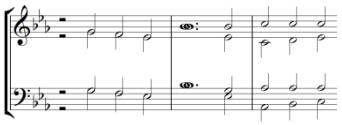
FIDES (See **FAITH (1)**)

FINCHALE (LM)

Chope
Jesu! Redeemer of the world!
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1878)

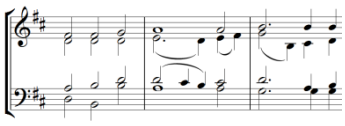
- To arrive at the mid point on the tonic is unimaginative and brings the tune to a premature stop, from which a restart sounds contrived.

FIRST FRUITS (8.7.8.7.8.7)

***A&M* 1875**
God the Father, Whose creation
John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- At the enjambment of lines three and four the dominant 7th rises.

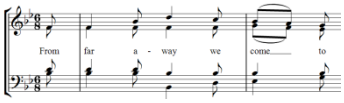
'FOR ALL THE SAINTS' (1) (10.10.10.4.)

ENDEL
Darling
For all the saints, who from their labours rest
Bp William Waltham How (1823–1897)

- The 1902 edition, which fails to attribute this tune to any hymnal, has variations on the original.

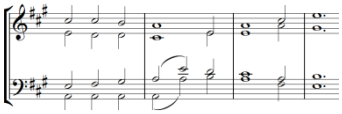
'FOR ALL THE SAINTS' (2) (10.10.10.4.)

1902 edition
For all the saints, who from their labours rest
Bp William Waltham How (1823–1897)

- A tune in triple time implies a dactylic verse: *For all the saints* is iambic.

- Bars two to five echo the melody in bars two to five of RIVAULX.

'FROM FAR AWAY WE COME'

(Irregular)
Bramley
From far away we come to you
William Morris (1834–1896)

- Discussed in a letter from H.R. Bramley to Dykes.[1]

GERONTIUS

(CM)
***A&M* 1868**
Praise to the holiest in the height
Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890)

- Newman's transition from Evangelical, via Anglican High Church and Tractarianism to Roman Catholicism is well known. Dykes set another of his hymns—see LUX BENIGNA.

- 'Cardinal Newman used to protest that [Dykes's] melody had a good deal to do with the popularity of the hymn.'[2]

- 'In GERONTIUS, MELITA [and] ST DROSTANE we have melodies with powerful openings that degenerate as they proceed, demanding what distraction the inner parts can provide.'[3]

- 'Dykes was usually most feeble when he forced himself to oblige his friends of all denominations and compose tunes which did not "come" at the bidding of words. His failures as well as his successes show him to have been a priest first and a composer a long way afterwards. How well this is shown in his setting of Newman's "Praise to the Holiest" which hovers between poetry and priestly instruction, each first line to a verse being an apostrophe in the style of Charles Wesley. Dykes's *Gerontius* exactly parallels Newman's verses. There is no bathos, but the power of the first line sets a strain that cannot be held. Even so I am tired of people who object to everyone of Dykes's and other men's pedal basses, as if only one ideal of vocal harmony - that of the seventeenth century or of Bach - could serve a good hymn. The four strokes on the same bass note at the opening of *Gerontius* form a springboard for the memorable second and third bars.'[4]

- 'The sooner *Gerontius* is restored to "Praise to the Holiest" the better.'[5]

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1 10 August 1870. (App. B p. 63).

2 Jones, F.A. *Famous Hymns and Their Authors* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1902) p. 89.

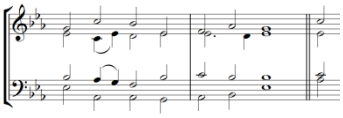
3 Routley (1957), p. 123.

4 Hutchings (1967), p. 154.

5 *ibid.*, p. 155.

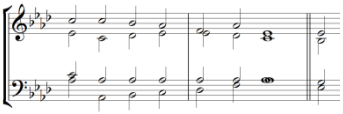
- ‘‘The Dream of Gerontius’ has become widely known by the fine hymn ‘Praise to the Holiest in the height,’ which occurs and re-occurs in the poem. It first came into use on its appearance in ‘Hymns Ancient and Modern’ in 1868, where it is associated with Dr Dykes’s tune. Those who were fortunate enough to be present at the funeral of Mr Gladstone in Westminster Abbey, two years ago, will not soon forget the thrilling effect of that noble hymn, sung by the great congregation over the body of the dead statesman on that memorable occasion.’[1]

- The tune shares a six-note opening melodic motif with ALMSGIVING.

GETHSEMANE (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

Chope
Rock of Ages, cleft for me
Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–1778)

- See note on Toplady under FAITH (2).

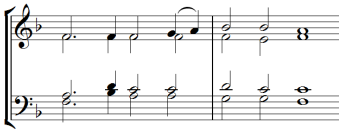
GETHSEMANE (*q.v.* **ROCK OF AGES**)

GLASTONBURY (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

Psalms & Hymns (Appendix)
No specific words are shown

- The 1902 edition mis-attributes the first appearance to *Church Praise.* (See note under FAITH).

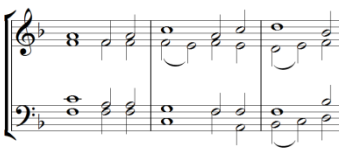
- There is a parallel 5th between soprano and tenor at the enjambment of bars 11 and 12.

- The tune shares an eight-note melodic motif with SANCTE SPIRITUS and ORIENS EX ALTO.

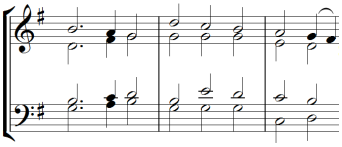
GLEBE FIELD (7.7.7.7.)

***A&M* 1875**
Joy, because the circling year
tr. John Ellerton (1826–1894)

- Shares the first eight notes of the melody (though not the rhythm) with ST CUTHBERT.

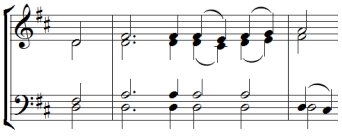
- Glebefield was the name of Monk’s house in Stoke Newington.

GLORIA No.1 (11.10.11.10.)

1902 edition
Glory to God in the Highest is ringing
William Josiah Irons (1812–1883)

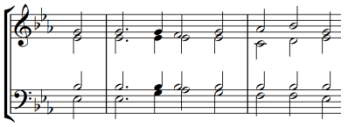
[1] *MT* 1 October 1900, p. 654.

GLORIA No.2 (11.10.11.10.)

1902 edition
Glory to God in the Highest is ringing
William Josiah Irons (1812–1883)

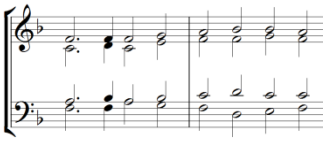
· The first line echoes John Goss's BEDE, itself an adaptation from Handel's *Athalia*.

GOD'S ACRE (DLM)

CHURCHYARD CONSECRATION
Thring
Beneath the Church's hallow'd shade
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)

· Even during an age of significant church-building, most congregants would probably never attend a churchyard (or church) consecration in their lifetime, and a small handful might attend just one. So it is unsurprising that this hymn-and-tune combination, and that immediately following, appear in no other hymnal. Moreover, the long metres, complicated melodies and surprising modulations probably resulted in much tuneless congregational mumbling when the hymns were sung—quite possibly only on the occasion of the consecrations of one or other of the two new churches and churchyards for which Thring was responsible.

GOD'S HOUSE (14.14.14.14.14.14.)

CHURCH CONSECRATION
Thring
O Thou Who sitt'st enthron'd above
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)

· See note for GOD'S ACRE.

'GOD THAT MADEST EARTH AND HEAVEN' (8.4.8.4.8.8.8.4.)

VESPERS
Grey
God that madest earth and heaven
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826) (v.1) and
Archbp Richard Whately (1787–1863) (v.2)

GOD THE FATHER, FROM THY THRONE (See **LITANY FOR THE ROGATION DAYS**)

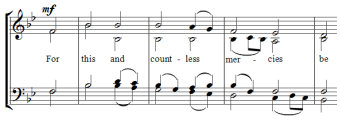
GOING TO CHURCH (See **HOW GLORIOUS IS OUR GOD MOST HIGH**)

GOING TO SCHOOL (See **HOW BRIGHT THE SUN SHINES**)

GOLGOTHA (See **ST CROSS**)

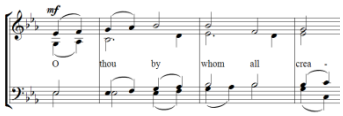
GOODNESS OF GOD (See **HOW MANY THINGS I READ AND HEAR**)

GRACE AFTER MEALS (LM + Alleluia)

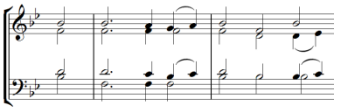


The Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, &c. sung at...the first festival of the Launceston District Association of Church Choirs (1872)
For this and countless mercies be
Samuel Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

- The author was Head Master of the Launceston Grammar School and Vicar of St Thomas-by-Launceston.[1]

GRACE BEFORE MEALS (LM)

The Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, &c. sung at...the first festival of the Launceston District Association of Church Choirs (1872)
O Thou by whom all creatures live
Samuel Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

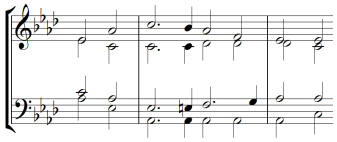
- The 1902 version differs in a number of details, rhythmic and—more importantly—harmonic, from that in the 1872 edition. (Both versions are provided in this edition.) Both start with a canon in S,T&B (which is continued in line two in S&B) but the 1902 edition completes the first line with a neater contrapuntal cadence. (The doubling of the major third in the Launceston edition is inelegant; the 1902 harmonisation offers text-book, classical counterpoint, perhaps revealing the more conservative hand of Stainer.) Line two is identical in both versions. In line three, bar two, the tenor F in the 1902 edition is surely an engraving error: to change the harmony merely to double the fifth of the chord (the Launceston edition, more conventionally, doubles the root) serves no contrapuntal or harmonic purpose. In the same line, the revised ascending sequence in bar three (1902), whilst perfectly acceptable, suggests an alternative mind (and taste) being brought to bear. But it is in bars four and five of that line that the character of the piece is most obviously changed, with the exquisitely chromatic melodic diminishment C—C♭—B♭ in the Launceston edition (coming three bars after the alto G—G♭—F) being replaced in the 1902 edition with the unremarkable C—C—B♭ (unless this, too, is an engraving error), and a ^{7}V replaced with a ^{7}Vc the only justification for which appears to be the creation of a clever scalic descent in the bass from A♭ to A♭ (with consequent adjustments to the other parts).

GRATIAS AGIMUS (12.11.12.11.)

Thring
O sing to the Lord with a psalm of thanksgiving
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)

[1] Julian, p. 235.

GRATITUDE (See **ALMSGIVING**)

'*HAIL, GLADDENING LIGHT*' (See **O LUMEN HILARE**)

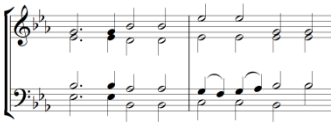
HARK, THE SOUND

(8.7.8.7.D)
SANCTUARY; CHANCEL
Monk
Hark! the sound of holy voices
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

- 'If all modern hymn-tunes were as good as that by Dr Dykes, to which we listened a short time ago, I should have little fear for church music'.[1]

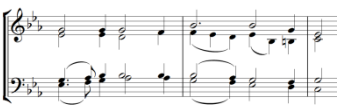
- E.G. Monk, as music editor, proposed changes to the harmony (specifically, the removal of a chromatic F♭), but it is not clear, in his references to the 'first' and 'last' F♭, to which note he was referring. There are three contenders: the bass crotchet in beat four, bar four (flattened in *The Hymnal Companion* and *A&M* 1875 but naturalised in Monk's book); the alto minim of beat four, bar seven (flattened in all hymnals), and the alto minim of beat four, bar 18 (flattened in *A&M* 1875, naturalised in the other two books). (See letter from Monk to Dykes, 26 October 1870.)

- 'we have tunes that fail from the start and become increasingly hysterical in their vain efforts to provide some sort of musical interest, like SANCTUARY and VOX ANGELICA'.[2]

- The first two lines of the hymn are depicted in the Dykes memorial window in St Oswald's church, Durham (see p. 153).

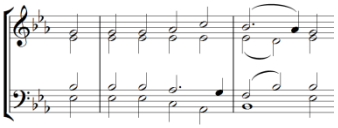
'HARK! THE VOICE OF LOVE'

(8.7.8.7.4.7.)
IT IS FINISHED; CALVARY
Aylward
Hark! the voice of love and mercy
Jonathan Evans (1749–1809)

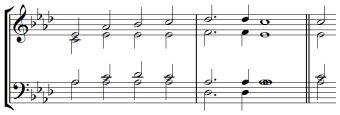
HARTFORD (See **EDEN**)

HAWERBY

(6.6.6.6.6.6.7.6.)
1902 edition
Wings! to urge me onward
Anon

[1] Robert Brown-Borthwick, reported in Anon (1871a), p. 395.

[2] Routley (1957), p. 123.

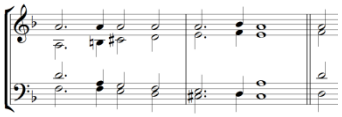
HEAD OF THY CHURCH (7.7.4.4.7.)

1902 edition
Head of Thy Church triumphant!
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

'HEAVENLY FATHER, FROM THY THRONE' (Irregular)

DELIVERANCE; CHILD'S LITANY
Infant Children
Heav'nly Father, from Thy Throne
Emily Mary Steward Shapcote (1828–1909)

- See note to AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND.

- A truncated version of this tune appeared as MARINERS in *The Children's Hymnal 1877.*

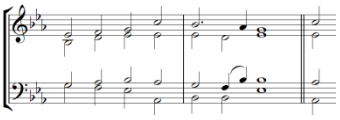
HEAVENLY SONG, THE (See '**IT CAME UPON THE MIDNIGHT CLEAR'**)

HERALD (7.5.7.5.)

1902 edition
Herald, in the wilderness
Henry Alford (1820–1871)

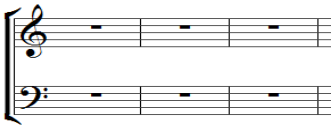
- There is a consecutive 5th between soprano and tenor in bar seven.

- The eight consecutive As in the soprano in line one are interrupted by a single B inflection. See also MERCY-SEAT and PROME VOCEM.

HERALD ANGELS (See **BETHLEHEM**)

HODNET (7.7.7.5.)

Cooke
Lord of mercy, Lord of might
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

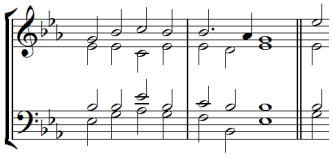
- Named after the Shropshire parish in which Heber was rector between 1807 to 1823.

'HOLY OF HOLIES' (?)

(?) § ✠
(?)
(?)

- Referred to (by title only) in Pazdírek.[1]

[1] Pazdírek, p. 531.

HOLLINGSIDE (7.7.7.7.D)



***A&M* 1861**
Jesu, Lover of my soul
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

- Named after the cottage in which Dykes lived about a mile outside the city.

- 'Some scenes during that visit will live forever in my memory. As, for instance, one calm Sunday evening, when I sat in the verandah in the deepening twilight and heard, through the open window, my brother composing and playing over the tune "Hollingside," to the words "Jesus, [*sic*] Lover of my soul."'[1]

- '[Dykes's] style is to be seen at its best in the three famous tunes contributed by him to the 1861 book for 'Holy, Holy, Holy', 'Jesu, lover of my soul' and 'Eternal Father, strong to save''.[2]

- [Comparing Dykes and W.H. Monk] 'Dykes is the more picturesque, varied, and resourceful, while Monk's tunes have a quiet earnestness that is very appealing. At times their styles closely approach in their inner essence, as for instance. Monk's Eventide (1861) to "Abide with me" and Dykes' Hollingside (1861)…It would indeed he difficult to decide on the relative merits of these beautiful tunes, each is so perfect in itself, bringing out so adequately the tender trustfulness of their respective texts.'[3]

- '[Geoffrey Shaw] thought Dykes's tune rather better than most because, although not suitable for school assembly, it had some sense of melody and feeling."[4]

- See extensive criticism of this tune in letter from Gauntlett to Dykes.[5]

- 'Aimless and labored.'[6]

- 'I have in my mind a long-since defunct periodical which had the self-satisfied assurance to take exception to the second line of *Hollingside*, which, said the writer, "quite spoils the whole tune, and we fear will prevent it taking a permanent place in the service of praise." The advice never

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1 Dykes, F., pp. 84–85.

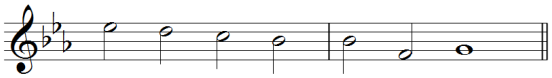
2 Phillips, p. 223.

3 Lutkin, p. 30.

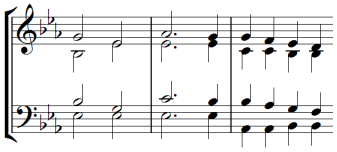
4 Hutchings (1967), p. 137.

5 14 November 1862. (App. B p. 37).

6 Brown, J.N. p. 23.

to prophesy unless you know would seem to be in place here; but as a sample of what the critic would do to redeem the effeminacy which he finds so characteristic of Dykes, let us see what he suggests in this particular case. It is the cadence, it seems, that is wrong; and this is how it is to be made right:—

One example is worth a lot of precept, and I suspect that most of us will prefer to have our Dykes undiluted, even though we offend the puritans thereby.'[1]

- 'Dykes…was inspired with the gift of melodic simplicity and the spirit of true devotion. In 'Hollingside' the melody really consists of *five* lines, three of the eight lines being repeated. The few skips are nearly always those constituting the key-chord, while the remainder of the tune is stepwise in its melodic tread. It all seems so easy, but how few attain unto it!'[2]

'HOLY GHOST, COME DOWN'

(10.7.9.7.9.7.9.7.)
PARACLETE
Littledale
Holy Ghost, come down upon Thy children
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

- See first note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

- Littledale regretted that his request for a tune to this hymn (and five others) came with only the hope of payment if and when the book turned a profit.[3]

- Although ordained into the Anglican Church in 1837, Faber seceded to the Church of Rome in 1846.[4]

- Julian further comments that the words, first published in 1854, have a metre which 'is most awkward and unmusical, and fully justifies the alterations made in the *Altar Hymnal*, 1884, where it is rewritten in 8.7.8.7. metre, beginning "Holy Ghost, come down upon us."[5] Dykes overcomes some of the metrical difficulties (the first line of the first verse is of 10 metrical feet, in the other verses it is of 9) by the use of crotchets which can be slurred or separated as

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1 Hadden, J.C, 'A Famous Hymn-Tune Composer' in *The Nonconformist Musical Journal* (April 1893) p. 58.

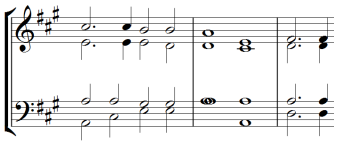
2 *MT*, 1 October 1904 p. 647.

3 Letter from Littledale to Dykes, 11 March 1870 (App. B p. 58).

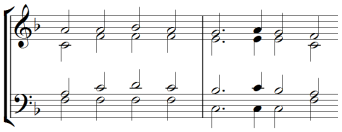
4 Julian, p. 361.

5 *ibid.,* p. 531.

appropriate. The 1902 edition includes a sensible, optional, anacrusis at the beginning of the first line to cater for verses 2 onwards which, unlike in verse 1, are iambic. Despite the metrical awkwardnesses, Dykes achieves a solemn grandeur in his tune, even if the dominant 7th in bar 22 'resolves' to the dominant in root position.

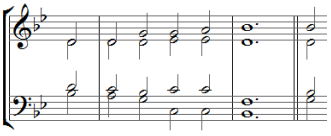
'HOLY IS THE SEED TIME'

(6.5.6.5.D)
WHORLTON
Privately printed Supp. to Pott's *Hymns &c.* c1862
Holy is the seed-time, when the buried grain
Margaret Headlam (*b.*1817)

- There are slight harmonic changes in the 1902 edition.
- Margaret Headlam was the daughter of Dykes's successor at St Oswald's.

'HOLY JESUS! WE ADORE THEE'

(8.7.8.7.)
CIRCUMCISION
Child's Book
Holy Jesus, we adore Thee
Claudia Frances Hernaman (1838–1898)

HOLY SPIRT, BLESSED DOVE (See '**HEAVENLY FATHER, FROM THY THRONE'**)

HOME

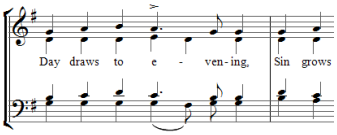


(SM)
1902 edition
The day is past and gone
tr. William John Blew (1808–1894)

- The tune, which alternates between tonic and dominant, arrives counter-intuitively, disconcertingly and to no obvious purpose, in the relative major at the end of line one, before immediately jumping back to g minor on the next chord.

HOMEWARD (See '**CHILDREN OF THE HEAVENLY KING'**)

HORA NOVISSIMA

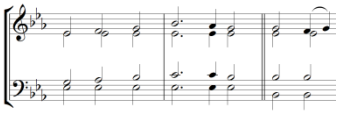


(Irregular)
1902 edition
Day draws to evening
Christopher Knipe (1834–1896)

- This is a translation of part of 'St Bernard's Rhythm'. In a modest and deferential letter Knipe writes 'Of course no one is a proper judge of his own productions and I am quite ready to hear that my attempt is a failure. Would you let me submit it to you? I would gladly bow to your

opinion of it; and if (which I do not anticipate) you thought it so successful as to be willing to rescue it from obscurity by wedding it to your music I should be greatly honoured.'[1] Although this is an effective and attractive setting (more a motet than a congregational hymn), it cannot be said that Dykes rescued it from obscurity.

- Dykes's diary shows him to have been composing this tune in November 1870.[2]

HORBURY (6.4.6.4.6.6.4.)

***A&M* 1861**
Nearer, my God, to Thee
Sarah F. Adams (1805–1848)

- 'On June 1st [Dykes] visited the Rev. John Sharp, at Horbury, and preached there. The special object of this visit was to make his first confession. The hymn-tune which he named "Horbury" was written at this time, to the words, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," and it was, to him, a perpetual reminder of the peace and comfort he found there.'[3]

- Sir Jack Westrup said: "[HORBURY] is one of the best hymns ever written. Sarah Adams's verses make an almost perfect lyric and Dykes's tune is their admirable counterpart."[4]

- The Adagio movement of Dame Ethel Smythe's C minor String quartet is based on HORBURY.

- 'A good musician finds it difficult to compose a setting for a bad poem, and if the composers of our Victorian hymnals had realised this truth, how they would have been spared the damp flannel and treacle of *Nearer my God to Thee*, and how we should have been spared them.'[5]

- 'In lines three and four, HORBURY provides a subtle variation of the opening two lines by modulation from E♭ to g minor (thus lending greater intensity to the mention of the cross).'[6]

- The much-repeated account of the band of the *Titanic* playing this hymn as the ship was sinking has prompted a century of argument as to whose tune was played. Claims for HORBURY are supported by a contemporaneous account, printed in the edition of the *MT* published within three weeks of the disaster. 'One of the most striking incidents of that great catastrophe was the

1 Letter from Knipe to Dykes, 9 August 1869.

2 Fowler, p. 148.

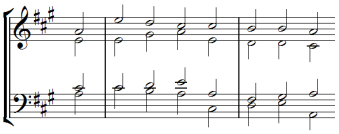
3 Fowler, p. 65.

4 Quoted in Hutchings (1967), p. 153.

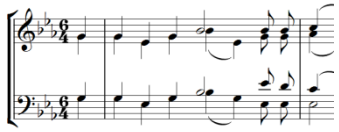
5 Dearmer, p. 37.

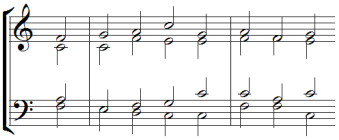
6 Dibble (2014).

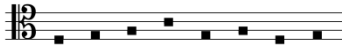
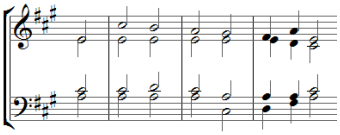
heroic fortitude and courage displayed by the members of the liner's band, in playing until the end came. It is stated by survivors that the last piece they played was the well known setting (Dr Dykes's) of Sarah F. Adams's hymn, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.''[1]

HOSANNA

(8.8.8.8.4.7.)
Darling
Hosanna to the Living Lord
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

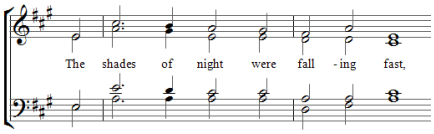
· The melody in the first line resembles that of DOMINUS REGIT ME and CREPUSCULUM.

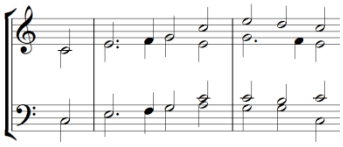
'HOSANNA WE SING'

(Irregular)
HOSANNA
***A&M* 1875**
Hosanna we sing, like the children dear
George Samuel Hodges (1827–1899)

HOSTI HERODES (arr.)

(LM)
Chope §✠
In vain doth Herod rage and fear
tr. Bp Richard Mant (1776–1848)

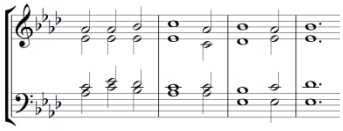
· This is an arrangement of the plainsong melody *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus*, from Giudetti's *Directorium,* 1582:

'HOW BRIGHT THE SUN SHINES'

(LM)
GOING TO SCHOOL
Infant Children
How bright the sun shines overhead
Mary Steward

· In lines one and three we have a borrowing from the Upidee song:

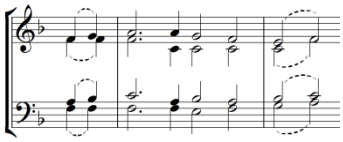


'HOW GLORIOUS IS OUR GOD'

(8.8.8.4.D)
GOING TO CHURCH
Infant Children
How glorious is our God most high
Anon

[1] *MT* 1 May 1912, p. 305.

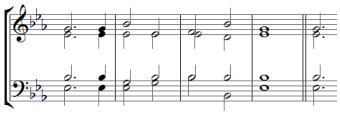
‘HOW MANY THINGS I READ’

(LM)
GOODNESS OF GOD
Infant Children
How many things I read and hear
Eleanor Steward

- There is an awkward, static, sequence E♭7—A♭—E♭7 at the end of the first line in which neither E♭7 chord has a third.

‘I HAVE A CHRISTIAN NAME’

(6.7.6.6.)
CHRISTIAN NAME
Infant Children
I have a Christian name
Emily Shapcote (1828–1909)

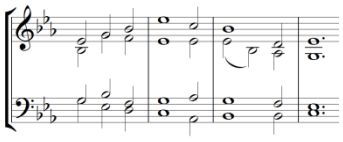
- This is one of those hymns which challenge the assertion that Dykes was particular in his choice of hymns to which he set music. The first line continues: ‘so I am a Christian now’, a *non sequitur* which most Christians would challenge.

- The tenor dominant 7th in line one rises.

‘I HAVE SEEN THE SETTING SUN’

(7.7.8.8.7.7.7.7.)
EVENING HYMN
Infant Children
I have seen the setting sun
Emily Shapcote (1828–1909)

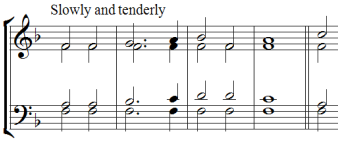
- Line seven is melodically and rhythmically identical to QUEM PASTORES.

ILKLEY (See **‘THERE IS A CALM’**)

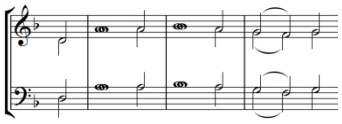
ILLUMINATION

(8.6.8.6.8.8.)
Wordsworth
Awake! Awake! the Apostle cries
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

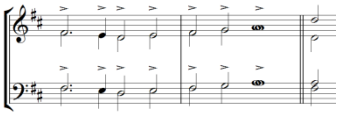
- The are similarities, melodic and harmonic, between the first six notes of this tune and R.R. Terry’s later BILLING. See also TENEBRIS LUMEN for another foreshadowing of Terry’s tune.

ILLUMINATOR (See **HARK THE SOUND**)

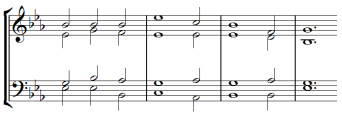
'IN MEMORIAM MHD' (7.8.7.8.7.7.)

Manuscript
Tender Shepherd, Thou hast stilled
tr. from the German of Johann Meinhold (1797–1851) by Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878)

- See manuscript on p. 91. A manuscript note reads: "Written September 2nd, 1870, the day after the death of his youngest daughter, Mabel Hey, who died of scarlet fever in St Oswald's Vicarage. The tune was first sung at her funeral, September 5th. Dr Dykes had often tried to set these beautiful words to music, but had never been able to satisfy himself."[1] For a fuller account of the circumstances surrounding the composition of this tune, see Fowler pp. 137–138.

INNOCENTS (DLM)

1902 edition
A hymn for martyrs sweetly sing
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

IN NOMINE DOMINI (7.7.7.7.7.)

ONWARD IN GOD'S NAME
Littledale
Onward in God's name we wend
tr. R.F. Littledale (1833–1890)

IN TENEBRIS LUMEN (8.8.8.8.8.8.)



***A&M* 1875**
Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

- Baker proposed a revised ending to Dykes's original version, although the nature of the revision is not known.[2]

- The melody in the final four bars echoes RIVAULX.

- 'Dr Dykes has very successfully treated the refrain, "Through life's long day and death's dark night…the full force of which has scarcely been brought out by the other tunes associated with the hymn [in *A&M* 1875]: the dactylic form given to the opening of the first two lines, however, sadly detracts from the value of the tune as a generally acceptable companion for the words.'[3]

- See note to ILLUMINATION.

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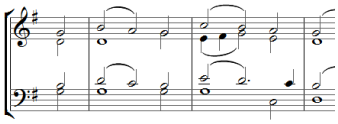
1 Pratt Green MS 17. See page 91.

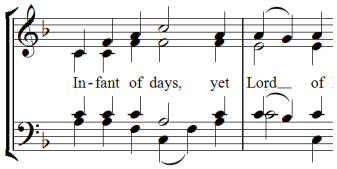
2 Letter from Baker to Dykes, June/July 1868. (App. B p. 45).

3 Heywood, p. 57.

INTERCESSION (arr.)

(LM)
***A&M* 1868** §✠
Almighty God, Whose only Son
Henry Williams Baker (1821–1877)

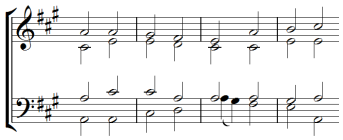
- Although none of the editions of *A&M* in which this tune appears credits Dykes with its arrangement, he confirms the fact in his letter to Baker dated 15 July 1874.

IN TERRA PAX



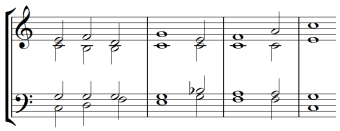
(Irregular)
Bramley
Infant of days, yet Lord of Life
Eliza Alderson (1819–1889)

- In a letter dated 17 September 1870 to the author, Dykes proposed amendments to the second and last verses which were, in the main, accepted.[1]

'IN THY NAME, O GOD, ASSEMBLING'

(8.7.8.8.11.)
Processional Hymns § ✠
In Thy name, O Lord, assembling
Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)

- The inconsistency between the title of the tune and the first line of the first verse is present in the hymnal.

- The harmonies to this tune are remarkable only in their blandness, with a tenor passing note in the last line whose only effect is to remove the third from a second inversion of the tonic chord.

IRENE

(8.6.8.4.)
Bickersteth
Rest in the Lord—from harps above
Bp Edward Henry Bickersteth (1825–1906)

- In a letter to Bickersteth, Dykes wrote 'I confess I do not like adaptations, but I see no objection, at all, to the Tune for your Hymn (without absolutely repeating) suggesting the melody—"O rest in the Lord." I have had great pleasure in writing you a little Tune based upon that air, without being a real adaptation from it. The Rhythm, and general accent, of the words seemed to demand that it should be written in triple time. Probably, however, you may have a tune already provided for those words; if so, you can put mine into the waste paper basket'.[2]

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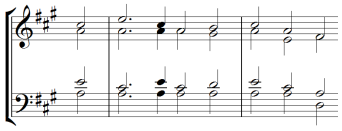
1 Fowler, pp. 140–143.

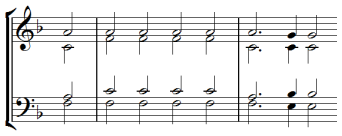
2 Fowler, p. 132.

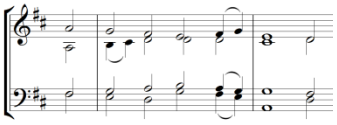
· Shares an opening melodic motif with PAX ELECTIS.

· Barnby also wrote a tune—BICKERSTETH—which borrowed the same fragment of Mendelssohn.

'IT CAME UPON THE MIDNIGHT CLEAR'

(DCM)
THE HEAVENLY SONG; PRINCE OF PEACE; SEARS
Tucker II
It came upon the midnight clear
Edmund Hamilton Sears (1810–1876)

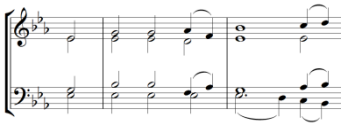
IT IS FINISHED (See **HARK, THE VOICE OF LOVE**)

JAM LUCIS (arr.)

(LM)
Grey §✠
God of our life, to Thee we call
Anon

JERUSALEM

(7.6.7.6.)
Chope
Jerusalem the golden
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

· This was one of two tunes, out of 42 composed by Dykes especially for this book, which won a five guinea prize.[1]

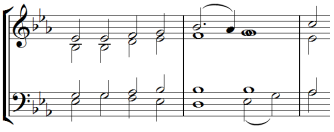
· This tune requires the verses to be of four lines rather than the more common eight.

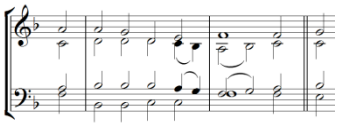
JESMOND

(5.5.11.D)
[Untraced collection]. This version taken from **Methodist Sunday-school Hymn and Tune Book** (1879) §
My God, I am Thine, what a comfort divine
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

· 'It is pleasant to record that Dykes wrote his tunes ungrudgingly either for Churchmen or Nonconformists; for instance, he wrote 'Jesmond'…in 1871 at the special request of the committee of the Newcastle Wesleyan Service of Song, and it was named after the well-known and beautiful suburb of that city.'[2]

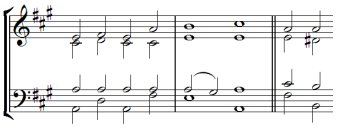
[1] See Preface to the hymnal and letter from Dykes to Chope, 27 June 1862.

[2] Lightwood, James T. *Hymn Tunes and Their Story* (Kelly: London, 1905) p. 298.

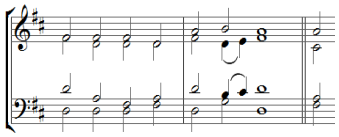
'JESU, GENTLEST SAVIOUR'

(6.5.6.5.)
1902 edition ✠
Jesu, gentlest Saviour, Thou art in us now
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

JESU MAGISTER BONE

(7.6.7.6.D)
Evans-Freke
O Jesus, I have promised
John Ernest Bode (1816–1874)

· The 1902 edition introduces two chromatic notes into the alto.

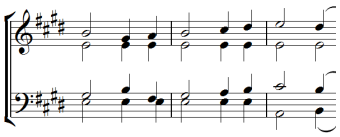
'JESU, MEEK AND LOWLY'

(6.6.6.6.)
1902 edition
Jesu, meek and lowly
Henry A Collins (*c*1833—)

· Within about three years of ordination into the Church of England, Collins seceded to the Roman Church, becoming a member of the Cistercian Order in 1860. His hymns were published while he was still an Anglican.[1]

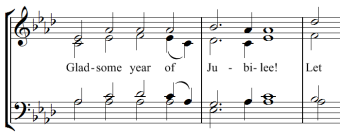
'JESUS, HOLY, UNDEFILED'

(7.6.7.6.)
FERRIER
Infant Children
Jesus, holy, undefiled
Emily Mary Steward Shapcote (1828–1909)

· See note to AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND.

JESUS, OUR LORD (See **WHERE IS THE HOLY JESUS**)

JESUS VICTOR

(9.8.9.7.)
Barkworth §
Christ is gone up with a joyful sound
Anon (a metrical version of Ps. 68)

JUBILEE



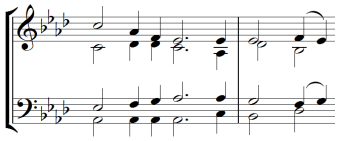
(Ten 7s)
MISSIONARY HYMN
1902 edition
Gladsome year of Jubilee
J E Dibb

[1] Julian, p. 243.

· This tune is too long and complex for unpractised congregational singing.

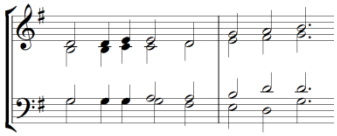
JUDEA (See **BETHANY**)

JUDGMENT DAY (See '**AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND**')

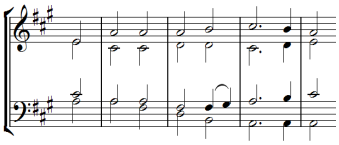
'JUST AS I AM' (8.8.8.6.)

1902 edition
Just as I am, without one plea
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

· Line three contains four consecutive 7th chords, and five such chords in the space of six beats.

· Having told Ouseley in a letter how he had revised his tune to *The Son of God goes forth* during a train journey (*q.v.* note on ECCE VICTOR), Dykes continued: 'But alas—alas—as soon as I had disposed of this, *another* Hymn came rushing into my mind, about which I have heard Sir Henry speaking many times and about which he was expressing himself anxiously just before I left. I mean the old Evangelical "Just as I am." The letter continues with a detailed history of the composition of the tune.[1]

KEBLE (LM)

***A&M* 1875**
Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear
John Keble (1792–1866)

· '…a rather happy attempt has been made to procure a coincidence of accent between music and words.'[2]

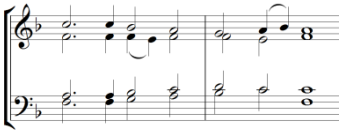
LAUD (CM)

Chope
All hail the power of Jesu's name
Edward Perronet (1726–1792)

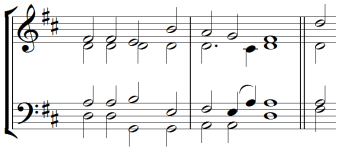
· The first eight notes are melodically, though not rhythmically, identical to those of MILES LANE, another (earlier) tune for the same words which Dykes harmonised for *A&M* 1868. There is also a melodic prefiguring of FIAT LUX.

· See first note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

[1] Fowler pp. 198–199.

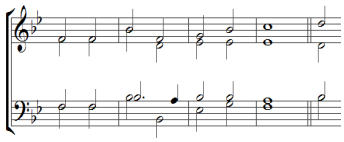
[2] Heywood, p. 56.

LAUDATE

(7.7.7.7.)
1902 edition ✠
Let us with a gladsome mind
John Milton (1608–1674)

LENT

(7.7.7.7.D.)
ST EDMUND; EDMUND; DURHAM
Chope
Saviour, when in dust to Thee
Sir Robert Grant (1785–1838)

- This is a revised version of ST EDMUND (*q.v.*), which first appeared in Grey's *Manual*. The melody, from the fourth to twelfth notes inclusive, prefigures HOLLINGSIDE. The chromatically ascending melody in bars 25 to 28 prefigures MELITA.

- There is a consecutive octave between alto and bass at the enjambment of bars 12 and 13.

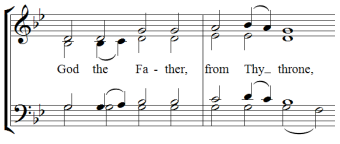
LINDISFARNE

(7.8.7.8.4.)
Grey I
Jesus lives! No longer now
tr. Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–1897)

- Dykes amended this tune for its subsequent appearances (Chope, Grey II and *A&M* 1875).

- A 'thoughtful setting, from the pen of Dr Dykes, that, so far as inherent fitness rules the matter, ought to equal, if not to surpass, in popularity Dr Gauntlett's deservedly favourite tune.'[1]

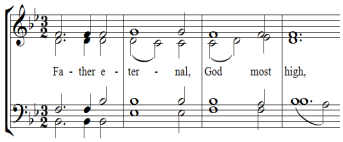
- The transition from the dominant of the relative minor to the tonic of the home key at bars 12–13 is somewhat abrupt.

LITANY



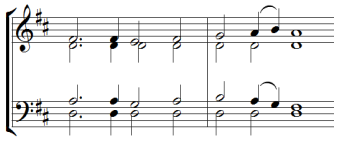
(Irregular)
DELIVERANCE; 'GOD THE FATHER, FROM THY THRONE'; LITANY FOR THE ROGATION DAYS
Sullivan
v1: *God the Father, from Thy throne.*
v2: *By Thy wondrous incarnation*
H.W. Baker (1821–1877)

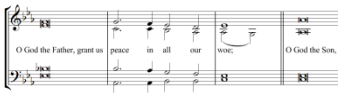
LITANY FOR ADVENT



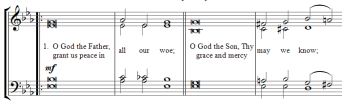
(Irregular)
Hoyte
Father eternal, God most high
Anon

[1] *ibid.*, p. 59.

LITANY FOR CHILDREN

(7.7.7.7. / 7.7.7.6.)
***A&M* 1875**
v1: God the Father God the Son.
v2: Jesu, Saviour ever mild
Thomas Benson Pollock (1836–1896)

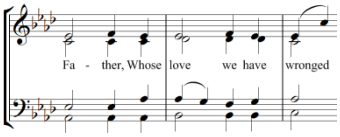
LITANY IN ANY CALAMITY (I)

(Irregular)
Hoyte
O God the Father, grant us peace in all our woe
tr. J.E. Field

LITANY IN ANY CALAMITY (II)

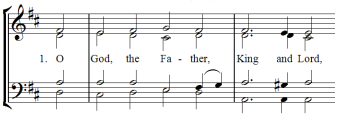


(Irregular)
1902 edition
O God the Father, grant us peace in all our woe
tr. J.E. Field

- Sumptuously chromatic.

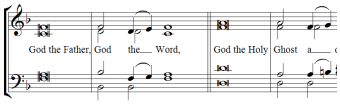
LITANY OF PENITENCE (I)

(Irregular)
Hoyte
Father, Whose love we have wronged by transgression
Anon

LITANY OF PENITENCE (II)

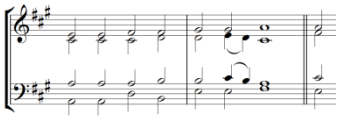


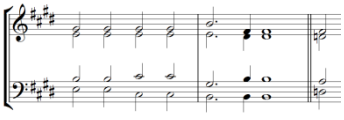
(Irregular)
1902 edition
O God the Father, King and Lord
Anon

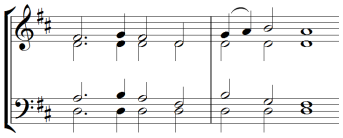
LITANY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

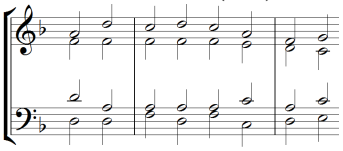


(Irregular)
Hoyte
God the Father, God the Word
R.F. Littledale (1833–1890)

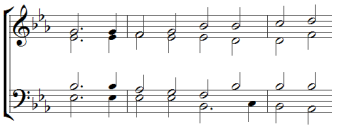
LITANY OF THE INCARNATE WORD

(7.7.7.6.)
***A&M* 1875**
v1. God the Father, God the Son.
v2. Son of God, for man decreed
Thomas Benson Pollock (1836–1896)

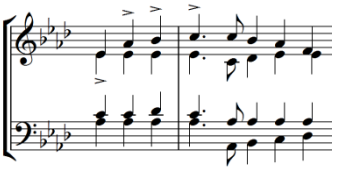
LITANY OF THE PASSION

(7.7.7.6.)
***A&M* 1875**
v1. God the Father, God the Son.
v2. Jesu, Who for us didst bear
R.F. Littledale (1833–1890)

LITANY OF THE RESURRECTION

(7.7.7.6)
1902 edition
v1. God the Father, God the Son.
v2. Risen Jesu, Thee we greet
Vernon Hutton (1841–1887)

LLANSANNAN (arr.)

(8.7.8.7.D)
Hughes §✠
Pan bo Sinai'n gwisgo'i gwmmwl
Awdur Anhysbys

- Dykes diary records that he 'sent off Welsh tunes' on 16 July 1874.[1]

'LORD OF LIFE'

(15.15.15.)
SONS OF THE PROPHETS
Aylward
Lord of Life, prophetic Spirit
John Keble (1792–1866)

LUX BENIGNA/ ST OSWALD (4)

(10.4.10.4.10.4.6.)
(as ST OSWALD — *q.v.* in **Barry**)
Revised version (as LUX BENIGNA) *A&M* **1868**
Lead, kindly light, amid th'encircling gloom
John Newman (1801–1890)

- In its first appearance (as ST OSWALD) the tune is set in the key of G. In all subsequent appearances (invariably as LUX BENIGNA) it contains variations in the harmony and rhythm, and is usually set in the key of A♭.

- 'I had been paying Cardinal Newman a visit, when we were talking over some old reminiscences. I do not remember how it was brought in, but I happened to mention his well-known hymn, 'Lead, Kindly Light,' which he said he wrote when a very young man, as he was becalmed on the Mediterranean for a week in 1832. I ventured to say, 'It must be a great pleasure to you to know that you have written a hymn treasured wherever English-speaking Christians are to be found; and where are they not to be found?' He was silent for some moments, and then said with emotion, 'Yes, deeply thankful, and more than thankful.' Then, after another pause, 'But you see it is not the hymn, but the tune that has gained the popularity—the tune is Dykes's, and Dr Dykes was a great master.' It need not be said that the tune is 'Lux Benigna'; the words and music had been published in a very attractive form, with

[1] Fowler, p. 195.

illustrations, but, strange to say. His Eminence had not seen a copy until I had the honour of presenting him with one.'[1]

- 'I am amused by Mr Compton Reades letter…; he cannot recall the name of Kücken's melody, neither can I; but there is the same phrase as the opening line of "Lead Kindly Light" in one of Kücken's Songs (not partsongs). Perhaps I shall be able to trace it, but there the similarity stops, it is not a plagiarism.'[2]

- 'Dr Dykes' friends remember his telling them that the tune…came into his head while walking through the Strand, in London.'[3]

- 'I do not feel quite drawn to "Lead kindly light". I hardly know why, it has not taken hold of me as some of your tunes do.'[4]

- 'Fairly familiar, and held in high esteem; not easy, but the people sing it well when they have once learned it.'[5]

- 'Dykes's very popular tune undoubtedly breaks down rather badly in the middle.'[6]

- 'Dykes's "uncongregational" qualities are manifested not only in…melodic weaknesses and harmonic preoccupations…but also in some strange rhythmical miscalculations. LUX BENIGNA, has many things against it, but this especially, that with a congregation of any size or promiscuity it is impossible of accurate performance. The rhythmic pattern of its first phrase is very complex, beginning on the third beat of a six-beat bar, and containing that dangerous dotted note so early. The same tune shows, incidentally, a bad melodic breakdown in the fifth line. Altogether it is a part-song, not a congregational hymn-tune.'[7]

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1 Huntington, p. 246.

2 Letter from John Stainer to Mr King (Novello), 8 December 1900. (Pratt Green MS 17.

3 Fowler, p. 104.

4 Letter from Henry Allon to Dykes, 10 November 1874. (App. B p. 283).

5 Brown, J.N., p. 27.

6 *Times*, 18 March 1939, p. 10.

7 Routley (1948) p. 6.

- 'To sensitive ears such tunes as [this] have a very clumsy and ill-balanced effect when sung in unison, and this is one of the reasons why musicianly organists sometimes shrug their shoulders or make wry faces when the congregation is singing.'[1]

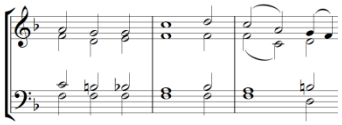
- This tune 'would redeem almost any collection.'[2]

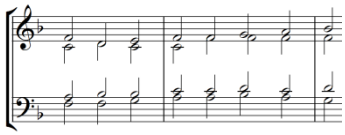
- 'womanish'.[3]

- 'On an infinitely lower level [than Elgar], take Dykes's 'Lux Benigna.' The instances here of the clashing of musical and verbal phrases are so well known, and the result of the predominance of music over words so notoriously ludicrous, as to make reference superfluous.'[4]

- See note on '**THE NIGHT IS GONE'.**

LUX MATUTINA (See **FAITHFUL IN THY LOVE)**

LUX PERPETUA

(LM)
1902 edition
Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour Dear
John Keble (1792–1866)

LUX VERA

(10.6.10.6.)
Taylor
O brightness of the Immortal Father's Face
tr. Edward William Eddis (1825–1905)

- Verses and tune are beautifully unpretentious, a very different matter from lacking character.[5]

- 'The hymn I sent you…seemed to me not easy to set satisfactorily; but both as regards the coupling of the verses, & the music you have written for it, you have met the difficulty well.'[6]

- Eddis was a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church, otherwise known as the Irvingites.[7]

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1 Lutkin, p. 92.

2 *Musical Opinion* May 1895 p. 488.

3 Heywood, p. 46.

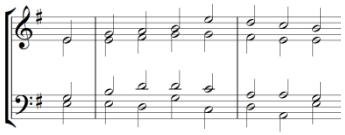
4 Hay, E.N., in *MT* January 1914, p. 1.

5 Hutchings (1967), p. 153.

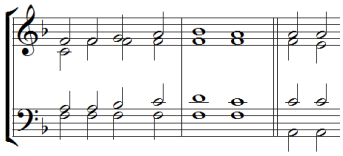
6 Letter from R Minton Taylor to Dykes, 23 May 1870. (App. B p. 59).

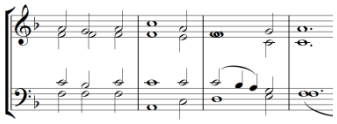
7 Julian, p. 321.

MAGDALA (see **ST CUTHBERT** (2))

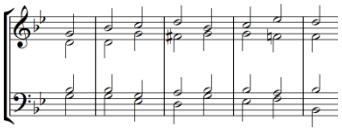
MAGDALEN

(LM)
Grey
O maker of the world, give ear
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

MAGDALENA (See **MAGDALENE**)

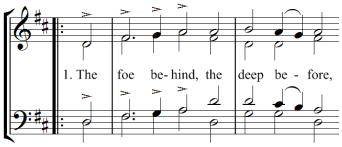
MAGDALENE

(6.5.6.5.D)
[ST] MARY MAGDALENE; MAGDALENA
Chope
In the hour of trial, Jesu! plead for me
James Montgomery (1771–1854)

MALTON

(8.6.8.6.8.8.)
Barkworth
Lord of my life! whose tender care
Author shown in the 1838 Church of England Magazine (where the words first appeared) as 'Ω Chelsea'

· Named after the parish in Ryedale, North Yorkshire, in which Dykes served his first curacy.

MANCHESTER (arr.)

(CM)
Chope §✠
How blest are they whose hearts are pure
William Hiley Bathurst (1796–1877)

MARE RUBRUM

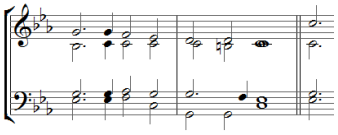


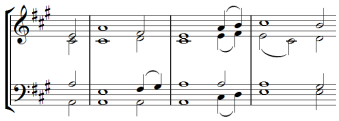
(Irregular)
1902 edition
The foe behind, the deep before
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

· The complexity of the piece—not least the repeated key and time signature changes—make this a motet for choir rather than a congregational hymn.

· Dykes's diary records that he sent off this tune on 25 October 1870,[1] but gives no clue as to whom it was sent.

[1] Fowler, p. 147.

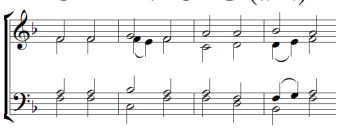
MARIÆ FILIUS (7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition
When our heads are bowed with woe
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

MARTYRDOM (arr.) (CM)

***A&M* 1868** §✠
As pants the hart for cooling streams
Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847) (from Tate and Brady)

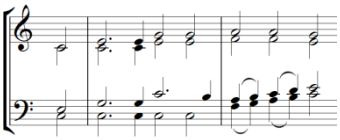
- Dykes provided an alternative harmonisation for *Hymnal with Tunes Old and New* (1872) and *A&M* 1875.
- Dykes confirms that this is his arrangement in a letter to Baker.[1]

MARY MAGDALENE (See **MAGDALENE**)

MECKLENBURG (arr.) (8.7.8.7.)



Grey §✠
[No specific words set]

MELITA (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

***A&M* 1861**
Eternal Father, strong to save
William Whiting (1825–1878)

- See note to PARATE VIAM.
- 'Impracticable; difficult'[2] [!]
- '[Dykes's] style is to be seen at its best in the three famous tunes contributed by him to the 1861 book for 'Holy, Holy, Holy, 'Jesu, lover of my soul' and 'Eternal Father, strong to save'.'[3]
- 'In GERONTIUS, MELITA [and] ST DROSTANE we have melodies with powerful openings that degenerate as they proceed, demanding what distraction the inner parts can provide.'[4]

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1 15 July 1874. (App. B p. 246).

2 Brown, J.N., p. 28.

3 Phillips (1937), p. 223.

4 Routley (1957), p. 123.

- ‘Often a [Dykes] tune begins with a really arresting first line, powerful and uplifting, sweeping onwards with irresistible drive. Then, quite unexpectedly, it collapses in a heap. The rest of the tune limps feebly home as best it can, slipping and sliding over treacherous chromatics. MELITA…is typical of the genus.’[1]

- ‘…it may be suspected that Dykes was not much to Vaughan Williams’s taste, and if [one looks at] “Eternal Father” it is easy to see why—note the rising chromatic bass in the third and fourth lines and the rising chromatic tune in the fifth line. But one cannot put an absolute ban on chromaticism, and, the effect of increasing urgency in the petition “O hear us when we cry to Thee” is effectively conveyed by the rising chromatic scale.’[2]

- ‘…the words of the opening lines were never set better—but what are we left with thereafter? Another crawling melody with grovelling harmony, tiring and unrewarding to sing; yet having such potent seductive qualities that the tune will never be separated from Whiting’s words so long as those words are sung.’[3]

- ‘Mr [X] asks if ‘Melita’ is, after all, a bad tune. The answer is that it is not bad, nor is it very good, but that, as a setting for the words, and as material for congregational singing, it beats ‘Lodsworth’ [‘English Traditional Melody’ used in Songs of Praise] all ends up…Why was [Melita] dropped in Songs of Praise and relegated to the Appendix in [the first edition of] the English Hymnal? That’s an easy one! It is trebly damned: (1) it was a popular *A&M* tune; (2) it was Victorian; and (3)—and worst of all—it was by a composer whose name in superior circles has become almost a synonym for meretriciousness—Dykes.’[4]

- ‘Dykes’s ‘Melita’, so far from being a bad tune, only just misses being a very good one: the rising of the melody by semitones in the seventh line just weakens it, and there are too many dominant sevenths in the harmony. But if congregations never sang worse tunes than [MELITA, HOLLINGSIDE and Barnby’s LAUDES DOMINI] there would be little cause for complaint on the score of quality.’[5]

- For a detailed analysis, musical and theological, of this tune see Little, Patrick ‘Melita: A hymn-tune by J.B. Dykes’ in *MT,* December 1990*,* pp. 675–678.

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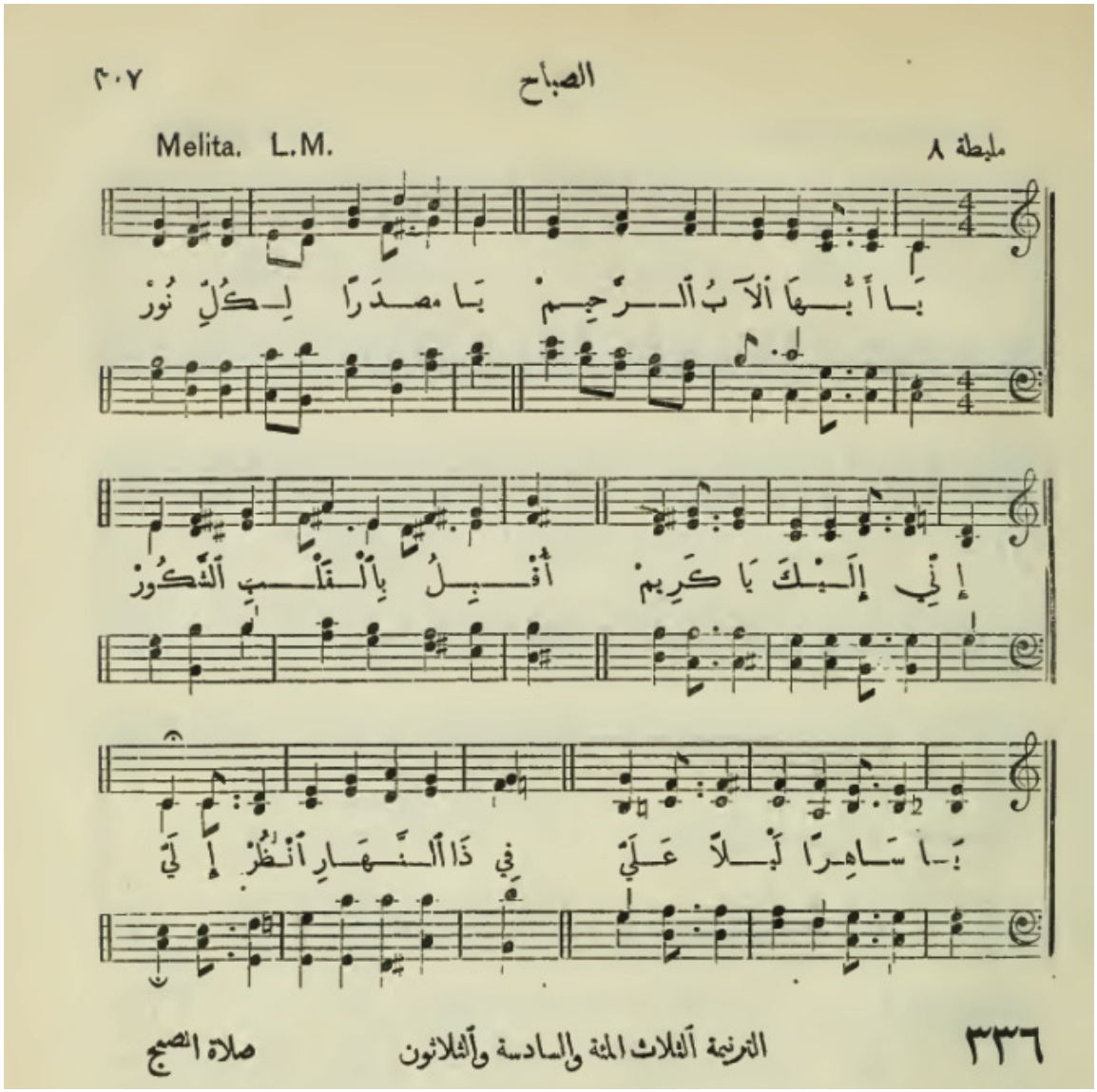
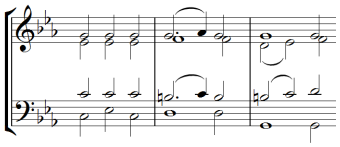
1 Long, p. 361.

2 *Times*, 4 July 1958, p. 13.

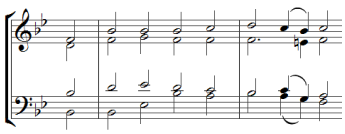
3 Routley (1948), p. 7.

4 ‘Piccolo’, *MT* October 1933, p. 923.

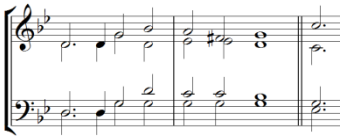
5 *MT* 1 February 1926, p. 151.

From *The Hymnbook used in Christian Missions* (Beirut, 1885)

MERCY-SEAT (8.6.8.6.8.8.)

Wordsworth
"Holy of Holies," awful name
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

- The eight consecutive Gs in the soprano in line one are interrupted by a single A♭ inflection. See also PROME VOCEM and HERALD.

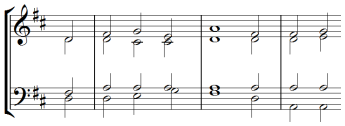
MILES LANE (arr.) (CM)

***A&M* 1868** §✠
All hail the power of Jesu's name
Edward Perronet (1726–1792)

- Dykes confirms that this is his arrangement in a letter to Baker dated 15 July 1874.

MILMAN (7.7.7.7.8.8.)

Chope
Lord, we raise our cry to Thee
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

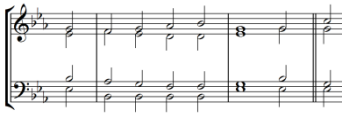
· Although there is no key signature change, the tune has two distinct halves; the first in G minor, the second in the relative major.

MISSIONARY HYMN (See **JUBILEE**)

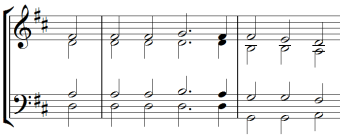
MIZPAH (5.5.5.11.D)

Allon
Come, let us anew our journey pursue
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

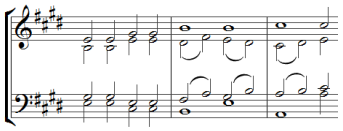
· (In a longer discussion of Dykes's hymn-tunes) 'Charles Wesley's Hymn although somewhat jingling in its metre, is so very appropriate that if I could get a good setting for it I should be glad to include it. I send a copy. It could be set either in single or double verses, as might be most effective. It is commonly sung after three or four minutes of silent prayer just as the clock has struck twelve. The first word in the new year is the announcement of the Hymn by the Minister 'Come let us anew'.[1]

MONKLAND (See **NICÆA**)

MORLAIX (7.6.7.6.D)

MARINER
Grey
To thee, O dear, dear country!
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

· 'simple, but a very sweet and appropriate harmony'.[2]

MUNUS PURUM (10.10.10.10.10.10.)

1902 edition
And now, O Father, mindful of the love
William Bright (1824–1901)

NICÆA (11.12.12.10.)

***A&M* 1861**
Holy, holy, holy!
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

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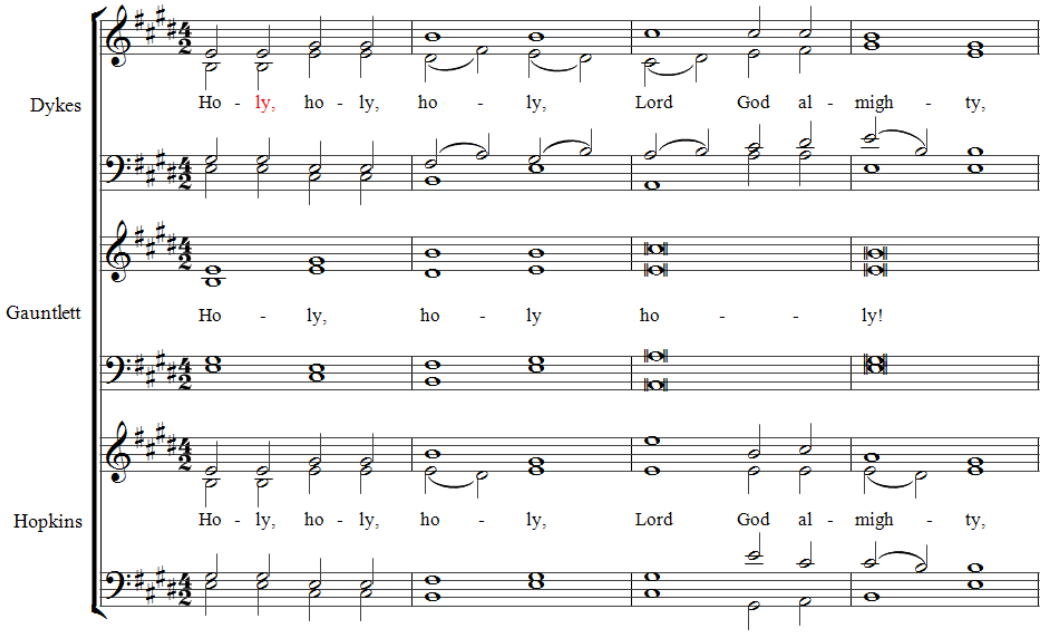
[1] Letter from Henry Allon to Dykes, 29 October 1874. See also letter from Henry Allon to Dykes, 4 December 1874. (App. B pp. 282 and 286).

[2] Brown, T. and Butterworth, H., *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes* (American Tract Society: New York, 1906) p. 372.

- Although there is a superficial melodic similarity with WACHET AUF (explicitly stated by Dykes to be a coincidence[1]) the closer similarity is to TRINITY[2] by John Hopkins (Temple Service Book, 1850), and even to Gauntlett's tune of the same name:

- For a far more convincing case of borrowing from WACHET AUF, see CORDE NATUS.

- In a possibly apocryphal account, we are told that 'On one occasion, when Dr Dykes went into a shop in [Durham]…there happened to be standing behind the counter three young assistants. A look of intelligence passed between them, and the first assistant softly uttered the word "Holy" on E, the second followed suit on G sharp and the third finished on B. Dr Dykes looked amused and rather scandalized but said nothing. The same thing occurred on other occasions until the composer quietly asked the young men to desist, which they very politely did.'[3]

- 'Such hymns as "Holy, Holy, Holy!"…would not be themselves without Dykes's tunes.'[4]

- '[Dykes's] style is to be seen at its best in the three famous tunes contributed by him to the 1861 book for 'Holy, Holy, Holy', 'Jesu, lover of my soul' and 'Eternal Father, strong to save'.'[5]

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1 'When, many years ago, I called Dr Dykes's attention to the similarity between [NICÆA and WACHET AUF] he was much amused, and said he suspected that both he and the composer of the chorale had been "inspired" by the same Gregorian melody—the fifth tone with its festal mediation, I think.' Letter to unknown journal from E.O. Dykes dated 14 January 1903, Pratt Green MS 17.

2 See App. A Pt. 1 p. 246.

3 Jones, F.A. *Famous Hymns and Their Authors* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1902) p. 302, quoting 'a personal friend of the late composer.'

4 *Times*, 18 March 1939, p. 10.

5 Phillips (1937), p. 223.

- ‘Grand as the hymn is, it did not come to its full grandeur of sentiment and sound in song-worship till the remarkable music of Dr John B. Dykes was joined to it. None was ever written that in performance illustrates more admirably the solemn beauty of congregational praise.’[1]

- ‘This hymn is invariably sung to Dr Dykes’s Nicæa, which was written expressly for it. The tune takes its name from the town in Asia Minor in which sat the Ecumenical Council of 325 A.D., in the course of whose deliberations the doctrine of the Trinity was finally elaborated. The tune is well adapted to the hymn, and taken together they comprise a sacred song which has never been surpassed.’[2]

- ‘His deep religious instincts and superb literary taste led him to select for his compositions the finest of modern hymns, so that we have in his productions the union of the best in hymnody with the best in music. For example, Bishop Heber’s “Holy, Holy, Holy” is the finest hymn of adoration in the language. It is set to Nicæa one of Dykes’s finest tunes. It thus becomes in its twofold aspect a positive standard of the perfected hymn-tune in time, pitch, movement, range, and harmony.’[3]

- ‘FESTIVAL OF PAROCHIAL CHOIRS AT SOUTHWELL: The introit was No. 135 in Hymns “Ancient and Modern,” to the sweetly expressive music of the Rev. J. B. Dykes, of Durham Cathedral; and as the Divine ascription of praise floated in heavenly harmonies through the Church—“Holy! Holy! Holy! all the Saints adore Thee, Casting down their golden crowns around the glassy sea”— the mind of the worshipper must be cold indeed which was not raised to the rapture of fervent adoration, and the anticipation of the glorious anthem which “he who saw the Apocalypse” heard rolling its melodious thunders through the Temple of New Jerusalem. These are the melodies which animate the heart, cheer the soul, warm the imagination with celestial visions, and awake holy recollections, which turn to the Scriptural records of divine praise with interest and delight.’[4]

- ‘Of great beauty and strength; easily learned, and will prove a great favorite.’[5]

---

1 Brown and Butterworth, p. 51.

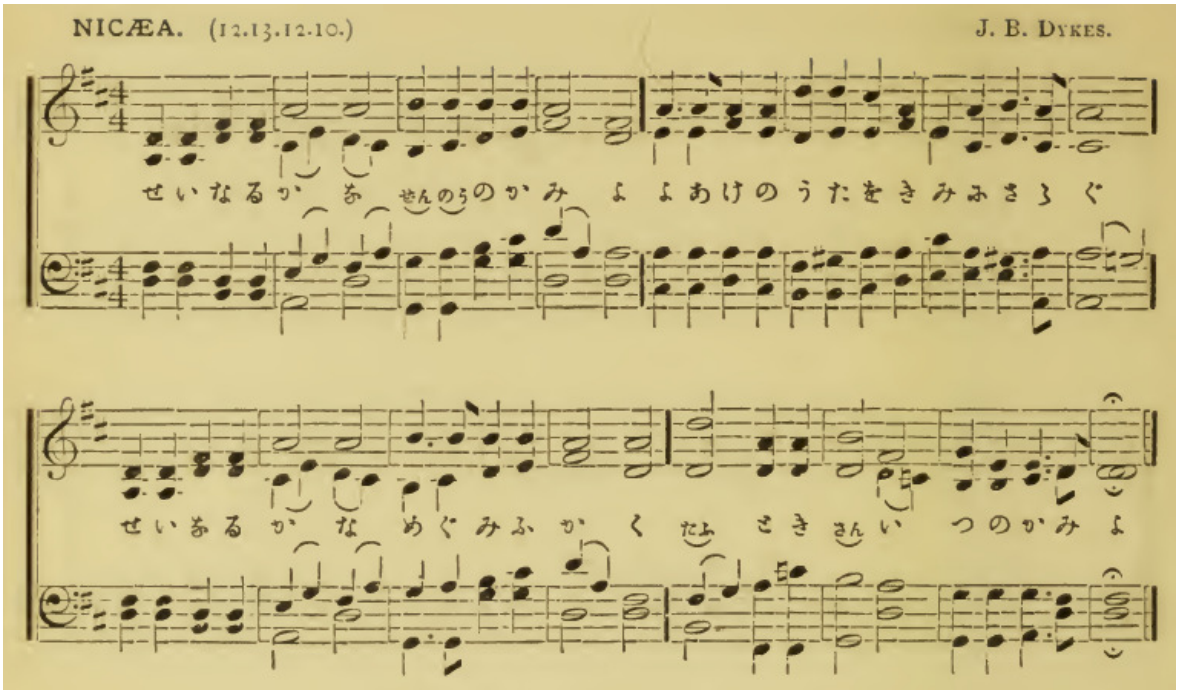
2 Breed, David R. *The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes* (Revell: London, 1903) p. 173.

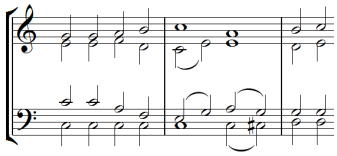
3 *ibid.*, p. 314.

4 *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 28 April 28 1865, p.8.

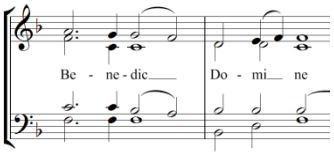
5 Brown, J.N., p. 30.

- 'Dykes's NICAEA is perhaps the only really great and timeless tune he wrote.'[1] (Stretching the exclusivity of the word 'only', Routley thought the same of DOMINUS REGIT ME, too.[2])

- Whether the appearance of NICAEA in a Japanese hymnal of 1896 is a sign that Dykes's tunes travelled well, or alternatively that the American Baptist Missionary Union was insensitive to the musical culture of the nation it was hoping to convert, is a matter for speculation. (The same question might be asked, for instance, of the compilers of the Zulu and Arabic hymnals which used Dykes's tunes, as already illustrated on pp. 128 and 241.)

'*NOW MY SOUL, THY VOICE***'** (See **PROME VOCEM**)

'NOW TO BETHLEHEM' (6.5.6.5)

EPIPHANY
Child's Book
Now to Bethlehem haste we
Claudia Frances Hernaman (1838–1898)

OAKHAM GRACE, NO.1 (Irregular)



1902 edition ✠
Benedic Domine nos
Anon

- There is a clear echo of *Wachet Auf* in lines two and four.

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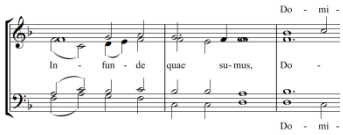
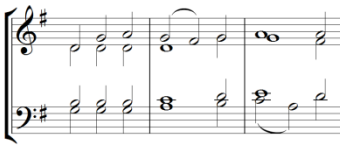
1 Routley (1957), p. 61.

2 See e.g. Routley (1977), p. 72.

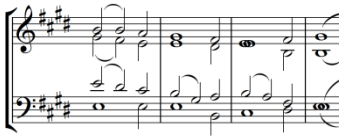
OAKHAM GRACE, NO.2 (Irregular)

1902 edition ✠
Infunde quæ sumus
Anon

· Once again there is an echo of *Wachet Auf.*

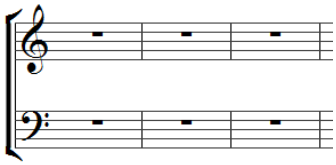
'OH COME, DEAR CHILD' (LM)

VIA BONA; HEAVEN
Infant Children
Oh come, dear child, along with me
Anon

· See note to AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND.

· This is another of those hymns ('I have a Christian name' and 'One day, dear children' are others) which suggests that Dykes was not always discriminating when it came to providing tunes for hymns. To whom would children be addressing the words 'Oh come, dear child, along with me'—to say nothing of 'One day, dear children, you must die'?

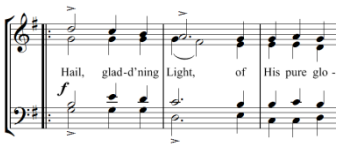
'OH, WHAT A BLESSED CHILD' (7.7.7.7.)

MORNING THOUGHTS
Infant Children
Oh, what a blessed child am I
Anon

· See note to AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND.

'O LORD, TO WHOM THE SPIRITS LIVE' (8.8.8.8.7.7.)

? §
O Lord, to Whom the spirits live
R.F. Littledale (1833–1890)

· Composition of the tune is mentioned in Fowler (p.140) but it has yet to be traced.

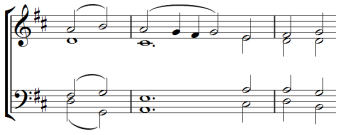
· Dykes's diary for the day after the funeral of his ten year old daughter, Mabel, records 'Sep. 6, Tuesday.—Beautiful morning. Writing a tune for "O Lord, to Whom the spirits live."'[1]

O LUMEN HILARE (Irregular)

HAIL, GLADD'NING LIGHT
1902 edition
Hail, gladd'ning Light
tr. John Keble (1792–1866)

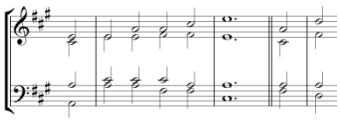
[1] Fowler, p. 139.

- The relative complexity of the piece makes this a motet rather than a congregational hymn.

- Fowler mentions Dykes's work on the composition of this tune.[1] In a moving letter, Dykes explains that work on this tune came as a blessed distraction from other worries.[2]

O LUX BEATA (arr.) (Irregular)

***A&M* 1875** § ✠
O Trinity, most Blessèd Light
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- The attribution of this arrangement to Dykes is speculative, drawing on three pieces of information: (a) he harmonised other plainsong tunes and was an authority on this kind of music; (b) his diary for 24 February 1874 shows that he was working on *O Trinity, most Blessed Light*;[3] and (c) this is a different harmony than that which appeared in the 1861 edition—one assumes Monk's.

OLIVET (6.6.8.6.6.6.8.6)

Bickersteth
Thou art gone up on high
Emma L. Toke (1812–1878)

- 'You named [this tune] "*Ascension"*!—There is a tune of that name in the S.P.C.K. Collection, which they kindly gave us for "Christ is gone up with a joyful sound," which Hymn stands immediately before "Thou art gone up on High," in my Hymnal. It would be confusing to have two tunes of the same name, side by side, so we have ventured to christen yours Olivet…' (Letter from Bickersteth to Dykes, 17 August 1870)[4]

- The tune appeared in an amended form in *A&M* 1875.

- 'Dr Dykes' setting…is very thoughtful, but some additional effect might have been produced by unison treatment of the first line of the hymn, which ought certainly to have been written thus:

[5]

However, Heywood misses the fact that the metre is iambic—Dykes's anacrusis is therefore entirely appropriate and necessary.

---

1 *ibid.,* p. 181.

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker, 5 May 1874. (App. B p. 240).

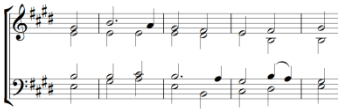
3 Fowler, p. 191.

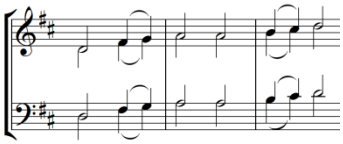
4 Fowler p. 134.

5 Heywood, p. 59.

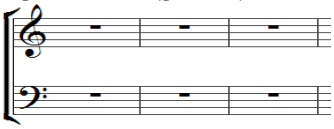
· ‘tunes that unsuccessfully employ modulation, as a refuge from the necessity of working out their implications within their home key, like OLIVET’.[1]

ONCE AGAIN, O BLESSÈD TIME (See **CHRISTMAS SONG**)

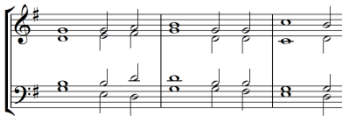
‘ONE DAY, DEAR CHILDREN’

(LM)
DEATH AND LIFE
Infant Children
One day, dear children, you must die
Anon

‘ON THE BIRTHDAY OF THE LORD’

(7.7.7.7.7. + Refrain)
Bramley
On the birthday of the Lord
tr. R.F. Littledale (1833–1890)

‘*ONWARD IN GOD’S NAME*’ (See **IN NOMINE DOMINI**)

‘O PARADISE’ IN F

(8.6.8.6.6.6.6.6.)
? §
[Presumably] *O Paradise, O Paradise, who doth not crave for rest?*

· The tune is mentioned in Fowler but the tune has yet to be traced.

O QUANTA QUALIA (arr.)

(10.10.10.10.)
***A&M* 1868** §✠
O what their joy and their glory must be
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

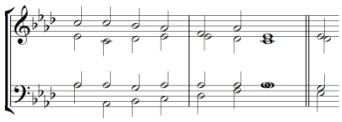
· The harmonies are varied in subsequent editions of *A&M*.

· Dykes confirms that this is his arrangement in a letter to Baker.[2]

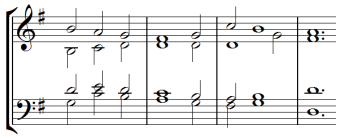
· The original text is attributed to Peter Abelard (1079–1142) whose name is usually attached to that of his wife Heloise, his love for, and secret marriage to, whom earned him his castration.

[1] Routley (1857), p. 123.

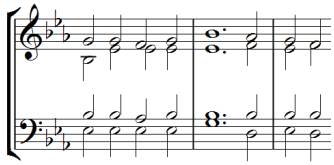
[2] 15 July 1874. (App. B p. 246).

ORIENS EX ALTO (7.8.7.8.7.3)

Taylor
Dayspring of Eternity!
tr. Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878)

· The first *thirteen* notes of the melody are identical to those of SANCTE SPIRITUS. while GLASTONBURY shares the first eight notes.

O SALUTARIS HOSTIA (8.8.8.8.8.)

1902 edition
O Saving Victim, opening wide
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

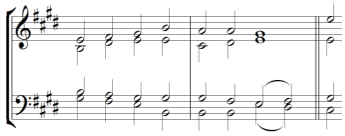
· Fowler suggests, somewhat improbably, that this tune (whose name translates as *O saving victim*) was composed for the words *The heavenly word*.[1]

OSWESTRY (12.11.12.11)

Novello 8^vo^ edition 1870
Great and glorious Father, humbly we adore Thee
Bp William Walsham How (1823–1897)

· A revised version of the tune was published in '*Church Hymns*'.

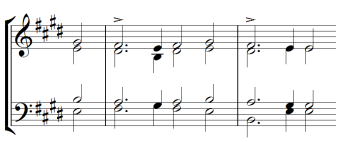
· Fowler describes how, in a letter, Dykes traced the history of the composition of this tune.[2]

OUR FATHER'S VOICE (See '**COME, OUR FATHER'S VOICE'**)

PANIS VIVUS (7.7.7.)

Monk §
Jesu, to Thy table led
Robert Hall Baynes (1831–1895)

· It is not clear what purpose is served by moving from chord Ic in the first two beats of the penultimate bar, to a (very weak) V without the third on beat three.

PARACLETE (See '**HOLY GHOST, COME DOWN'**)

PARADISE (8.6.8.6.6.6.6.6.)

***A&M* 1868** (revised version *A&M* **1875**)
O Paradise, O Paradise, who doth not crave for rest?
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

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1 p. 331.

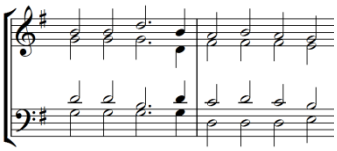
2 pp. 186–187.

- Dykes's diary records: 'August 30 [1867].—Anxious to get my old "O Paradise," in A♭ substituted, in the Appendix, for my late one. Sept. 3.—Monk decidedly prefers my last Tune, so sent him a revise of it. I think improved!' In a letter to Monk Dykes wrote: 'I suppose the difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory Tune for "O Paradise" must remind one that Paradise itself is not to be attained without a struggle.'[1]

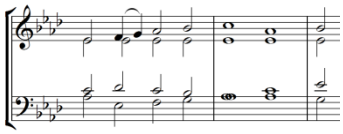
- Discussed disapprovingly in a letter from Baker.[2] Dykes defended his tune at length in a reply the following day.[3]

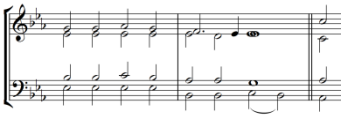
- Stanford was disdainful of this tune and its like: 'Imagine the style which an English Church composer would develop whose early taste was formed by familiarity with "O Paradise!" and such-like tunes! Such tunes are the most insidious destroyers of taste. They are easy enough to catch the ear of the most remote congregation in a country parish. They are flashy enough to seduce the untutored listener, and spoil his palate for wholesome and simple fare; much as the latest comic song will temporarily extinguish the best folk-tune'.[4]

- 'Dr Dykes has done wisely in revising his setting [of bar 13] so as to make the organ take the moving parts while the voices hold on.[5]

PARATE VIAM (8.7.8.7.D)

Advent Hymns
O Lord Jesu, at Thy coming
George Prince Joyce (1821–1889)

- In an echo of MELITA, the bass in bars 9 to 11 rises, from B, by a fourth in steps of a semitone.

PASCHA (11.11.11.11.11.)

Evans-Freke §
"Welcome, happy morning!" age to age shall say
tr. John Ellerton (1826–1994)

PASSIO (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition ✠
Go to dark Gethsemane
James Montgomery (1771–1854)

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1 Fowler, p. 121.

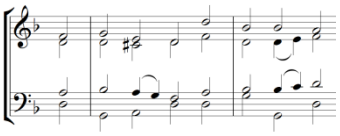
2 21 September 1874. (App. B p. 265.)

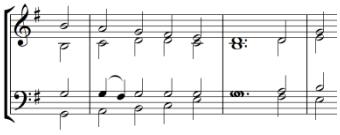
3 App. B p. 270.

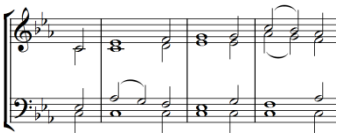
4 Dibble, quoting Stanford's *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* p. 311.

5 Heywood, p. 60.

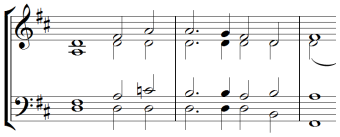
· See note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

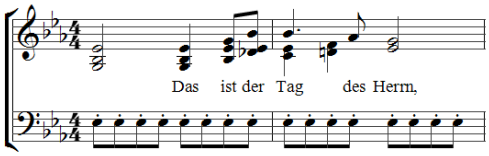
PASSIONTIDE (8.7.8.7.8.8.7.)

1902 edition ✠
O sinner, lift the eye of faith
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

PATRIA (7.7.7.7.8.8.)

TO THEE OUR GOD WE FLY
1902 edition
To Thee our God we fly
Bp William Walsham How (1823–1897)

PAX (LM)

***MT* (1 December 1899)**
O God of Love, O King of peace
Henry Williams Baker (1821–1877)

· It is not clear why, in the antepenultimate bar, Dykes chose to use chord ^{7}V without a third. The result is stark to no obvious purpose.

PAX DEI (10.10.10.10.)

***A&M* 1868**
Saviour again to Thy dear name we raise
John Ellerton (1826–1894)

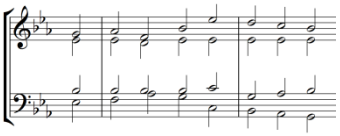
· The clear melodic and harmonic similarity between the first two bars of PAX DEI and Mendelssohn's 'Sonntagsmorgen' (Op. 77 No. 1) is too close to be coincidental:

This makes all the more regrettable that the editors of the 1904 edition should have de-chromaticised ('simplified' was the term they used[1]) the harmonies.

· See note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

· 'Too difficult for the congregation.'[2]

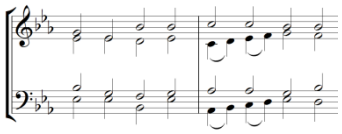
1 *A&M Historical Edition* (1909), p. 40.

2 Brown, J.N., p. 33.

PAX ELECTIS (8.8.4.8.8.4)

1902 edition ✠
What care the Saints of God
Gerard Moultrie (1799–1885)

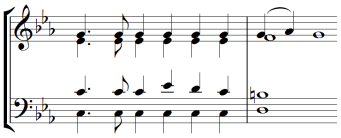
· Shares an opening melodic motif with IRENE.

PETITION (See '**WHERE IS THE HOLY JESUS'**)

PITTINGTON (8.7.8.7.)

Chope
Where Angelic Hosts adore Thee
William Denton (1815–1888)

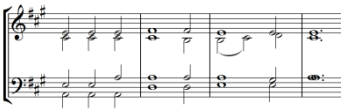
· Pittington is a village five miles from Durham. 'The new organ erected in this church, which has been built by Mr Postill of York, was opened on Sunday, the 29th ult., by the Rev. J.B. Dykes, Precentor of Durham.'[1]

PRINCE OF PEACE (See '**IT CAME UPON A MIDNIGHT CLEAR'**)

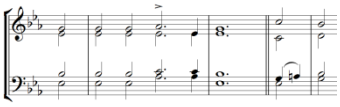
PROME VOCEM (8.7.8.7.8.7.)

NOW, MY SOUL, THY VOICE
Littledale
Now, my soul, thy voice upraising
Henry Williams Baker (1821–1877)

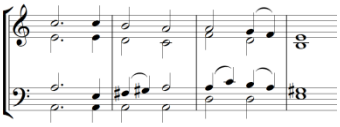
· The key and tonality of this tune is ambiguous for much of its length. The 'mournful strain' telling of Christ's enduring 'grief, and wounds, and dying pain' drift unsettlingly from c minor to E♭ major, back to c minor leading, by a diminished 7th, to a climax of sorrow in g minor. And then, as Christ's free love is offered for sinners, finally over-coming the mournfulness, the grief and the pain, the music finds rest in the key of E♭.

· The eight consecutive Gs in the soprano in line one are interrupted by a single A♭ inflection. See also HERALD and MERCY-SEAT.

QUADRAGESIMA (LM)

1902 edition ✠
O merciful Creator, hear
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

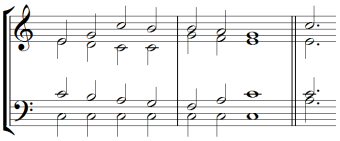
[1] *Musical Gazette*, 19 December 1857, p. 610.

QUID RETRIBUAM (6.6.6.6.D)

DURHAM
Evans-Freke
Thy life was given for me
Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–1879)

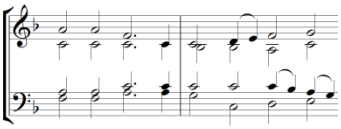
REQUIES (7.8.7.8.7.7.)

TENDER SHEPHERD
1902 edition
Tender Shepherd, Thou hast stilled
tr. Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878)

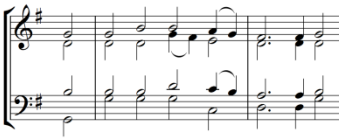
- Fowler notes (p.139) that Dykes had often wished to compose a suitable tune for these harrowing words (written, in German, by J.W. Meinhold for the funeral of a child) before eventually composing a tune for use at the funeral of his ten year old daughter, Mabel (see IN MEMORIAM MHD). Whether REQUIES was composed before or after IN MEMORIAM MHD is not known.

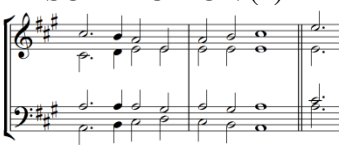
- See note to HERALD.

REQUIESCAT (7.7.7.7.8.8.)

***A&M* 1875**
Now the labourer's task is o'er
John Ellerton (1826–1894)

- See note to HERALD.

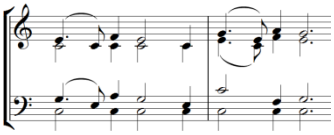
RESURRECTIO (8.7.8.3)

Evans-Freke
On the resurrection morning
Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924)

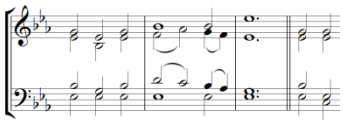
RESURRECTION (1) (8.8.8.8.8.6.9.9.10.10.)

STIGMATA
Wordsworth
The wounds which Jesus once endur'd
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

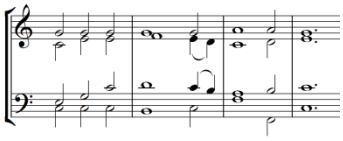
RESURRECTION (2) (7.7.7.7.8.7.)

EASTER
Monk
Angels, roll the rock away!
T. Scott and Thomas Gibbons (*fl.*1775)

- Monk discussed this tune in a letter to Dykes.[1] It is evident that Dykes did not approve of Monk's suggestions for, as Monk confirmed, the tune was published as Dykes wrote it.[2]

- The introductory four-note motif is the major version of ST CHAD.

'REVERENTLY WE WORSHIP'

(7.7.7.7.7.7.)
TRINITY
Child's Book
Reverently we worship Thee
Claudia Frances Hernaman (1838–1898)

REX SPLENDENS

(6.6.8.6.8.7.4.7.)
1902 edition ✠
Bright was Thy throne above
A.T. Bonner

RIVAULX

(LM)
Grey II (revised version *A&M* **1875**)
Father of heaven, Whose love profound
Edward Cooper (1770–1833)

- Dykes's revision for *A&M*, in the key of D, was the only version used thereafter.

- '…a sober choral that articulates the hymn-writer's sentiment with sincerity and with considerable earnestness, but breathes too faintly the interrogative and expostulary (*sic*) tone of the lines.'[3]

- 'Dr Dykes' Rivaulx, if sung in strict time, will do violence to the accentuation of eleven lines of the text out of sixteen: to only one line of the hymn—the first—is the form suitable, and a special arrangement for that particular line might have been made without all this havoc.'[4]

- '…unctuous'.[5] This is a harsh criticism as the adjective implies falsity or insincerity on Dykes's part—an implication which no critic has ever substantiated, and one I refute in Chapter 9.

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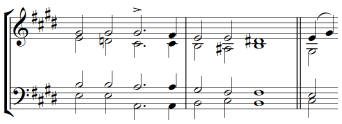
1 26 October 1870. (App. B p. 83).

2 Letter from Monk to Dykes, 17 November 1870. (App. B p. 85).

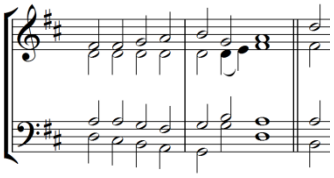
3 Brown and Butterworth, p. 104.

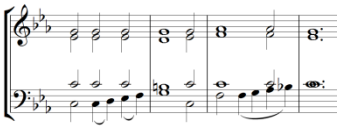
4 Heywood, p. 59.

5 Rainbow, B. Review, 'Anglican Hymn Book' in *MT,,* Oct. 1965, p. 796.

'ROCK OF AGES' (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

GETHSEMANE
Tucker II
Rock of Ages, cleft for me
Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–1778)

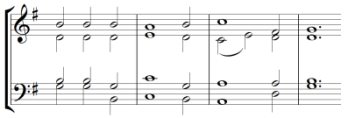
- 'Musically, beautiful and churchly, but difficult and not congregational. The aged resent its substitution for 'Toplady'.'[1]

RUTLAND (7.7.7.)

Cooke
Lord, in this Thy mercy's day
Isaac Williams (1802–1865)

ST AELRED (8.8.8.3.)

Chope
Fierce raged the tempest o'er the deep
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)

- Only this hymnal, and the *English Hymnal* of 1933, have the hymn ending in c minor; all other hymnals have an ending in E♭ major. The *Anglican Hymn Book* has a revised Amen. Only the original version has a time signature change (for the last two bars).

- E.G. Monk proposed a different Amen (a perfect cadence in c minor, with a *tierce de Picardie*) in a letter to Dykes.[2] Dykes did not accept this proposal.

ST AGNES, DURHAM (CM)

Grey
Jesus, the very thought of Thee
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

- 'Dr Dykes' babyish, effeminate, and ultra-sentimental tune…baby-twaddle'.[3]

- 'Beautiful; churchly: should become familiar.'[4]

- 'to be sung to the tune 'St Agnes' or, as it is otherwise known, 'Aggie's Lament'.[5]

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1 Brown, J.N. p. 35.

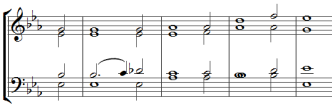
2 26 October 1870. (App. B p. 83).

3 Heywood, pp. 60 and 63.

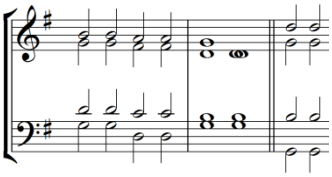
4 Brown, J.N., p. 36.

5 Oral comment, Plymouth Choirmaster 1967.

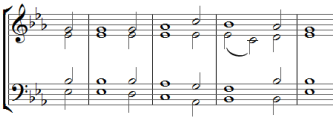
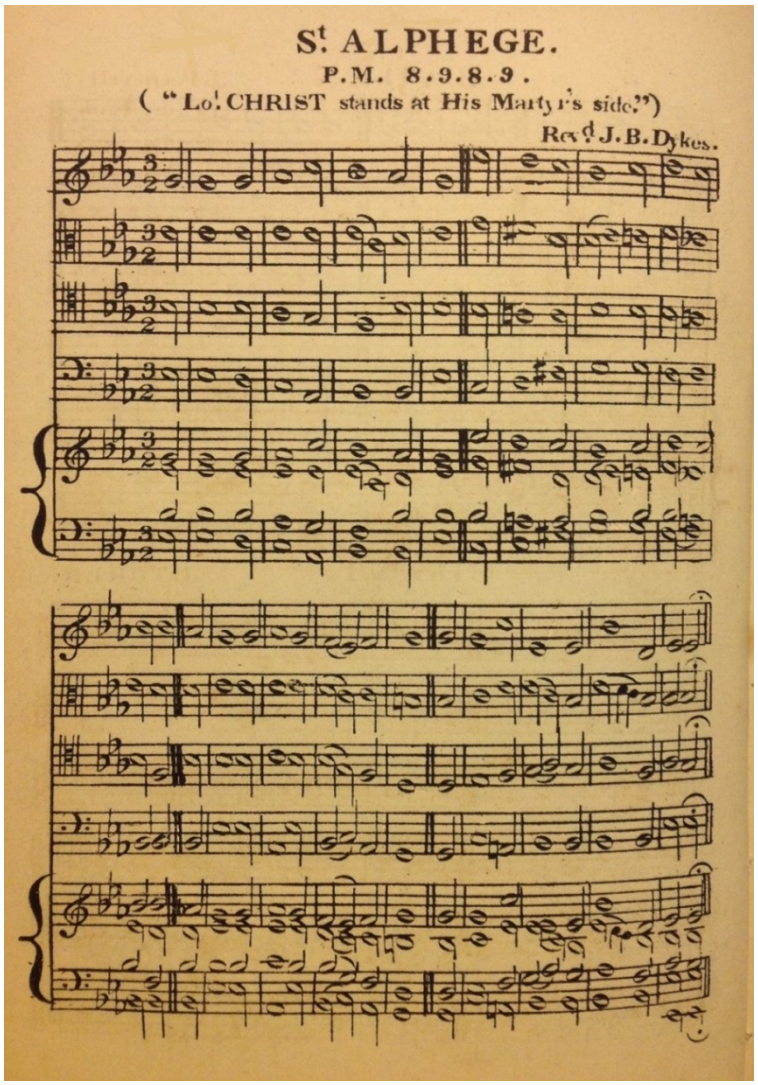
ST AIDAN (arr.)



(8.8.8.)
Grey I §✠
[No words set to this tune]

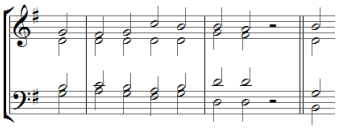
ST ALBAN (arr.)

(6.5.6.5.D)
***A&M* 1868** §✠
Onward, Christian Soldiers
Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924)

- An adaptation of the Andante from Haydn's Overture in D, Hob. Ia:7. Dykes slipped some typical chromatic progressions into Haydn's simple harmonies.

ST ALPHEGE

(8.9.8.9.)
ST CHRYSOSTOM
Grey I
Lo! Christ stands at His Martyr's side
Anon

From Grey's *Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857)*,

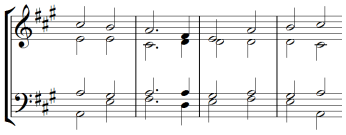
the first hymnal to include a tune by Dykes and one of the last to set out the tune in open score. Dykes was scathing about the quality of the engraving: 'so badly got up & so abominably printed' (see *page 95.*)

ST AMBROSE (See **ST BERNARD**)

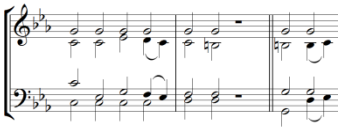
ST ANATOLIUS (7.6.7.6.8.8.)

Chope (revised versions: **Monk** and *A&M* **1875**)
The day is past and over
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- Anatolius, author of the original words, was Patriarch of Constantinople (449 to 458).

- This tune was one of several which was the subject of a dispute between Dykes and Chope over copyright: the available correspondence tends to support Chope's assertion that Dykes had indeed given the copyright in several tunes to him.[1]

ST ANDREW (8.7.8.7.4.7.)

Chope
Lo! He comes with clouds descending
Martin Madan (1726–1790) and Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

- 'Dr Dykes has added in his setting of "Lo he comes," another imbecile illustration of the impossibility of superseding by a really popular melody, the *odious* "Helmsley." In Dr Madan's execrable setting, the melody *does fall* at the word "descending," but in Dr Dykes's poor and trivial hymn the "clouds" *ascend*.'[2]

ST ANDREW OF CRETE (6.5.6.5.D)

***A&M* 1868**
Christian, dost thou see them
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

- 'that parody of Pagan dullness'.[3]

- 'Effective as a choir anthem only.'[4]

- 'It is…in the opportunity for the picturesque or in the touch of the dramatic where Dykes' real genius shines. In his ST ANDREW OF CRETE…to "Christian, dost thou see them," we have almost a new type with its sharp and striking contrasts.'[5]

---

1 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 15 June 1868. (App. B p. 44).

2 Review, 'The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book' in *Musical Standard* 15 January 1863, p. 163.

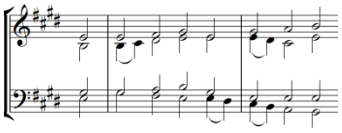
3 Dearmer, p. 41.

4 Brown, J.N., p. 36.

5 Lutkin, p. 32.

- ‘He made some interesting experiments in two-movement form hymn-tunes, but by exaggerating the changes of mood implicit in the words the see-sawing between one style and the other for several verses becomes fidgety (e.g. ST ANDREW OF CRETE and VOX DILECTI).’[1]
- ‘His famous, some would say notorious, “Christian dost thou see them ?” has drama in it, if nothing else.’[2]

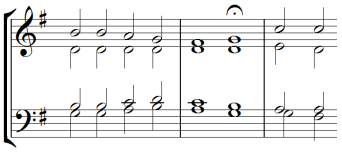
- See note 2 to COME UNTO ME.

ST BARNABAS (1) (LM)

Chope
Creator! Spirit! Lord of Grace
tr. Robert Campbell (1814–1868)

- The 1902 edition contains harmonic and melodic variations.

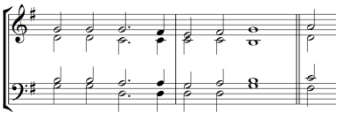
ST BARNABAS (2) (See **CONSENT**)

ST BARNABAS (3)



DUNELM; ST PHILIP
Bemrose
O let him, whose sorrow
tr. Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–1897)

ST BEDE (See **SLINGSBY,** with variations)

ST BEES (7.7.7.7.)

ST OSWALD (5)
Chope
Jesus, name of wondrous love
Bp William Walsham How (1823–1897)

- In some hymnals and to some texts, the bar line is displaced by two beats, the better to align with the rhythm of the words.

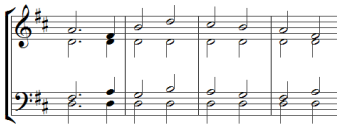
- ‘Dr Dykes…used frequently to come to the boys’ rehearsals before morning service and begin practising with them the music of the day. Presently he would drift into something fresh, and the boys would remain perfectly still and listen entranced. On one occasion he wandered into a particularly beautiful melody, playing it over several times. The air made a lasting impression

[1] Long, p. 362.

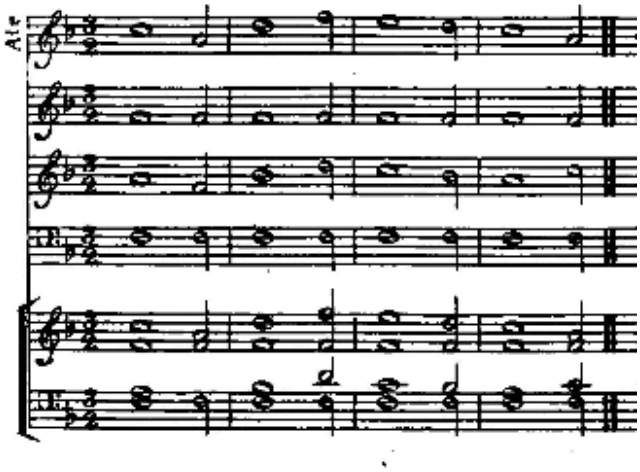
[2] *Times*, 18 March 1939, p. 10.

upon me, and afterwards, when it came to be published, I recognized in the tune to 'Hark, my soul! it is the Lord,' the melody which had so greatly attracted me.'[1]

- '[Dykes's] style is to be seen at its…worst in… 'Hark, my soul, it is the Lord'.'[2]

ST BERNARD (8.7.8.7.)

ST OSWALD; SYCHAR; ST AMBROSE
Grey I
Praise the Lord! ye heavens adore Him
Anon

- The 1902 edition (and other hymnals) ascribe the words to John Kempthorne (d.1838). Occasionally it is ascribed to Bishop Richard Mant (d.1848). Julian rejects both ascriptions.[3]

- Note the incredible similarity of melody and harmony with Samuel Wesley's DORKING:[4]

- This tune was to become one of Dykes's most famous, but renamed ST OSWALD (*q.v.*) and set to the words *Through the night of doubt and sorrow*.

- It was more common for the tune to be set out in later hymnals with four minims to the bar.

- 'Shaw's *Marching* is not a bad tune for "Through the night of doubt and sorrow" and its composer had the good sense to use nineteenth-century harmonies for nineteenth-century verses; but *Marching* wears no better than most of Shaw's tunes and Shaw would have done better to make a good tune to verses that lack one. *Marching* is not a better tune than *St Oswald*

---

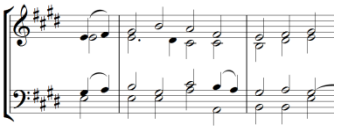
1 Jones, F.A. *Famous Hymns and Their Authors* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1902) p. 183, quoting Bennet Kaye, sometime assistant organist at St Oswald's.

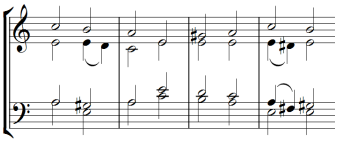
2 Phillips (1937), p. 223.

3 Julian, pp. 903–904.

4 Novello, V. (Ed) *The Psalmist: A Collection of Psalm & Hymn Tunes* (Haddon: London, 1835)

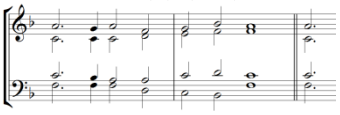
for those words. The gusto, the reminiscence of a miners' brass band, no doubt the very element which the *English Hymnal* editors disliked in Dykes's tune is just what should commend it. That is not one of Dykes's "stagnant" basses, and I have never heard a congregation sounding in the least stagnant when allowed this tune. It goes with a zip.'[1]

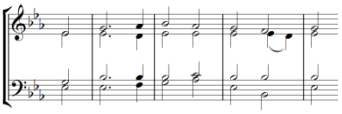
ST CECILIA (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

Grey I
Jerusalem, thou City blest
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

ST CHAD (1) (8.7.8.7.7.7.)

ST WULSTAN; ST MINGO
Grey I
No text provided

- ST WULSTAN (as the tune was later named by Chope) has some variations.

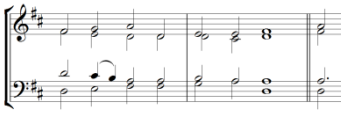
- The introductory four-note motif is the minor version of RESURRECTION.

ST CHAD (2) (arr.) (7.7.7.7)

Chope §✠
Ruler of the Hosts of Light
John Chandler (1806–1876)

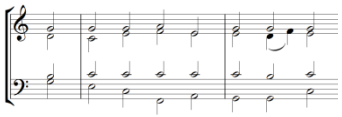
ST CHRISTOPHER (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

Grey
Sing, O my tongue, devoutly sing
tr. Anon from the Latin of Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (540–600)

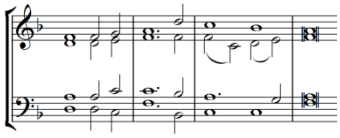
- This tune creates a degree of tedium by the tenacity with which it holds to the tonic key: only one line out of the six does *not* end in E♭, with the exceptional line getting no further than the dominant. Line three strikes out promisingly in the relative minor, only to return to the tonic a few bars later.

ST CHRYSOSTOM (See **ST ALPHEGE**)

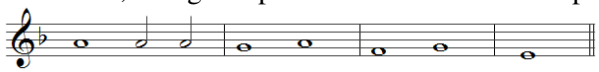
ST COLUMBA (arr.) (7.7.7.7.)

Chope § ✠
Lamb of God! for sinners slain
James Russell Woodford (1820–1885)

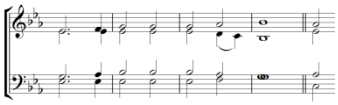
[1] Hutchings (1967), p. 155.

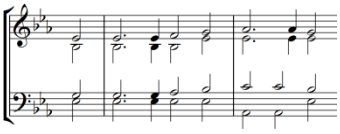
ST CONSTANTINE (8.8.8.8.7.)

Chope
Hosanna to the Living Lord
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

ST CROSS (LM)

GOLGOTHA
***A&M* 1861**
O come and mourn with me awhile
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

- 'The most pathetic hymn tune of J.B. Dykes contains no chromatics, and its vocal parts are worthy of Gibbons.'[1]

- 'This tune passes the test of singing without harmony. Each line adds some feature of melodic expression, and leads forward to the next. The simple device of beginning the third line off the accent just saves the rhythm from stickiness, and gives point to the least eventful phrase of the four. Had the third line been thus:  it would have reduced the tune to the tautologous repetition of a single rhythm. Its life hangs by a slight thread, and it is admittedly a slight piece of music, but its qualities of sincere and simple expression in pitch relationships, aided by one touch of rhythmic variety, enable it to achieve its purpose.'[2]

ST CUTHBERT (1) (arr.) (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

Grey I §✠
[No words given]

ST CUTHBERT (2) (8.6.8.4.)

MAGDALA
***A&M* 1861**
Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed
Harriet (1773–1862) Auber

- Named after the Anglo-Saxon monk and bishop (c.634–687), the patron saint of northern England, to whom Durham Cathedral is dedicated.

- Shares the first eight notes of the melody (though not the rhythm) with GLEBE FIELD.

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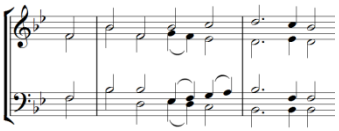
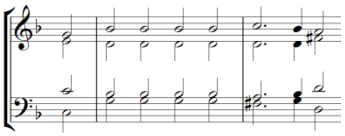
1 Hutchings (1967), p. 24.

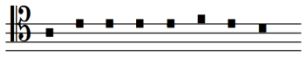
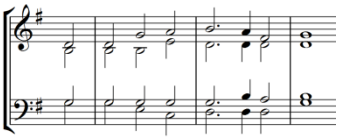
2 Colles, H.C. in Garnder and Nicholson, p. 39.

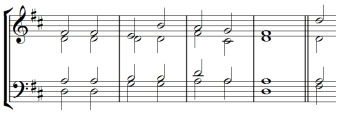
ST DROSTANE (LM)

Chope
Ride on! Ride on in majesty
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868)

- St Drostan (sic) was a Scottish abbot *fl*.600.

- See note on MELITA.
- 'In GERONTIUS, MELITA [and] ST DROSTANE we have melodies with powerful openings that degenerate as they proceed, demanding what distraction the inner parts can provide.'[1]

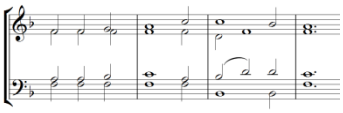
ST DUNSTAN (arr.) (LM)

Chope §✠
Before the ending of the day
Anon.

This is a four-square, rather rigid, rendering of the ancient hymn *Te lucis ante terminum*:

ST EDITHA (LM)

Tucker §
Inspirer and hearer of prayer
Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–1778)

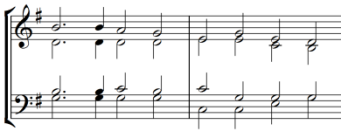
ST EDMUND (7.7.7.7.D)

LENT; EDMUND; DURHAM
Grey I
Saviour, when in dust to Thee
Sir Robert Grant (1785–1838)

- The melody, from the fourth to twelfth notes inclusive, prefigures HOLLINGSIDE. The chromatically ascending melody in bars 25 to 28 prefigures MELITA.

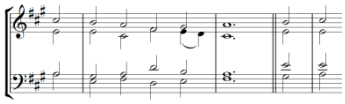
- A revised version appears in **Chope**—see LENT.

ST EPHREM (LM)

1902 edition ✠
Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear
John Keble (1792–1866)

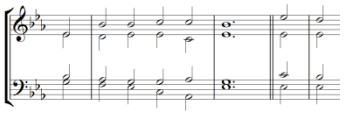
- The transition, at the enjambment of lines two and three, from chord II to chord ^{7}V is awkward.

ST ETHELREDA (8.7.8.7.8.7.)

1902 edition ✠
Blessèd city, heavenly Salem
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

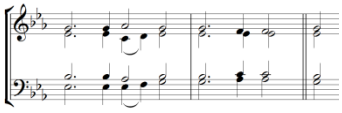
[1] Routley (1957), p. 123.

ST GODRIC (6.6.6.6.8.8.)

Chope
Lord of the worlds above
Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

- Named after a saint who led a hermit's life in the woods of Funchal near Durham.[1]
- This quintessentially diatonic tune could as easily have come from the pen of Lowell Mason. As with, for example, BETHLEHEM, a static melodic line in bars 13 to 16 gathers potential energy from the lower parts for an irresistible leap in bar 17.

ST HELEN (6.8.6.8.)

Chope
O Jesu! God and Man
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

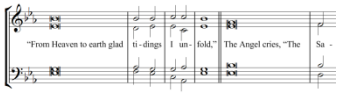
- Dykes refers to Chope's request for a tune to this hymn, assuring him he 'will do the best he can'.[2]

ST HILARY (7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.)

Bristol
Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings
Robert Seagrave (1693—c1750)

- The melody in bars 6–10 echoes bars 6–8 of NICÆA.

- Seagrave, upon ordination, 'entered most earnestly into the movement then being carried forward by the Wesleys and Whitfield; and between 1731 and 1746 he issued numerous letters and pamphlets, &c., designed to awaken in the clergy a deeper earnestness in their work.'[3]

ST JOHN (See '**BEHOLD, THE LAMB OF GOD'**)

ST JOSEPH (Irregular)

Chope
From heaven to earth glad tidings I unfold
tr. from the Latin (Anon)

- In form this is a simple double chant. The 1902 edition writes out a chord for each syllable, giving a very four-square, rigid effect.

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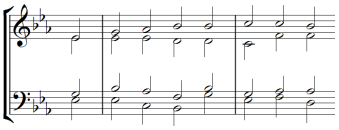
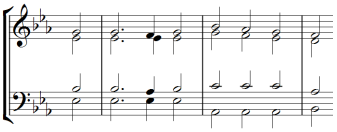
1 Lightwood.

2 Letter from Dykes to Chope, 11 November 1862. (App. B p. 36).

3 Julian, p. 1035.

ST LAWRENCE (8.7.8.7.)

Grey I
The judgment o'er, see now, beneath
Anon

- The duplication in bars 1–4 of TALLIS' ORDINAL led Stainer to insist upon a re-write of those bars for the 1902 edition.[1] He offered an option but E.O.D. (or perhaps John A. St O. D) provided an alternative (which Stainer corrected), with other, significant, melodic and harmonic changes beyond the fourth bar. The alternatives and revisions[2] reveal a delicious irony and show what happens when one interferes unadvisedly.

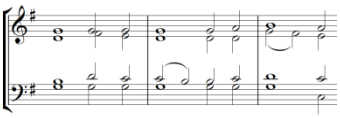
ST LEONARD (12.11.12.11.)

XIII Hymns
And is it Thy voice, patient Saviour, yet calling?
R. Tomlins

- The tune was written at the request of the Rev. R. Tomlins, Chaplain of the Manchester Jail.[3] (One infers that Tomlins is the 'R.T.' who is credited with editing this collection of hymns.)

- Dykes's use of two discords in particular (in a tune which, discounting passing notes, contains 21 discords), neither of them self-conscious, is effective: the first beat of the third bar—C, B♭, A♭ and G (but spread out over more than two octaves)—is a sublime anacrusis to the IIb chord on the next beat; and the diminished chord in the last line takes the tune briefly from A♭ to its relative minor before regaining the tonic for the final cadence.

ST MARY MAGDALENE (See **MAGDALENE**)

ST MINGO (See **ST CHAD**)

ST NINIAN (11.10.11.10.)

Grey I
Brightest and best of the sons of the morning
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

- This tune was reharmonised for Bemrose's *Chorale Book*, Grey's *Hymnal* and (arguably the most successful) for Stewart's *Church Hymnal with Tunes* (1875). The 1902 edition reprints the 1866 version, with a change of harmony in bar 9.

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1 Pratt Green MS17.

2 See App. A Pt. 1 p. 350.

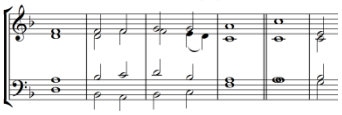
3 Fowler, p. 169.

- ‘devotional, unobtrusive, and pleasing.’[1]

- J.P. Stewart suggested variations to Dykes’s harmonies for the *Church Hymnal* (1875). Dykes did not accept the suggestions although he modified his earlier harmonies.[2]

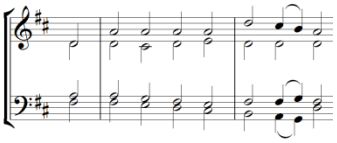
ST OSWALD

More Dykes tunes bear the name of his Durham parish than any other name. One of these, in a rearrangement, subsequently became famous under the name LUX BENIGNA, *and one* (originally ST BERNARD) *became famous after it had acquired this well-worn name. It should be remembered that Dykes did not always select the name under which his tunes appeared.*

ST OSWALD (1)

(6.6.6.8.)
Grey I
It is the holy fast
tr. Isaac Williams (1802–1865)

- The 1902 edition wrongly suggests that the tune first appeared in Grey’s *Hymnal*, rather than his earlier *Manual*.

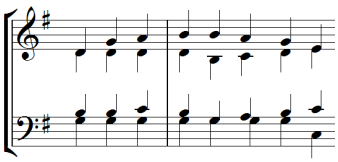
- There are several prefigurings of ST CROSS in this tune, the most obvious being in the third line.

ST OSWALD (2)

(LM)
Chope
O who are they so pure and bright
William Josiah Irons (1812–1883)

ST OSWALD (3)
(See **ST BERNARD**)

(LM)
(i) **Grey I** as ST BERNARD (*q.v. supra*)
(ii) **Chope** as SYCHAR
(iii) **Bristol** as ST OSWALD (not set to any particular hymn)
(iv) **Grey II** as ST AMBROSE
As ST BERNARD *Praise the Lord! ye heavens adore Him*
As SYCHAR *Sweet the moments rich in blessing*
As ST OSWALD, in *A&M* **1875** *Through the night of doubt and sorrow*

ST OSWALD (4)



(10.4.10.4.10.4.6.)
LUX BENIGNA (*q.v. supra*)
Barry (revised version (as LUX BENIGNA) *A&M* **1868**)
Lead, kindly light, amid th’encircling gloom
Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890)

- See notes on LUX BENIGNA.

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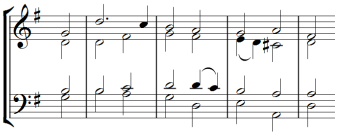
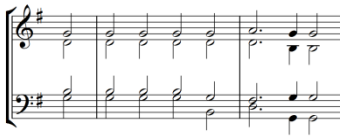
1 *Musical Standard*, 18 August 1866, p. 97.

2 Letter from Stewart to Dykes, 2 July 1873. (App. B p. 174).

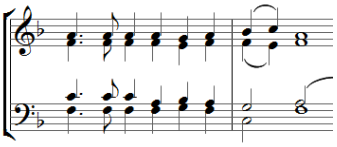
ST OSWALD (5) (See **ST BEES**)

ST OSWIN (CM)

Chope
Jerusalem, my happy home
F.B.P.

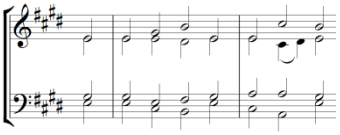
- Julian, after a detailed discussion of the provenance of the ancient text and its several transformations, considers the identity of 'F.B.P.', including John Mason Neale's speculations, before concluding that 'The writer, probably a Roman Catholic, and possibly a priest, remains unknown.'[1]

ST PATRICK (arr.) (LM)

Chope §✠
Now that the daylight fills the sky
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

ST PHILIP (See **ST BARNABAS**)

ST SYLVESTER (8.7.8.7. and 8.8.8.9.)

SYLVESTER
Chope
Days and moments quickly flying
Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

- 'The exquisite melody to which [these words are] allied is by Dr J.B. Dykes—one of the most successful of his many beautiful compositions.'[2]

ST WERBURG (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

ST WERBURGH; WERBERG
Chope
Lord, shall Thy children come to Thee
Bp Samuel Hinds (1793–1872)

- The first ten notes of the melody are, bar a single note, an exact replication of the first ten notes of SOUTHWELL by H.S. Irons.

- Hinds was an Anglo-Catholic whose inherited wealth derived from sugar plantations in the West Indies worked by slaves.[3]

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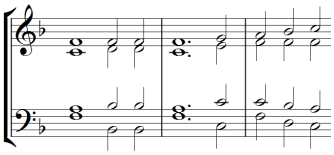
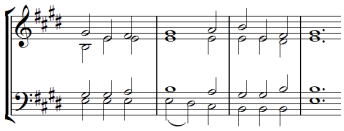
1 Julian, p. 583.

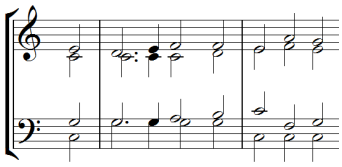
2 Jones, F.A. *Famous Hymns and Their Authors* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1902) p. 83.

3 Blain, M. *The Canterbury Association (1848-1852): A Study of Its Members' Connections*. http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_canterbury2007.pdf.

ST WULSTAN (See **ST CHAD**)

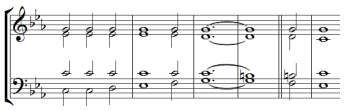
ST WINIFRED (11.10.11.10.)

Grey I
Christ! of the Holy Angels' Light and Gladness
tr. William John Copeland (1804–1885)

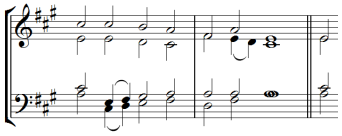
SALVATOR ET AMICUS (9.9.9.9.)

Evans-Freke
Rest of the weary, Joy of the sad
John Samuel Bewley Monsell (1811–1875)

SALVETE FLORES (LM)

***A&M* 1875**
Sweet flowerets of the martyr band
tr. Henry Williams Baker (1821–1877)

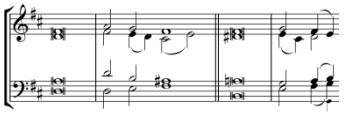
- See exchange of letters between Dykes and Baker[1] for a discussion of alternative endings to this tune. Baker 'was inclined to like' the tune, but not the ending Dykes had provided. Dykes then discussed alternative endings in the second letter.

- The first line is rhythmically identical, and melodically similar, to SHOREHAM.

SALVUM ME FAC (6.6.6.6.D)

Evans-Freke
Low, at Thy feet I lie
J.S.B. Monsell (1811–1875)

SANCTE SPIRITUS (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition ✠
Holy Spirit, Lord of light
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

- The first thirteen notes of the melody are identical to those of ORIENS EX ALTO, suggesting that this previously unpublished tune might have been the first thoughts which led to the published tune. GLASTONBURY shares the first eight notes.

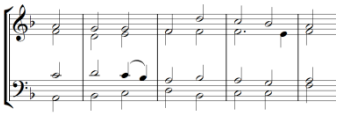
SANCTI VENITE (10.10.)

***A&M* 1875**
Draw near and take the body of the Lord
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

[1] July 1874 and 15 July 1874 (App. B pp. 296 and 247).

- In form this is a simple single chant.

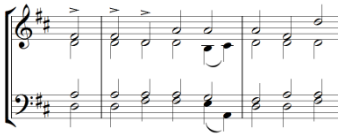
- Dykes's youngest son, John Arthur St Oswald Dykes, composed his own tune—THE SACRED HEART—to this hymn, where echoes of his father's harmonies are juxtaposed with more arresting modulations. The latter tune appears in the Appendix of the *EH*, a work whose editor was so disparaging (by clear implication) of Dykes senior in the Preface to that work.

SANCTUARY (See **HARK! THE SOUND**)

SAXHAM (8.8.8.4.)

Grey I
Our Lord the path of suff'ring trod
tr. Isaac Williams (1802–1865)

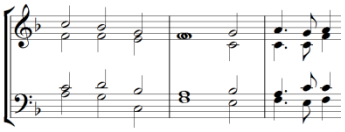
- Dykes altered the harmonies slightly for Grey's 1866 *Hymnal*.

SEARS (See **IT CAME UPON A MIDNIGHT CLEAR**)

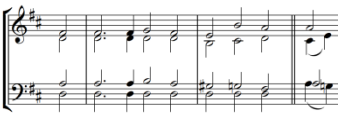
SEMPER CUM DOMINO (8.8.7.8.8.8.7.)

Bickersteth (1877 edition)
'*For ever!*'*—beatific word*
Edward Swaine (1795–1862)

- A V^7 in bar 12 resolves upwards.

- Edward Swaine was a deacon in the Congregational church.[1]

SHADES OF NIGHT (Irregular)

1902 edition
Dark shades of night, above, below, around us hover
Anon

- Written for, and "a great favourite with the inmates of", the West Riding Lunatic Asylum[2]—a singular compliment.

SHOREHAM (8.8.8.4.)

Cooke
My God my Father! while I stray
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

- The first line is rhythmically identical, and melodically similar, to SALVETE FLORES.

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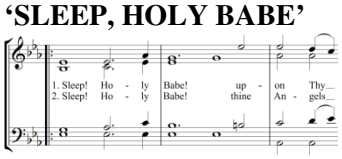
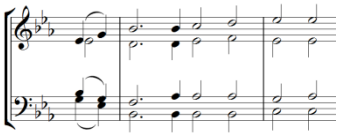
1 Julian, p. 1105.

2 Fowler, p. 25.

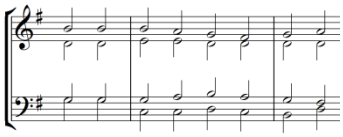
· Dykes's diary suggests this tune was written in October 1870.[1]

'SLEEP, HOLY BABE' (Irregular)

Bramley
Sleep! Holy Babe! upon Thy mother's breast
Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

· '…used to be more popular than it is now or than it deserved to be at any time. Here we finally drop over the edge. What connection can be traced between the true carol and this dreadful composition?'[2] (To help you form an opinion on the carol, and on Routley's judgment, listen to the Choir of King's College, Cambridge — https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwJeKuew63I)

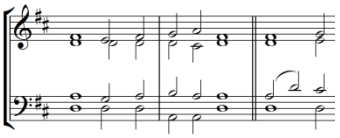
SLINGSBY (8.6.8.6.8.6.)

ST BEDE (with variations)
Borthwick
Father! I know that all my life
Anna Laetitia Waring (1820–1910)

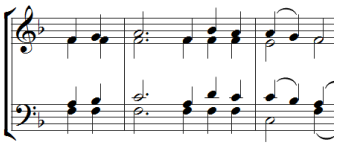
· Dykes's diary dates the composition of this tune to 6 April 1867.[3]

SOLDIERS OF THE CROSS (8.7.8.7.D)

1902 edition ✠
Jesus Christ, the glorious Captain
Eliza Alderson (1819–1889)

SON OF GOD GOES FORTH TO WAR, THE (See **ECCE VICTOR**)

SONS OF THE PROPHETS (See **WHERE THE PRISON BARS SURROUND HIM**)

SOUTHFLEET (6.6.4.6.6.4.)

Cooke
Lowly and solemn be Thy children's cry
Felicia Dorothea Hemans (1793–1835)

STABAT MATER (8.8.7.D)

***A&M* 1875**
At the Cross her station keeping
tr. Edward Caswall

· Written in 1871 for the choir of St John s Church, Leeds.[1]

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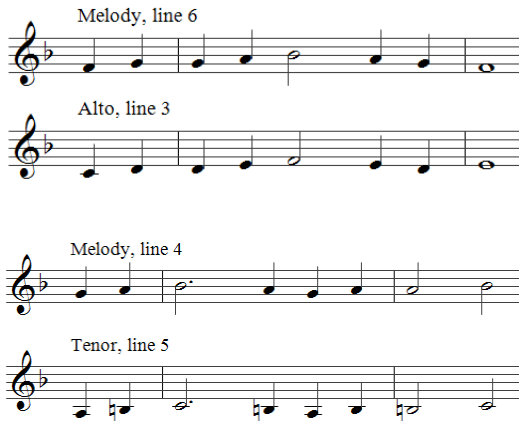
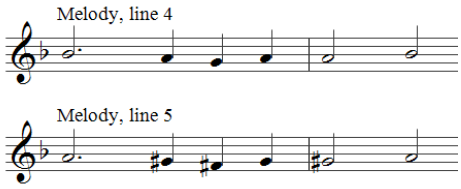
1 Fowler, p. 147.

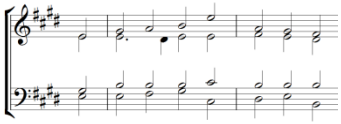
2 Routley (1958) p. 166.

3 Fowler, p. 111.

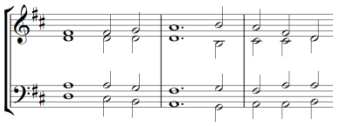
- Note the many points of imitation, e.g.:



STIGMATA (See **RESURRECTION**)

STOCKTON (arr.)

(CM)
***A&M* 1861** §✠
A living stream, as crystal clear
John Keble (1792–1866)

- 'If we want to see how eighteenth-century composers wrote tunes of the "bright and hearty" type, we may take…"Stockton." [This] is ruined in the old edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern…through the alteration of the last line by Dr Dykes.'[2] ('Ruined' is an extreme adjective to describe the removal of a single passing note and the change of one other note in the melody.)

STRENGTH AND STAY

(11.10.11.10.)
***A&M* 1875**
O strength and stay upholding all creation
tr. John Ellerton (1826–1894)

- Arguably the finest (or worst, depending on one's point of view) example of Dykes's chromatic harmonies, it was the victim, in the notorious 1904 edition of *A&M*, of the most egregious example of harmonic emasculation of any hymn tune. A laconic footnote to the hymn provided in the *Historical Edition* of *A&M* says simply that the tune 'has undergone some revision in this edition, with the object of making the harmonisation less chromatic in character',[3] without explaining why less chromaticism should be viewed as so obvious an improvement as to require no justification. In the view of one writer (who, in the same article, provides a good analysis of the tune): 'Dykes's bold use of juxtaposed diminished sevenths, dissonances within the inner voices, fertile diatonic harmony and the climactic secondary dominant (in line four) were clearly

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1 Fowler, p. 148.

2 Riley, Athelstan *Concerning Hymn Tunes and Sequences* (Mowbray: London, 1915) p. 70.

3 Anon (1909), p. 19.

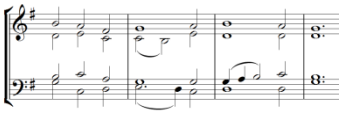
too much for the musical editors of the *A&M* 1904 edition who extensively altered and ultimately bowdlerised Dykes's harmonization, robbing his work of those very elements which gave it both character and integrity.'[1] Both versions are presented in App. A Pt. 1 pp. 368–9.

- 'Dr Dykes' best style'.[2]

- 'a certain amount of alteration [of tunes by modern composers] was made solely upon the responsibility of the Committee. This was generally done in order to secure what is described in the preface as "the dignity and simplicity which are essential for congregational use." A crucial instance of this handling may be seen in the tune "Strength and stay" of the late Dr Dykes, where harmonies unsuitable to congregational use have been slightly modified in the direction of greater simplicity.'[3]

- 'How grossly bad his hymn tunes can be may be seen by a reference to "O Strength and Stay"... The cautious editorial observation "original harmonies slightly altered" conceals the full depravity of Dykes's harmony, which can be found in the 1875 edition. (I remember arriving at a village church to play the organ at a friend's wedding and reeling off the organ stool after trying it over, so strong was the whiff of chords of the seventh and ninth–20 out of 45.)'[4]

SUBMISSION (See **BUTTERBY**)

SUN OF MY SOUL (LM)

1902 edition ✠
Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear
John Keble (1792–1866)

SURSUM CORDA (See '**WE LIFT OUR HEARTS TO THEE'**)

SYCHAR (See **ST BERNARD**)

SYLVESTER (See **ST SYLVESTER**)

SYNODS AND CONFERENCES (See **GRATIAS AGIMUS**)

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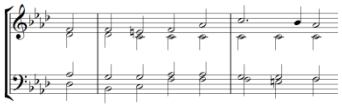
1 Dibble (2014).

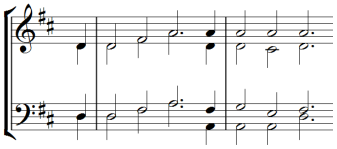
2 Heywood, p. 56.

3 *The New Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Survey of the Reviews*. Undated document in the archives of *A&M*, pp. 22–23.

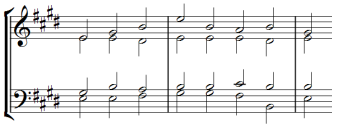
4 *Times* 4 July 1958 p. 13.

TENBURY (8.7.8.7.D)

Barkworth
My days are gliding swiftly by
David Nelson (1793–1844)

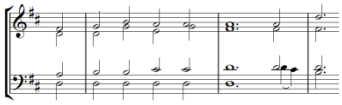
TENDER SHEPHERD (See **REQUIES**)

TENEBRAE (LM)

Grey II
The Lord will come; the earth shall shake
Bp Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

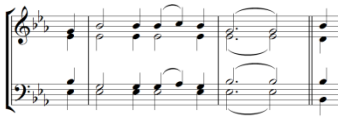
- The ugly progression from the end of line two (f♯m—f♯m7—B7—em—em7—C(*sic*)—D) has no justification from text or context. The 1902 edition changes the C chord to A7, which is more appropriate—still bland but at least not ugly.

THANKSGIVING (LM)

TRINITY COLLEGE
Grey II ✠
Come, see the place where Jesus lay
Samuel Wesley (1691–1739)

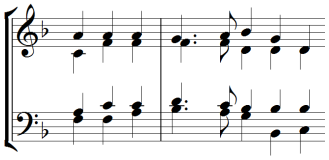
- This tune must have one of the most tedious alto lines ever written, its range being limited to a minor third. The tenor fares slightly better, with a range of a diminished fifth. The 1902 edition, whilst maintaining the original harmony, redistributes parts of the chord in line three to relieve the tedium of the inner parts.

THE BLESSED HOME (6.6.6.6.D)

1902 edition
There is a blessèd home
H.W. Baker (1821–1877)

THE HEAVENLY SONG (See **IT CAME UPON A MIDNIGHT CLEAR**)

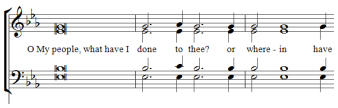
'THE HOLY ANGELS SING' (6.6.6.6.D)

Child's Book
The holy angels sing
Claudia Frances Hernaman (1838–1898)

- See note to ADORO TE DEVOTE.

‘THE NIGHT IS GONE’ (10.4.10.4.10.10.)

York Series: Anthems and Glees, No. 52 §✠
The night is gone, and beams from eastern skies
John Brown

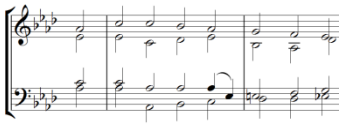
- In response to a request, Dykes wrote this tune for an additional three verses to the hymn *Lead, kindly light*—three verses, incidentally, which missed the spiritual ambiguity against which the original author was striving when he wrote the hymn.[1]

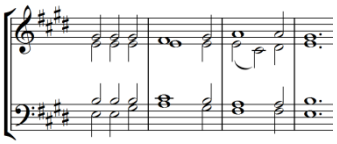
THE REPROACHES (Irregular)

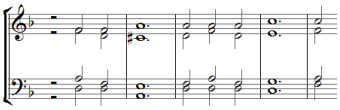


Littledale
O my people, what have I done to thee?
Words from Micha ch.6

- See note to O LORD, TO WHOM THE SPIRITS LIVE.

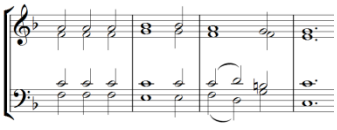
‘THE ROSEATE HUES’ (DCM)

1902 edition
The roseate hues of early dawn
Cecil Frances Alexander (1823–1895)

‘THE SABBATH DAY’ (8.8.8.6.)

1902 edition ✠
The Sabbath-day has reach’d its close
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

‘THE STRIFE IS O’ER’ (8.8.8.+Alleluias)

ALLELUIA
1902 edition
The strife is o’er, the battle done
tr. Francis Pott (1832–1909)

- The 1902 edition alters the rhythm at the start of the first line (𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝.) by removing the anacrusis and replacing the first semibreve with two minims.[2]

THERE IS A BLESSED HOME (See **THE BLESSED HOME**)

‘THERE IS A CALM’ (LM)

ILKLEY
Lancaster
There is a calm for those who weep
James Montgomery (1771–1854)

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1 See p. 97.

2 BL MS Mus. 86.

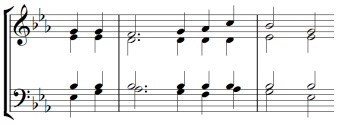
- The provenance of this tune is confused. According to one source,

  > The tune is there [in *The Leeds Tune Book*] anonymous, being headed "Presented to the editor", and is set to the hymn "There is a calm for those who weep". In the Free Church hymn book, 1872, it is set to [Sun of my soul], and is again without the composer's name. In an article in *The Strand Magazine* for July 1895, a facsimile was given of the tune in Dykes' handwriting, [the handwriting is certainly *not* Dykes's] set to the hymn "Sun of my soul"… The facts are that the tune was composed by Dr Dykes for "Sun on my soul", and given in manuscript to Mr Snowdon, vicar of Ilkley, for the use of the choir of his church. Dr Dykes never consented to, and was possibly not aware of, its publication in *The Leeds Tune Book*. It may have been given to the editor of that book by a member of the choir or some other friend at Ilkley. The harmony of the tune seems to have been altered more than once by Dr Dykes. The present is believed to be his latest version.[1]

- Writing in *The Strand Magazine* in 1895, Francis Arthur Jones wrote: "I have a … tune …by Dr Dykes, which has never before been published" [manifestly not true] "and is, in fact, quite unknown" [also untrue]. "It was given in MS by Dr Dykes, shortly before his death, to a friend, among whose papers it has lain for many years. A short while since, however, the owner of this MS has also died, and his widow sent me the hymn to use as I thought fit. The tune is very beautiful, and I here give it for the benefit of my musical readers."[2]

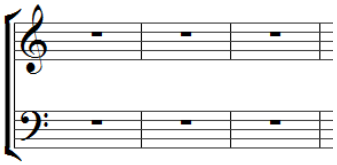
- All six known versions of the tune are shown in this collected edition.

- The 1902 edition wrongly shows this tune to have been composed for *Sun of my soul.*

'THERE'S A FRIEND

(8.6.7.6.7.6.7.6.)
CHILDREN'S FRIEND
Children's Hymnal
There's a friend for little children
Albert Midlane (1825–1909)

- The melody (though not the rhythm) of the first six beats is the same as that of BLAIRGOWRIE.

'*TO THEE OUR GOD WE FLY*' (See **PATRIA**)

'TO THINE HOUSE WE COME'

(5.5.10.5.5.10) § ✠
To Thine House we come, Children to their home
S. Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

- Words printed in *Festival and Other Hymns &c.* with a footnote which reads 'To music by Rev J. B. Dykes, Mus.Doc.'

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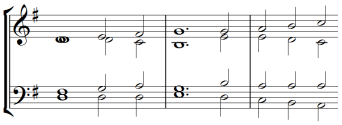
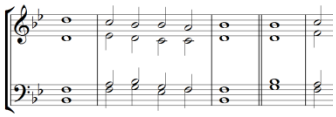
1 Cowan, W and Love, J. *The Music of the Church Hymnary* (Henry Frowde: Edinburgh, 1901) pp. 75–76.

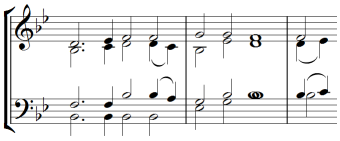
2 Jones, F.A. (1895), p. 97.

TRANQUILITAS (10.10.10.10.10.10.)

1902 edition ✠
Long did I toil, and knew no earthly rest
Francis Quarles (1592–1644) and Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847)

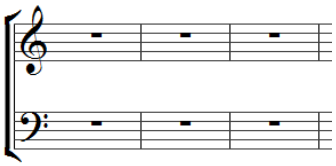
TRENT (6.6.6.4.4.4.)

Cooke
Rejoice! the Lord is king
Charles Wesley (1708–1788)

TRINITY (See **'REVERENTLY WE WORSHIP THEE'**)

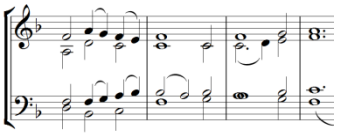
TRINITY COLLEGE (See **THANKSGIVING**)

TRISAGION (7.7.7.7.7.7.)

1902 edition
Holy, holy, holy Lord
Bp Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885)

TRUST (See **FAITH**)

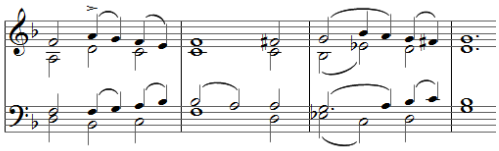
UNTO THEE MOST HIGH (5.5.10.5.5.10) §✠

Service Bk. of the London Assoc. of Ch. Choirs for their Festival in St Paul's Cathedral, November 1896.
Unto Thee, Most High, Humbly we draw nigh
Samuel Childs Clarke (1821–1903)

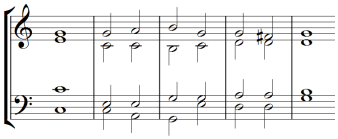
- It has not been possible to trace this service book.

VENI CITO (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

***A&M* 1868**
O quickly come, dread Judge of all
Laurence Tuttiett (1825–1894)

- 'Dr Dykes' tune…is the nearest approach to a satisfactory setting of this hymn that has yet become known, in its strict accordance with the structure and spirit of the text, though as a congregational tune it is not altogether beyond improvement.'[1]

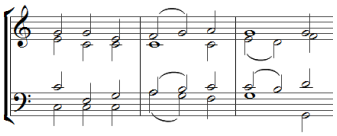
- Many of Dykes's tunes are bold (sometimes impossibly so) in their modulations, although this does give added scope for imitation, as in the melody in line five:

[1] Heywood, p. 53.

· The first four beats of the melody reappear as the final four beats of the tenor.

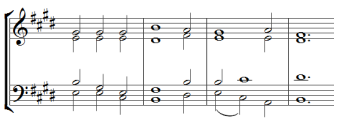
VENI CREATOR (1)

(LM)
Grey I
Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire
tr. Bp John Cosin (1594–1672)

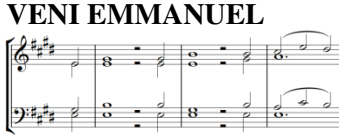
· This tune appeared with variations in Grey's later *Hymnal*.

· Dykes was to extol the High-Church former Bishop of Durham, John Cosin, some 200 years after his death. In *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*, Dykes referred (p. 24) to 'your Lordship's great predecessor Cosin'. Dykes undoubtedly felt a degree of kinship with his episcopal forebear who also suffered persecution at the hands of the puritans for his ritualist inclinations.

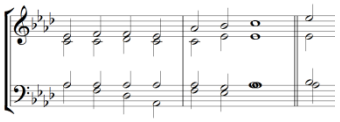
VENI CREATOR (2)

(LM)
***A&M* 1875**
As above

· 'This triple time form of tune, opening with an accented note, that Dr Dykes and many modern writers now so much affect, is, perhaps, the worst form of treatment to which an iambic hymn can be forced to submit; in all but exceptional cases it either violates the natural accentuation of the words, or else causes the regular flow of the time to be broken, injuring that to avoid ill-treating the text. The old-fashioned triple time long metres were harmless in this particular, but these modern ones, the offspring of sentimentality in many instances, are the most mischievous tunes out.'[1]

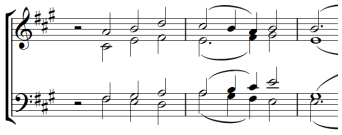
VENI CREATOR (3)

(LM)
1902 edition
As above

VENI EMMANUEL

(8.8.8.8.8.8.)
1902 edition ✠
O come, O come Emmanuel
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866)

[1] Heywood, p. 59.

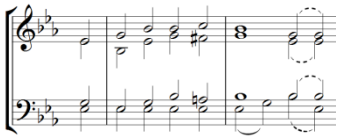
VESPERI LUX (7.7.7.5.)

Evans-Freke
Holy Father, cheer our way
Richard Hayes Robinson (1842–1892)

VESPERS (See **GOD, THAT MADEST EARTH AND HEAVEN**)

VEXILLA REGIS (arr.)(?) (LM)

***A&M* 1875** §✠
The royal banners forward go
tr. John Mason Neale (1818–1866), altered by the Compilers of *A&M*

- The attribution of this arrangement to Dykes is speculative, drawing on three pieces of information: (a) he harmonised other plainsong tunes and was an authority on this kind of music; (b) his diary in early August 1874 shows that he was working on a harmony to VEXILLA REGIS *whilst working with Baker and Monk* on the forthcoming edition of *A&M*;[1] and (c) this is a different harmony than that which appeared in the 1861 edition—one assumes Monk's.

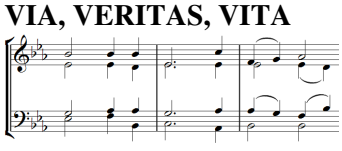
VIA BONA (See **'OH COME, DEAR CHILD'**)

VIA CRUCIS (Irregular)

Bristol
The way is long and dreary
Adelaide Anne Proctor (1825–1864)

- '[This tune] will probably be found too difficult for ordinary use; but it is clever and effective, and shows a perfect appreciation of the words' meaning.'[2]

- The tune shares an eight-note opening melody with MISSIONARY HYMN by Lowell Mason. However, the tunes are as chalk and cheese.

- Adelaide Proctor, a Roman Catholic, is perhaps better known for her parlour song, *The Lost Chord*, set to music by Arthur Sullivan.

VIA, VERITAS, VITA (8.8.8.10.8.8.)

Mundella ✠
Thou art the way, how sweet the thought
John Stainer (1840–1901)

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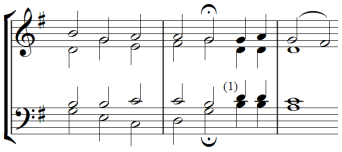
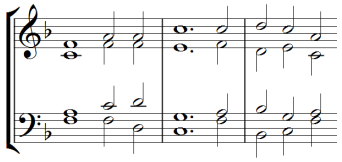
1 Fowler, p. 197.

2 *Musical Standard*, 25 September 1875, p. 216.

VISIO DOMINI (11.10.11.10.)

Bickersteth
We would see Jesus, for the shadows lengthen
Ellen Ellis

- Fowler reprints an affecting exchange of correspondence between Bickersteth and Dykes. Bickersteth, whose 18 year old daughter was dying of consumption, wanted Dykes to compose a tune for this hymn. Dykes replied: 'Thank you for the sweet words, "We would see Jesus." As soon as I had read them, the tune for them seemed at once to come into my head. I wrote it out, but have let it wait a day or so, to see if I liked it on second thoughts. As I do not think I shall improve upon it, I send it. Sometimes first impressions are the best. I am sorry to learn the cause of the special interest you take in the words now. And yet I am sure you will feel more deeply than any words can express, that "all is well," well for you, and well for your dear child. May she, even now, in her time of weakness, be gladdened with the vision of Jesus—and may she soon see Him face to face, and be eternally satisfied with the joy of His countenance.'[1]

VOX ANGELICA (11.10.11.10.9.11.)

***A&M* 1868**
Hark! hark, my soul; Angelic songs are swelling
Frederick William Faber (1814–1863)

- 'His tune to…"Hark! hark, my soul" (by no means one of his best…), is said to have been written as he was ascending Skiddaw.'[2]

- '[This tune] has the grave fault of too high a range for melody, and the repetition of the words "the pilgrims" gives a commonplace character to the tune that savours of "royalty" ballads.'[3]

- This tune 'is seldom sung, not because Smart's tune is so much prettier, because it is not, but because of the awkward and unexpected A flat in the sixth chord of the third line.'[4]

- '…we have tunes that fail from the start and become increasingly hysterical in their vain efforts to provide some sort of musical interest, like SANCTUARY and VOX ANGELICA'.[5]

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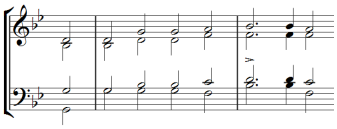
1 Fowler pp. 161–162.

2 Jones, p. 650.

3 Heywood, p. 60.

4 Musical Opinion June 1901, p. 625.

5 Routley (1957) p. 123.

VOX DILECTI (DCM)

***A&M* 1868**
I heard the voice of Jesus say
Horatius Bonar (1808–1889)

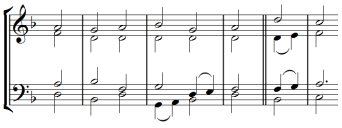
- Dykes proposed a revision of the first three bars, but Baker strongly demurred.[1] Evidently, Dykes pressed the matter as the tune was revised for the 1875 edition, with the first eight notes being in unison, with organ accompaniment. The original version is not known to have been repeated in any other hymnal.

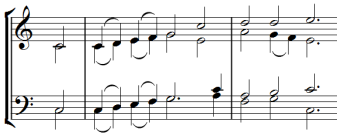
- 'This is, if we may use the expression, one of the most ingenious hymns in the language. The balancing of the call of Jesus and the soul's response is exceedingly graceful, forceful, and suggestive. This is perfectly represented in the tune Vox Dilecti…in which the plaintive minor of the first half of each verse is followed by the glowing major of the second half. The hymn, sung to this tune, is seldom surpassed in church music.'[2]

- 'VOX DILECTI is a much more 'difficult' and less instantly appealing tune [than KINGSFOLD] but it is much closer to the spirit of the words, not least because of its highly effective and dramatic change from minor to major key in the middle of every verse to signal the shift from Jesus' invitation to the individual's response.'[3]

- '…like so many of the best Victorian tunes, [this one] is superbly crafted to fit the words for which it was written.'[4]

- See note to ST ANDREW OF CRETE.

WATERBROOK (SM)

Chope
O'erwhelmed in depths of woe
tr. Edward Caswall (1814–1868)

'WE LIFT OUR HEARTS TO THEE, OUR HEAD' (8.8.8.8.8.8.)

SURSUM CORDA
Coventry Choral Association Festival, 31 May 1870
We lift our hearts to thee, our head
Laurence Tuttiett (1825–1894)

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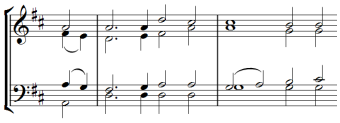
1 Letter from Baker to Dykes, 20 September 1872. (App. B p. 147).

2 Breed, p. 225.

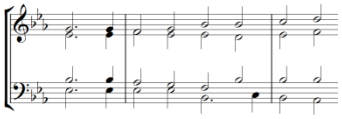
3 Bradley (1997) p. 166.

4 Bradley (2005) p. 189.

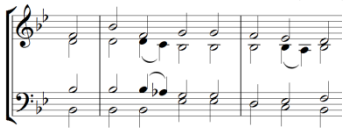
WERBERG (See **ST WERBURGH**)

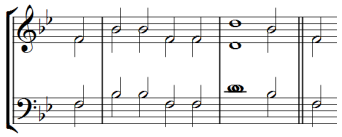
'WHERE IS THE HOLY JESUS' (7.6.7.6.)

JESUS OUR LORD; PETITION
Infant Children
Where is the holy Jesus?
Emily Shapcote (1828–1909)

· See note to AT GOD'S RIGHT HAND.

'WHERE THE PRISON BARS SURROUND HIM' (8.7.8.7.8.7.)

SONS OF THE PROPHETS
Barnby §✠
Where the prison bars surround him
John Keble (1792–1866)

WHORLTON (See **'HOLY IS THE SEED TIME'**)

WINCHESTER NEW (arr.) (LM)

Chope §✠
My God, and is Thy table spread
Philip Doddridge (1702–1751)

WIR PFLÜGEN (arr.) (13.13.13.13.12.12)

***A&M* 1868** §✠
We plough the fields and scatter
tr. Jane Montgomery Campbell (1827–1878)

Chapter 7

The Critical Reception of Dykes's Music

> Every age gets the musicians it deserves. Fifty years ago in religious music the age was struggling through the night of Dykes and Barnby. Moody and Sankey — there is something of the essence of depression in their very names — were perhaps the darkest hour before the dawn. But the dawn arrived, the tide turned and broke through the Dykes…[1]

> It is impossible to speak of Dr Dykes without enthusiasm; he devoted his musical genius (for genius he certainly had) entirely to the service of the Church, with splendid results.[2]

> Dykes was one of the first musicians to make popular use of extreme chromaticism. The harmonies of hymn tunes such as his were absorbed by the negroes into their own music, and they reappear, filtered by a major composer's creative imagination, in the works of Delius, which in their turn influenced Ellington and other jazz musicians.[3]

One could fill pages with comments expressing an opinion for or against Dykes's music, which spanned the gamut. But it is surely a small minority who, listening to any of his more chromatic tunes, would recognise (as did Constant Lambert) a debt owed to them by Duke Ellington. Far from being universally credited as representing 'the richest and most representative corpus of a genre which…embraced the fuller panoply of artistic expression',[4] Dykes has been more often held culpable for the development of a style, the faults of which were obvious to twentieth-century musicians, who claimed more refined musical sensibilities and unquestionable aesthetic judgement. Indeed, the invective levelled against him was usually harsh and, so it appears, almost an obsession amongst some critics. Although some substantiated their arguments, one suspects that a fashion to decry the man and his music developed such a momentum that denunciation simply became orthodox. Significantly, the criticism was seldom focused on Dykes's technical competence (Temperley is clear that the successful development of the Victorian hymn tune owed much to the 'considerable technical skill [of] such musicians as Dykes, Stainer, Barnby and Monk[5]), although the label 'amateur' usually carried a sufficient connotation of dilettantism not to require elaboration. Putting aside subjective opinions as to his taste,

1 Dearmer, G., p. 35.

2 Anon (1900), p. 744.

3 Shead, p. 40.

4 Dibble, 2014.

5 Temperley, pp. 308–309.

Dykes was unquestionably technically competent: in his two large scale anthems, *These are they* and *The Lord is my shepherd,* Dykes displayed a fair imitation of Mendelssohnian counterpoint and foreshadowed Stanford's grand Edwardian structures. And even if his major anthems raise a valid question as to how thinly musical invention can be spread (Routley referred to 'the beating out thin of an inadequate musical idea'[1]) they are internally coherent. Moreover, this amateur was not above pointing out a harmonic error by *Professor* Ouseley[2] nor was he incapable of sustaining recondite discussions on points of classical harmony with the Director of the Royal Academy of Music.[3]

In aggregating the reams of criticism inspired by Dykes's compositions, one fact emerges clearly: most of the derogatory assessments were penned long after his death. Critical comment during his lifetime was mostly commendatory when it wasn't positively eulogistic, with Stainer a noted admirer. But there is a more pertinent fact: contemporary congregations (or at least hymnal compilers who knew what would sell) were anxious to have his tunes. As the Church of Scotland came belatedly to embrace hymnody, one compiler wrote to *A&M* for permission to use some Dykes tunes, identifying him as 'our favourite composer'.[4] And a Dorset priest, celebrating the return to his congregation of those who had deserted to the nonconformist chapels for their better hymnody, attributed the credit to *A&M*, revealing that 'the tunes which they took to especially were many of those of Mr Dykes.'[5] Given that, the first edition of *A&M* excepted, Dykes did not have to knock on the doors of hymnal publishers — they came to him — one may reasonably quote the American market speculator Jesse Livermore: 'Markets are never wrong; opinions often are'.[6]

(Before examining contemporary opinion, a word of caution. Much as today's media publish Press Releases issued by government departments, businesses and publishers without acknowledging the provenance of the story, we cannot be sure which of the contemporary reviews are the result of dispassionate journalism and which emanate from

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1 Routley (1977), p. 66.

2 Letter from Dykes to Baker 20 March 1861. (App. B p. 28).

3 Letter from Macfarren to Dykes, 21 September 1871. (App. B p. 112).

4 Bradley (1997), p. 77, citing a letter from Alexander Brown to A&M 1873.

5 *ibid.,* p. 69, citing Drain, S., *The Anglican Church.*

6 This quotation, now regarded as one of the stock market's eternal verities, appears in innumerable publications.

nineteenth-century publishers' PR departments. Similarly, Letters to the Editor were no more peer-reviewed then than they are today.)

A fawning 1861 article recommending Bemrose's *Chorale Book* noted that 'The Rev. J. B. Dykes contributes several compositions full of devotional sweetness.'[1] But immediately we come upon interpretational difficulties with the adjective 'devotional' and the noun 'sweetness'. As these words crop up for better or (usually) for worse in later criticisms, with 'sweetness' sometimes substituted by 'sugary' or 'saccharine', we must decide for ourselves what, if anything, they mean. If they are simply the product of a non-musical hack trying to sound knowledgeable, they mean nothing more profound than, respectively, 'seemly in the context of a church service' and 'nice': none of the six in Bemrose's book[2] is noticeably sweet in the cloying sense. But the words may hint at some characteristic of the music — unchallenging, anodyne, pretty — which will later play into the hands of those who will deride Dykes for epitomizing sentimentality. Whatever their meaning, the intention was evidently to laud rather than lambast.

We are on safer ground in trusting to the judgement of the *MT*. In an 1868 review of Dykes's Morning, Communion and Evening Services in F, it was remarked that this was not the work of one of the all-too-common amateur composers of the day, but by 'a gentleman to whom we owe so much for his beautiful and valuable contributions to the Hymnody of the present day, to whom, in fact, all lovers of hymnody are *more indebted than to perhaps any other man living* [my italics]…'[3] The review speaks of 'the originality of the conception, together with the masterly treatment of the subject' of the Benedictus, 'the harmonies [of the quasi Gregorian melody] are occasionally varied very carefully and judiciously'. As for the Communion Service, it is 'so very charming, that we might write page after page of eulogistic analysis, and not do justice to the musicianly skill and deeply devotional spirit displayed in this portion of the work.' But it is in the Magnificat 'where the composer has attained the highest flight. Nothing more beautiful in effect, and nothing more musical in treatment was come under our notice than the setting of this charming author; indeed, *we very much doubt if any setting of this canticle has been carried out with greater success during the last three hundred years.*[my italics]' Even if we must take that

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1 *Derby Mercury*, Wednesday, 1 May 1861, p. 6.

2 DURHAM, LINDISFARNE, ST BARNABAS, ST BEDE, ST BERNARD (aka ST OSWALD) and ST NINIAN.

3 *MT*, 1 July 1868, p. 454.

last compliment with a pinch of salt, it is evident that Dykes's competence was being acclaimed. The peroration continues in like vein:

> Dr Dykes has in his hand the power to aid, and that considerably, the advancement and development of church music. The present Service will prove a considerable auxiliary; but should he make this (as we venture to think he should), a point of departure, and not a resting-place, then we feel confident that the advancement of church music in this century will have been indebted to no one more than John B. Dykes.[1]

A review of the 1868 Appendix to *A&M* noted that Dykes had supplied twenty five [*sic*: in fact the correct figure is 28] tunes (including arrangements), amounting to nearly a quarter of the collection. 'Had not his tunes reached such a high standard, it might have been considered unjustifiably large. But…in examining the book, we found we had chosen twelve of Dr Dykes's original contributions as our especial favourites and in all respects thoroughly good tunes.'[2] And, in an early intimation that there might be some intrinsic characteristics of Dykes's music which made them stand out from the rest, it was remarked that, whereas none of S.S. Wesley's tunes was immediately recognisable as being in a uniquely identifiable style, the greater part of Dykes's could 'be recognised at once from their marked individual characteristics.'[3] Moving from the general to the particular, we learn that PAX DEI contains 'a strong suggestion, both in melody and harmony, of Mendelssohn's beautiful duet, known as "This is the Sabbath morn".'[4]

In a review of *Christmas Carols New and Old* the reviewer makes special mention of Dykes's *On the birthday of the Lord* 'both melody and harmony of which will delight all who can appreciate pure and unpretentious religious writing.'[5] Referring to his only known composition for organ solo, a review of *The Village Organist* proposed that the very fact that Dykes (along with Elvey, Macfarren, E.G. Monk, Ouseley, Smart and Stainer) had contributed was sufficient assurance as to the overall value of the collection.[6] An 1873 review of Barnby's *Hymnary*[7] highlights one 'beautiful melody', a particularly notable commendation when one notes that the tune in question — ST AGNES — was to be

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 *MT*, 1 November 1868, p. 571.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 *loc. cit.*

5 *MT*, 1 December 1868 p. 616.

6 *MT*, 1 July 1870 p. 535.

7 *MT*, 1 March 1873, p. 13.

held up for particular ridicule in later years for its effeminacy and sugary sweetness. Speaking of Dykes's tunes more generally, the reviewer believed that 'In all his works, even in those which do not rise to the highest standard, there is always' — an extravagant word — 'such an evident appreciation of the character and full meaning of the text as must enforce the attention of all who are hymning.'[1]

It would have been remarkable had all reviewers been eulogistic, and they were not. Some deprecated the whole course of modern hymn tune composition, with Thomas Helmore being unequivocal in his comprehensive damnation: 'most modern hymn tunes are nauseous'.[2] According to Routley, Wesley was similarly broad-brush in his criticisms of modern hymn tune writing: ''To Samuel Sebastian, the musicians of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*…were hardly better than ignorant provincials…their tunes were tedious and unenterprising.'[3] (It is notable that Routley ascribes to Wesley views which derive from his (Routley's) deductions, without providing any quotations from the man himself. Moreover, the no-nonsense Routleyan prose hints at a transference of sentiment from author to subject.) And Dibble records Stanford's disapproval: 'imagine the style which an English Church composer would develop whose early taste was formed by familiarity with "O Paradise!" and such-like tunes!' 'Such tunes,' he continued, 'are the most insidious destroyers of taste. They are easy enough to catch the ear of the most remote congregation in a country parish. They are flashy enough to seduce the untutored listener, and spoil his palate for wholesome and simple fare; much as the latest comic song will temporarily extinguish the best folk-tune'.[4]

As for Dykes-specific critics, one dissected his setting of the 23rd Psalm and was unimpressed, his review being peppered with such unspecific barbs as 'extraordinary length', 'somewhat tedious in effect', 'the strangely extraneous key', 'little skill in its development' and much else besides[5]. The greater interest, however, is to be found in the following month's edition, where Dykes (with a characteristic courtesy of tone which served merely to sharpen the rapier) effectively skewered his critic.[6] For other critics, the

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1 *loc. cit.*

2 Bradley (1997), p. 202, citing Helmore's *Plainsong.*

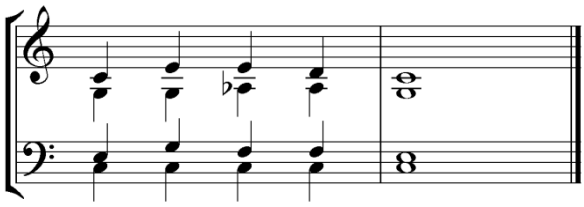
3 Routley (1968), p. 222.

4 Dibble (2014), quoting Stanford's *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* p. 311.

5 *MT*, 1 July 1874, pp. 545–546.

6 See App. C Part 2 pp. 205f for Dykes's response.

disapproval was directed at a particular stylistic predilection or trait, as with Henry Smart's disdainful: 'I am not very fond of Dr Dykes's tunes. To my mind, they have generally an effeminacy of character which is not appropriate. There is too much of this kind of thing'[1]



For others still, the disapproval related to a presumed personal characteristic of the composer as reflected in the music, such as 'Dr Dykes' babyish, effeminate' — that word again — 'and ultra-sentimental tune, St Agnes.'[2]

But the fire emanating from Smart and his camp was returned from an equally authoritative source, Joseph Barnby. In the preface to his 1867 hymnal he took issue with the fashion for criticising modern hymn tunes for their perceived lack of robustness and manliness:

> The terms effeminate and maudlin, with others, are freely used now-a-days to stigmatize such new Tunes as are not direct imitations of old ones. And yet it has always appeared strange to me that musicians should be found who — whilst admitting that seventeenth century Tunes were very properly written in what we may call the natural idiom of that period — will not allow nineteenth century ones to be written in the idiom of the present day. You may imitate and plagiarize the old tunes to any extent, and in all probability you will be spoken of as one who is "thoroughly imbued with the truly devotional spirit of the old ecclesiastical writers," but you are not permitted upon any account to give your natural feelings free play; or, in short, to write spontaneously.[3]

But disapproval remained the minority view. Coincident with Smart's and Heywood's negative evaluations, a review of *The Child's Book of Praise* notes that 'the five tunes by Dr Dykes are not only excellent, musically speaking, but deeply sympathetic with the words to which they are allied, No. 8, "Easter" especially being noticeable for its simple eloquence and appropriateness to the season for which it is written.'[4] 'Simple eloquence' may have described the words: *Now all the bells are ringing, to welcome Easter Day, And we with joy are singing our carol sweet and gay*; but its attribution to the tune, with its inelegant modulations, is more questionable:

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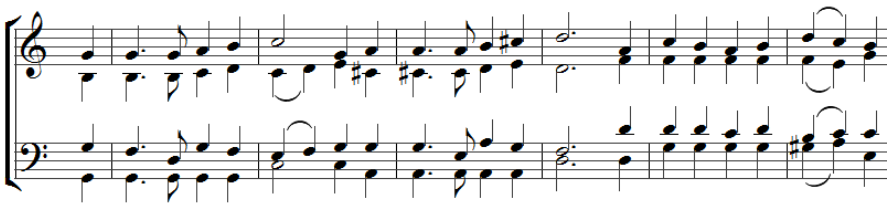
1 Quoted in Curwen, p. 360.

2 Heywood, p. 60.

3 Barnby (1867), Preface.

4 *MT*, 1 Jan 1880, p. 33.

A correspondent, writing of recently departed English composers of the top rank, asserted that 'one was a man of undisputed genius…All his melodies have what the French call an unmistakable *cachet* of their own, full of soul, and fraught with sweetness. I allude to Dr Dykes. Is his name known in the great art-world? Has he ever met with that artistic recognition which is his right?'[1] And twenty one years after his death, the *British Musical Biography* was complimentary if, once again, a little generous with its all-encompassing generality: 'The hymns of Dykes are among the finest examples of modern times. Melody and harmony are beautifully and agreeably combined in all.'[2] One tune that evidently combined melody and harmony to the extent that it held the power to enthral was GERONTIUS: 'Those who were fortunate enough to be present at the funeral of Mr Gladstone in Westminster Abbey…will not soon forget the thrilling effect of that noble hymn sung by the great congregation over the body of the dead statesman on that memorable occasion.'[3]

The historian John Bumpus had no doubt as to Dykes's status as a composer, brigading him with Turle, Sterndale Bennett, Macfarren, Stainer and Sullivan as a 'master',[4] and rating '*These are they*' a classic. Whilst Dykes and his music do not merit extensive treatment in Bumpus's work, Goss himself does. And it is pertinent to read his praise of Goss's music for its 'vein of deep devotional feeling'[5] and, *apropos* his Burial Service, the welcome fact that it was 'full of the most deep devotion and touching pathos.'[6] Whereas these are highly subjective, imprecise, compliments, it is difficult to ascribe to them meanings so very far removed from 'emotional' and 'sentimental'. Moreover, when Bumpus, describing compositions submitted over the years for the Gresham Prize, laments the fact that 'we fail to trace any sentiment or originality' in them, we may infer that these are characteristics of the sacred music of the day which were both sought and valued.

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1 Letter from Gurney, *MT*, 1 June 1881, p. 317.

2 Brown and Stratton, p. 133.

3 *MT*, 1 October 1900, p. 654.

4 Bumpus, J.S. *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (Werner Laurie: London, 1908) p. 459.

5 *ibid.*, p. 501.

6 *ibid.,* p. 517.

When in 1889 Professor R.P. Stewart acclaimed Dykes for having 'largely contributed to the advancement of congregational hymnody in England'[1] it is noticeable that he saw no call to extend the acclamation to Barnby, Calkin, Gauntlett, Monk, Ouseley, Smart, Stainer, Sullivan or S S Wesley. In the preface to his collected hymn tunes, Stainer himself acknowledged Dykes's stature. Alluding to criticisms of 'modern' hymn tunes, Stainer writes

> It requires some courage at the present moment to announce oneself as a disciple of Dr Dykes…[Like those of others, his tunes are said to be] 'sentimental' and 'weak'…No doubt many tunes that are over-sweet may, after twenty-five years' use begin to cloy. But it must not be forgotten that the critics of hymn-tunes nearly always fall into the insidious snare of judging the old by the best specimens, and of the modern by the worst…The true estimate of a hymn-tune cannot be found by principles of abstract criticism, or by any internal evidence that it exhibits an artist's handicraft. There is a something, indefinable and intangible, which can render a hymn-tune, not only a winning musical melody, but also a most powerful evangeliser.[2]

But as the nineteenth century drew towards its close, and with it the reign which was to provide a portmanteau term of disdain for much of the art and architecture of more than 60 years, the tide of opinion was turning, with eulogies to Dykes giving way to increasingly denigratory evaluation. Not that Dykes was alone in being knocked from his plinth. Although it would not be difficult to pick out the Dykes tunes from a collection which included Barnby, Stainer and Sullivan, his music was by no means *sui generis*: he was merely a contributor to the development of a genre which, in its worst manifestations, was described in 1894 as 'languishing, sentimental, sensuous, and exciting; lively and jigging; or dull and stupid. Difficulty, the frequent introduction of the chromatic element, ugly or unmeaning melody, feeble or incorrect harmony, and want of symmetry, are faults all found in hymn-tunes.'[3] But this writer recognised that the character of tunes needed to match that of the words, with many of the texts exhibiting 'too much extravagant sentimentality, too much subjectivity, and too much of the sensational element. Sometimes the language is too familiar, sometimes it is too high-flown, sometimes it is too amorous…Sometimes the language is absurd.'[4] This was a problem recognised by the Secretary of the RCO: 'We note the modernization and chromatic enrichment of harmony,

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1 Stewart, p. 32.

2 Anon (1900), p. 744.

3 Daniel, pp. 14–15.

4 *ibid.* p. 6.

and of late there has been, in fit keeping with the spread of much verbal sentimentality, a tendency to make hymn-tunes as sugary and part-song-like as possible.'[1]

In 1902, J.A. Fuller Maitland confessed to being surprised at Dykes's continuing popularity without explaining the cause of his surprise. Summing up his disdain for Dykes's tunes, he wrote[2] of 'their studied avoidance of all that can be called severity' without explaining the superiority of severe hymn tunes, 'the sentimentality of the melodies' without considering the possibility that they might have been composed to match to the sentimentality of the words, and 'the poverty of much of their harmonies' — harmonies which Temperley, Hutchings, Dibble and others have argued to be rich and inventive. In his parting shot he asserts that the appeal of Dykes's music to worshippers, clergy and laity is accounted for by their leanings 'towards the superficially emotional', relying on the unassailability of his opinion as proof of the point. (There is an instance of the influence working in the opposite direction — an allegedly sentimental Dykes tune inspiring sentimental words: *O perfect love, all human thought transcending*. Brownlie records its author confessing to having been moved to write the words having just sung 'her favourite tune', Dykes's STRENGTH AND STAY.[3])

In 1906 Vaughan Williams, music editor of the *English Hymnal*, famously saw it as his duty to eliminate 'the miasma of the languishing and sentimental hymn tunes which so often disfigure our services'.[4] (In the judgment of C.S. Phillips, the Hymnal's overall editor, Percy Dearmer, 'entertained a prejudice which almost amounted to an obsession'[5] against the Victorian hymn tune.) Although not explicitly arraigning Dykes, whose DOMINUS REGIT ME he regretted was denied him for reasons of copyright,[6] and six of whose tunes he included[7] (recognising either that Dykes's output was not exclusively 'languishing and sentimental' or, alternatively, resigning himself to the fact that congregations whose hands held the money with which his hymnbook would be purchased actually *liked* to languish in sentimentality) can there be any doubt that his attribution of 1861 as the start

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1 E.H. Turpin, quoted in Daniel, p. 19.

2 Fuller Maitland, J.A. *English Music in the XIXth Century* (Grant Richards: London, 1902) pp. 99–100.

3 Brownlie, p. 249.

4 Dearmer, P and Vaughan Williams, R (eds) *English Hymnal* (OUP: Oxford, 1906) at p. ix.

5 Phillips (1937), p. 244.

6 Vaughan Williams was subsequently to compose *Two Hymn-Tune Preludes* for small orchestra, one of them on DOMINUS REGIT ME.

7 A further six—including DOMINUS REGIT ME—were added in the 1933 edition.

date for 'this bad state of things', a process of elimination and his evident distaste for just the sort of harmony of which Dykes was the master (or perpetrator), place him in the cross hairs? As the twentieth century progressed, Dykes increasingly presented an undefended target. In 1915, Athelstan Riley even blamed Dykes for the popularity of someone else's tune (Scholfield's ST CLEMENT): 'That this barrel-organ tune should have achieve so great popularity amongst English congregations is one of the best proofs of the degradation to which we have been led by following the dangerous fashion in hymn tunes set in the middle of the nineteenth century by Dykes, Barnby and Stainer.'[1] In 1925 Geoffrey (32 year old poet and son of Percy) Dearmer inveighed against *A&M* and the type of tunes for which he didn't much care. The epigraph opening this chapter continues:

> …one bright day in 1906 when *The English Hymnal* was published. Dykes, however, dies hard. One can almost hear these lingering greybeards cry in their defence: — "We are children of the Romantic and Tractarian movements. The warmth, the glow, the emotionalism of these movements made a deep impression on us. Durham with its wondrous beauty…" But why continue? Dykes composed *Dominus regit me*. Let us quote that in his defence; many composers, after all, have less.[2]

In 1938 Cecil Gray promoted Dykes from the bottom of the heap but only by paying him the back-handed compliment of identifying an *even worse* offender as a purveyor of sickly-sweet sentimentality. In his analysis of Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* he writes:

> The harmonic idiom of much of the music…is of a distinctly emotional chromatic order, while the melodic writing…is frequently of a mawkish sweetness in comparison with which that of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is as sugar to saccharine. Two of the themes in the last part, indeed, are such that even the Rev. John Bacchus Dykes himself, the supreme master of the genre…would assuredly have discarded… if they had occurred to him, as being altogether too sickly and sentimental.[3]

The following year *The Times* reviewed the shortened music edition of *A&M*. Alluding to the rejection of Victorian hymn tunes by 'musicians of fine taste', the reviewer suggests that Dykes is the exemplar of that despised school, albeit that he earns some remission by virtue of his status as an amateur from whom 'defects of construction' were to be expected. However, the reviewer notes that, of the 31 Dykes tunes included in this edition, none could realistically have been omitted. 'Such hymns as *Holy, Holy, Holy!*, *The King of Love*, and *Ten thousand times ten thousand* would not be themselves without Dykes's

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1 Riley, p. 43.

2 Dearmer, G., p. 35.

3 Gray, p. 158.

tunes. [On the other hand] Dykes's very popular tune [LUX BENIGNA] undoubtedly breaks down rather badly in the middle.'[1] But if this amateur exhibits weaknesses which professionals would have avoided, he 'felt the character of the hymn for which he wrote his tune, not the character of the first verse but of the whole, and this made him successful where many better musicians have failed. A good hymn tune…belongs to its words. In this respect almost all Dykes's tunes are good.'[2] But not VOX ANGELICA or VOX DILECTI, which

> many people would say…are Dykes at his worst, [although] no one can deny that they exactly fit the tone and temper of the words. He brought a dramatic sense to bear on his treatment of words, as every song-writer worth his salt must do. His famous, some would say notorious, "Christian dost thou see them?" has drama in it, if nothing else.[3]

'Many people', perhaps, but not Baker, who described VOX DILECTI as 'one of your very best & most popular Tunes',[4] nor Henry Allon, compiler of the *Congregational Psalmist*, who singled it out for special praise.

The *Times*'s editorial standpoint had not changed much two decades later. To their Music Critic[5] the necessity of 'purifying' Anglican music was obvious when one considered 'How grossly bad [Dykes's] hymn tunes can be', with STRENGTH AND STAY exhibiting 'the full depravity of Dykes's harmony'[6] But at least MELITA had merit. (A half century later, one of the foremost scholars of Victorian hymnody was to celebrate STRENGTH AND STAY for 'Dykes' bold use of juxtaposed diminished sevenths, dissonances within the inner voices, fertile diatonic harmony and the climactic secondary dominant (in line four)' whilst lamenting that these 'were clearly too much for the musical editors of the *A&M* 1904 edition who extensively altered and ultimately bowdlerised Dykes's harmonization, robbing his work of those very elements which gave it both character and integrity.'[7])

A significant but wildly inconsistent figure in the twentieth century disparagement of Dykes was Erik Routley, whose polemicism sometimes overwhelms his objectivity. The

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1 *The Times,* 18 March 1939, p. 10.

2 *loc. cit.*

3 *loc. cit.*

4 Letter from Baker to Dykes 20 September 1872. (App. B p. 147).

5 Presumably either the Chief Critic Frank Howes, whose books on Vaughan Williams, William Walton, and The English Musical Renaissance certainly suggest an aesthetic which would reject Dykes's perceived sentimentality, or the Assistant Music Critic, William Mann.

6 *The Times,* 4 July 1958 p. 13.

7 Dibble (2014).

same man who, in a rebuttal of the argument that contemporary symphonists and opera composers should try their hands at hymn-tune composition, described Dykes as one of those geniuses to whom hymn-tune composition should be left,[1] had torn into him four short years earlier. One essay[2] is so full of unqualified, subjective, denigration that it devalues the valid points, of which he undeniably made a few. We read of Dykes's popularity being 'astonishing' without being told why. We read, too, of 'bad blemishes'; the 'worst example'; and the 'hackneyed convention'. We are confidently told that the use of repeated notes is 'bad hymn-tune writing'; that the harmonic idioms which Dykes develops are 'preoccupations'; that any rhythmic device with which Routley disapproves is a 'miscalculation' sometimes making the piece 'impossible of accurate performance'. His harmonisation of MELITA is 'grovelling';[3] that of PILGRIMS is 'one of Dykes's worst efforts, encyclopaedic in its range of ineptitudes'. Other tunes draw forth such judgments as 'intolerable'; 'superficial and incompetent musicianship'; 'sadly marred by this kind of bad harmony'; 'horrid'; 'unpleasing'; 'lamentable'; 'cheap and shoddy'; 'painful gaffe'; 'truly dreadful'; 'grotesquely out of place'; and 'ghoulish little trifle'. In all this tirade the implied justification for the negative evaluations is that they are 'obviously' true.

But whereas Routley's generally low opinion of Dykes (NICÆA is apparently the only 'perfect' tune — by 1957 it had earned the accolade of 'great and timeless'[4]) is unambiguous, and despite his having thus established a position from which it would have been difficult to resile without admitting that he had been wrong, the pronouncements he made over the years were inconsistent. For example, in 1958, when writing of Bramley and Stainer's collection of carols (and after letting Gauntlett's facile IRBY off the hook with the mild, almost approving, observation that it 'achieve[s] a certain kind of innocent simplicity') he inveighs against Dykes's 'notorious, *Sleep, Holy Babe*, more popular than it is now or than it ever deserved to be at any time. Here we finally drop over the edge. What connection can be traced between the true carol and this dreadful composition?'[5] Yet this was from the pen of the 'capable musician' who wrote a 'successful… new, and victorious

1 *MT,* February 1952, p. 80.

2 *Bulletin of The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 2., nos. 3 and 5 (1948–1949)

3 A shortcoming which did not, according to Routley prevent it from being one of 'his seven best, oddly enough' (see Routley, 1967 p. 182).

4 Routley (1957), p. 61.

5 Routley (1958), p. 176.

tune to Heber's *Holy, Holy, Holy*'.[1] And in between these contrasting views he had praised without qualification 'the musical genius of Dr Dykes'[2] So a musical genius who composed dreadful music.

Taken as a whole, however, it would appear that Routley used Dykes as a whipping boy — the very type of composer of 'the typical Victorian hymn'. The problem, according to Routley's thesis, is that Dykes epitomised a *genre* of sacred composition, and it is just unfortunate that the genre turned out to be fundamentally wrong-headed. In Routley's view, 97% of Victorian hymn tunes were defective, with too much effort being spent on trying to make them beautiful. Dykes, he said, 'is not the ablest…of the Victorian group of hymn tune composers' — although he was 'better than Barnby'[3] — 'but he was easily the most successful in capturing the popular imagination, and he is…the 'typical Victorian composer'.'[4] It is interesting that Routley brigades all English hymn tune composers from 1827 to 1901 in the same camp when, as Bradley notes, there were two distinct schools of Victorian hymn tune. The 'early school' comprised Goss, Smart, Elvey, Redhead and Steggall, and these tended to retain the four-square robustness and solidity of traditional psalm tunes; the 'late school' comprised Barnby, Stainer and Sullivan who 'followed the lead of Monk and Dykes, in 'casting aside the formal restraint and austerity of psalm tunes and making hymn tunes more like secular ballads and part-songs….designed to bring out every ounce of … pathos and sentiment.'[5]

Within the limits imposed by the generally-applicable verdict on 'the typical Victorian composer', Routley's trademark inconsistency allowed him to be generous, or at least forgiving. 'A musician of relatively little composing power might produce a perfect miniature, as Dykes could in his hymn tunes…'[6] More to the point, he 'had a remarkable gift for composing what appealed to anglican congregations — and indeed to all middle-class religious groups. As examples of the hymn-writer's art, his *Nicæa*…and *Dominus*

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1 Routley (1952), p. 176. The uncanny resemblance between NICAEA and Hopkins's TRINITY—both set to *Holy, Holy, Holy* in the key of E—challenge Routley's assessment that this tune was 'new'.

2 Routley (1955), p. 81.

3 Routley (1980).

4 Routley (1957), p. 122. It will be noted that the literature contains no references to an identifiable genus of 'the typical Georgian composer' nor, more recently, 'the typical Elizabethan composer'. Even if it did, the lack of any consensus on the merits and demerits of hymn tunes emanating from these periods means that such references would be judgment-free. 'The typical Victorian composer', on the other hand, has become an accepted categorization which usually carries a pejorative undertone.

5 Bradley (1997), p. 152.

6 Routley (1968), p. 140.

regit me…insist on being classed as masterpieces [1977]'[1] — even if the latter was written 'in the style of the sort of song that you would sing in an upper middle class house in the evening.'[2]

The inclusion of DOMINUS REGIT ME in this encomium is further evidence of a generally upwards trend (not that the trend continued upwards to any great altitude) in Routley's estimation of Dykes's tunes. The general antipathy expressed in his 1948 essay did not spare DOMINUS REGIT ME which, although it had good points, exemplified in the last line one of Dykes's characteristically fatal flaws, *viz.* the stagnant bass. In this he offended against the rule (Routley calls it 'the reasonable principle') that there should be counterpoint between melody and bass, an error repeated in BEATITUDO. As for GERONTIUS, ST DROSTANE and MELITA they failed for having melodies which started well and then collapsed, requiring the inner parts to make good.[3] Other tunes — he cites SANCTUARY, VOX ANGELICA, OLIVET and CHARITAS — did not even have the saving grace of starting well and then falling away at the end: these tunes failed from the start.

> Whenever Dykes is weak, it is always here, in his reasonable principle. When he is vulgar it is always because he renounces the discipline of modesty which is the secret of good hymn writing. When he is 'unctuous' or 'sentimental' it is because his superficial effects are achieved and not in consequence of but as a refuge from the tension of his musical argument.[4]

That Routley was having second thoughts about DOMINUS REGIT ME is apparent in his study of the Wesleys, where he says

> There is nothing more centrally Victorian in all English religion than those words set to that tune. Probably, without the least consciousness that he was doing anything of the kind, that folk-genius Dykes gathered up there everything that this kind of Victorian music has to say...It is beautiful indeed; cunning in its simplicity, inerrant in its choice of melodic texture and intervals….The sheer friendliness of the tune depends primarily on its choice of key and its use of the major-sixth between the low dominant and the mediant of [the key of G] in its background structure — a device which Dykes loved, but never again brought off with so little sense of mawkishness.[5]

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1 Routley (1977), p. 72.

2 Routley (1980).

3 In respect of ST DROSTANE, Routley is of a different opinion to Stainer who, in a letter to Dykes dated 11 August (one infers 1874), expresses his approval of the tune.

4 Routley (1957), p. 123.

5 Routley (1968), p. 196.

The process of reassessment continued until his last years when, in 1980, he spoke of DOMINUS REGIT ME as Dykes's 'all-time chart-hitter. Everyone loves it.'[1]) And even though most of Dykes's tunes fall below the standard of the best, 'if sometimes over-consenting and over-picturesque, [his tunes in *A&M* up to 1875] are all friendly and singable.'[2] In what is more a comment on the recent innovation, cemented in the first music edition of *A&M* in 1861, of solemnising the indissoluble matrimony of words and tunes, Routley identifies some of the twinnings which have guaranteed Dykes's immortality: *Holy, Holy, Holy*/NICÆA; *Our blest Redeemer*/ST CUTHBERT and *Eternal Father*/MELITA.

But the upwards trend was punctuated by reversions to his earlier, dismissive, opinions. Pursuing a broadly negative line in 1957, Routley quotes Phillips' criticism of Dykes's idiom in *The Singing Church*, which he had characterised as displaying 'self-satisfied and unctuous optimism.'[3] Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, this view is missing in the 1979 edition of Phillips' book, which included new material by Hutchings and was revised by Ivor Keys. Now, noting that the heat had dissipated from the coals heaped at one time on Dykes's head, someone — whether Hutchings or Keys is not clear — draws the sting (yea but a little — what the Lord giveth in one sentence the Lord taketh away in the next):

> The tunes are very vocal, rhythmically unadventurous and approximate in type to the Victorian part-song. Their harmonisation dates them more than anything else. At its worst, as in *Hark! my soul, it is the Lord*, it matches the bland pietism of the text[4] by insistence on the dominant seventh, a chord of fateful fascination to the Victorian. The melodies…are, however, often good and with some simple harmonic changes might be accepted by any musician….[T]hese rather personal, sometimes smug, emotional words and tunes can, if we are not just prejudiced, produce an effect of happy confidence. The worst of them are no worse than the dross of any other period; the best of them, especially after careful re-editing of some of the more emotional moments, are quite worthy of a place in the repertory of English hymnody. Dykes, like the rest of his fellow-contributors to *Hymns A & M,* moved in a limited emotional ambit and in that he had a sure touch. No possible objection can, for example, be raised to his excellent tune for *The king of love my shepherd is*, except for the weak, easy harmonisation of its last line.[5]

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1 Routley (1980).

2 Routley (1977), p. 122.

3 Routley (1957), p. 122.

4 This is careless. The tune (ST BEES) cannot be criticised for matching 'the bland pietism' of text for which it was not originally written.

5 Phillips (1979), pp. 171–172.

But Routley suggests that it is not by his melodic and harmonic language *per se* that Dykes stands condemned: these are simply a reflection of a more deep seated issue, namely the prevailing detachment of the Anglican church from the harsh realities of nineteenth-century life. 'His defects can be summarised under a single head — the flight from reason, and from the tensions and controversies to which reason leads, which is the mark of Victorian England at its worst.'[1] It is this detachment which reveals itself in terms of harmony and melody.' Hutchings, on the other hand, asked why it should be 'a fault of Victorian hymnody to reflect the feelings of the new democracy'[2]. 'Victorian hymnody reflects desire for cosiness and respectability more than most hymnody because it was produced when the desire and the chance of fulfilling it affected millions during the growth of democracy. It ill becomes us to despise the Victorians on this account.'[3] Then, reflecting on the overall ghastliness of Victorian life for those who lacked wealth or rank: 'To arraign the Victorians for expressing yearnings after cosiness and respectability is as unintelligent as to arraign medieval poets for being ecstatic about the arrival of spring.'[4]

Of the three important forces at work in the first half of the nineteenth century (the arrival on the scene in 1811 of Vincent Novello and with him the advent of cheap publishing; and the increase in singing classes under leaders such as John Hullah were two), Routley saw the crucial one for establishing Dykes as *primus inter pares* at the time to be

> a rising sophistication of public taste, which called for, and was provided with, hymn tunes in the romantic idiom of Weber and later Mendelssohn rather than in the classical virtuoso-idiom of Handel. The consequence of this was closer attention to the possibilities of harmony for the sake of its sensational effects, at the expense of florid melody and, of course, to be distinguished from the contrapuntal application of harmony which was the distinguishing feature of Bach's technique with chorales.[5]

The consequence of this was that Dykes 'was writing in the conventional idiom of the time for conventional church-goers; that, moreover, when they had had a little of him in 1861 they demanded more and more. The quality of his 1861 tunes is, as a whole…chaste compared with that of his later work.'[6] The blame, in other words, lies with the clergy and

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1 Routley (1957), p. 122.

2 Hutchings (1967), p. 146.

3 *ibid*, p. 147.

4 *ibid*, p. 148.

5 Routley (1957), p. 108.

6 *ibid,* p. 124.

the conservative establishment who were keen to preserve the *status quo* as reflected in comfortable, comforting, non-challenging hymns and not to agitate. Dykes was their willing weapon. 'The weakness of Dykes is in that he is really running away from the challenge of reality.'[1]

Phillips, whilst attributing to Dykes pre-eminence as a composer of 'the wistful melody and rather cloying harmony inspired by Mendelssohn and Spohr',[2] and acknowledging the quality of NICÆA, HOLLINGSIDE and MELITA (in contrast to the weak BEATITUDO and ST BEES) recognises that 'there are already signs of a tendency among competent musicians to qualify the harsh judgments of a generation ago'.[3]

Although peripheral to church music, the composer and critic Constant Lambert was an admirer of Dykes. In the forward to the 1966 edition of Lambert's *Music Ho!*, Hutchings tells how, in an informal conversation,

> Quite unexpectedly Lambert waxed enthusiastic about Dr Dykes's harmonies. Then and there he played a tune from 'A. and M.' which I did *not* happen to know. "But you should, my dear sir; go and look at it. No. 204 — *O quickly come!*" I forget what part of what French ballet or opera he cited as using similar progressions…[4]

In a discussion of the harmonic element of Afro-American jazz music, Lambert himself said:

> We find it hard now to realize not only the emotional effect but the full sensual effect of the hymns of John Bacchus Dykes and his followers. They were, however, the first real popularization of what is known as 'juicy' harmony, and the force of their influence can be judged by the fact that the modern English composer brought up in their tradition often hits on exactly the same type of variant of their harmonic style as does the Negro composer…[5]

(All this notwithstanding, Lambert is unusual in his assertion that 'the English church-music tradition [was] the only branch of English music that in any way flourished during the Victorian age'.[6])

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1 *ibid,* p. 133.

2 Phillips (1937), p. 223.

3 *loc. cit*.

4 Hutchings, A., in Lambert p. 18. The tune referred to is VENI CITO.

5 Lambert, p. 179.

6 *ibid*, p. 240.

We have seen how Routley, although usually highly critical, nevertheless saw in Dykes some saving graces. Of Kenneth Long's broad-canvas survey of English church music, (which Ian Bradley describes as 'scholarly'[1]) the Contents pages provide a first glimpse of his unwavering standpoint. Whereas chapters 15 and 17 are described neutrally — 'Some Victorian Composers' and 'The Awakening' (who can doubt from its title that chapter 17 portends good news, or miss the fact that one needs awakening only if one has been put to sleep?) — chapter 16 is damned with a noun: 'Victoriana'. If one anticipates from this word a dismissive attitude one is well prepared for what follows, as is evidenced by the chapter's first sentence in which the music of Barnby, Stainer and Sullivan is dismissed as having 'long since been discountenanced by sensitive musicians'.[2] He relates that, over the years, these composers have been ridiculed, denounced or damned with faint praise, but explicitly rejects the possibility that the longevity of their music shows it to have passed the test of time. Instead, he blames its enduring popularity on worshippers who 'are not sufficiently refined or sensitive to experience the profound, and often disturbing, power of truly great music or to distinguish this from the comforting warm glow of spurious religiosity induced by trivial and sentimental ear-ticklers.'[3] (It would have been instructive had Long paused to discuss the reasons behind A.H. Mann's inclusion of twenty three Dykes tunes in the 1894 *Church of England Hymnal*, of which he was music editor. Long's implication is that the organist of King's College, Cambridge, was neither refined nor sensitive.) The continued enjoyment by the masses of the music he deplores is, in Long's estimation, an 'unpalatable fact', rather than a challenge to his own judgment. Rather than pausing to reflect on what must have seemed a paradox — that two out of three of these tawdry tunesmiths should have been adjudged by contemporary authorities to be worthy of knighthoods for their services to music — Long adds to the damnation-by-faint-praise by conceding that these composers, although their settings were often inappropriate to text and context, knew how to write 'catchy tunes [which] soon became highly popular with the undiscriminating'[4] and would therefore survive indefinitely, no matter how bad they were. (Long's critique ignores the lamentation, expressed 90 years previously,[5] that congregations were all too often excluded from the singing, whether Gregorian or

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1 Bradley, Ian *Lost Chords and Christian Soldiers: The Sacred Music of Arthur Sullivan* (SCM Press: London, 2013) p. 85.

2 Long, p. 359.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 *loc. cit.*

5 Crowest.

otherwise, because of the unfamiliarity or complexity of the music. In Crowest's view, 'singability' was an essential characteristic of the music if congregations were to be encouraged to participate. He certainly did not view catchiness to be synonymous with weakness.)

Long passes up the opportunity to justify his appraisal: there is, he believes, little point in his doing so. However, he identifies 'a static bass,[1] enfeebled chromatic harmony, stilted rhythms, rigid 4-bar phrases, meretricious tunes, and a complete disregard for the rhythms, inflections, meaning and mood of the words' as masking 'a far more serious inner weakness which is best described as a basic insincerity'.[2] And this basic insincerity he traces to 'the basic shallowness of [Victorian] churchmanship as a whole'[3] which, if nothing else, is an economical dismissal of the Evangelical revival, the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Movement (this last described by Routley as 'the dominating force in the story of church music during the later nineteenth century'[4] and by Temperley as ushering in 'a period of turmoil and excitement in the Church such as had not been known for two centuries, and helped to generate needed thought and action').[5]

In sum, the music of the period, in Long's estimation, 'is not only highly emotional, but the emotions are patently stage emotions, the tears are crocodile tears…'[6] The kernel of Long's critique of mid-nineteenth-century composers is that they catered for the prevailing taste, often — though not exclusively — for lush chromatic harmonies, rather than the tastes of the century yet to come. S.S. Wesley, he wrote, was 'occasionally…infected by the prevailing fashion of sentimentalism'[7] when, by implication, he should have been infected by a fashion which would prevail in Long's century. And if, as he asserts of Walmisley, 'his many treble solos are often trivial and somewhat emotional'[8] he does not reflect on the unreasonableness of expecting Walmisley to have offered to the market music of a character for which it did not clamour. (Long evidently rejected Barnby's plea,

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1 One presumes Long would have found the opening bars of Brahms's first symphony, with its 72-note static bass, tedious.

2 Long, p. 360.

3 *loc. cit.*

4 Routley (1957) p. 115.

5 Temperley, p. 266.

6 Long, p. 360.

7 *ibid.,* p. 343.

8 *ibid.,* p. 355.

expressed a century earlier, for nineteenth-century composers to be allowed to write in nineteenth-century idioms.) As Bernarr Rainbow remarked of *A&M* in its 1868 manifestation, 'In style, those new tunes reflected the changed musical taste of the day. Many were more reminiscent of the part-song than of the stalwart classic hymn. But the emotional surge of such new tunes as Barnby's *Cloisters* appealed to the Victorian churchgoer, and won the day for the book.'[1]

After this introduction, Long's disdainful opinion of Dykes and his music comes as no surprise, but it merits an airing.

> Most of Dykes's tunes exhibit weaknesses which make musicians blush and these weaknesses become more obvious as he grew older. They are basically harmonic and reveal themselves in a number of ways which are peculiarly characteristic of the composer:
>
> (1) A stationary bass brought about by the harmonic implications of the melody…

(Long evidently assumes that Dykes conceived a melody and then harmonised it, although he adduces no evidence to support this belief.)

> (2) Sometimes the stationary note appears in the tune and musical interest, if any, is transferred to the underparts…

Ignoring the churlish 'if any', Long does not explain why interesting Alto, Tenor and Bass parts constitute a *de facto* sign of weakness: the collections of Playford and Ravenscroft are replete with such tunes. And he declines to consider, as Dibble was later to do, that this device might be both a consequence of the move from the old, rigid, syllabic, tunes and of legitimate and innovative artistry where the four voices (plus organ) are part of

> a more homogeneous equation. The elaborate harmonic dimension of Dykes's many tunes reflected this change of emphasis. Frequently, interest was not restricted to the uppermost part (which might sing a monotone for several syllables) but to the underlying voices whose melodic contribution was often significant. This is powerfully evident in the first line of NICÆA and the second of GERONTIUS where the inner parts provide greater musical interest.[2]

Long continues:

> (3) Often a tune begins with a really arresting first line, powerful and uplifting, sweeping onwards with irresistible drive.' (This is as close as Long ever gets to praising Dykes.) 'Then, quite unexpectedly, it collapses in a heap. The rest

[1] Rainbow, p. 294.

[2] Dibble (2014).

> of the tune limps feebly home as best it can, slipping and sliding over treacherous chromatics. *Melita*…is typical of the genus; so are *Gerontius*…and *St Drostane*.[1]

To Long, the early twentieth century — his century — brought relief. 'Better informed and more critical musicians, marching behind the banner of Parry and Stanford, found the cloying prettiness of Dykes and Barnby increasingly distasteful.'[2] And yet the loneliness of the furrow Long was ploughing is suggested by his assertion that the 1904 edition of *A&M* was 'a monument of excellence; indeed, some hymnologists' — he doesn't identify which ones — 'declare that this is still the finest hymnbook yet produced.'[3] A contemporary criticism of the 1904 edition presaged what is now the orthodox view, describing it as 'one of the most objectionable books which has ever come before me. Its authors will be well advised to withdraw it promptly and completely from circulation before their bad taste and bad poetry and bad theology become a public joke.'[4] Evidently, Long missed the joke.[5]

Although we have noted that Hutchings was an early advocate of the reappraisal of Dykes, he was preceded by Colles who, in 1934, had written of the current fashion 'to speak slightingly of the Victorian hymn-tune. and particularly to base the poor opinion of its quality on the tunes of the Rev. J. B. Dykes. He is spoken of as if he had debased a noble tradition of English hymnody by supplying melody of weak quality made attractive by over-sweet harmony.'[6] But whereas this amateur musician 'wrote too much and too readily' the unfairness of the denigration was apparent in the subsequent inseparability of some of his tunes from certain texts. And if his (and other contemporary composers') tunes displayed inherent weaknesses, blame should be borne equally by the authors who provided the texts which the musicians set and the compilers of the hymnbooks (especially *A&M*) which used them. To the extent that this new era of English hymnody was 'to play its part in re-creating the sense of national possession in the heritage of song…Dykes, along with more cultivated musicians such as Ouseley, Stainer, and Barnby, played a considerable and worthy part.' If Dykes was to be faulted at all it was due to the fact that

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1 *ibid.,* p. 361. It is interesting that Long views MELITA and GERONTIUS as exemplifying the worst kind of harmony: Temperley (p. 309) lists them as being two of 'the greatest Victorian hymn tunes'.

2 *ibid.,* p. 398.

3 *ibid.,* p. 399.

4 *The Press*, p. 3.

5 Paradoxically, the ill-fated, ill-feted 1904 edition, with its mission to cleanse hymnody of its Victorian accretions, served to achieve precisely the opposite—the entrenchment of 'the Victorian hymn-tune'.

6 Colles, pp. 456–457.

he shared ‘the greatest defect in the amateur’s equipment…[the] inability to sift good from bad, and to form for himself a critical estimate of quality.’

Portrait of Dykes, seated
Compare with the more common variant on pages 86 and 110

Chapter 8

A Taxonomy and Critique of Dykes's Writings

'How well you do argue.'[1]

If the disappearance from view of some of Dykes's known musical compositions presents us with a cataloguing problem, the difficulty is compounded with his written work, much of which was published anonymously. A major element of his literary output — his reviews for *The Ecclesiastic* (issued under the imprint of the noted Tractarian publisher Joseph Masters) — appeared with no by-line. Fowler identifies some, though by no means all, of Dykes's articles but until his diaries resurface we cannot know for certain which of the hundreds of articles and reviews published in the *Ecclesiastic* during his working life are from his pen. So as with his music, we cannot claim that the collation of his writings at Appendix C, collected from many sources, is complete: it is as complete as we have been able to determine, and we must hope that others, perhaps aided by his diaries, will add to the collection.

And yet we are not without clues. If, as we have seen, his music does not sum to a single style, Dykes's prose — his attraction to particular words and turns of phrase, his fondness for litotes and damnation by faint praise, his use of gentle sarcasm, the care he takes in the marshalling of his arguments, his preference for *ad rem* rather than *ad hominem* criticisms and the restraint he shows in levelling them (which serves only to press them home more strongly), his preference for the rapier over the bludgeon — displays more stylistic homogeneity. And his evident interest in and profound knowledge of certain topics (particularly the Apocalypse and the Psalms) can be a useful signpost. But for practical purposes these indicators are useful only in the negative sense: they can help us identify pieces which are almost certainly *not* by Dykes. Had we but world enough and time to read every article in the *Ecclesiastic* (to look no further) between 1847 and 1875, the appearance of these characteristics would not prove that Dykes *had* written the piece. On the other hand when, in a review, Dykes refers to 'our' comments in an earlier article this diagnostic toolkit, applied to that earlier article, can help us determine whether or not the

[1] Letter from Baker to Dykes, 22 April 1869. (App. B p. 53).

possessive pronoun is Dykes's voice or the editor's. In three instances it is evident that the voice — and earlier article — are Dykes's, in two others I have inferred it to be the editor's. Although signed letters to newspapers and journals, and published sermons and other papers, do not present problems of attribution, we cannot be certain (indeed it is unlikely) that we have found every piece Dykes ever wrote. But we can at least present enough of his known writings both to confirm his style and to inform some conclusions about his attitudes, outlook and theology. (It is surprising that Bradley overlooks the very considerable corpus of Dykes's explicit writings — reviews, essays, sermons and, most concisely, *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual* — when he implies that his Tractarian/Ritualist theology must be inferred 'largely' from the fact of his having been a clergyman and from his correspondence.[1])

Portrait by unknown artist
(Conceivably the work of his sister Mary, of whom Fanny wrote 'She had a decided talent for taking likenesses, and in the days when photography was unknown, the portrait and sketches she took of many members of the family, are much valued.' The similarity with the photograph on p. 79 suggests that this portrait was based on that photograph.)

Categories

We may conveniently consider Dykes's writings under four broad headings: Music and Hymnody (including acoustics, musicology and history); Book Reviews; Sermons and other didactic materials; and Ecclesiastical Politics, although there are numerous occasions when these matters intertwine (for example, his essay 'The Manner of Performing Divine Service' which covers both music and ecclesiology). Although we have access to more than 160 manuscript letters to and from Dykes (plus many letters reproduced in books and journals), a larger number, including those of a predominantly domestic nature, remain to be unearthed. On the credit side, the letters we do have are concentrated on his hymn-writing activities; on the debit side the letters, being a sample over whose selection we had no influence (they are those which chance determined should come to light, rather than a judicious selection garnered from

[1] Bradley, I 'The Theology of the Victorian Hymn Tune' in Clarke, M.V (ed.) *Music and Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2012) p. 9.

every stage of his life and career), cannot be held to present a complete picture. We must continue to hope that the missing correspondence will soon come to light, in the meantime learning what we can from what we have. Pages i. to xiii. of Appendix B show the date, author, addressee, topic and source of each document. Letters précised (not always accurately) in Fowler are not reproduced but are indexed on pp. xiv to xvii. Many of these manuscript letters have been cited in previous chapters and, apart from the often barely decipherable handwriting, they provide no autobiographical thread of any significance, although a number of discrete episodes are chronicled (for example, the copyright dispute with Richard Chope and the Bishop of Lincoln's complaint at the 'mutilation' of his verses). However, Dykes's correspondence is not considered in this Chapter except where it was published in a newspaper or other journal. Space limitations mean that we must concentrate on papers with a specifically musical message and those which have the greatest relevance to his conflict with the evangelical wing of the church — not least Bishop Baring.

1. Music

(i) Lectures

Of his first known lecture, on the vast subject of 'sound', we know little apart from the facts that it was delivered to the Malton Mechanics Institute (reprised in Wakefield) in 1848, that it lasted nearly three hours and that he deemed it 'a great success'.[1] Unfortunately no trace of this lecture has been found. Nor has a lecture entitled 'English Church Music' given in Hull in 1860, although a report in the Press gives us some idea of its content. Addressing a large audience he

> first answered one or two objections which had been raised to English church music, and said although music was unquestionably meant for man's recreation and amusement, yet its highest object was to sing the praises of the Most High. He noticed the early English cathedral writers and their productions, and alluded to the introduction of organs into churches. He also referred to the anthems of Palestrino (*sic*), Percival, Croft, and others, and in conclusion showed that English church music had lately improved, although many of the greatest musical composers of this and the last generation had devoted their abilities to composing operas rather than religious anthems and hymns.[2]

'The lecturer' we are told 'presided at the harmonium'.

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1 Fowler, pp. 44–45.

2 *Hull Packet*, 27 January 1860 at p. 5.

At the end of the same year Dykes preached a sermon on St Peter's Church, Derby[1] which, although it had a musical theme — how is God to be praised in music? — is more appropriately considered alongside his other sermons later in the chapter. One point, however, we will note here and that is the reference he makes to the importance of ritual in the service of the church, a theme to which he was to return again and again in his lectures and sermons.

His lecture on 'The History of Church Music' for the Newcastle Church Institute in 1864, although currently lost, was reported at some length in the Press. Beginning with the encouraging news that he was speaking to a packed house, the reporter noted Dykes's claim that, in respect of church music 'there was a growing interest in the minds of all sober thoughtful church people throughout the land'. However, he regretted that many,

> though they understood and appreciated good music, were careless about the music of the church; they did not expect to hear good music there…They studied the art, and derived pleasure from it at home and elsewhere; they liked music as a sort of personal gratification, but did not look at it in a higher light…Hence, as music was not in itself…[spiritually relevant], it were better to confine it to the least possible limits, and to be of the simplest and most meagre character.[2]

Proposing that, though personal gratification, private amusement or comfort were legitimate uses of music, 'the principal end for which it was intended was unquestionably that it might be used in praising the Most High, and for that end it should be most reverently employed.' He alluded to music of the Jewish temple and the attendant ritual 'instituted by God'. Given that 'Our Lord and the Apostles were frequenters at the Temple service, and took part in the elaborate ritual there performed' they implicitly 'gave it their full sanction' — another a reference to the Divine endorsement of ritual in the church.

Moving forward in time, he attributed to St Ambrose the introduction into the West of antiphonal chanting and for the overhaul and simplification of the services of the Church. He was followed two centuries later (noted Dykes) by St Gregory who 'effected a great reformation in the sacred singing throughout Western Christendom.' Fast forward another thousand years, and 'an advance in scientific harmony was made; and little by little harmonised services became used in the Church. The fourteenth century seemed to

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[1] Ouseley also preached on a music-related topic on the same day.

[2] *Newcastle Daily Journal* 13 December 1864 at p. 3. In the absence of Dykes's original paper, the newspaper report is reproduced in full in App. C Part 2 p. 173.

be the time when part music came first into use, and the compositions became more and more elaborate.' He then surveyed composers of sacred music up to the present time, with Goss, Ouseley, Walmisley and S.S. Wesley receiving his especial approbation. Ending on an optimistic note, Dykes noted that the signs all pointed to a steady improvement in the standard of Church music at the present time.

The first of his major papers which has survived is that entitled simply 'Lecture on Church Music', delivered at the Church Congress in Norwich.[1]

Recognising the broad sweep of his subject, and taking for granted that his audience would be aware of the many OT references to music in the temple — music both vocal and instrumental — he skated over the early history, noting simply that, whereas the precise nature of their music is unknowable by us (save for its probable uncouthness, relative barbarity and exclusively unisonous character), it can scarcely have been dull. Dykes adopted as his basic three-part premise that music itself comes from God; that His holy Word enjoins its use in public worship; and that Christ exemplified its use, most notably at the first Eucharist in the Upper Room. With Divine sanction for the use of 'psalms, hymns and spiritual songs' firmly established, Dykes again seized the opportunity to fly the ritualist banner by adding the Divine admonition that the 'fencing round with suitable Ceremonial'[2] of public worship was an essential characteristic. Before leaving the OT he suggested an ingenious (and surely coincidental if not positively syllogistic) linkage between the 'sacred significance in the fact of the harmonic triad, the root of all harmony' and 'the mystery of the Blessed Trinity', both of which were unknown to those living under the old Dispensation.[3]

Once again crediting St Ambrose with introducing antiphonal chanting into the West he described in detail his revisions to the Church's musical scales (which, *pace* the deluded advocates for the ascendancy of Gregorian chant, do *not* derive from King David). From the fifteen old Greek scales, Ambrose reduced the number used in the Church to four (Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian and Mixo-Lydian). Two centuries later, St Gregory added a plagal scale to each of these (prefixed 'hypo-'), running from a fourth below the keynote to its octave. Ignoring the Hypo-Mixo-Lydian, which was simply the Dorian an octave

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1 Dykes, J.B. 'Lecture on Church Music' in *Authorised Report of the Church Congress held at Norwich on the 3rd, 4th and 5th October 1865* (Cundall and Miller: Norwich, 1866). Reproduced in App. C Part 2 p. 175ff.

2 *ibid.* p. 293. (App. C Part 2 p. 177).

3 *ibid.* p. 294. (App. C Part 2 p. 178).

higher, the seven resultant scales were diatonic, with the only acceptable accidental being B♭. This strict diatonicism, said Dykes, 'contributed to keep music long in a state of infancy. Nor was it till the lapse of several centuries, and by slow stages, that it fairly burst its trammels'[1] — a liberation which Dykes was to exploit to the full.

Briefly mentioning the work of Guido d'Arezzo, Dykes moved on to outline the gradual degradation of the old plainchant, 'disfigured by flourishes, or veiled by the superadded descant or harmony, so as to be scarcely recognisable',[2] and the infiltration into the Church of secular ditties, before describing the crucial role of Palestrina in the aftermath of the Council of Trent. Strongly arguing against the monopoly of plainsong, Palestrina composed three Masses (including the celebrated *Missa Papæ Marcelli*) for a Commission led by Carlo Borromeo to demonstrate what could be achieved if the Church were to embrace the science and art of new music. (His other, less engrossing, task — to examine, revise and correct the corpus of plainsong then in use — he delegated to Guidetti.)

Dykes then addressed three issues: the admissibility of *non*-Gregorian music in the contemporary Church; the continued employment of Gregorian music; and the limits and appropriate domains for each class. He concluded that music — the best that could possibly be devised (for example, that emanating from masters such as Palestrina) — was not only fitting for use in the Church but would be *demanded* by the people if any attempt were made to deny it them. (The famous injunction of Queen Elizabeth authorising music 'for such as delight in [it]' was adduced in support of his conclusion.) For the same reason, those who deprecated the used of instruments, including the organ, in Church were to be strongly rebuffed. He proceeded to outline the work of Cranmer and Merbecke, in the years following the Reformation, to align plainsong to the new (English) liturgy in the new Book of Common Prayer (discussing, as he was to do in other papers, the distinction without a difference represented by the rubrics 'say', 'sing' and 'read'), eventually concluding that plainsong remained a desirable component of Anglican worship. He finally offered a view as to those elements of the liturgy which were particularly suited to discreetly inflected recitative. After discussing the problems inherent in Tallis's harmonisation of the responses (where the *triplum*, rather than the original plainsong assigned to the tenor, is wrongly perceived by congregations to be the principal line),

1 *ibid.* p. 297. (App. C Part 2 p. 181).

2 *loc. cit*. (App. C Part 2 p. 182).

Dykes concluded his paper by assessing the relative claims to superiority of plainsong and Anglican chant for the Psalms, recognising the merits of each.

There was an entertaining postscript to this lecture which took the form of a critical notice[1] and a rejoinder from Dykes which displayed several of the stylistic points already noticed. Professing to find the notice 'interesting and valuable' he suggested that the clue to his critic's inability fully to grasp the kernel of the lecture lay in 'the recent "struggle" to reach the banqueting hall, and the succeeding sumptuous "repast," of both of which he gives so graphic a description', concluding that these twin ordeals 'had somewhat deadened…his powers of attention. And I do not wonder.'[2] Admitting that the lecture was not of a populist hue he crushed his critic with the simple observation that Congress papers 'are not written for the multitude, but for the few, the intelligent, the thoughtful' — such, for example, as would have noticed that, far from being 'unwarrantably florid' as his critic had averred, the Merbecke was sung note for note as it had been written.[3]

The next music lecture of which we are aware was given in Leeds in January 1868. The text being currently lost from view, we have only a brief account of it in his diary from 19 January:

> The room was full. The Lecture went off very well indeed (D.G.). The Leeds boys sang beautifully, only they made a little hitch in Purcell — "Thou knowest, Lord." We did "The Lord bless Thee." Solo and Chorus "Ut queant laxis" (two boys), "Merbecke's Credo," "If ye love Me," Tallis, "Thou knowest Lord," Purcell, "If we believe," Goss, "Blessed be the God and Father," Wesley, "Abide with me," Monk. Thank God that it got so nicely over — but my voice was tired. I had never spoken for so long a time since the Norwich Congress.[4]

As far as we are aware, his next public lecture was given in Wakefield on the 20th January 1870, repeated the following month in Hereford. All we know of it comes from his diary notes which, by revealing the illustrations he used, suggest that this lecture would have followed the one given in Leeds. Of the Hereford iteration his diary records:

> The lecture went off really most successfully — much better than in Wakefield. My voice was much better, the singing was better, the singers better arranged, and the Harmonium better…My hymn [*Christian, dost thou see them?* to ST

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1 *Standard* 7 October 1865 p. 3.

2 *Standard* 12 October 1865 p. 5.

3 The full exchange is given at App. C Part 2 pp. 195–6.

4 Fowler, pp. 118–119.

> ANDREW OF CRETE] went admirably. Sir Henry read it over before it was sung, and gave an explanation of its character. The greater part of the Hereford men are clerics, or preparing for Holy Orders, so that I had a nice, appreciative body of singers.[1]

His third major paper on church music history was delivered at the Nottingham Church Congress in October 1871.[2] Shorter than his Norwich paper, it was entitled 'Hymnology and Church Music', and considered Church music under the three classes, enunciated in Ephesians, of 'Psalm, Hymn and Spiritual Song'. *Psalms*, found in the Psalter, he linked to the old Dispensation (although remarking that they were timeless, 'belong[ing] to no time, or people, or age') and of equal application to the new) and described as being occupied 'with God Himself'; *Hymns*, chiefly found within the words of the liturgy, were occupied 'with God in His dealings with man'; and *Spiritual Songs*, the metrical songs which we now think of as hymns, with man in his dealings with God. 'Reverence and devotion speak in the first; dogma finds utterance in the second; Christian emotion in the third.'

Declining to advocate either Gregorian or Anglican chant in preference to the other he argued that, as psalms were 'both "ancient and modern"' the tunes to which they are sung should be equally eclectic. Most people, he imagined, were 'well-nigh sick' of the 'silly utterances' which displaced rational argument on the part of the exclusivists in both camps. From a practical point of view, he suggested that Anglican chants would continue to struggle for acceptance until such time as a suitably pointed Psalter, with a chant or chants allocated to each Psalm, had had time to match the ubiquity of Helmore's Gregorian Psalter.[3] (Discussing the pointing used for Anglican chanting, Dykes's views would be shared by few of today's choir directors. Not only should the chanting, in his judgment, 'be quite *syllabic*, wherever possible' it should 'never, save in the most extreme cases — and at the close of a whole or half verse absolutely *never* — two or more syllables to a note. Fancy singing two such words as "caterpillars innumerable" to two musical notes!'[4])

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1 *ibid.* p. 128.

2 Dykes, J.B. 'Hymnology and Church Music' in *Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1871*" (Wells Gardner: London, 1871) at p.373. (App. C Part 2 pp. 197ff).

3 A letter dated 7 August 1872 from Baker to Dykes (App. B p. 141) reveals a plan for a new Psalter, on which the two of them and Monk were evidently cooperating. What, precisely, Dykes did to advance the project is not clear but when it was eventually published (Baker, H.W. and Monk, W.H. (eds.) *The Psalter and Canticles pointed and set to accompanying chants Ancient and Modern* (Clowes: London, 1878) it contained no chants by him. Remaining examples of his chants—all single—are few and far between and are unremarkable.

4 Dykes would presumably have been aghast at David Willcocks' artistic and expressive pointing for King's College, Cambridge, where that for Psalm 66 offends egregiously against this syllabic straitjacket:
For | thou O God · has | proved us: Thou also hast | tried us | like as | silver is tried.

In an interesting comment on the question (which he answered in the negative) of whether Psalm singing should invariably be 'lusty' — the unsurprising outcome of congregational familiarity, week after week, with Helmore's Gregorian Psalter — he said 'We must still go on: not stupidly dogmatising, but learning and making experiments, and mistakes; remembering that many questions as to the best mode of signing the Psalms are still unsolved.' (Might we propose that Vaughan Williams, Routley and Long were 'stupidly dogmatising' about a composer who, in hymn-tunes which struck out boldly along a new path, was brave enough, in 'learning and making experiments', to accept that he might 'make mistakes'? Are the mistakes inherent in a few tunes too high a price to pay for NICÆA or DOMINUS REGIT ME?)

The second class — Hymns — embraces 'the sacramental or dogmatic hymnody of the Church, prose and metrical, the Church's Office-music of the Incarnation'. 'Now, as it is in our Eucharistic worship…that Church-Hymnody proper receives its most intense realisation, when we offer up in "Sanctus," "Credo," "Gloria" (and, where used, Alleluia, Sequence, "Benedictus," "Agnus Dei"), adoring songs to and with Christ; so in this solemn Office, should our music be *most* reverent, *most* faultless, *most* appropriate.' But alas! the ideal and the common practice are far apart. The 'uncouth crudities' of corrupted plainsong, sung not in unison but in octaves, and with dreadful harmonisations on the organ led Dykes to believe that dispensing with music altogether would be preferable if the only alternative were musical travesties of this sort. On the liturgical use of Masses by Haydn and Mozart, Dykes was unsure. Although undeniably sublime works of art, he was concerned 'lest an act of worship, in which we sing on our knees, as it were, to Christ and with Christ, should degenerate into a mere occasion for sensuous and aesthetic gratification'. And then, while (improbably, one might have thought, for a Tractarian) advocating the return of the parish bands for festive occasions, he judged these to be wholly unsuitable for Holy Communion. Foreshadowing the commentator who was later to argue that, if God had intended us to fly he wouldn't have given us the railways, he described the organ (but not, apparently, the serpent or the ophicleide) as 'that noble instrument which God has given to his Church…figuring the myriad utterances of the Spirit of God…'

The third class — Spiritual Songs — he interpreted as the sacred songs, hymns and anthems as we currently understood the terms. In a telling phrase which anticipates our reflections in the next chapter, Dykes describes these as the music 'wherewith we brighten

up our services, and *wherein Christian sentiment and emotion find their legitimate vent* [my italics].': in the hundred years following this lecture Dykes was to be pilloried for the *illegitimacy* of the sentiment and emotion which were judged to be the defining characteristics of his hymn-tunes. Unsurprisingly, Dykes believed it 'impossible to estimate the good that popular hymnody has effected, in greatly helping on the great Revival which, through God's mercy, has been spreading throughout our borders.' But surely he was being hypocritical in the extreme to complain that the Church was 'being deluged with [hymn] tunes'. 'Some people,' he complained, 'have a perilous facility in writing; they can knock off any number of tunes or hymns with the utmost complacency.' (This, it will be recalled, was precisely the criticism made of Dykes by H.C. Colles.) As to the appropriate styles, Dykes suggested that 'we need not only the stately German chorale; the fine old English psalm-tune; the flowing and unrhythmical plain-song melody…but also the lighter modern English tunes', citing Wesleys' AURELIA as a fine example. However — and in a telling irony — Dykes cautioned 'that the tunes be not too chromatic, or sentimental, or effeminate', showing both that he recognised an undesirable genre and, evidently, that he did not believe any of his hymn-tunes contravened his own edict. And hypocrisy surely reached its apogee in his suggestion that 'there should be a heavy fine imposed upon the Editor of every new Hymnal for the next six years'. In addition to *A&M* 1861 and 1868 to which he had already contributed 19 original tunes, and the 1875 edition to which he would contribute a further 21, he had also contributed in the past nine years, or would contribute in the remaining four and a half years of his life, to more than 30 other hymnals.

The lecture concluded with a rendition of the hymn, *Hark! the sound of holy voices* to his tune SANCTUARY, eliciting from the Chairman of the session the compliment that 'If all modern hymn-tunes were as good as that by Dr Dykes…I should have little fear for church music'.

Of a lecture delivered in Birmingham in 1872 we have only a tantalising paragraph, reproduced 21 years later:

> 'There are two dangers in the use of this class of music which must be guarded against: the one of introducing thoughtlessly and indiscreetly ancient church melodies, and the other extreme of modern secularity. Many of the old Latin hymns have been very successfully translated, but their old tunes are unfit for musical use. On the other hand, many modern tunes are very effeminate. Their use in the service of the Church must be deprecated. It must be borne in mind that everything Gregorian is not necessarily fitted for use because it is Gregorian, and that all pretty music is not necessarily suitable because of its

> prettiness. The great difficulty is to find music which, while essentially pure, good, and religious, is yet pleasing, sympathetic, and intelligible enough to be really a devotional aid to people and their worship.'[1]

(ii) Letters.

Although, in accordance with the practices of the time, Dykes's journalistic writings were published without attribution or pseudonymously, his letters to newspapers and journals were (as far as we can determine) always attributed. In addition to his reply to a critic of his Norwich Congress Paper, noted above, we know of six such letters on music- and hymnody-related topics, although there were doubtless many more.

a. *On Merbecke's use of the Ambrosian Te Deum*[2]

In this exchange, Dykes takes issue with 'J.W.D.'[3] over the completing claims to authenticity of various versions of the so-called 'Ambrosian' *Te Deum* — specifically, Merbecke's setting; that included in the Mechlin Vesperal; and JWD's own adaption of the Mechlin setting to English words. 'The truth', averred Dykes, 'is, neither "J.W.D." nor anyone else, probably, knows what was the original form of this old melody, or which of the numerous extant versions most closely reproduces it.' JWD's version was 'interesting', Dykes opined, (using the same damning compliment he had paid to his Norwich critic) but he concluded that 'it is impossible to feel any confidence as to its authenticity.' Nevertheless, Dykes was inclined to the view that Merbecke's setting was, on the balance of probabilities, the most authentic.

b. *On saying and singing*[4]

This letter, addressed to the Archdeacon of Exeter but subsequently published in the *Ecclesiologist*, is a further expansion of Dykes's argument, first advanced at the Norwich Congress and then developed in his essay 'The Manner of Performing Divine Service' in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (see below). Citing a wealth of historical authority, he sums up his contention:

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1 Quoted by J. Cuthbert Hadden 'A famous hymn-tune composer' in *The Nonconformist Musical Journal* (April 1893) p. 58.

2 *CT*, 4 November 1865, p. 347 (App. C Part 2 p. 63).

3 Almost certainly James W. Davison (1813–1885), sometime student of composition with Macfarren and music critic of the *Times* from 1846 until 1879.

4 *Ecclesiologist* Vol. 27. p. 146. (App. C Part 2 p. 91).

> "The old ritual words, 'legere,' 'dicere,' 'cantare,' continue in the reformed, just as of old in the unreformed rubrics. They had a definite meaning in the Latin Service Books. There is not a vestige of a hint that they are to have any other than their old meaning in the vernacular and re-modelled Offices. They are often loosely used as almost convertible expressions. 'Dicere' rather expresses the simpler, — 'cantare,' the more *ornate*, mode of musical reading. The word 'legere' simply denoted 'recitation from a book,' without any reference to the particular *mode* of the recitation. Applied to the Gospel in the old rubrics, it would simply express that the Gospel was to be here 'recited,' according to the accustomed 'Cantus Evangelii.' The same with other parts of the service. As 'legere' did not signify non-musical recitation in the old rubrics, so neither does it in the revised. In fact, in two or three instances, it is used avowedly an synonymous with 'say or sing,' — e.g. in the cases both of the 'Venite' and the Athanasian Creed. These of course are definitely ordered to be 'said' or 'sung,' — on the monotone, or 'sung' to the regular chant.'

c. *On intoning the Prayers in Parish Churches*[1]

This is another discussion of the 'say/sing/read' issue, this time taking the form of a public response to a legal opinion provided by Dr A.J. Stephens QC. It makes the same points as before, albeit with new and persuasive authorities adduced to support them. Dykes begins by politely admonishing Stephens for his ignorance of the derivation of the verb 'intone' which, he says, had nothing to do with the singing of the service and everything to do with the Priest's 'giving the intonation' (i.e. the introductory notes) of the Psalm chant. He then delivers a history lesson, demonstrating that the English reformers 'knowingly and deliberately authorised' the continuation in the reformed English branch of the Catholic church of the pre-reformation practice of singing the services. 'It is simply monstrous,' he asserts, 'to believe that the Revisers of our English Offices ever contemplated for a moment (and without a word in explanation) such a serious innovation on immemorial Catholic usage as the discontinuance of the old mode of public Recitative, and the substitution of "talking and preaching" for "saying and singing."' And, using an adjective which must have rankled with his learnèd target, he characterises Stephens' logic as being 'somewhat amusing':

> He quotes the well-known expressions "*dicere sine notâ*," "*dicere cum notâ*," as confirmatory of the conclusion he seeks to establish. That is to say, because it needs a special limitation, ("*sine notâ*") affixed to the word, to divest it in special cases of its ordinary musical meaning (the corresponding "*cum notâ* indicating the withdrawal of that limitation, and the resumption of the legitimate use of the word), *therefore*, in ordinary cases, where there is no

[1] *Church Choirmaster and Organist* Vol. 2 (London, January 1868) p. 11. (App. C Part 2 pp. 96ff).

> special qualification named, it carries with it the same restricted and abnormal signification.

If Stephens' *amour propre* was offended by Dykes's belittling criticism either he recovered or else did not let it interfere with his earning capacity, as he was later to become Dykes's Counsel in his legal action against Bishop Baring.

d. *Response to a critical notice of* '*The Lord is my Shepherd* [1]

In 1874 an anonymous review in the *MT* was highly disparaging of Dykes's extended setting of the 23rd Psalm. Perhaps the critic[2] imagined that this provincial cleric would meekly accept the helpful criticism of a real musician and henceforward concentrate on duties proper to a Priest. If he did so imagine, Dykes's response in the next edition will have come as a surprise. After assurances of the gratitude he feels for the 'honour' conferred upon him by the 'flattering words concerning myself personally', Dykes continues with characteristic wit: the reviewer 'plainly considers that because I am a parson I have no business to write music; and that, if I do, I must be true to my cloth and make a suitable number of "clerical errors."' Dykes then takes his critic's detailed points in turn — key choice, modulations, the handling of the fugue (which 'he will only condescend to describe this as a "fugue, *so to speak*"'), the register of solo voices and so on — offering a reasoned response to each point. He ends on a philosophical note:

> I leave my Anthem to its fate. Experience has taught me that if music is good and genuine, and written from the heart, no amount of adverse criticism will, in the long run, injure it; and that if it is worthless, no amount of puffing will make it live. I wrote a long Anthem some years ago, "These are they which came out of great tribulation," the only critique of which I ever saw was of a most contemptuous character. The Anthem has survived the criticism, and I am not without hopes that the disparaging remarks of my present and more generous censor will not prove the death of "The Lord is my Shepherd."

e. *Letters printed in the Literary Churchman*.

In two very long letters,[3] published three months apart (under the pseudonym 'A Lover of Hymns'), Dykes defends the editorial decisions of the publishers of the 1868 Appendix to *A&M*. Perhaps this is one occasion in which, by a careful choice of words, Dykes strays perilously close to dissembling — or at least, to enticing his readers to infer for themselves

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1 *MT*, *1 August 1874,* p. 589. (App. C Part 2 pp. 205ff).

2 Described variously in Dykes's response as 'intelligent', 'watchful', 'worthy' and 'generous'—far more effective as put-downs than their antonyms.

3 App. C Part 2 pp. 102ff.

something which is not true — when he writes that he 'has no sort of personal stake, or pecuniary interest, in the success of the book under review, and who has probably had just as little to do with the selection of the hymns as your correspondent himself.' Baker was impressed, and doubtless very grateful, with the way Dykes presented his arguments.[1]

2. Book reviews

Dykes wrote at least 23 essays and reviews for the *Ecclesiastic and Theologian*, several of them of great length, between 1851 and 1862, listed on the front page of Appendix C Pt. 1. Of these, ten were on the Apocalypse generally, or Antichrist particularly; six were critiques of collected sermons or individual pamphlets; two were on either the Sermon on the Mount generally or the Lord's Prayer and Beatitudes particularly; three were on the nature of Holy Scripture — its inspiration or structure; and one was on the Psalms. They are too numerous and too dense for each to secure a précis here although, taken individually, none is impenetrable or (if one skims over the Greek quotations) too dry for 21st century non-specialist readers.

We can certainly generalise and say that each review displays considerable personal scholarship, lucidity of style — and (with one exception) mastery of the art of the gentle put-down. To take a single example of this last talent, his review of the Rev. John Forbes's book *The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture*,[2] besides revealing Dykes's impressive grasp of the literary concepts of parallelism (where sentences or longer strings display one or more balancing characteristics, such as construction, repetition or antithesis) and the symbolism inherent in numbers, demolishes the credibility of the author with a thousand instances of innocent litotes and mildly ironic faint praise. Thus, even though he *claims*, in the third sentence quoted below, to be numbered amongst those who choose the more benevolent of the two possible judgements of the book proposed in the second sentence, the fact that he spells out the malevolent alternative suggests that the judgement is finely balanced:

> 'The estimate formed of a book of this character will necessarily vary, to a considerable extent, with the habit, tastes, and tone of thought of the reader. While to some, investigations such as those pursued in the present volume will prove at once interesting and suggestive' [it will immediately be recognised that agreeing that something is both 'interesting' and 'suggestive' is not exactly

[1] Letter from Baker to Dykes, 22 April 1869. (App. B p. 53.)

[2] Dykes, J.B. (1856) pp. 389–410. (App. C Part 1 pp. 167ff).

> to acclaim its sagacity, utility or credibility] 'to others they will present themselves rather in the light of the profitless speculations of an ingenious fancy. We claim to be regarded among the former of these classes.'

The ensuing faintness of praise and politeness of criticism merely drive home the point that the target of his criticism is not the equal of his task:

> although we are *far from thinking* [my italics] the author…to have been peculiarly successful in certain of his elaborate [far-fetched? confused? impenetrable?] exegetical detail…[this] instructive and thoughtful volume… bears traces [only traces, mind! — the author would doubtless have preferred his readers to have found overwhelming evidence] of extensive and accurate Biblical knowledge…He evinces a becoming eagerness [i.e. he is morally obliged] to acknowledge the obligations under which he lies to others, and a corresponding modesty in offering his own private opinions [i.e. he has nothing much of value to add to what has been said before]. He is an ingenious and original writer and, though not always convincing, seldom fails to be suggestive [of what, though?][1]

As evidence that Dykes was usually scrupulous in separating the issue from the man, we can see, in a review of writings by Christopher Wordsworth, that he had a high regard for his character: 'High position, ecclesiastical and academical, honourably attained; practical energy and generosity of character; a blameless and consistent life; deep acquaintance with the learning of ages past, with the ability and courage to apply its stores to the present, and grapple fearlessly with the great questions of the day…'. Such personal courtesy, however, did not stop Dykes from gently but comprehensively demolishing Wordsworth's scholarship with his customary delicacy:

> 'Twice or thrice is the assertion made, but in vain do we look for the usual mass of references. It is an *"I am persuaded"*…, a mere *ipse dixit.* If this be all the authority that he can urge (and it looks suspicious, when so learned a man does not mention any other), then we must frankly avow that it does not weigh heavily in our scales. Indefatigable in research, and admirable in skilful combinations of the riches of antiquity, he will hardly, we imagine, be recognised by posterity as one endowed with the genius, the acuteness, and the instincts which are required to form the original commentator upon the inspired volume.'[2]

But for John Colenso, Bishop of Natal, Dykes could find very little in the way of personal merit to set against his dangerous heresies (a word used, in noun or adjectival form, eight

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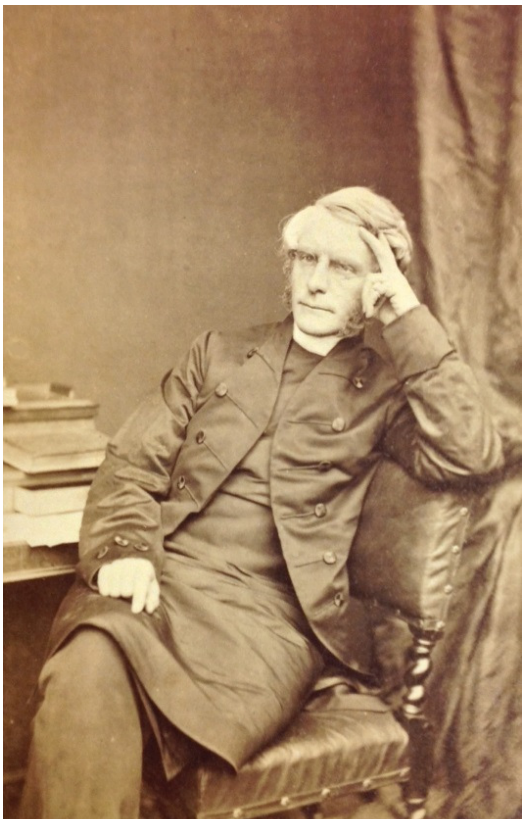
1 *ibid.* p. 389.

2 Dykes, J.B. 'The Babylon of the Apocalypse' in the *Ecclesiastic* Vols. 12 & 13 (Joseph Masters: London, 1851). (App. C Part 1 pp. 1ff).

times in his review) and his 'miserable perversions' of the truth. Perhaps we see in this review[1] Dykes at his least impressive and most doctrinaire: any slight tokens of respect and commendation come over as necessary but insincere courtesies before a vitriolic attack on the Bishop's non-literal interpretation of the Bible. For our present purposes, Colenso's theology as reflected in his paper on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans is neither here nor there (nor, indeed, is Dykes's), although Colenso's dismissal of the integrity and sufficiency of Christ's own words, and of the real presence of Christ in the elements at the Eucharist, would have been to Dykes as a red rag to a bull (see, for example, his sermons *Natural and Supernatural Life* and *The Holy Eucharist the Christian Peace Offering*, below). Dykes was not prepared to consider that the *context* in which Colenso was working — as a missionary seeking to find a point of contact between Christianity and the ancient traditions and customs of the Zulus with whom he was living and working — allowed for any divergence from the great Catholic truths of the Church.[2]



Bishop John Colenso
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However, the overwhelmingly serious approach he took to his reviewing did not preclude (probably could not prevent) the occasional display of wit. In a review of the literature on the Apocalypse, whilst solemnly assuring his readers that he was writing 'in all sober seriousness', he derides the author of one book — a book which would have been 'ridiculous if the subject were not really far too solemn for merriment' — for 'adducing many ingenious and instructive parallels between Tractarianism and a frog,'[3]

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1 Dykes, J.B. 'Bishop Colenso's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans' in the *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 24 (Joseph Masters: London, 1862). (App. C Part 1 pp. 398ff).

2 For a more balanced appraisal of Colenso, his work and his theology, see Draper, J.A. (ed.) *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Interpretation* (T&T Clark: London, 2003).

3 Dykes, J.B. 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse' in the *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 15 (Joseph Masters: London, 1853 at pp. 350ff. (App. C Part 1 pp. 565ff).

3. Sermons and other didactic material

These may be further subdivided into (i) sermons preached; (ii) sermons written expressly for publication; and (iii) essays.

i. *Sermons preached*

a. '*Natural and Supernatural Life*'[1]

With the exception of any slight notice given to his compositions for a hymnal with a very low distribution, and recalling the anonymity of his reviews for the *Ecclesiastic*, Dykes was just one of thousands of anonymous provincial clergyman when this sermon was published. As the £1 bins of many a second-hand bookshop attest, nineteenth-century clergymen and their collected sermons must have kept vanity publishers busy. And yet, as a review noted, demand for this 'interesting and thoughtful discourse', preached on Ash Wednesday 1859 as part of his duties as a minor canon, necessitated a second edition.[2] Edward Greatorex, Dykes's successor as precentor, wrote that this sermon 'was spoken of on all sides, as being the production of no ordinary mind, and, both by the Canons and the University tutors, was mentioned with great approval.'[3]

The sermon began with Christ's words from John's Gospel: 'A little while, and ye shall not see Me: and again a little while, and ye shall see Me.' The key to this 'enigmatical' saying, Dykes suggests, is apparent to those who have access to the original Greek, revealing as it does a nice distinction between the two visual operations: to *see* and to *behold*. The former relates to our natural sight; our apprehension of those things visible to us in our mortal, corporeal existence. The latter relates to our perception of things beyond the natural; to things beyond the vision or apprehension of earth-bound, natural man; to things *super*-natural; to things *meta*-physical. The faculty of exercising this supernatural vision, he explains, was bestowed by the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, although only on those who are prepared to avail themselves of it: the spiritual *sight* to be enjoyed by His people is the consequence of a spiritual *life* communicated to them from Christ and then lived out to the full. This being so, Dykes concluded, there must be natural and supernatural modes of sustaining life (he describes the physical elements of the Eucharist as being *consubstantial*

[1] Preached in Durham Cathedral, (Joseph Masters: London, 1859). (App. C Part 2 pp. 1ff).

[2] *Literary Churchman*, June 1859 p. 206.

[3] Fowler, p. 76.

with Christ, but not in any sense *transubstantial*), and it is this that establishes the indispensability of the Eucharist in the Church.

b. '*Church Worship, in Connection with the mediatorial work of Christ*'[1]

This was one of two music-related sermons preached on the occasion of the reopening of the Parish Church in Derby, Ouseley being the other preacher. As previously noted, Dykes's theme was the *manner* in which Christ was to be worshipped, and he took as his text the instructions implicit within Psalm 150. First, he notices that it is not man alone who must praise God but (as Psalm 148 had pointed out) choirs terrestrial *and* celestial, the latter chorus encompassing 'Angels, Hosts, Sun, Moon, Stars, Heavens and supercelestial Waters…[things] not only animate but inanimate, not only spiritual but material creatures'; the former chorus encompassing the elements ('dragons and deeps, fire and hail' and so on), 'irrational creatures' (mountains and hills, trees and cedars, beasts and cattle), and human choirs in all degrees.[2] And he warns that, if we fail to join with these elements of creation, they 'will all put us to shame, and bear earnest witness against us.' The question Dykes wishes his audience to consider is *how* we are to praise God. One obvious answer is that we are praise Him 'in His *Sanctuary*…in such a way as becomes His "excellent greatness"…with outward expression of reverence and with the highest appliances of musical art'. But this is not all. Whereas excellence in execution should be taken as read, St Paul 'reminds us that we are to praise GOD not only with our *voice*, but with our "*understanding*" and our "*spirit;*" that is, with the combined activities of our whole being.' Dykes explained how, before the fall of man, the Divine image after which he had been fashioned enabled him to praise God in mind, body and spirit, his subsequent fall from grace separated him from God and deprived him of 'the natural capacity for praising and pleasing his maker'. So it was that 'As man had lost the power of reaching up to God, God in an unutterable condescension stooped down and laid hold of man [and, as a consequence of the redemption freely given to man]…giving us once more the capacity for praising our Creator', albeit that our praises of God are only rendered worthy by their mediation by Jesus Christ. Predictably, Dykes is led to conclude that our praises must be accompanied by appropriate expressions of honour and respect — in other words, solemn ritual.

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1 Preached in St Peter's Church, Derby. (Bemrose: Derby, 1860). (App. C Part 2 p. 11).

2 In a footnote (see App. C Part 2 p. 13. fn) to the published sermon he diverts to a consideration of the numerical symbolism implicit in these categories, returning to a subject he had covered at some depth in an earlier review: 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture' in the *Ecclesiastic* (App. C Part 1 pp. 167ff).

c. '*The Holy Eucharist the Christian Peace Offering*'[1]

Although the message of this sermon (once again published — though 'not without reluctance' — by request) is timeless, its context of time and place gave it a particular political edge. The burden of the sermon is that, 'as the worship of the Old Testament is dark and obscure until irradiated by the New, so is much of the language of the New Testament respecting our Christian worship unintelligible until the light of the old is brought to bear on it.' Consequently, as much of the Gospel narrative — especially that pertaining to the Eucharist — uses language deriving from the Law, so 'some knowledge of the ancient sacrificial system under the Law is quite indispensable.' With a systematic mapping of the language of the Law and the language of the New Testament, and especially that relating to the various classes of sacrificial offering in the OT and their mapping to the Holy Eucharist, Dykes addresses the nature of the Eucharistic elements. Are they, he asks, merely 'a morsel of bread; a cup of wine' and nothing else, as some people aver? Manifestly not. And yet despite the clearest assurances to the contrary from Christ himself, such people 'see nothing mysterious; hence they will not believe there *is* any thing mysterious.' As a consequence they miss the essential truth that, whereas in the Jewish sacrifices the outward, *visible*, display was everything, in the Eucharist it is the *inward* part, the part which is visible only by faith, which is the crux. And suddenly we discover the motive underlying Dykes's choice of subject for his sermon. 'I have felt constrained to refer to this sacred subject, as occasion has been taken in this city, within but a few days…to deny and contemn the Church's faith in this Holy Mystery, and to represent all attempts at giving honour to its Celebration, as superstitious, if not idolatrous.' The subject of his disapprobation was his near neighbour, the Rev. G.T. Fox, who had 'stoutly affirmed' that the Bread and Wine were that and nothing more. Worse, he had publicly ridiculed those (such as Dykes) 'for adopting "various mummings and postures and acts of idolatry, as if they were holding the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus in their hands."' It is evident that Dykes could not let such publicly uttered falsehoods (as he saw them) be corrected simply in a sermon to his own congregation, as the published version included a very lengthy Postscript which effectively arraigns Fox on a charge of heresy. In addition to his errors regarding the true nature of the Eucharistic elements, Fox had explicitly denied the very existence of an earthly priesthood and had referred with 'contemptuous denunciation' to the term 'Altar'. We need not follow Dykes's detailed

[1] Preached in St Oswald's church. (Rivingtons: London, 1867) (App. C Part 2 pp. 21ff).

refutation of Fox's position (which one can accept or reject at will) but in his peroration he betrays the depth of his personal animosity towards Fox, a man ever ready 'to show his contempt for whom he seems to consider no language too strong', a man who 'is very ready to hand over to the Evil One all who differ from him; to attribute to *Satan* the revival of faith in Christ's own words, and the growing desire to give outward practical expression to that faith which is manifesting itself on all sides amongst us.' Perhaps Dykes's hostility was fuelled by the realisation that Fox was far from being the only (or most significant) Durham cleric towards whose conception of the truth he was fundamentally and irreconcilably antagonistic.

d. '*Christian Unity*'[1]

The theme of this sermon is simple: unity amongst men is possible only if man has union with God; in the beginning this was the case; man's Fall led to separation; Christ provided the way back; the Church, guided by the Holy Spirit, was Christ's appointed instrument. The only point we need note is that, once again, Dykes castigated those — he instanced Bishop Colenso but was doubtless thinking also of the aforementioned G.T. Fox and his own Bishop — who 'set at naught and repudiated [the sacred power of priestly Absolution] in sermons, speeches, charges [when their] "lips should keep knowledge"…'The Great Day alone will declare how many souls have been lost to the Church of England through the unfaithfulness of her bishops and priests in this matter'.

ii. *Sermons written for publication*

As the titles of the collections suggest, these were plain, simple and direct homilies written for ordinary people, and they retain their freshness and accessibility today. Their subjects were: '*The Fruit of the Spirit*';[2] '*The Mother of Jesus*';[3] '*The Two Places*';[4] and '*The Foundation and the Building*'.[5]

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1 Preached to members of the English Church Union in the Parish Church, Penrith. (Palmer: London, 1868). (App. C Part 2 p. 32).

2 in Fowle, Edmund (ed.) *Plain Preaching for a Year* Vol. 2 (Skeffington: London, 1873) at pp. 207ff (App. C Part 2 p. 40).

3 in Fowle, Edmund (ed.) *Plain Preaching for a Year* Vol. 3 (Skeffington: London, 1873) at pp.107ff. (App. C Part 2 p. 45).

4 *ibid.* at p. 94 (App. C Part 2 p. 50).

5 in Fowle, Edmund (ed.) *Plain Preaching to Poor People* Series 6 (Skeffington: London, 1875) at pp. 131ff. (App. C Part 2 p. 54).

iii. *Essays*

a. '*The Manner of Performing Divine Service*'[1]

This essay, which formed Section II of Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, treats at greater length and in greater depth topics dealt with in previous papers: (i) the fact of the Prayer Book rubrics implying more than they express superficially, and the consequent requirement that users are familiar with the liturgy as it had existed before the time of the English Reformation; (ii) the Divine sanction for the Service of the Church to be adorned with music; and (iii) the Divine *mandate* for appropriate solemn ritual in the performance of Divine Service. We need not repeat these arguments here (there is little that is new but much which has been further developed), save to note that, time and again, Dykes expressly links a neglect of ritual with a neglect of God, noting that 'the *absence* of music and suitable ceremonial in the history of His ancient Church, is, in every case, not the result of His Will, but of man's sinful disregard of that Will; an infallible sign, not of the faithfulness, but of the unfaithfulness of His people.'[2]

Once again anticipating a defence to a charge which, less than a half century later, was to be levelled against him, his peroration concludes

> The Church must bring forth from her treasure-house "things new and old;" not only the severe (and to some ears uncouth) unisonous strains of by-gone times, but also the rich, full harmonies of modern days. All must be freely, fearlessly employed, according as taste, or special circumstances, or choral capability may dictate. Experiments must be made, mistakes perhaps braved; for many questions as to the best practical methods of linking together the "sphere-born, harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse" in the Service of the Sanctuary remain as yet undecided. Hasty dogmatism, and intolerant exclusiveness, in reference to the accessories of Divine Worship, are much to be deprecated…[A]ll the resources of the Church, external as well as internal, are needed for modern times; and that all appliances, musical, ritual, aesthetic, should be brought to bear on the services rendered to God by so cultivated an age, and set forth before men to win and help their souls. God having given all these outward aids — music, ritual, art — He *means* them to be employed for His glory, and in order to influence, and subdue, and attract mankind.[3]

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1 in Blunt, J.H. at pp. li.ff. (App. C Part 2 p. 64).

2 *ibid.* p. liii.

3 *ibid*. p. lxv.

4. Ecclesiastical Politics

i. '*Response to a Request for Evidence by Her Majesty's Commissioners*'[1]

This paper was discussed at length in Chapter 3.

ii. '*Remarks on the Memorandum of a Visitation held in…St Oswald's…by the Venerable George Bland*'[2]

This paper was discussed at length in Chapter 4.

iv. '*Response to the Bishop of Durham's Inhibition of the Bishop of Edinburgh*'[3]

This paper was discussed at length in Chapter 4.

v. '*Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*'[4]

Discussed at length in Chapter 4, this letter from Dykes to Bishop Baring represents the summation of his creed.

Taken as a whole, Dykes's essays demonstrate alike virtues and vices. A serious approach and his undoubted scholarship in matters musical, historical and theological are leavened with wit and humour. And, more often than not, the sting of criticism is accompanied by the balm of genuine courtesy and good grace. But there are numerous instances of what we might nowadays consider narrowness of vision and an intolerance of the views of others — vices which were identified by Dykes's father and which, exhibited by others, were eventually to be directed with terrible consequences onto him.

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1 Dykes (1853a) (App. C Part 2 p. 59).

2 in the *Minute Book of the Select Vestry and later of the Four and Twenty* (St Oswald's Parish Church, Durham: 1866) (App. C Part 2 p. 86).

3 *Guardian* 26 June 1867 p. 691. (App. C Part 2 p. 94).

4 Dykes, J.B. 1874(b) (App. C Part 2 p. 113).

Chapter 9

Sentiment, Emotion and Truth in Dykes's Music

'How did I weep, in Thy Hymns and Canticles, touched to the quick by the voices of Thy sweet-attuned Church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the Truth distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotion overflowed, and tears ran down, and happy was I therein.'[1]

'Dykes's tunes may often be "superficially emotional," but so are a very large majority of the people who use them.'[2]

'Never apologize for showing feeling…Remember that when you do so, you apologize for truth.'[3]

'Something is wrong with sentimentality; the only question is, What is it?'[4]

We have noted that a frequent criticism of Dykes's music involves variants of the word 'sentiment', with 'sentimental', 'sentimentality' and 'sentimentalism' invariably carrying pejorative overtones. And yet, given that few of his critics paused to define their terms (let alone explain why music improves in inverse proportion to its sentimental content, or that sentimentality — whatever that might be — is inconsistent with artistic integrity) we get no further than the Bandersnatch being condemned on the incontestable ground of his frumiosity. As Stainer described the problem, 'the disputants make use of scientific and philosophical terms so carelessly and loosely; they do not condescend to stop and define their terms before they rush into argument.'[5] There is the further matter of the evolving import of the word, whereby a compliment or proud boast becomes a slur simply by virtue of the passage of time: the language changes; the label persists; an insult results.[6] Marie Banfield has conducted an interesting etymological investigation.[7] To Samuel Johnson in the mid eighteenth century, 'sentiment' meant, either '(i) thought, notion, opinion, or (ii)

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1 Pusey, E.B. (ed.) *The Confessions of St Augustine* IX (6) (Rivington: London, 1838) p. 166.

2 Hadden, J.C. 'Passing Notes', in *The Musical Journal* (October 1909) p. 204.

3 Disraeli, Benjamin *Contarini Fleming: A Psychological Autobiography* (Murray: London, 1832) p. 129.

4 Solomon, Robert C. 'In Defense of Sentimentality' in Hjort, M. and Laver, S. *Emotion and the Arts* (OUP: Oxford, 1997) p. 226.

5 Stainer, J. *Music in its Relation to the Intellect and the Emotions* (Novello: London, 1892) p. 5.

6 Or, as the poet put it, 'time makes ancient good uncouth'. James R. Lowell, *The Present Crisis*, stanza 18.

7 Banfield, M., *From Sentiment to Sentimentality: A Nineteenth-Century Lexicographical Search*. 19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century. (2007). 0(4), p.None. DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.459

the sense considered distinctly from the language or things',[1] in each case implying the indispensable deployment of intellect and/or reason. Banfield quotes Locke in showing how sentiment takes over when language reaches its limits: 'There are not words enough in any language…to answer all the variety of ideas that enter into men's discourses and reasonings.'

(This unremarkable Lockean idea — that words alone are incapable of encapsulating fully all that the human heart would express — is reflected in the design of the Litany: it is not so much the words as their earnest repetition which expresses the inexpressible, transcending reason: 'Quand l'âme chrétienne ne trouve plus de mots nouveaux dans la détresse pour implorer la miséricorde de Dieu, elle répète sans cesse la même invocation avec une foi véhémente. *La raison atteint sa limite* [my italics]. Seule la foi poursuit son ascension.'[2] The implication of such a view is clear: words sometimes require some other agency to give them transcendent effect — such, perhaps, as the hypnotic mantra of a litany; or music; or the evocation of a sentiment (or, in Jehan Alain's case, all three). Two notable composers expressed different, though perhaps complementary, views on whether or not the sentiments expressed by music constitute the stage *after* words lose their power of expression, or an alternative to words when these are perhaps too explicit. Mendelssohn was in the latter camp: 'a piece of music that I love expresses thoughts to me that are not too *imprecise* to be framed in words, but too *precise*. So I find that attempts to express such thought in words may have some point to them, but they are also unsatisfying.'[3] Mahler, on the other hand, followed Locke's line:

> We find ourselves faced with the important question how, and indeed *why* music should be interpreted by words at all…As long as my experience can be summed up in words, I write no music about it; my need to express myself musically — symphonically — begins at the point where the *dark* feelings hold sway, at the door which leads to the "other world" — the world in which things are no longer separated by space and time.[4])

Mendelssohn and Mahler provide types of music being deployed when words were deemed inappropriate for the conveyance of thought or sentiment. But music can also invest words with additional meaning, or give expression to a latent sentiment, or even say what words

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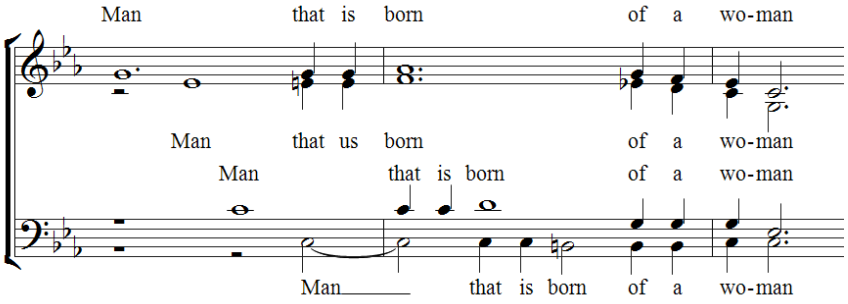
1 Banfield

2 Alain, Jehan, Epigraph to *Litanies* (Alphonse Leduc: Paris, 1939).

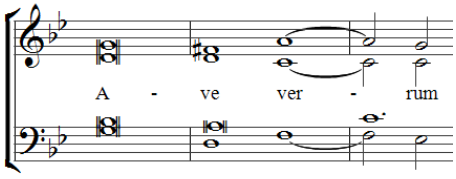
3 Quoted in Nussbaum, M.C. in *Upheavals of Thought* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p. 251fn.

4 *ibid*. p. 255.

dare not say. For example, the simple word 'born' not only imports the cold biological fact that the period of gestation is over and the new phase of life has begun but bears happy connotations of opportunity, promise, futurity. There is nothing whatsoever in *the word itself* which foreshadows death. But see what music can do to this unequivocally optimistic word:



In Purcell's anthem, musical tension and release invest the three iterations of the word 'born' (and only this word out of the seven in these three bars) with a portent which its bald, semantic meaning does not convey: 'Man's birth can only end in sorrow — and death'. The recusant Byrd, on the other hand, could very well have shouted the doctrine of transubstantiation from the rooftops without risk of ambiguity, but it would probably have cost him his head. So, hiding his heresy in plain sight, he used the chord of F major to make his point:



Here an unexpected, unsettling, jarring (but transient) harmonic modulation to an alien chord on the third beat creates an accent which surreptitiously invests a word (in fact, a single syllable) with its intended seditious meaning: 'Hail *true* body, born of the Virgin Mary'.

True and relevant though these points are, we are getting ahead of ourselves. Returning to Dr Johnson, it is significant that neither the nouns 'sentimentality' and 'sentimentalism', nor the adjective 'sentimental' were defined in his *Dictionary*. A 1799 dictionary includes 'sentimental', noting it to be an imprecise neologism, but generally implying 'an affecting turn of thought', for the first time introducing a subjective, irrational element. But not at this stage a disapproving one. Solomon observes that Schiller was evidently proud to refer to his poetry (and himself) as 'sentimental', which, to him, connoted 'the elegance of

emotion, not saccharine sweetness and the manipulation of mawkish passions.'[1] Not only had the word *not* yet acquired the implications which linked it to baser tastes and artificially-excited emotions, the opposite was in fact the case. Robert Southey's criticism of Rousseau was that he 'addressed himself to the sentimental classes, persons of ardent and morbid sensibility, who believe themselves to be composed of finer elements than the gross multitude.'[2] So the charge of sentimentality was originally a charge of elitism, a pandering to supposedly *elevated* tastes.

Some 72 years after Johnson's first dictionary (when Dykes was four years old), a new dictionary based on Johnson gives 'sentiment' a third meaning — 'sensibility' or 'feeling' — with the new word 'sentimental' conflating emotion and intellect in its definition 'quick, intellectual feeling'. And for the first time it was suggested that the word was capable of bearing contemptuous overtones — the deployment of intellect or reason which had given the word its respectability was no longer implied or even necessary: anyone can feel, not everyone can think. The noun 'sentimentality', the lexicographers decided, spoke of excess, of affectation. The next dictionary Banfield considers brings us right into Dykes's prime — 1864. By this time the primary definition of sentiment had relegated intellect and reason to the status of a consequence, with sentiment being 'thought *prompted by* [my italics] passion or feeling'. But Locke's contention that sentiment transcends the ability of language is retained in the third definition, with phrenologists (!) using the word 'to describe a moral or affective faculty of the mind.' The noun 'sentimentality' connotes the affectation of 'fine feeling' or 'exquisite sensibility,' again involving subjective emotion and perception. With 'sentimentalism' we finally reach unmistakable deprecation with its implication, as Banfield notes, of moral diminishment. By the end of the century (i.e. after Dykes's death but as the anti-Dykes reaction was gaining traction), definitions of the word in its various forms were favouring the usage of philosophers and psychologists, which focused on emotional judgment of a debased and fraudulent character rather than on intellect or reason. 'To be called "sentimental" is to be ridiculed, or simply dismissed. Sentimentality is a weakness, a personality flaw. It suggests hypocrisy, or, at any rate, an exaggerated, distorted sensibility.'[3] At last! With his music's unquestioned (in fact, and as

[1] Solomon, p. 228.

[2] *loc. cit.*

[3] Solomon, p. 225.

we shall see, deliberate and purposeful) evocation of sentiment, Dykes's culpability was laid bare.

But this line of reasoning leads, by various avenues, to perverse conclusions. If, stripped of its intellectual, rational component, sentiment is now to be taken to be the expression of feelings — which may range from the more or less tangible (such as passionate love or raging anger) to the more or less intangible (a warm glow of satisfaction or, contrariwise, a vague feeling that all is 'not quite right') — which, precisely, is it that is reprehensible: (i) the feelings which the sentiment evokes; (ii) the alleged falsity, manipulation or evocation of those feelings; or (iii) the medium by which they are transmitted? Are soft and gentle feelings wrong *per se*? If we accept for the sake of argument that a condition of the poorer examples of Victorian hymnody — both words and music — is that, in their transmission of warm and tender feelings, there resides a cloying sentimentality; and if we go a step further and arraign authors and composers for deliberately, perhaps surreptitiously, conjuring up these feelings in the recipients of their art; we have still not explained why this sums to A Bad Thing. For some people in Victorian congregations — including, perhaps, Dykes's parishioners working in the nearby Elvet Colliery — the warmth and tenderness evoked, and the images of a better life conjured up, by hymns on Sunday morning might be a welcome escape from the gruelling and dangerous conditions prevalent at the pithead, the over-crowded, cold and damp slums to which they returned at the end of the day and the general expectations of virtue heaped upon them by society. (As Susan Tamke observed, 'The reason for late Victorian love of sentimentality in art and literature was, perhaps, that it was one of the few emotional outlets for people who were expected to strive for earnestness and sobriety.'[1]) And why single out for deprecation the sentimental content of Victorian hymnody when so much of the service of the Victorian church capitalised on vague and intangible feelings? What are the preacher's threats of eternal damnation or his assurances of everlasting felicity if not quintessentially appeals to the emotions of fear and hope? There are dozens of discrete features which are unique to church services: archaic and esoteric words and prose; choreographed movements; music quite unlike that heard in the music hall or tavern; tintinnabulations high and low; olfactory stimulants; vestments; candles; peculiar visual spectacles; moralistic art of supernatural import in glass and on murals — all of which contribute to an overall *feeling* that one is in

[1] Tamke, Susan 'Nineteenth-Century English Hymns as a Reflection of Victorian Society' Ph.D. Thesis (University of Delaware, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1975) p. 182.

a sanctified place, and all of which appeal to the senses without bearing any intrinsic meaning or message above and beyond that which we choose to ascribe to them.[1]

And why is it only the warm and tender feelings suggested by sentimental hymns that attract the opprobrium? What of hymn-tunes such as Sullivan's ST GERTRUDE[2] or indeed Vaughan Williams's SINE NOMINE,[3] which conjure up positive, confident, martial sentiments? The very composer who railed against 'the miasma of the languishing and sentimental hymn tunes' would appear to be guilty of composing one of the most affecting, sentimental hymn tunes in the book — except, of course, that his were virile sentiments which didn't languish and so were presumably within the pale.

'*Day draws to evening*': a sentimentalised depiction in a Victorian hymnal of a congregation leaving Evensong

A calm, moonlit evening ('*Now we are come to the sun's hour of rest*'); the peaceful tombs ('*Now the labourer's task is o'er*'); the well-clothed child ('*Oh, what a blessed child am I*') running to his mother; the self-assured, upright gentleman ('*Forth in Thy name, O Lord, I go…*') with his lady two dutiful steps behind…and not a hint of that 'flight from reason' and 'from the tensions and controversies to which reason leads' which Routley confidently asserted to have been their real preoccupations. Perhaps they had just sung PAX DEI?

Thus far we have tentatively proposed that music of the sort that Dykes produced could legitimately be (i) acclaimed as being reflective of finer feelings and a pandering to elevated tastes, or (ii) denounced as being indicative of moral debasement, depending on

[1] Which, of course, may be nothing at all for some church-goers. Or, indeed, they may have positively adverse meanings (we have already noted Spurgeon's dismissive reference to 'salvation by haber-dashery', and Fox's reference to 'ritualistic tom-foolery').

[2] *Onward, Christian Soldiers.*

[3] *For all the saints.*

the year shown on the calendar when the judgment was being made. And if we accept that his music was, for good or ill, expressive of the softer and gentler sentiments, we have also suggested that the ecclesiastical milieu for which it was composed and in which it was sung was voracious in its appetite for any amount of sentimental contributions to the overall experience. Now we might usefully turn to a consideration of how Dykes interpreted the word, which he used frequently. It is evident from the contexts in which Dykes uses the word that he understood the noun 'sentiment' to bear Johnson's original threefold, intellect-based, meaning — thought, notion, opinion — with nothing to imply deprecation: 'the noble sentiment of the ancient dramatist';[1] 'our English Version [of the Bible] adequately and accurately expresses the sentiments of the Apostle.'[2] etc. His first known use of the (new) word 'sentimental' occurs when he intends both to be critical and to deny any operation of the intellect (although it is not the word itself which carries the punch): 'this new form of illicit and sentimental devotion to the [Blessed Virgin]…'.[3] His first known use of the noun 'sentimental*ism*' suggests an otherwise desirable trait taken to excess. Speaking of hymn texts, where he values a number of sentiments on the condition that they are deployed in moderation, he cautions:

> We need them to touch the imagination, kindle the affections, awaken the sensibilities, soften the heart; we want hymns warm, though without irreverence; stirring, though without extravagance; tender, though without sentimentalism; such as, without any pandering to bad taste, or any compromise of either theological accuracy or poetical propriety, shall yet reach, and gently draw upwards a fuller grasp of Catholic truth the masses of our people.[4]

So, far from the display of feeling being a matter of 'succumbing' to anything reprehensible, he confidently asserts that expressions of sentiment are both necessary ('we need them') and valuable for the power they possess to do a specific good. And again, after advocating the selection of a judicious mixture of 'historical and didactic hymn [texts]' and 'the more free and emotional ones', he warns that the tunes 'be not too chromatic, or sentimental, or effeminate'[5] — unwittingly summing up in three words the very indictment which was later to be brought against him. Evidently, he did not recognise in his own

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1 Dykes, J.B. (1851–1852) p. 325 (App. C Part 1 p. 20).

2 Dykes, J.B. (1856) p. 247 (App. C Part 1 p. 214).

3 Dykes, J.B. (1873)(b) p. 119 (App. C Part 2 p. 48).

4 Dykes, J.B. (1869)(a) p. 30 (App. C Part 2 p. 106).

5 Dykes, J.B. (1871) p. 379 (App. C Part 2 p. 203).

compositions any of these faults. (We might briefly observe, as does Solomon, that the emergence of 'effeminacy' as a term of abuse coincided with a reaction against the rise of women in literature and the arts in the mid century. Effeminacy — which is to say the aggregation of the soft and gentle emotions presumed at the time to be the universal characteristic of women (and only women) — became a synonym for sentimentality and, so it would appear, *vice versa*. History does not record any critic condemning a composer for penning an excessively manly, testosterone-exuding hymn-tune. Presumably such a thing is either beyond conception or else just a long-winded way of saying that the hymn-tune is, *ipso facto*, a good one.)

John Stainer
by Elliott & Fry
albumen carte-de-visite, late 1870s
© National Portrait Gallery, London

John Stainer, speaking 16 years after Dykes's death, did not see in the appreciation of music a dichotomy, intellect *or* emotion: they were equally indispensable. Indeed, with emotion referring to 'those higher feelings which are aroused in us by the contemplation and realization of the beautiful in art; not those lower feelings which we possess in common with other animals',[1] the ability to appreciate these 'higher' feelings presupposed a superior intellectual capacity: 'the words "feeling" and "sentiment" [are] best used to describe those combined mental and physical disturbances which are admitted by common consent to follow upon the intellectual appreciation of art as opposed to the purely functional derangement which an animal experiences from a nervous shock.' Moreover, 'the higher and nobler emotions of mankind, though directly affecting the body, are inseparable from some action of the intellect.' And if there remained any doubt as to the respectability of sentiment, he described emotions as 'the lofty feelings which it is the privilege of the educated classes to find aroused in them by Art. There are emotions of an ennobling character which the educator should carefully cherish and unfold. These are, the natural sympathies, the aesthetic emotions, the moral

[1] Stainer, p. 4.

sentiments, and the religious feelings.'[1] According to this view, sentimentality — the supposed sap to the undiscriminating philistine in the pews — is in fact wasted on hoi polloi. However, even Stainer recognised that things could be taken to excess. 'If you give a man a stupid, sentimental subject, it is impossible that he can sit down and rise to the occasion, and turn out a tune of strength and dignity.'[2]

Solomon could easily have been thinking of Routley's accusation that Dykes was attempting to flee from reason 'and from the tensions and controversies to which reason leads'[3] when he wrote 'It is sometimes said that the problem is that sentimentality and sentimental literature' — he could as well have said music — 'give us a false view of the world, distort our thinking, and substitute a "saccharine" portrait of the world in place of what we all know to be the horrible realities.'[4] And he neatly summed up the disdain for sentimentality held by Routley, Long *et al* by characterising it as

> the rationalist's discomfort with any display of emotion, warranted as well as unwarranted, appropriate as well as inappropriate. It is as if the very word 'sentimentality' has been loaded with the connotations of 'too much' — too much feeling and too little common sense and rationality, as if these were opposed instead of mutually supportive. It is as if sentimentality and its sentiments are never warranted and always inappropriate. The word has come to be used as the name of a deficiency or a weakness if not, as some critics have written, a malaise.[5]

Addressing the charge, alluded to above, that sentimentality and moral degeneracy have an inseparable 'cause and effect' relationship, Solomon expressly refutes the notion. Whereas the expression of sentiment can be carried too far, or deployed inappropriately, he is clear that we do not have to accept the inextricable linkage of the two. (If it were to be the case that displays of sentiment constitute, by some latent characteristic, irrefutable evidence of moral laxity, what does that say of the great works of art and literature created in those times when the evocation of finer feelings was positively encouraged, lauded and looked for? The Psalms are highly emotional, what with their pastoral amblings, their riverside weepings and their throwing of children against the stones. So what are we to make of

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1 *ibid*. pp. 4-5.

2 Stainer, J. in *Proceedings of the Musical Association, 3rd session* (Taylor and Francis: London, 1887) p. 59,

3 p. 296 *supra.*

4 Solomon, p. 225.

5 Solomon, p. 226.

King David: a moral degenerate?) And not only were purveyors of sentiment charged with moral laxity, they were also accused of insincerity and a lack of integrity.

> Superb technique could always be criticized as "manipulative" and the emotions evoked could always be said to be "false" — for how could a work of fiction be expected to evoke a "true" emotion? Sentimental art and literature thus became "bad" art and literature, and this in turn reflected a moral as well as an aesthetic flaw in art and artist as well as in the audience.[1]

As for those who enjoy wallowing in the sentimental offerings of writers, painters and composers, the Vaughan Williams/Routley/Long school would characterise them as 'giving in to' false, contrived and dishonest evocations of feeling — evocations which belonged to, and were subliminally transmitted by, the artist. Enunciating the cynics' charge, Solomon describes 'the moral flaw' as being 'the failure [of the recipient] to control and contain these emotions. The author[/composer], on the other hand, is something of a seducer, though the fruits of a successful seduction may be only a tear or two.'[2]

At this point we might reasonably pursue a course of investigation into the compositional tools used by Dykes *et al* to conjure up particular sentiments and emotions, and even to rehearse the arguments of Hanslick (and his later detractors) on those components within music which lend it its beauty. But this would be to introduce a detour we cannot afford (and, anyway, this is ground which has been well-trodden). More to the point, it would miss the obvious truth that hymn-tunes are not pure music. In every sense, and to an absolute degree, they subserve the words. Ignoring the question, argued over at length for more than a century, about whether music *qua* music can *mean* something (or indeed anything), the words, and particularly the meaning and sentiment of those words, must dominate if the pairing is to have integrity. The music, which owes its very existence to the words,[3] must complement, and ideally add to, them: if it were to compete or conflict the result would be, at best, incongruous and unsatisfactory, at worst absurd. Imagine *Ride on! ride on in majesty* to RIVAULX or *Fight the good fight* to ST CROSS. Whereas we noticed in Chapter 6 that Dykes, in common with other composers, could and did write in metres

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1 Solomon, p. 234.

2 An excellent example of the skilful and deliberate manufacture and transmission of contrived (but surely not false?) emotion can be seen in Hans Christian Andersen's famous short tale, *The Little Match Girl*. (See for example http://www.andersen.sdu.dk/vaerk/hersholt/TheLittleMatchGirl_e.html).

3 There are, of course, exceptions. For example, *O perfect love, all human thoughts transcending* was inspired by Dykes's pre-existing STRENGTH AND STAY and various texts have been set to FINLANDIA.

which were out of synch with the words (e.g. dactylic tunes to iambic words), in very few cases did it lead to tension or conflict between the two: the original accents of the words were discreetly replaced with the accents of the music, and few congregants would have noticed the antagonism. There is ample evidence in Fowler and in Dykes's letters to show that he was aware of the subservient place of the music, and many of his hymn-tunes show his awareness very clearly: the word-painting in GERONTIUS and MELITA; the pastoral evocations of DOMINUS REGIT ME; the sacramental solemnity of ECCE PANIS.[1]

(Paradoxically, the relative hierarchy of words and music at the beginning of things can be reversed if the tune is good enough: who can doubt that Whiting's words are remembered, and therefore sung, because of Dykes's MELITA, rather than vice versa?[2] The other side to the coin is that an indissoluble and monogamous marriage of words and music must lead to the demise of the latter when changing fashions lead to the demise of the former: ECCE PANIS; DIES IRAE (all three of them); ST CROSS; ST ANDREW OF CRETE and several others are now unexhumably interred with their *démodé* words.)

As we have seen from our earlier consideration of his copious writings, Dykes's appreciation of the primacy of the words was allied to a deep appreciation and understanding of the liturgy of the Church, the importance of its sacraments and the respective places of 'psalms, hymns and spiritual songs' in the course of Divine worship. His music, therefore, typically reflected not just the sentiment of the words but the spiritual import of the hymn's position and function in worship (Office, Gradual, Communion, Recessional) and the occasion (Wedding, Funeral, Dedication). In his Nottingham lecture he speaks of hymns as being those things 'wherewith we brighten up our services, *and wherein Christian sentiment and emotion find their legitimate vent* [my italics].'[3] But he recognised, too, that much as the Psalms (along with all Holy Scripture) were the inspired word of God, so hymn writers and hymn-tune composers could not rely on their own slender merits if their offerings were to be worthy of service in the Sanctuary. Having first

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1 Exceptions can certainly be found. It was an odd decision to set a processional hymn in lilting 6/8 time (AMOR FIDELIS) and many of his children's hymn-tunes are indistinguishable from the rest of his output.

2 Would the hymn have survived to become, in Routley's (!) words 'a national possession' if it had been burdened, as with an anchor around its neck, with the *Songs of Praise* tune LODSWORTH? This is an example of words which could never have saved a nondescript, non-dedicated tune (the word 'deep' is set to the highest note reached in the hymn), quite probably because no-one ever sang it—or sings it now. One can deduce the depth of the musical editors' antipathy to Dykes and MELITA by their suggestion that the 16th century dirge VATER UNSER (c minor, starts low, gets lower) would be a suitable alternative. Who wouldn't rather go down with their ship than be compelled to sing 'Eternal Father' to either of these tunes?

3 Dykes, J.B (1871) p. 379. App. C Part 2 p. 202.

regretted the plethora of new hymn-tunes coming onto the market (not pausing to reflect that he might be contributing to the deluge), and noting that anyone can (and too many people do) 'knock off' — his expression — tunes by the dozen, he identifies what he sees as the fatal flaw in so many of them:

> Having not come from the heart, they fail to reach the heart. It is not given to any to write *many* either hymns or tunes which will live on. I suppose, in one case, there must be "a live Coal from the Altar," and in the other, a special impulse from the "Chief Musician," before either song or melody is fit for the Sanctuary, or to do a work for GOD.[1]

Given all the equations of sentiment with moral degeneracy, and the accusations that purveyors of sentiment commit a fraud on recipients by subliminally (and sometimes not so subliminally) insinuating false emotions, we must consider whether the charges of moral degeneracy and fraud or, as Routley implied, faintheartedness in avoiding the grittier realities of life, can be sustained in Dykes's case. And we are obliged to observe, before even we start, that the prosecution will struggle to make its case. If we could find evidence that he wrote for the money; that his tribute to the liturgy of the Church and the inviolability of its rituals was mere lip service; that his outlook on life generally and on his Holy Orders specifically was tinged with cynicism; that in *any* of his transactions with the world he sought to deceive; that he was a 'knocker-out' of tunes; that they all came to him without much thought (and re-thought); we might cede some ground to those who criticise not just his music but his *bona fides* as a composer of Church music. But the evidence adduced in the preceding Chapters is copious in supporting the reverse of these moral defects: many spoke of his disinclination to ask for payment for his music (and to decline payment for republication rights if he had already been paid for a tune); the record is compelling when it speaks of his courage (or obstinacy, if one prefers) in taking a public stand in favour of ritual practices and the preservation of the holiness of the sacraments, at great cost to himself; his commitment to every aspect of his priestly ministry and of his own personal faith gave every appearance of being absolute (to the extent that his Lenten fasts often took a toll on his health).

Dykes himself would not have cavilled at the description of his music as 'sentimental', not recognising in the label any reproach. In his stated view, Christian sentiment and emotion were legitimate — they expressed a truth. The hymns of the Church needed to give

[1] Dykes, J.B. (1871) p. 379 App. C. Part 2 p. 202.

expression to those sentiments and emotions; the music to which the words were set was its servant and not its master. Any suggestion, therefore, that Dykes was being fraudulent or underhand in seeking to seduce those who sang his tunes into absorbing insidious sentiments comes up against a mountain of evidence that Dykes was constitutionally incapable of such mendacity. As Baker said, 'Dykes' tunes are *just like himself* [my italics]…so full of feeling, so gentle, so unselfish.'[1] In a letter to Monk Dykes wrote 'I never think of setting a Hymn that *is* worthily set, where the tune can be got. That would be mere silly caprice, or vanity, or presumption. But if a Hymn does *not* appear to me worthily set, then, I own, I am often induced, I may say, sometimes almost *compelled*, to try to do my best for it.'[2] In his sermon preached in Derby Dykes made clear that

> if you or I, Brethren — if any of us — fail in contributing our share to that grand chorus of Praise which is ascending up to the Majesty on high from the whole creation; the very stones, the elements, irrational nature, will all lift up their voices against us. And the "Heavens," as "they declare the Glory of God;" the "firmament," as without articulate "speech or language" it showeth forth to all lands "His handiwork;" the hills, as they clap their hands in exultation before their Creator; and the heaving ocean, as it murmurs forth from its surging bosom its hoarse Hallelujahs "before the Lord the King" — will all put us to shame, and bear earnest witness against us. [3]

It would be a particularly harsh critic who would characterise Dykes's sermon as a lesson in clerical cynicism and hypocrisy. None has ever shown cause to question the copious evidence of Dykes's personal integrity. He wrote what he wrote and in the way he wrote it because he perceived that such was the way it had to be written. He seized upon the power of sentiment and emotion in music to articulate and convey the truth borne by the words of hymn, anthem and service, not eschewing beauty if that were a consequence. One suspects Dykes would have sympathised with the proposition that 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,' — that is all Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'[4]

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1 Sir H.W. Baker, quoted in Welsh, R.E. and Edwards, F.G. *Romance of Psalter and Hymnal* (Hodder: London, 1889) p. 308.

2 Letter from Dykes to W.H. Monk, 24 August 1874, quoted in Fowler p. 199.

3 Dykes, J.B. (1860) p. 19 (App. C Part 2 p. 13).

4 John Keates *Ode on a Grecian Urn.*

Chapter 10

Conclusion

'Historians…must take the past on its own terms and not dismiss it loftily from the perspective of hindsight.'[1]

'On what principle are even the wisest and best people of one age to dictate to those of another, not truths which are eternal, but mere forms of expression, in themselves non-essential, and, as all experience proves, ephemeral?'[2]

This study arose out of an optimistic assumption, generated during a walk through the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral, that the composer of the tune which was going through my mind at the time must have been the subject of several exhaustive biographical studies. The discovery that there was only one — and that a much-quoted hagiography written by his sisters Fanny and Lucy (an account, as I was to discover, which has been treated with more deference than it merits) — was a surprise, a disappointment and a challenge. But to complain that Fowler was an unreliable, because uncritical, source was to underscore my own duty to be critical; perhaps to give a measure of support to those who, in after years, found it easy to fault Dykes, his music, his taste, his judgment and, ultimately, his integrity. Whereas the denigrators were by no means the larger party, certainly during Dykes's lifetime, they seem to have made more noise than Dykes's more numerous supporters.

As we have seen, a notable feature of the corpus of criticism of Dykes's music over 150 years is that it covers the spectrum, from 'truly dreadful' to (by implication) 'better than Purcell'. Adding to the Routley Paradox of a musical genius who writes dreadful music, we see that the opposing camps each boast figures of indisputable standing within the musical firmament, in addition to enthusiastic dabblers such as Geoffrey Dearmer and R.B. Daniel. Ignoring those such as S.S. Wesley, Thomas Helmore and Charles Villiers Stanford whose disdain was more generally directed at all modern hymn-tune composers (the last of these three referred to tunes which 'degrade religion and its services with slimy and sticky appeals to the senses'[3]) we find lined up against John Fuller Maitland, Kenneth

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1 Macmillan, M. 'Introduction' to Tuchman, B. *The Zimmermann Telegram* (Folio Society: London, 2004) p. xii.

2 Palmer, R. and Hullah, J. (eds.) *A Hymnal chiefly from "The Book of Praise"* (Macmillan: London, 1868), p. vii.

3 Temperley, p. 303.

Long, C.S. Phillips, Erik Routley, Henry Smart, *Times* critics *passim* and Ralph Vaughan Williams in the 'generally (or rabidly) anti' camp, Ian Bradley, John Bumpus, Henry Colles, Jeremy Dibble, Arthur Hutchings, Constant Lambert, *MT* critics *passim*, Sir Frederik Ouseley, Sir John Stainer and Nicholas Temperley in the 'generally pro' camp. It is therefore a pointless exercise to attempt to adjudicate between the opposing factions and their respective estimations of Dykes on the sole basis of their status in academe, the Church and society.

As I surmised in my Introduction, if one is to understand Dykes the composer one needs to understand him in all his manifestations, and this requirement necessitated a trawl through widely dispersed archives and writings (his authorship of some of these papers having hitherto been unrecognised), the larger part of it either contemporary or near-contemporary. And this led to my first important conclusion: not only did his later critics appear to evince little curiosity about (let alone appear to possess any knowledge or understanding of) these other aspects of his life, they also preferred to downplay the rather pertinent fact that Dykes's music was widely admired and therefore greatly in demand by contemporary congregations. Whereas Crotch had counselled 'Let not the musical student…imagine that music is continually improving; that every age is superior to the preceding; and that every new composer is greater than his predecessor',[1] and Barnby had pleaded for nineteenth-century composers to be allowed to compose in nineteenth-century idioms, Fuller Maitland, Vaughan Williams, the two Dearmers, Long and half a hundred others paid no heed to either of these advocates of trans-generation cultural tolerance. But of course it was easy for Vaughan Williams, writing thirty years after Dykes's death, to loose off easy insults about 'the miasma of the languishing and sentimental hymn tunes'. His was an increasingly authoritative and listened-to musical voice in a new century where, as Roy Hattersley writes, 'pleasure' — rather than the asceticism and moral reserve of the *ancien régime* (at least in its public face) — 'was the fashion of the time',[2] with its louche and adulterous monarch; where, according to the belief of romantics, gregariousness represented the spirit of the age; where 'the conspicuous solemnity of Victorian England…resulted in an explosion of hedonism';[3] and where socio-political changes had been set in train which were to lead to a more visible, constitutional monarchy and a more

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1 Temperley, p. 244 citing Crotch *The substance of several courses of lectures on music.*

2 Hattersley, Roy *The Edwardians* (Little Brown: London, 2004) p. 32.

3 *ibid.* p. 33.

pluralistic democracy. Who among the *bien pensant* members of this more optimistic and enlightened age would publicly challenge such a refreshing, liberating critique of the old order? Who, in this confident land of hope and glory, had any more need of the personal, pleasure-inhibiting, challenge represented by an exaggerated and morbid morality couched in embarrassingly emotional language? As for the slow-to-adapt philistines in the pews who, shunning the lead proffered by Long's 'better informed and more critical musicians', they were to be pitied for their unsophisticated appetites for sentimental tosh. The survival of Dykes's tunes, if one takes the Long view, had nothing to do with their intrinsic merits and everything to do with the unrefined tastes of those who clung on to them in the face of determined forces for change (such as that exerted by the editors of the 1904 edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* — the only edition of the most famous and successful hymnal in history to fail utterly). The still, small voice of 'A Bucks Priest' who observed 'how many there must be to whom Dr Dykes' music has been a real spiritual help',[1] was not heard. Even the louder voice of Bishop Walsham How was as one crying in the wilderness when, alarmed at the prospect that three of Dykes's tunes should be omitted from the 1904 edition, he wrote to the Chairman of the editorial committee, George Cosby White:

> I confess to being startled at a first glance at many of the proposed omissions, which are among the chief favourites of the Church, sung with delight everywhere. I cannot imagine omitting (e.g.) such tunes as [ALFORD, CHARITAS and VENI CREATOR]! But this is only a first hasty inspection. It fills one however with dread, as it shows such a want of knowledge of what has been stamped with universal approval.[2]

The observation of the Music Editor to Cosby White is illuminative of the *hauteur* of the committee: 'we have more to consider what [congregations] ought to get to like, than what we have come to like.'[3] One can only infer that the earlier judgment that Dykes's compositions 'have often attuned…hearts to praise and devotion, both "secretly among the faithful and in the congregations"'[4] rang hollow in the ears of the committee, if it rang at all.

We have seen how denunciation has often been couched in vague and highly subjective language, with a central thesis which runs 'he wrote for his time rather than ours, and ours

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1 Letter, *CT*, 20 February 1876.

2 Letter from Walsham How to Cosby White, 12 June 1897. In the event, the first two of these were reprieved. (Archives of *Hymns A&M*, Norwich).

3 Letter from W.H. Frere to Cosby White, 21 June 1897. (Archives of *Hymns A&M*, Norwich).

4 *CT* 25 February 1876, p. 99.

must be the superior aesthetic as it is the result of longer development.' Long and Routley are keen proponents of this line of reasoning. For example, we have seen how Long denounced Dykes's harmonies *because* they displayed certain traits which he thought weak, without demonstrating why, for example, a stationary bass or a chromatic movement was *ipso facto* a weakness: in Wagner and Debussy, chromaticism is of the essence of their music (much more so than Dykes: Temperley talks of the chromaticism in sanctuary almost — but not quite — reaching Wagnerian levels[1]) and the list of composers who found a static bass to provide a good foundation for superimposed harmonies is endless. Dibble was looking at exactly the same harmonies as Long when he wrote:

> a…characteristic element of his style is his use of imaginative diatonic and chromatic harmony. Dykes was thoroughly aware of the rich reservoir of continental harmonic innovation in the music of Schubert, Mendelssohn, Weber, Spohr, Schumann, Chopin, Liszt and early Wagner and he had absolutely no compunction in using this developed harmonic vocabulary in his tunes both as a colourful expressive tool and as a further means of musical integration.[2]

And Routley's lexicon of execration is all too often so nebulous as to amount to 'Well, I don't care for it much', which as a foundation for critical theory is less compelling than some. Not once in his writings did Routley offer an equal-but-opposite argument which could have been used to test Dibble's later evaluation:

> Thematic homogeneity was clearly a creative imperative for Dykes…the structures of his tunes involve careful thought in terms of their phrasing, and sometimes rhythmic, integrity: sequence is commonly manipulated to create a dexterous matrix of interrelationships. There is also a dense reworking of motifs, in which rhetorical devices of thematic inversion, reharmonization, variation, truncation and elongation are used as part of the creative process.[3]

Nicholas Temperley, too, recognised Dykes's skill as the composer of hymn-tunes which 'were simple, often making use of rhetorical devices of repetition and climax borrowed from instrumental music, and supported by richly emotional harmonies.' As much to the point, they were *of and for their time*, taking

> full advantage of the new conditions in which parish congregations enjoyed the support of a full choir and organ...Dykes's tunes exactly met the need of the time, and they were very popular. Indeed the music was probably the main ingredient in the success of the book. Heber had published his Holy, holy, holy

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1 Temperley, p. 308.

2 Dibble (2014).

3 *loc. cit.*

> in 1826, Newman his Lead, kindly light in 1833. But it was not until they were matched to Dykes's tunes that they became two of the most popular hymns in the English language…[1]

Whereas Vaughan Williams neatly bridged the era of Dykes on the one hand, and Professors Temperley and Dibble on the other, one marvels at the gulf in the analysis of these latter two and the broadly contemporaneous Routley/Long camp. However, if the musicologists and historians in both the 'pro' and 'anti' camps are allowed to cancel themselves out, we still have recourse to the market. Not only were Dykes's tunes eagerly sought out by nineteenth-century compilers (to the evident gratification of the man and woman in the pew), they remain indispensable to compilers in the twenty-first century. And if, as the preface to *Songs of Praise* has it, Victorian hymnody was 'debased', it follows that 'the stigma must be attached to millions of people of every generation since that time, of all classes and educational backgrounds'.[2] Perhaps where Long, Routley *et al* miss the point most obviously is that they fail to recognise that what they saw as faults in the new school of hymn tune composers, and in Dykes in particular, were evidence of composers exploiting a new found freedom from the rhythmic straitjacket and four-square harmonies of earlier centuries. The fact is that they simply did not understand, and did not try to understand, the contemporary demand for Dykes's tunes, nor the fact that, on many occasions, no tunes but his would suffice. Their *de haut en bas* criticism, their superior twentieth-century understanding of what was acceptable and what was not (or, rather, what should and should not have been countenanced in mid-Victorian hymnody) is ultimately an irrelevance.

Not that Dykes was the only reputable composer in an era when far too many vicarage (and Royal palace) pianos gave birth to a succession of corny cadences and vulgar melodies which served in the office of hymn-tune. Whereas, according to Benson

> the older leaders, Goss, Elvey, S. S. Wesley and others, based their own composition upon the solid psalm tunes…a newer type of hymn tune, based on the secular partsong of the period, came to the fore in thirteen tunes contributed to…Grey's Hymnal…by John B. Dykes...[His] tunes, with Monk's own rich contributions and those of Elvey, Gauntlett, Redhead, Reinagle and others…crystallized the musical tendencies of the time into a definite form of Anglican hymn tune, with restrained melodies and close harmonies

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1 Nicholas Temperley 'The modern English hymn' in Warren Anderson, et al. *Hymn* (*Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13648

2 Temperley, p. 296.

> wonderfully adapted to liturgical worship, and yet appealing to the taste of the people.[1]

Not only were these tunes estimable in their own right, they were largely responsible for the success of the 1861 *A&M* in and beyond the Anglican Church. Writing only four years after Dykes's death, and whilst undoubtedly over-egging the pudding, there is no evidence that Curwen is adopting a maverick position when he asserts that Dykes's tunes

> are good examples of the judicious use of free harmonies. There is not one that does not contain something strikingly modern, and yet the colouring is never overdone, and the progressions are eminently smooth and singable. In later editions of his tunes, a few slight alterations may be observed, and they are all in the direction of the singer's convenience.[2]

Again, whilst the prose takes on a distinctly purple hue, the Church Times in 1898 was evidently expressing the orthodox view when it wrote of his 'sensitive, affectionate nature, sorely tried by poverty, bereavement, and domestic troubles, yet working them in to the perfecting of his own personal life, and allowing them to string tighter the harp of suffering, from which he elicited some of his sweetest melodies.'[3] Many people, it was suggested, would remember Dykes 'as the composer of those popular hymn-tunes whose melodies have wound themselves into the tenderest region of our devotional life, and, what is more, have carried in on the wings of exquisite music, the message of the verses to which they have been so beautifully wedded.'[4] And reinforcing our earlier point that, though the tune may be subservient to the words, it is no less important for all that, the writer continued

> it may be safely said of many…hymns, that they owe their popularity in a great measure to the tunes which Dr Dykes has associated with them, which seem so strangely to bring out the latent beauty of their composition, as fire brings out that which has been written in sympathetic ink… It is a great service rendered to the Church thus to have entered into the devotional life of thousands, with a message of beauty and uplifting joy.[5]

This, surely, must constitute the principal line of rebuttal against Vaughan Williams and his followers: that, in concluding that Dykes's hymn-tunes were intrinsically bad, they did

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1 Benson, L.F. *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (Presbyterian Board of Education: Philadelphia, 1915) p. 521.

2 Curwen, p. 26.

3 *Church Times* 28 January 1898 p. 99.

4 *loc. cit.*

5 *loc. cit.*

not address, still less did they refute, the popular testimony that they did what they set out to do, effectively, attractively and to the overwhelming acclaim and spiritual benefit of those who sang them, from New York to Japan via Zululand and Beirut. As we instanced in Chapter 7, one Scottish cleric, speaking of his own congregation, was clear that 'the tunes which they took to especially were many of those of Mr Dykes.' How Kenneth Long would have deprecated their abject vulgarity.

It is surely more than the swing of the pendulum which resulted, in later years, in a gradual 'reaction against the reaction'; a recognition that the *fin de siècle* rejection of an entire epoch — of its arts, its literature and its values — had been too quick to dismiss elements of real merit and virtue. Probably credit for initiating a critical re-evaluation of Dykes and his music should be accorded to a later occupant of the organ loft at St Oswald's (and a Professor in Dykes's adoptive University), Arthur Hutchings — a scholar whose depth and breadth of musical knowledge and understanding continues to command the greatest respect. Not that Hutchings was in any sense a dewy-eyed Dykes groupie: his dismissal of ALFORD as a 'vulgar old screamer', and his unexceptionable assessment that Dykes's tunes were of uneven quality, show a balanced approach underpinned by reasoned evaluation. Addressing the 'sentimental' label, he wrote

> As for Dykes's tune to "How bright" [BEATITUDO], it belongs to those verses precisely because of the yearning sentiment which foolish critics are quick to despise. Colourless, but clean and dignified tunes are valued because they fit many a "C.M." or "S.M." hymn not often used, not very popular, but needed when this or that red-letter day falls on a Sunday. ("Melcombe" and "Wareham" are hardy stand-bys of this kind.) But memorable hymns have tunes which, whatever their musical value, enable the imagination to recite the words almost without effort of recollection.[1]

Of the hymnal which was to be the making of Dykes (and, to an arguable extent, *vice versa*) Hutchings, in a far from fawning appreciation, wrote

> Only one composer, E.G. Monk[2] contributed to [Hymns *A&M*] a greater number of tunes that have survived. On the whole Monk's tunes maintain a better level, but the few first-rate tunes by Dykes, such as the lovely "St Cross" to "O come and mourn" are more highly personal, more urgent, so to speak, than any by Monk, and even when a "tailing off" (usually through a stagnant bass) in the last line, or a sentimental reach-me-down cadence, mars the quality, a Dykes tune still shows that fitness for its words, that immediate love

[1] Hutchings (n.d.) *op. cit* pp. 23–24.

[2] This is the wrong Monk—he means W.H. Monk.

> of his task which must be called inspiration, whether the composer undertakes a music-drama or a mere tune of four lines.[1]

At about the same time one of Dykes's successors at St Oswald's wrote of his 'acute sense of the spiritual darkness of the age' and of the fact that he 'was almost millenarian in his belief' (hardly surprising for so prolific an author on the subject of the Apocalypse) 'that it was a prelude to something momentous. He therefore used all his energy — in both theology and music — to convert people from being passive spectators to being active participants in the divine drama.'[2] And that, after all, was his purpose. Speaking of hymn-tunes in his 1872 Birmingham lecture,[3] and discountenancing tunes which were effeminate and pretty simply for effect, Dykes wrote that 'The great difficulty is to find music which, while essentially pure, good and religious, is yet pleasing, sympathetic, and intelligible enough *to be really a devotional aid to people in their worship* [my italics]."[4] His views were entirely consistent with those expressed by his sometime target, Christopher Wordsworth, who delivered

> 'an admonition to ourselves, not to introduce into our Churches any Hymns or other compositions to which we cannot listen with spiritual edification; and also to take care that our Music is such as not to drown the sense of the words in the sounds to which they are set, and such as not to draw us off from worshipping God to pleasing and idolizing ourselves.'[5]

He would also have associated himself with Crowest's proposition, that

> 'music…is an accessory which is calculated to afford a sentiment that is quite appropriate to the situation: the grander such music can be, the more, it is said, shall it assist the soul in its act of worship and communion: *the worshipper is asked not to be led away by the heaven-born harmony*, but rather to let it convey to him, or her, the idea of an altar or altars, and of the never-ending praise of those who worship thereat.'[6]

It is difficult to read Dykes's sermons, his letters, and his reviews and essays in the *Ecclesiastic* and come to any conclusion which challenged his personal integrity and his commitment to the truth as he saw it to be. And in his own writings *about* his music, and the comments of the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries, one is led to conclude

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1 *Hutchings* (n.d.), p. 25.

2 Roe, G and Chappell, P 'J.B. Dykes: A Tuneful Tractarian Cleric' *Church Times* 16 January 1976 p.15.

3 The full record of which has yet to be discovered.

4 *Nonconformist Musical Journal* April 1893, p. 58.

5 Wordsworth, Christopher *Miscellanies, Literary and Religious* (Rivingtons: London, 1879) p.232.

6 Crowest, F.J. *Phases of Musical England* (Remington: London, 1881) p.71.

that his motives for composing, and his deployment of the expressive tools at his disposal, reflected a complementary integrity and truth. According to Frank Furedi

> Experience shows that we gain a glimmer of truth in the most unexpected ways. Sometimes we are caught unawares, as truth grants us an all too brief audience. We think and see and dream in order to get close to the truth. And we listen and hear sounds that affirm its presence. Over the centuries, we have learned that, although pursuing truth engages our entire personality, there is more than one way of grasping the truth. As Pascal remarked: 'We know the truth, not only by reason, but also by the heart.'[1]

Dykes's enduring significance can be attributed to all the attributes we have noticed: to his harmonic and metrical innovations and experimentations which, while belonging to a past age still speak intelligibly to this one; to the high level of popular demand, then and now, for his hymn-tunes, which seemed (and seem still) to reach the hearts of worshippers, many of which have become inseparably linked to their words — MELITA, DOMINUS REGIT ME, LUX BENIGNA, NICAEA; for the longevity of a number of really fine tunes when the outpourings of others — even of highly competent contemporaries — have sunk into the bog of oblivion. His status as an innovator was recognised in his own day, with one reviewer noting that

> 'The turning point [between the old and new styles of hymn tune] may perhaps be said to have been the adoption of a habit of harmonising by the drift of the whole phrase rather than note by note. The spirit of the earlier style was to look at each chord as standing on its own merits, or at any rate to look forward in harmonising a psalm tune not further than the next note or two; the habit of the modern tune-composer is to construct in phrases of progressions, to devise analogies between whole lines, and to bind a succession of perhaps half a dozen pulses together by a little "pedal." A freer use of dissonance, and an effort to mould other parts than the highest with a view to symmetry and melody, necessarily followed; and presently, instead of "The Old Hundredth" we got "St Sylvester."[2]

Nor, as we have seen, was Dykes's influence felt only in the UK. In a sermon which was undeniably flamboyant in its language and imagery (he perorates with an extract from *The Lost Chord*), the preacher at a service in Brooklyn spoke of Dykes's music having 'been in America such a power in the development of…a new phase of Christian experience'.

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1 Furedi, Frank *The Truth About Music* Speech delivered at the Conference of Incorporated Society of Musicians in Buxton, England, on 8 April 2008.
http://www.ism.org/advice/article/is_there_a_place_for_truth_in_music

2 *Musical Standard* 29 January 1876, p. 68.

> 'There are hymns in our English tongue which, through the consecrated influence of Dykes' genius, have been lifted from the realm of poetry into the realm of angelic personality, so that they are to us as friends with voices and living hearts and blessed sympathies…Think of the benediction Dykes has been breathing on tens of thousands of lives through the spirit of the music in which he clothed these hymns and others like them even through the twenty years in which his body has been sleeping in the peaceful burial place of St Oswald.'[1]

Of the central charge — that Dykes's music was 'sentimental' — we must conclude that it was, deliberately and triumphantly so. It was evidently Dykes's purpose that his hymn-tunes should subliminally give wings to the prayer articulated in the words, and indeed complement the other sentimental aids to personal devotion in church noted in Chapter 9. Hadden made the point succinctly. Whereas sentimental hymns (both the words and the music) may not greatly impact on the *mind* of those who sing them they may nevertheless experience something akin to a 'genuine religious emotion which more refined people get from other sources…[Most] of our congregations…look to a hymn for the expression of religious emotion and desire; and if a certain hymn puts those people into a certain frame of mind suitable to the occasion…we are justified in using it, whether it is charged with sentiment or not.'[2] And if Dykes viewed sentiment as a legitimate means of drawing out and expressing the truth of the hymn, it was entirely appropriate that this should be achieved by recourse to bold, new (in the context of Church worship) melodies 'which were attractive for their yearning contours and sequential phrases,' and harmonies with 'strong bass lines, suspensions, striking modulations, deft tonal recoveries and variation structures in microcosm' all of which served to 'raise his art form to a higher level.'[3] In fact, all those devices which so riled his detractors.

> 'Upon [Dykes] perhaps, more than upon any other who could be named, turned the hinges of the door which opens from the English hymn music of the last generation to the style which has succeeded it…[The old regime, in which tunes were indiscriminately shared by hymns of the same metre] has given way to settings in which the embodiment of special sentiment is specially and successfully studied. Dykes was among the first and the last of the composers of the later style; and while some of his tunes are weak, others are strong enough to be immortal.'[4]

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1 Hall, C.C., reported in *The Musical Herald* (1 May, 1896) p. 153.

2 Hadden, J.C 'Passing Notes' in *The Nonconformist Musical Journal* March 1902, p. 36.

3 Dibble, J. C. (2006) 'Musical trends and the western church: A collision of the 'ancient' and 'modern'.', in World Christianities, c.1815-c.1914. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.121-135. Cambridge history of Christianity. (8).

4 *Musical Standard* 29 January 1876, p. 68.

Here is the argument against which the noisy and insistent reproaches of his critics have not been able to prevail: Dykes's hymn-tunes were seen at the time as representing a new and highly desirable departure from the model dating from Tate and Brady. As we conceded in the Introduction, not every tune was a success. Some are best ignored. (Many of the less successful hymn-tunes only emerged from his manuscript book when his brother published the collected edition in 1902, and it is harsh to subject to detailed scrutiny drafts and musical doodlings which perhaps Dykes himself never intended to be heard beyond the walls of the Vicarage study.) Few would defend the more extravagant claims of Dykes's skill as a composer as were made during his lifetime, but for every Mozart there have ever been a hundred Salieris. His larger anthems and services are, at the very least, competent and, in some of their moments, inspired. His theological writings display a keen intellect and a sure grasp of his chosen subjects: if he sometimes comes across as being theologically dogmatic to the point of being positively blinkered it must be conceded that this character defect at least made him orthodox in his time and place. And the tributes paid to him, not just at the time of his death but years afterwards suggest that the saintly picture painted by Fanny and Lucy cannot have been so very wide of the mark.

Arthur Hutchings, writing in the middle of the twentieth century, noted that prejudice can be effaced by the passage of time, allowing us 'to decide…which music…most spontaneously expresses the spirit and emotions of its age, its community and the personality of its composer'. That being so, he predicted that, within fifty years, church musicians would recognise that Dykes's tunes are overwhelmingly 'sincere and highly original, that they are vulgar, as clergymen are vulgar, only when they wax theatrical, as in "Peace, perfect peace"[1] or "Fierce raged the tempest," and that both their melodic vigour and their sentimentality are the unaffected expression of a great and good soul.'[2]

Perhaps, in summing up Dykes the man, the priest and pastor, the theologian and teacher, the composer, organist and conductor, the wit, the scholar and the Anglo-Catholic ritualist, we might borrow words originally written to sum up another: 'He climbs no heights. He sounds no depths…His greatness is the greatness of goodness. He is a fervent preacher, not a bard.'[3]

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1 Does Hutchings perhaps mean PAX DEI?

2 Hutchings (1950) p. 9.

3 Julian, J., p. 1183, speaking of Augustus Toplady.

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Durham University

Appendix A (Part 1)

to The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.: A Critical Re-Appraisal

Ph.D. Thesis by Graham Cory

Musical Compositions

by John Bacchus Dykes

Hymns, Litanies and The Reproaches

Musical Compositions

by John Bacchus Dykes

Hymns, Litanies and The Reproaches

Editorial Practice

Index

Arabic numerals in brackets indicate different tunes with the same name:
St Oswald (1), St Oswald (2) etc.

Roman numerals in brackets indicate revisions of the same tune:
Ascension (i), Ascension (ii) etc.

■ is shorthand for *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (Clowes: London, 1904)

Where the tune was first published without a name, it is identified here by the first line of the first verse, in inverted commas. (It should be borne in mind that Dykes did not always provide the name appended to his tunes in different hymnals, nor could he always remember what names he had given to particular tunes.)

Non-original names by which a tune sometimes became known are given, in italics and without page numbers, in their alphabetical place.

Where a tune has one or more alternative names, these are shown, indented, underneath each entry. Where, in a list of alternative names, an entry is shown in **bold** (with a page number), it indicates the name under which the tune was originally published.

Where hymn-tunes were significantly revised before being republished under a different name the tunes are here reproduced under each name. Where revisions are slight these are shown in footnotes to the original version.

This Appendix contains 36 hymn-tunes (original compositions or arrangements) which were not included in the 1902 Novello edition.

Performance marks

Without access to the original manuscripts we cannot be certain which dynamics, tempi and performance instructions are Dykes's and which are editorial: the tunes in this Appendix show the dynamics, tempi etc. as shown in the first printed edition. (Note that HA&M tended to print dynamics with the text of each verse, rather than in the music).

Likewise we cannot be certain, in respect of any particular tune:

i. whether Dykes used a minim or a crotchet beat. In this Appendix a minim beat has usually been used;

ii. whether the 'Amens' are Dykes's or the hymnal editor's; and

iii. who was responsible for the barlines (and double barlines) as shown in the score.

Page	Name of tune in first published edition	First line in original setting	Metre
1	Adeste Fidelis (arr.)	O come, all ye faithful	Irregular
2	Adoro Te Devote	Devoutly I adore Thee	11.11.11.11.11.14
3	Advent (arr.)	Great God, what do I see and hear?	8787887
4	Ad Vesperum	God the Father, God the Son	775D
	Agnus Dei		
	Behold the Lamb of God [25], *Ecce Agnus, St John*		
5	Alford	Ten thousand times ten thousand	7686D
	Alleluia		
	The Strife is O'er [392]		
6	'Alleluia, Now all the bells'	Now all the bells are ringing	7676D
	Easter Day		
7	'Alleluia! Sing to Jesus'	Alleluia! Sing to Jesus	8787D
8	All Hallows	Spouse of Christ, for Him contending	8787
9	Almsgiving	O Lord of heaven, and earth and sea	8884
	Elliott		
	Amor Fidelis		
	'Faithful in Thy Love' [105] '*Framer of the Light*', *Lux Matutina*		
10	Amplius	Jesu, my Lord, my God, my All	88.88.88
11	'Ancient' (arr.)	To Thee, O God, our praise belongs	LM
12	Anningsley	O God Most High! Creator! King!	887887
13	Ardwick	Oh! Come to the merciful Saviour	12.11.12.11
14	Arundel	Lord have mercy, and remove us	8787
15	Ascension (i)	Hail the day that sees Him rise	7777
16	Ascension (ii)	Hail the day that sees Him rise	7777
17	'At God's right hand'	At God's right hand, in Heav'n above	868686
	Judgment Day		
	'At thy feet, O Christ we lay'. (Mentioned in Fowler as existing in ms., omitted from the 1902 Novello edition, currently lost)		
18	Awake, Awake	Awake! awake, put on Thy strength	CMD
	Exsurge		
19	'Baby brother, baby brother'	Baby brother, baby brother	8787
20	Bamborough	Hail, Thou once despisèd Jesus	8787D
21	Barrington	When gathering clouds around I view	88.88.88

22 .....Basle (arr.) .....Glory and praise, to Thee, Redeemer Blest..... 10.10.10.10

23 .....Beatitudo.....How bright these glorious spirits shine.....CM

24 .....Beatus Israel.....None is like Jeshurun's God 76767776

25 ..... 'Behold, the Lamb of God' .....Behold, the Lamb of God..... 6664.884
Agnus Dei, Ecce Agnus, St John

26 .....Bethany .....I would not live alway; I ask not to stay 11.11.11.11
Judea

Bethlehem New
Bethlehem [27], *Herald Angels*

27 .....Bethlehem .....Hark! the herald angels sing..... 7777D + refrain
Bethlehem New, Herald Angels

29 .....Blairgowrie .....The voice that breathed o'er Eden 7676D
Eden, Hartford

30 .....Blessed Trinity.....Glory to the Father give 7777

Bone Pastor
Faith (1) [103], *Dulcis Memoria, Fides, St Faith*

31 .....Bosnia .....Dadseiniwn orfoleddus glod 86558

'*Bound upon the accursed tree*'
Ecce Homo [84]

32 ..... 'Bread of heaven' .....Bread of heaven, on Thee we feed..... 777777

33 .....Brighton .....O Zion, when we think of thee..... LM

34 .....Burton Agnes .....There is a name I love to hear .....CM

35 .....Butterby .....When our heads are bowed with woe 7777
Submission

Calm
There is a calm [377], *Ilkley*

Calvary
Hark! the voice of love [132], *It is finished*

36 .....Canaan .....[Not set to any specific hymn] .....CM

37 .....Cantate Domino .....Sing to the Lord a joyful song..... DLM

38 .....Catford .....Thou art the Everlasting Word..... 868688

Chancel
Hark, the sound [130], *Chancel, Illuminator, Sanctuary* (two variants)

39 .....Charitas (i) .....Lord of Glory, who has bought us 8787D
Caritas

40 ..... Charitas (ii) ..... Lord of Glory, who has bought us..... 8787D
Caritas

41 ..... 'Children of the Heavenly King'..... Children of the heavenly king..... 7777
Homeward

Children's Friend
'There's a friend' [389]

Child's Litany
'**Heavenly Father from Thy throne**' [135], *Deliverance*

42 ..... Christmas Song ..... Once again, O blessèd time 7676D
'*Once again, O blessèd time*'

44 ..... Christus Consolator..... Art thou weary, art thou languid?..... 8583

45 ..... Cilicia..... O God of Life, whose Power Divine..... 888

46 ..... Cœna Domini ..... Of that glorious Body broken..... 878787

47 ..... Come Labour On..... Come labour on, who dares stand idle 4.10.10.10.4

'*Come, Our Father's Voice*'
Our Father's Voice [266]

48 ..... Come Unto Me..... Come unto Me, ye weary 7676D

49 ..... Commendatio ..... And now, belovèd Lord, Thy soul resigning..... 11.10.11.10

50 ..... Confirmation Part 1..... Father of all, in Whom we live..... DLM

51 ..... Confirmation Part 2..... O God, in Whose all-searching eye..... DLM

52 ..... Consecration..... Lord, we are Thine: in Thee we live ..... DLM

53 ..... Consent..... Just as I am—without one plea..... 8886
St Barnabas (2)*, Derry* (with variations)

54 ..... Corde Natus..... Of the Father's love begotten 8787877

Coronation
Laud [189]

Cradle Hymn
Baby Brother [19]

55 ..... Credo Domine ..... My sins have taken such a hold on me..... 10.10.10.D

56 ..... Crepusculum ..... The radiant morn hath passed away 8884

57 ..... Croxdale..... When on creation's morn ..... SM

58 ..... Da Pacem ..... Lord! thou didst arise and say 7777D

59 ..... Defensor..... O Thou, the contrite sinner's friend 8886

Deliverance
'Heavenly Father, from thy throne' [135] *Litany* (Irreg.), based on 'Mariners'

60 ..... Derry ..... Forsaken once, and thrice denied 8886

Consent (with differences), *St Barnabas* (2) (with differences)

61 ..... Deus Noster Refugiam ..... Now God be with us, for the night is closing 11.11.11.5

62 ..... Dies Dominica ..... O day of rest and gladness 7676D

63 ..... Dies Iræ (1) ..... Day of Wrath! O day of mourning ..... Irregular

66 ..... Dies Iræ (2) (i) ..... Day of Wrath! O day of mourning ..... Irregular

67 ..... Dies Iræ (2) (ii) ..... Day of Wrath! O day of mourning ..... Irregular

70 ..... Dies Iræ (3) ..... Day of Wrath! O day of mourning ..... Irregular

73 ..... Dies Tenebrosa ..... O dark and dreary day 666D

74 ..... Dismissal ..... Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing 878747

75 ..... Domine, Dirige Me ..... Father, Thy way, not mine 6466

76 ..... Dominus, Regit Me (i) ..... The King of Love my shepherd is 8787

77 ..... Dominus, Regit Me (ii) ■ ..... The King of Love my shepherd is 8787

Dulcis Memoria

Faith (1) [103], *Bone Pastor, Fides, St Faith*

Dunelm

St Barnabas (2) [324], *St Philip*

78 ..... Dunholme ..... The tide of time is rolling on ..... LM

79 ..... Durham ..... When gathering clouds around I view 8886

Durham

St Agnes [312]

Durham

St Edmund [342], *Edmund, Lent*

80 ..... Dux Cœlestis ..... When on my day of life the night is falling 11.10.11.6

81 ..... Dykes ..... The strain upraise of joy and praise ..... Irregular

'*The strain upraise*'

Easter

Resurrection (1) [286]

82 ..... Easter Chant ..... Light's glitt'ring morn bedecks the sky ..... LM

Easter Day

'Alleluia! Now all the bells' [6]

83 ..... Eastergate ..... We sing His love, Who once was slain 888888

Ecce Agnus

'Behold, the Lamb of God' [25], *Agnus Dei, St John*

84 ..... Ecce Homo ..... Bound upon the accursèd tree 77.77.77.77.77

85 ..... Ecce Panis ..... Lo! the angels' food is given ..... Irregular

87 ..... Ecce Signum ..... Forward! be our watchword ..... Irregular

88 ..... Ecce Victor ..... The Son of God goes forth to war ..... DCM

Eden
Blairgowrie [29], *Hartford*

Edmund
St Edmund [342], *Durham, Lent*

89 ..... Eleison ..... Lord, in this Thy mercy's day 777

90 ..... Eleutheria ..... Hail to the Lord's anointed 7676D

Elliott
Almsgiving [9]

91 ..... Elvet ..... Spirit of Wisdom, guide thine own ..... CM

Endel
'For all the saints' (1) [111]

Epiphany
'Now to Bethlehem Haste We' [247]

92 ..... Ere I sleep ..... Ere I sleep, for ev'ry favour 8336

93 ..... Esca Viatorum (i) ..... O food that weary pilgrims love 886.886

94 ..... Esca Viatorum (ii) ..... O food that weary pilgrims love 886.886

95 ..... Etiam et Mihi ..... Lord, I hear of showers of blessing 87873

96 ..... Eucharist ..... Lord, when before Thy throne we meet 8686.88

97 ..... Eucharistica ..... O Holy Jesu, Prince of Peace! 8 10.10.10.8 6

98 ..... Eucharisticon ..... Again before Thine Altar, Lord ..... DCM

Evening Hymn
'I have seen the setting sun' [159]

99 ..... Evening Hymn ..... God, Who madest earth and heaven 84848884

100 ..... Evermore ..... Of the Father's love begotten 8787877

101 ..... 'Every morning the red sun' .. Every morning the red sun 757577

102 ..... Exspecto ..... O Jesu, Thou art standing 7676D

Exsurge
Awake, Awake [18]

103 ..... Faith (1) ..... The Lord Himself, the mighty Lord ..... CM
Bone Pastor, Dulcis Memoria, Fides, St Faith

104 ..... Faith (2) ..... Rock of Ages, cleft for me 777777
Rock of Ages, Gethsemane, Trust

105 ..... 'Faithful in Thy Love' .....Faithful in Thy love 55.10.D
Amor Fidelis, '*Framer of the Light*'*, Lux Matutina*

106 .....Farne .....O Lord, Thy heavenly grace impart 88886

107 .....Fatherland .....Jesu, still lead on 558855

Ferrier
'**Jesus, Holy, Undefiled'** [182]

108 .....Fiat Lux.....Thou, Whose Almighty Word..... 664.6664

Fides
Faith (1) [103], *Bone Pastor, Dulcis Memoria, St Faith*

109 .....Finchale.....Jesu! Redeemer of the world! ..... LM

110 .....First Fruits.....God the Father, Whose creation..... 87.87.87

111 ..... 'For all the saints' (1) (i).....For all the saints, who from their labours rest 10 10 10 4
Endel

112 ..... 'For all the saints' (1) (ii).....For all the saints, who from their labours rest..... 10 10 10 4

113 ..... 'For all the saints' (2) .....For all the saints, who from their labours rest..... 10 10 10 4

114 ..... 'From far away we come' .....From far away we come to you..... Irregular

116 .....Gerontius.....Praise to the holiest in the height ..... CM

117 .....Gethsemane.....Rock of Ages, cleft for me 77.77.77

118 .....Glastonbury.....[Set to no specific text] 77.77.77

119 .....Glebe Field.....Joy, because the circling year 7777

120 .....Gloria (1) .....Glory to God in the Highest is ringing..... 11.10.11.10

121 .....Gloria (2) .....Glory to God in the Highest is ringing..... 11.10.11.10

122 .....God's Acre.....Beneath the Church's hallow'd shade..... DLM

123 .....God's House .....O Thou Who sitt'st enthron'd above..... 14.14.14.14.14.14

'*God the Father, from Thy Throne*'
Litany (Irregular) [205], *Litany for the Rogation Days*

124 ..... 'God, that madest earth'.....God, that madest earth and heaven 84848884
Vespers

125 .....Grace After meals .....For this and countless mercies ..... Irregular

126 .....Grace Before meals (i).....O thou by whom all creatures live ..... Irregular

127 .....Grace Before meals (ii).....O thou by whom all creatures live ..... Irregular

128 .....Gratias Agimus .....O sing to the Lord with a psalm..... 12.11.12.11

Gratitude
Almsgiving [9], *Elliott*

'Hail, Gladdening Light'
O Lumen Hilare [255]

130 ..... 'Hark, the sound' (i) ..... Hark, the sound of holy voices 8787D
Chancel, Sanctuary (two variants), *Illuminator*

131 ..... 'Hark, the sound' (ii) ..... Hark, the sound of holy voices 8787D

132 ..... 'Hark! The voice of Love' ..... Hark! the voice of love and mercy 878747
Calvary

Hartford
Blairgowrie [29], *Eden*

133 ..... Hawerby ..... Wings! to urge me onward 66666676

134 ..... 'Head of Thy Church' ..... Head of Thy Church triumphant! 77447

Heaven
'Oh come dear child' [251], *Via Bona*

135 ..... 'Heavenly Father, from thy throne' .... Heav'nly Father, from Thy Throne ..... Irregular
Child's Litany, Deliverance, Mariners (with variations)

Heavenly Song, The
'It came upon a midnight clear' [175], *Prince of Peace, Sears*

136 ..... Herald ..... Herald, in the wilderness 7575

Herald Angels
Bethlehem [27], *Bethlehem New*

137 ..... Hodnet ..... Lord of mercy, Lord of might 7775

138 ..... Hollingside ..... Jesu, lover of my soul 7777D

139 ..... 'Holy Ghost, come down' ..... Holy Ghost, come down upon Thy Children 10.7979797
Paraclete

140 ..... 'Holy is the seed time' ..... Holy is the seed time 6.5.6.5D
Whorlton

141 ..... 'Holy Jesus! We adore thee' .. Holy Jesus! we adore thee 8787

'Holy of Holies' (Mentioned in Pazdírek, F (ed.) *The Universal Handbook of Musical Literature*. Vol. 6 (Augener: London, n.d.), currently lost.)

'*Holy Spirt, Blessed Dove*'
Shortened version of '**Heavenly Father from Thy Throne**' [135]

142 ..... Home ..... The day is past and gone ..... SM

Homeward
'Children of the Heavenly King' [41]

143 ..... Hora Novissima ..... Day draws to evening ..... Irregular

150 ..... Horbury (i) ..... Nearer, my God, to Thee 6464.664

151 .....Horbury (ii) ■ .....Nearer, my God, to Thee..... 6464.664

152 .....Hosanna .....Hosanna to the Living Lord 88.88.47

153 ..... 'Hosanna We Sing' .....Hosanna we sing like the children dear ..... Irregular
Hosanna

154 .....Hosti Herodes (arr.) .....In vain doth Herod rage and fear ..... LM

155 ..... 'How bright the sun shines' ....How bright the sun shines overhead ..... LM

156 ..... 'How glorious is our God' .....How glorious is our God most high 8884D

157 ..... 'How many things I read' .....How many things I read and hear ..... LM

158 ..... 'I have a Christian name' .....I have a Christian name..... 6766

159 ..... 'I have seen the setting sun' ....I have seen the setting sun..... 77887777
Evening Hymn

160 .....Ilkley (i) .....Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear..... LM
Published, with variations, as '***There is a Calm***' [377]

161 .....Ilkley (ii) .....Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear..... LM

162 .....Illumination.....Awake! Awake! The Apostle cries 86.86.88

Illuminator
'Hark the sound' [129]

163 .....In Memoriam MHD .....Tender Shepherd, Thou hast stilled..... 787877

164 .....Innocents.....A hymn for martyrs sweetly sing ..... DLM

165 .....In Nomine Domini .....Onward in God's Name we wend 77777
'*Onward in God's Name*'

166 .....In Tenebris Lumen.....Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go 88.88.88

167 .....Intercession (arr.) (i) .....Almighty God, Whose only Son ..... LM

168 .....Intercession (arr.) (ii) .....Almighty God, Whose only Son ..... LM

169 .....In Terra Pax .....Infant of days, yet Lord of Life..... Irregular

173 ..... 'In Thy name, O God, assembling'..... In Thy name, O Lord [*sic*], assembling..... 8788.11

174 .....Irene .....Rest in the Lord–from harps above..... 8684

175 ..... 'It came upon a midnight clear' ..... It came upon a midnight clear ..... DCM
Prince of Peace, Sears, The Heavenly Song

It Is Finished
'Hark the voice of love' [132], *Calvary*

176 .....Jam Lucis (arr.) .....God of our life, to Thee we call ..... LM

177 .....Jerusalem .....Jerusalem the golden..... 7676

178 .....Jesmond .....My God, I am Thine, what a comfort divine 11.12.11.12

179 ..... ‘Jesu, Gentlest Saviour’ ..... Jesu, gentlest Saviour, Thou art in us now 6565

180 ..... Jesu Magister Bone ..... O Jesus I have promised 7676D

181 ..... ‘Jesu, Meek and Lowly’ ..... Jesu, meek and lowly 6666

182 ..... ‘Jesus, Holy, Undefiled’ ..... Jesus, Holy, Undefiled 7777

Ferrier

Jesus, Our Lord

‘Where is the Holy Jesus’ [414], *Petition*

183 ..... Jesus Victor ..... Christ is gone up with a joyful sound 9897

184 ..... Jubilee ..... Gladsome year of Jubilee 7777777777

Judea

Bethany [26]

Judgment Day

‘**At God’s right hand**’ [17]

187 ..... ‘Just as I am’ ..... Just as I am, without one plea 8886

188 ..... Keble ..... Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear ..... LM

Montgomery

189 ..... Laud ..... All hail the power of Jesu’s name ..... CM

Coronation

190 ..... Laudate ..... Let us with a gladsome mind 7777

191 ..... Lent (ii) ..... Saviour, when in dust to Thee 7777D

St Edmund (with differences) [342], *Durham, Edmund*

192 ..... Lent (iv) ..... Saviour, when in dust to Thee 7777D

St Edmund (with differences) [342], *Durham, Edmund*

193 ..... Lindisfarne (i) ..... Jesus lives! No longer now 78.78.4

194 ..... Lindisfarne (ii) ..... Jesus lives! No longer now 78.78.4

195 ..... Lindisfarne (iii) ..... Jesus lives! No longer now 78.78.4

196 ..... Lindisfarne (iv) ..... Jesus lives! No longer now 78.78.4

Litany

Litany (Irregular) [205], *Litany for the Rogation Days*

197 ..... Litany for Advent ..... Father eternal, God most high ..... Irregular

201 ..... Litany for Children (i) ..... God the Father, God the Son 7776 (7777)

202 ..... Litany for Children (ii) ■ ..... God the Father, God the Son 7776 (7777)

203 ..... Litany in any calamity (1) ..... O God the Father, grant us peace in all our woe ..... Irregular

204 ..... Litany in any calamity (2) ..... O God the Father, grant us peace in all our woe ..... Irregular

205 ..... Litany (Irregular) ..... God the Father, from Thy throne ..... Irregular

207 .....Litany of Penitence (1) .....Father, Whose love we have wronged ..... Irregular

208 .....Litany of Penitence (2) .....O God the Father, King and Lord ..... Irregular

213 .....Lit. of the Blessed Sacrament .....God the Father, God the Word..... Irregular

216 .....Litany of the Incarnate Word.....God the Father, God the Son..... 7777

217 .....Litany of the Passion .....God the Father, God the Son.....7776 (7777)

218 .....Litany of the Resurrection .....God the Father, God the Son..... 7776

219 .....Llansannan (arr.).....Pan bo Sinai'n gwisgo'I gwmmwl..... 8787D

220 ..... 'Lord of Life' .....Lord of Life, prophetic spirit..... 15.15.15

221 .....Lux Benigna.....Lead, kindly light 10.4.10.4.10.4.6
First published, with differences, as **St Oswald** [359]

Lux Matutina
'**Faithful in Thy love**' [105], *Amor Fidelis, Framer of the light*

222 .....Lux Perpetua.....Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear ..... LM

223 .....Lux Vera .....O brightness of the Immortal Father's Face..... 10 6 10 6

Magdala
St Cuthbert [338]

Magdalena
Magdalene [224], *St Mary Magdalene*

224 .....Magdalene (1) .....In the hour of trial 65.65D
[*St*] *Mary Magdalene, Magdalena*

225 .....Magdalene (2).....O maker of the world, give ear ..... LM

226 .....Malton.....Lord of my life! Whose tender care 868688

227 .....Manchester (arr.).....How blest are they whose hearts are pure..... CM

228 .....Mare Rubrum.....The foe behind, the deep before..... Irregular

231 .....Mariæ Filius .....When our heads are bowed with woe 7777

232 .....Mariners.....Holy Spirit, Blessed Dove..... 7777

233 .....Martyrdom (arr.) (i) .....As pants the hart for cooling streams..... CM

234 .....Martyrdom (arr.) (ii) .....As pants the hart for cooling streams..... CM

235 .....Martyrdom (arr.) (iii).....As pants the hart for cooling streams..... CM

Mary Magdalene
Magdalene [224], *St Mary Magdalene*

236 .....Mecklenburg (arr.).....[Set to no specific words]..... 8787

237 .....Melita (i) .....Eternal Father, strong to save..... 88.88.88

238 .....Melita (ii) ■.....Eternal Father, strong to save..... 88.88.88

239 ..... Mercy-seat ..... Holy of Holies, awful name 86.86.88

240 ..... Miles Lane (arr.) ..... All hail the power of Jesu's name ..... CM

241 ..... Milman ..... Lord, we raise our cry to Thee 77.78.88

242 ..... Mizpah ..... Come, let us anew our journey pursue 555.11.D

Monkland
Nicæa [245]

Montgomery
Keble [188]

243 ..... Morlaix ..... To thee, O dear, dear country 7676D

244 ..... Munus Purum ..... And now, O Father, mindful of the love ... 10.10.10.10.10.10.

245 ..... Nicæa ..... Holy, holy, holy! 11.12.12.10
Monkland

'*Now my soul, thy voice*'
Promo Vocem [280]

247 ..... 'Now to Bethlehem' ..... Now to Bethlehem haste we 6565
Epiphany

248 ..... Oakham Grace, No.1, The..... Benedic Domine nos ..... Irregular

249 ..... Oakham Grace, No.2, The..... Infunde quae sumus ..... Irregular

251 ..... 'Oh come, dear child' ..... O come, dear child, along with me ..... LM
Via Bona, Heaven

252 ..... 'Oh! What a blessèd child' ..... Oh, what a blessèd child am I 7777

'O Lord, to whom the spirits live' (Mentioned in Fowler as existing in ms., currently lost.)

253 ..... Olivet (i) ..... Thou art gone up on high ..... DSM

254 ..... Olivet (ii) ..... Thou art gone up on high ..... DSM

255 ..... O Lumen Hilare ..... Hail, gladd'ning light ..... Irregular

258 ..... O Lux Beata (arr.) ..... O Trinity, most Blessèd Light ..... Irregular

'*Once again, O blessèd time*'
Christmas Song [42]

259 ..... 'One day, dear children' ..... One day, dear children, you must die ..... LM

260 ..... 'On the birthday of the Lord' . On the birthday of the Lord ..... 7777 + refrain

'*Onward in God's name*'
In Nomine Domini [165]

'O Paradise' in F (Mentioned in Fowler as existing in ms., currently lost)

261 ..... O Quanta Qualia (arr.) ..... O what their joy and their glory must be 10.10.10.10

262 ..... Oriens Ex Alto ..... Dayspring of Eternity! 787873

263 .....O Salutaris Hostia .....O Saving Victim, opening wide 88888

264 .....Oswestry (i) .....Great and glorious Father, humbly we adore 12.11.12.11

265 .....Oswestry (ii) .....Great and glorious Father, humbly we adore 12.11.12.11

266 .....Our Father's Voice .....Come! our Father's voice is calling 8787

267 .....Panis Vivus .....Jesu, to Thy table led 777

Paraclete
'Holy Ghost, come down' [139]

268 .....Paradise (i) .....O Paradise, O Paradise 8686.6666

269 .....Paradise (ii) .....O Paradise, O Paradise 8686.6666

270 .....Parate Viam .....O Lord Jesu, at Thy coming 8787D

271 .....Pascha .....Welcome, happy morning! ..... five 11s

272 .....Passio .....Go to dark Gethsemane 777777

273 .....Passiontide .....O sinner, lift the eye of faith 8787887

274 .....Patria .....To Thee our God we fly 777788

275 .....Pax .....O God of Love, O King of peace ..... LM

276 .....Pax Dei (i) .....Saviour, again to Thy dear name we raise 10.10.10.10

277 .....Pax Dei (ii) ■ .....Saviour, again to Thy dear name we raise 10.10.10.10

278 .....Pax Electis .....What care the Saints of God 884884

Petition
'**Where is the holy Jesus?**' [414]

279 .....Pittington .....Where Angelic Hosts adore Thee 8787

280 .....Promo Vocem .....Now, my soul, thy voice upraising 878787

Prince of Peace
'It came upon a midnight clear' [175], *Sears*

281 .....Quadragesima .....O merciful Creator, hear ..... LM

282 .....Quid Retribuam .....Thy life was given for me 6666D
Durham

283 .....Requies .....Tender Shepherd, Thou hast stilled 787877

284 .....Requiescat .....Now the labourer's task is o'er 7777.88

285 .....Resurrectio .....On the resurrection morning 8783

286 .....Resurrection (1) .....The wounds, which Jesus once endur'd ..... Irregular
Stigmata

287 .....Resurrection (2) .....Angels, roll the rock away! 777787
Easter

288 ..... ‘Reverently we worship Thee’ Reverently we worship Thee 777777
Trinity

289 ..... Rex Splendens ..... Bright was Thy throne above 66868747

290 ..... Rivaulx (i) ..... Father of heaven, whose love profound ..... LM

291 ..... Rivaulx (ii) ..... Father of heaven, whose love profound ..... LM

292 ..... Rock of Ages ..... Rock of Ages, cleft for me 77.77.77
Gethsemane

293 ..... Rutland ..... Lord, in this Thy mercy’s day 777

294 ..... Sabbath Day, The ..... The Sabbath-day has reach’d its close 8886

295 ..... Salvator et Amicus ..... Rest of the weary, Joy of the sad 9999

296 ..... Salvete Flores ..... Sweet flowerets of the martyr band ..... LM

297 ..... Salvum Me Fac ..... Low at Thy feet I lie, O blessed Saviour mine 6666D

298 ..... Sancte Spiritus ..... Holy Spirit, Lord of light 777777

299 ..... Sancti Venite ..... Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord 10 10

300 ..... Sanctuary (iii) ..... Hark! The sound of holy voices 8787D
‘**Hark the sound**’ (two variants) [130], *Chancel, Illuminator*

301 ..... Sanctuary (iv) ..... Hallelujah, Hallelujah! hearts to heaven 8787D

302 ..... Saxham (i) ..... Our Lord the path of suff’ring trod 8884

303 ..... Saxham (ii) ..... Our Lord the path of suff’ring trod 8884

Sears
‘It came upon a midnight clear’ [175], *Prince of Peace*

304 ..... Semper Cum Domino ..... ‘For ever!’ — beatific word 8878887

305 ..... Shades of Night ..... Dark shades of night, above, below, around us ..... Irregular

306 ..... Shoreham ..... My God my Father! while I stray 8884

307 ..... ‘Sleep, Holy Babe’ ..... Sleep, holy Babe, upon Thy mother’s breast 10.886

308 ..... Slingsby ..... Father! I know that all my life 868686
St Bede (with variations)

309 ..... Soldiers of the Cross ..... Jesus Christ, the glorious Captain 8787D

310 ..... Southfleet ..... Lowly and solemn be Thy children’s cry 664664

311 ..... St Aelred ..... Fierce raged the tempest o’er the deep 8883

312 ..... St Agnes ..... Jesus, the very thought of Thee ..... CM

313 ..... St Aidan (arr.) ..... [Set to no specific text] 888

314 ..... St Alban (arr.) ..... Onward, Christian soldiers ..... 65.65.65.65+ refrain

315 ..... St Alphege ..... Lo! Christ stands at His Martyr's side 8989
St Chrysostom

St Ambrose
St Bernard [328], *St Oswald, Sychar*

316 ..... St Anatolius (i) ..... The day is past and over 767688

317 ..... St Anatolius (ii) ..... The day is past and over 767688

318 ..... St Anatolius (iii) ..... The day is past and over 767688

319 ..... St Andrew ..... Lo! He comes with clouds descending 87.87.47

320 ..... St Andrew of Crete ..... Christian, dost thou see them 6565.6565

321 ..... St Barnabas (1)(i) ..... Creator! Spirit! Lord of Grace! ..... LM

322 ..... St Barnabas (1)(ii) ..... Creator! Spirit! Lord of Grace! ..... LM

323 ..... St Barnabas (1)(iii) ..... Creator! Spirit! Lord of Grace! ..... LM

324 ..... St Barnabas (2) ..... O let him whose sorrow no relief can find 6565
Dunelm, St Philip

325 ..... St Barnabas (3) ..... Just as I am, without one plea 8886
Consent (with variations) [53], *Derry* (with variations)

326 ..... St Bede ..... Father, I know that all my life 8686886
Slingsby (with variations) [308]

327 ..... St Bees ..... Jesus! Name of wondrous love! 7777
St Oswald (with variations)

328 ..... St Bernard (i) ..... Praise the Lord, ye heavens adore Him 8787
St Ambrose, St Oswald, Sychar

329 ..... St Bernard (ii) ■ ..... May the Grace of Christ our Saviour 8787

330 ..... St Cecilia ..... Jerusalem, thou City blest! 888888

331 ..... St Chad (1) ..... [Set to no specific text] 878787
St Wulstan (with some differences), *St Mingo*

332 ..... St Chad (2) (arr.) ..... Ruler of the Hosts of Light 7777

333 ..... St Christopher ..... Sing, O my tongue, devoutly sing 888888

St Chrysostom
St Alphege [315]

334 ..... St Columba (arr.) ..... Lamb of God! for sinners slain 7777

335 ..... St Constantine ..... Hosanna to the Living Lord 88887

336 ..... St Cross ..... O come and mourn with me awhile ..... LM
Golgotha

337 ..... St Cuthbert (1) (arr.)..... [Set to no specific text]..... 777777

338 ..... St Cuthbert (2)..... Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed..... 8684
Magdala

339 ..... St Drostane..... Ride on! ride on in majesty!..... LM

340 ..... St Dunstan (arr)..... Before the ending of the day ..... LM

341 ..... St Editha..... Inspirer and Hearer of prayer ..... LM

342 ..... St Edmund (i)..... Saviour, when in dust to Thee..... 7777D
Lent (with variations), *Edmund, Durham*

343 ..... St Edmund (iii)..... Saviour, when in dust to Thee..... 7777D

344 ..... St Ephrem..... Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear..... LM

345 ..... St Ethelreda..... Blessèd city, heavenly Salem 878787

346 ..... St Godric ..... Lord of the worlds above 66.66.88

347 ..... St Helen..... O Jesu! God and Man..... 6868

348 ..... St Hilary ..... Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings 76.76.77.76

St John
'Behold, the Lamb of God' [25], *Ecce Agnus*

349 ..... St Joseph ..... From heaven to earth glad tidings I unfold ..... Irregular

350 ..... St Lawrence..... The judgment o'er, see now, beneath..... 8787

351 ..... St Leonard (i) ..... And is it Thy Voice, patient Saviour..... 12.11.12.11

352 ..... St Leonard (ii) ..... And is it Thy Voice, patient Saviour..... 12.11.12.11

St Mary Magdalene
Magdalene [224]

St Mingo
St Chad (1) [331], *St Wulstan*

353 ..... St Ninian (i)..... Brightest and best of the sons of the morning 11.10.11.10

354 ..... St Ninian (ii)..... Brightest and best of the sons of the morning 11.10.11.10

355 ..... St Ninian (iii) ..... Brightest and best of the sons of the morning 11.10.11.10

356 ..... St Ninian (iv)..... Brightest and best of the sons of the morning 11.10.11.10

357 ..... St Oswald (1) ..... It is the holy fast which Christ hath sanctified 6668

358 ..... St Oswald (2) ..... O who are they so pure and bright ..... LM

359 ..... St Oswald (3) ..... Lead, Kindly Light 10.4.10.4.10.4.6
Lux Benigna (with variations)

St Oswald (4)
St Bernard [328], *Sychar*

St Oswald (5)
St Bees [327]

360 ..... St Oswin ..... Jerusalem, my happy home ..... CM

361 ..... St Patrick (arr.) ..... Now that the daylight fills the skies ..... LM

St Philip
St Barnabas (2) [324], *Dunelm*

362 ..... St Sylvester ..... Days and moments quickly flying ..... 8787 and 8889
Sylvester

363 ..... St Werburg ..... Lord, shall Thy children come to Thee? 88.88.88.88
St Werburgh, Werberg

364 ..... St Winifred ..... Christ! of the Holy Angels' Light 11.10.11.10

365 ..... St Wulstan ..... All is o'er, the pain, the sorrow 878777
St Chad (1) (with differences) [331], *St Mingo*

366 ..... Stabat Mater ..... At the Cross her station keeping 887.887

Stigmata
Resurrection (1) [286]

367 ..... Stockton (arr) ..... A living stream, as crystal clear ..... CM

368 ..... Strength and Stay (i) ..... O Strength and Stay, upholding all creation 11.10.11.10

369 ..... Strength and Stay (ii) ■ ..... O Strength and Stay, upholding all creation 11.10.11.10

Submission
Butterby [35]

370 ..... Sun of my Soul ..... Sun of my Soul! Thou Saviour dear ..... LM

Sursum Corda
'We Lift Our Hearts to Thee' [413]

Sychar
St Bernard [328], *St Oswald*

Sylvester
St Sylvester [362]

371 ..... Tenbury ..... My days are gliding swiftly by 8787D

'Tender Shepherd'
Requies [283]

372 ..... Tenebrae ..... The Lord will come; the earth shall shake ..... LM

373 ..... Thanksgiving ..... Come, see the place where Jesus lay ..... LM
Trinity College

374 ..... The Blessed Home ..... There is a blessèd home 66666666
'*There is a blessed home*'

'The Day of Resurrection' (Mentioned in Pazdírek, F (ed.) *The Universal Handbook of Musical Literature*. Vol. 6 (Augener: London, n.d.), currently lost)

375 ..... 'The Holy Angels sing' ..... The Holy Angels sing 6666D

376 ..... 'The night is gone' ..... The night is gone 10.4.10.4.10.4.6

'*There is a blessed home*'
The Blessed Home [374]

377 ..... 'There is a Calm' ..... There is a calm for those who weep ..... LM
Ilkley, Calm

378 ..... The Reproaches ..... O my people, what have I done to thee? ..... Irregular

389 ..... 'There's a Friend' ..... There's a friend for little children 86.76.76.76

390 ..... 'The Roseate Hues' ..... The roseate hues of early dawn ..... DCM

'*The Son of God goes forth*'
Ecce Victor [88]

'*The Strain Upraise*'
Dykes [81]

391 ..... The Sabbath Day ..... The Sabbath-day has reach'd its close 8886

392 ..... 'The Strife is O'er' (i) ..... The strife is o'er, the battle done ..... 888+Alleuias

393 'The Strife is O'er' (ii) ..... The strife is o'er, the battle done ..... 888+Alleuias

'*To Thee our God we fly*'
Patria [274]

'To thine house we come' (Words printed in *Festival and Other Hymns &c.* with a footnote which reads 'To music by Rev J. B. Dykes, Mus.Doc.' Music currently lost.)

394 ..... Tranquilitas ..... Long did I toil, and knew no earthly rest ... 10.10.10.10.10.10

395 ..... Trent ..... Rejoice, the Lord is King! 666444

Trinity
'Reverently we worship Thee' [288]

Trinity College
Thanksgiving [373]

Trust
Faith (2) [104], *Rock of Ages*

396 ..... Trisagion ..... Holy, Holy, Holy Lord 777777

'Unto Thee most High' (Incl. in the *Service Book. of the London Association of Church Choirs for their Festival in St Paul's Cathedral, November 1896*, currently lost.)

397 ..... Veni Cito (i) ..... O quickly come, dread Judge of all 88.88.88

398 ..... Veni Cito (ii) ..... O quickly come, dread Judge of all 88.88.88

399 ..... Veni Creator (1)(i) ..... Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire ..... LM

400 ..... Veni Creator (1)(ii) ..... Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire ..... LM

401 ..... Veni Creator (2) ..... Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire ..... LM

402 ..... Veni Creator (3) ..... Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire ..... LM

403 ..... Veni Emmanuel ..... O come, O come, Emmanuel ..... Irregular

404 ..... Vesperi Lux ..... Holy Father, cheer our way 7775

Vespers

God, that madest earth and heaven [124]

405 ..... Vexilla Regis (arr.) ..... The Royal Banners forward go ..... Plainsong

Via Bona

Oh come, dear child [251]

406 ..... Via Crucis ..... The way is long and dreary ..... Irregular

407 ..... Via, Veritas, Vita ..... Thou art the Way; how sweet the thought 888 10 88

408 ..... Visio Domini ..... We would see Jesus 11.10.11.10

409 ..... Vox Angelica ..... Hark! hark, my soul; Angelic songs..... 10.10.11.10.9.11

410 ..... Vox Dilecti (i) ..... I heard the voice of Jesus say ..... DCM

411 ..... Vox Dilecti (ii) ..... I heard the voice of Jesus say ..... DCM

412 ..... Waterbrook ..... O'erwhelmed in depths of woe ..... SM

413 ..... 'We lift our hearts to thee' ..... We lift our hearts to Thee, our Head 888888

Sursum Corda

Werberg

St Werburgh [363]

414 ..... 'Where is the Holy Jesus?' ..... Where is the Holy Jesus? 7676

Jesus Our Lord, Petition

415 ..... 'Where the prison bars' ..... Where the prison bars surround him 878787

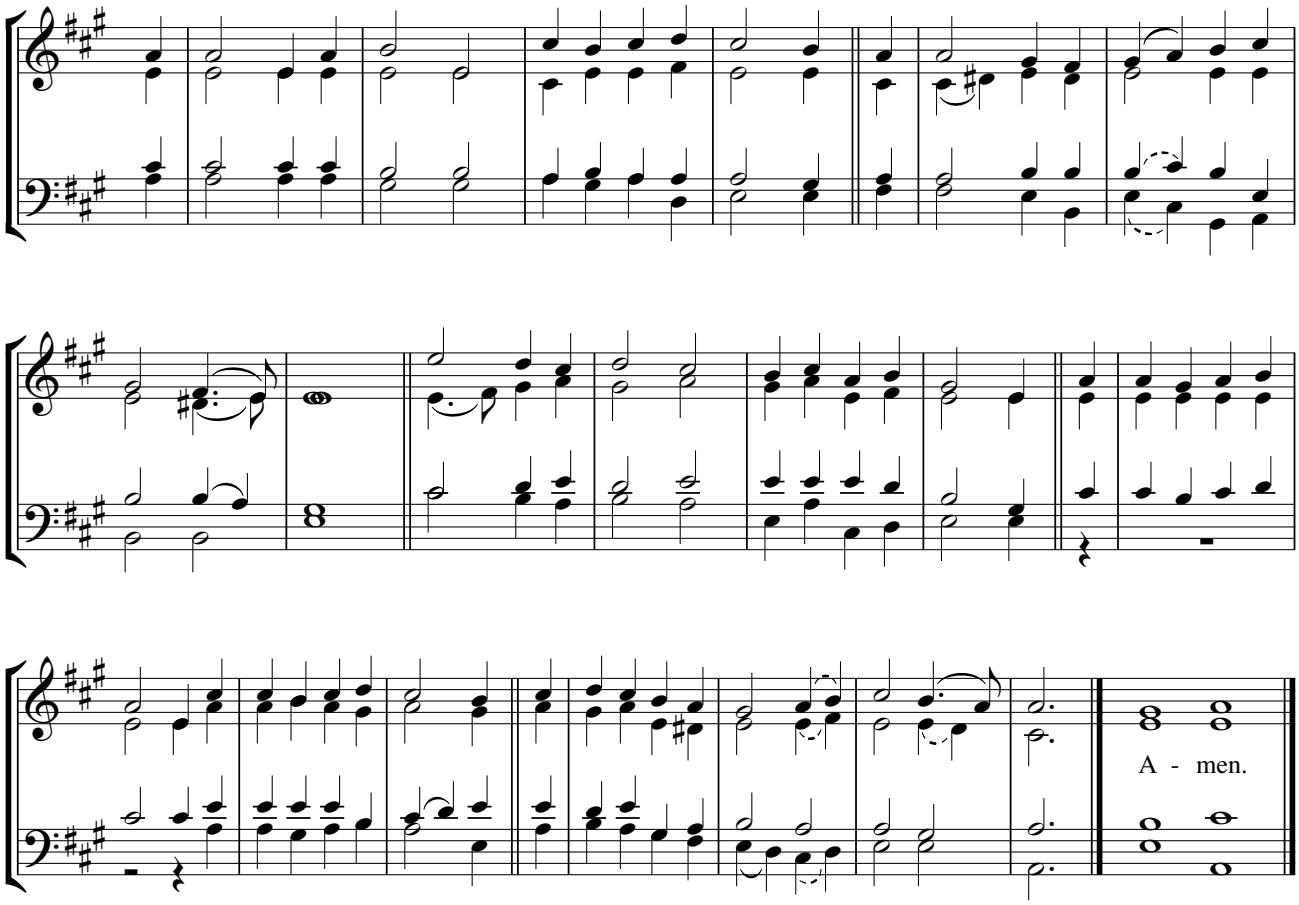
Whorlton

'Holy is the seed time' [140]

416 ..... Winchester New (arr.) ..... My God, and is Thy Table spread ..... LM

417 ..... Wir Pflügen (arr.) ..... We plough the fields and scatter 13.13.13.13.12.12

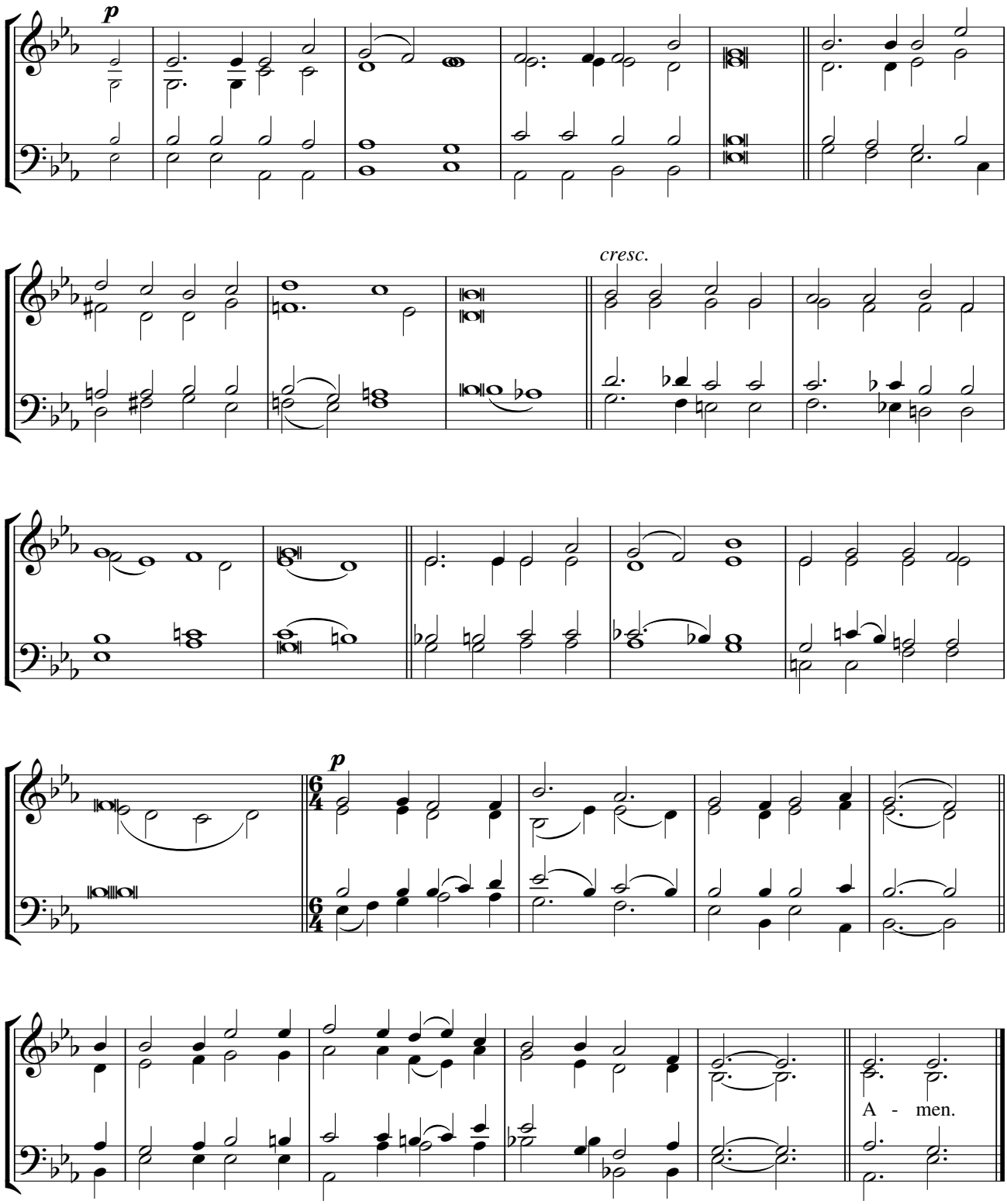
Adeste Fidelis (Irregular) (arr. J.B.D.)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No.13

O come, all ye faithful,
Joyful and triumphant,
O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem.
Come and behold Him
Born the King of Angels,
O come let us adore Him,
O come let us adore Him,
O come let us adore Him,
Christ the Lord!

attrib. J.F. Wade

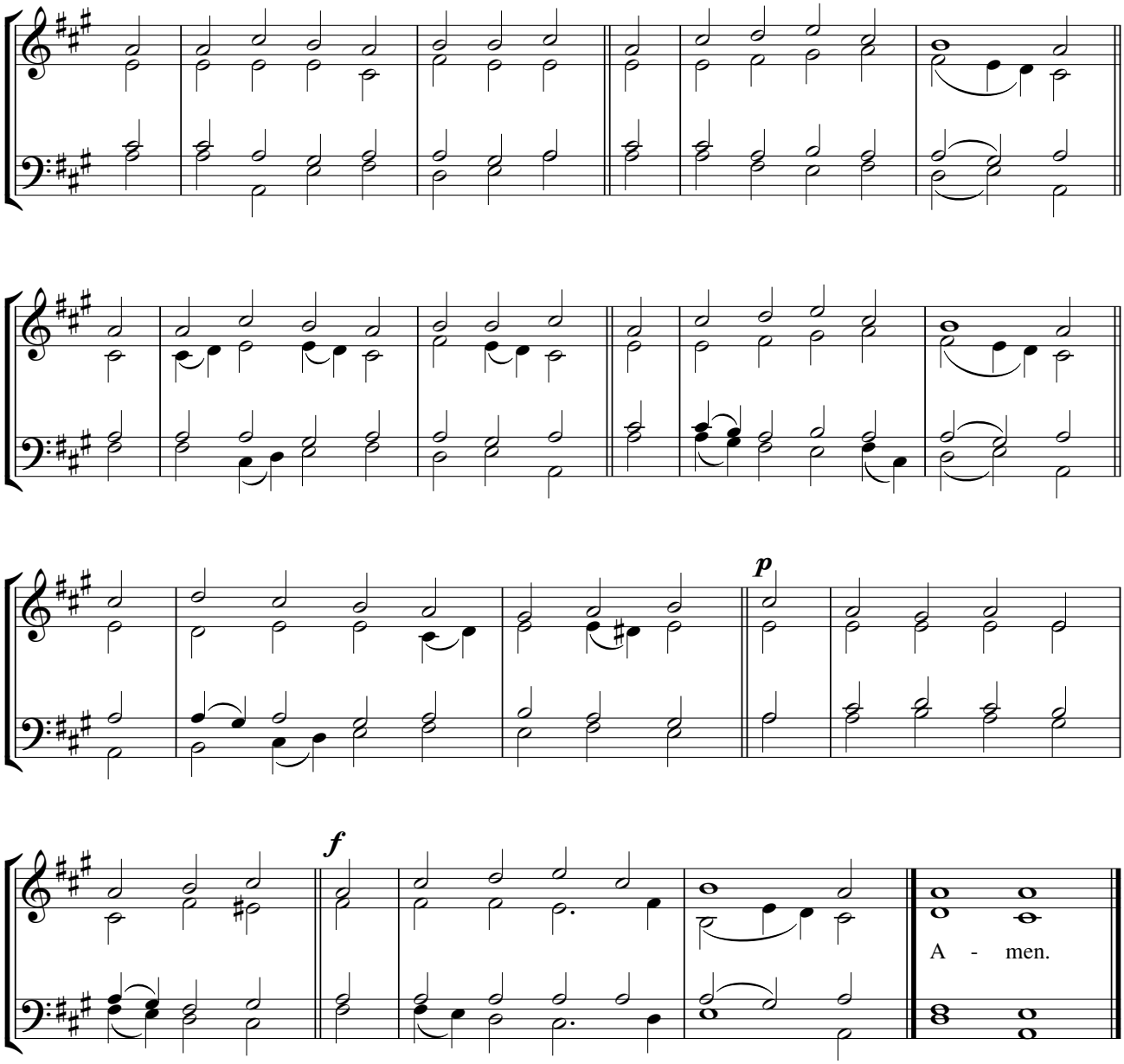
Dotted slurs are editorial.
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Adoro Te Devote (11.11.11.11.11.14)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.184

Devoutly I adore Thee, Deity unseen,
Who Thy glory hidest 'neath these shadows mean;
Lo, to Thee surrendered my whole heart is bowed,
Tranced as it beholds Thee, shrined within the cloud.
Shepherd of the Faithful, Jesu, hear our cry,
O Saviour blest, increase their faith who on Thy faith rely.

Trans. John Mason Neale

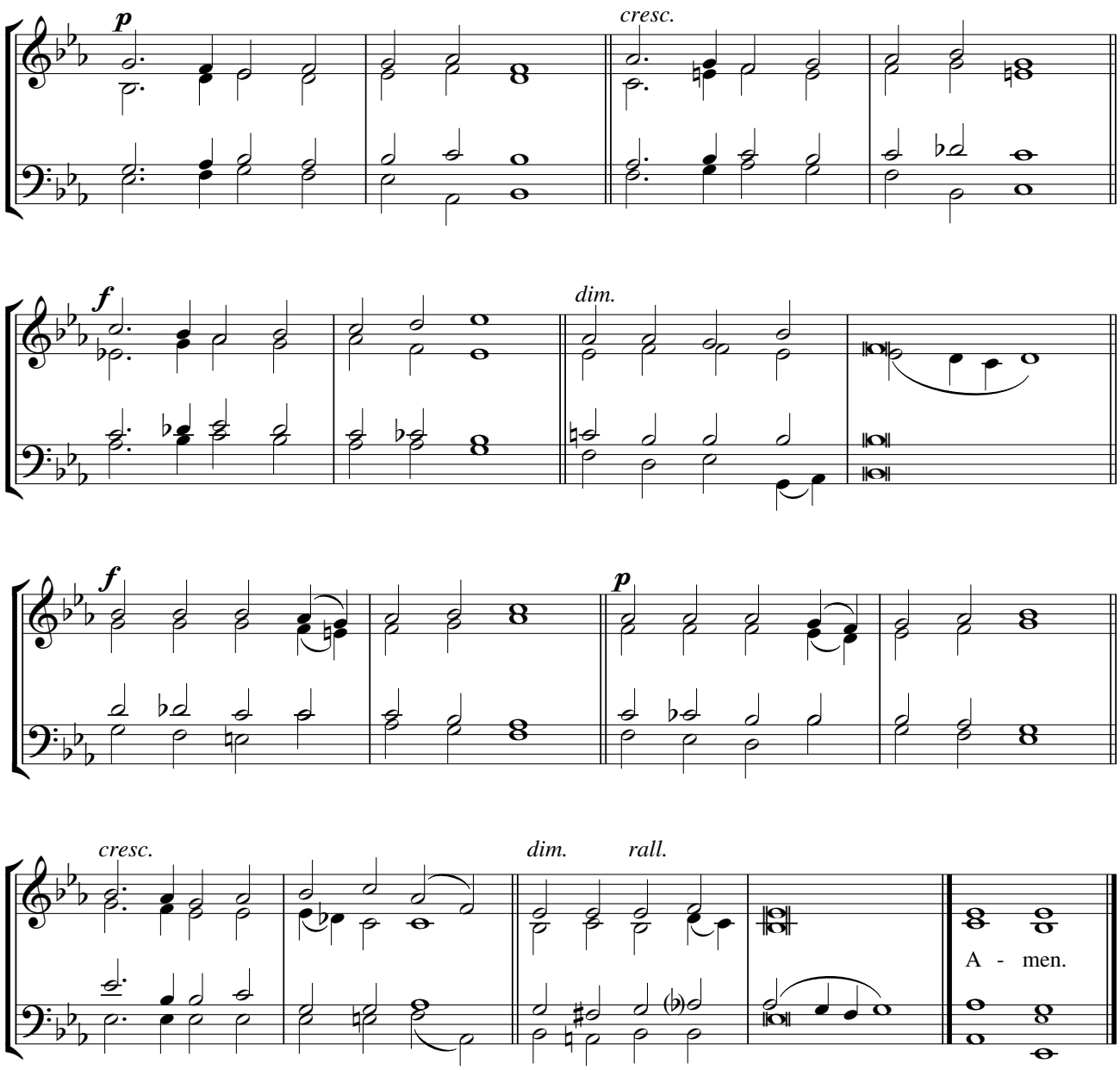
Advent (8787887) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No. 8

Great God, what do I see and hear?
The end of things created;
The Judge of mankind doth appear
On clouds of glory seated.
The trumpet sounds; the graves restore
The dead which they contained before:
Prepare, my soul, to meet Him.

William B. Collyer

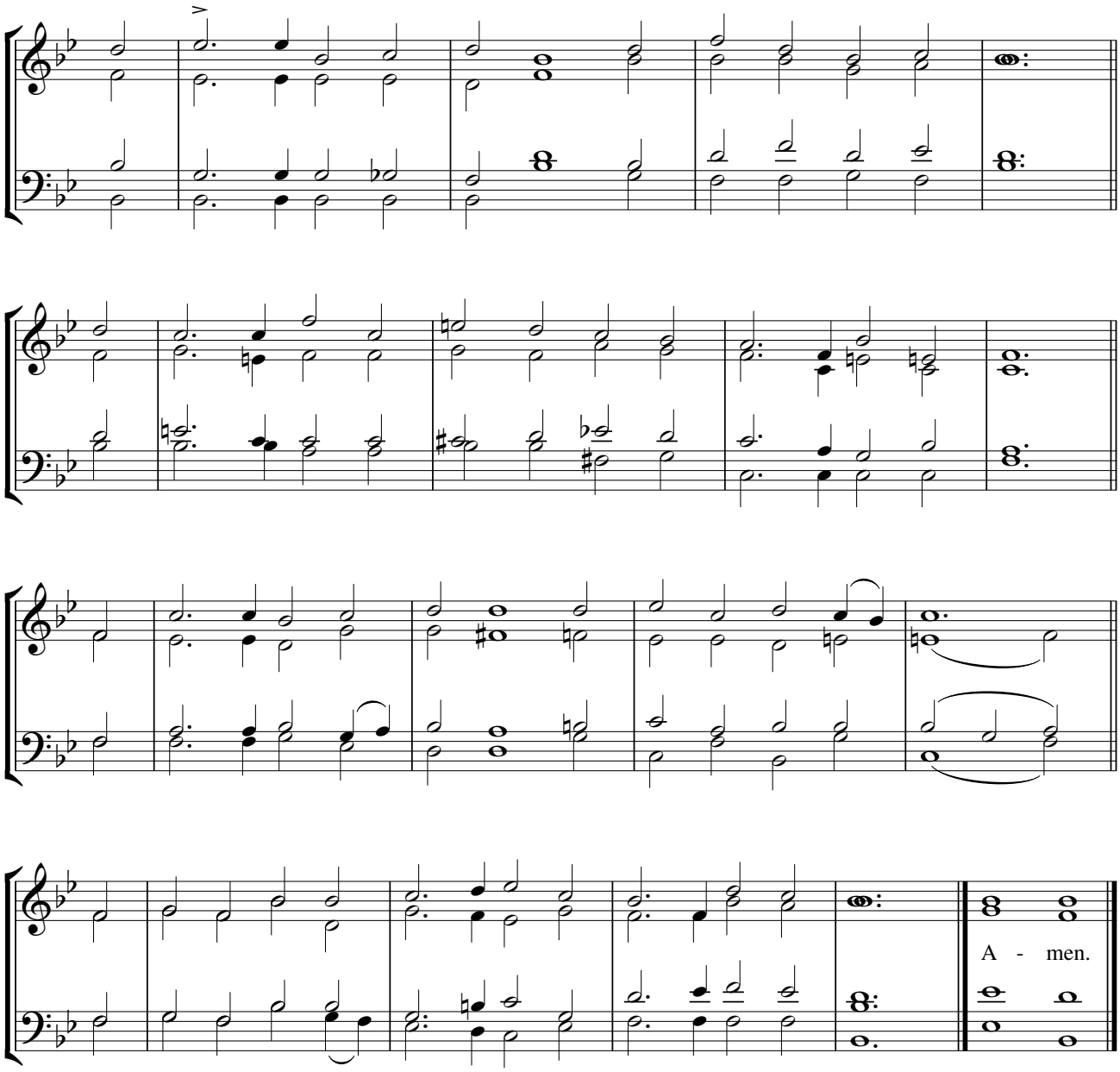
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Ad Vesperum (7775D)

'Four Hymns' by Godfrey Thring (1875) No. 4

God the Father, God the Son,
Holy Spirit, Three in One,
Now our hallowed task is done,
And our prayer is prayed;
Listen as to Thee we raise
This our thankful hymn of praise,
Ere the sun's declining rays
Deepen into shade.

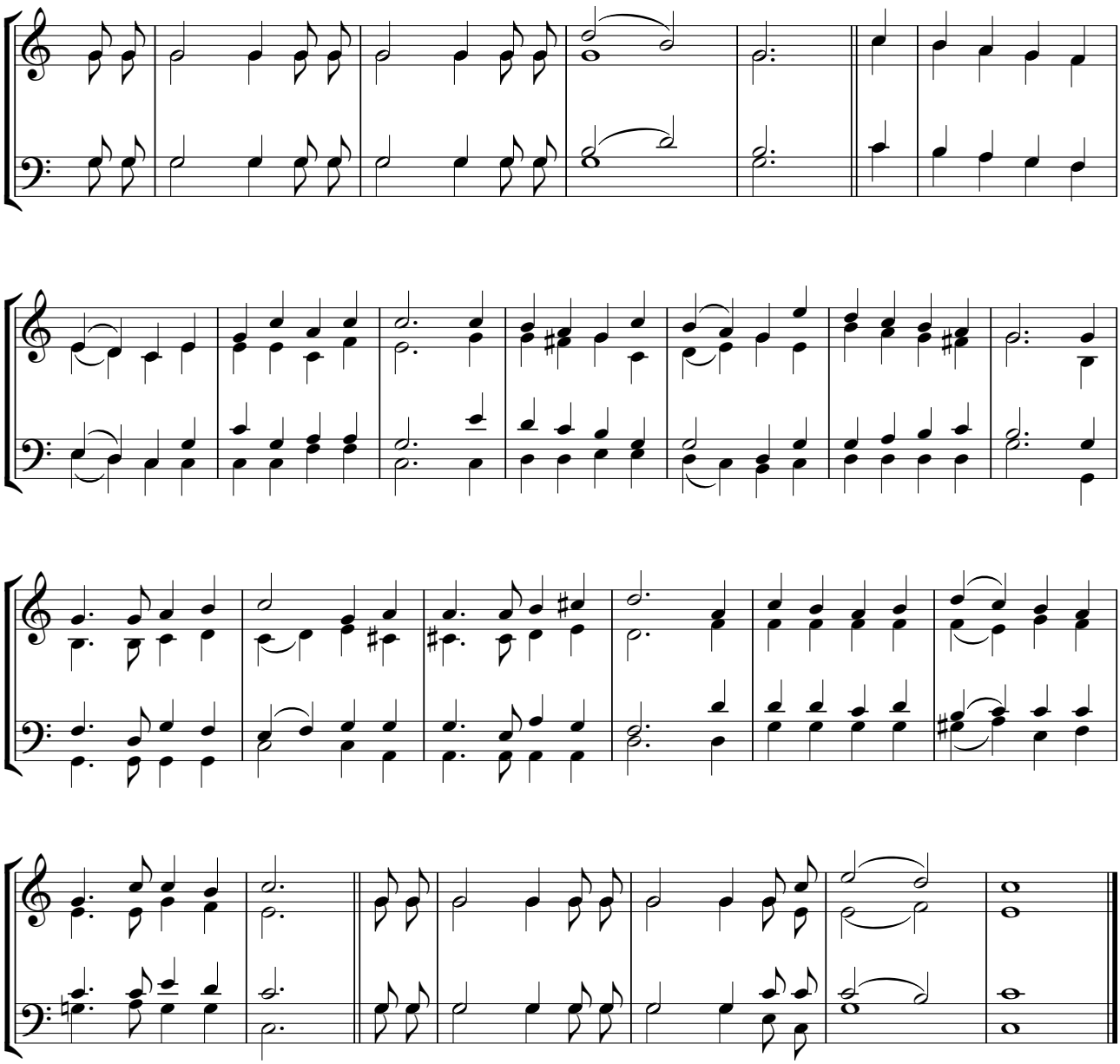
Godfrey Thring

Alford (7686D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.222

Ten thousand times ten thousand
in sparkling raiment bright,
the armies of the ransomed saints
throng up the steeps of light;
'tis finished, all is finished,
their fight with death and sin;
fling open wide the golden gates,
and let the victors in.

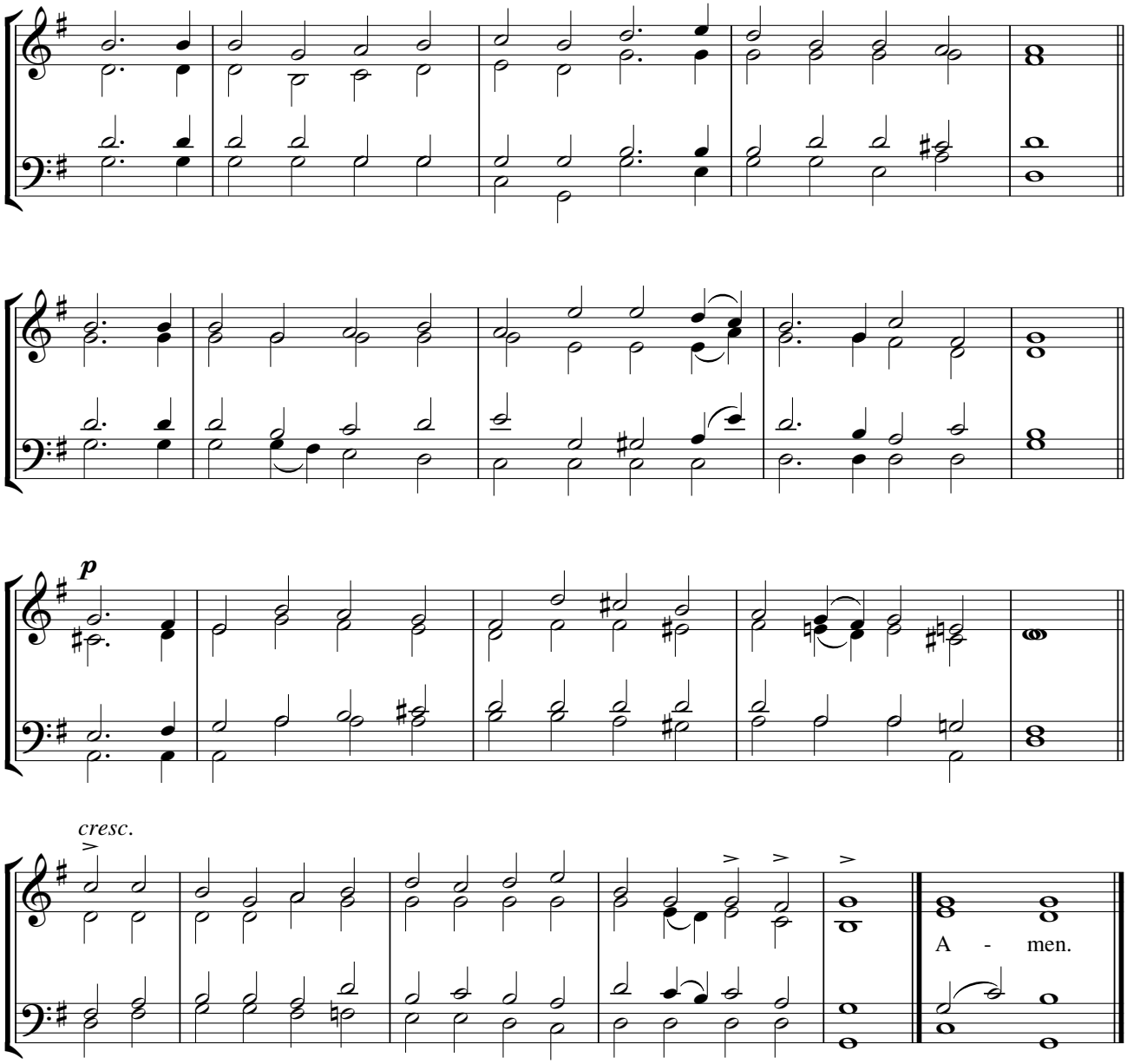
Henry Alford

‘Alleluia! Now all the bells are ringing’ (7676D with alleluias)

The Child’s Book of Praise (1873) No.XX

Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!
Now all the bells are ringing,
To welcome Easter Day,
And we with joy are singing
Our carols sweet and gay;
For Jesus hath arisen
From Joseph’s rocky cave,
Hath burst His three days’ prison,
And triumphed o’er the grave.

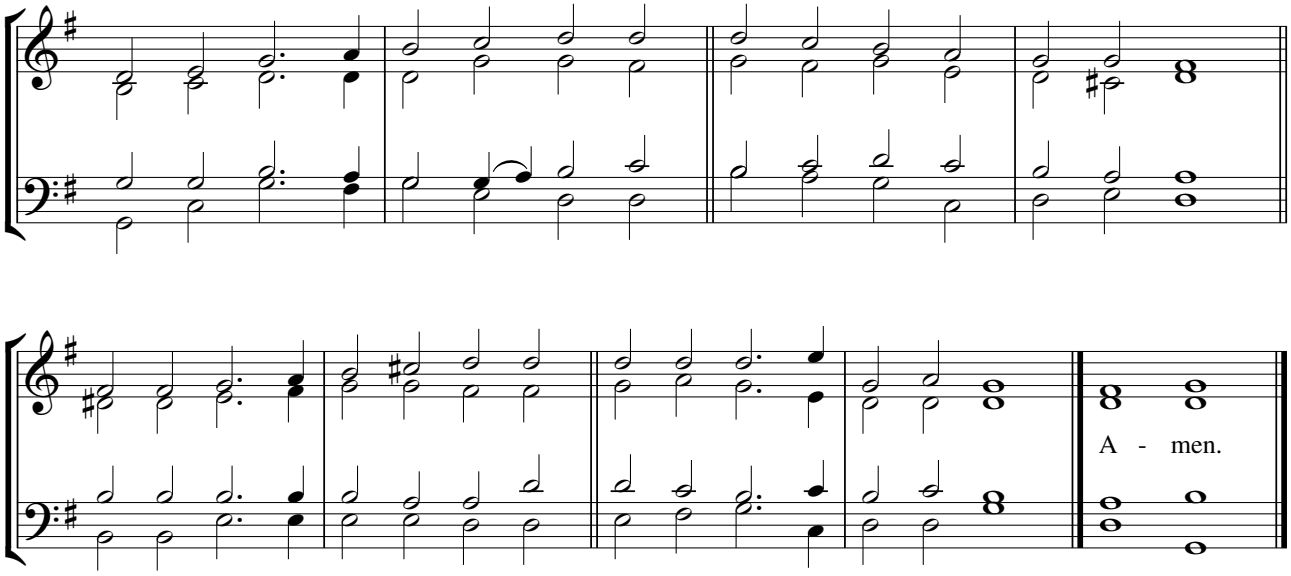
H.W. Fairbank

‘Alleluia! Sing to Jesus’ (8787D)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.194

Alleluia! sing to Jesus! His the sceptre, His the throne.
Alleluia! His the triumph, His the victory alone.
Hark! the songs of peaceful Zion thunder like a mighty flood.
Jesus out of every nation has redeemed us by His blood.

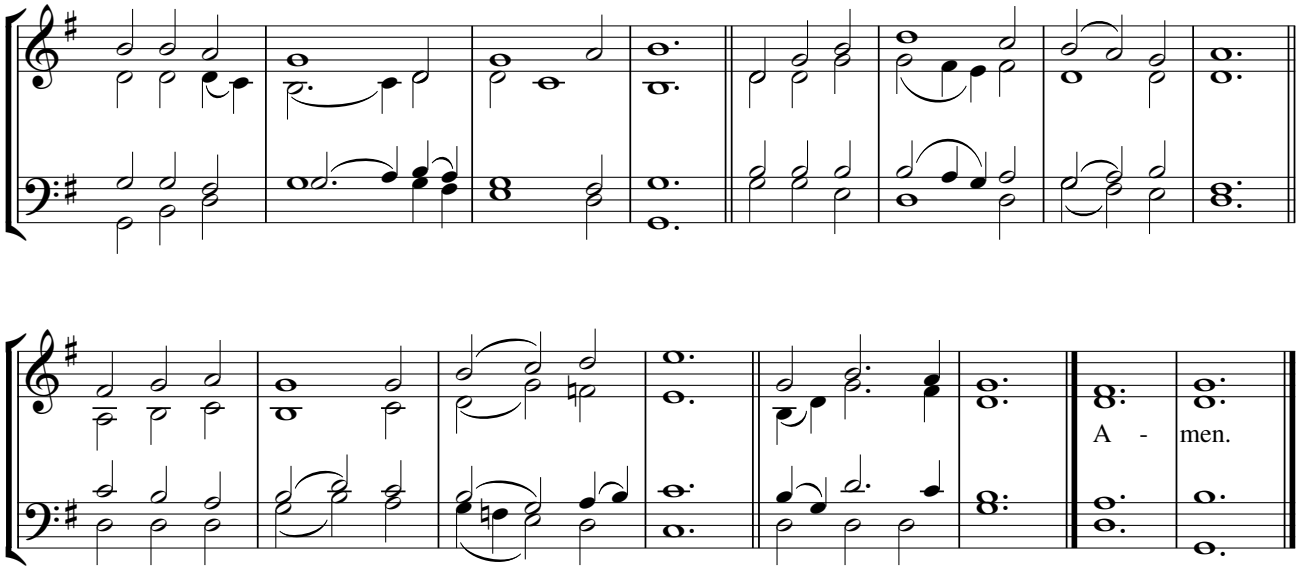
William C. Dix

All-Hallows (8787)

A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.80

Spouse of Christ, for Him contending
O'er each clime beneath the Sun,
Blend with prayers for help ascending
Notes of praise for triumphs won.

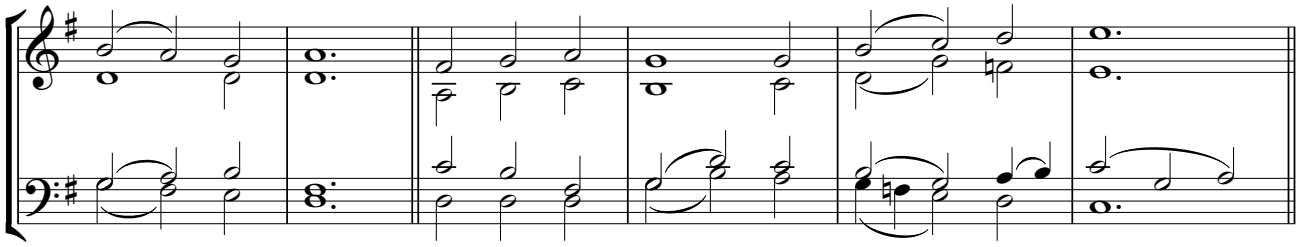
Trans. from the French by
William Palmer

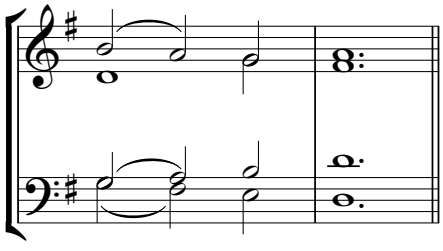
Almsgiving (8884)

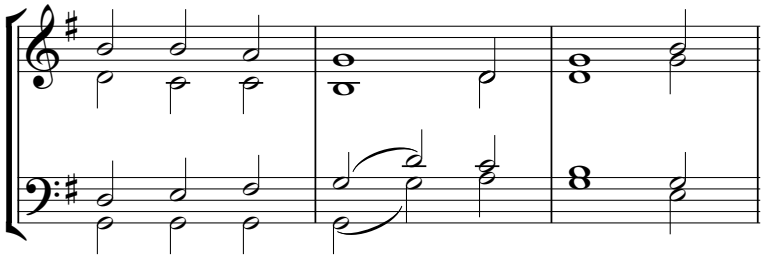
The Holy Year (1865) No.126

O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea,
To Thee all praise and glory be;
How shall we show our love to Thee,
Giver of all?

Christopher Wordsworth

The 1868 edition of Hymns A&M harmonises bars 7-12 thus...

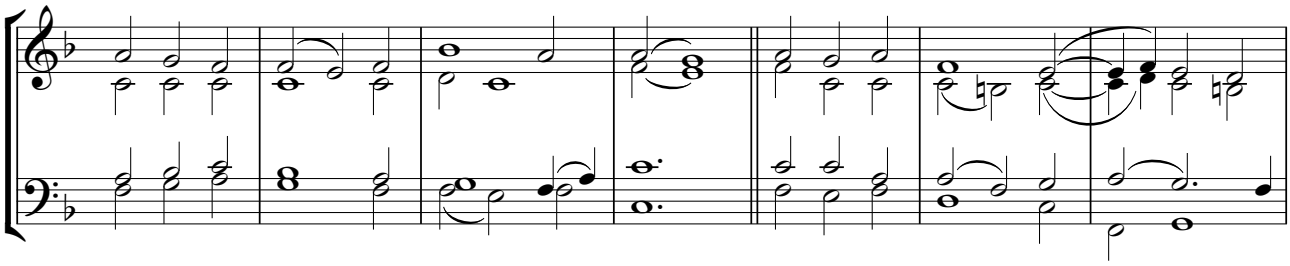


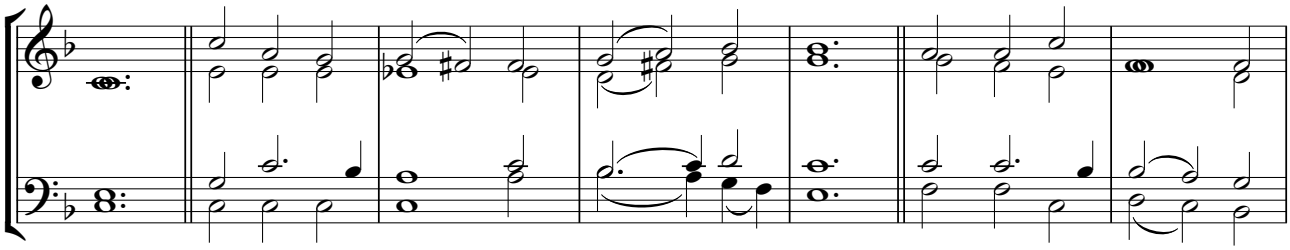
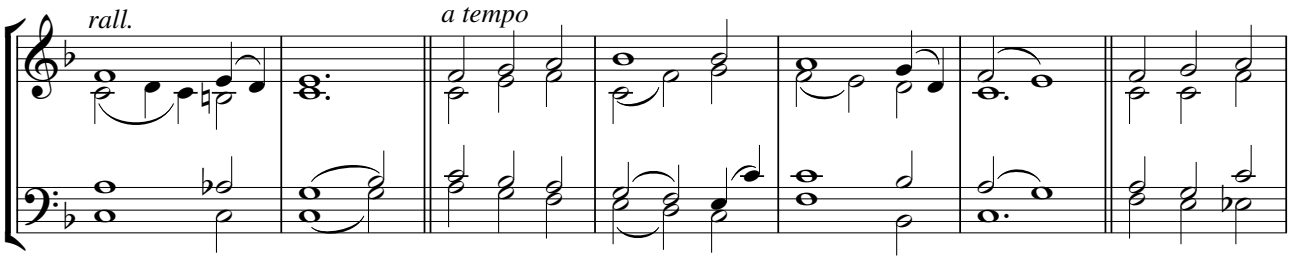
Subsequent editions of Hymns A&M retain these revised harmonies, except that bars 7-8 are harmonised thus:

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of 'Gerontius':

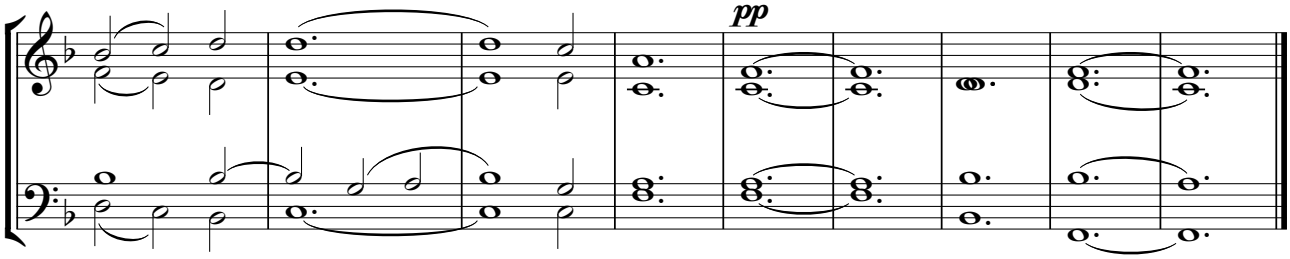


Amplius (888888)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.351



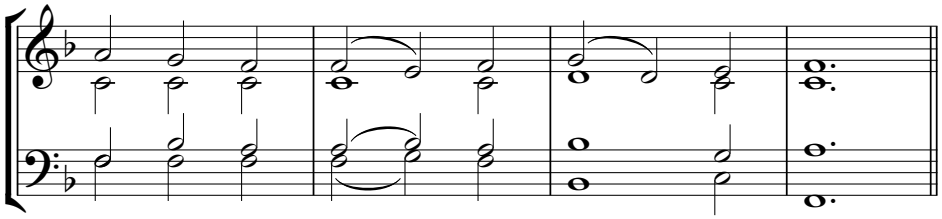




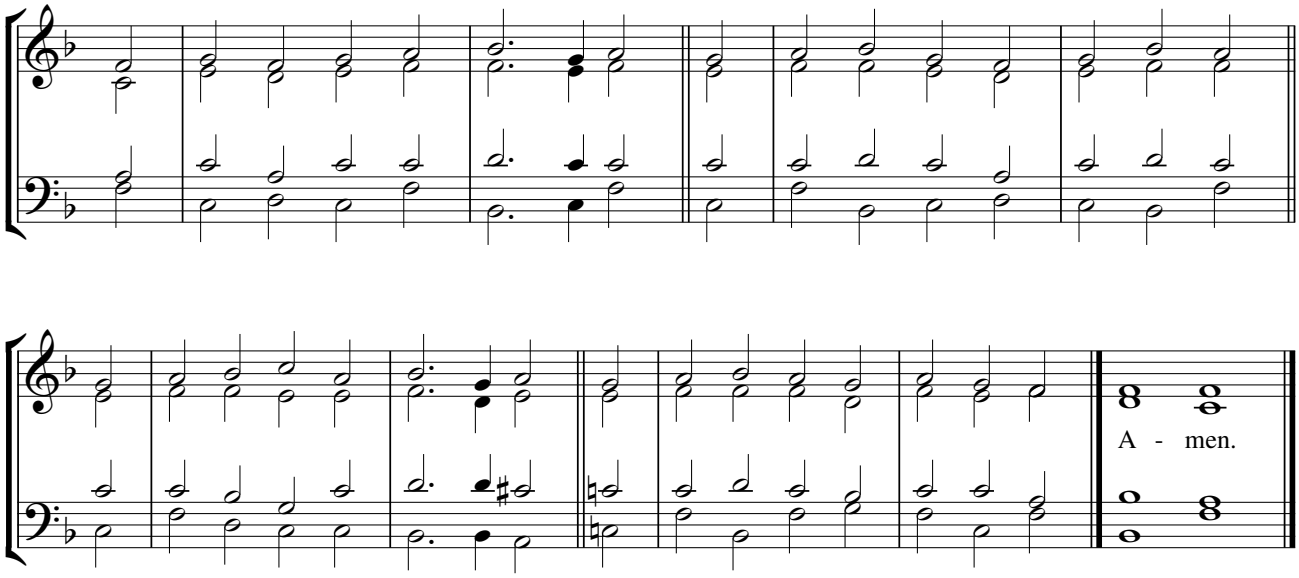
Jesu, my Lord, my God, my All,
Hear me, blest Saviour, when I call!
Hear me, and from Thy dwelling place
Pour down the riches of Thy grace.
Jesu, my Lord, we Thee adore,
O make us love Thee more and more.

Henry A. Collins

Compare bars 1—2 with bars 1—2 of ST. CATHERINE (Henri Hemy), also 888888.



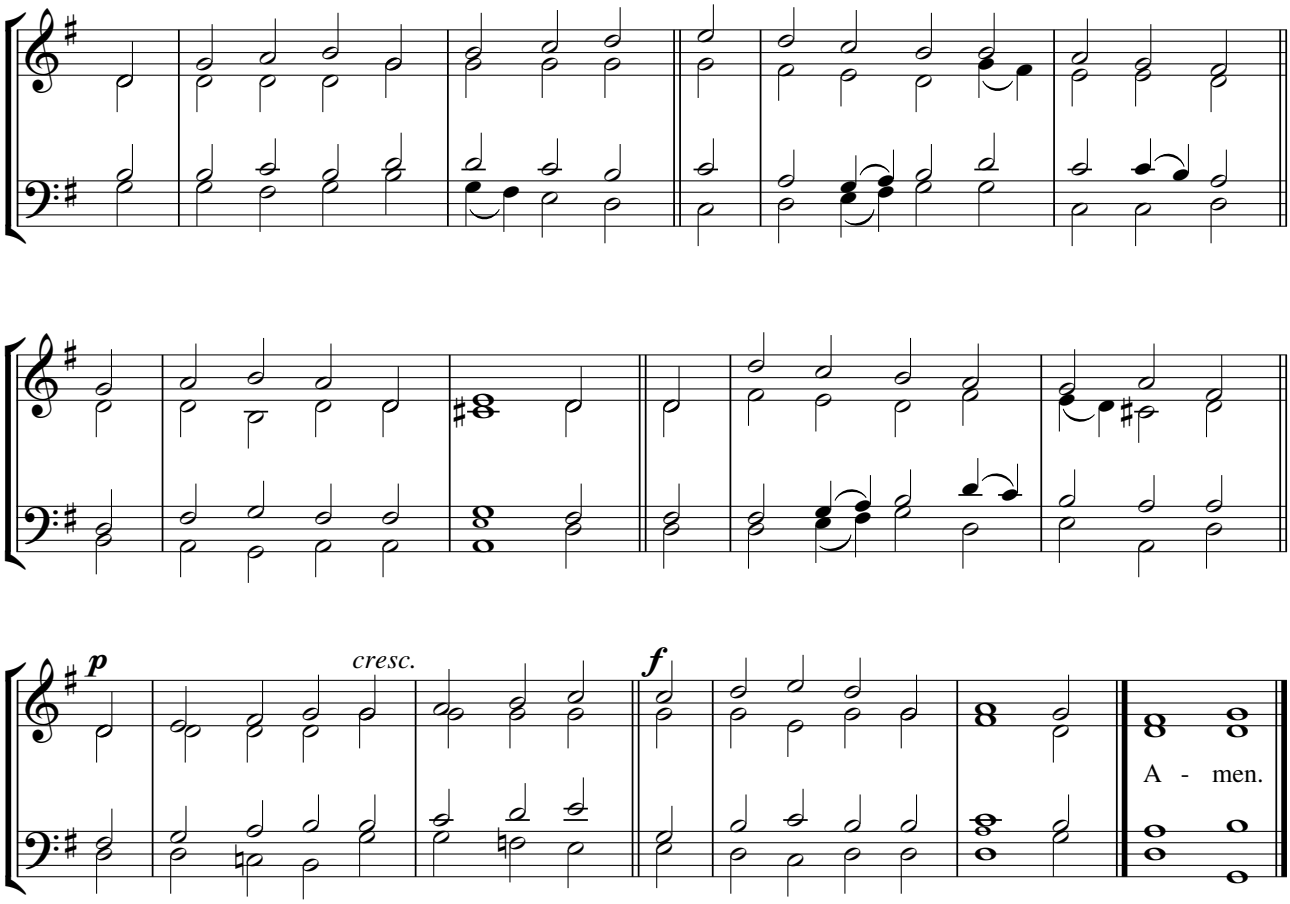
‘Ancient’ (LM) (arr J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.272

To Thee, O God, our praise belongs,
For Heaven and earth their anthems pour;
And Angel Hosts with choral songs
Circle Thy Throne for Evermore.

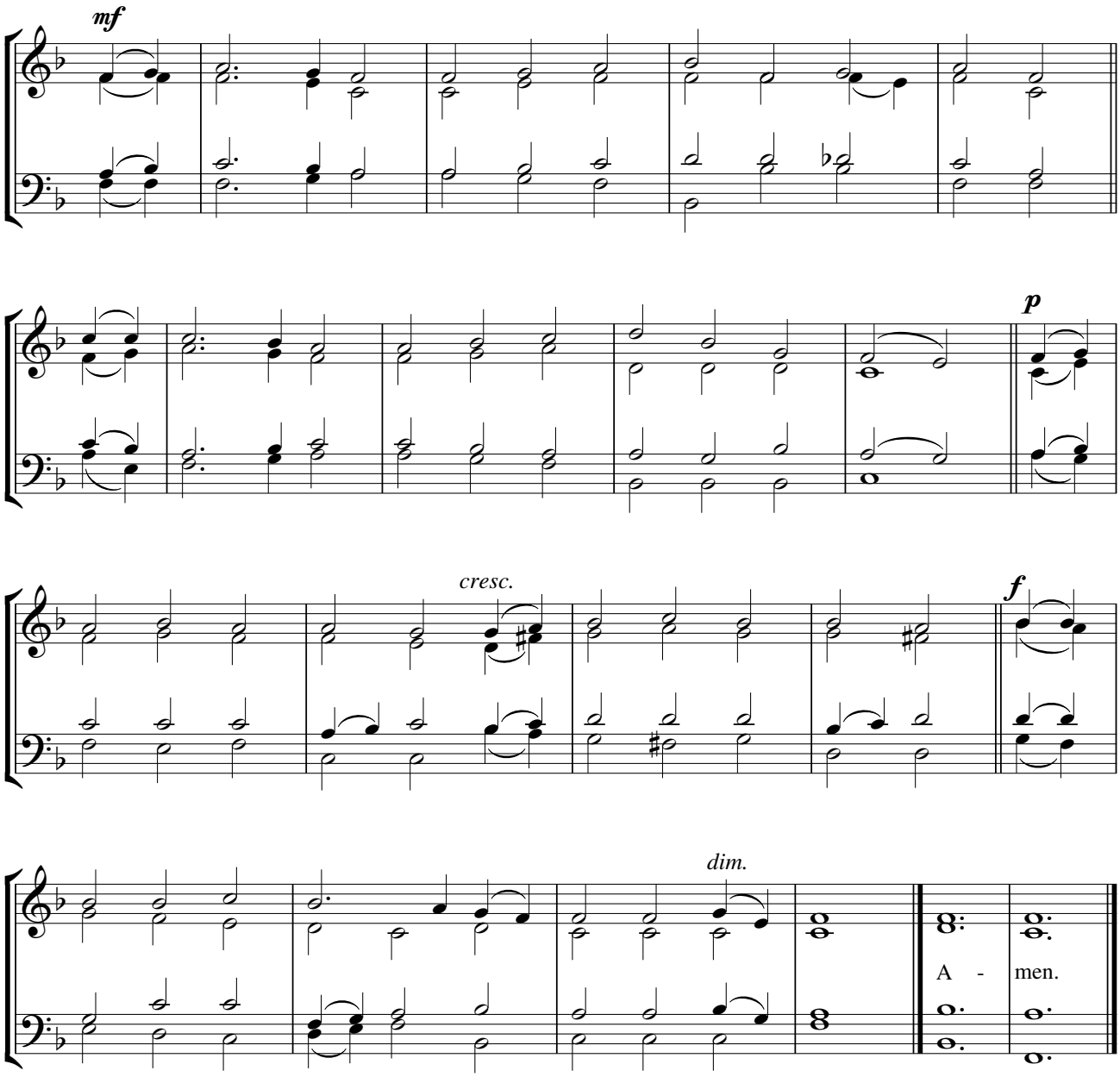
William J Irons

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Anningsley (887D)

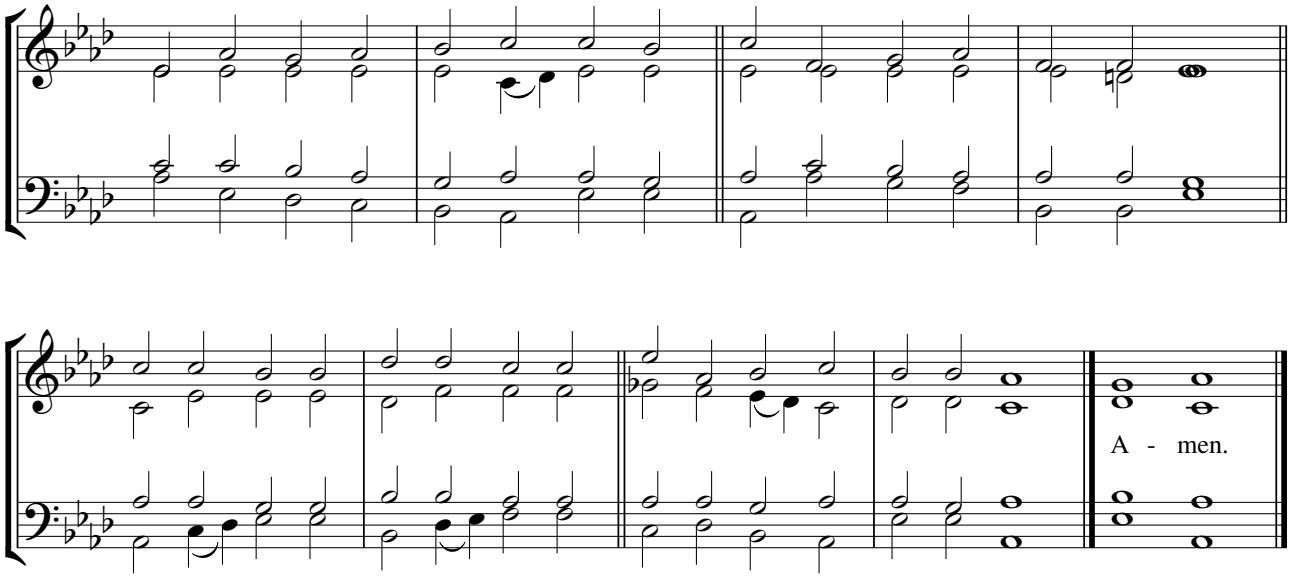
A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.108

O God Most High! Creator! King!
To Thee their praise all creatures bring,
Their Maker's might declaring;
And shall not we Thy praise proclaim,
To whom 'tis given to know Thy Name,
Thy grace, Thy mercy sharing?

Ardwick (12.11.12.11)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.215

Oh! come to the merciful Saviour who calls you,
Oh! come to the Lord who forgives and forgets;
Though dark be the fortune on earth that befalls you,
There's a bright home above, where the sun never sets.

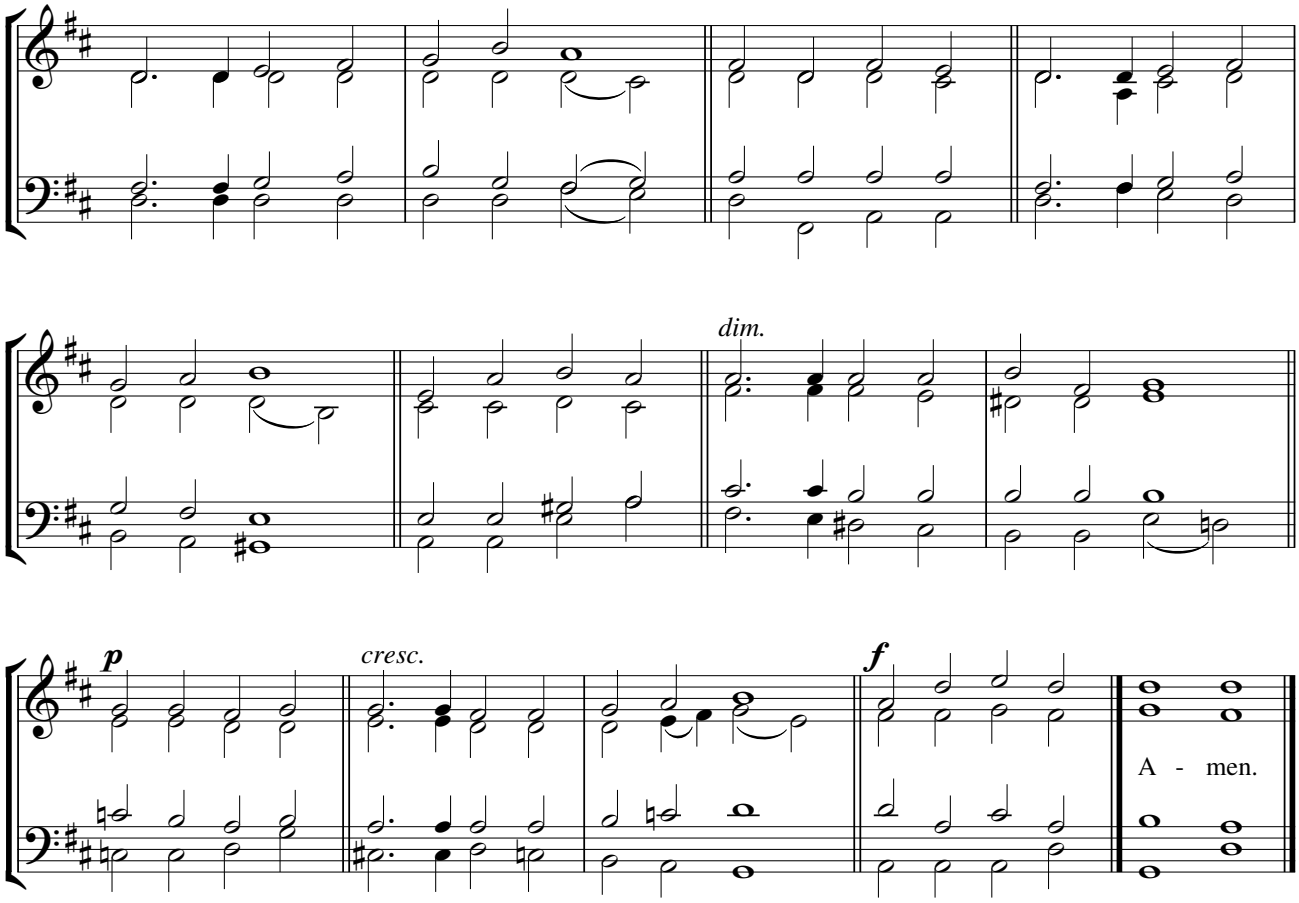
Frederick Faber

Arundel (8787)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.65

Lord have mercy, and remove us
Quickly to Thy Place of rest;
Where the Heavens are calm above us,
And as calm each sainted breast.

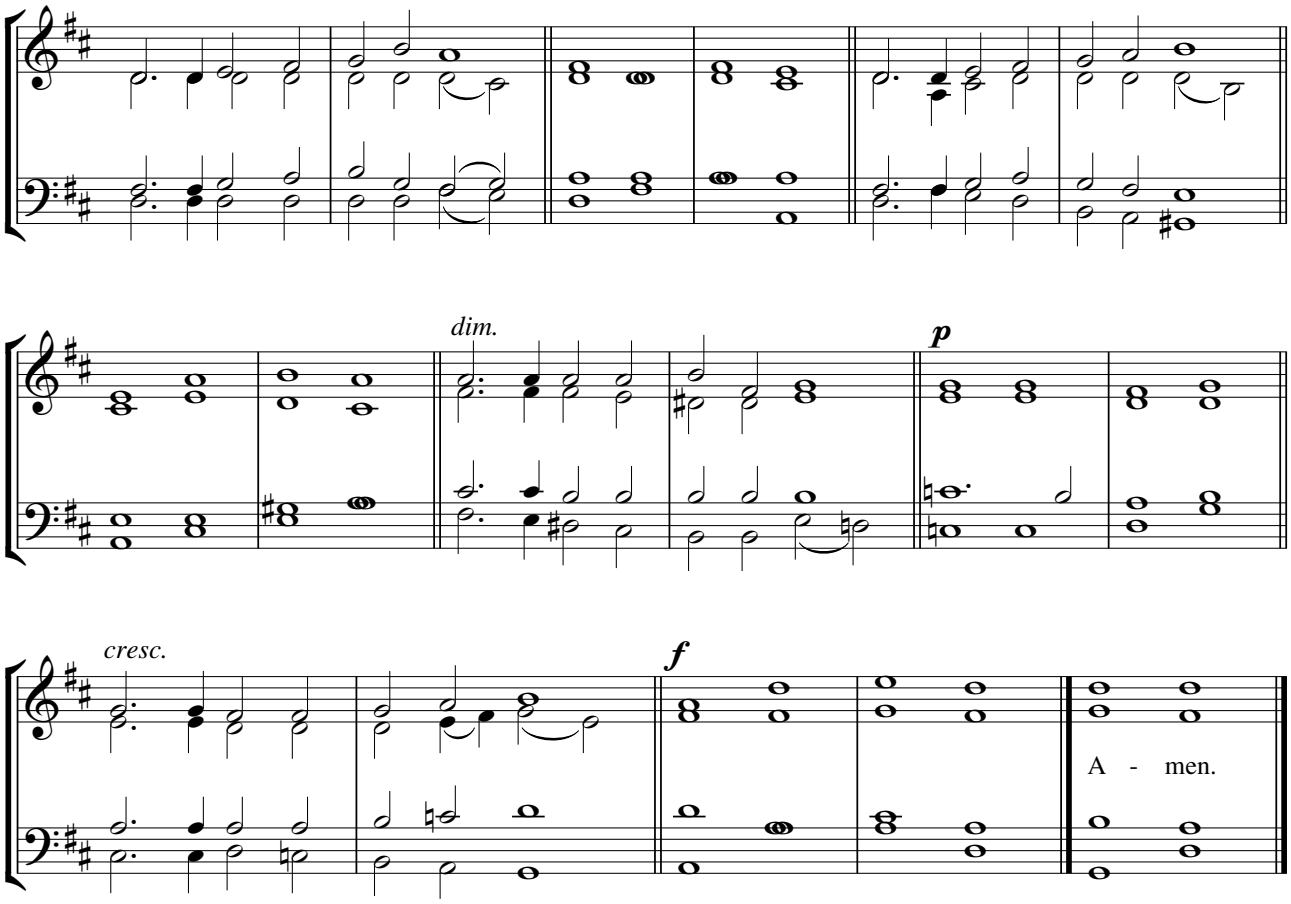
Henry Hart Milman

Ascension (i) (7777)

A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.163

Hail the day that sees Him rise, Alleluia!
To his throne above the skies; Alleluia!
Christ, the Lamb for sinners given, Alleluia!
Enters now the highest heaven! Alleluia!

Charles Wesley

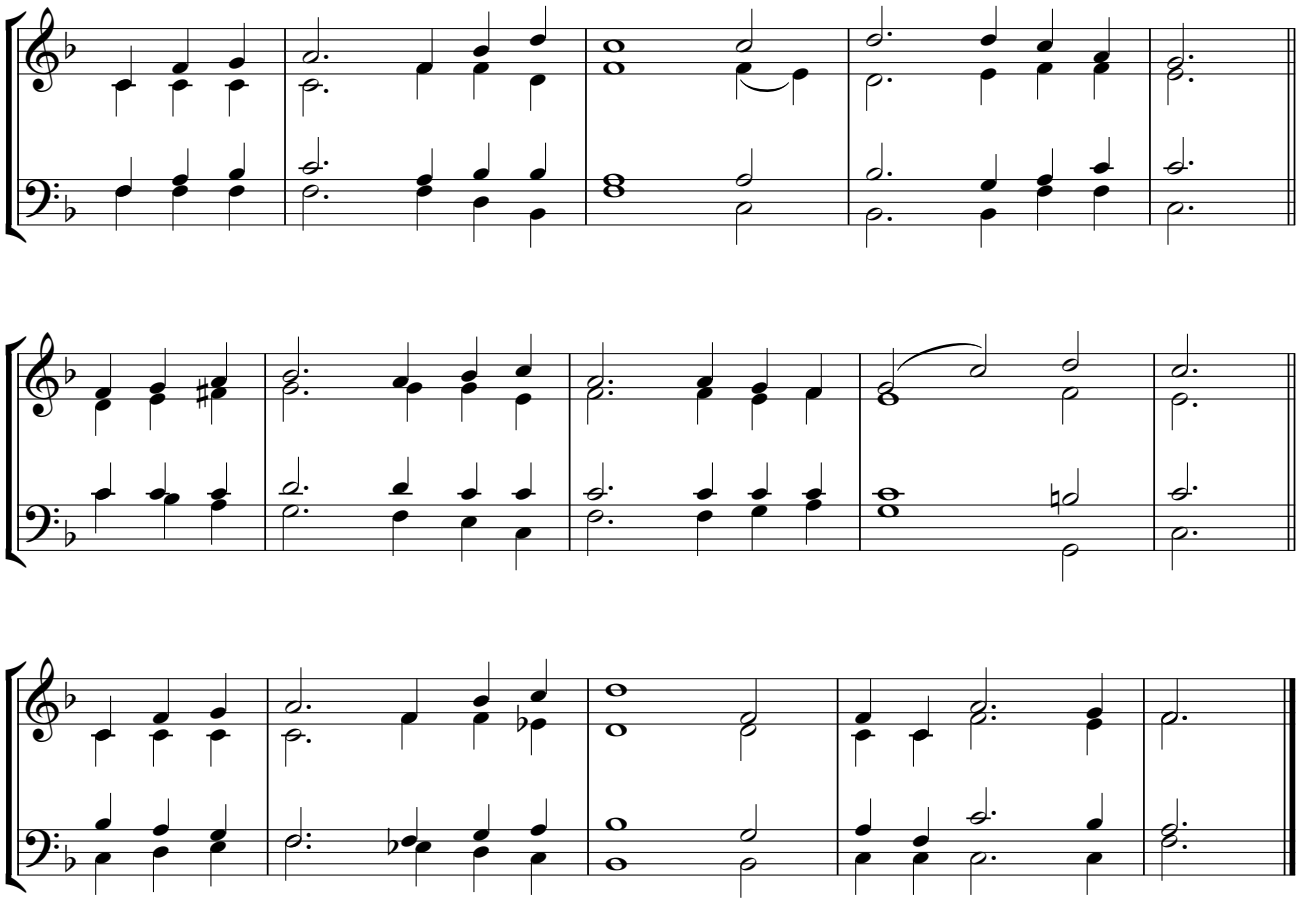
Ascension (ii) (7777)

(*Originally in Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866), this version Novello (1902) No. 82)*

Hail the day that sees Him rise, Alleluia!
To His Throne above the skies; Alleluia!
Christ, the Lamb for sinners given, Alleluia!
Enters now the highest heaven! Alleluia!

Charles Wesley

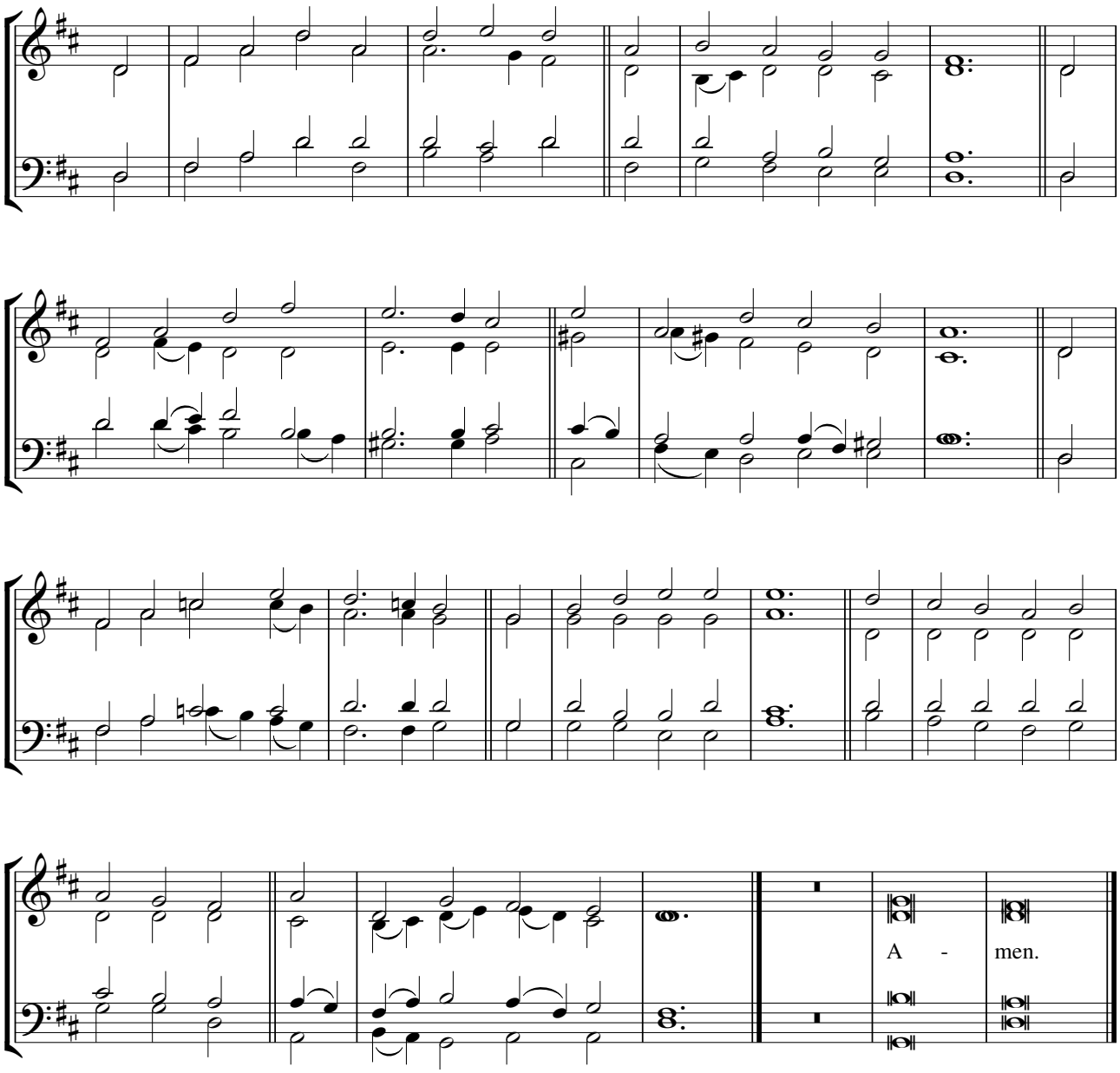
‘At God’s right hand’ (868686)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.16

Other names:
JUDGMENT DAY

At God’s right hand, in Heav’n above,
Our Saviour now doth reign;
But will He in that blessèd place,
For evermore remain?
Oh no, in glory He will come
To visit earth again.

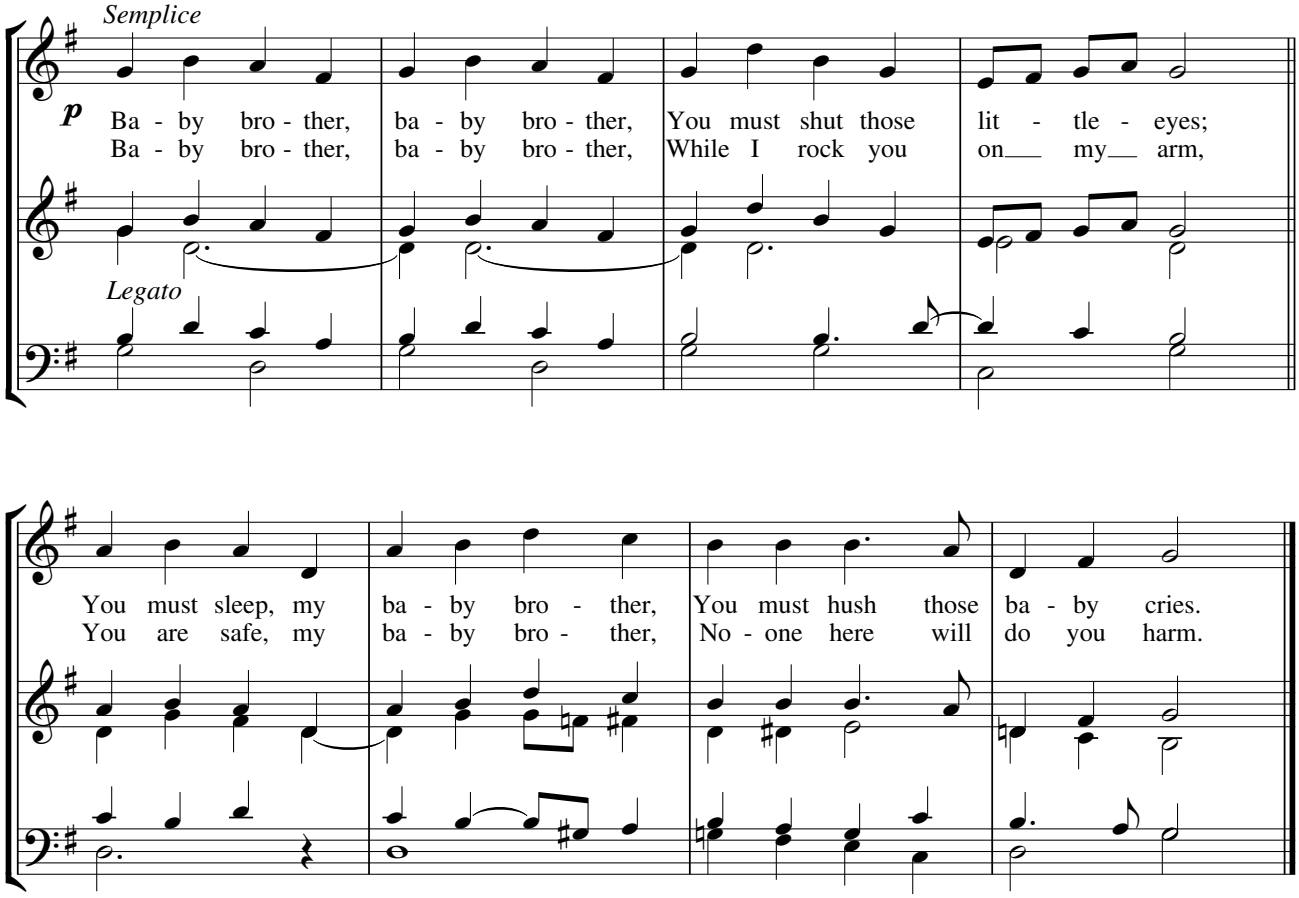
Awake! Awake! (CMD)

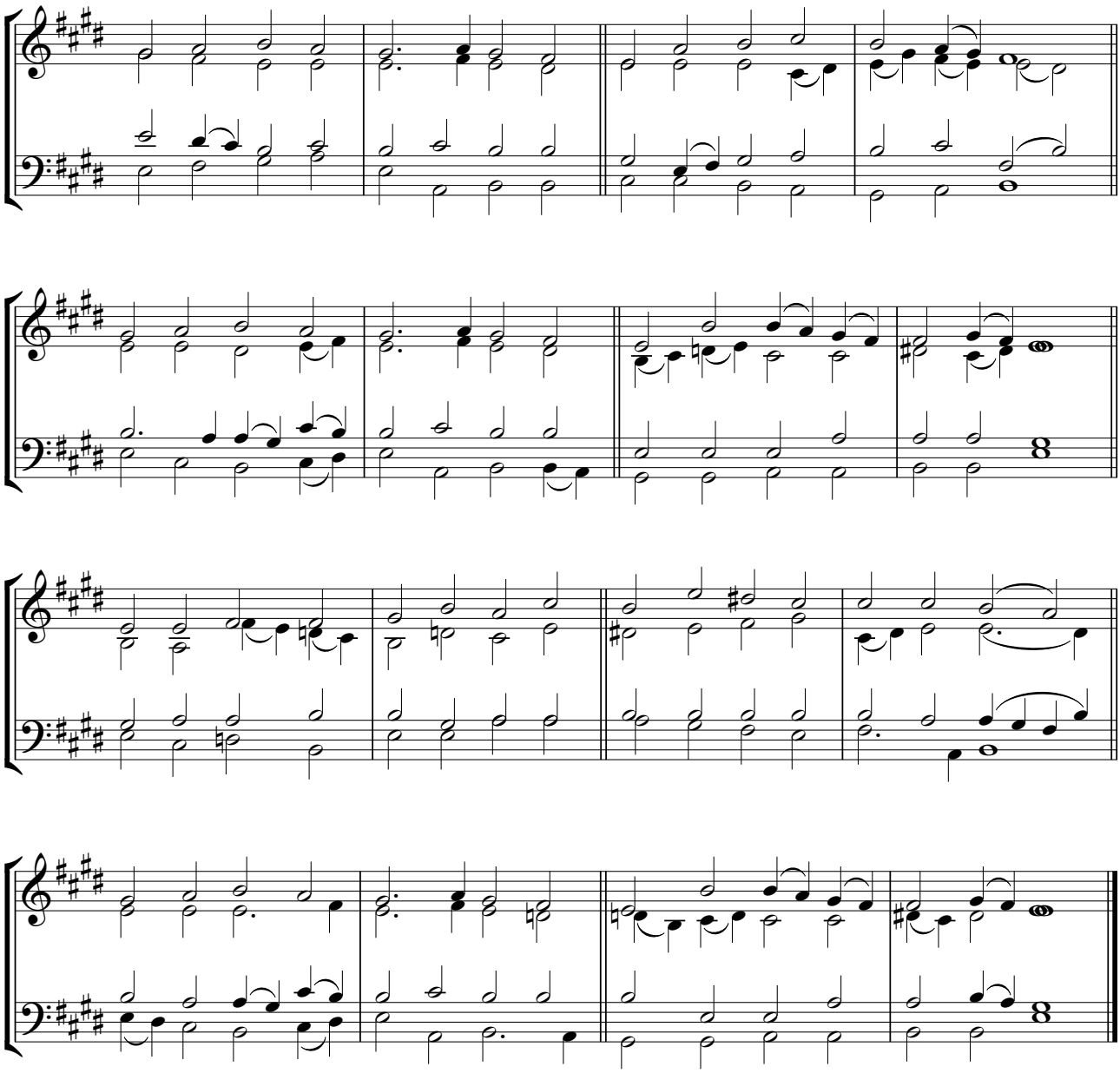
The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.403

Other names:
EXSURGE

Awake! awake! put on Thy strength,
O Arm of Christ the Lord!
Awake! as in the ancient days!
Fresh Triumphs now record!
Thou driest up the mighty sea,
The waters of the deep,
That joy might spring in saddened hearts,
And mourners cease to weep.

T.T.N. 1870

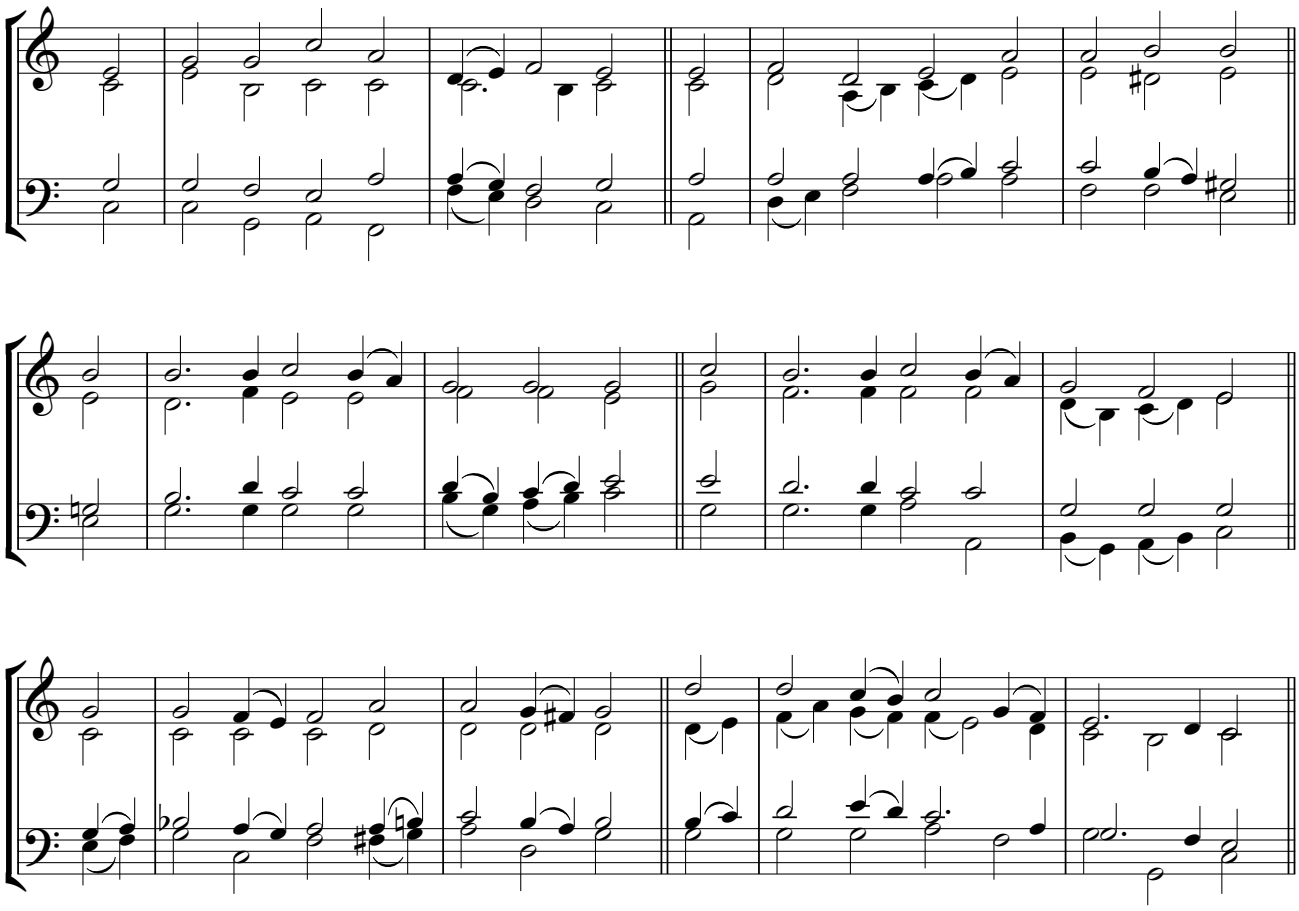
‘Baby brother, baby brother’ (8787)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No. 19

Bamborough (8787D)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1867) No.348

Hail, Thou once despisèd Jesus,
Hail, Thou Galilean King!
Thou didst suffer to release us,
Thou didst free salvation bring;
Hail, Thou agonising Saviour,
Bearer of our sin and shame;
By Thy merits we find favour;
Life is given through Thy name.

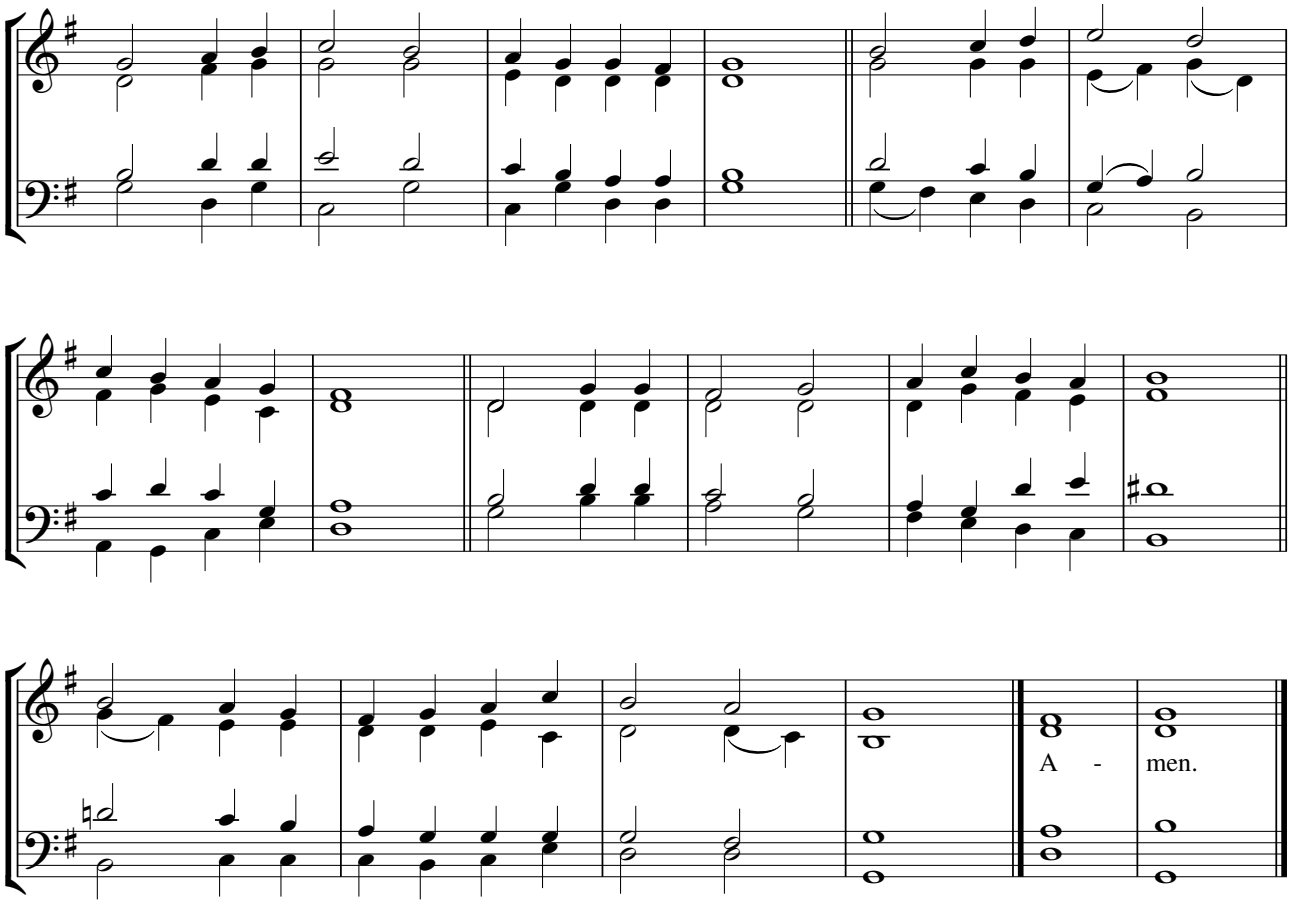
John Bakewell

Barrington (88.88.88)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1867) No.238

When gathering clouds around I view,
And days are dark, and friends are few,
On Him I lean, who not in vain
Experienced every human pain;
He knows my wants, allays my fears,
And counts and treasures up my tears.

Sir R. Grant

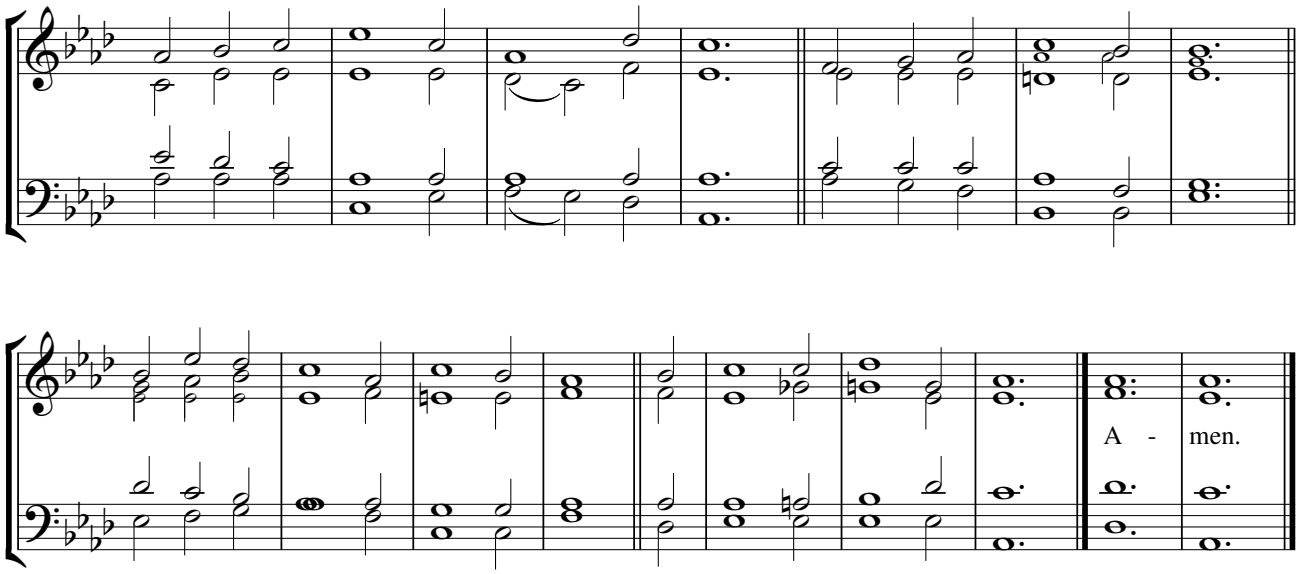
Basle (10.10.10.10) (Bourgeois, arr J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.83

Glory and praise to Thee, Redeemer Blest!
By loud Hosannas on Thy Road confessed!
Hail! Israel's King! Hail! David's Son adored,
Who comest in the Name of Israel's Lord!

Theodulf, Bishop of Orléans

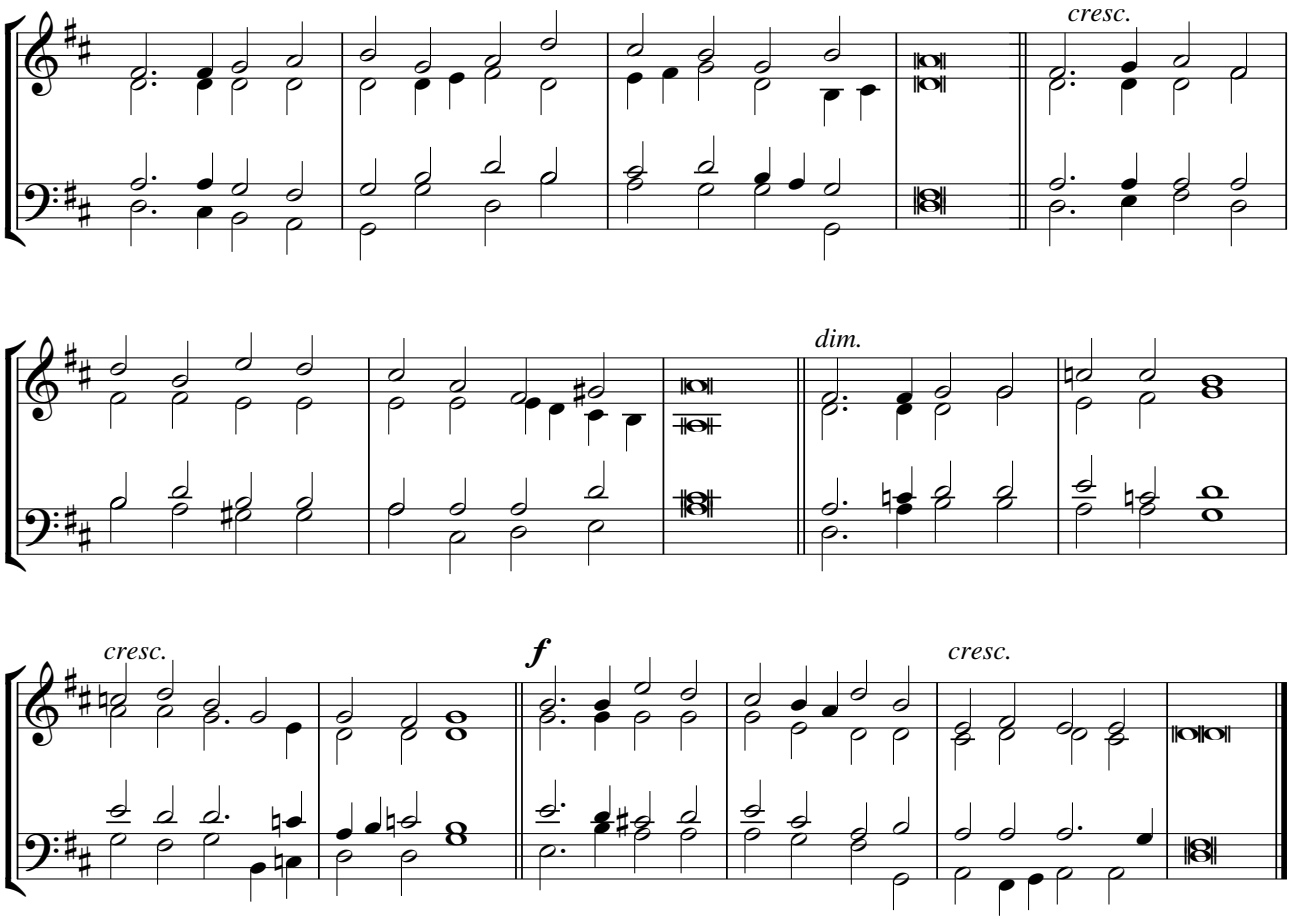
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Beatitudo (CM)

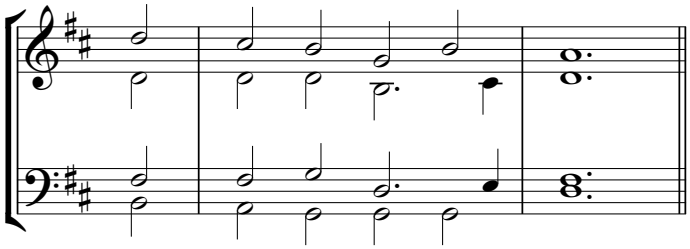
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.438

How bright these glorious spirits shine!
Whence all their white array?
How came they to the blissful seats
Of everlasting day?

Isaac Watts

Beatus Israel (76767776)

The Wesley Tune Book (1871) No. 189

None is like Jeshurun's God, So great, so strong, so high;
Lo! He spreads His wings abroad, He rides upon the sky.
Israel is His first-born Son: God, th'Almighty God, is thine:
See Him to thy help come down, The excellence divine.

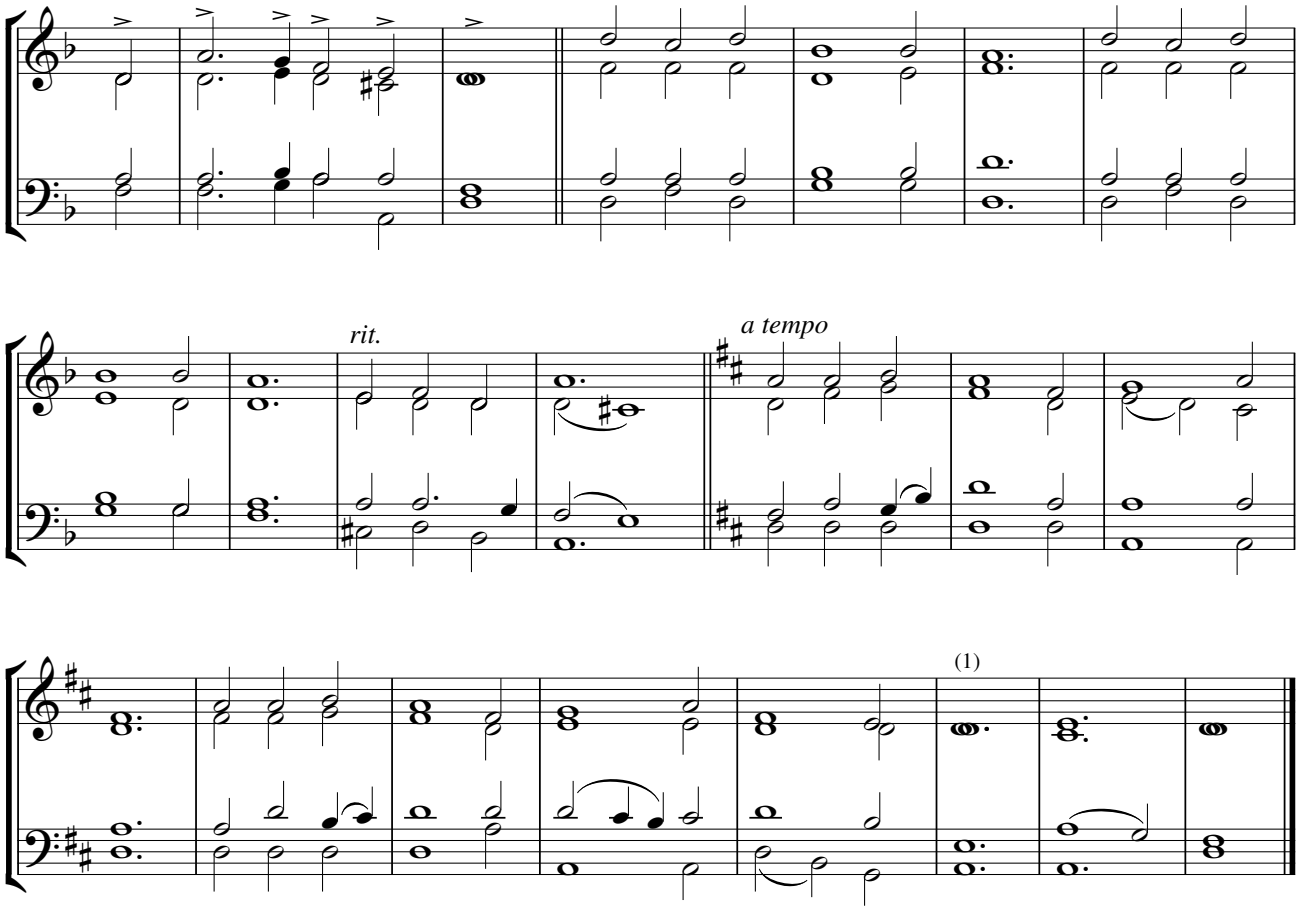
Charles Wesley

Compare bars 2-4 with bars 4-6 of 'Dies Dominica'

This tune is not included in the 1902 Novello Edition

Behold the Lamb of God (6664884)

Hymns for the Church of England (1864) No.68

Other names:
AGNUS DEI
ECCE AGNUS
ST. JOHN



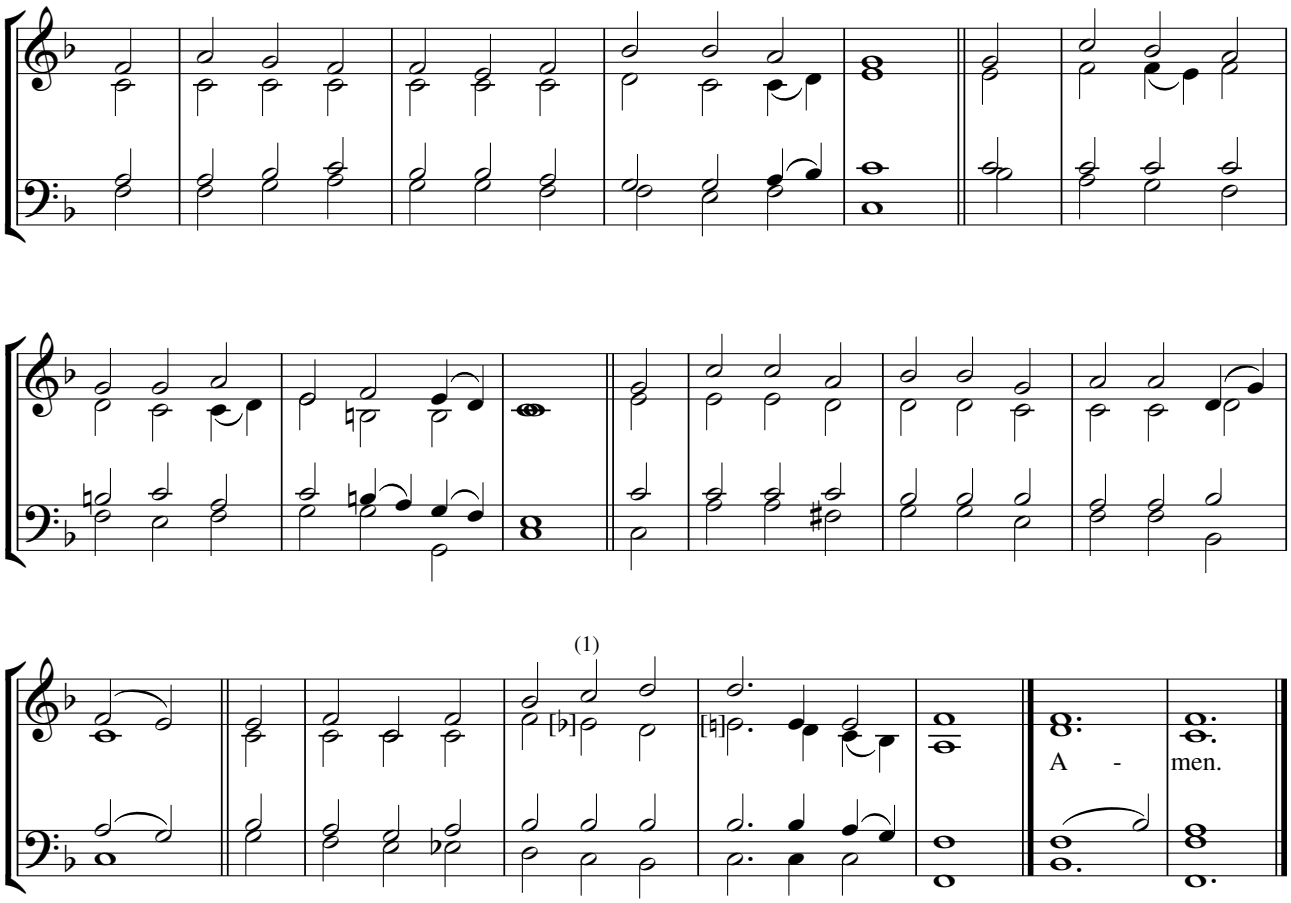
Behold the Lamb of God!
O Thou for sinners slain,
Let it not be in vain
That Thou hast died:
Thee for my Saviour let me take,
My only refuge let me make
Thy piercèd Side.

Matthew Bridges

(1) In all editions of HA&M carrying this tune, the soprano is shown (surely correctly) as E.

Bethany (11.11.11.11)

Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No.93

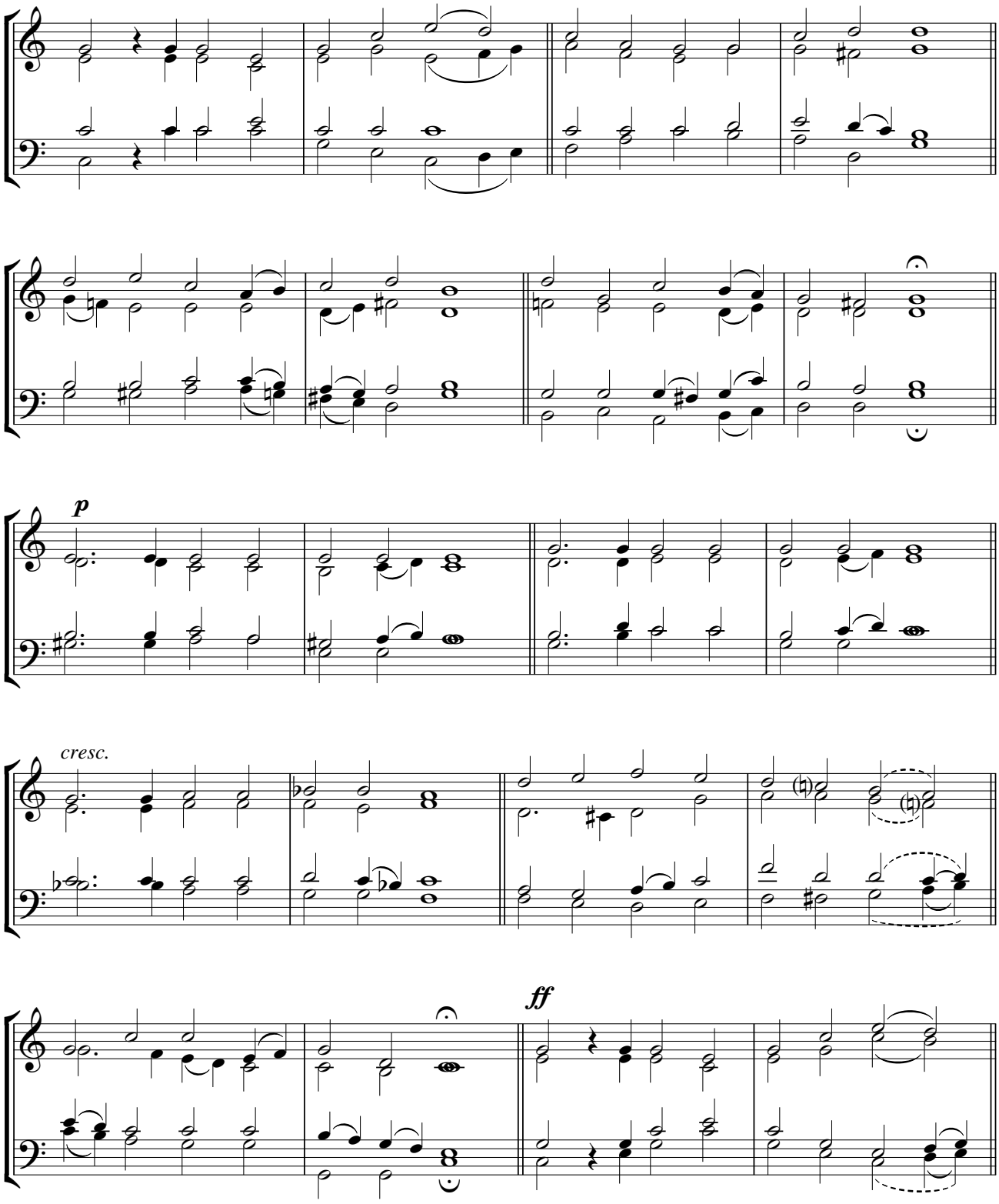
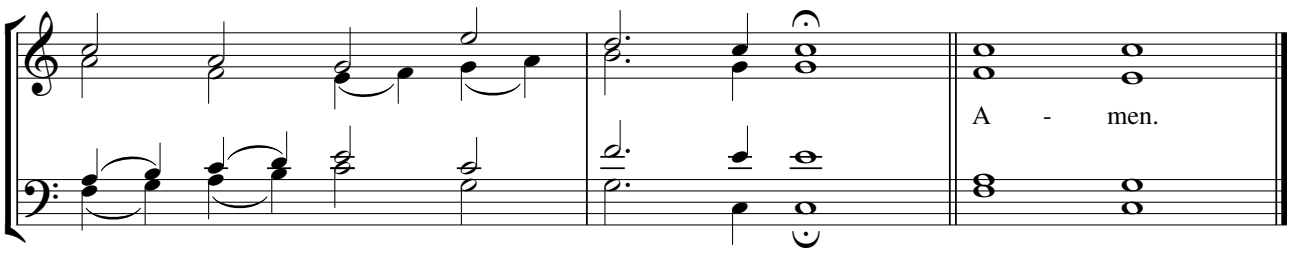
Other names:
JUDEA

I would not live alway; I ask not to stay
Where storm after storm rises dark o'er the way.
The few lurid mornings that dawn on us here
Are enough for life's woes, full enough for its cheer.
Dr. Muhlenberg

(1) The accidentals in square brackets are editorial suggestions.

This tune is not included in the 1902 Novello Edition

Bethlehem (77.77. 77.777.77)

Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book (1869) No. 38

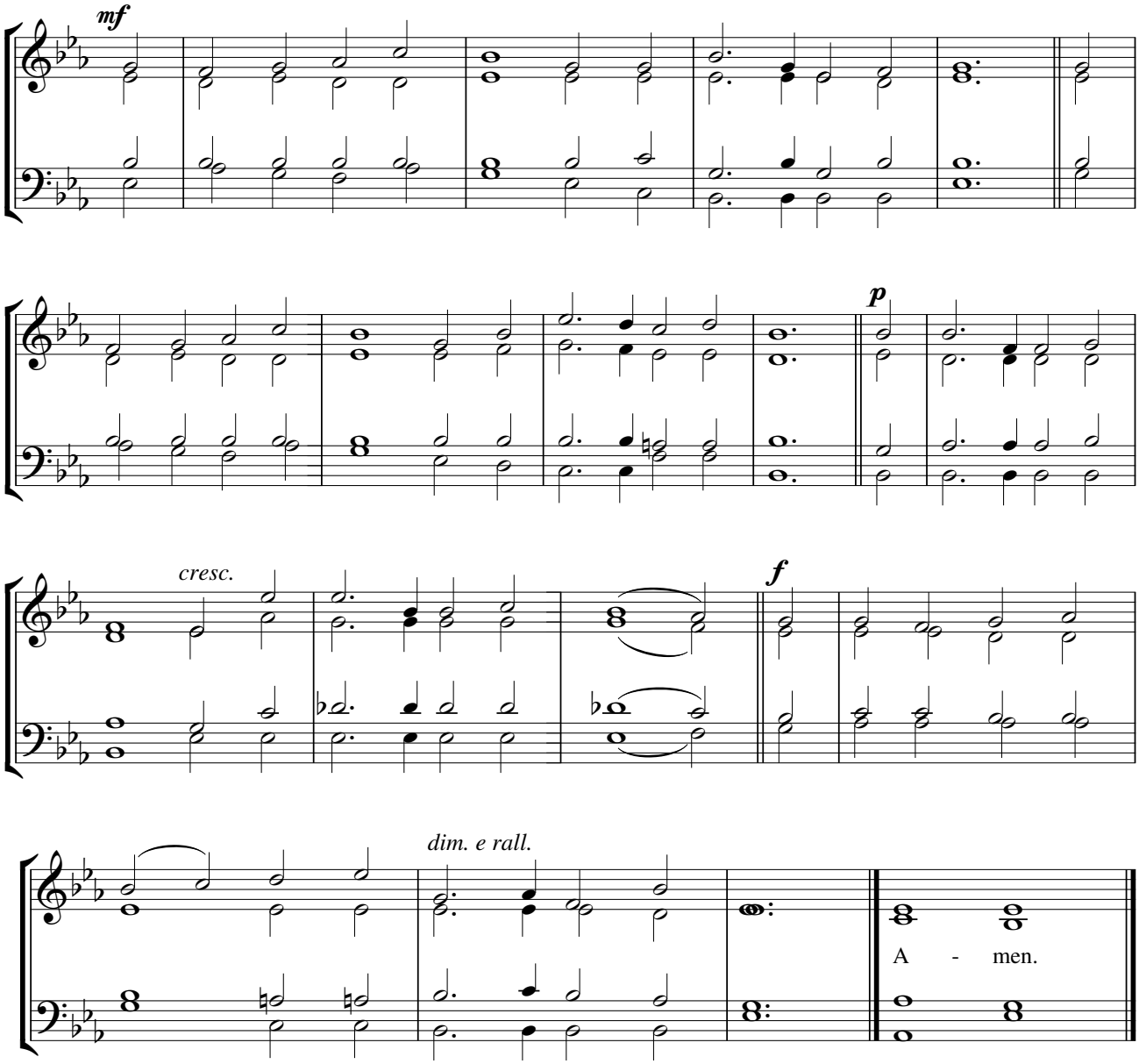
Other names:
BETHLEHEM NEW
HERALD ANGELS



Hark! the herald angels sing
Glory to the new-born King,
Peace on earth, and mercy mild,
God and sinners reconciled.
Joyful, all ye nations, rise,
Join the triumph of the skies;
With the angelic hosts proclaim
Christ is born in Bethlehem.
Hark! the herald angels sing
Glory to the new-born King!

Charles Wesley

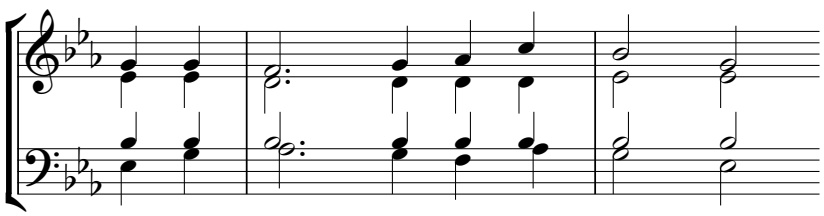
Blairgowrie (7676D)

Novello's Parish Choir Book (n.d.) No. 612

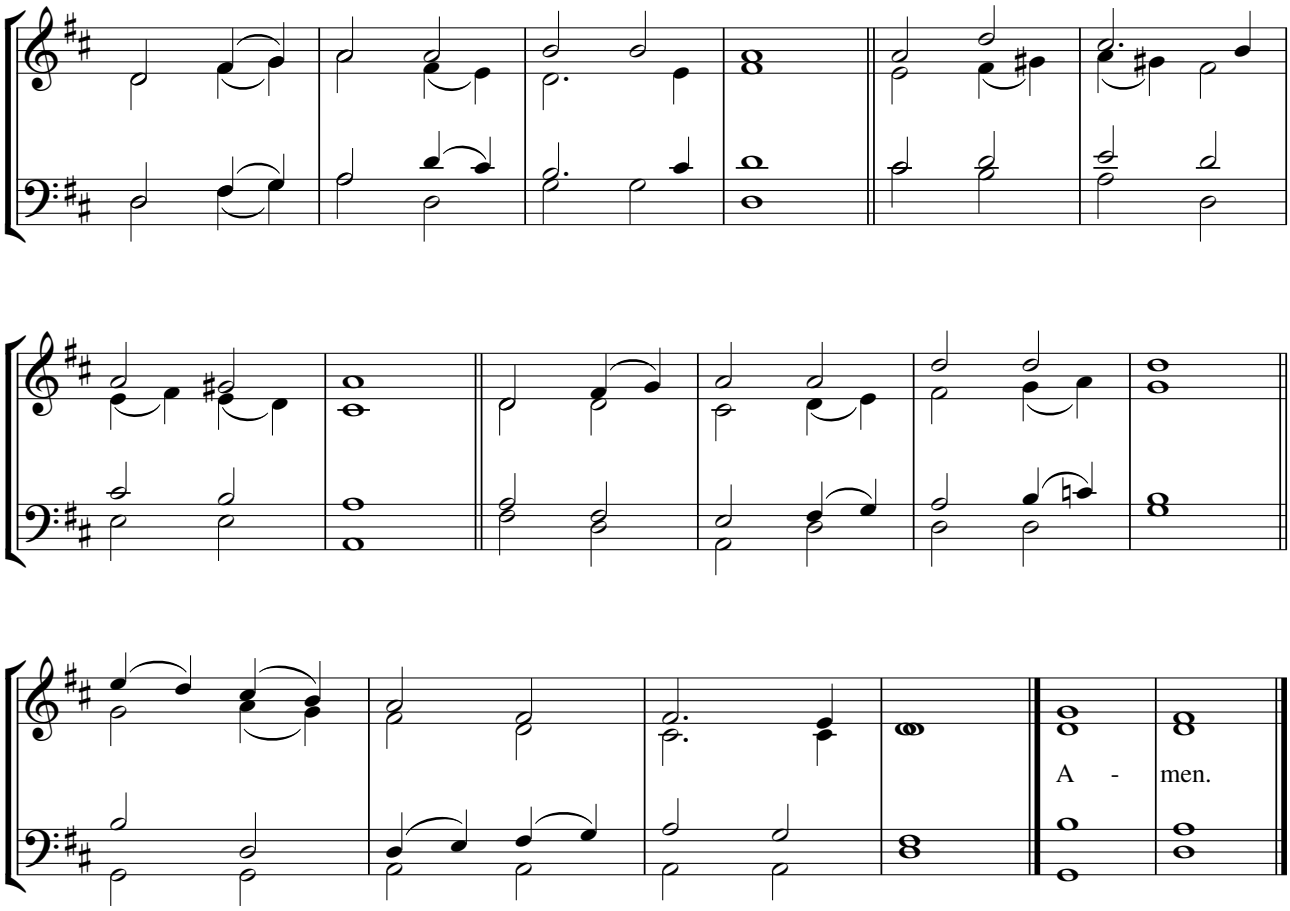
Other names:
EDEN
HARTFORD

The voice that breathed o'er Eden,
That earliest wedding-day,
The primal marriage blessing,
It hath not passed away.
Still in the pure espousal
Of Christian man and maid
The Triune God is with us,
The threefold grace is said.

John Keeble

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of THERE'S A FRIEND:

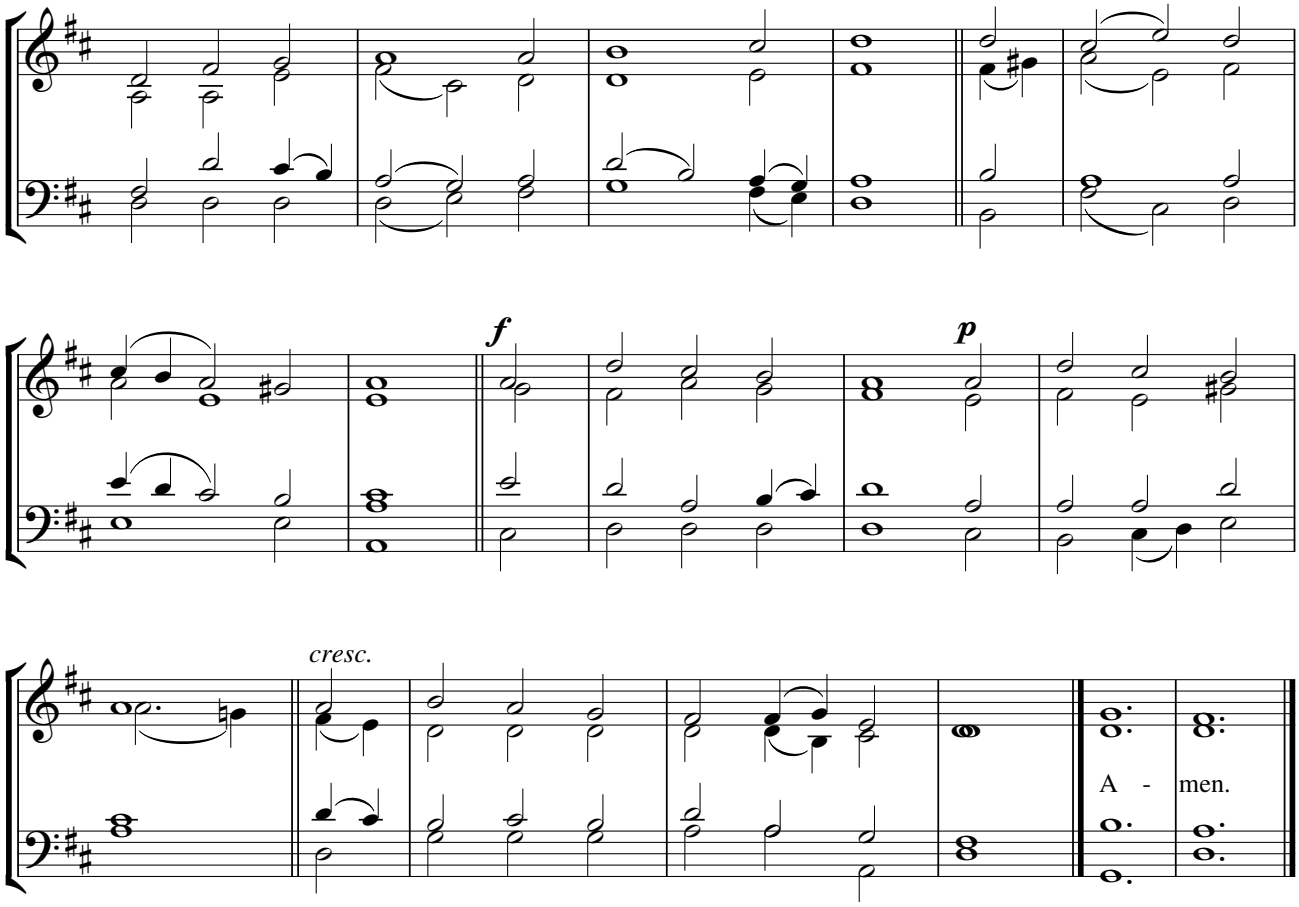


Blessed Trinity (7777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.248

Glory to the Father give,
God in whom we move and live;
Children's prayers He deigns to hear,
Children's songs delight His ear.

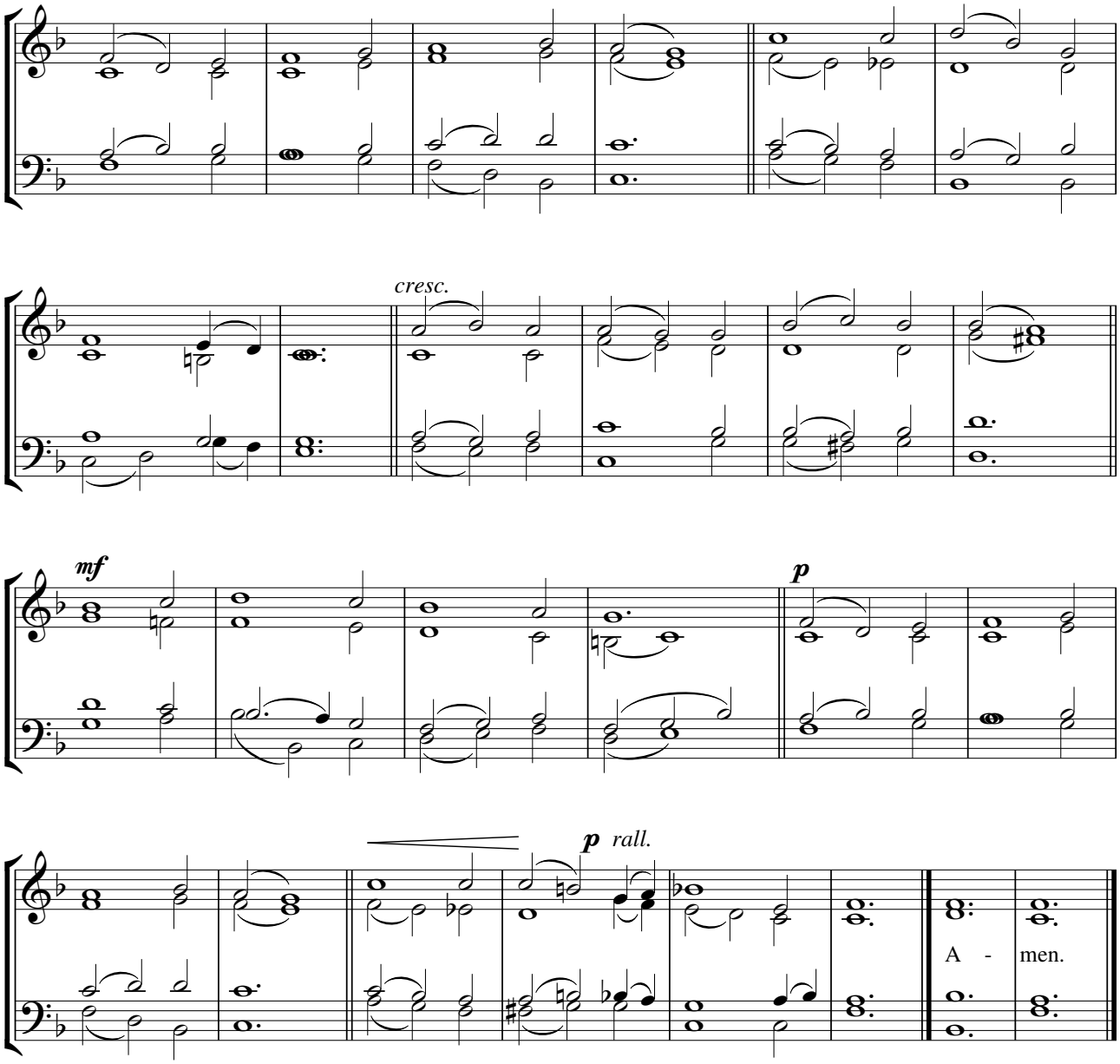
James Montgomery

Bosnia (86558)

The St. Asaph Tune Book (1876) No. 181

Dadseiniwn orfoleddus glod,
Ein Prynwr, Duw a dyn;
Gwaredwr yw Ef, ei fraich sydd yn gref,
Dioddefodd Ef drosom ei Hun.

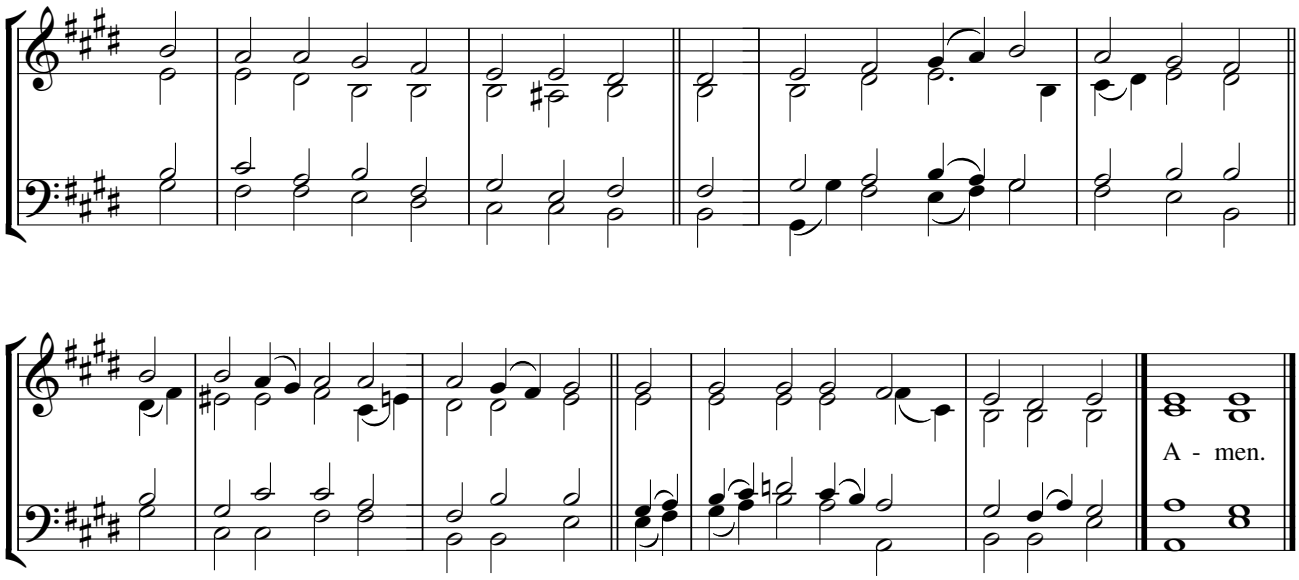
Translation provided in the Novello 1902 edition
To Thee, O Christ, Redeemer King,
All praise and glory be:
From sin and the grave
Thou'rt Mighty to save,
All honour, O Saviour, to Thee.

Bread of Heaven (777777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.192

Bread of Heaven, on Thee we feed,
For Thy Flesh is meat indeed;
Ever may our souls be fed
With this true and living Bread;
Day by day with strength supplied
Through the life of Him Who died.

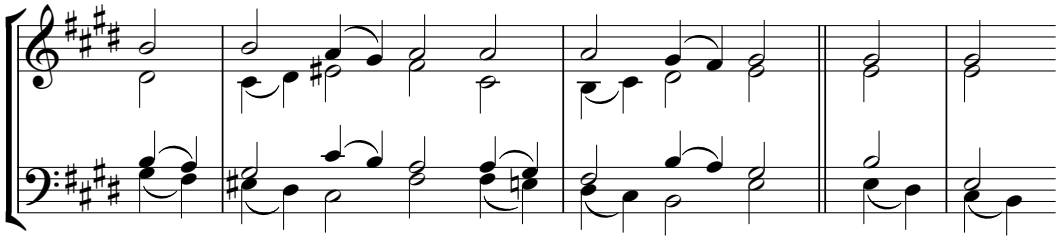
J. Conder

Brighton (LM)

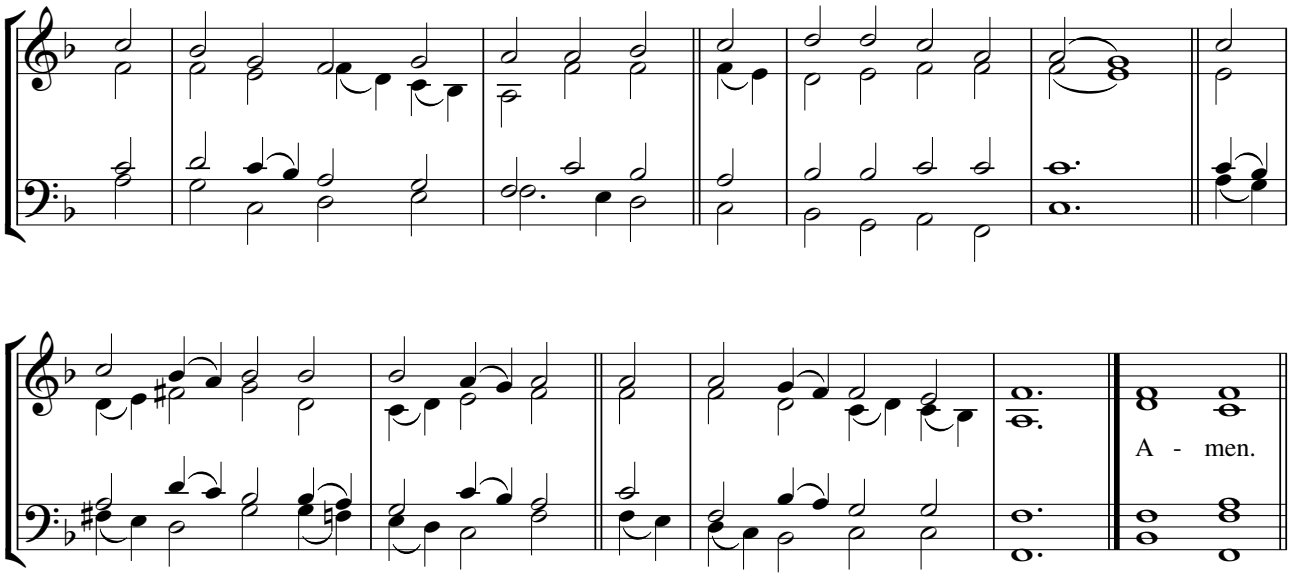
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.157

O Zion! when we think of thee,
We long for pinions like the dove,
And mourn to think that we should be
So distant from the land we love.

Thomas Kelly

Compare bars 6-8 with bars 7-9 of 'Burton Agnes':

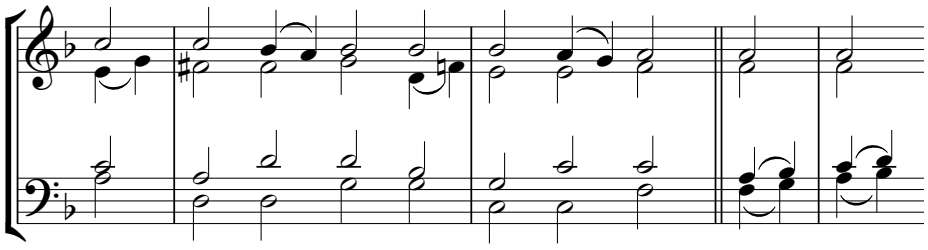


Burton Agnes (CM)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1867) No.231

There is a name I love to hear;
I love to sing its worth;
It sounds like music in mine ear,
The sweetest name on earth.

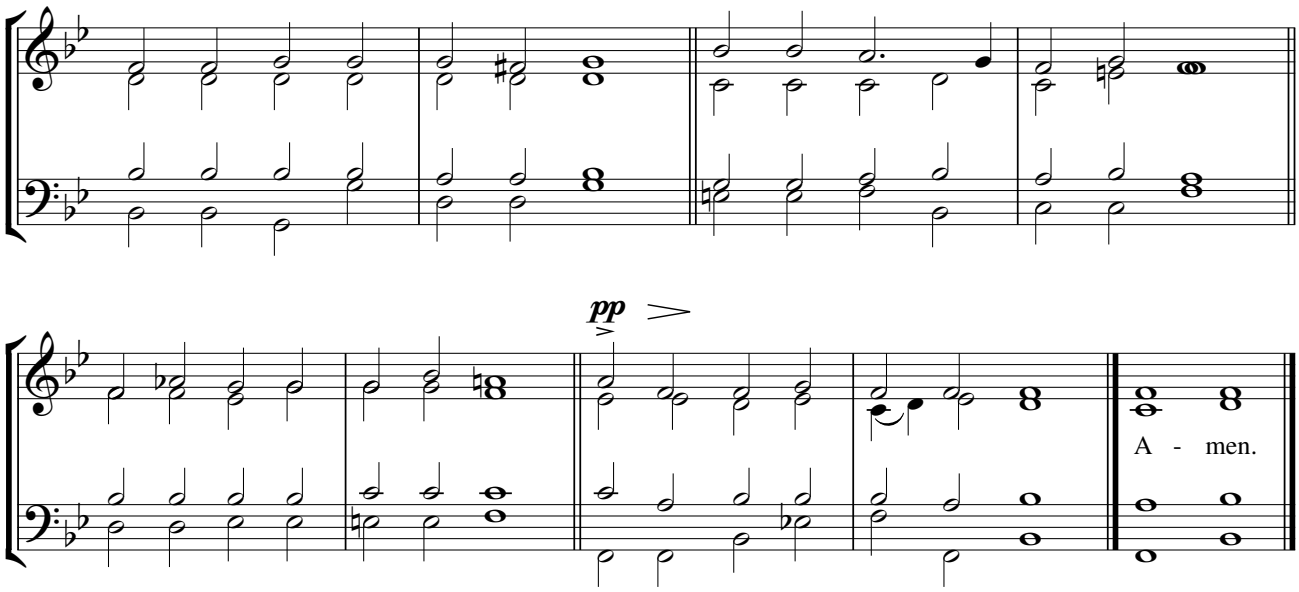
Frederick Whitfield

Compare bars 7-9 with bars 6-8 of BRIGHTON:



Butterby (7777)

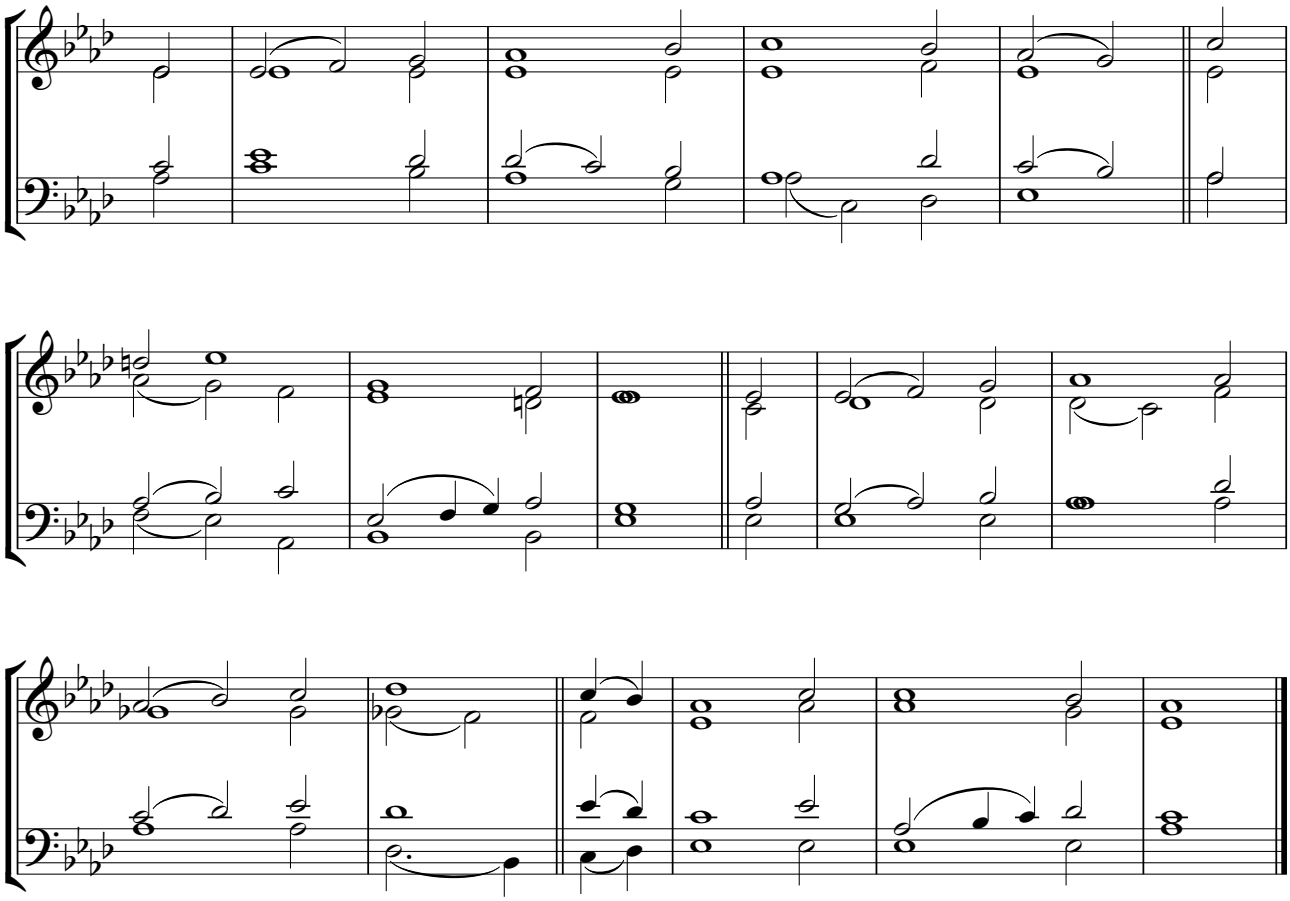
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.67

Other names:
SUBMISSION

When our heads are bowed with woe,
When our bitter tears o'erflow,
When we mourn the lost, the dear,
Jesus, Son of Mary, hear!

Henry H. Milman

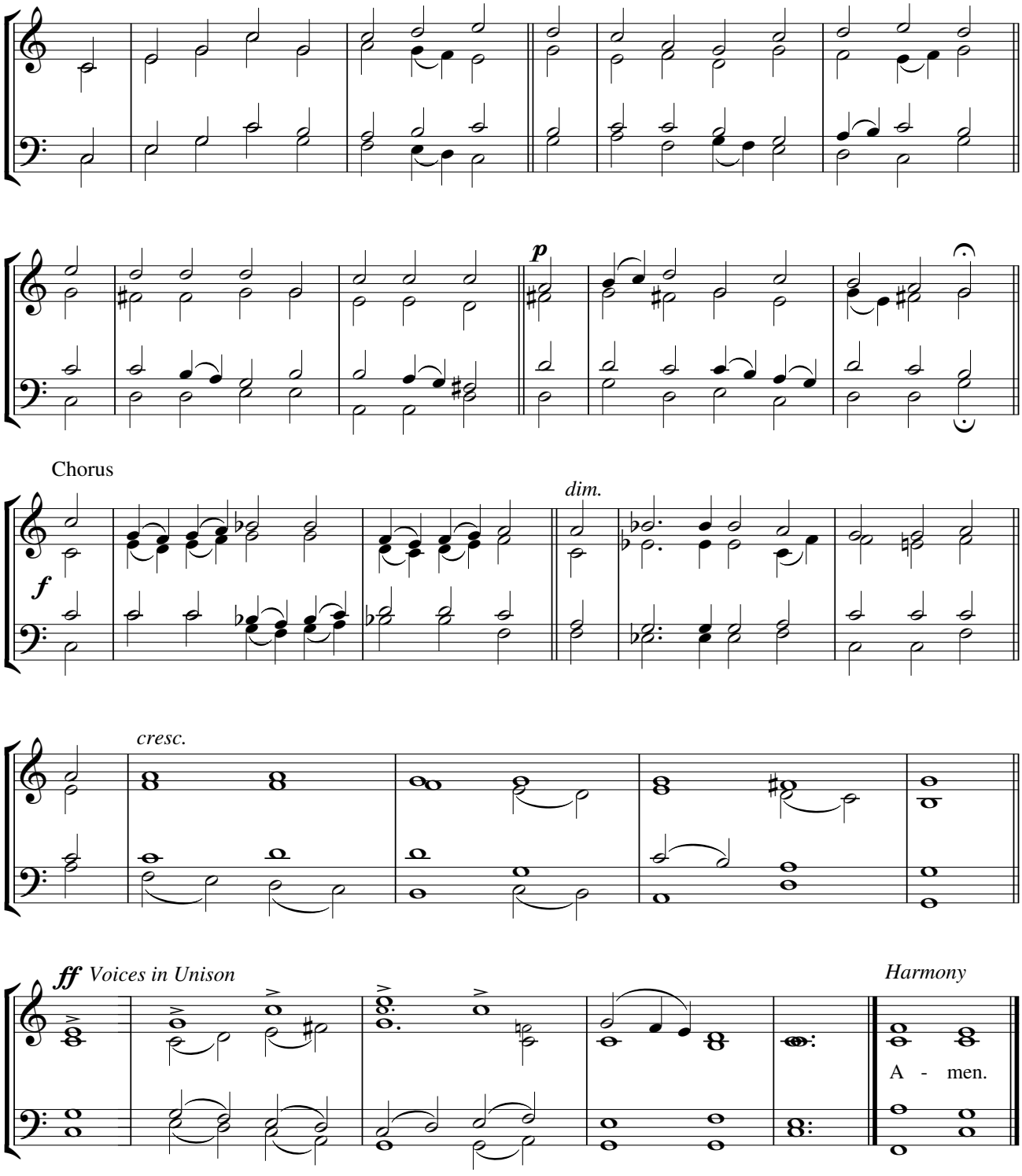
Canaan (CM)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1867) page 234



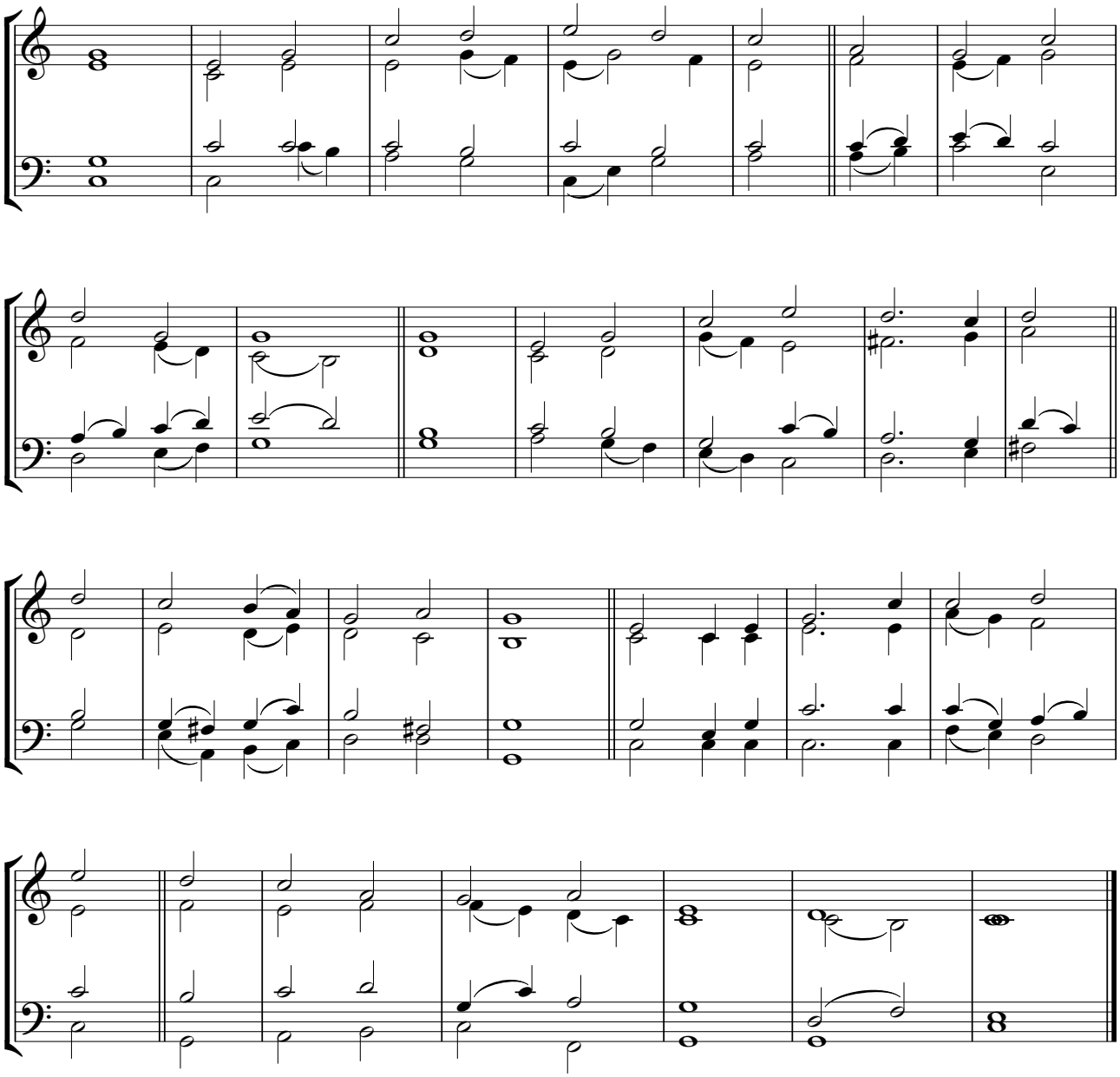
[Not set to any specific hymn]

Cantate Domino (DLM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.109

Sing to the Lord a joyful song,
Lift up your hearts, your voices raise:
To us His gracious gifts belong,
To Him our songs of love and praise.
For He is Lord of Heav'n and earth,
Whom Angels serve, and saints adore,
The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
To Whom be praise for evermore .

John S.B. Monsell

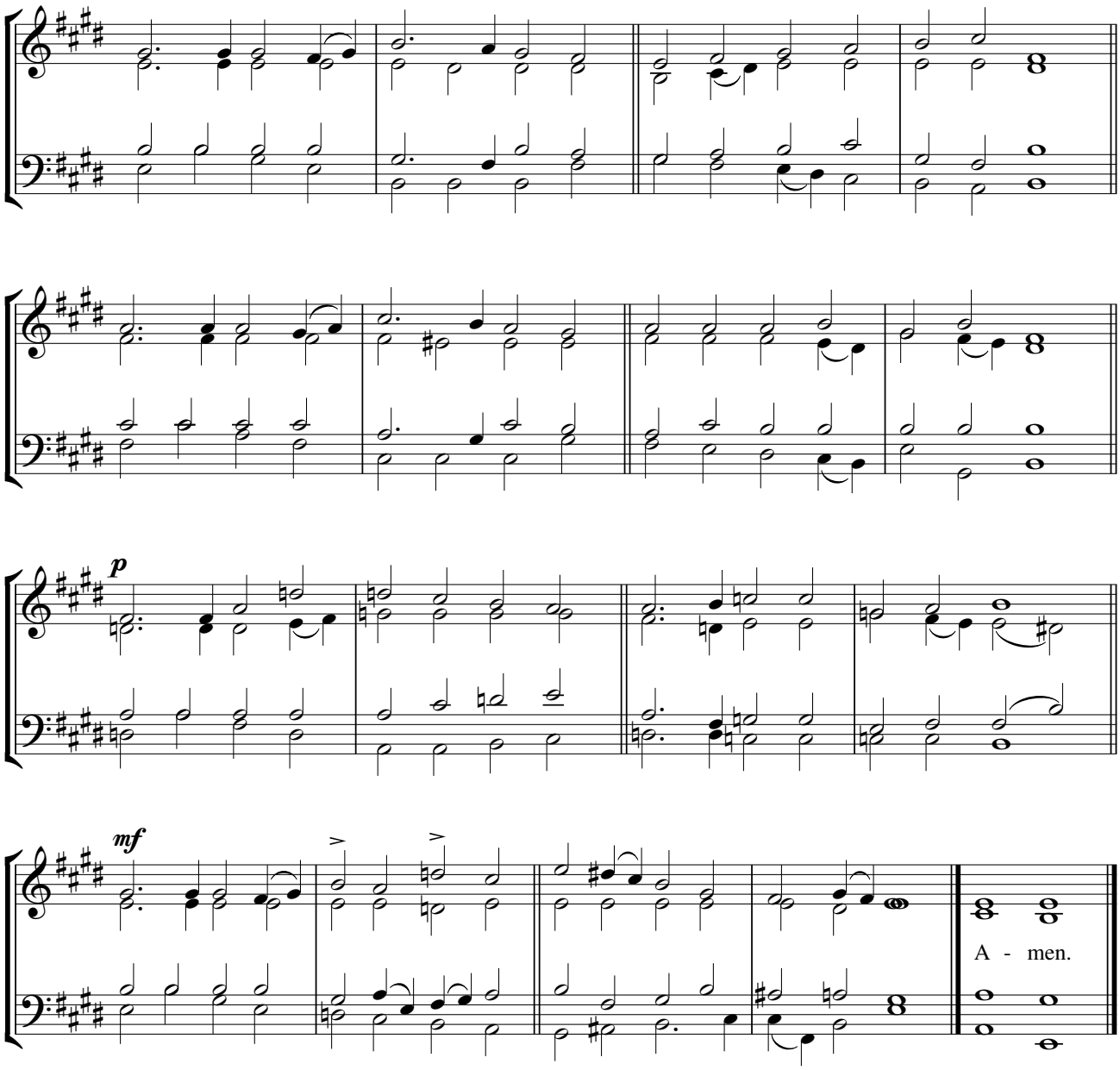
Catford (868688)

Congregational Church Music (1871) No.377

Thou art the Everlasting Word,
The Father's only Son;
God manifestly seen and heard,
And Heaven's belovèd one:
Worthy, O Lamb of God, art Thou
That every knee to Thee should bow.

Josiah Conder

Charitas (i) (8787D)

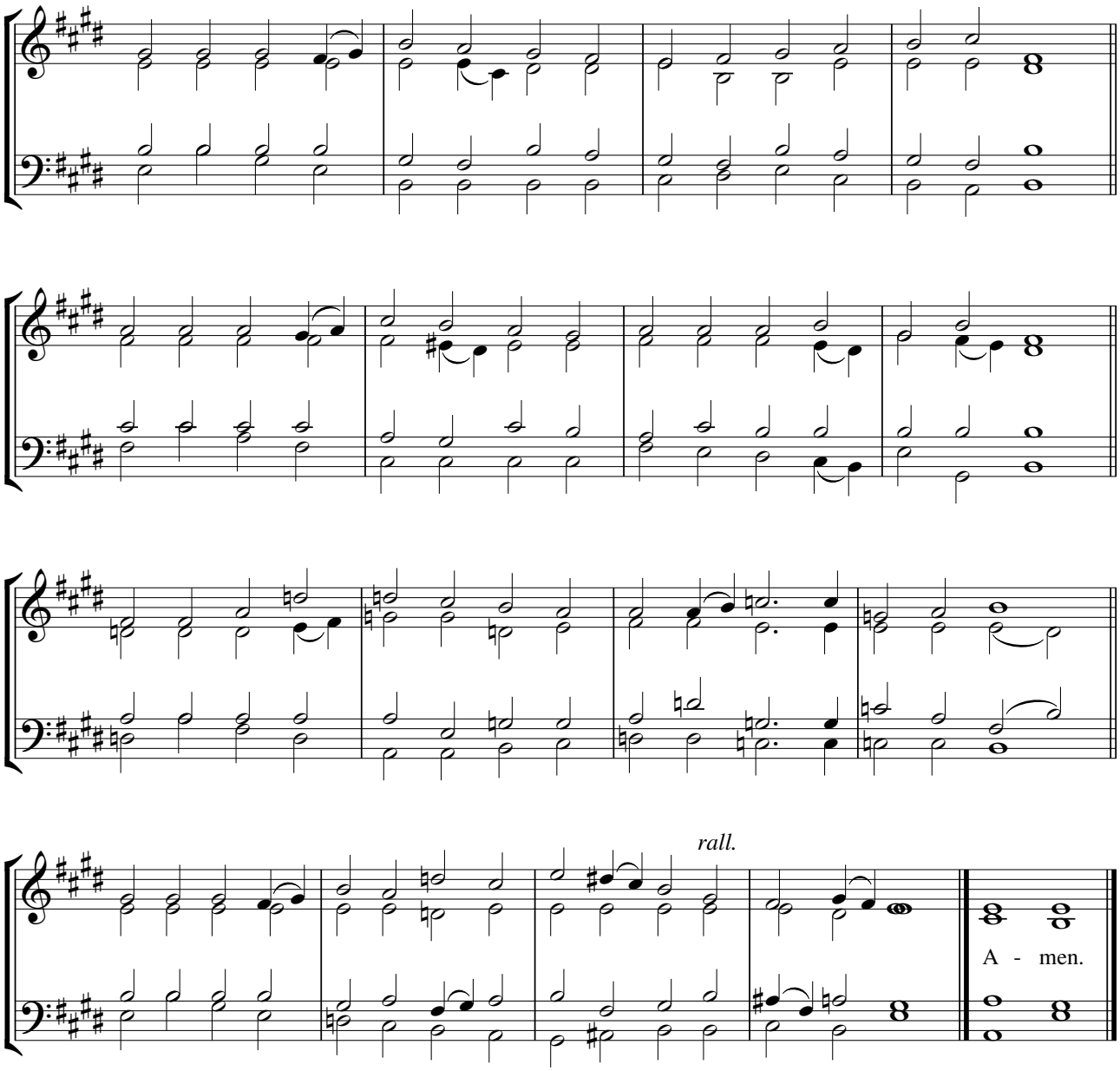
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.372

Other names:
CARITAS

Lord of Glory, who hast bought us
With Thy life-blood as the price,
Never grudging for the lost ones
That tremendous sacrifice,
And with that hast freely given
Blessings countless as the sand
To the unthankful and the evil
With Thine own unsparing hand.

Eliza S. Alderson
(sister of J.B. Dykes)

Charitas (ii) (8787D)

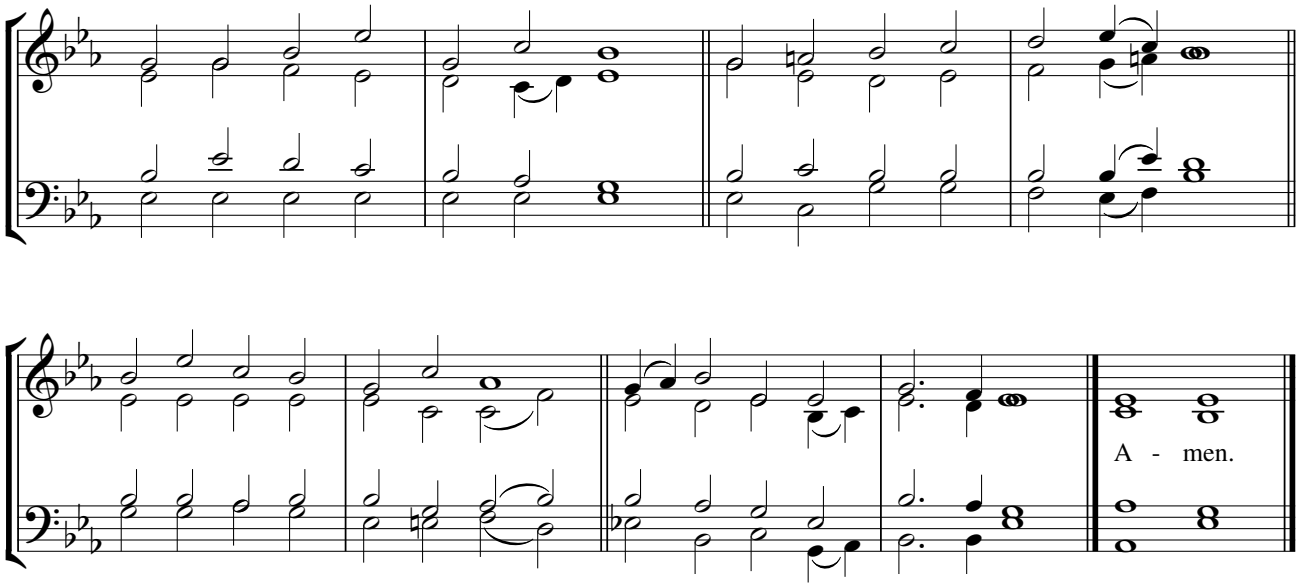
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.367

Other names:
CARITAS

Lord of Glory, who hast bought us
With Thy life-blood as the price,
Never grudging for the lost ones
That tremendous sacrifice,
And with that hast freely given
Blessings countless as the sand
To the unthankful and the evil
With Thine own unsparing hand.

Eliza S. Alderson
(sister of J.B. Dykes)

Children of the Heavenly King (7777)

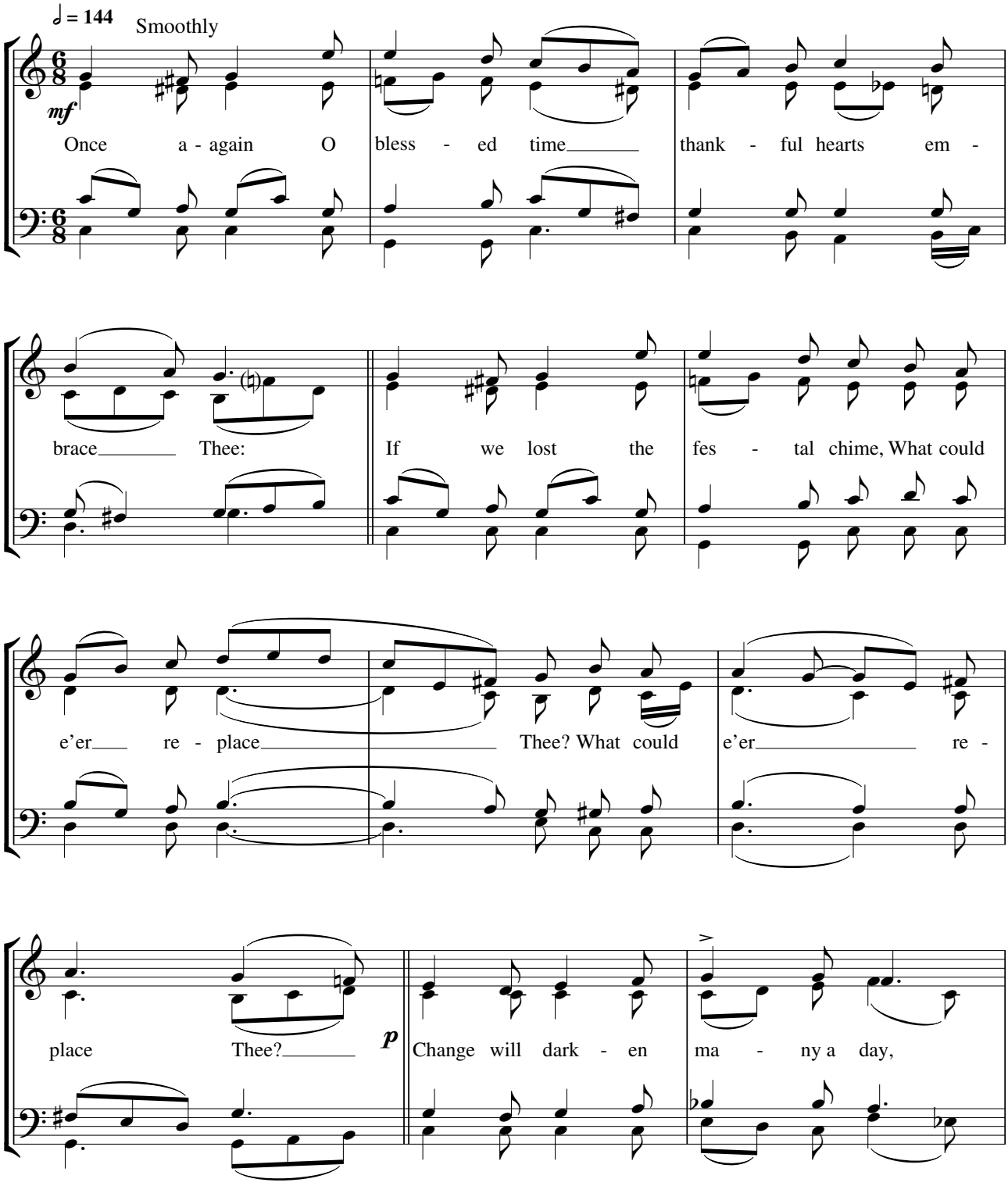
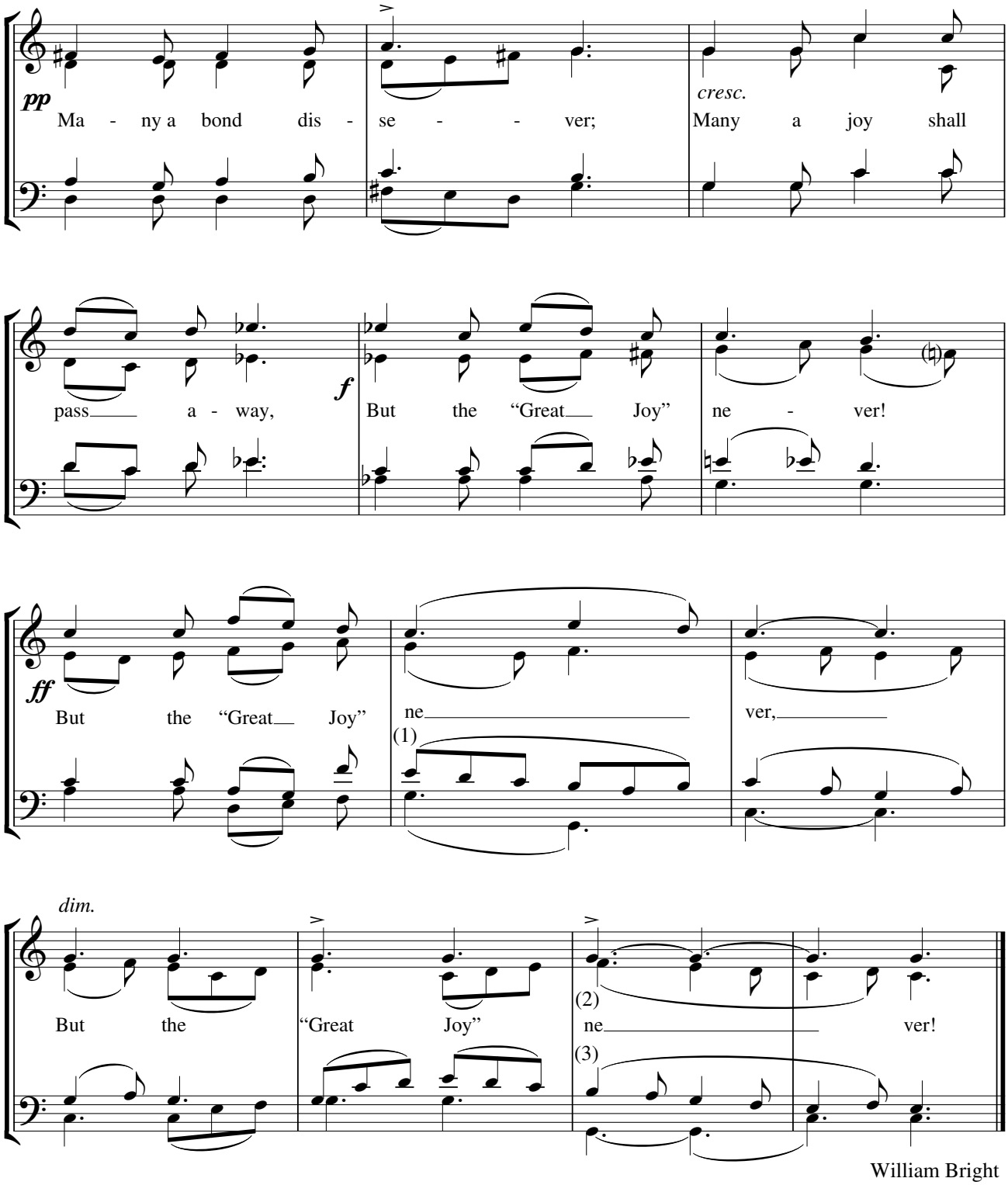
Biden's Procesional Hymns (1872) page 26

Other names:
HOMEWARD

Children of the heavenly King,
As ye journey, sweetly sing;
Sing your Savior's worthy praise,
Glorious in His works and ways.

John Cennick

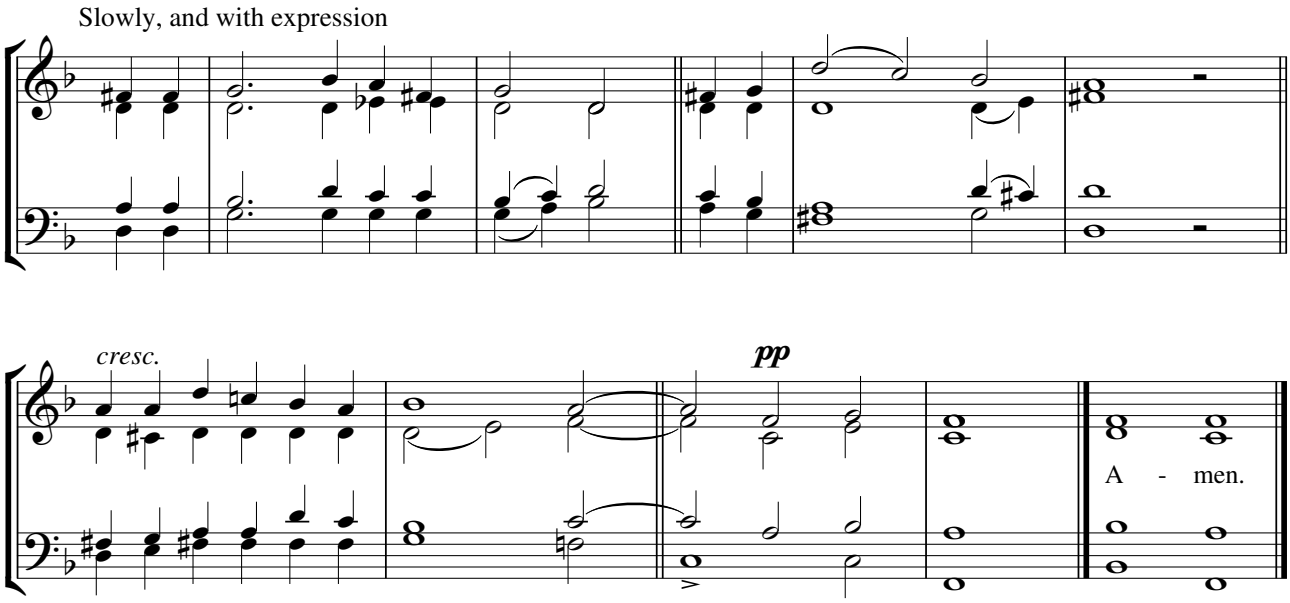
Christmas Song (7676D)

Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.34

Other names:
ONCE AGAIN, O BLESSED TIME

(1) In the original, the tenor slur does not embrace all six quavers, an apparent engraving compromise.
(2) In the original, the alto slur starts on the 'e'.
(3) In the original, the tenor slur is absent.

Christus Consolator (8583)

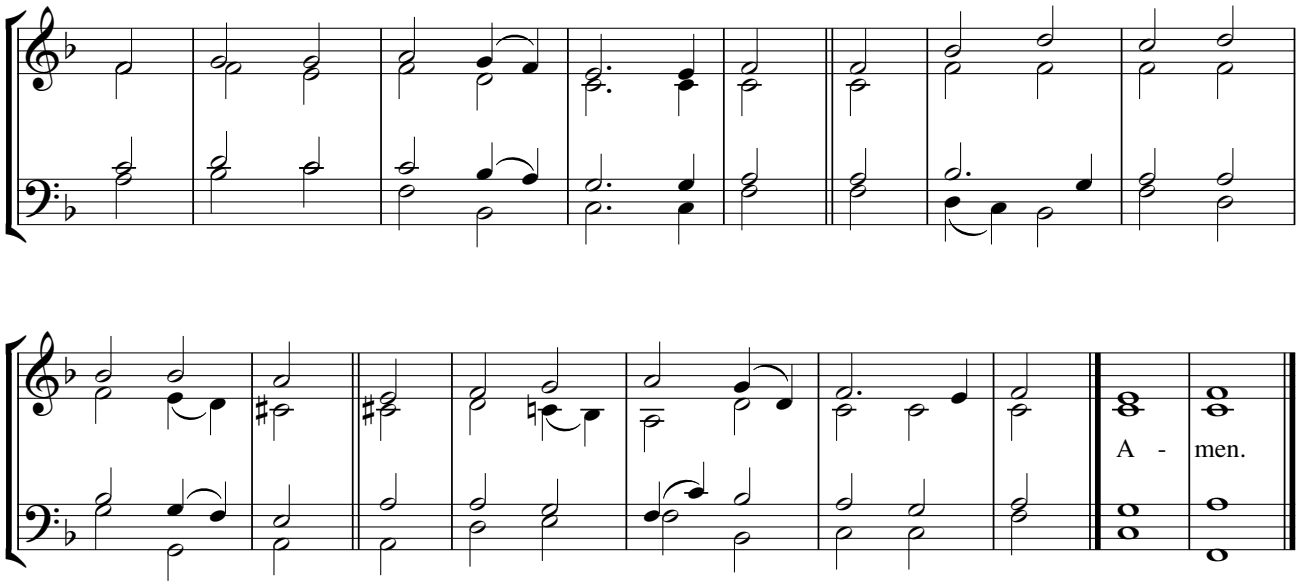
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.299



Art thou weary, art thou languid,
Art thou sore distressed?
“Come to Me,” saith One, “and coming,
Be at rest.”

J.M. Neale

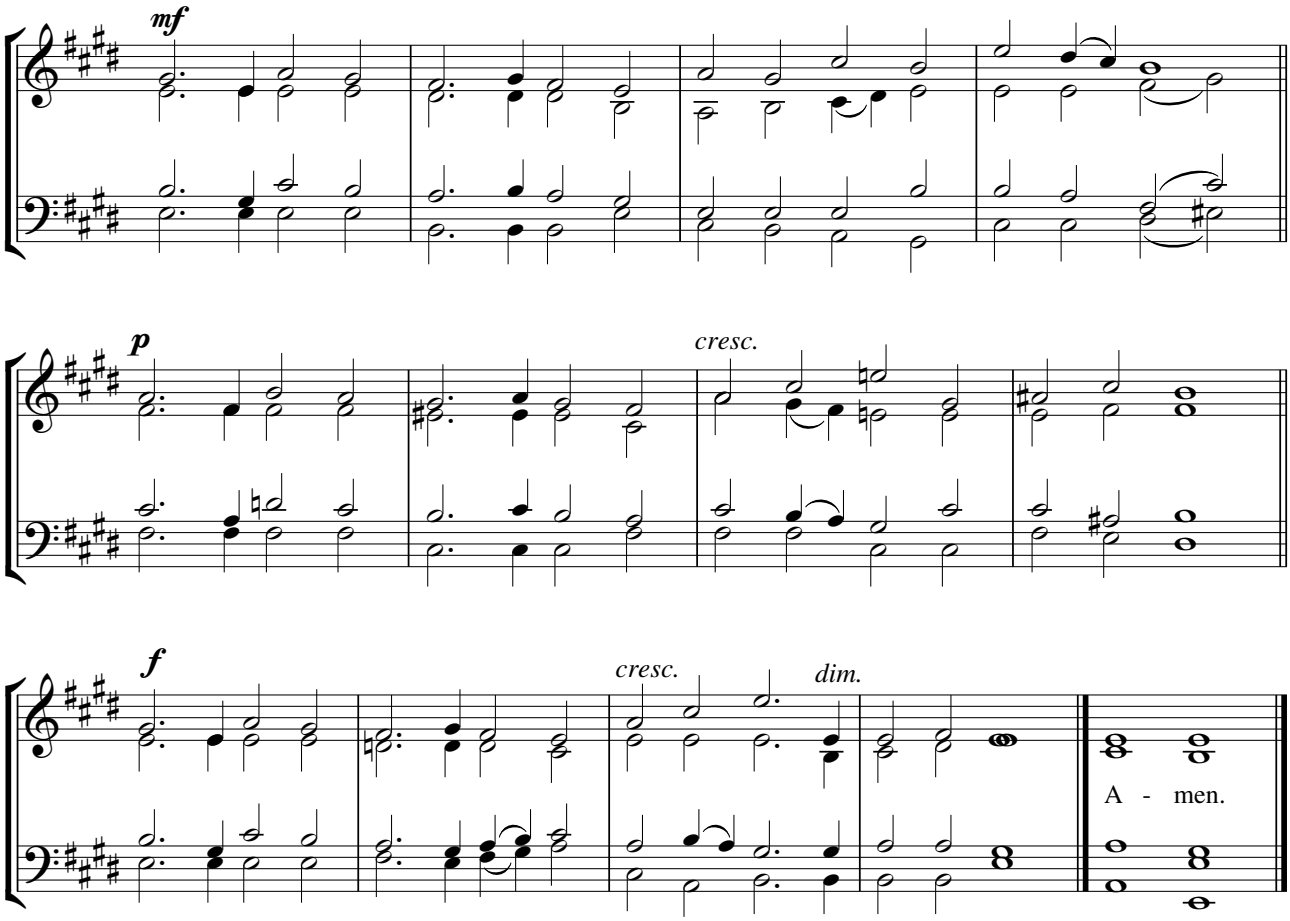
Cilicia (888)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.134

O God of Life, Whose Power benign
Doth o'er the world in mercy shine,
Accept our praise, for we are Thine.

Arthur T. Russell

Cœni Domini (878787)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.191



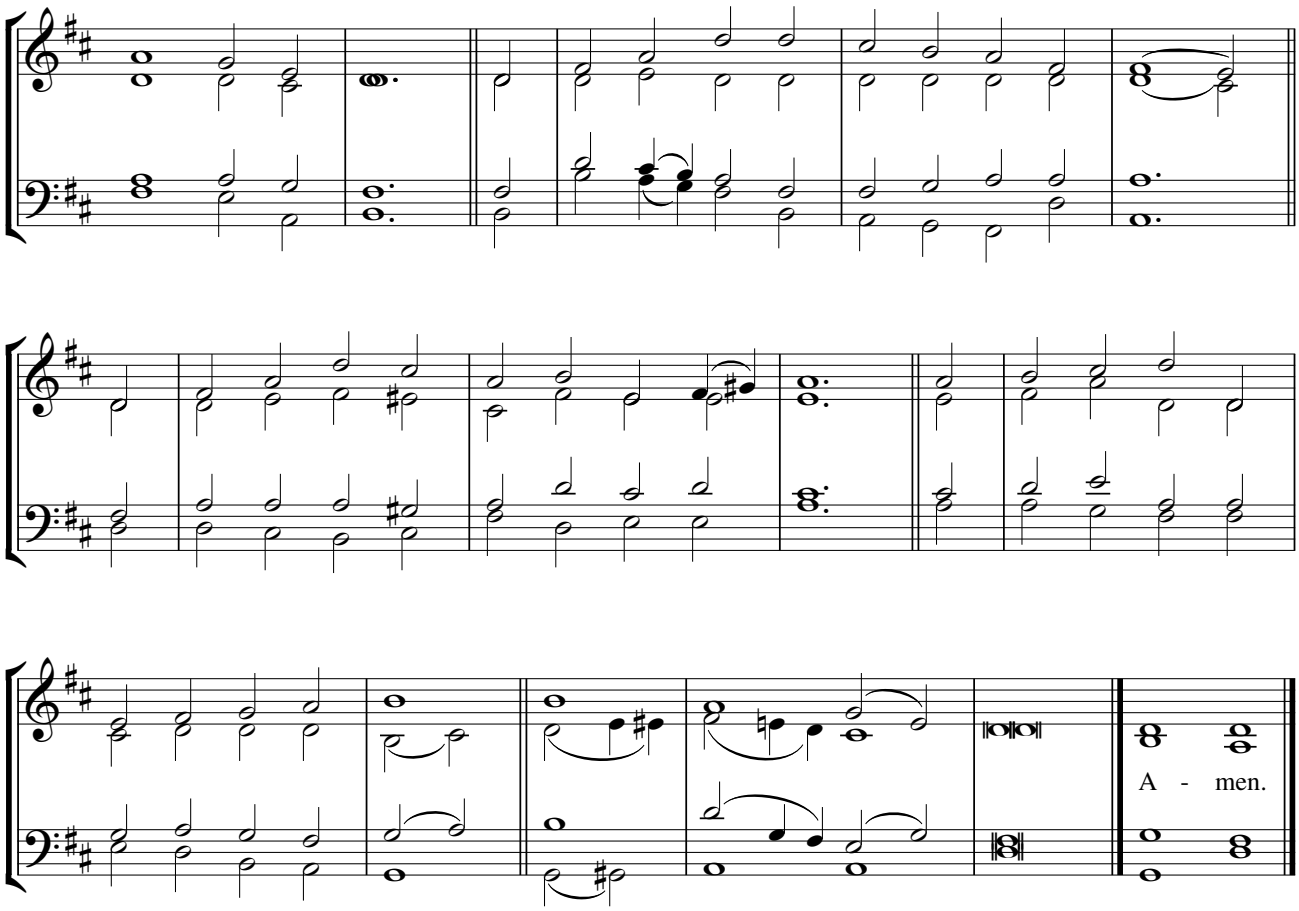
Of that glorious Body broken,
O my soul, the Mystery sing!
And the Blood all price exceeding,
Shed by Him Who came to bring
To a fallen world Redemption,
Christ, our Saviour and our King.

Trans. John Mason Neale (?)

For reasons which are not clear (and which defy the sense of words and music) the Editor has indicated *sforzandi* in bar 8, 2nd beat; bar 10, 1st beat; and bar 12, 1st beat.

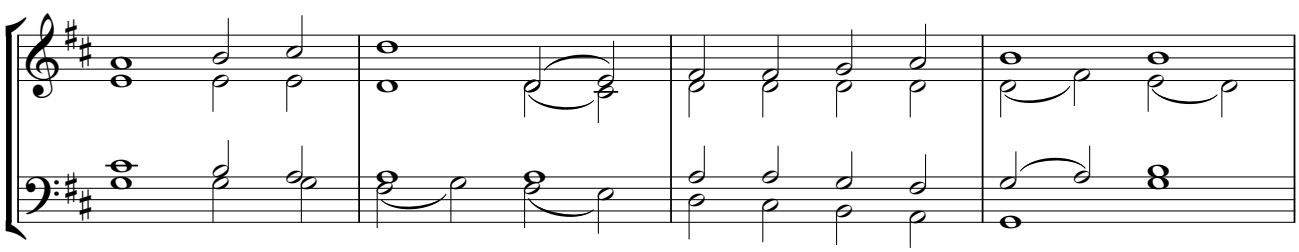
‘Come, Labour On!’ (4.10.10.10.4)

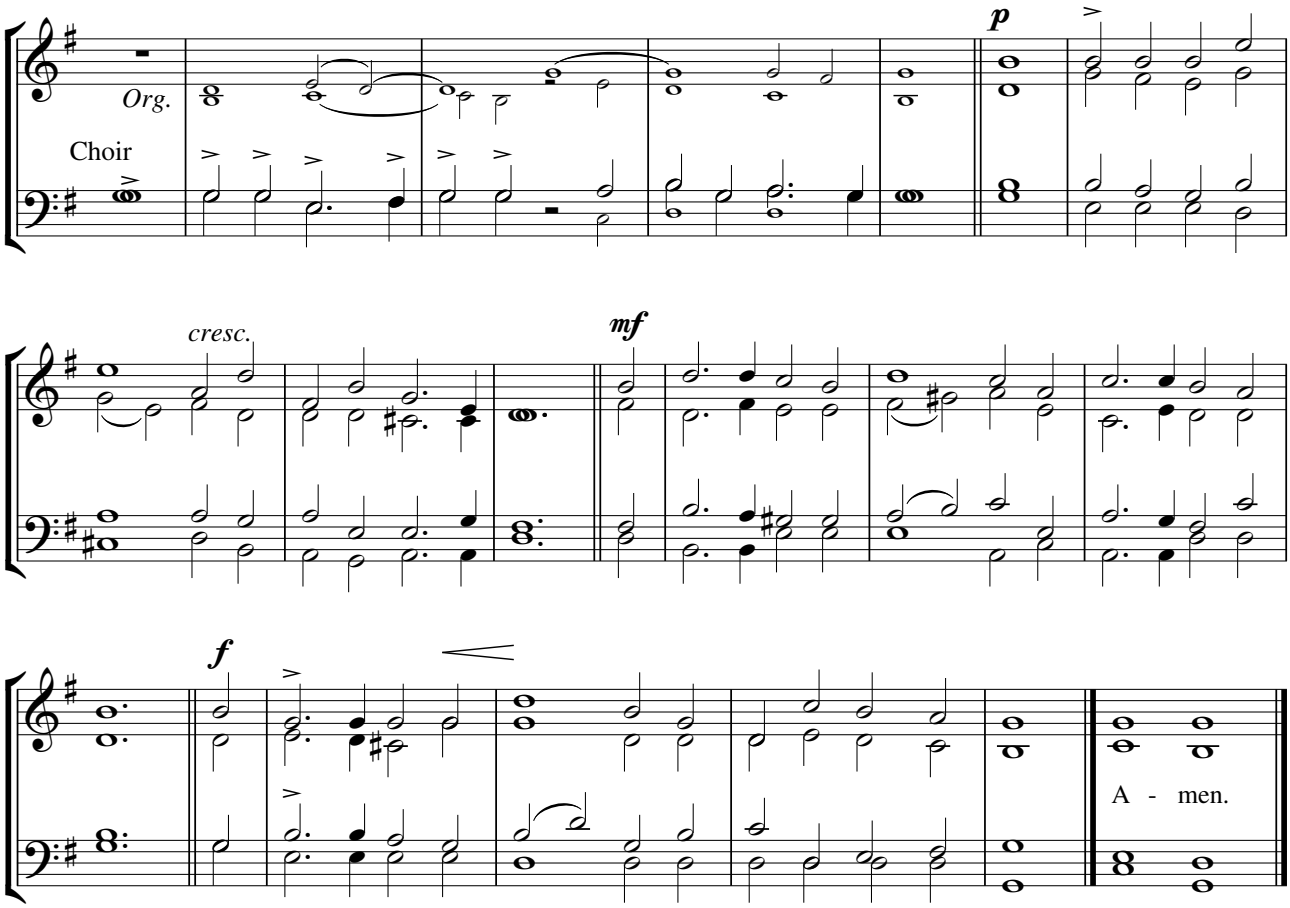
Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.224



Come, labour on.
Who dares stand idle on the harvest plain
while all around us waves the golden grain?
And to each servant does the Master say,
“Go work today.”

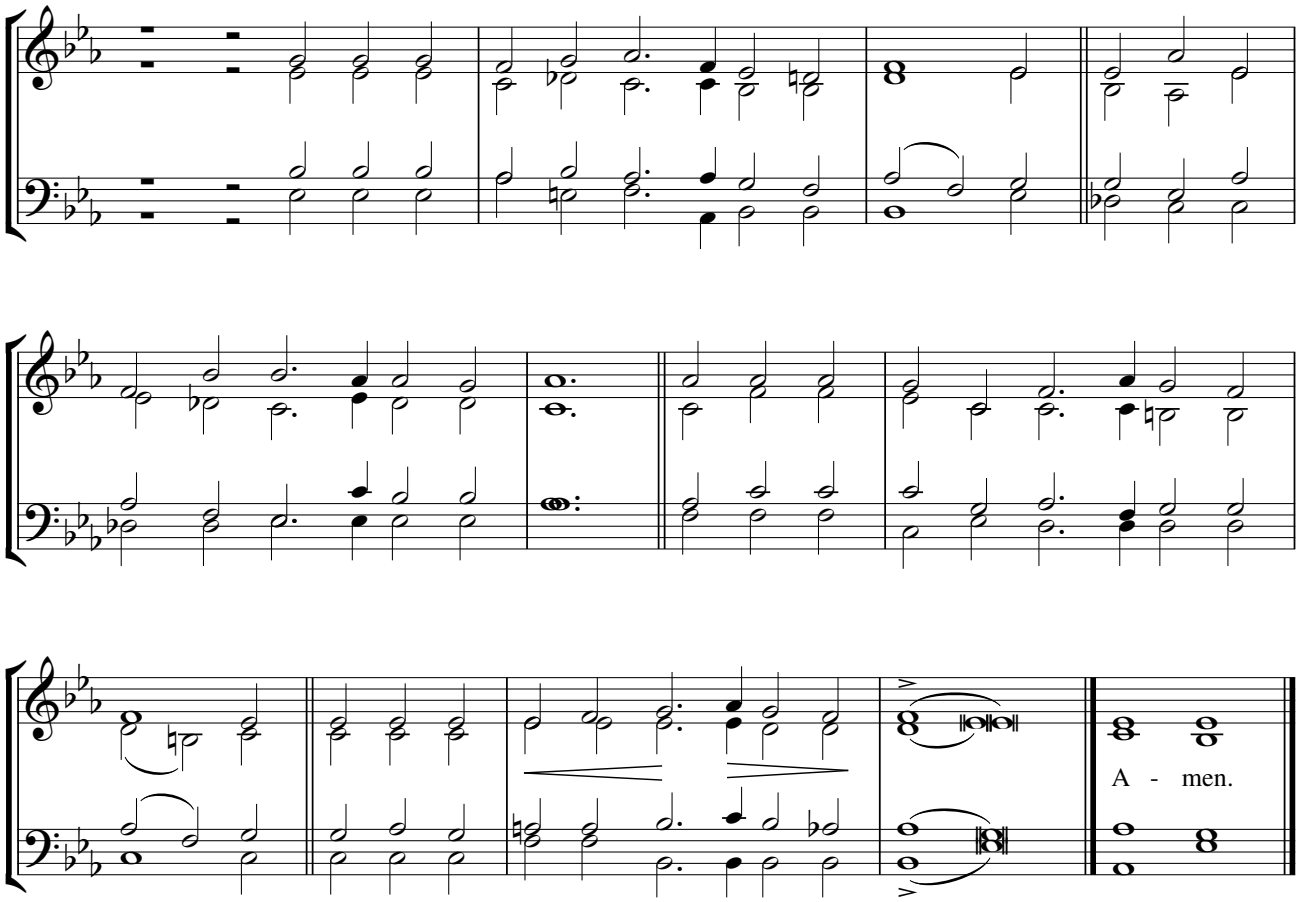
Jane Borthwick

Compare bars 11-15 with bars 9-12 of ‘Strength and Stay’

Come Unto Me (7676D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.256

"Come unto Me, ye weary,
And I will give you rest."
O blessèd voice of Jesus,
Which comes to hearts opprest;
It tells of benediction,
Of pardon, grace and peace,
Of love that hath no ending,
Of love which cannot cease.

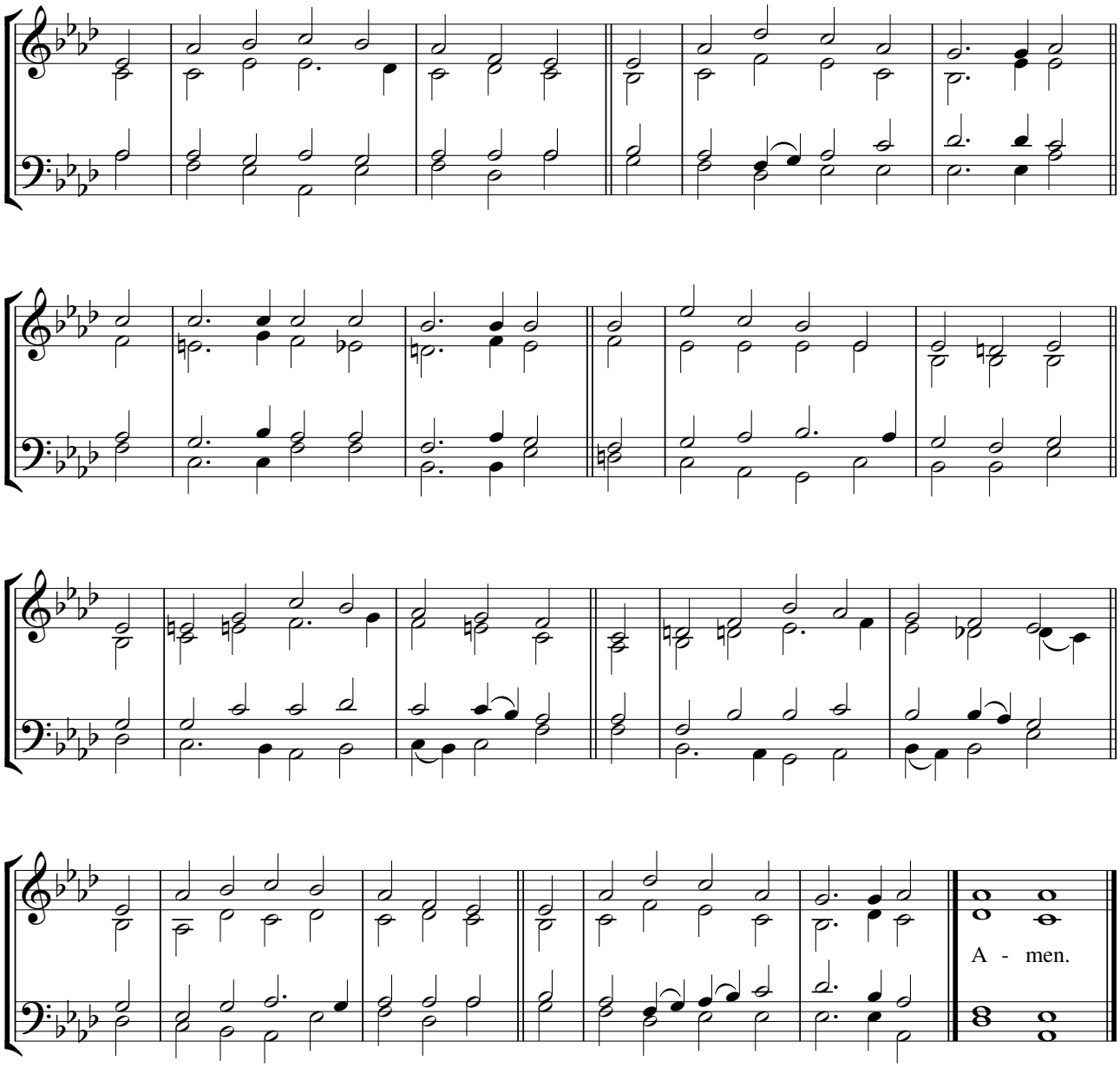
William C. Dix

Commendatio (11.10.11.10)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.121

And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning,
Into Thy Father's arms with conscious Will,
Calmly, with reverend grace, Thy Head inclining,
The throbbing Brow and laboring Breast grow still.

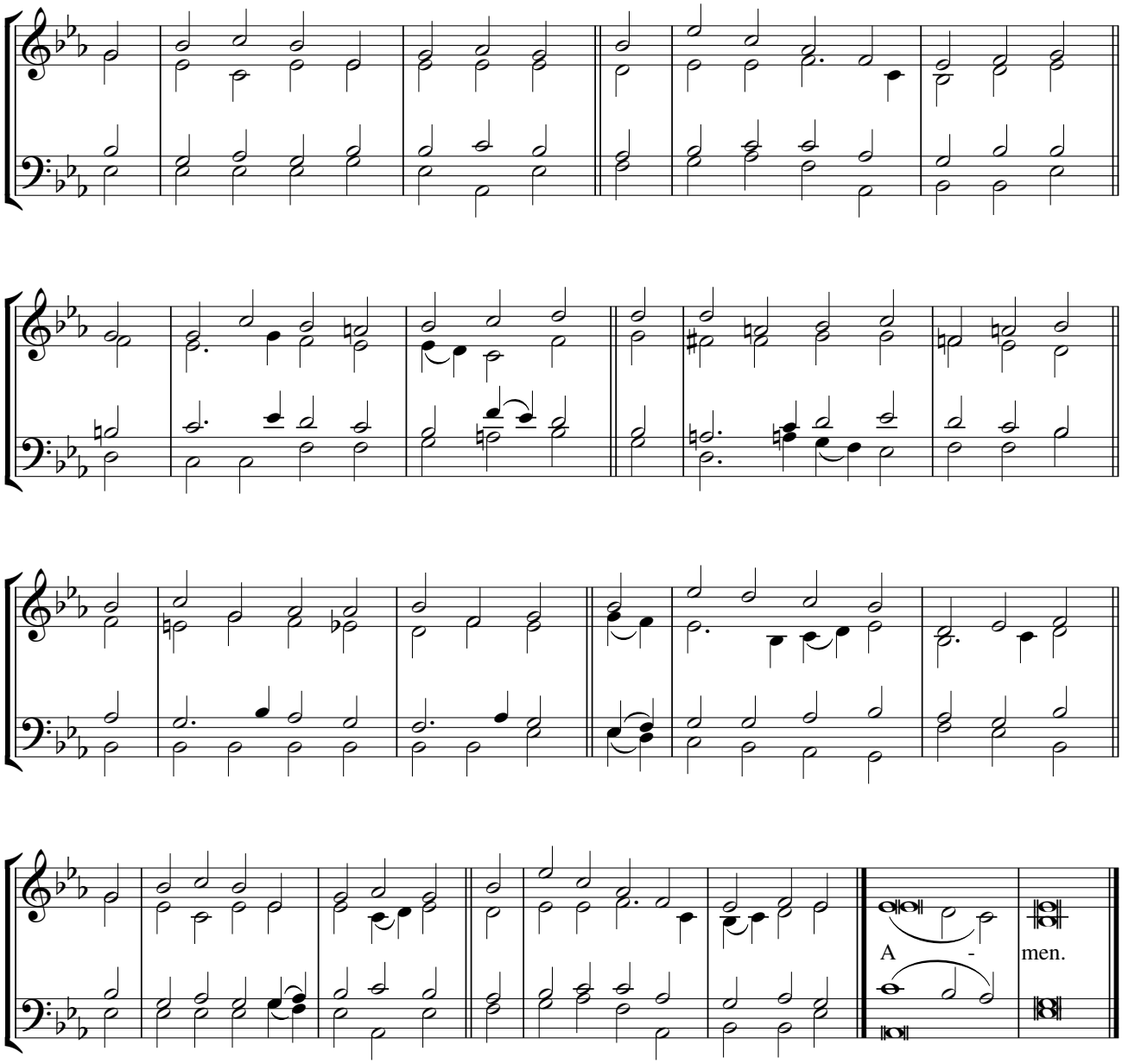
Eliza S. Alderson
(Sister of J.B. Dykes)

Confirmation Part I (DLM)

The Holy Year (1865) No.111

Father of all, in Whom we live,
To Thee we praise and glory give;
Fountain of Love! Who didst by Grace
Create anew our fallen race,
Making us sons of God to be,
Adopted in Thy Son by Thee,
O may Thy Blessing on us shine,
And, Father, keep us ever Thine.

Christopher Wordsworth

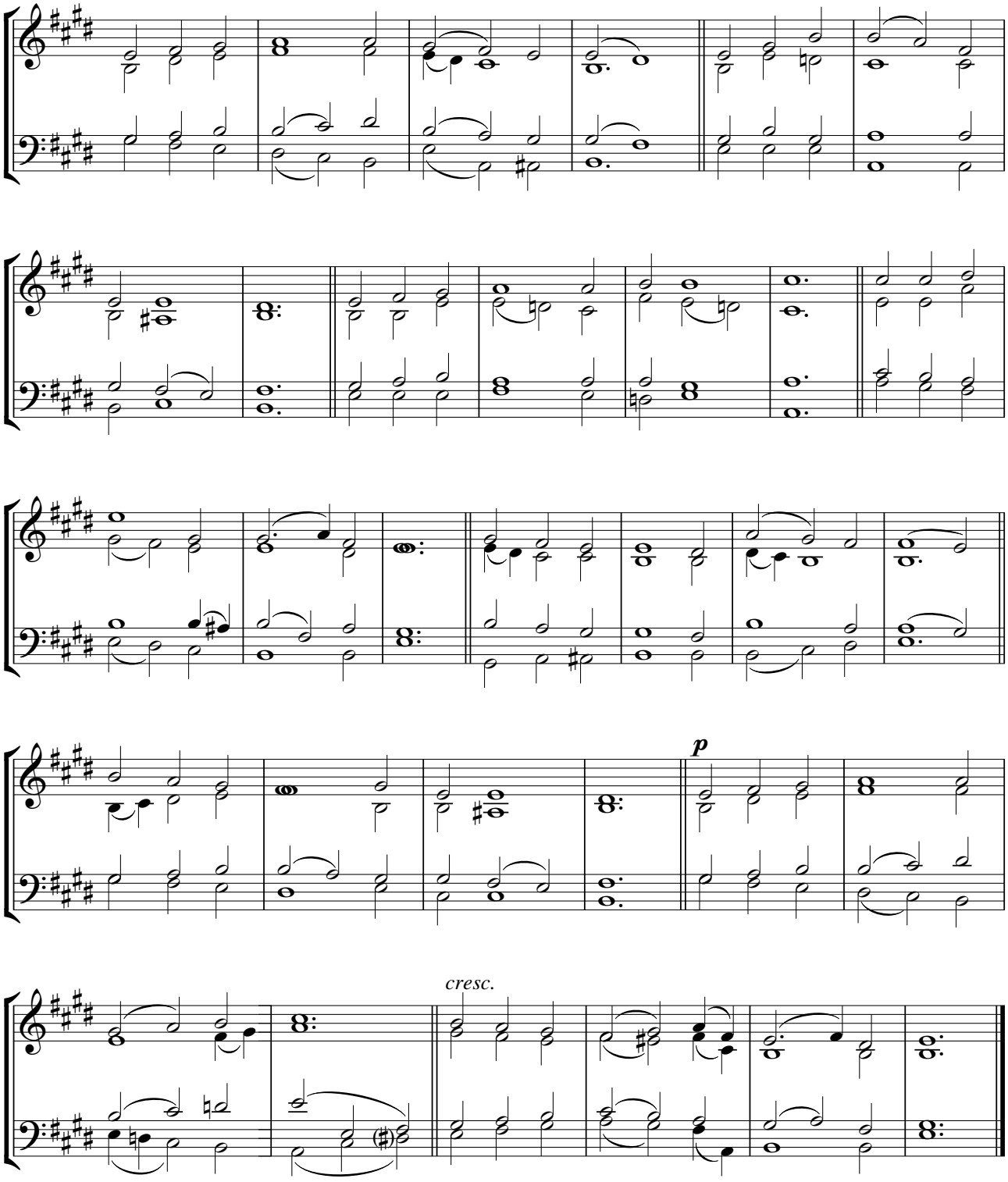
Confirmation Part II (DLM)

The Holy Year (1865) No.111

O God, in Whose all-searching eye
Thy servants stand, to ratify
The Vow Baptismal, by them made,
When first Thy hand was on them laid;
Bless them, O holy Father, bless,
Who Thee, with heart and voice confess;
May they, acknowledged as Thine own,
Stand evermore before Thy throne!

Christopher Wordsworth

Consecration (DLM)

Reid's Praise Book (1872) No.129

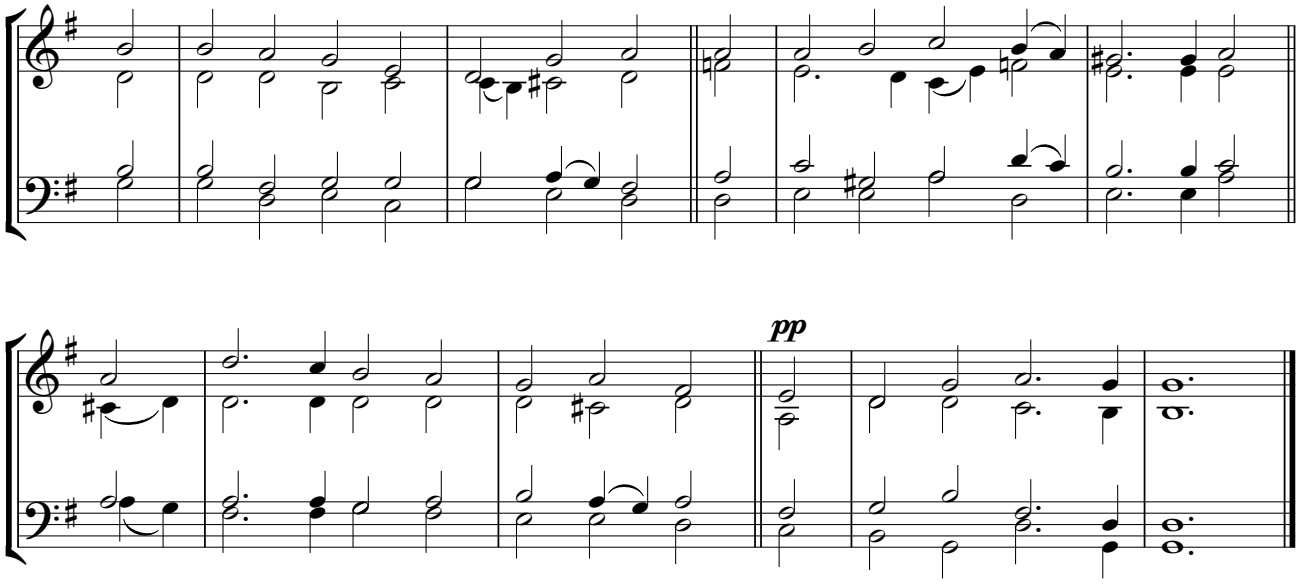


Lord, we are Thine: in Thee we live,
Supported by Thy tender care;
Thou dost each hourly mercy give;
Thine earth we tread, we breathe Thine air;
Raiment and food Thy hands supply,
Thy sun's bright rays around us shine;
Guarded by Thine all-seeing eye—
We own that we are wholly Thine.

J.G. Deck

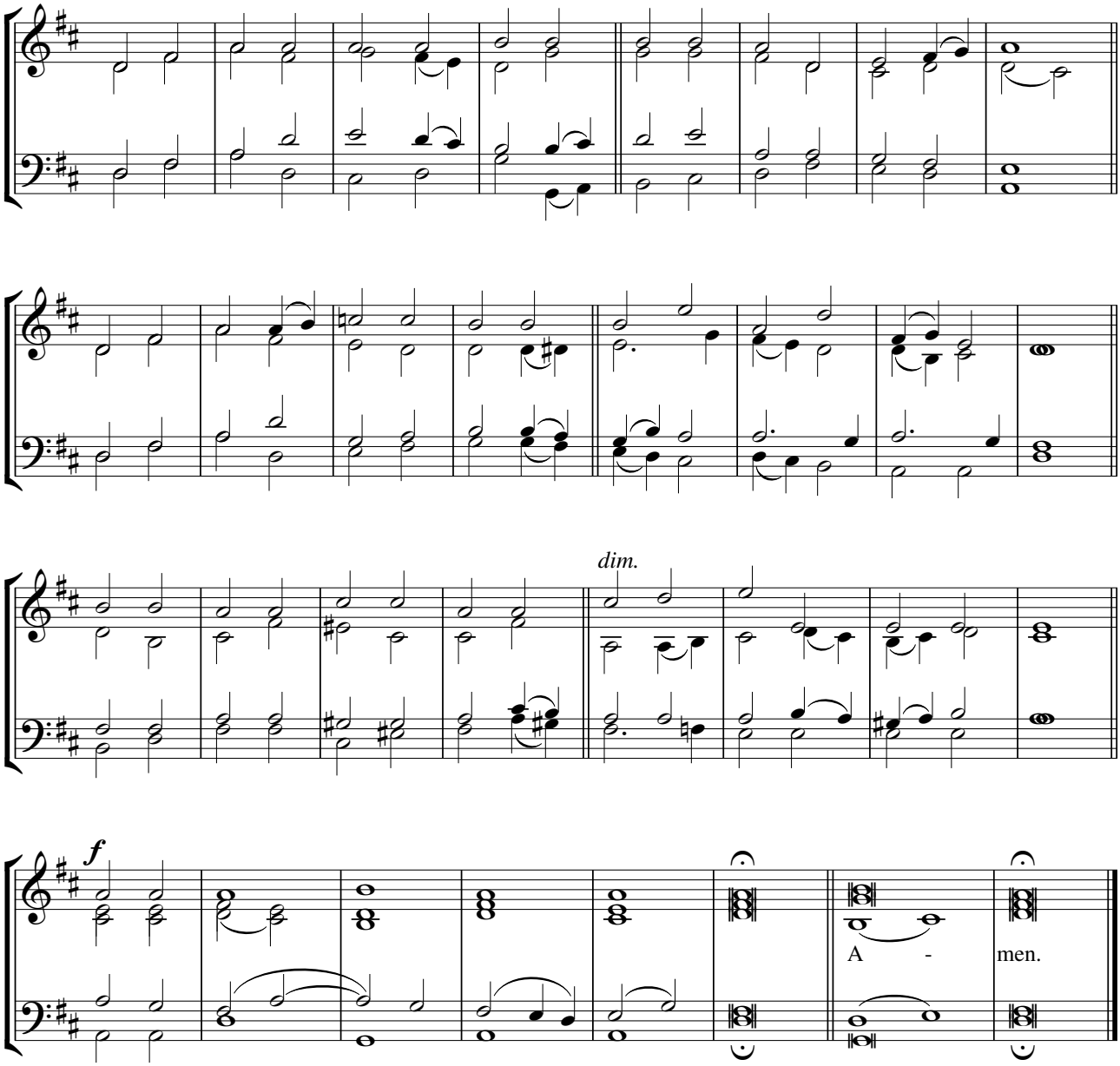
Consent (8886)

Praise Book (1865) No. 121

Other names:
ST. BARNABAS (with variations)
DERRY (with variations)

Just as I am—without one plea
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bid'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come.

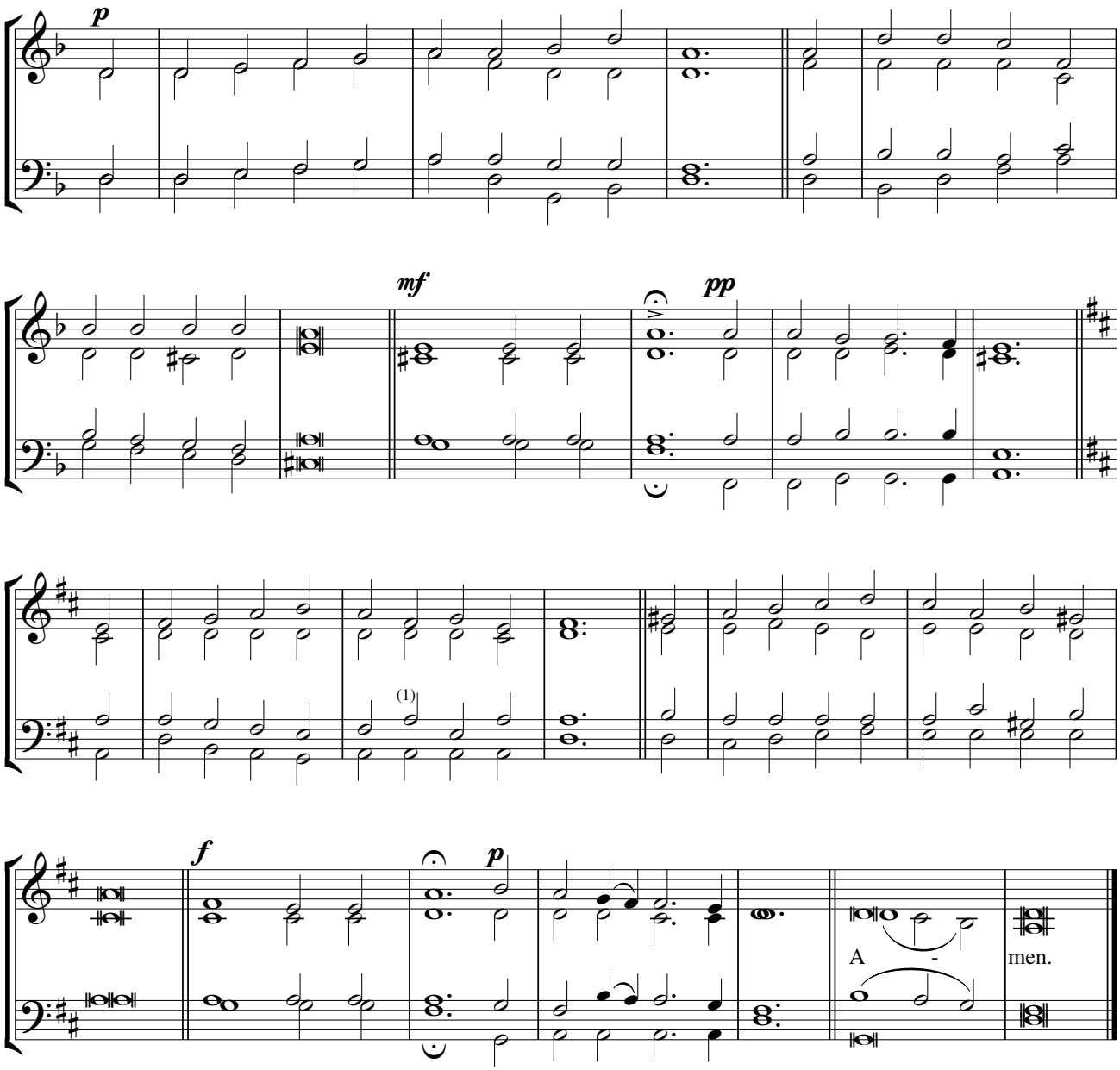
Charlotte Elliott

Corde Natus (8787877)

Musical Times (1 December 1866 Vol.286) p.1

Of the Father's love begotten,
Ere the worlds began to be,
He is Alpha and Omega,
He the source, the ending He,
Of the things that are, that have been,
And that future years shall see,
Evermore and evermore!

Trans. from the Latin by
John Mason Neale

Credo, Domine (10.10.10D)

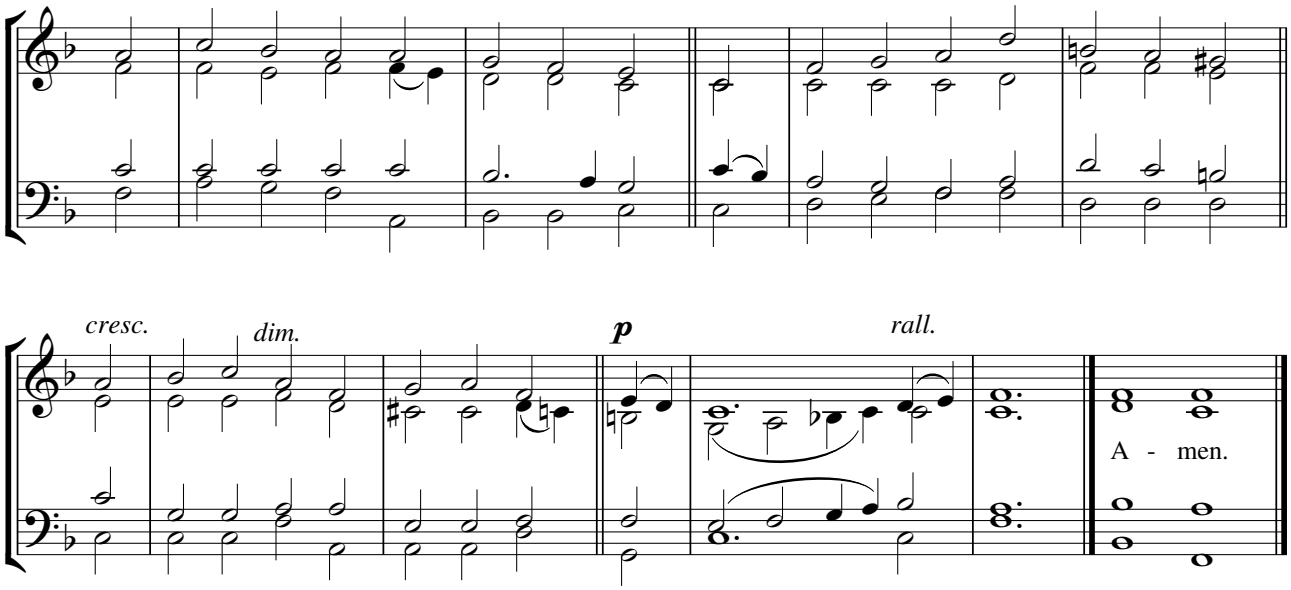
Church Hymns with Tunes (1874) No.435

My sins have taken such a hold on me,
I am not able to look up to Thee;
Lord, I repent; accept my tears and grief:
But Thou hast taken all my sins away,
And I in Thee dare now look up and pray:
Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief.

John S.B. Monsell

(1) The 1905 edition of the same hymnal has a tenor D (a fifth lower) on this note

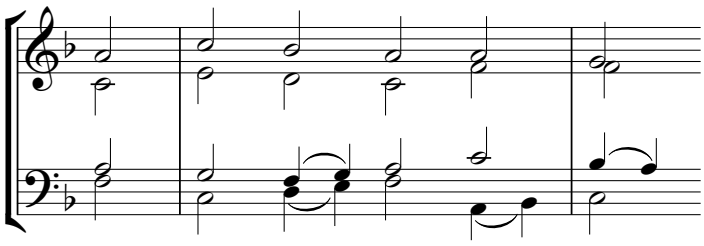
Crepusculum (8884)

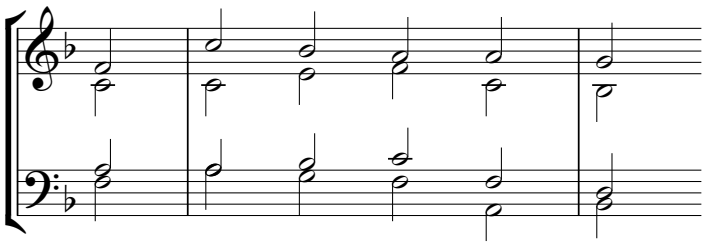
The Song of Praise (1875) No.410



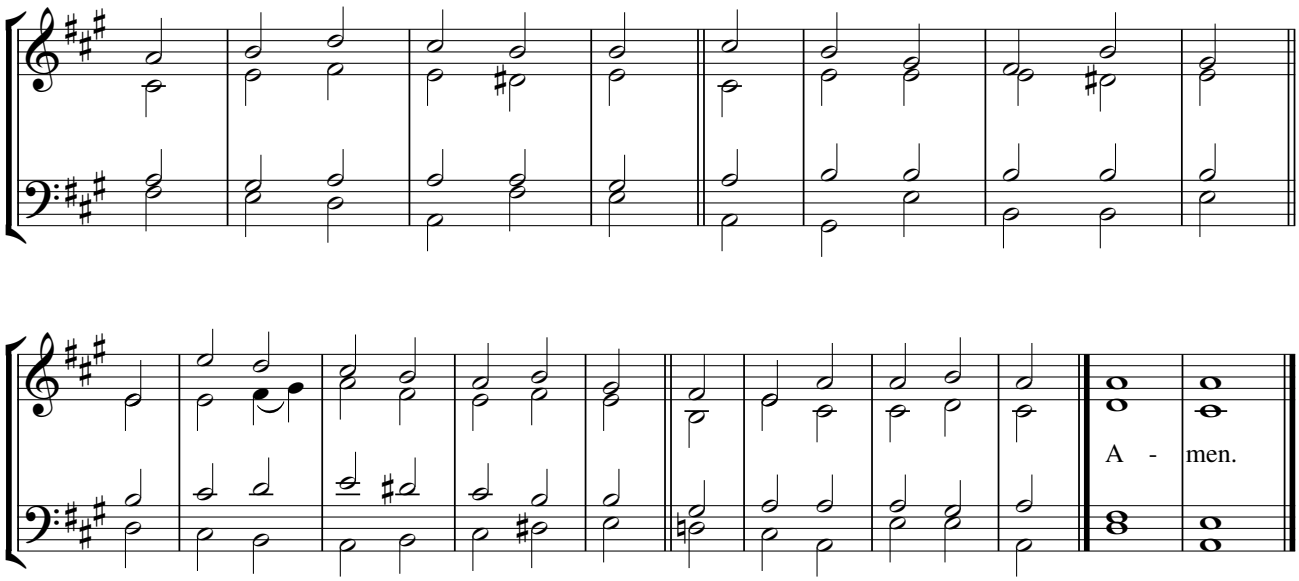
The radiant morn hath passed away,
And spent too soon her golden store;
The shadows of departing day
Creep on once more.

Godfrey Thring

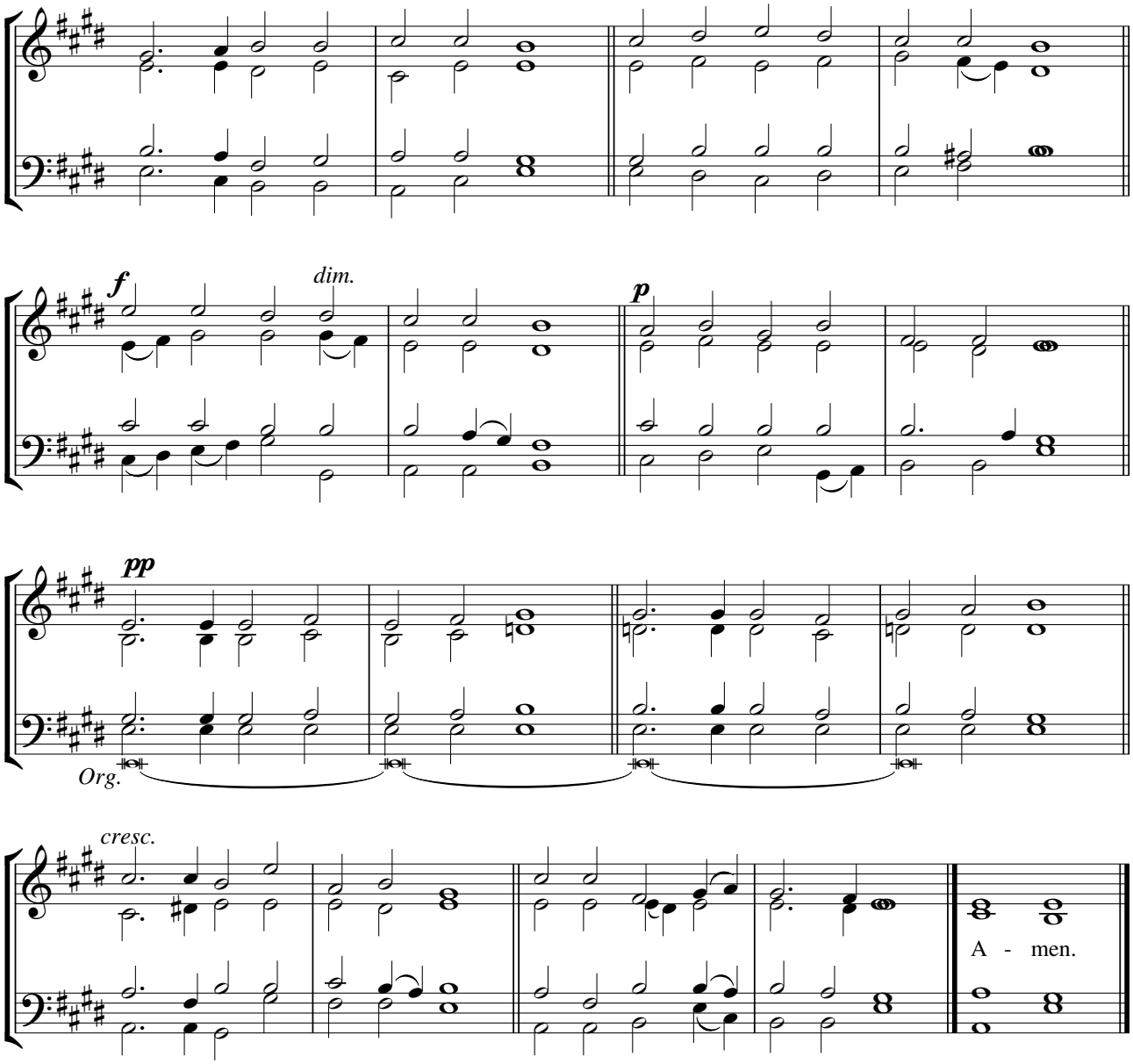
Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of DOMINUS REGIT ME...

...and HOSANNA:



Croxdale (SM)

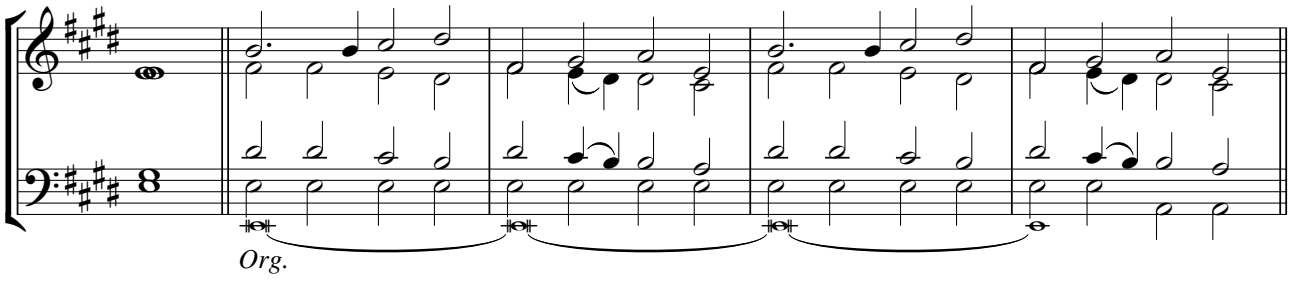
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.256

When on Creation's morn
The world in beauty shone,
The Lord beheld that all was good,
But man was left alone.

Da Pacem (7777D)

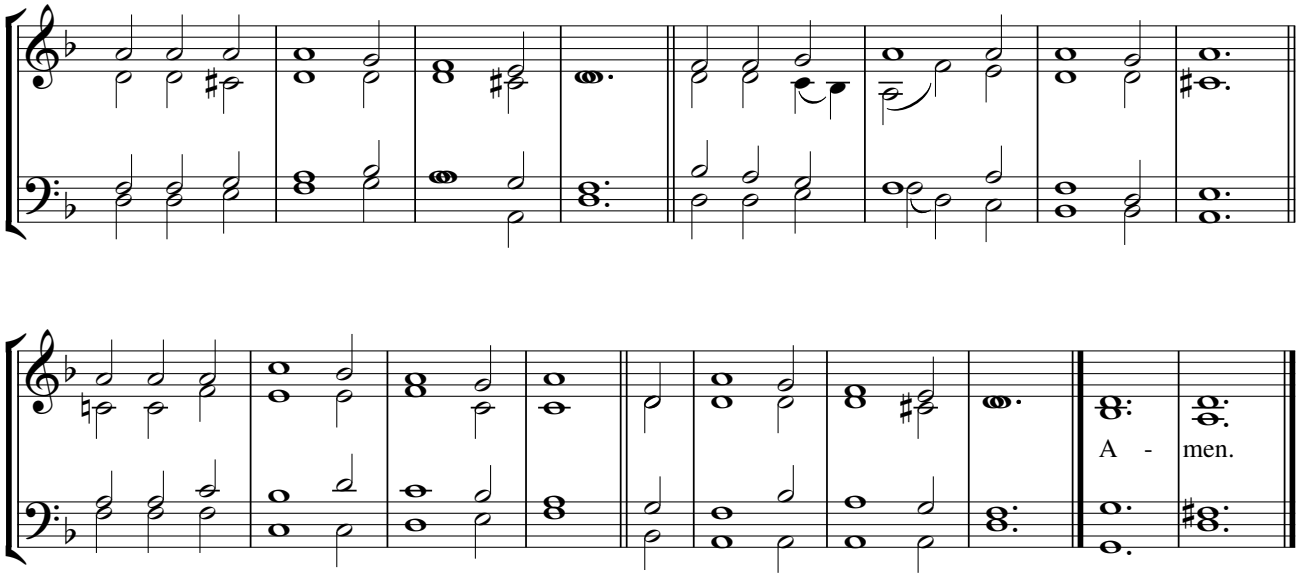
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.212

Lord! thou didst arise and say
To the troubled waters, Peace!
And the tempest died away;
Down they sank, the foaming seas,
And a calm and heaving sleep
Spread o'er all the glassy deep;
All the azure lake serene
Like another heaven was seen.

Henry Hart Milman

If it is a vice to employ a long pedal, then Dykes shares it with John Stainer, as here in HOLY OFFERINGS



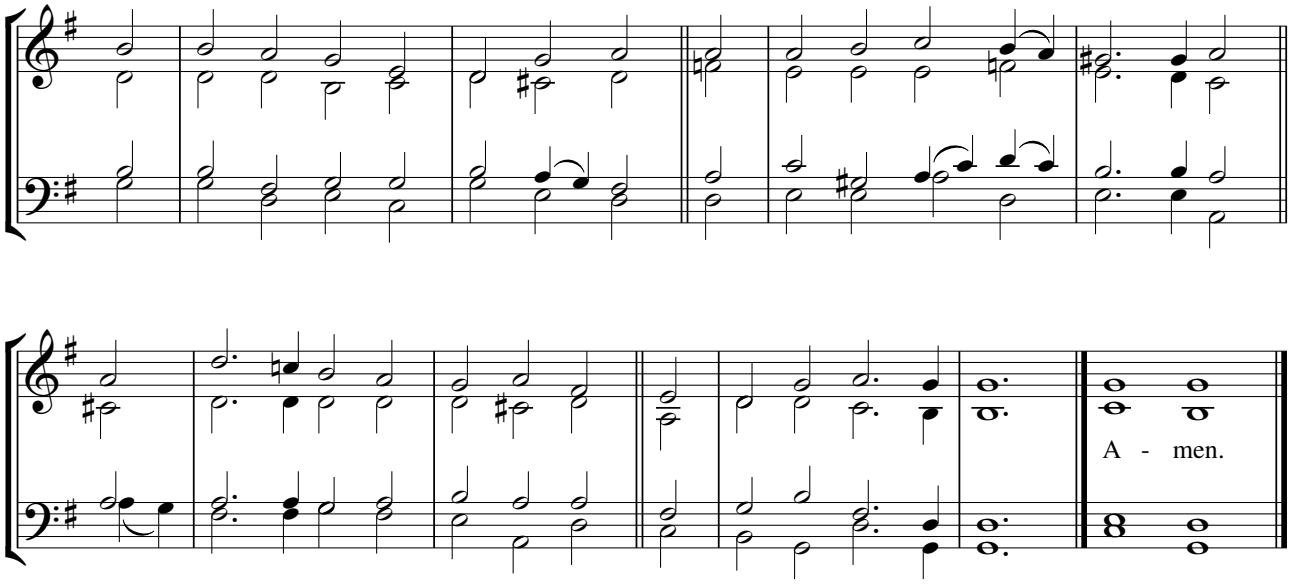
Defensor (8886)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.137

O Thou, the contrite sinner's friend,
Who loving, lov'st them to the end,
On this alone my hopes depend,
That Thou wilt plead for me.

Charlotte Elliott

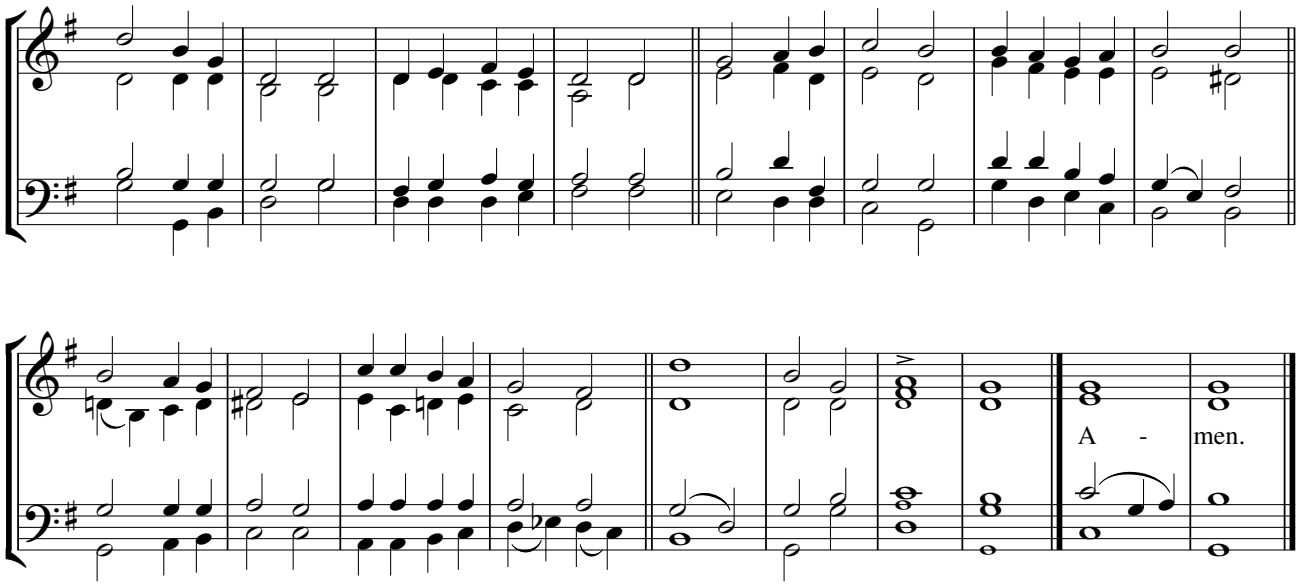
Derry (8886)

Hymns Ancient & Modern (1875) No. 416

Other names:
ST. BARNABAS (with variations)
CONSENT (with variations)

Forsaken once, and thrice denied,
The risen Lord gave pardon free,
Stood once again at Peter's side,
And asked him, "Lov'st thou Me?"

Cecil F. Alexander

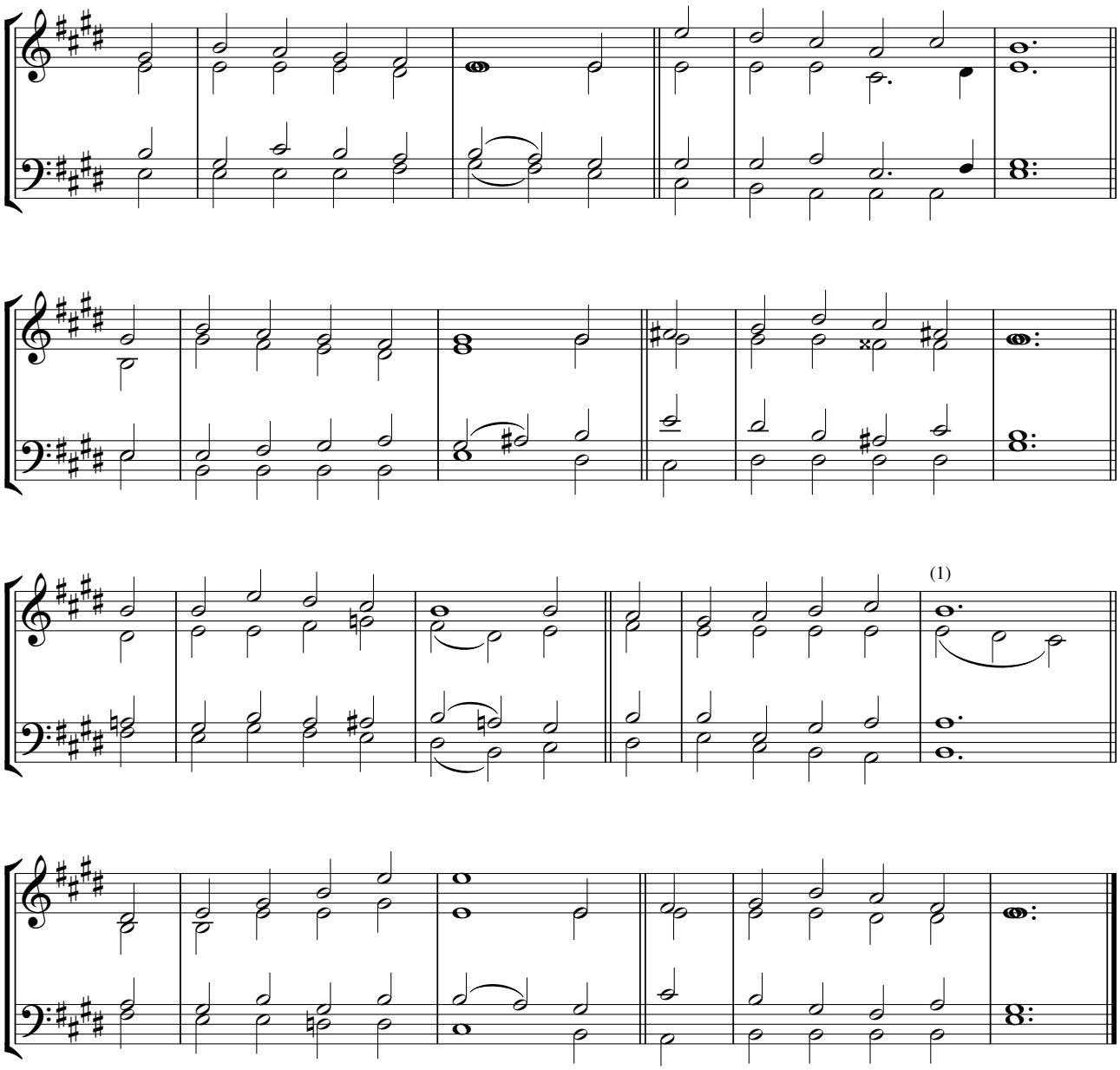
Deus Noster Refugiam (11.11.11.5)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.417

Now God be with us, for the night is closing,
The light and darkness are of His disposing;
And 'neath His shadow here to rest we yield us,
For He will shield us.

Petrus Herbert Trans. Catherine Winkworth

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

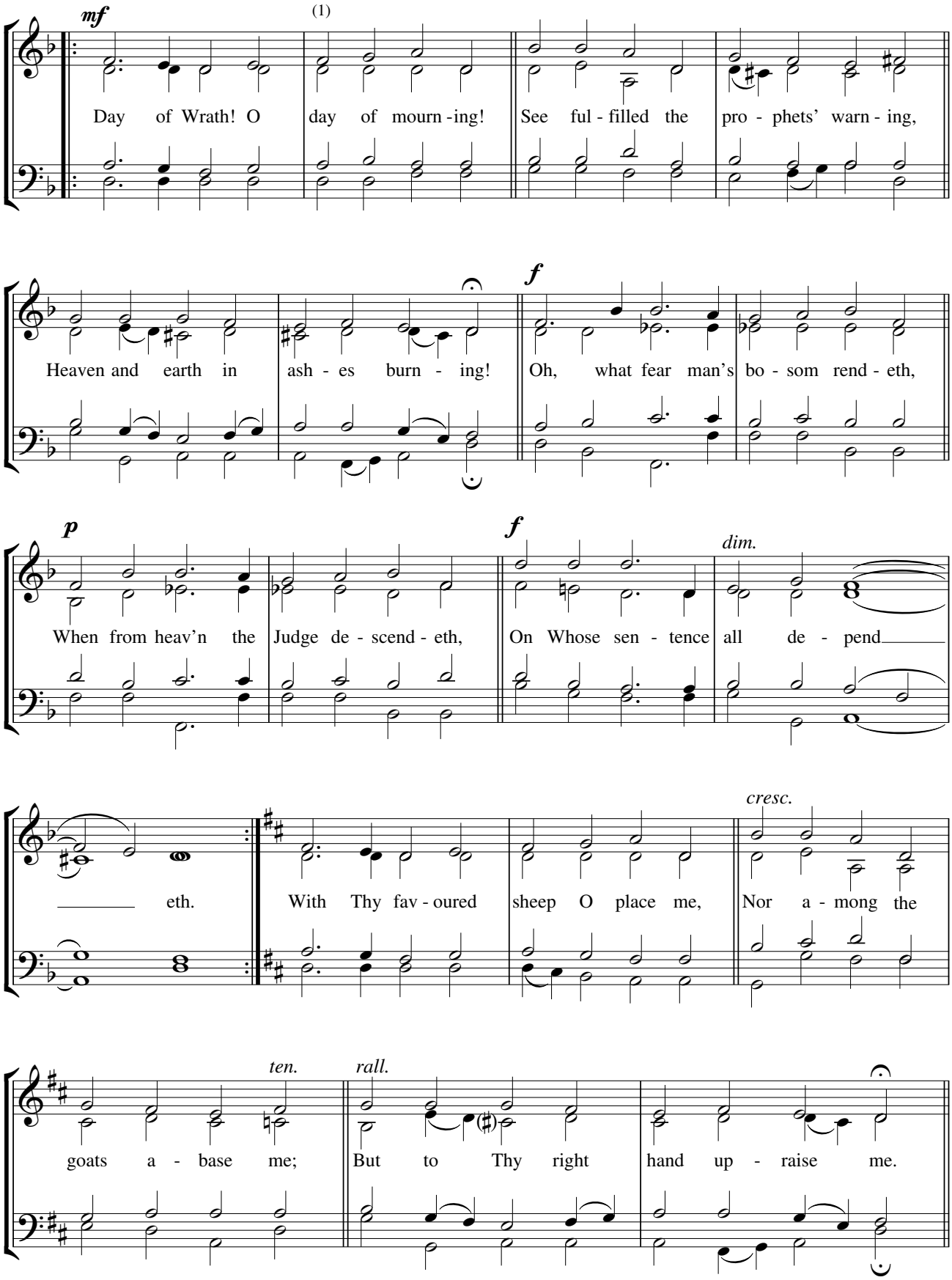
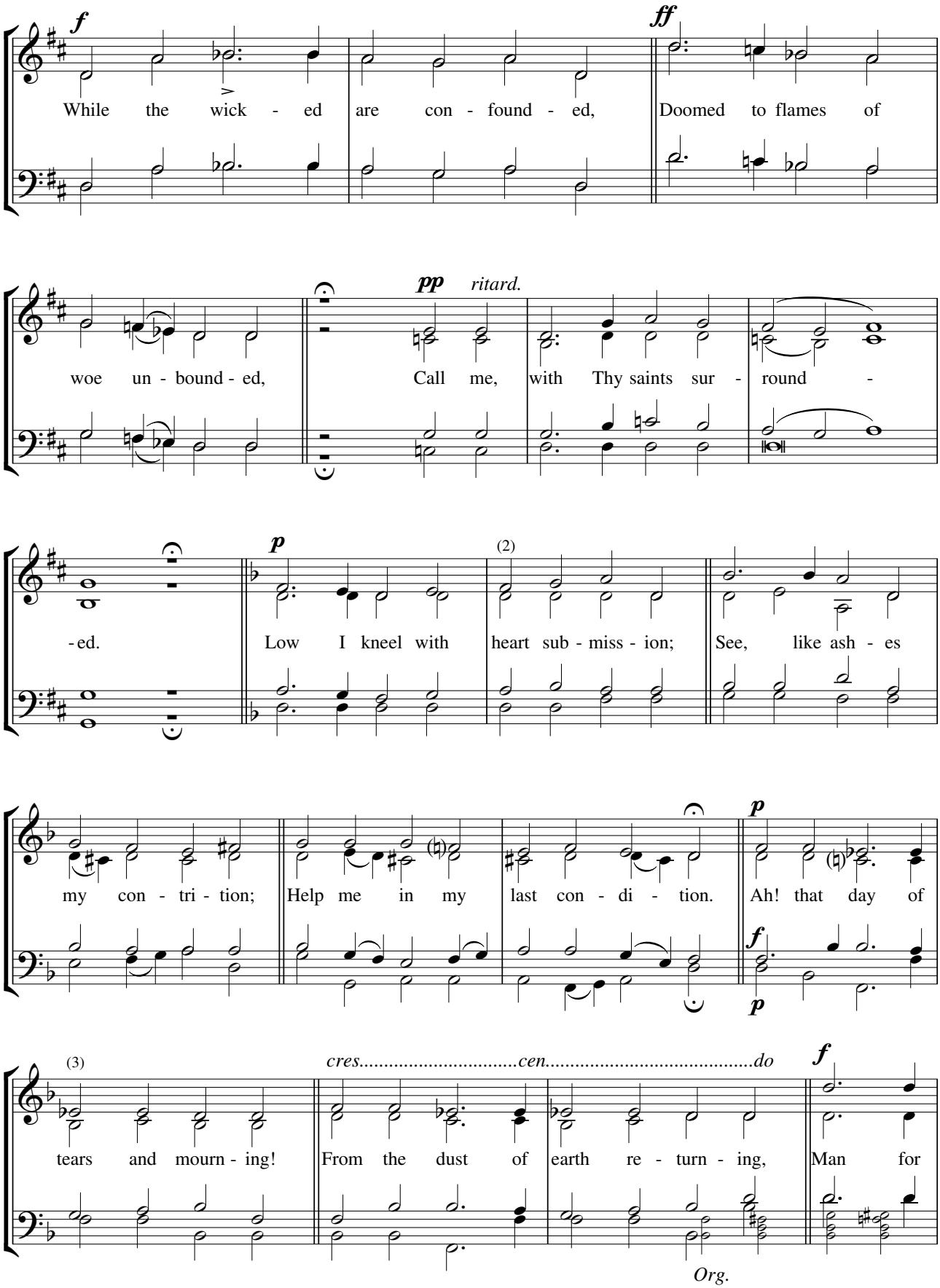
Dies Dominica (7676D)

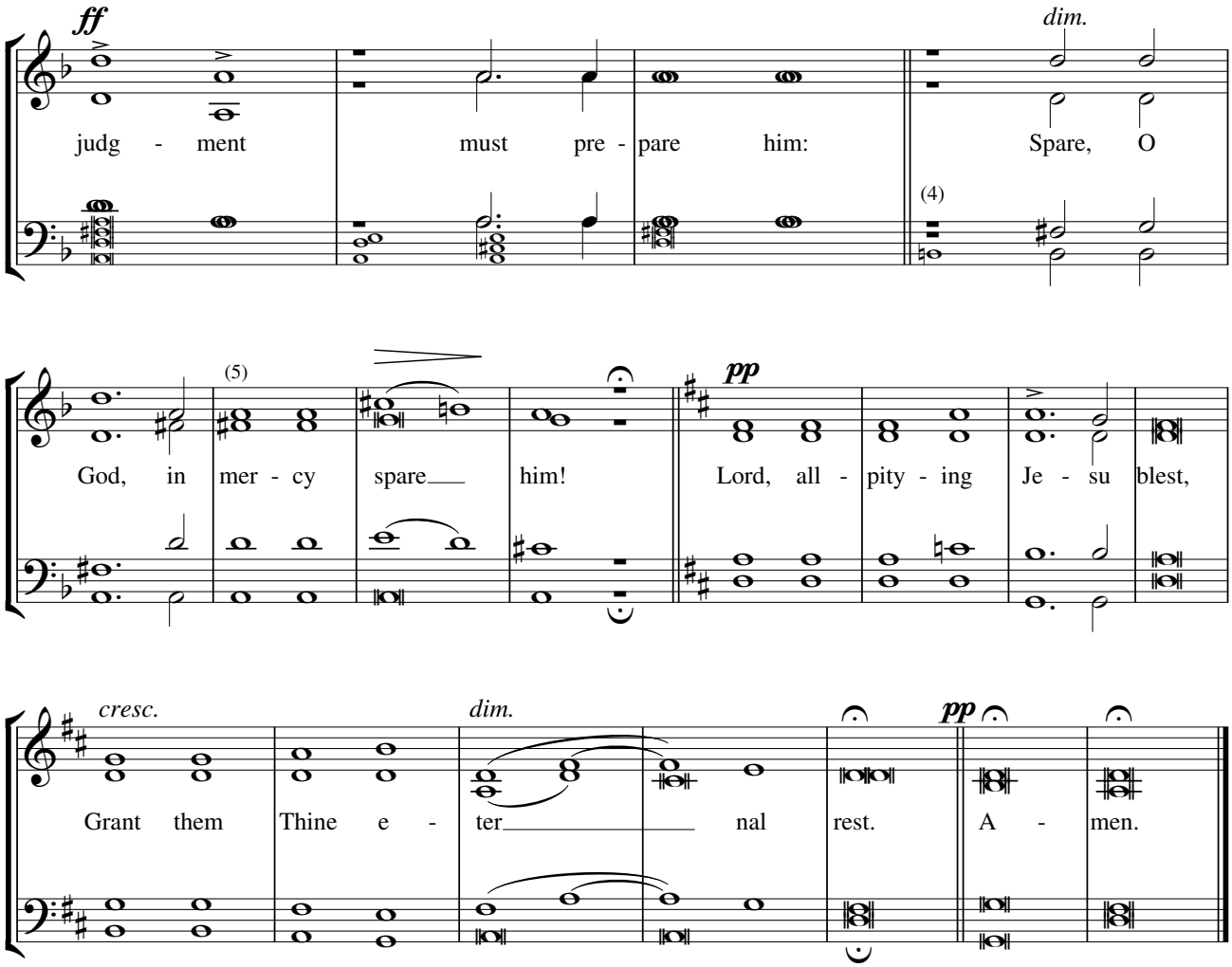
Angican Hymn Book (1871) No.26

O day of rest and gladness!
O day of joy and light!
O balm of care and sadness,
Most beautiful, most bright!
On Thee, the high and lowly,
Through ages joined in tune,
Sing holy, holy, holy,
To God the great Triune!

Christopher Wordsworth

(1) In subsequent publications, this soprano 'B' is replaced by a low F♯.

Dies Iræ (1) (Irregular)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.221

f
While the wick - ed are con - found - ed,
ff
Doomed to flames of
pp ritard.
woe un - bound - ed,
Call me, with Thy saints sur - round -
p
(2)
- ed.
Low I kneel with heart sub - miss - ion;
See, like ash - es
my con - tri - tion;
Help me in my last con - di - tion.
p
Ah! that day of
f
p
(3)
cres.....cen.....do
f
tears and mourn - ing!
From the dust of earth re - turn - ing,
Man for
Org.



Thomas of Celano (13th cent.),
trans. from the Latin by William Irons

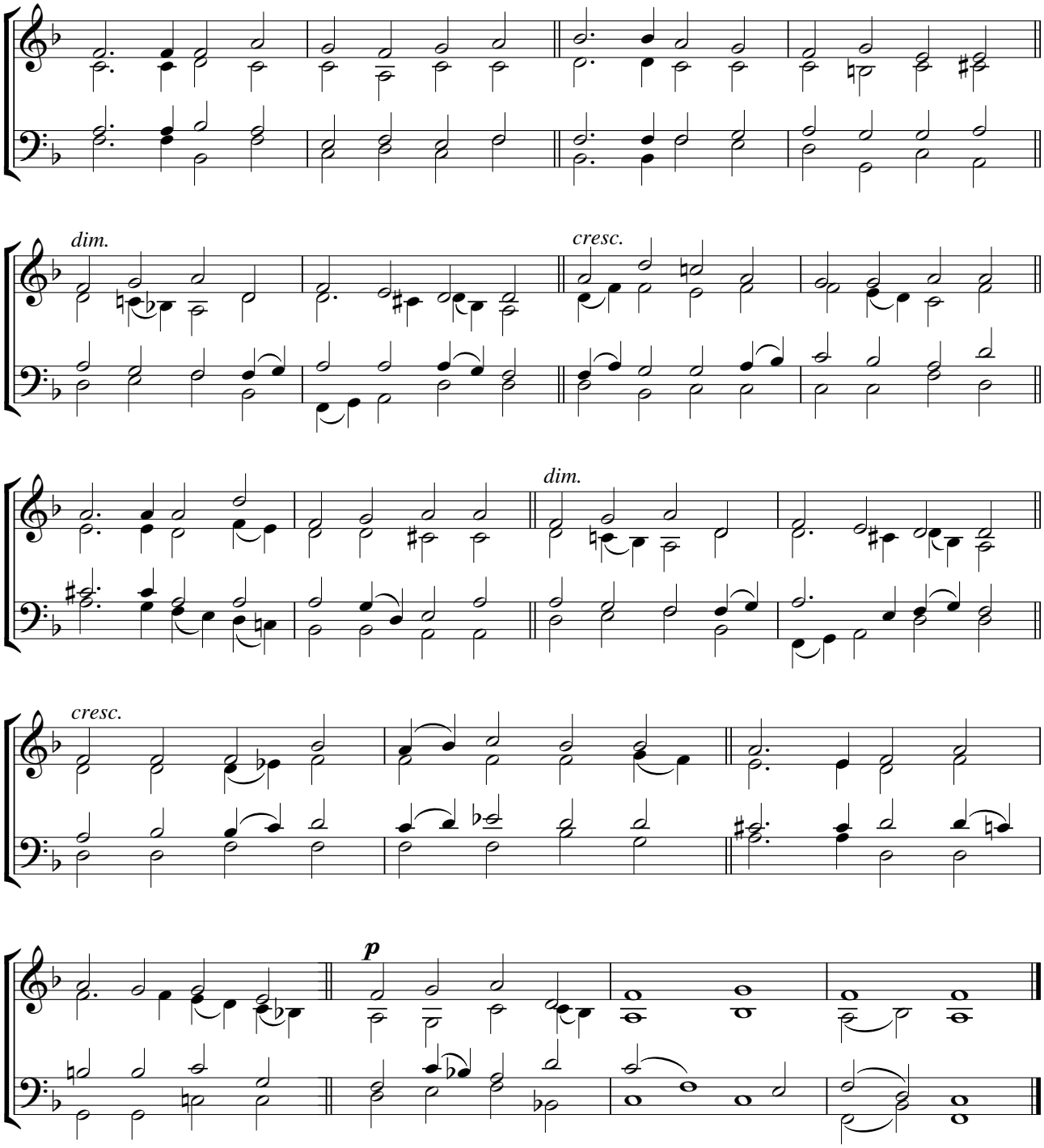
(1) and (2) The 1904 edition has a dotted minim followed by a crotchet in the bass.

(3) The 1861 edition does not flatten the first E of the bar but does flatten the second.

(4) The 1904 edition omits this note.

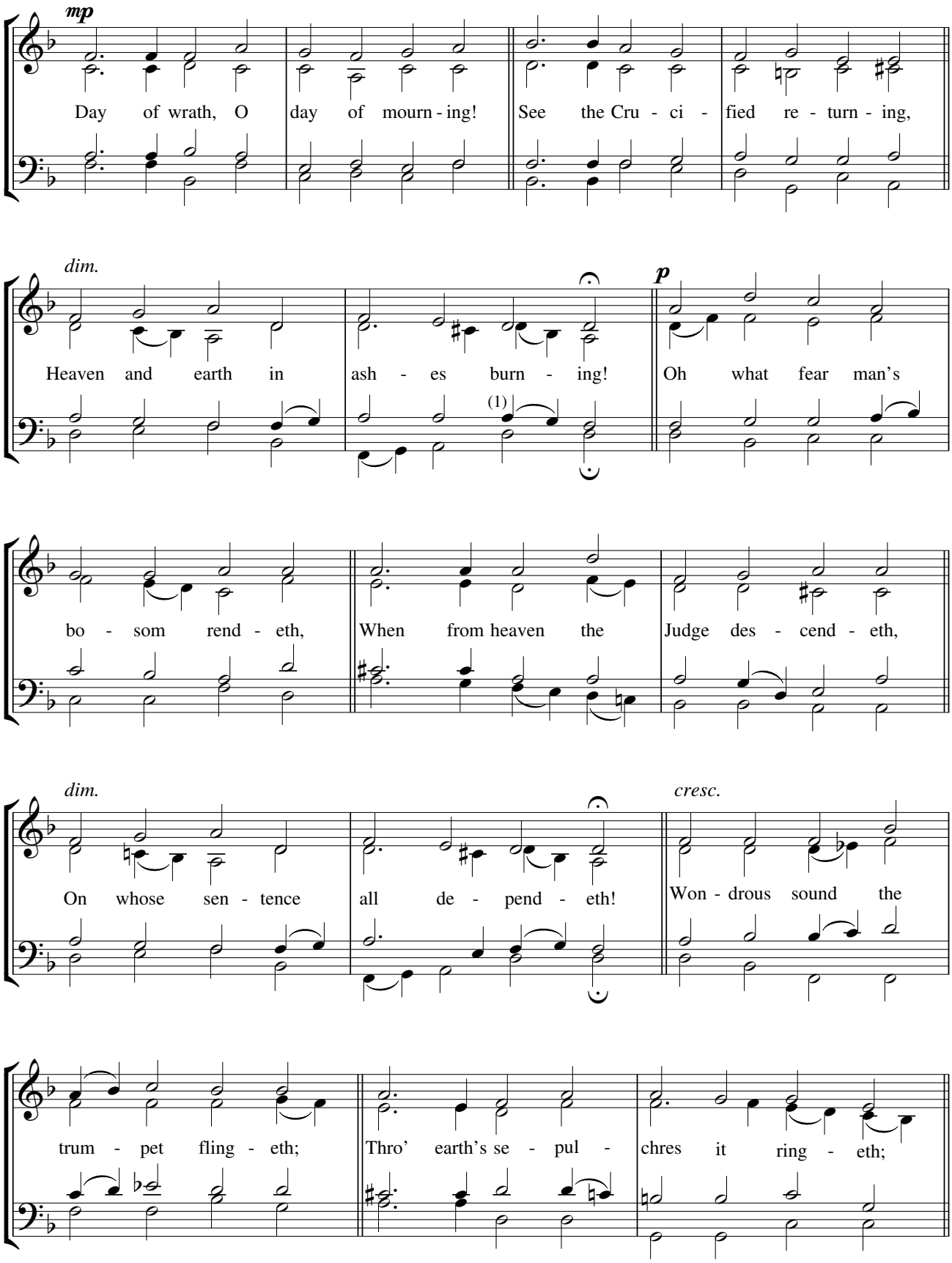
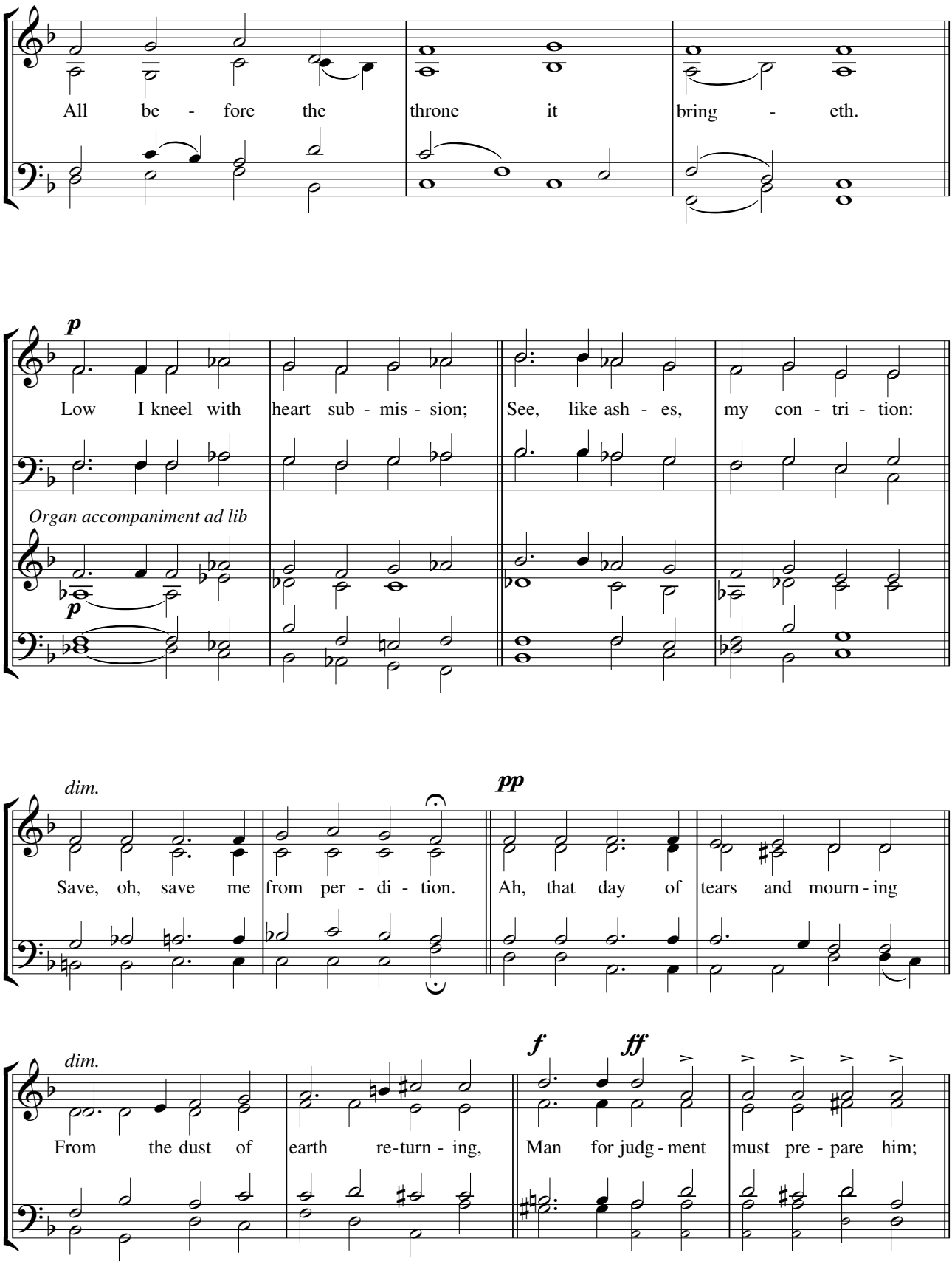
(5) The 1861 edition does not sharpen the first F of the bar (nor does it show a cautionary natural) but it does sharpen the second.

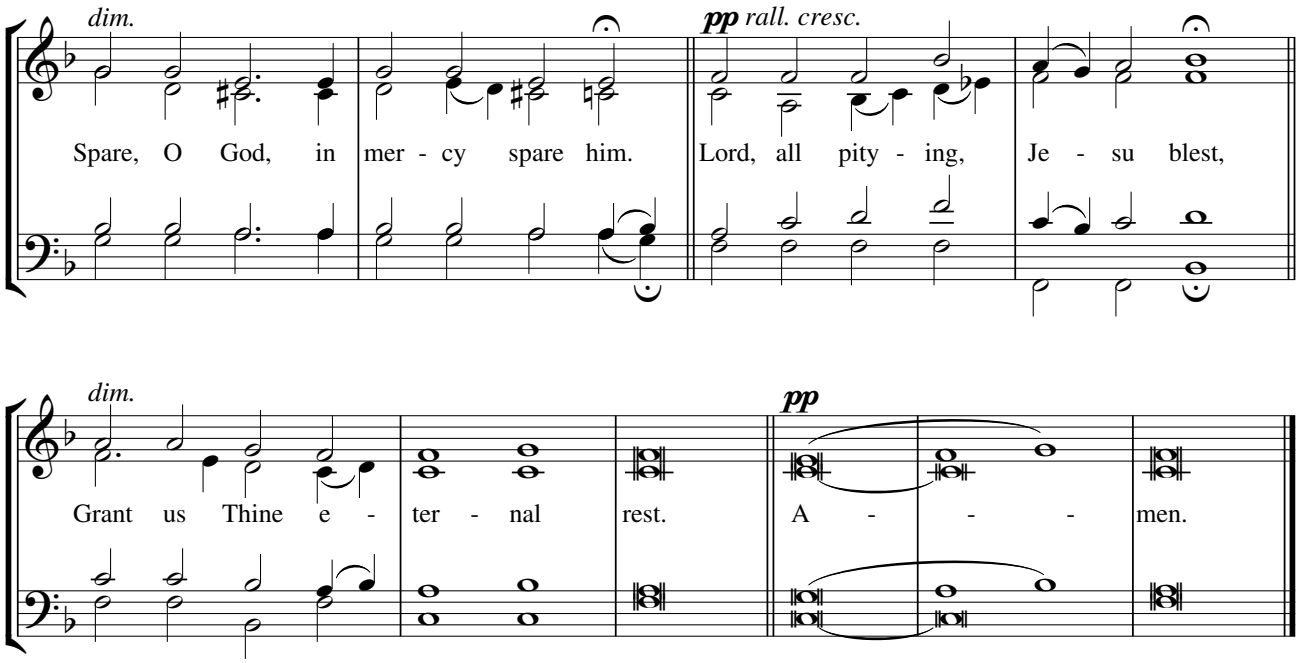
Dies Irae (2)(i) (8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No. 258

Day of Wrath! O Day of Mourning!
See once more the Cross returning,
Heaven and earth in ashes burning!
Oh! what fear man's bosom rendeth!
When from Heaven the Judge descendeth,
On Whose Sentence all dependeth.
Wondrous sound the Trumpet flingeth;
Through earth's sepulchres it ringeth;
All before the Throne it bringeth.

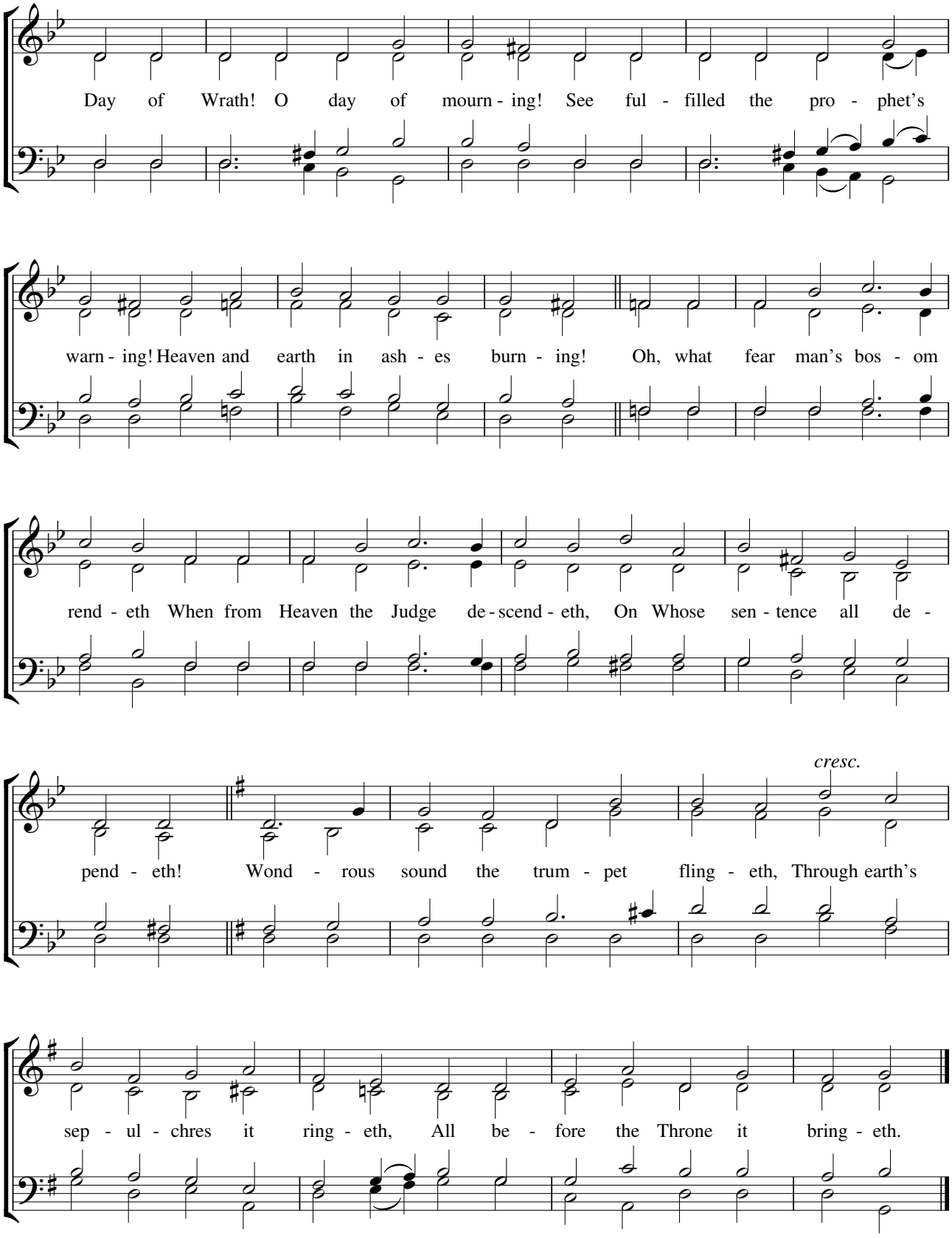
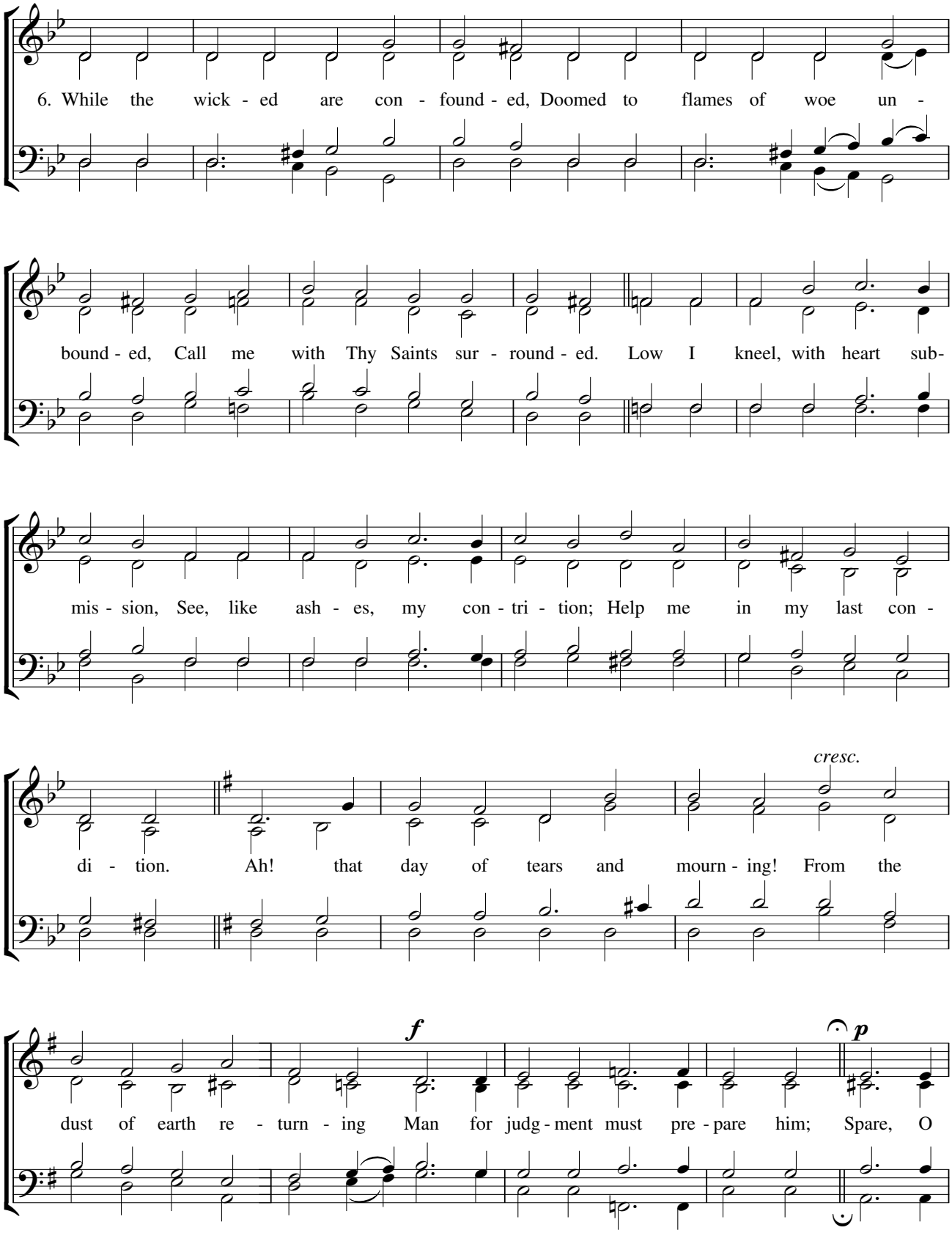
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

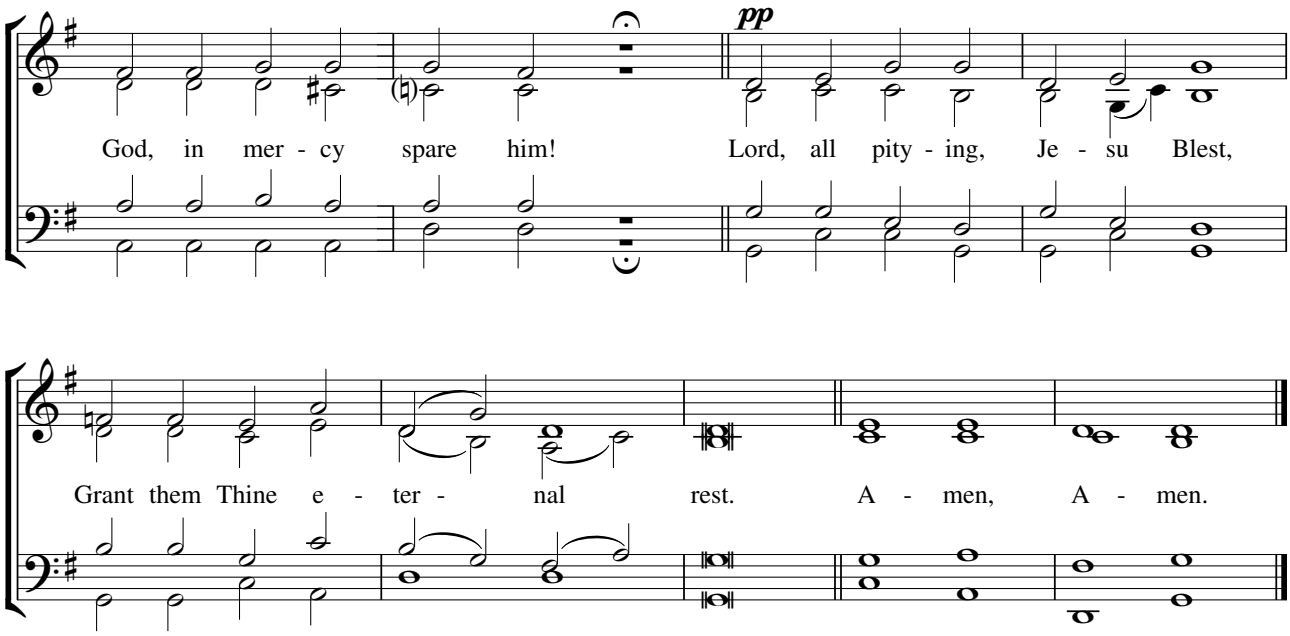
Dies Iræ (2)(ii) (Irregular)

Hymnal Companion (1875) No.76

(1) *cf* tenor F in bar 12.

All be - fore the throne it bring - eth.
p
Low I kneel with heart sub - mis - sion; See, like ash - es, my con - tri - tion:
Organ accompaniment ad lib
p
dim.
pp
Save, oh, save me from per - di - tion. Ah, that day of tears and mourn - ing
dim.
f
ff
From the dust of earth re-turn - ing, Man for judg - ment must pre - pare him;

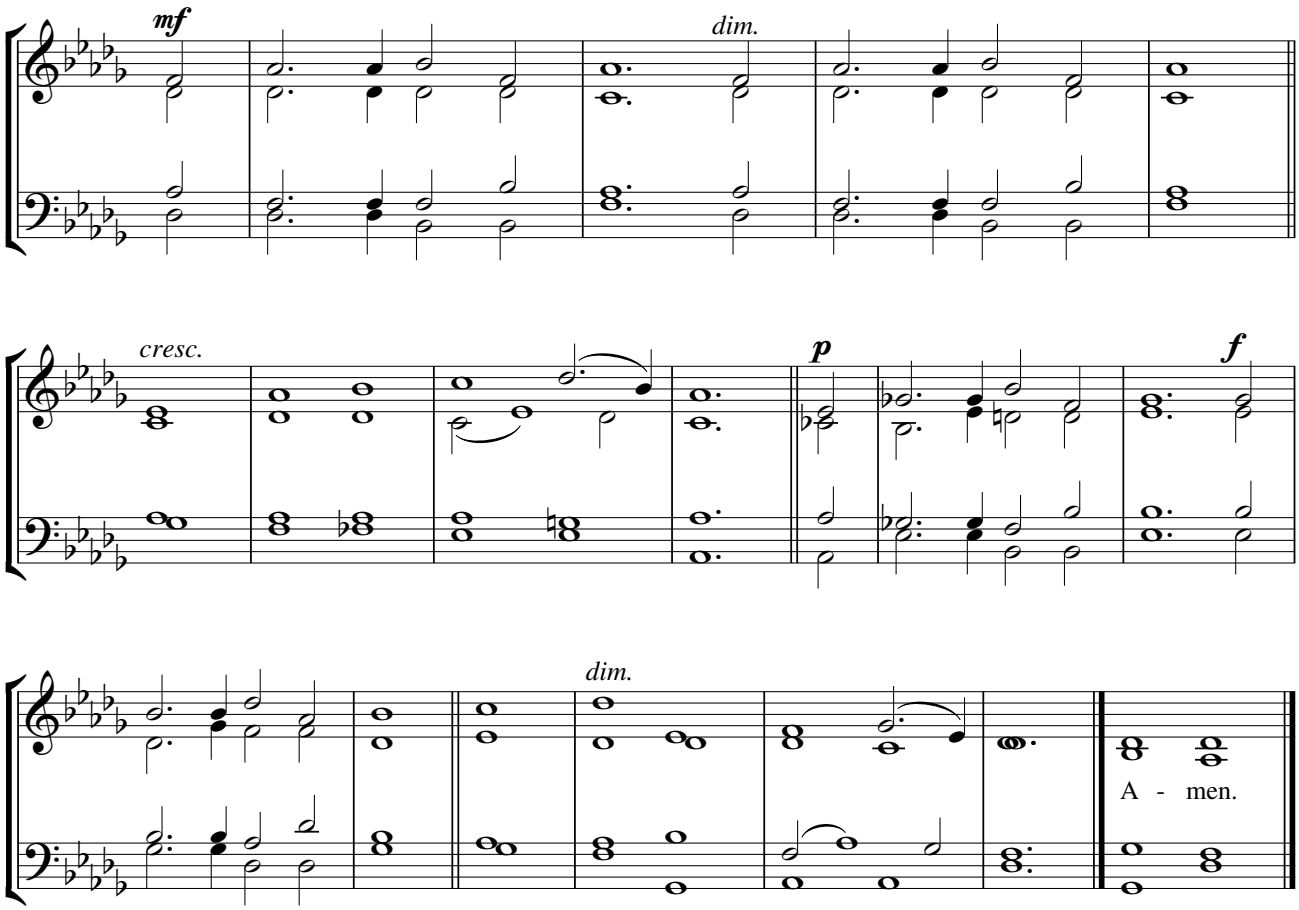

dim.
pp rall. cresc.
Spare, O God, in mer - cy spare him.
Lord, all pity - ing, Je - su blest,
dim.
pp
Grant us Thine e - ter - nal rest.
A - - - men.

Dies Irae (3) (8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8.)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 206

6. While the wick - ed are con - found - ed, Doomed to flames of woe un -
bound - ed, Call me with Thy Saints sur - round - ed. Low I kneel, with heart sub-
mis - sion, See, like ash - es, my con - tri - tion; Help me in my last con -
cresc.
di - tion. Ah! that day of tears and mourn - ing! From the
f
p
dust of earth re - turn - ing Man for judg - ment must pre - pare him; Spare, O

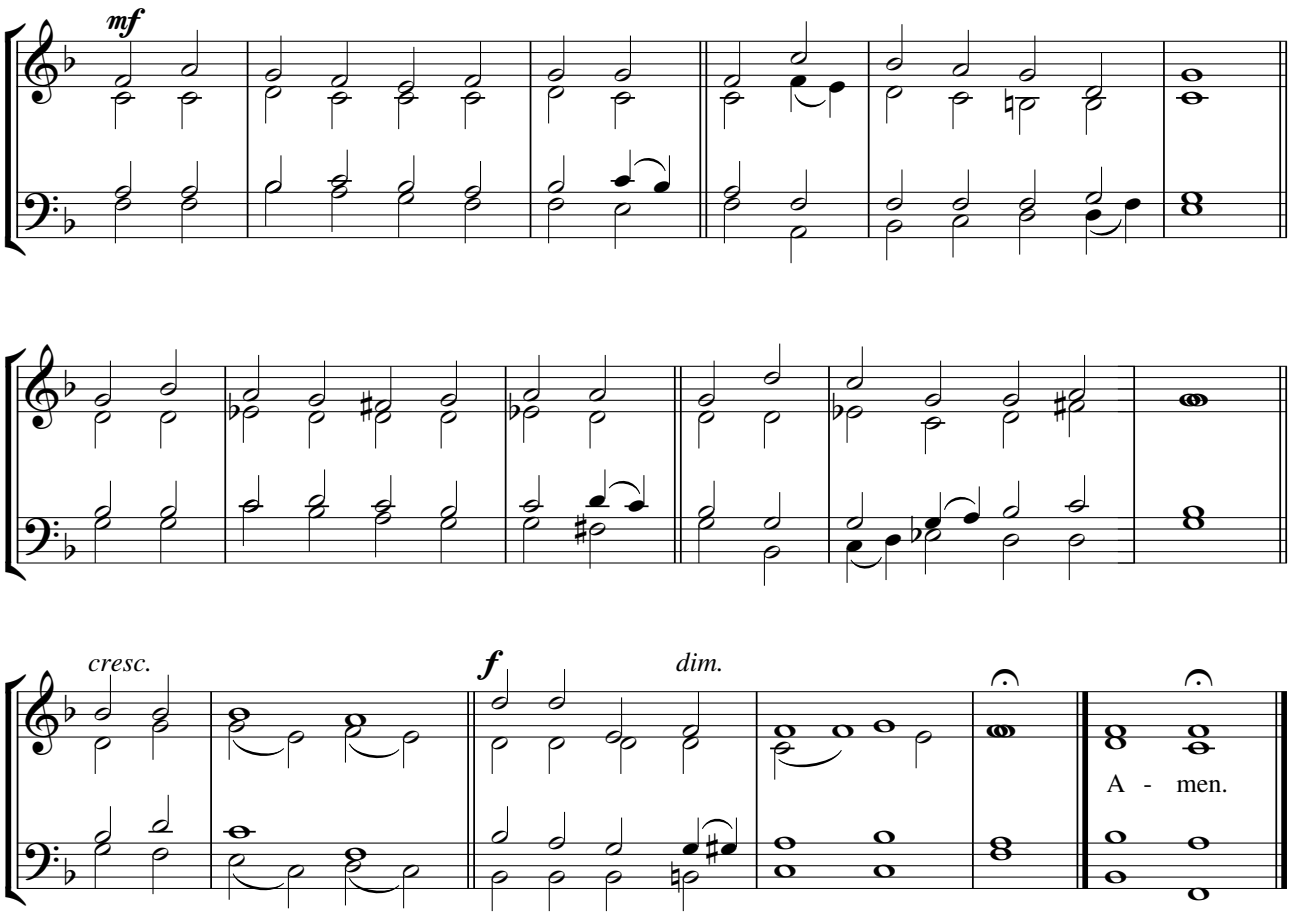

pp
God, in mer - cy spare him! Lord, all pity - ing, Je - su Blest,
Grant them Thine e - ter - nal rest. A - men, A - men.

Dies Tenebrosa (666D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.430

Oh! dark and dreary day,
When Jesus died to pay
Sin's awful penalty;
The sun kept back his light
To hide that mournful sight
When Jesus died for me.

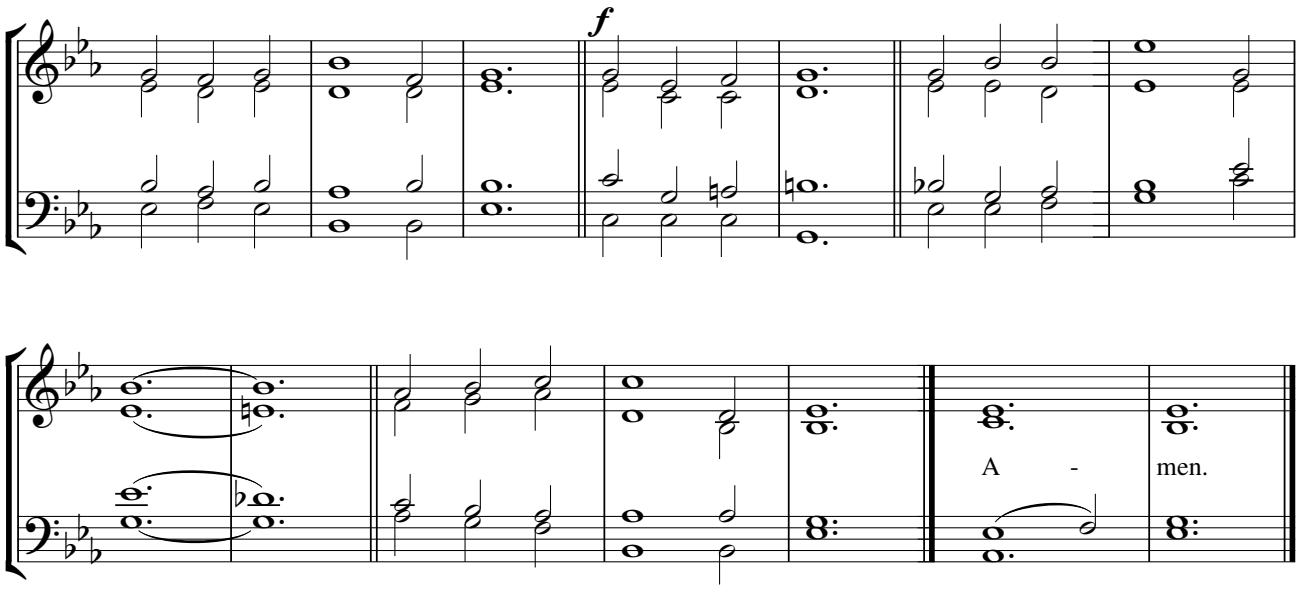
S. Childs Clarke

Dismissal (878747)

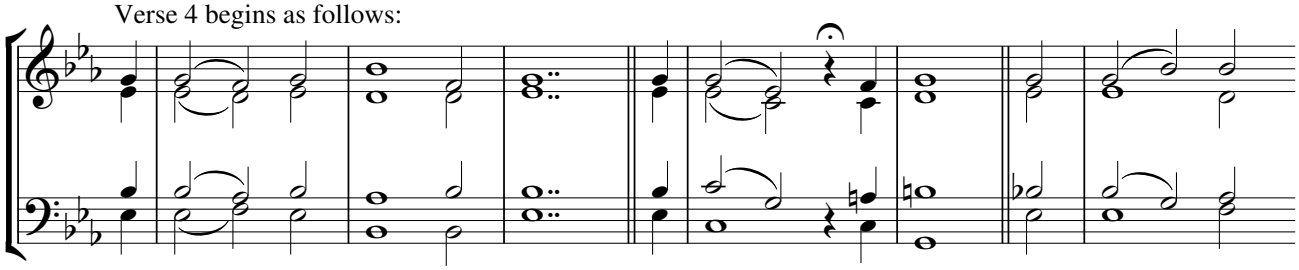
Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.67

Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing;
Fill our hearts with joy and peace:
Let us each, Thy love possessing,
Triumph in redeeming grace;
O refresh us,
Traveling through life's wilderness.

John Fawcett

Domine Dirige Me (6466)

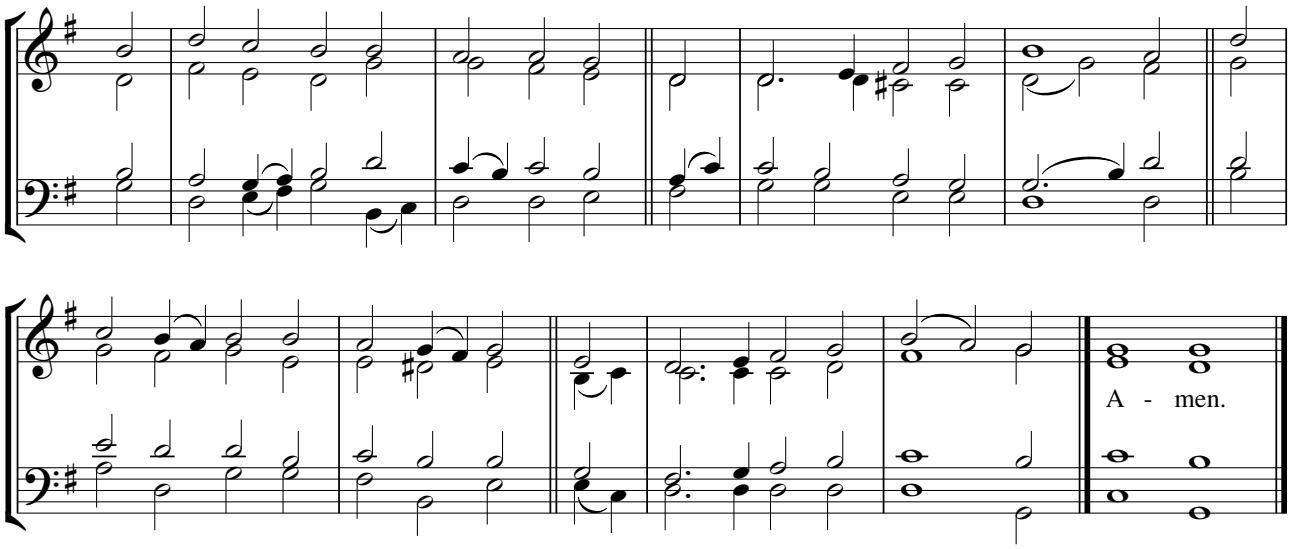
Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.70

Father, Thy way, not mine.
Though dark it be;
Lead me by Thine own hand,
Choose out the path for me.

Verse 4 begins as follows:



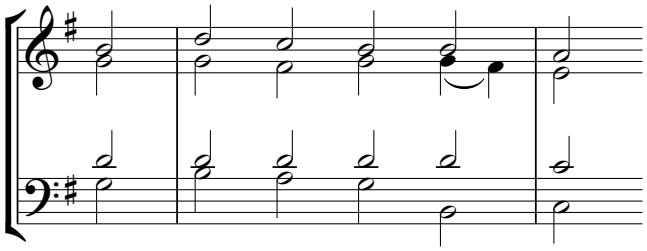
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Dominus Regit Me (i) (CM)

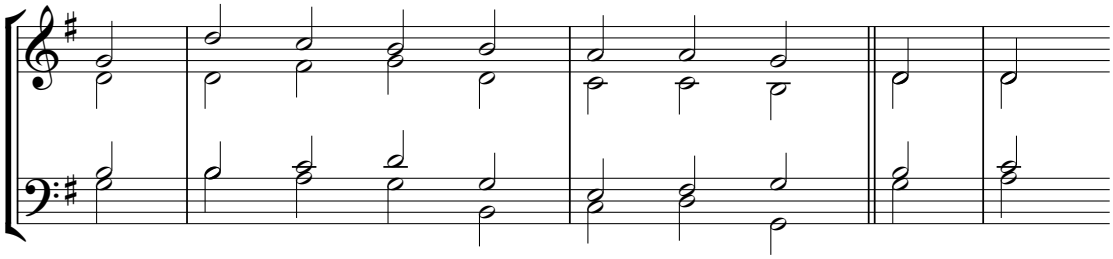
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.330

The King of love my Shepherd is,
Whose goodness faileth never;
I nothing lack if I am His
And He is mine for ever.

Henry Williams Baker

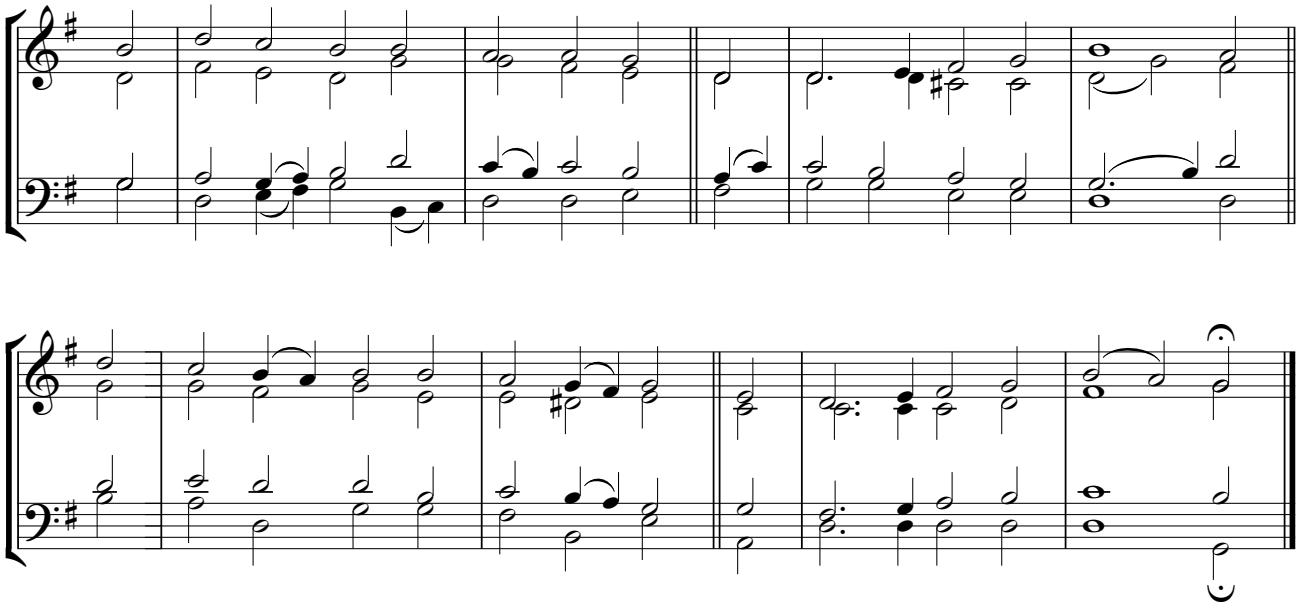
Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of ‘Crepusculum’...

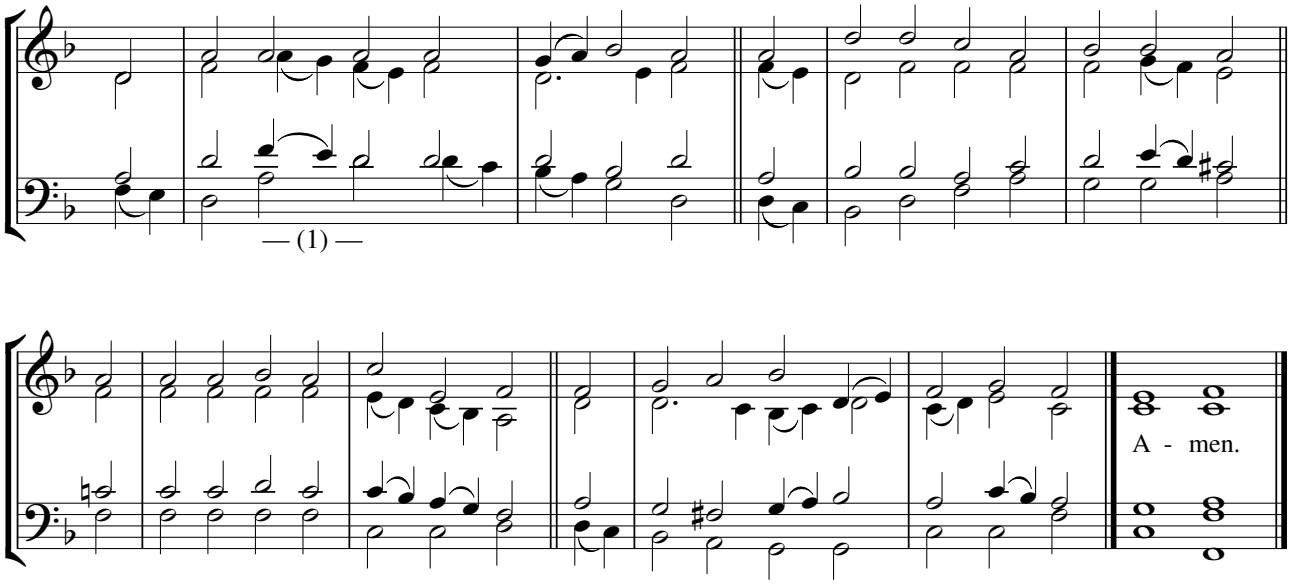


...and bars 1-5 with bars 1-5 of ‘Hosanna’:



Dominus Regit Me (ii) (CM)

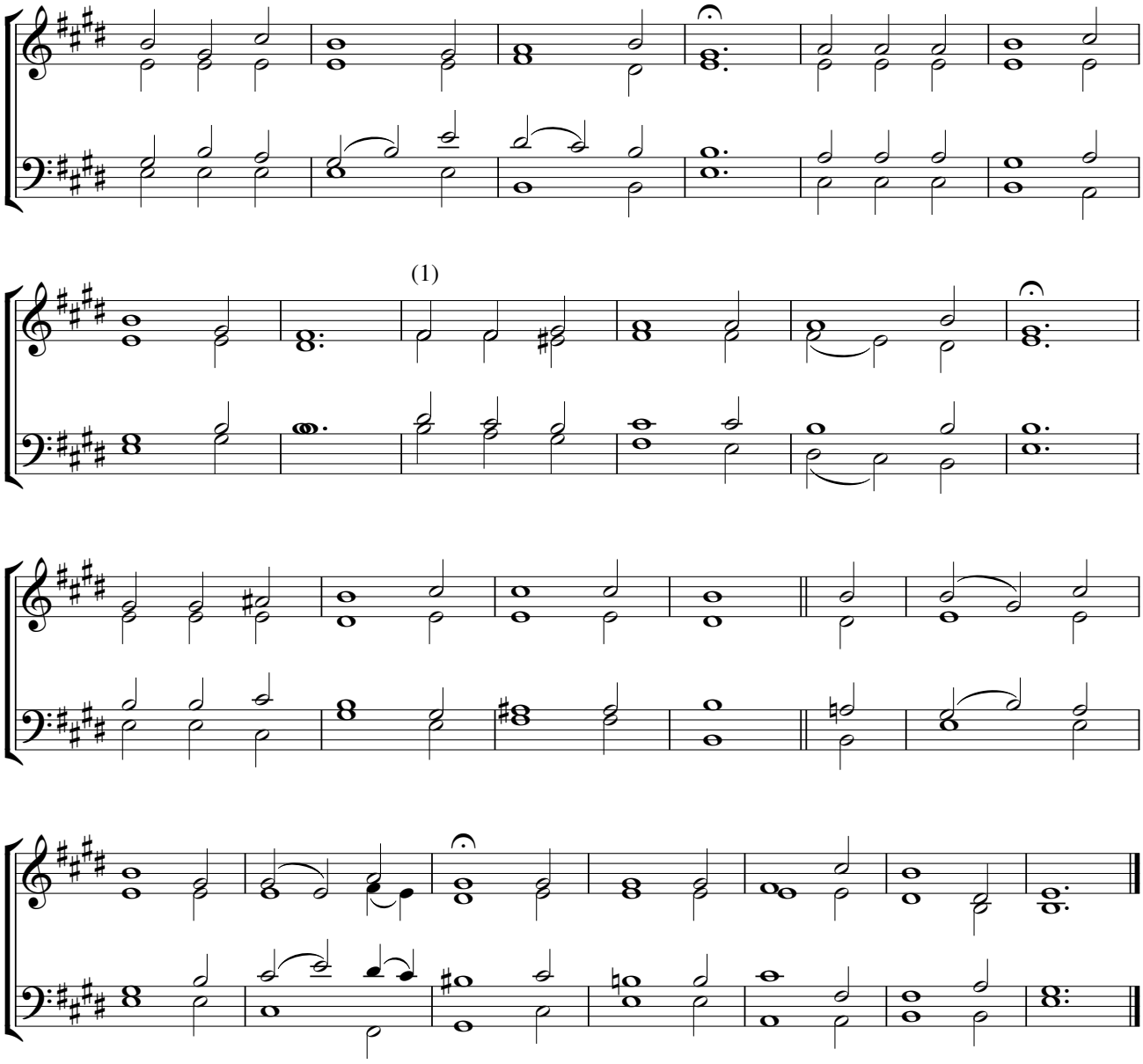
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No. 421

Dunholme (8888)

'Hymn for the end of the year' *Novello (1863)*

The tide of time is rolling on,
And now another year is gone;
The end of all things soon will come;
O may it bring us to our home.

Rev. Isaac Gregory Smith

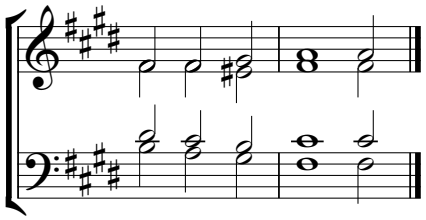
(1) The 1902 Novello edition has bass C♯ (minor 6th lower) and D (8ve lower) on these two notes.

Durham (888888)

Bemrose Chorale Book (1863) No. 117

When gathering clouds around I view,
And days are dark, and friends are few,
On Him I lean, who not in vain
Experienced every human pain;
He sees my wants, allays my fears,
And counts and treasures all my tears.

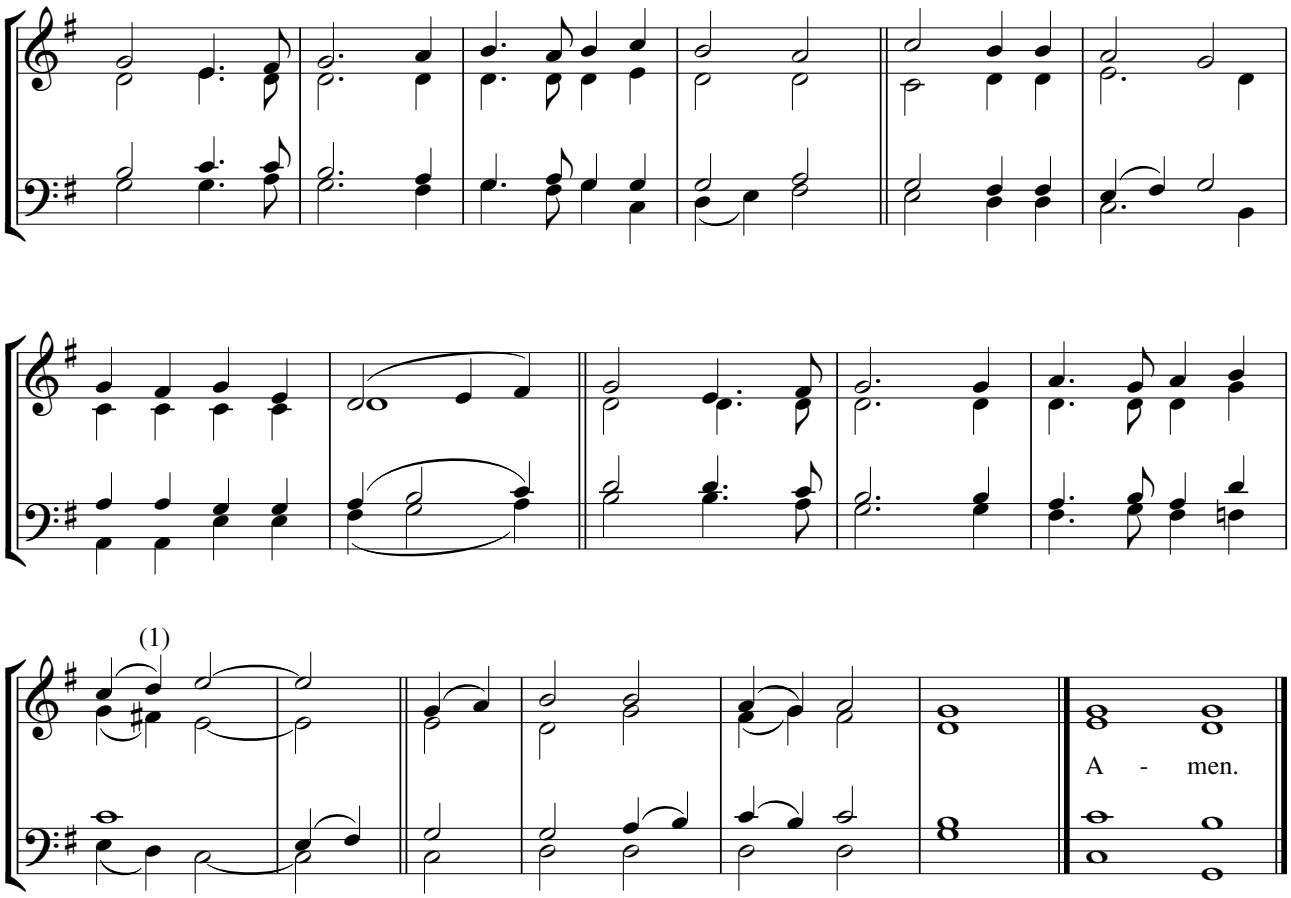
Robert Grant (2)

(1) Compare these bars with 11-12 of ANGELUS (G. Joseph, 1657)



(2) The full text of the verse is not set out in the Chorale Book

Dux Cœlestis (11.10.11.6)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.114

When on my day of life the night is falling,
And in the winds, from unsunned spaces blown,
I hear far voices out of darkness calling
My feet to paths unknown. (2)

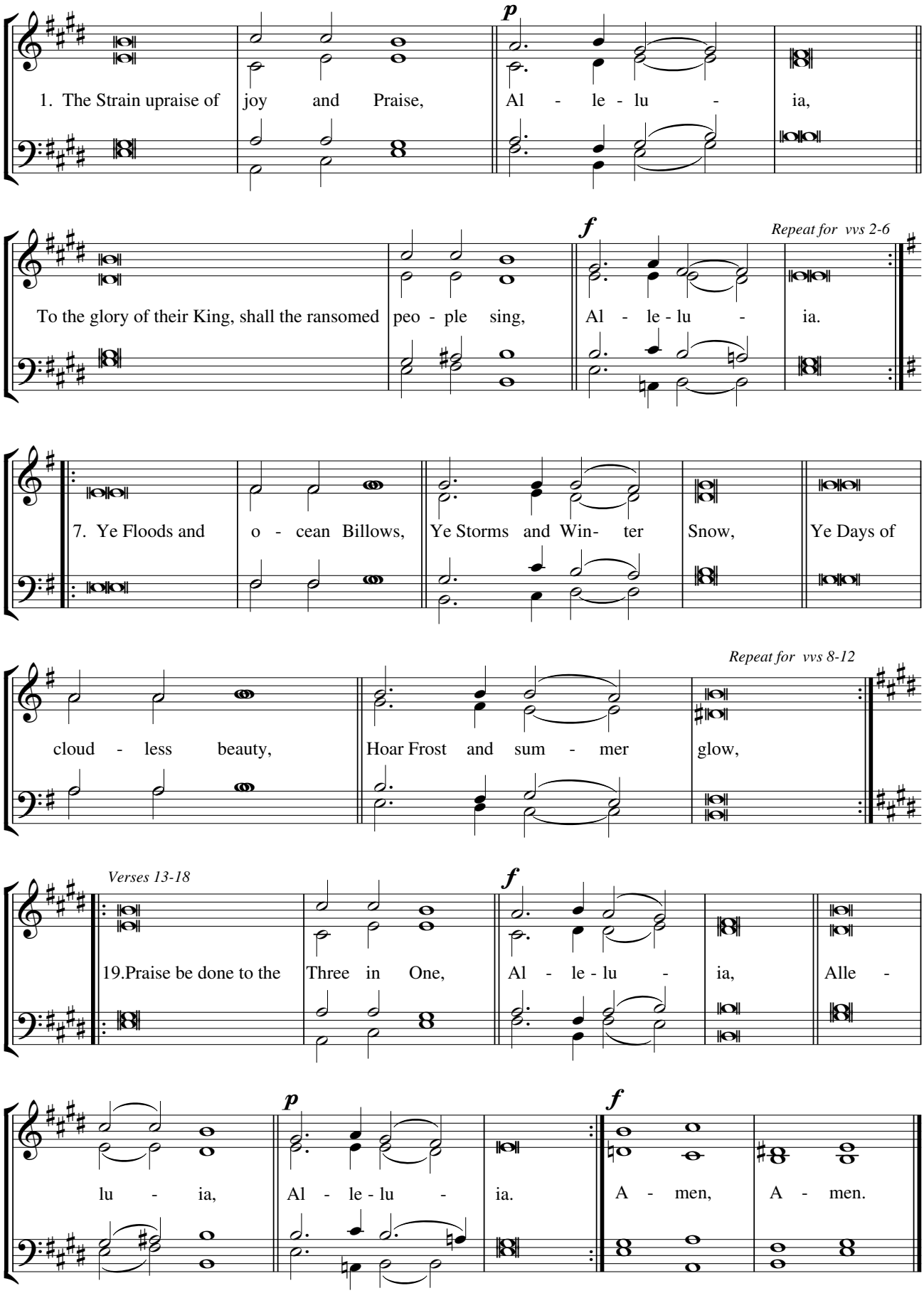
John G. Whittier

(1) The Alto F♯ is explicitly shown in the 1902 edition, despite the fourth beat of the previous bar and the third beat of the present bar, both of which are clear indications of a modulation to the subdominant.

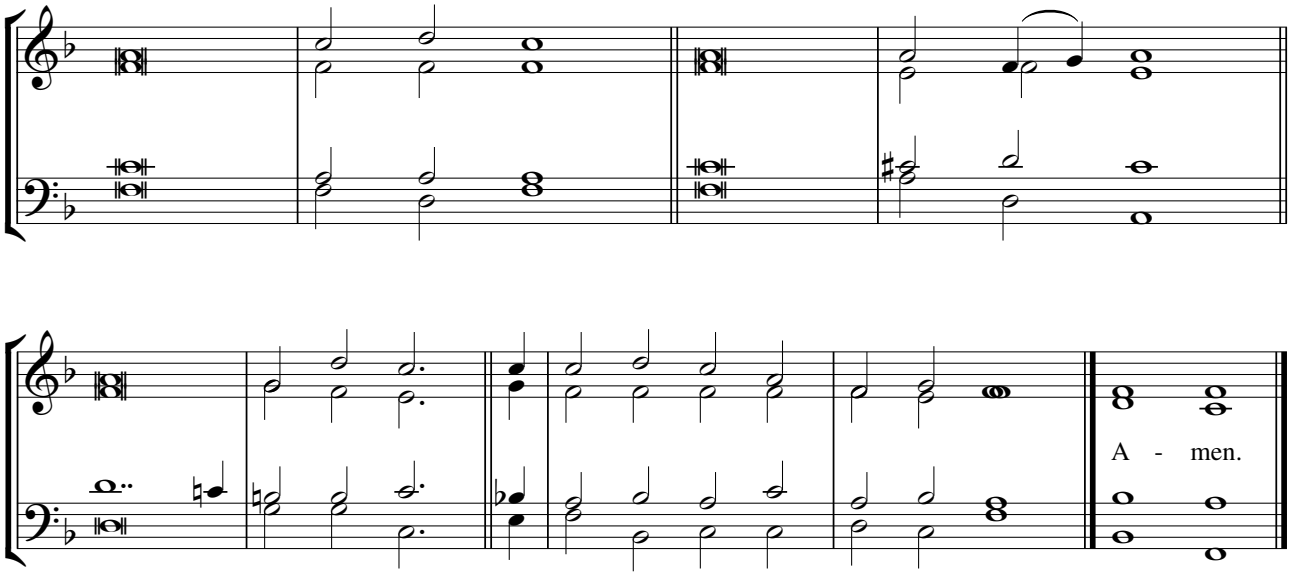
(2) This tune could not have been composed for these words, which were written six years after Dykes's death.

Dykes (Irregular)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.163

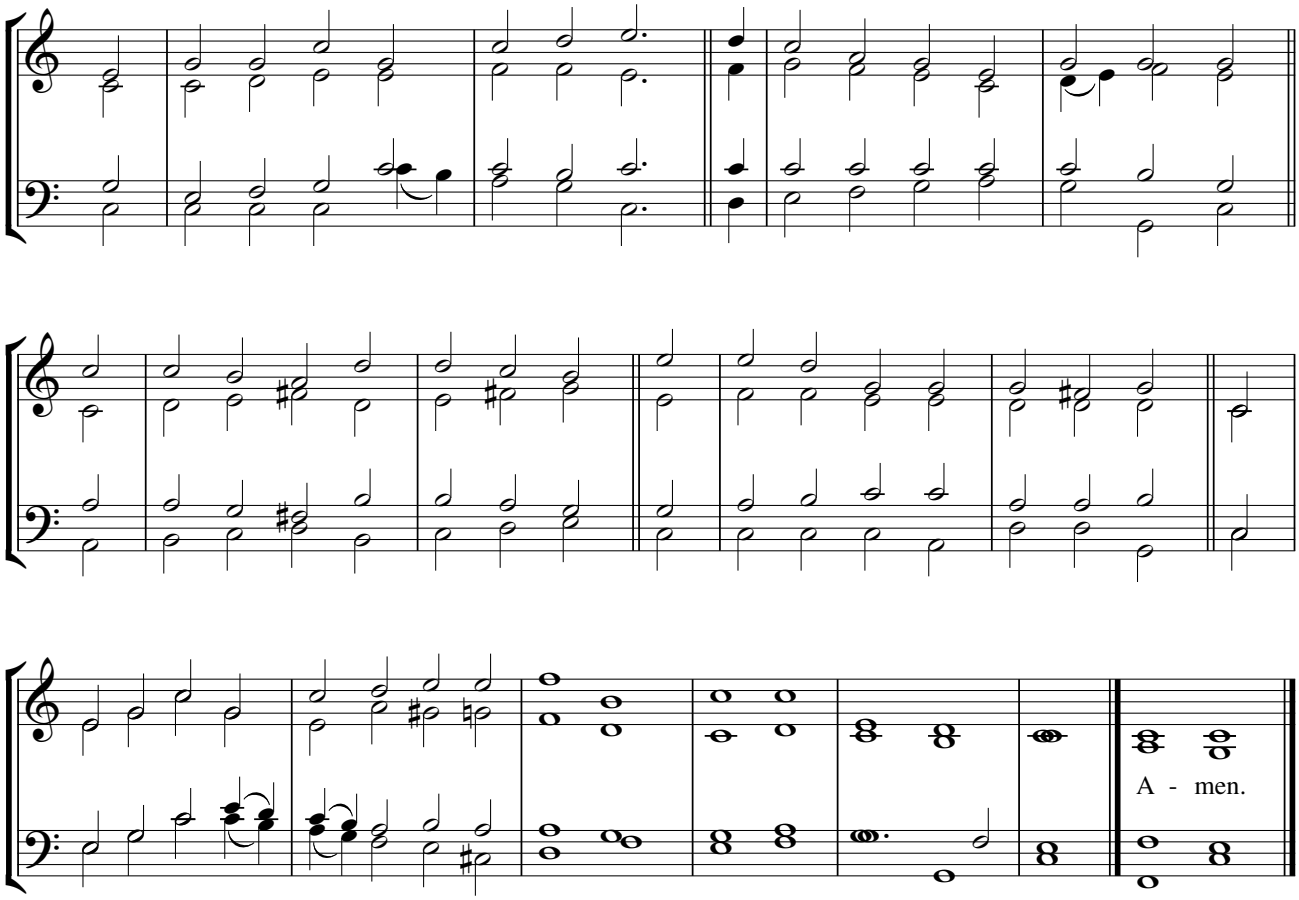
Other names:
THE STRAIN UPRAISE

Balbulus Notker trans. from the Latin by J.M. Neale

Easter Chant (Irregular)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.126

Light's glittering morn bedécks the sky;
Heaven thunders forth its víctor-cry;
The glad earth shouts her tríumph high,
And groaning hell makes wild reply;

Trans from the Latin
by John Mason Neale

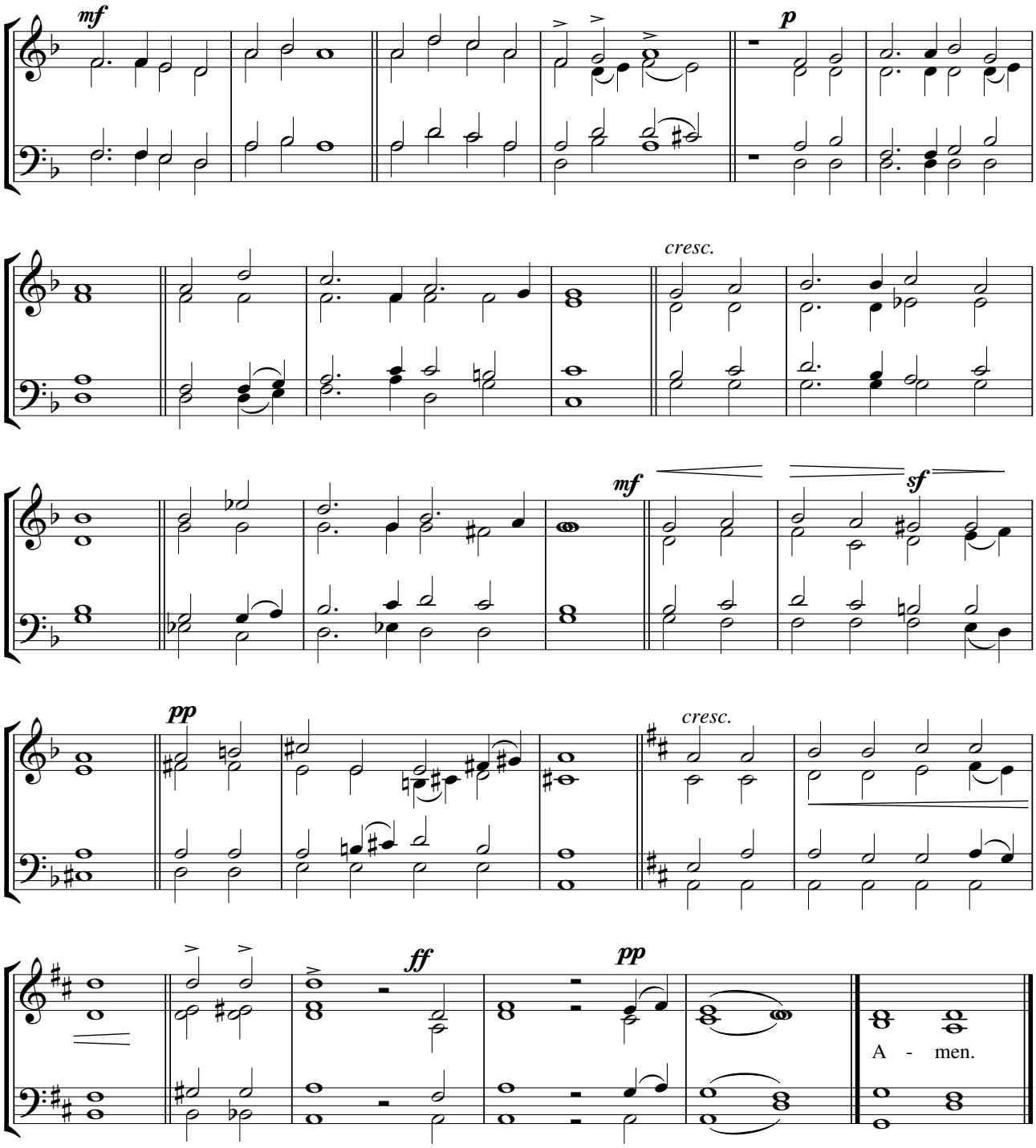
Eastergate (888888)

Congregational Church Music (1871)

We sing His love, who once was slain,
Who soon o'er death revived again,
That all His saints through Him might have
Eternal conquests o'er the grave.
Soon shall the trumpet sound, and we
Shall rise to immortality.

Rowland Hill

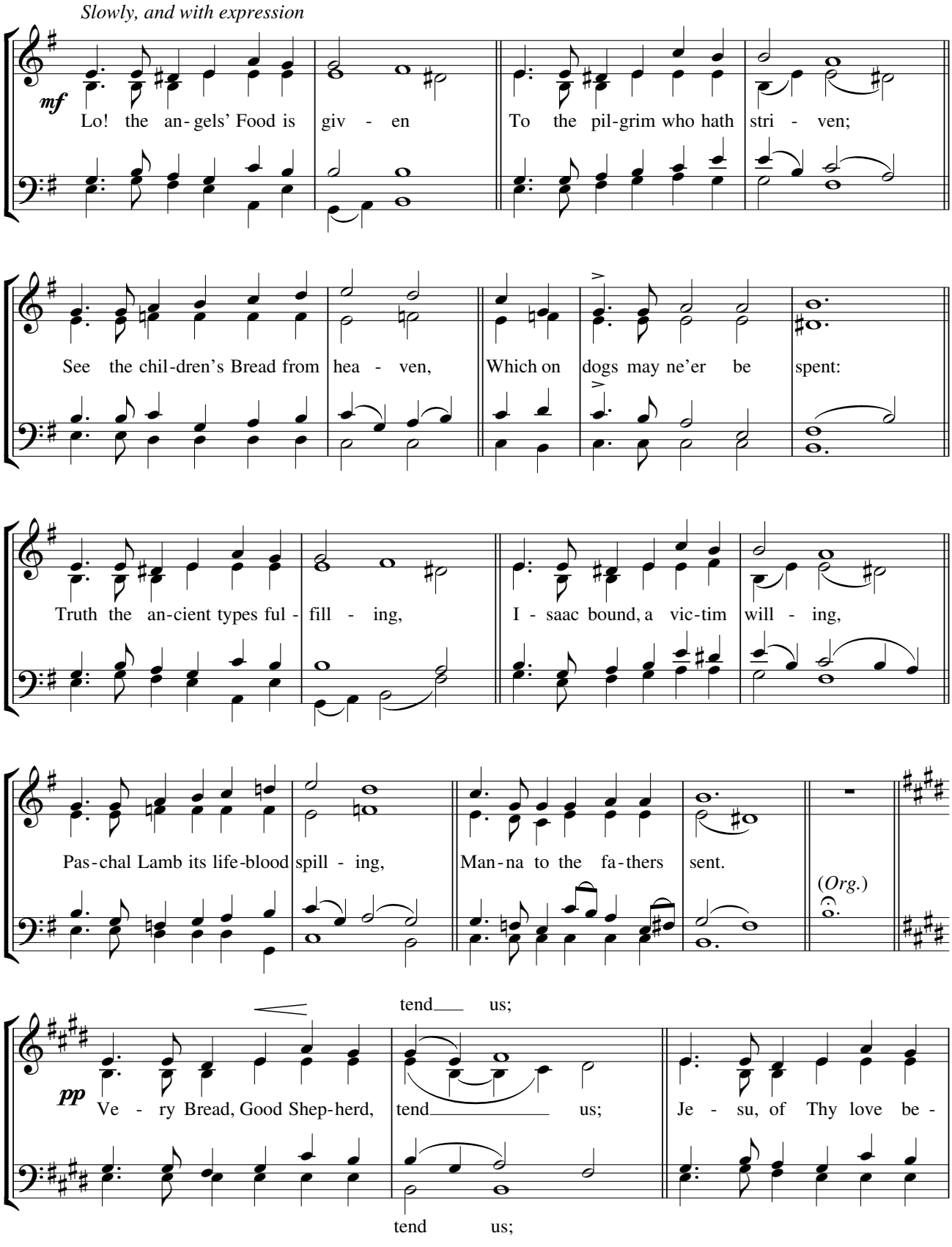
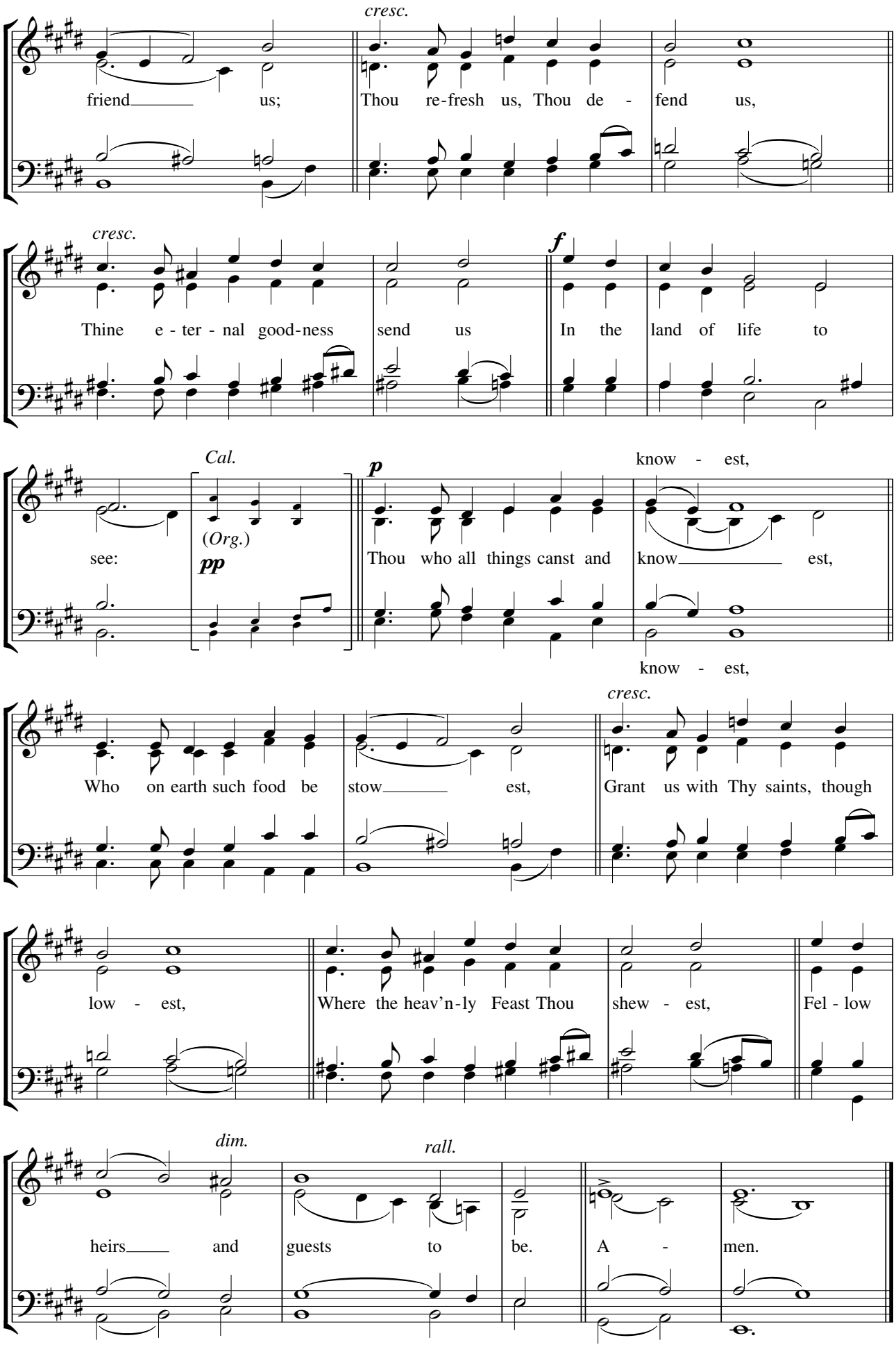
Compare with 'We lift our hearts to Thee, our head'

Ecce Homo (77.77.77.77.77)

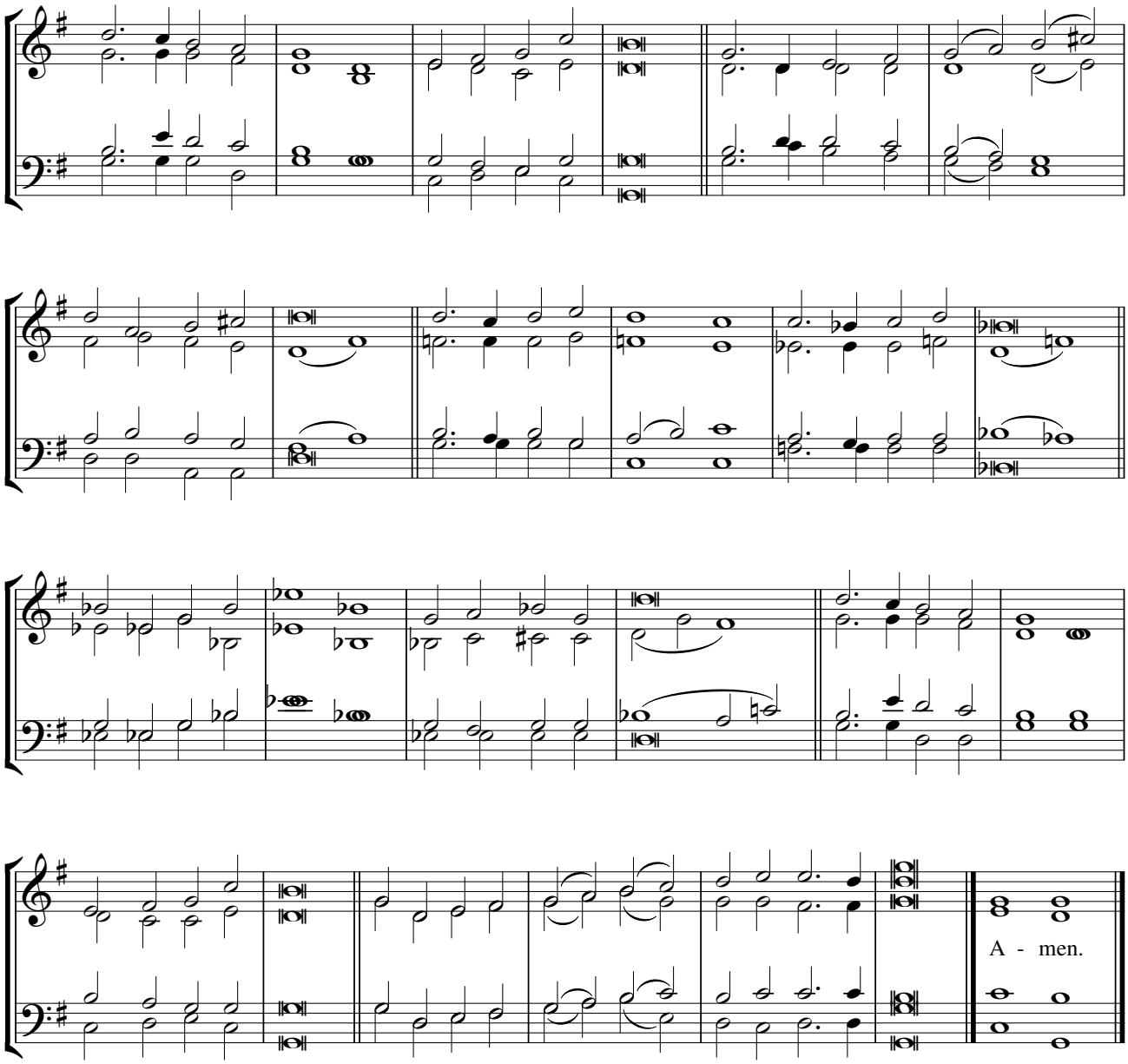
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 59

Bound upon the accursèd tree,
Faint and bleeding, who is He?
By the eyes so pale and dim,
Streaming blood, and writhing limb,
By the flesh with scourges torn,
By the crown of twisted thorn,
By the side so deeply pierced,
By the baffled, burning thirst,
By the drooping death-dew'd brow,
Son of Man, 't is Thou! 't is Thou!

Henry Hart Milman

Ecce Panis (Irregular)

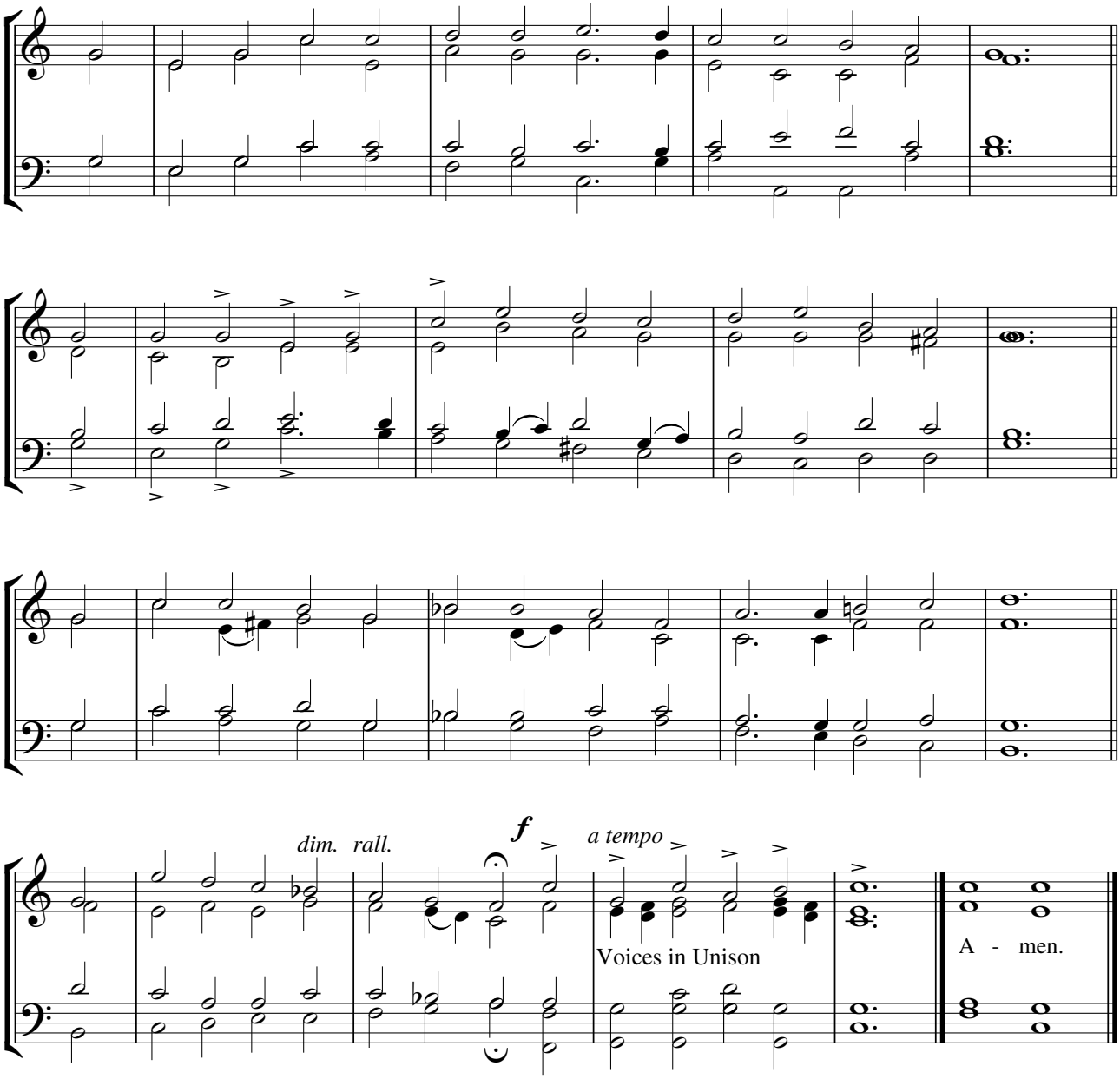
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No. 349

cresc.
friend us;
Thou re-fresh us, Thou de - fend us,
cresc.
Thine e - ter - nal good-ness
send us
f
In the land of life to
Cal.
(Org.)
pp
see:
p
Thou who all things canst and
know - est,
know - est,
know - est,
cresc.
Who on earth such food be
stow est,
Grant us with Thy saints, though
low - est,
Where the heav'n-ly Feast Thou
shew - est,
Fel - low
dim.
rall.
heirs and
guests to
be.
A - men.

Ecce Signum (6565T)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.228

Forward! be our watchword, steps and voices joined;
Seek the things before us, not a look behind;
Burns the fiery pillar at our army's head;
Who shall dream of shrinking, by our Captain led?
Forward through the desert, through the toil and fight;
Jordan flows before us; Zion beams with light.

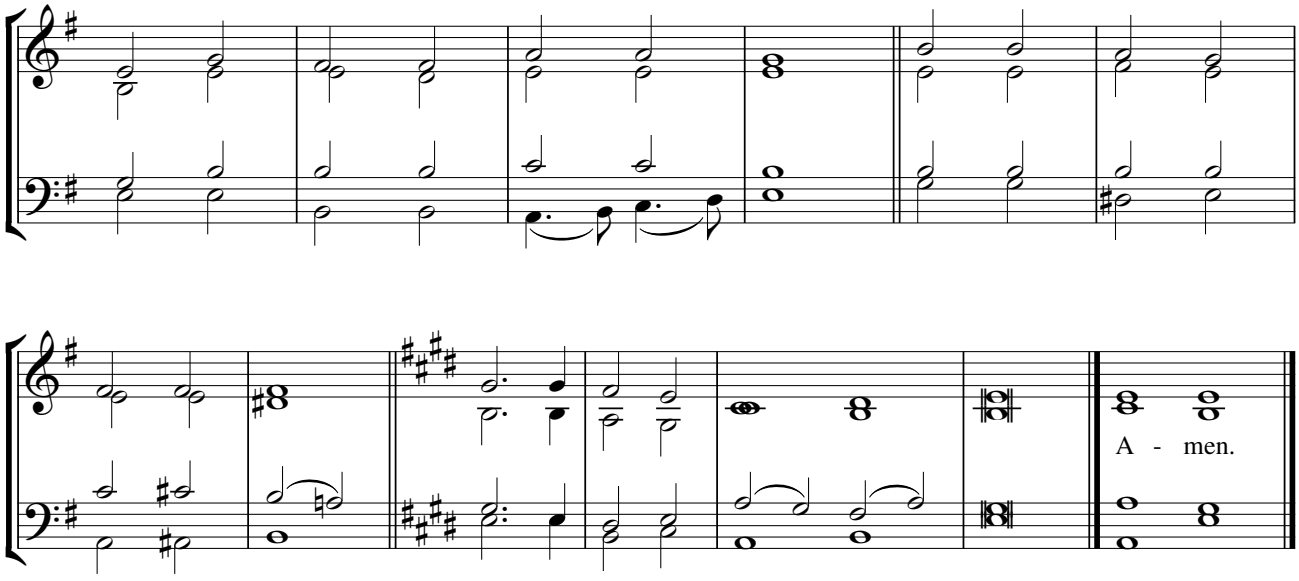
Henry Alford

Ecce Victor (DCM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.179

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain;
His blood red banner streams afar:
Who follows in His train?
Who best can drink his cup of woe,
Triumphant over pain,
Who patient bears his cross below,
He follows in His train.

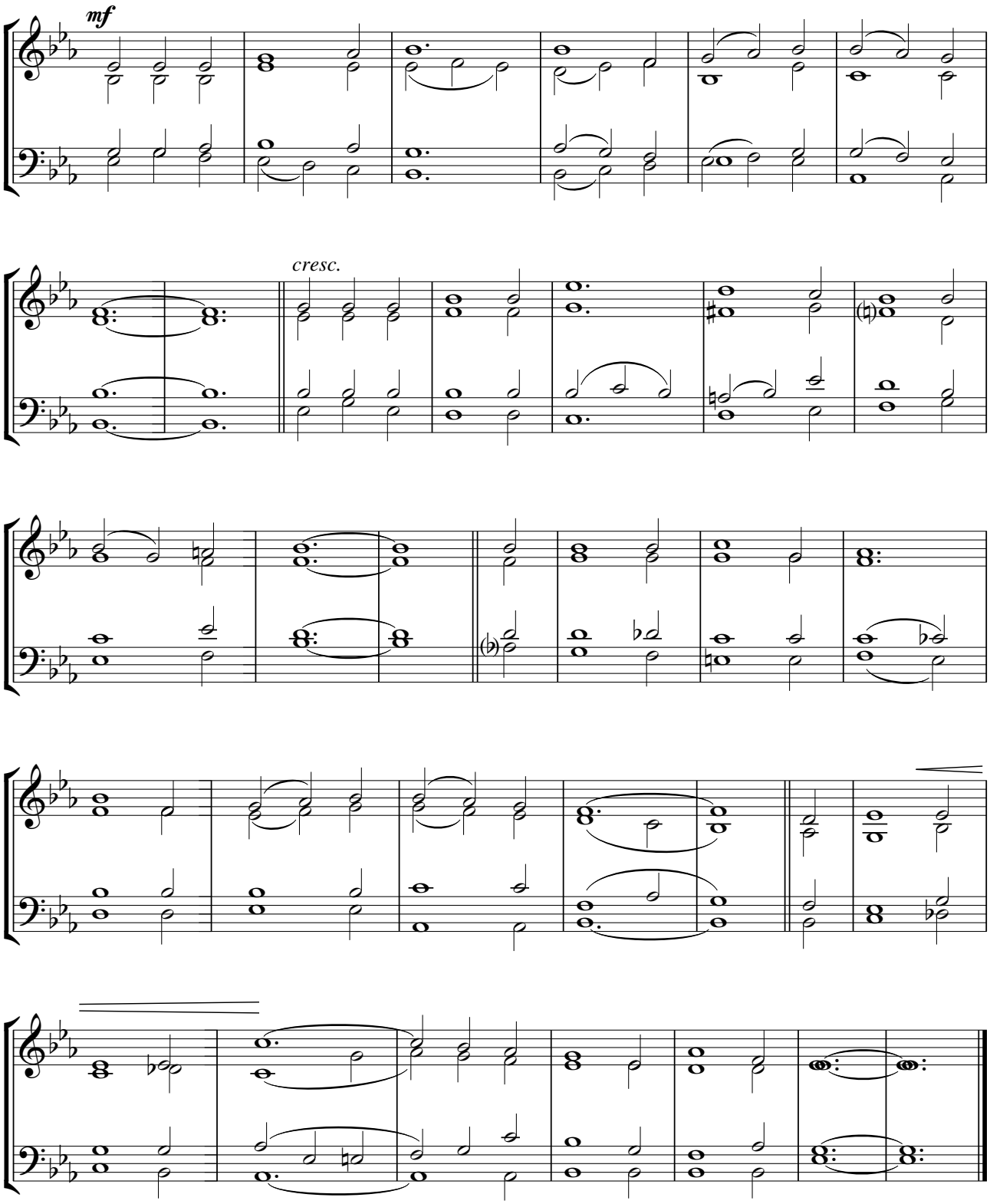
Reginald Heber

Eleison (777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 50

Lord, in this Thy mercy's day,
Ere it pass for aye away,
On our knees we fall and pray.

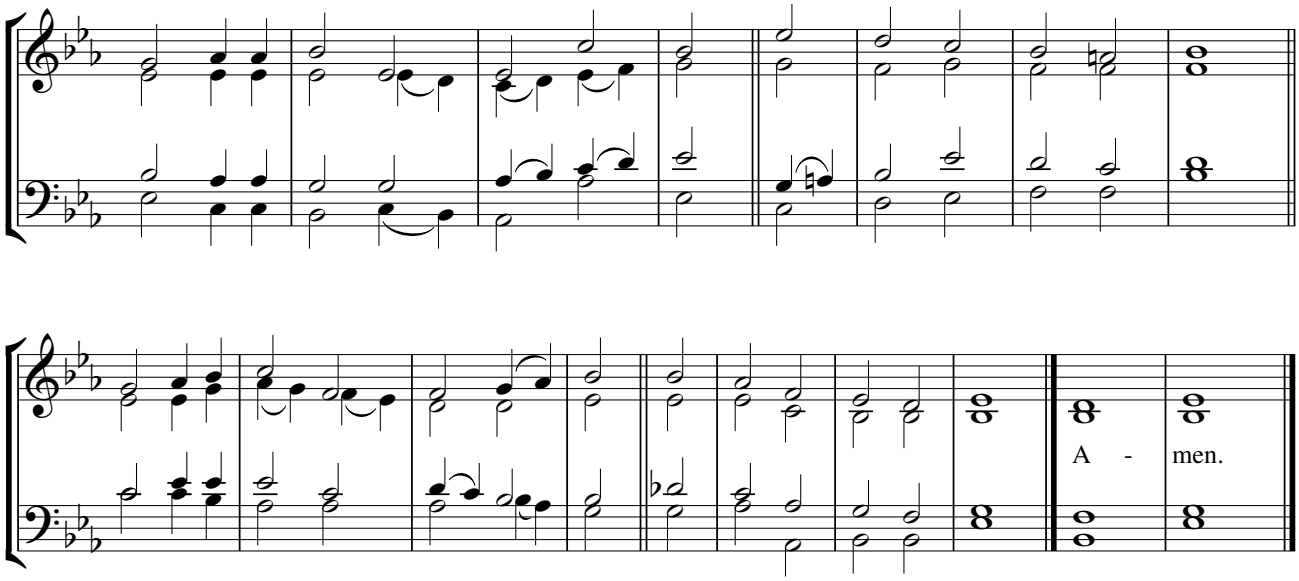
Isaac Williams

Eleutheria (7676D)

New Mitre Hymnal (1875) No. 42

Hail to the Lord's anointed, great David's greater Son!
Hail in the time appointed, His reign on earth begun!
He comes to break oppression, to set the captive free;
To take away transgression and rule in equity.

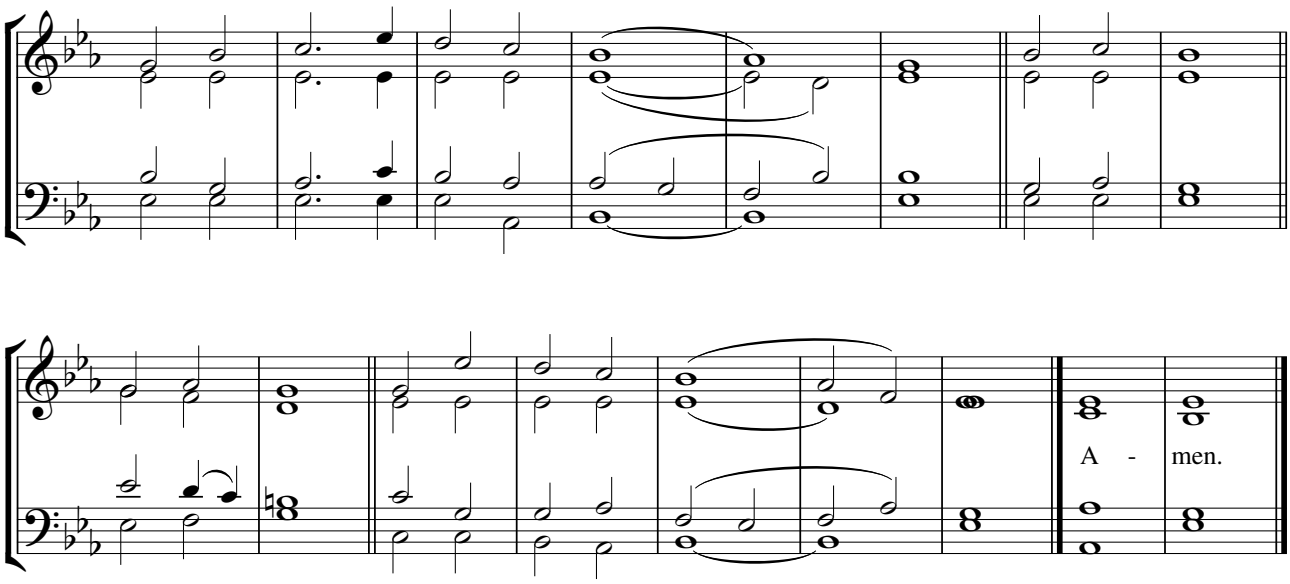
James Montgomery

Elvet (CM)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.252

Spirit of Wisdom, guide Thine Own,
Who make Thee now their Choice;
That they may never walk alone,
But hear Thy Heavenly Voice.

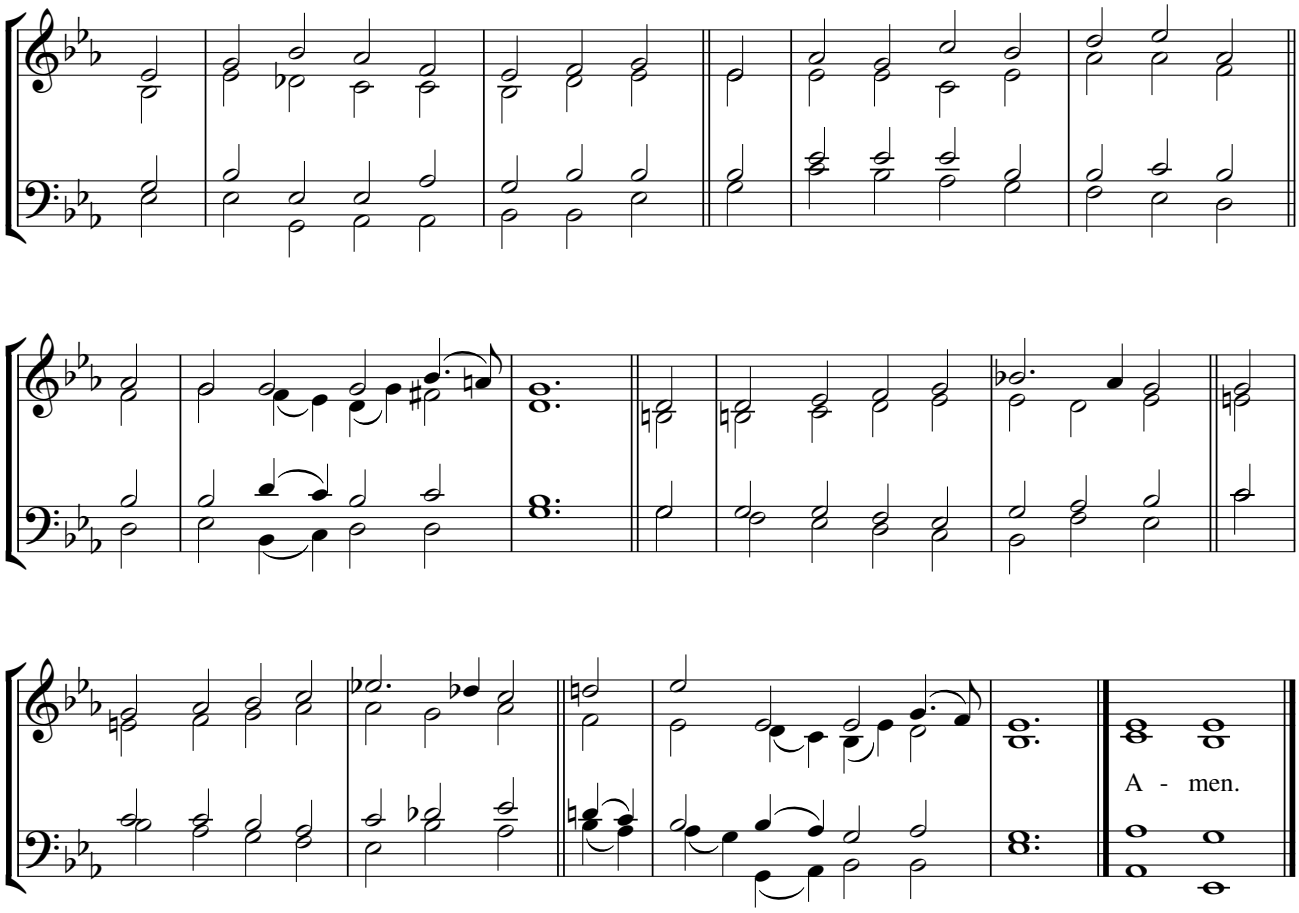
J. H. Buttersorth

‘Ere I Sleep’ (8336)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.244

Ere I sleep, for ev’ry favour
This day show’d
By my God,
I do bless my Saviour.

John Cennick

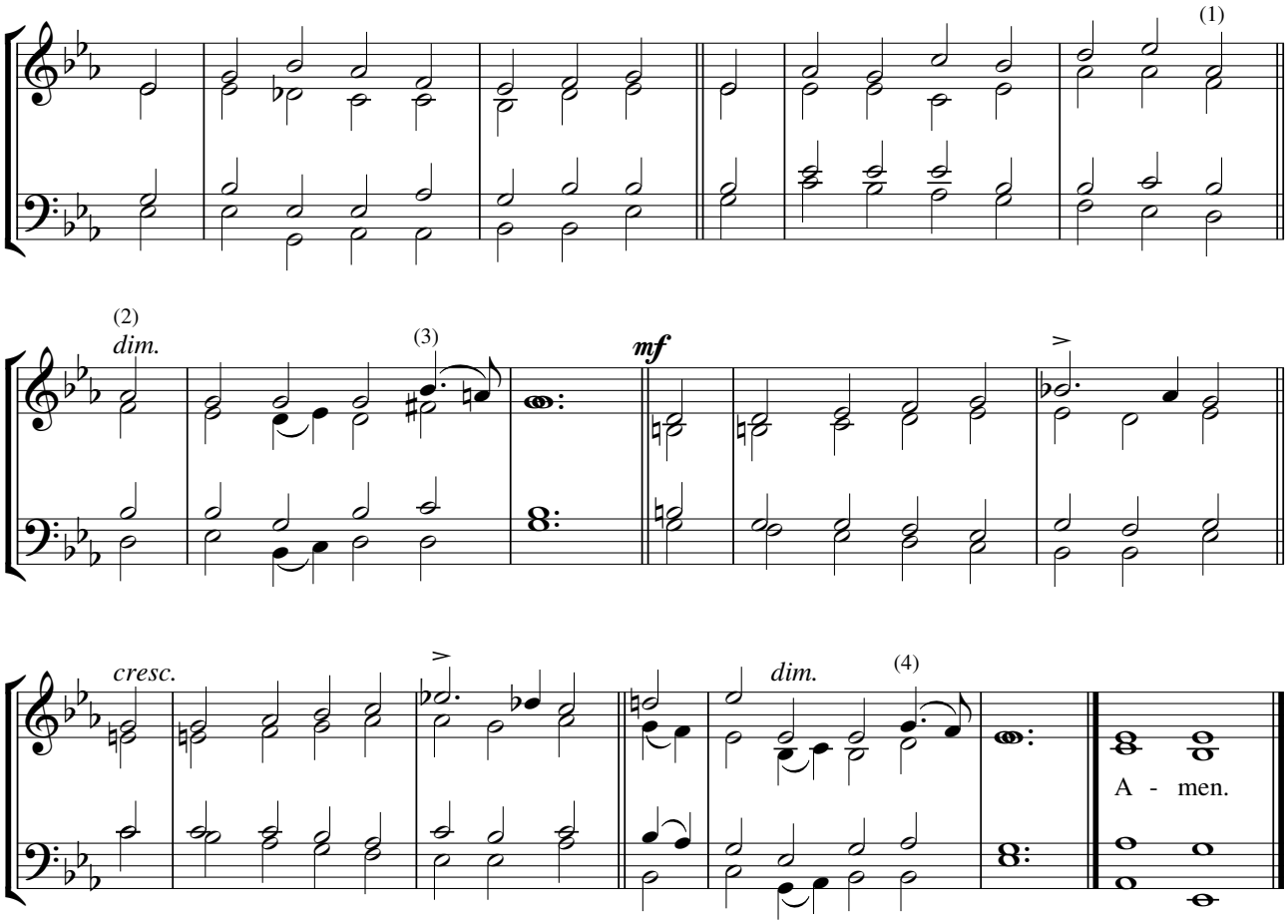
Esca Viatorum (i) (886D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.346

O Food that weary pilgrims love,
O Bread of angel hosts above,
O Manna of the saints,
The hungry soul would feed on Thee;
Ne'er may the heart unsolaced be
Which for Thy sweetness faints.

Maintzich Gesangbuch, 1661
trans by the compilers of HA&M

See next page for details of changes in the 1904 edition.

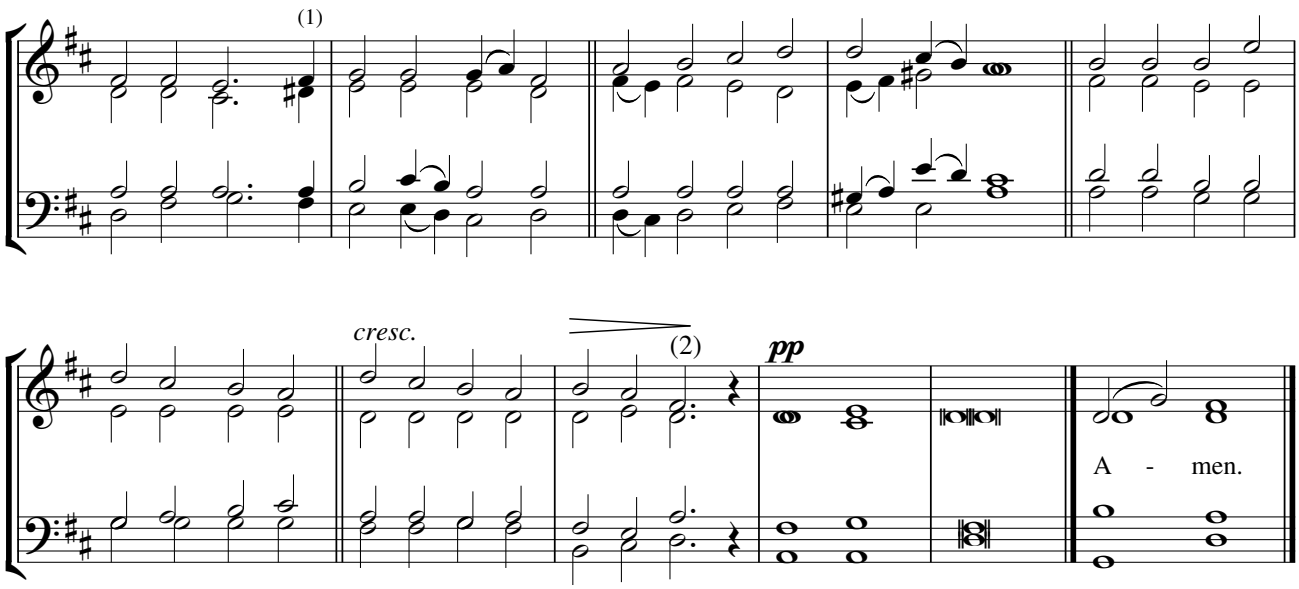
Esca Viatorum (ii) (886D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.314

O Food that weary pilgrims love,
O Bread of angel hosts above,
O Manna of the saints,
The hungry soul would feed on Thee;
Ne'er may the heart unsolaced be
Which for Thy sweetness faints.

Maintzich Gesangbuch, 1661
trans by the compilers of HA&M

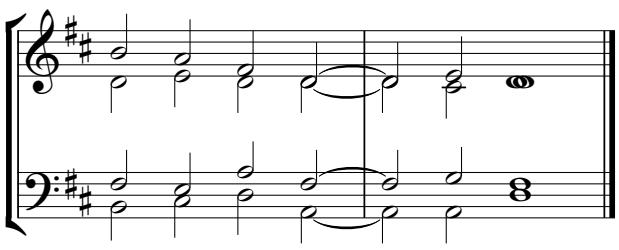
The 1904 edition of HA&M has the following differences:
(1) soprano B♭ and tenor D on this chord;
(2) alto D, bass F;
(3) soprano two crotchets; and
(4) ditto.

Etiam et Mihi (87873)

The Hymnal Companion (1870) No.154

Lord, I hear of showers of blessing,
Thou art scatt'ring full and free;
Showers the thirsty land refreshing;
Let some droppings fall on me—
Even me.

Elizabeth Codner

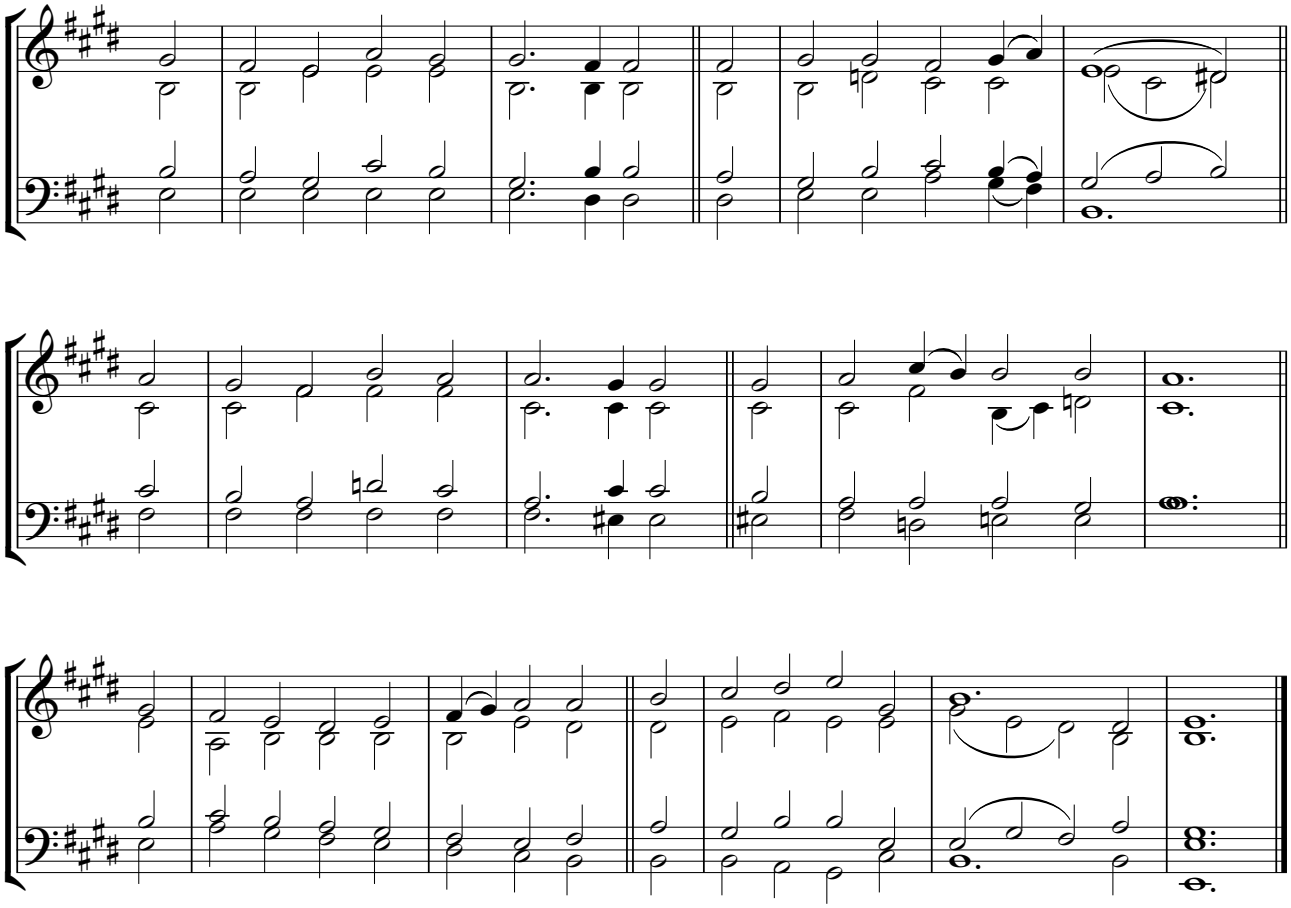
(1) The *Song of Praise* has alto D♮ on this crotchet and on beat 1 of bar 2; and a bass F♯ on beat 1 of bar 2. It also has the following conclusion:



(2) The 1904 edition of HA&M has a semibreve on this chord.

Eucharist (868688)

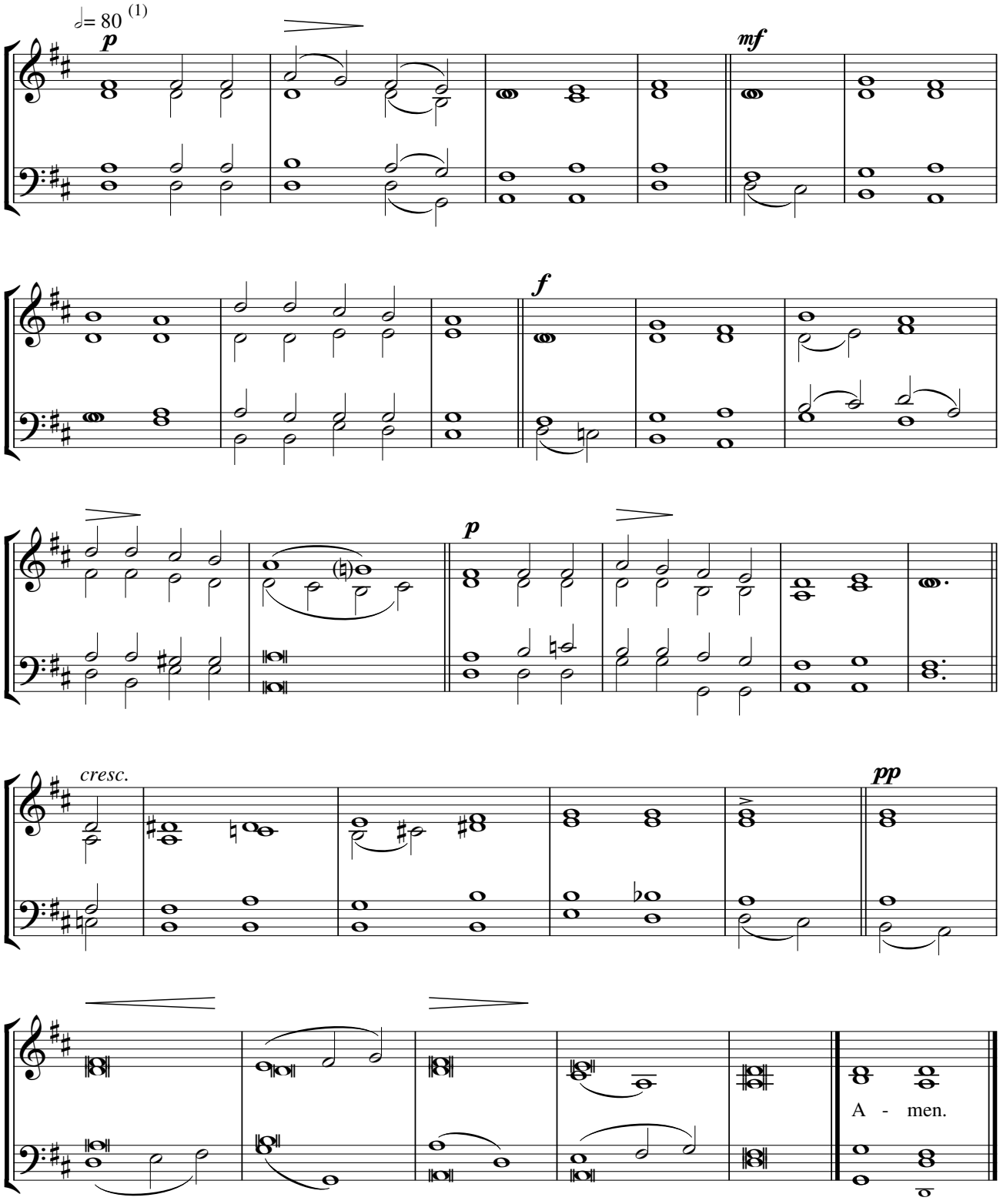
The Hymnal Companion (1870) No.285



Lord, when before Thy throne we meet,
Thy goodness to adore,
From heaven, th' eternal mercy-seat,
On us Thy blessing pour;
And make our inmost souls to be
An habitation meet for Thee.

Tressilian G. Nicholas

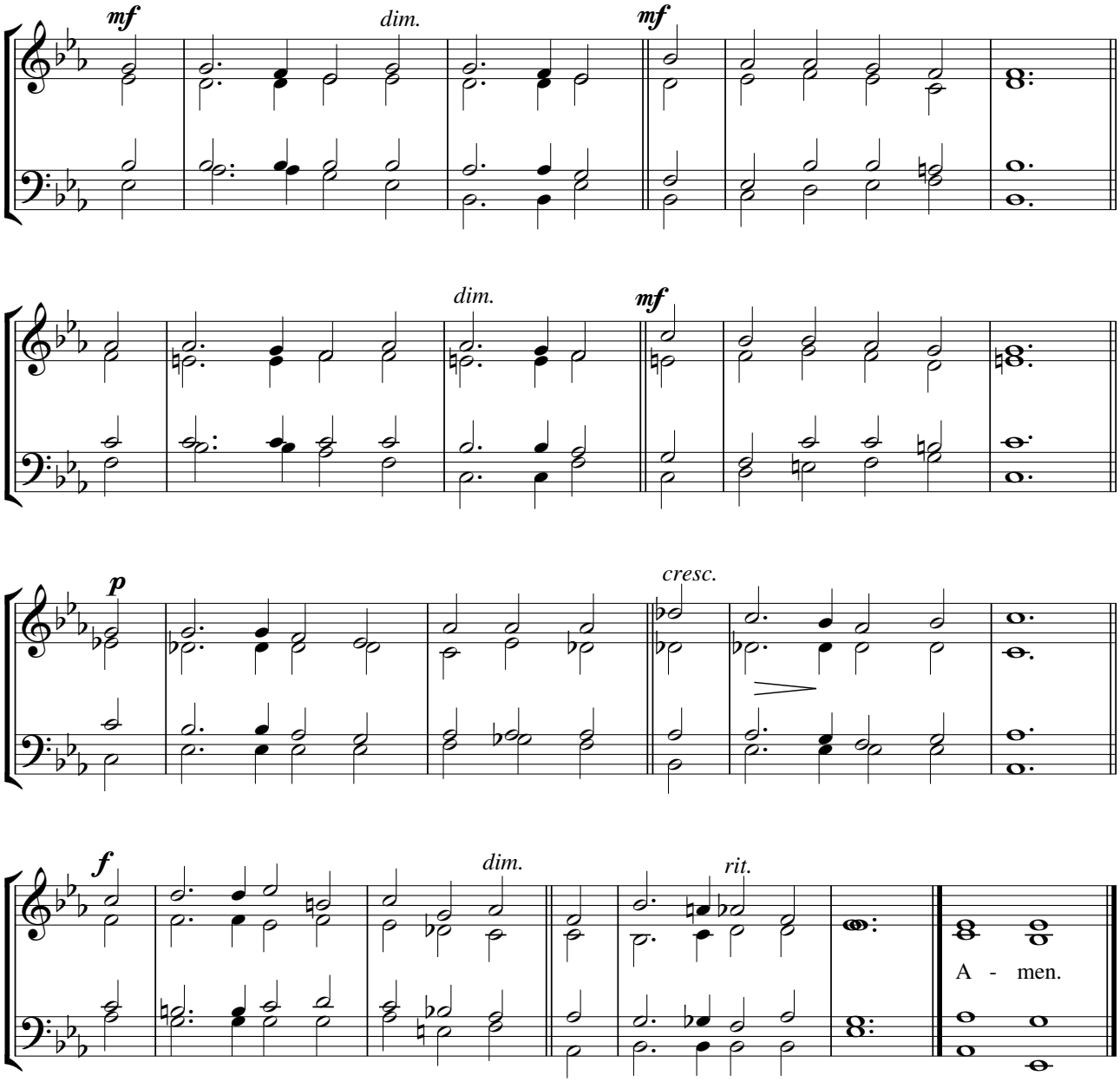
Eucharistica (8.10.10.10.8.6)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.454

O Holy Jesu, Prince of Peace!
Thy Peace be with us gathering round Thy board,
Where the sweet presence of an unseen Lord
Waits to be gracious, charged with full release
To every heavy-laden soul
Which here remembers Thee.

Robert Brown-Borthwick

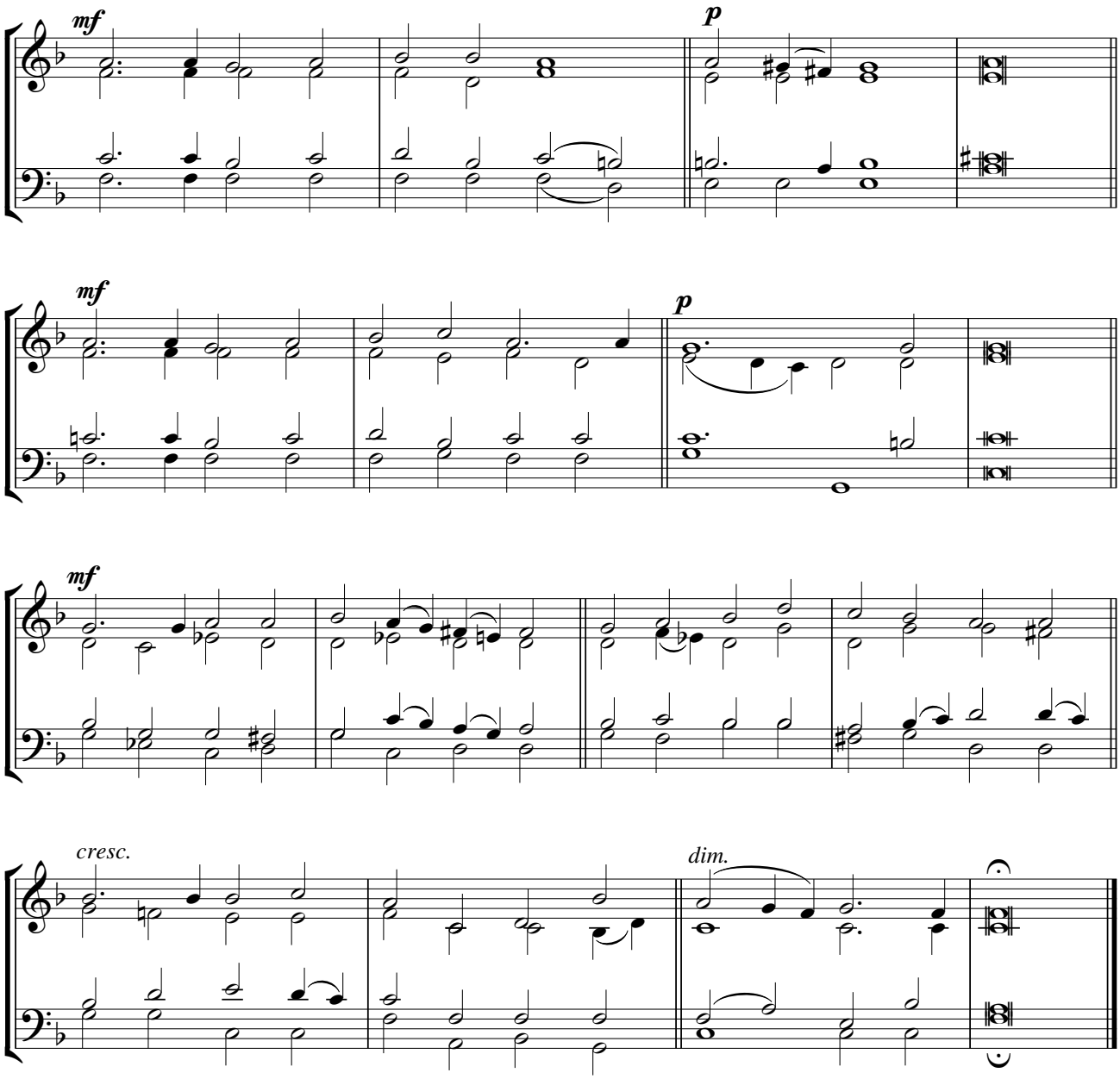
(1) This is the editor's metronome mark. Dykes had marked it at ♩= 92.

Eucharisticon (8686D)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.182

Again before Thine altar, Lord,
We tell our sinful tale;
And humbly bide Thy pardoning Word,
Which ne'er is known to fail.
Absolved by Thee so oft before,
So oft again we sin;
Again we seek Thy mercy-door,
O Mercy! take us in!

R.K. Bolton

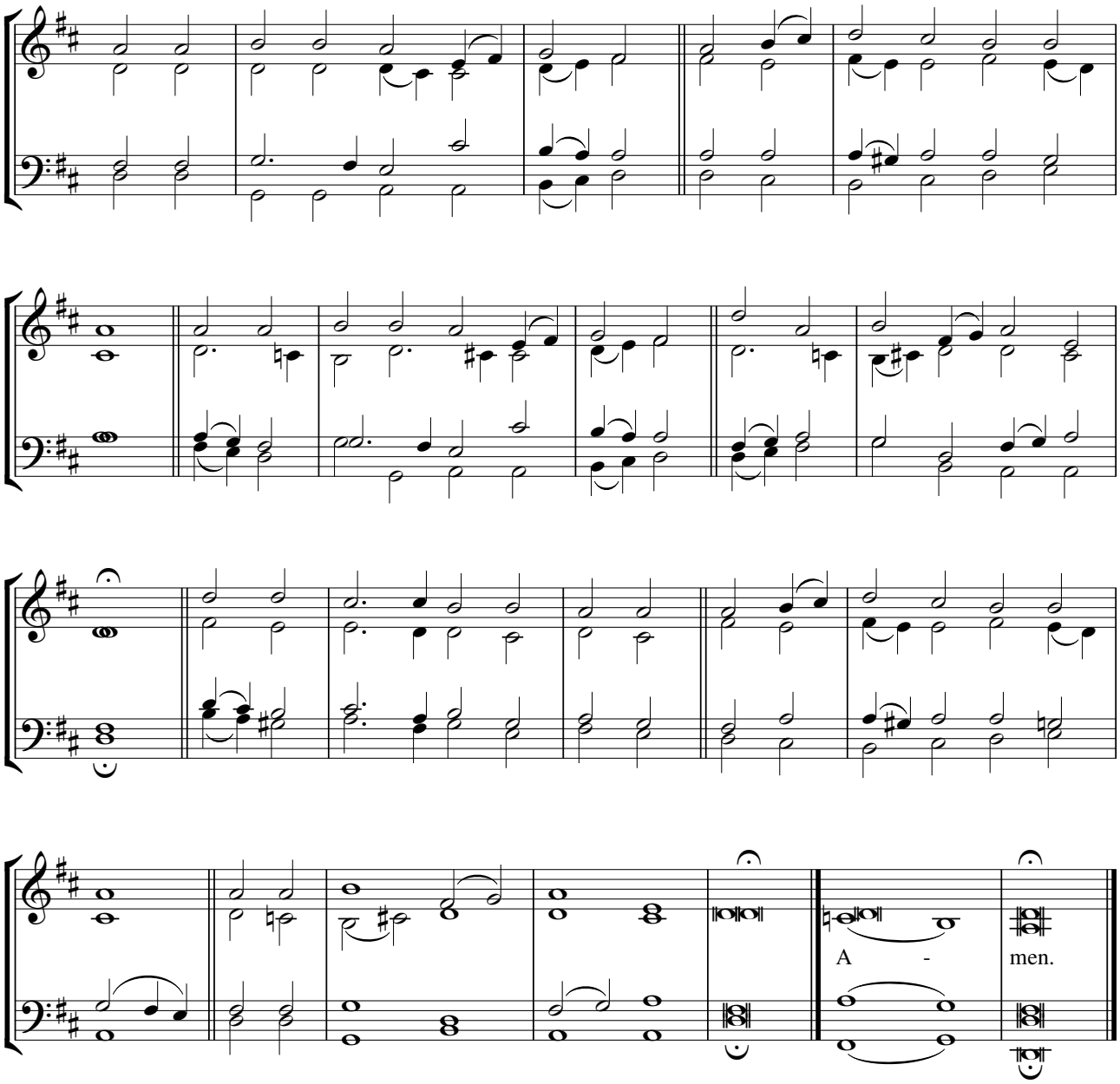
Evening Hymn (84848884)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.3

God, that madest earth and heaven,
Darkness and light,
Who the day for toil hast given,
For rest the night:
May thine angel guards defend us,
Slumber sweet thy mercy send us;
Holy dreams and hopes attend us,
This livelong night.

Reginald Heber

100

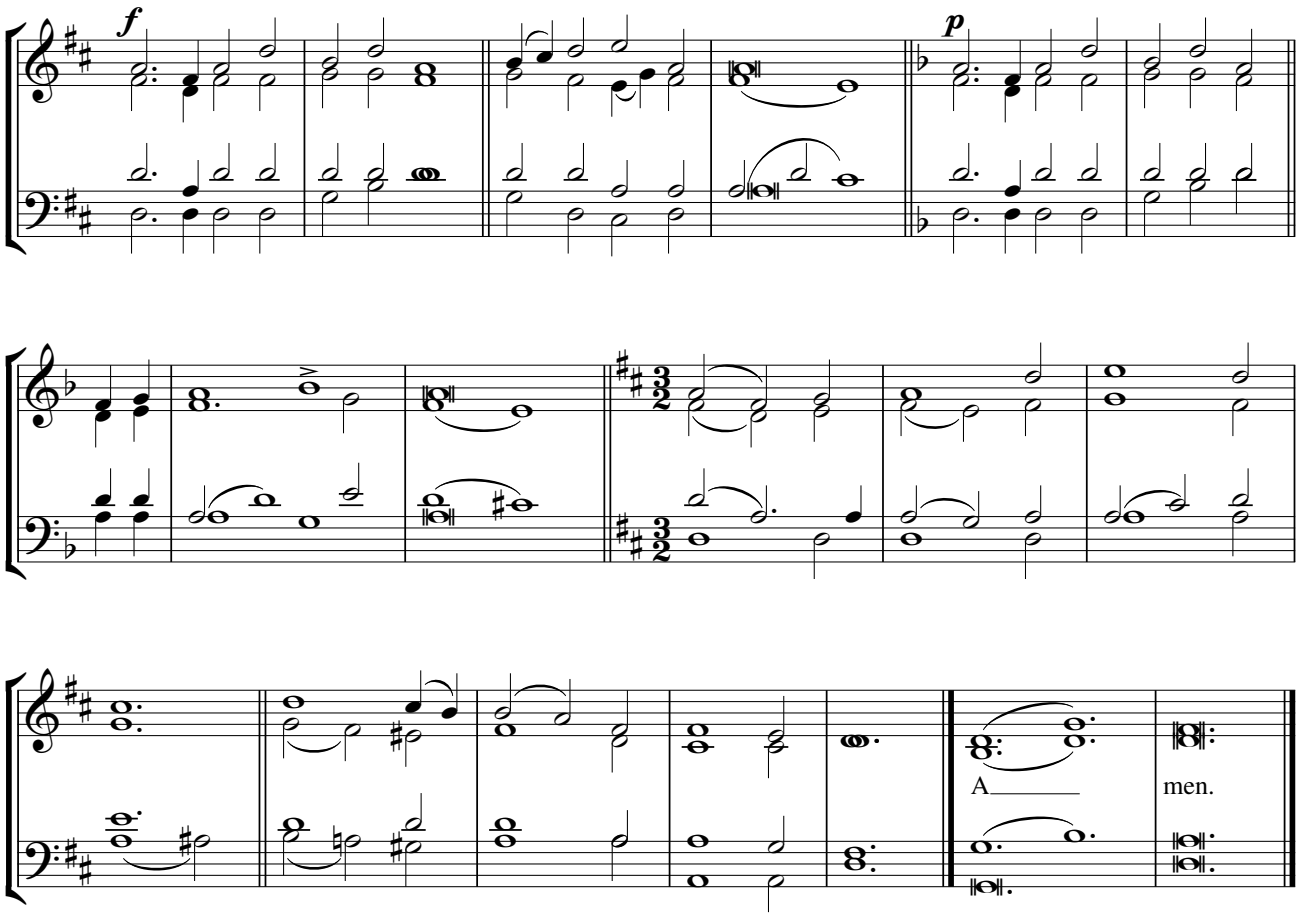
Evermore (8787877)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 35

Of the Father's love begotten,
Ere the worlds began to be,
He is Alpha and Omega,
He the source, the ending He,
Of the things that are, that have been,
And that future years shall see,
Evermore and evermore!

Trans. from the Latin by
John Mason Neale

‘Every Morning the Red Sun’ (757577)

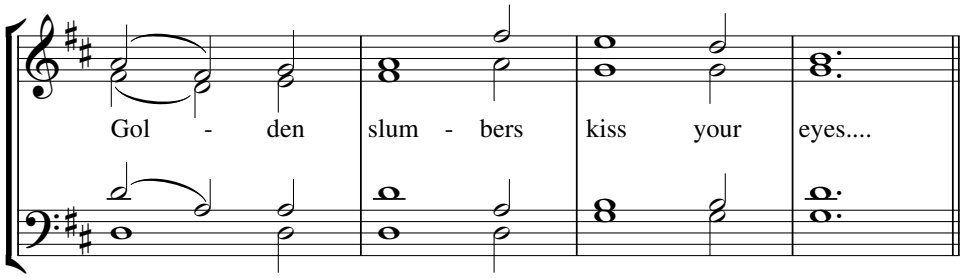
The Sarum Hymnal (1869) No. 276



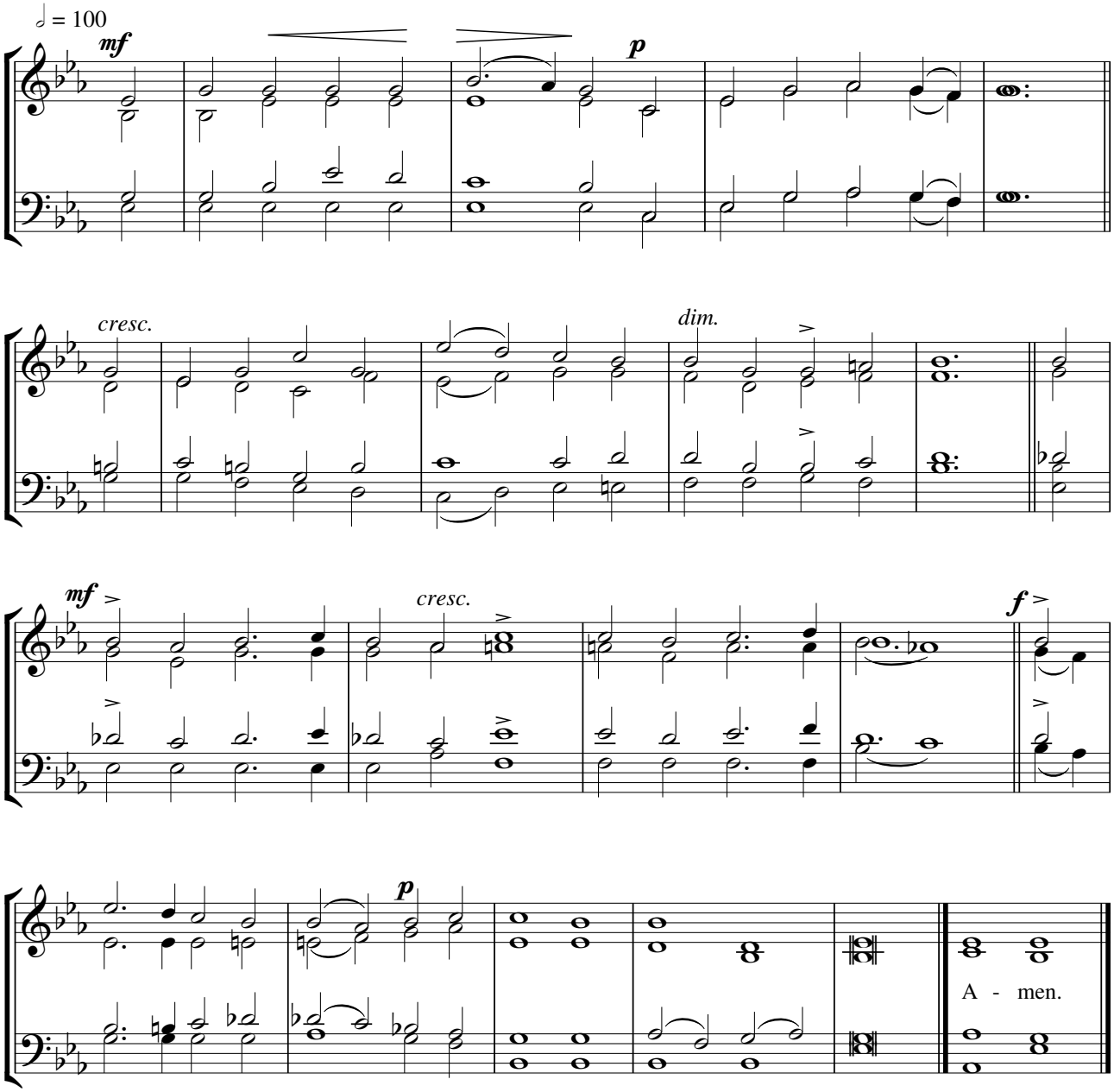
Every morning the red sun
Rises warm and bright;
But the evening cometh on,
And the dark, cold night.
There’s a bright land far away,
Where ’tis never-ending day.

Cecil Frances Alexander

Is it unkind to fancy a similarity between bars 10-13 of this children’s hymn with a 17th century lullaby with which JBD would undoubtedly have been familiar...?



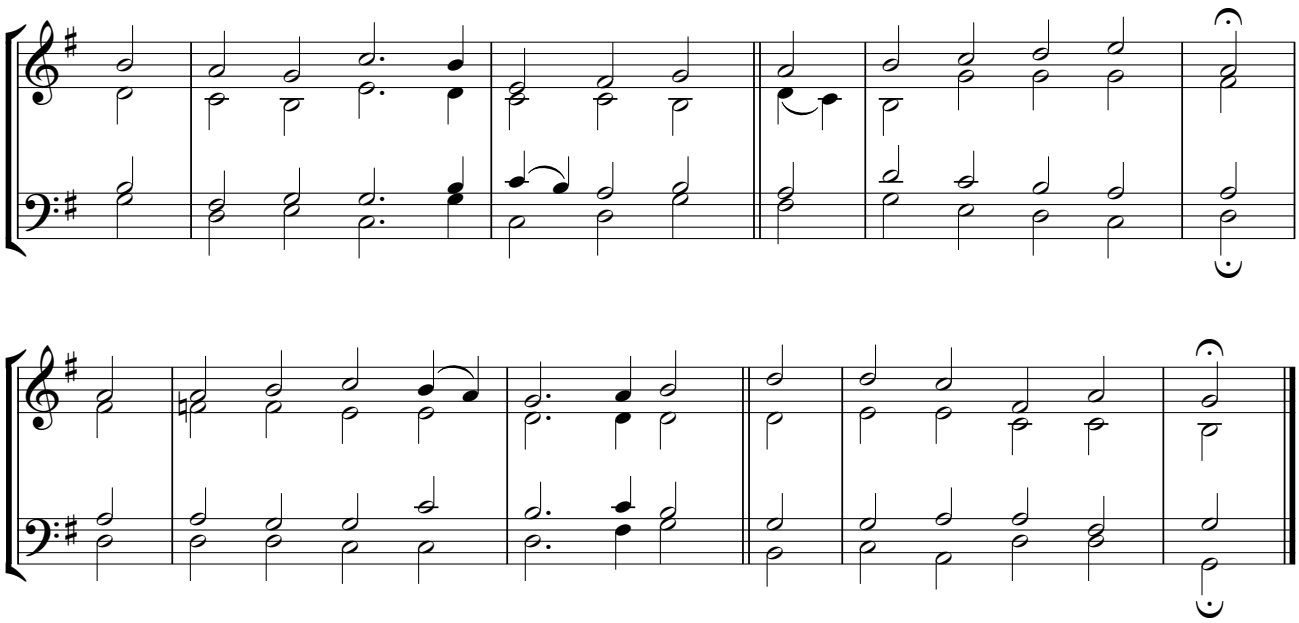
Exspecto (13.13.D)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.139

O Jesus, Thou art standing, outside the fast closed door,
In lowly patience waiting to pass the threshold o'er:
Shame on us, Christian brothers, His Name and sign who bear,
O shame, thrice shame upon us, to keep Him standing there.

Willam W. How

Faith (1) (CM)

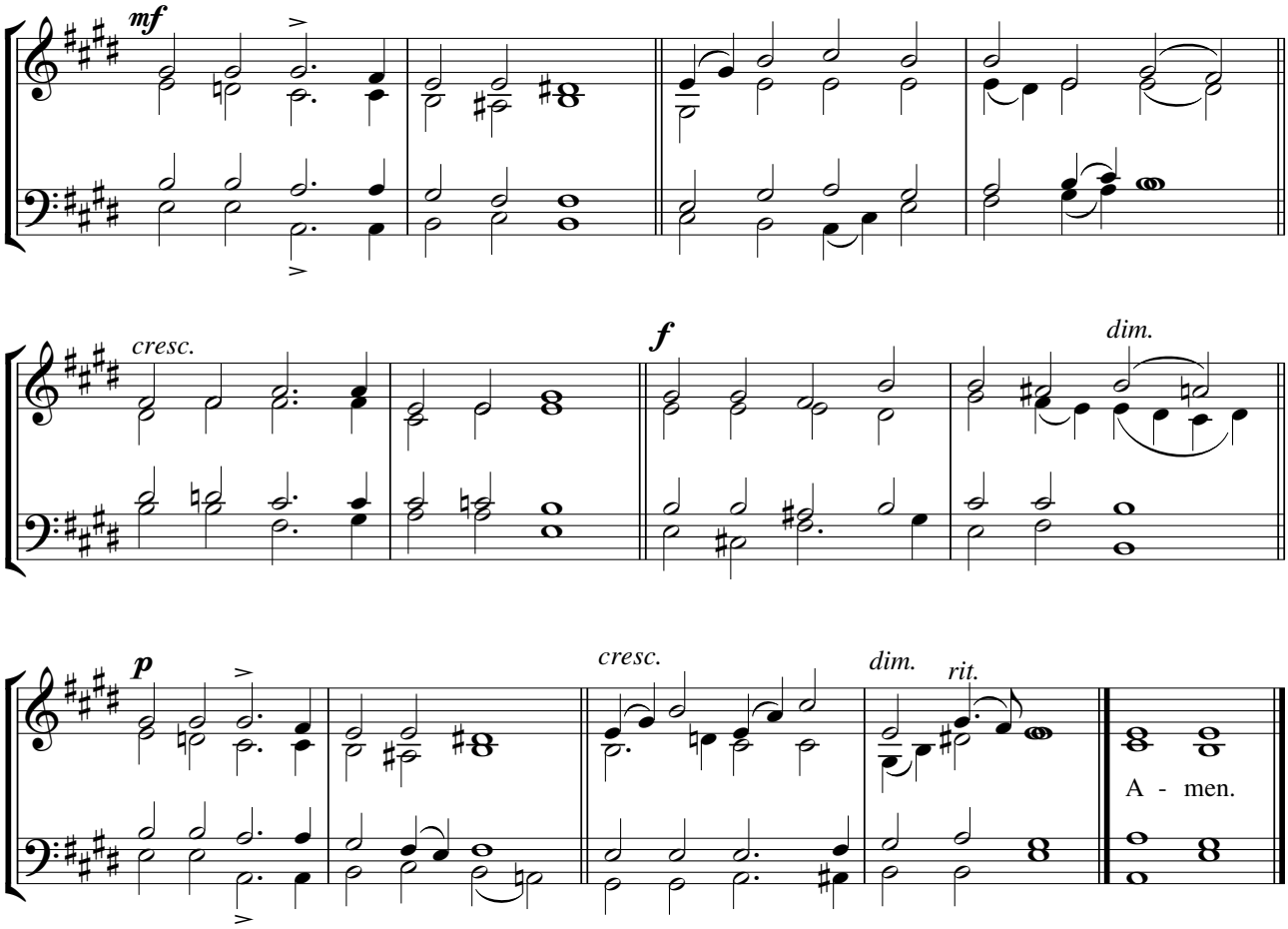
Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1866) No. 247

Other names:
BONE PASTOR
DULCIS MEMORIA
FIDES
ST. FAITH

A mind at perfect peace with God;
Oh, what a word is this!
A sinner reconciled through blood;
This, this indeed is peace!

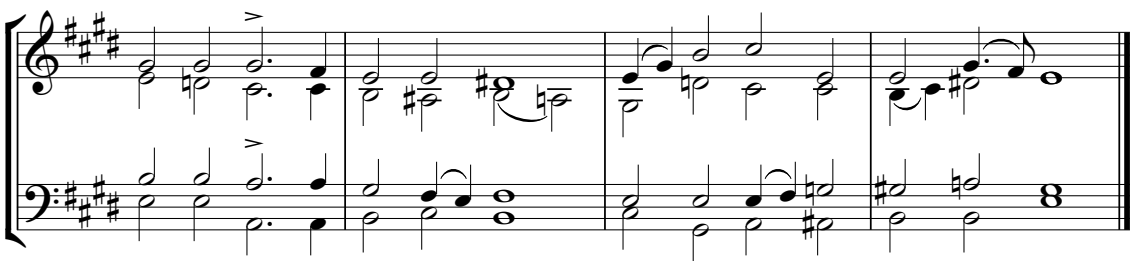
Horatius Bonar

Faith (2) (777777)

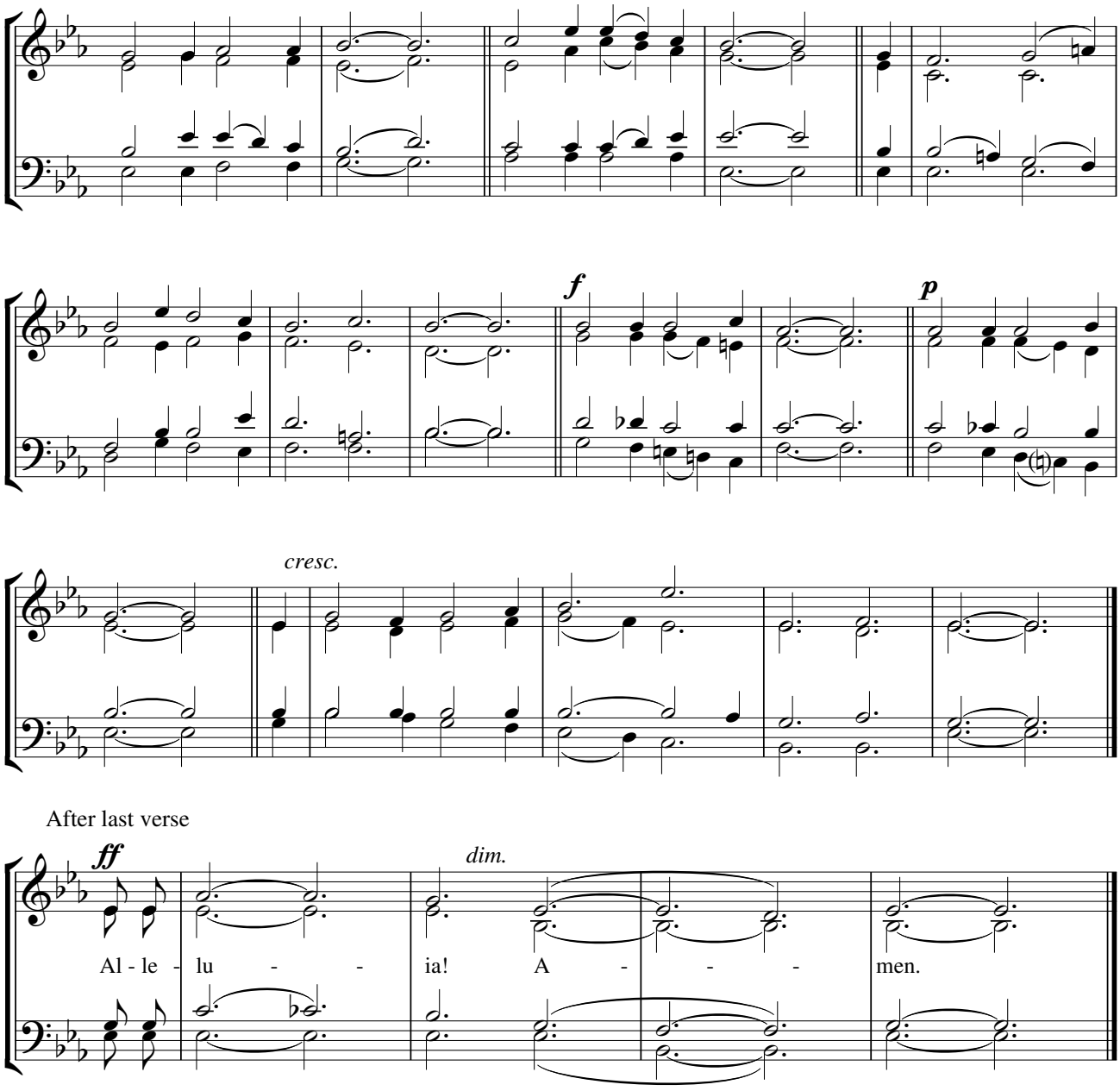
The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No. 391

Other names:
ROCK OF AGES
GETHSEMANE
TRUST

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee;
Let the water and the blood
From Thy riven side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure,
Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Augustus M. Toplady

The Novello 1902 collected edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes changes harmony and melody in the last line as follows:

Faithful in Thy Love (55.10D)

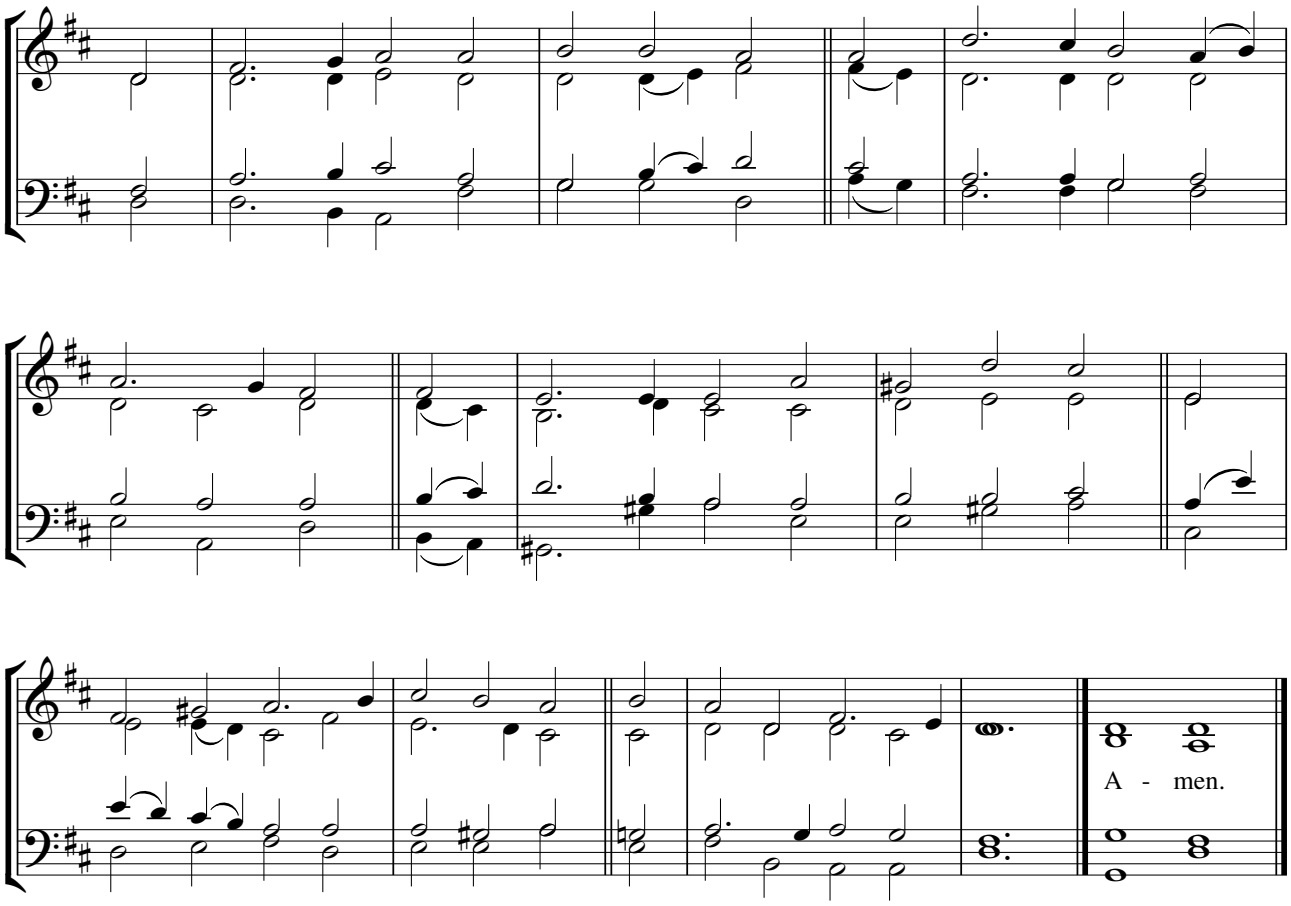
Eight Original Harvest Hymns (1880) No. 2

Other names:
AMOR FIDELIS
'FRAMER OF THE LIGHT'
LUX MATUTINA

Faithful in Thy love
As the seasons move,
A Father's hand, in Thine, O God, we hail:
Still as ages run
Thy behest is done,
The seed-time and the Harvest do not fail.

S. Childs Clarke

106

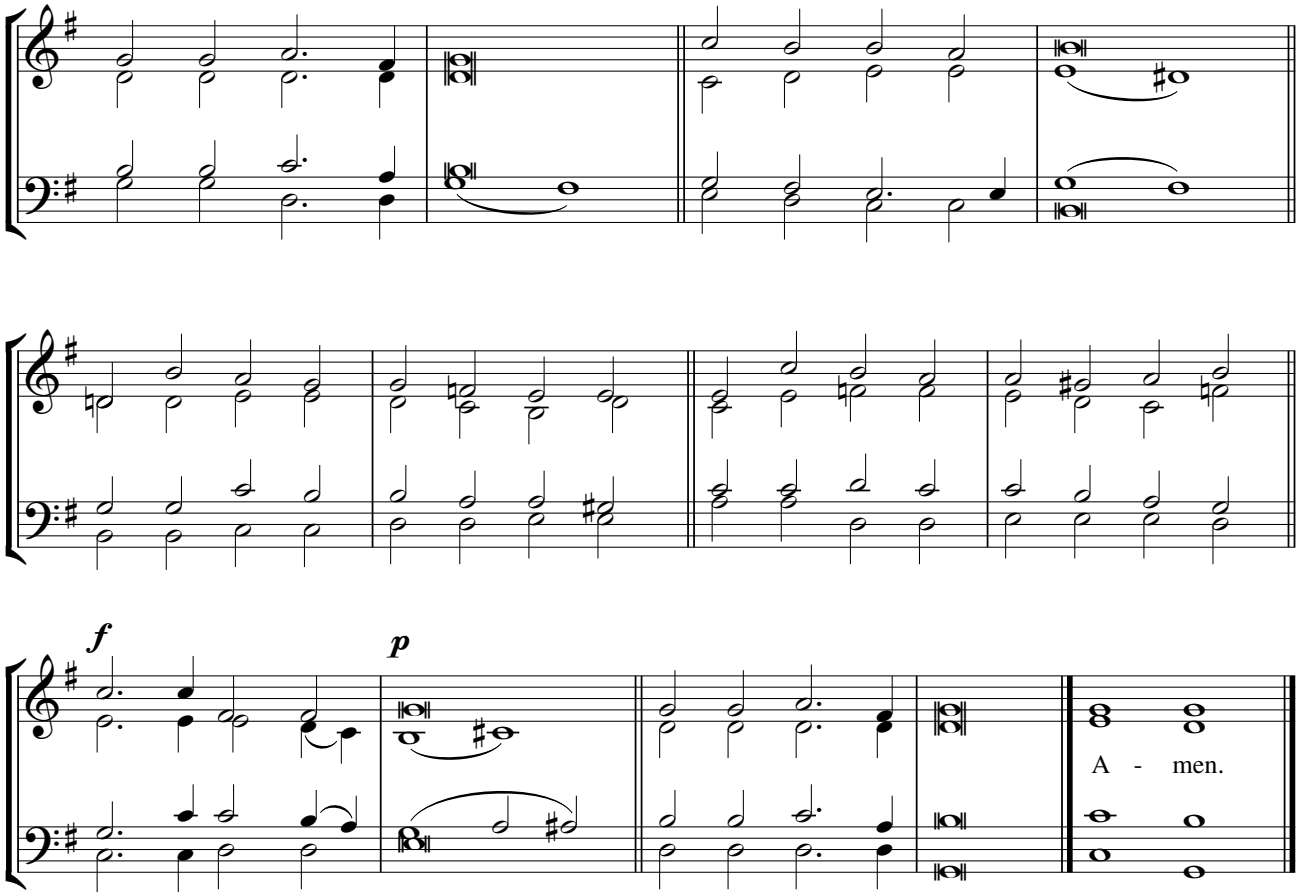
Farne (88889)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.136

O Lord, Thy heavenly grace impart,
And fix my frail, inconstant heart;
Henceforth my chief desire shall be
To dedicate myself to thee,
To Thee, my God, to Thee!

Jean-Frédéric Oberlin
trans Lucy Wilson

Compare the beinning with BLESSED TRINITY and ST. LAWRENCE (and indeed TALLIS' ORDINAL)

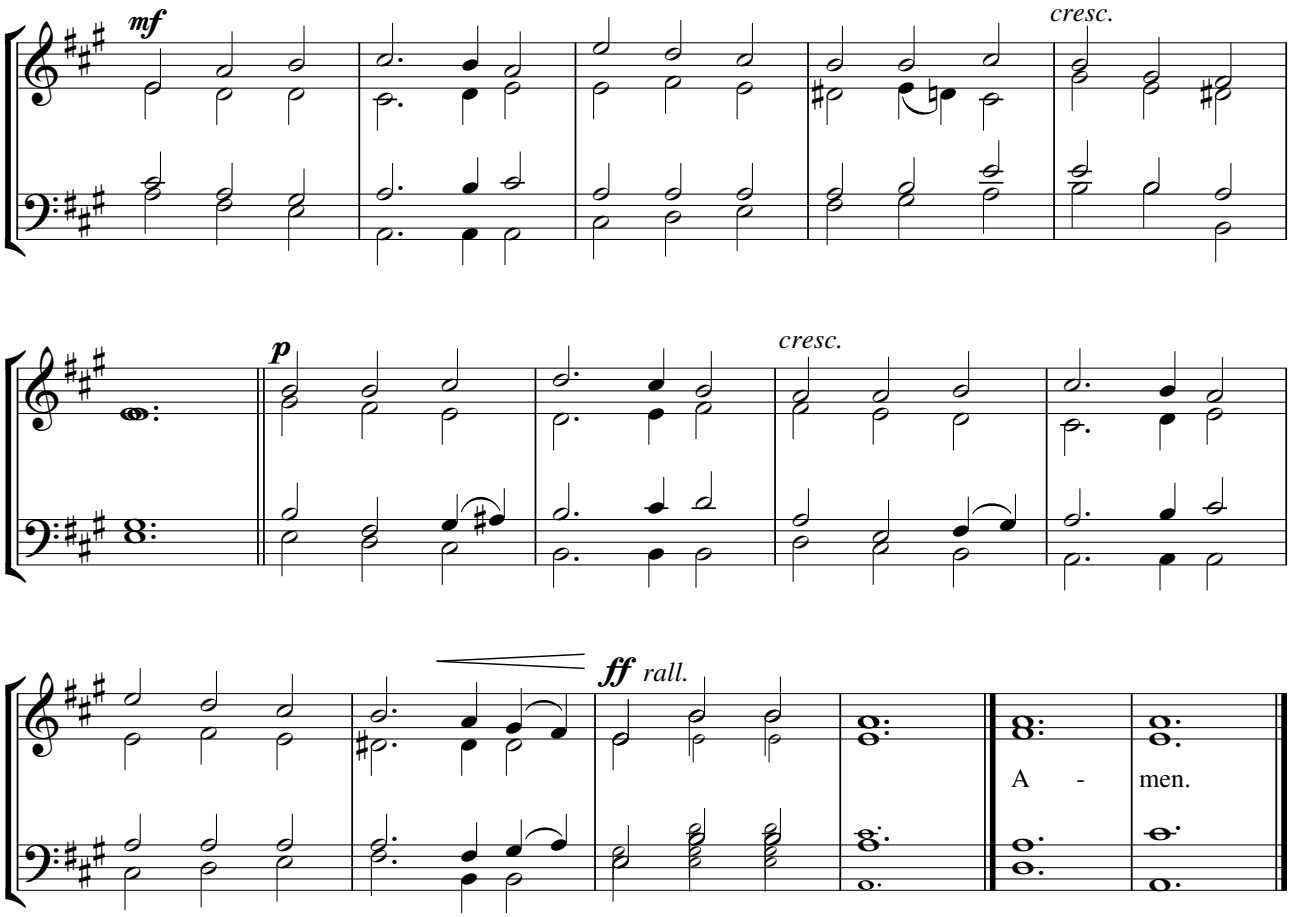
Fatherland (558855)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.150

Jesu, still lead on,
Till our rest be won;
And, although the way be cheerless,
We will follow, calm and fearless:
Guide us by Thy Hand
To our Fatherland.

Nikolaus Von Zinzendorf
Trans. Lucy Borthwick

Fiat Lux (664.6664)

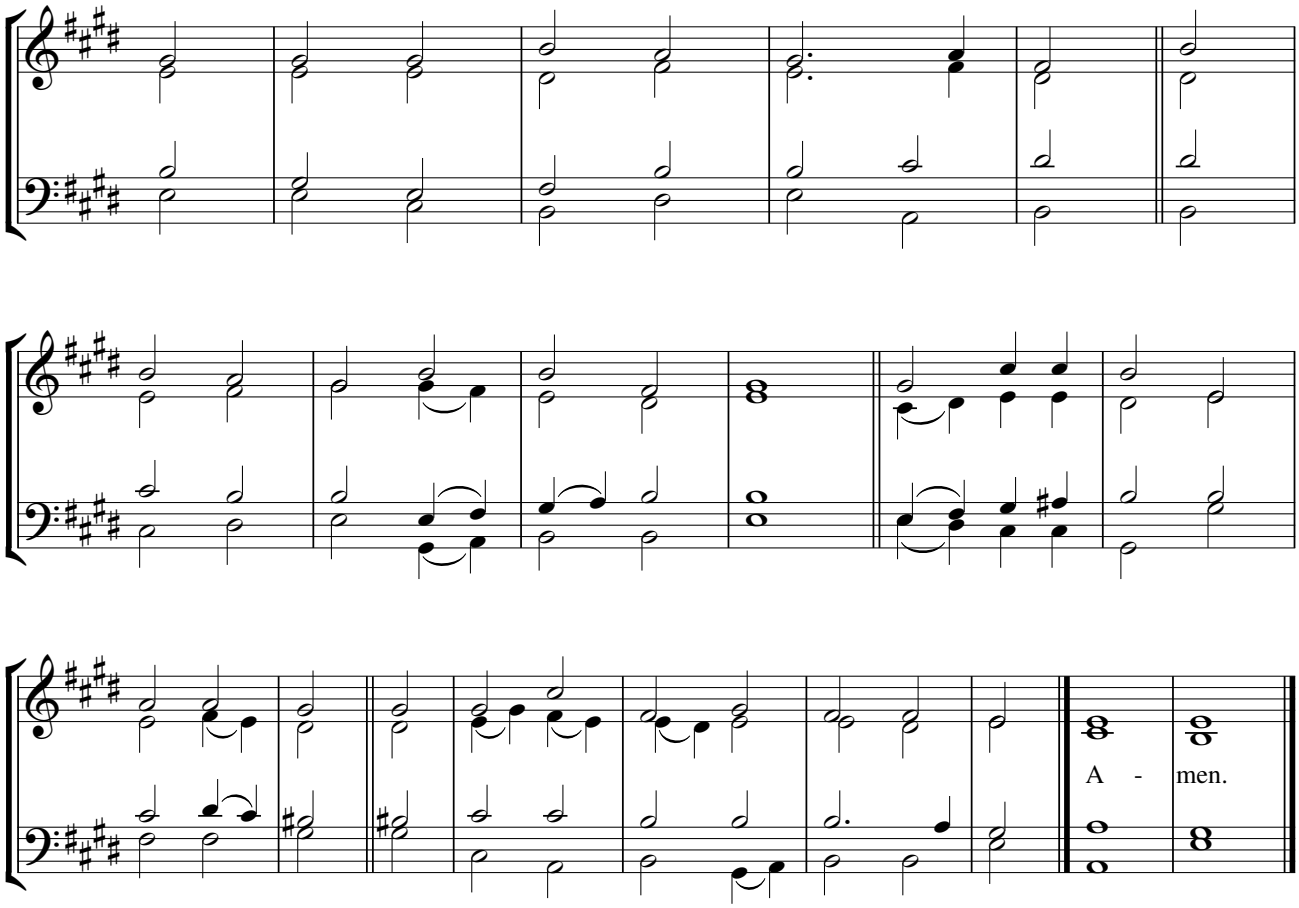
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.360



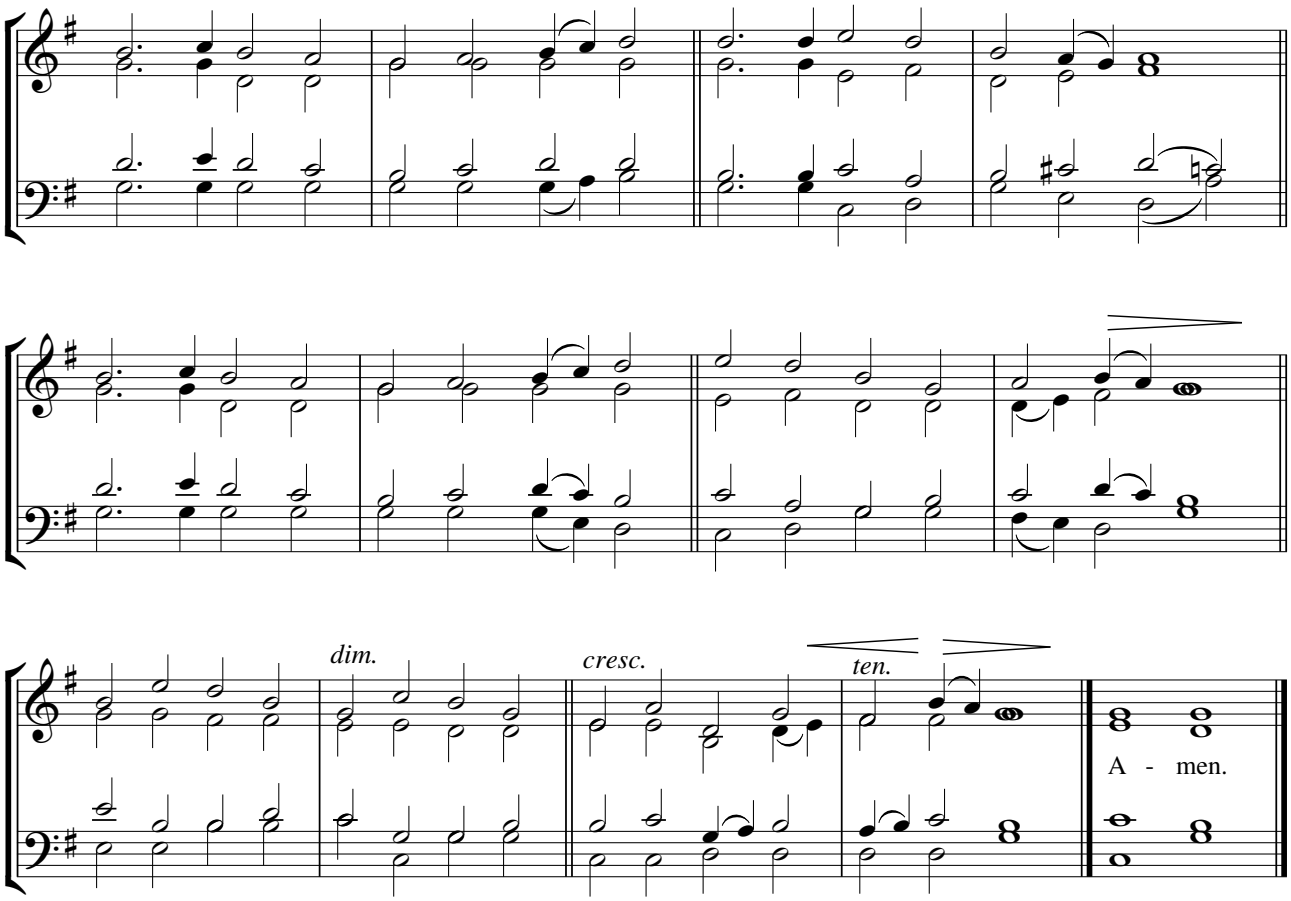
Thou, Whose Almighty Word
Chaos and darkness heard,
And took their flight,
Hear us, we humbly pray,
And where the Gospel-day
Sheds not its glorious ray,
Let there be light.

John Marriott

Finchale (LM)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.21

Jesu! Redeemer of the world!
Who in the earliest dawn of light
Wast from Eternal ages born,
Co-equal with the Father's Might.

First Fruits (878787)

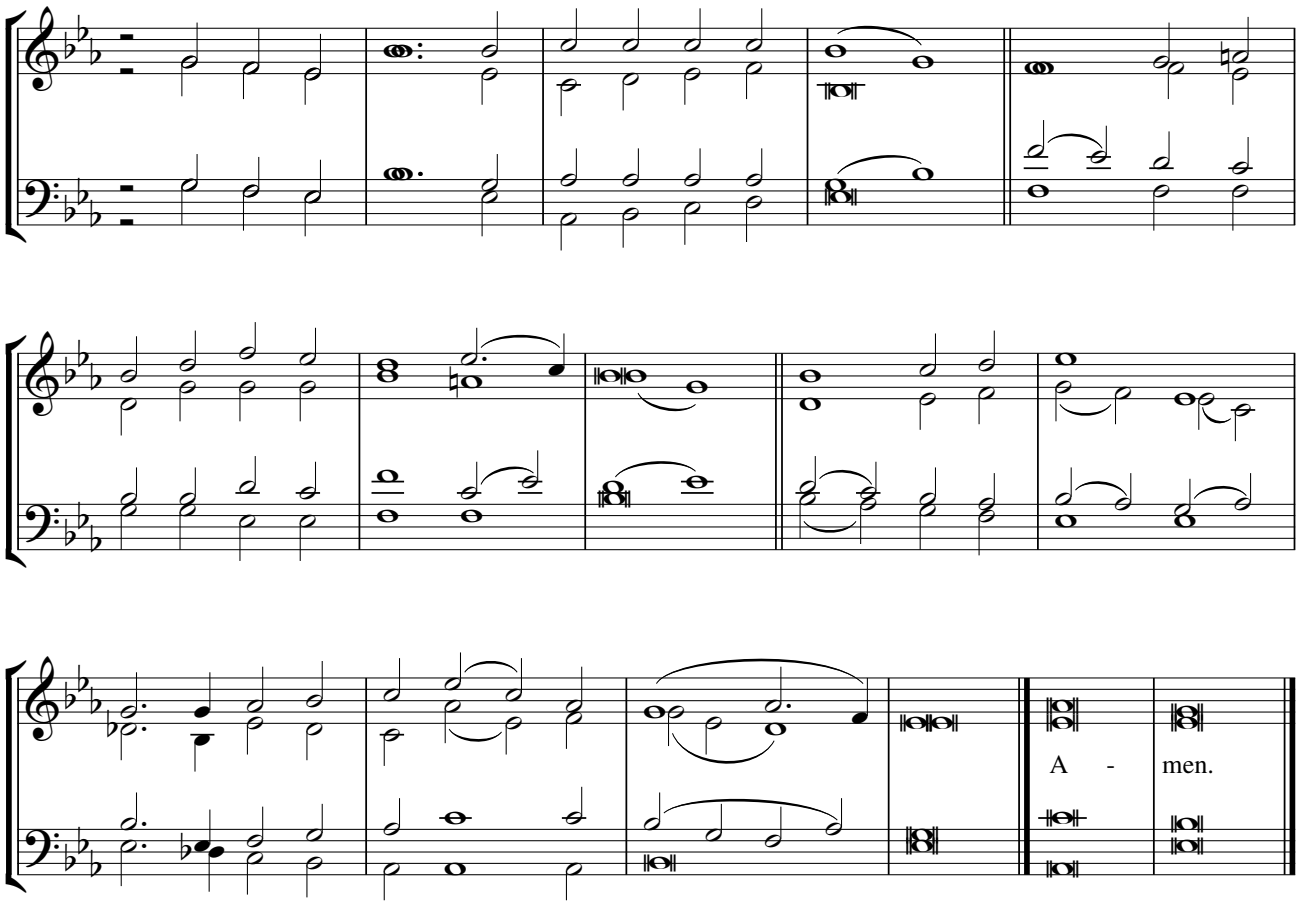
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.385

God the Father, Whose creation
Gives to flowers and fruits their birth,
Thou, Whose yearly operation
Brings the hour of harvest mirth,
Here to Thee we make oblation
Of the August-gold of earth.

John Mason Neale

‘For all the saints’ (1)(i) (10.10.10.4)

The Church of England Hymnal (1894)No.307

Other names:
ENDEL

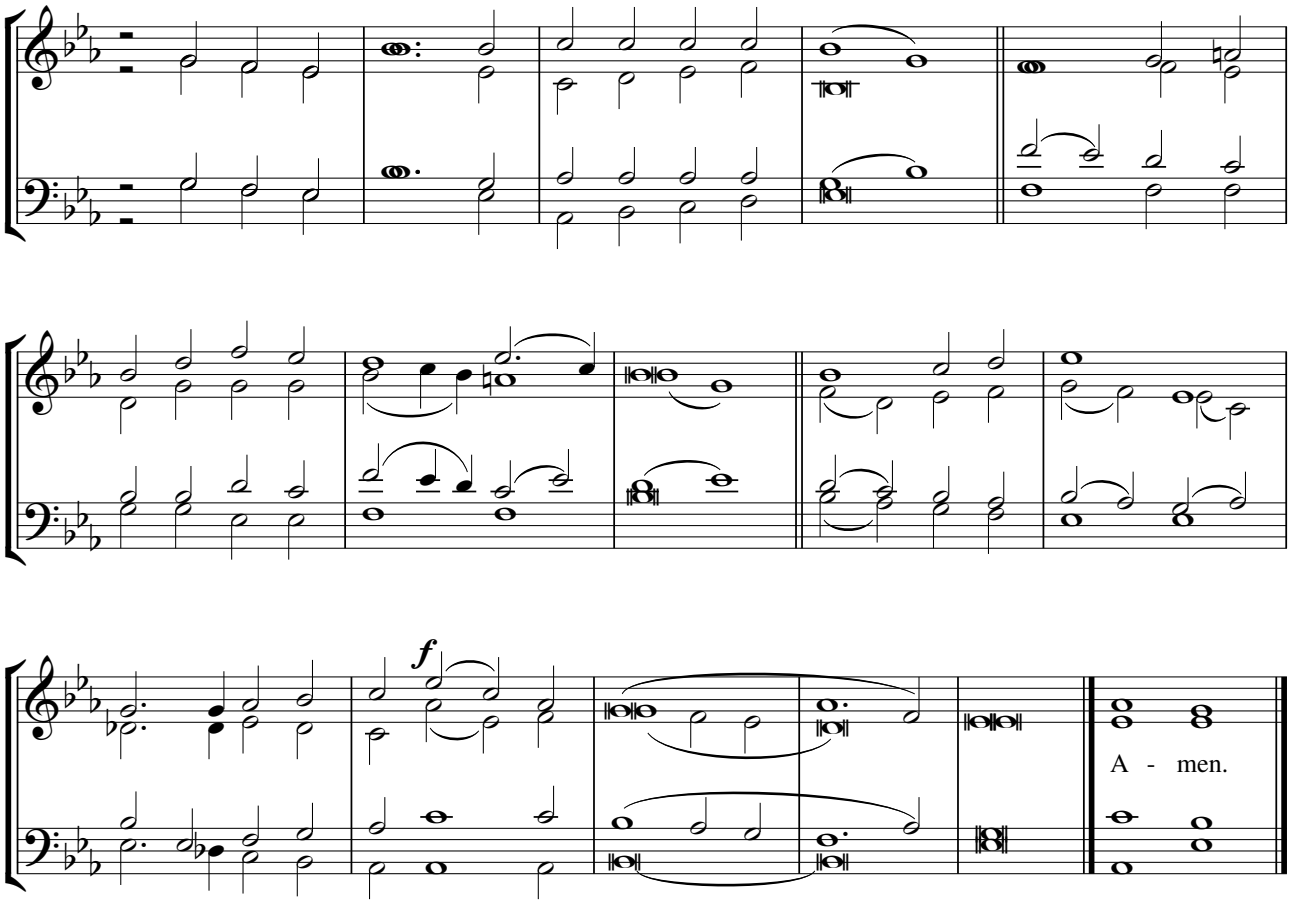


For all the saints, who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
Thy Name, O Jesus, be forever blessed.
Alleluia, Alleluia!

William W. How

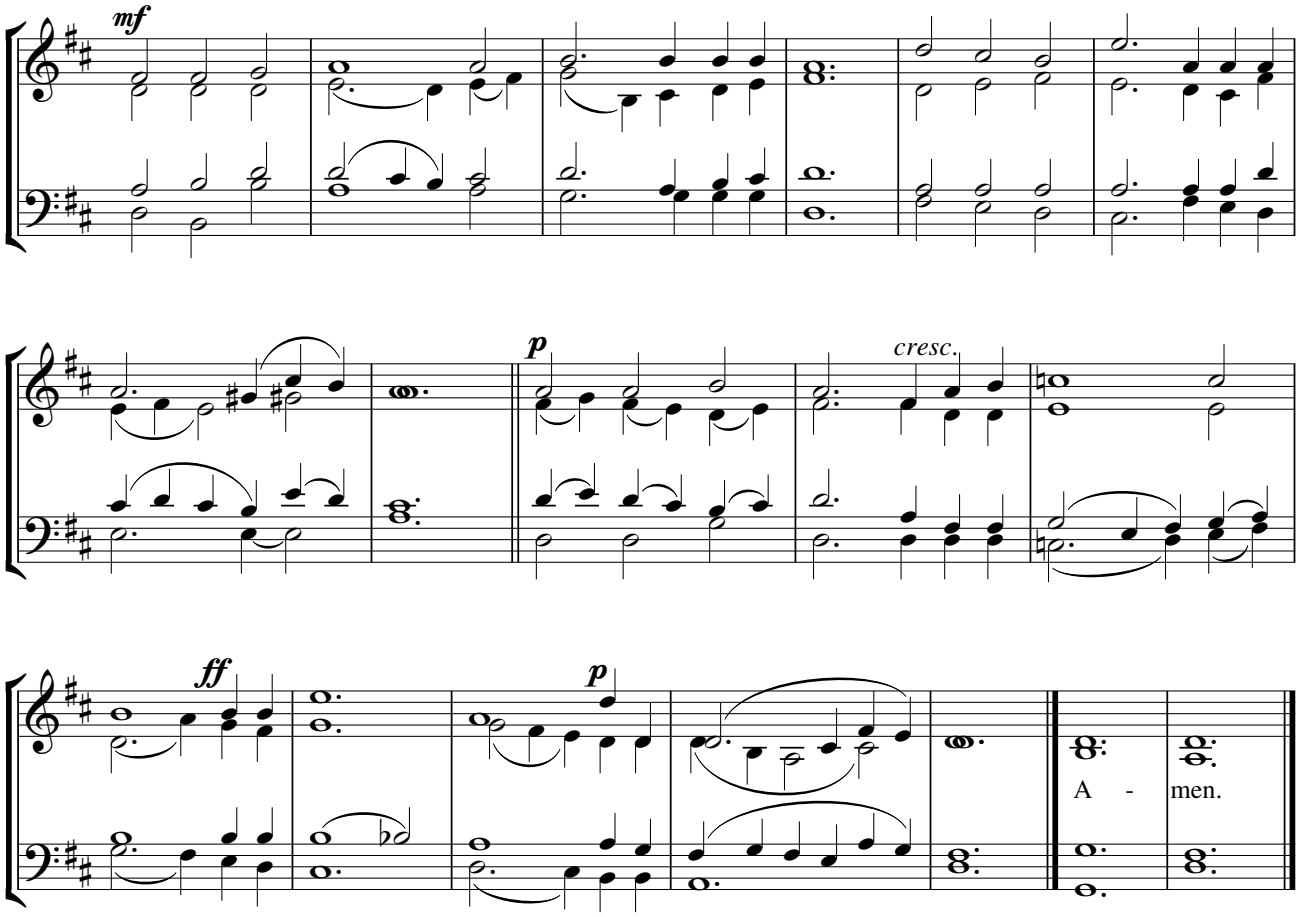
‘For all the saints’ (1)(ii) (10.10.10.4)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.173

Other names:
ENDEL

For all the saints, who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
Thy Name, O Jesus, be forever blessed.
Alleluia, Alleluia!

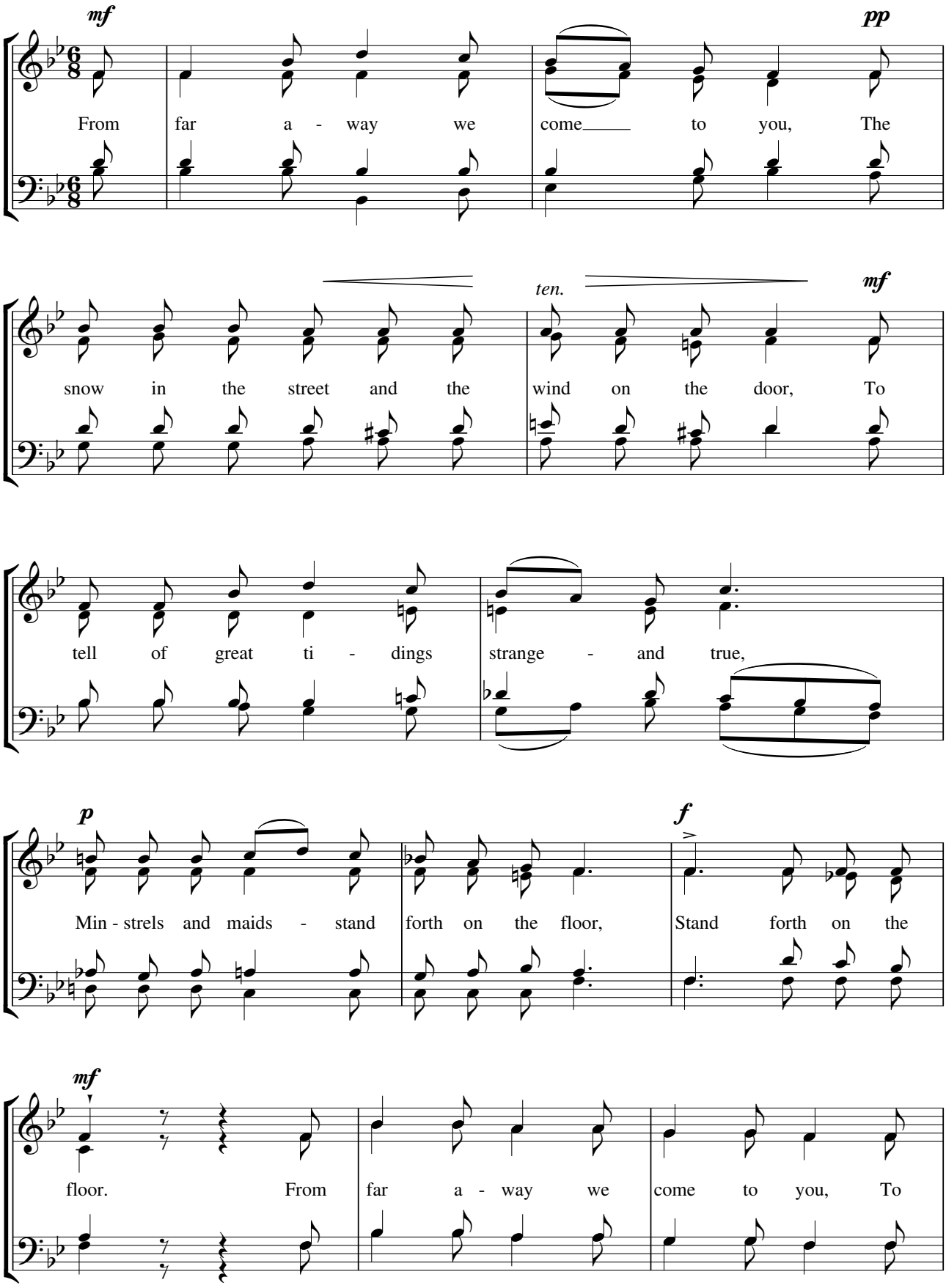
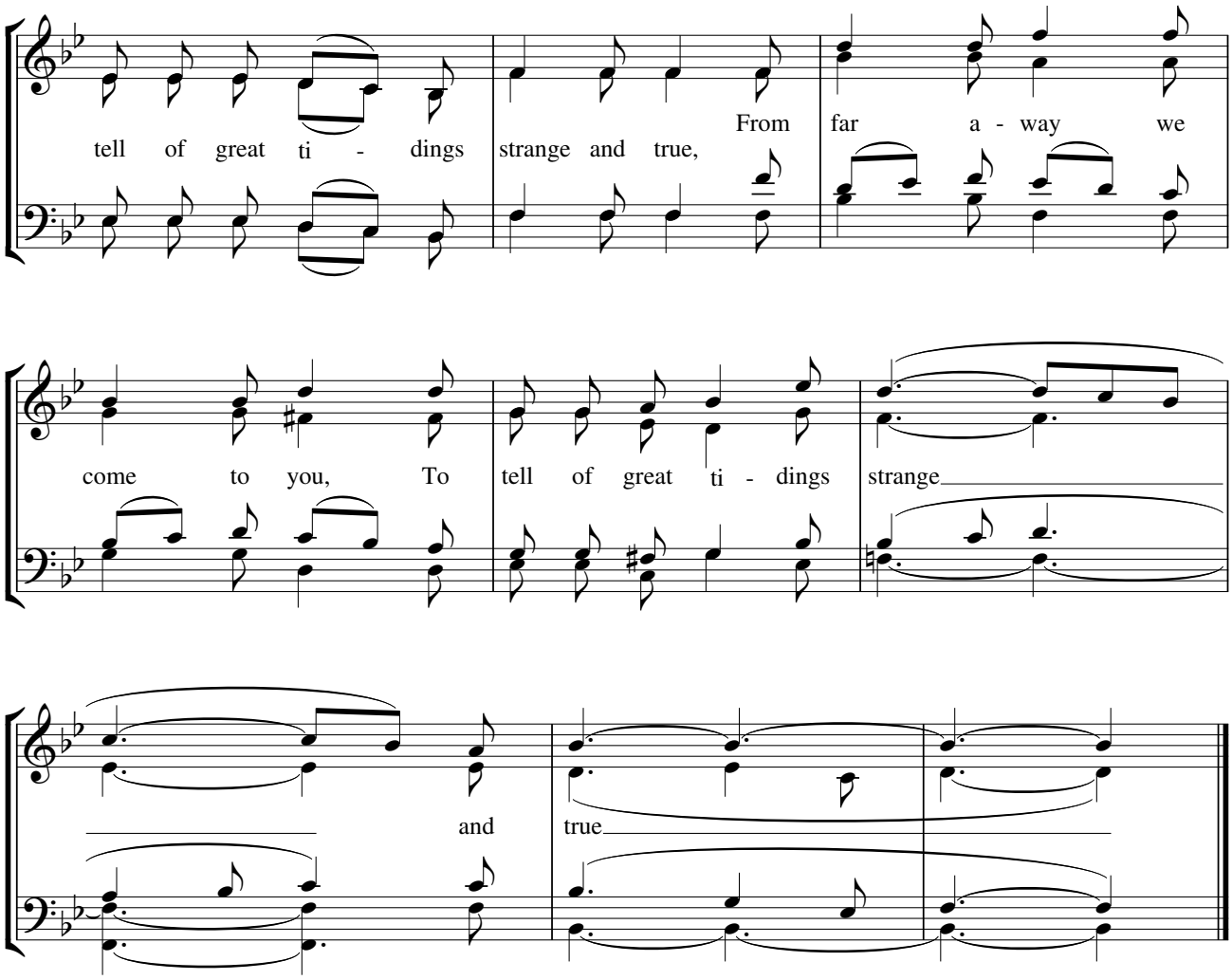
William W. How

‘For all the saints’ (2) (10.10.10.4)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.172

For all the saints, who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
Thy Name, O Jesus, be forever blessed.
Alleluia, Alleluia!

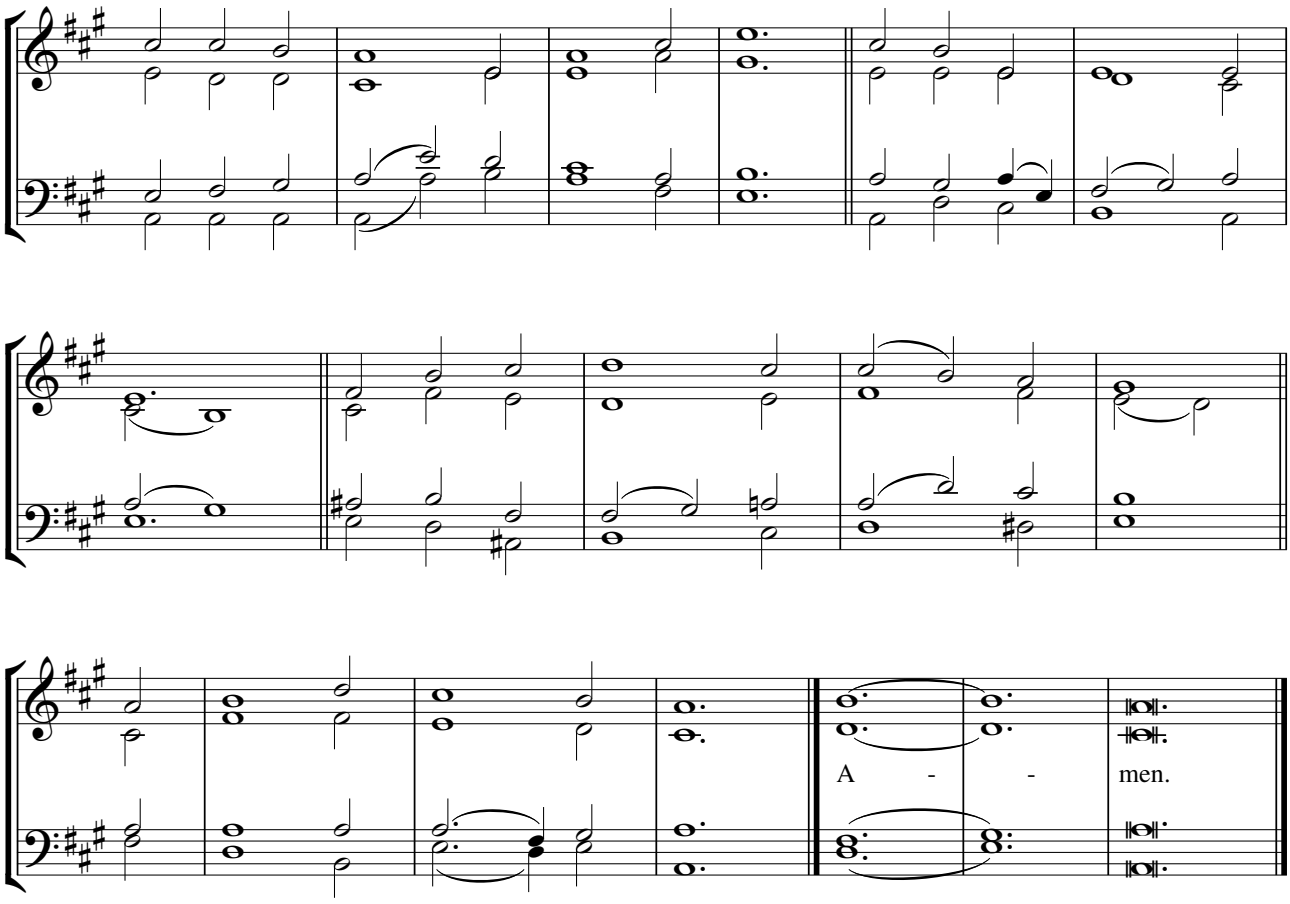
William W. How

‘From Far Away’ (Irregular)

Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.40

William Morris

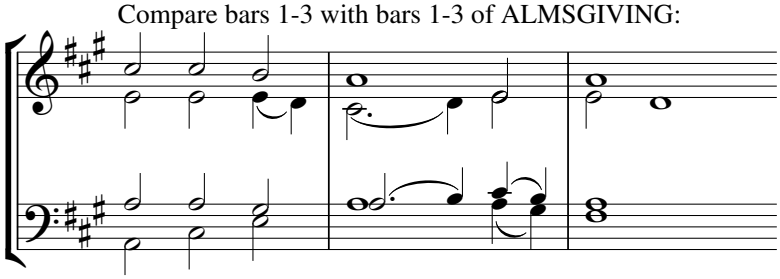
Gerontius (CM)

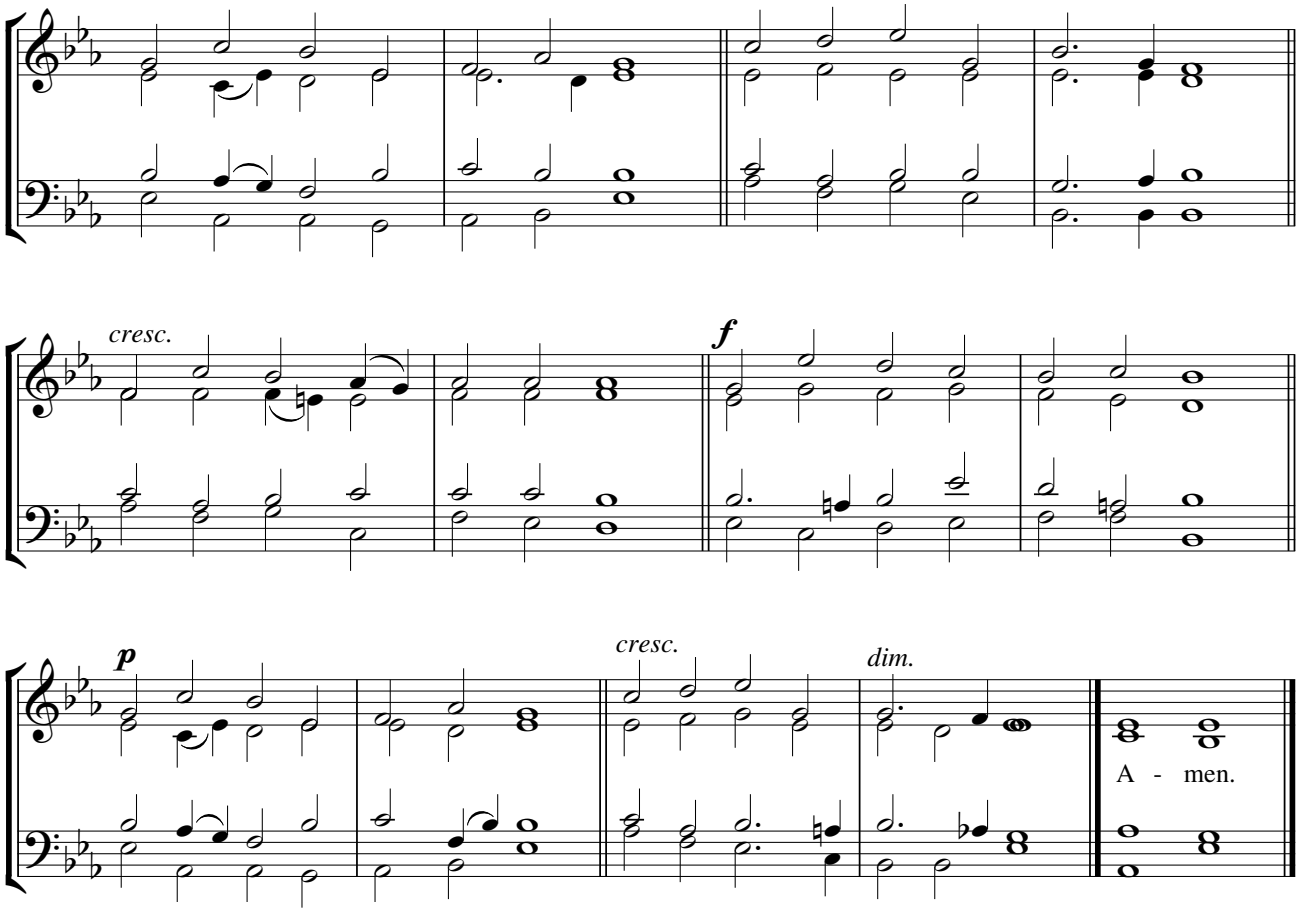
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.305



Praise to the Holiest in the height
And in the depth be praise;
In all His words most wonderful,
Most sure in all His ways.

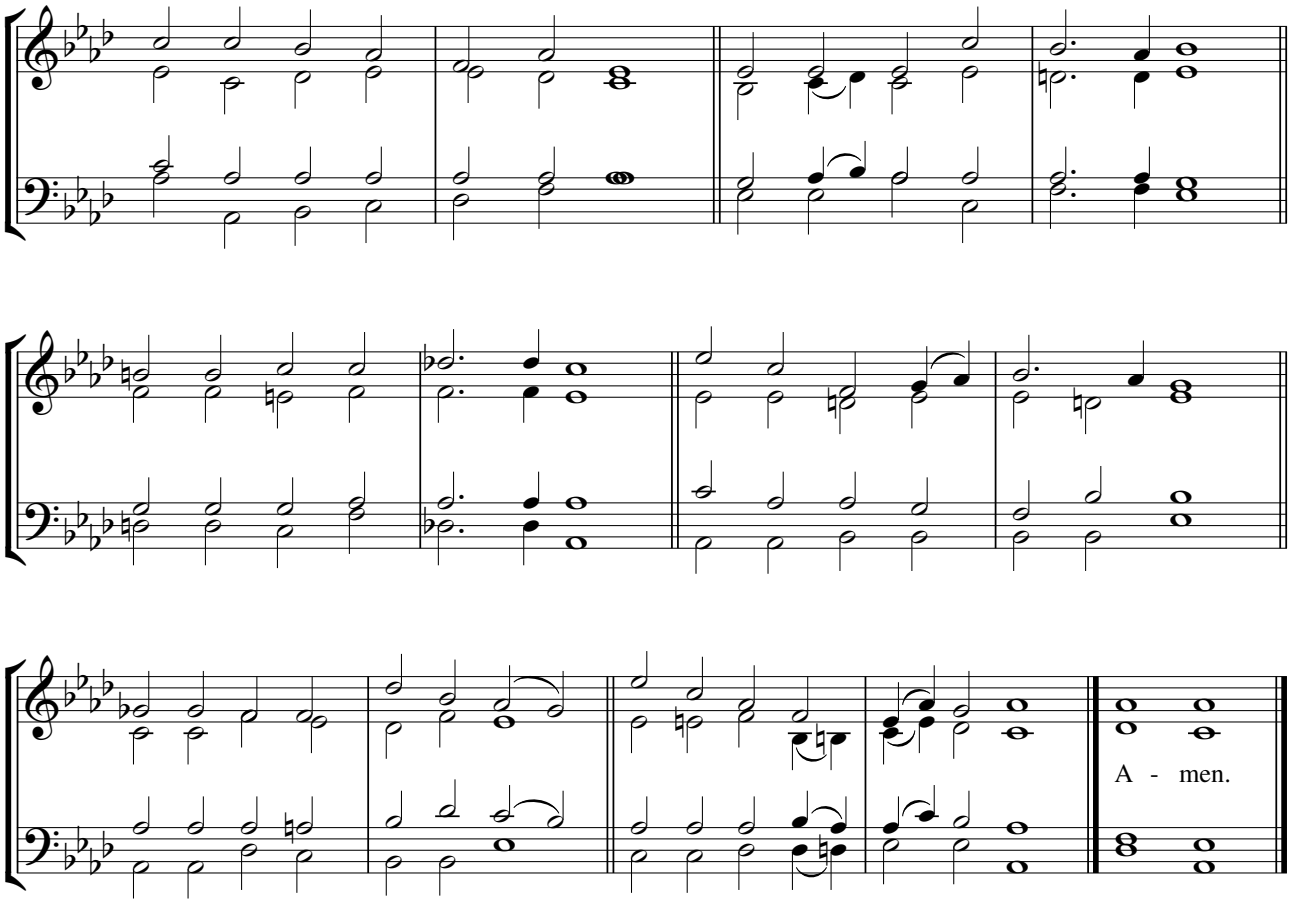
John Henry Newman

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of ALMSGIVING:

Gethsemane (77.77.77)

Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.156

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee;
Let the Water and the Blood,
From Thy wounded Side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure,
Save from wrath and make me pure.

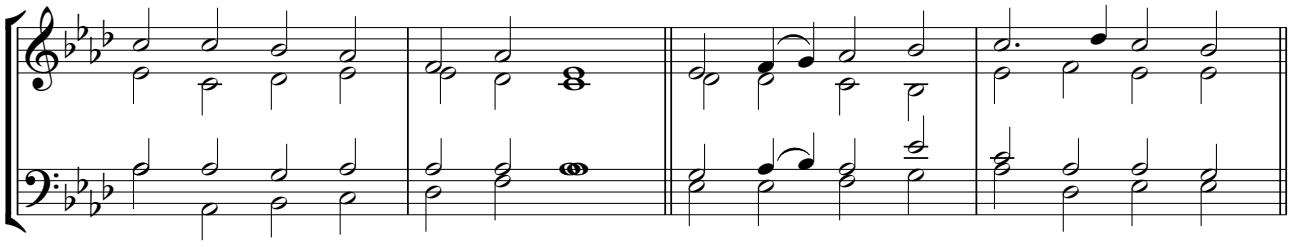
Augustus M. Toplady

Glastonbury (77.77.77)

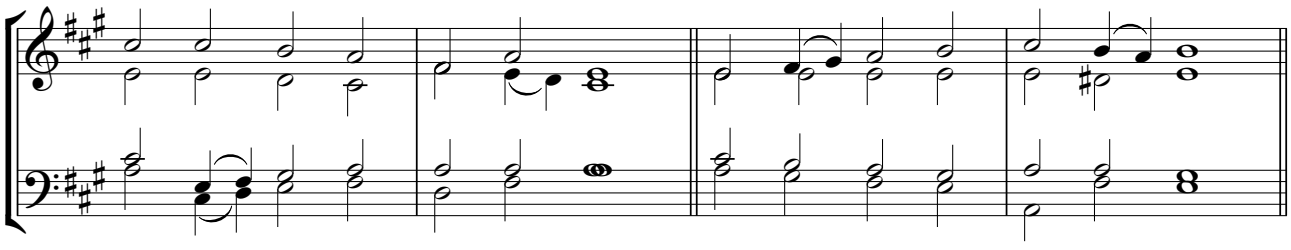
Psalms and Hymns (1867) Page 231

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee!
Let the water and the blood,
From thy riven side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure,
Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Augustus M. Toplady

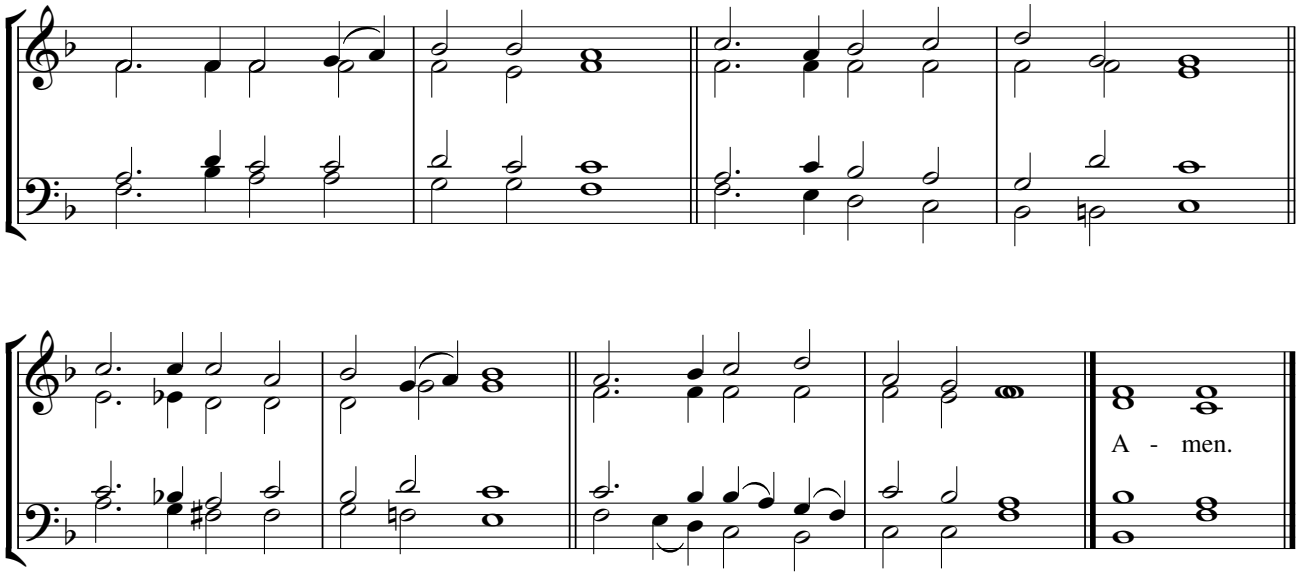
Compare bars 1—4 with ORIENS EX ALTO...



...and SANCTE SPRITUS

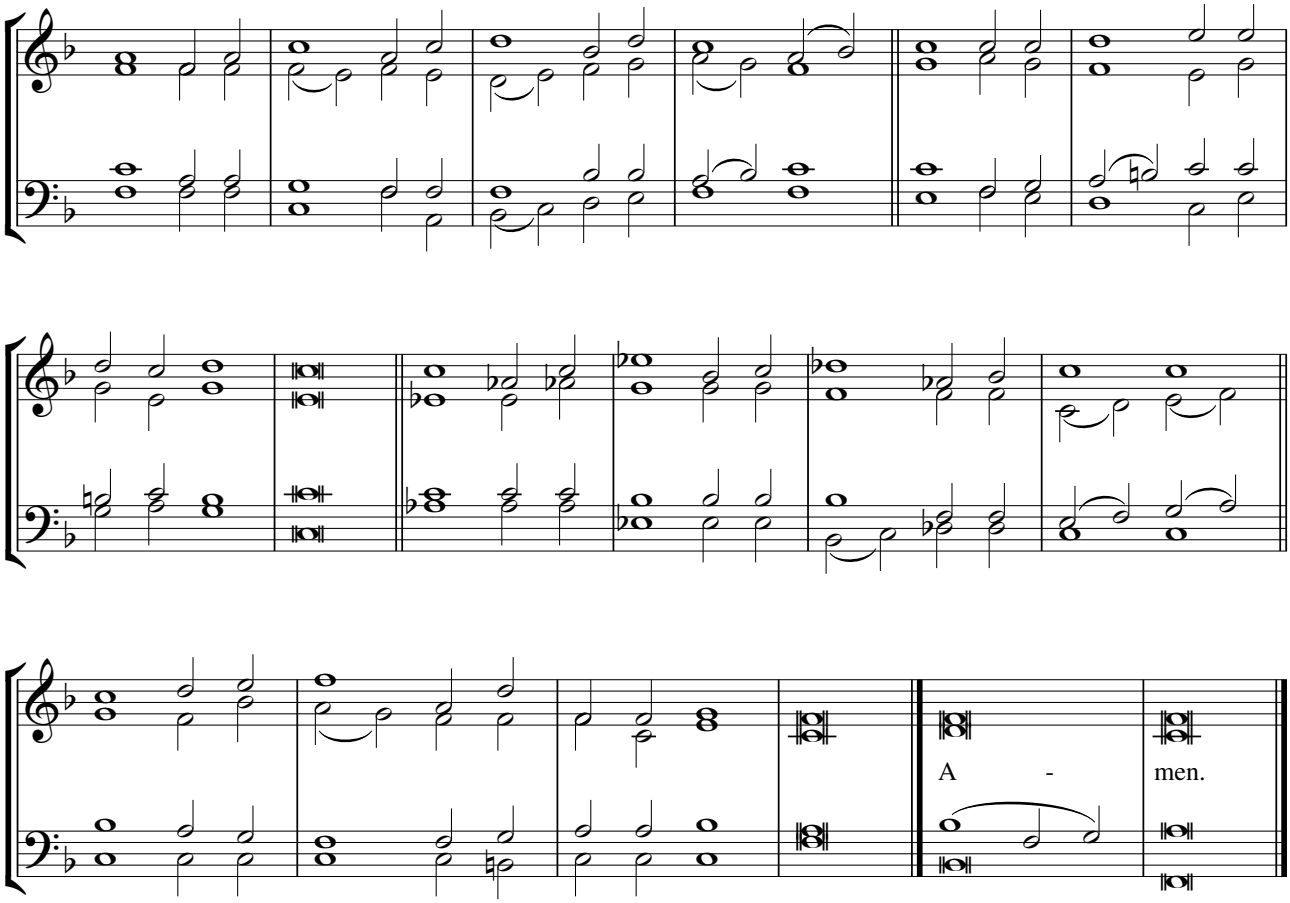


Glebe Field (7777)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.153

Joy! because the circling year
Brings our day of blessings here;
Day when first the light divine
On the Church began to shine.

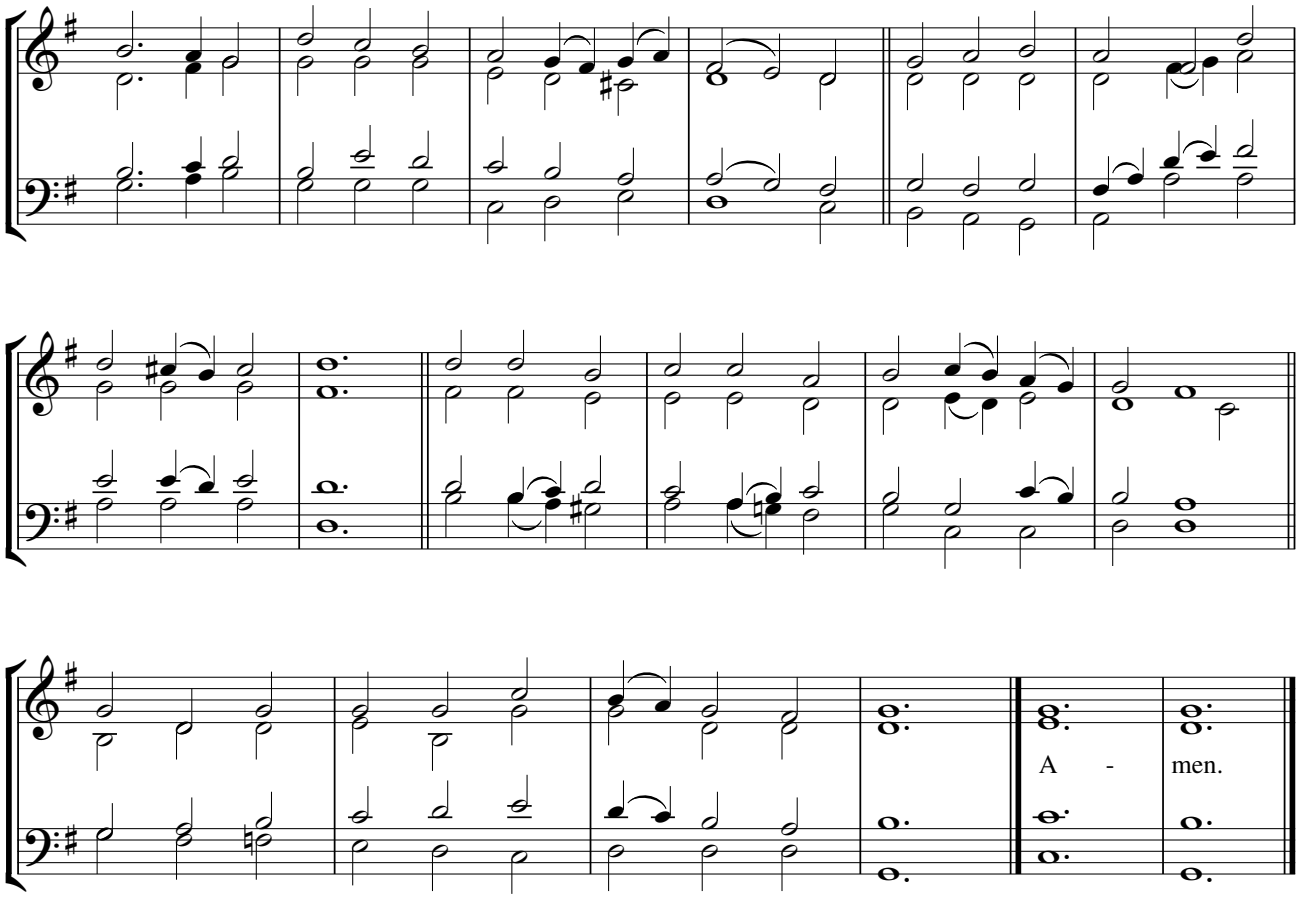
John Ellerton

Gloria No.1 (11.10.11.10)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.246

Glory to God, in the highest is ringing,
Clear from a-far it is echoing still,
Glory to God, for the Angels are singing,
Peace upon earth for the men of good will.

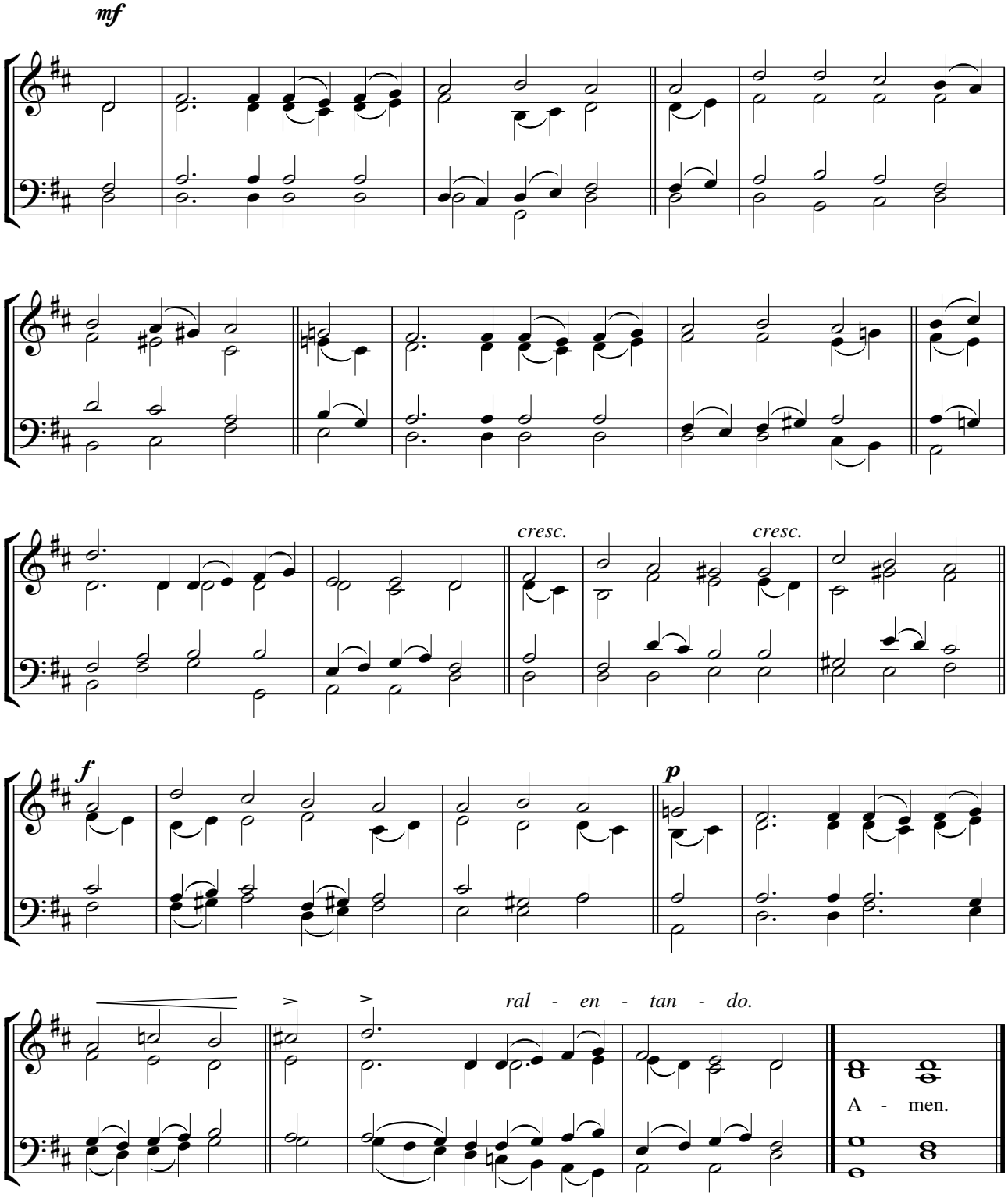
W.J. Irons

Gloria No.2 (11.10.11.10)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.247

Glory to God, in the highest is ringing,
Clear from a-far it is echoing still,
Glory to God, for the Angels are singing,
Peace upon earth for the men of good will.

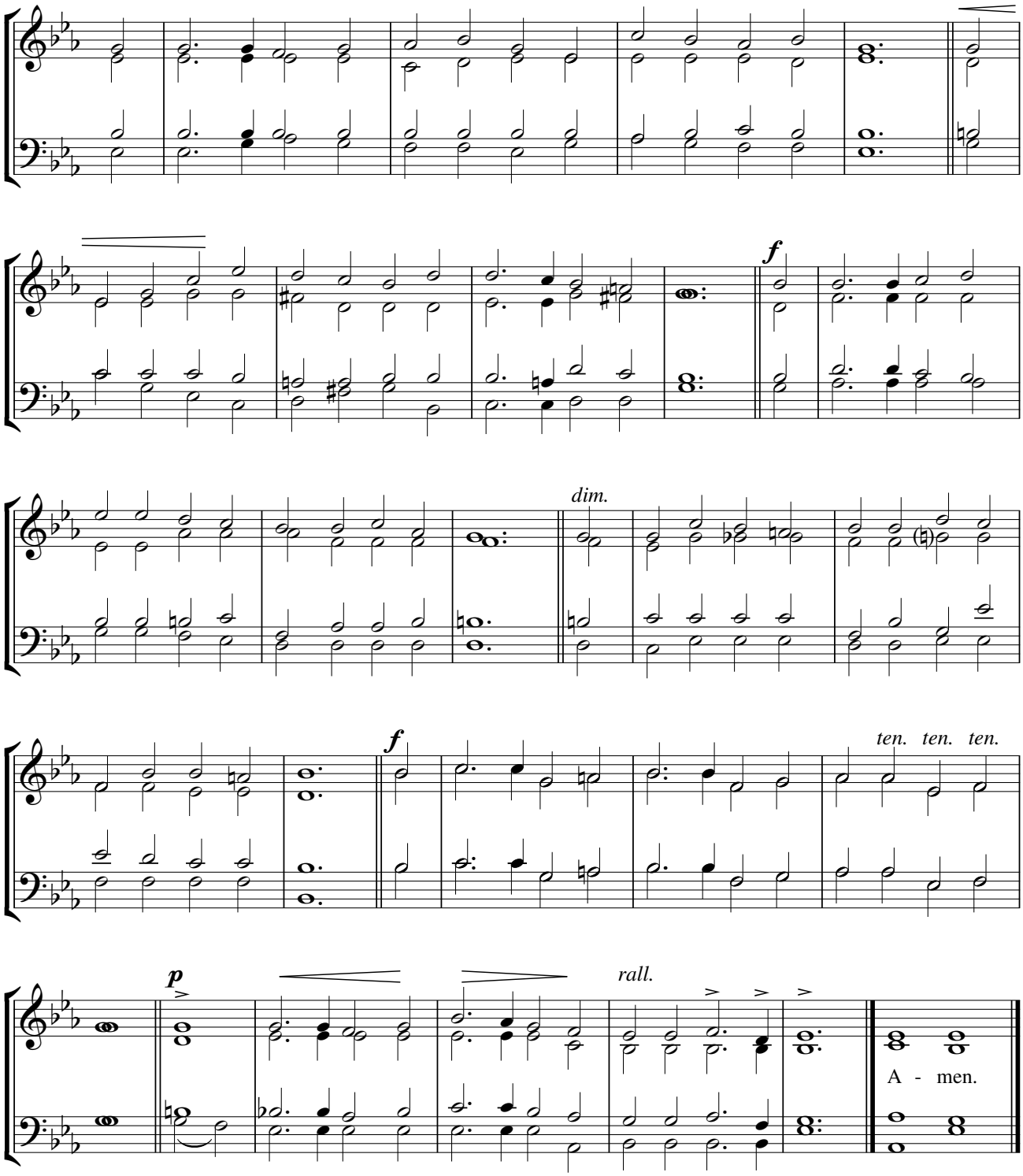
W.J. Irons

God's Acre (DLM)

'Four Hymns' by Godfrey Thring (1875) No. 2

Beneath the Church's hallow'd shade,
We consecrate, O Lord, to Thee,
This plot of ground, wherein to lay
The remnants of mortality;
That they who bear upon their brows
The Cross, O Christ, that Thou hast borne,
May here—the Cross above their graves—
Await the resurrection morn.

Godfrey Thring

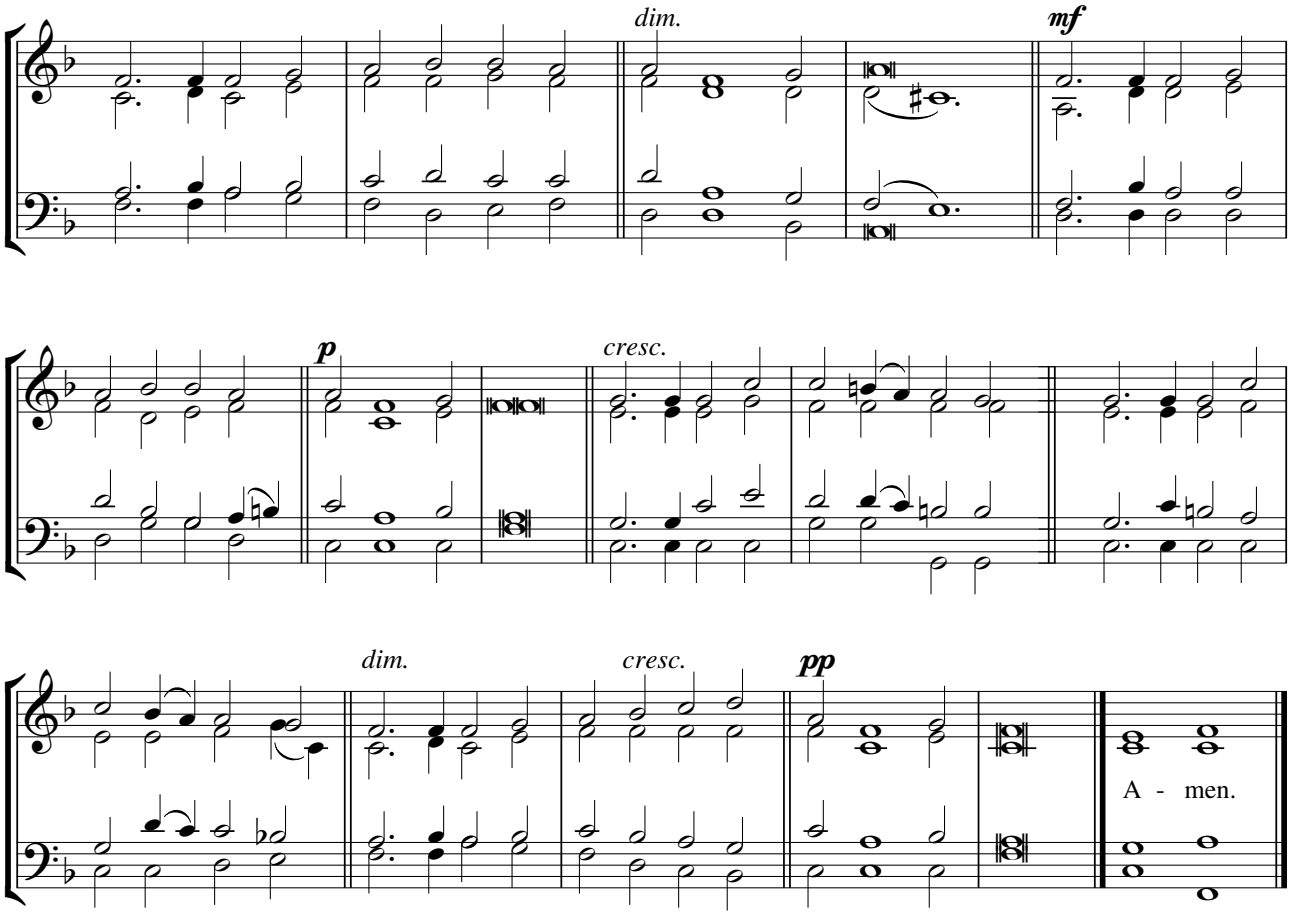
God's House (14.14.14.14.14.14)

'Four Hymns' by Godfrey Thring (1875) No. 1

O Thou who sitt'st enthroned above all worlds both great and small,
Who in the boundless realms of space hast made and placed them all;
Who art from countless ages past, for ages yet to be,
Shalt ever live and reign on High, o'er all eternally;
Whilst those who by Thy power were made; still by Thy bounty live;
Hear Thou in Heav'n, Thy dwelling place, and hearing, Lord, forgive.

Godfrey Thring

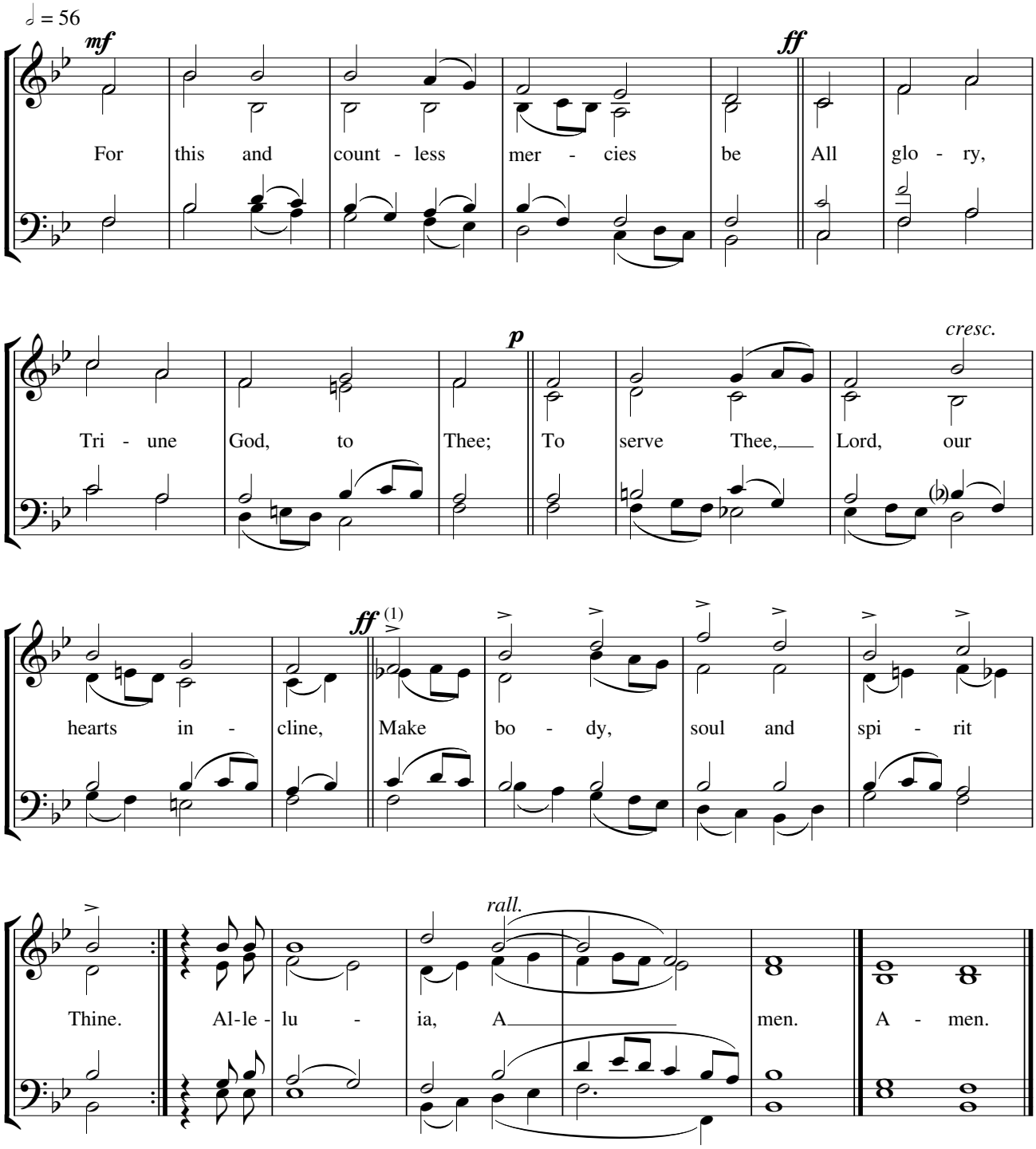
‘God that madest earth and heaven’ (84848884)

Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) Supplement No.49

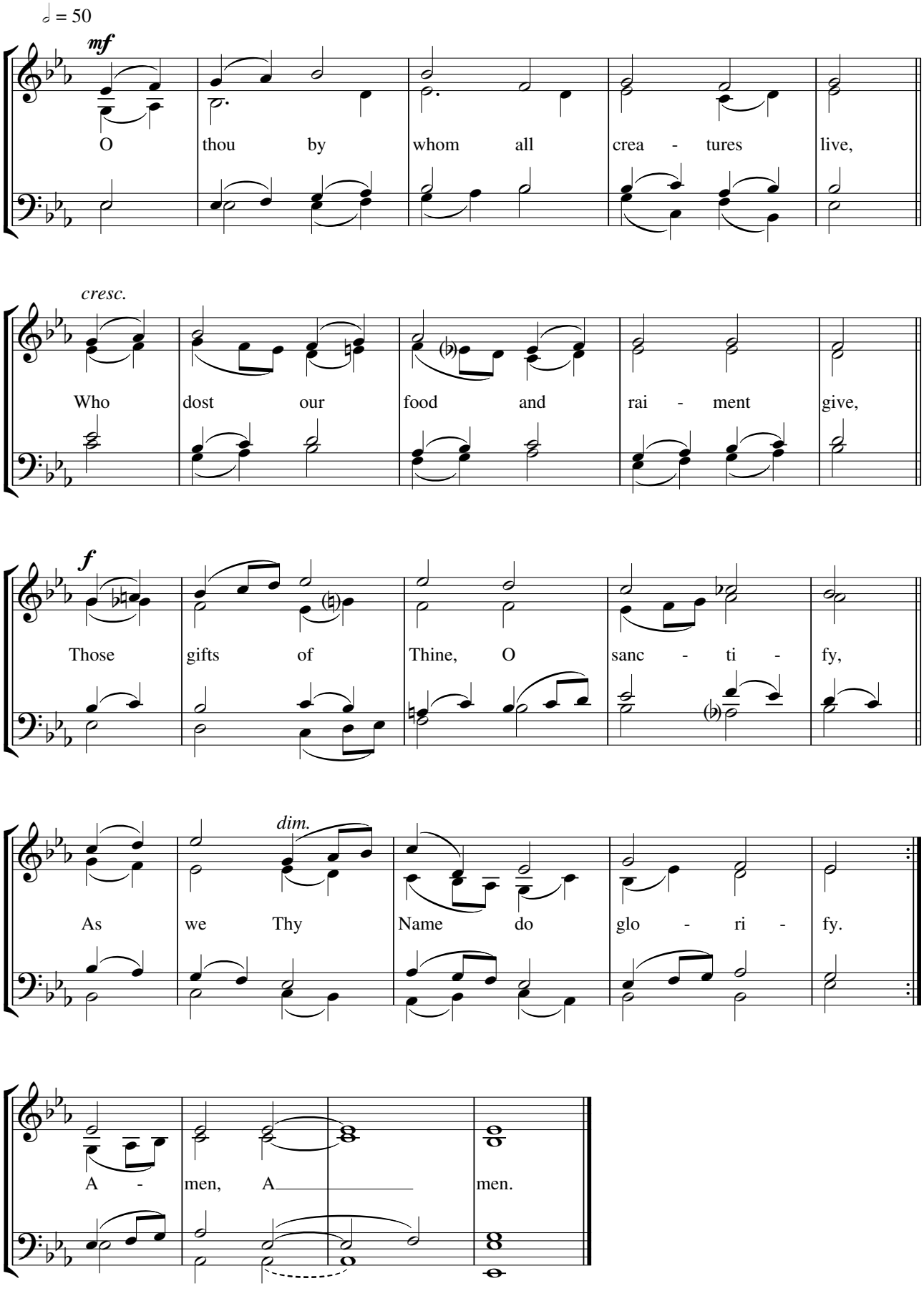
Other names:
VESPERS

God, that madest earth and heaven,
Darkness and light,
Who the day for toil hast given,
For rest the night:
May thine angel guards defend us,
Slumber sweet thy mercy send us;
Holy dreams and hopes attend us,
This livelong night.

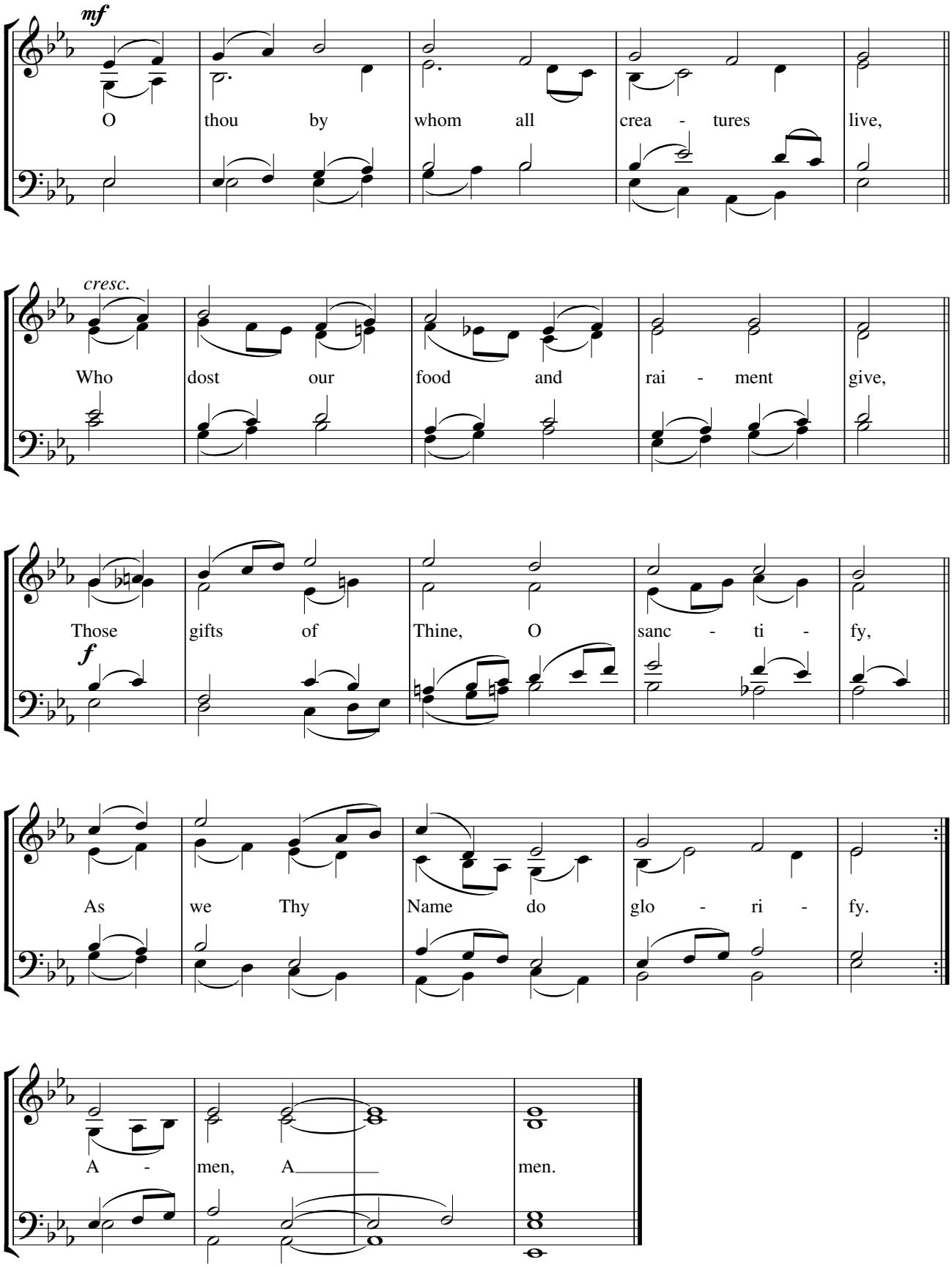
Reginald Heber

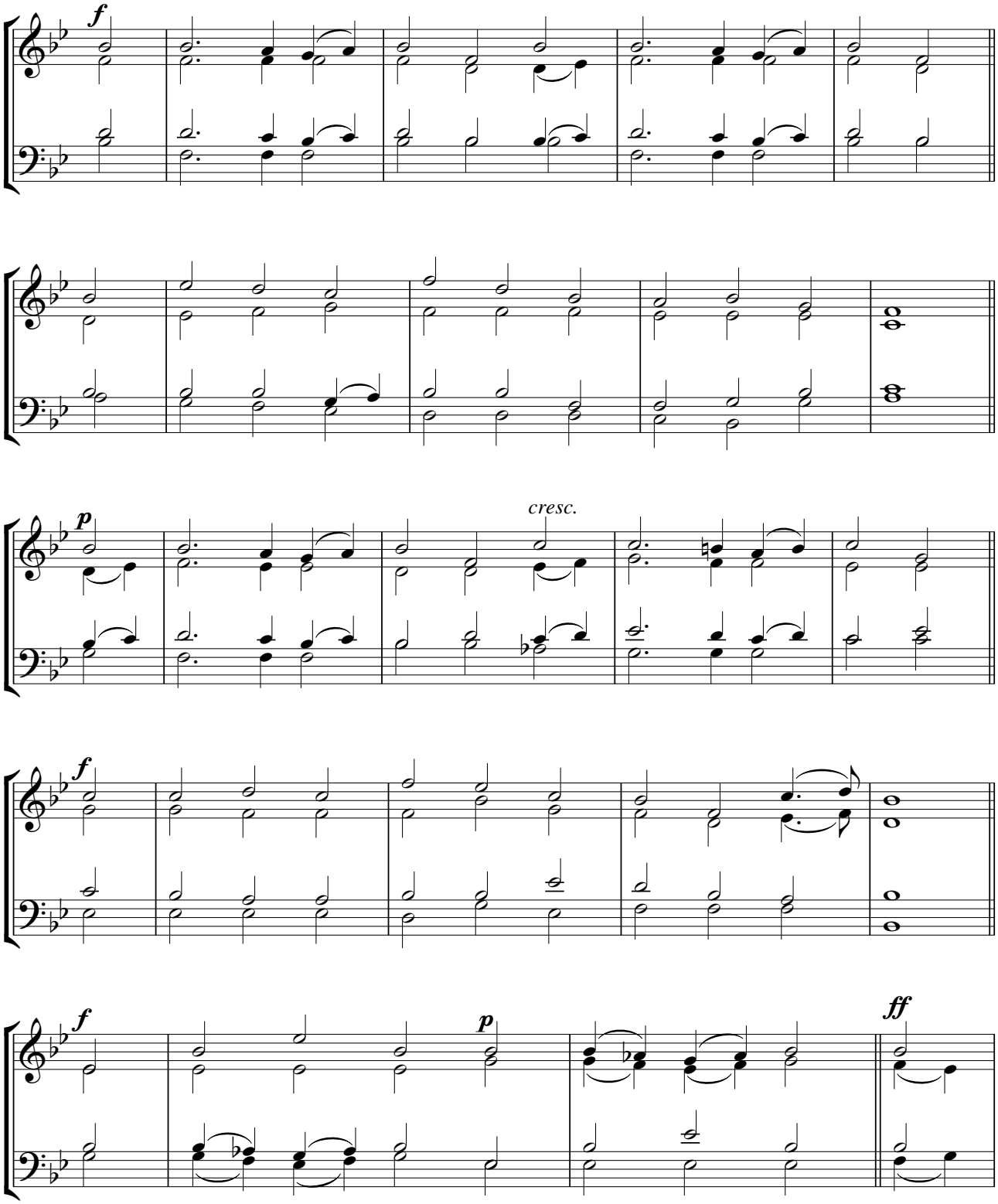
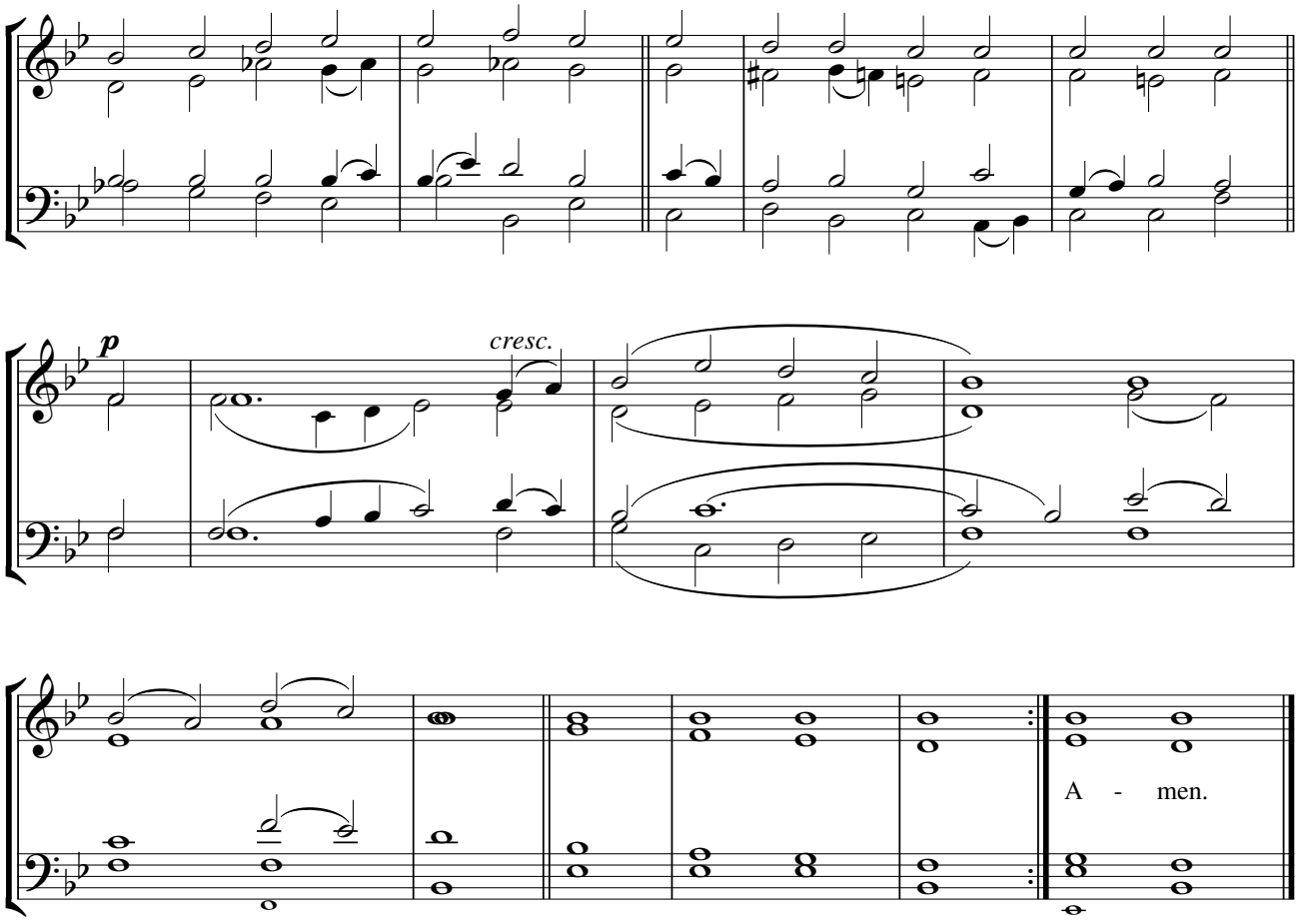
Grace after meals

From *The Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, &c. sung at...the first festival of the Launceston District Association of Church Choirs (1872)* (Durham University Pratt Green MS17 p.377)

(1) Part of the tenors and basses to sing the melody of this line in unison.

Choral Graces: Grace before meals (i)

From *'The Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, &c. sung at...the first festival of the Launceston District Association of Church Choirs (1872)'* (Durham University Pratt Green MS17 p.377)

Choral Graces: Grace before meals (ii)

Novelo Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 262

Gracias Agimus (12.11.12.11)

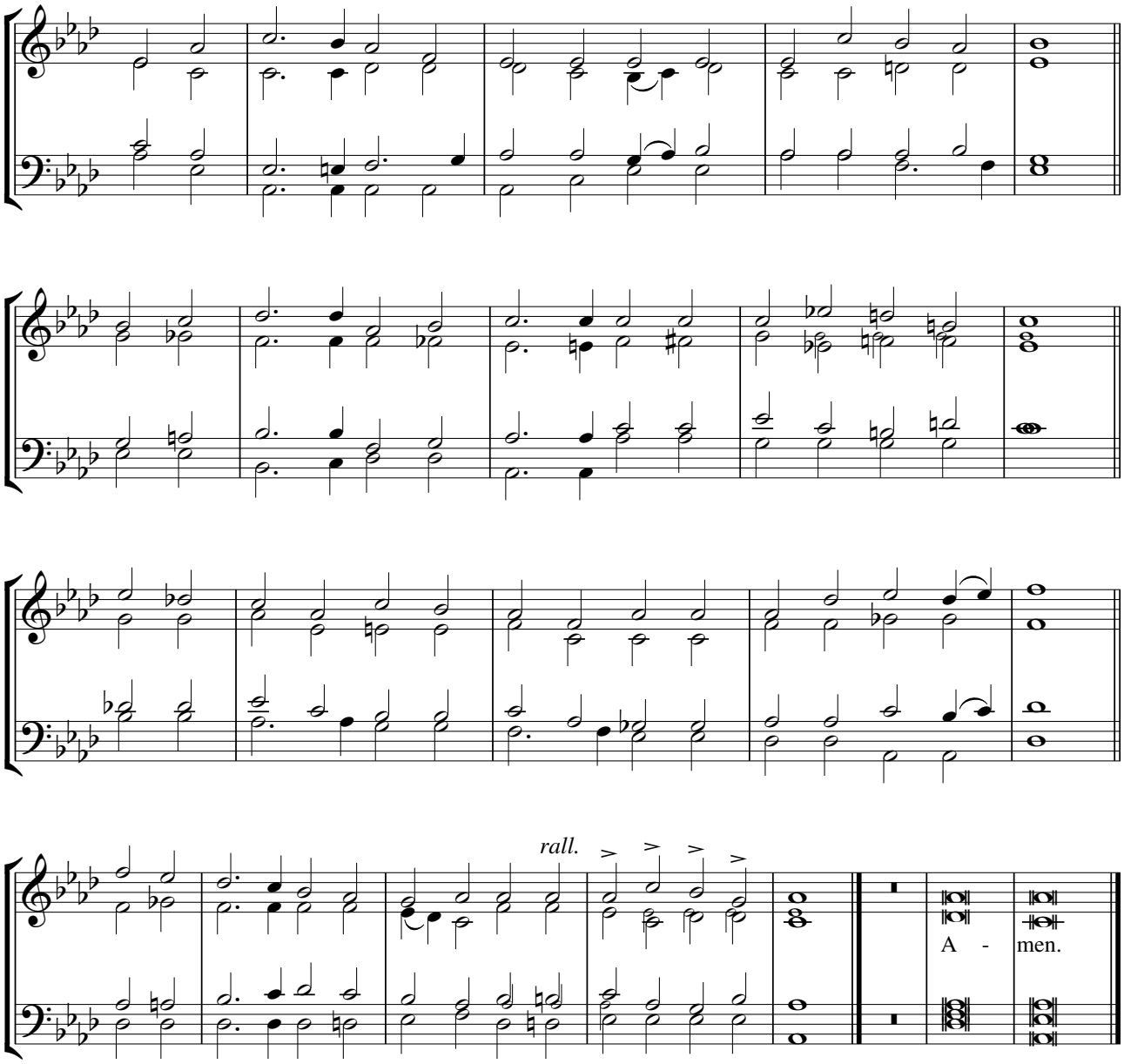
'Four Hymns' by Godfrey Thring (1875) No. 3



O sing to the Lord with a psalm of thanksgiving,
For great is His wisdom, and great is His love;
Your voices raise heav'nward, that angels descending
May join in our chorus, and bear it above.
To Christ our song is raised today,
To Christ the everlasting King,
To Him let all their homage pay,
To Him their sweetest anthems sing,
For evermore.

Godfrey Thring

Hark, the sound (i) (8787D)

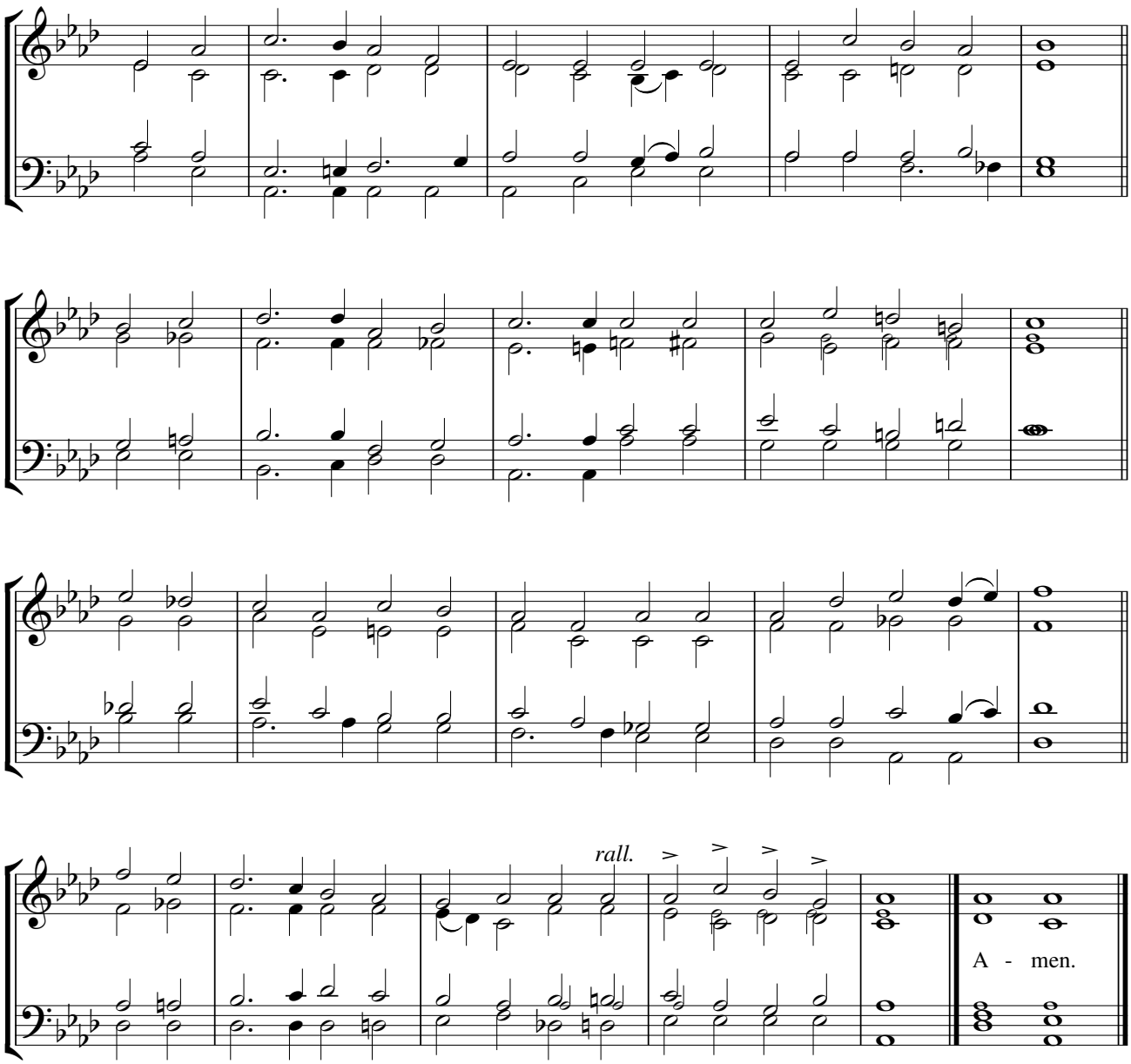
The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.220

Other names:
CHANCEL
ILLUMINATOR
SANCTUARY

Hark! the sound of holy voices,
Chanting at the crystal sea,
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
Hallelujah! Lord, to Thee!
Multitudes, which none can number,
Like the stars in glory stand,
Clothed in white apparel, holding
Palms of vict'ry in their hand.

Christopher Worsworth

Sanctuary (ii) (15.15.15.15)

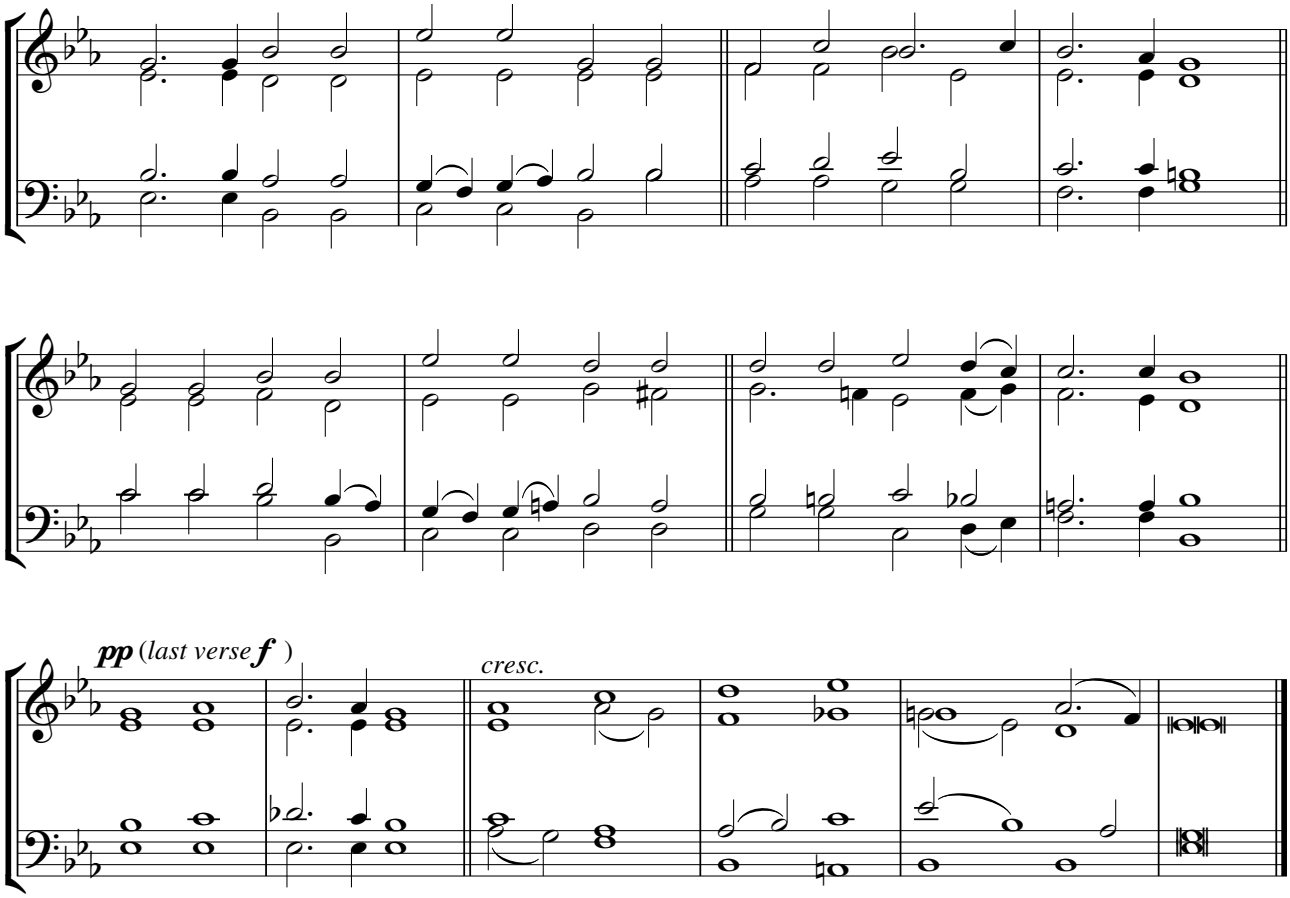
Hymnal Companion (1872) No. 269

Other names:
CHANCEL
HARK, THE SOUND
ILLUMINATOR

Hark the sound of holy voices, chanting at the crystal sea,
Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah! Lord, to Thee;
Multitudes, which none can number, like the stars in glory stand
Clothed in white apparel, holding palms of victory in their hand.

Christopher Worsworth

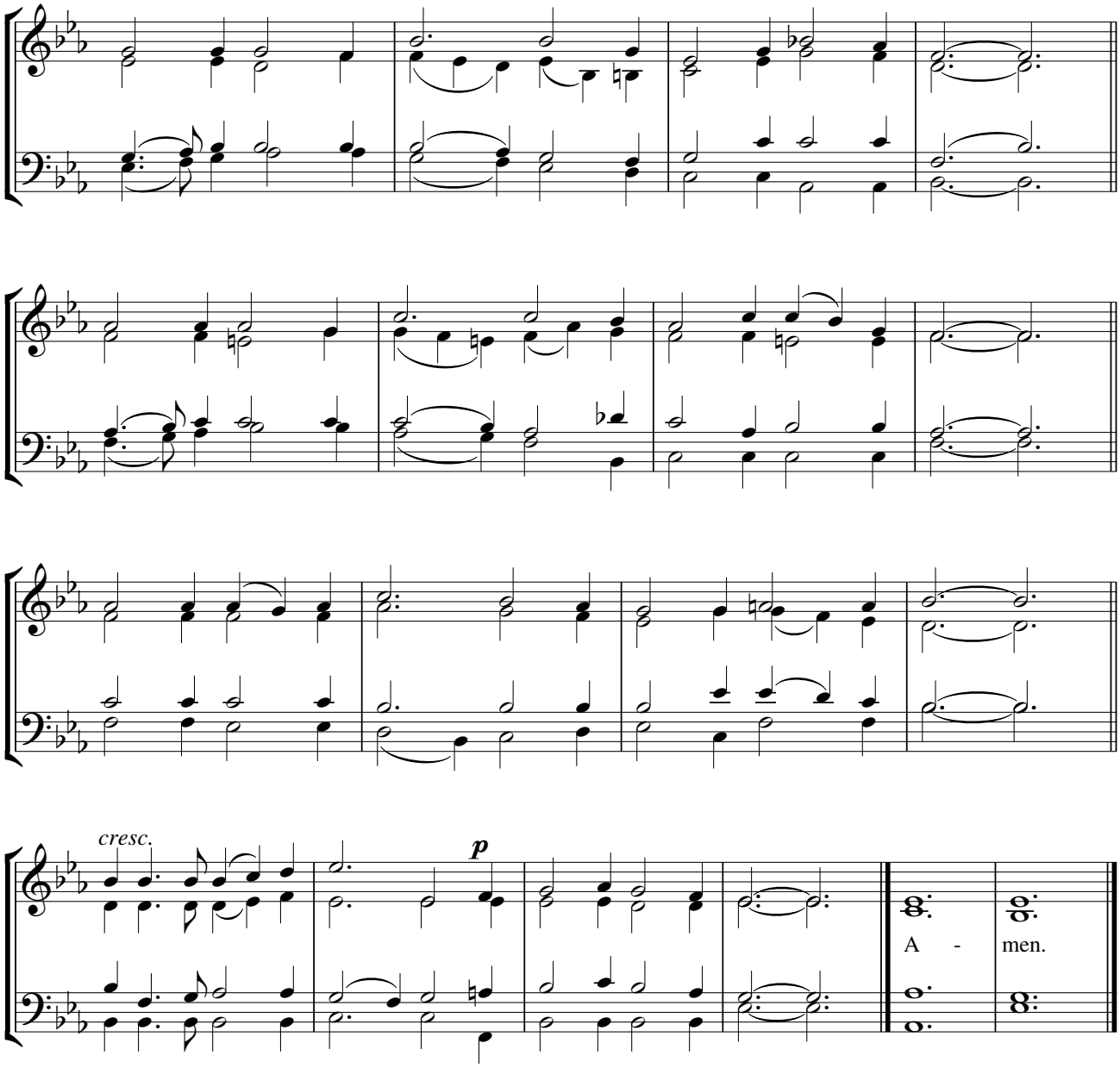
‘Hark! the voice of love’ (878747)

The Sarum Hymnal (1868) No.133

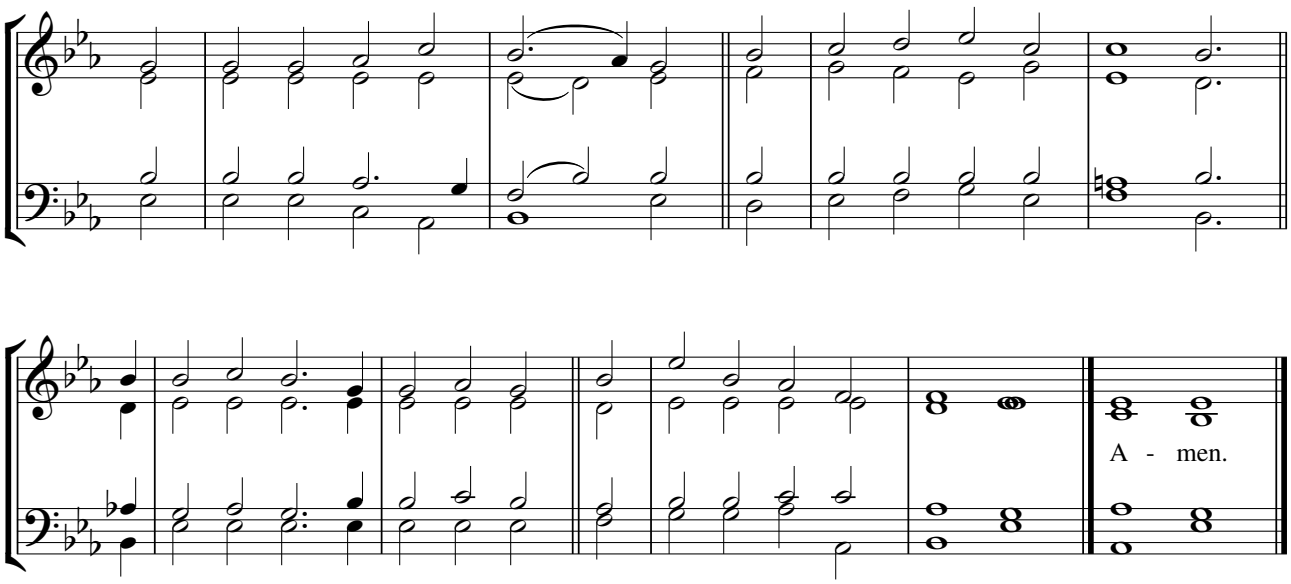
Other names:
CALVARY
‘IT IS FINISHED’

Hark! the voice of love and mercy
Sounds aloud from Calvary;
See, it rends the rocks asunder,
Shakes the earth, and veils the sky:
“It is finished!” Hear the dying Saviour cry.

Jonathan Evans

Hawerby (66666676)

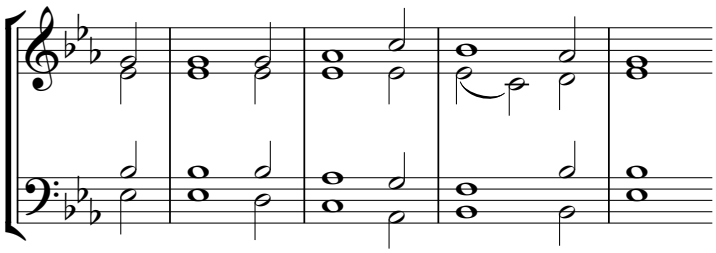
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.98

Wings! to urge me onward
Through earthly toil and strife;
Wings! to lift me upward
To everlasting life.
Wings! That I may hasten
To Heaven's promised rest,
There with the Saints and Angels
To be for ever blest.

‘Head of Thy Church’ (77447)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.99

Head of Thy Church triumphant,
We joyfully adore Thee;
Till Thou appear, Thy members here
Shall sing like those in glory.

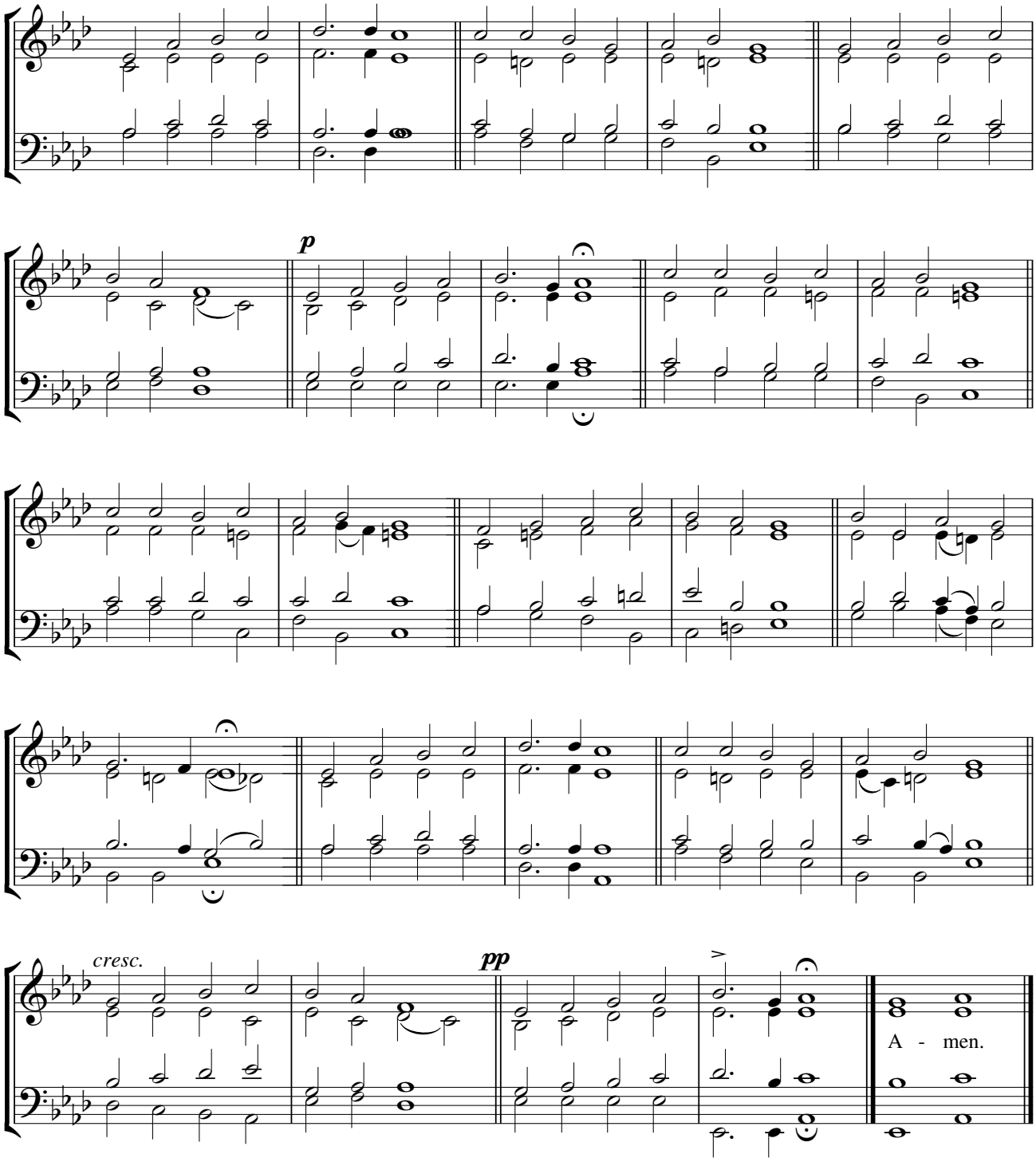
Charles Wesley

Compare with St. Alphege:



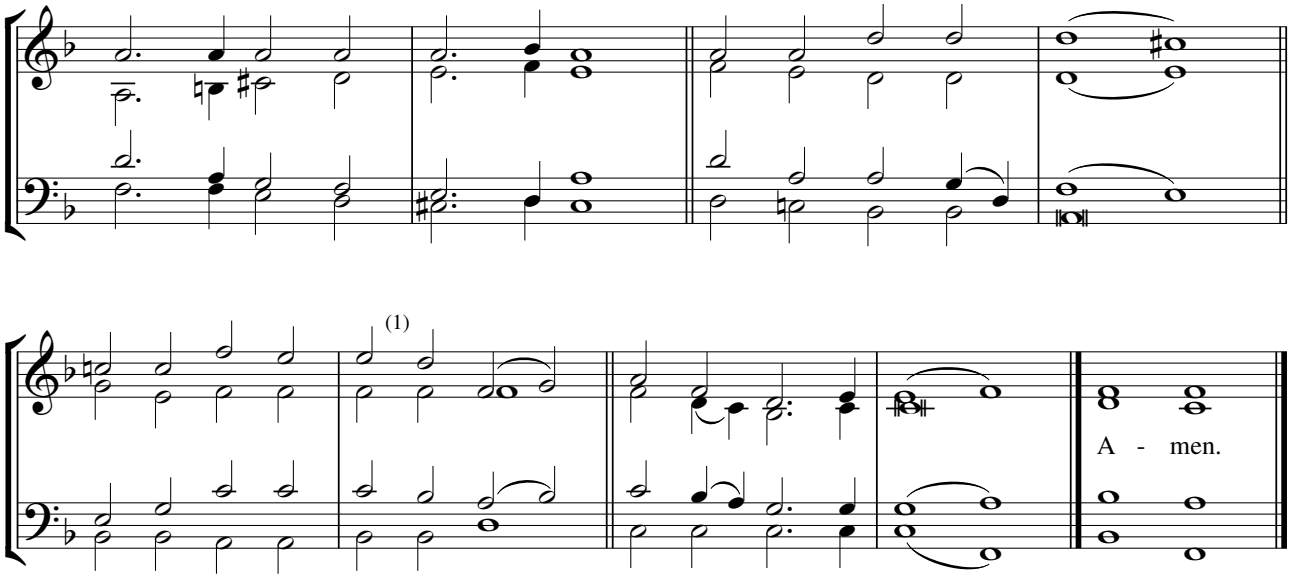
‘Heavenly Father, from Thy throne’ (7777Tr.)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No. 20

Other names:
CHILD’S LITANY
DELIVERENCE
MARINERS (with differences)

Heav’nly Father, from Thy Throne,
Look in love and pity down
On Thy tender little one,
Father, Lord, deliver me.
Jesus, Saviour, holy, mild,
Hear a weak and sinful child,
Thou on little ones hast smiled,
Jesu, Lord, deliver me.

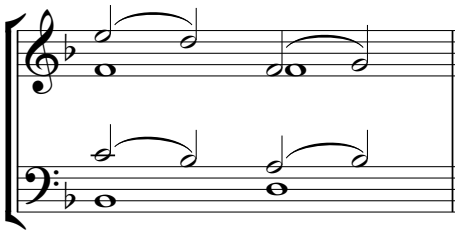
Thomas Benson Pollock

Herald (7575)

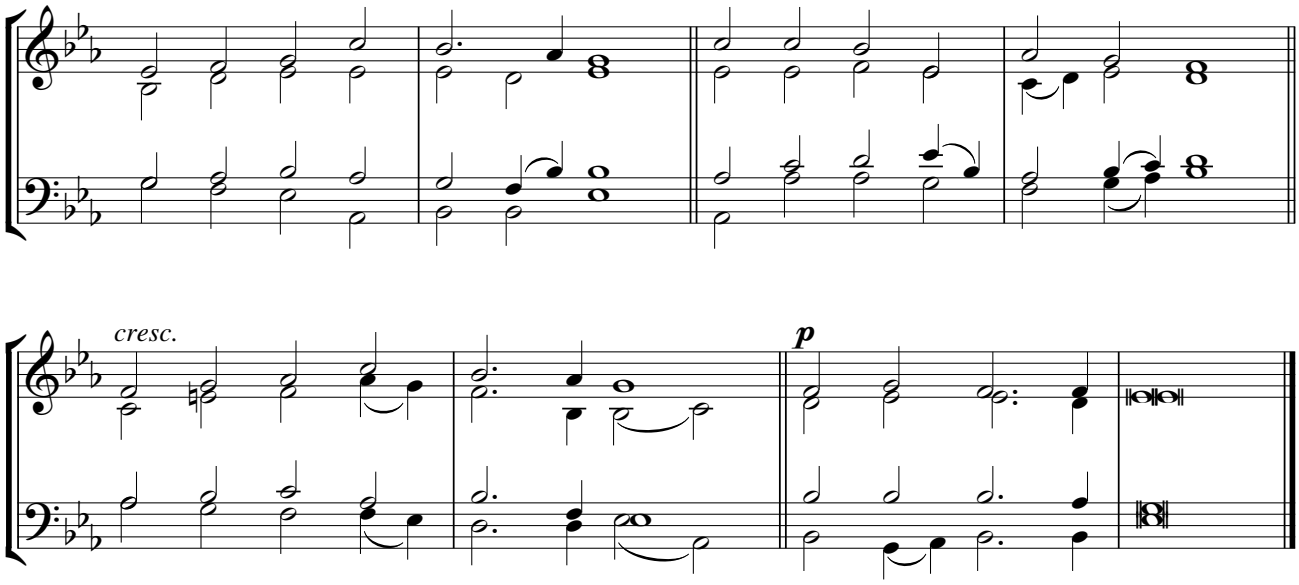
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.168

Herald, in the wilderness,
Breaking up the road,
Sinking mountains, raising plains,
For the path of God;

Henry Alford

(1) The 1902 Novello edition wrongly renders bar 6 thus, in conflict with the metre:

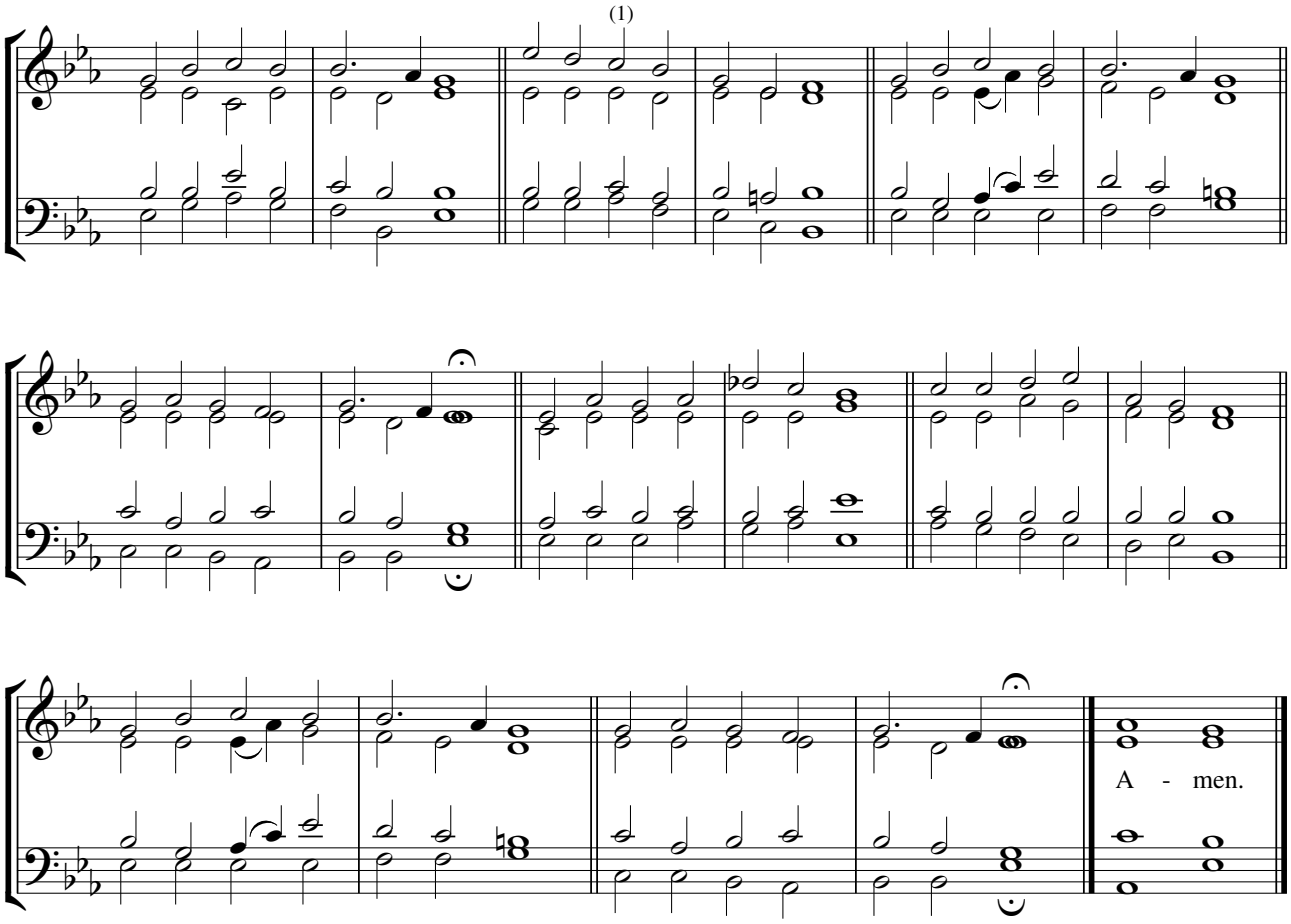


Hodnet (7775)

Congregational Church Music (1871) No.325

Lord of mercy and of might,
Of mankind the life and light,
Maker, Teacher, infinite,
Jesu, hear and save!

Reginald Heber

Hollingside (7777D)

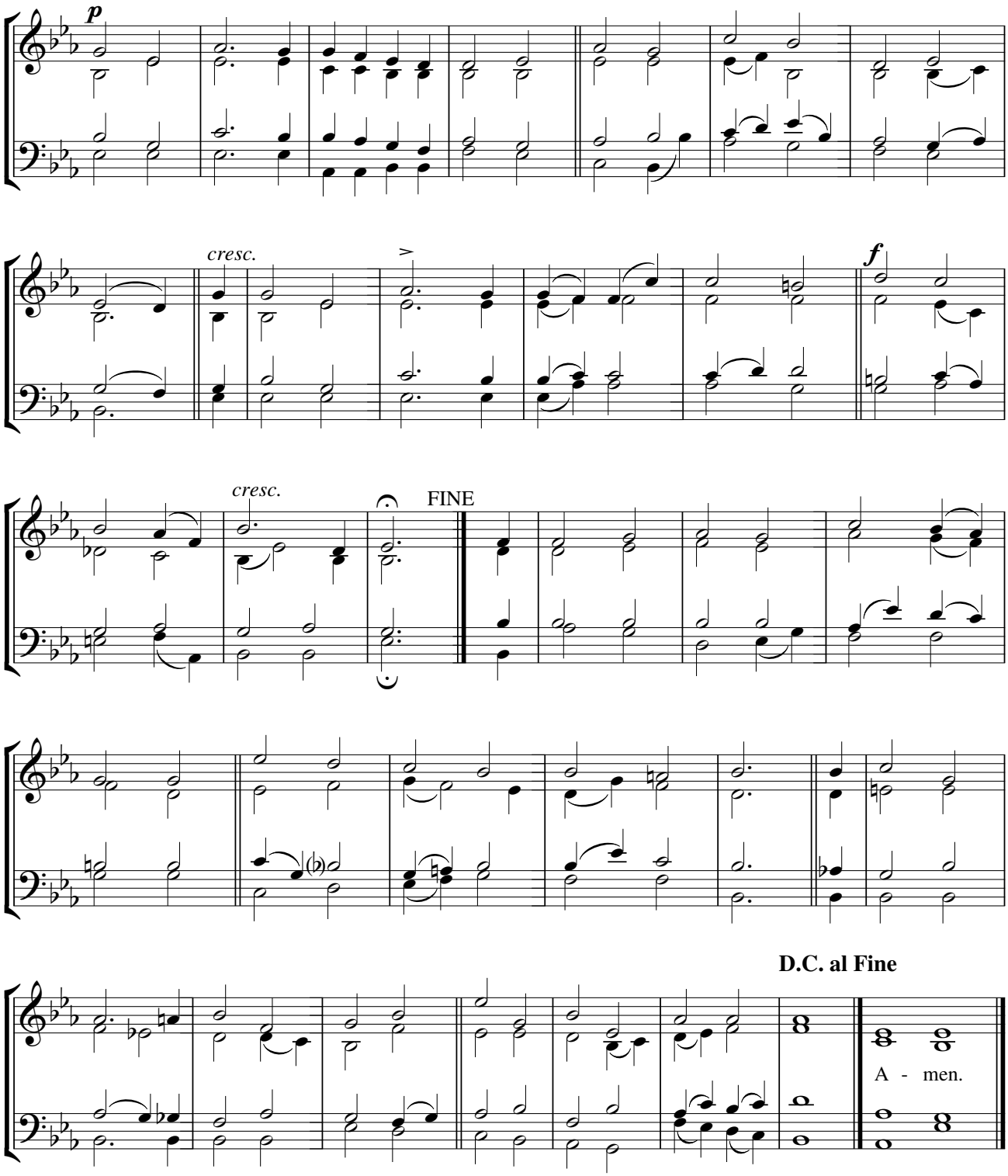
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.179

Jesu, Lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy bosom fly,
While the gathering waters roll,
While the tempest still is high:
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life be past;
Safe into the haven guide,
O receive my soul at last.

Charles Wesley

(1) Some subsequent appearances of this tune have tenor A♭ on this chord, no pauses in bars 8 and 16 and a rearranged plagal Amen.

‘Holy Ghost, come down’ (10.7979797)

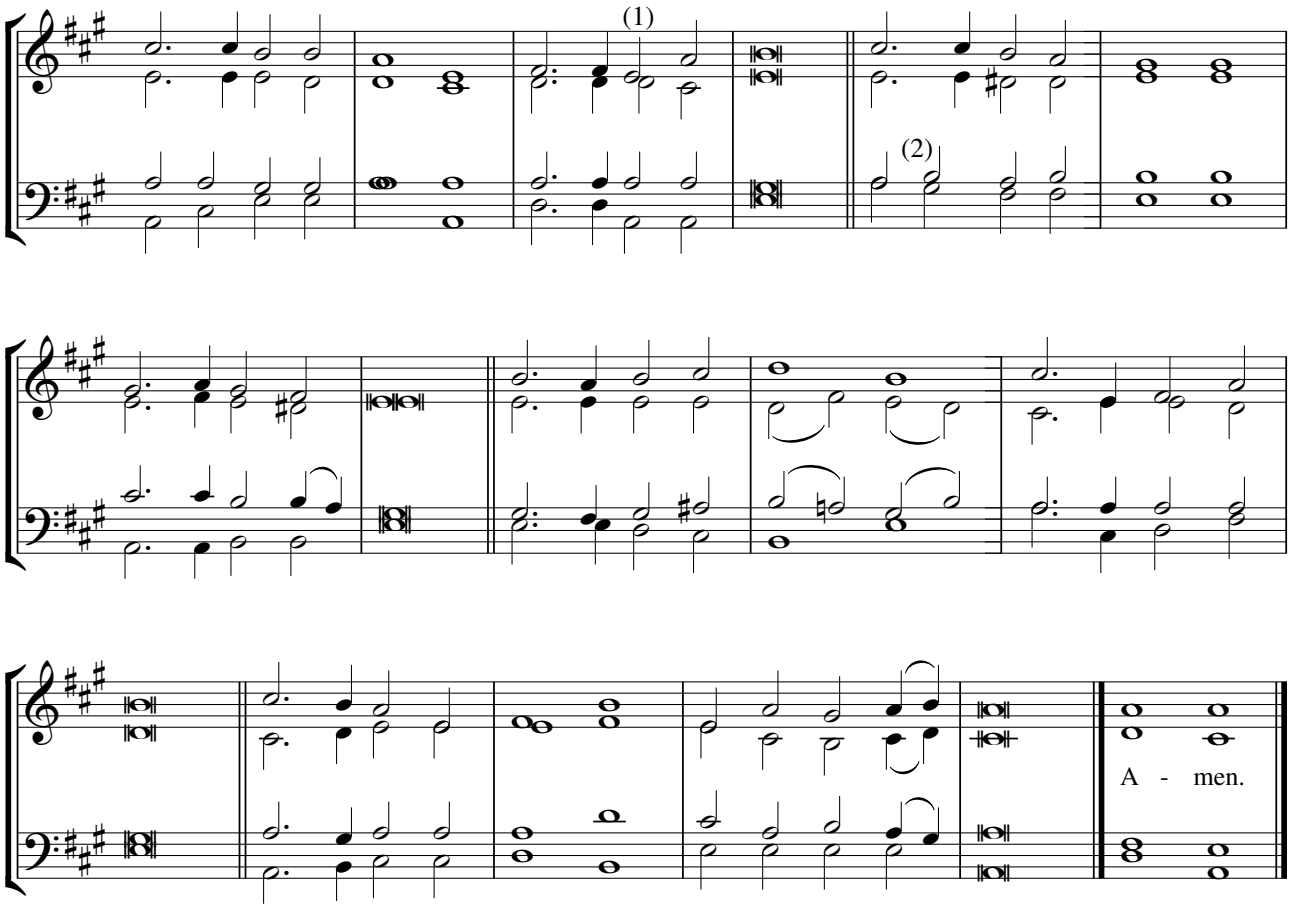
The People’s Hymnal (1868) No.158

Other names:
PARACLETE

Holy Ghost, come down upon Thy children,
Give us grace and make us Thine;
Thy tender fires within us kindle,
Blessèd Spirit, Dove divine.
For all within us good and holy
Is from Thee, Thy precious gift;
In all our joys, in all our sorrows,
Wistful hearts to Thee we lift.

Frederick Faber

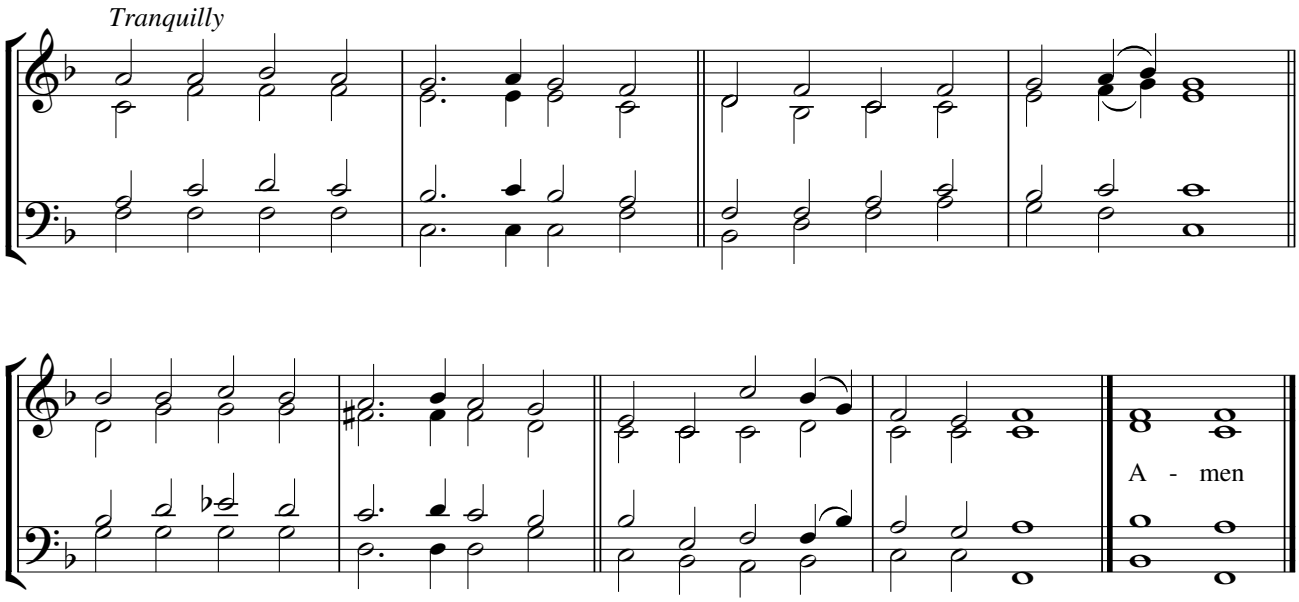
‘Holy is the seed time’ (6565D)

Novello (1881)

Other names:
WHORLTON

Holy is the seed-time, when the buried grain
Sinks to sleep in darkness, but to wake again.
Holy is the spring-time, when the living corn,
Bursting from its prison, riseth like the morn.
Margaret A. Headlam

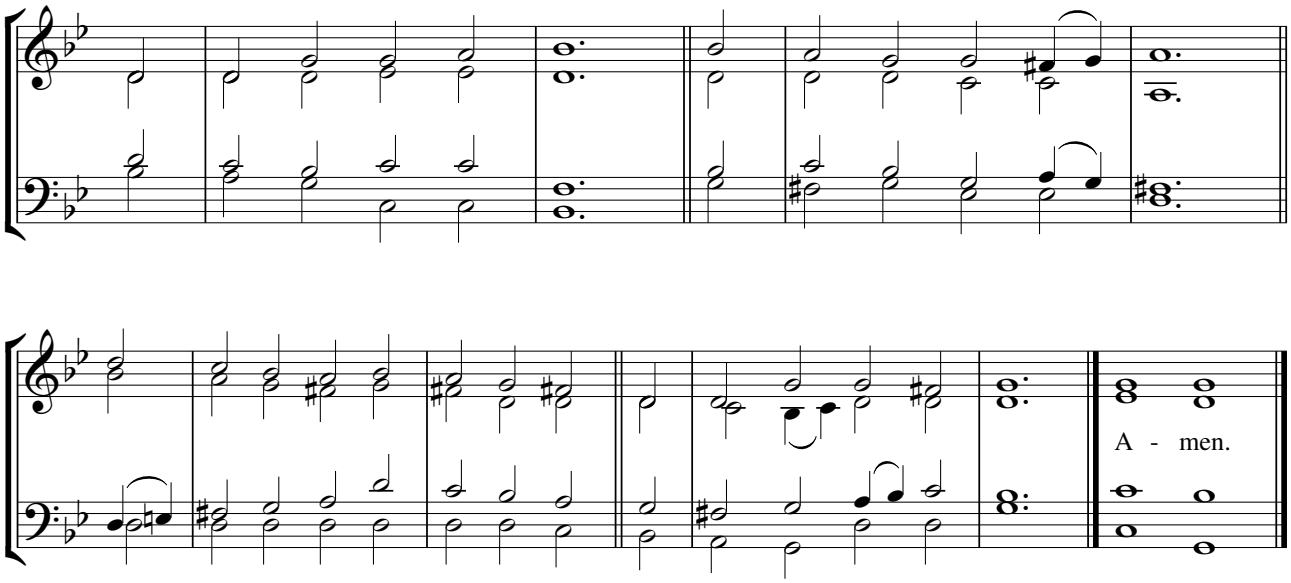
(1) The Novello 1902 edition (which names the tune WHORLTON) has alto E and bass C♯.
(2) The Novello 1902 edition has tenor A.
(3) Margaret Headlam was the daughter of the Rev. A.W. Headlam, Dykes’s successor at St. Oswald’s.

Holy Jesus, We Adore Thee (8787)

The Child's Book of Praise (1879) No. 3

Holy Jesus! we adore Thee,
Circumcised this blessed day—
Teach us, by Thy sweet Example,
God in all things to obey.

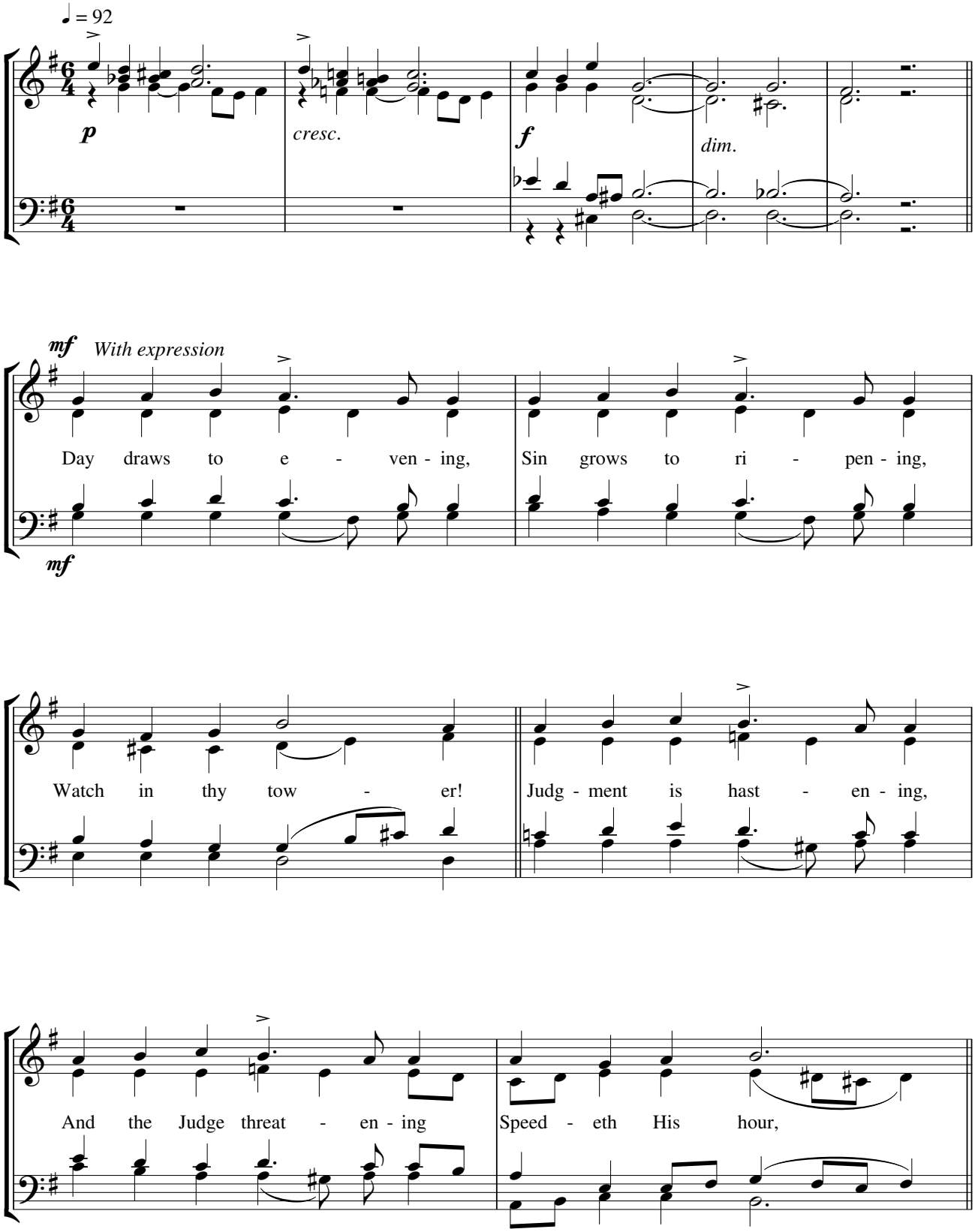
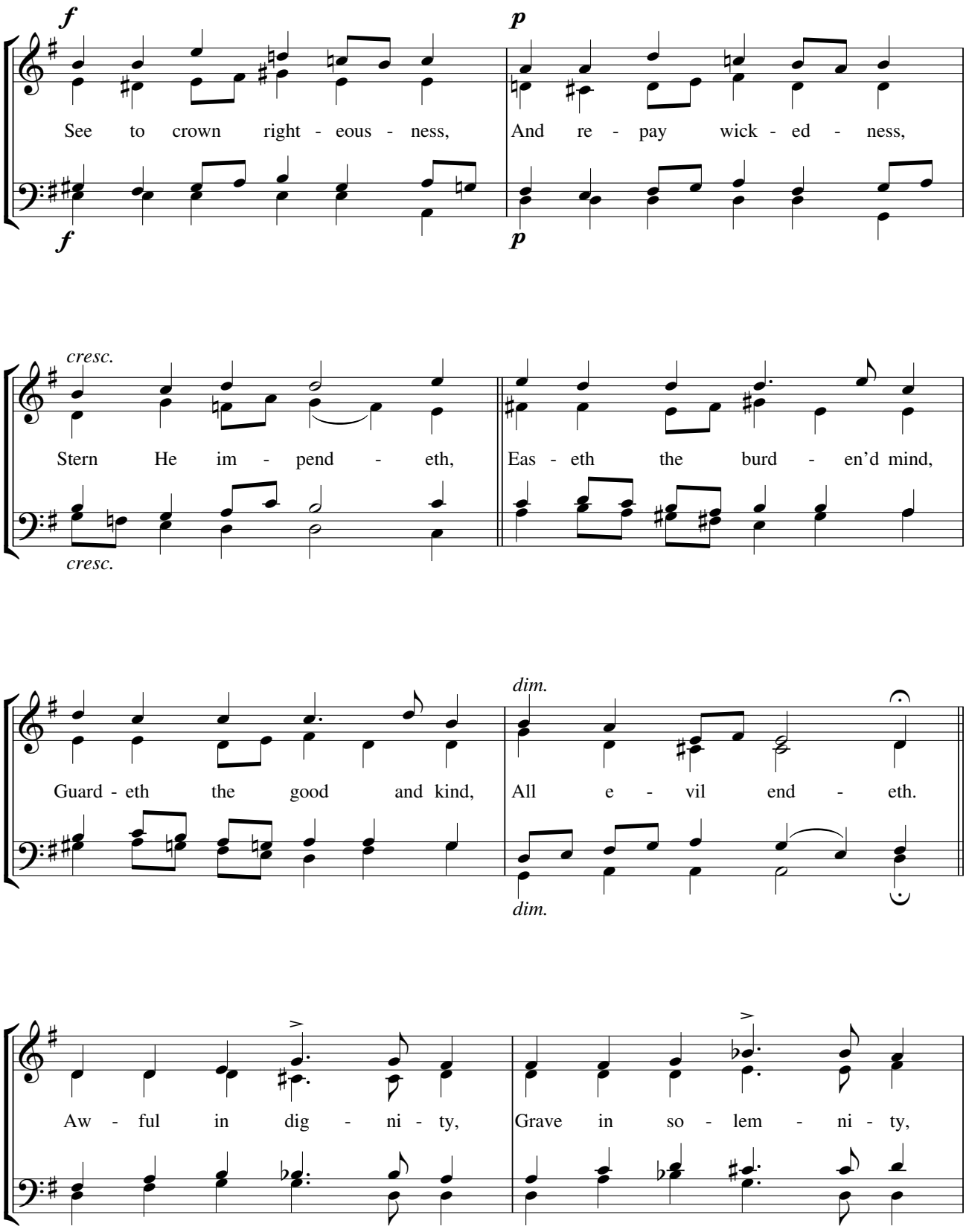
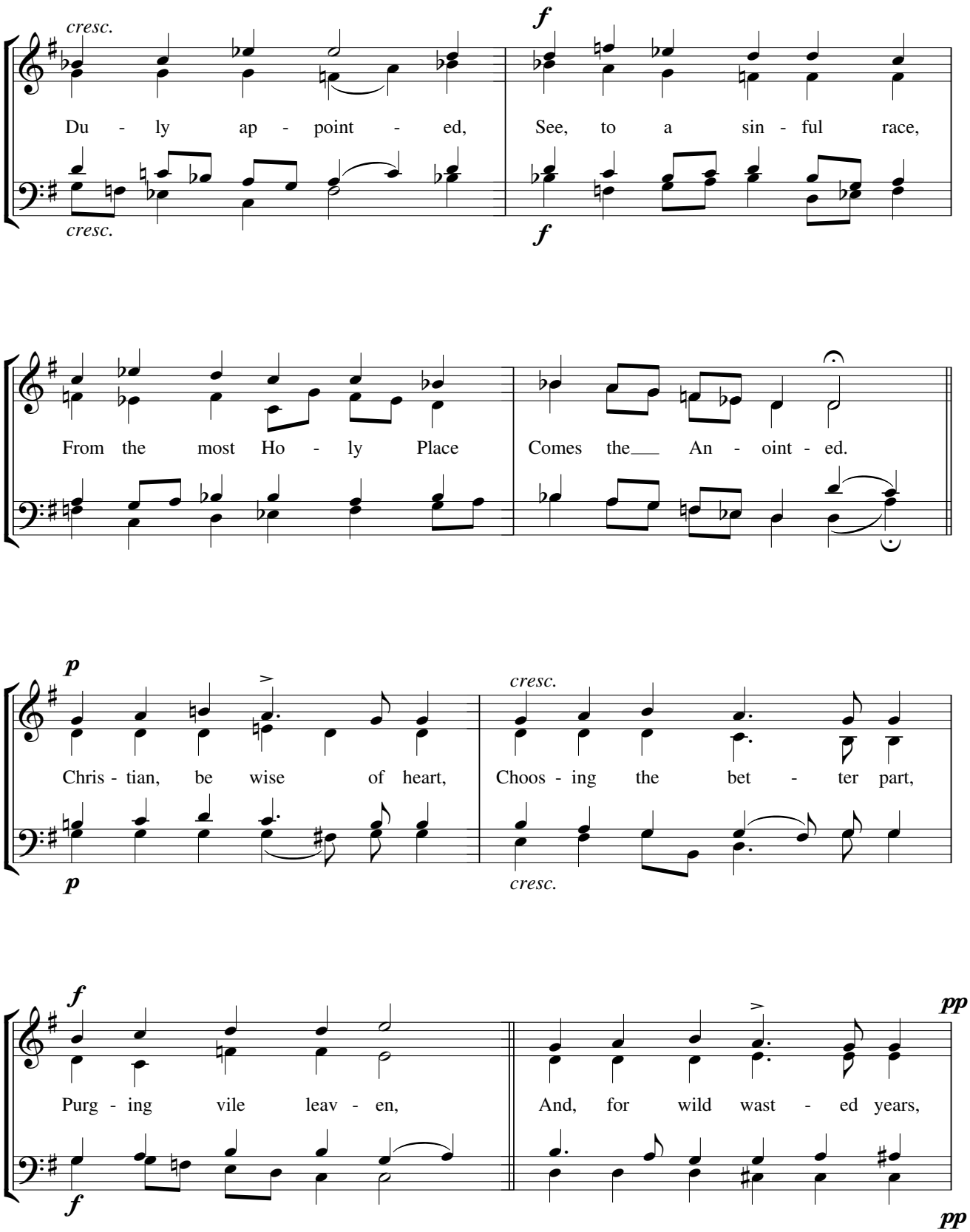
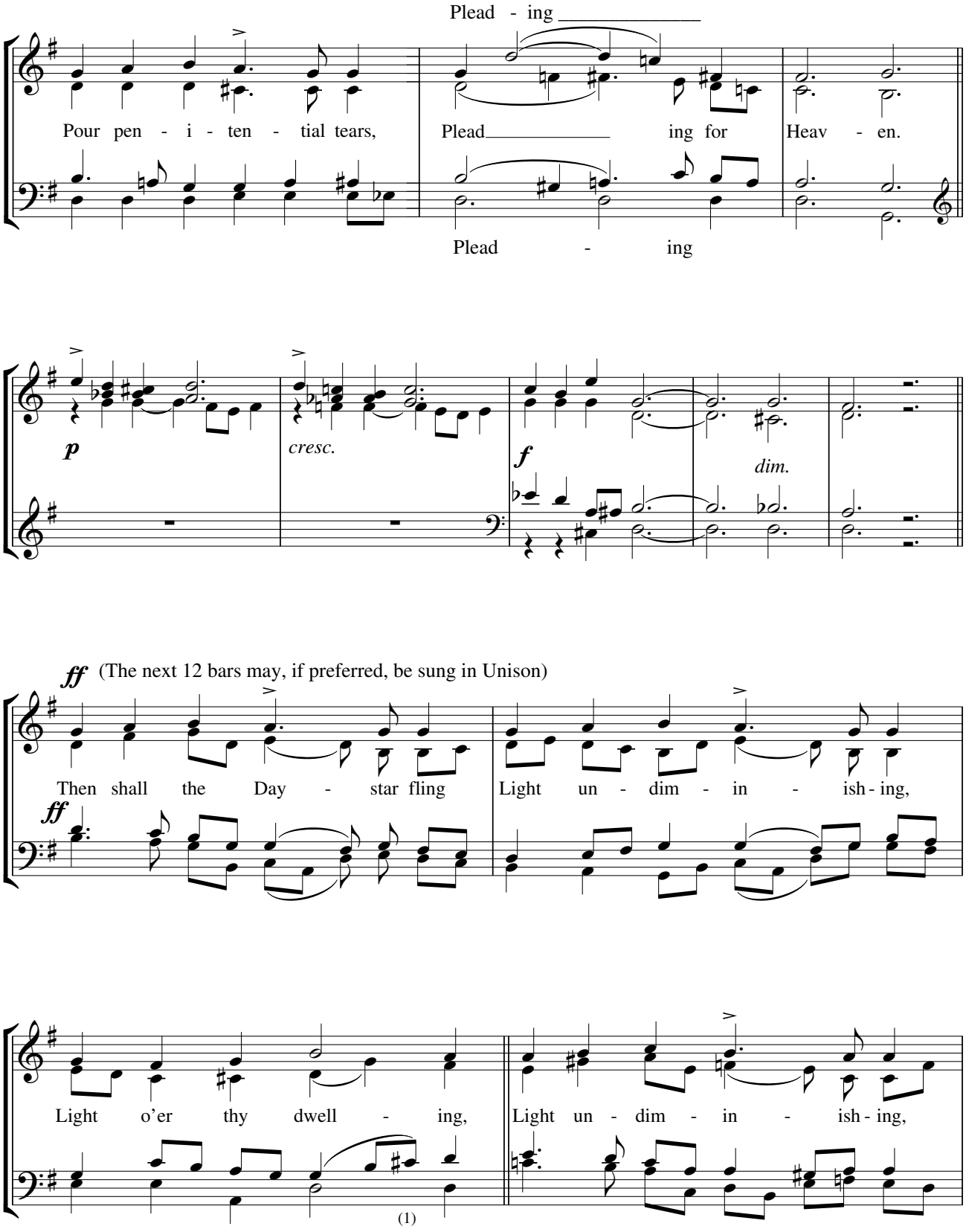
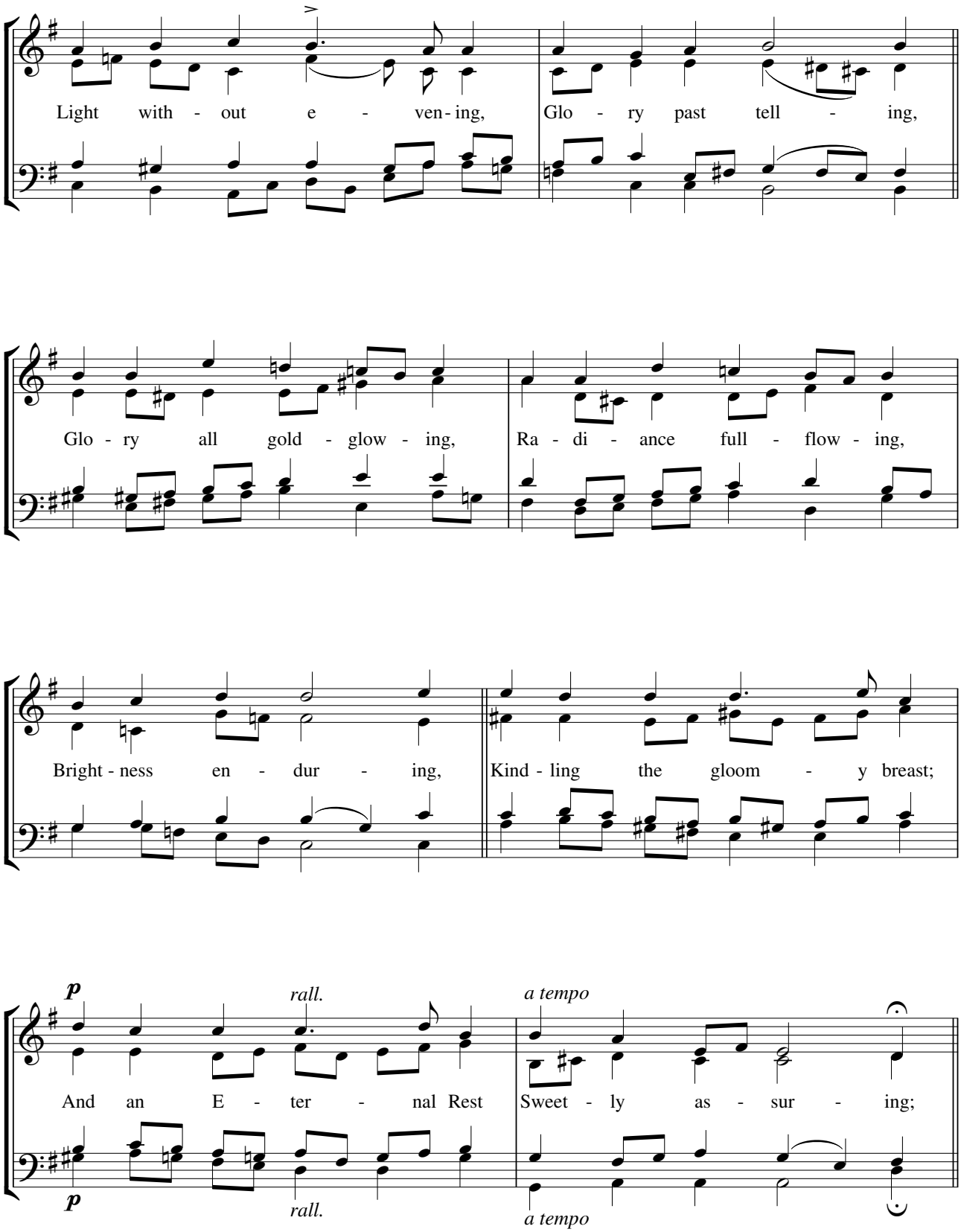
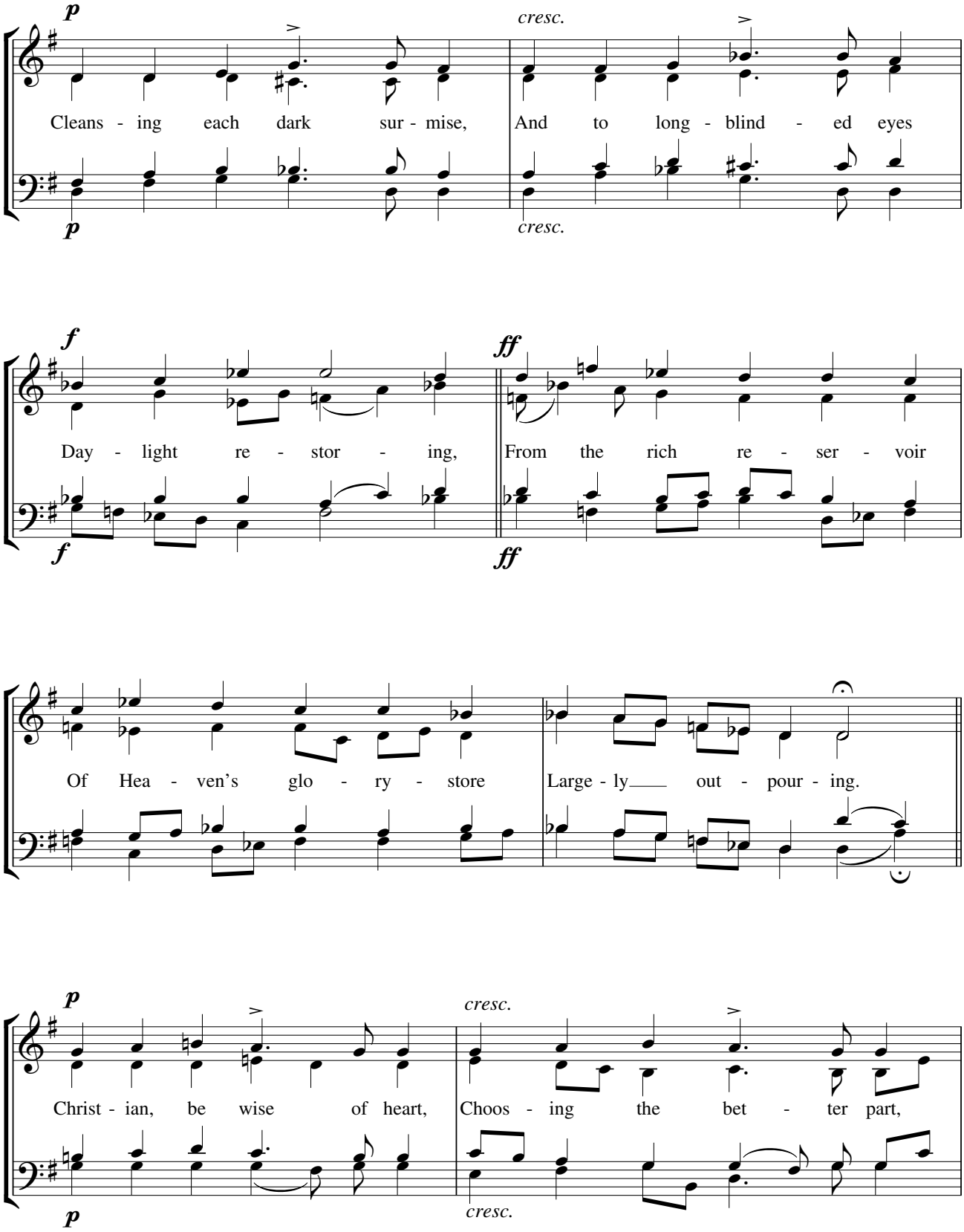
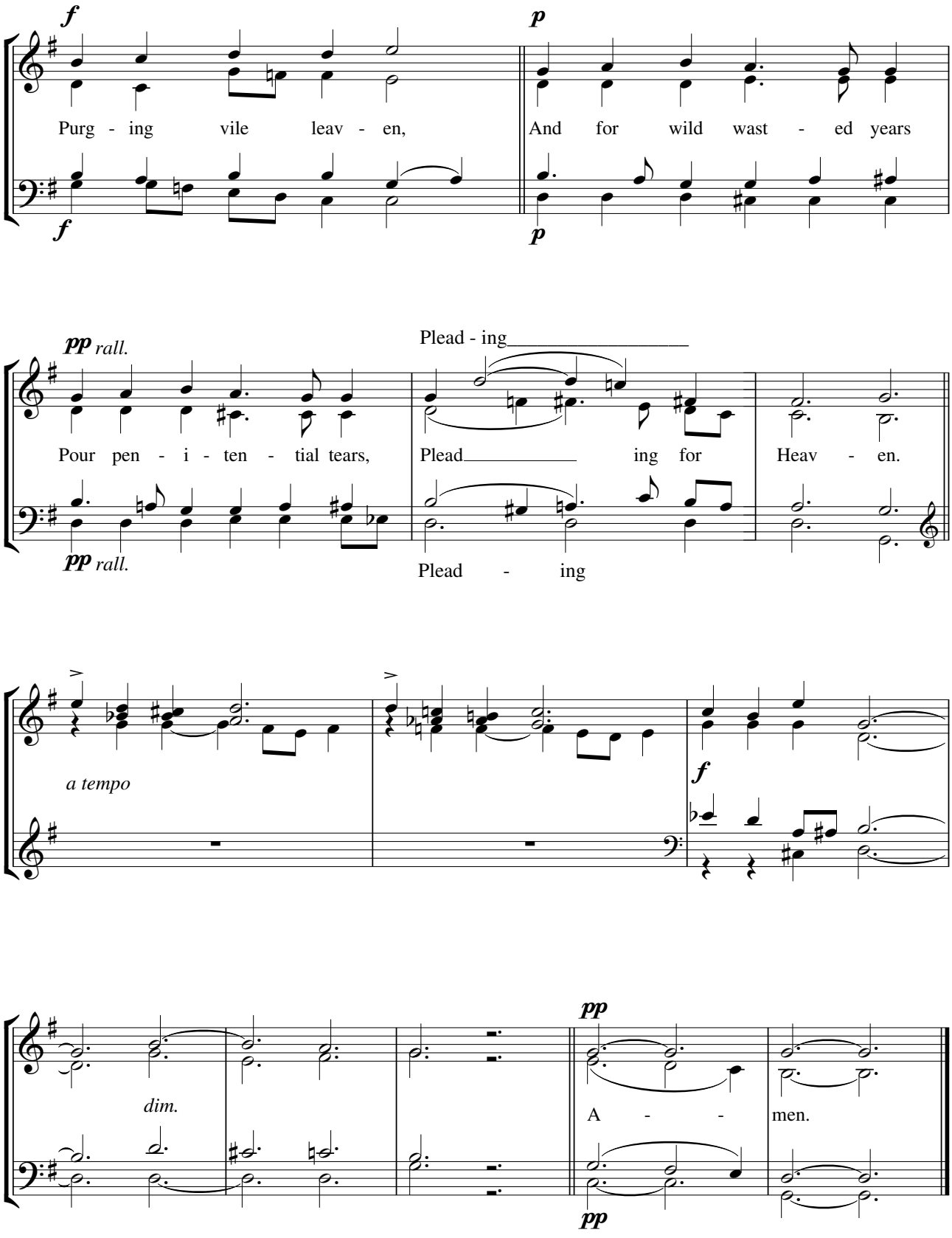
142

Home (SM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.17

The day is past and gone,
Great God, we bow to Thee:
Again, as shades of night steal on,
Unto Thy Side we flee.

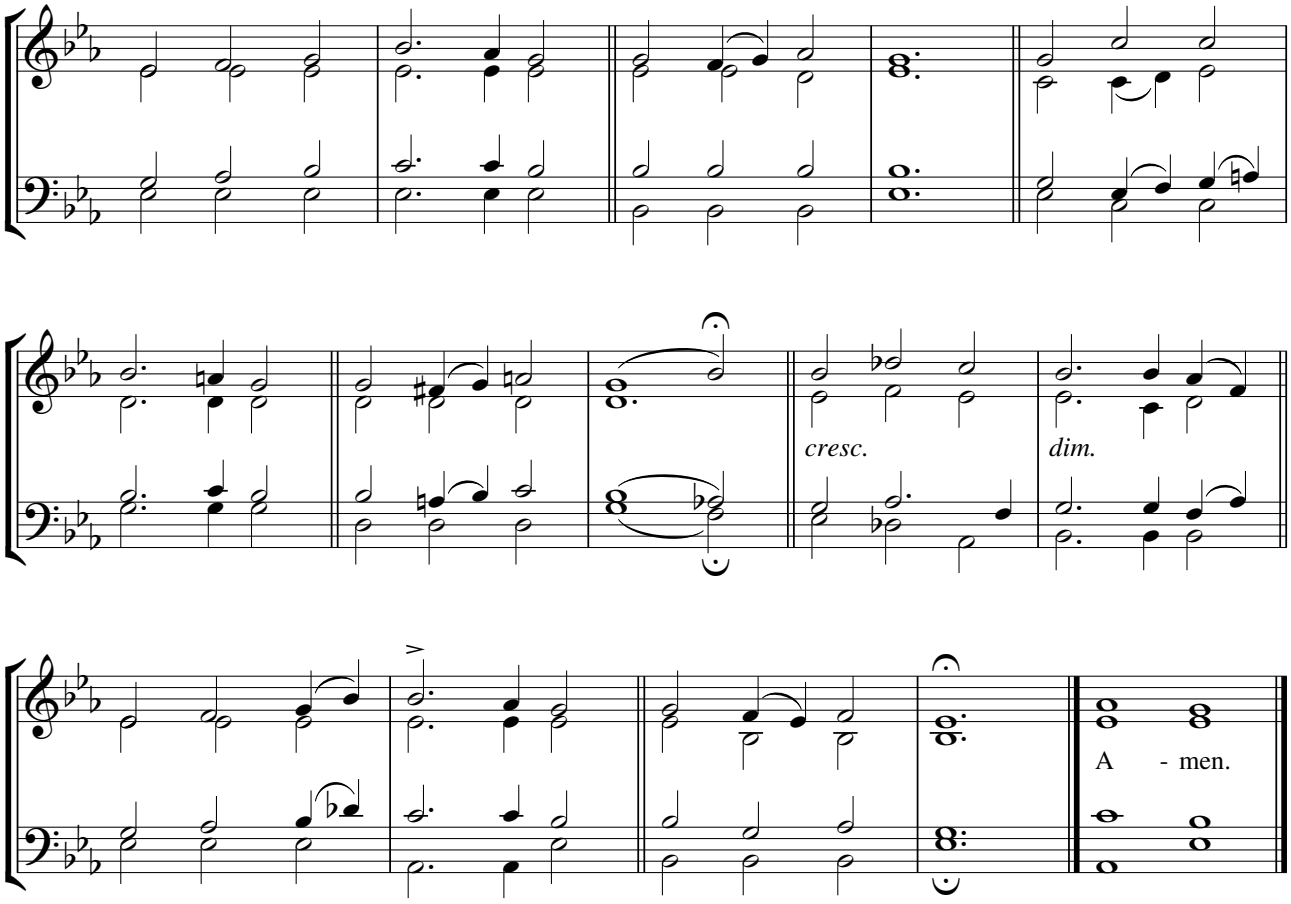
Trans. W.J. Blew

Hora Novissima (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.148

f
p
See to crown right - eous - ness,
And re - pay wick - ed - ness,
f
p
cresc.
Stern He im - pend - eth,
Eas - eth the burd - en'd mind,
cresc.
dim.
Guard - eth the good and kind,
All e - vil end - eth.
dim.
Aw - ful in dig - ni - ty,
Grave in so - lem - ni - ty,

cresc.
f
Du - ly ap - point - ed,
See, to a sin - ful race,
cresc.
f
From the most Ho - ly Place
Comes the An - oint - ed.
p
Chris - tian, be wise of heart,
cresc.
Choos - ing the bet - ter part,
p
cresc.
f
Purg - ing vile leav - en,
pp
And, for wild wast - ed years,
f
pp

(1) The Novello edition does not sharpen the tenor C

Light with - out e - ven - ing,
Glo - ry past tell - ing,
Glo - ry all gold - glow - ing,
Ra - di - ance full - flow - ing,
Bright - ness en - dur - ing,
Kind - ling the gloom - y breast;
p
rall.
a tempo
And an E - ter - nal Rest
Sweet - ly as - sur - ing;
p
rall.
a tempo

p
cresc.
Cleans - ing each dark sur - mise,
And to long - blind - ed eyes
p
cresc.
f
ff
Day - light re - stor - ing,
From the rich re - ser - voir
f
ff
Of Hea - ven's glo - ry - store
Large - ly out - pour - ing.
p
cresc.
Christ - ian, be wise of heart,
Choos - ing the bet - ter part,
p
cresc.

f
Purg - ing vile leav - en,
p
And for wild wast - ed years
pp rall.
Pour pen - i - ten - tial tears,
Plead - ing
Plead ing for
Heav - en.
Plead - ing
a tempo
f
dim.
pp
A - - men.
pp

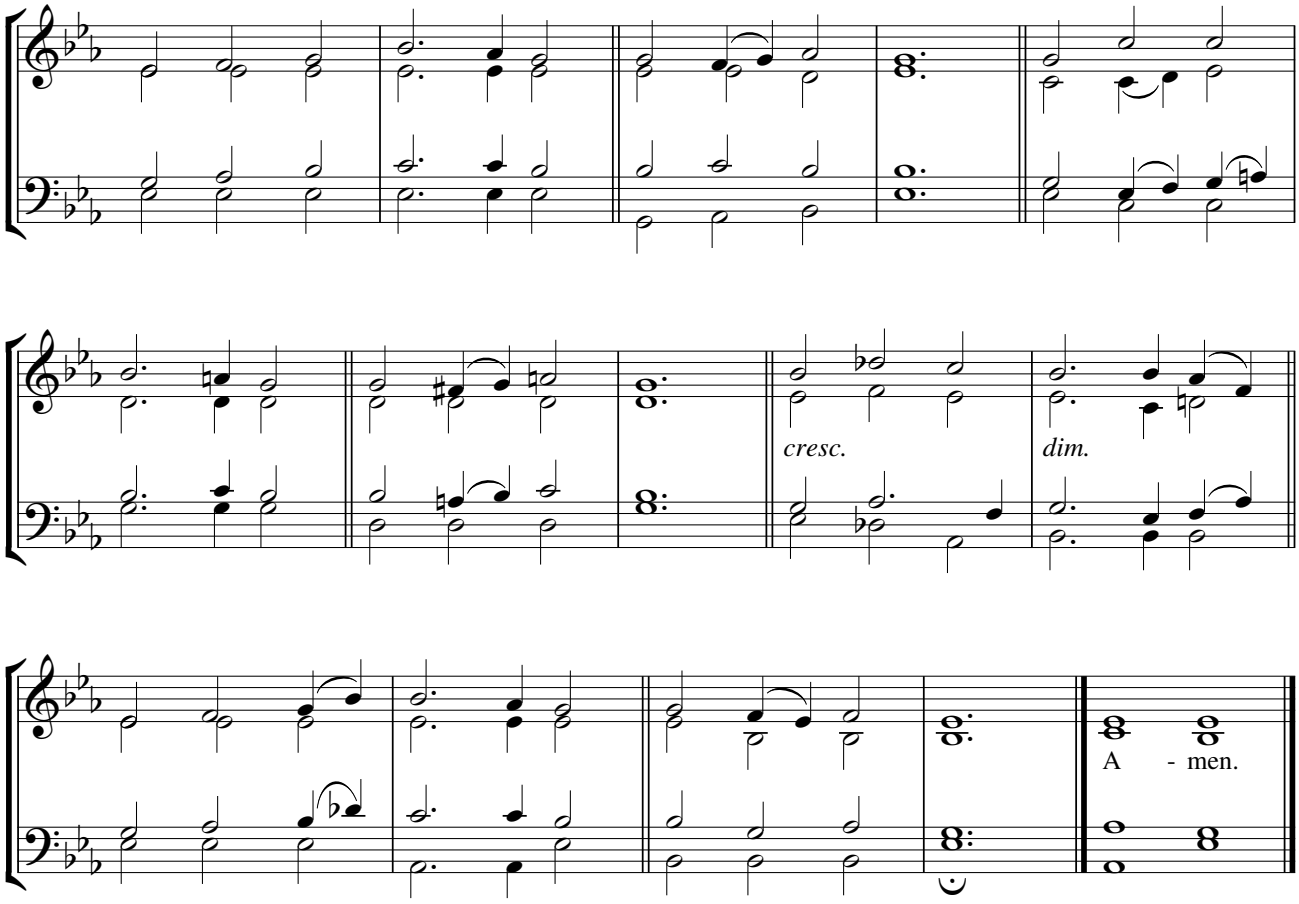
150

Horbury (i) (6464664)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.200

Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee;
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me,
Still all my song shall be
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee.

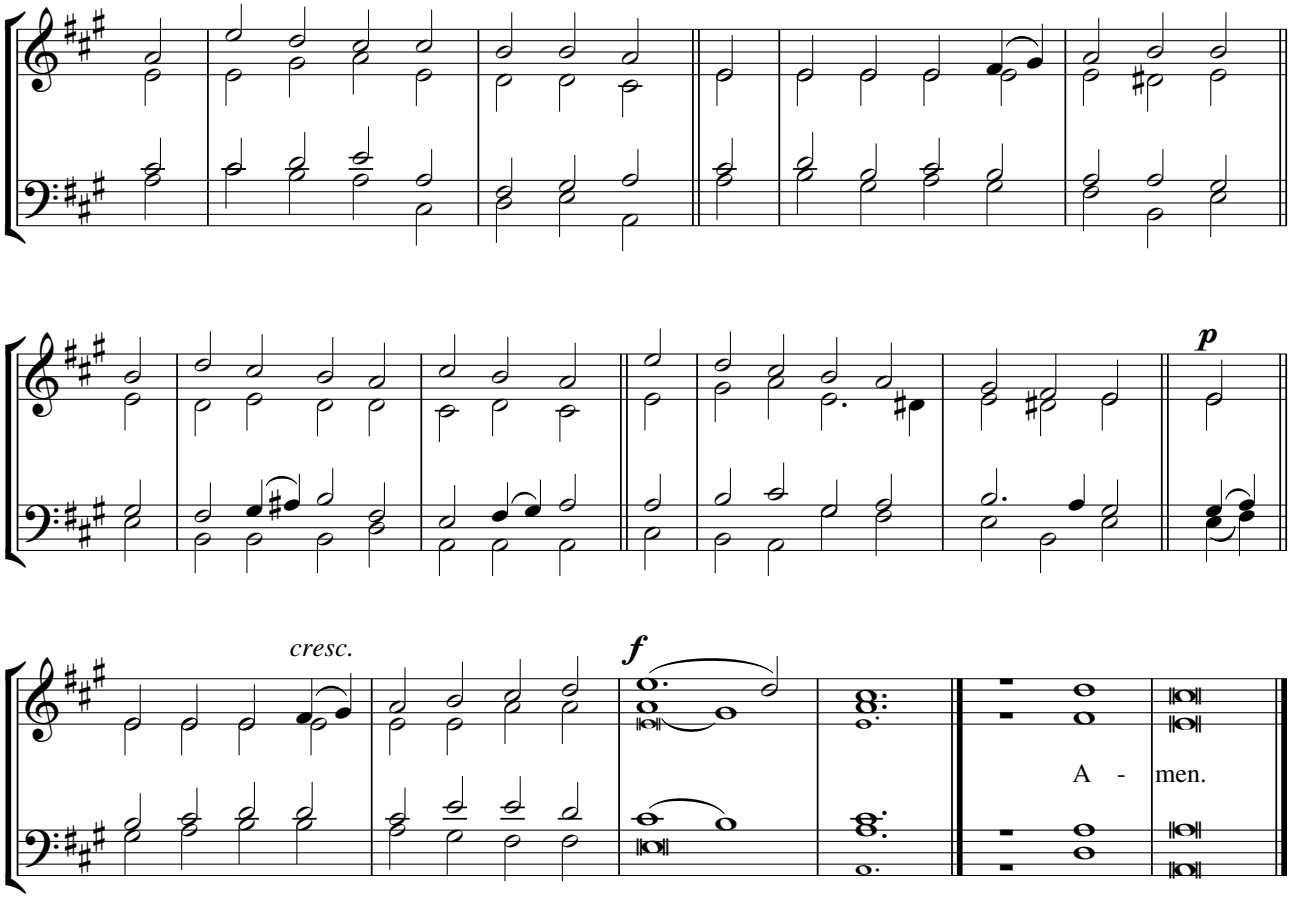
Sarah F. Adams

Horbury (ii) (6464664)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.474

Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee;
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me,
Still all my song shall be
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee.

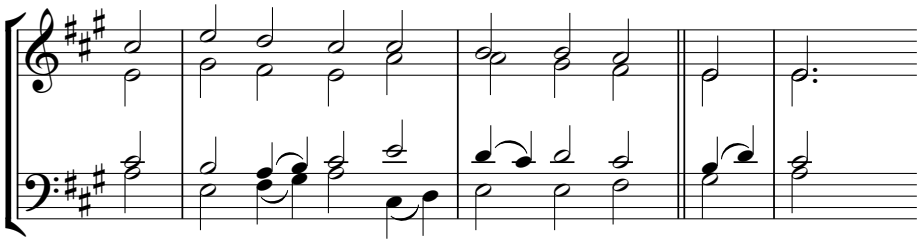
Sarah F. Adams

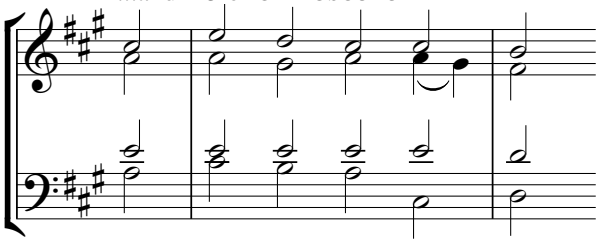
Hosanna (8888.12)

Hymns for the Church of England (1865) No. 19

Hosanna to the Living Lord!
Hosanna to the the Incarnate Word!
To Christ, Creator, Saviour, King,
Let earth, let heaven, Hosanna sing:
Hosanna, Lord! Hosanna in the highest!

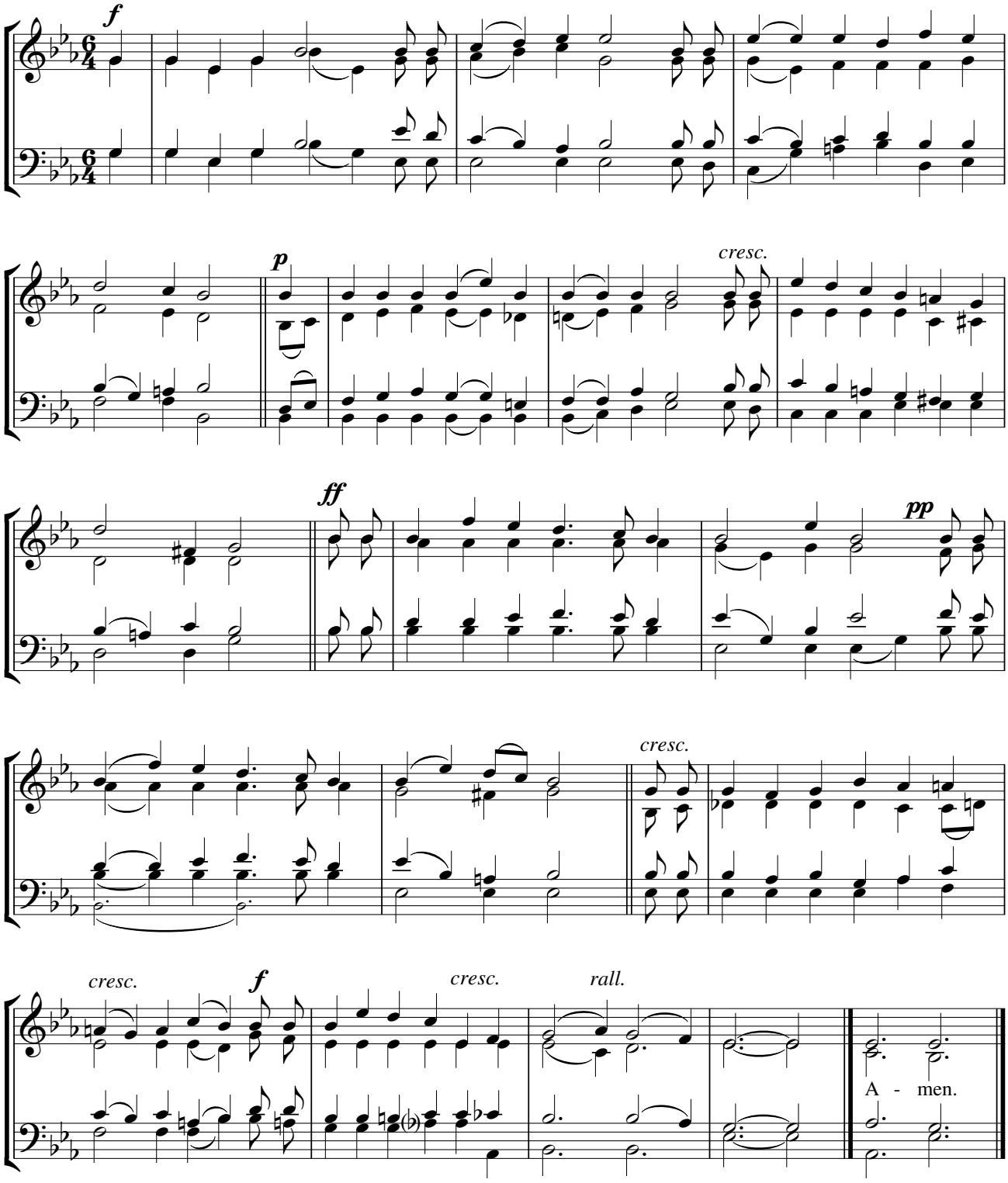
Reginald Heber

Compare bars 1-5 with bars 1-5 of DOMINUS REGIT ME...



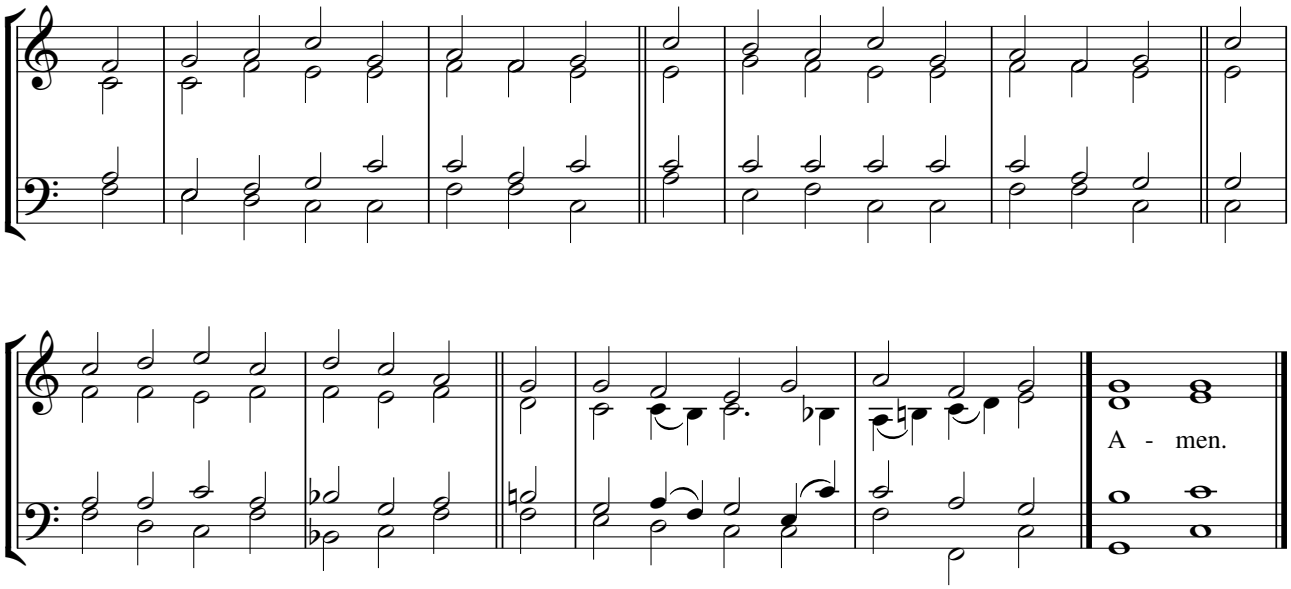
...and 1-3 of CREPUSCULUM

Hosanna We Sing (Irregular)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.340

Other names:
HOSANNA

Hosanna we sing, like the children dear,
In the olden days when the Lord lived here;
He blessed little children, and smiled on them,
While they chanted His praise in Jerusalem.
Alleluia we sing, like the children bright,
With their harps of gold and their raiment white,
As they follow their shepherd with loving eyes,
Through the beautiful valleys of paradise.

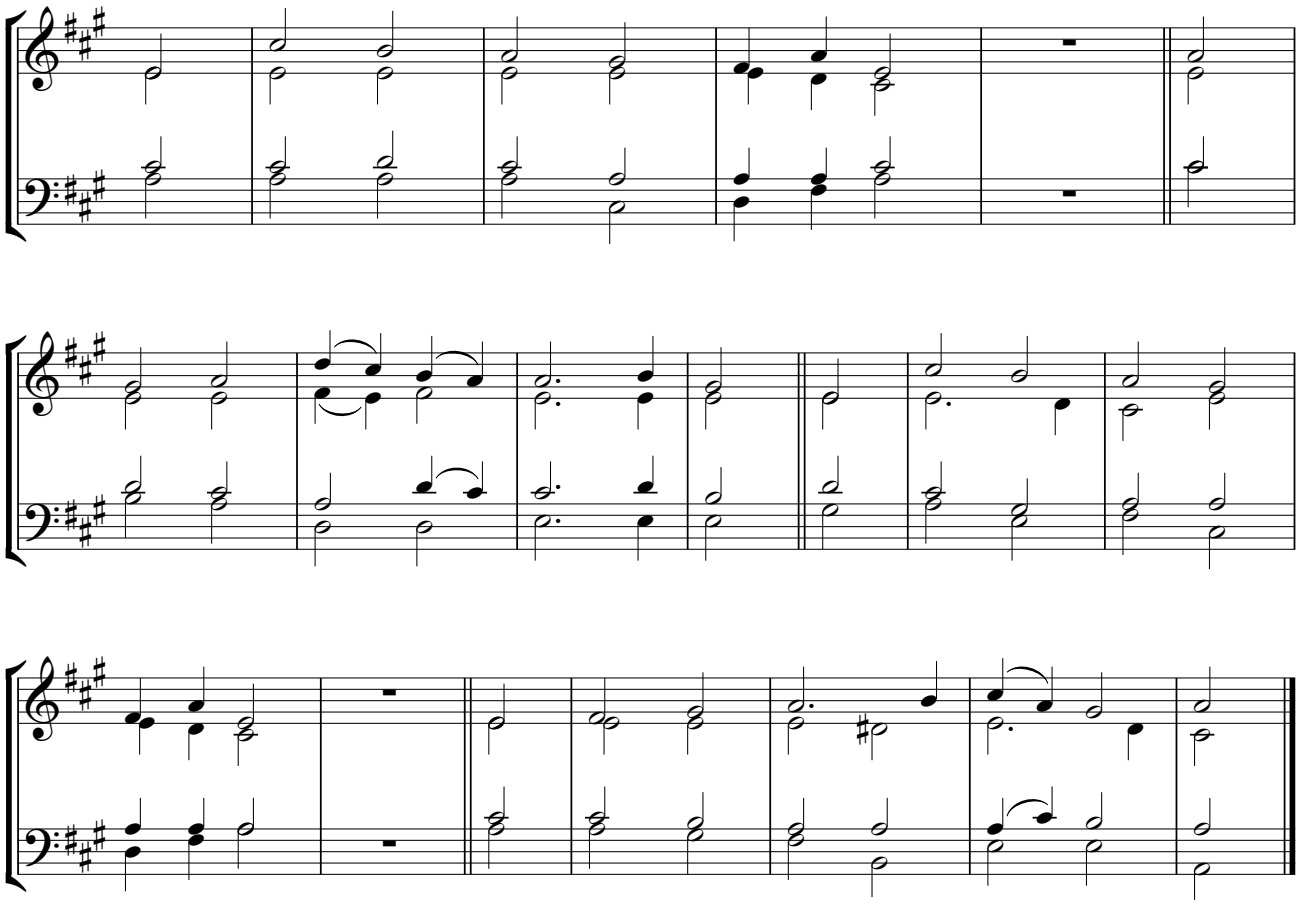
George S. Hodges

Hosti Herodes (LM) (‘Ancient Proper Melody’ arr. J.B.D.)

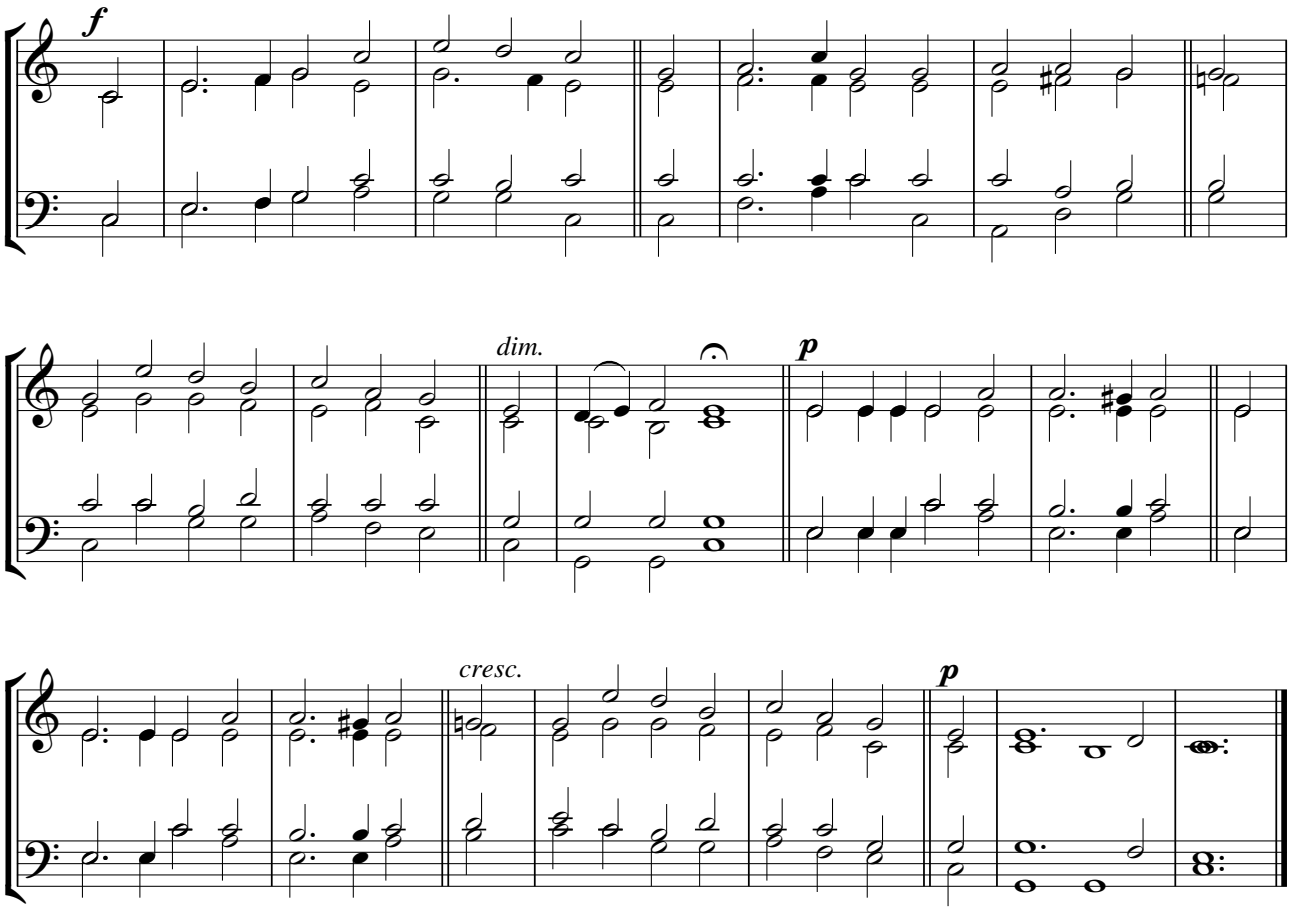
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.40

In vain doth Herod rage and fear,
When told Judea’s King is near.
He takes not earthly crowns away,
Who gives the crowns that ne’er decay.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

‘How bright the sun shines overhead’ (LM)

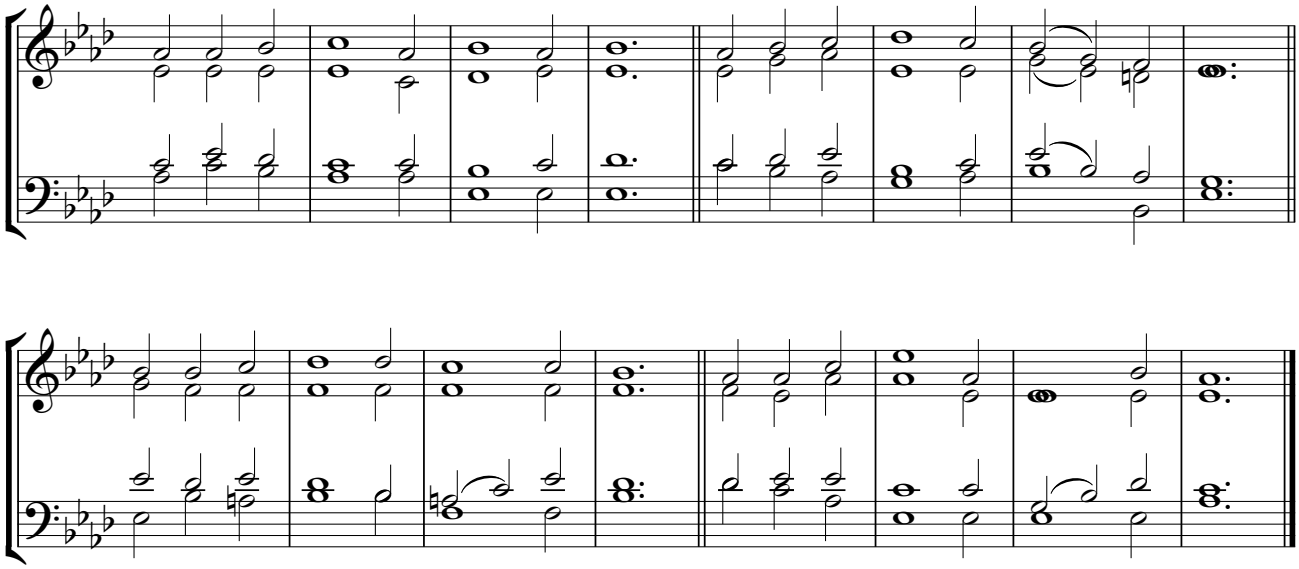
Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.5

How bright the sun shines overhead,
How beautiful the earth below,
How glorious is the God Who made
The sun to shine, the flowers to grow.

‘How glorious is our God’ (8884D)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.10

How glorious is our God Most High,
Who made the blue and lofty sky,
Yet on this earth He bends His eye,
In pitying love.
How shall a little infant bring,
The off’ring of its love, and sing
The praises of that Heav’nly King,
So far above?

‘How many things I read and hear’ (LM)

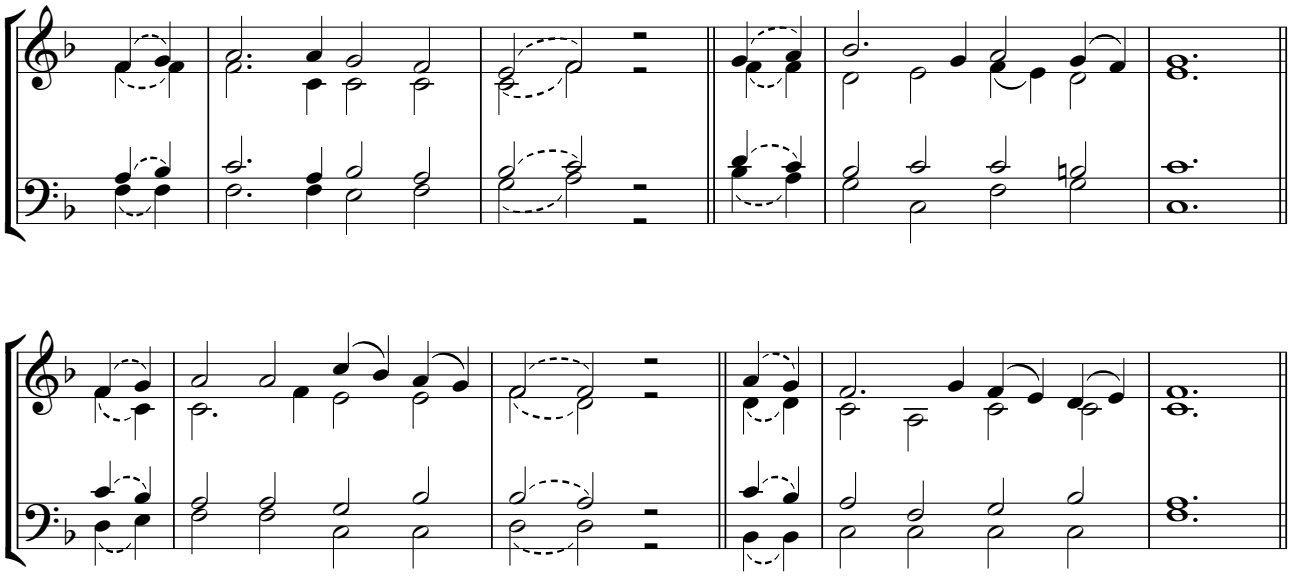
Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.7



How many things I read and hear,
About the God who lives above,
I know that He is always near,
And watches me where’re I move.

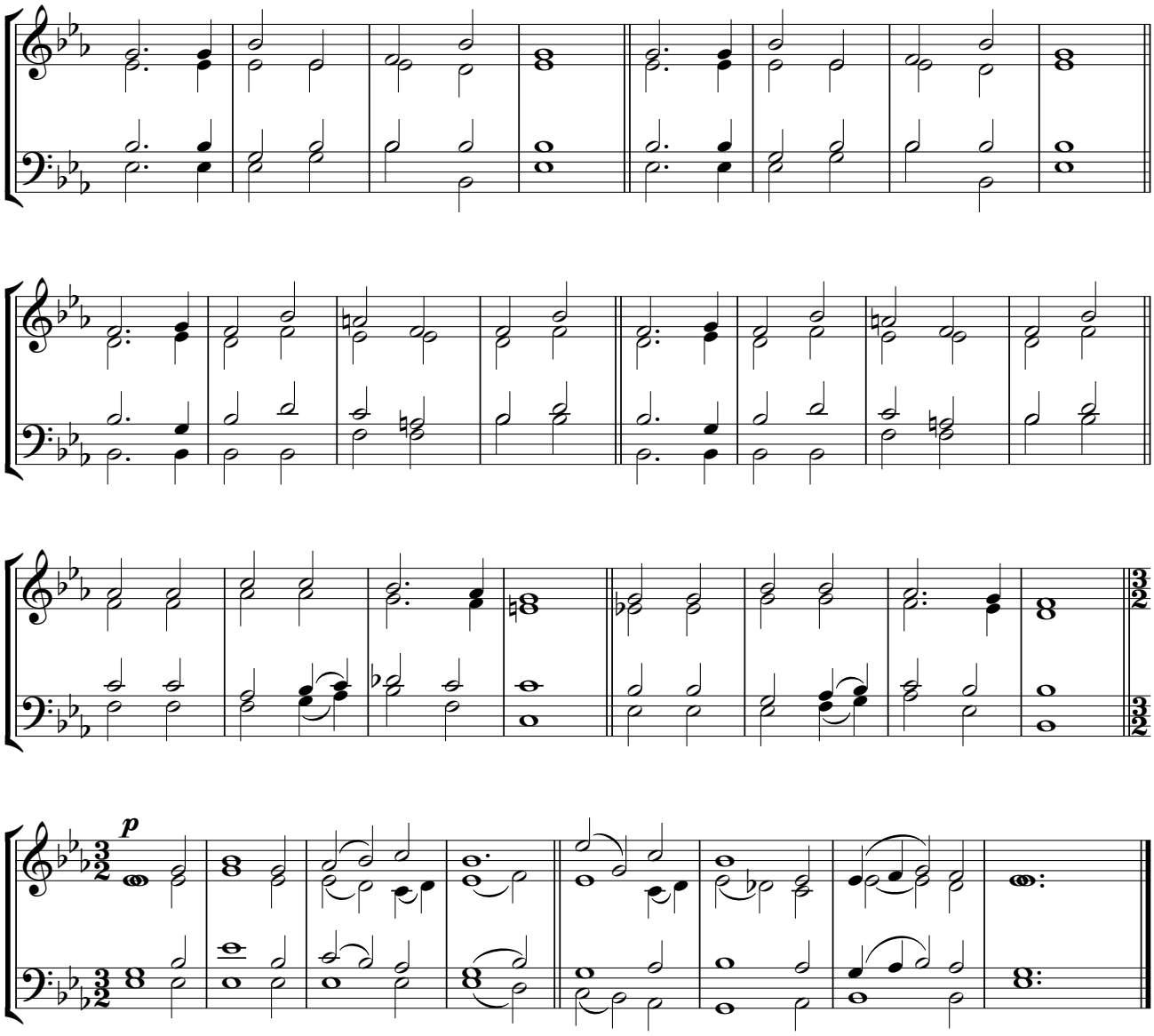
158

‘I have a Christian Name’ (Irregular)

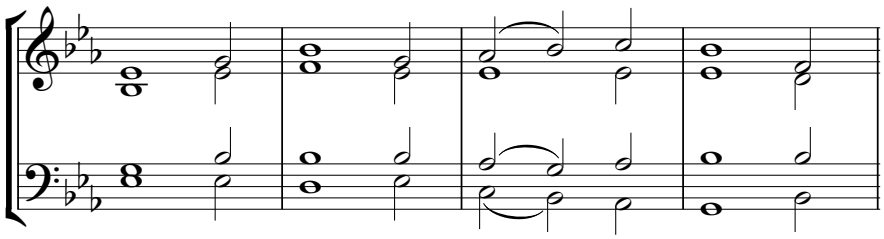
Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No. 6

I have a Christian name,
So I am a Christian now.
But when I first was born,
It was not always so.

‘I have seen the setting sun’ (77887777)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.18

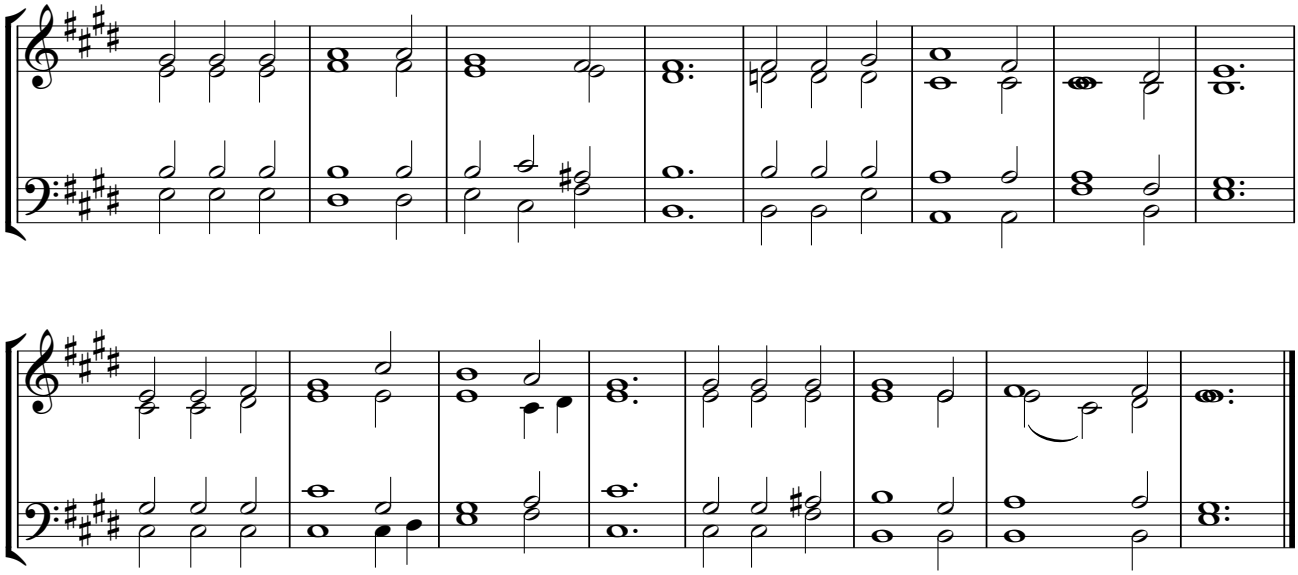
Other names:
EVENING HYMN

I have seen the setting sun,
And my daily work is done,
Up in heav’n the stars are peeping
And the tiny flowers are sleeping.
Darkness o’er the world is spread;
I may seek my little bed.
Jesus, from Thy throne above,
Watch Thy little child with love.

Compare bars 24-28 with bars 1-4 of QUEM PASTORES:



Ilkley (LM)

Non-original manuscript, c1874-5

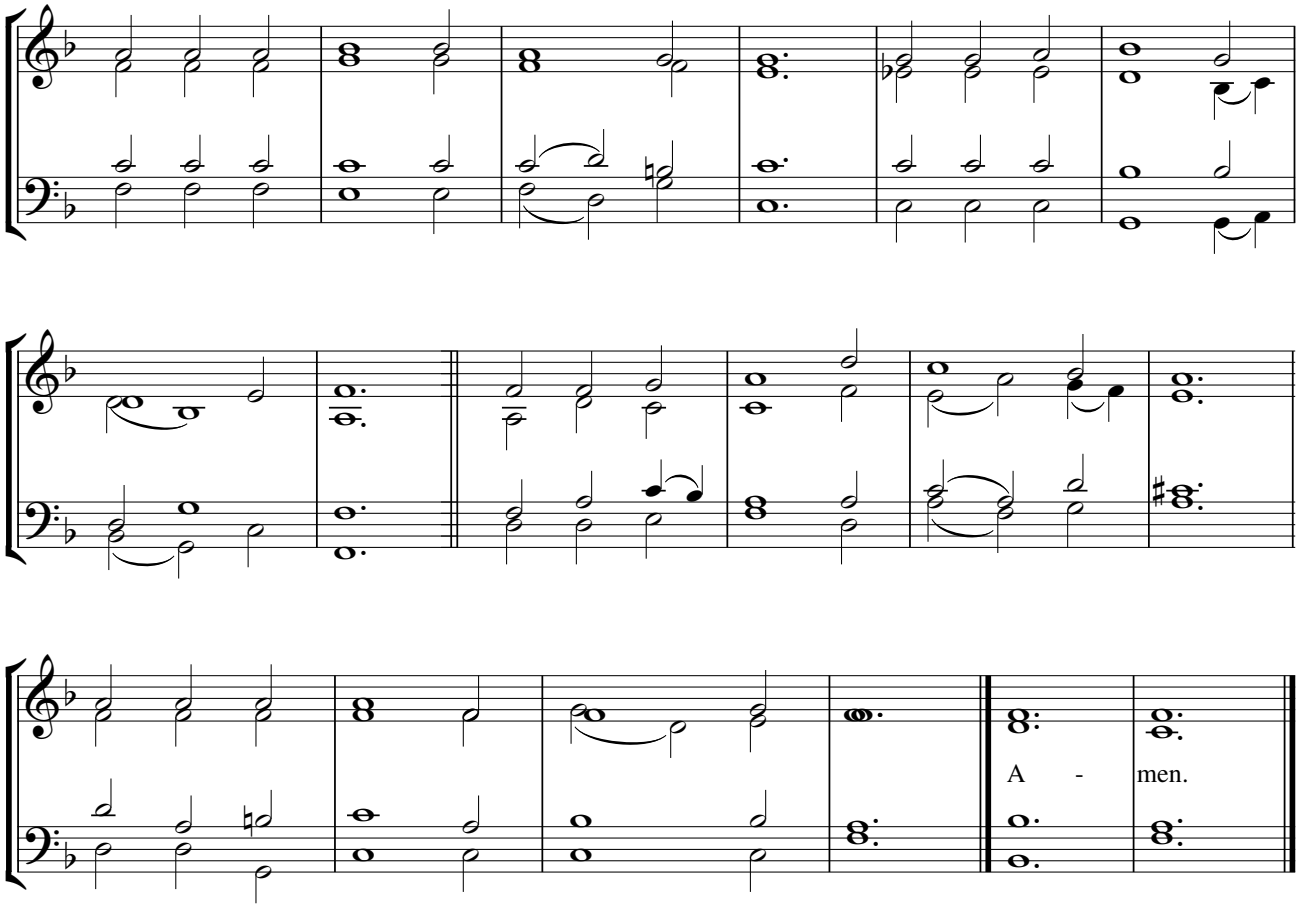
Other names:
[THERE IS A] CALM

Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near;
O may no earthborn cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes.

John Keble

Ilkley (LM) (second version)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes(1902) No. 12

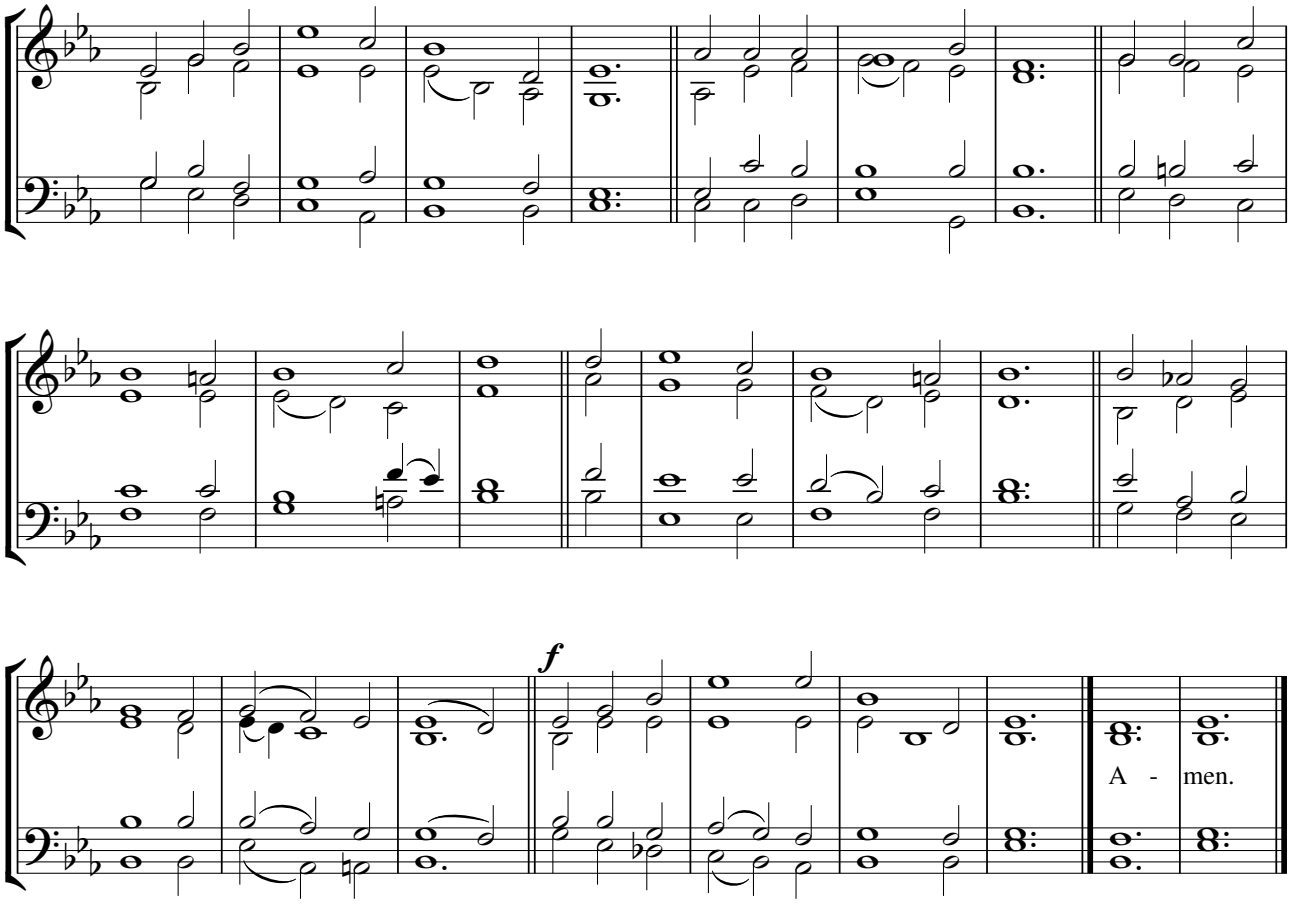
Other names:
[THERE IS A] CALM



The tunes in the 1902 Novello Edition having frequently been re-edited by E.O. Dykes without any note to that effect being supplied (see manuscript amendments and letters inserted into the pre-publication edition held in the Pratt-Green Collection in the University of Durham), it is not clear either what source was used for this version, or whether the soprano and alto parts in bar 15 are intentional or an engraver's error.

Illumination (868688)

The Holy Year (1865) No.35

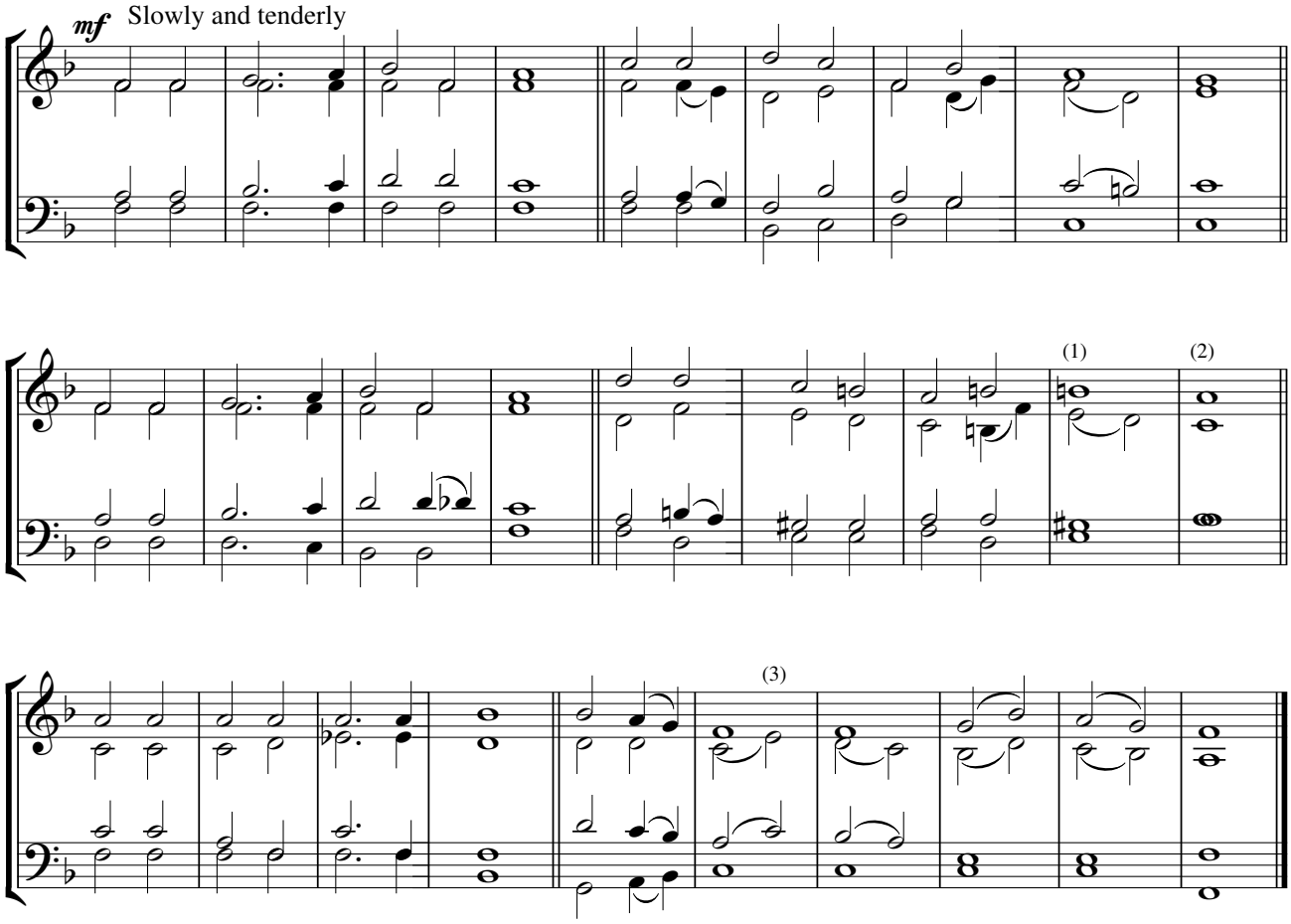


"Awake! awake!" the Apostle cries,
"And Christ shall give thee light,"
Your own ye are not, live to Him,
For His ye are by right ;
Bought by His precious life-blood's cost,
And temples of the Holy Ghost.

Christopher Wordsworth

In Memoriam MHD (787877)

Manuscript (1870) (Pratt Green Collection, Durham University, MS 17)

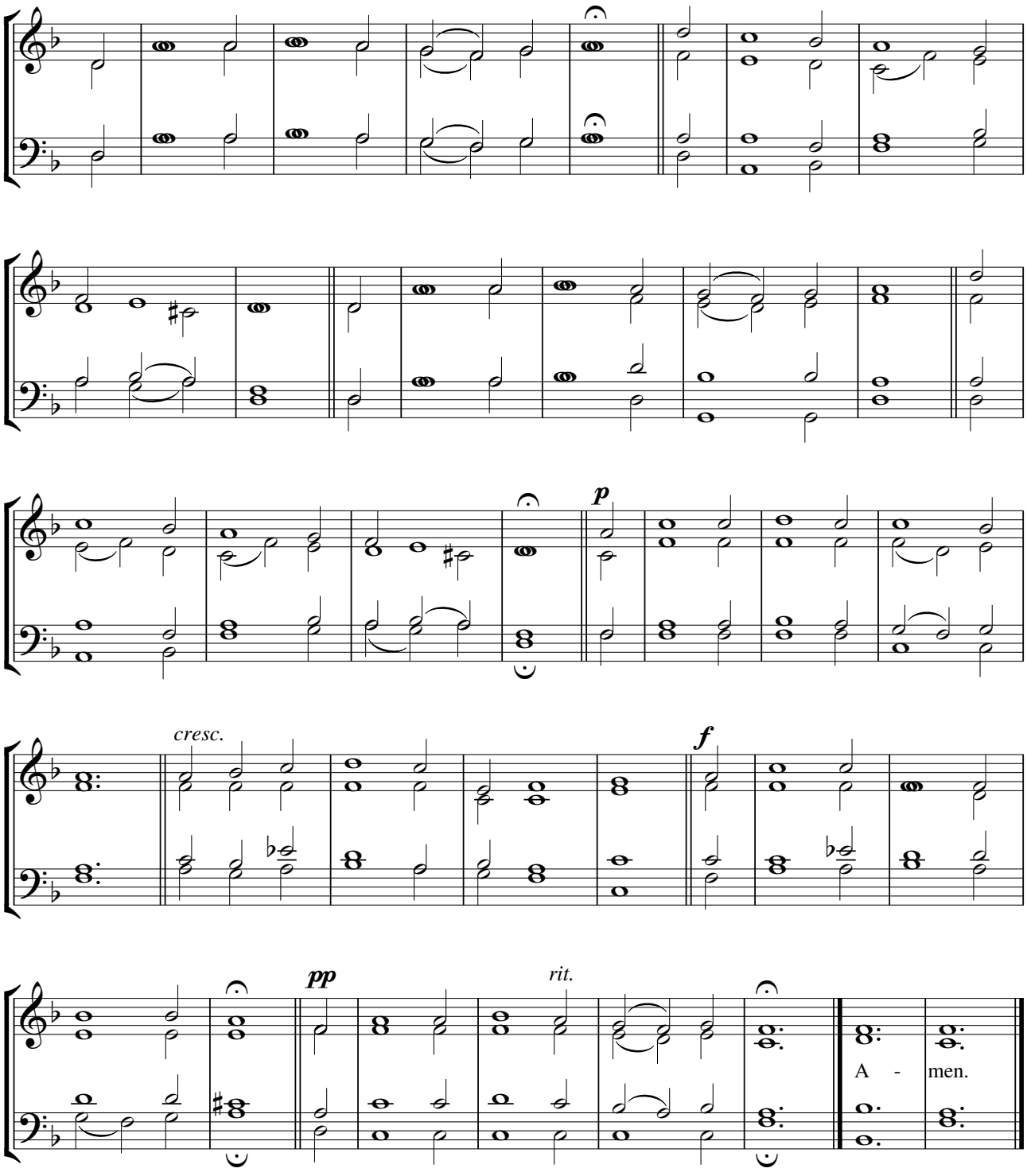


Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled
Now Thy little lamb's brief weeping;
Ah, how peaceful, pale and mild,
In its narrow bed 'tis sleeping,
And no sigh of anguish sore
Heaves that little bosom more.

Johann W. Meinhold

(1) The ms., in Dykes's hand, neglects to repeat the natural in the treble part
(2) The ms. shows a 'C' in the treble part, crossed out.
(3) The alto 'E' was inserted subsequently in a different colour ink.
Slurs have been made consistent between parts.

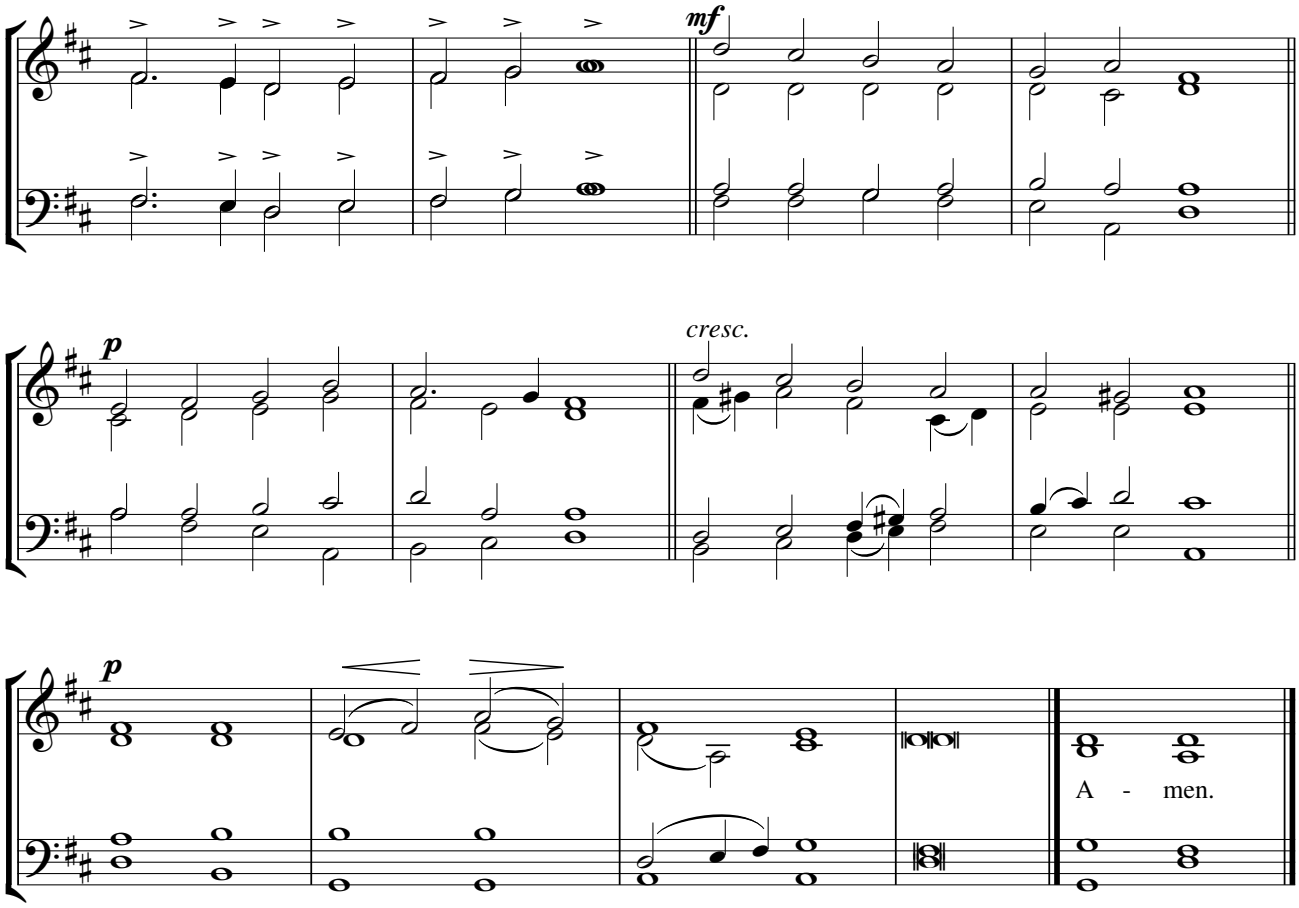
Innocents (DLM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.167

A hymn for martyrs sweetly sing;
For innocents your praises bring;
Of whom in tearrs was earth bereaved,
Whom heaven with songs of joy received:
Whose Angels see the Father's face,
World without end, and hymn His grace,
And, while they praise their glorious King,
A hymn for martyrs sweetly sing

Tr. John Mason Neale

In Nomine Domini (77777)

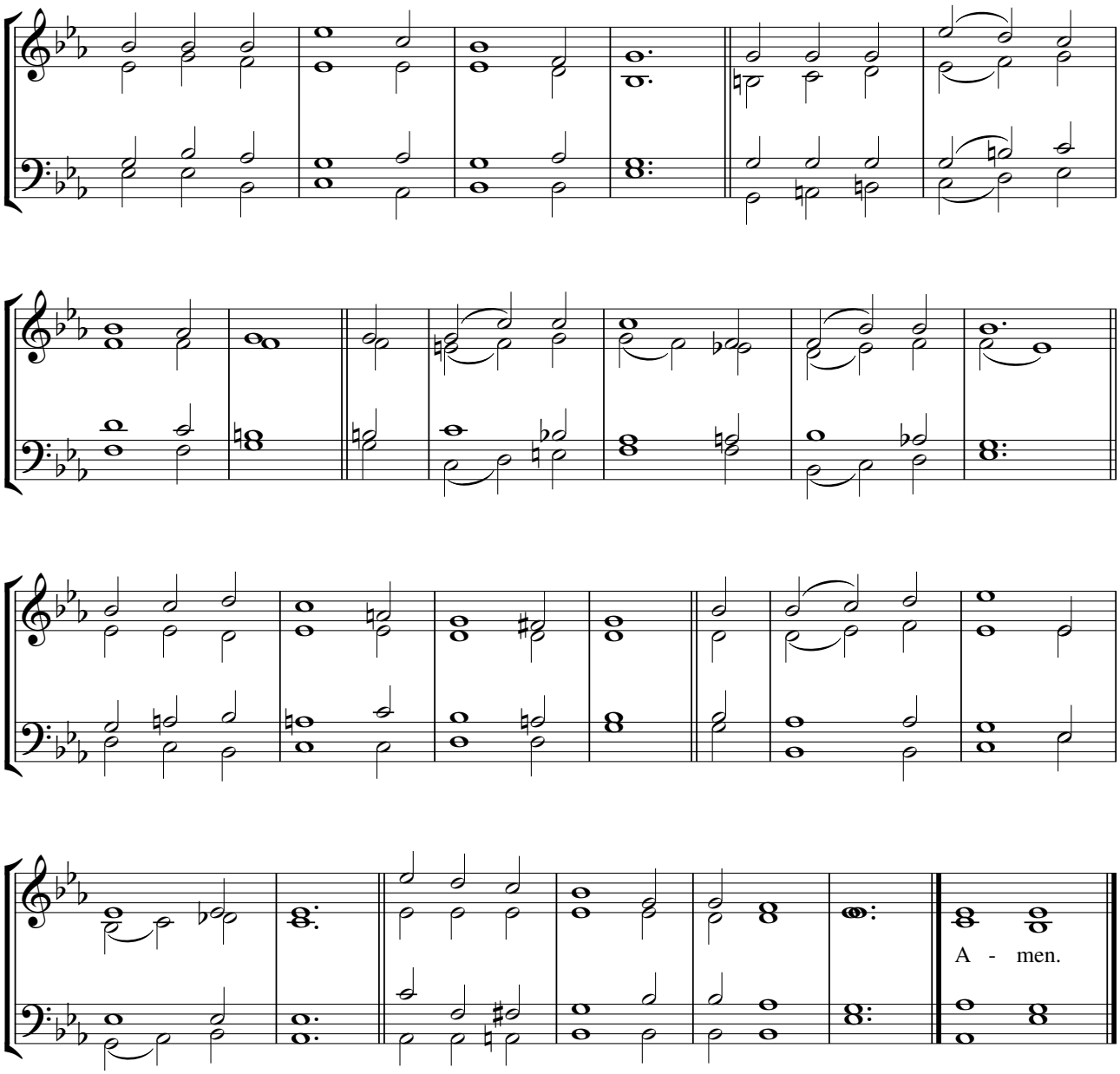
The People's Hymnal (1870) No.137

Other Names:
ONWARD IN GOD'S NAME

Onward in God's Name we wend,
Praying Him His grace to lend;
For Thine aid we sue to Thee,
O Thou blessèd Trinity.
Lord, have mercy as we pray.

Trans. from the German
by R.F. Littledale

166

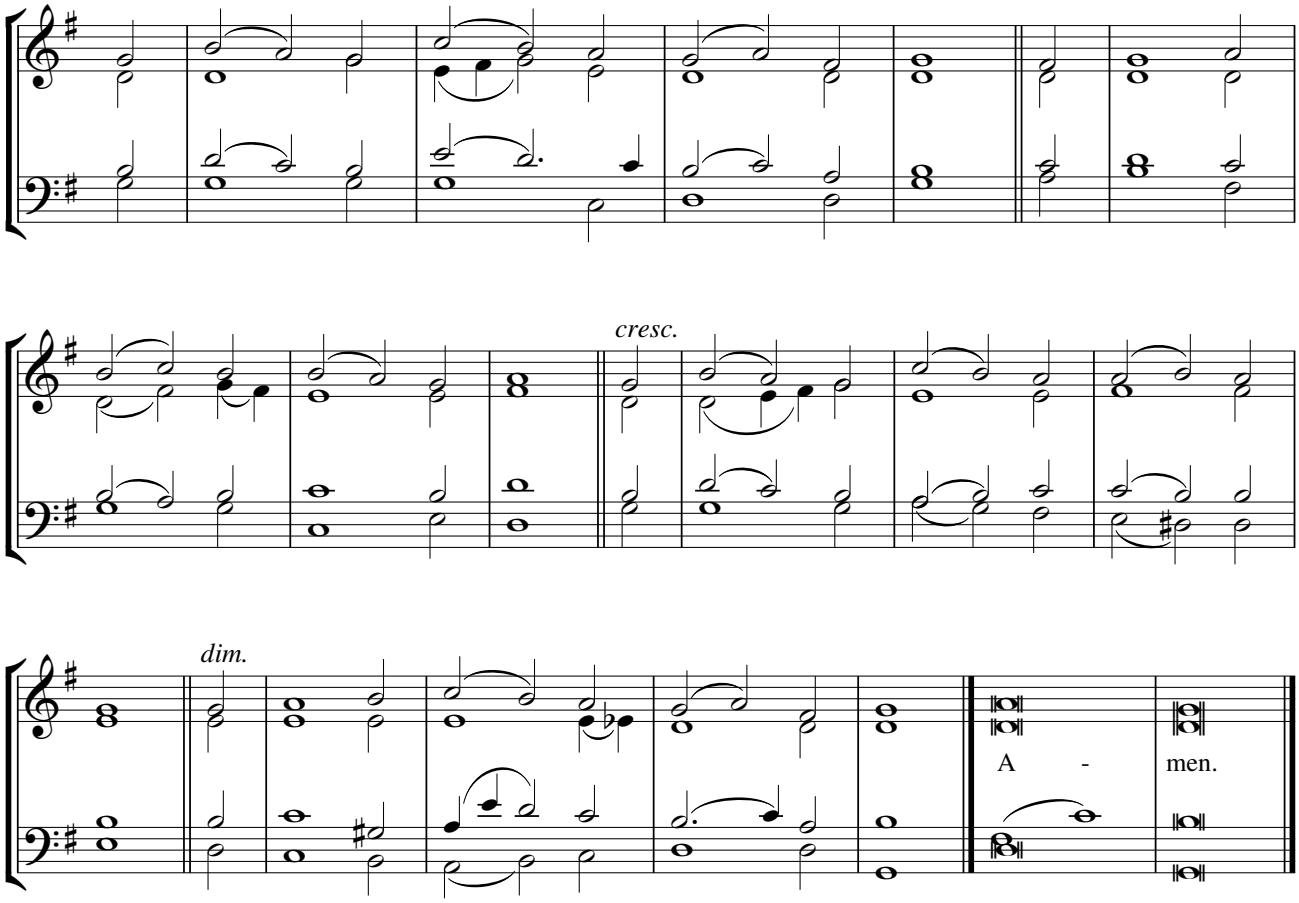
In Tenebris Lumen (888888)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.28

Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go;
Thy Word into our minds instil,
And make our lukewarm hearts to glow
With lowly love and fervent will.
Through life's long day and death's dark night,
O gentle Jesus, be our Light.

Frederick Faber

Intercession (i) (8888) (arr. by J.B.D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.357 (1)

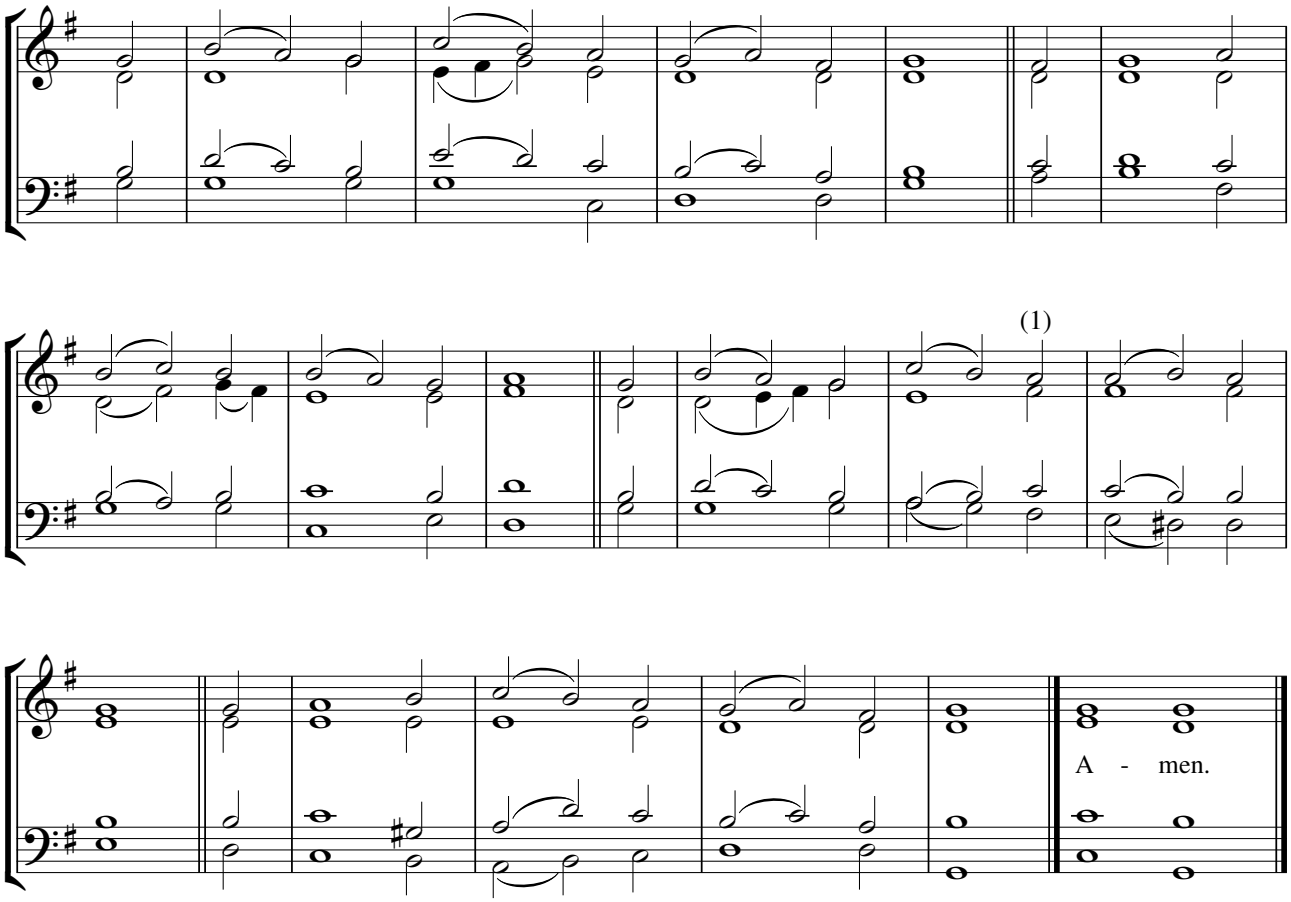


Almighty God, Whose only Son
O'er sin and death, the triumph won,
And ever lives to intercede
For souls who Thy sweet mercy need.
H.W. Baker

(1) Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874. This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

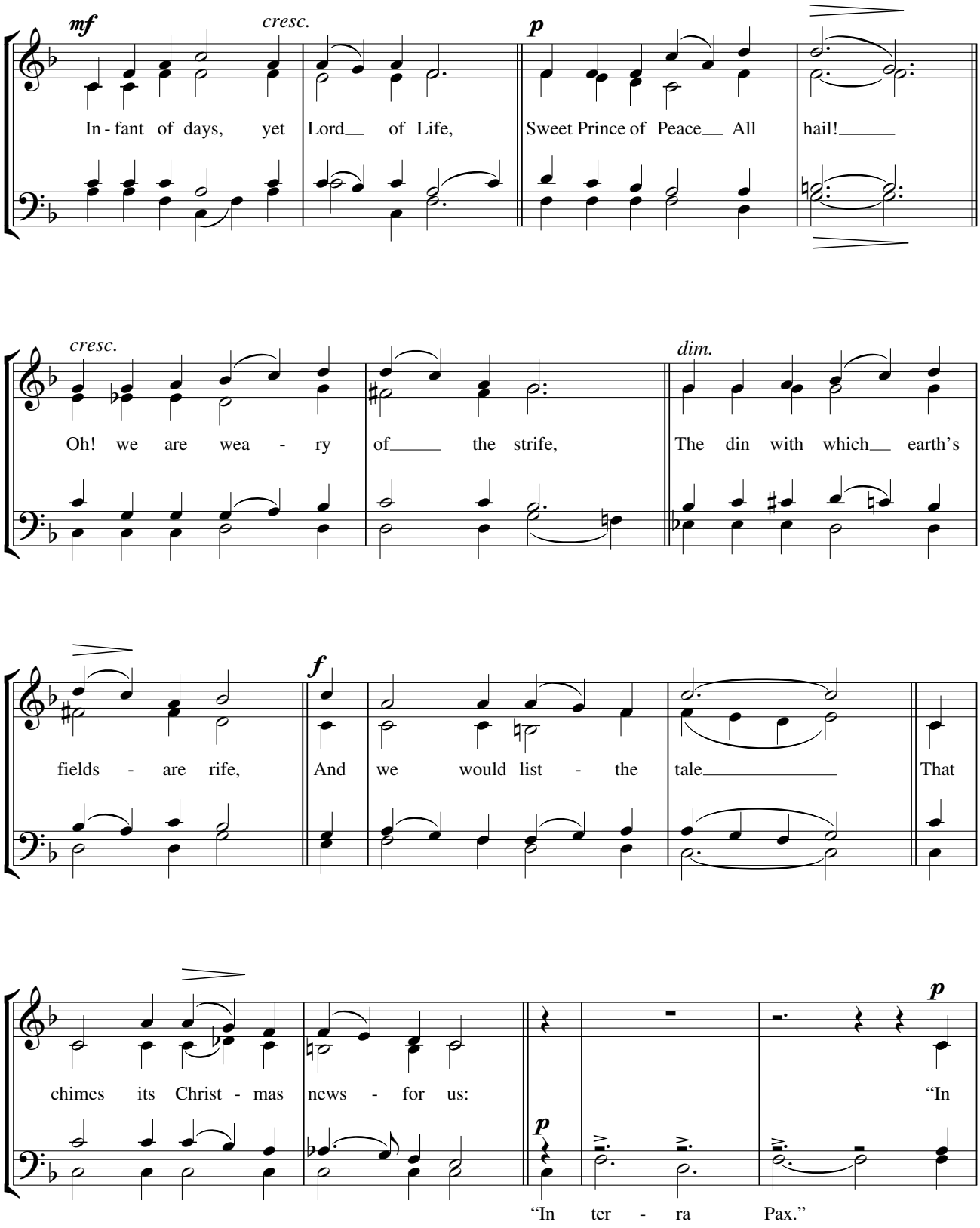
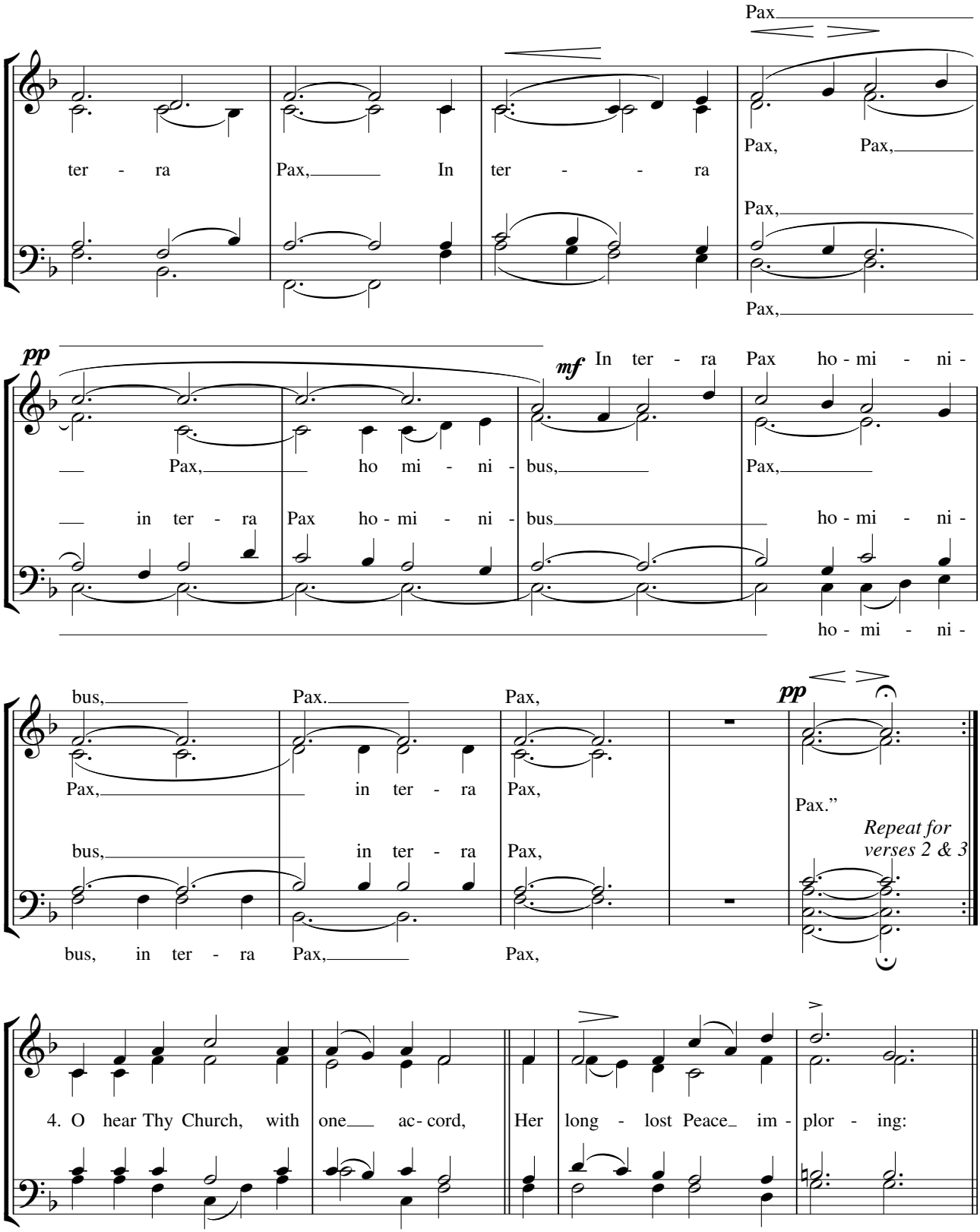
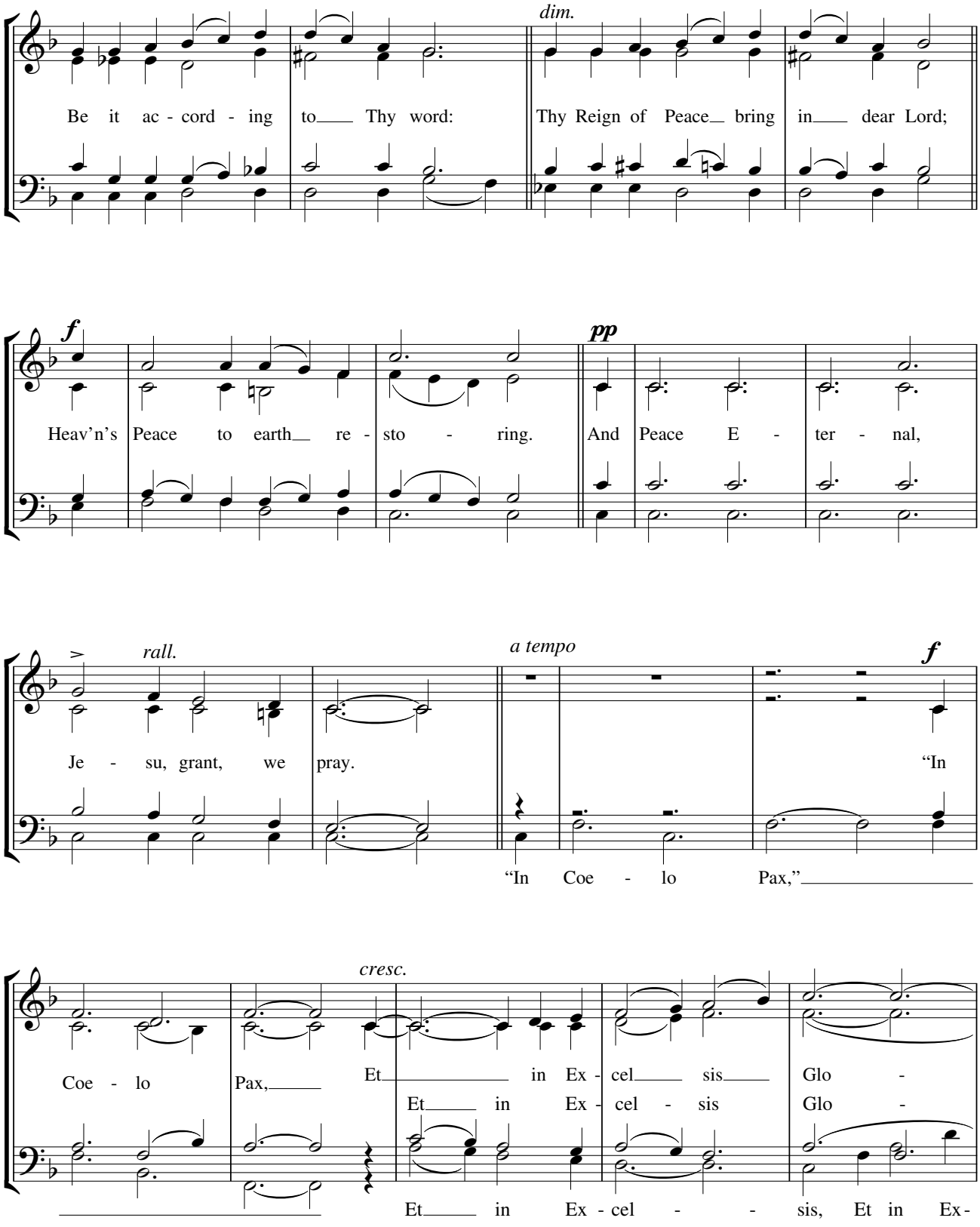
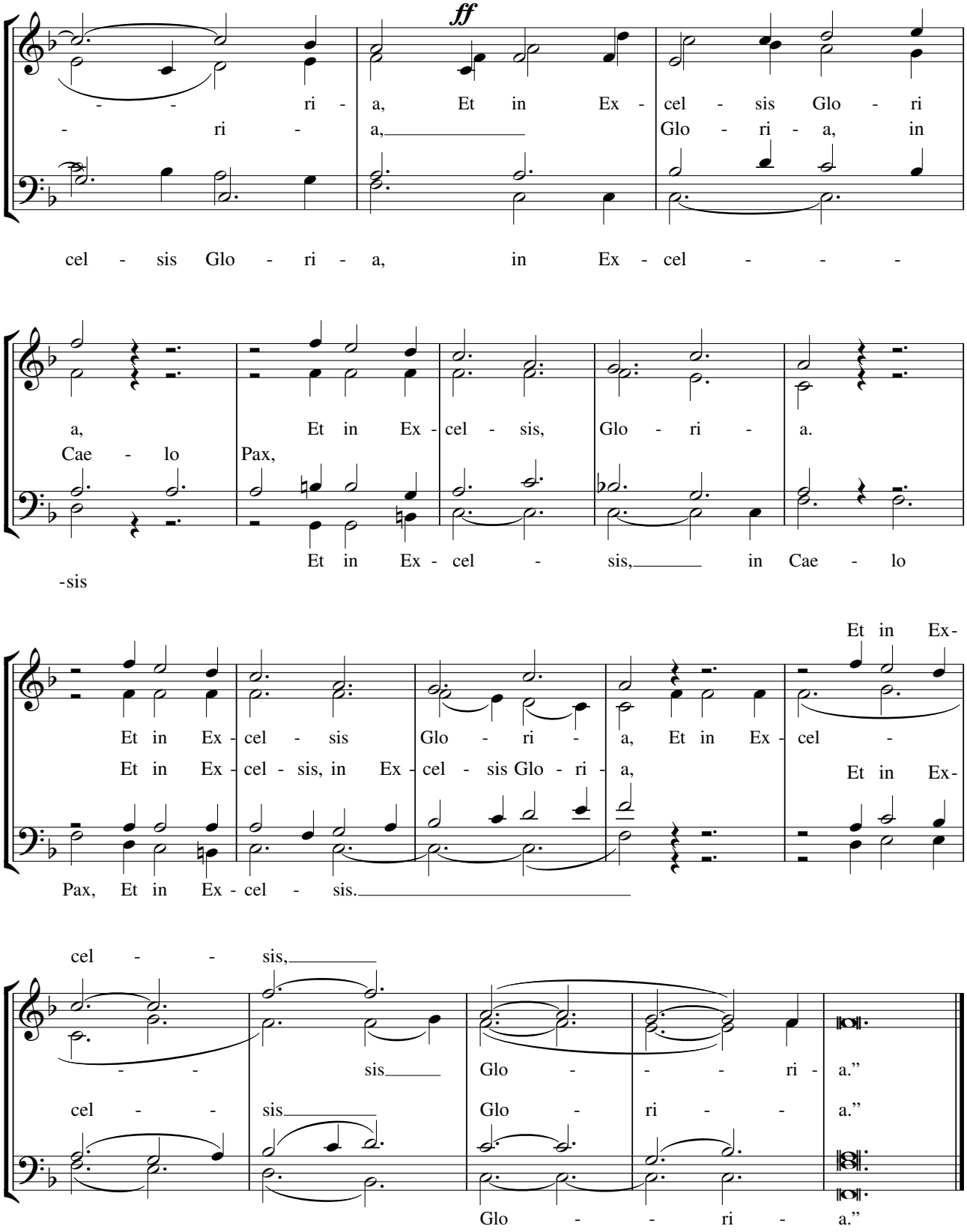
Intercession (ii) (8888) (arr. by J.B.D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.363

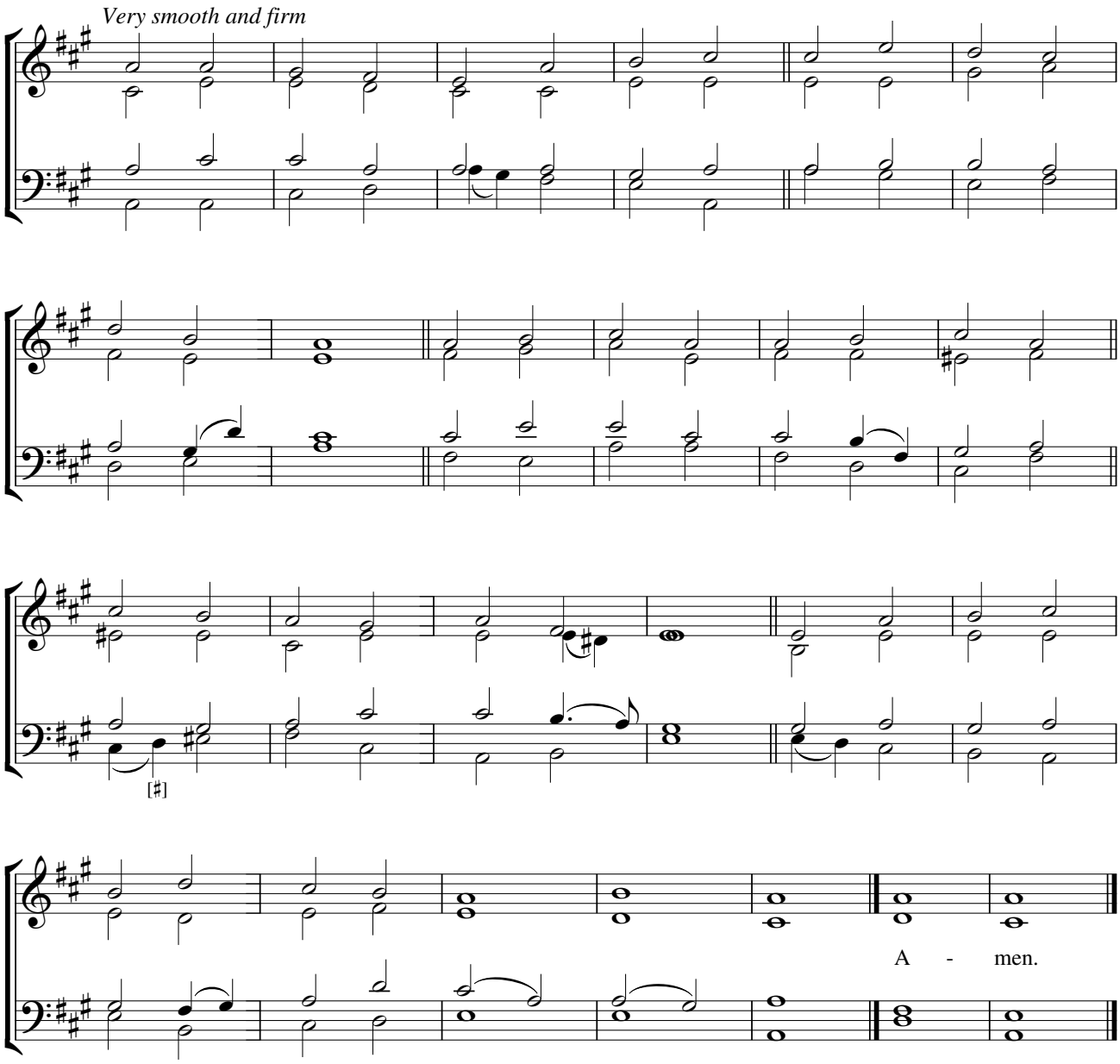


(1) Starting on this beat, the 1904 edition of HA&M has Alto minims D♯ E F♯.
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

In Terra Pax (Irregular)

Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.38

Pax
ter - ra Pax, In ter - - ra
Pax, Pax,
Pax,
Pax,
pp
mf In ter - ra Pax ho - mi - ni -
Pax, ho mi - ni - bus, Pax,
in ter - ra Pax ho - mi - ni - bus ho - mi - ni -
ho - mi - ni -
bus, Pax. Pax,
pp
Pax, in ter - ra Pax,
Pax."
Repeat for verses 2 & 3
bus, in ter - ra Pax,
bus, in ter - ra Pax, Pax,
4. O hear Thy Church, with one ac - cord, Her long - lost Peace im - plor - ing:

dim.
Be it ac - cord - ing to Thy word:
Thy Reign of Peace bring in dear Lord;
f
Heav'n's Peace to earth re - sto - ring.
pp
And Peace E - ter - nal,
rall.
a tempo
f
Je - su, grant, we pray.
"In Coe - lo Pax,"
"In
cresc.
Coe - lo Pax,
Et in Ex - cel sis Glo -
Et in Ex - cel - sis Glo -
Et in Ex - cel - - sis, Et in Ex -

ff
- - ri - a, Et in Ex - cel - sis Glo - ri
- ri - a, Glo - ri - a, in
cel - sis Glo - ri - a, in Ex - cel - - -
a, Et in Ex - cel - sis, Glo - ri - a.
Cae - lo Pax,
Et in Ex - cel - sis, in Cae - lo
-sis
Et in Ex-
Et in Ex - cel - sis Glo - ri - a, Et in Ex - cel -
Et in Ex - cel - sis, in Ex - cel - sis Glo - ri - a, Et in Ex-
Pax, Et in Ex - cel - sis.
cel - - sis,
- - sis Glo - - - ri - a.”
cel - - sis Glo - ri - - a.”
Glo - - ri - a.”

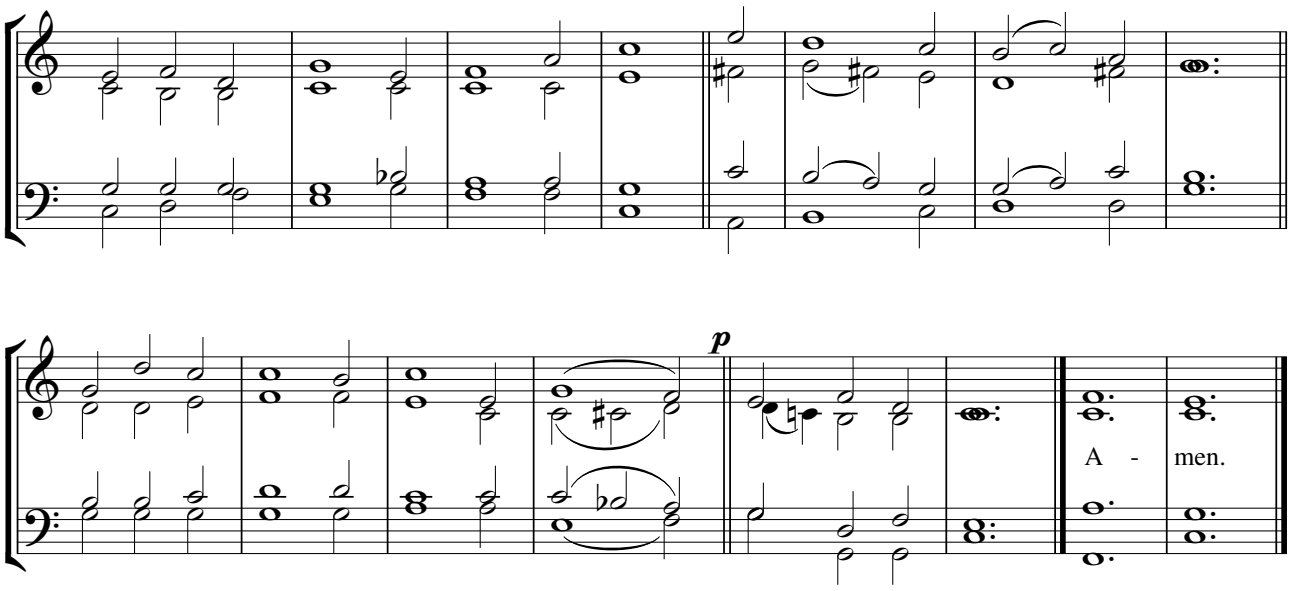
‘In Thy name, O God, assembling’ (878747)

Biden’s Processional Hymns (1872) page 18

In Thy name, O Lord, assembling,
We, Thy people, now draw near;
Teach us to rejoice with trembling,
Speak, and let Thy servants hear;
Hear with meekness,
Hear Thy Word with godly fear.

The inconsistency between the title of the tune and the first line of the first verse is present in Biden.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

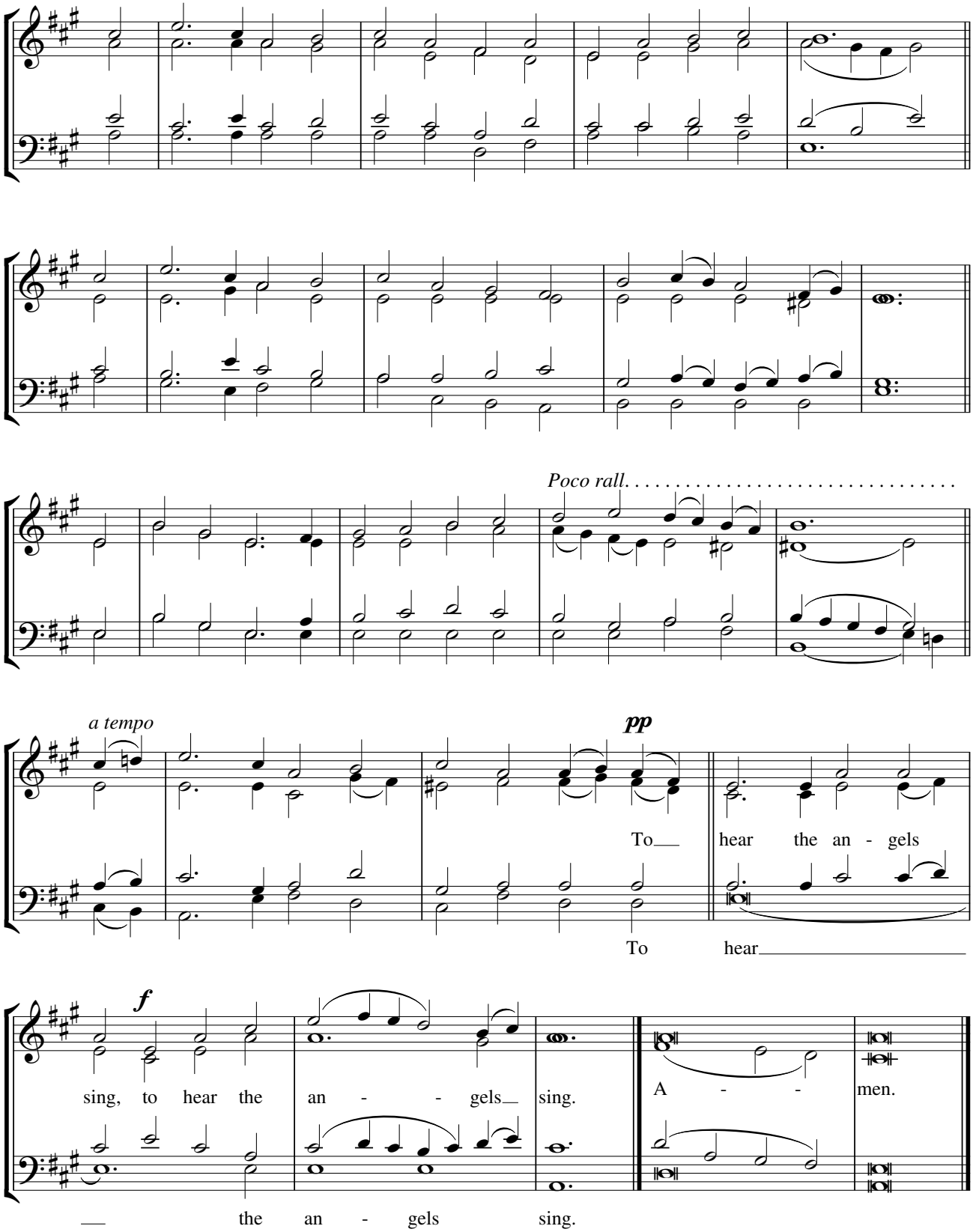
Irene (8684)

Hymnal Companion (1870) No.327

Rest in the Lord-from harps above
The music seems to thrill-
Rest in His everlasting love,
Rest and be still.

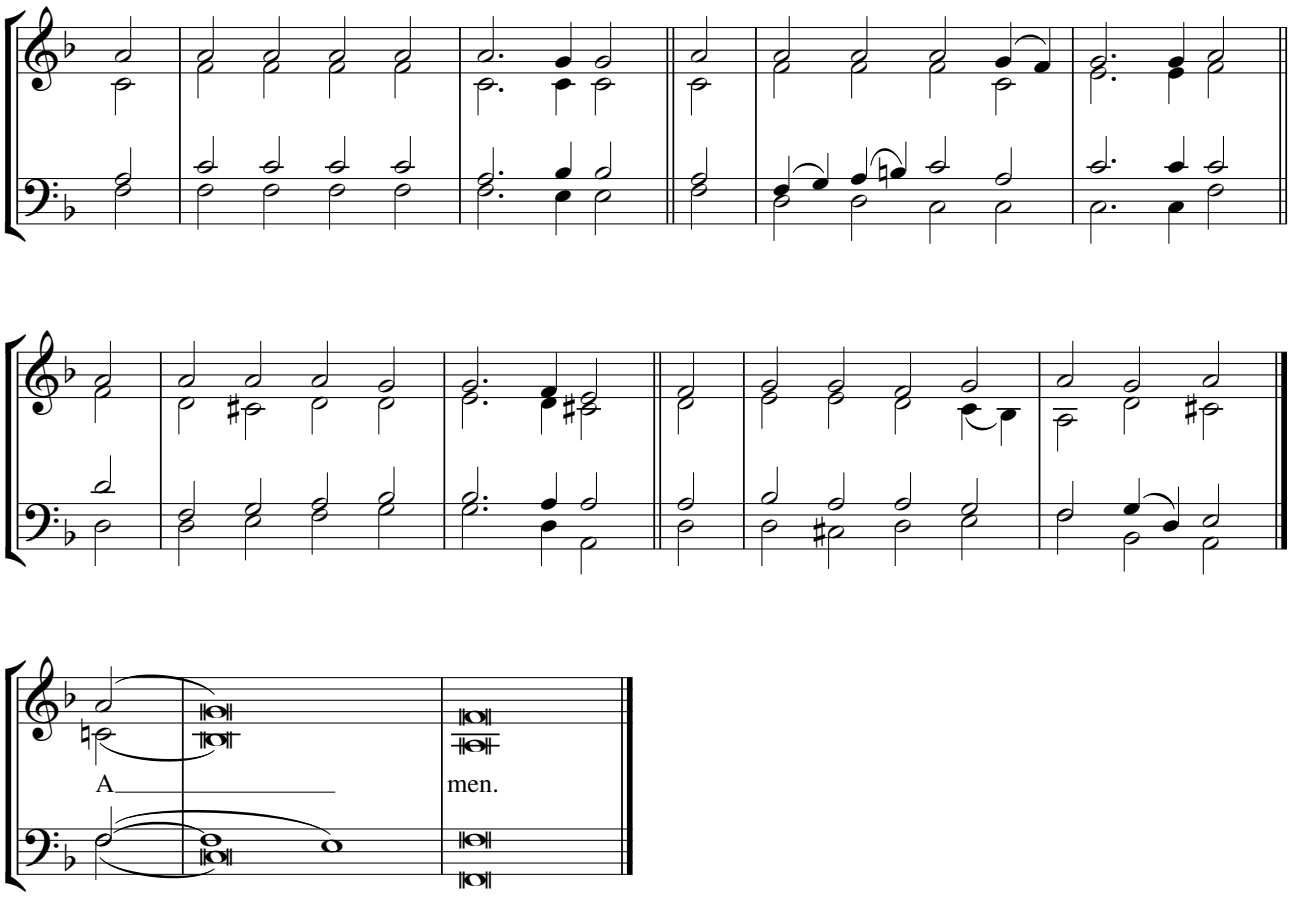
E.H. Bickersteth

‘It Came Upon a Midnight Clear’ (8686D)

The Children’s Hymnal (1877) No. 227

Other names:
PRINCE OF PEACE
SEARS
THE HEAVENLY SONG

176

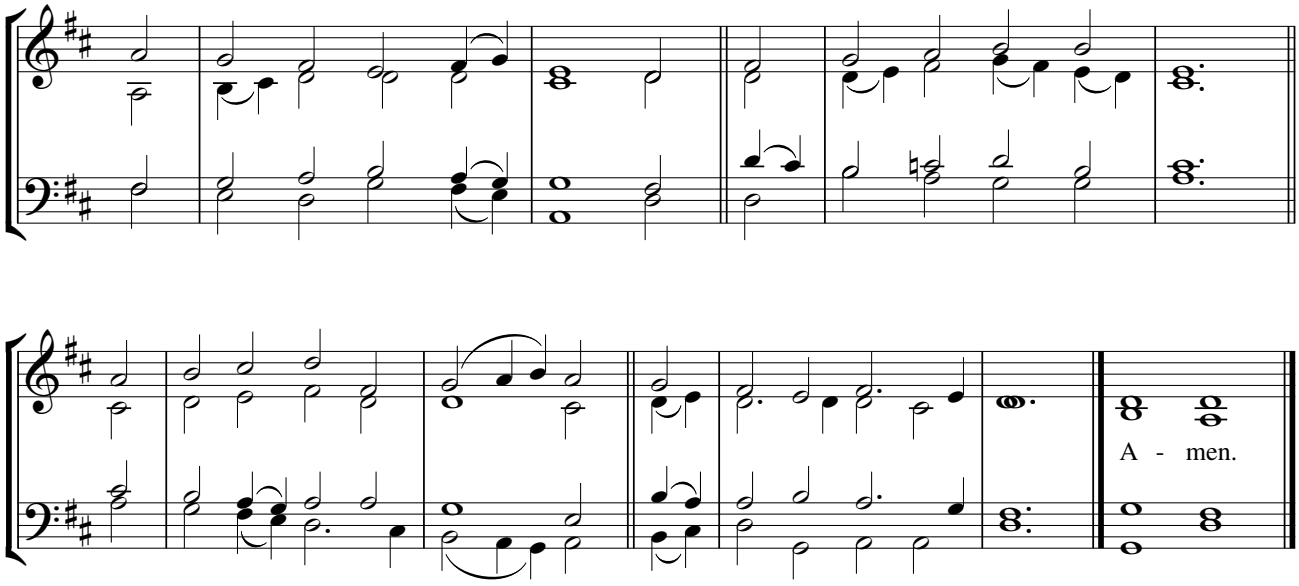
Jam Lucis (LM) (‘Ancient Carthusian melody’, arr. J.B.D.)

A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.38

God of our life, to Thee we call,
Afflicted at Thy feet we fall:
When the great water-floods prevail,
Leave not our trembling hearts to fail.

William Cowper

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

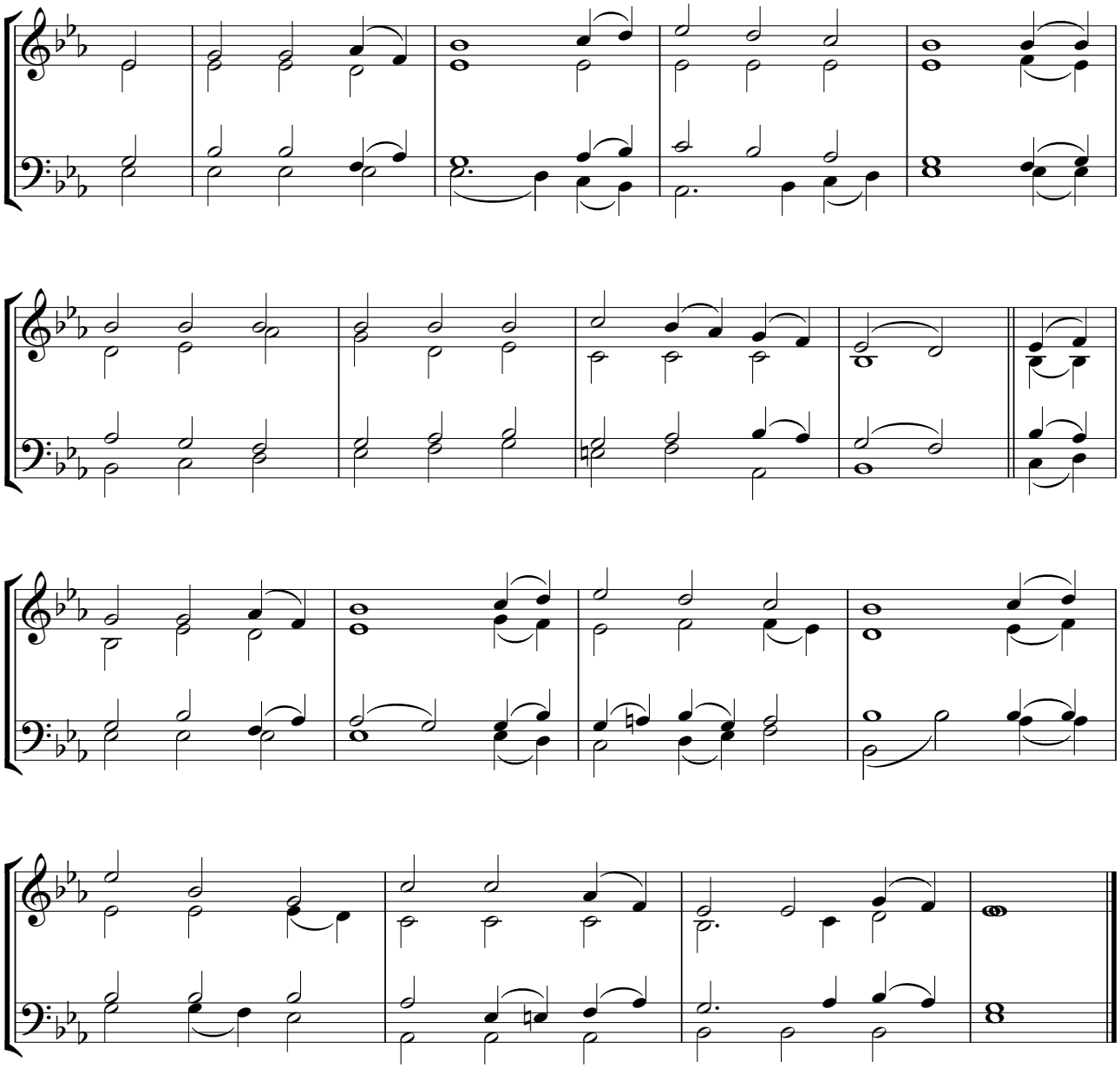
Jerusalem (7676)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.150

Jerusalem the golden,
With milk and honey blest,
Beneath thy contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppressed.

Bernard of Morlaix,
trans. from the Latin
by John Mason Neale

178

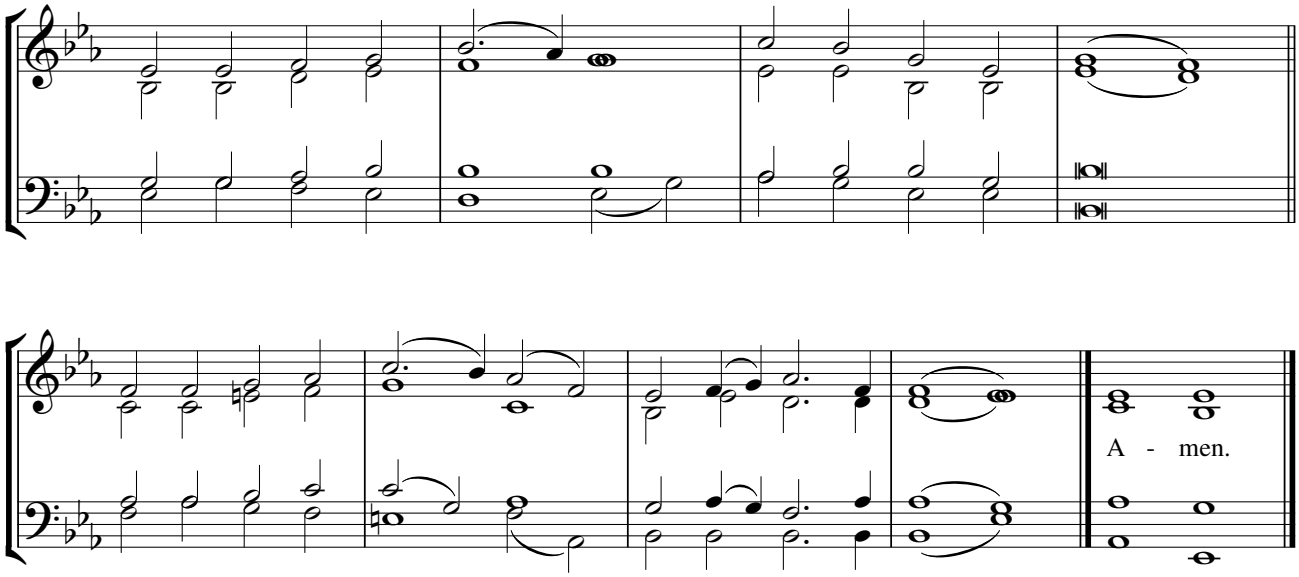
Jesmond (11.12.11.12)

Methodist Sunday-school Hymn and Tune-Book (1879) No.279

My God, I am Thine, what a comfort divine,
What a blessing to know that my Jesus is mine!
In the heavenly Lamb thrice happy I am,
And my heart it doth dance at the sound of His Name.

Charles Wesley

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

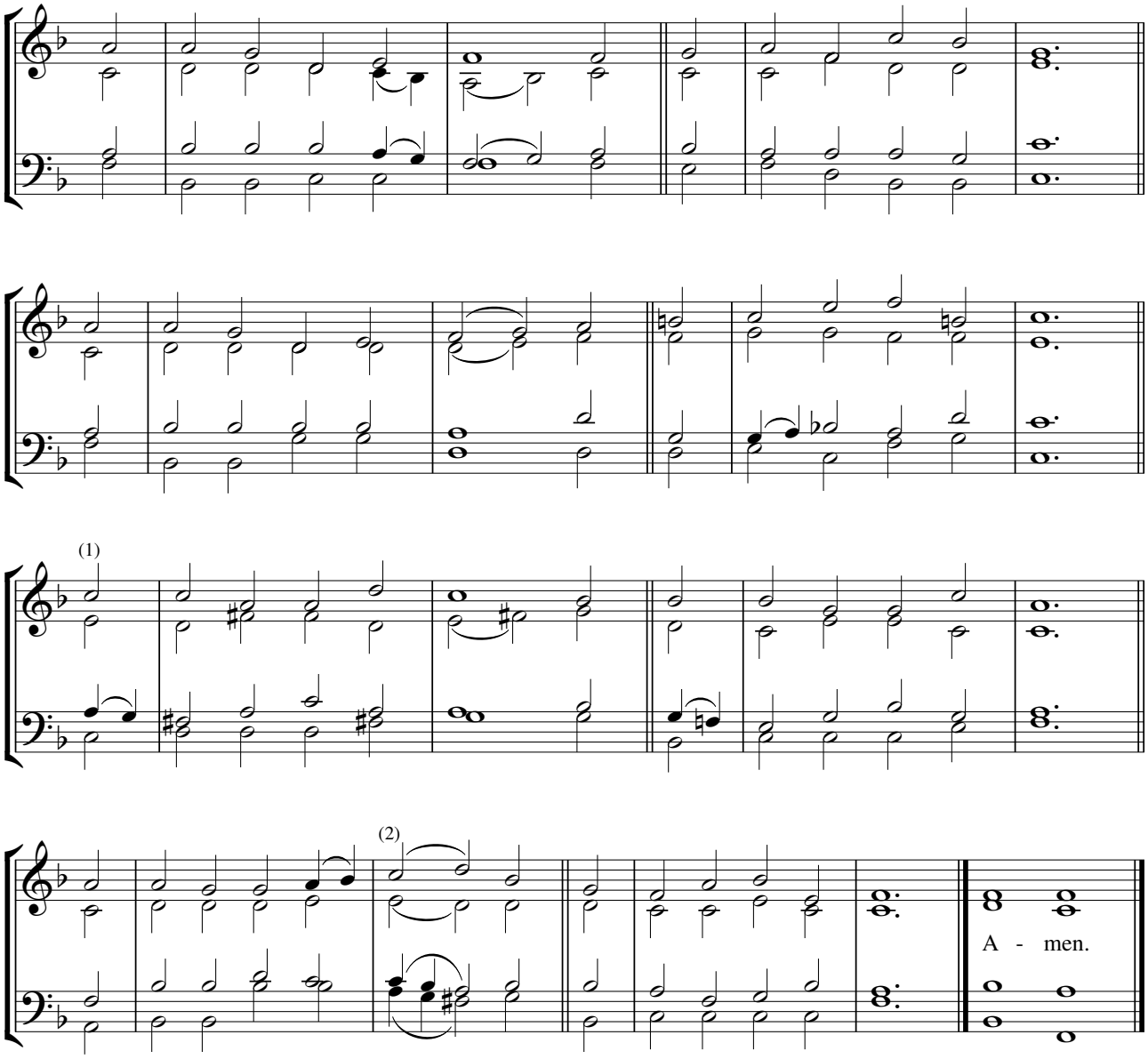
‘Jesu, Gentlest Saviour’ (6565)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.193

Jesu, gentlest Saviour,
Thou art in us now,
Fill us with Thy Goodness,
Till our hearts o’erflow.

F.W. Faber

180

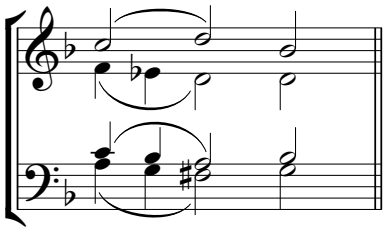
Jesu Magister Bone (7676D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.527

O Jesus, I have promised
To serve Thee to the end;
Be Thou forever near me,
My Master and my Friend;
I shall not fear the battle
If Thou art by my side,
Nor wander from the pathway
If Thou wilt be my Guide.

John E. Bode

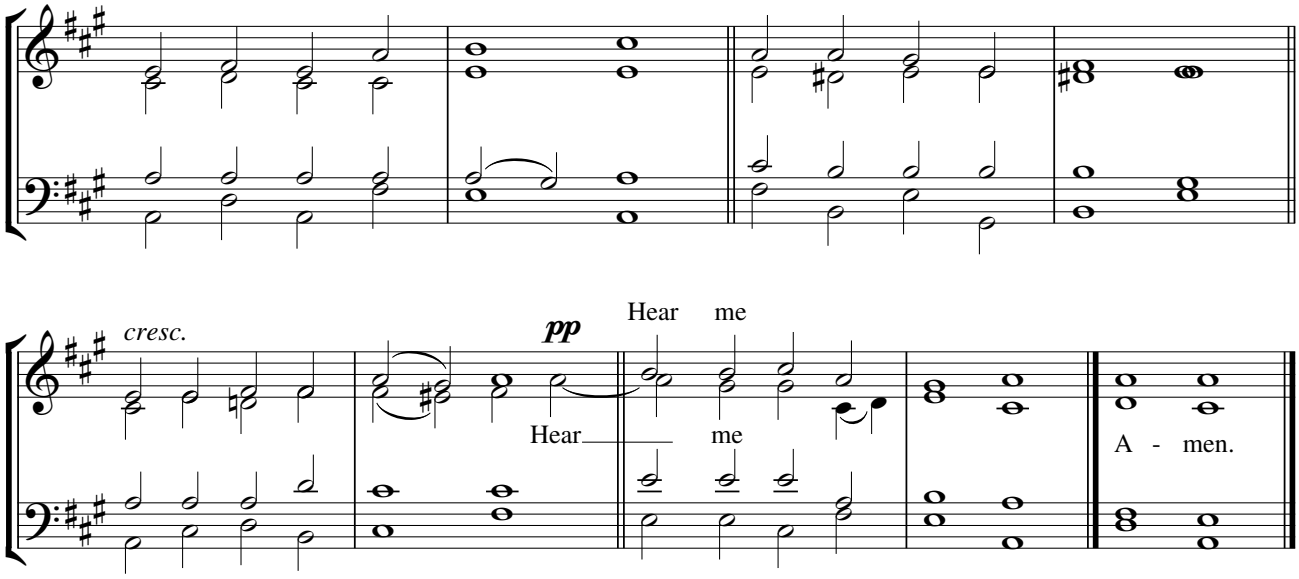
(1) The 1902 Novello Edition has alto E♭

(2) The same edition is harmonised thus:



‘Jesu, Meek and Lowly’ (6666)

Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.130

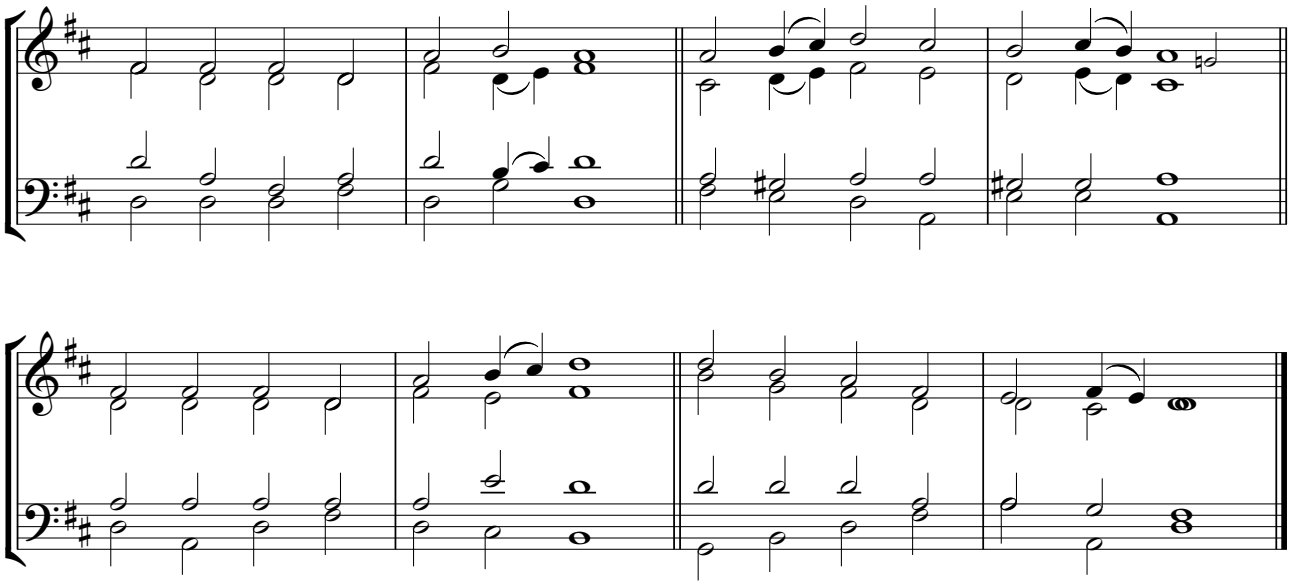


Jesu, meek and lowly,
Saviour, pure and holy,
On Thy love relying
Hear me humbly crying.

H. Collins

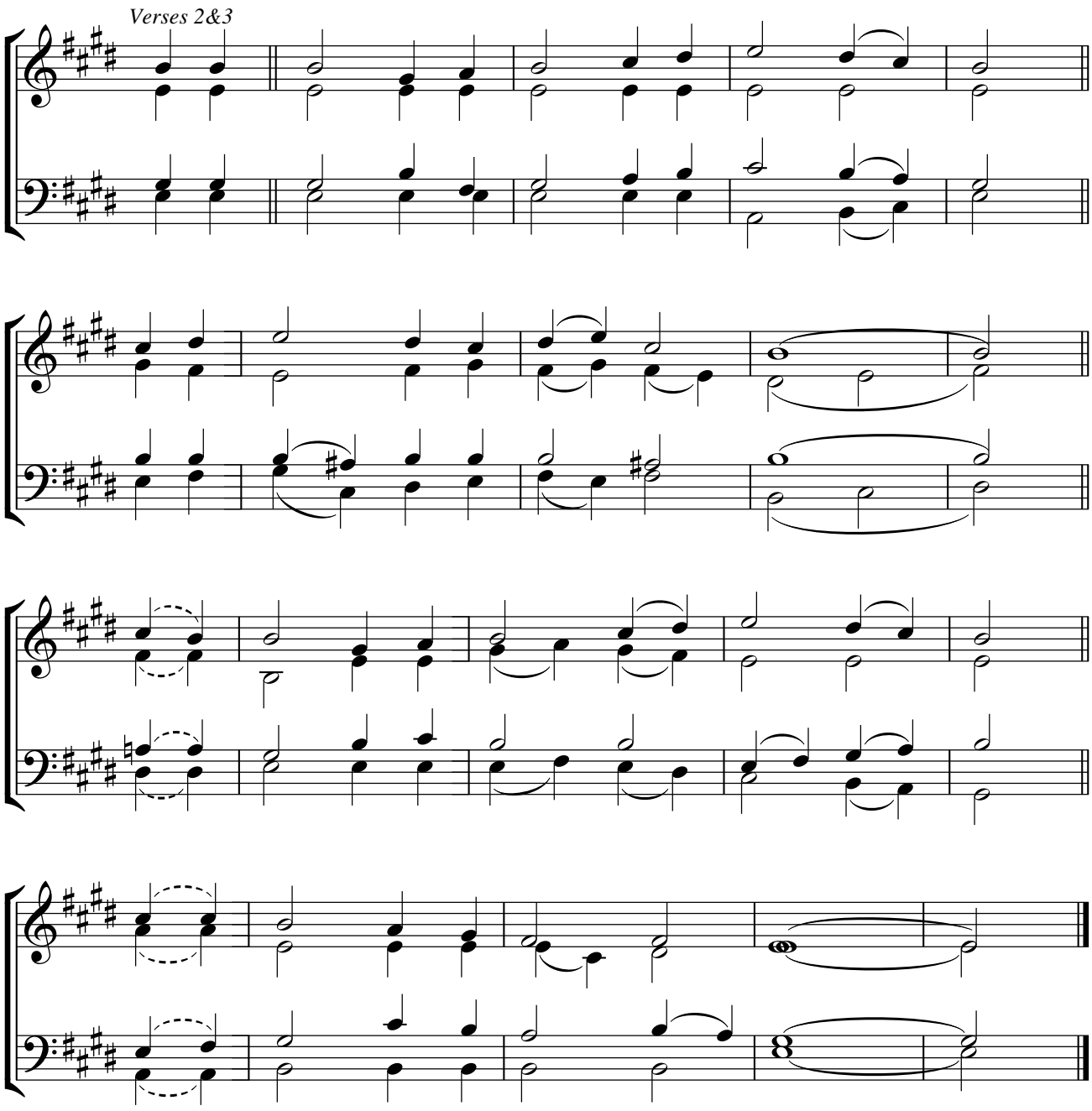
‘Jesus, Holy, Undefiled’ (7777)

Accompanying Tunes for the Hymns for Infant Children (1862) No.4

Other names:
FERRIER

Jesus, holy, undefiled,
Listen to a little child,
Thou hast sent the glorious light,
Chasing far the silent light.

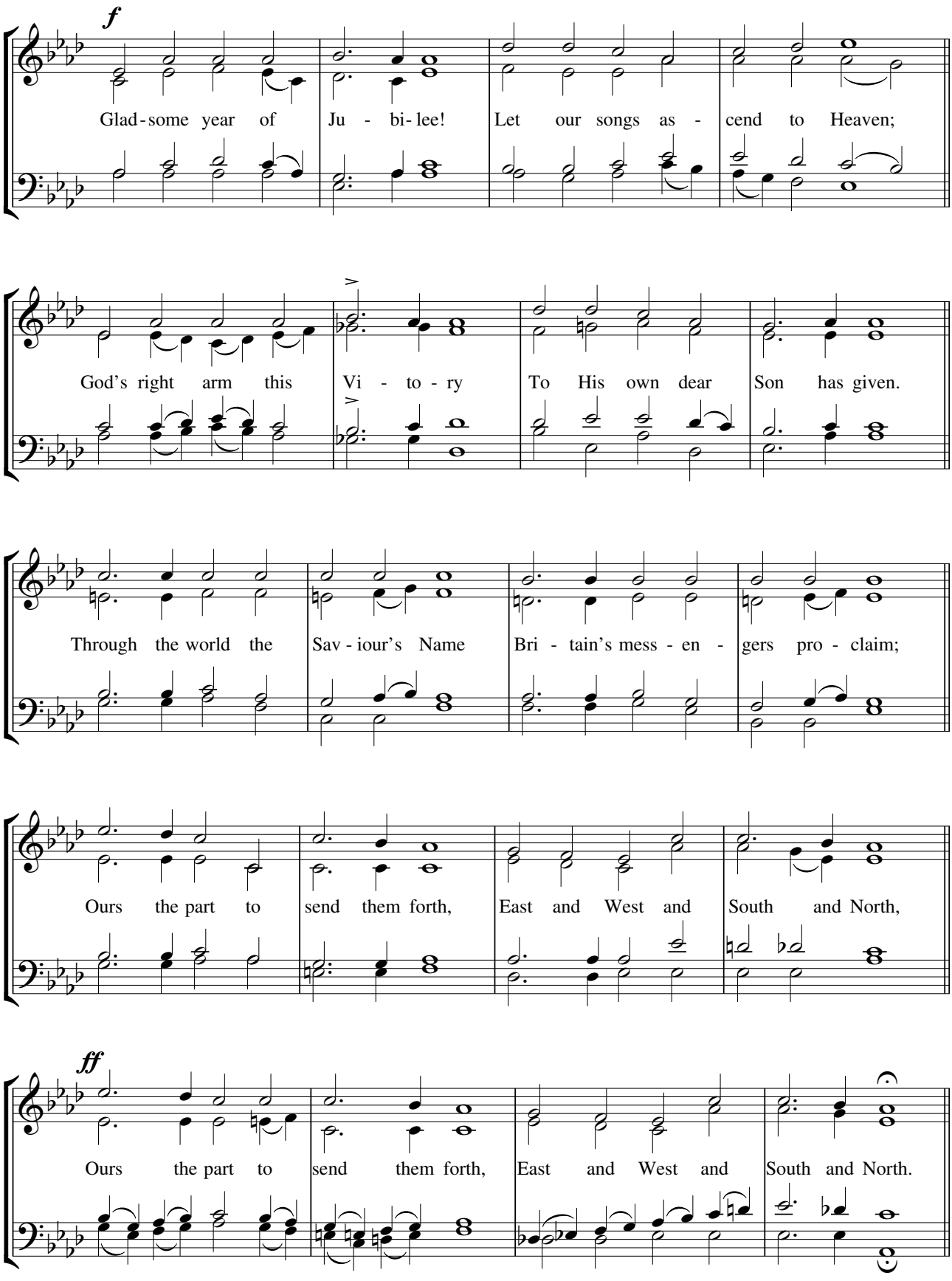
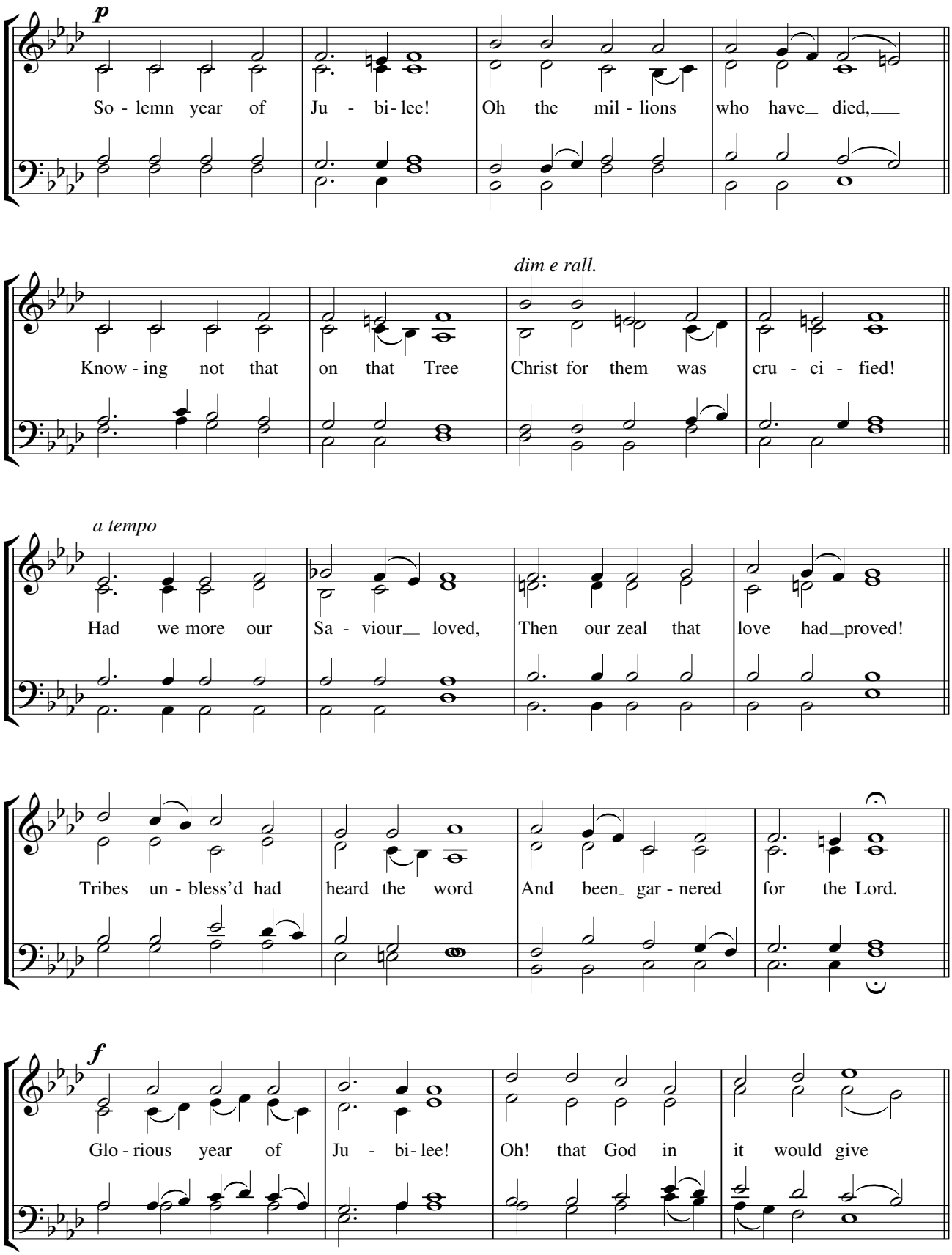
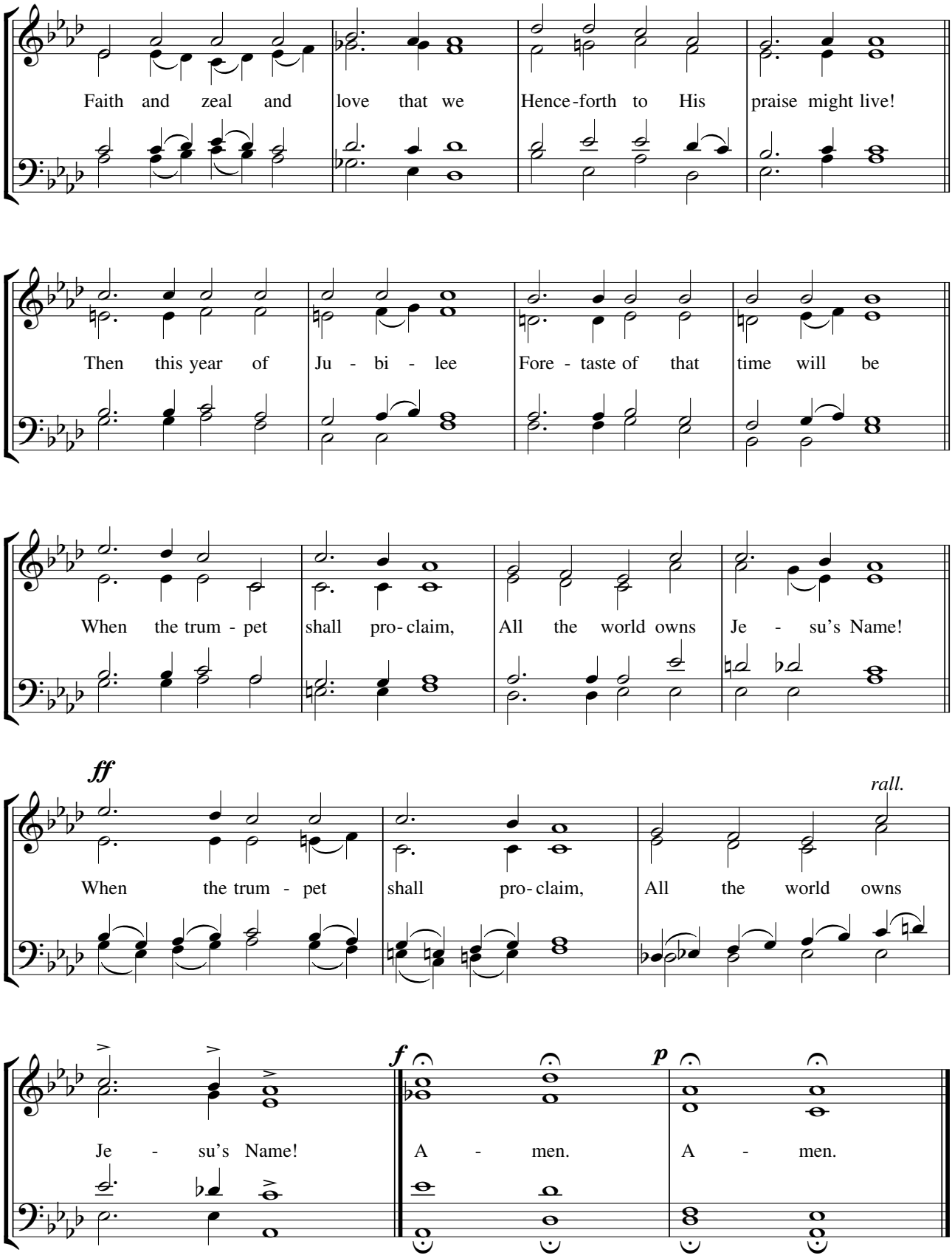
Emily M. Shepcote

Jesus Victor (9897)

A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns as used by the Congregation of Grey Friars, St. John's &c., Reading (1870) No. 11

Christ is gone up with a joyful sound;
He is gone to His bright abode.
The armies of Heaven they throng around
To hail their ascended God.

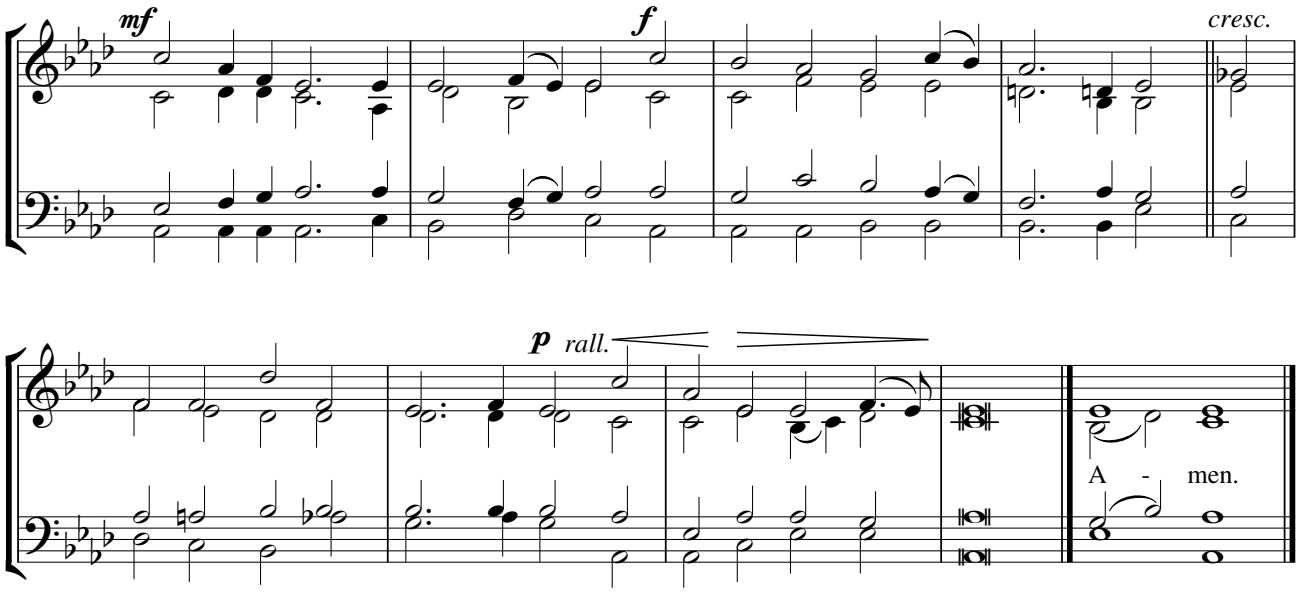
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Jubilee (7777777777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.214

p
So - lemn year of Ju - bi- lee! Oh the mil - lions who have_ died,___
dim e rall.
Know - ing not that on that Tree Christ for them was cru - ci - fied!
a tempo
Had we more our Sa - viour__ loved, Then our zeal that love had_proved!
Tribes un - bless'd had heard the word And been_ gar - nered for the Lord.
f
Glo - rious year of Ju - bi- lee! Oh! that God in it would give

Faith and zeal and love that we Hence-forth to His praise might live!
Then this year of Ju - bi - lee Fore - taste of that time will be
When the trum - pet shall pro-claim, All the world owns Je - su's Name!
ff
When the trum - pet shall pro-claim, All the world owns
rall.
Je - su's Name!
f
A - men.
p
A - men.

J.E. Gibb

‘Just As I Am’ (8886)

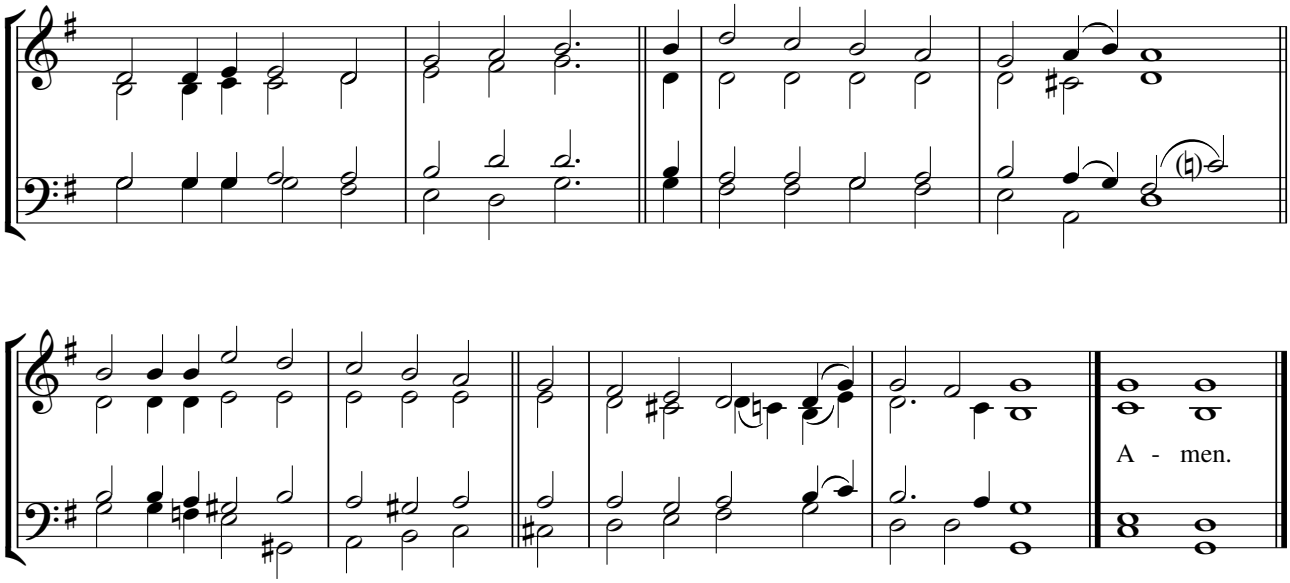
Novello Edition of Dykes’s Hymn Tunes (1902) No.133

Just as I am, without one plea
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bid’st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come!

Charlotte Elliott

188

Keble (LM)

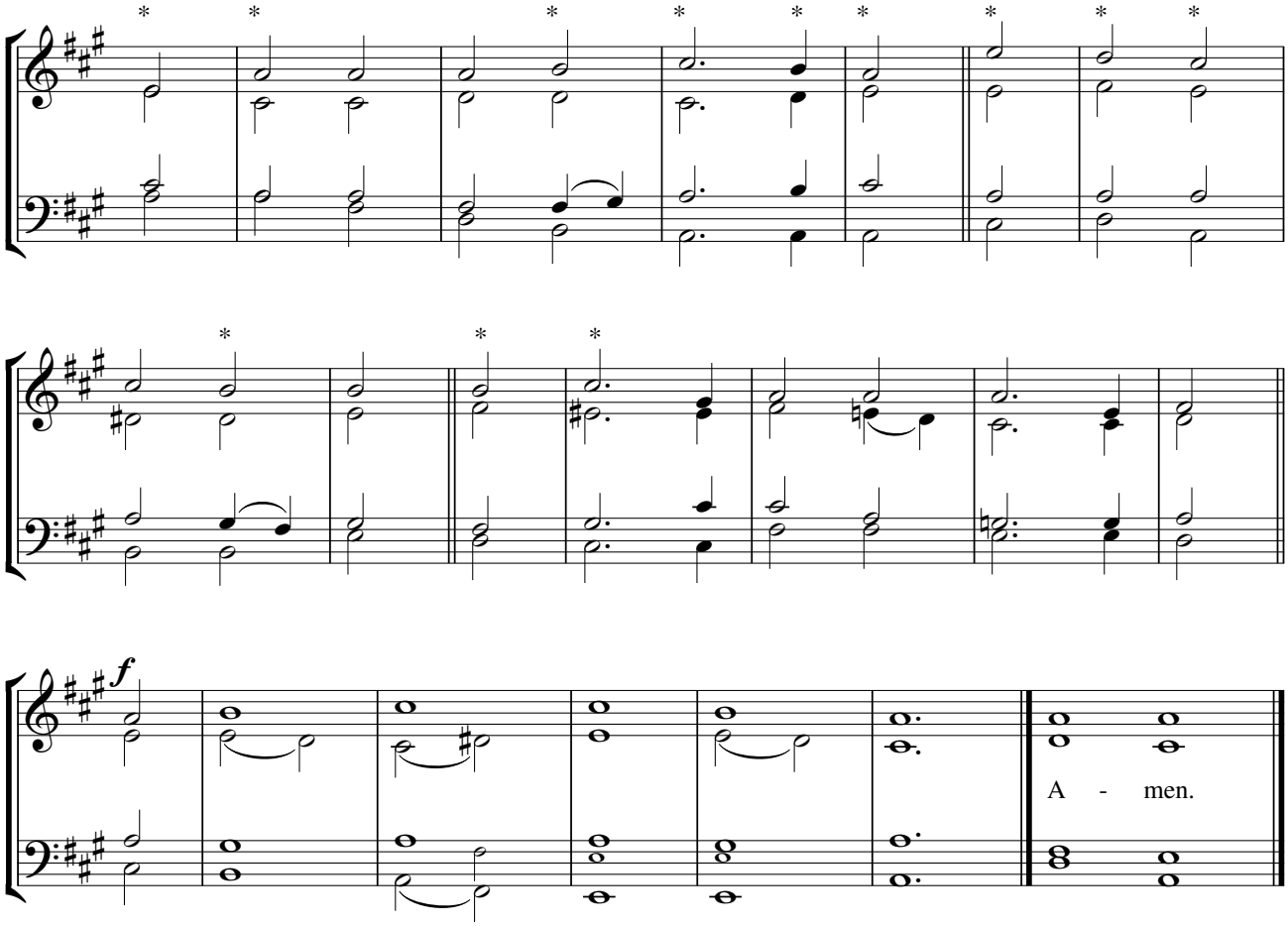
Hymns Ancient & Modern (1875) No. 24

Other names:
MONTGOMERY

Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near:
O may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes.

John Keble

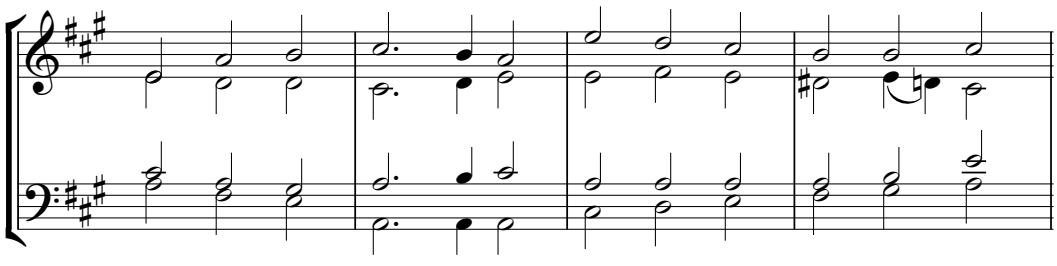
Laud (CM)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No. 38

Other names:
CORONATION

All hail the power of Jesu's Name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown Him Lord of all.

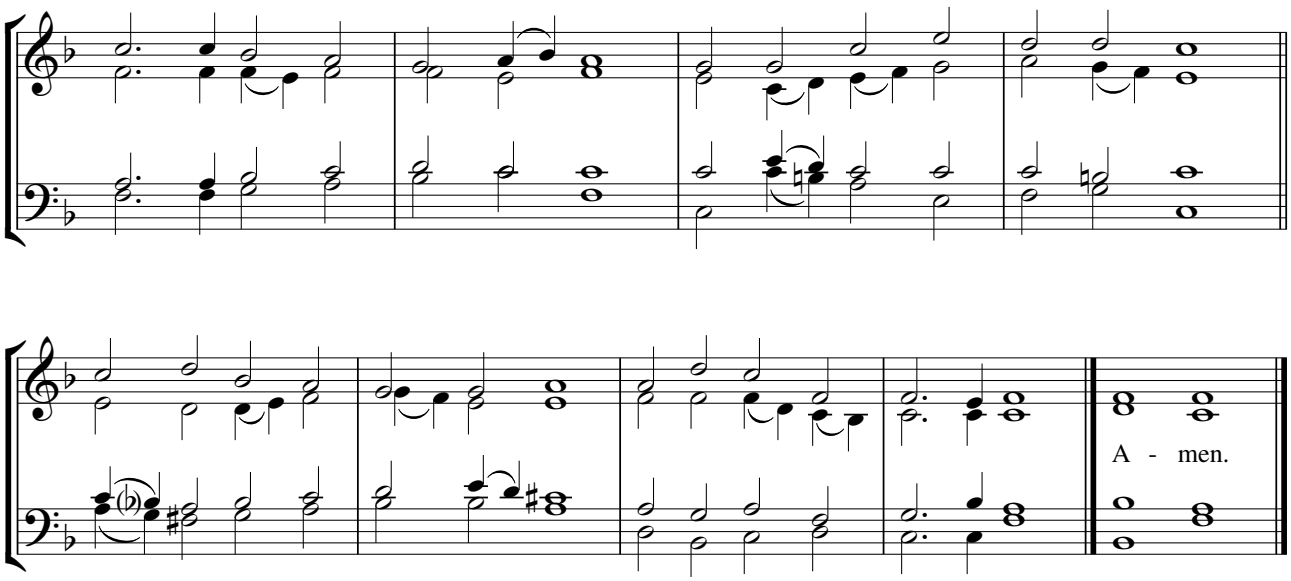
Edward Perronet

Compare asterisked notes with bars 1-4 of FIAT LUX



190

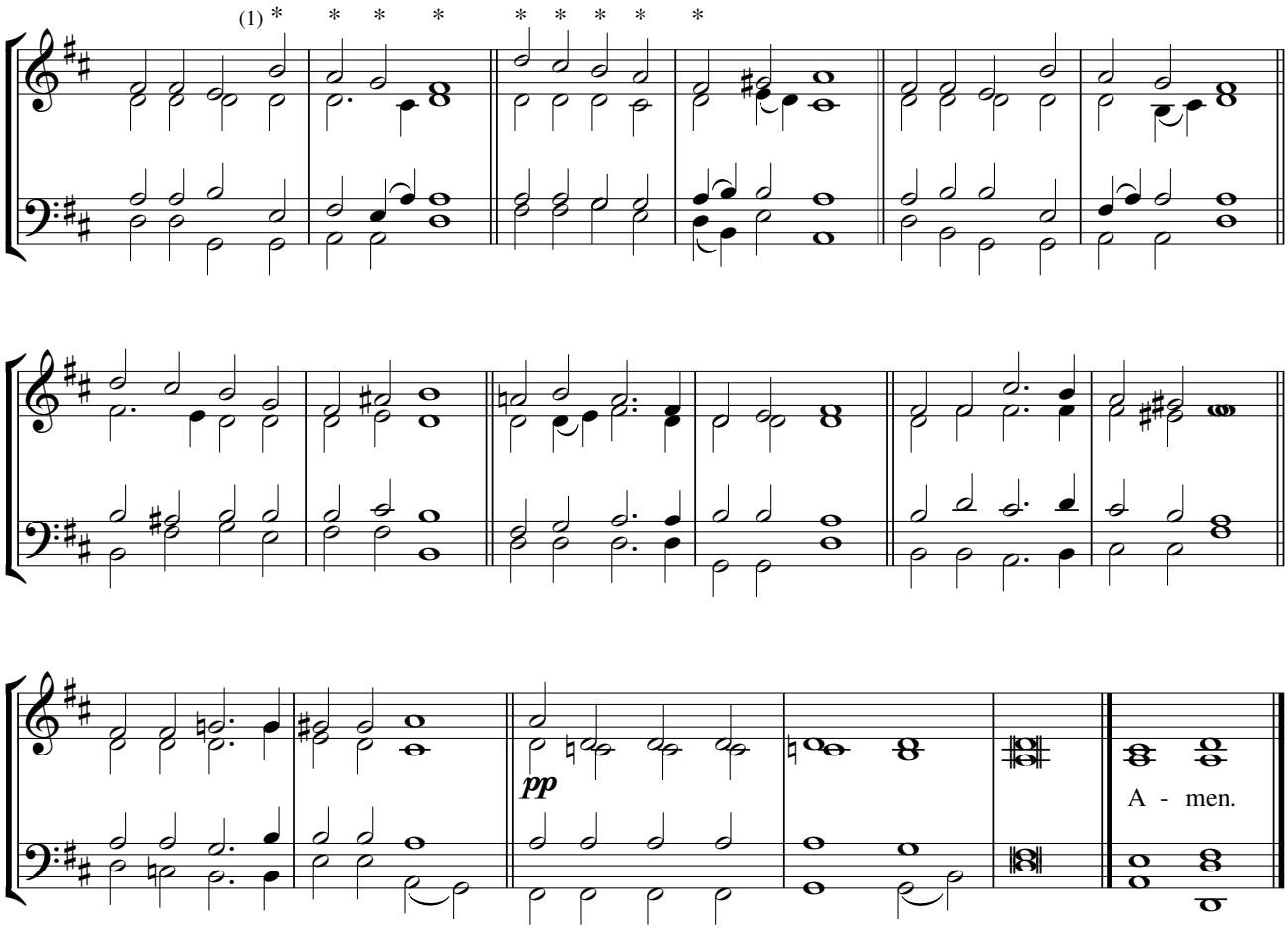
Laudate (7777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.103

Let us with a gladsome mind
Praise the Lord, for He is kind:
For His mercies shall endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.

John Milton

Lent (ii) (7777D)

Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No. 72

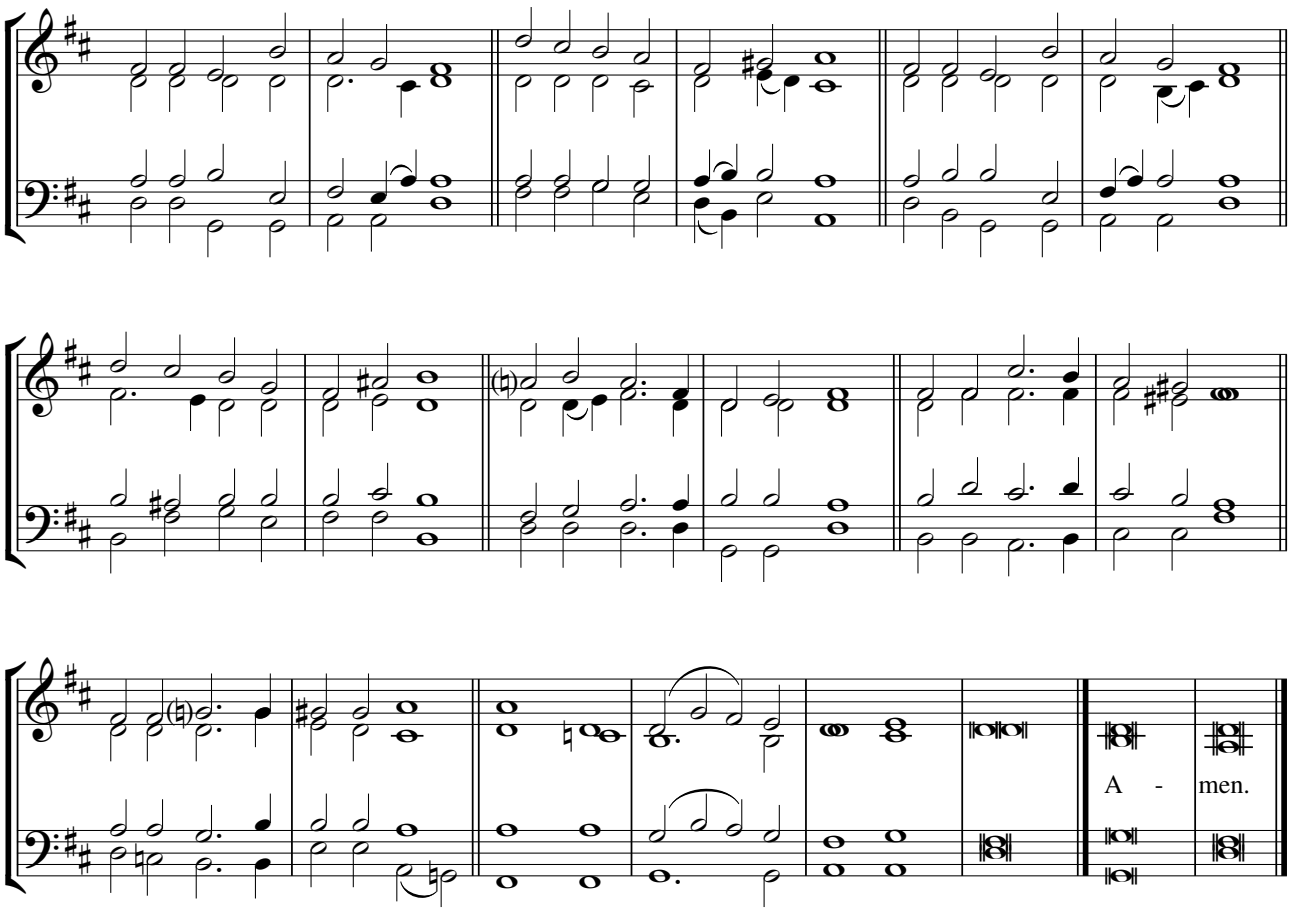
Other names:
ST. EDMUND
EDMUND

Saviour, when in dust to Thee,
Low we bow the trembling knee;
When repentant to the skies
Scarce we lift our weeping eyes;
Oh! by all Thy pains and woe,
Suffered once for man below,
Bending from Thy throne on High,
Hear our solemn Litany.

Robert Grant

(1) Note the pre-figuring of HOLLINGSIDE (this tune having originated, as ST.EDMUND, in 1857).

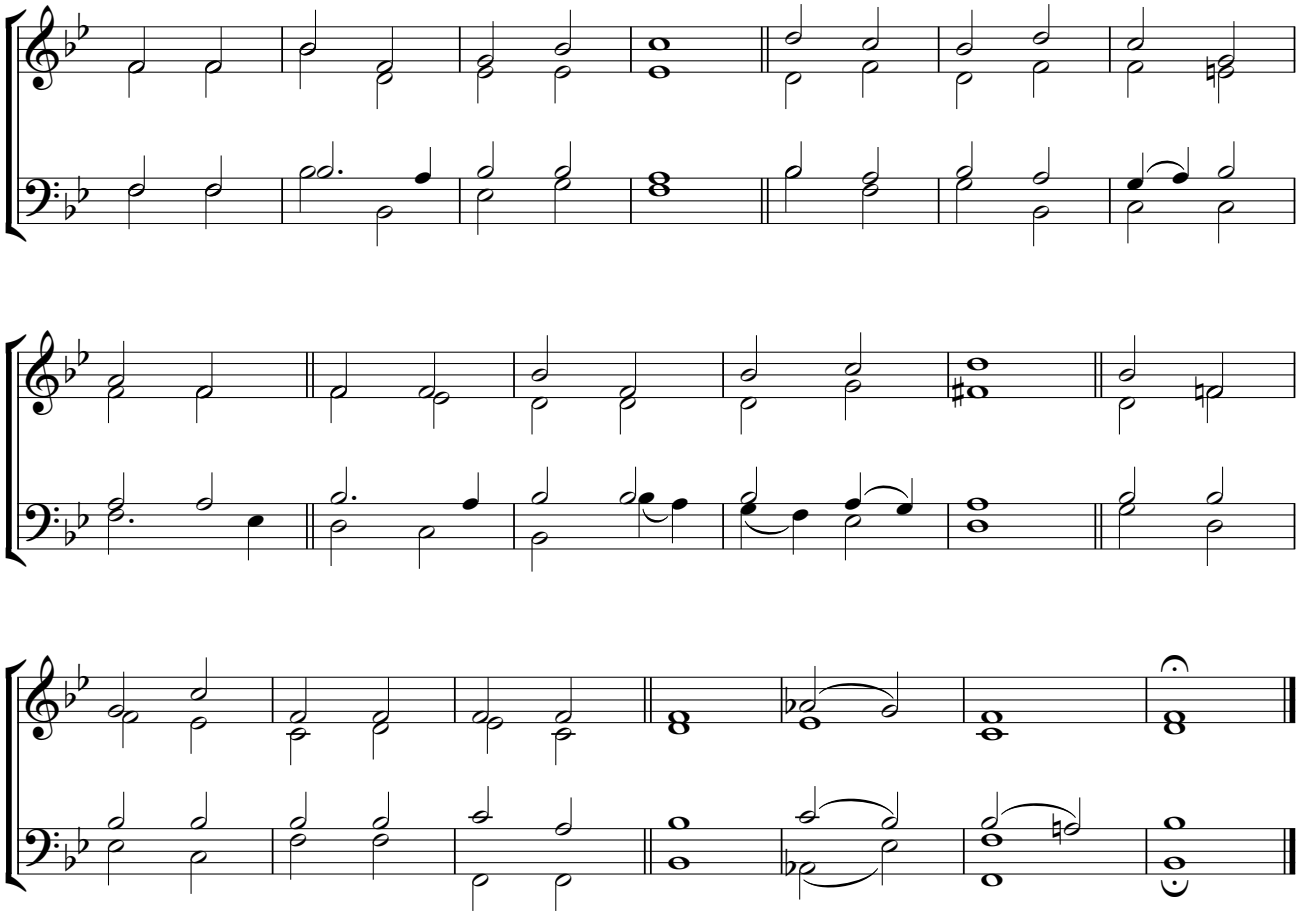
Lent (iv) (7777D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No. 439

Other names:
ST. EDMUND
EDMUND

Object of my first desire,
Jesus, crucified for me;
All to happiness aspire;
I would seek it, Lord, in Thee:
Thee to praise, and Thee to know,
Make the joys of saints below:
Thee to see, and Thee to love,
Make the bliss of saints above.

Augustus M. Toplady

Lindisfarne (i) (78784)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 61

Jesus lives! no longer now
Can thy terrors, death, appal us;
Jesus lives! by this we know
Thou, O grave, canst not enthral us.
Alleluia!

Christian Friedrich Gellert
trans. Frances E. Cox

[Text not provided in the *Manual*]

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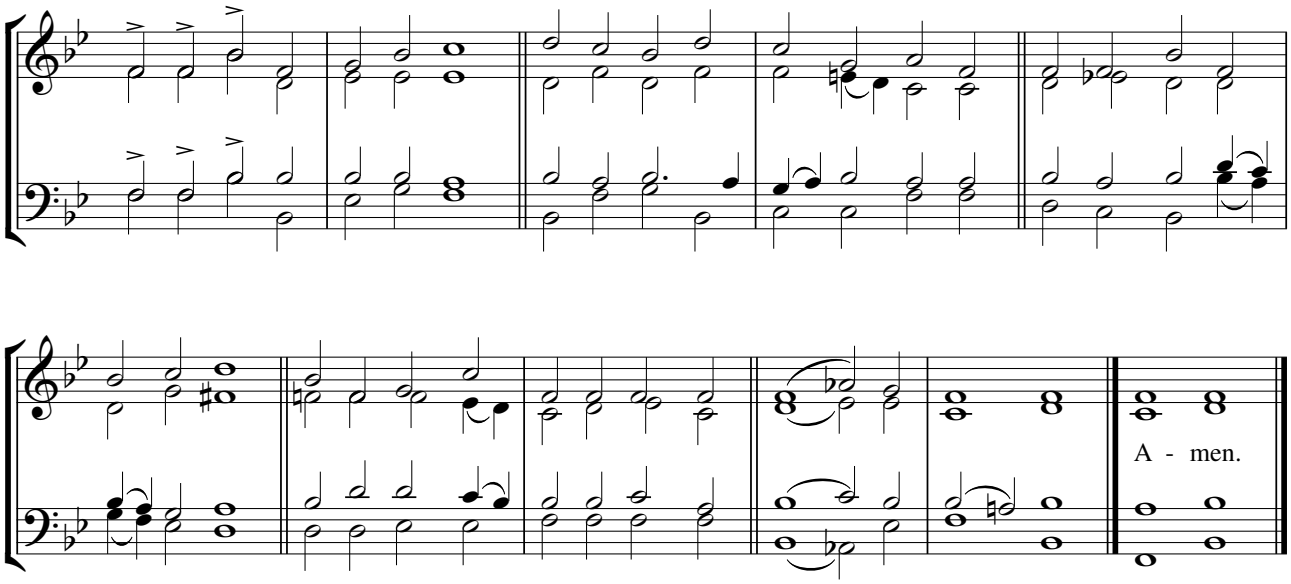
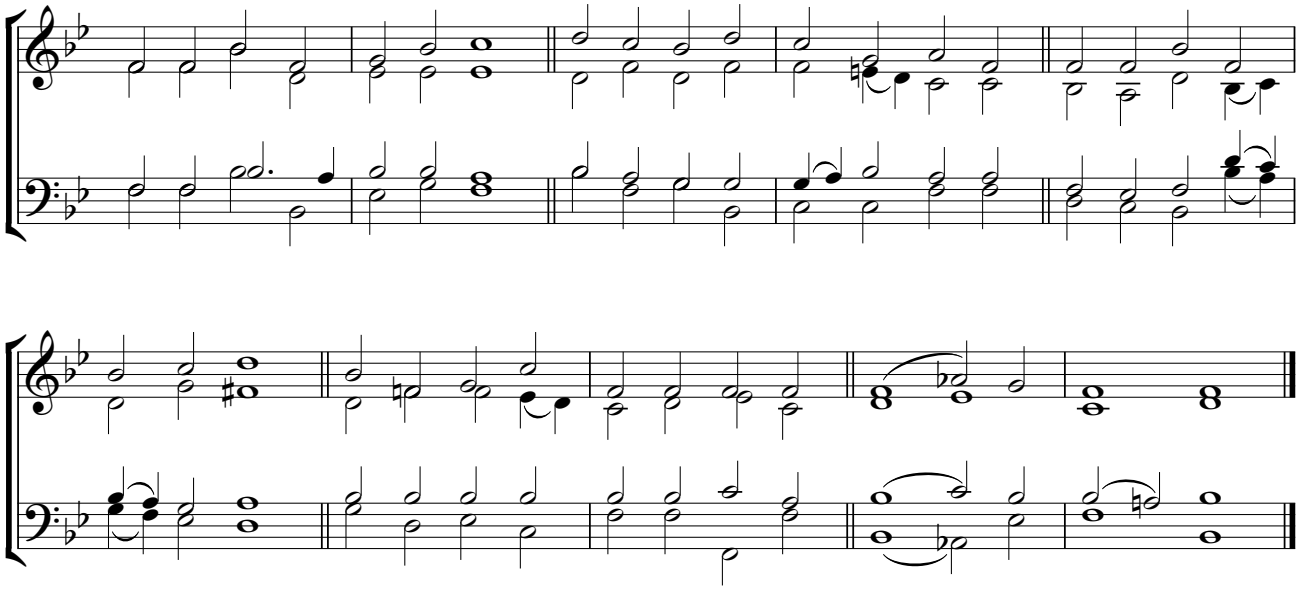
Lindisfarne (ii) (78784)

Congregational Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1862) No. 103

Jesus lives! No longer now
Can thy terrors, Death, appal us;
Jesus lives! By this we know,
Thou, O Grave, canst not enthral us.
Alleluia!

Christian Friedrich Gellert
trans. Frances E. Cox

Lindisfarne (iii) (78784)

Hymnal for Use in the English Church (1866) No. 61

Jesus lives! no longer now
Can thy terrors, death, appal us;
Jesus lives! by this we know
Thou, O grave, canst not enthral us.
Alleuia!

Christian Friedrich Gellert
trans. Frances E. Cox

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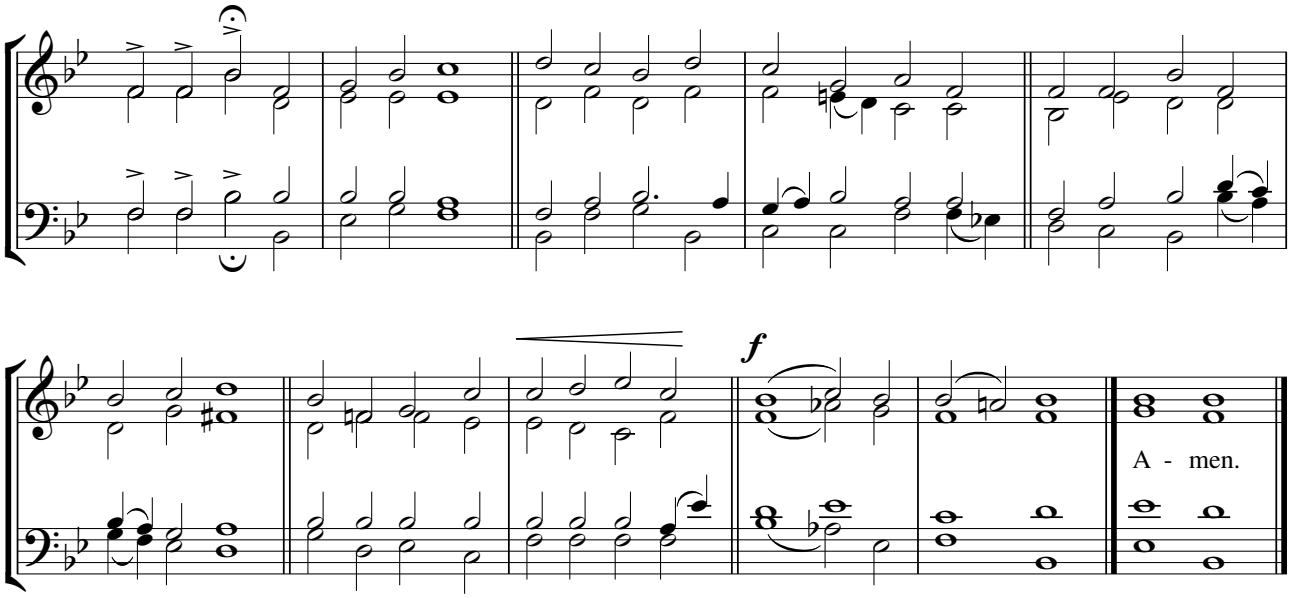
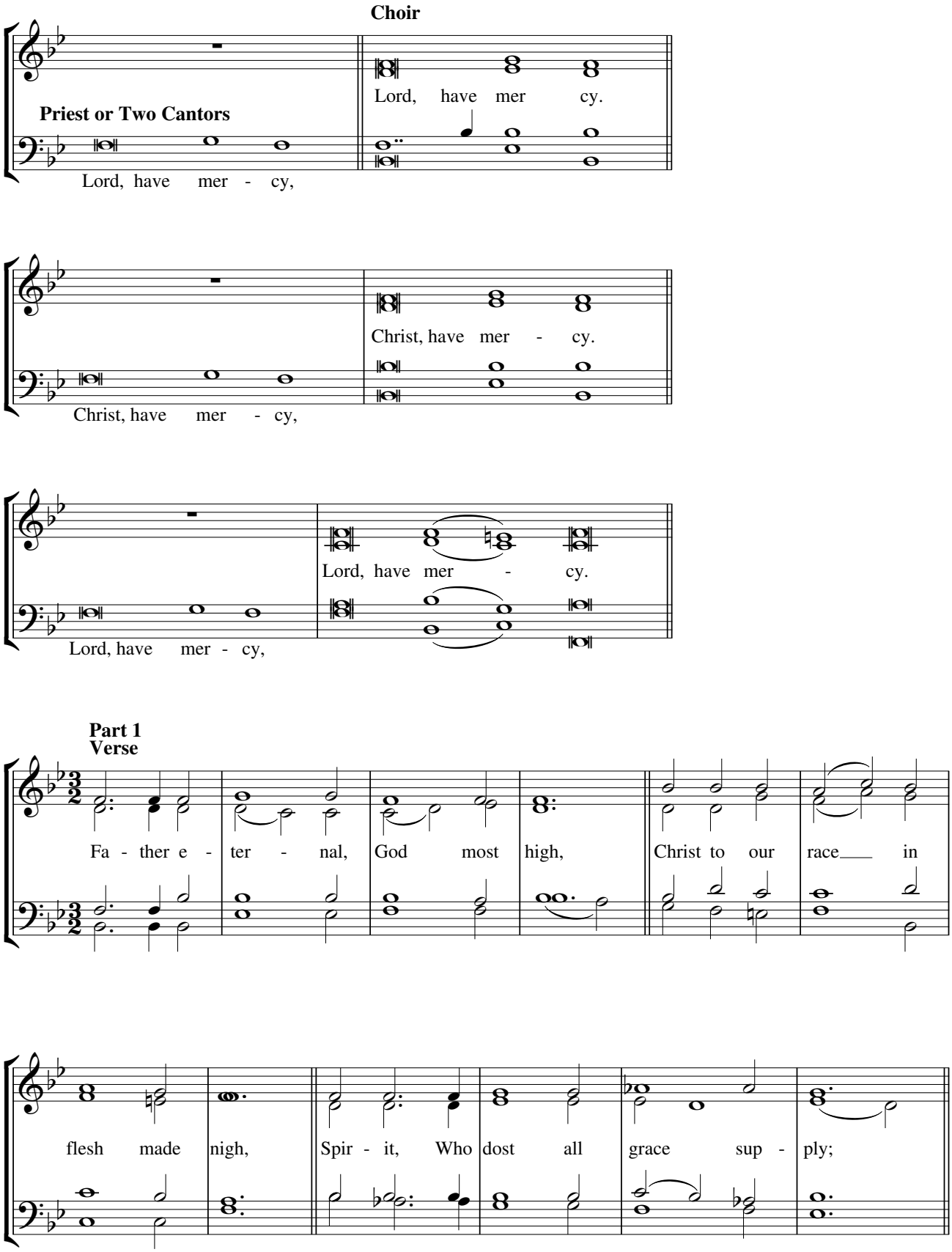
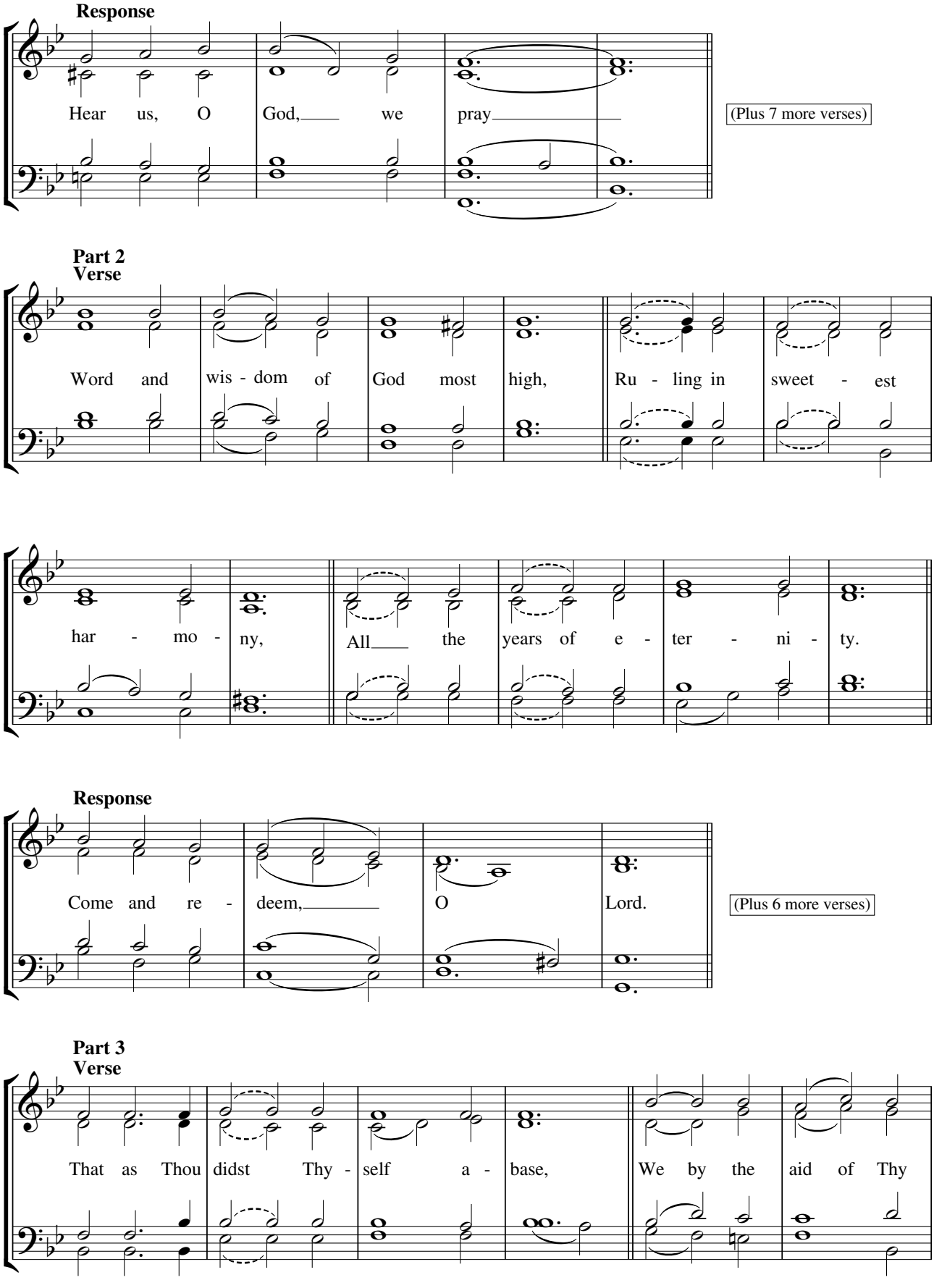
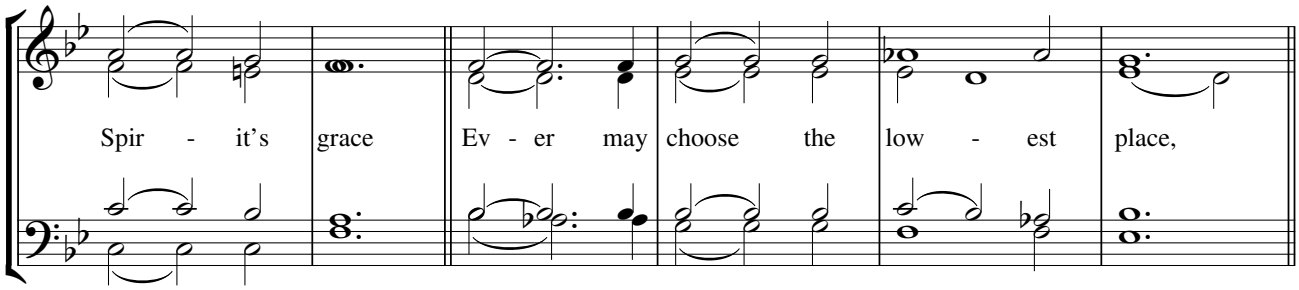
Lindisfarne (iv) (78784)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.140

Jesus lives! no longer now
Can thy terrors, death, appal us;
Jesus lives! by this we know
Thou, O grave, canst not enthral us.
Alleluia!

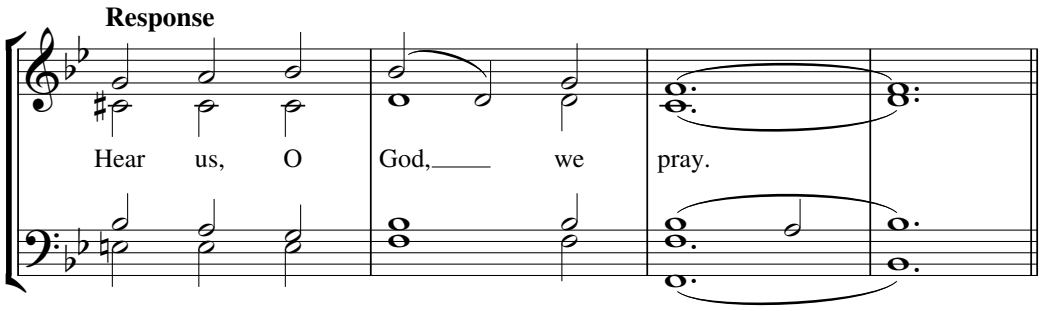
Christian Friedrich Gellert
trans. Frances E. Cox

Litany for Advent (Irregular)

Book of Litanies, Prose and Metrical (1875) p.6


Response
Hear us, O God, we pray
(Plus 7 more verses)
Part 2
Verse
Word and wis - dom of God most high, Ru - ling in sweet - est
har - mo - ny, All the years of e - ter - ni - ty.
Response
Come and re - deem, O Lord.
(Plus 6 more verses)
Part 3
Verse
That as Thou didst Thy - self a - base, We by the aid of Thy

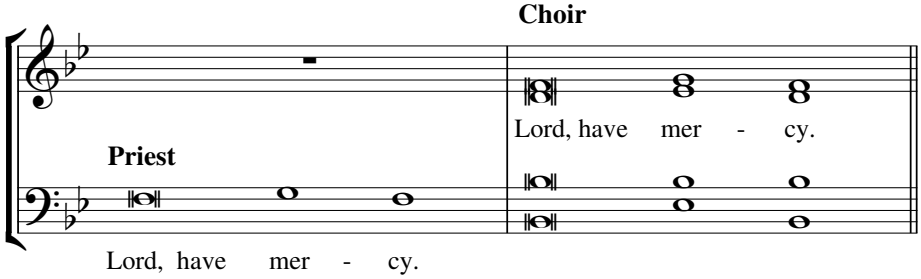


Response



(Plus 5 more verses)

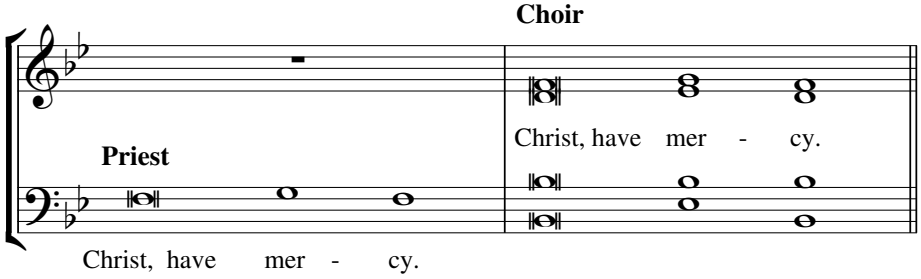
Choir



Priest

Lord, have mer - cy.

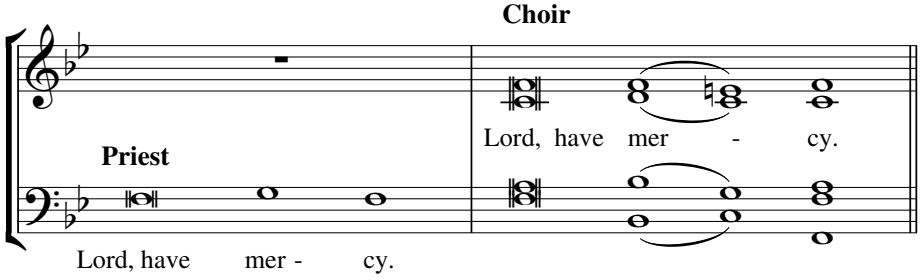
Choir



Priest

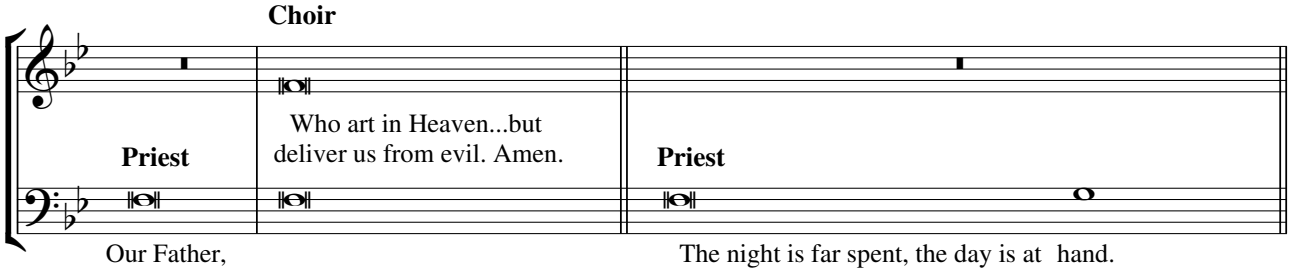
Christ, have mer - cy.

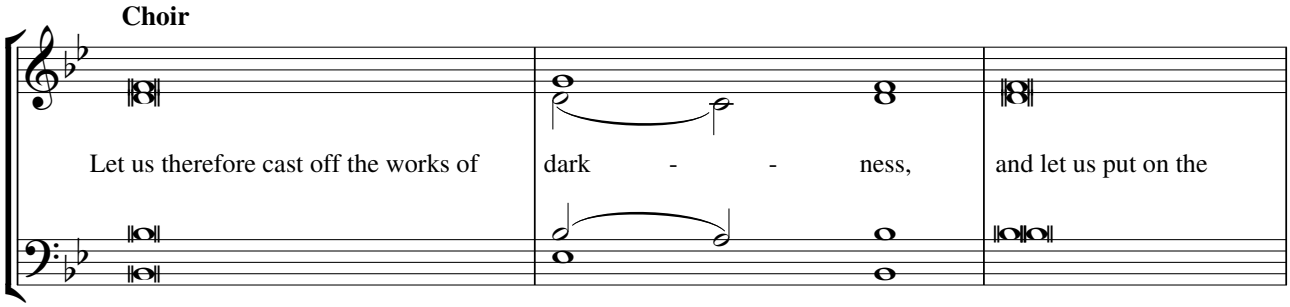
Choir

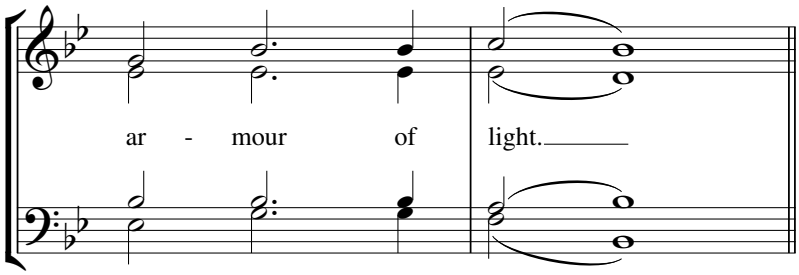


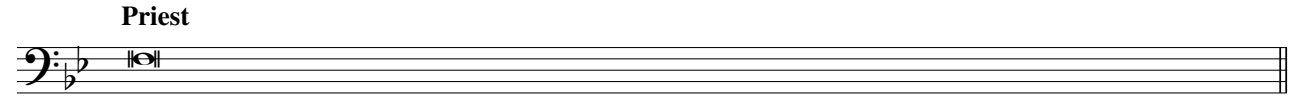
Priest

Lord, have mer - cy.

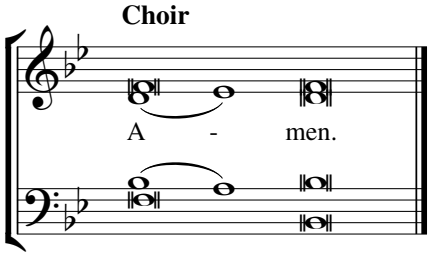




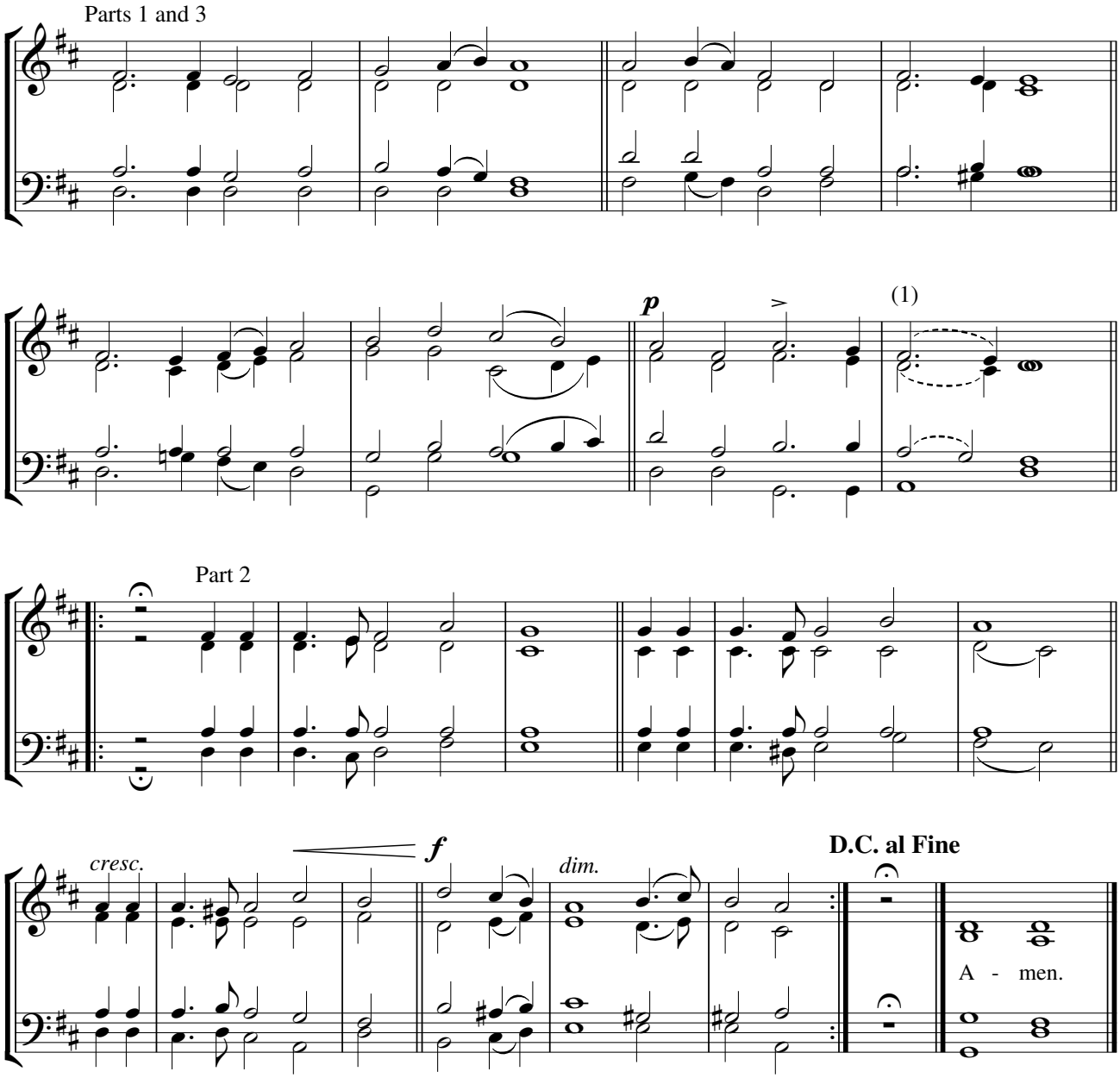




Let us pray. Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which Thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when He shall come again in His glorious majesty to judge both the quick and dead, we may rise to the life immortal; through Him Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever.



Litany for Children (i) (7777)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.473

Part 1
God the Father, God the Son,
God the Spirit, Three in One,
Hear us from Thy heavenly Throne,
Spare us, Holy Trinity.

Part 2
Jesus, Who didst deign to flee
From King Herod's cruelty
In Thy earliest Infancy,
Hear us, Holy Jesu

(1) The slurs apply to all verses after the first verse.

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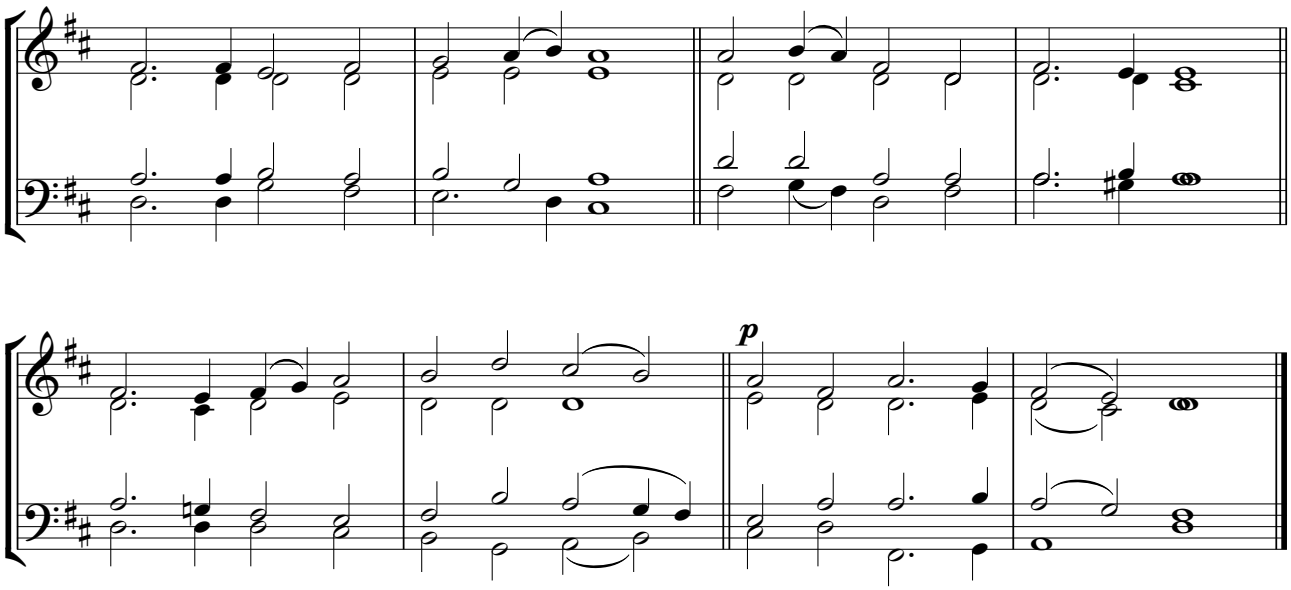
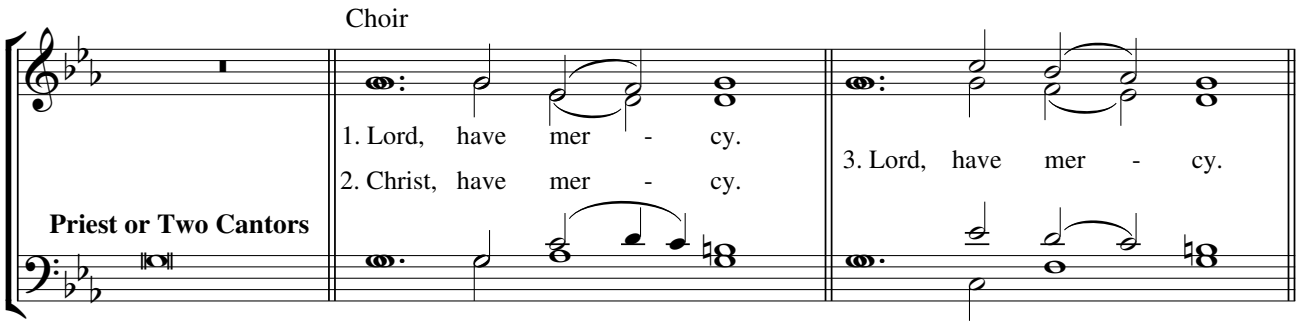
Litany for Children (ii) (7777)

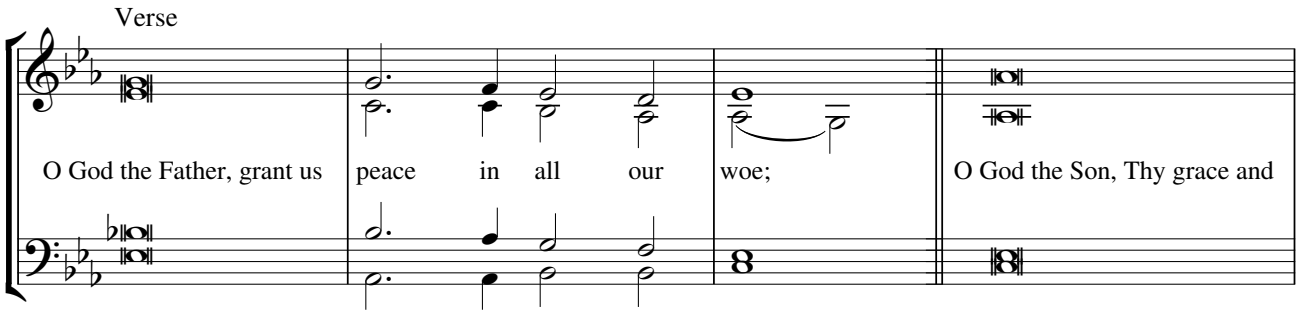
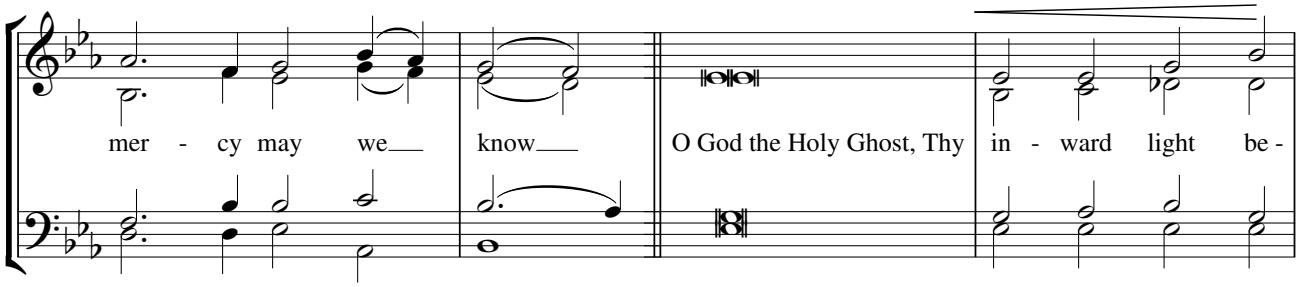
As rearranged in Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.642

God the Father, God the Son,
God the Spirit, Three in One,
Hear us from Thy heav'nly throne;
Spare us, Holy Trinity.

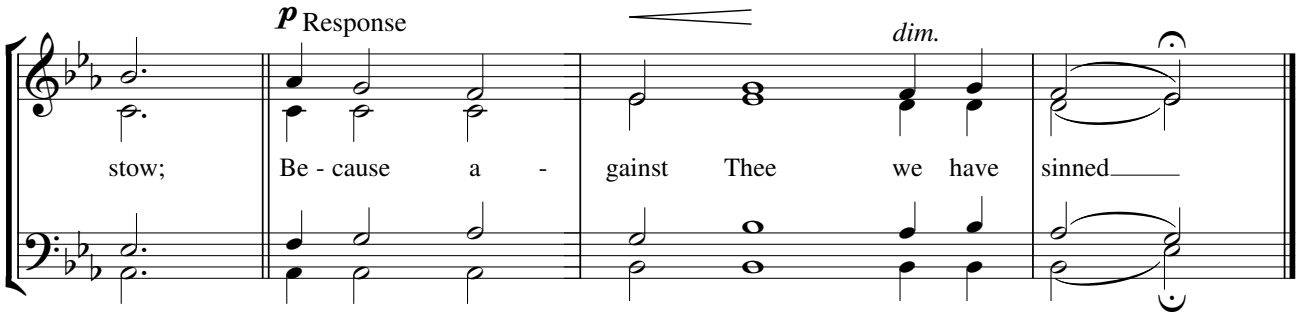
Jesus, Saviour meek and mild,
Once for us a little child,
Born of Mary undefiled,
Hear us, Holy Jess.

Litany in any calamity (1) (Irregular)

Book of Litanies Metrical and Prose (1875) p.74

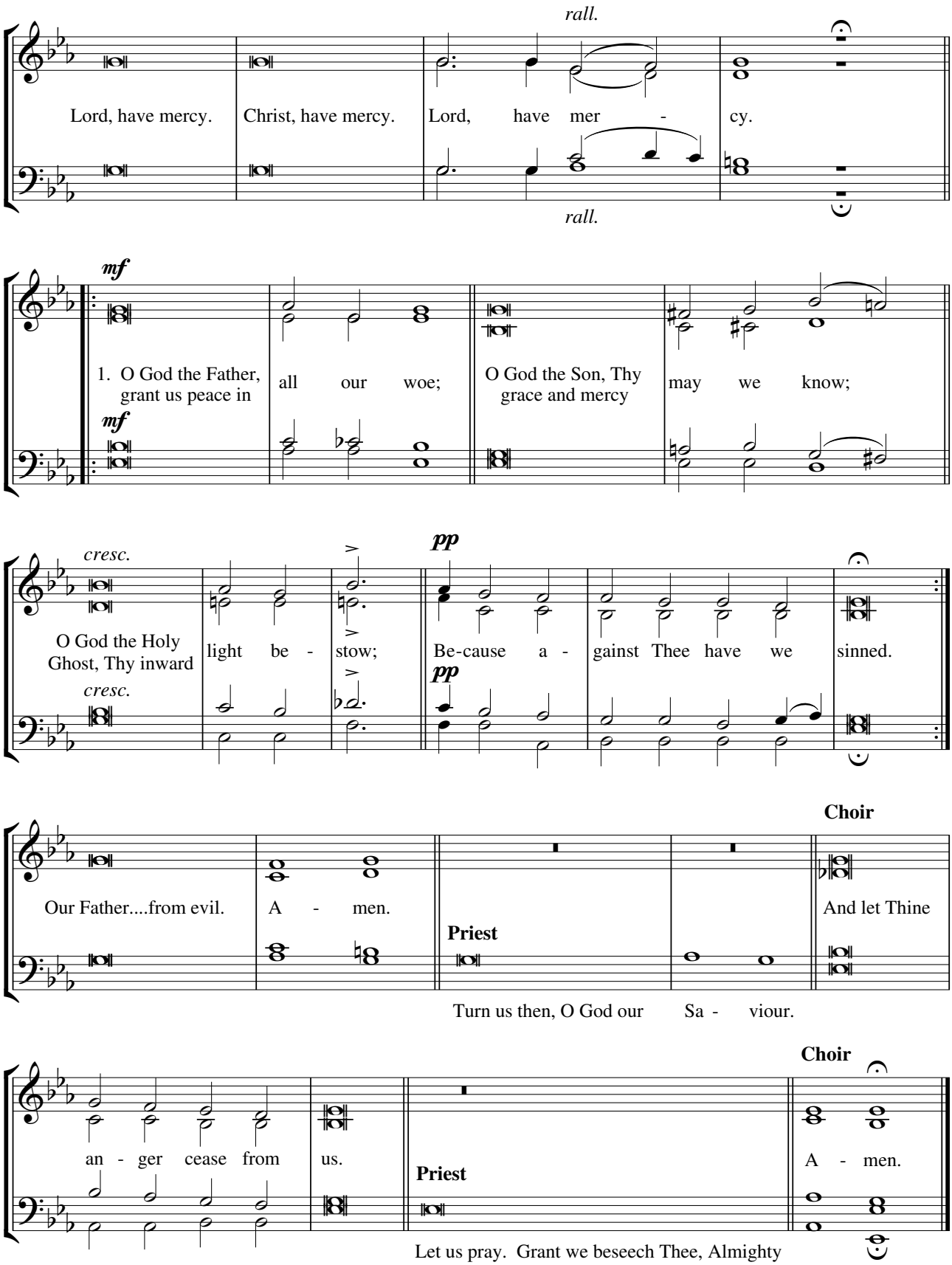


1. Lord have mercy.
2. Christ, have mercy.
3. Lord, have mercy.



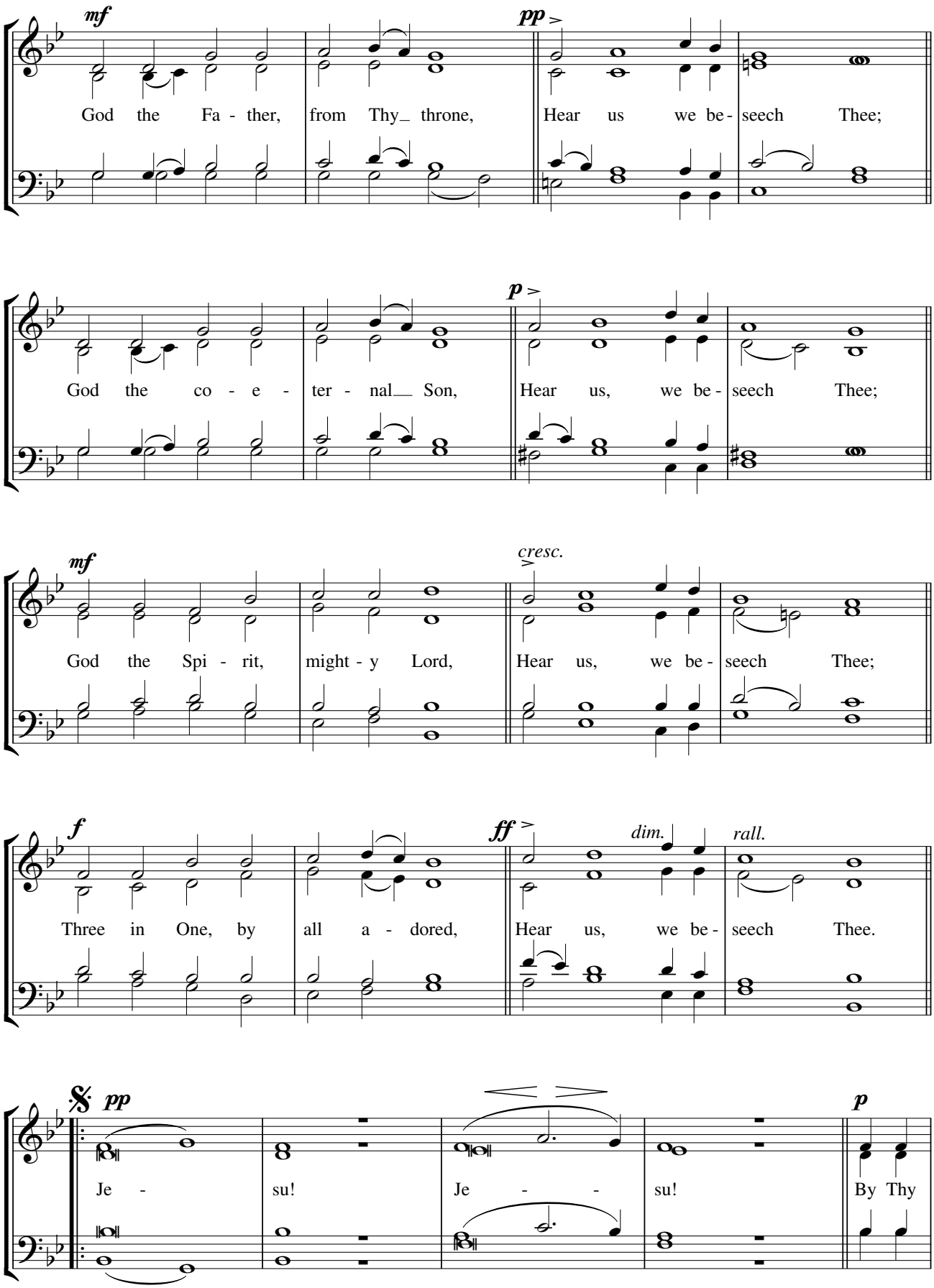
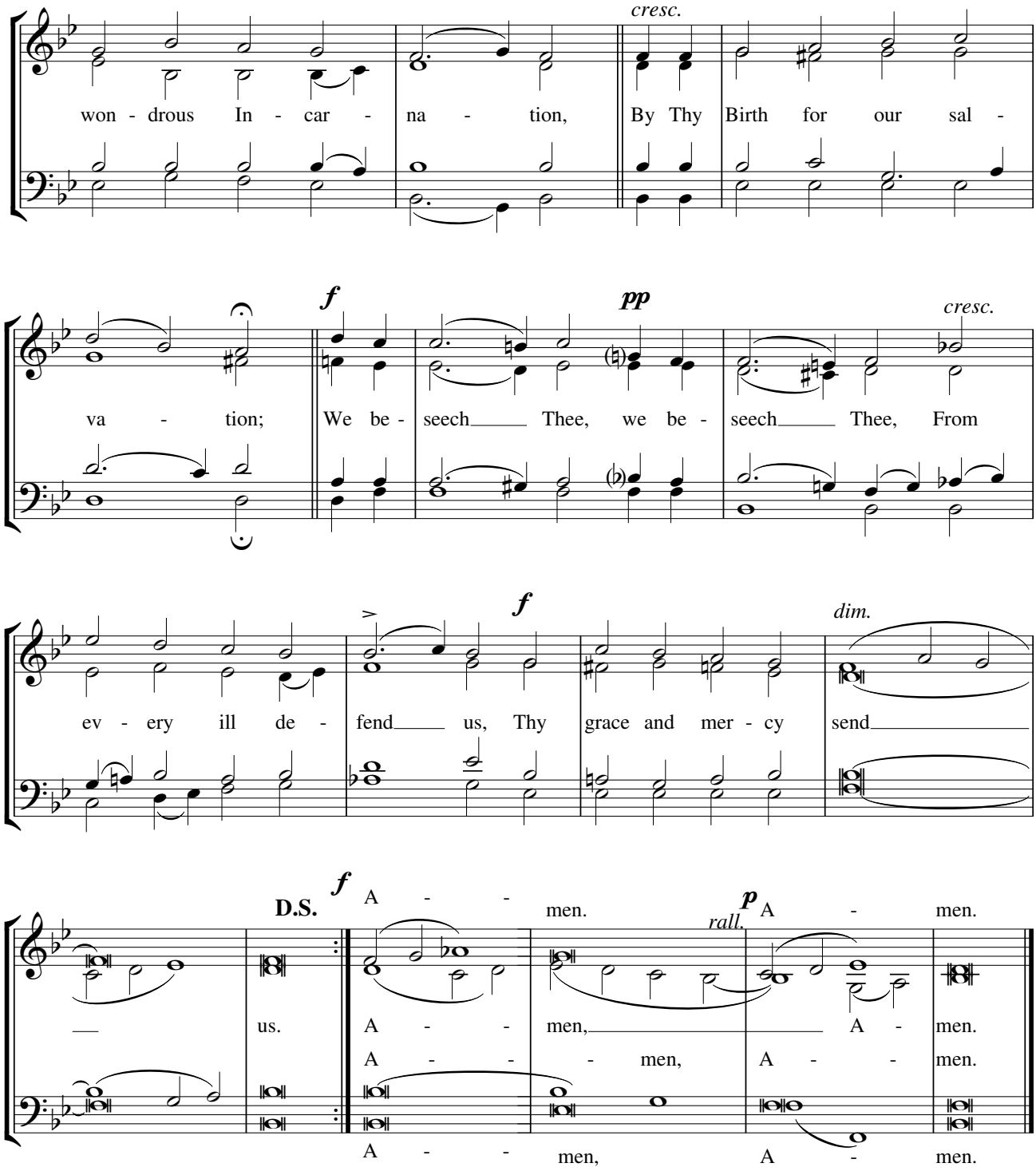


Litany in any calamity (2) (Irregular)

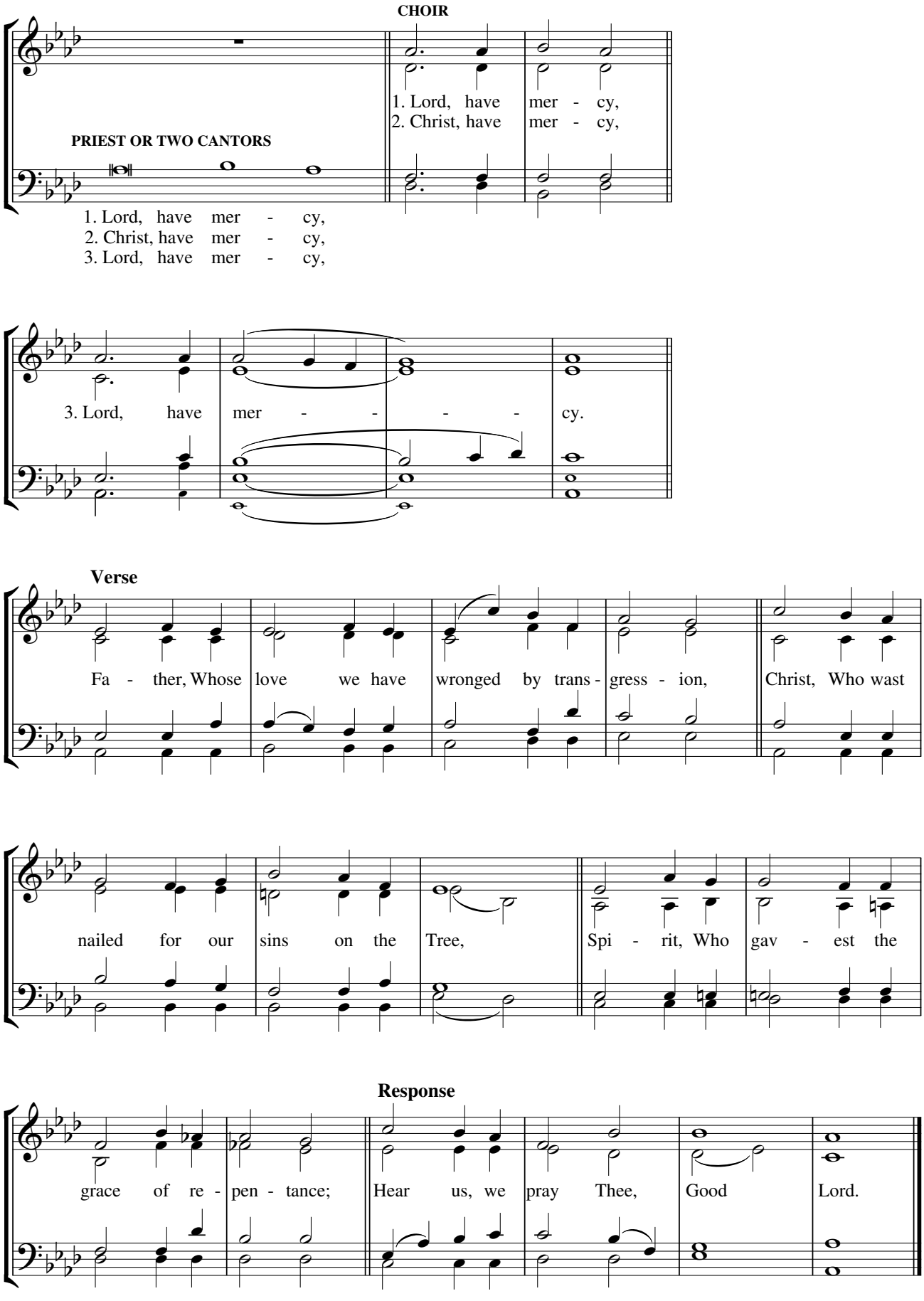
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.268



Litany (irregular)

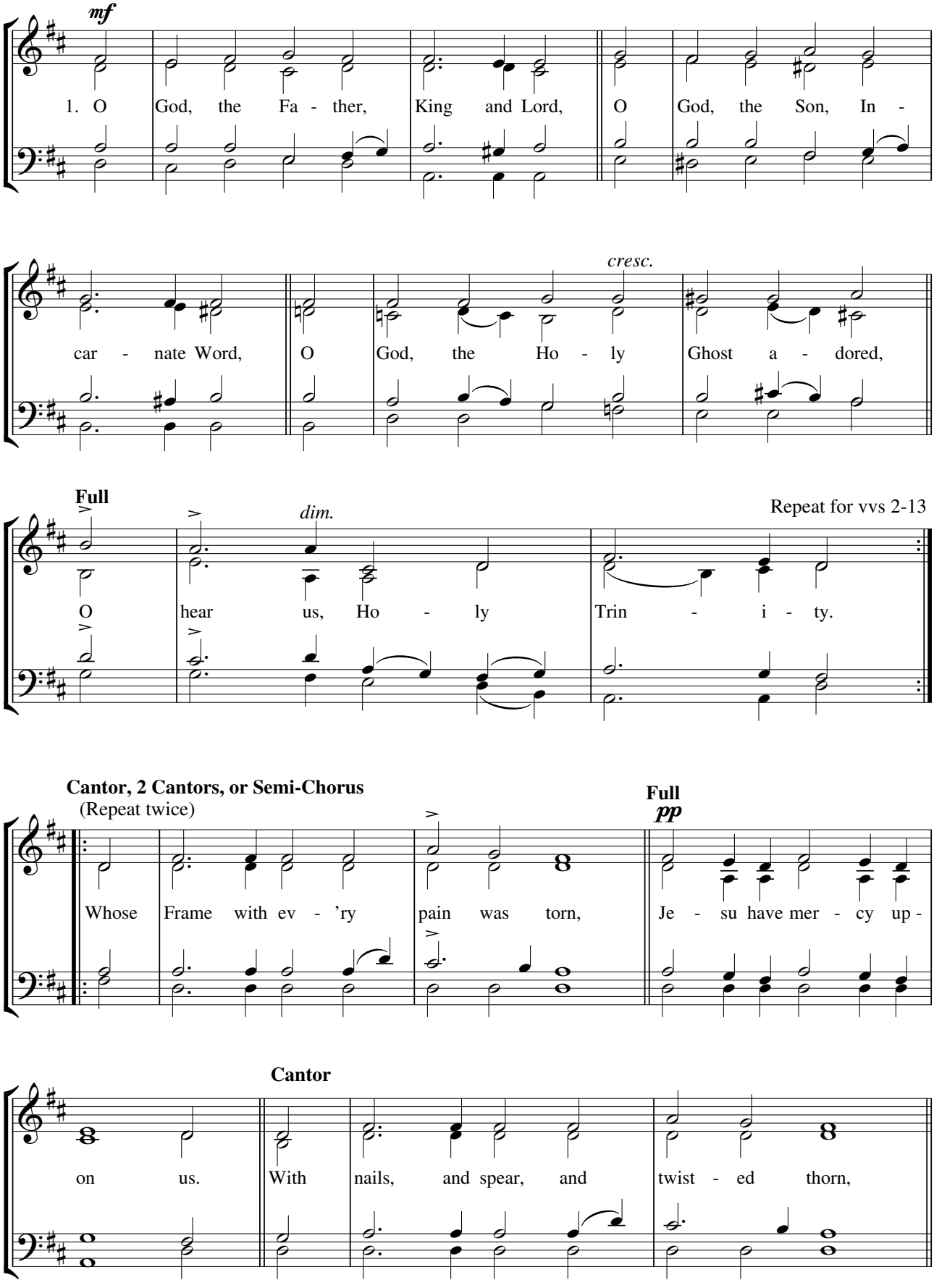
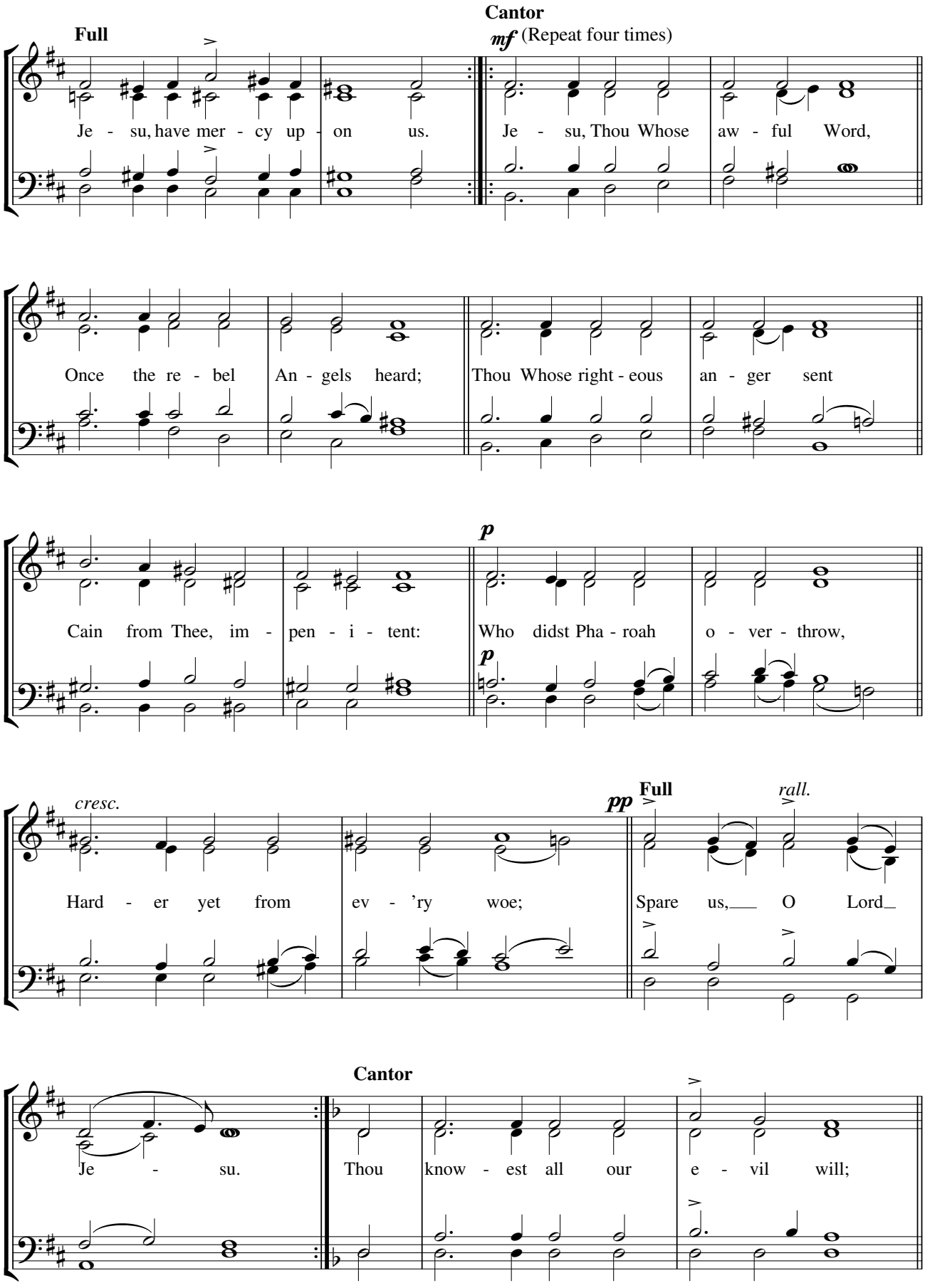
Church Hymns with Tunes (1874) No.584

cresc.
won - drous In - car - na - tion, By Thy Birth for our sal -
f
pp
cresc.
va - tion; We be - seech Thee, we be - seech Thee, From
f
dim.
ev - ery ill de - fend us, Thy grace and mer - cy send
D.S.
f
A - men.
p
rall.
A - men.
us. A - men, A - men.
A - men, A - men.
A - men, A - men.

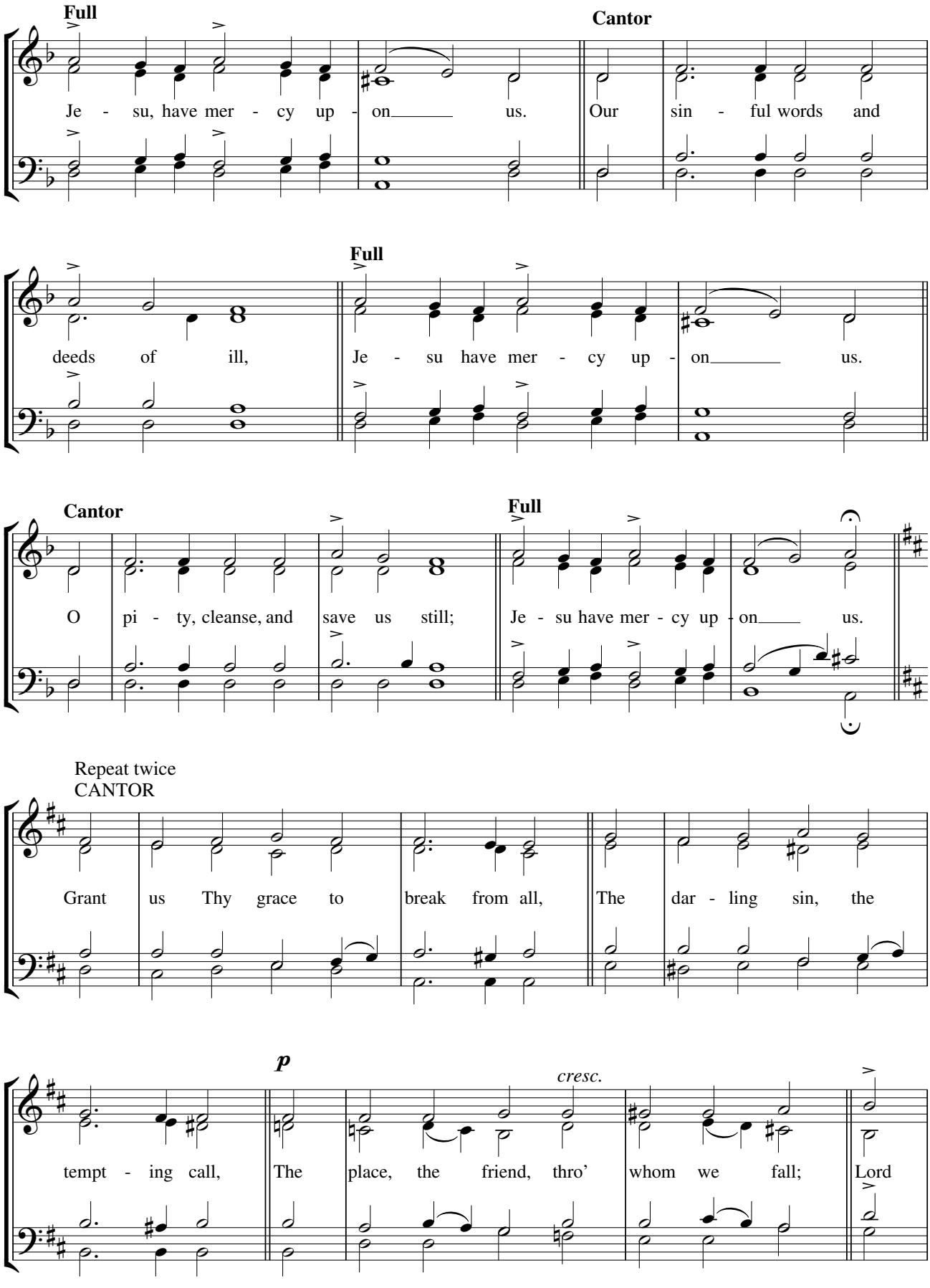
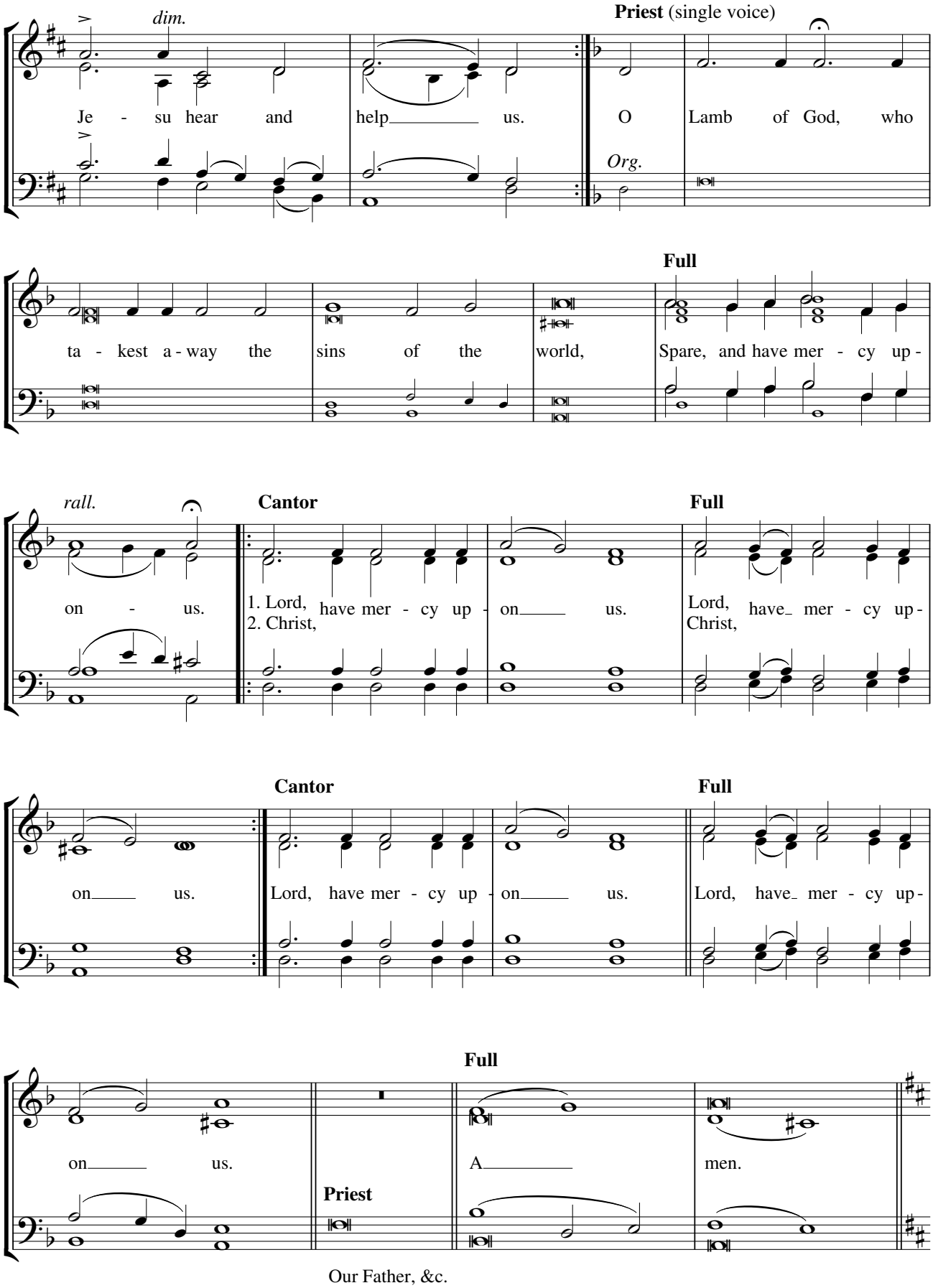
Litany of Penitence (1) (Irregular)

Book of Litanies Metrical and Prose (1875) p.10

Litany of Penitence (2) (Irregular)

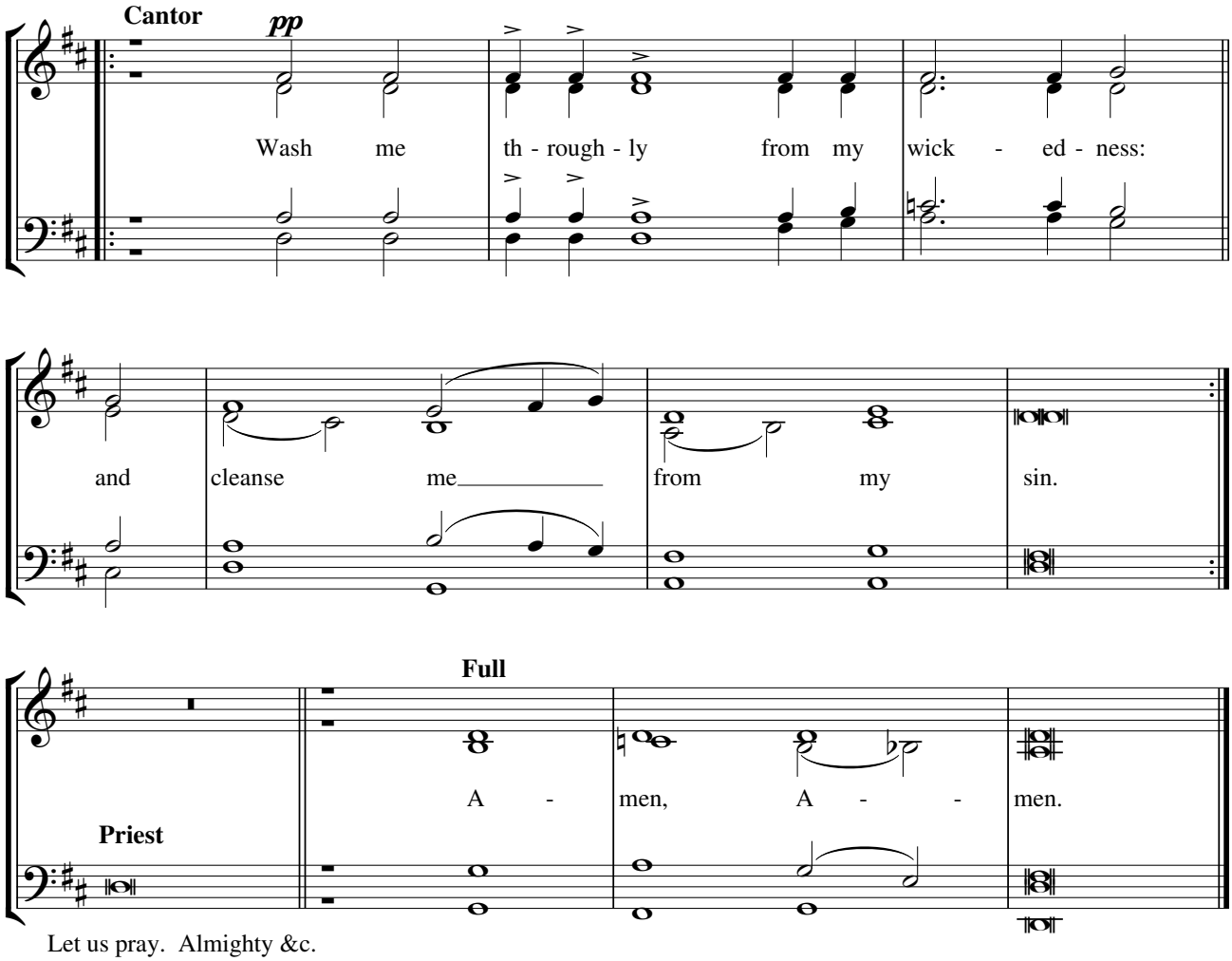
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.274

Cantor, 2 Cantors or Semi-Chorus



Full
Je - su, have mer - cy up - on us.
Cantor
mf (Repeat four times)
Je - su, Thou Whose aw - ful Word,
Once the re - bel An - gels heard;
Thou Whose right - eous an - ger sent
Cain from Thee, im - pen - i - tent:
p
Who didst Pha - roah o - ver - throw,
p
cresc.
Hard - er yet from ev - 'ry woe;
pp
Full
rall.
Spare us, O Lord
Cantor
Je - su.
Thou know - est all our e - vil will;

Full
Cantor
Je - su, have mer - cy up - on us.
Our sin - ful words and
Full
deeds of ill,
Je - su have mer - cy up - on us.
Cantor
Full
O pi - ty, cleanse, and save us still;
Je - su have mer - cy up - on us.
Repeat twice
CANTOR
Grant us Thy grace to break from all,
The dar - ling sin, the
p
cresc.
tempt - ing call,
The place, the friend, thro' whom we fall;
Lord

dim.
Priest (single voice)
Je - su hear and help us. O Lamb of God, who
Org.
Full
ta - kest a - way the sins of the world, Spare, and have mer - cy up -
rall.
Cantor
Full
on - us.
1. Lord, have mer - cy up - on us.
2. Christ,
Lord, have mer - cy up -
Christ,
Cantor
Full
on us.
Lord, have mer - cy up - on us.
Lord, have mer - cy up -
Full
on us.
Priest
A men.

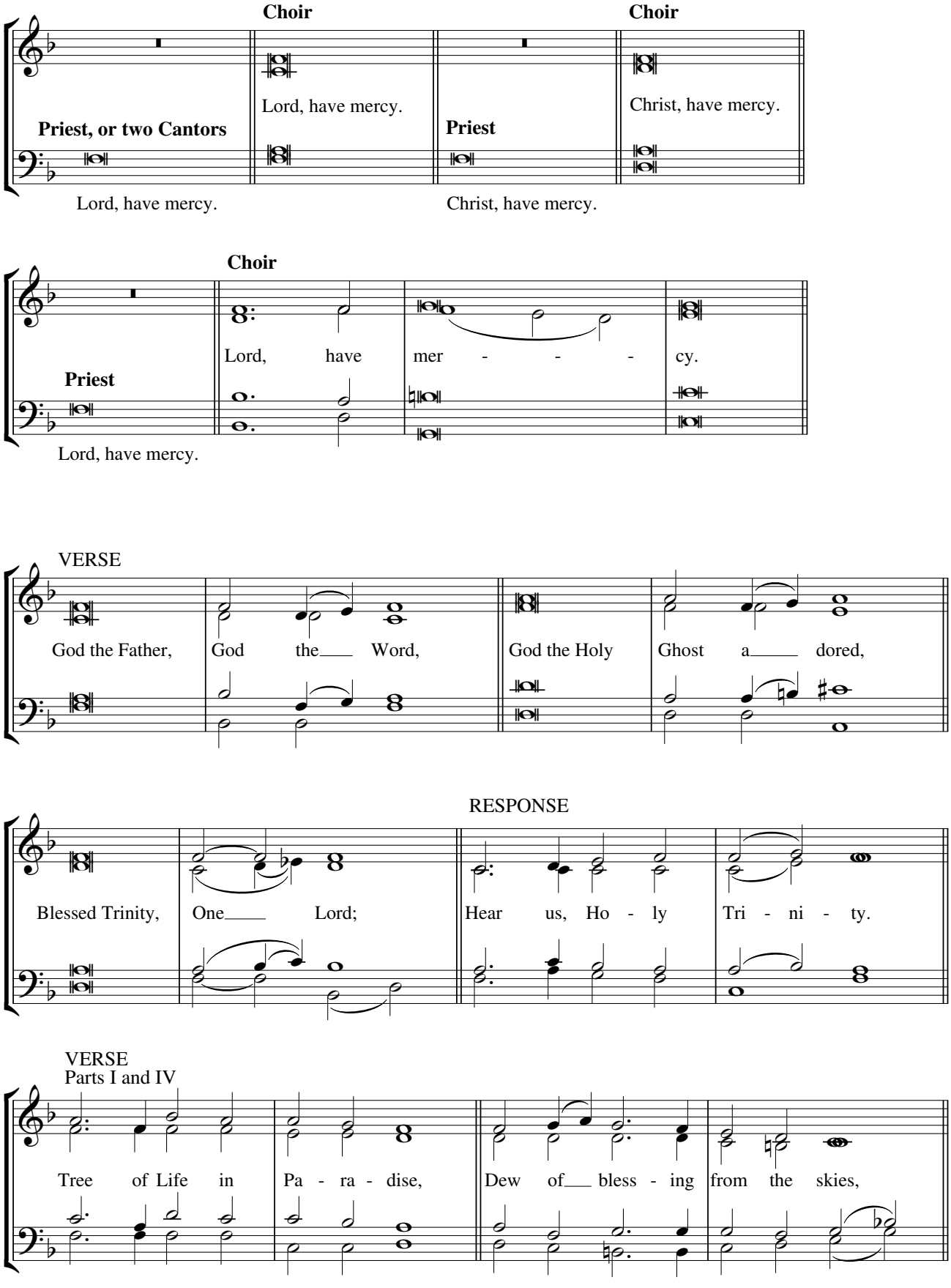
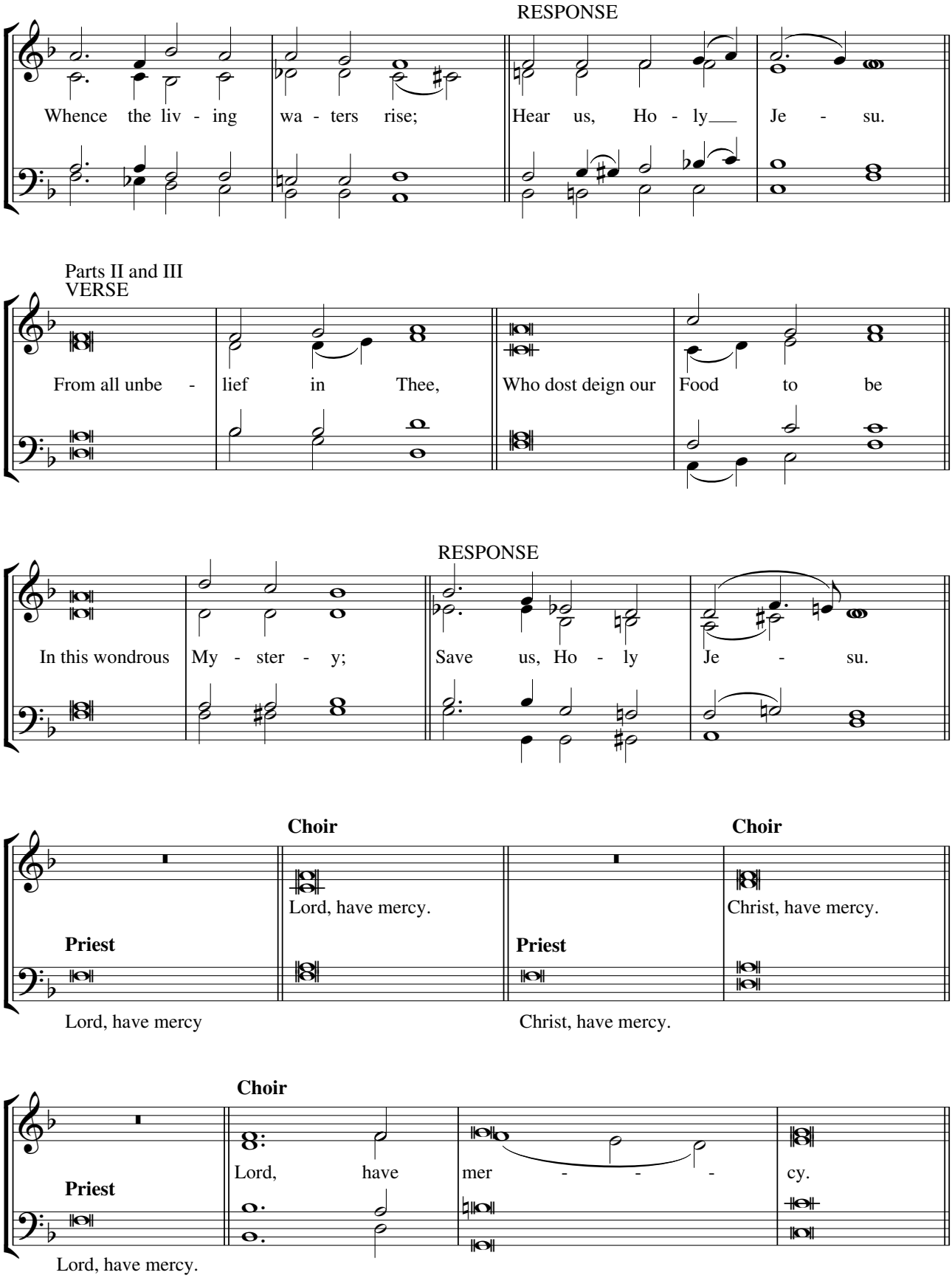
Our Father, &c.



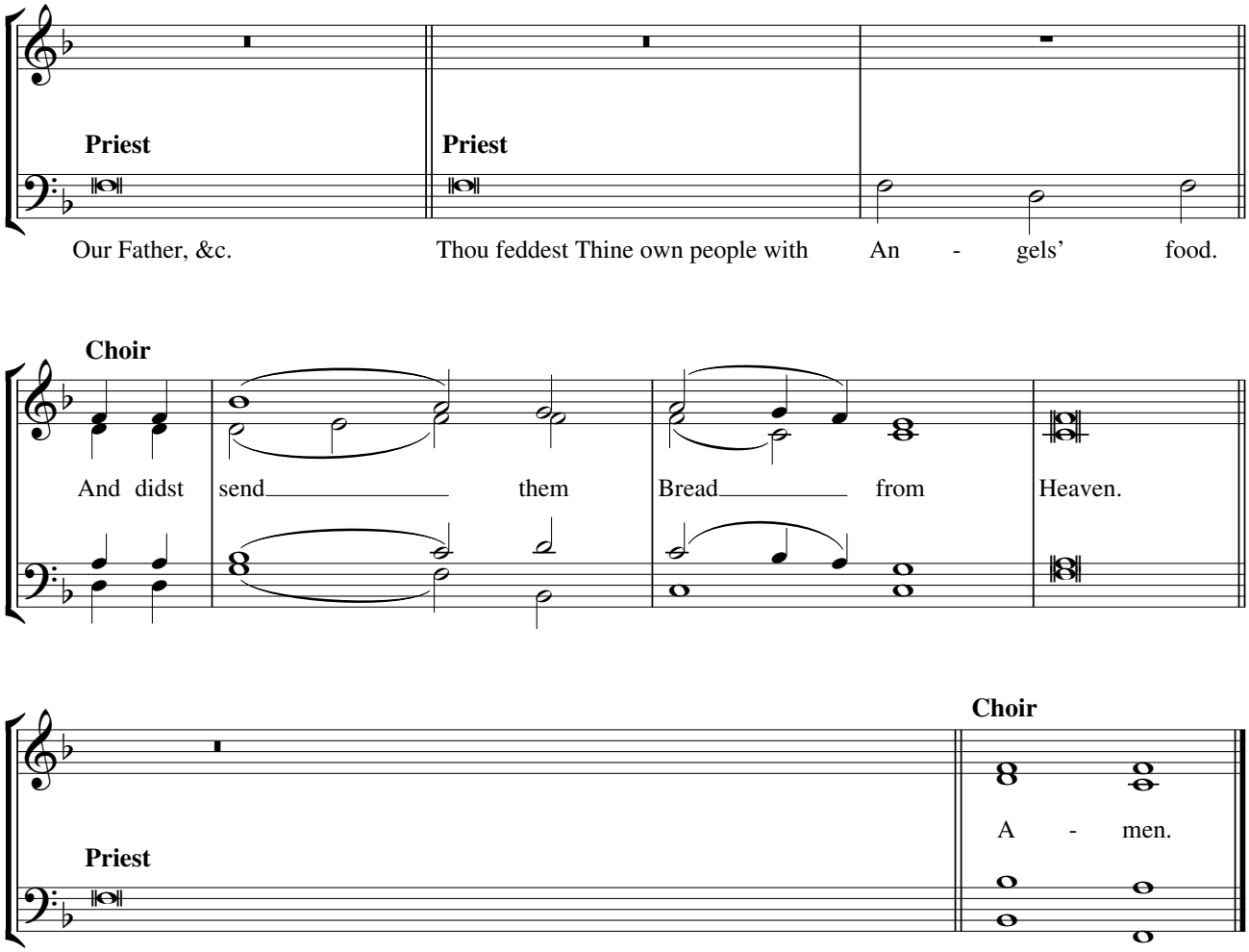
Let us pray. Almighty &c.

Litany of the Blessed Sacrament (Irregular)

Book of Litanies, Prose and Metrical (1875) p.66

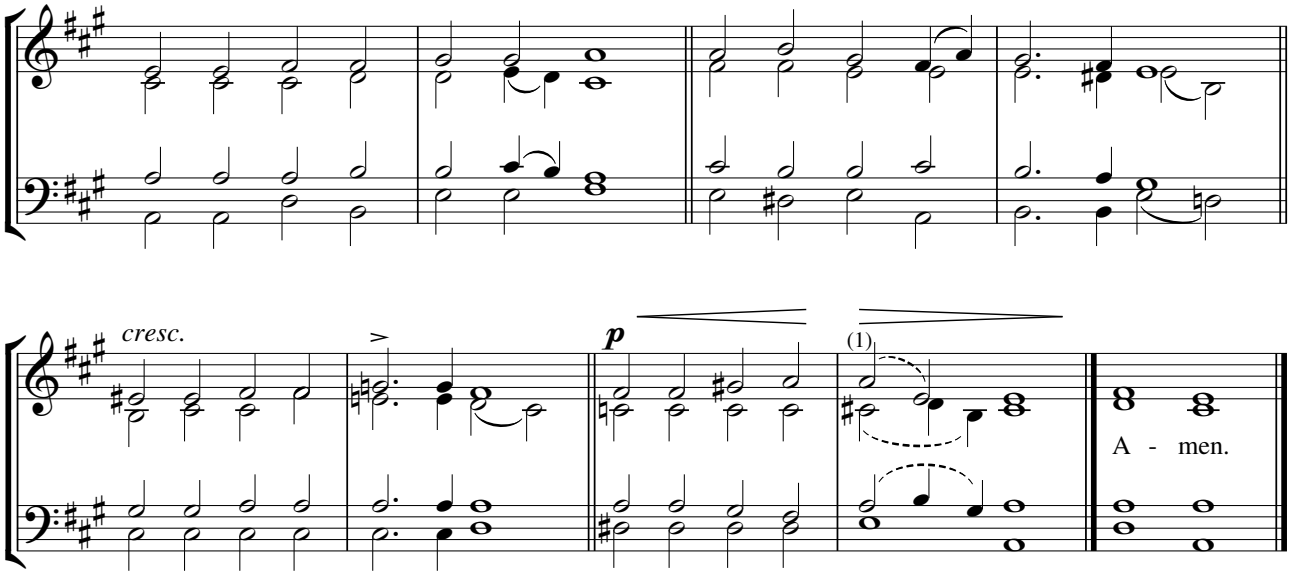


RESPONSE
Whence the liv - ing wa - ters rise;
Hear us, Ho - ly Je - su.
Parts II and III
VERSE
From all unbe - lief in Thee,
Who dost deign our Food to be
RESPONSE
In this wondrous My - ster - y;
Save us, Ho - ly Je - su.
Choir
Lord, have mercy.
Choir
Christ, have mercy.
Priest
Priest
Lord, have mercy
Christ, have mercy.
Choir
Lord, have mer - - - cy.
Priest
Lord, have mercy.



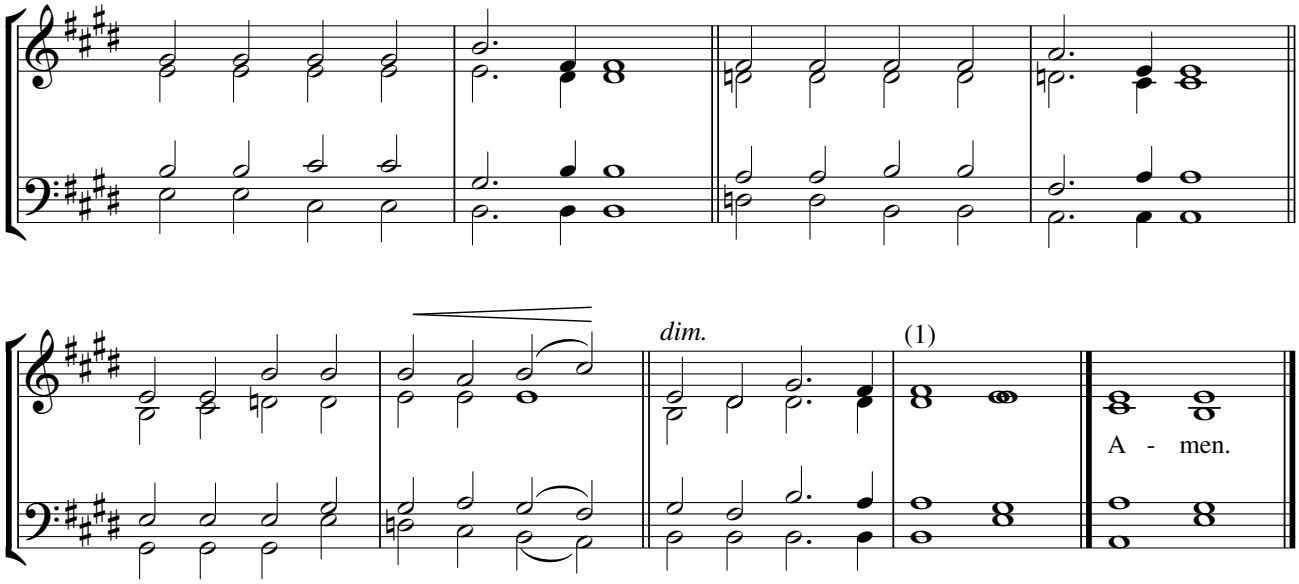
Let us pray. O God, Who hast prepared for them that love Thee, such good things as pass man's understanding; pour into our hearts such love toward Thee, that we, loving Thee above all things, may obtain Thy promises, which exceed all we can desire; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Litany of the Incarnate Word (7777)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.464

God the Father, God the Son,
God the Spirit, Three in One,
Hear us from Thy heavenly Throne,
Spare us, Holy Trinity.

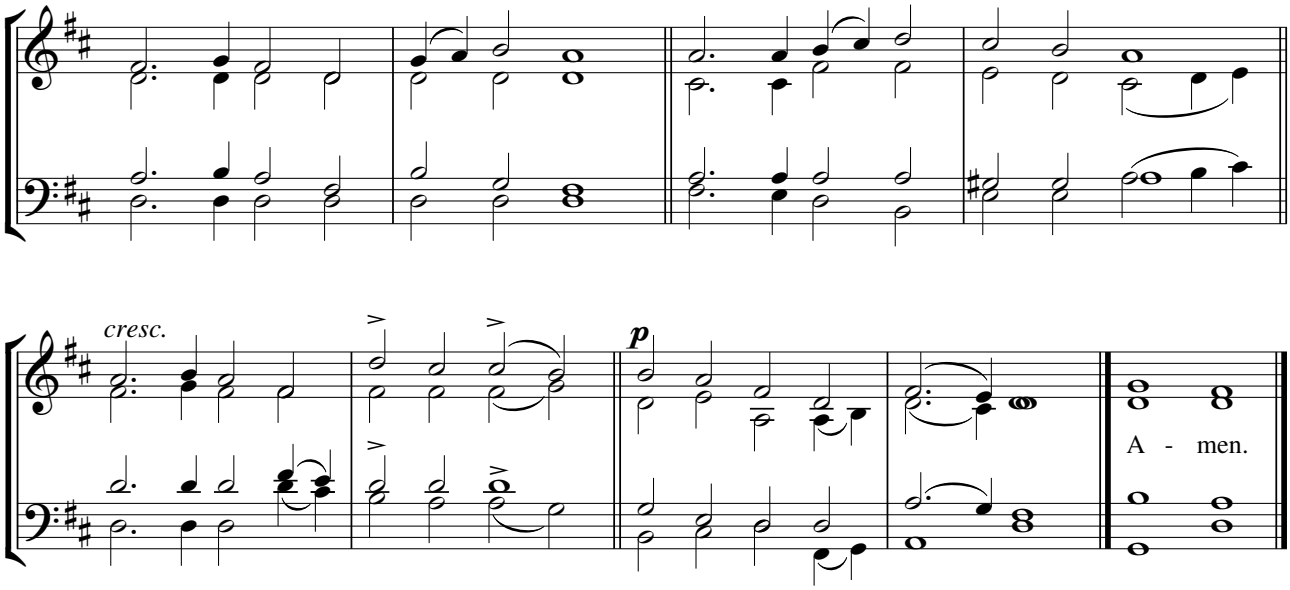
(1) The slurs apply to all verses after the first verse.

Litany of the Passion (7776)

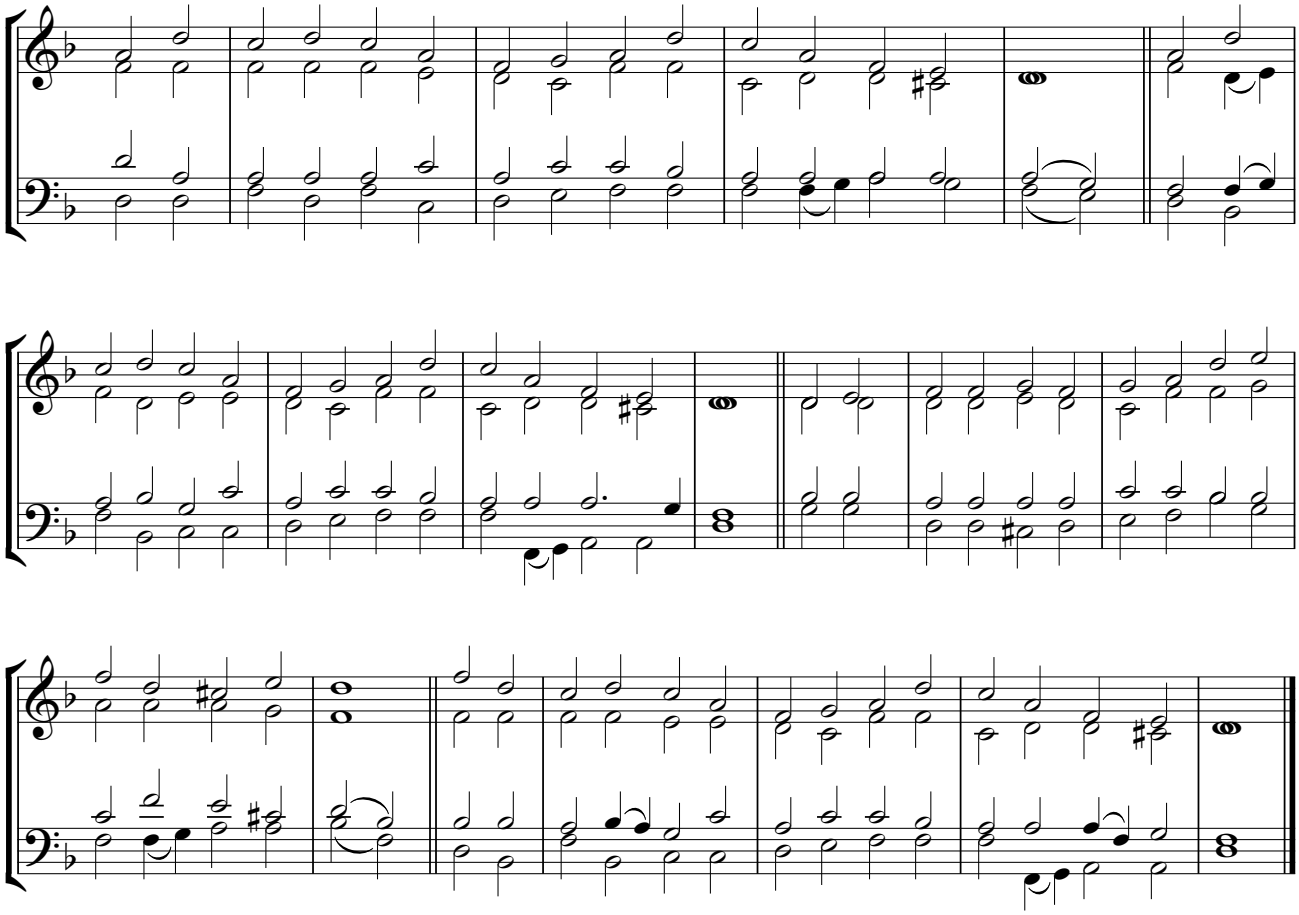
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.467

God the Father, God the Son,
God the Spirit, Three in One,
Hear us from Thy heavenly Throne,
Spare us, Holy Trinity.

(1) In the first verse only, this bar needs to be read as 𝅗𝅥. 𝅘𝅥 𝅝

Litany for the Resurrection of Our Lord (7776)

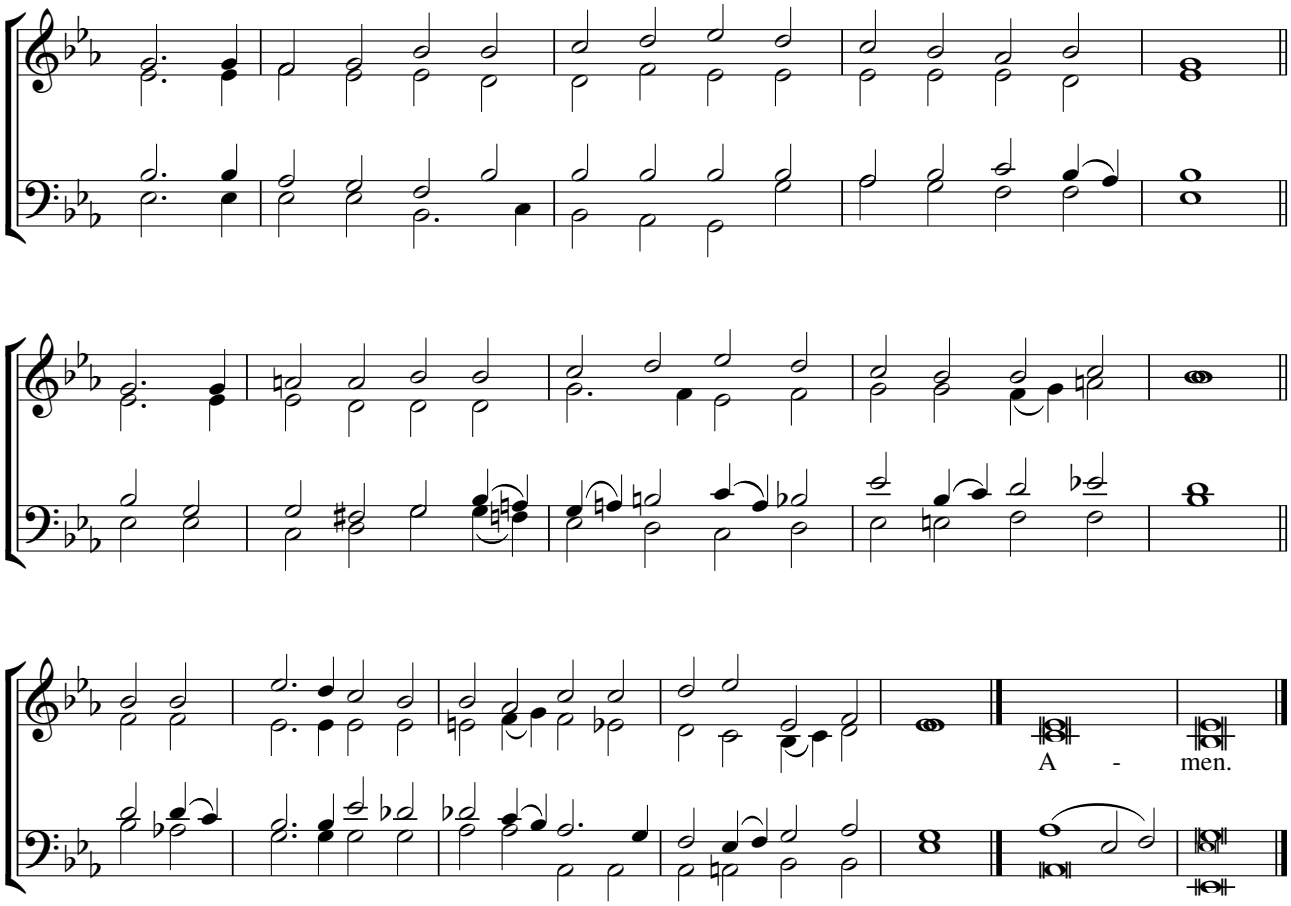
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.273

God the Father, God the Son,
Holy Spirit, Three in One,
See us kneeling at Thy Throne;
Hear is, Holy Trinity.

Llansannian (8787D) (Welsh melody, arr. J.B.D.)

St. Asaph Tune Book (1876) No.217

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

220

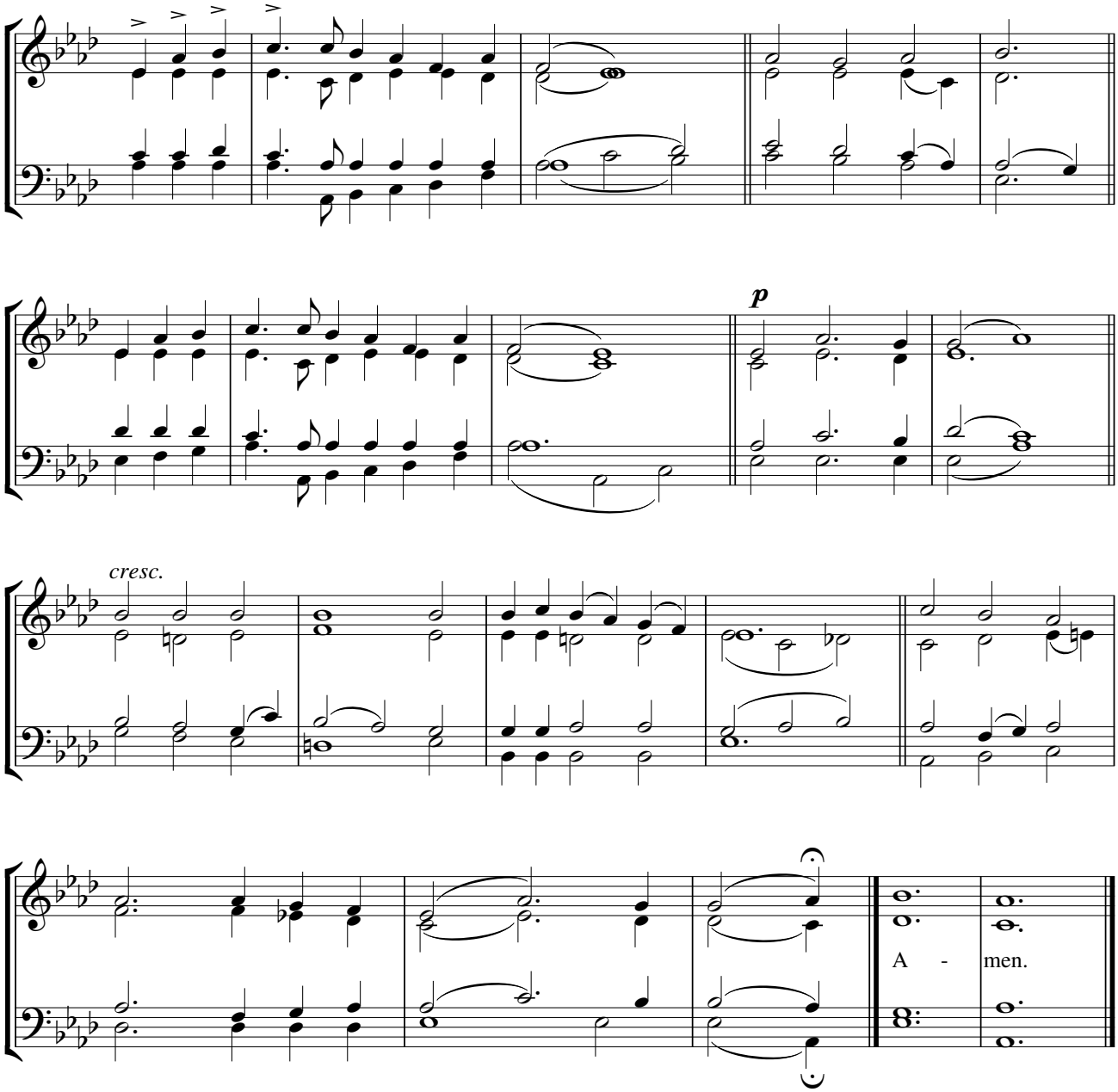
‘Lord of life, Prophetic Spirit’ (15,15,15)

The Sarum Hymnal (1869) No. 245

Lord of Life, prophetic Spirit,
In sweet measure evermore
To the holy children dealing
Each his gift from Thy rich store;
Bless Thy family, adoring
As in Israel’s schools of yore.

John Keble

Lux Benigna (10.4.10.4.10.10)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.342

Other names:
ST. OSWALD (with variations)

Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

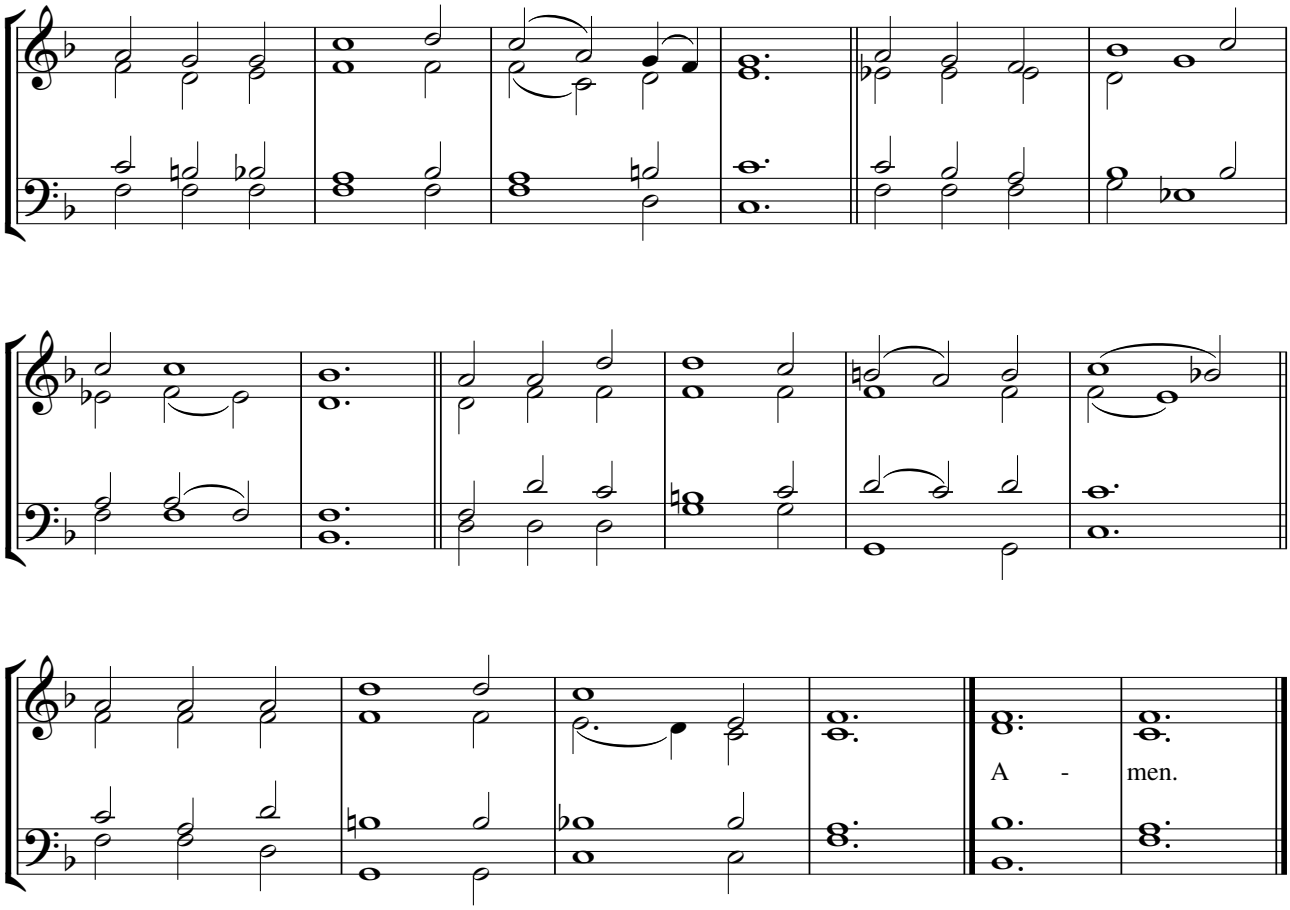
John H. Newman

See footnote to ST. OSWALD (3) (p359), which was the name given to the original version of this tune.

222

Lux Perpetua (LM)

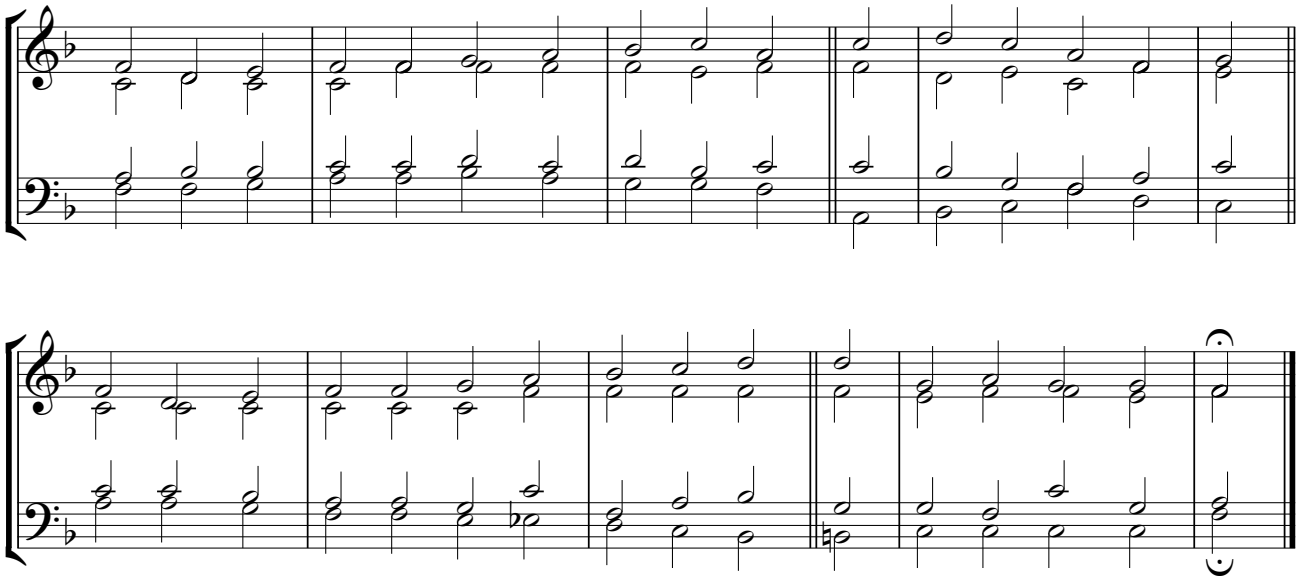
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.15



Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near:
O may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes.

John Keble

Lux Vera (10.6.10.6)

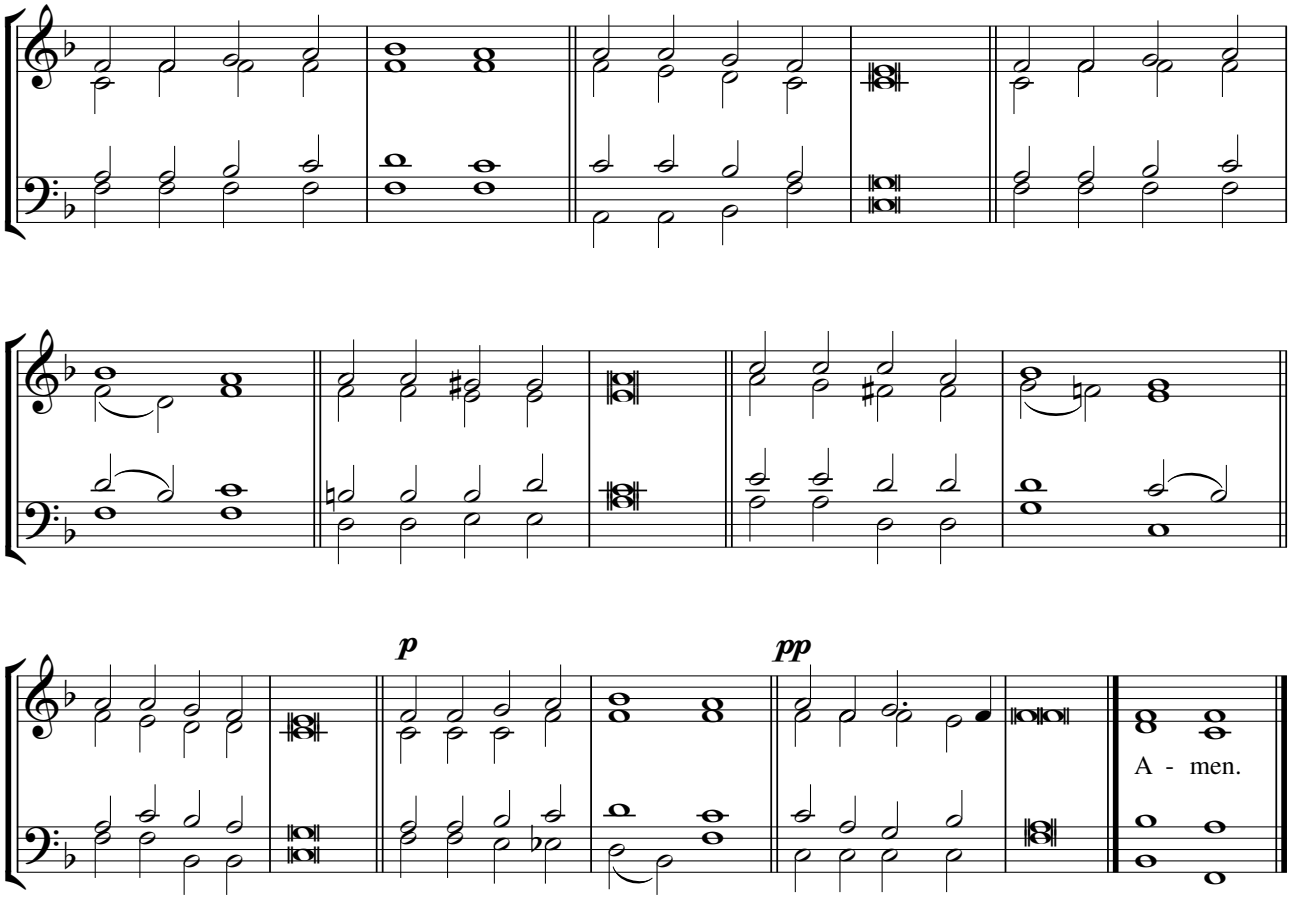
The Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No. 71

O brightness of the Immortal Father's Face,
Most Holy, Heavenly, Bless'd,
Lord Jesus Christ, in whom His truth and grace
Are visibly express'd.

trans. from the Greek by Edward W. Eddis

Magdalene (1) (11.11.11.11)

Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.78

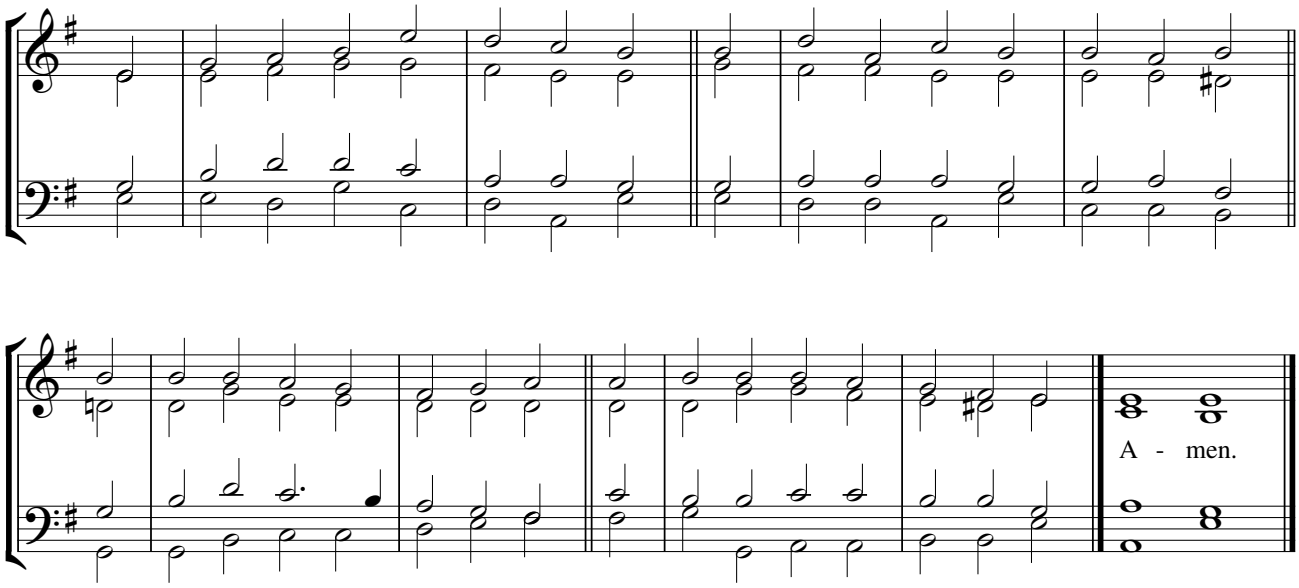
Other names:
[ST] MARY MAGDALENE
MAGDALENA



In the hour of trial, Jesu! plead for me,
Lest by base denial I depart from Thee;
When Thou seest me waver, with a look recall,
Nor, for fear or favour, suffer me to fall.

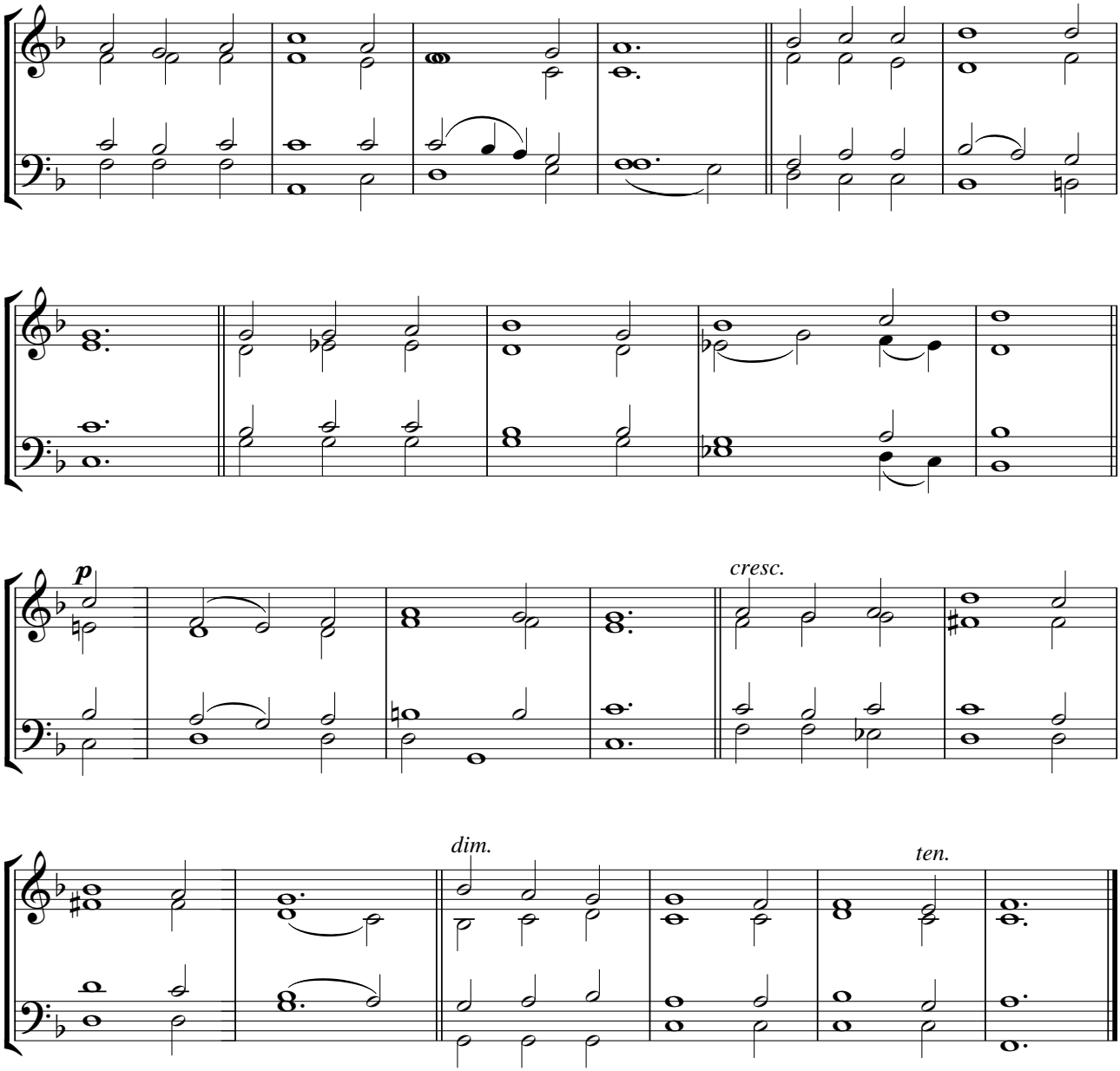
James Montgomery

Magdalene (2) (LM)

Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.35

O Maker of the World, give ear,
Accept the prayer, and own the tear
Toward Thy seat of mercy sent
In this most holy fast of Lent.

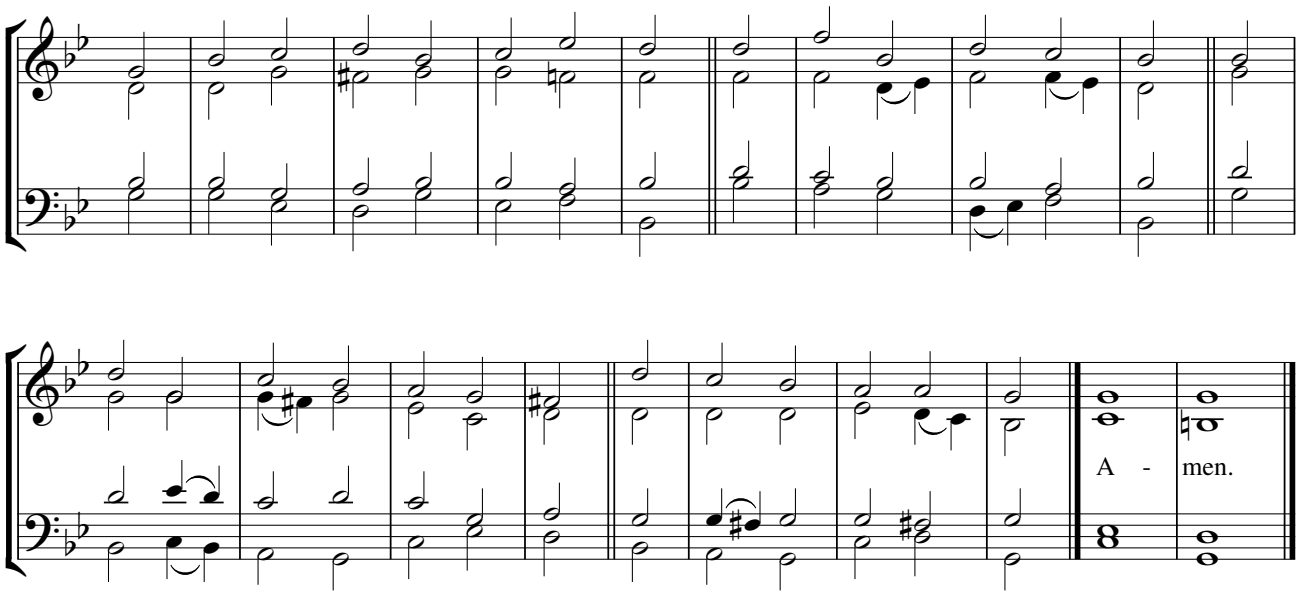
John Mason Neale

Malton (868688)

A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns as used by the Congregation of Grey Friars, St. John's &c. at Reading (1870) No. 40

Lord of my life! Whose tender care
Hath led me on till now,
Here lowly at the hour of prayer
Before Thy throne I bow;
I bless Thy gracious hand, and pray
Forgiveness for another day.

'Ω *Chelsea 1838*'

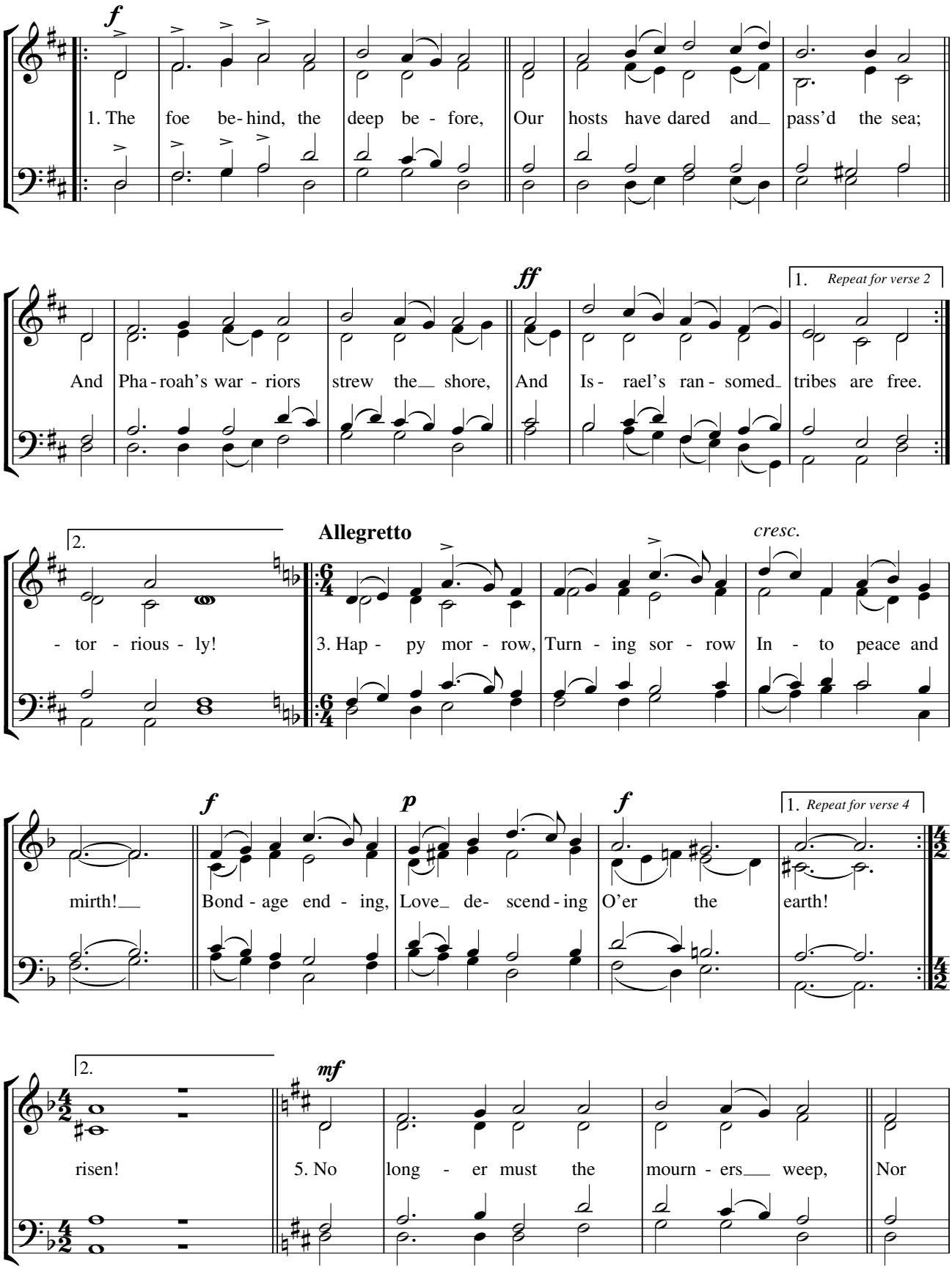
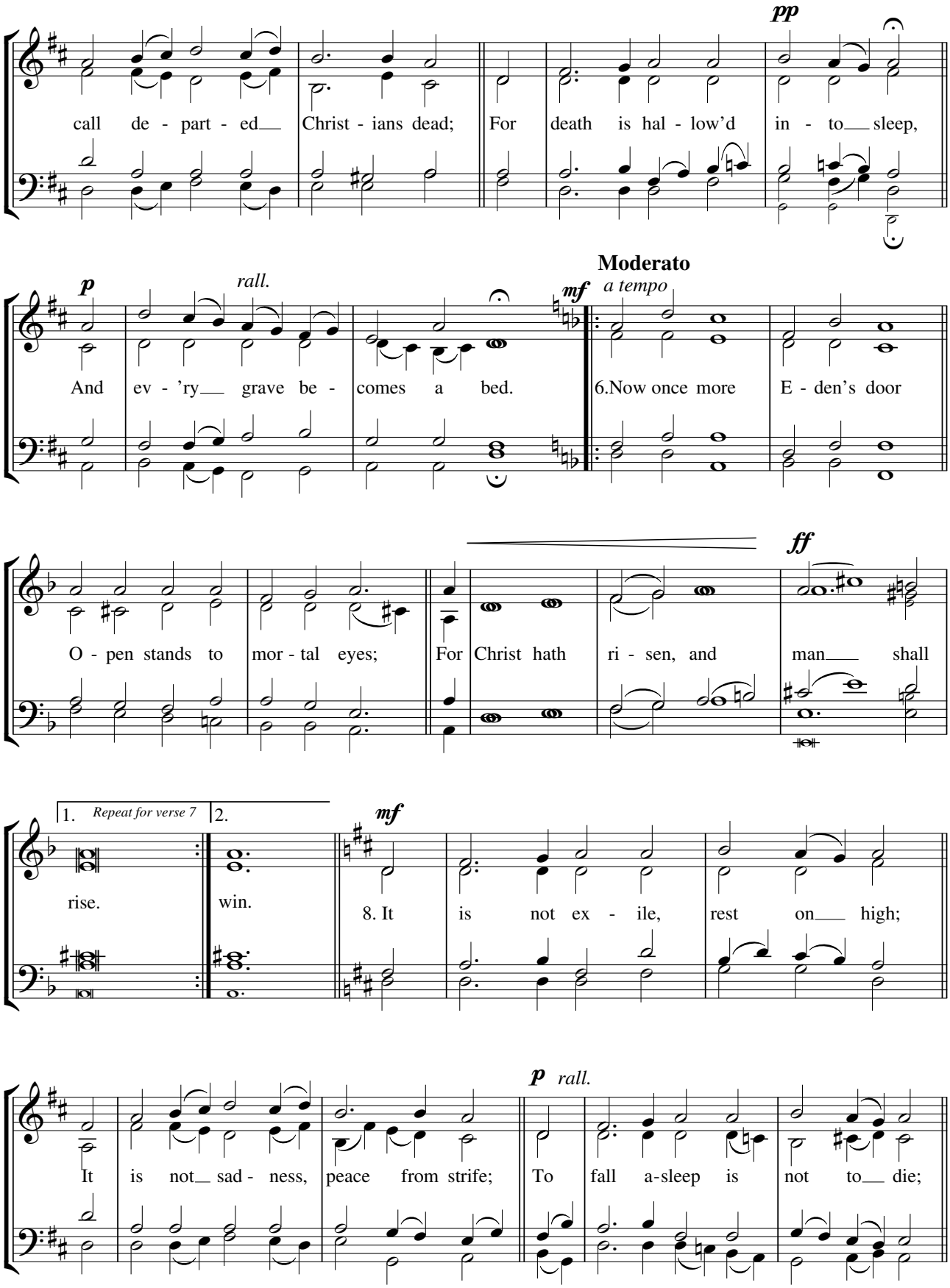
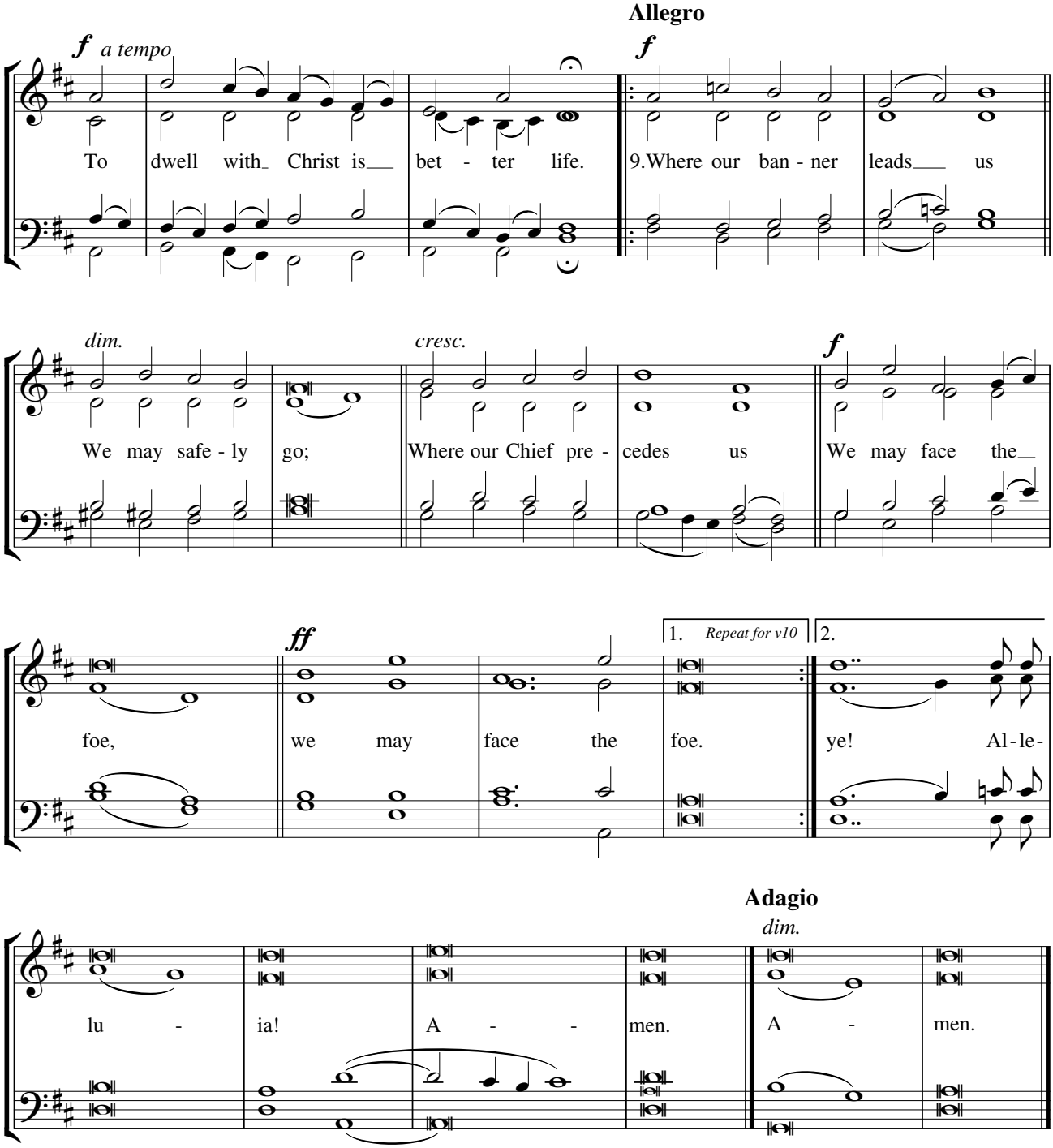
Manchester (CM) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.289

How blest are they whose hearts are pure,
From guile their spirits free;
To them shall God Himself reveal,
His Glory they shall see.

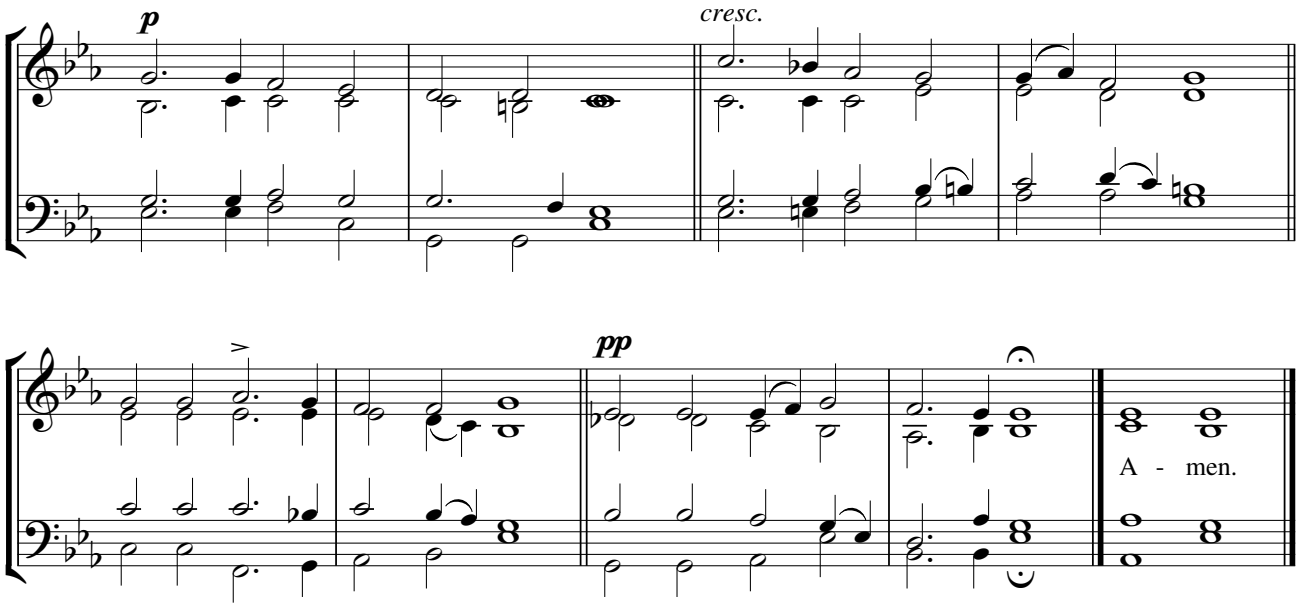
William Goode.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Mare Rubrum (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 79

pp
call de - part - ed Christ - ians dead; For death is hal - low'd in - to sleep,
p
rall.
And ev - 'ry grave be - comes a bed.
Moderato
mf
a tempo
6.Now once more E - den's door
ff
O - pen stands to mor - tal eyes; For Christ hath ri - sen, and man shall
1. Repeat for verse 7
2.
rise.
win.
mf
8. It is not ex - ile, rest on high;
p
rall.
It is not sad - ness, peace from strife; To fall a-sleep is not to die;

Allegro
f a tempo
f
To dwell with Christ is bet - ter life.
9.Where our ban - ner leads us
dim.
cresc.
f
We may safe - ly go;
Where our Chief pre - cedes us
We may face the
ff
1. Repeat for v10
2.
foe,
we may face the foe.
ye! Al - le -
Adagio
dim.
lu - ia!
A - - men.
A - men.

Mariæ Filius (7777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 17

When our heads are bowed with woe,
when our bitter tears o'erflow,
when we mourn the lost, the dear,
Jesus, Son of Mary, hear!

Henry Hart Milman

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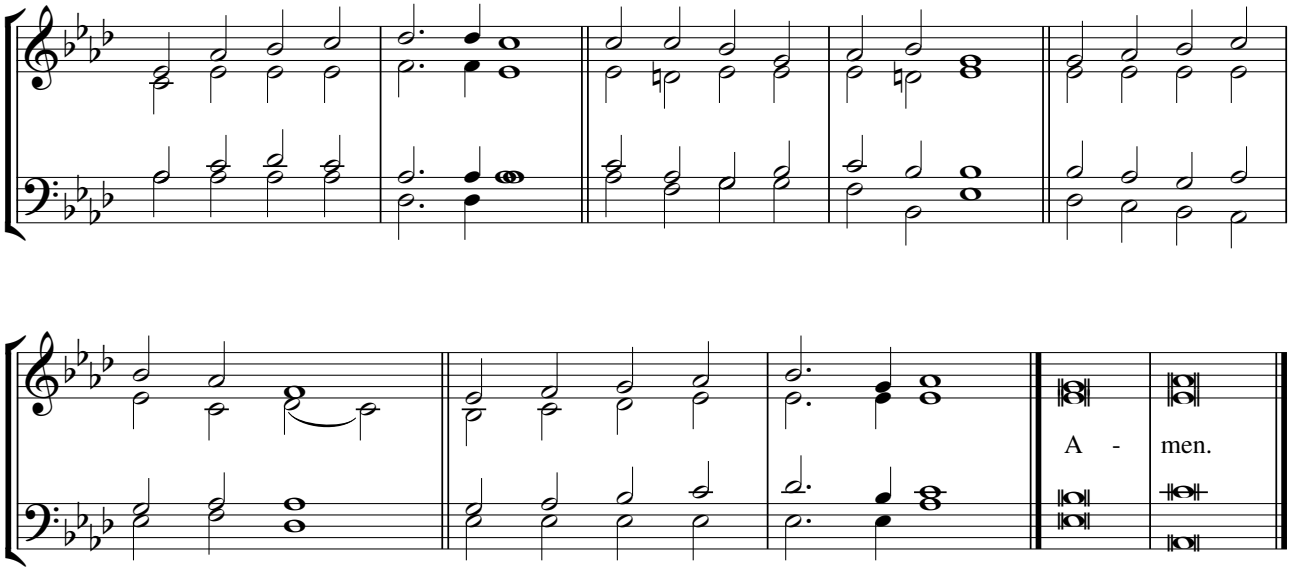
Mariners (7777)

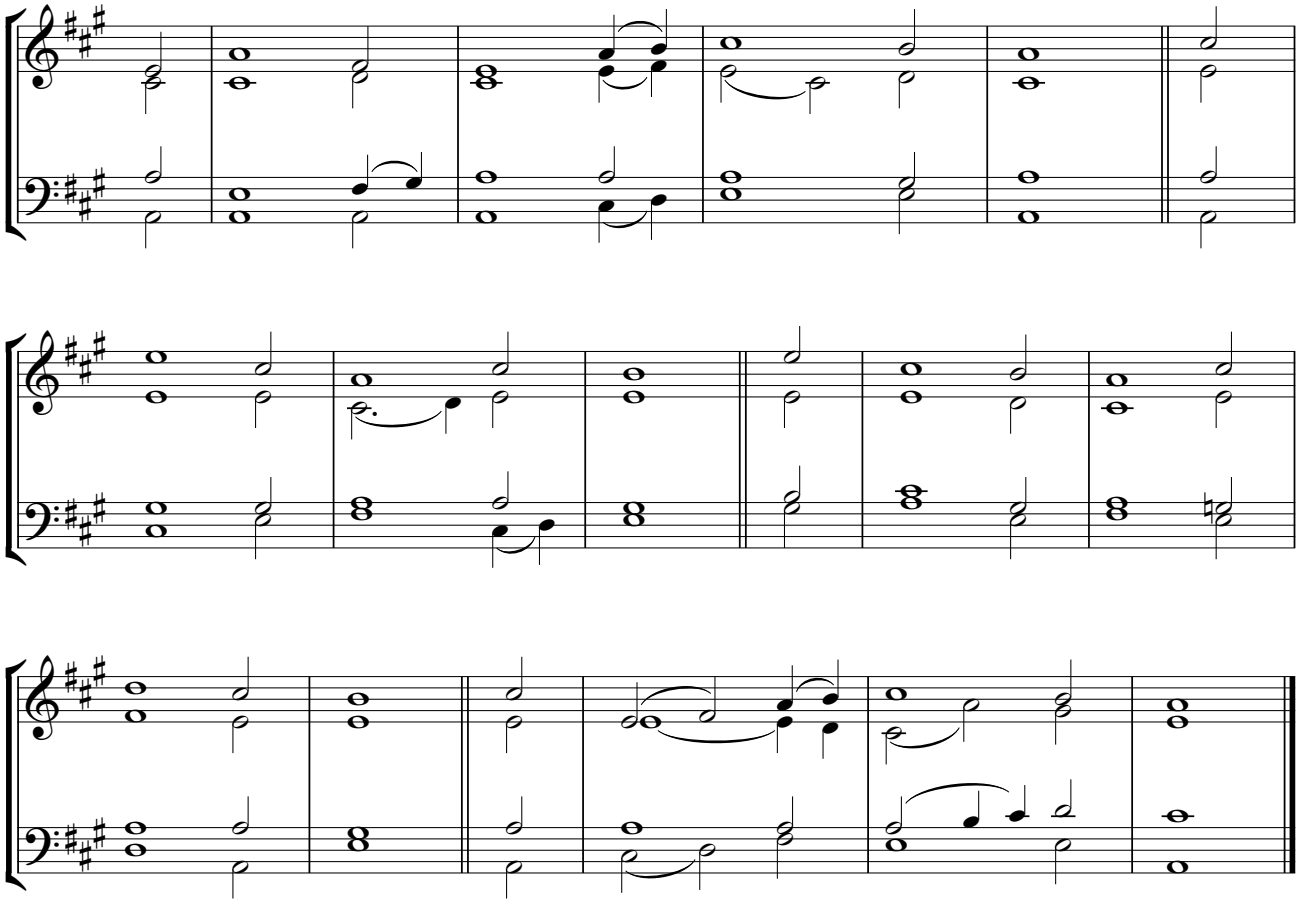
The Children's Hymnal (1877) No.65

Other names:
A CHILD'S LITANY (part)

Holy Spirit, Blessed Dove,
Sent by Jesus from above;
Sent to be our Friend most dear,
And a Comforter to cheer.

Esther Wiglesworth

Martyrdom (i) (CM) (H. Wilson, arr. J.B.D.)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.310 (1)

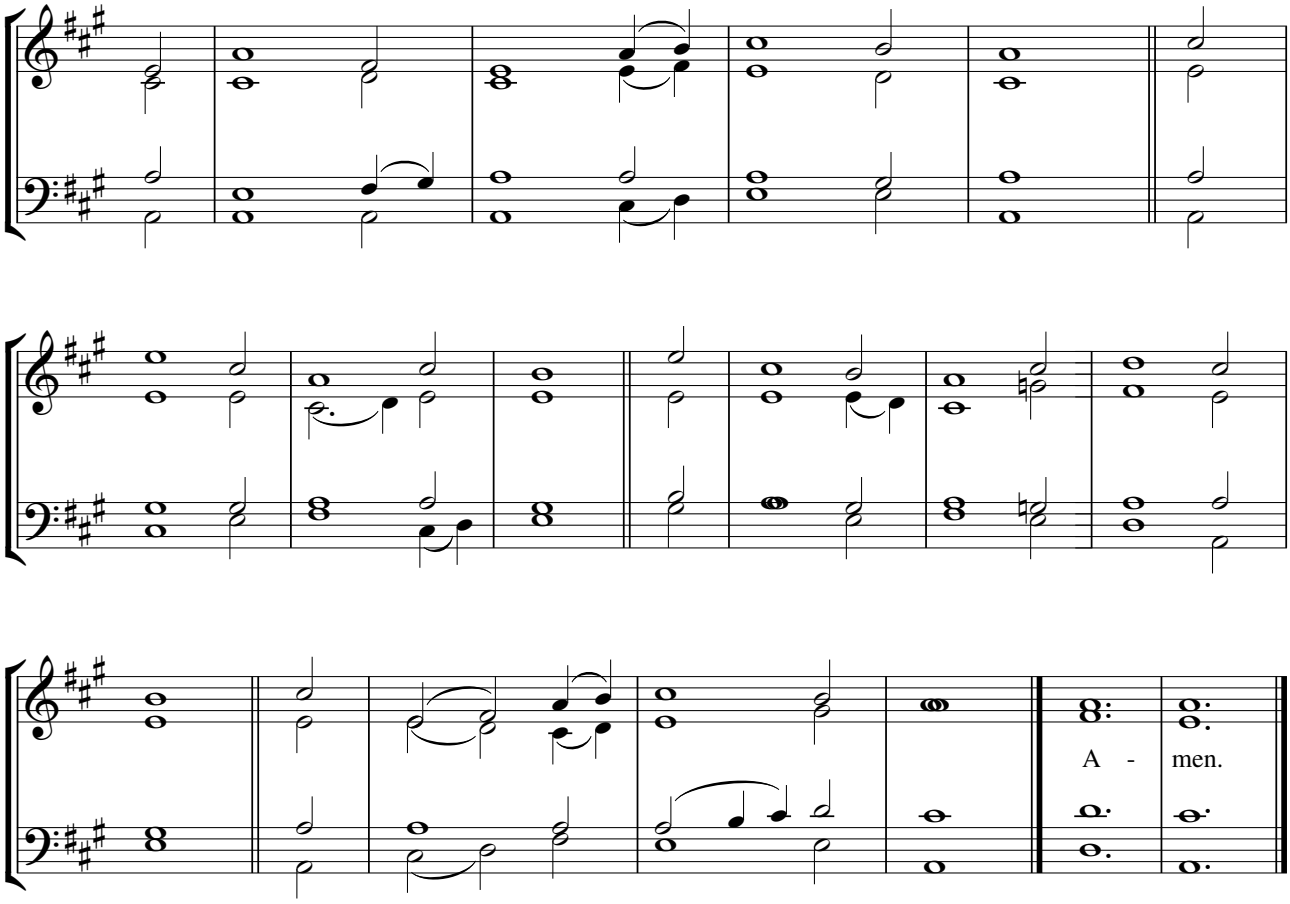


As pants the hart for cooling streams
When heated in the chase.
So longs my soul, O God, for Thee,
And Thy refreshing grace.
from Tate and Brady

(1) Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874. This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

234

Martyrdom (ii) (CM) (H. Wilson, arr. J.B.D.)

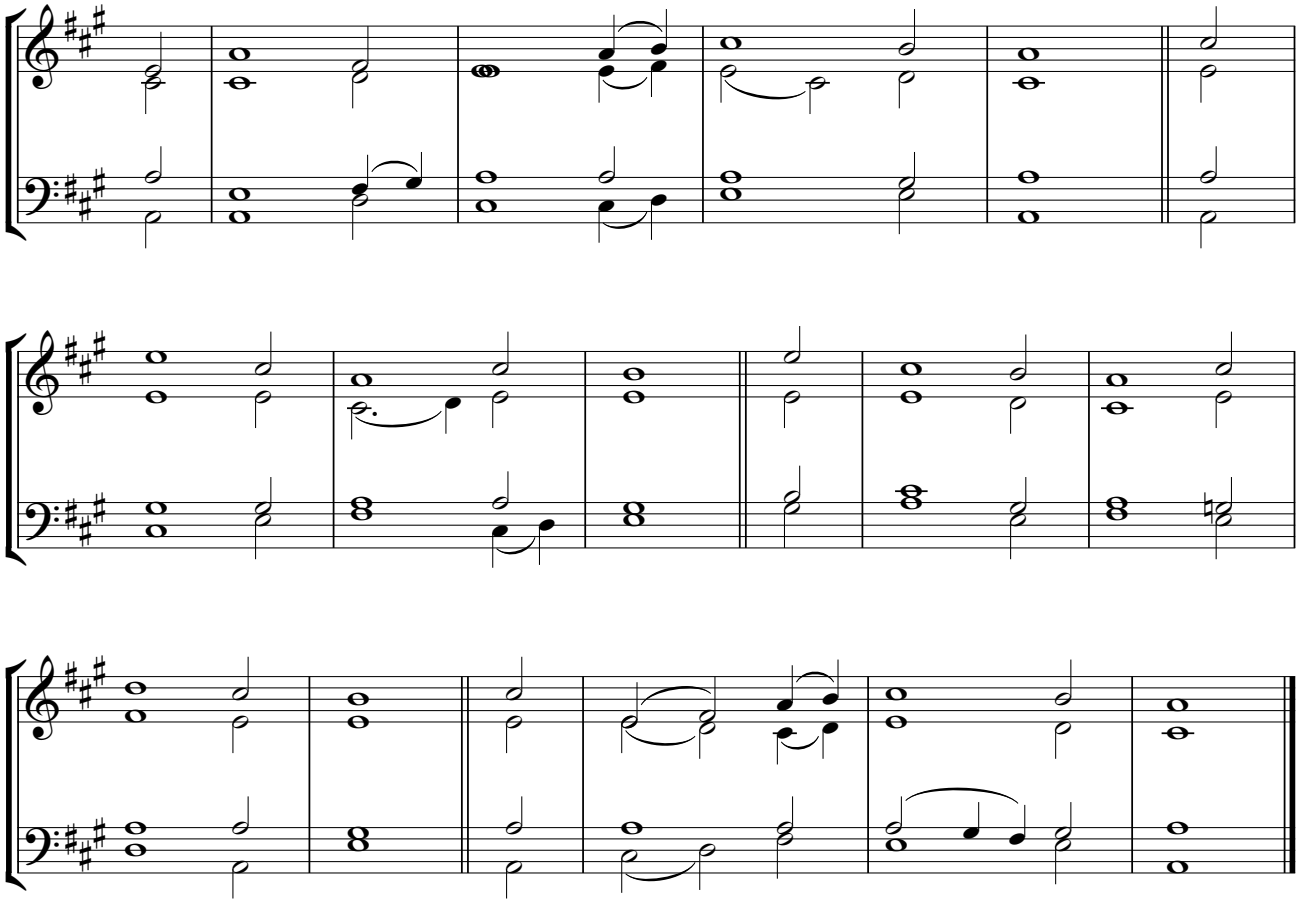
The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No.261

Not for the dead in Christ we weep;
Their sorrows now are o'er;
The sea is calm, the tempest past,
On that eternal shore.

Mrs. Barbauld

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Martyrdom (iii) (CM) (H. Wilson, arr. J.B.D.)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.238 (1)

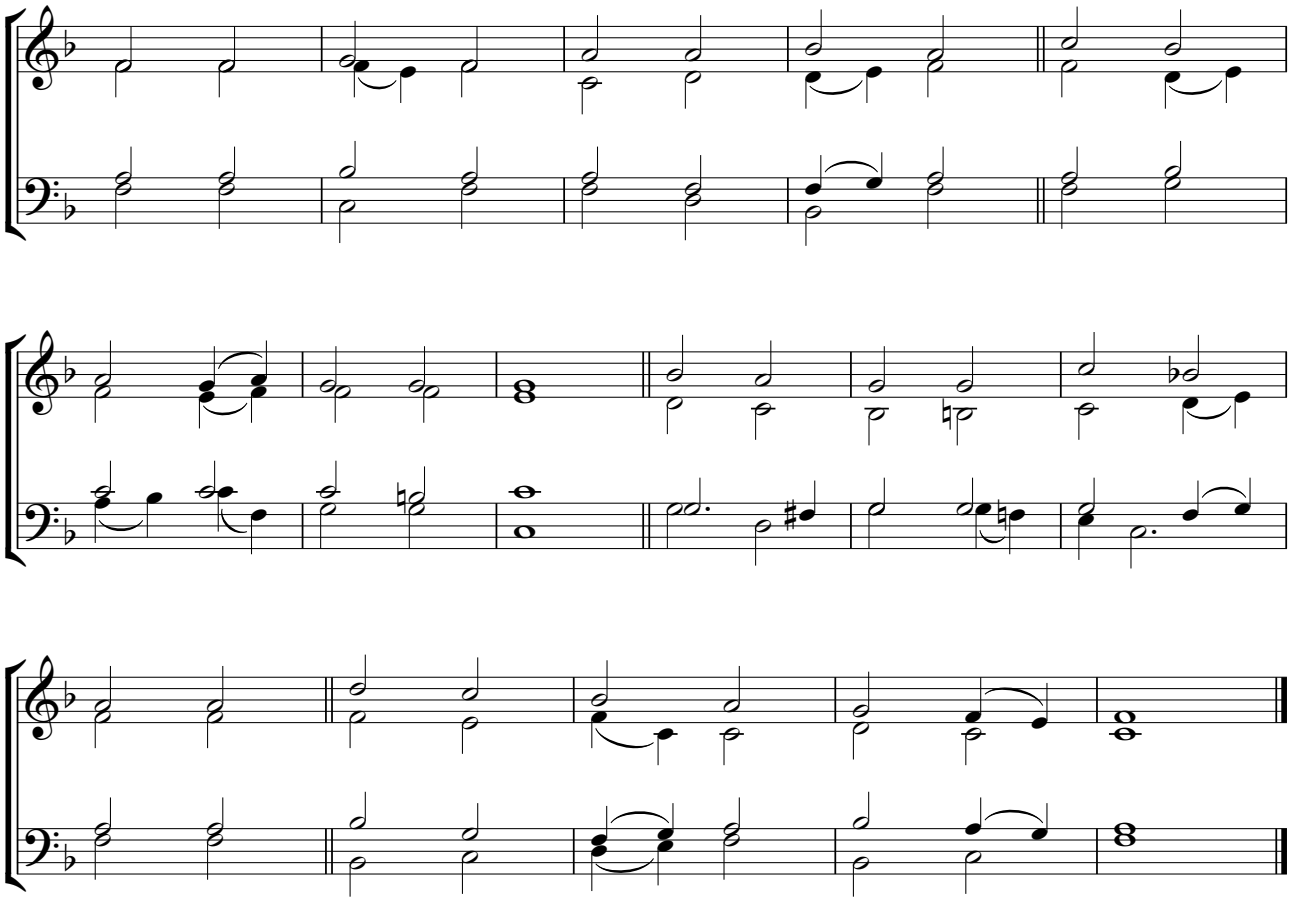


As pants the hart for cooling streams
When heated in the chase.
So longs my soul, O God, for Thee,
And Thy refreshing grace.
from Tate and Brady

(1) Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874. This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

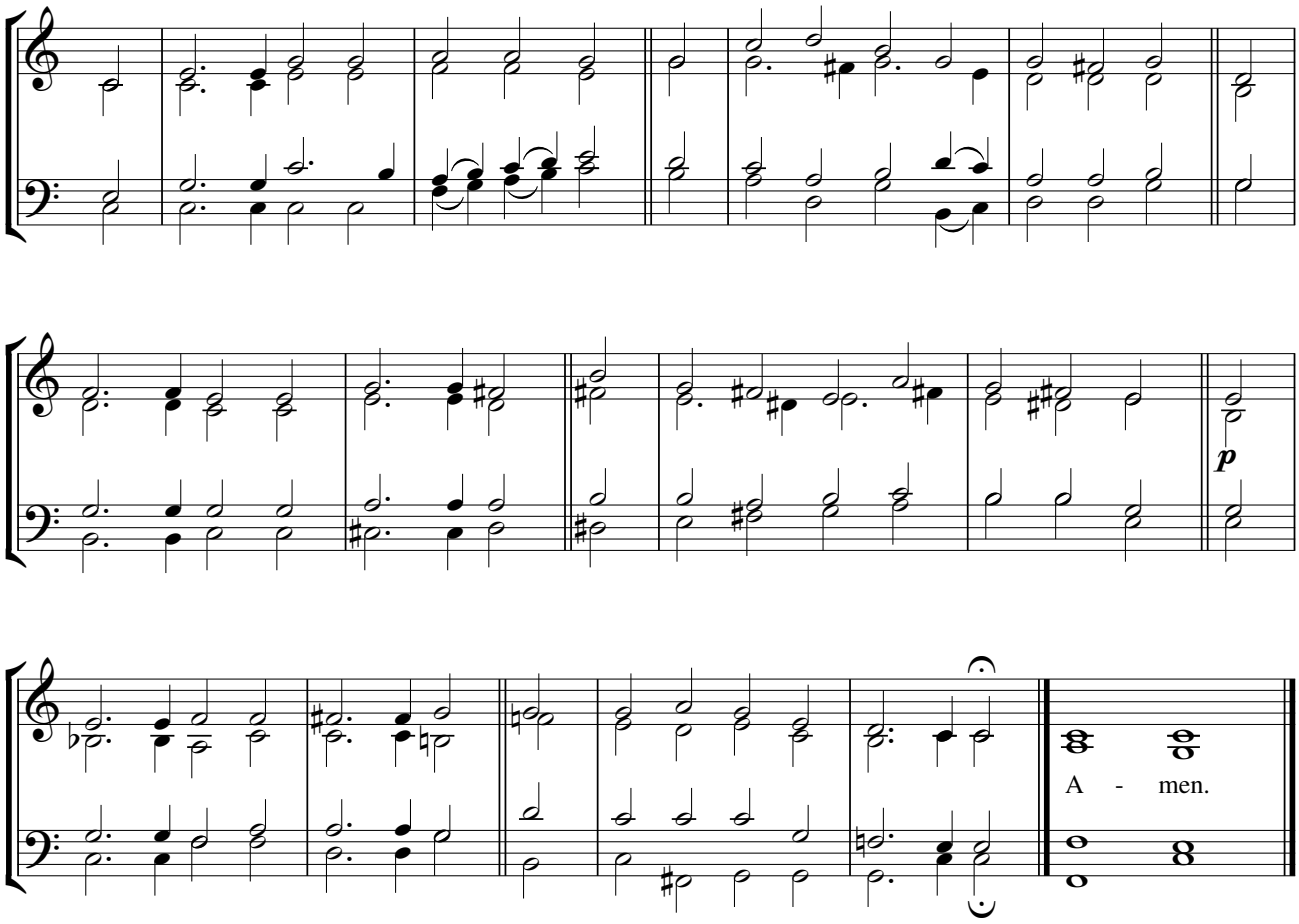
236

Mecklenburg (from the German, arr. J.B.D.)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 64

[No words given in the *Manual*]

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

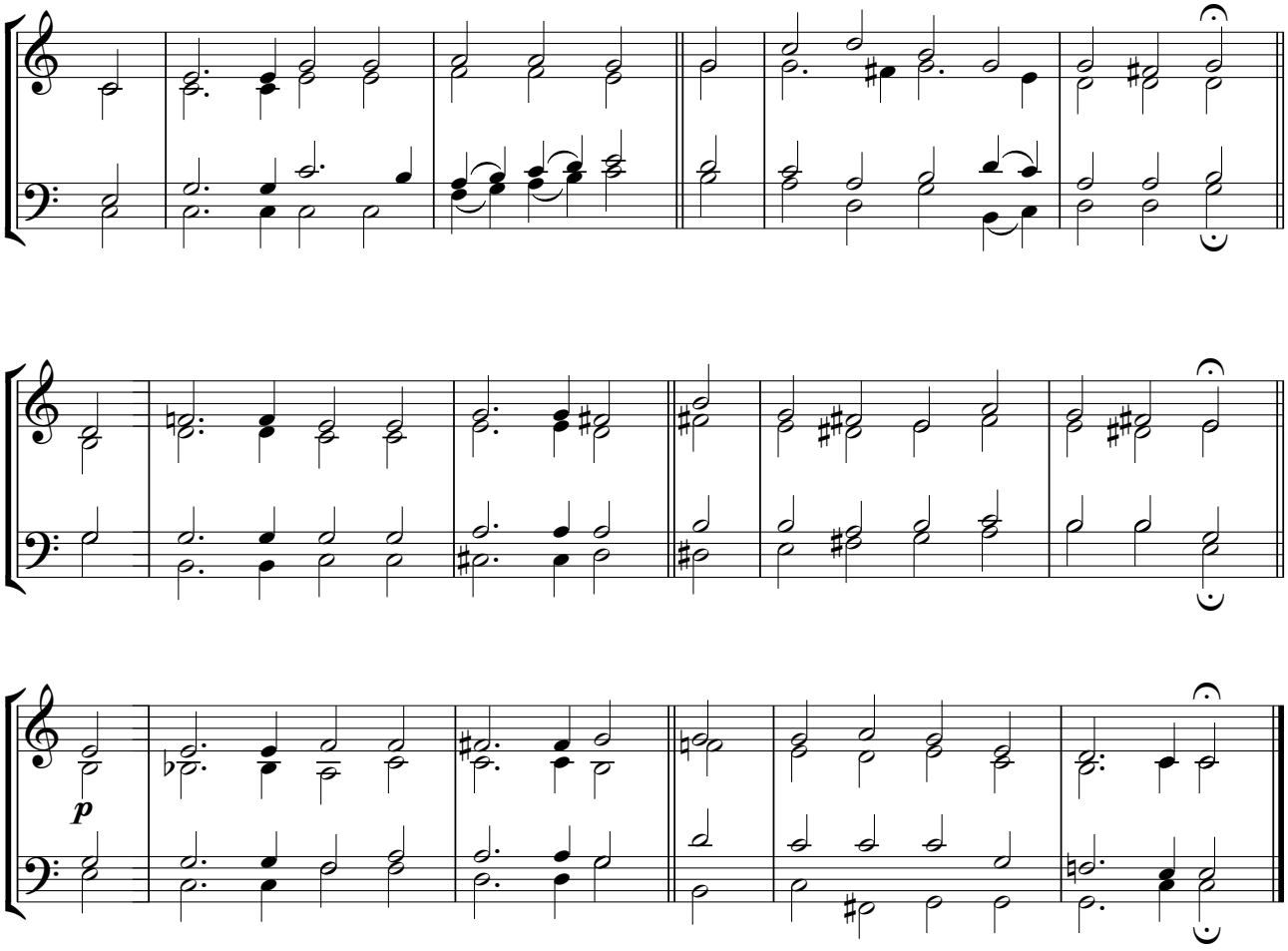
Melita (i) (888888)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.222

Eternal Father, strong to save,
Whose arm hath bound the restless wave,
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

William Whiting

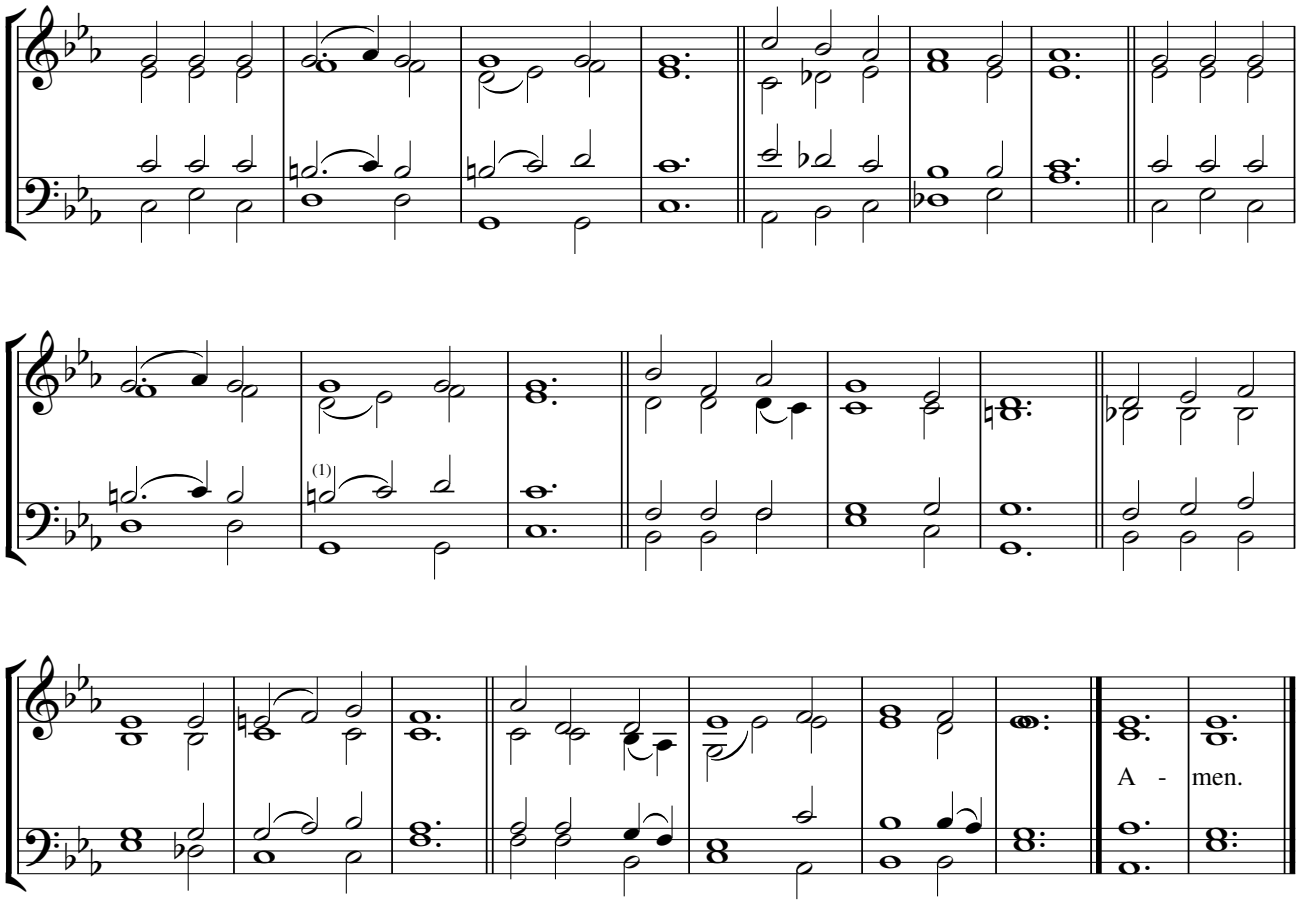
'*Psalms and Hymns for Church, School and Home*' (1867) halves the length of each bar and doubles the length of the first and last chords.

Melita (ii) (888888)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.561

Eternal Father, strong to save,
Whose arm hath bound the restless wave,
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

William Whiting

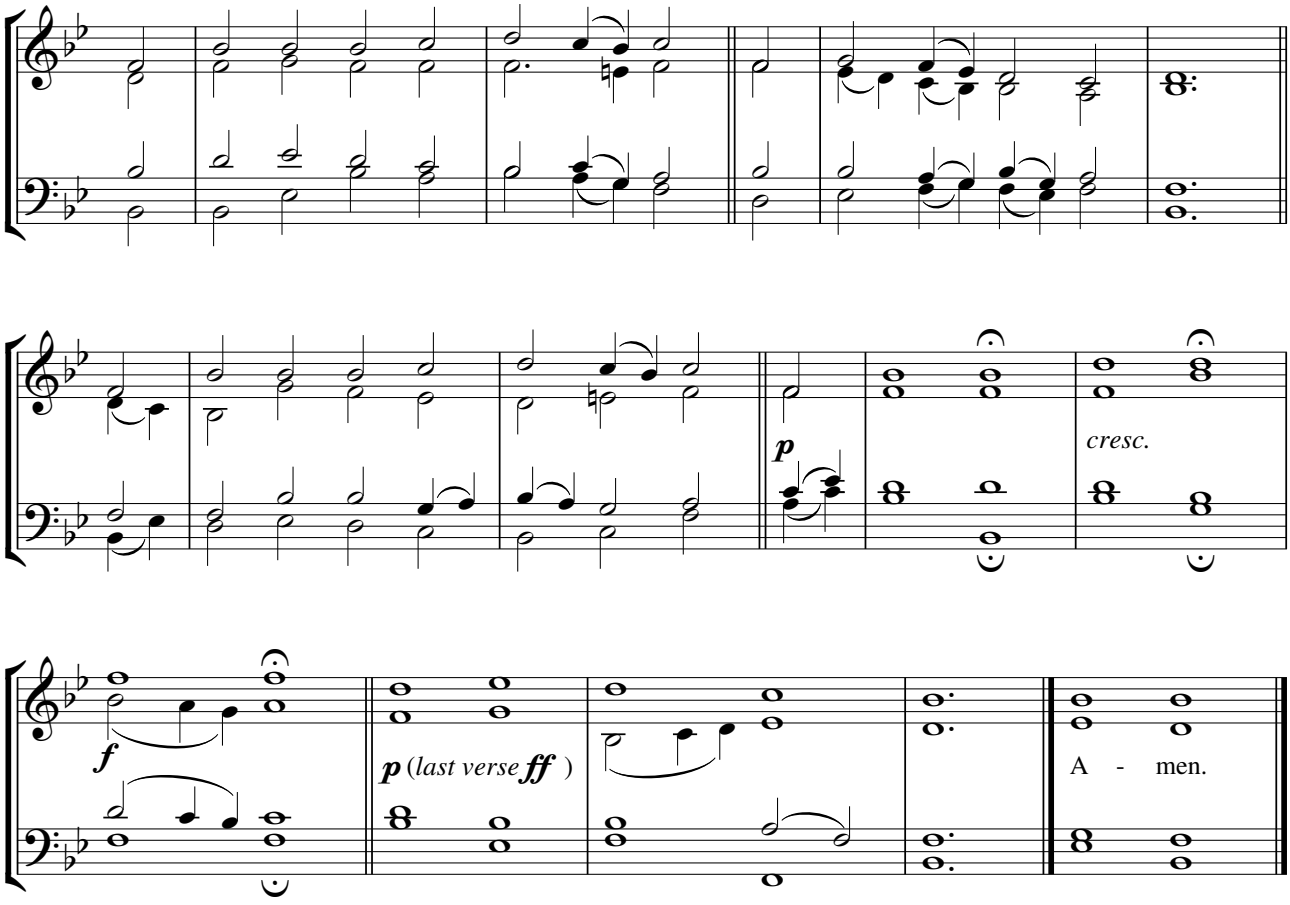
Mercy-Seat (8.6.8.6.8.8.)

The Holy Year (1865) No.37

"Holy of Holies," awful name—
Where, in a still retreat,
The Presence of the Godhead dwelt,
Upon the Mercy-seat;
Veil'd from the eye in darkness dim,
Enthron'd between the Cherubim.

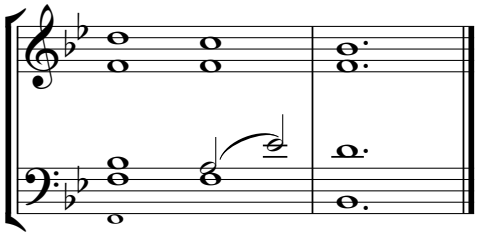
Christopher Wordsworth

(1) The printed score omits the ♮

Miles Lane (CM) (arr. J.B.D)

Hymns Ancient & Modern (1868) No. 301

All hail the power of Jesu's Name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown Him Lord of all.
Edward Perronet

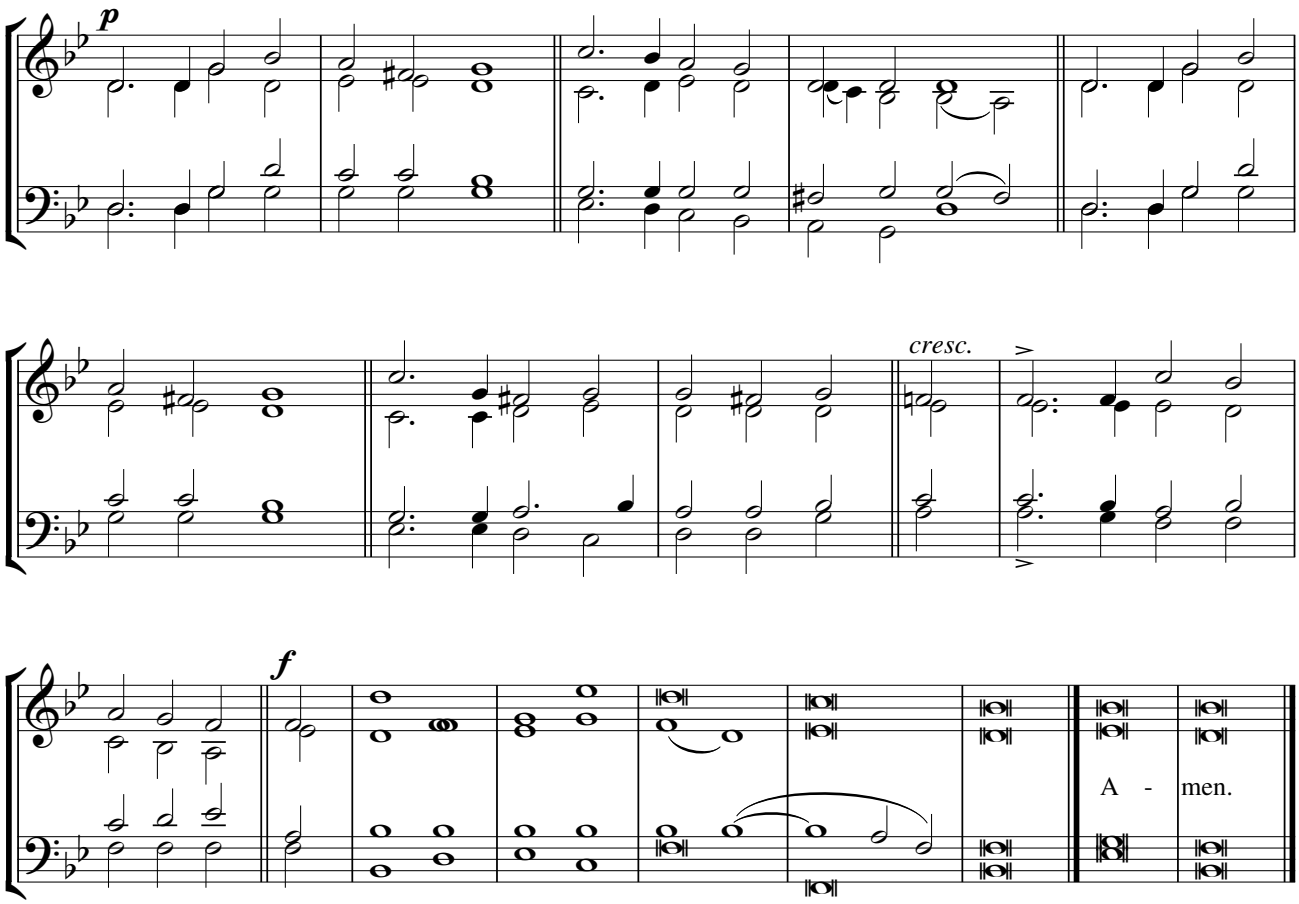
The 1875 edition harmonises the final two bars thus:



Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874.
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Milman (777788)

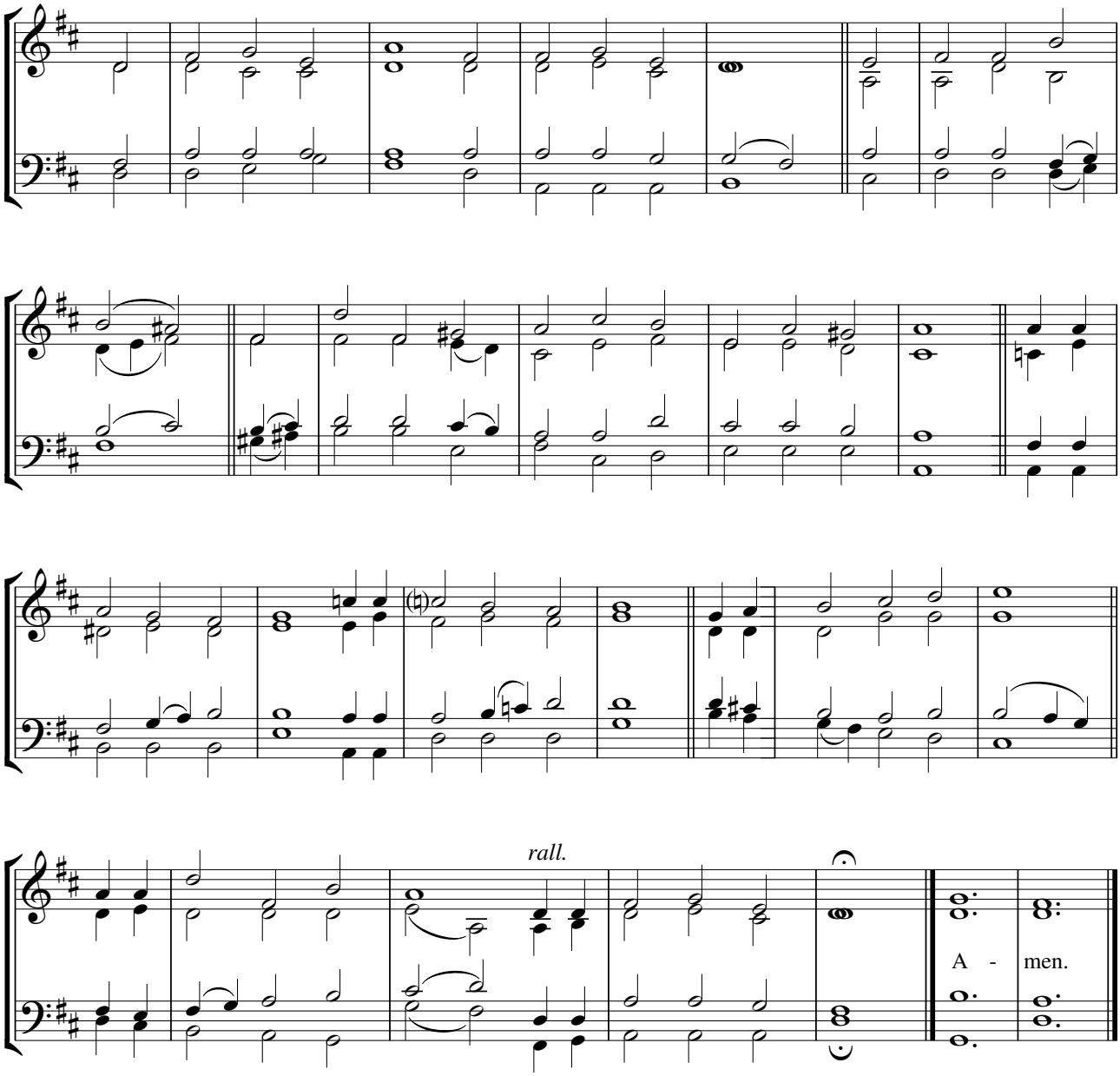
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.56



Lord, we raise our cry to Thee,
Like the blind beside the way:
Make our darkend souls to see
Glories of Thy perfect Day.
O Lord! rebuke our sullen night,
And give Thyself unto our sight!

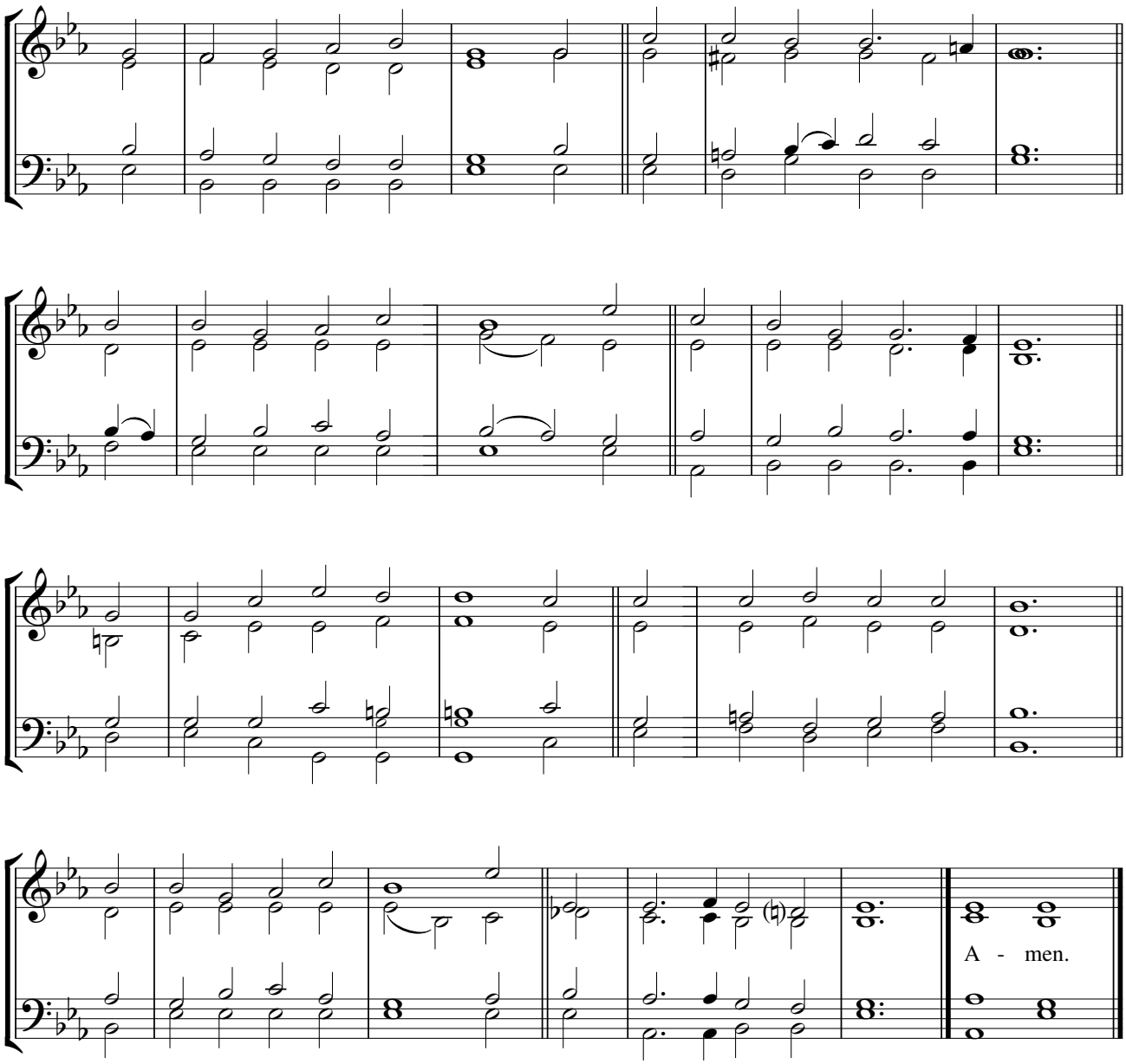
Henry Hart Milman

Mizpah (555.11D)

The Congregational Psalmist (1875) No.391

Come, let us anew
Our journey pursue,
Roll round with the year,
And never stand still till the Master appear,
His adorable will
Let us gladly fulfill,
And our talents improve,
By the patience of hope, and the labour of love.

Charles Wesley

Morlaix (7676D)

A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.160

To thee, O dear, dear country!
Mine eyes their vigils keep;
For very love, beholding
Thy happy name, they weep.
The mention of thy glory
Is unction to the breast
And medicine in sickness
And love and life and rest.

Bernard of Morlaix
Trans John Mason Neale

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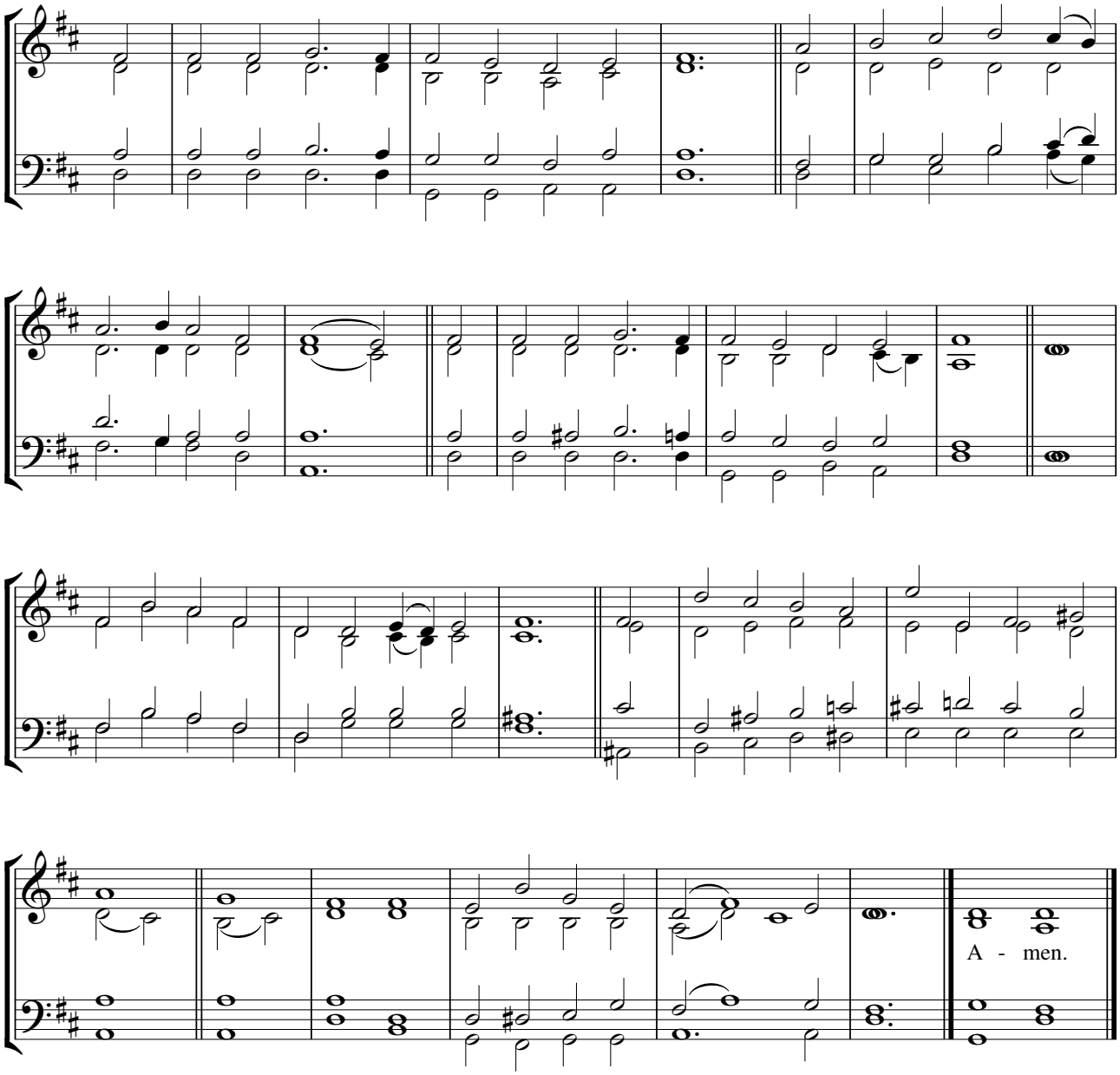
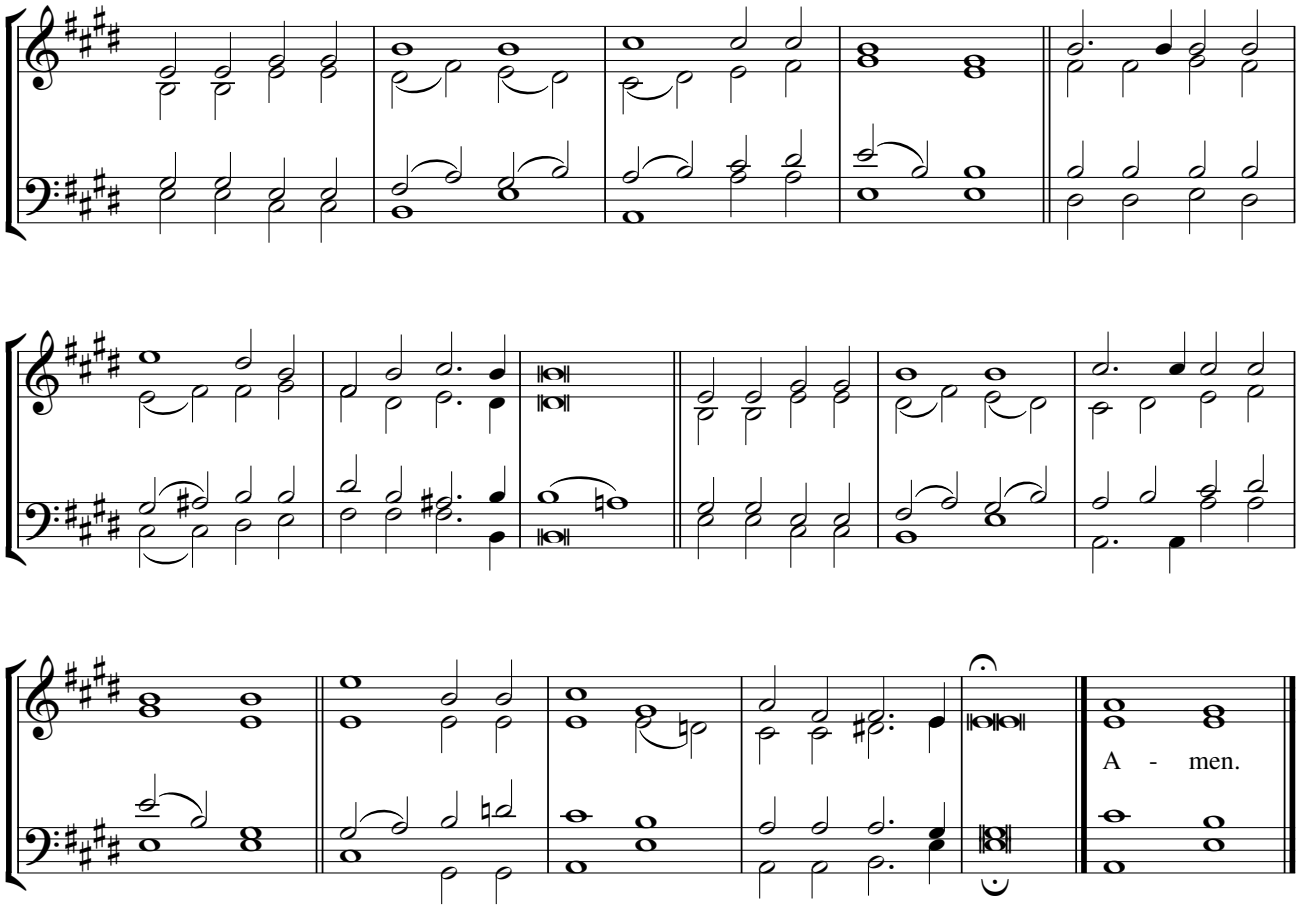
Munus Purum (10.10.10.10.10.10)

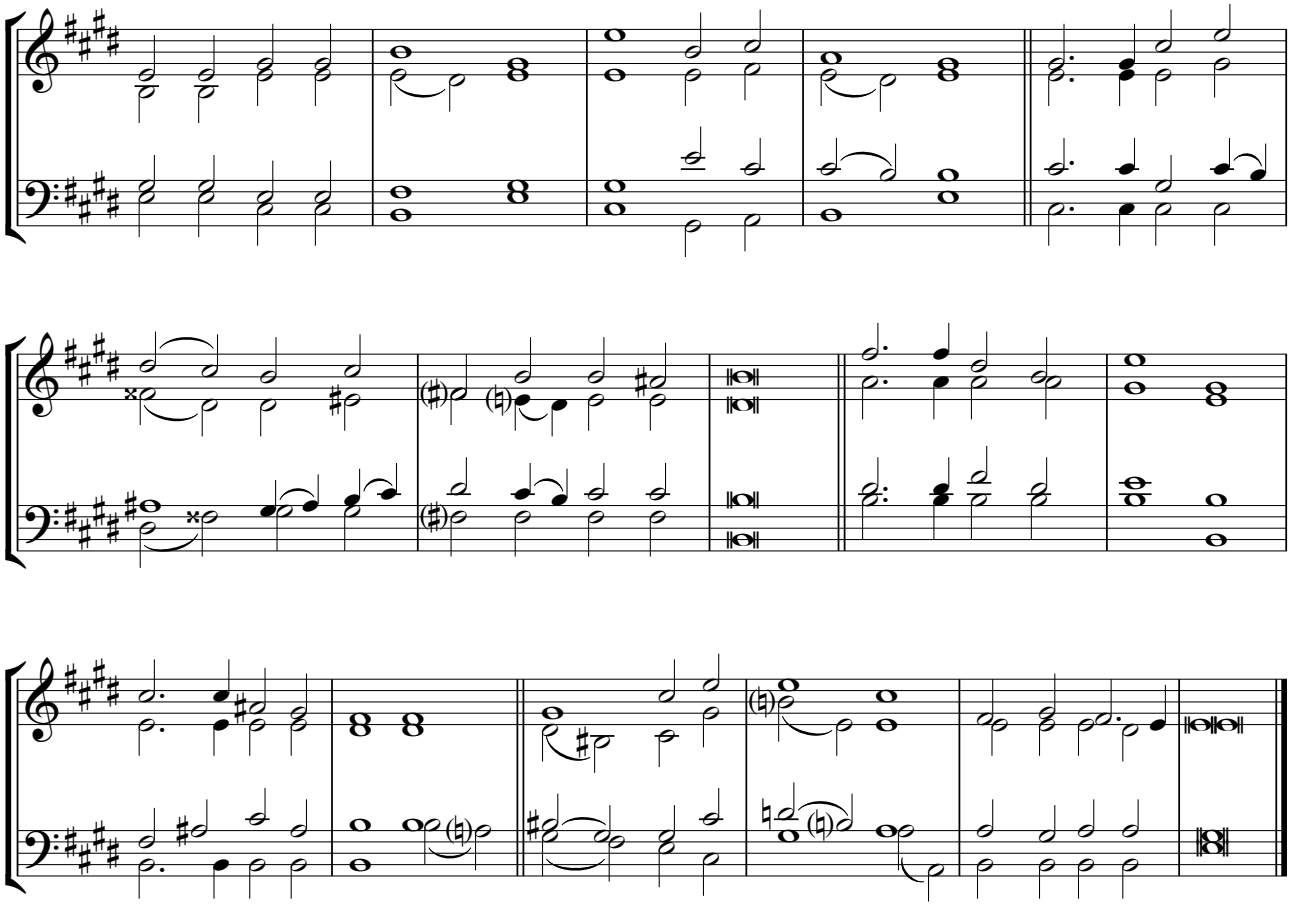
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.183

And now, O Father, mindful of the love
That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's Tree,
And having with us Him that pleads above,
We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
That only Offering perfect in Thine eyes,
The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice.

William Bright

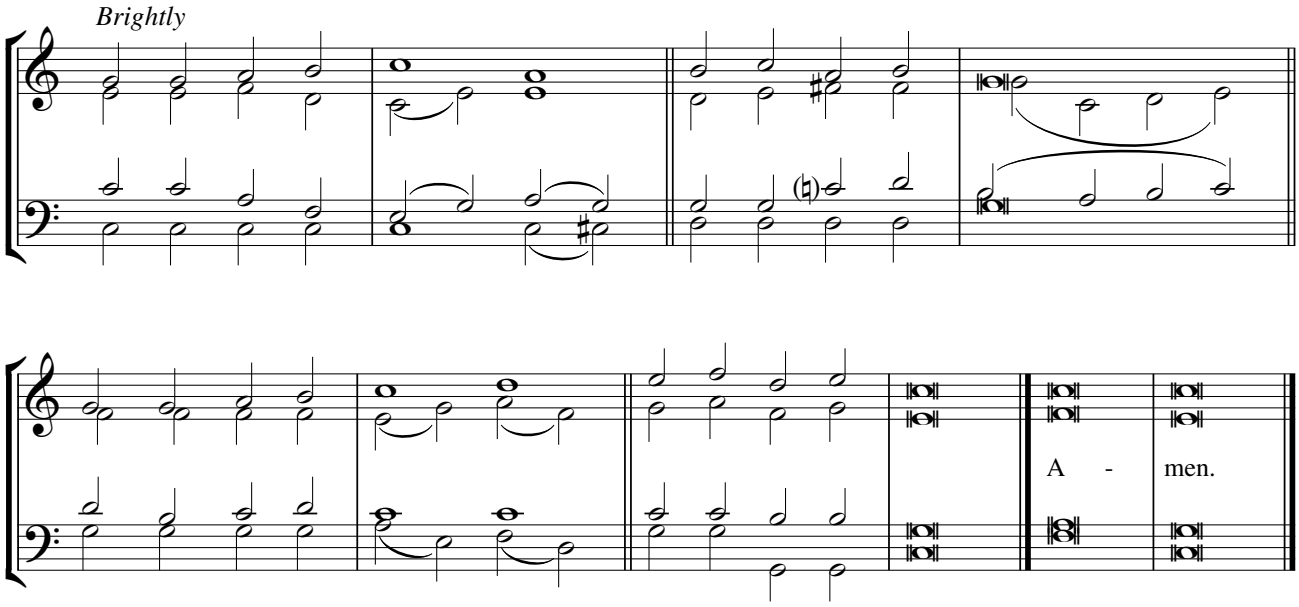
Nicaea (11.12.12.10)
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.135

Other names:
MONKLAND

Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!
Early in the morning our song shall rise to Thee;
Holy, holy, holy, merciful and mighty!
God in three Persons, blessed Trinity!

Reginald Heber

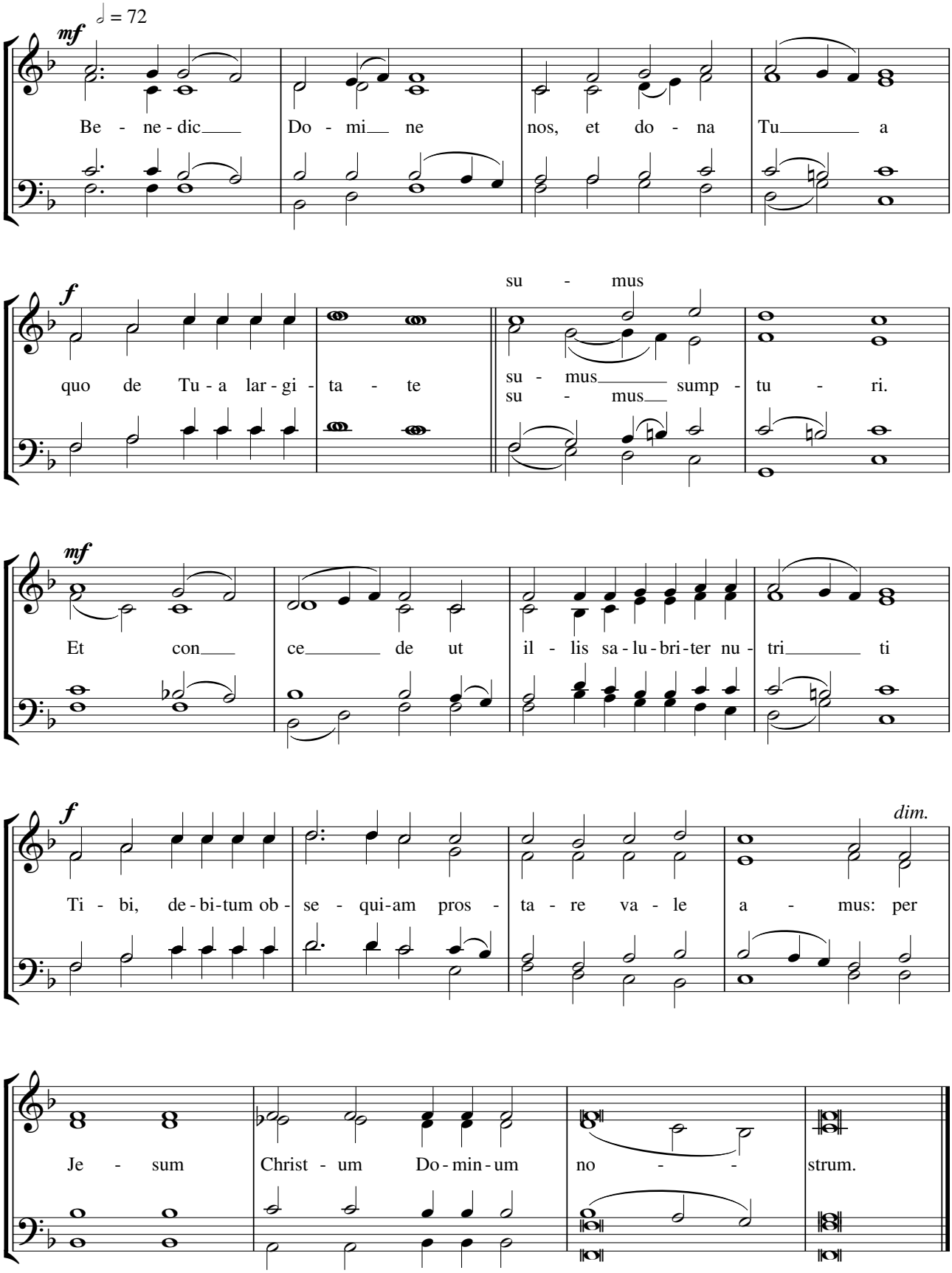
Compare NICAEA with John Hopkin's TRINITY (Bristol Tune Book 255), also set (in E♭) to 'Holy, holy, holy'

‘Now to Bethlehem Haste We’ (6565)

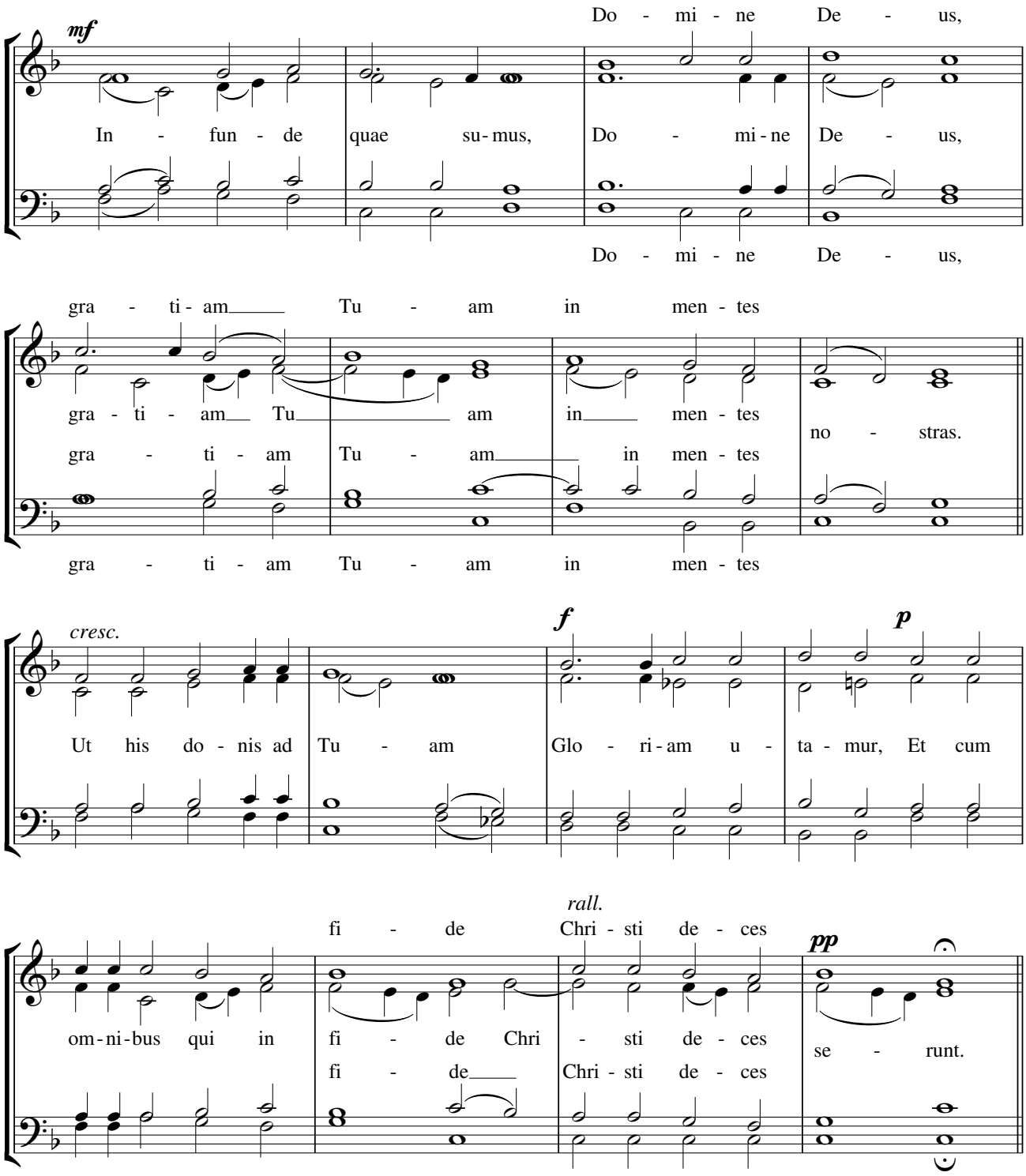
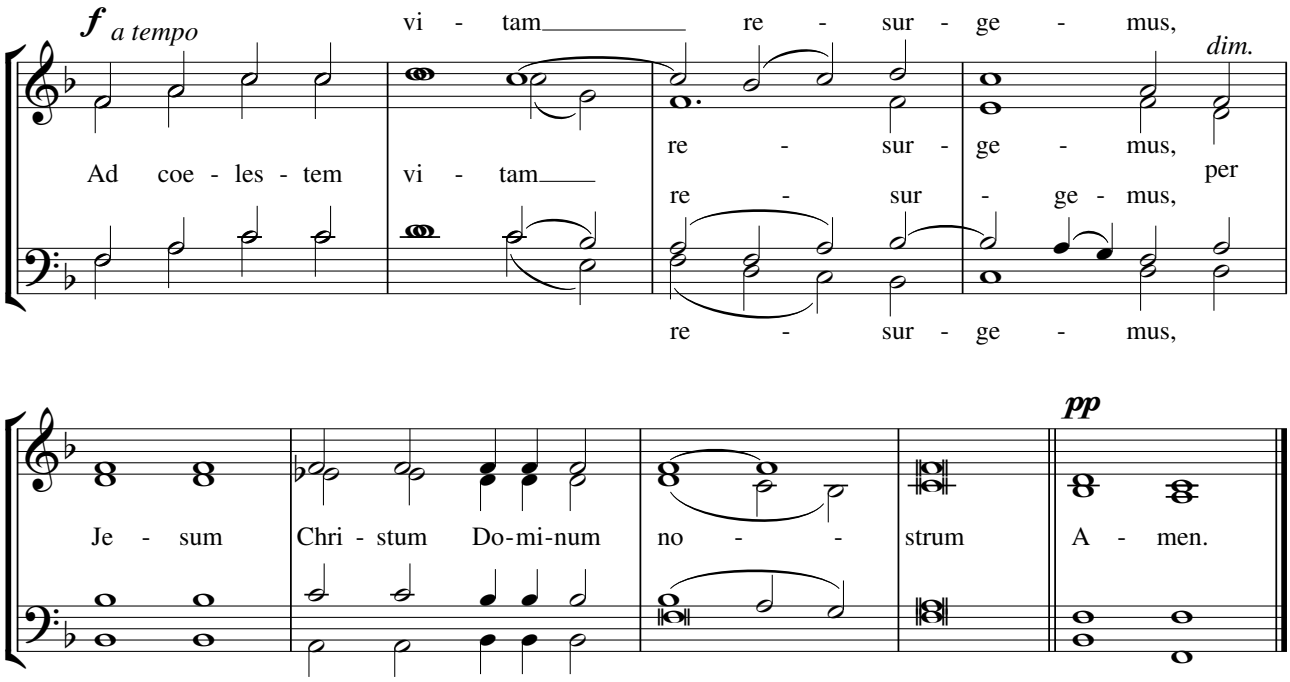
The Child’s Book of Praise (1879) No. 4

Other names:
EPIPHANY

Now to Bethlehem haste we;
See the Eastern Kings
Make the new-born Saviour
Free-will offerings!

Charles Lewis Hutchins

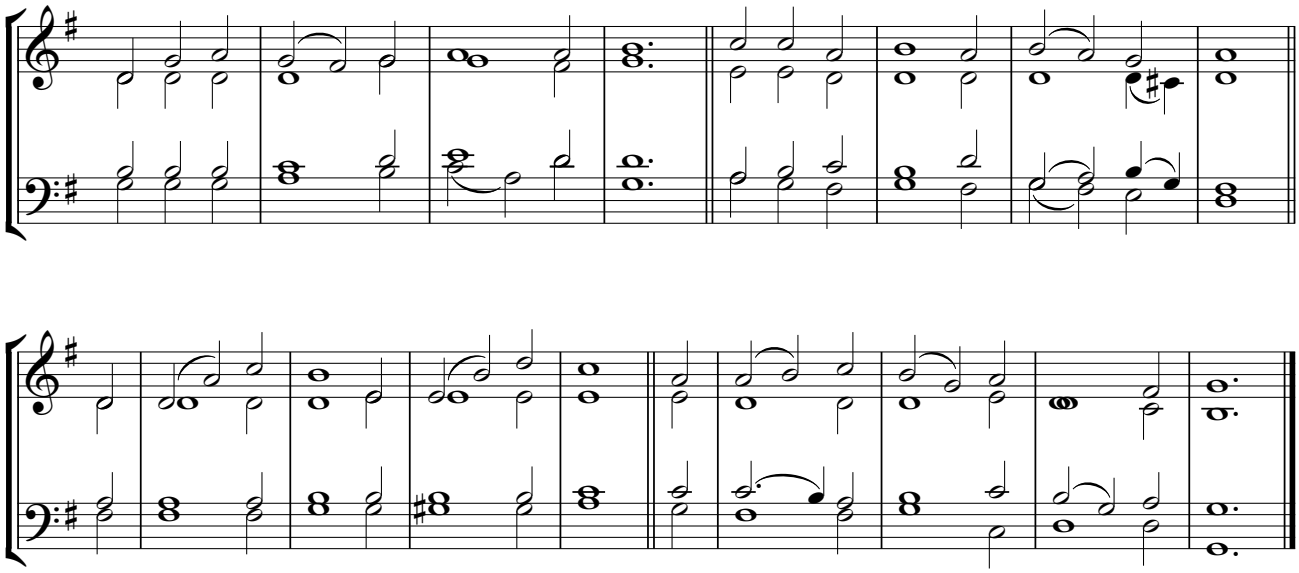
The Oakham Grace No.1 (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.260

The Oakham Grace No.2 (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.261


f a tempo
vi - tam re - sur - ge - mus,
dim.
Ad coe - les - tem vi - tam
re - sur - ge - mus,
per
re - sur - ge - mus,
re - sur - ge - mus,
pp
Je - sum Chri - stum Do-mi-num no - - strum A - men.

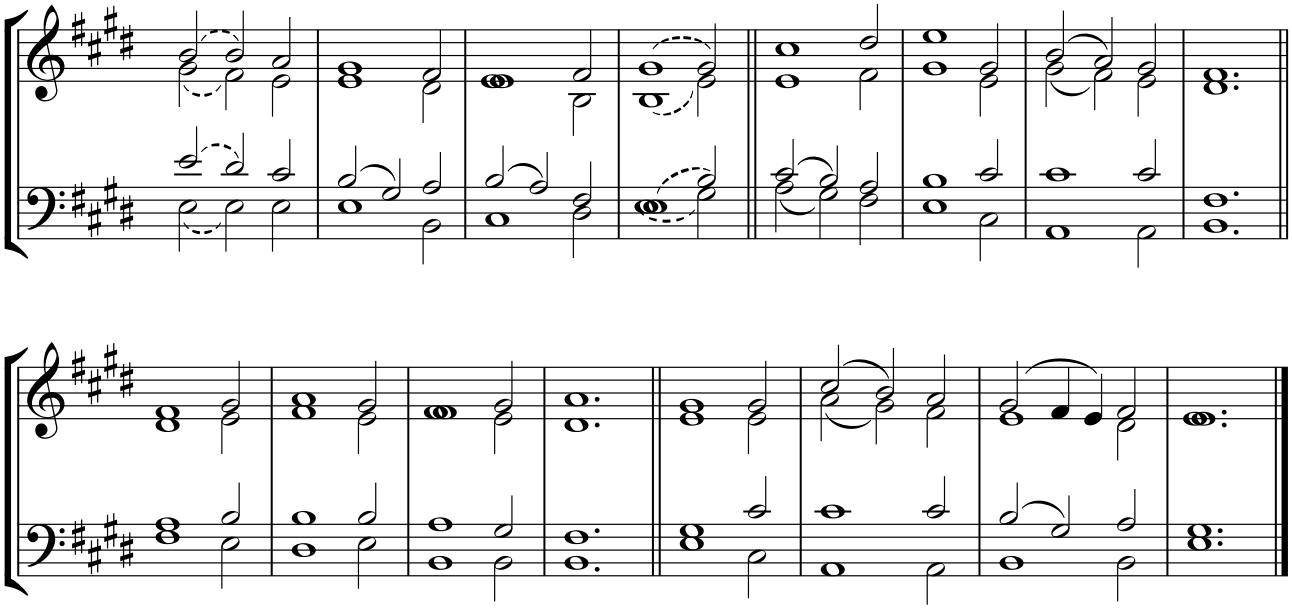
‘Oh come, dear child’ (LM)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.15

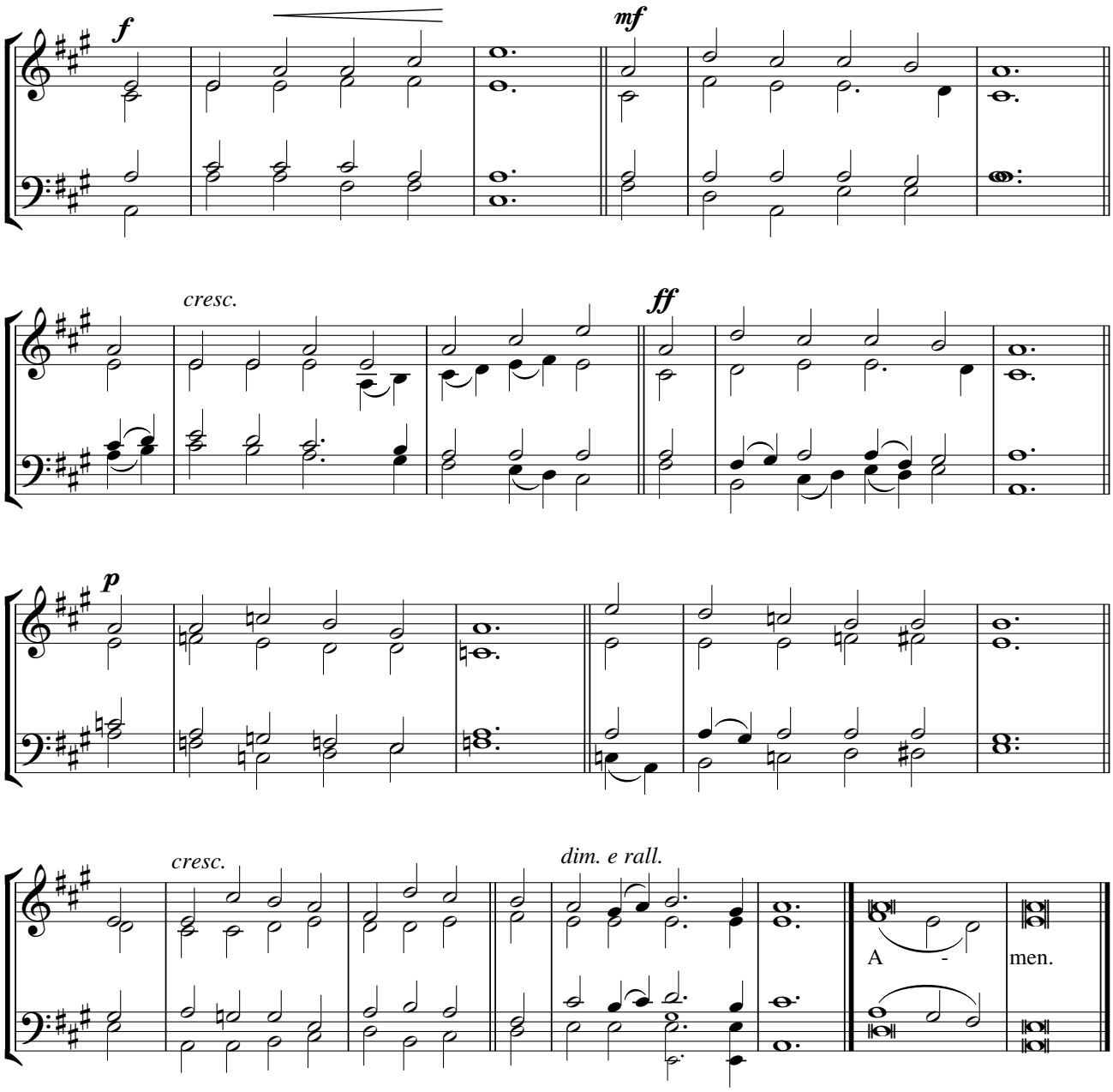
Other names:
HEAVEN
VIA BONA

Oh come, dear child, along with me,
And look on yonder clear blue sky,
The moon is shining bright, you see,
And stars are twinkling up on high.

252

‘Oh, what a blessèd child am I’ (7777)

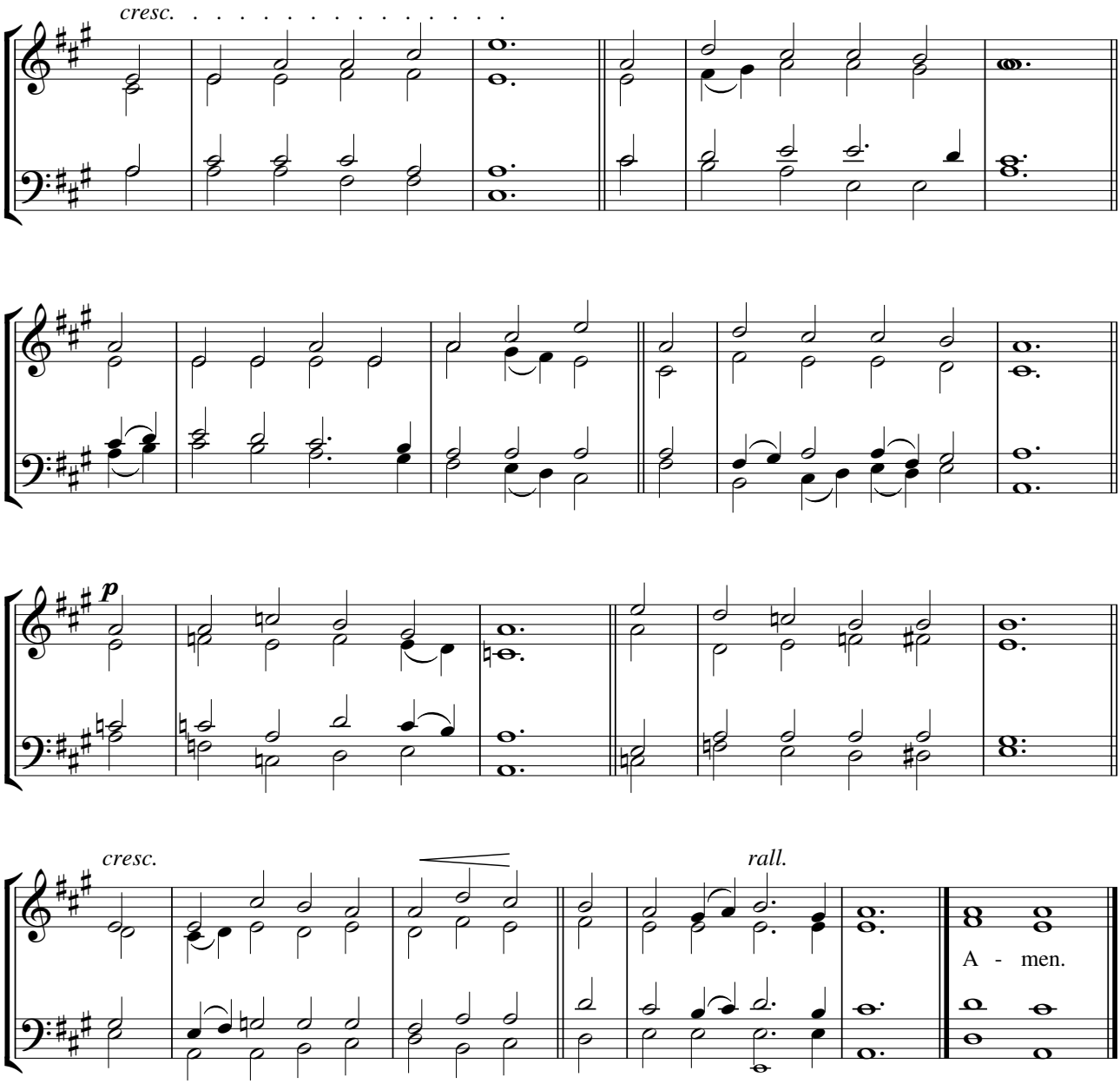
Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No.3.

Oh, what a blessèd child am I,
To be the care of God on high;
He has watch’d me thro’ the night,
He has sent the morning light.

Olivet (i) (66866686)

The Hymnal Companion (1870) No.157

Thou art gone up on high
To mansions in the skies,
And round Thy throne unceasingly
The songs of praise arise.
But we are lingering here,
With sin and care oppress'd;
Lord, send Thy promised Comforter,
And lead us to Thy rest.

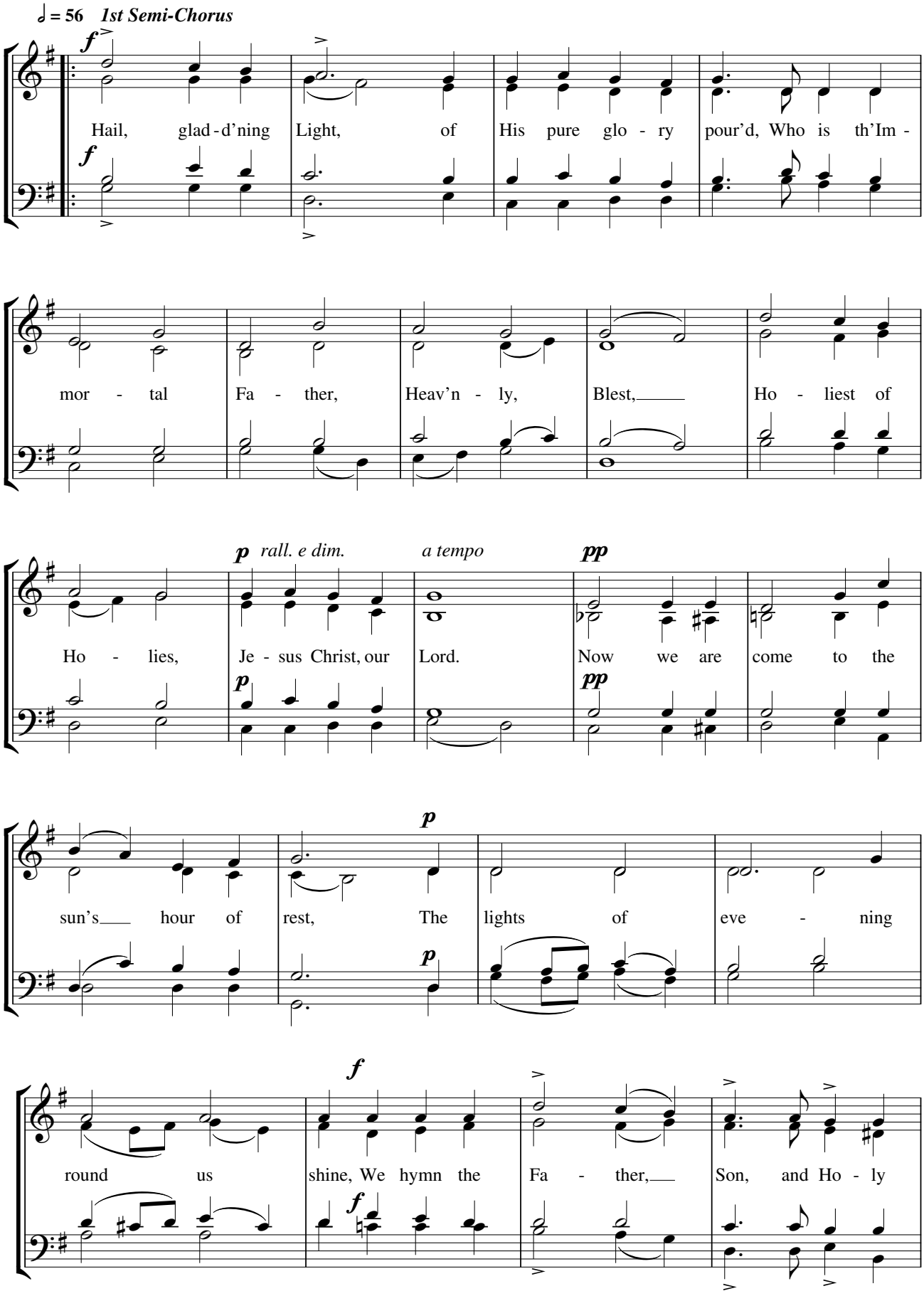
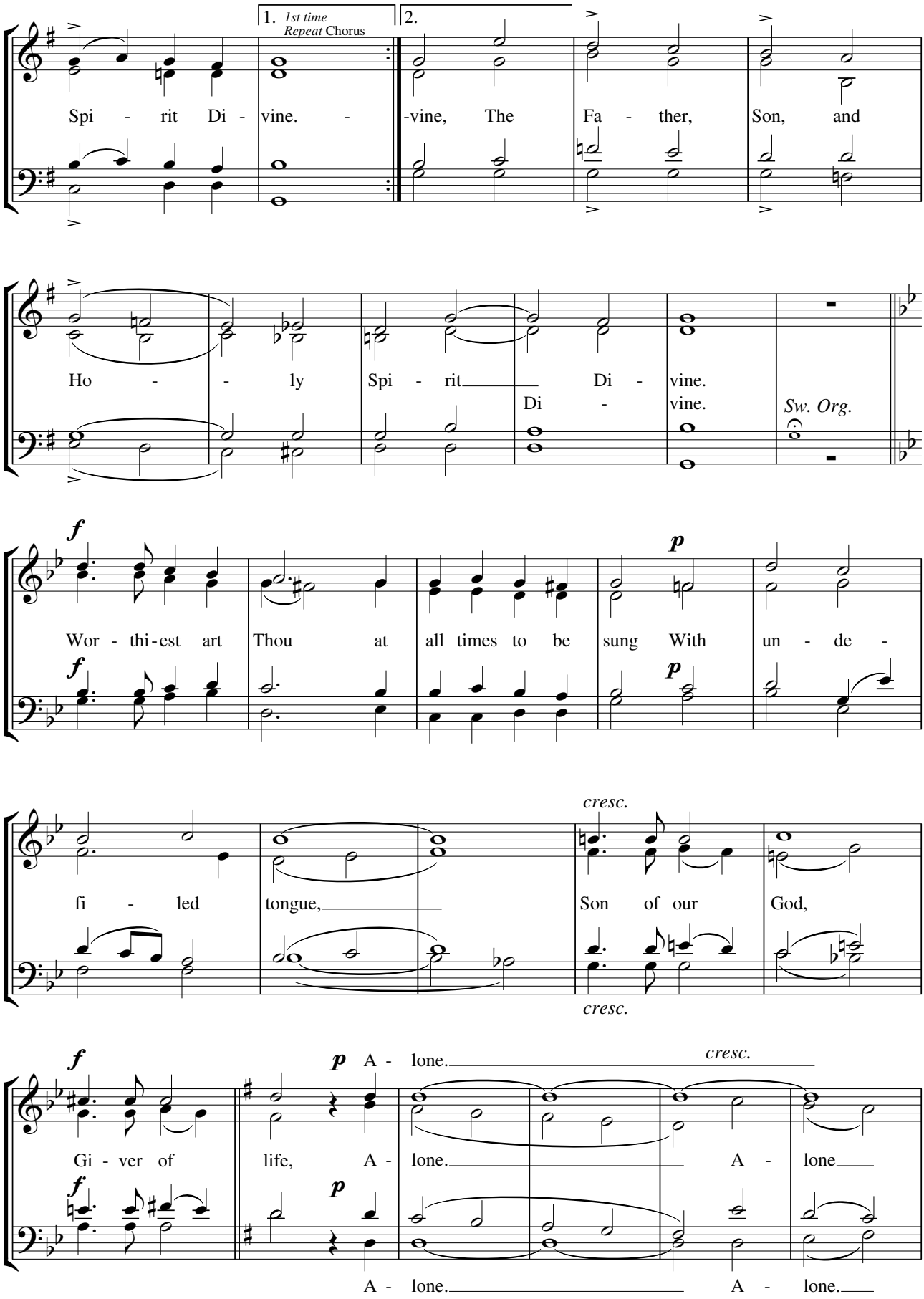
Emma L. Toke

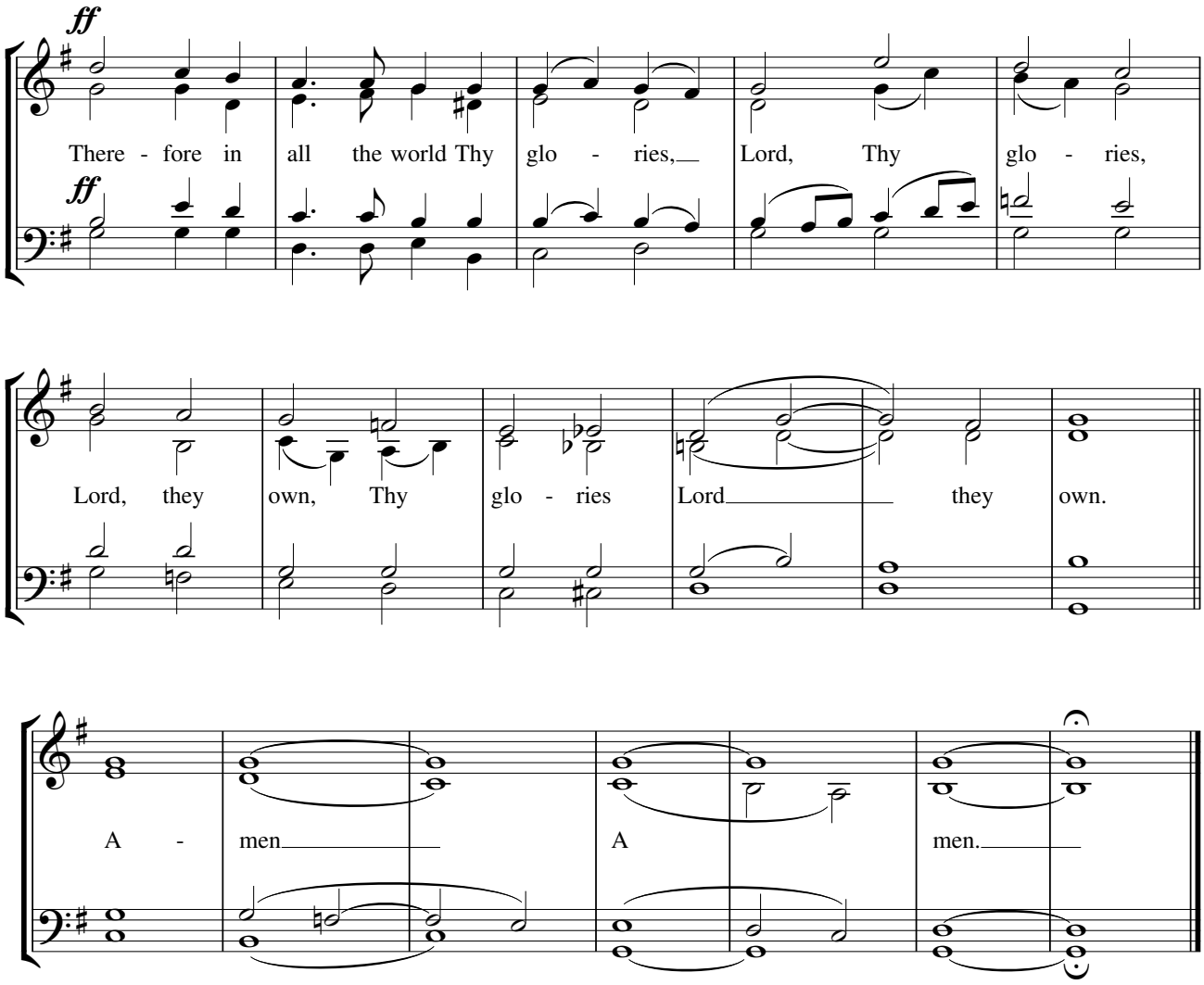
Olivet (ii) (66866686)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.149

Thou art gone up on high
To mansions in the skies,
And round Thy throne unceasingly
The songs of praise arise.
But we are lingering here,
With sin and care oppress'd;
Lord, send Thy promised Comforter,
And lead us to Thy rest.

Emma L. Toke

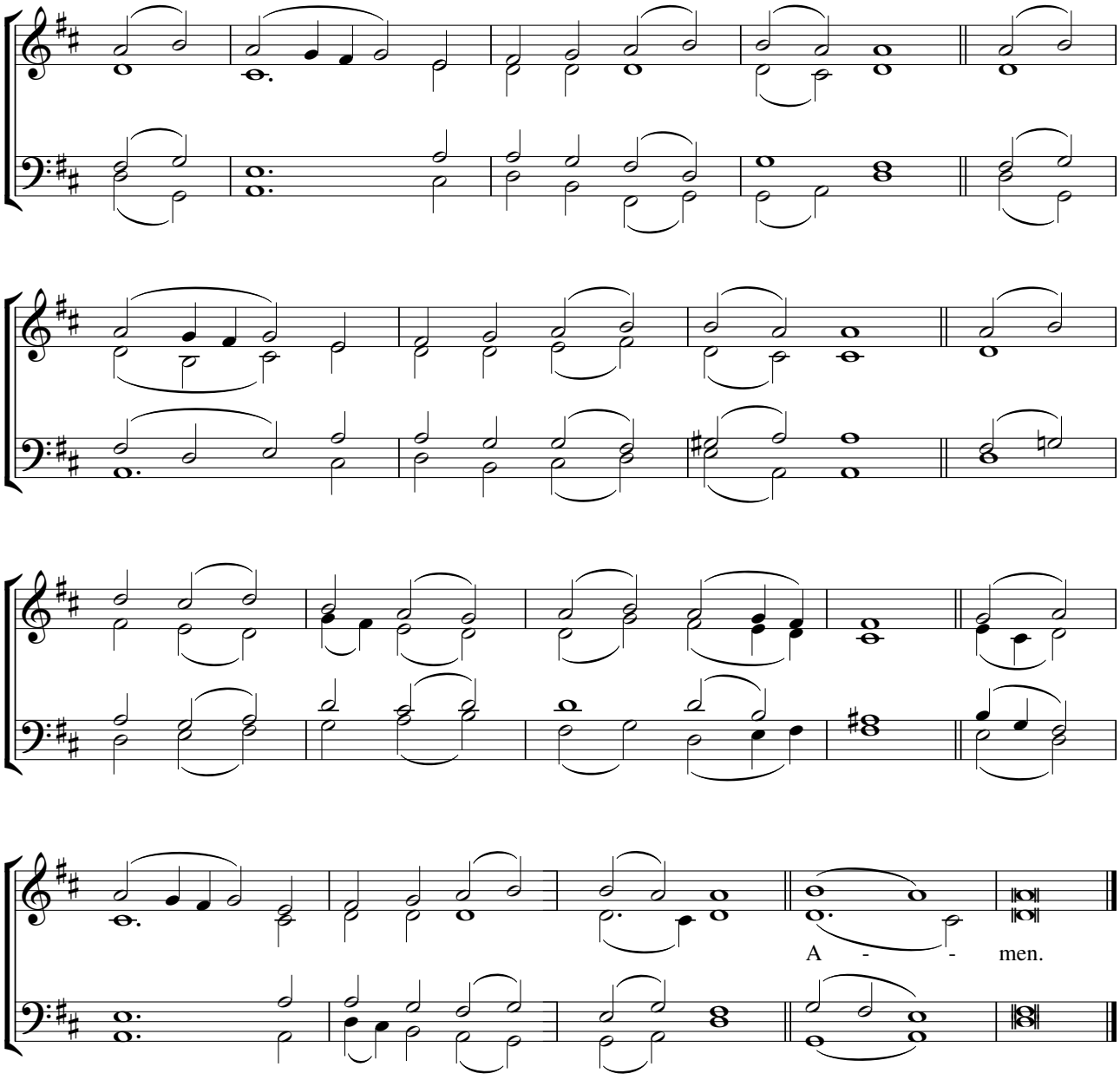
O Lumen Hilare (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.5

1. 1st time Repeat Chorus
2.
Spi - rit Di - vine. - -vine, The Fa - ther, Son, and
Ho - - ly Spi - rit Di - vine.
Di - vine.
Sw. Org.
f
Wor - thi-est art Thou at all times to be sung With un - de -
p
fi - led tongue,
cresc.
Son of our God,
A - lone.
Gi - ver of life, A - lone. A - lone
A - lone. A - lone.


ff
There - fore in all the world Thy glo - ries, Lord, Thy glo - ries,
ff
Lord, they own, Thy glo - ries Lord they own.
A - men A men.

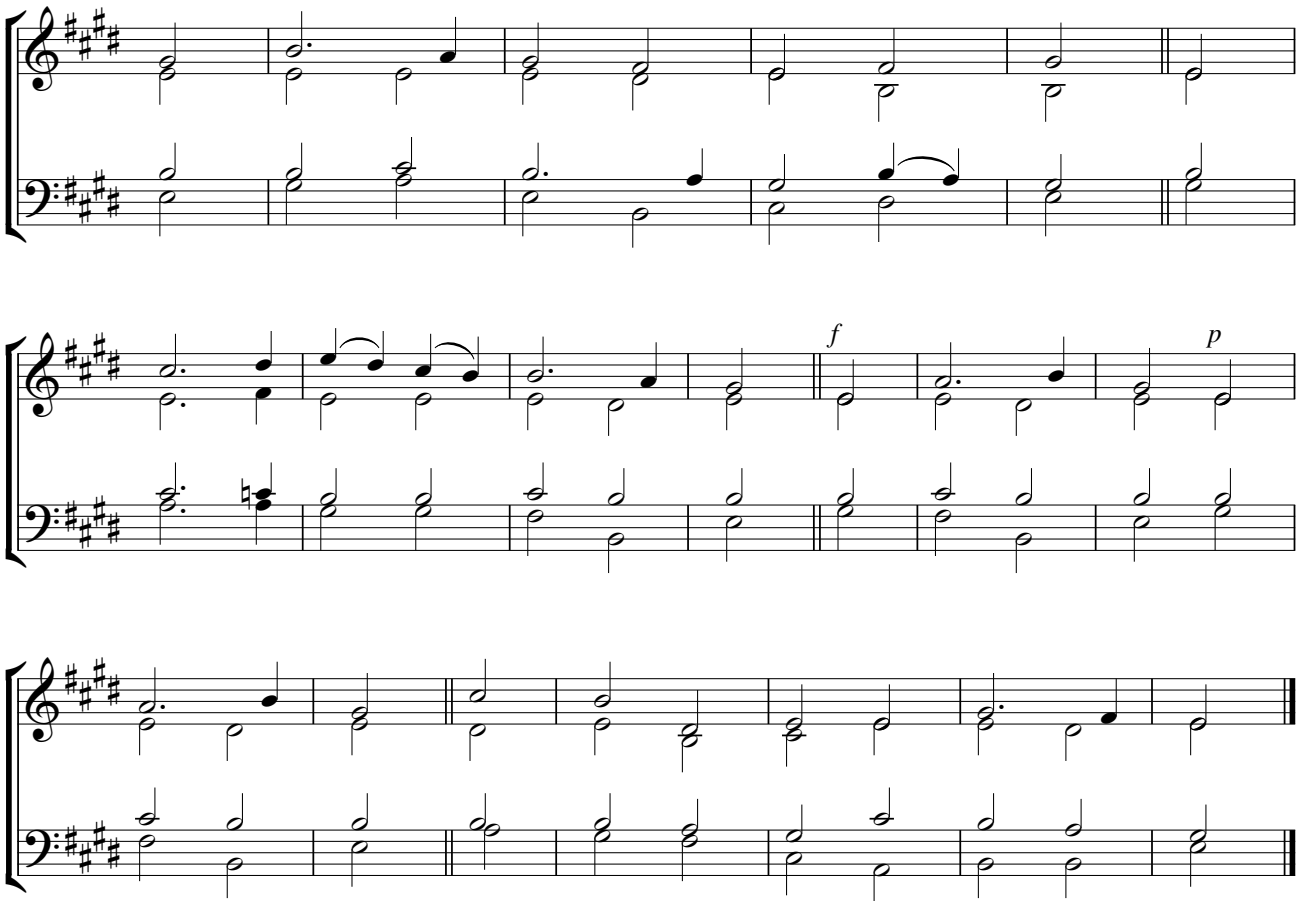
258

O Lux Beata (Irreg.)(Arr.)

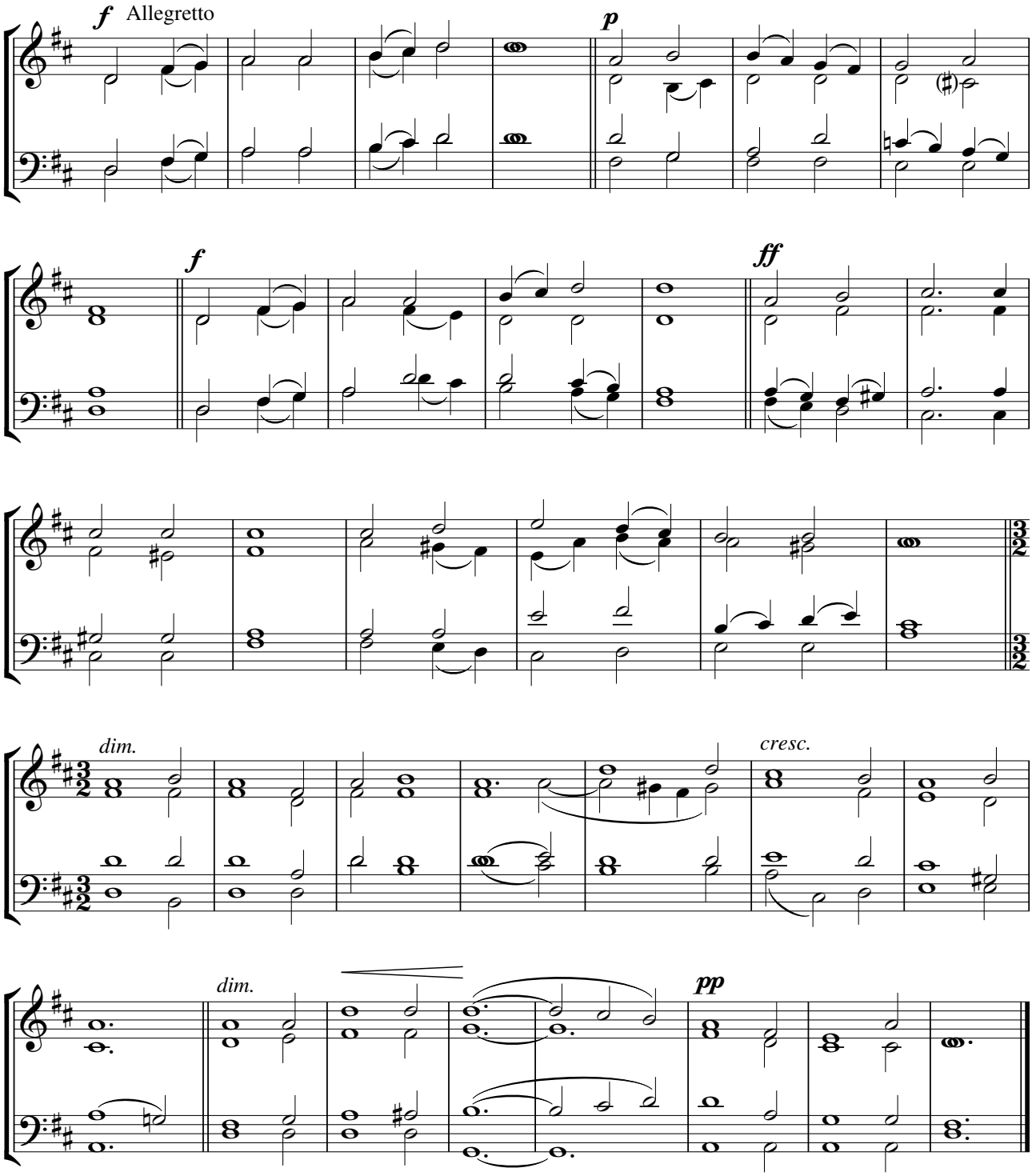
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No. 14

O Trinity, most Blessèd Light,
O Unity of primal Might,
As now the fiery sun departs,
Shed Thou Thy beams within our hearts.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

‘One day, dear children’ (LM)

Hymns for Infant Children (1872) No. 9

One day, dear children, you must die,
Though you are young and healthy now,
Within the grave your limbs must lie,
And cold and stiff your bodies grow.

‘On the Birthday of the Lord’ (77.777.77.55)

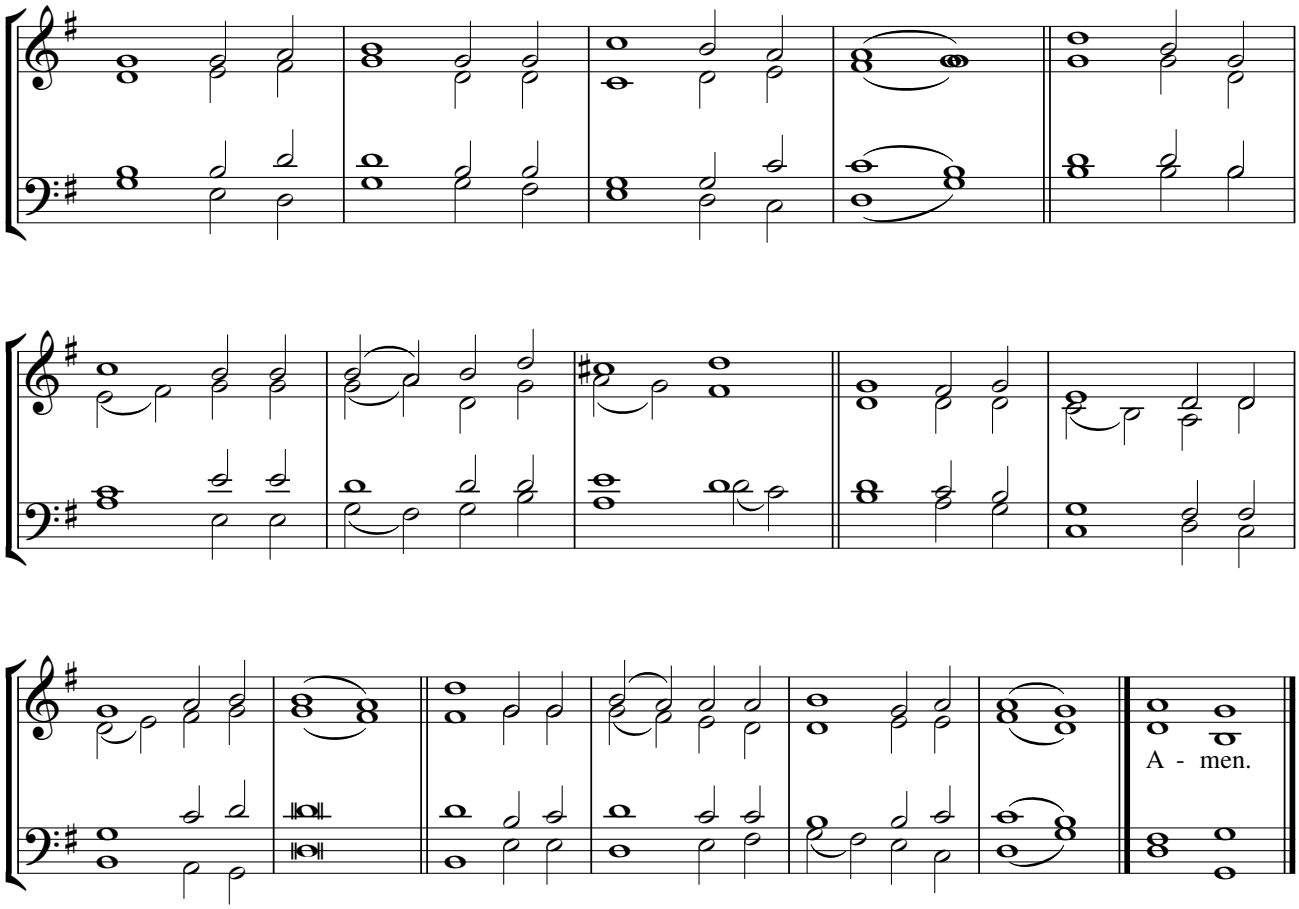
Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.13

On the Birthday of the Lord
Angels joy in glad accord,
And they sing in sweetest tone
Glory be to God alone,
Glory be to God alone.

God is born of maiden fair,
Mary doth the Saviour bear;
Mary over pure, Mary over pure.

trans R.F. Littledale

O Quanta Qualia (10.10.10.10) (arr J.B.D.)

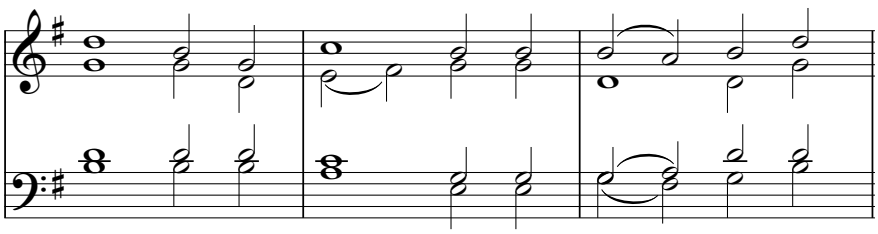
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.343 (1)



O what the joy and the glory must be,
Those endless Sabbaths the blessèd ones see;
Crown for the valliant, to weary ones rest;
God shall be all and in all ever blest.

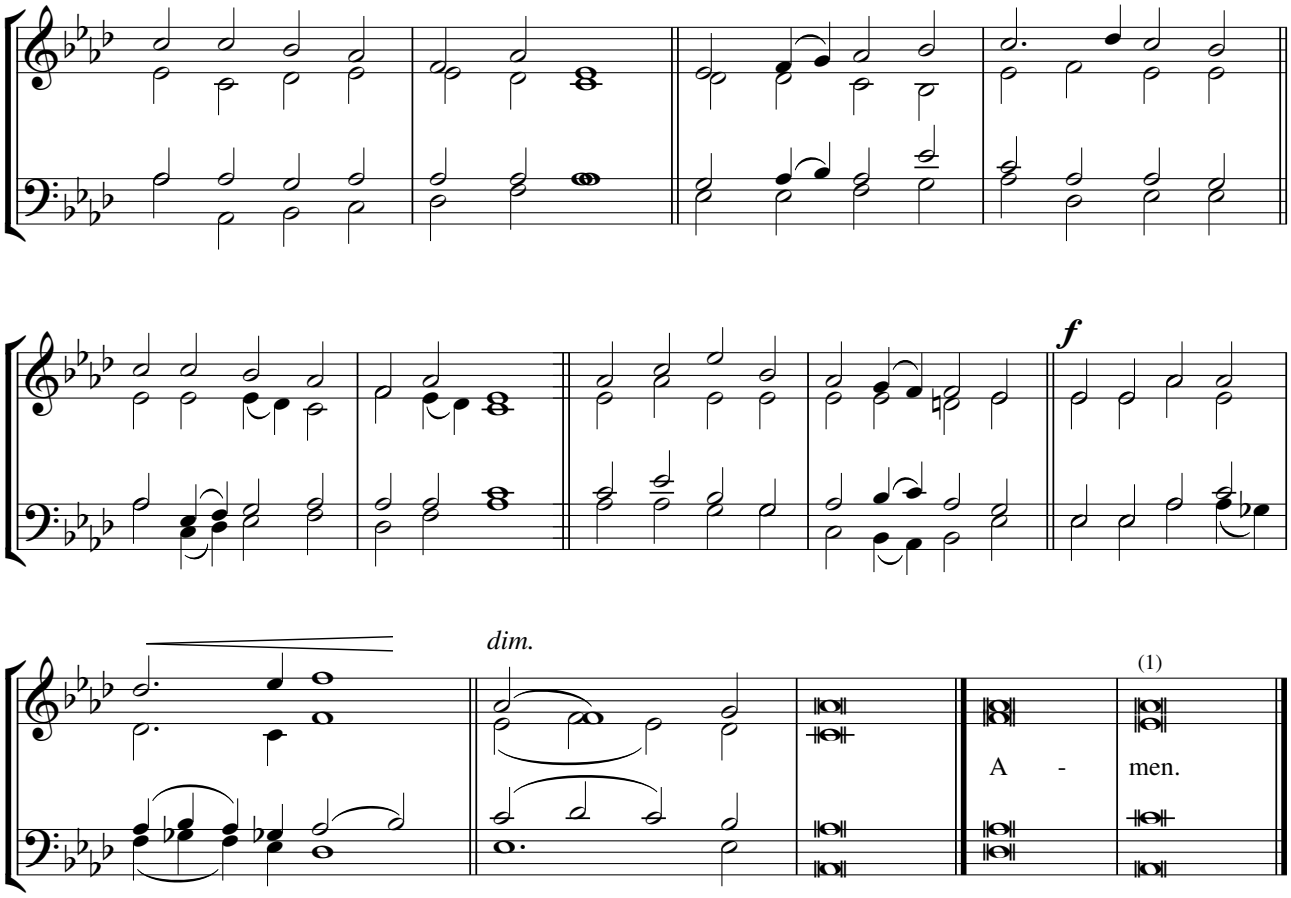
Peter Abelard
trans. by John Mason Neale

(1) Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874.
(2) In subsequent editions of HA&M, bars 5 to 7 are harmonised thus:



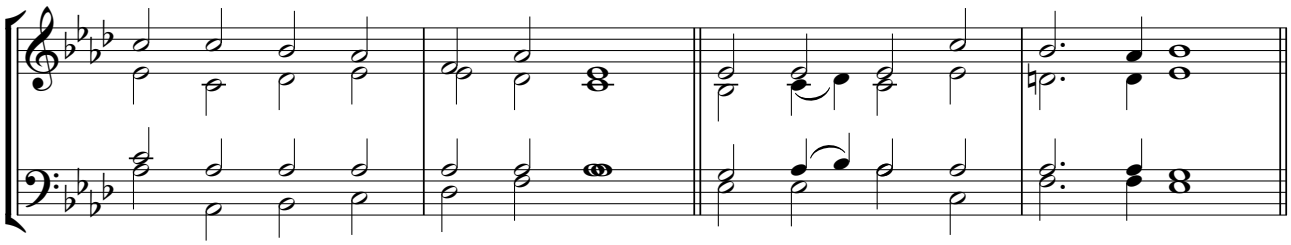
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Oriens Ex Alto (787873)

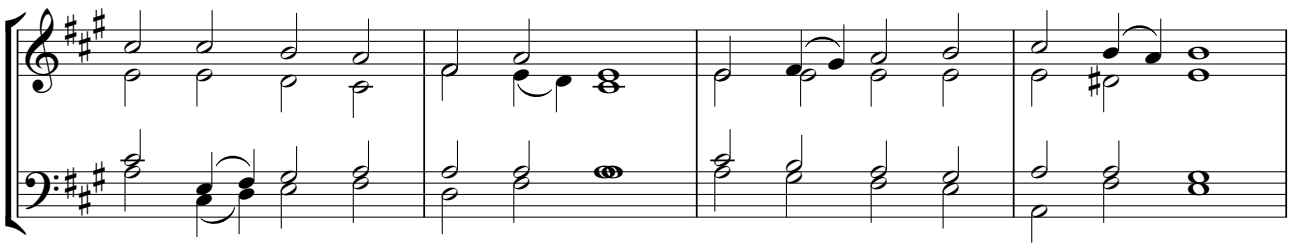
Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.43

Dayspring of Eternity!
Hide no more Thy radiant dawning!
Light from Light's exhaustless sea,
Shine on us afresh this morning!
And dispel with glorious might
All our night.

trans. Catherine Winkworth

Compare bars 1—4 with GLASTONBURY...

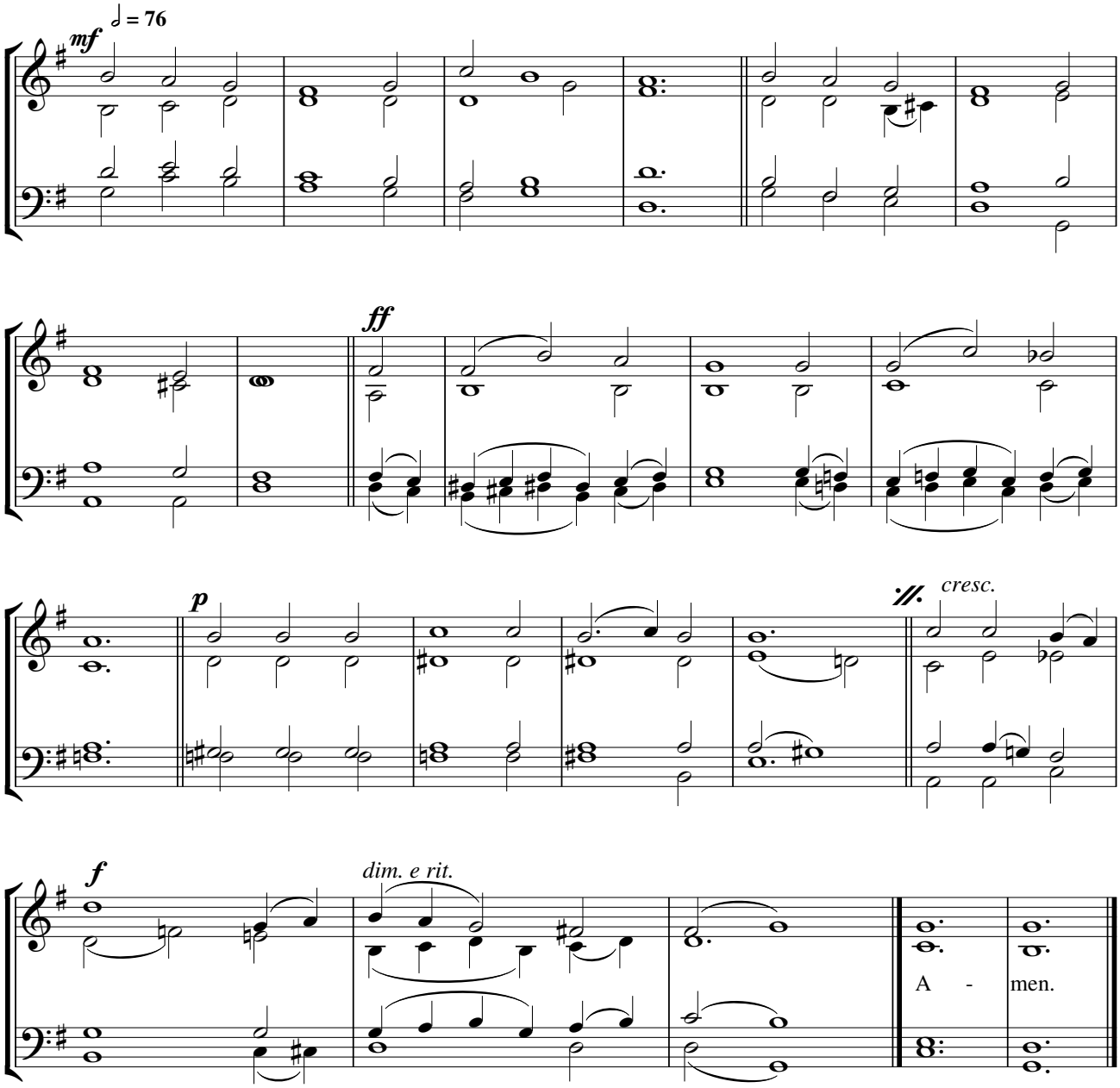


...and SANCTE SPIRITUS



(1) The Parish Church Hymnal misprints the alto note as an F.

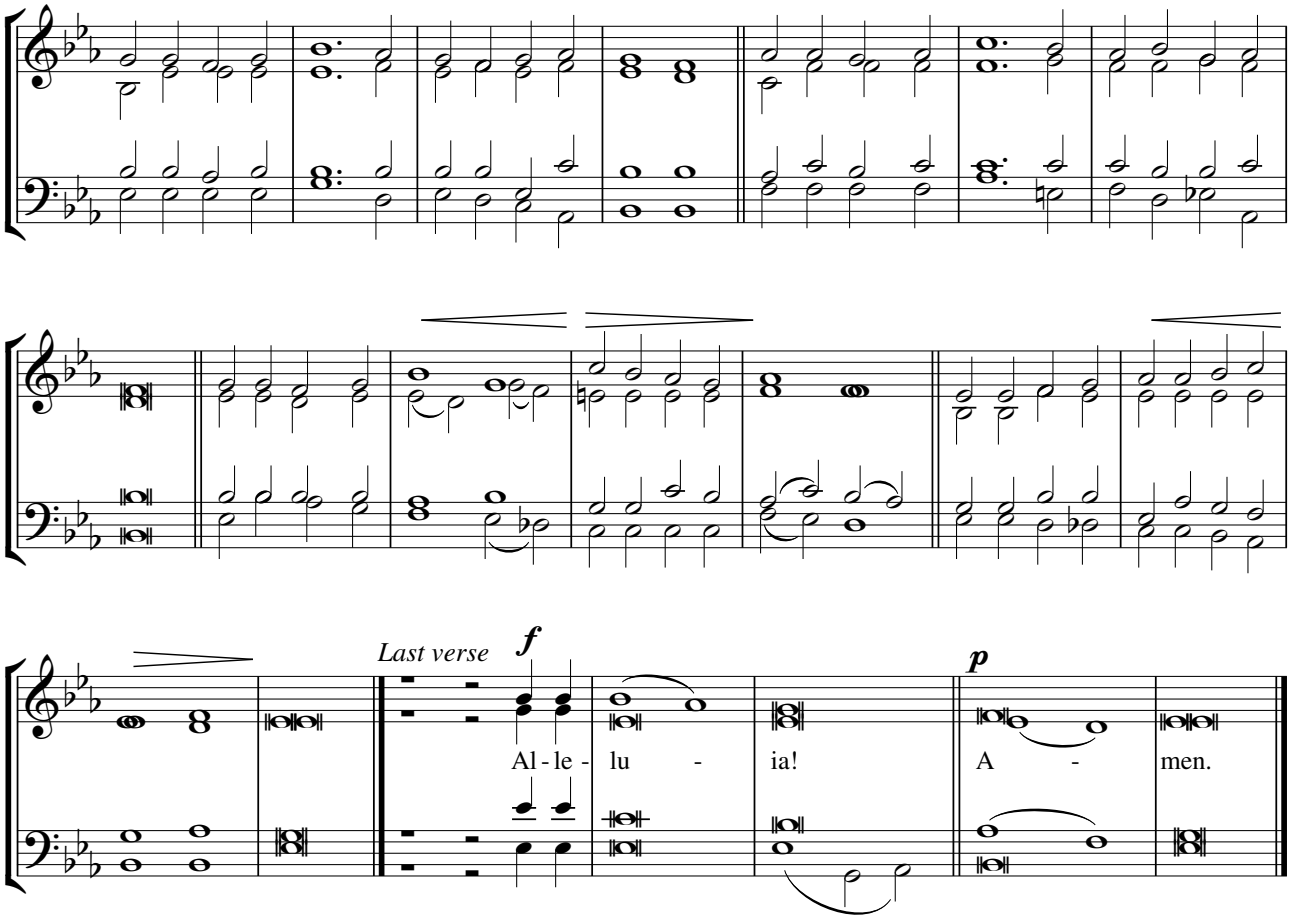
O Salutaris Hostia (88888)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.190

O Saving Victim, opening wide
The gate of heaven to man below,
O foes press on from every side,
Thine aid supply, Thy strength bestow.

trans. John Mason Neale

Oswestry (i) (12.11.12.11)

Novello 8vo edition (1870)

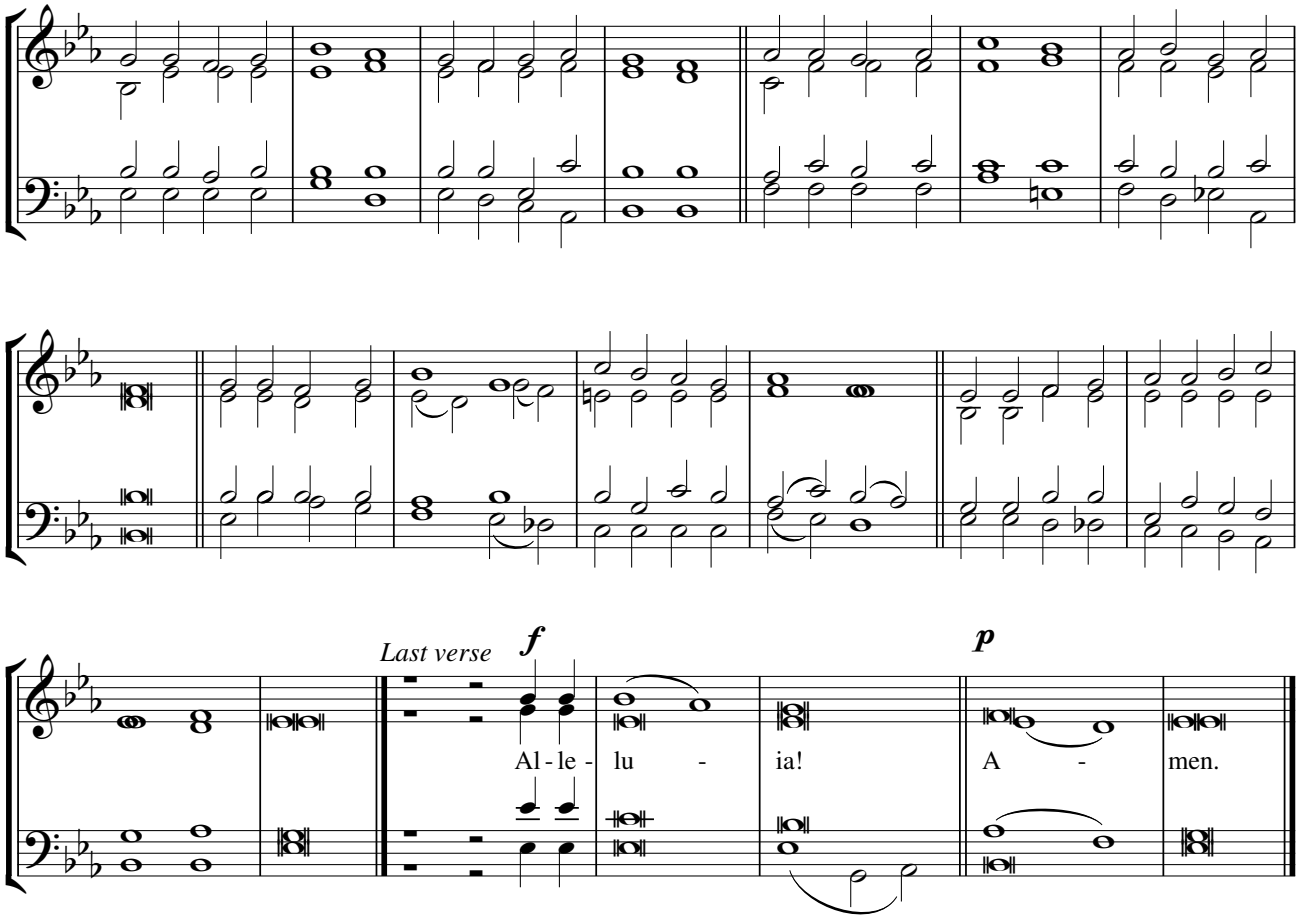


Great and glorious Father, humbly we adore Thee,
Poor, and weak, and helpless sinners in Thine eyes;
Yet, in meek obedience, low we fall before Thee,
Trusting, pleading only Jesus' Sacrifice.

William Walsham How

Oswestry (ii) (12.11.12.11)

Church Hymns with Tunes (1874) No.208



Great and glorious Father, humbly we adore Thee,
Poor and weak and helpless sinners in Thine eyes;
Yet, in meek obedience, low we fall before Thee,
Trusting, pleading only Jesus' Sacrifice.

William Waltham How

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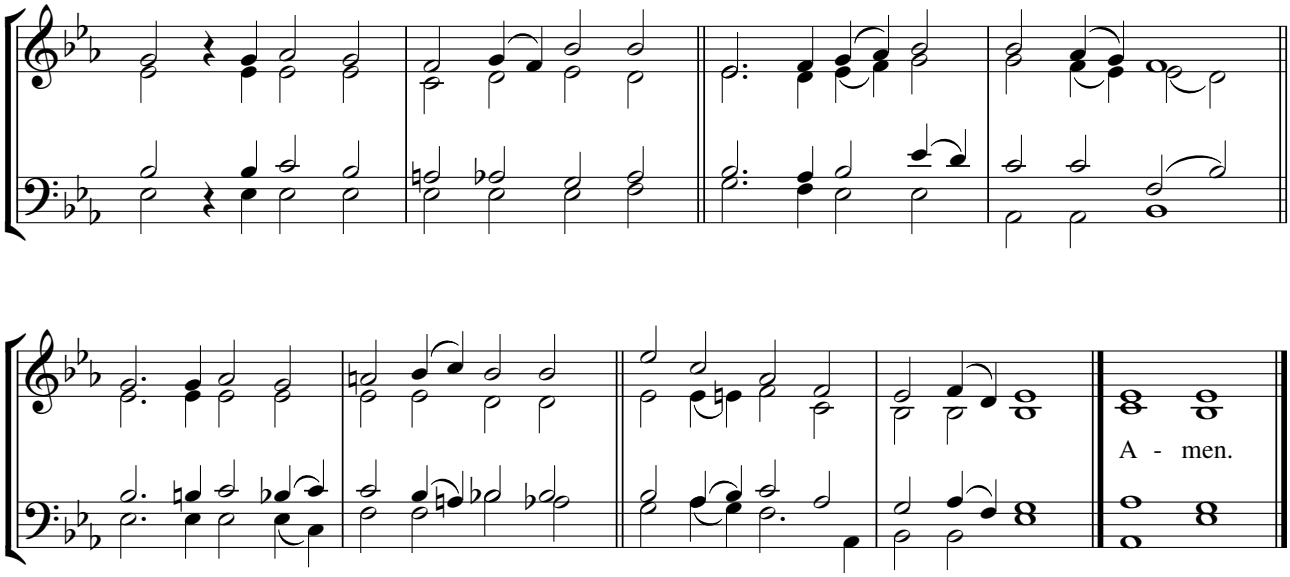
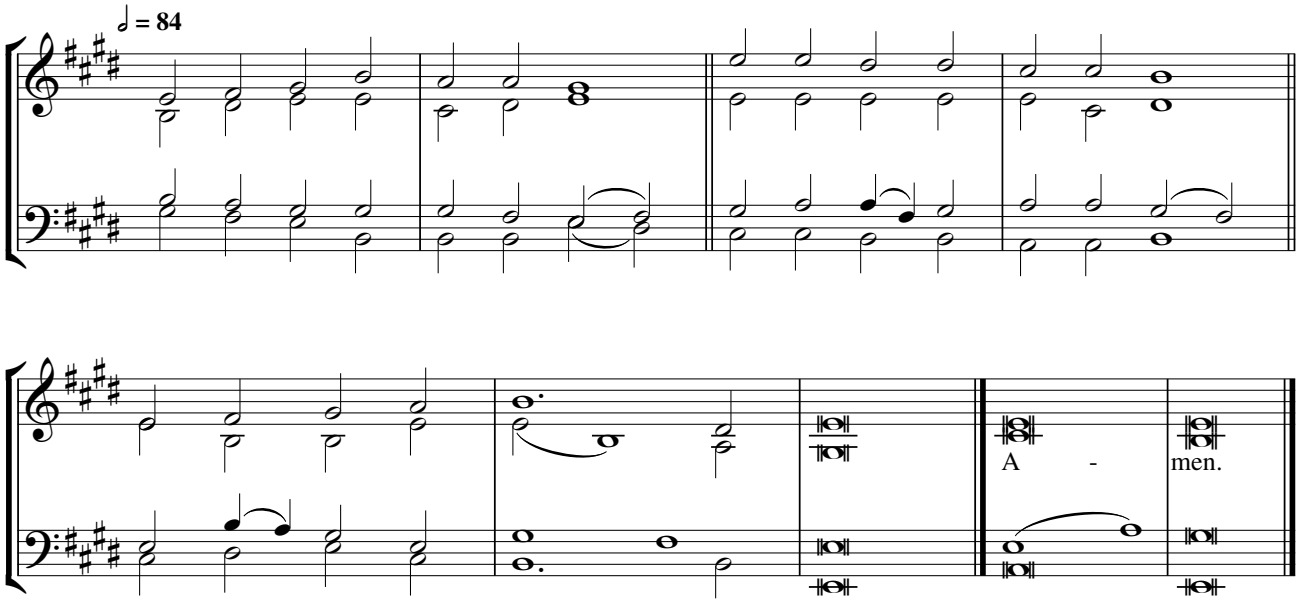
‘Our Father’s voice’ (8787)

Children’s Hymn Book (1877) No. 290

Come! our Father’s Voice is calling,
One by one, His children dear;
He will raise the weak, the falling,
He the fainting heart will cheer.

L. Tuttiett

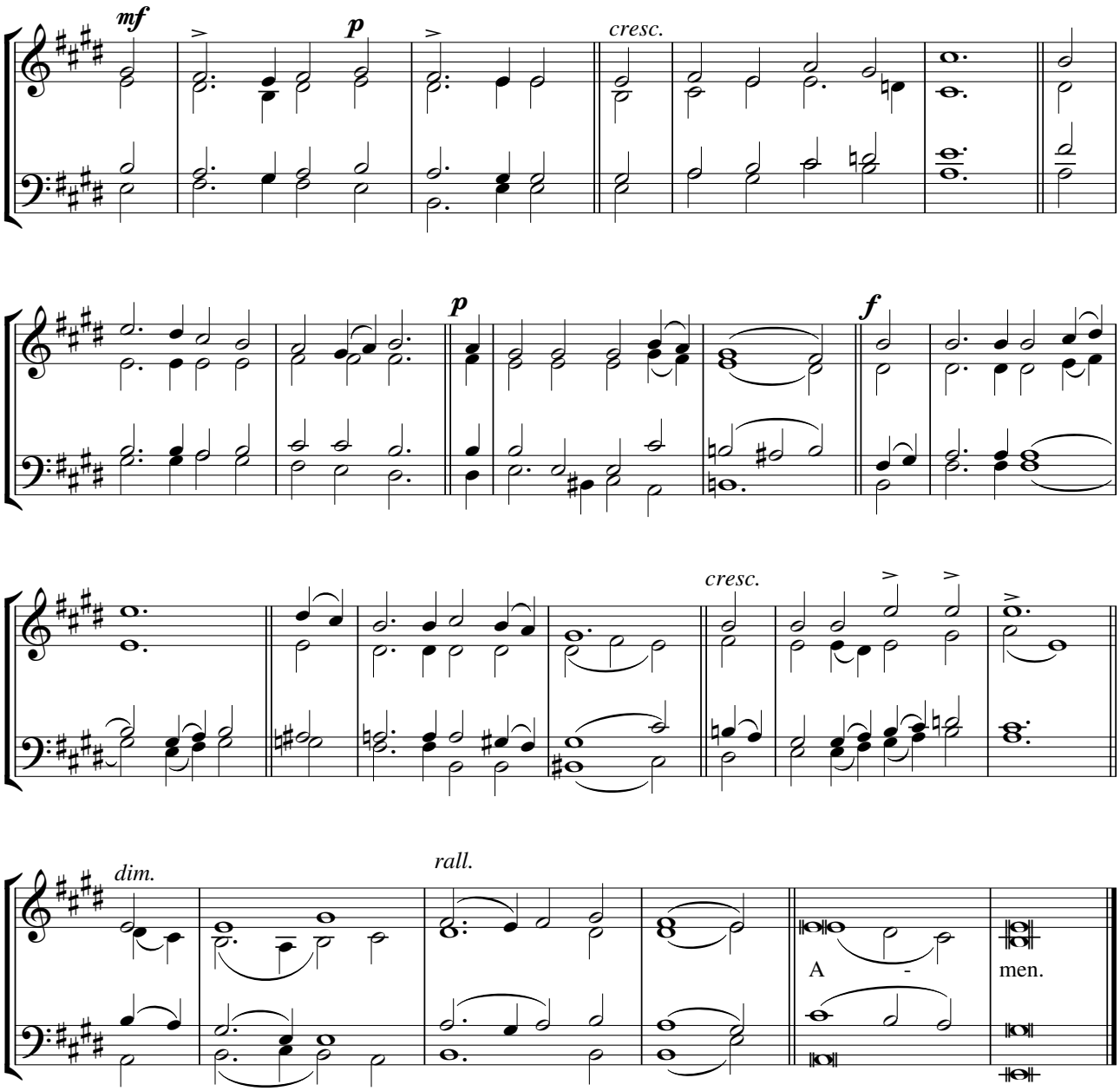
Panis Vivus (777)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.189

Jesu, to Thy Table led,
Now let every heart be fed
With the true and living Bread.

Robert Hall Baynes

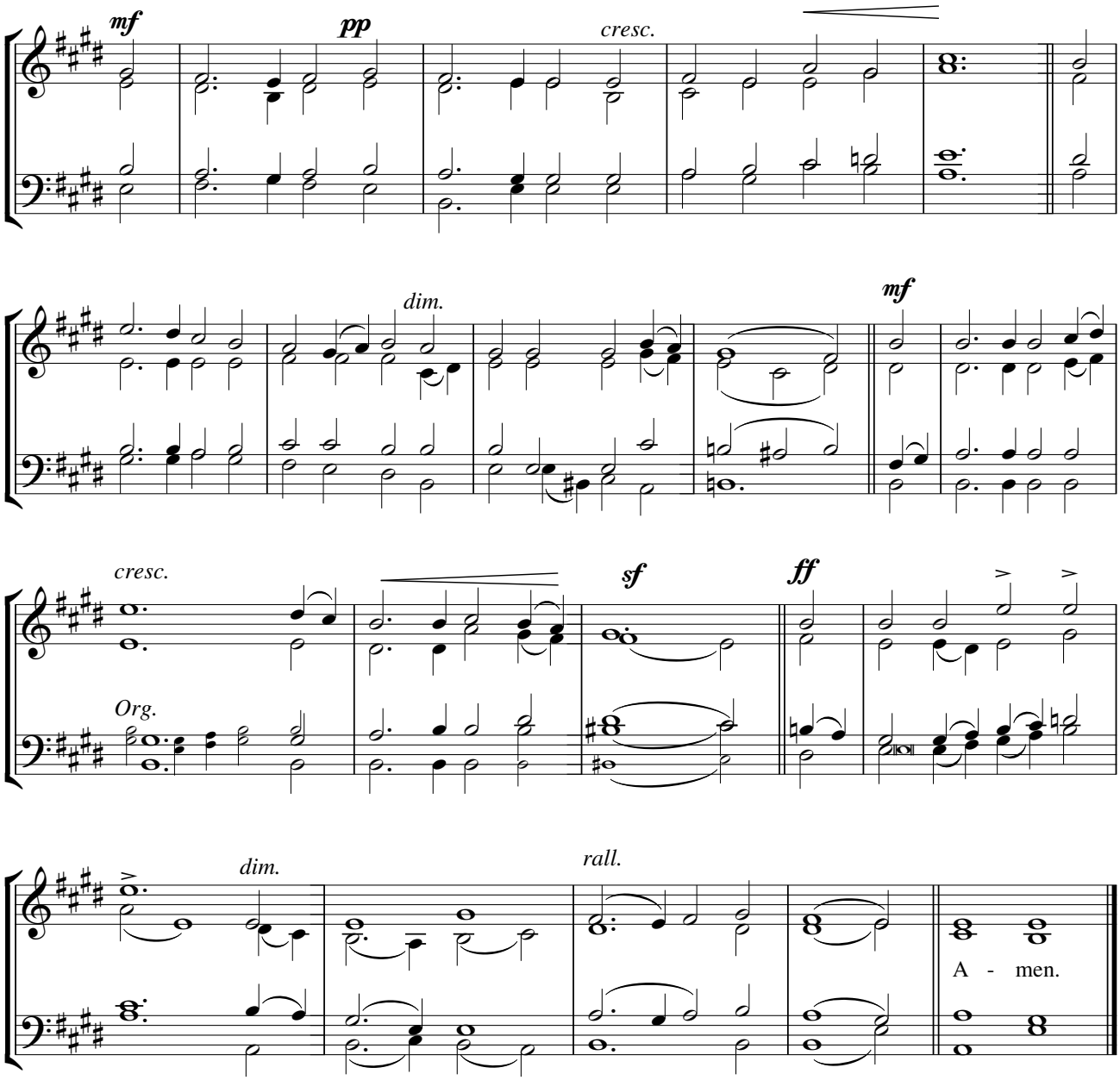
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Paradise (i) (86866666)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.324

O paradise! O paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight?

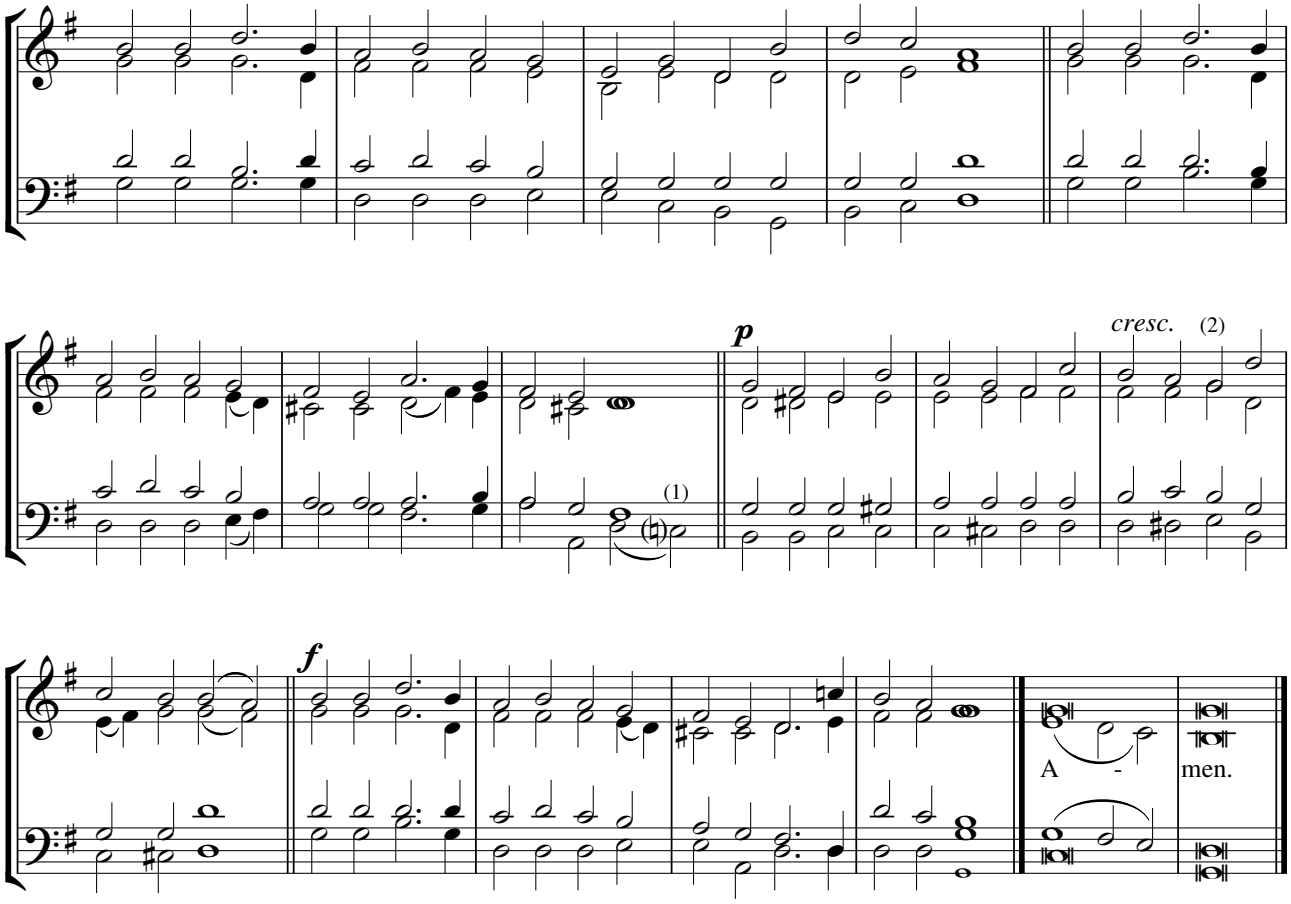
F.W. Faber

Paradise (ii) (86866666)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.234

O paradise! O paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight?

F.W. Faber

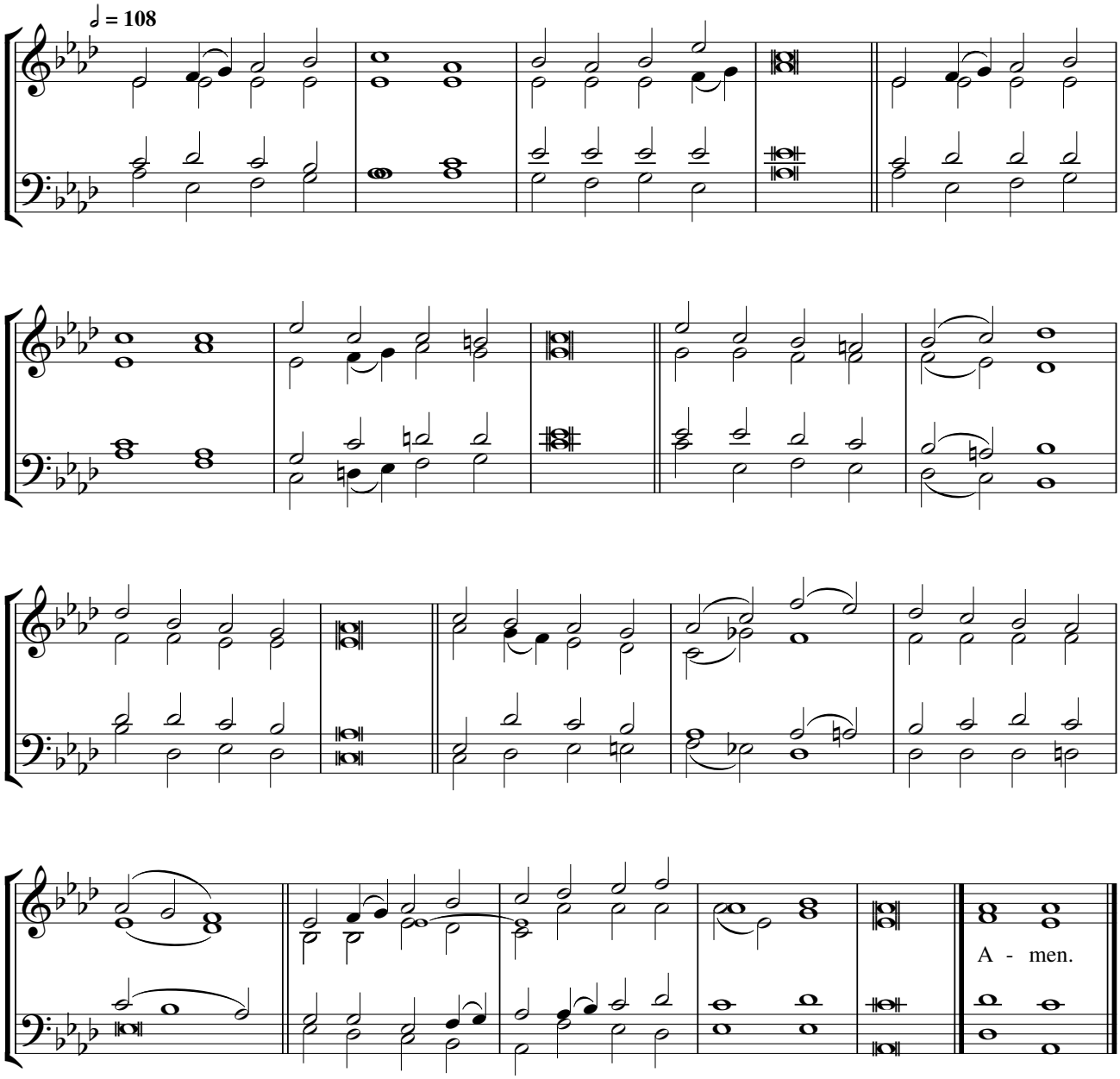
Parate Viam (8787D)

'Advent Hymns' extracted from the Church of England Hymnology of George Price Joyce (1870) No. 2

O Lord Jesu, at Thy coming,
Who didst send before Thy face,
In the wilderness, the Baptist,
Herald of redeeming grace,
Who, Thy holy way preparing,
Preached that man should turn from sin,
And, baptizing them in Jordan,
Did Thy glorious work begin.

G.P. Joyce

(1) The ♮ is missing from the bass C in '*Advent Hymns*'
(2) The 1902 Novello Edition has alto E in this chord

Pascha (11.11.11.11.11)

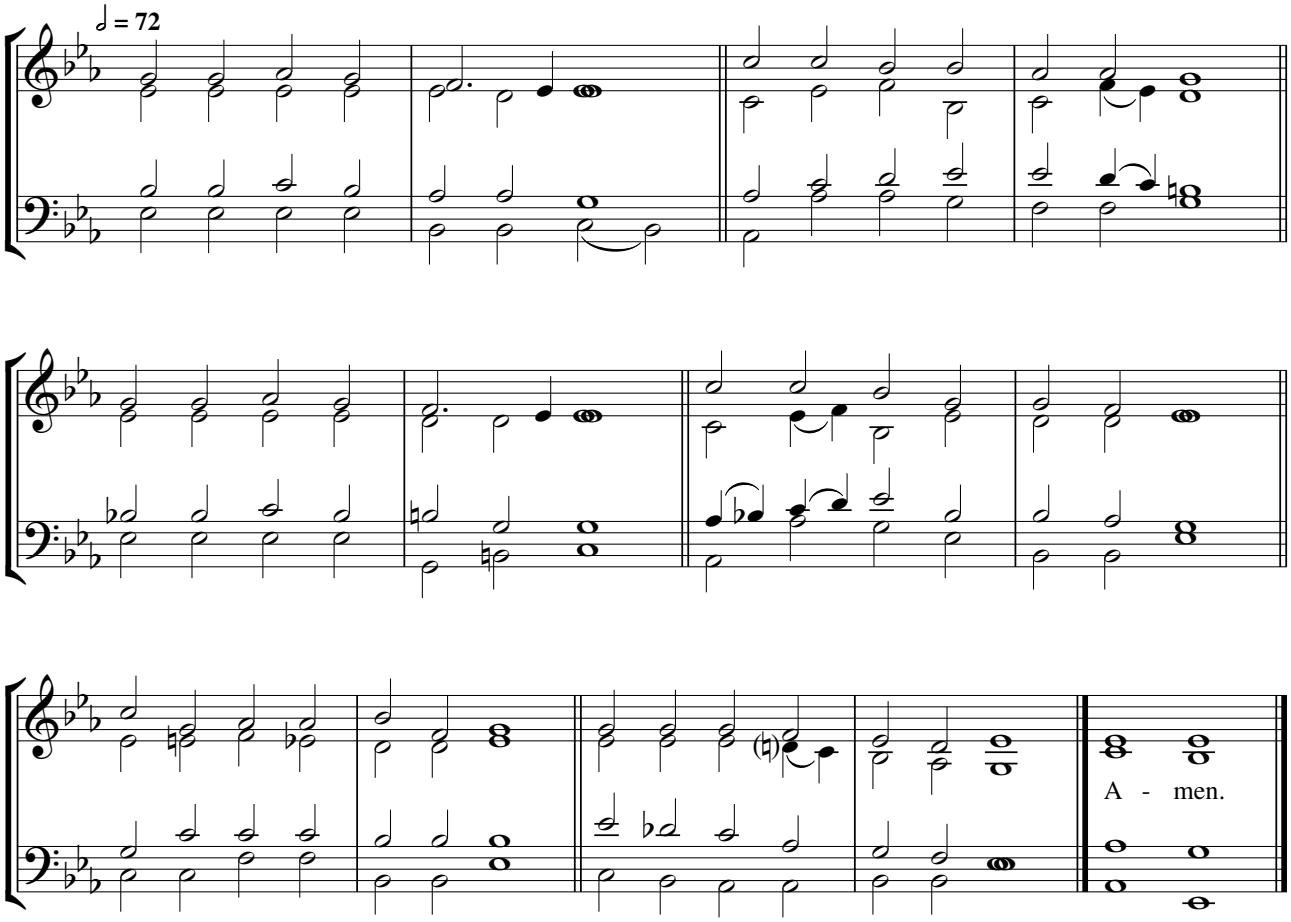
The Song of Praise (1875) No.431

"Welcome, happy morning!" age to age shall say;
Hell today is vanquished; Heaven is won today;
Lo! the Dead is living, God forevermore,
Him, their true Creator, all His works adore;
"Welcome, happy morning!" age to age shall say.

trans. John Ellerton

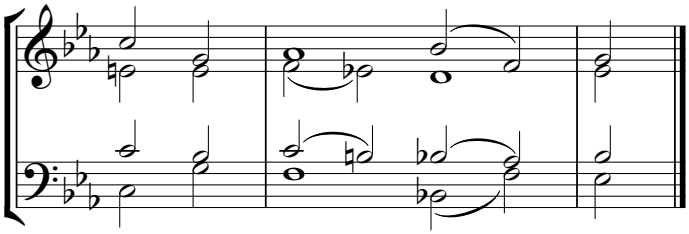
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

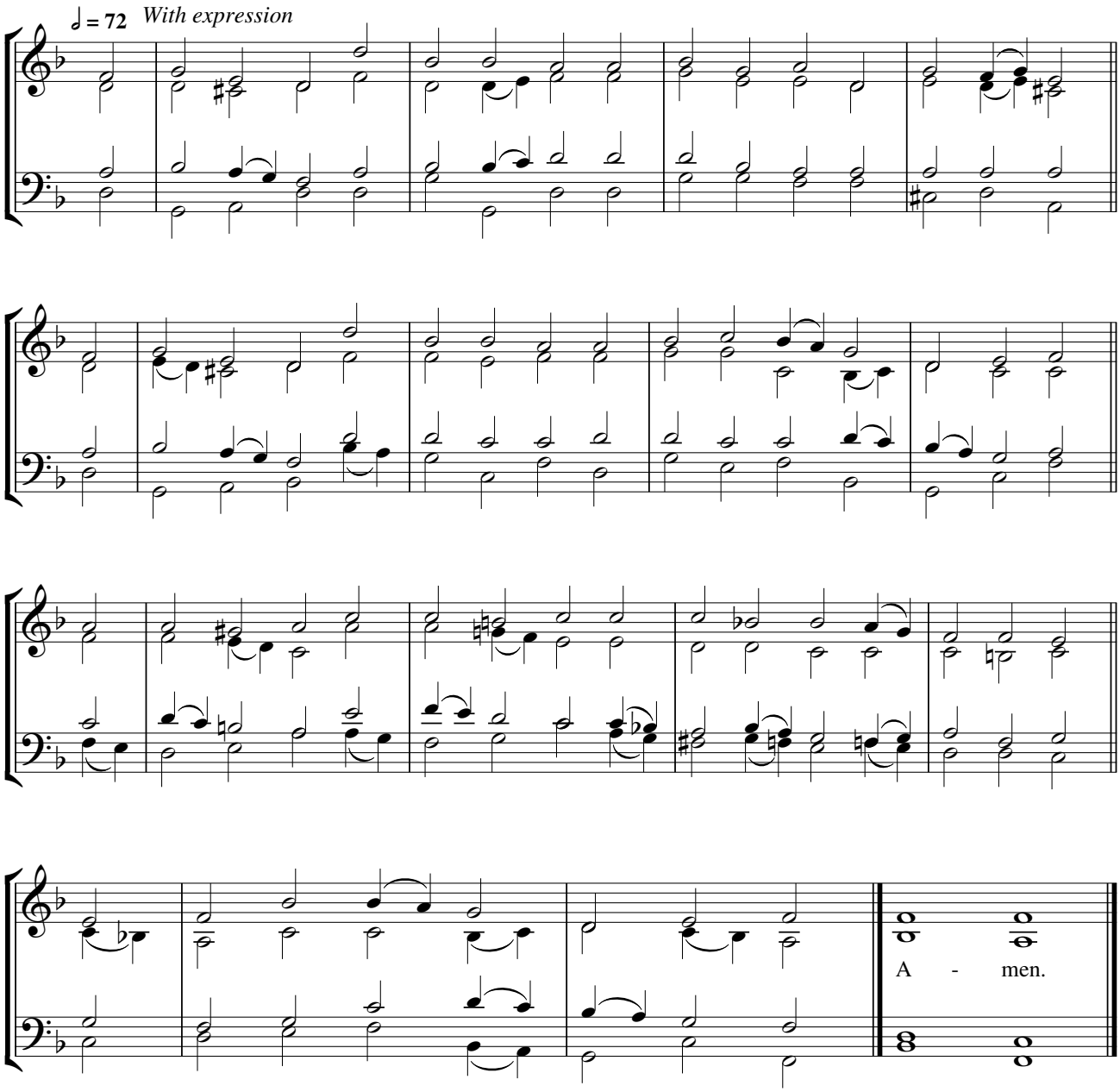
272

Passio (77.77.77)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.61

Go to dark Gethsemane,
Ye that feel the Tempter's power,
Your Redeemer's conflict see,
Watch with Him one bitter hour;
Turn not from His griefs away;
Learn of Jesus Christ to pray.

James Montgomery

Compare bars 9-10 with bars 9-11 of 'Pax Dei':

Passiontide (8787887)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 66

O sinner, lift the eye of faith,
To true repentance turning;
Bethink thee of the curse of sin,
Its awful guilt discerning;
Upon the Crucified One look,
And thou shalt read, as in a book,
What well is worthy thy learning.

trans. John Mason Neale

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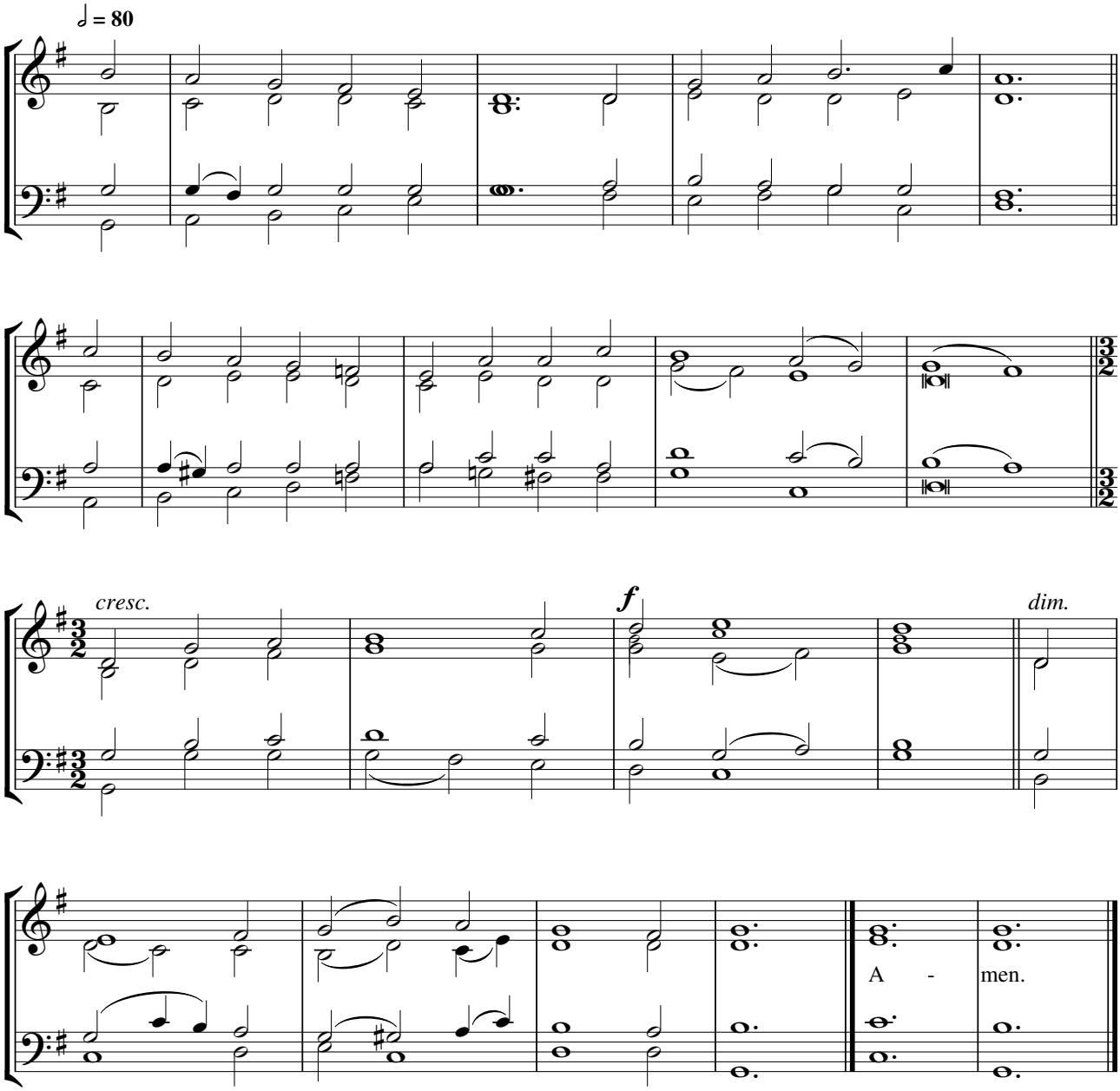
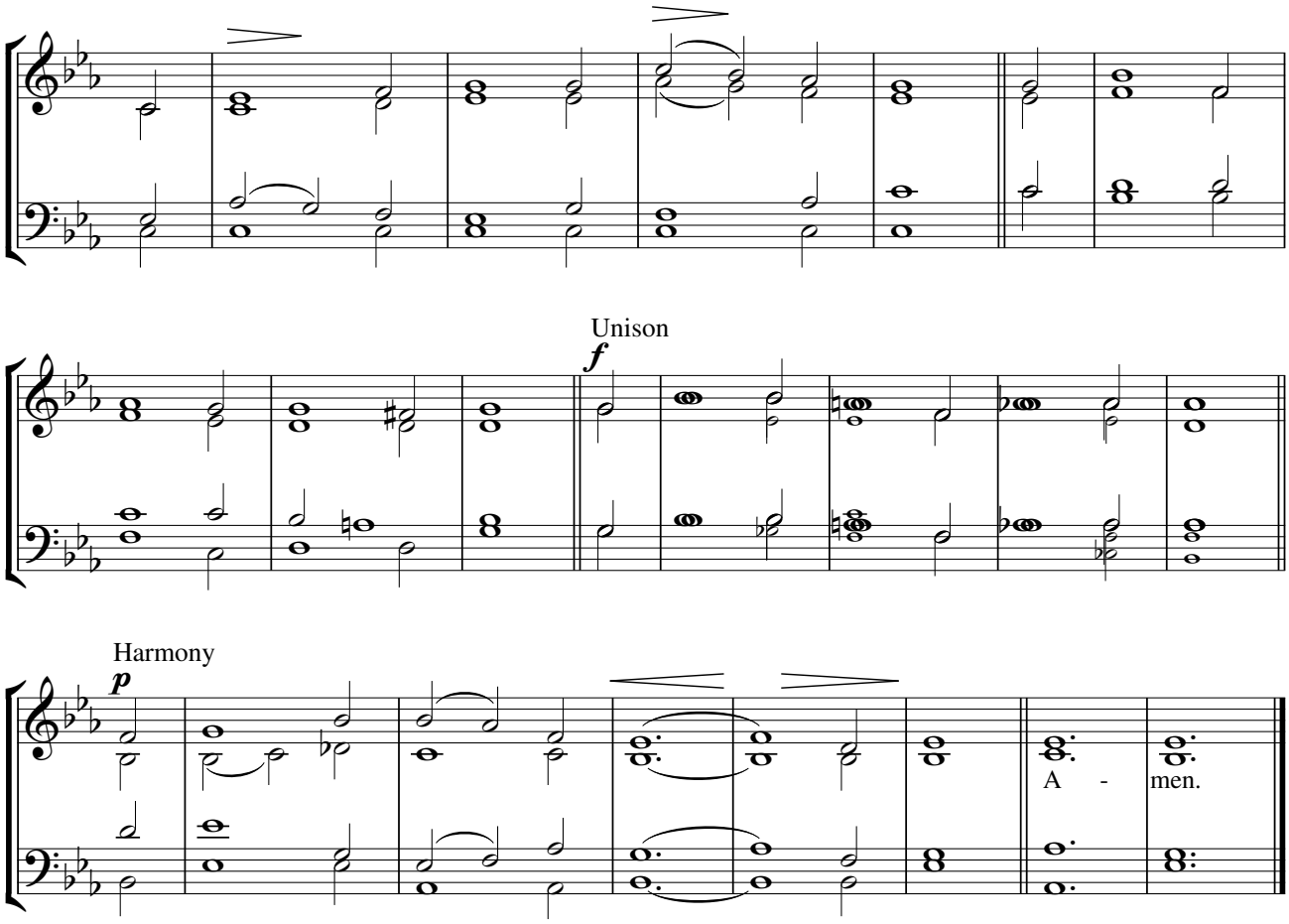
Patria (666688)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 81

To Thee our God we fly
For mercy and for grace;
Oh! hear our lowly cry,
And hide not Thou Thy face.
O Lord, stretch forth Thy mighty hand,
And guard and bless our Fatherland.

William Walsham How

Pax (LM)

The Musical Times Extra Supplement (1 December 1899) p2



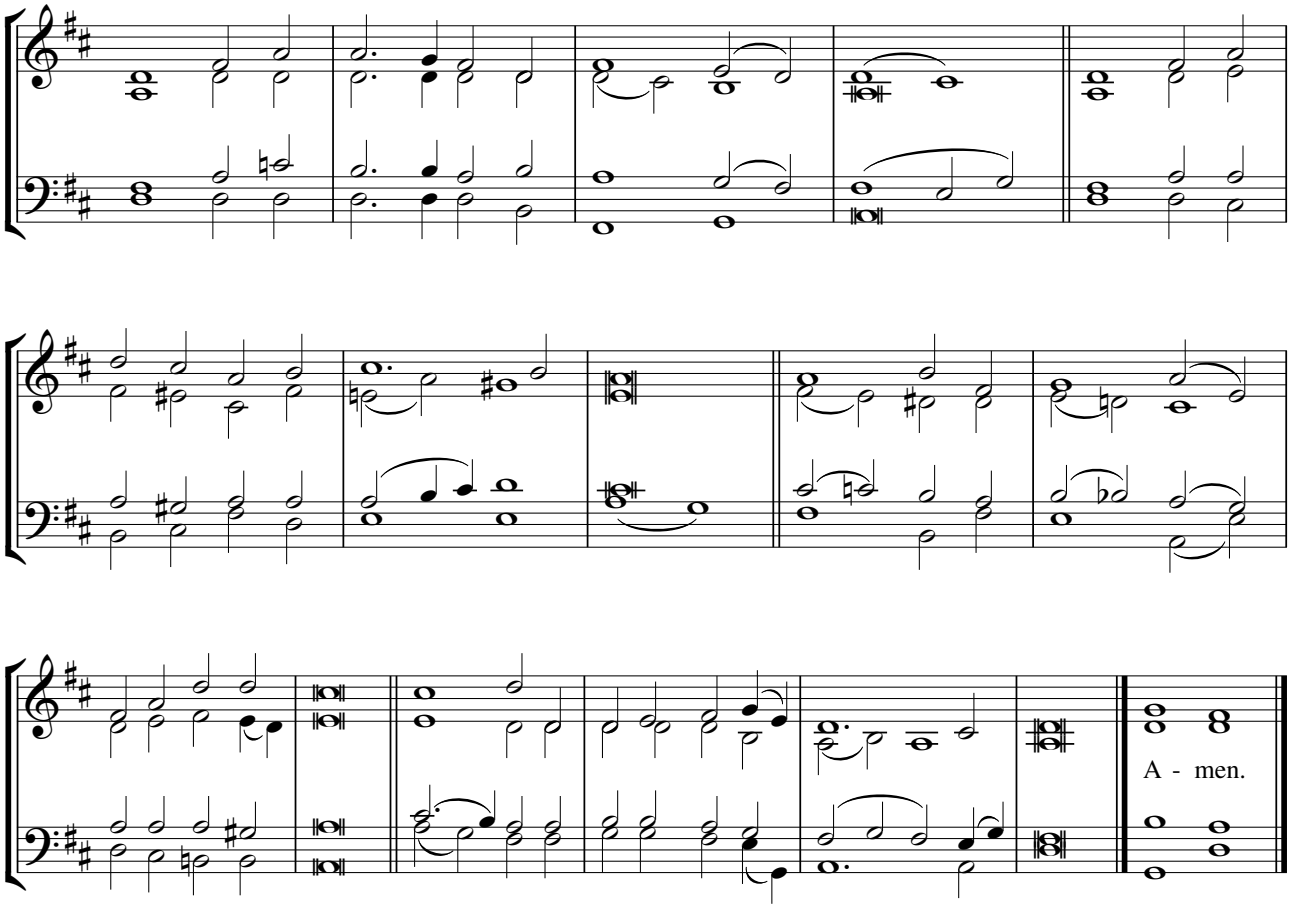
O God of Love, O King of peace,
Make wars throughout the world to cease;
The wrath of sinful man restrain,
Give peace, O God, give peace again.

Henry W. Baker

276

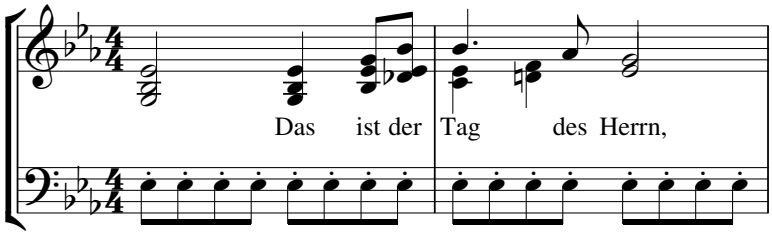
Pax Dei (i) (10.10.10.10)

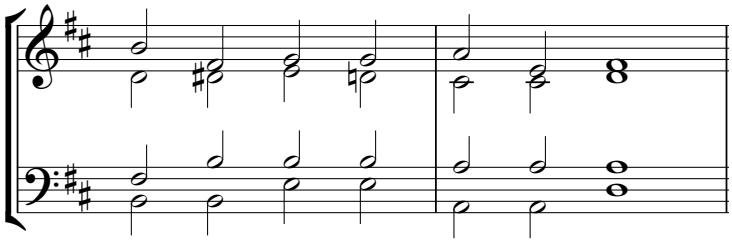
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.279



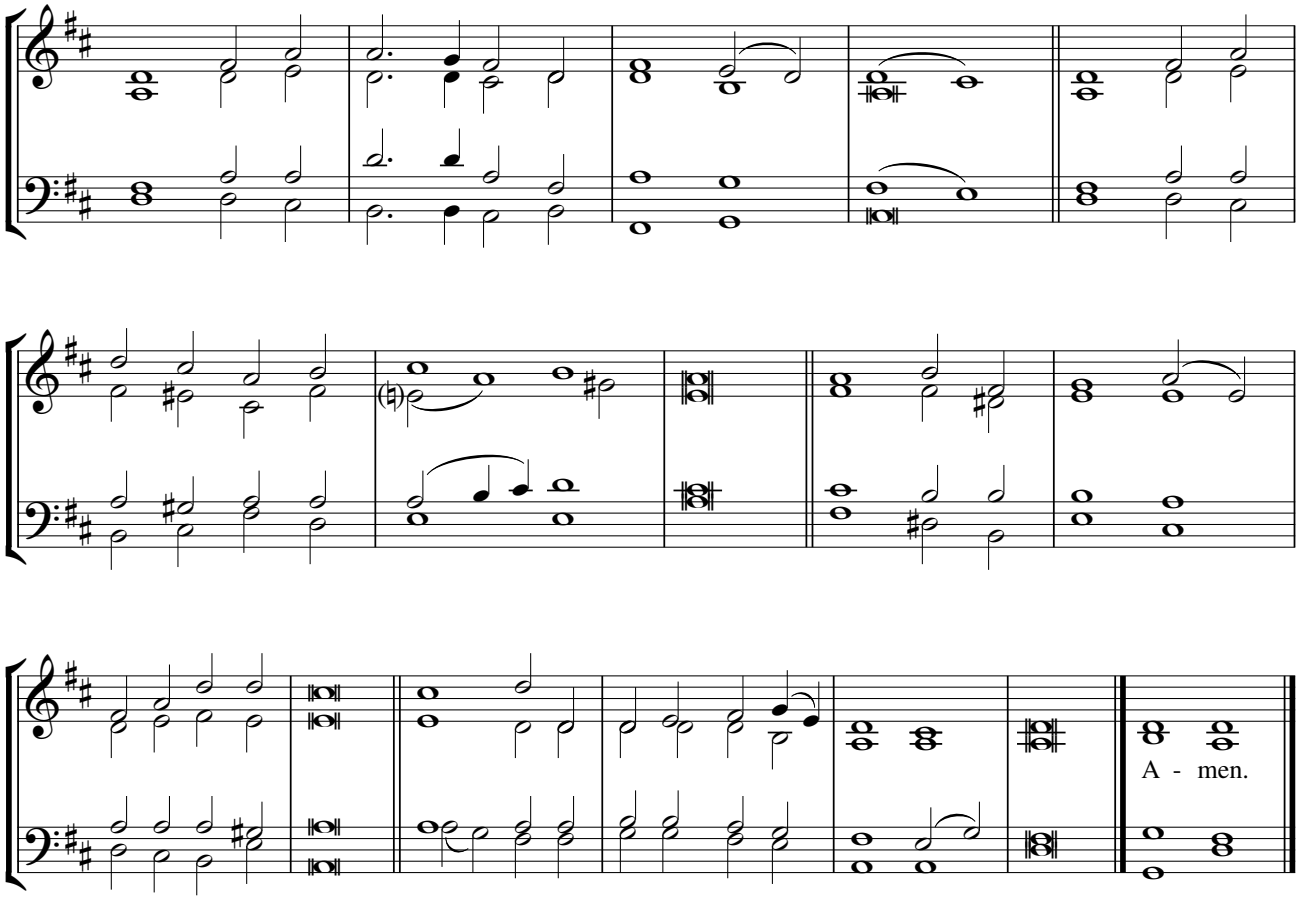
Saviour, again to Thy dear Name we raise
With one accord our parting hymn of praise;
We stand to bless Thee ere our worship cease,
Then, lowly kneeling, wait Thy word of peace.

John Ellerton

Compare bars 1 and 2 with Mendelssohn's 'Sonntagsmorgen' (Op. 77 No. 1)

Compare bars 9 to 11 with bars 9 and 10 of PASSIO



Pax Dei (ii) (10.10.10.10)

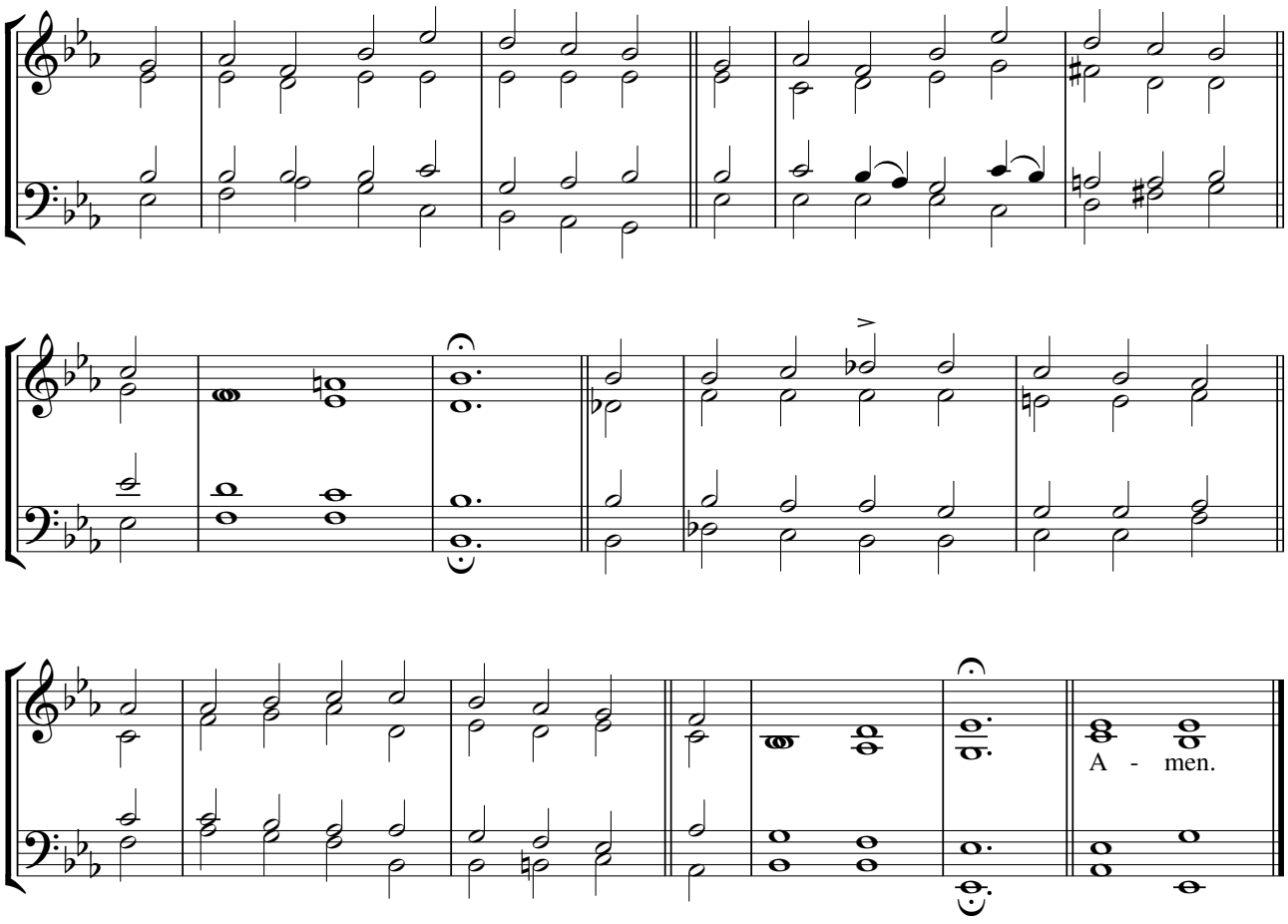
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.329

Saviour, again to Thy dear Name we raise
With one accord our parting hymn of praise;
We stand to bless Thee ere our worship cease,
Then, lowly kneeling, wait Thy word of peace.

John Ellerton

278

Pax Electis (884884)

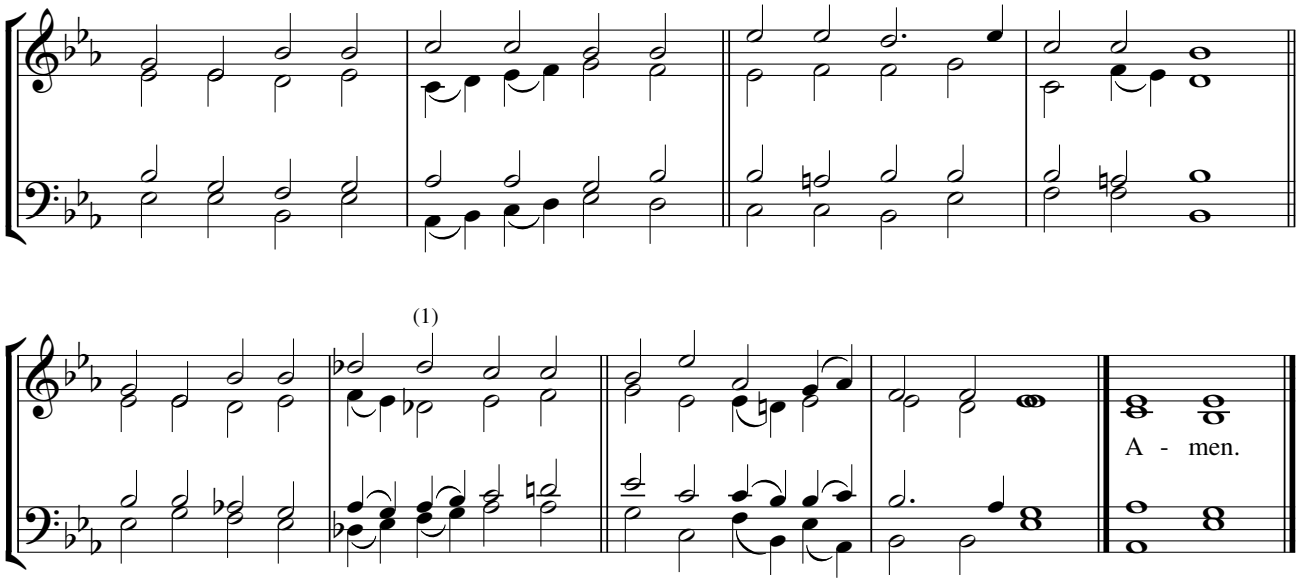
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.180



What care the Saints of God, if they
'Mid grief and pain are called away
To their reward?
What matters one short day of tears,
Which ushers in the countless years
With their dear Lord?

G. Moultrie

Pittington (8787)

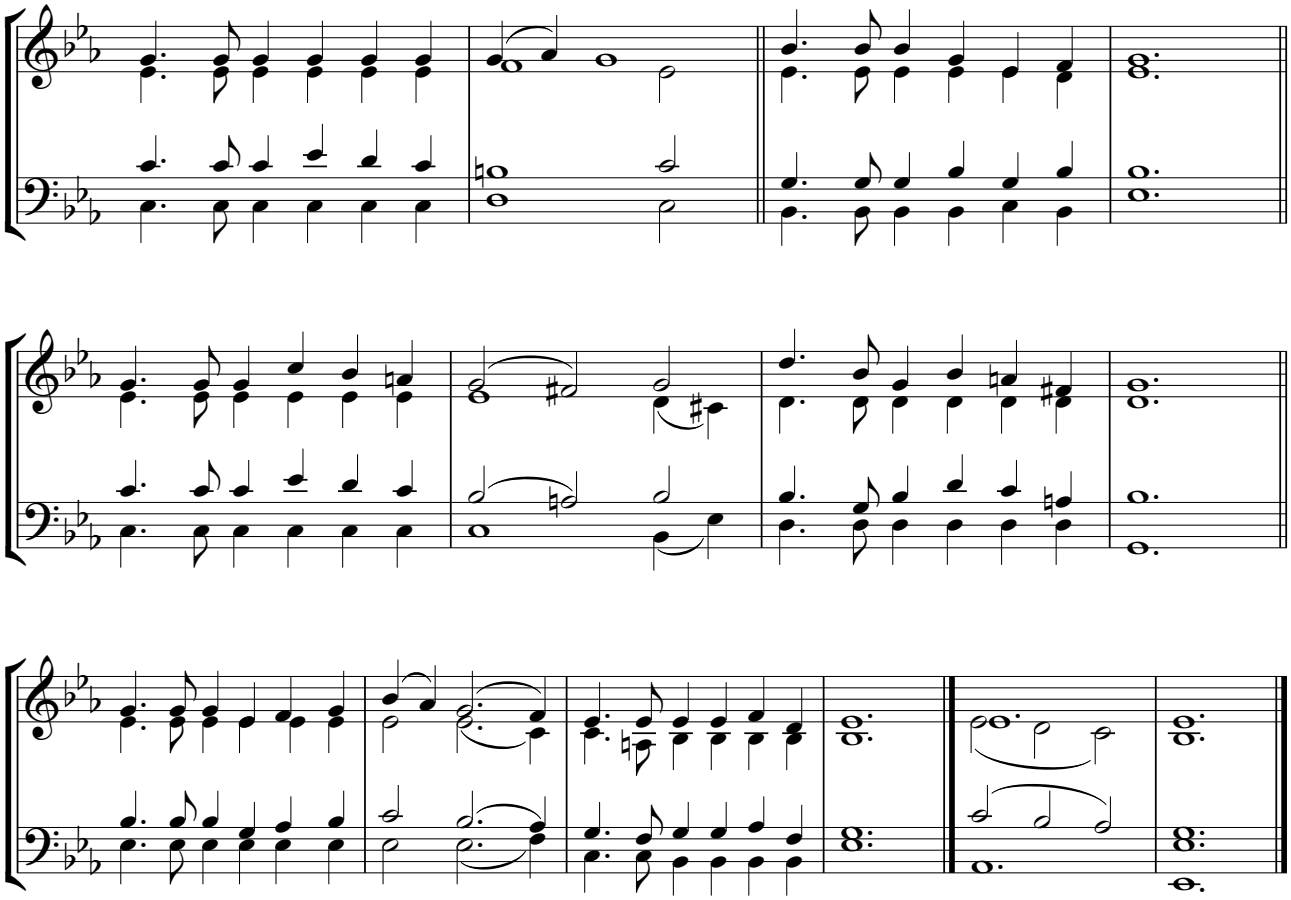
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.292

Where Angelic Hosts adore Thee,
Thou, O God, in Heaven dost reign;
At Thy Word they rose around Thee,
And Thy Word doth them sustain.

E.L. Blanchard

(1) The 1902 Novello edition has two crotchets on this beat in the alto, D♭ and E♭.

280

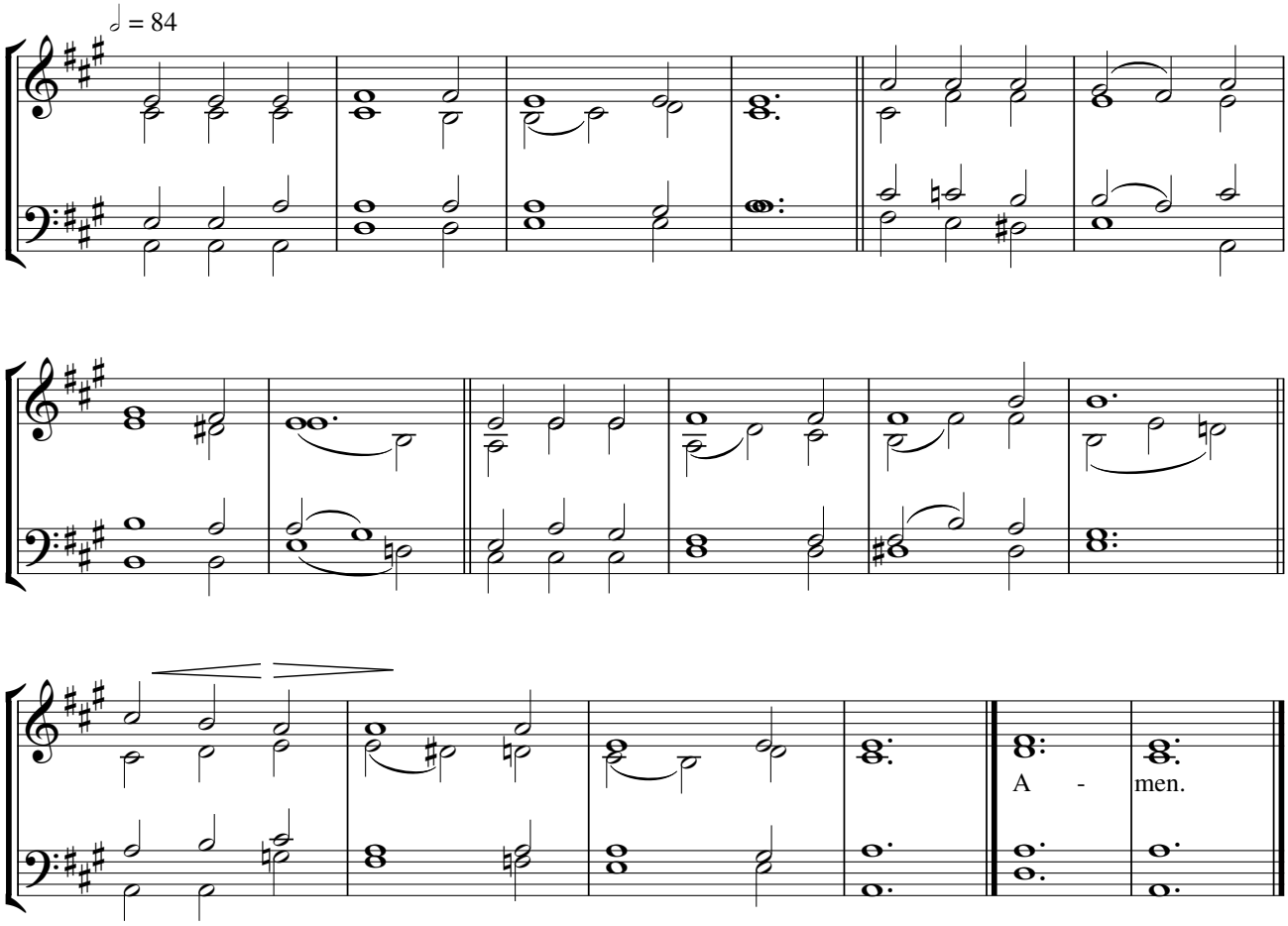
Prome Vocem (878787)

People's Hymnal (1868) No. 100

Now, my soul, thy voice upraising,
Tell in sweet and mournful strain
How the Crucified, enduring
Grief, and wounds, and dying pain,
Freely of His love was offered,
Sinless was for sinners slain.

trans. H.W. Baker

Quadragesima (LM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.42

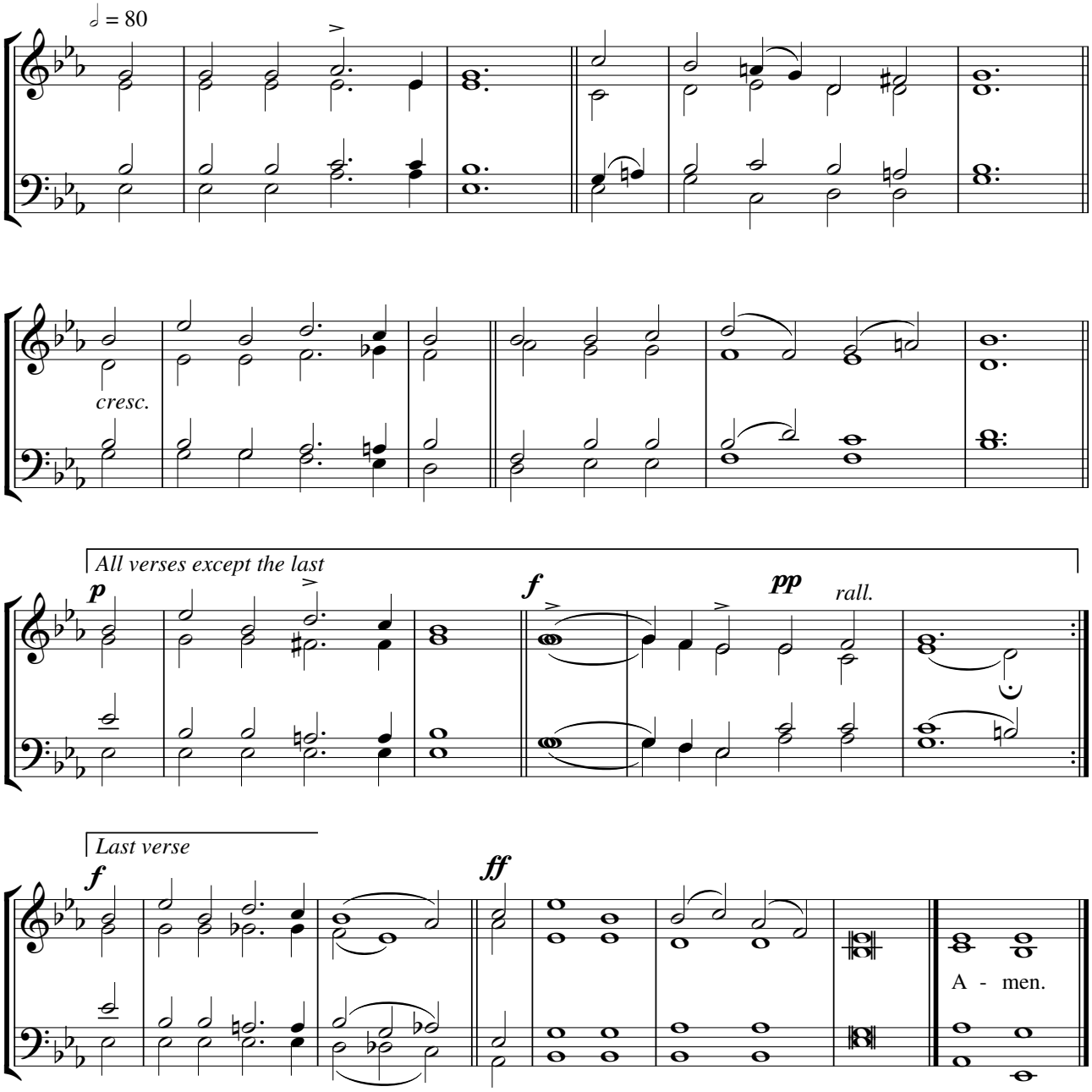


O merciful Creator, hear;
In tender pity bow Thine ear;
Accept the tearful prayer we raise
In this our fast of forty days.

trans. John Mason Neale

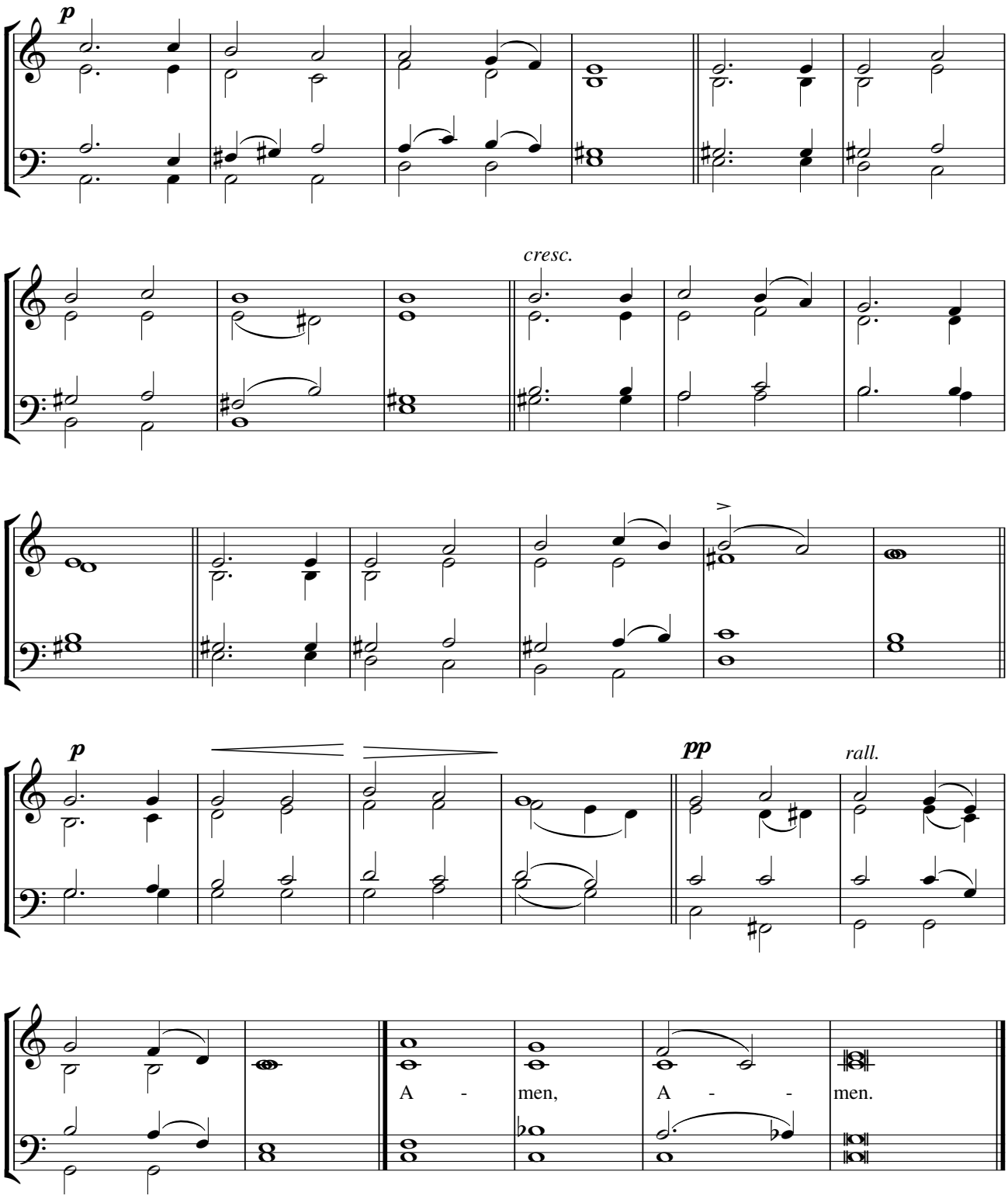
Quid Retribuam (666666)

The Song of Praise (1875) No. 566

Other names:
DURHAM

Thy life was given for me;
Thy blood, O Lord, was shed,
That I might ransomed be,
And quickened from the dead.
Thy life was given for me;
What have I given for thee?

Frances Ridley Havergal

Requies (787877)

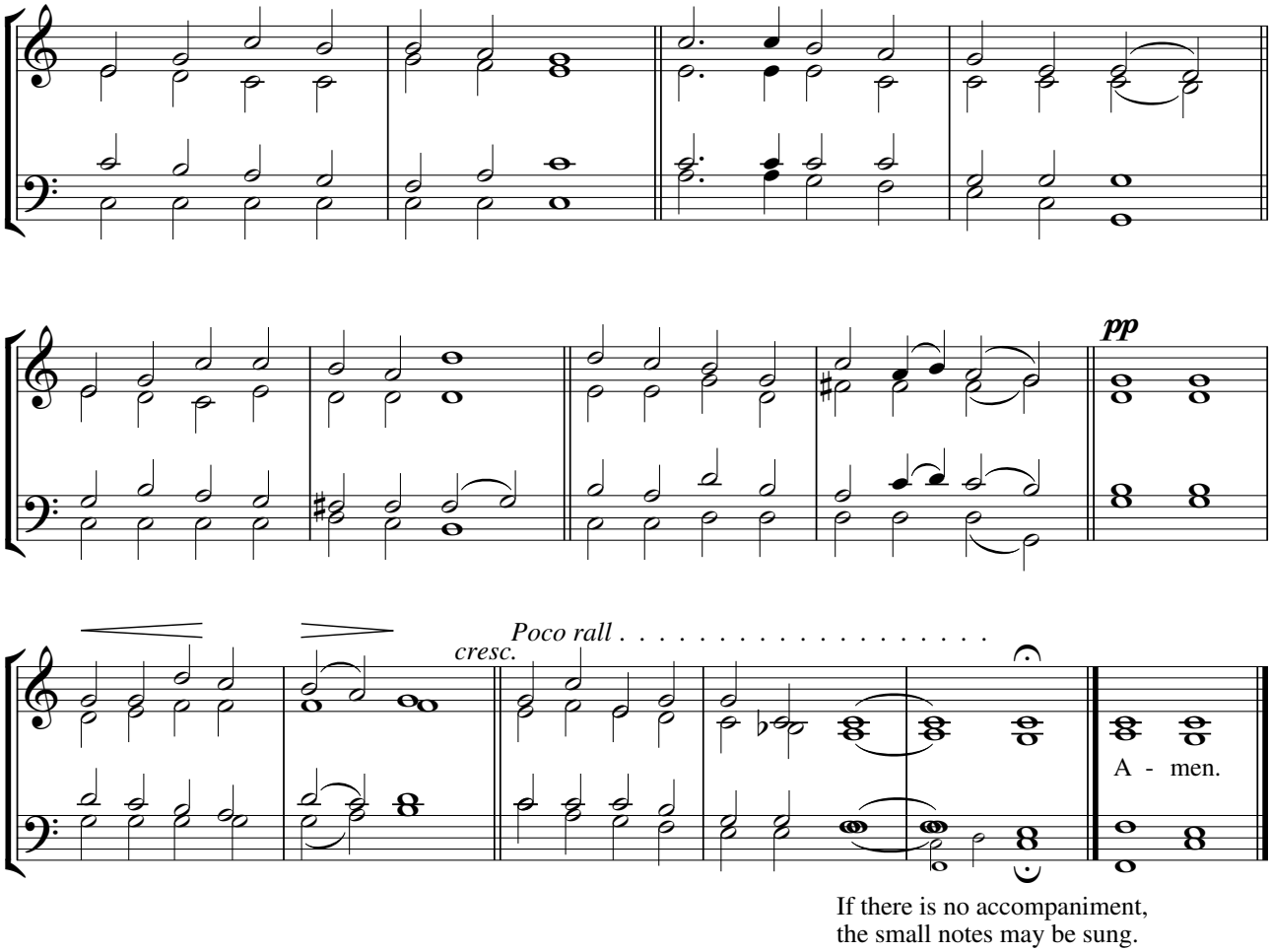
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.203

Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled
Now Thy little lamb's brief weeping;
Ah, how peaceful, pale and mild,
In its narrow bed 'tis sleeping,
And no sigh of anguish sore
Heaves that little bosom more.

Johann W. Meinhold

284

Requiescat (777788)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.401

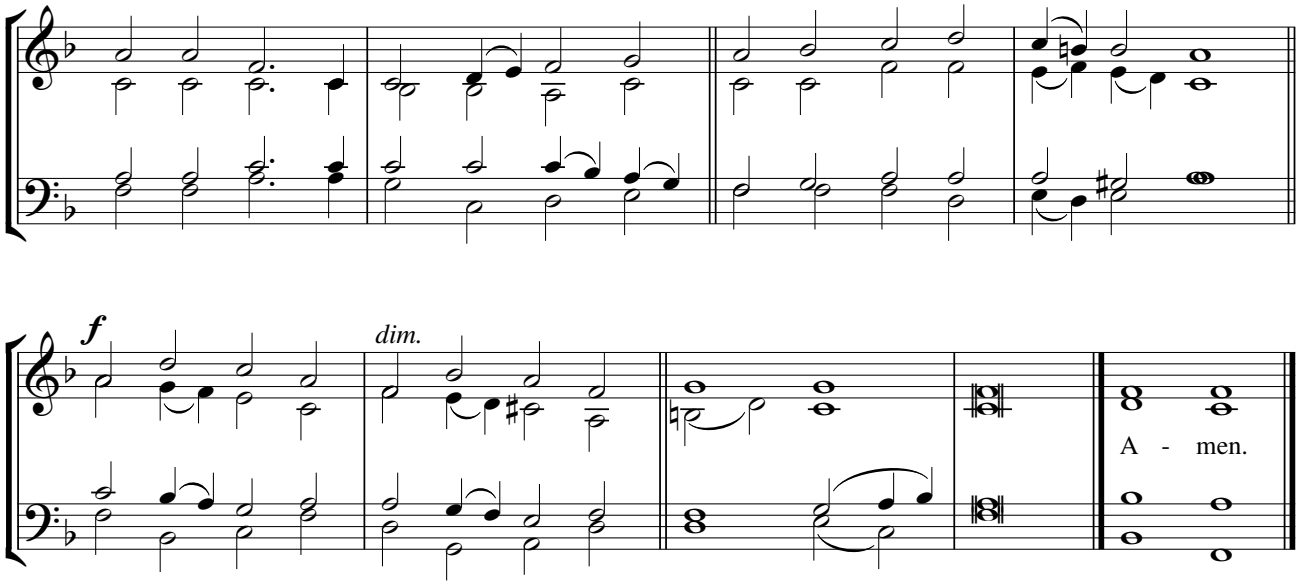


If there is no accompaniment,
the small notes may be sung.

Now the labourer's task is o'er;
Now the battle day is past;
Now upon the farther shore
Lands the voyager at last.
Father, in Thy gracious keeping
Leave we now Thy servant sleeping.

John Ellerton

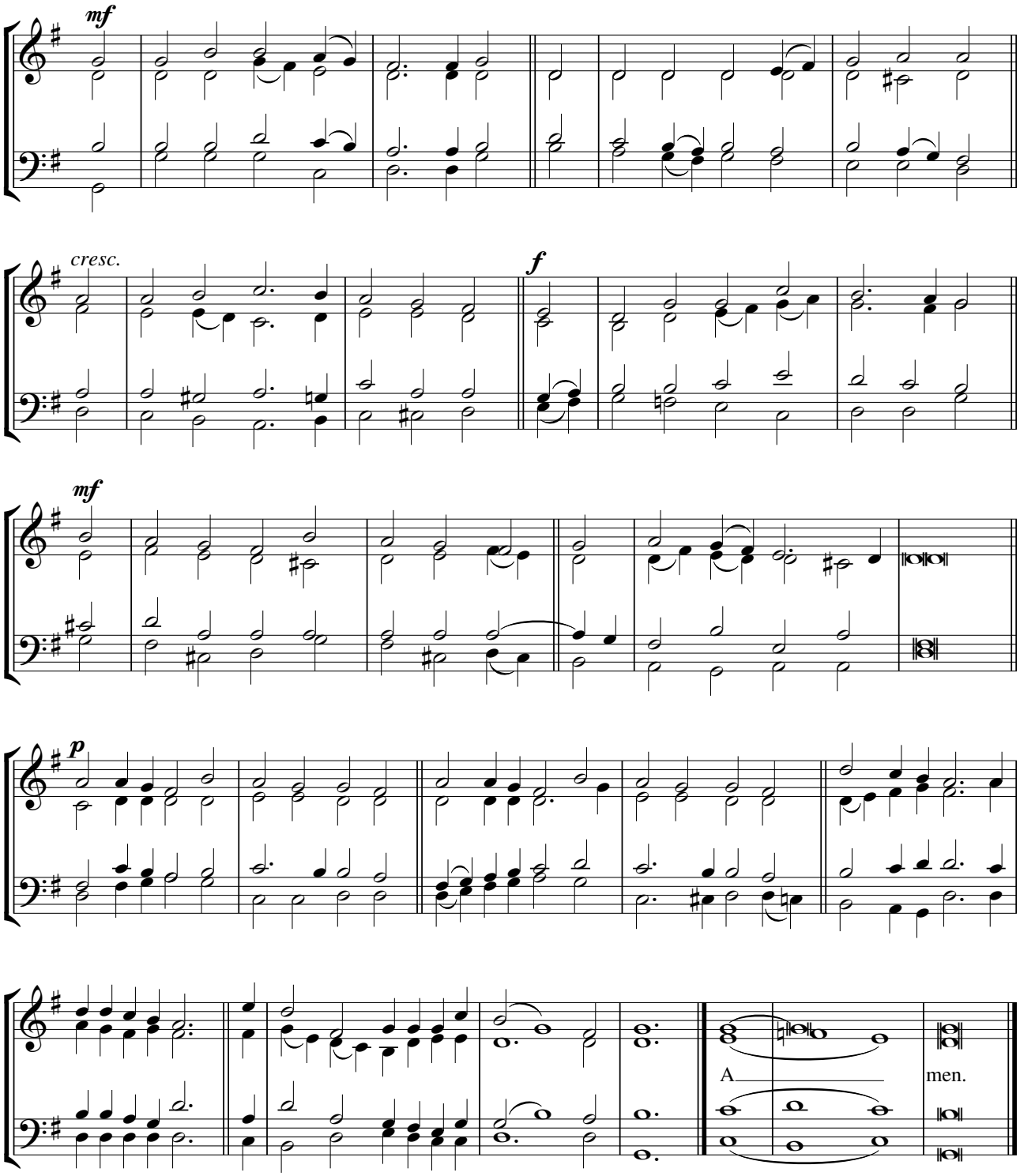
Resurrectio (8783)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.493

On the Resurrection morning
Soul and body meet again;
No more sorrow, no more weeping,
No more pain!

Sabine Baring Gould

Resurrection (1) (Irregular)

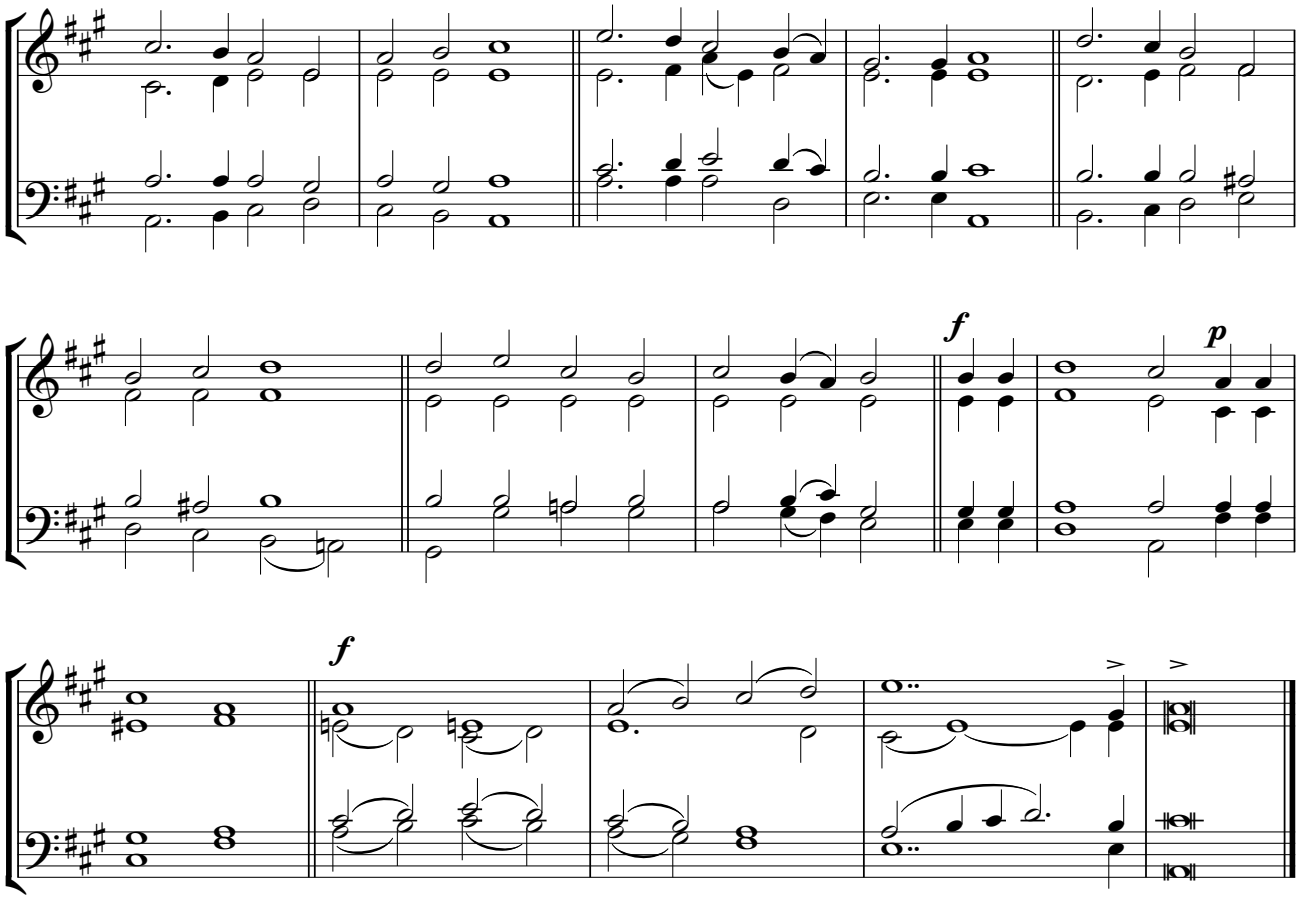
The Holy Year (1865) No.91

Other name:
STIGMATA

The wounds, which Jesus once endur'd
In death, were stigmas of His shame;
But now they have for Him procur'd,
A glorious everlasting name;
The nail- prints, and the lance's scar,
Triumphal Trophies are;
Marks graven on the Rock of Ages,
Like golden letters on the pages
Of some fair Book, unfolded to the eye
Of men and Angels for Eternity.

Christopher Wordsworth

Resurrection (2) (77.77.87)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.145

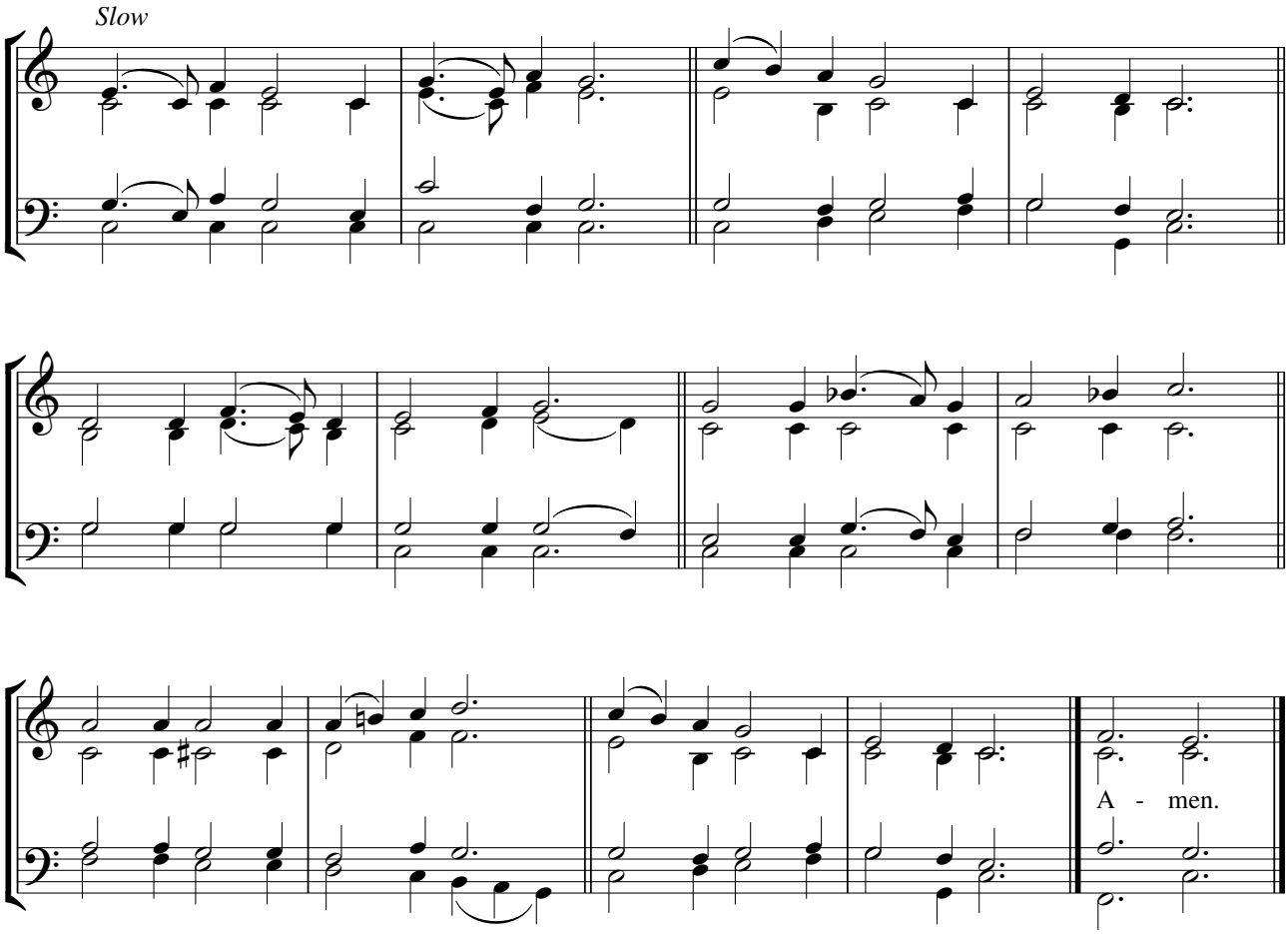
Other names:
EASTER

Angels, roll the rock away!
Death, yield up the mighty Prey!
See! the Saviour quits the tomb,
Glowing with immortal bloom.
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
Christ the Lord is risen today!

Thomas Gibbons

288

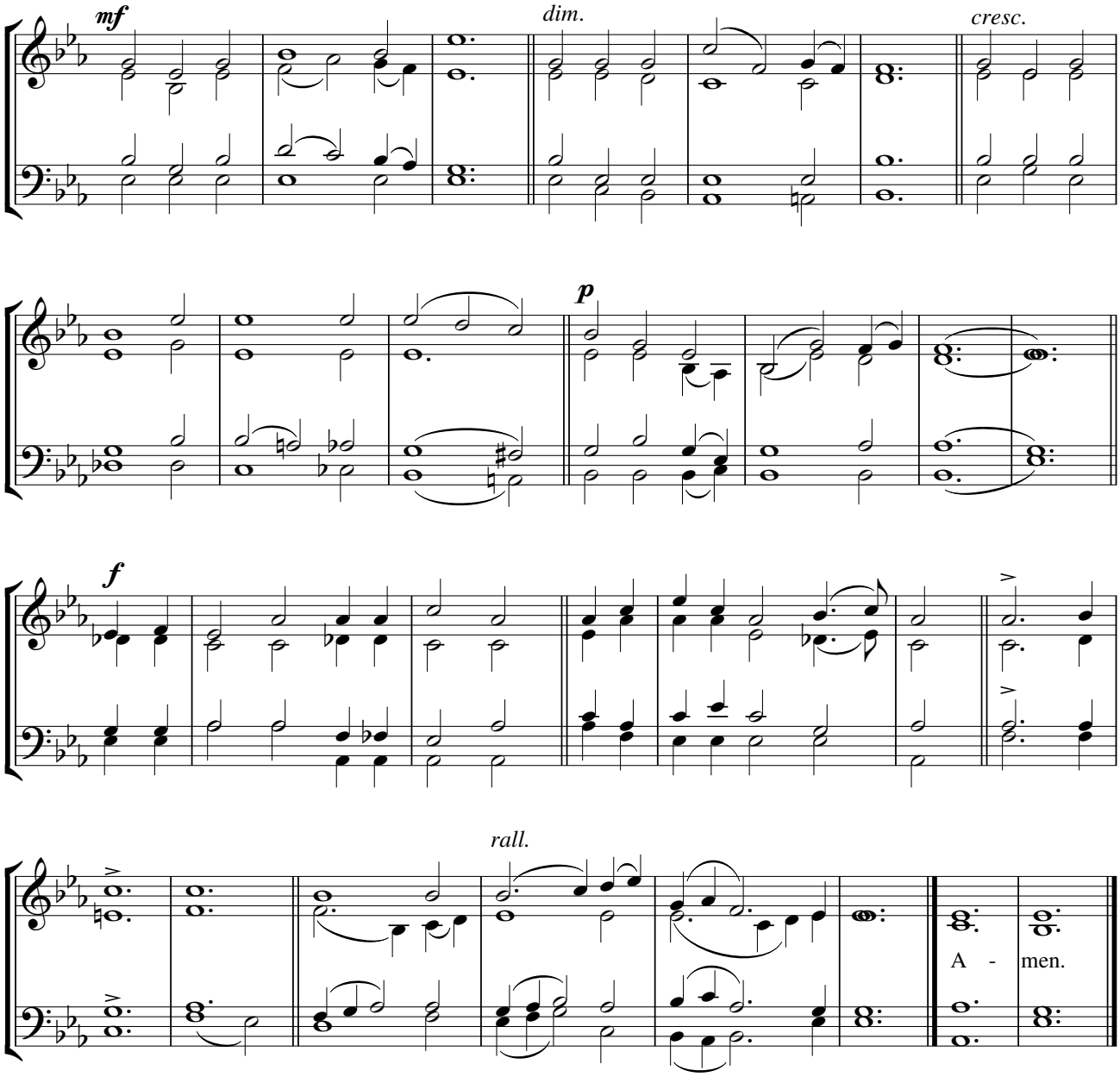
‘Reverently we worship Thee’ (777777)

The Child’s Book of Praise (1873) No.11

Other names:
TRINITY

Reverently we worship Thee,
High and holy Trinity!
One in Three, and Three in One,
Seated on Thy heavenly throne!
Thanks and praise to Thee we pay,
Who art God and Lord for aye.

Claudia F Hernaman

Rex Splendens (66868747)

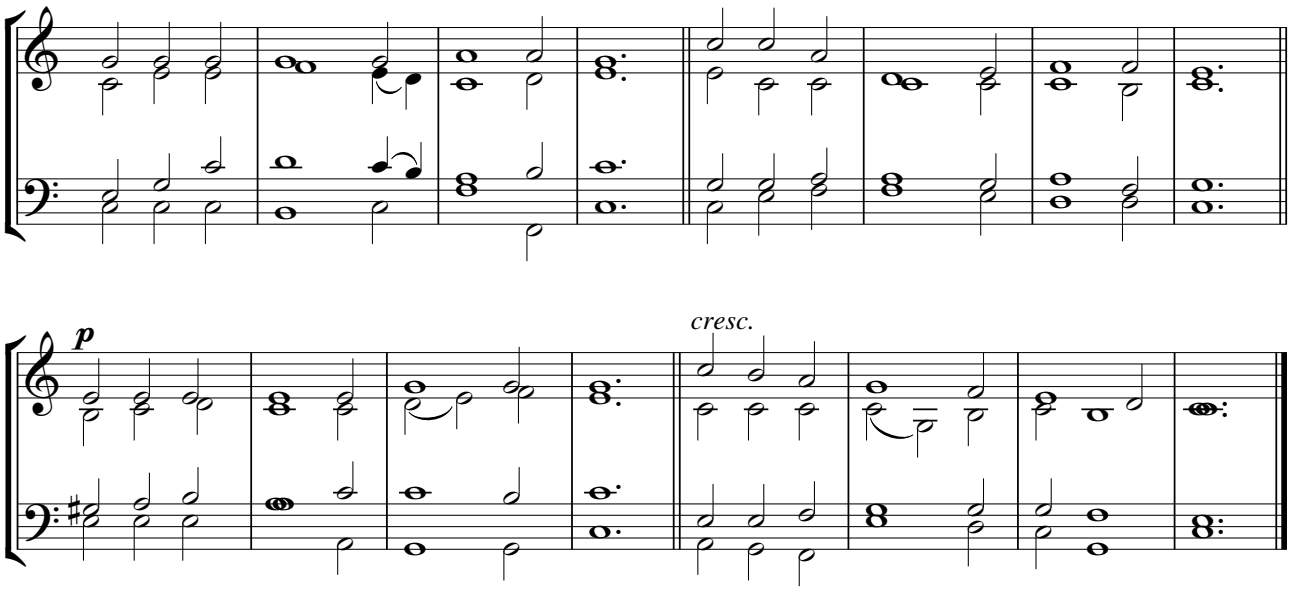
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.27

Bright was Thy throne above,
Lowly Thy manger-bed,
Where, moved by Thy Almighty love,
Thou laid'st Thy Sacred Head,
When from Heaven, King of Glory,
From the throne of God Most High,
King of Glory,
Thou didst come for us to die.

A.T. Bonner

290

Rivaulx (i) (LM)

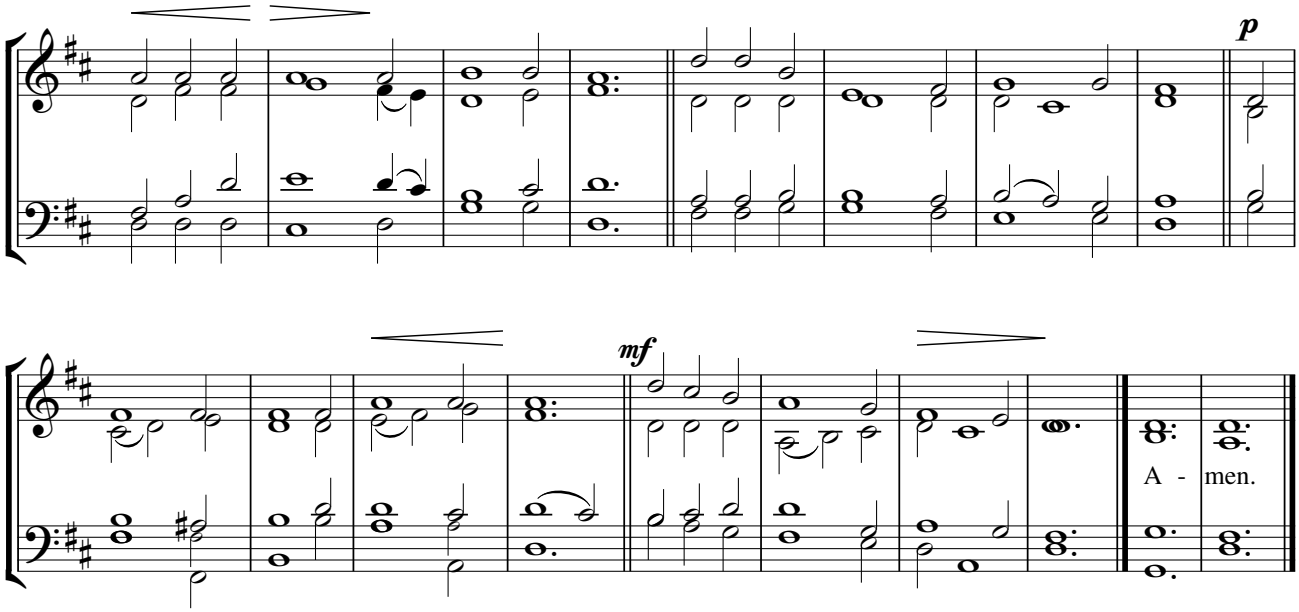
A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No. 36



Father of heaven, Whose love profound
A ransom for our souls hath found,
Before Thy Throne we sinners bend;
To us Thy pardoning love extend.

Edward Cooper

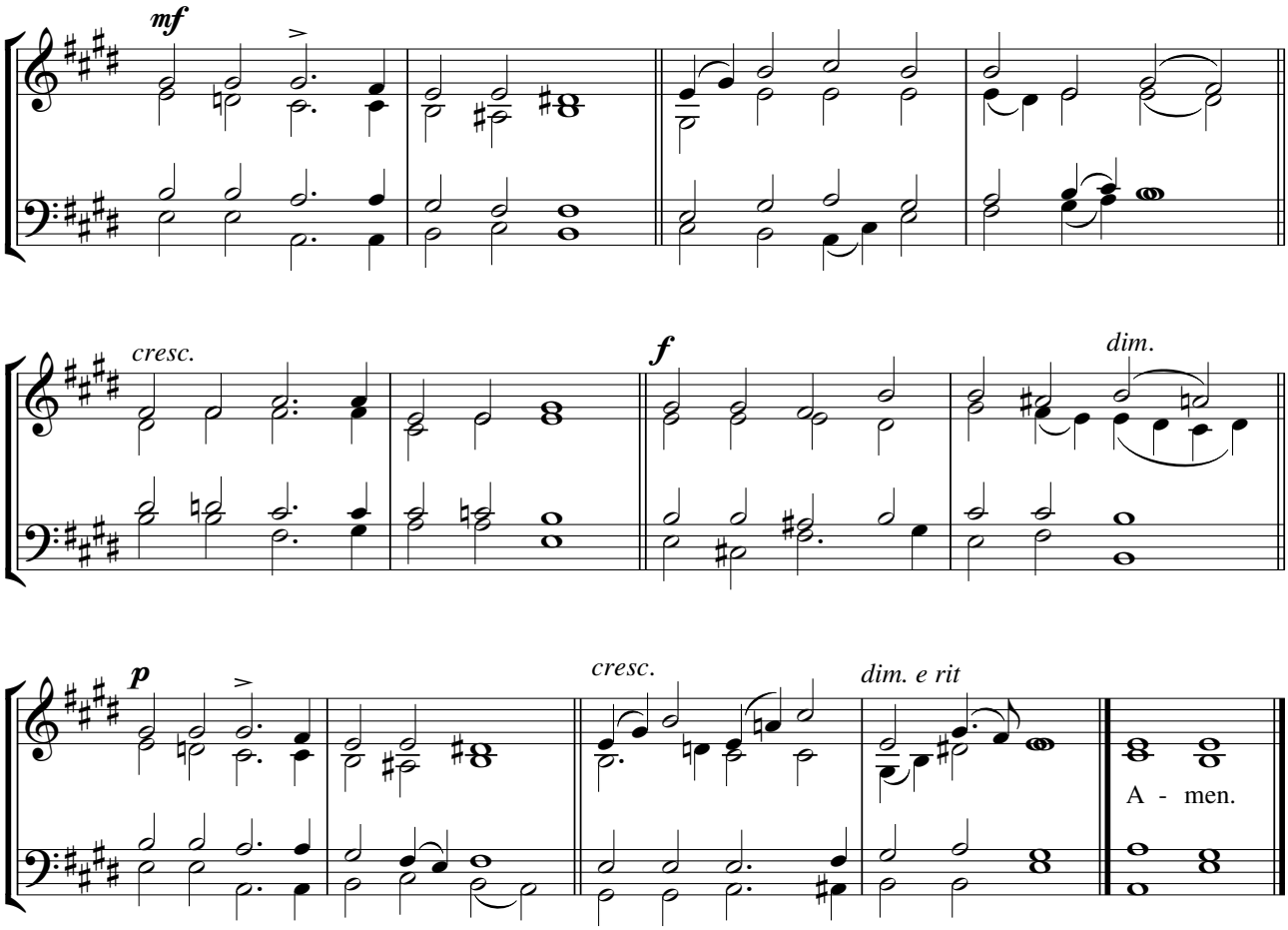
Rivaulx (ii) (LM)

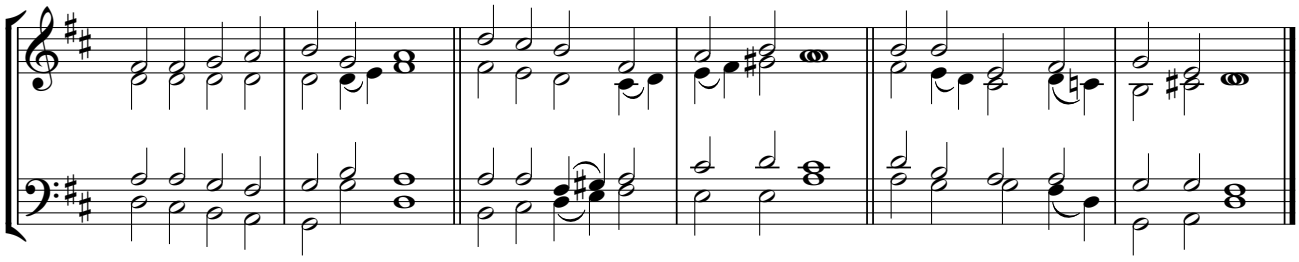
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.164

Father of heaven, Whose love profound
A ransom for our souls hath found,
Before Thy Throne we sinners bend;
To us Thy pardoning love extend.

Edward Cooper

Rock of Ages, cleft for me (777777)

The Children's Hymnal (1877) No. 170

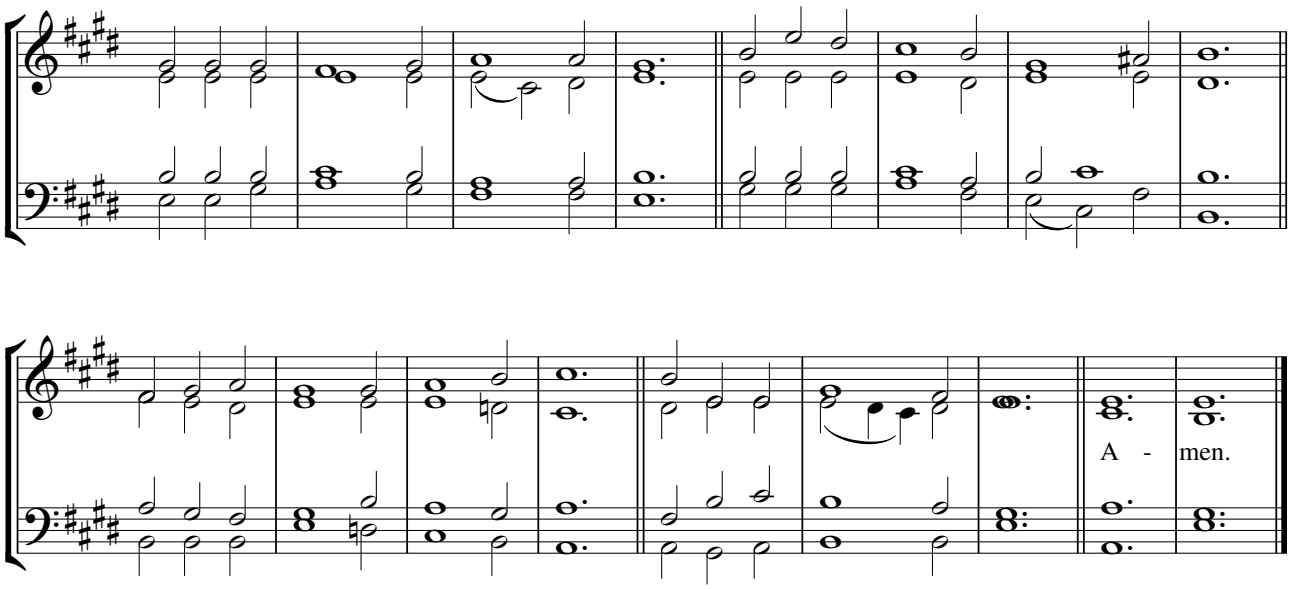
Other names:
GETHSEMANE

Rutland (777)

Congregational Church Music (1871) No.391

Lord, in this Thy mercy's day,
Ere for us it pass away,
On our knees we fall and pray.

Isaac Williams

294

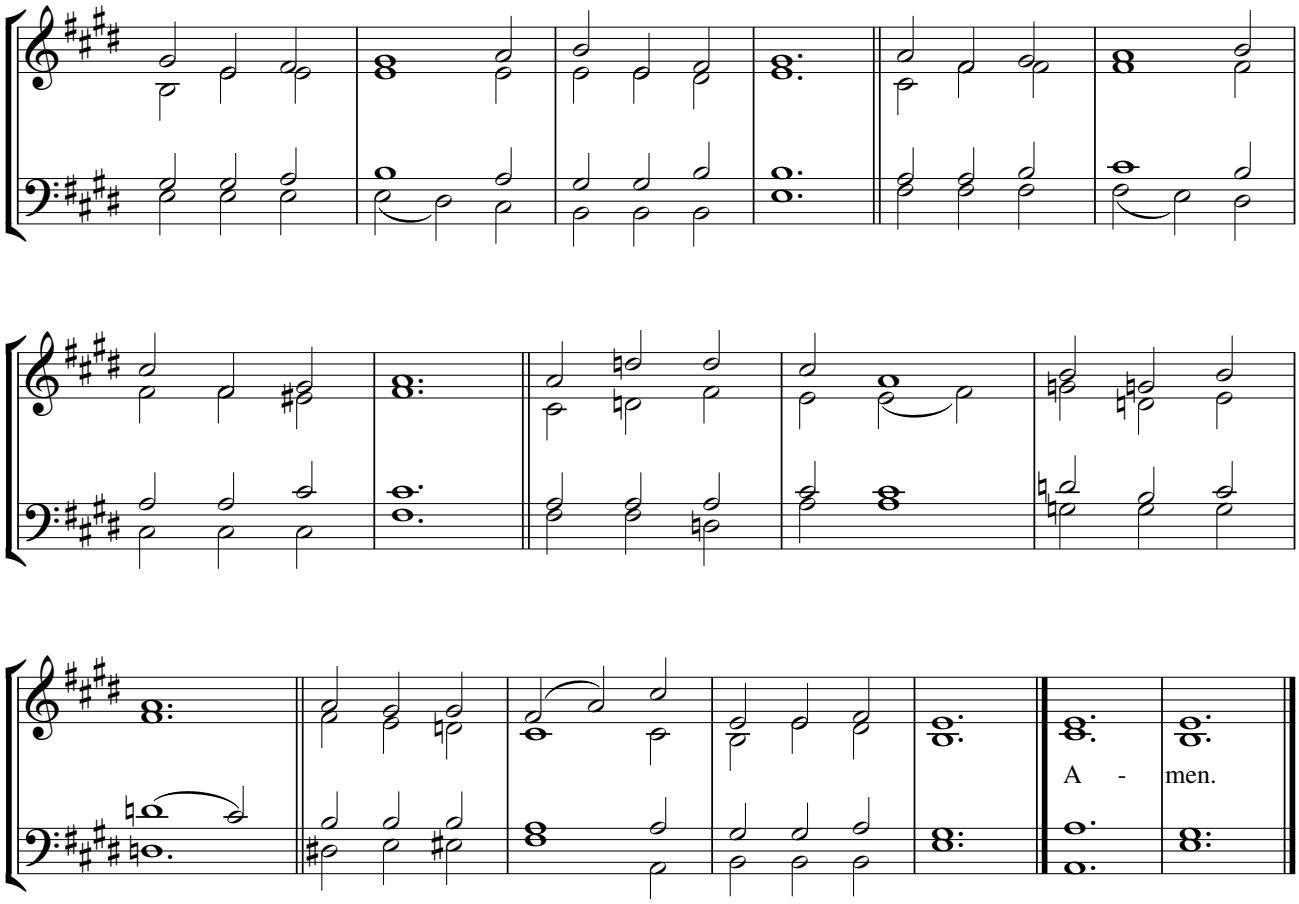
The Sabbath Day (8886)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.20

The Sabbath-day has reach'd its close,
Yet, Saviour, ere I seek repose,
Grant me the peace Thy love bestows,
Smile on my evening hour!

C. Elliott

Salvator et Amicus (9999)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.502



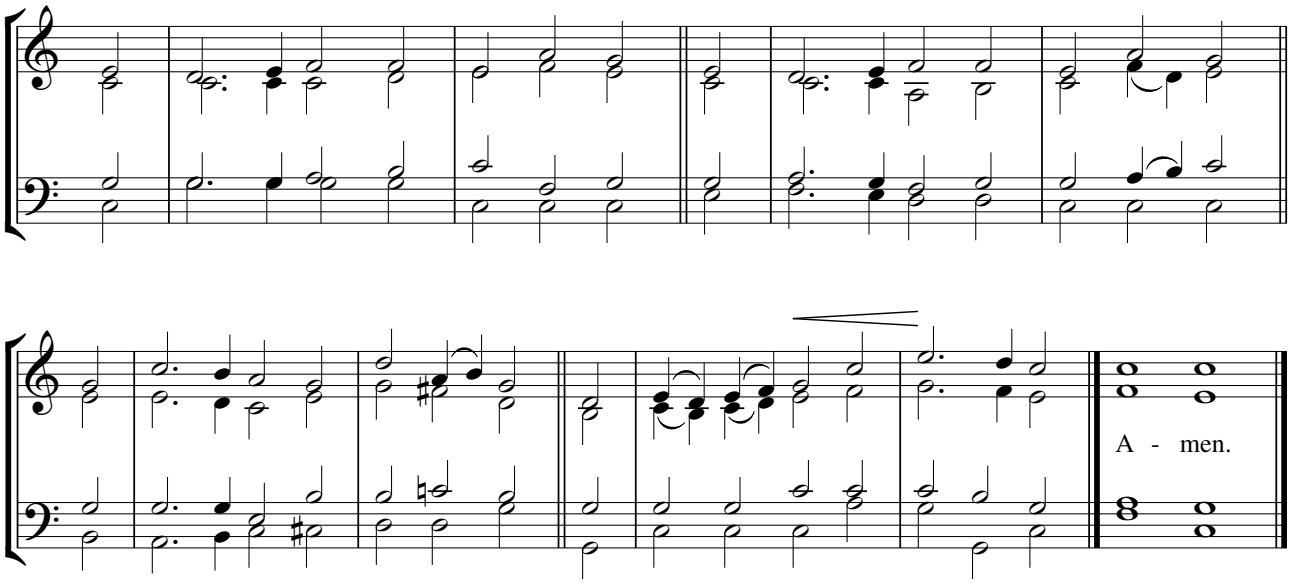
Rest of the weary, Joy of the sad,
Hope of the dreary, Light of the glad;
Home of the stranger, Strength to the end,
Refuge from danger, Saviour and Friend!

John Samuel Bewley Monsell

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

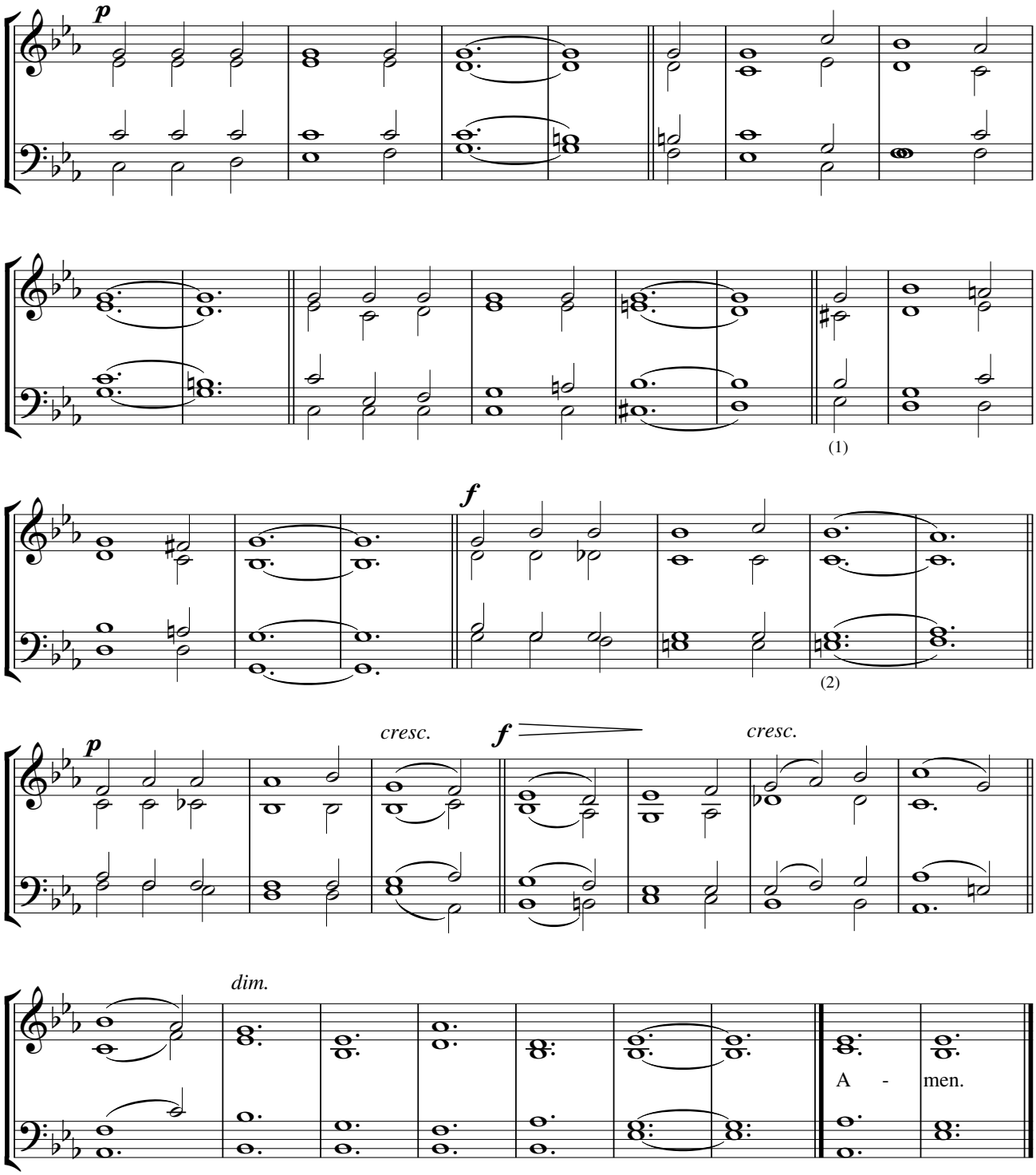
296

Salvete Flores (LM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.68

Sweet flowerets of the martyr band,
So early plucked by cruel hand;
Like rosebuds by a tempest torn,
As breaks the light of summer morn.

trans. H.W. Baker

Salvum me fac (6666D)

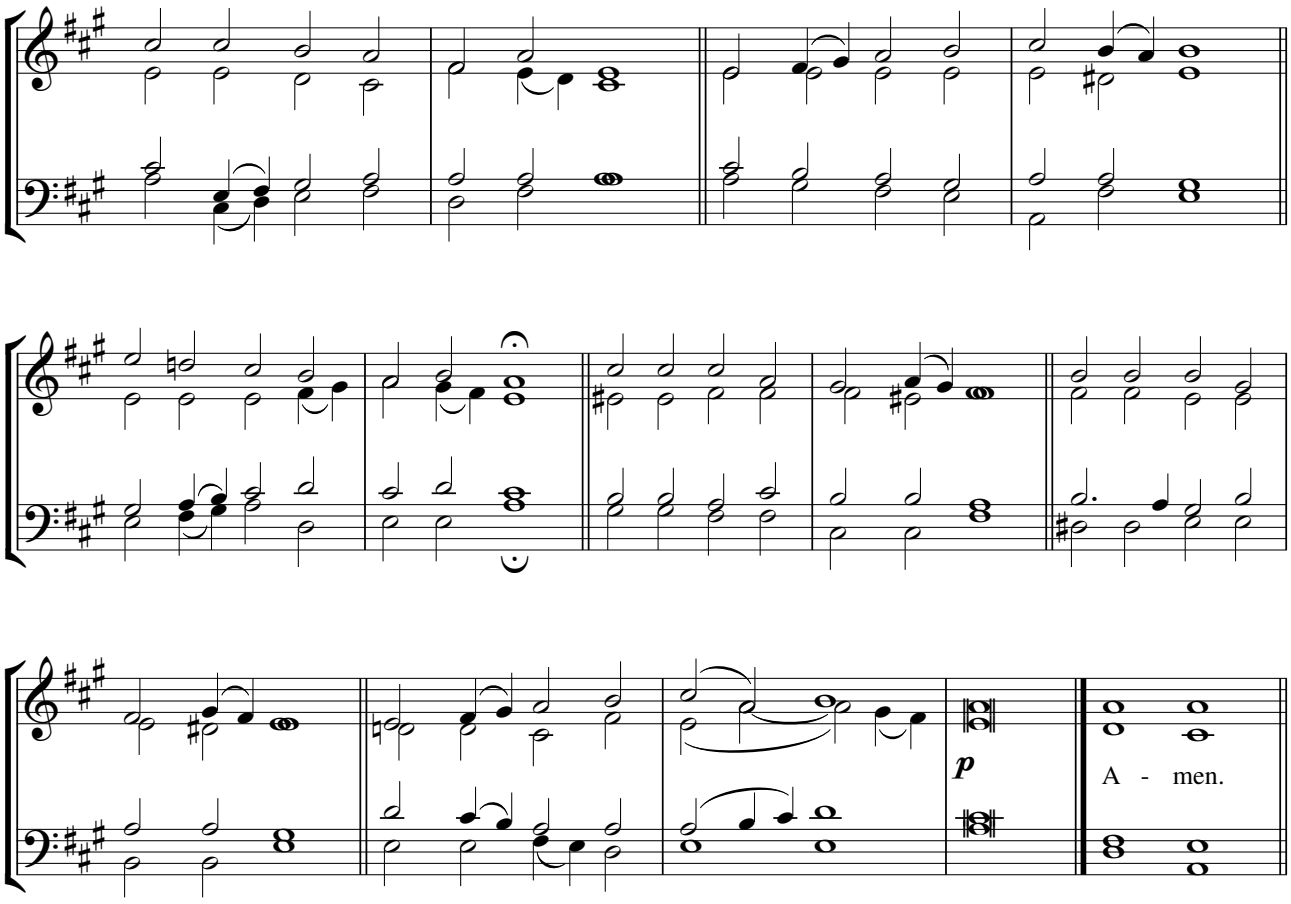
The Song of Praise (1875) No.424

Low at Thy feet I lie, O blessed Saviour mine,
Comfort me or I die, Oh! save me, I am Thine;
Thine by the gift of life, Thine by the grace of love,
Oh, save me through this strife, Till I am Thine above.

J.S.B. Monsell

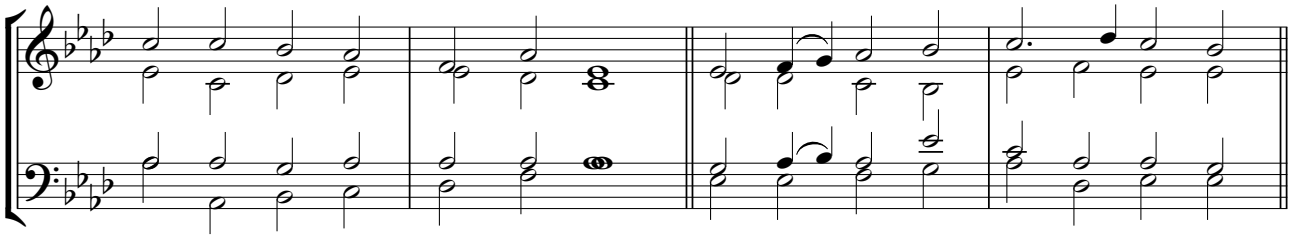
(1) The 1902 Novello collected edition makes this a diminished chord by making the bass note E♮

(2) In 'The Song of Praise' the ♮ is missing from the bass E.

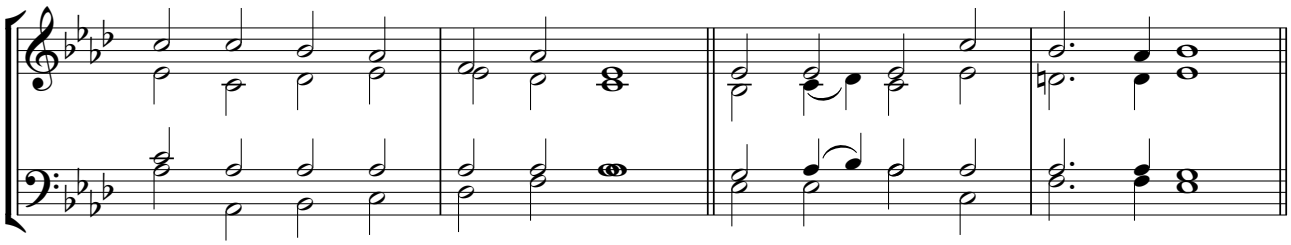
Sancte Spiritus (777777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.88

Holy Spirit, Lord of light,
From Thy clear celestial height
Thy pure beaming radiance give.
Come, Thou Father of the poor,
Come with treasures which endure,
Come, Thou Light of all that live.
trans. Edward Caswall

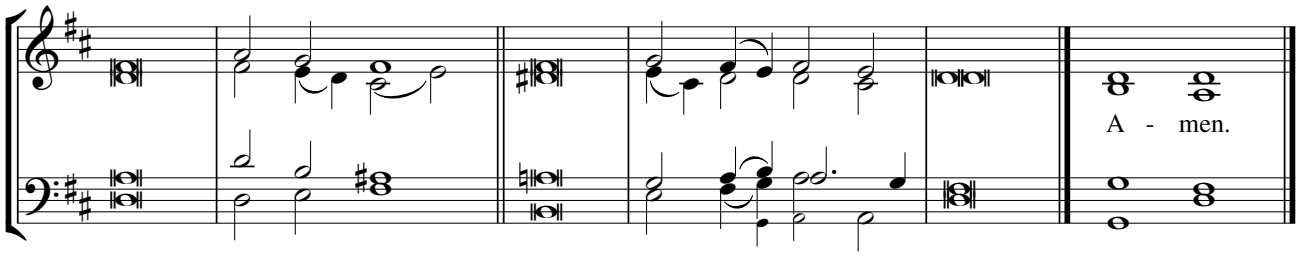
Compare bars 1—4 with ORIENS EX ALTO...



...and GLASTONBURY



Sancti Venite (irregular)

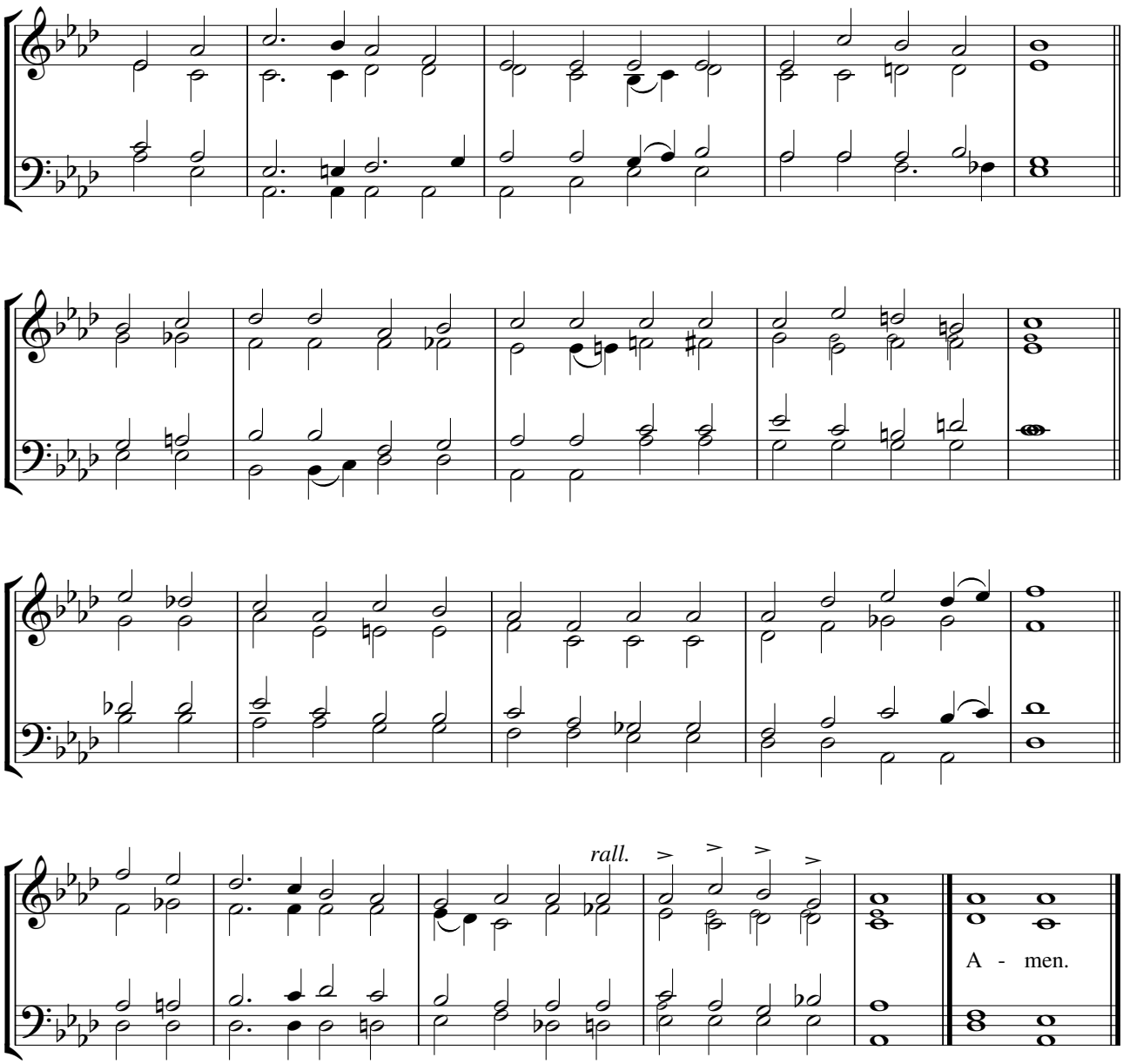
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.313

Draw nigh and take the Body óf the Lord,
And drink the holy Blóod for you out-poured.

trans. John Mason Neale

300

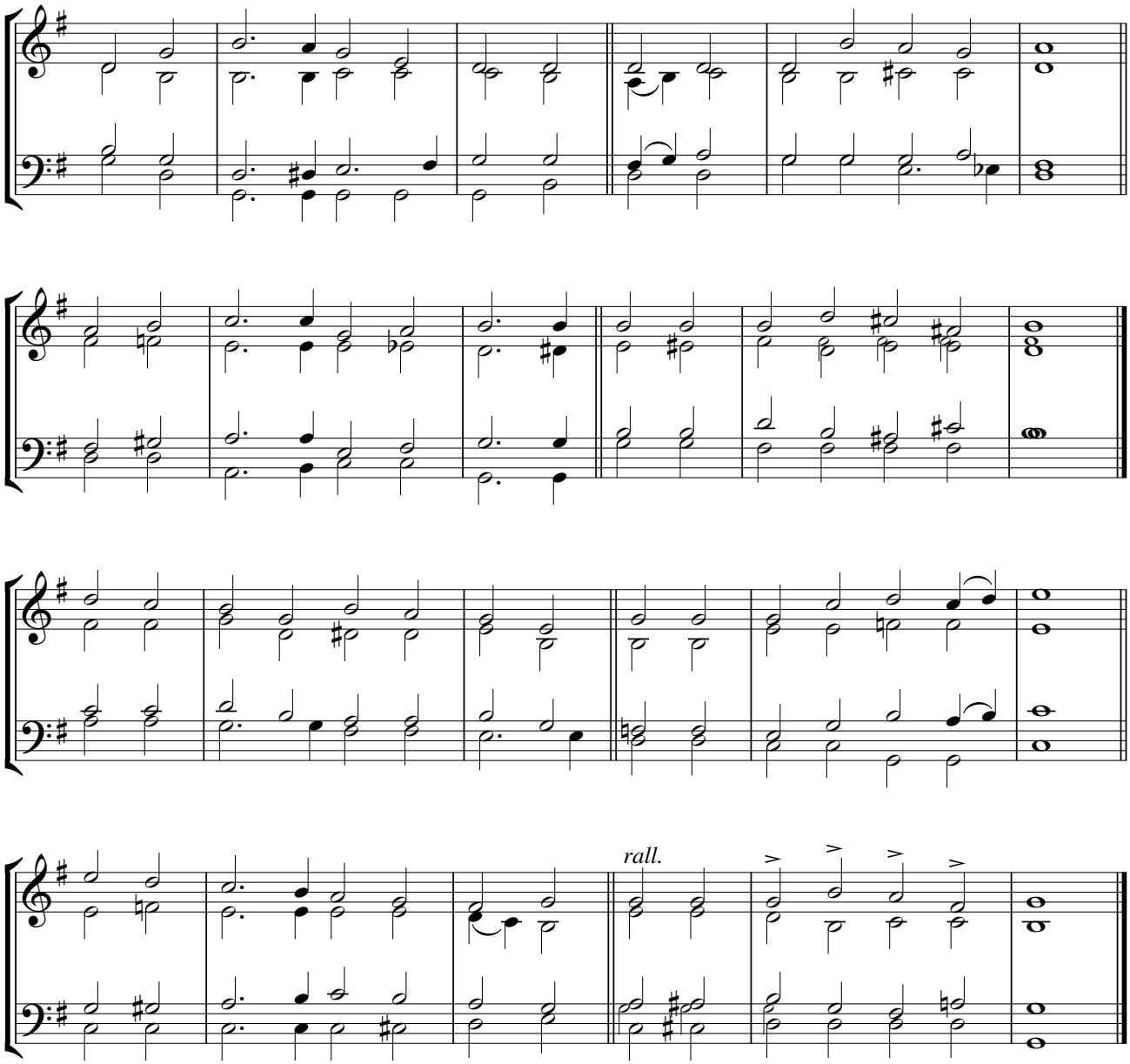
Sanctuary (iii) (8787D)

Hymns Ancient & Modern (1875) No. 436

Other names:
CHANCEL
'HARK THE SOUND' (original, two variants)
ILLUMINATOR

Hark! the sound of holy voices, chanting at the crystal sea,
Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia! Lord, to Thee:
Multitude, which none can number, like the stars in glory stands,
Clothed in white apparel, holding palms of victory in their hands.

Christopher Worsworth

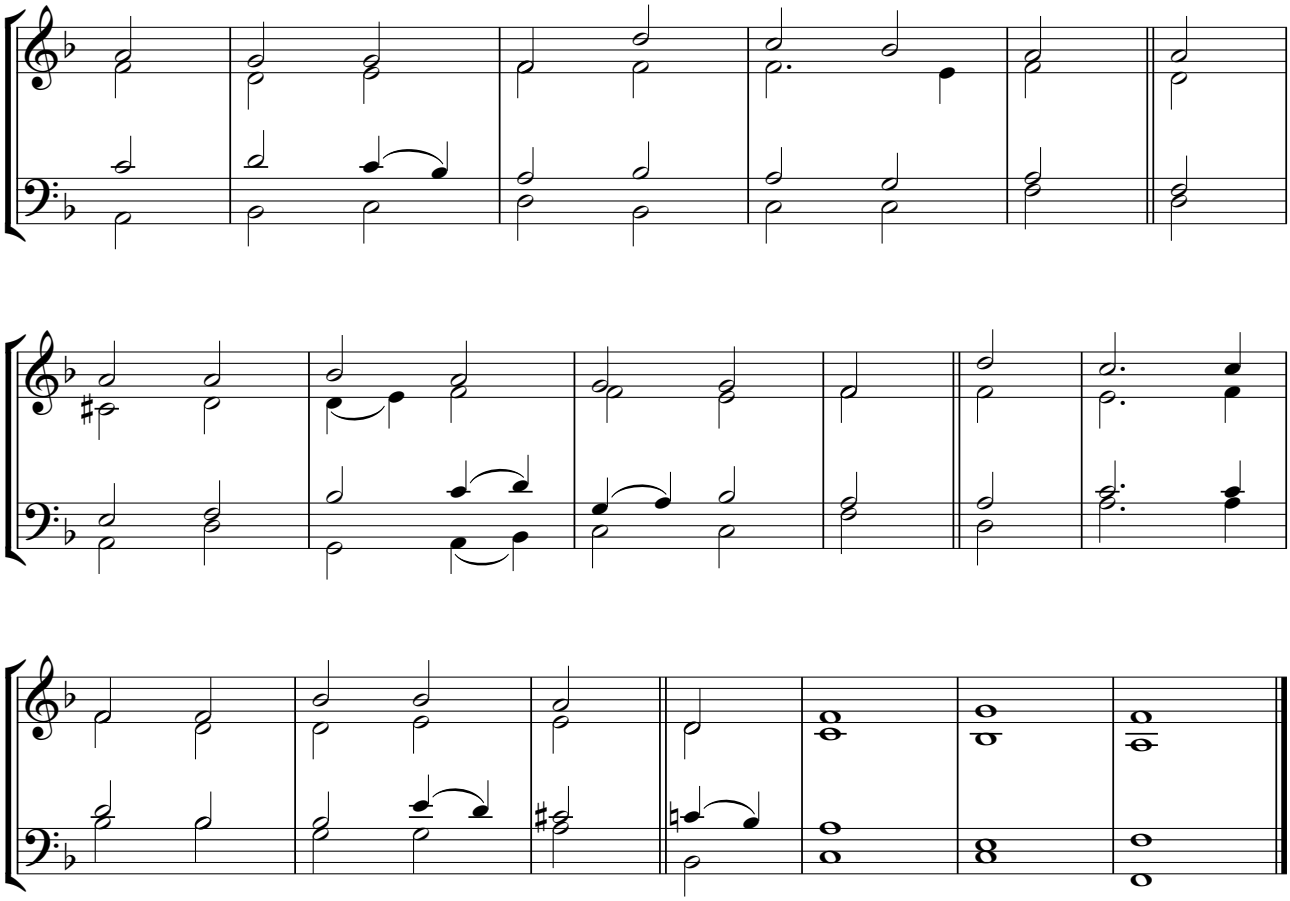
Sanctuary (iv) (8787D)
The Hymnal Companion (1875) No. 214

Other names:
CHANCEL
'HARK THE SOUND' (original, two variants)
ILLUMINATOR

Hallelujah, Hallelujah!
Hearts to heaven and voices raise;
Sing to God a hymn of gladness,
Sing to God a hymn of praise!
He who on the cross a Victim
For the world's salvation bled,
Jesus Christ, the King of glory,
Now is risen from the dead.

Christopher Wordsworth

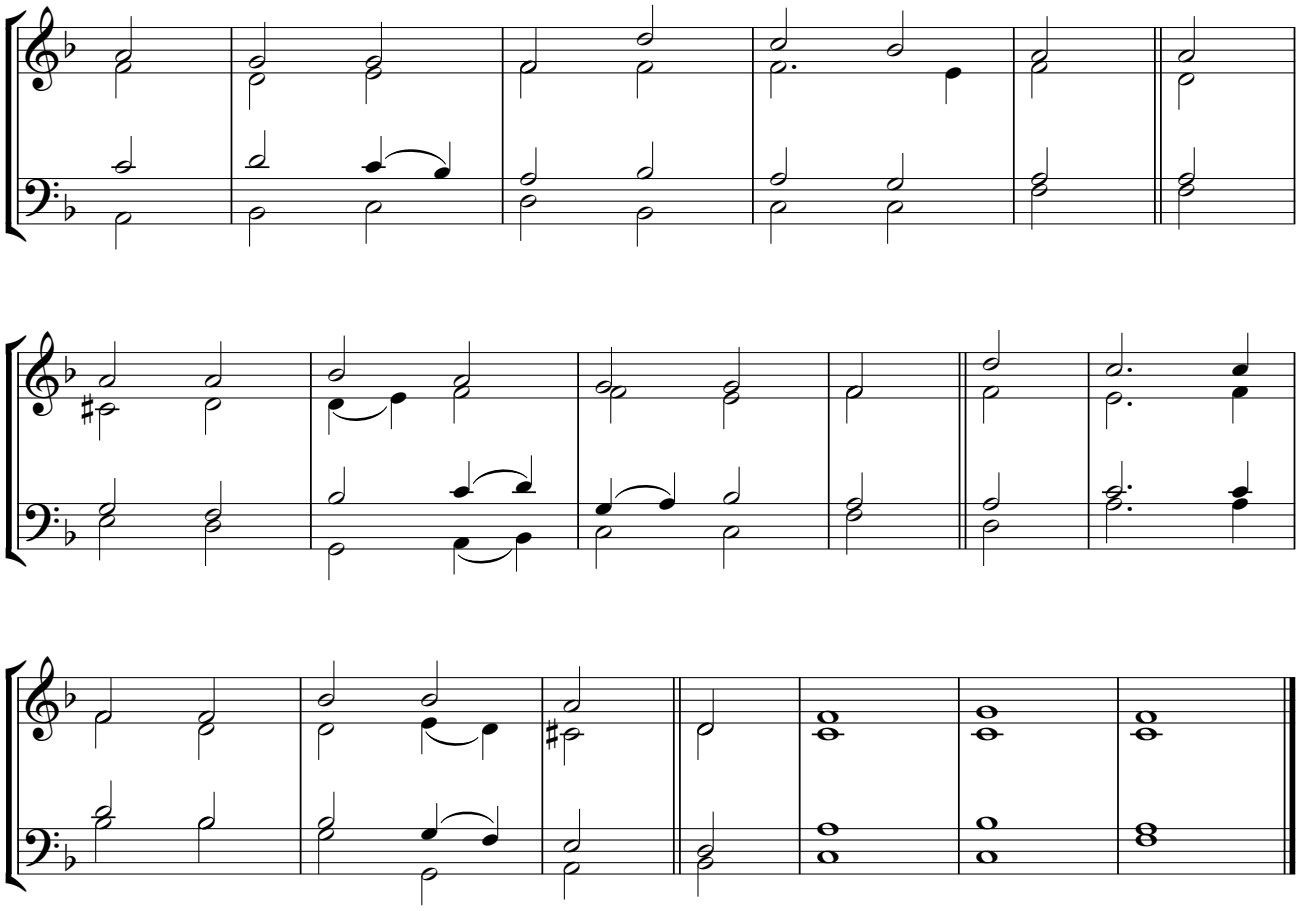
302

Saxham (i) (8884)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 87

Our Lord the path of suff'ring trod;
And since His Sacred Blood hath flowed,
'This meet that man should yield to God
The life he owed.

trans. I. Williams

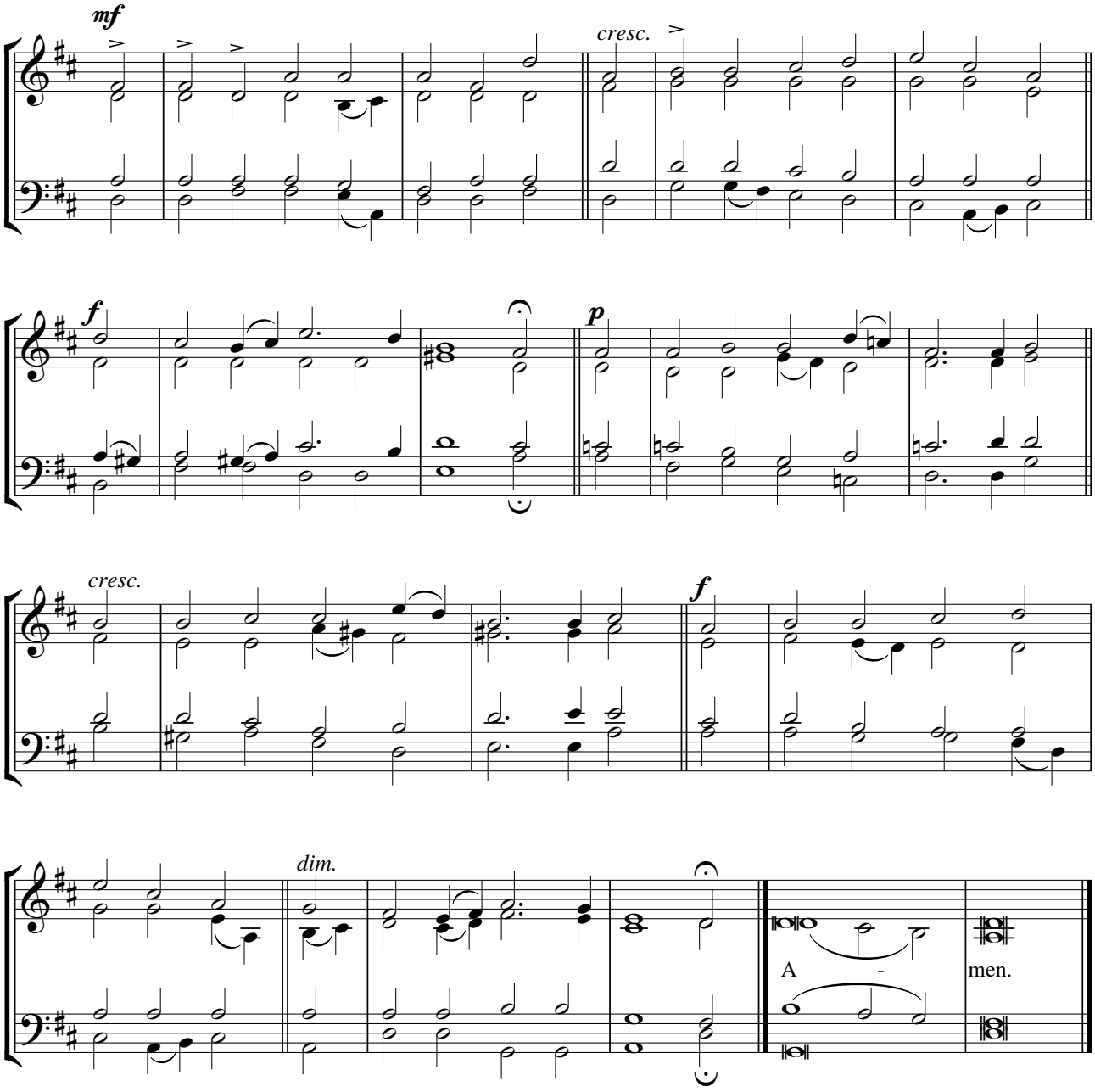
Saxham (ii) (8884)

Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.87

Our Lord the path of suff'ring trod;
And since His Sacred Blood hath flowed,
'Tis meet that man should yield to God
The life he owed.

trans. I. Williams

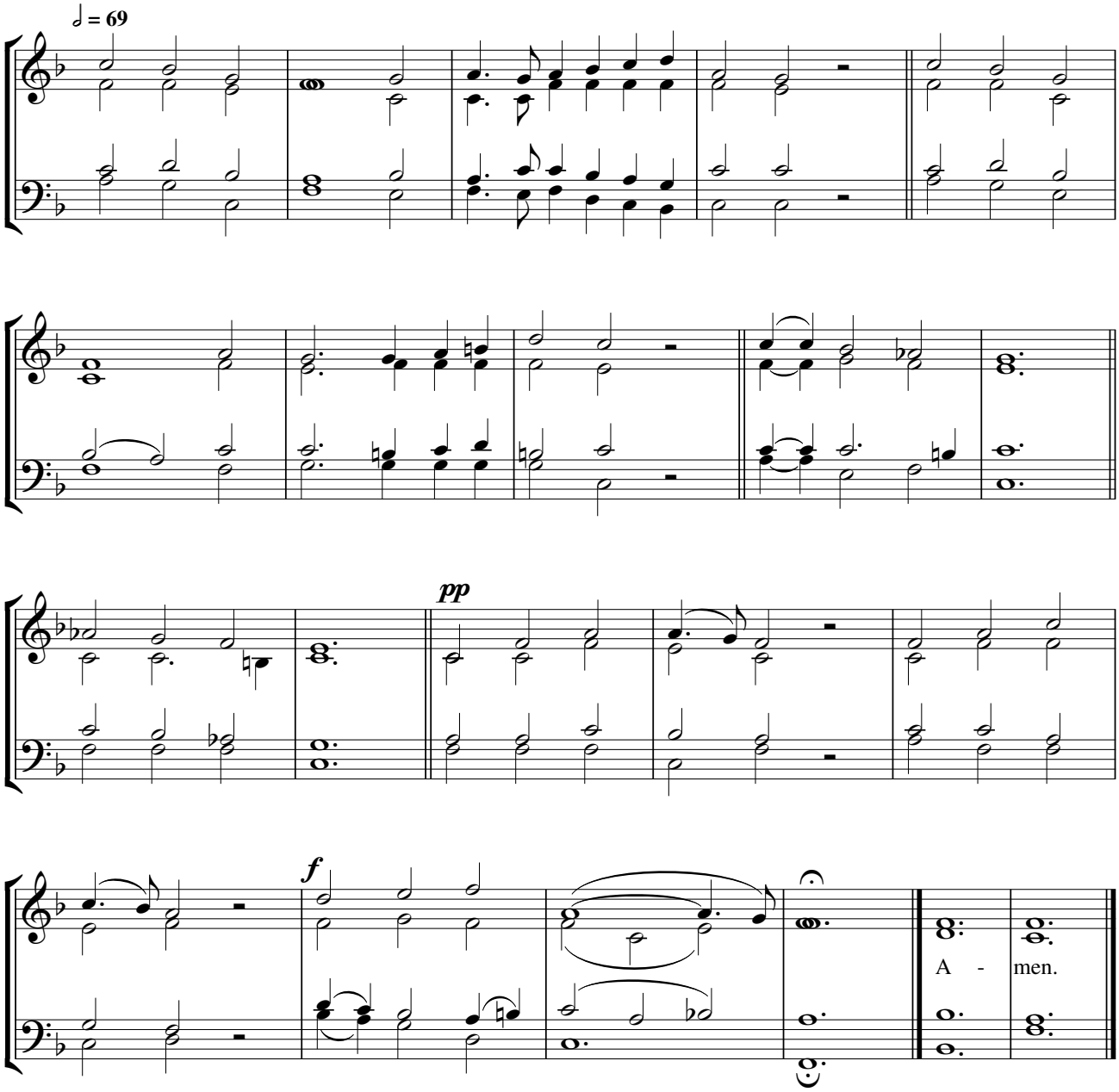
This is the version of the tune printed in the Novello Edition, except that bar lengths are doubled.

Semper Cum Domino (8878887)

Hymnal Companion (1877) No. 240

‘For ever!’ — beatific word:
To be for ever with the Lord:
A bond no death can sever!
O tidings straight from glory brought,
With endless Hallelujahs fraught;
O heaven of heavens, beyond all thought,
With Jesus and for ever!

E. Swaine

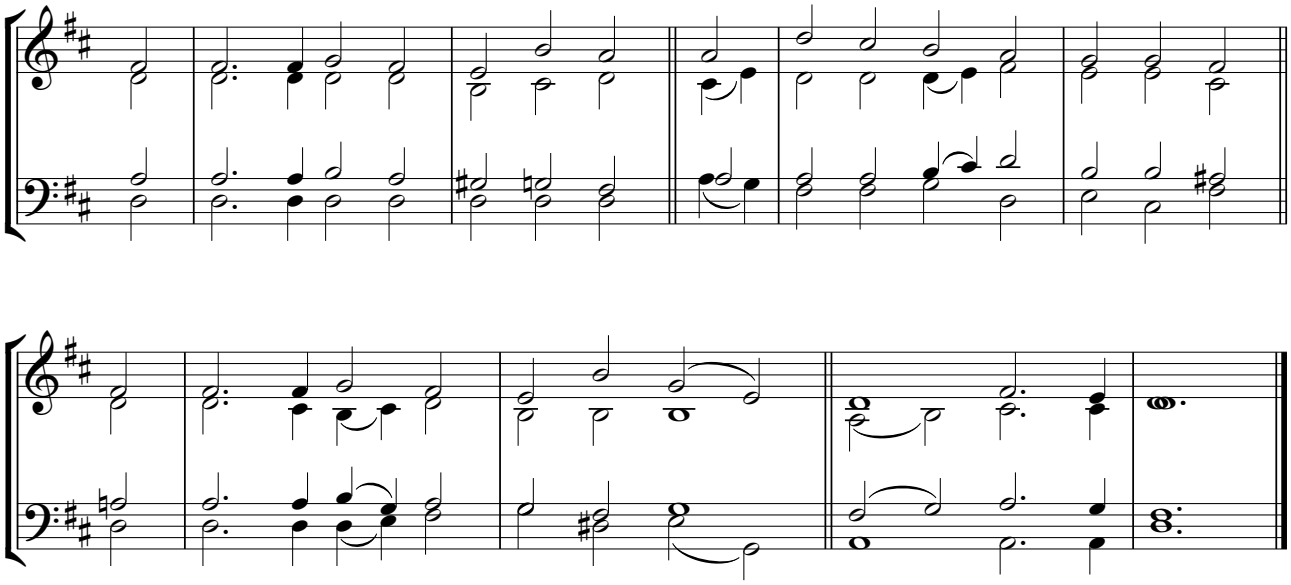
Shades of Night (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.2

Dark shades of night,
Above, below, around us hover;
O Lord of Light!
Be Thy blest wings our cover;
Be Thy holy arm
Our shield from harm,
Till night is over.

Anon

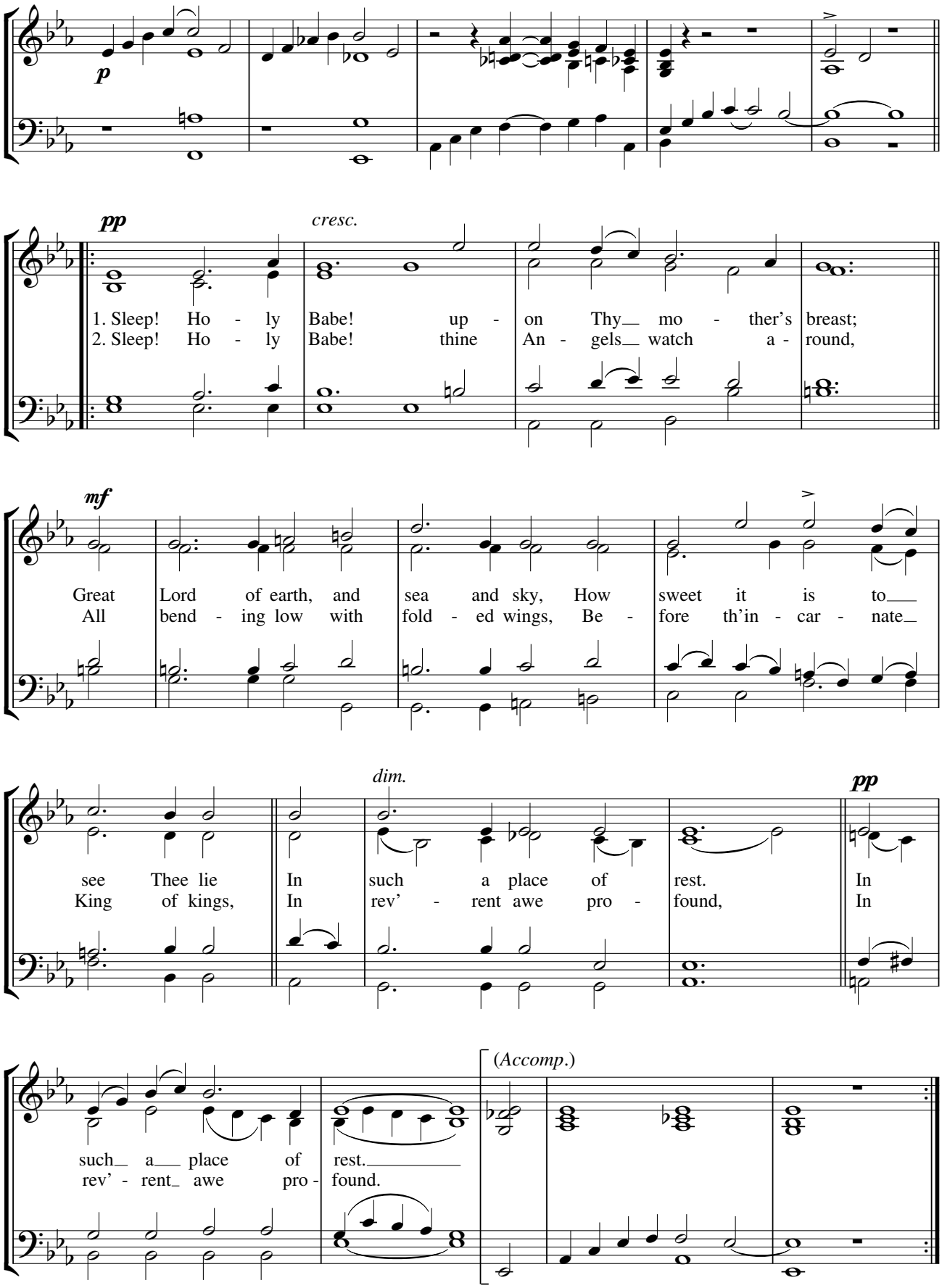
306

Shoreham (8884)

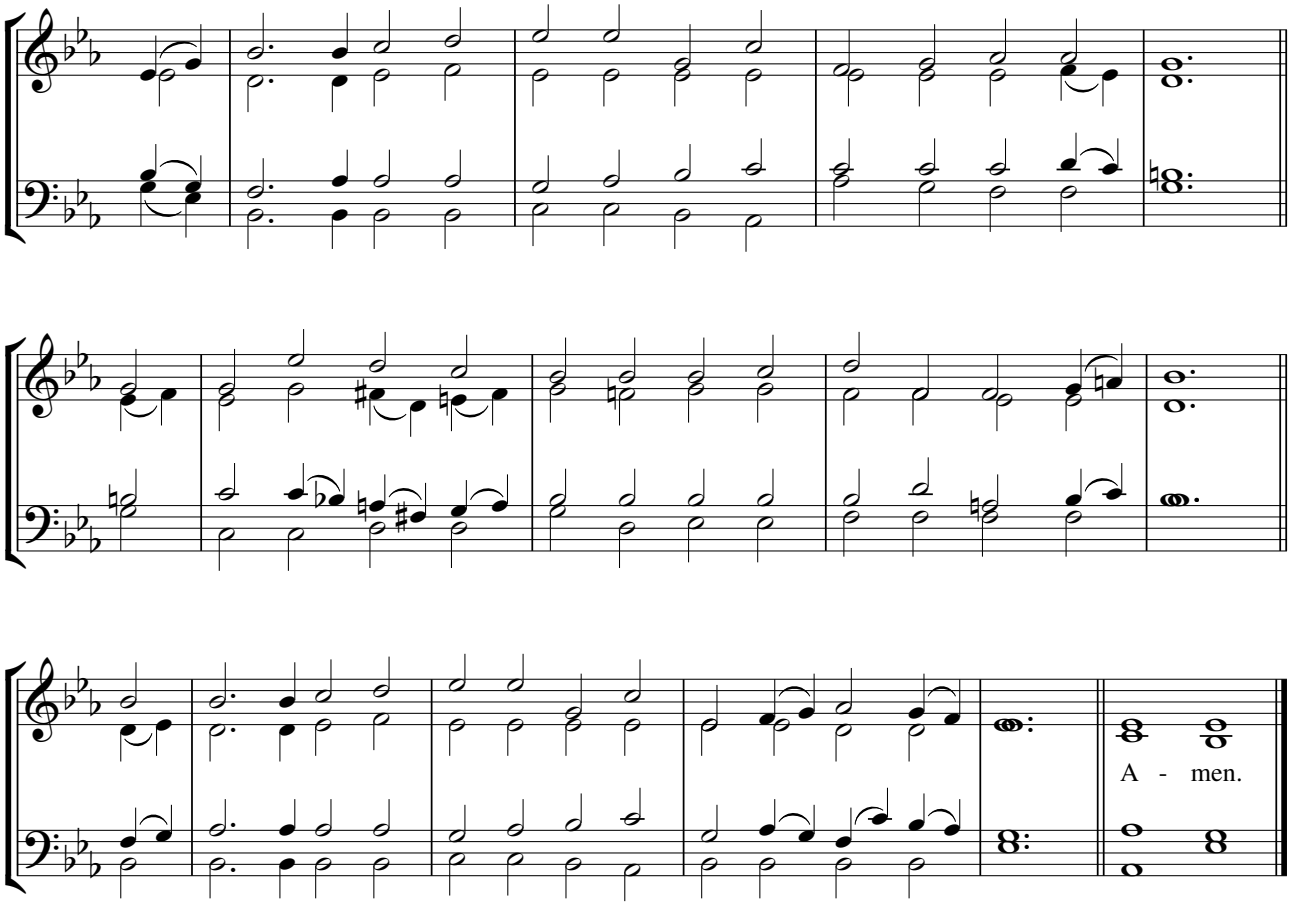
Congregational Church Music (1871) No.376

My God my Father! while I stray
Far from my home, in life's rough way,
Oh! teach me from my heart to say,
Thy will be done.

Charlotte Elliott

Sleep, Holy Babe!

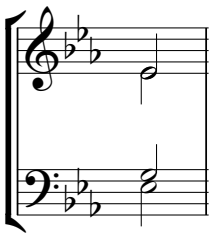
Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.IX

Slingsby (868686)

The Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book (1869) No. 47

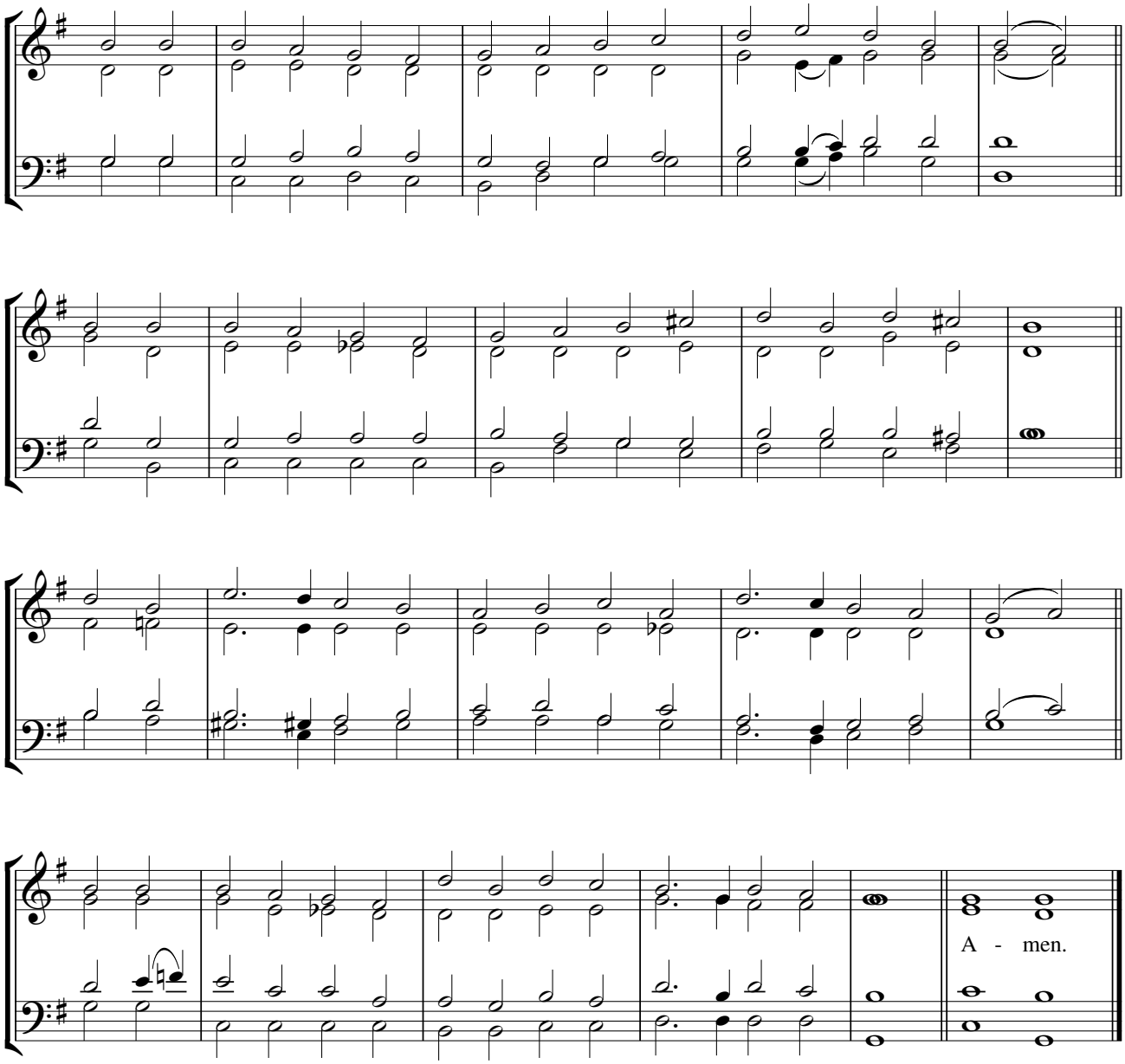
Other names:
ST. BEDE (with variations)

Father! I know that all my life
Is portion'd out for me,
The changes that will surely come
I do not fear to see;
I ask Thee for a subject mind,
Intent on pleasing Thee.

Anna L. Waring

The Church Hymnal (1875) shows the first bar thus:



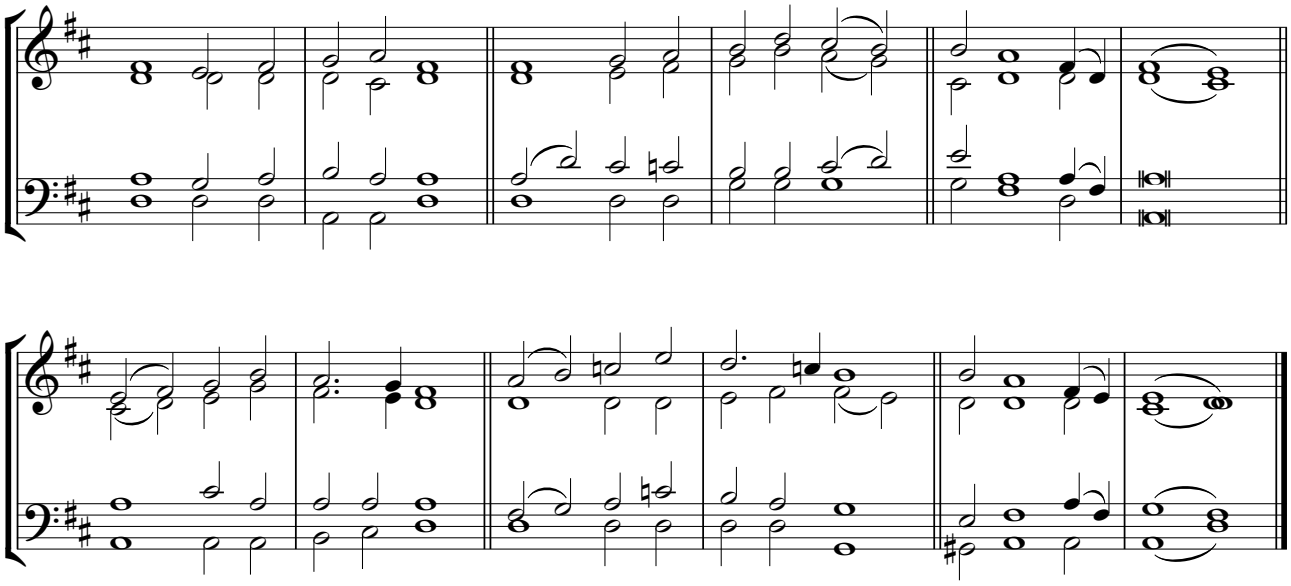
Soldiers of the Cross (8787D)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.258

Jesus Christ, the glorious Captain
Of the armies of the Lord,
We, Thy little band of soldiers,
Sing to-day with glad accord;
Tens of thousand loving voices
Hymn Thy praise o'er all the earth,
We must louder swell the chorus,
Children of the second birth.

Eliza Alderson

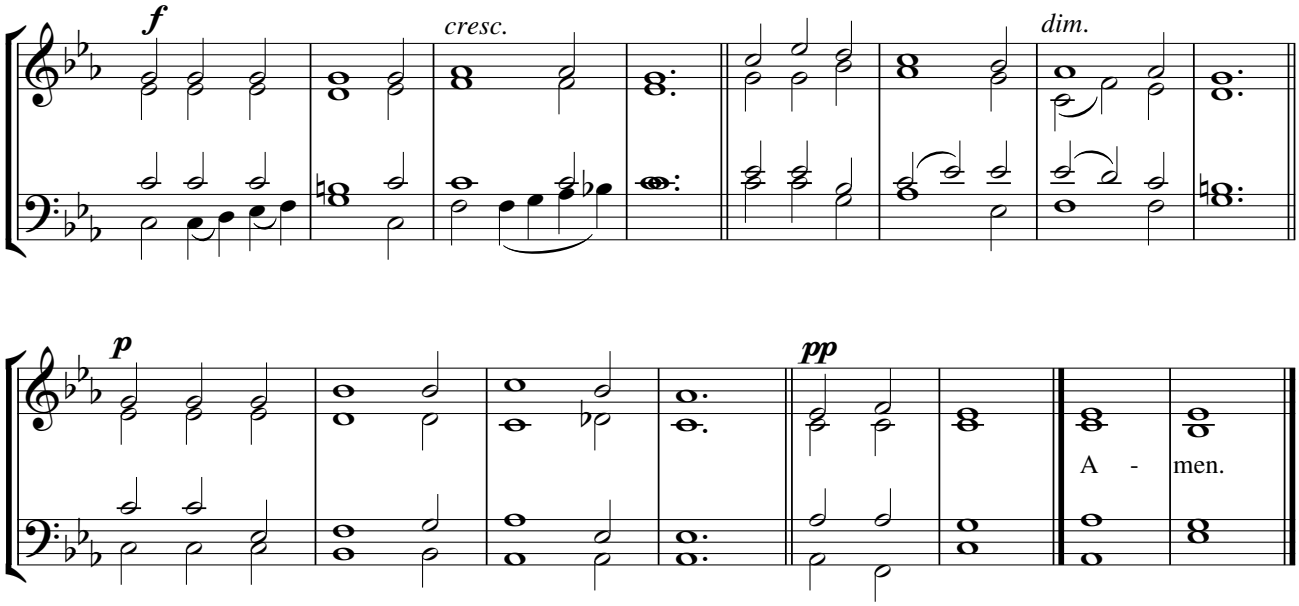
310

Southfleet (664664)

Congregational Church Music (1871) No.339

Lowly and solemn be
Thy children's cry to Thee,
Father Divine!
A hymn of suppliant breath,
Owning that life and death
Alike are Thine.

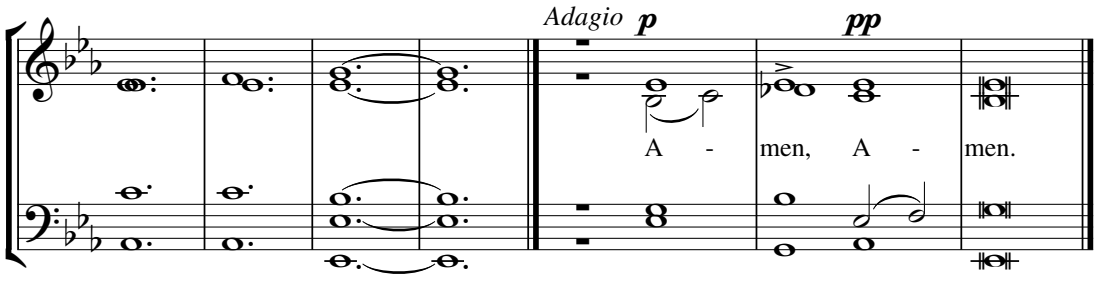
F.D. Hemans

St. Aelred (8883)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.187

Fierce raged the tempest o'er the deep,
Watch did Thine anxious servants keep
But Thou wast wrapt in guileless sleep,
Calm and still.

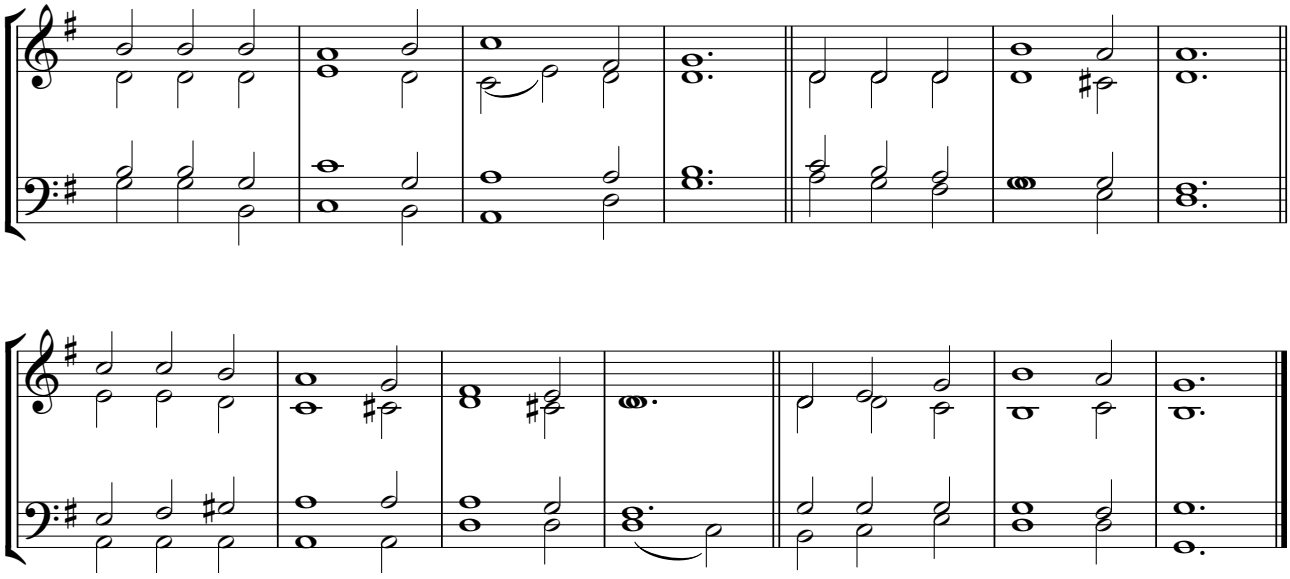
Godfrey Thring

With the exception of the Appendix to the English Hymnal (1933), which offers both versions, all subsequent appearances of this tune substitute the following for bars 13 and 14. The revised 'Amen' is unique to the Anglican Hymn Book (1871) and may be E.G. Monk's.



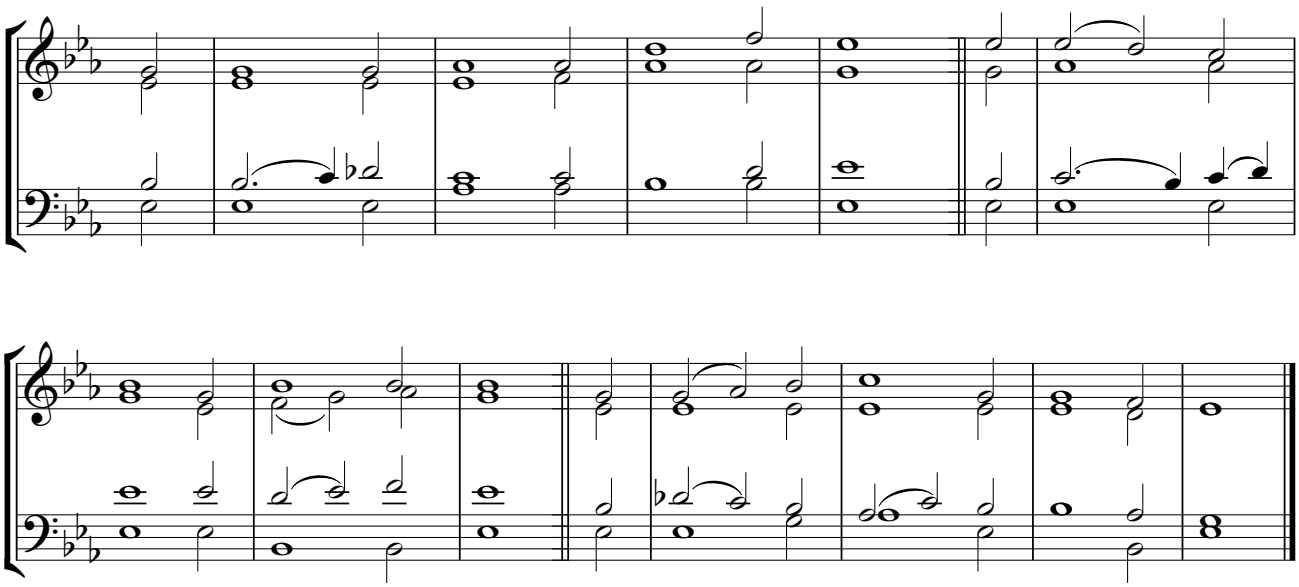
312

St. Agnes (CM)

A Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.109

Jesus, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills the breast;
But sweeter far Thy face to see,
And in Thy presence rest.

Bernard of Clairvaux
trans. Edward Caswall

St. Aidan (888) (Hon and Rev F R Grey, arr. JBD)

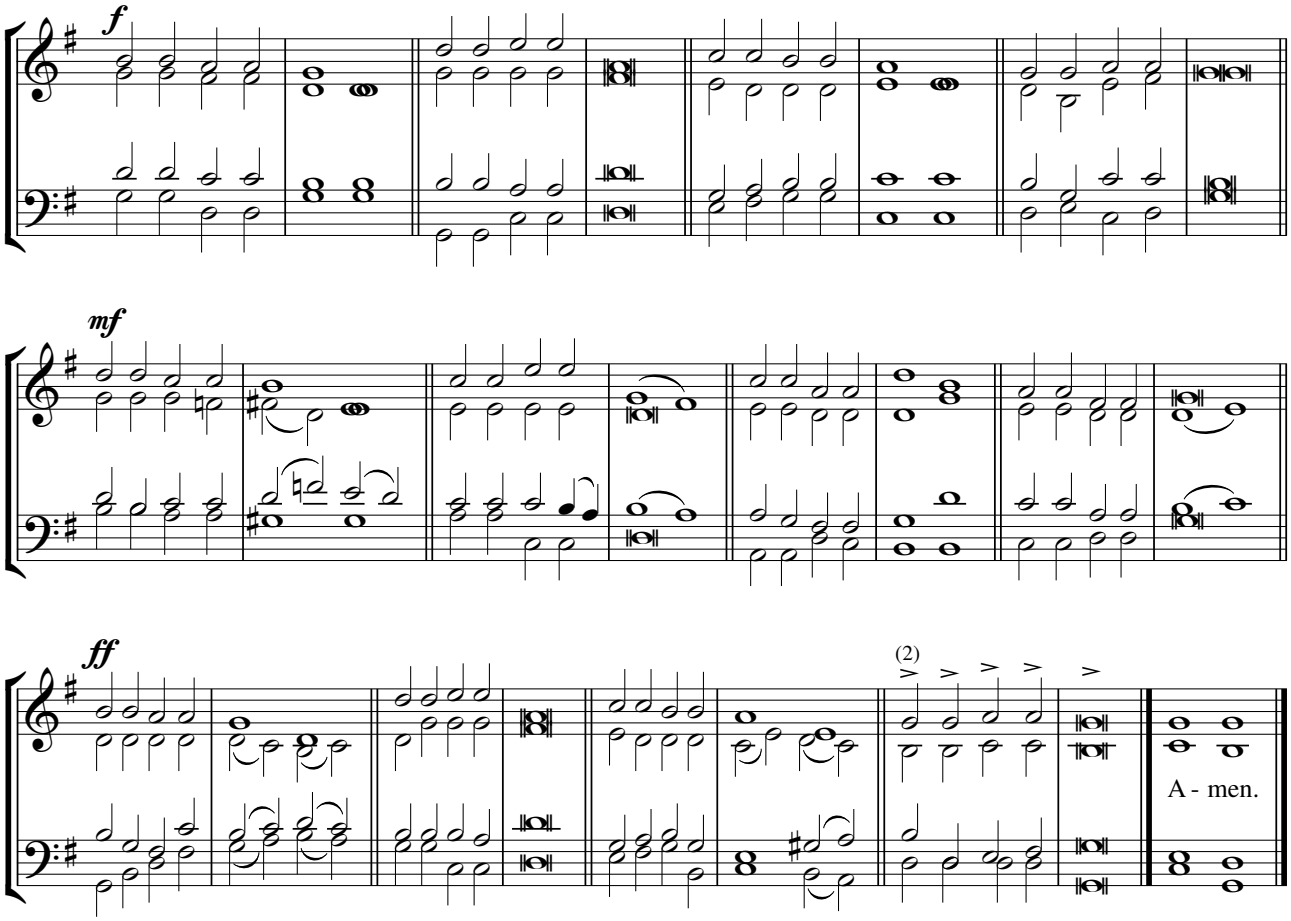
Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No.93

[No specific text provided in the *Manual*]

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

St. Alban (6565D) (attr. F.J. Haydn arr. J.B.D.)[1]

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No. 385

Other names:
ST.ALBAN'S



Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Christ, the Royal Master,
Leads against the foe,
Forward into battle
See, His banners go.
Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Sabine Baring-Gould

(1) This tune is an adaptation of part of Haydn's Overture in D Hob. Ia:7. Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Baker dated 15 July 1874.

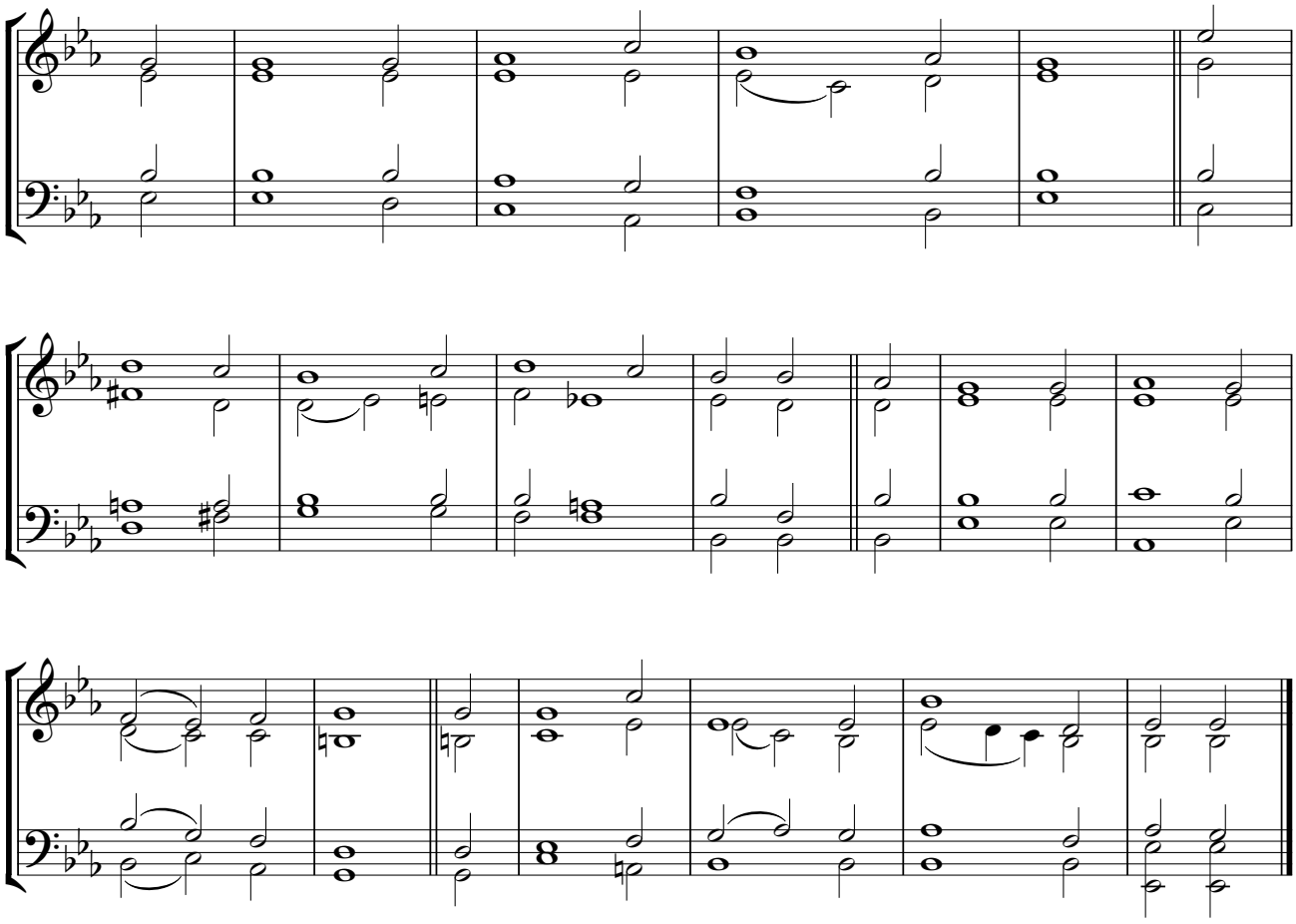
(2) In HA&M the first and last of these five accents is missing.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

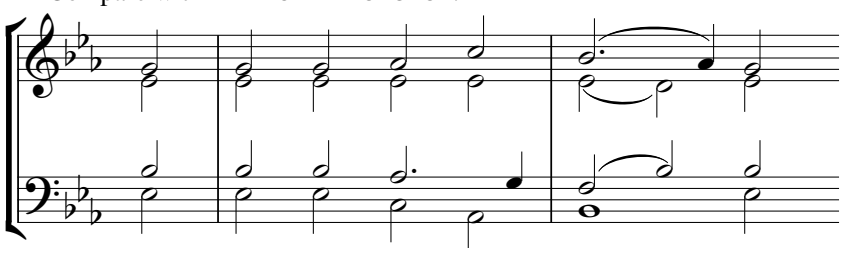
St. Alphege (8989)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 86

Other names:
ST.CHRYSOSTOM

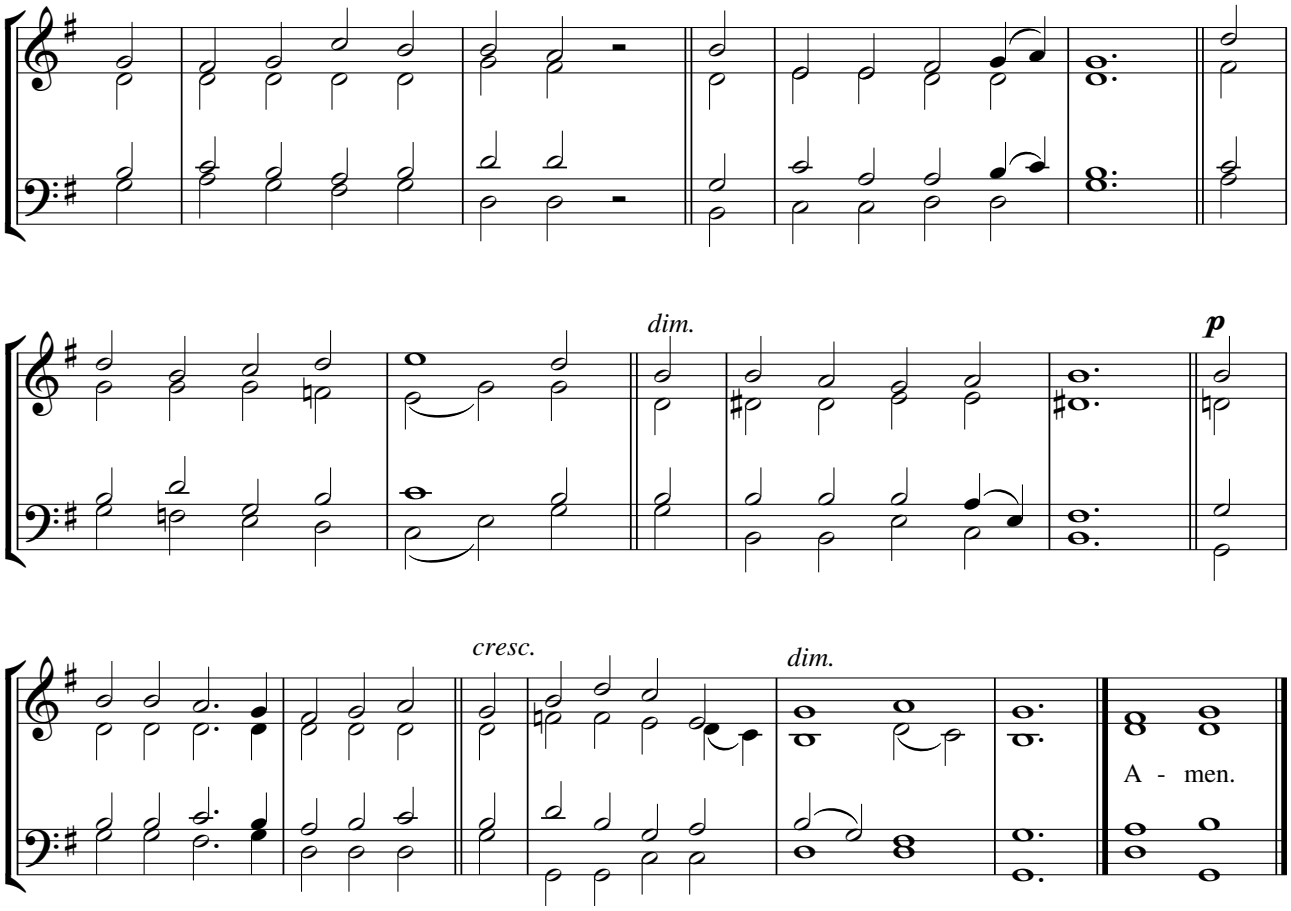


Lo! Christ stands at His Martyr's side,
The tyrant's maddened wrath confounding;
Then leads him with Him to abide,
His death with nobler life surrounding.

Compare with HEAD OF THY CHURCH:

316

St. Anatolius (i) (767688)

Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.232

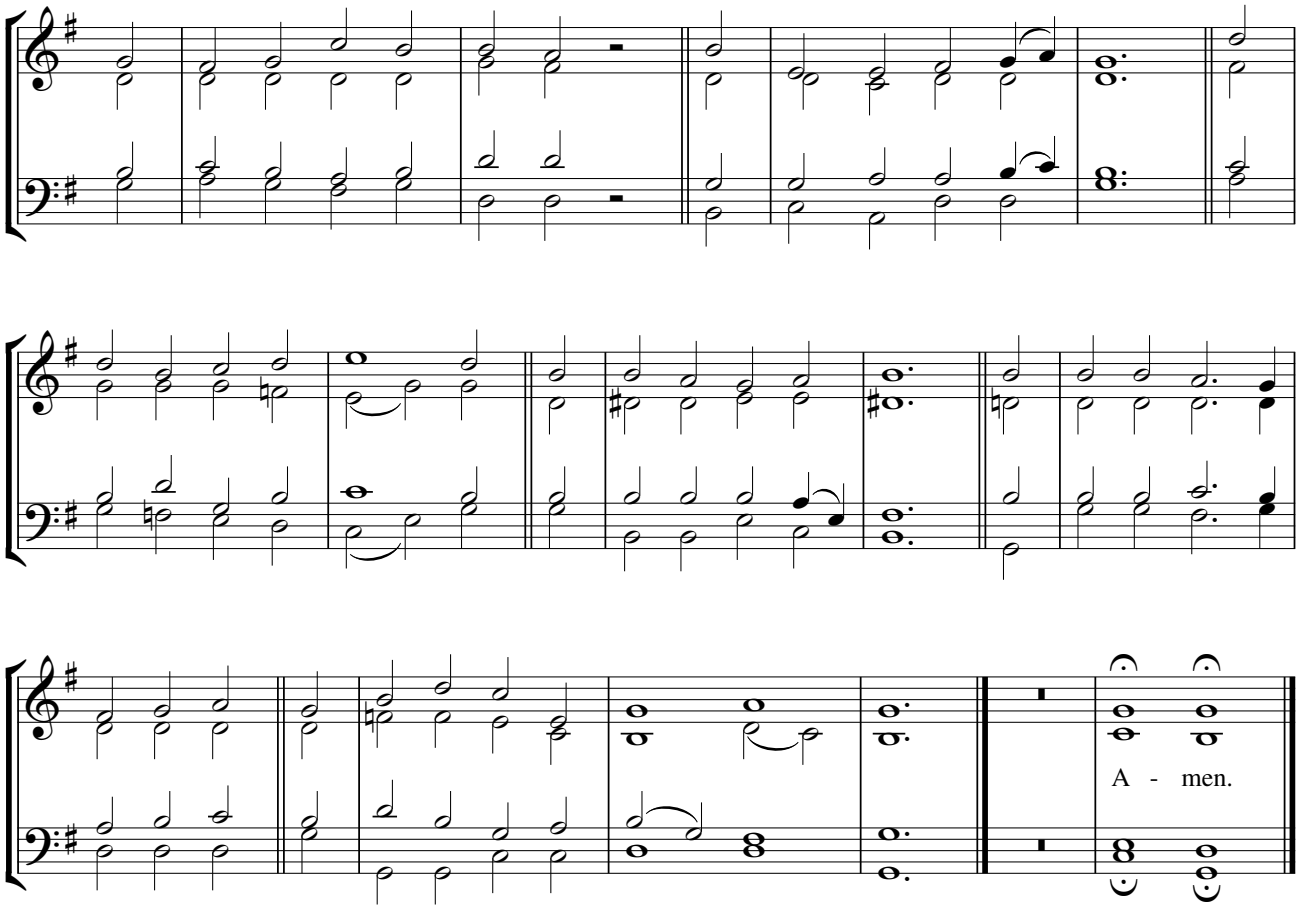


The day is past and over;
All thanks, O Lord, to Thee;
We pray Thee now that sinless
The hours of darkness be:
O Jesu, keep us in Thy sight,
And guard us through the coming night.

Trans. from the Greek
by John Mason Neale

St. Anatolius (ii) (767688)

Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.24

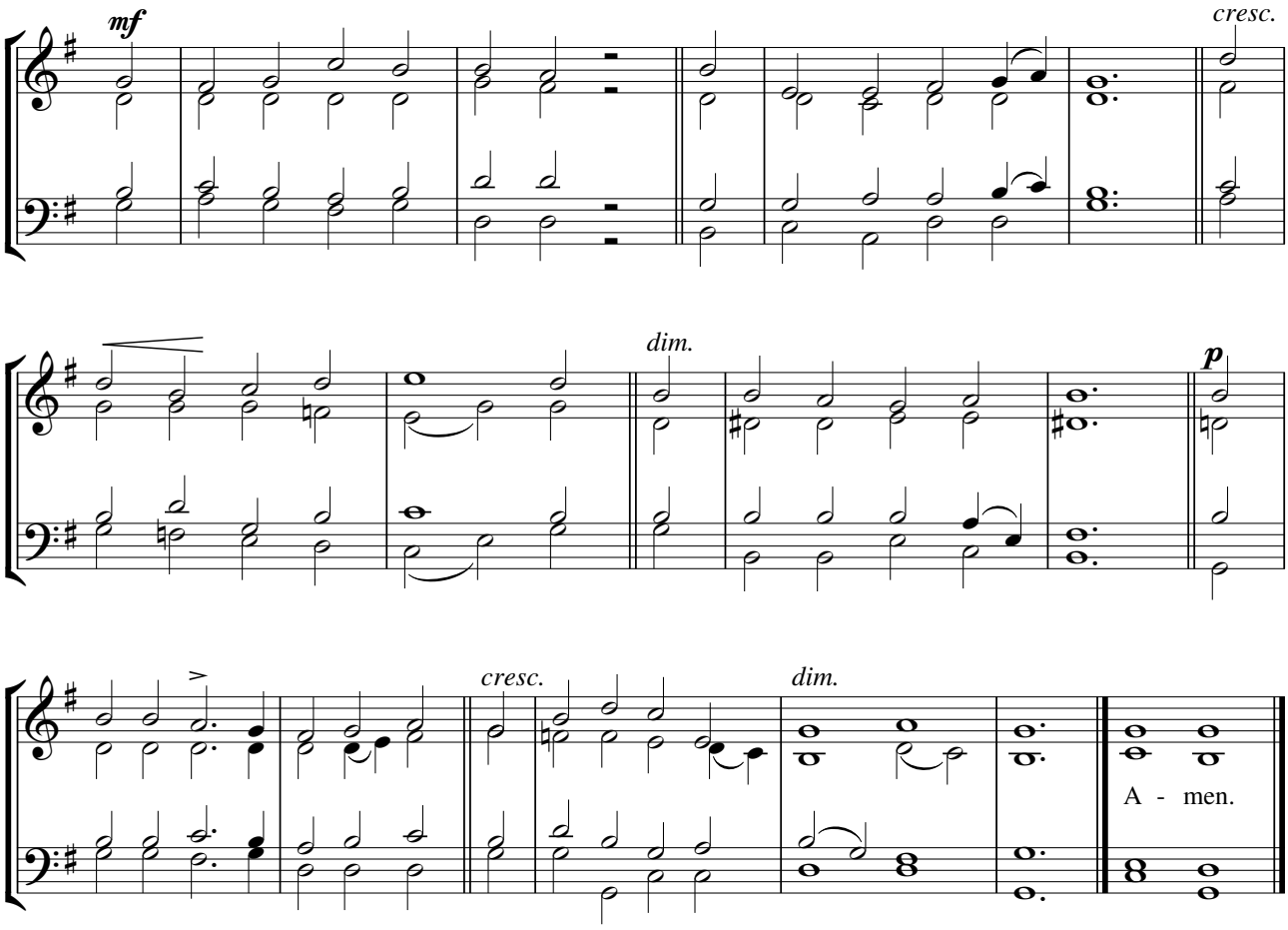


The day is past and over:
All thanks, O Lord, to Thee!
We pray Thee, that offenceless
The hours of dark may be:
O Jesu, keep us in Thy sight,
And save us through the coming night!

Trans. from the Greek
by John Mason Neale

St. Anatolius (iii) (767688)

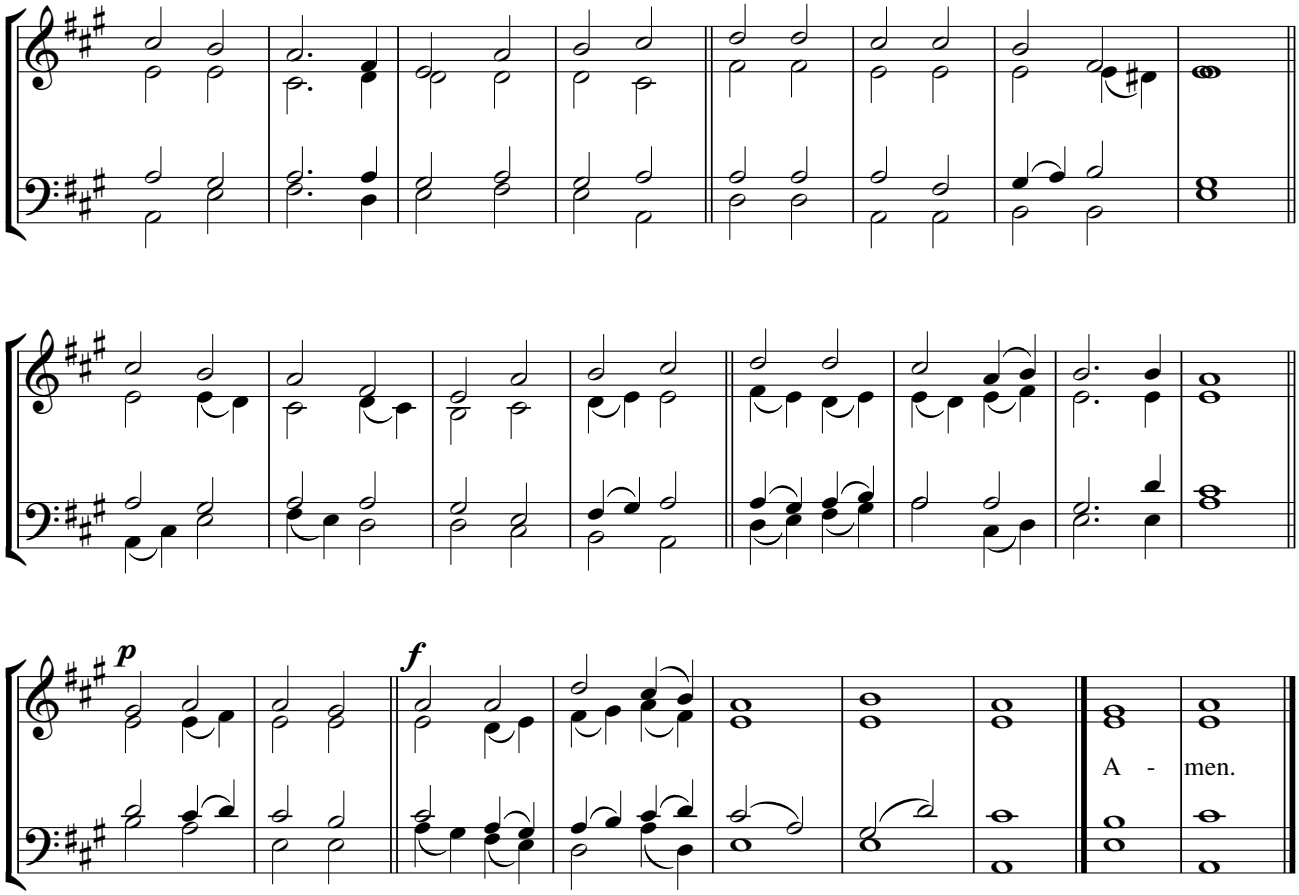
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.21



The day is past and over;
All thanks, O Lord, to Thee;
We pray Thee now that sinless
The hours of dark may be:
O Jesu, keep me in Thy sight,
And guard me through the coming night.

Trans. from the Greek
by John Mason Neale

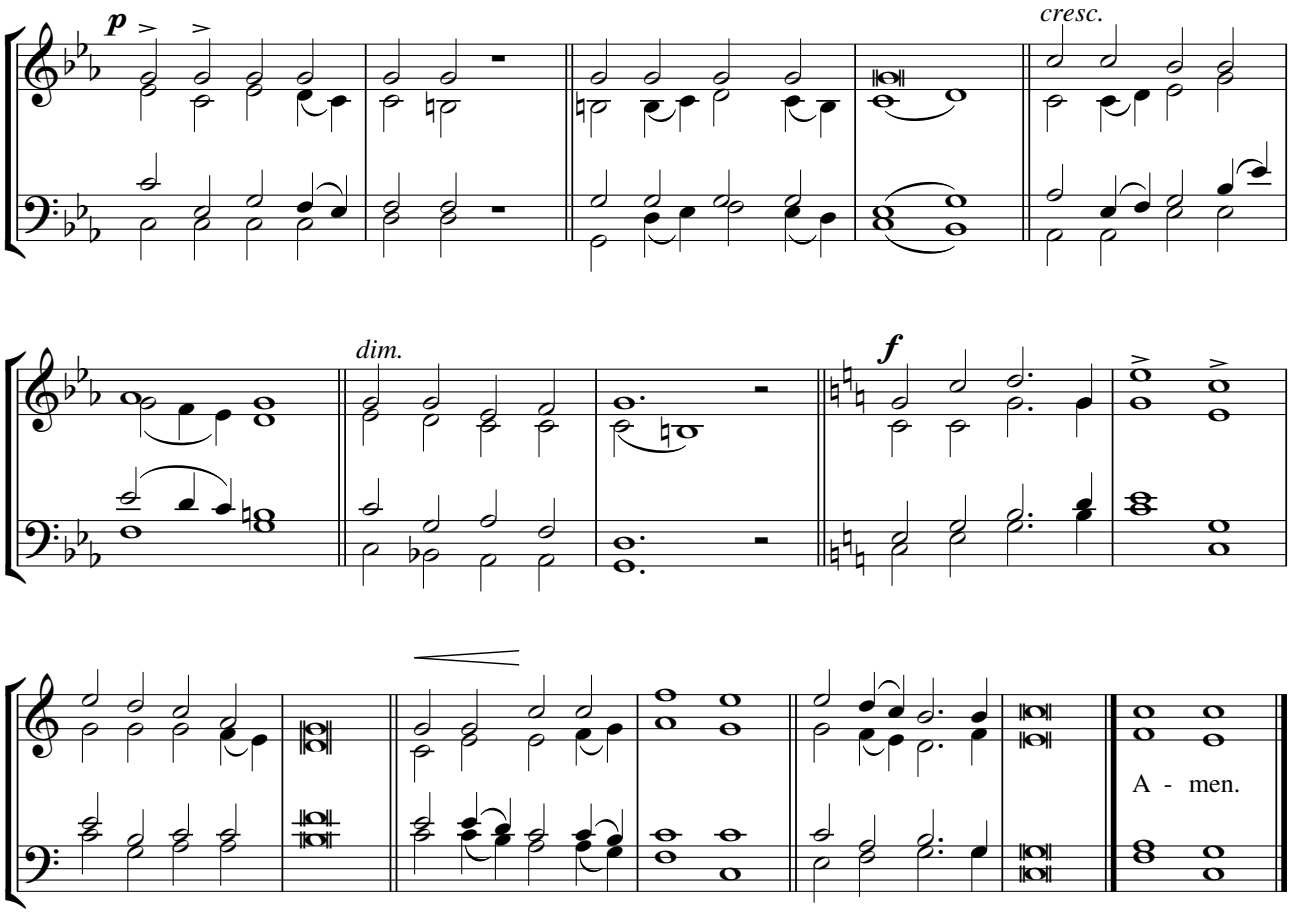
St. Andrew (878747)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.11

Lo! He comes with clouds descending,
Once for favoured sinners slain;
Thousand thousand saints attending
Swell the triumph of His Train:
Alleluia!
Christ appears on earth to reign.

John Cennick
altered by Charles Wesley
and Martin Madan

St. Andrew of Crete (6565D)

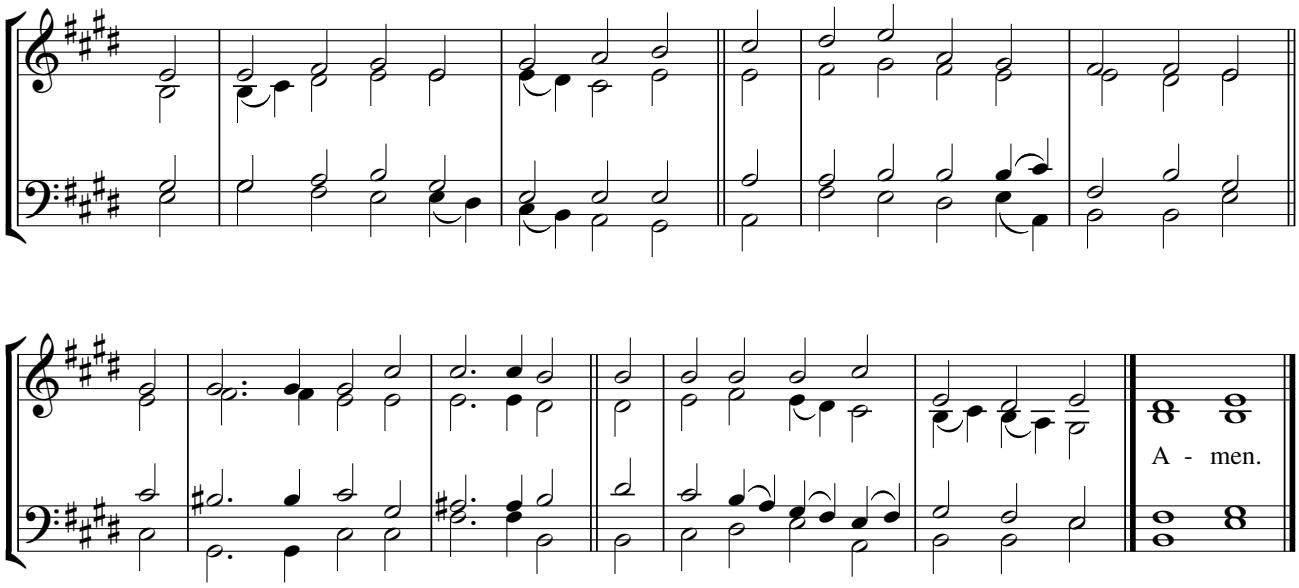
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No. 285



Christian, dost thou see them
On the holy ground,
How the troops of Midian
Prowl and prowl around?
Christian, up and smite them,
Counting gain but loss;
Smite them by the merit
Of the holy cross.

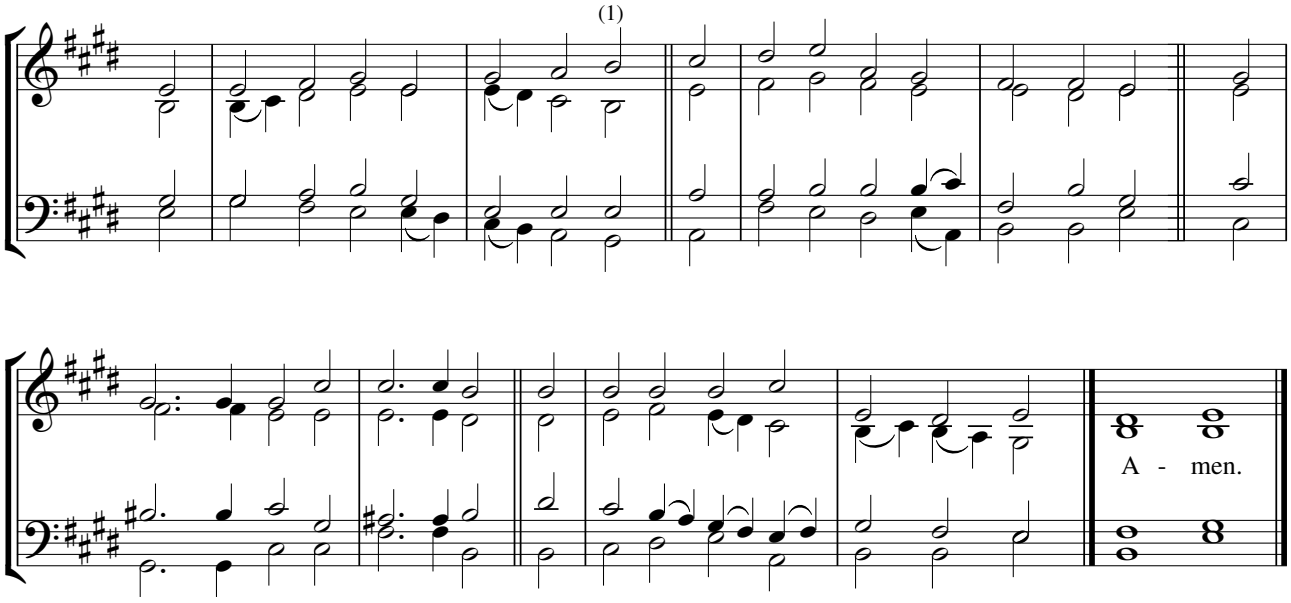
trans. from the Greek
by John Mason Neale

St. Barnabas (1)(i) (LM)

Congregational Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1862) No.131

Creator! Spirit! Lord of Grace!
Make Thou our hearts Thy Dwelling-place,
And with Thy Might Celestial aid
The souls of men which Thou hast made.

Trans. R. Campbell

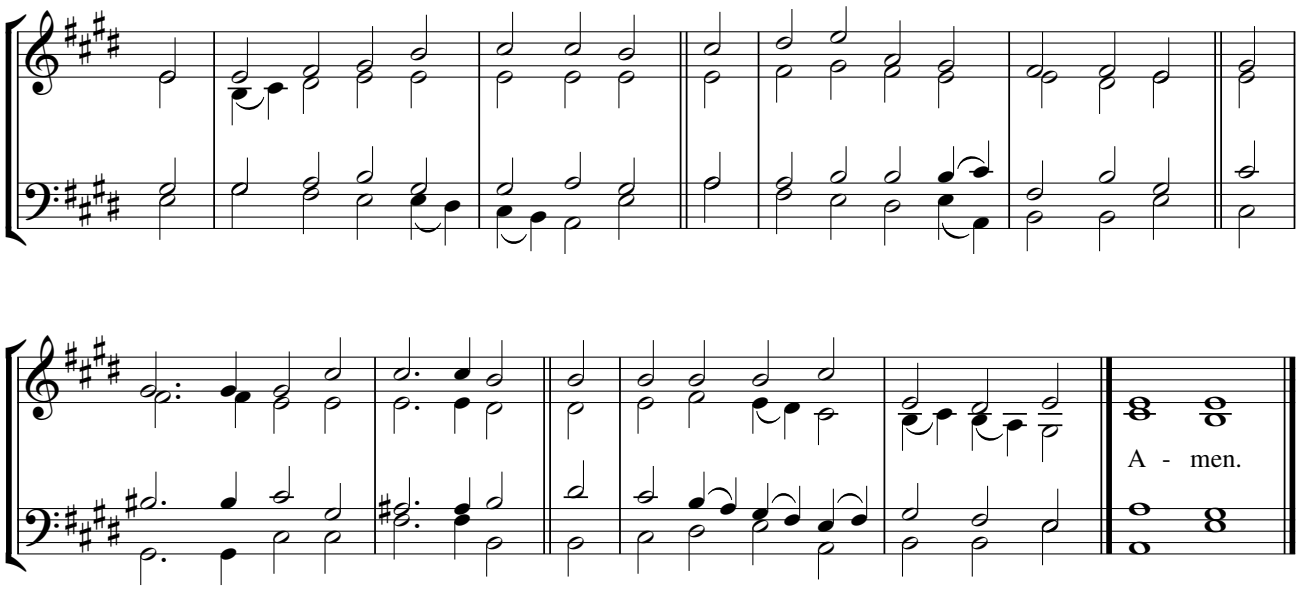
St. Barnabas (1)(ii) (LM)

Hymns for use in the English Church (1866) No.67

Creator, Spirit, Lord of grace,
O make our hearts Thy dwelling-place,
And with Thy might celestial aid
The souls of men, whom Thou hast made.

Trans. R Campbell

(1) The consecutive fifth between alto and tenor suggests this to be an engraving error. See previous page.

St. Barnabas (1)(iii) (LM)

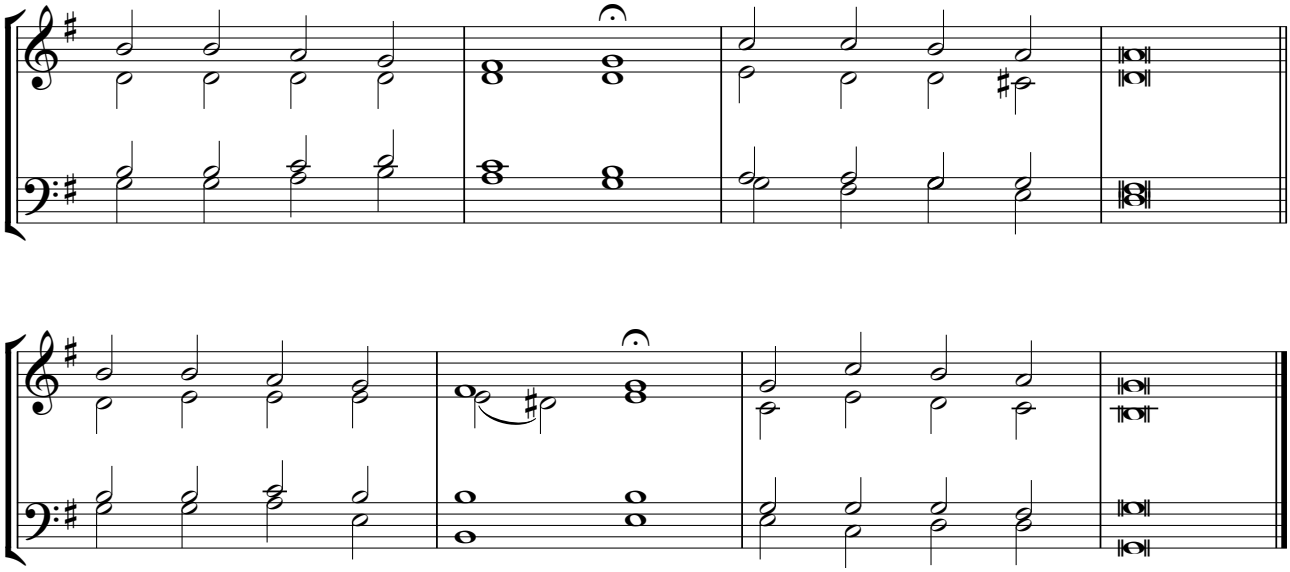
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.87

Creator! Spirit! Lord of grace!
Make Thou our hearts Thy Dwelling-place,
And with Thy Might Celestial aid
The souls of men which Thou hast made.

Trans. R. Campbell

St. Barnabas (2) (6565)

The Chorale Book (1863) No. 178

Other names:
DUNELM
ST. PHILIP

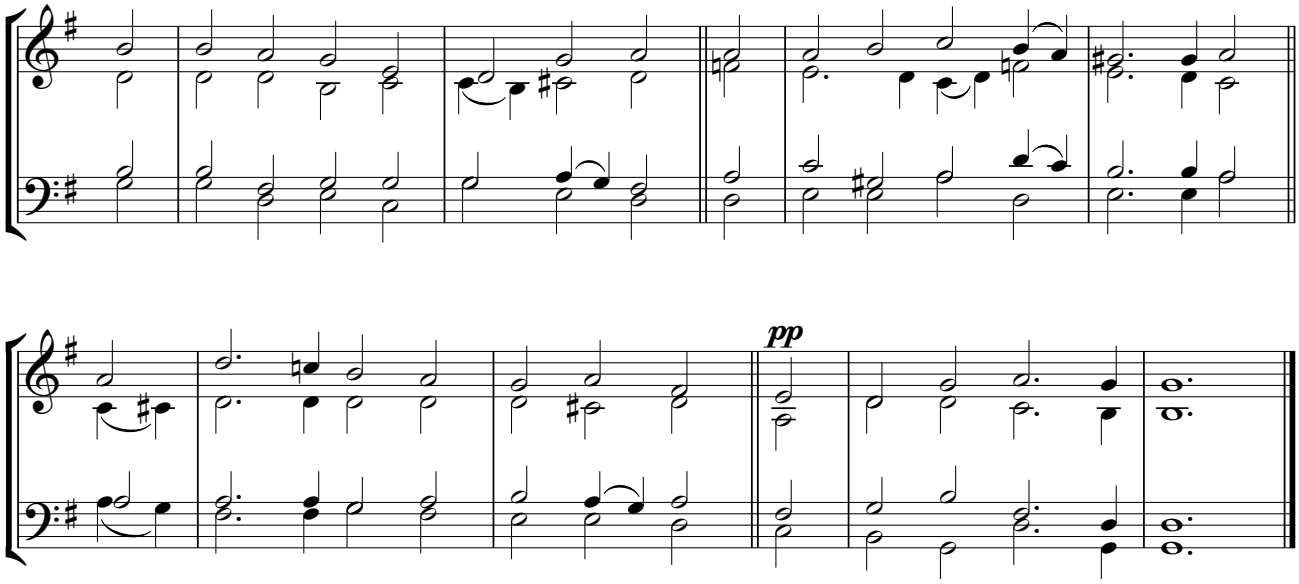


O let him whose sorrow
No relief can find,
Trust in God, and borrow
Ease for heart and mind.

Tr. Frances Elizabeth Cox

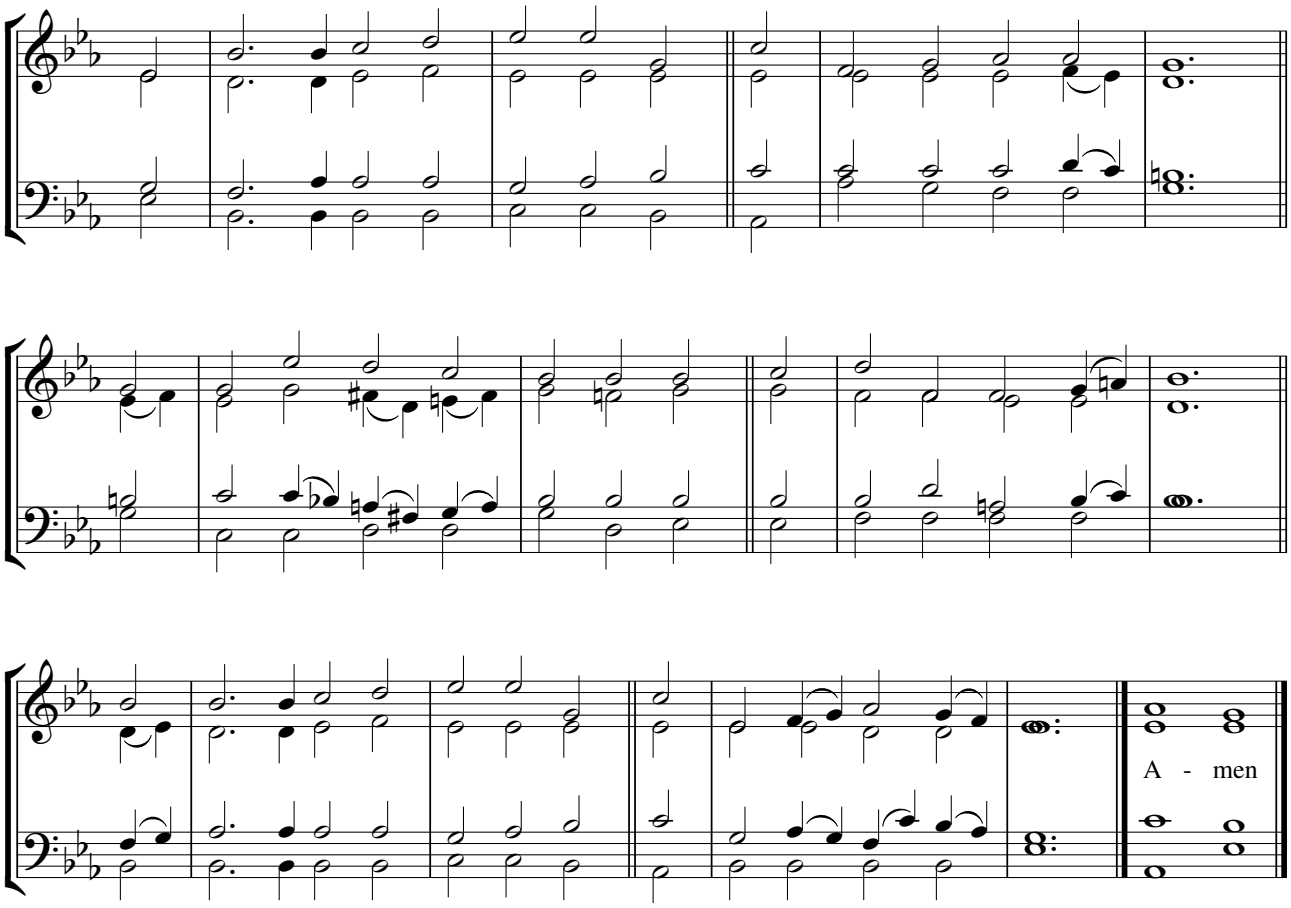
St. Barnabas (3) (8886)

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship (1867) App. p234

Other names:
CONSENT (original version)
DERRY (with variations)

Just as I am, without one plea
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bid'st me come to thee,
O Lamb of God, I come!

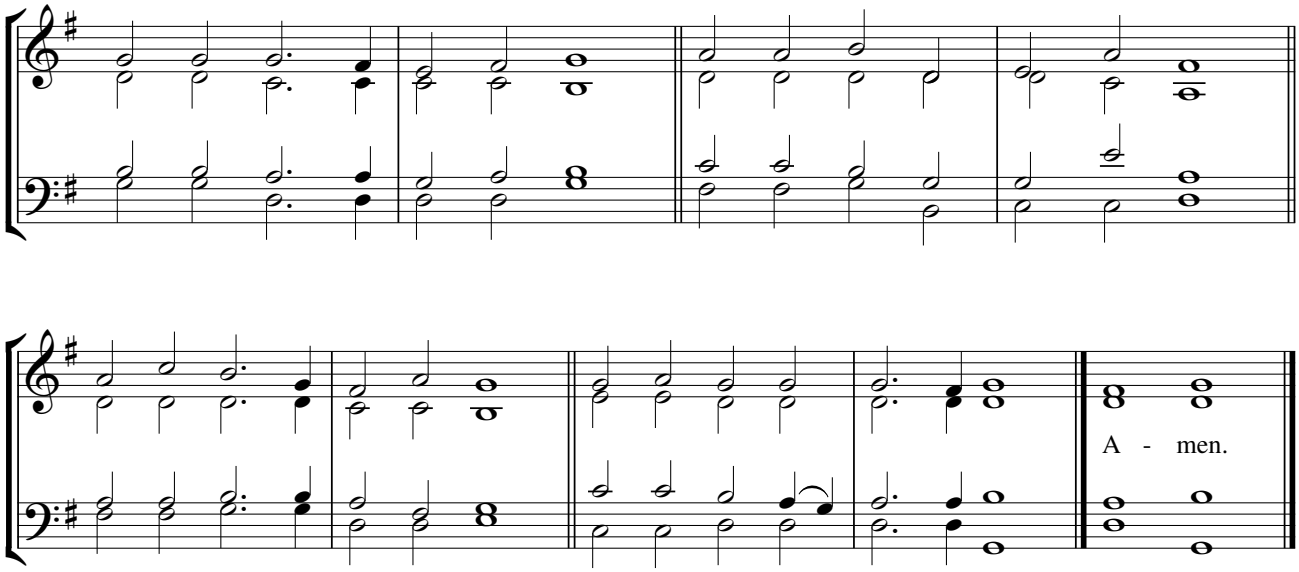
Charlotte Elliott

St. Bede (8686 886)
The Church Hymnal 1875 (386)

Other names:
SLINGSBY (with variations)

Father, I know that all my life
Is portioned out for me;
And the changes that are sure to come
I do not fear to see;
But I ask Thee for a present mind
Intent on pleasing Thee.

Anna L. Waring

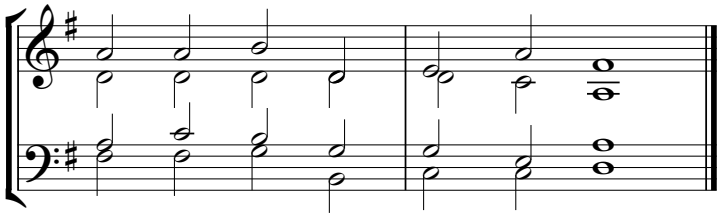
St. Bees (7777)

Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.170

Jesus! Name of wondrous love!
Name all other names above,
Unto which must every knee
Bow in deep humility.

William W. How

In some hymnals, where the words to which this tune is set demand a different emphasis (e.g. ‘Hark! my soul, it is the Lord’), the barring is such as to provide a two beat annacrucis.

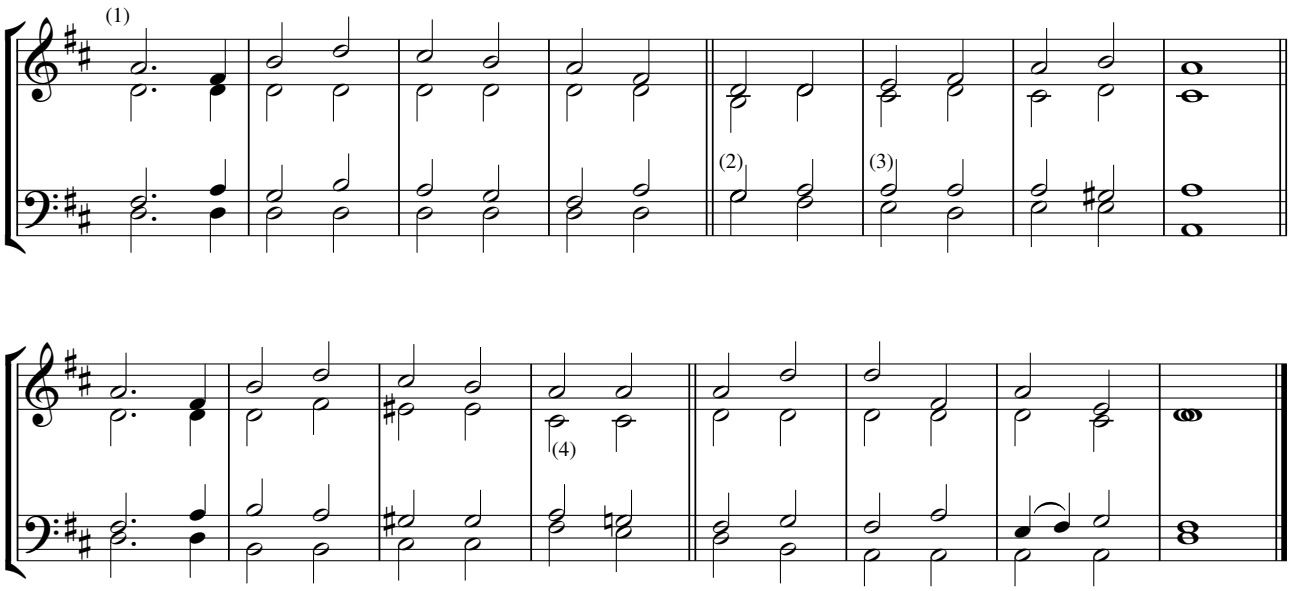
Some contemporary versions have this variant harmony for bars 3 and 4:



St. Bernard (i) (8787)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 145

Other names:
ST.AMBROSE
ST. OSWALD
SYCHAR

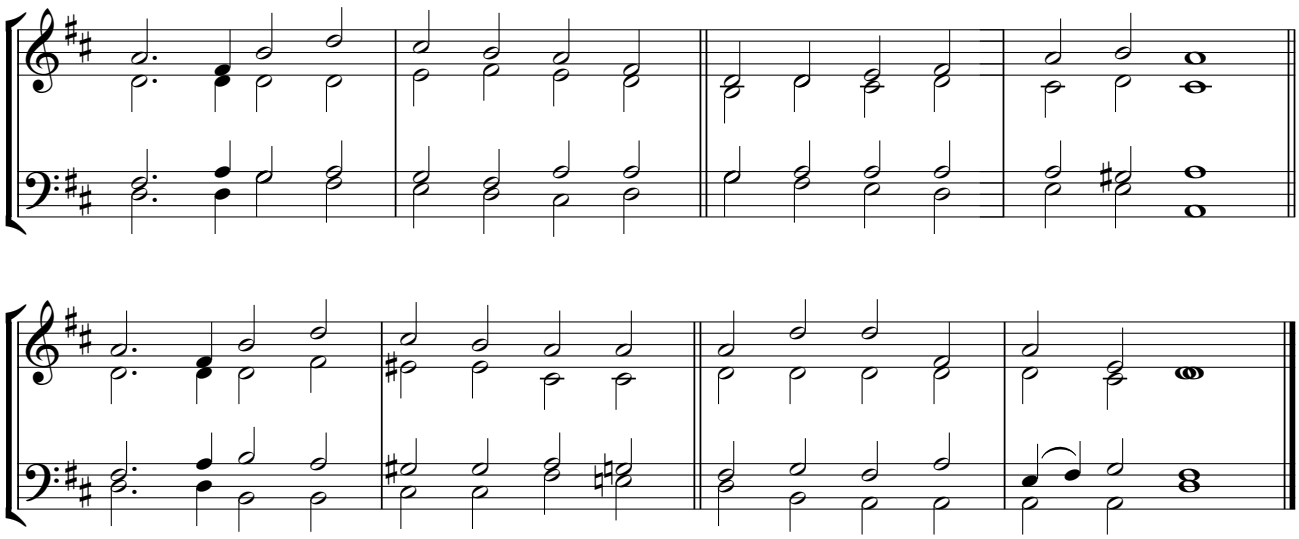


Praise the Lord, ye heavens adore Him,
Praise Him, Angels in the height.
Sun and moon rejoice before Him,
Praise Him, all ye stars of night.

(1) Most hymnals have a time signature giving four beats to the bar.
(2) The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) has a tenor B.
(3) The Hymnal for the Use of the English Church (1866) and The Hymnary (1872) have a tenor G.
(4) The Bristol Tune Book (1863) has an alto F♯.
(5) The melody and harmony of the firsr line are almost identical to DORKING by Samuel Wesley.

St. Bernard (ii) (8787)

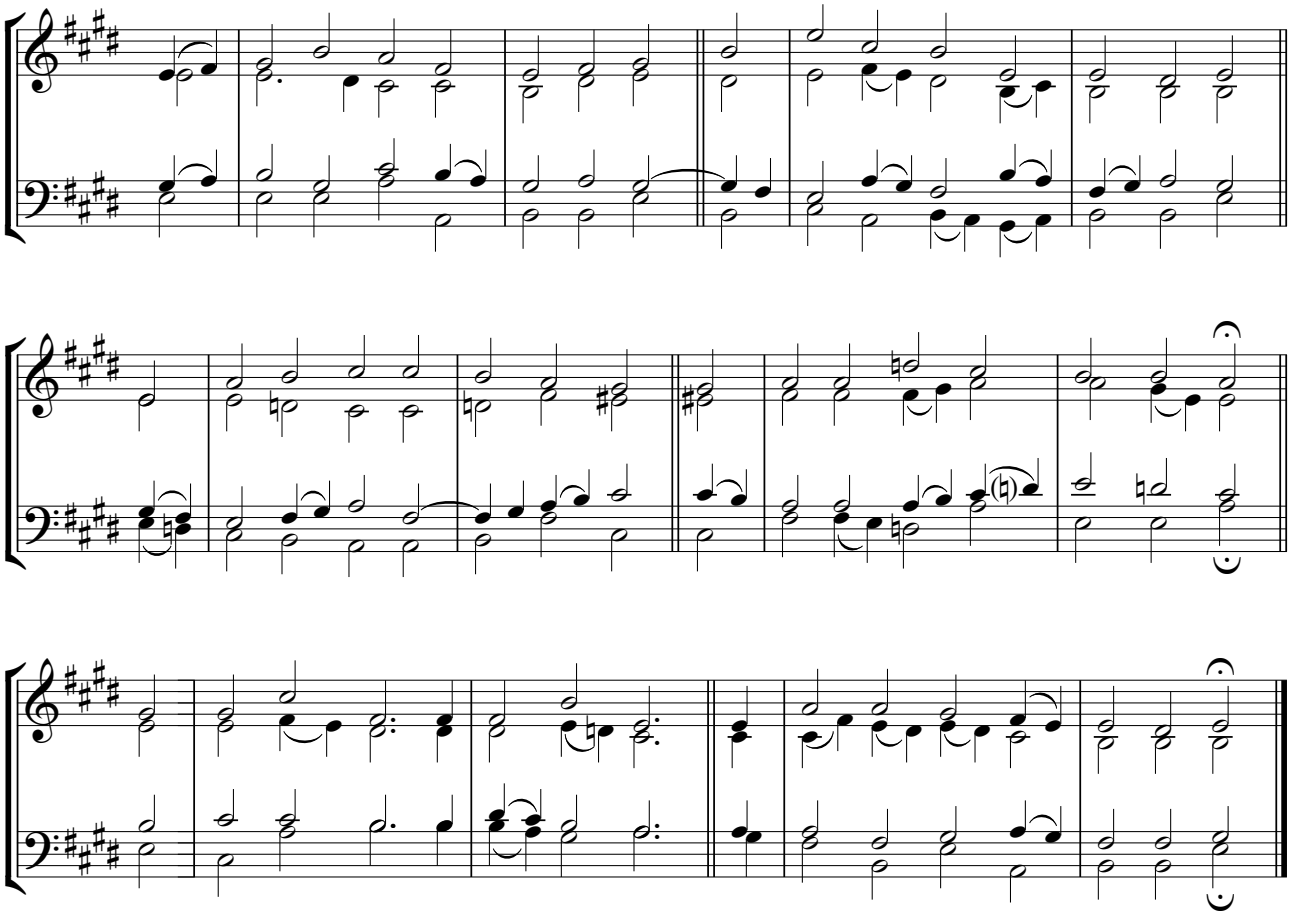
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.313

Other names:
ST. AMBROSE
ST. OSWALD
SYCHAR

May the grace of Christ our Saviour,
And the Father's boundless love,
With the Holy Spirit's favour,
Rest upon us from above.

John Newton

330

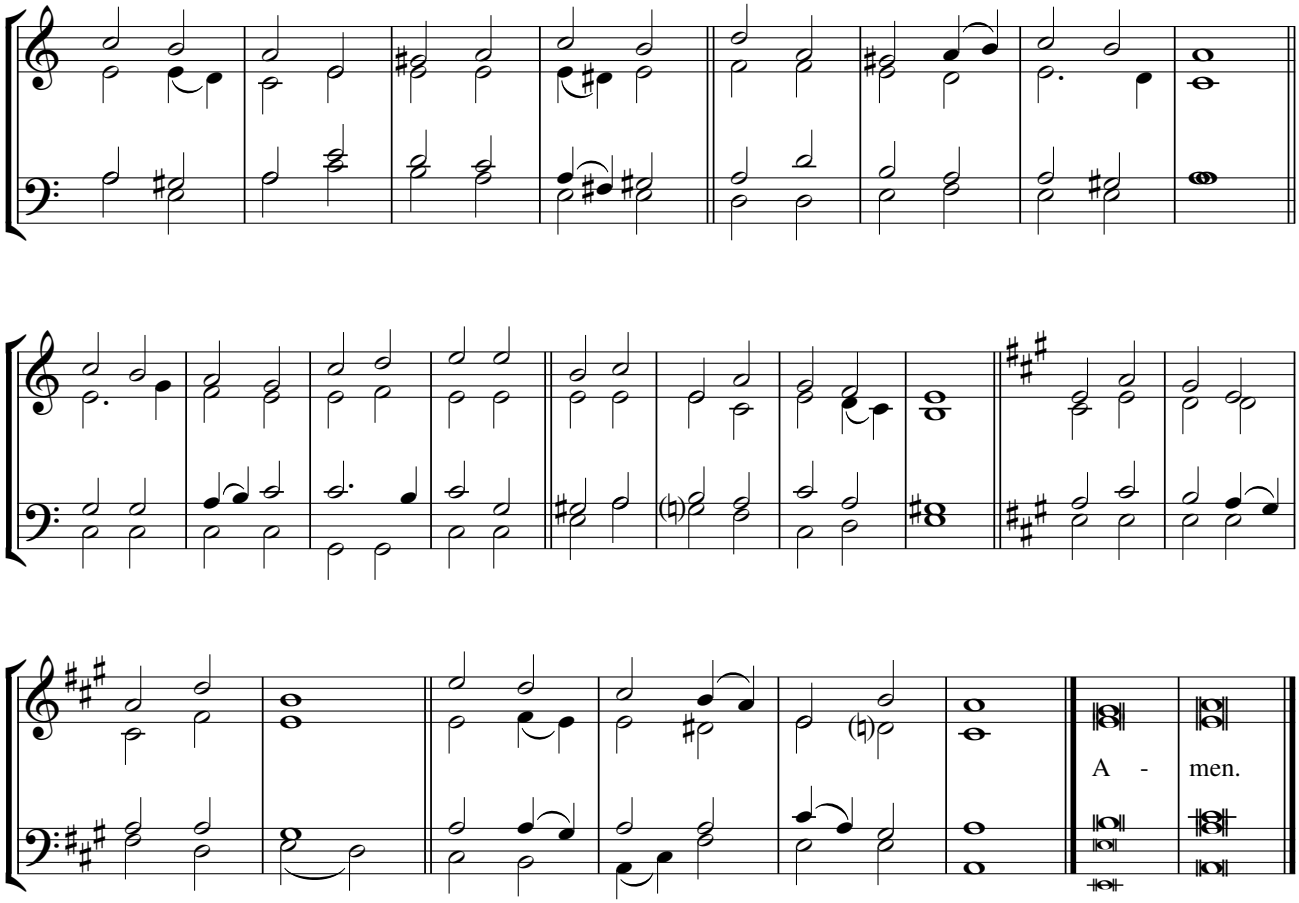
St. Cecilia (888888)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 90

Jerusalem, thou City blest!
Dear vision of celestial rest!
With living stones built up on high,
And rising to the starry sky;
In bridal pomp thy form is crowned,
With thousand thousand Angels round.

Trans. from the Latin by E. Caswall

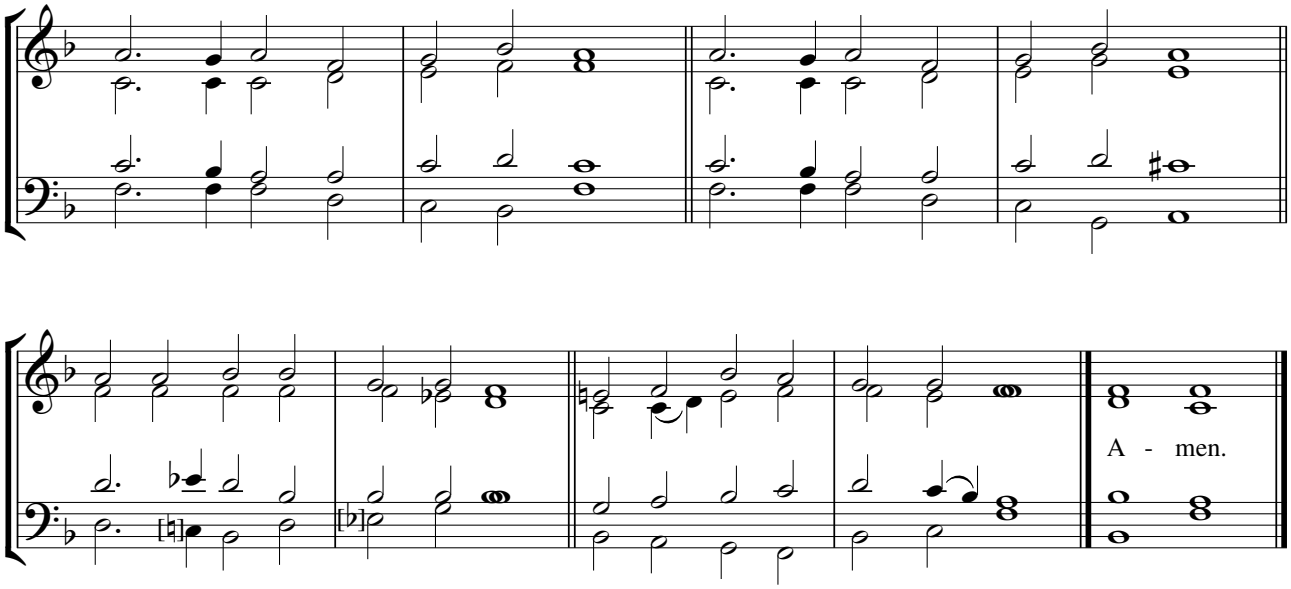
St. Chad (1) (878777)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 52

Other names:
ST. MINGO
ST. WULSTAN (with variations)

[No text provided in the *Manual*]

332

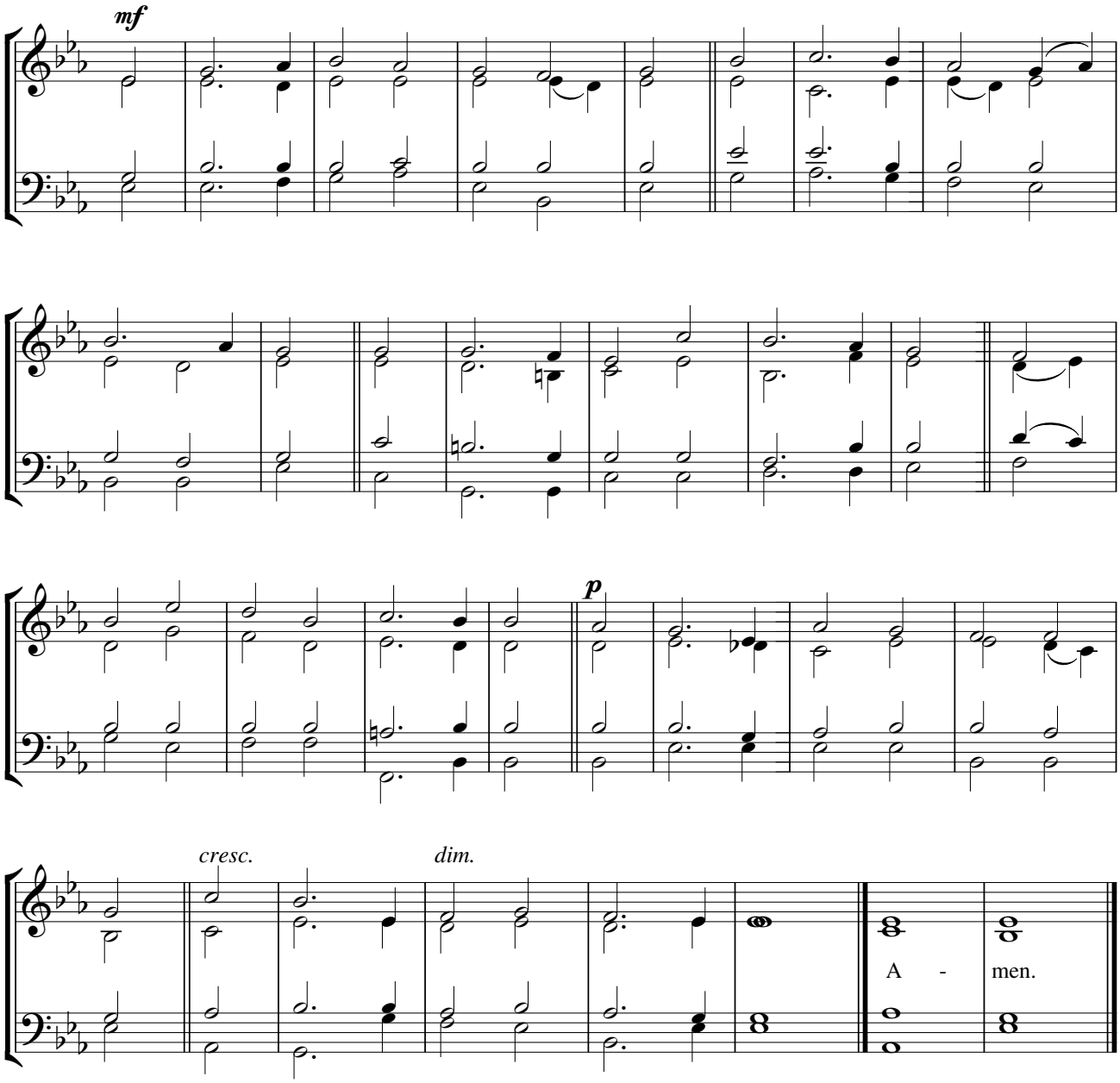
St. Chad (2) (7777) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.124

Ruler of the Hosts of Light,
Death hath yielded to Thy Might;
And Thy Blood hath marked a road
Leading to Thine own Abode.

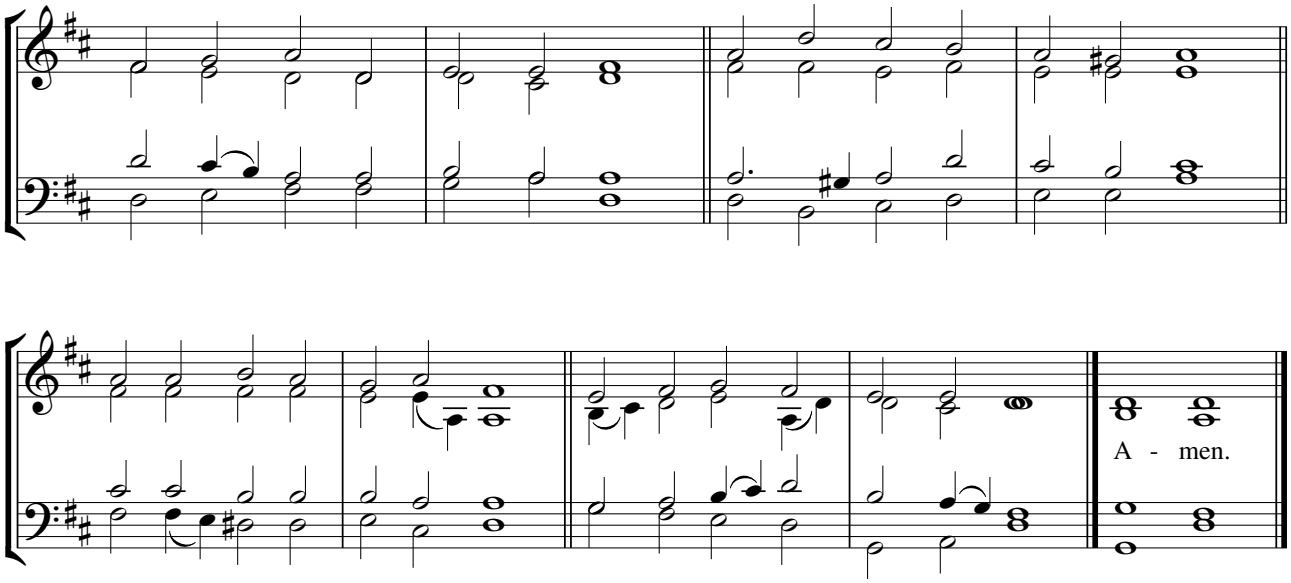
Trans. from the Latin
by John Chandler

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

St. Christopher (888888)

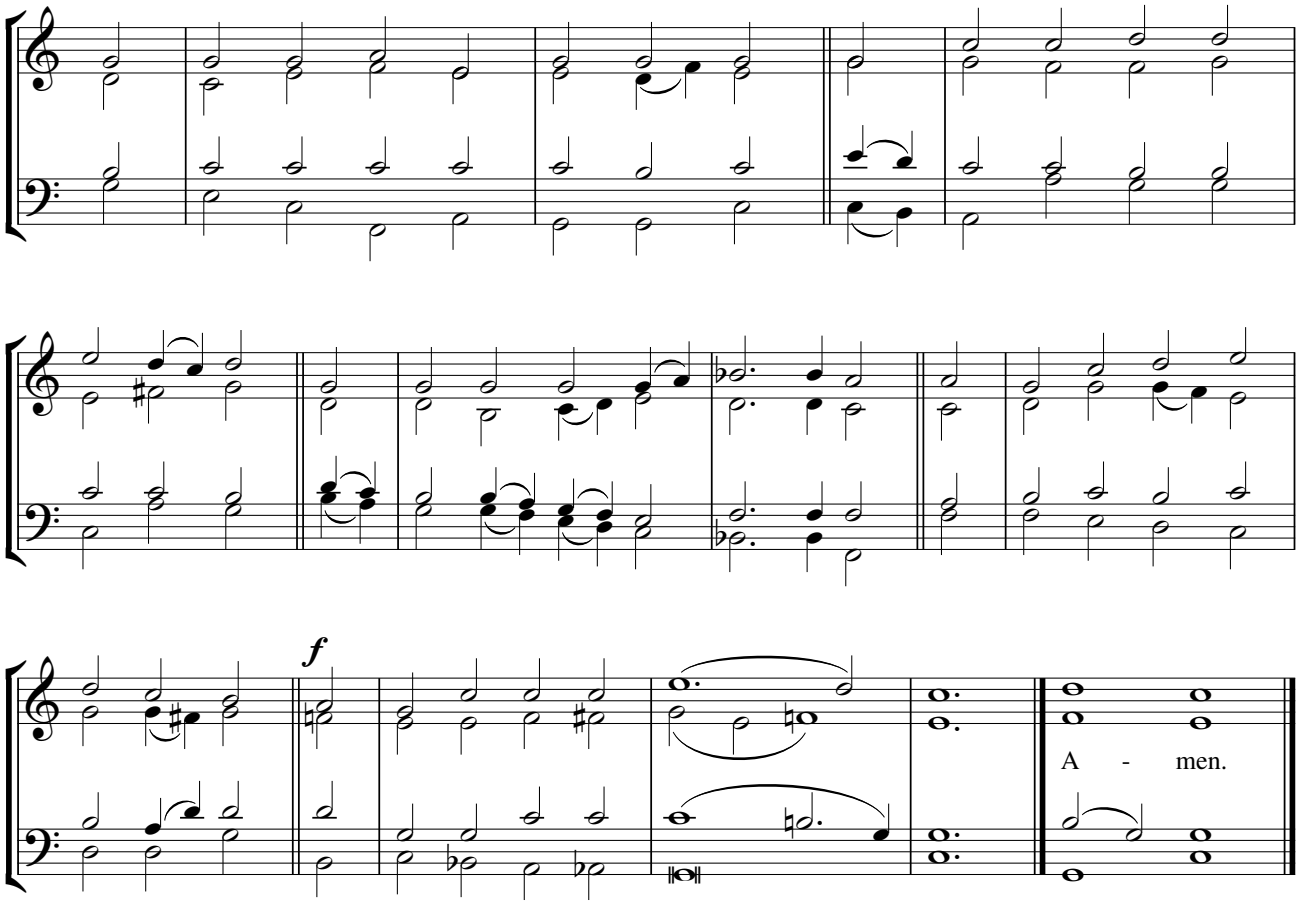
Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.43

Sing, O my tongue, devoutly sing
The conquests of our glorious King;
Proclaim aloud the triumph high,
The sacred Cross's victory;
And how upon that altar laid,
Our Price the world's Redeemer paid.

St. Columba (7777) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.244

Lamb of God! for sinners slain;
By Thy Mercy born again,
For Thy Guidance still we pray,
Lest from grace we fall away.
James Russell Woodford

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

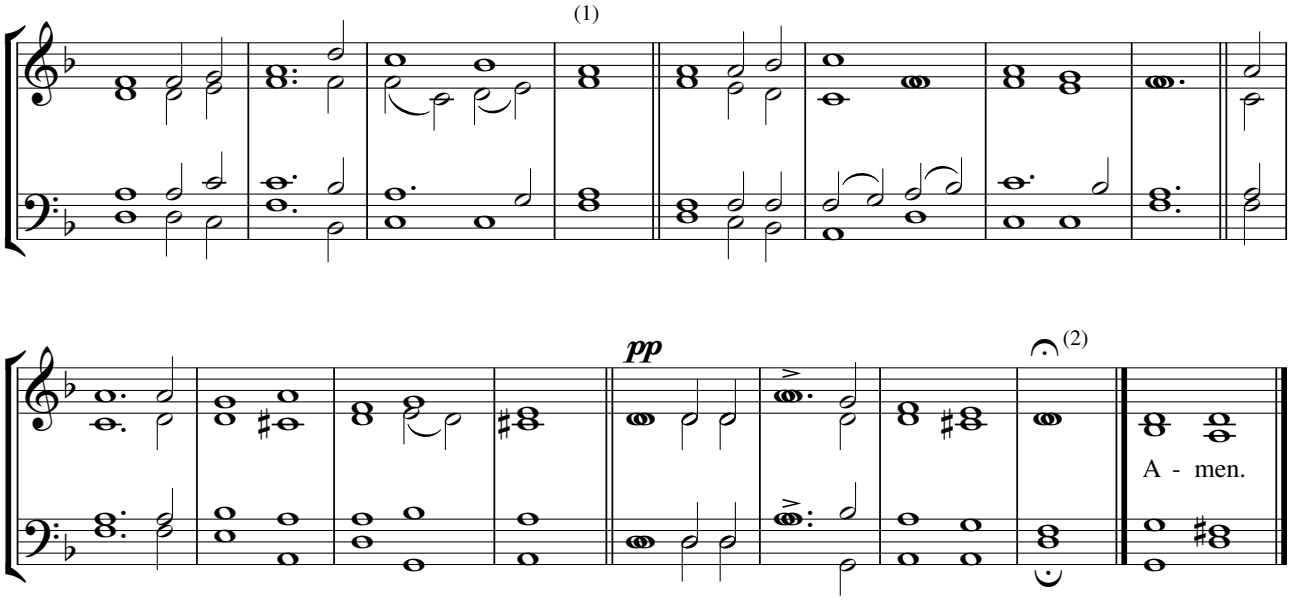
St. Constantine (88887)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.159

Hosanna to the Living Lord,
Hosanna to the the Incarnate Word,
To Christ, Creator, Saviour, King,
Let every voice Hosanna sing,
Hosanna, Lord!
Hosanna in the Highest.

Reginald Heber

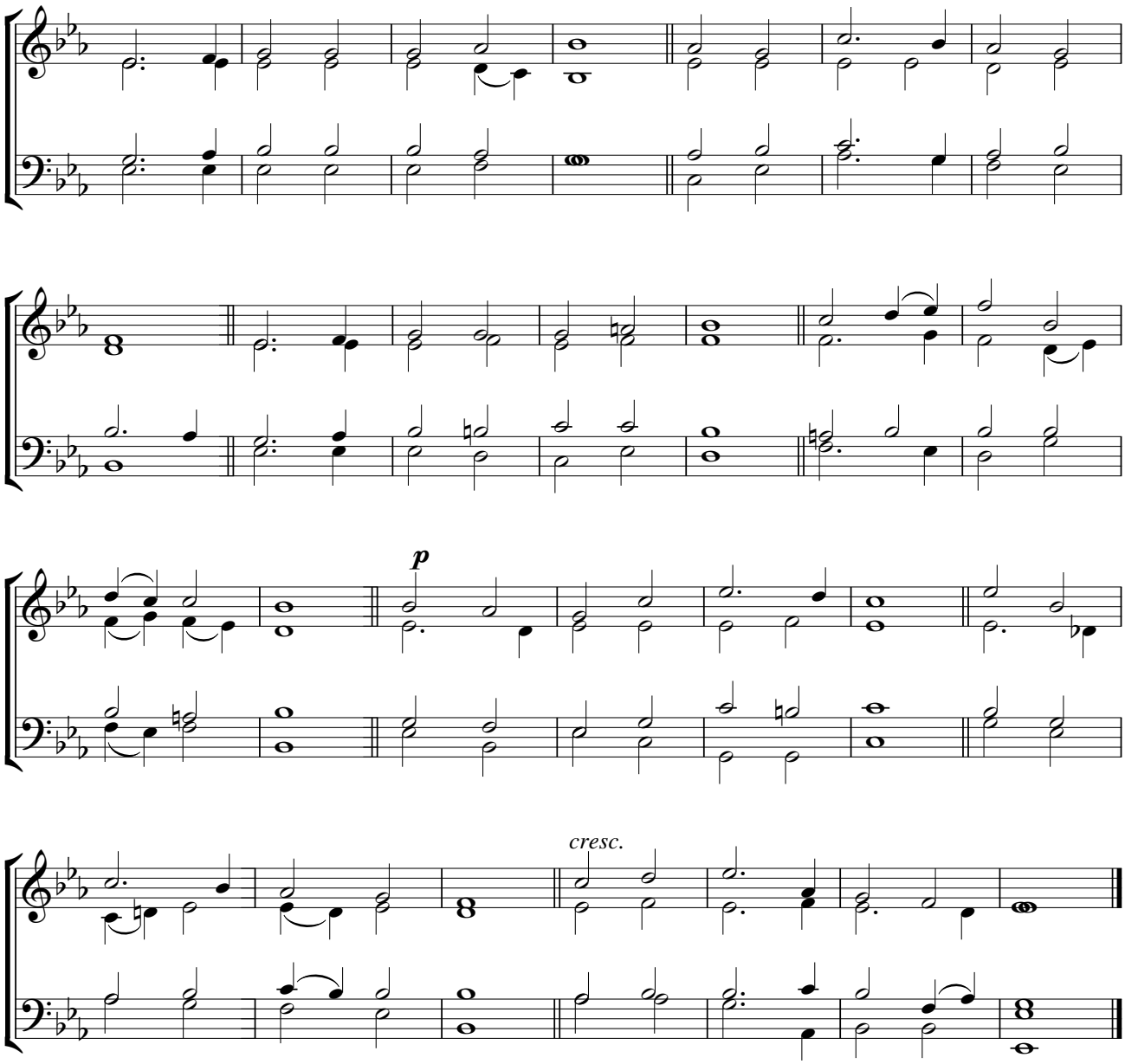
St. Cross (LM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.100

Other names:
GOLGOTHA

O come and mourn with me awhile;
O come ye to the Saviour's side;
O come, together let us mourn;
Jesus, our Lord, is crucified.

Frederick William Faber

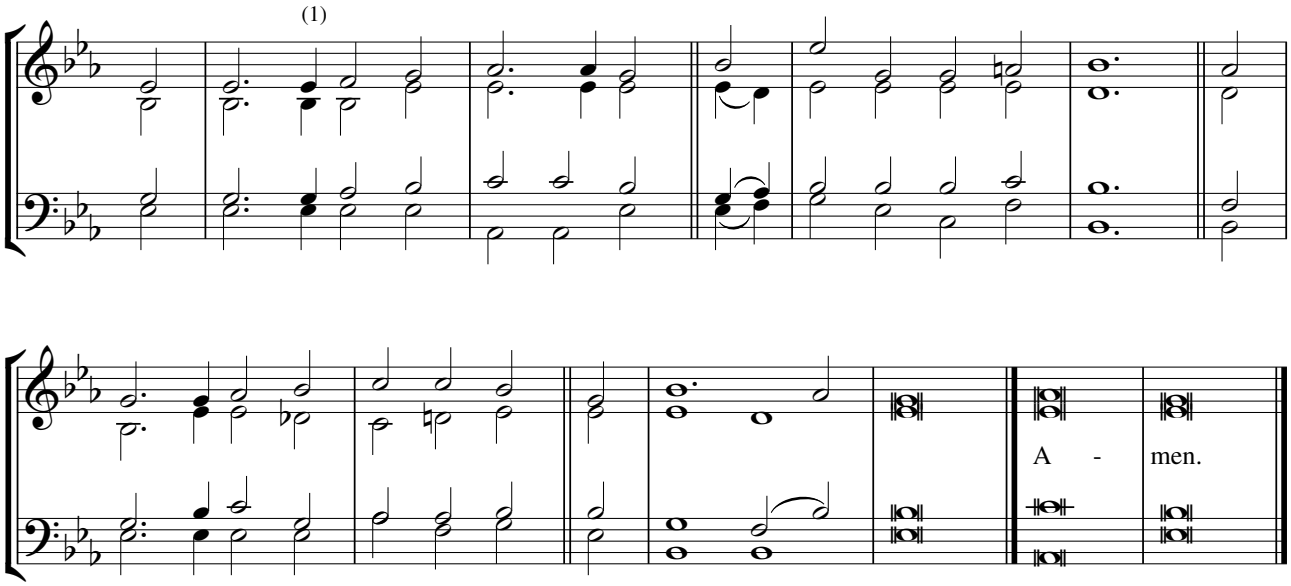
(1) It is not until the 1875 edition that this chord, and the final chord of the third quarter, are written (correctly) as breves.
(2) The pause is omitted in subsequent editions.

St. Cuthbert (1) (777777) (arr. J.B.D)
Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) (unnumbered)

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

338

St. Cuthbert (2) (8684)

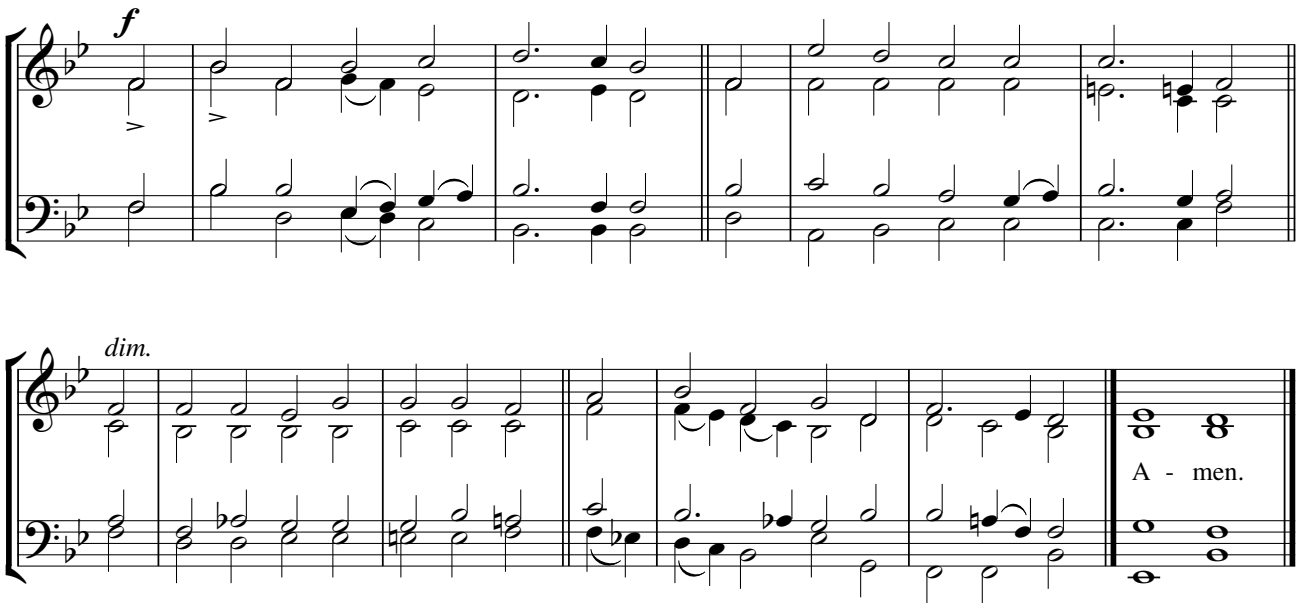
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No.139

Other names:
MAGDALA

Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed
His tender last farewell,
A Guide, a Comforter, bequeathed
With us to dwell.

Harriet Auber

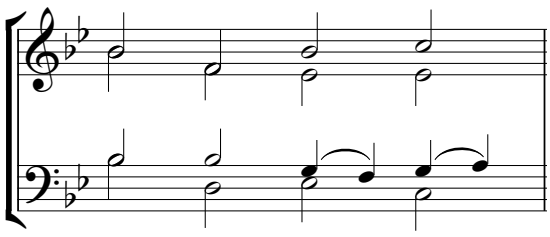
(1) The 1875 edition revised this to E♭ on this and the following beat in the alto.

St. Drostane (LM)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.84

Ride on! ride on in majesty!
Hark! all the tribes Hosanna cry;
O Saviour meek, pursue Thy Road,
With palms and scattered garments strewed.

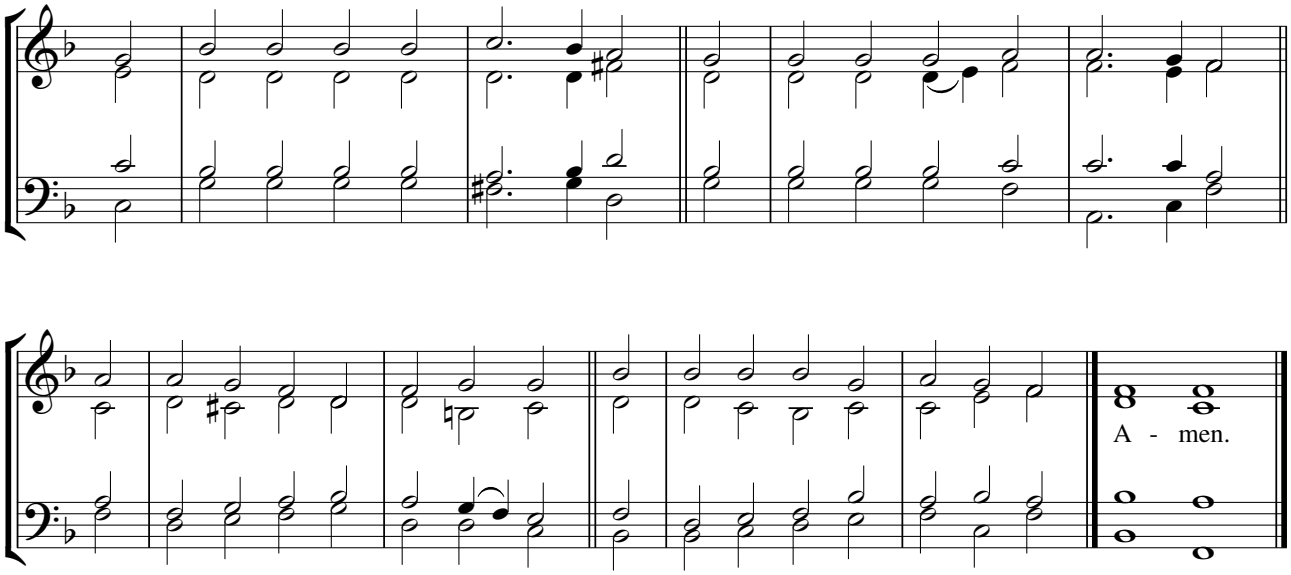
Henry Hart Milman

Hymns A&M 1875 harmonises bar 2 thus:



340

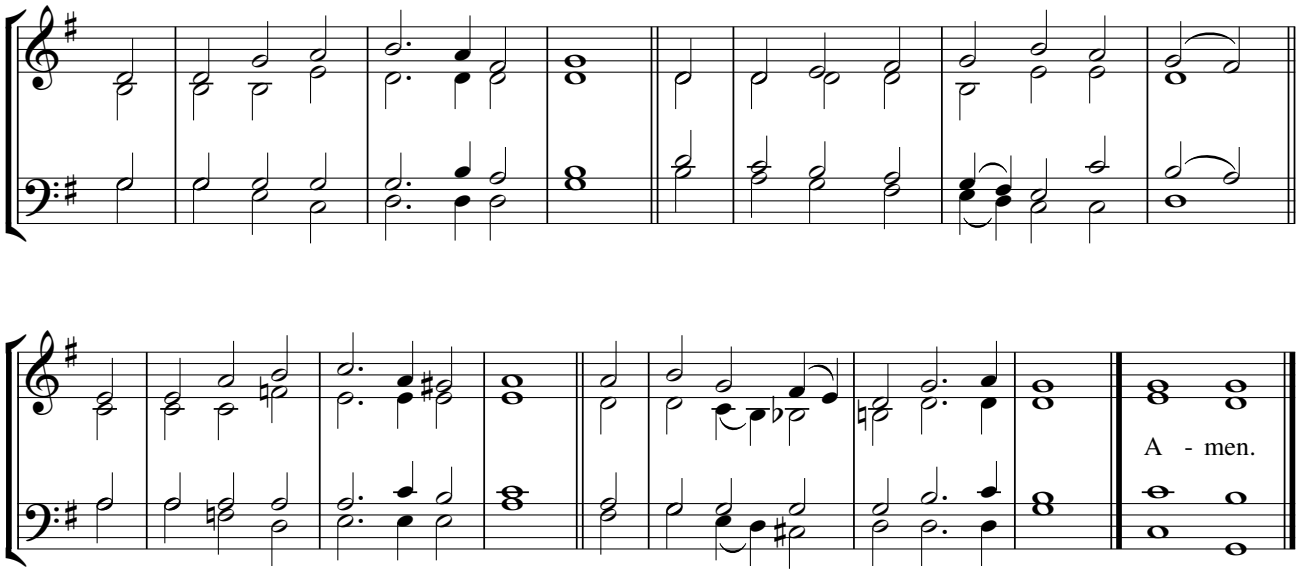
St. Dunstan (‘te lucis ante terminum’) (LM) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.211

Before the ending of the day,
Creator of the world we pray,
That with Thy wonted Favour Thou
Would’st be our Guide and Keeper now.

J.M. Neale, from the Latin

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

St. Editha (LM)

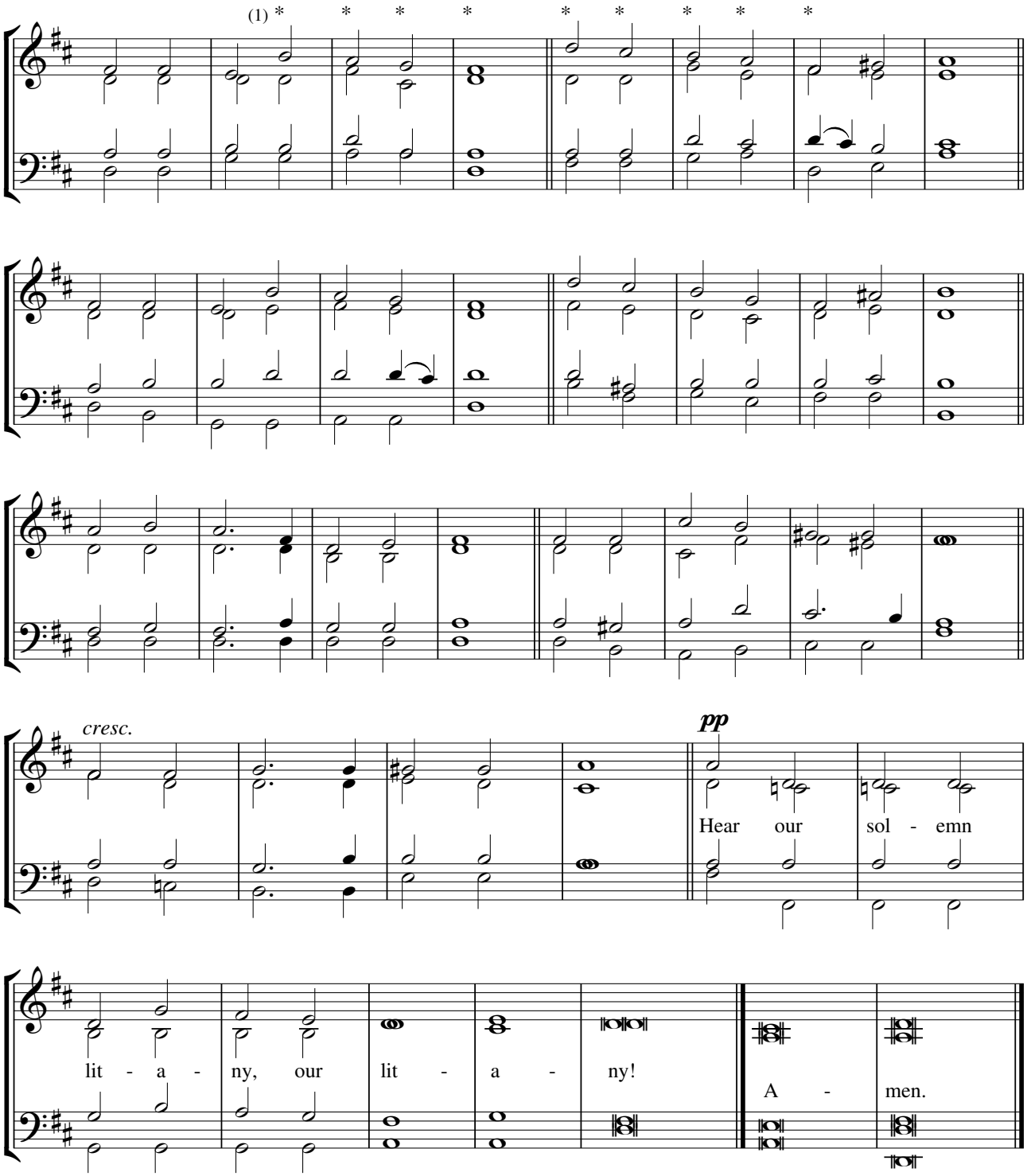
The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No.339

Inspirer and Hearer of prayer,
Thou Shepherd and Guardian of Thine,
My all to Thy covenant care,
I, sleeping or waking, resign.

Augustus Toplady

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

St. Edmund (i) (7777D)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 136

Other names:
DURHAM
EDMUND
LENT (with variations)

Saviour, when in dust to Thee,
Low we bow the trembling knee;
When repentant to the skies
Scarce we lift our weeping eyes;
Oh! by all Thy pains and woe,
Suffered once for man below,
Bending from Thy throne on High,
Hear our solemn Litany.

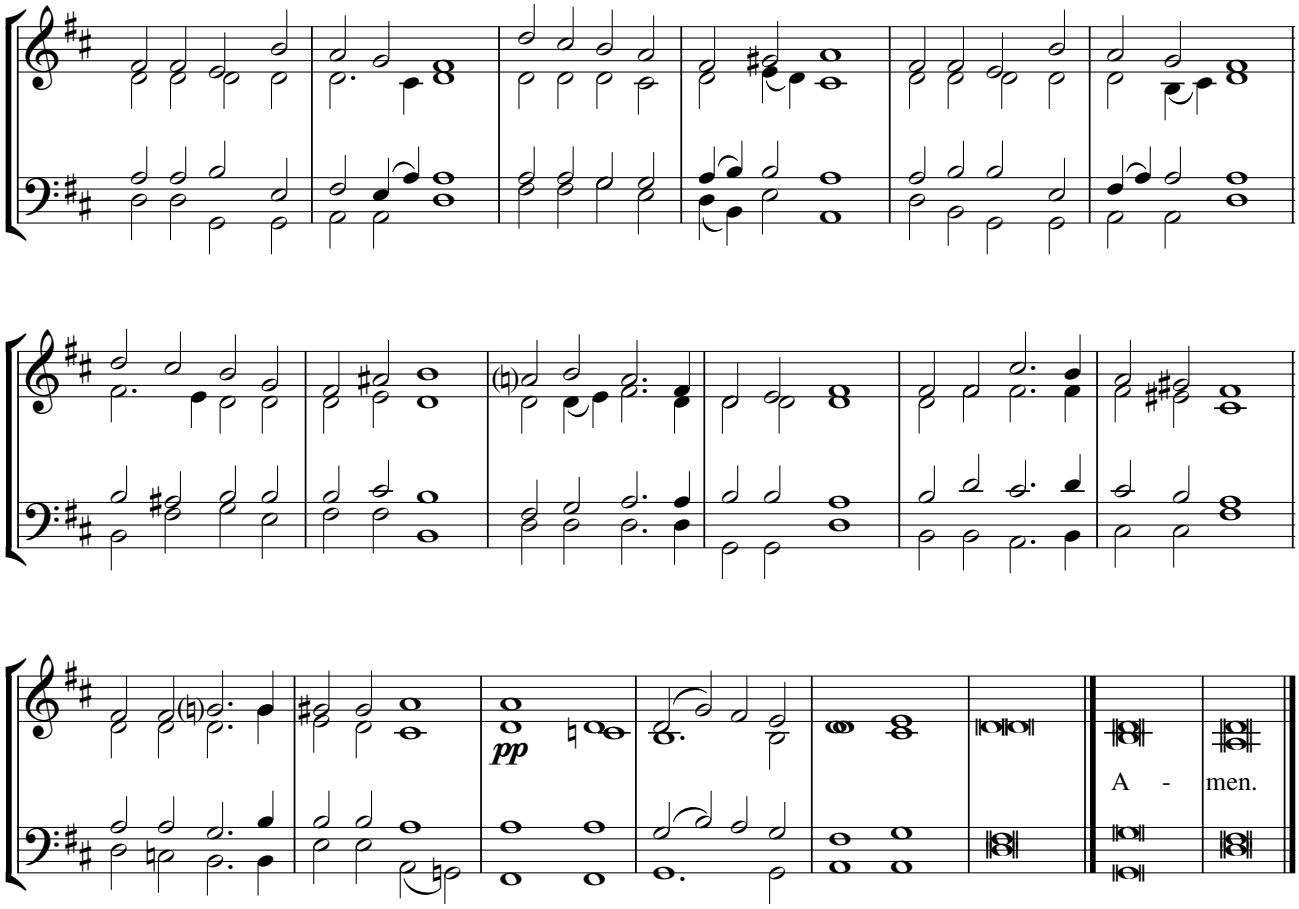
Robert Grant

(1) A pre-figuring of HOLLINGSIDE

[Text not provided in the *Manual*]

St. Edmund (iii) (7777D)

The Hymnary (1872) No. 495

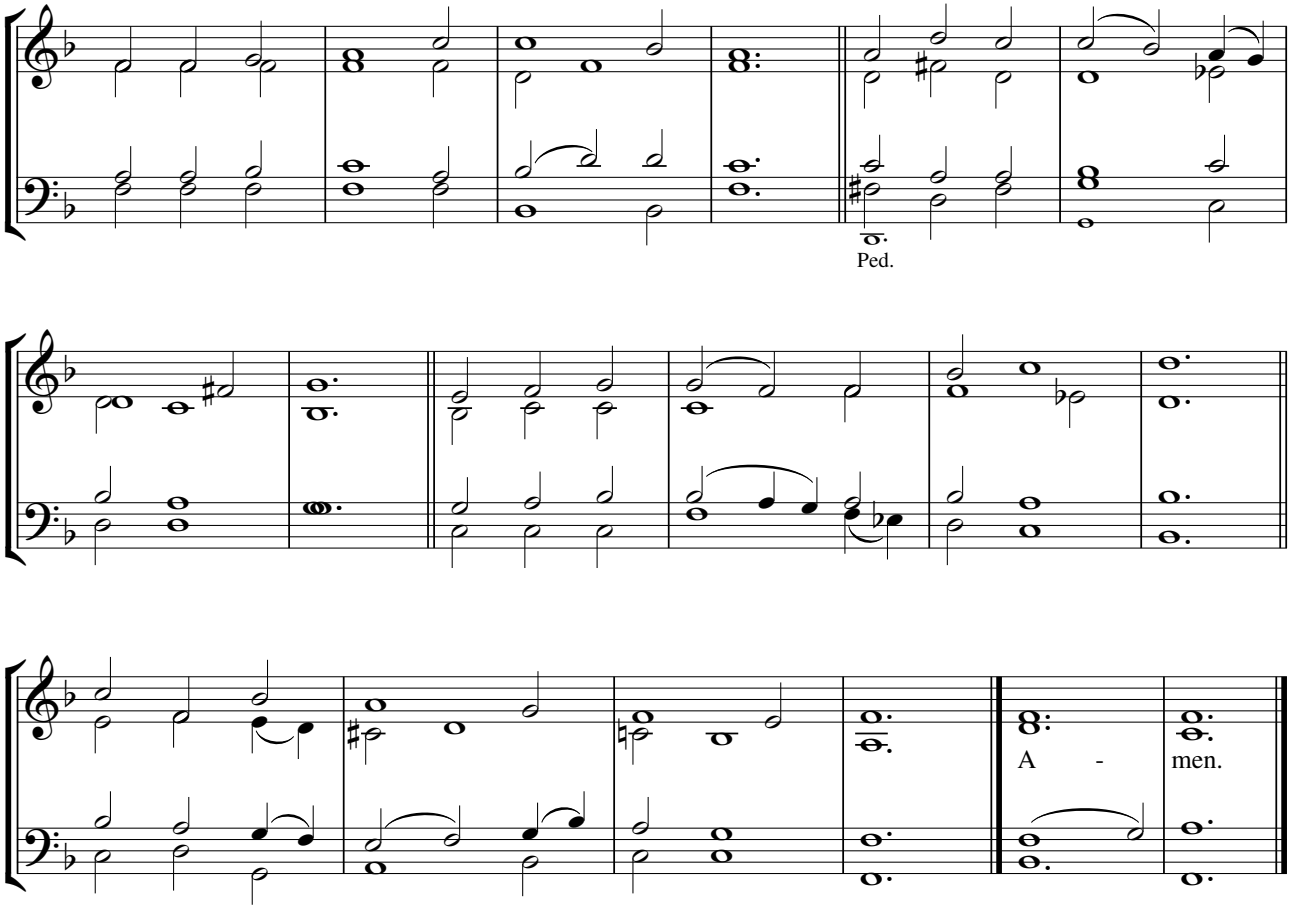
Other names:
DURHAM
EDMUND
LENT (with variations)

Saviour, when in dust to Thee,
Low we bow the trembling knee;
When repentant to the skies
Scarce we lift our weeping eyes;
Oh! by all Thy pains and woe,
Suffered once for man below,
Bending from Thy throne on High,
Hear our solemn Litany.

Robert Grant

344

St. Ephrem (LM)

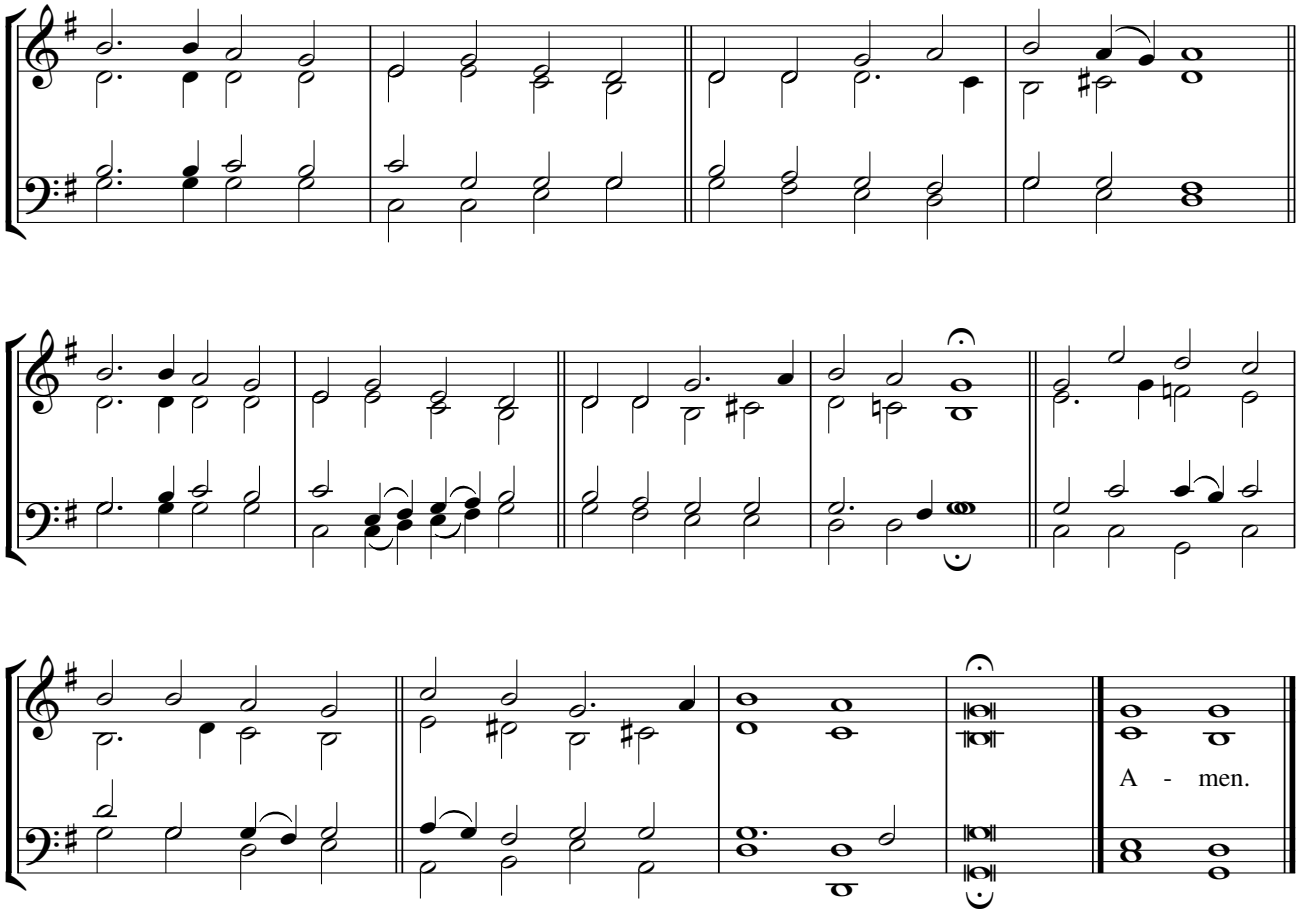
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.13



Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near:
O may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes.

John Keble

St. Ethelreda (878787)

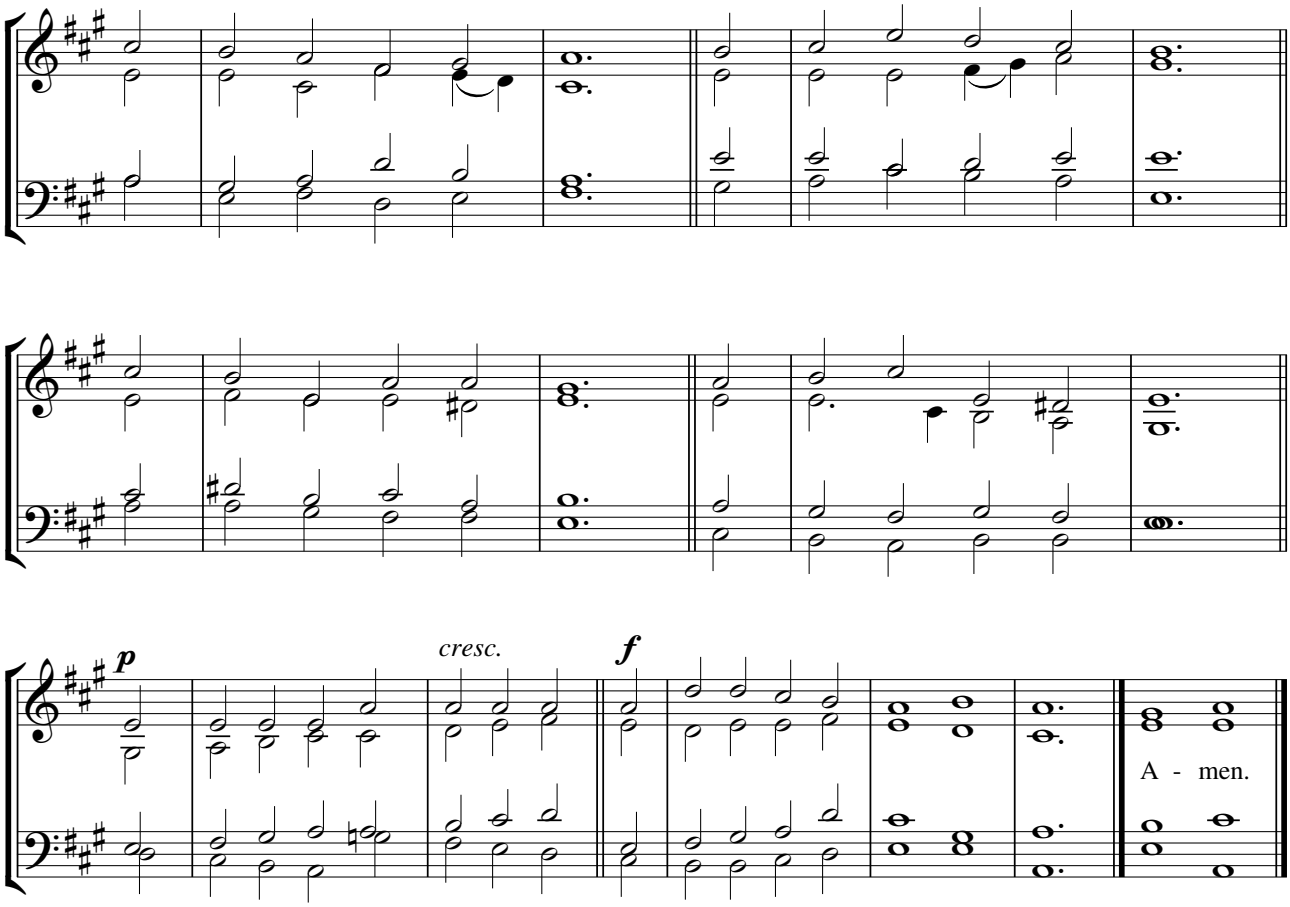
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.219

Blessèd city, heavenly Salem,
Vision dear of peace and love,
Who of living stones art builded
In the height of heaven above,
And, with Angel hosts encircled,
As a bride dost earthward move;

Trans. J.M. Neale

346

St. Godric (666688)

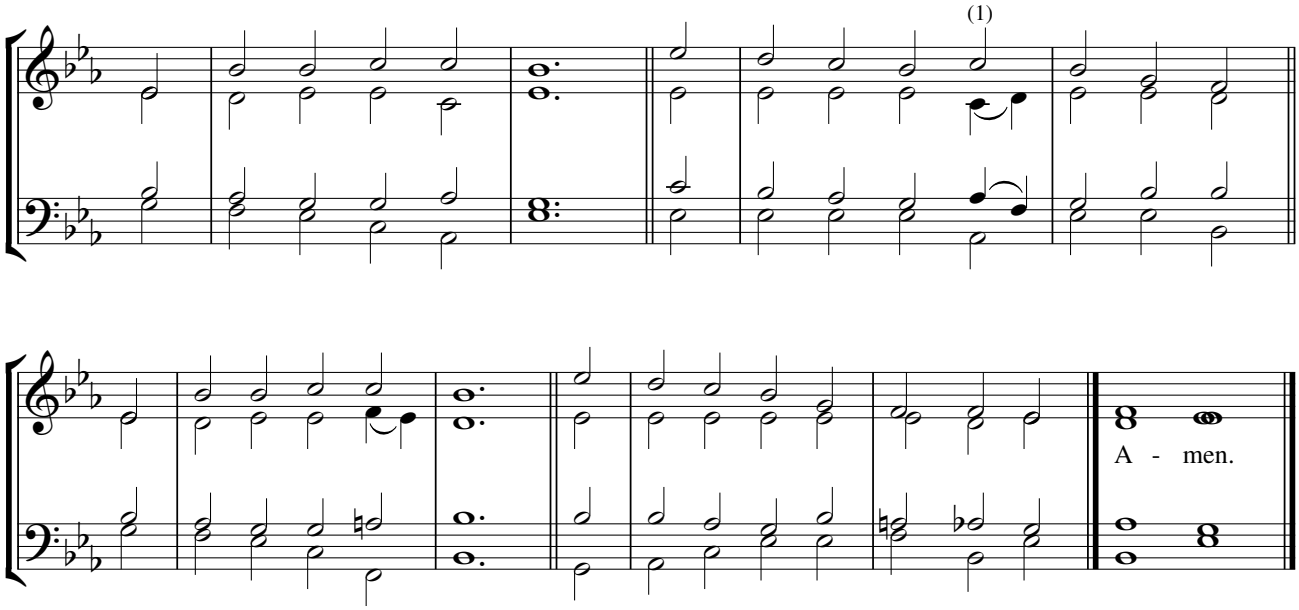
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.57



Lord of the worlds above,
How pleasant and how fair
The dwellings of Thy love,
Thine earthly Temples are!
To Thine Abode
My heart aspires,
With true desires
To see my God.

Isaac Watts

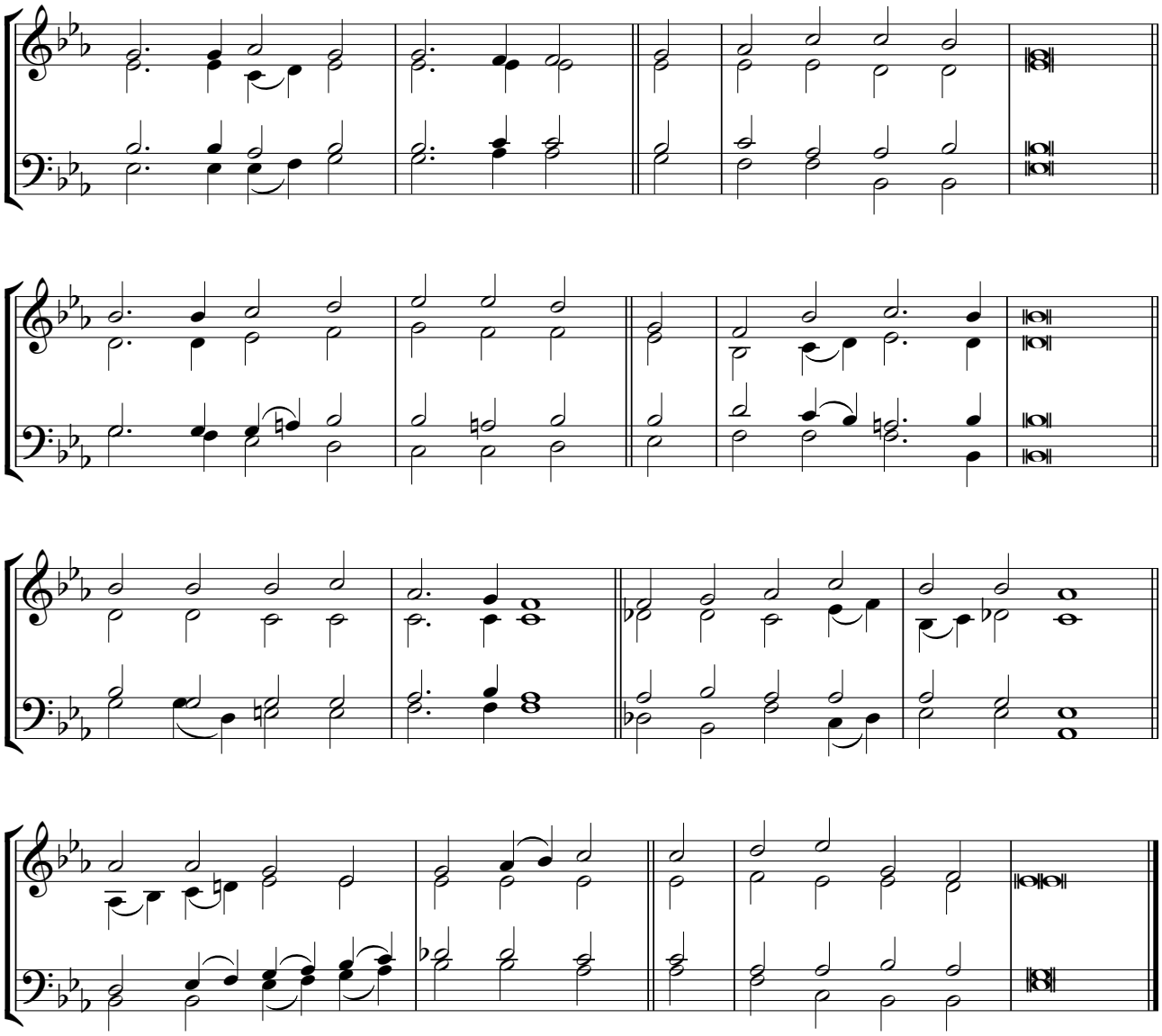
St. Helen (6868)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.246

O Jesu! God and Man,
For love of children once a Child,
O Jesu! God and Man,
The Virgin-born, the undefiled.

F.W. Faber

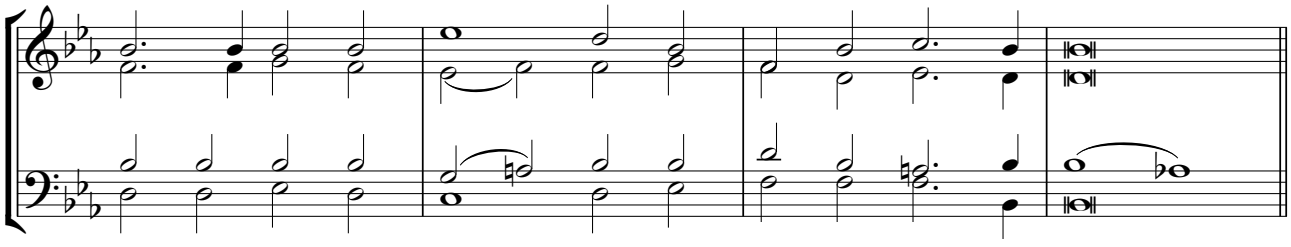
(1) The London Tune Book (1875) has E♭ as the bass to this chord.

St. Hilary (76767776)

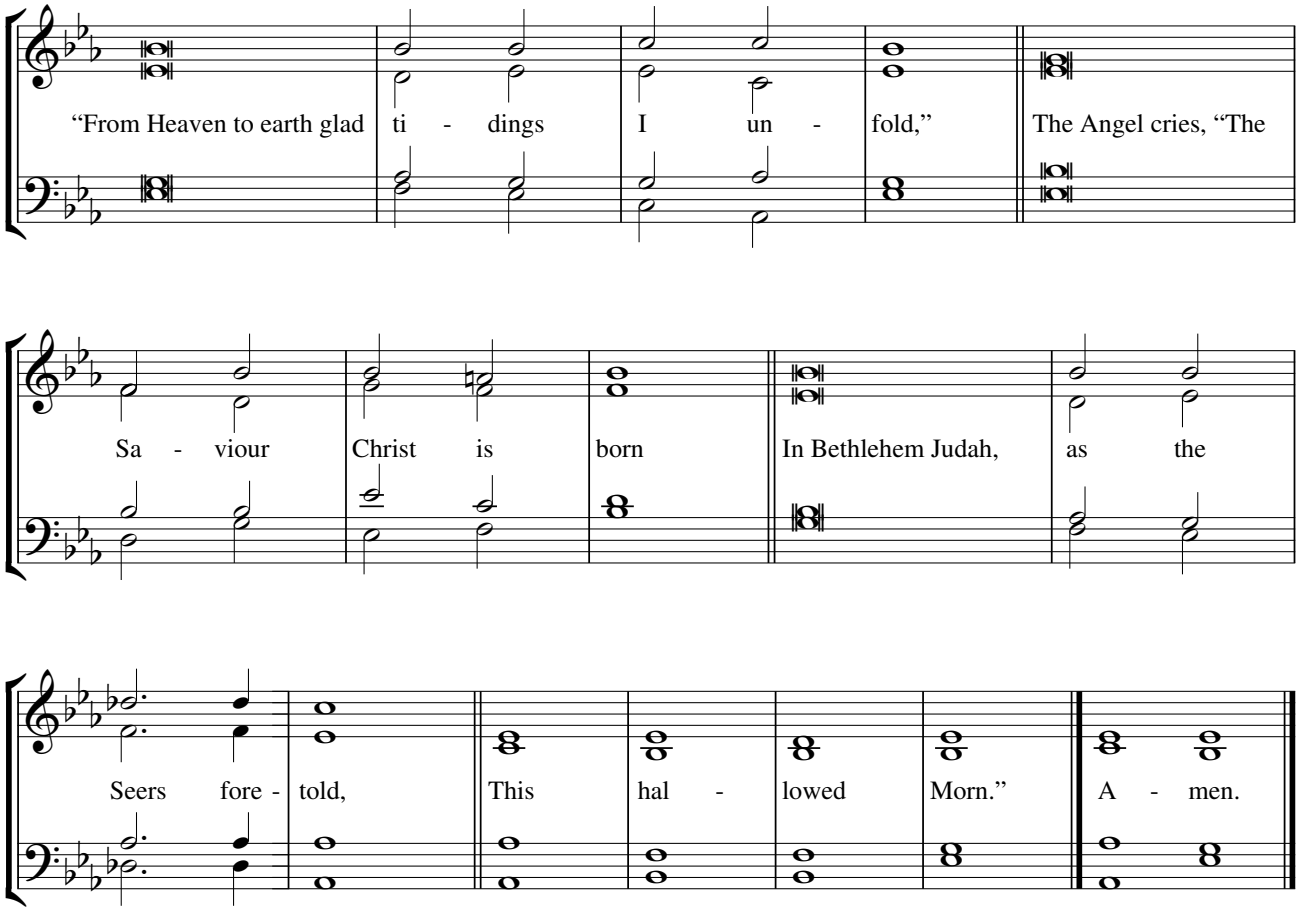
The Bristol Tune Book (1863) No.166

Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings,
Thy better portion trace;
Rise from transitory things
Towards heav'n, thy native place.
Sun and moon and stars decay,
Time shall soon this earth remove,
Rise, my soul, and haste away,
To seats prepared above.

Robert Seagrave

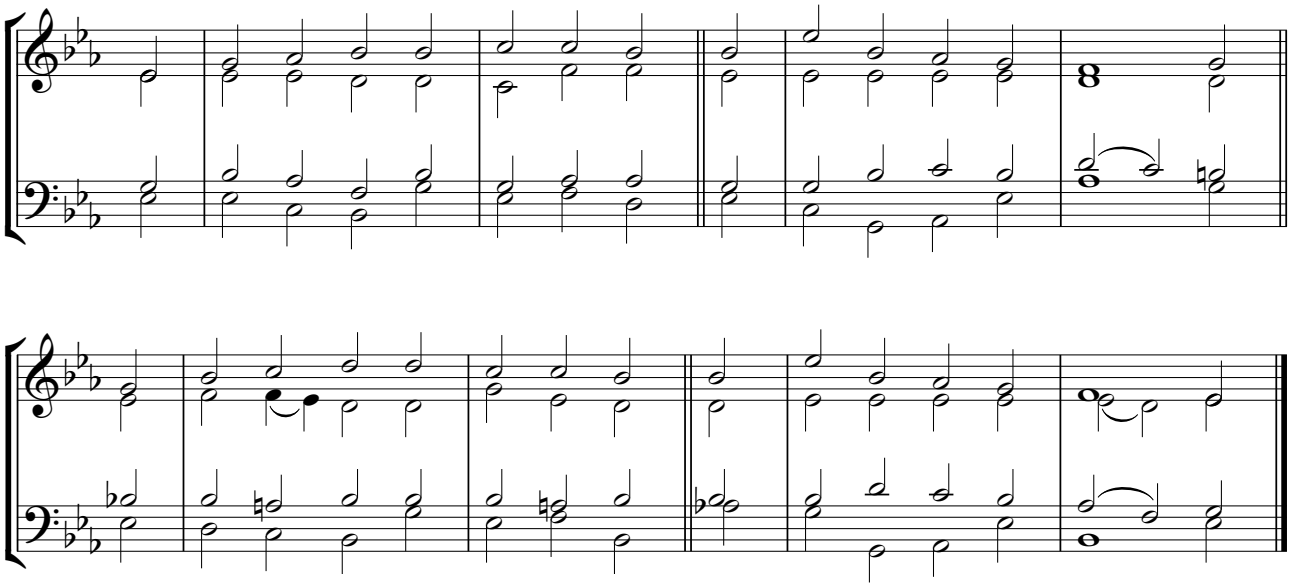
Compare bars 6-10 with bars 6-8 of NICAEA, both rythmically and melodically:

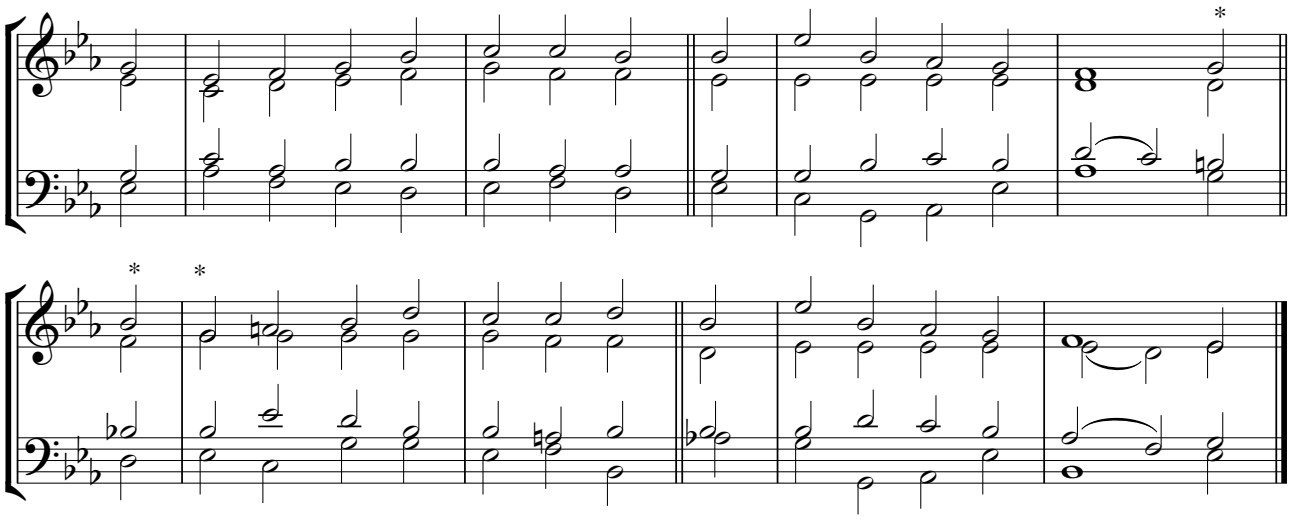


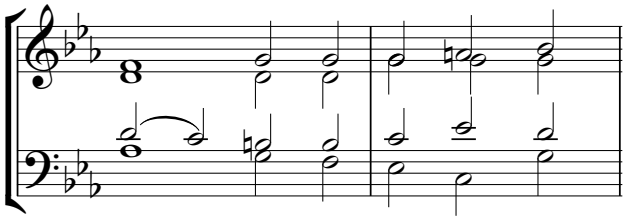
St. Joseph (irregular)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.39

350

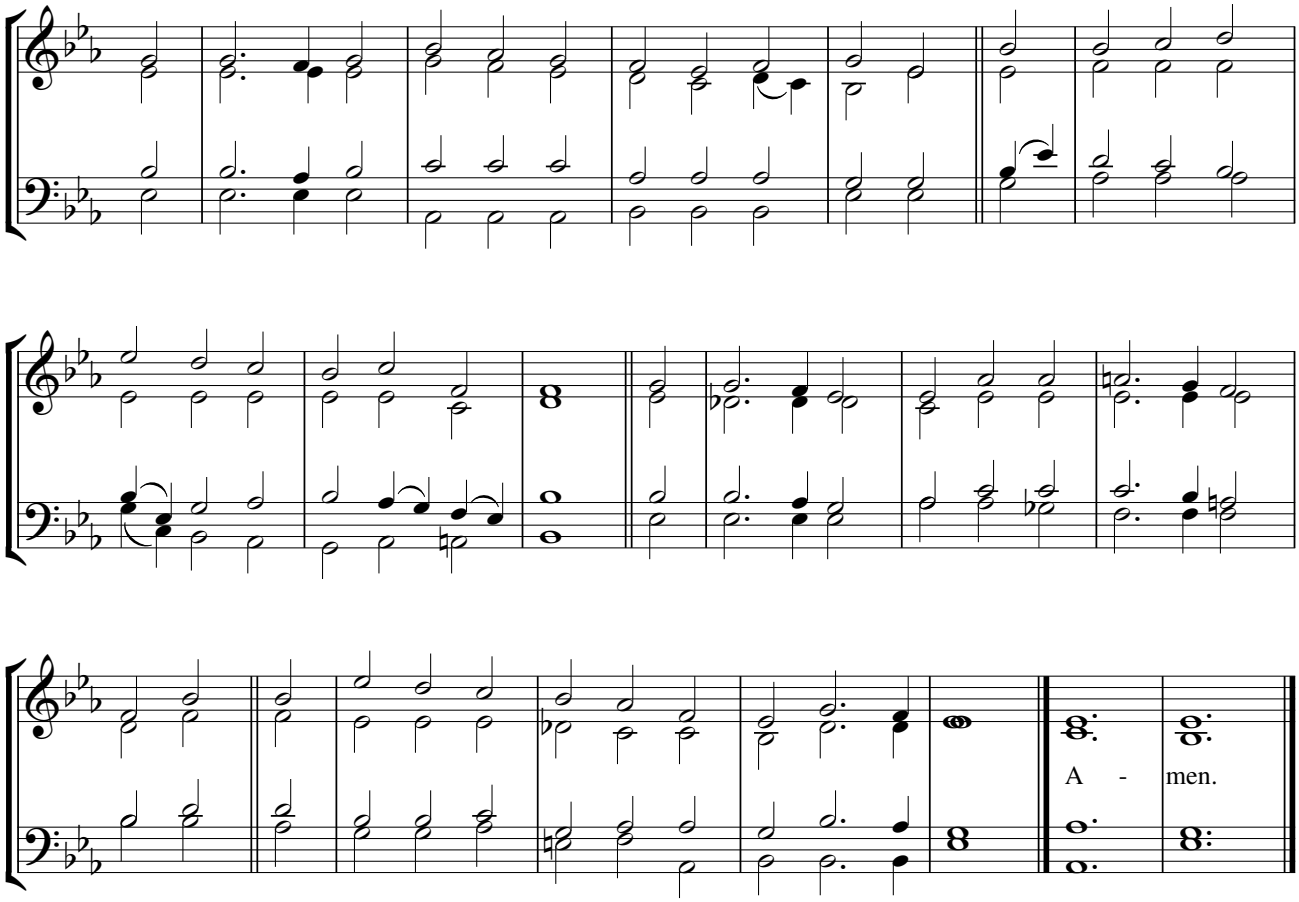
St. Lawrence (8787)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 49

The judgment o'er, see now, beneath
His own Cross faintly bending,
Jesus, true Isaac, to His death
Is wearily ascending.

The duplication in bars 1-4 of bars 1-4 of TALLIS' ORDINAL (A&M 1861 No. 148) led E.O. Dykes to propose, for the 1902 Novello edition, the following:

In a note on EOD's manuscript (Durham University Pratt Green MS17), John Stainer wrote: "I like all except [the chords marked with an asterisk]. Perhaps Mr. J[ohn] D[ykes] [jnr]. will consider them." EOD proposed the amendment shown below which, with his earlier proposed revision, is how the tune appears in that collection. Ironically EOD, in attempting to cure the original of its duplication with Tallis's tune, did so by substituting a duplication of the third line of ST. GALL (A&M 1861 No. 41)—a tune which starts with the same eight notes as TALLIS' ORDINAL and Dykes's original version of ST. LAWRENCE! (See also Dykes's FARNE and BLESSED TRINITY.)

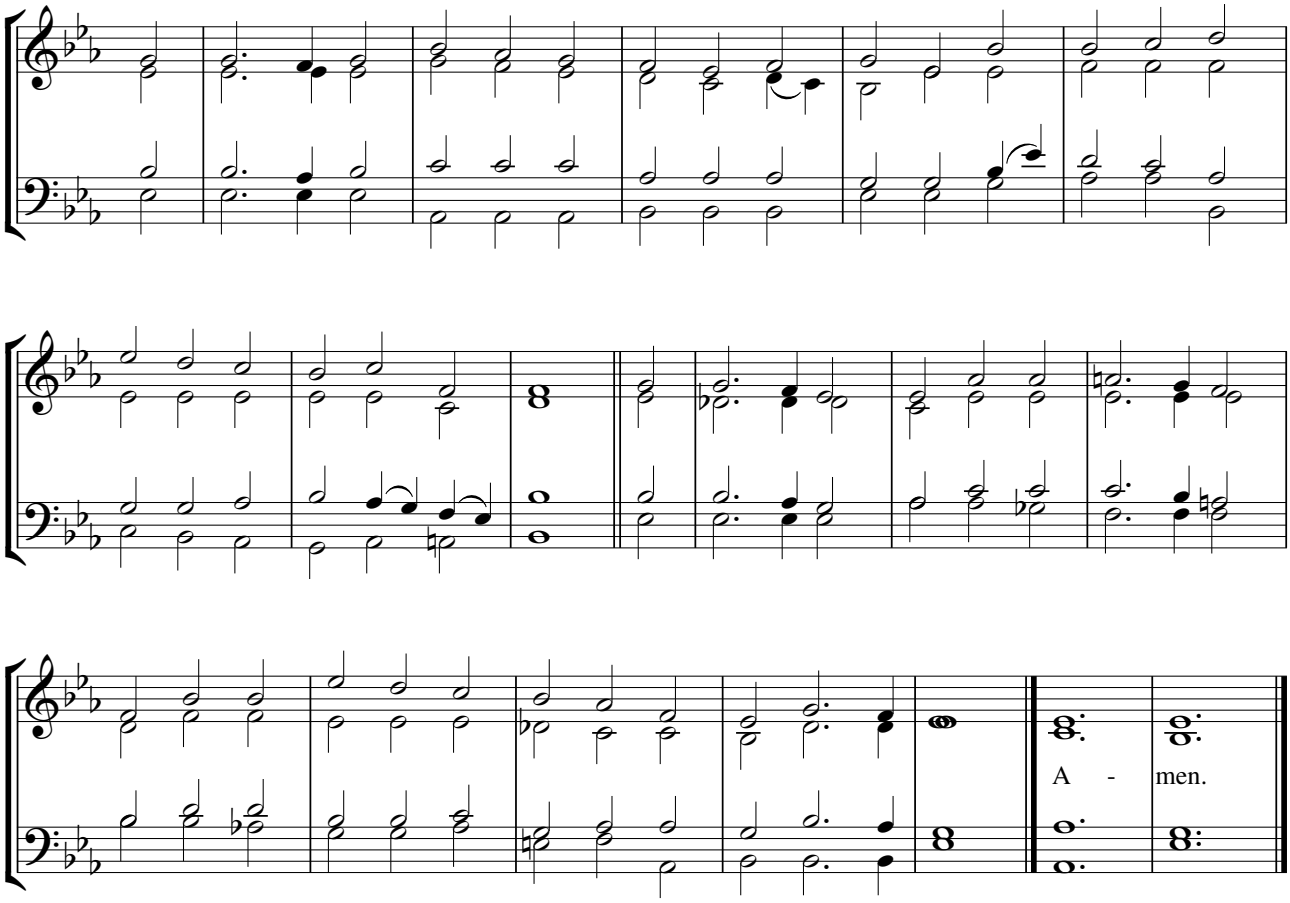


St. Leonard (i) (12.11.12.11)

XIII Hymns for Advent and Lent (1873) No. 13

And is it Thy voice, patient Saviour yet calling?
And is it Thy sad, earnest features I see?
And is it Thine arm stretched to save me from falling?
And dost thou yet bid me draw nigh unto Thee?

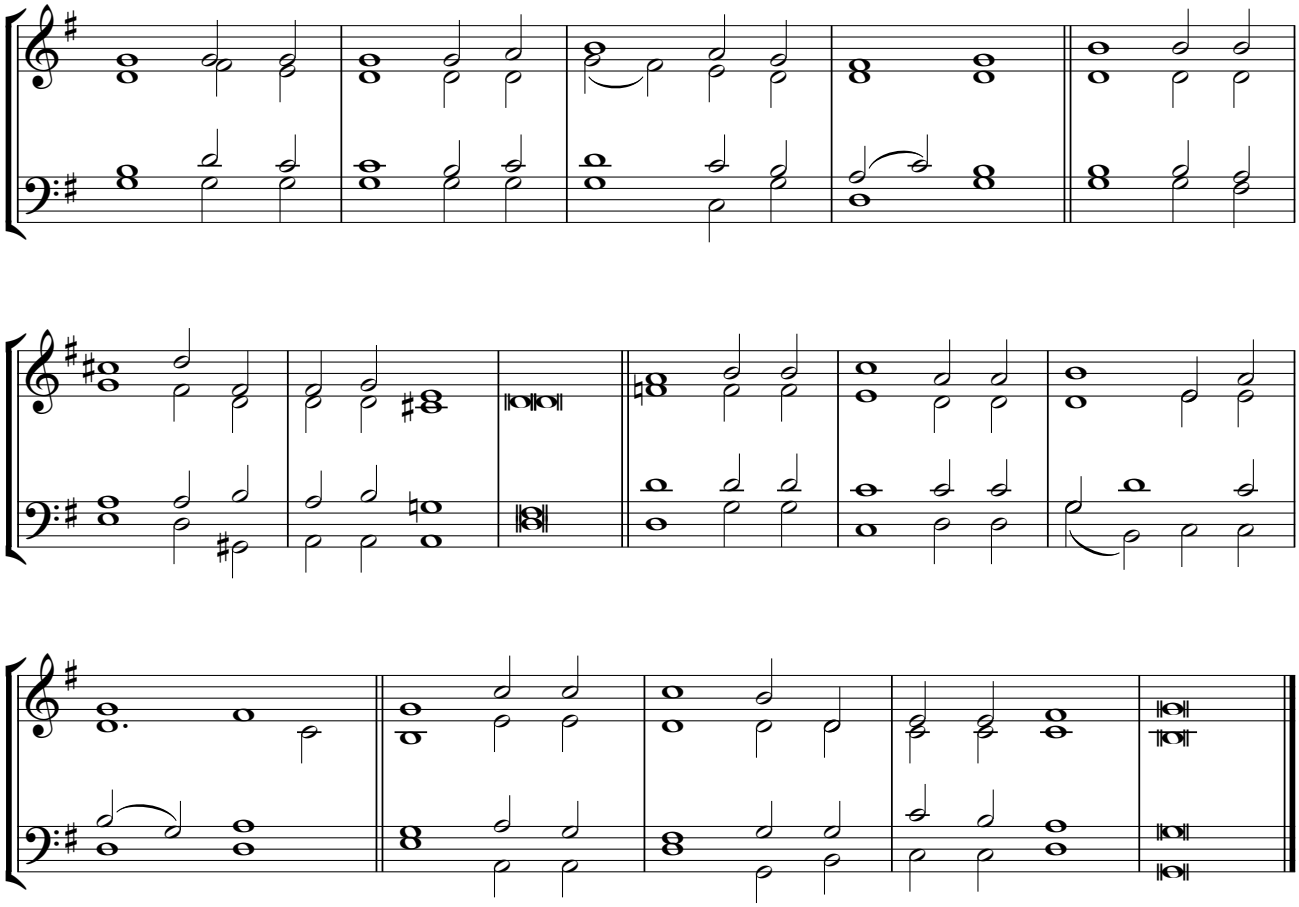
R. Tomlins

St. Leonard (ii) (12.11.12.11)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 125

And is it Thy voice, patient Saviour yet calling?
And is it Thy sad, earnest features I see?
And is it Thine arm stretched to save me from falling?
And dost thou yet bid me draw nigh unto Thee?

R. Tomlins

St. Ninian (i) (11.10.11.10)

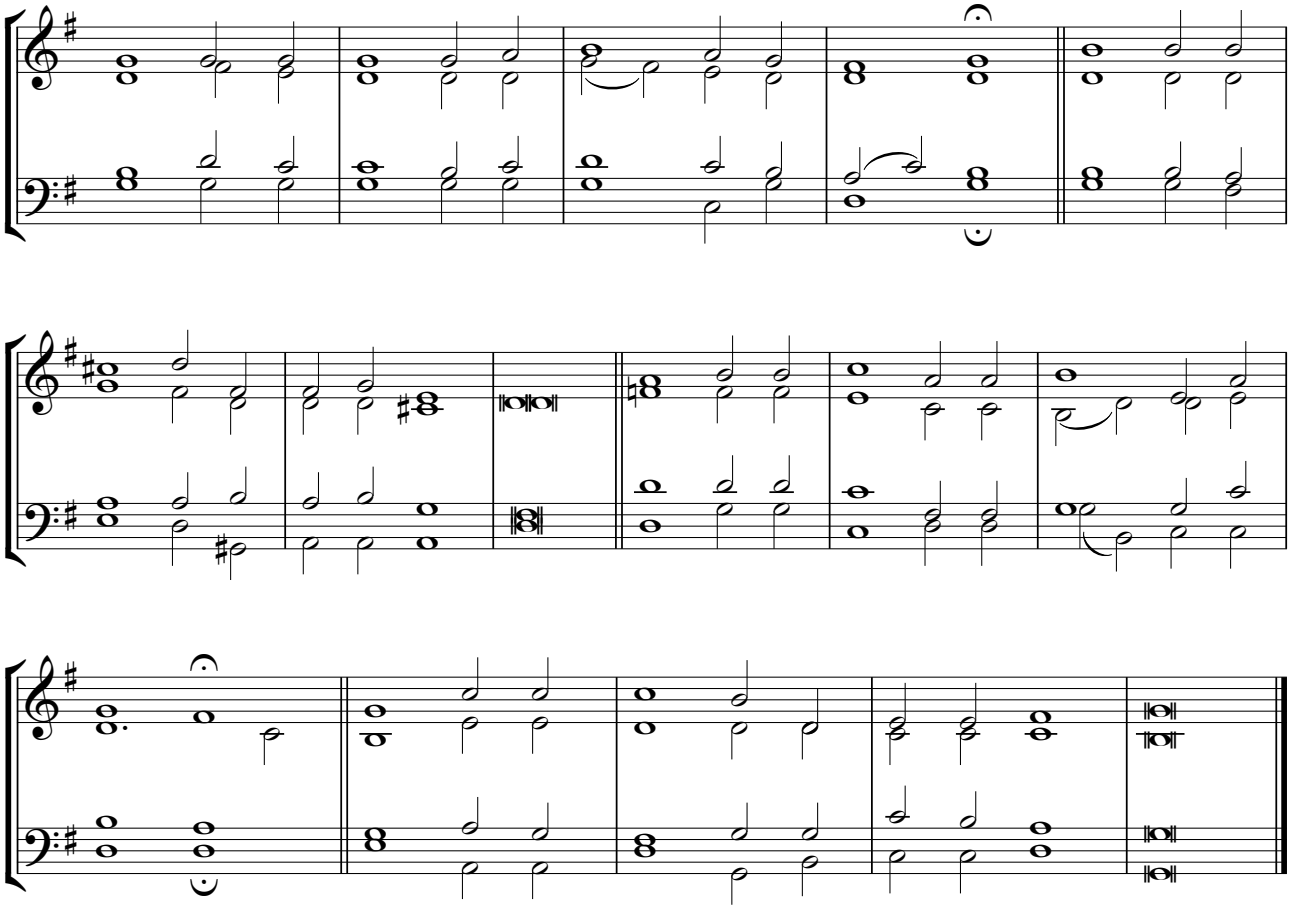
Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 25

Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

Reginald Heber

[Text not provided in the *Manual*]

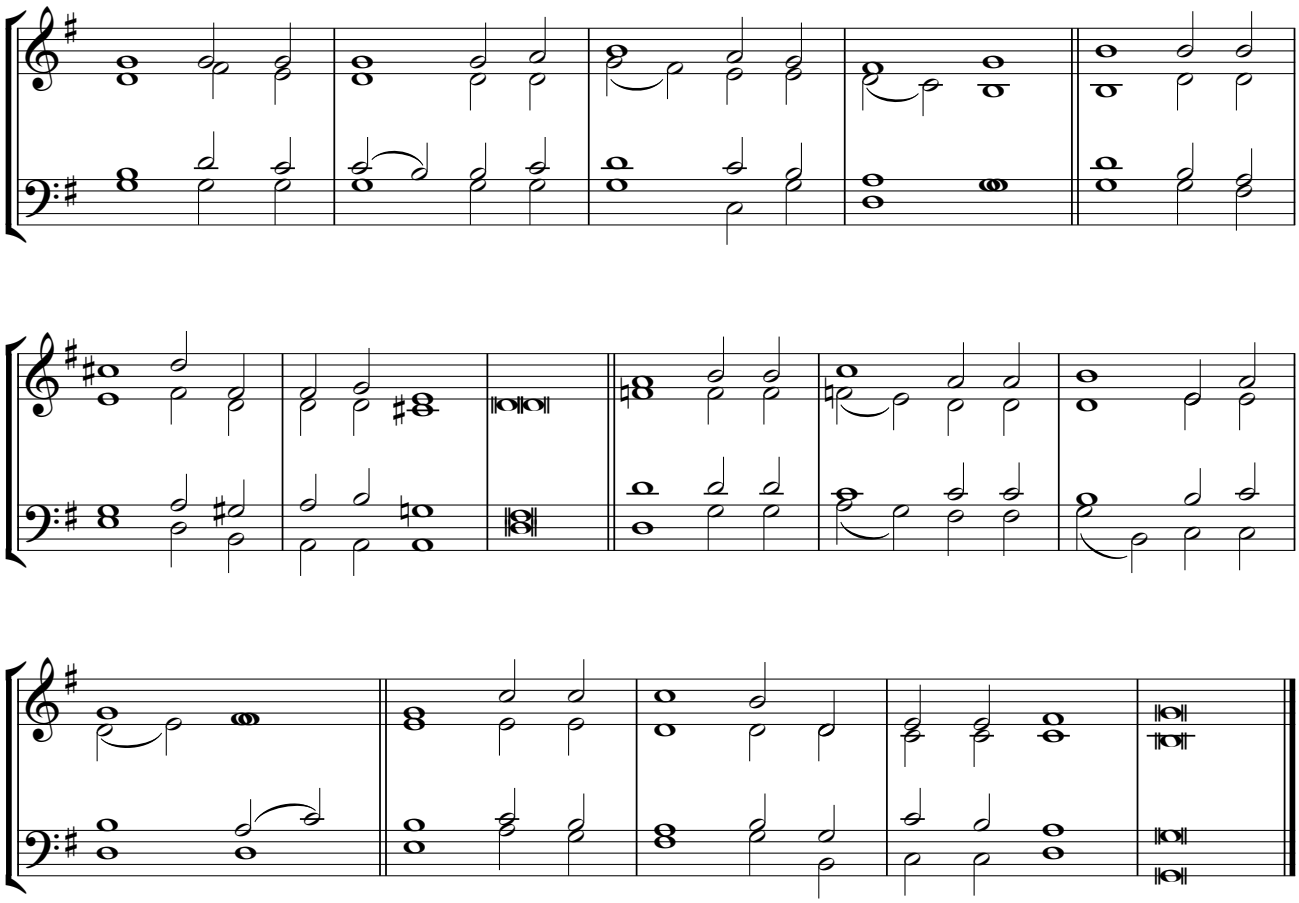
354

St. Ninian (ii) (11.10.11.10)

The Chorale Book (1863)

Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

Reginald Heber

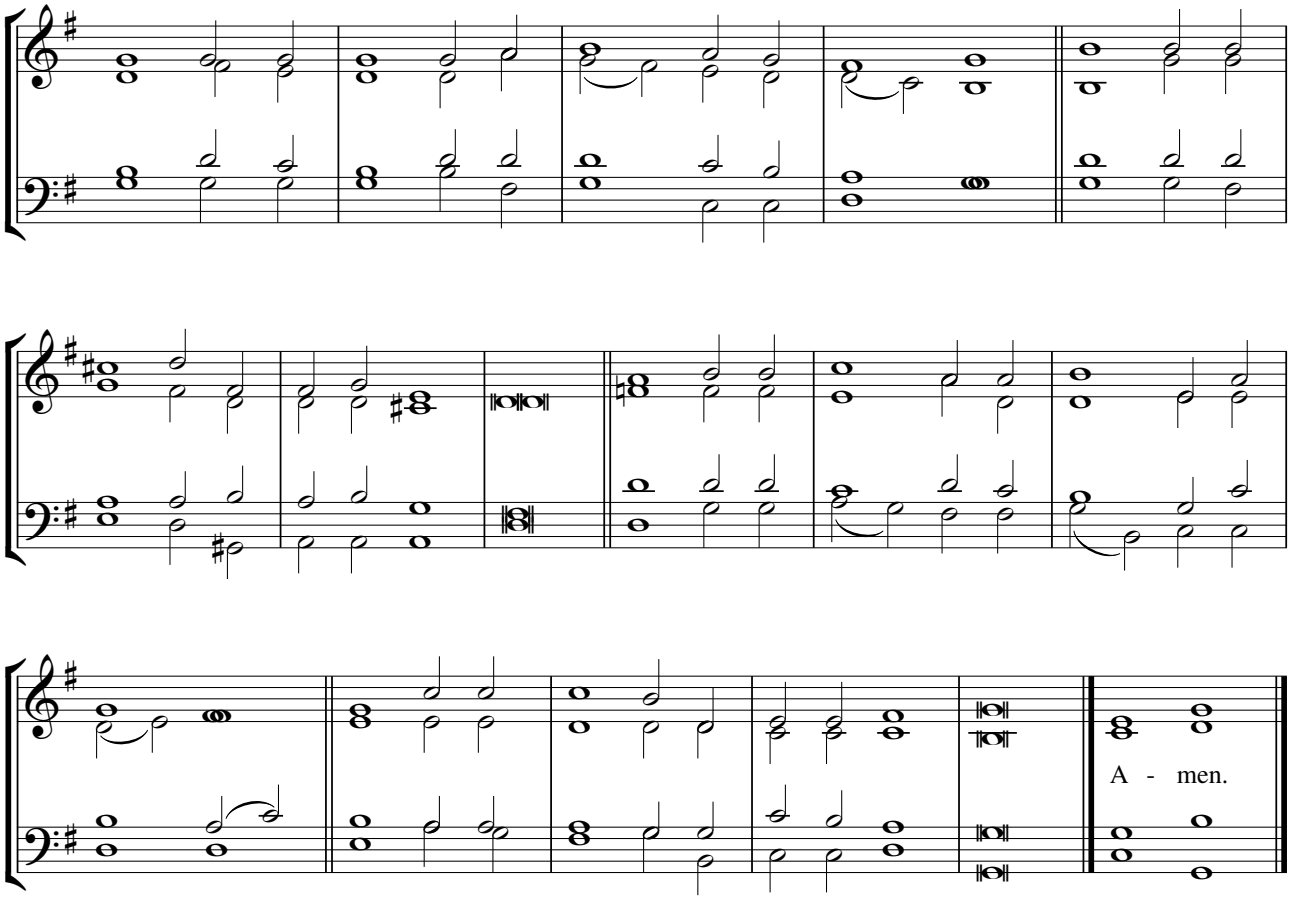
St. Ninian (iii) (11.10.11.10)

Grey's Hymnal (1866) No.25

Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

Reginald Heber

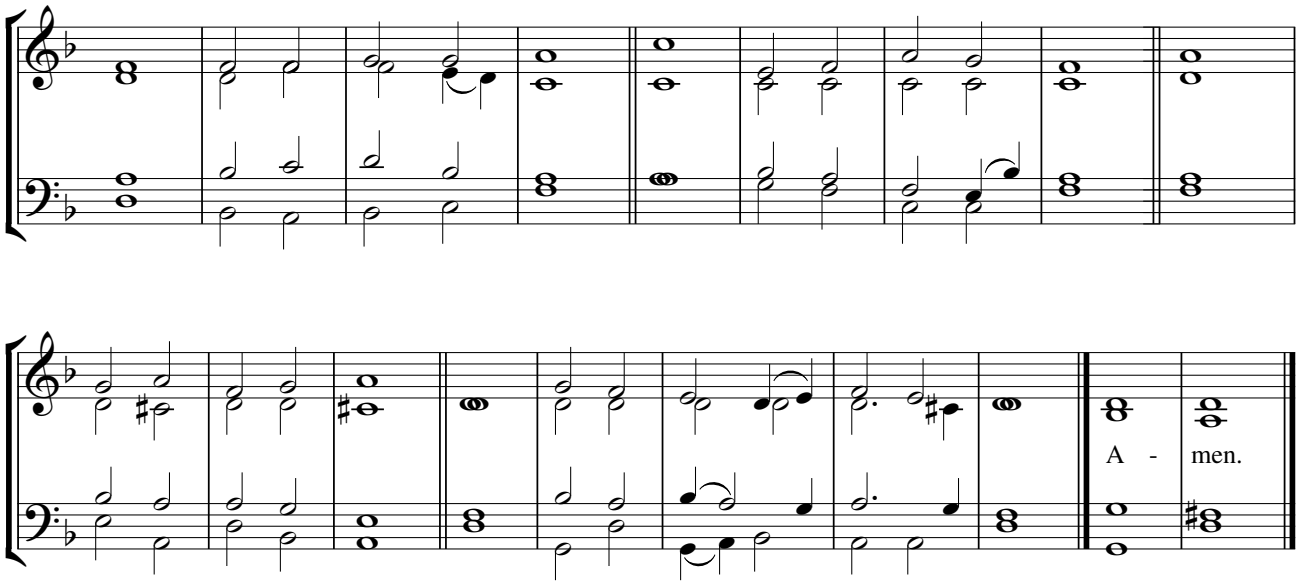
356

St. Ninian (iv) (11.10.11.10)

Church Hymnal (1875)

Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

Reginald Heber

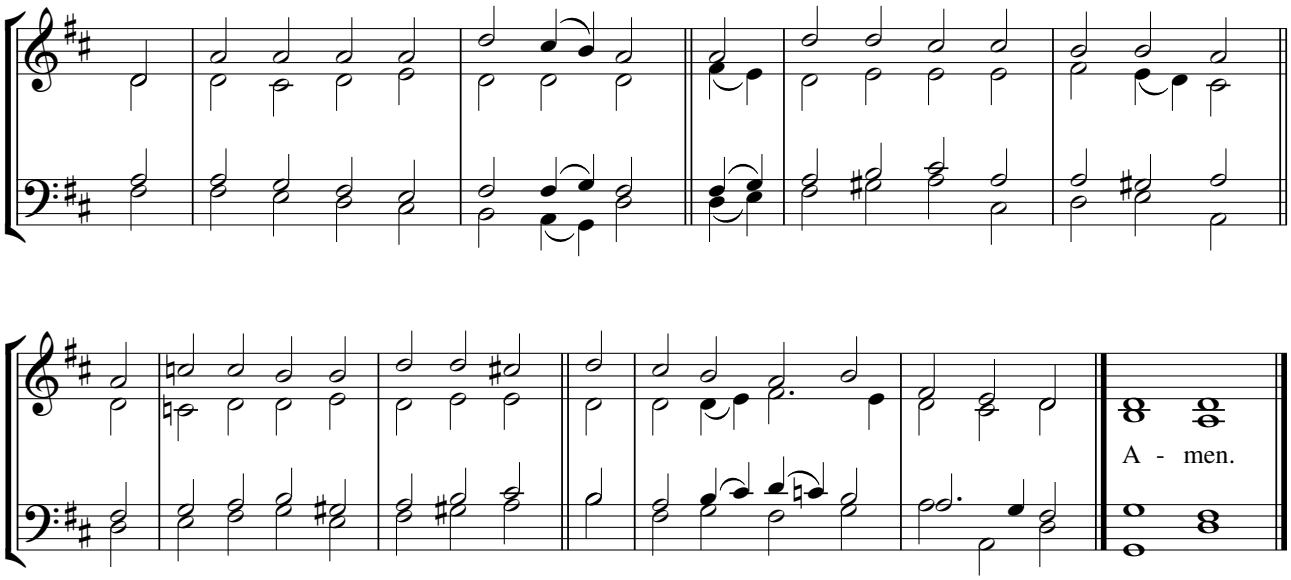
St. Oswald (1) (6668)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No.34

It is the holy fast
Which Christ hath sanctified
Shadowed of ages past
For them who to the world have died.

Reginald Heber

358

St. Oswald (2) (LM)

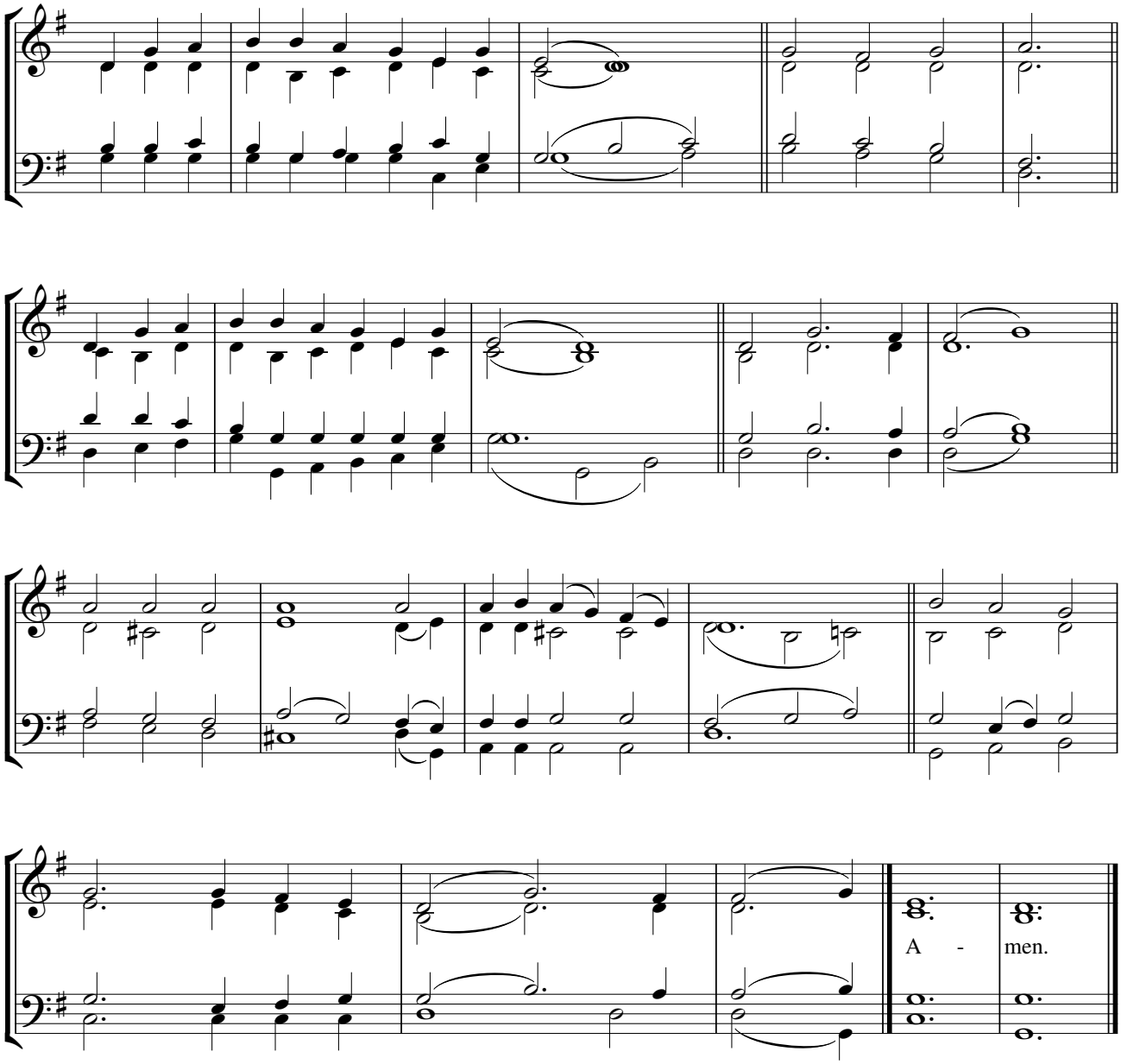
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.298

O who are they so pure and bright,
Before the Throne arrayed in white?
They stand serene, and calmly fair,
As conscious of high welcome there.

Anon.

St. Oswald (3) (19.4.10.4.10.10)

Psalms and Hymns for the Church, School and Home (1867) No.241

Other names:
LUX BENIGNA



Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

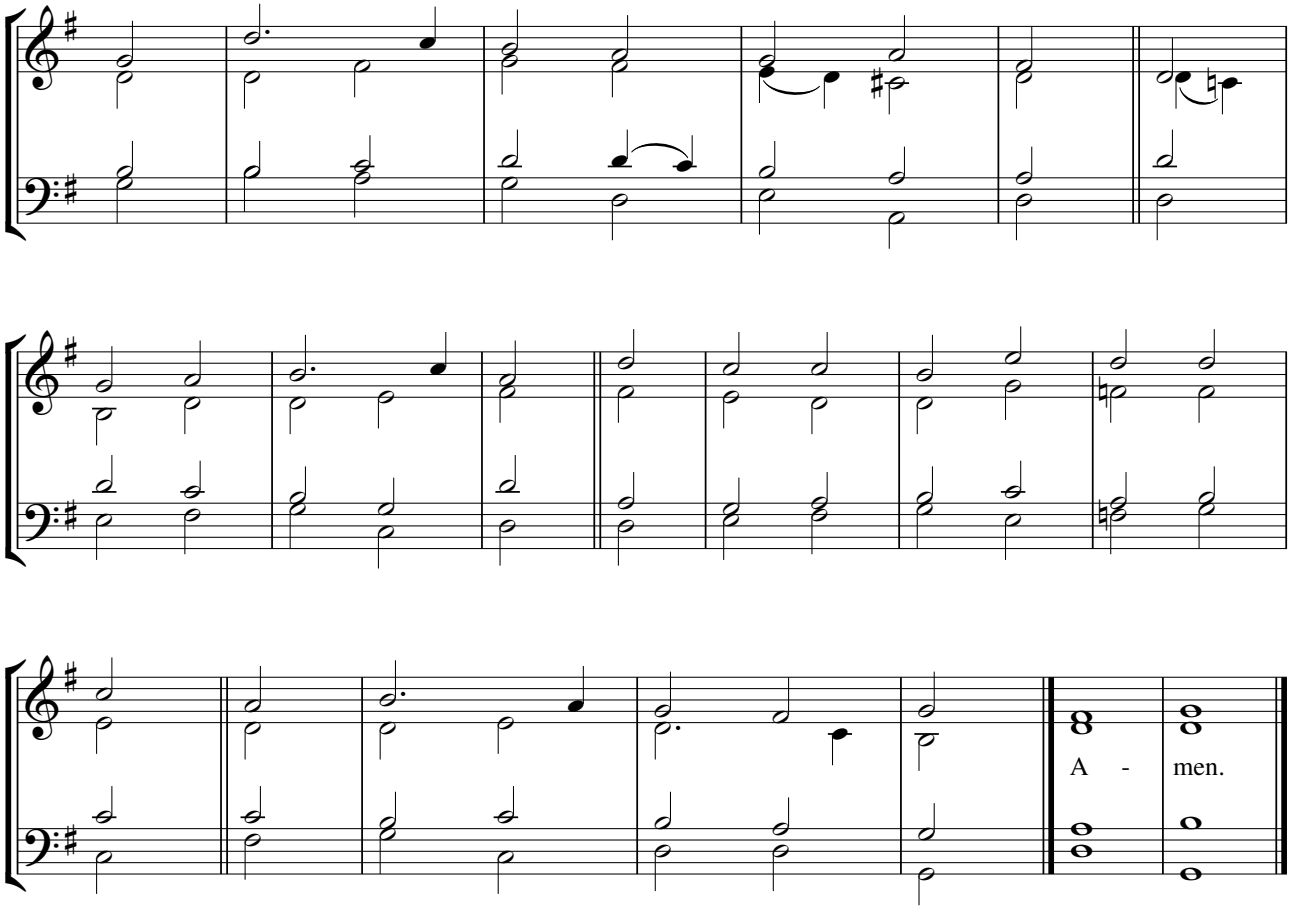
John H. Newman

This tune, the composition of which began in August 1865 (Fowler, p103) first appeared in *Psalms and Tunes for the Church, School, and Home* (Warne: London, 1867). The key of G, and the harmonies and rhythm shown here, are unique to this hymnal, as is the ascription of the name ST. OSWALD, a name shared by several other of his tunes. The tune has subsequently appeared, in the same revised arrangement and under the name LUX BENIGNA (*qv*), in the keys of A♭, A, B♭ and D♭. Famously, John Newman ascribed the popularity of his hymn to Dykes's tune, describing him as 'the master'. (Huntington. G, *Random Recollections of Some Noted Bishops, Divines and Worthies of the 'Old Church' of Manchester* (Griffith Farran: London, 1893) at pp224-248.

360

St. Oswin (CM)

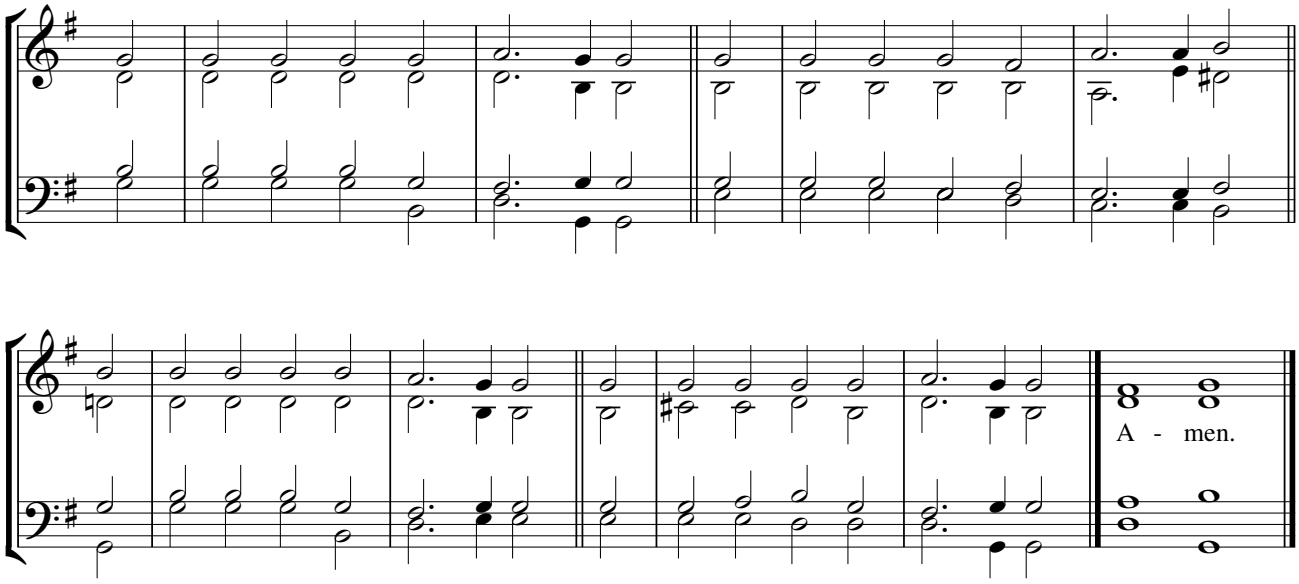
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book 1862 No.174



Jerusalem, my happy home,
Name ever dear to me;
When shall my labours have an end?
Thy joys when shall I see?

Joseph Bromehead

St. Patrick (LM) (arr. J.B.D)

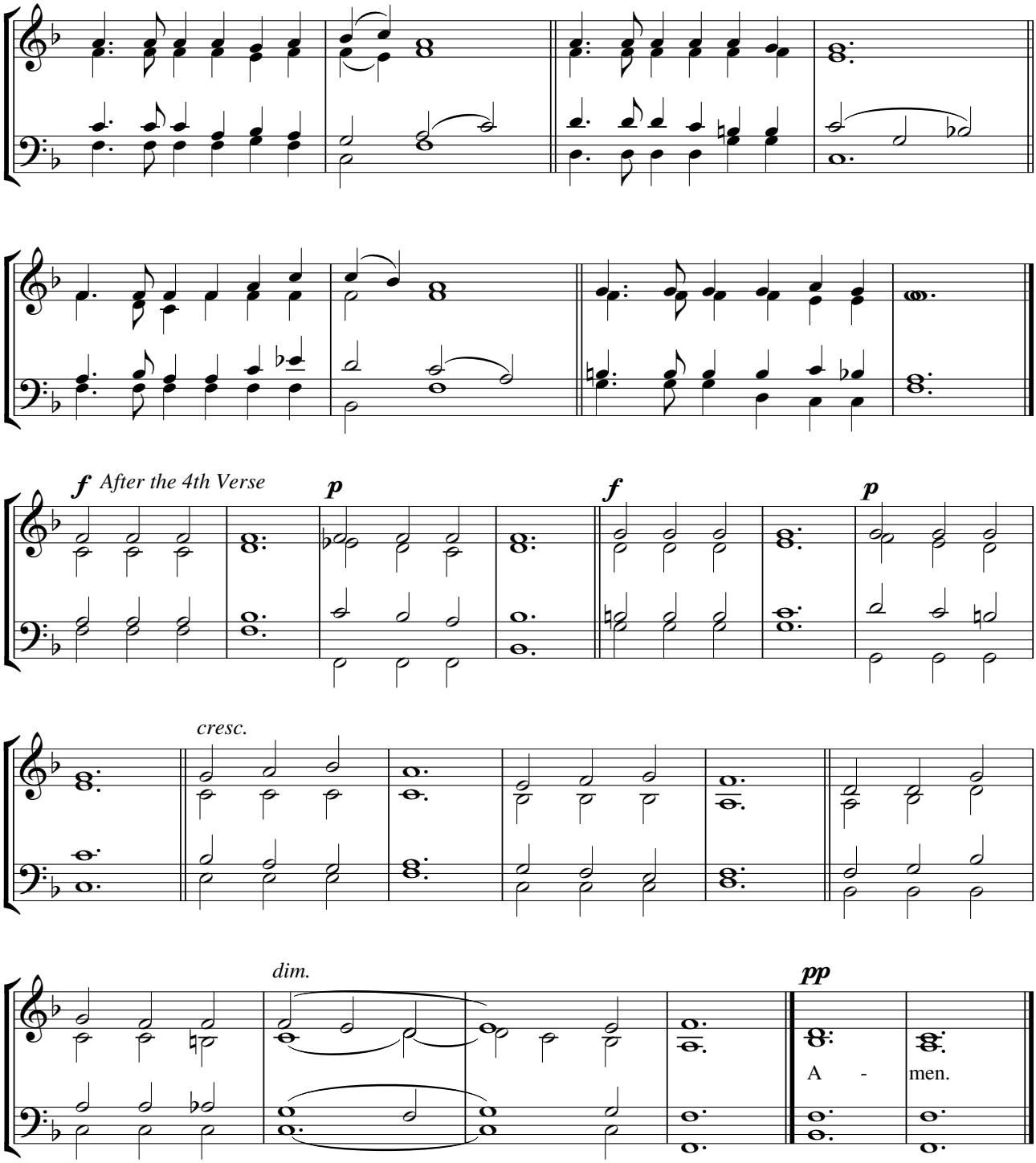
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.210

Now that the daylight fills the sky,
We lift our hearts to God on High,
That He, in all we do or say,
Would keep us free from harm today.

Trans. from the Latin
by John Mason Neale

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

St. Sylvester (8787 8888)

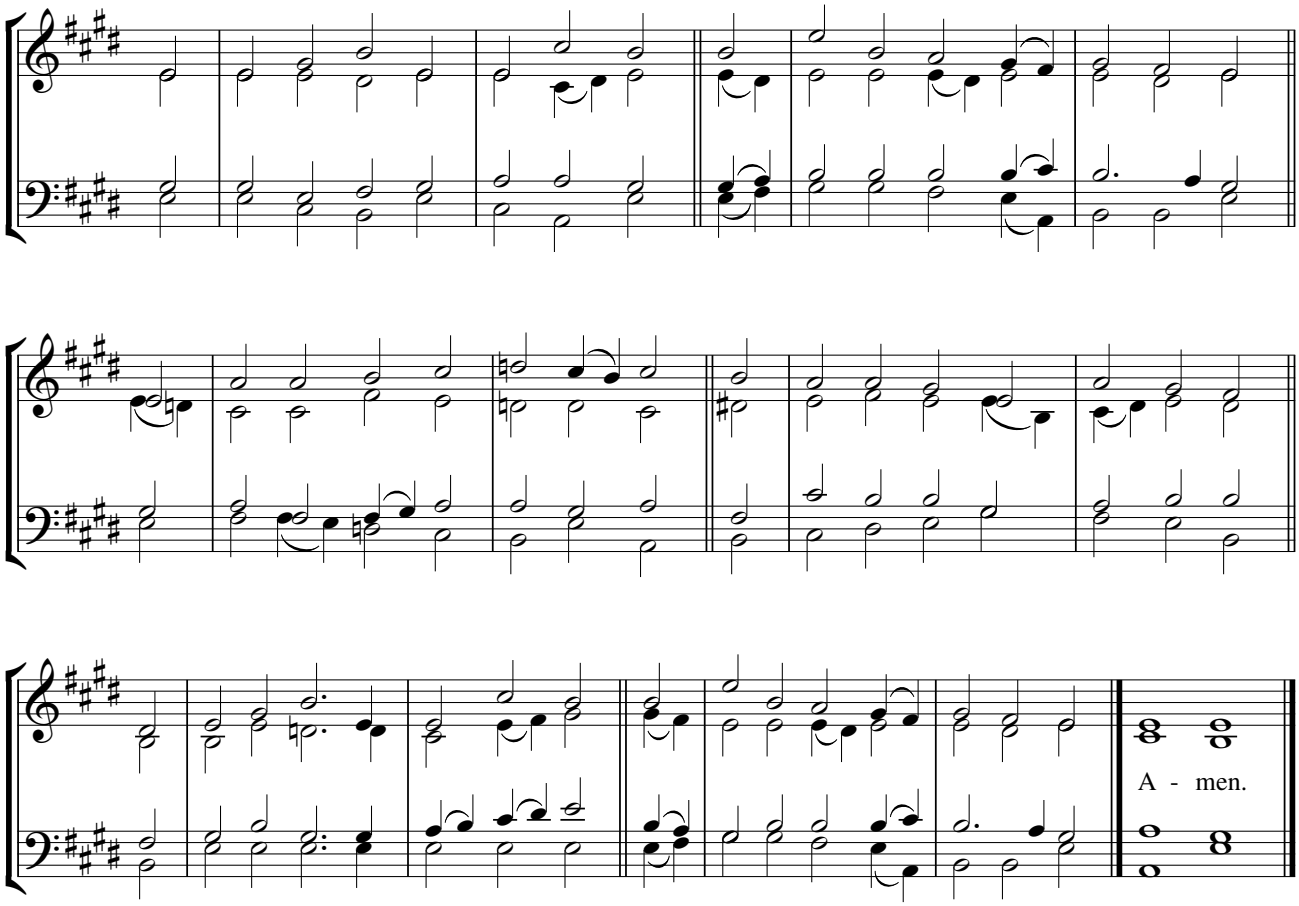
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.34

Other names:
SYLVESTER

Days and moments quickly flying
Blend the living with the dead.
Soon will you and I be lying
Each within our narrow bed.
As the tree falls, So must it lie;
As the man lives, So will he die;
As the man dies, So must he be;
Through all ages of Eternity.

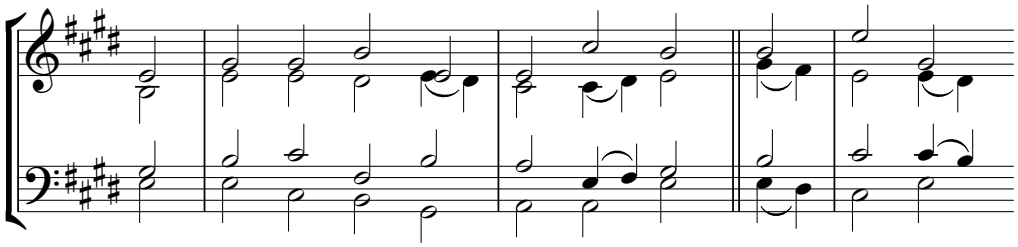
Edward Caswall

St. Werburg (8888)

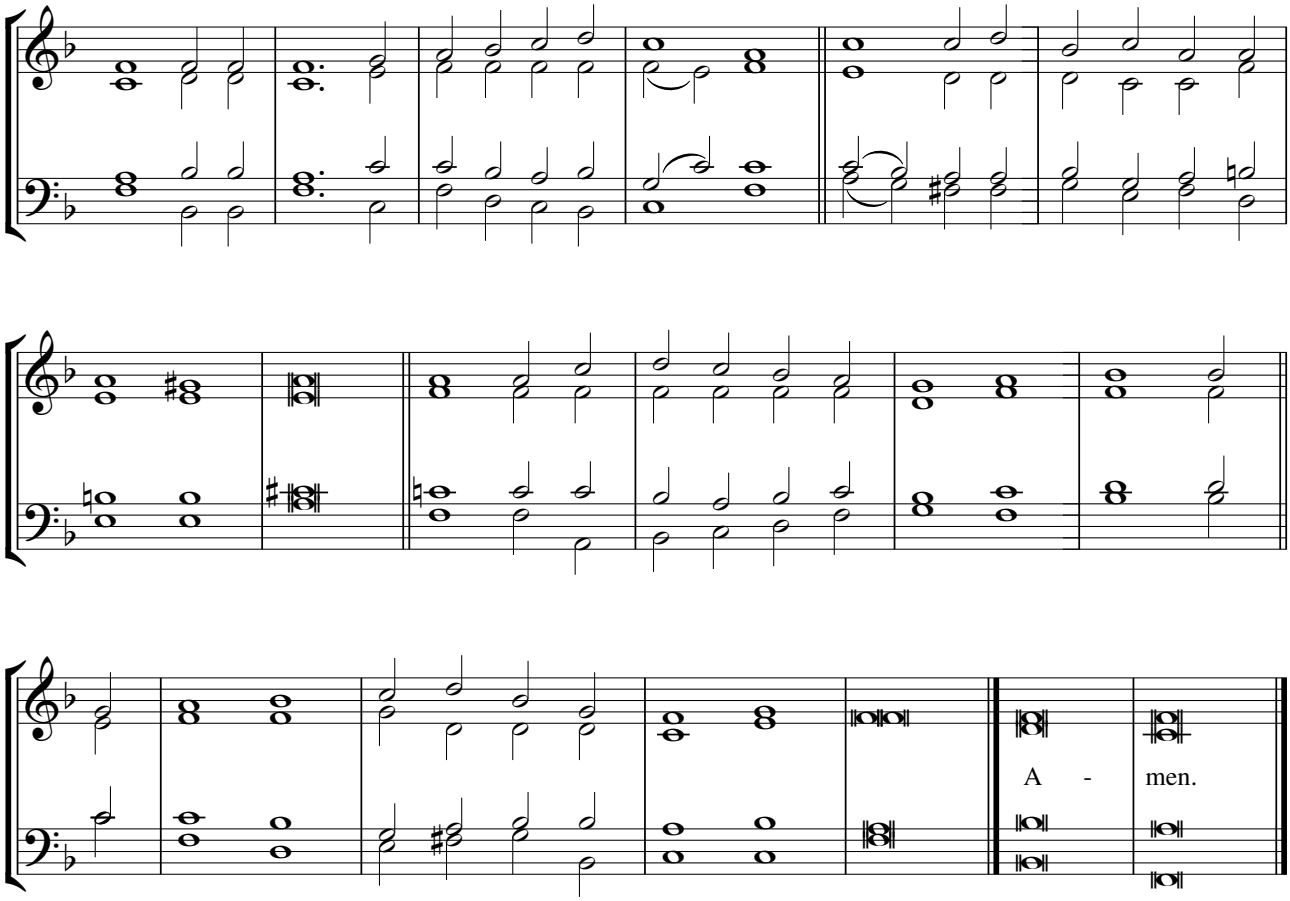
The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.251

Other names:
ST. WERBURGH
WERBERG

Lord, shall Thy children come to Thee?
A boon of Love Divine we seek;
Brought to Thine Arms in infancy,
Ere hearts could feel, or tongue could speak;
Thy children pray for grace, that they
May come themselves to Thee to-day.

Samuel Hinds

Compare bars 1-5 with bars 1-5 of SOUTHWELL by H.S. Irons.

364

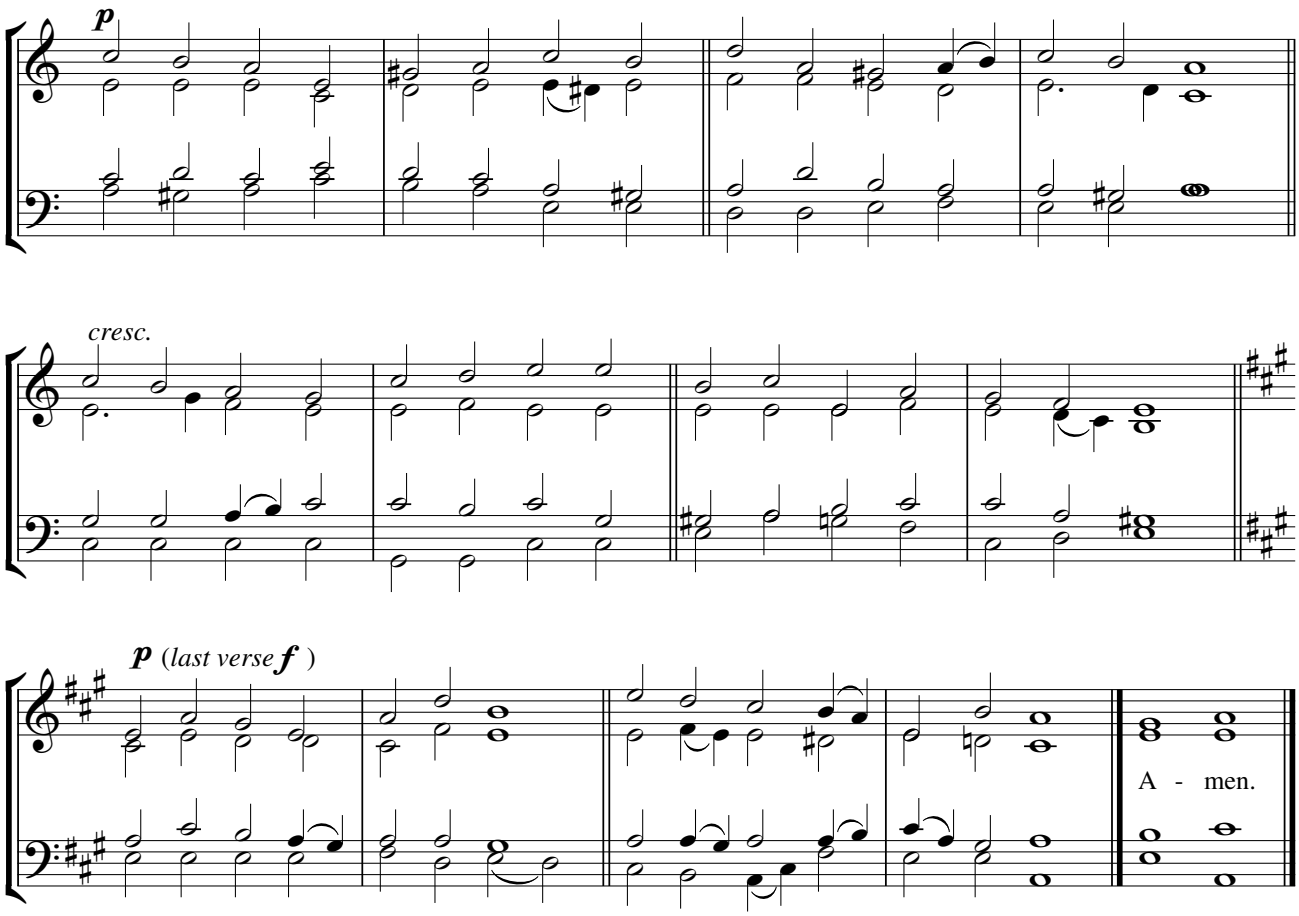
St. Winifred (11.10.11.10)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 78

Christ! of the Holy Angels' Light and Gladness,
Maker and Saviour of the human race,
O may we reach the world unknown to sadness,
The blessèd Mansions where they see Thy Face.

Anon.

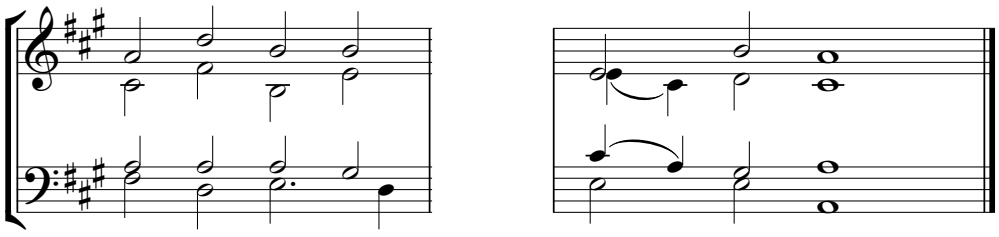
St. Wulstan (878777)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.98

Other names:
ST. CHAD (with variations)
ST. MINGO

All is o'er, the pain, the sorrow,
Human taunts and fiendish spite;
Death shall be despoiled tomorrow
Of the prey he grasps tonight.
Yet once more to seal his doom,
Christ must sleep within the tomb.

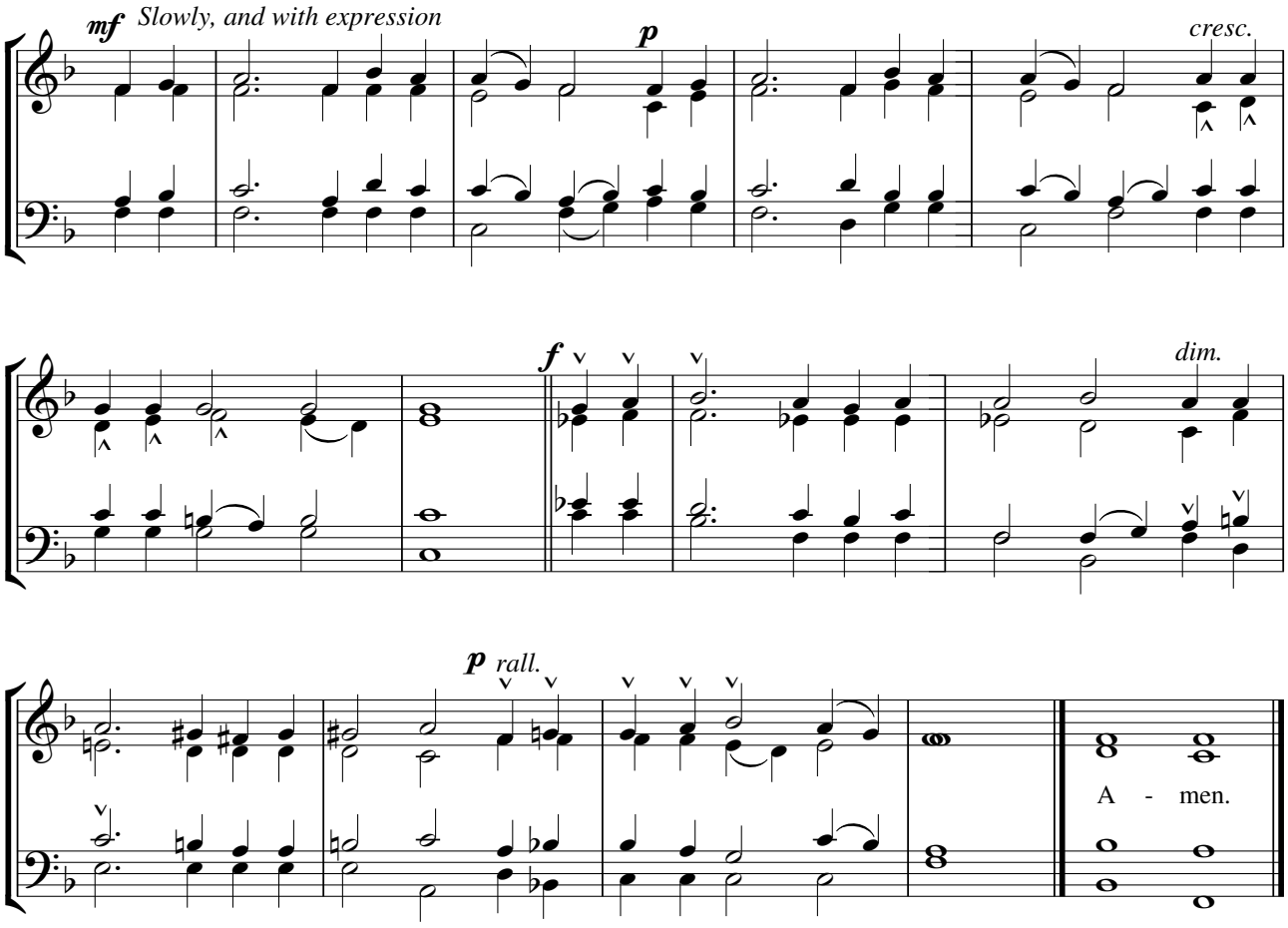
John Moultrie

The Hymnary (1872) harmonises bars 10 and 12 as follows:



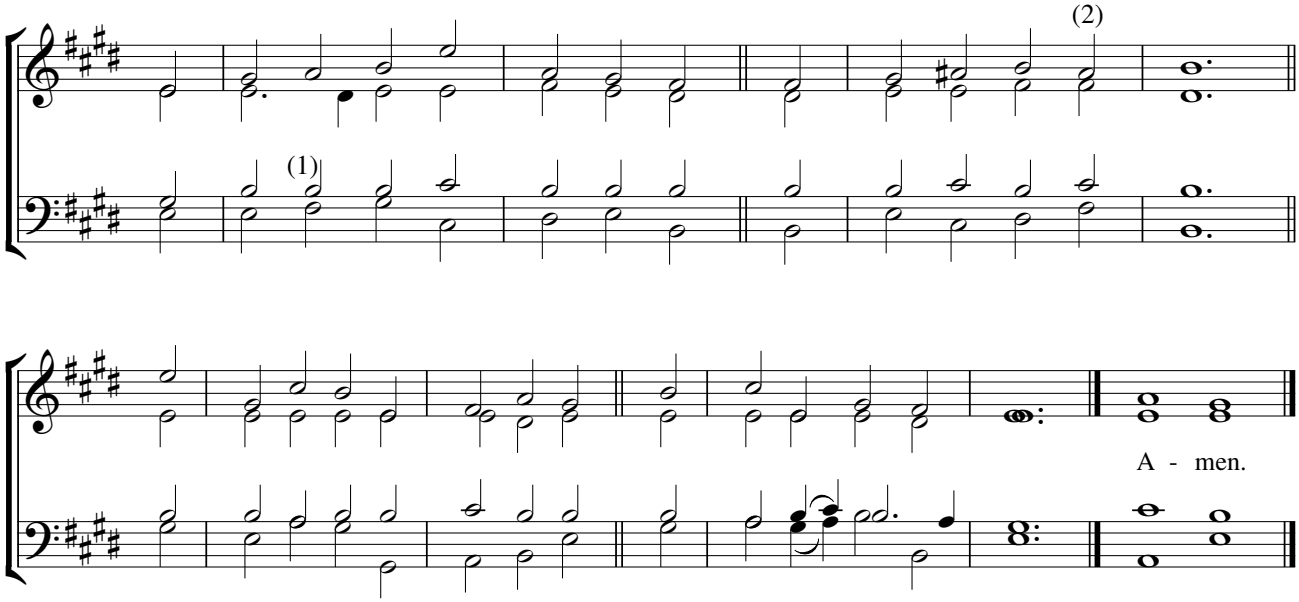
366

Stabat Mater (887D)

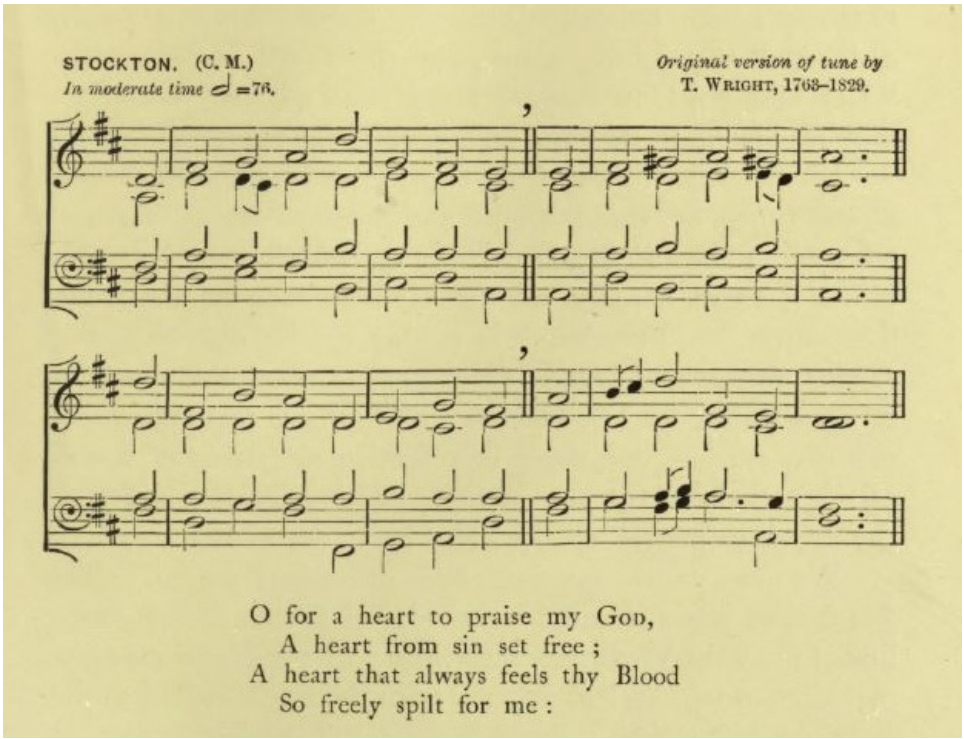
Hymns Ancient and Modern 1875 (117)

At the Cross her station keeping
Stood the mournful Mother weeping,
Where He hung, the dying Lord;
For her soul of joy bereavèd,
Bowed with anguish, deeply grievèd,
Felt the sharp and piercing sword.

Trans. from the Latin
by Edward Caswall

Stockton (CM) (arr. J.B.D.)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) No. 155

A living stream, as crystal clear,
Welling from out the Throne
Of God and of the Lamb on high,
The Lord to man hath shown.

John Mason

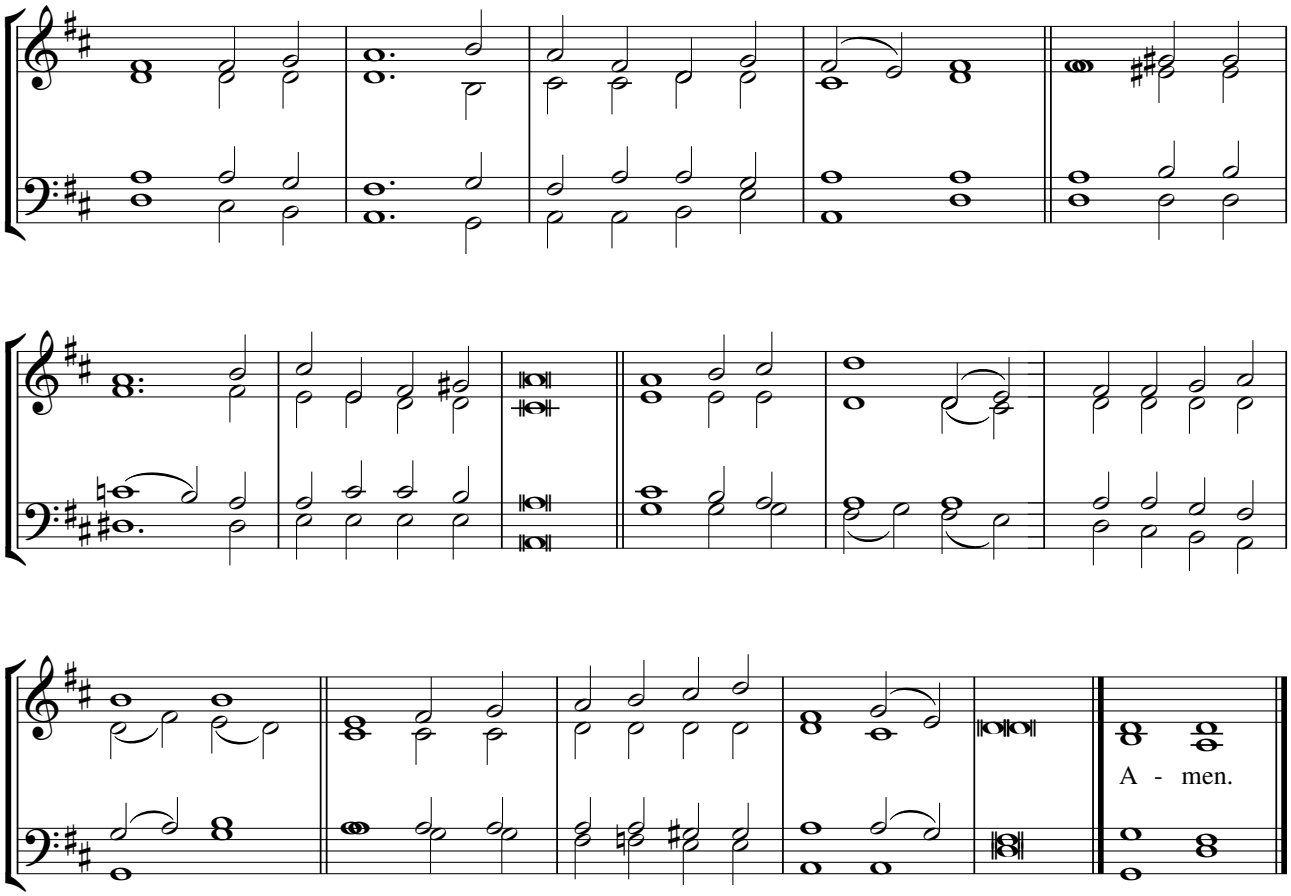


Dearmer, P (ed.) *English Hymnal* (Mowbray: London, 1915) No. 82

(1) The 1875 and subsequent editions have tenor A and G♯ on this beat and the next.
(2) The 1875 edition has alto crotchets E and C♯ on this beat. The 1904 edition has alto D♯ on the *preceeding* beat and crotchets F♯ and E on this beat.
This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

368

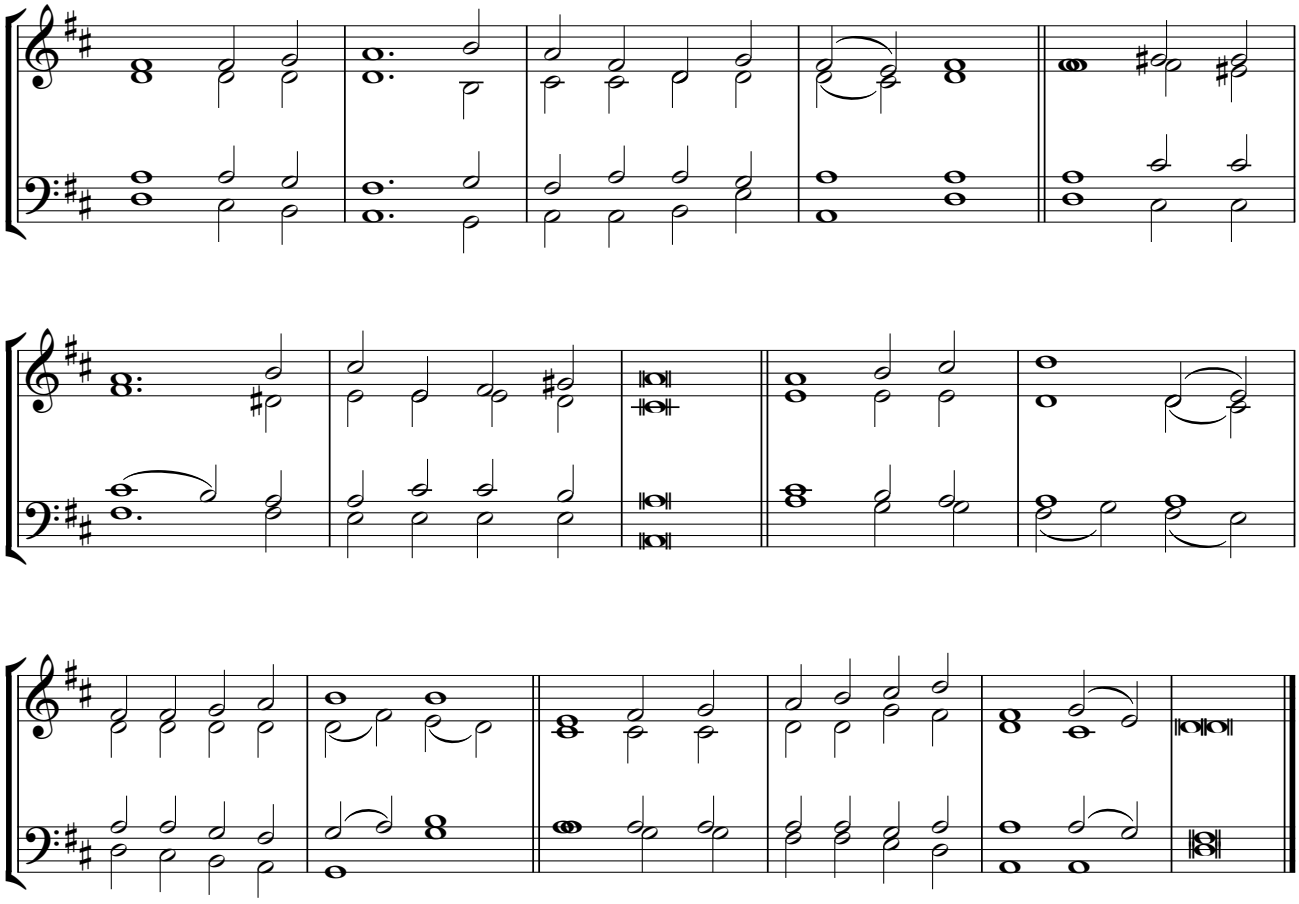
Strength and Stay (i) (11.10.11.10)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.12

O Strength and Stay upholding all creation,
Who ever dost Thyself unmoved abide,
Yet day by day the light in due gradation
From hour to hour through all its changes guide.

trans. from Latin by
John Ellerton and Fenton Hort

Strength and Stay (ii) (11.10.11.10)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1904) No.14

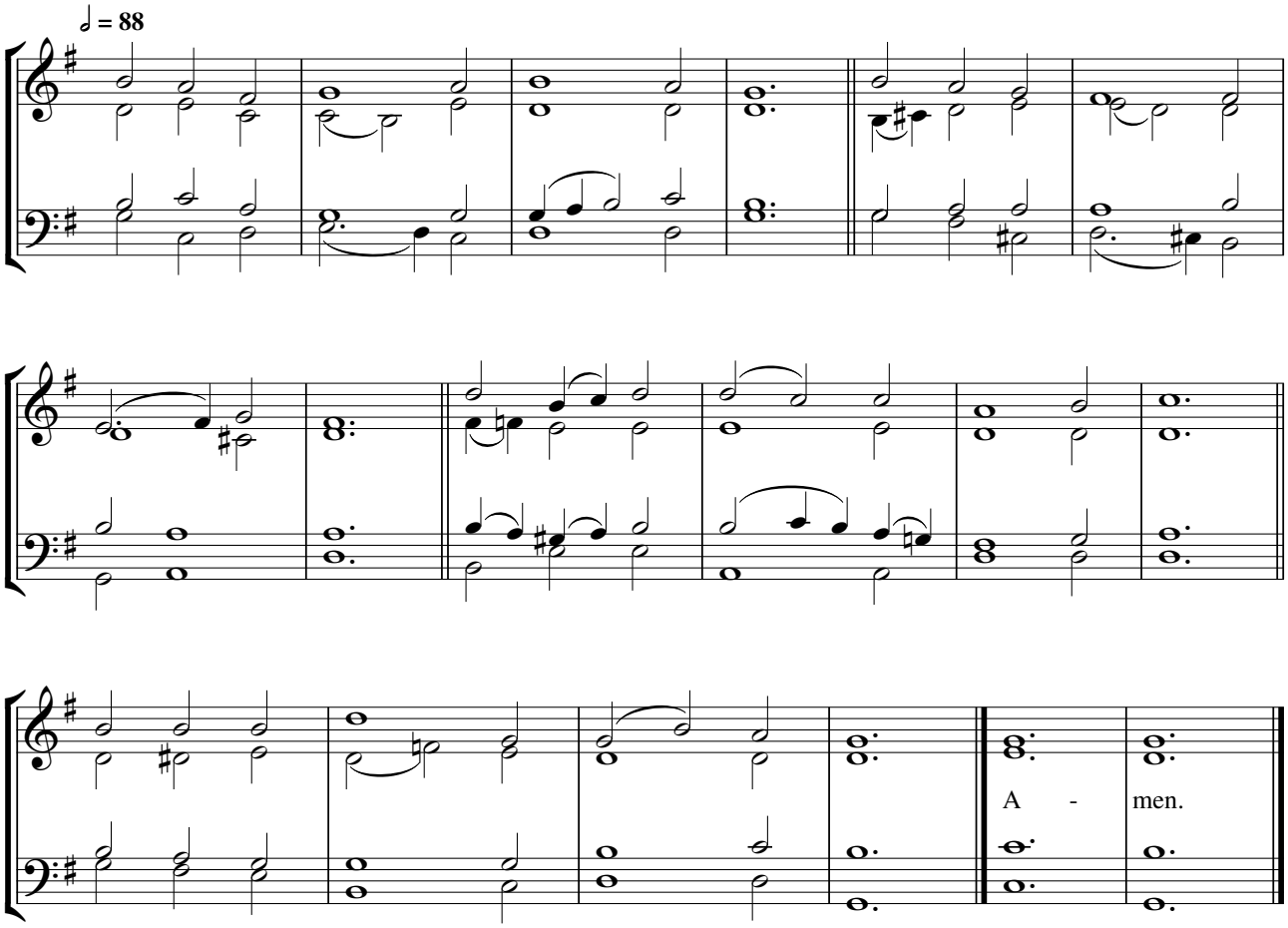


O Strength and Stay upholding all creation,
Who ever dost Thyself unmoved abide,
Yet day by day the light in due gradation
From hour to hour through all its changes guide.

trans. from Latin by
John Ellerton and Fenton Hort

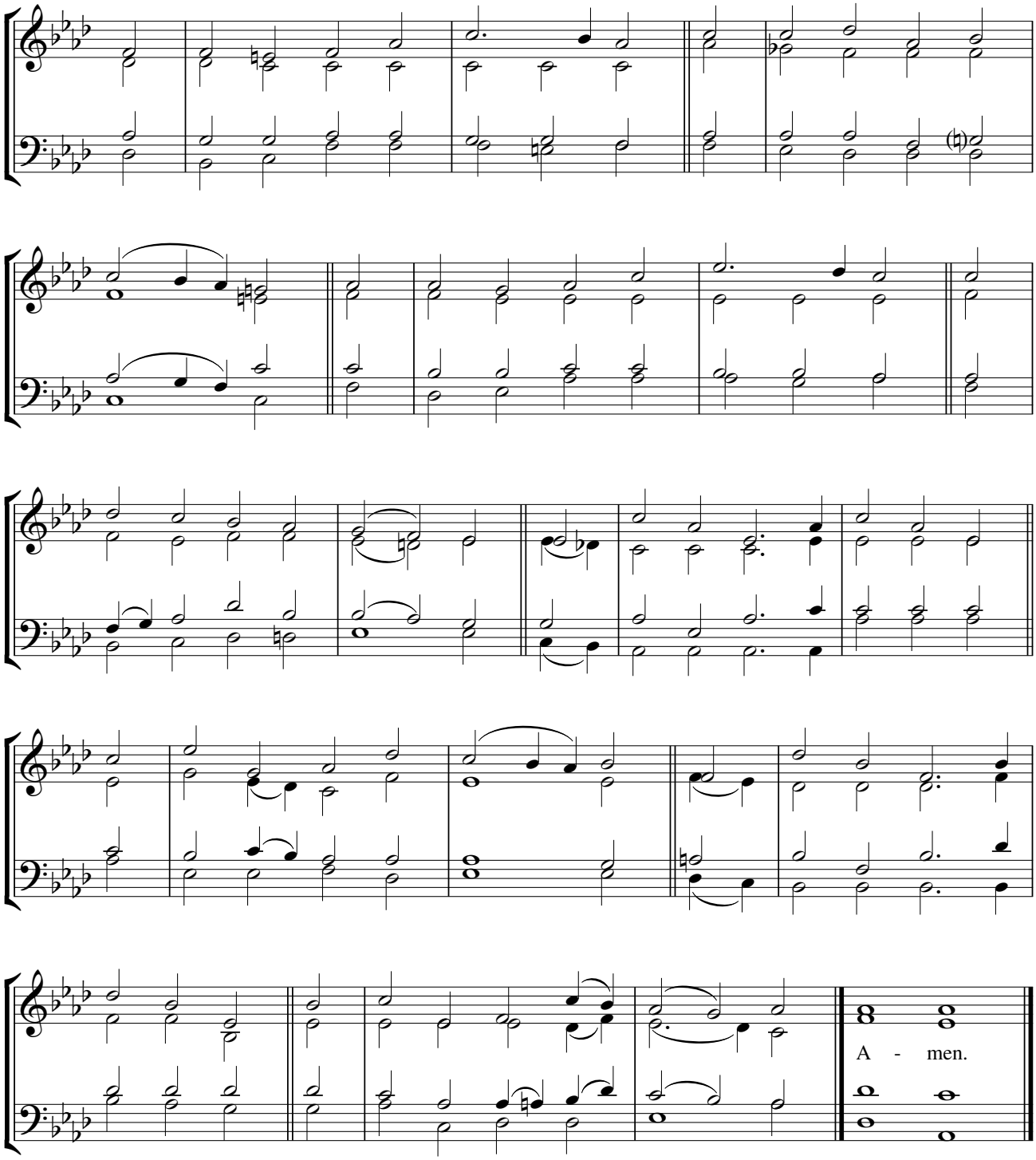
370

Sun of My Soul (LM)

Dykes Hymn Tunes (1902) No.14

Sun of my soul! Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near:
O may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes.

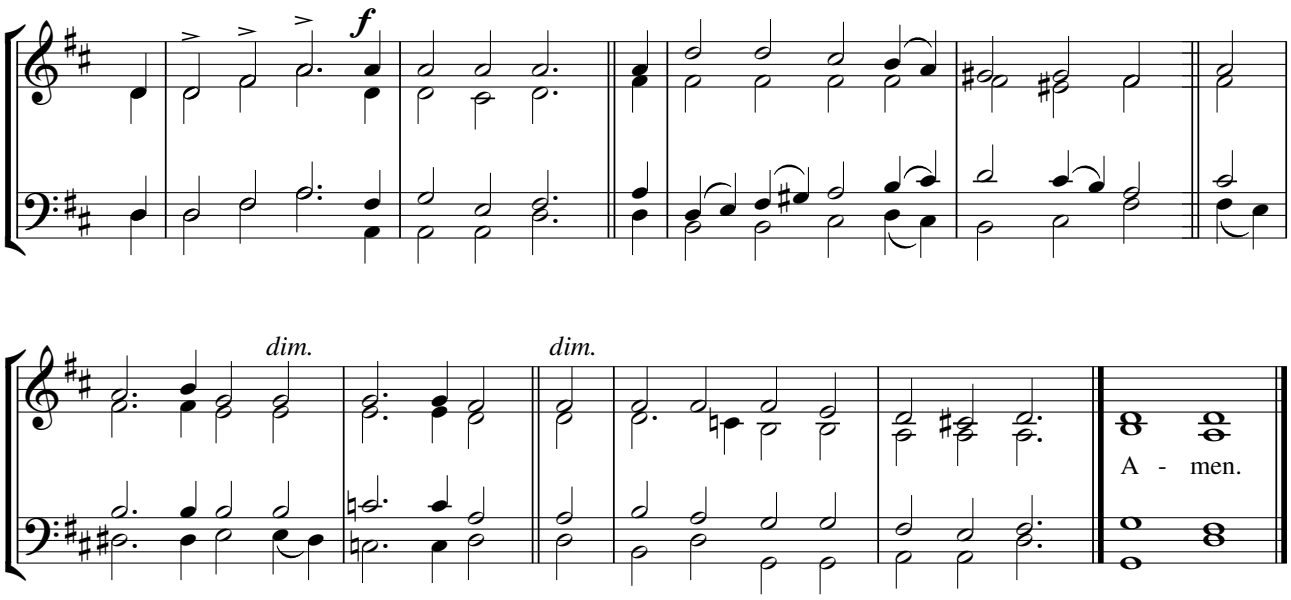
John Keble

Tenbury (8787D)

A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns used at Reading (1867-75)

My days are gliding swiftly by;
And I, a pilgrim stranger,
Would not detain them as they fly,
Those hours of toil and labour
For, oh! we stand on Jordan's strand;
Our friends are passing over;
And, just before, the shining shore
We may almost discover.

372

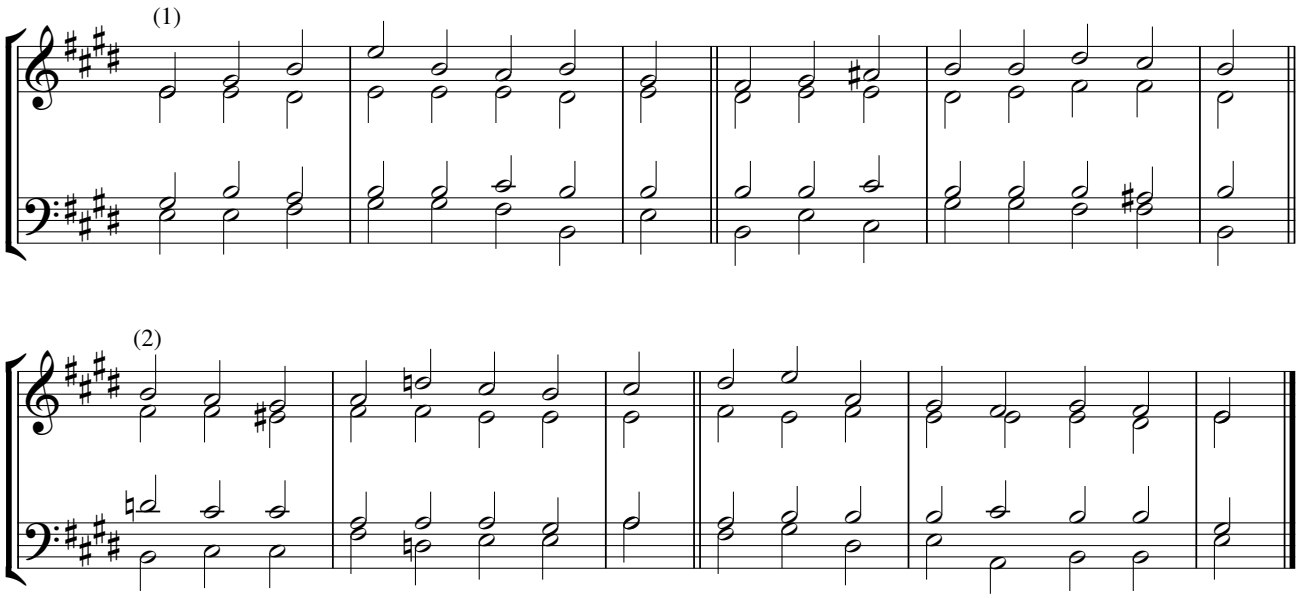
Tenebræ (LM)

Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No. 6

The Lord will come; the earth shall quake,
The hills their deep-laid seat forsake;
And withering from the vault of night,
The stars withdraw their feeble light.

Reginald Heber

Thanksgiving (LM)

Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) Supplement No. 20

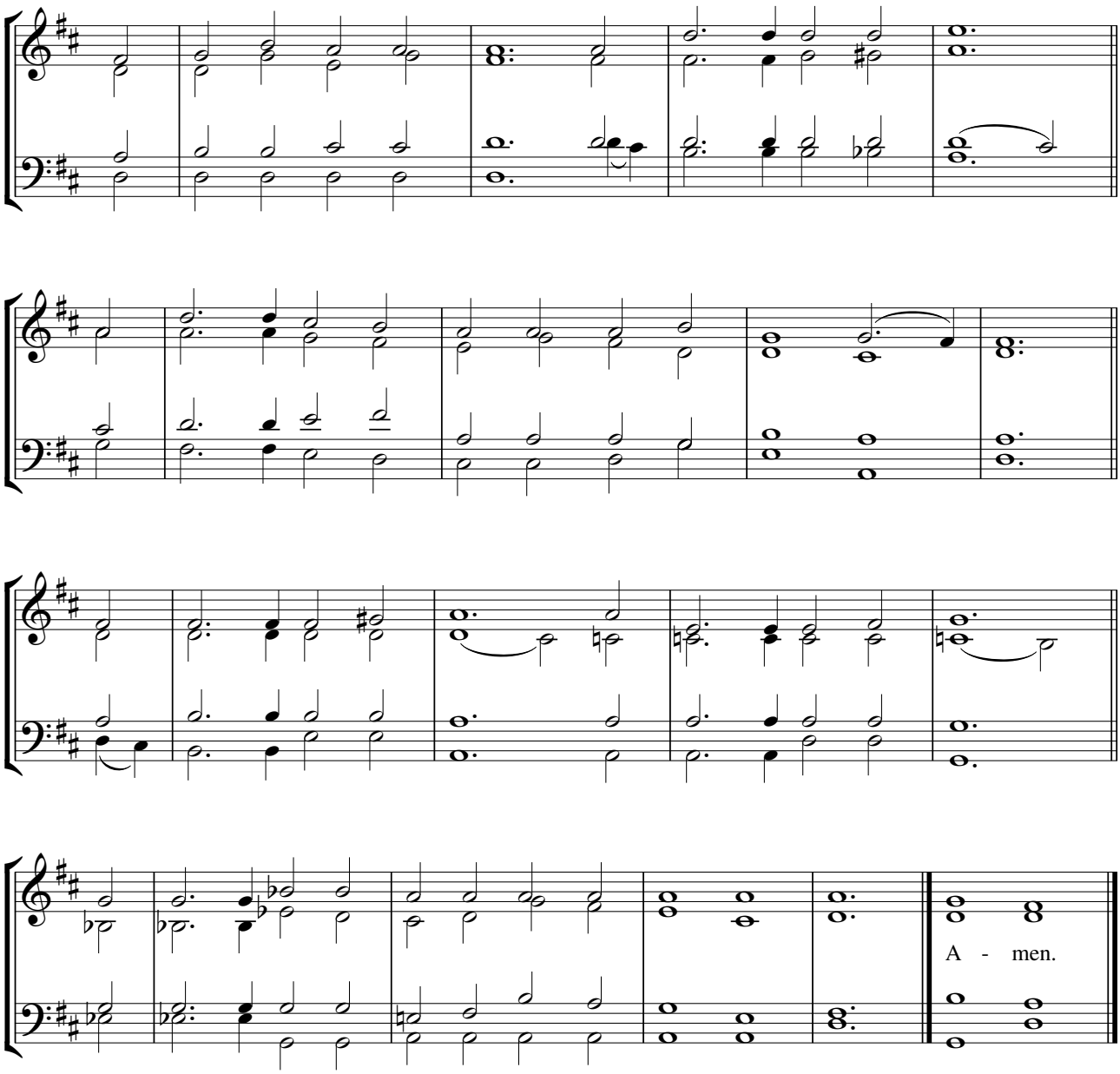
Other names:
TRINITY COLLEGE

Come, see the place, where Jesus lay,
For He hath left His gloomy bed:
What Angel rolled the stone away?
What Spirit brought Him from the dead?

James Montgomery

(1) The *Song of Praise* (1875) and the 1904 edition of *HA&M* rebar the tune such that it starts with an anacrucis.
(2) In the *Song of Praise*, the alto and tenor parts are switched in this bar (the tenor being an octave lower), the 1904 edition of *A&M* has alto D♮ and tenor F♯ on this beat only.

The Blessed Home (6666D)

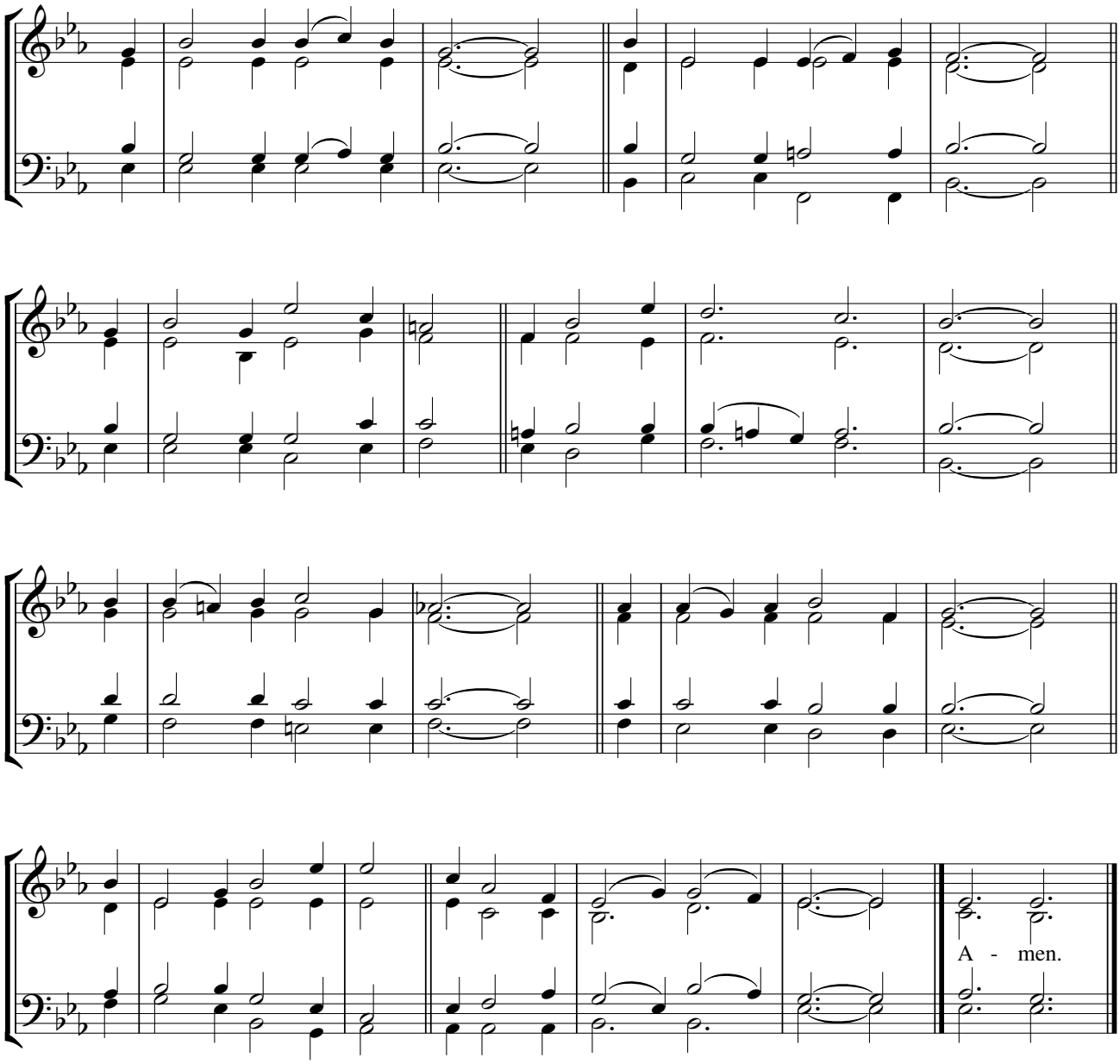
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.162

Other names:
'THERE IS A BLESSED HOME'

There is a blessèd home
Beyond this land of woe,
Where trials never come,
Nor tears of sorrow flow;
Where faith is lost in sight,
And patient hope is crown'd,
And everlasting light
Its glory throws around.

Sir H.W. Baker

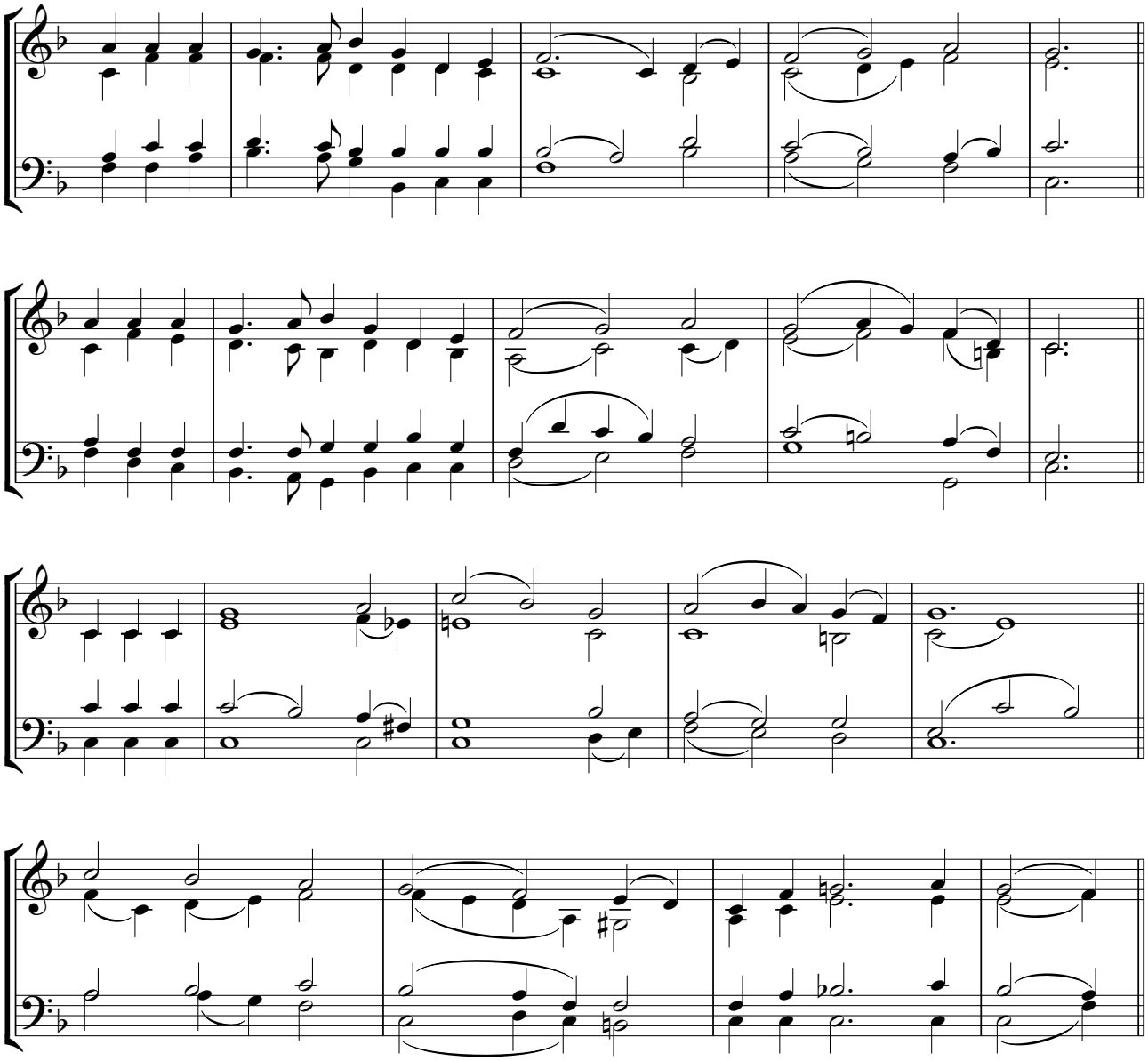
The Holy Angels Sing (6666D)

The Child's Book of Praise (1879) No. 15

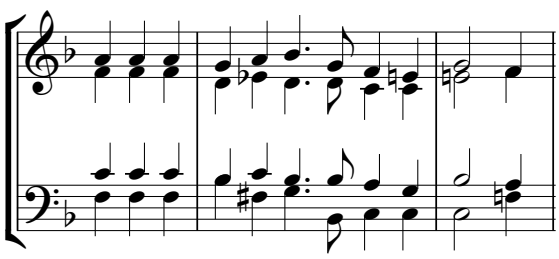
Moderately quick

The Holy Angels sing,
Through all the endless days,
One never-ending song
Of glad triumphant praise.
The Holy Angels come
To help us on our way;
Ye blessed ones! forbear,
And close beside us stay.

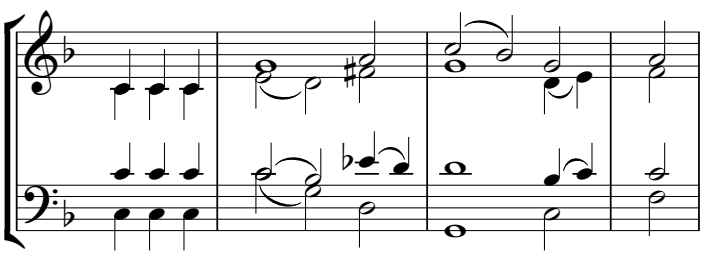
376

‘The Night is Gone’ (10.4.10.4.10.10)

Musical Times (1 Oct. 1926 p.922)

The night is gone, and beams from Eastern skies the orient morn;
And with the golden sunlight pray’r shall rise to lead me on.
Through the bright scenes of earth, until at last
The pearly gates of Paradise are passed.

John Brown

cf. bars 1 & 2 with bars 1 & 2 of COMMENDATIO:

It is difficult to resist the temptation to reharmonise bars 10–12:

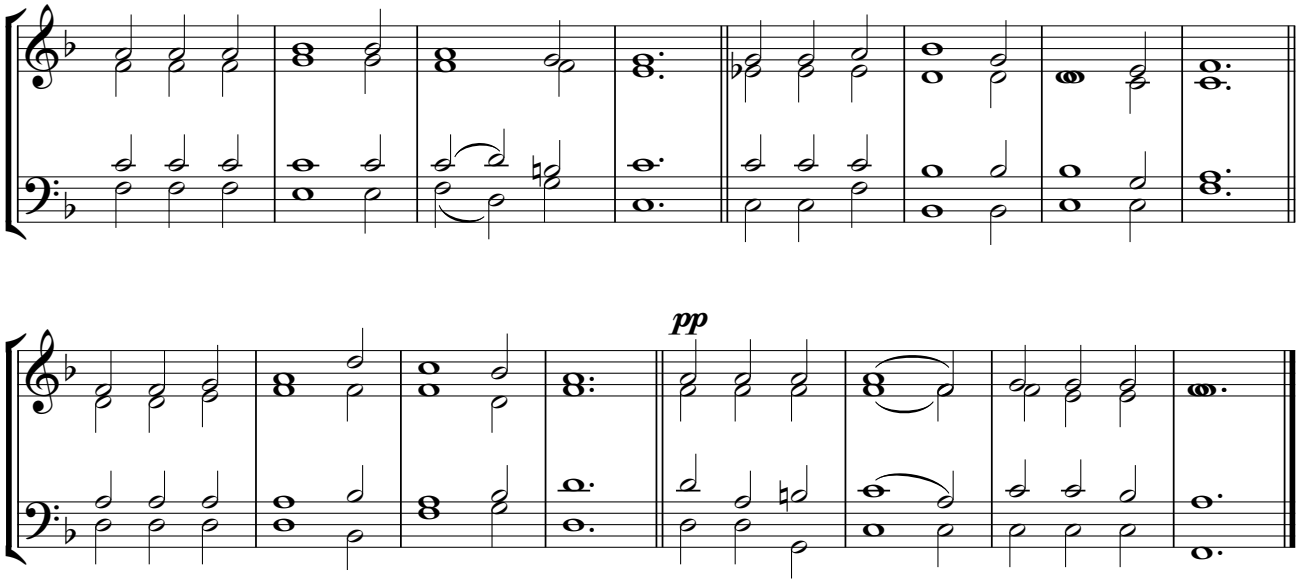


This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

‘There is a calm’ (LM)

The Leeds Tune Book (1868) No. 177

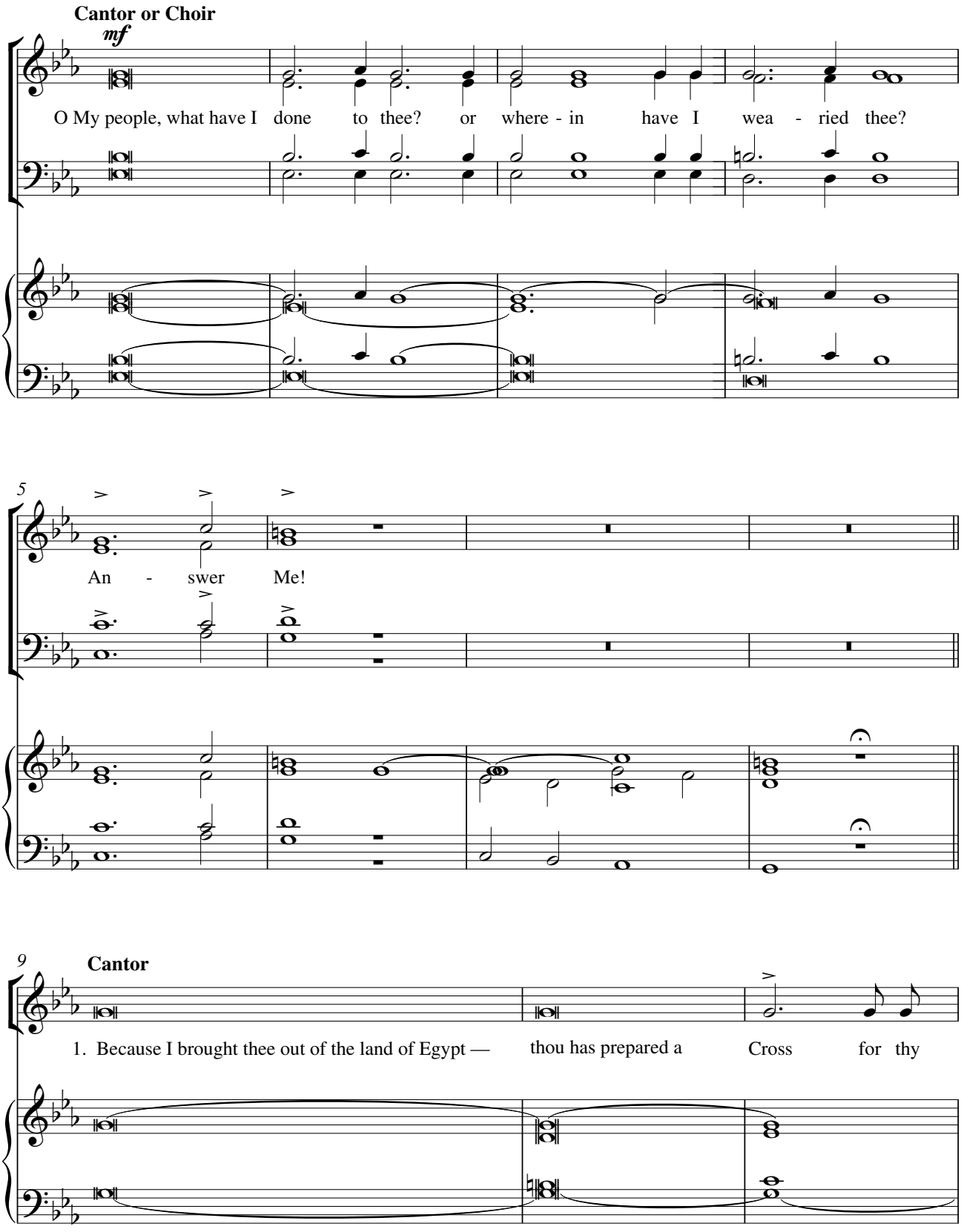
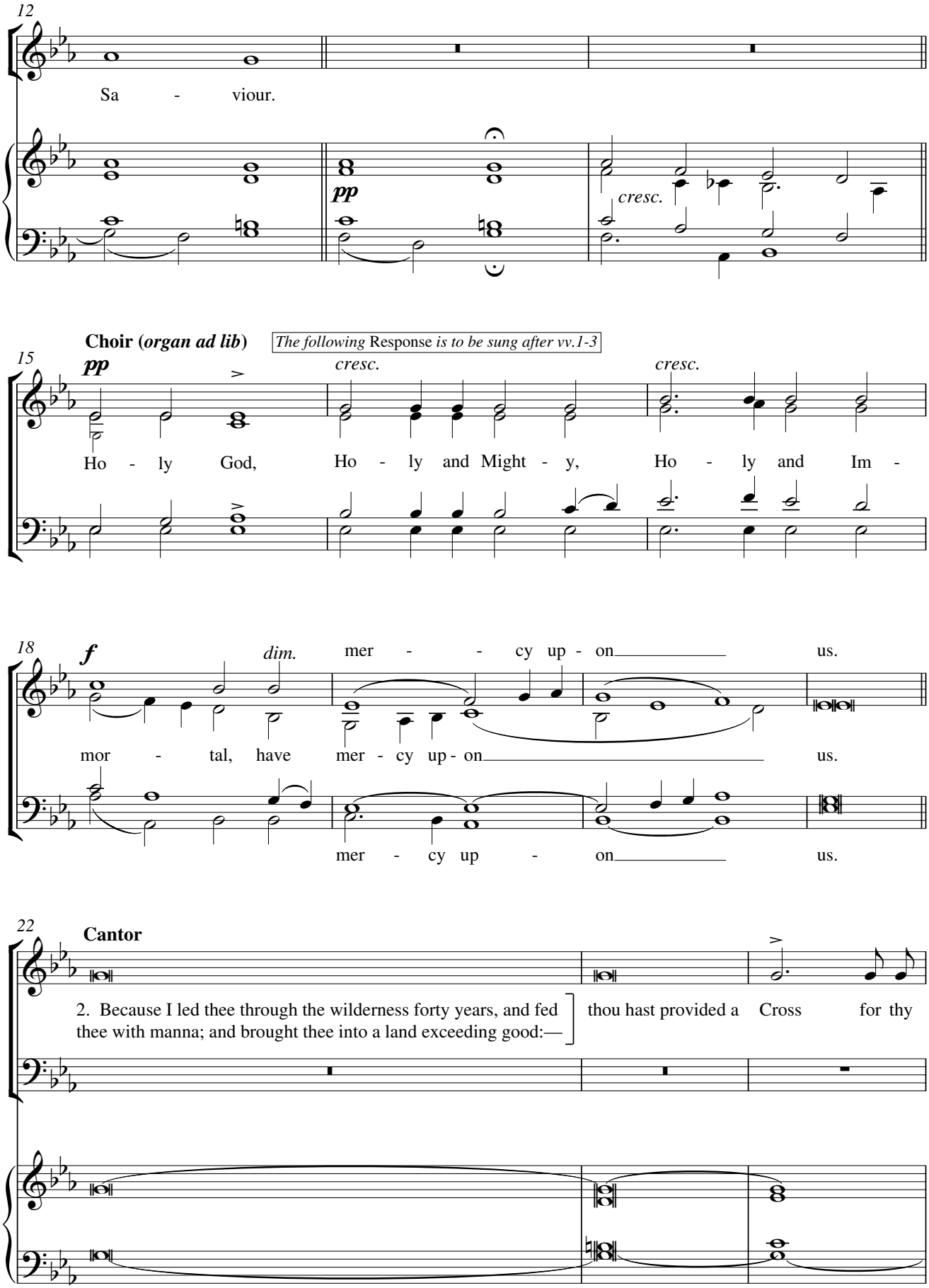
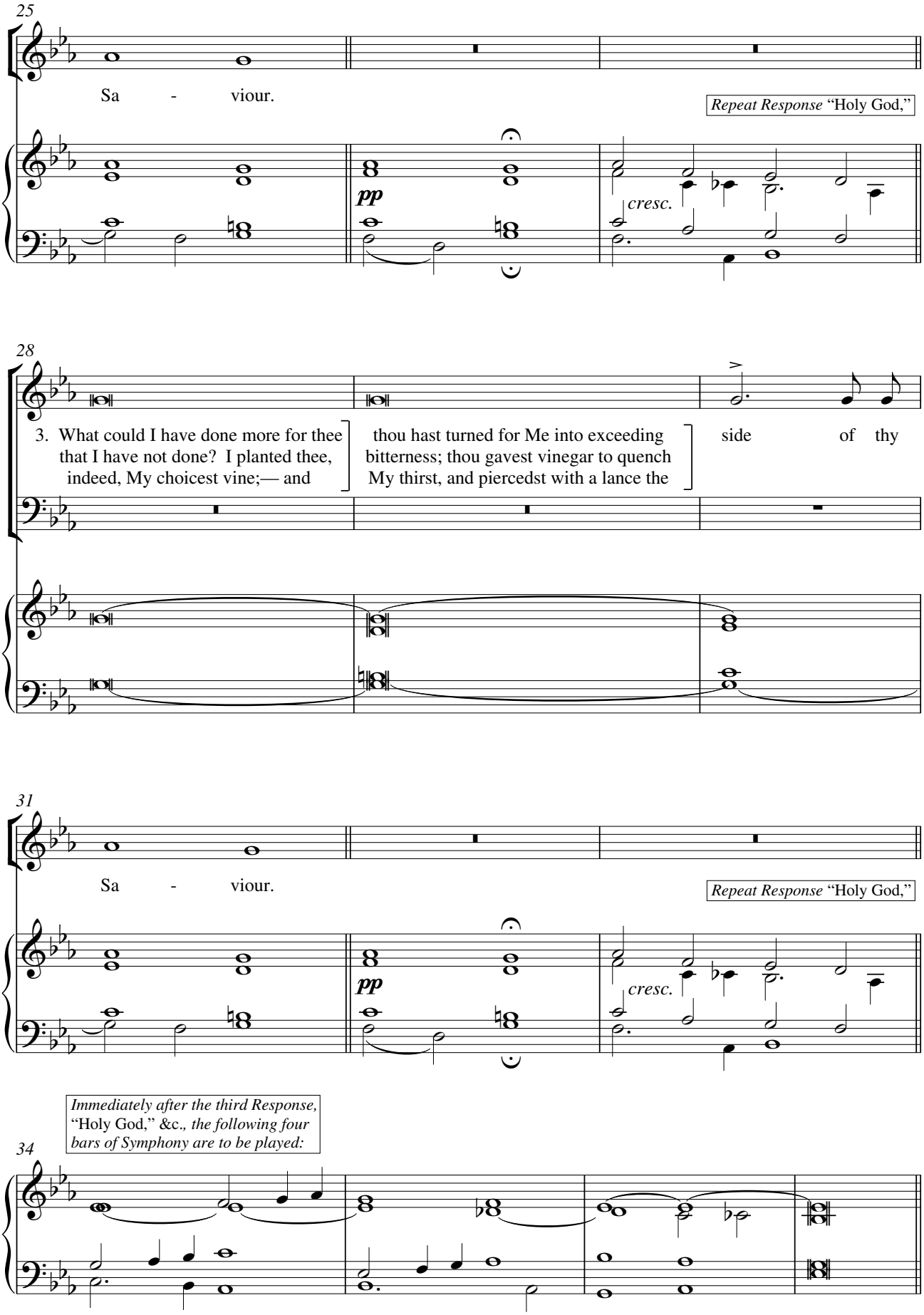
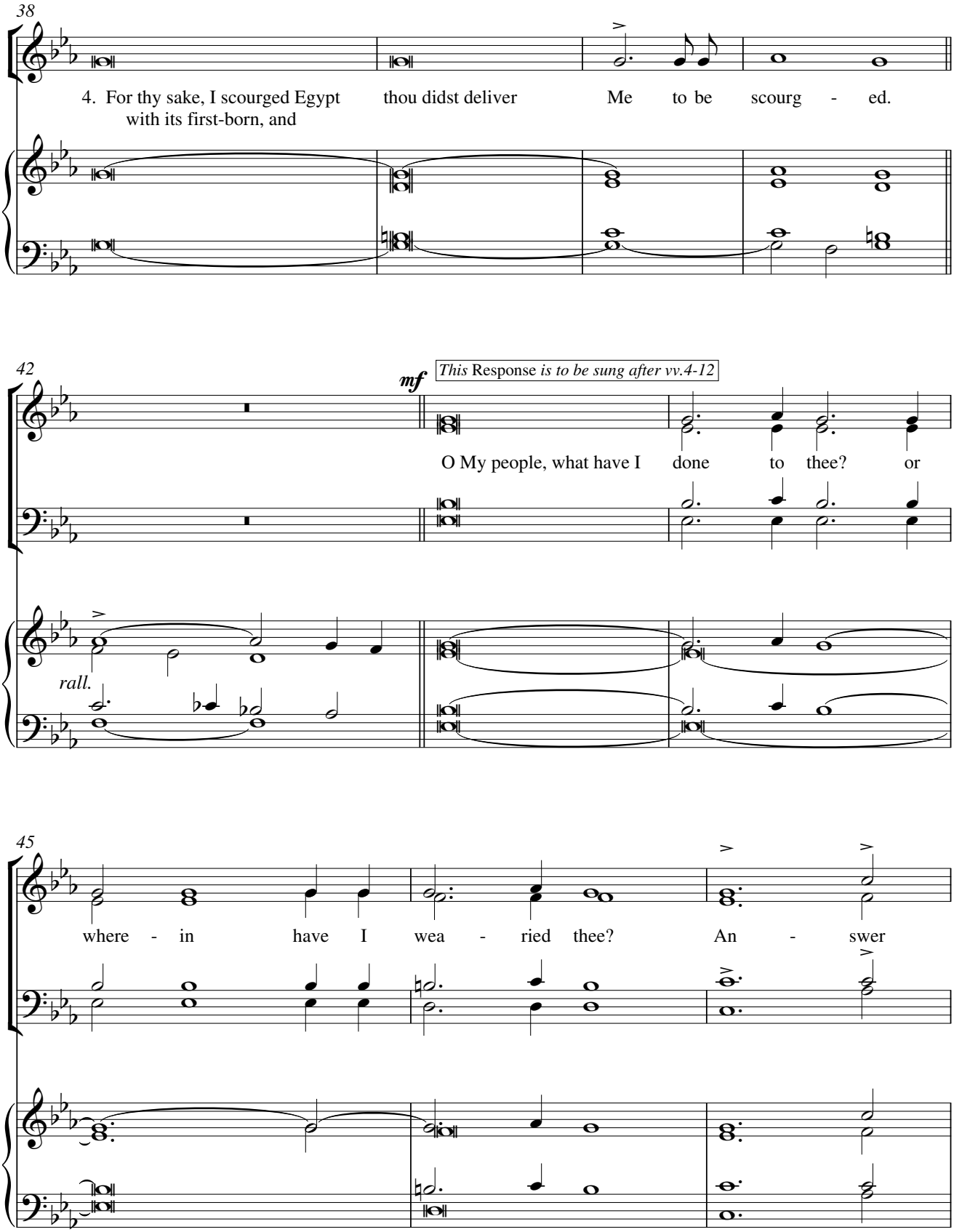
Other names:
CALM (with variations)
ILKLEY (with variations)

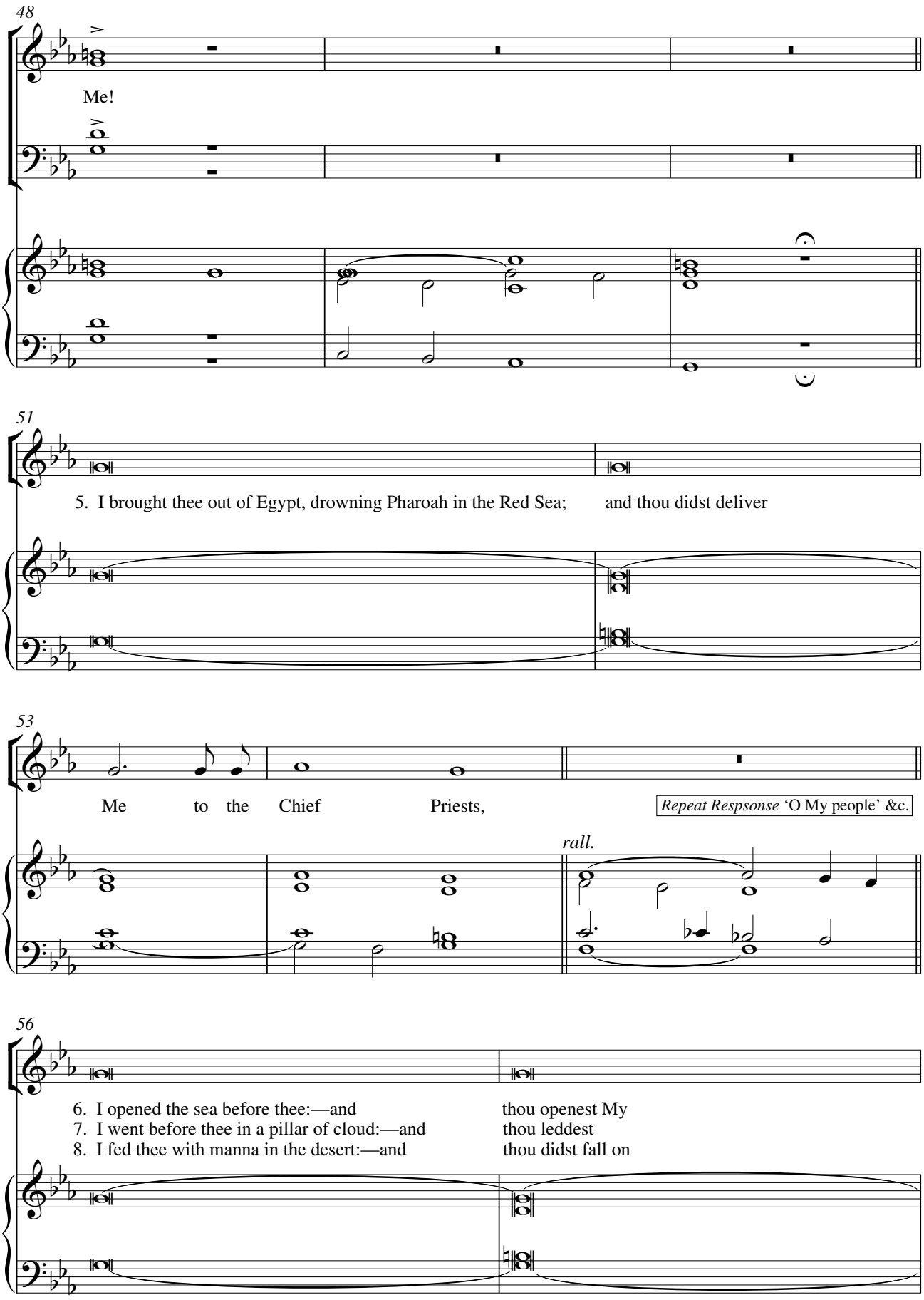
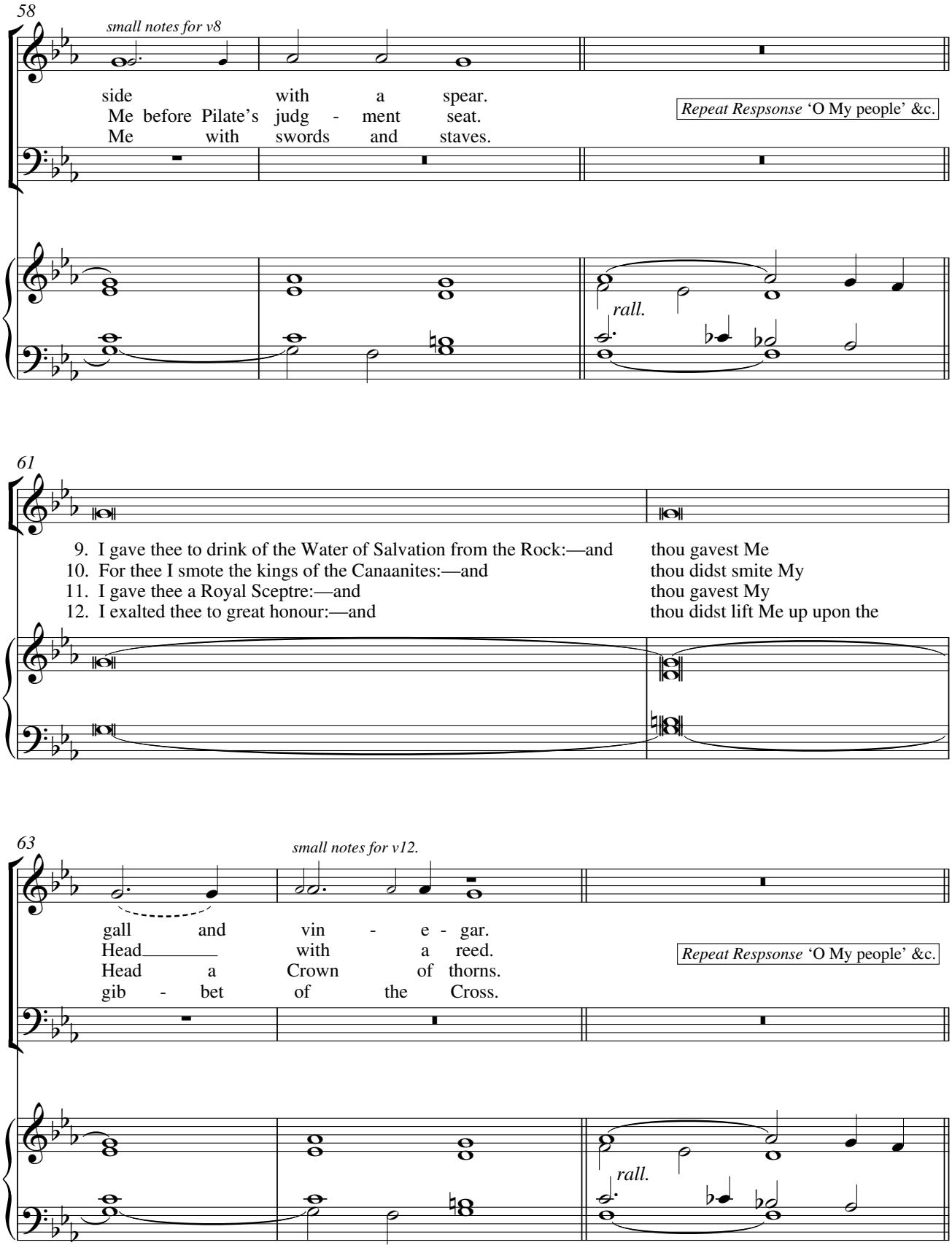
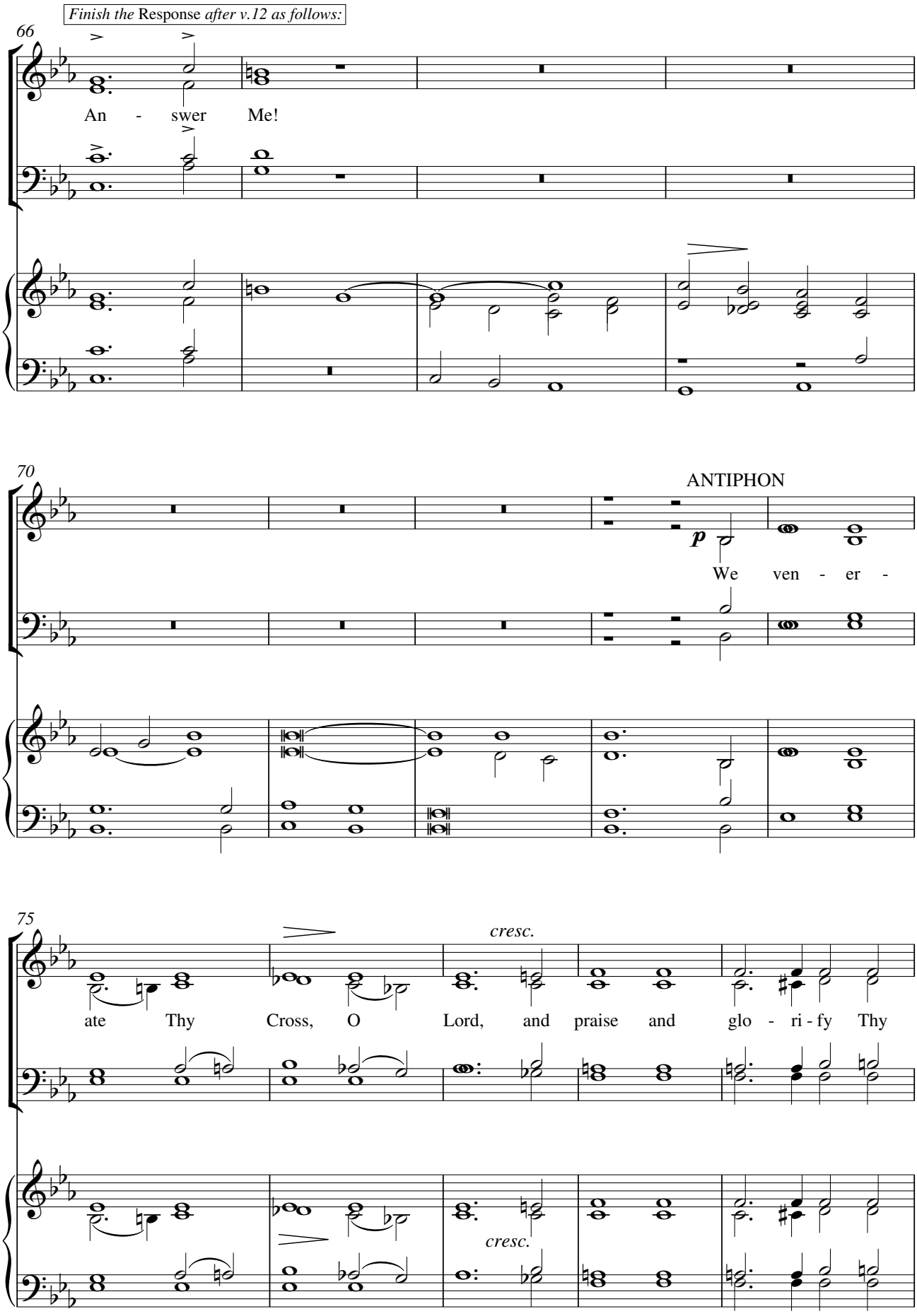
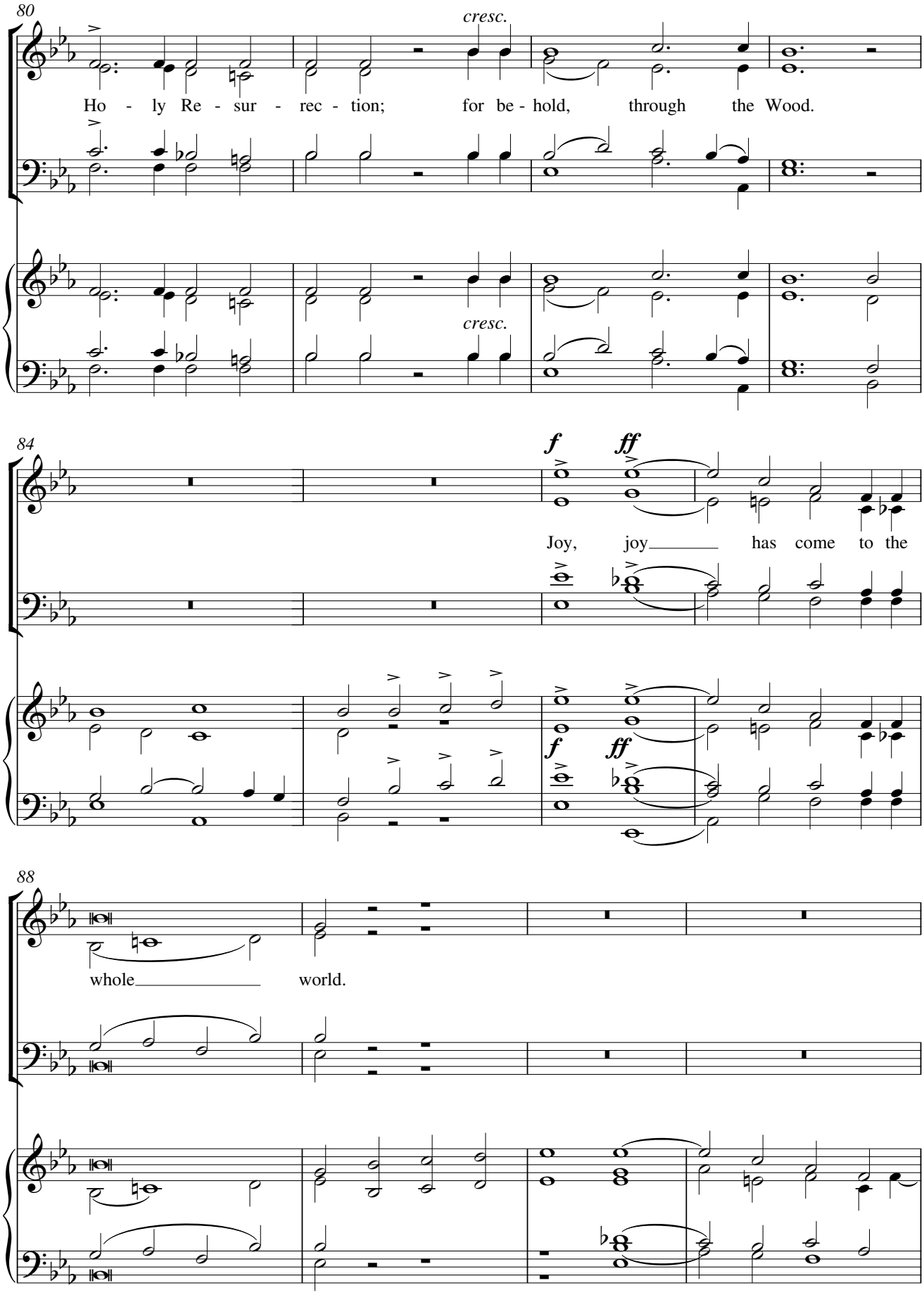
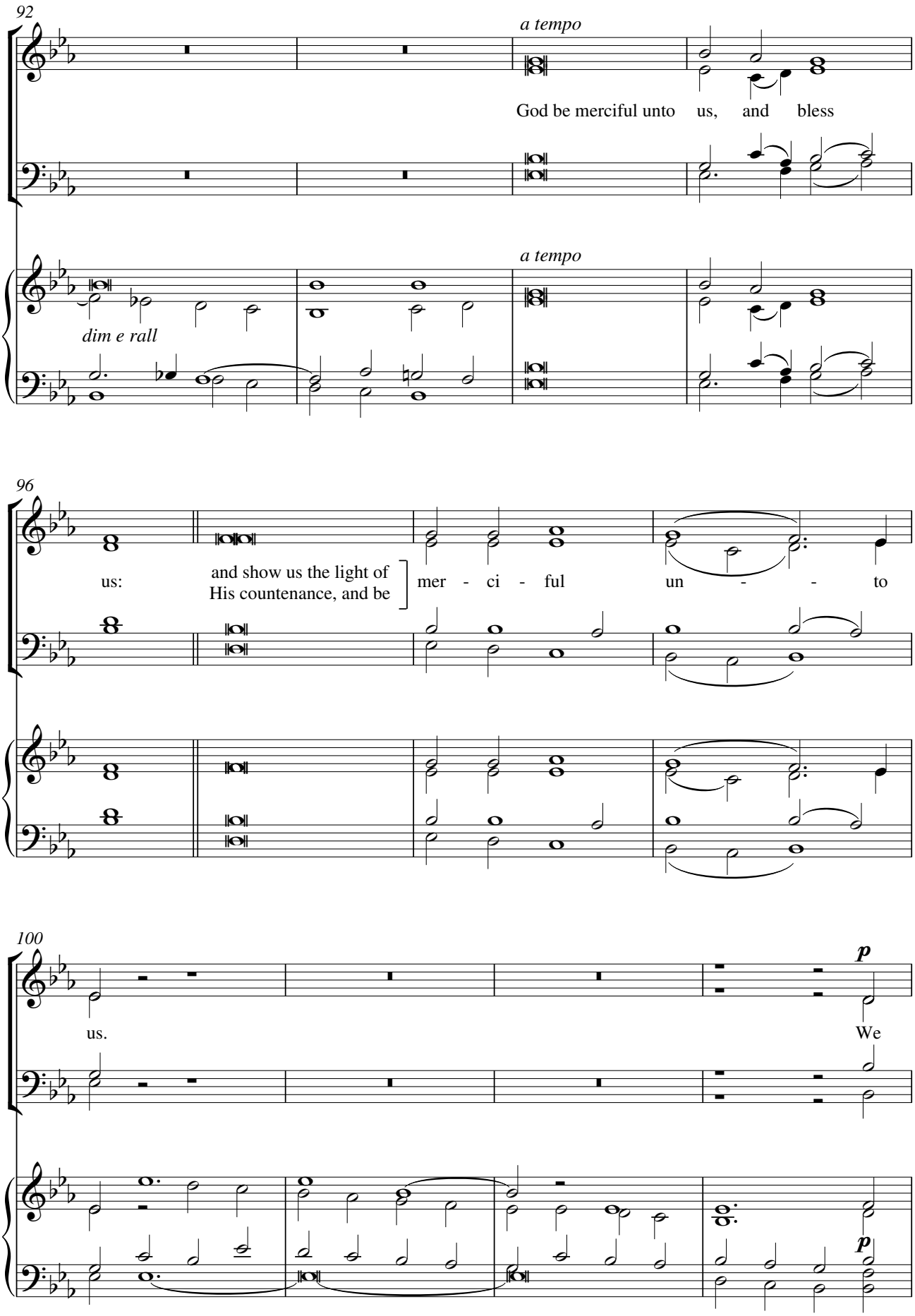
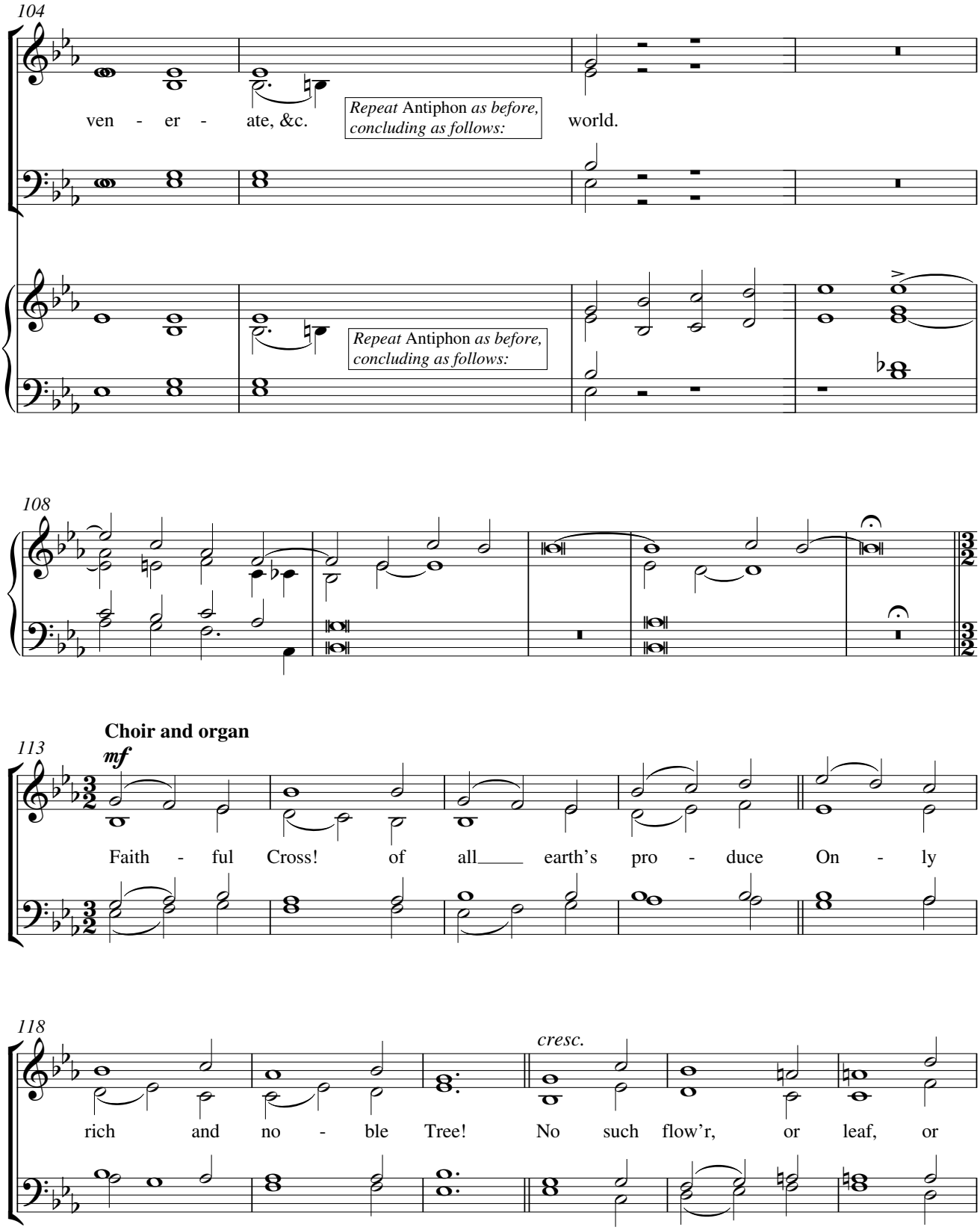
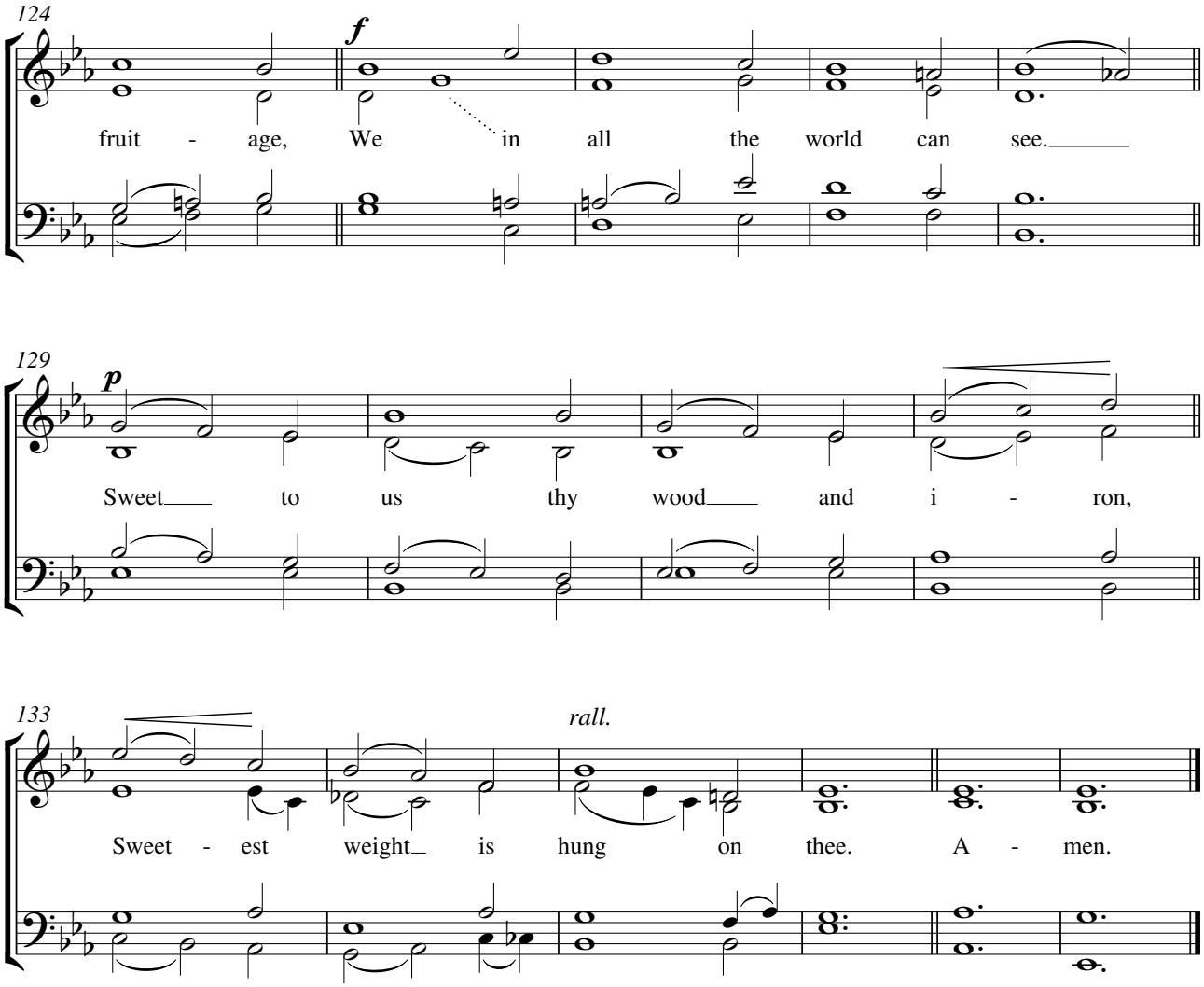


There is a calm for those who weep,
A rest for weary pilgrims found;
They safely lie and sweetly sleep,
Low in the ground, low in the ground.

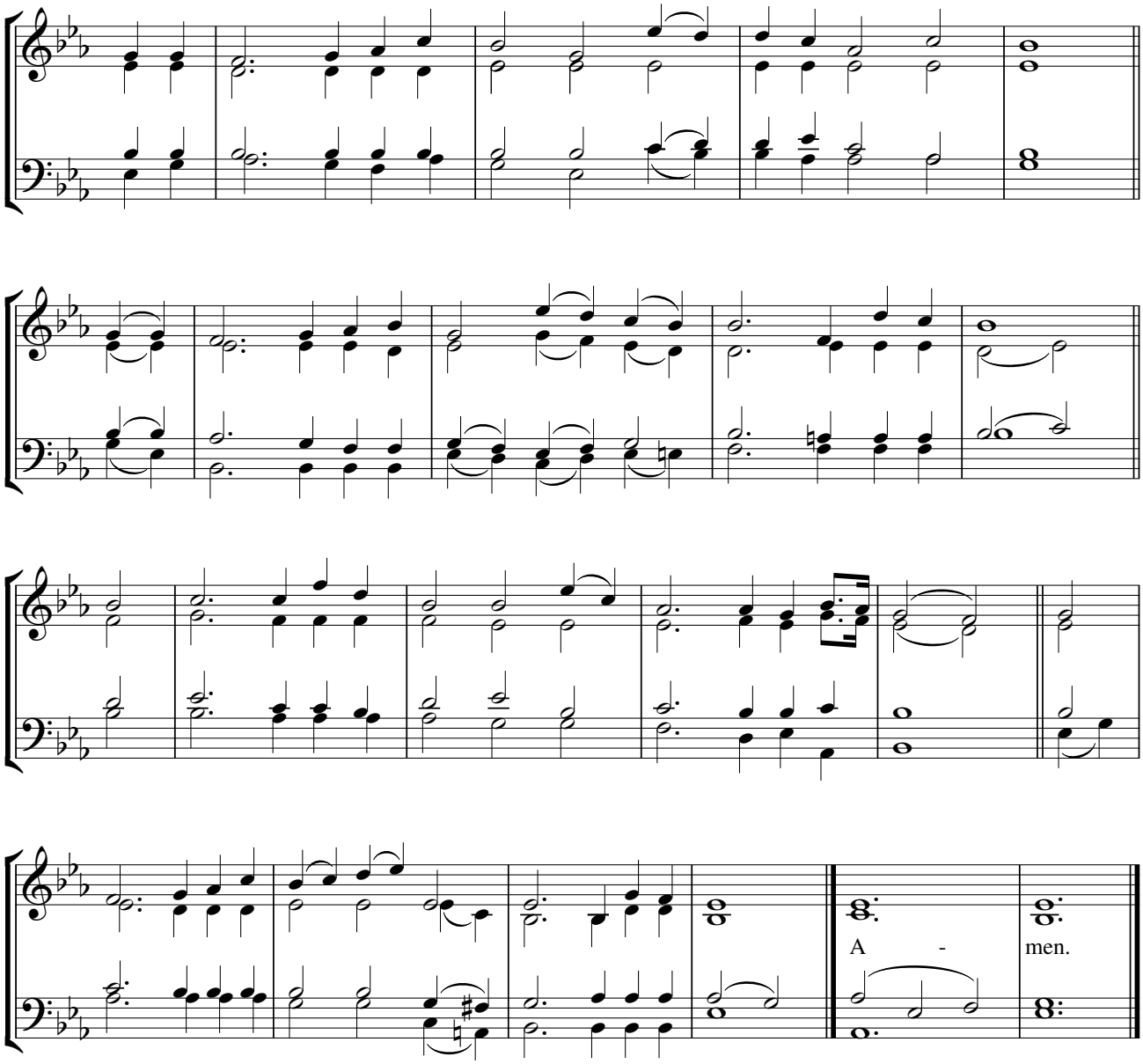
James Montgomery

The Reproaches (excerpt)

The People's Hymnal No. 88


12
Sa - viour.
pp
cresc.
Choir (organ ad lib)
The following Response is to be sung after vv.1-3
15
pp
cresc.
cresc.
Ho - ly God, Ho - ly and Might - y, Ho - ly and Im -
18
f
dim.
mer - - cy up - on us.
mor - tal, have mer - cy up - on us.
mer - cy up - on us.
22
Cantor
2. Because I led thee through the wilderness forty years, and fed thee with manna; and brought thee into a land exceeding good:—
thou hast provided a Cross for thy

25
Sa - viour.
Repeat Response "Holy God,"
pp
cresc.
28
3. What could I have done more for thee that I have not done? I planted thee, indeed, My choicest vine;— and
thou hast turned for Me into exceeding bitterness; thou gavest vinegar to quench My thirst, and piercedst with a lance the
side of thy
31
Sa - viour.
Repeat Response "Holy God,"
pp
cresc.
Immediately after the third Response, "Holy God," &c., the following four bars of Symphony are to be played:
34

38
4. For thy sake, I scourged Egypt with its first-born, and
thou didst deliver
Me to be scourg - ed.
42
mf
This Response is to be sung after vv.4-12
O My people, what have I done to thee? or
rall.
45
where - in have I wea - ried thee?
An - swer

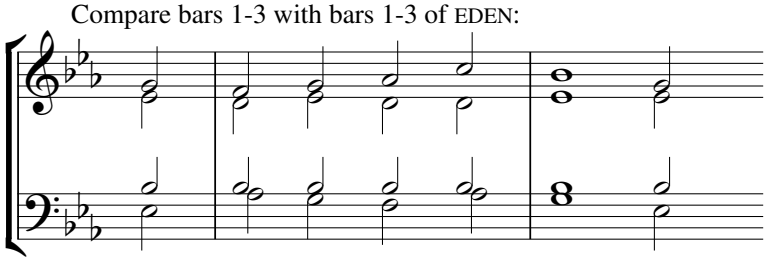

48
Me!
51
5. I brought thee out of Egypt, drowning Pharoah in the Red Sea; and thou didst deliver
53
Me to the Chief Priests,
Repeat Respsonse 'O My people' &c.
rall.
56
6. I opened the sea before thee:—and thou openest My
7. I went before thee in a pillar of cloud:—and thou leddest
8. I fed thee with manna in the desert:—and thou didst fall on

58
small notes for v8
side with a spear.
Me before Pilate's judg - ment seat.
Me with swords and staves.
Repeat Respsonse 'O My people' &c.
rall.
61
9. I gave thee to drink of the Water of Salvation from the Rock:—and thou gavest Me
10. For thee I smote the kings of the Canaanites:—and thou didst smite My
11. I gave thee a Royal Sceptre:—and thou gavest My
12. I exalted thee to great honour:—and thou didst lift Me up upon the
63
small notes for v12.
gall and vin - e - gar.
Head with a reed.
Head a Crown of thorns.
gib - bet of the Cross.
Repeat Respsonse 'O My people' &c.
rall.

Finish the Response after v.12 as follows:
66
An - swer Me!
70
ANTIPHON
p
We ven - er -
75
cresc.
ate Thy Cross, O Lord, and praise and glo - ri - fy Thy
cresc.

80
cresc.
Ho - ly Re - sur - rec - tion; for be - hold, through the Wood.
cresc.
84
f ff
Joy, joy has come to the
f ff
88
whole world.

92
a tempo
God be merciful unto us, and bless
a tempo
dim e rall
96
us:
and show us the light of
His countenance, and be
mer - ci - ful un - - to
100
us.
p
We
p

104
ven - er - ate, &c.
Repeat Antiphon as before, concluding as follows:
world.
Repeat Antiphon as before, concluding as follows:
108
Choir and organ
113
mf
Faith - ful Cross! of all earth's pro - duce On - ly
118
cresc.
rich and no - ble Tree! No such flow'r, or leaf, or

124
f
fruit - age, We in all the world can see.
129
p
Sweet to us thy wood and i - ron,
133
rall.
Sweet - est weight is hung on thee. A - men.

‘There’s a Friend’ (86767676)

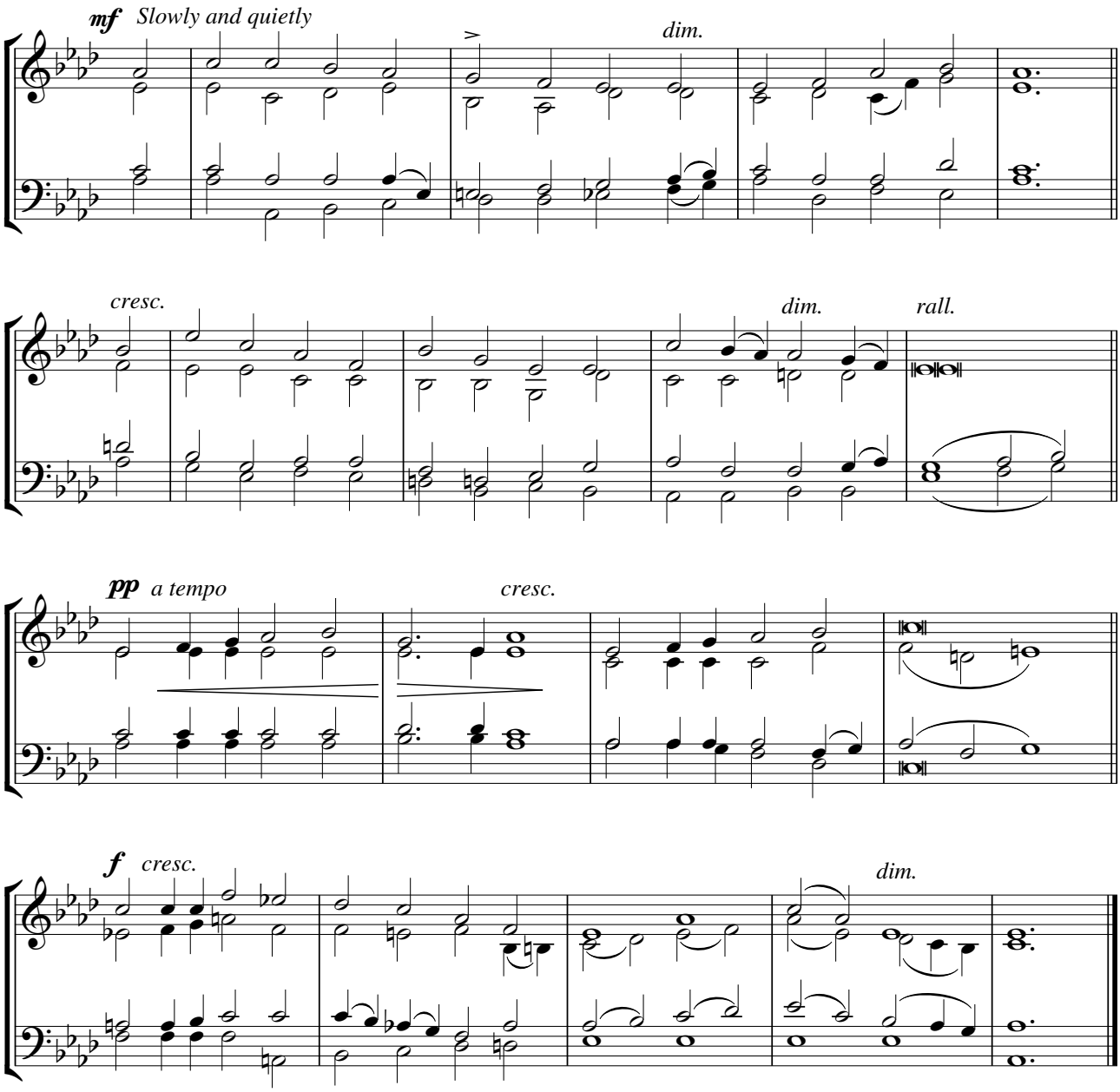
The Children’s Hymnal (1877) No.178

There’s a Friend for little children
Above the bright blue sky,
A Friend who never changes,
Whose love will never die;
Unlike our friends by nature,
Who change with changing years,
This Friend is always worthy
The precious Name He bears.

Albert Midlane

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of EDEN:

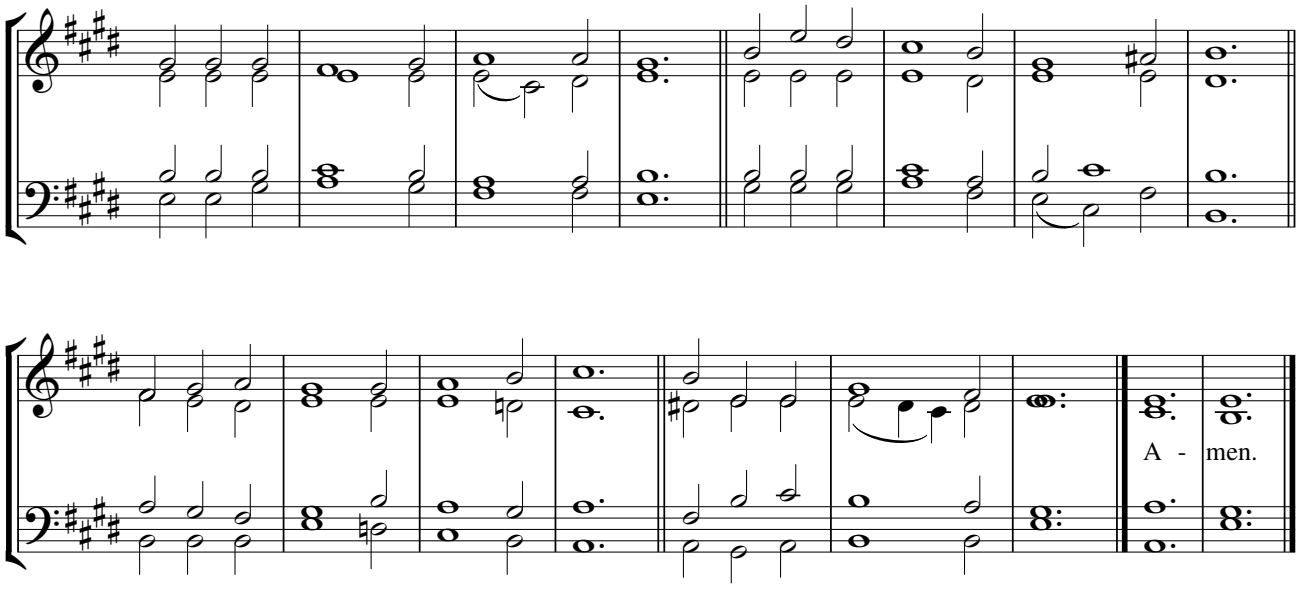


The Roseate Hues (DCM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.161

The roseate hues of early dawn,
The brightness of the day,
The crimson of the sunset sky,
How fast they fade away!
Oh, for the pearly gates of heaven,
Oh, for the golden floor,
Oh, for the Sun of righteousness
That setteth nevermore!

Cecil F. Alexander

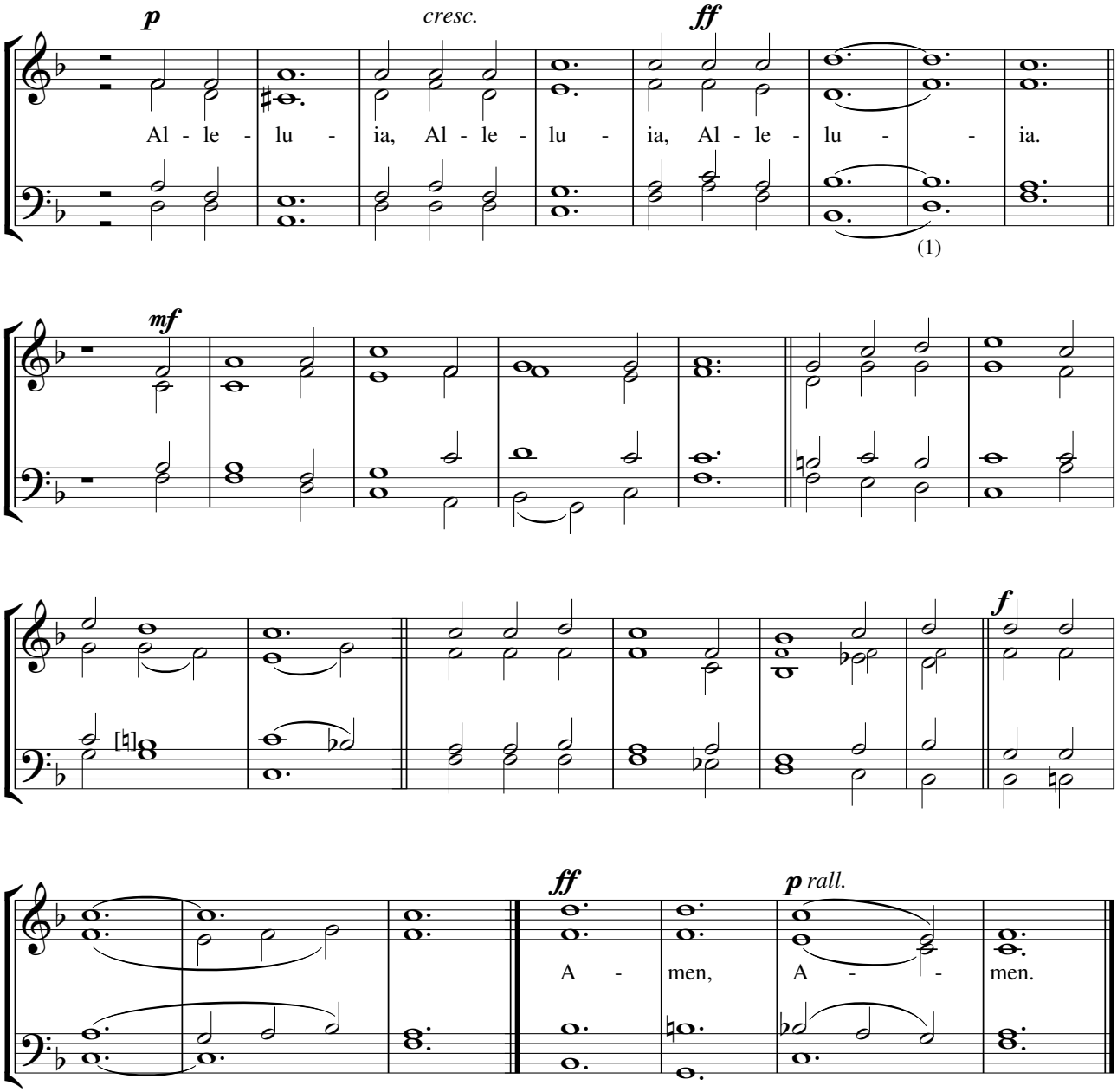
The Sabbath Day (8886)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.20

The Sabbath-day has reach'd its close,
Yet, Saviour, ere I seek repose,
Grant me the peace Thy Love bestows—
Smile on my evening hour!

Charlotte Elliott

The Strife is O'er (888+Alleluias)

Manuscript (undated) British Library MS Mus. 86

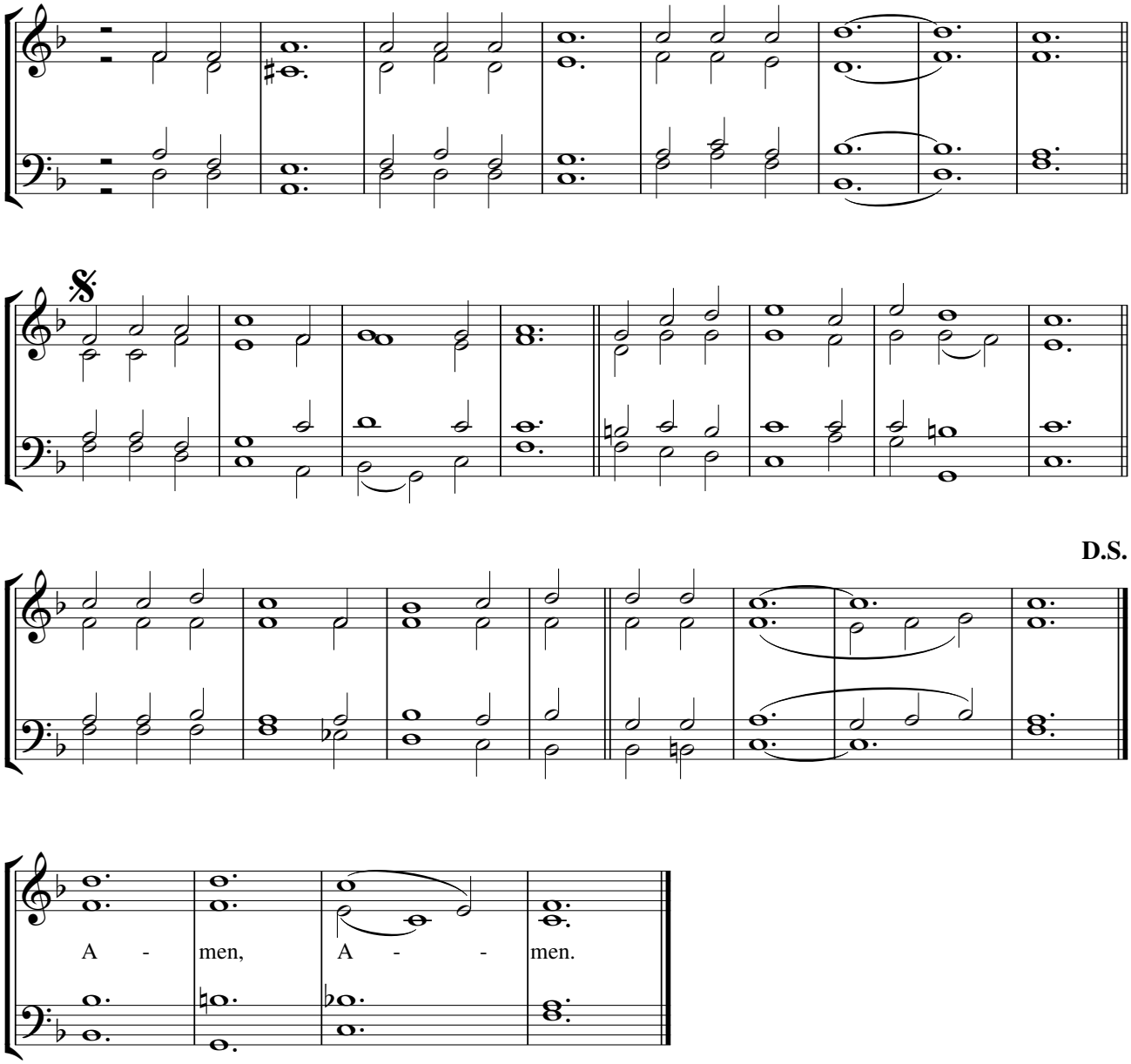


Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia
The strife is o'er, the battle done;
The victory of life is won;
The song of triumph has begun: Alleluia!
Trans. Francis Pott

(1) The manuscript appears to show that Dykes originally gave (and then deleted) a bass B♭ in this chord.

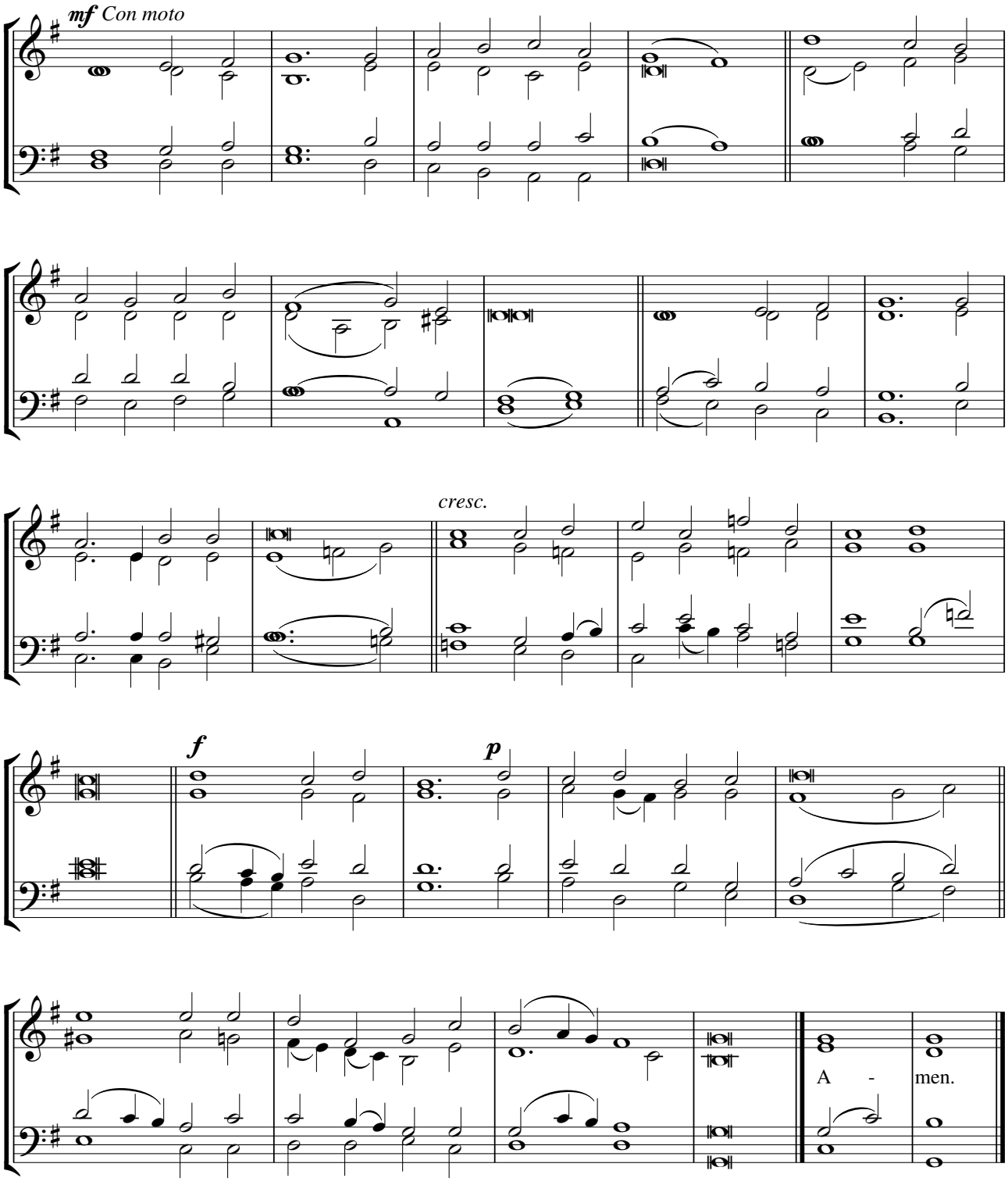
The Strife is O'er (888+Alleluias)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.78

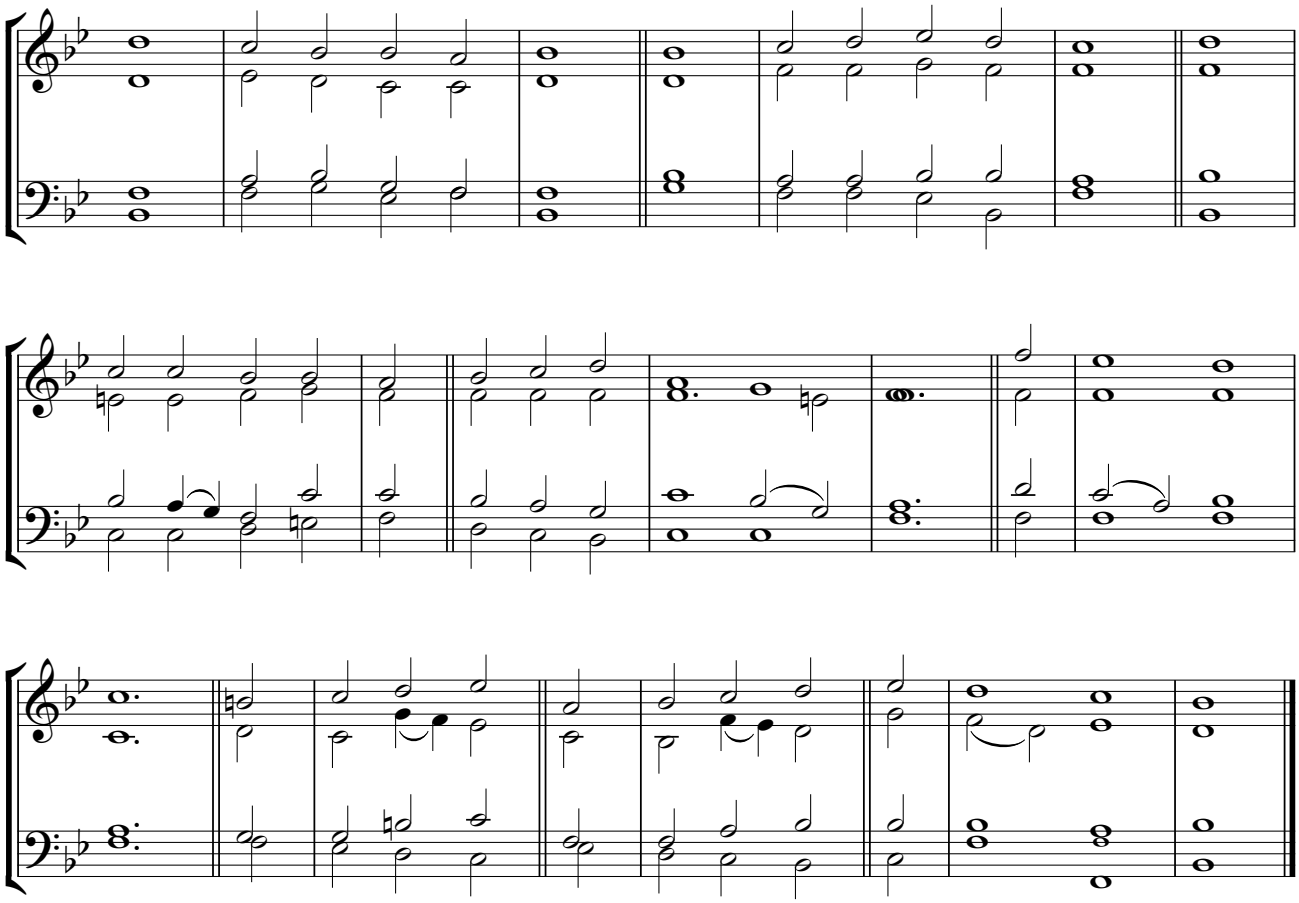


Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia
The strife is o'er, the battle done;
The victory of life is won;
The song of triumph has begun: Alleluia!
Trans. Francis Pott

Tranquilitas (10.10.10.10.10.10)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.115

Long did I toil, and knew no earthly rest;
Far did I rove, and found no certain home;
At last I sought them in His sheltering breast,
Who opes His Arms, and bids the weary come;
With Him I found a home, a rest divine;
And I since them am His, and He is mine.

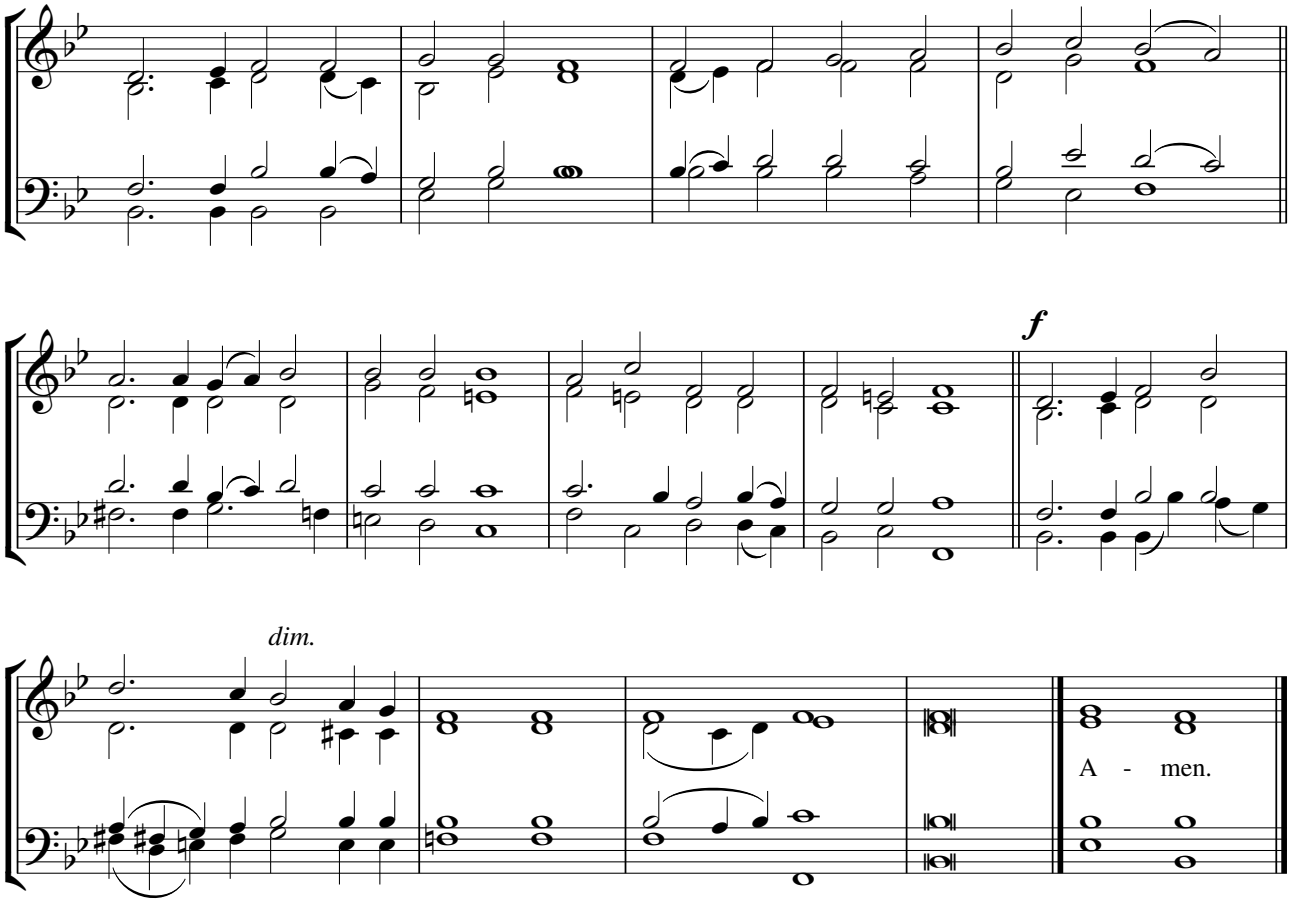
John Quarles

Trent (666444)
Congregational Church Music (1871) No.372

Rejoice, the Lord is king!
Your Lord and king adore;
Mortals give thanks and sing,
And triumph evermore;
Lift up your heart, Lift up your voice;
Rejoice, again I say, rejoice!

Charles Wesley

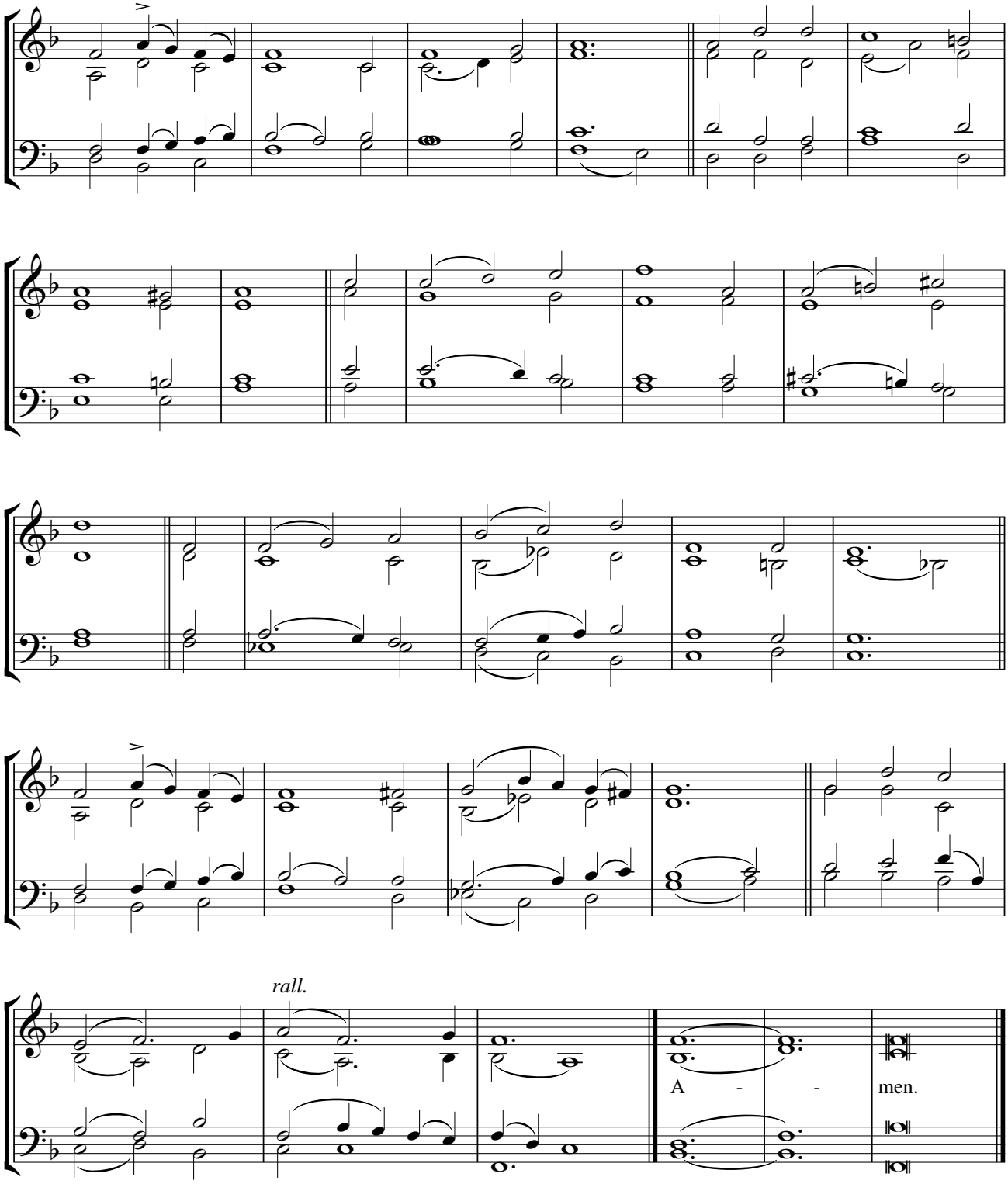
396

Trisagion (777777)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No. 92 (written for Whitburn Church 1870)

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,
God of Hosts, Eternal King,
By the heavens and earth adored,
Angels and Archangels sing,
Chanting everlastingly,
To the Blessèd Trinity

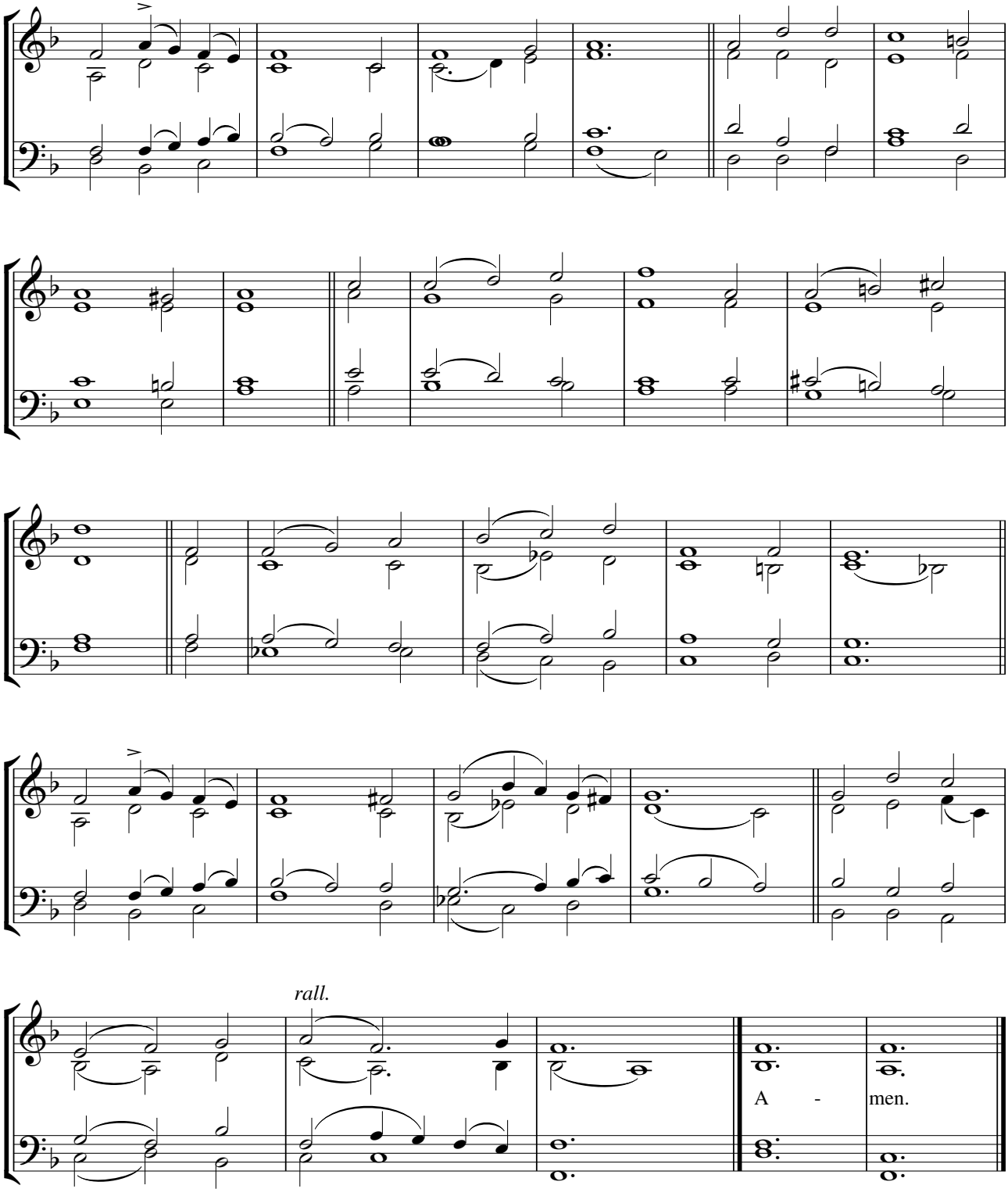
Christopher Wordsworth

Veni Cito (i) (888888)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.331

O quickly come, dread Judge of all;
For, awful though Thine advent be,
All shadows from the truth will fall,
And falsehood die, in sight of Thee:
O quickly come: for doubt and fear
Like clouds dissolve when Thou art near.

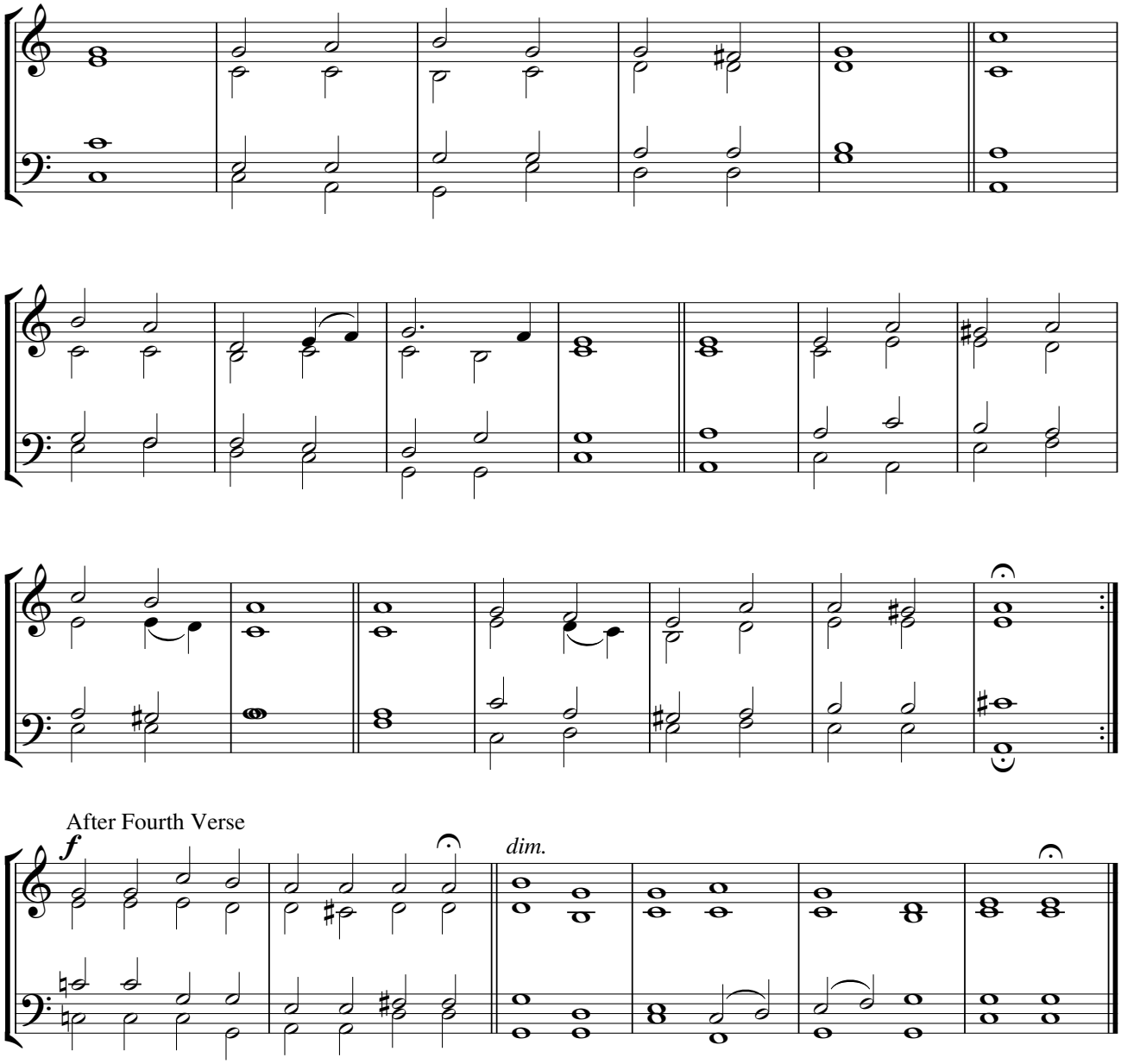
Law-rence Tut-tiett

Veni Cito (ii) (888888)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.204

O quickly come, dread Judge of all;
For, awful though Thine advent be,
All shadows from the truth will fall,
And falsehood die, in sight of Thee:
O quickly come: for doubt and fear
Like clouds dissolve when Thou art near.

Law-rence Tut-tiett

Veni Creator (1)(i) (LM)

Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857) No. 66

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost Thy sevenfold gifts impart.

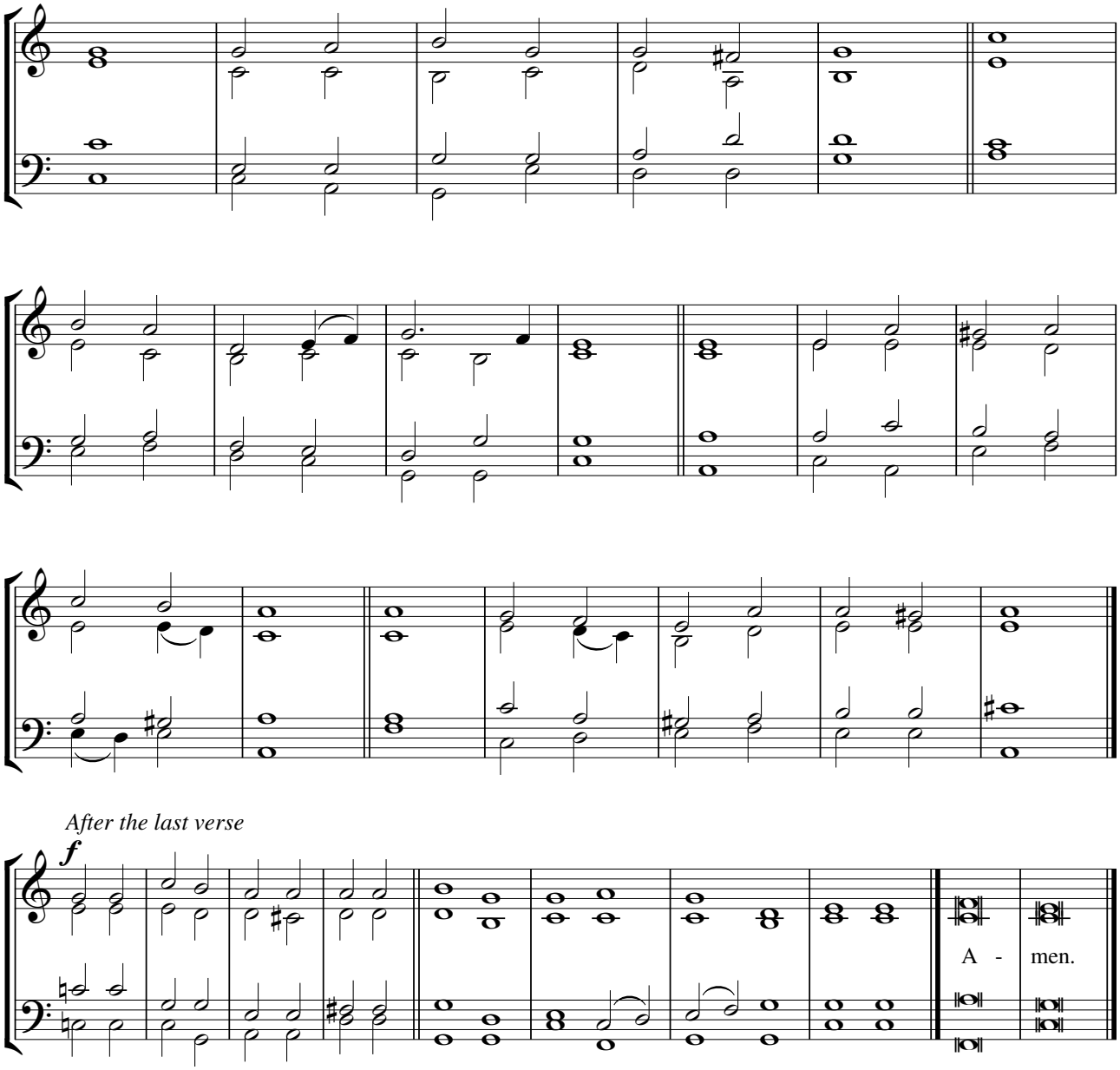
After the last verse:
Praise to Thy eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Trans. from the Latin by
John Cosin

[Text not provided in the *Manual*]

400

Veni Creator (1)(ii) (LM)

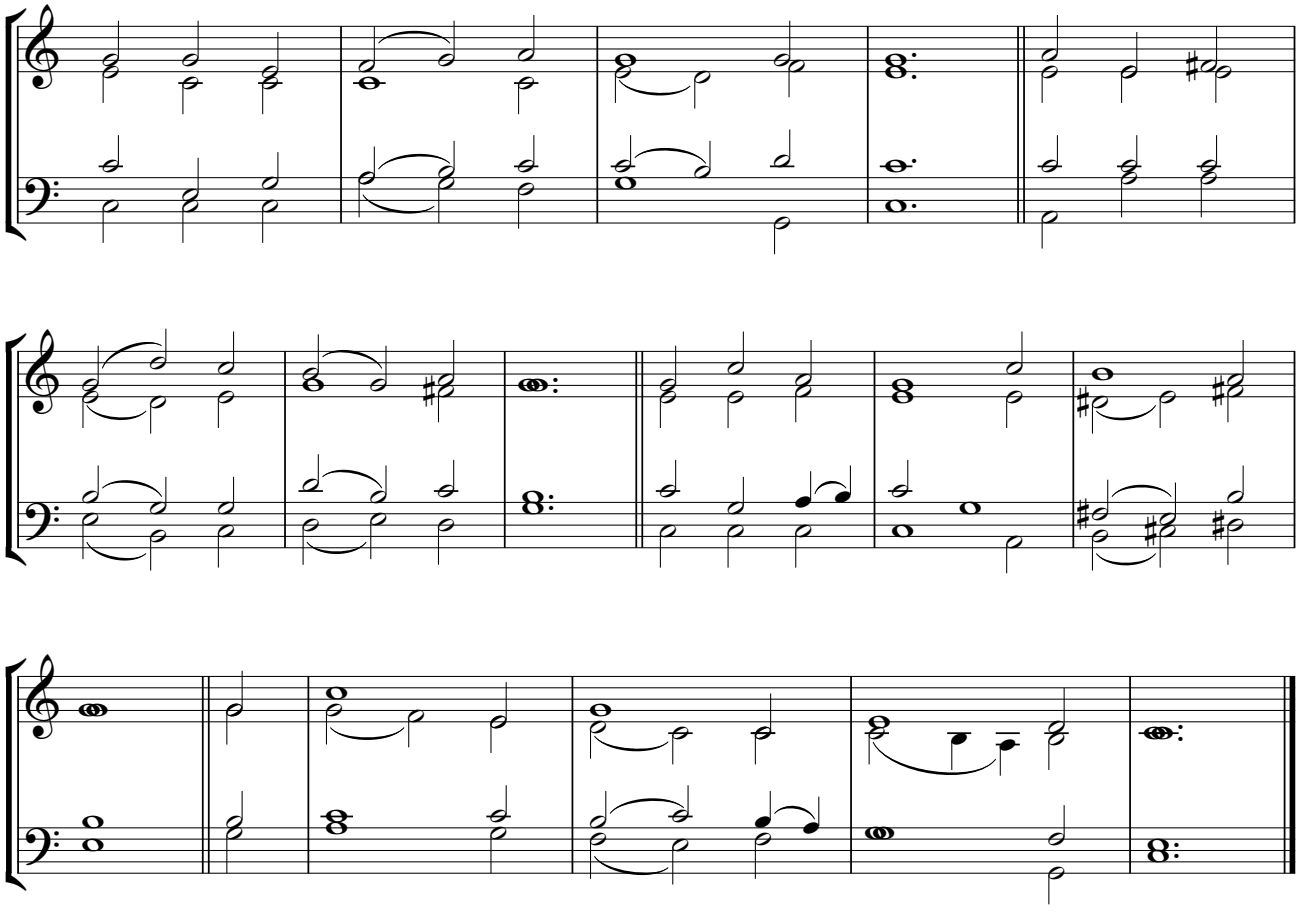
Hymnal for use in the English Church (1866) No.66

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost Thy sevenfold gifts impart.

After the last verse
Praise to Thy eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

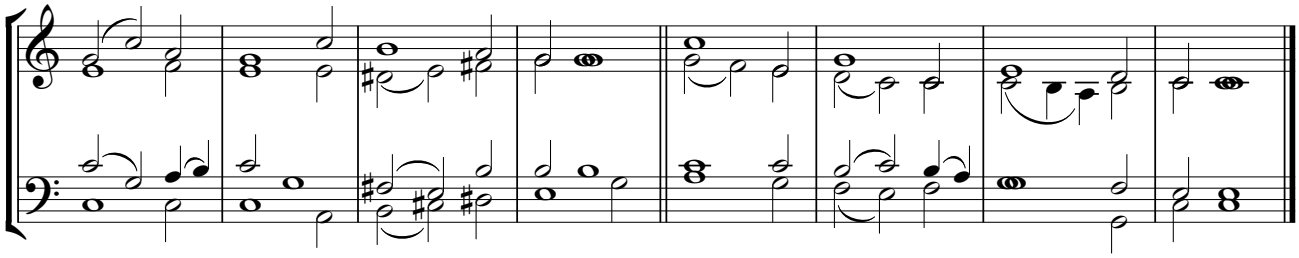
Trans. from the Latin by
John Cosin

Veni Creator (2) (LM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.157



After the last verse:



Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost Thy sevenfold gifts impart:

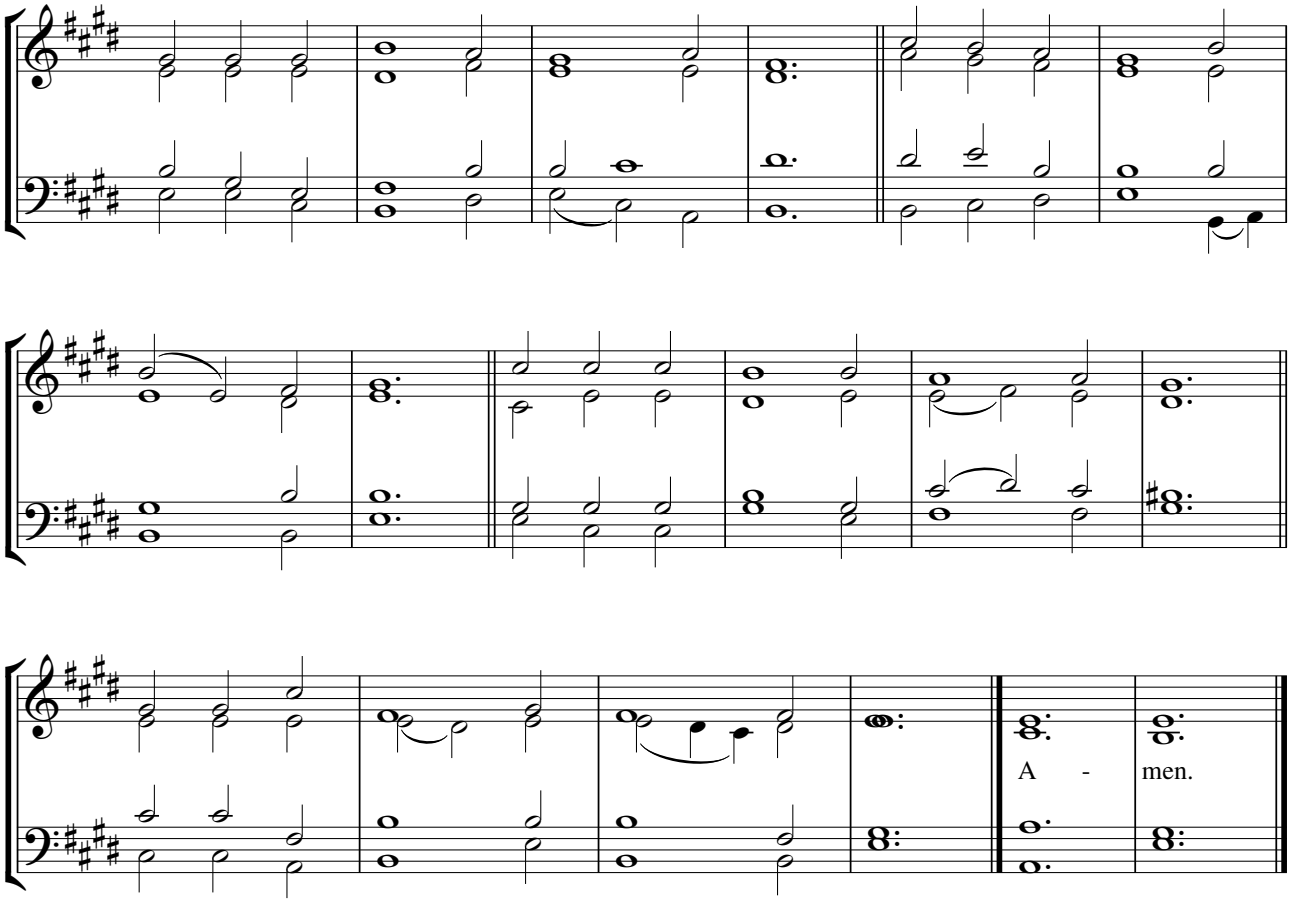
After the last verse:
Praise to Thy eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Trans. from the Latin by
John Cosin

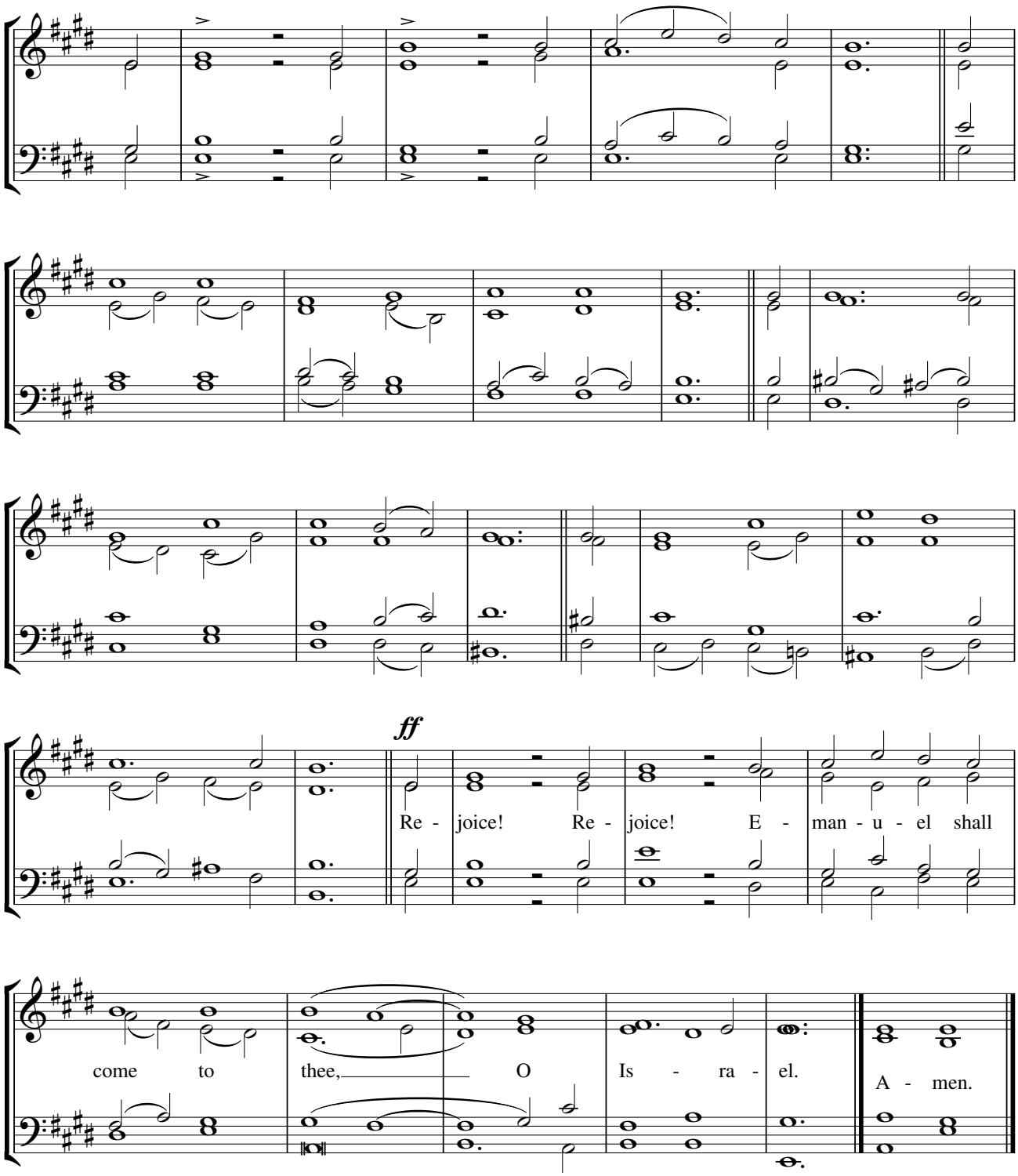
402

Veni Creator (3) (LM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.86



Veni Emmanuel (888888)

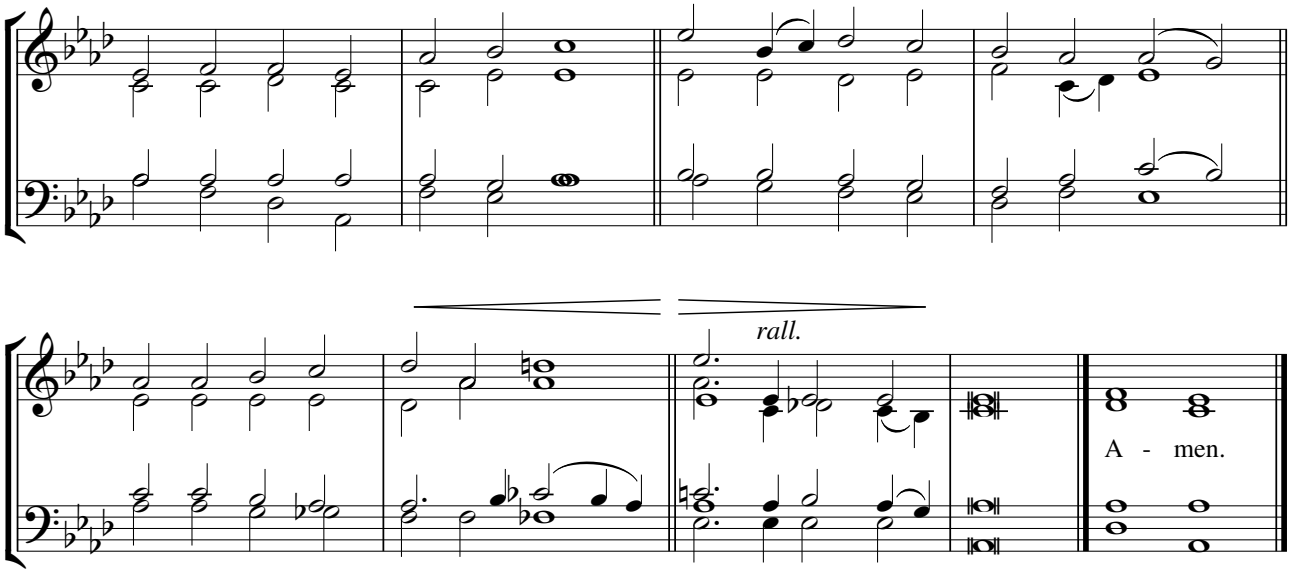
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.23

O come, O come, Emmanuel
And ransom captive Israel
That mourns in lonely exile here
Until the Son of God appear
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall come to thee, O Israel.

Trans. from the Latin by
John Mason Neale

404

Vesperi Lux (7775)

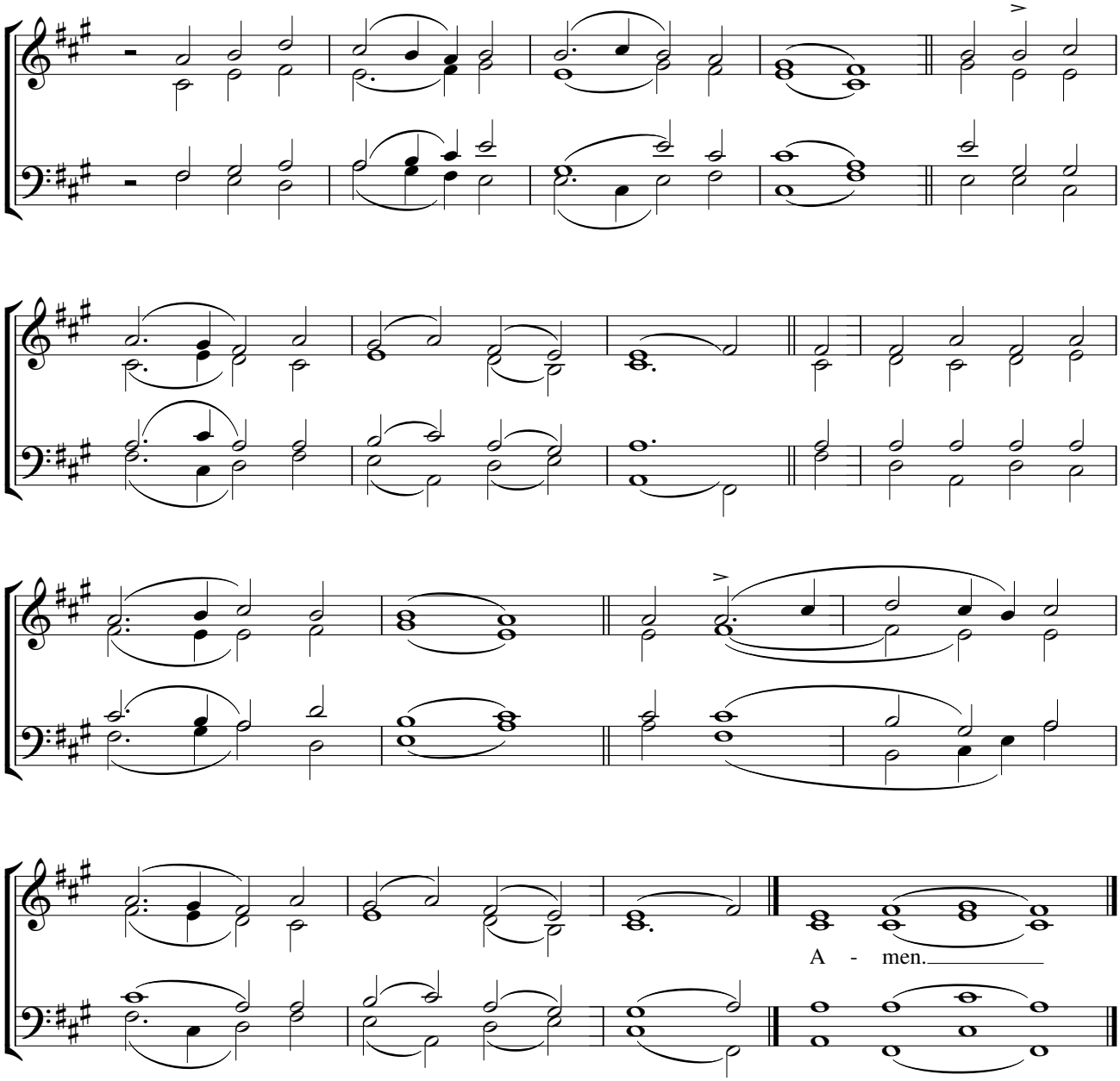
The Song of Praise (1875) No.414



Holy Father, cheer our way
With Thy love's perpetual ray:
Grant us every closing day
Light at Evening-time.

Richard H. Robinson

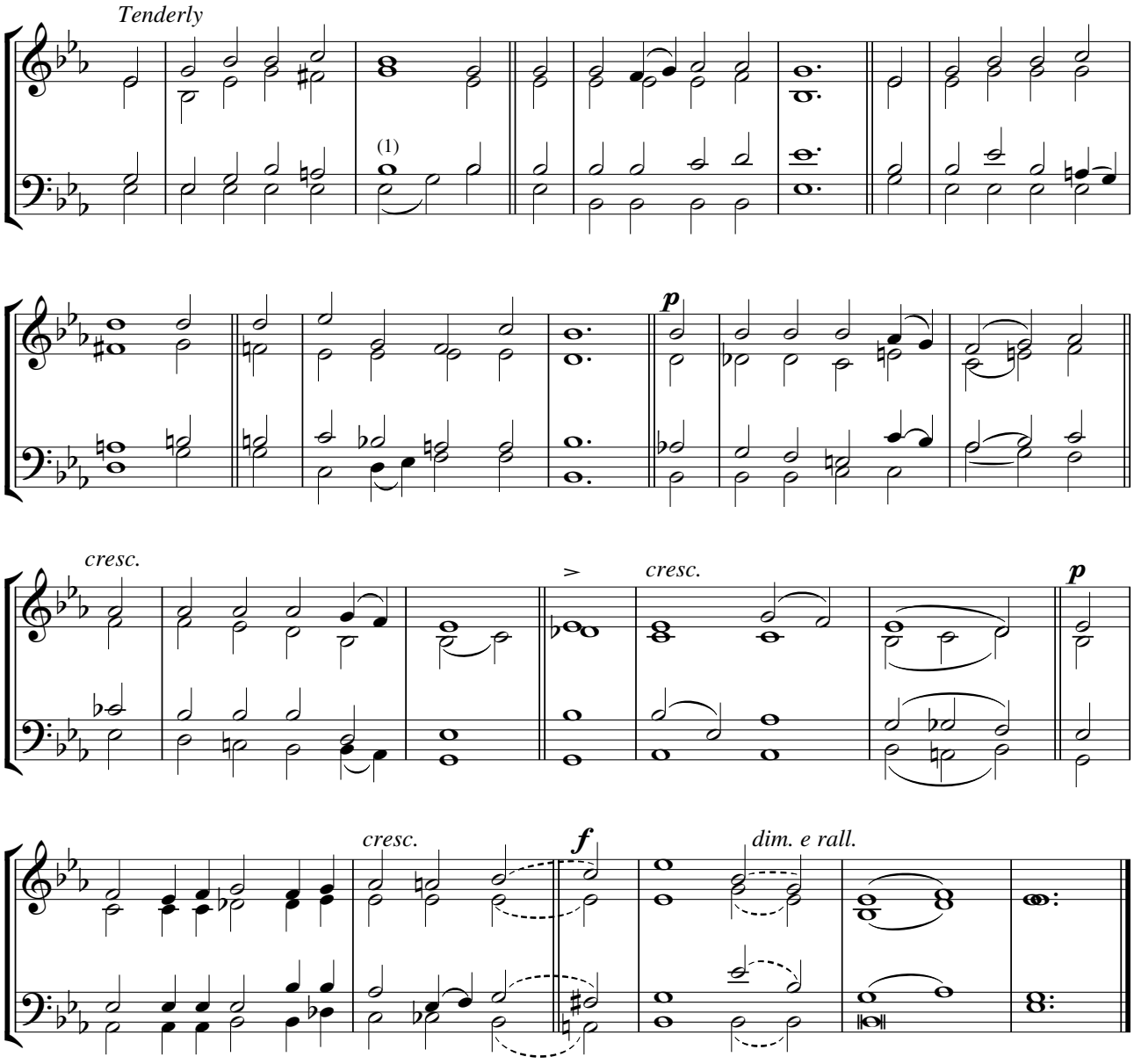
Vexilla Regis (LM) (Arr.)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No. 96

The Royal Banners forward go,
The Cross shines forth in mystic glow;
Where He in Flesh, our flesh Who made,
Our sentence bore, our ransom paid.

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

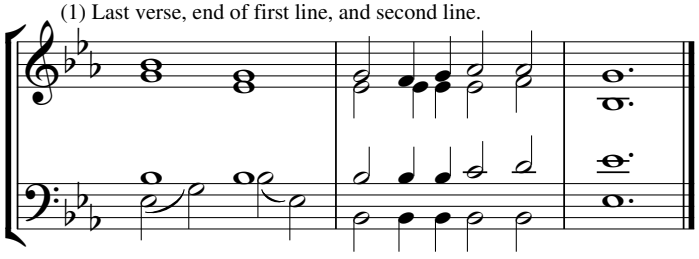
Via Crucis (Irregular)

Dykes's last hymn tune

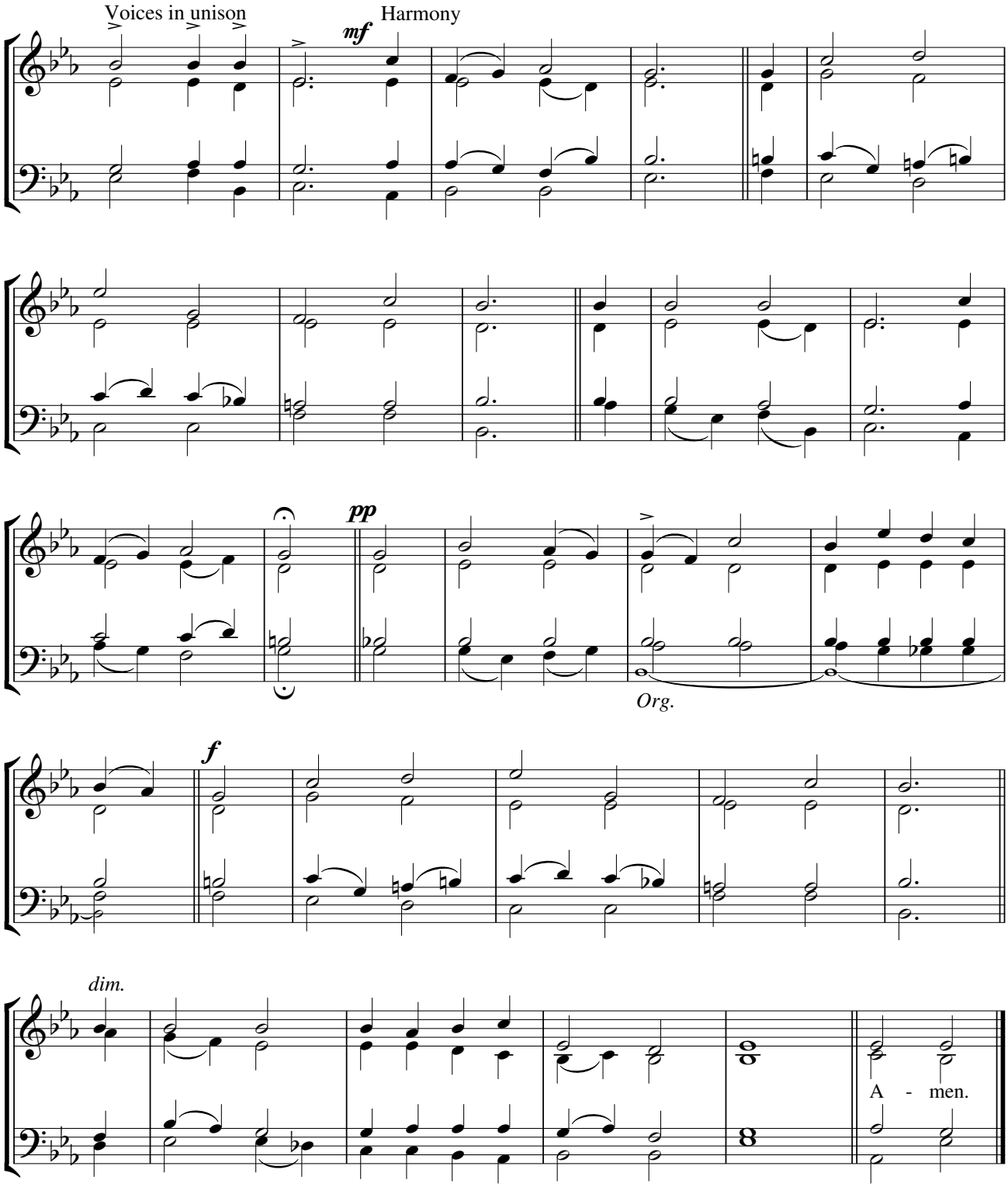
The Congregational Psalmist (1875) No.406

The way is long and dreary,
The path is bleak and bare;
Our feet are worn and weary,
But we will not despair:
More heavy was Thy burthen,
More desolate Thy way;
O Lamb of God! who takest
The sin of the world away,
Have mercy upon us.

Adelaide Proctor

(1) Last verse, end of first line, and second line.



Via, Veritas, Vita (888.10.88)

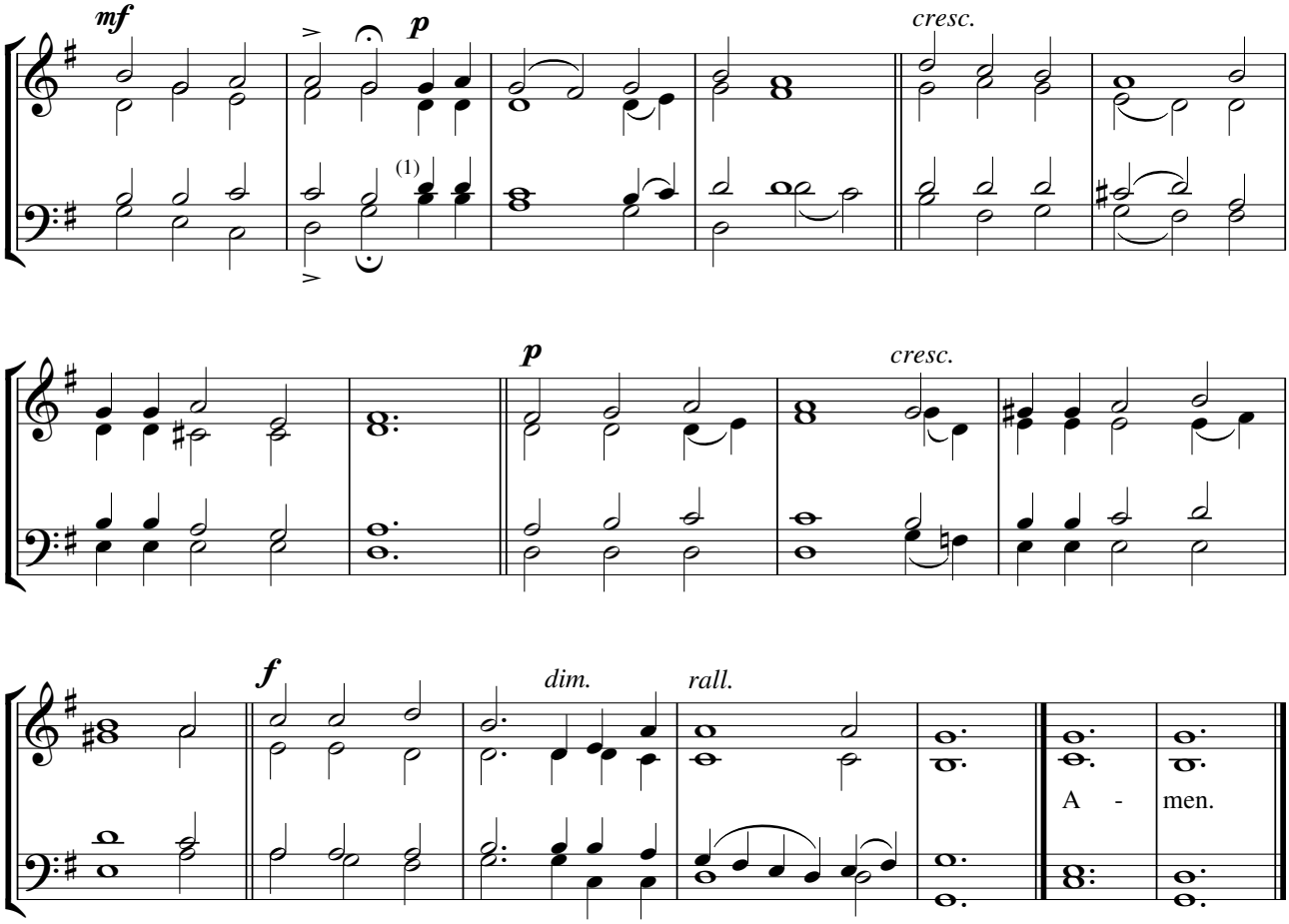
The Day School Hymn Book (1896) No.134

Thou art the Way; how sweet the thought
That I by Thee, on Thee, through Thee,
Am safely to the Father brought!
O Way so straight, and yet so passing wide!
So spanless, though it seem to me,
By dark'ning hedge my onward path to hide.

Anonymous

408

Visio Domini (11.10.11.10)

Hymnal Companion (1870) No.403

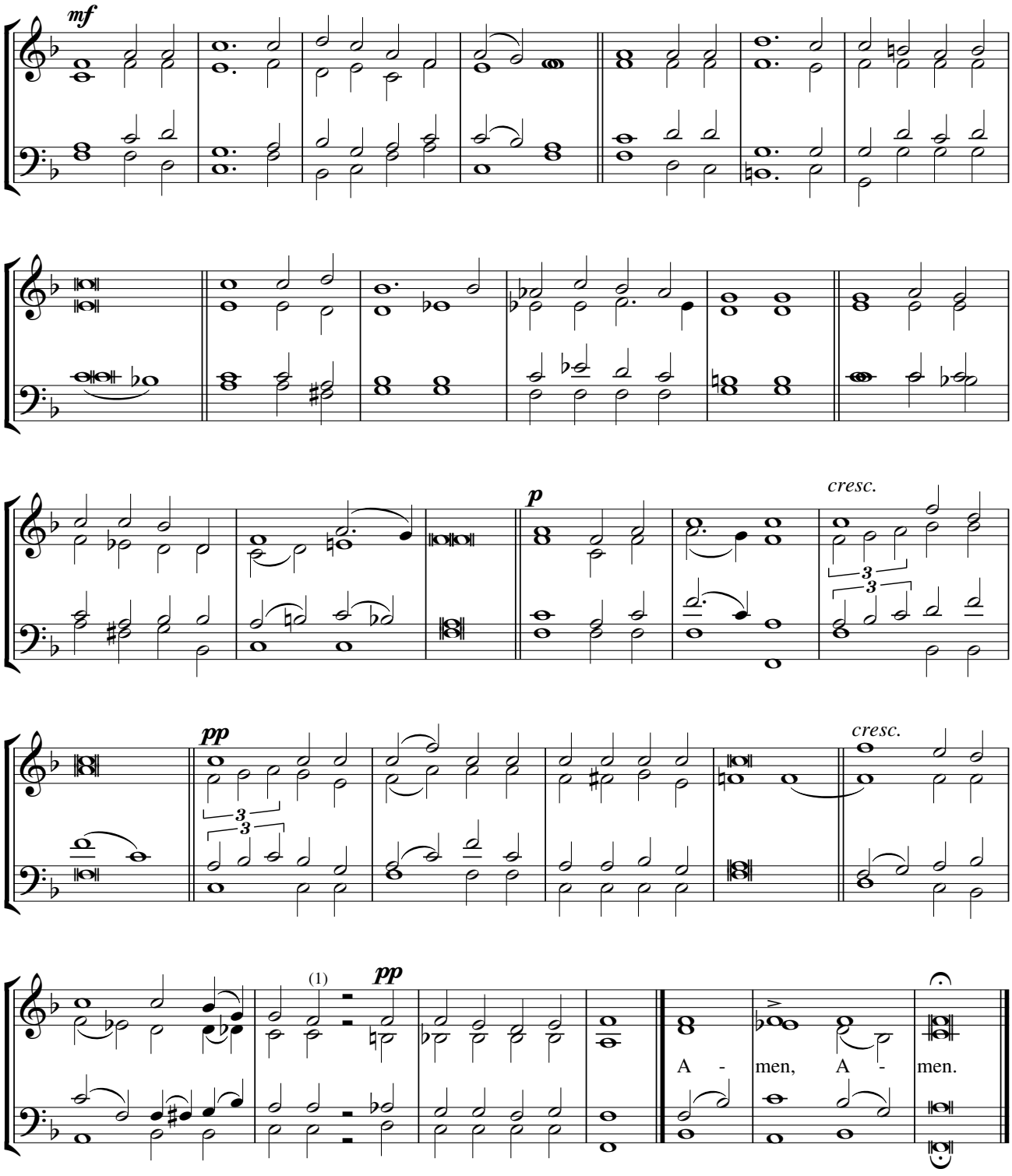


We would see Jesus; for the shadows lengthen
Across this little landscape of our life;
We would see Jesus, our weak faith to strengthen
For the last weariness, the final strife.

Anna B. Warner

(1) The third edition has unison B for tenor and bass.

Vox Angelica (11.10.11.10.9.11)

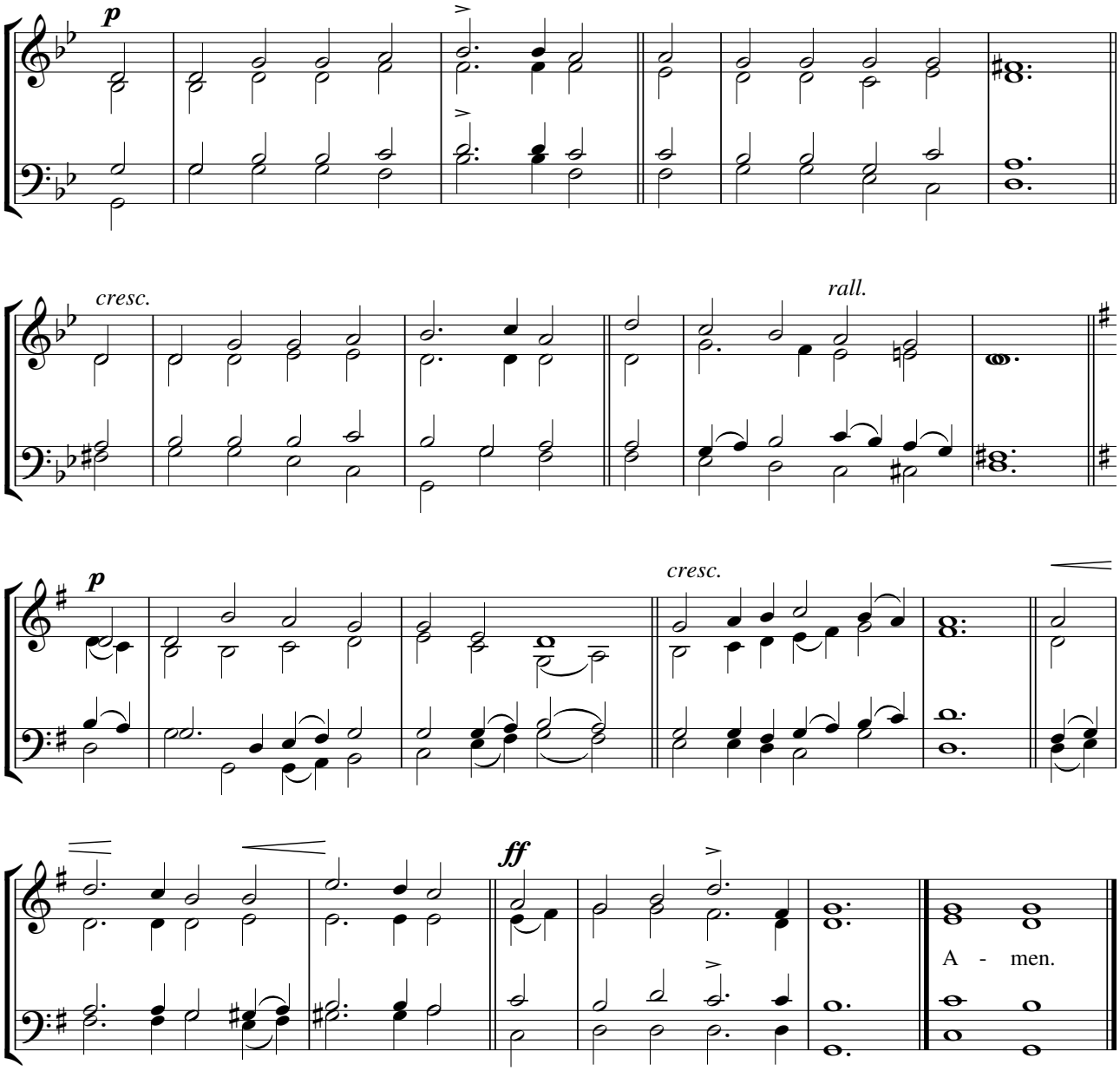
Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.325

Hark! hark, my soul; Angelic songs are swelling
O'er earth's green fields, and ocean's wave-beat shore:
How sweet the truth those blessèd strains are telling
Of that new life when sin shall be no more.

Angels of Jesus, Angels of light,
Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night.

Frederick William Faber

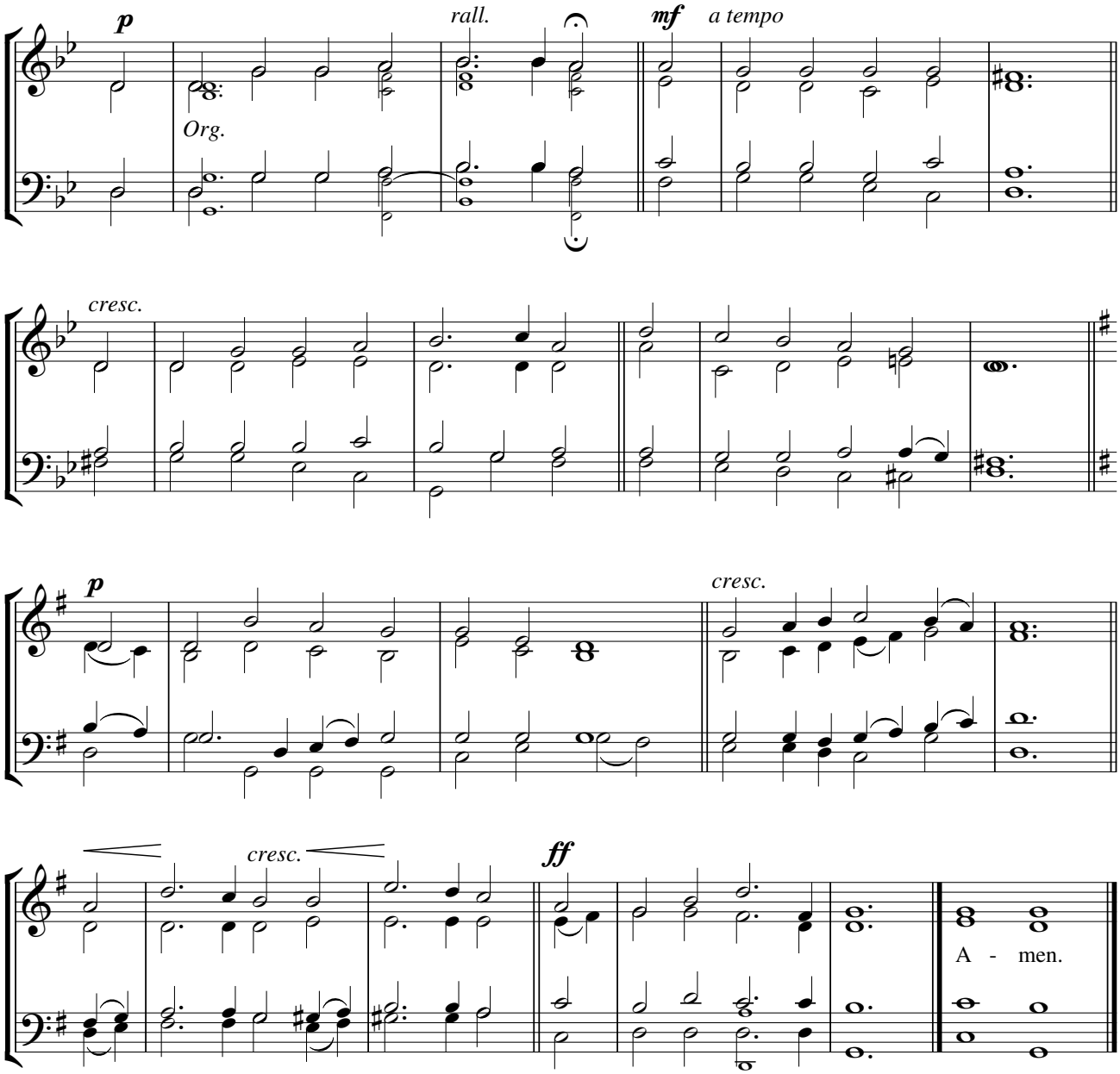
(1) Some later appearances of this tune have a semibreve for beat two and have a simple plagal 'Amen'.

Vox Dilecti (i) (DCM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.317

I heard the voice of Jesus say
"Come unto me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one, lay down
Thy head upon My Breast:"
I came to Jesus as I was
Weary, and worn, and sad;
I found in Him a resting-place,
And He has made me glad.

Horatio Bonar

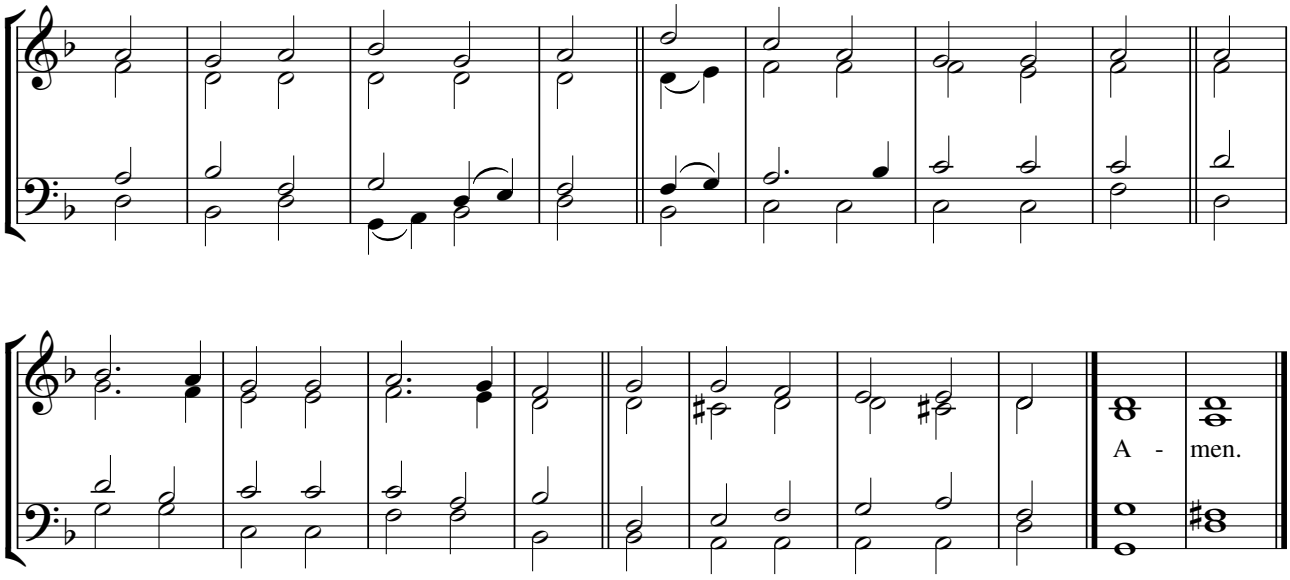
Vox Dilecti (ii) (DCM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.257

I heard the voice of Jesus say,
"Come unto Me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one, lay down
Thy head upon My Breast."
I came to Jesus as I was,
Weary, and worn, and sad;
I found in Him a resting-place,
And He has made me glad.

Horatio Bonar

412

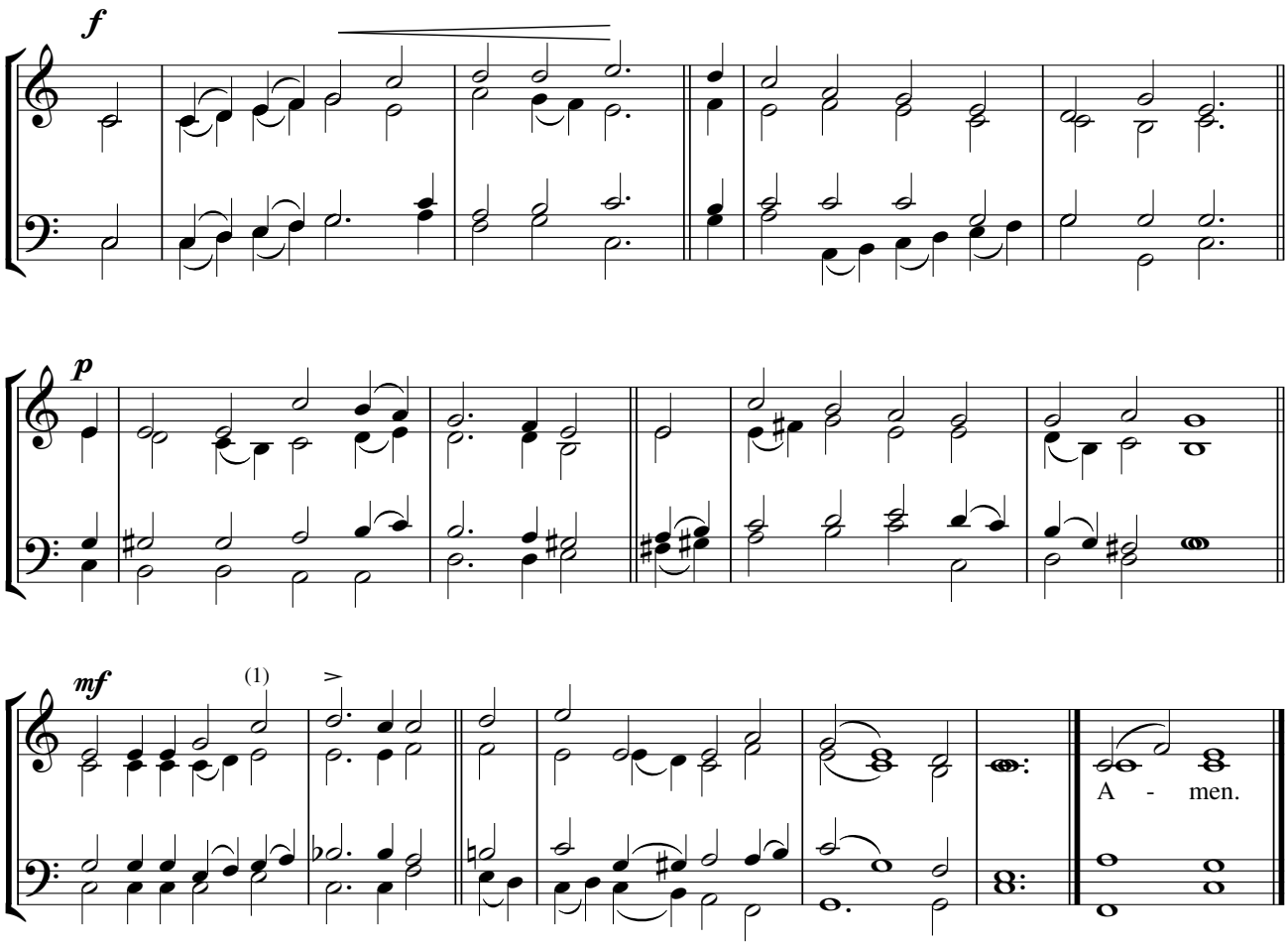
Waterbrook (SM)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.90

O’erwhelmed in depths of woe,
Upon the Tree of scorn
Hangs the Redeemer of mankind,
With racking anguish torn.

Trans. from the Latin by
Edward Caswall

‘We lift our hearts to Thee’ (888888)

Coventry Choral Association Festival 31 May 1870

Other name:
SURSUM CORDA

We lift our hearts to Thee, our Head,
And homeward all our life is led;
But earthly scenes are wrapt in night,
And many a foe remains to fight:
O let Thy Spirit come with power,
To guard us well in danger's hour.

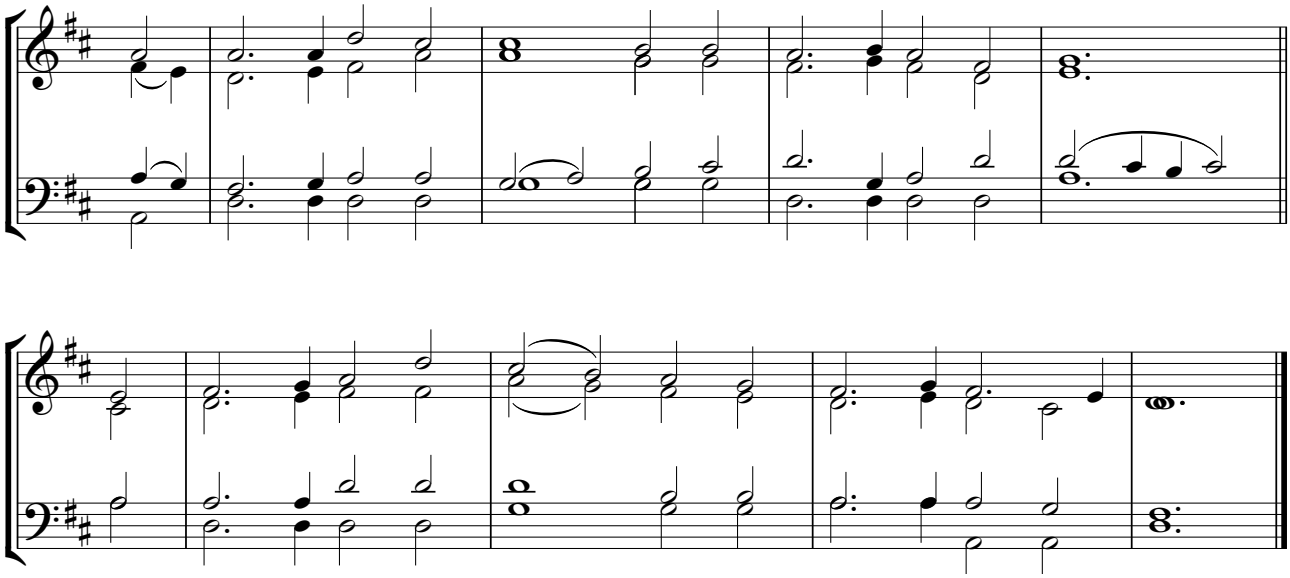
Lawrence Tuttiett

(1) The Novello 1902 edition has a C in the bass part.
Compare with EASTERGATE

414

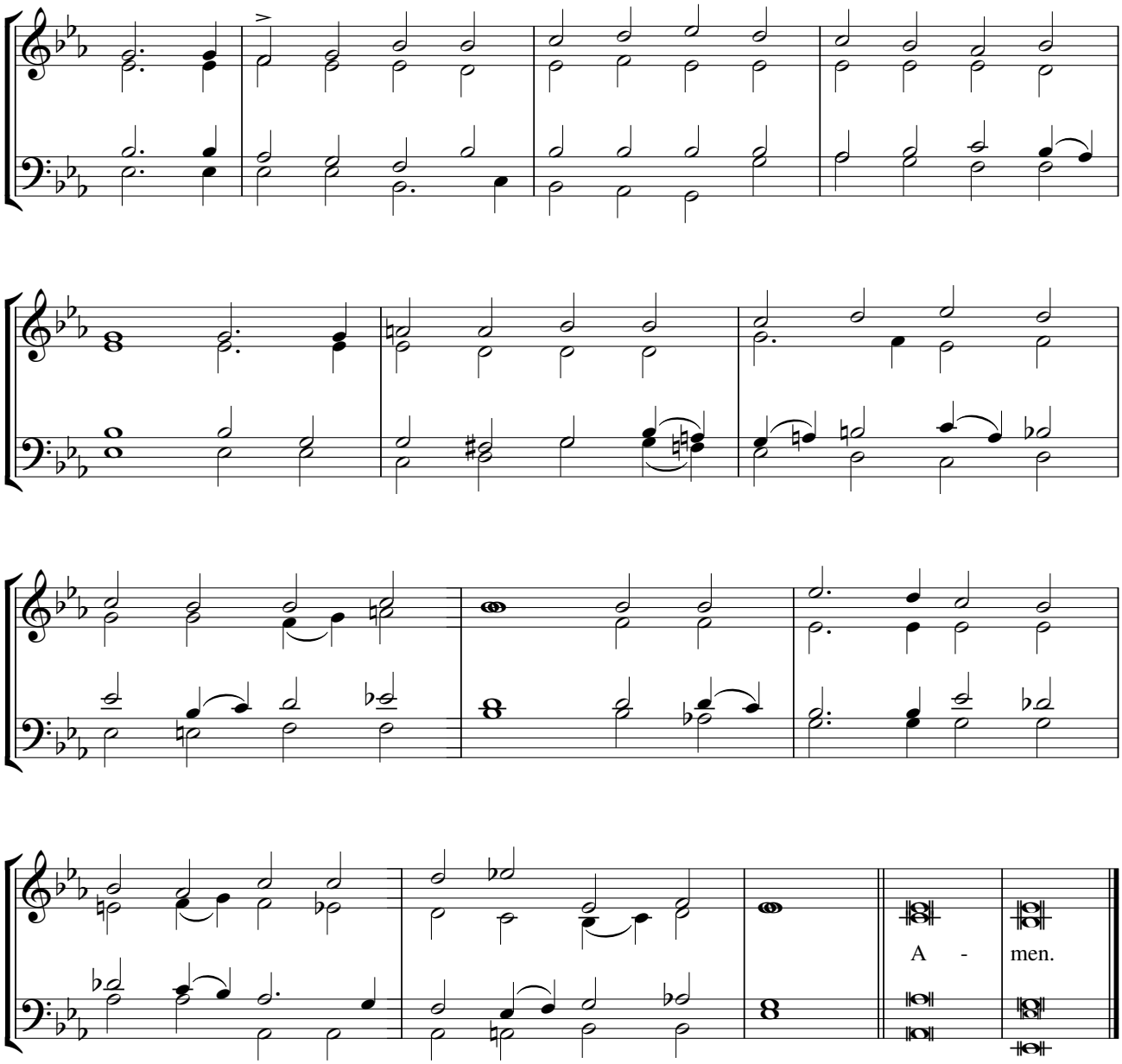
‘Where is the holy Jesus?’ (7676)

Hymns for Infant Children (18) No. 8

Other names:
JESUS OUR LORD
PETITION

Where is the holy Jesus?
He lives in Heav’n above,
He looks upon good children
With tenderness and love.

Anon

‘Where the prison bars surround him’ (878787)

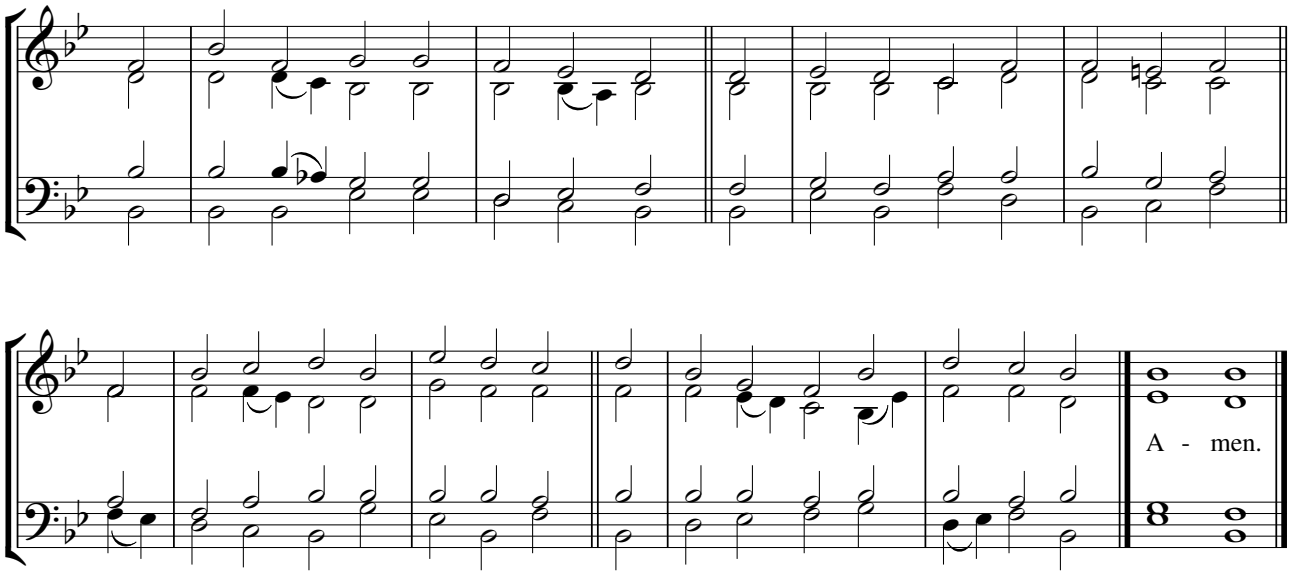
The Hymnary (1872) No.364

Where the prison bars surround him,
In his chains see Peter dwell;
Where the sentinel hath bound him,
Pacing by his gloomy cell;
What avail, when Jesus watches,
Prison, chains and sentinel?

Trans. from The Parisian Breviary

This tune is not included in the 1902 Novello edition

416

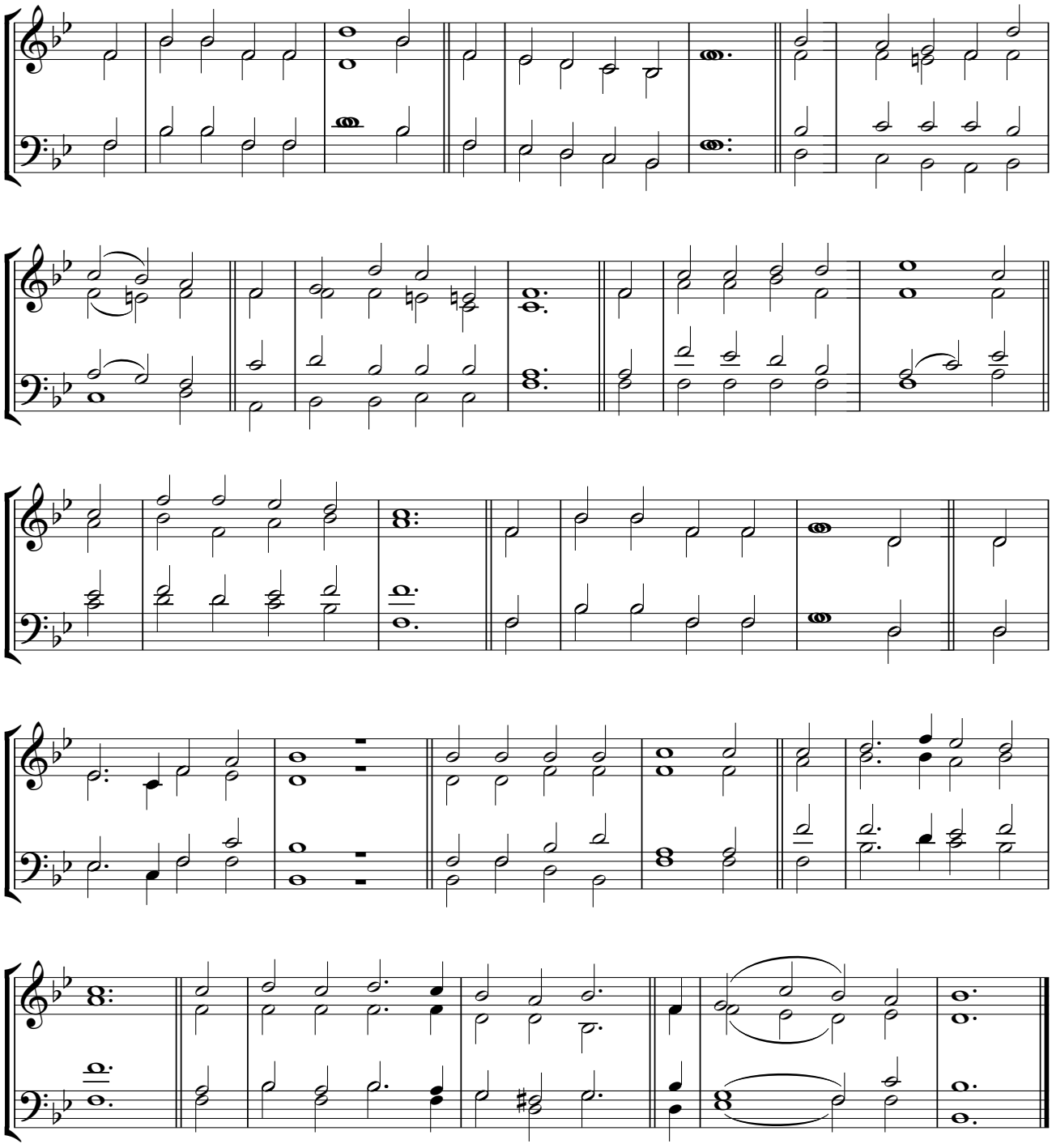
Winchester New (LM) (arr. J.B.D.)

The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (1862) No.243

My God, and is Thy Table spread,
And doth Thy Cup with love o'erflow?
Thither be all Thy children led,
And let them Thy Sweetness know.

Philipp Doddridge

This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Wir Pflugen (767676766684) (J.A.P. Schulze, harmonised by J.B.D.)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.360

We plough the fields, and scatter the good seed on the land,
But it is fed and watered by God's almighty hand;
He sends the snow in winter, the warmth to swell the grain,
The breezes and the sunshine, and soft refreshing rain.

All good gifts around us
Are sent from heaven above;
Then thank the Lord, O thank the Lord
For all His love.

Trans. from the German by J.M. Campbell

(1) Dykes confirms that this is an arrangement of his in a letter to Sir Henry Williams Baker dated 15 July 1874. This tune is omitted from the 1902 Novello edition.

Durham University

Appendix A (Part 2)

to The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc

Ph.D. Thesis by Graham Cory

Musical Compositions

by John Bacchus Dykes

Services, Anthems, Chants and Organ Solo

Page **Title**

1 ..... **Communion Service in F**

1 ..... *Kyrie No. 1 (for Ferial use)*

2 ..... *Kyrie No. 2 (for Festal Use)*

4 ..... *Credo*

12 ..... *Sursum Corda*

13 ..... *Sanctus*

14 ..... *Gloria*

20 ..... **Te Deum Laudamus**

31 ..... **Benedictus**

36 ..... **Magnificat**

44 ..... **Nunc Dimittis**

49 ..... **The Burial Service**

49 ..... *I am the resurrection and the life*

50 ..... *I know that my redeemer liveth*

51 ..... *We brought nothing into this world*

52 ..... *Man that is born of a woman*

53 ..... *In the midst of life we are in death*

54 ..... *Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts*

56 ..... *I heard a voice from heaven*

58 ..... **These are they which came out of great tribulation**

102 ..... **The Lord is my shepherd**

159 ..... **Lay not up for yourselves**

160 ..... **O God, forasmuch as without thee**

167 ..... **Unto Him that loved us**

171 ..... **I am the Way**

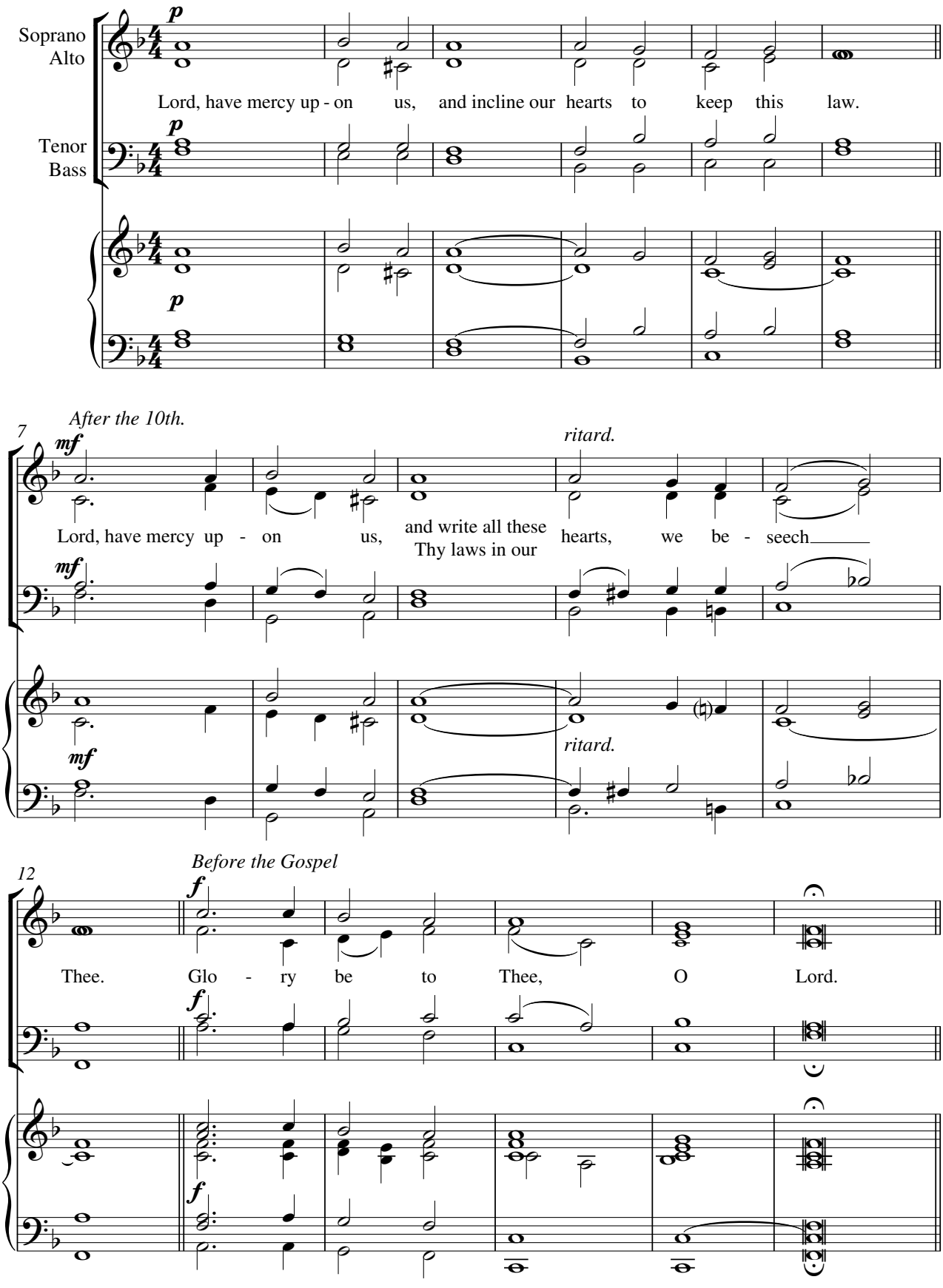
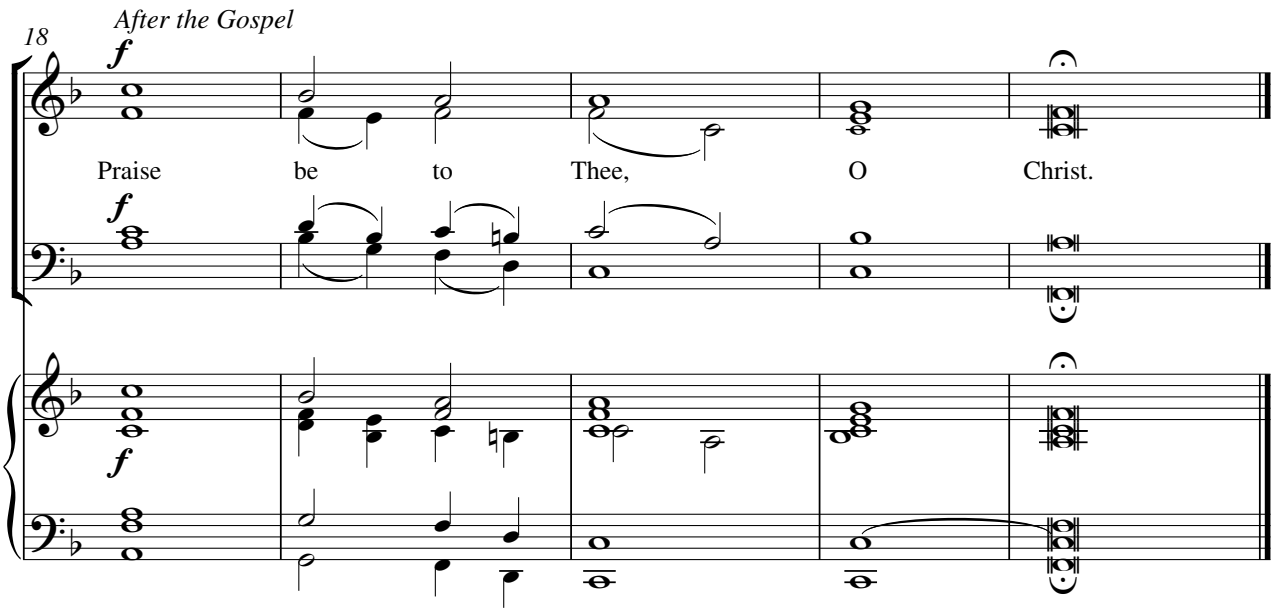
176 ..... **Chants**

178 ..... **Andante Sostenuto for Organ**

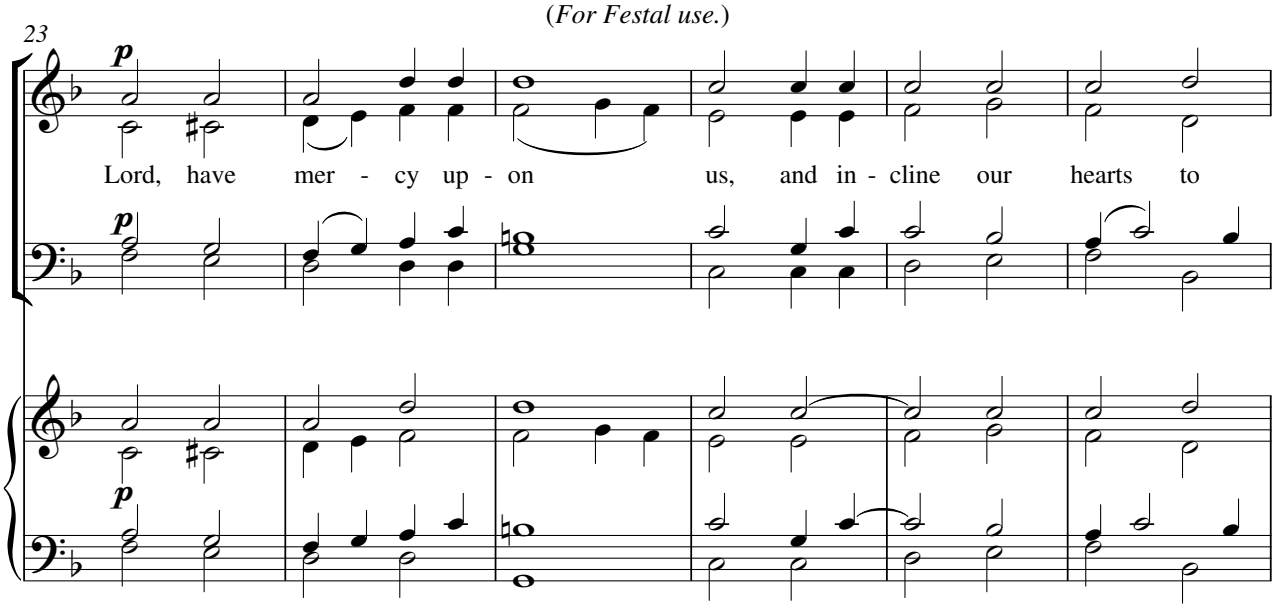
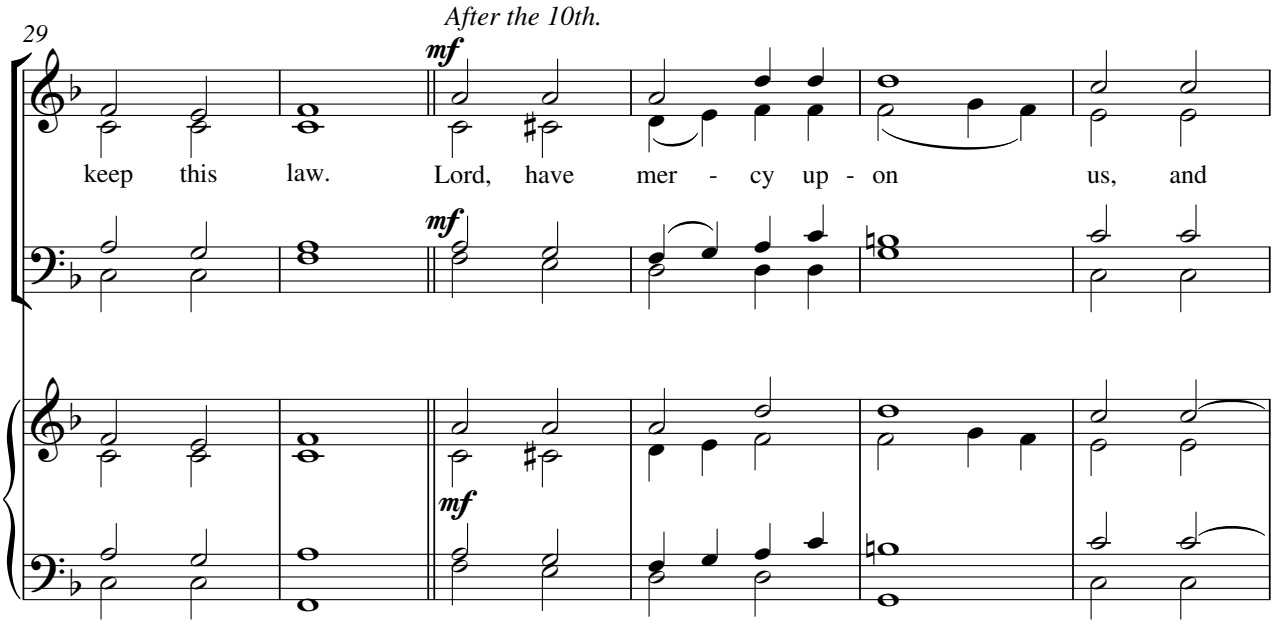
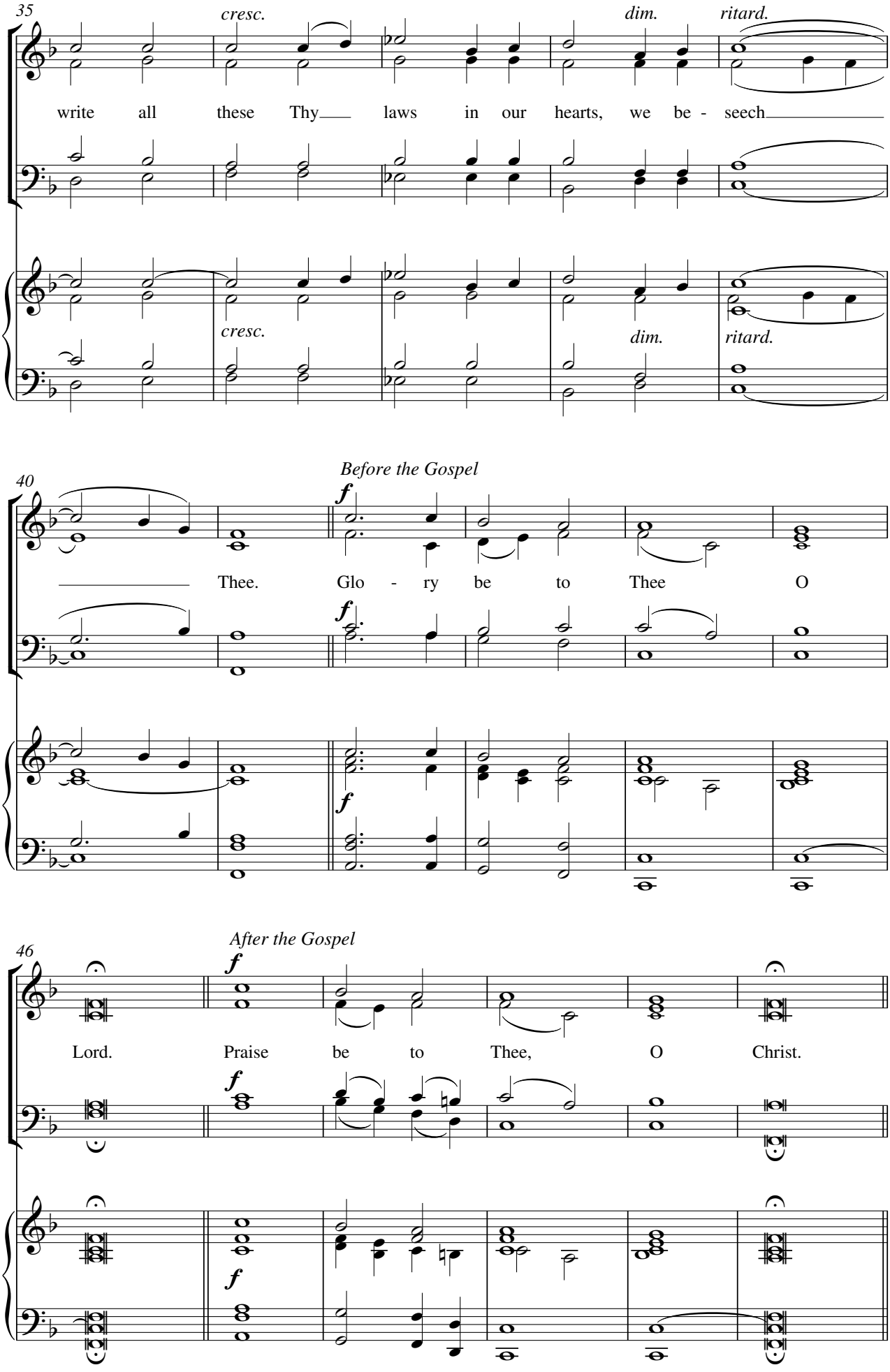
Communion Service in F

John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.

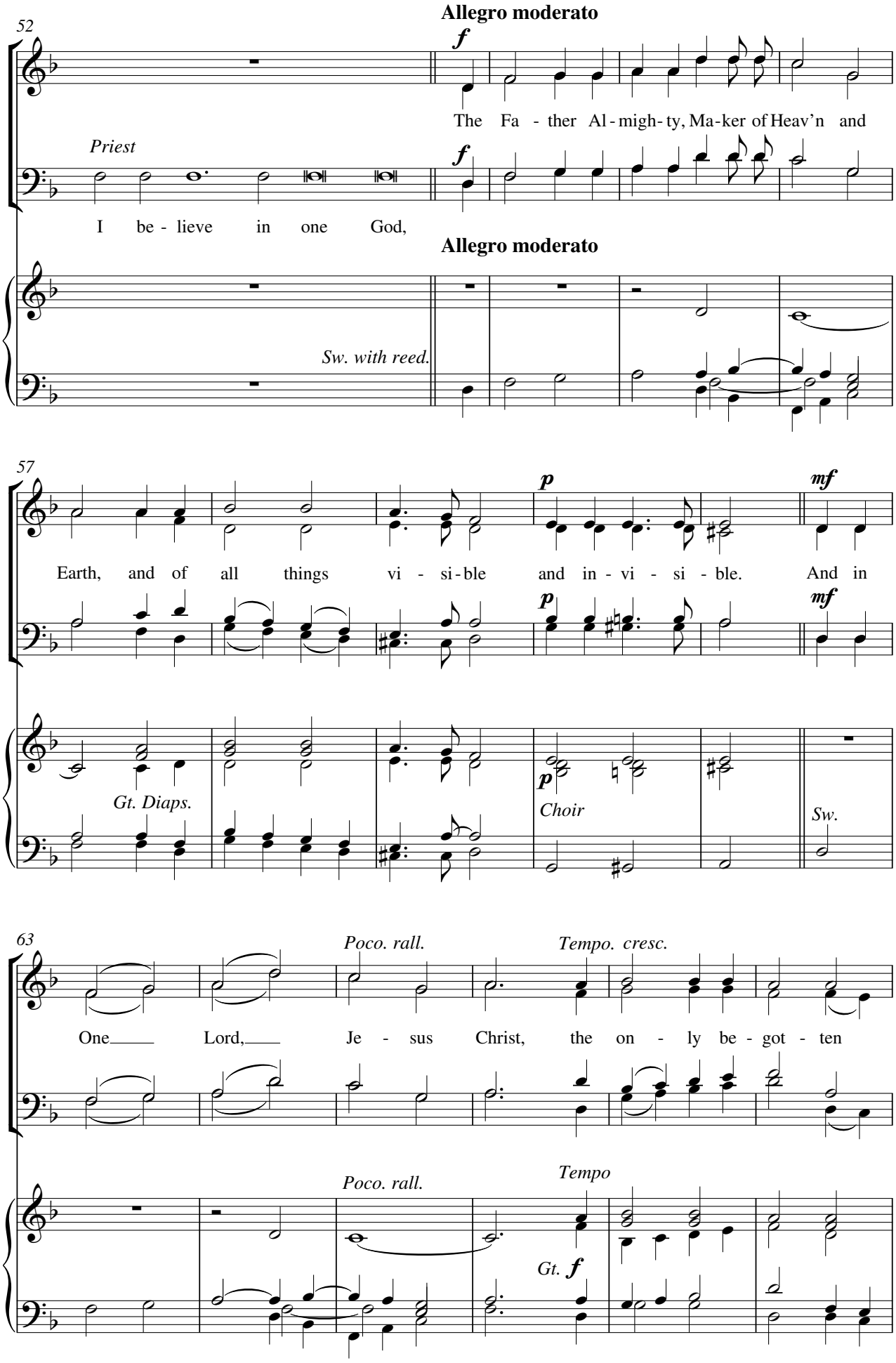
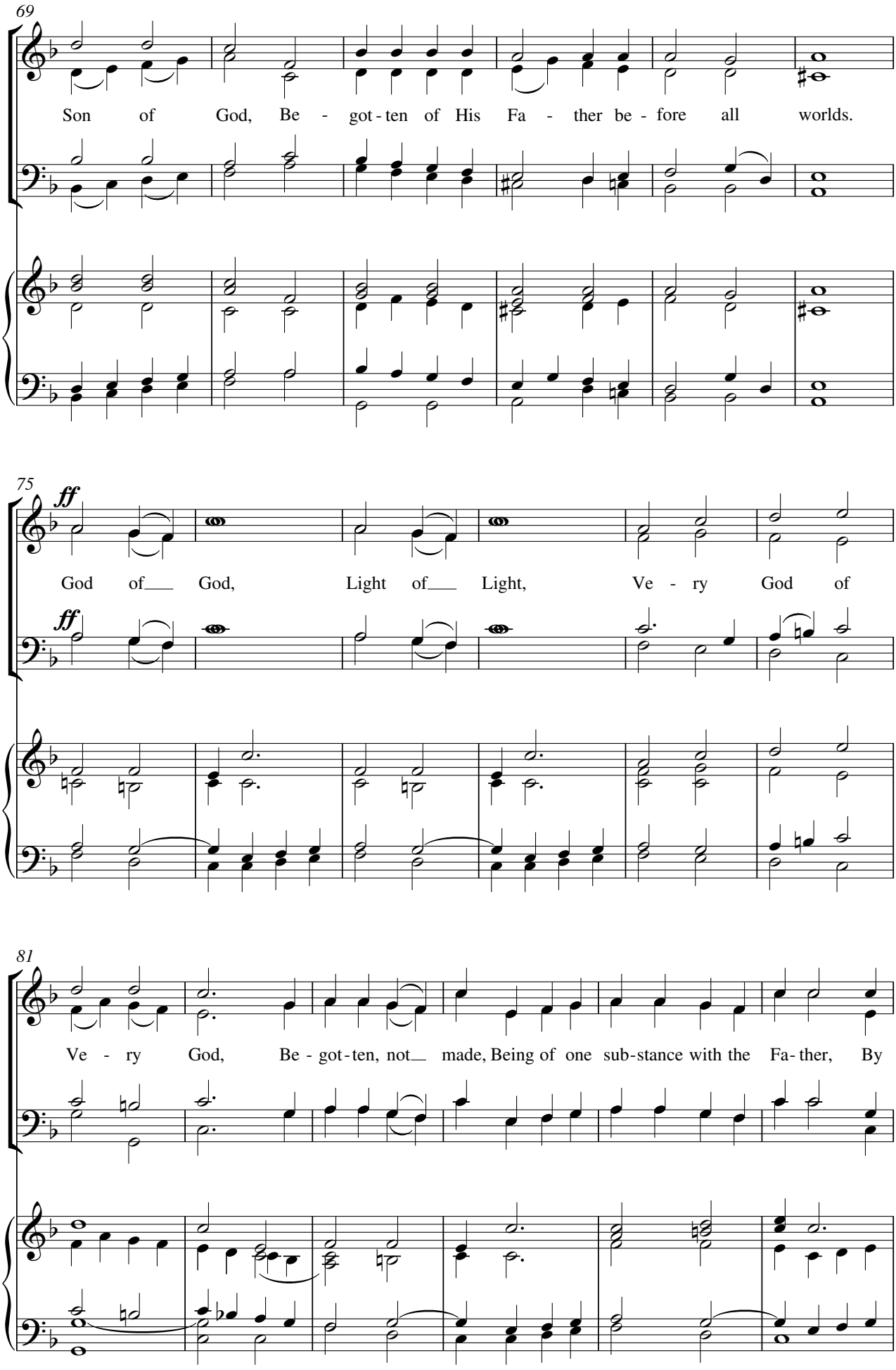
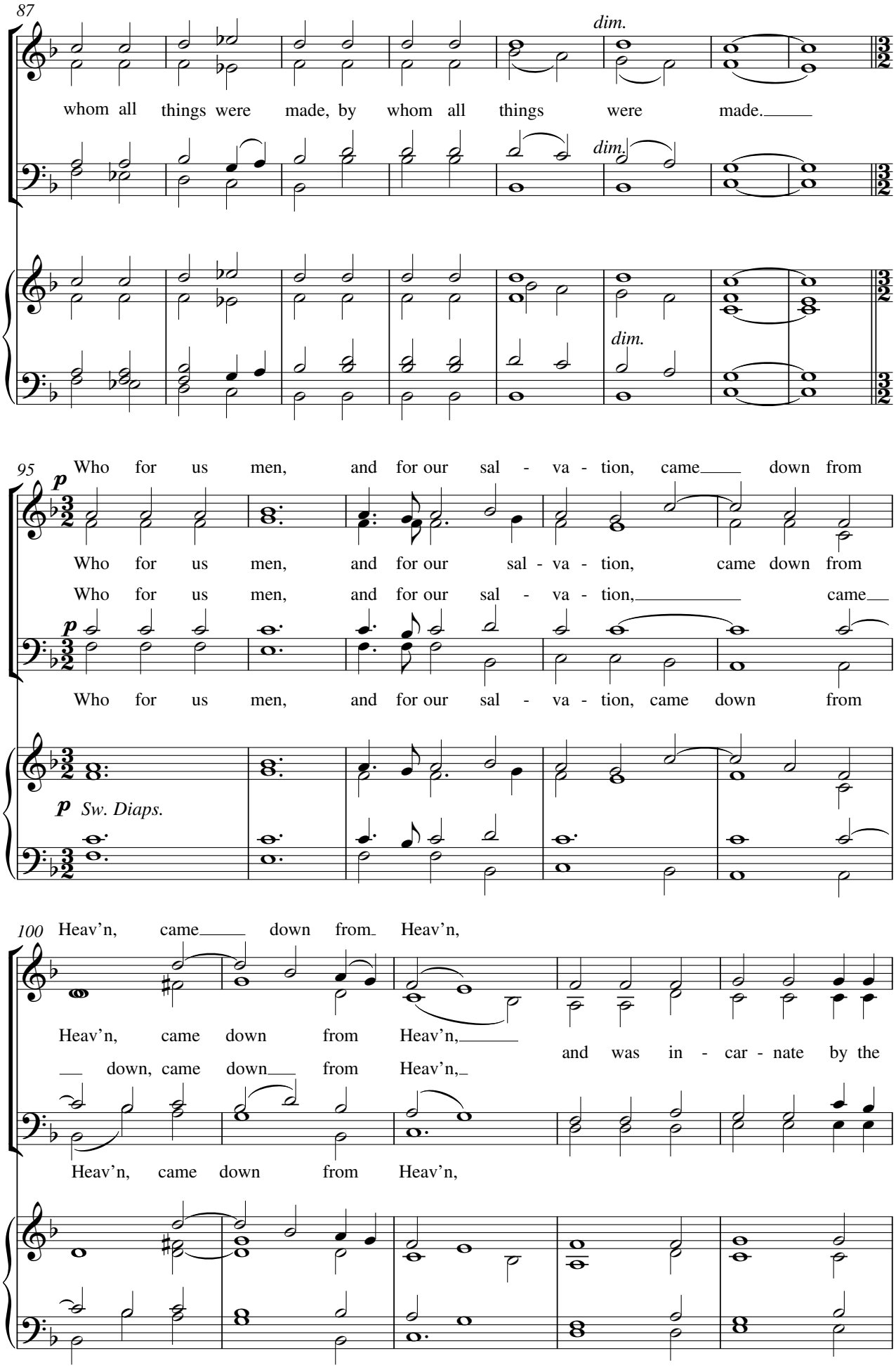
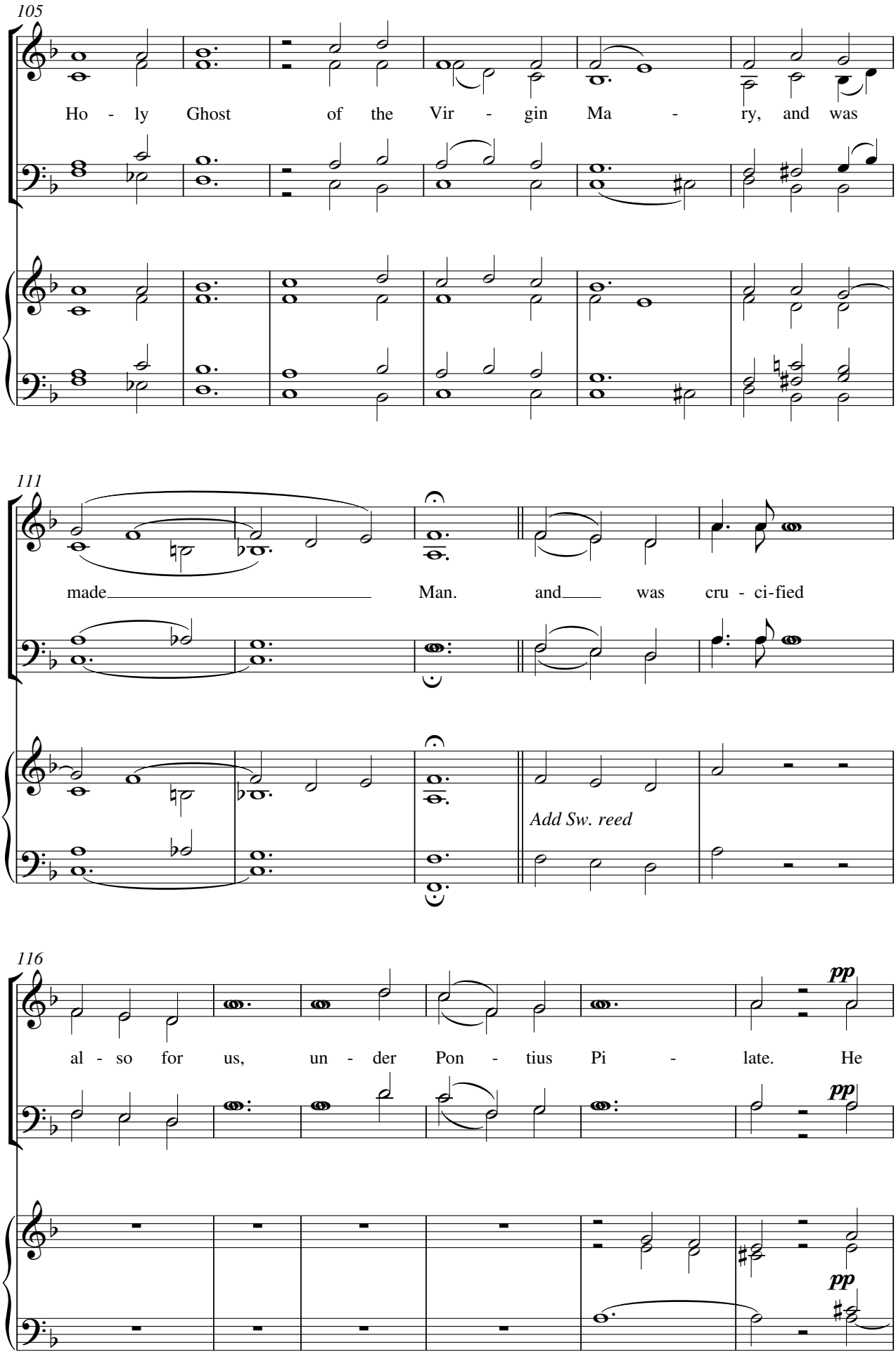
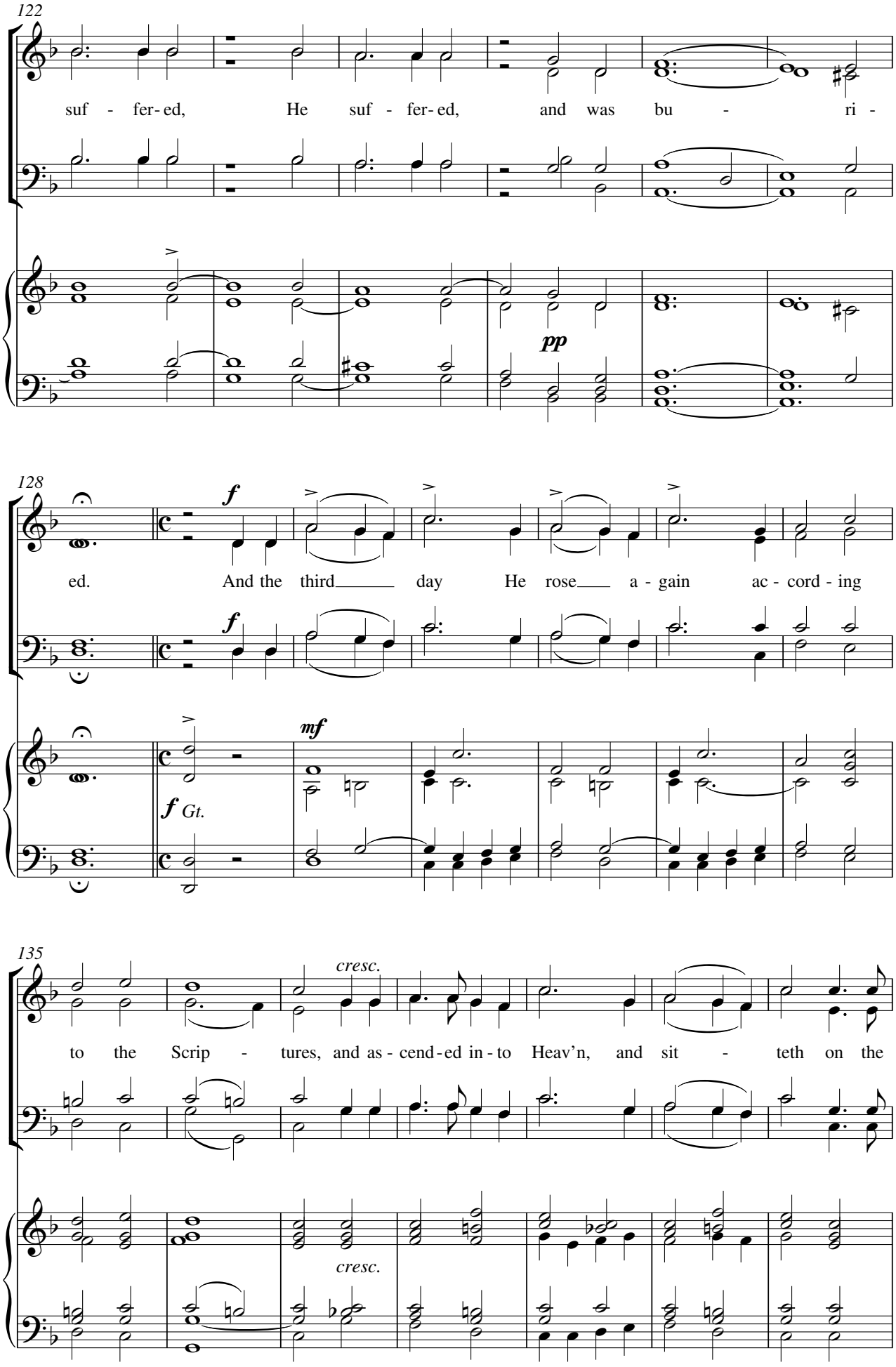
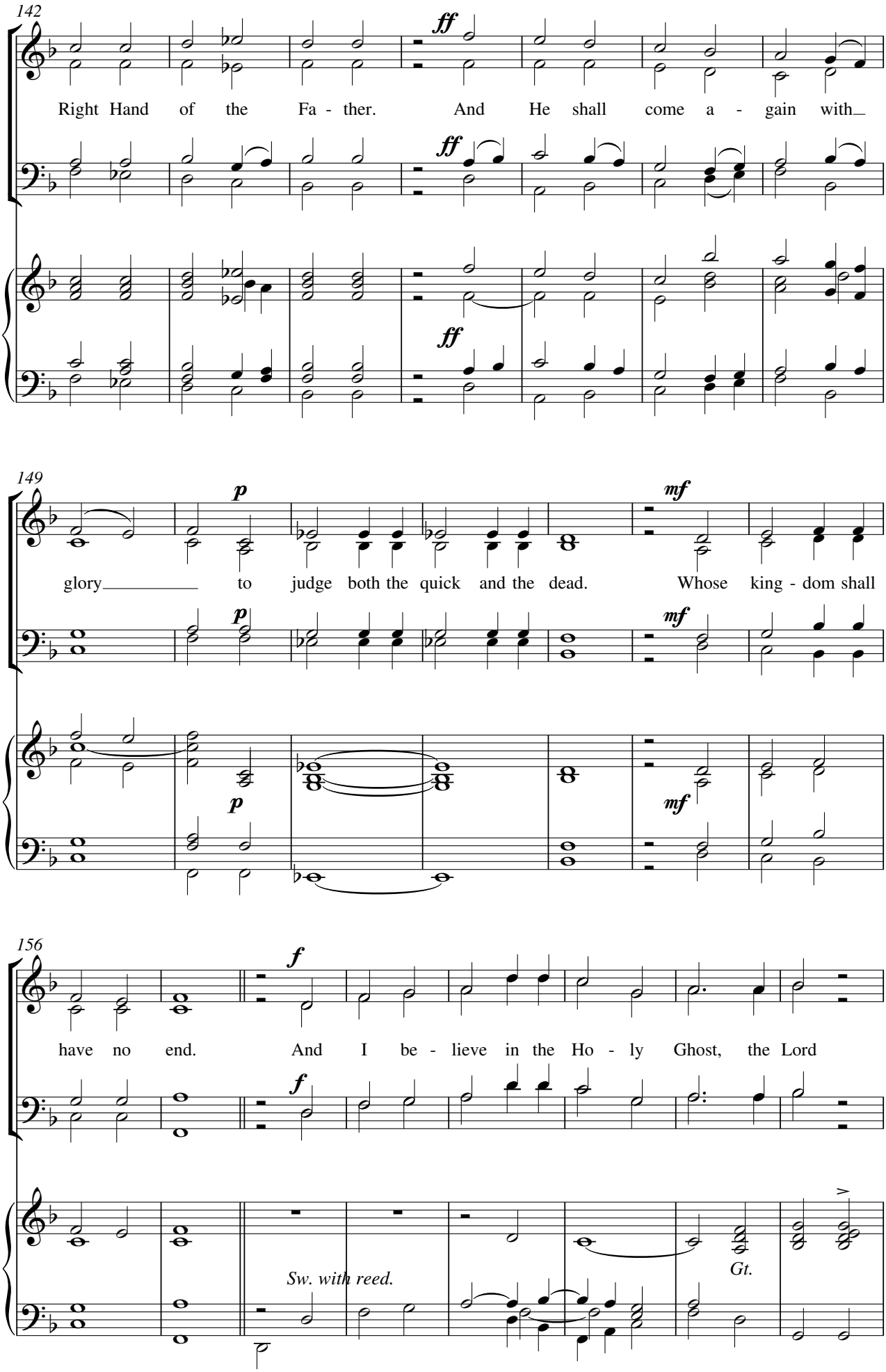
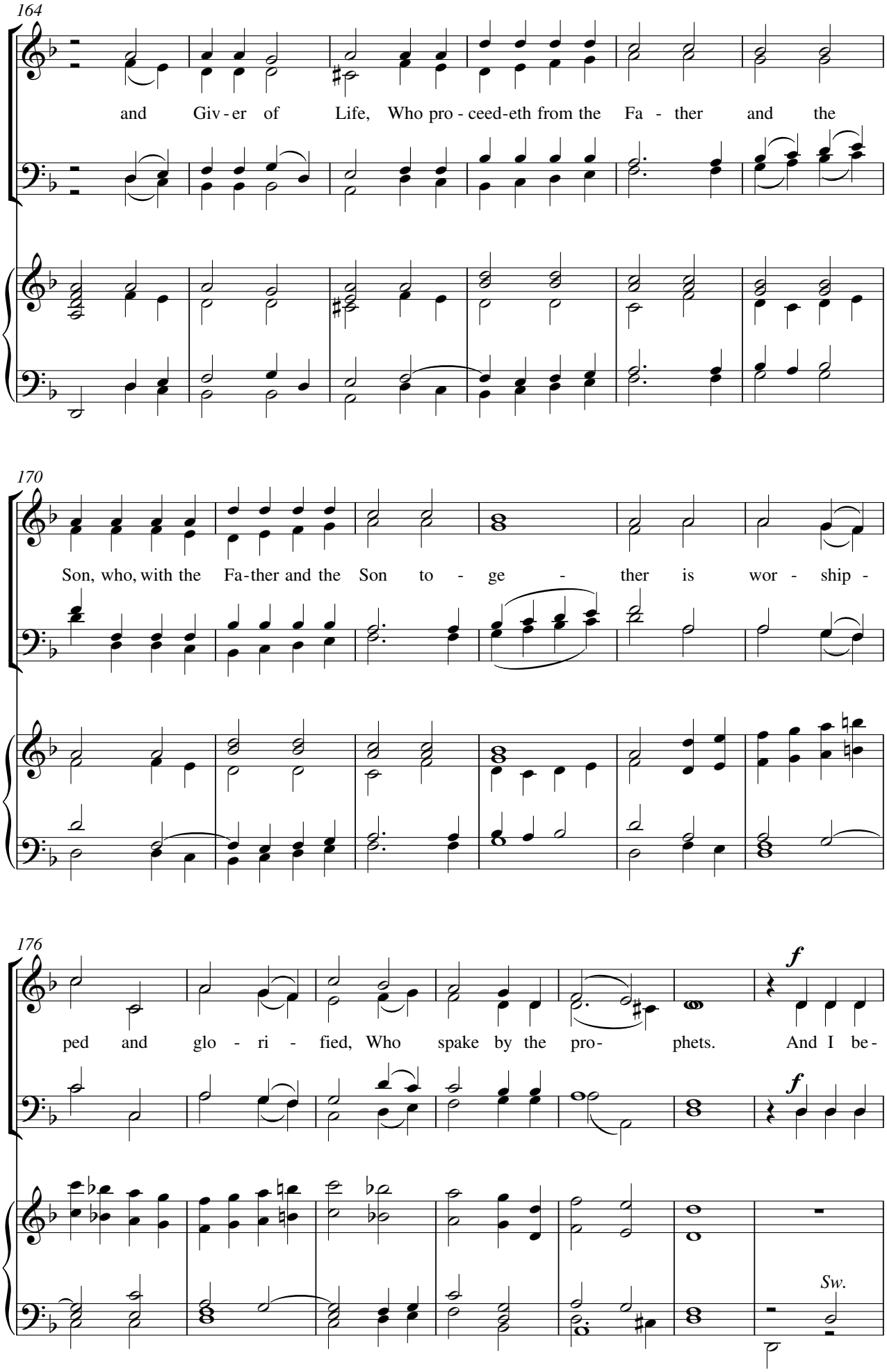
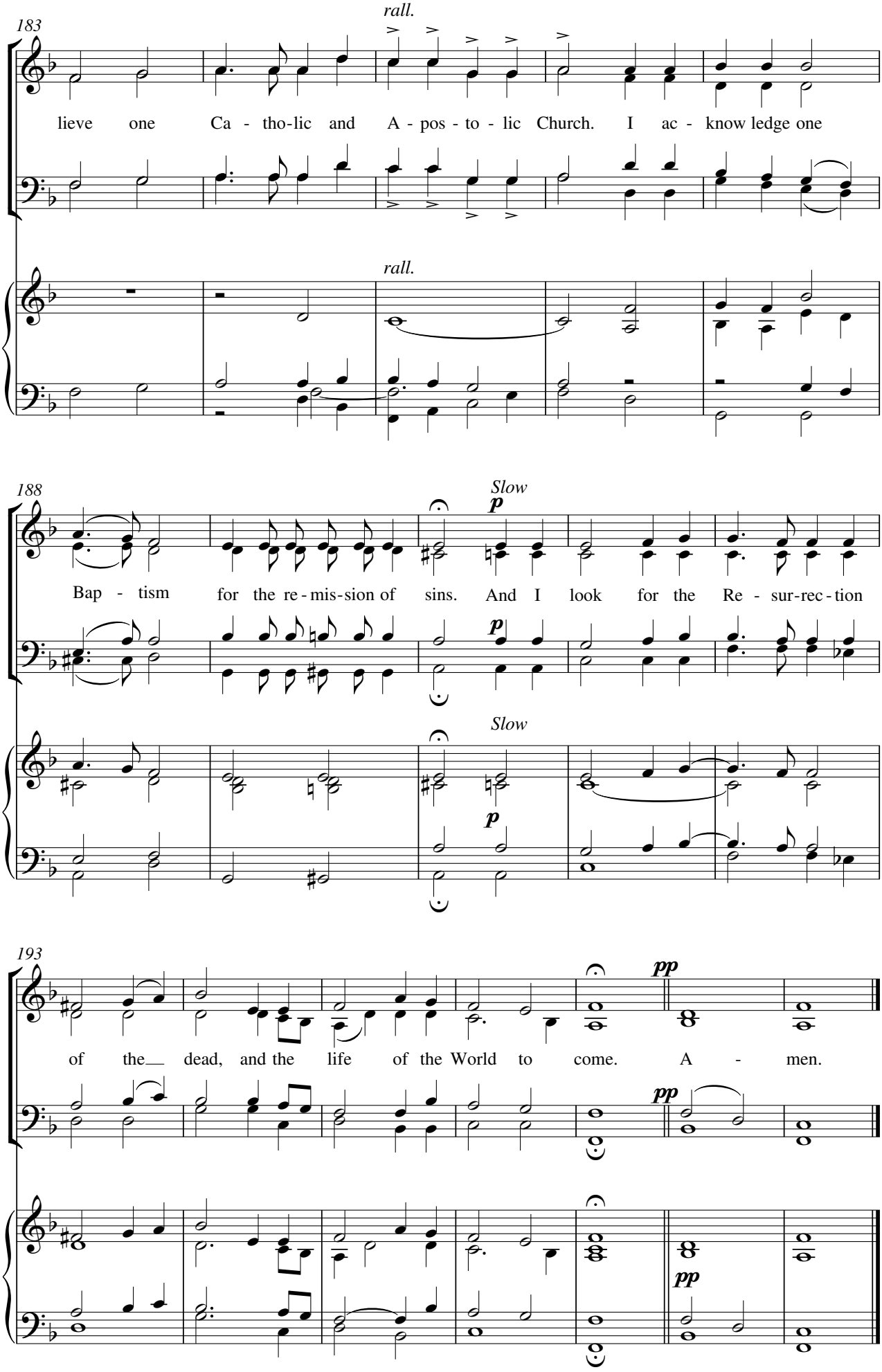
Kyrie No. 1

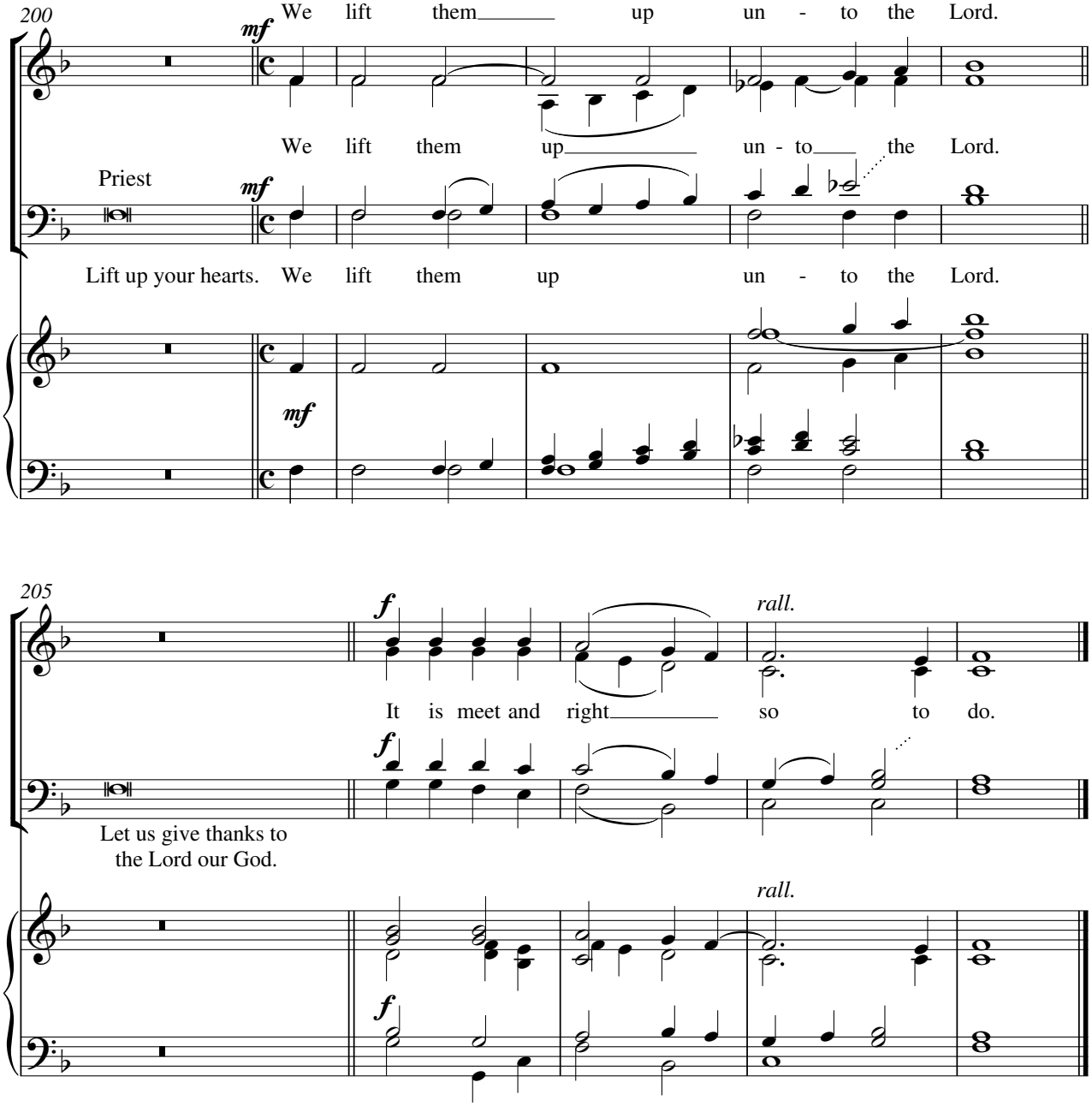
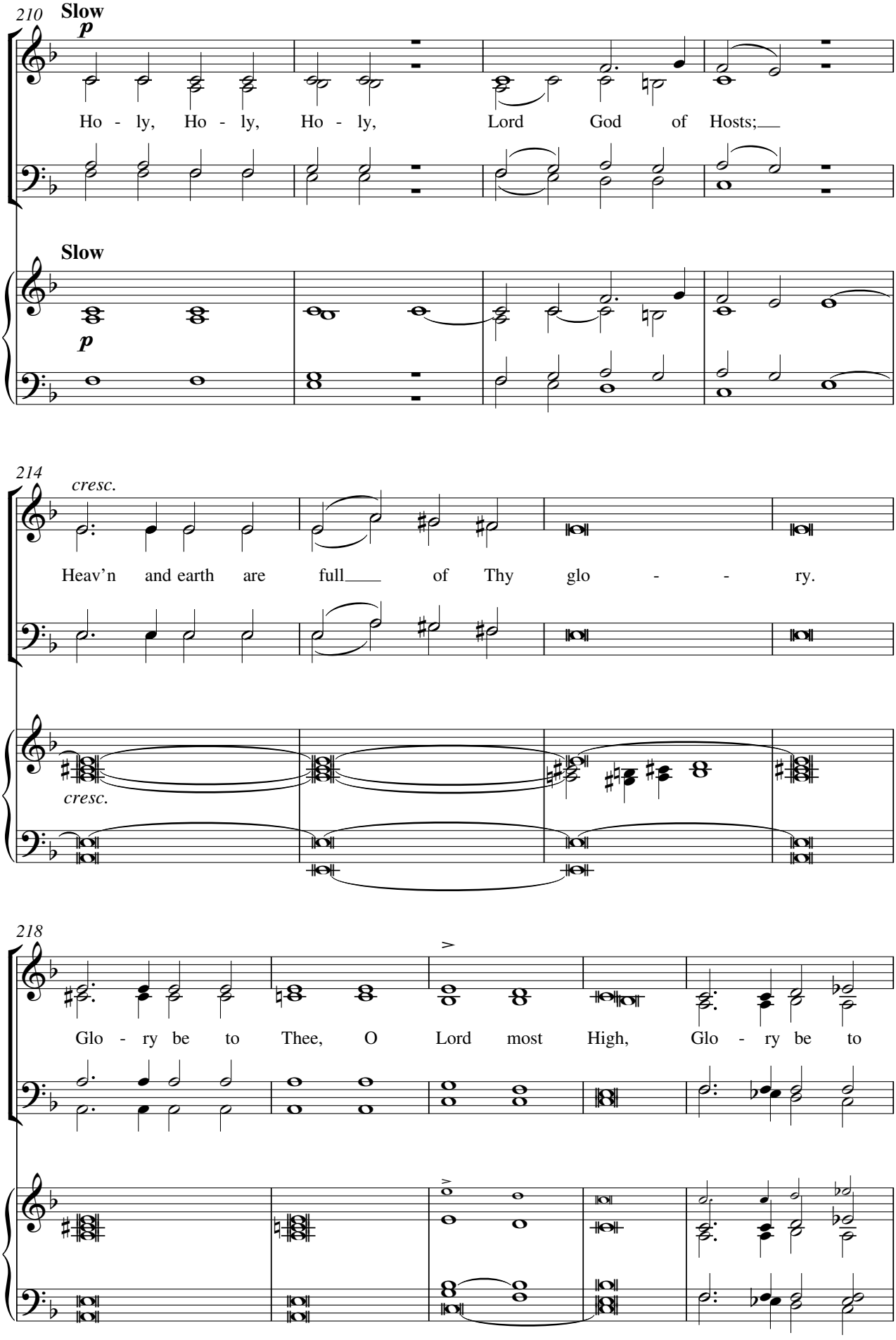
(*For Ferial use*)

Kyrie No. 2

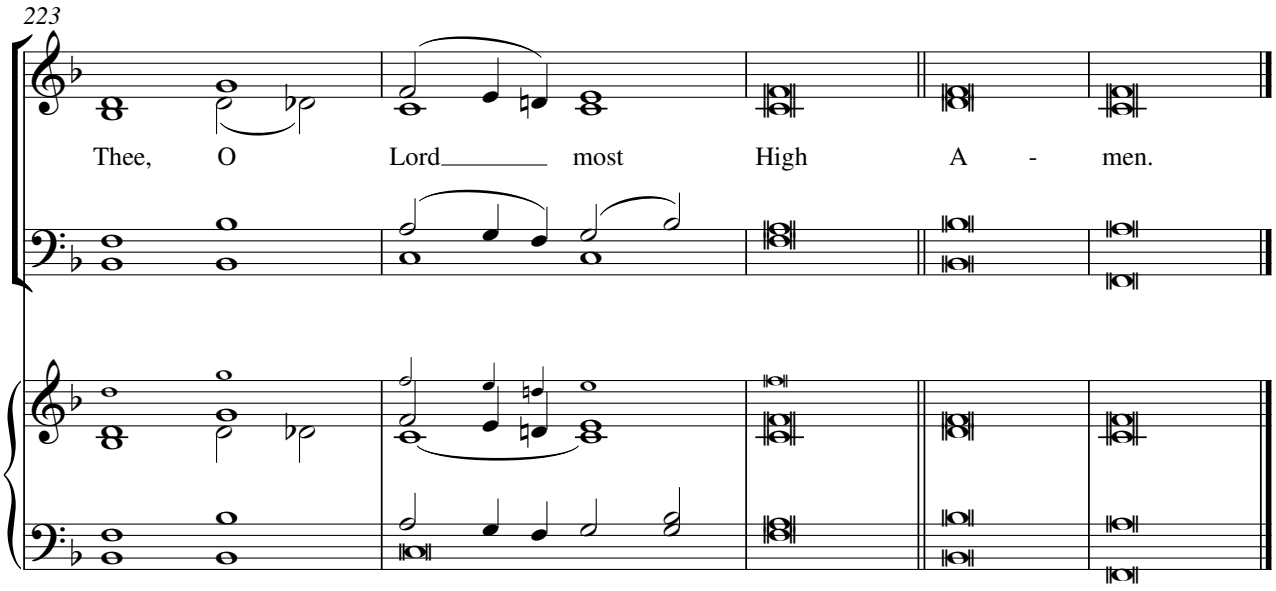
(*For Festal use.*)

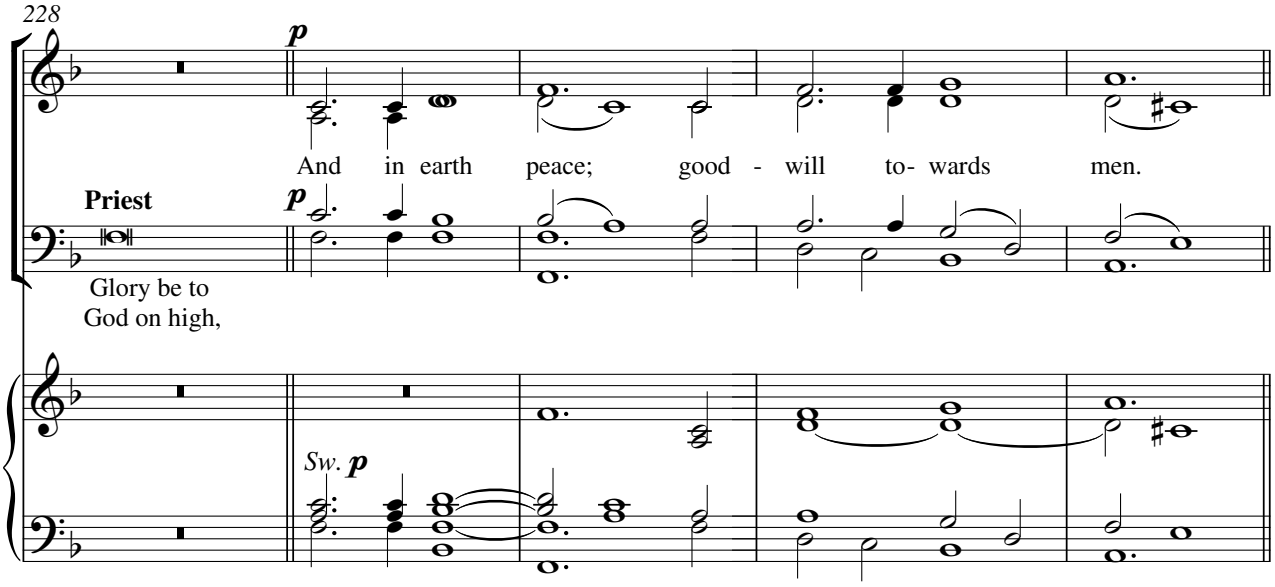


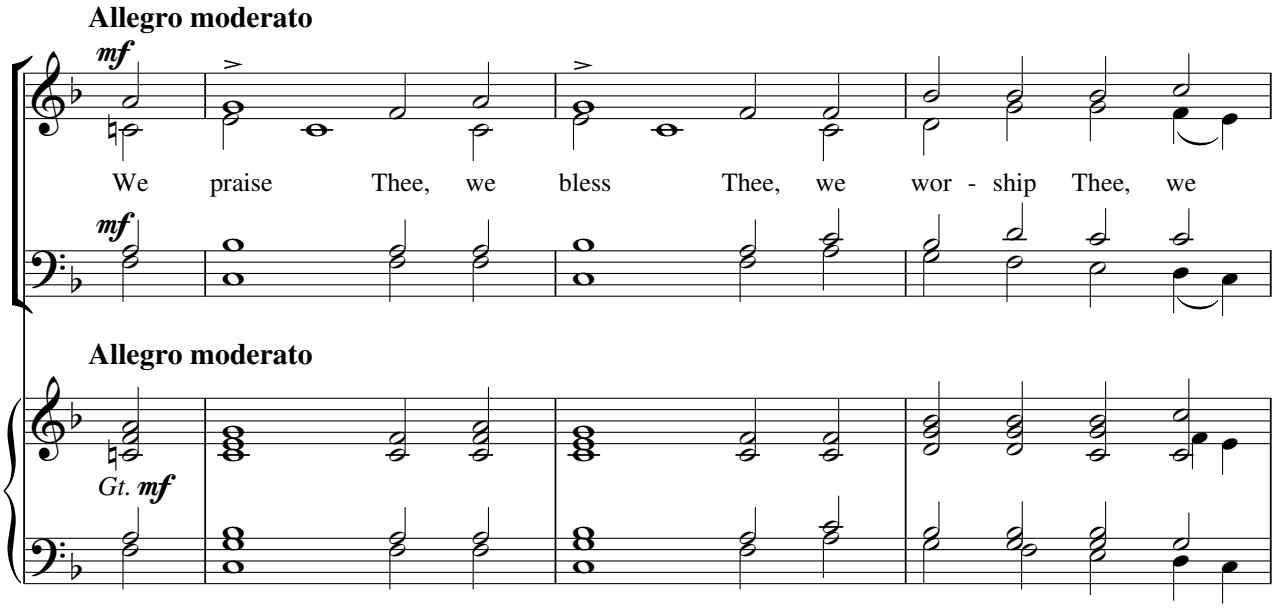
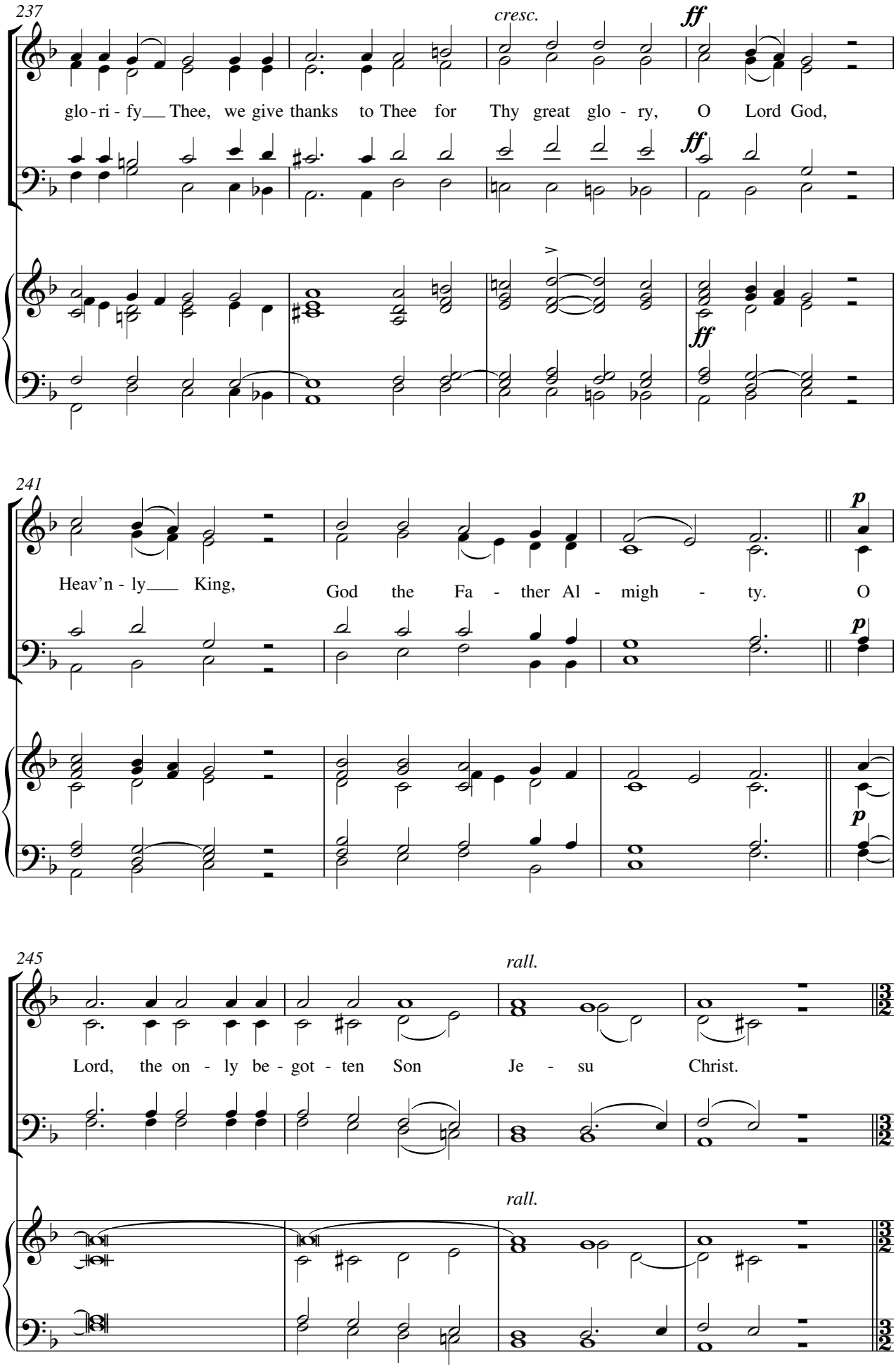
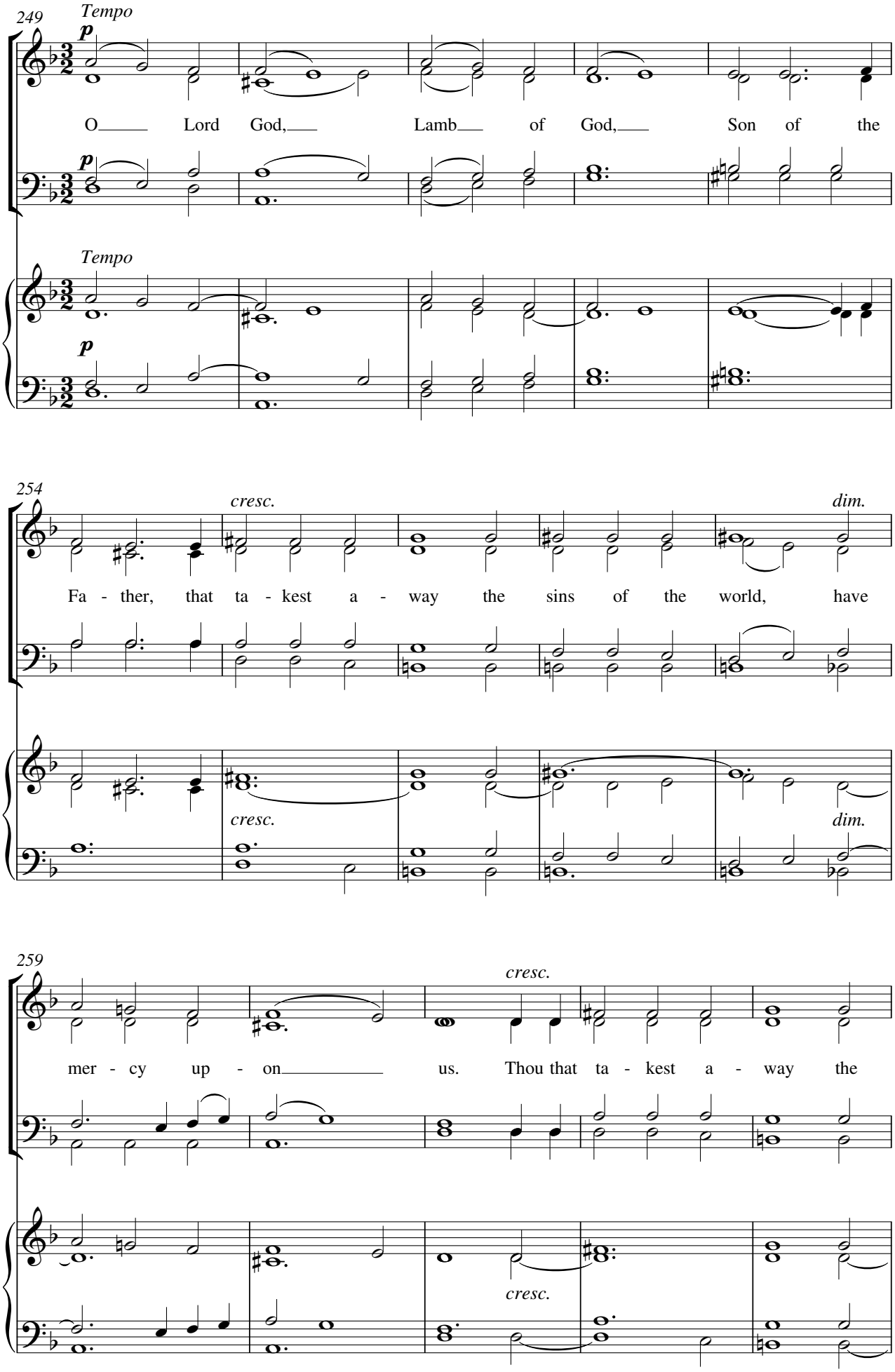
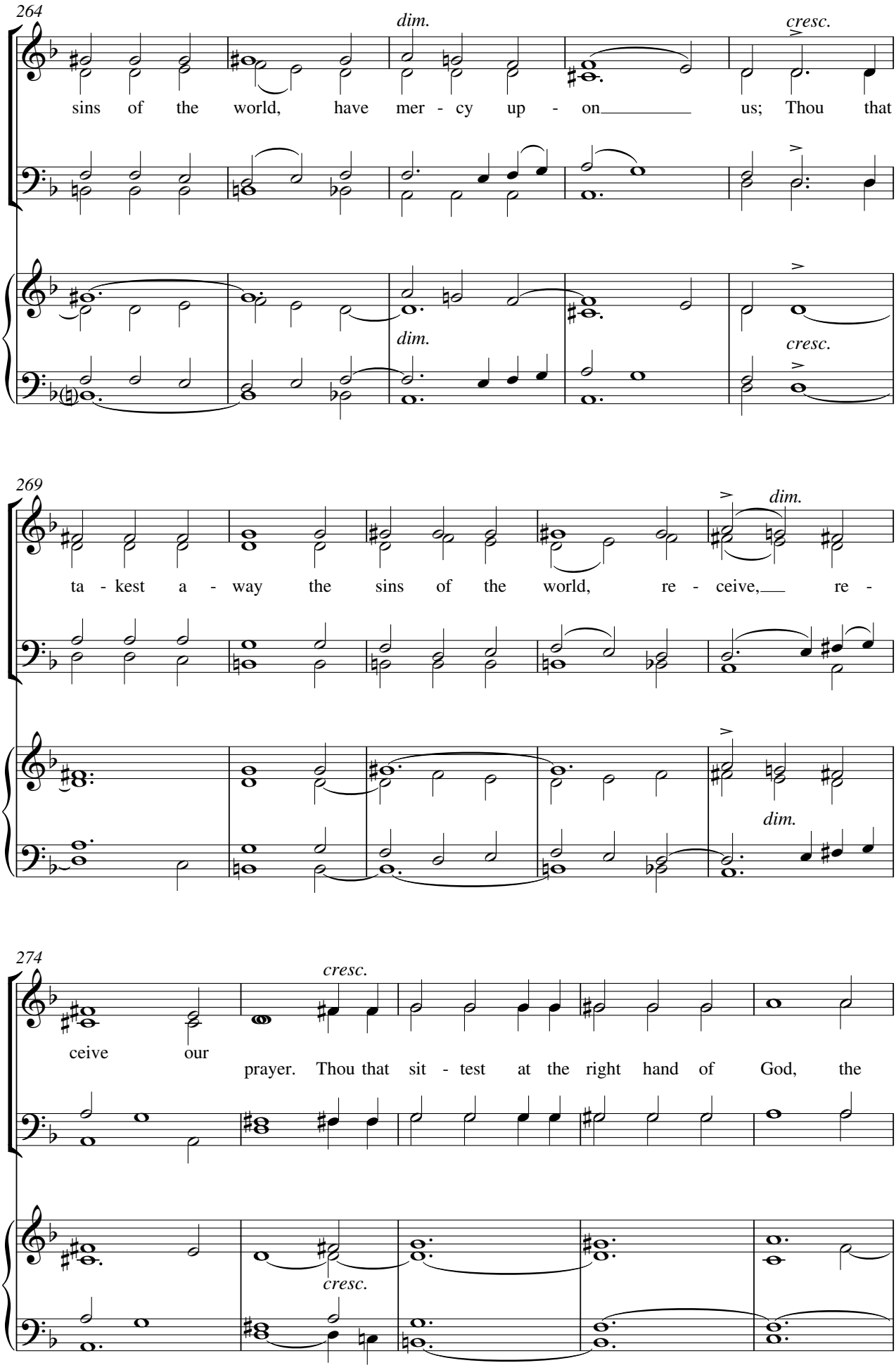
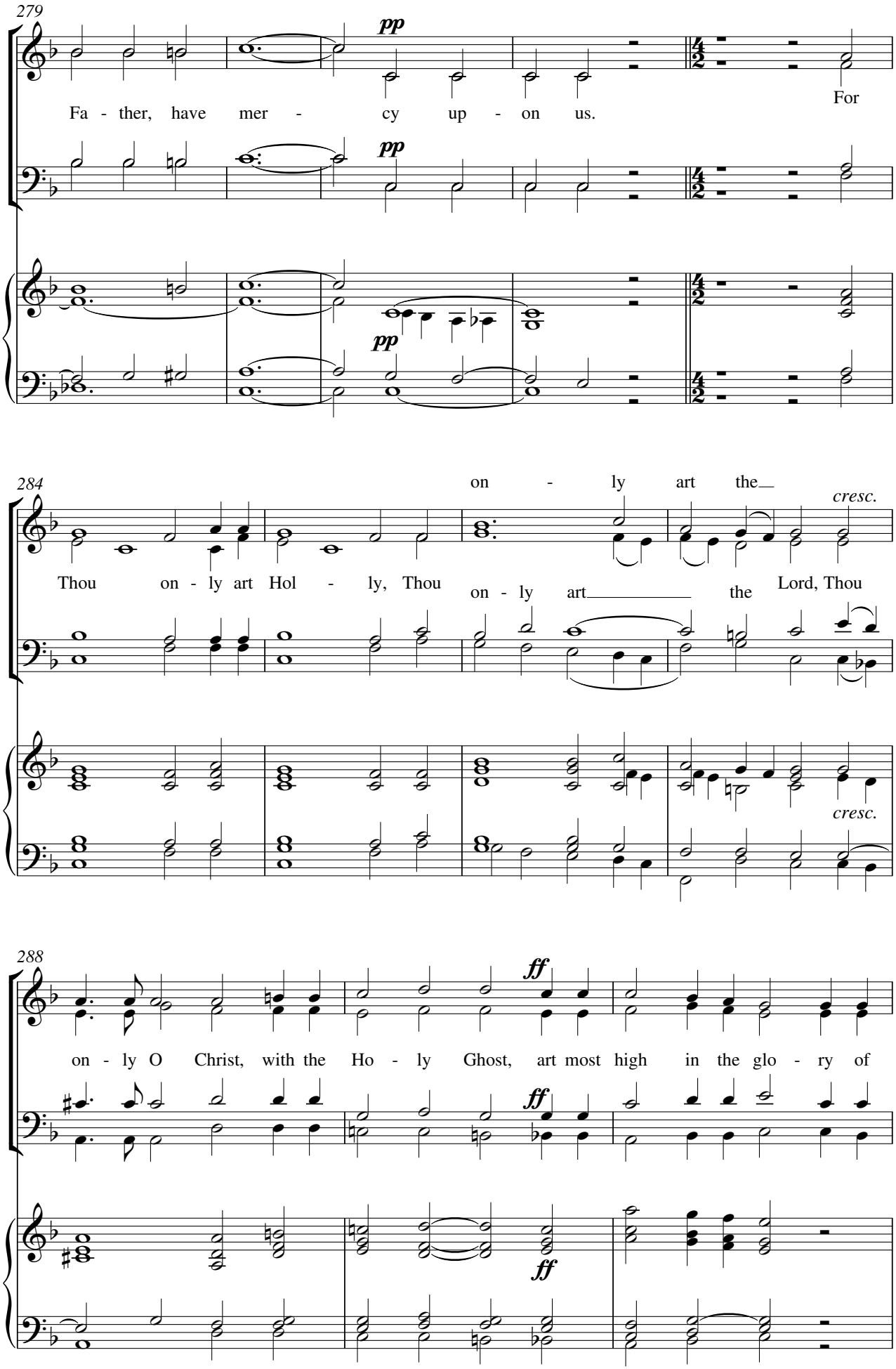
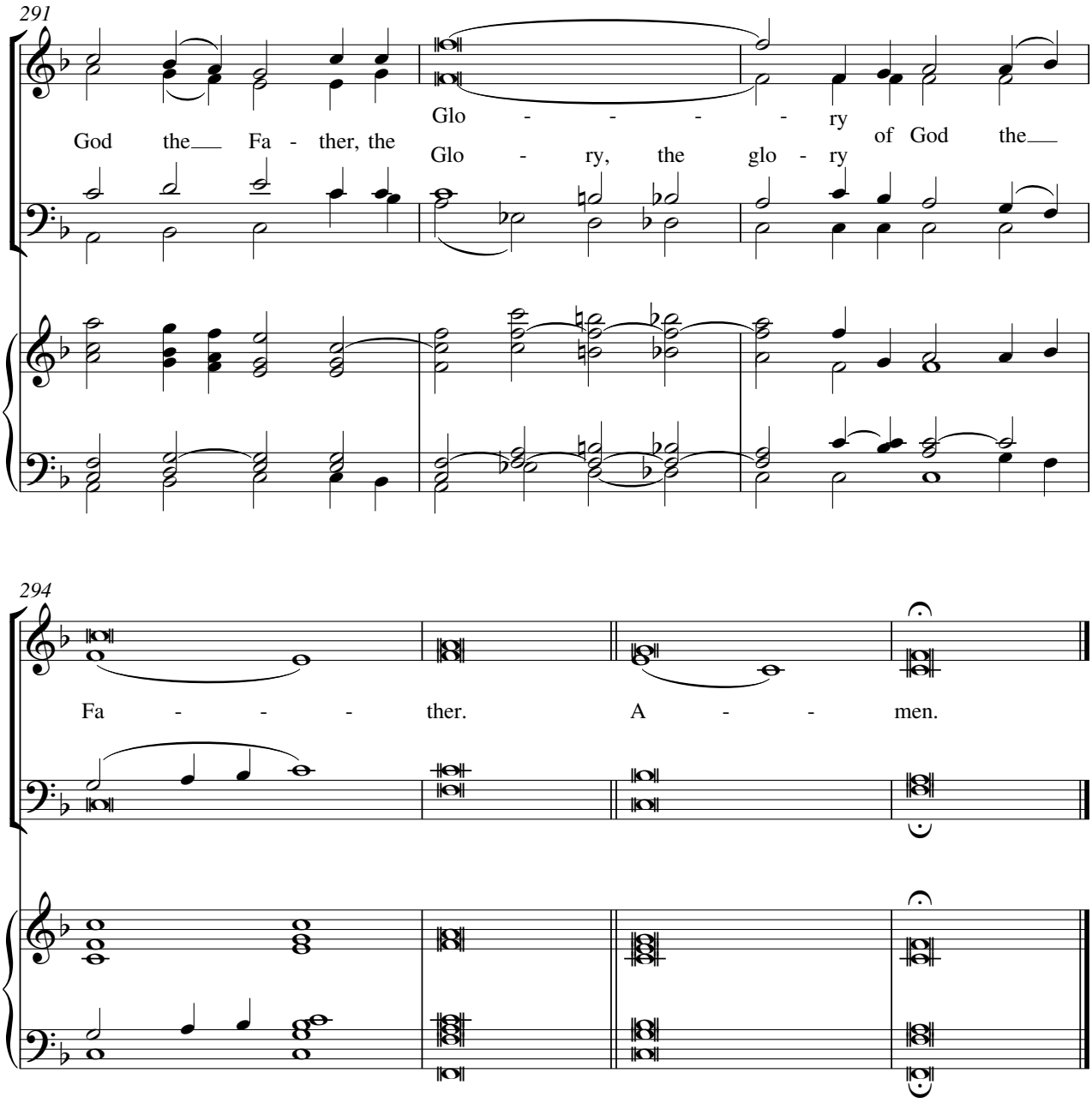
35
cresc.
dim.
ritard.
write all these Thy laws in our hearts, we be - seech
cresc.
dim.
ritard.
Before the Gospel
40
f
Thee. Glo - ry be to Thee O
f
f
After the Gospel
46
f
Lord. Praise be to Thee, O Christ.
f
f

Credo

Allegro moderato
52
f
The Fa - ther Al - migh - ty, Ma - ker of Heav'n and
Priest
f
I be - lieve in one God,
Allegro moderato
Sw. with reed.
57
p
mf
Earth, and of all things vi - si - ble and in - vi - si - ble. And in
p
mf
Gt. Diaps.
p
Choir
Sw.
63
Poco. rall.
Tempo. cresc.
One Lord, Je - sus Christ, the on - ly be - got - ten
Poco. rall.
Tempo
Gt. f

69
Son of God, Be - got - ten of His Fa - ther be - fore all worlds.
75
ff
God of God, Light of Light, Ve - ry God of
ff
81
Ve - ry God, Be - got - ten, not made, Being of one sub - stance with the Fa - ther, By

87
dim.
whom all things were made, by whom all things were made.
dim.
dim.
95
p
Who for us men, and for our sal - va - tion, came down from
Who for us men, and for our sal - va - tion, came down from
Who for us men, and for our sal - va - tion, came
p
Who for us men, and for our sal - va - tion, came down from
p Sw. Diaps.
100
Heav'n, came down from Heav'n,
Heav'n, came down from Heav'n,
and was in - car - nate by the
down, came down from Heav'n,
Heav'n, came down from Heav'n,

105
Ho - ly Ghost of the Vir - gin Ma - ry, and was
111
made Man. and was cru - ci-fied
Add Sw. reed
116
pp
al - so for us, un - der Pon - tius Pi - late. He
pp
pp

122
suf - fer - ed, He suf - fer - ed, and was bu - ri -
pp
128
ed. And the third day He rose a - gain ac - cord - ing
f
f
f Gt.
mf
135
to the Scrip - tures, and as - cend - ed in - to Heav'n, and sit - teth on the
cresc.
cresc.

142
ff
Right Hand of the Fa - ther. And He shall come a - gain with
149
p
mf
glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Whose king - dom shall
156
f
have no end. And I be - lieve in the Ho - ly Ghost, the Lord
Sw. with reed.
Gt.

164
and Giv - er of Life, Who pro - ceed-eth from the Fa - ther and the
170
Son, who, with the Fa-ther and the Son to - ge - ther is wor - ship -
176
f
ped and glo - ri - fied, Who spake by the pro- phets. And I be -
f
Sw.

183
rall.
lieve one Ca - tho-lic and A - pos - to - lic Church. I ac - know ledge one
rall.
188
Slow
p
Bap - tism for the re - mis-sion of sins. And I look for the Re - sur-rec - tion
Slow
p
193
pp
of the dead, and the life of the World to come. A - men.
pp
pp

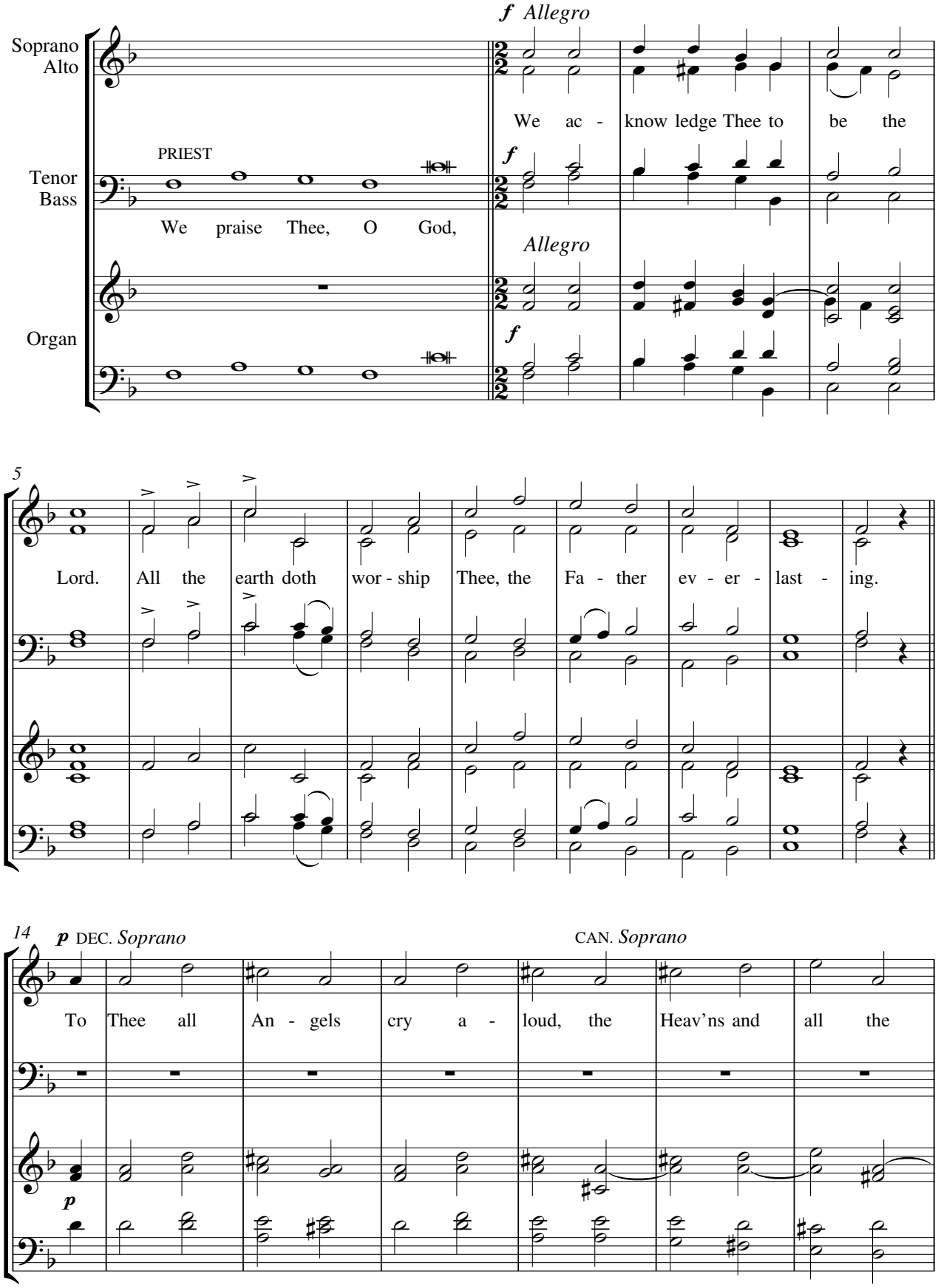
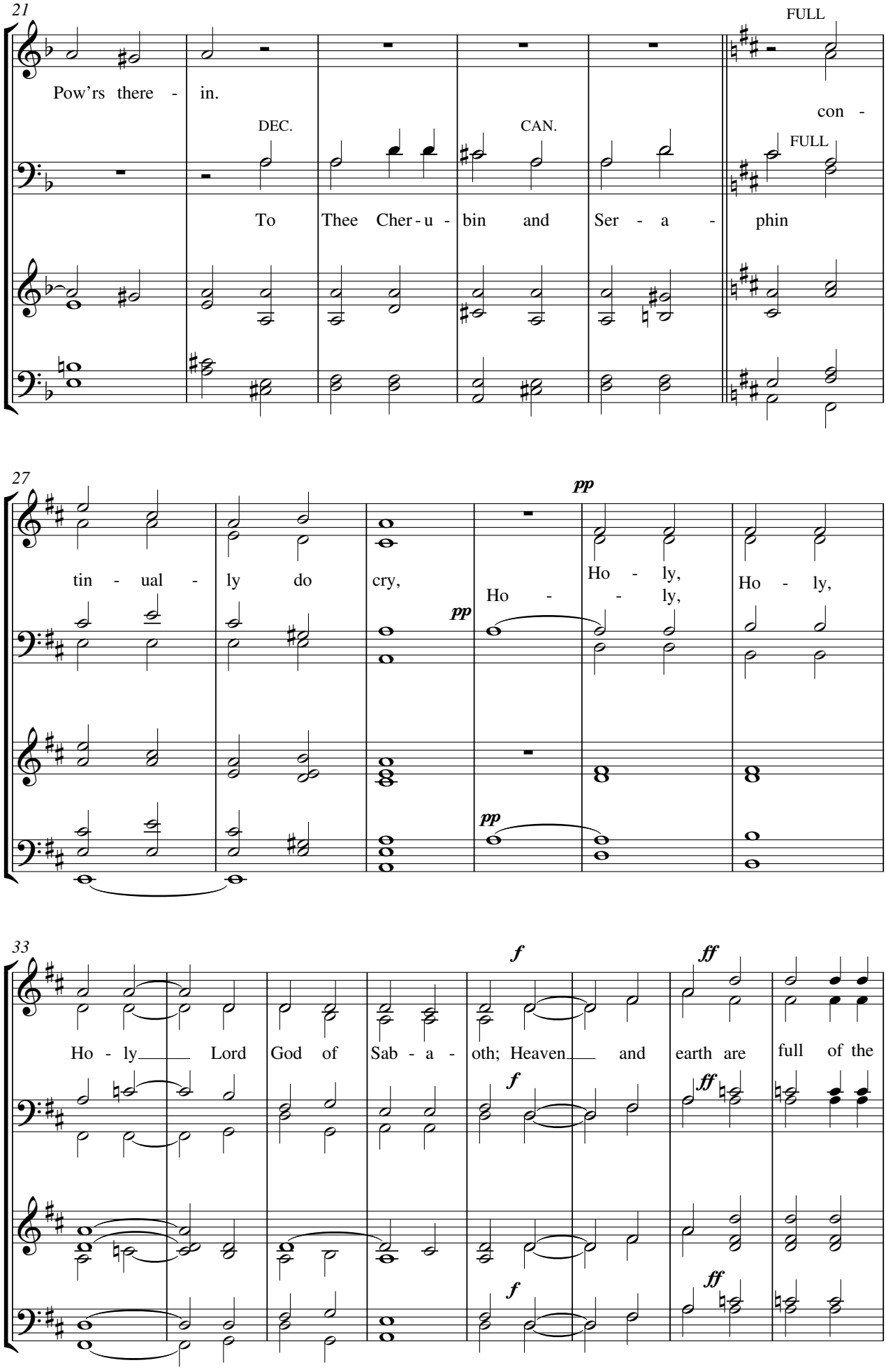
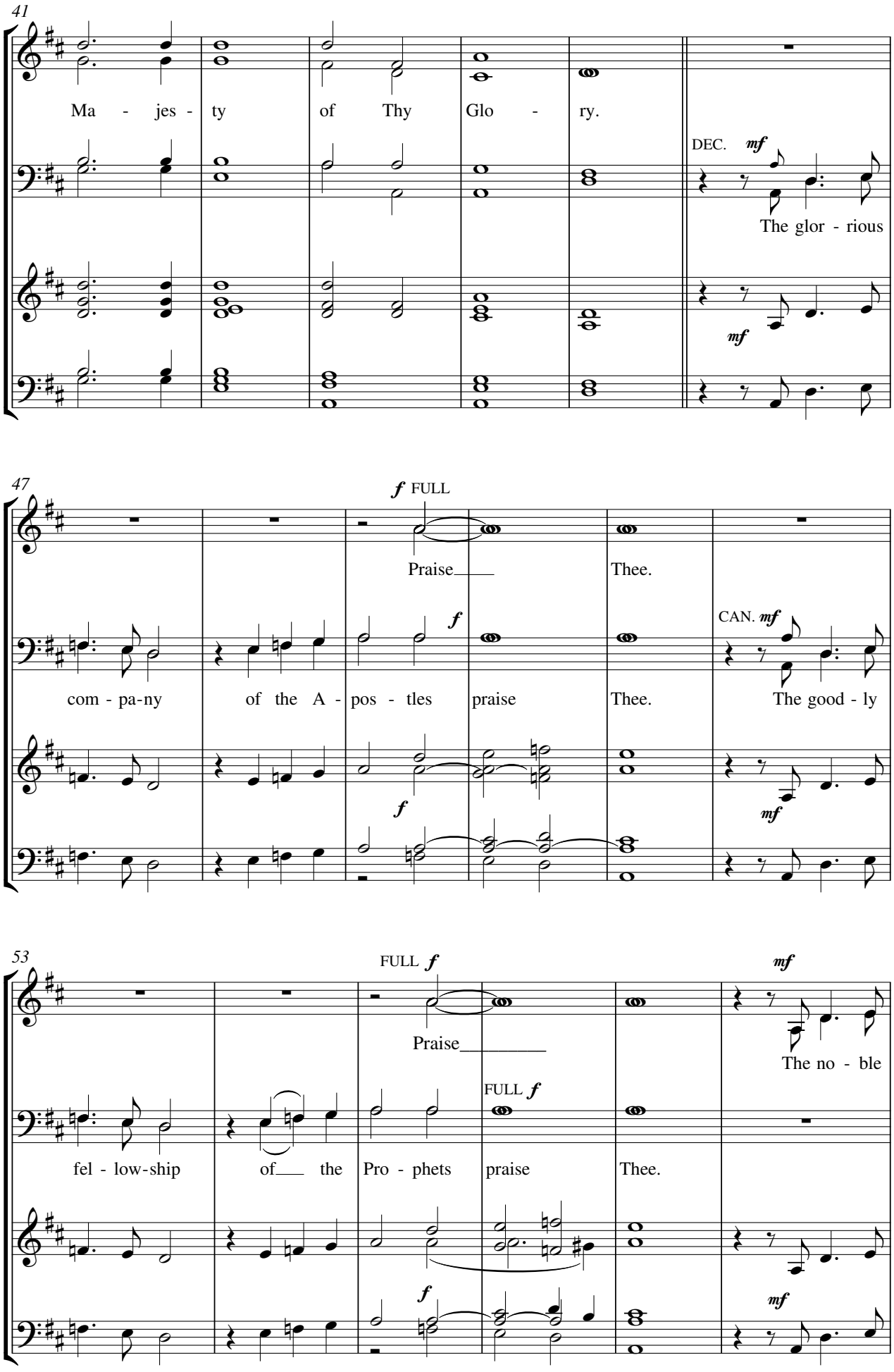
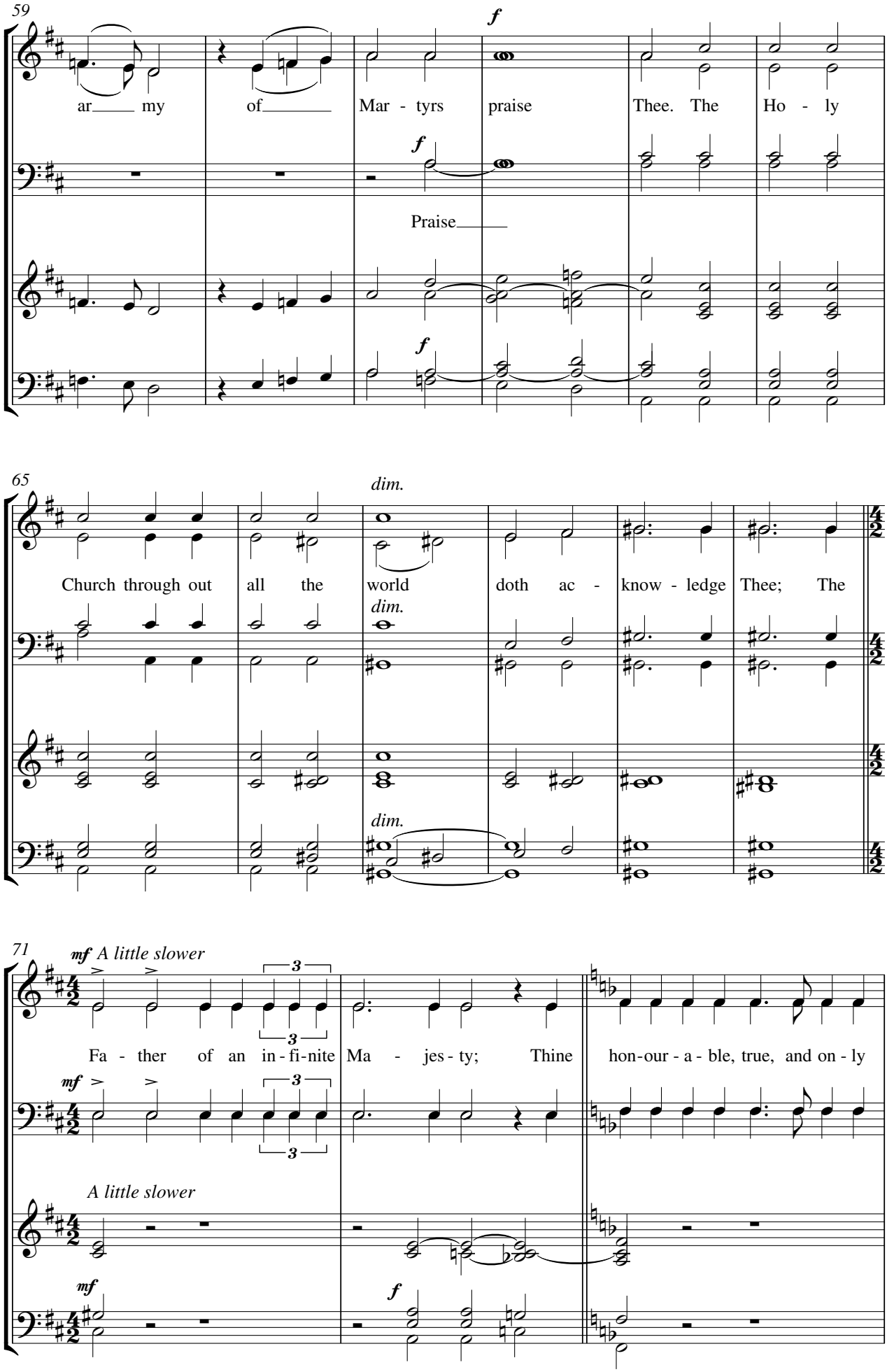
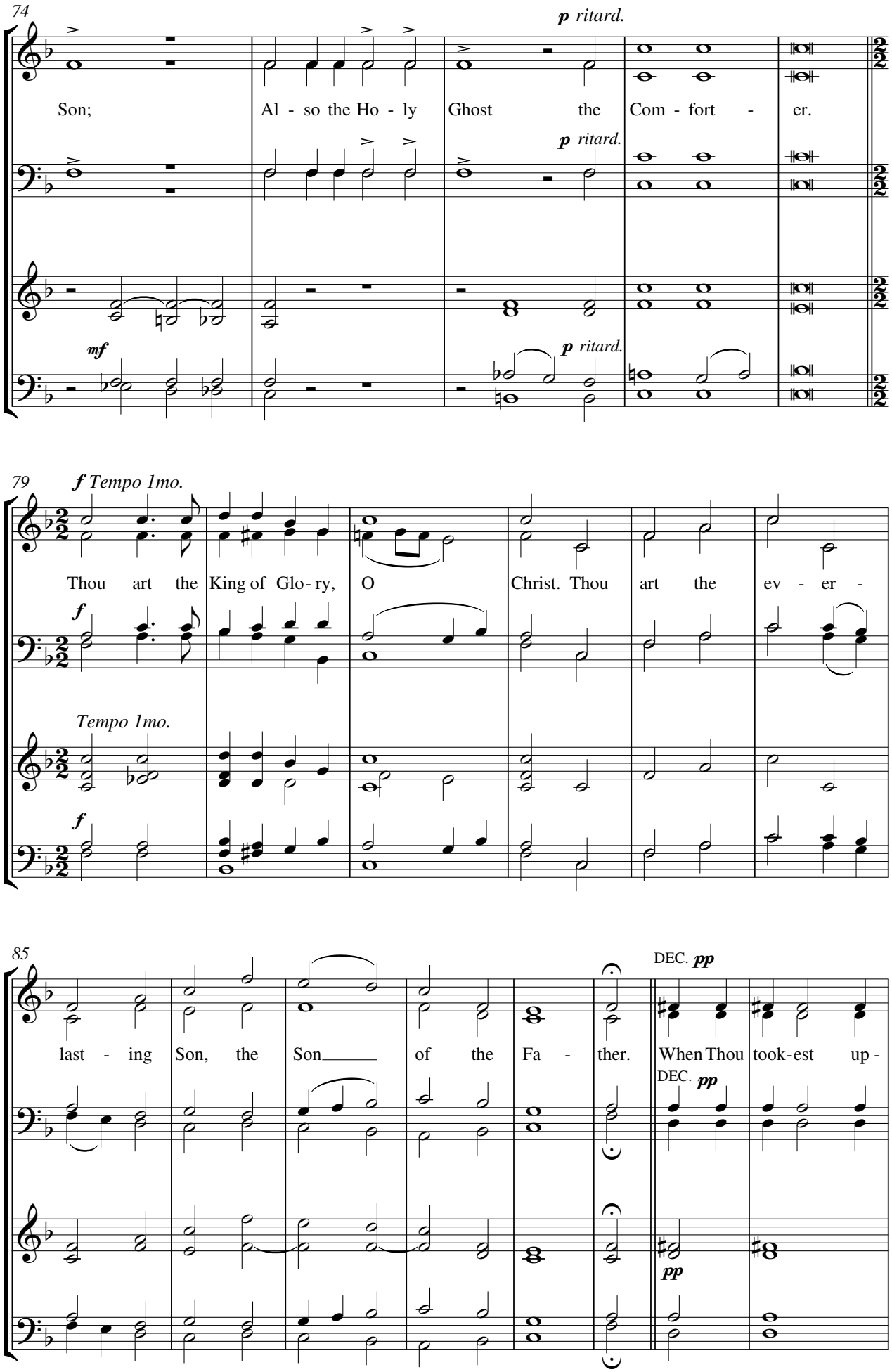
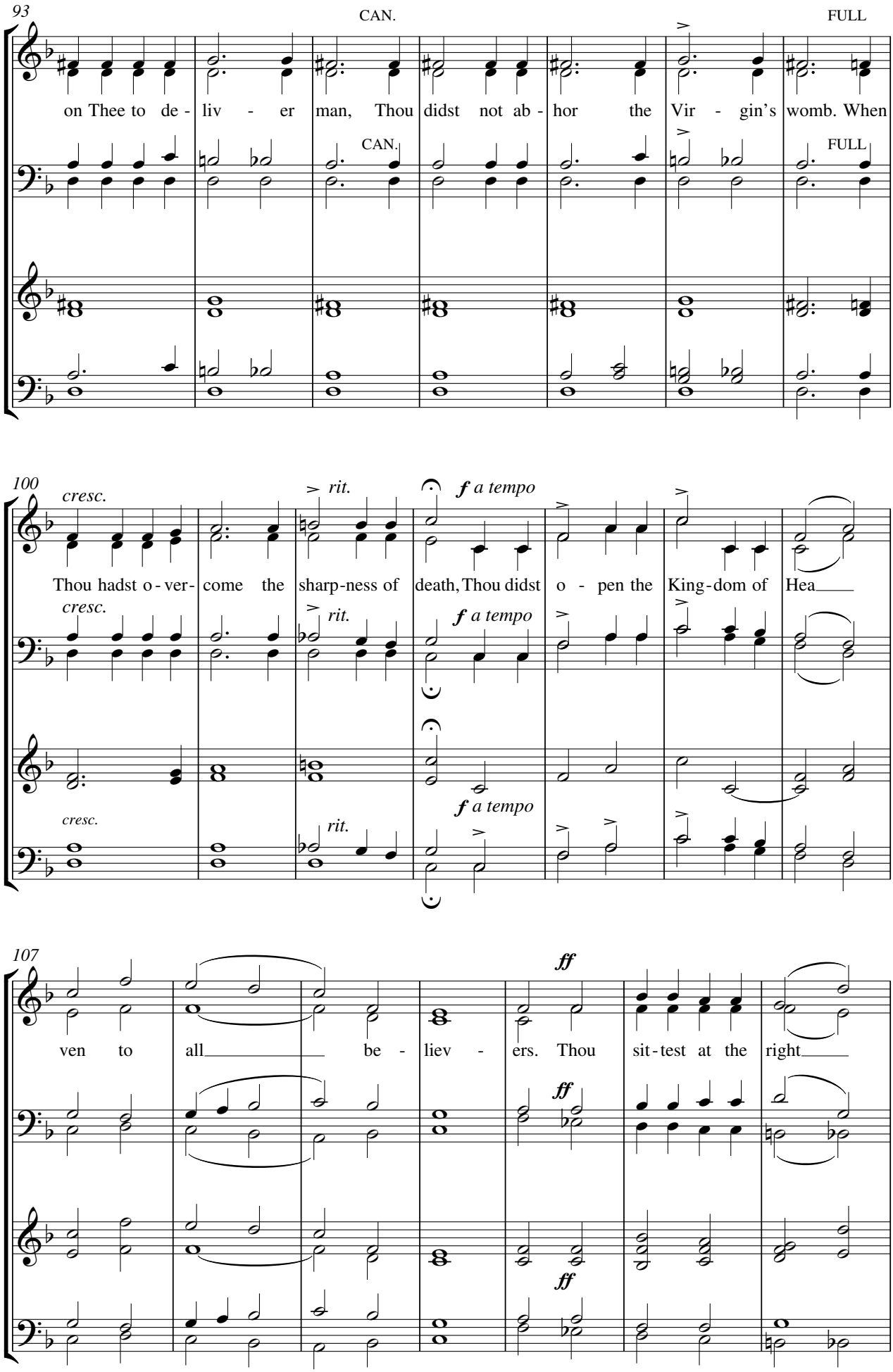
Sursum Corda

Sanctus

210
Slow
p
Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Ho - ly, Lord God of Hosts;
Slow
p
214
cresc.
Heav'n and earth are full of Thy glo - - ry.
cresc.
218
Glo - ry be to Thee, O Lord most High, Glo - ry be to

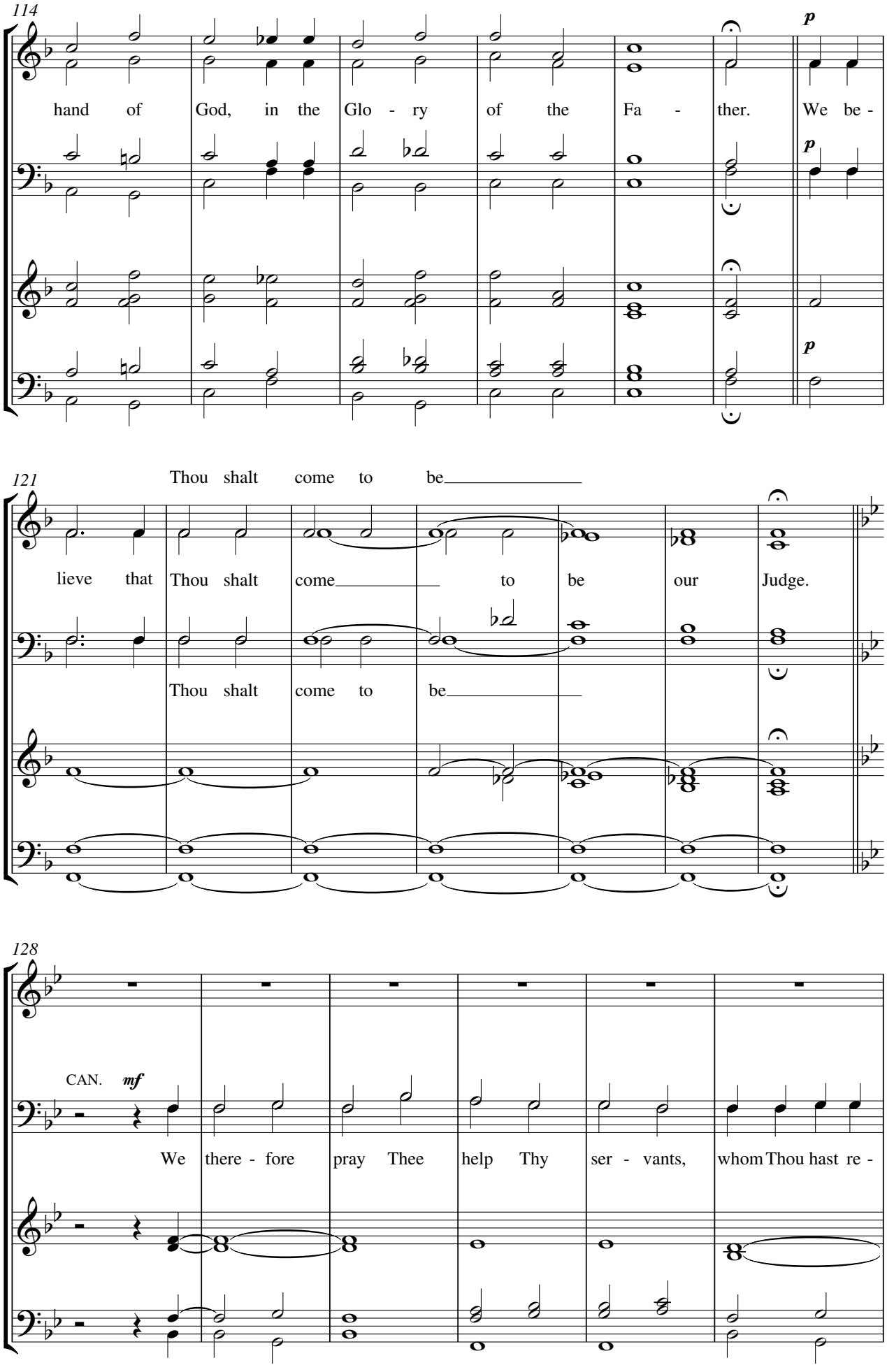
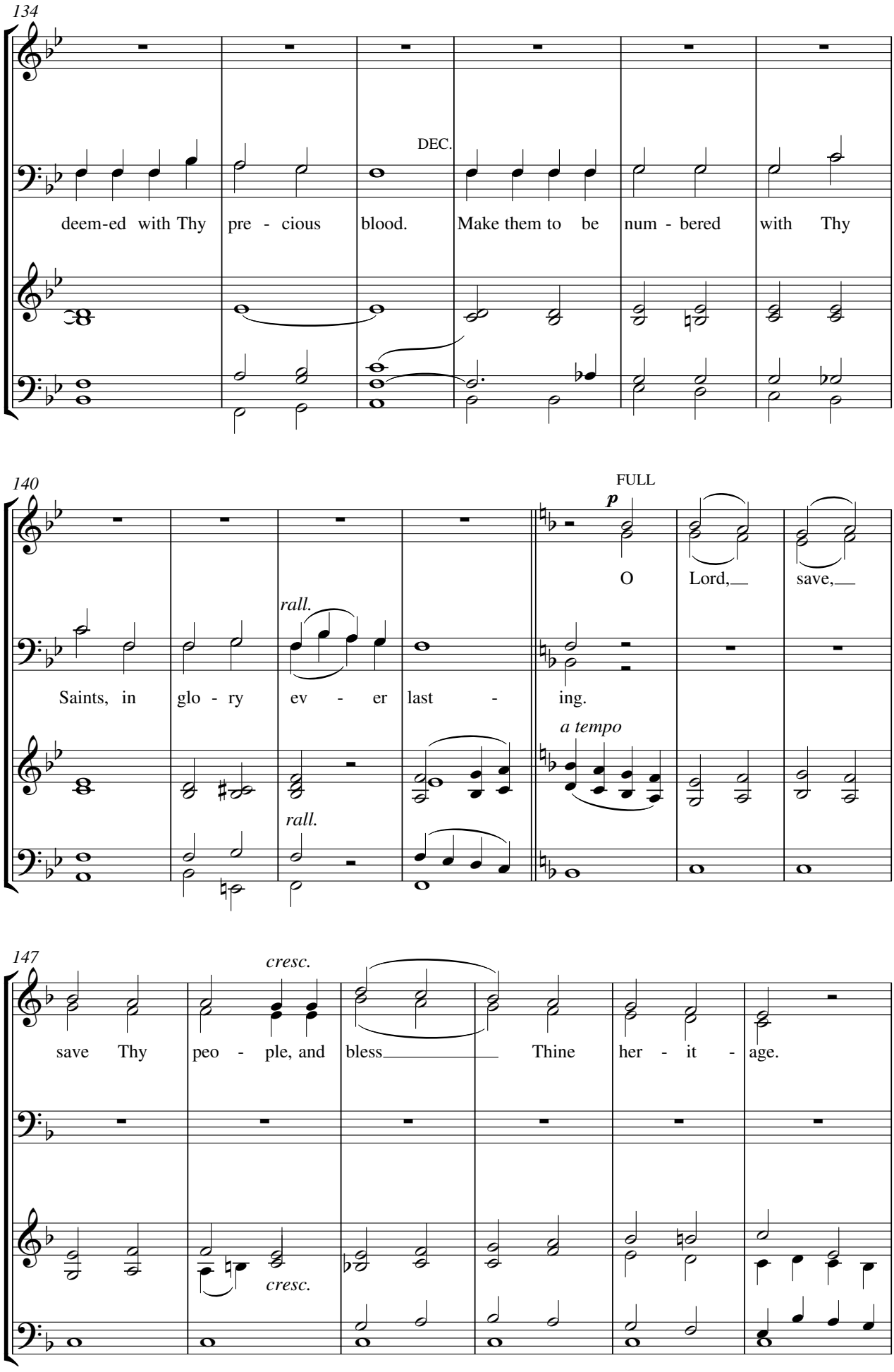
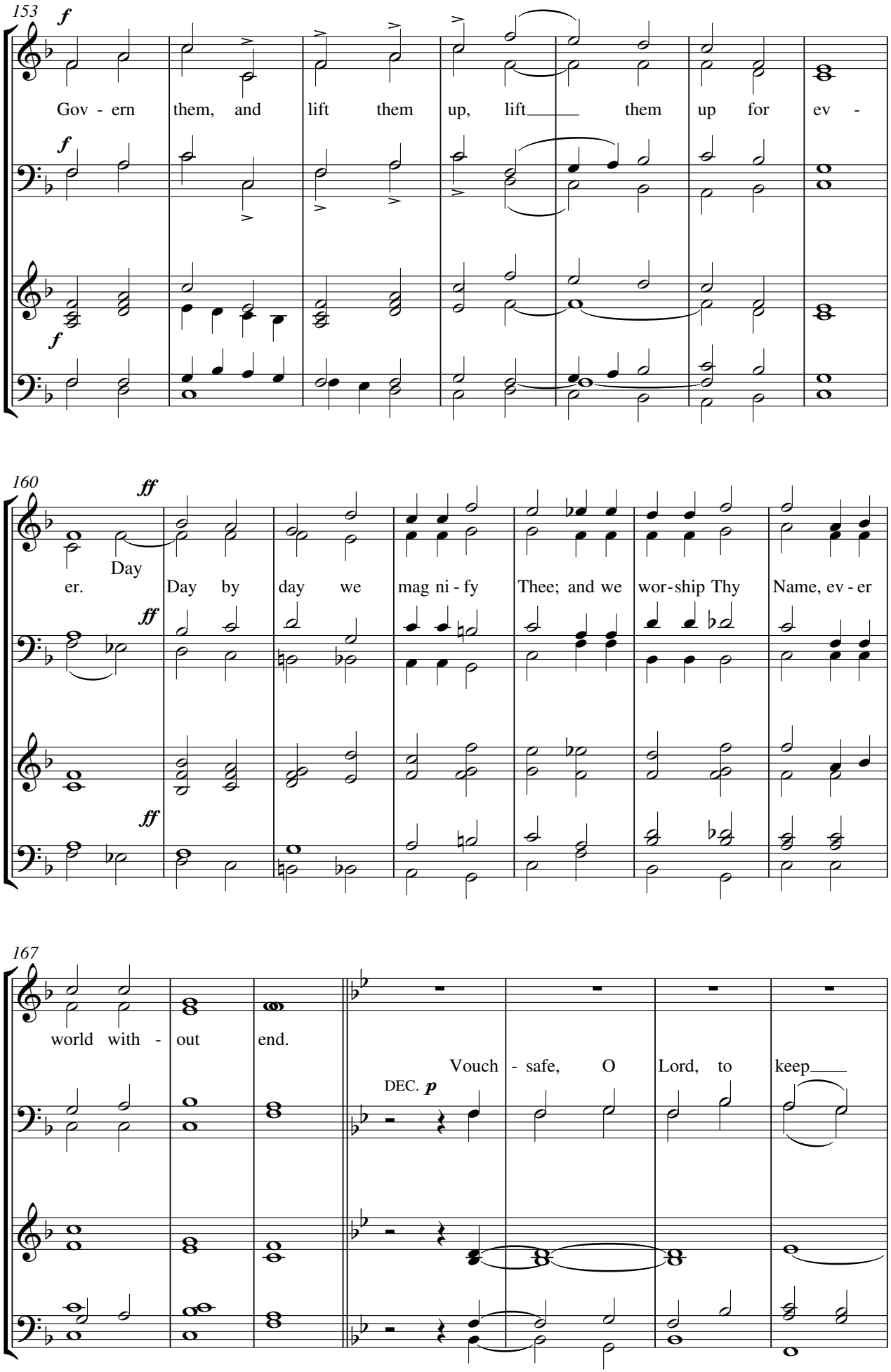
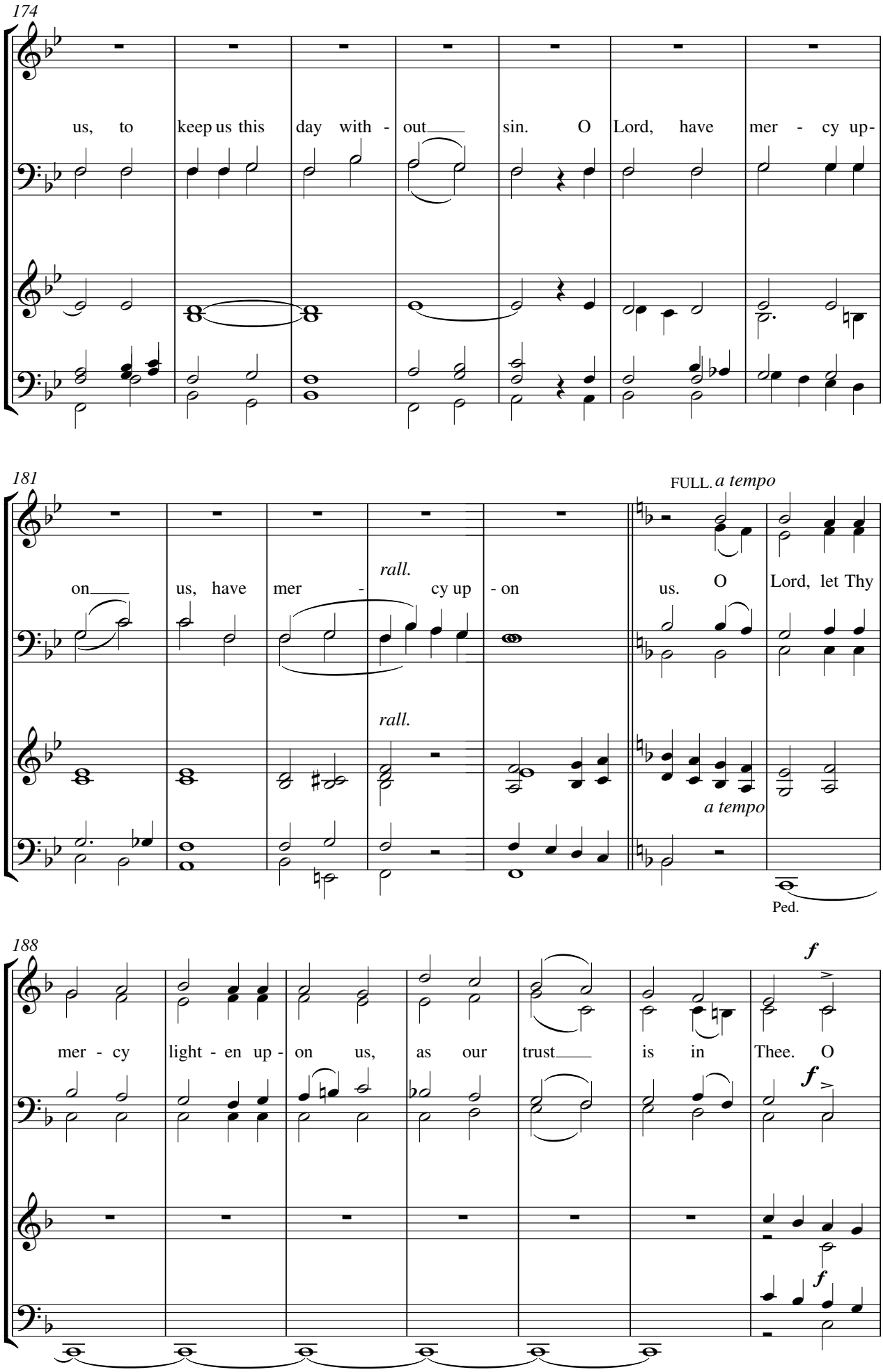
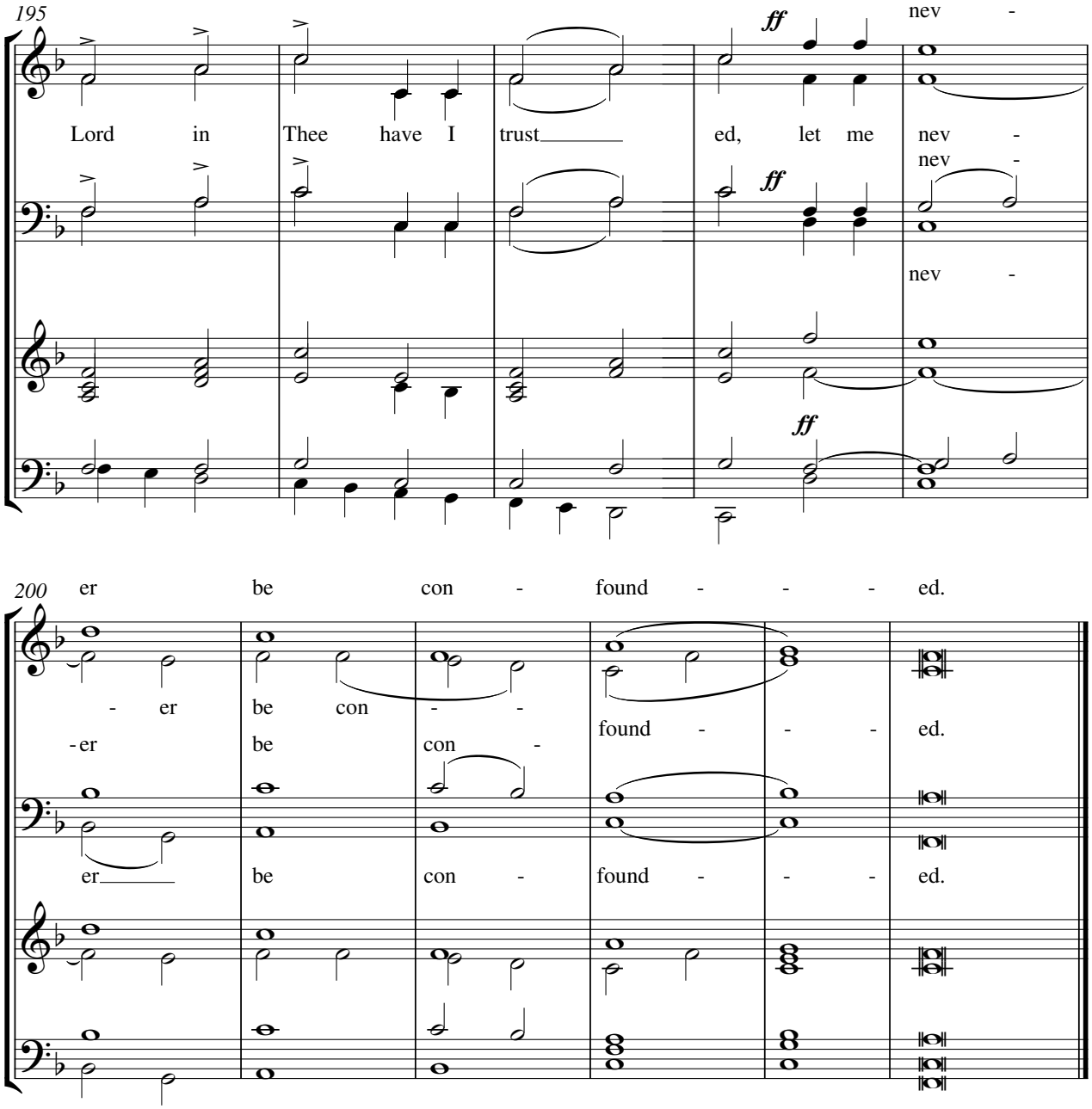

223
Thee, O Lord most High A - men.

Gloria

228
p
And in earth peace; good - will to- wards men.
Priest
p
Glory be to
God on high,
Sw. p


Allegro moderato
mf
We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we wor - ship Thee, we
mf
Allegro moderato
Gt. mf

237
cresc.
ff
glo - ri - fy Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glo - ry, O Lord God,
241
p
Heav'n - ly King, God the Fa - ther Al - migh - ty. O
245
rall.
Lord, the on - ly be - got - ten Son Je - su Christ.

249
Tempo
p
O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the
Tempo
p
254
cresc.
dim.
Fa - ther, that ta - kest a - way the sins of the world, have
cresc.
dim.
259
cresc.
mer - cy up - on us. Thou that ta - kest a - way the
cresc.

264
dim.
cresc.
sins of the world, have mer - cy up - on us; Thou that
dim.
cresc.
269
dim.
ta - kest a - way the sins of the world, re - ceive, re -
dim.
274
cresc.
ceive our
prayer. Thou that sit - test at the right hand of God, the
cresc.

279
pp
Fa - ther, have mer - cy up - on us.
For
284
on - ly art the
cresc.
Thou on - ly art Hol - ly, Thou on - ly art the Lord, Thou
cresc.
288
ff
on - ly O Christ, with the Ho - ly Ghost, art most high in the glo - ry of

291
Glo - - - - ry
God the Fa - ther, the Glo - ry, the glo - ry of God the
294
Fa - - - ther. A - - men.

Te Deum Laudamus

The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.

21
FULL
Pow'rs there - in.
con -
DEC.
CAN.
FULL
To Thee Cher - u - bin and Ser - a - phin
27
pp
tin - ual - ly do cry,
Ho - ly,
Ho - ly,
Ho - ly,
pp
pp
33
f
ff
Ho - ly Lord God of Sab - a - oth; Heaven and earth are full of the
f
ff
f
ff

41
Ma - jes - ty of Thy Glo - ry.
DEC. mf
The glor - rious
mf
47
f FULL
Praise
Thee.
f
CAN. mf
com - pa-ny of the A - pos - tles praise Thee. The good - ly
f
mf
53
FULL f
Praise
mf
The no - ble
FULL f
fel - low-ship of the Pro - phets praise Thee.
f
mf

59
f
ar my
of
Mar - tyrs
praise
Thee. The
Ho - ly
f
Praise
f
65
dim.
Church through out
all the
world
doth ac -
know - ledge
Thee; The
dim.
dim.
71
mf A little slower
3
Fa - ther
of an
in - fi - nite
Ma - jes - ty;
Thine
hon - our - a - ble, true, and on - ly
mf
A little slower
mf
f

74
p ritard.
Son;
Al - so the Ho - ly
Ghost
the
Com - fort -
er.
mf
79
f Tempo 1mo.
Thou art the King of Glo- ry, O
Christ. Thou art the ev - er -
Tempo 1mo.
85
DEC. pp
last - ing Son, the Son
of the Fa - ther. When Thou took-est up -
pp

93
CAN.
FULL
on Thee to de - liv - er man, Thou didst not ab - hor the Vir - gin's womb. When
CAN.
FULL
100
cresc.
rit.
f a tempo
Thou hadst o - ver- come the sharp-ness of death, Thou didst o - pen the King-dom of Hea
cresc.
rit.
f a tempo
cresc.
rit.
f a tempo
107
ff
ven to all be - liev - ers. Thou sit-test at the right
ff
ff


114
hand of God, in the Glo - ry of the Fa - ther. We be -
p
p
p
121
Thou shalt come to be
lieve that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.
Thou shalt come to be
128
CAN.
mf
We there - fore pray Thee help Thy ser - vants, whom Thou hast re -

134
DEC.
deem-ed with Thy pre - cious blood. Make them to be num - bered with Thy
140
FULL
p
O Lord, save,
rall.
Saints, in glo - ry ev - er last - ing.
a tempo
rall.
147
cresc.
save Thy peo - ple, and bless Thine her - it - age.
cresc.

153
f
Gov - ern them, and lift them up, lift them up for ev -
160
ff
er. Day by day we mag ni - fy Thee; and we wor - ship Thy Name, ev - er
167
world with - out end.
Vouch - safe, O Lord, to keep
DEC. p

174
us, to keep us this day with - out sin. O Lord, have mer - cy up-
181
FULL. a tempo
on us, have mer - cy up - on us. O Lord, let Thy
rall.
rall.
a tempo
Ped.
188
f
mer - cy light - en up - on us, as our trust is in Thee. O
f
f

195
Lord in Thee have I trust ed, let me nev -
ff
nev -
nev -
nev -
ff
ff
200
er be con - found - - - ed.
- er be con - -
found - - - ed.
-er be con -
er be con - found - - - ed.

Benedictus

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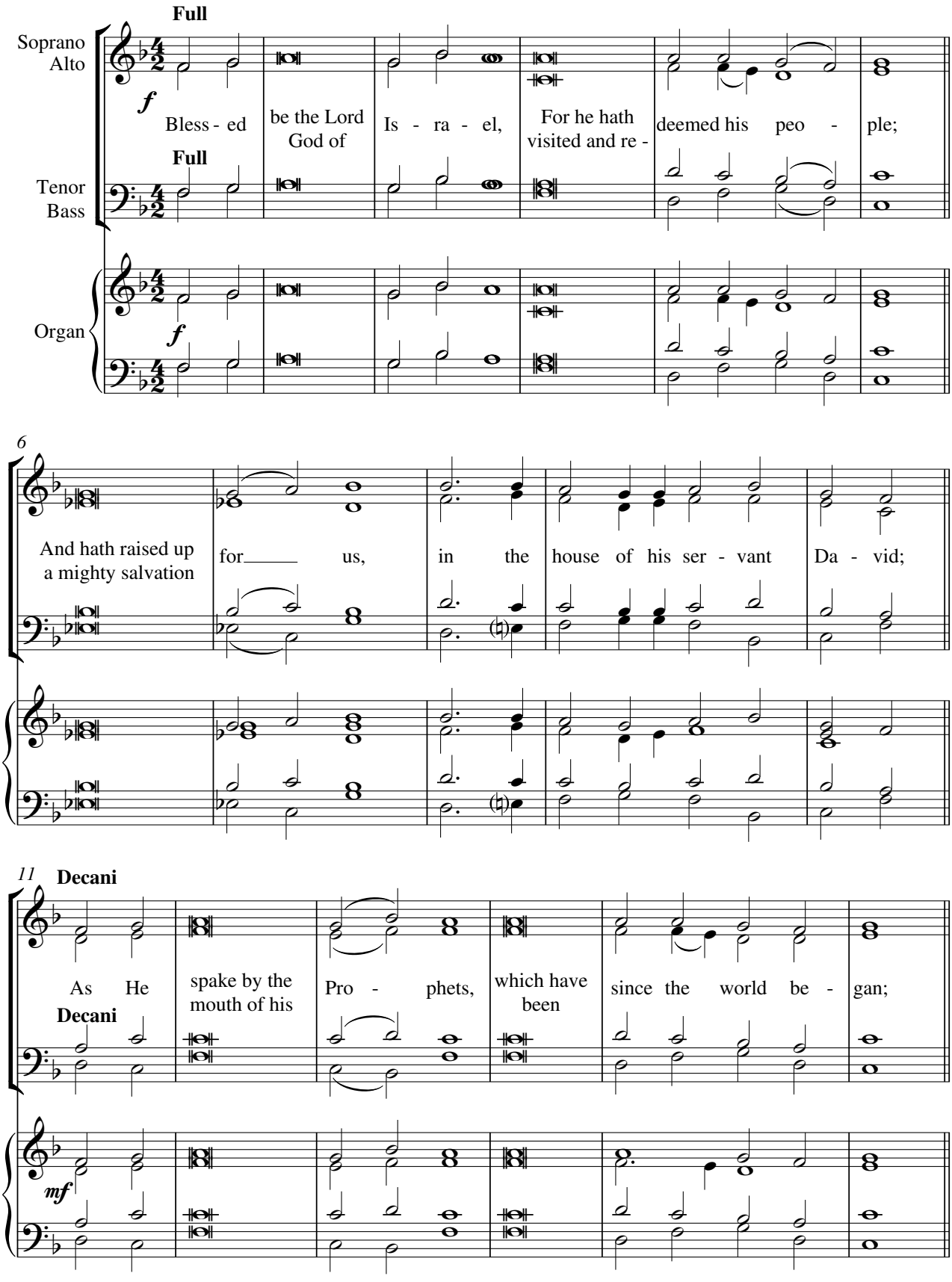
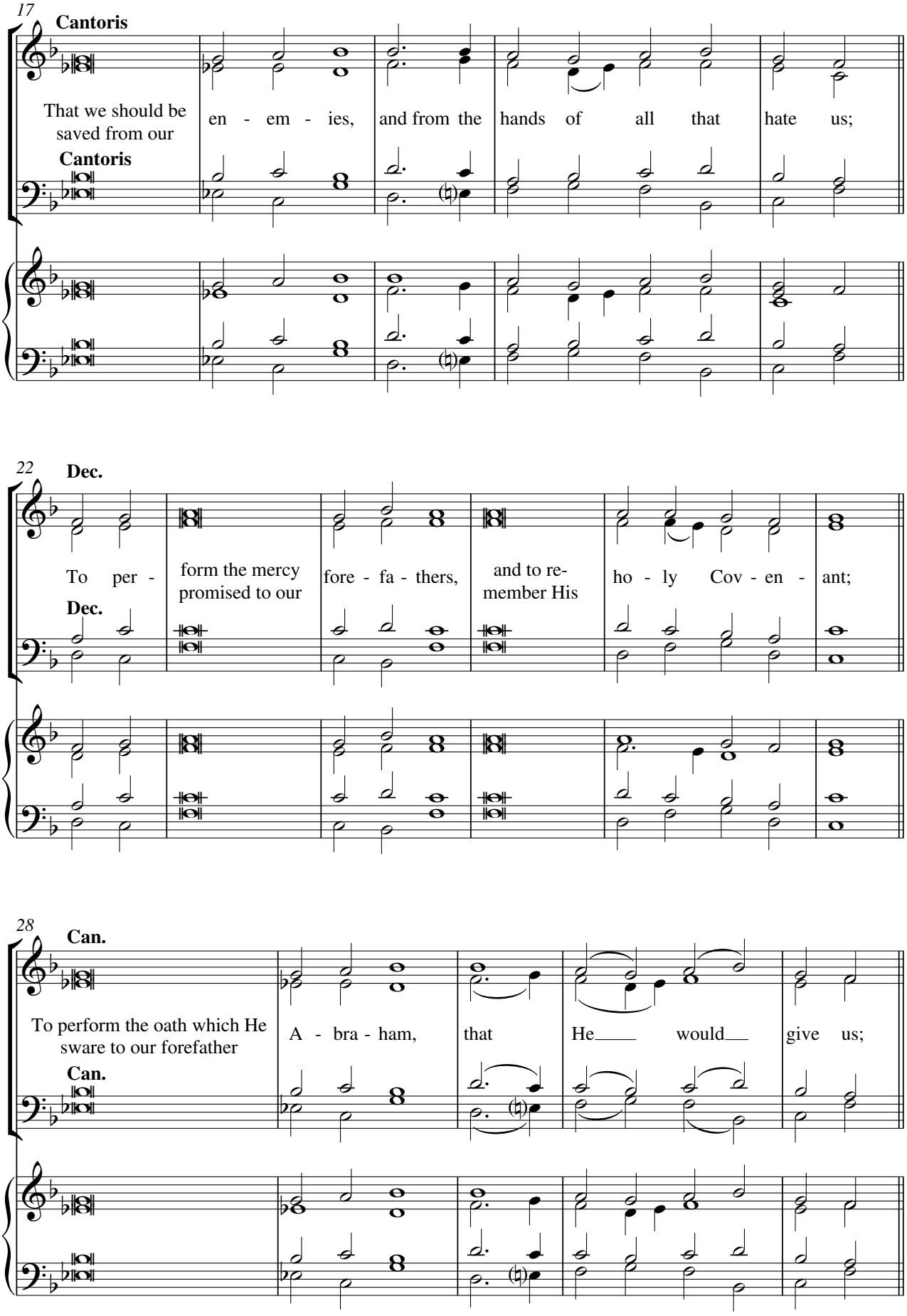
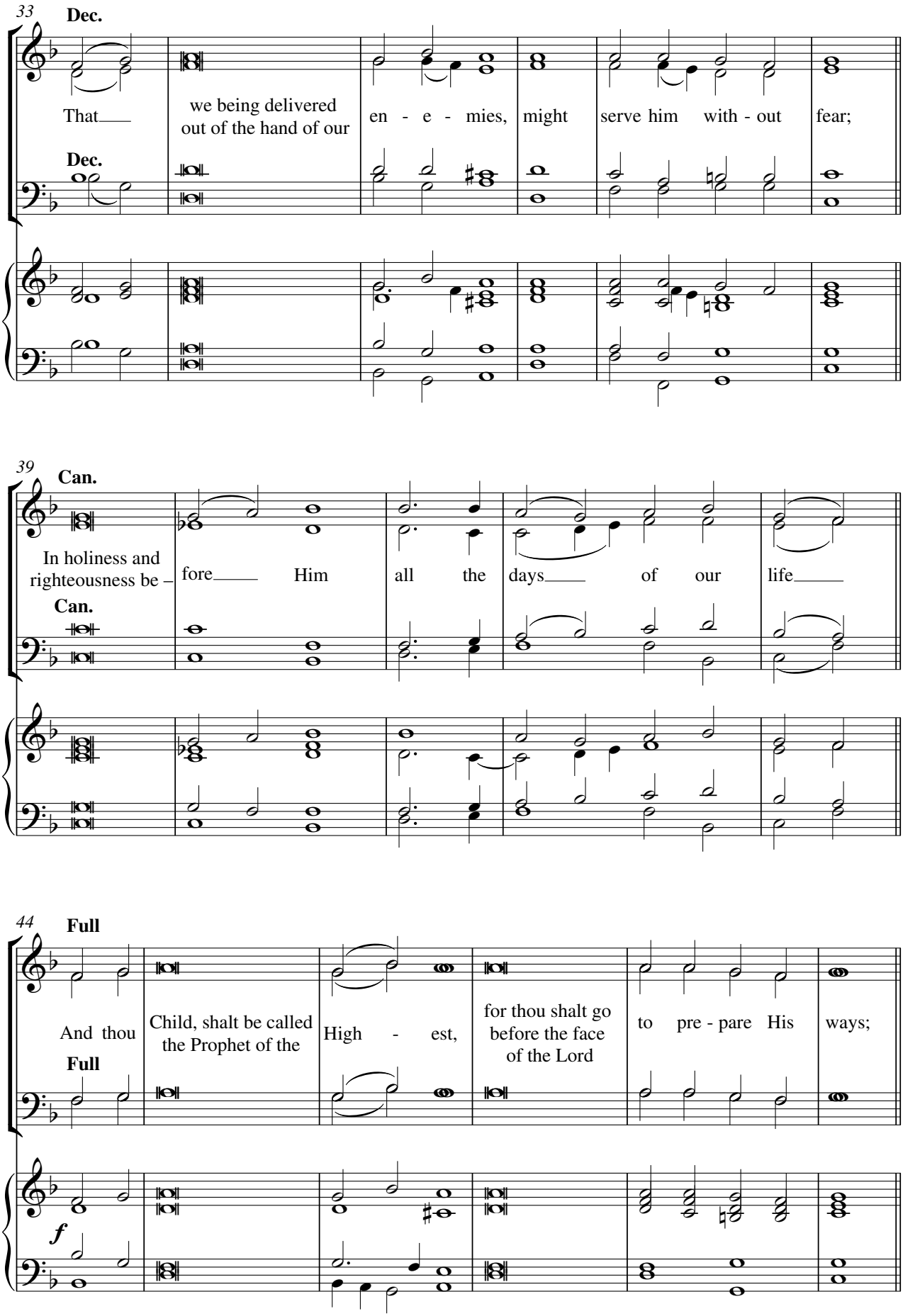
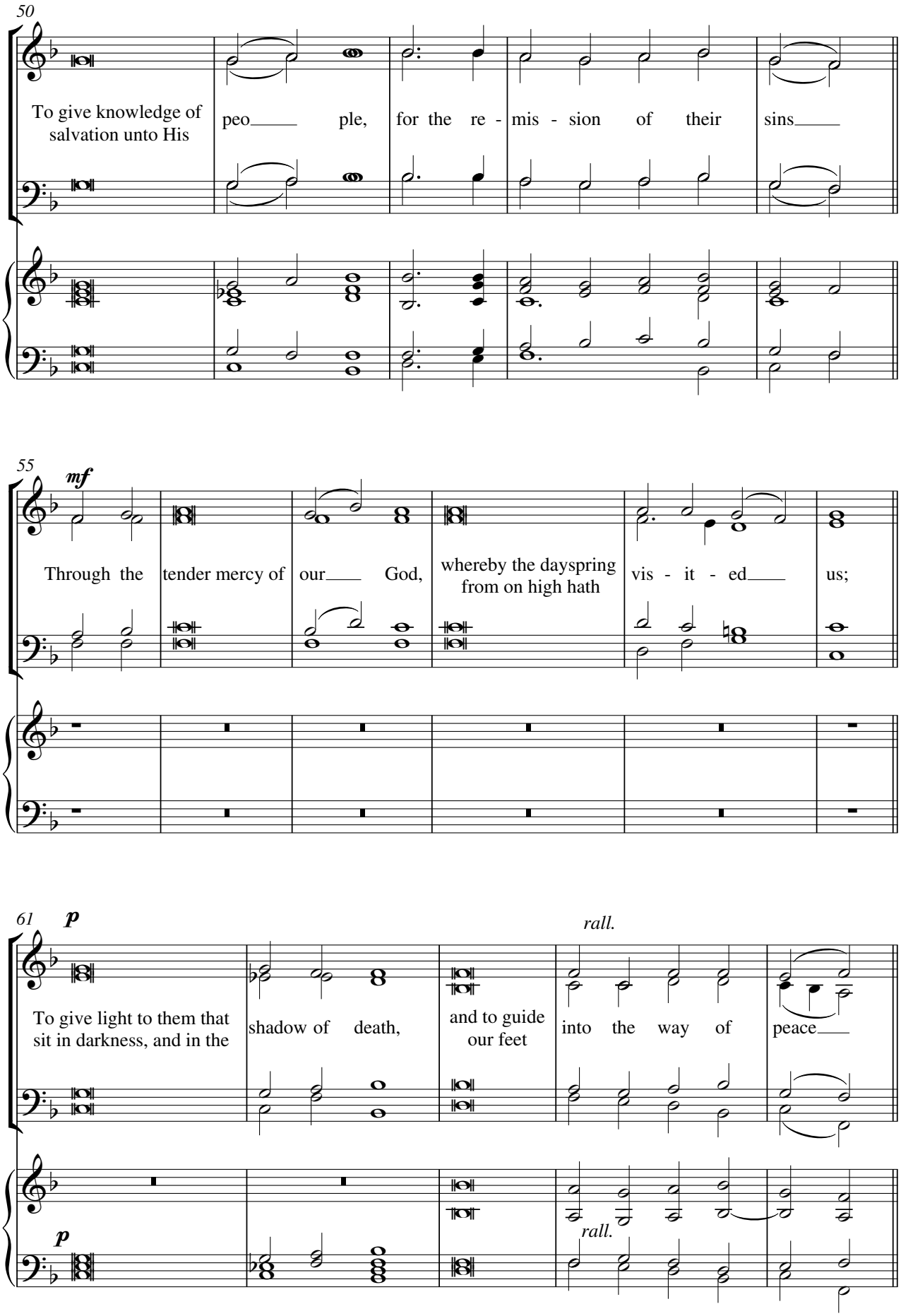
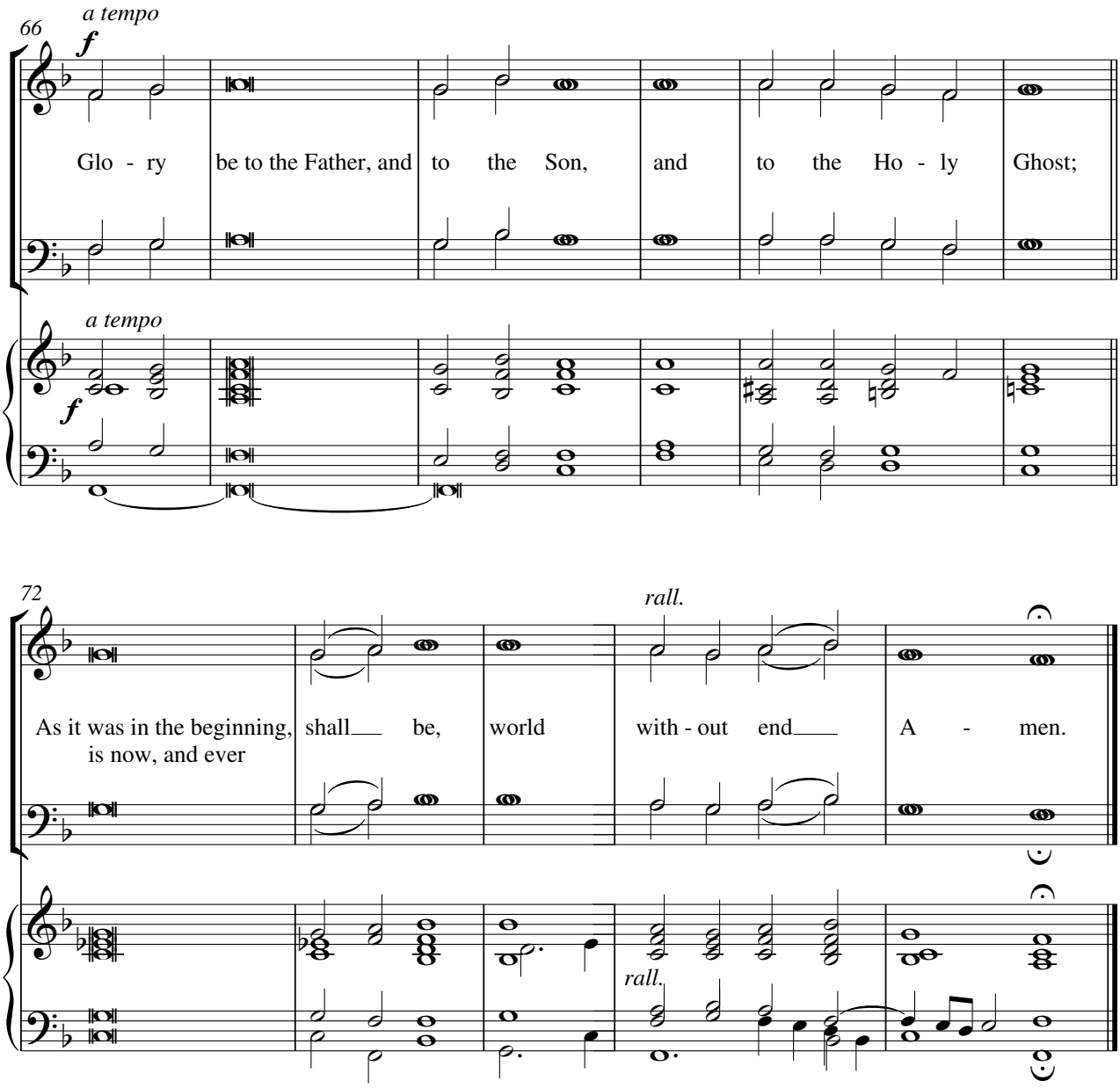
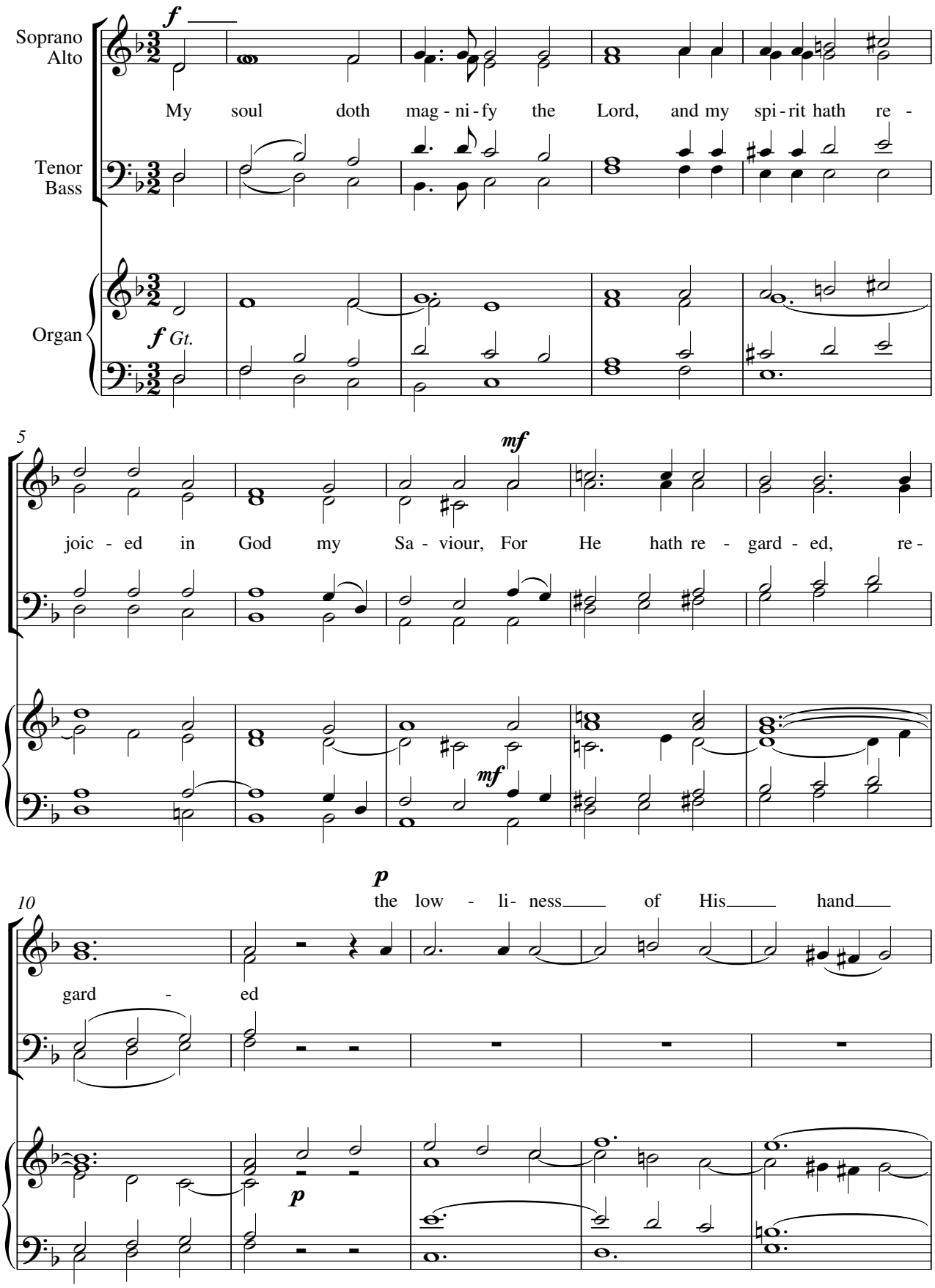
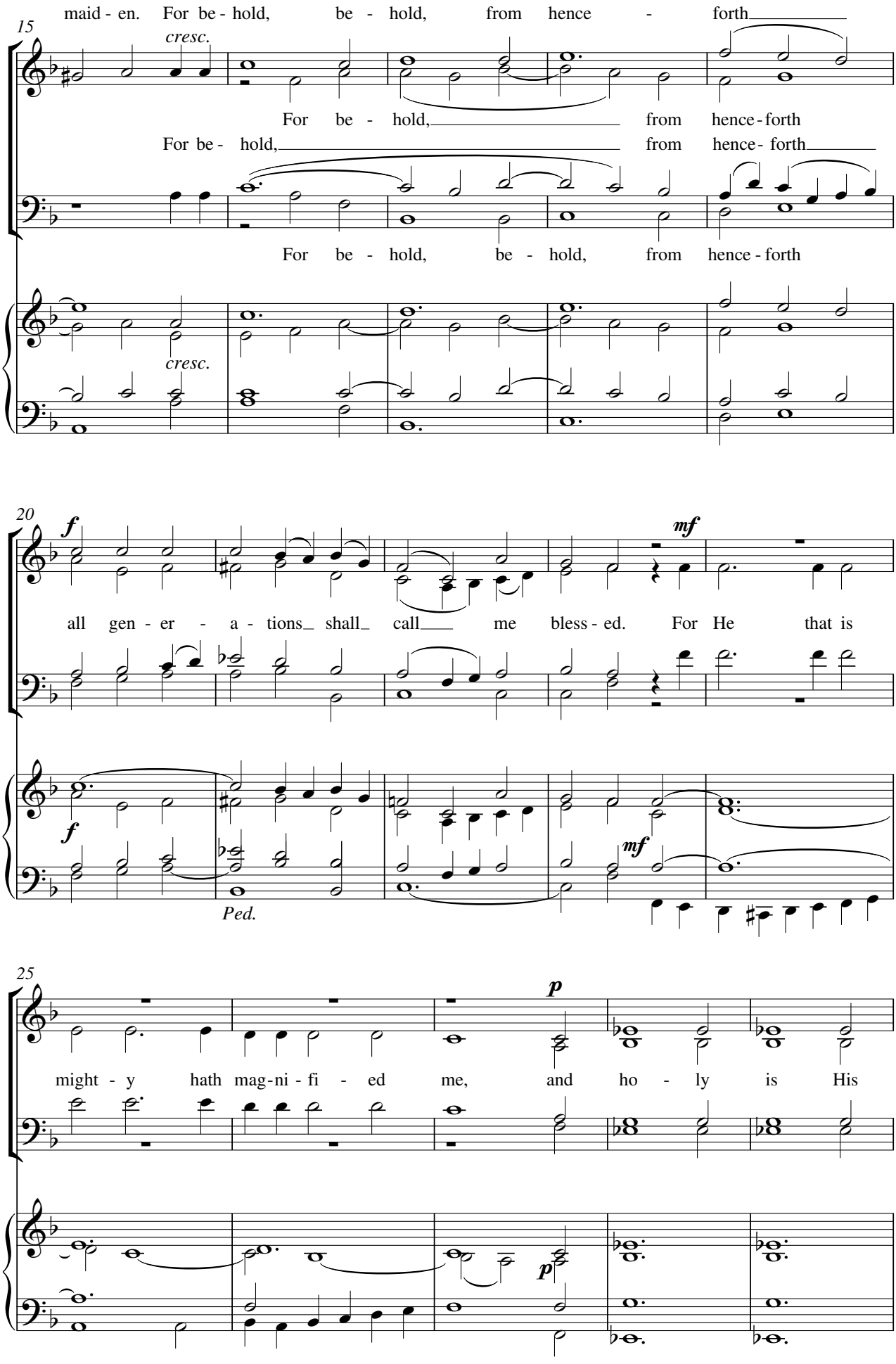
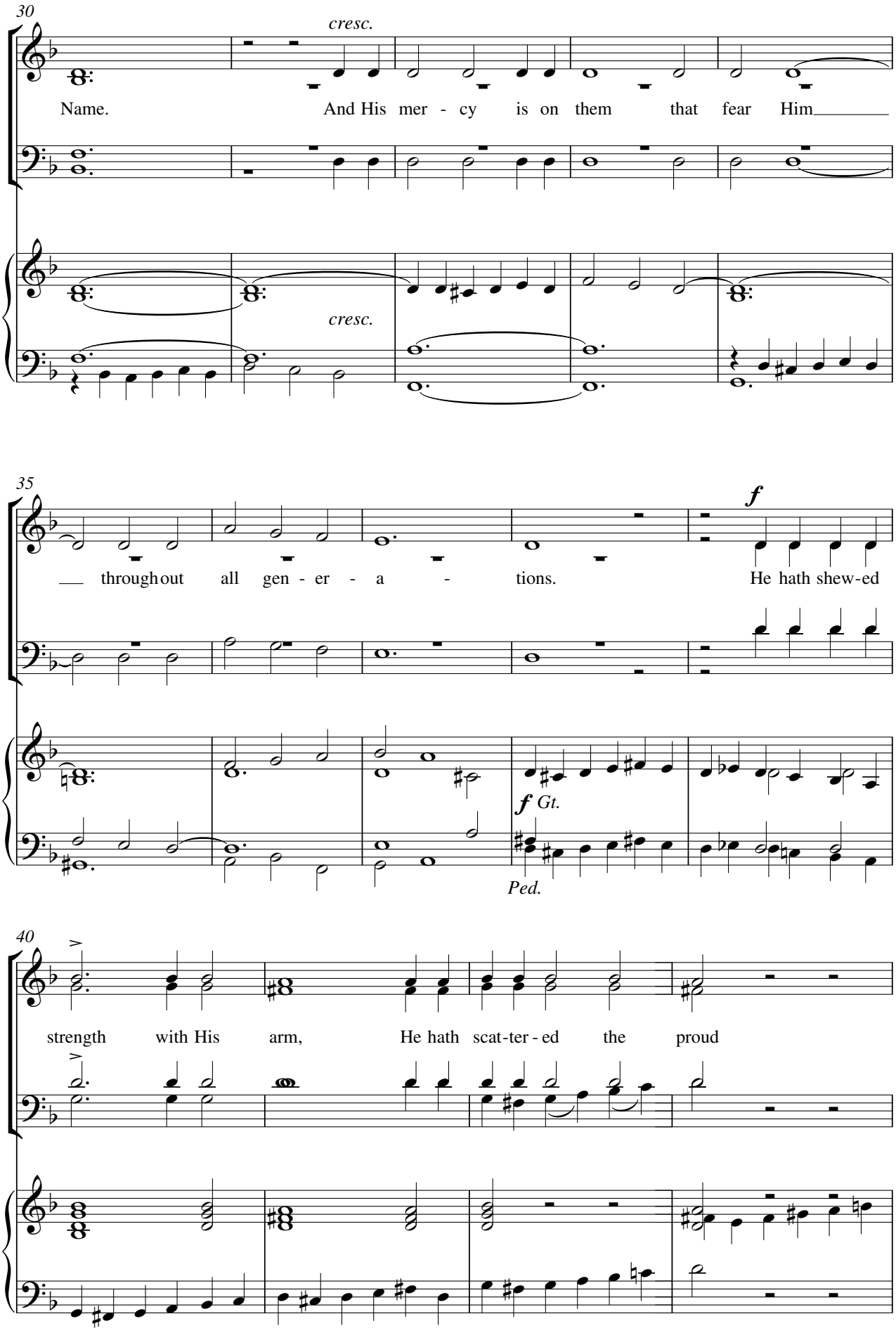
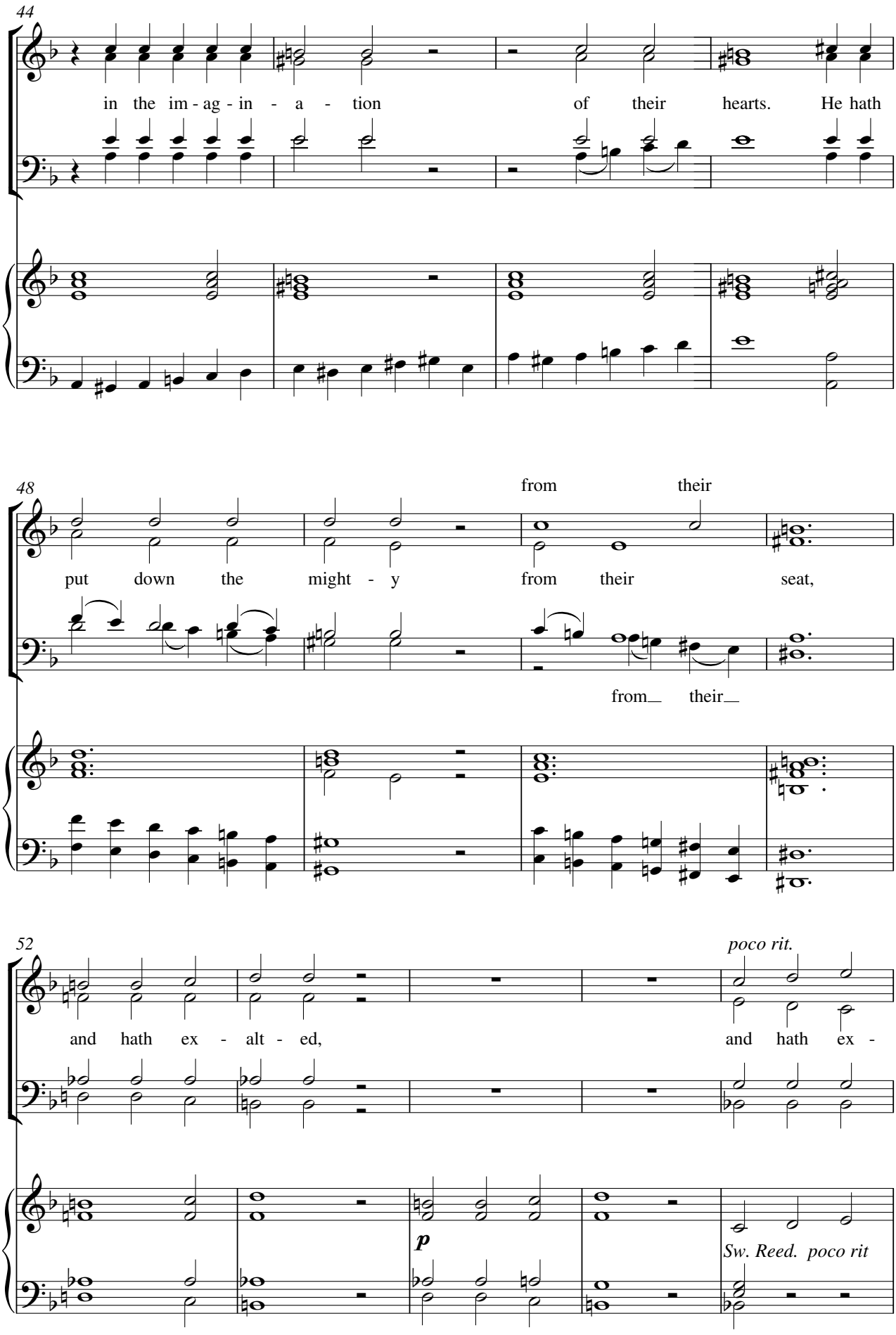
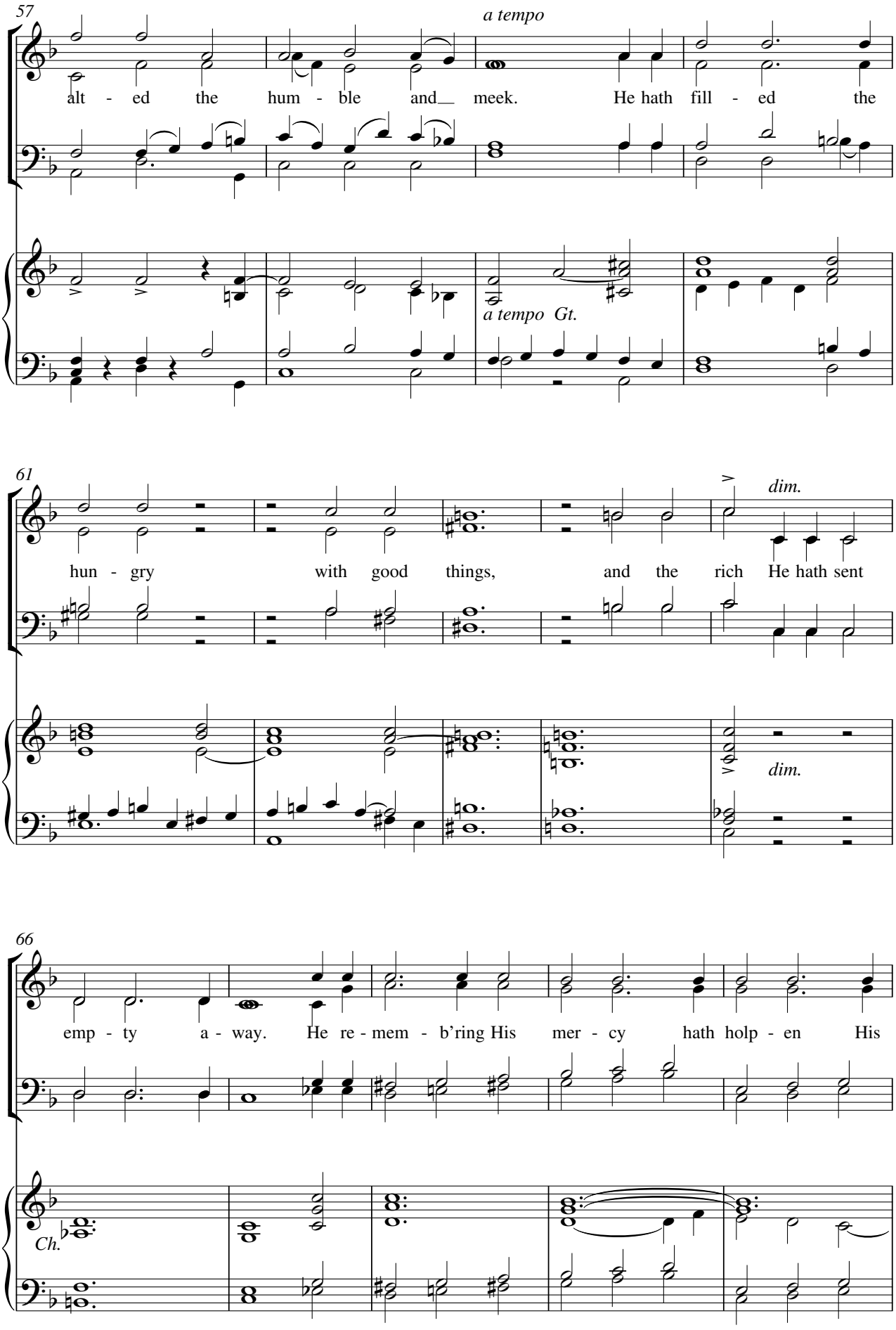
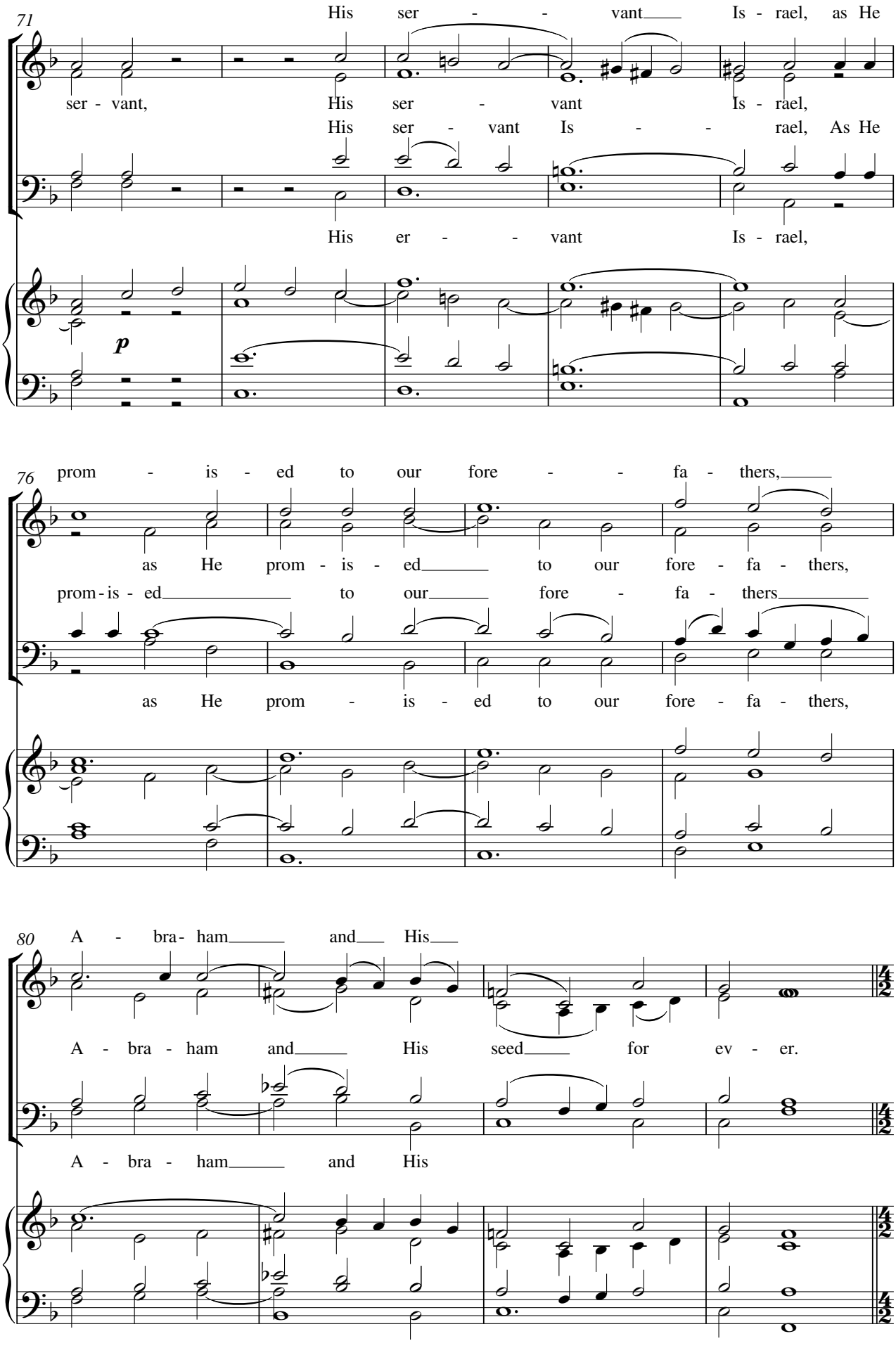
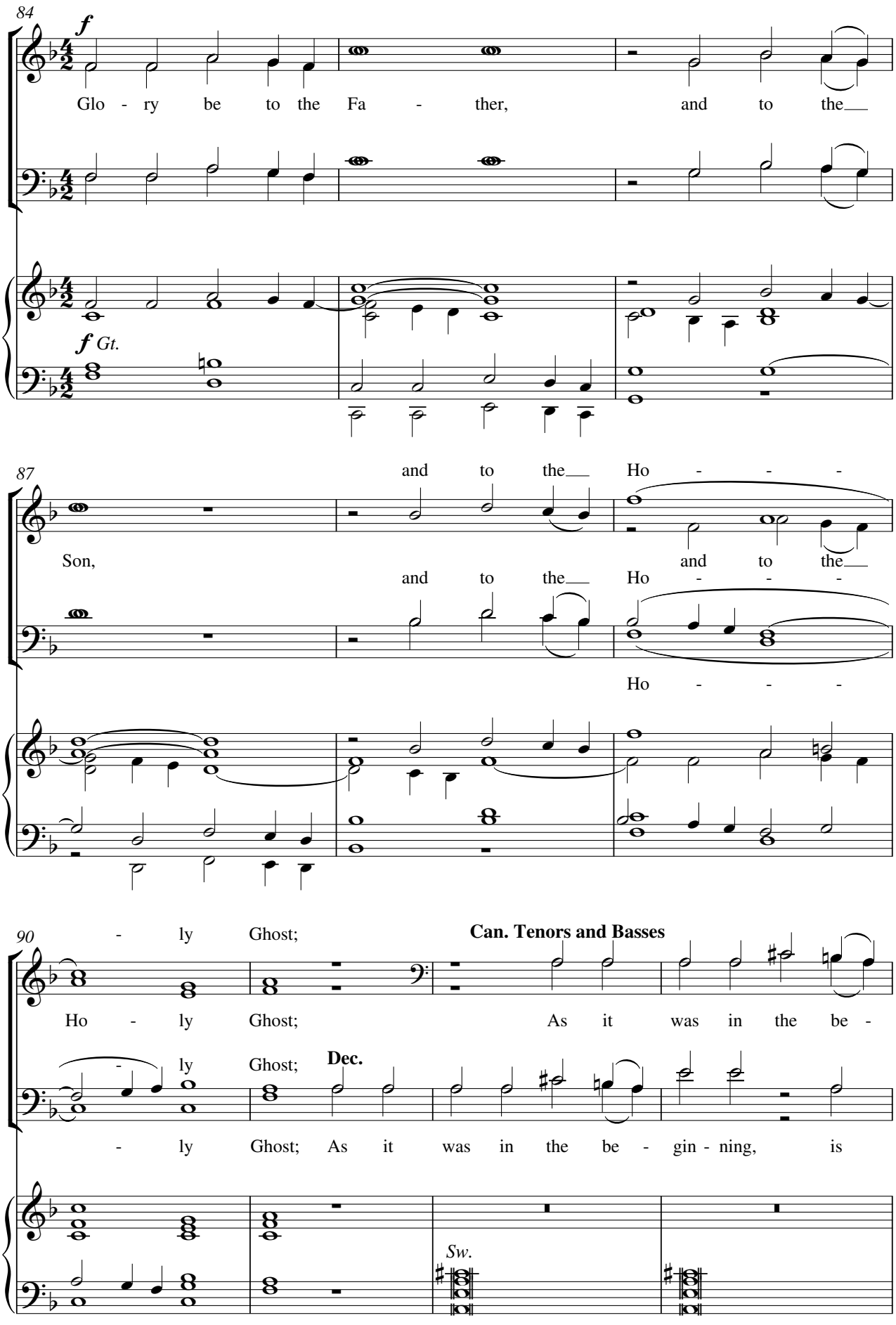
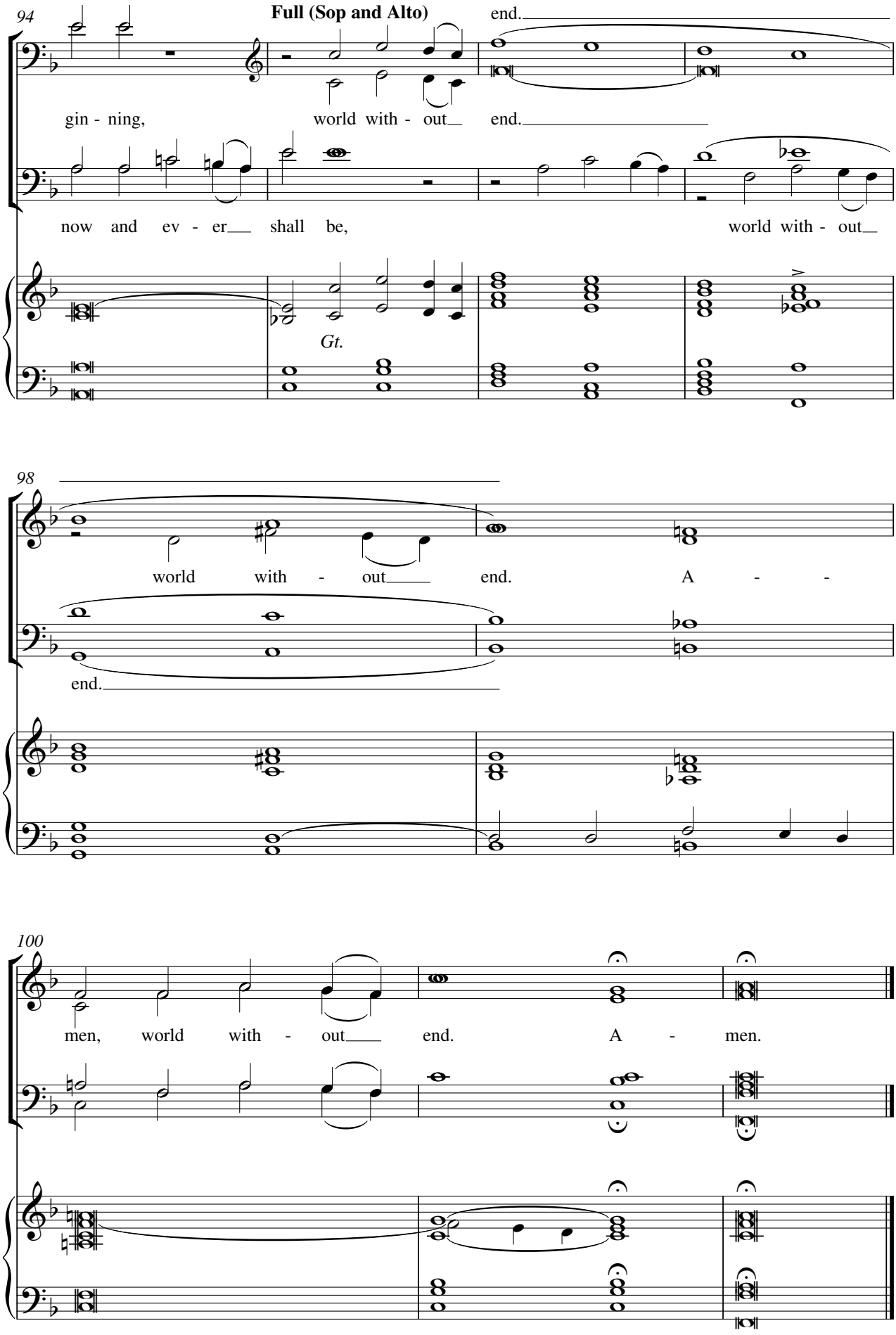
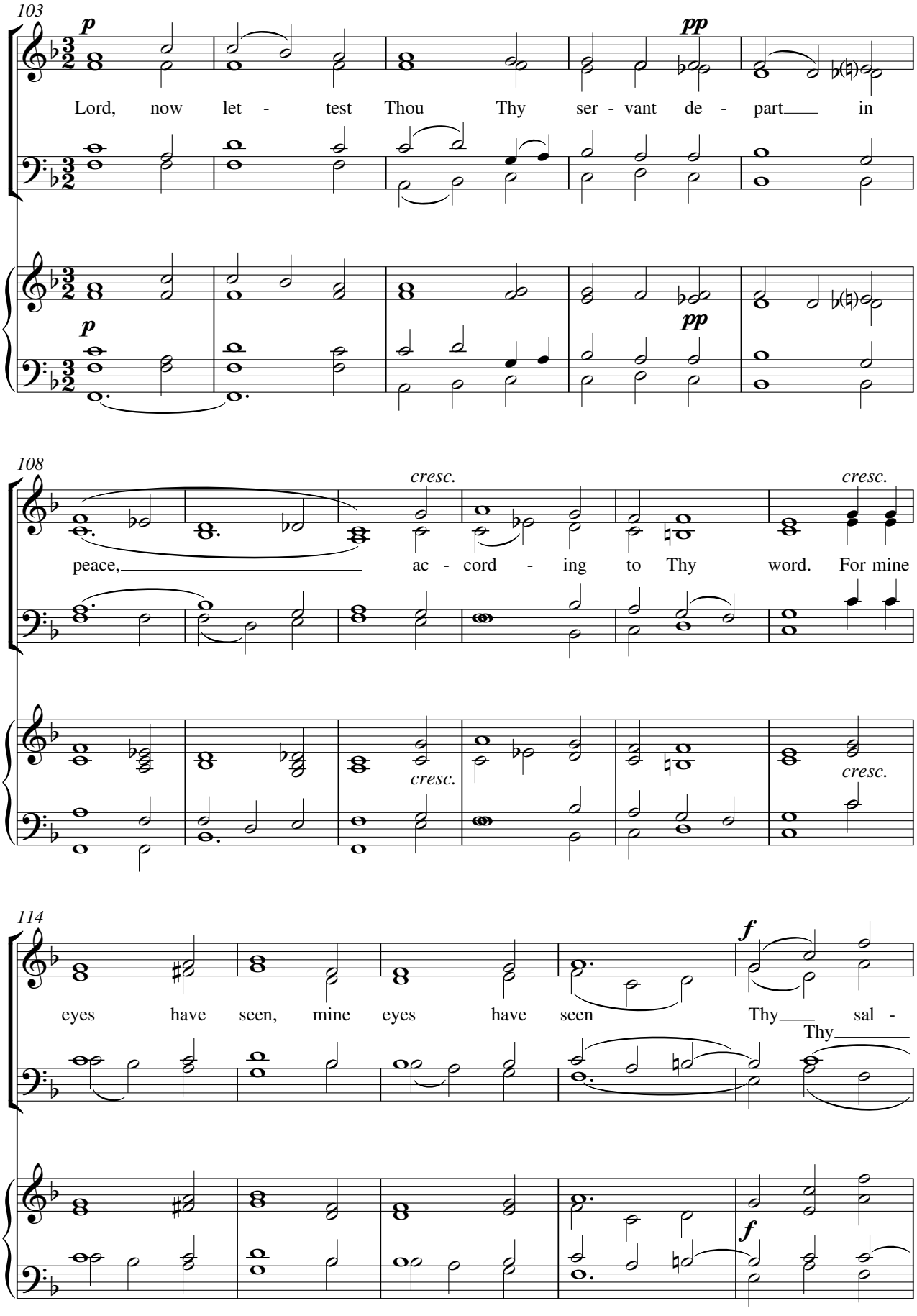
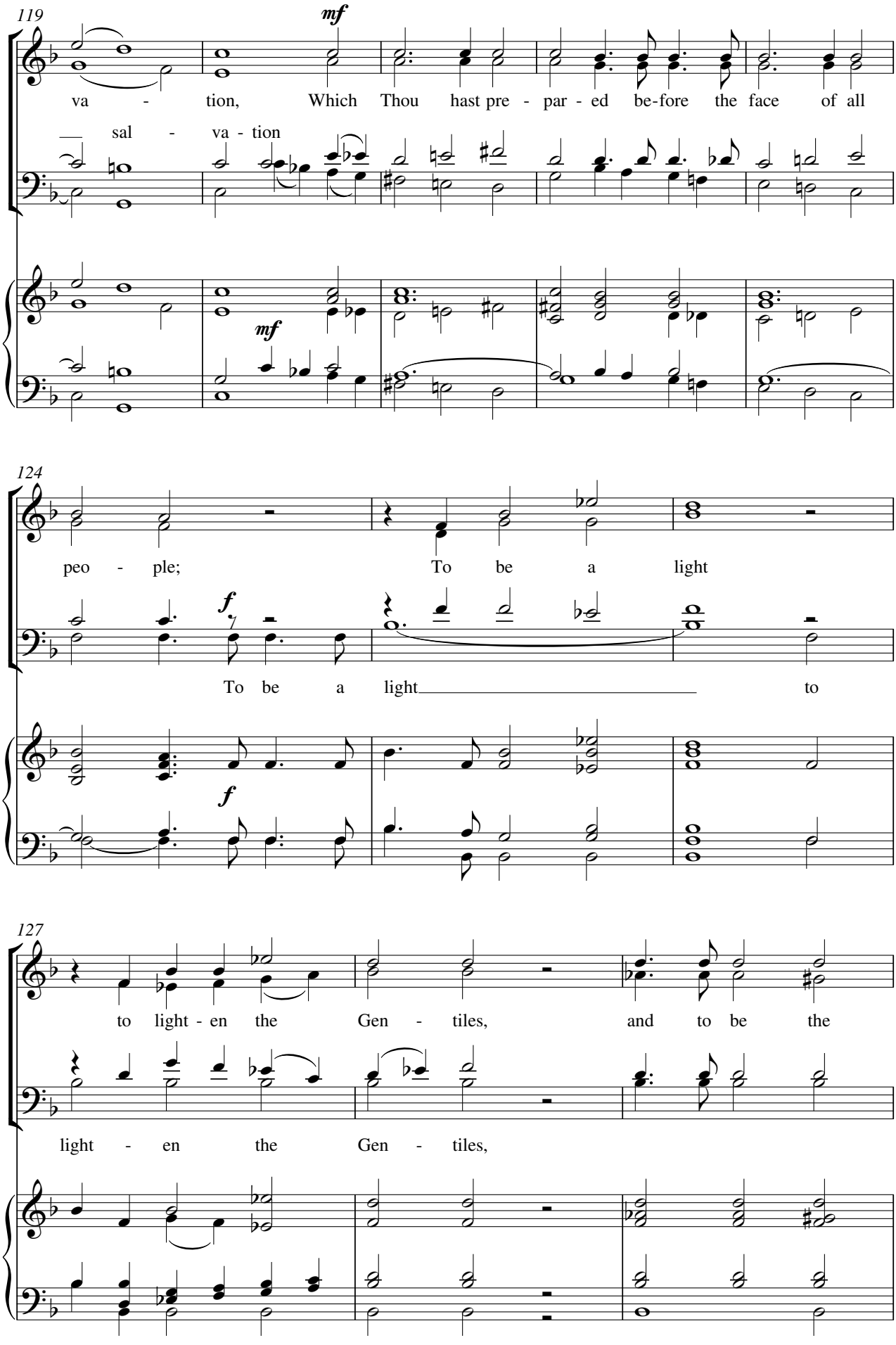
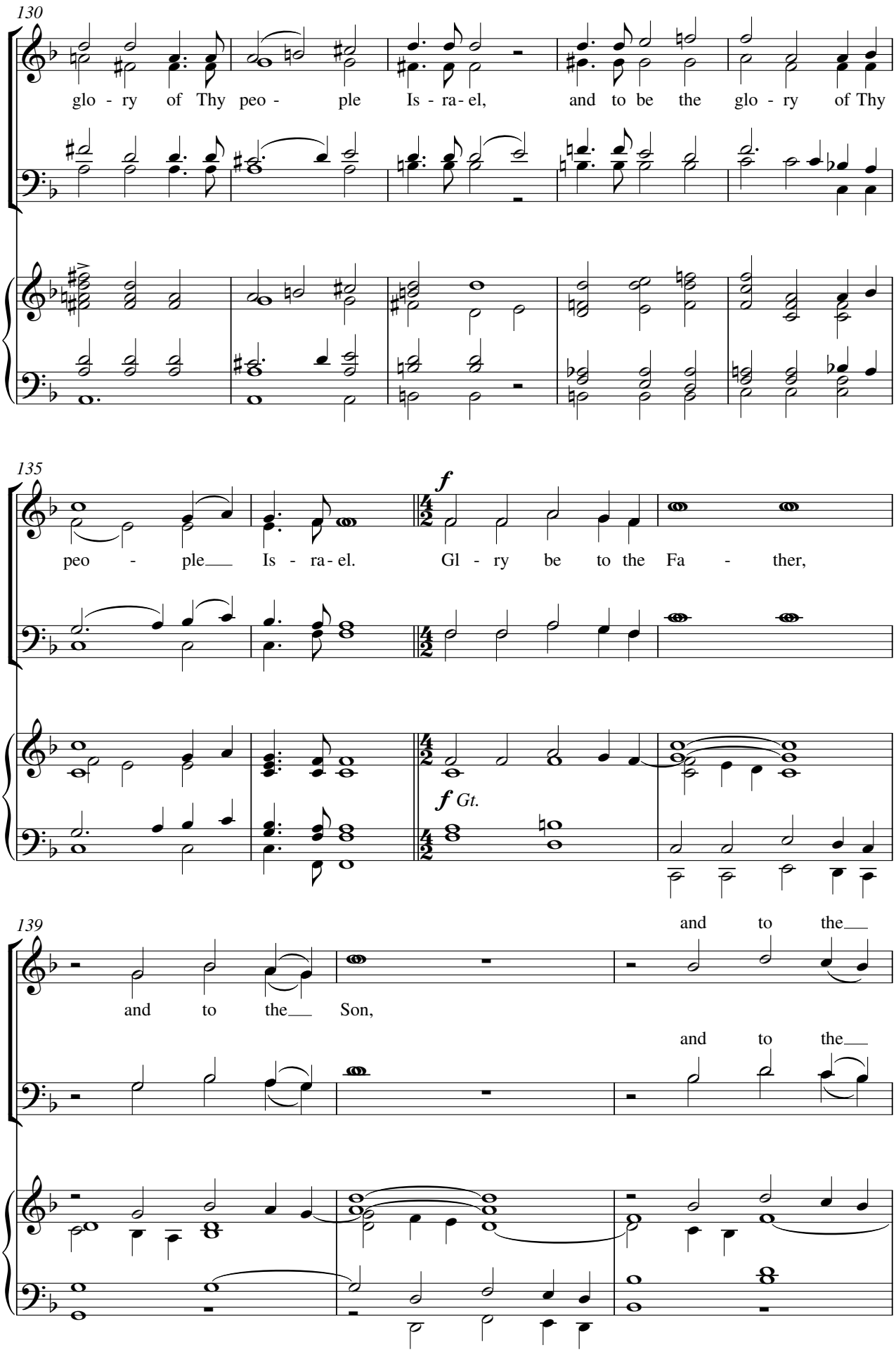
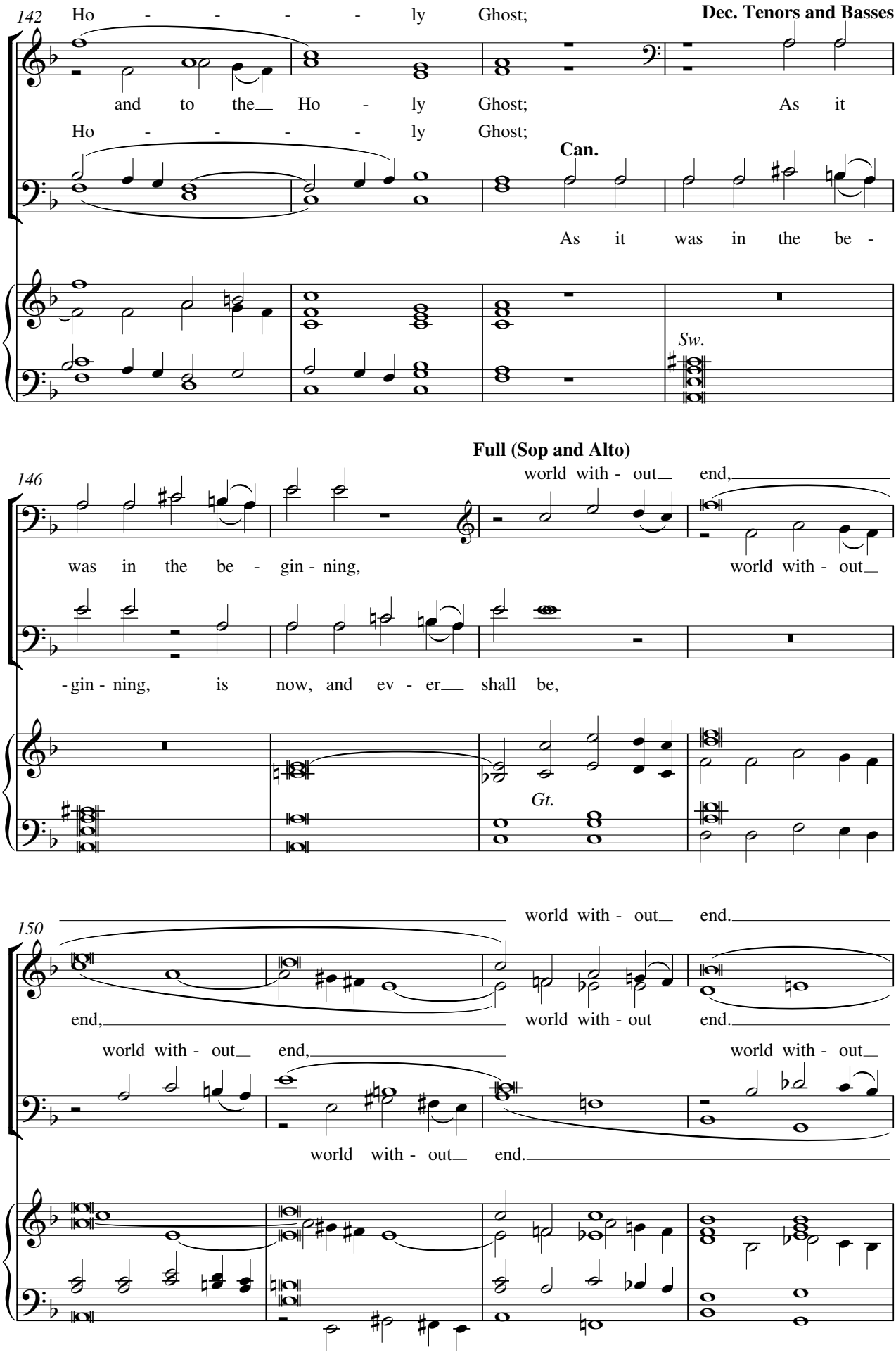
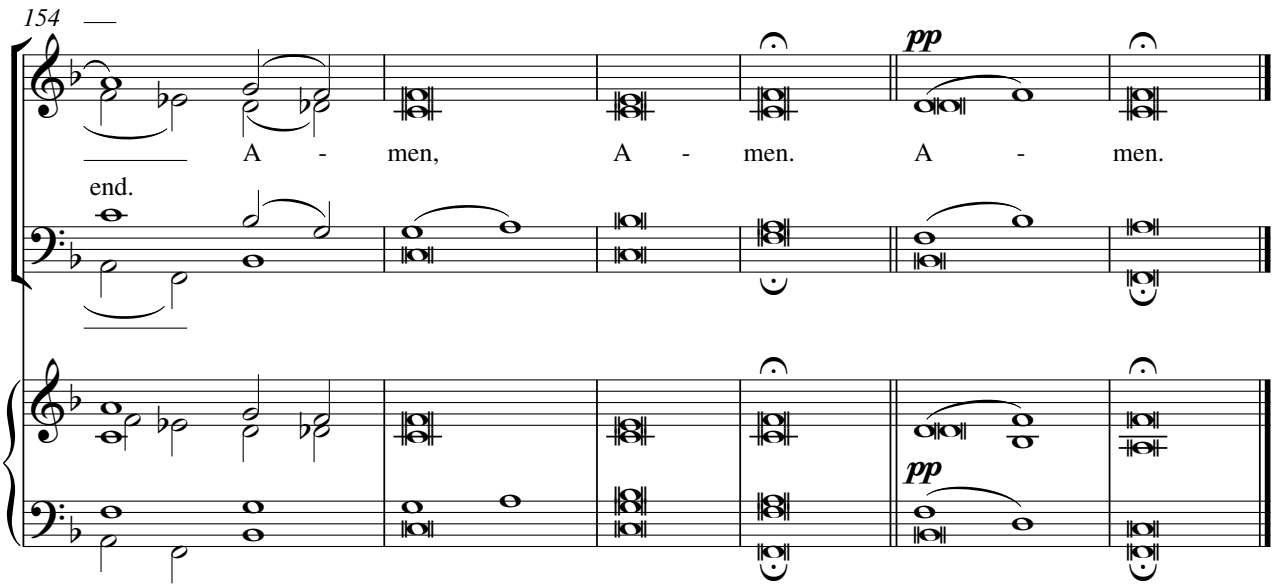

17
Cantoris
That we should be saved from our
en - em - ies,
and from the
hands of all that
hate us;
Cantoris
22
Dec.
To per -
form the mercy promised to our
fore - fa - thers,
and to re-member His
ho - ly Cov - en - ant;
Dec.
28
Can.
To perform the oath which He sware to our forefather
A - bra - ham,
that
He
would
give us;
Can.

33
Dec.
That
we being delivered
out of the hand of our
en - e - mies,
might
serve him with - out
fear;
Dec.
39
Can.
In holiness and
righteousness be –
fore
Him
all the
days
of our
life
Can.
44
Full
And thou
Child, shalt be called
the Prophet of the
High - est,
for thou shalt go
before the face
of the Lord
to pre - pare His
ways;
Full
f

50
To give knowledge of salvation unto His peo ple, for the re - mis - sion of their sins
55
mf
Through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring from on high hath vis - it - ed us;
61
p
To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace
rall.
p
rall.

66
a tempo
f
Glo - ry
be to the Father, and
to the Son,
and
to the Ho - ly
Ghost;
a tempo
f
72
rall.
As it was in the beginning,
is now, and ever
shall
be,
world
with - out end
A - men.
rall.

Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis

John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.

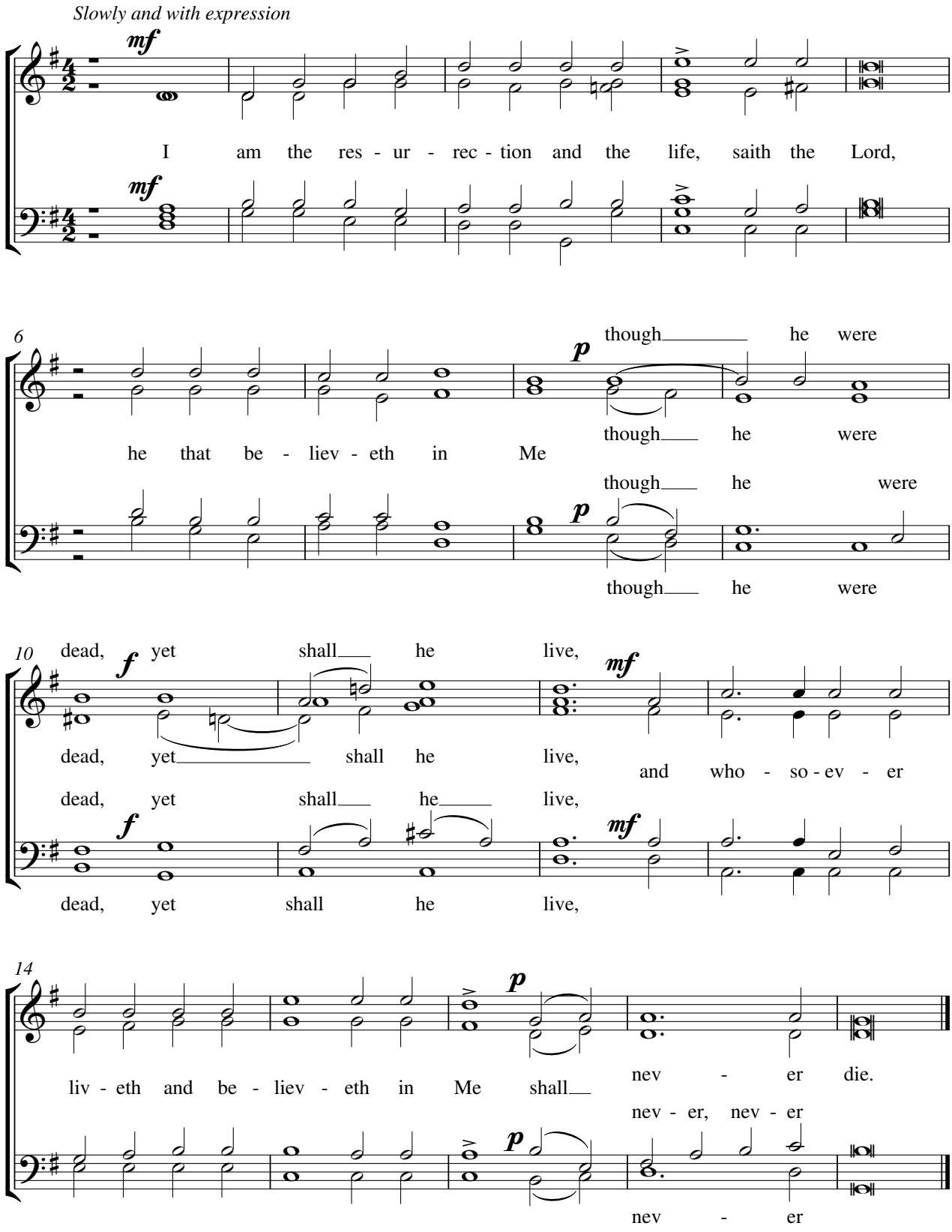
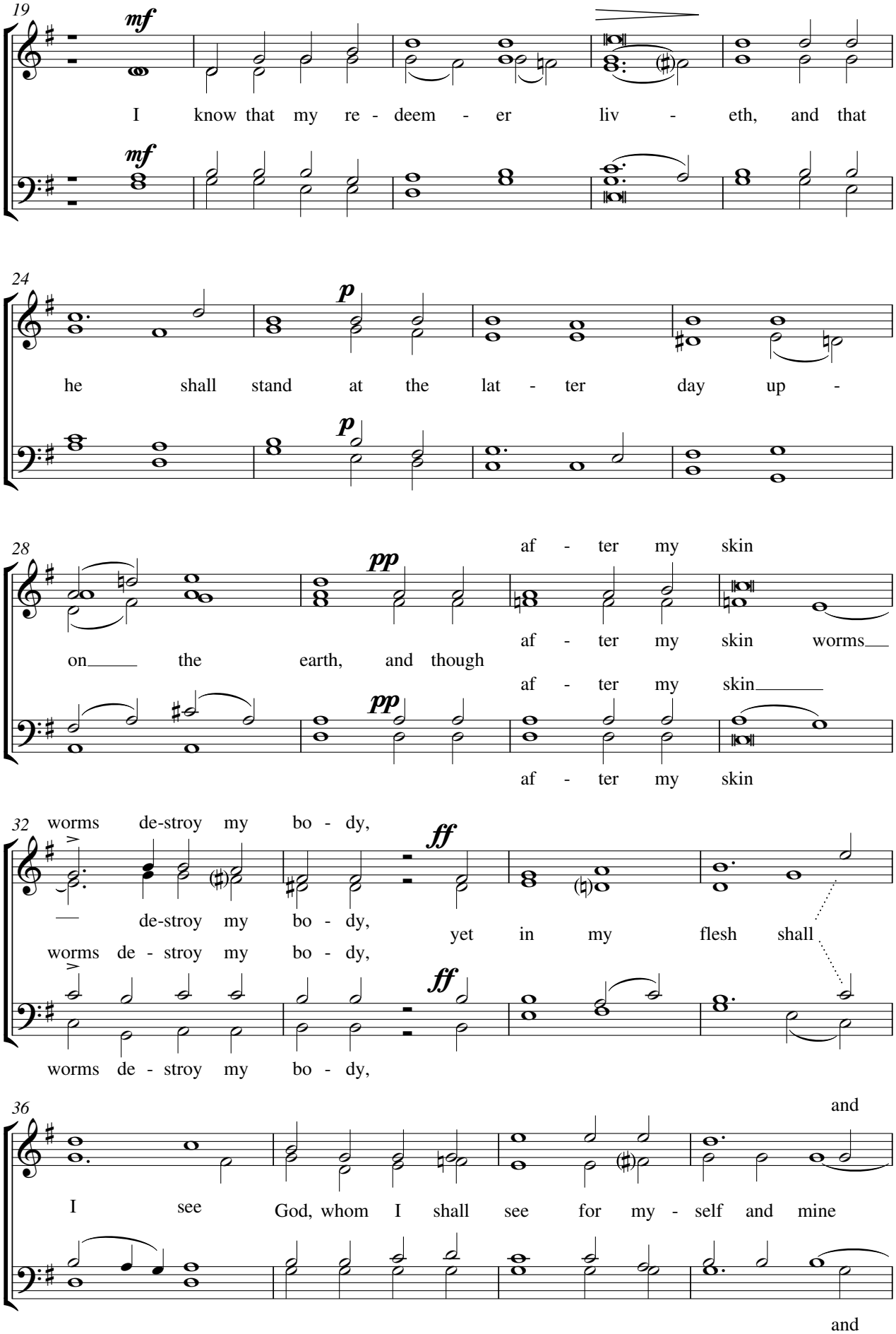
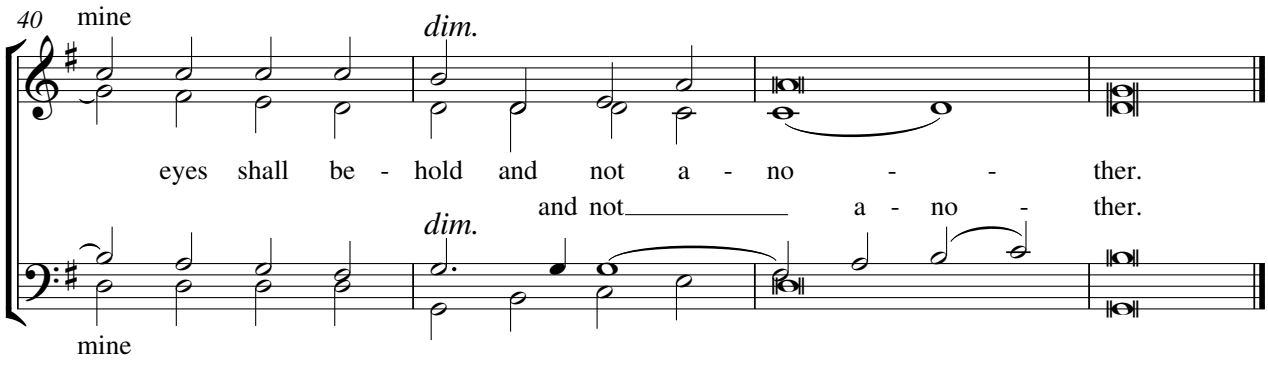
Magnificat

maid - en. For be - hold, be - hold, from hence - forth
15
cresc.
For be - hold, from hence - forth
For be - hold, from hence - forth
For be - hold, be - hold, from hence - forth
cresc.
20
f
mf
all gen - er - a - tions shall call me bless - ed. For He that is
f
mf
Ped.
25
p
might - y hath mag - ni - fi - ed me, and ho - ly is His
p

30
cresc.
Name.
And His mer - cy is on them that fear Him
cresc.
35
f
throughout all gen - er - a - tions.
He hath shew-ed
f Gt.
Ped.
40
strength with His arm,
He hath scat-ter - ed the proud

44
in the im - ag - in - a - tion of their hearts. He hath
48
from their
put down the might - y from their seat,
from__ their__
52
poco rit.
and hath ex - alt - ed, and hath ex -
p
Sw. Reed. poco rit

57
a tempo
alt - ed the hum - ble and meek. He hath fill - ed the
a tempo Gt.
61
dim.
hun - gry with good things, and the rich He hath sent
dim.
66
emp - ty a - way. He re - mem - b'ring His mer - cy hath holp - en His
Ch.

71
His ser - - vant Is - rael, as He
ser - vant, His ser - vant Is - rael,
His ser - vant Is - - rael, As He
His er - - vant Is - rael,
p
76
prom - is - ed to our fore - - fa - thers,
as He prom - is - ed to our fore - fa - thers,
prom - is - ed to our fore - fa - thers
as He prom - is - ed to our fore - fa - thers,
80
A - bra - ham and His
A - bra - ham and His seed for ev - er.
A - bra - ham and His

84
f
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the
f Gt.
87
and to the Ho - - -
Son, and to the
and to the Ho - - -
Ho - - -
90
- ly Ghost;
Can. Tenors and Basses
Ho - ly Ghost; As it was in the be -
- ly Ghost;
Dec.
- ly Ghost; As it was in the be - gin - ning, is
Sw.

94
Full (Sop and Alto)
end.
gin - ning,
world with - out
end.
now and ev - er
shall be,
world with - out
Gt.
98
world with - out
end.
A - -
end.
100
men, world with - out
end.
A - men.

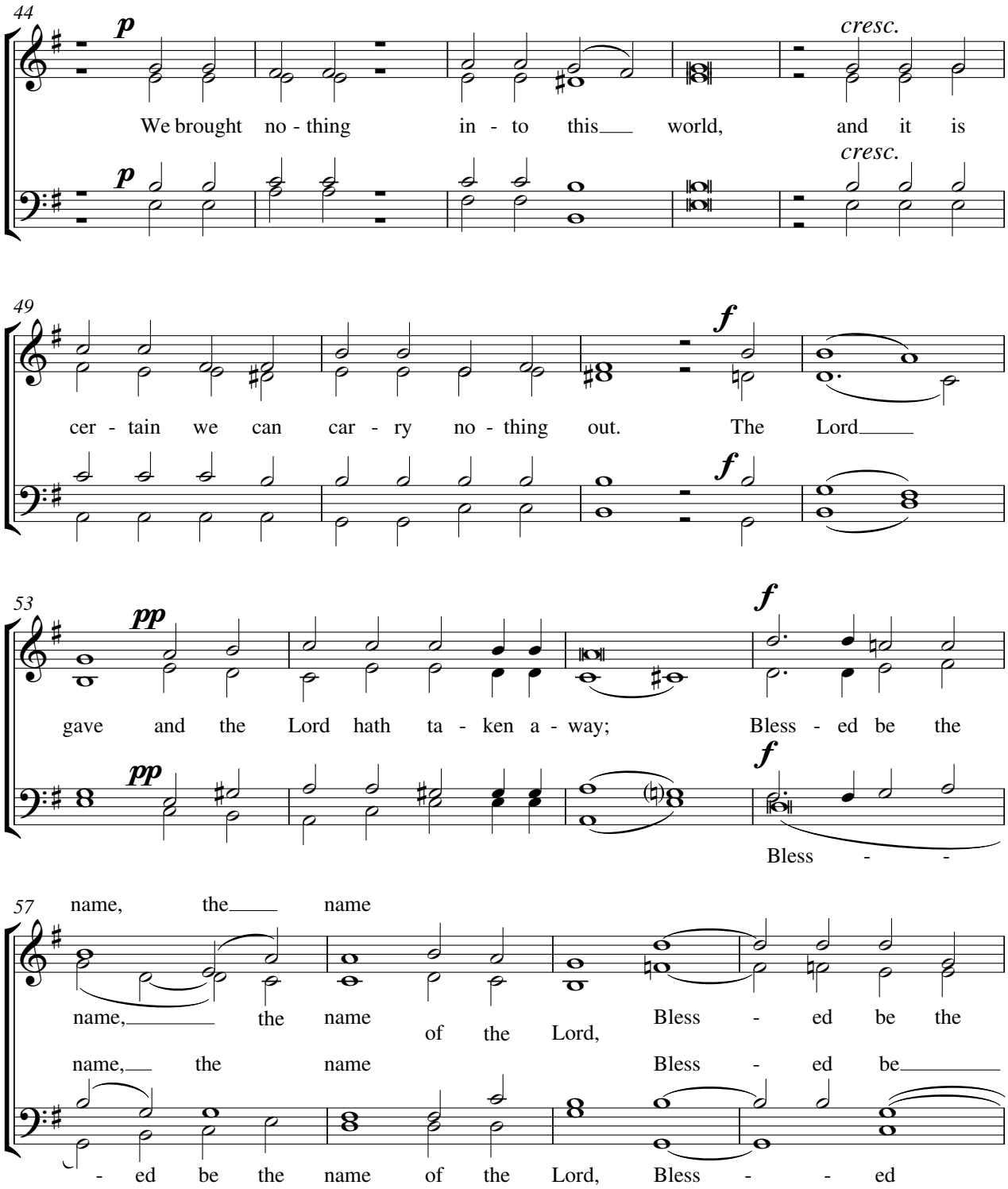
Nunc Dimittis

119
mf
va - tion, Which Thou hast pre - par - ed be-fore the face of all
sal - va - tion
mf
124
peo - ple; To be a light
f
To be a light to
f
127
to light - en the Gen - tiles, and to be the
light - en the Gen - tiles,

130
glo - ry of Thy peo - ple Is - ra - el, and to be the glo - ry of Thy
135
peo - ple Is - ra - el.
f
Gl - ry be to the Fa - ther,
f Gt.
139
and to the Son,
and to the
and to the

142
Ho - - - - - ly Ghost;
Dec. Tenors and Basses
and to the Ho - ly Ghost; As it
Ho - - - - - ly Ghost;
Can.
As it was in the be -
Sw.
Full (Sop and Alto)
146
world with - out end,
was in the be - gin - ning, world with - out
- gin - ning, is now, and ev - er shall be,
Gt.
150
world with - out end.
end, world with - out end.
world with - out end, world with - out
world with - out end.

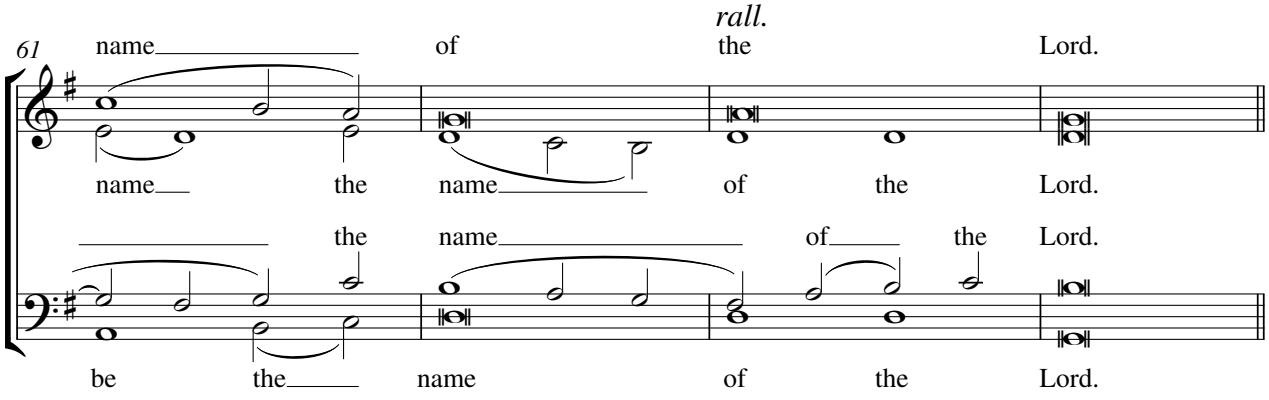

154
pp
A - men, A - men. A - men.
end.
pp

The Burial Service

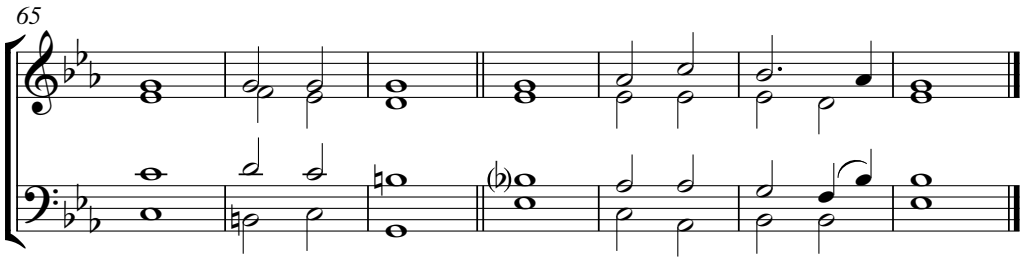
John Bacchus Dykes M.A., Mus.Doc

I am the resurrection and the life

I know that my redeemer liveth

We brought nothing into this world





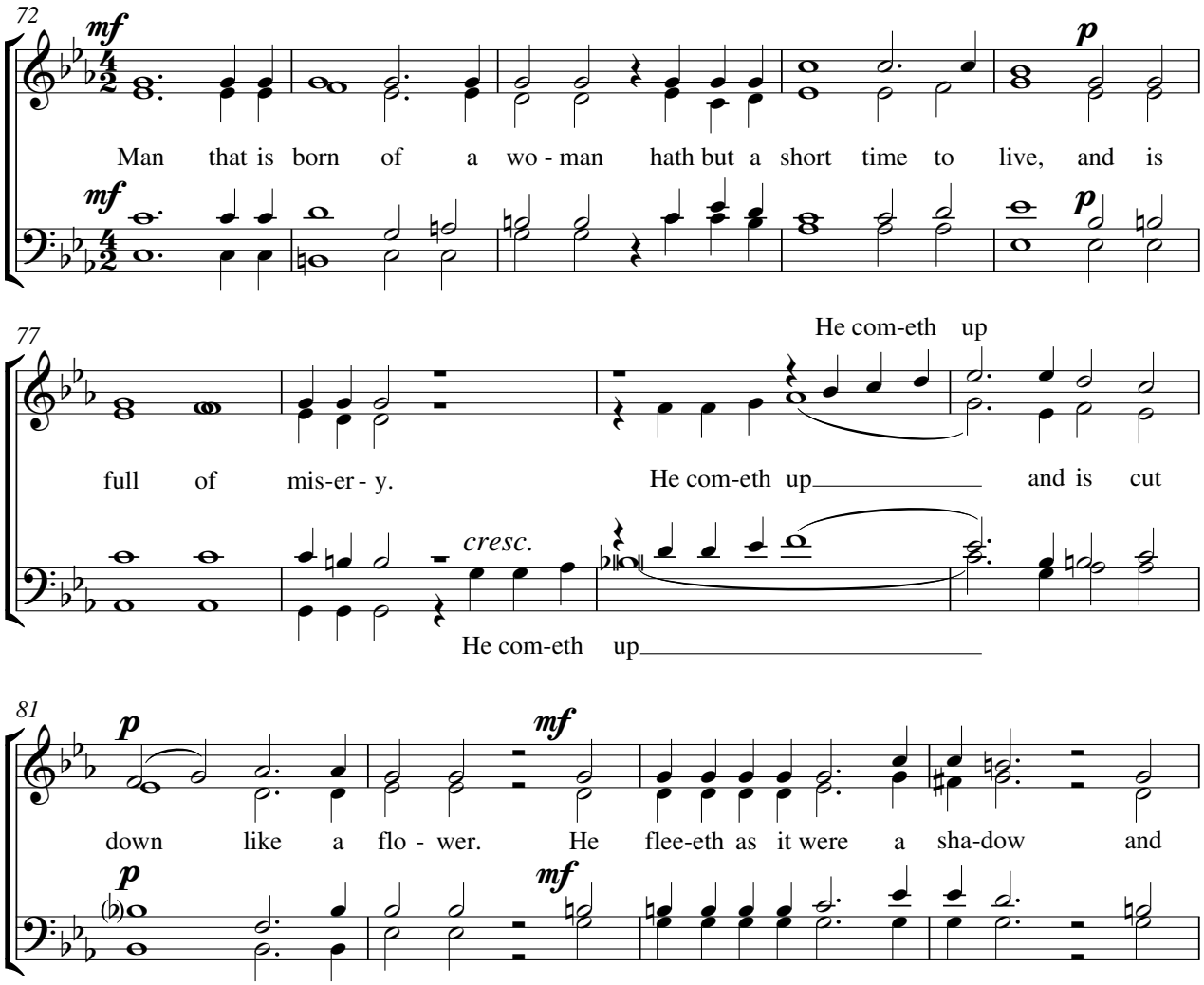
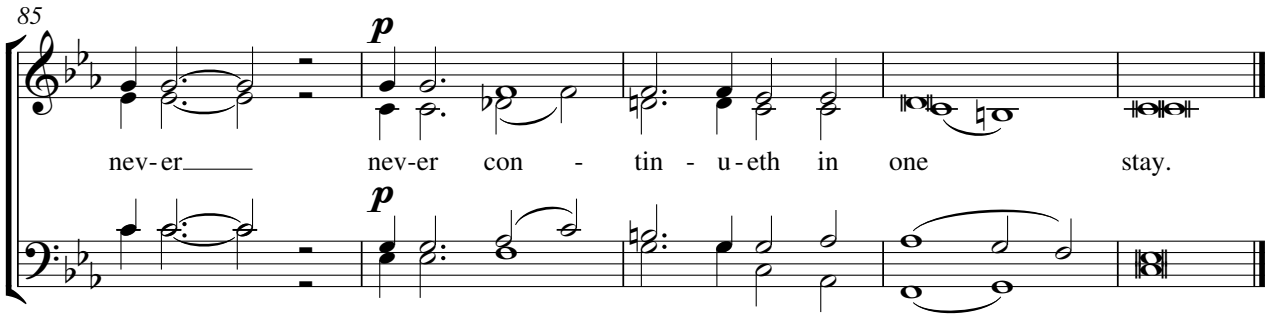
Chant to Psalm 39 (Felton)

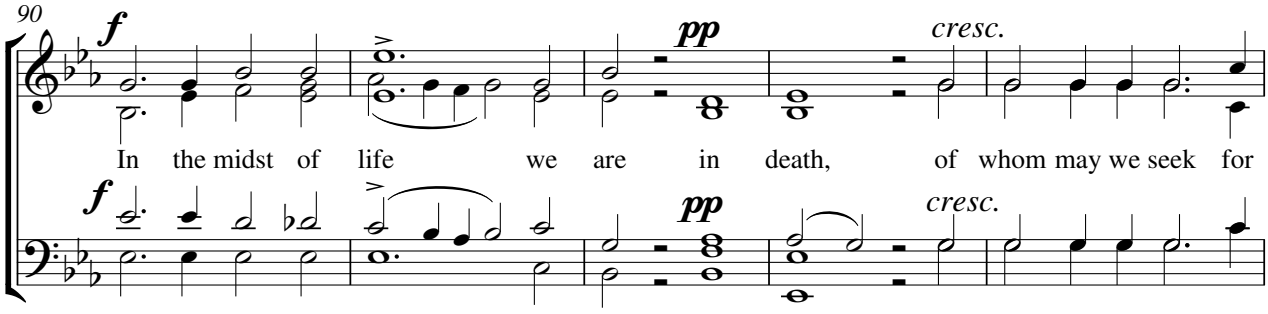


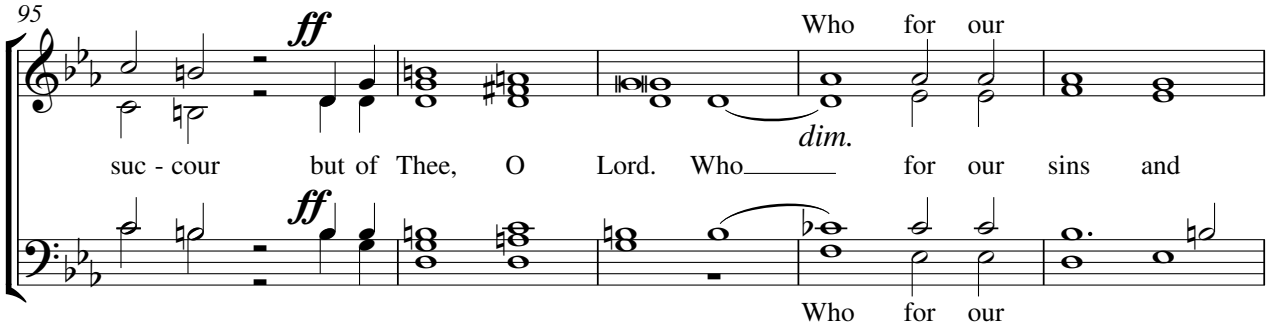
Gospel

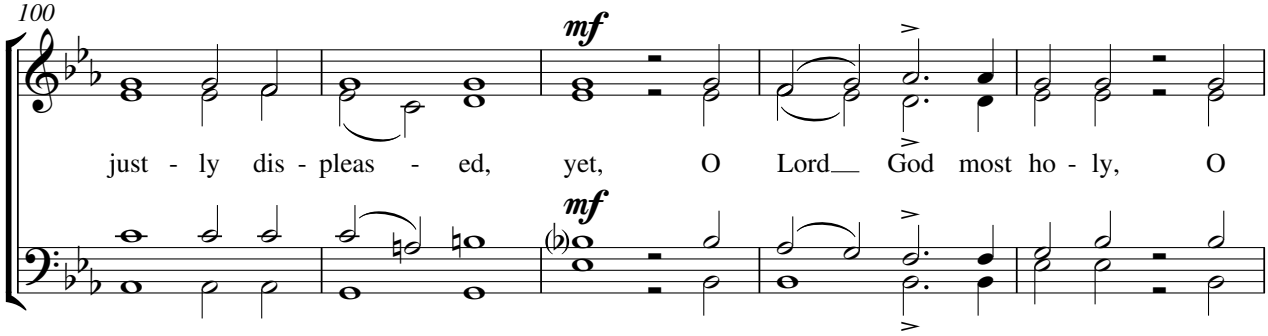
Anthem

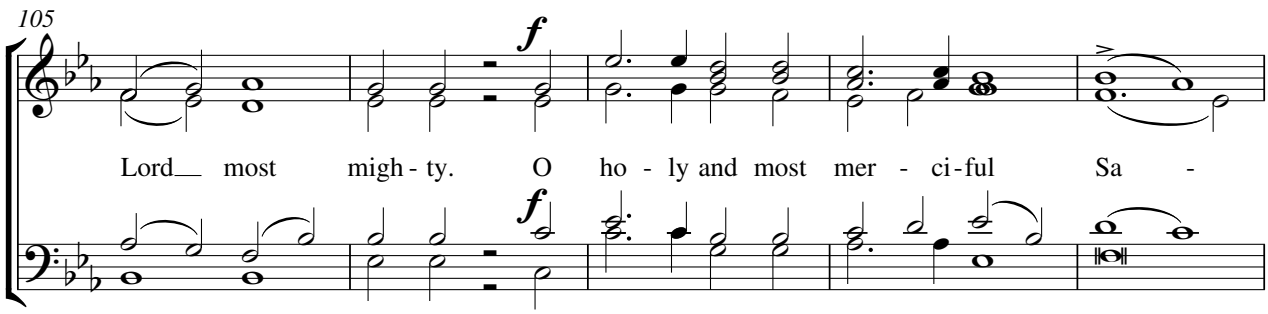
Dead March

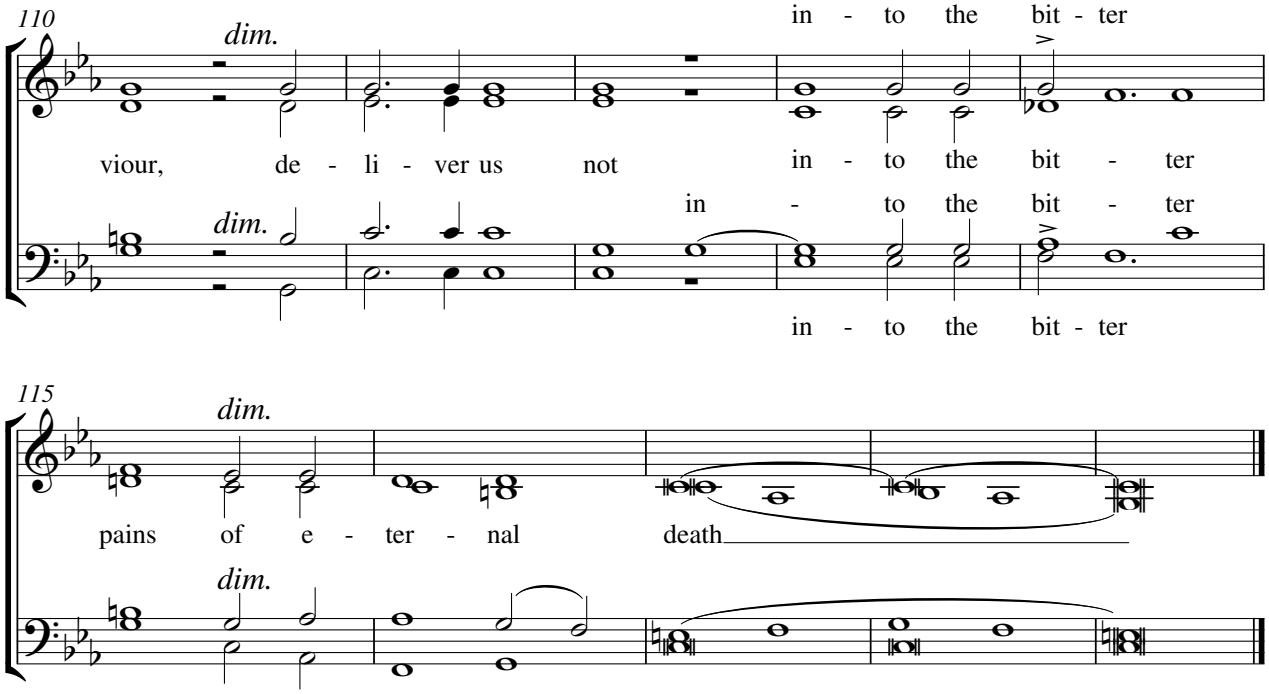
Man that is born of a woman

In the midst of life we are in death

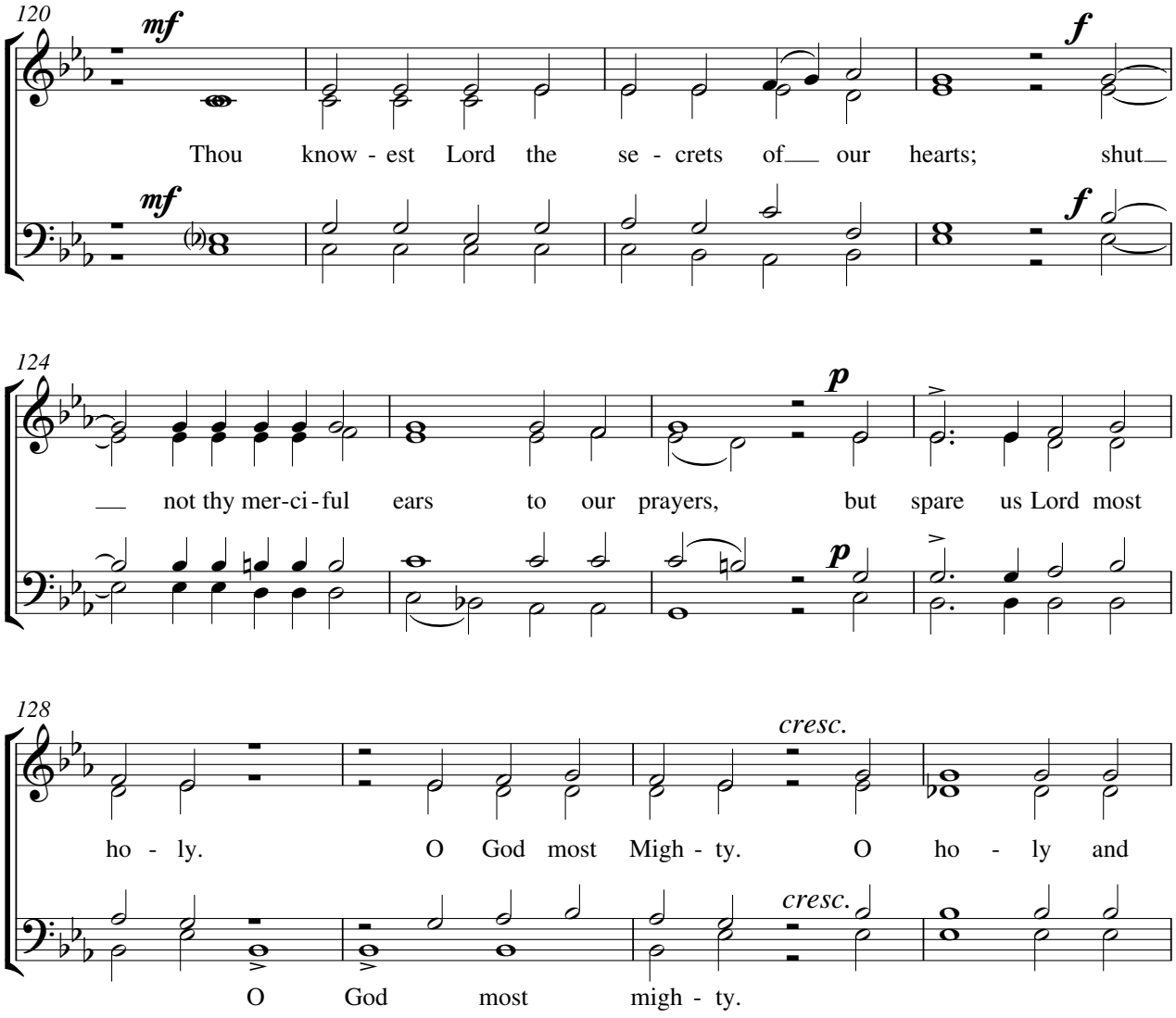
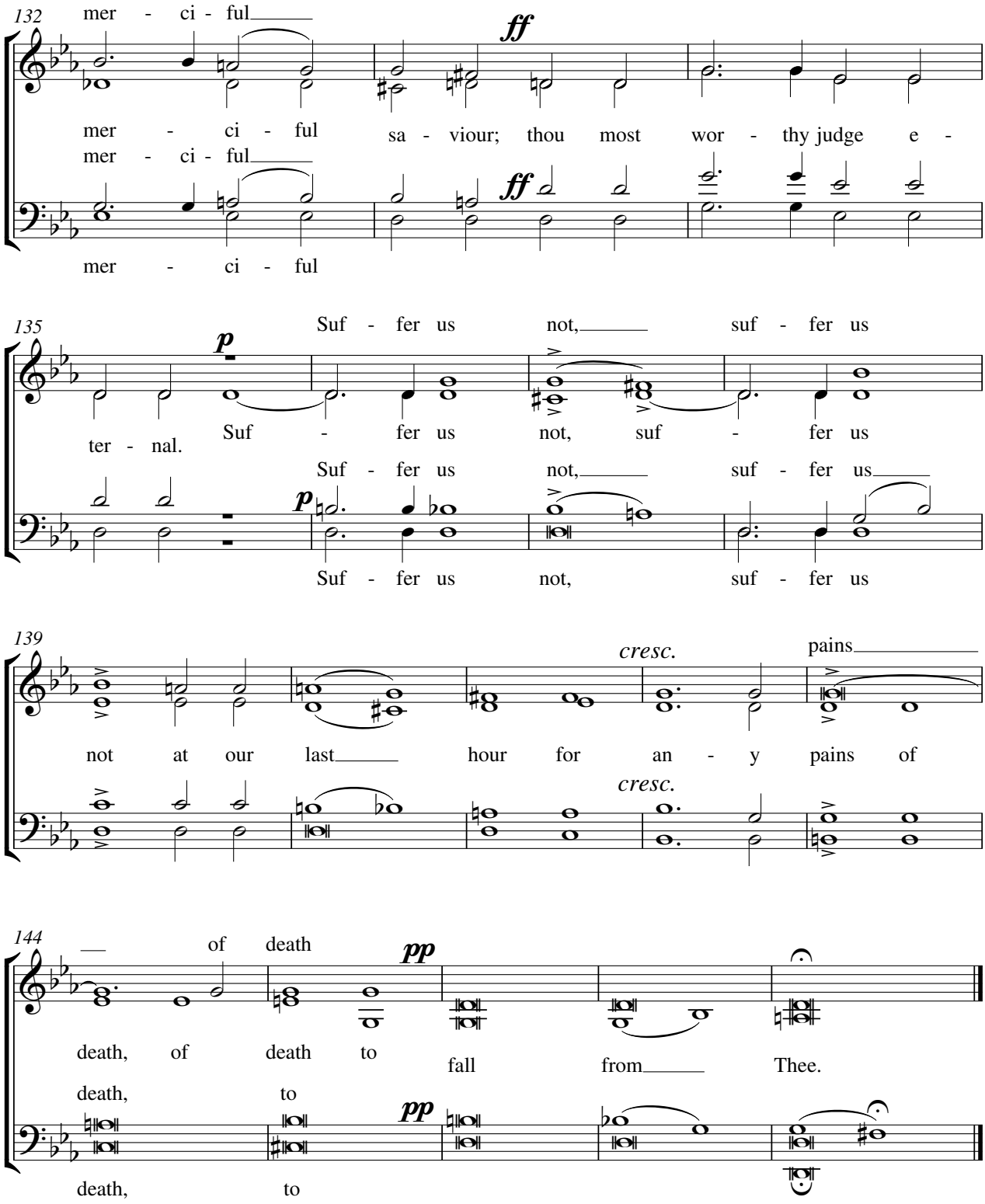


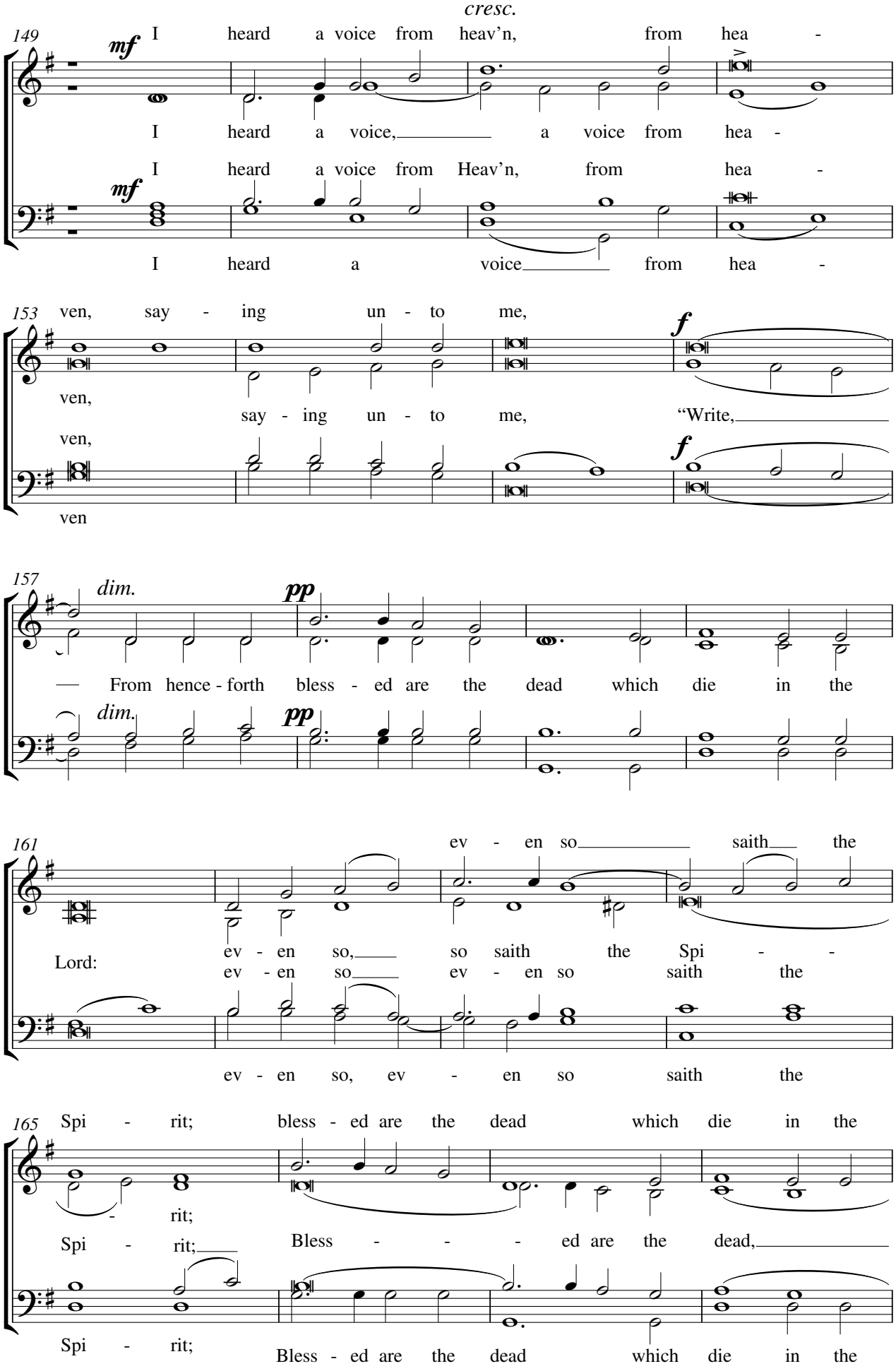
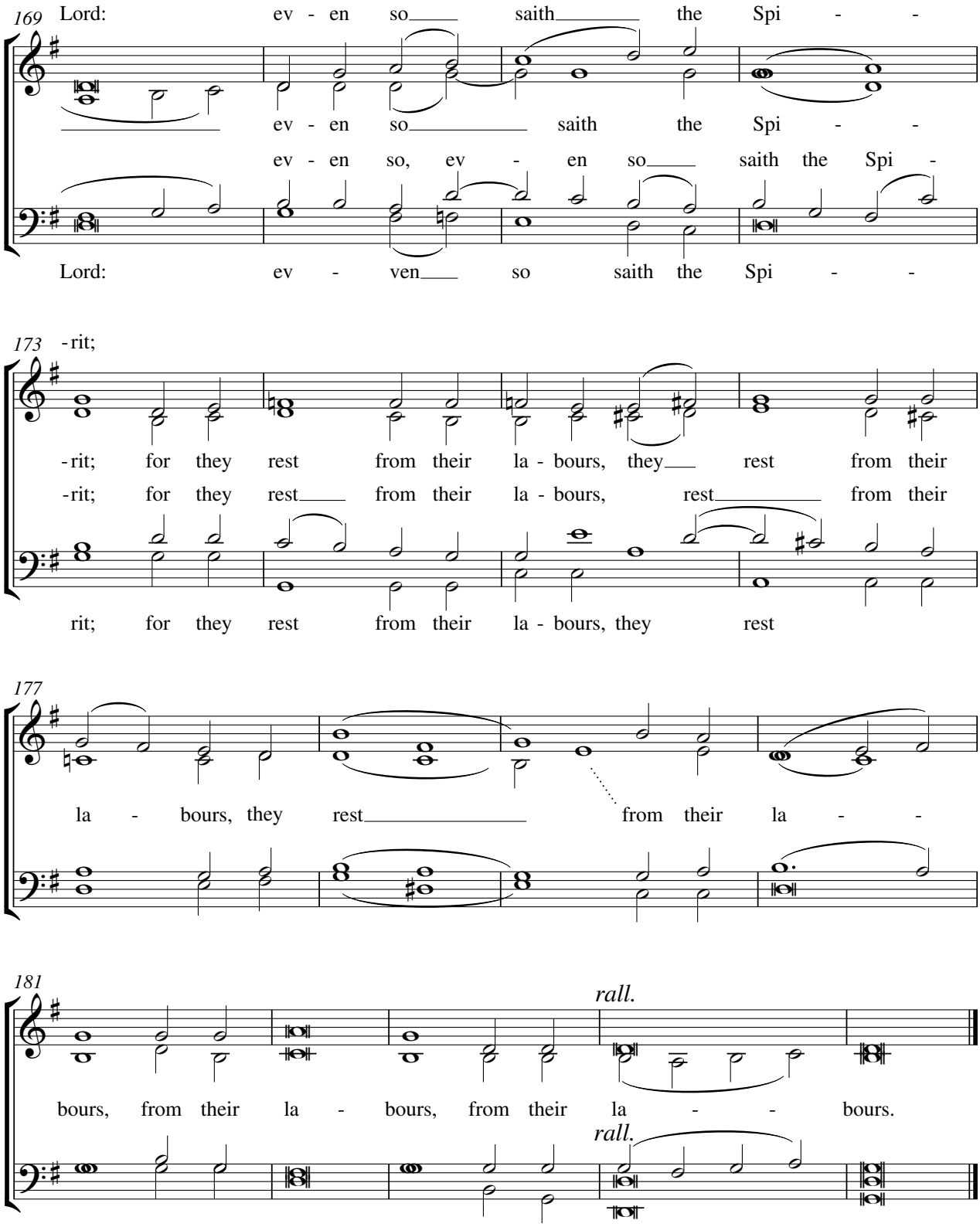






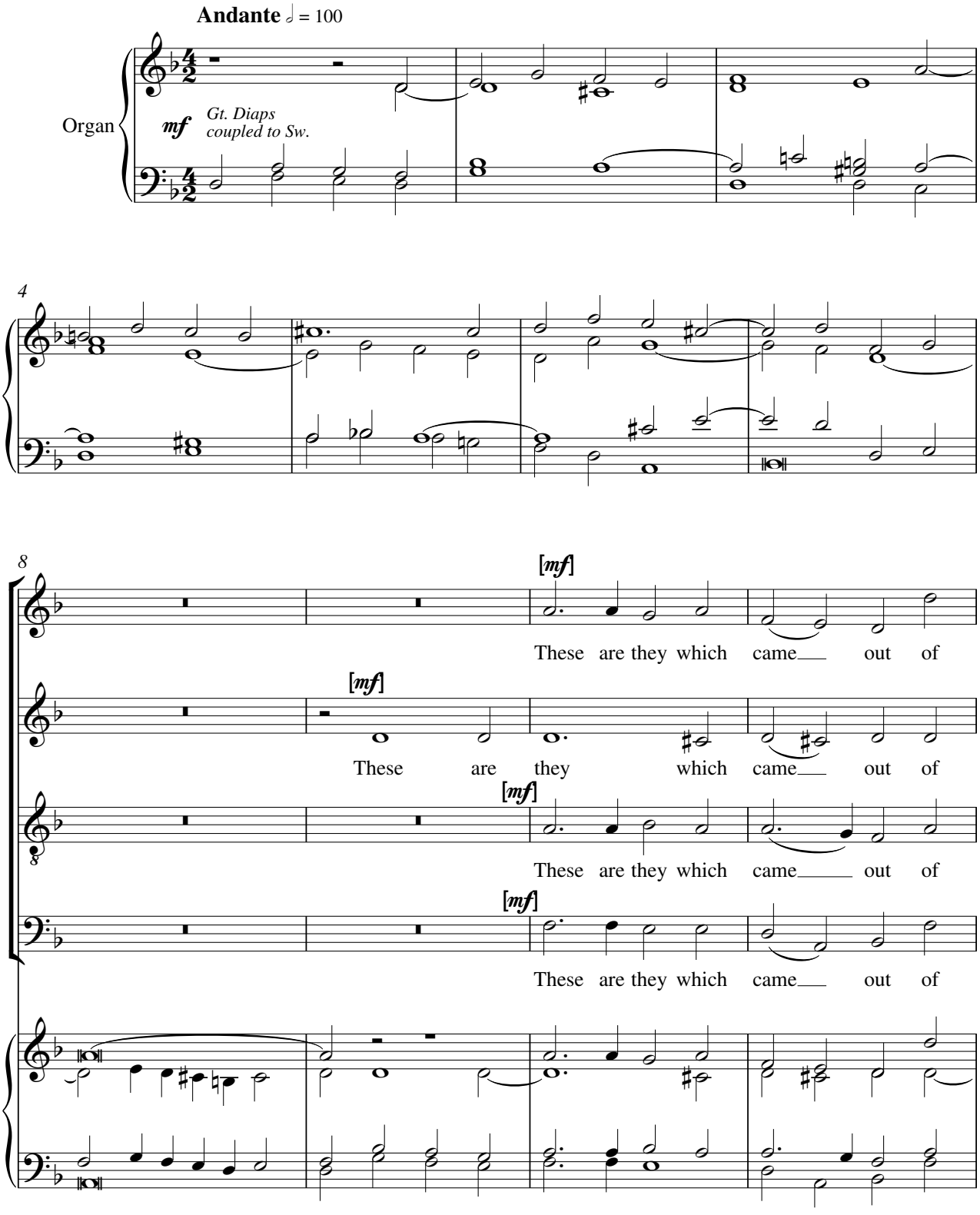
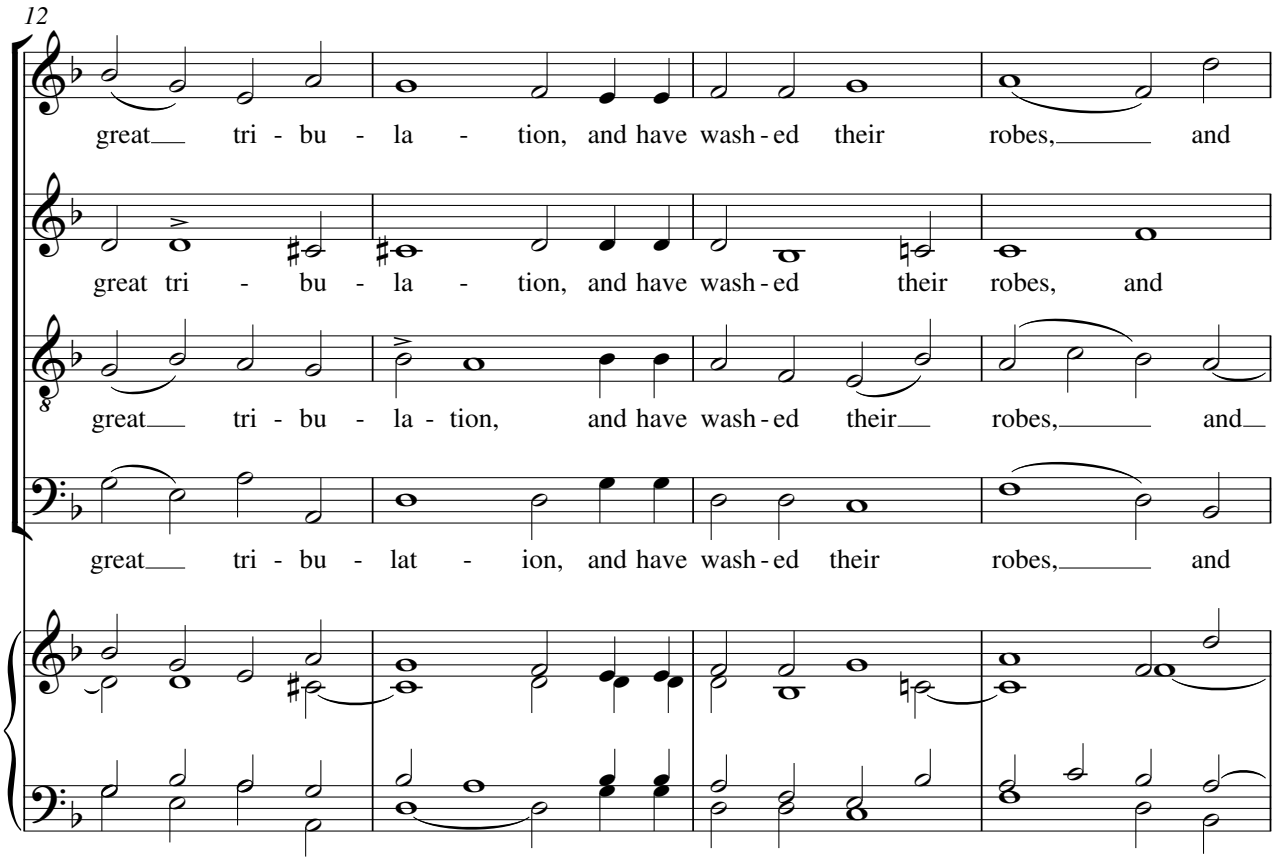


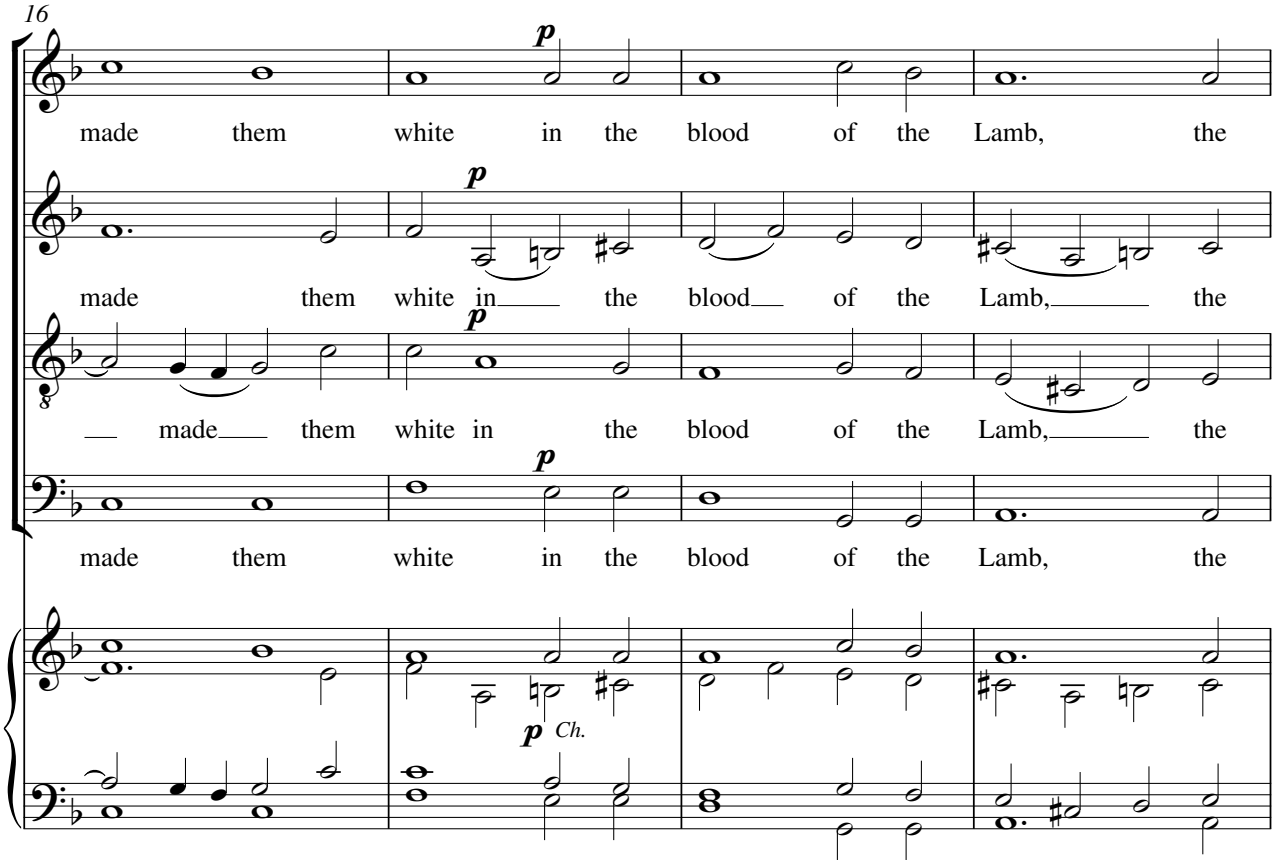
Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts

132
mer - ci - ful
ff
mer - ci - ful sa - viour; thou most wor - thy judge e -
mer - ci - ful
ff
mer - ci - ful
135
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us
p
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us
ter - nal.
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us
p
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us
139
cresc.
pains
not at our last hour for an - y pains of
cresc.
144
of death
pp
death, of death to fall from Thee.
death, to
pp
death, to

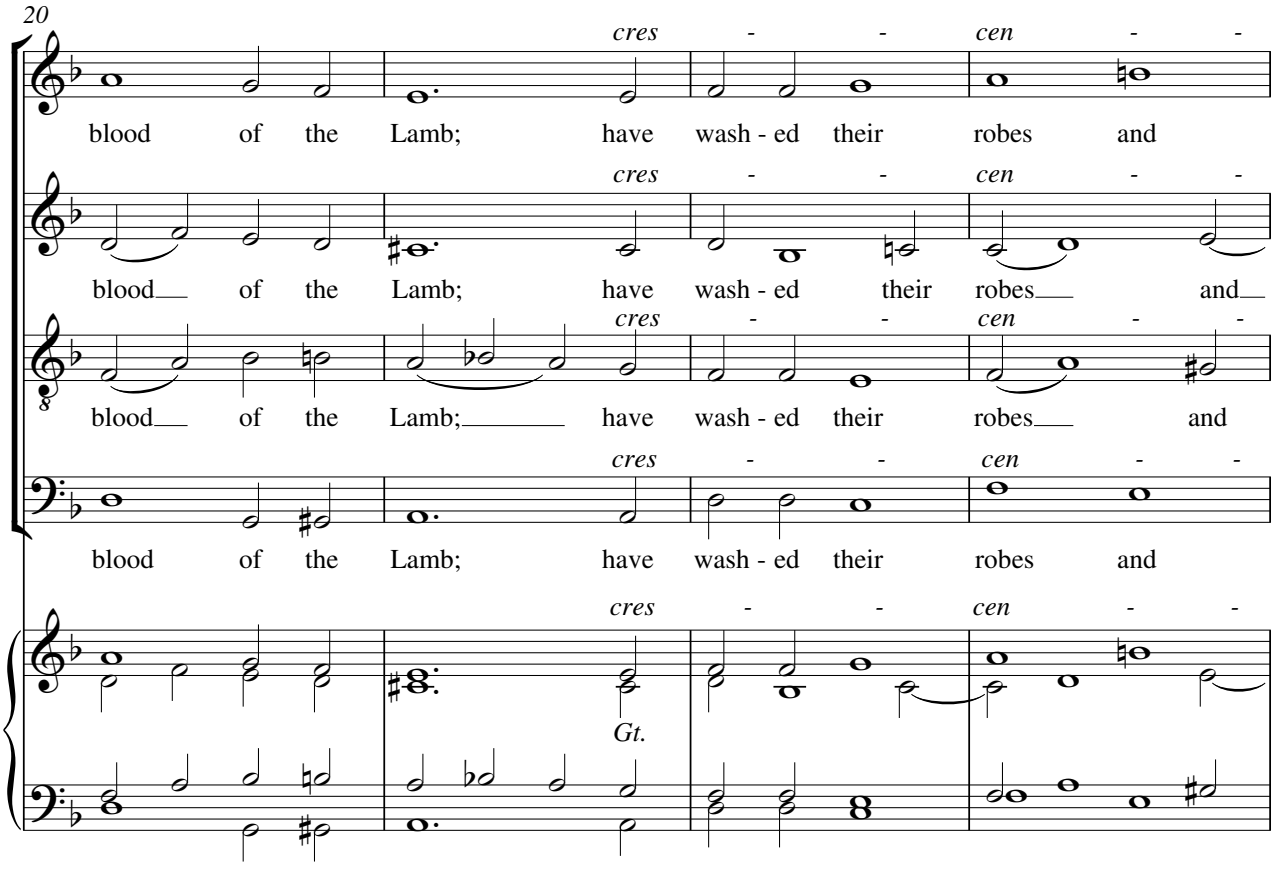
I heard a voice from heaven

169
Lord: ev - en so saith the Spi - -
ev - en so saith the Spi - -
ev - en so, ev - en so saith the Spi -
Lord: ev - ven so saith the Spi - -
173
-rit;
-rit; for they rest from their la - bours, they rest from their
-rit; for they rest from their la - bours, rest from their
rit; for they rest from their la - bours, they rest
177
la - bours, they rest from their la - -
181
rall.
bours, from their la - bours, from their la - - bours.
rall.

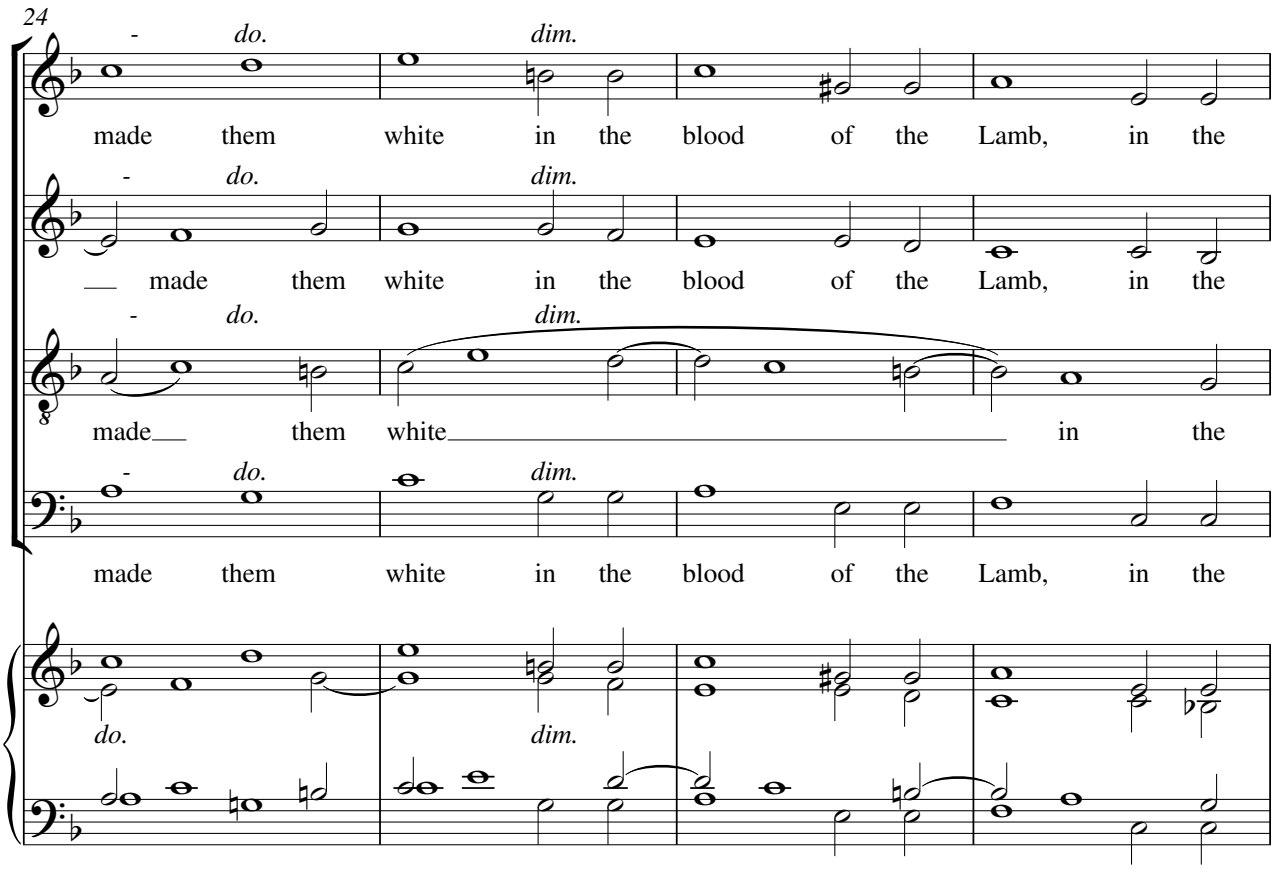
These Are They Which Came Out Of Great Tribulation

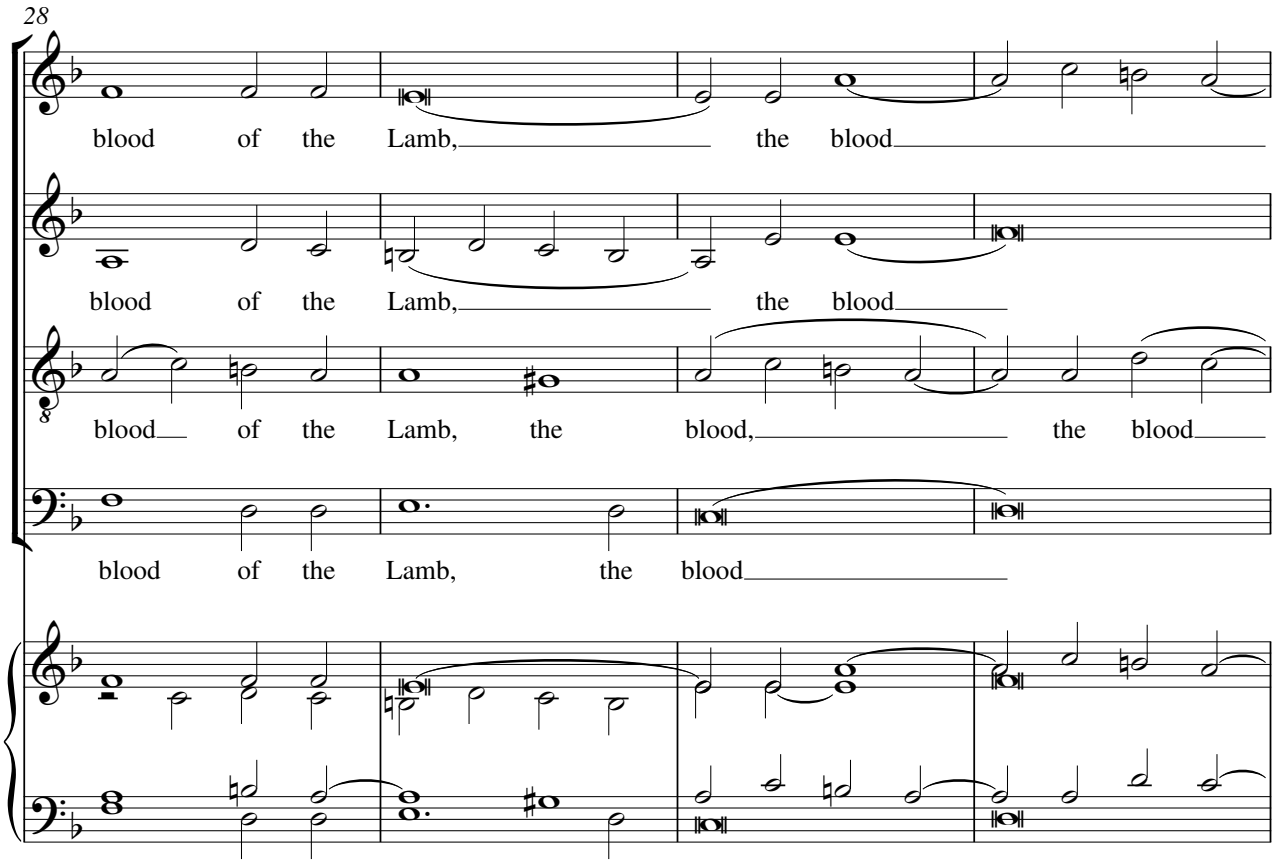
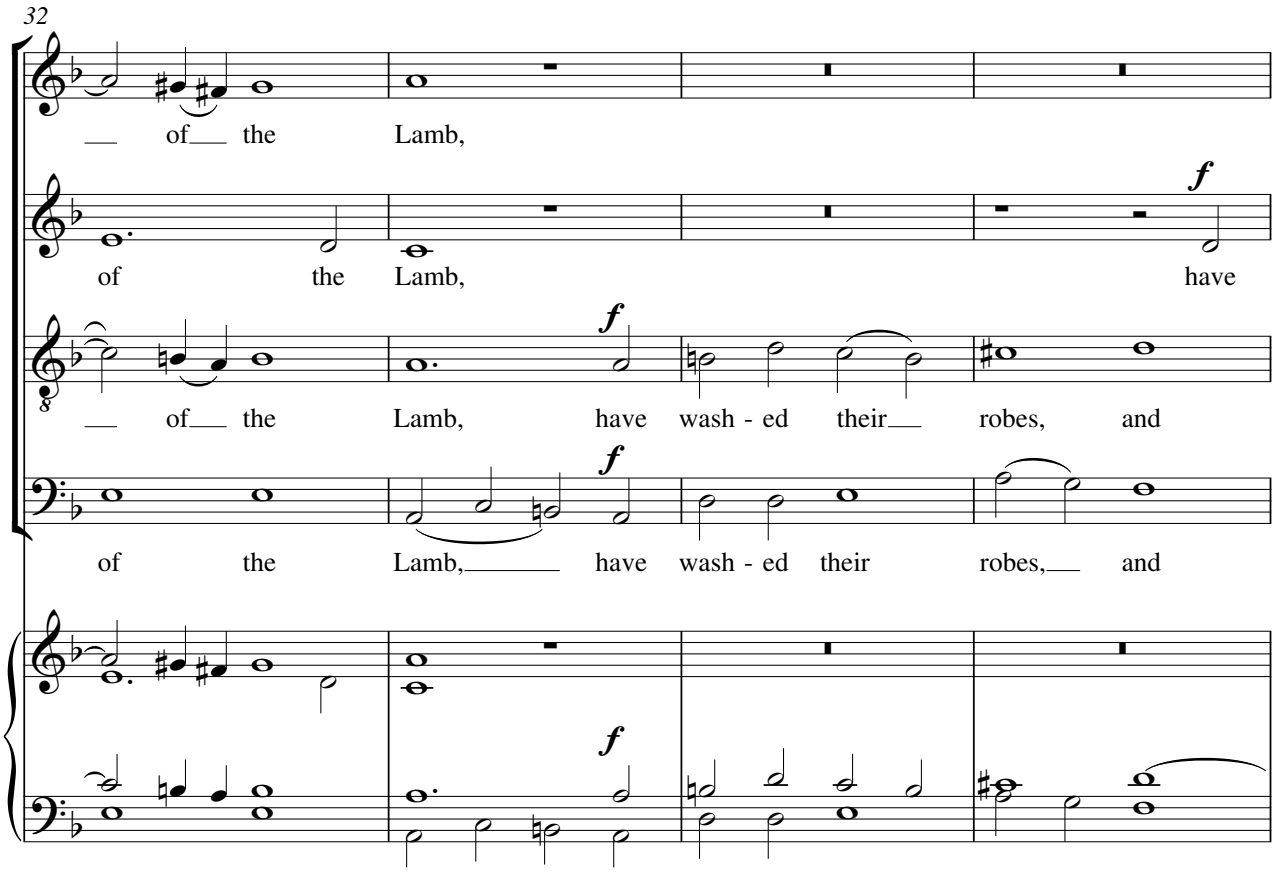
Rev. vii. 14-17

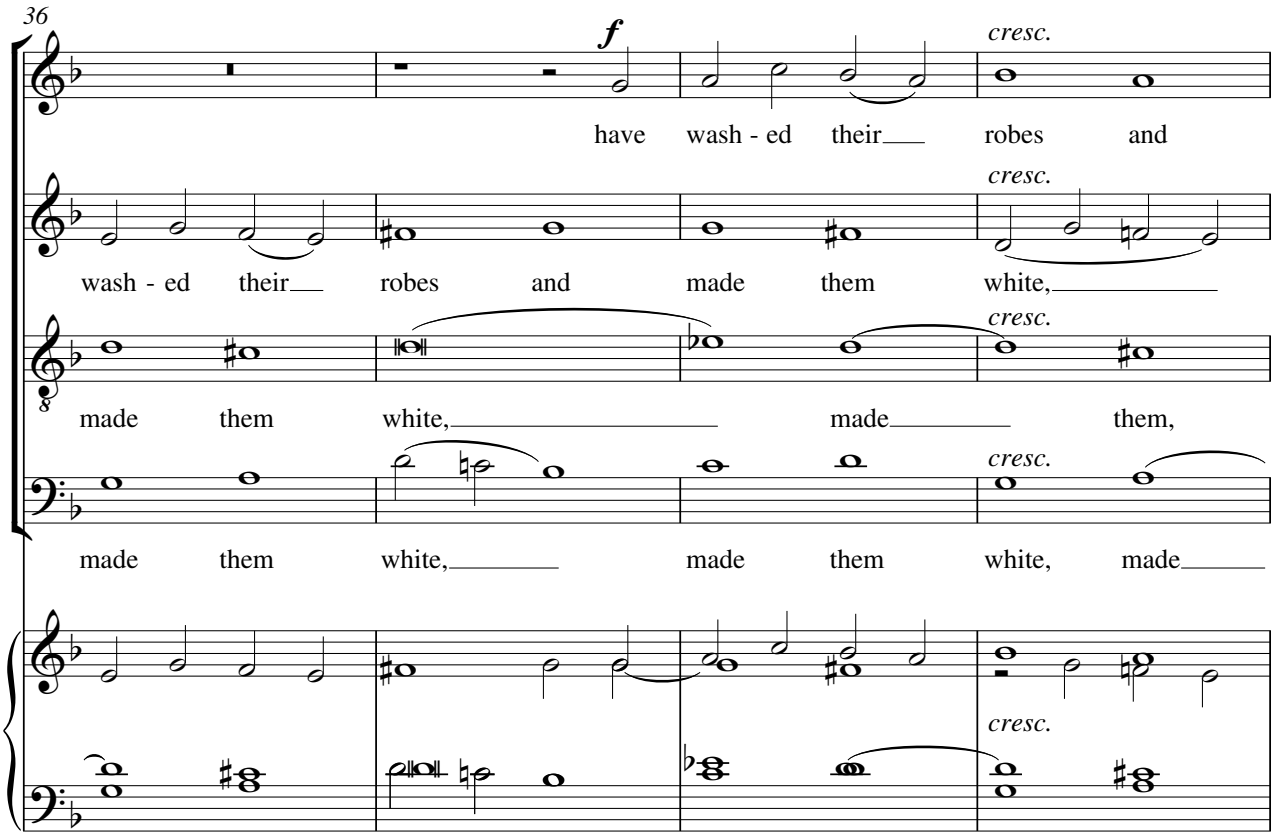
John Bacchus Dykes MA, Mus.Doc
Edited by Graham Cory


12
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - lat - ion, and have wash - ed their robes, and

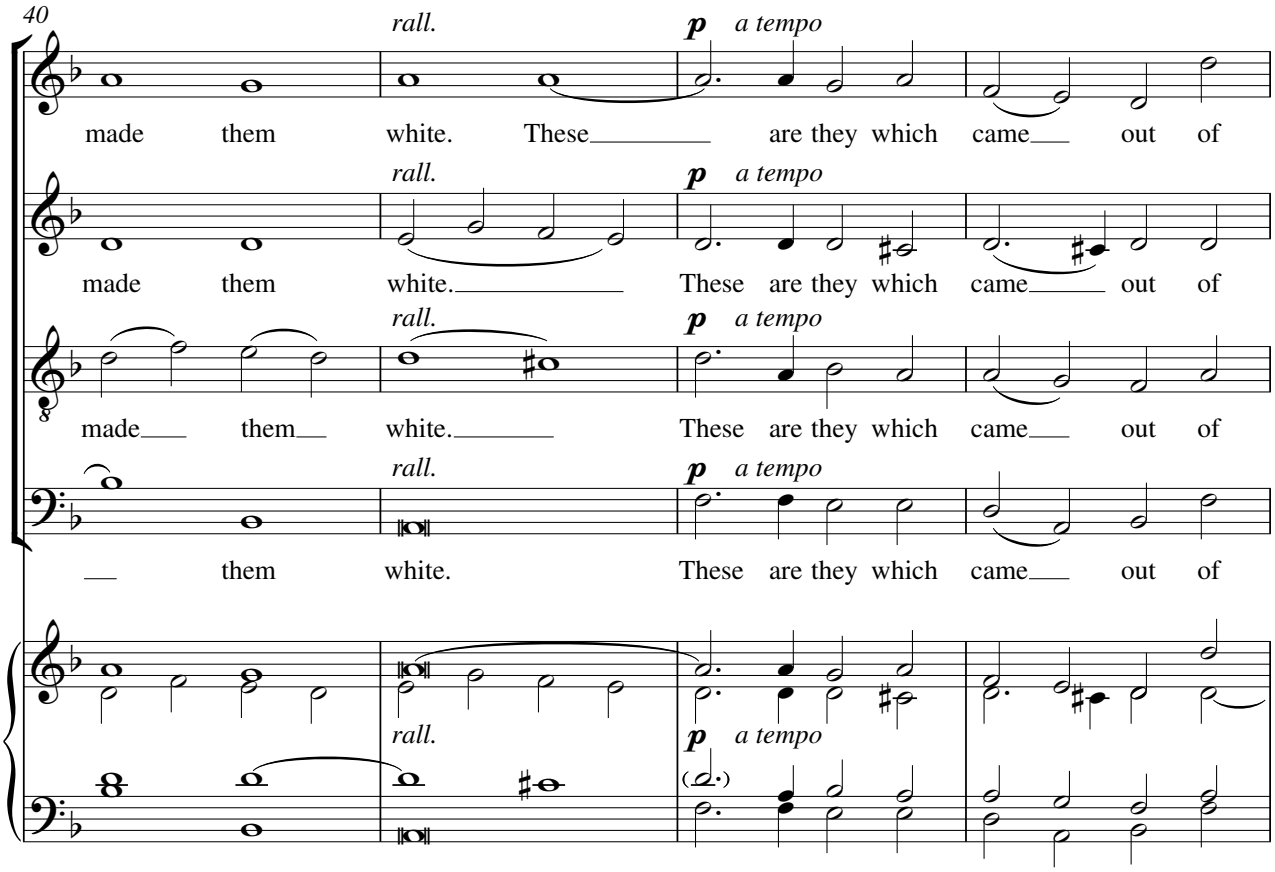

16
p
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, the
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, the
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, the
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, the
p Ch.

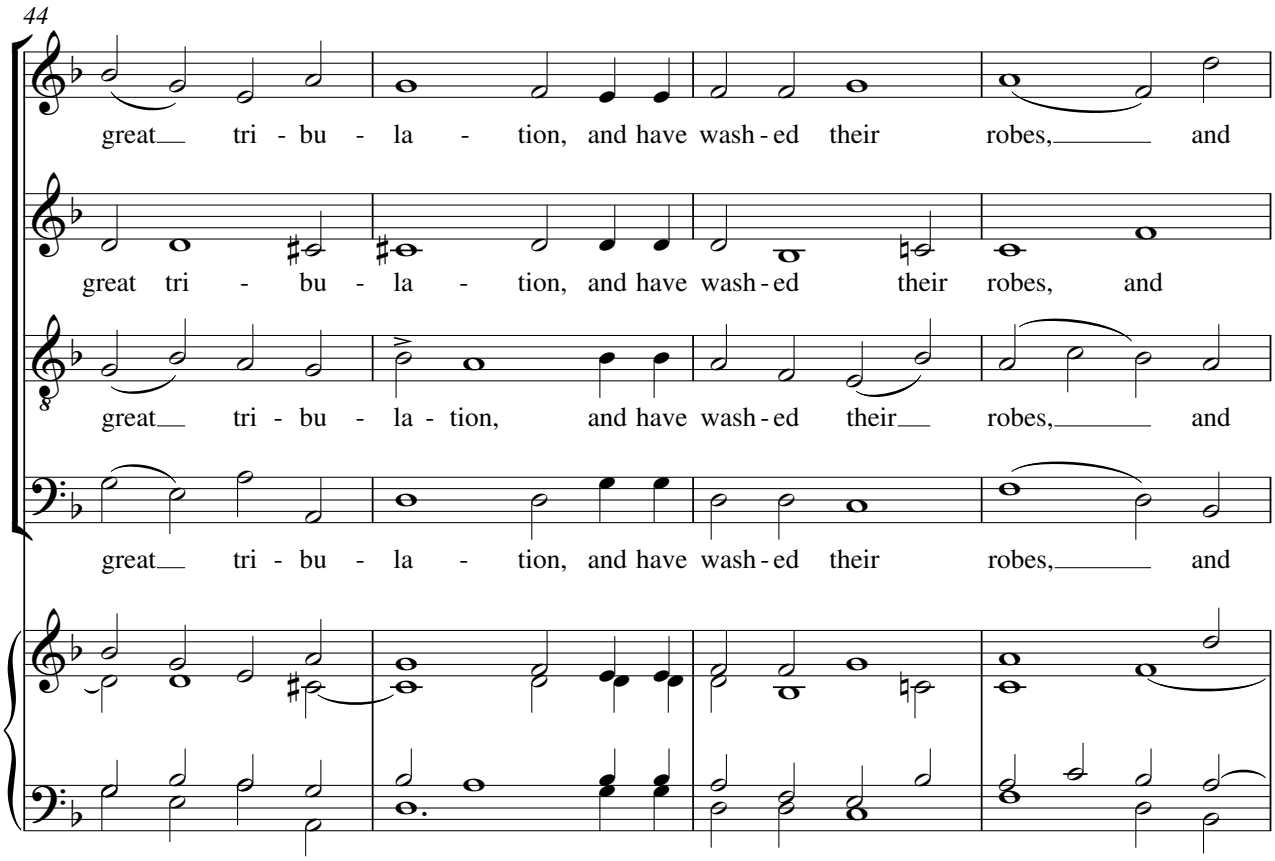

20
cres - - cen - -
blood of the Lamb; have wash - ed their robes and
cres - - cen - -
blood of the Lamb; have wash - ed their robes and
cres - - cen - -
blood of the Lamb; have wash - ed their robes and
cres - - cen - -
blood of the Lamb; have wash - ed their robes and
Gt.

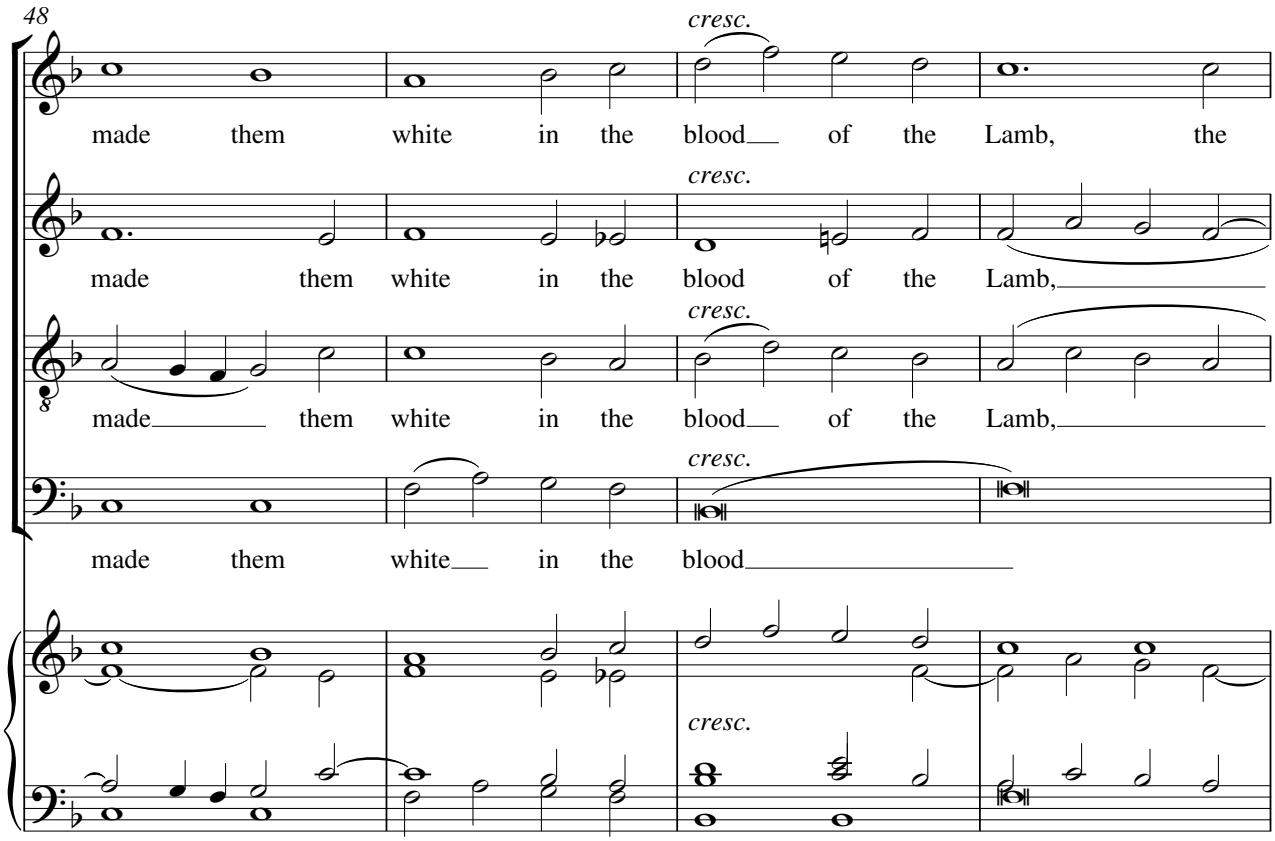

24
- do. dim.
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, in the
- do. dim.
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, in the
- do. dim.
made them white in the
- do. dim.
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, in the
do. dim.

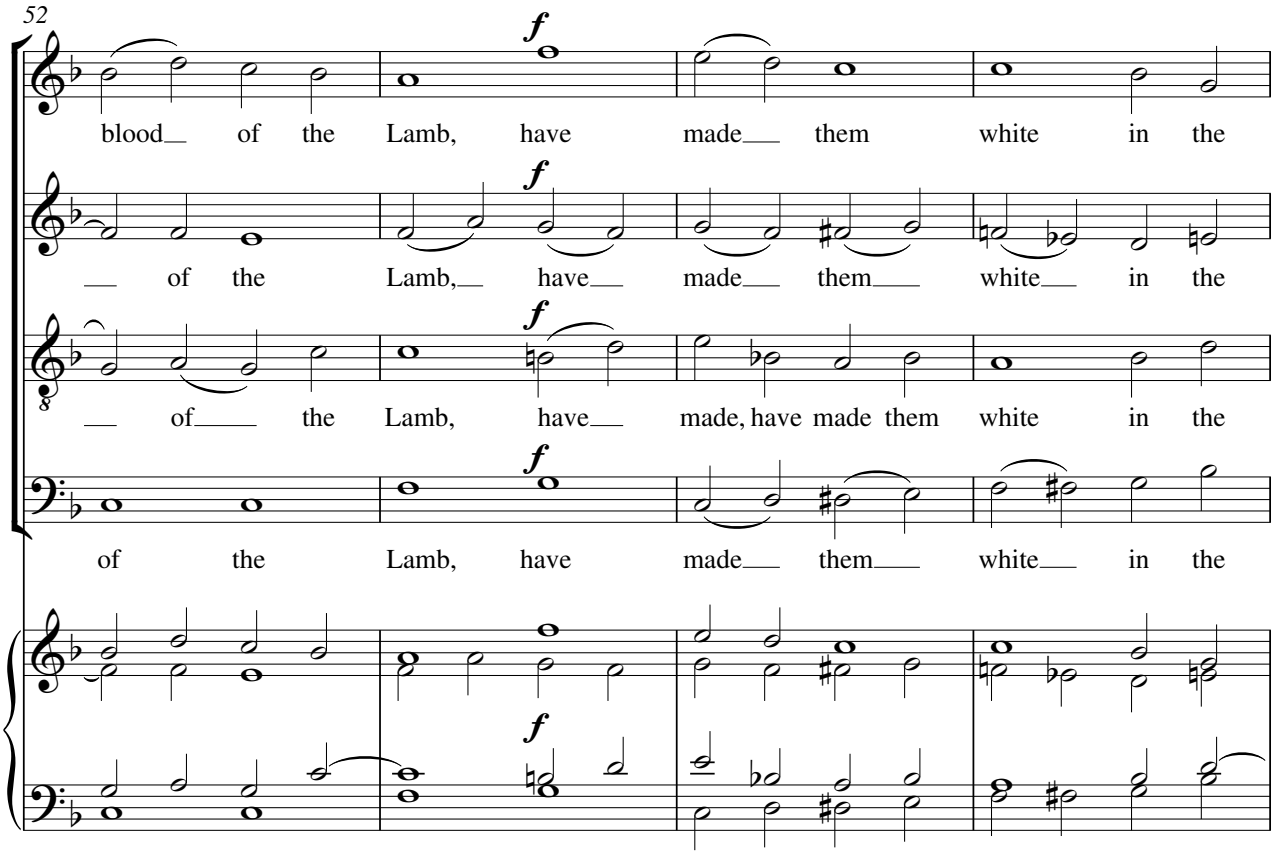

28
blood of the Lamb, the blood
blood of the Lamb, the blood
blood of the Lamb, the blood, the blood
blood of the Lamb, the blood

32
of the Lamb,
of the Lamb, have
of the Lamb, have wash - ed their robes, and
of the Lamb, have wash - ed their robes, and
f
f
f

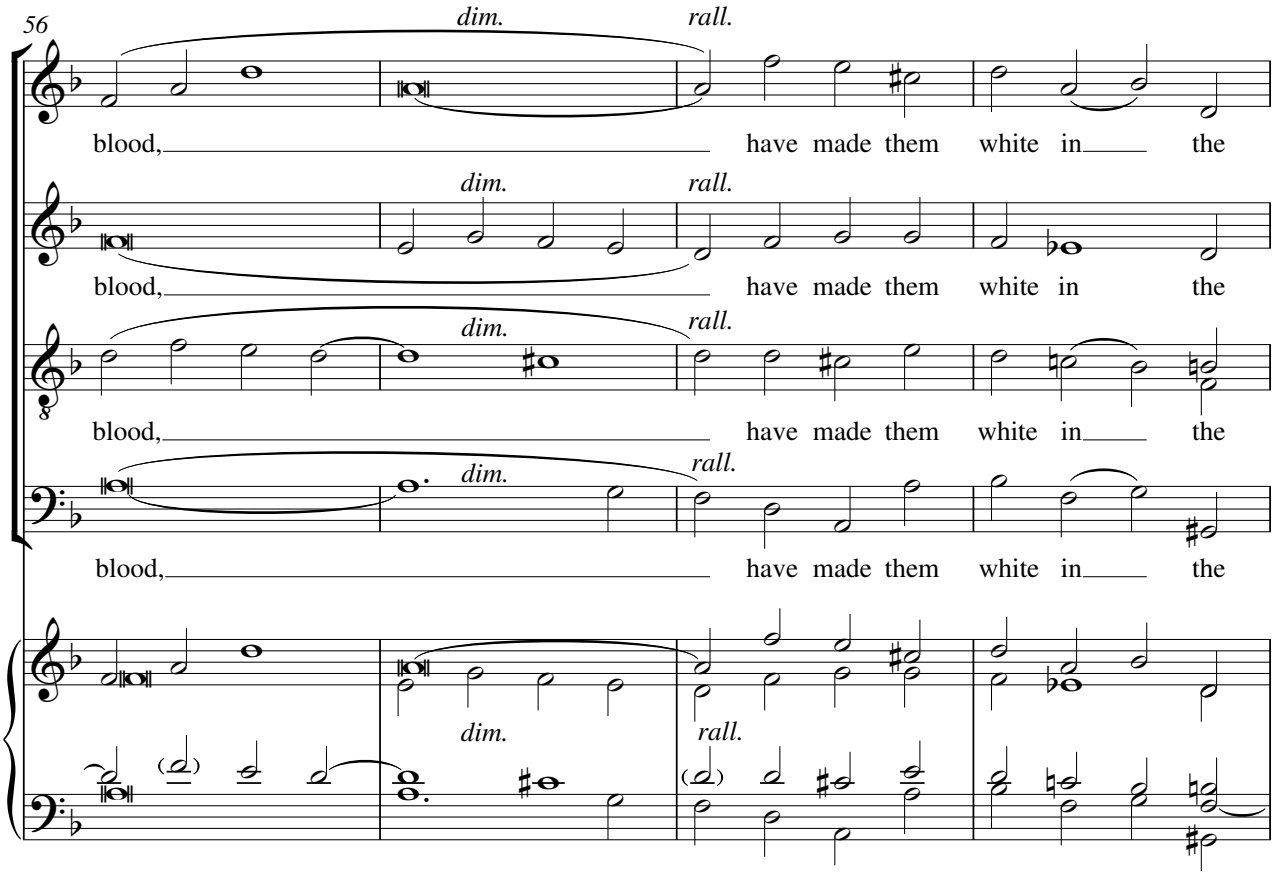
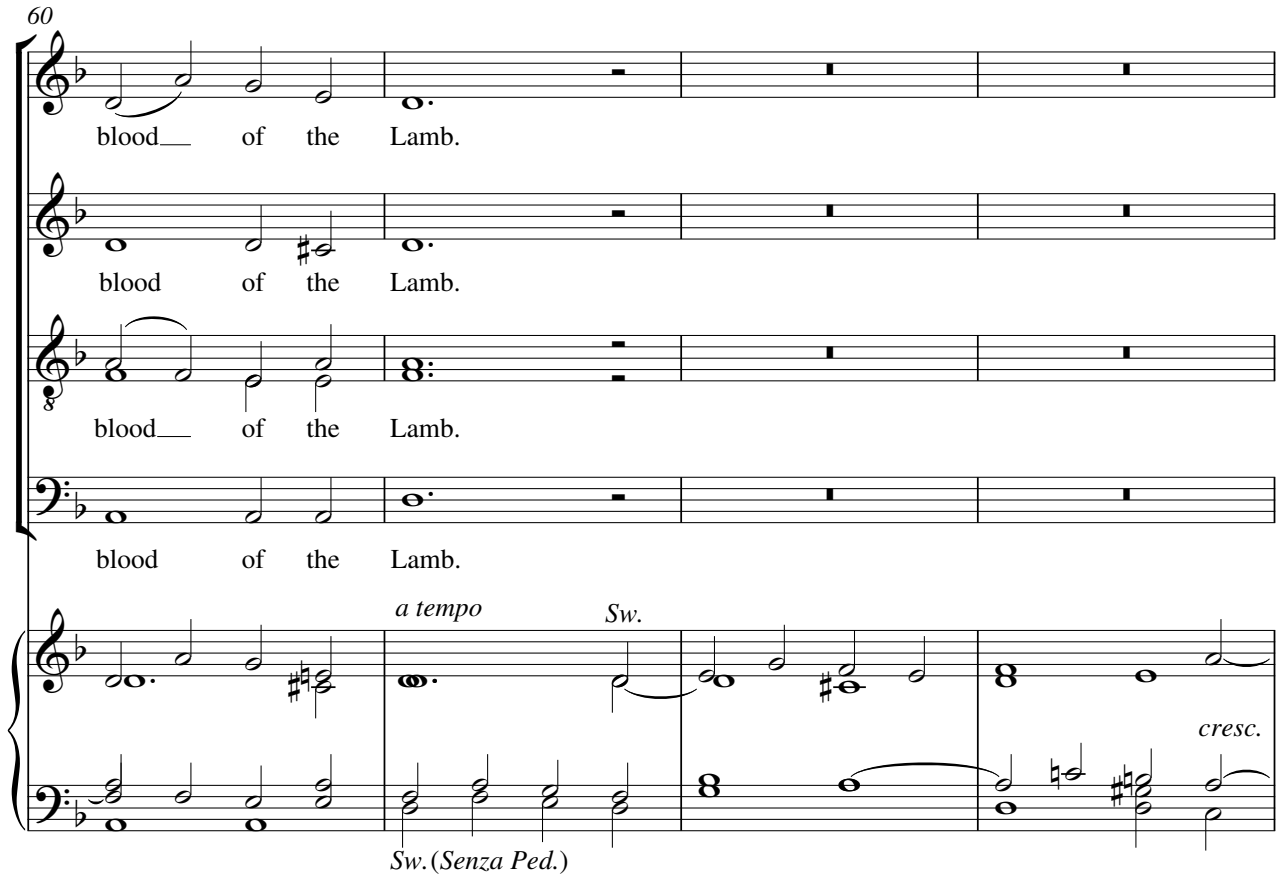
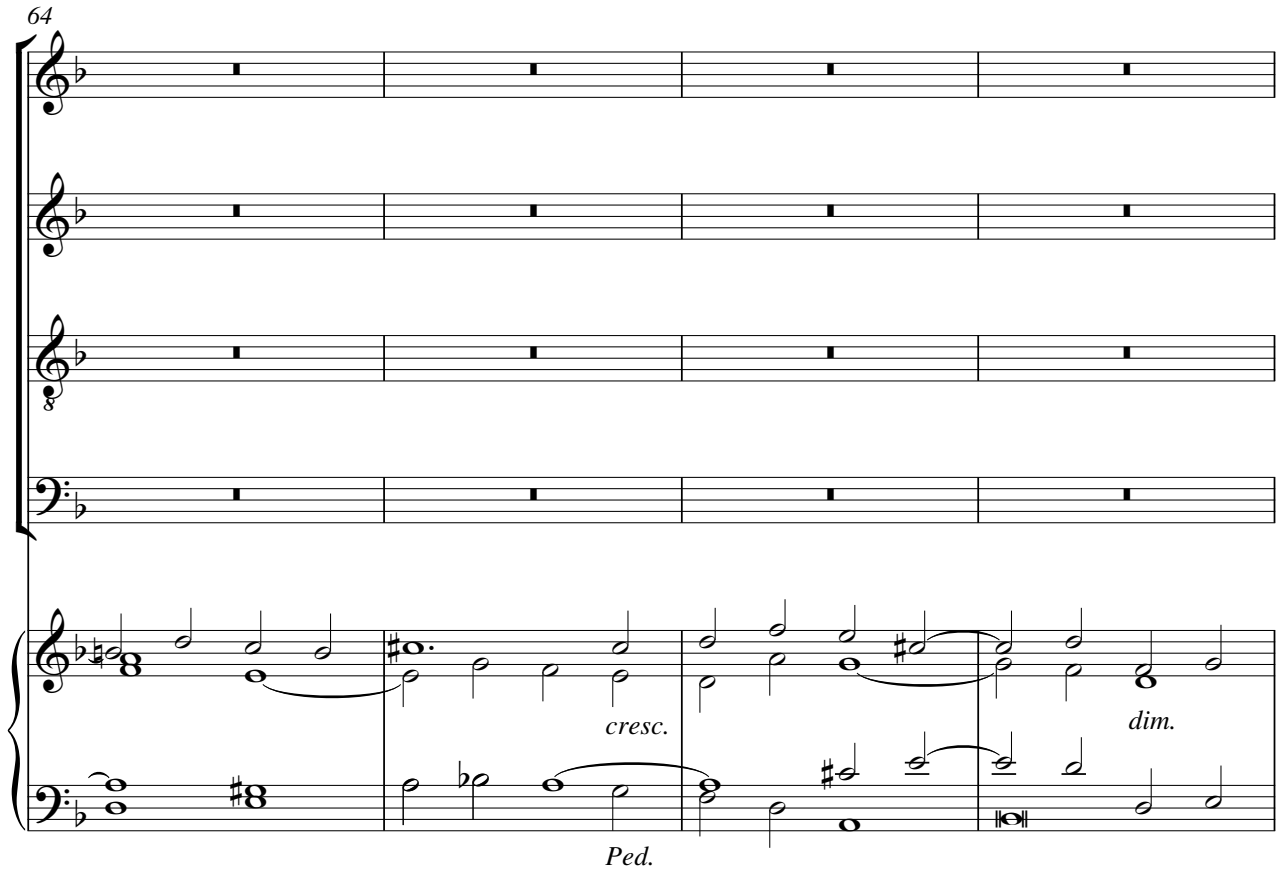
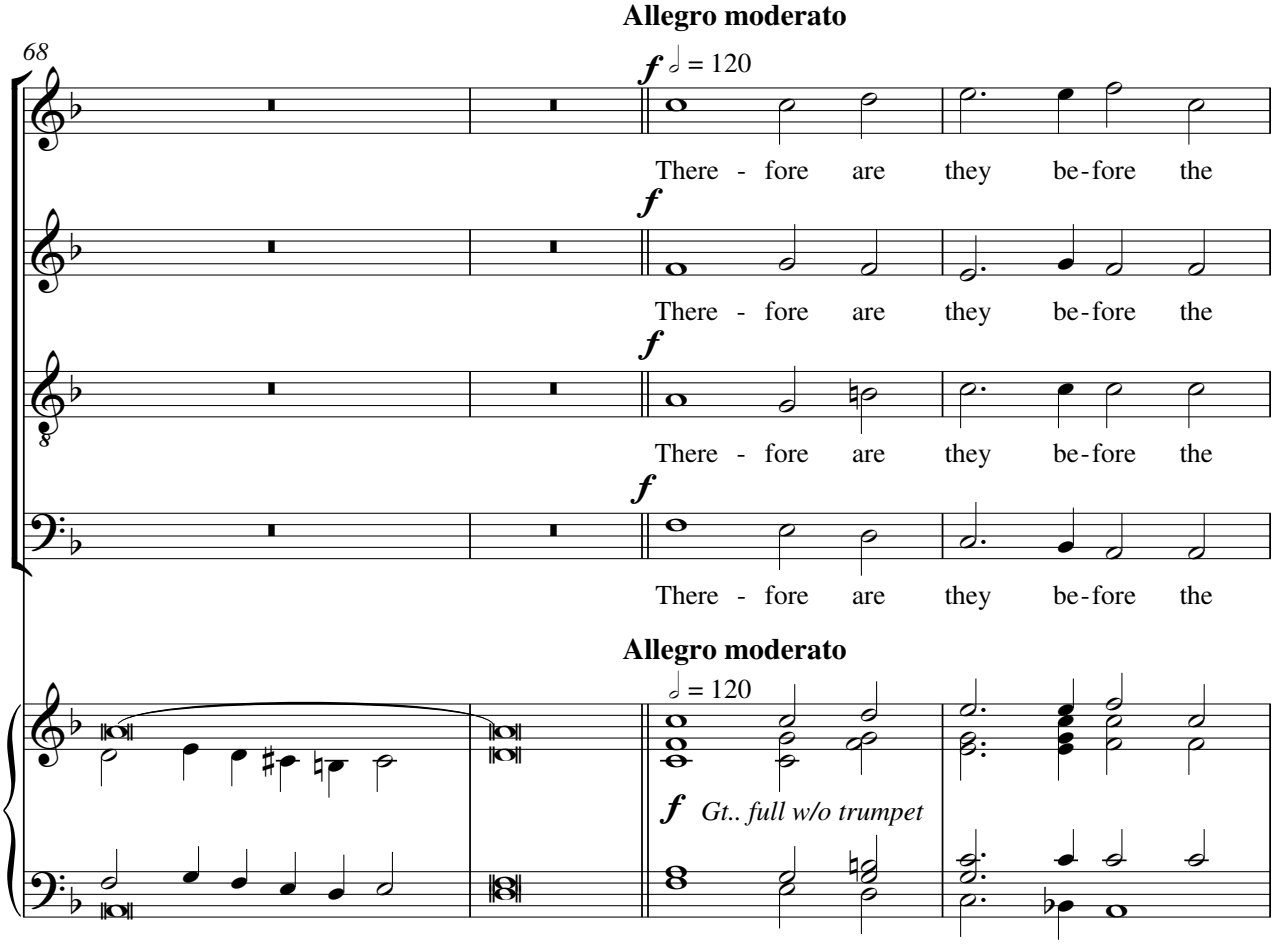

36
f
cresc.
have wash - ed their robes and
wash - ed their robes and made them white,
made them white, made them,
made them white, made them white, made
8

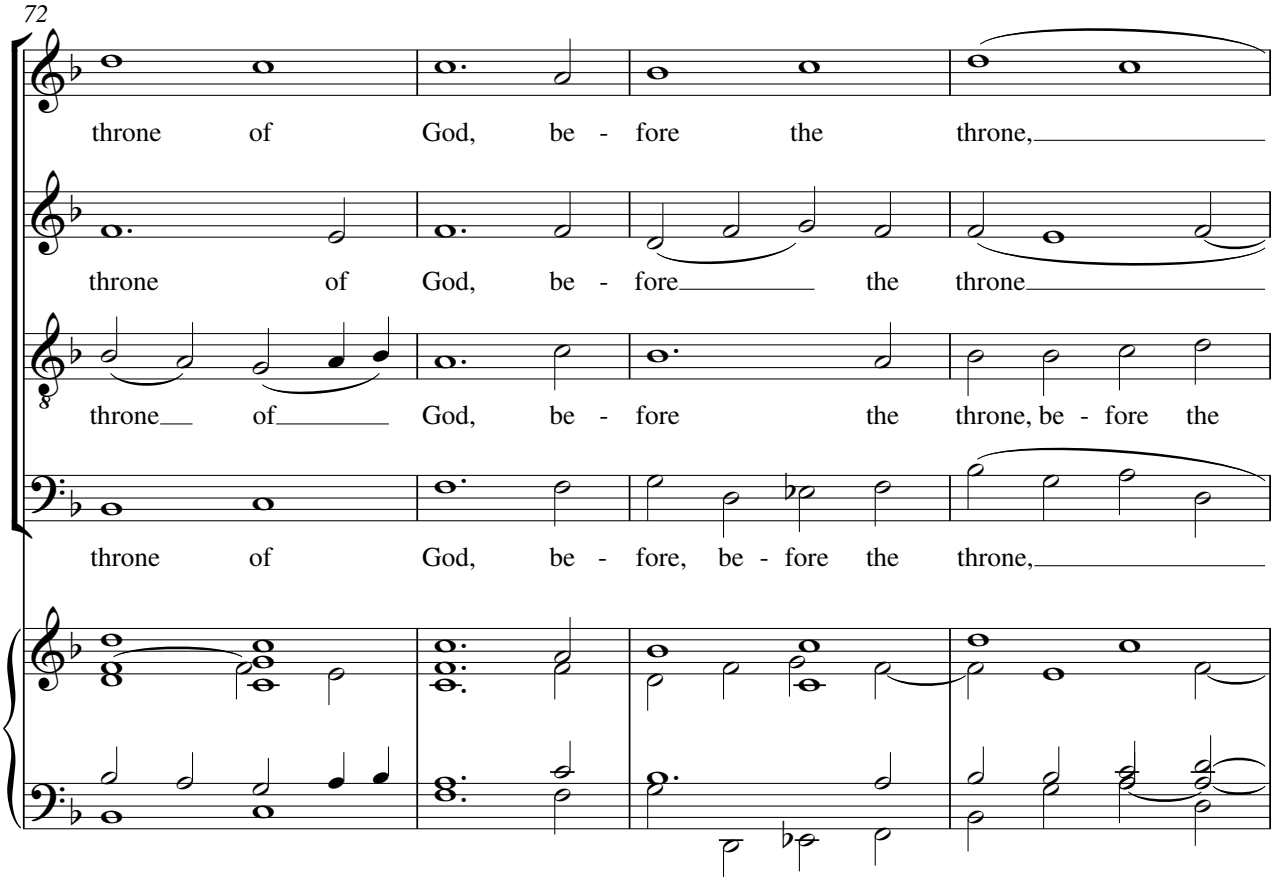
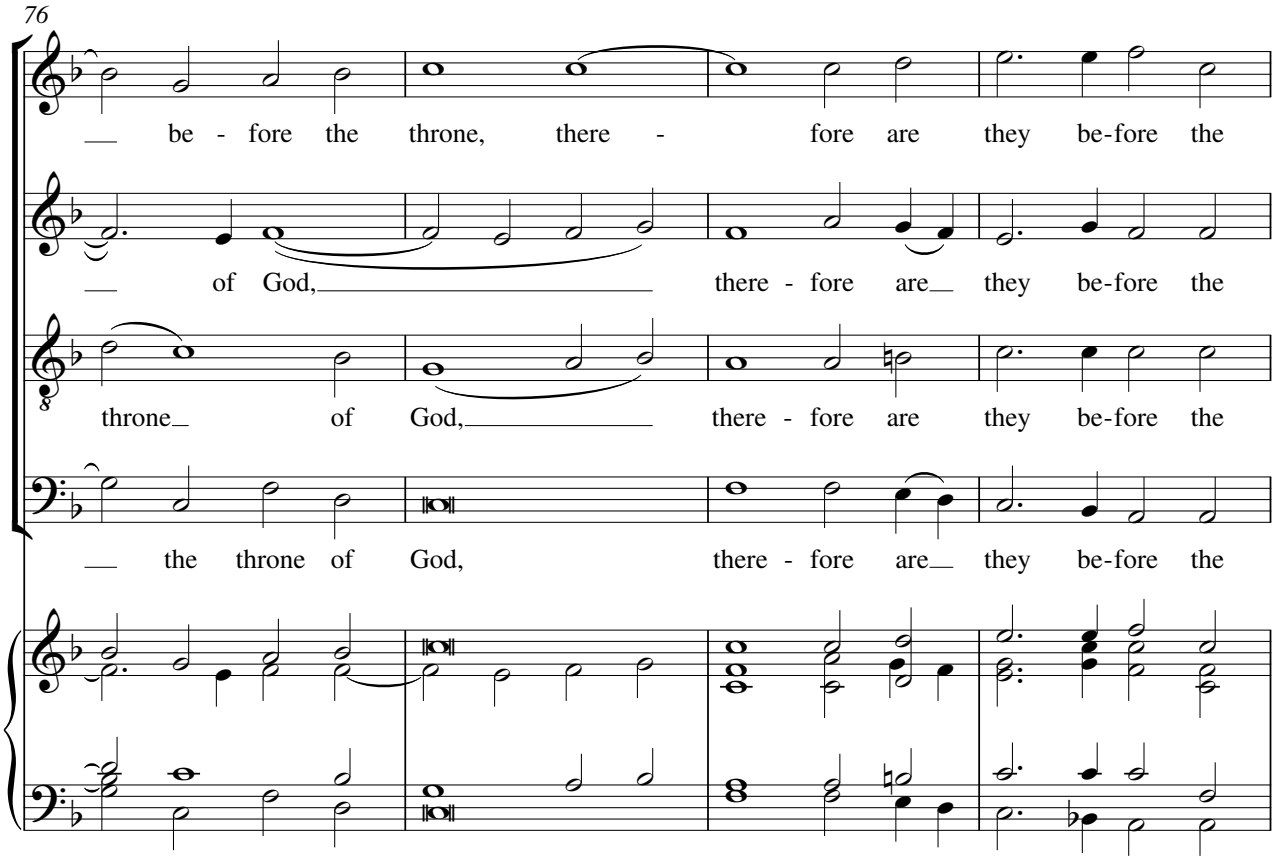

40
rall.
p a tempo
made them white. These are they which came out of
made them white. These are they which came out of
made them white. These are they which came out of
them white. These are they which came out of
8

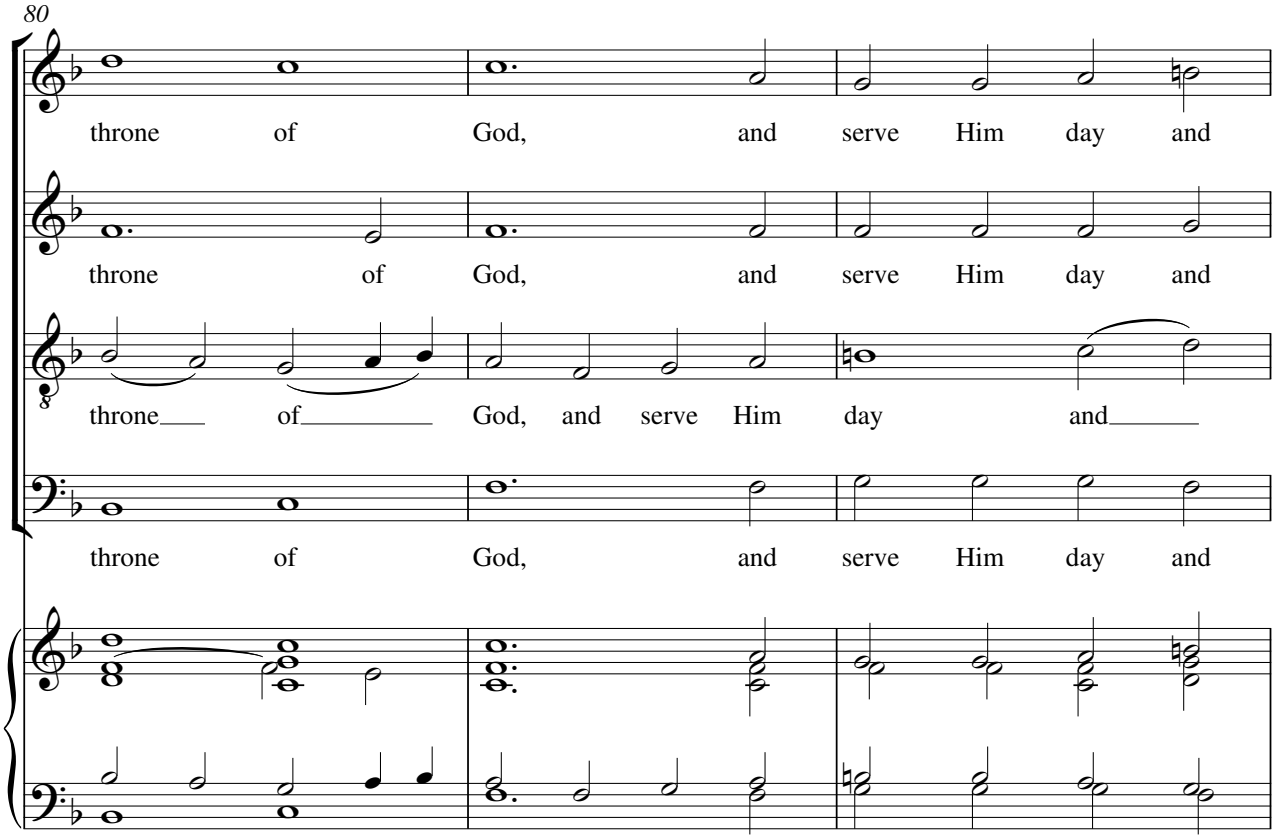

44
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and
great tri - bu - la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and

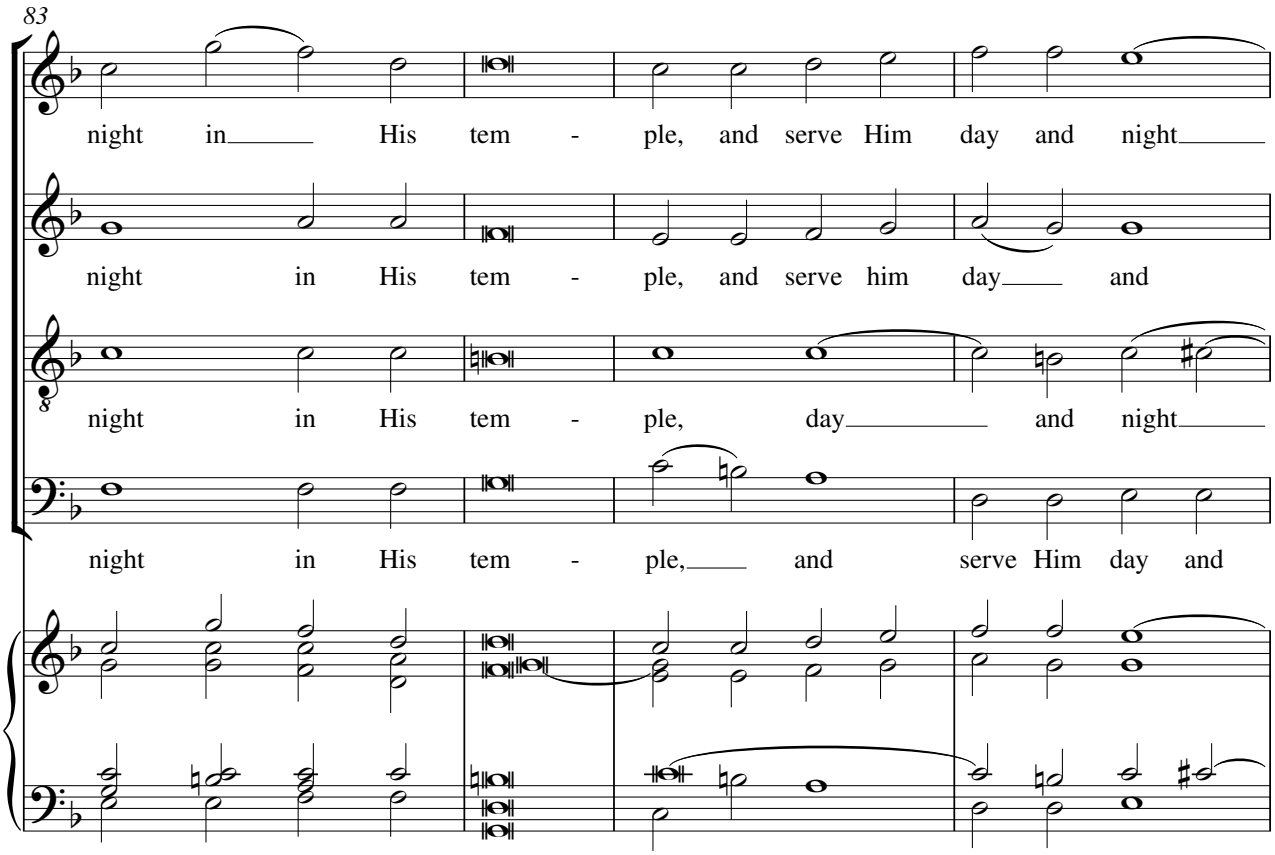

48
cresc.
made them white in the blood of the Lamb, the
made them white in the blood of the Lamb,
made them white in the blood of the Lamb,
made them white in the blood

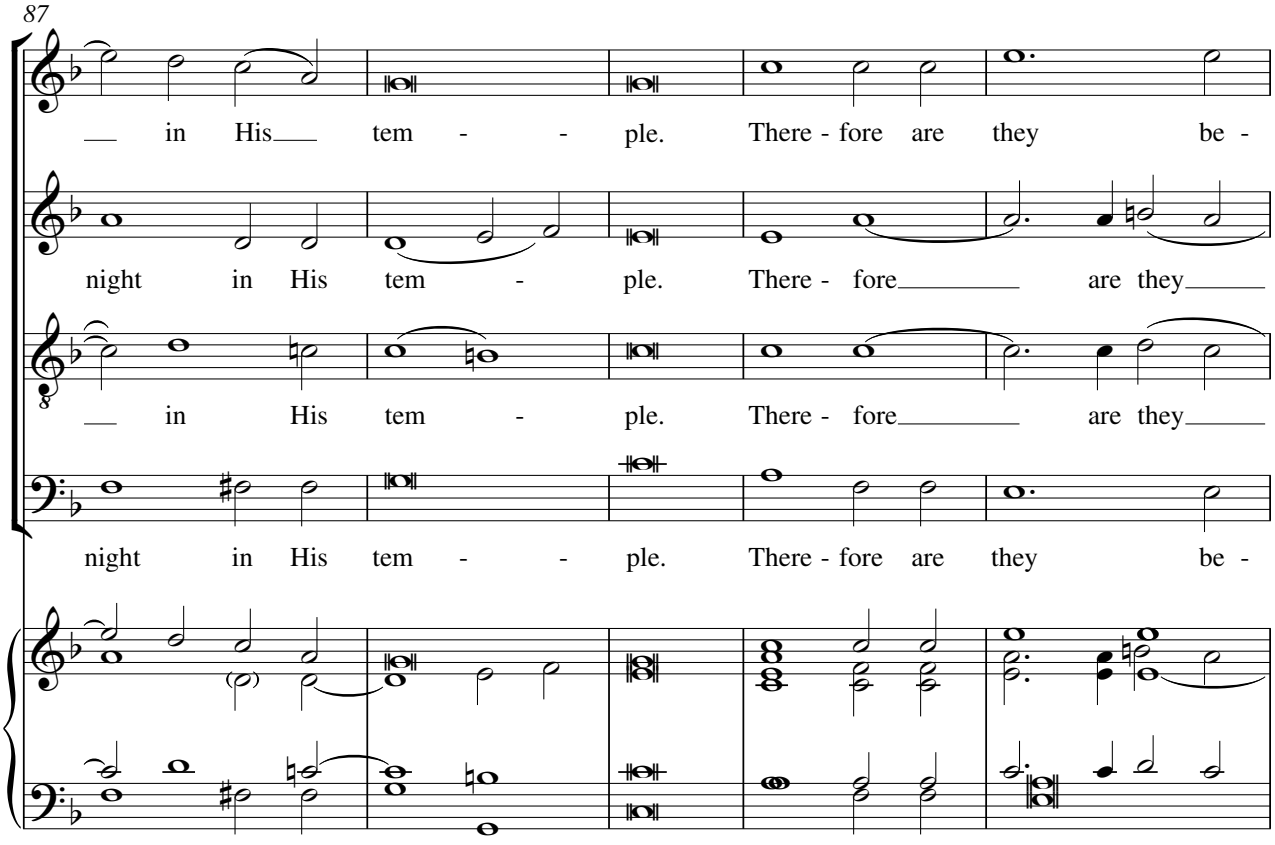

52
f
blood of the Lamb, have made them white in the
of the Lamb, have made them white in the
of the Lamb, have made, have made them white in the
of the Lamb, have made them white in the


56
dim.
rall.
blood, have made them white in the
blood, have made them white in the
blood, have made them white in the
blood, have made them white in the

60
blood of the Lamb.
blood of the Lamb.
blood of the Lamb.
blood of the Lamb.
a tempo
Sw.
cresc.
Sw. (Senza Ped.)

64
cresc.
dim.
Ped.

Allegro moderato
68
f 𝅗𝅥 = 120
There - fore are they be-fore the
f
There - fore are they be-fore the
f
There - fore are they be-fore the
f
There - fore are they be-fore the
Allegro moderato
𝅗𝅥 = 120
f Gt.. full w/o trumpet


72
throne of God, be - fore the throne,
throne of God, be - fore the throne
throne of God, be - fore the throne, be - fore the
throne of God, be - fore, be - fore the throne,

76
be - fore the throne, there - fore are they be-fore the
of God, there - fore are they be-fore the
throne of God, there - fore are they be-fore the
the throne of God, there - fore are they be-fore the


80
throne of God, and serve Him day and
throne of God, and serve Him day and
throne of God, and serve Him day and
throne of God, and serve Him day and


83
night in His tem - ple, and serve Him day and night
night in His tem - ple, and serve him day and
night in His tem - ple, day and night
night in His tem - ple, and serve Him day and


87
in His tem - ple. There - fore are they be -
night in His tem - ple. There - fore are they
in His tem - ple. There - fore are they
night in His tem - ple. There - fore are they be -

92

fore the throne, there - fore are they be -

be - fore the throne, there - fore are they be - fore the

be - fore the throne, be - fore the throne of God,

fore the throne, be - fore the throne, the

'In case this movement *must* be curtailed (which is not recommended) it will be as well, perhaps, to make the abridgement from here to the corresponding bracket close on page 26.'

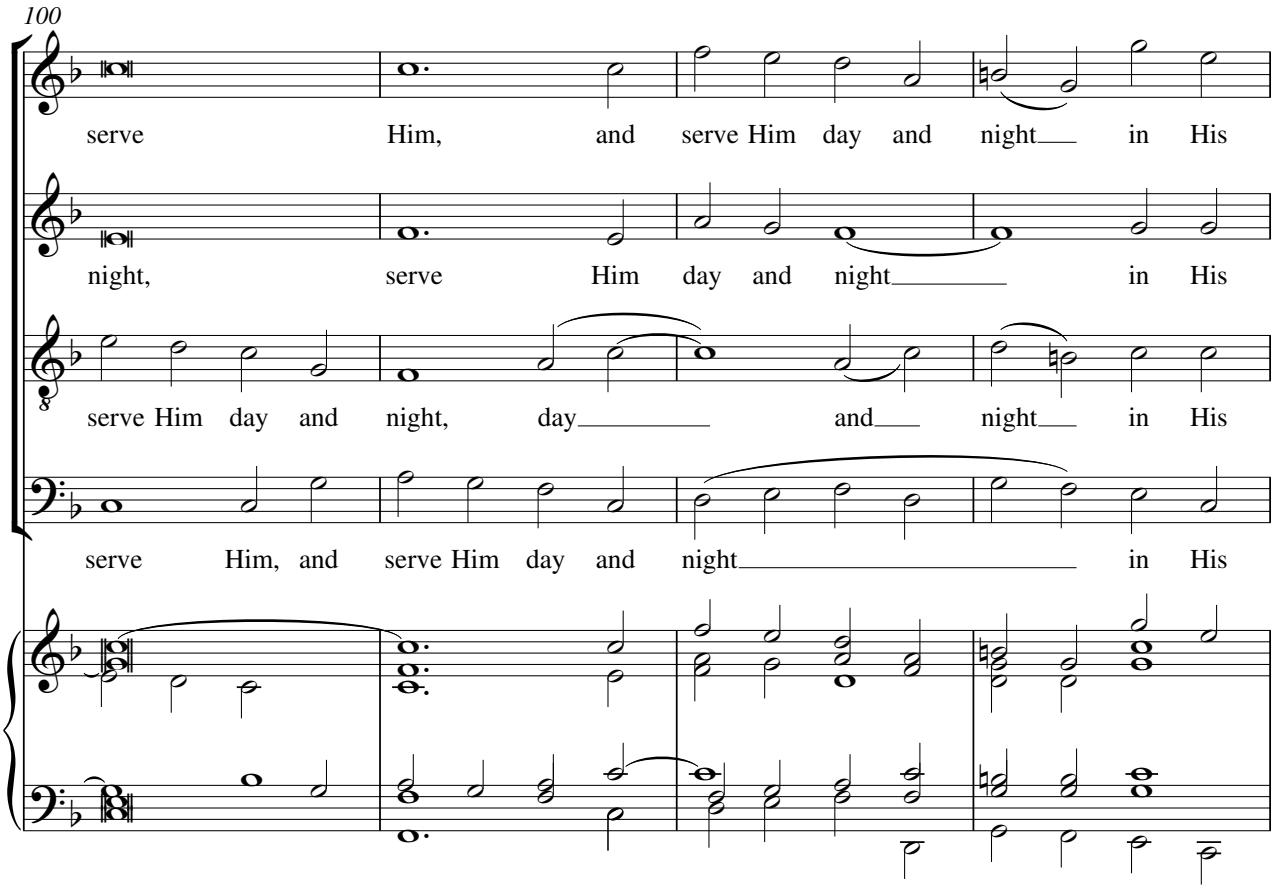
96

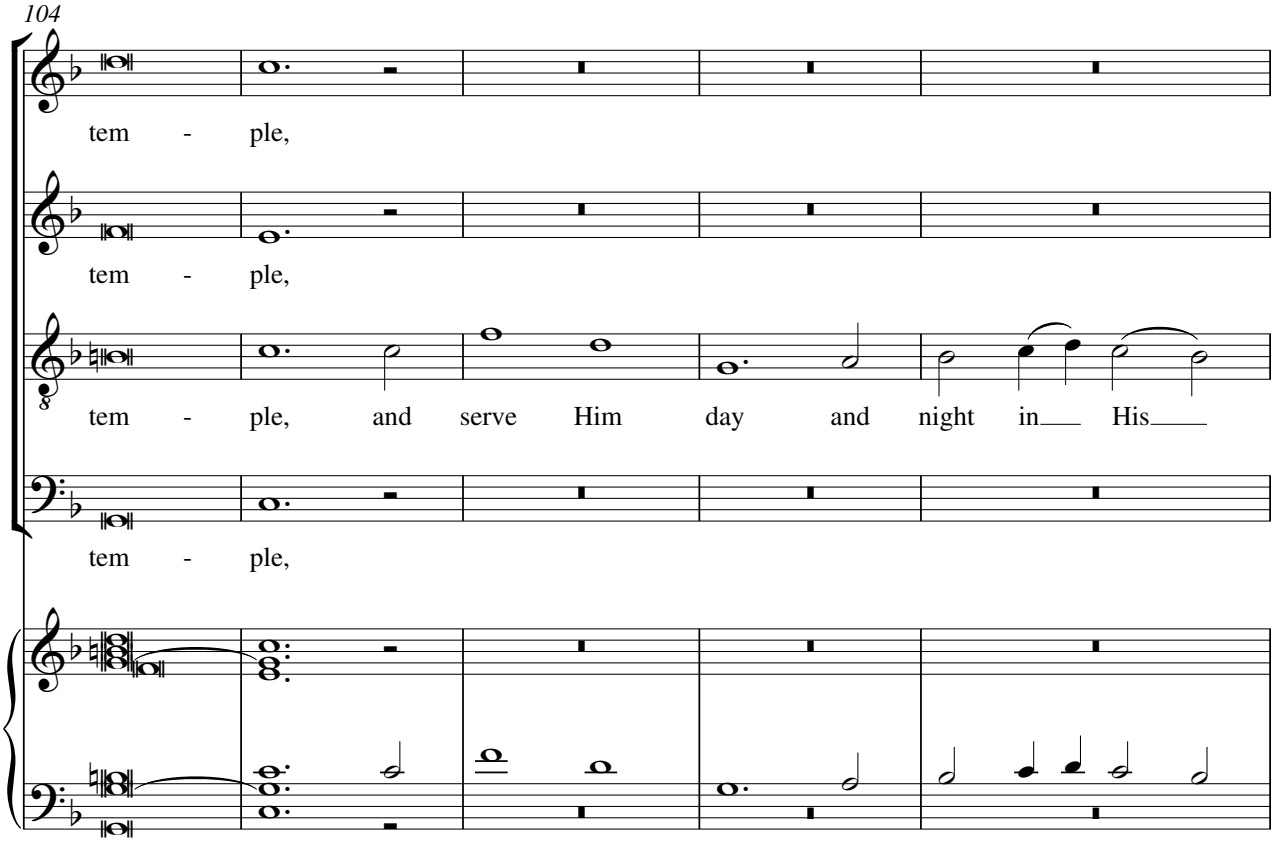
fore the throne, and serve Him day and night, and

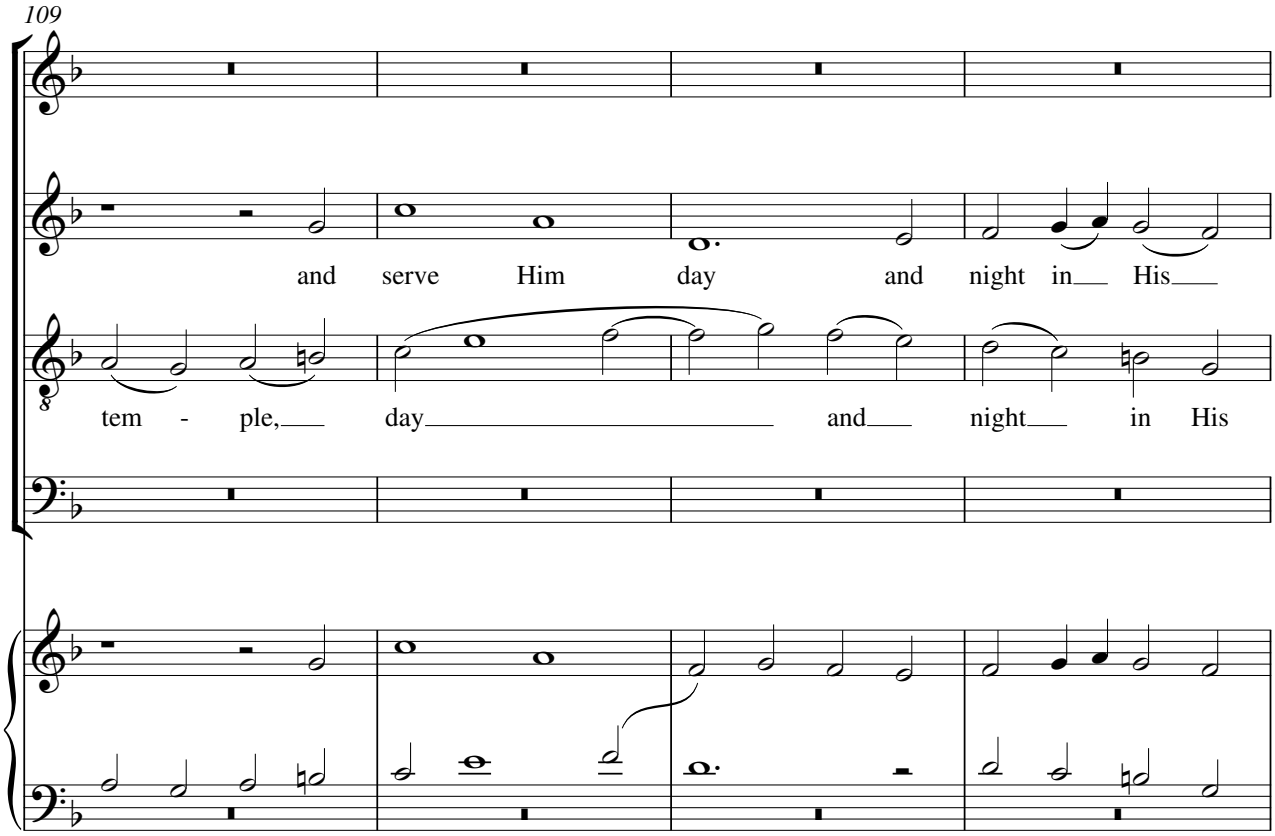
throne of God, and serve Him, serve Him day and

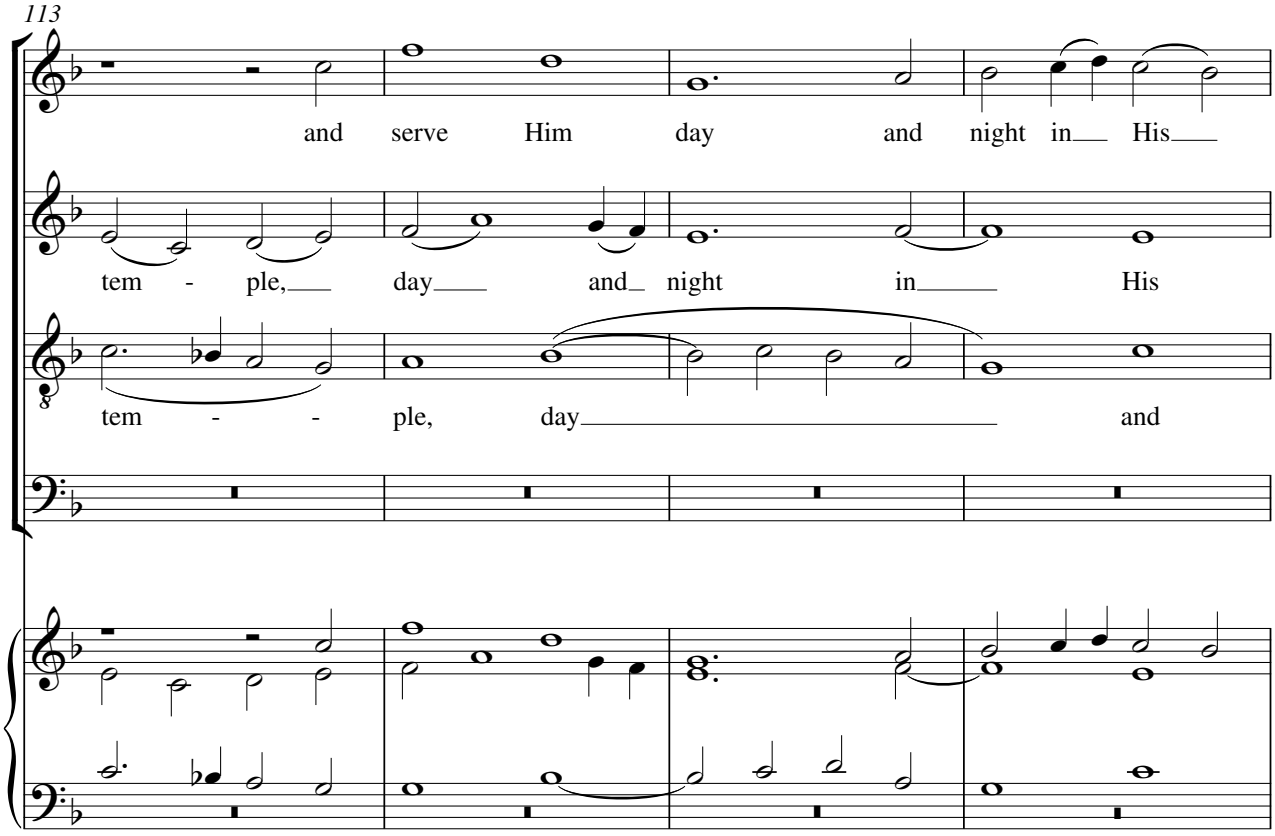
be - fore the throne, and serve Him, and

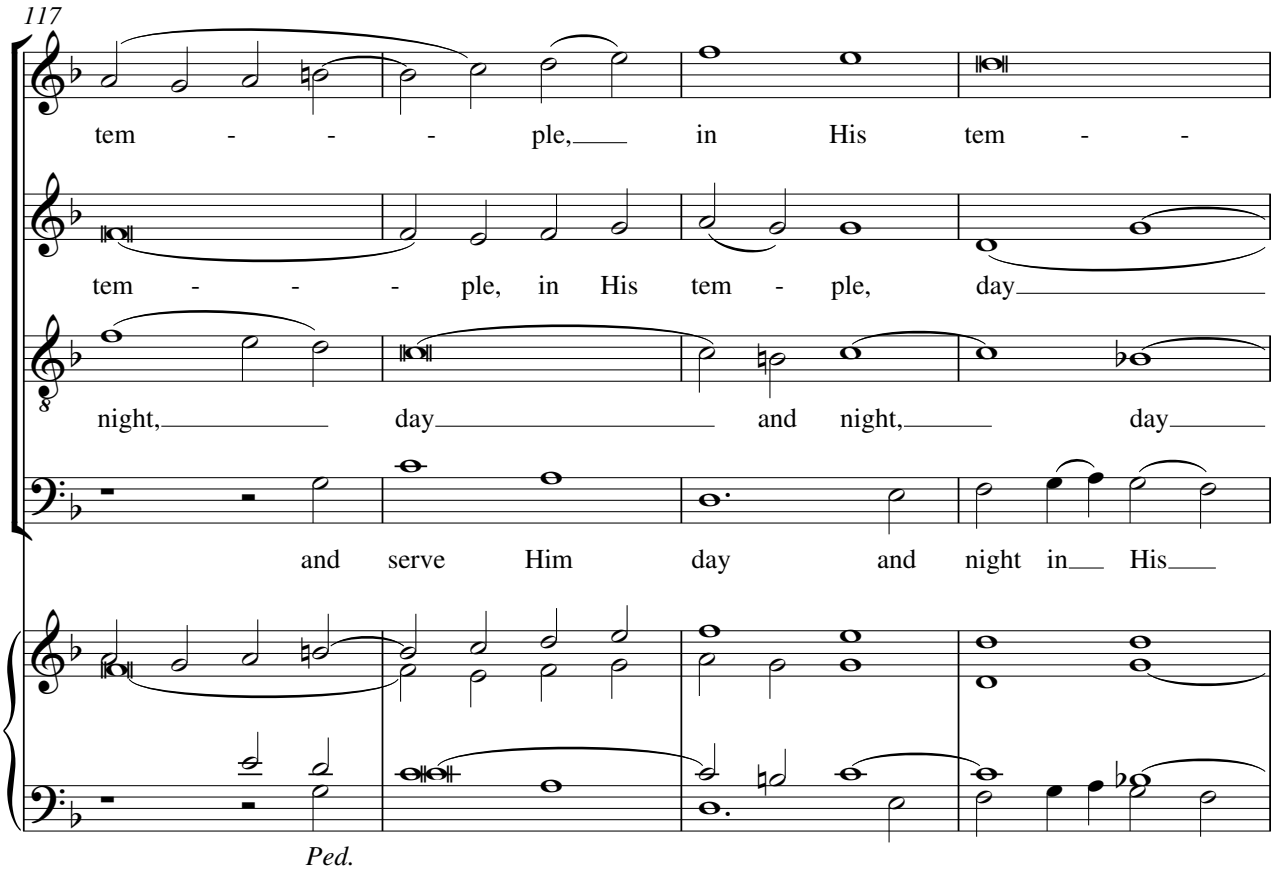
throne of God, and serve Him,

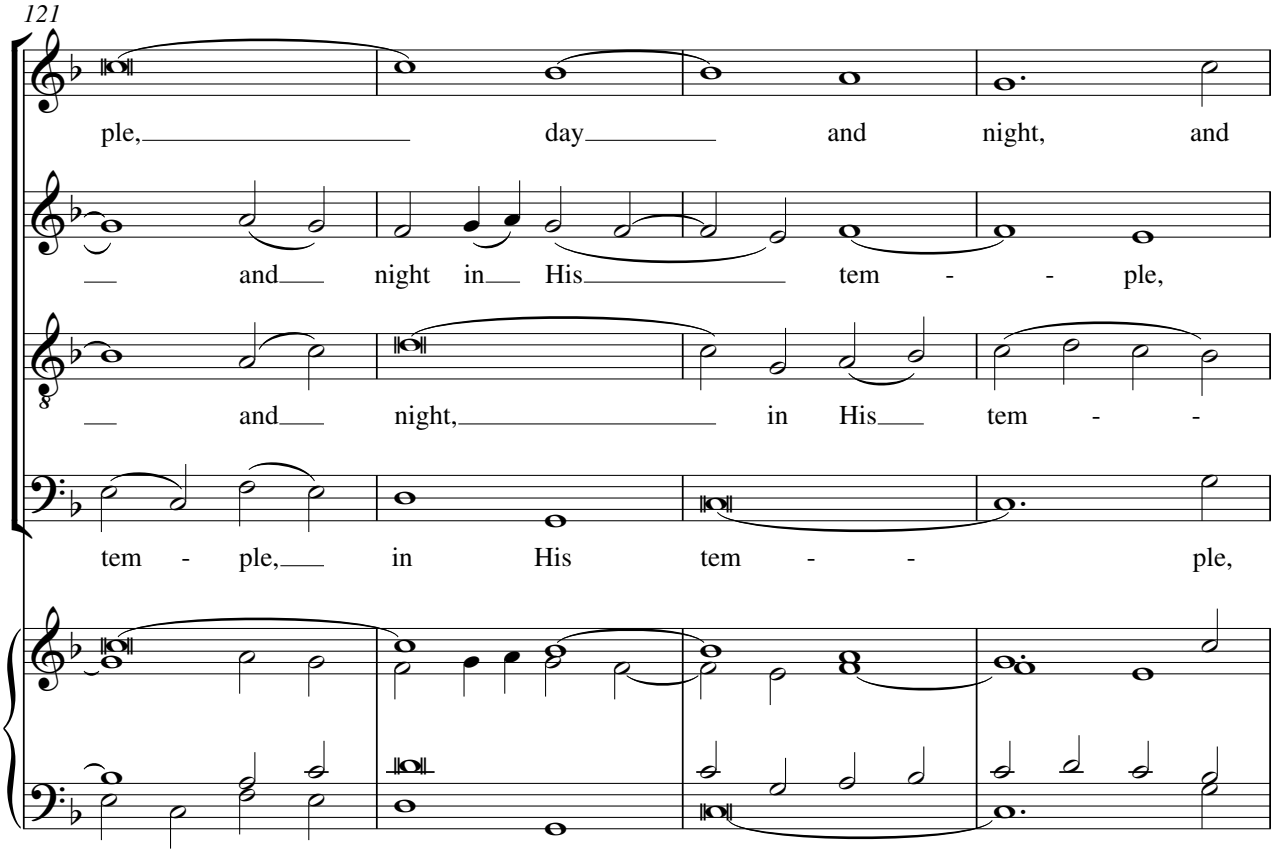

100
serve Him, and serve Him day and night in His
night, serve Him day and night in His
serve Him day and night, day and night in His
serve Him, and serve Him day and night in His

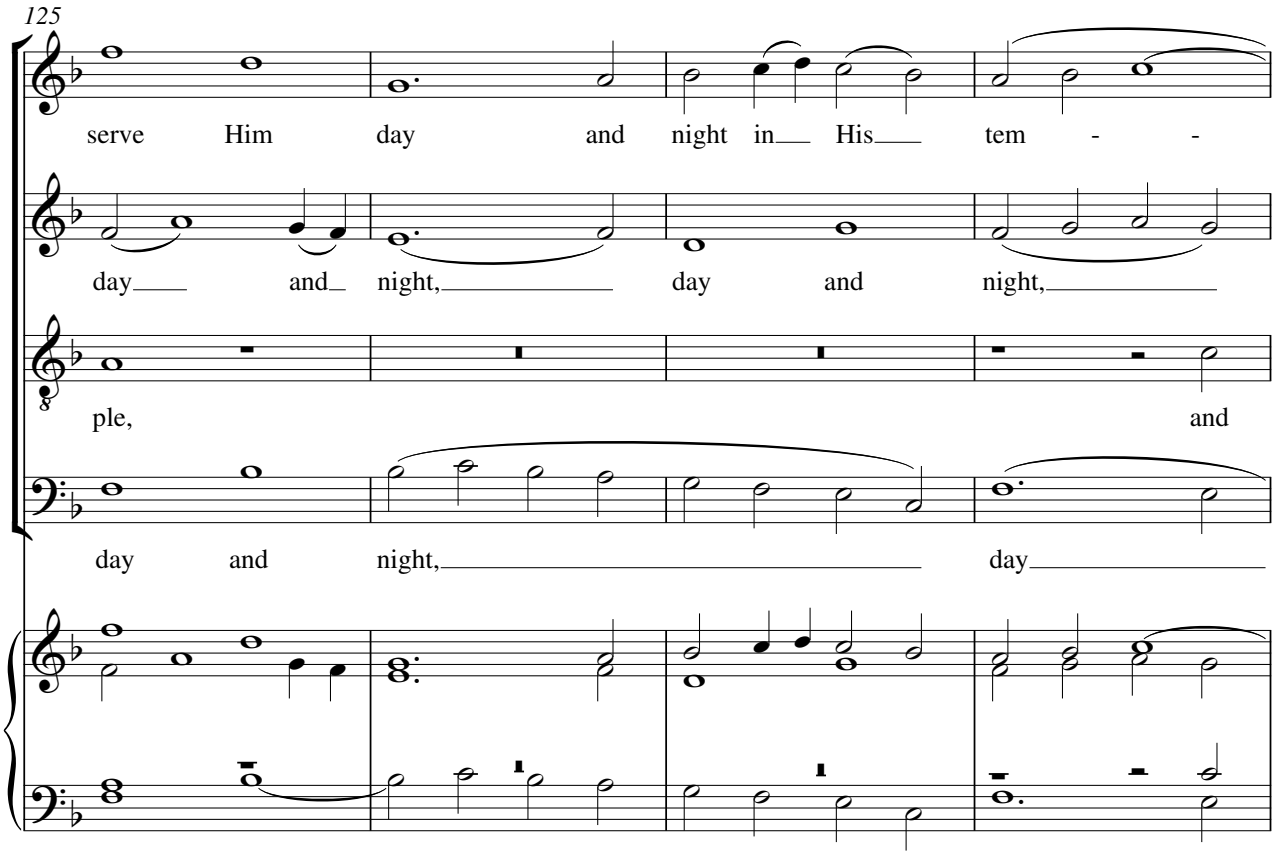

104
tem - ple,
tem - ple,
tem - ple, and serve Him day and night in His
tem - ple,

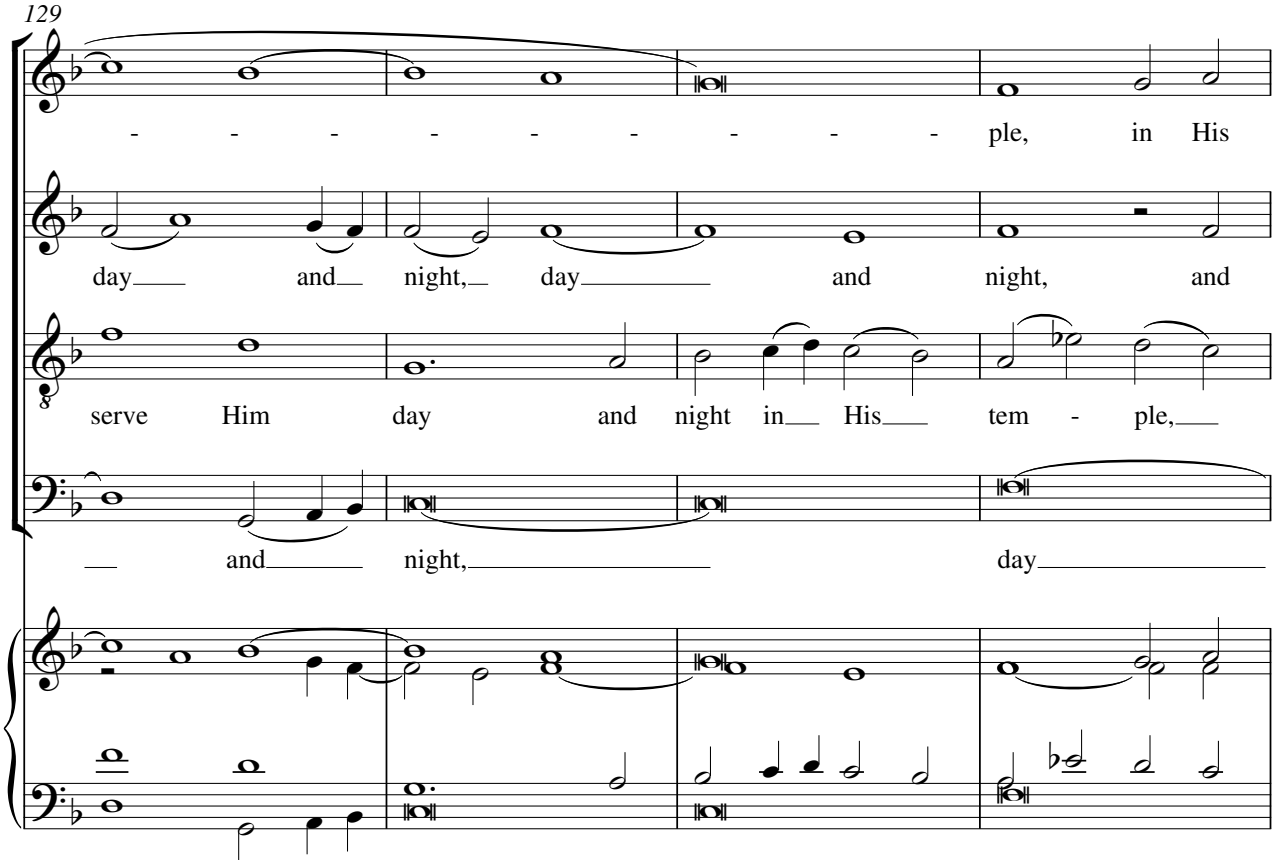

109
and serve Him day and night in His
tem - ple, day and night in His

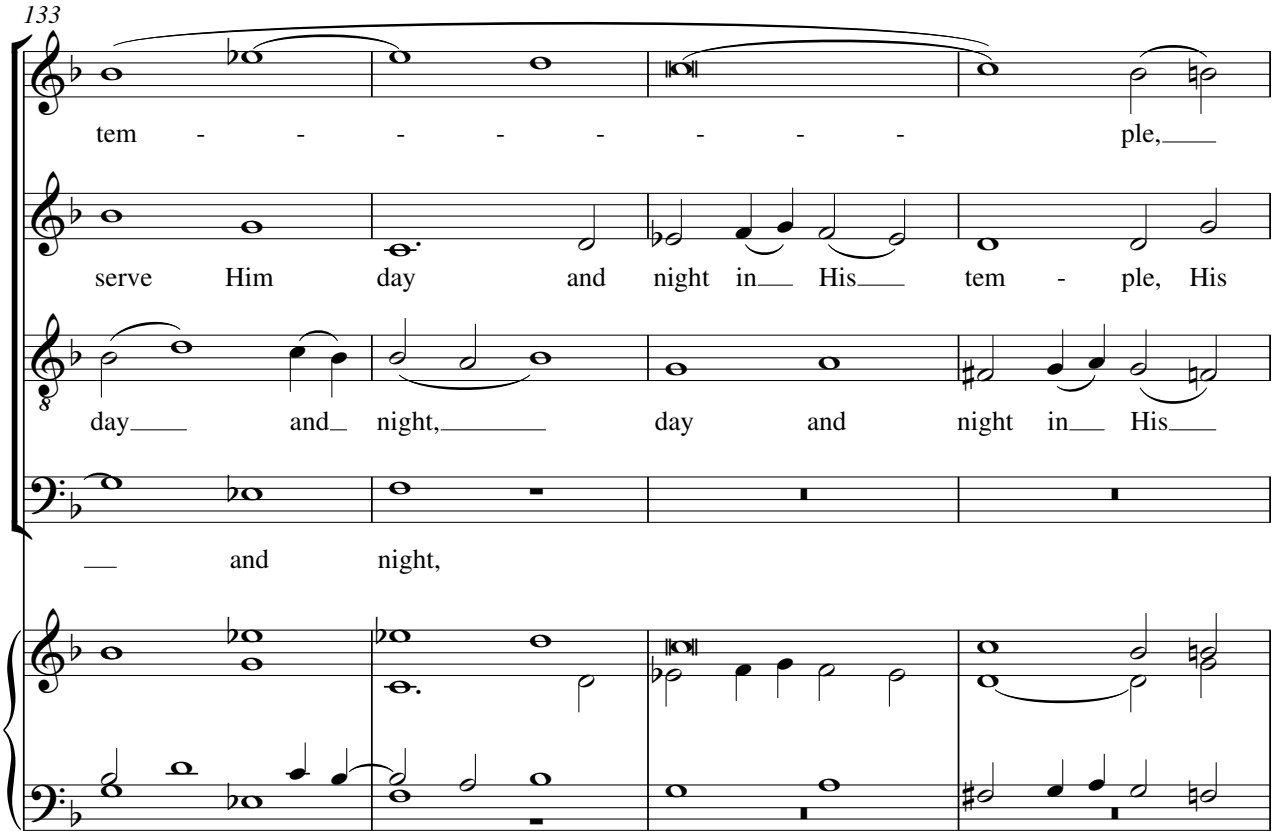

113
and serve Him day and night in His
tem - ple, day and night in His
tem - - ple, day and

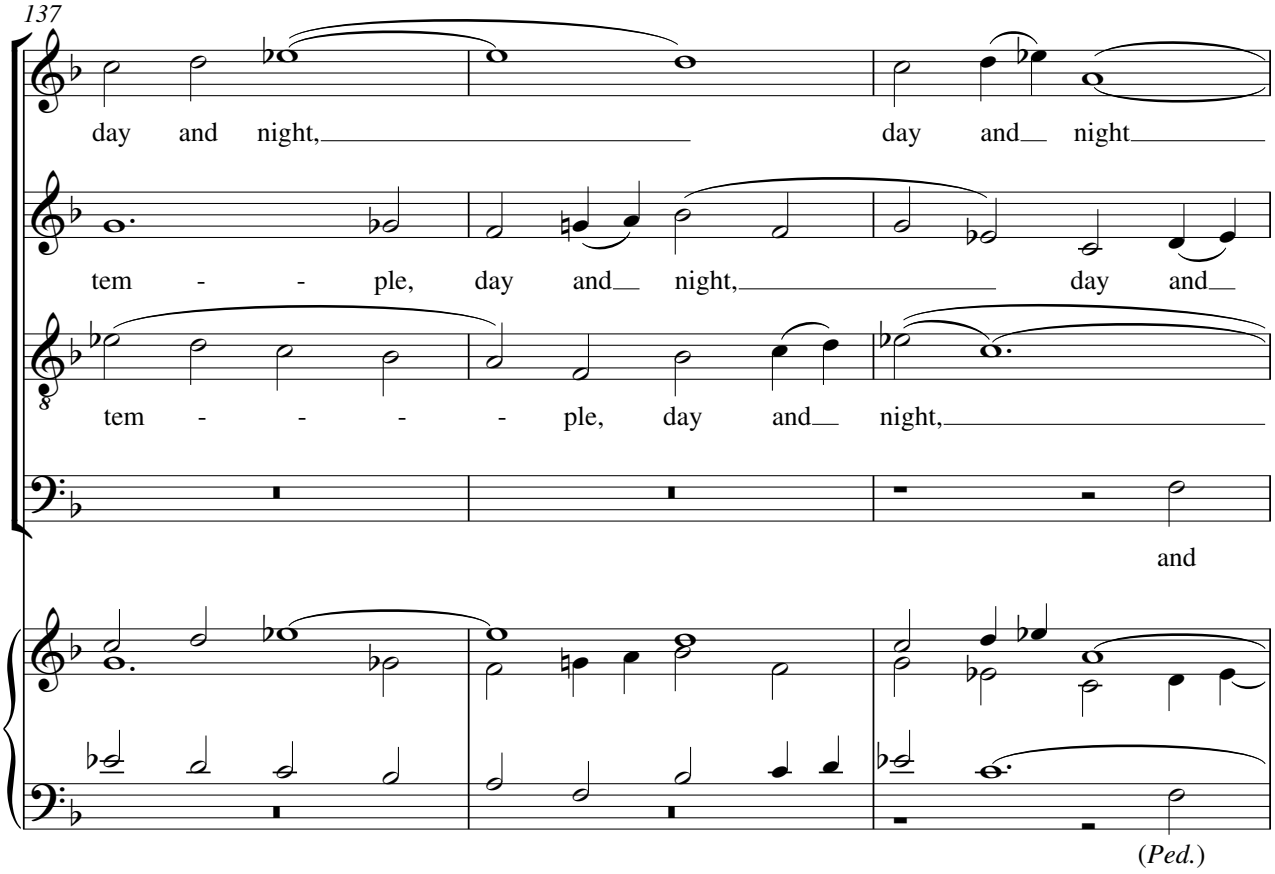

117
tem - - - ple, in His tem - -
tem - - - ple, in His tem - ple, day
night, day and night, day
and serve Him day and night in His
Ped.

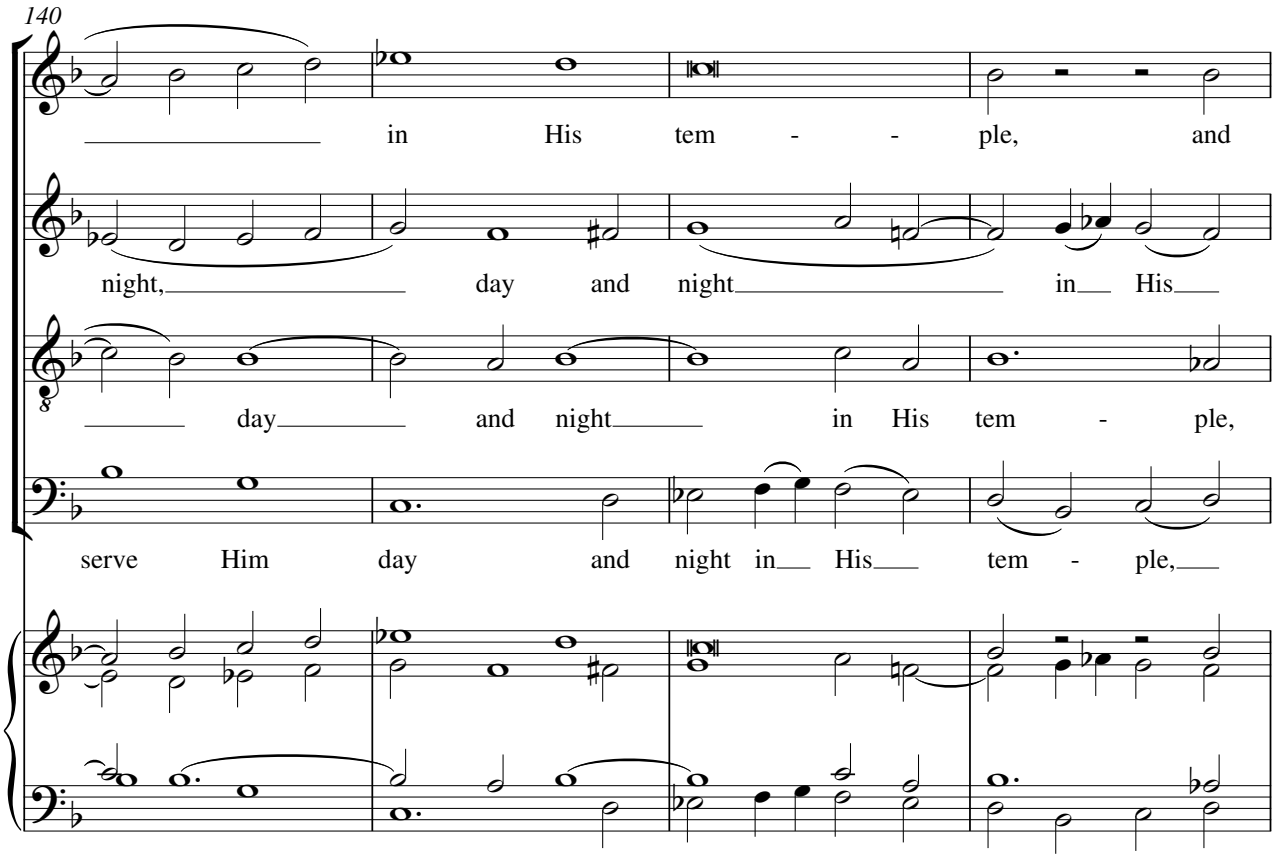

121
ple, day and night, and
and night in His tem - - ple,
and night, in His tem - -
tem - ple, in His tem - - ple,

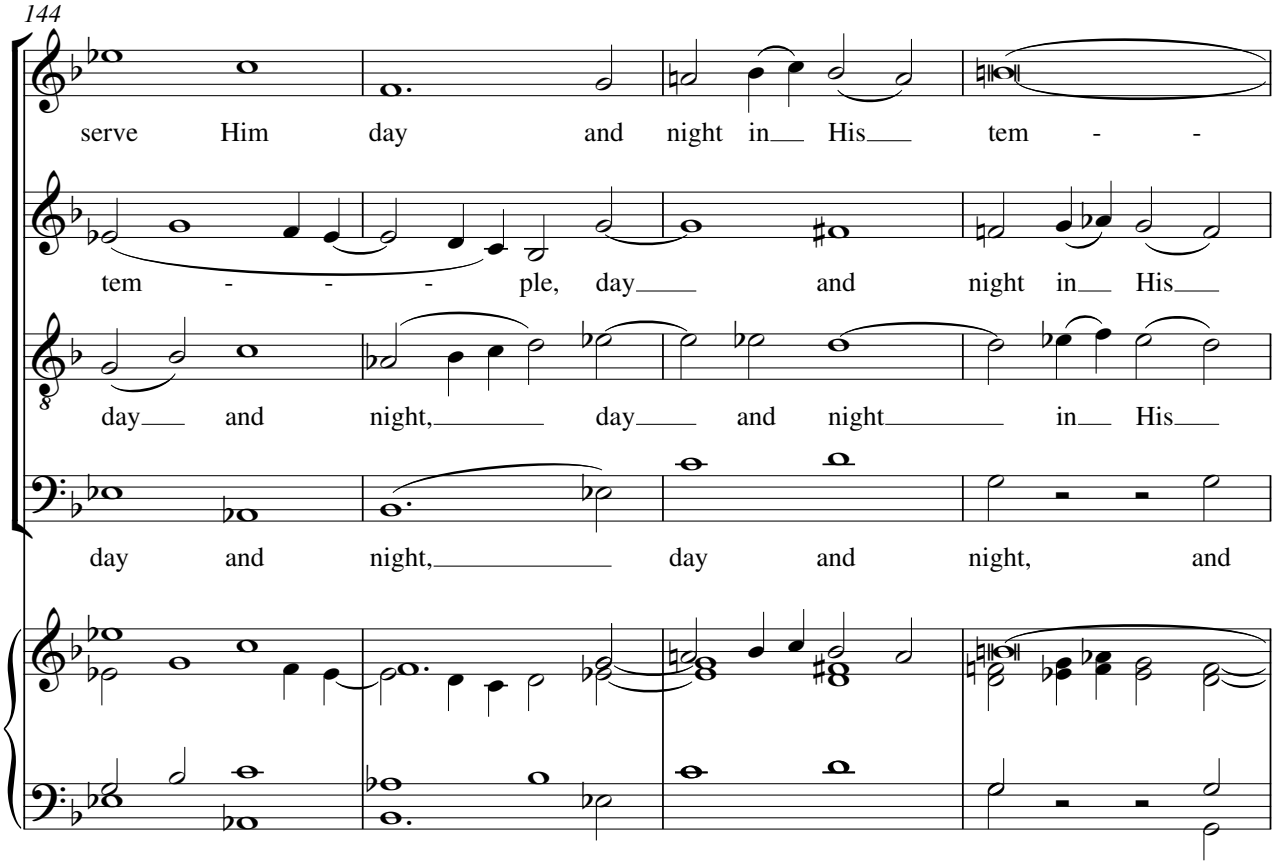

125
serve Him day and night in His tem - -
day and night, day and night,
ple, and
day and night, day

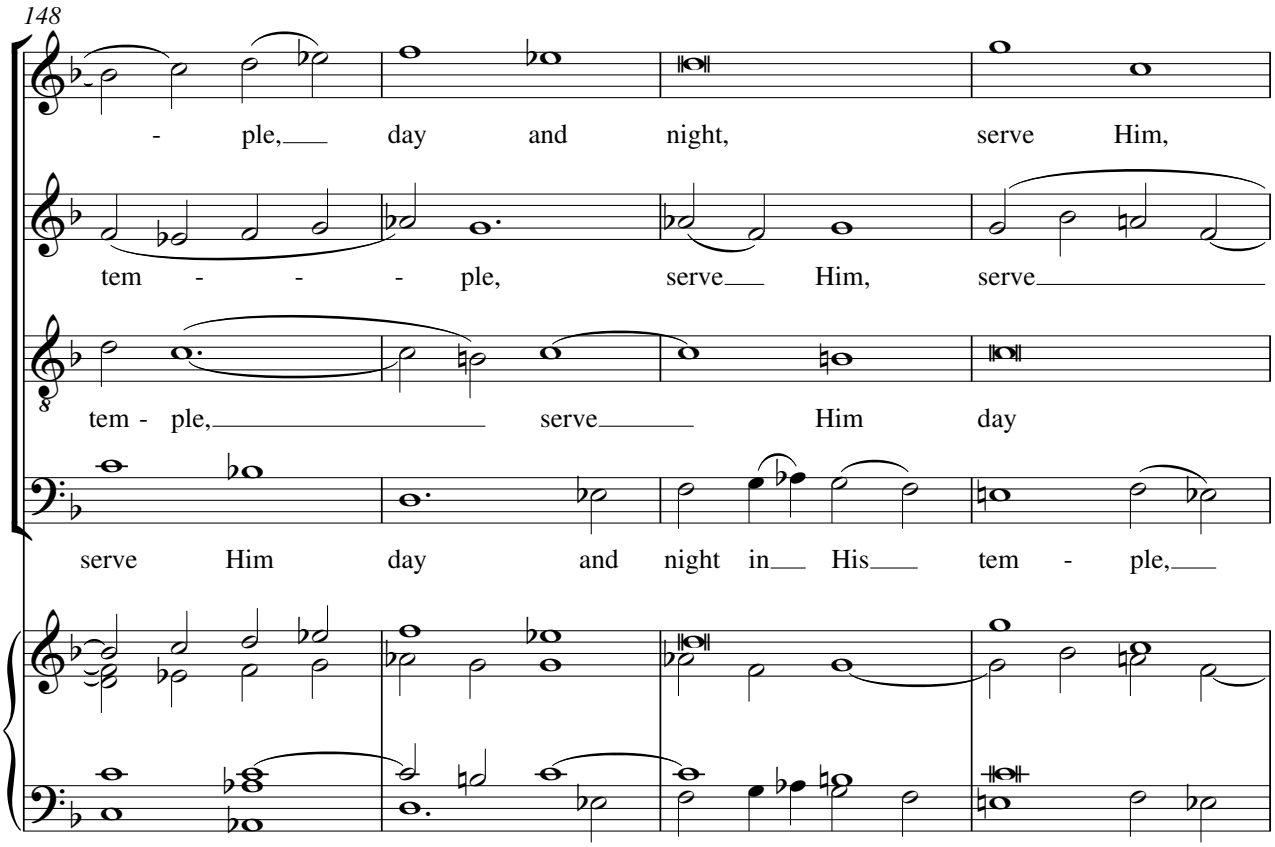

129
- - - - - - - - - ple, in His
day and night, day and night, and
serve Him day and night in His tem - ple,
and night, day

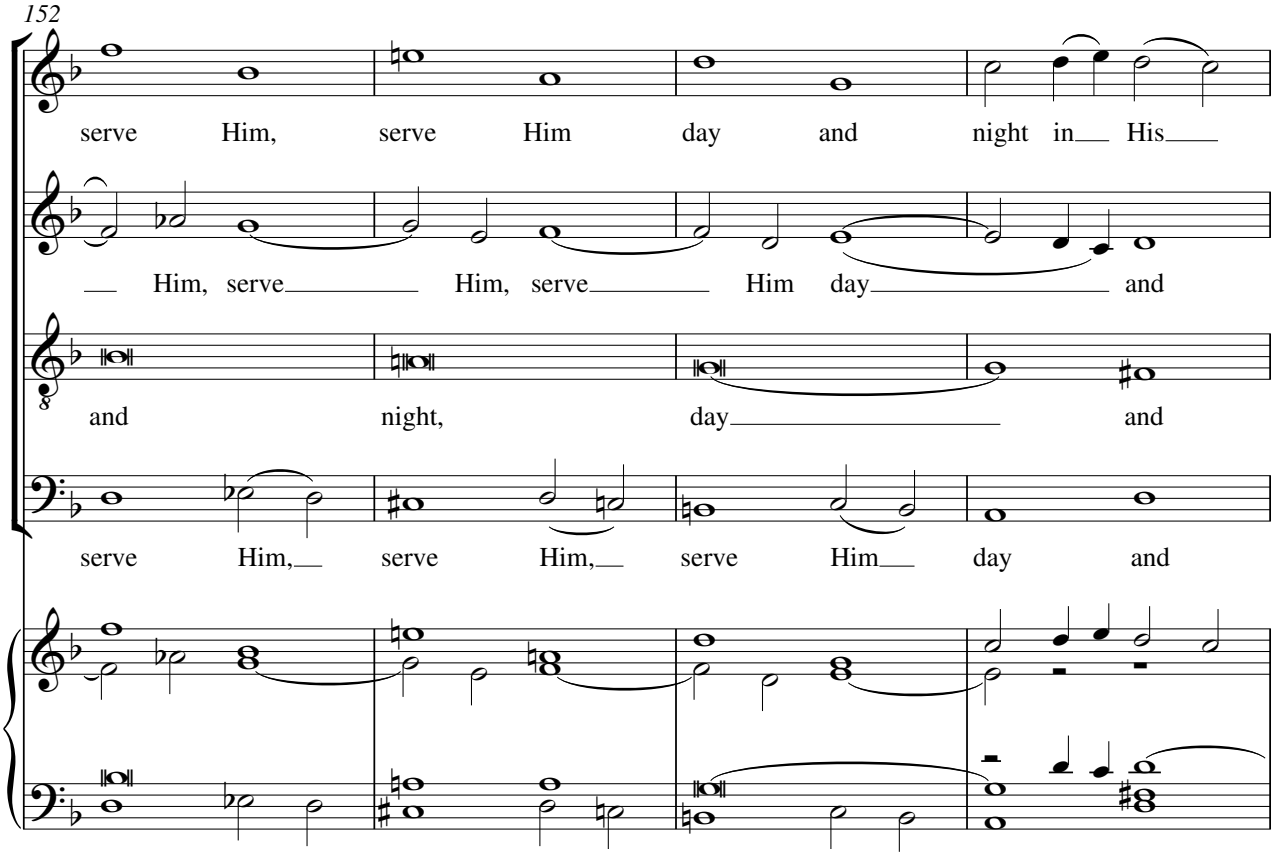
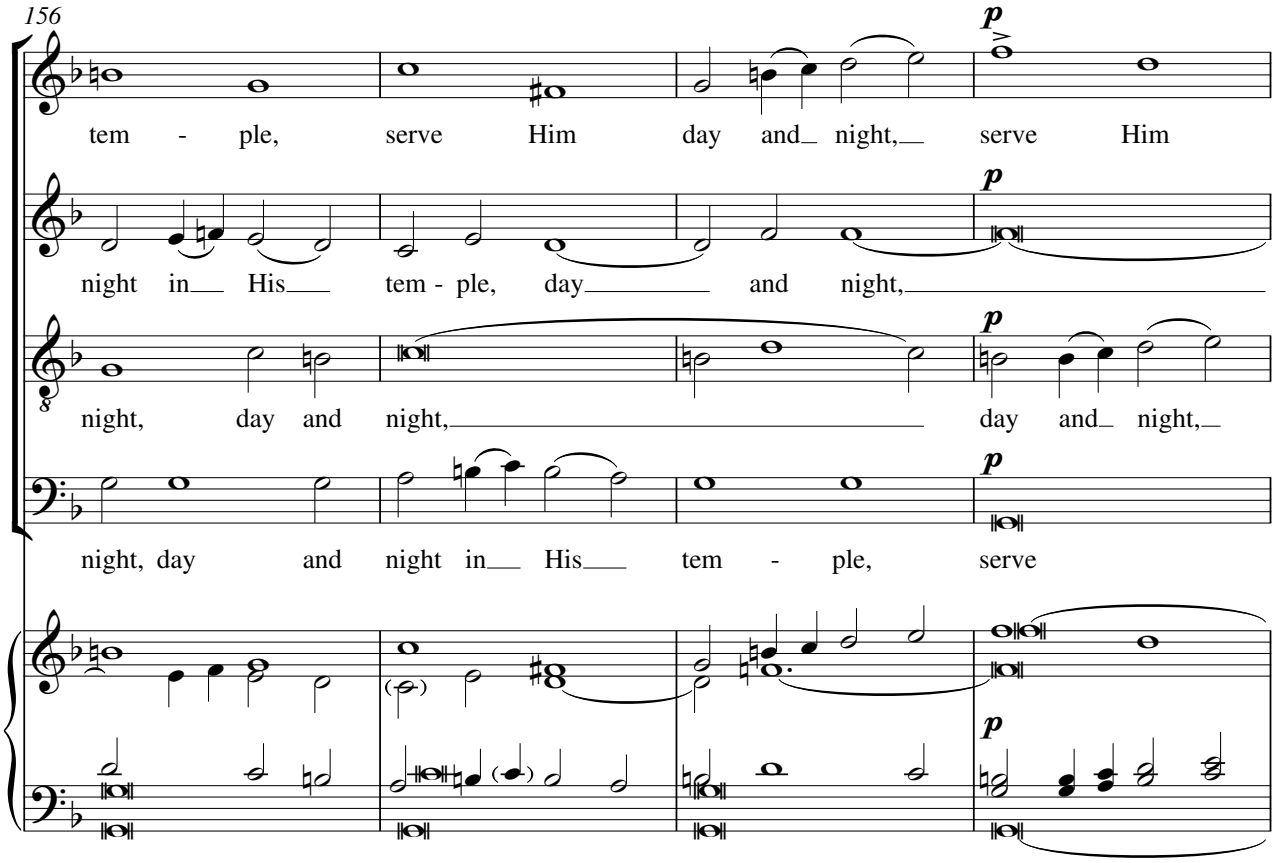

133
tem - - - - - - - - ple,
serve Him day and night in His tem - ple, His
day and night, day and night in His
and night,

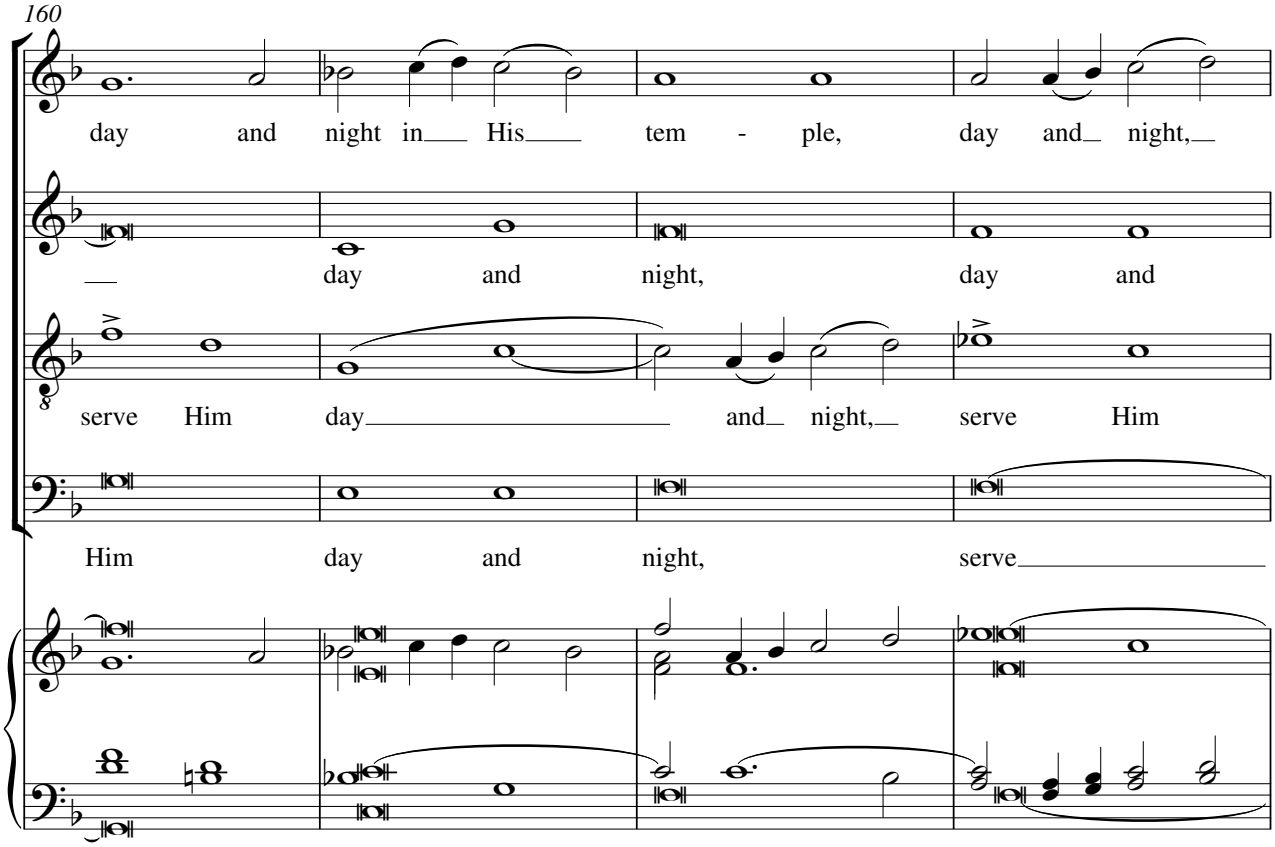

137
day and night, day and night
tem - - ple, day and night, day and
tem - - - - ple, day and night,
and
(Ped.)

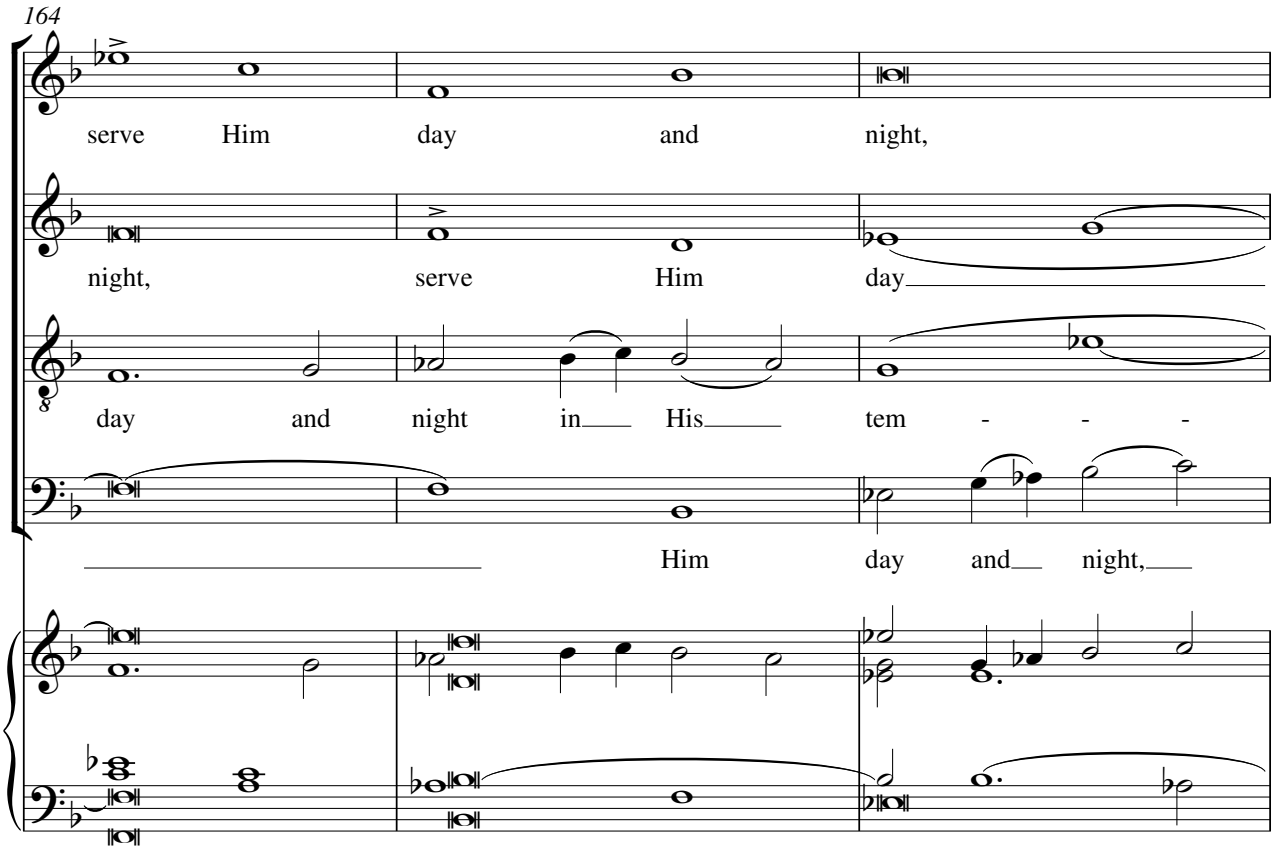

140
in His tem - - ple, and
night, day and night in His
day and night in His tem - ple,
serve Him day and night in His tem - ple,

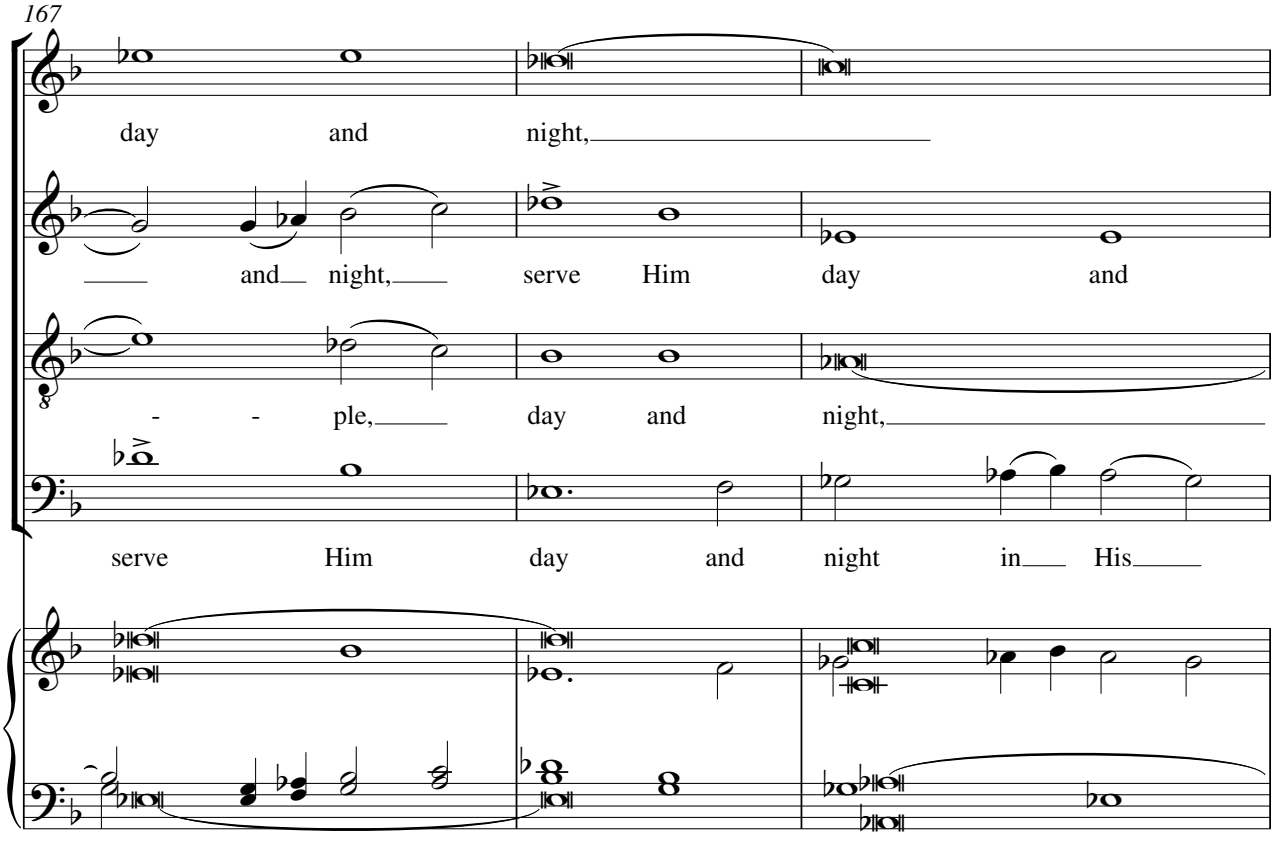

144
serve Him day and night in His tem - -
tem - - - ple, day and night in His
day and night, day and night in His
day and night, day and night, and

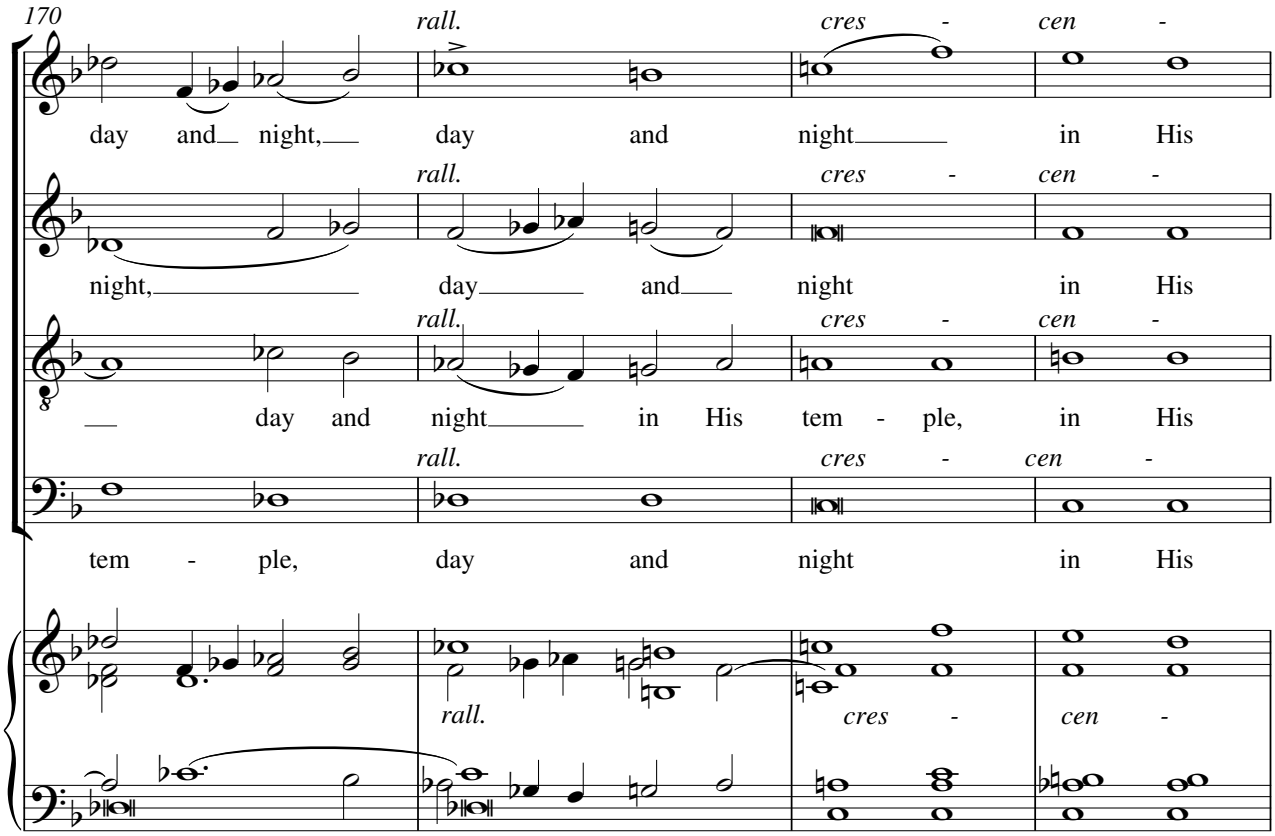
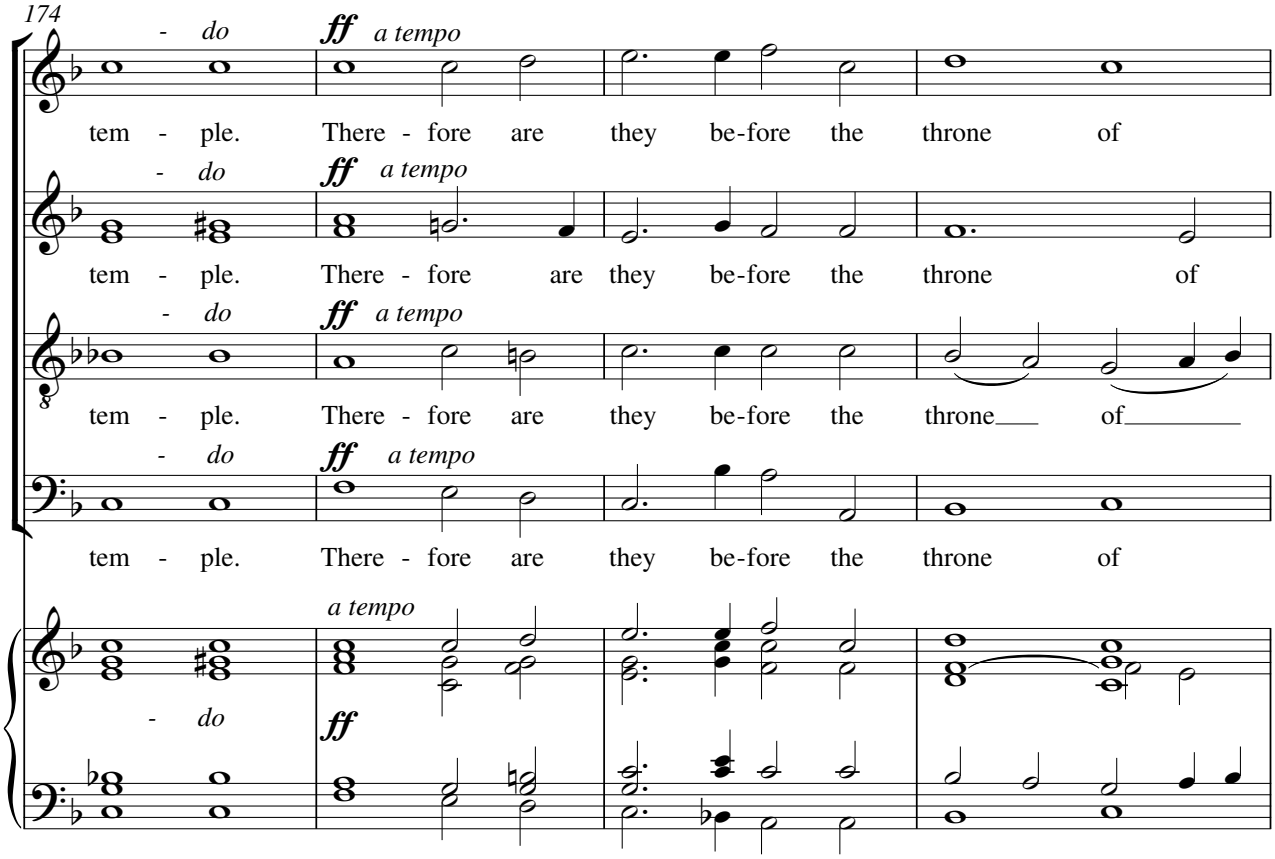

148
- ple, day and night, serve Him,
tem - - - ple, serve Him, serve
tem - ple, serve Him day
serve Him day and night in His tem - ple,

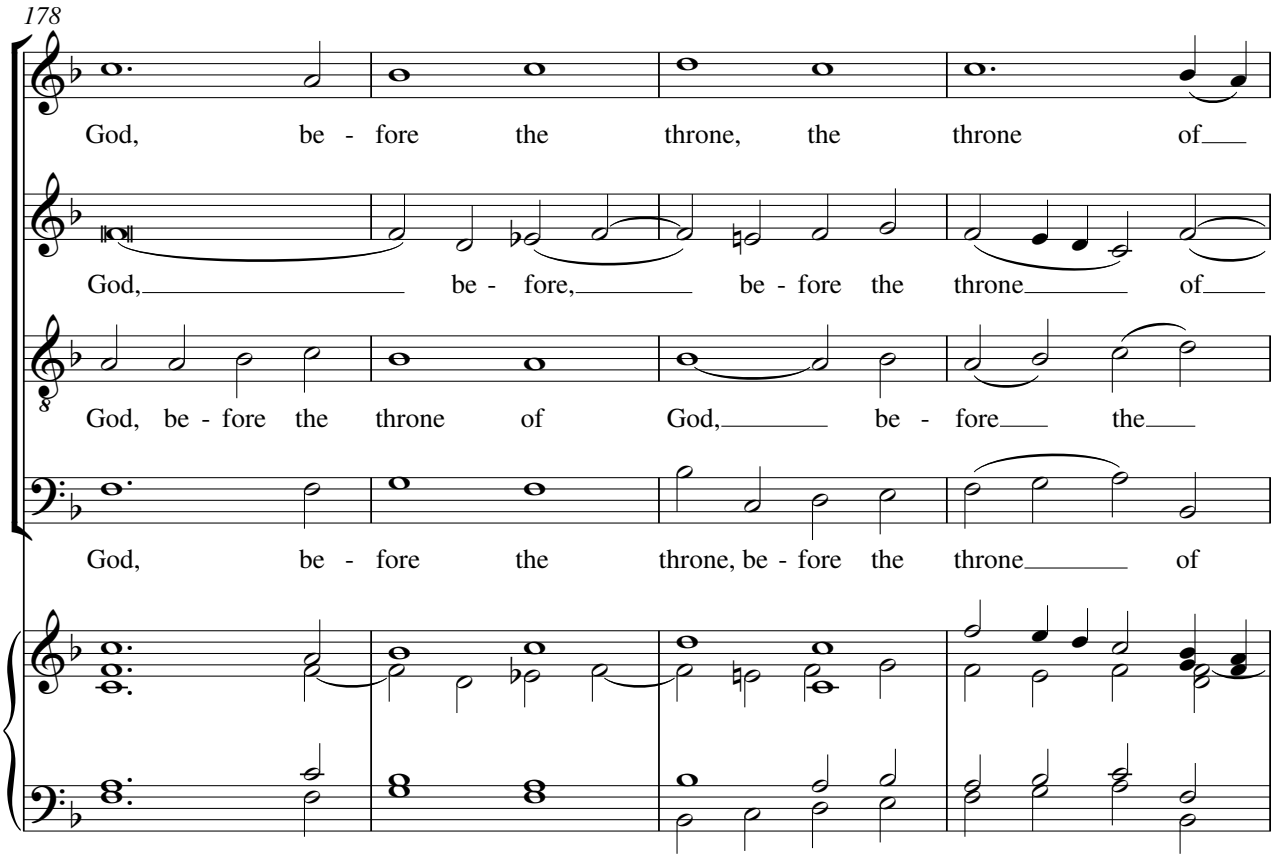
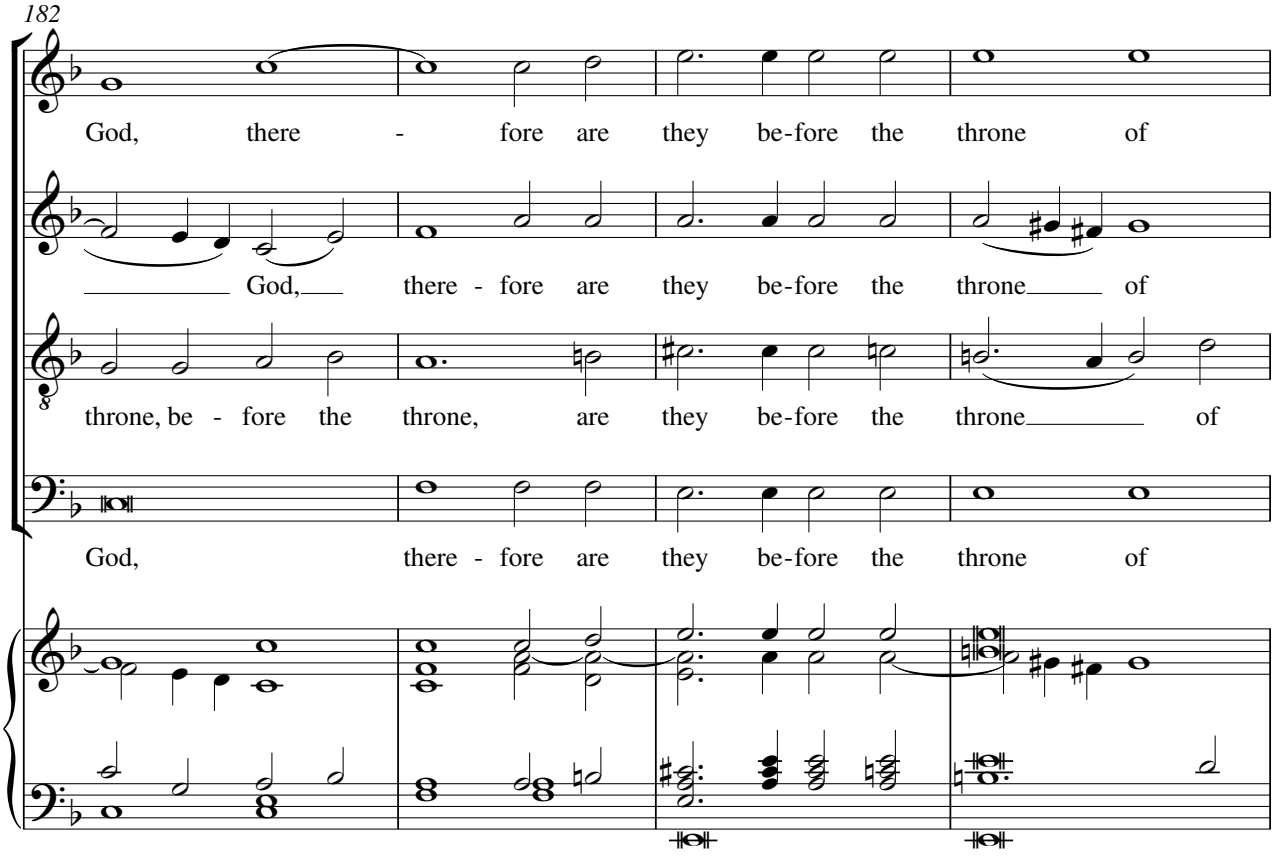

152
serve Him, serve Him day and night in His
Him, serve Him, serve Him day and
and night, day and
serve Him, serve Him, serve Him day and

156
p
tem - ple, serve Him day and night, serve Him
night in His tem - ple, day and night,
night, day and night, day and night,
night, day and night in His tem - ple, serve

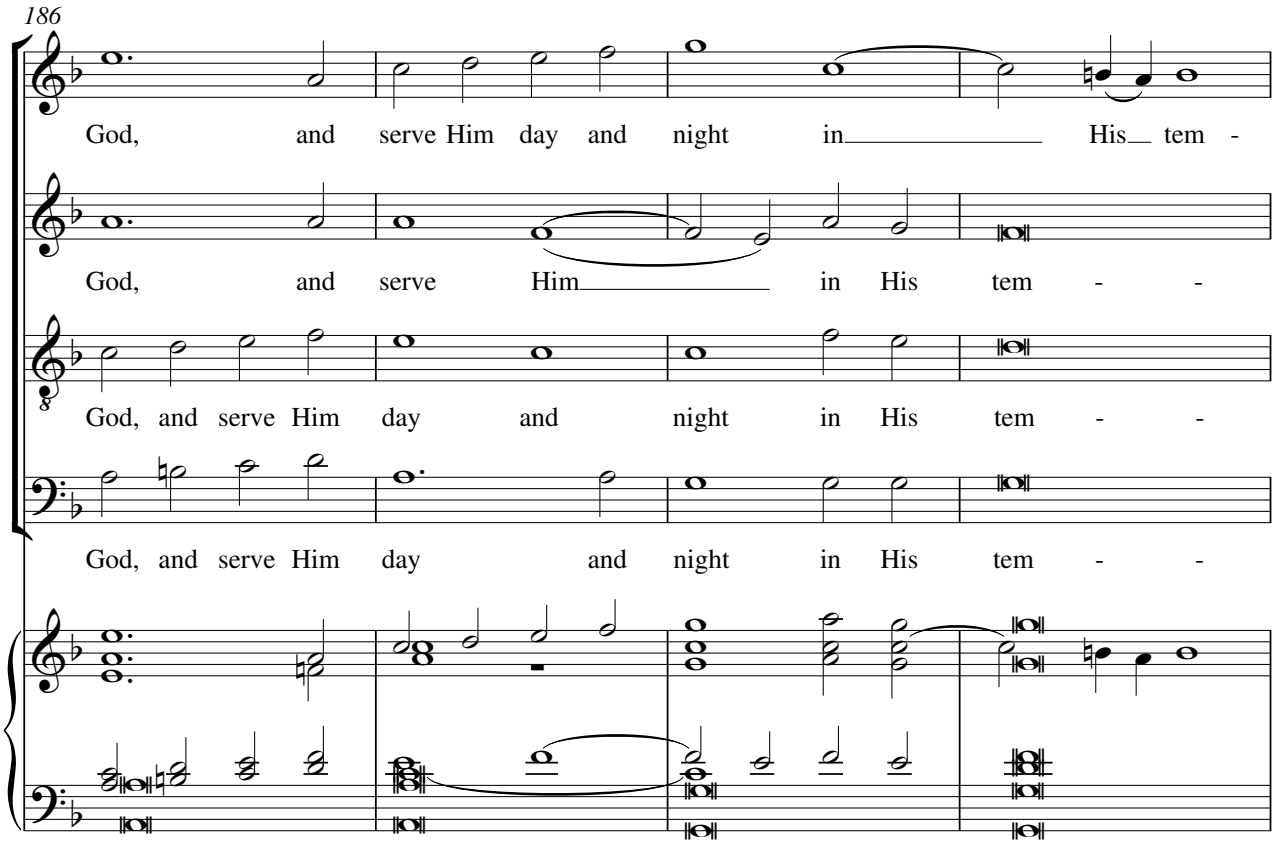
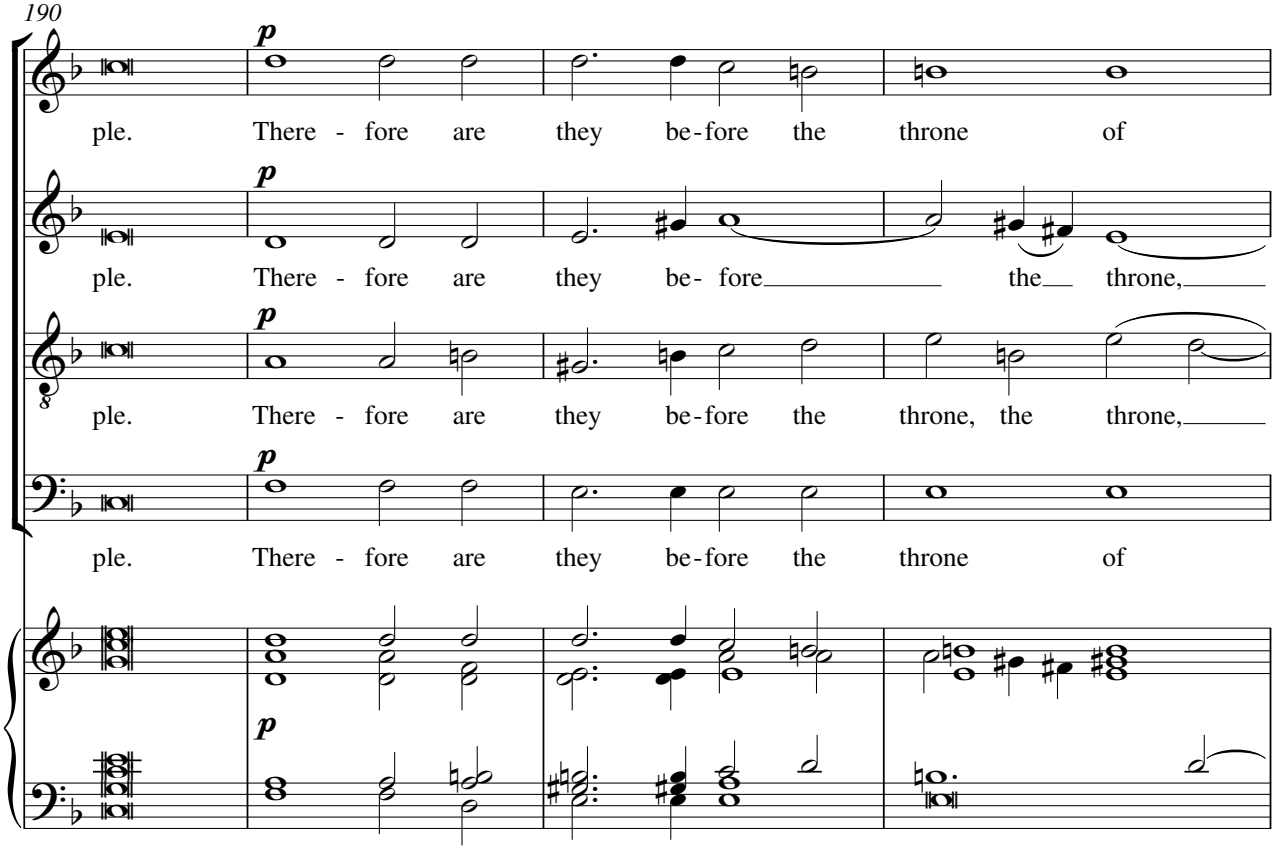

160
day and night in His tem - ple, day and night,
day and night, day and
serve Him day and night, serve Him
Him day and night, serve

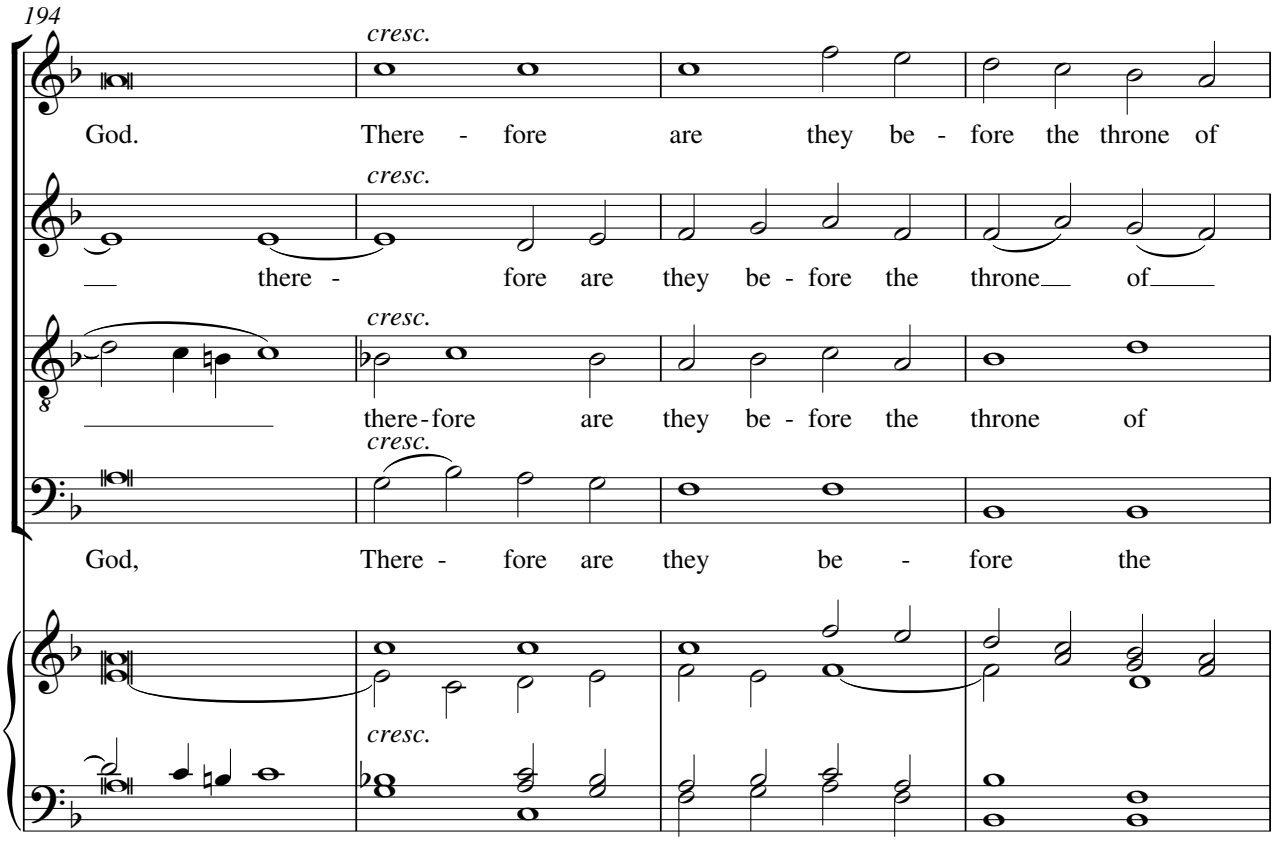

164
serve Him day and night,
night, serve Him day
day and night in His tem - - -
Him day and night,

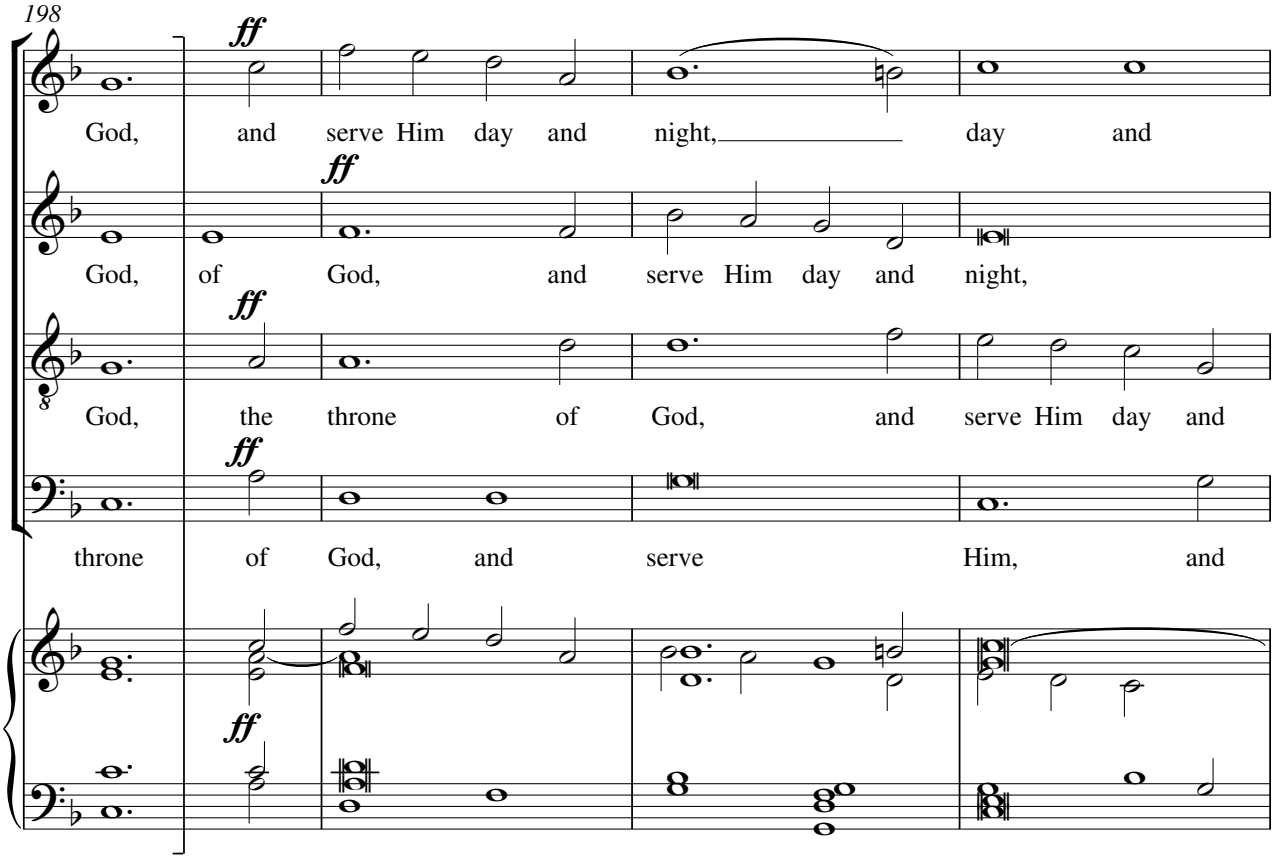
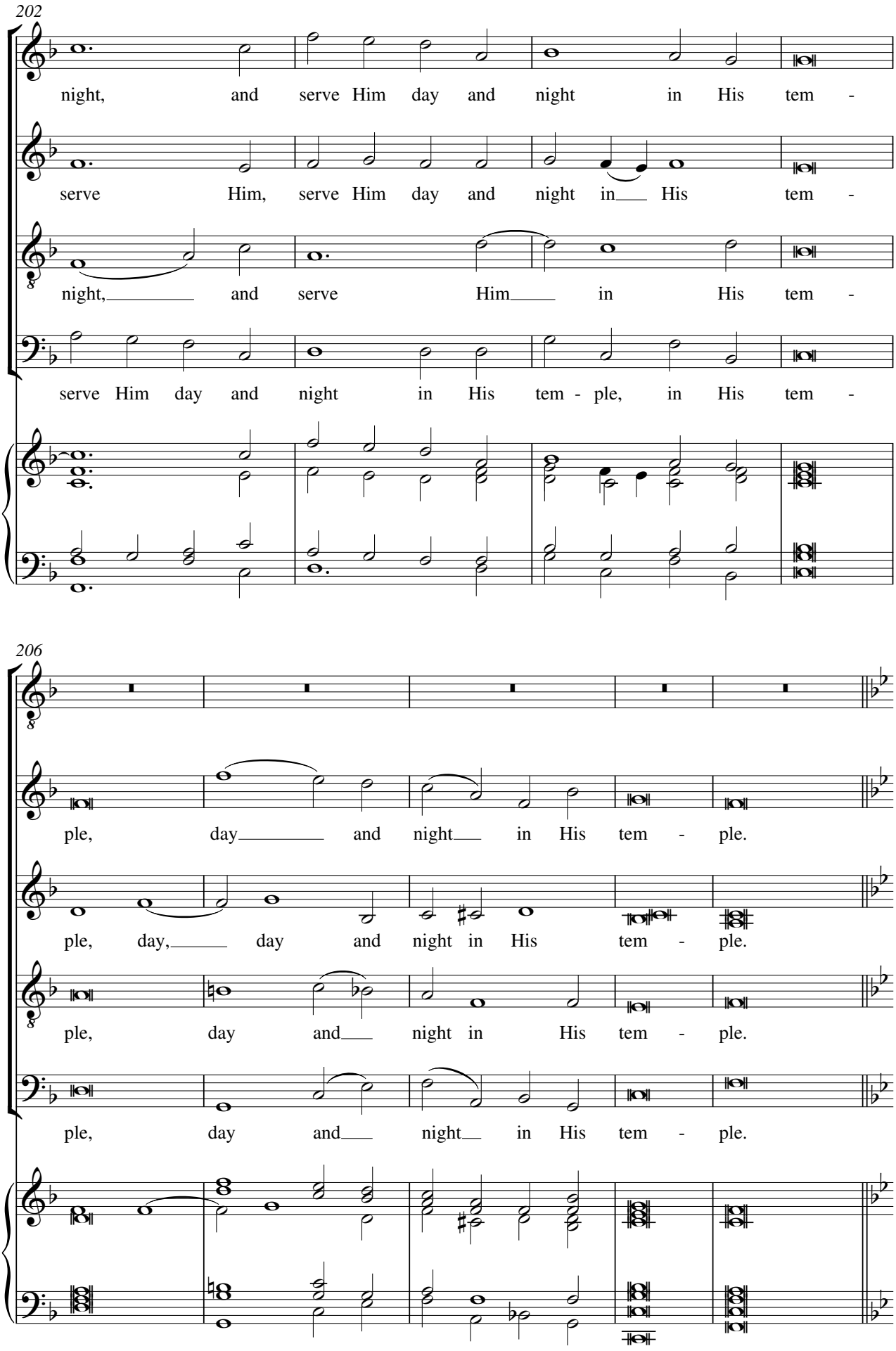
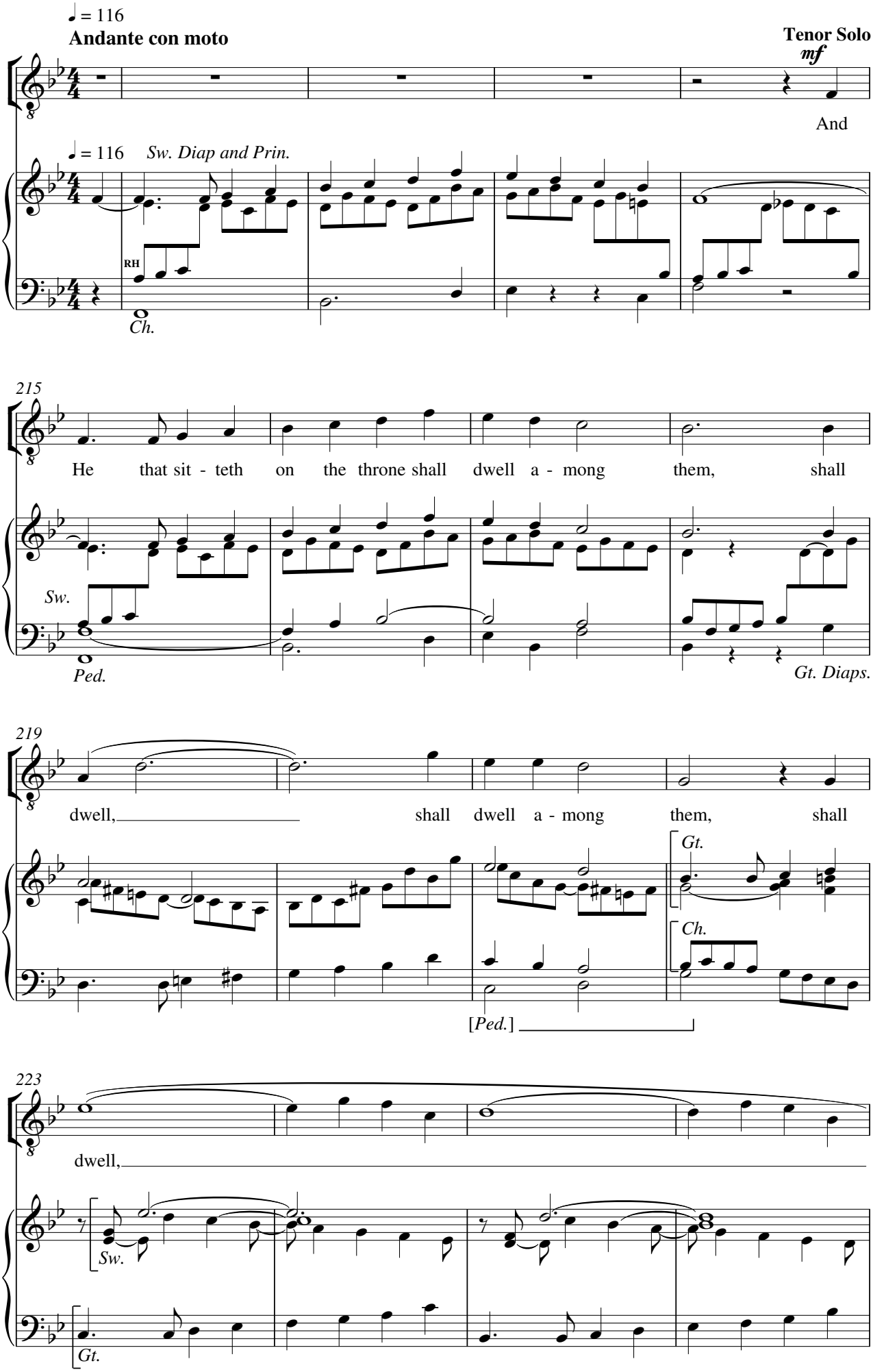
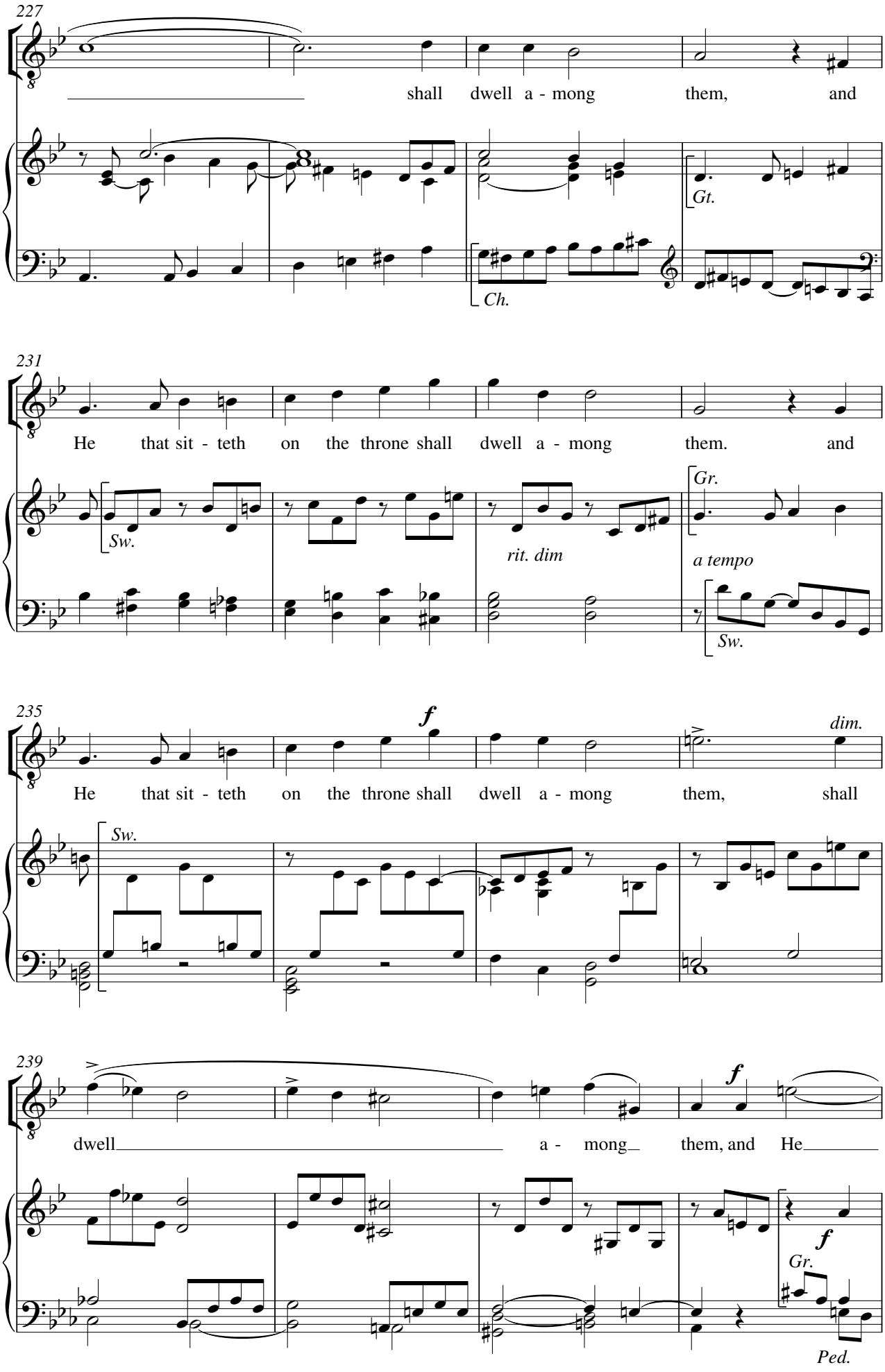
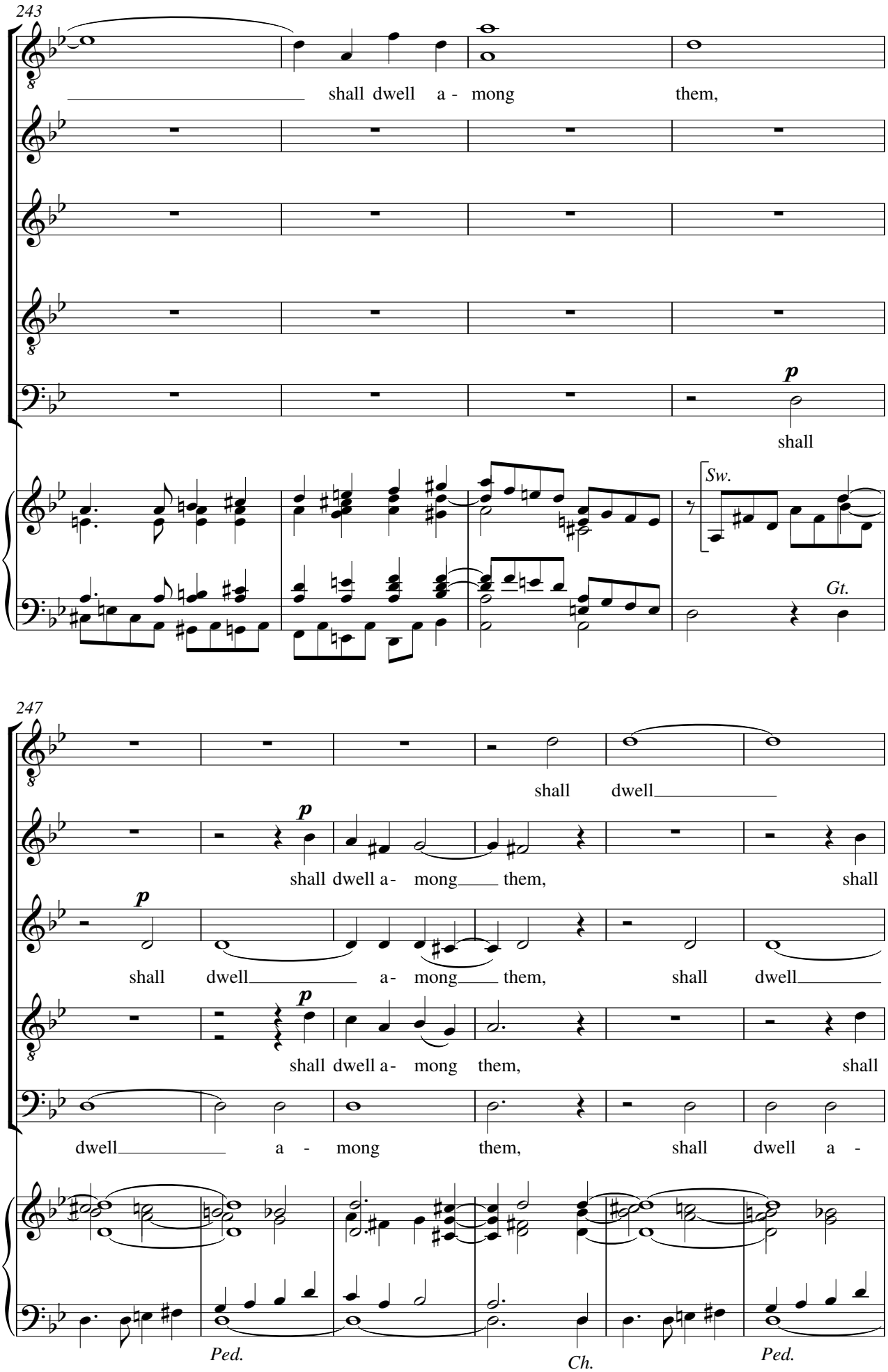
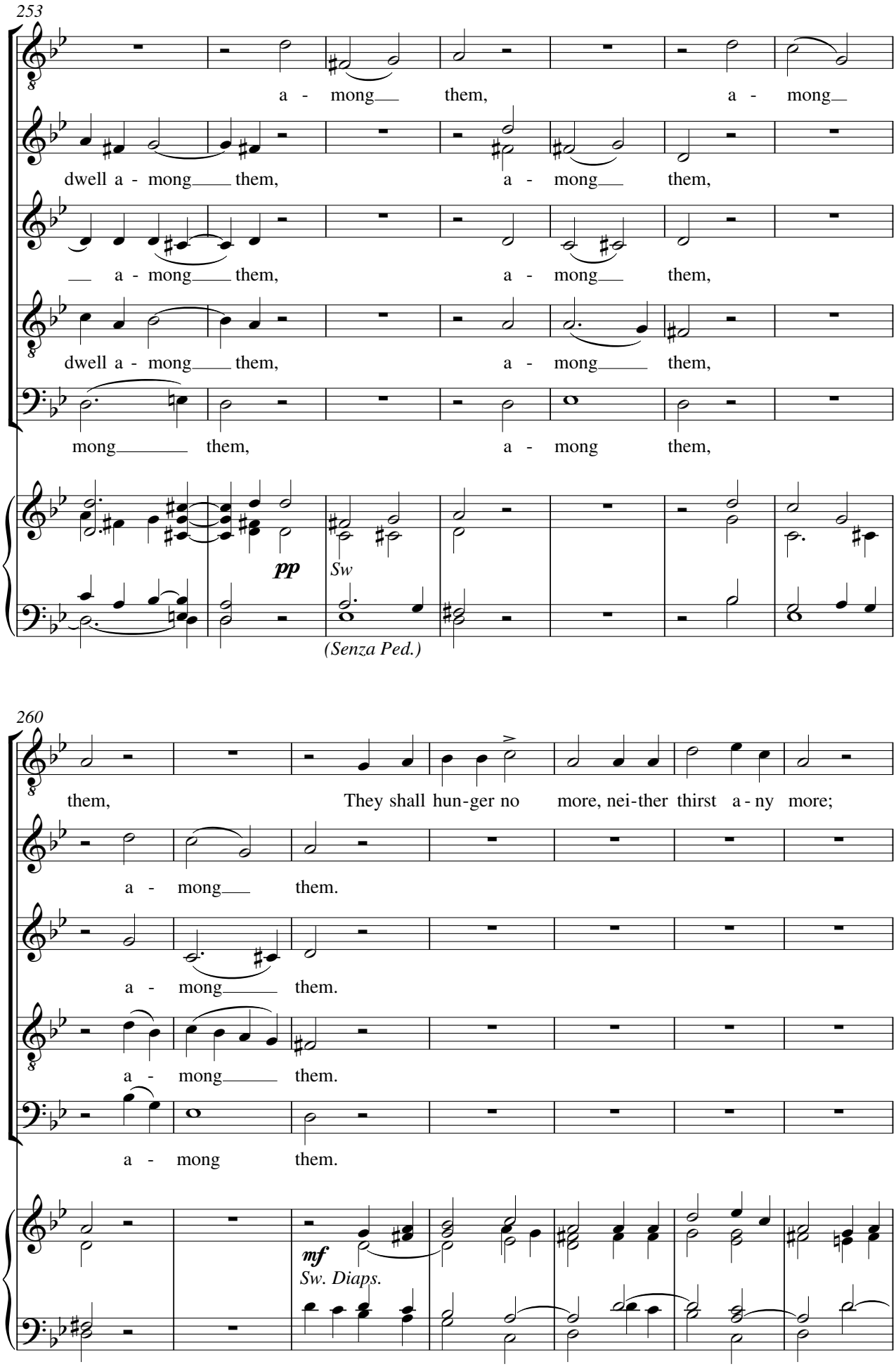
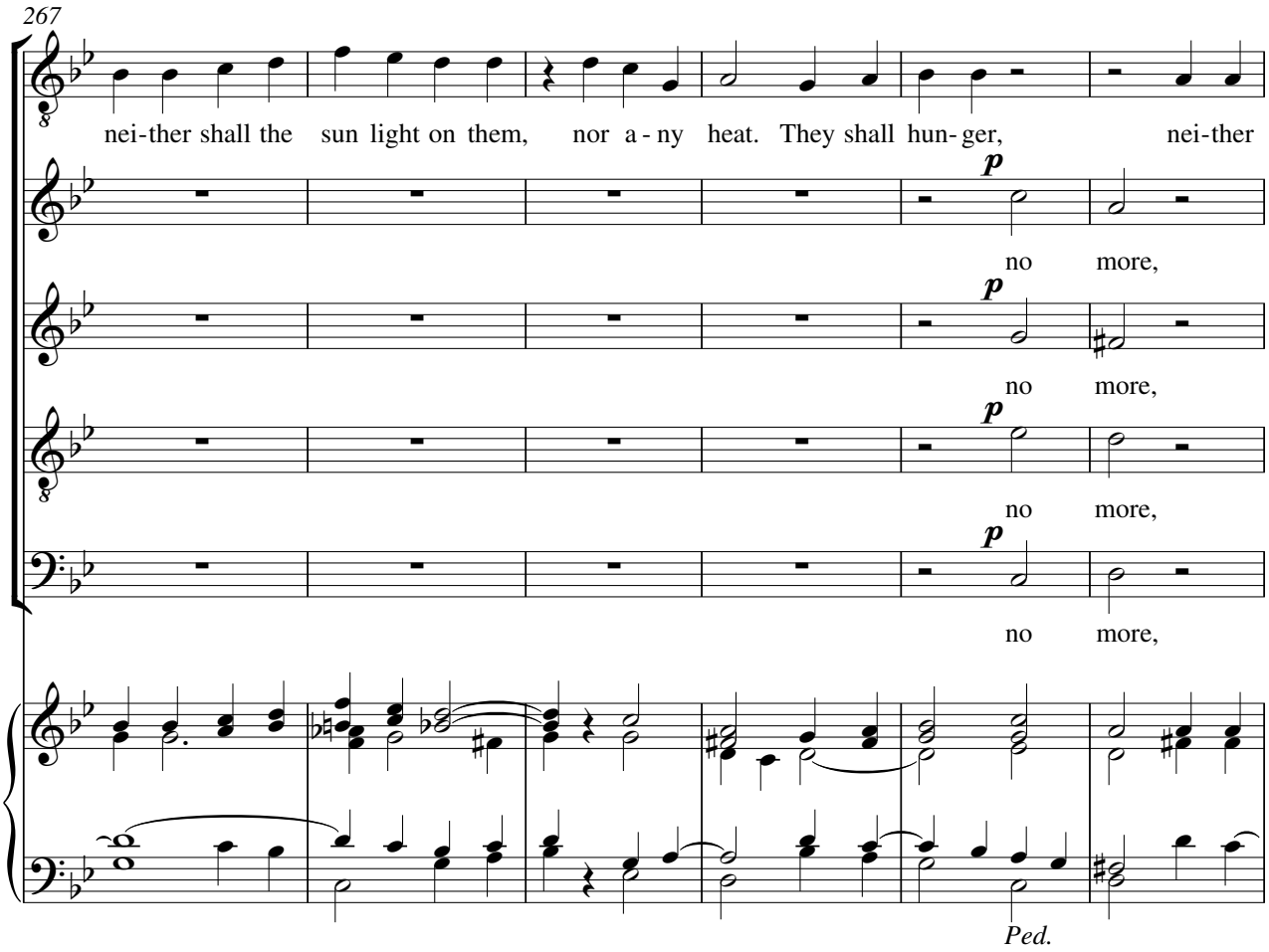
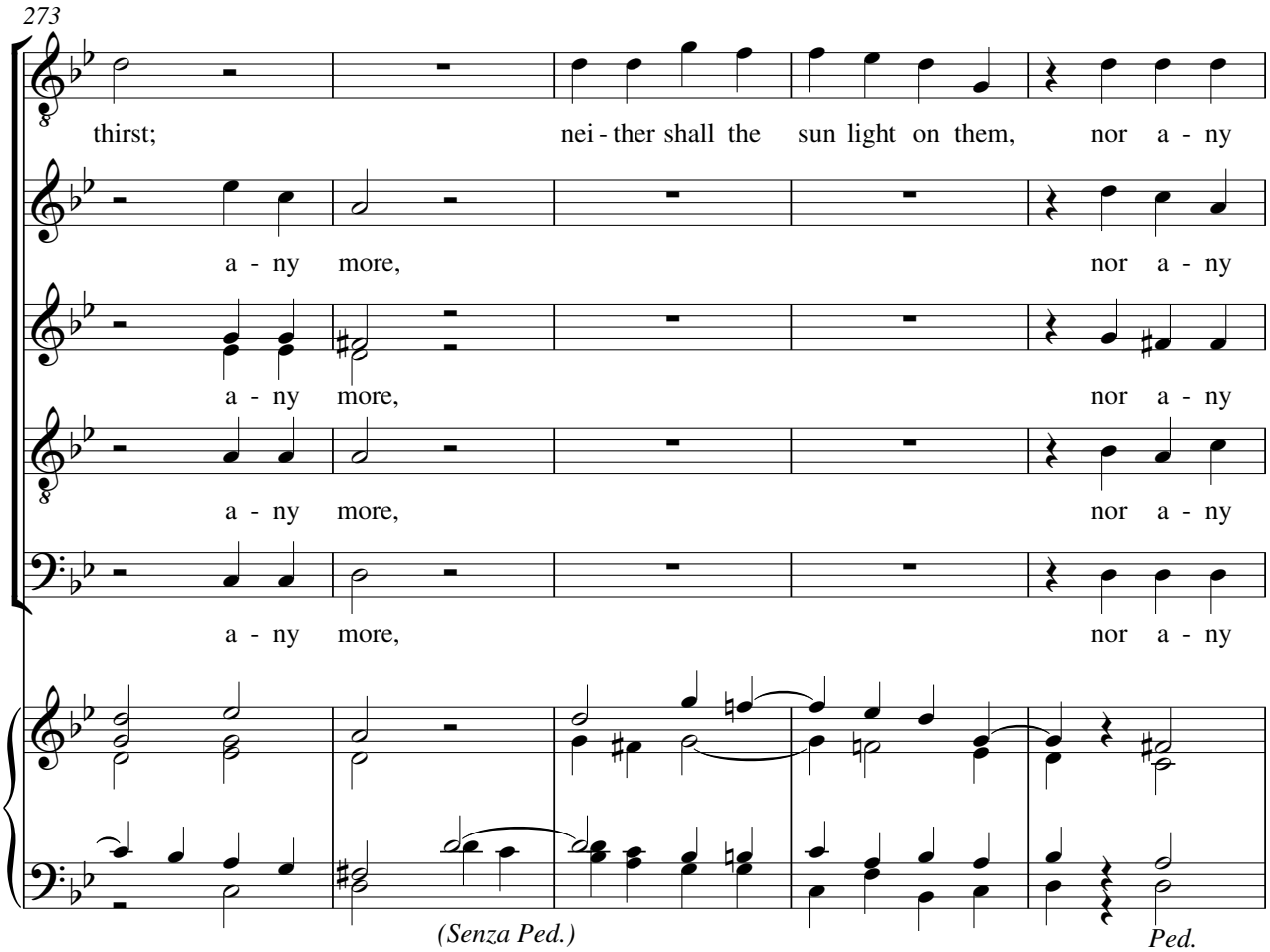
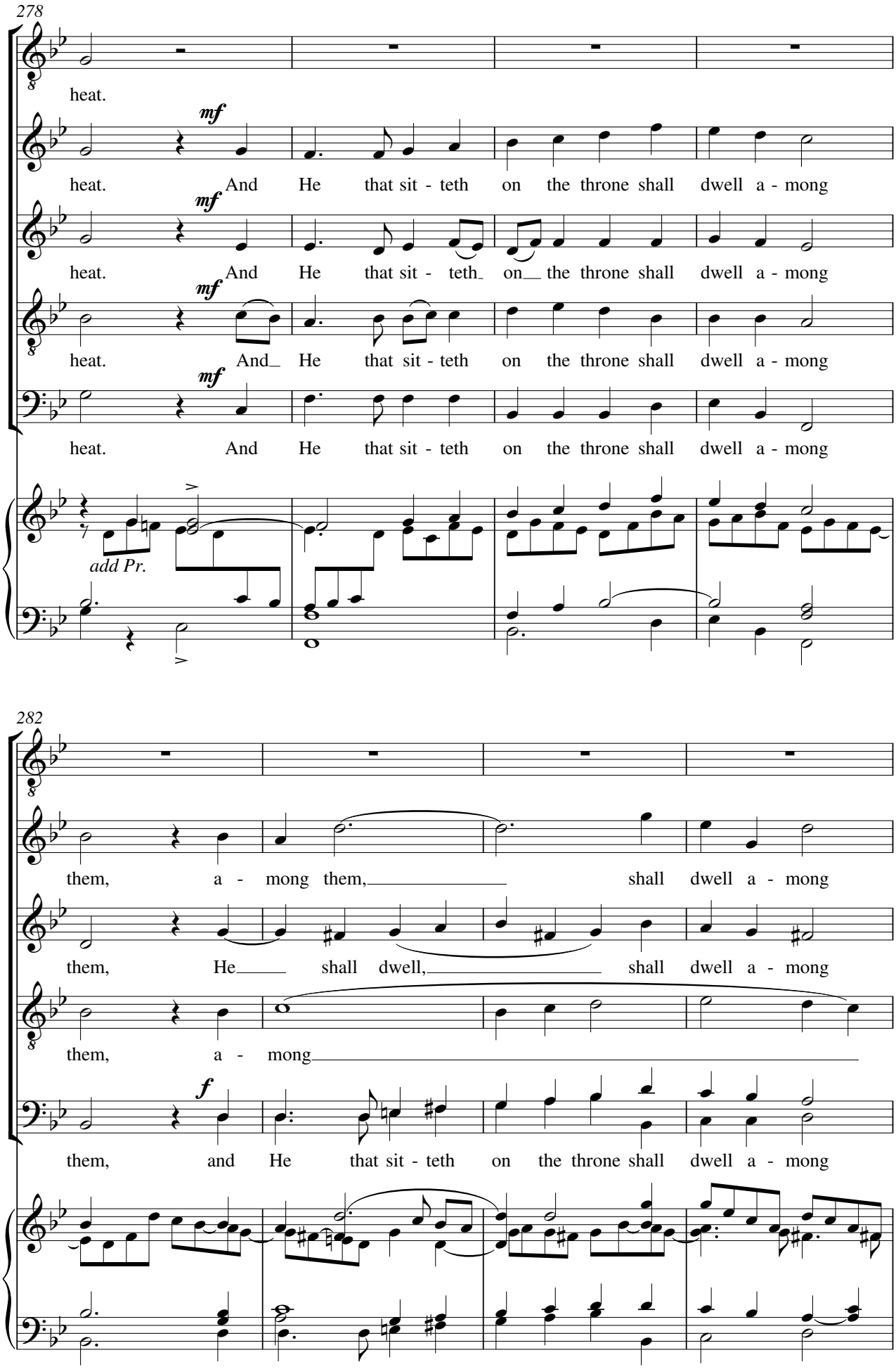
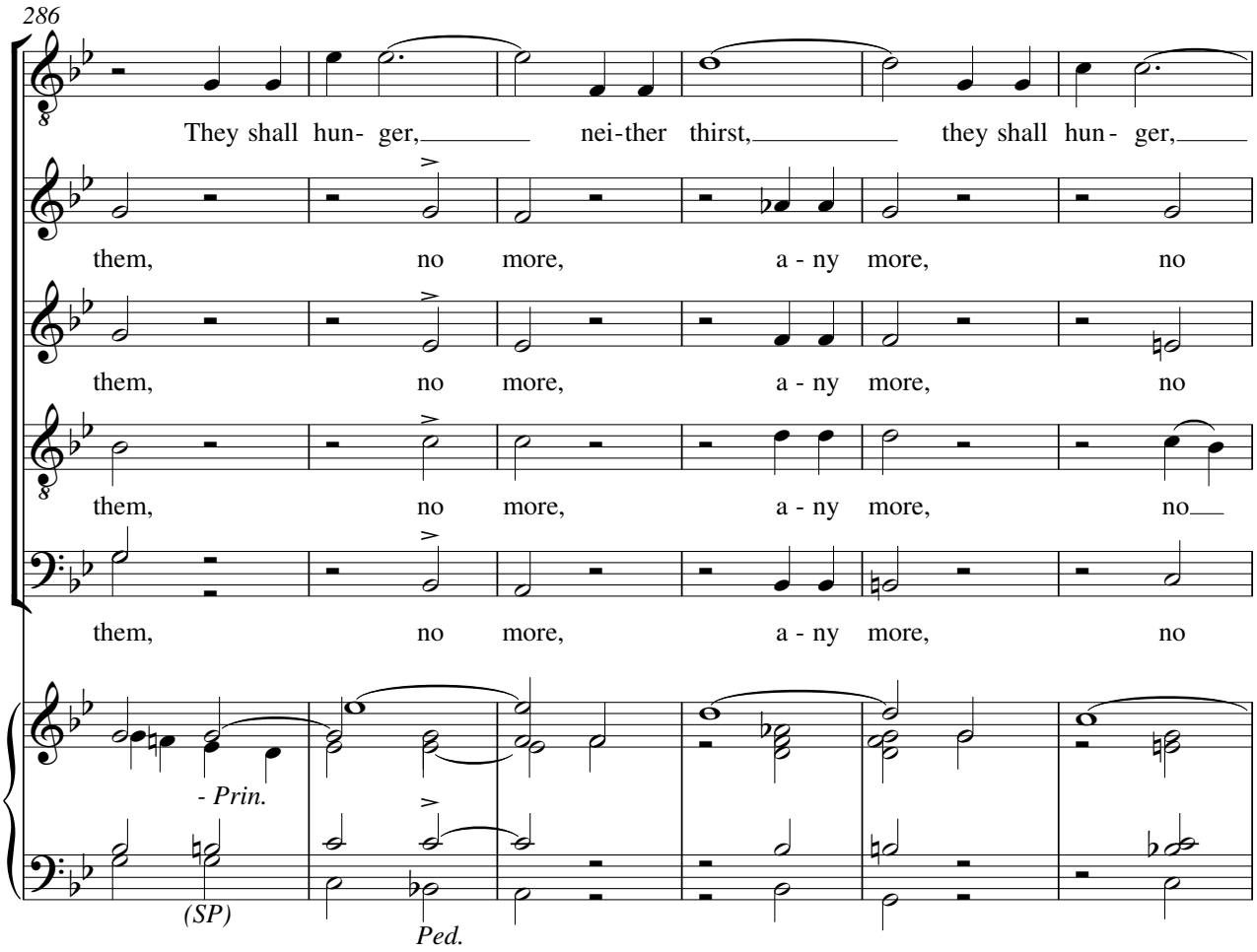
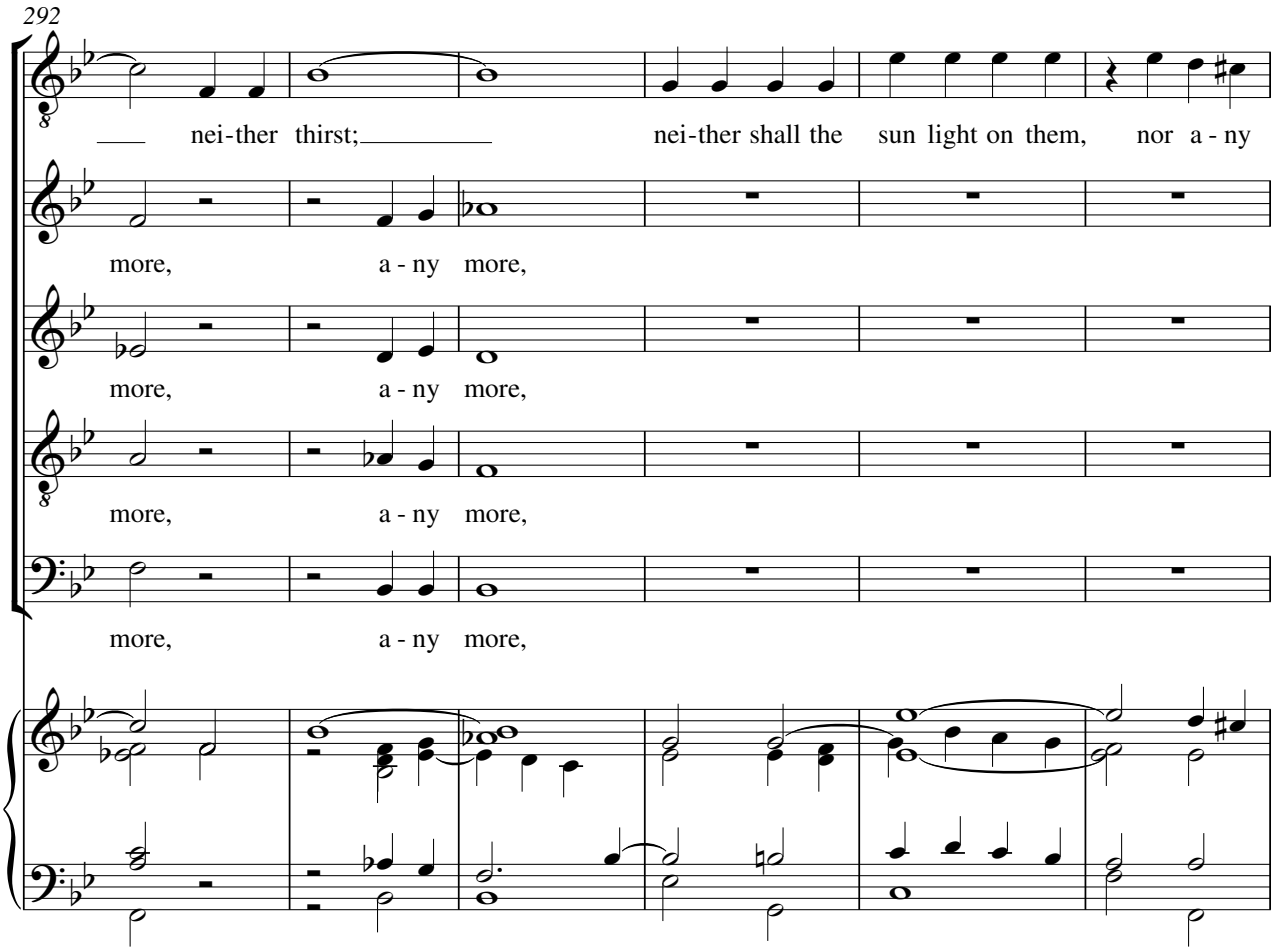
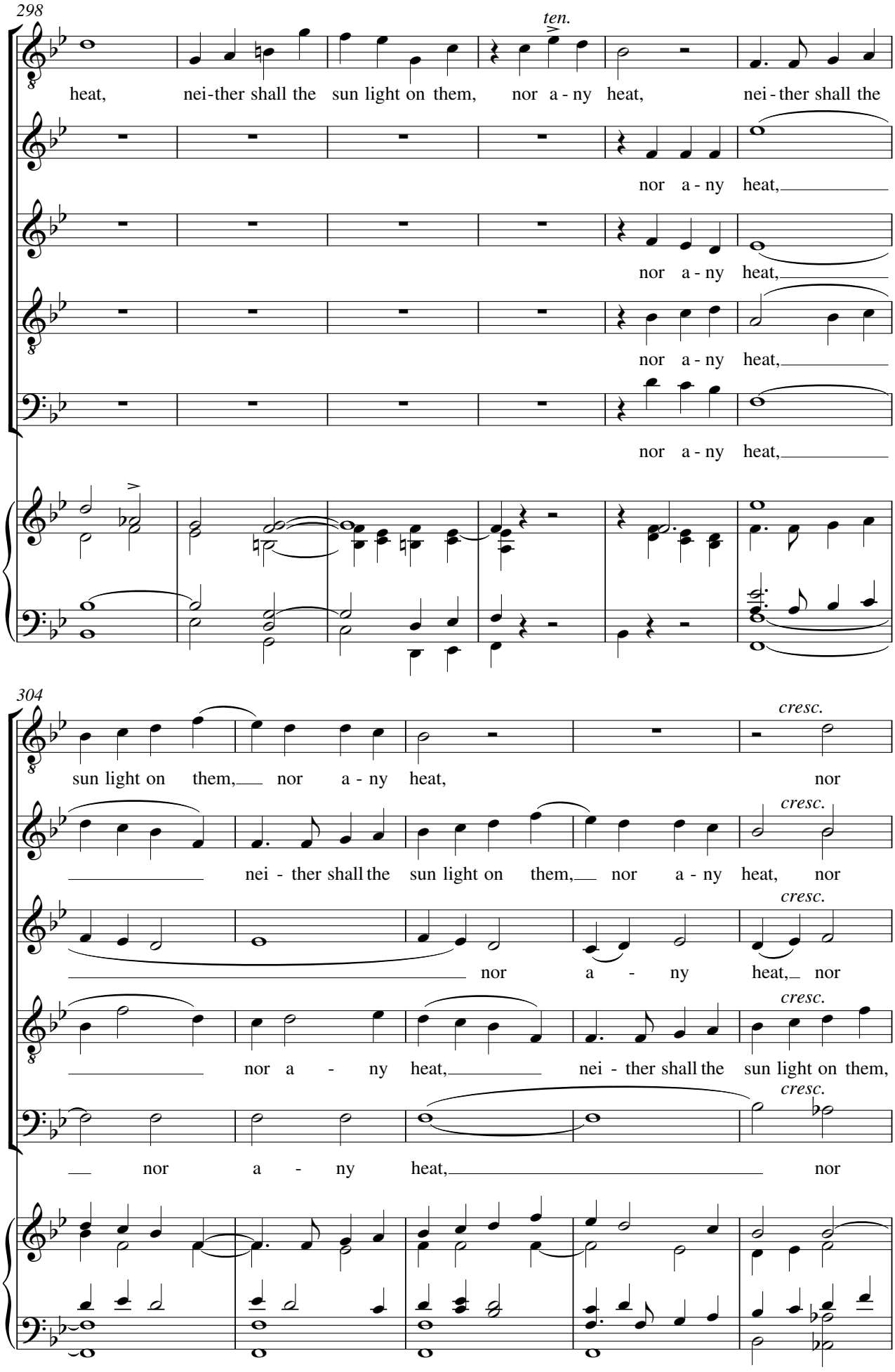
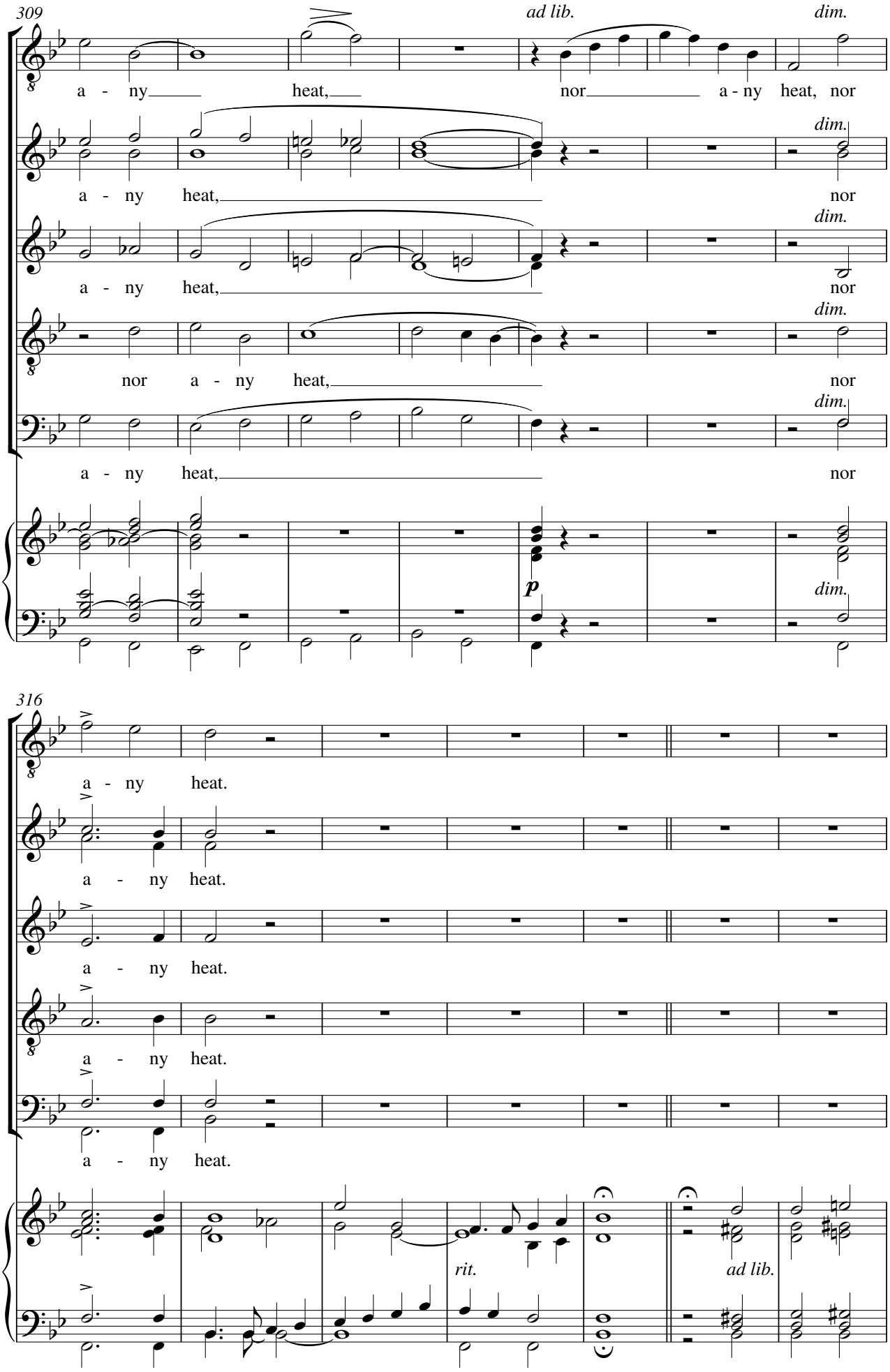

167
day and night,
and night, serve Him day and
- - ple, day and night,
serve Him day and night in His

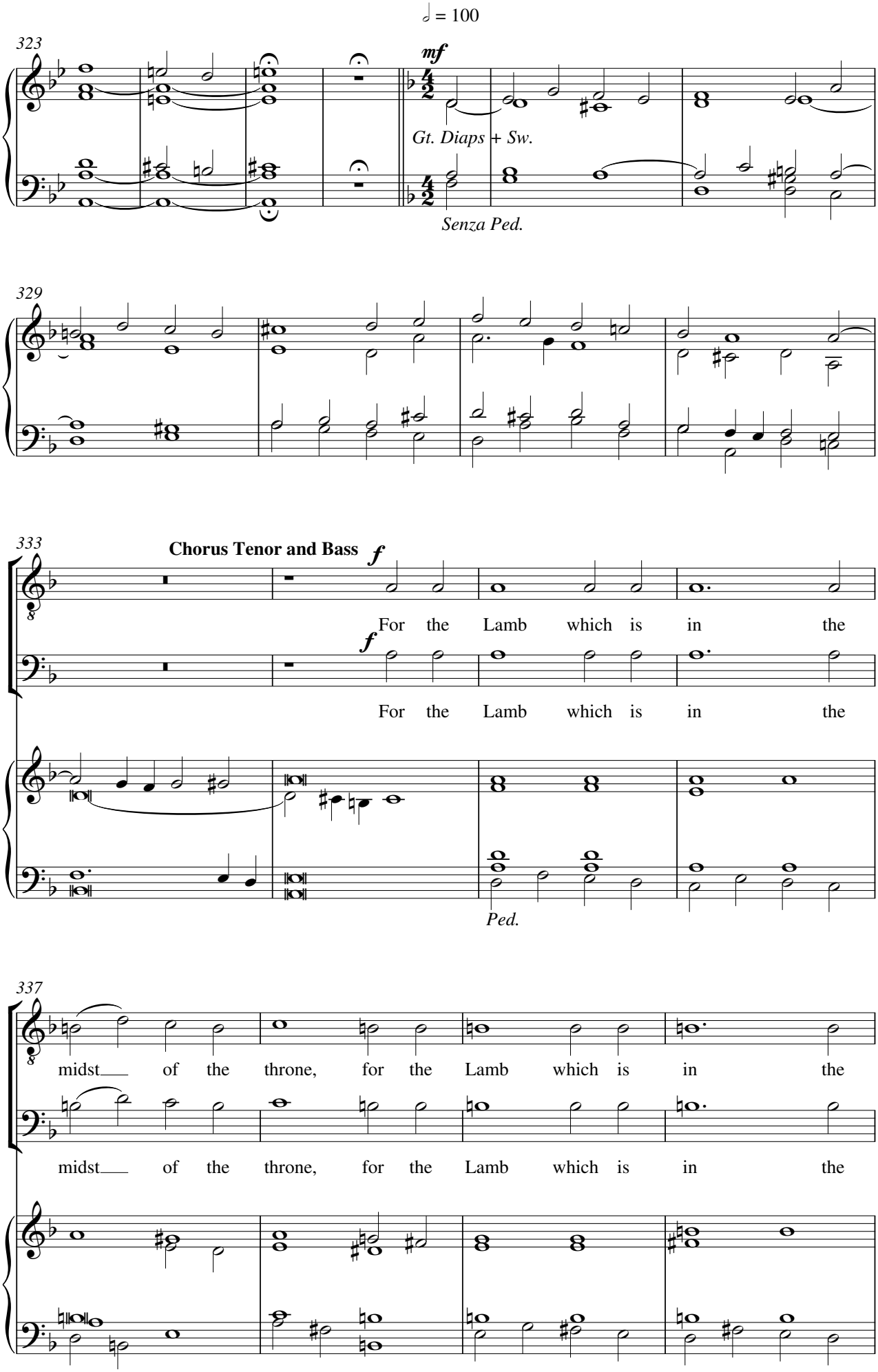

170
rall.
cres - cen -
day and night, day and night in His
night, day and night in His
day and night in His tem - ple, in His
tem - ple, day and night in His

174
- do
ff a tempo
tem - ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of
tem - ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of
tem - ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of
tem - ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of
a tempo
ff
- do

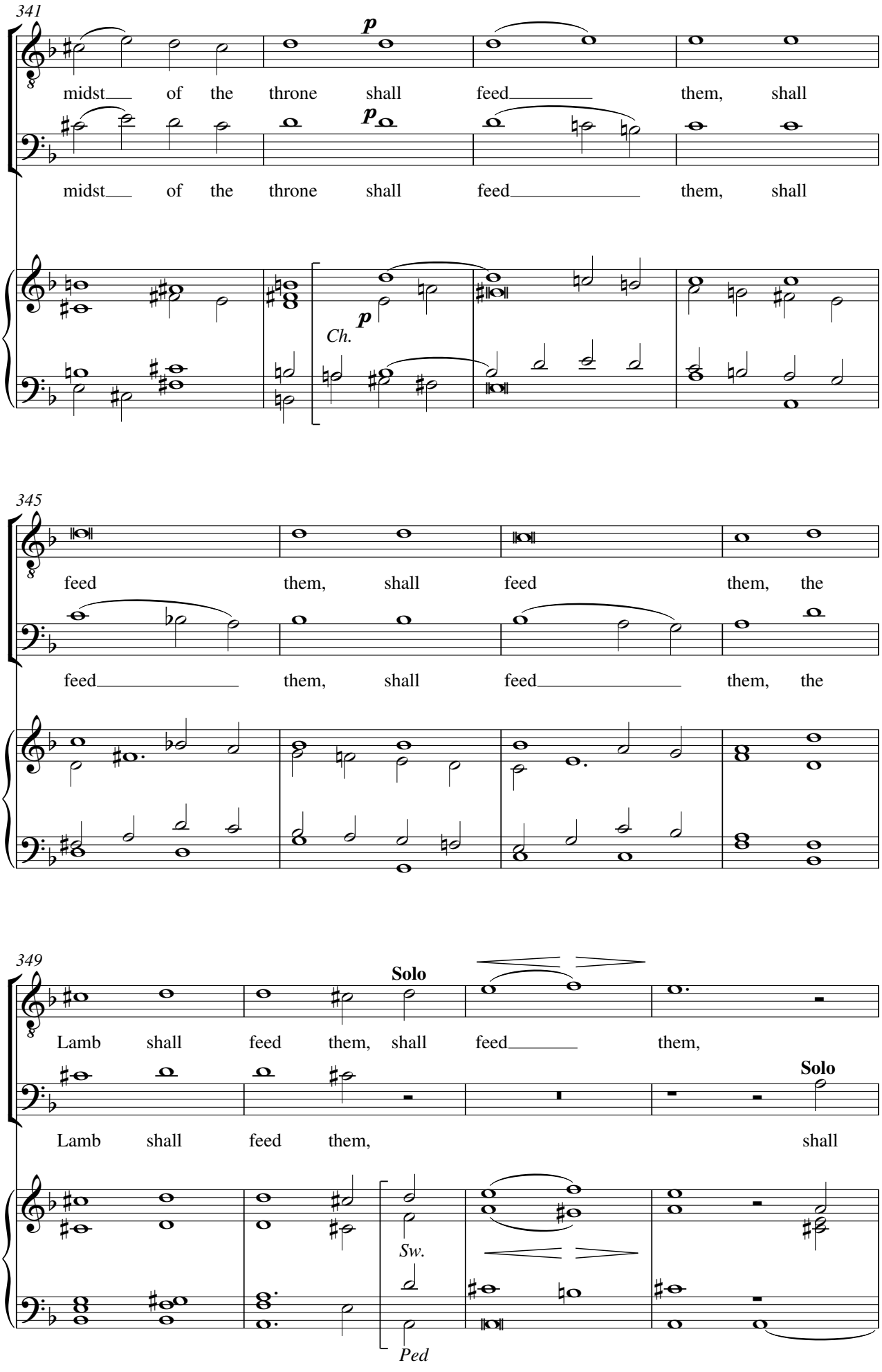
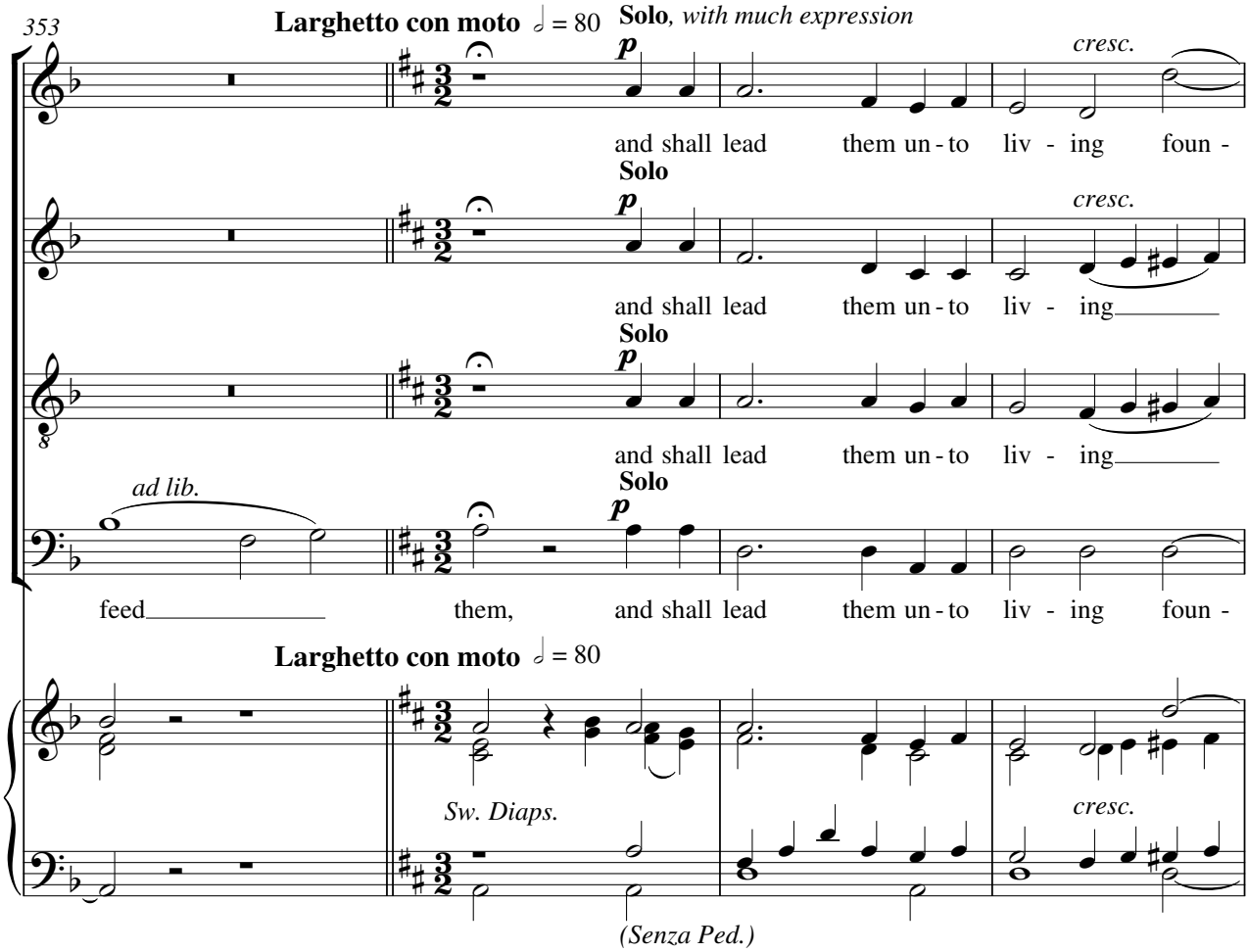
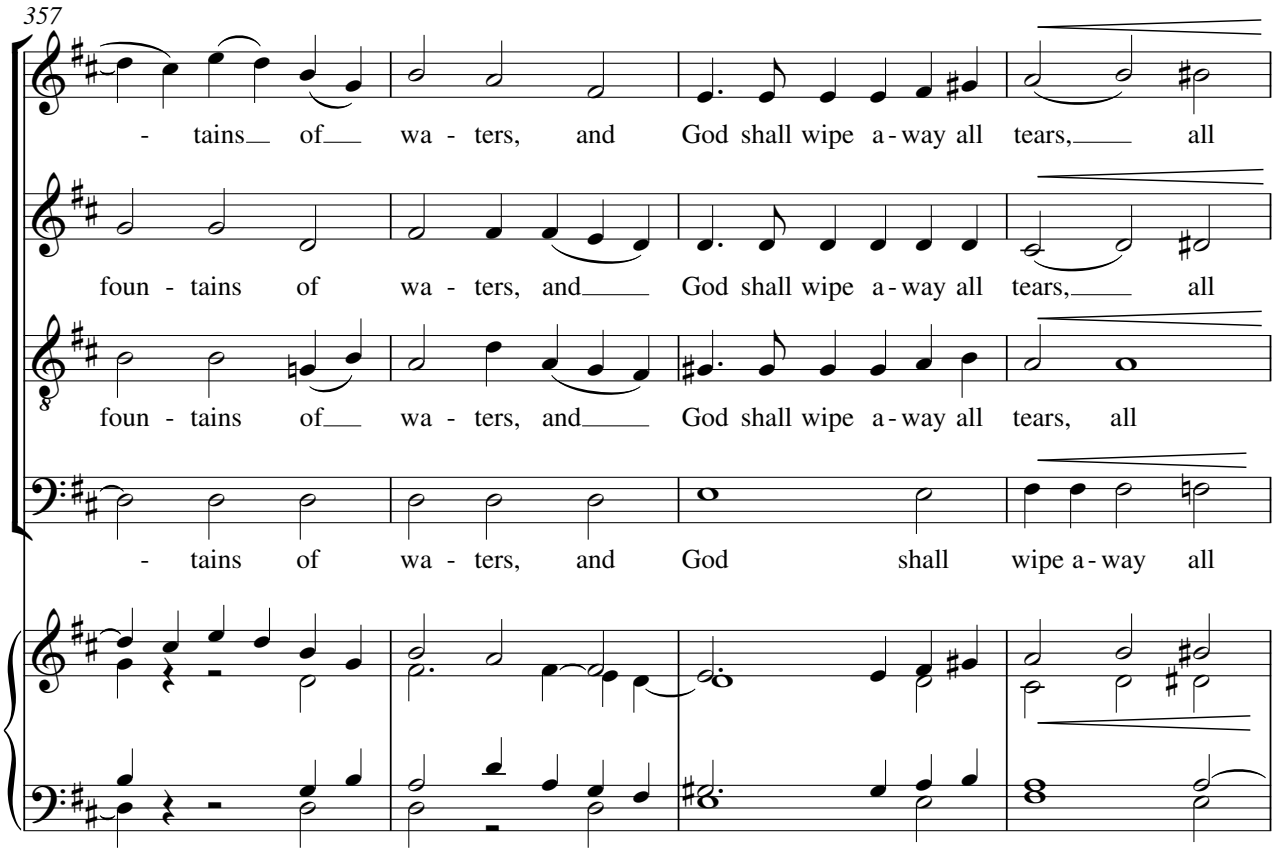
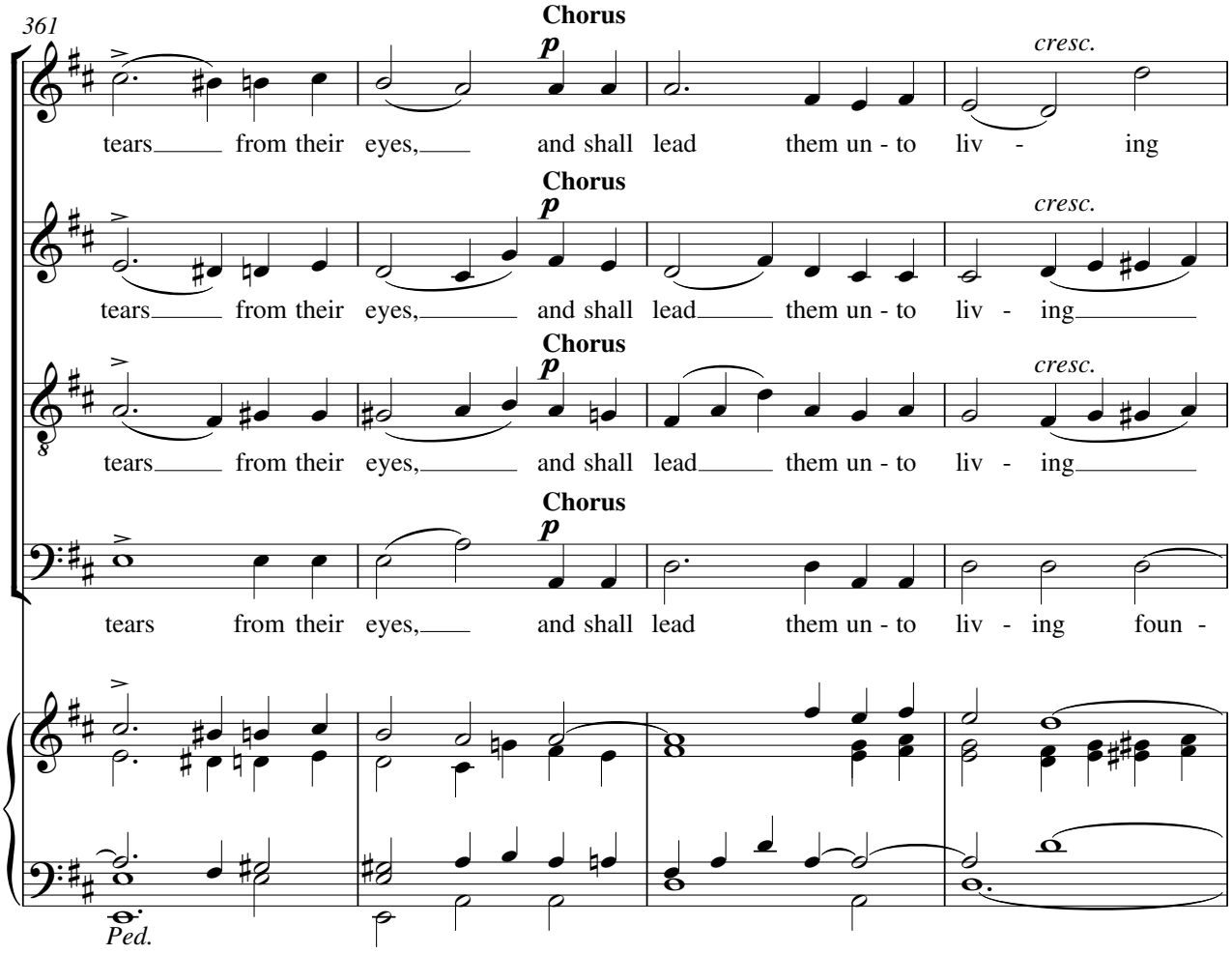
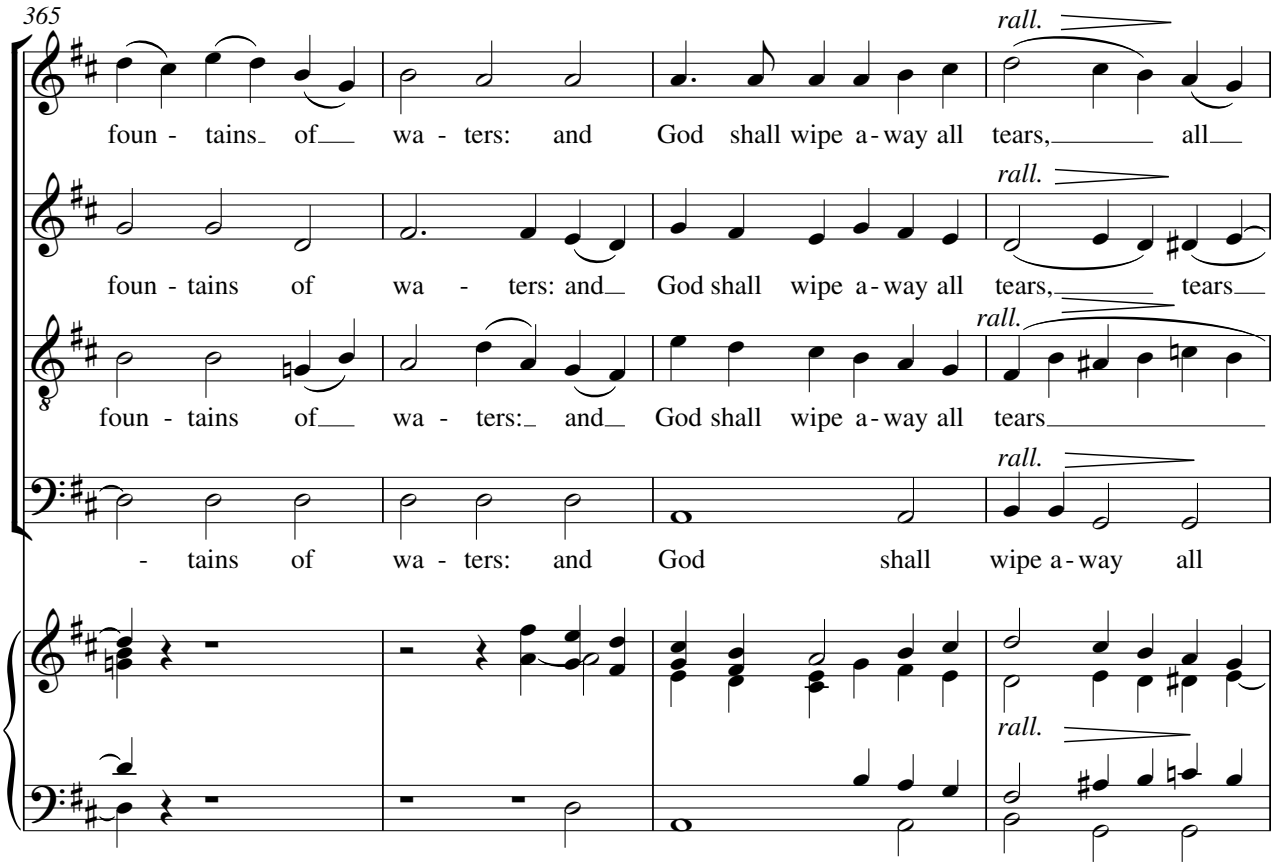
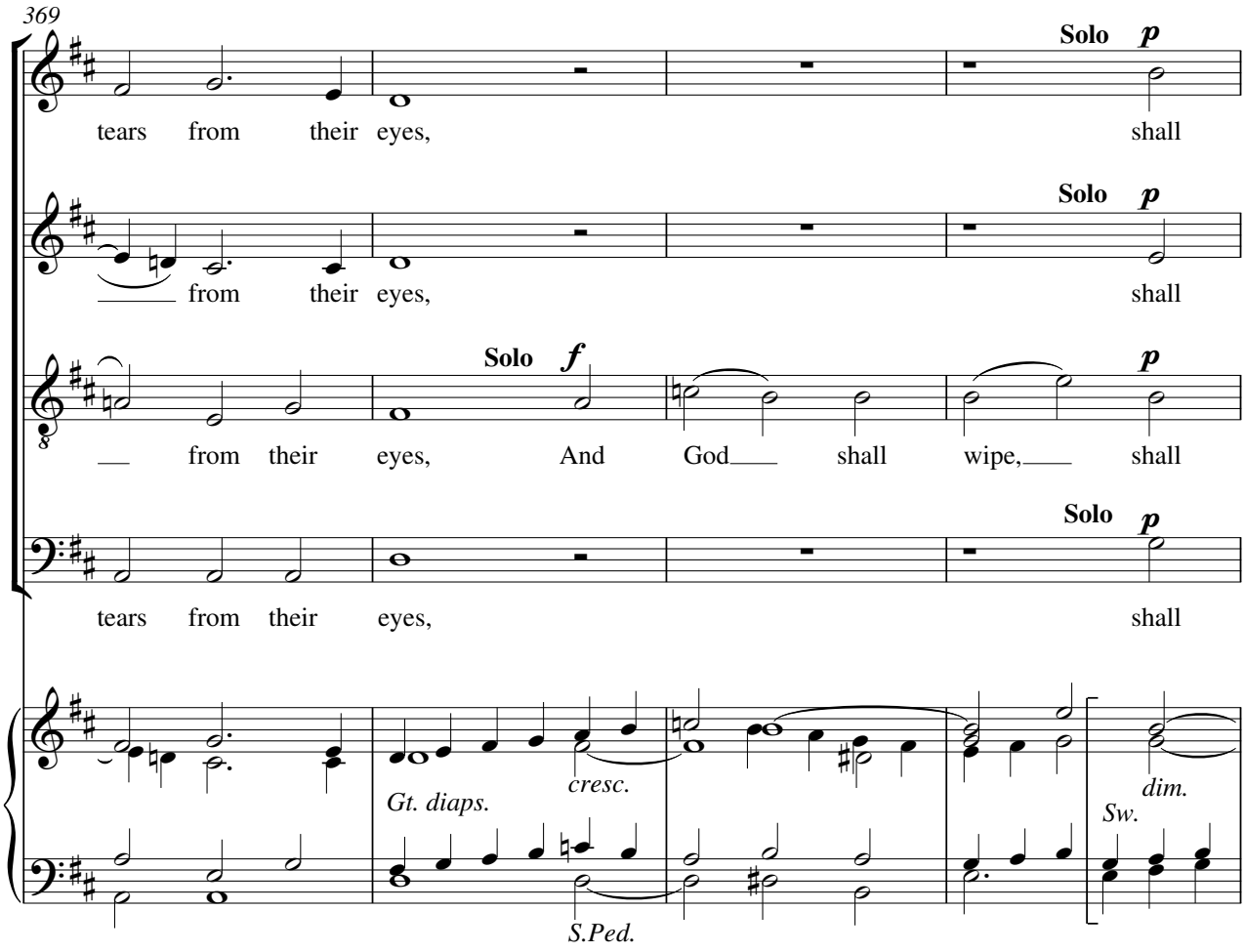
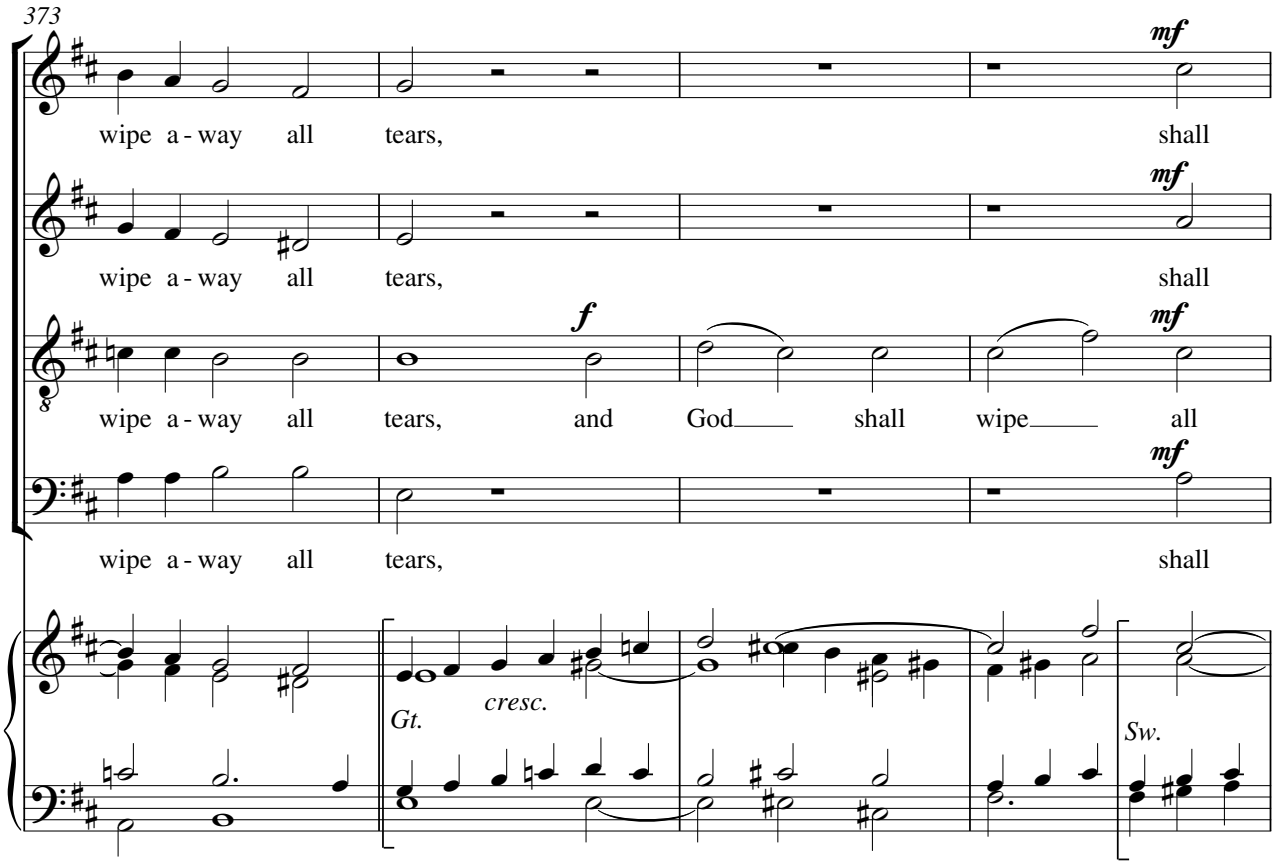
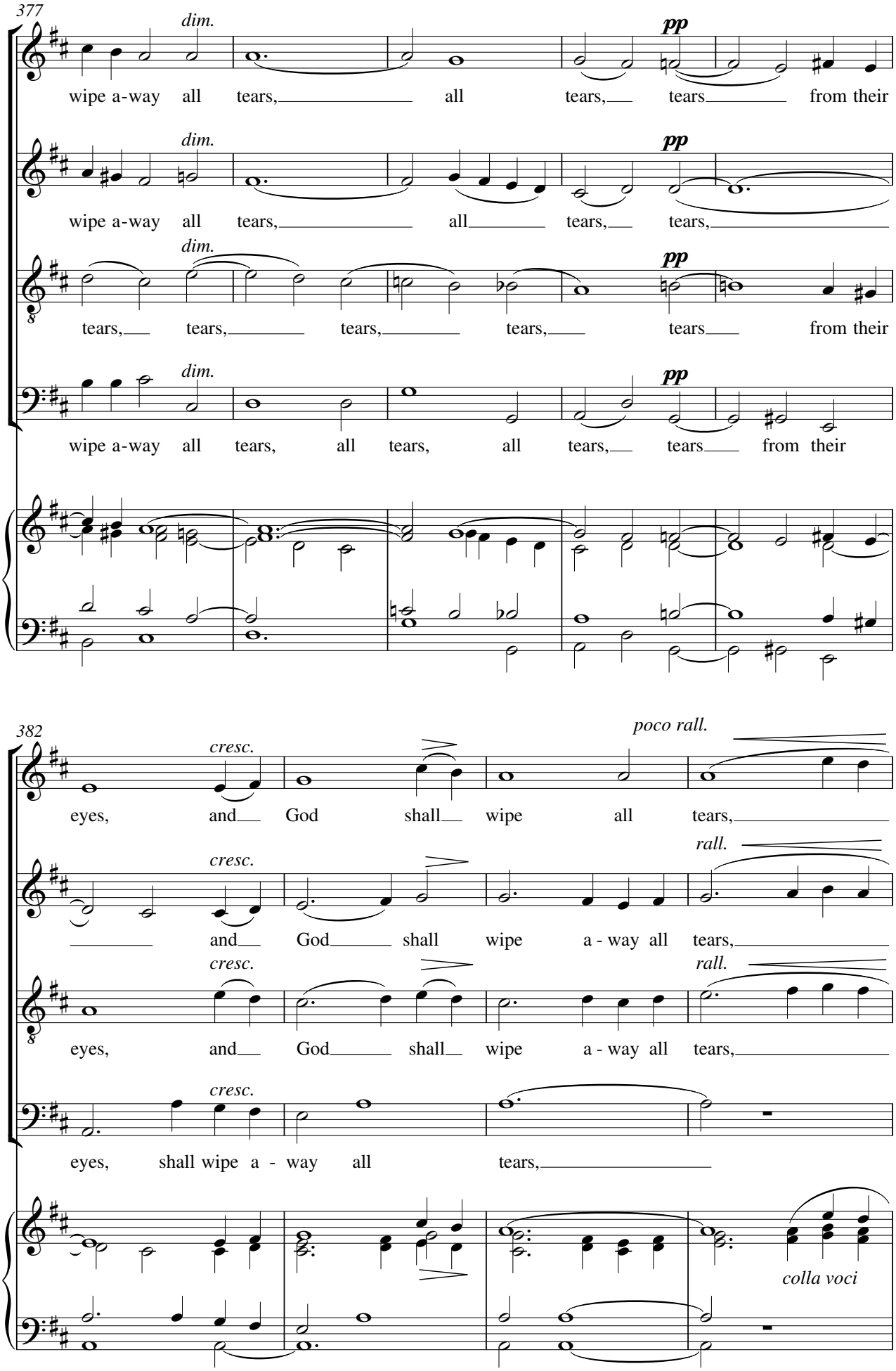
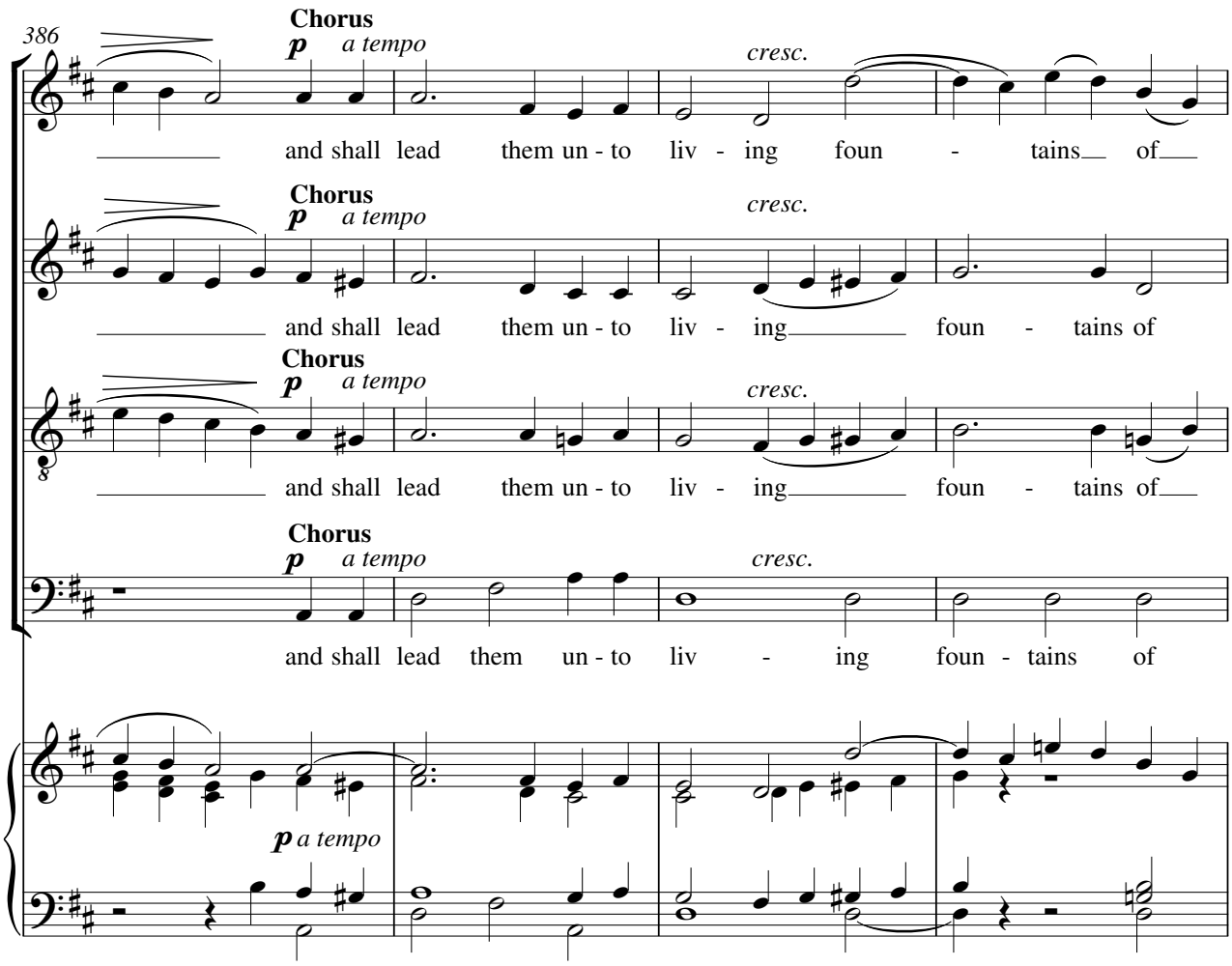

178
God, be - fore the throne, the throne of
God, be - fore, be - fore the throne of
God, be - fore the throne of God, be - fore the
God, be - fore the throne, be - fore the throne of

182
God, there - fore are they be-fore the throne of
God, there - fore are they be-fore the throne of
throne, be - fore the throne, are they be-fore the throne of
God, there - fore are they be-fore the throne of

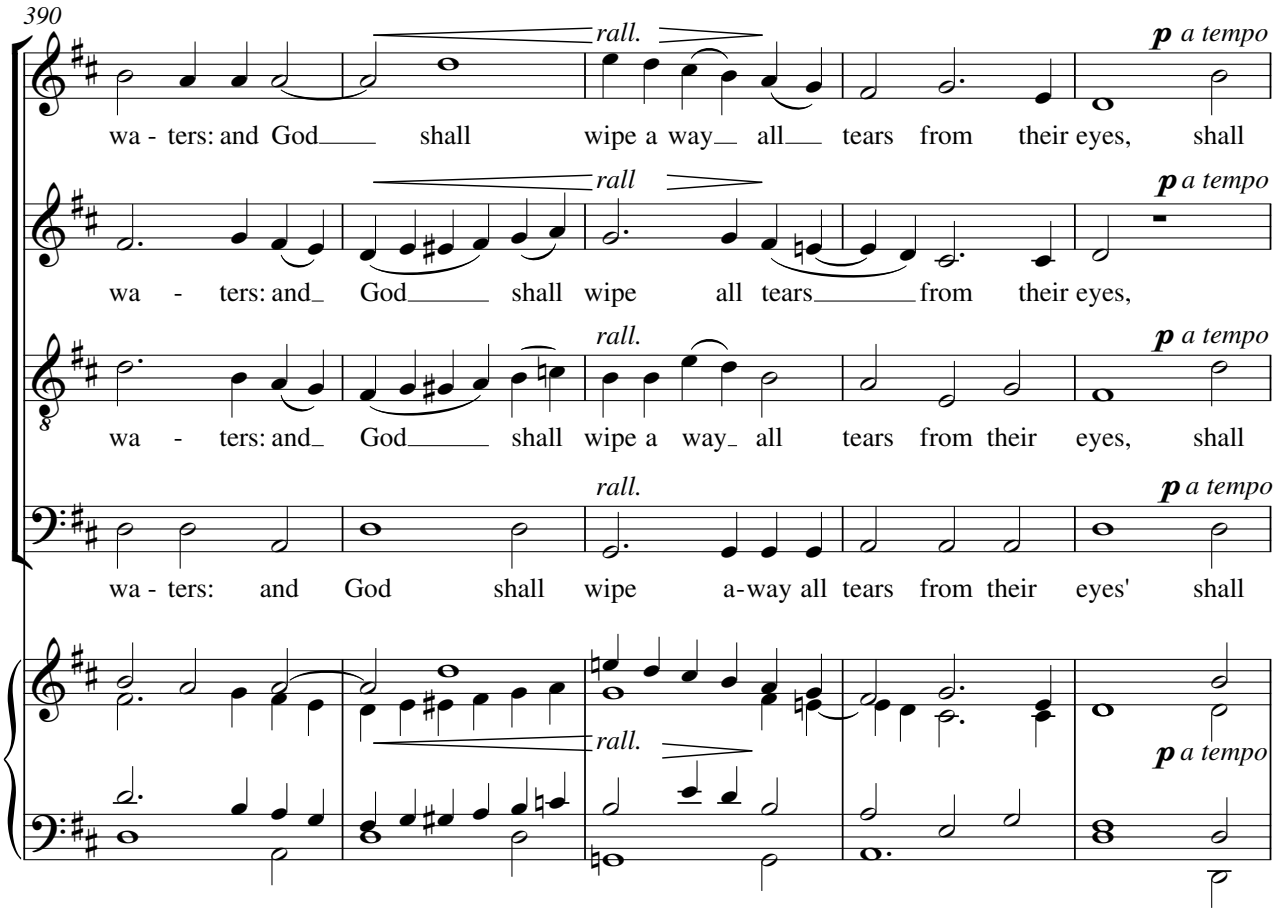
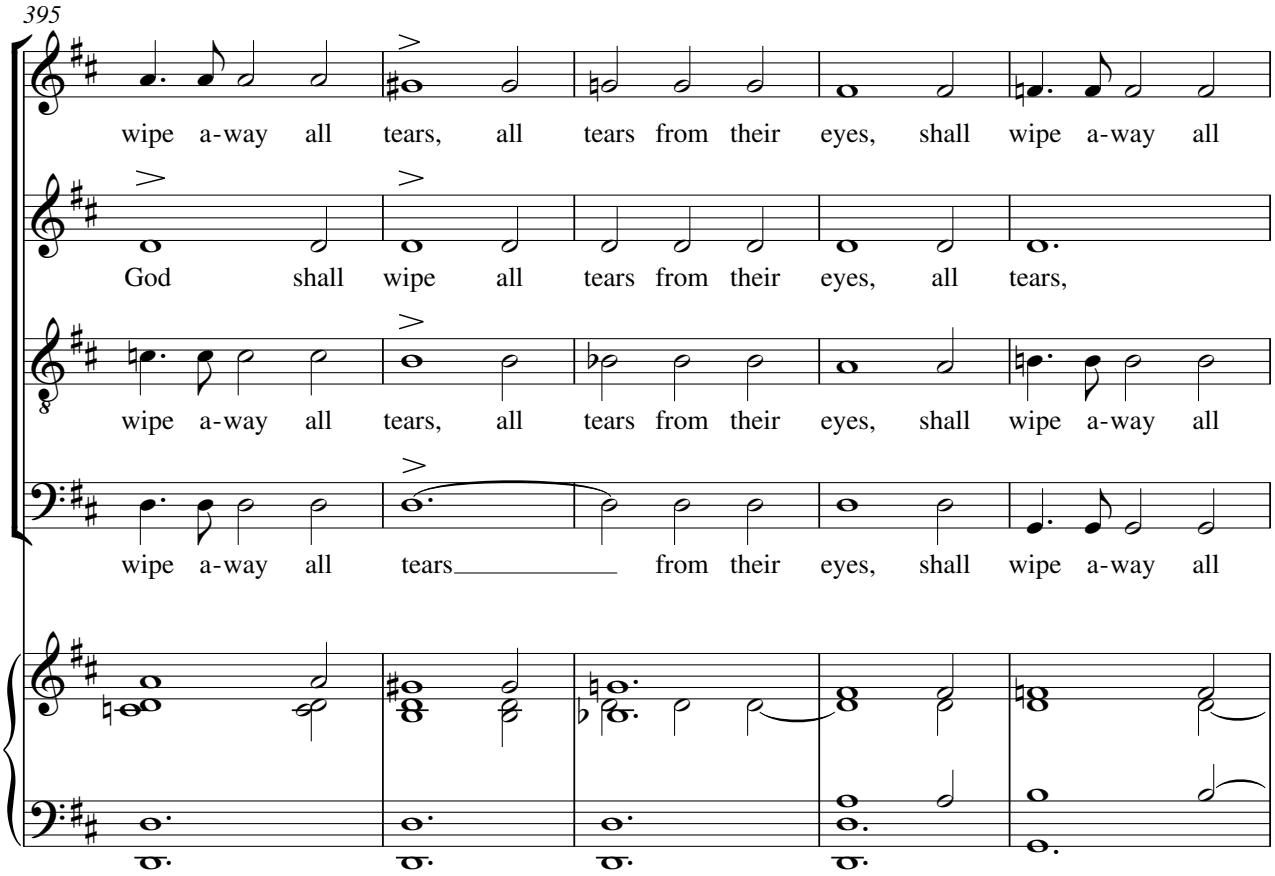
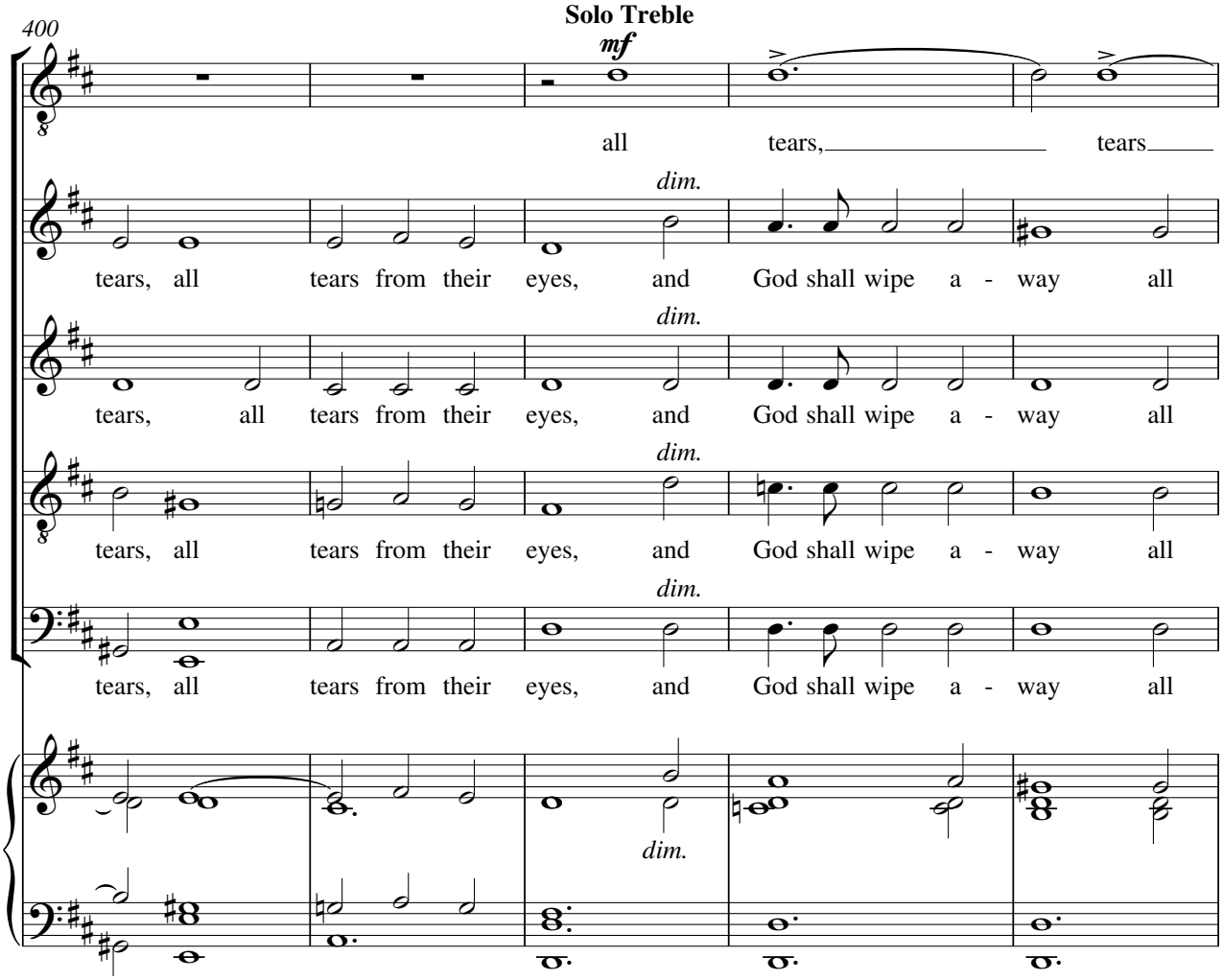
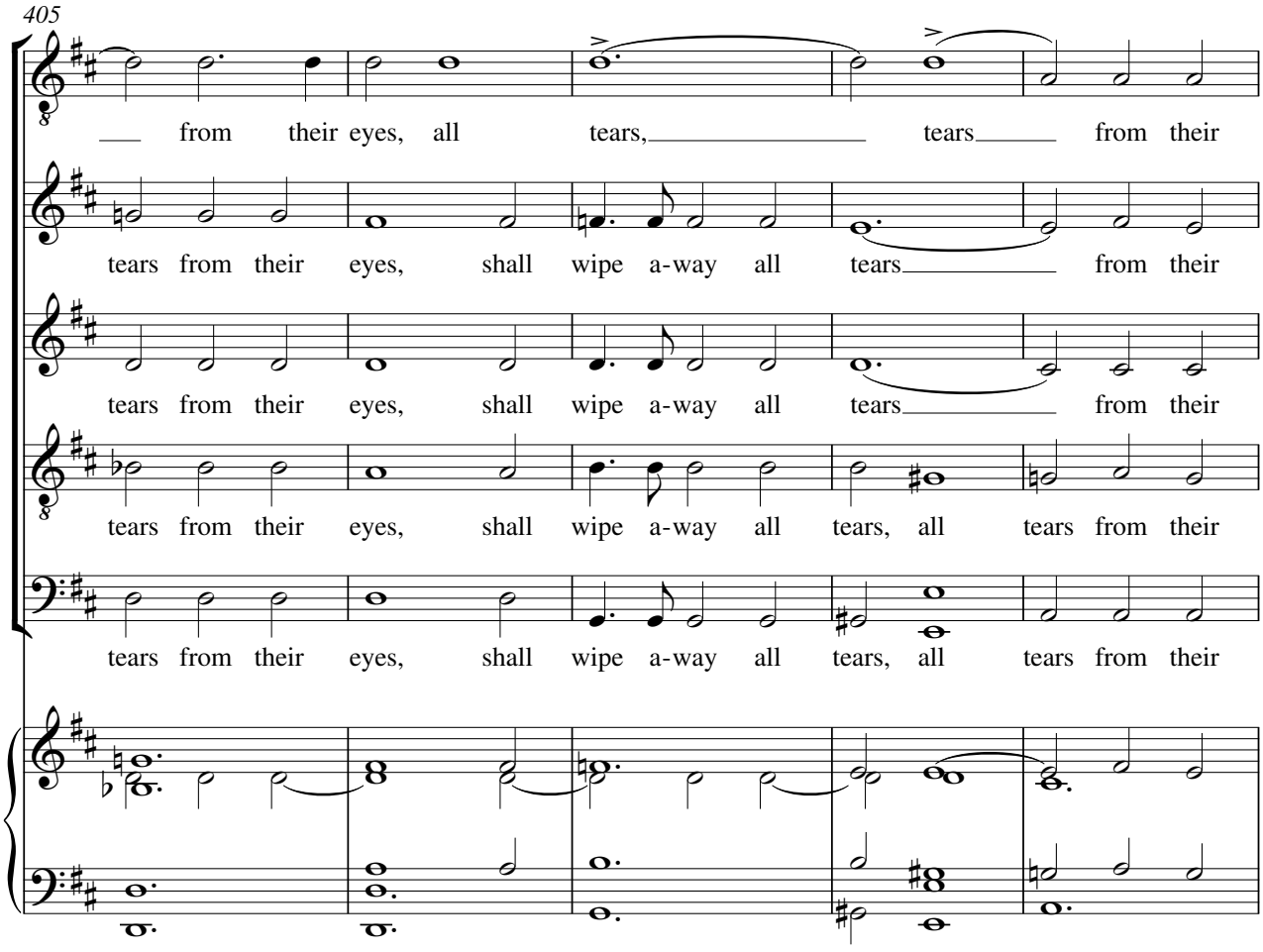

186
God, and serve Him day and night in His tem -
God, and serve Him in His tem -
God, and serve Him day and night in His tem -
God, and serve Him day and night in His tem -

190
p
ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of
ple. There - fore are they be- fore the throne,
ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne, the throne,
ple. There - fore are they be-fore the throne of

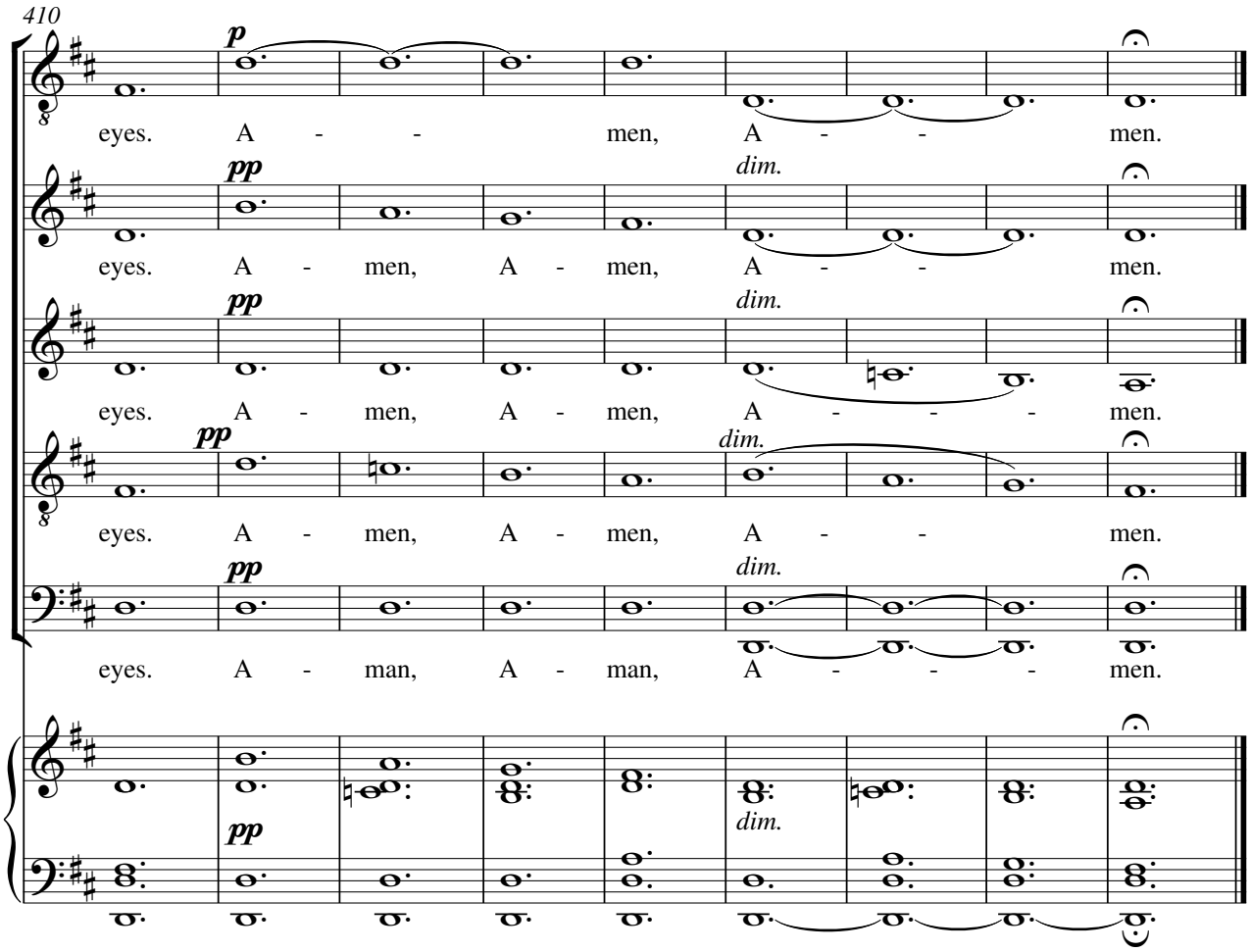

194
cresc.
God. There - fore are they be - fore the throne of
cresc.
there - fore are they be - fore the throne of
cresc.
there-fore are they be - fore the throne of
cresc.
God, There - fore are they be - fore the
cresc.


198
ff
God, and serve Him day and night, day and
ff
God, of God, and serve Him day and night,
ff
God, the throne of God, and serve Him day and
ff
throne of God, and serve Him, and
ff

202
night, and serve Him day and night in His tem -
serve Him, serve Him day and night in His tem -
night, and serve Him in His tem -
serve Him day and night in His tem - ple, in His tem -
206
ple, day and night in His tem - ple.
ple, day, day and night in His tem - ple.
ple, day and night in His tem - ple.
ple, day and night in His tem - ple.

♩ = 116
Andante con moto
Tenor Solo
mf
And
♩ = 116
Sw. Diap and Prin.
RH
Ch.
215
He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong them, shall
Sw.
Ped.
Gt. Diaps.
219
dwell, shall dwell a - mong them, shall
Gt.
Ch.
[Ped.]
223
dwell,
Sw.
Gt.

227
shall dwell a - mong them, and
Gt.
Ch.
231
He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong them. and
Sw.
rit. dim
Gr.
a tempo
Sw.
235
f
He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong them, shall
dim.
Sw.
239
dwell a - mong them, and He
f
f
Gr.
Ped.

243
shall dwell a - mong them,
p
shall
Sw.
Gt.
247
shall dwell
p
shall dwell a - mong them, shall
p
shall dwell a - mong them, shall dwell
p
shall dwell a - mong them, shall
dwell a - mong them, shall dwell a -
Ped.
Ch.
Ped.

253
a - mong them, a - mong
dwell a - mong them, a - mong them,
a - mong them, a - mong them,
dwell a - mong them, a - mong them,
mong them, a - mong them,
pp
Sw
(Senza Ped.)
260
them, They shall hun-ger no more, nei-ther thirst a - ny more;
a - mong them.
a - mong them.
a - mong them.
a - mong them.
mf
Sw. Diaps.

267
nei-ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat. They shall hun- ger, nei-ther
p
no more,
p
no more,
p
no more,
p
no more,
Ped.

273
thirst; nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny
a - ny more, nor a - ny
a - ny more, nor a - ny
a - ny more, nor a - ny
a - ny more, nor a - ny
(Senza Ped.)
Ped.

278
heat.
mf
heat. And He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong
mf
heat. And He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong
mf
heat. And He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong
mf
heat. And He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong
add Pr.
282
them, a - mong them, shall dwell a - mong
them, He shall dwell, shall dwell a - mong
them, a - mong
f
them, and He that sit - teth on the throne shall dwell a - mong

286
They shall hun- ger, nei-ther thirst, they shall hun- ger,
them, no more, a - ny more, no
them, no more, a - ny more, no
them, no more, a - ny more, no
them, no more, a - ny more, no
- Prin.
(SP)
Ped.

292
nei-ther thirst; nei-ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny
more, a - ny more,
more, a - ny more,
more, a - ny more,
more, a - ny more,

298
ten.
heat, nei-ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat, nei - ther shall the
nor a - ny heat,
nor a - ny heat,
nor a - ny heat,
nor a - ny heat,
304
cresc.
sun light on them, nor a - ny heat, nor
nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat, nor
nor a - ny heat, nor
nor a - ny heat, nei - ther shall the sun light on them,
nor a - ny heat, nor

309
ad lib.
dim.
a - ny heat, nor a - ny heat, nor
a - ny heat, nor
nor a - ny heat, nor
a - ny heat, nor
p
316
a - ny heat.
rit.
ad lib.


♩ = 100
323
mf
Gt. Diaps + Sw.
Senza Ped.
329
333
Chorus Tenor and Bass
f
For the Lamb which is in the
f
For the Lamb which is in the
Ped.
337
midst of the throne, for the Lamb which is in the
midst of the throne, for the Lamb which is in the

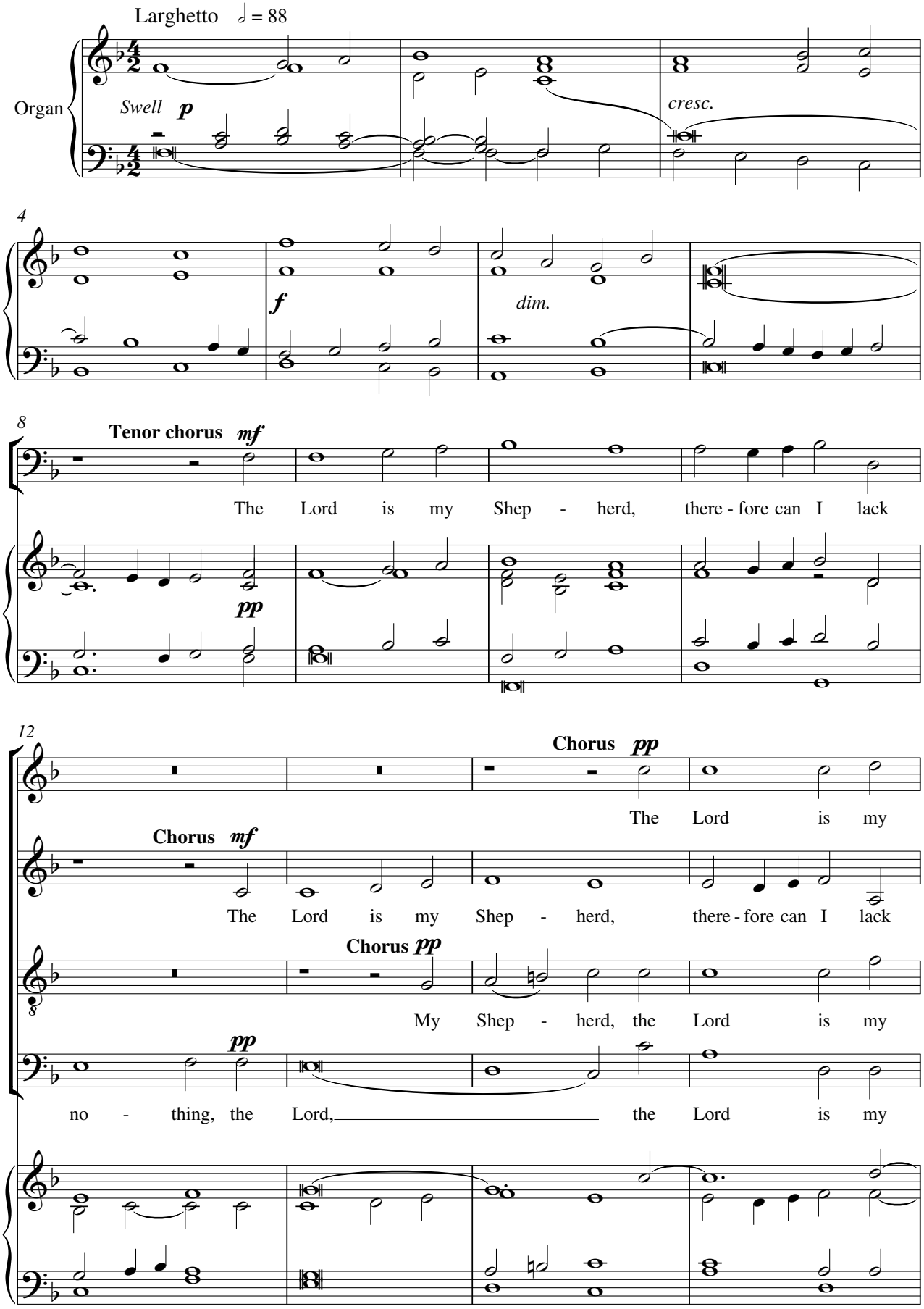
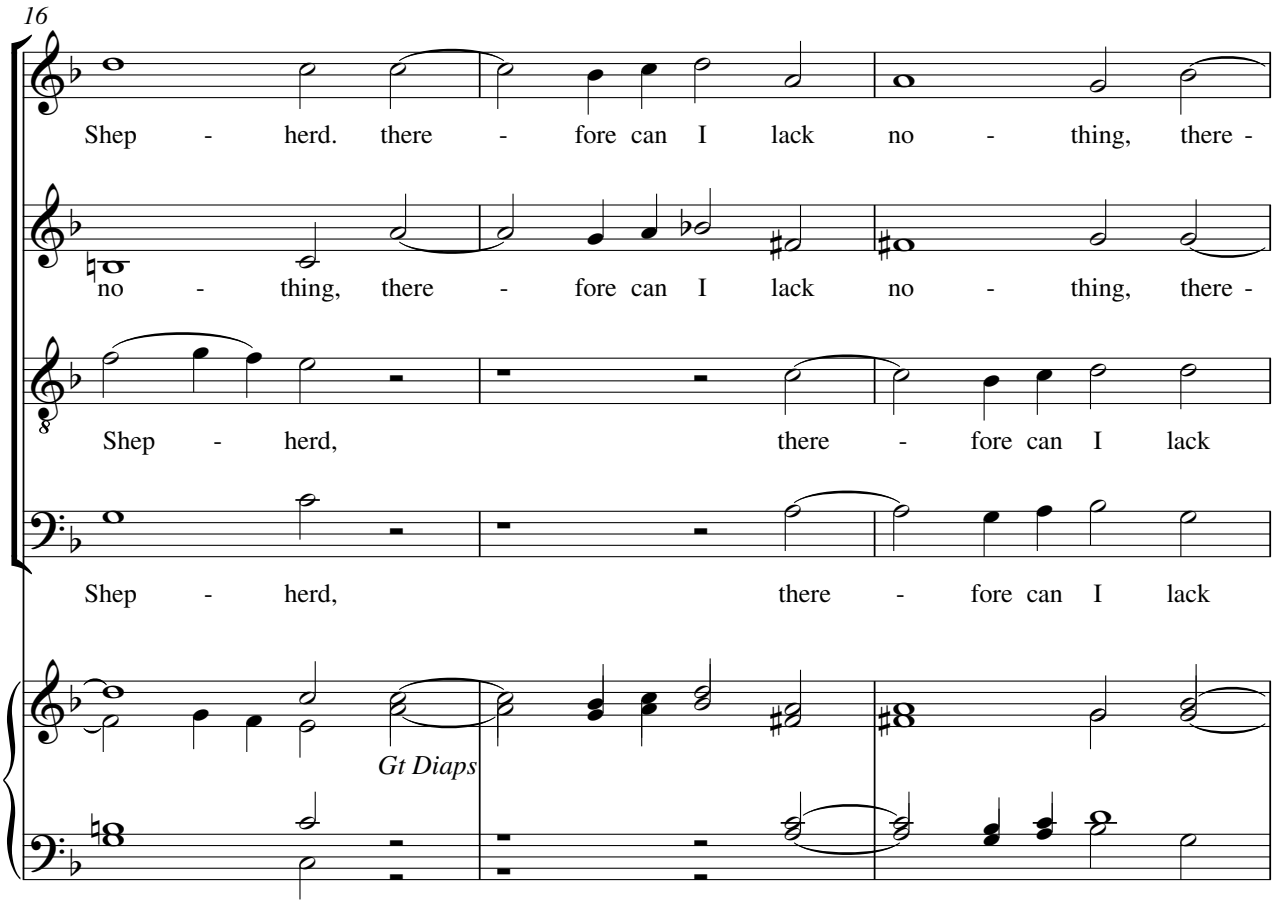

341
p
midst of the throne shall feed them, shall
p
midst of the throne shall feed them, shall
p
Ch.
345
feed them, shall feed them, the
feed them, shall feed them, the
349
Solo
Lamb shall feed them, shall feed them,
Solo
Lamb shall feed them, shall
Sw.
Ped

353
Larghetto con moto ♩ = 80
Solo, with much expression
p
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun -
Solo
p
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing
Solo
p
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing
ad lib.
Solo
p
feed them, and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun -
Larghetto con moto ♩ = 80
Sw. Diaps.
cresc.
(Senza Ped.)

357
- tains of wa - ters, and God shall wipe a - way all tears, all
foun - tains of wa - ters, and God shall wipe a - way all tears, all
foun - tains of wa - ters, and God shall wipe a - way all tears, all
- tains of wa - ters, and God shall wipe a - way all

361
Chorus
p
cresc.
tears from their eyes, and shall lead them un - to liv - ing
Chorus
p
cresc.
tears from their eyes, and shall lead them un - to liv - ing
Chorus
p
cresc.
tears from their eyes, and shall lead them un - to liv - ing
Chorus
p
tears from their eyes, and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun -
Ped.

365
rall.
foun - tains of wa - ters: and God shall wipe a - way all tears, all
rall.
foun - tains of wa - ters: and God shall wipe a - way all tears, tears
rall.
foun - tains of wa - ters: and God shall wipe a - way all tears
rall.
- tains of wa - ters: and God shall wipe a - way all
rall.

369
Solo p
tears from their eyes, shall
Solo p
from their eyes, shall
Solo f
p
from their eyes, And God shall wipe, shall
Solo p
tears from their eyes, shall
Gt. diaps.
cresc.
dim.
Sw.
S.Ped.

373
mf
wipe a - way all tears, shall
mf
wipe a - way all tears, shall
f
mf
wipe a - way all tears, and God shall wipe all
mf
wipe a - way all tears, shall
Gt.
cresc.
Sw.

377
dim.
pp
wipe a-way all tears, all tears, tears from their
wipe a-way all tears, all tears, tears,
tears, tears, tears, tears, tears from their
wipe a-way all tears, all tears, all tears, tears from their
382
cresc.
poco rall.
rall.
eyes, and God shall wipe all tears,
and God shall wipe a - way all tears,
eyes, and God shall wipe a - way all tears,
eyes, shall wipe a - way all tears,
colla voci

386
Chorus
p a tempo
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun - tains of
Chorus
p a tempo
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun - tains of
Chorus
p a tempo
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun - tains of
Chorus
p a tempo
cresc.
and shall lead them un - to liv - ing foun - tains of
p a tempo

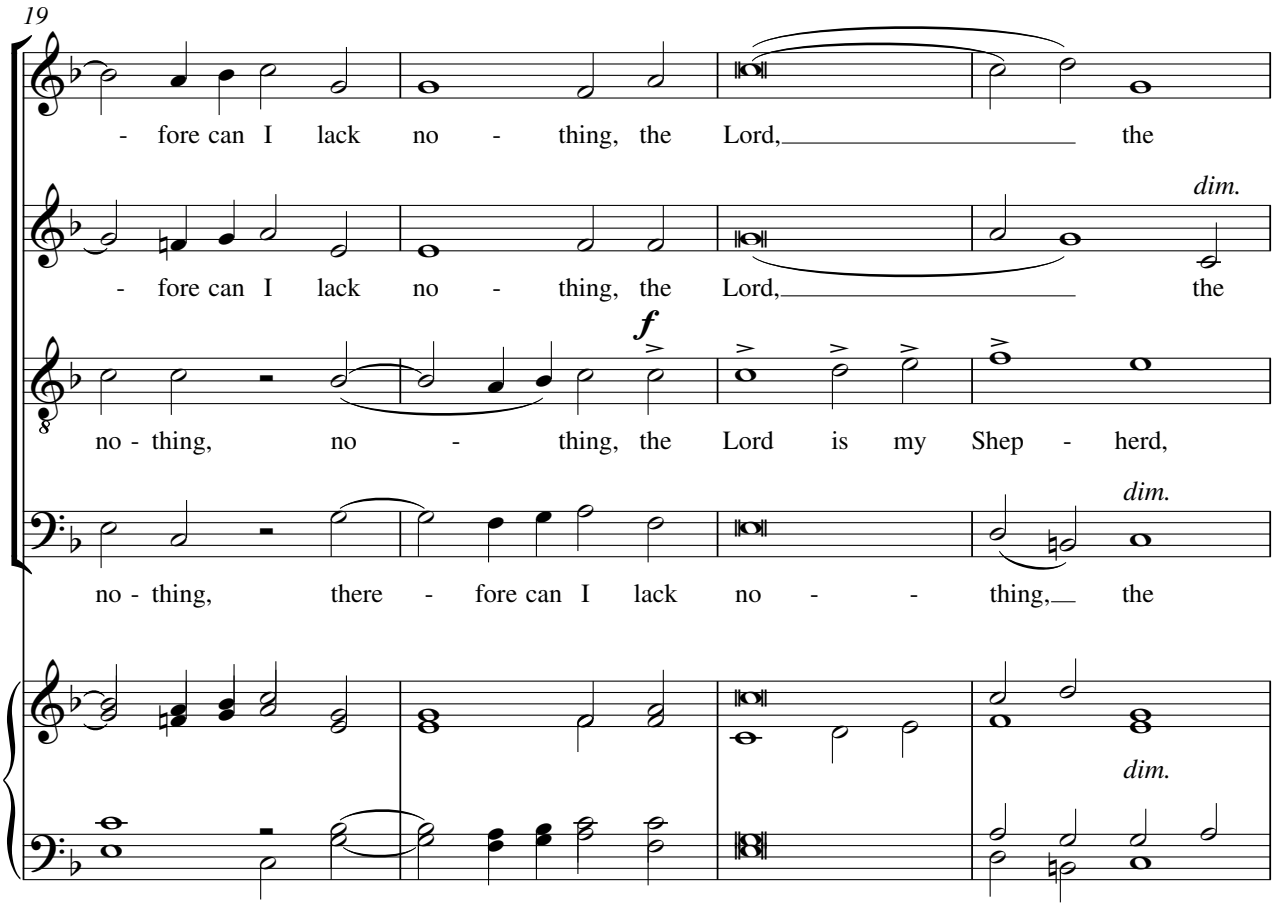
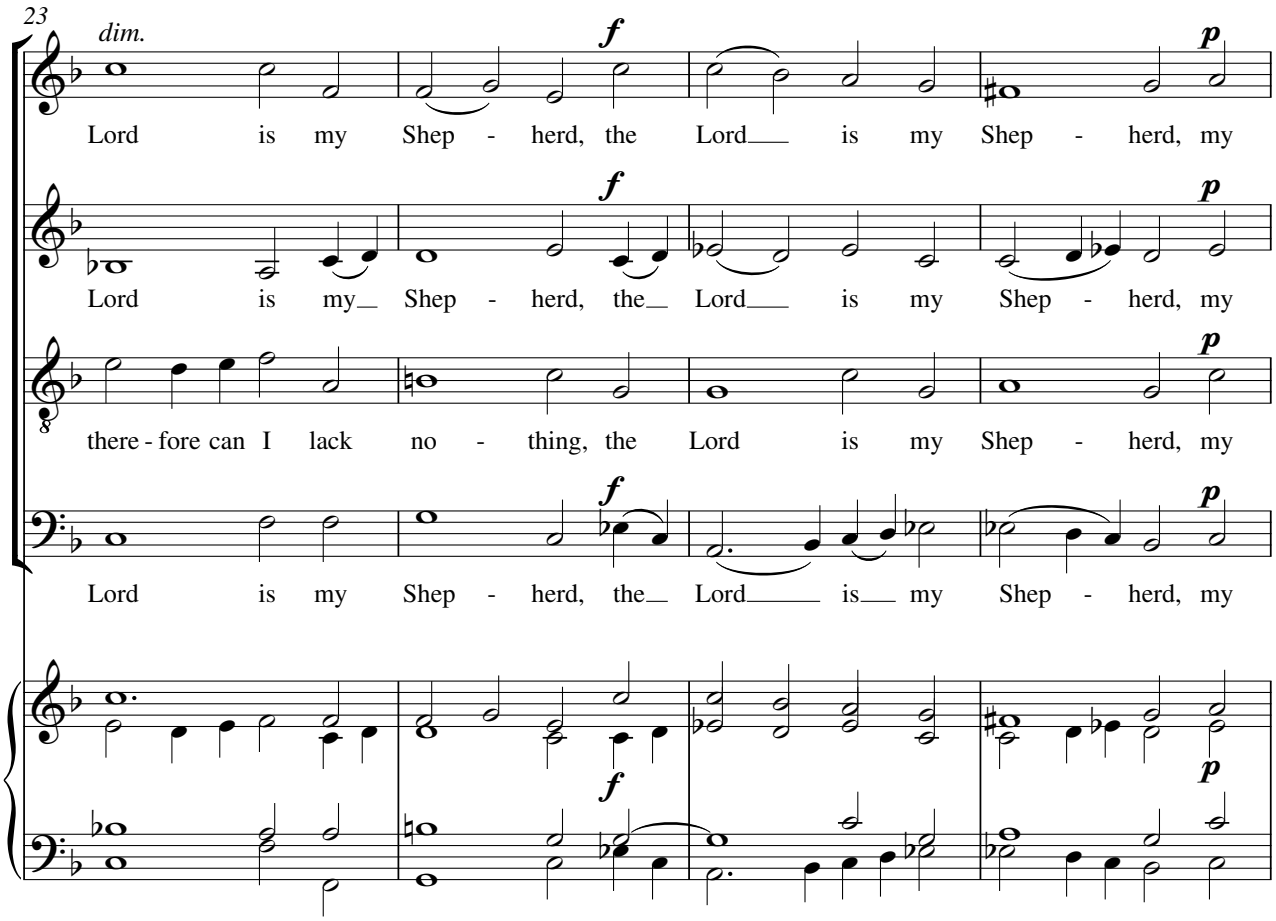
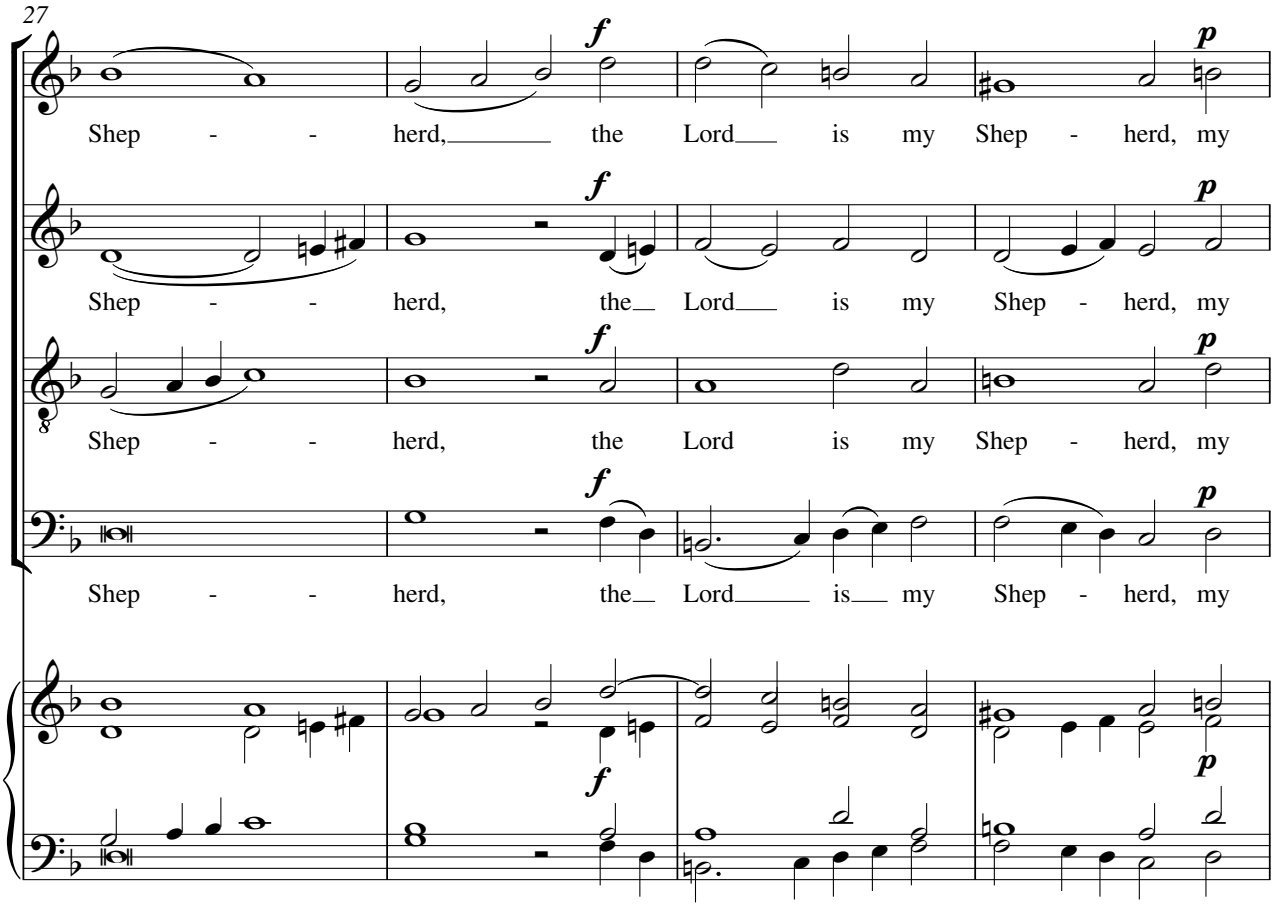

390
rall.
p a tempo
wa - ters: and God shall wipe a way all tears from their eyes, shall
rall
p a tempo
wa - ters: and God shall wipe all tears from their eyes,
rall.
p a tempo
wa - ters: and God shall wipe a way all tears from their eyes, shall
rall.
p a tempo
wa - ters: and God shall wipe a-way all tears from their eyes' shall
rall.
p a tempo

395
wipe a-way all tears, all tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all
God shall wipe all tears from their eyes, all tears,
wipe a-way all tears, all tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all
wipe a-way all tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all

400
Solo Treble
mf
all tears, tears
dim.
tears, all tears from their eyes, and God shall wipe a - way all
tears, all tears from their eyes, and God shall wipe a - way all
tears, all tears from their eyes, and God shall wipe a - way all
tears, all tears from their eyes, and God shall wipe a - way all

405
from their eyes, all tears, tears from their
tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all tears from their
tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all tears from their
tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all tears, all tears from their
tears from their eyes, shall wipe a-way all tears, all tears from their

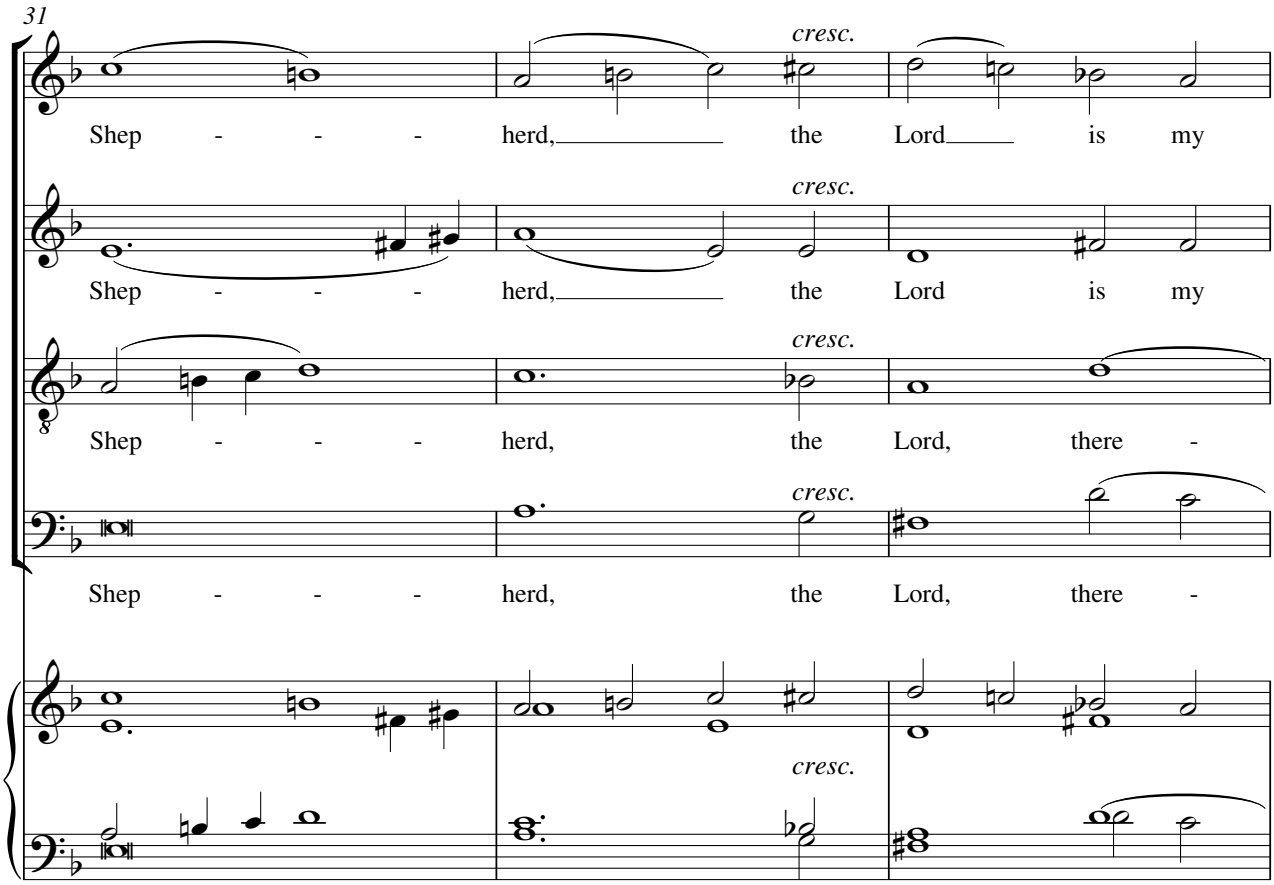
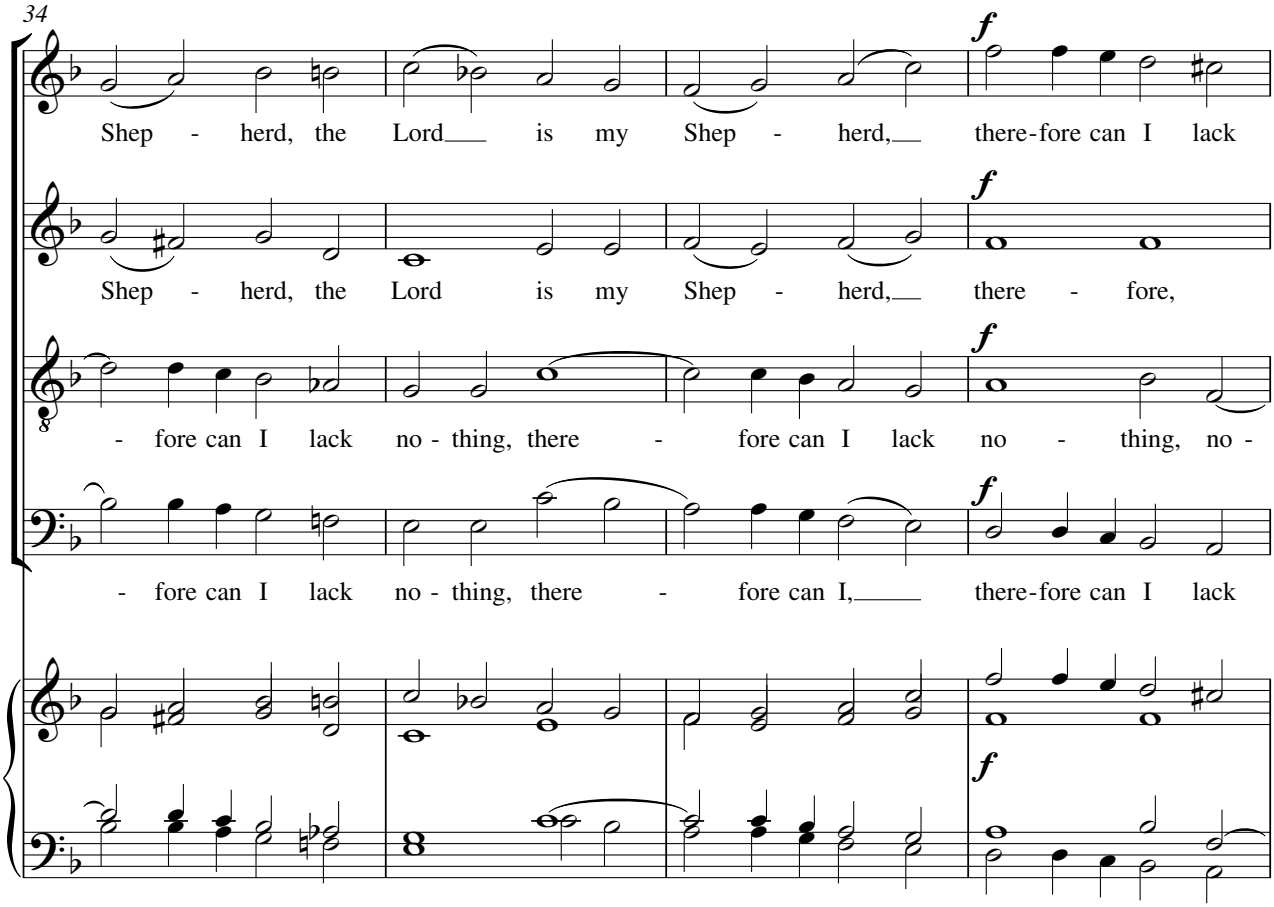

410
p
eyes. A - - men, A - - men.
pp
dim.
eyes. A - men, A - men, A - - men.
eyes. A - men, A - men, A - - - men.
eyes. A - men, A - men, A - - men.
eyes. A - man, A - man, A - - - men.

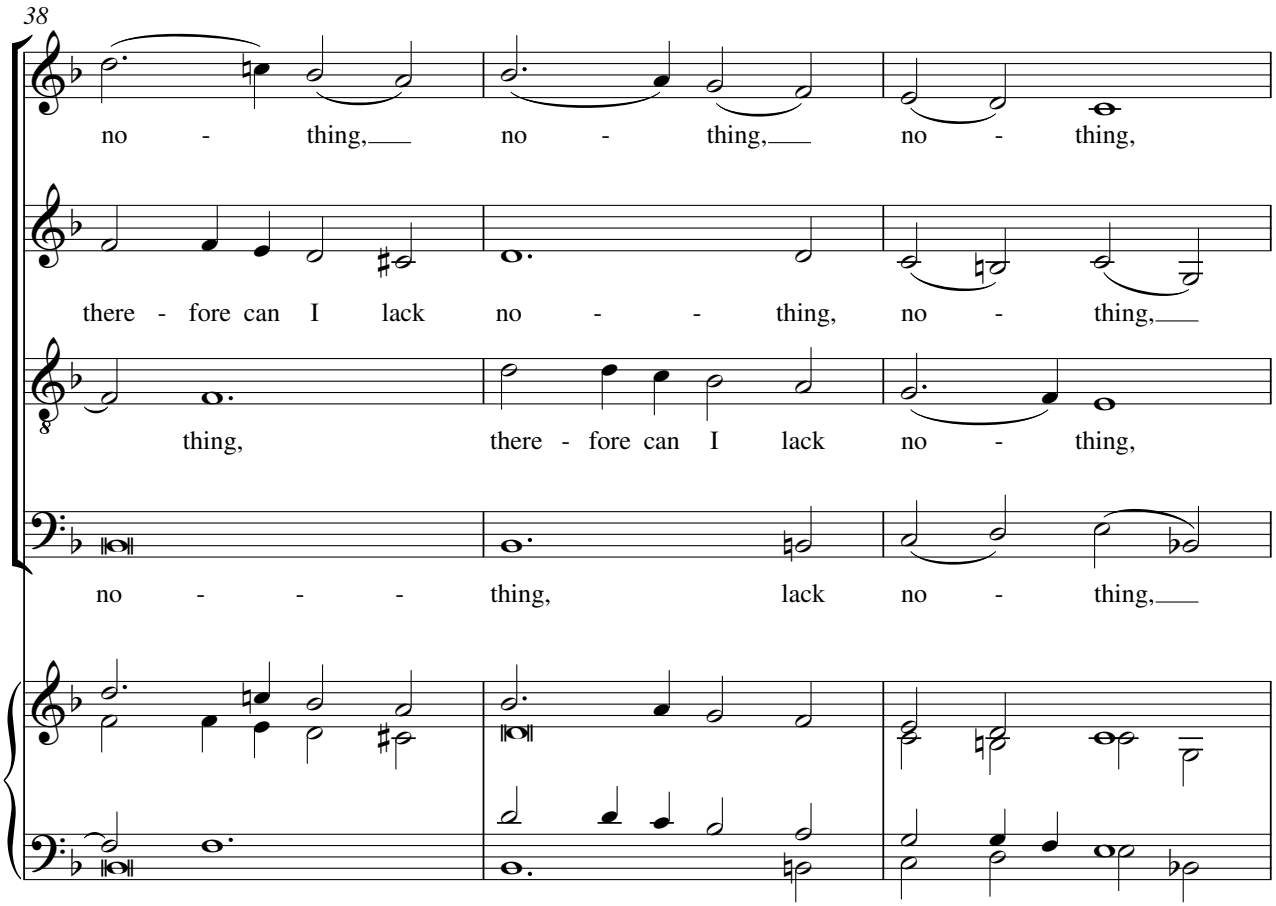
The Lord is My Shepherd

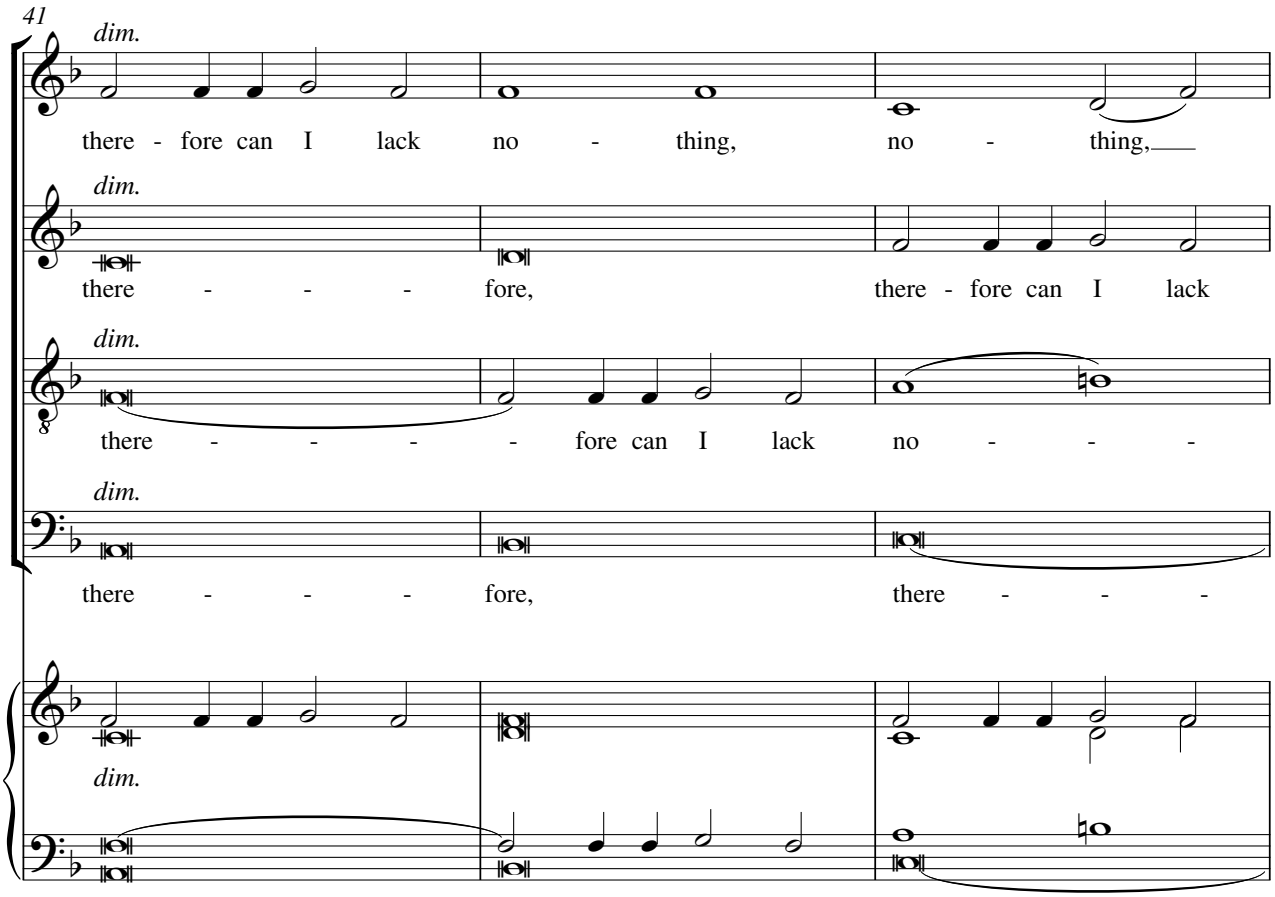
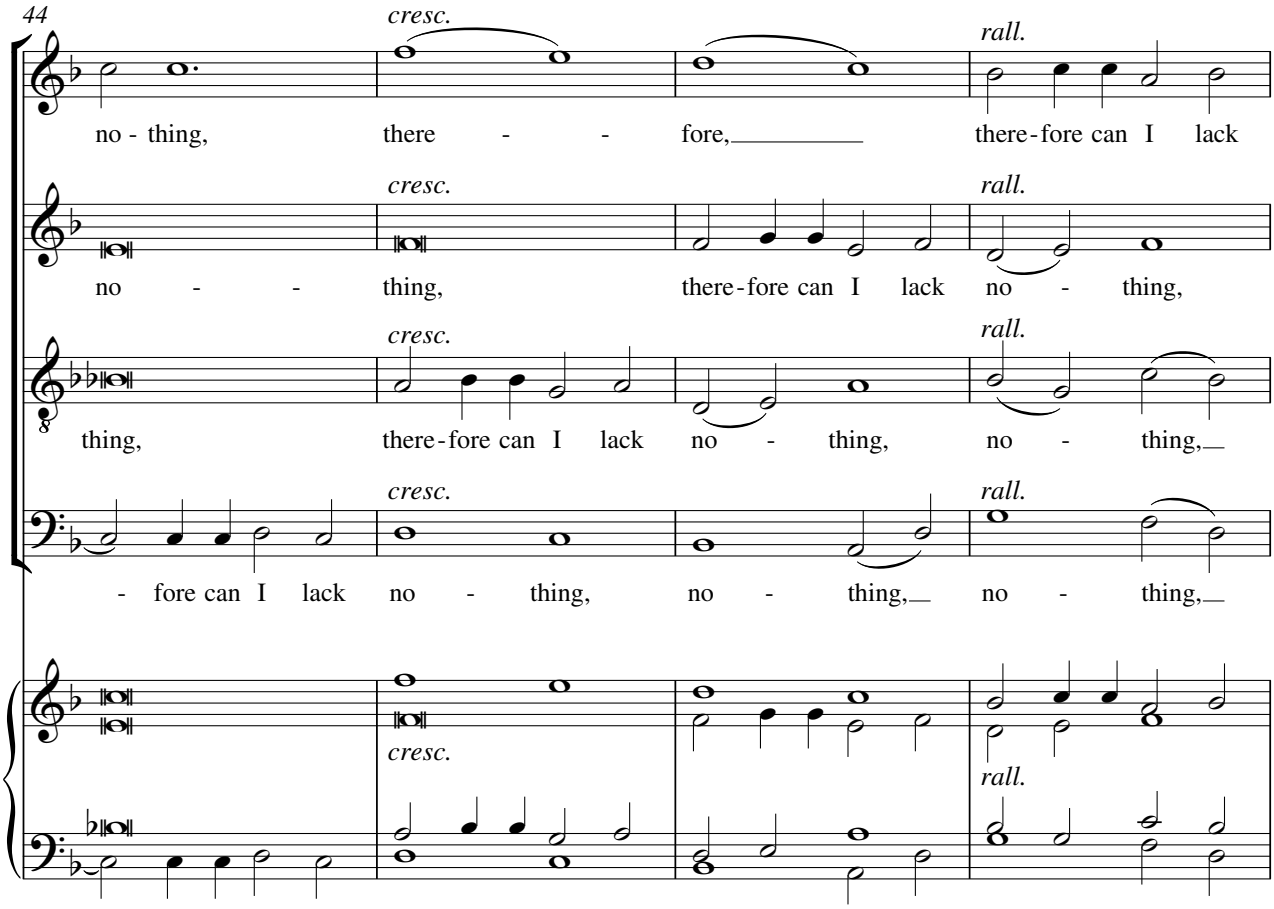
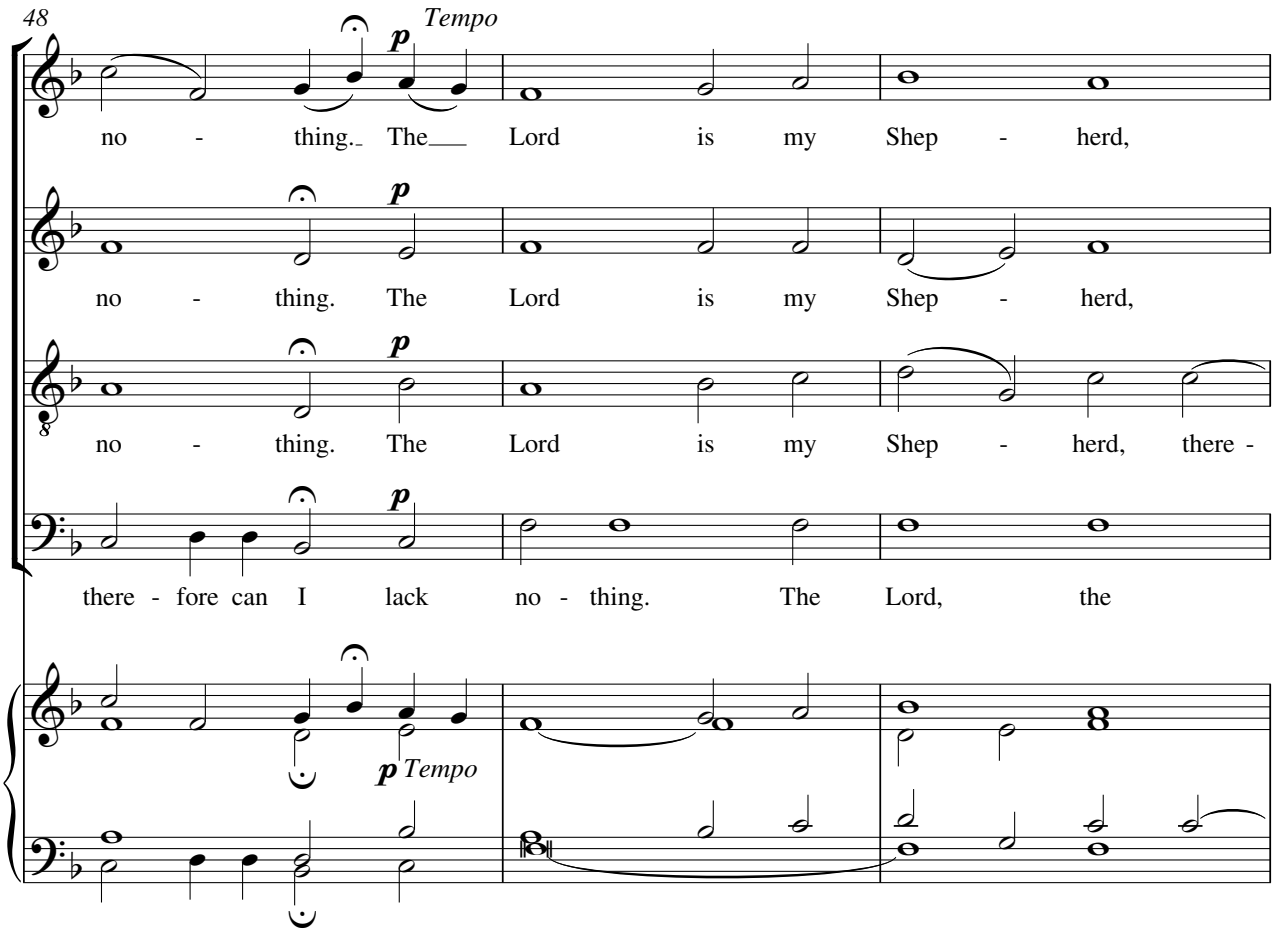
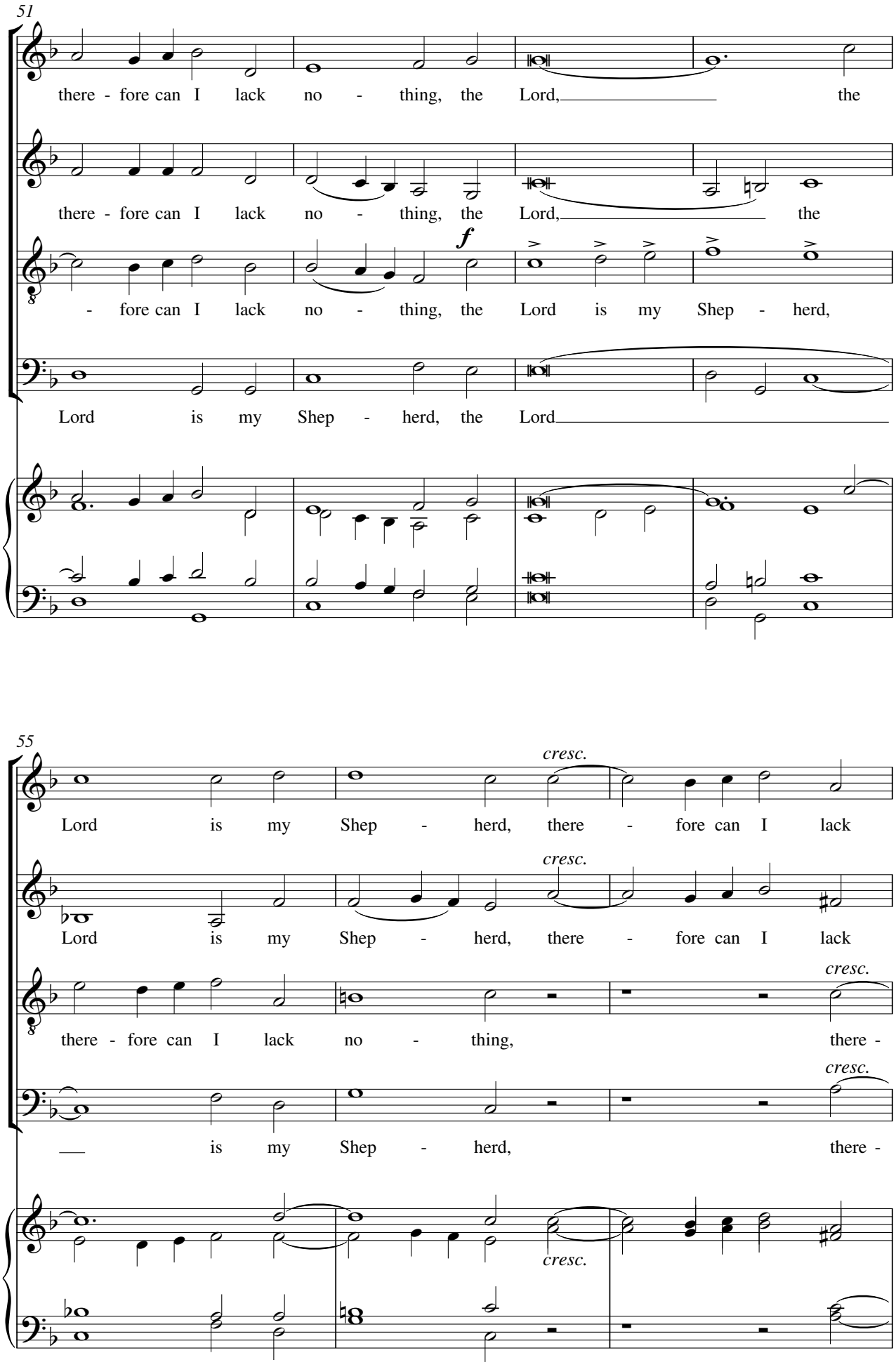
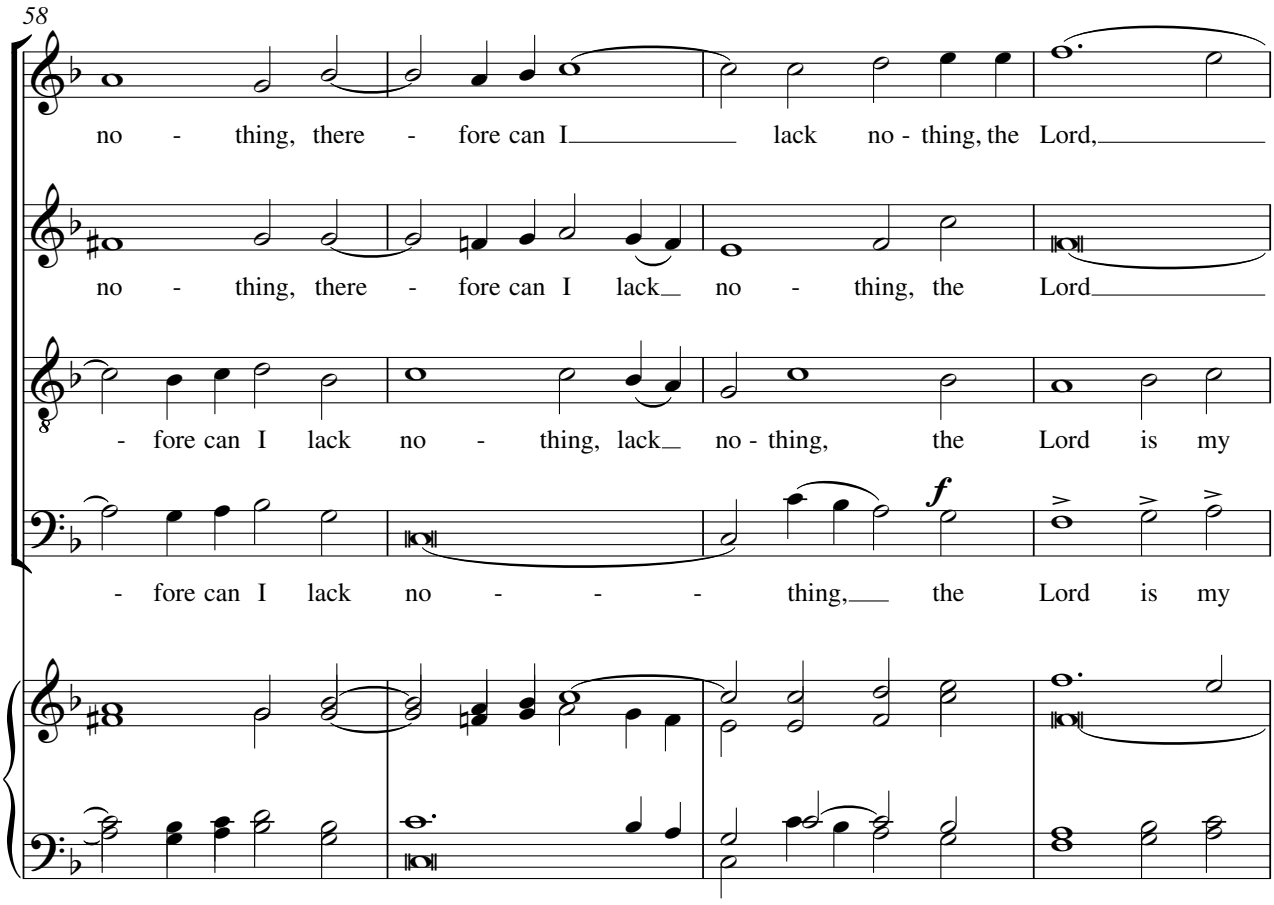
Psalm xxiii

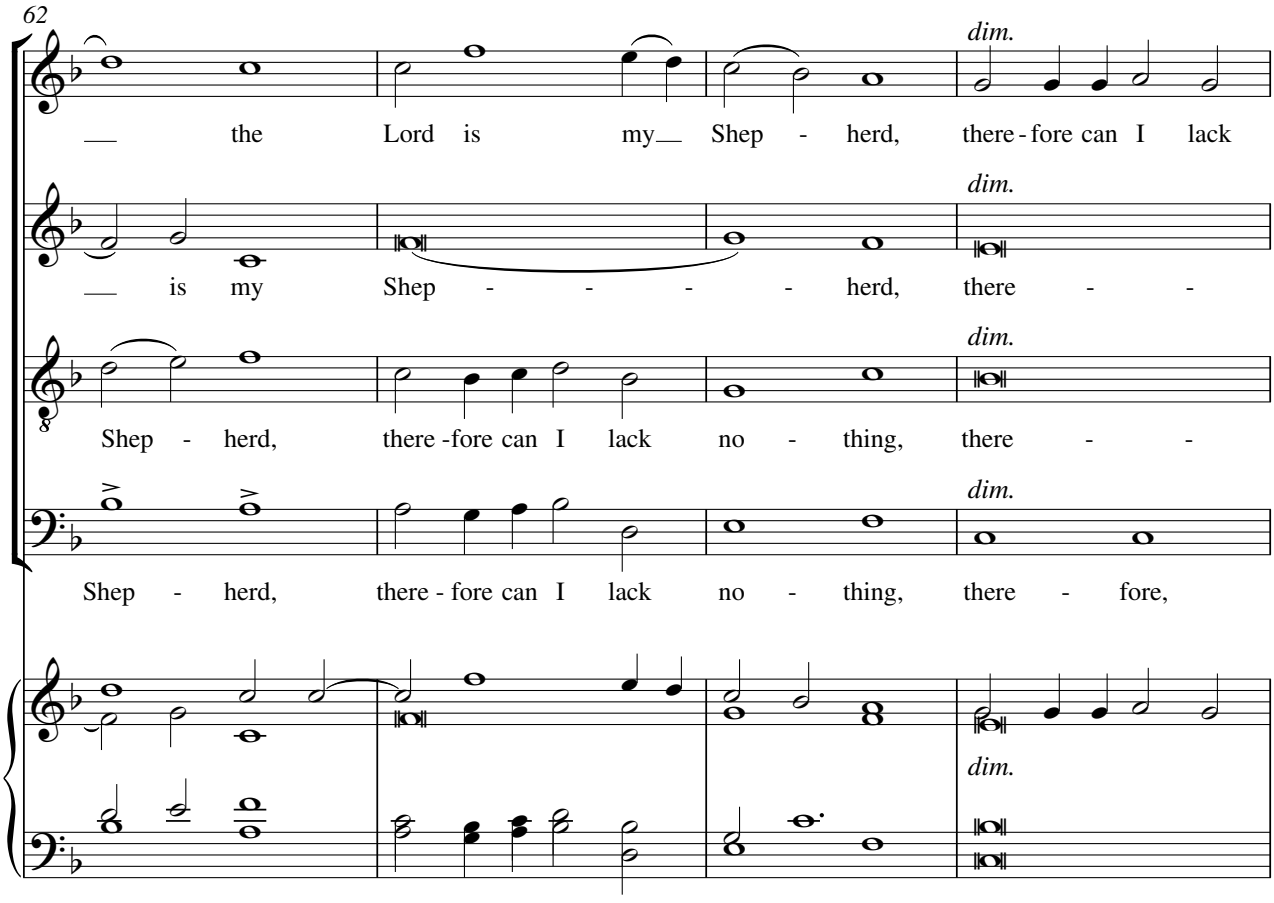
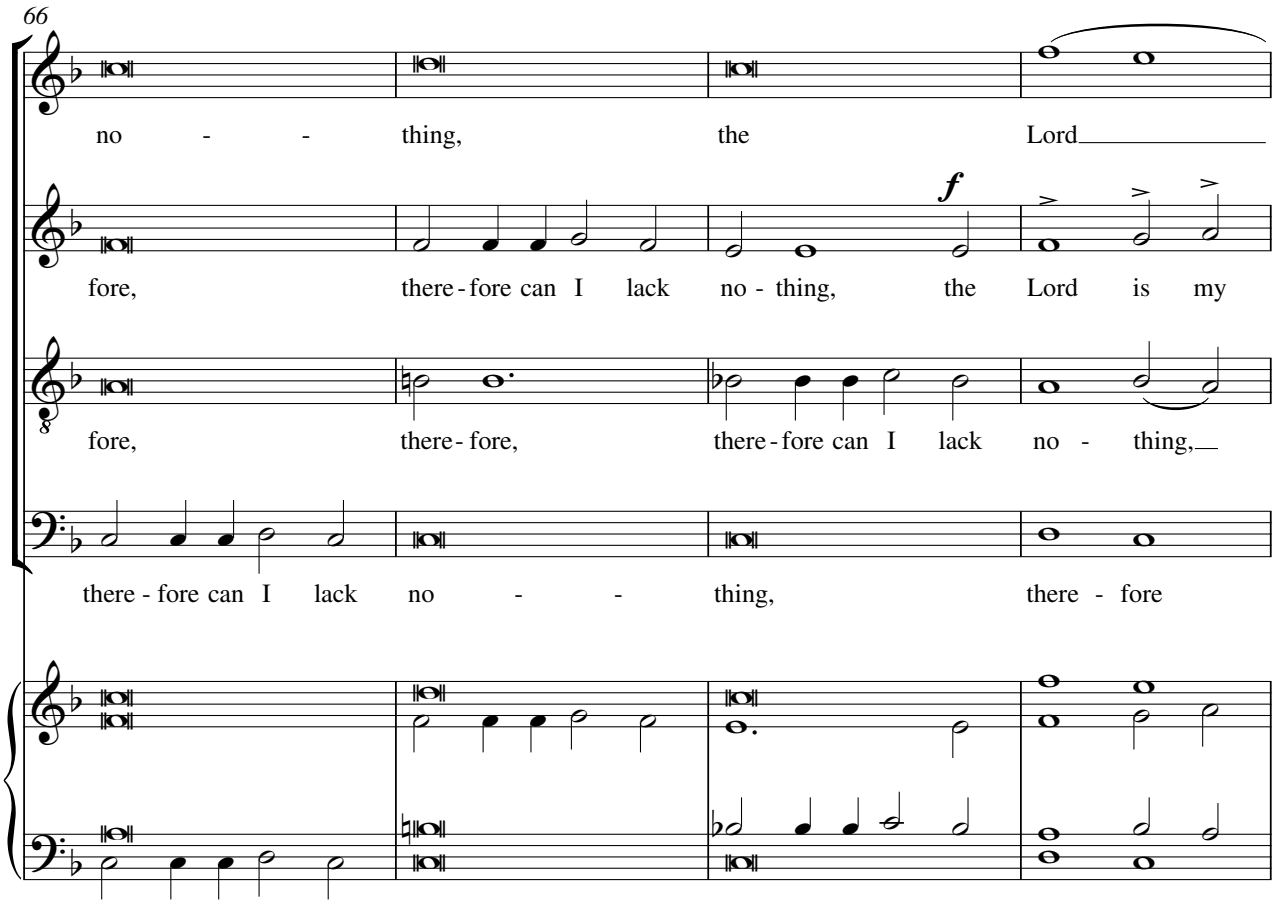
John Bacchus Dykes MA. Mus.Doc

16
Shep - herd. there - fore can I lack no - thing, there -
no - thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing, there -
Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack
Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack
Gt Diaps

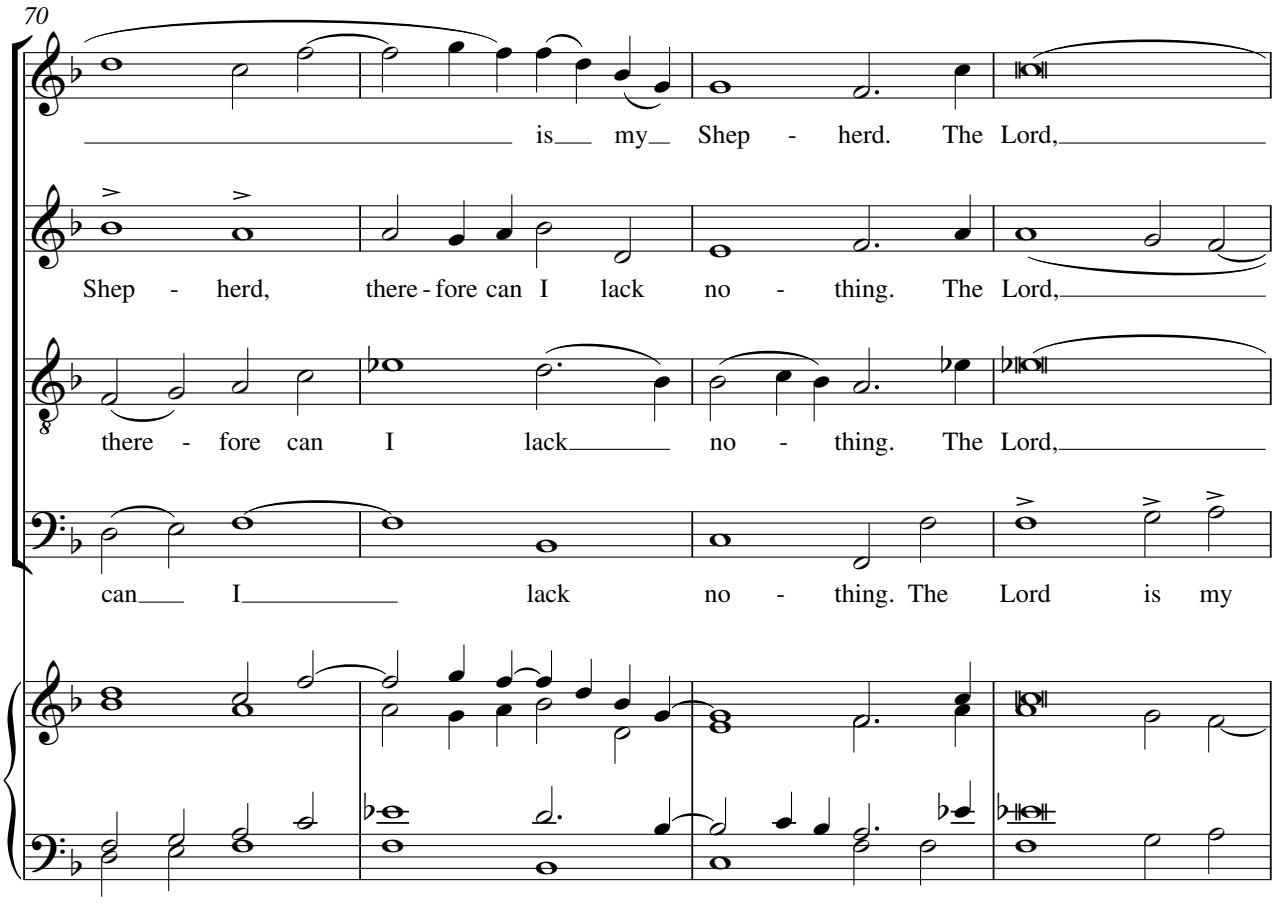
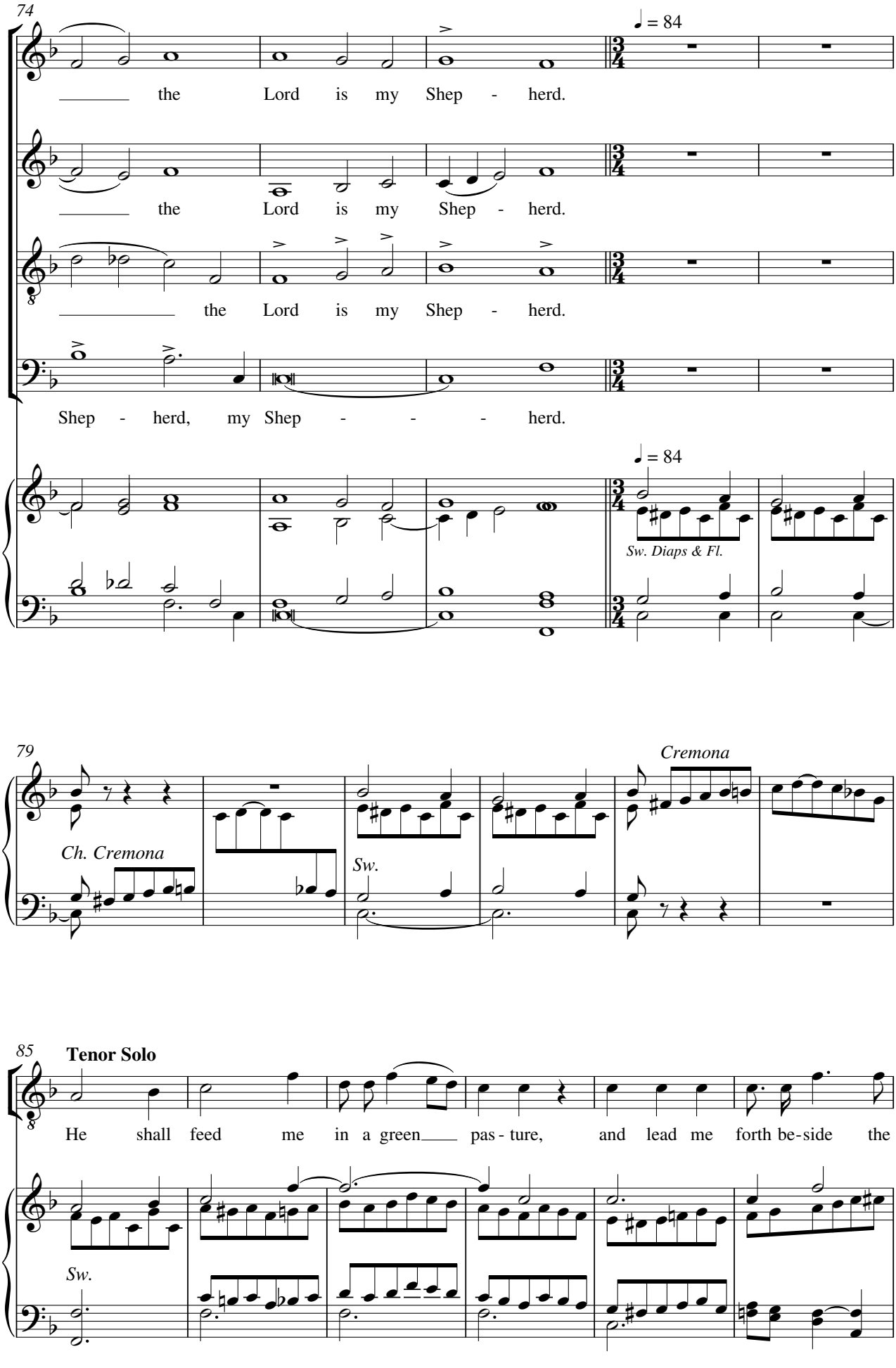
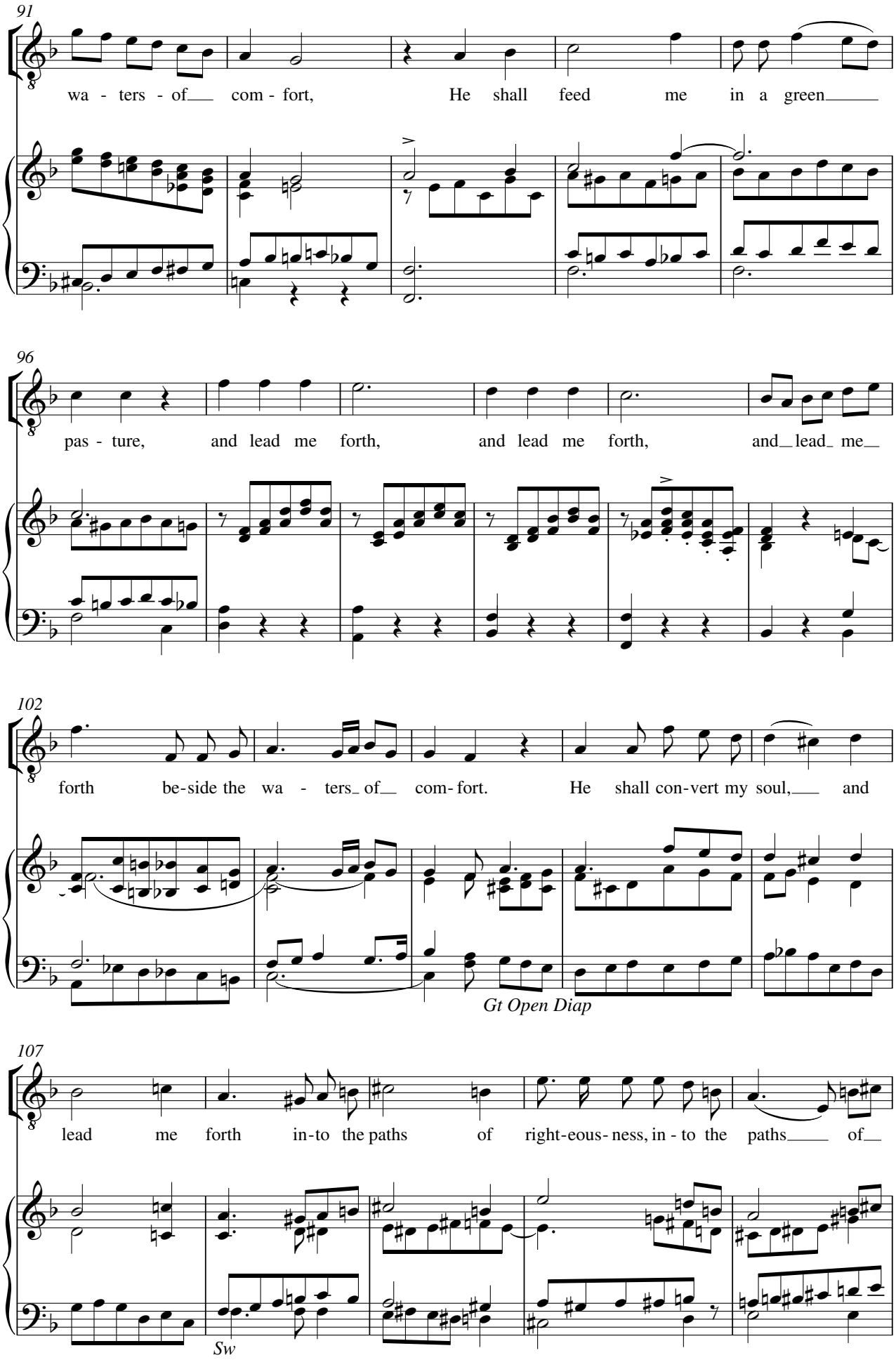
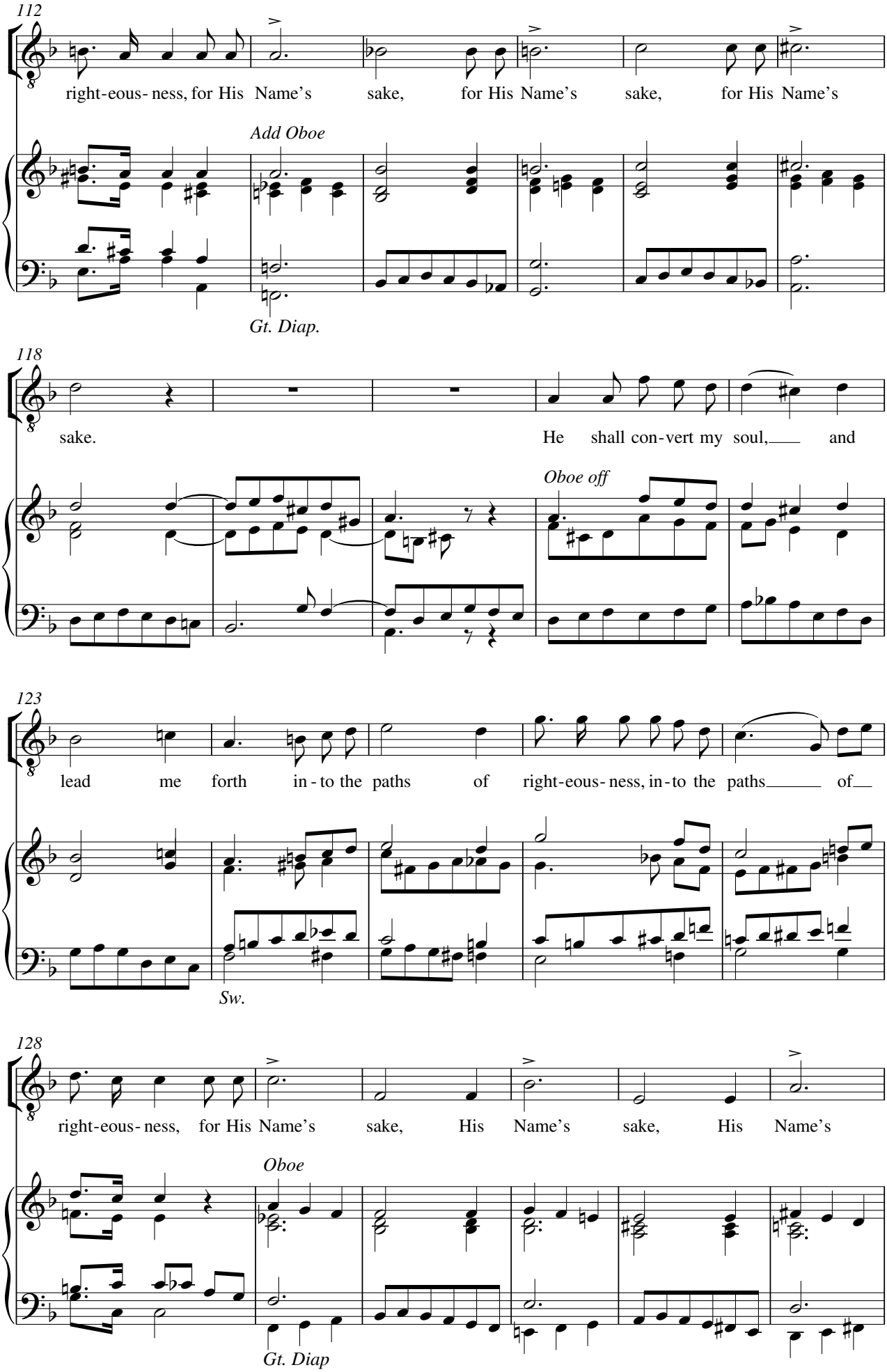
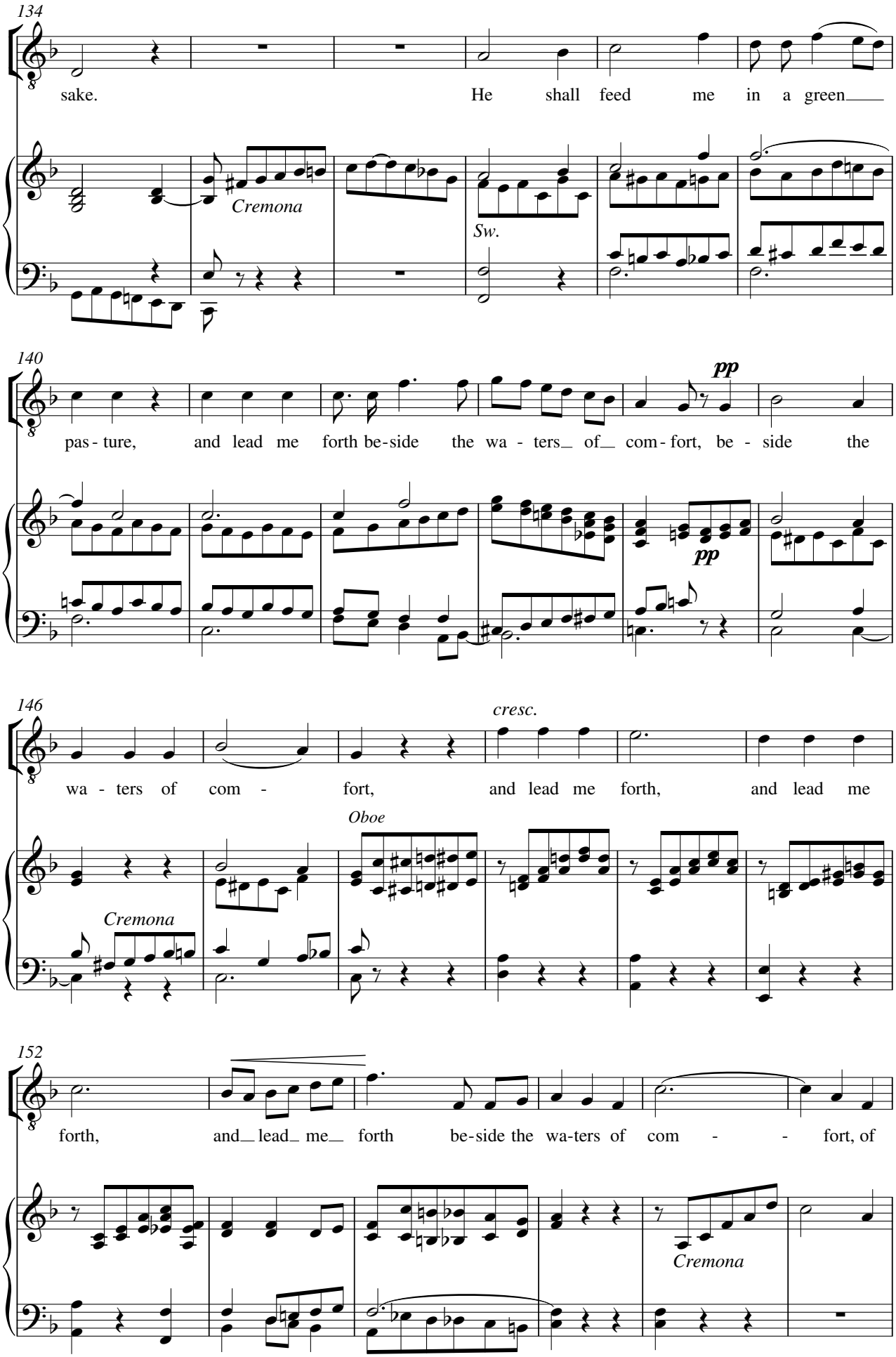

19
- fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord, the
- fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord, the
dim.
f
no - thing, no - thing, the Lord is my Shep - herd,
no - thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing, the
dim.
dim.

23
dim.
Lord is my Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
Lord is my Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
Lord is my Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my

27
Shep - - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
Shep - - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
Shep - - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my
Shep - - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, my

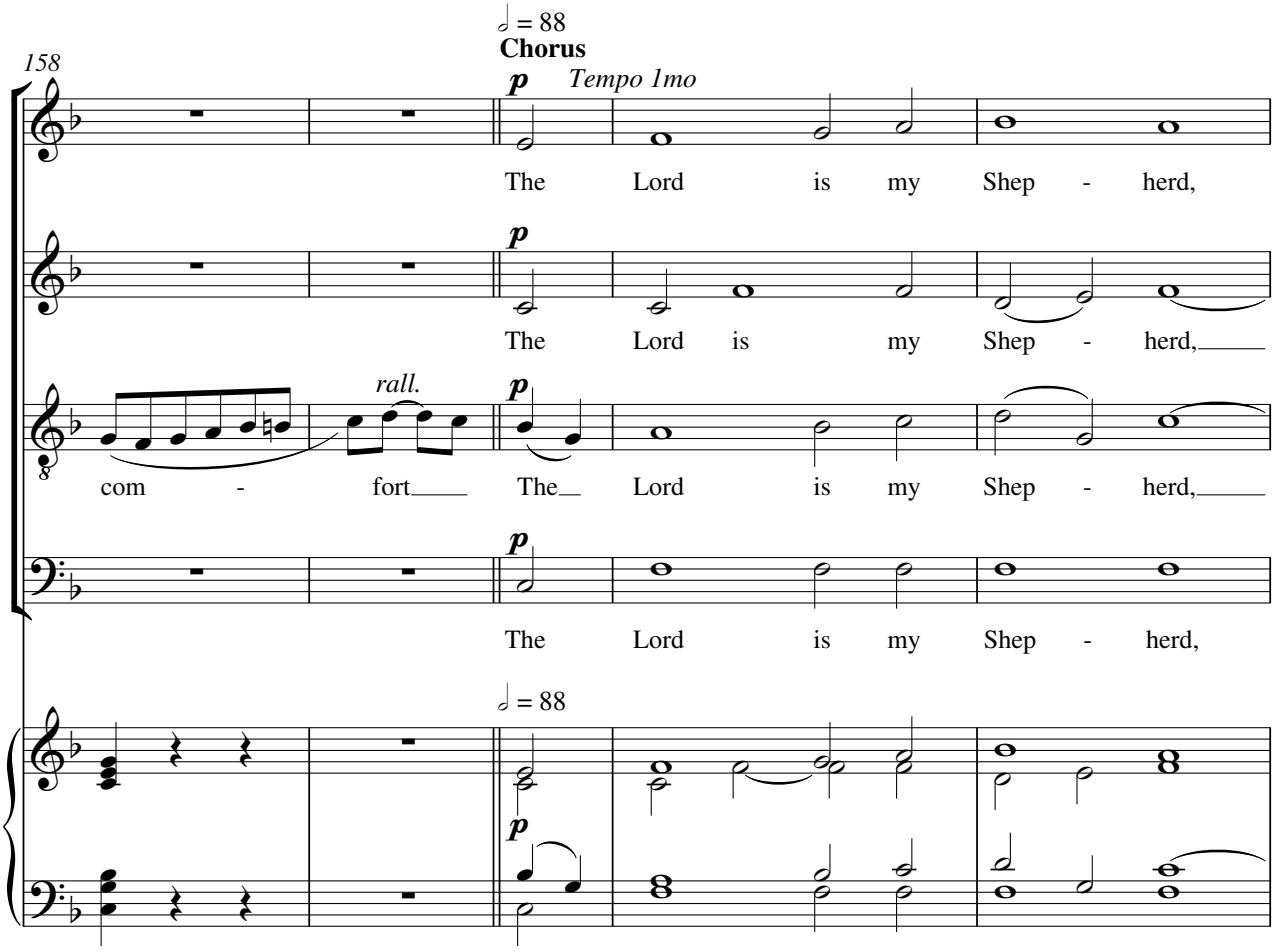

31
cresc.
Shep - - - herd, the Lord is my
cresc.
Shep - - - herd, the Lord is my
cresc.
Shep - - - herd, the Lord, there -
cresc.
Shep - - - herd, the Lord, there -
cresc.

34
f
Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, there-fore can I lack
f
Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore,
f
- fore can I lack no - thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing, no -
f
- fore can I lack no - thing, there - fore can I, there-fore can I lack
f

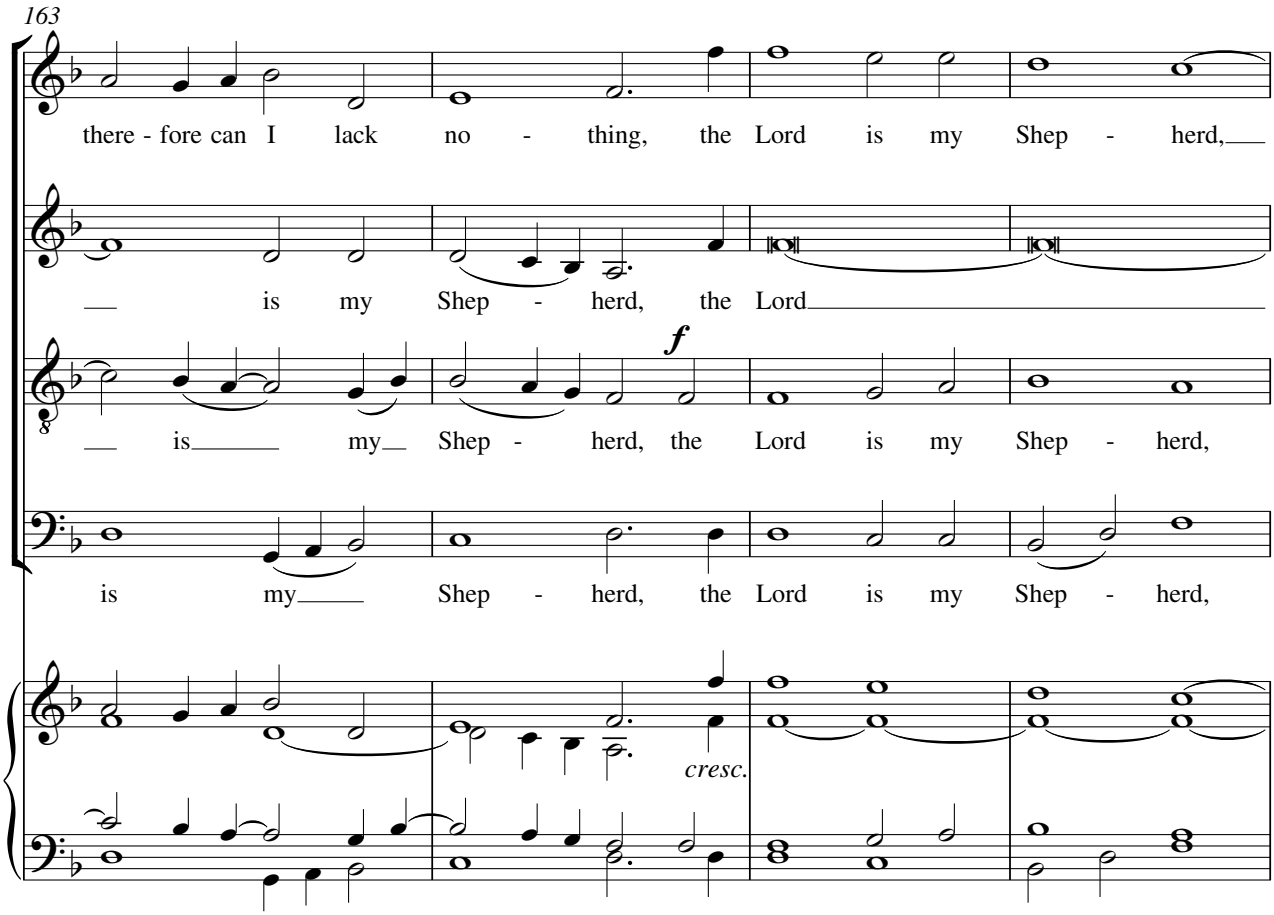
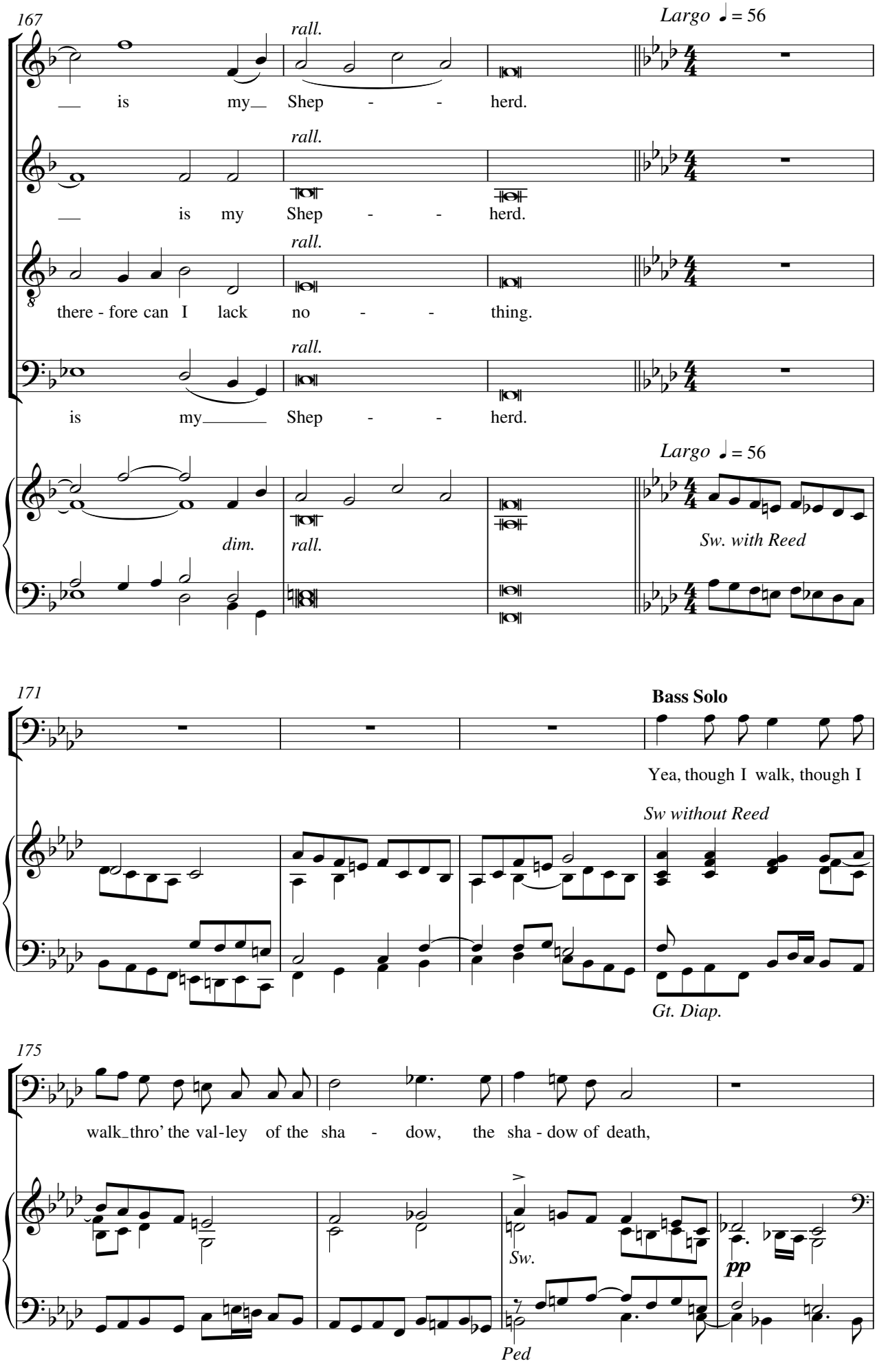
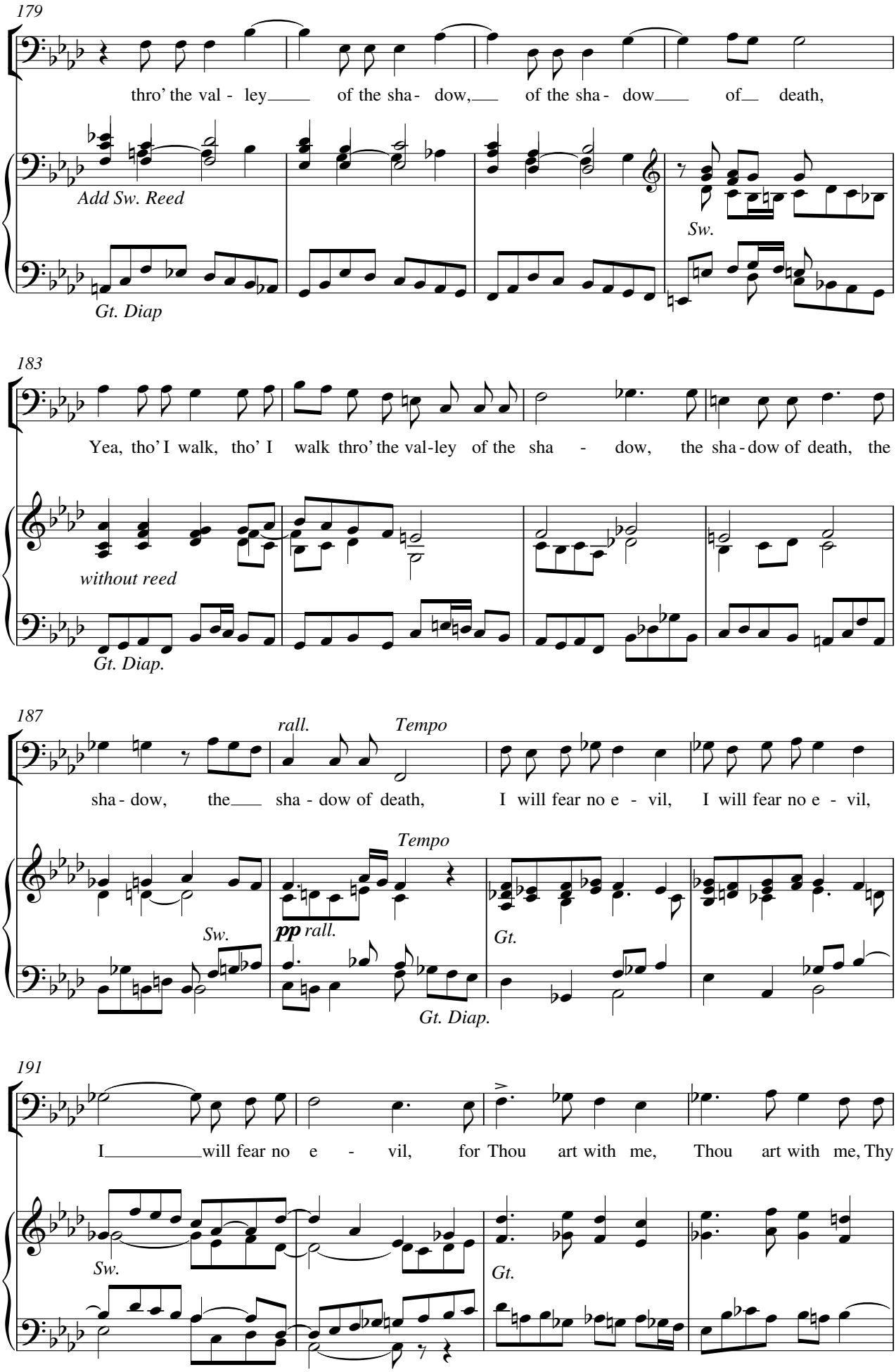
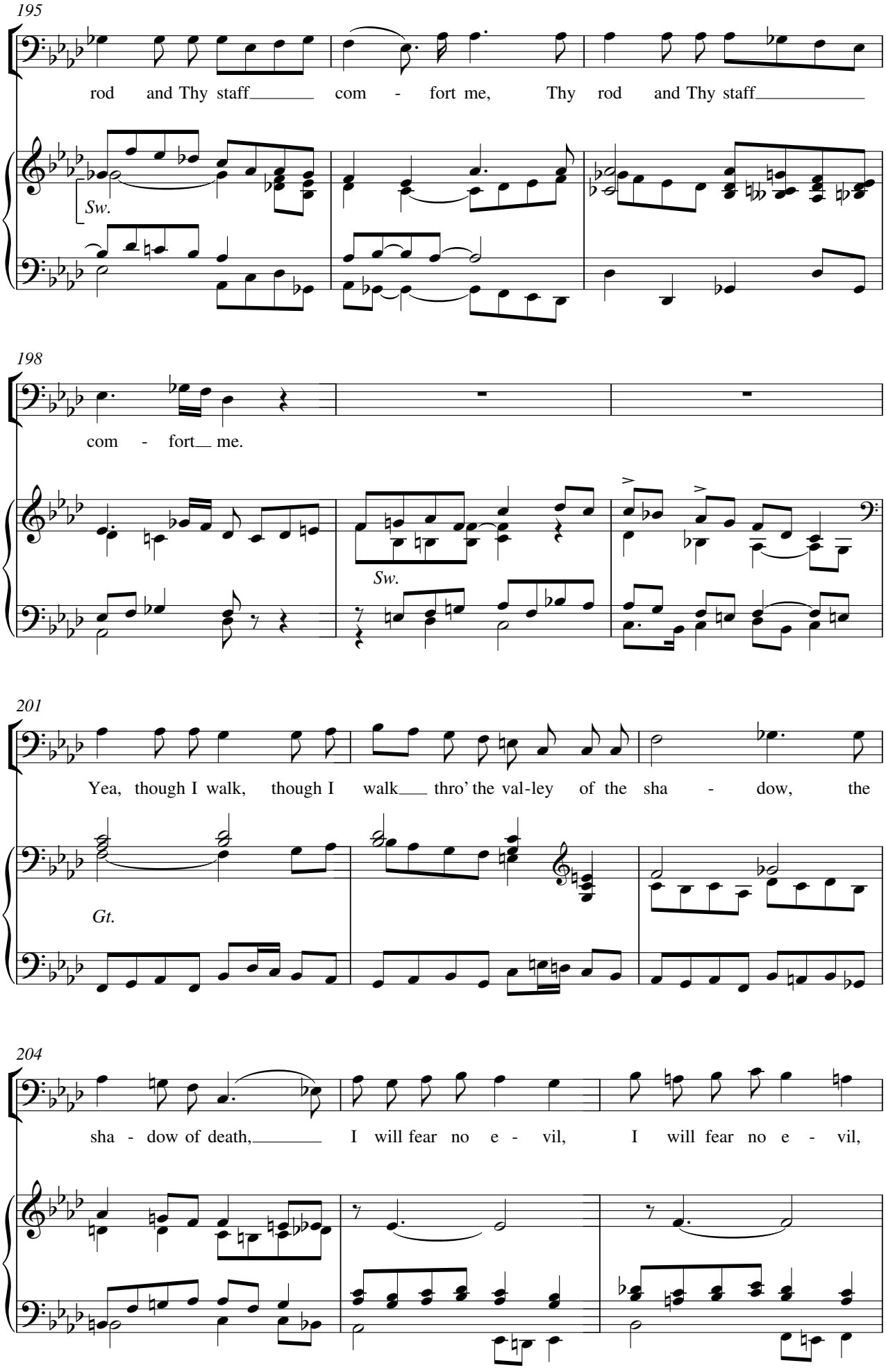
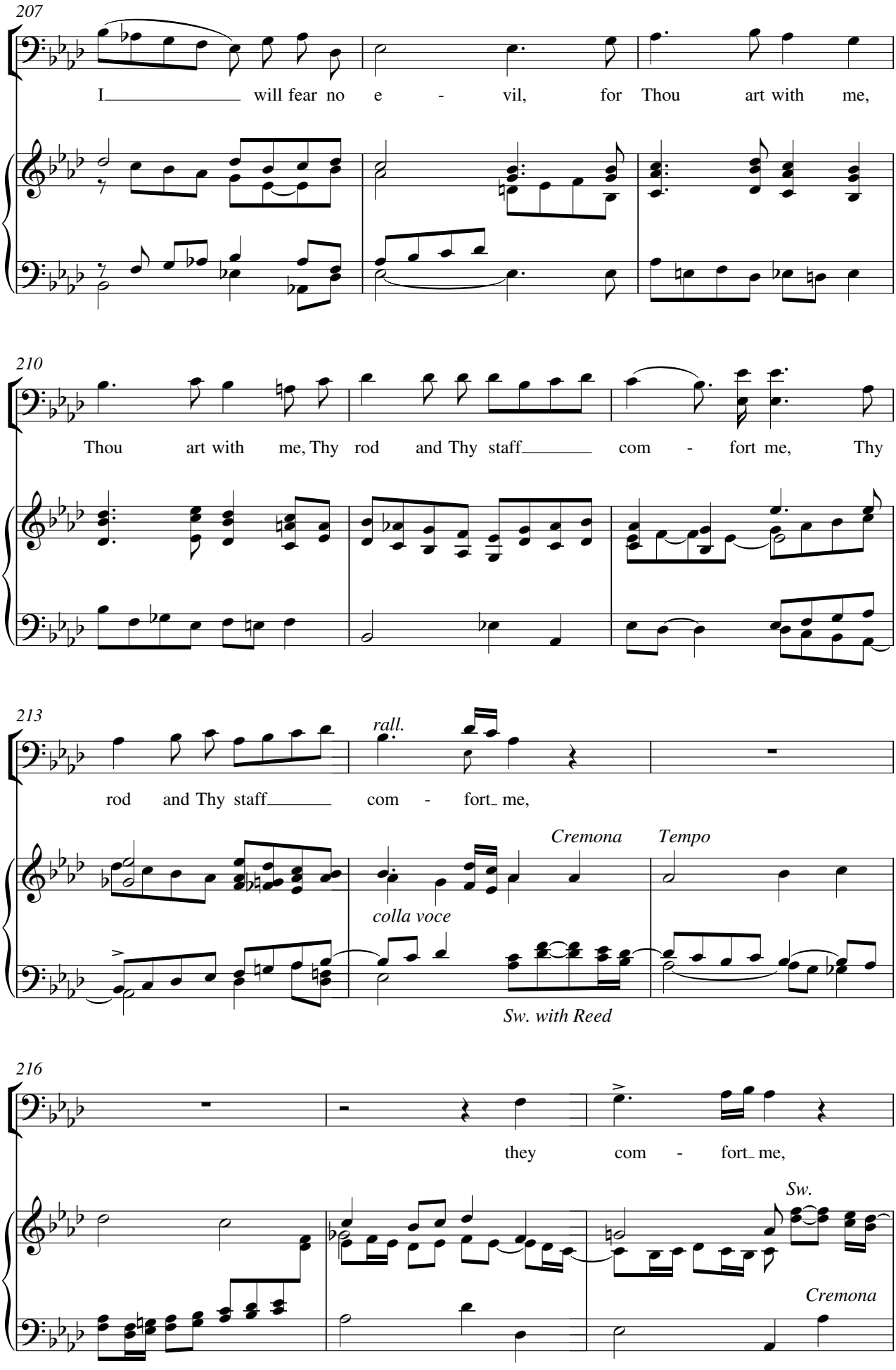
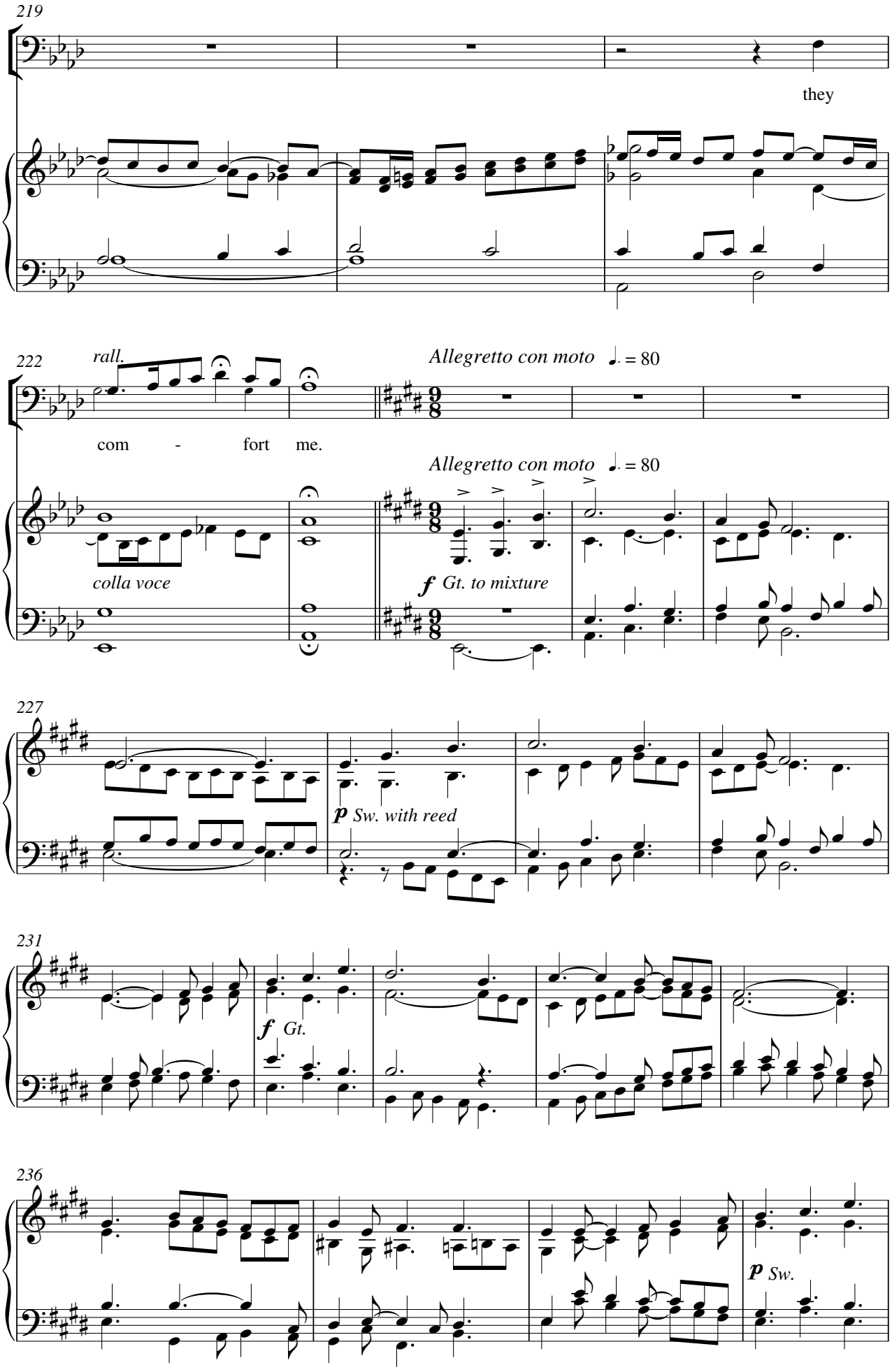
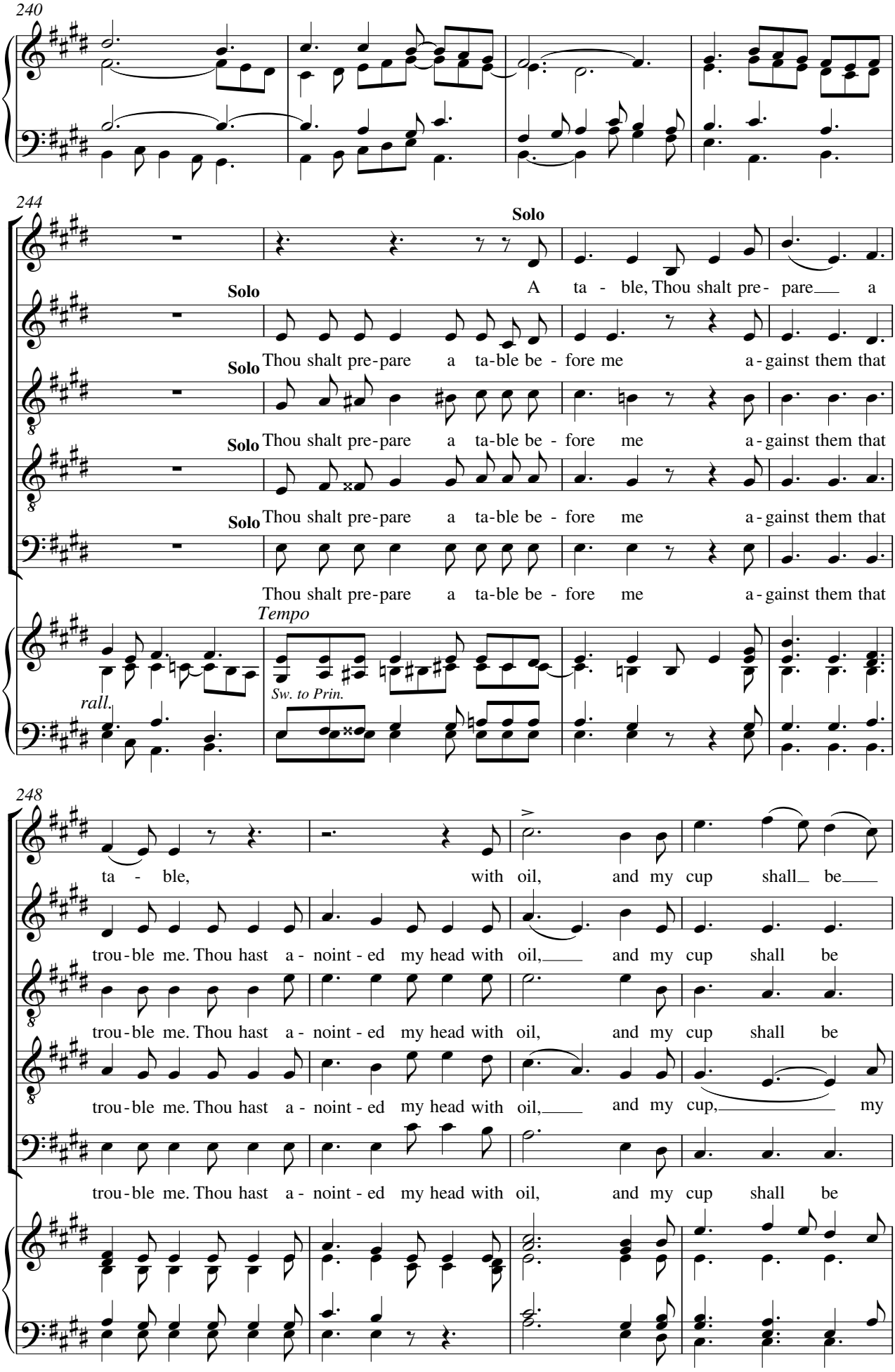
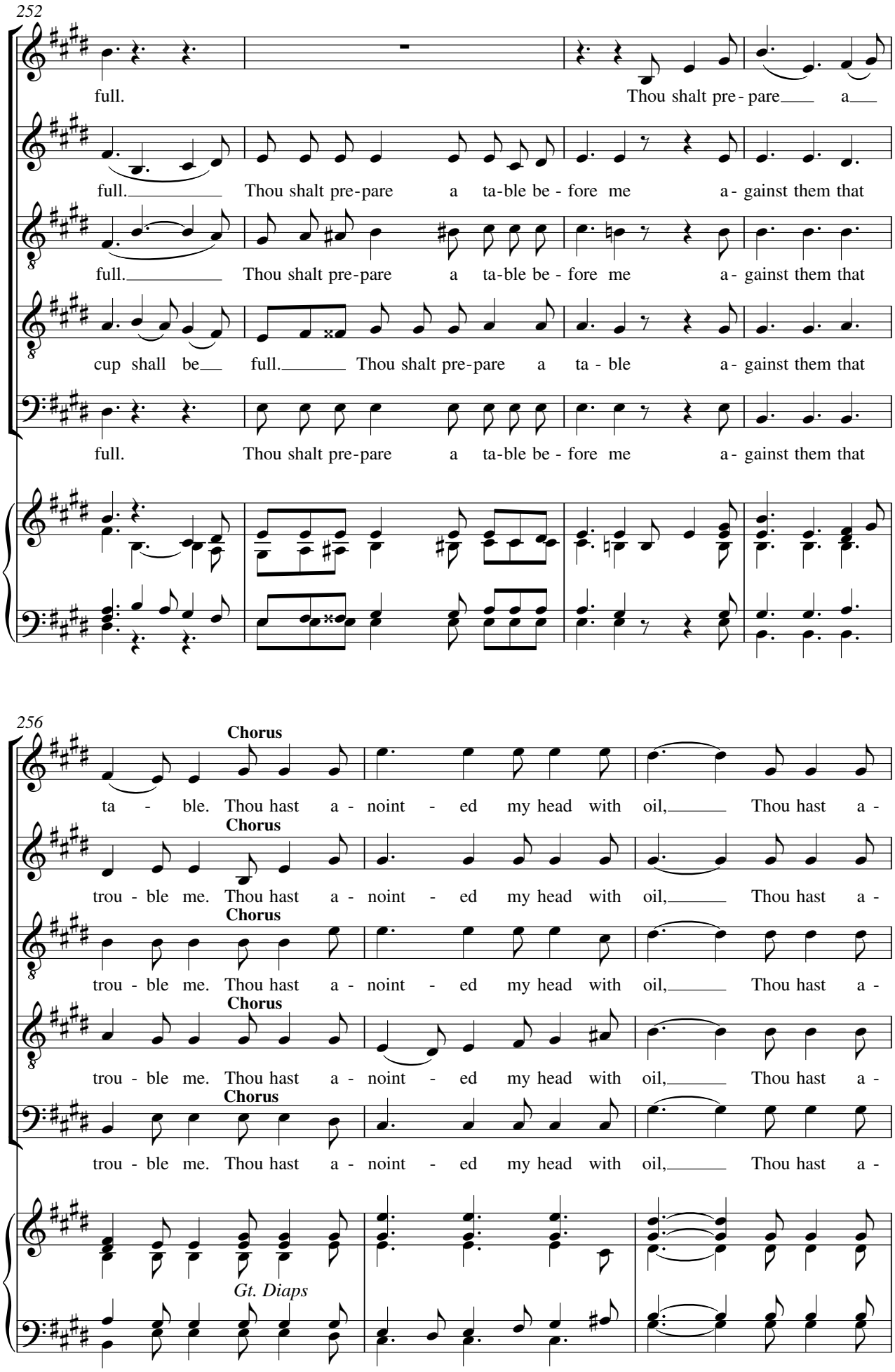
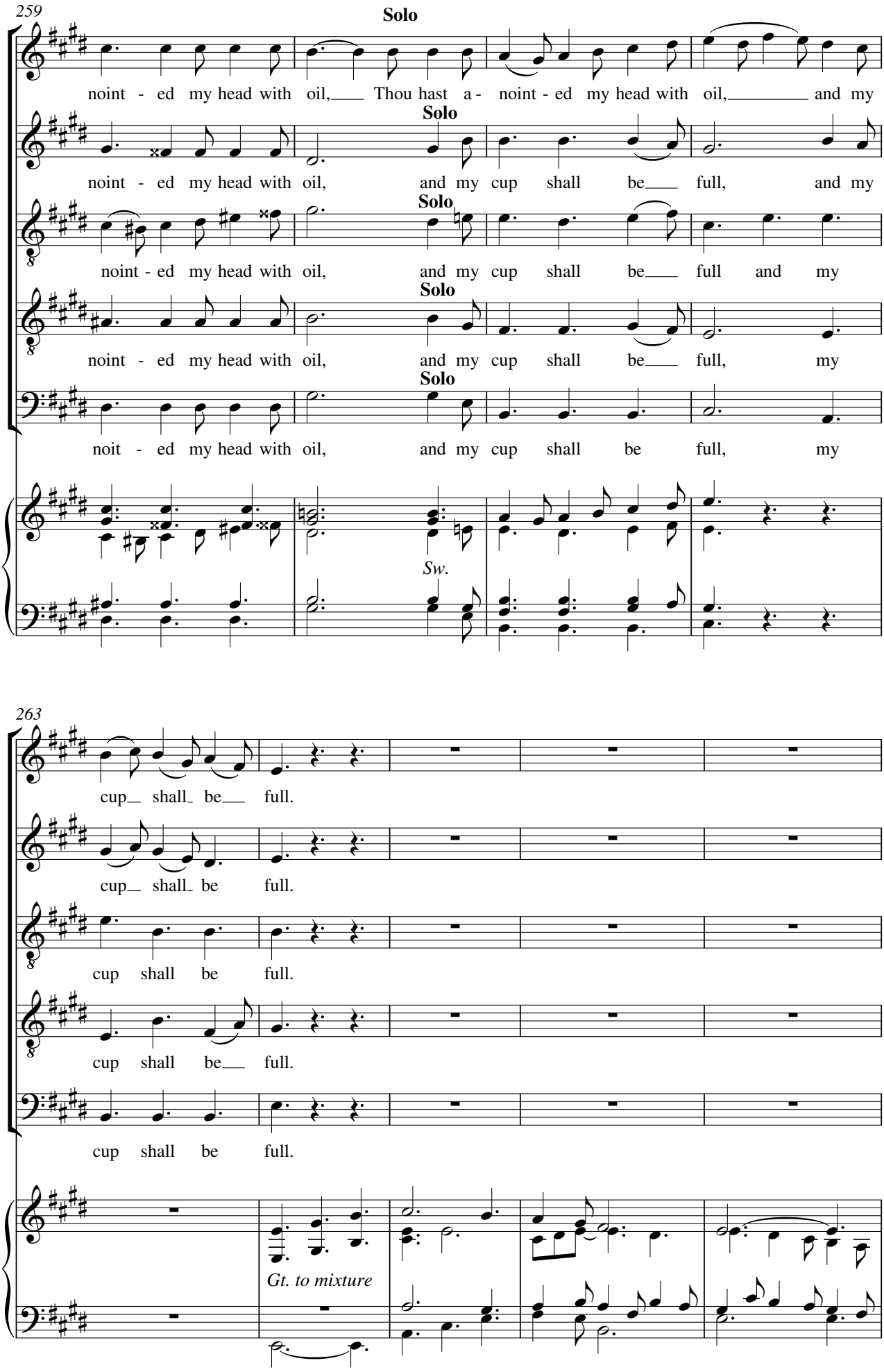
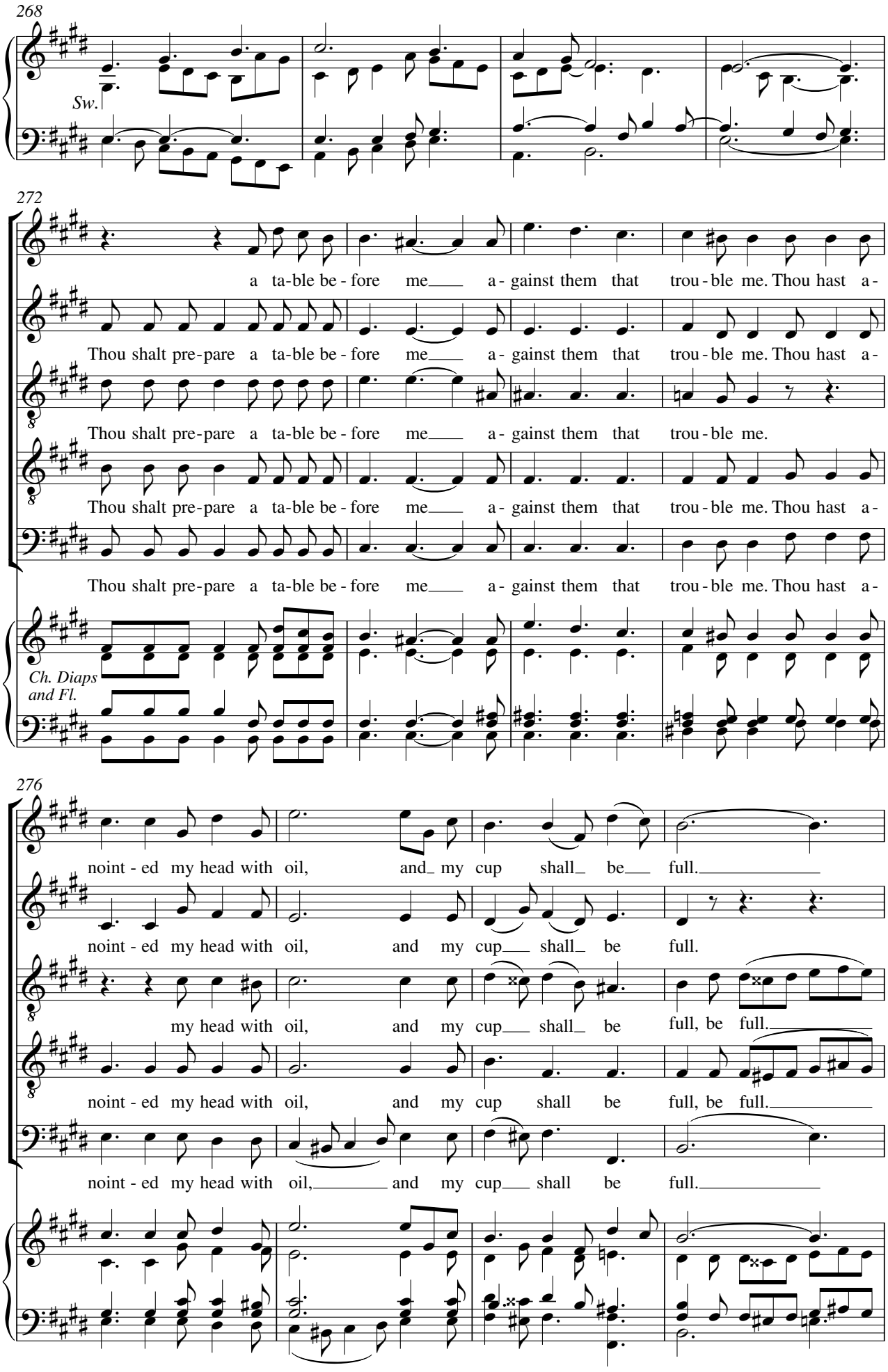
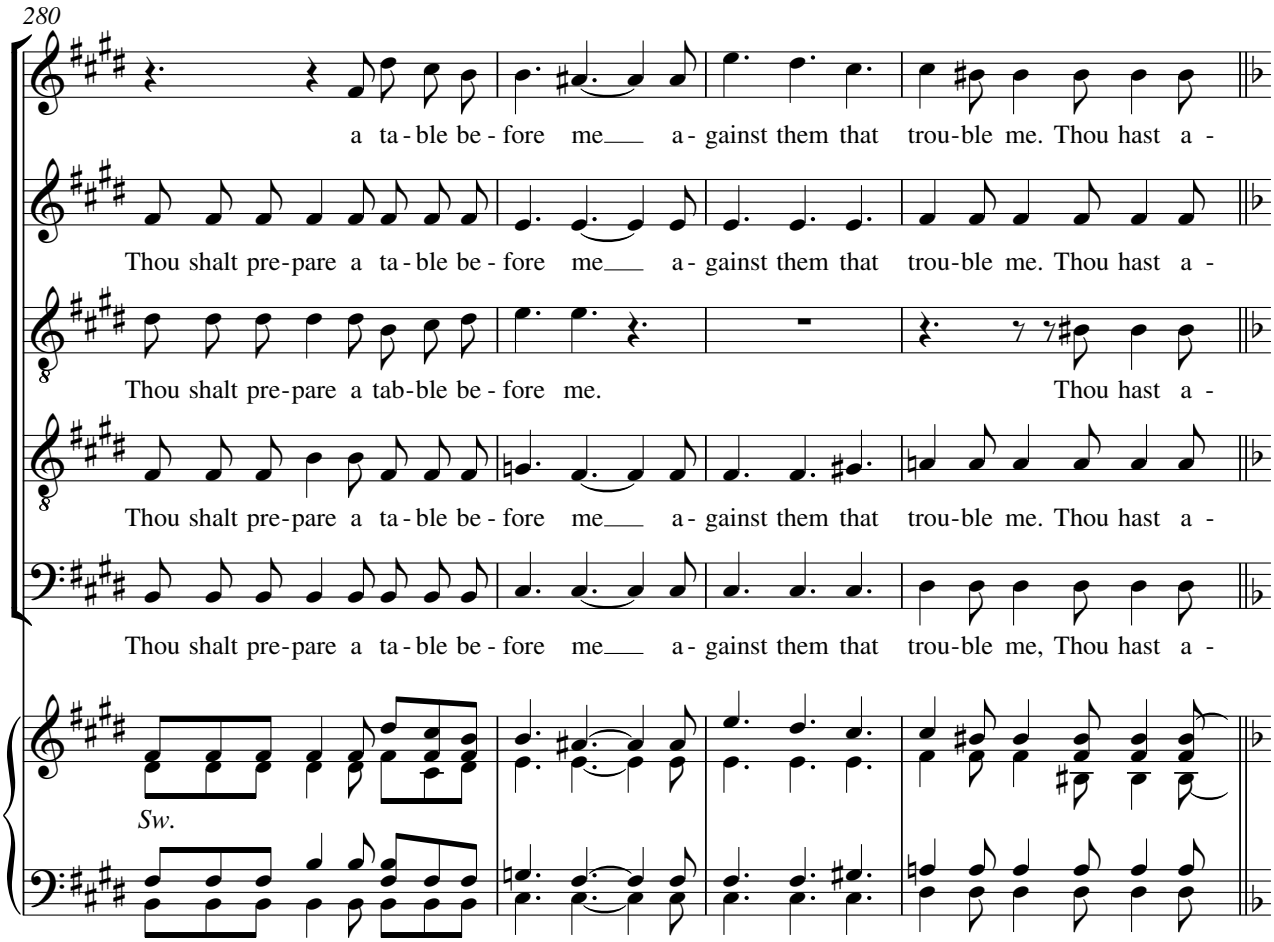
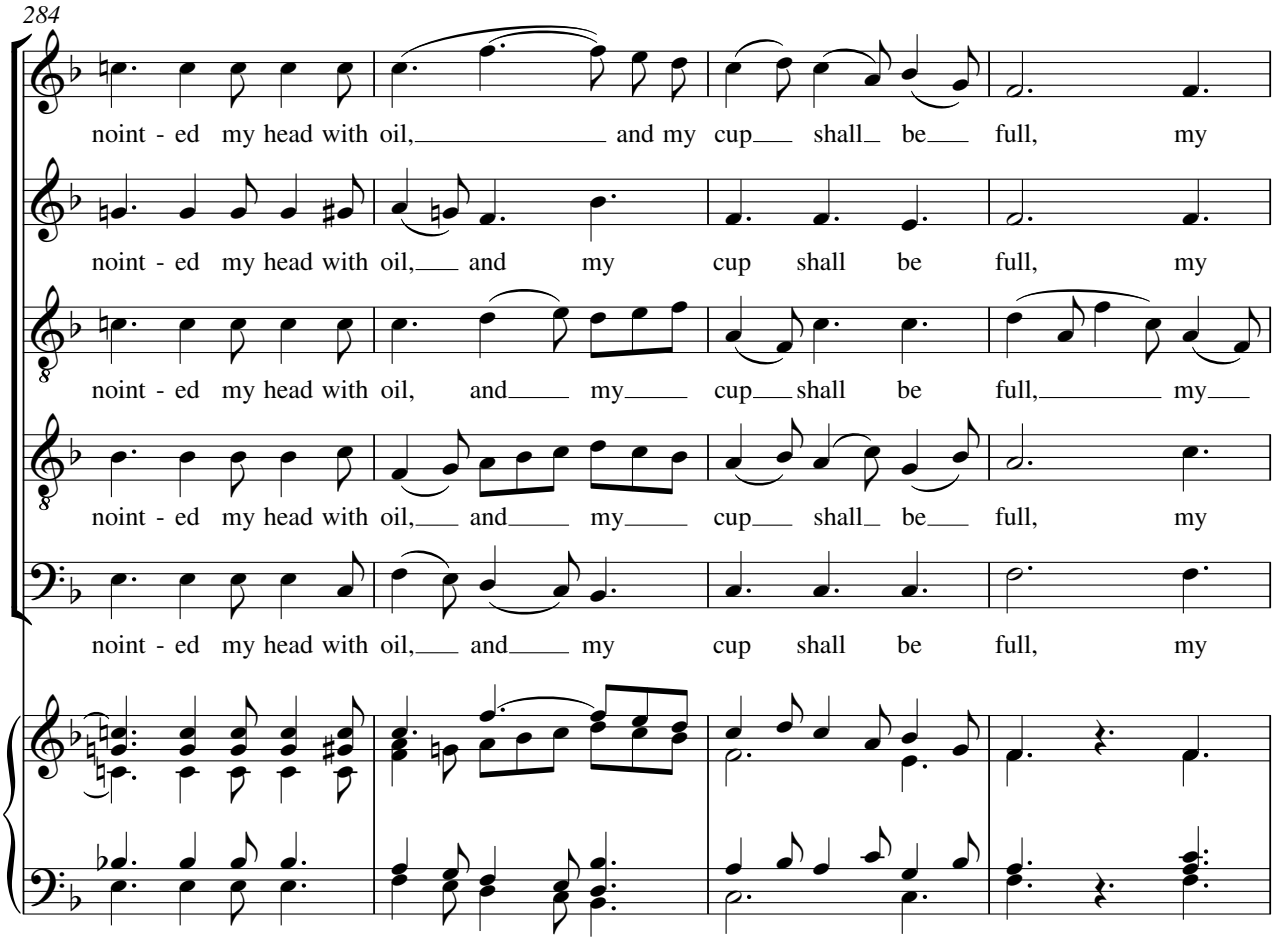
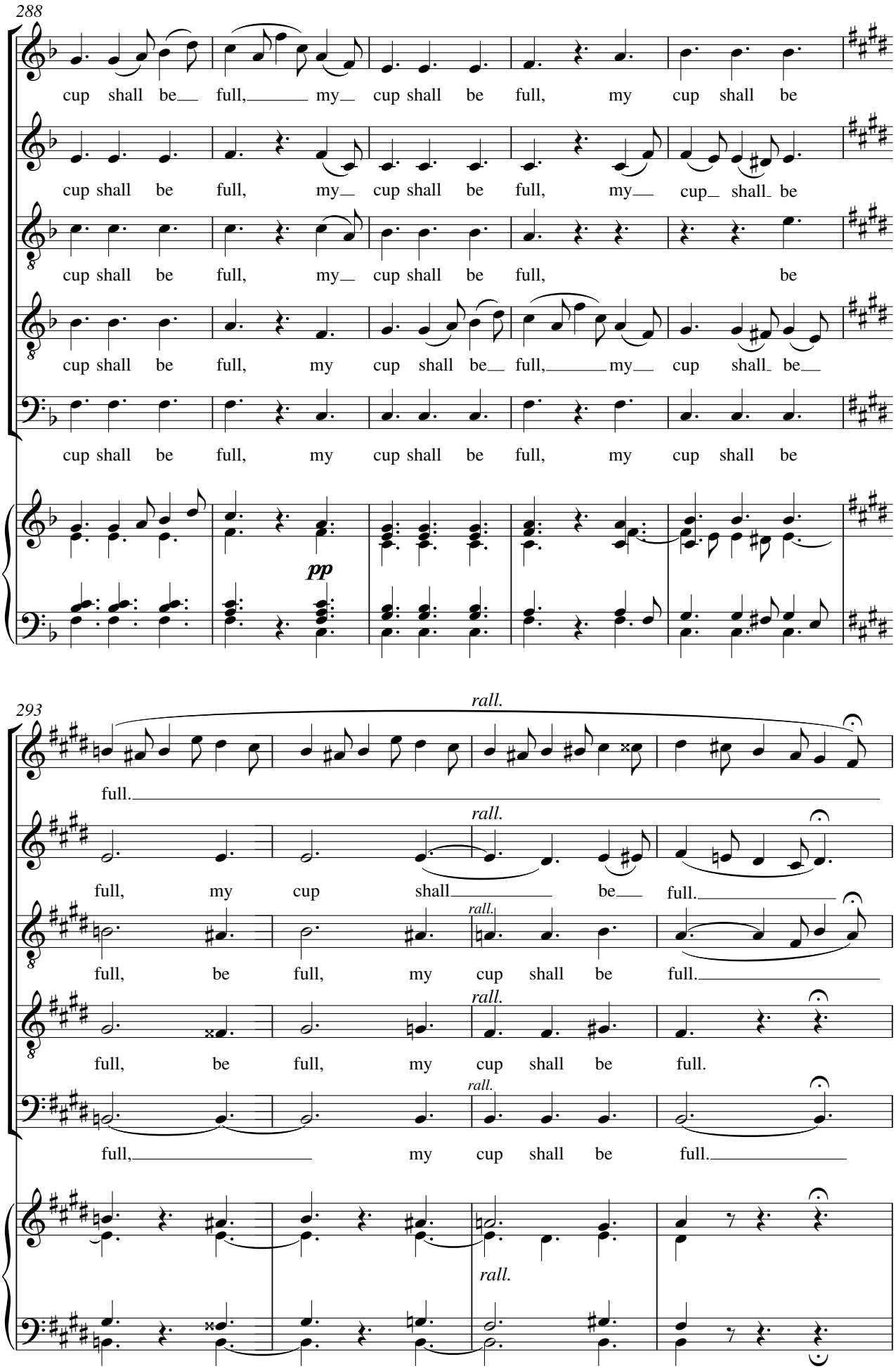
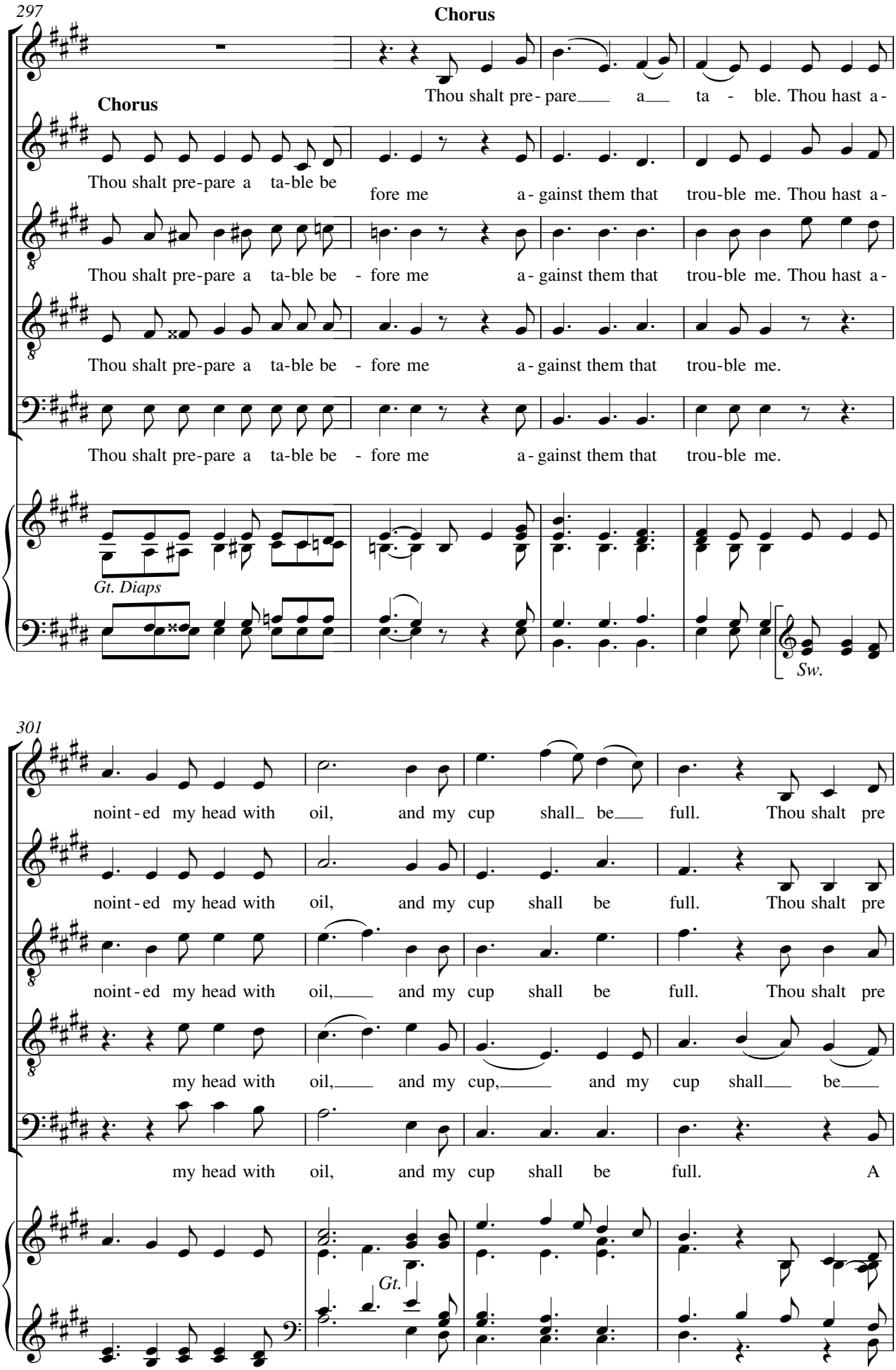
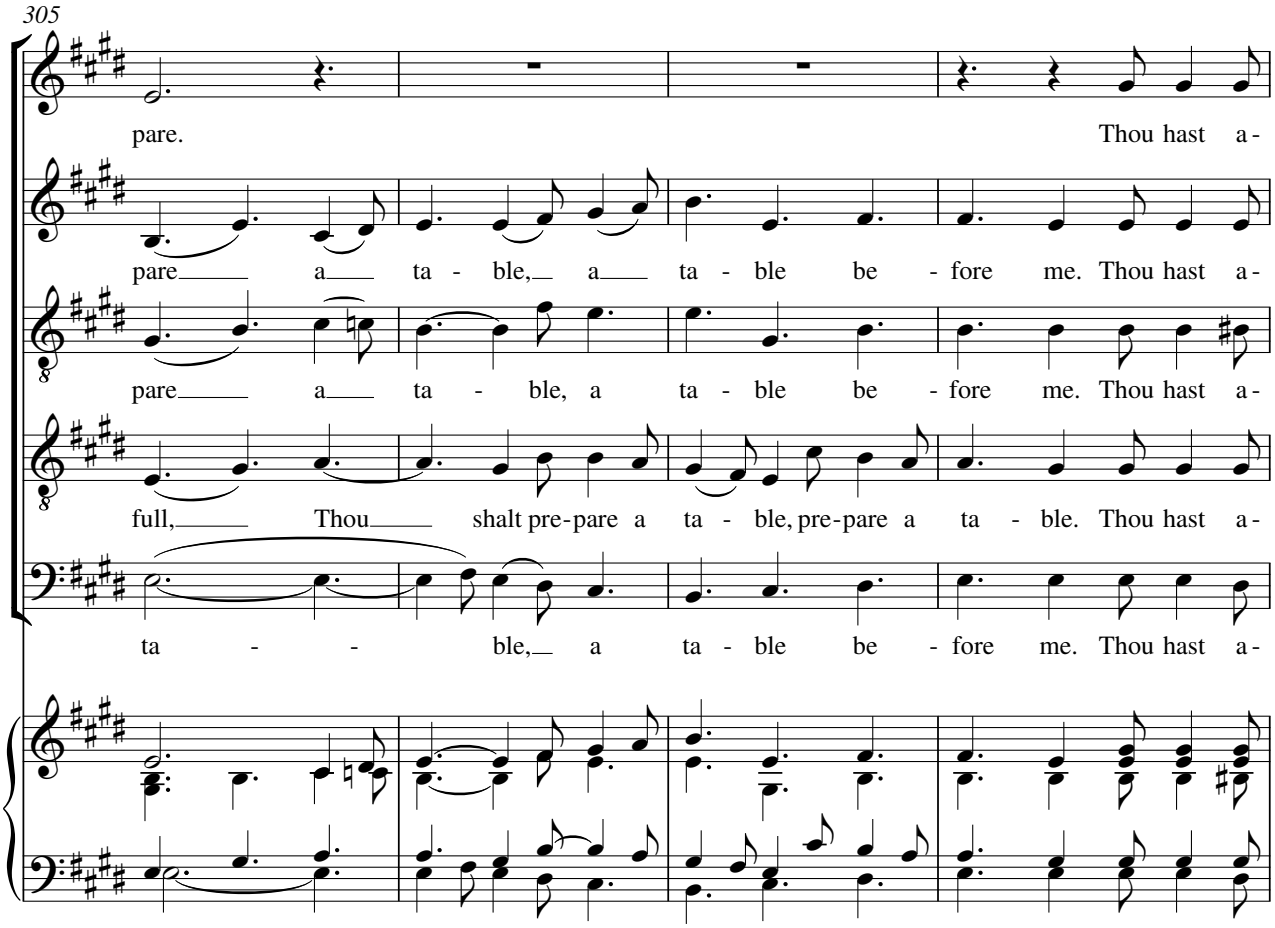
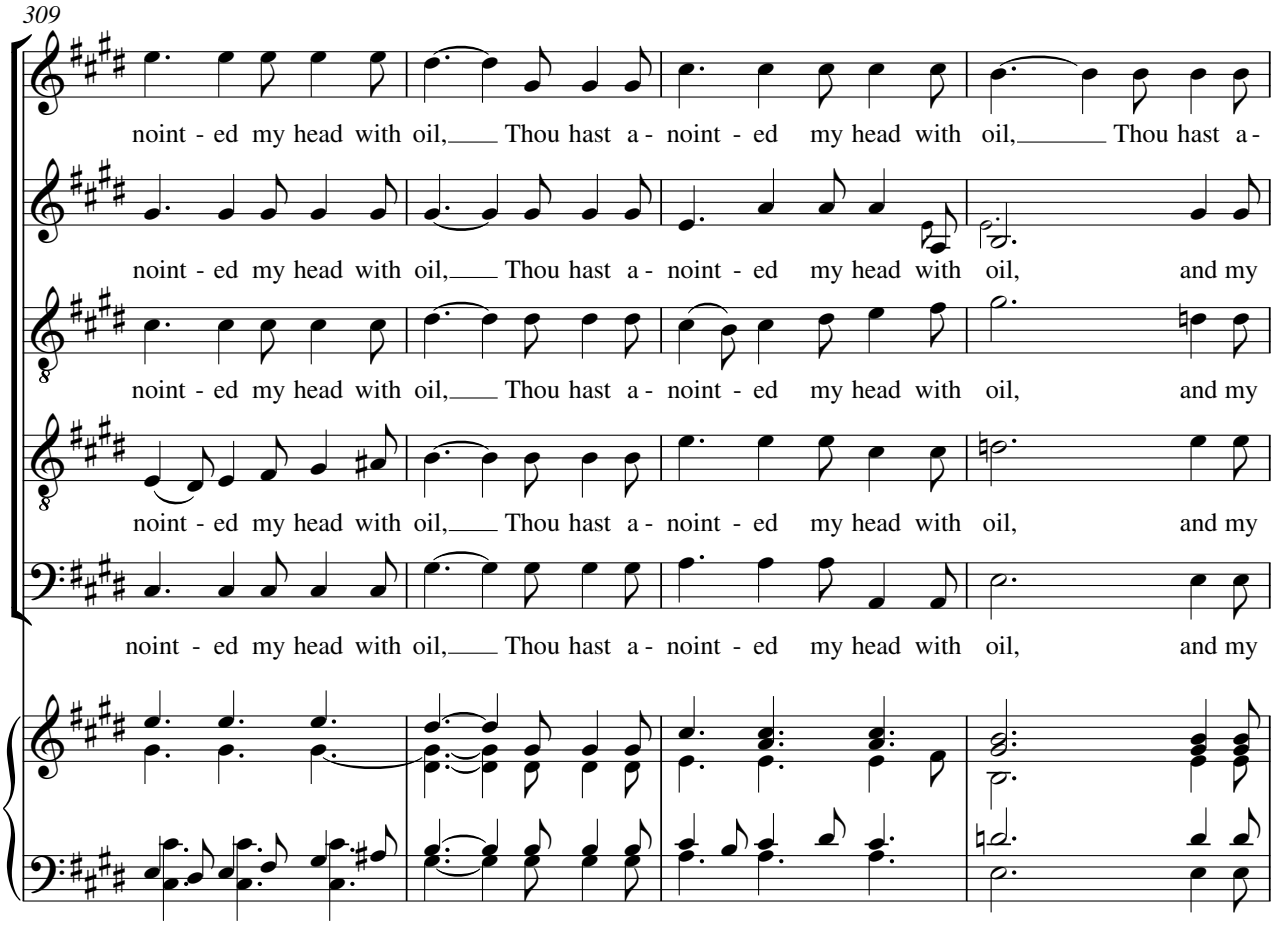
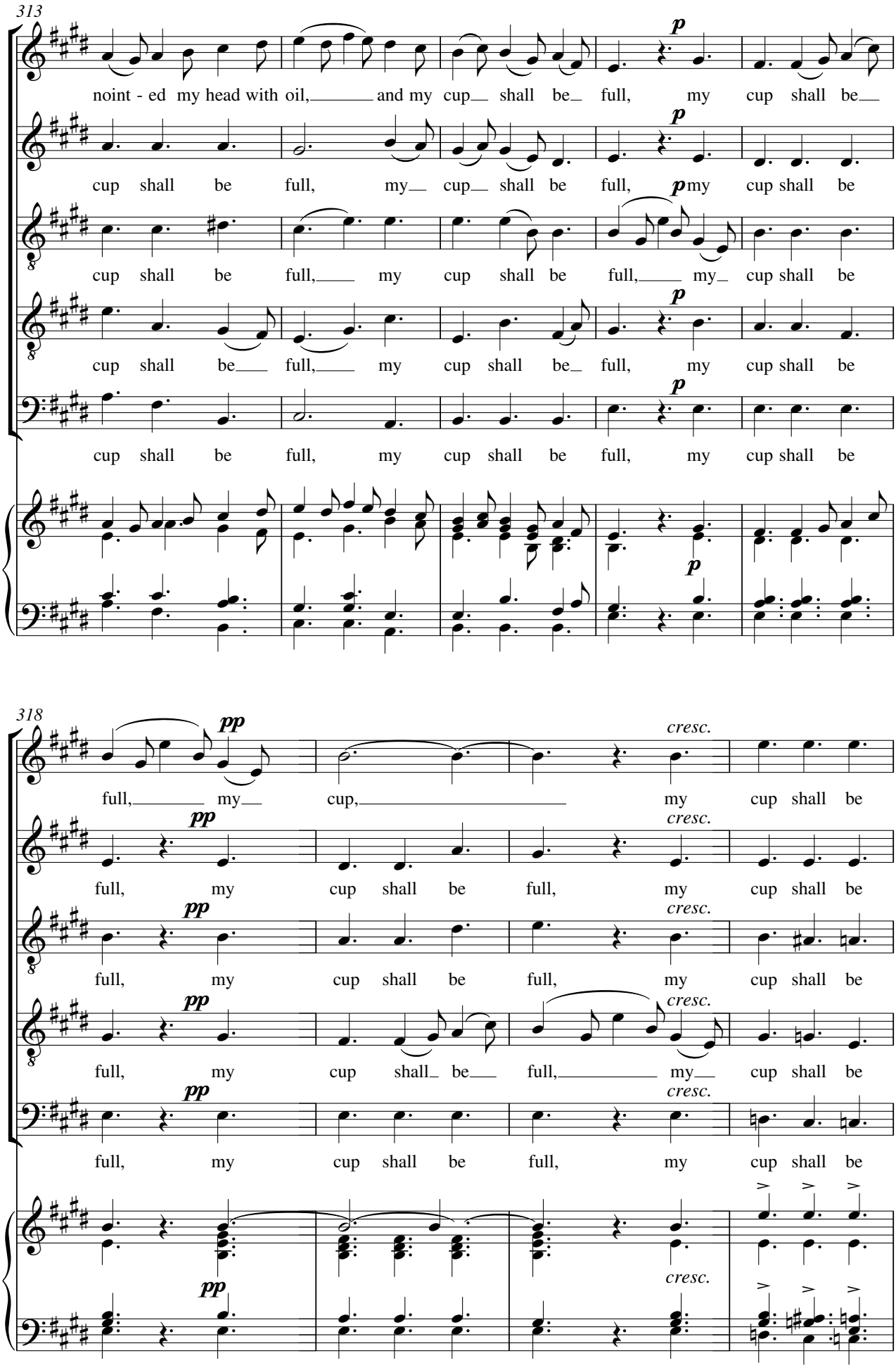
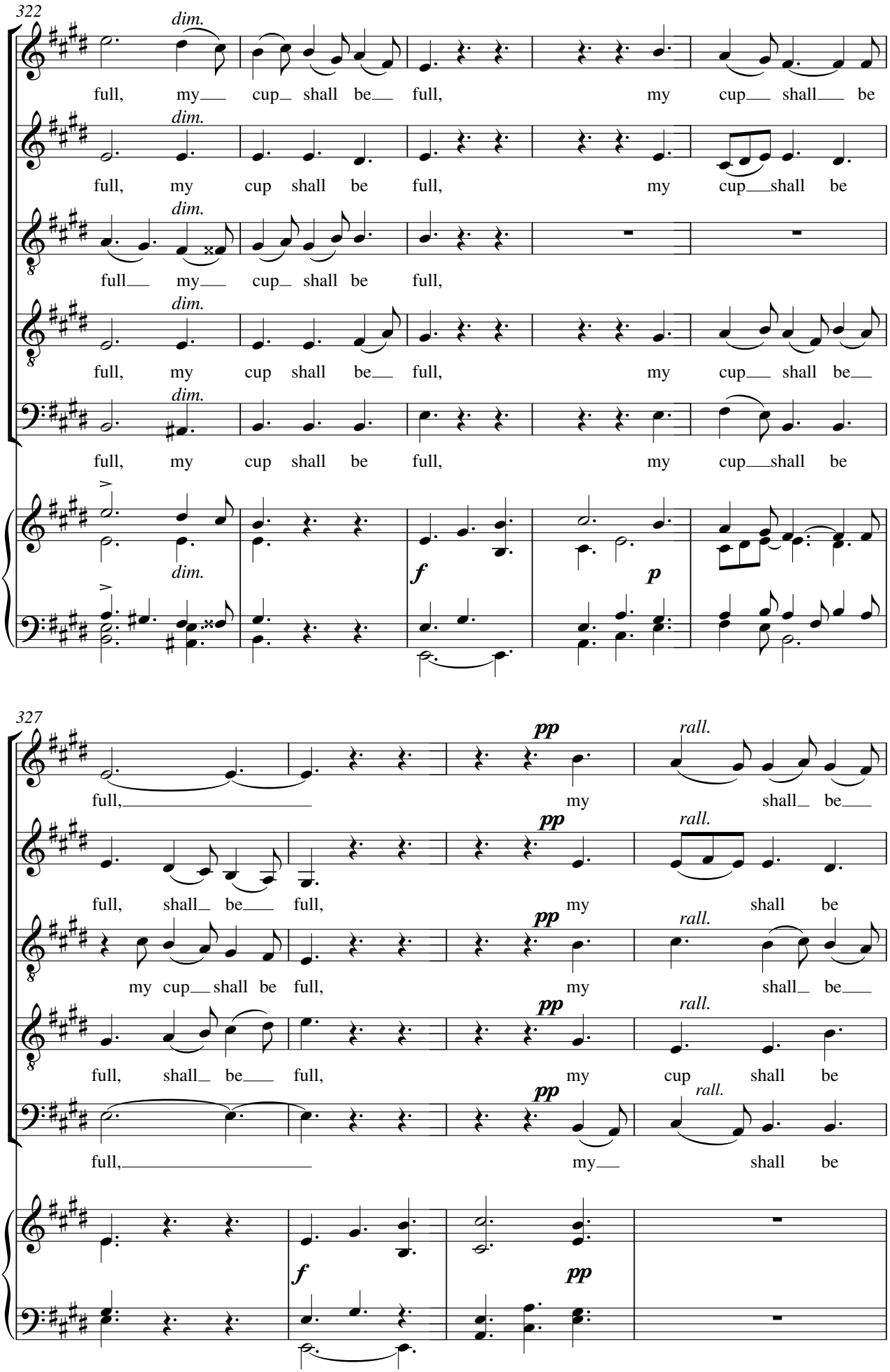
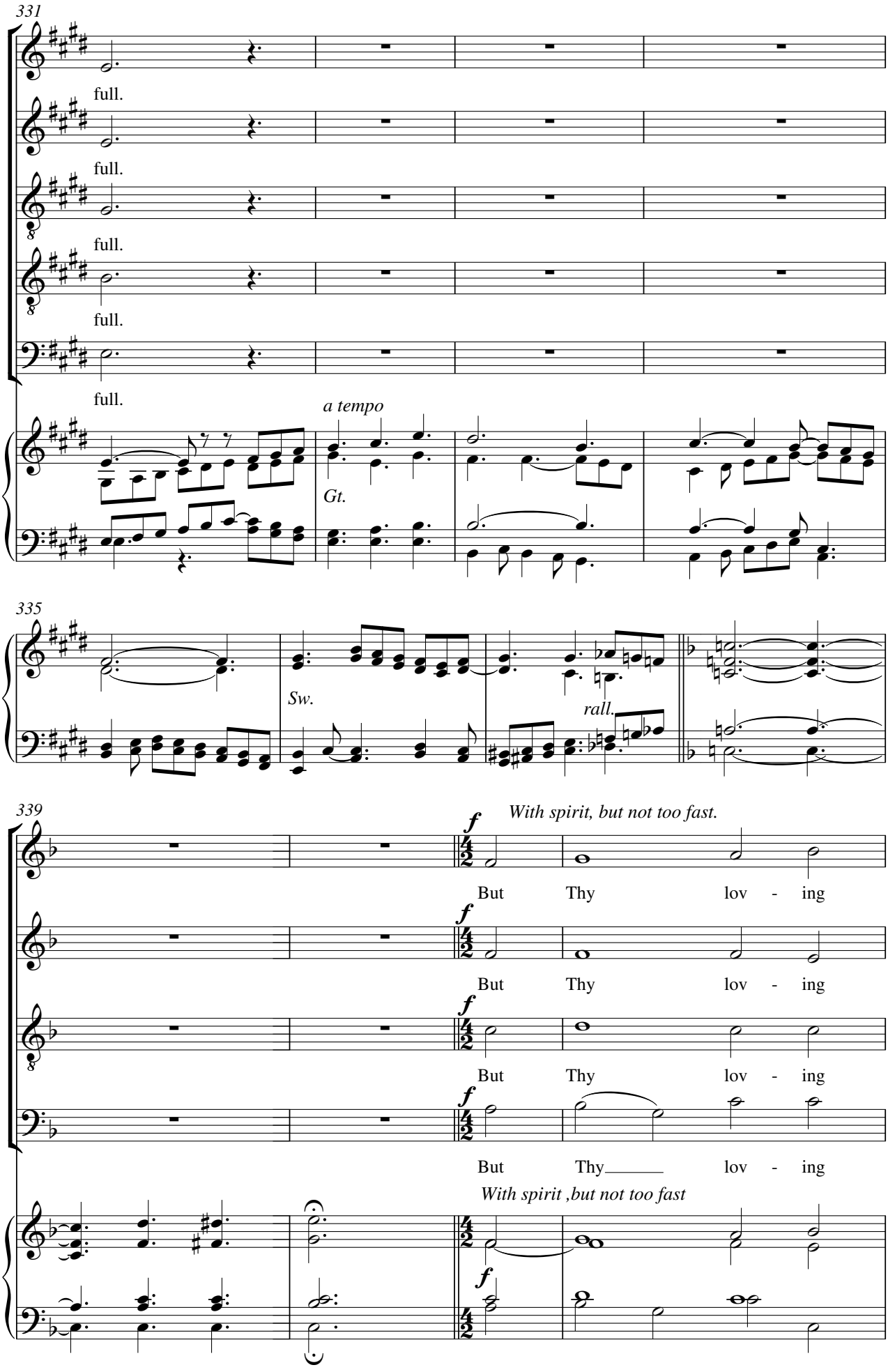
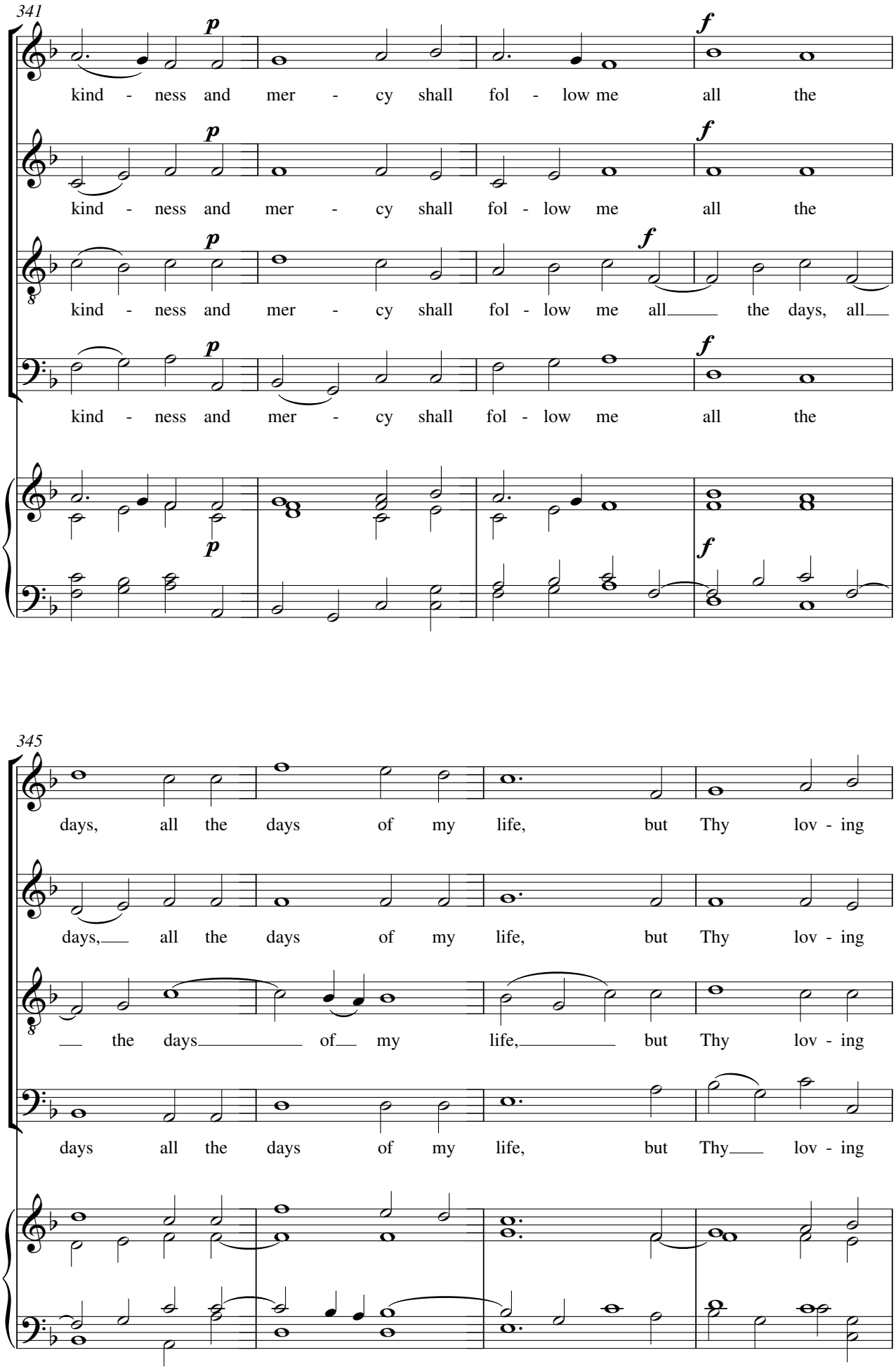

38
no - thing, no - thing, no - thing,
there - fore can I lack no - - thing, no - thing,
thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing,
no - - - thing, lack no - thing,

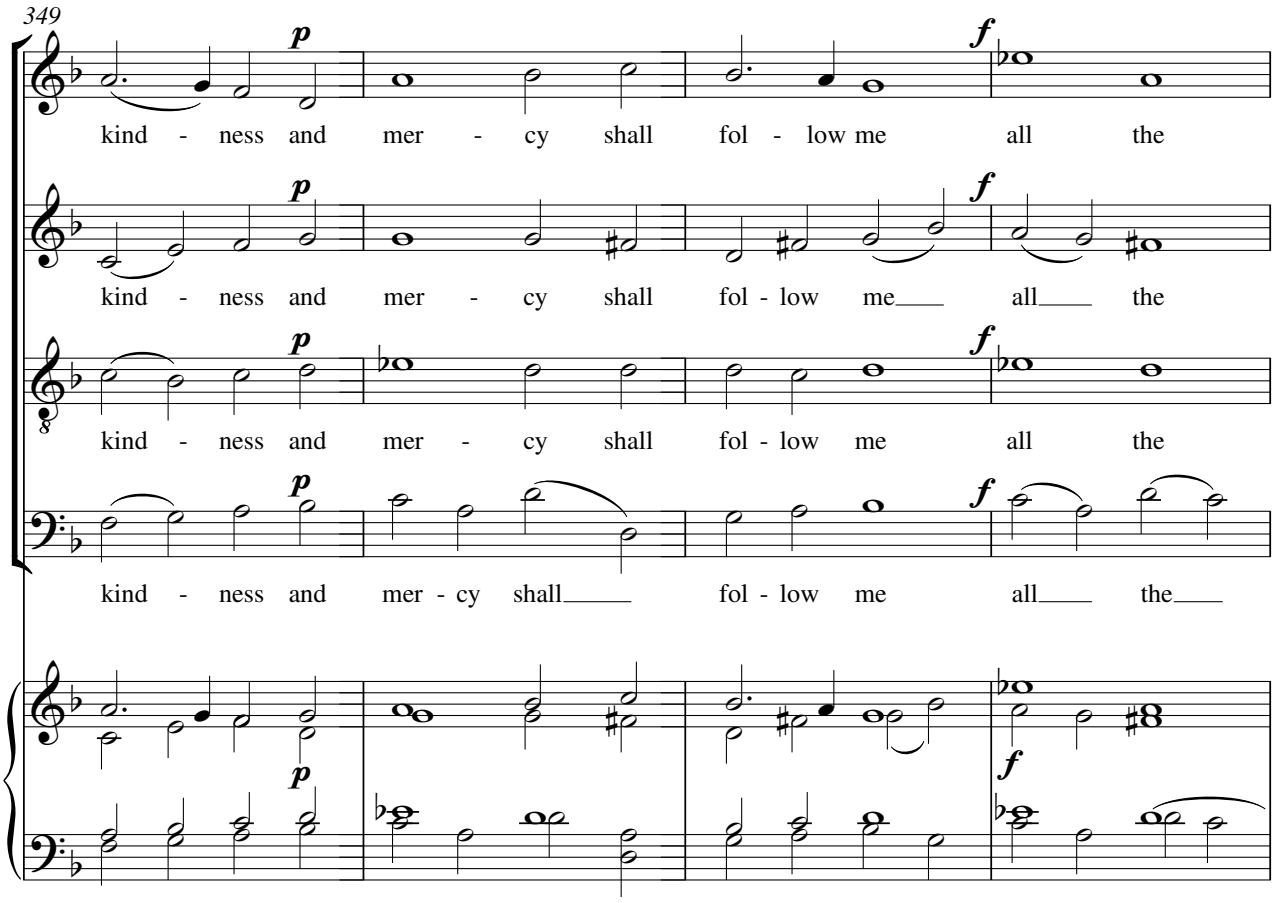

41
dim.
there - fore can I lack no - thing, no - thing,
there - - - fore, there - fore can I lack
there - - - - fore can I lack no - - -
there - - - fore, there - - -

44
cresc.
rall.
no - thing, there - - fore, there-fore can I lack
no - - thing, there-fore can I lack no - thing,
thing, there-fore can I lack no - thing, no - thing,
- fore can I lack no - thing, no - thing, no - thing,

48
Tempo
p
no - thing. The Lord is my Shep - herd,
no - thing. The Lord is my Shep - herd,
no - thing. The Lord is my Shep - herd, there -
there - fore can I lack no - thing. The Lord, the

51
there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord, the
there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord, the
f
- fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord is my Shep - herd,
Lord is my Shep - herd, the Lord
55
cresc.
Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack
cresc.
Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack
cresc.
there - fore can I lack no - thing, there -
cresc.
is my Shep - herd, there -
cresc.

58
no - thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord,
no - thing, there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord
- fore can I lack no - thing, lack no - thing, the Lord is my
- fore can I lack no - - - thing, the Lord is my
f

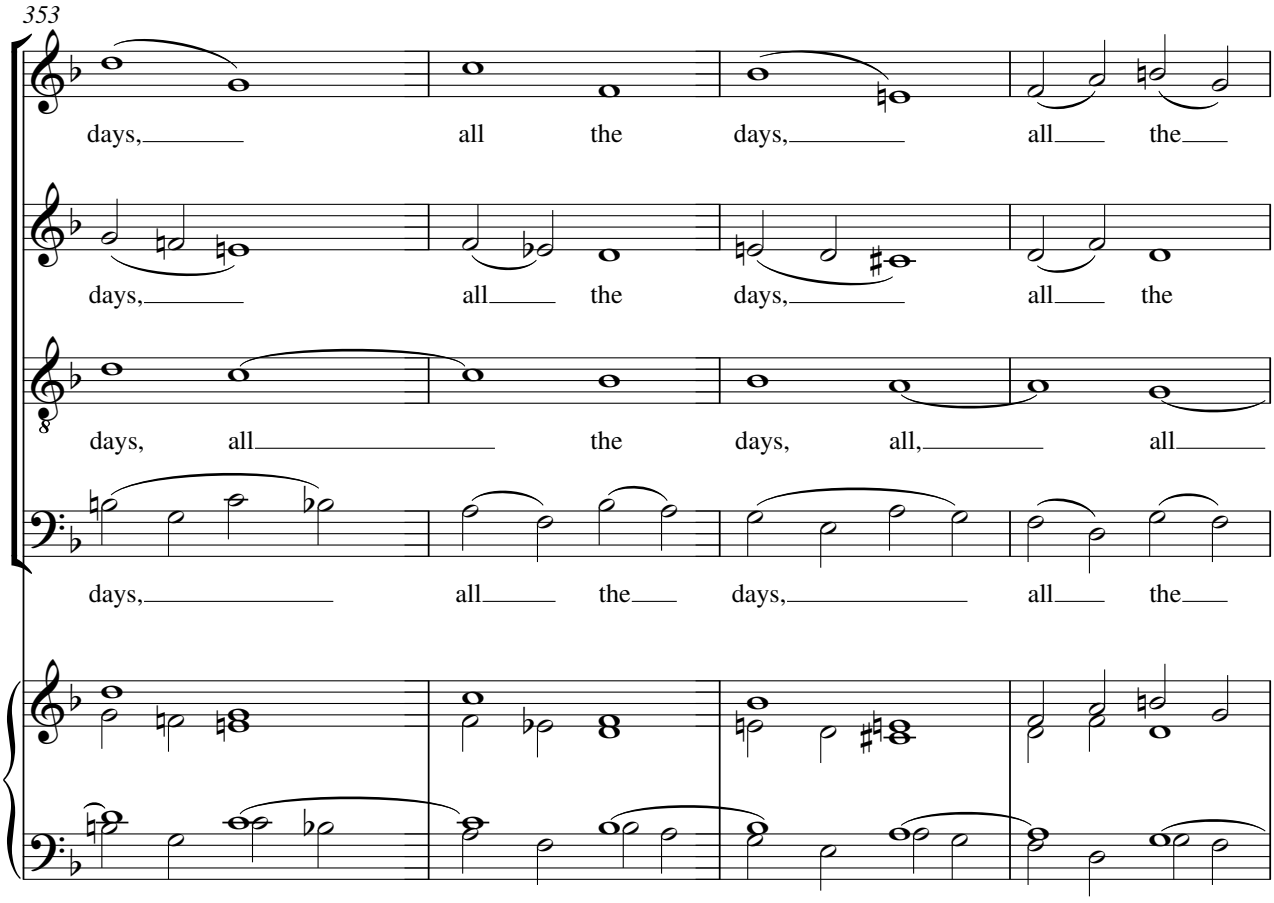

62
the Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack
is my Shep - - - - herd, there - -
Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack no - thing, there - -
Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack no - thing, there - fore,
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.

66
no - - thing, the Lord
f
fore, there-fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord is my
fore, there-fore, there-fore can I lack no - thing,
there-fore can I lack no - - thing, there - fore

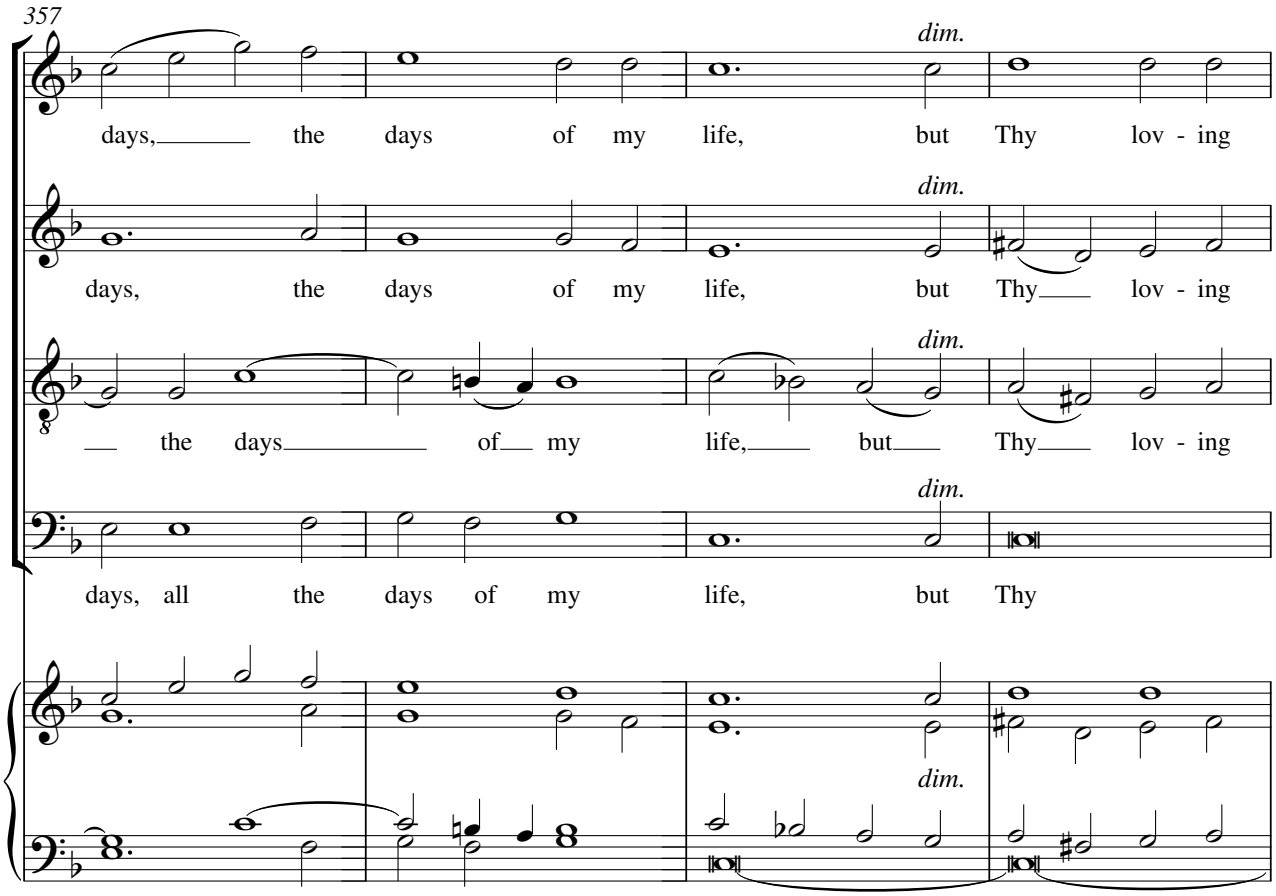

70
is my Shep - herd. The Lord,
Shep - herd, there-fore can I lack no - thing. The Lord,
there - fore can I lack no - thing. The Lord,
can I lack no - thing. The Lord is my

74
the Lord is my Shep - herd.
the Lord is my Shep - herd.
the Lord is my Shep - herd.
Shep - herd, my Shep - - - herd.
♩ = 84
♩ = 84
Sw. Diaps & Fl.
79
Ch. Cremona
Sw.
Cremona
85
Tenor Solo
He shall feed me in a green pas - ture, and lead me forth be-side the
Sw.

91
wa - ters - of com - fort, He shall feed me in a green
96
pas - ture, and lead me forth, and lead me forth, and lead me
102
forth be-side the wa - ters of com-fort. He shall con-vert my soul, and
Gt Open Diap
107
lead me forth in-to the paths of right-eous-ness, in - to the paths of
Sw

112
right-eous- ness, for His Name's sake, for His Name's sake, for His Name's
Add Oboe
Gt. Diap.
118
sake. He shall con-vert my soul, and
Oboe off
123
lead me forth in - to the paths of right-eous- ness, in - to the paths of
Sw.
128
right-eous- ness, for His Name's sake, His Name's sake, His Name's
Oboe
Gt. Diap

134
sake. He shall feed me in a green
Cremona
Sw.
140
pas - ture, and lead me forth be-side the wa - ters of com - fort, be - side the
pp
pp
146
wa - ters of com - fort, and lead me forth, and lead me
cresc.
Oboe
Cremona
152
forth, and lead me forth be-side the wa-ters of com - - fort, of
Cremona

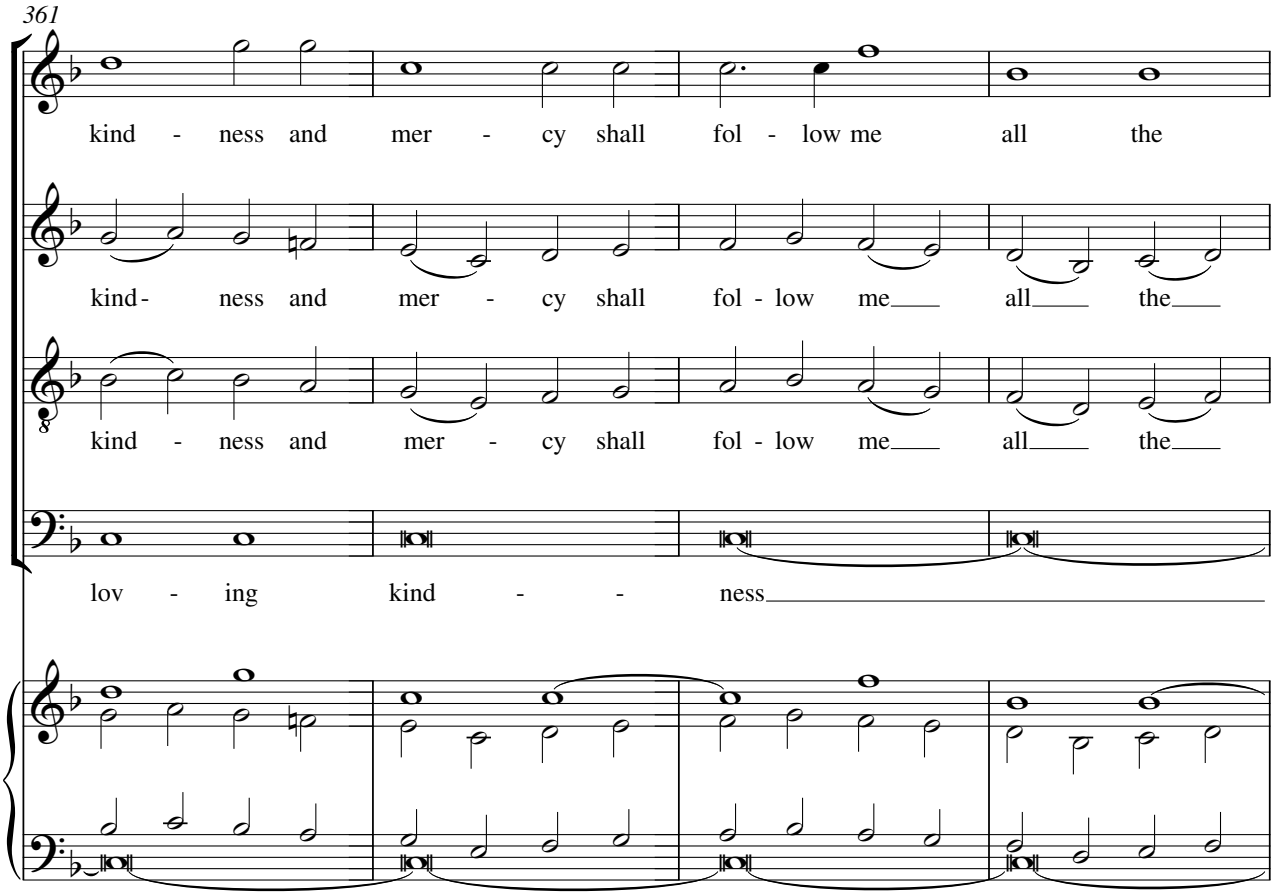
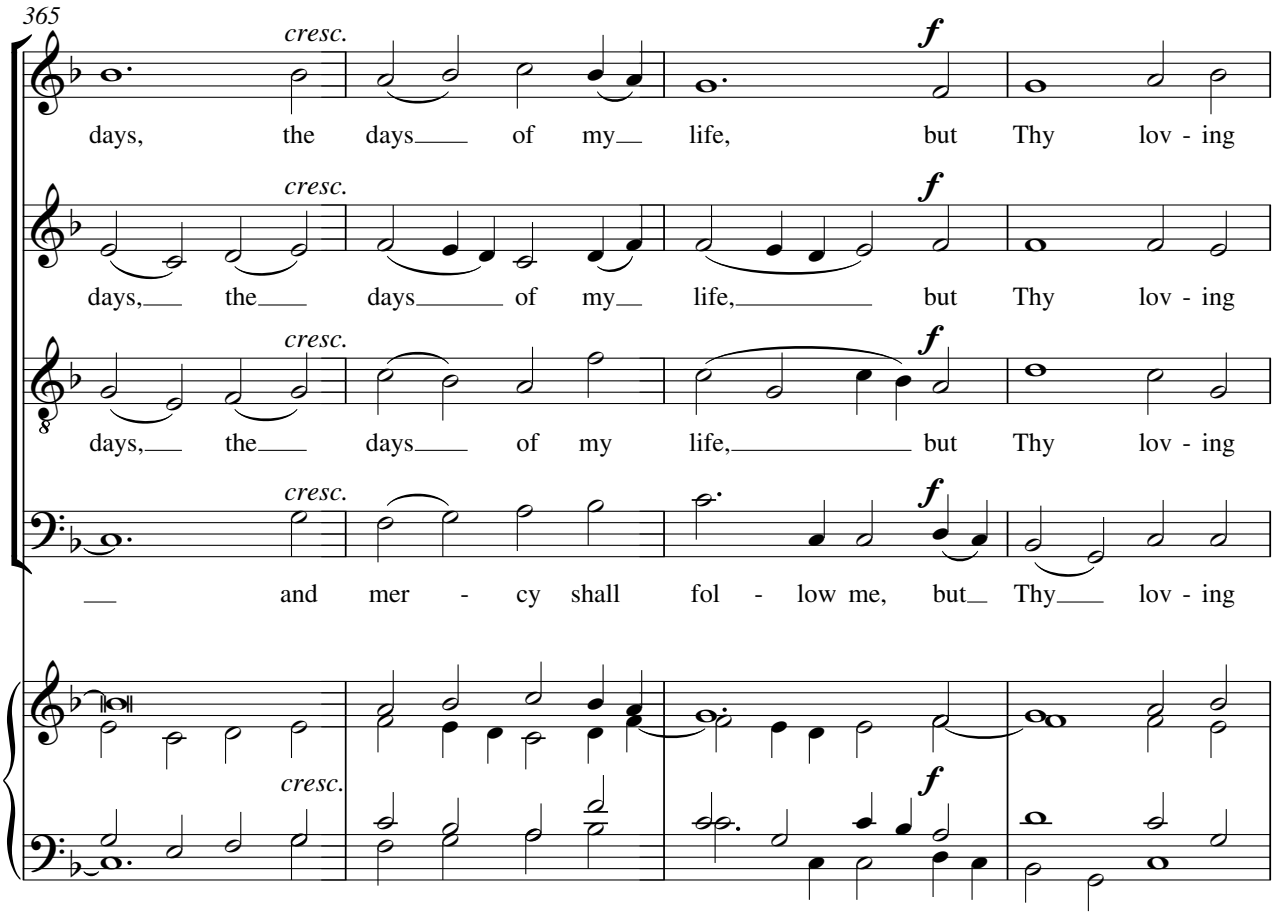
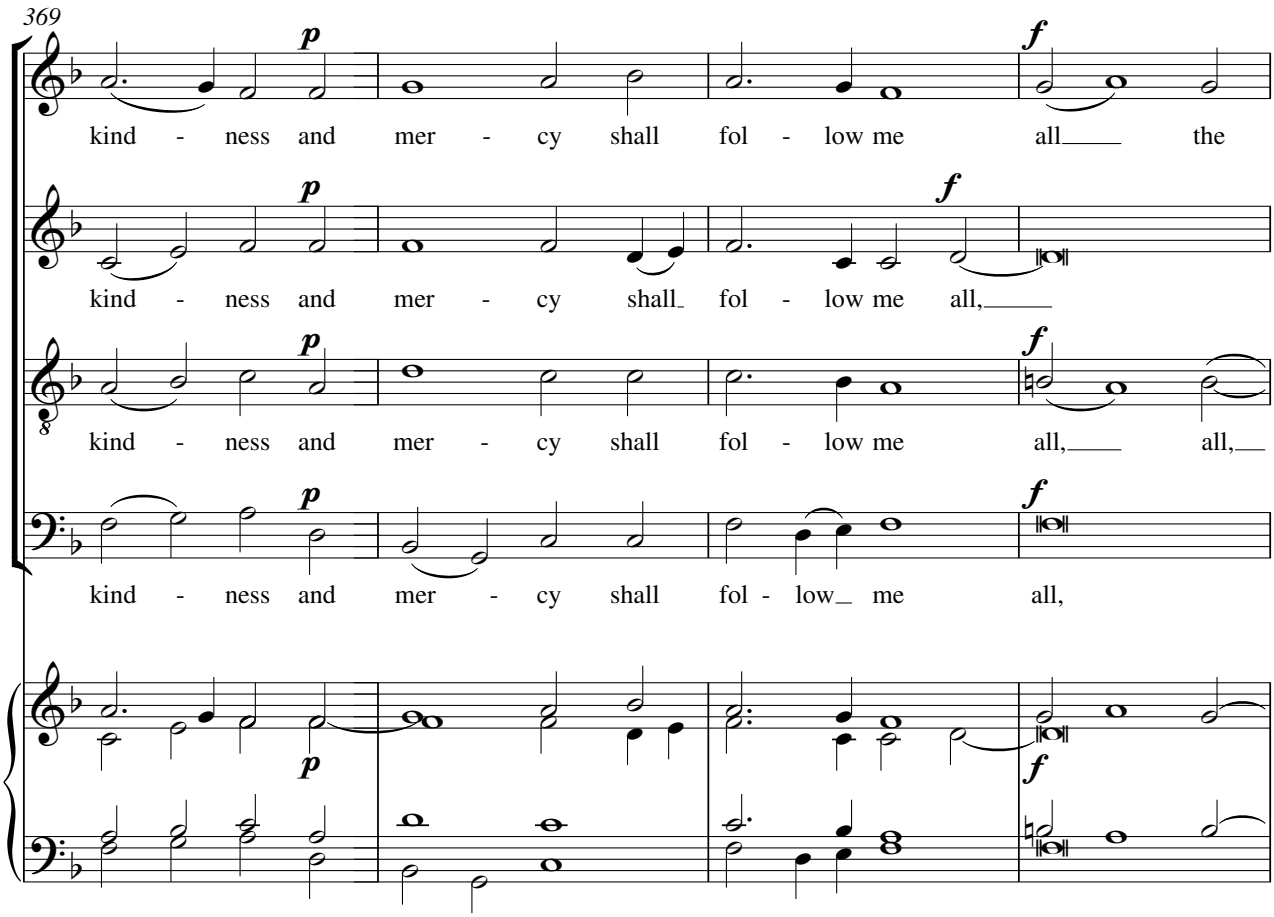
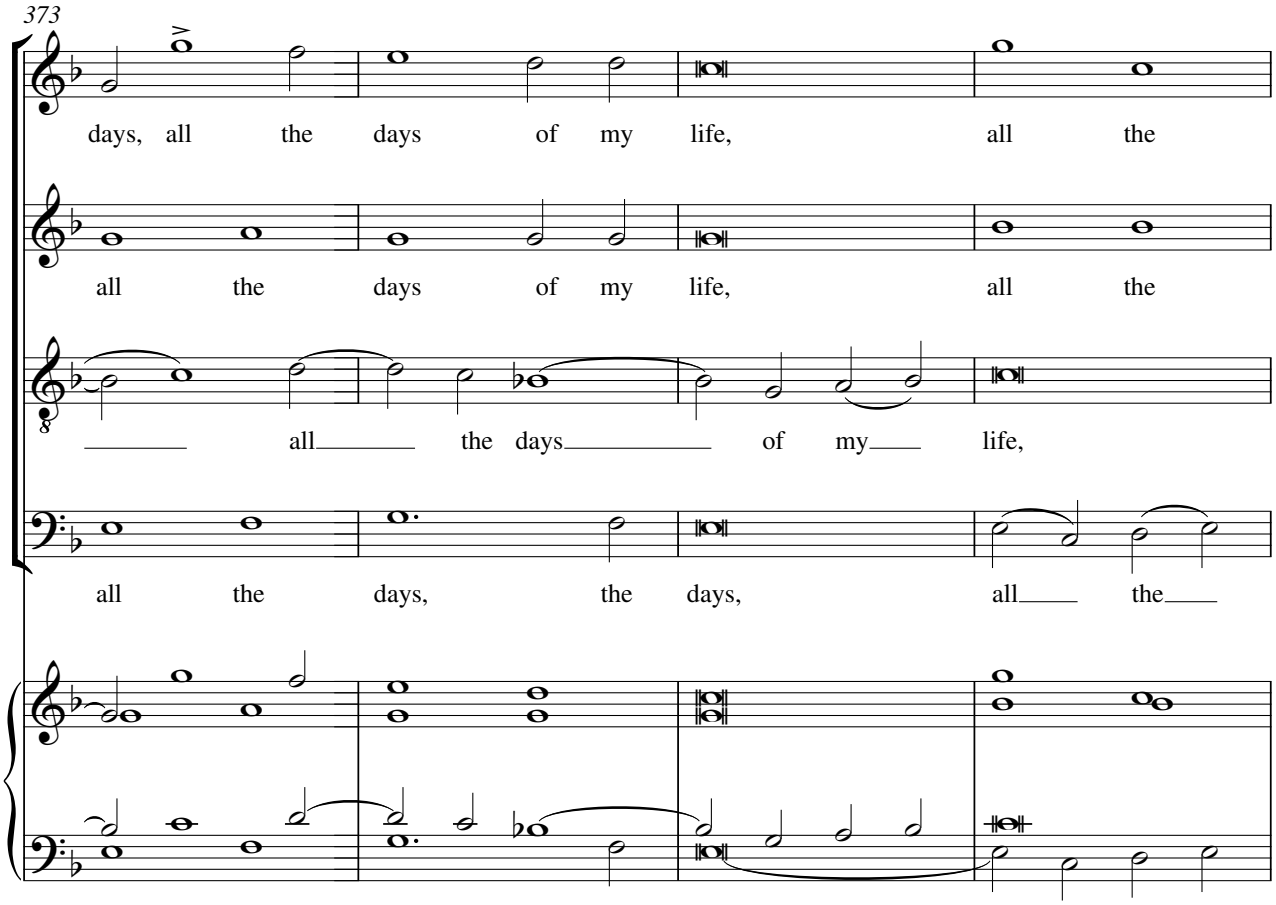
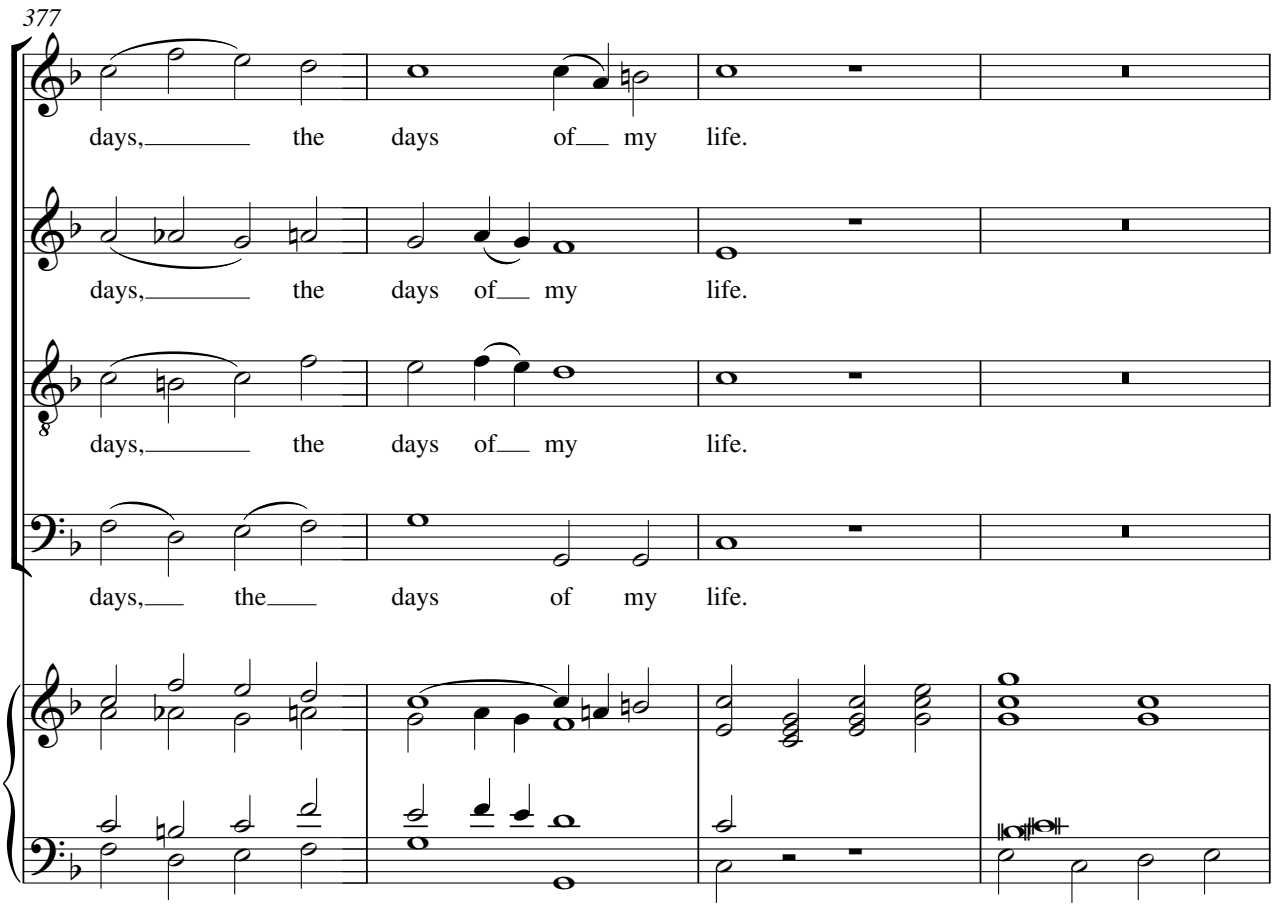
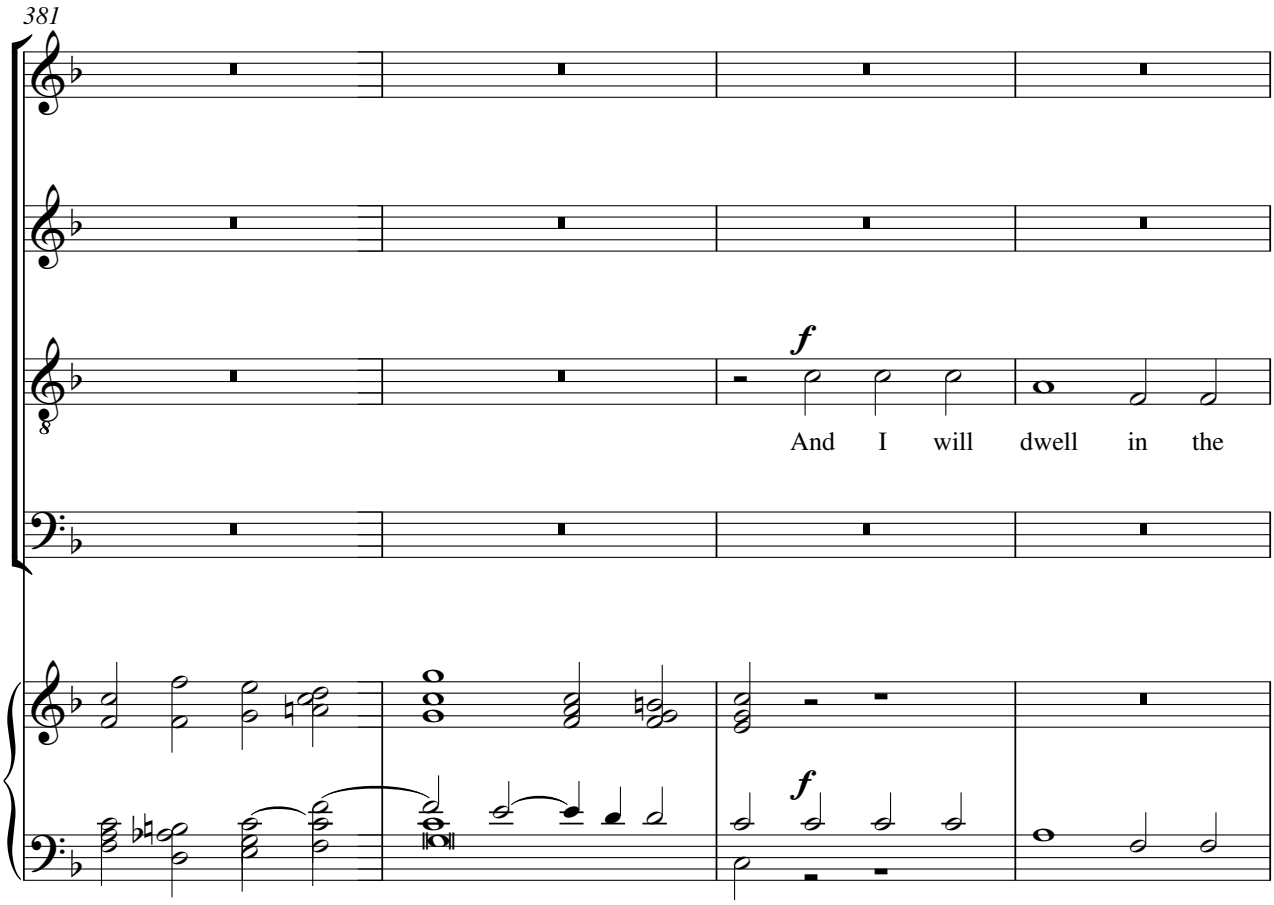

158
♩ = 88
Chorus
p
Tempo 1mo
The Lord is my Shep - herd,
The Lord is my Shep - herd,
rall.
com - fort
The Lord is my Shep - herd,
The Lord is my Shep - herd,
♩ = 88

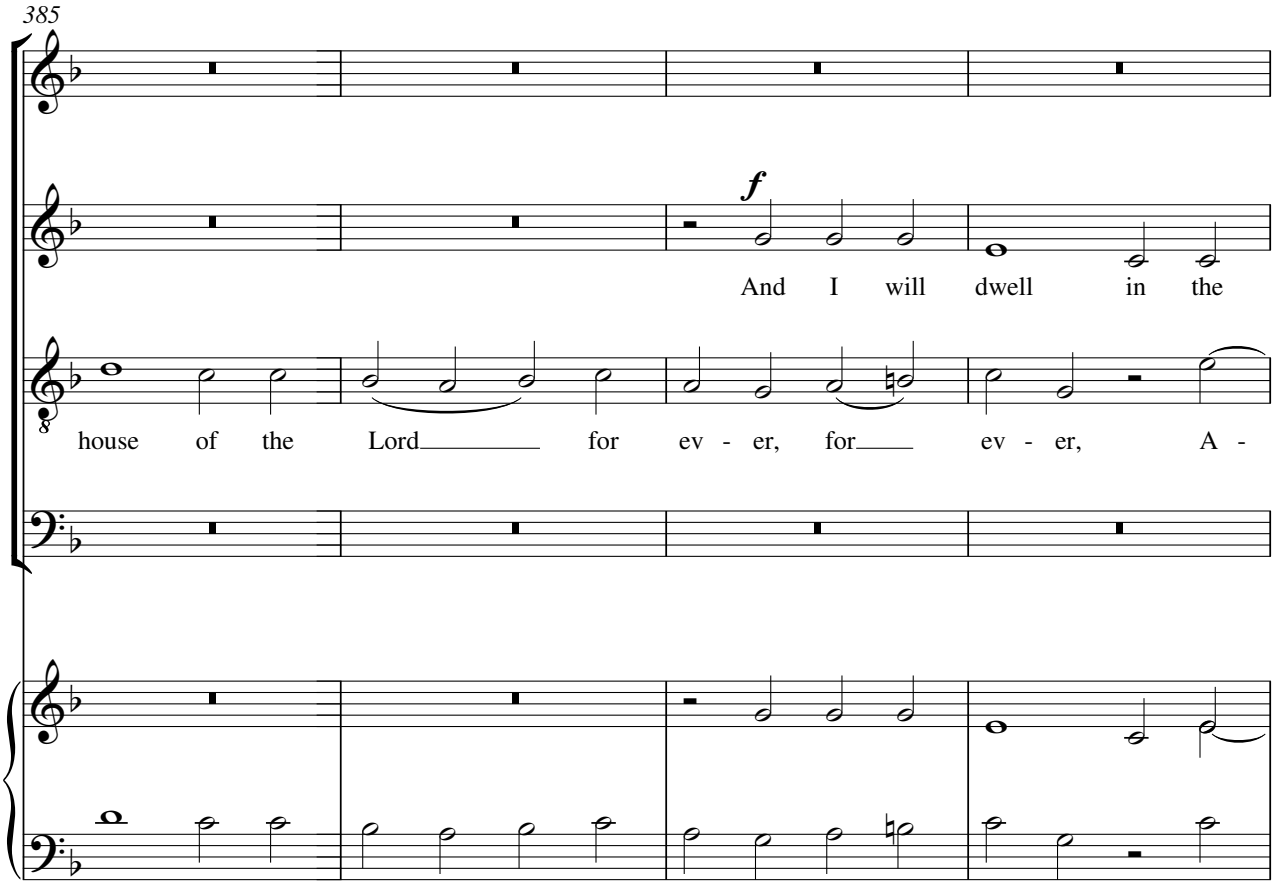
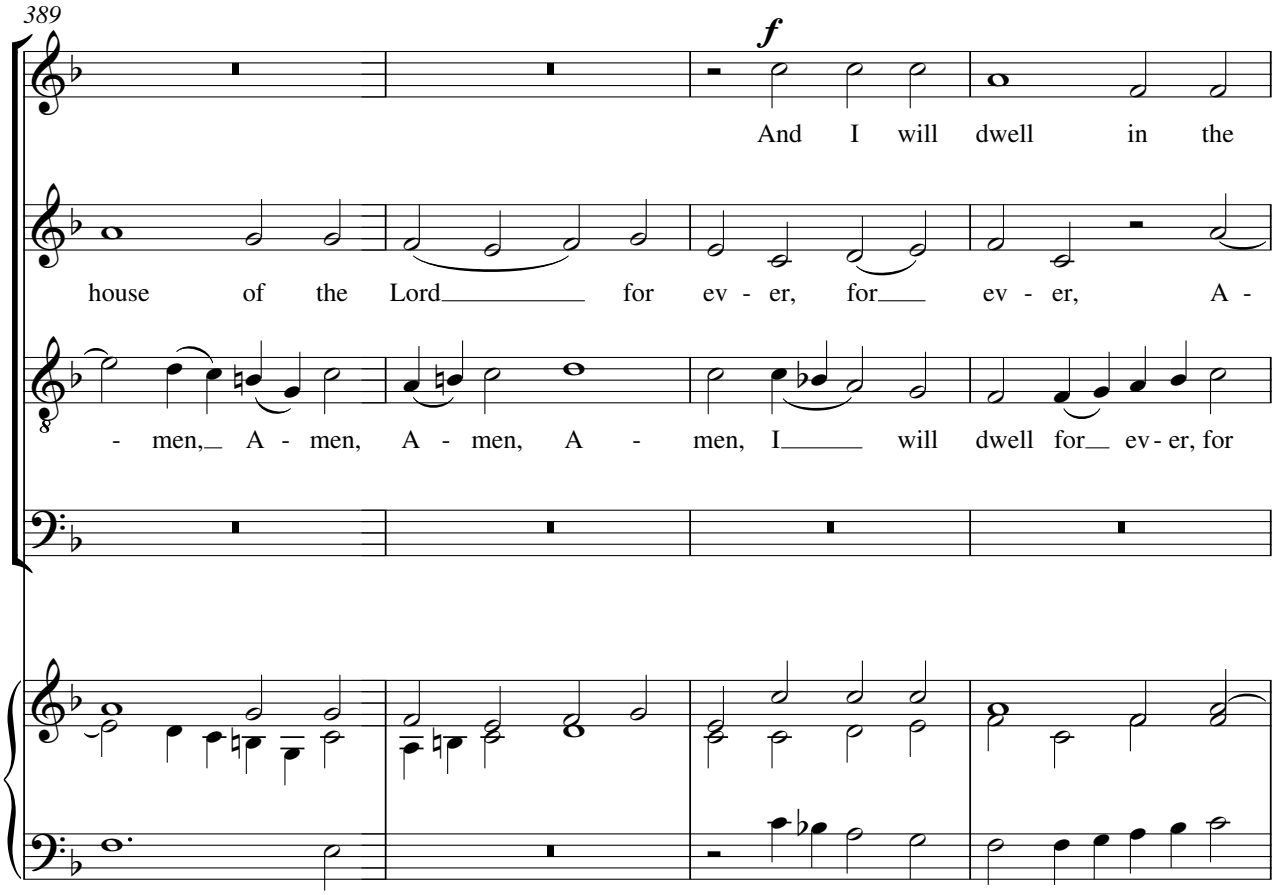

163
there - fore can I lack no - thing, the Lord is my Shep - herd,
is my Shep - herd, the Lord
f
is my Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd,
is my Shep - herd, the Lord is my Shep - herd,
cresc.

167
Largo ♩ = 56
rall.
is my Shep - herd.
rall.
is my Shep - herd.
rall.
there - fore can I lack no - thing.
rall.
is my Shep - herd.
Largo ♩ = 56
dim.
rall.
Sw. with Reed
171
Bass Solo
Yea, though I walk, though I
Sw without Reed
Gt. Diap.
175
walk_thro' the val-ley of the sha - dow, the sha - dow of death,
Sw.
pp
Ped

179
thro' the val - ley of the sha - dow, of the sha - dow of death,
Add Sw. Reed
Sw.
Gt. Diap
183
Yea, tho' I walk, tho' I walk thro' the val-ley of the sha - dow, the sha-dow of death, the
without reed
Gt. Diap.
187
rall.
Tempo
sha - dow, the sha - dow of death, I will fear no e - vil, I will fear no e - vil,
Tempo
Sw.
pp rall.
Gt.
Gt. Diap.
191
I will fear no e - vil, for Thou art with me, Thou art with me, Thy
Sw.
Gt.

195
rod and Thy staff com - fort me, Thy rod and Thy staff
Sw.
198
com - fort me.
Sw.
201
Yea, though I walk, though I walk thro' the val-ley of the sha - dow, the
Gt.
204
sha - dow of death, I will fear no e - vil, I will fear no e - vil,

207
I will fear no e - vil, for Thou art with me,
210
Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff com - fort me, Thy
213
rall.
rod and Thy staff com - fort me,
Cremona
Tempo
colla voce
Sw. with Reed
216
they com - fort me,
Sw.
Cremona

219
they
222
rall.
Allegretto con moto ♩. = 80
com - fort me.
Allegretto con moto ♩. = 80
colla voce
f Gt. to mixture
227
p Sw. with reed
231
f Gt.
236
p Sw.

240
244
Solo
A ta - ble, Thou shalt pre- pare a
Solo
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that
Solo
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that
Solo
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that
Tempo
Sw. to Prin.
rall.
248
ta - ble, with oil, and my cup shall be
trou-ble me. Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be
trou-ble me. Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup, my
trou-ble me. Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be

252
full.
Thou shalt pre - pare a
full. Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that
full. Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that
cup shall be full. Thou shalt pre-pare a ta - ble a - gainst them that
full. Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that
256
Chorus
ta - ble. Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a -
trou - ble me. Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a -
Gt. Diaps

259
Solo
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my
Solo
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, and my
Solo
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full and my
Solo
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
Solo
noit - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
Sw.
263
cup shall be full.
cup shall be full.
cup shall be full.
cup shall be full.
cup shall be full.
Gt. to mixture

268
Sw.
272
a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou - ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou - ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou - ble me.
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou - ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou - ble me. Thou hast a -
Ch. Diaps and Fl.
276
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.
my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, be full.
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, be full.
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.

280
a ta - ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou-ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta - ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou-ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a tab-ble be - fore me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta - ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou-ble me. Thou hast a -
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta - ble be - fore me a - gainst them that trou-ble me, Thou hast a -
Sw.

284
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my

288
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
pp
293
rall.
full.
full, my cup shall be full.
full, be full, my cup shall be full.
full, be full, my cup shall be full.
full, my cup shall be full.
rall.

297
Chorus
Thou shalt pre- pare a ta - ble. Thou hast a-
Chorus
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be
fore me a-gainst them that trou-ble me. Thou hast a-
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that trou-ble me. Thou hast a-
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that trou-ble me.
Thou shalt pre-pare a ta-ble be - fore me a-gainst them that trou-ble me.
Gt. Diaps
Sw.
301
noint-ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. Thou shalt pre
noint-ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. Thou shalt pre
noint-ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. Thou shalt pre
my head with oil, and my cup, and my cup shall be
my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. A
Gt.

305
pare.
Thou hast a-
pare a ta - ble, a ta - ble be - fore me. Thou hast a-
pare a ta - ble, a ta - ble be - fore me. Thou hast a-
full, Thou shalt pre-pare a ta - ble, pre-pare a ta - ble. Thou hast a-
ta - - ble, a ta - ble be - fore me. Thou hast a-

309
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a-
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my
noint - ed my head with oil, Thou hast a - noint - ed my head with oil, and my

313
noint - ed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cup shall be full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
318
full, my cup, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
cresc.

322
dim.
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full my cup shall be full,
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my cup shall be full, my cup shall be
dim.
f
p
327
pp
rall.
full, my shall be
full, shall be full, my shall be
my cup shall be full, my shall be
full, shall be full, my cup shall be
full, my shall be
f
pp

331
full.
full.
full.
full.
full.
a tempo
Gt.
335
Sw.
rall.
339
With spirit, but not too fast.
But Thy lov - ing
But Thy lov - ing
But Thy lov - ing
But Thy lov - ing
With spirit ,but not too fast

341
p
f
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the days, all
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
345
days, all the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
days, all the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
days all the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing

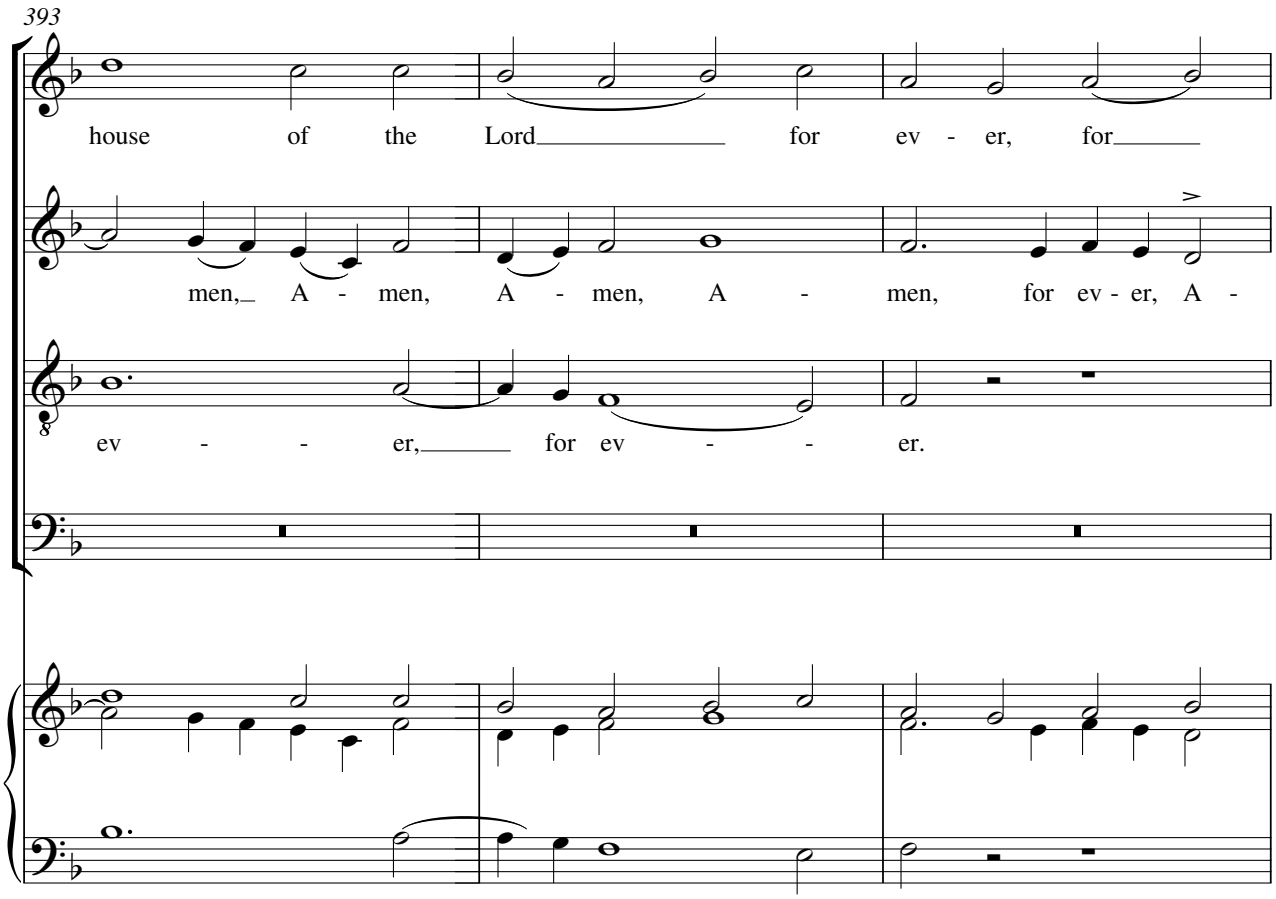
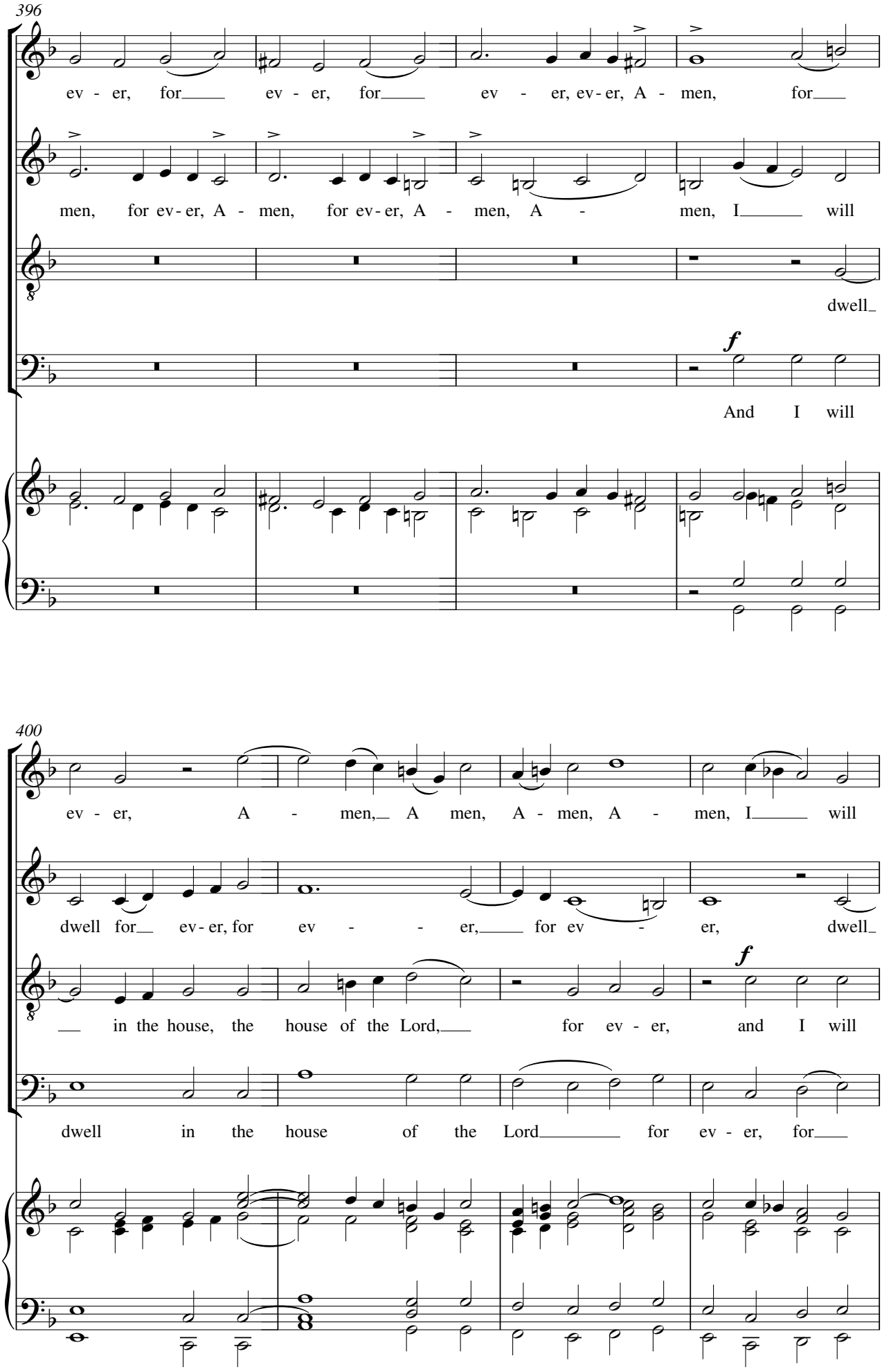
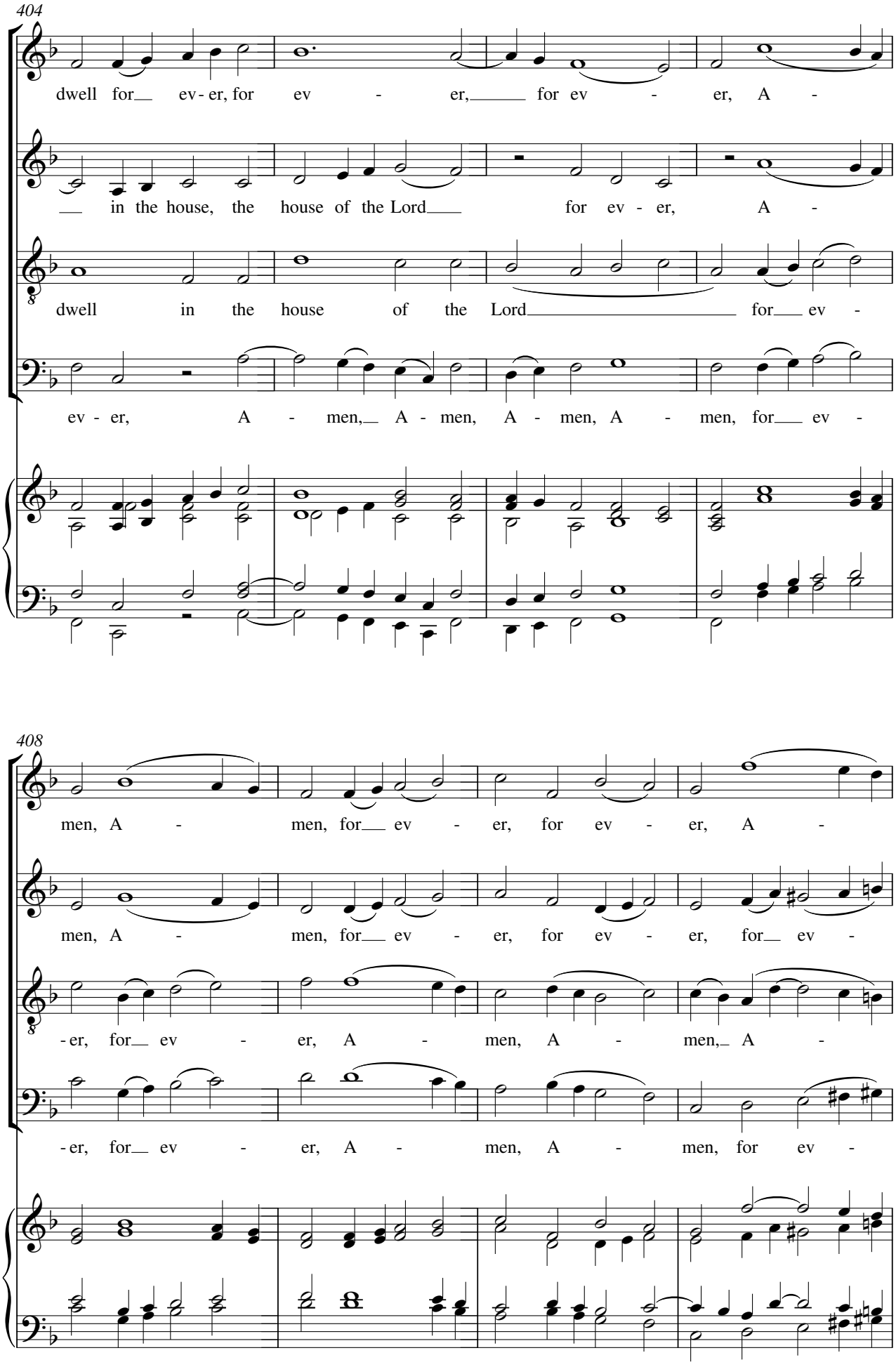
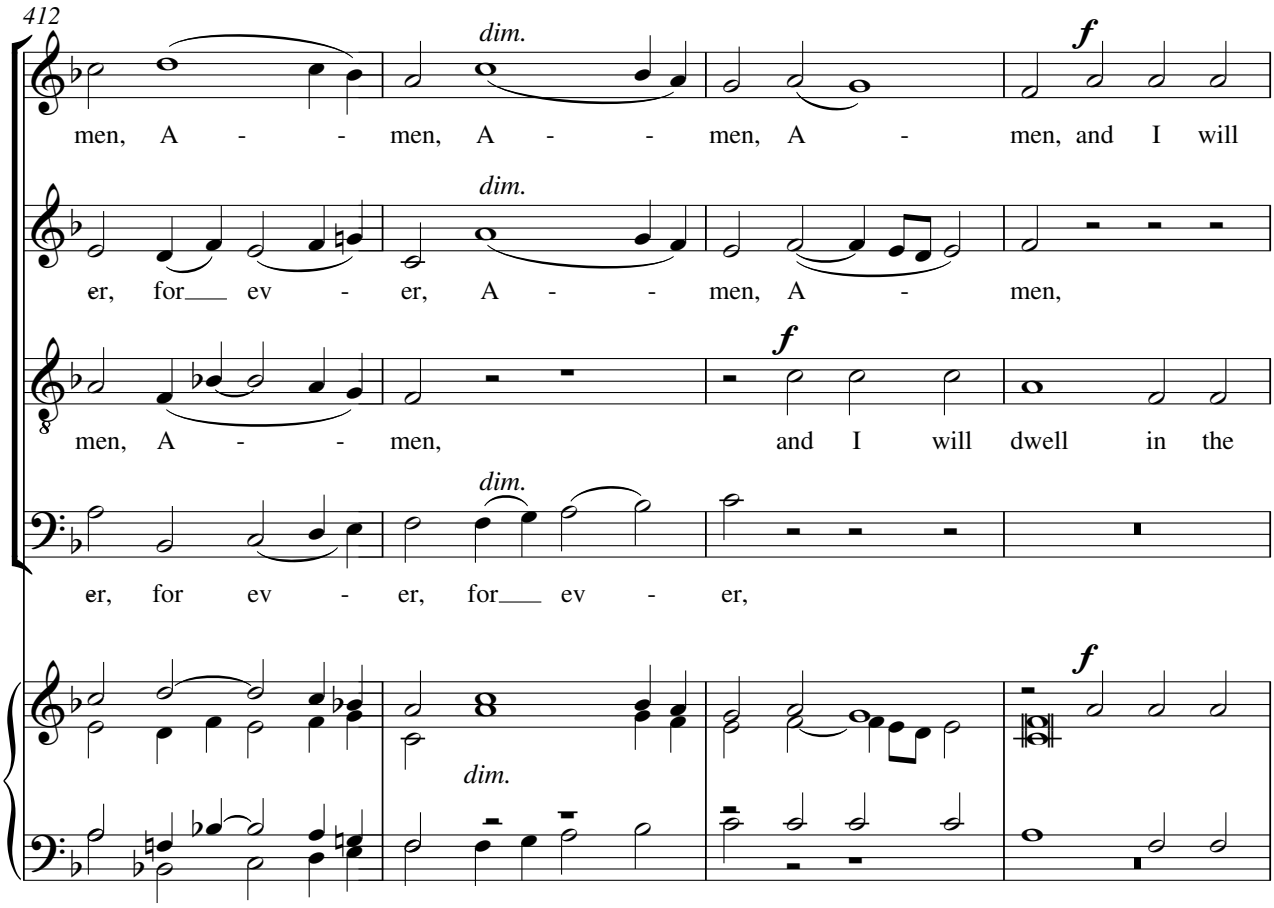
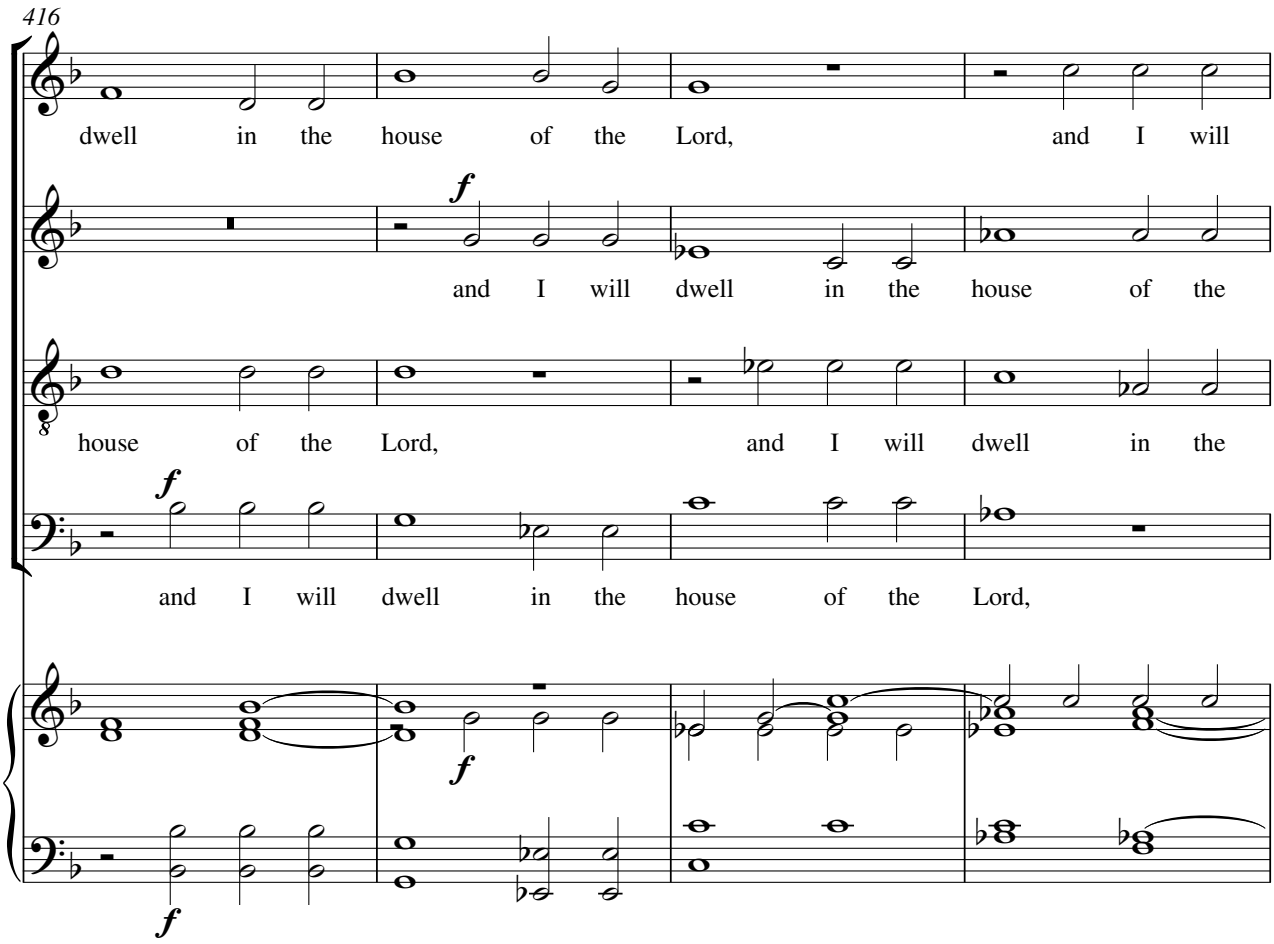

349
p
f
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the

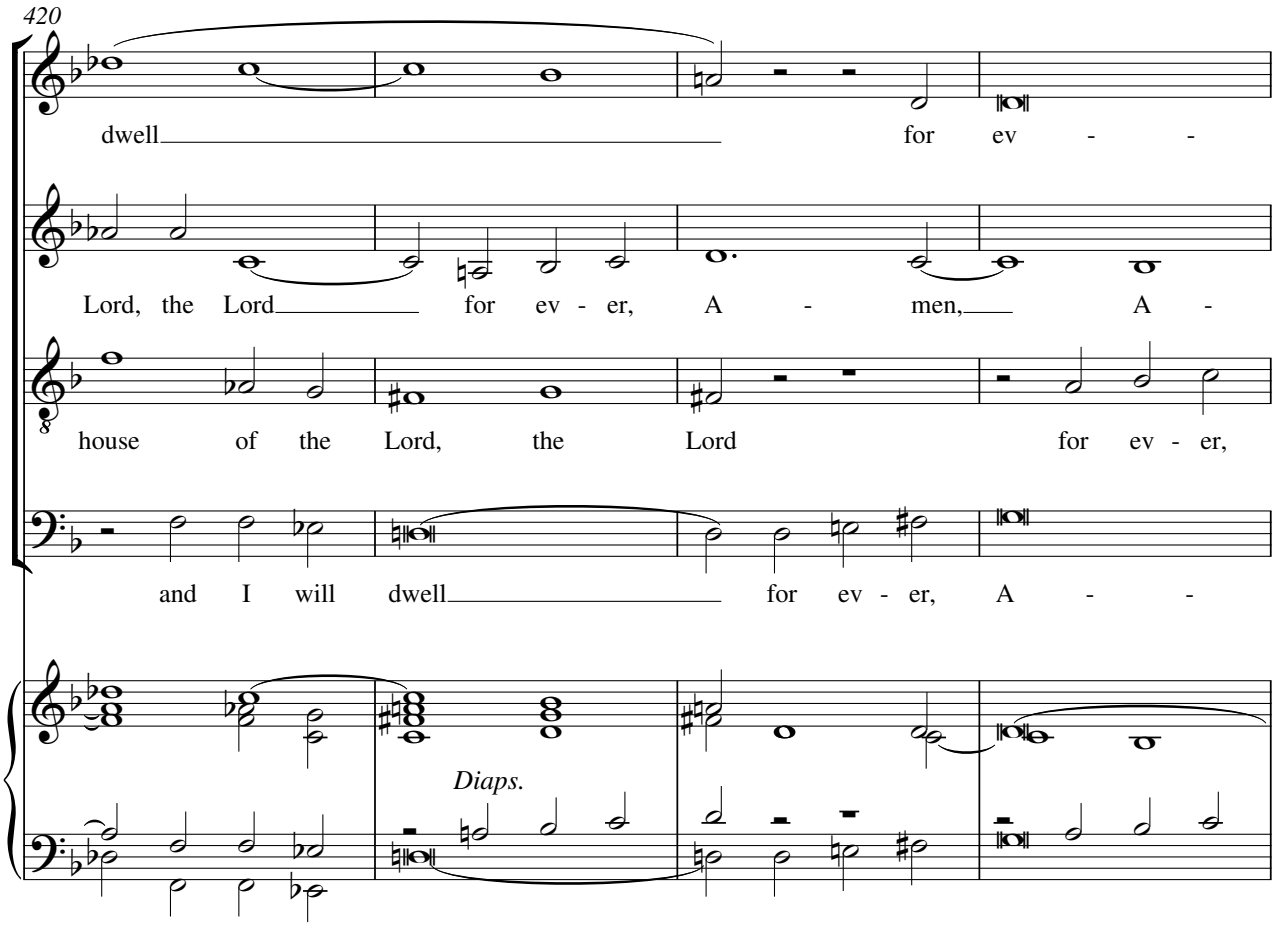
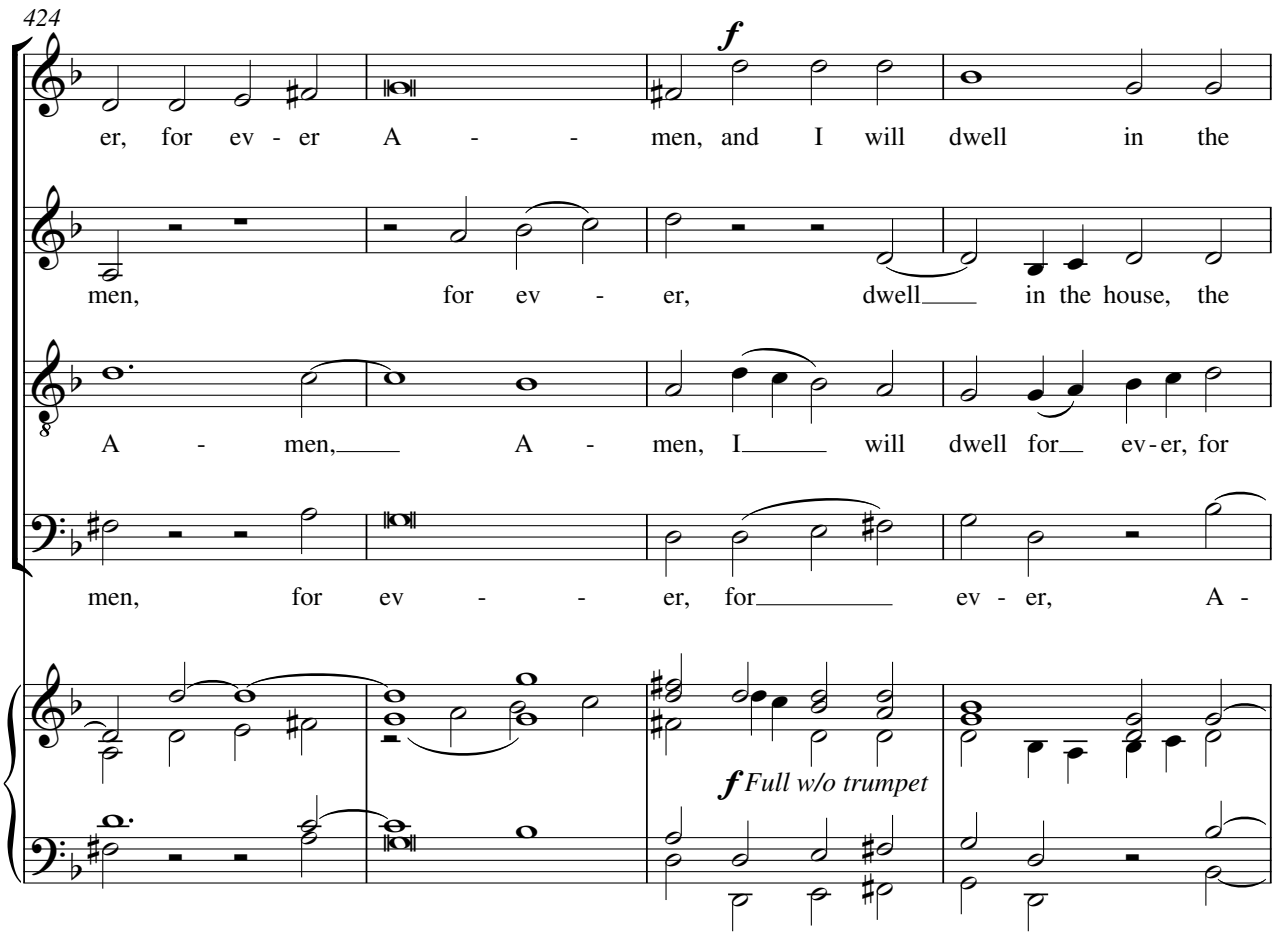
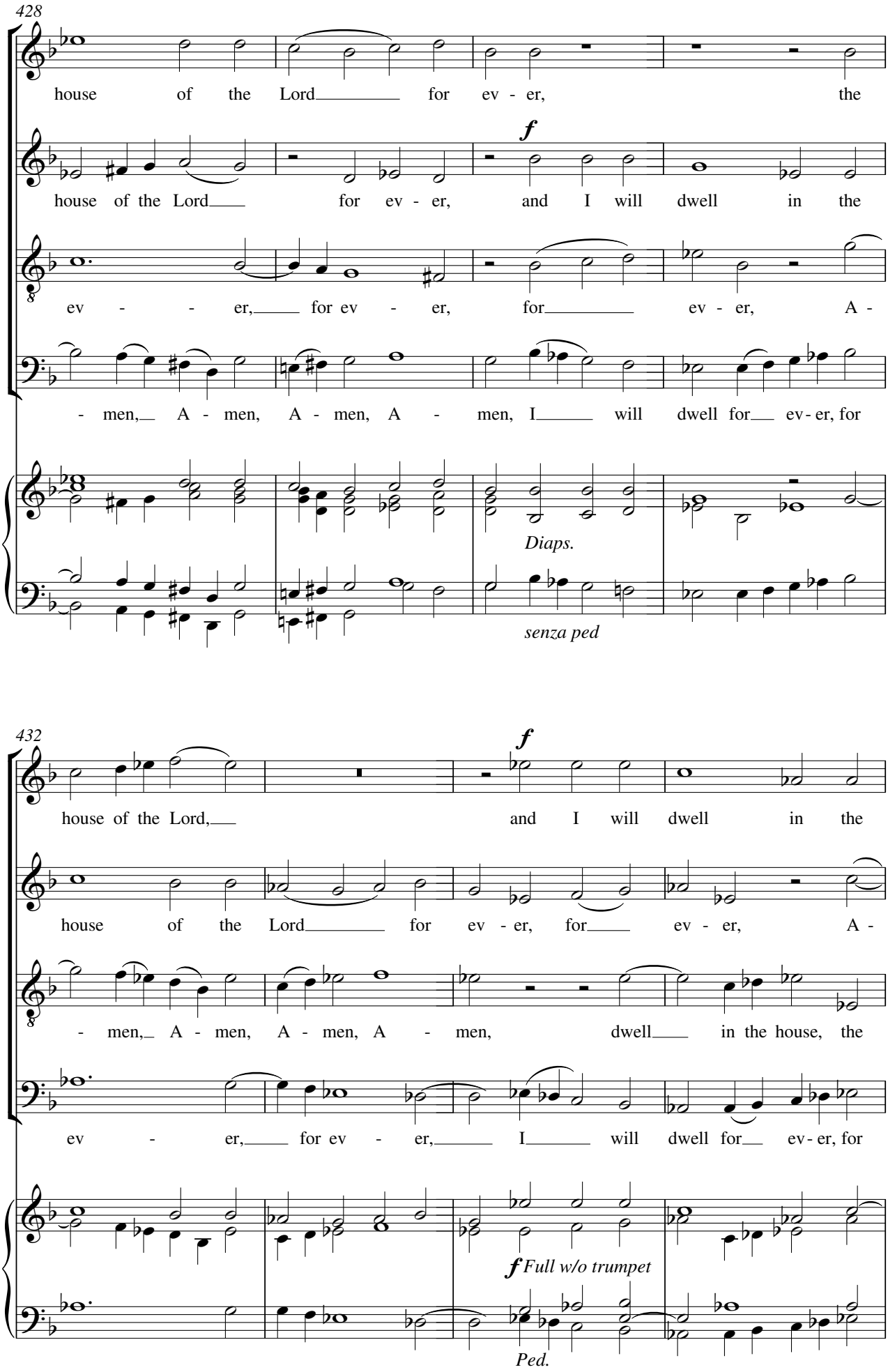
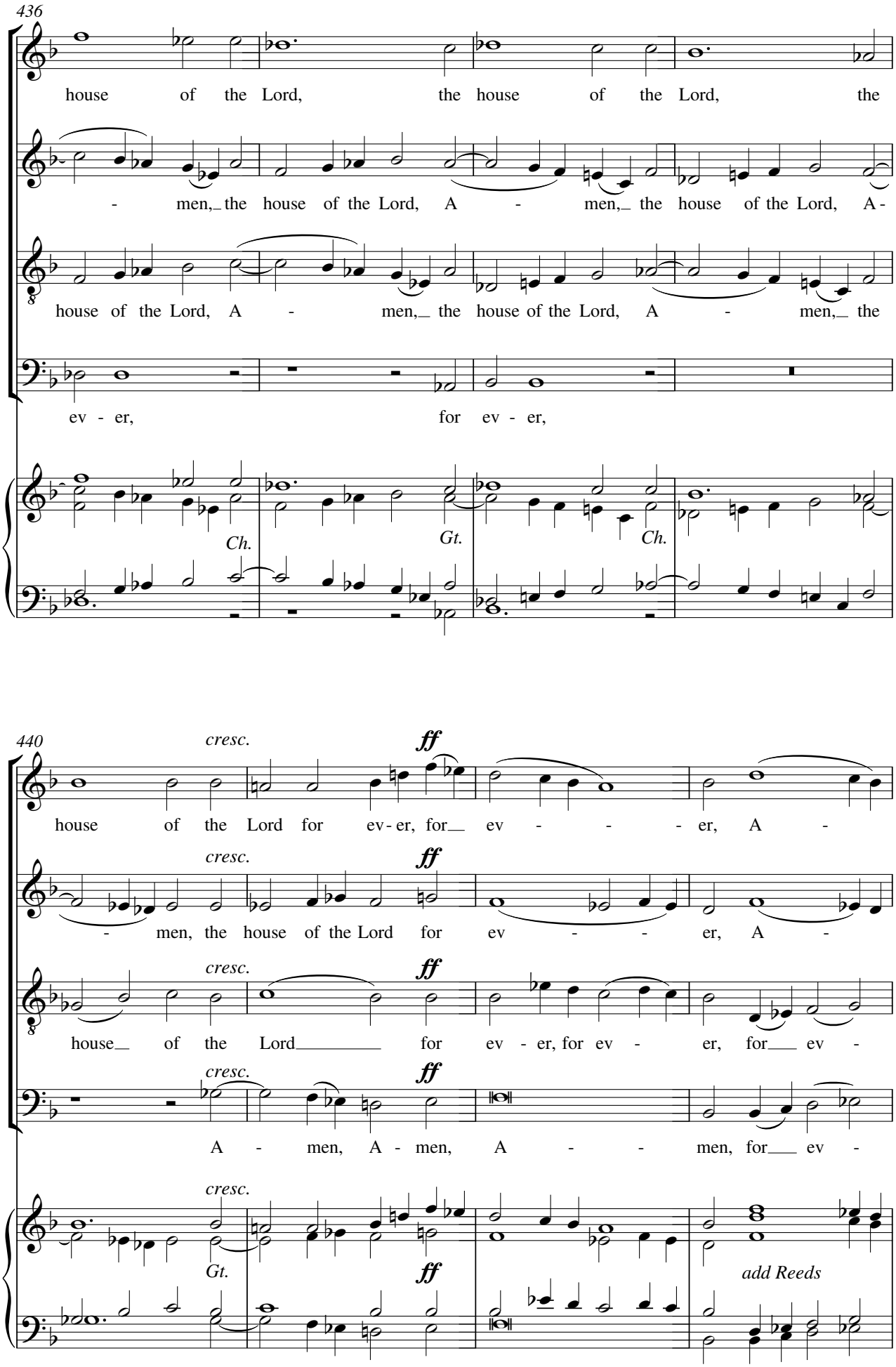
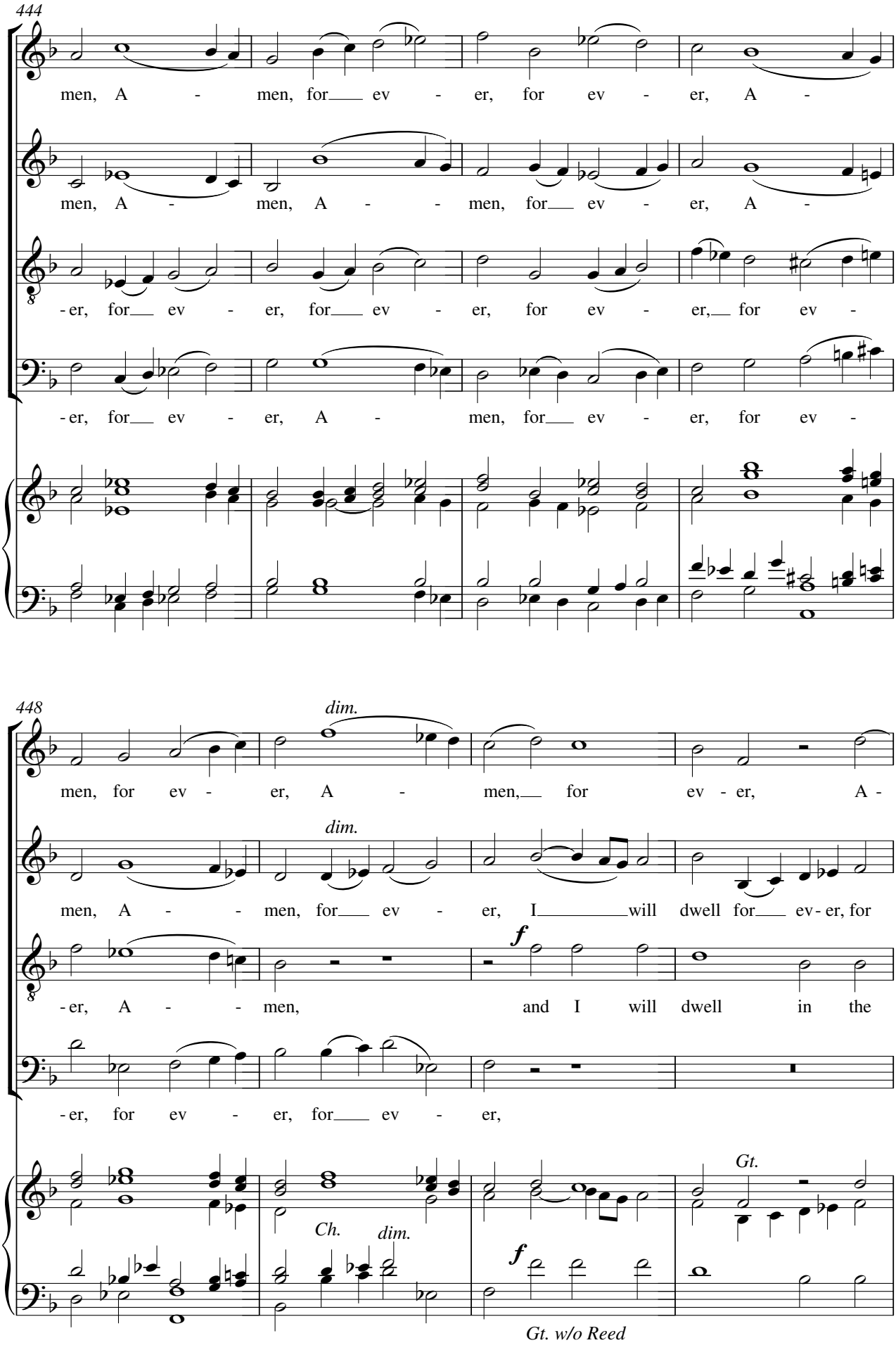
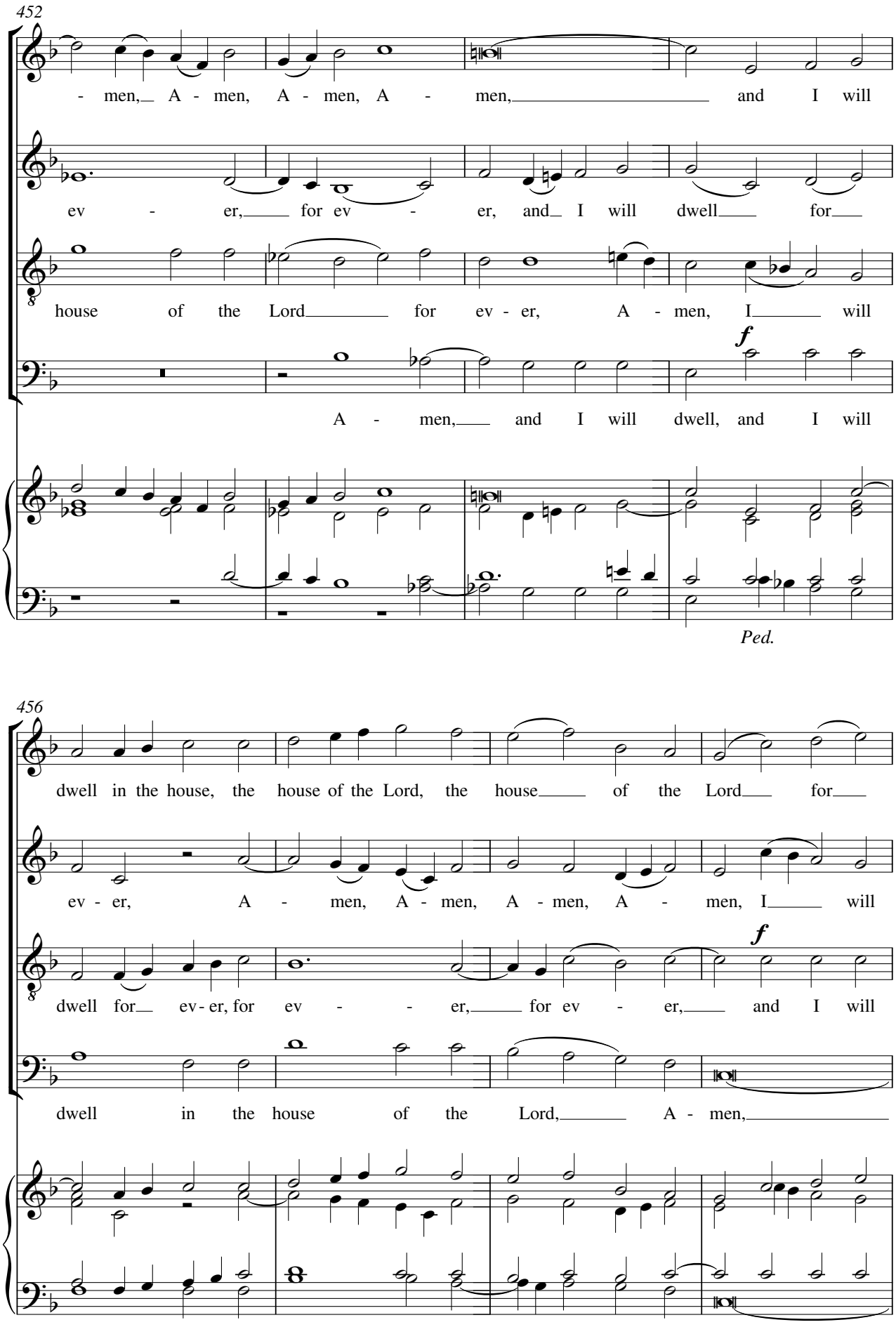
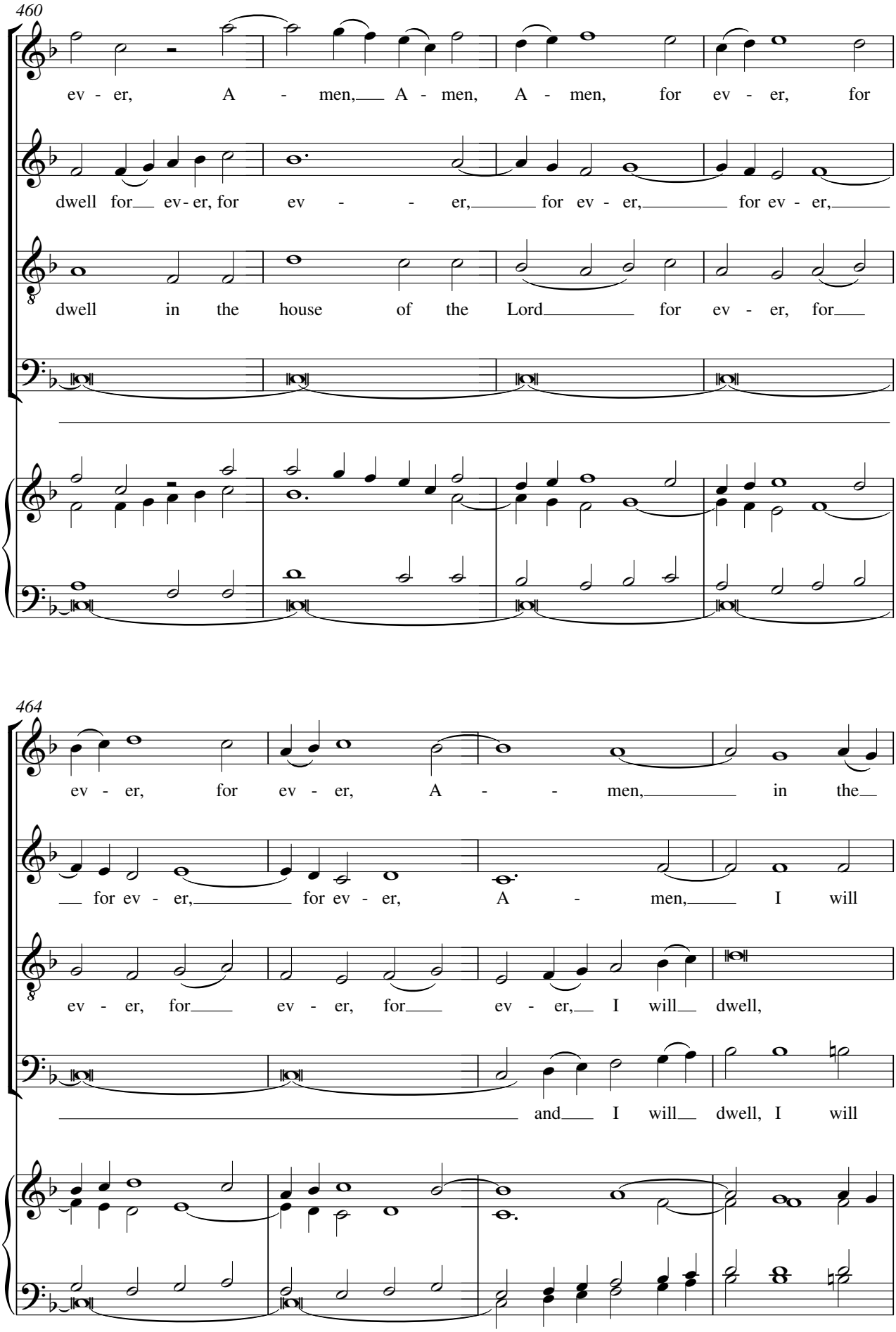
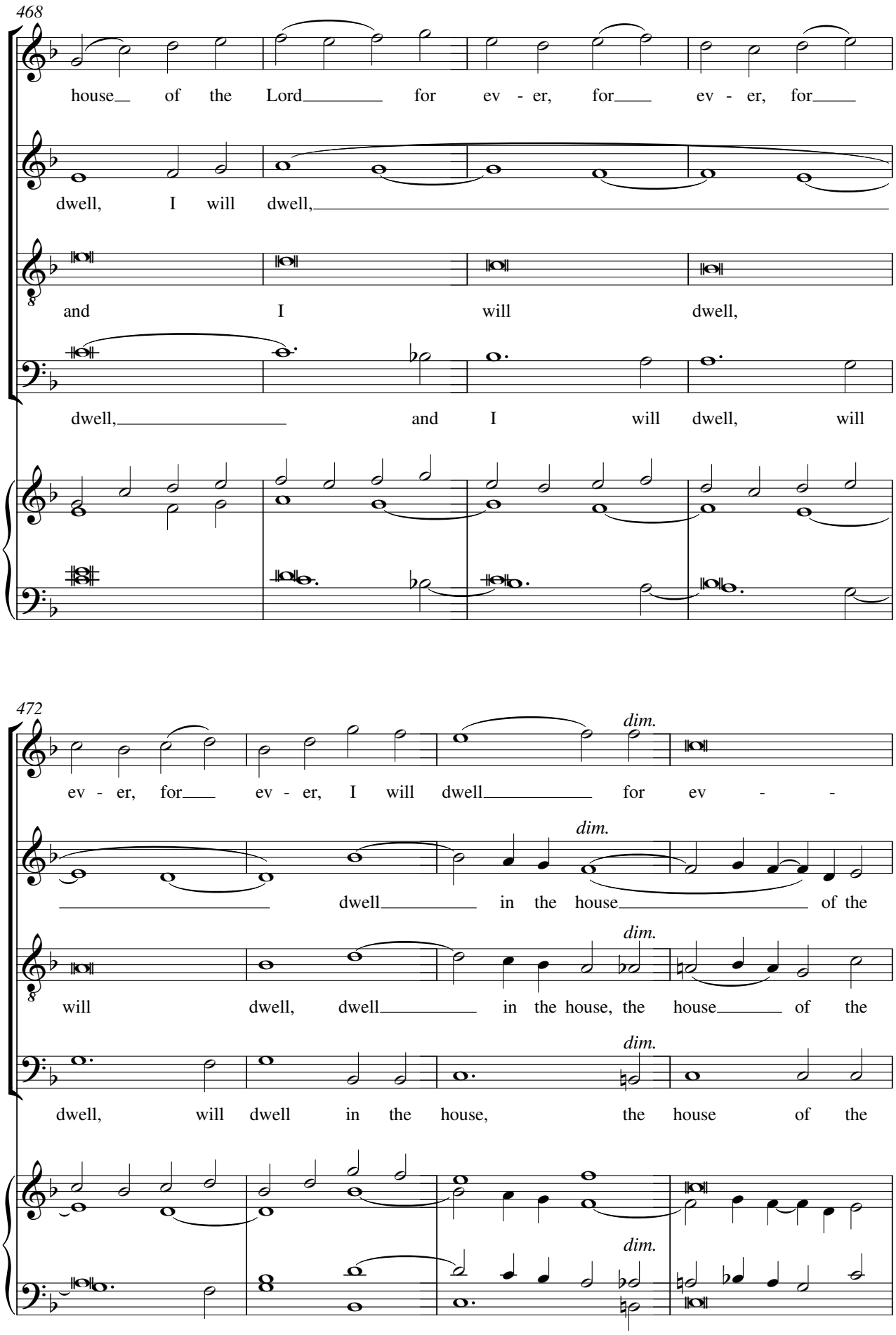
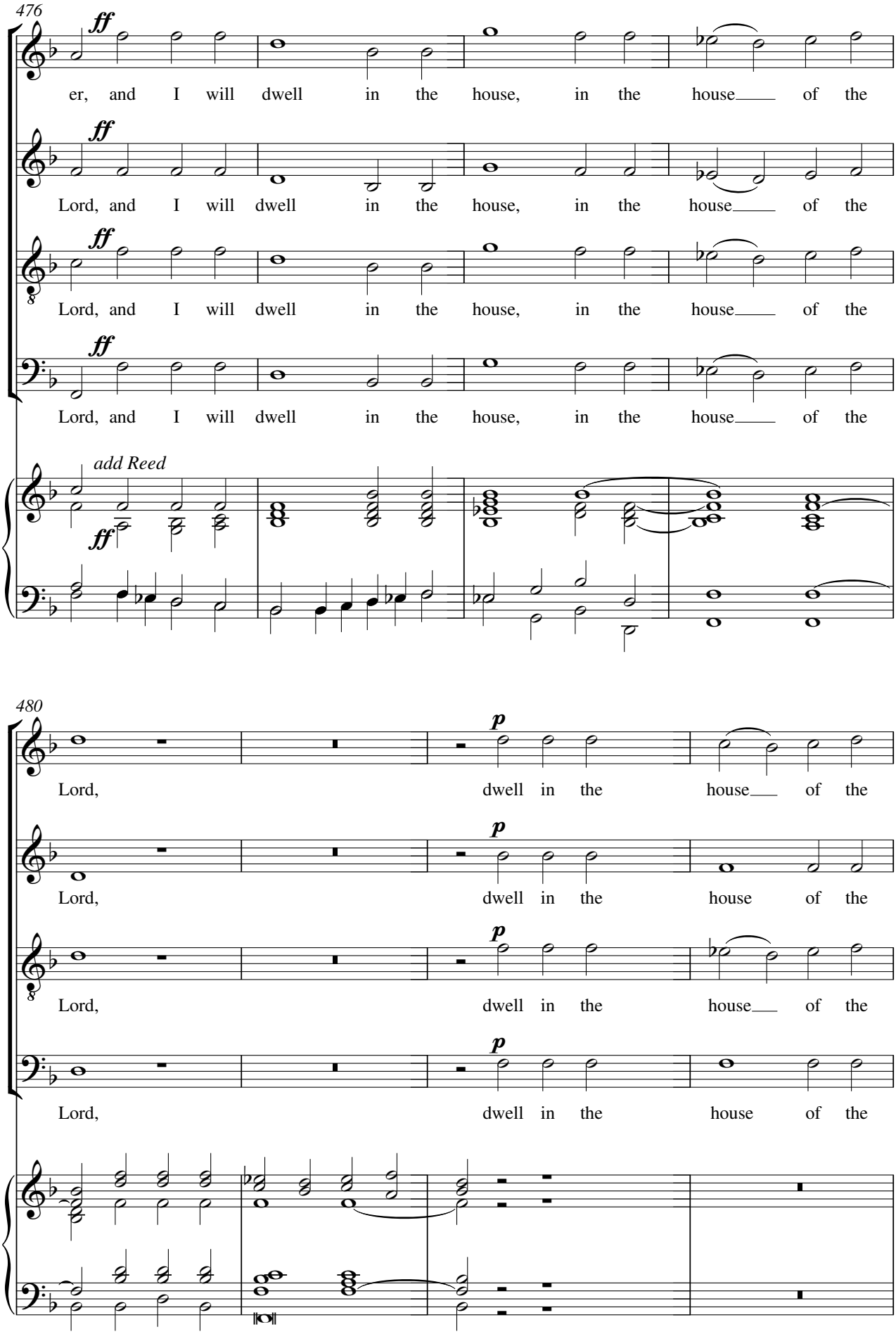

353
days, all the days, all the
days, all the days, all the
days, all the days, all, all
days, all the days, all the

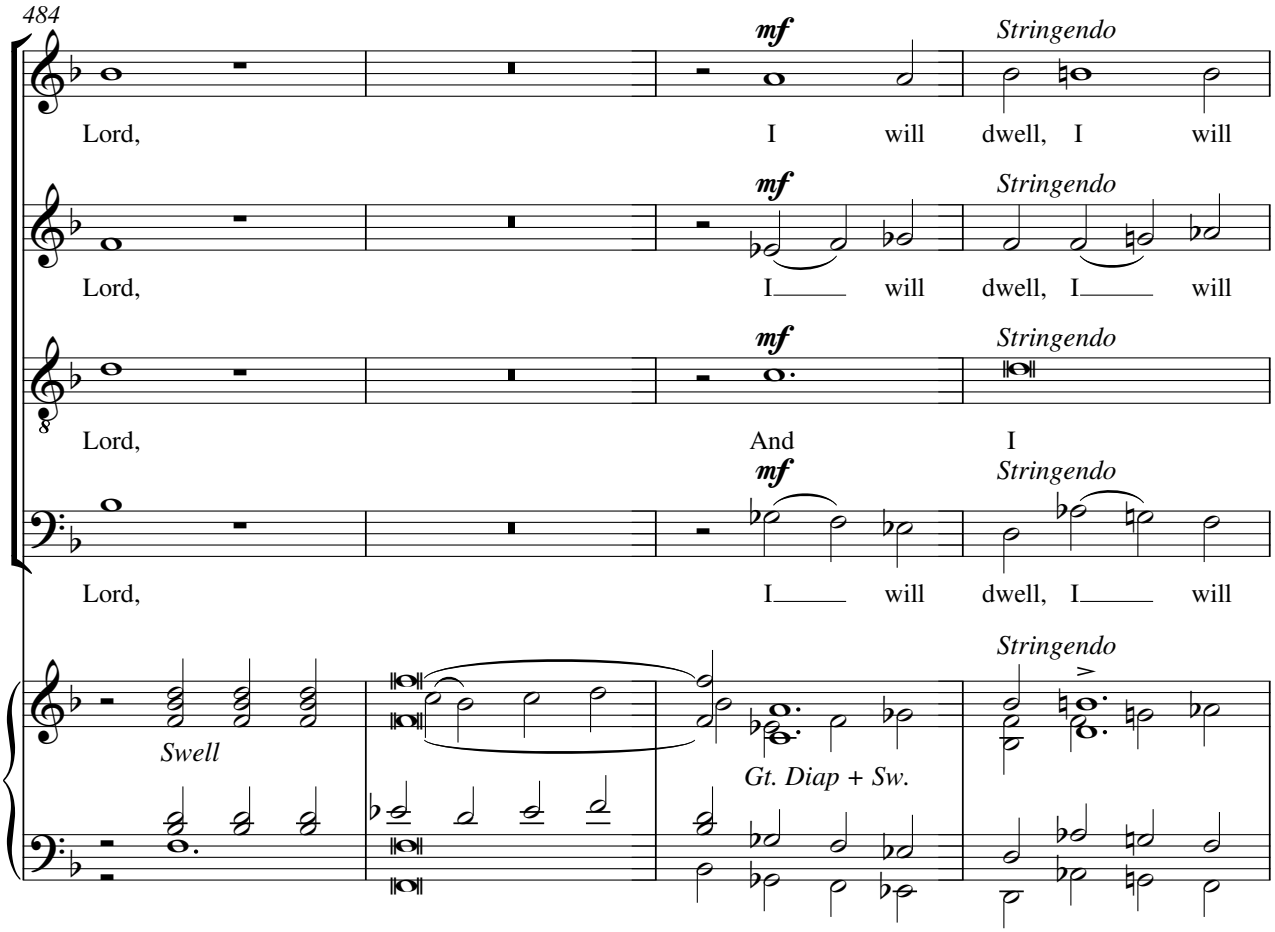

357
dim.
days, the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
dim.
days, the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
dim.
the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
dim.
days, all the days of my life, but Thy
dim.

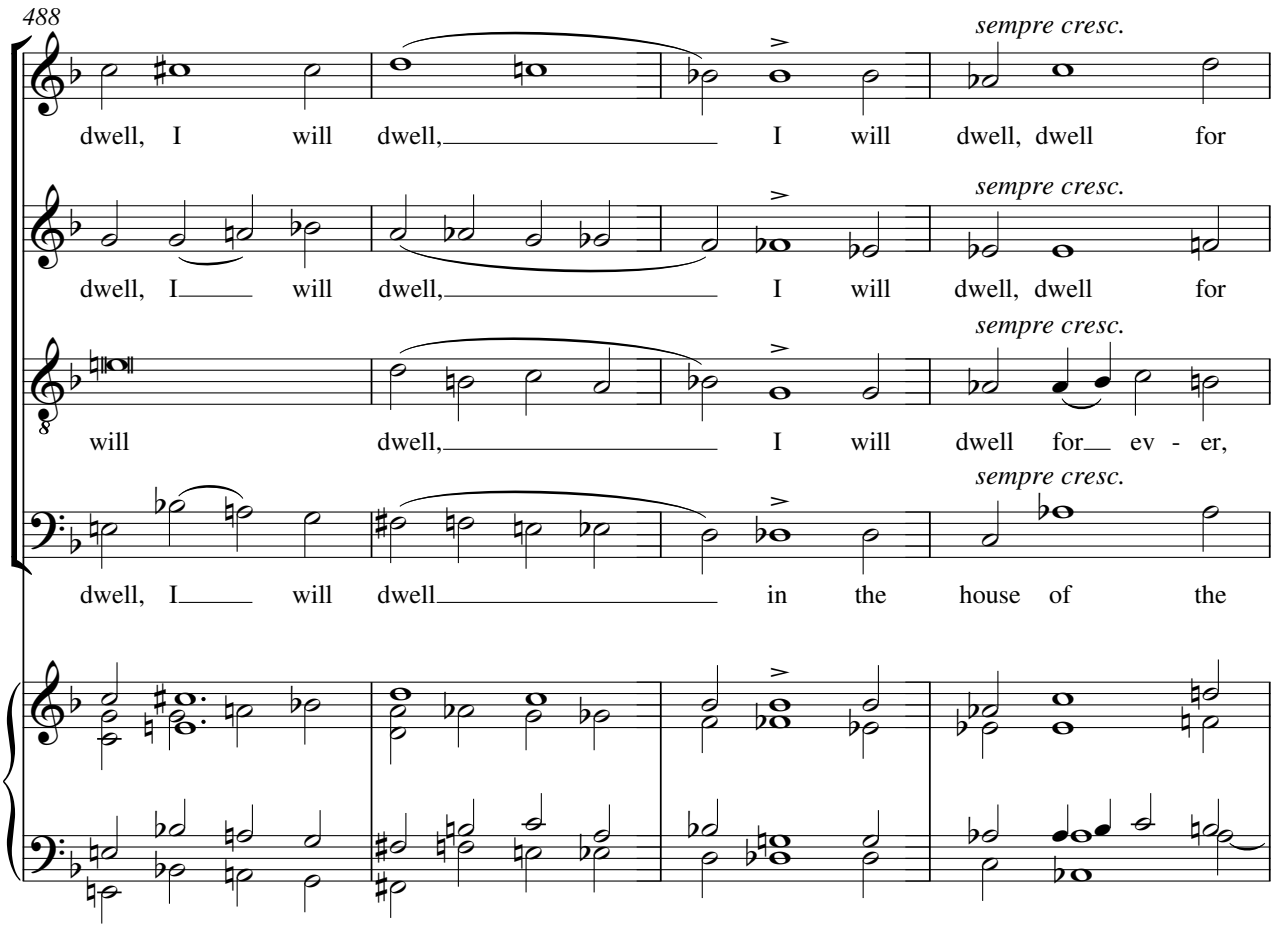
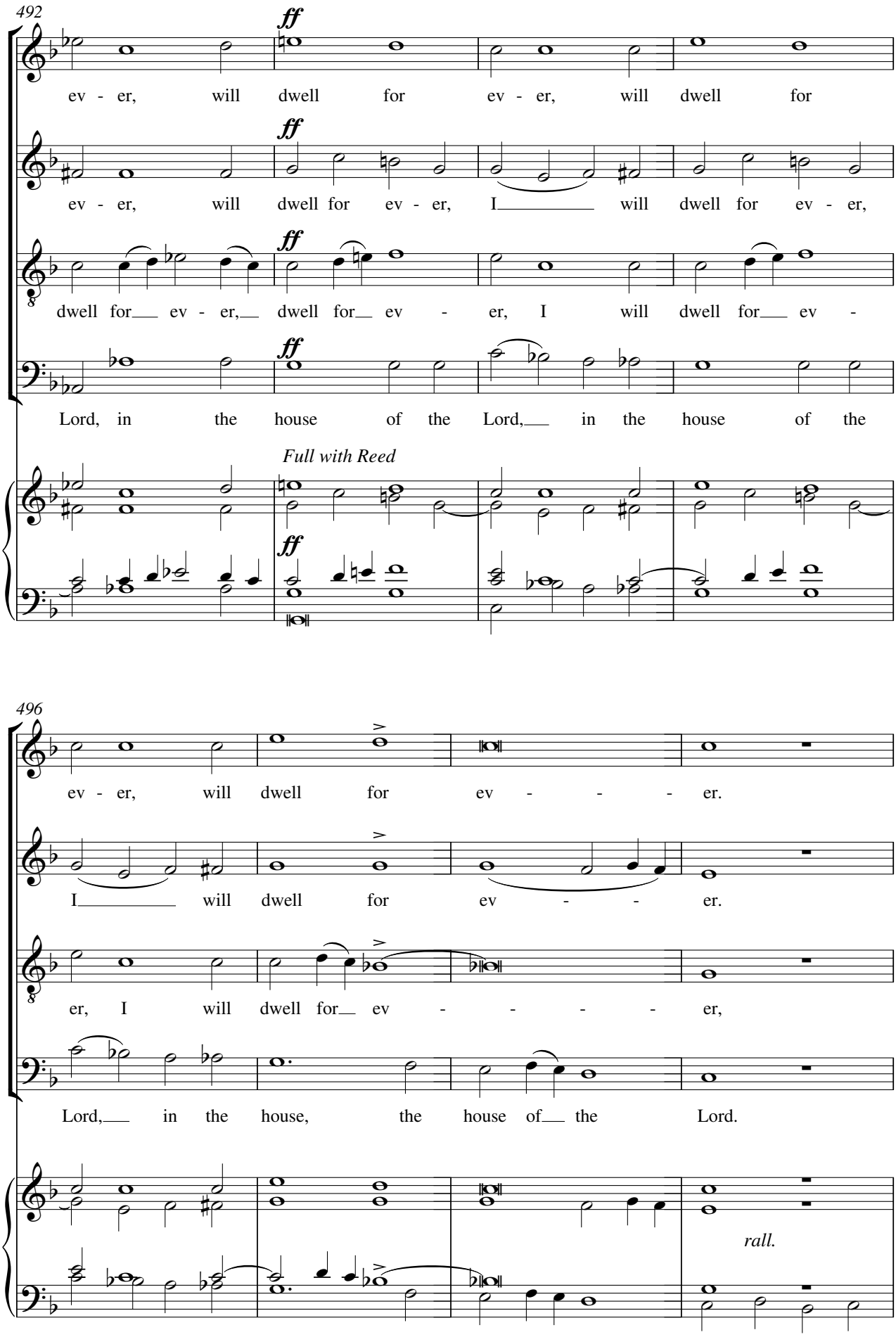
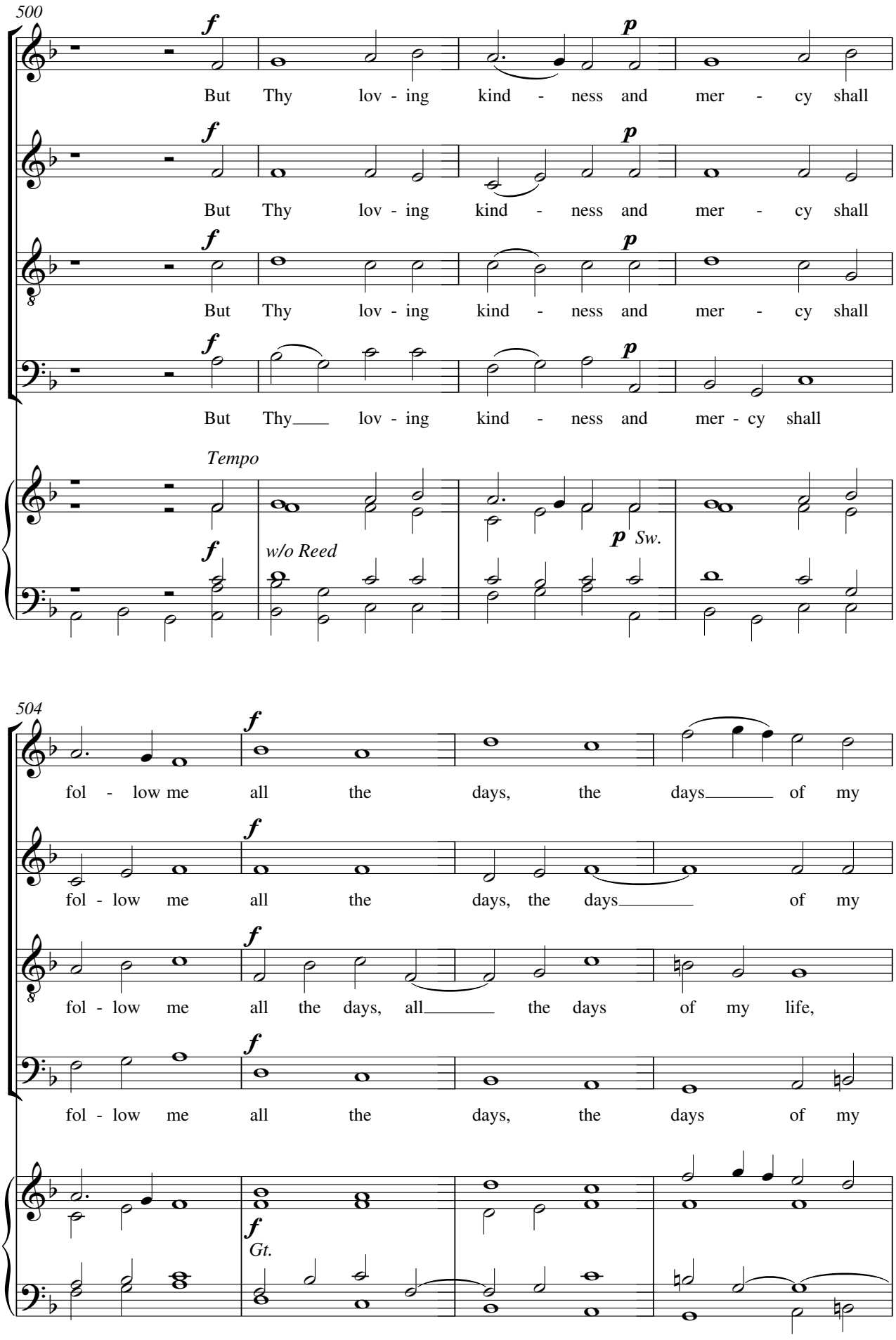
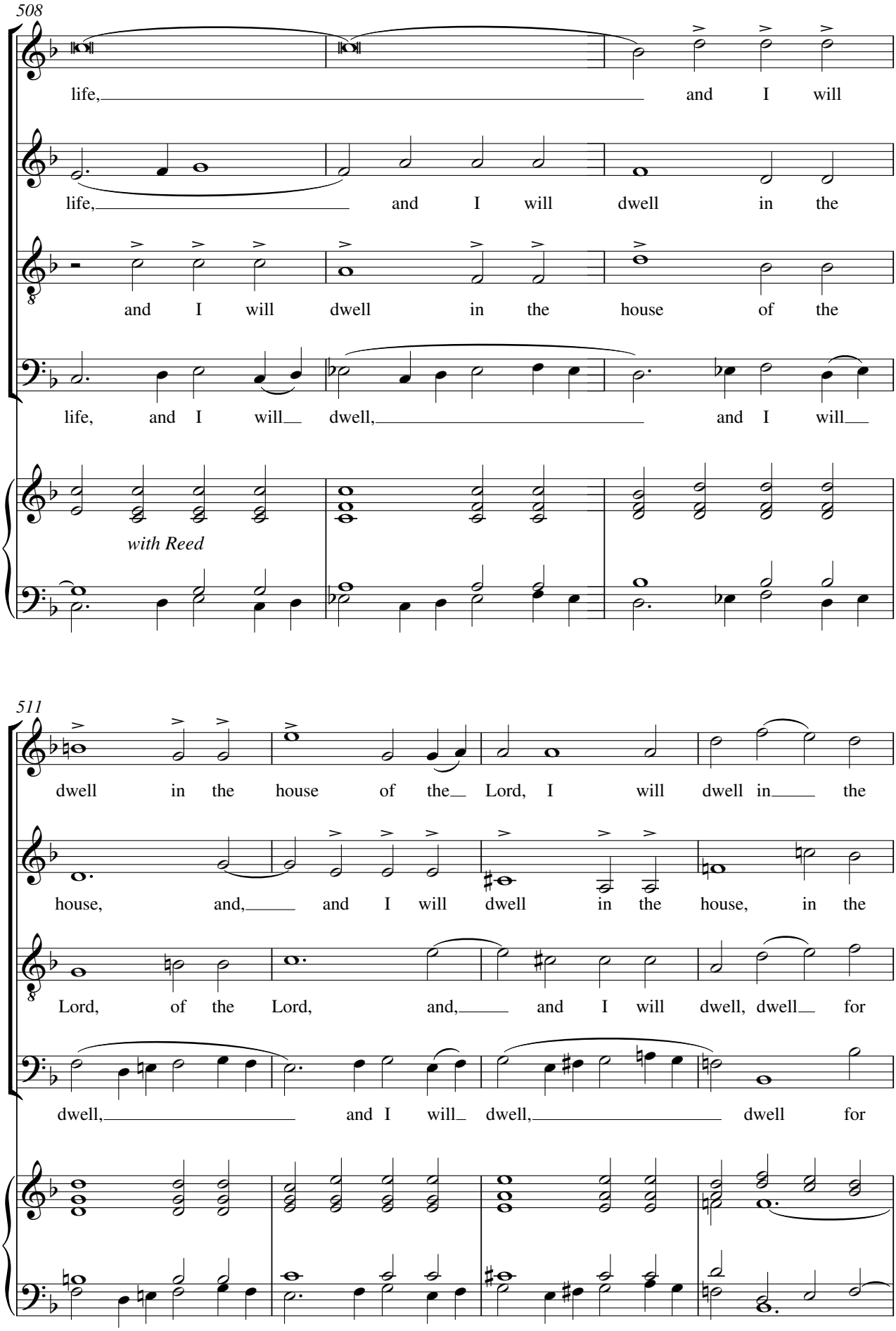
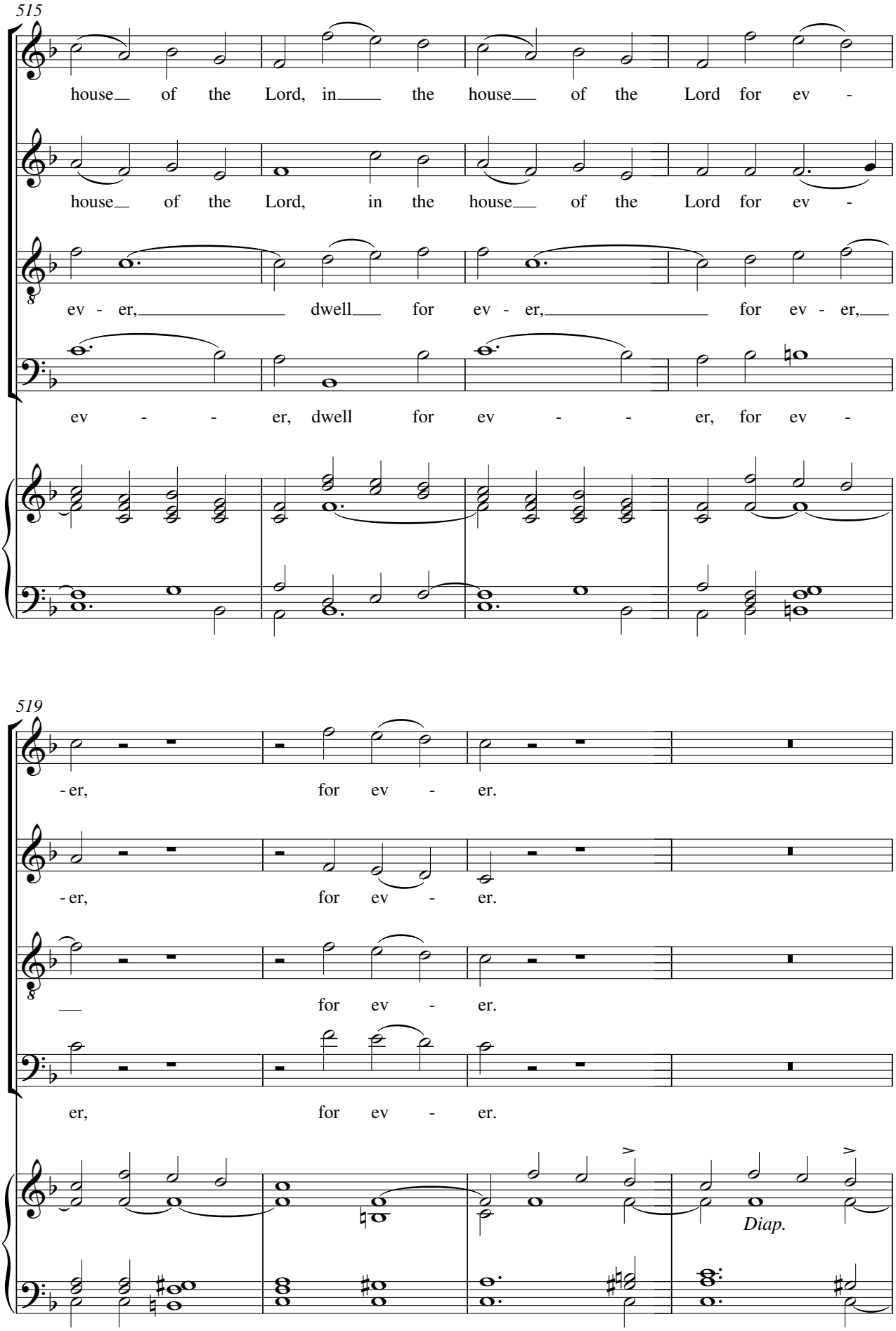

361
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
lov - ing kind - - ness

365
cresc.
f
days, the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
days, the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
days, the days of my life, but Thy lov - ing
and mer - cy shall fol - low me, but Thy lov - ing

369
p
f
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all the
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all,
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all, all,
kind - ness and mer - cy shall fol - low me all,

373
days, all the days of my life, all the
all the days of my life, all the
all the days of my life,
all the days, the days, all the

377
days, the days of my life.
days, the days of my life.
days, the days of my life.
days, the days of my life.

381
f
And I will dwell in the
f

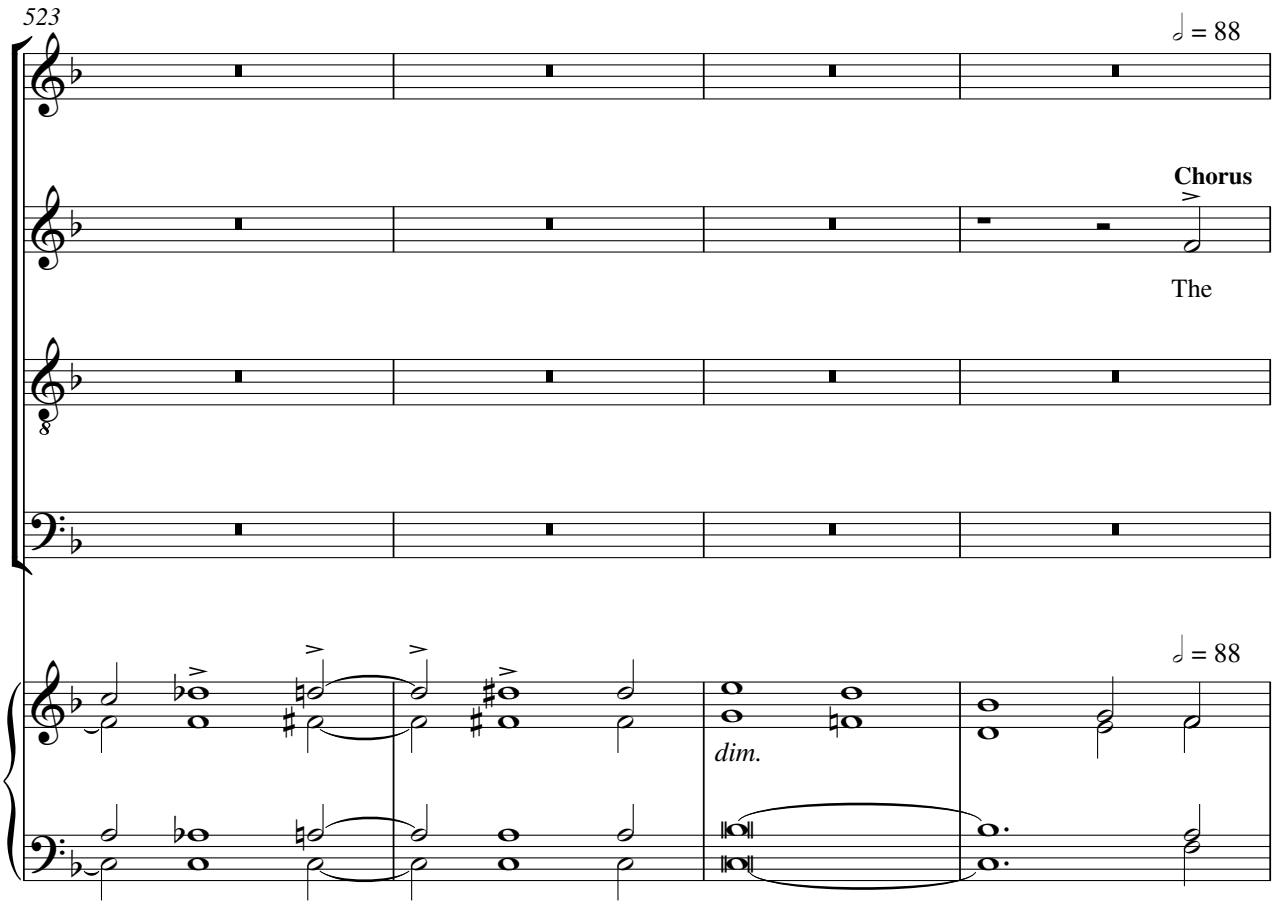

385
f
And I will dwell in the
house of the Lord for ev - er, for ev - er, A -

389
f
And I will dwell in the
house of the Lord for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
- men, A - men, A - men, A - men, I will dwell for ev - er, for

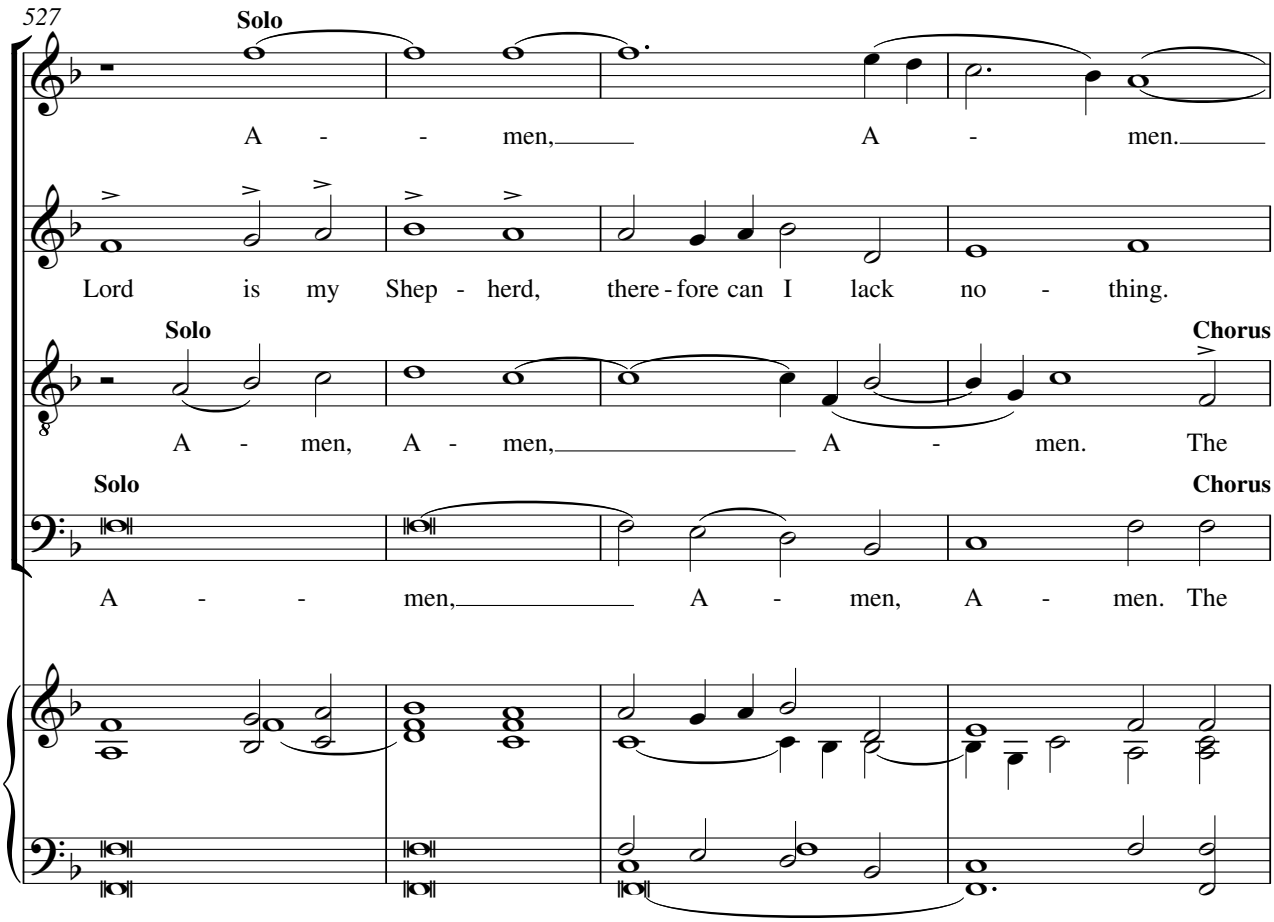
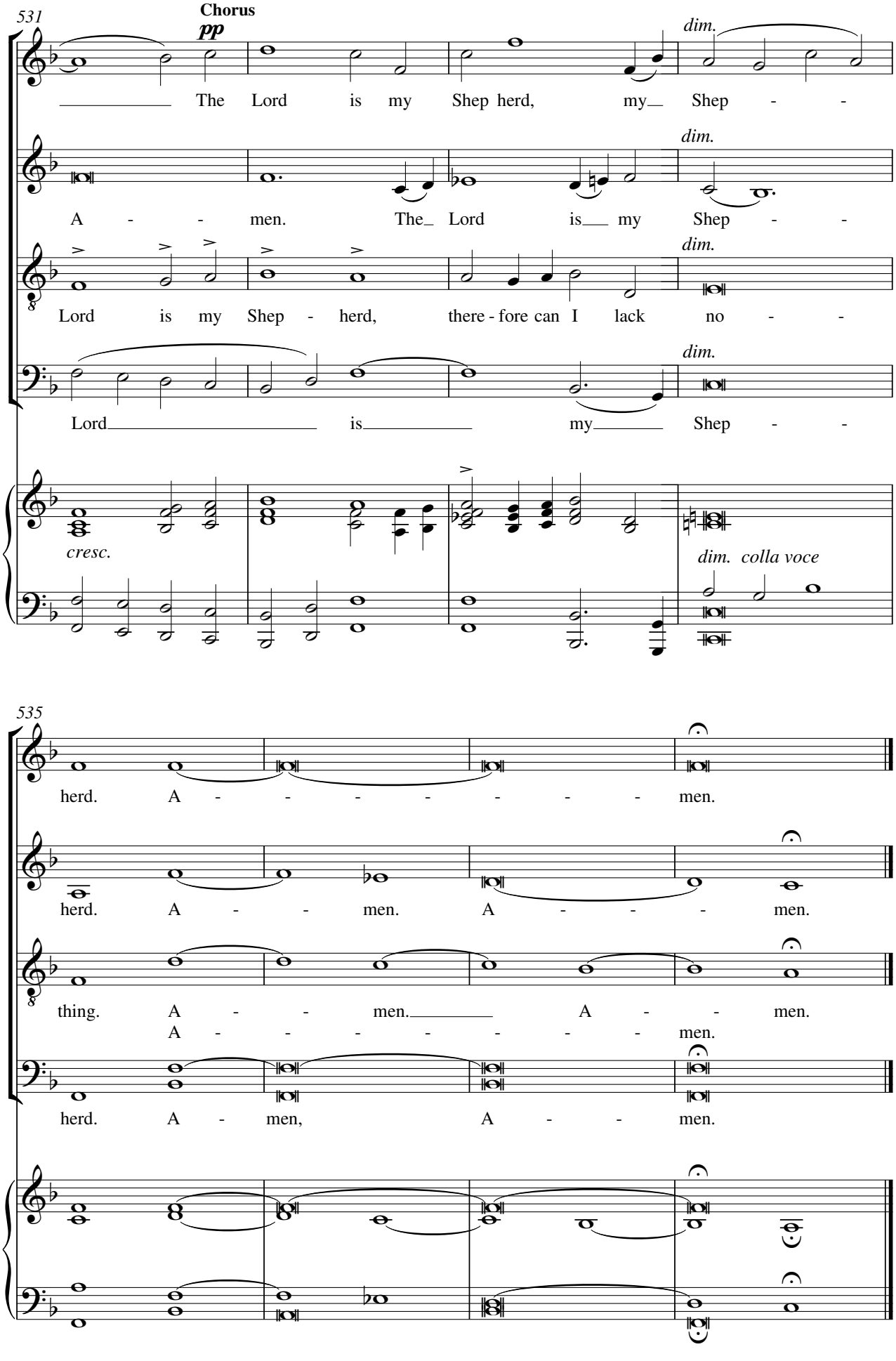

393
house of the Lord for ev - er, for
men, A - men, A - men, A - men, for ev - er, A -
ev - - er, for ev - - er.

396
ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, ev - er, A - men, for
men, for ev - er, A - men, for ev - er, A - men, A - men, I will
dwell
f
And I will
400
ev - er, A - men, A men, A - men, A - men, I will
dwell for ev - er, for ev - - er, for ev - er, dwell
in the house, the house of the Lord, for ev - er, and I will
f
dwell in the house of the Lord for ev - er, for

404
dwell for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
in the house, the house of the Lord for ev - er, A -
dwell in the house of the Lord for ev -
ev - er, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, for ev -
408
men, A - men, for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
men, A - men, for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev -
-er, for ev - er, A - men, A - men, A -
-er, for ev - er, A - men, A - men, for ev -

412
dim.
men, A - - men, A - - men, A - men, and I will
dim.
er, for ev - er, A - - men, A - men,
f
men, A - - men, and I will dwell in the
dim.
er, for ev - er, for ev - er,
f
dim.

416
dwell in the house of the Lord, and I will
f
and I will dwell in the house of the
house of the Lord, and I will dwell in the
f
and I will dwell in the house of the Lord,
f
f


420
dwell for ev - -
Lord, the Lord for ev - er, A - men, A -
house of the Lord, the Lord for ev - er,
and I will dwell for ev - er, A - -
Diaps.

424
f
er, for ev - er A - - men, and I will dwell in the
men, for ev - er, dwell in the house, the
A - men, A - men, I will dwell for ev-er, for
men, for ev - - er, for ev - er, A -
f Full w/o trumpet

428
house of the Lord for ev - er, the
f
house of the Lord for ev - er, and I will dwell in the
ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
- men, A - men, A - men, A - men, I will dwell for ev - er, for
Diaps.
senza ped
432
f
house of the Lord, and I will dwell in the
house of the Lord for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
- men, A - men, A - men, A - men, dwell in the house, the
ev - er, for ev - er, I will dwell for ev - er, for
f Full w/o trumpet
Ped.

436
house of the Lord, the house of the Lord, the
men, the house of the Lord, A men, the house of the Lord, A
house of the Lord, A men, the house of the Lord, A men, the
ev er, for ev er,
Ch.
Gt.
Ch.
440
cresc.
ff
house of the Lord for ev er, for ev er, A
men, the house of the Lord for ev er, A
house of the Lord for ev er, for ev er, for ev
A men, A men, A men, for ev
Gt.
add Reeds

444
men, A - men, for ev - er, for ev - er, A -
men, A - men, A - - men, for ev - er, A -
-er, for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev -
-er, for ev - er, A - men, for ev - er, for ev -
448
dim.
men, for ev - er, A - men, for ev - er, A -
dim.
men, A - - men, for ev - er, I will dwell for ev - er, for
f
-er, A - - men, and I will dwell in the
-er, for ev - er, for ev - er,
Gt.
Ch.
dim.
f
Gt. w/o Reed

452
- men, A - men, A - men, A - men, and I will
ev - er, for ev - er, and I will dwell for
house of the Lord for ev - er, A - men, I will
f
A - men, and I will dwell, and I will
Ped.
456
dwell in the house, the house of the Lord, the house of the Lord for
ev - er, A - men, A - men, A - men, A - men, I will
f
dwell for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, and I will
dwell in the house of the Lord, A - men,

460
ev - er, A - men, A - men, A - men, for ev - er, for
dwell for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er,
dwell in the house of the Lord for ev - er, for
464
ev - er, for ev - er, A - men, in the
for ev - er, for ev - er, A - men, I will
ev - er, for ev - er, for ev - er, I will dwell,
and I will dwell, I will

468
house of the Lord for ev - er, for ev - er, for
dwell, I will dwell,
and I will dwell,
dwell, and I will dwell, will
472
ev - er, for ev - er, I will dwell for ev -
dim.
dwell in the house of the
will dwell, dwell in the house, the house of the
dwell, will dwell in the house, the house of the

476
ff
er, and I will dwell in the house, in the house of the
Lord, and I will dwell in the house, in the house of the
Lord, and I will dwell in the house, in the house of the
Lord, and I will dwell in the house, in the house of the
add Reed
480
p
Lord, dwell in the house of the
Lord, dwell in the house of the
Lord, dwell in the house of the
Lord, dwell in the house of the


484
mf
Stringendo
Lord, I will dwell, I will
Lord, I will dwell, I will
Lord, And I
Lord, I will dwell, I will
Swell
Gt. Diap + Sw.

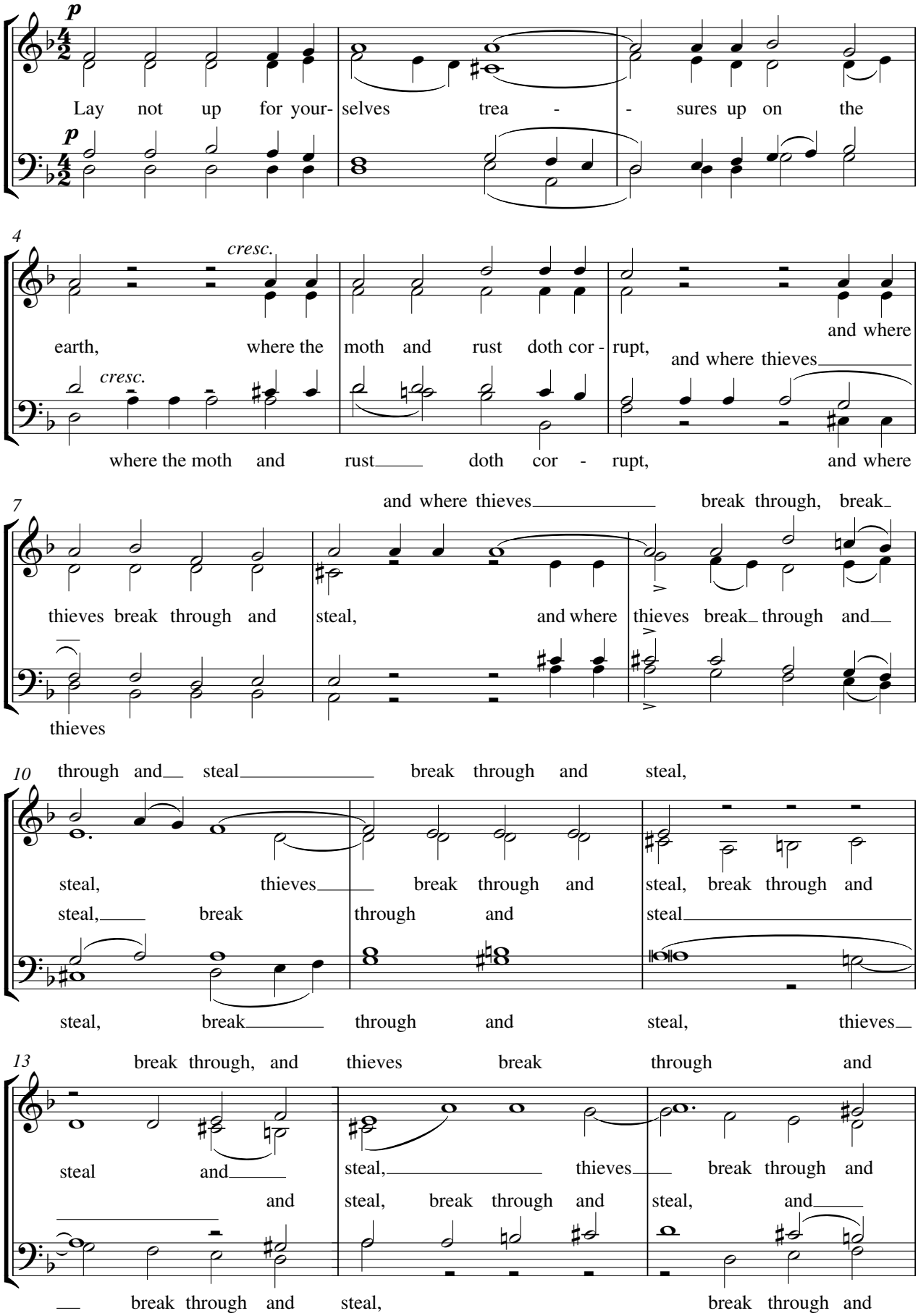
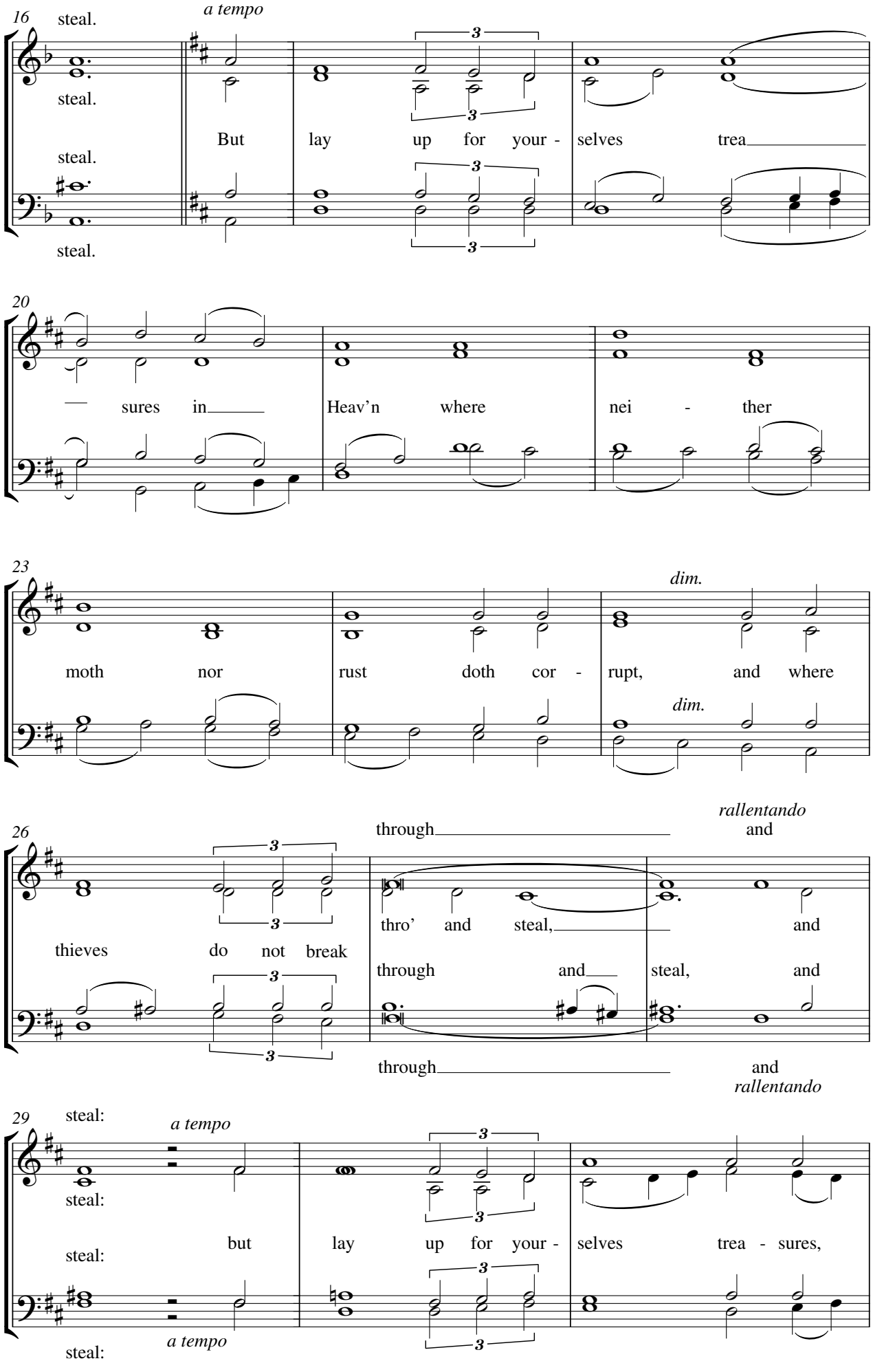
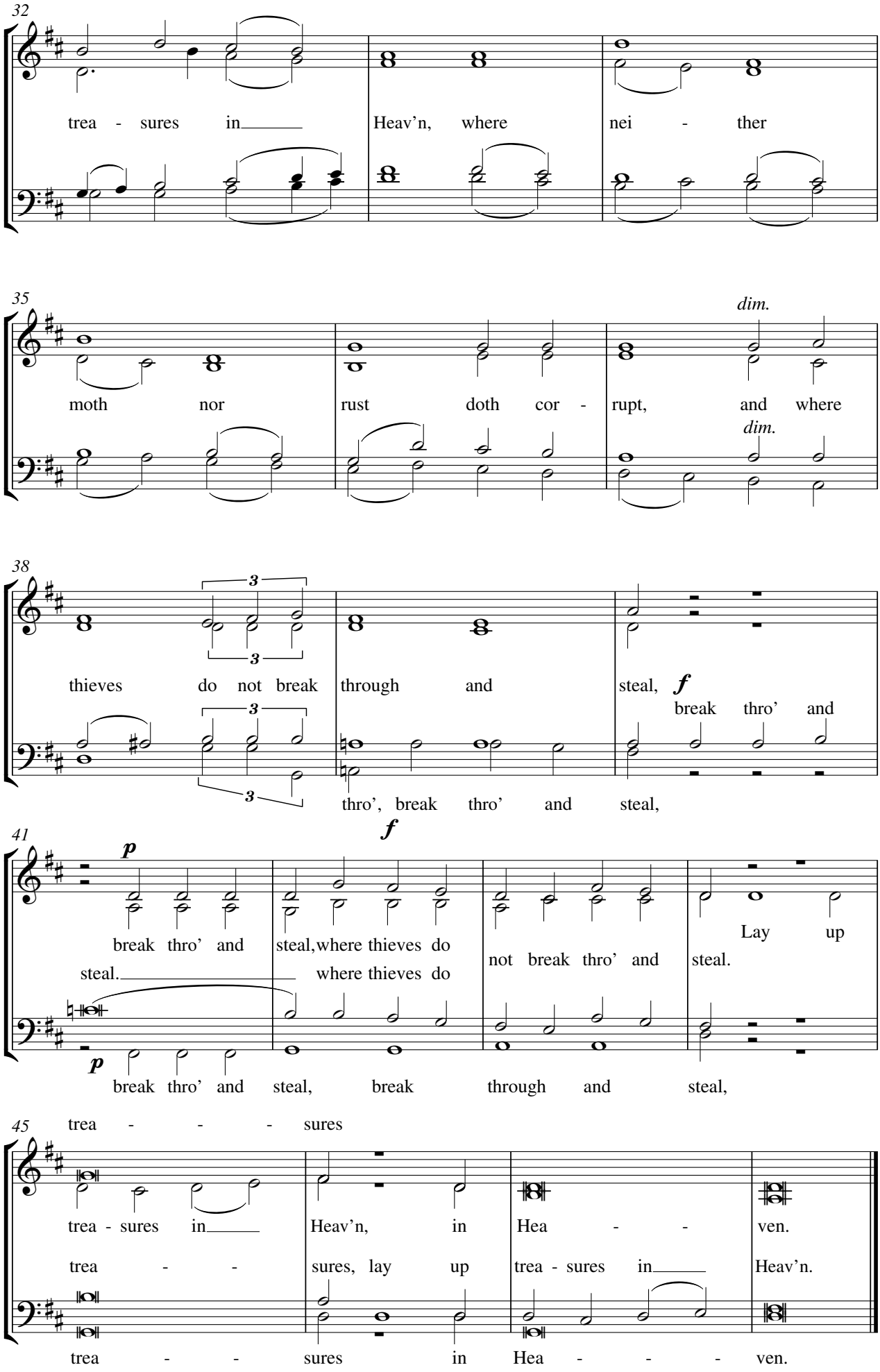

488
sempre cresc.
dwell, I will dwell, I will dwell, dwell for
dwell, I will dwell, I will dwell, dwell for
will dwell, I will dwell for ev - er,
dwell, I will dwell in the house of the

492
ff
ev - er, will dwell for ev - er, will dwell for
ff
ev - er, will dwell for ev - er, I will dwell for ev - er,
ff
dwell for ev - er, dwell for ev - er, I will dwell for ev -
ff
Lord, in the house of the Lord, in the house of the
Full with Reed
ff
496
ev - er, will dwell for ev - - - er.
I will dwell for ev - - er.
er, I will dwell for ev - - - - er,
Lord, in the house, the house of the Lord.
rall.

500
But Thy lov - ing kind - ness and mer - cy shall
But Thy lov - ing kind - ness and mer - cy shall
But Thy lov - ing kind - ness and mer - cy shall
But Thy lov - ing kind - ness and mer - cy shall
Tempo
w/o Reed
Sw.
504
fol - low me all the days, the days of my
fol - low me all the days, the days of my
fol - low me all the days, all the days of my life,
fol - low me all the days, the days of my
Gt.

508
life, and I will
life, and I will dwell in the
and I will dwell in the house of the
life, and I will dwell, and I will
with Reed
511
dwell in the house of the Lord, I will dwell in the
house, and, and I will dwell in the house, in the
Lord, of the Lord, and, and I will dwell, dwell for
dwell, and I will dwell, dwell for

515
house of the Lord, in the house of the Lord for ev -
house of the Lord, in the house of the Lord for ev -
ev - er, dwell for ev - er, for ev - er,
ev - er, dwell for ev - er, for ev -
519
- er, for ev - er.
- er, for ev - er.
for ev - er.
er, for ev - er.
Diap.


523
♩ = 88
Chorus
The
♩ = 88
dim.


527
Solo
A - - men, A - men.
Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack no - thing.
Solo
Chorus
A - men, A - men, A - men. The
Solo
Chorus
A - - men, A - men, A - men. The

531
Chorus
pp
dim.
The Lord is my Shep herd, my Shep - -
dim.
A - - men. The Lord is my Shep - -
dim.
Lord is my Shep - herd, there - fore can I lack no - -
dim.
Lord is my Shep - -
cresc.
dim. colla voce
535
herd. A - - - - - - - men.
herd. A - - men. A - - - men.
thing. A - - men. A - - men.
A - - - - - - - men.
herd. A - men, A - - men.

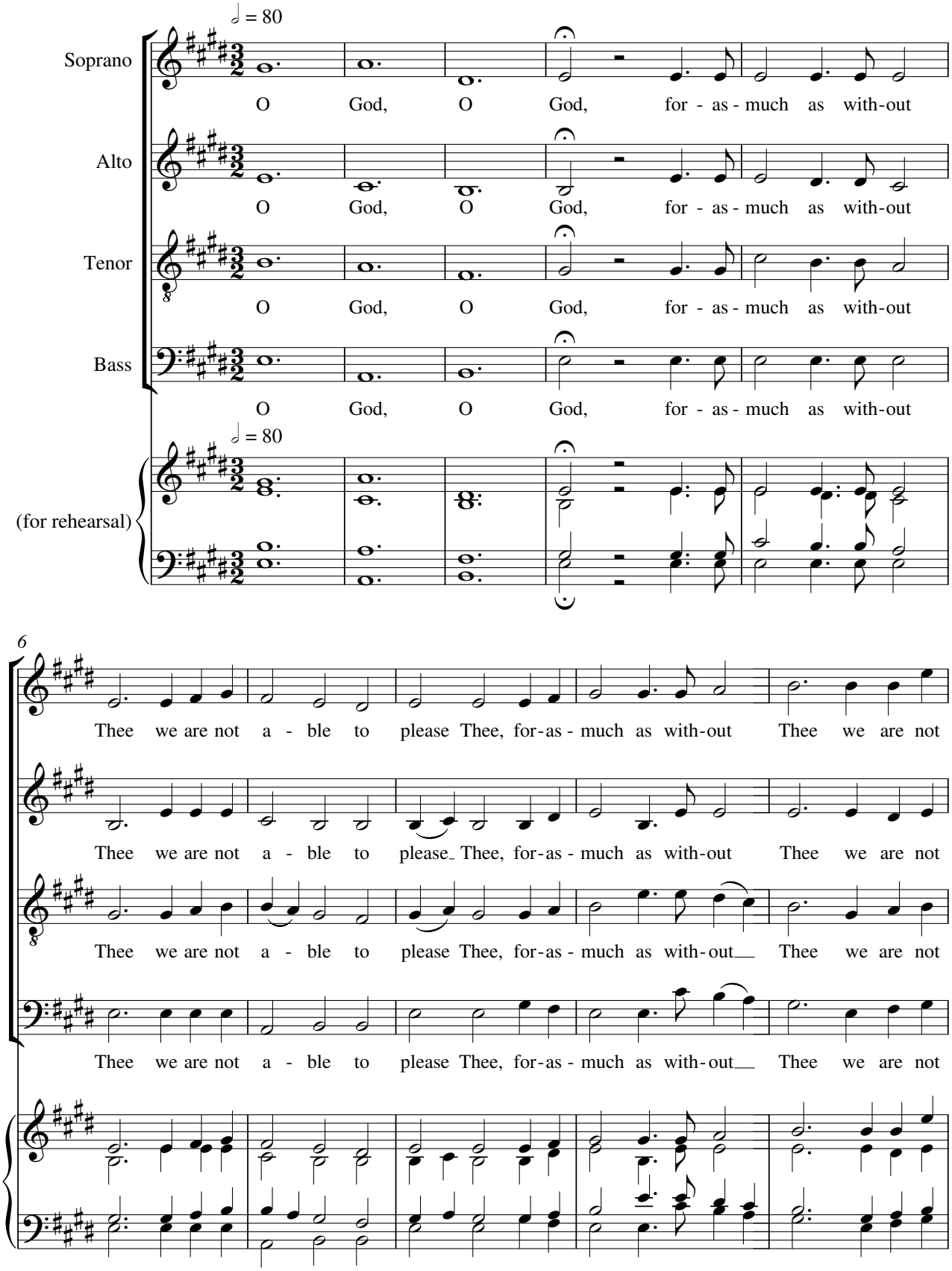
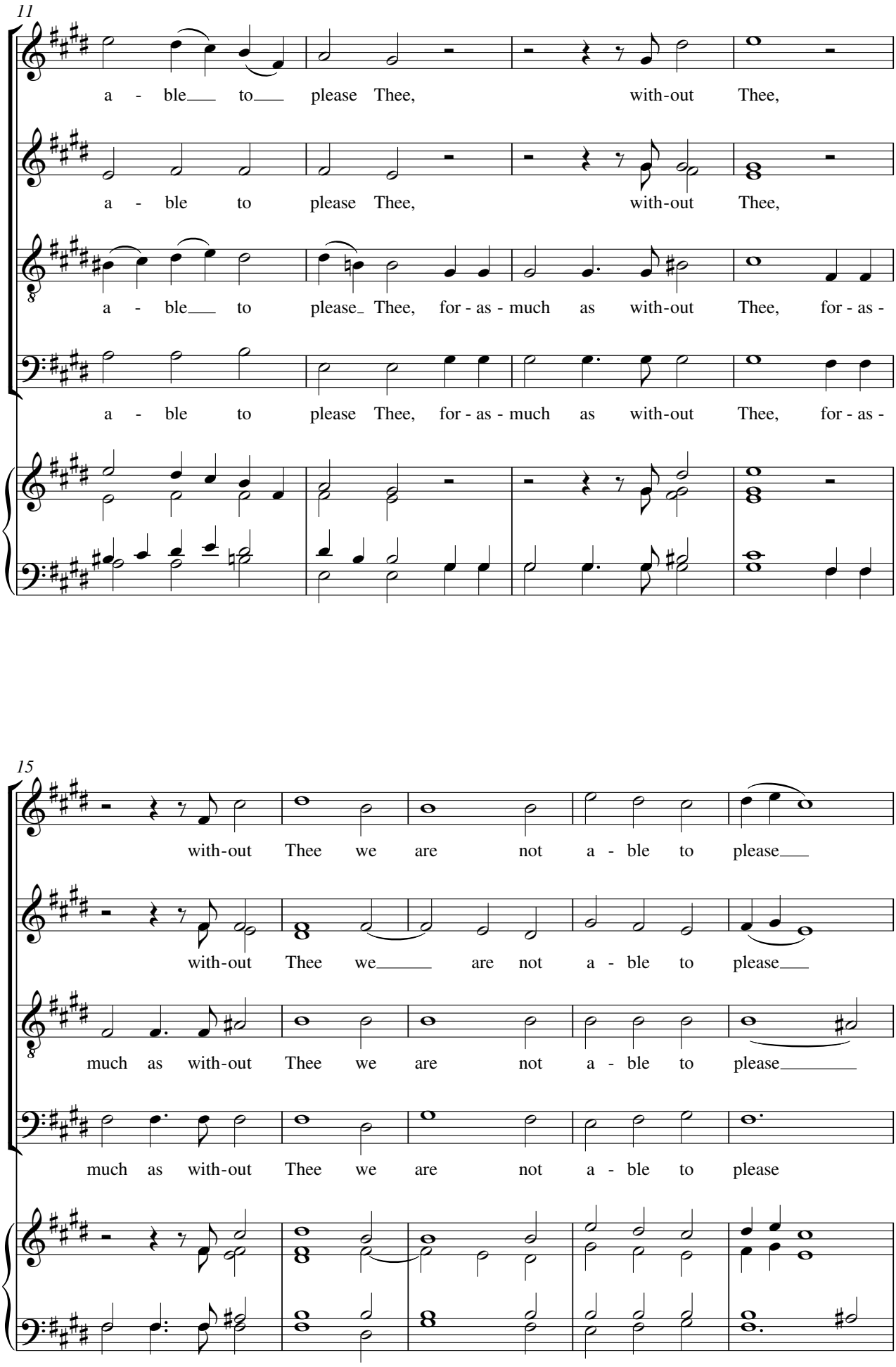
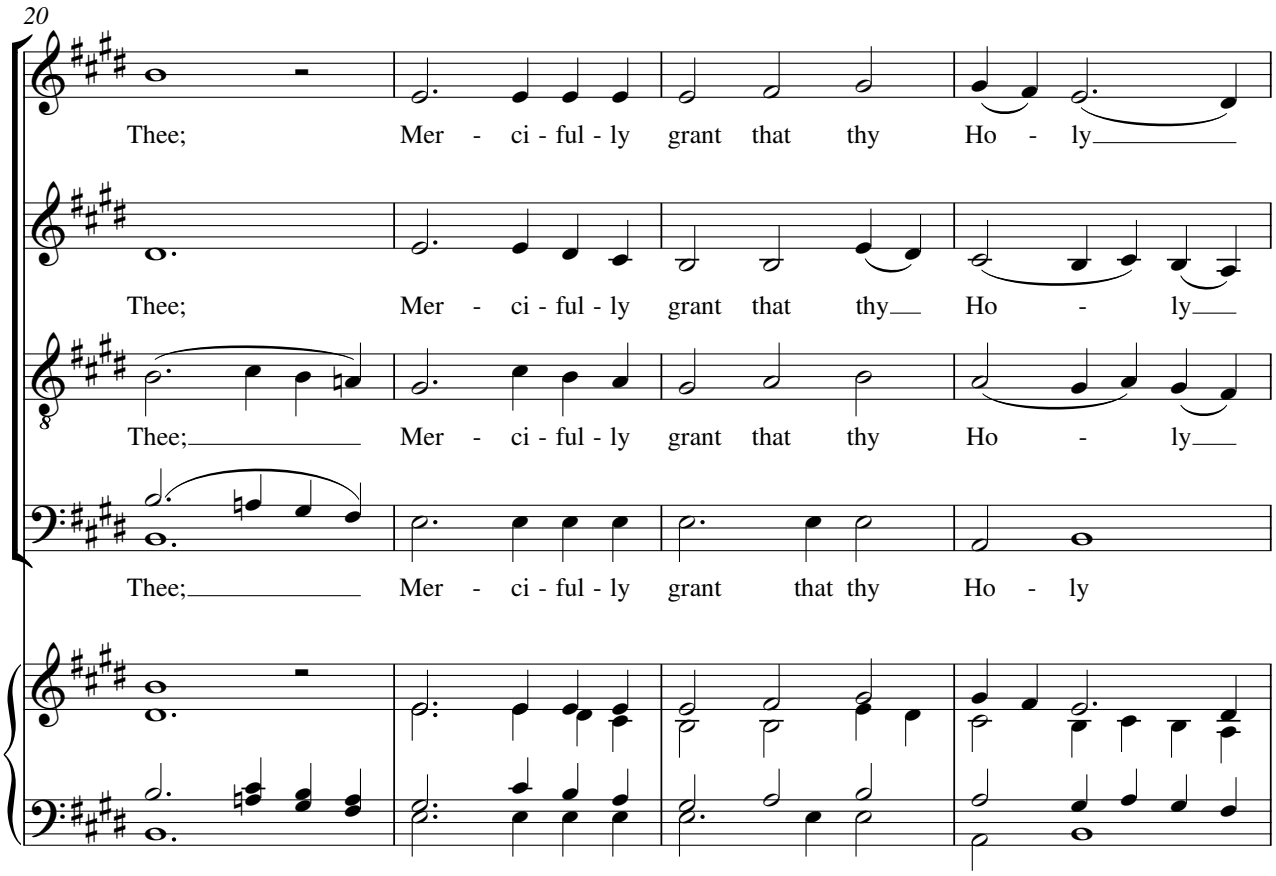
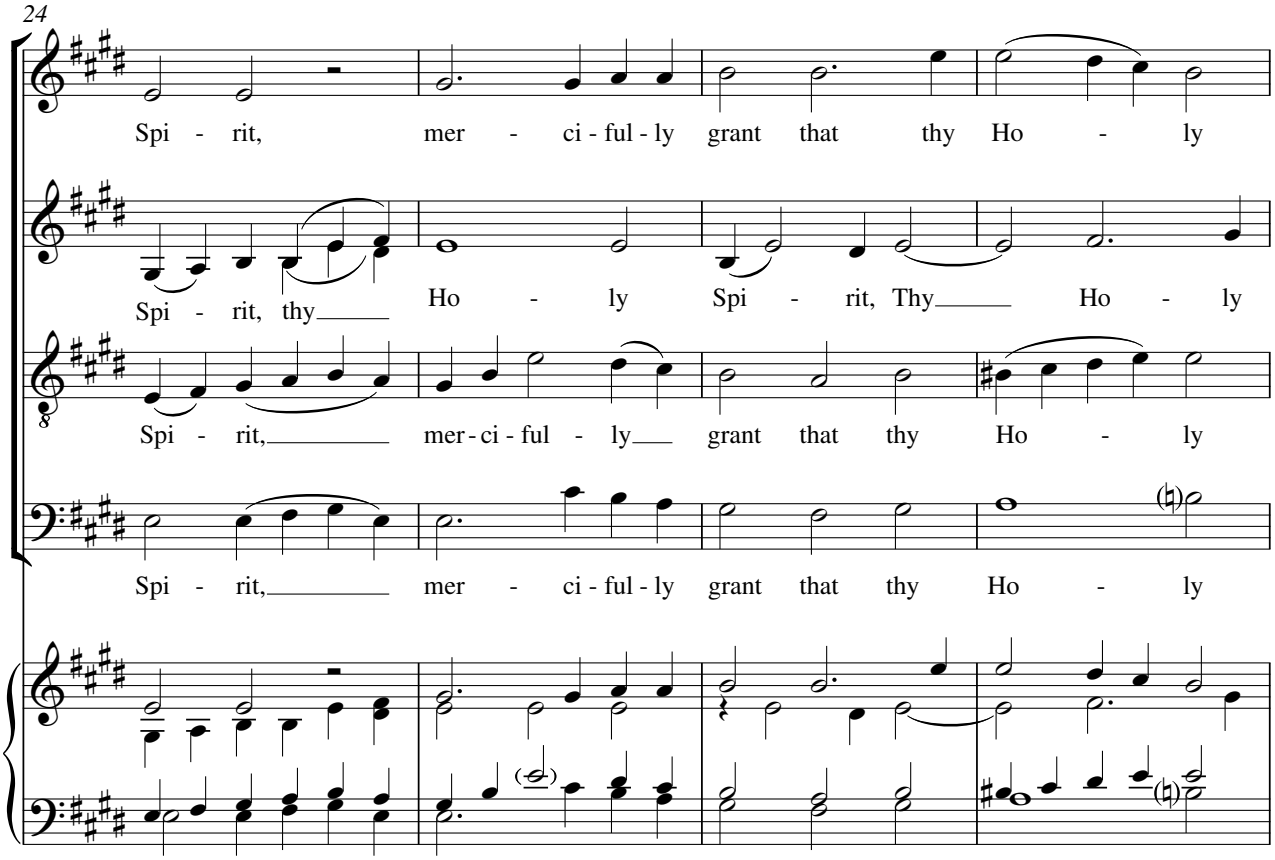
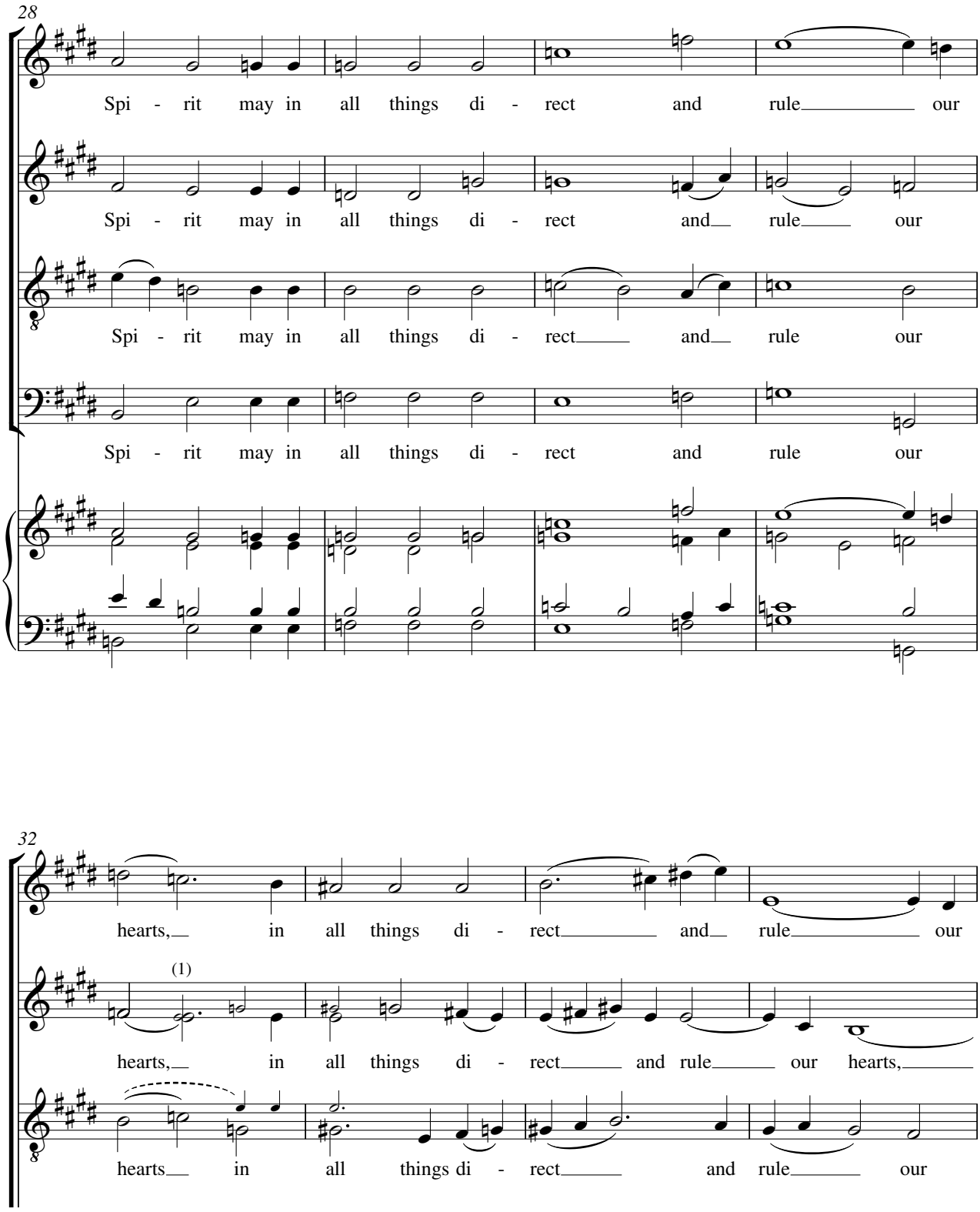
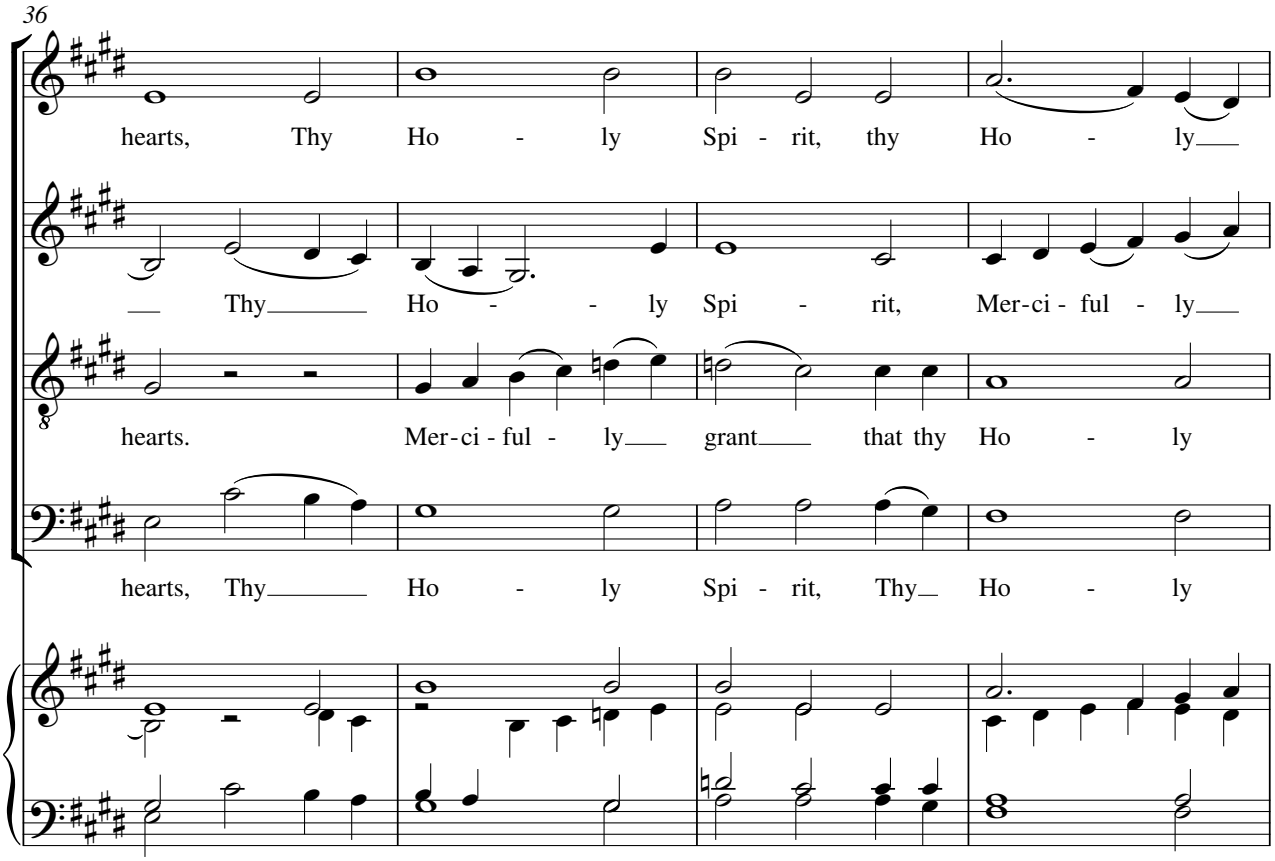
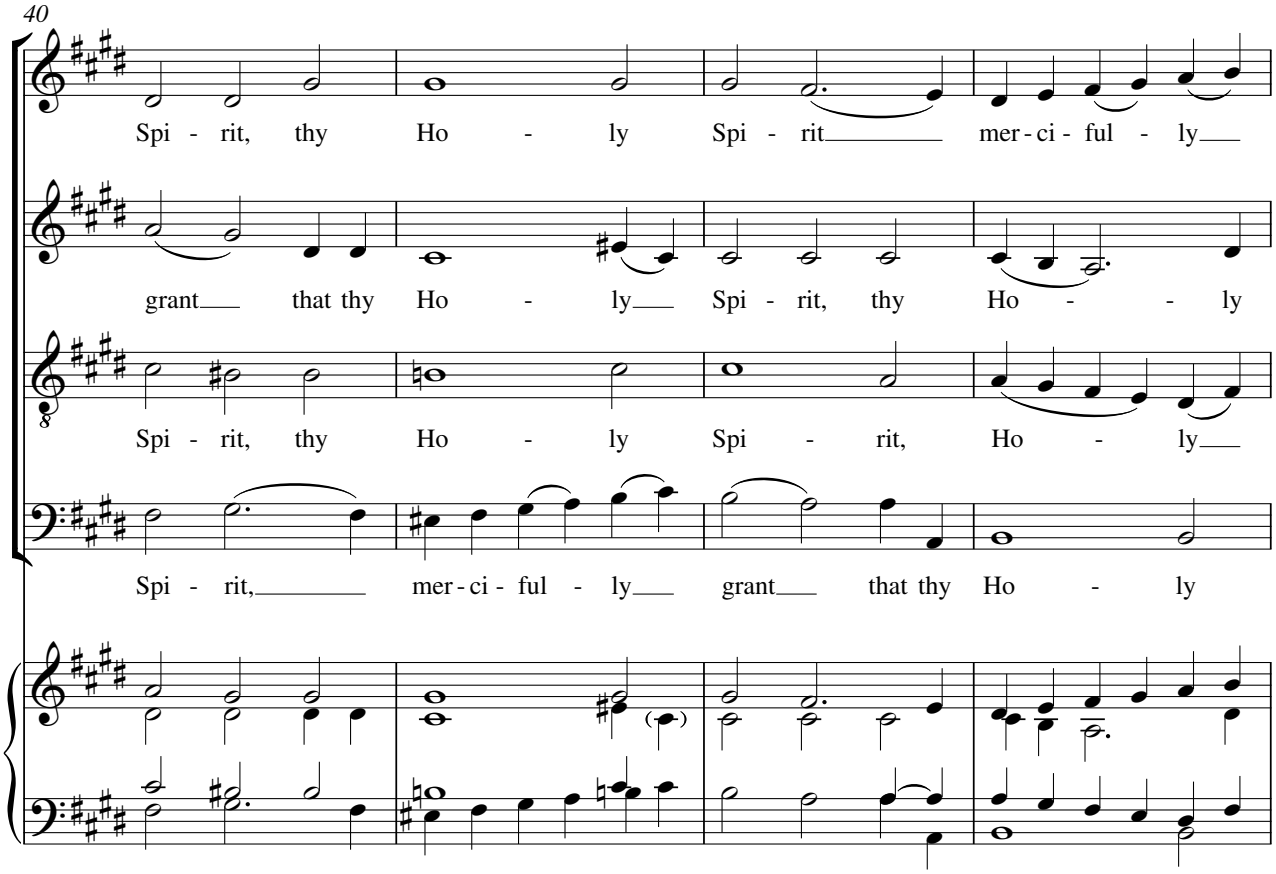
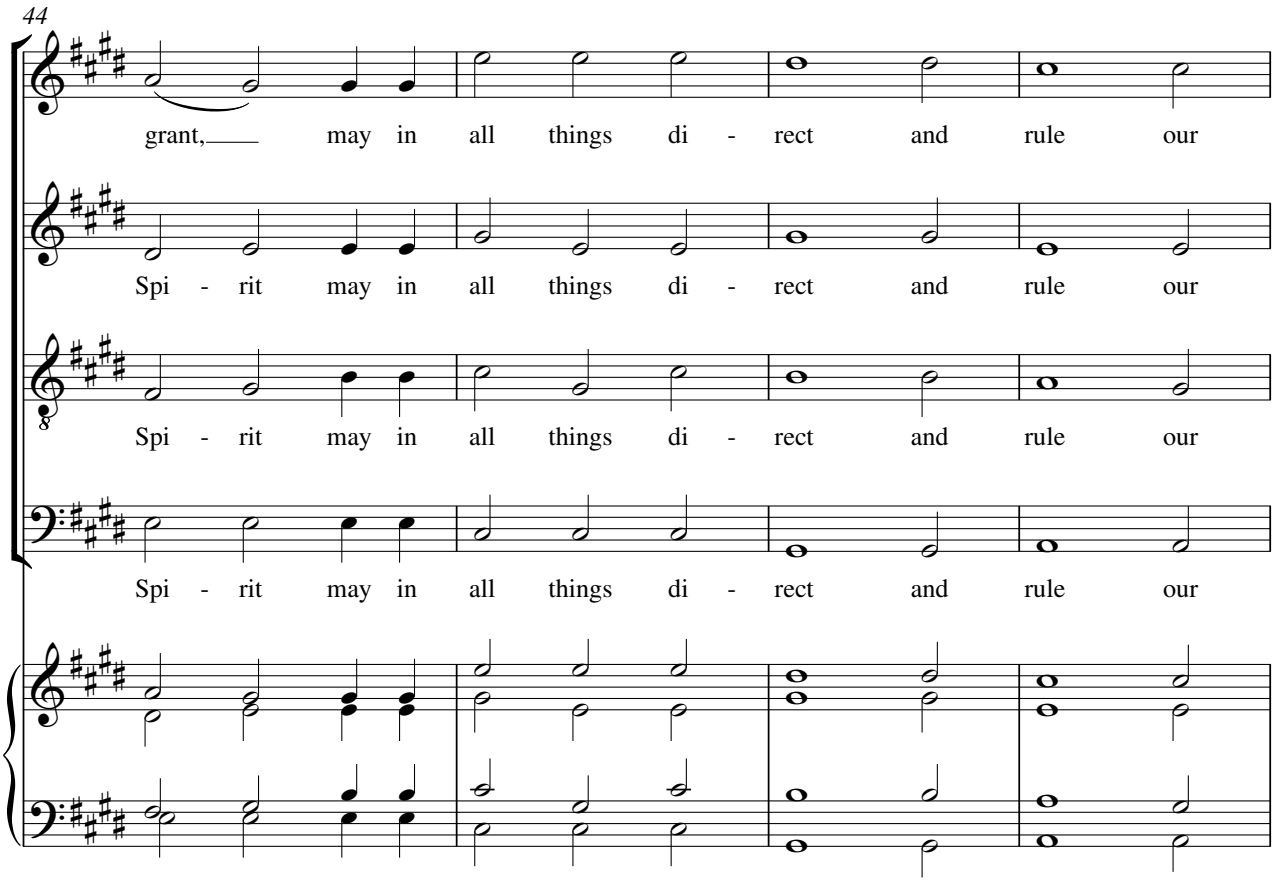
Lay not up for yourselves

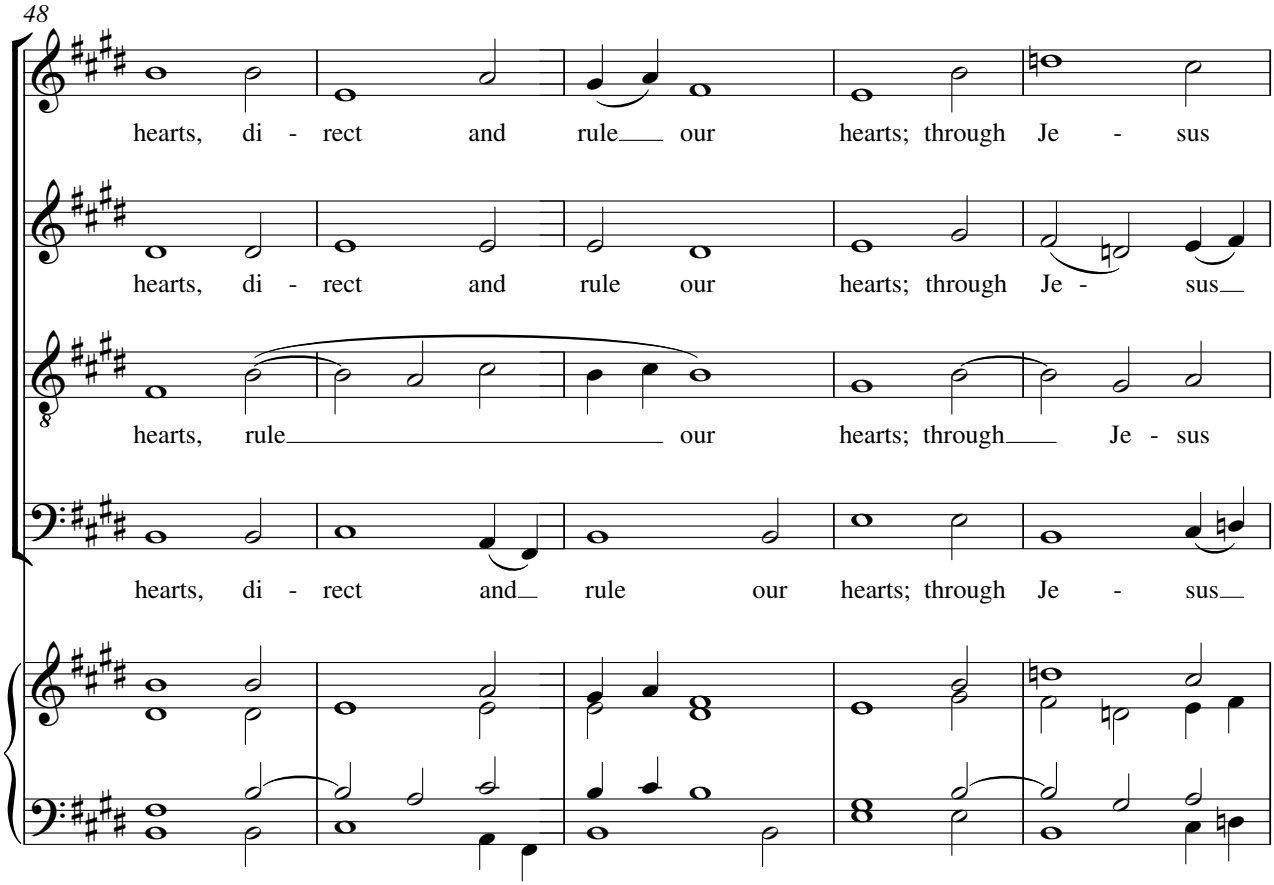
Motet for SATB

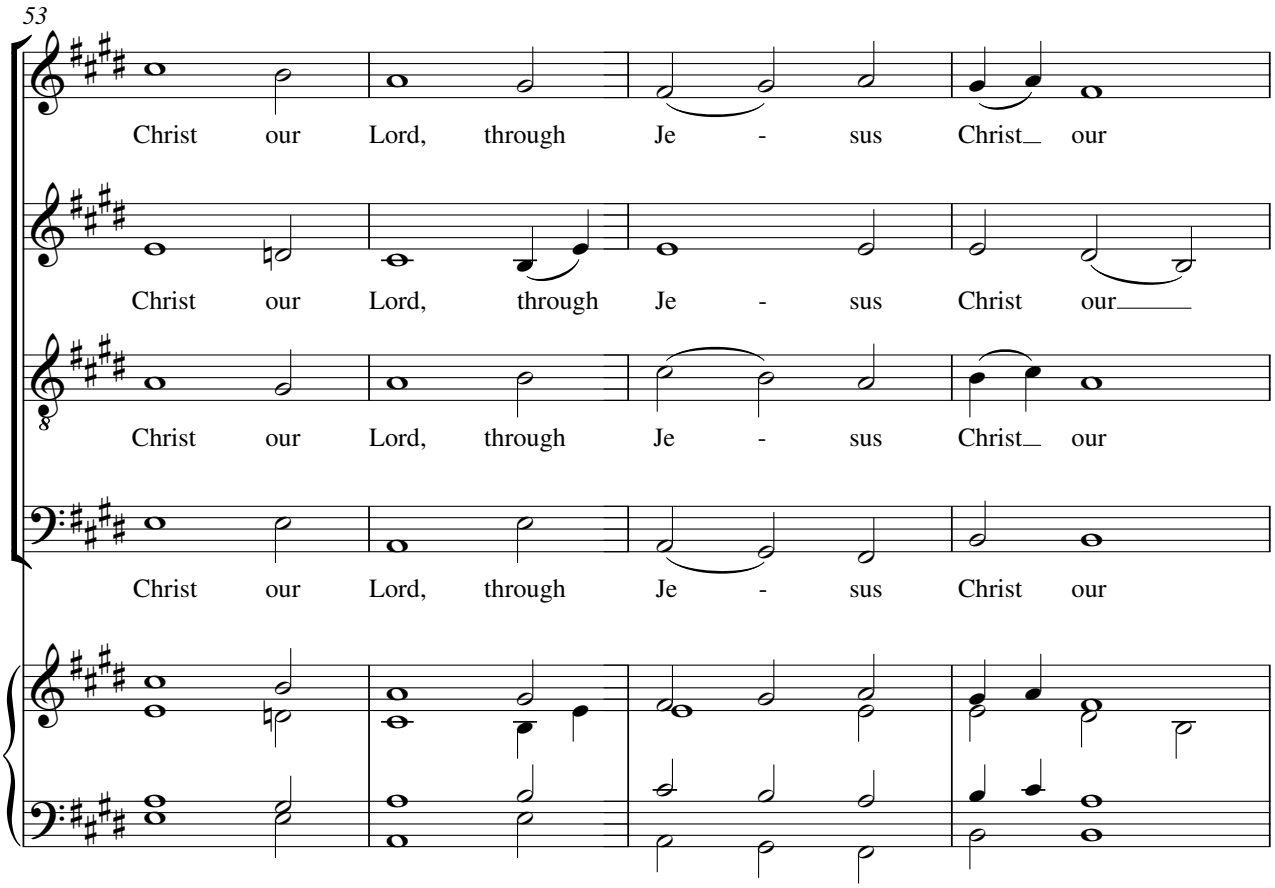
The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes M.A., Mus.Doc


16
steal.
steal.
steal.
steal.
a tempo
But lay up for your - selves trea
20
sures in
Heav'n where nei - ther
23
dim.
moth nor rust doth cor - rupt, and where
dim.
26
rallentando
through
and
thro' and steal,
and
thieves do not break
through and
steal, and
through
and
rallentando
29
steal:
steal:
steal:
steal:
a tempo
but lay up for your - selves trea - sures,
a tempo

32
trea - sures in
Heav'n, where
nei - ther
35
moth nor
rust doth cor -
rupt, and where
dim.
dim.
38
thieves do not break
through and
steal,
f
break thro' and
thro', break thro' and steal,
41
p
break thro' and
steal,where thieves do
not break thro' and
steal.
Lay up
steal.
where thieves do
p
break thro' and steal,
break
through and
steal,
45
trea - - - sures
trea - sures in
Heav'n, in
Hea - - ven.
trea - -
sures, lay up
trea - sures in
Heav'n.
trea - - sures in Hea - - - ven.

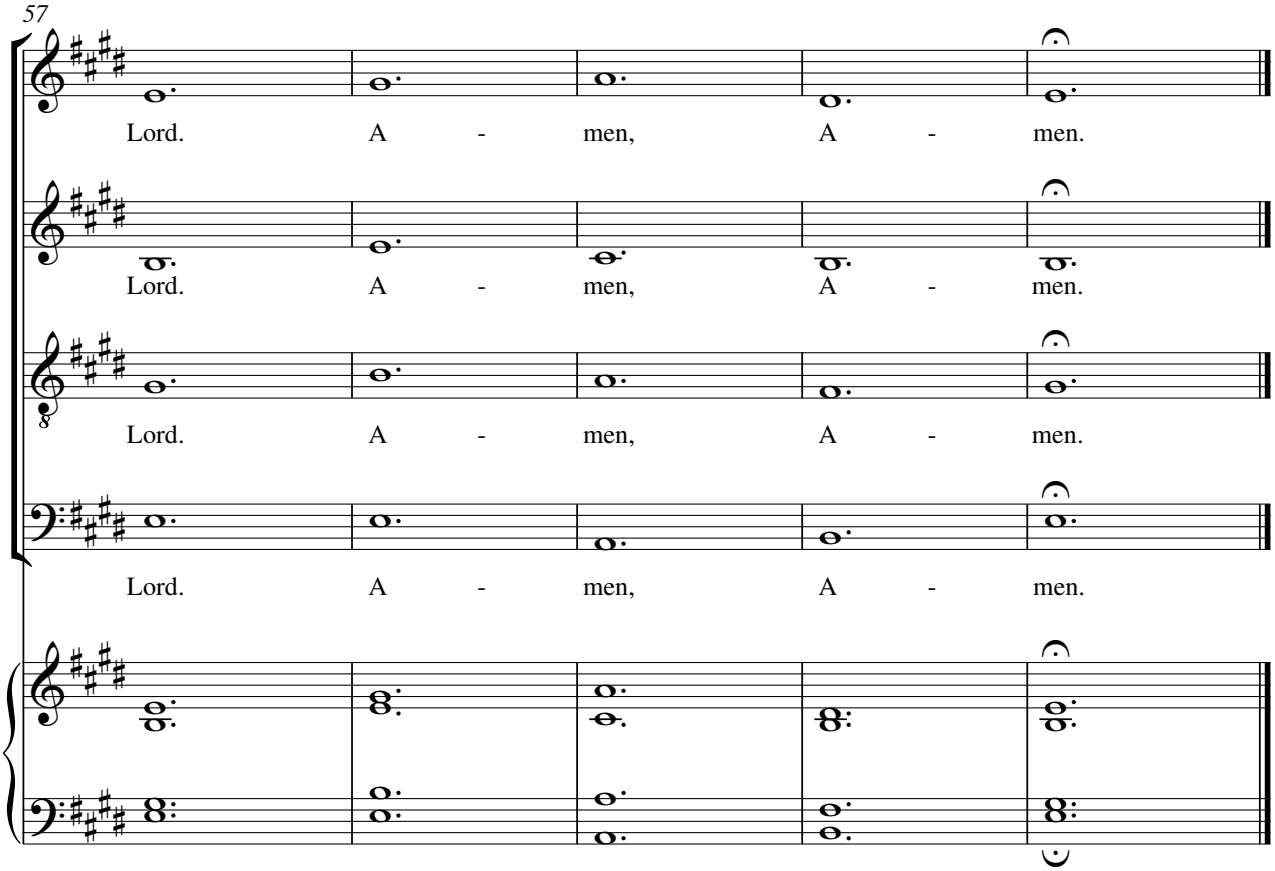
O God, forasmuch as without thee

John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.

Collect for the 19th Sunday after Trinity


11
a - ble to please Thee, with-out Thee,
a - ble to please Thee, with-out Thee,
a - ble to please Thee, for - as - much as with-out Thee, for - as -
a - ble to please Thee, for - as - much as with-out Thee, for - as -
15
with-out Thee we are not a - ble to please
with-out Thee we are not a - ble to please
much as with-out Thee we are not a - ble to please
much as with-out Thee we are not a - ble to please

20
Thee; Mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
Thee; Mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
Thee; Mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
Thee; Mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly

24
Spi - rit, mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
Spi - rit, thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, Thy Ho - ly
Spi - rit, mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
Spi - rit, mer - ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly

28
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
32
hearts, in all things di - rect and rule our
(1)
hearts, in all things di - rect and rule our hearts,
hearts in all things di - rect and rule our

36
hearts, Thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, thy Ho - ly
Thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, Mer-ci - ful - ly
hearts. Mer-ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly
hearts, Thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, Thy Ho - ly

40
Spi - rit, thy Ho - ly Spi - rit mer-ci - ful - ly
grant that thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, thy Ho - ly
Spi - rit, thy Ho - ly Spi - rit, Ho - ly
Spi - rit, mer-ci - ful - ly grant that thy Ho - ly

44
grant, may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our
Spi - rit may in all things di - rect and rule our


48
hearts, di - rect and rule our hearts; through Je - sus
hearts, di - rect and rule our hearts; through Je - sus
hearts, rule our hearts; through Je - sus
hearts, di - rect and rule our hearts; through Je - sus

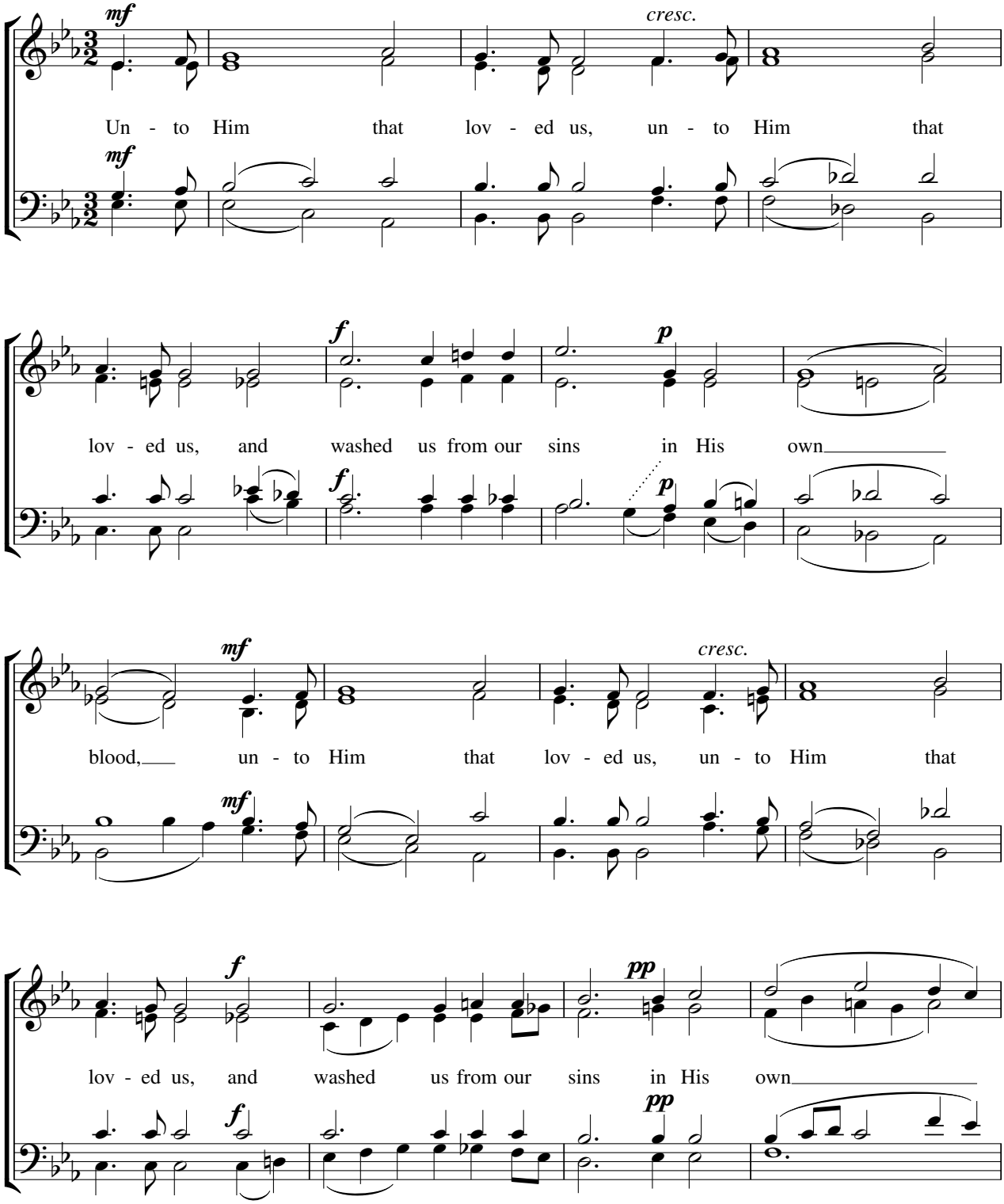
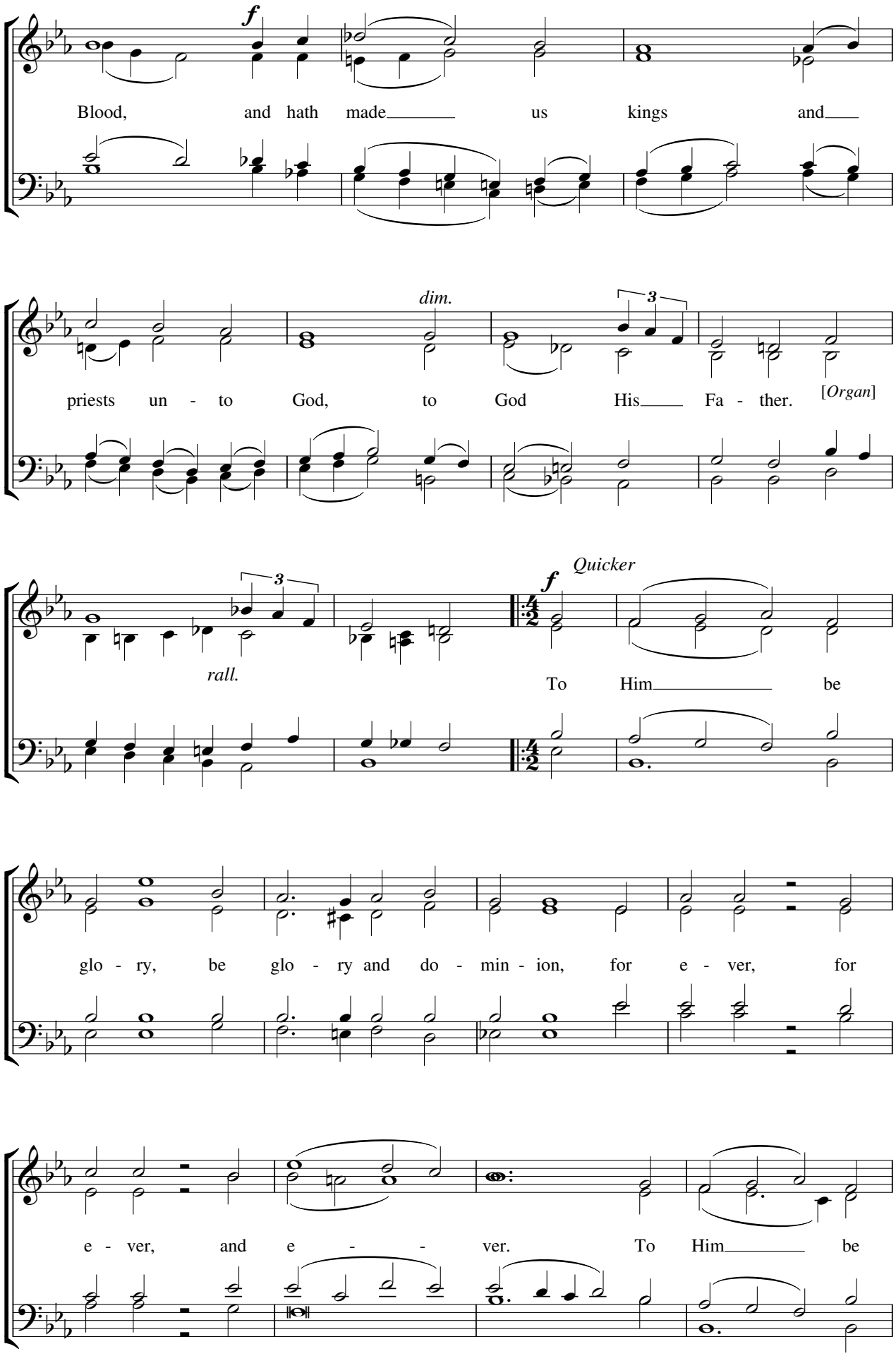
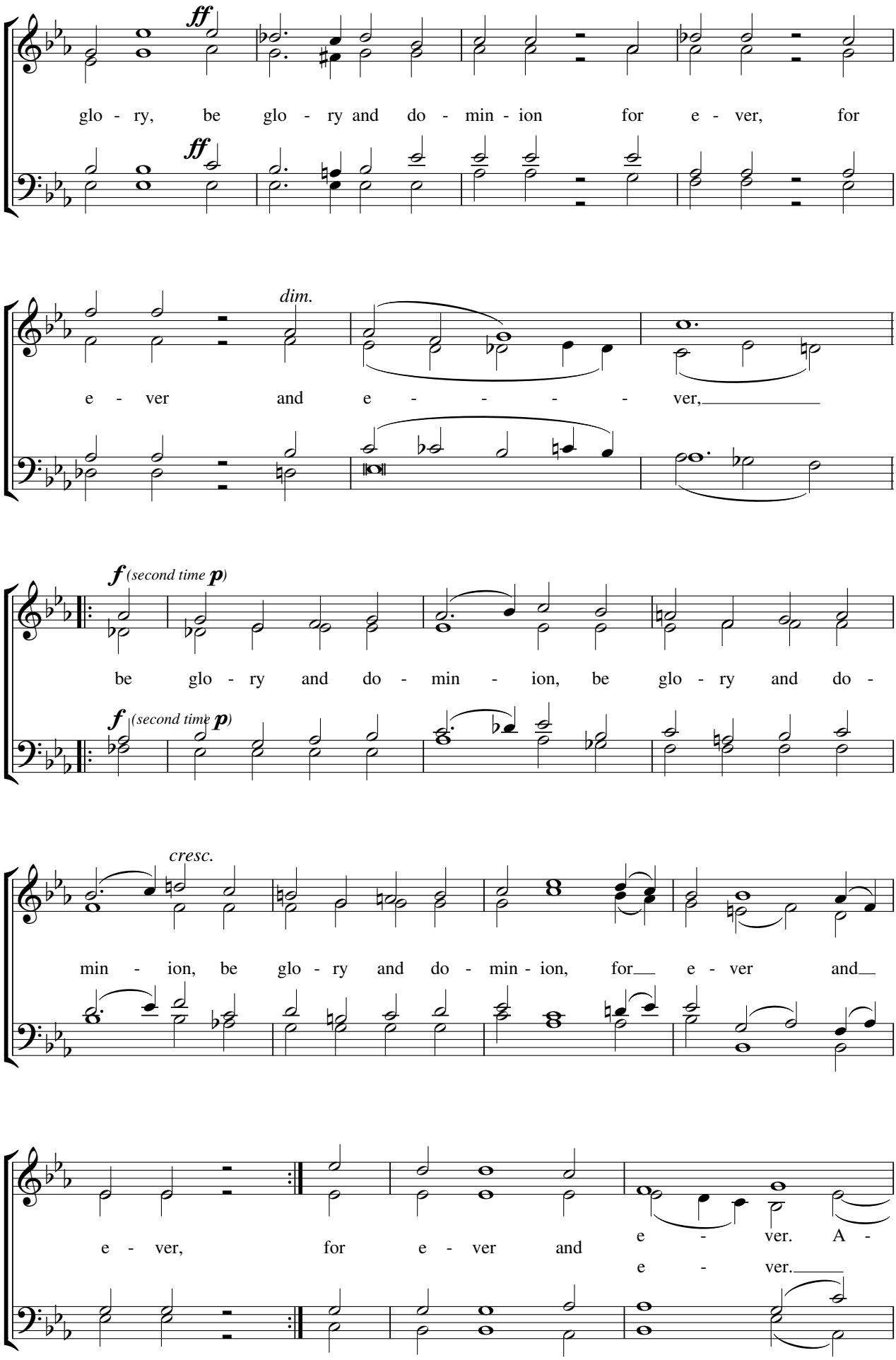

53
Christ our Lord, through Je - sus Christ our
Christ our Lord, through Je - sus Christ our
Christ our Lord, through Je - sus Christ our
Christ our Lord, through Je - sus Christ our

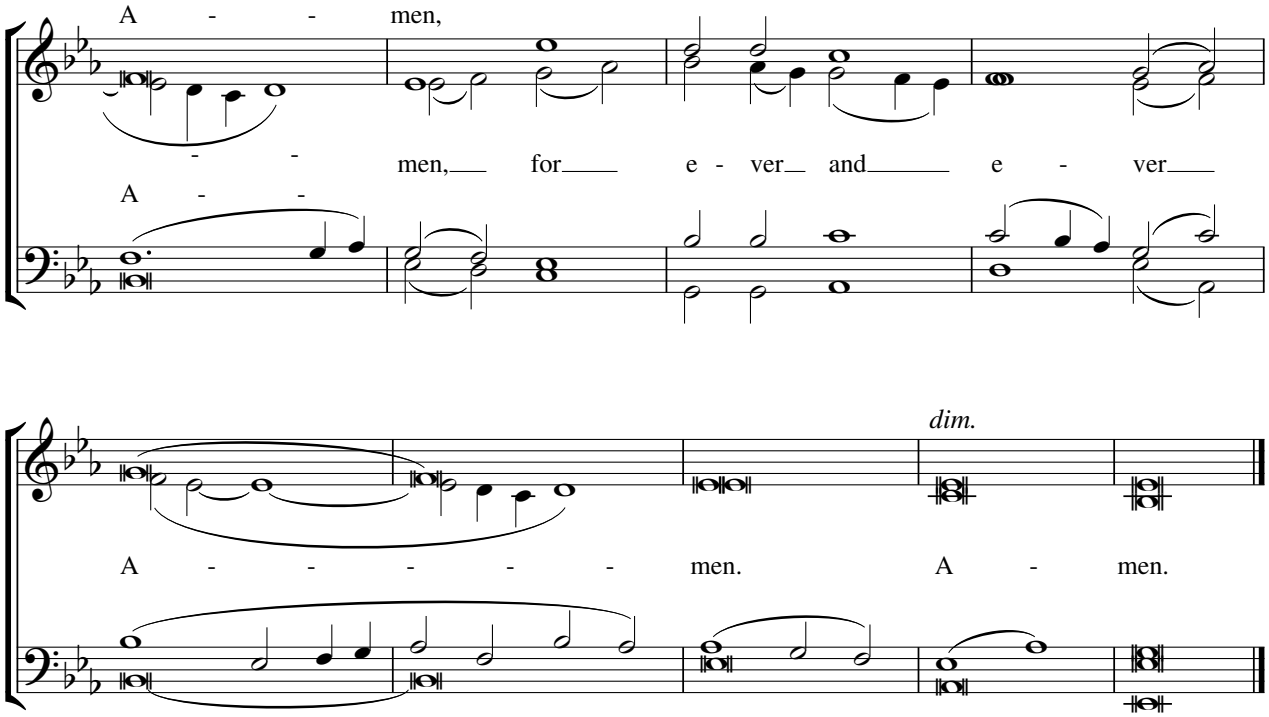

57
Lord. A - men, A - men.
Lord. A - men, A - men.
Lord. A - men, A - men.
Lord. A - men, A - men.

Unto Him That Loved Us

Congregational Anthem

Rev. 1:5-6

The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.


f
Blood, and hath made us kings and
dim.
3
priests un - to God, to God His Fa - ther.
[Organ]
3
rall.
f
Quicker
To Him be
glo - ry, be glo - ry and do - min - ion, for e - ver, for
e - ver, and e - - ver. To Him be

ff
glo - ry, be glo - ry and do - min - ion for e - ver, for
ff
dim.
e - ver and e - - - - - ver,
f (second time p)
be glo - ry and do - min - ion, be glo - ry and do -
f (second time p)
cresc.
min - ion, be glo - ry and do - min - ion, for e - ver and
e - ver, for e - ver and e - ver. A -
e - ver.

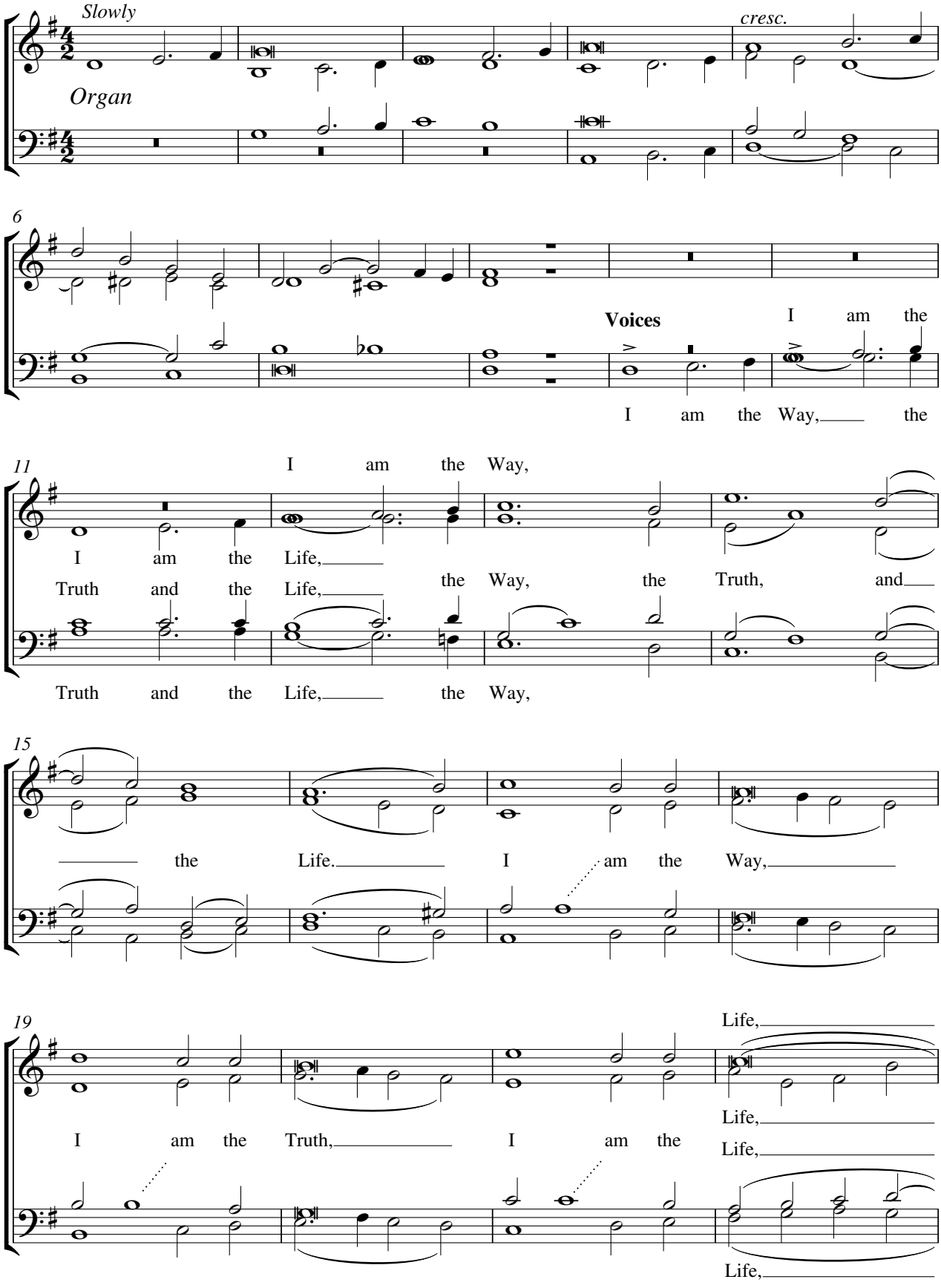
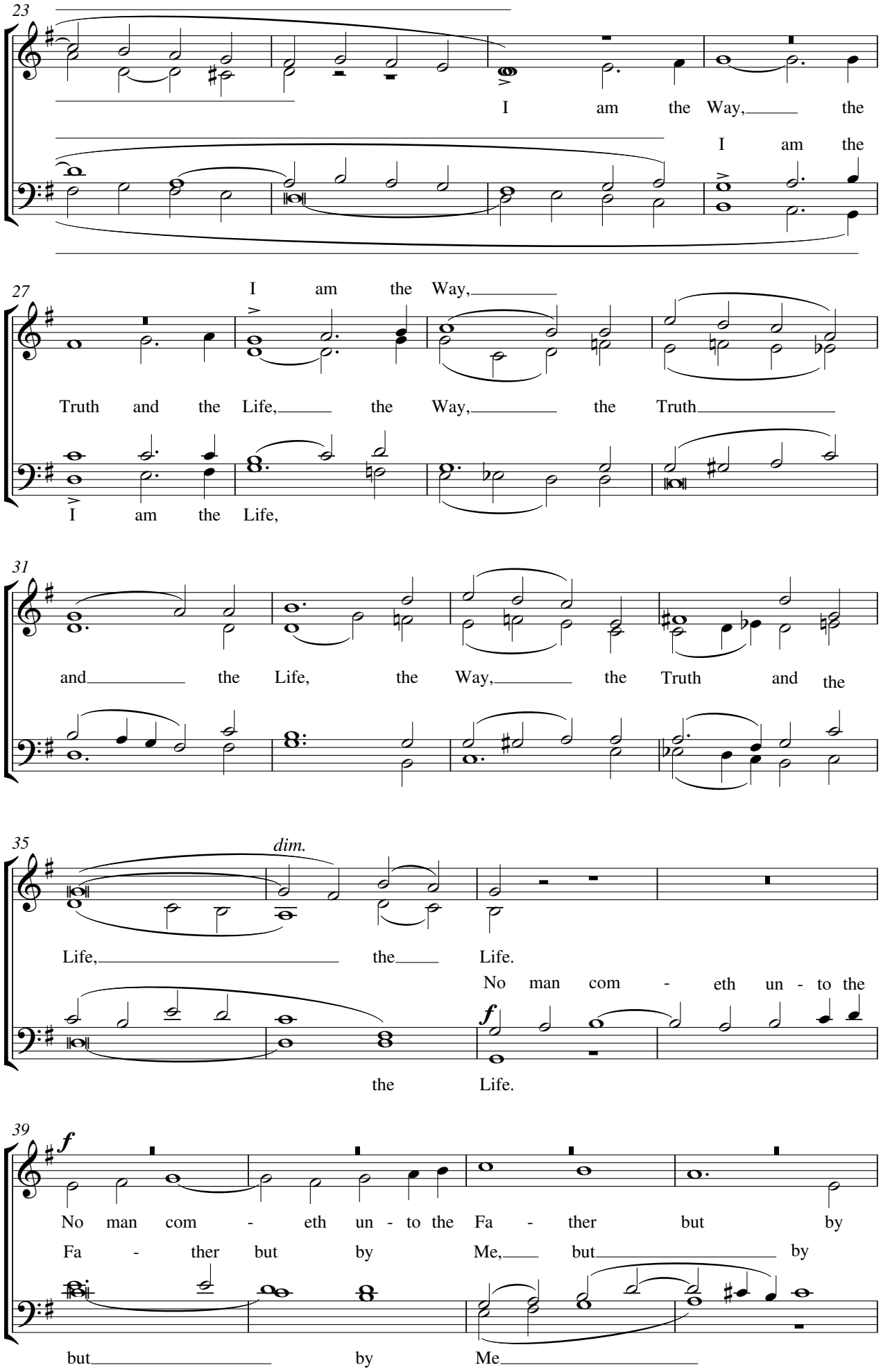

A - - men,
- - men, for e - ver and e - ver
A - -

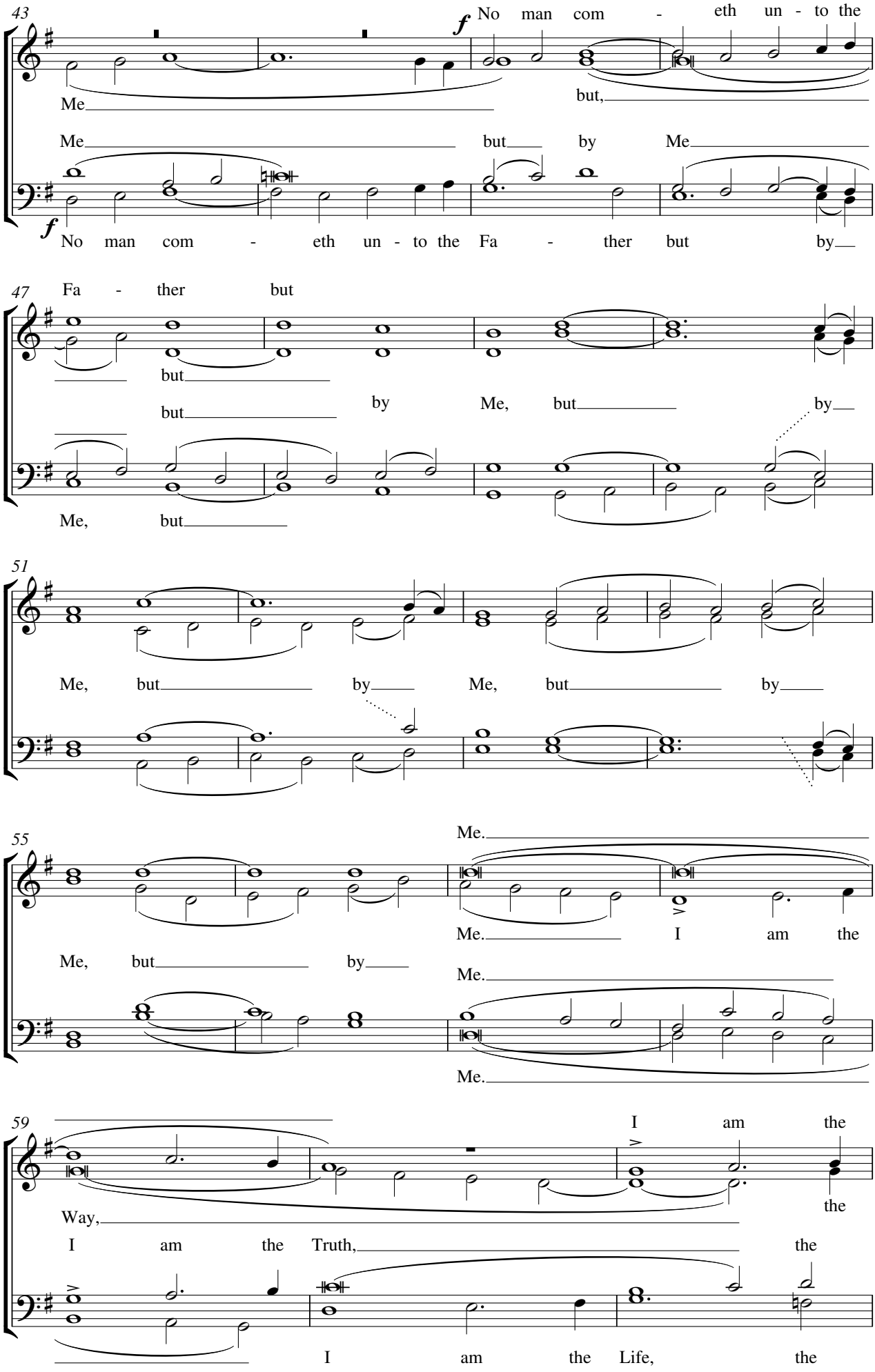
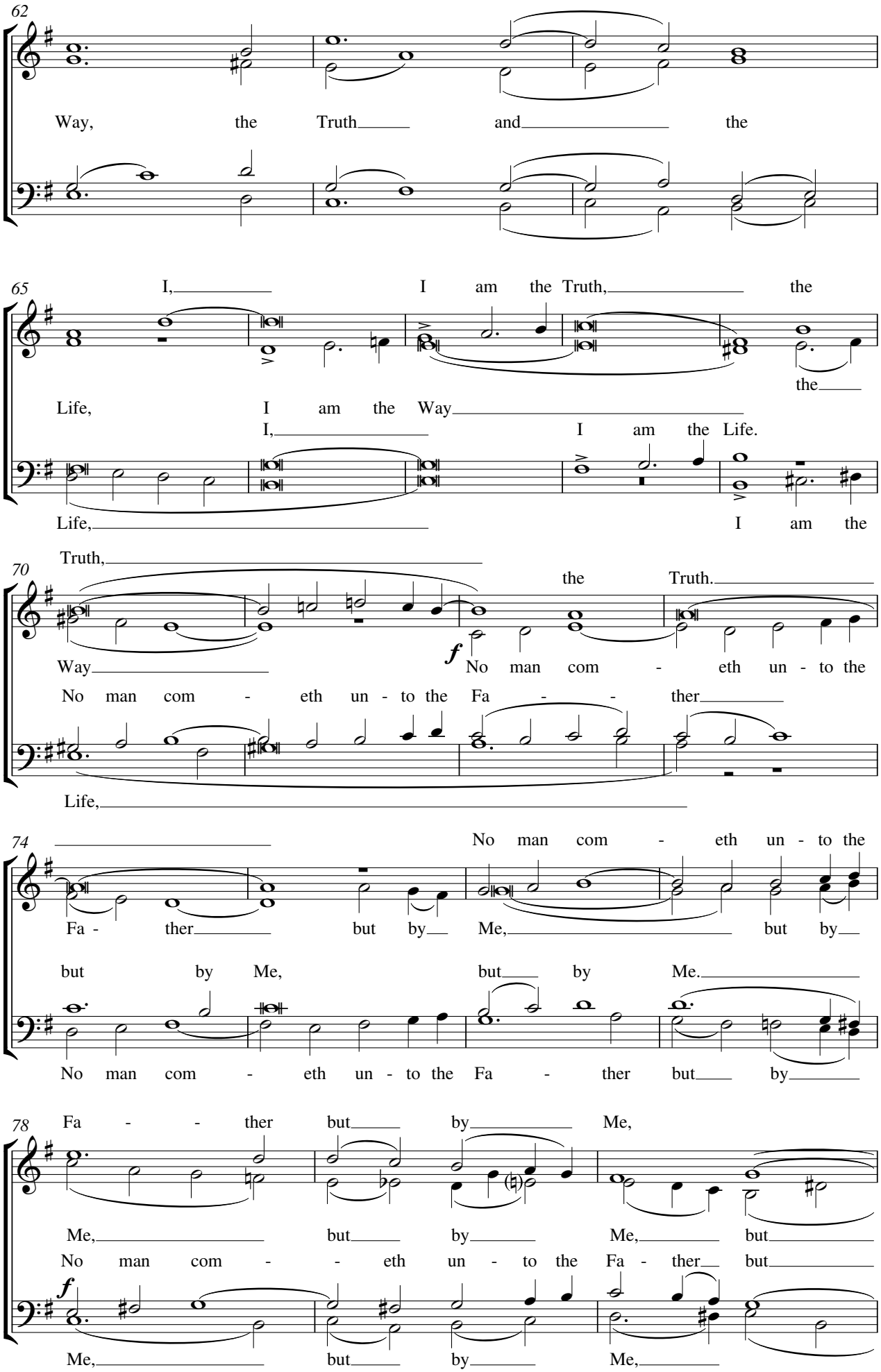
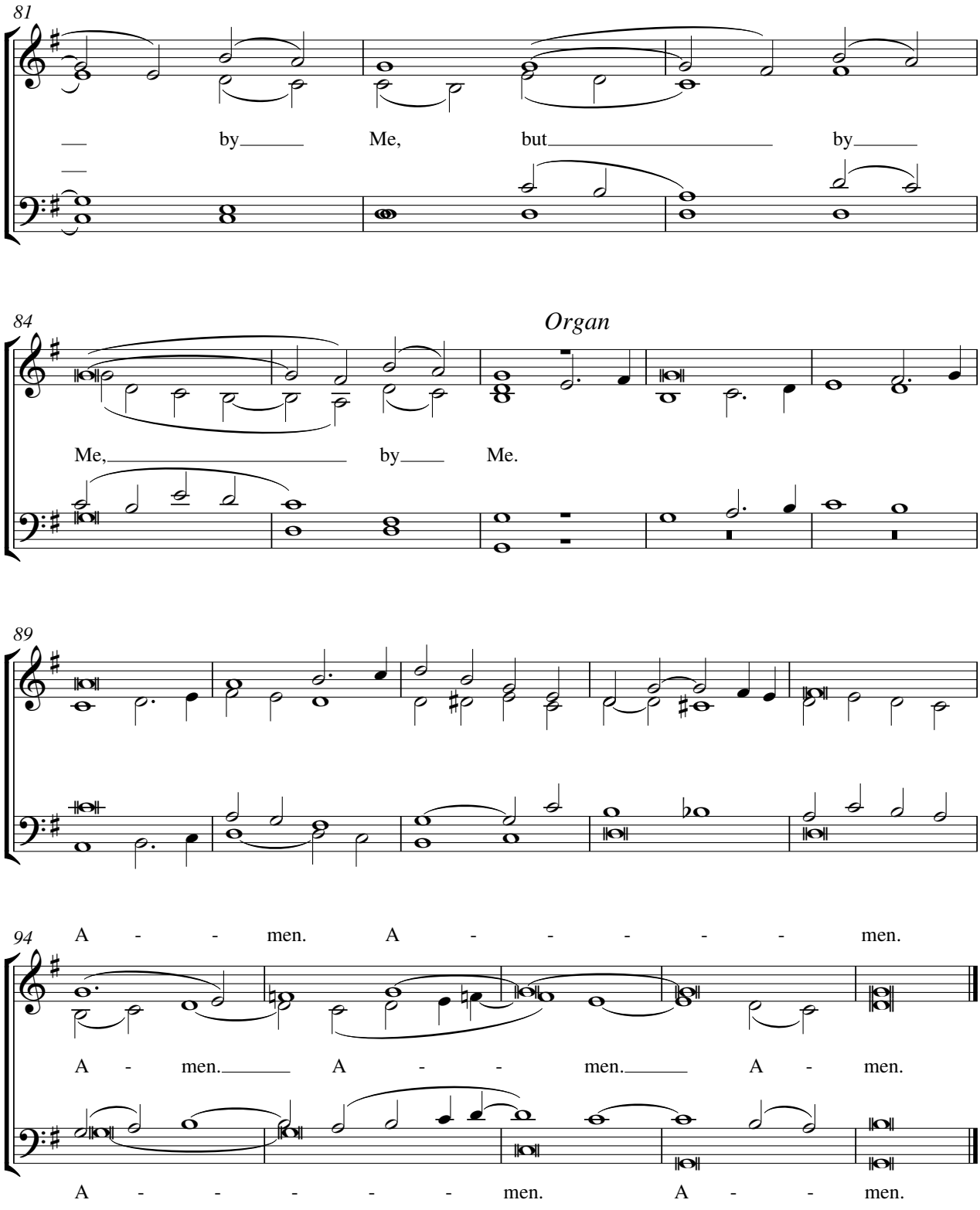
dim.
A - - - - - men. A - men.

I am the way

Congregational Anthem

John 14 vs 16

The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.

23
I am the Way, the
I am the
27
I am the Way,
Truth and the Life, the Way, the Truth
I am the Life,
31
and the Life, the Way, the Truth and the
35
dim.
Life, the Life.
No man com - eth un - to the
f
the Life.
39
f
No man com - eth un - to the Fa - ther but by
Fa - ther but by Me, but by
but by Me

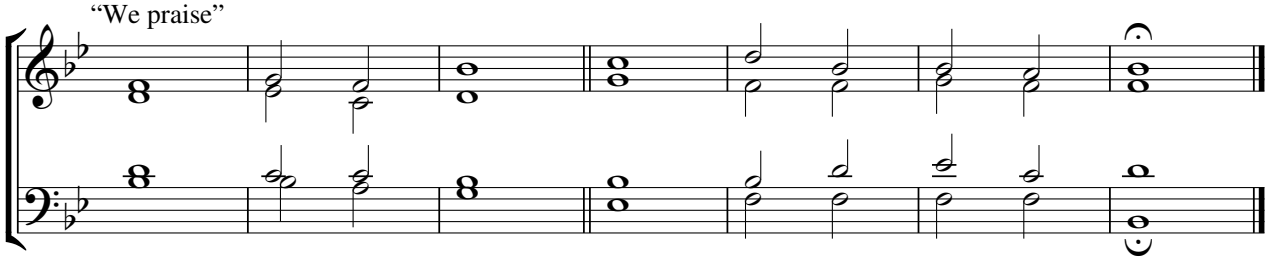

43
f
No man com - eth un - to the
Me
but,
Me
but by Me
f
No man com - eth un - to the Fa - ther but by
47
Fa - ther but
but
but
by Me, but by
Me, but
51
Me, but by Me, but by
55
Me.
Me. I am the
Me, but by
Me.
Me.
59
I am the
Way,
the
I am the Truth,
the
I am the Life, the

62
Way, the Truth and the
65
I, I am the Truth, the
Life, I am the Way
I, I am the Life.
Life, I am the
Truth,
70
the Truth.
Way
f
No man com - eth un - to the
No man com - eth un - to the Fa - - ther
Life,
74
No man com - eth un - to the
Fa - ther but by Me, but by
but by Me, but by Me.
No man com - eth un - to the Fa - ther but by
78
Fa - - ther but by Me,
Me, but by Me, but
No man com - - eth un - to the Fa - ther but
f
Me, but by Me,

81
by Me, but by
84
Organ
Me, by Me.
89
94
A - men. A - - - - - men.
A - men. A - - men. A - men.
A - - - - - men. A - - men.

Chants

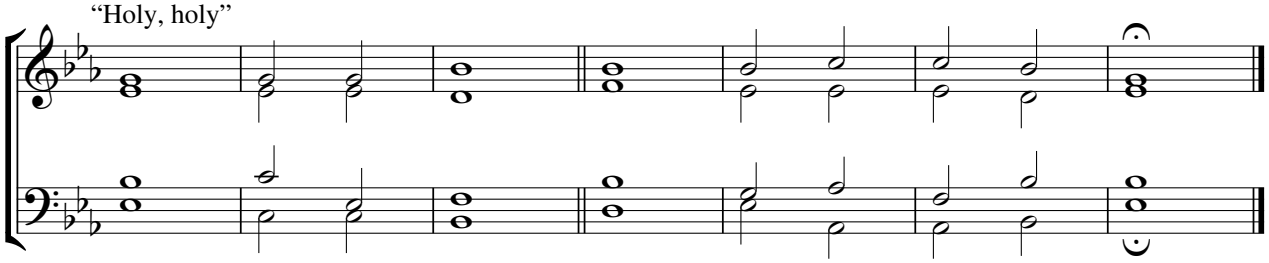
Te Deum

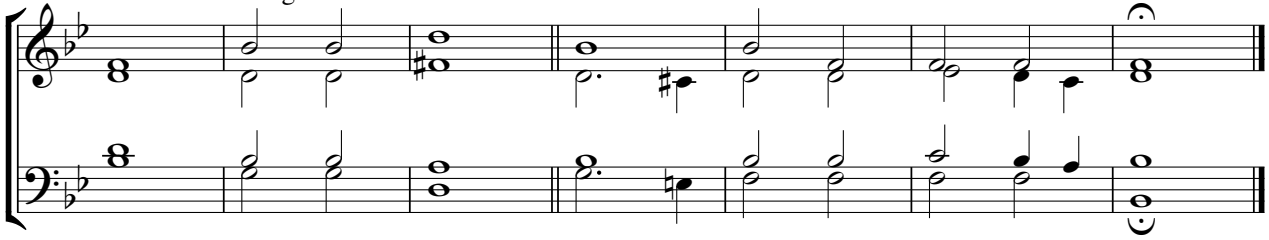
Newcastle Courant 4 October 1878 p.6

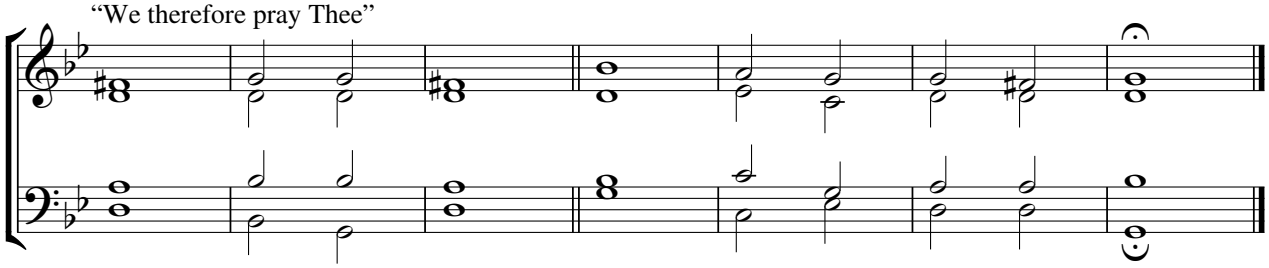
"We praise"



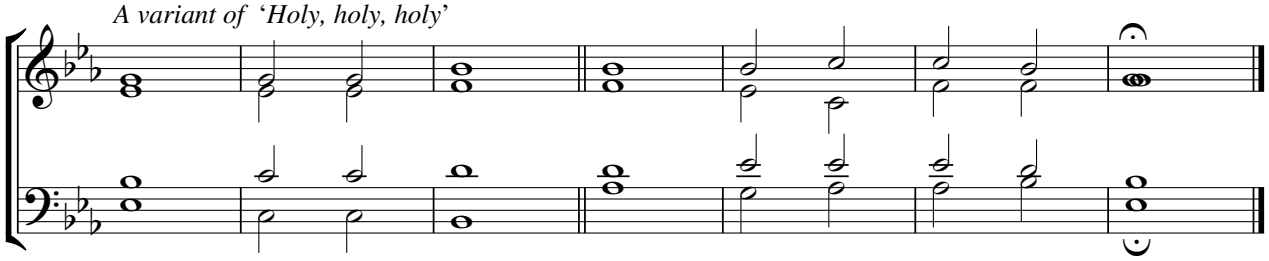
"Holy, holy"



"Thou art the King"

"We therefore pray Thee"

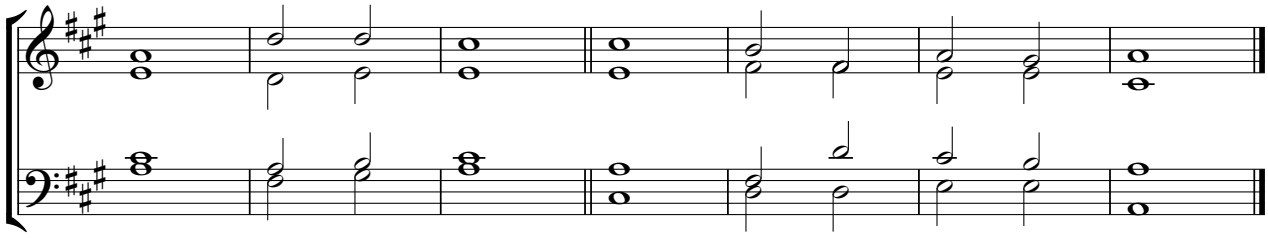


A variant of '*Holy, holy, holy*'



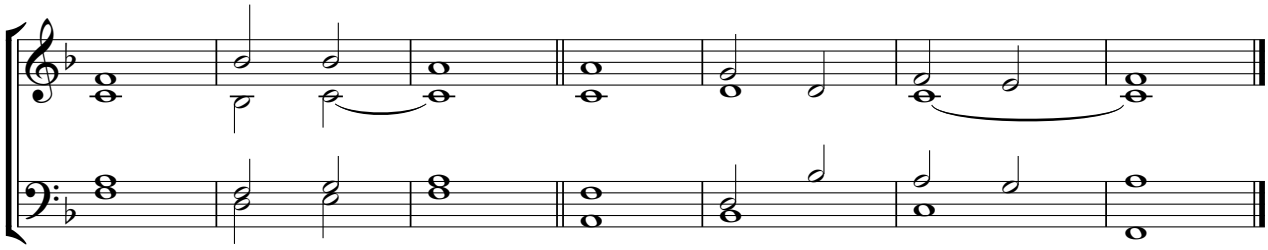
Psalms 15 and 16

Monk. E.G. (ed.) *The Anglican Chant Book* (Novello: London, 1879)

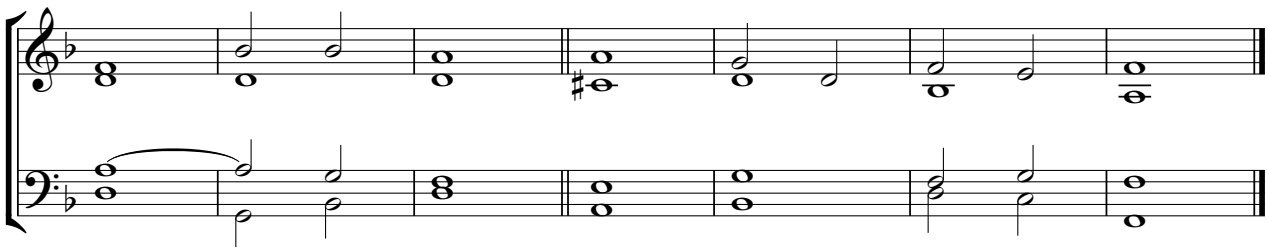


This chant later appeared, with various alterations, in
Ouseley, F.A.G. (ed.) *Unison Chants for the Psalter* (Novello: London, 1891)

vv.1,2 and 7 to end

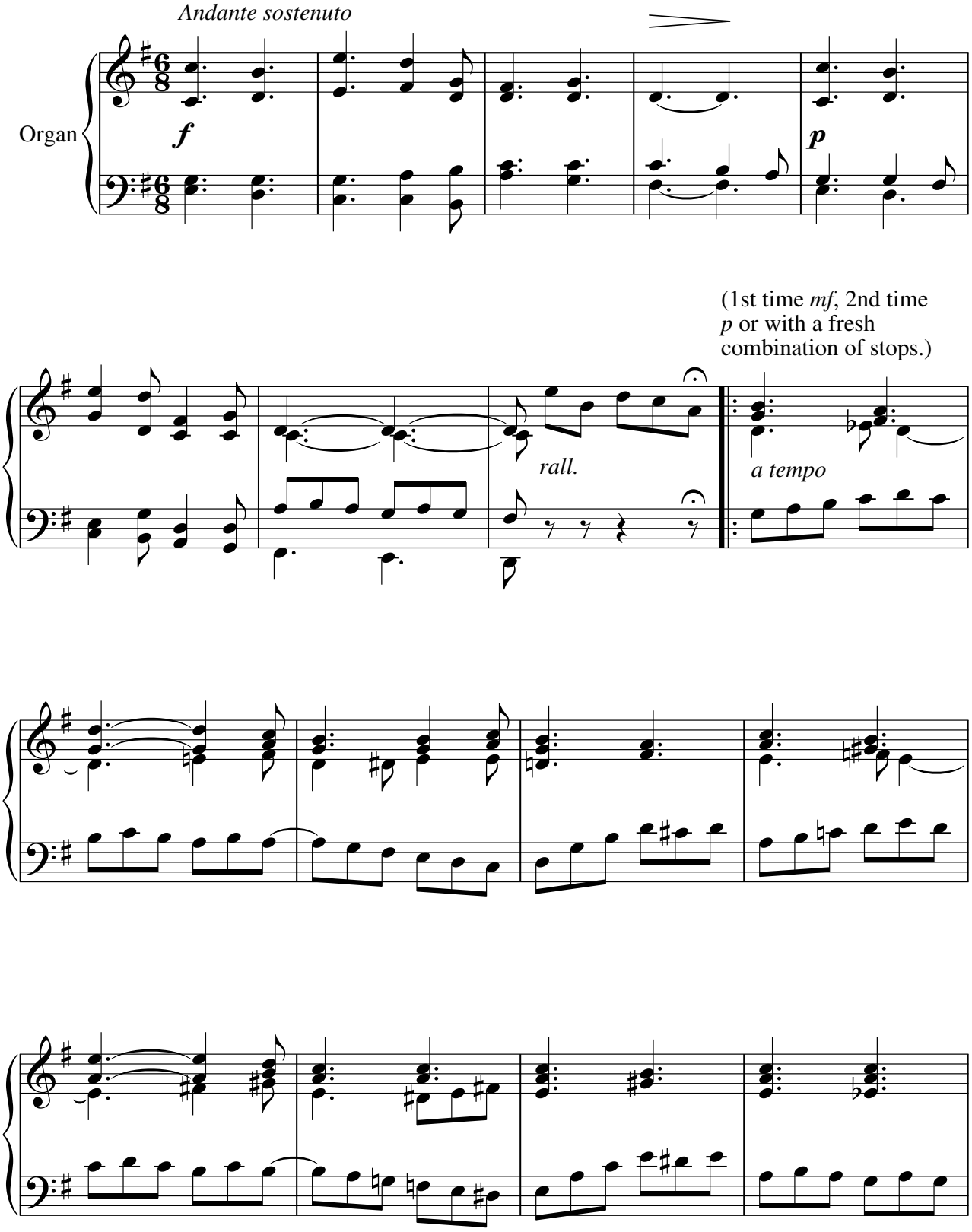
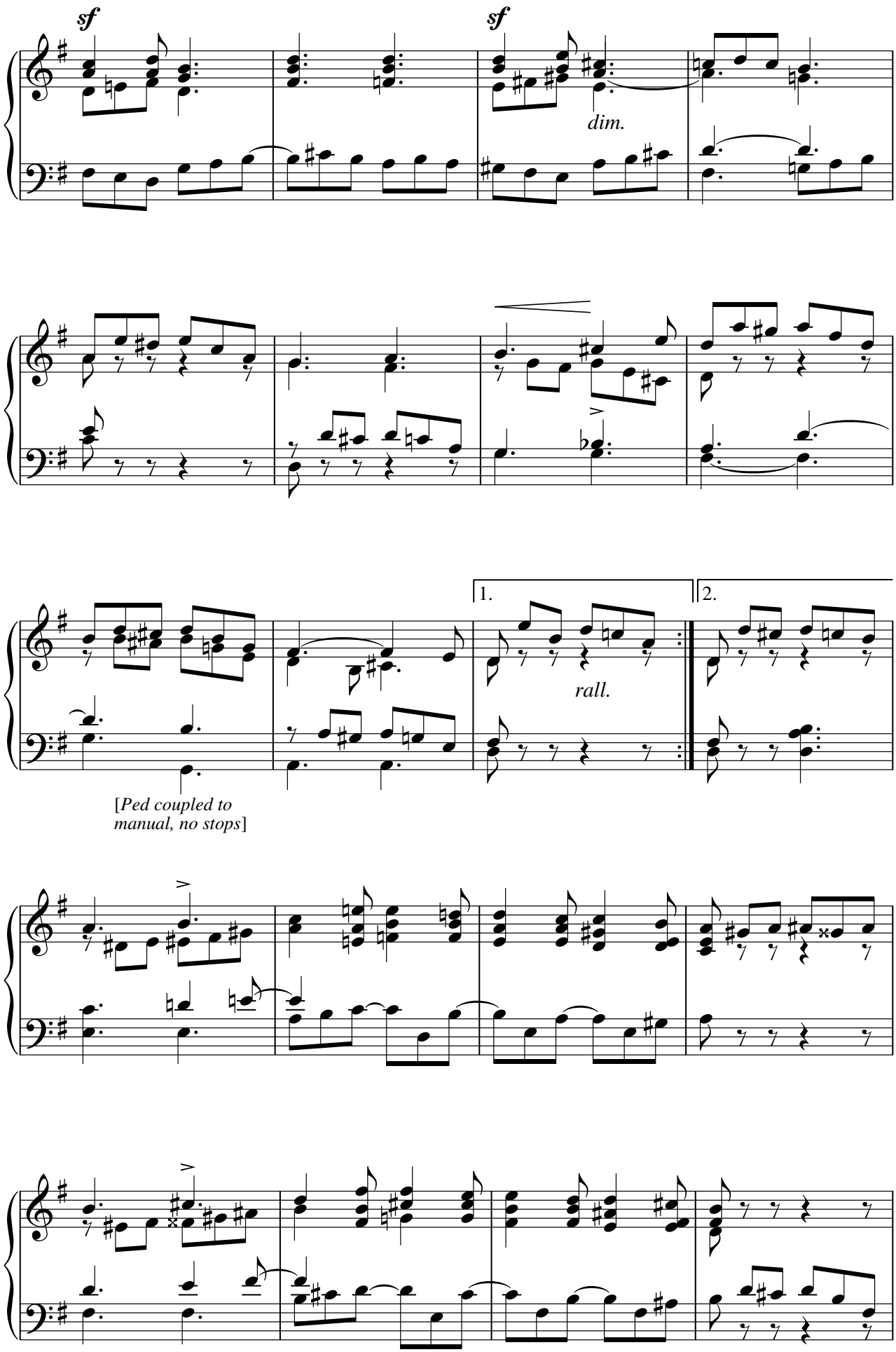
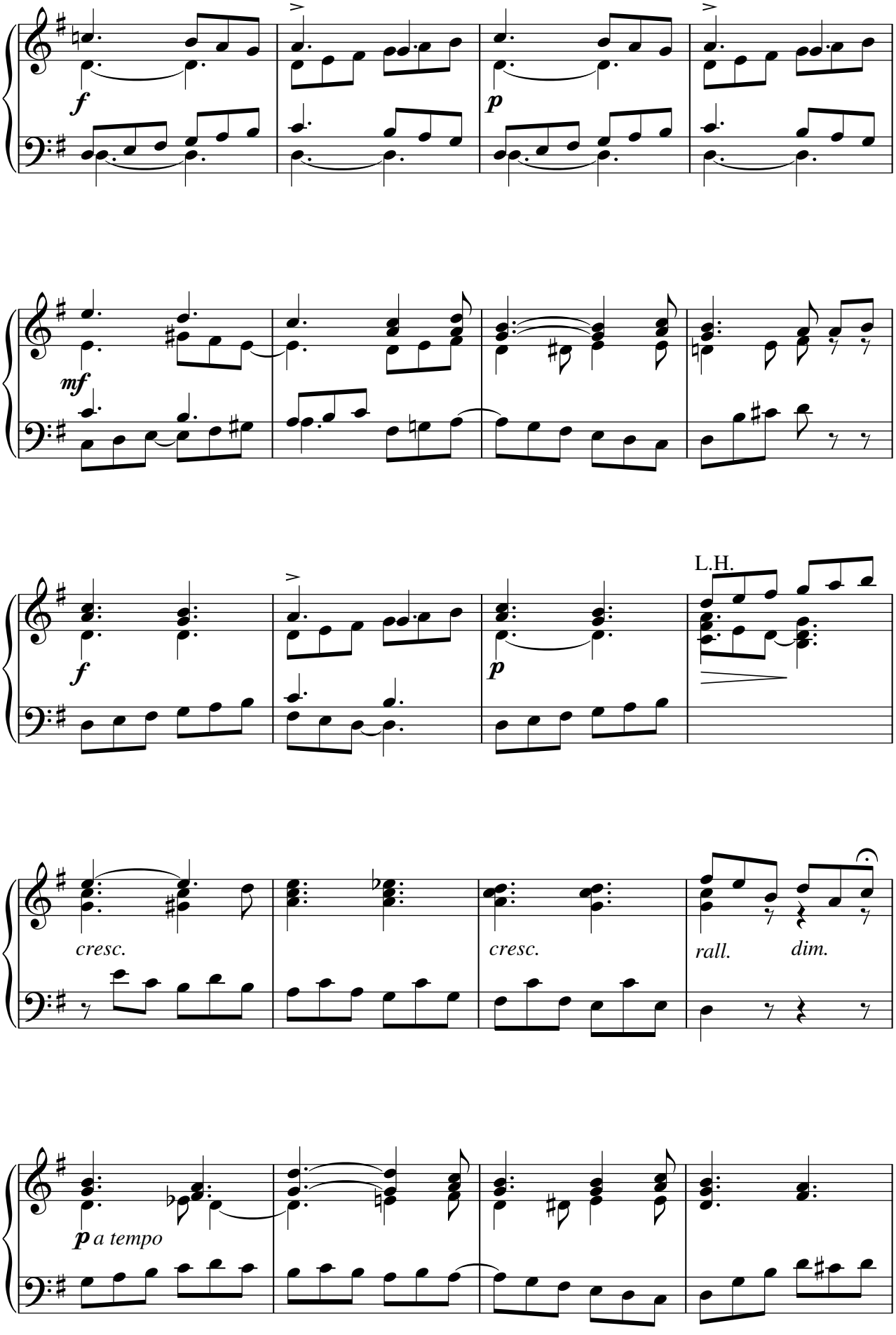
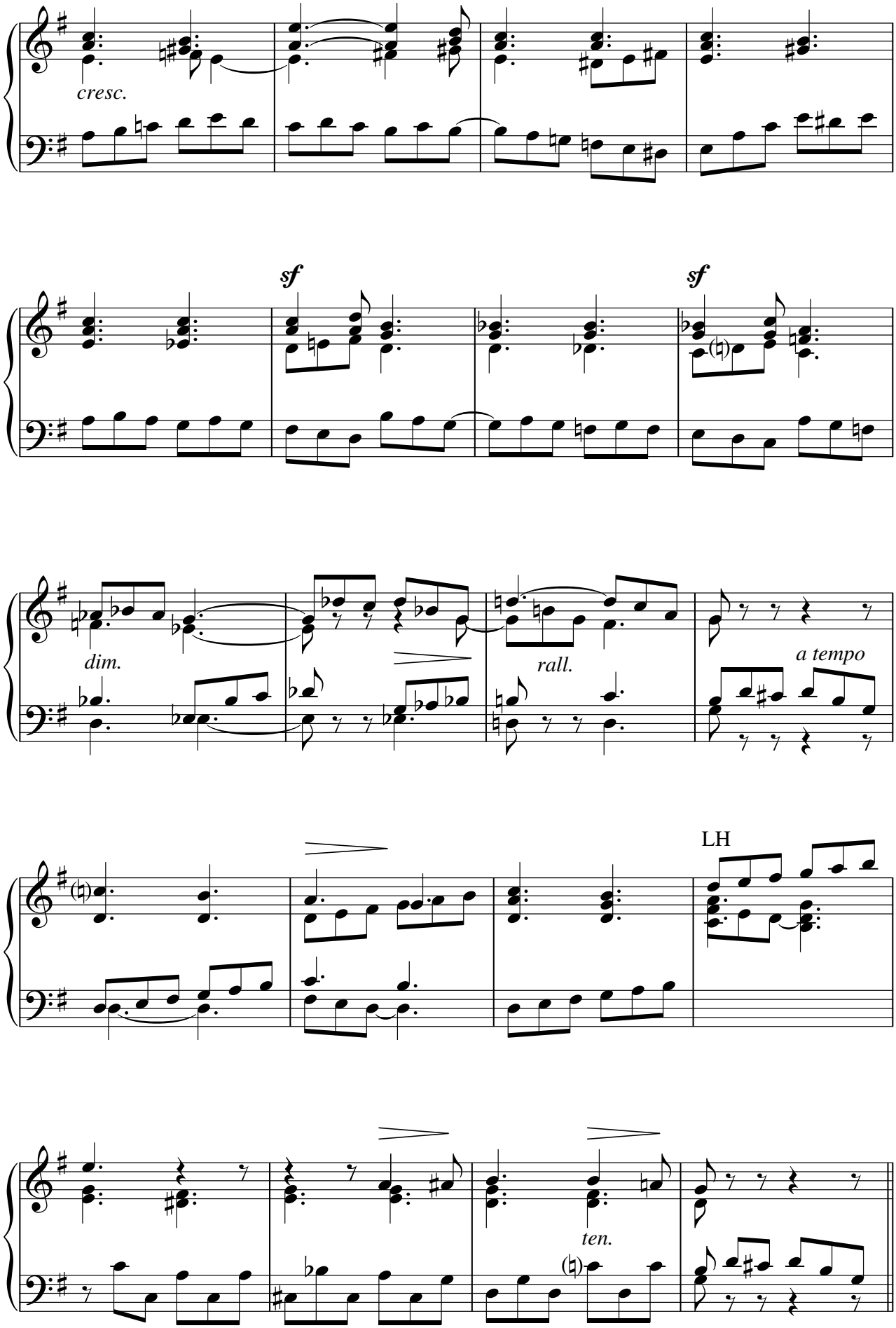
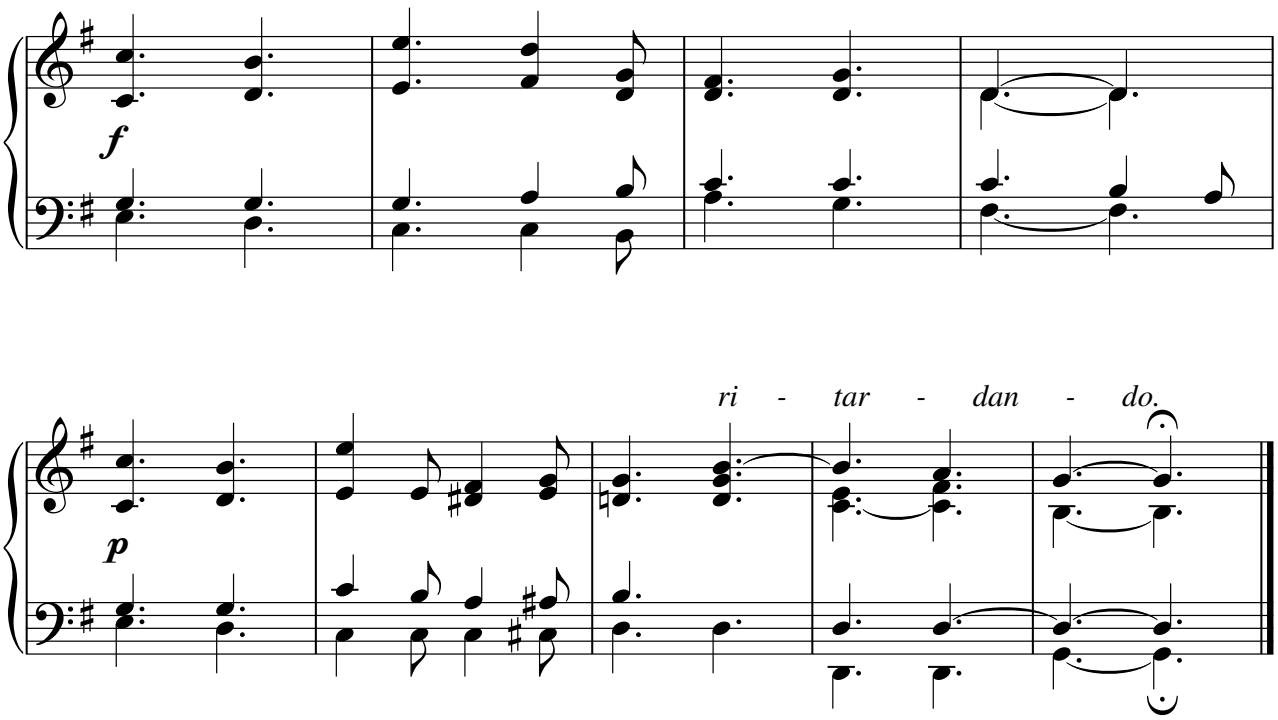


vv. 3-6



Andante Sostenuto

(No. 7 from “The Village Organist”, 1870)

Revd. John Bacchus Dykes, M.A., Mus.Doc

sf
sf
dim.
1.
2.
rall.
[Ped coupled to
manual, no stops]

f
p
mf
f
p
L.H.
cresc.
cresc.
rall.
dim.
p a tempo

cresc.
sf
sf
dim.
rall.
a tempo
LH
ten.

f

ri - tar - dan - do.
p

Durham University

Appendix B

to The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.: A Critical Re-appraisal
Ph.D. Thesis by Graham Cory

Correspondence &c.

to, from or pertaining to John Bacchus Dykes

Key

Sources

DC	Durham Cathedral Archives
DCA	Durham County Advertiser
DU	Durham University
HAM	Hymns Ancient and Modern (Archives, Norwich)
Knauff	Knauff, C.W. *Dr. Tucker, Priest-Musician* (A.D.F. Randolph; New York, 1897)
LP	Lambeth Palace
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RCO	Royal College of Organists (Library, c/o City University, Birmingham)
Fowler	Fowler, J.T. *Life and Letters of John Bacchus Dykes* (Murray: London, 1897)

Correspondents

EGM	Edwin George Monk (Music Editor, *The Anglican Hymn Book*, *1871*)
FAGO	The Rev. Sir Frederick A Gore Ouseley
HWB	The Rev. Sir Henry Williams Baker Bt. (Chairman of the Compilers, HAM, 1860—1877)
JBD	John Bacchus Dykes
RRC	The Rev. Robert Chope (Compiler of *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book 1862*)
WHD	William Hey Dykes
WHM	William Henry Monk (Music Editor, Hymns A&M 1861—1875)

Date	From	To	Topic	Source	Page
Unknown					
Between 1849-1862	JBD	Durham Dean & Chapter	Unhelpful interference in the music of the Cathedral by members of the Chapter	RCO	1
13 Sept (1859?)	H S Oakeley	JBD	Sorry he hadn't seen more of JBD the previous week; discusses some concerts and 'plagiarism'. [Incomplete].	RCO	2
Before 1864	WHD	JBD	Antagonism towards a book by WB Barter which JBD admired; anguish at disunion in the church brought about by intolerance of the various factions.	RCO	3
January 13	Dora Greenwell	JBD	Thanks JBD for kind book review; the decline of Quakerism.	RCO	6
Undated	Dora Greenwell	JBD	Praise for a sermon by JBD; talks about her poems.	RCO	7
4 June	John Stainer	JBD	Likes one of JBD's 'beautiful' tunes; discusses changes to some text.	RCO	8
Prob 1869	Wm Pulling	HWB?	The Littleton/Novello issue and JBD's simplicity and naiveté. [Incomplete]	RCO	9
Between 1868 and 1875	JBD	HWB	Deprecates the version of the melody of BENEDICTION used in the 1861 edition; proposes a change. [Incomplete]	HAM	11
1843					
16 October	WHD	JBD	Paternal advice on going up to Cambridge	RCO	13
1847					
16 March	JBD	WHD	Problems in getting the Yorkshire Fellowship. JBD suggests that the University authorities should take his date of baptism as showing his age.	RCO	15

? September	JBD	Parents?	Gives reasons for staying on a while in Cambridge; reveals that he has passed the 'voluntary' exam for the priesthood; also reveals a spat with Eliza, who had called him 'a liar'. [Incomplete]	RCO	17
1849					
3 December	JBD	Susannah Dykes	Domestic	RCO	18
1853					
27 September	JBD	'Susy' Dykes	Complains of not having heard from her for a while; some detail on his precentorial duties; had to discipline a chorister for truancy	DC	19
1858					
8 January	FAGO	JBD	FAGO's forthcoming collection of anthems, the state of English Cathedral music, the 'Spohrishness' of Wesley's music.	RCO	20
1859					
18 April	H S Oakeley	JBD	JBD's sermon 'Natural and Supernatural Life', JBD's comments on HSO's compositions, S S Wesley's music, JBD's anthem 'These are they that came out of great tribulation', other chat of a domestic nature`	RCO	22
20 October	H S Oakeley	JBD	Informal, discussion of S.S. Wesley and T.A. Walmisley	RCO	24
16 December	JBD	John Stainer	Letter accompanying testemonial	DU	26
16 December	JBD	President, Magdalen Coll.	Testimonial for John Stainer for position of Organist at Magdalen College Chapel.	DU	27
1860					
1861					
20 March	JBD	HWB	Post-publication of 1861 edition, thanks for payment and notice, points out consecutive 5th in a tune by FAG Ouseley	HAM	28
3 April	Thomas Helmore	JBD *probably*	Discussion of Ambrosian Te Deum and other plainsong matters.	RCO	30
25 April	JBD	HH Bemrose	Ref to 'Mr Ewing' and the Bp. of Argyll. Permission to use unidentified tune. Bemrose's new hymnal and JBD's anticipated pleasure in perusing it. 'Abominable' printing of Grey's hymnal with 'any number of mistakes'.	RAM	32

1862					
27 June	JBD	Robert Chope	Thanks for five guineas (prize), consent for some tunes to be printed in Chope's *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book*, mention of Handel Festival at Crystal Palace	HAM	33
11 September	FAGO	JBD	Commends Professor Donaldson. Expresses profound regret at JBD's resignation of the precentorship.	RCO	35
11 November	JBD	Robert Chope	Encloses copy of the 'Grey' Dies Irae; alludes to two hymns for which he will try to compose tunes (incl. ST. HELEN)	DC	36
14 November	H J Gauntlett	JBD	Lecturing JBD on the rules of harmony and composition, criticises HOLLINGSIDE	RCO	37
1863					
1864					
1865					
14 May	JBD	Robert Chope	Comments on 'The Choir' magazine; printing errors in Chope's hymnal affecting DYKES and DIES IRAE. Also needs an index of metres and tunes.	DC	40
1866					
1867					
27 June	Edward Churton	JBD	Commending JBD for his letter to the Guardian	RCO	42
1868					
19 January	Undecipherable	JBD	Compilation of a hymnal	RCO	43
15 June	JBD	Robert Chope	Copyright of JBD's tune ST. ANATOLIUS	HAM	44
June/July	HWB	JBD	Thanks to JBD for his contribution; CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR not popular with HWB or FAGO; MILES LANE; HWB likes IN TENEBRIS LUMEN	RCO	45
18 September	JBD	Robert Chope	Asks for permission to use ST. SYLVESTER and ST. AELRED	DC	50
1869					
4 February	Secretary to Proprietors of HAM	n/a	Extracts of the Minutes of a meeting of the Compilers, agree £100 for JBD for services rendered and £25 for travel expenses	HAM	51
20 April	Alfred A Pollock	JBD	Discusses reasons for the Proprietors leaving Novello for Clowes; asks JBD not to give consent to his tunes appearing in Novello's rival hymn book.	RCO	52
22 April	HWB	JBD	Matters pertaining to Novello losing the HA&M business, and JBD potentially providing tunes for Littleton (Novello Director)	RCO	53

27 April	HWB	JBD	More on the Littleton issue	RCO	54
9 August	Rev. C. Knipe	JBD	Seeking JBD's criticism of a translation of part of St. Bernard's Rhythm, and possibly a tune. Dykes eventually responded by setting the words to HORA NOVISSIMA	RCO	55
1870					
4 March	Henry Bramley	JBD	*Once again O blessèd time* [CHRISTMAS SONG] in Christmas Carols New & Old	RCO	56
11 March	R F Littledale	JBD	Seeking tunes for the *People's Hymnal*; hopes to be able to pay him sometime, but he and his co-editor is currently out of pocket.	RCO	58
23 May	R Minton Taylor	JBD	Thanks for letter, praises LUX VERA, proffers other hymns including one for which JBD eventually composed ORIENS EX ALTO, asks for (and an ms note in JBD's hand records that he is given) permission to use MAGDALENE and ST. EDMUND. Mentions of Armes, Brown, Wesley ("crotchety fellow"), Steggall, Hiles, Bert, Irons and Gauntlett.	RCO	59
10 August	H R Bramley	JBD	Stainer 'fidgety' about JBD's CHRISTMAS SONG; his setting of *From far away we come to you*.		63
1 September	John Sandford	JBD	Seeking JBD's support and practical help for a C of E-wide hymnal.	RCO	68
9 September	Eliza Alderson	JBD	One of Eliza's hymn; the health of Susan, Gertie and Jack.	RCO	69
29 September	Francis R. Grey	JBD	Praises *These are they which came out of great tribulation*, especially in the context of Mabel's recent death.	RCO	70
9 October	EGM	JBD	Proposed metronome mark for DIES DOMINICA, request for permission to use ST. ANATOLIUS, good wishes for one of Dykes's sick children (probably Gertrude or John jnr.), and a request that JBD names his fee for the four tunes written especially for Monk's hymnal.	RCO	71
19 October	EGM	JBD	Encloses £5 for JBD's tunes for *The Anglican Hymn Book*; comment on improvements to DIES DOMINICA; rejects HWB's suggestion that they are entitled to any greater credit for the printing of NICAEA; concern for JBD's sick child.	RCO	78
19 October	EGM	HWB	Competition between hymnal compilers, and copyright issues re JBD's tunes	RCO	79

22 October	HWB	JBD	WHM being unhelpful and 'takes no notice whatever' of what HWB says; so-compilers likely to be 'hostile'; reference to JBD's sick daughter.	RCO	81
24 October	EGM	JBD	Use of NICAEA in the *Anglican Hymn Book*; now 'burying the war-hatchet'; copyright assignment; pleasantries	HAM	82
26 October	EGM	JBD	Suggestions for changes to RESURRECTION, AMPLIUS, ST. AELRED and HARK THE SOUND, with musical examples	RCO	83
17 November	EGM	JBD	Tunes for a new hymnal of which EGM is Music Editor. [Incomplete]	RCO	85
1871					
8 January	HWB	JBD	Mention of the Littleton (Novello) issue, plans to resume work on the new edition	RCO	86
20 February	Wm Stevenson Hoyte	JBD	Seeking Litanies for a new collection for All Saints Margaret Street.	RCO	87
21 March	George T Blair	JBD	Seeking advice on a good organ builder; also asking JBD if he could recommend a goof tune for *There's a friend for little children*.	RCO	88
4 April	R F Littledale	JBD	Thanks for music for THE REPROACHES for *The People's Hymn Book*; hope to pay JBD when the book turns a profit; asks for more tunes.	RCO	89
24 April	Edward Steere	JBD	Tunes for Swahili hymns, of which some examples are given.	RCO	95
2 May	Alan Machray	JBD	An amateur seeks JBD's criticisms of his work and includes a very trite tune.	RCO	99
14 May	Joseph Barnby	JBD	Asking if JBD is still determined not to compose for other hymnals; if not, will he write for the hymnal he is compiling?	RCO	101
17 May	JBD	HWB	Approves of Stainer being co-opted onto the musical staff; suggests a H.A.M. book of Litanies; Barnby's request to JBD for tunes. [Incomplete]	HAM	102
4 July	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB	Opening salvo in the dispute about HAM 'mutilating' his Hymn *O Lord of heaven*	HAM	103
7 July	HWB	Bishop of Lincoln	Response to criticism; Bishop had approved the proofs…	HAM	106
10 July	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB	Bishop hadn't approved the proofs, he had merely been sent a few 'slips'…	HAM	107
25 August	George Macfarren	JBD	Courteous response which nevertheless disagrees with JBD's earlier letter; 'feeling' is the test of validity for a law; proposes meeting at EGM's home.	RCO	108
1 September	FAGO	JBD	Principles of harmony	RCO	109

21 September	George Macfarren	JBD	Principles of harmony	RCO	112
24 September	George Macfarren	JBD	Principles of harmony	RCO	114
18 October	JBD	HWB	JBD urging HWB to respond to criticisms made publicly by the Bishop of Lincoln about egregious editorial licence in HA&M	HAM	115
23 October	HWB	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB pained by report in *Guardian* of Bishop's comments at the Nottingham Congress; asks for permission to use letters in response to the *Guardian*	HAM	118
24 October	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB	Bishop has another attempt at convincing HWB; asks if author loses all rights to his work once it has been printed in a hymn book.	HAM	119
29 October	JBD	HWB	Proofs sent to JBD, more on the dispute with the Bishop of Lincoln	HAM	121
30 October	HWB	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB finally skewers the Bishop; answers the Bishop's question about whether authors lose their rights once a hymn has been printed — yes.	HAM	122
1 November	Bishop of Lincoln	HWB	Final word in the dispute.	HAM	125
4 November	JBD	HWB	Exchanges between JBD and the Bishop of Lincoln re the Bishop's hymn *O Lord of heaven, and earth and sea*, to which JBD wrote ALMSGIVING	HAM	126
7 November	JBD	HWB	JBD urging HWB to respond to criticisms made publicly by the Bishop of Lincoln about egregious editorial licence in HA&M	HAM	129
14 November	Bishop of Lincoln	JBD	Bishop's hymn *O Lord of heaven…* Changes to words.	RCO	130
1872					
4 January	JBD	H K Morley	Responding to a request to compose a quadruple chant, the use of which Dykes deprecates.	DU	131
13 January	JBD	John Ireland Tucker	Discusses financial terms for providing tunes. Also queries the appearance (and undesirability) of competing hymnals in the USA. Refers to his tune for 'Rock of Ages' ('beautiful, almost unequalled hymn') and two others which 'I do not think much of.'	Knauff	132
20 January	Joseph Barnby	JBD	Seeking consent to use JBD's tunes in *The Hymnary*; HWB had been very kind.	RCO	134
23 January	JBD	Joseph Barnby	Returning proof. Asserts that all of his tunes in Chope bar two are JBD's copyright. Regrets Barnby's rejection of double bar lines.	DU	135

25 January	Edward Steere	JBD	Thanks for JBD's tunes to Swahili hymns	RCO	136
25 March	Bishop Tozer	JBD	Thanks for JBD's tunes to Swahili hymns; the nature of African 'modes' and harmony; Barnby's tune CLOISTERS would work well with certain Swahili hymns	RCO	137
23 April	JBD	John Ireland Tucker	Thanks for cheque received for tunes composed. Asks for copy of JIT's hymnal. Reports that A&M has been 'an immense boon to our Church' and has 'raised the tone of Churchmanship'	Knauff	139
10 July	HWB	JBD	'The Foe behind, the deep before'	RCO	140
7 August	HWB	JBD	Work on the new Psalter, possible working holiday in the Lakes	RCO	141
11 September	WHM	Various	Pro-forma letter about the desirability or otherwise of using double bar lines at the end of lines of words	HAM	142
17 September	John Stainer	HWB	Double bar lines, dynamics, tune to 'Thou art gone up' (OLIVET), 'May God's blessing be with D^{r}. Dykes in his important struggle for true Christian liberty.'	HAM	143
20 September	HWB	JBD	VOX DILECTI, COME UNTO ME and the theology in one of Mrs Alderson's hymns.	RCO	147
23 September	HWB	JBD	Apologises that he will not be attending the Leeds Church Congress as he is too busy on the planned 1875 Edition.	RCO	151
11 December	Wm Walsham How	JBD	Asking for permission to use some of JBD's tunes in the SPCK hymnal	RCO	152
1873					
6 January	Wm Walsham How	JBD	Thanks for kind letter. "Your tunes are the making of Monk's Tune-book.'	RCO	153
15 January	Wm Walsham How	JBD	Asks for permission to use ST. SYLVESTER, PAX DEI, DIES IRAE, MELITA, NICAEA and OSWESTRY for *Church Hymns with Tunes*.	RCO	154
16 January	JBD	M Miller	Letter responding to request to reprint JBD's tunes	HAM	155
27 February	Wm Walsham How	HWB	Approves of the idea of 'a fair interchange' of hymns and tunes between the hymnals; Sullivan wants 'as few as possible' of JBD's tunes as he doesn't wish to pick out HAM's plums; undertakes to annotate HAM with suggestions; disapproves of Neale's transfiguration hymn.	HAM	156
6 May	W.I. Hall	JBD	Thanks for unnamed tune; most modern hymnals are full of 'rubbish' and he proposes a new book which will expunge much of this.	RCO	157
19 May	Henry Littleton	JBD	Engraving JBD's *The Lord is my*	RCO	159

			shepherd (better done in Germany); offers to print JBD's 'Service in E flat' when it is ready.		
20 May	Lady Victoria Evans Freke	JBD	Seeks permission to use a number of JBD's tunes (and perhaps some new ones) in her forthcoming *The Song of Praise*: HWB and Novello not being helpful.	RCO	160
10 June	Frederick Dykes	JBD	The economics of printing *The Lord is my Shepherd;* Frederick is putting up some of the money; some domestic pleasantries.	RCO	172
2 July	Sir R Stewart	JBD	Discussion of ST. NINIAN — Stewart but wants to improve the harmony.	RCO	174
4 July	Bishop of Durham	JBD	Requires that JBD and his curate give anti-ritualist written pledges	DCA	176
5 July	JBD	Bishop of Durham	Disputes the Bishop's *vires* to demand the pledges	DCA	177
7 July	Bishop of Durham	JBD	Rejects Dykes's arguments against the Bishop's requirements	DCA	179
16 July	JBD	Bishop of Durham	Further argumentation against the Bishop's requirements	DCA	180
17 July	HWB	JBD	Arranging meeting at Monkland, possibly with Stainer and Monk	RCO	186
18 July	Edward Seymour	HWB	Asking for consent to use some HAM tunes in the Irish Church Hymnal, including 10 of Dykes's tunes.	HAM	187
20 July	JBD	HWB	Problems with his Bishop	HAM	188
23 July	Sir Robert Stewart	JBD	Discussion of the harmony in COME, LABOUR ON; generally speaking, tenor parts are set too low nowadays – *cf.* Handel's' choral writing.	RCO	189
23 July	J Ireland Tucker	JWD	Promise to send reprinted copy of *The Hymnal* (minus errors) to which JBD had contributed BETHANY, FAITH and ST. EDITHA; asks for more tunes for forthcoming *Children's Hymnal* (for which JBD was to contribute tunes to *There's a friend for little children* and *It came upon a midnight clear.*	RCO	190
25 July	Bishop of Durham	JBD	Final refusal to licence the Rev G.E.F. Peake	DCA	196
25 July	JBD	DCA	Asking Editor to print his correspondence with Bishop Baring	DCA	197
28 July	J H Blunt	JBD	Support for JBD's 'plain speaking about dishonest treatment of the Bible'.	RCO	198
21 August	HWB	JBD	Account of breakdown of discussions about JBD's curate-in-waiting serving for a time at Monkland.	RCO	199

28 August	Sir Robert Stewart	JBD	Dykes's eponymous tune to the hymn 'Come. labour on' being better than Stewart's ORA LABORA	RCO	200
17 September	JBD	HWB	JBD in Scotland while his church is being redecorated; Counsel's Opinion on the strength of his case with the Bishop; comment on page size for 1875 edition (too small); approves of type setting; comment on the use of double bars; does not like expression marks to be overdone	HAM	203
23 September	JBD	Revd. Cecil Wray	Thanks Wray for supportive letter. Regrets the necessity of taking his Bishop to court.	LP	204
25 September	Edward Seymour	JBD	Mentions Worcester Festival of 1872; seeks JBD's aid to influence HWB to allow the Irish *Church Hymnal* to allow use of some tunes.	HAM	205
30 September	JBD	HWB	About the request of the Irish Hymnal to use some of JBD's tunes; *Hail gladdening light* and ANIMA CHRISTI; Rogation Litany; trip to Scotland and other pleasntries.	HAM	207
8 October	HWB	JBD	The 'wretched' Irish Church Hymnal, which had grievously altered the words of hymns (*When our heads are bowed with woe; Christian, dost thou see them*). HWB disagrees with the inclinations of JBD's 'loving heart' towards the compilers of that hymnal.	RCO	210
23 October	Edward Seymour	JBD	HA&M's 'churlish' behaviour in refusing consent to use tunes; HA&M's 'mercantile' motives; asks for JBD's consent to use some of his tunes if he still retains the copyright.	HAM	212
31 October	Sir Robert Stewart	JBD	More on HA&M's 'churlish' behaviour in denying the right to reproduce tunes, but asking JBD to allow use of those to which he retains the rights	RCO	213
4 November	JBD	HWB	Urging HWB to grant to the compilers of the Irish *Church Hymnal* the use of some of their tunes on a *quid pro quo* basis.	HAM	214
18 November	H H Dickinson	JBD	HWB's refusal to allow JBD's tunes to be used in the *Church Hymnal*, esp ST. CROSS, ST. ANDREW OF C, PAX DEI & VOX DILECTI; asks JBD to use his influence on HWB or else provide new arrangements of these tunes.	RCO	215
19 November	Arthur Sullivan	HWB	Asks for permission to use MELITA to *The Son of God*.	HAM	216

24 December	JBD	HWB	Thanks for £5 towards his legal costs; housekeeping on proofs etc.	HAM	217
1874					
20 January	J Fenwick Laing	JBD	Laing being pressed to forswear vestments; looking for a curate; concern for JBD; wants *Agnus Dei* & *Benedictus* to go with JBD's communion service.	RCO	218
11 February	Edward Seymour	JBD	Complaining of the refusal of the Compilers of HAM to allow their tunes to be used; the Irish Syond has been a thorn in their flesh; but they are very anxious indeed to be permitted to use HOLLINGSIDE instead of Barnby's alternative.	HAM	219
17 February	JBD	HWB	The opening salvoes in a war with R R Chope (Ed. of '*Congregational Hymn and Tune Book*') about copyright in some of JBD's tunes.	HAM	222
22 February	H S Oakeley	JBD	Praise for JBD's *The Lord is my Shepherd*	RCO	223
27 February	JBD	HWB	Chope's claim that he has copyright in some of JBD's tunes.	HAM	224
28 February	HWD	JBD	Imploring JBD to have nothing more to do with the Irish Church Hymnal. They have 'parodied' '*We love the place*'	RCO	225
1 March	HWB	JBD	Urges JBD to have no more to do with the 'un-English' and 'ungentlemanly' people at the Irish Hymnal; mentions HOLLINGSIDE and ST. CROSS;	RCO	226
10 March	HWB	JBD	HWB's new morning hymn: *My Father, for another night*	RCO	227
12 March	JBD	HWB	Asks for grant for a community of nuns; searching out LM tunes; printing words underneath plain chant tunes; doesn't like Smart's EVERTON; likes HWB's *My father, for another night*; recommends some new composers (Thorne, Sterndale Bennett, Macfarren and Stewart); dealings with the Irish Hymnal.	HAM	228
12 March	WHM	JBD	Discusses FAGO's tune ST. GABRIEL, WHM professes to value JBD's comments esp. on Gregorian tunes, discusses HWB's tune ST. TIMOTHY	HAM	235
21 April	JBD	HWB	Dealings with the Irish Hymnal, HWB's tune to 'Art thou weary', printing words under Gregorian tunes, use of Gregorian notation, doesn't like some of Sullivan's tunes, domestic matters	HAM	238

5 May	JBD	HWB	Thanks for the gift of £100; allusions to his troubles with the Bishop, recent meeting of the hostile laity; references to O LUMEN HILARE and STRENGTH AND STAY, incl. two changes to the latter made at Monk's suggestion;	HAM	240
6 May	JBD	HWB	Formal receipt (qv letter of 5 May)	HAM	245
15 July	JBD	HWB	Long letter on matters to do with the harmonies of various tunes	HAM	246
23 July	John McKinlay	JBD	Long letter from John McKinlay (USA) with domestic pleasantries, on the state of music (esp. Church music) in New York, expressing the wish that John Stainer would relocate to New York to raise standards there.	RCO	249
11 August	John Stainer	JBD	Stainer politely declines to change ST. FRANCIS XAVIER despite JBD's comments. Stainer likes JBD's ST. DROSTANE	HAM	251
11 August	JBD	HWB	Thankful that luggage arrived; sister's hymn *And now, beloved Lord,* to which he had written the tune COMMENDATIO	HAM	252
13 August	JBD	HWB	Discusses tunes for the 1875 edition: ST. SYLVESTER, OLIVET, LINDISFARNE and Stainer's ST. FRANCIS XAVIER	HAM	253
23 August	JBD	HWB	The new Irish Hymnal, domestic matters	HAM	254
25 August	JBD	WE Gladstone	Letter accompanying a copy of his pamphlet *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*	BL	256
25 August	JBD	HWB	Short letter about Eliza Alderson's 'St. John the Baptist' hymn	HAM	257
27 August	JBD	HWB	The words to 'Through all the changing scenes of life' (WILTSHIRE), HOSANNA WE SING	RCO	258
'September'	FAGO	JBD	Support for JBD's pamphlet 'Eucharistic Truth and Ritual', commends Joyce as being 'perfectly sound on all ritual and doctrinal points'.	RCO	260
15 September	HWB	JBD	ALFORD, theological difficulties with verse 2 of Eliza Alderson's hymn *And now, belovèd Lord*	RCO	261
21 September	HWB	JBD	More on Eliza Alderson's hymn; misunderstanding about HWB's visit to Durham; PARADISE and EXSPECTO — HWB doesn't like either;	RCO	265

22 September	JBD	HWB	The doctrine implicit in a hymn written by Eliza Alderson (JBD's sister), matters relating to ST. AGNES and PARADISE, JBD's desire to see every hymn 'worthily set' to music, domestic matters.	HAM	270
24 September	HWB	JBD	More on the theology of Eliza Alderson's hymn; the practical problems of making late changes; neither HWB or Monk are enamoured of JBD's EXSPECTO; too many 2nd tunes; Stainer's THE ROSEATE HUES; OLD 44th; need to balance new tunes and old — 'the secret of our success'.	RCO	273
1 October	HWB	JBD	More on the theology of Eliza Alderson's hymn.	RCO	278
6 October	HWB	JBD	Long and impassioned letter about the theology in Eliza Alderson's hymn.	RCO	279
29 October	Henry Allon	JBD	Praising JBD's tunes generally; asking him to compose a tune for Wesley's *Come let us anew* [MIZPAH]; also praised JBD's congregational anthem *Unto Him that loved us*	RCO	281
10 November	Henry Allon	JBD	Mentions of LUX BENIGNA ('don't feel quite drawn to'), ST. AGNES, CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR ('very charming'), VIA CRUCIS	RCO	283
4 December	Henry Allon	JBD	Proof of MIZPAH, use of ST. AËLRED, ST. AGNES AND ST.ANDREW OF CRETE	RCO	285
22 December	HWB	JBD	MELCOMBE (Webbe), which JBD considers a 'hack tune'; 'perversity' of congregations which substitute tunes which were not set by the Compilers; INTERCESSION; AURELIA 'the tune henceforth to these words;	RCO	287
30 December	HWB	JBD	Rejection of JCB's ECCE VICTOR —Stainer doesn't like it; HWB and others 'can't quite make you out always'; JBD having 'sacrificed' WIR PFLÜGEN to satisfy Monk; allusion to a copyright issue.	RCO	291
Prob c1874	HWB	JBD	Tune for an Innocents' Day hymn *Sweet flowerets &c.* (SALVETE FLORES); JBD's complaint about lack of novelty in tunes for the book.	RCO	295

1875					
11 February	FAGO	JBD	Recommends H. Wells to be JBD's organist; new and good Headmaster at Tenbury; hopes JBD can recommend boys to the College.	RCO	297
18 February	JBD	R R Chope	Seeking verification of Chope's claim to HWB to have purchased the copyright of certain of JBD's tunes	HAM	298
19 February	R R Chope	JBD	Clarifying the basis of his claim by reference to letters he had sent to HWB	HAM	299
19 February	JBD	HWB	Acknowledges receipt of letters re Chope. Alludes to his own poor health.	HAM	300
20 February	JBD	R R Chope	More on the copyright issue, JBD demands proof that he assigned copyright in certain tunes to Chope.	HAM	301
20 February	JBD	HWB	Encloses correspondence between JBD and RRC. 'Pained' at the 'squabble'. Can't find relevant letters. Health has been poor all year.	HAM	303
22 February	JBD	HWB	Still can't find relevant letters. Memory on the subject 'hazy'. Have got 'bewildered'. RRC 'trying to take advantage'.	HAM	304
24 February	R R Chope	JBD	More assertive letter.	HAM	305
25 February	HWB	JBD	More on the Chope dispute; HWB urges JBD to rest; offers to send his own Curate to take the services in St. Oswald's	RCO	306
26 February	JBD	HWB	Aghast at the prospect of litigation. Evidence of incipient breakdown on JBD's part.	HAM	307
5 March	JBD	HWB	Short, agreeing to proposed words in the Preface	HAM	308
6 March	JBD	HWB	Distressed to hear that a 'Restrainer' has been issued against HAM; anxious for the matter to be settled quickly; JBD feels 'wretched'; ends poignantly.	HAM	309
19 April	FAGO	JBD	Offering sympathy on his illness. Mentions JBD's impending overseas trip. Solicits news. Open invitation to stay at Tenbury.	RCO	310
1876					
25 January	Philip Armes	Brother of JBD	Funeral arrangements	RCO	311
30 January	HWB	The Guardian	Tribute, mentions ALFORD	*Guardian*	312
2 February	A A Phillpotts	Mrs (Susannah) Dykes	Letter of condolence	RCO	313
14 March	Faustina Hasse Hodges	Mrs (Susannah) Dykes	Letter of condolence; JBD's 'sweet' music, chords and harmony; her own musician-father, Edward Hodges; solicitations about the Dykes children, request for a photograph	RCO	314

Pastoral and other letters reprinted in Fowler[1] (not reprinted in this Appendix)

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1843-47		
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1843		
Undated	To his mother, about a proposed leaving present from people in Wakefield	16
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1846		
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1847		
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16 September	To a sister, about his forthcoming 'Voluntary' exam and the Malton curacy	40
27 September	To a sister about the Malton curacy	41
1848		
Undated	To Eliza, about the workload in Malton, including a lecture on 'sound'	44
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29 October	To his future wife, describing his daily routine	50
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1850		
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1853		
27 September	To his wife about his Cathedral duties and his 'thrashing' of a chorister	57
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1856		
Undated	To the Rev John Cheape about his (JBD's) review in the *Ecclesiastic* of William's "Rational Godliness (see App. C Part 1), and about Cheape's health	59
1857		
23 June	To his sister Lucy, on the death of her husband, the Rev. John Cheape	291
August	To his borther George, who was very ill	62
1859		
23 November	To his sister Lucy, on the death of her little child, born five months after his fathers death	292
1860		
12 October	To W.H. Monk, submitting 'a few MS tunes for your inspection'	71
13 November	To his wife about the funeral of his brother, Charles	69
1861		
28 September	To his sister, Fanny, about the grave illness of a friend and neighbour	74
1864		
11 January	To his mother, on the death of his father	294
29 February	To his brother arthur, laid up at Eastbourne	295

[1] Includes substantial extracts (usually six sentences or more) in the body of the text. All letters were written by Dykes unless otherwise shown.

26 March	To his wife from a break in Eastbourne, mentions Oakeley's quadruple chant	96
27 March	To his wife, compares excellent and lively Easter service with Durham	96
24 July	To his wife, a touching letter on their wedding anniversary	99
1866		
15 February	To his cousin, the Rev. E.B. Wawm on his ill-health	108
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1867		
1 October	To his wife, giving an account of the services at St. Michael's, Tenbury	115
1 October	To his wife, giving an account of his conversation with the Bishop of Oxford	117
1868		
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5 February	From HW Baker, in appreciation of JBD's contribution to the 1868 Appendix	121
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1870		
10 March	To an invalid, on keeping Lent	255
25 April	Spiritual and Sacramental Communion	270
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cJuly	From Bickersteth, thanking JBD for IRENE, asking for others	132
17 August	From Bickersteth, thanking JBD for OLIVET and EUCHARIST	133
19 August	To Bickersteth, general pleasantries and hope of a meeting	134
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17 September	To his sister Eliza, re her carol *Infant of Days* and the health of Gertie	140
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29 September	From Francis Grey, complimenting JBD on *These are they which came out*	146
24 October	To a friend, on the loss of her little children	300
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9 January	On frequent confession	277
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5 February	On keeping Lent	265
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25 May	To Frederic re a hymn F. had written	160
11 June	From E Bickersteth, asking for a tune to *We would see Jesus*	161
14 June	To E Bickesteth, with VISIO DOMINE provided for his hymn	162
14 June	On carelessness in prayer	259
August	From Baker, suggests dropping 'Dr' from salutations, other personal remarks	150
1 September	Submission to God's will	
1872		
January	To Frederic re Stainer's appointment to St. Pauls, and the 14th century cross	157
12 January	Self-imposed pennances	282
11 May	Reserve in teaching	283
14 June	To Bickersteth re *We would see Jesus*/VISIO DOMINI	162
3 July	To Eliza, about her hymn *Lord of glory*, plus a hymn by Stainer	164
July	Humility	249
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1873		
15 January	Love in trials	284
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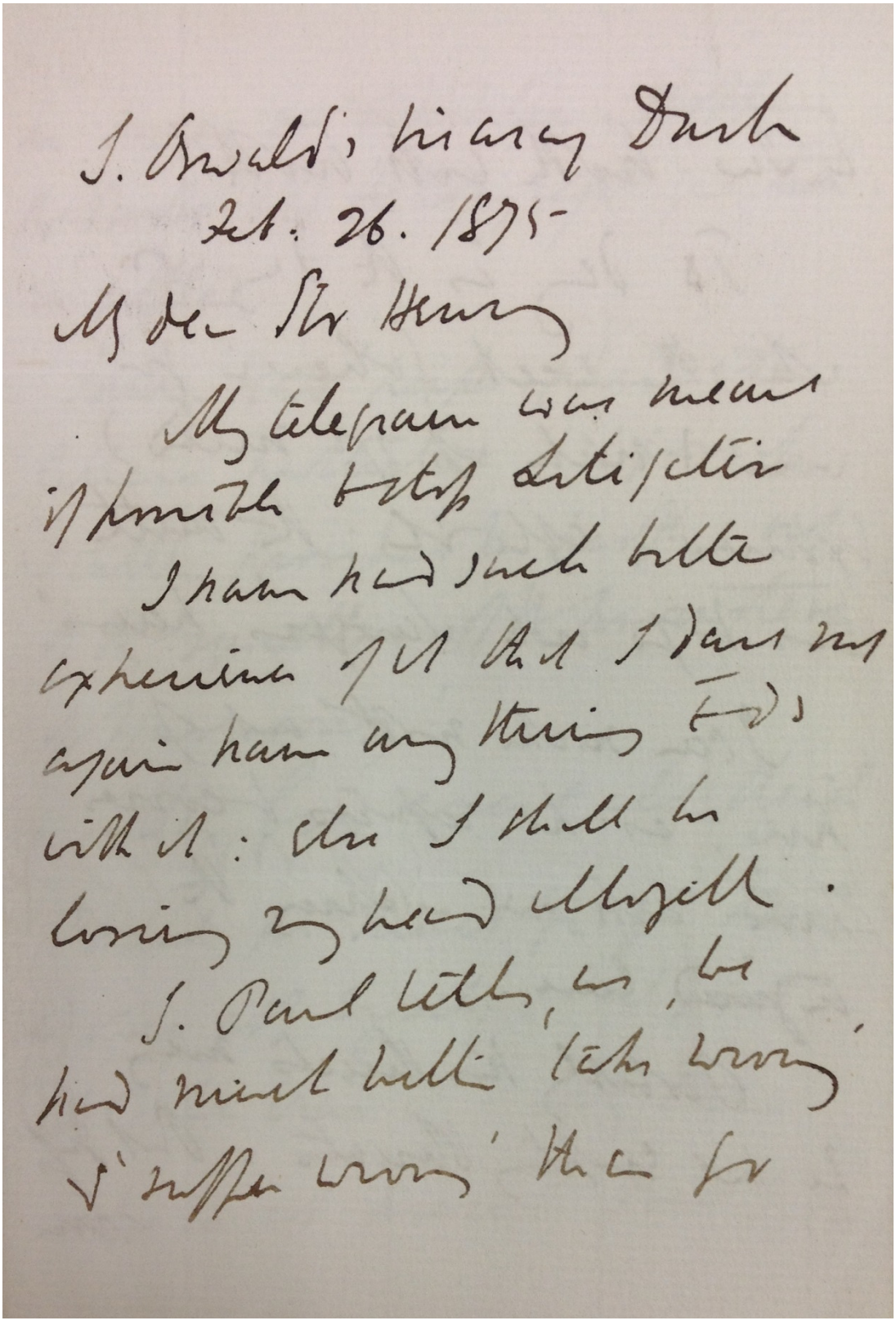
[1] This is how Fowler describes the letter, but none of Dykes's sisters were married in January 1875. The content of the letter suggests that the wedding was of a *daughter* of one of his sisters.



Dykes's handwriting in the last 12 months of his life
(compare with his handwriting in 1849—see Thesis p53)

Draft letter from JBD to the Dean and Chapter, Durham Cathedral, Undated (RCO)

Gentlemen,

It is, I can assure you, with no desire to do anything wh: may in the least degree, be regarded as taking a liberty, that I address you, for the purpose of respectfully soliciting information ~~up~~on a subject ~~of considerable importance to me~~ which, to me, is of considerable importance & has long been a source of perplexity — viz: <u>whose</u> duty it, precisely, is to select, & be answerable for, the music performed in this Cathedral ~~[whether is it that of the Precentor, or of the Dean & Chapter.~~]

The reason why I feel myself constrained to ask this question is in consequence of the important alterations which (apparently as a matter of course) I find regularly made in the lists wh I draw out & because, music wh: I put down week after week, I find, week after week, erased.

The only document allud.^{g} to this subject with wh: I am acquainted is the 25th Statute wh certainly places the select^{n} of the music <u>unconditionally</u> in the hands of the Precentor, & the subscription to our Anthem papers, & what I know of the practice in other Cathedrals concur in the same decision. At the same time I am perfectly aware that there may have been some more recent enactment passed virtually rescinding the Statute alluded to. If such sh.^{d} be the case I shall feel most anxious to be made acquainted with it.

I take a very deep interest in the discharge of my duties connected with the musical arrangements of the Cathedral — and with regard to the anthem lists I can conscientiously say that I never make them out without spending a considerable time over them. There are so many circumstances & of such different kinds, to be taken into consideration in my arranging these lists week by week (of the greater part of wh: I cannot but think few are aware) that I may safely affirm I rarely put down a <u>single</u> piece without some definite purpose.

Now this being the case, gentlemen, I feel convinced you will all agree with me that I sh.^{d} be simply manifesting a culpable indifference to my duties were I not to deem it of importance to know whether or not I am always to <u>expect</u> to have my lists (however carefully drawn out) altered; to have music wh: I <u>know</u> to be beautiful & unexceptionable systematically struck out, nay! to find perhaps (to give a recent instance) only one single day in the whole week in wh: there ha~~d~~s not been some important change introduced in the music wh: I have put down.

If such be the recognized practice in this Cathedral I need scarcely add that all inducement for the Precentor to take pains with his lists is at an end. His doing so ~~w~~^{d} is be (*sic*) merely a waste of time — And he might just as well adhere to the custom wh, for some length of time, obtained here — of having the list to be drawn out by one of the singing men or singing boys, & so, at least, feel himself relieved from the responsibility attaching to them.

I can only add, gentlemen, that I have written this note with the greatest possible reluctance, but, at the same time, not without the full conviction (wh has for some time been gradually strengthening) that I had no~~t~~ alternative.

My duties as Precentor are, as yet, matters of too great interest to me not to render me earnestly desirous that some definite understanding sh.^{d} be arrived at on a point affecting (as I candidly think it does) the welfare of the choir.

Believe me Gent, with all respect,

Your obed.^{t} faithful servant,

J B Dykes.

Letter from Herbert Oakeley, Partially Dated and Incomplete (RCO)

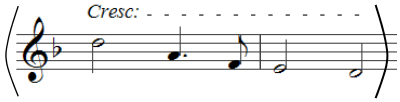
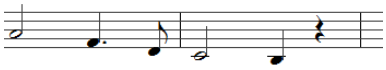
York Sept[r.] 13[1] [1859?]

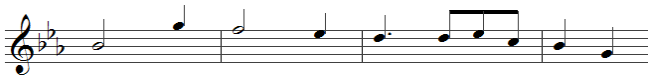
My dear M[r.] Dykes,

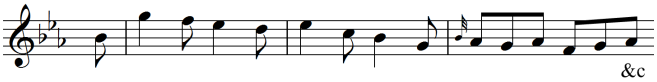
I was so sorry not to be able to see more of you last week, it was indeed a great pleasure to meet you again. I wish you c[d.] have stayed for the last concert, on Friday eve[g.] , w[h.] was the best of the three as regards the instrumental part of the performance, w[h.] part always interests me most.

We had Beethoven's C minor symphony, & the overtures to the Hebrides, Guillaume Tell, and Weber's "Jubilee" & Miss Goddard played Weber's concertstück.

I have just sent off my "report" for the "Guardian" but it is so long that I fear there is no chance of its being inserted, — I trust they will make fewer mistakes than in the last one. I never saw a copy of Spark's sonata so c[d.] not speak of the inaccuracies you mentioned.

Did you notice the commencement

wh is afterwards repeated a note higher, exactly like Weber's

at the beginning of the overture to Der Freyschutz, but that may be a coincidence like "O children of our Father" & the huntsman's chorus, & "With joy the impatient husbandman & [ ][2] — the most far fetched instance I know of fathering a plagiarism on a composer is to maintain that Mendelssohn took the melody of "If with all your hearts" from "the king of the cannibal islands"



differently accentuated

but this you must have heard?

I came here on Saturday, not being able to return to Herefordshire that day after the "Messiah" was over and preferring a Sunday here. I wish Durham had not been so far out of my way. — I returned [END]

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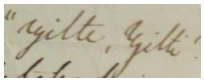
[1] It is reasonable to infer that Oakeley is using the correct honorific so, as Dykes was conferred with his honorary degree of Mus.Doc. in 1862, this letter must have been written before then. The reference to HSO meeting Dykes 'again', and the familiar tone of the letter, suggests it was written after his letter of 18 April 1859. It is *possible* that it was written in the same year, before his letter of 20 October.

[2] 

Letter from William Hey Dikes to JBD (undated) (RCO)
(1)

(2)

My dear John

I attempted while you were with us to give you my opinion as to the evil tendency of that book of Barters[3], the preface of which you read to us, as well as some other parts; but I feel such a difficulty in expressing in conversation the sentiments I wish to convey, words seem to fail me when I want to make use of them that I must e'en take to pen & ink to make myself comprehensible.

I told you before, & on due reflection I repeat, that I exceedingly dislike the man & his spirit. It is a book which so far as it is read is calculated to do irreparable mischief. The greatest evil under which the Church is labouring at the present day, that which is rejoicing the heart of its enemies, while it is dismaying & discouraging its best friends, is the discord and division prevailing within itself, & converting those who should be loving brethren, the meek & gentle disciples of Christ, into angry disputants hateful & hating one another. A house divided against itself cannot stand — is unerring truth, & be assured that till it can be again said of the Church as of its primitive members "see how these Christians love one another", it will be trodden underfoot of the heathen despised & mocked at by the world.

What credentials can such a mass of discord present that its embassy is from the Prince of Peace, the God of love? The Church never can prosper till its members lay aside their mutual jealousies & heart burnings, till they cease to rank themselves under the banners of High Church & Low Church, of Calvin or of Arminius. These divisions be assured do not spring from a zeal for Gods truth, but are the offshoot of Pride & self conceit, through the agency of the enemy of all truth St James III 13-15

It may be asked then, are we to suffer all kinds of error to be broached in the Church without lifting up a voice against it, are we not earnestly to contend for the truth? We are, and no man can be too zealous in exposing error or upholding truth. But the question is how is he to do this.

It must be done in the first place in meekness & gentleness endeavouring as much as possible to avoid all irritating language & all harsh judging of those who differ with you & in the next place the war should be waged with the erroneous doctrine & not with those who are presumed to hold it. It is the forgetting this canon which is the principal source of much of the evils to which I have referred, & I will give you my reason for this view. In the word of God we see multitudes of passages which <u>appear</u> to inculcate doctrines diametrically opposed to each other. I might adduce many such, but I will as an illustration

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1 The punctuation in this transcript exactly follows the original, replicating the dearth of apostrophes and full stops, and the aberrant capitalisation. There are no paragraphs in the original—paragraph demarcations in this transcript are editorial and are inserted for ease of reading only.

2 No date or address supplied: we can only say that it must have been written before 10 January 1864 (the date of W.H. Dikes's death)

3 Almost certainly the Rev *William Brudenell Barter* (1788—1858), Rector of Burghclere and Highclere and author of such works as: *A Word In Defense Of Our Altars And Catholic Church* (1843); *Observations on a Work By Mr. Bickersteth, Entitled, 'Remarks on the Progress of Popery', and an Answer to His Attack on the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (1836); and *The Gainsaying of Core in the Nineteenth Century or an Apology for the Christian Priesthood* (1847)

only take one. "Work out your own salvation with fear & trembling, for it is God that worketh in you both to will & to do his good pleasure". Now we well know that, for wise & benevolent purposes, God has so constituted the mind of man that some receive more readily one aspect of truth while to others a different one is more consonant to their feelings, one man is of a gloomy melancholy cast, & is kept in continual alarm by the threatenings of Gods word, another is more cheerful & confident, & consequently places more reliance on his promises; a third has an affectionate loving heart & he delights to dwell on the description of Gods unbounded love a fourth is of a timid disposition, & is ever seeking to find some support in Gods truth on which to rest; & these persons may thus take different views of the same unerring truth in Gods word.

Take for instance the text to which I have referred. It appears perfectly legitimate for a person to argue If God makes a man both to <u>will</u> & <u>to do</u>, then it is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy, & he will find many other passages in Gods word which appear to support him Another reading the passage has his mind particularly arrested by the instruction, work-out your own salvation with fear & trembling, & may naturally infer that there is great danger lest without constant watching & working he may lose his salvation altogether, & again he will find abundant confirmation of his views in other parts of Gods word. Now though these persons may appear to each other to hold directly opposing doctrines they may not do so in reality, though each from the natural bent of his mind may be one side of the truth in a stronger light than the other.

Now I should not at all complain of Mr. A. writing a treatise in wild & contentious language on Gods foreknowledge & election, or Mr. B. in the same style on Man's free-will. But the mischief & almost all the mischief of controversy arises from Mr A & Mr B putting their own construction upon the truths flowing from the sentiments of their respective opponents, & making doctrines necessarily to spring from the creed they hold, which perhaps they all the time utterly repudiate. Now it is just on this avowal that I find such fault with Mr Barters work. Had he chosen to write a treatise on the necessity of diligence to make our calling & election sure, & printed in as forcible a manner as possible yet in courteous language, the danger of our placing reliance on indifeasible grace, he would have deserved the thanks of the Church.

But when he holds up to contempt a large section of the Church, & points by name to many men whom he cannot deny to have been holy & devoted Christians as promulgating opinions opinions which I know they never held, I think I am not wrong in considering his book as likely to do much injury. He accuses for instance Mr Simeon of pride & vanity because he considered himself a chosen instrument of God to promote his case. This is most uncharitable. There might be neither pride or vanity in a man's holding such beliefs. If God has given peculiar talents, it is almost impossible for the recipient to be unconscious of the gift, & if he, in gratitude to the donor, determines to devote all to his glory, where is the pride? Mr Wilberforce believed that he was gifted by God to put an end to the slave trade, & I believe so too, & he resolved by Gods grace never to rest till he had accomplished his object, & he did accomplish it. Was he therefore proud?

I read Mr Simeons life with much attention & your Mamma will bear me testimony that I have often said that in reading it nothing struck me more than his great humility How different is Mr Barters language from that of the Charity which thinketh no evil, believeth all things, hopeth all things; a charity which if their brethren have their faults, & who has not, would seek to hide them under a mantle of love, & not expose them to the obloquy of the world. I am thoroughly sick of the discord and disunion which prevails in the Church. It is the duty of those who pray for the peace of Jerusalem to set their faces against it, & to

do what in them lies to heal her breaches instead of widening them. I hate the distinction of High Church & Low Church. Man may have different views & it is right they should have, but let them not suppose they are the concentration of all wisdom, & that it is heresy to differ from them.

I firmly believe from what I know of both parties that the creed of good men whether of the High Church or Low Church differs but little & in essentials not at all, & this they would soon discover could they but clear their minds from pride & prejudice. I do not know whether you are doing right in reading so much of the religious periodical literature of the day and as far as I see all on one side The Editors of such publications in order to obtain greater circulation among the party whose tenets they espouse, are ever tempted to indulge in harsh & uncharitable reflections on those whom they consider of an opposing party, & such publications are I consider greatly instrumental in fostering disunion. It is doubtful to me whether the Record of papers of that stamp are not accomplishing the Devils work as effectually as some which all good men would regard with horror. It really shocks me to witness the scorn & contempt with which some high Churchmen speak of those whom they consider low & just as much vice versa. It is worse than mockery for men to go into the presence of God, & on their knees beg of him that all who call themselves Christians may hold the faith in unity of spirit, & in the bond of peace, & then do what in them lies to dissolve the unity, & break the bond. What is the use of belonging to a church which instructs us to act of God grace seriously to lay to heart the great danger we are in by our own unhappy divisions if we are not taught by him to avoid whatever may tend to exasperate & increase these divisions We need indeed to pray that God would shed his Holy Spirit upon his Church that men may learn truly to love one another remembering that “he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen how can he love God whom he hath not see”

I have written much more than I intended but I feel the importance of the subject & am anxious that you should not recommend books whose tendency is to weaken & not edify the Church.

Believe me

My dear John

Your affectionate Father

W.H. Dikes

Letter from Dora Greenwell to JBD, partially dated, (RCO)

Castlegate House, York
January 13th

Dear Mr. Dykes,

The paper has come in to breakfast. My mother has just read the critique aloud & I cannot lose a moment in letting you know how entirely we are delighted, so kind, so perfectly graceful in expression & so discriminating. Pray accept (with Mrs. Dykes leave!) my love for it with kindest, kindest thanks — What you say, critically about the second part is most just. It was written long before the first & last — as they now stand, & before what is the present leading idea took full shape in my mind. Yet I could not let it go, because I think a good deal of the strength of the book is in it, as regards thought. The fact is, that the intellectual or I should say mechanical difficulties of a book of this kind are very great — thoughts connected with spiritual experience grow up like plants in their youth, in their own forms, & one cannot shape & mould them as one delights to do in a merely literary work.

Since I came here an old Quaker gentleman has lent me a book accounting for the acknowledged decline of their Society from the Catholic standpoint, & showing how all the wants of the heart & of the age, to which the various sect-movements have from time to time answered, find their true inclusive home in Catholicity. I do not (as yet) see this in its full bearing, but the book is full of truth, & of suggestion, I shd. like you and Alan to read it. It has made a profound, peculiar impression upon me — if I can borrow it I will send it by post — to you first — & Alan can return it to the owner, whose address I will give him.

Dear Mr. Dykes, I have a concern about that old woman at the foot of the garden. I wish you would take & sense her out — it seemed so sad that she should not go to Church, & have relapsed into her careless indifferent ways. I hoped she was going to prove an infant of days — With our kindest love to Mrs. Dykes believe me

Most sincerely yours

Dora Greenwell

Letter from Dora Greenwell to JBD, undated (RCO)

Dear M$^{r.}$[1] Dykes,

I cannot help writing you a line to thank you from my heart for your sermon. There was a world in it & I hope, and believe it will do me a world of good.

My spirit has long in a practical experimental sort of way drawn near this truth, that they who are spiritually baptized into Christ, are baptized into his death, but your words struck a clear intellectual light along much of which I had apprehended vaguely — and showed me how that even as Christ died, as a man, so must that which within us belongs to the old unrenewed nature, die also, & rise with Him to newness of life. Also I had never thought out that great distinction between Christ and the Law, that w$^{h.}$ is forbidden to the Israelites, we are made to drink into. "Whose drinketh my blood hath eternal life" How great how sustaining are such thoughts as connected with the will & man's freedom under Divine influence. I was delighted when I heard you give out the text.

I am going to send you my new poems, to read, there are some "Meditations" which I feel sure will interest you & Alan[2] will loan you the N.B. review where you & M$^{rs.}$ Dykes will see a short, very nice notice of them by the author of [ ][3] & his friends. Please leave the review here when you are passing, but do not hurry with the poems.

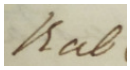
With love to M$^{rs.}$ Dykes believe me most sincerely your's

Dora Greenwell

---

1 Dykes received his honorary Mus. Doc. in 1862 so at first glance it might appear that this letter to 'Mr. Dykes' was written before that date. But Dora's comments fit in well with JBD's sermon *The Holy Eucharist the Christian Peace Offering*, preached in St. Oswald's on 3 November 1867 and published that same year by Rivingtons.

2 The Revd. Alan Greenwell, Dora's brother.

3 

Letter from John Stainer to JBD, partially dated (RCO)

7, Upper Montague Street,
Russell Square.

June 4

Dear D[r.] Dykes,

I like your Tune very much indeed & it is beautiful. Your suggestions are good — might I have however —

'Thy dews, the tears which from repentant eyes
To earth down drop, then by their heal
In odours sweet &c—

I don't like 'penitential' as well as 'repentant' — the last is more personal. We say a 'penitential Psalm or Hymn' — but may not say 'repentant'.

If you like this 'emendatio' — please alter my M.S.

I do not want to use the word wondrous if I can help it — as it occurs in verse 1. Would this do?

'How dread this three-fold mystery' &c &c.

and next as you suggest —

'But Thou Thyself art one of Blessed Three'

&c &c

As Sir. H. Baker is going to consult his colleagues about the words, it would be very kind of you to send him a fair copy with the latest improvements.

Have you a copy of your Tune?

I set no value on them myself — but if they should ever chance to teach one soul a truth — what a noble office!

Yours

J. Stainer

Letter from W. Pulling to [WHB?], Undated and Incomplete (RCO)

Eastnor Rectory
Ledbury

…..

As regards "expense", "enlargement of premises" &c, it is astonishing that D^r. D. did not at once give the well deserved reply — was not that Berners Street place[1] built out of the undue profits in H.A.M.

F. Barnby[2] must have presumed largely on D^r. D's simplicity in urging such a topic.

Again, how very childish ab^t "revision & rectification". Did not each case increase L's[3] profits by additional charges on plates &c?

Again, who knows better than him the groundlessness of L's ! pushing & promoting the Book? And latterly, what of Richards[4] and Maberley's[5] experience in this matter?

The Book "indebted" to Ln!!!

And what of his desire long ago to bring out a new Book? How is this reconcilable with the preceding professions?

Explain why the interview was declined.

If this answer to L's own pleas, and our Circular do not satisfy D^r. D. that he is right in considering this an exceptional case, we can do no more. As to D^r. D. or anyone believing L's not an opposition book, the simplicity wh. w^d. believe this is above or below reasoning with.

I do not think we are called upon to offer any opinion upon a Tune, or Hymn & Tune, book. Neither will do us any harm. To suppose that L., in the haste of annoyance, and under Cook & Webb's Editorship, can get out a Hymnbook to fill any place in the Church is very silly on their part. On a Tune book I am not qualified to offer any opinion.

How far would the existence of such a Book be a reason for not making our words too cheap? As I said in Com^tee , and in answer to your present question, I am most anxious to reduce [it][6] to 7½ and 10^d if it can be done.

I don't go into the calculations today and, because I really have not a moment to spare, to get over my work before night.

With kind regards

Yours ever affec^tly

W. Pelling

---

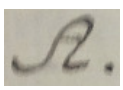
1 Headquarters of Novello & Co.

2 Almost certainly, given the context, a reference to *Joseph* Barnby—the F is a mystery.

3 Henry Littleton, Director of Novello & Co.

4 Presumably William Upton Richards, a Proprietor of HA&M between 1860 and 1873.

5 Presumably Thomas Ashley Maberley, a Proprietor between 1860 and 1877.

6 

Will it not be well to ask D^r. D. if he will allow you to use his letter among H.A.M. Com^tee only, as setting forth the best that can be said for L.?

———————————————

ten at night, without intermission. We shall be sure to hear from Clowes in a day or two, & he may want to come down here. After Tuesday's anxieties are over I shall be very glad to see you either with him or alone——

D^r. Dykes's letter is very important as giving us L's case at its best. And no one can better than yourself give it the complete reply and refutation.

As regards "cavalier treatment" though you think there is some ground for this, yet I answer, so far as Comm^tee are concerned [ ][1] that Mr. L. treated F.C. when they called on him on the question of revision, with so great rudeness that they determined not to subject themselves to the same again.

But, happily, Ln's statements obviate the necessity of our referring to the past on wh. unfortunately we differ. They are such as we can wholly agree upon— e.g. No one can more absolutely deny than you can, in fact no one except you can deny the untruthful statement of an expressed or implied understanding that permission was given by Mr. Novello on condition that he was to be Pub^r of H.A.M. εσ αεȝ —

By the way, this proves the unwarrantable nature of the threat of Injunction — which Pollock[2] said c^d only be maintained by proof of such condition. This disposes of the injunction.

1

2 Alfred A Pollock, legal adviser to the Proprietors.

Incomplete and Undated Letter from JBD to HWB (HAM)

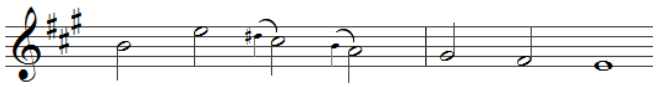
2.

…myself or my own congregation it would be unpardonable. But it is not on personal grounds that I have stood out in this matter — for (as Mr Monk says) I c$^{d.}$ fairly alter my own works & have an end of it. It is simply in loyalty to yourself & the book in wh: I can not help now taking an intense interest.

GOD has blessed the Book so wonderfully hitherto: and I believe He still has a great work to effect through its gentle quiet influence that I feel strongly we ought to spare no pains & trouble & discussions to make it as perfect as possible. Now one characteristic of our new Edition is to return to originals wherever possible.

So I say to myself again & again why not return to the original here? I can honestly assure you I have never heard one single person except your self (who knows the tune) express a preference for the H.A.A.M. form of the melody: all want the E back.[1] I know that Stainer, altho' like myself he does not like to oppose you, feels strongly that it ought to [ ][2]: He told me himself that it would never do to perpetuate the present version — good as it is musically. I was speak^{g} ab^{t} it to my brother in Leeds on Saturday. They tell me there that Mr King & the choir sing it as in H.A.M. yet the children & young people in the congregation will always introduce the E, so that they get 2 versions. You see this is a popular Tune. It has many names. It appears in Tune books as "Gloria Patri", "Salzburg", "Benediction" "S^{t} Werbergh", "Corinth", "Tantum Ergo" All the best Dissenting books have it and many of them (e.g. the recent Memorial Ed$^{n.}$ of the "Hallelujah" a standard book among them) without the runs.

Not one single living book has followed our melody, the only book that has followed it is a dead book, the "Hymnary".

I have no doubt Michael Haydn wrote the passage in this form:

with appoggiaturas, to be sung or not accord^{g} to circumstances. And when the melody is sung, as it is in the Rom: Ch: at Benediction slowly & a single treble voice it is very much smoother & prettier to introduce these grace notes — as with festal or developed forms of the Gregorian melodies — but for bodies of voices it is much better to leave them out.

In fact, what I sh$^{d.}$ like you to ask our dear friend M^{r} Monk to do, w$^{d.}$ be this: to write a very [END][3]

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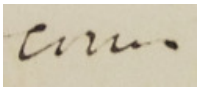
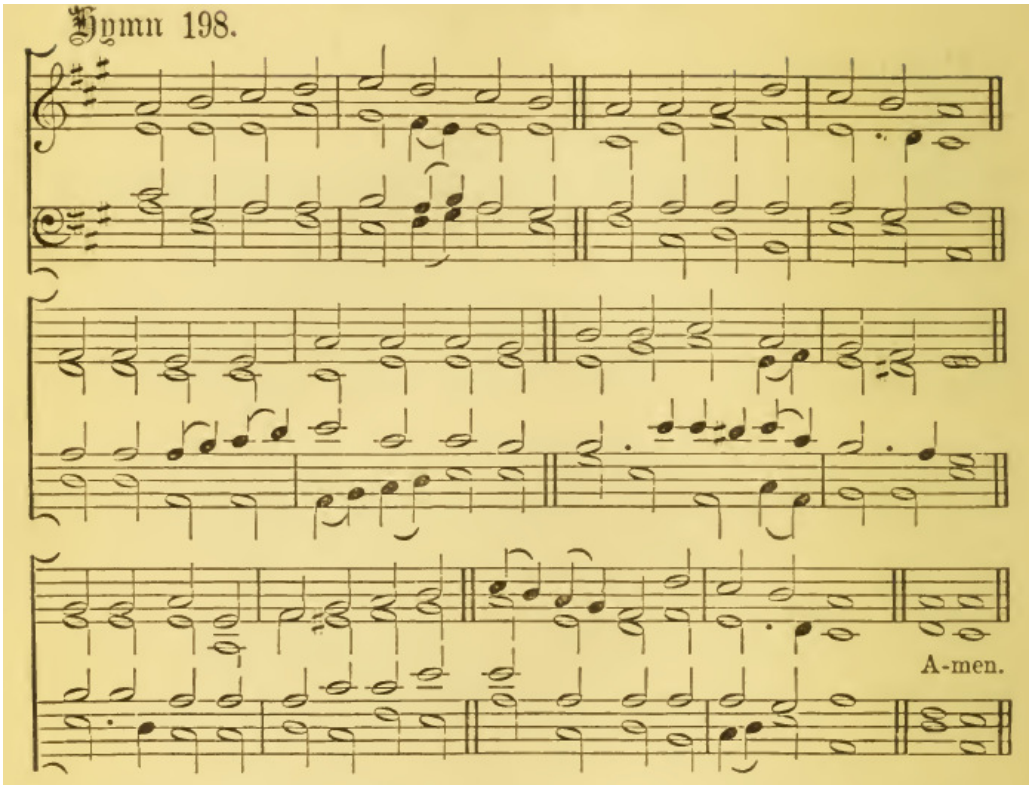
1 The discussion is about the tune known in the 1861 edition as BENEDICTION—see below.

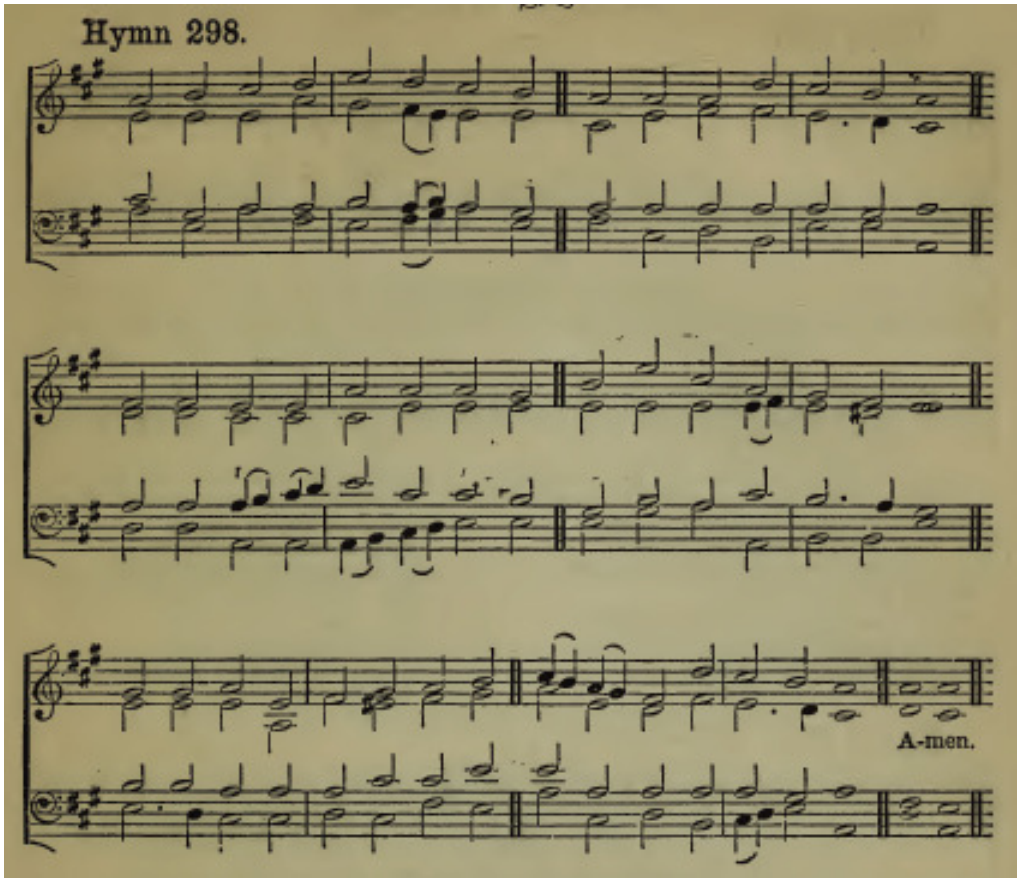
2 

3 It is evident that HWB was persuaded. In the 1875 edition the tune, this time named ALLELUIA, DULCE CARMEN, took the melody up to E, albeit without the appoggiaturas — see below.

BENEDICTION (A&M 1861)



ALLELUIA, DULCE CARMEN (A&M 1875)



Letter from William Hey Dikes to JBD 16 Oct 1843 (RCO)

Wakefield 16 Oct 1843

My dear John

At the risk of being condemned for preaching you a sermon, I cannot allow you to make the great change you are shortly about to do without giving you my affectionate advice & caution. You are now to become in a manner your own mentor & guide, your conduct will be under the superintendence of none but yourself, & you can to a great extent do as you like. You are going into a scene of temptation & danger where thousands have made shipwreck, have disappointed all the hopes of their friends, & brought on themselves miseries from which they never could extricate themselves. It therefore surely becomes every one who has any desire to order his conduct aright, which I sincerely believe is the case with you, most seriously to reflect on the means by which he may escape the snares to which he is exposed, & pass thro' the severe ordeal unscathed. If a man can maintain his integrity & pass thro' a college life without partaking of its usual follies & sins, it of [*sic*] great benefit to him & eminently fits him in after life to maintain that conflict with an evil world which is essential to his so living as to have peace with his own conscience & with his God. It is of the utmost importance that you should cultivate a spirit of self-denial, & manfully resist those inclinations which proceeding from a fallen and corrupt nature must lead to sin and misery. There is one species of self denial in which I think you are very deficient, which I consider quite essential to your maintaining your ground, & which I must earnestly beg of you to seek after namely the denial of the love of approbation. I don't mean the approbation of the great & the good, this is an object worth our ambition but I mean the approbation of the gang, the worldly, the light, & thoughtless which constitutes so large a proportion of society in which we are compelled to mix; can you bear to tread the path of duty if it exposes you to their disapprobation? Can you maintain a standard of conduct which is above their mark & which brings upon you their scorn and derision? Now this is the point to which you must come. You must make up your mind to this trial, & it is a very hard one, otherwise you are totally unfit to undergo the probation of a college life. You are going on an experiment & if I really believe that you would live as the generality live at Cambridge I would never consent to your going. I give you my consent in the hope that you will have wisdom to see what is your true interest, conduct yourself well & with the blessing of God you will be comfortably provided for thro' life. Take a wrong course & you involve yourself in difficulties & misery. I have quite made up my mind that if you get into the extravagant idle habits into which Tom[1] has fallen I shall at once remove you. I need not tell you my circumstances you know them. I am sending you in faith for I have no idea how I am to get your expenses paid & in fact unless it please God to give us such improvement in trade that I may derive some profit from my shipping I cannot meet your expenses. One thing I must insist upon that you purchase no clothes in Cambridge. You will be coming home frequently & get supplied here. Another thing you must not keep company. This I know will be very difficult to avoid but it must be done. Tom's extravagance has arisen principally from this. It cannot be done without extra eating & drinking which cost a great deal of money. I know you will want to appear like a gentleman & do as other gentlemen do, but you have not the means & the sooner you let that be known the better. Do avoid joining clubs they lead to many expenses & naturally involve visitings & feastings. Read steadily and perseveringly not by fits and

[1] JBD's eldest brother.

starts & endeavour to be as regular as you can. The first term make as few acquaintances as possible, those you already know will be quite sufficient{.} look about you and see who will be likely to do you good. Now you know perfectly well that in following this advice you will have to sail against a strong stream & nothing can enable you to steer it but God's grace. If you pray earnestly to him for assistance at the same time using your best endeavours all will be well. If you trust to your own strength & resolution you are sure to fall.

I send you £5 to pay your travelling expenses & &c send me an account of your expenditure so far. I wish you to keep an exact account of what you spend.

Believe me Yours very affectionately W.H. Dikes.
I will tell some of the family to send you some news.

Letter from JBD to William Hey Dikes 16 March 1847 (RCO)

Son John 16 Mar 1847[1]

Cath: Hall
Tuesday Even[g]

Dear Pater

I believe with regard to the fellowship[2] that it is a case of "now or never" — Matters are certainly looking with me about as bad as they can do, for I find that Corrie & his clique seem resolutely determined that my age is an insuperable objection to my election.

The only candidate besides are Ogle (of Caths) a Lincolnshire man & Prest of St. Johns a Yorkshireman. So, as I am the only Cath: Yorkshireman, were my age all right I should get it almost as a right.

I certainly think that the only change I have now is for you (if you have no objection) to write to Corrie & put the matter in this light — that as he himself knows that in almost all transactions, whether coming into property, ordination, going into the militia & many other things, the baptismal certificate is the universal reference for age.[3] Except indeed in particular circumstances when the baptism took place late in life &c (for he is very fond of quoting some relation of his who was baptized two or three years after birth) and when of course particular & extraordinary measures must be taken, & reference made to the mother, or to some other evidence, & since it is the only evidence recognized in the notice itself, that the present case is at least (to put it in no stronger light) a doubtful one. & that as a doubt does exist you cannot but think that he ought to put into the scale my being the only Yorkshireman of Cath: Hall who is a cand.[te] & still more the fact of my being one of so large a family. I certainly think that you would do well to lay some stress upon this latter circumstance, for tho' an "argumentum ad hominem", it is certainly one which in a doubtful question like this ought to have considerable weight.

I would tell him that you would not have thought of urging this plea under ordinary circumstances, but when a result so important to yourself hinges upon such a slight matter as my being born a few days sooner or later, that you view it as but consistent with the duty you owe to your family & their interests to do all in your power to turn the scale in their favour, and that moreover you feel convinced that he'll fully enter into & understand your conduct, and view it not as expressive of any desire to dictate to them, but merely as expressive of a desire for the welfare and prosperity of your offspring. (He likes a little soft [ ][4]) —

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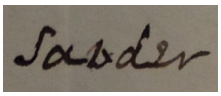
1 In a different hand — possibly his father's.

2 Fowler (pp35-36) explains that, to be eligible for the Yorkshire Fellowship, it was a requirement that candidates be full Bachelors of the University and under the age of 24. Dykes would not become a full Bachelor until 18 March, eight days after his 24th birthday.

3 It is evident that Dykes's father had already been thinking along these lines as an extract from the Baptismal Register for Sutton Parish had already been obtained on 5 February 1847 (see copy at end of transcript—confirming, incidentally, that he was baptised *Dikes*).

4 

I wish also that you could mention Lord Lyndhurst's opinion to him, for I strongly believe that he thinks I have been trying to stuff him.

There are many other things whi of course might be said, but you'll know much better what to say than I — and besides after a 5 hours stiff examination today I feel rather dull & muzzy & by no means prolific in bright suggestions.

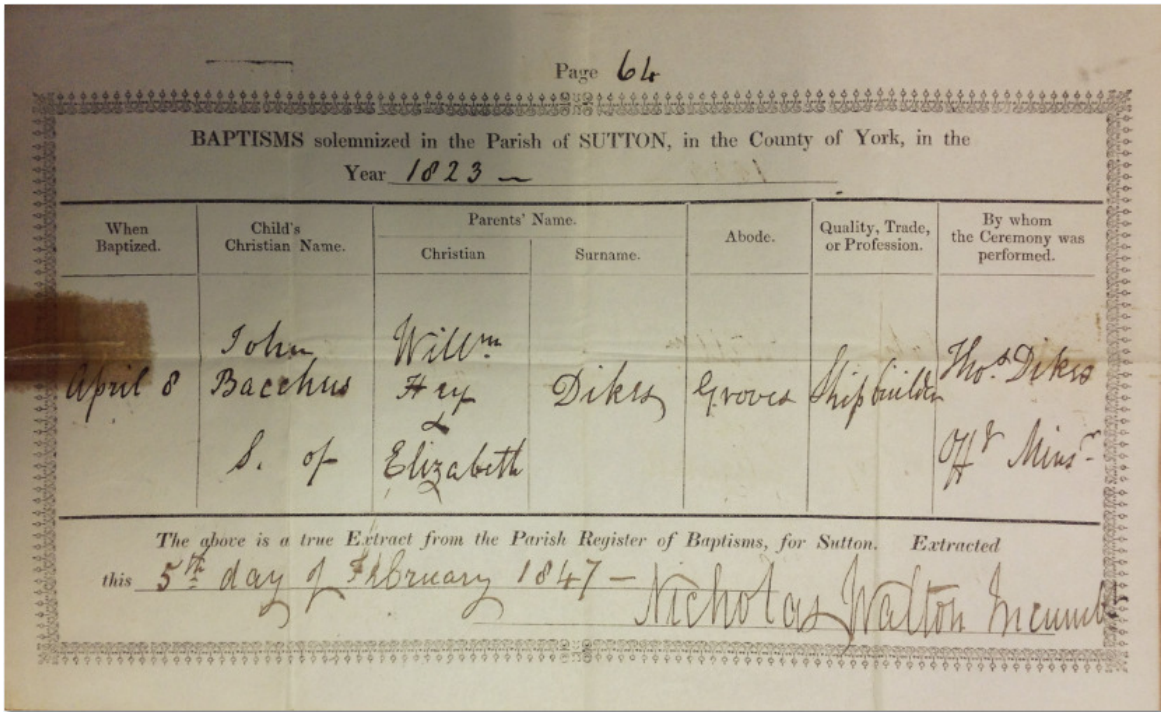
If then you have no objection to writing, & if <u>you think it advisable</u>, I would be much obliged if you'll let the old gentleman have the epistle not later than Monday next, as the election is on Tuesday.

Will you please blow up your daughter Eliza for taking no heed to an epistle wh: I wrote to her some time ago, & to wh: I have for many days been waiting for a reply.

With kind love to all
Believe me, my dear Pater,
Your most afft[e]. son
John.

If you <u>do</u> write please be kind enough not to let the old Professor know that I <u>have asked</u> you so to do.—
Wednesday Morn[g] —Here's a letter just come from home. I haven't had time to look at it yet, and it's just post time.
Thank whoever has sent it.——

[END]



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BAPTISMS solemnized in the Parish of SUTTON, in the County of York, in the Year 1823 —

When Baptized.	Child's Christian Name.	Parents' Name. Christian	Parents' Name. Surname.	Abode.	Quality, Trade, or Profession.	By whom the Ceremony was performed.
April 8	John Bacchus S. of	Will[m] Fry & Elizabeth	Dikes	Grove	Shipbuilder	Tho[s] Dikes Off[g] Min[r]

The above is a true Extract from the Parish Register of Baptisms, for Sutton. Extracted this 5th day of February 1847 — Nicholas Walton Incumb[t]

Letter from JBD to [his parents?], Autumn 1847, incomplete (RCO)

[September/October 1847][1]

….nothing until I got the Arch B^{p} to say that he consented to give me a title after w^{h} he w^{d} shew me every requisite paper, give me my testimonials & lend me a book out of w^{h} to copy the form for giv^{g} a title to Deacons orders w^{h} I sh^{d} have to sign & send to M^{r} Carter.

I immediately wrote to M^{r} Carter who soon informed me that he had written to the Archb^{p} & was awaiting a reply. wh: reply had not come till last Thursday. I accordingly went to Corrie both on Friday & Saturday during the only hour of the day when he is visible & neither of the times c^{d} I see him as he was engaged.

I am going again this morning & hope to get this book (Hodgsons Instruction) out of wh: I have to copy out my form of nomination, & also to get my college & Norrisian Testimonials. I have always intended leaving Cambridge so soon as I c$^{d.}$ get all these papers & I still intend the same.

Now I do seriously and solemnly declare that these have been my real & only reasons for stopping up in Cambridge all this time and that my own pleasure & gratification have had nothing whatever to do with it as I had very much rather have been at Tewksbury all this time, but I didn't exactly see how I c$^{d.}$ leave, without getting these matters settled.

That you will not believe me in writing this I can very well imagine, as the family spokesman (or rather spokeswoman) plainly tells me, the last time I was at home, that she believes me to be a regular liar (her own word) & that she did not believe a word of the letters I wrote.——

I had written thus far when I was called out & while walking in the streets was startled to see (for the first time) a list of the names of those who had passed the voluntary, wh: I find has come out this morning, and my name was (as I always fully expected it to be) amongst that number.

In the last letter wh: I sent home I purposely gave no opinion as to the probability of the result of the examination (of wh: I have never entertained a doubt) as I thought it was a pity to turn the tide of popular feeling wh: I found, when I was at home, had set in so vigorously against my passing.

Eliza of course would continue her old tune wh: she so continually edified me with while at home "I always expected it — I told Papa that John w$^{d.}$ be plucked if he went to Redcar — If Papa had only minded my advice & not let that lazy boy go" &c &c — But as you now know
…..

[1] From internal evidence about JBD's 'voluntary' exam for the priesthood, this is certainly the year: twice in September of 1847 he had written to his sister Caroline from Redcar, and in 'the autumn' the two had gone to stay with a friend in Tewkesbury. He is recorded in Fowler as being in Tewkesbury on 11 November. The reference to the publication of the results of the 'voluntary' exam therefore dates this letter between late September and early October.

Letter from JBD to his wife 3 December 1849 (RCO)

South Street
Durham
Dec: 3.[1]

My dearest Susan

It is my painful duty to inform you that circumstances having occurred to prevent my having the felicity of sending you my usual weekly budget today. You must wait patiently till tomorrow for it. I suppose I must send it to Mr. Hudsons of York.

I am much obliged by your very discreet & sapient remarks with regard to the house, as it is just post time I have not time to comment upon them or answer them but I hope to do so satisfactorily tomorrow.

I have had a wonderfully busy day; got no end of work done.

I've told my brother that you are coming to York. So it is very probable you may see him at the train when you arrive tomorrow to ask you how you are, & give me a true and authentic acc^{t} of how you are looking.

I shall hope to be with you, at least in spirit if not in body, at the concert tomorrow night. I wonder if you will have a dance afterwards. Wont I get my ghost to haunt you & see you get into no mischief.

But I have no more time, my sweet one, than to say that I love you better than ever & remain, darling Susan, your most devotedly attached & affectionate

John

[1] Dykes moved into his home in South Street in 1849 and into Hollingside Cottage in May 1850. This letter must, therefore, have been written in 1849.

Letter from JBD to his wife 27 September 1853 (Durham Cathedral Add Ms 55/1)

Durham Sep: 27. 1853

Dearest Suzy,

I am beginning to feel quite uneasy at not hearing from you. This is I believe, the 5th letter I have written since I last heard from you. I am really beginning to be suspicious that all cannot be quite right. Do, there's a dear, give me a line & say if anything is the matter, for I can hardly think you wd. have delayed writing for nothing.

I am now full of business. I am Master of the boys, Precentor, Organist, Librarian & resident acting Surrogate. I shall have Henshaw's & Baines' work on my hands besides my own wh: is by no means slight just at present, for I am beginning to write for the Ecclesiastic again.

I have been calling upon the Henshaw's since church this afternoon. My word! How sweet and civil he & his wife were: The good lady was all blandness & smiles & sweetness. He is much better today. I am to play for him again tomorrow, & then he thinks he shall be able to resume his work. We had "the arm of the Lord" this afternoon and it struck me that it went uncommonly well. Martin is here at present. Poor lad, he played truant last night & told something like a story (if not a decided one) by way of accounting for it. And I have been giving him such a thrashing in consequence. His father commissioned me to do it — in fact I told him only the other day that I wd. if he missed me again — and last night as the very first night after my exhortation, so I was obliged to keep my word, tho' it grieved me most sincerely to do it. He is such a quaint bonny lad. I am so fond of him. Mr Ingledue has started giving private instructions to the small chorister boys, I believe several of them go to his house. He'll be robbing me of some of my pupils. I don't think I can stand it.

But I shall have some hard music to play in Church tomorrow morn.g & I must start to practice it. Besides, I feel very uncomfortable writing at present, for I cannot but think there must be some reason for your extraordinary silence.

So believe me, in haste, with love to all, your ever affect.

John

P.S. If I don't hear from you tomorrow morn.g you must not be surprised if I come over to Malton to see what is the matter.

Letter from Sir Frederick A Gore Ouseley, Bart, to JBD 8 January 1858 (RCO)

Tenbury
Jan^{y} 8th
1858

My dear Dykes

Many thanks to you for your letter, & to the D. & C. for their subscription. The words are set apart for you according our [*sic*] original agreement. If you could let me have the music by the end of the month it would be a great convenience to me. I will make an attempt on Wesley, but he is such a mercenary fellow, that I fear for the result. In your musical opinions I to a great extent enter. It is quite true that too much of our Cathedral music is flat, dry & unedifying. But on the other hand I glory & pride myself on the thought of it's being my portion to aid in the performance of work by English Composers of which any nation might be proud. Such as "Hosannah" Gibbons & "Call to remembrance" Battishill. I hope many of the Anthems in my Collection will be of a kind to shew that the English school is not yet defunct, & that we can, even in this vile 19th century, emulate those great lights who have gone before us, & shewn us how to adorn with sacred song the heartstrong service of our beloved prayer book. I do not think that we ought to be theatrical for the sake of effect, nor do I like the Spohrishness of Wesley's style. I deprecate meretricious ornament, and affect the massive polyphonic harmonies of the giants of old, both English and Italian. But at the same time I utterly repudiate & protest against red-tape-ism in music — routine shd. never demand any sacrifice of energy or devotional effect — and one great fact shd. ever be borne in mind by every Church Composer, viz. that the object of choral music is twofold. The Glory of God, and the edification of His people. I feel sure that any musician who sits down to write a service or an Anthem with the old Church composers before him as his models, & with an enthusiastic feeling of singlehearted devotion, begins his work with prayer to God, & determining to admit nothing into it unworthy of the Sanctuary. I feel sure that any one so acting will be in a fair way of producing something equally good, and in that view I feel confident that you will agree.———

Our friend Maude has been here. I am unhappy about him — he will assuredly join the Roman schism ere long — with S^{r}. Ligouri[1] as his guide, how can he do otherwise? Yet this author he reads constantly & admires!

We are now in a state of vacation. No choir, & a nearly solitary life— The change is mournful, but useful, as it gives me more leisure.

[1] Alphonsus Maria de' Liguori (1696—1787), an Italian Catholic bishop, theologian and author who founded the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, otherwise known as the Redemptorists.

By the bye, I forgot to tell you who are the other contributors to my collection — they are at present D^r^. G. Elvey[1] — Goss[2] — D^r^. Steggall[3] — E.J. Hopkins[4] — Cap^n^. Ottley — Townshend Smith[5] — Wintle[6] — Hacking[7] — Gilbert[8] — Greatheed[9] — & (I hope) Leslie.[10]

I have also asked D^r^. Corfe[11], & Dr. Stephen Elvey[12], & I intend to ask Professor Bennett[13], & D^r^. Wesley.[14][15]

Then there is yourself[16] & myself[17]. I wish I could find another Precentor fit to contribute and anthem!—Can you suggest one?

And now I must bring this long, rambling, & ill-digested profusion to a close. With kindest regards to M^rs^ Dykes, & the same to yourself. Believe me to be

Your's always most sincerely

Frederick A Gore Ouseley

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1 George Job Elvey (1816 —1893) — *O praise the Lord of heaven*
2 John Goss (1800—1880) — *In Christ dwelleth; Blessed is the man;* and *These are they*
3 Charles H Steggall (1826—1905) — *God came from Teman*
4 Edward John Hopkins (1818—1901) — *Try me O God*
5 George Townshend Smith (1813—1877). (In the event, Townshend Smith did not contribute to this volume.)
6 Rev. Ogle Richard Wintle (d c1860) — *Come, my people*
7 R. Hacking ( ) — *Lord, let me know mine end*
8 Walter Bond Gilbert (1829—1910) *Our conversation is in heaven;* and *God is gone up with a merry noise*
9 S.S. Greatheed (1813—1887) *Ye that fear the Lord*
10 Henry David Leslie (1822—1896) — *Blow ye the trumpet in Zion*
11 Arthur Thomas Corfe (1773—1863) (In the event, Corfe did not contribute to this volume.)
12 Brother of George (1805—1860) (In the event, Stephen Elvey did not contribute to this volume.)
13 Sir. William Sterndale Bennett (1816—1875) — *O that I knew where I might find him*
14 Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810—1876) (In the event, Wesley did not contribute to this volume.)
15 Other contributors were: George Benjamin Allen (1822—1896) — *Listen, O Isles;* Philip Armes (1836—1908) — *Give ear, O ye heavens;* Henry East Havergal (1820—1875) — *Hosanna to the Son of David;* Leighton George Hayne (1836—1882) — *Ponder my words, O Lord;* Herbert Stanley Oakley (1830—1903) — *Whatsoever is born of God;* and John Stainer (1840—1901) — *The morning stars sang together;* and *The Lord is in his holy temple;*
16 Dykes's contribution was *These are they that came out of great tribulation*
17 Ouseley's own contributions were: *Why standest thou so far off; From the rising of the son; Thus saith the Lord; Unto thee will I cry; Is it nothing to you?; Christ is risen from the dead; Awake, thou that sleepest;* and *The Lord is King*

Letter from Herbert Stanley Oakeley to JBD 18 April 1859 (RCO)[1]

Maize Cottage
Hampton Court
April18/59

My dear Mr. Dykes,

I am indeed very much obliged to you for your letter of the 4th ult, & I ought not to have left it so long unanswered; as you were kind enough also to send me your sermon,[2] of which I value the possession. I lent it to "Father Smith", & he says in allusion to it (in a letter just received) "The sermon is beautiful, — so much in it, — high, deep, accurate doctrine, made practical."

The kind way in wh. you speak of my anthems is very gratifying, for, as I have often said, I value no one's opinion more than yours: & it was an agreeable change to receive an opinion at all, for out of about a dozen acknowledgements of the receipt of these four anthems from musical people, yours is the only letter containing any thing like real criticism. The general habit adopted by some of our great musical gurus is to return a very civil answer, with a profusion of thanks, but with "regret at not having had time to look at the music," — I shd. consider it an insult were I to behave toward any one in such a manner. — I am really obliged for the list of errata you sent me, some of wh. I had noticed, but I am sorry to say that the two worst mistakes (of an octave & a fifth) had not been observed before, probably because I was too much intent on introducing the two "motifs" inverted at the same time at the place where the error occurs, in the anthem No. 4. I observe yet another mistake of the engravers', [in No. 3 Page 5, 1st score, 2nd alto, bar 3, for g read a] I quite agree with what you say about the discord at the end of Wesley's anthem, also I "partly agree" as the late Dean of Ch: Ch: said when quoting St. Paul (!) with you as regards the cadence at the "Amen" in No. 4 of my anthems, only that it is not so outré as the Drs'.

The mention of Wesley's name reminds me to tell you, in confidence, that I am going to send a notice of his volume of anthems to "The Guardian" soon, & shall, unless you object, use your almost exact words, in speaking of this particular anthem, & also whilst I am having a cut at the "unctionless" school, your epithets being just what I wanted. Having told you that the forthcoming review will be mine, I must ask for your indulgent perusal of it. —

I regret to hear that you have not written anything musical lately — but that anthem of yours in Ouseley's collection[3] is enough to establish your name as a composer. I wish the said collection was not so long in coming out![4] Shall you be at the Handel Festival? I am indeed migratory, & wish it were otherwise, but I cannot get any appt. I envy your being "terribly stationary," & settled, more than I can say.

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1 The division of the original letter into paragraphs is not absolutely clear. Paragraph breaks in this transcript should be viewed as editorial.

2 Probably his Ash Wednesday (9 March 1859) Sermon on 'Natural and Supernatural Life', which was subsequently published. (See App. C Part 2 p. 1).

3 *These are they which came out of great tribulation.*

4 It was eventually published in 1861.

I must congratulate you on the recent arrival you mention,[1] will you give my very kind remembrances to M^rs^. Dykes.

Do you know any of Schumann's music? It seems to me to be the finest of the day; one hardly ever hears it in England, as there is a strong clique against him. I read "Break" & another song, badly translated, w^h^. you may not have. I was much pleased at your liking "Farewell". How fine the words are!

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely

H.S. Oakeley[2]

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1 One infers the birth of his sixth child and fourth daughter, Ethel Susan.

2 b22 Jul 1830 d26 Oct 1903, Professor of Music at Edinburgh between 1865 and 1891, knighted in 1876. Despite Oakeley's views on Wesley (see also leter dated 20 October 1859), Wesley 'thought very highly of him and strongly recommended him when he became a candidate for the Reid chair at Edinburgh' supported (amongst others) by Dykes. (See *The Musical Herald*, 1 December 1903, p358). One wonders if Wesley would have thought so highly of Oakeley had he known that the estimation was not reciprocated…

Letter from H S Oakeley to JBD 20 October 1859 (RCO)

Cheltenham

Oct^{r} . 20. 1859

What is gained by a musical degree?[1]

My dear M$^{r.}$ Dykes,

I am much obliged for your letter, & am indeed glad that you liked what I said, — also that you entirely agree with my opinion of Ouseley's music, — his Church, college & organist. Did you hear when the anthems are to appear?[2] I regret now that I have only contributed one very short anthems for the morning of Trinity Sunday. You seem to understand Wesley so exactly that I cannot refrain from quoting a little from his letter to the "writer in the Guardian", — his remarks are very characteristic.

"I assure you I feel much gratified by yr. kindness, but, also pained," (rather a damper for me at the commencement of his letter! HSO) "for notice of the kind opens an old wound. I have severely felt the treatment I have received from Cath$^{l.}$ bodies, who are quite unfit to have any dealing with musicians. It will do me great service to be noticed in the handsome way you have chosen. I think the introductory remarks excellent &c. &c.. ……

I was glad to see you had noticed a few things ¦[3] in the book wh. had rather struck me as good when I hear them. The little funeral piece for instance. I have ¦ been inclined to think more things impressive: at least, I have felt them to be so! But I don't forget my kind and funny friend Wm. Knyvetts having told me of his having had to listen to a very bad composition, played to him by its author, an amateur, who on rising from the piano, said, Ah my dear Sir, it cost me many tears. On reading the article I fancied it had been shaved with an Editors razor. Still, I am sure I have no reason to be anything but pleased, indeed delighted, it has been rendered plausible. The mention of Walmisley is the only thing I don't feel to be right. I never did admire his writing, but I may not know what you do about him.[4] Still "I don't see how he could have done much of the high kind the Ch: school suggests. You will enlighten me on that head." —

Then comes an anecdote about Canon Jacob, of wh. I can make neither head nor tail. I wish you w.d "give me a construe" of this letter? Does he mean that he likes the "funeral piece" or not? The letter is incoherent throughout, & I am really annoyed at his remarks about poor Walmisley, — it shews bad feeling towards a brother artist of undoubted talent who seemed to be the only man of the time with Wesley who wrote freely. I had always thought Wesley had the highest opinion of him in every way.

---

1 This question appears to be a second post script, written in the only available space in the letter.

2 One infers Oakeley is referring to Ouseley, Sir F.A,G (Ed.) *Special Anthems for Certain Seasons and Festivals of the United Church of England and Ireland* (Robert Cocks: London, 1861)

3 That part of the letter comprising the text between the ¦ symbols is emphasised with a side-line.

4 Dykes studied under Thomas Attwood Walmisley (1814-1856) at Cambridge.

I go to Maize Cottage, Hampton Court, Mid[lx] (S.W.) tomorrow & am

Most sincerely yours

H.S. Oakeley

* I have just heard the most magnificent sermon by the Bp. of Oxford[1] at Gloucester for the S.P.G.[2]

[1] Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873), Bishop of Oxford 1845-1869. A son of the Abolitionist, he earned the nickname 'Soapy Sam' following Disraeli's comment that his manner was 'unctuous, oleaginous and saponaceous'.

[2] This post script was written up the left hand margin of the page, partially overwriting the main text.

Letter from JBD to John Stainer 16 December 1859 (Durham University STA 1/1/22)

Durham
Dec: 16. 1859

My dear Stainer

I send you the enclosed with great satisfaction & I shall be only too glad if it prove of any service to you.

It is quite refreshing to have to write a Testimonial where one feels no sort of mental reservation. I had not heard of Blythe's resignation till I received your notes. Poor fellow I fear he has been, more or less, his own enemy.

Pray give my kindest remembrances to Sir Fred^{c} . & all the fraternity, and with best wishes for your success.

Believe me
Yours very truly
John B Dykes

J. Stainer Esq.

Testimonial for John Stainer from JBD to the President, Magdalen College, Cambridge, 16 December 1859 (Durham University STA 1/1/28)

Durham
Dec: 16. 1859

Gentlemen,

Having learnt from Mr. John Stainer that he is a candidate for the situation of Organist at your College Chapel, I have peculiar pleasure in bearing testimony to his high qualifications for the appointment.

He is an admirable performer on the organ, a careful & judicious accompanist, a clever composer & a thorough musician; and one, moreover, who, I am persuaded, would fulfil the duties devolving upon him with all diligence & conscientiousness.

I will only add that I believe him to be fitted in every respect - and that in no ordinary degree - for the position for which he is now making application.

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen,
Your obed^{t}. Serv^{t}.
John B. Dykes
(Precentor of Durham)

To the Rev. The President
& Fellows of Magdalen College.

Letter from JBD to HWB, 20 March 1861 (HAM)

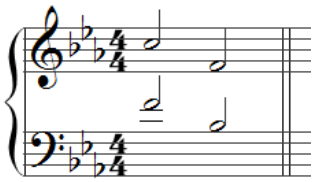
Durham
March 20 1861

My dear Sir

My best thanks are indeed due to you for your very handsome present and also for the kindly notice you have been pleased to make of me in your Preface[1].

I have esteemed it a great privilege to have been permitted to offer any aid, however humble, to a work in which I feel so warm an interest.

The book really seems to have turned out admirably. My first copy reached me yesterday: and I have yet hardly found time to look through it: but I do indeed hope & trust that you will find abundant cause to be satisfied with the result of your long & anxious labours.

I see that my good friend Sir F. Ouseley has made a little slip (if it is not due to the printer) in the last bar of the 5th line of his Tune for "Sweet Saviour bless us"[2] —The Treble and Tenor of the latter ½ of this bar at present stand thus:

making 5ths (which of course is wrong). I have dropped him a line on the subject in order that the inadvertency may be corrected before more copies of the Tune are struck off.[3]

I am surprised that neither he nor Mr. Monk have observed it before.

The book seems beautifully got up — the type so clear & good.[4]

Once again offering you my warm thanks for your kind & valued present.

Believe me
Most truly yours
John B. Dykes

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1 '…to the Rev. J.B. Dykes, Precentor of Durham Cathedral, for several new tunes, especially that to the "Dies Irae," and for much valuable assistance'.

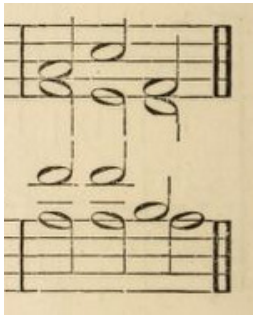
2 CHRISTCHURCH

3 This *faux pas* was evidently corrected silently in later printings of the first edition: see below. See also Thesis p63 fn. 1 for a fuller account of the many corrections.

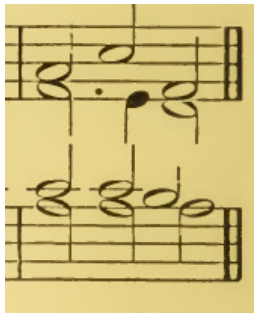
4 See specimen page (MELITA) below.

Excerpt from CHRISTCHURCH

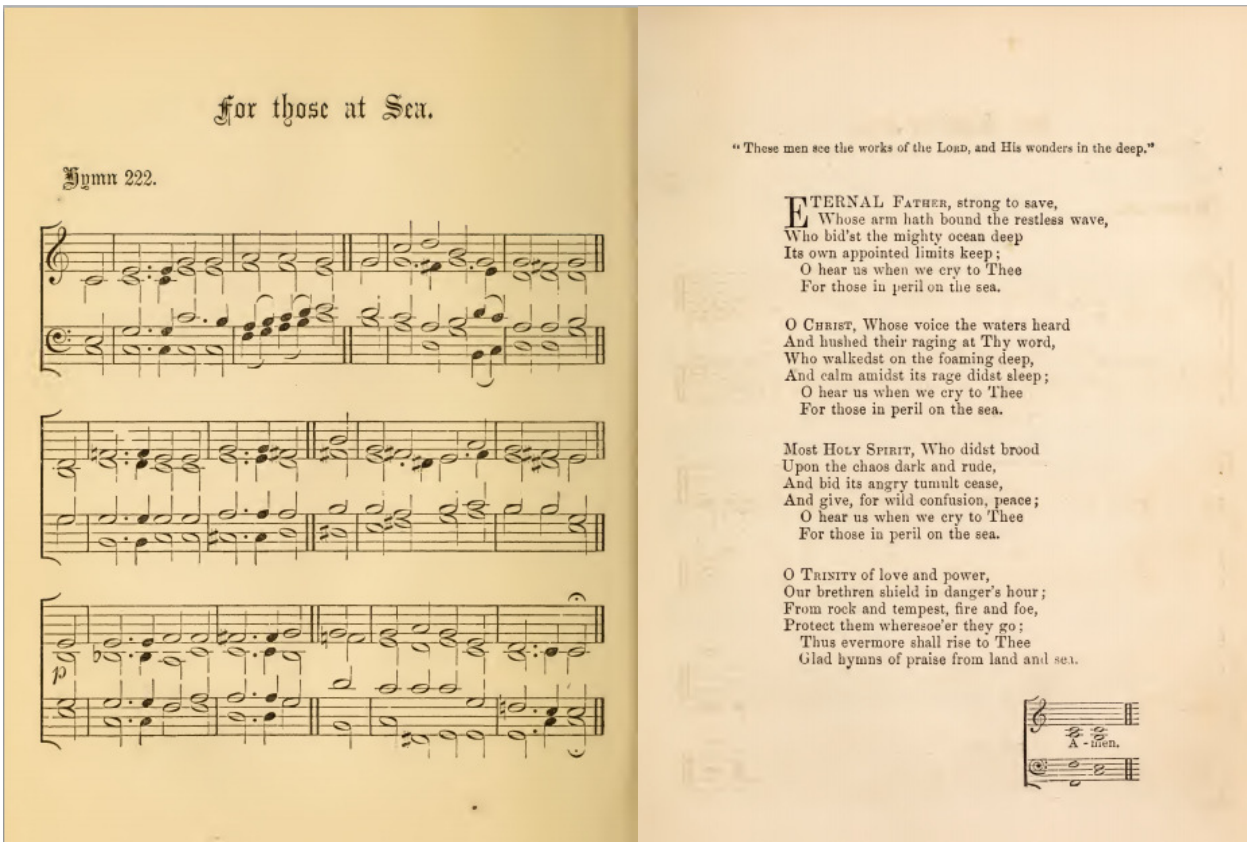
First printing:



Subsequent printings:



MELITA



For those at Sea.

Hymn 222.

"These men see the works of the Lord, and His wonders in the deep."

ETERNAL Father, strong to save,
Whose arm hath bound the restless wave,
Who bid'st the mighty ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

O Christ, Whose voice the waters heard
And hushed their raging at Thy word,
Who walkedst on the foaming deep,
And calm amidst its rage didst sleep;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

Most Holy Spirit, Who didst brood
Upon the chaos dark and rude,
And bid its angry tumult cease,
And give, for wild confusion, peace;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.

O Trinity of love and power,
Our brethren shield in danger's hour;
From rock and tempest, fire and foe,
Protect them wheresoe'er they go;
Thus evermore shall rise to Thee
Glad hymns of praise from land and sea.

A - men.

Letter from Thomas Helmore to JBD(?)[1] 3 April 1861

6 Cheyne Walk
Chelsea April 3. 1861

Dear Sir

Your letter forcibly reminds me of a remark of Sir Hen^{y} Dryden's one day after he had heard the so called Ambrosian Te Deum sang at S. Marks Chelsea. "I don't believe S. Ambrose himself would know it again." The fact is that Marbeck [*sic*], hampered by Archbishop Cranmer's rule of one note only to a syllable (or probably coinciding himself in the propriety of that rigid restriction) took the traditional form which we find in the old Sarum books (which, by the bye, agree in the main with the version in Meibomius[2]) and taking what he considered the essential notes of any slurred passage left out all the rest; and thus destroyed the ancient grace & elegance of the traditional form.

I have lately been busy arranging a more simple ancient setting of this glorious H.^{n} to English words with alternate Choir and People verses — from a M.S. of Baini, [3] the late Choir-Mater of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. The Choir parts are in rather modern harmony the Peoples part is only the Plain Song melody — to this last I add an organ part, & compress the vocal score also, as accomp:^{t} to the Choir.

The general character of this coincides with that which Marbeck [ ][4] down — and is entitled Hymnus Ambrosianus. I have a similar Te Deum in my collection copied from a printed Italian book—

With regard to the differences between Ambrosian and Gregorian portions of the ancient Plain Song we are in great darkness.

The former is (as you know) still retained at Milan — and a visit to that ancient Episcopal Church might serve to solve all our difficulties on this head. I have been refreshing my memory on this point by referring to Gerbertus[5] and a very troublesome matter of research it is. Half a minute's glance at the actual written forms of the two great arrangers of music (if in a notation we could understand) would enlighten us more than hours reading of what slight records from John [ ] &c &c have come down to us.

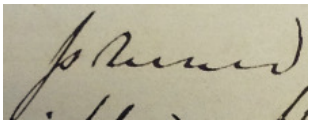
---

1 Although this letter is part of a collection of letters to and from JBD held by the RCO there is nothing (apart from its colocation with JBD-related papers) to demonstrate conclusively that JBD was the addressee. However, the subject matter is consistent with the proposition that Helmore was writing to him,—although JBD would have taken issue with Helmore's suggestion that psalm tunes then in use 'came down to us from the Temple at Jerusalem—it may be from the "Sweet Singer" himself.' (See JBD's papers to the 1865 Norwich, and 1871 Nottingham, Church Congresses, e.g. his reference at the latter to 'the silly utterances … as to Gregorians being the very inspired melodies of the Temple.')

2 Marcus Meibomius (c.1630-1710) Danish music scholar

3 Giuseppe Baini (1775-1844).

4



5 Martin[us] Gerbert[us], Abbot of St. Blaise in the Black Forest and author (inter alia) of *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* (1779) and *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum : ex variis Italiae, Galliae & Germaniae codicibus manuscriptis* (1784)

When I was in Oxford some time since I heard Gilbertion, of Jesus, say that Jacobson had been working at the history of the Te Deum and that he seemed to believe that the several portions of it were not attributable to one date. In all the music the change you mention is [only] [1] decided, and this might possibly prove a link in the evidence going to justify Jacobson's criticism. I have sometimes thought I would use the privilege of an old pupil and ask him what he really has discovered?

Be this however as it may, I do not think we have any evidence that the various Psalm melodies, the forms of which have come down to us from the remotest times of written music were the compositions either of S. Ambrose or of S. Gregory. I rather incline to the Padre Martinu's views that they came down to us from the Temple at Jerusalem — it may be from the "Sweet Singer" himself. It is nowhere told us (I believe) that the various melodies for the Psalms are any of them peculiarly Ambrosian or Gregorian — This notion has not unnaturally grown up in our minds from the common story that the authentic modes were used by S. Ambrose & the Plagal added by S. Gregory.

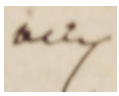
But the setting these very simple Psalm chants in juxta-position with certain Antiphons of a fixed or definite tonality, must not lead us to confound them with the system of accompaniment of which (as they have reached us) they now form a component part—

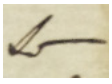
They are as jewels which may be again & again set in a variety of golden or silver bijouterie but which owe neither their brilliancy nor their origin to the same sources as the metal that holds them.

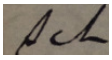
The Tone or Mode in which a Psalm melody is set must not I repeat be confounded with the Tone itself. If we hear a tune we immediately classify it as either in the Major or Minor (modern) modes — or else to be so anomalous that we find the tonality undetermined; in the latter case we could make the melody fit in with symphonies either of the major or of the minor — & when [ ][2] [ ][3] the name of the mode would be applied also to the tune itself. Something analogous to this is I apprehend the real truth about the Ambrosian & the Gregorian modes, (with this additional difficulty as to our discussion, that all these modes are less definitely recognized by the ear than our own modern major and minor).

Believe me Dear Sir
Yours v: truly
T. Helmore

1

2 

3 



Letter from JBD to H.H. Bemrose, 25 April 1861 (RAM)

Durham
April 25. 1861.

My dear Sir,

Where Mr. Ewing[1] himself lives I cannot tell: in fact I rather question whether he is not dead.

In other instances, application has been made to the Right Rev. the Lord Bp. of Argyll & the Isles for permission to print the tune in question, and perhaps your best way wd. be to drop his Lordship a line at once. You will not have the least difficulty with him.

I have been so very much engaged since your Book arrived that I have hardly been able to do more, hitherto, than barely glance at it. I am still very busy: but as soon as I can find a little leisure I shall have great pleasure in looking through it. It appears to promise many features of interest.

Mr. Grey's book is so badly got up & so abominably printed that I can well understand any number of mistakes in copying from it. I merely trust you will have the kindness to correct my tune in your Table of Errata.

Believe me
Very faithfully yours
John B. Dykes

H.H. Bemrose[2]

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[1] Probably Alexander Ewing (1814—1873), first Bishop of Argyll and the Isles (not to be confused with Alexander Ewing (1830—1895), composer of the eponymous tune usually sung to *Jerusalem, the Golden*.)

[2] Henry Howe Bemrose (1827—1811), politician, printer and publisher. To his *Chorale Book* (Bemrose: London, 1861), Dykes contributed two new tunes, DURHAM and ST. BARNABAS. Bemrose also included ST. NINIAN from Grey's *Manual*.

Letter from JBD to the Rev Robert R Chope[1] 27 June 1862 (HAM)

Copy

Roehampton Lodge,
Putney, S.W.
June 27. 1862

My dear Sir,

I beg to thank you for your kind note which I received here today — and to acknowledge the cheque for 5 guineas enclosed therein. I am much gratified that two of my tunes have been successful. Over the future publication of these and the other tunes I have sent you (not already printed) I willingly give you entire control.[2]

With regard to my tunes in Hymns A&M I fear that, in case there may be any which you would like to introduce into your book, you will have to obtain permission from Sir Henry Baker, as I gave the tunes up to him and his committee.

"S. Cross" I have given you permission to print, which I shall not retract. For the others I'm afraid you must apply elsewhere.

Don't hesitate however to write in case you are in difficulty respecting any particular Hymn or Tune. If I can help you I will gladly do so to the best of my power.

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[1] There is no explicit reference to the Rev. R R Chope (Editor of *The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book*) in this copy of the letter. However, the conclusive internal evidence that he is the recipient is as follows: (1) the date of the letter is consistent with the proposition that it relates to the preparation of the second (1862) edition of that hymnal. Dykes's diary (Fowler, p.80) records that he 'sent off the last batch of tunes to Chope' on 31st October 1862; (2) the reference to 'the cheque for 5 guineas' and Dykes's gratitude that 'two of [his] tunes have been successful' are consistent with the statement on p.viii of the Preface that he had won prizes for two of his tunes — GETHSEMANE and JERUSALEM (from an entry of 857 'Competitive Tunes' submitted to the editor); (3) Dykes refers to his having been 'introduced to your coadjutor Mr. Turle', who is explicitly mentioned on the title page of the hymnal as being an assistant in its production (as, indeed, is Dykes); (4) ST. CROSS, which is mentioned in the letter, is included in the hymnal; and (5) acrimonious correspondence between Dykes, Chope and HWB a decade later refers to arguments about the ownership of copyright in Dykes's tunes, with Chope apparently referring, *inter alia*, to this letter. That said, it is surprising that Dykes should have referred to 'My dear Sir', rather than his more usual form of address to someone with whom he had a cordial relationship 'My dear Chope', but it is possible he used the more intimate form of address in the fair copy.

[2] In the index Chope claims the following tunes to have been written especially for that hymnal: ARUNDEL, BUTTERBY, CILICIA, CROXDALE, DIES IRAE (no.3), DYKES, ELVET, FINCHALE, GETHSEMANE, JERUSALEM, LAUD, MAGDALENE, MILMAN, PITTINGTON, ST. AELRED (with its original c minor ending), ST. ANATOLIUS, ST. ANDREW, ST. BARNABAS, ST. BEES, ST. CONSTANTINE, ST. DROSTANE, ST. GODRIC, ST. HELEN, ST. JOSEPH, ST. OSWALD (not to be confused with the tune, originally called SYCHAR — as in this hymnal — and commonly set to '*Through the night of doubt and sorrow*'), ST. OSWIN, ST. SYLVESTER, ST. WERBURG, ST. WULSTAN and WATERBROOK. Fowler (pp.322-323) omits DIES IRAE and ST. WULSTAN from his list of exclusive tunes.

I have been up here for a few days & have enjoyed a grand musical treat in attending the Handel Festival.[1] Yesterday I had the pleasure of being introduced to your coadjutor Mr. Turle at Westminster Abbey.

I expect shortly to be in Durham again.

With renewed thanks

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

John B. Dykes

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[1] A contemporary report on the festival reports that 'The great full rehearsal at the Crystal Palace…will take place on Saturday, 21st June...The choruses in the first part of the rehearsal will comprise those known as single choruses, the second part…will consist of double choruses from "Deborah," "Solomon," and "Israel in Egypt."

'Several interesting acoustical experiments have lately been made to test the effect of the new roof thrown over the orchestra. These have been attended with marked success. Single voices and instruments have been heard at the extreme end of the central transept with as much distinctness as in a small concert room. In one instance a conversation was kept up with a little child placed at the back of the orchestra with perfect ease. The increase in the powerful tones of the great organ with its additional thirty-two feet pedal pipes, is really astonishing, and justifies the most sanguine expectations in respect of the Festival.' (*The Tablet* 14th June 1862, p5)

Wm. H. Husk wrote that 'The first and third days have invariably been occupied by 'Messiah' and 'Israel,' the intermediate days being devoted to varied selections.' in Grove, G. (ed) *Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Vol.1 (Macmillan and Co.: London, 1900) p658.

Letter from FAGO to JBD 11 September 1862 (RCO)

Tenbury
Sep^{r}. 11th 1862

My dear Dykes

Enclosed came today. I can do no more than forward it to you. Professor Donaldson is a man in whose judgment I have the most unbounded confidence, & I am sure he would not recommend any but a good man.

Perhaps you could write to him on the subject. I have told him that I have written to you.

I am terribly sorry you are about to resign[1] *the* precentorship. I know no man *better quali*fied for such an office in a[words missing — possibly 'all the lan']d. This is no mere compliment, but a genuine expression of strong feeling on my part which wd. come out.

I liked to think of you as my best coadjutor in matters choral.

Ever most sincerely & faith^{ly} y^{rs}

Frederick A Gore Ouseley

[1] The crest on FAGO's notepaper has been cut out from the original copy of this letter, removing some words. In this transcript italicised words are taken from Fowler (recognising that Fowler's partial reproduction of the letter is not entirely accurate).

Letter from JBD To RR Chope 11 November 1862 (Durham Cathedral Add Ms 55/2)

Durham
Nov: 11. 1862

Dear Mr. Chope

Herewith I send you the new "Dies Irae".

Probably it is because it my [sic] 'first love'; but certainly I feel to prefer it to the H.A.M one. In the first place, it is now decidedly easier than that setting (tho' it was not so at first): Then, the effects, such as they are, are now produced by simply vocal means and are independent of the aid of the organ. Then, the original melody [??] by taking in 3 verses & only having to be repeated 5 times, I find, does not pall by repetition.

I really feel pretty confidently convinced that when this setting has been fairly tried (I don't care for a hasty opinion, or merely playing it over) it will be liked & found satisfactory. At least I humbly hope so.

With regard to the use of the tune of course as I wrote it exclusively for my friend Mr Grey, I shall reserve to myself the right of introducing it, in its amended form, into a new edition of his little work.[1]

If he ever brings one out (which he has been talking of doing for one or two years — altho' I am rather dubious as to his ever carrying his design out).[2] That is the only reservation I care to make in sending you the tune.

I have received "the school Hymn"[3] & "The Sun is sinking".[4] I will do the best I can with them.

By the way, I don't like the way these verses of the Dies Irae are printed in the copy I send you — all the lines should begin evenly but I think there should be a very short space left between each of the 3 triplets which form the 9 line verse: this will materially help the eye. Nine lines without any break might be rather confusing.

I shall be glad to see any proofs that are ready.

Believe me
Yours very sincerely

John B Dykes

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1 Grey, Hon. and Rev. John (ed.) *Manual of Psalm & Hymn Tunes* (Cleaver: London, 1857).

2 Dykes was wrong in his scepticism: see Grey, Hon. and Rev. John (ed.) *Hymnal for Use in the English Church* (Mozley, 1866) .

3 Probably ST. HELEN in Chope, R.R. (ed.) *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* (Mackenzie: London, 1862) No. 246.

4 It would appear either that Dykes did not write a tune for this hymn or that Chope rejected it: the tune eventually used was by Chope himself.

Letter from Henry John Gauntlett to JBD 14 November (year not stated but, by internal evidence, 1862)[1] (RCO)

23 Colville Road
All Saints
Kensington Park
Nov. 14

Rev.[d] Sir,

Although personally unknown to you, I have reason to believe that my name has been often before you, yet I still feel some hesitation in addressing you since it is possible that you should mistake my intention. But with persons in real earnest and having the same object in view there can hardly be any fear of misunderstanding.

I am about to find fault with you! — but it is for doing the very things that I myself did for many years — nothing but incessant writing, such constant watchfulness wrought my cure, and possibly the few hints I may give you in this note, may in your case shorten the practise of [ ][2] two estimable virtues!

The Hymns Ancient and Modern are used in All Saints Church — a church in which for the last twelvemonth I have had the care of the music. Whatever I thought not to be right in that book I rearranged for the Choir — in this way I educated, as I conceived, the ears of the choir & congregation to receive that aural or stream of sound which makes what we call music.

Music is founded on the relation of sounds, that relation has its logical position, and the understanding when taught has the power of perceiving it; but the affection of the ear is stronger than the understanding, and a child whose ear has not been corrupted, possesses an innocency in that organ which many a Professor might justly envy.

In composing music the mind is limited to the sounds in the key— for sounds out of the key are not in relation. The sounds in the key, as you know, come from three roots, all the other sounds are fractional parts of the three units. Knowing the fractional parts, there follows the order of their movement and their combination, upon the order of their movement depends life in music or that motion which we call rhythm: bars do not make rhythm, it is the position of the sounds that creates that organic force, or pulse, which is the index of all life.

In England we learn music by a diatonic scale, and isolated chords without reference to key. You will rarely meet with a Professor who is aware of the real number of sounds in the key, and but very few are acquainted with the law of order in succession. It is said, every sound has its twin, a vernacular mode of expressing the fact that every sound has its complement. As an illustration, consider the key-sound an apple, you want G. - cut the

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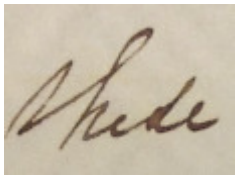
1 The DNB 1885-1900, Vol. 21 p75 reveals that Henry John Gauntlett (1805-1876) was organist at All Saints Church between 1861 and 1863. His statement in the letter that he had been in charge of the music 'for the last twelvemonth' means that the letter must have been written in 1862.

2



apple, what sound is the complement? You want A♭. - cut the apple, what sound is the complement? In old books of theory, you will find this succession described as a repercussion: and that term was commonly used until the great music-mathematicians set forth the right formulas.

Now, let us apply these remarks to the composition of a hymn-tune. Consider the first line — You must end the line upon some sound. That involves the ending of all the lines. The last sound of each line involves the sounds of the preceding bar, and your second bar, depends upon the first, & has reference to the last.

The longest composition is only a series of so many short tunes, and the short tines are so many ratios from one or more units, always having reference to the one unit, the key-sound.

It is intended I believe next Sunday to sing y.r tune 179[1]. The spirit of the tune is excellent, & the intention is good, I am sure you would desire that which is used for the honour of God, should be no other than a fulfilling of His own order. No man can make a sound. No man can make a new relation of a sound. No man can make a chord. No man can with propriety make a chord go where it ought not to go — any more than he can move a star out of its place in the firmament — and lastly the motion of every sound is governed by its position.

I do not deny the right to send the sound to that particular place, but, standing as it does, this is the only place it should go to.

Now may I ask you to play your tune (Hymn 179) just in this way, by striking only the first notes in the bars, recollecting that it is only the first sound in the bar, that breathes in the ear the aural and harmonic life. In your second bar, you have the chord B.E.C.F.[2] By what law does that follow the chord of E.?[3] It can follow the chord of E because the root is A♭ being what is vulgarly called the chord of the eleventh on the 2nd of the key—and the 2nd of the key as you know is the 5th of B♭ and the added 6th of A♭ the root or unit. These sounds of B.E.C. & F if you symbolise them in their ratios or fractional parts, can resolve into no other unit than A♭. Hence, it is a co-ordinate chord. That the dot against the B. has no operation in resolving, and in fact it is B. & A.in motion with C. and B.— Take the 2nd. line, How is a child to know that you are about to rest him on the dominant? How is the Tenor to know, for he will be thoroughly deceived by the A♭ in the 1st Bar, nor will he be able to sing it against the B of the Soprano, for, as you have put it, it falls from a ratio of A♭ onto the root itself and that A♭ is a very different A♭ for the 7th of B.

Now truth is at unity with itself, & leads to perfect simplicity. The more a man knows, the more clear and apparently simple is his work, ordinary perception seizes hold of it in a moment and we are apt to say, How easy it seems!—

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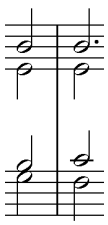
[1] HOLLINGSIDE

[2] These notes should be read as refering to the key of E♭—throughout the letter Gauntlett casually omits the ♭.

[3]



It is true all great work is easy work & the man who has acquired the power, since power and facility always go together. I look at my work of twenty years since, with horror!

There is now another organist in All Saints, the Incumbent having failed in his agreement with me especially as to money matters, and your Hymn Book will now govern the hymnody of this Church. It is to be regretted that your tunes form so small a portion of the Book they evidencing, as I have always said, a heart and spirit that appeal to humanity, & require but little to make them perfect.

The Book made so unfavourable an impression on the minds of my choir men, that at the end of three months they objected to sing from it, unless I rearranged the tune. There is no doubt the Hymn Book as a Hymn Book is a success & that it has thoroughly taken hold of the public mind. In rearranging the tunes I only did what someday must be done ot the tune book is to hold its position. It is a well known axiom that the state of music in the church, governs the state of music out of the church. There is no spirit of holiness in French music because there is none in its church music. There is no Scotch composer, by reason of John Knox! — and until the Hymn re-appeared in England, church music was for the most part Cath.^{al} music, and that came to a dead block by reason of Dr. Nares! — (vide his Book on Thorough Bass, which led to all other thorough bass books, & to the forgetfulness of the way in wh. Purcell made his anthems and taught composition).

I consider the wide dissemination of Hymns A. & M. a great discouragement to Church music in England. What would Mendelssohn, what would Spohr have said of it? And what would Berlioz or Meyerbeer say of it. Is there any living artist of acknowledged celebrity who could approve of it?

Can nothing be done? As I have I fear put you to much trouble in reading this long letter I beg your acceptance of some Cath.^{al} chants which exemplify the rules I have alluded to, and I can assure you that whenever they have been used, they have produced a most marked & beneficial effect upon the chanting of the congregation.

I also send you, but with much diffidence a version of your own tune, harmonised on the principle of never deceiving the ear, & always continuing the life in music by a right harmonic pulsation on the Bar.

I am Rev.^{d} Sir, your obedient & faithful servant

H.J. Gauntlett.

The Rev.^{d} J.B. Dykes

Letter from JBD to R R Chope 14 May 1865 (Durham Cathedral Add MS 55/3-4)

S. Oswald's Durham
S. Matthew's Day 1865

Dear Mr Chope

I think 'The Choir' on the whole progresses very satisfactorily. You will have to guard against it becoming dull and objectless: but as its circulation increases, & therefore its correspondence, it will find plenty of practical & interesting work for itself to do.

As for the Hymnal, the Precentorial breath was hardly out of my body when H.A.M. was introduced into the Cathedral, and the Cathedral, I doubt not, will very much rule the Association – altho', by the way, the Associat^{n} does not yet exist. It only is in contemplation. If I can give the Hymnal a help I will: I find there are many influences working.

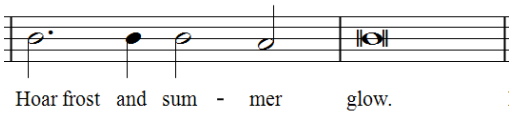
You mention in your note your new little Edition & [??] the "Strain Upraise". A word abt the 2 in conjunction.

The book is certainly a little gem but the poor "Strain" comes to grief in it.

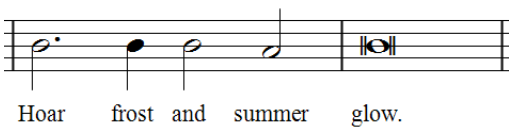
In the 1st place, the 2 half pages (at least, so it is in my copy) are not on a line with each other so that the beginning & ending of none of the lines correspond, but the 1st half of one verse runs into the 2nd half of the succeeding verse. This will render it quite unsingable from these copies.

Again, the division of the words is incorrectly marked - & words printed under the wrong notes in certain important instances.

e.g. instead of

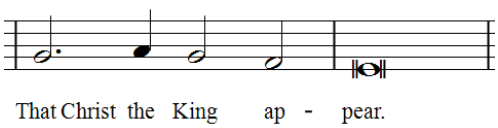


it is printed

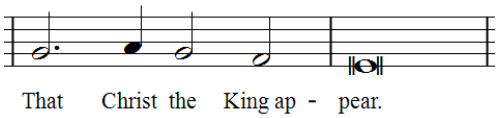


And there is a similar mistake in the line "Ye storms and winter snow", in whi case "storms" is printed under the crotchet instead of "and":

So again inst^{d} of



It is printed



Is it too late to correct these defects. Otherwise it will be impossible to sing the Tune & Hymn correctly from these small copies.

There is another of my tunes also whi cannot be sung from the 18mo Edit. I mean the "Dies Irae". The words of the 6th verse & conclusion sh^d unquestionably have been printed with the music. It will be quite impossible to pick out which belong to which.

Also you will see the last 6 lines are even printed wrong; in two triplets, instead of three couplets.

In the small Edit: of H.A.M. you will observe they have printed the words with the music. I believe it almost hopeless to attempt to sing it without.

By the way, your book has a great want: and that is an index of metres & tunes. I believe that want materially interferes with its sales. Nobody knows where to find any tune. The book w^d be used in hundreds of churches, even where they have other Hymn books, for the sake of its tunes if people c^d only get at them. But it is a regular business to hunt for a tune.

I find however, it is spreading, & I have had some pleasing testimonies only recently how much it is liked.

There, my sheet is full: and I have grumbled away.

So pray believe me

Ever yours most sincerely

John B Dykes

Letter from Edward Churton to JBD 27 June 1867 (RCO)

Crayke. June 27. 1867

Dear Mr. Dykes,

Thank you for your Answer to my Letter, and for what appears in the 'Guardian' to-day. Nothing can be better than the tone of it.

I suppose one must not ask B.[p] Baring, whether he believes the Scottish Bishops to worship the Platonic or Hindoo Trinity. Well, there is strength in patience, and all tyranny is short-lived as well as short-sighted.

Yours very sincerely

Edw. Churton[1]

[1] Edward Churton (1800-1874) was a theologian and Spanish scholar, and a disciple of the Oxford Movement. He was appointed to the rectory at Crayke in 1836 by Bishop Van Mildert (where he remained until his death), and was made archdeacon of Cleveland in 1836. (Information from the DNB 1885-1900 Vol. 10, p346)

Letter with undecipherable signature to JBD 19 January 1868 (RCO)

Villa Santa Maria
Mentone
Alpes Maritimes
France

Jan 19th 1868

My dear Dr. Dykes,

I am afraid I must, at the risk of being thought bothersome, venture to inflict upon you another letter, because I do not at all know if my last letter reached you, tho' in truth I wd hardly expect any thing like an immediate reply at this very busy Festal season. Will you therefore kindly let me have one line to say if you did receive my latter, and whether you are able to comply with its prayer. My book is ready for press & as I am anxious to begin other things, I want to get this off my hands. *Hinc iliae lacrimae!*

I shd very much like to ask you to look over my m.s. before sending it to press, this wd be especially a gain to the musical part of the work, but I hardly dare to do so as I know you must have little leisure time to spare.

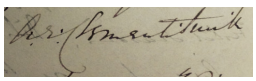
Please accept my best wishes and aspirations for the new year,

& believe me
very sincerely yours in Xt,

[???][1]

I think of having Cherubini's "Pie Jesu" for the Offertorium, to be used when Choirs are sufficiently competent, and in this case wd recommend a single offertory sentence to be <u>read</u> first. What do you think of this? It wd be a gain to get that most lovely thing used I think.

1



Letter from JBD to R.R. Chope 15 June 1868 (HAM)[1]

St. Oswald's Vicarage
Durham
June 15. 1868

Dear Mr. Chope

The Compilers of H.A.M. are shortly about to bring out an Appendix to their work, and amongst other Hymns are proposing to introduce "The day is past & over", and have asked me for the use of my tune[2].

I keep no memorandum about my tunes, but still I have a sort of impression that I am under some sort of special promise to you about this.

Should this be the case, I write a line to ask for your sanction to giving them use of it—

Of course I can write another tune to the words, if you prefer it, but I like my present one very well, and it is tiresome multiplying Hymns & Tunes unnecessarily.

In case I do not hear from you I shall assume that you give permission.

Believe me, in haste,

Yours very faithfully

John B Dykes

To the Rev. R.R. Chope
Wilton House
Hereford Square
London S.W.

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1 At the top of the document, which is in Chope's handwriting, is the word 'Copy', with the additional information (in Dykes's hand) 'of original letter w.h was received Feb 11. 1875'. The letter forms part of a longer exchange relating to copyright, in particular, the question of which rights were granted to Chope for his *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* of 1862.

2 ST. ANATOLIUS

Letter from HWB to JBD June/July 1868 (RCO)

Monkland
Wednesday[1]

My dear D[r] Dykes

I ought to write you a long letter: but I must try to say what I have to say shortly —

1[st]. I am rather unhappy with the Appendix actually coming out without our having sent you a wee present, over & above your mere guineas, as a little token of our sense of what we are indebted to you for all your most generous & hearty sympathy & help. But it is felt to be better that it should come as a formal vote of committee: & so I cannot send you anything till we happen to have another full committee which will be I know not when. Only I must first say this much privately[2], that you will have a very hearty vote of thanks & a little token of gratitude.[3]

I know you do not wish it nor expect it——

2[nd] Though he bade me not say so, I must say that our dear friend Sir. F.O.[4] (& others) were much against your "Art thou weary"[5] the other day. And you know that I never quite liked it. So I bethought me that we must give a 2[d] Tune to that Hymn: & wrote to Monk thereon — saying that he might write a very simple one as an alternative — And in the course of writing I suggested a very simple melody —

Well, he actually harmonized that melody — so it is to go in as a 2[d] Tune, for the melody of w[h] I ! am responsible & he for the harmony.[6] You will call it commonplace enough, but I think it is really right to have an easy one as an alternative to a Hymn that ought to be widely used. It has caused delay: & has thrown me back on my original idea of giving S. James as another Tune for "All hail the power &c"[7] for use by those who may not like (as I do) Miles Lane[8] — I hope you will not disapprove of all this——

3[rd]. I don't want to build up present Times in the Appendix without adding a few Tunes. E.g. where a Hymn has only a Tune like Vexilla Regis to it we ought to give a 2[d] Tune — And then I should so like to give your "Sweet Saviour"[9] with the close altered as I

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1 No date is given, but reference in the letter to 'the Appendix actually coming out' points to the letter having been written in 1868. A review of the Appendix appearing in *The Literary Churchman* in October 1868 suggests it was published a month or so earlier, and the content of the letter suggesting that it was written shortly before the Appendix was finalised, pointing to its having been written in June or July.

2 This word is underlined emphatically.

3 He was eventually given £100 plus £25 for travel expenses. (See extracts from the Minutes of a meeting of the Compilers dated 4 February 1869, p52 *sub.*)

4 The Rev. Sir F.A.G. Ouseley.

5 CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR—see below.

6 STEPHANOS—see below. Both tunes appeared in the 1875 and 1889 editions; STEPHANOS alone survived in the ill-fated 1904 edition; both reappeared in the consolidated edition of 1922; STEPHANOS held on to the 1950 Revised Edition; both had disappeared (along with the words) in the New Standard Edition of 1983. So the anodyne diatonic of HWB/WHM outlived the chromatic of JBD.

7 As it transpired he used ST. LEONARD by Henry Smart.

8 The version used was that harmonised by JBD for *The Parish Hymnal*, 1870—see below.

9 IN TENEBRIS LUMEN—see below.

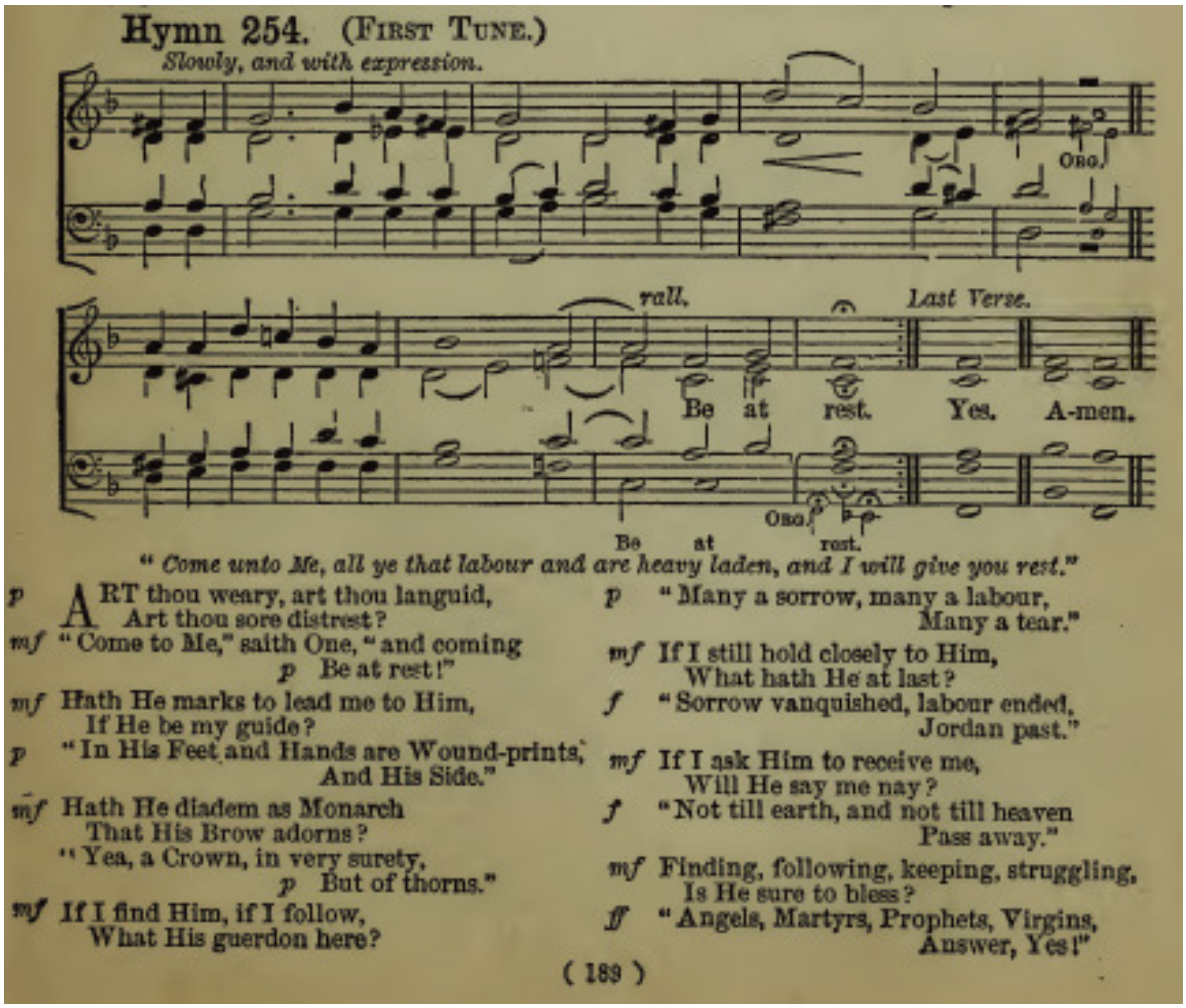
suggested — can you send it me at once? White[1] says we ought to give the H. Noted Melody of "The strain upraise" in deference to Monk's strong feeling.[2]

I am writing to ask Monk to give me a morning's talk thereon early next week. Will you kindly send me "Sweet Saviour" — & any advice — by Monday?

With grateful thanks.

Ever yours

H.W. Baker

CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR

Hymn 254. (First Tune.)

Slowly, and with expression.

Org.

rall. *Last Verse.*

Be at rest. Yes. A-men.

Org.

Be at rest.

"Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

p ART thou weary, art thou languid,
Art thou sore distrest?
mf "Come to Me," saith One, "and coming
p Be at rest!"
mf Hath He marks to lead me to Him,
If He be my guide?
p "In His Feet and Hands are Wound-prints,
And His Side."
mf Hath He diadem as Monarch
That His Brow adorns?
"Yea, a Crown, in very surety,
p But of thorns."
mf If I find Him, if I follow,
What His guerdon here?

p "Many a sorrow, many a labour,
Many a tear."
mf If I still hold closely to Him,
What hath He at last?
f "Sorrow vanquished, labour ended,
Jordan past."
mf If I ask Him to receive me,
Will He say me nay?
f "Not till earth, and not till heaven
Pass away."
mf Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
Is He sure to bless?
ff "Angels, Martyrs, Prophets, Virgins,
Answer, Yes!"

(189)

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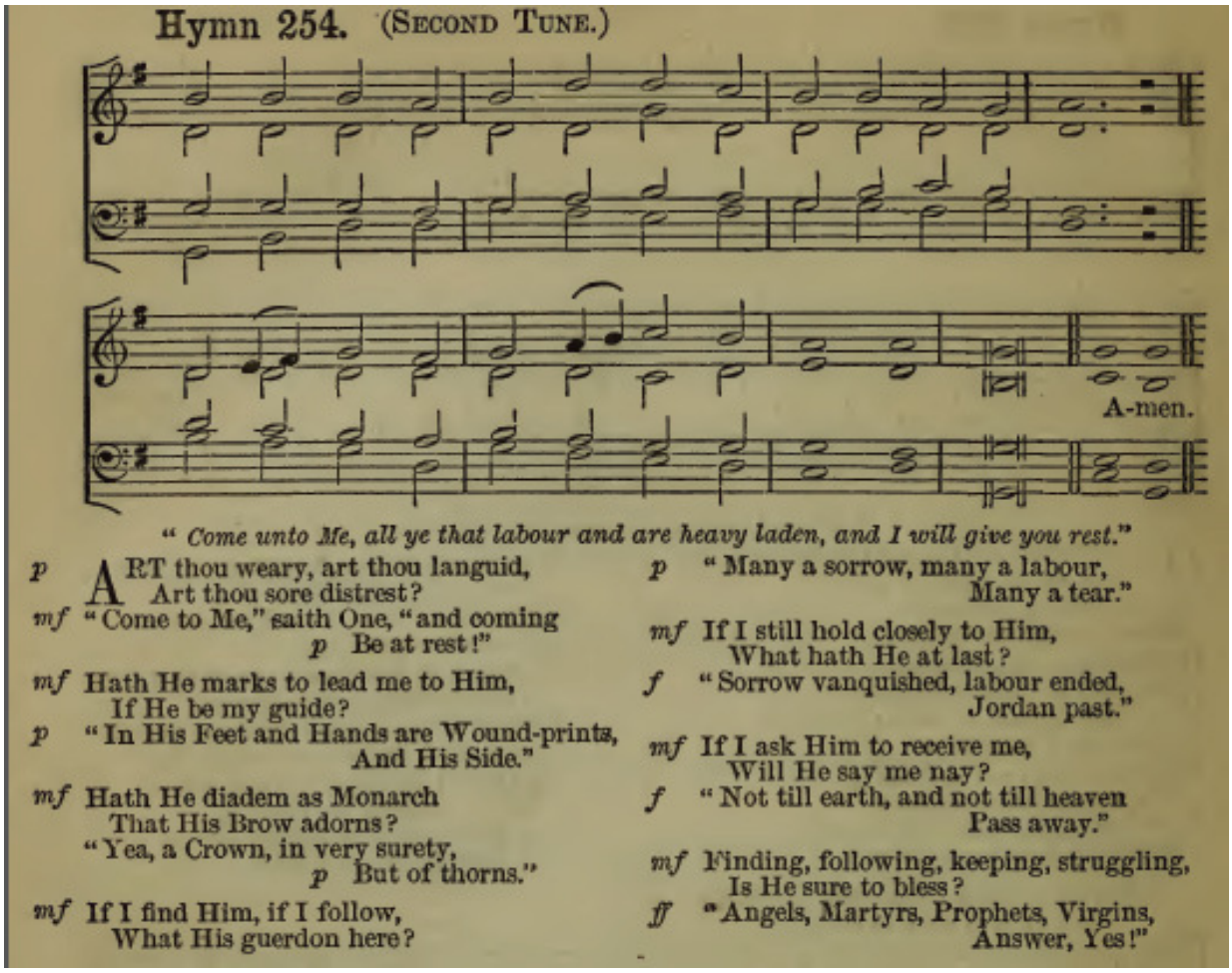
[1] The Rev. George Cosby White, one of the Compilers

[2] This did not happen.

STEPHANOS



Hymn 254. (SECOND TUNE.)

A-men.

"Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

p ART thou weary, art thou languid,
Art thou sore distrest?
mf "Come to Me," saith One, "and coming
p Be at rest!"

mf Hath He marks to lead me to Him,
If He be my guide?
p "In His Feet and Hands are Wound-prints,
And His Side."

mf Hath He diadem as Monarch
That His Brow adorns?
"Yea, a Crown, in very surety,
p But of thorns."

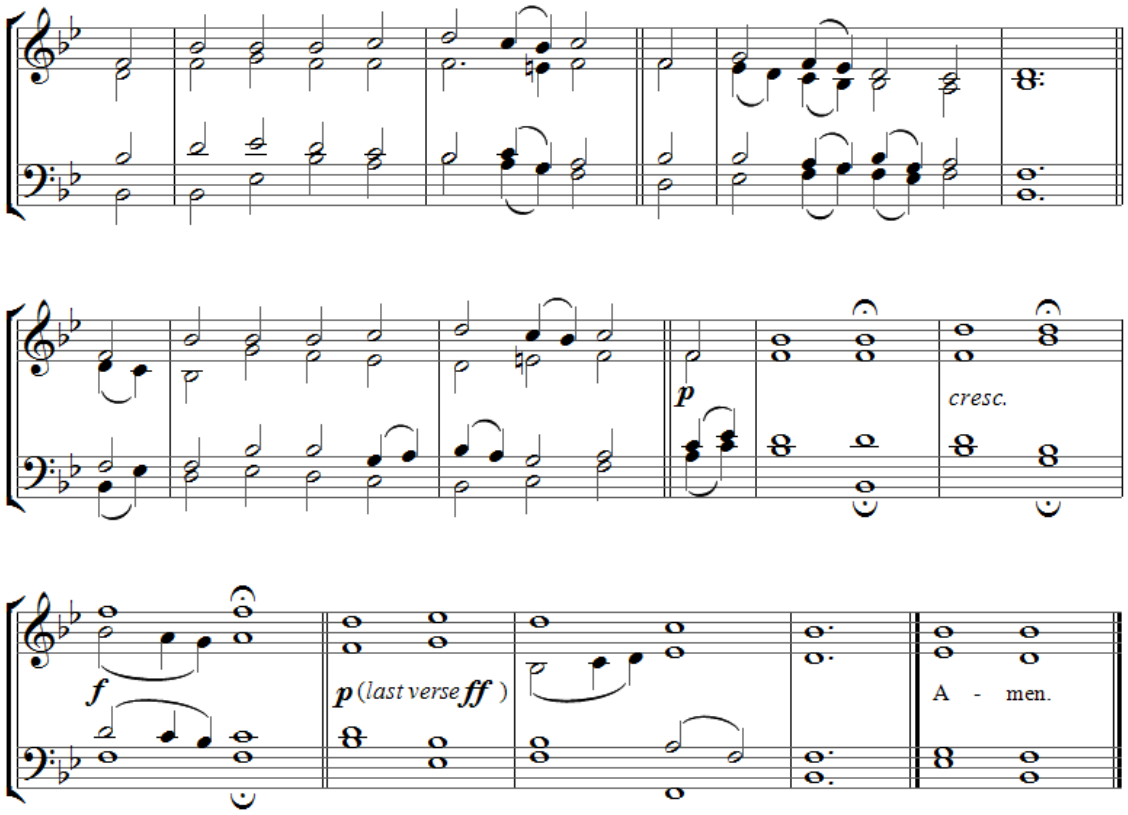
mf If I find Him, if I follow,
What His guerdon here?
p "Many a sorrow, many a labour,
Many a tear."

mf If I still hold closely to Him,
What hath He at last?
f "Sorrow vanquished, labour ended,
Jordan past."

mf If I ask Him to receive me,
Will He say me nay?
f "Not till earth, and not till heaven
Pass away."

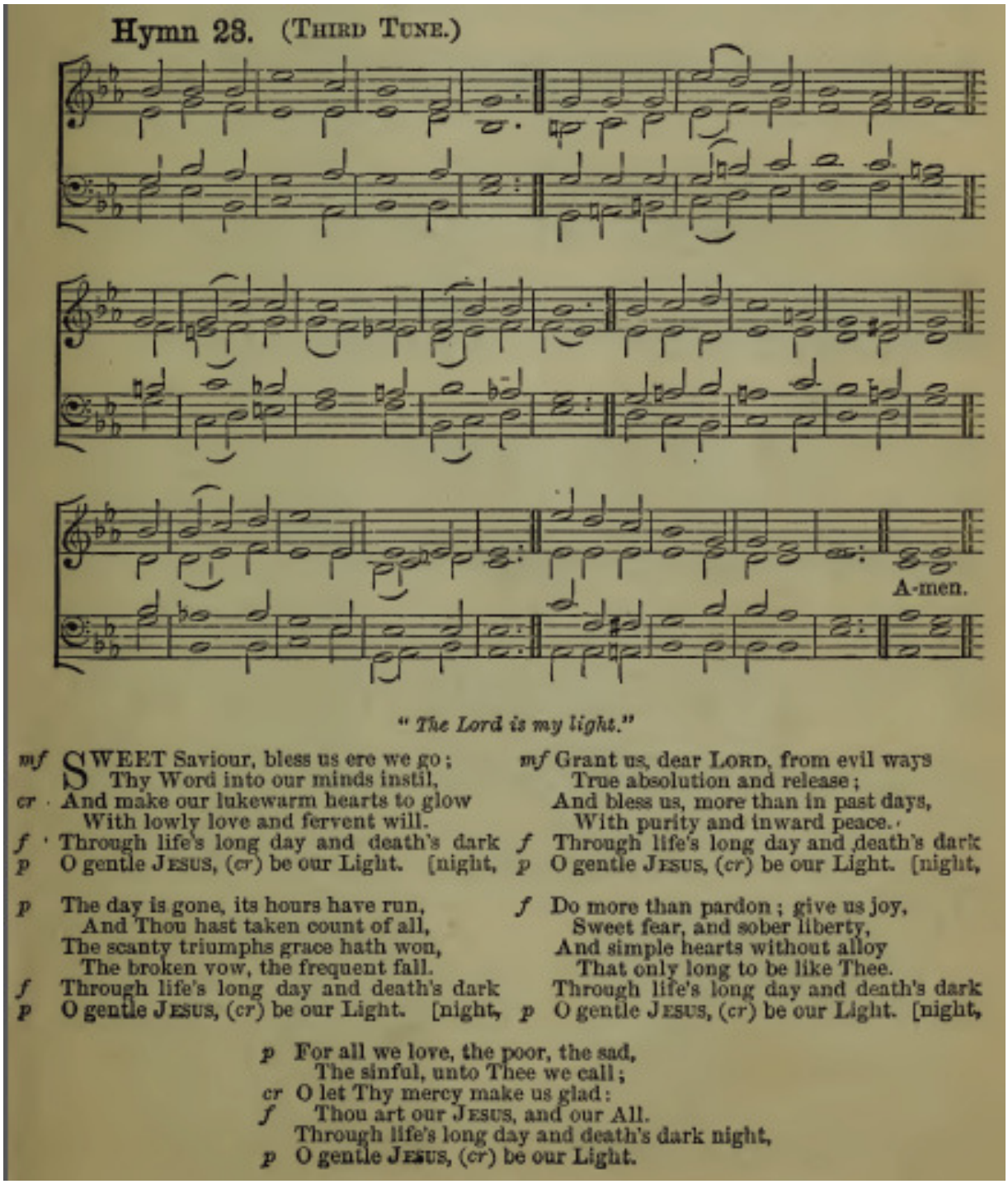
mf Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
Is He sure to bless?
ff "Angels, Martyrs, Prophets, Virgins,
Answer, Yes!"

Miles Lane (CM) (arr. J.B.D)

The Parish Hymnal (1870) No.137

All hail the power of Jesu's Name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown Him Lord of all.

Edward Perronet

IN TENEBRIS LUMEN



Hymn 28. (THIRD TUNE.)

A-men.

"The Lord is my light."

mf SWEET Saviour, bless us ere we go;
Thy Word into our minds instil,
cr And make our lukewarm hearts to glow
With lowly love and fervent will.
f Through life's long day and death's dark
p O gentle JESUS, (*cr*) be our Light. [night,

p The day is gone, its hours have run,
And Thou hast taken count of all,
The scanty triumphs grace hath won,
The broken vow, the frequent fall.
f Through life's long day and death's dark
p O gentle JESUS, (*cr*) be our Light. [night,

mf Grant us, dear LORD, from evil ways
True absolution and release;
And bless us, more than in past days,
With purity and inward peace.
f Through life's long day and death's dark
p O gentle JESUS, (*cr*) be our Light. [night,

f Do more than pardon; give us joy,
Sweet fear, and sober liberty,
And simple hearts without alloy
That only long to be like Thee.
Through life's long day and death's dark
p O gentle JESUS, (*cr*) be our Light. [night,

p For all we love, the poor, the sad,
The sinful, unto Thee we call;
cr O let Thy mercy make us glad:
f Thou art our JESUS, and our All.
Through life's long day and death's dark night,
p O gentle JESUS, (*cr*) be our Light.

Letter from JBD to RR Chope 18 September 1868 (Durham Cathedral Add Ms 55/5)

St. Oswald's Vicarage,
Durham

Sep. 18 1868

My dear Mr. Chope

Caswall has given the compilers of the Appendix to H.A.&M permission to print his 'Days & Moments' in their forthcoming little collection. I have been applied to for music. Now I do not want the trouble of writing fresh music to these words — especially as I am quite satisfied with that which I wrote for your book. Moreover I should not like to see these words associated with other music.

I write a hasty line, therefore, to ask if you will give permission for the use of this music: Of course the source shall be acknowledged.

I must make a similar request for one other tune, the author of the words of which has given permission for their use. "Fierce raged the tempest".

Will you drop me a line at your early convenience.

Yours very truly

John B. Dykes.

Extracts from the Minutes of a Meeting of the Proprietors of Hymns Ancient and Modern 4th February 1869 (HAM)

Revd. William Upton Richards in the Chair
All proprietors present except HWB

'It was proposed by the Revd. W.U. Richards & seconded by the Revd. I.M. Wilkins that £100 be sent to Dr. Dykes with the most grateful thanks of the Compilers in acknowledgement of the services rendered by him in the musical edition of the Appendix.'

'Dr. Dykes (for journies) £25.0.0.'

Letter from Alfred A Pollock to JBD 20 April 1869 (RCO)

63, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W.C.
April 20th 1869

My dear Dykes

I am concerned for the proprietors of "Hymns Ancient & Modern" to which you have made so many valuable contributions.

The publication of that work, has (not in any way at my instance, but under my advice, so far as advice was required) been lately removed from Messrs Novello & Co to Messrs Clowes & Co.

The reasons for the removal are briefly, that the proprietors, knowing that Mr Littleton (Novello & Co) was making very large profits through the enormous sale of the work, applied to him to reduce his charges on the paper printing & binding & commission. No adequate response having been made by him they then obtained estimates from some of the first publishers and advice from others — which completely established the conclusions at which they had arrived — & shewed that the publishers profits were extravagant.

A further attempt to arrange matters with Mr Littleton being unsuccessful, they determined to transfer the publication, & informed him of their intention — & made arrangements with Messrs Clowes & Co to publish.

Upon this Mr Littleton first claimed to restrain the proprietors from publishing hymns, to publish which Mr Novello had many years since given them his sanction — then he admitted that he could make a large (though still insufficient) reduction in the prices of paper binding & printing; & lastly he announced his intention of publishing a necessarily rival book.

I now write to ask you to withhold any consent to his printing in such book the Hymns which you have contributed to Hymns Ancient & Modern, until you have received the explanatory circular which the Proprietors mean to address to all their friends — I believe he is asking for such permission from other contributors & possibly has done so from you

I am yours very truly

Alfred A. Pollock

The Revd Dr Dykes.

Letter from HWB to JBD 22 April 1869 (RCO)

(1)

April 22. 1869

My dear D^r^ Dykes

"Lit Churchman" is capital — How well you do argue![2] Thanks so many to you —

Littleton's proposed book is a purely money scheme. I really simply cannot believe his assertion that he has "for many years had an intention &c".

The finance committee had (as they believed) good & sufficient grounds for recommend^g^ the General Body of Proprietors to withdraw (as they did) the book from him— Though I regret that step, still surely he ought (considering that he has had all the cream of a very large sale & on most favourable terms) to have quietly acquiesced—

Instead of which he threatens us with a law suit immediately (w^h^. I cannot imagine he has a shadow of ground for: & our lawyer says he cannot maintain) & instantly writes to you & our other friends to help in an opposition book.

I cannot think that you ought to sanction more diversity in Hymn books for GOD's holy worship simply to put money into a tradesman's pocket.

I have been Littleton's warm friend & supporter throughout in our Committee, & regret the withdrawal of our Book from him — but I cannot but think him very wrong indeed in this —

I see how unwilling you are in any way to break with him: but surely your known love for H.A.&M is a sufficient reason for your refusal in this instance: added to the objection w^h^. as a Clergyman you may rightly feel to mere money objects being introduced into holy things — You never yet helped Books under such circumstances.

Pray believe me ever

Most sincerely Y^rs^

H.W.B.

I hope to be at Monkland on Saturday — let me have a line.

I return his letter: w^h^. I read to my co-compilers who thank you much for sending it & for all you do.

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1 No address is shown.

2 Dykes had written a second defence (his first was on 9 January 1869) against attacks made on the Appendix to HA&M. See Appendix C Part 2 pp. 102–7 and 108–12.

Letter from HWB to JBD 27 April 1869 (RCO)

Monkland
Leominster

My dear D[r] Dykes

Why all this anxiety? [ ][1] Barnby down &c? unless Littleton[2] be bent on securing some of our friends for an opposition book? there really cannot be two opinions as to which he proposes—

I grant you that a Tune Book alone is far less of opposition: but it is a thing that personally I have always thought very undesirable — "Choose Mercer or SPCK or Chope or HA&M" I have again & again said to people but "do stick to what you choose". The congregation ought to have Hymns & Tunes together in their hands.

The People's Hymnal will never pay for a Tune Edition, I sh[d] think — I will send your note on it to Pulling (one of our finance committee[3]) & send you his answer as soon as I get it. Till then please do not commit yourself.

And at any rate please to remember how you have always told us that you will not give leave for any Tunes in H.A.&M without our consent.

I suppose I may conclude that whatever you finally decide as to helping Littleton with new Tunes or others, you will hold to this: may I not?

Believe me most sincerely y[rs]

H.W. Baker

April 27. 1869

If Littleton had not behaved so badly in threatening us with an injunction, it w[d] be different.

We never promised that under no circumstances w[d] we leave him: & he was asked more than a year ago to reduce prices. Still I am sorry we left him.

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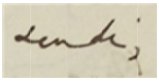
1 

2 Henry Littleton, Proprietor of Novello & Co. since 1861 (renamed Novello, Ewer & Co in 1867)

3 Rev William Pulling, Proprietor 1860—1894, Chairman 1877—1899

Letter from the Rev Christopher Knipe to JBD 9 August 1869 (RCO)

The Vicarage. Terrington
Lynn. Norfolk
9th Aug. 1869

My dear Sir

I have no doubt you receive many and perhaps troublesome communications on the subject of hymns, and I fear that I owe you an apology in adding another. Would you agree with me that if some of the thoughts of St. Bernard's "Rhythm" could be perpetuated in English in the exact metre of the original, it would be an advantage to the Church?

I have lately taken considerable pains in making the attempt, so far as to produce a single hymn, but have found it impossible to give anything like a literal rendering while I preserved the metre and rhyme.

Of course no one is a proper judge of his own productions and I am quite ready to hear that my attempt is a failure. Would you let me submit it to you? I would gladly bow to your opinion of it; and if (which I do not anticipate) you thought it so successful as to be willing to rescue it from obscurity by wedding it to your music I should be greatly honoured.[1] I may add that I am not making a hymn-book nor have I any intention of doing so.

I remain my dear Sir,

Yrs faithfully

C. Knipe

[1] JBD clearly believed there was merit in Knipe's translation, for he set the words to a tune which he named HORA NOVISSIMA.

Letter from the Rev Henry Ramsden Bramley to JBD 4 March 1870 (RCO)

S. M. Magd: Coll:
Oxford
March 4. 1870.

My dear Dr. Dykes,

I am much obliged to you for undertaking to set Dr. Bright's Carol[1], and sorry that it does not more entirely receive your approbation. There is certainly an undertone of distress about it, which may be accounted for by the state of parties in Oxford; where we

{**two pages of the original letter missing**}

Welcome thou to souls athirst,
Fount of endless pleasure;
Gates of Hell may do their worst,
While we clasp our Treasure:
Welcome all the more for this
That Thy liegemen's trial
Deepens which they hear their bliss
Wronged by such denial!

Yea, if others stand apart,
We will press the nearer;
Yea, O best fraternal Heart,
We will hold Thee dearer;
Faithful lips shall answer thus
To all faithless scorning,
Jesus Christ is God with us,
Born on Christmas morning.

Teach O teach us all to find
At Thy manger lowly
All that's high and strong combined
With whate'er is holy;
There's no might can e'er prevail,
Save what Thou containest;
Earthly guides in turn must fail,
Thou, the word, remainest.

So we yield Thee all we can,
Worship thanks, and blessing;
Thee true God, and Thee true Man,
On our knees confessing;
While Thy birthday morn we greet
With our best devotion,

[1] *Once again, O blessèd time*

Bathe us, O most true and sweet!
In Thy mercy's ocean!

Thou that once, 'mid stable cold,
Wast in babe-clothes lying,
Thou whose Altar-veils enfold
Power and Life undying,
Thou whose Love bestows a worth
On each poor endeavour,
Have Thou joy of this Thy birth
In our praise forever.

I should not like to suggest any alternative or curtailment to him[1], as he is very sensitive; and will very much enjoy having his composition received into general use —

It is very difficult to write a genuine fresh Carol now: and the old ones seem pretty well tied up. With many thanks.

I remain

Yours very sincerely

H R Bramley

[1] In fact, the verse beginning '*Teach O teach*' was omitted, and several changes were made in the published version which bore the title '*Christmas Song*'

Letter from R.F. Littledale to JBD 11 March 1870 (RCO)

111 Ladbroke Grove, W.
11th March 1870

My dear Dr Dykes

The hymns in the People's Hymnal for which I am chiefly anxious to get your musical help are of a proscessional character, as you know. How very much more important it is that such hymns shall be at once melodious & vigorously accented.

Will you aid me with Nos 137, 158, 184, 210, 291, 388. ?

This is a large demand to make on your kindness, but I hope one day to repay you with something better than mere thanks. At present Vaux[1] & I are heavily out of pocket by the outlay involved in printing our three editions & paying for copyrights, & now we have incurred peak expence by the same items for the first part of our tune-book, which is just out.

The two first hymns I have named are all we shall want very soon, as they will naturally come into Part II. for Part I reaches No 84

I am very truly yours

R. F. Littledale[2]

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1 The Rev. James Edward Vaux, c1828—, author and co-compiler of *The People's Hymnal*.

2 Richard Frederick Littledale, born in Dublin 14 Sept. 1833. In 1850 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, graduated B.A. as a first class in classics in 1855, M.A. in 1858, LL.B. and LL.D. in 1862 and, at Oxford in 1862 D.C.L. He was curate of St. Matthew in Thorpe Hamlet, Norfolk, from 1856 to 1857, and from 1857 to 1861 curate of St. Mary the Virgin, Crown Street, Soho, London. Throughout the remainder of his life he suffered from chronic ill-health, took little part in any parochial duties, and devoted himself mainly to literary work. He was a zealous Anglican, and was learned in exegesis and liturgical literature. Until his death he continued to act as a father confessor, and next to Dr. Pusey is said to have heard more confessions than any other priest of the church of England. Both as a speaker and controversialist he achieved a high reputation; his tenacious memory and wide range of reading made him a formidable nutogonist. He died in London on 11 Jan. 1890. [From *The Times*, 26 March 1891, p7]. Littledale is perhaps best remembered for his translation of Bianca da Siena's hymn, *Come down, O love divine*.

Letter from R Minton Taylor 23 May 1870 (RCO)

Stoke upon Trent

23 May 1870

My dear Sir

I have to acknowledge with many thanks your letter & enclosure received yesterday morning.

The hymn I sent you I confess seemed to me not easy to set satisfactorily; but both as regards the coupling of the verses, & the music you have written for it, you have met the difficulty well.[1]

I have taken the liberty of enclosing you the first verses of seven hymns; not that I am so unconscionable as to expect you to set them all; but in order that you may have a choice, as you desire.

My last one,— "Day spring of eternity" I think you will like.[2]—

Have you control over all your printed tunes? Because there are some I could not send the book to print without having; & I know, from the kind tone of your letter, I could more readily get your permission to use them than most others.

"In the hour of trial"[3] & "Saviour when in dust"[4] are "proper" tunes & no book is complete without them.—[5]

Thank you for your information about D^{r}. Armes. M^{r}. Arthur Brown I have written to. D^{r}. Wesley I have also written to; but I doubt getting any help very much; as he, I know, is such a crotchety fellow. I have at present contributions from D^{r}. Steggall, D^{r}. Hiles, M^{r}. Bert, M^{r}. H.S. Irons, D^{r}. Gauntlett &c., so you see the book is progressing.

You shall have proof of all your tunes, so that no error may pass unnoticed.

A B & C Hymns will be wanted by the printer first.

With renewed thanks for all your kindness & trouble.

Believe me, My dear Sir,

Yours very truly

R. Minton Taylor

The Rev^{d}. D^{r}. Dykes

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1 Of the four tunes JBD composed especially for Minton's *The Parish Church Hymnal* (the others are DISMISSAL; DOMINE, DIRIGE ME; and ORIENS EX ALTO) this seems most likely to be a reference to LUX VERA—see below for all four tunes.

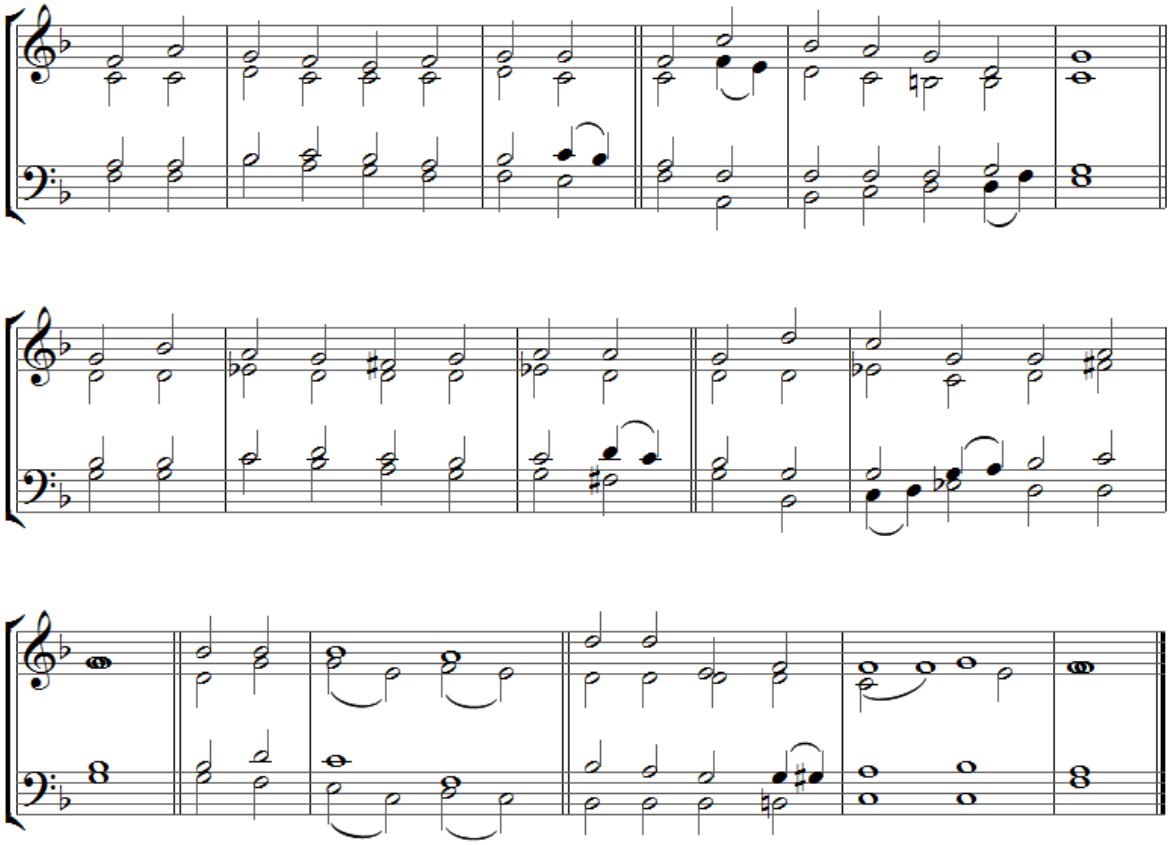
2 Evidently he did: for this hymn he composed ORIENS EX ALTO.

3 MAGDALENE

4 ST. EDMUND

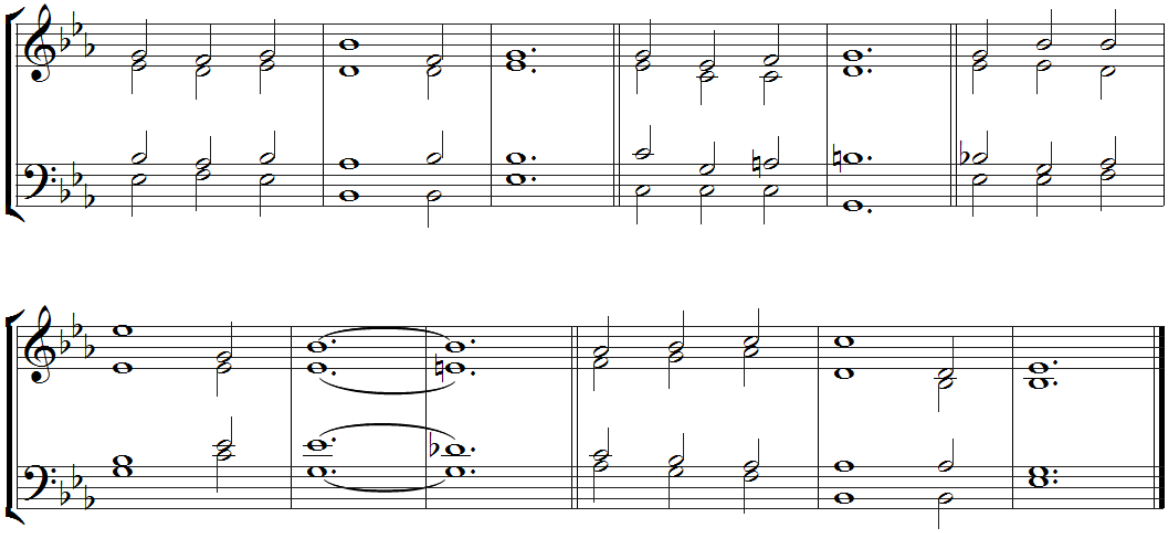
5 At this point is inserted, in JBD's handwriting, 'permission granted for use of the above 2 Tunes. May 24. 1870'.

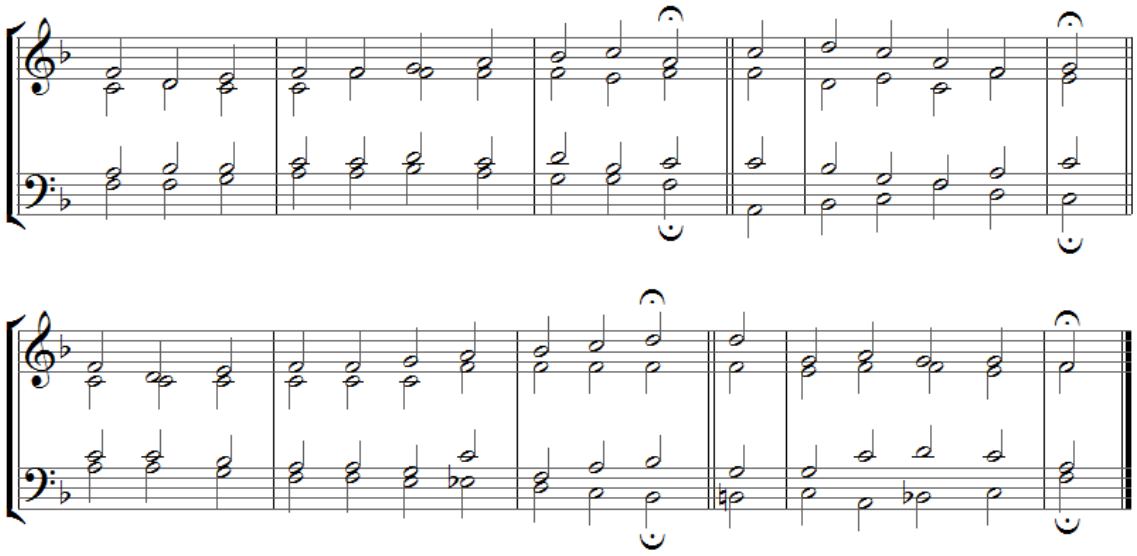
Dismissal (878747)

Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.67

Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing;
Fill our hearts with joy and peace:
Let us each, Thy love possessing,
Triumph in redeeming grace;
O refresh us,
Traveling through life's wilderness.

John Fawcett

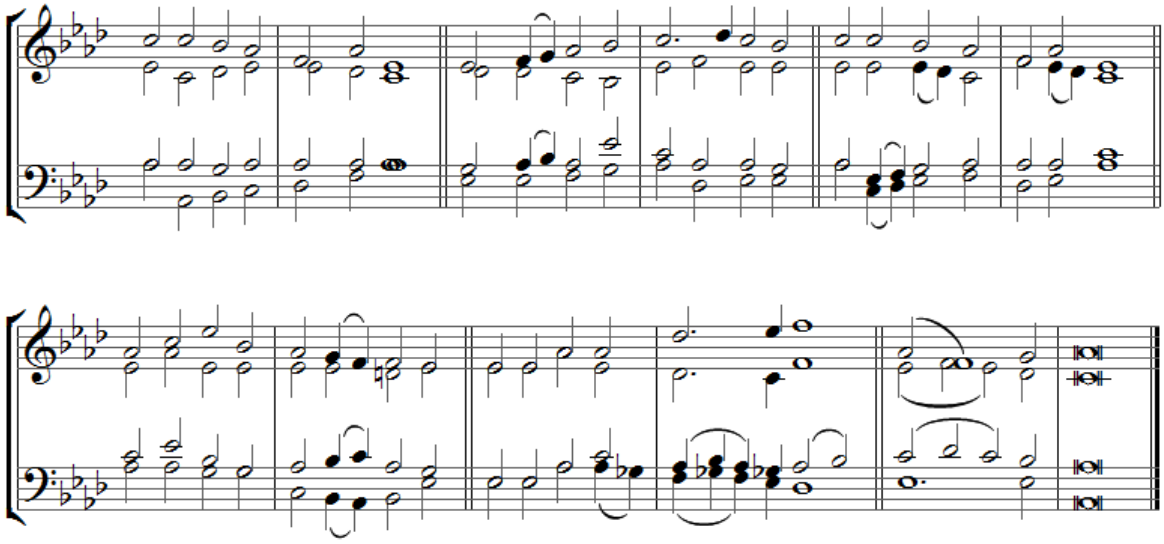
Domine Dirige Me (6466)

Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.70

Lux Vera (10.6.10.6)

The Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No. 71

O brightness of the Immortal Father's Face,
Most Holy, Heavenly, Bless'd,
Lord Jesus Christ, in whom His truth and grace
Are visibly express'd.

trans. from the Greek by Edward W. Eddis

Oriens Ex Alto (787873)

Parish Church Hymnal (1872) No.43

Dayspring of Eternity!
Hide no more Thy radiant dawning!
Light from Light's exhaustless sea,
Shine on us afresh this morning!
And dispel with glorious might
All our night.

trans. Catherine Winkworth

Letter from H R Bramley to JBD 10 August 1870 (RCO)

The College
Hereford
August 10. 1870

My dear D^r. Dykes,

Stainer[1] was getting fidgety about your composition[2], so I was very glad of your letter. In his last he had offered to take Dr. Bright's words off your hands, and give you Morris'[3] if you would prefer it.

I now enclose them for your inspection. They have not yet been set. I think them very spirited and carol-like. Stainer, I believe, thought the story as rather too short to be inviting. The nonsense burden too, if I may call it so, seems to require some variety in the melody. I like it myself: it is like many of the old ballads.

I expect to be here chiefly for the next ten days; perhaps until the first day of the Festival.

I am staying with [ ][4]. I wanted a little quiet change after my dear Mother's unexpected death.

You can either send me D^r. Bright or send it to D^r. Stainer at Yeabridge House, Sea View, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

With many thanks,

I remain

Your's very sincerely,

H.R. Bramley

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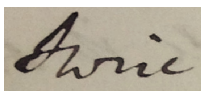
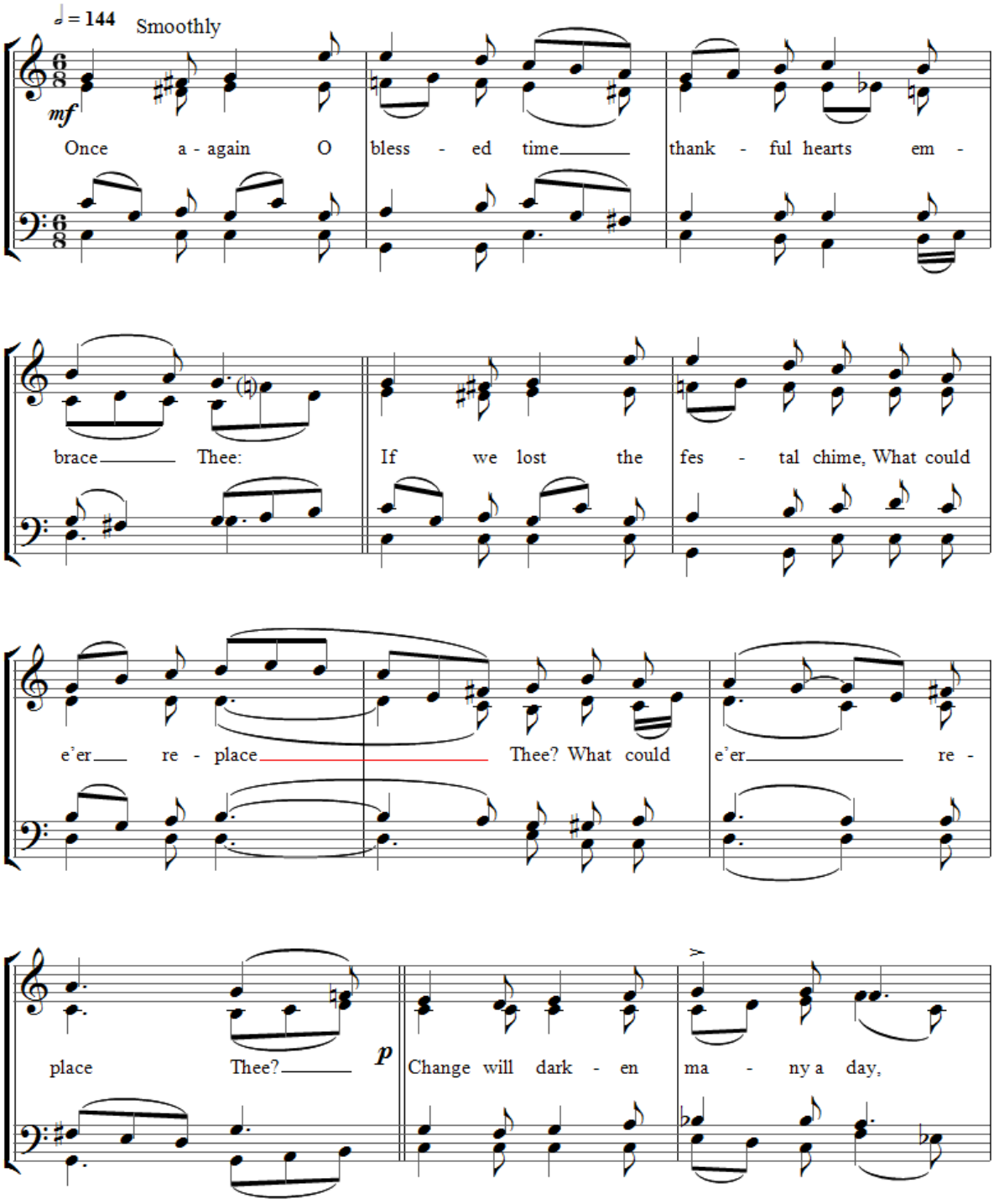
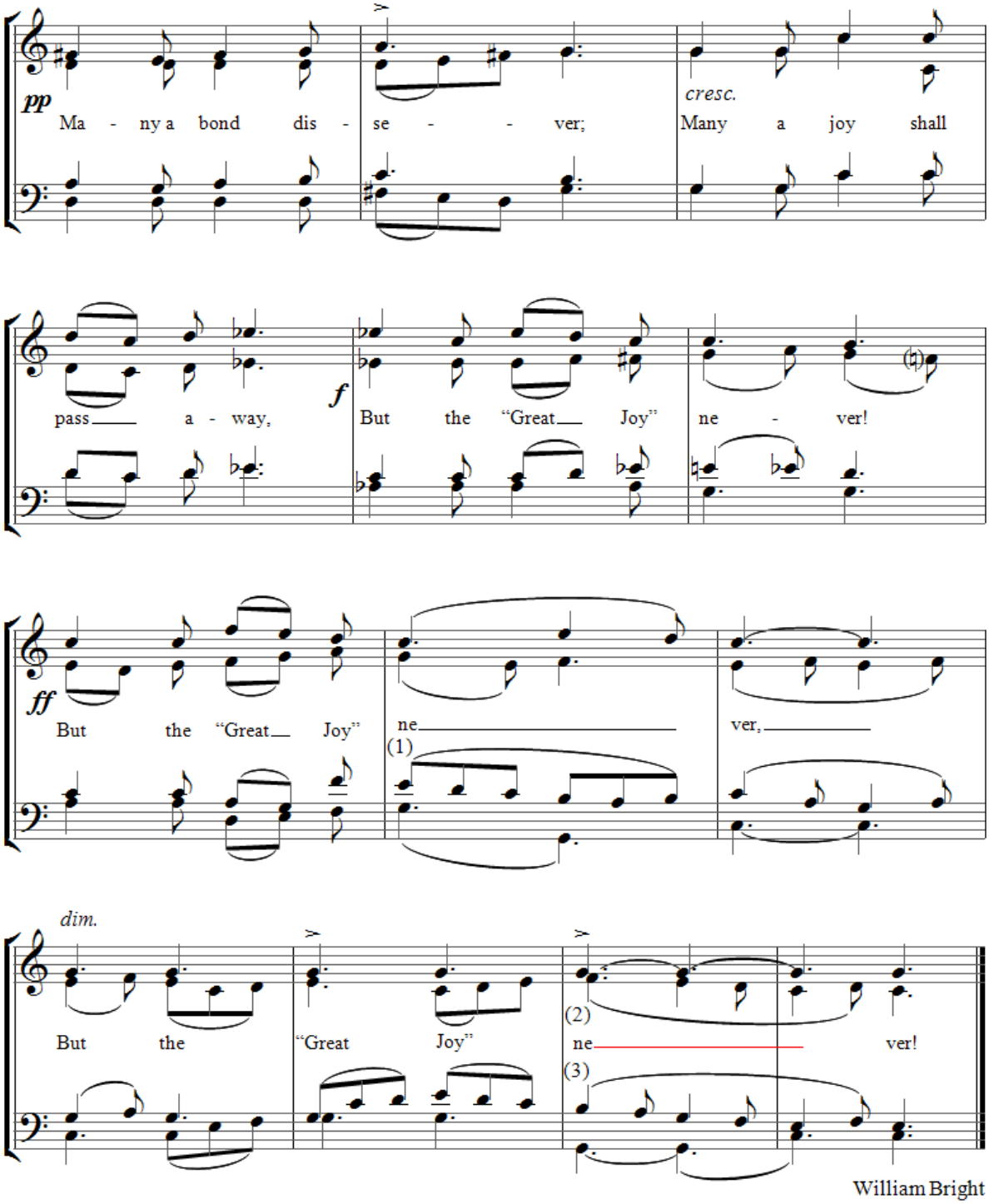
1 Music editor of *Christmas Carols New & Old*, of which Bramley was words editor.

2 CHRISTMAS SONG—see below.

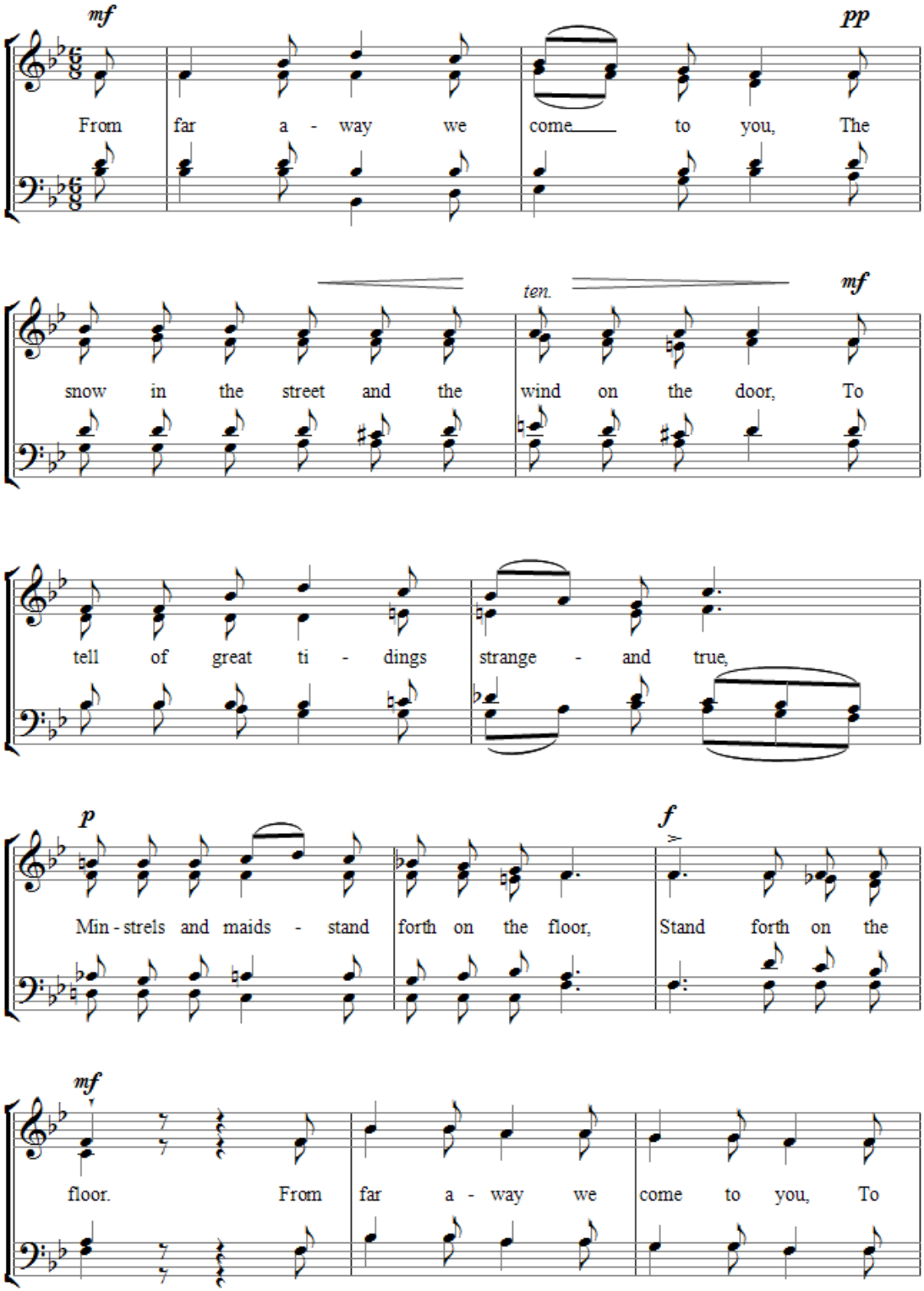
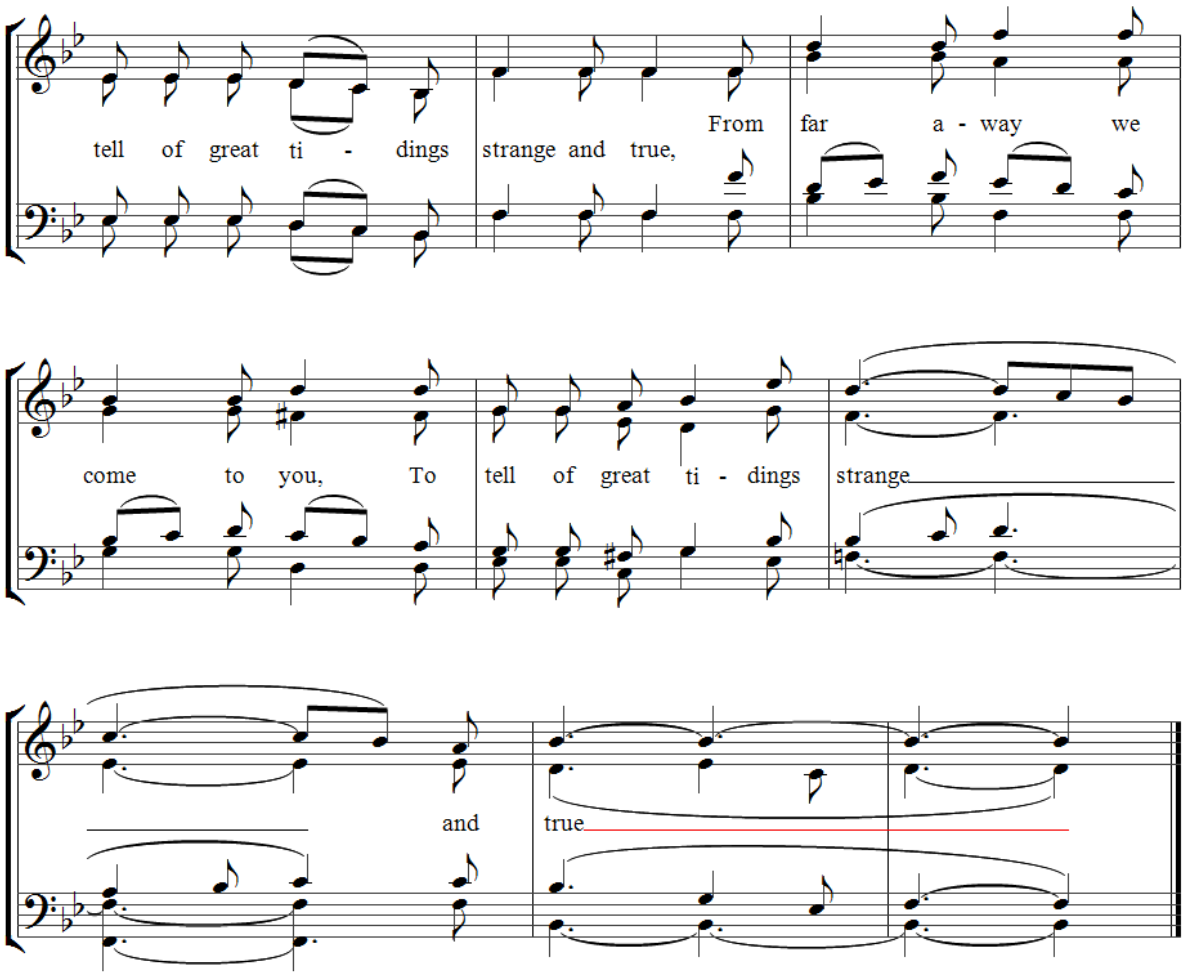
3 William Morris—*From far away we come to you*. In the end JBD set these words also—see below.

4 

Christmas Song (7676D)

Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.34

William Bright

‘From Far Away’ (Irregular)

Christmas Carols New and Old (1871) No.40

William Morris

Letter from the Rev John Sandford to JBD 1 September 1870 (RCO)

Alvechurch Rectory
Redditch

September 1.

1870

Dear Sir,

I have a motion on the Books of Convocation, and likely to come on in February next, to the following effect

"Archdeacon of Coventry

To request His Grace The President to direct the appointment of a Committee who shall propose a Hymn Book, which, if approved by Convocation, may be submitted to The Queen with a prayer That Her Majesty would authorize it's [*sic*] use in such congregations of the Church of England as may be disposed to adopt it."

Some years ago I carried the above motion in The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury without a dissentient vote; but the Upper House was not then prepared to endorse it.

I have now reason to believe that it would be favourably entertained by both Houses; and in a matter so deeply affecting the interests of the National Church I am desirous to have the sympathy and counsel of a [ ][1] distinguished Mus. Doct. for musical service and assistance, for which I hope a special committee of Mus. Docs might be named.

Should you kindly entertain this proposal I would furnish you with a list of the names which I should venture to suggest.

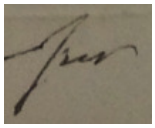
Hoping for your kindest support I am,

Dear Sir,

Truly yours

John Sandford

Dr. Dykes
Mus. Doc
&c &c &c
Durham

[1] 

Letter from Eliza Alderson to JBD, 9 September 1870 (RCO)

[1]

[2]

My dear John

I send a line by the first post this morning to say that <u>our</u> hymn is just the same as the one in the People's Hymnal. We[3] use "Hymns A&M" & the Appendix but we have besides an Appendix of our own which contains this hymn.

It is very good indeed of you complying with the request so readily. I am only very sorry that you should have had this extra trouble. Of course there will be no time to lose in practising it for the Michael festival & care should be taken to have it done correctly. We have now a very good choir master who takes great pains with them.

I am so thankful to hear a better account of Gerty[4] & dear Susan[5], the last was not satisfactory of either. Poor little Jack[6] seems suffering a good deal with his health just now but I trust it will go on favourably. These little draw backs are very trying. With much love to dear Susan Gerty and the rest in which all here join.

Believe me

dear John

Your very affec[t] sister

Eliza Alderson

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[1] The letter is written on black-edge note paper, one infers as a token of respect for the death of JBD's youngest daughter, Mabel, who had died from scarlet fever on the 1st of that month.

[2] No address or date are given but the envelope bears a Wakefield postmark dated 9 September 1870.

[3] Eliza's husband, the Rev. William Alderson, was Chaplain to the West Riding Prison in Wakefield.

[4] Gertrude, JBD's 16 year old daughter, who had also contracted scarlet fever.

[5] JBD's wife.

[6] John Arthur St. Oswald, JBD's youngest son. He, too, was for a time seriously ill with scarlet fever but his recovery was complete. Fowler records him less than two years later coxing a team to victory on the river. Eventually studying with Clara Schumann, he became professor of piano at the Royal College of Music and died in 1948.

Letter from Francis R. Grey 29 September 1870 (RCO)

(1)

Sep: 29
1870

My dear Dykes

I was in York Minster yesterday afternoon when I heard your most beautiful anthem "These are they which came out of great tribulation". I cannot refrain from telling you that almost the one thought of my heart was for you & M^rs.^ Dykes who have been called to pass through so much tribulation lately & of your precious child who has indeed "come out" of it[2] — & what a wonderful thing it was to think it what the end of all these tribulations must be if we only use them aright. Every word of these glorious promises, & every note of the touching music, spoke with a loving force which they never had before — & I prayed, that for you & yours these waters of affliction might indeed prove "living fountains of waters" — & that God's comforts might refresh your soul. When I first heard of your sorrow a little more than a week ago I shrank from intruding upon it — but after hearing that anthem yesterday I could refrain no longer. Pray forgive me if I have been officious. And pray do not think of answering this letter.

Remember me most kindly to M^rs.^ Dykes.

Hoping that your other children are being restored to health

I am my dear Dykes

Very affectionately yours

Francis R. Grey[3]

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1 No address is shown on the letter, which bears, in pencil, the word 'copy'.

2 This is a reference to JBD's seventh child, Mabel Hey Dyes— 'darling Mab' —who died from scarlet fever on 1st September 1870 aged 10. She and JBD share a grave in St. Oswald's churchyard.

3 The Hon. and Rev. Francis R. Grey, Rector of Morpeth, Northumberland.

Letter from Edwin George Monk to JBD 9 October 1870 (RCO)

Minster Yard,
York.
9 Oct. '70

My dear Dr. Dykes,

I herewith send you a proof of y^{r}. Tune, to "O Day of rest & gladness".[1] Pray look at the metronome mark; &, if it is not to your taste alter it.

Kindly return me the proof at y^{r}. earliest convenience.

Mr. Chope has given us his permission to use your Tune written for him, to "The day is past"[2] &, with your own kind sanction, we shall use it, in preference to any other existing setting of those words. Of this I will not send you a proof; as it has been in print for some time.

I most sincerely hope that your little One for whom you were in anxiety when you last wrote, is now quite restored to heath[3]: & with best regards believe me, always yours most truly.

E.G. Monk

P.S.

I must now speak, if you will allow me, on Business. Hitherto it has been our Rule, to remit to our Friends who have aided us, such an "Honorarium" is acknowledgement of the assignment to us of the Copyright of the Tunes written for our Work, as might be required.

May I, then, beg you to deal so with us; & to name the amount which we shall remit to you for the several Tunes which you have specially written for us; & of which you will then assign to us the rights, & ownership.[4]

I shall then have the pleasure of following up your kind reply by their written acknowledgement of our deep sense of our obligation for your kind & very valuable aid,

Always most truly yours,

E.G.M.

The Rev.^{d} Dr. Dykes

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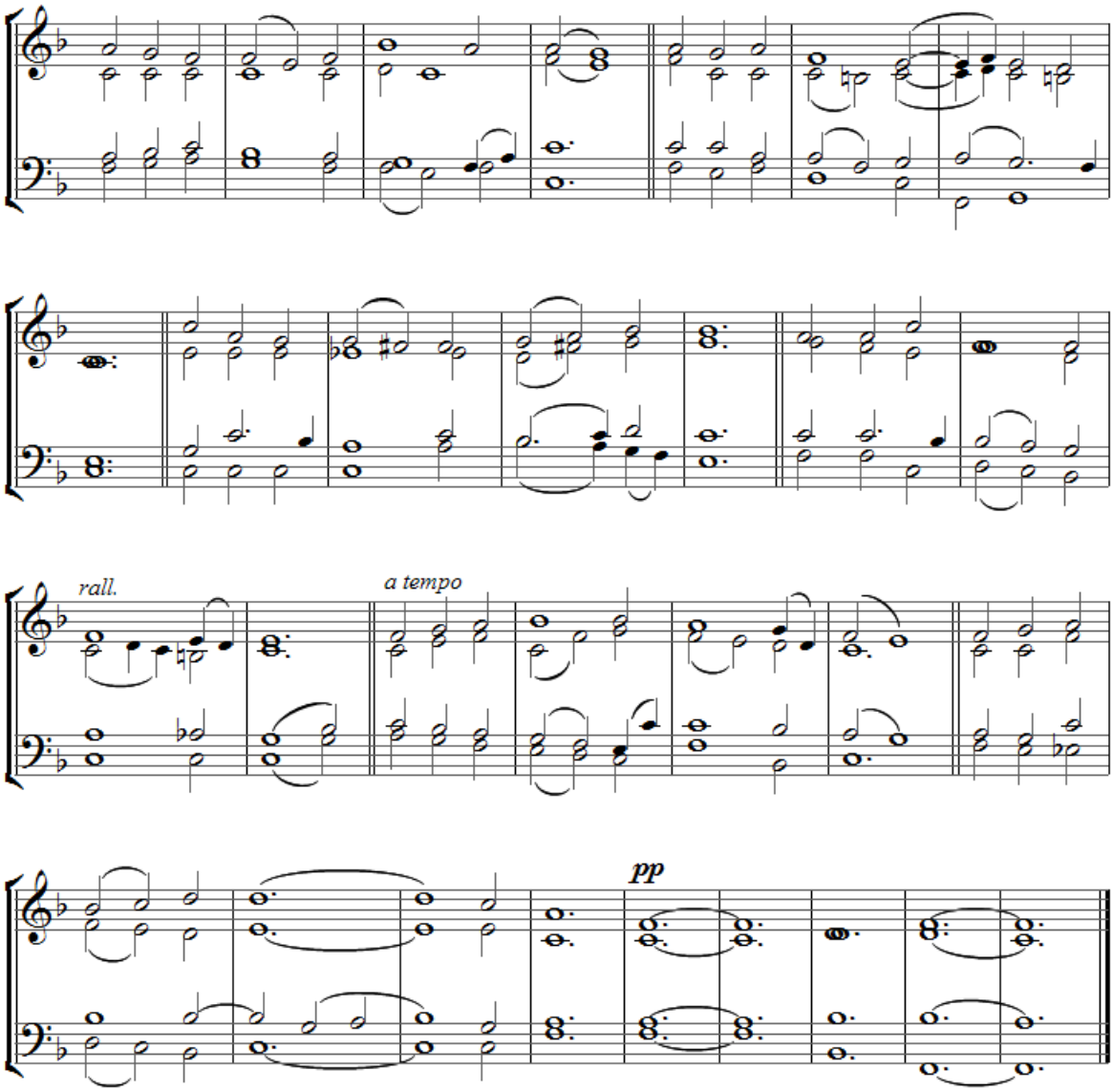
1 DIES DOMINICA

2 ST. ANATOLIUS

3 Unless this is a very late reference to Mabel (in which case the sincere hope will have arrived too late — Mabel died on the 1st September) this will be a reference either to Gertrude or John jnr., both of whom contracted scarlet fever at about this time.

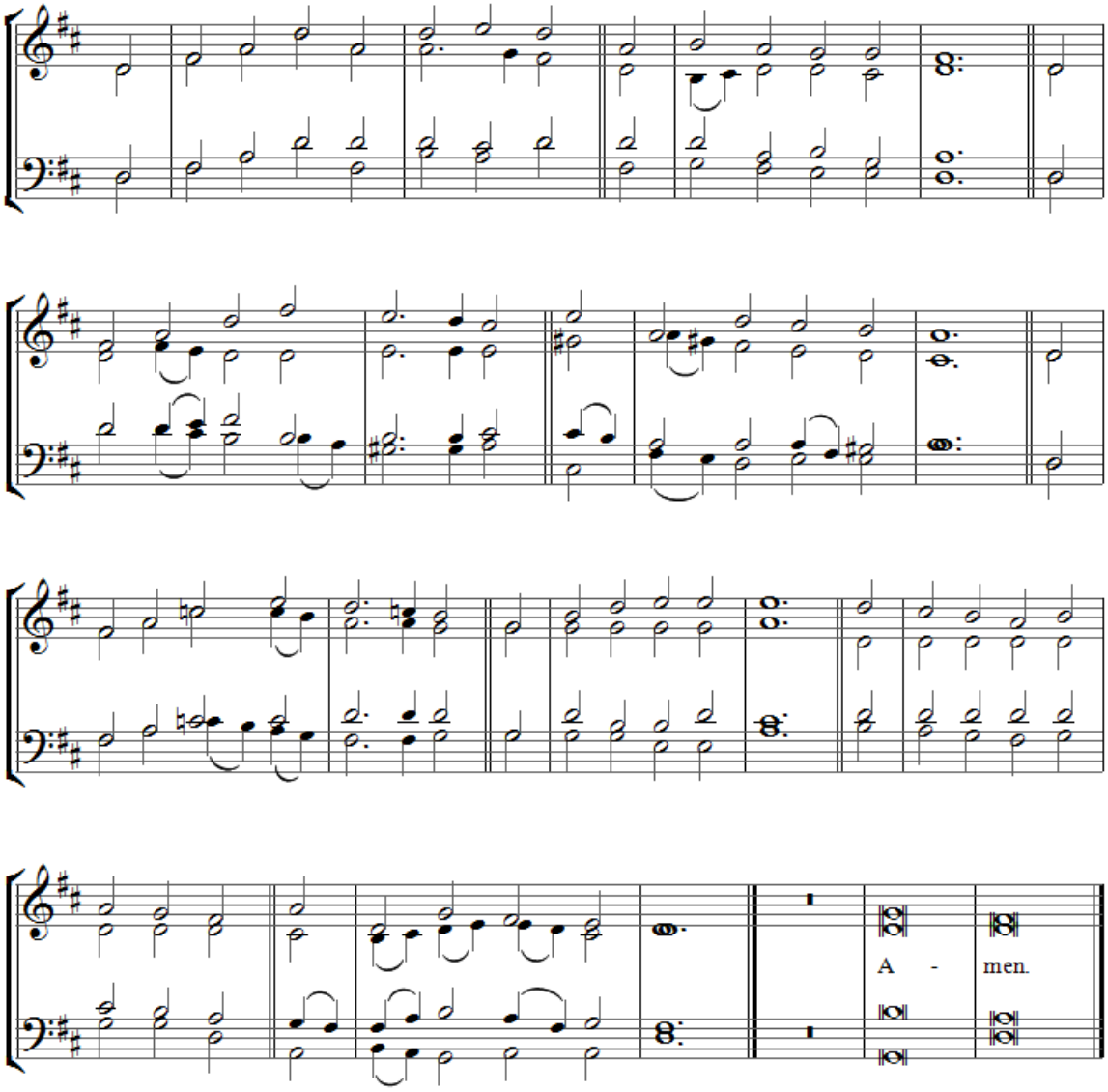
4 Of the 11 tunes by Dykes in the hymnal, four were written especially: AMPLIUS; AWAKE, AWAKE; PANIS VIVUS; and RESURRECTION. Another two — DIES DOMINICA and SANCTUARY — first appeared in this hymnal but were not written especially for it. The six tunes are printed below. Unsurprisingly, this pales into insignificance when compared with the 57 tunes composed by Monk himself.

Amplius (888888)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.351

Jesu, my Lord, my God, my All,
Hear me, blest Saviour, when I call!
Hear me, and from Thy dwelling place
Pour down the riches of Thy grace.
Jesu, my Lord, we Thee adore,
O make us love Thee more and more.

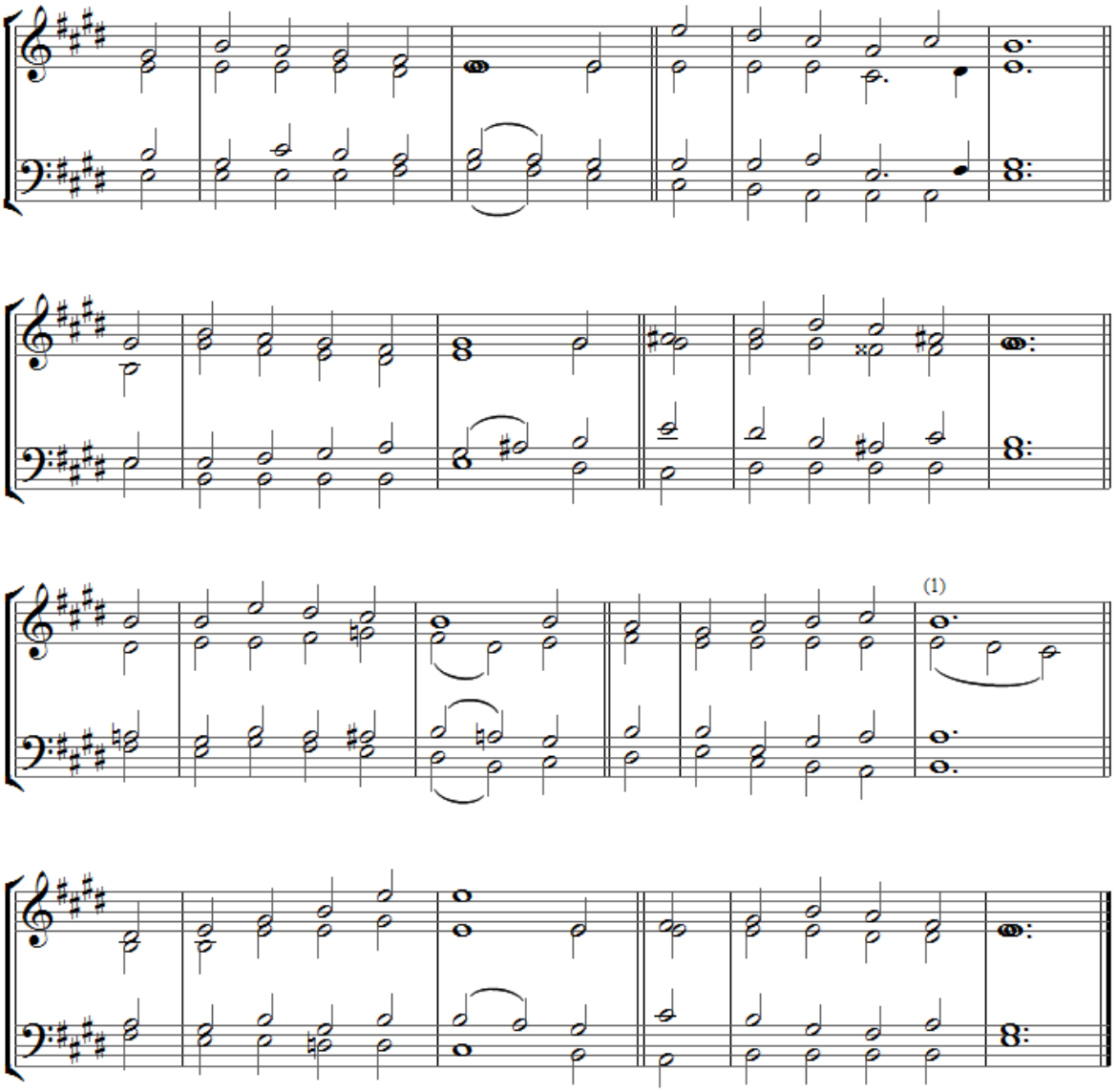
Henry A. Collins

Awake! Awake! (CMD)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.403

Awake! awake! put on Thy strength,
O Arm of Christ the Lord!
Awake! as in the ancient days!
Fresh Triumphs now record!
Thou driest up the mighty sea,
The waters of the deep,
That joy might spring in saddened hearts,
And mourners cease to weep.

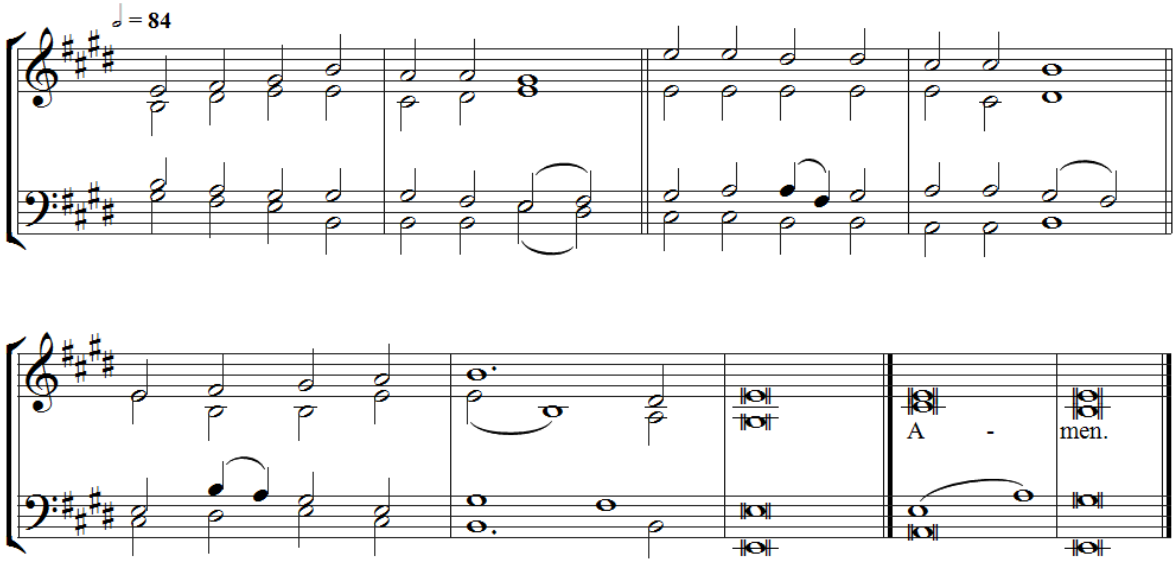
T.T.N. 1870

Dies Dominica (7676D)

Angican Hymn Book (1871) No.26

O day of rest and gladness!
O day of joy and light!
O balm of care and sadness,
Most beautiful, most bright!
On Thee, the high and lowly,
Through ages joined in tune,
Sing holy, holy, holy,
To God the great Triune!

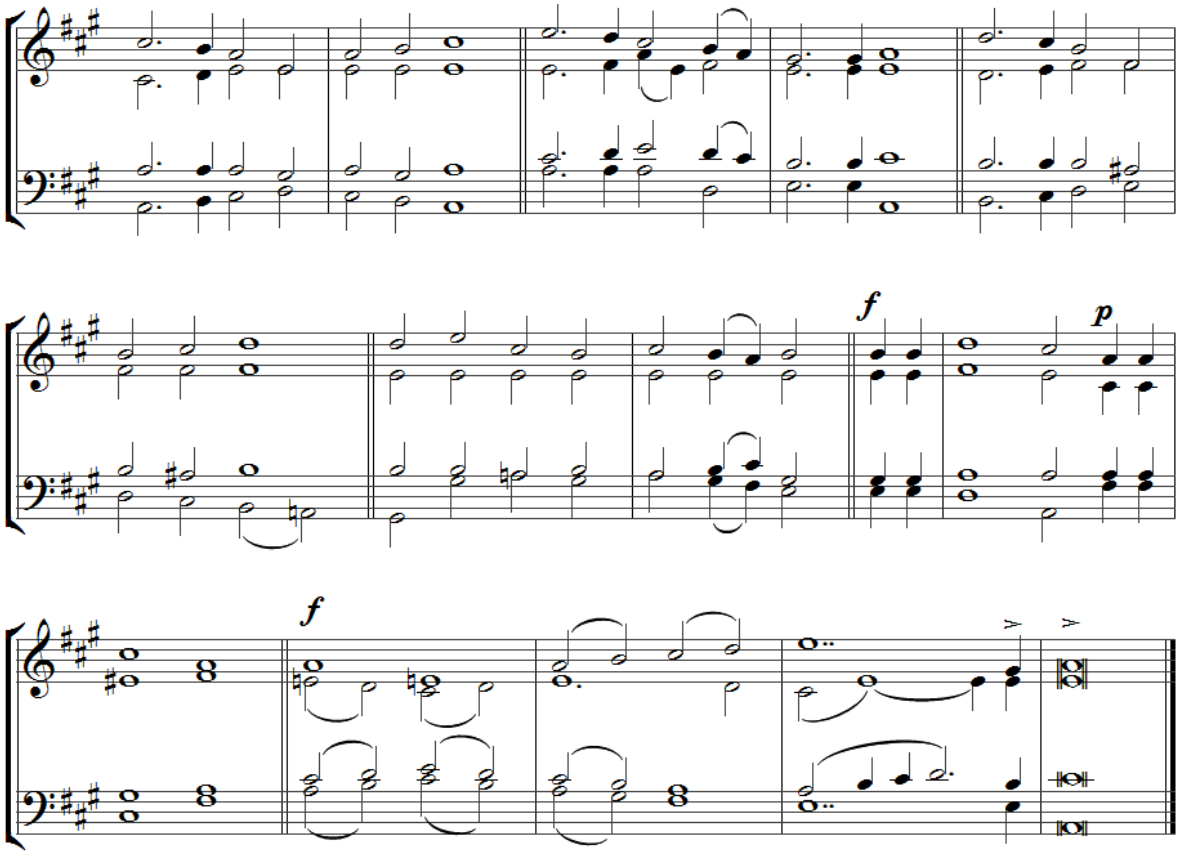
Christopher Wordsworth

Panis Vivus (777)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.189

Jesu, to Thy Table led,
Now let every heart be fed
With the true and living Bread.

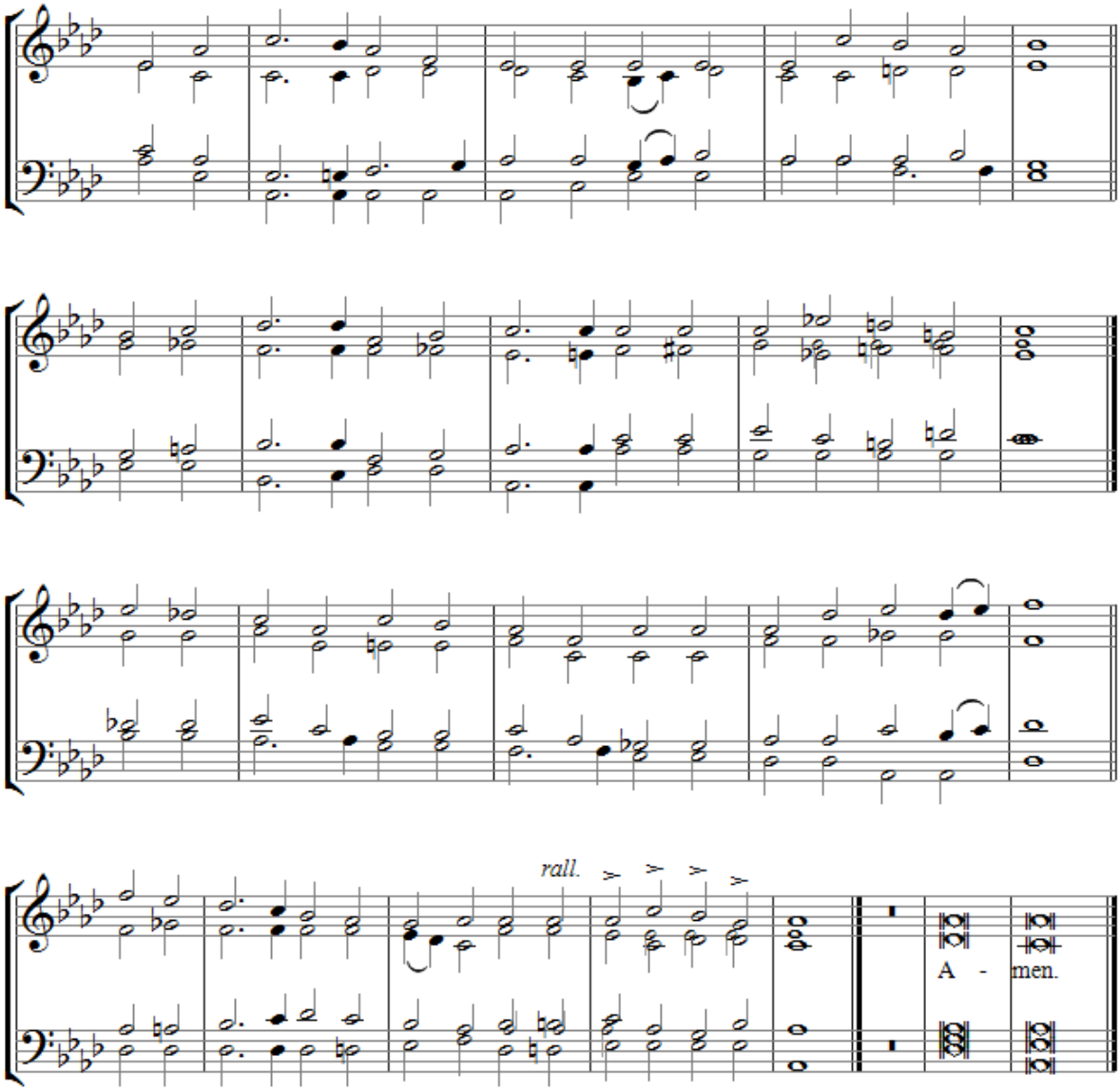
Robert Hall Baynes

Resurrection (2) (77.77.87)

The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.145

Angels, roll the rock away!
Death, yield up the mighty Prey!
See! the Saviour quits the tomb,
Glowing with immortal bloom.
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
Christ the Lord is risen today!

Thomas Gibbons

Hark, the sound (a) (8787D)
The Anglican Hymn Book (1871) No.220

Other names:
Chancel
Illuminator
Sanctuary

Hark! the sound of holy voices,
Chanting at the crystal sea,
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
Hallelujah! Lord, to Thee!
Multitudes, which none can number,
Like the stars in glory stand,
Clothed in white apparel, holding
Palms of vict'ry in their hand.

Christopher Worsworth

Letter from E G Monk to JBD 19 October 1870 (RCO)

19 Oct. ’70

Minster Yard,

York.

My dear D$^{r.}$ Dykes,

I have the pleasure to enclose a P.O.O. for £5; & with it to offer you our best & warmest thanks for y^{r} kind readiness to help us, as well as for the admirable Tunes with which you have enriched our new edition.[1] I am proud to have you, so well represented, among my contributors.

Will you kindly send me a brief assignment of the copyright of our Tunes. They will, of course, be completely at the service of any possible publication of your own; in wh. you w$^{d.}$ doubtless specify their origin & source.

Y$^{r.}$ alterations in “O day of Rest”[2] seemed to me very decided improvements: & they have been carried into effect correctly.

Best thanks for y^{r} P.S. with Sir H.B.’s letter. I have written to express our readiness to observe your original requirement; viz: that we sh$^{d.}$ state that “Niceae” [*sic*] — inserted by y$^{r.}$ kind permission, <u>first appeared in H.A. &M.</u> your own form: wh. I duly will v strictly [ ][3] : whereas — the copyright remaining with yourself — neither justice or courtesy demand more, to the Compilers of H.A. &. M., at least so we think & judge.

I hope & trust your dear little invalid is getting better now: Mrs Dykes & yourself must have been deeply anxious, with so much sickness. May health be speedily restored to yr House!

Ever most truly yours

E.G. Monk.

The Rev. D^{r}. Dykes

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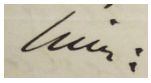
1 *The Anglican Hymn Book*, second edition (revised and enlarged) (Novello: London, 1871). See letter dated 9 October 1870 from EGM to JBD, with footnotes.

2 DIES DOMINCA

3



Letter from E.G. Monk to HWB 19 October 1870 (RCO)

19 Oct. '70

Minster Yard
York

Dear Sir Henry,

I must ask you to accept a brief reply to your kind letter — & sent on to me by Dr. Dykes. It w.[d] require a very long one from me to say all that w.[d] be necessary in order to make my own exact position & that of my co-editor quite clear to you. Yet I must say, that, starting in the preparation of our Book[1] as we did, from a different point of view from that taken by the compilers of H.A.& M., we were very dissatisfied with the literary part of that work. For my own part, I w.[d] not have simplified many of its translations;— wh. seemed to me not only loose, as compared with the originals, but often feeble, & so so [*sic*] puerile , as English [ ][2]; even had they been placed at my disposal. Having said this, you will see how entirely I disagree with your estimate of Mr. Singleton's[3] translations, in the A.H.B. These, in the amended forms in wh. they will appear in our forthcoming new Ed.[n], are — in my own unbiassed judgment — far before any other existing translations, in the qualities of faithfulness to the Latin and other originals — vigour, poetic beauty, & smoothness of versification.

Even as these stand, now, & making allowance for a few blots — infelicitous words, or expressions, or such like, I am quite at a loss to see how you can speak of these — as you do — in the language of contempt! This, however, being so, only proves, the great difference between the standards of the two works. Rightly or wrongly, that of our work was altogether different from that of yours.

With respect to "Nicea" [*sic*] — the case is this:

We sh.[d] not have asked Dr. Dykes to allow us to [ ][4] it, if we had not believed it to be <u>his own</u> <u>Copyright</u>. (This, indeed it still seems to be.) He freely gave leave, requiring us to say that the Tune "<u>first appeared in H.A. & M.</u>" This we instantly consented to do; & are ready to carry out now. In our opinion — since the Copyright does not belong to you — such an acknowledgement on our part is all that Justice and Courtesy can require. Perhaps

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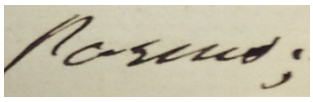
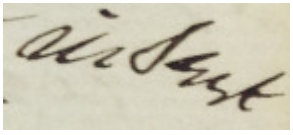
[1] The Anglican Hymn Book 1868, second edition January 1871 — to which JBD contributed four new tunes (not six as claimed in the Preface) — RESURRECTION, PANIS VIVUS, AMPLIUS and AWAKE, AWAKE — and seven pre-published tunes.

[2]



[3] Robert Corbet Singleton, co-Editor

[4]



you will kindly let me hear from you again on this matter, soon: as our “Copy” is in the Press.

One word in addition to say that, though we had before us overpowering testimony of hostile acts on the part of the authorities of H.A. & M., against our Book, we are unable to enter into particulars without compromising those parties, which we must decline to do. This matter, however, may well be allowed to drop, after your own kind & explicit personal utterance.

Believe me to remain,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

Edwin Geo. Monk

The Rec.[y]

Sir H.W. Baker

Bart…

&c &c

Letter from HWB to JBD 22 October 1870 (RCO)

Monkland

My dear D[r] Dykes

So many thanks from your most kind & welcome note —

I have had a very unsatisfactory reply from D[r] Monk — who takes no notice whatever of what I said about Sir F. Ouseley's Tune, & simply again charges my co-compilers with acts which he declines to name.

I am afraid that when they see his letter, they will be "hostile" & very angry: & perhaps insist on my calling on him to specify instances — so that I am sure I must not wholly ignore the kind rights which you so freely & amicably, & I think only fairly, give us — I send you my reply to him — which please read & then kindly post to him at once —

A man must be very very cross grained if he refuses to insert such a sentence as that — I also enclose his letter which please return to me —

Indeed I was sorry not to see you at Cowly — And alas ! you have still sickness to make you anxious I fear. It keeps me too from paying my hoped for visit to you. May GOD spare the sick one to you yet:[1] & make you and your's know more fully how true it is that never a trial comes but in the tenderest & wisest Love —

Believe me my dear friend

Ever most sincerely yours

Henry W. Baker

Oct 22 1870

[1] This probably refers to JBD's daughter, Gertie.

Letter from E.G. Monk to JBD 24 October 1870 (HAM)

Minster Yard,
York.

24 Oct. ’76

My dear D$^{r.}$ Dykes,

I owe you some words of thanks, & reply.

Sir H.W. Baker’s letter, with y$^{r.}$ brief imprimatur, arrived this morn$^{g.}$; & I have written to him, saying that we readily adopt his condition — approved by yourself — for our use of “Nicaea”. In truth, after your great kindness & readiness to aid our Work, what <u>you</u> wanted, in the business, c$^{d.}$ not but have had the greatest possible weight.

I must mention to you, that I told Sir H.B. that your <u>first</u> condition — viz: that we sh$^{d.}$ say that “Nicaea” was “<u>first printed in H.A.&M.</u>” — was subsequently <u>changed</u>: & that, to this change, much of the correspondence that arose, was due.

However, considering that Sir Henry entirely disavows the “hostility” wh. <u>before</u> made it impracticable for me to receive a favour at his hands, we are quite free to put the matter entirely as he requires & you approve: & so it will appear, in our forthcoming Edition.

With will I have done all that lay in my power to “bury the war-hatchet, & smoke the pipe of peace!”

I have other matters to write to you about, to send the copy of assignment of copyright &c. — Of this & others when a moment offers.

Till then believe me

Ever yours most truly

E.G. Monk

We are glad to hear of your little one’s improved health. May progress go on, steadily.

Letter from E G Monk to JBD 26 October 1870 (RCO)

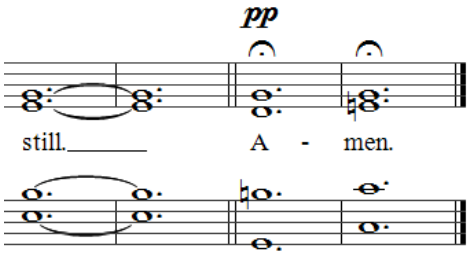
Minster Yard,
York.
26 Oct: 70.

My dear D[r]. Dykes,

I enclose your Proof of y[r]. Tune to 'Angels roll the rock away.'[1] Please to return it to me, at y[r]. earliest convenience: noticing Tempo[2]. At the end of the 4[th] line — the "Hallelujah" must be taken up very thankfully: & does it not sound hurried? If you sh[d]. think so, shall we get over this by placing a 𝄐 over last minim, preceding it? The only other plan I can think of, is — to alter the barring, from the beginning: thus getting the line to end with | 𝅗𝅥· || This can be readily done, if you like. The entire case is in y[r]. own hands: tho', I think it best to mention what strikes me.[3]

I want to ask one or two little favours — if — on their own merits — you can approve.

1. To end y[r]. "Fierce raged"[4] with this "Amen": (the tune you remember begins in C minor, & stays there more than half way throughout): [5]



2. In y[r]. "Amplius" — in the prolongation of the phrase before the Coda — "more & more" — I sh[d]. be better satisfied with the treatment of the 7[th] —in the tenor voice — if the treble pt. sang | 9.8.7. | 3. Your Copy runs thus:[1]

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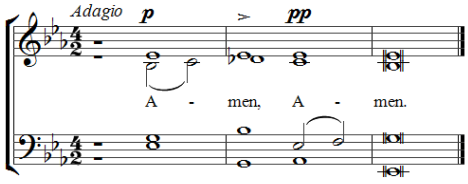
1 RESURRECTION — see below.

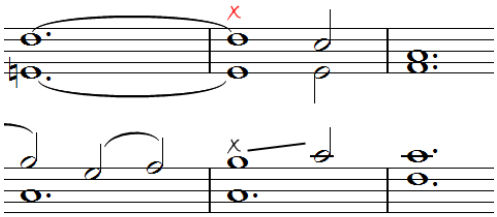
2 Monk had marked it 𝅗𝅥 = 92

3 Dykes did not approve of either suggestion for, as Monk notes in his letter of 17 November, the tune is presented as JBD wrote it and with his tempo.

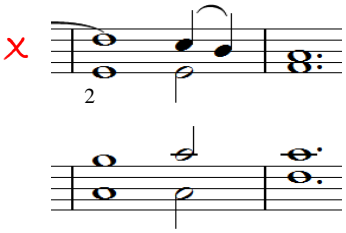
4 ST.AELRED

5 Again, it would appear that JBD did not like this suggestion. The Amen as printed is





Here, neither my ear, or judgment, is satisfied at the progression of ✗. W^d^. you think y^r^. Harmony or Melody damaged by the following slight change? If you do, I will say nothing: If not, I sh^d^. be very glad of the change; from a minim C — to 2 crotchets thus:



3. In the "Hark the sound of holy voices";[3] — as my deliberate opinion urges me, very strongly, will you forego y^r^. last F♭ — as well as the first?[4] I have considered all you advanced concerning it — with the utmost respect — but cannot bring myself to feel the propriety of this most extreme of all possible chords, in its place in this Hymn Tune. To me its effect, here, is that of a sudden & terrible wrench, in one's feelings.

I know you will forgive my freedom: even if you decline my petition.

Enclosed is [5] of consignment.

Ever y^rs^. most truly,

E.G. Monk

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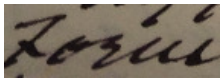
1 The ✗ above the second bar in this example, and the ✗ preceding the next example, both written in red pencil, appear to have been written either as afterthoughts, or possibly by the letter's recipient.

2 The accidental E♮ is not explicitly shown in the example. This is another change to which JBD evidently did not assent, although the harmony was changed slightly.

3 The tune is so-called in this, its first, appearance. It was subsequently more widely used under the alternative title SANCTUARY. See footnote to letter from EGM to JBD dated 9 October 1870.

4 It is tantalising, without having access to the original manuscript, not to know for certain where these offending chromatic F♭s appeared. In the *Hymnal Companion* of the following year, the bass crotchet in bar 4 is an F♭ (but F♮ in Monk's *Angican Hymnal*). This note may therefore be the 'first' F♭ referred to by Monk. There is another F♭ in the alto in bar 7 (in both hymnals), which might be the 'last' of the F♭s which grated with Monk (but which JBD refused to forego). One infers that Monk's ear must have been particularly averse to chromatic harmonies if he heard the F♭ in bar 7 as a 'wrench': it is part of a four note descending chromatic scale, enharmonically changed to E♮ when the scale is reversed. But A&M 1875 shows an F♭ — which might also be Monk's 'last' — in beat four of the alto in bar 18.

5



Letter (incomplete) from E G Monk to JBD 17 November 1870 (RCO)

I ought to have ans.[d] yr kind letter, of last month, before now; but have been so pressed for time, that you will, I hope, excuse the delay; as well as accept my sincere thanks for your having given consideration to the remarks whi. I ventured to offer, on some points in the new Tunes. In almost every case where I have taken such a liberty, — & especially in your own case — I have been quite content to make known my own feeling, & to leave the result wholly with the Composer; that he sh.[d] please himself.

I now send you a proof of "Fierce raged;"[1] & with the "Amen" of this, I beg you to do just as you choose. I did not avail myself of y.[r] proposed new close in C maj. — agreeing with you in the undesireableness of altering a Tune. — Let me state, distinctly — that my proposed new "Amen" — on Ch.[ds] of G. & C. — is only to be sung after the last verse:& not (as y.[r] letter implies, after every vers: wh. w.[d] be a bad & not a good effect, to my mind. The repeat of Tune will, of course, be from ch. of E♭

I have put 88 = 𝅗𝅥 but you will please to fix y.[r] own tempo. I never wish to sway a Veteran Composer like y.[r]self, about pace: while, however, I hold my own judgment, used to the best of my ability, in other cases. I may say that I am almost equally opposed to the slow drawl of 40 years ago, as to the Racing-pace employed in some Churches. The mere requirements of decent vocalisation, not to speak of reverent worship — seem to me to be ill served by the tremendous speed advocated in some quarters for Hymn=singing.

"Angels roll"[2] is presented as you first wrote it; & with y.[r] tempo.

What you say anent an Organ "Introduction" to a Hymn, in Church, takes me quite by surprise: I never heard of such a practice; & am sure it w.[d] prove, if generally adopted, a very great nuisance! Surely every Tune sh.[d] be made "fit to run alone"—without any such help! I must always feel that what is a deformity in Art, cannot be justified with any plea urged on behalf of a special expression; were it otherwise all laws w.[d] go for nothing! & legitimately w.[d] have to succumb to the ordeal of a "French Revolution" in Music!

---

1 ST. AELRED

2 RESURRECTION

Letter from HWB to JBD 8 January 1871 (RCO)

I hope to be till Thursday at Lattenbury Hill

St. Ives, Hunts

Home again on Saturday (D.V.)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster

My dear D[r] Dykes

Though I cannot altogether controvert, alas! what you say & feel as to our refusal of Tunes to Novello, I think you ought to read what my colleagues's view of the refusal is. And so I send you the letter which they wrote to Littleton, & which I had to sign officially, as Chairman —

I also send (or rather it will go with tomorrow's post) Ouseley's [ ][1]

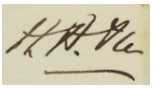
It is very desirable that we sh[d] get on with our work: can you give a week to it in town, or here, after Easter? Perhaps London will suit Monk the best. The week of May 8[th]: how would that do? Or if you can get a Sunday, perhaps the week before: & not have to give up all day long.

My heartiest good wishes for a happy year, in the truest happiness, to you and all yours

Most sincerely,

Henry W. Baker

January 8[2] 1871

1 

2 The numbers 7 and 8 are superimposed: it appears that 7 was written first and then overwritten with 8.

Letter from William Stevenson Hoyte to JBD 20 February 1871 (RCO)

Montpellier Villa,
Finchley Road, N.W.

Feb 20. 1871

Rev^{d} Sir

During Lent we have on Tuesdays and Thursdays an evening service composed of a sermon followed with a metrical Litany, at All Saints Margaret St and it has proved such a success that one of our clergy The Rev^{d} J^{n} Hoskins is about bringing out a book of Litanies for all the seasons of the Church and also a few for general use, he has placed the musical arrangements in my hands and as we are both extremely anxious that our scheme should prove of benefit to the church at large we are desirous of obtaining the assistance of a few eminent church musicians to write us some tunes for the same, may I ask the favour of your most valuable help? if so will you kindly inform me your terms and I will then forward you those Litanies that are already written viz the words and you can then select any you would prefer writing tunes or a tune for.——

For missions and popular services for the poor we fancy they will prove invaluable——

Rev^{d} Sir

Y^{rs} faithfully

W^{m} Stevenson Hoyte[1]
Organist & Director of the Choir
at All Saints Margaret St.

[1] Described by the Royal College of Music as a 'distinguished organist', Hoyte was born in 1844. He was organist at All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, from 1868 until 1907, during which time he became widely famous as an accomplished player. He died on 27 July 1917. (Source: Obituary, *RCM Magazine*, 14/1 (1917), p21).

Letter from the Rev. George T. Blair to JBD 21 March 1871 (RCO)

73 Albert Road
Middlesbrough

March. 21. 1871

My dear D$^{r.}$ Dykes,

We are getting up a scheme for a new organ in S. John's, & have so far progressed with it as to be anxious to come to terms with some Organ Builder. Is it too much trouble to put you to, to ask you whom you w^{d} recommend us to employ? We do not want an ambitious instrument, but wish it to thoroughly good, as far as it goes, as well for its mechanism as its tone.

Our scheme was originally to raise £400, but if you think less money would do it, & keep secure the facility of the instrument, we sh^{d} like to have less to collect. Hill has sent us a specification for £405. Not a bad organ to read, tho' too much case, & a Trumpet!

Do you know Harrison of Rochdale: I am told he is good, & a young friend of mine is apprenticed to him? Or Booth of Wakefield?[1] On any point yr opinion will be of much value to us.

Could you recommend me a Tune for 'There's a friend for little children'. I am in search for one.[2]

I hope you will excuse this troublesome request.

& believe me

Dear Dr. Dykes

Yours faithfully

George T. Blair

Curate of S. John's

Middlesbrough

---

1 JBD was indeed familiar with both firms.

2 JBD composed a tune for this hymn, but not until J. Ireland Tucker, of Troy, New York, commissioned it in 1873 for his *Children's Hymnal*

Letter from the Rev. Richard Frederick Littledale to JBD 4 April 1871 (RCO)

S. Margarets Convent
East Grinstead
Tuesday in Holy Week 1871

My dear D[r] Dykes,
I owe you great thanks for the beautiful Reproaches you have contributed to the People's Hymnal music, which has, I hope, been duly sent to you. The words are, I find, steadily making their way, for I had to order the printers to work off 10,000 more copies the other day, and though Vaux & I[1] have not yet recouped our original outlay, yet the words more than pay their expenses, & will yield a profit ere long. We are still, however, laying out our money in getting the music & having it printed, although we look to the sale of each part to defray most of the cost of its successor. Part III, finishing the Trinity Sunday hymns, is just ready, & will be out very soon. As I begin to see that there is a fair prospect of such success as will enable us to offer you some adequate remuneration for your valuable help, I have the less scruple in once more begging for your aid in the Eucharistic section. And of the following would be of great value to us. 169, 170, 175, 184, 186. And, to hop into the next part, I do not know any tune worthy of Keble's words in 192. I am sure you could do better for us than anything I have yet seen.[2]
I hope to be back in London (111 Ladbroke Grove W) next week, but I shall be here over Easter Day.
W. Ebor does not seem likely to take much [ ][3] the P.C. malversation. With best Easter wishes
[ ][4]
R. F. Littledale

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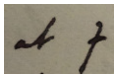
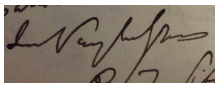
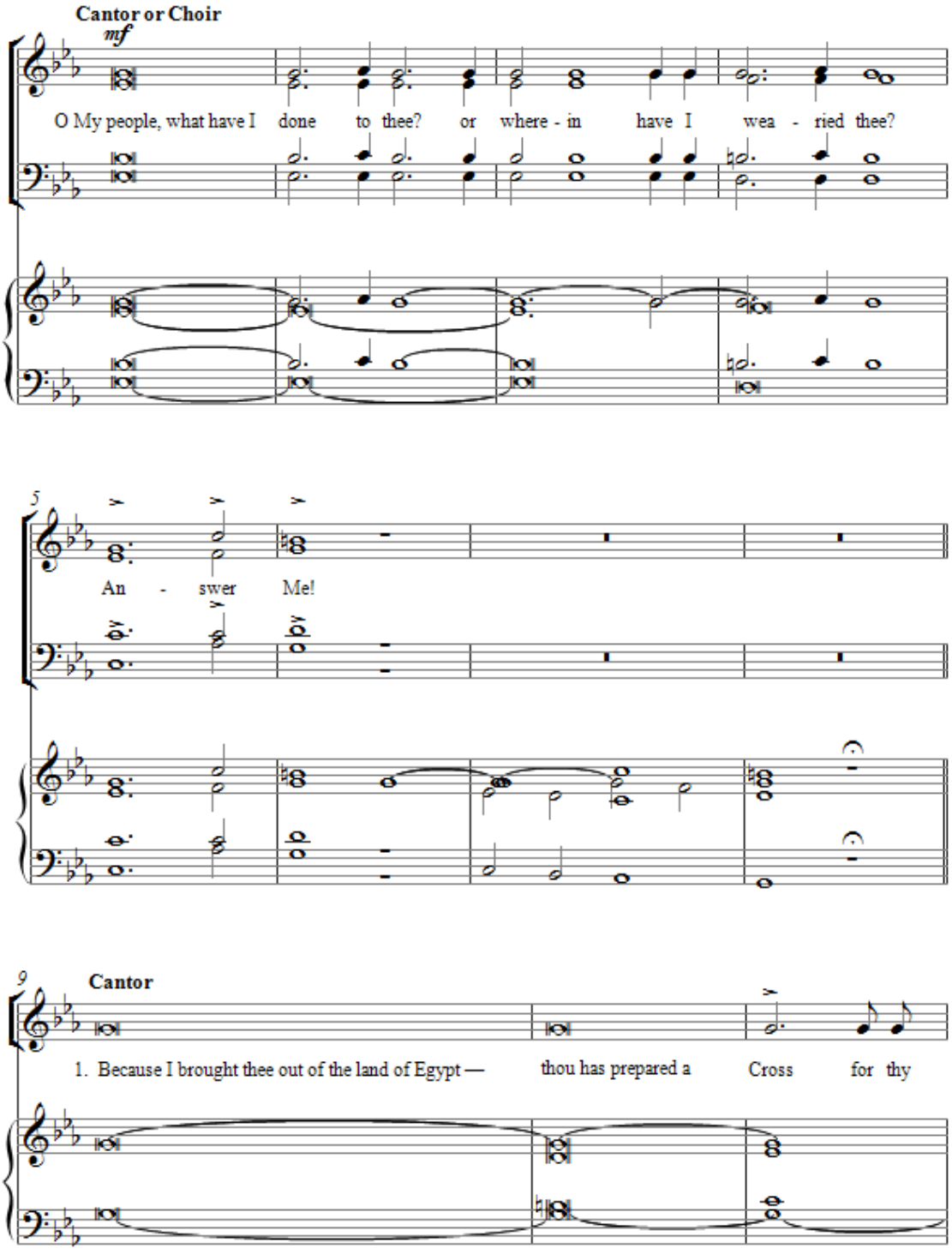
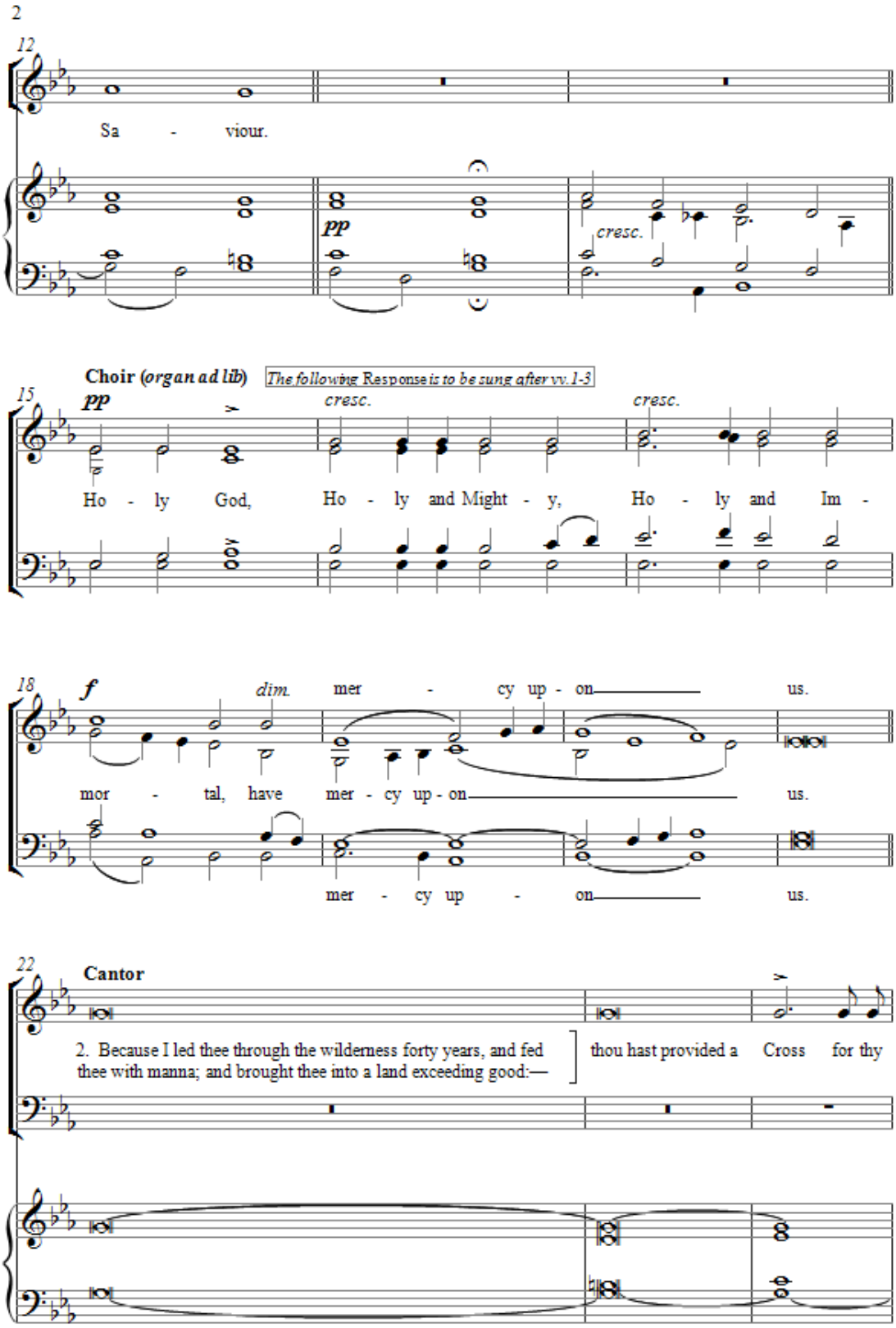
1 For biographical information on Vaux and Littledale see footnote to letter dated 11 March 1870.

2 Aside from THE REPROACHES, JBD wrote three tunes for this book: PROME VOCEM (*Now, my soul, thy voice upraising*); IN NOMINE DOMINI (*Onward in God's name we wend*); and PARACLETE (*Holy Ghost, come down upon thy children*) — see below.

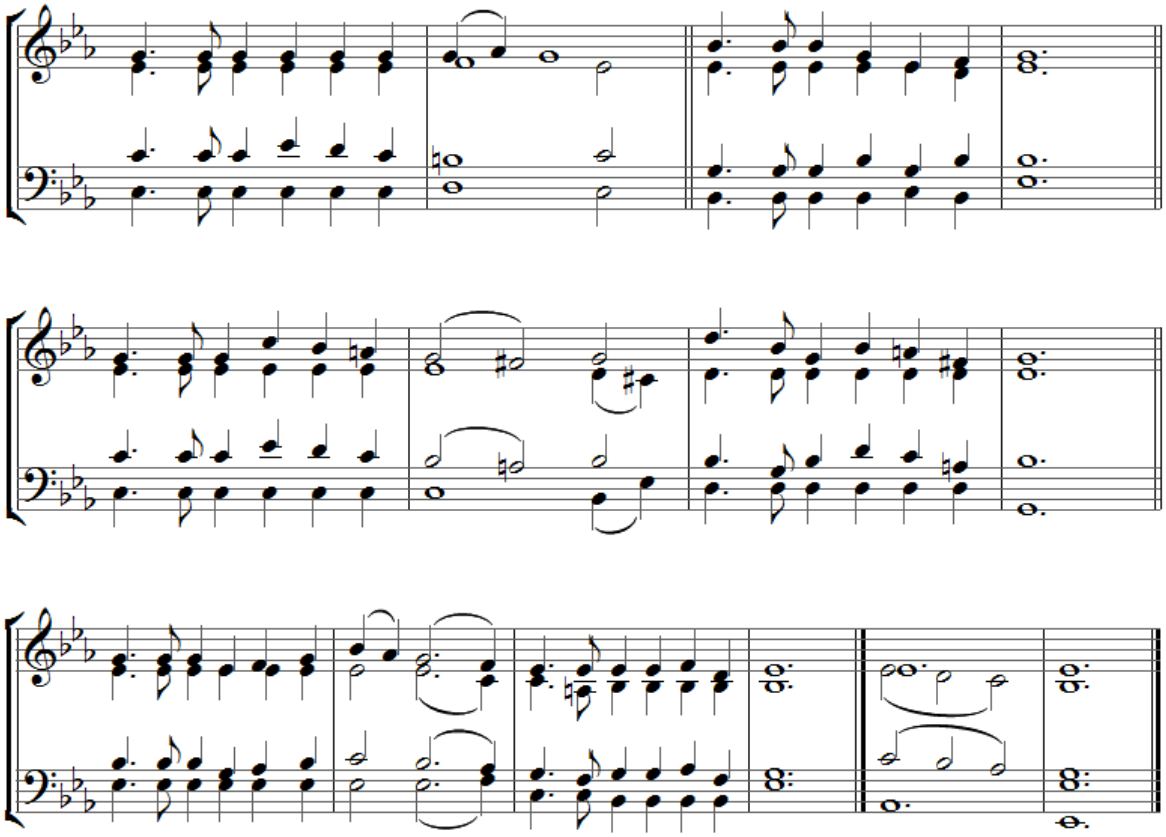
3 

4 

The Reproaches (excerpt)

The People's Hymnal No. 88


2
12
Sa - viour.
pp
cresc.
Choir (organ ad lib)
The following Response is to be sung after vv.1-3
15
pp
cresc.
cresc.
Ho - ly God, Ho - ly and Might - y, Ho - ly and Im -
18
f
dim.
mer - cy up - on us.
mor - tal, have mer - cy up - on us.
mer - cy up - on us.
22
Cantor
2. Because I led thee through the wilderness forty years, and fed thee with manna; and brought thee into a land exceeding good:—
thou hast provided a Cross for thy

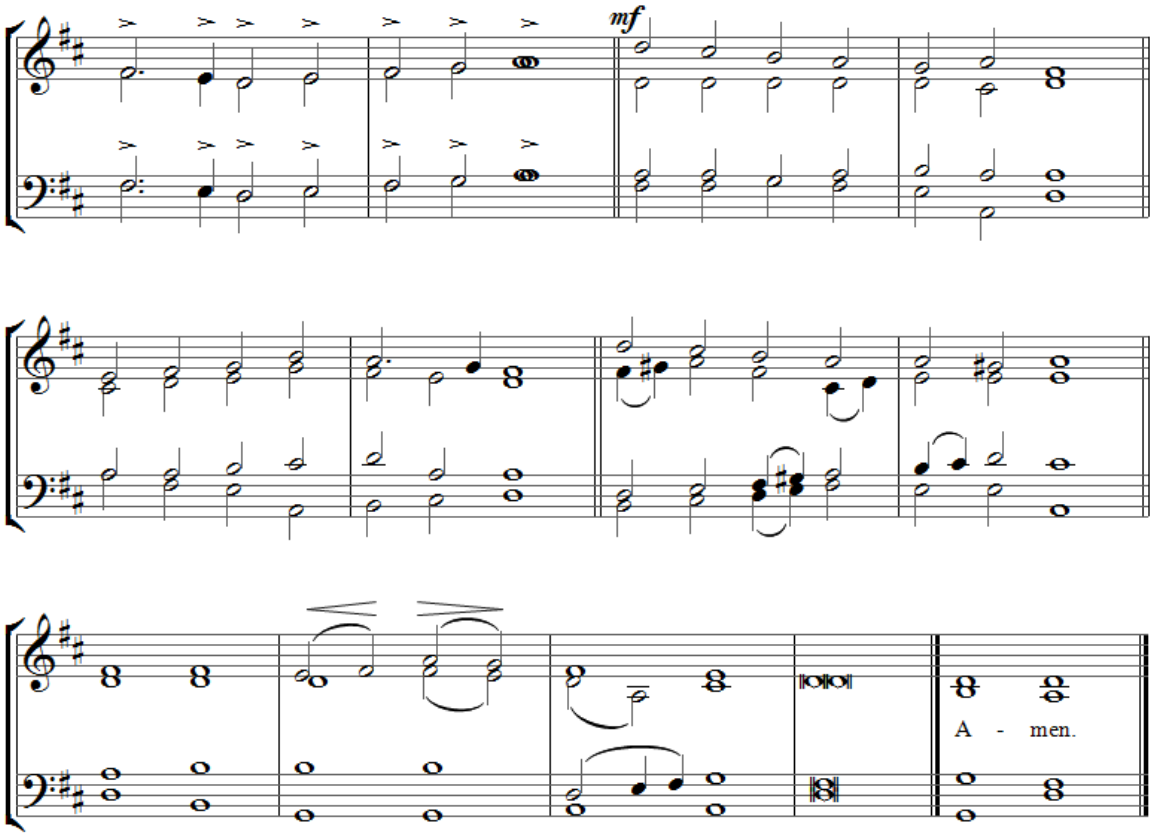
Prome Vocem (878787)

People's Hymnal (1868) No. 100

Now, my soul, thy voice upraising,
Tell in sweet and mournful strain
How the Crucified, enduring
Grief, and wounds, and dying pain,
Freely of His love was offered,
Sinless was for sinners slain.

trans. H.W. Baker

In Nomine Domini (77777)

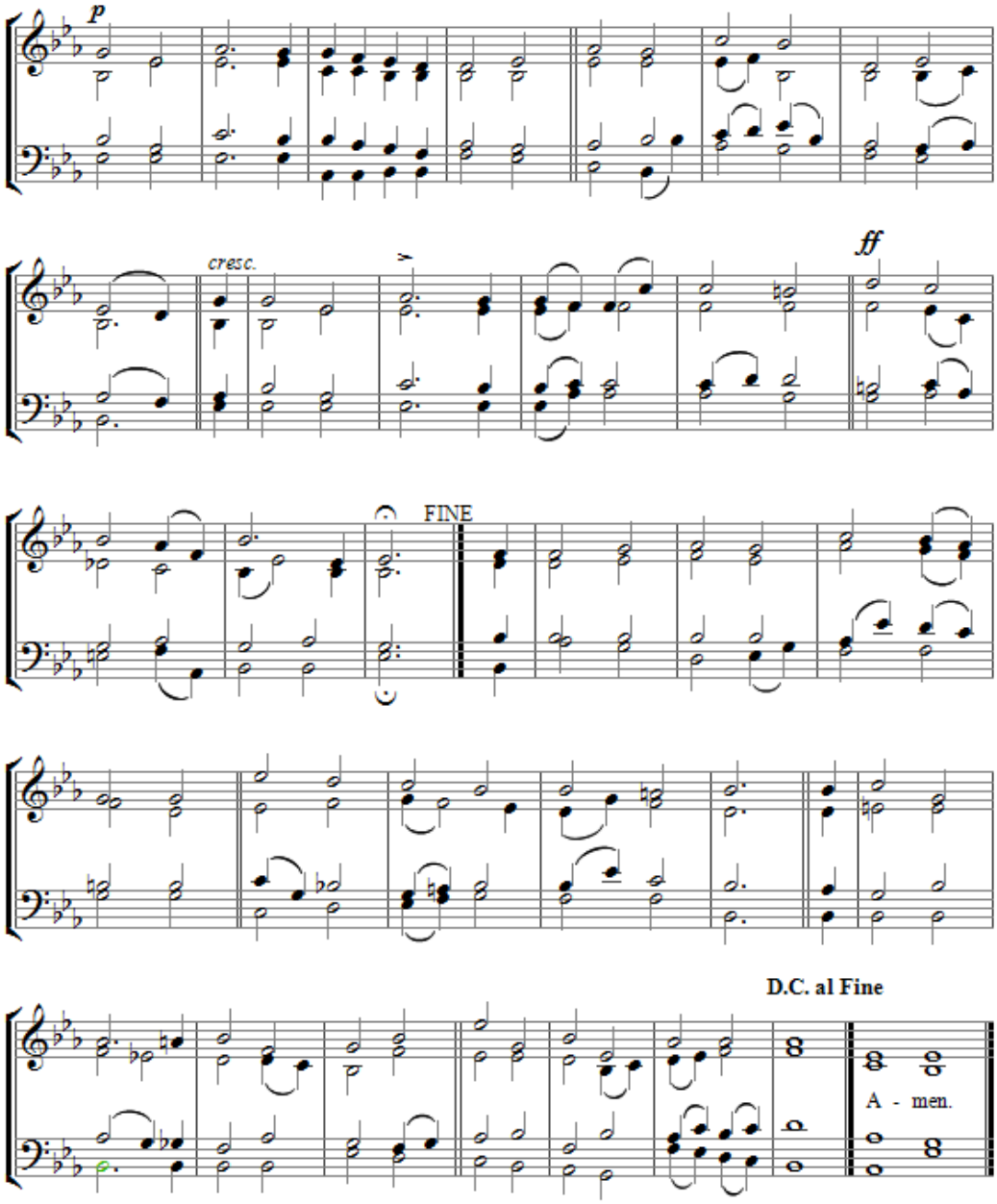
The People's Hymnal (1870) No.137

Other Names:
'Onward in God's name'

Onward in God's Name we wend,
Praying Him His grace to lend;
For Thine aid we sue to Thee,
O Thou blessèd Trinity.
Lord, have mercy as we pray.

Trans. from the German
by R.F. Littledale

‘Holy Ghost, come down’ (10.7979797)

The People’s Hymnal (1868) No.158

Other names:
Paraclete

Holy Ghost, come down upon Thy children,
Give us grace and make us Thine;
Thy tender fires within us kindle,
Blessèd Spirit, Dove divine.
For all within us good and holy
Is from Thee, Thy precious gift;
In all our joys, in all our sorrows,
Wistful hearts to Thee we lift.

Frederick Faber

Letter from the Rev. Dr Edward Steere to JBD 24 April 1871 (RCO)

Little Steeping
Spilsby
24 April 1871

My dear Sir

I am exceedingly obliged by your answer to my enquiry about Swahili hymn tunes and I have ventured now to send you stanzas of several Hymns to which we should be exceedingly glad to find suitable tunes. I have added to each a literal English translation. You will have no great difficulty in reading the Swahili if you pronounce the vowels as in Italian & the consonants as in English. It is a very soft sweet sounding language and so full of open vowel sounds as to be peculiarly pleasant when sung. The accents which I have marked are very well marked but they do not imply any special pause on the accented syllables, answering in fact very nearly to the accent on the first beat of a musical bar. I should be extremely thankful for a melody adapted to Bernard's Rhythm as I could easily adapt to it some kind of translation from the original Latin[1]. We should certainly value harmonized tunes very much, and though at first we had none but treble native voices to rely upon, there are now others and as Bp. Tozer is himself very musical and has now with him as organist a young man trained under Mr. Barnby at. S. Andrew's Wells Street, I think there would be no difficulties as to execution.

I have often noticed that the native songs are not generally in unison and that there are even something like fugues sometimes introduced. Bishop Tozer does not think the native voices very good but they seem to have good ears and their time is always perfect. Whenever several people are working near one another they always keep in time and sing over their work if possible.

I am, my dear sir,

very faithfully yours,

Edward Steere.[2]

---

[1] Dr. Steere's own assessment of his abilities was not universally shared. The Rev Chauncy Maples, Archdeacon of Nyasa, wrote: 'He had a great love of music, without, however, professing a correct ear. I have known him to sit down to a harmonium, and play on that dismal and unpromising instrument a hymn-tune with feeling and expression such as many a trained musician could scarcely have equalled. He had not, however, made any scientific study of music, and I must demur altogether to a statement I have seen somewhere in print since his death, to the effect that the Bishop "knew how to alter a hymn-tune to suit the Swahili words without spoiling it." So far from this being the case, he failed egregiously in his attempt to do so; and this is less odd than that, possessing so much true musical taste, he should have essayed so hopeless a task.' 'Recollections of Bishop Steere' in *A Memoir of Edward Steere, D.D., LL.D.* (George Bell: London, 1888), p185

[2] See also letter from Steere to JBD dated 25 January 1872 and letter from Bishop Tozer dated 25 March 1872.

From Ephrem Syrus
Dactylic Three stanzas

[1]Nísipalíe saútir nikíwa motóni
É nilíyekusífu kwa kwímba zabúri
Nísiniáche nilía nikíwa gizáni
Nínikumbúke nilívyokwinibía usíku

Let me not lift up my voice in the fires
Oh thou whom I have praised by singing Psalms
Leave me not to weep being in darkness.
Remember how in the night I have sung to Thee.

//

At Baptism
Dactylic

Bába uĺiyeviúmba kwa hékima vyóte
Ńi'mtazáme twaómba tulíye'mléta
Níwe'mfánya apáte uzíme wahápa
Ńi'nijalíe apáte kuíshi miléle.

Father who hast created all things in wisdom
Look upon him whom we have brought, we beseech thee,
Thou hast made him to live in this world.
Grant him that he may gain the life eternal.

//

Holy Communion
Dactylic

Twákuabúdu Mwokózi tusíyekuóna
Wíwe ulíyekubáli kuwápo sicíni
Nawíli na róho ulípo na záteteméka
Túkikiyúa siríni twakúfurahía.

We adore Thee O Saviour whom we see not.
Thou who deignest to be here { in the Sacrament / in a mystery }
Body and soul though they tremble where thou art.
Knowing thee in the Sacrament we rejoice in Thee.

---

[1] The accute accents are Steere's indication of stressed syllables. The text has been superscribed in pencil — conceivably by Dykes himself — to show the dactyls, trochees and iambs. The very regular metres, instantly recognisable to any musician trained in the western classical tradition, cast doubt on the assertion that 'the Swahili language did not lend itself well to musical rhythm'. Fowler, p157

The Ascension
Dactylic

Ámeingía kwa shángwi Masíya mbrigúni
Áme'mshiúda shetáni na kaífa na móto.
Jiúe amekéti kwa bába 'nikóno wa úme
Ámeutwáa ufaúme, fahári na sífa.

Christ has entered into heaven in triumph.
He has conquered the devil & death and hell,
Above he has sat down at the right hand of the Father.
He has taken the kingdom, the glory & the praise.

//

Morning Hymn 5 stanzas
Iambic

Muúngu Bwána wétu útukúke
Twakúshukúru úliyétulínda
Katíka gíza ná határi záke
Mkátutía ngúvu kwá kukála.

Lord our God be thou exalted
We give Thee thanks who hast kept us
Amid the darkness and its dangers
And given us new strength in sleeping.

//

Jesus the very thought of Thee
Trochaic 5 Stanzas

Ísa túkikúkumbúka
Móyo úmajáa furáha
Kúkuóua kúzipáta
Ráha záko, ndílo jéma.

Jesu! when we think of thee
The heart is full of joy.
To see Thee, and to gain
Thy rest, is better than all beside.

From Ephrem Syrus
Dactylic 6 stanzas

Makósa nilíyoyafánya
Mbéle yasíjanipáta
Yasíjaniléta alípo
Mwanuízi kitíni mwa háki
Nisíjasimáma kujíbu
Hióna aíbu usóni.
Ńinirehéma Muúngu
ulíye mwényi rehéma.

The transgressions I have made
Before they have seized upon me
Before they have borne me where is
The Judge on his throne of justice
With shame of face
Have mercy upon me O God,
Thou who art merciful.

//

From Ephrem Syrus
Trochaic Many couplets of praise & petitions

Ḿiufúkuzíe sísi
Mámbo yóte yá kuthúru
Ḿkalíshe mákaóni
Niwétu wéma ná awáni

Drive from us
All hurtful things
Make to dwell in our
abodes gentleness & peace.

Letter from Alan Machray to JBD 2 May 1871 (RCO)

Aberdeen, 152 Union St:
2nd May 1871Dear Sir,

My previous experience of your kindness to aid, and ready willingness to assist those interested and engaged in Psalmody work, leads me to trouble you in a matter of my own.

From the accompanying sheet you will see that I have made a small effort at composition [ ][1] as an amateur. I do not profess to know much about harmony. Will you kindly inform me what your opinion is of the respective merits of the enclosed, if of any merit at all? With reference to No. 6, I may explain that we are in the habit of singing a short anthem or Sentence, after the last Psalm and before the Benediction — like [ ][2] "I will arise".

I have some additional tunes beside me, but before printing them, (merely for my friends) I am anxious to have your disinterested and unprejudiced opinion regarding those now sent.

I have always looked upon your own compositions as marvels, and have studied them attentively, both as regards the grace of the melodies, and the freedom, ease and singableness of the harmonies.

I shall esteem it a very great favour if you would send me a reply, when convenient for you.

With great respect,

I always am,

dear Sir,

Yours very truly.

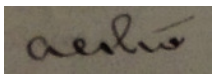
Alan Machray

The Rev.
John B. Dykes.
Mus.Doc

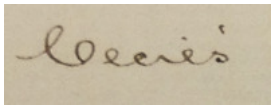
P.S.

Is the following melody [ ][3] too secular in character for a Psalm Tune?

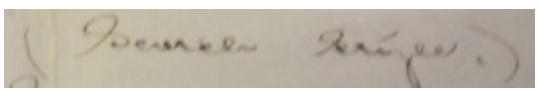
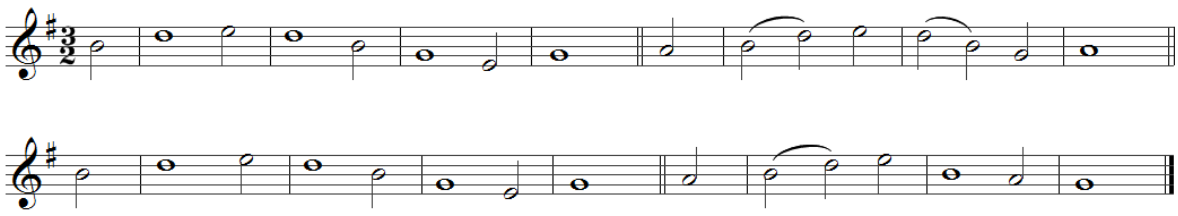
1



2



3



Or is there sufficient scope for a good harmony?

A.M.

Letter from Joseph Barnby to JBD 14 May 1871 (RCO)

1 Berners Street W.
May 14 1871

Dear Dr. Dykes

I have once or twice, lately, had an intention of writing to you but want of time has always prevented me. Since I called upon you in Durham several tune books have appeared or been announced with new tunes written for them by you. The last of these (The Anglican Hymn Book) appeared in a New Edition[1] the other day with a statement that you had contributed six new tunes to it. From this I am tempted to gather that you have reconsidered your determination not to contribute to other Hymnals and to hope that you may still become a contributor to the collection I am now engaged upon. Would you kindly give me a line stating whether I am right in my surmises.

With kind regards believe me

Most truly yours

J. Barnby[2]

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[1] Singleton, R.C. and Monk, E.G. (eds.) *The Anglican Hymn Book*, second edition (Novello, Ewer & Co.: London, 1871).

[2] 12 August 1838—28 January 1896. Organist of St. Andrew's, Wells Street, London from 1862; Precentor and Director of Music at Eton College from 1875; Principal of the Guildhall School of Music from 1892, in which year he was also knighted.

Letter from JBD to HWB, 17 May 1871, incomplete (HAM)

(1)

…. from my masters.

I felt very sorry to receive his note: because I quite hoped I s$^{hd.}$ not be troubled any more in reference to this Book.

I still hope to be able courteously to beg off: but I do not know quite what to say.

If all be well, I shall be very happy to come to you, for a little bit, in the early part of August. I quite approve of the addition of D$^{r.}$ Stainer to our musical staff. In the matter of revising harmonies & our general musical supervision his services will be most valuable. He is a thoroughly competent & able fellow.

By the way have you seen any of the Litanies which the All Saints people are about to bring out. I have had 2 or 3 letters f$^{m.}$ M$^{r.}$ Hoskins, the writer of the Litanies, & f$^{m.}$ the organist.[2] They want me to set some of them. Could not you combine with their people & publish a H.A.M set of Litanies?

Now I must stop

Believe me my dear Sir Henry

Yours ever sincerely

John B. Dykes

Ascension Day.

I am very sorry I was prevented send^{g} this off yesterday.

….Book, renewing his request that I s$^{hd.}$ contribute to it.[3] He hopes that as I have helped Monk & others I have no ground for refusing to help him. He writes very kindly: and I feel rather [haunted][4] as to what I ought to do.

I had really rather not write for the book. I have more work in hand than I know how to get on with: and I hate writing tunes for the mere sake of writing. But then I do not like to feel myself in this somewhat unpleasant position of being the one solitary member of the musical brotherhood who refuses to help a man like Barnby who has done, & is doing, so much for music in this country. It has a conceited look about it, besides exposing one to no end of hostile criticism.

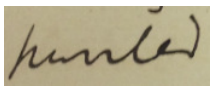
---

1 Although the first page of the letter is missing, internal evidence, not least the reference to the All Saints Litanies, shows conclusively that the letter was written in 1871. The postscript was written on Ascension Day (which in 1871 fell on 18 May), and refers to the letter having been written the previous day. Although the addressee is not shown, the subject matter points to no-one else but HWB.

2 Letter from William Stevenson Hoyte to JBD dated 20 February 1871.

3 Letter from Joseph Barnby to JBD dated 14 May 1871.

4



Letter from Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln[1] to HWB 4 July 1871 (HAM)[2]

PRIVATE

Riseholme, Lincoln, July 4, 1871.

My dear Sir,

I often hear my Hymn "for Charitable Collections," (O Lord of heaven and earth and sea) sung in Churches from the Appendix to "Hymns Ancient & Modern." I heard it last Thursday at a Church opening in Nottinghamshire, and I heard it on Sunday last at a Church in Nottingham: and I never hear it without regret. The reason is that in H. A. & M. it is garbled and mutilated; and the two stanzas are omitted which specify the two paramount proofs of God's love to man, and by consequence suggest the strongest motives of man's love to God. Whenever therefore I hear the hymn, I feel as if the writer of it were liable to the charge of the "heresy of silence."

The two stanzas as they stand in "the Holy Year," No. 126, begin with the words Thou didst not, &c., v. 4, and Thou gavest v. 5. I may add that this Hymn is very frequently sung while a collection is being made, the addition of two more verses (as I know by experience) would be a great practical experience. I hope the Hymn will be restored to its original form; and be exhibited in its genuine shape in Hymns Ancient and Modern. When I consented to its insertion in that book, I had no notion that it would be treated as it has been; and I find a general dissatisfaction is felt and expressed in this Diocese, by those who know the circumstances of the case.

Before I take any public steps to have the injury redressed, I have thought it better to address to you this private communication, in full reliance on your sympathy as a Hymn writer, and on your assistance as a friend.

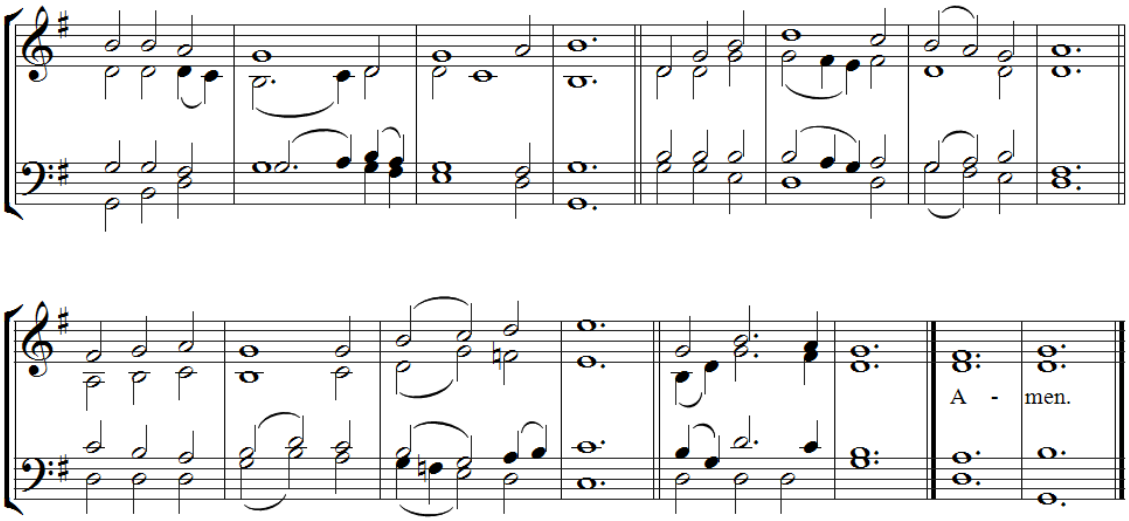
I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

C. LINCOLN

The Rev. Sir H. Baker, Bart.

---

[1] Christopher Wordsworth. 'High position, ecclesiastical and academical, honourably attained; practical energy and generosity of character; a blameless and consistent life; deep acquaintance with the learning of ages past, with the ability and courage to apply its stores to the present, and grapple fearlessly with the great questions of the day…' from Dykes, J.B. 'The Babylon of the Apocalypse' in *The Ecclesiastic* Vol. XII. (London: Rivingtons, 1851) p227. Reproduced in Appendix C p1ff.

[2] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871 (all of which is held in the Archives of HAM in the form of a single page galley proof); the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD. These letters all refer to the Bishop's beration, at the Nottingham Church Congress, of hymn book compilers (by clear inference, specifically the compilers of HAM) who 'mutilated' authors' texts, subjecting them to a 'process of amputation and curtailment'. He instances his own hymn '*O Lord of Heaven and Earth and Sea*', set to 'one of the most beautiful tunes' — Dykes's ALMSGIVING. The hymn, with Dykes's tune, originally appeared — in its complete form, needless to say — in Wordsworth's *The Holy Year* (1865). The hymn is given below.

[See next page for a comparison between Wordsworth's original text and the A&M version]

***The Holy Year* (1865) (No.165)**

1. O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea,
   To Thee all praise and glory be;
   How shall we show our love to Thee,
   Giver of all?
2. The golden sunshine, vernal air,
   Sweet flowers and fruits Thy love declare,
   When harvests ripen, Thou art there,
   Giver of all!
3. For peaceful homes, and healthful days,
   For all the blessings Earth displays,
   We owe Thee thankfulness and praise,
   Giver of all.
4. Thou didst not spare Thine only Son,
   But gav'st Him for a world undone,
   And e'en that gift Thou dost outrun,
   And give us all!
5. Thou giv'st the Spirit's blessèd dower,
   Spirit of life, and love, and power,
   And dost His sevenfold graces shower
   Upon us all.
6. For souls redeem'd, for sins forgiven,
   For means of grace and hopes of heaven,
   Father, what can to Thee be given,
   Who givest all?
7. We *lose* what on ourselves we spend,
   We *have* as treasure without end
   Whatever, Lord, to Thee we lend,
   Who givest all.
8. Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee,
   Repaid a thousandfold will be;
   The gladly will we give to Thee,
   Giver of all;
9. To Thee, from whom we all derive
   Our life, our gifts, our power to give;
   O may we ever with Thee live,
   Giver of all!

***Hymns A&M* (1868) (No. 370)**

1. O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea,
   To Thee all praise and glory be;
   How shall we show our love to Thee,
   Who givest all?
2. The golden sunshine, vernal air,
   Sweet flowers and fruit Thy love declare;
   When harvests ripen, Thou art there,
   Who givest all.
3. For peaceful homes, and healthful days,
   For all the blessings earth displays,
   We owe Thee thankfulness and praise,
   Who givest all.
4. For souls redeemed, for sins forgiven,
   For means of grace and hopes of heaven,
   What can to Thee, O Lord, be given,
   Who givest all?
5. We lose what on ourselves we spend,
   We have as treasures without end
   Whatever, Lord, to Thee we lend,
   Who givest all.
6. Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee,
   Repaid a thousandfold will be;
   The gladly will we give to Thee,
   Who givest all;
7. To Thee, from whom we all derive
   Our life, our gifts, our power to give;
   O may we ever with Thee live,
   Who givest all!

Letter from HWB to Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 7 July 1871 (HAM)[1]

Monkland, Leominster, July 7, 1871.

My dear Lord,

Your letter of the 4th instant has followed me to Eastnor, where I have been for a few days with three or four of my co-compilers of "Hymns Ancient and Modern." Being away from home I cannot refer to my former correspondence with your Lordship, but fortunately they confirm my recollection in every particular, and our host had a copy of the proof-sheets of the Appendix as they were sent you before publication. Your Lordship must surely have forgotten this. Proofs of every one of your own Hymns, and indeed of almost every Hymn in the Appendix, were sent you, and were returned by you to me, and you were kind enough to mark in the margin in many instances some valuable emendations and corrections of which we made good use. When you recall this fact to your mind, I am sure that you will see that not only is your request for the insertion of these two verses in the Almsgiving Hymn one which we could not possibly have expected you ever to make, but that the tone of your Lordship's letter, especially that sentence in which you speak of "taking public steps to have this injury redressed" is such as we were very reasonably surprised and pained at. I do indeed heartily sympathise with all your Lordship's feelings as a Hymn writer, but, if I had myself seen the proof of one of my Hymns in which a verse had been omitted, I do not think I could afterwards complain about it.

I will only in conclusion assure your Lordship how truly sorry I am that you should be vexed about this matter, but the facts are as I have stated.

I am, with great respect and gratitude for your past kindness,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY W. BAKER

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

Letter from Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, to HWB 10 July 1871 (HAM)[1]

Riseholme, Lincoln, July 10, 1871.

My dear Sir,

If I remember rightly the circumstances of the case were these. When you applied to me for leave to insert in the Appendix to "Hymns Ancient and Modern" some Hymns from "the Holy Year" I declined until I had first seen with what other Hymns they were to be associated. You expressed surprise at this stipulation, as it seemed, you said, to imply that the Compilers might be suspected of heresy. However *some slips* of the proposed Appendix were sent to me, in order that I might see what was proposed. Of this, however, I feel sure that these slips did not correctly represent the Appendix as it *now stands*: and I doubt whether my own Hymns had then been printed in the slips, inasmuch as they were sent to me with a view to my consent for their insertion. But this is not of much importance, for my object in asking for the sight of the slips was to see *other* Hymns and not to examine my own. My object in writing to you was to promote the welfare of your publication. I know that the mutilation of Hymns, and particularly of the Hymn on Charitable Collections has led to the exclusion of H. A. & M. from one of the largest Churches in this Diocese: and the more generally the fact is known, the more prejudicial it will be to the work.

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,

C. LINCOLN

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4 & 7 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

Letter from George Macfarren[1] to JBD 25 August 1871 (RCO)

7. Hamilton Terrace. N.W.
25th August 1871.

My dear Sir,

I am gratified but not convinced by your very kind letter — nay, forgive me for saying so, every quotation of yours confirmed me more and more in my "feeling" on the matter, (I use your own term, because in such a case I know not who shall be law giver, and feeling is the only test of any law's validity.)

I go tomorrow to spend a few weeks with my dear friend Monk,[2] during which time, if good fortune bring you into the neighbourhood of York, I shall be happy to talk the subject out with you and delighted at the opportunity to make your personal acquaintance, and I am certain that his hospitality will afford us house room for a fair fight. If I meet not with you there, I will reply to you at length on my return.

Faithfully yours

for G. A. Macfarren

EFB.[3]

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1 The *Historical Companion* p681 has this entry: MACFARREN, George Alexander, born in Westminster, March 2, 1813. Studied first under his father George Macfarren…then under Charles Lucas and Cipriani Potter. Professor at R.A.M. 1834 and Principal 1876. Professor at Cambridge 1875, B.Mus. and D.Mus. Cambridge 1875. Knighted 1883... For many years he was blind, but it did not stop his work of teaching and composing. He wrote much, first for the concert hall and stage. Later he wrote books on theory, and also some church music. He died in St. Marylebone, October 31, 1887.

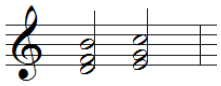
2 Edwin George Monk, organist of York Minister.

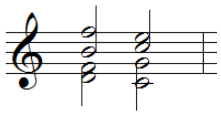
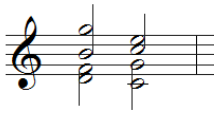
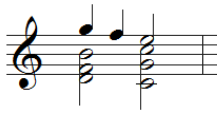
3 Macfarren being blind, his letters were dictated to an amanuensis.

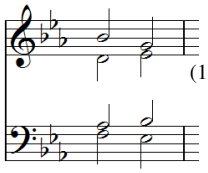
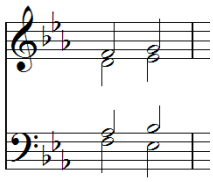
Letter from FAGO to JBD 1 September 1871 (RCO)

Tenbury
Sep.^{r} 1st 1871

My dear Dykes

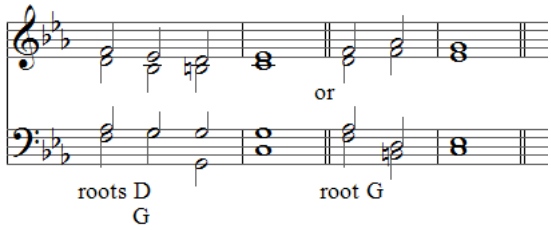
I am somewhat at a loss how to answer your enquiries — for that 2nd inversion of the chord of the Dom.^{t} seventh has been, & is, a real crux to me — My ear of course can stand

that being merely a sequence of sixths & thirds.

Also I can stand

as the ear is satisfied with one resolution & has moreover the relief of the symmetrical contrary motion. But when we come to

my ear begins to feel uncomfortable, and I think the reason is simply because it only hears the dominant seventh <u>in</u> <u>one</u> place, & there it is resolved upwards. If it were only heard lightly resolved somewhere, there would be no unpleasant feeling — but of course that cannot be here.

would be all right, for the upper F saves it all. Moreover I do not ever much like a $\frac{6}{4}{}_{3}$ complete in a Hymn tune. It is so <u>very</u> secular.

You ask in what respect (1) differs from that common resolution

To which I would reply, 1st in the former, the descent to the Tonic 3rd from the octave of the Dom.^{t} root, brings out that 3rd, & shews that the 7th is <u>not</u> there to lead to it — shews this obtrusively — & this brings into ear-notice the existence of the aforesaid 7th elsewhere in the chord, and it's upward resolution. Then 2^{dly} The latter chord has no fourth — no B♭ & is therefore a more equivocal chord than the complete $\frac{6}{4}{}_{3}$.

[1] George Macfarren also deprecated this cadence — see letter to JBD dated 21 September 1871.

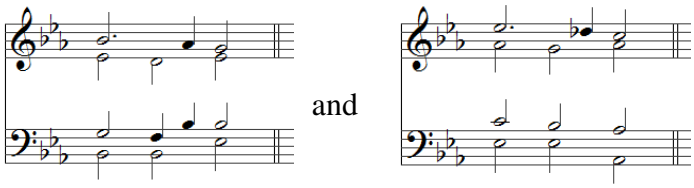
It might be a totally different chord, if differently resolved (which the $\frac{6}{4}$ could not be). It might, e.g. be $\frac{6}{3}$



and it is only by the succeeding harmony that you can say what it is. So much for that.

On the whole, while I dare not say the progression is wrong — bad — I must say that I do not like it.

As to the 4th & 5th lines of No. 346[1] I do not at all object to the ascending sevenths, because their doubles descend in another part. But you will forgive me if I deprecate two second inversions de suite such as you have at the end of both those lines. I should have written



and thus have avoided the intrusion of that second inversion of the Dom.t chord which now (*me quidem judice*)[2] spoils one of your very best tunes.[3]

You see I have told you my opinion frankly & without compromise, but I do so because you special [*sic*] ask me so to do—so do not, please, take it amiss. Of course I may be quite wrong & your instinct may be more trustworthy than mine, which may have been warped by too close a study of old models. Still I cannot help the impression wh: these progressions make on me through my ear, & I suspect you will find others—& not a few—who will take my view—

And now let is abandon these hard questions & let me just tell you how very grieved I was that you could not come to me when you were at Monkland. We so seldom meet, that I really think we must make the arrangement of a meeting at some not distant period a matter of duty — I cannot get away now till January. I then fear the cold rather in your hyperborean regions. But perhaps you may be coming South? If so, do not pass me over. I have some things of my own to shew you, & I hope you will pitch into them fiercely then we shall be quits.

Ever most sincerely yours
Frederick A G Ouseley

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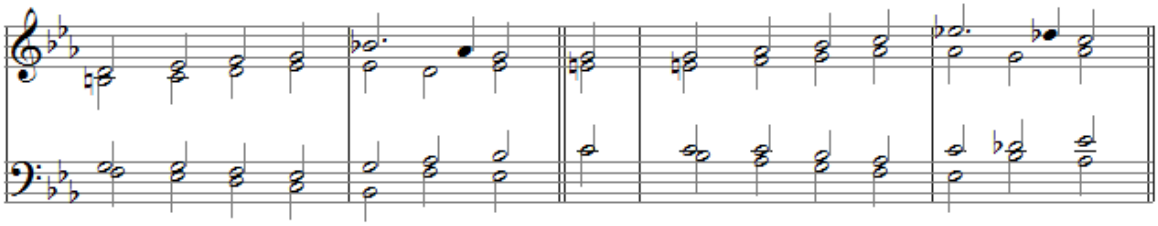
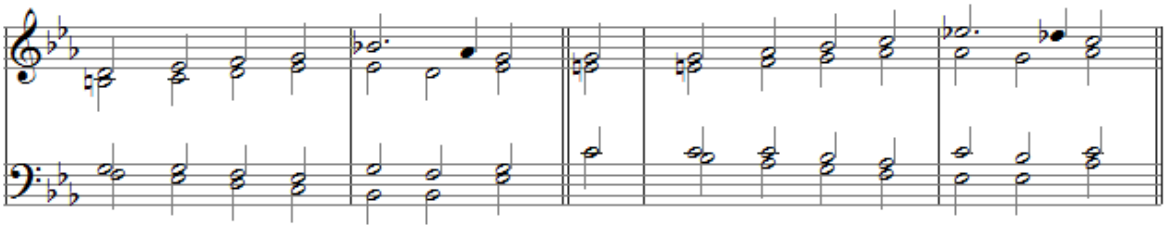
[1] ESCA VIATORUM in A&M 1868 — see excerpts below.

[2] in my opinion

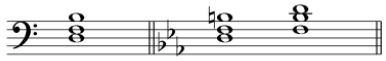
[3] See below for Dykes's consequent amendment to the harmony in A&M 1875

ESCA VIATORUM A&M 1868 No. 346

ESCA VIATORUM A&M 1875 No. 314

Letter from G.A. Macfarren to JBD 21 September 1871 (RCO)

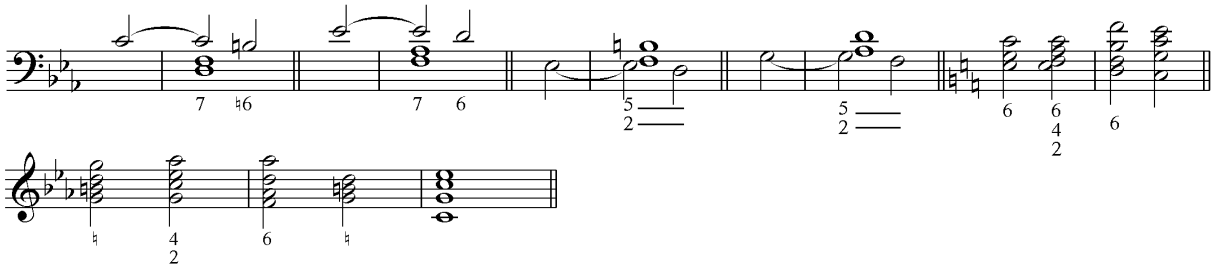
7 Hamilton Terrace N.W.
Sep. 21st 1871

My dear Sir,

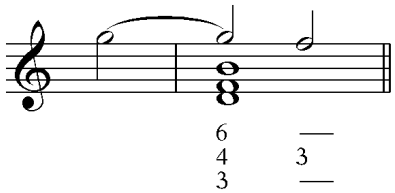
Of course you received my letter from here of Aug. 25. I am disappointed not to have met you during my stay in the north & now proceed to answer in black & white. The treatment of the dom^{t} 7th is as you say "exceptional"; but let us not confound modern exceptions with antient rules. Contrapuntal canon admits a 1st inversion on supertonic bass in major & minor keys, and a 1st inversion on sub-dominant bass in minor keys, as concords, although the direct position of these diminished triads is ruled to be dissonant. It is a far later discovery that the dominant is the root of both these, the former consisting of 7/5/3, the latter of 9/7/5.

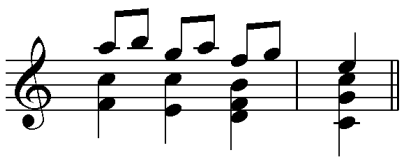


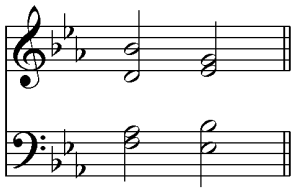
In diatonic music, these are ostensibly 1st inversions, being used as the resolution of discords that must go to 1st inversion.

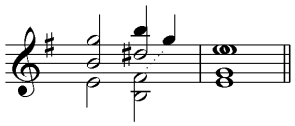
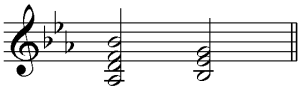
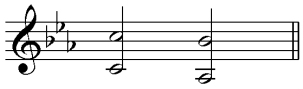


The old folks had no more notion of these chords being derived from G than we have of their coming from any other root. In this style or school, the 4th from the bass is invariably a discord, & the inverted 5th is unallowed & indeed unknown. A discord may not be sounded together with the note whereon it is resolved. (The exceptions from this are quite distinct, but we may talk of them at another time.) Thus the dissonant 4th (not root) may not be sounded with the consonant 3rd (not 7) on which it is to resolve.



In some gross cases of very loose writing I have heard this example & think its effect detestable. The case of G coming after F is totally different, for then it may be a passing note leaping a 3rd to its resolution.

Thus I hope I prove that "this latter" exampled in your letter "is" not "admissable". In free writing, where the dom^{t} 7th with all its exceptionality is fully acknowledged, the 7th may not be doubled in pure part writing, and for root to proceed to 7 as a passing note against the continued 7, is a most offensive breach of the law. "The following" is "really wrong" because

when two notes next each other in alphabetical order, (as A B) are sounded together, the later in the alphabet may never descend a 3rd.

(1)

The only exceptions from this imperative rule are 1. such a passing note as is given overleaf & 2. a 13th leaping to root of next chord while 5th proceeds to 3rd.

Your four examples of the beautiful resolution of 2nd inversion of 7th of B♭ on 1st inversion of E♭ are fully justified by rule and practice; but I think your 2nd inversion of B♭ on root of E♭ with B♭ leaping to G has neither precept nor example but your own & you must be a very Odger[2] if you wish to introduce it into the Musical Constitution. I should quite as much like this,

and if the 7th may rise thus while the root makes that abominable descent, then rain will fall upwards & wicked men go to heaven. In **'*A*'** on your returned slip the leap from 2nd inversion at **'*Z*'** is quite against propriety, & your favourite impurity at **'*X*'** may have its "convenience" & its "little tenderness" beyond my estimation, but is disagreeable to me. Both examples in B & all three in C may be liked by the same persons; they may even be written as slips, by the best musicians, as may every other fault in music; but they cannot critically be justified. I think your harmony prodigously improved by the change of the hideous progression

I will not pretend to discuss musical sentiment, but it seems to me strangely perverse to express the word "bosom" with a discord, even though the domt, & to pun upon the word "fly" by a melodic leap. Pray forgive my unscrupulous censure in these remarks & own that you have invited it from

Yours faithfully
for G.A. Macfarren
R.F.B

The Revd John B. Dykes

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1 FAGO also deprecated this progression—which Dykes perpetrates between the fourth beat of bar three and the first beat of bar four of HOLLINGSIDE. (See Ouseley's letter to JBD dated 1 September 1871.)

2 *q.v.* George Odger, 1813-77, Trade Union activist, political agitator and advocate of civil war in England.

Letter from George Macfarren to JBD 24 September 1871 (RCO)

7 Hamilton Terrace N.W.
Sep. 24/71

My dear Sir

I must have failed to express my meaning if I said anything to the effect that the 3rd from the bass might not be doubled in the chord of $\frac{6}{3}$ on the supertonic. Of course we in 1871 know this chord to be derived from the dominant root, & I have more than once in print described it as such; but since then I have become more & more convinced that they who framed the rules of counterpoint & they who implicitly observed them knew this combination only as a 1st inversion — the idea is then not of doubling a 7th from a root whose existence is totally ignored, but of doubling the 3rd from a given bass note. I am sure that this view prevailed in the time of Handel, from the evidence of his works & those of his contemporaries, as well as from the statements of theorists. Our later discoveries help us to some confusion between the chords of $\frac{6}{3}$ & $\frac{6}{4}_{3}$ which have the same true derivation, but are widely different in treatment. I owe endless thanks for your courteous tolerance of my rude remarks & as many apologies for the latter.

Faithfully yours
for
G.A. Macfarren
R.F.B.

Letter from JBD to HWB 18 October 1871 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
S. Luke's Day[1]

My Dear Sir Henry,

I found so many sick people and such an accumulation of things to be done & such an awful heap of letters on my return from Nottingham[2] that I have not been able to steal a moment to write to you.

The special purpose of this Epistle is the follow^{g} : to tell you that I think it will be absolutely necess^{y} for you to write – through the public papers, perhaps the Guardian – a letter to the Bp of Lincoln, in reference to his public charge agst the Compilers of HA&M.[3]

I though it, on the whole, best to speak on the subject of "Church Music Generally" and not to appear to speak in the interests of any particular Hymnal, although Earl Nelson did indirectly in the interests of Sarum, & Bickersteth of his own.[4]

I spoke ab^{t} Chants & other kinds of music, as well as Hymns. I simply made one allusion to H.A.M. towards the end; in reference to the proposed Convocation Work. I asked what good a book w^{d} confer at this time? Who w^{d} use it? Would it supersede (e.g.) such a Hymnal as H.A.M? I then remarked that altho' that Hymnal had come in for its share of abuse still it had made its way, and that its ever increasing circulation shewed that it had met, and satisfied, a real need in the Church.[5]

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[1] The manuscript includes the year '1871' in a different colour and different hand, clearly added subsequently. The subject of the letter confirms that it must have been written in that year.

[2] JBD had delivered a paper entitled *Hymnology and Church Music*. See '*Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1871'* (W. Wells Gardner: London, 1871) Reproduced in full in App. C Part 2 pp193ff.

[3] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 29 October and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

[4] The Rt. Revd. E.H. Bickersteth, Bishop of Exeter—*The Hymnal Companion*, a work for which Dykes composed six tunes.

[5] The full text of that part of Dykes's paper reads: 'I really think there should be a heavy fine imposed upon the Editor of every new Hymnal for the next six years. Our hymn-books, public and private, may now be counted by hundreds; and, nearly every week, some new supplement, or appendix, or complete hymnal is projected. All this shows a Church alive and at work; but it also shows the existence of a large amount of restlessness, caprice, and self-will. And where is it to end?

'Many of these are honest attempts to meet real wants, and, as such, are entitled to respect. Others are mere heartless money speculations: and hymn and tune writers are teased into sending contributions, for which there is no call, in which they can feel no interest or enthusiasm, to the great detriment of genuine Church Hymnody.

'I cannot think, however, the time has come for a Convocation book. What section of the Church would hail it? Attempting to please all, it would please none. Shocking nobody's prejudices, it would enlist nobody's sympathies… it would not touch the Church's heart. It would merely send into the field a new claimant on popular favour, and so add to existing confusion. What parish would give up its own popular book for the Convocation Hymnal? What new "Mitre Hymnal" would succeed in ousting, for instance, our old friend "Ancient and Modern?" The latter has been more abused, perhaps, than any other Hymnal, but it has steadily maintained its ground. And its daily increasing circulation shows that, somehow or other, it has met and satisfied a real want in the Church. It needs thorough revision, both of music and words (and it will meet with this some day): but I think Convocation must be very sanguine if

Well, in his closing address the Bp referred to Hymns & Tunes and Editors: and then spoke about Editors taking liberties with the Hymns they introduced into their books — he spoke of needless alterations & wanton curtailments. He said he could not refer to this subject without animadverting on the licences of alteration & curtailment which had been exercised by the Compilers of that Hymnal to wh: allusion had been specially made, H.A&M. He went on to say that he could not let the opportunity pass without publicly arraigning the Compilers for the treatment his own Hymn had received at their hands: he specially alluded (he said) to their heartless & fatal mutilation of his almsgiving Hymn. It was wedded he said to one of the most beautiful of my tunes (here came a bit of flattery to myself): and he had perpetually to hear it sung: but nothing c^{d} express his grief at having to hear it sung with its very heart – its two most important verses – cut out. He then turned around & apostrophised myself, and asked me if, as a Churchman, I could fail to feel for, & sympathise with, him at having to find himself the virtual teacher of heresy – recounting the manifold gifts of the Lord "giver of all" and yet ignoring the two great gifts – those of the Incarnate Son & of the Blessed Spirit. He went on to speak of the reckless nature of such mutilation. He did not suppose there was any wish that the Hymn should teach heresy: but the Compilers found it just a little too long for their page. So they took a pair of scissors, & cut it shorter — never even heeding that they were sacrificing the very kernel & heart of the whole Hymn.[1]

And all this was said before 2000 people. So it must be quietly & respectfully answered.

It took me all by surprise – and as I did not know the rights & wrongs of the case I c^{d} not deny anything. But I spoke to the Bp about it privately afterwards.

I said I was much astonished and felt sure that you personally would not have altered his Hymn without his sanction. I asked if he did not know of the alteration before the book was out. He then acknowledged that the proof sheets were sent to him but that he had not (he supposed) observed the omission!

Now, of course, here is all possible justification for yourselves, the fault is entirely the Bp's own. You print it just as you receive the proofs from himself. What more could you do?

I see Bickersteth in his Hymnal omits these 2 same verses. I have not S.P.C.K app^{x} by me at this moment. So I can not say whether they do, or not. But I rather fancy they do the same.

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it expects to bring out a book sufficiently successful to supersede this and other good Hymnals, which have established for themselves a position in the English Church.

"It would not be amiss if the Bishops were to authorise a few of the existing Hymnals, which have the largest circulation, for general use. This might do something towards the promotion of a greater uniformity in our worship, and also towards stopping the reckless, and heartless, and meaningless, and bewildering multiplication of Hymnals." *Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1871*" (W. Wells Gardner: London, 1871) at pp 379-380

[1] It is evident that the authorized report précised the Bishop's comments (which, if they had been extempore, would have had to be transcribed in real time). After speaking first about the publication of recent hymnals and then on the importance of teaching sound doctrine, he continues: 'Perhaps I may … speak here with something like expostulation against some modern compilers of hymns, as to the process of mutilation upon which they act. It would be egotistical on my own part to speak of what I have suffered from this process of amputation and curtailment; but in the presence of Dr. Dykes, if he has not yet left the hall, to whom I am indebted for one of the most beautiful tunes [ALMSGIVING] set to one of my own unworthy hymns – viz., "*O Lord of Heaven and Earth and Sea*" [HA&M (1868) No. 370] – I think he will agree with me in the wish that I express that it had not suffered from that process."

Important as verses 4&5 are still I am not sure that the Hymn does not gain as a Hymn by their omission. They are virtually included in verse 6: and by their omission the special form of the Hymn is retained throughout.

He made no complaint ab^{t} the substitution of the uniform

Who givest all

for the awkward alternative read^{g}

"Who givest all" and
"Giver of all".

I see the Record of Monday, wh: contains my Paper in extenso, speaks of the "Bishop winding up with an earnest protest against the mutilation of Hymns and on this ground being thus a heavy indictment against the Editors of H.A.& M.

So there is an obvious call for a calm respectful letter, simply setting forth the plain facts of this particular case. The Guardian would be the best paper. Better, get a few slips printed and send it to all the Church papers.

With kindest regards,

Believe me to be yours ever affectionately,

J.B.D.

Letter from HWB to Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 23 October 1871 (HAM)[1]

[*In the galley proof this letter is preceded by the following:*]

The next letter refers to the following portion of a speech by the Bishop of Lincoln at the Nottingham Church Congress, as reported in the Guardian of October 18th.

"One word as to the process of mutilation. He could not tell what he himself had suffered from it: but in the presence of Dr. Dykes, to whom he was indebted for one of the most beautiful tunes to one of his unworthy hymns—"O Lord of heaven and earth and sea"—he would say that in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, they had amputated the two stanzas, in which he traced the goodness of God through Jesus Christ and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, in such a manner as to make him culpable and guilty in a certain sense of the sin of heresy. They knew not what they did: and he arraigned them here in the interests of charity and truth. The fact was the persons concerned were confined by certain square inches of page, and if they had four or five stanzas too much, they must amputate the hymn to bring them within the required space. It was thus they proceeded with their knife and scissors, and he could not much blame them."

Monkland, October 23, 1871.

My Lord,

Will you allow me respectfully to ask whether the report given in the *Guardian* of Oct. 18th represents correctly the charge which you made at the Nottingham Church Congress against the Compilers of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* with respect to your Almsgiving Hymn. And if so, will you allow them to publish your letters to me of 4th and 10th July last? that they may appear together with my own reply, (of which I have a copy) to your letter of the 4th of July, and with any fuller statement of facts which the Compilers of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* may deem it necessary to make.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY W. BAKER

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

Letter from the Bishop of Lincoln, to HWB 24 October 1871 (HAM)[1]

Riseholme, Lincoln, October 24, 1871.

My dear Sir,

Although I regret any seeming difference with persons for whom I entertain a sincere regard, yet on public grounds I am not sorry that attention should be drawn to a subject of some importance,—the mutilation of Hymns in some popular Hymn books. The report in the *Guardian* of what was said by me on this subject at the Nottingham Congress is, in the main, correct. I believe that eight of my Hymns, forming about a thirteenth part of your Appendix, are inserted in the supplement to "Hymns Ancient and Modern." None of them, I think, is given there as written by me. Some of them may have been improved; and it is stated by you that my assent was given to the alterations that have been made in them. As far as I remember, you sent me in the summer of 1868 your proposed Appendix in slips, containing about 110 Hymns. I do not think that my attention was directed by you to the proposed omissions in my Hymns, which were mixed up with the rest. Omissions are very apt to escape notice. It is very probable that I did not examine them carefully as I ought to have done. I suppose I acted in the belief that if omissions were intended express notice would be given to me of such intention. But I may have been too careless in the matter, and if so, I beg pardon for my negligence.

But the point to which I would request attention is this. A short time ago I expressed to you in a private letter my regret on account of a serious omission in one of my Hymns in your Appendix. The omission might, I believe, be easily rectified. But in your reply to me dated July 7th last you said that you "heartily sympathised with me," but gave me no hope of redress. This, I confess, disappointed me, and forced from me very reluctantly the public expostulation at Nottingham. The Hymn to which I adverted in that private communication to you, and to which I referred at Nottingham in No. 370 in your Appendix, the Hymn for "Almsgiving." The two most important stanzas of that Hymn (namely verses 4 and 5 as it stands in the "Holy Year" No. 126, for Charitable Collections) have been expunged. It so happens that this Hymn is very often sung in my hearing in this Diocese; but it is not sung as it was written by me but in the mutilated form in which it is given in "Hymns Ancient and Modern," a form which, in my opinion, mars and almost destroys its true character. Be so good as to bear in mind that this is the form in which, much to its author's regret, and notwithstanding his private remonstrance, this Hymn is to be circulated far and wide, and in which (if it lives) it will probably be handed down to posterity.

Permit me, my dear sir, in conclusion, to ask one question. Even on the supposition that I gave an express consent (which I doubt) to mutilations of my Hymns in "Hymns Ancient and Modern," is not an author to be allowed to have any opportunity of reconsidering such a consent; and is he to lose for ever all control over his own Hymns, as far as that work is concerned? Or are you willing to publish that Hymn, and others, in the form in which they were written by the author and as they are printed in the "Holy Year"?

The letters to which you refer, and which you desire to print, were only private communications; but if you wish to publish them, I have no objection to your doing so; and the present letter with them.

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[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

With feelings of much respect for your services in the cause of Hymnology, and with an earnest desire for their continued success,

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,

C. LINCOLN

The Rev. Sir Henry W. Baker, Bart.

Letter from JBD to HWB 29 October 1871 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Sunday [probably 29 October 1871][1]

My dear Sir Hen[y]

Thanks for the Review Proofs. But do you not think that as a foot note the 2 omitted verses sh.[d] be printed in small type: so that all may better understand your excellent letter?

I have heard again from the Bp this morn[g]. a kind letter: but evading all important points, simply justify.[g] himself for his statement (at wh I had remonstrated) that the H.A.M. compilers had made him guilty of the sin of heresy.[2]

He maintains that a special office of Hymns accord[g] to S. Paul (Col. iii) is to teach: and that suppressing truth is as much a sin (though a less insidious one) than mis-stating it; and that a Hymn whi deals specially with God's gifts to man as the [ ][3] [ ][4] for man's gifts to God & omits God's Greater Gifts is chargeable with the "heresy of silence."

In great haste

Y[rs] ever affect[y]

J.B.D.

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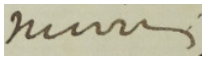
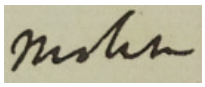
1 The year 1871 is marked in red pencil on the archive copy of the letter. This is validated by the reference in the letter to the Nottingham Church Congress, held between 10th and 13th October 1871.

2 See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 October and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

3 

4 

Letter from HWB to Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 30 October 1871 (HAM)[1]

Horkesley House, Monkland, Leominster, October 30th, 1871.

My dear Lord,

I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 24th instant, and to thank you for your permission to publish your letters of the 4th and 10th of July, if it should be necessary to do so. Partly in the hope that it may not be necessary, will you allow me to say how glad I am to gather from that letter of the 24th instant, that you are now yourself inclined to believe that your Hymns were not inserted in the Appendix to "Hymns Ancient and Modern" without our having your consent to their appearing in their present form.

You say that it was "perhaps" through your own "negligence" that they were inserted as they are, and you only speak of a "doubt" about your consent. I can assure your Lordship that there is really no room for doubt, nor the slightest cause for self-blame. Unfortunately I cannot find, or did not keep, copies of all our correspondence three years ago, but I have now before me a copy of one of my own letters to you dated June 1st 1868, in which I speak of sending you "proofs of *all* the Hymns that are in type," remarking "a very few are still to be added, probably another Saints' Day Hymn or two, and a version of the 23rd Psalm, and one or two general Hymns": and I have your own letter to me dated June 4th, 1868, in which you say "I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 1st and the proofs of the Appendix which I return," and in a Postscript you say "I insert one or two notices of the proposed changes in my Hymns;" a Postscript which surely proves that your own Hymns as altered were in those proof sheets and were not overlooked by you. I have also a copy of my reply to this letter, in which I say "It is very kind of you to have gone through what I sent you of our proposed Appendix so carefully, annotating it; some of your remarks I quite agree in, and we shall consider them all:" with reference to which I may say that you most kindly noticed other hymns besides your own, and that we did consider your remarks; e.g. I have often said since that we made a change in Dr. Faber's Hymn "Hark, hark, my soul angelic songs are swelling," in deference to what you wrote about it on those proof sheets. I have also a letter from you dated 18th of July, 1868, which I most fortunately found after a long search two days ago, about three of your own Hymns, in which you explain and justify the expression "for Thy Godhead manifest" in one of your Epiphany Hymns, but permit a change of pronoun in its 4th verse, as well as a transposition of words in your All Saints Hymn; and in which you also suggest a new line for your Hymn "Heavenly Father send Thy blessing" in order to meet an objection which we had raised when we sent you the proof sheets: so that there surely is abundant evidence as to there being no "negligence" on your part at that time. I hope I may yet find a letter about the Almsgiving Hymn, but at any rate it is printed in the Appendix with the same number of verses as it was in the proof-sheets which you saw and as it stands now in the duplicate copy which the Rector of Eastnor happens to have kept; and for that reason, if for no other, I must venture to think that your Lordship ought not to have written to us as you did on 4th of July last, "when I consented to its insertion, I had no intention that it would be treated as it had been," nor again, "Before I take any public steps to have the injury redressed": nor have "arraigned" us before 2000 hearers at Nottingham "in the interests of charity and

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23 & 24 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

truth" (not a very light charge) for what we had done. Most of your hearers must have thought that we had done what we did without your knowledge or consent; and if I send our recent correspondence to the *Guardian* I can assure your Lordship that it will be only because we do not see in what other way we can set ourselves right with the Church on this matter.

With regard to the further point, viz., how far we have injured or improved the Hymn, there is less need for me to speak strongly. It is a fair matter for difference of opinion. We ourselves believe that to have a refrain common to every verse is an improvement; that for Dr. Dykes' tune, to which we found it set in the "Holy Year," the words "Who givest all" sing much better than "Giver of all;" that such words as "gav'st" and "giv'st" are not pleasant for singing: and that "outrun" is at least an unusual if not a disagreeable word to express the increasing of GOD's gifts; for, though we talk of a man's outrunning his income, most people would hardly like to say that GOD has outrun the gift of His only begotten Son; and that therefore we have only removed a few blemishes from a good Hymn and have presented it in a better and more symmetrical form. But GOD forbid that we should have wished any more than your Lordship to ignore the blessed gifts of the Incarnate Son and the Holy Ghost, and I cannot but think that the verse which we retained about "souls redeemed" and "sins forgiven," and "means of grace," and "hopes of heaven," is so truly praise for our redemption that it alone amply acquits you of "the heresy of silence." Indeed I do not like to resist a hope that you may yourself yet be pleased with the shortened form. The very best Hymns that were ever written have been improved by omissions. Look e.g. at Newton's exquisite Hymn "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds"; Sir Roundell Palmer gave it in his "Book of Praise" in its original length, but when he published an edition with tunes for congregational use, he omitted the 4th verse[1], just as we and others have done. And so as to this Hymn of your Lordship's, our example is already followed. The Rev. E.H. Bickersteth (himself a poet) has left out these very two verses in his new and important Hymnal.[2] Believe me, my Lord, you cruelly wronged us when you talked at the Church Congress of our "not knowing what we did," and of our "being confined by square inches of page" and therefore resorting "to knife and scissors." There are longer Hymns in our book that your Almsgiving Hymn. It is but 36 lines in the "Holy Year": and the last Hymn in the Appendix is 44 lines, and our 46th Hymn is 63 lines, the 335th is 64 lines, your own Epiphany Hymn is 40 lines, to say nothing of such Hymns as 145 and 221, and many others. I can most truly say that we have never curtailed a Hymn simply because it was a little longer than usual; nor have we ever altered a Hymn without having what seemed to us sufficient reasons for doing so, not except in order, as we thought, (of course I do not mean to say that we were always right) to improve it.

If I am to add a word as to your Lordship's closing question in your letter of the 24th instant about an Author's rights, and whether he "is to lose for ever all control over his own Hymns as far as that work is concerned" in which he has permitted them to be printed, I can only answer "Yes; *so far as that work* is concerned." He may do what he likes with his Hymns for other works, of course, and give it them in a different form; but no compilers or publishers would be safe if they were liable to have a consent, once given, revoked. Your Lordship quotes my own words about sympathising with you as a Hymn

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1 *By Thee my prayers acceptance gain,*
Although with sin defiled;
Satan accuses me in vain,
And I am owned a child.

2 The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer

writer: it is true: I have keenly felt my own Hymns being altered or curtailed without my leave: but may I ask you to remember that I added "*but* if I had myself seen the proof of one of my own Hymns in which a verse had been omitted, I do not think that I could afterwards complain about it:" and we not only sent you the proofs but also a Presentation copy as soon as the Appendix was published, and you did not make any remonstrance even then. I do not say that your Lordship might not have asked us in a friendly way to re-consider the question even after the interval of three years' silence on your part: but I do venture to hope that our fellow Churchmen will feel, if they read this letter, that we did not deserve to be spoken of in the words that your Lordship used at the Congress; words that are a severe censure when spoken by a Bishop who has so many strong claims on the esteem and gratitude of is all as I do most unfeignedly think that your Lordship has.

I have the honour to remain, your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY W. BAKER

October 30th, 1871

Letter from Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, to HWB 1 November 1871 (HAM)[1]

Riseholme, Lincoln, All Saints Day, 1871.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th reached me this morning. On such a day as this, all who desire attainment of the same end may well wish to be joined together in unity. I can assure you that my public remonstrance would never have been uttered at Nottingham of my private request for the restoration of the Hymn in question to its unmutilated form had been of any avail. I regretted, and still regret, that refusal; not only on private grounds but on public principle.

Let me now add that if any public statement is put forth by you on the subject, I rely on your accompanying that statement with a copy of my letter to you of Oct. 24 last.

I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

C. LINCOLN

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB.

Letter from JBD to HWB 4 November 1871 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Nov: 4 1871

My dear Sir Henry

There can be no doubt that the correspondence ought to be published[1] — and at <u>once</u>, before people forget all about the Congress. The Bishop's speech must have created a very unfavourable impression in many minds in reference to H.A.M. An impression is made. people forget <u>how</u> it was made. but it <u>remains</u>. The reason of the value of this correspondence is, that it shows the great care & thought bestowed in the Editorship of the work, and that the silly slanders which are industriously propagated about the reckless mutilation & disregard of authors' claims &c have no foundation in fact.

I have myself had a long letter f^{m} the Bp on the subject of the Hymn. He enclosed also a copy of the letter he had written to yourself dated Oct: 24.

I am amused at the naïvety of one of his remarks respect.^{g} H.A.M. He says "It was with much misgiving and after one refusal that I was ever persuaded to allow my hymns to be inserted in this volume because I foresaw that it would supplant the volume from which they are taken"!![2]

He is possessed with one idea, that the restriction for whi he asked in July <u>ought</u> to have been granted: that there were no real practical difficulties; further he himself has had so much to do with stereotype to know how easily it may be corrected.

He says he writes as a well wisher for H.A.M: for that it is now about to have some very formidable rivals (I suppose he refers to 'Novello' & 'Convocation'); & he intimates that his own influence in favour or disfavour of the book is not to be despised. Still his letter is kind & friendly.

I am very glad I had not seen your reply of Oct: 30 when I wrote my answer: as I was thus able to express an independent opinion.

I told the Bp. that I was not one of the Word Committee & had noth.^{g} to do with the curtailm^{t} of his Hymn, and, moreover, that — not having been conscious of the abridgement of it till I heard of it in his public speech at Not.— I had no idea what the reasons of the Compilers were wh: induced them to omit the verses in quest.^{n}.

I told him, however, that I must honestly say that the Hymn seemed to me on the whole <u>better</u> as a Hymn, with the verses 4 & 5 (as they stand in "H.Y.") omitted. Ver 5 is a beautiful one: but it must go, if ver 4 goes. and ver 4 is spoilt by its conclusion. I told him that the word "out-run"[3] struck me as being by no means a felicitous one — and might project an utterly wrong meaning. People commonly understand it in the sense of

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[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4,7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 7 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

[2] *The Holy Year* (1865), Wordsworth's own hymnal. Six of JBD's tunes appear in this book: ALMSGIVING, CONFIRMATION, ILLUMINATION, MERCY-SEAT, RESURRECTION and ST. CUTHBERT.

[3] The full verse reads:
Thou didst not spare Thine only Son,
But gav'st Him for a world undone,
And e'en that gift Thou dost outrun,
And give us all.

"outstrip" or "overpass". So that the term might seem to teach that God after giving His only Son, surpassed and exceeded that Gift, by giving something still better, expressed by the word "all".

The Bp. quotes in his note Rom viii 32[1]. But as I reminded him, S. Paul's argument, & his own argument, (as it appears on the surface) are quite different. S. Paul argues that He who gave the greater & All-inclusive Gift can not & will not withhold the lesser dependent Gifts. The Bishop's language seems almost to intimate (on the other hand) that the lesser Gift, the only Son, came first, and the greater, the "All", in the donation of which the bountiful Donor outran Himself, came, and comes, afterwards.

And I then quoted to the Bp that important statement of Coutier Biggs[2] (whi I think so true) that one single ambiguous expression will often entirely paralyze the devotional power of a Hymn. And therefore that, inasmuch as the teaching of verses 4 & 5 was virtually included in v.6. I thought it safer that they sh.^{d} go.

I told him that I thought, had the punctuation been diff^{t}; &, inst^{d} of a full stop at the end of v.4, there had been a colon, thus (:—) lead^{g} on to the next verse & directly associat^{g} the Gifts there specified with the "All" of the preced^{g} verse, there w^{d} have been less object^{n} to the verses: Still I thought the language required reconsiderat^{n}.

He must write v.4 again for your new and Revised Edit.^{n}. I suggested to him that he might perpetuate the Hymn in its permanent shape there. If I hear from him again I will let you know.[3] But do publish your correspond. Every letter is most complete & telling.

Yours my dear Sir Hen.^{y}

Ever affectionately

John B. Dykes.

P.S. The Bp. speaks also of the "unworkmanlike mutilation" of his Sunday Hymn[4]. I have ventured to defend that "mutilation". I feel sure that the Hymn as a Hymn is improved thereby. Fancy a lot of country people singing about "intersected"[5]. I return the proof of

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1 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?'

2 The Rev. Louis Coutier Biggs, author of *English Hymnology*, a collection of papers written after the publication of his *Annotated Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern.* In the first-mentioned of these books, Biggs says *O day of rest and gladness* 'in spite of one or two weak stanzas, is exceedingly beautiful'

3 The Bishop did reply, on 14 November, graciously accepting the criticism of the word 'outrun' and providing a substitute.

4 *O day of rest and gladness*

5 The extent of the mutilation/improvement can be seen by comparing the hymn as printed in *The Holy Year* (1865) and the 1875 edition of *A&M*.:

v.1 lines 5-8

(HY):	*On thee, the high and lowly,* *Through ages join'd in tune,* *Sing, Holy, Holy, Holy,* *To the great God Triune.*	(A&M)	*On thee the high and lowly,* *Before the eternal throne,* *Sing Holy, Holy, Holy,* *To the great Three in One.*

v.3

(HY):	*Thou art a port protected* *From storms that round us rise;* *A garden intersected* *With streams of Paradise;*	(A&M):	*Thou art a cooling fountain* *In life's dry dreary sand;* *From thee, like Pisgah's mountain,* *We view our promised land;*

your letter. I have just marked a few printer's slips as I read it over. Hoskins is going to write to you about his Litanies with regard to the Refrain.

Of course, I told the Bp[1] that it was impossible for a musical phrase with one definite accentuation to suit equally well *givĕr of all*, and *who gīvest all*. Have either, but not both.

Thou art a cooling fountain
In life's dry dreary sand;
From thee, like Pisgah's mountain,
We view our promised land.

A day of sweet reflection,
A day of hold love,
A day of resurrection
From earth to things above.

It is not known whether or not Wordsworth assented to any of the changes made in A&M. And it is noteworthy that Dykes believed that 'country people' would struggle with the meaning of 'intersected' but would have had no trouble in placing '*Pisgah's mountain*'.

[1] Anent his hymn *O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea*

Letter from JBD to HWB 7 November 1871 (HAM)

S. Oswald's, Durham
Nov: 7. 1871

My dear Sir Henry

Were you to publish the facts alluded to in your letter rec.^{d} this morning, you might indeed be chargeable with "showing the Bp. up"[1]. But this is very different f^{m} the purport of your correspondence. This is simply to vindicate yourself & your co: compilers from a damaging charge that has been publicly made against you, and which will be universally assumed to have been justly made, and will be industriously repeated to your discredit, if not promptly repudiated.

It is not a mere private matter between yourselves & the Bp. It is a matter in which the general X^{n} public may claim to have an interest.

The opportunity appears to me one not to be lost for indirectly asserting what has been your general line of conduct in reference to Hymns & their authors, for many damaging statements on this subject have been spread abroad to which the Bishops particular charge will give wonderful point & confirmation of which the enemies of the Book will be not slow to avail themselves.

However I doubt not you will be wisely advised & will do what is right & best in the matter.

Believe me

My dear Sir Henry

Ever yours affectionately

John B. Dykes

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 November between JBD and HWB; and the letter dated 1 November 1871 from the Bishop to JBD.

Letter from Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln to JBD 14 November 1871 (RCO)

Riseholme,
Lincoln

14 November 71

My dear Sir,

Although I have only a few moments now to do it in, I cannot resist thanking you for your letter.[1]

Your criticism on the word ‘outrun’ in the Hymn which you honoured with a beautiful tune, is just — I would read the two stanzas thus

> Thou didst not spare Thine Only Son
> But gavest Him for a world undone,
> And freely, with that Blessed One,
> Thou gavest all.
>
> Thou giv’st the Holy Spirit’s dower,
> Spirit of life and love and power
> And dost His sevenfold graces shower
> Upon us all.

If the Hymn is reprinted, I should be thankfuk to have it circulated in this form — with your Tune.

Yours sincerely

Lincoln

[1] See the related correspondence between HWB and the Bishop of Lincoln dated 4, 7 & 10 July; 23, 24 & 30 October; and 1 November, 1871; the letters dated 18 & 29 October, and 4 & 7 November between JBD and HWB.

Letter from JBD to H.K. Morley 4 January 1872 (Durham University Add MS 1271/1)

S. Oswald's Vicarage
Durham

Jan 4. 1872

My dear Sir,

I must crave your kind indulgence for not having earlier replied to your courteous communication in reference to your proposed collection of quadruple chants. My only excuse must be that I have been so incessantly engaged since hearing from you that I have never found time to write.

I fear I cannot sympathise with your proposed publication: for I think quadruple chants an utter mistake — at least if you mean that the whole four-fold chant shall be sung over & over again. The great objection to them is that they must make nonsense of any set of words; ending & beginning as they must do in all sorts of incongruous places. If you meant a connected <u>set</u> of 4 single chants which might be used in succession — each fresh chant coming in when the words seem to require or admit of a change — this might be desirable enough: and I shd think a few sets of them might be very useful and acceptable — but certainly not quadruple chants. They are nice and interesting as compositions, but useless & impracticable as auxiliaries to psalms and canticles.

Regretting my inability to cooperate in your work — & wishing you a happy new year

I remain

Yours very truly

John B Dykes

H. K. Morley Esq

Letter from JBD to John Ireland Tucker 13 January 1872 (Knauff[1])

St. Oswald's Vicarage,
Durham, England,
Jan. 13, 1872.

My Dear Sir,

I must offer my sincere apologies for my long delay in answering your obliging letters.

Two difficulties have presented themselves to me in reference to your letter: 1st, the question of terms: 2nd, the character and authority of the proposed book itself.

To begin with this second point. I was puzzled, not long after receiving your first obliging letter, by receiving a communication from Mr. ——, informing me that he was appointed musical Editor of the American Hymnal to which you referred, and requesting me to help him in his work.

So the question arises: are yourself and he engaged in the same work? Is yours a mere private speculation, or his, or both? Or are they both undertaken with the sanction of the Convention? Are they, in fact, opposition works, or are they not? For it seems a pity that there should be a division of energy and forces, a frittering away of resources. Much better that there should be a combination, so as to have one strong book instead of two weak ones.[2]

Then as to terms. I have never been accustomed to write for money, although I have frequently had an "Honorarium" sent me for work done. I therefore seem hardly to know what is a fair remuneration to ask for tunes sent.

As far as feeling is concerned I would much rather not take anything. But when a man has a large parish, and a family growing up, and is not overburdened with this world's goods, and finds considerable difficulty in making both ends meet, I suppose there is nothing objectionable in his resorting to any legitimate means which God's good Providence may throw in his way for enabling him to pay his just and lawful debts, and obtain a little help for those who are dependent on him.

Often as I have contributed to Hymnals, the first and only time that I ever received so much per tune, was in the case of the very last work that I wrote for. In this case the Editor insisted on sending me 3 guineas for every tune. I told him that it seemed to me a good deal: but he never would send less.

There is one benefit in keeping the remuneration rather high, as it prevents the needless multiplication of tunes. And really, we are being so deluged with tunes nowadays (I myself am sometimes quite bewildered with applications from all kinds of quarters) that I am disposed to consider any reasonable check upon their too exuberant production a real benefit.

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1 Knauff, C.W. *Dr. Tucker, Priest-Musician* (A.D.F. Randolph; New York, 1897.)

2 Dykes is being inconsistent, given the large number of hymnals in the England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland for which he composed.

However, I would almost rather that you yourself should suggest what you consider a proper remuneration for tunes, as I have no desire to do anything unreasonable.

Enclosed I send you tunes for the 3 hymns you were good enough to forward to me. “Rock of Ages,” of course, is a beautiful, almost unequalled hymn. But why not have all 4 verses? The other two hymns I do not think much of. I hope they are not a specimen of the average hymns in the Authorized Hymnal. I have done my best, and set them to tunes of a rather melodious character, as I suppose in your country there is a feeling for and appreciation of melody; and if the people cannot get good religious melodies, they will get hold of secular melodies for their hymns.

Any more hymns that you may think good to send me, I shall be happy to endeavor to set, to the best of my power.

With kind regards and renewed apologies for my delay, I beg to remain

My Dear Sir Very faithfully yours

John B. Dykes

P. S.—I am not now Precentor of Durham. I resigned that office when I took my present living.

Letter from Joseph Barnby to JBD 20 January 1872 (RCO)

1, Berners Street, W:
Jan 20 1872

My dear D[r] Dykes

I believe The Hymnary will contain more Tunes of yours than of any other single individual[1] and I will certainly send you proofs of each Tune — enclosed is the first.

With regard to those taken from Chopes Book, we have asked his permission and he has granted it in the kindest manner. But we have heard since that the book belongs to Mackenzie of Glasgow and therefore we feel some doubt whether the permission of Mr. Chope be quite sufficient. If however your Tunes remain your own copyright your permission and that of Mr Chope will suffice. Perhaps you will kindly let me know if this be so.

We are most anxious not to interfere with the rights of others. I can hardly tell you how gratified I feel at the arrangement made between myself and the proprietors of Hymns A&M and I shall not easily forget the kindness of Sir Henry Baker in the matter. I cannot help feeling that the bringing out of The Hymnary together with the new Editions of the S.P.C.K. and Hy A&M will tend to put a stop to all the numerous smaller attempts which are being, and have been constantly made to add to the existing confusion; and thus bring us more near to something like the uniformity which is so much desired. Absolute uniformity I believe to be impossible even if it were desirable, but it would be a great thing to reduce the Hymnals used in the English Church even to five.

Very truly yours,

J Barnby

[1] Unless one counts Barnby's own 50 tunes, Gauntlett's 45, Smart's 33 and Garrett's 17. Dykes's tally of 16 was the same as S.S. Wesley's.

Letter from JBD to Joseph Barnby 23 January 1872 (Durham University Pratt Green MS17/2/1-2)

S. Oswald's Durham
Jan 23. 1872

My dear Mr. Barnby

I return the proof with thanks. As far as my own tunes in Chope's collection are concerned there is no necessity for you to apply to Mr. Mackenzie. The only two tunes of which Mr. Chope possesses the Copyright are

"Rock of Ages" and
"Jerusalem the golden".

As I have not the book to hand at the moment I cannot tell the numbers.

The copyright of all the tunes belong to myself, altho' I made a sort of general promise that his permission sh^{d}. be asked for tunes specially written for his Book.

I am very much gratified to hear from you that you have made a satisfactory arrangement with Sir H. Baker. I rather regret that you have not double bars in your tunes. I think a <u>few</u> at least help the eye very much, & render it easier for singers to get their words correctly.

I have been out on business in the country & am writing in a hurry to make the Post. So excuse a hasty note & with many thanks for your kind letter Believe me

Yours very sincerely

John B Dykes.

Letter from Dr. Edward Steere to JBD 25 January 1872 (RCO)

Little Steeping
Spilsby
25 Jan^{ry} 1872.

My dear Sir

I am extremely glad to have such an evidence of your kindness to carry out with me to Bishop Tozer, I think there could be scarcely anything which would give him more pleasure than such tunes as you have sent me. I hope the will be long sung in our new East African Church.

I hear that my ship is likely to sail about the fifth of February, till then, my address will be "71 Euston Square, London", and after that "Zanzibar, Aden", but as communication is uncertain letters sent to the Rev. W.J. Capel, Cranleigh, Guildford, Surrey, will be forwarded by the first opportunity. I have no doubt that Bishop Tozer will hasten himself to thank you for what you have done and I should hesitate to ask any more were it not that I feel how great a work lies before us and how few are able to do it so thoroughly well as you are. I give you therefore heartily all I have to give our warmest thanks.

I am

Yours very faithfully

Edward Steere[1]

[1] See also letter from Steere to JBD dated 25 January April 1871 and letter from Bishop Tozer dated 25 March 1872.

Letter from Bishop Tozer[1] to JBD 25 March 1872 (RCO)

Zanzibar
March 25. 1872

My dear Sir

Dr Steere[2] has brought me the music which you have been so kind as to compose for the use of our Mission[3].

I speak collectively when I assure you of the deep obligation which you have conferred upon us. The wedding Swahili words to the general run of English tunes is sheer impossibility, as you have already discovered, & I look forward with deep interest to the examination of what you have so kindly forwarded.

The analysis of African music would be exceedingly curious. There are, I imagine 'Modes' utterly unknown to European musicians, which nevertheless are the natural expressions, or method of expressing musical ideas [ ][4]. It is singular that when those of us, who possess excellent 'ears' cannot reproduce short musical phrases after the most wearisome repetition — such I mean, as the Swahili use as an accompaniment to their daily work.

They often sing what sounds strangely like a veritable Gregorian Tone, & once in [ ][5] Dr. Steere & I heard by mere accident one that we were able to name. I am sorry to say that I do not now remember which it was.

All this induces me to think that the diatonic scales wh. appear to us so natural are absolutely artificial, but I have not heard what competant critics think on the subject. I once heard (but only once) a native song which was not minor. It was on the Zambizi, & sung by the men who paddled my canoe. But even in this instance the major was of an exceedingly queer & odd quality.

I suppose the muscial world at home will not spare you to come out & examine all these curious specimens of musical national history but I much wish it would.

Barnby's tune "Cloisters" goes well to one of our native Hymns & a mss. tune, which we had years ago at Munster Square[6] to 70 fits very nicely to the following words

Isa túki kú kumbúka
Moyo [ ]mejia fwiaha
Kukuona, kuzipata
Raha zako, ndilo jema!

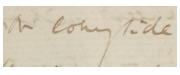
I think that chanting proves an almost greater puzzle than metrical Tunes. It is obvious that some kind of Gregorian music is the best solvent of the difficulty.

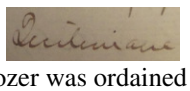
---

1 William George Tozer, 1829-1899, Bishop of Nyasaland, 1863-1873

2 Dr Edward Steere, Tozer's successor

3 The Universities' Mission to Central Africa

4 

5 

6 Tozer was ordained curate at St. Mary's, Munster Square, London NW1, in 1854

At our English services we have to acknowledge, like, I imagine, English Xtians in every part of the world, our deep obligations to you as a Composer.

I cannot hope to encroach very widely on your time & thoughts, but I am sincerely glad to think that at times you turn your eyes in our direction. The adopting Xtianity to the wants of those by whom we are surrounded, instead of the more customary mode of transplanting a slip of the old respectable Plant, yclept "The united Church of England & Ireland", proves a deeply interesting work. But I must forebar entering on the subject, & shall subscribe myself, my dear Sir, Your very deeply obliged

+W.G. Tozer.[1]

[1] See also letters from Edward Steere to JBD dated 24 April 1871 and 25 January 1872.

Letter from JBD to John Ireland Tucker 23 April 1872 (Knauff[1])

[Extract]

Firgrove Lodge,
Weybridge,
Surrey
29 April

Having been away from home for some little time, and on the move, it is only a few days ago that I received your kind and friendly note with the enclosed cheque, for which I beg to offer you my best thanks.

I am glad to hear of you, explanation of Mr.—'s relations with the General Convention, that they are not of any direct and formal nature; for I had rather gathered from his communication that he and he alone was authorized to edit the musical edition of the Hymnal.

Would it be possible to obtain a copy of this Hymnal in England? For, if so, it would probably be more convenient (in case, at any future time, you should require help from me) that you should simply refer to the number of the hymn or hymns for which you are in want of a musical setting, than that you should send me loose slips which are always in danger of being lost.

Moreover I should feel more interest in the work, were I to see it in its entireness, and learn something of its general tone and character. I am sorry to hear your account of it: but with the divided state of parties in the Church, what is one to expect from an *authorized* manual representing all parties, but a somewhat colourless and timid production? Our "Hymns Ancient and Modern" being a private work, has been an immense boon to our Church at home, and has stopped, at least for a time, any attempt at an authoritative hymnal. It has been wonderfully blessed by God in greatly raising the tone of the Churchmanship throughout the English Communion.

[Extract ends]

[1] Knauff, C.W. *Dr. Tucker, Priest-Musician* (A.D.F. Randolph; New York, 1897)

Letter from HWB to JBD 10 July 1872 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

July 10 1872

My dear Dykes

I see that in Hullah's edition of the Book of Praise the words for the "Foe behind, the deep before" are curtailed — something like half of them, and the crabbed queer words are cut off. I see no objection to inserting the words in [that degree][1] in a revised H A & M if the music is really popular & good.

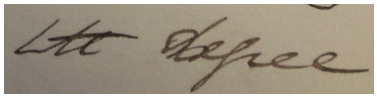
Will you kindly send me a line by Monday to say what musically you think as to the insertion.

I hope to write next week as to Psalter.

Ever affectionately yours

Henry W. Baker

1



Letter from HWB to JBD 7 August 1872 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

August 7. 1872

My dear Dykes

About the new Psalter — The only way, I think, will be for you & Monk and I to meet: & have 3 or 4 days on it: settle what we really do agree on & can do; & do a specimen Psalm or two. Then see whether Stainer will join or not: & decide what we do alone.[1]

Could we meet soon? Where? If you would like to come here, do & welcome. Or if you are thinking of a break at the Lakes could Monk & I meet you there? Probably between 27th inst and Sept 13th would suit me.

Let me have a line soon please.

Affectionately Yrs

Henry W. Baker

We need not work all day at the Lakes.

How well I remember your kindness this time last Year. We had a Celebration in Church yesterday: (The Transfiguration) & aim to have one in the Chapel on the 10th, Saturday, her Burial day.

[1] The Baker, H.W. and Monk, E.G [eds.] '*Psalter & Canticles: Chants Ancient & Modern*' (William Clowes: London, 1878) was published two years after JBD's death.

Pro-forma letter from W H Monk [?][1] to those listed at the end of the letter 11 September 1872 (HAM)

My dear sir

In view of the proposed new Ed. of H.A.& M. for which the Committee are gradually making preparation, it is considered adviseable to ask the opinion of Musical friends on the question of Double Bars. We have long experienced how difficult it is to prevent, even in well-trained Choirs the practice of stopping, or making a pause invariably at a double Bar, often to the great hindrance of the flow of the melody. We desire your opinion as to whether it would conduce to the correction of this fault, if the double bar at the end of the first and third strain of many tunes were omitted: and a proof of two tunes is enclosed, in which this has been done. Will you favour me by giving this little point your consideration, and by writing me a few lines, if possible, sometime this month, on it?

It is of course remembered that the question will have to be considered of [*sic*] every tune, separately; and that what we ask, is as to the general effect: and whether there would arise, among members of country choirs, any greater difficulty in "keeping the place" from the omission of the double Bar.

List of persons who are to be consulted on the question of Double Bars.

Sept 11. 1872

D[r] Dykes and D[r] Stainer. HW.B[2]
Ouseley. HW.B
Wesley
H. Smart
Sir G. Elvey
Oakley HW.B
G. Cooper
R. Brown-Borthwick?
A.H. Brown WHM
D[r] Hague
D[r] Steggall
Sir. W.S. Bennett?
Hullah WHM
W. Macfarren WHM
G.A. Macfarren
~~Williams~~
Irons?
Bishop Jenner
Havergal?
Dr Jebb?

Could a sort of general letter to Choirmasters of "Districts" be written for insertion in the "Mus. Standard" or "Choir". We are of course shut out of Mus Times. How great is the want of a Mus Periodical of any value.

I suppose each of us knows a few people who might be asked their opinion as well, for which a few extra copies would come in useful? I have no copy of this list: but will undertake to do this.

---

[1] This draft and annotated copy of a pro-forma letter bears no indication of whose signature was to be appended. The writing is certainly not HWB's, although at least one reply is addressed to him. It is possible that it was drafted for HWB by Monk.

[2] One infers that the initials after certain of the names indicate that a reply has been received from these people.

Letter from John Stainer to HWB 17 September 1872 (HAM)

7 Upper Montague Street
Russell Square

Sept 17[1]

Dear Sir Henry — You have broached a very difficult question.

I think the book ~~will~~ would appear better without bars at the end of lines of words/— but I believe them to be an absolute necessity. So I vote for them.

As to the expression marks — please do not introduce too many, or all will be overlooked.

Moreover — genuine congregational singing is hopeless where a choir is alternately rising on a high wave of sound and suddenly dropping down into its trough.

I was obliged to use "Thou art gone up" in S. Paul's last Ascension Tide — so I dished up your tune as enclosed[2]. It seemed to go well & to please.

I send one to Monk & to Dykes.

I think it would be better to alter the harmonies (as I have) and so make it suitable to the words — than to kick it out because it is unsuitable.

May God's blessing be with D[r]. Dykes in his important struggle for true Christian liberty. My wife sends kind regards.

Yours truly

John Stainer

I like the type very much.

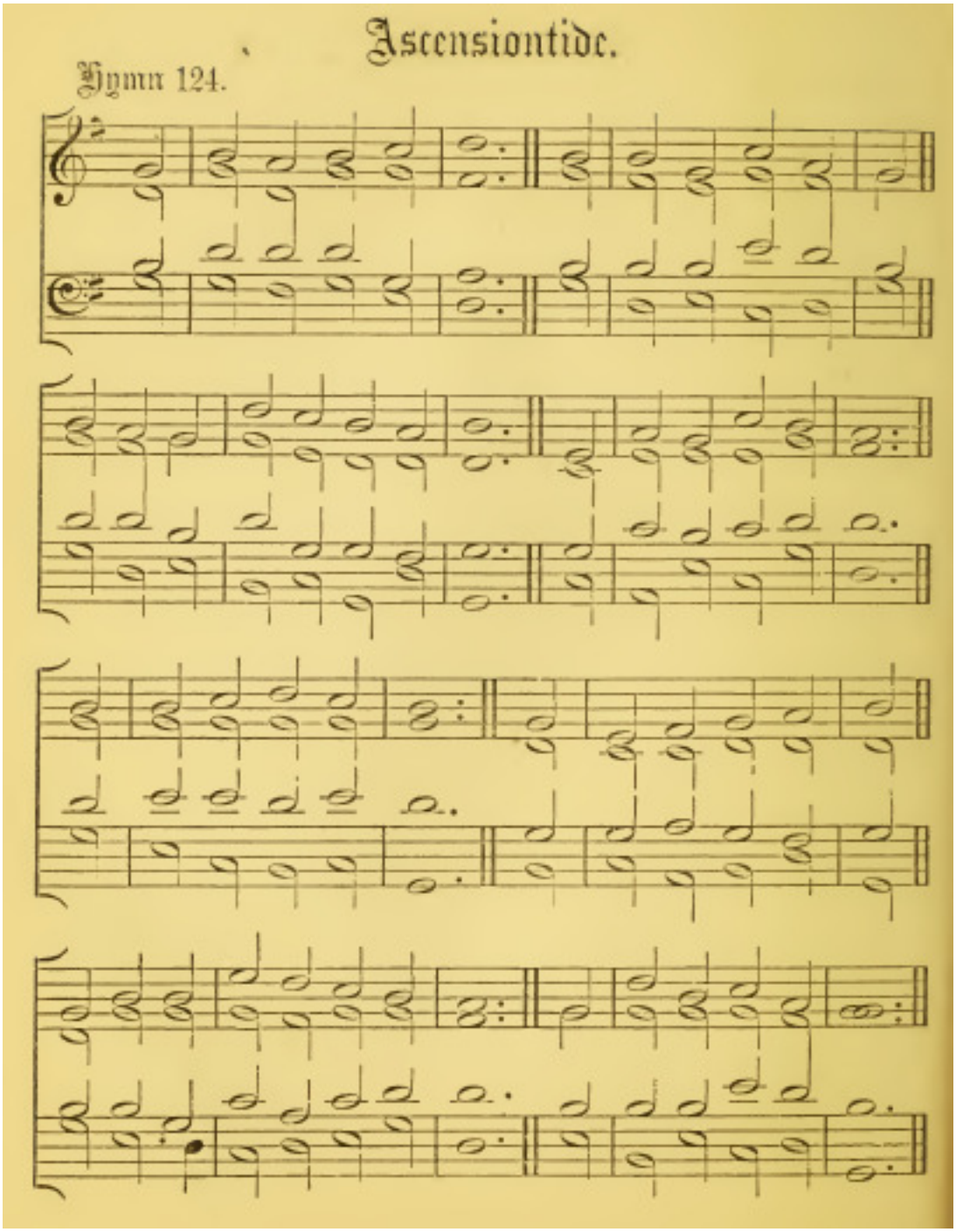
You must mark Unison and Harmony were [*sic*] the effect is good.

---

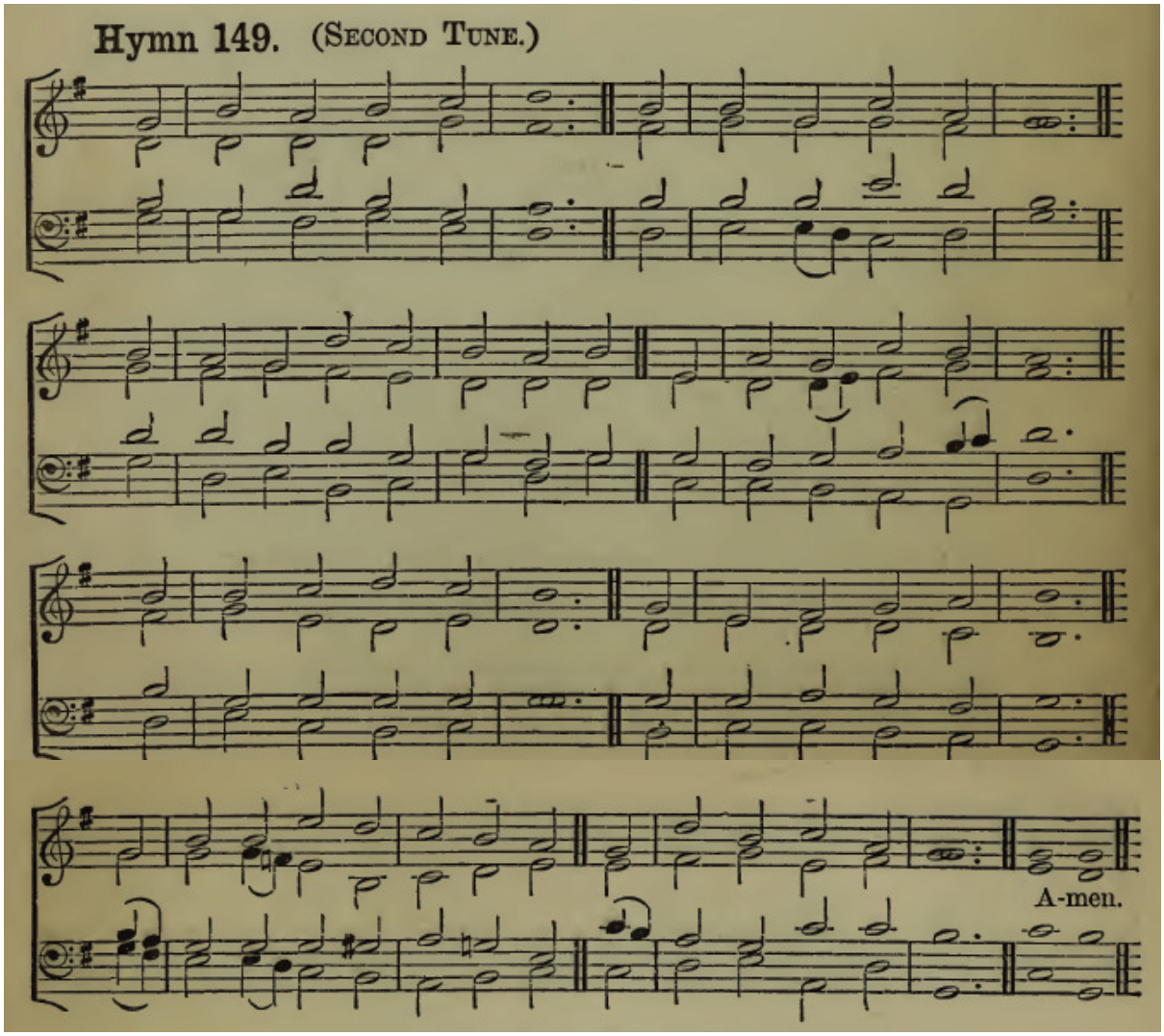
[1] The year is not written but the letter clearly responds to a circular letter of 11 September 1872 about the desirability or otherwise of printing double bar lines at the end of each line of words.

[2] OLD 25th. Dykes's tune for the hymn—OLIVET—was first published in this year in the *Hymnal Companion*, and was used (as the first of two tunes) in the 1875 edition of HA&M. See below.

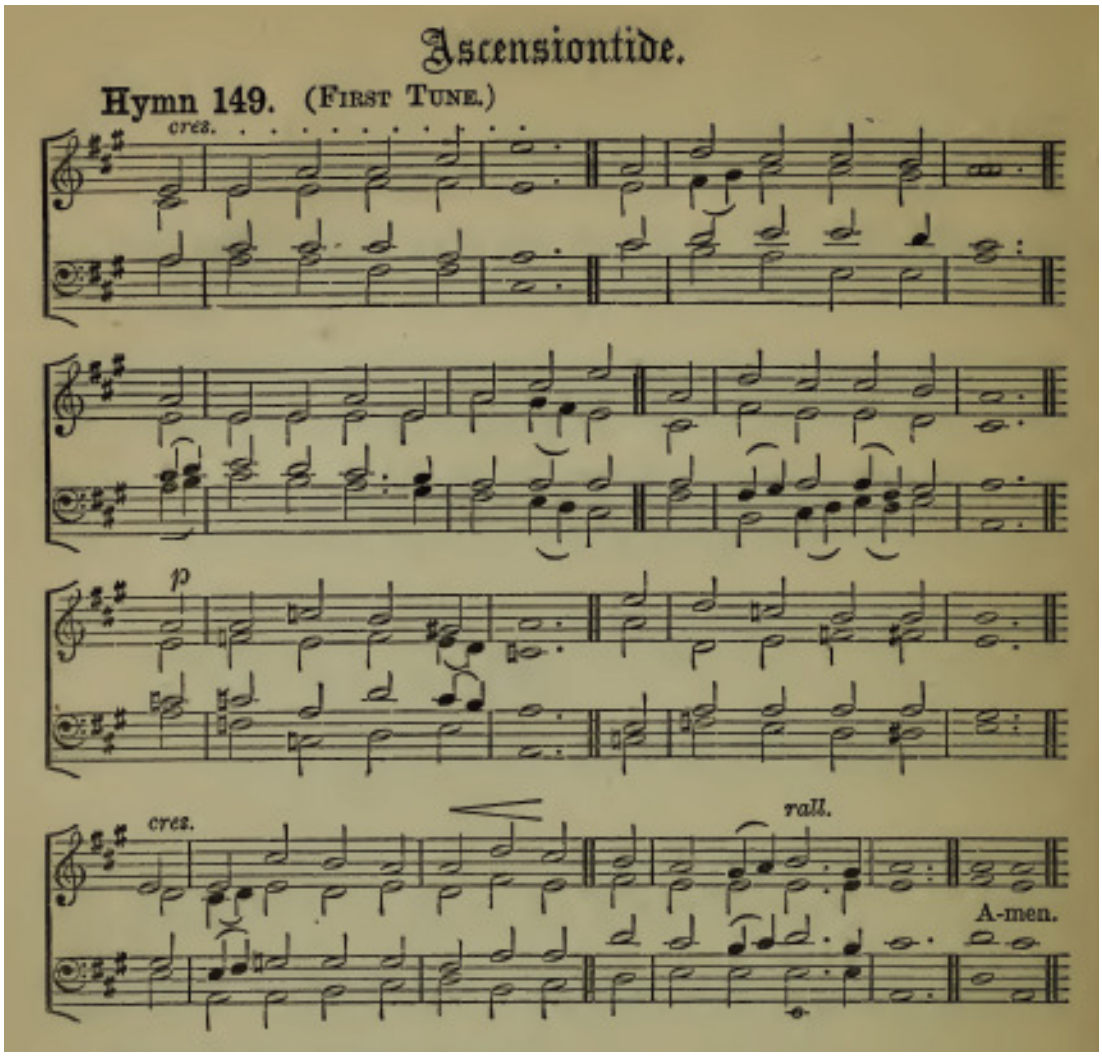
OLD 25th (HA&M 1861)



OLD 25th (HA&M 1875)



OLIVET (HA&M 1875)



Letter from HWB to JBD 20 September 1872 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

My dear Dykes

I send on the proofs to Monk — they stupidly put 2 of "Bedford" instead of one of it & one of enclosed. — But indeed I cannot assent to the new form of "I heard the voice of Jesus say".[1] I can't think what has given you such a liking for unison. I very unwillingly assented to your Tune with Bass solo! for "Come unto Me ye weary"[2] — and now here is one of your very best & most popular Tunes spoiled in like way ———

Pray don't press it. — Forgive me: but you know there is a proverb about letting "well alone"—[3]

Ever affectionately y^{rs}

H.W. Baker

Sept. 20th 1872

Did you ever meet with anybody who wished the Tune altered? I never did—

I have another opinion (R.Randall) against the theology of Mrs Alderson's[4] Hymn—

---

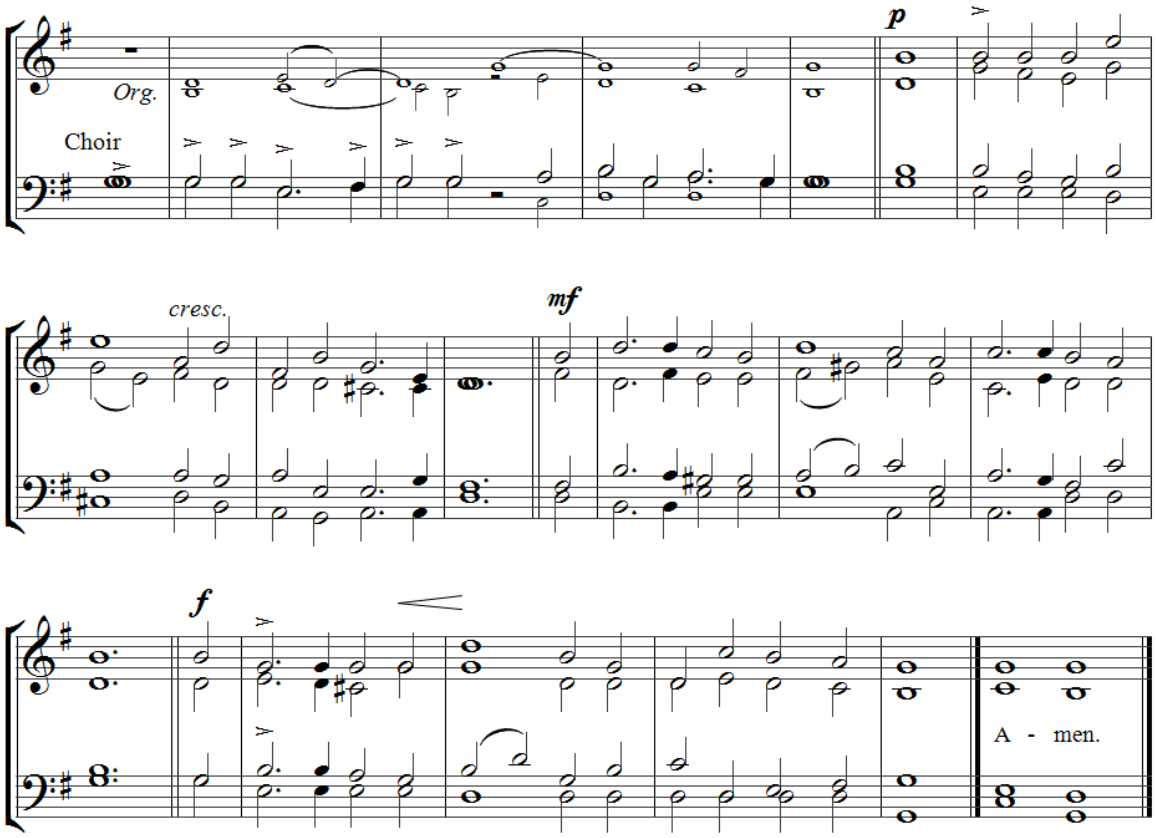
1 VOX DILECTI. HWD evidently relented, as the four part harmony in bars 1—3 in the 1868 Appendix give way to unison (with organ harmonies) in the 1875 edition.

2 COME UNTO ME, see below

3 It would appear that JBD did press it, for the opening five bars which were in four part harmony in the 1868 Appendix to the 1861 edition are unison in the 1875 edition. See below.

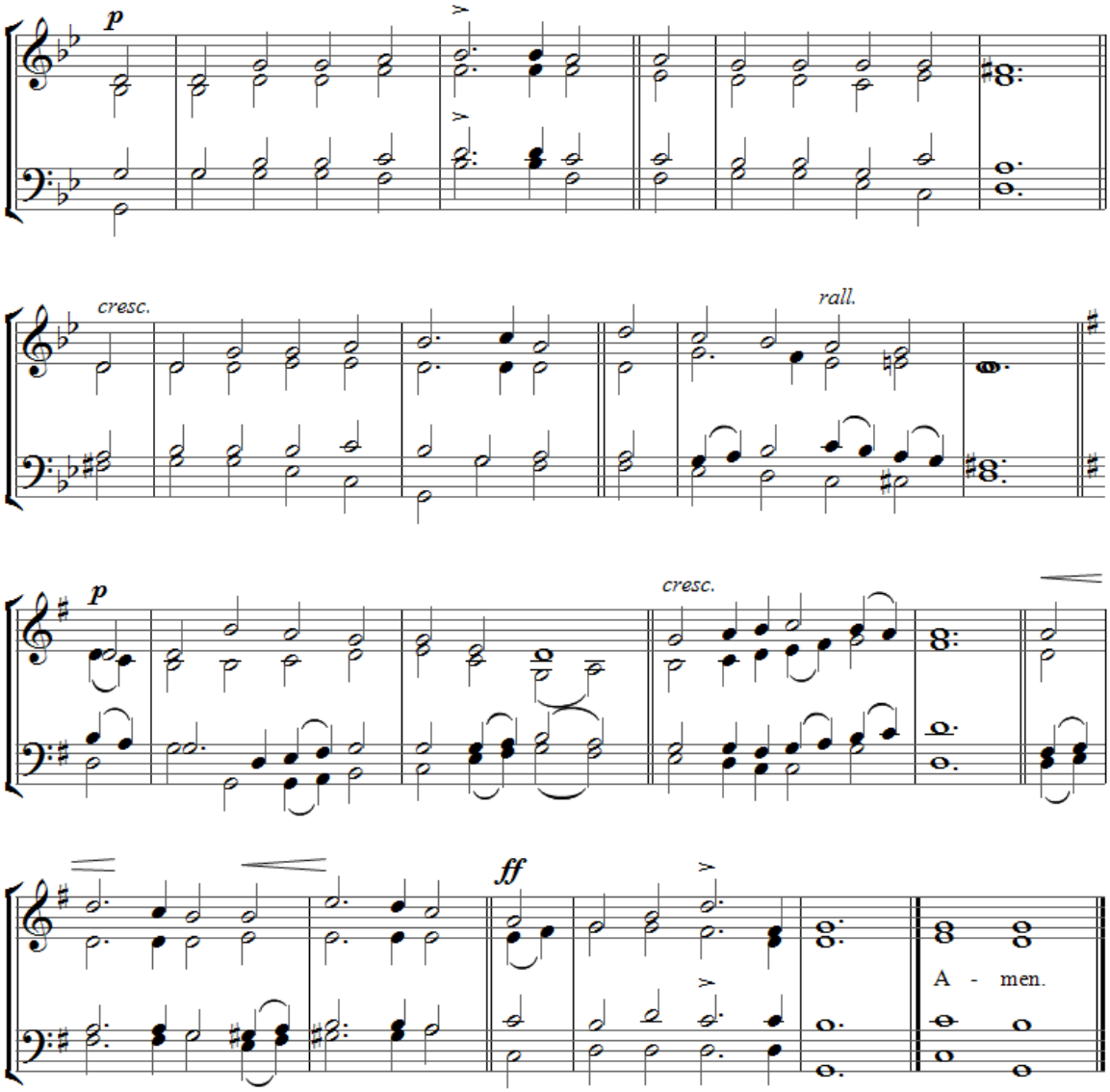
4 Eliza Alderson, JBD's sister

Come Unto Me (7676D)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.256

"Come unto Me, ye weary,
And I will give you rest."
O blessèd voice of Jesus,
Which comes to hearts oppress;
It tells of benediction,
Of pardon, grace and peace,
Of love that hath no ending,
Of love which cannot cease.

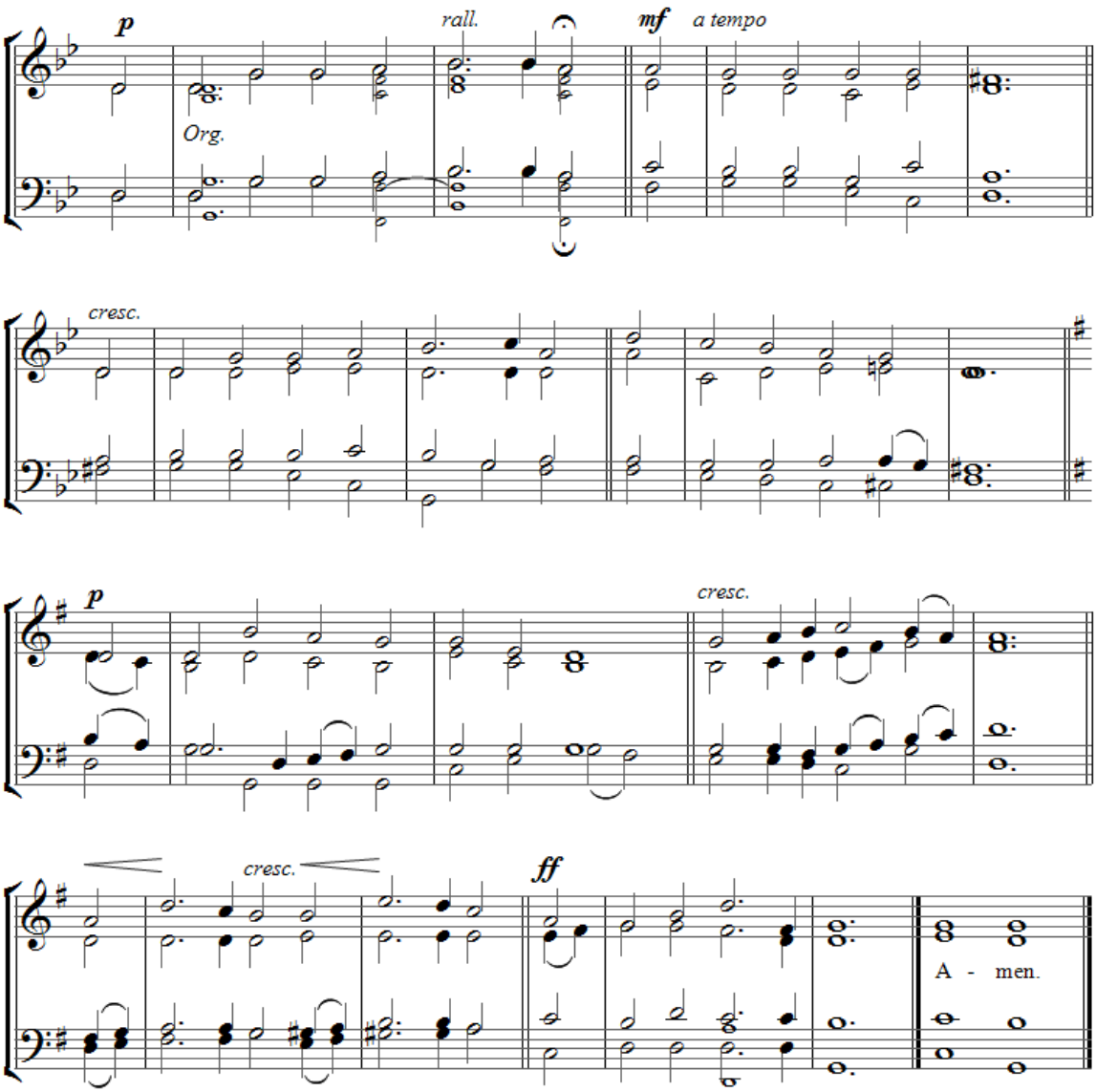
William C. Dix

Vox Dilecti (a) (DCM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1868) No.317

I heard the voice of Jesus say
"Come unto me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one, lay down
Thy head upon My Breast:"
I came to Jesus as I was
Weary, and worn, and sad;
I found in Him a resting-place,
And He has made me glad.

Horatio Bonar

Vox Dilecti (b) (DCM)

Hymns Ancient and Modern (1875) No.257

I heard the voice of Jesus say,
"Come unto Me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one, lay down
Thy head upon My Breast."
I came to Jesus as I was,
Weary, and worn, and sad;
I found in Him a resting-place,
And He has made me glad.

Horatio Bonar

Letter from HWB to JBD 23 September 1872 (RCO)

Lea House
Lennox Street
Weymouth
Sep 23. 1872

My dear Dykes

A most kind letter has followed me from the Langham Hotel from you —

I am afraid you will be very vexed & annoyed with me when you get my letter saying that I have given up the Congress altogether — and I cannot say what a disappointment it is to me not to be there: & <u>especially</u> not to be with you at your brother's—

I <u>ought</u> to have taken a good holiday in July & then it would have been all right — but I could not rest then—

I trust that I am doing right in giving it up — though it vexes me after having had my name printed to shirk— I am resolved to make no more promises to do anything till the revised Edition of H.A. &M is out: I have not given half the time that I ought to it: and it will take all my powers of head & letter writing I am <u>sure</u>.

Pray forgive me for cutting Leeds.

I am here till Friday, then to Monkland I hope for one week: then perhaps back here: or elsewhere for a further wk.

We meet (if GOD will) in London November 5th to get some rough copy of Hymns ready for private circulation showing our <u>needs</u> as well as what we have—

Litanies to follow—

We have settled to give a Hymn for <u>each</u> Apostles' Day as you wish—

Believe me ever

Affectionately yours

Henry W. Baker

Letter from the Rev. William Walsham How to JBD 11 December 1872 (RCO)

Whittington Rectory
Oswestry
Dec^{r}. 11. 1872

Dear Dr. Dykes,

I was working with Arthur Sullivan last week at his forthcoming Tune-book for the new S.P.C.K "Church Hymns". I need not tell you that again & again, as we went thro' the Hymns, your name was in our mouths. We are in perplexity, longing for your tunes yet afraid to ask, & wishing to avoid any approach to what w^{d}. be distasteful to the Committee of Hymns A & M. There are some of your tunes which it seems almost impossible to do without, such as S^{t}. Sylvester for "Days and Moments", & Melita. But I will not particularize. I think the best way is to go straight to the point, & to ask you 1st whether you w^{d}. be willing to help us by granting the use of <u>any</u> of your tunes; 2^{ndly} if so, <u>which</u> are you able to grant the use of; & 3^{rdly} whether there are any terms or conditions you c^{d}. mention? As to Hymns, Sir H. Baker has kindly given us many, & we have placed all ours, over which we have any control, at his service for his enlarged edition. We, of course, desire to act most honourably towards him. I fear most of your tunes w^{d}. be, at any rate morally, the property of A & M. But some (as S^{t}. Sylvester) appeared in other books — as Chope's. So we cannot but hope that we may have the privilege of obtaining the use of a few. At any rate I write to ask, as we sh^{d}. be glad to know what hopes we may entertain. I think your "Almsgiving" is another which seems almost necessary to its hymn. I dare not dream of St. Cuthbert's &Lyte, yet I c^{d}. never sing the hymns to anything else.

Our strong desire is in no single parish to supplant A & M but to provide a book which may take the place of the wretched old S.P.C.K. books, & of many other inferior books, & then we hope if A. & M. & this eventually occupy the ground (or approximately do so), it may be possible to have a general book for the Church of England. But it must be years before we are ripe for this.

Believe me, with many apologies for this letter,

Yours very truly

Wm Walsham How.[1]

I write this entirely on my own account, & without anyone else's knowledge.

[1] b13 Dec 1823, d1897. Subsequently Bishop-Suffragan of Bedford (1879) and Bishop of Wakefield (1888).

Letter from the Rev. William Walsham How to JBD 6 January 1873 (RCO)

Whittington Rectory
Oswestry.
Epiphany. 1873.

My dear D^{r}. Dykes,

I must write one line of sincerest thanks for your very kind letter. I have ventured to send it to A. Sullivan, & when I hear from him, I will write to you again. We, of course, wish not to ask Sir Henry Baker too much, for, as your tunes are the making of Monk's Tune-book, it w^{d}. not be right to ask for all the plums. So please do not write to him till you hear from me again.

Sincerely & gratefully yours

W^{m}. Walsham How.

Letter from William Walsham How to JBD 15 January 1873 (RCO)

Whittington Rectory,
Oswestry.
Jan^{y} 15. 1873.

Dear Dr. Dykes,

I have heard from Sullivan this morning. He seems to me disturbingly modest in his request. The tunes he asks for, & for your sanction to our use of which we sh$^{d.}$ be deeply grateful, are the following:—

S$^{t.}$ Sylvester.
Pax Dei.
Dies Irae.
Melita.
Nicaea.
Oswestry (which you kindly wrote for me.).

If you are kindly willing to sanction our use of these, I will write to those interested, unless you w$^{d.}$ prefer doing so yourself. Am I right in supposing I sh$^{d.}$ apply to Mr Chope for S$^{t.}$ Sylvester, & to Sir Henry Baker for the other 4?

Believe me ever
Yours very truly
W$^{\underline{m}}$ Walsham How.

It w$^{d.}$ be a great favour if <u>you</u> were to write to Sir Henry Baker for us. But I will, if you like.

Letter from JBD to Mr M Miller 16 January 1873 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage
Durham
Jan: 16. 1873

My dear Sir

I must apologise for not having earlier answered your note. The tunes you mention were all four of them specially written for H.A.&M. and I have a sort of promise to the Editor of that work that I w.^{d} refer all applicants for their use of the tunes to himself. As far as I am concerned you are quite at liberty to print the tunes S. Cuthbert, S. Andrew, Melita & Hollingside in your forthcoming book. But I think you should also ask permission of

the Rev Sir H.W. Baker Bar^{t}
Monkland
N^{r} Leominster

I do not apprehend that he will offer any objection.

You will tell him, perhaps, that you have got <u>my</u> permission for the use of the tunes.

Believe me

My dear sir

faithfully yours

John B. Dykes

Mr. M. Miller

Letter from William Walsham How to HWB 27 February 1873 (HAM)

Whittington Rectory
Oswestry
Feb^{ry} 27, 1873

Dear Sir Henry Baker,

Thank you much. Your letter suggests exactly what I sh^{d} like best, a fair interchange. I will forward it to the authorities & see if I can get the matter put into proper form. Some of A. Sullivan's new tunes, & others we have, are very beautiful. I don't know the least what Fuller asked you for, but Sullivan wished, I know, to ask for some of Monk's tunes, for as few as possible of D$^{r.}$ Dykes', as he felt we had no right to pick out plums and ask for them.

I will most gladly do any thing I can to perfect your book, & will annotate the copy you send, as I can find time. I already in half a minute's glance see 2 or 3 suggestions I c^{d} make. You will probably be inundated with suggestions. I will also in a day or two send you a copy of "Church Hymns" with all those marked which we can offer to you, & as the S.P.C.K. has no sort of control over them, we (the Compliers) shall be glad that you sh^{d} make the freest use of anything that you like amongst them. The S. Andrew's Hymn is not mine, but is by a young lady friend of mine, a Miss Maude Oswell, who will be only too proud of your approval.[1]

Our mission was wonderfully blest, & the last 3 or 4 days were wholly occupied with seeing people from morning till night. I do trust that there may be some good fruit of it.

Believe me
Yours very truly
W^{m} Walsham How.

You do not tell me about Troyte's Chant Tunes. Have you the copyright? I see they have no asterisk.

I am sorry to see you keep your old transfig^{n} Hymn — the very words of Neale's translations, & about the worst in your book.[2] Church Hymns 337 (Plumptre's)[3], & possibly 303[4], seem better, & there are one or two more worth considering on the subject.[5]

---

1 *The strain of joy and gladness*. The index identifies her as 'Maude (Oswell) Coote'. If, by 'your approval', Walsham How meant 'your use of the hymn in the next edition of HAM', Miss Coote was to be disappointed.

2 *In days of old on Sinai*
The Lord Almighty came
In majesty of terror,
In thunder-cloud and flame;
On Tabor, with the glory
Of sunniest light for vest,
The excellence of beauty
In Jesus was expressed.

The hymn was set to AURELIA by S.S. Wesley.

3 *Behold they gain the lonely height*

4 *Upon the holy Mount they stood*

5 Baker was evidently not persuaded, as the hymn was included in the 1875 edition of HAM.

Letter from W.J. Hall to JBD 6 May 1873 (RCO)

Shooters Hill. S.E.
May 6. 1873

My dear Sir

I fear you must think my silence very ungracious. The truth is I have only just returned from Torquay and have only now received your kind note with its enclosure. I have tried the tune[1] over and like it much, and have no doubt from the character of it that it will still further improve upon acquaintance.

You shall of course see a proof sheet — tho' it cannot be for some time yet. I propose to give the words of the Hymn not in the form in which I sent them to you, but as they appear in the Book of Praise. —— With all existing Hymnals I confess myself entirely dissatisfied, and in compiling another[2] I do little more than expunge a great quantity of rubbish. There are I believe about 150 really good hymns in the English language, hymns patient of an exact criticism — and these with some 50 more necessary but inferior compositions I propose to give. Whether such a book will be generally acceptable I more than doubt, but as a protest on the side of rationality and good taste it may perhaps be not altogether useless.

Please accept my best thanks for your generous assistance

& Believe me

very faithfully yours

W.J. Hall

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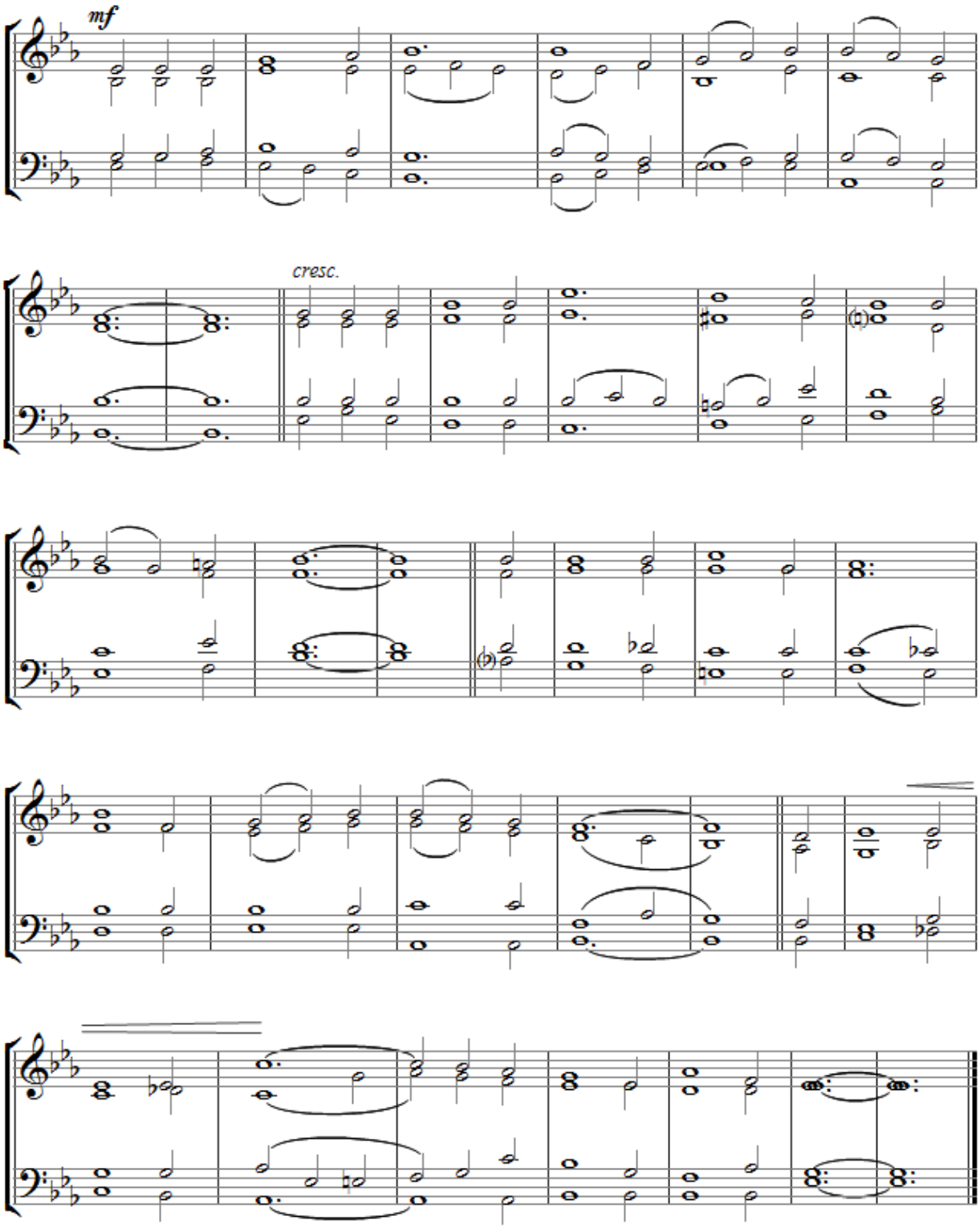
1 ELEUTHERIA — see below.

2 *The New Mitre Hymnal*

Eleutheria (7676D)

New Mitre Hymnal (1875) No. 42

Hail to the Lord's anointed, great David's greater Son!
Hail in the time appointed, His reign on earth begun!
He comes to break oppression, to set the captive free;
To take away transgression and rule in equity.

James Montgomery

Letter from Henry Littleton to JBD 19 May 1873 (RCO)

Novello
London Sacred Music Warehouse,
London: 1 Berners Street (W)

May 19 1873

Rev^{d} Sir

I would prefer printing your Psalm for you.[1] I enclose estimates for the score and vocal parts folio size, also for the vocal score in 8vo size. I cannot get it engraved in England but can have it done in Germany much better than the English engraver can do it and the time taken will be little more. If you have the chorus parts done separately perhaps you can get them copied with the proper ones. I have reckoned to print the solos in the separate vocal parts, but perhaps you may wish them left out and so save space. I will send it to the engraver directly you decide to have it done.

Yours truly

Henry Littleton

Rev^{d} D^{r} Dykes

I shall be glad to see your Service in E flat as soon as it is ready if you could send it to me.[2]

[1] JBD's anthem setting of Psalm 23. See also letter from Frederick Dykes to JBD dated 10 June 1873.

[2] This whereabouts of this Service, if indeed it was completed, is currently unknown.

Letter from Lady Victoria Evans Freke to JBD 20 May 1873 (RCO)
(1)

Belmont
Bournemouth
May. 20. 1873.

Lady Victoria Evans Freke presents her comp^{ts} to the Reverend Dr Dykes and hopes he will pardon her for taking the liberty of asking his assistance for a Tune Book she is compiling as a Companion Volume to the Reverend Edward Harland's Church Psalter & Hymnal.[2] She had some time ago a great desire to collect in one Volume all her favourite Tunes & about four years ago, when she first began the work she found it necessary to adapt the Tunes to some Words & becoming acquainted through a family connection with the Reverend E. Harland and his Hymnal, she asked and obtained his leave to form a Companion Volume of Tunes for his Book.

She has been alone in the work of compilation and arrangement; & of course it has been no slight work. Her brother Lord Brownlow Cecil has reharmonized some of the Tunes, and Mr G. Prior, Organist of St. Barnabas, London, has undertaken to revise the whole work where it is necessary and will reharmonize the greater part of the old melodies.

Lady Victoria Freke's work is not therefore to add to the many Hymnals — but is simply a humble attempt to supply to a good and much valued Hymnal the great want of a suitable Tune Book.

Lady V. Freke trusts therefore that Dr. Dykes will render her some assistance — that he will allow her to use Tunes of his already published of which he retains the Copyright and also she earnestly hopes that he will favour her Book with some new Tunes which she will gladly purchase, as she is most anxious to obtain some new ones of first class merit for her Book. The Reverend R.R. Chope has very kindly favoured Lady V. Freke with several Tunes by Dr. Dykes which are his copyright:— and she trusts Dr Dykes will endorse the gift with his approval.

They are Laud, Dies Irae, St Sylvester, St Aelred, Magdalena, St Oswin, Jerusalem, Lent, St Bees, St Godric, St Werburgh, St Drosdane [*sic*], Sychar, Butterby.— All tunes for which Lady V. Freke is most truly grateful.— With regard to "Lent" she would be glad to know whether the tune as altered in the "Hymnary" is the correct edition for the last line.[3]

She originally possessed St. Bees in the key of A flat major & one in G. — Would Dr Dykes object to this tune & also "Jerusalem" being transposed half a tone higher than the originals? — Lady V. Freke is anxious her Book should suit Village Choirs who mostly sing in unison & she finds very low as well as very high tunes unsuitable to their voices.

Lady V. Freke fears that Hollingside, St Cross, Melita, St Cuthbert & Nicaea belong to Hymns Ancient & Modern. If any of these four [*sic*][4] Tunes do still belong to Dr Dykes

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1 The letter has few discernable paragraph breaks. Paragraph demarcations are editorial and inserted for ease of reading.

2 This was eventually published as *The Song of Praise* (1875).

3 The tune originally appeared as ST. EDMUND in Grey's *Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1857), then as LENT in Chope's *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* (1862), then again as ST. EDMUND in Cooke's *The Hymnary* (1872) before appearing in Lady Evans Freke's book. No two versions are identical. See below for the version as it appeared in *The Song of Praise*.

4 ST. CROSS was inserted into the list as an afterthought.

would he allow her the use of them? — as they seem to Ly V.E. Freke inseparable from their Words.—

Sir H. Baker is at present quite determined not to assist Ly V. Freke's Book — & she will be very grieved if she cannot obtain those beautiful Tunes by Dr Dykes.[1]— She also begs to know whether the tune in the "Hymnary" to "Behold the Lamb of God"[2] is a copyright of Mess[rs] Novello — or whether Dr Dykes would allow her to have it? — also "Amplius" in the Anglican Tune Book?

If Dr Dykes will favour her with some new Tunes, she will send him shortly some Words to select from, if he should so wish it.— She will gladly purchase Dr Dykes tunes, if he will favour her with his terms. & most grateful will she be for any assistance — as at present Mess[rs] Novello, and Sir H Baker refuse to help her, though she has met with a good deal of kindness from others.

Lady V. Freke apologises for this long letter. & hopes Dr Dykes will pardon her for asking for so many of his Tunes, but all those she has met with are <u>so</u> beautiful, that she trusts he will excuse the desire to possess them.

<u>Tunes by the Reverend Dr Dykes</u>

Amplius	68s[3]
Dies Dominica	D.7.6
Thanksgiving	LM
St Agnes	C.M.
Hollingside	D7s
Melita	68s
St Cross	L.M
Nicaea	P.M.
St Cuthbert	

Also those named in the letter as taken from the Rev. R.R. Chope's Congregational T. Book with his permission. Also N[o] 548 Hymnary.[4]

If Dr Dykes will allow her to use the above or those which he has the power to give Lady V.E. Freke will be deeply gratified to him. — also for any others not name in this list which he is able to let her have.[5]——

(6)

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1 One presumes she must have remained grieved—Baker did not change his mind.

2 ECCE AGNUS

3 i.e. 6 lines of 8 metrical feet.

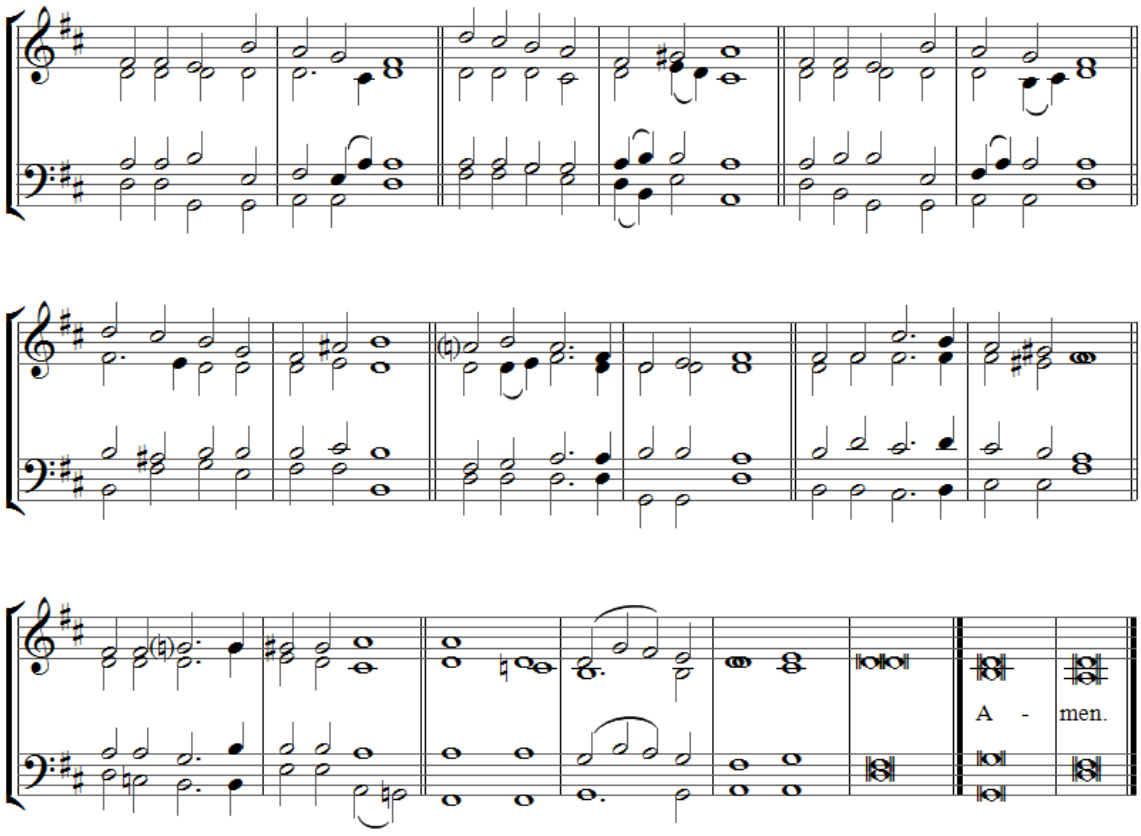
4 ECCE AGNUS

5 JBD contributed the following tunes specifically for *The Song of Praise:* CREPUSCULUM; VESPERI LUX; DEUS NOSTER REFUGIAM; SALVUM ME FAC; DIES TENEBROSA; PASCHA; EUCHARISTICA; RESURRECTIO; SALVATOR ET AMICUS; JESU, MAGISTER BONE and QUID RETRIBUAM—see below.

6 There is no close or signature, in conformity to the formal third person opening of the letter.

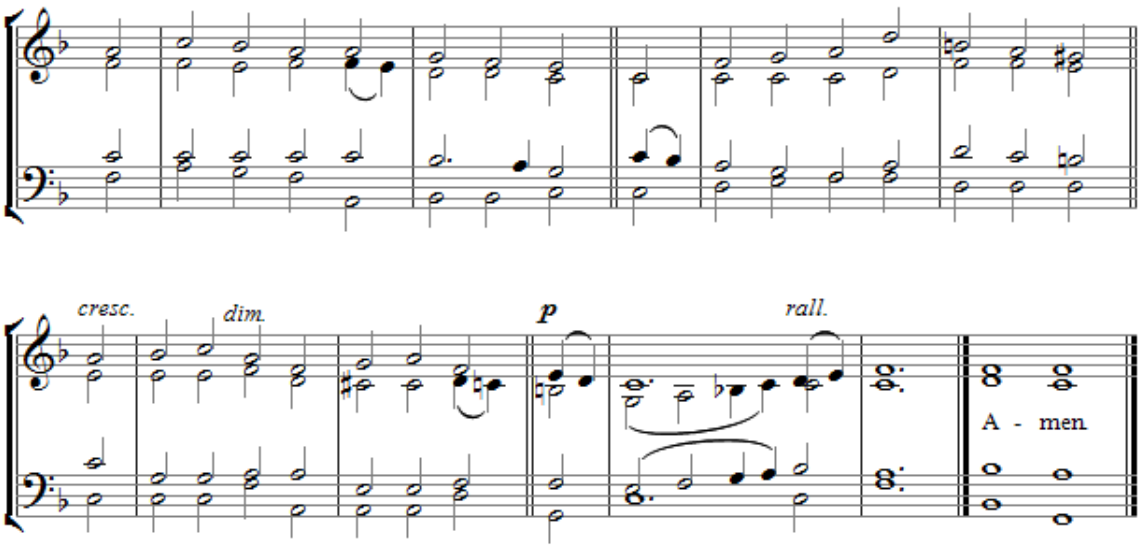
Lent (7777D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No. 439
(The original version appeared in
The Manual of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (1857))

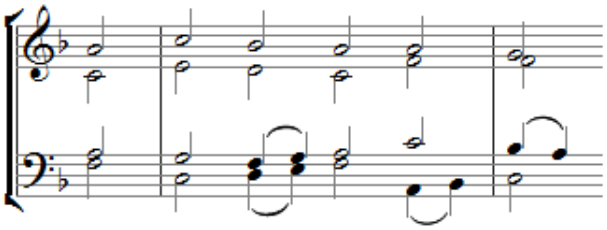
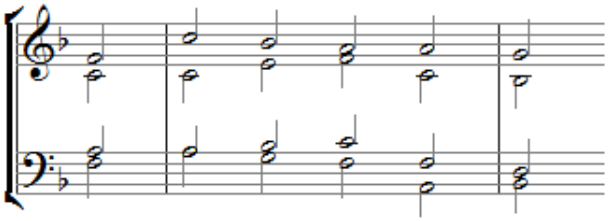
Other names:
St. Edmund
Edmund

Object of my first desire,
Jesus, crucified for me;
All to happiness aspire;
I would seek it, Lord, in Thee:
Thee to praise, and Thee to know,
Make the joys of saints below:
Thee to see, and Thee to love,
Make the bliss of saints above.

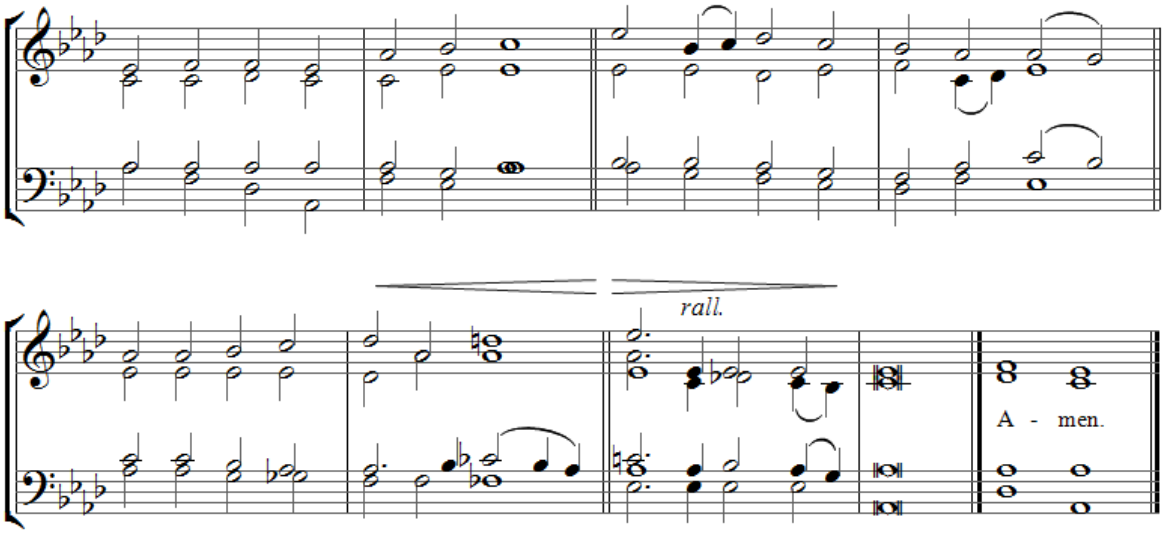
Augustus M. Toplady

Crepusculum (8884)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.410

The radiant morn hath passed away,
And spent too soon her golden store;
The shadows of departing day
Creep on once more.

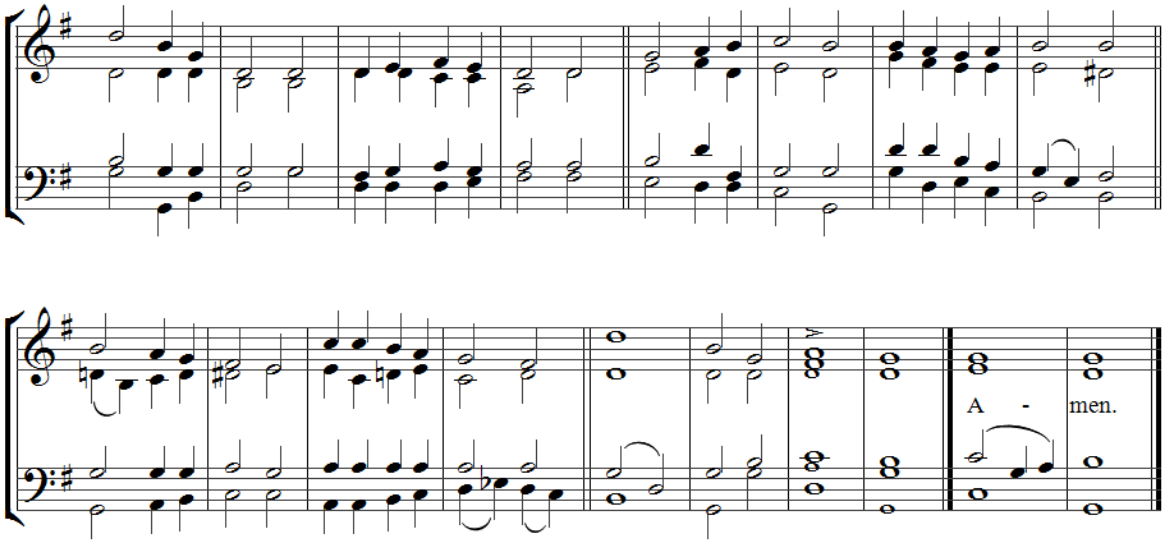
Godfrey Thring

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of 'Dominus Regit Me'...

...and 'Hosanna':

Vesperi Lux (7775)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.414

Holy Father, cheer our way
With Thy love's perpetual ray:
Grant us every closing day
Light at Evening-time.

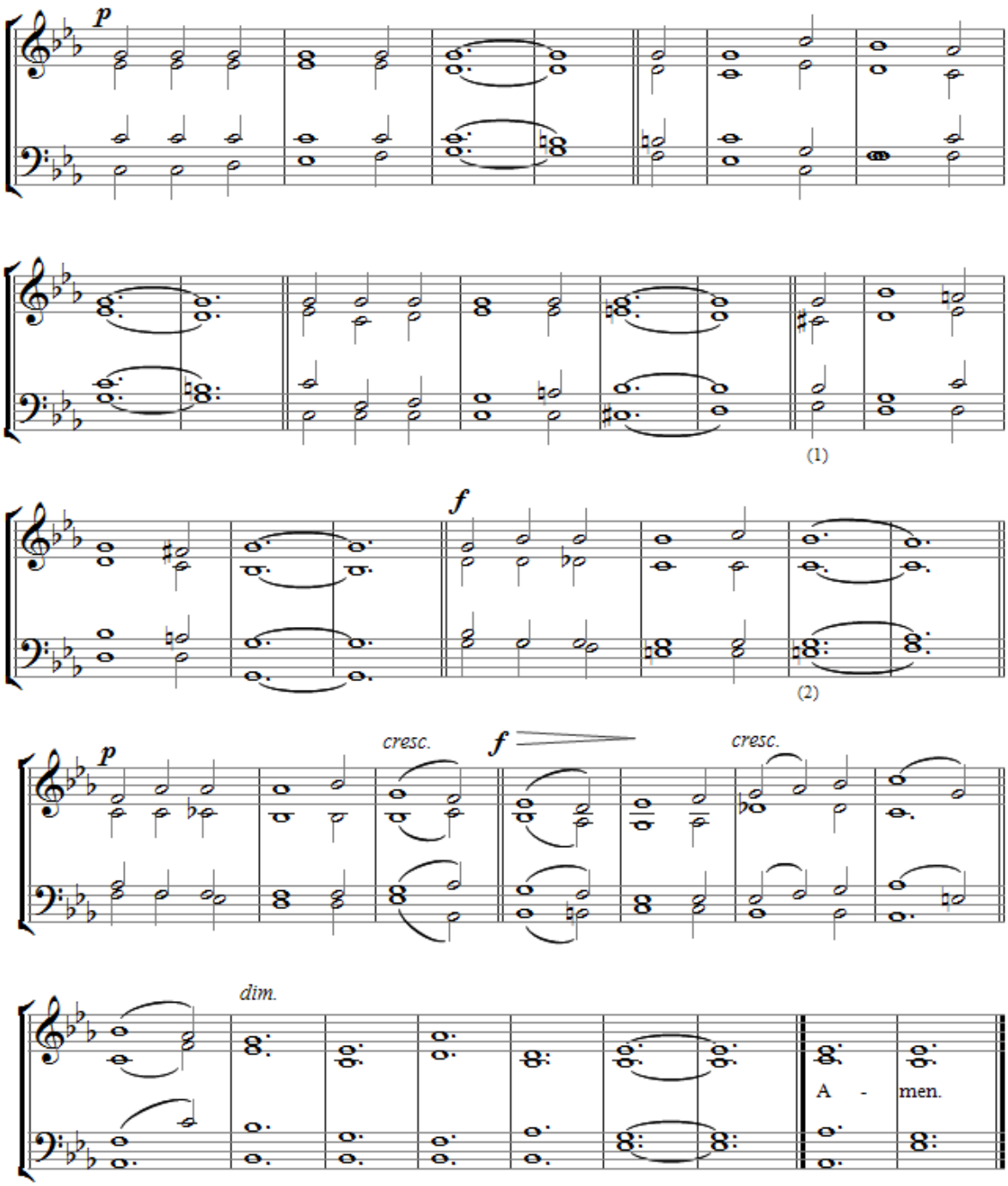
Richard H. Robinson

Deus Noster Refugiam (11.11.11.5)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.417

Now God be with us, for the night is closing,
The light and darkness are of His disposing;
And 'neath His shadow here to rest we yield us,
For He will shield us.

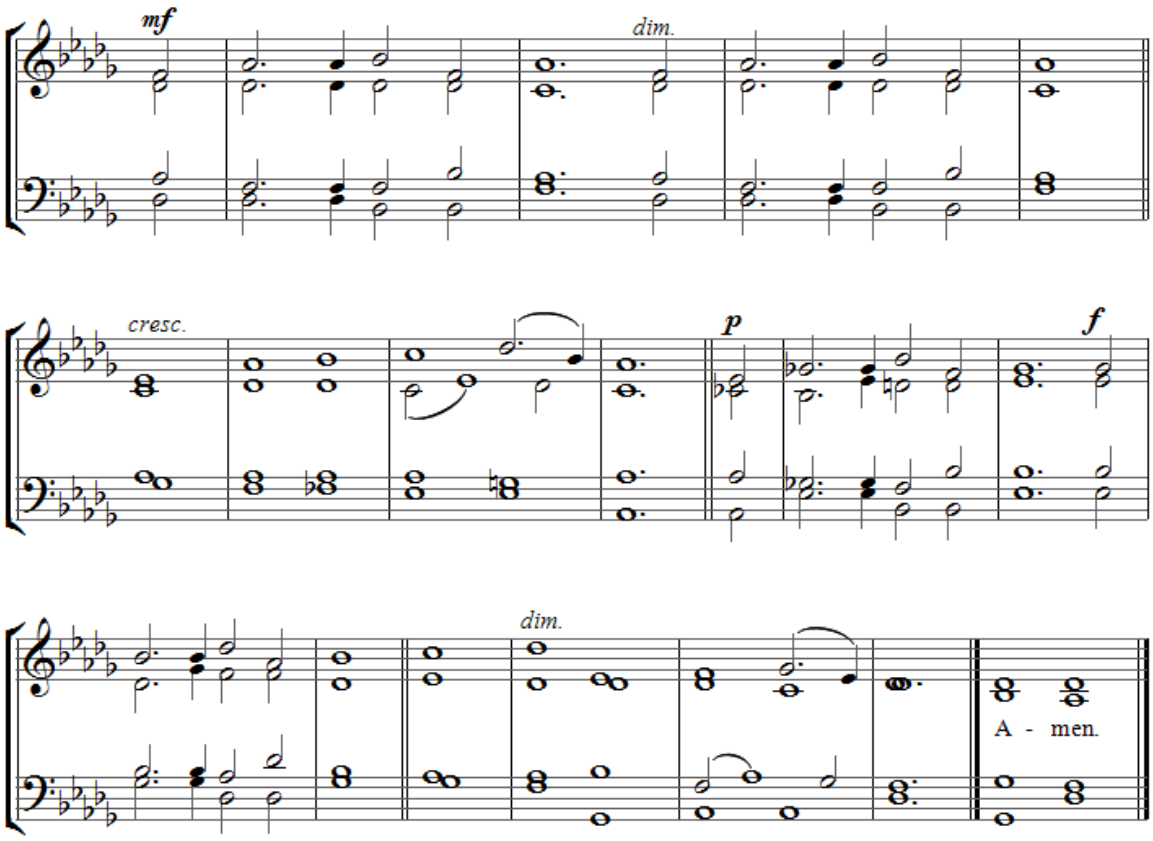
Petrus Herbert Trans. Catherine Winkworth

Salvum me fac (6666D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.424

Low at Thy feet I lie, O blessed Saviour mine,
Comfort me or I die, Oh! save me, I am Thine;
Thine by the gift of life, Thine by the grace of love,
Oh, save me through this strife, Till I am Thine above.

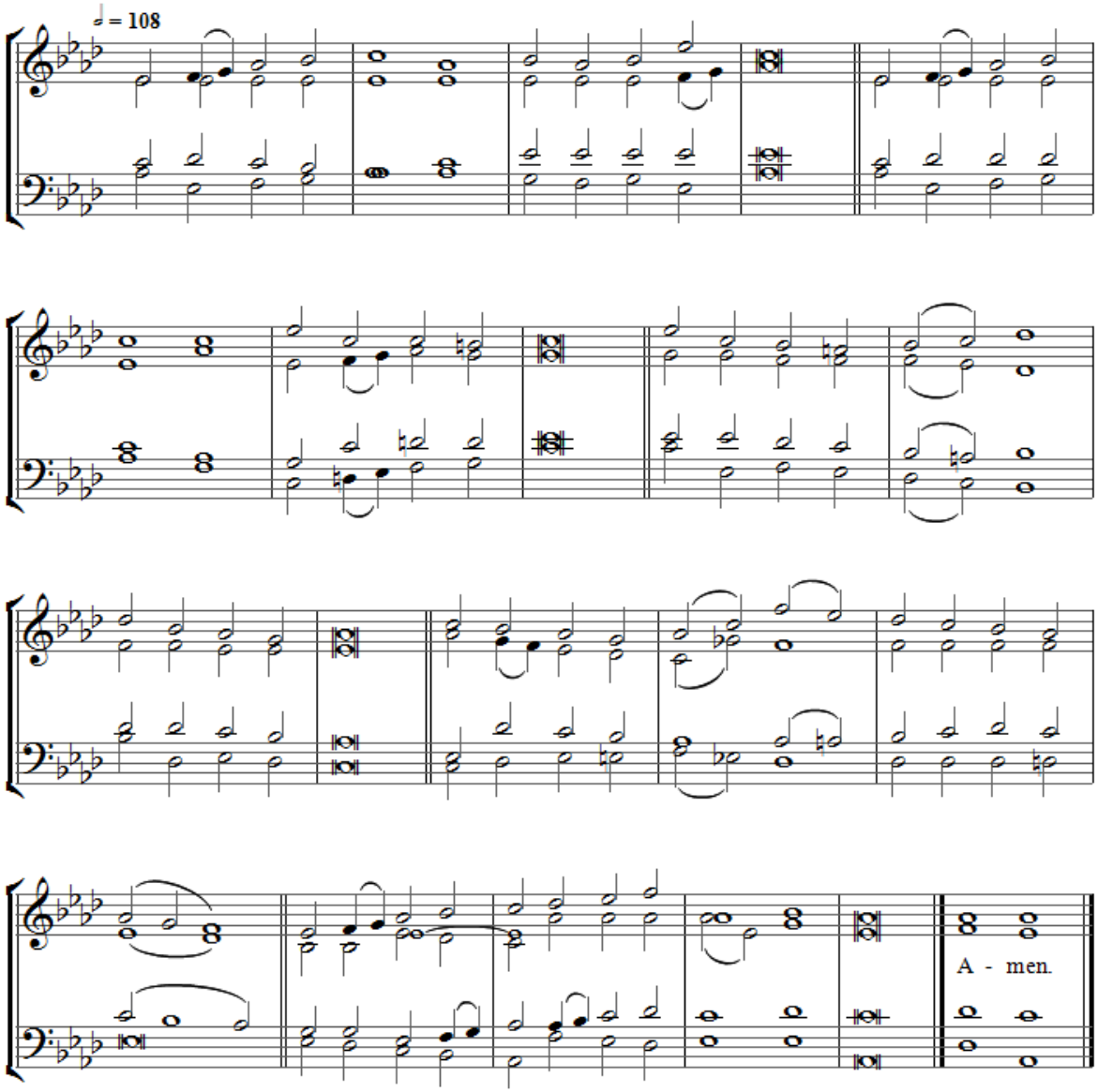
J.S.B. Monsell

Dies Tenebrosa (666D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.430

Oh! dark and dreary day,
When Jesus died to pay
Sin's awful penalty;
The sun kept back his light
To hide that mournful sight
When Jesus died for me.

S. Childs Clarke

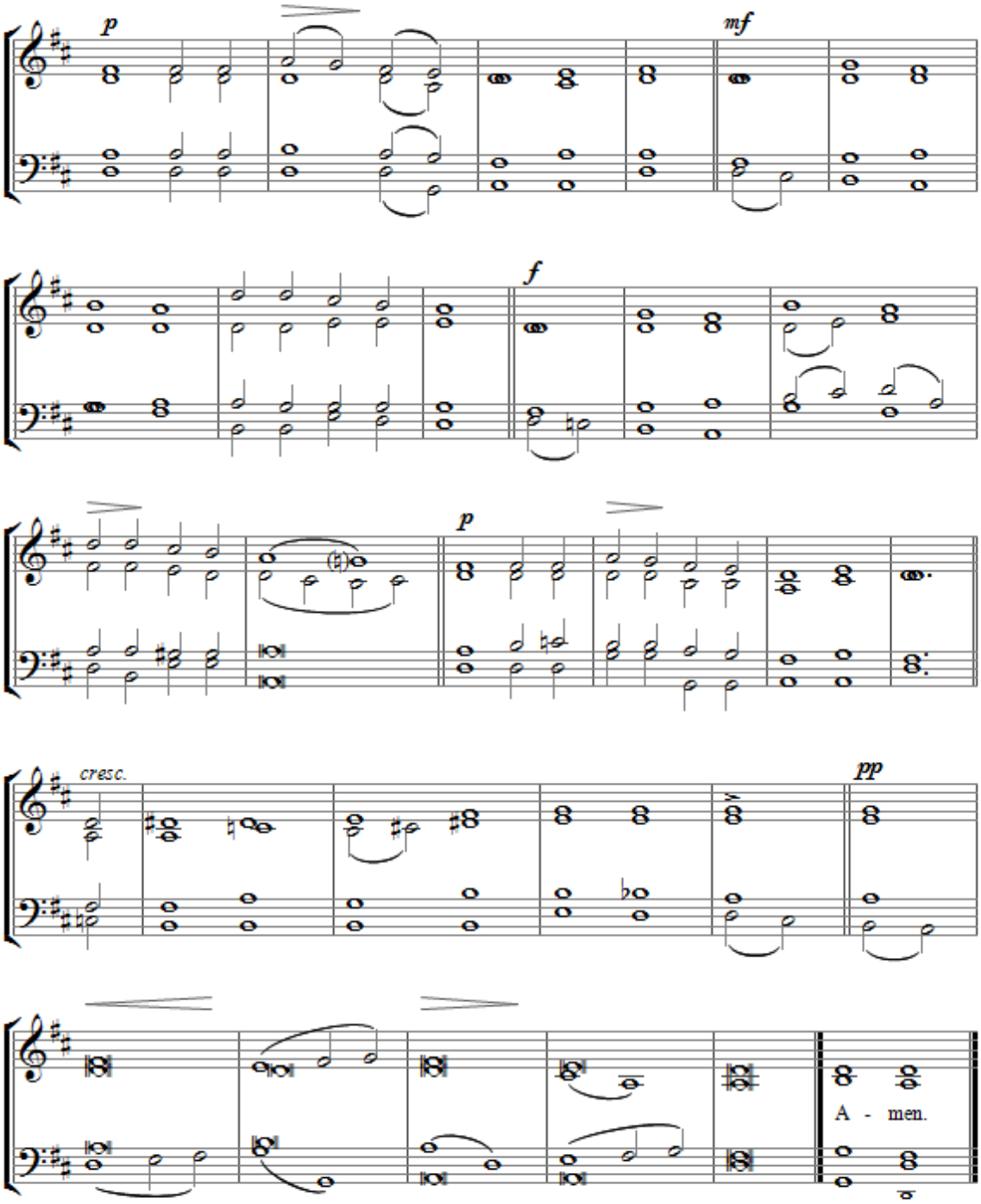
Pascha (11.11.11.11.11)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.431

"Welcome, happy morning!" age to age shall say;
Hell today is vanquished; Heaven is won today;
Lo! the Dead is living, God forevermore,
Him, their true Creator, all His works adore;
"Welcome, happy morning!" age to age shall say.

trans. John Ellerton

Eucharistica (8.10.10.10.8.6)

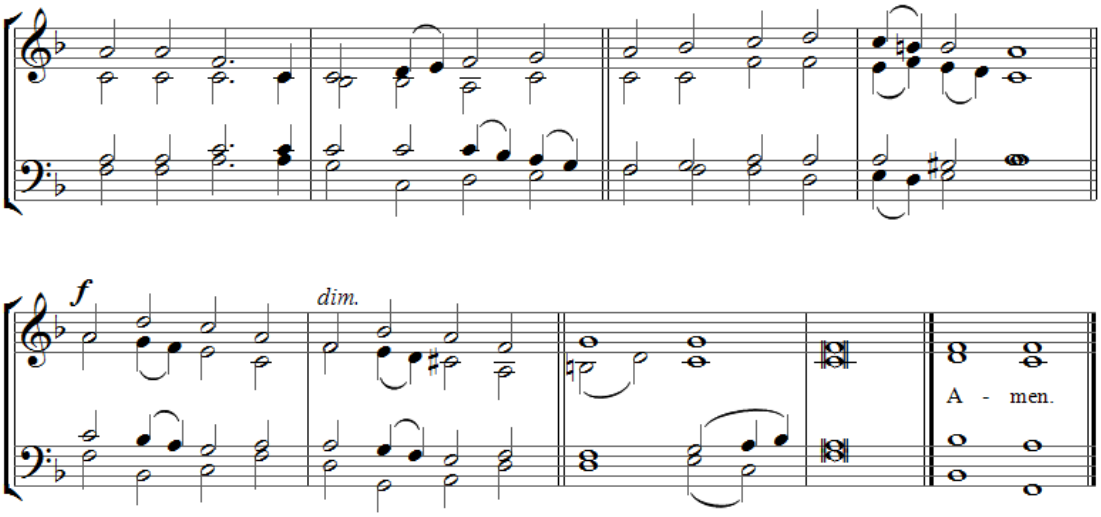
The Song of Praise (1875) No.454



O Holy Jesu, Prince of Peace!
Thy Peace be with us gathering round Thy board,
Where the sweet presence of an unseen Lord
Waits to be gracious, charged with full release
To every heavy-laden soul
Which here remembers Thee.

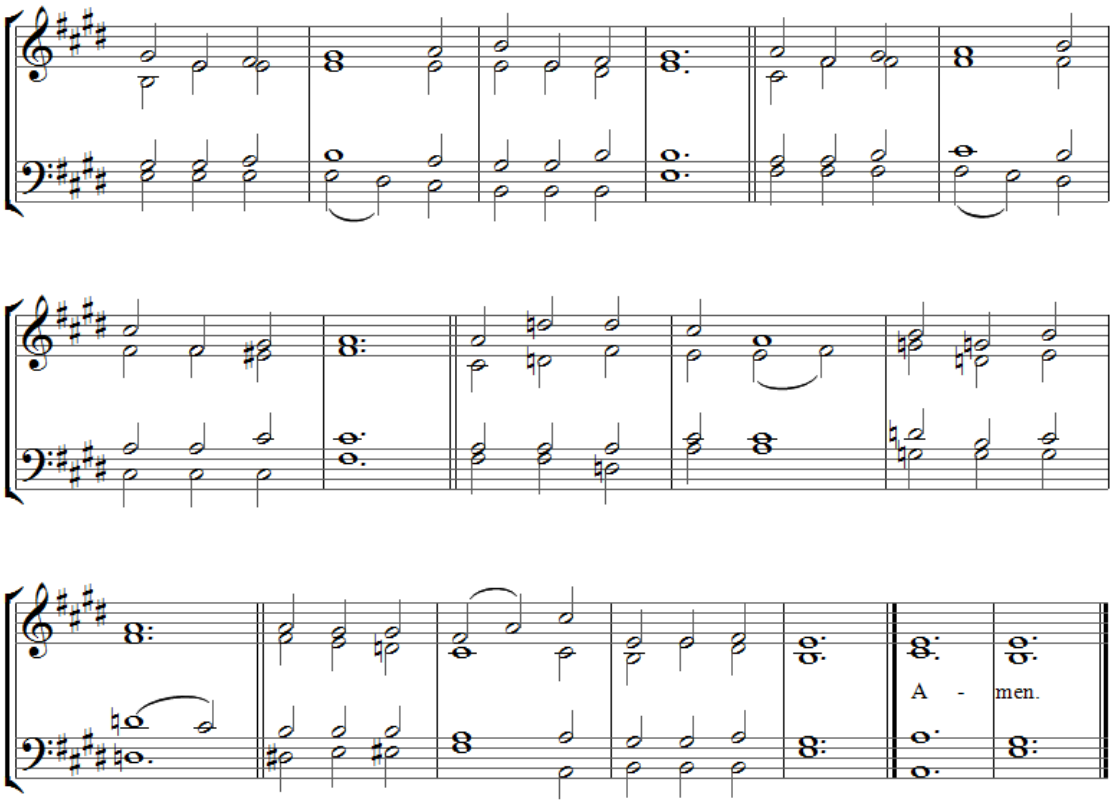
Robert Brown-Borthwick

Resurrectio (8783)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.493

On the Resurrection morning
Soul and body meet again;
No more sorrow, no more weeping,
No more pain!

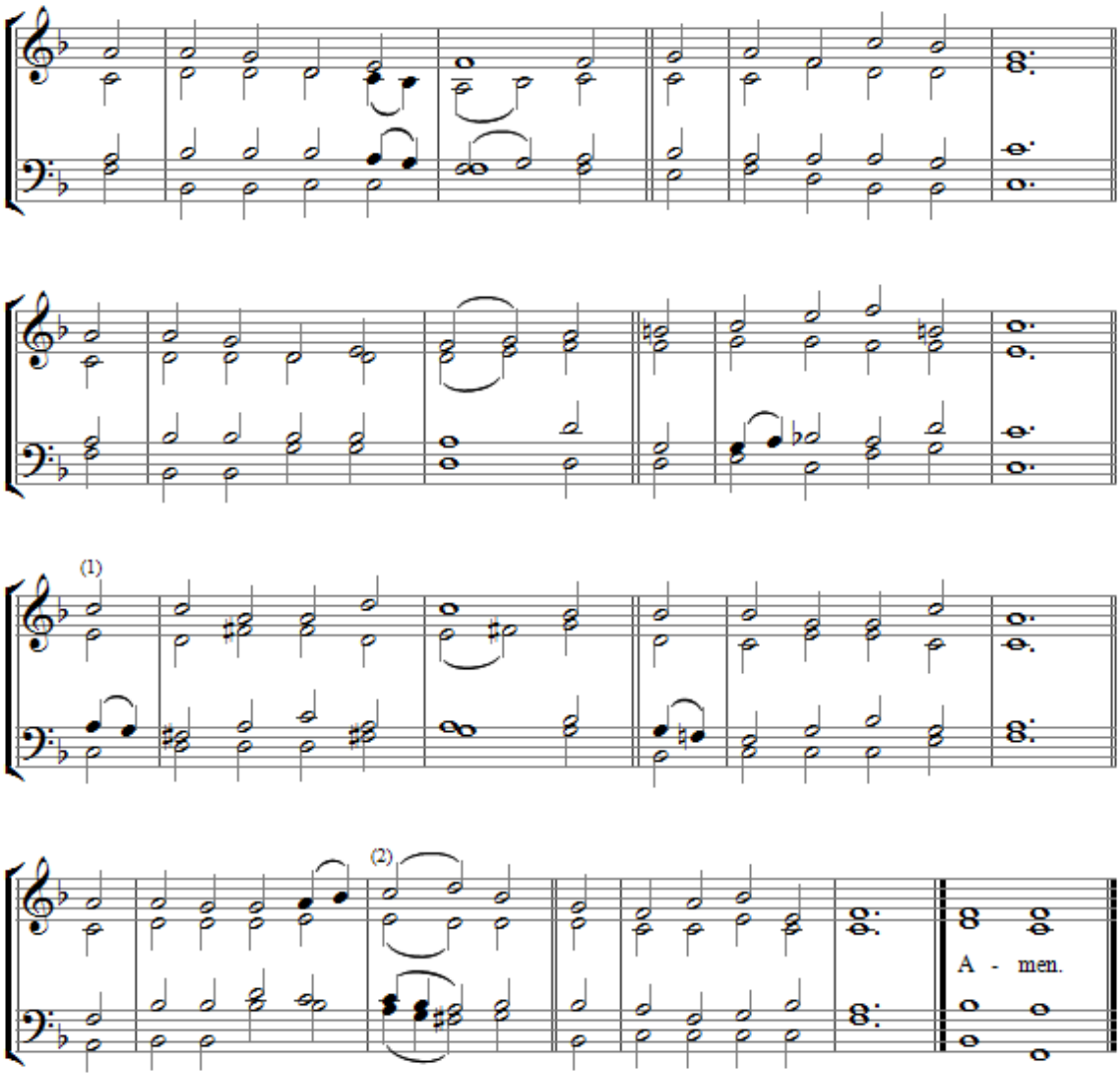
Sabine Baring Gould

Salvator et Amicus (9999)

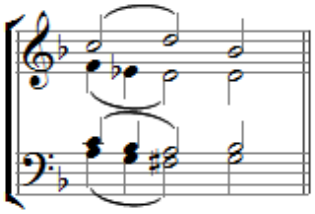
The Song of Praise (1875) No.502

Rest of the weary, Joy of the sad,
Hope of the dreary, Light of the glad;
Home of the stranger, Strength to the end,
Refuge from danger, Saviour and Friend!

John Samuel Bewley Monsell

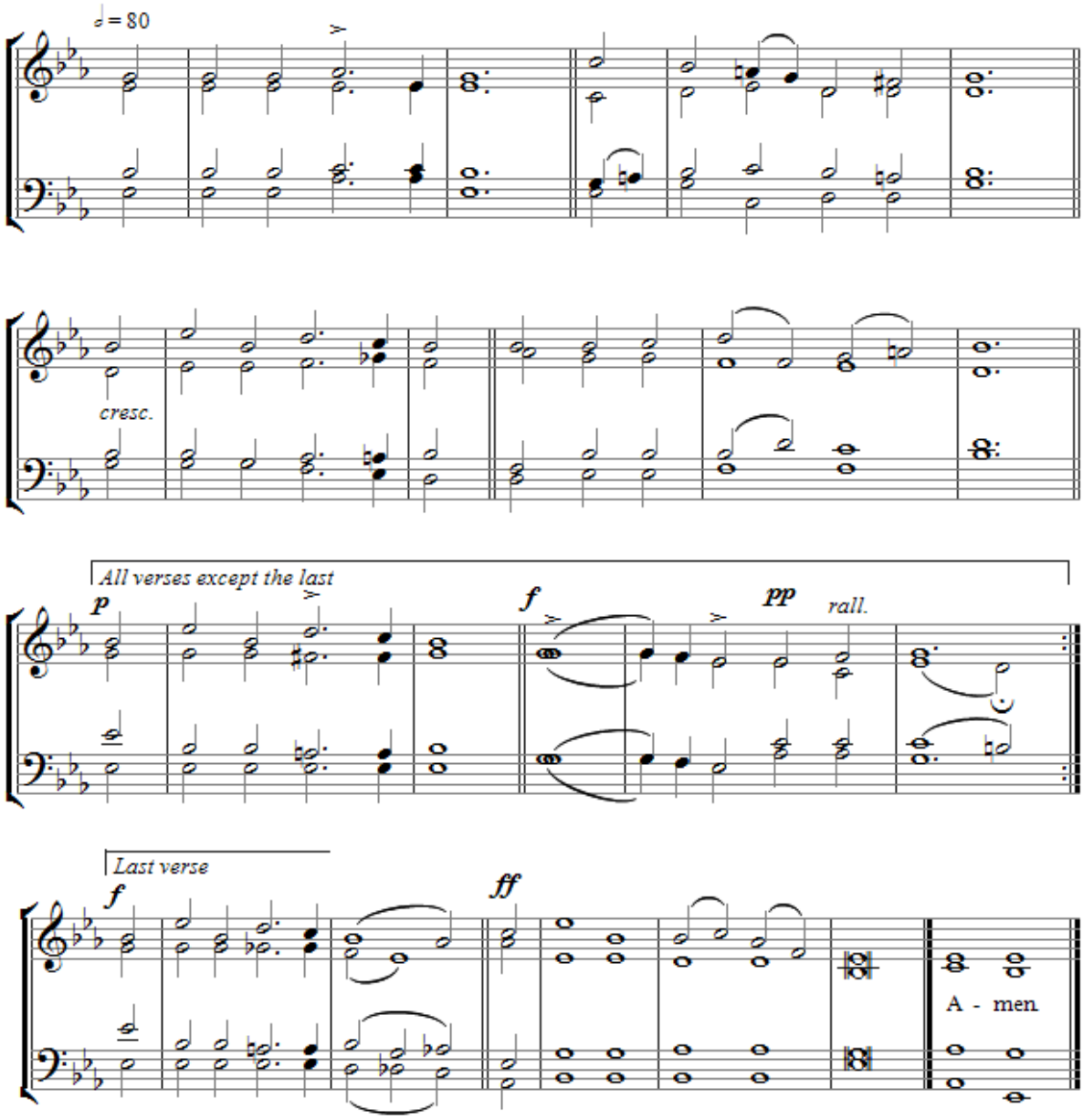
Jesu Magister Bone (7676D)

The Song of Praise (1875) No.527

O Jesus, I have promised
To serve Thee to the end;
Be Thou forever near me,
My Master and my Friend;
I shall not fear the battle
If Thou art by my side,
Nor wander from the pathway
If Thou wilt be my Guide.

John E. Bode

(1) The 1902 Novello Edition has alto E flat
(2) The same edition is harmonised thus:

Quid Retribuam (666666)

The Song of Praise (1875) No. 566

Other names:
Durham

Thy life was given for me;
Thy blood, O Lord, was shed,
That I might ransomed be,
And quickened from the dead.
Thy life was given for me;
What have I given for thee?

Frances Ridley Havergal

Letter from Frederick Dykes to JBD 10 June 1873 (RCO)

Wakefield & Barnsley Union Bank,
Wakefield

June 10th 1873

My dear Jack

I return Novellos estimates for printing your anthem.[1] I suppose you know best what class of copies the Cathedral are in the habit of buying.

Supposing you can sell 100 scores folio size[2] @ 5/-[3] a copy you would realise £25— which would cover the cost of plates (& wh would then be your own) and leave you £2:4:0 profit. Could you get 100 copies subscribed for at that price?

The separate vocal part would cost (to cover the original expense of the plates & leave them your own) £13.15.0 That is, roughly speaking, about 3/-[4] the set.

100 sets of sep. vocal parts sold at 3/- the set would defray all the cost & leave you the plates and £1:5:0 profit.

250 copies 8vo size sold @ 2/6 each would realize £31.5.0 & the plates & profit 9.17.6

500 copies 8vo size supposing they were sold at 1/6 each would give you the plates & £9:15:8 if sold at 2/- each would give you the plates & £32:5:0.

But then are you at all likely to sell either 250 or 500 copies 8vo size at such a price? I think not. The anthem must be a very long one 36 plates — and therefore beyond the scope of any but the cathedrals & very largest parish churches — and therefore to them, anyhow in the first instance, you must look for custom — would it be worth your while to send a small circular to the precentors — or would it be 'infra-dig'?

I think, perhaps, if you can get 100 scores sold in the first instance, it would be a good step in the right direction & the plates your own. The rest would follow.

I think you need have no fear about the corrections — you will receive proof sheets & correct those; the alterations on the pewter will be done abroad. I believe there is very little practical difficulty in the matter; & the thing must be done every day.

Did you ask Novello what it would cost to print it in his "8vo anthems" form with movable type? It is worth getting to know if there is much difference between that & engraving on pewter.

Madame & I are off DV to Killarney tomorrow morning. We have just made up our minds and hope to be in Dublin in time to dine tomorrow evening — 7.pm. — We shall probably

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1 *The Lord is my Shepherd*, which his diary records him finishing on 5 August 1873. See also letter from Henry Littleton to JBD dated 19 May 1873.

2 As paper sizes, 'folio' and 'octavo' are not precise, but are approximately 375mm tall and between 170 & 250 mm tall respectively.

3 25 pence

4 15 pence

be a day or two there, & then go on to Killarney via Cork about Friday or Saturday. We expect to be back some time on Wednesday the 25th Inst.

You will let me know when I am to pay up my share of the adventure.

With kind love to you & all yours

I remain Dear Jack

Your affectionate Brother

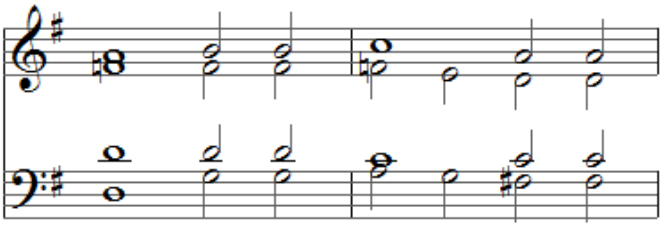
Fred Dykes

Letter from Sir Robert Stewart to JBD 2 July 1873 (RCO)

Trin: Coll: Dublin
2 July 73

My Dear Sir

One of your Tunes is in a set of Hymns which I am in mind to revise, St. Ninian:

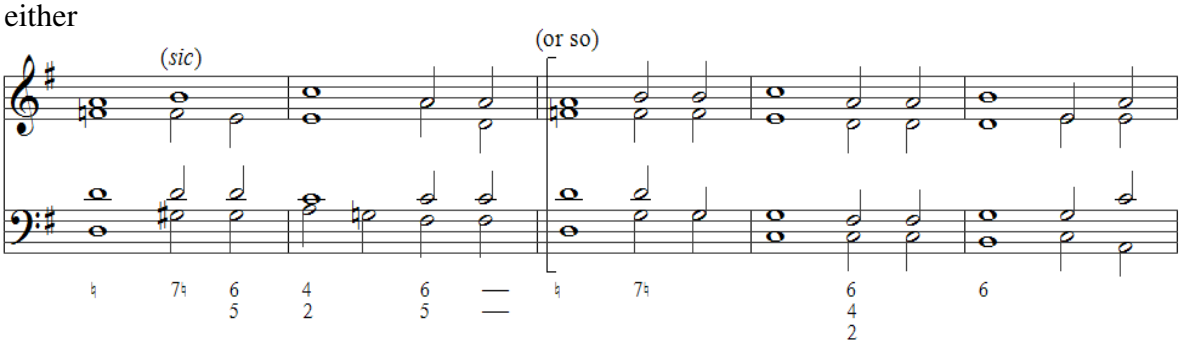
I don't like this, is it yours'?[1]

It seems to my perhaps hypercritical taste to involve a false relation F♮ F♯

& a fifth C A

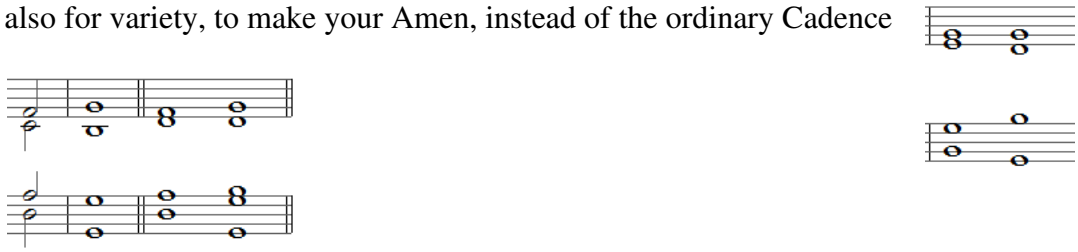
F D

but I would not presume to alter it without your consent; may I suggest

either



also for variety, to make your Amen, instead of the ordinary Cadence



As my copy is in MS, I have the [ ][2] hesitation in writing to you, relying upon the strength of the pleasure of your acquaintaince made at [ ][3] Festival last year.

Faithfully yours,
R.P. Stewart
Rev J.B. Dykes MA

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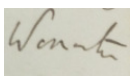
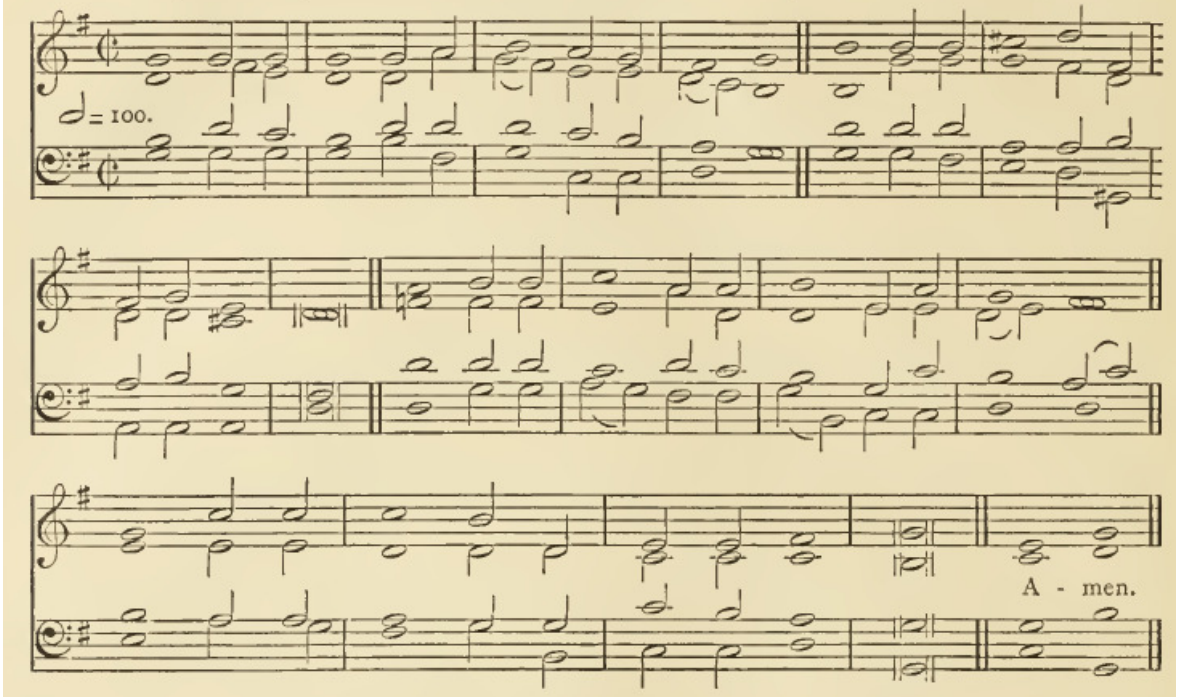
1 This is the harmonisation which appears in Grey's *Hymnal* (1866). The original harmonies, as they appear in Grey's earlier (1857) *Manual*, are closer to Stewart's second suggestion. The version finally used by Stewart in *Church Hymnal* (SPCK: Dublin, 1875)—note, as the *second* tune—are shown below.

2

3 

Hymn 101.

S. Ninian (11,10,11,10). SECOND TUNE. Rev. John Bacchus Dykes, Mus.D.



Letter from the Bishop of Durham to JBD, 4 July 1873 (DCA)

Auckland Castle.
July 4, 1873.

My dear Sir,—

I have received your letter with reference to Mr. Peake. The extent to which some of the clergy of the present day, in their public ministrations, disregard the law which they have pledged themselves to obey, has become very serious. Grievous offence is thus given to many right-minded Churchmen of the laity; whilst this open defiance of lawfully constituted authority, by the ministers of the Church, greatly strengthens the efforts of those who are striving to effect the disestablishment of the Church of England.

I have, therefore, after much serious consideration, come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when it has become my duty to do what I can to protect curates from the unlawful requirements of some incumbents, and to protect parishioners from the follies and lawlessness of some curates.

To accomplish this I must require of an incumbent, on his nomination of a curate, that he give me his written pledge that he will not require of such curate—

1. That he wear coloured stoles.
2. That he take part in, or be present at, the burning of incense.
3. That he turn his back upon the congregation during the celebration of the Holy Communion, except when "ordering the bread."

I must also require of a curate a written promise that he will offend in none of these things. I know not what has been your practice in these matters, but on receiving the documents I have mentioned, I shall be prepared to accept your nomination of Mr. Peake.

Yours truly,
C. DUNELM

Letter from JBD to the Bishop of Durham, 5 July 1873 (DCA)

S. Oswald's Vicarage
July 5th, 1873

My dear Lord Bishop,—

In reply to your Lordship's letter, received this morning, to the effect that you refuse to license Mr. Peake or any other curate to this parish without a written pledge from myself, and also from him, that he will not do certain things named in your Lordship's letter, I have no alternative but to decline most respectfully, but firmly, to sign, or require a curate to sign, any such document whatever. The request is one which your Lordship has no right to make, and I have no right to grant.

A curate is needed for the wants of this parish. A clergyman of irreproachable character and orthodoxy has offered himself. I am ready to fulfil all the antecedent conditions which the law requires, in the shape of declaration, nomination, etc. But I can consent to nothing further. The law does not require, and never has required, the supplementary document which your Lordship wishes to demand; and I must be pardoned if I decline to take any step which may tend to the imposition of this new yoke about the necks of the incumbents and curates of the diocese.

The points referred to in the proposed paper, I observe, are (1) stole, (2) incense, (3) the position of Celebrant.

1. With regard to stoles, your Lordship must be fully aware that coloured stoles are every whit as legal, or illegal, as black stoles or scarfs. The surplice and hood are the only permissible ordinary vestments: black gowns, black stoles or scarfs, are all equally unauthorised. Therefore, if the law is enforced, it should be enforced all round; and the Archdeacons' scarfs, and the clergy's stoles and black gowns must all go; and (forgive me for adding) we must see your Lordship celebrating in your Cope.

2. As regards incense, your Lordship, I think, must know that it is not used in any church in the diocese—at least I have never seen it used (if I am in error on this point I will gladly apologize). This insertion, therefore, seems made apparently for no other purpose than to give point to the declaration, as it cannot have been rendered necessary by the prevalence of the practice of censing in the diocese.

3. As to the eastward position of the Celebrant, your Lordship must be aware that the recent judgment of the Judicial Committee which ruled that point, having been pronounced in an undefended case, did not finally settle the law for the whole Church. It affected one individual, and one individual only. The judgment itself has been torn to shreds again and again as worthless in point of law. The Bishops, as a body, have refused to act upon it. Why, then, is it to be the law in this diocese, and nowhere else?

But it is not on the ground of the details of the proposed paper or declaration that I object to it. I object to the principle of the paper, as an endeavour to thrust the High Church clergy of the diocese into a corner, and subject them to an utterly unfair pressure.

Suppose another Bishop were to refuse to license any curate where the incumbent did not pledge himself to have daily service and weekly Communion. These certainly are infinitely more the "Law of the Church" than a private decision of a lay court which nobody respects. Does your Lordship think that clergymen, of Mr. F's stamp for instance, would quietly acquiesce? Would your Lordship have acquiesced when you were an incumbent?

I can see nothing in your Lordship's unhappy proposition in store for the diocese but confusion, rebellion, and heartburning; and grievous hindrance to the work of the Church in this teeming population.

Your Lordship may think it wise and right—instead of adopting a liberal policy of acknowledging the fact that there are, and always have been, and always will be, more than one narrow school of thought in the Church, and allowing to all parties who are striving to work for Christ according to their several lights,' generous recognition and scope within certain fair limits—to adopt the exterminating policy, which your Archdeacon thought it becoming to thank God at a public meeting you were adopting, viz., of "using every opportunity to stamp out Ritualism" (the cant expression of the day for distinctive Church teaching and practice) in your diocese. But depend upon it, my Lord, you will not succeed.

Your Lordship, I observe, charges first one of the High Church clergy, then another, with being dishonest, with being Jesuits, and the like. You will, I trust, however, find them honest enough to stand up for their principles, even although your Lordship should cruelly endeavour to "stamp them out" one by one by refusing them curates. For this is what your Lordship's proposition comes to. Where are the High Church clergy of the diocese to find curates? Certainly not amongst men who would consent to make such preliminary pledges as your Lordship wishes to exact of them. How could I ask Mr. Peake, or any good Churchman, to sign this document? He would simply refuse, and say, "Thank you, I prefer to go to some other diocese." And he would be quite right. Already the High Church clergy have the greatest difficulty in obtaining curates. The diocese has got the reputation of being administered simply in the interests of one narrow party.

If the new programme is carried out, we may as well give up the attempt as hopeless.

I could say much more, but for the present I refrain. I have simply to renew my request that your Lordship will be so good as to license Mr. Peake to this curacy, after I have sent in all the necessary papers. The only alternative will be (provided there is no appeal to the Archbishop) to endeavour to do the best I can, until my health again breaks down, without a curate, and to leave the colliery district, with its rapidly increasing population, for which the Commissioners have made a grant for a second curate, to take care of itself.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's faithful servant in Christ,
JOHN B. DYKES

Letter from the Bishop of Durham to JBD, 7 July 1873 (DCA)

Auckland Castle
July 7, 1873

My dear Sir,—

I will make no remarks on the tone of your letter just received. I can make allowance for a person writing under feelings of irritation and annoyance. With regard to your statements respecting myself, or the law, I have simply to say that they are altogether incorrect, and are not justified by the facts of the case.

Yours truly,
C. DUNELM

Letter from JBD to the Bishop of Durham, 16 July 1873 (DCA)

S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham
July 16, 1873

My Dear Lord Bishop,—

Yesterday afternoon I received the accompanying papers from Mr. Peake. I venture to forward them to your Lordship, and once more, after earnest thought and prayer, to renew my request that you would be so good as to license him to this curacy—the Licence to take effect on the avoidance of the Curacy by Mr. Wray.

The Law requires certain papers, and certain papers only. These I have sent; and thereupon respectfully claim my rights.

Your Lordship, on your own showing, has no fault to find with me. You state that you do not even know what my practice is in reference to the matters noticed in your first letter; therefore you can have had no formal complaint against me. Nor does your Lordship know anything against Mr. Peake. Hence there can be no valid reason why your Lordship should hesitate or refuse to grant the Licence for which I ask.

I have told your Lordship I cannot sign the supplementary paper you have sent. The Law knows nothing of it. It has never been required of me before. It is not required in any other diocese. I should consider myself acting unfairly to my brethren were I quietly to acquiesce in its introduction here. Is each diocese to have its own arbitrary and conflicting set of rules for the discomfiture of curates?

If your Lordship refuses, I shall be driven to appeal to the Archbishop's Court, or else to apply for a Mandamus to compel your Lordship to put your office in force. For I shall have a legitimate ground of complaint. Your Lordship's refusal will injure myself and my Parish to the amount of £240 a year, the two grants of £120 from the Commissioners depending on your Lordship's Licence. It will involve also a slur on the character of Mr. Peake and myself, to say nothing of the grievous spiritual injury done to the souls of my people.

I need not assure you, my Lord, that it will be only with the extremist reluctance that I shall be compelled to adopt such a hateful course, and have the matter made public. The Church cannot bear these unseemly quarrels. I shrink from such a line of action for my own soul's sake, for my people's sake, yes, and for your Lordship's sake; for I feel sure that in your declining years it can be no pleasure to have to waste time and energy in fruitless contention. But I see no other course open to me. It is not for me to set my hand to a document the object of which is, to injure that great party in the Church to which it is my happiness to belong; to cause distress and annoyance to many of my dear brethren in the Ministry to abridge the liberties of the clergy; to foster disorder and profanity in God's house, by introducing two sets of Ritual; to recognise invidious distinctions between Incumbents and Curates; and thus to bring elements of confusion and discord into many Parishes now at peace.

If your Lordship, then, is determined to press this point, I can see no other course but to leave the results in God's hands, and reluctantly but firmly resist it.

I solemnly affirm, my Lord, it is from no feeling of insubordination, or desire to withstand lawful authority that I so act. It is thoroughly contrary to my nature and to all my deepest instincts so to do. It is simply burdensome and odious to me. But it is plain that resistance to authority may become a duty. Where would the Reformation, or the present Old Catholic movement have been, had there been no resistance of authority? Where would our present wonderful Church Revival—our open Churches, daily offices, restored surplices, choral services, hymns, multiplied early Eucharists; nay—to turn to an earlier time—where would the great Evangelical Movement have been, if the clergy had simply determined to do no more, and to do no less, than their Bishops sanctioned or approved of?

But it may be said that the points insisted on in your Lordship's Paper are really so trivial, that this is not a case in which resistance is justifiable.

My Lord, I must again suppose a parallel case. A very short time ago it seemed almost certain that not only the Eastward position of the Celebrant, but also the Eucharistic Vestments were legal. There seems a strong probability that both questions will speedily have to be tried again; and your Lordship, no doubt, is aware that it is the opinion of lawyers of the greatest eminence that the Purchas Judgment would be reversed.
I will not ask the question whether your Lordship would at once feel bound to *reverse the terms of your Paper*, and visit the Low Church clergy as you now wish to visit the High Church. But I will suppose that in some neighbouring Diocese the Bishop *were* to make such a rule—refusing to license any curates who would not sign a written pledge (the incumbents signing the same) that they would never stand at the north end of the Altar, but only at the centre (or at the "North-side" of the centre, facing east), and that they would never celebrate but in the legal vestments. How, I ask, would my brethren of the Low Church School relish such a document? Would they think it only a *trivial* matter, and one in which they were *bound* simply to obey their Bishop? I think we may gather something as to their then attitude from the recent fanatical speech of Lord Shaftesbury, which was so enthusiastically applauded by the party:—"If the rubrics allow it; well then, away with the rubrics." "If the Church of England sanction it; let the Church of England go, and the Bishops with her!" It is very easy, my Lord, for either party to uphold episcopal authority when they have the Bishops with them; not quite so easy, when the Bishops are in opposition.

But in view of this by no means improbable reversal of the Purchas Judgment, what would be the result? Why, I presume, there would be a strong Memorial sent to the Bishops, as in the case of the former Judgment, requesting them not to enforce it. And no doubt they would not; unless, indeed any unfair pressure of the former Judgment had rendered a Nemesis unfortunately inevitable. Your Lordship speaks of "disestablishment." I will tell you, my Lord, what will soon precipitate disestablishment. If that outrageous "Minute" just sent by the "Church Association" to the Archbishops and Bishops in answer "to the Archbishop's" letter—a document which for cool impertinence and malignant intolerance I have rarely seen equalled—if this "Minute" were to be acted on, the Establishment would go in a year. If the Evangelicals (so-called) think to "stamp out" or persecute the Church party, or the Church party the Evangelicals, the days of the Establishment are numbered. The only *possible* chance for the safety of the Church is to allow *both* the great parties—who are each doing real work for God, but not in exactly the same way; who are each

zealous for God's Truth, but have affinities with different sides of Truth—fair play and scope within reasonable bounds.

In our towns, where there are several Churches, this is pre-eminently needful; for here there can be no grievance. In Durham, for instance, many of S. Nicholas' people come to S. Oswald's, and many of S. Oswald's go to S. Nicholas', many to the Cathedral, etc., etc. And so it should be. There is no practical grievance. There will, of course, be extreme cases of excess or defect in the way of Ritual and order which must be dealt with singly. But each party must be fairly left to take its own general line. God knows there is abundant room for both. There can be no Procrustean uniformity of Ritual. It would be a most disastrous thing for the Church. The Church of a great and intelligent and free people must provide for considerable divergence in the outward expression of her teaching, and allow for minds and tempers of very different kinds.

But you may say, my Lord, "All this is true to a certain extent So long as Ritual is a question of mere taste and aestheticism I do not much mind it. But when it is used as a cover for inculcating false doctrine, here is a matter of life and death. It must be put down."

Now, my Lord, I well know this feeling lies at the bottom of your present action. And, believe me, I deeply respect you for being jealous for God's truth. A Bishop is worth nothing who is not. And God forbid that this should for one moment be a ground of complaint on my part against your Lordship.

But I must tell you honestly—and I would tell you with all the reverence due from a son to a Father in God—that it does not seem to me to be simply God's Truth that your Lordship seeks so energetically to defend, but a perversion of that Truth. Your Lordship's teaching on the subject of the Holy Eucharist appears to myself irreconcilably at variance with the teaching of Holy Scripture, of the Church of England, and of the Primitive Church. It presents itself to my mind as simply the teaching of Zuinglius, and not as that of the Catholic Church. Your Lordship has employed some strong writing and words in your last Charge, and your oral addresses from time to time, in condemning teaching which is not that of the High Church Party, which would be rejected by them quite as earnestly as it is by your Lordship.

> e.g. Such teaching as that there is in the Eucharist a "*material*" Presence of Christ, a "*carnal*" Presence (*Charge*, pp. 31, 41, 36); the doctrine that the sinner is "as much a partaker of Christ" as the saint (p. 33); that the elements "change their Nature" [*i.e.*, I suppose, that they *cease* to be, after the order of nature, "verily and indeed," bread and wine after Consecration] pp. 41, 43; that the Eucharist is the "one exclusive channel by which Christ's Death is imparted to the believer" (p. 35); that "the elements are to be worshipped" (p. 23), etc., etc.

But when I look for your Lordship's own teaching, which is to supplant that of the Church, and which we, the clergy of this Diocese, are expected, out of deference to our Bishop, to teach our people, I am startled by reading that

> the elements are not "*in* ANY *sense, or manner,* converted into the Body and Blood of Christ" (P. 37); that they are "BUT *symbols*"(p. 43); that the mere object of the Institution is "to cherish in the mind of the recipient a grateful sense of the love of

> Christ" (p. 39); that the elements "remain" after Consecration "IN EVERY RESPECT *the same* as they were before" (pp. 49, 50); that the communicant is fed "*not* by the hand of the Priest administering the bread and wine, but by faith laying hold of the promises of the Gospel" (p. 44); although the Article distinctly speaks of the Body of CHRIST being "*given*" as well as "*taken* and *eaten*"—*given* by the Priest, taken and eaten by the people; and the administering Priest is ordered, as he gives it, to say "the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, *preserve thy body and soul to everlasting Life*: take eat," etc.

My Lord, it is a matter of the profoundest astonishment to me that those who can so treat the plain statements of Holy Scripture and the Church, as your Lordship seems to me to treat them, should be ever charging their brethren with dishonesty.

If the most solemn and emphatic words of Him who is *the* Truth, who cannot speak more and cannot speak less than the Truth—if His explicit words "This *is* My Body, this *is* My Blood" are to be glossed away into meaning "This is *not* My Body, This is *not* My Blood:"—If the words of the HOLY GHOST explaining to us that—just as, under the Old Covenant, the *death* of the victim was not enough, but there must be a sacrificial *eating of* and communion with the victim, as well as a memorialising of its blood or death before GOD, both inside and outside the Holiest—so, under the New Covenant, the *Death* of the great Sacrifice on Calvary was not enough, but there must be a sacramental *feeding on* and communion with the Sacrifice, as well as a Memorialising of it in Heaven and on earth; and that the Holy Eucharist is the divinely ordained means wherein that sacrificed Flesh and Blood are communicated to us (1 Cor. x. 16), and also wherein we Memorialise and "show forth" before GOD and man "the Lord's Death, till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 24-26):—If, I say, these words of the HOLY GHOST and other like words which speak of "the Lord's Body" (1 Cor. xi. 29), and "the Blood of the Covenant" (Exod. xxiv. 8; S. Matt. xxvi. 28; Heb. x. 29, xii. 24; 1 S. John v. 8) as awful realities mysteriously existing in the Church, capable of being impiously "profaned," or devoutly "discerned" and used—if they are to be treated as unmeaning figures of speech, evacuated of all their profound and tender mystery, insomuch that it shall be an adequate explanation of the words "This is My Body"—"this is a *symbol* of My Body, or a '*photograph*' or likeness of My Body "!then, farewell to faith, farewell to all reverence for Holy Scripture! My Lord, I cannot thus play fast and loose with the words of Inspiration. I must either believe all, or disbelieve all. I have been taught from my earliest childhood to revere this Blessed Book. I love and reverence it with all my heart's best love and reverence. And I do from my soul protest against any attempt, from whatever quarter, to improve upon it, to explain it away, and "make it of none effect" by human "traditions," be they Roman or be they Protestant. I have no wish to teach *more* than Holy Scripture teaches on the Mystery of the Eucharist; *but I will not teach less*. I have for several years made it my daily prayer—under the deep sense of my ignorance and liability to get wrong on a subject of so much controversy, and an earnest wish not to be led astray myself or lead my people astray—that "God would by His HOLY SPIRIT "help me ever to *speak* and *write*, ever to *act* and *think* and *feel*, on this Holy Mystery as shall be best pleasing to Himself, and for the benefit of my own soul and the souls of my people; and would preserve me from holding or teaching *anything* thereon, but what is fully in accordance with His Revealed Truth." What I hold, then, I do not hold lightly or thoughtlessly. I am bound to add that I have hardly ever heard your Lordship speak on this sacred subject without feeling pained and shocked. You have almost always seemed to adopt the reasoning of the Jews' of old, "How shall this Man give us His flesh to eat?"(S. John vi. 52), appealing to carnal reason and "common sense," and not to the

assured Word of Him who "speaks, and it is done"; forgetting the grave caution of Jeremy Taylor that "If it is *hard* to do so much violence to our *sense* as not to think it *bread*; it is more *unsafe* to do so much violence to our *faith* as not to believe it to be CHRIST'S Body." Your Lordship tells us that our Blessed Lord's Body CANNOT be present at the Christian Altars; that such Presence is inconsistent with any "*rational* idea of a body" (p. 39). Has your Lordship ever thought that it was inconsistent with the "rational idea" of two little fishes to be capable of indefinite extension so as to feed just as many thousands or millions as CHRIST *willed* them to feed? And are the properties and powers of that Body which is taken into Hypostatic union with Godhead—that "Spiritual" and glorious Body—to be judged by the standard of human reason?

In expressing, then, my earnest dissent from your teaching, I will not return upon your Lordship and those who think with you the words in which you deem it right to speak of your High Church brethren; and which you have in substance too often repeated. But I will merely say, that if I were to bring myself to adopt your Lordship's mode of interpreting Holy Scripture on this great subject (to say nothing of the same mode as applied to the Church's formularies), I must give up the doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement as well; in fact, I must drift into infidelity.

Moreover, if I held your Lordship's view, I could never argue against a Roman Catholic. He would have me down in a moment. Holding what I do, and what I am humbly convinced is the teaching of the HOLY GHOST and the Catholic Church, I feel I am impregnable against him.

But I will not proceed. I have not written all this for the sake of mere theological disputation; but simply for the purpose of showing (for I wish to keep nothing back) that independently of the strong sense I have of the injustice of your Lordship's present demand, I have grounds also for a deeper underlying feeling against it, a feeling which seems to divest it of any moral claim on my obedience *in foro conscientiæ* which it might otherwise possess.

I cannot help interpreting it by the light of your Lordship's expressed utterances on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and regarding it, in some sort, as associated with, and an outward sign of, a wish on your Lordship's part to disparage and degrade that sacred Mystery in the Diocese. People who have been accustomed for years to see the Holy Sacrament celebrated in one way—the Priest maintaining his true and proper position at the Altar—are suddenly to find the Ritual arrangements of the Church interfered with by a new curate. He and the Rector are to be exhibited in antagonism; one standing "before the Holy Table," the other going round the corner to the north end—a position unknown throughout Christendom, never adopted by any branch of the Church of God since the Church has existed, and never *contemplated* by the framers of our own Ritual. A slur is thus cast on the Incumbent. The Holy Sacrament of Love is made an occasion for the display of disunion and disagreement. The minds of ministers and people are kept in a perpetual fret. The parish is condemned to a state of chronic change. The sore is to be re-opened every week.

I repeat, my Lord, that I must respectfully decline to take any part in the introduction of this state of things into our parishes. I must decline to co-operate in what would be equivalent to throwing a stone at, inflicting a wound upon, interfering with the work of, branding with a mark of unfaithfulness, just those clergy in the diocese whom I most love,

and whom I believe to be most faithfully, most loyally, most successfully working for CHRIST. One of them has for (I believe) 50 years maintained without change the ancient position of the Celebrant "before the Holy Table." He will probably be soon wanting a curate. Am I not to think of him, and other of my dear brethren, as well as of myself?

If your Lordship thinks it wise to break in upon the peace of the diocese with a measure which *can never do any good*, which can only breed discontent and bitterness, you must take the consequences, and accept the sad responsibility. The diocese is at peace now. In Durham we are in perfect harmony: we have fallen each into our own groove, and with mutual respect and forbearance are endeavouring to do our work to the best of our power, and fairly to meet the wants of different classes of Church people.

But alas! alas! If here, and throughout the diocese we are to be at war again! Your Lordship, I know, will meet with the loud approbation of that Persecuting Association which takes to itself the name of "Church." But will that be any compensation for the thought that many of your clergy are left without curates; that thousands of the people are deprived of the spiritual supervision of the Church, and are left to the tender mercies of Dissenters and Roman Catholics; that discord and rebellion are doing their bitter work in the Diocese? My Lord, I implore you in God's Name not to force this upon us.

I have only most humbly to crave indulgence for the length and tone of this letter, written amid incessant interruptions—written not under feelings of "annoyance and irritation" as your Lordship says of my former letter, but in all seriousness, and not without earnest prayer. I cannot face the responsibility of seeming to defy my Bishop without fully and unreservedly stating the convictions under which I act.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful and obedient son and servant in Christ,
JOHN B. DYKES

To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

Letter from HWB to JBD 17 July 1873 (RCO)

Monkland
July 17. 1873

My dear Dykes,

Our words are in a most unsettled, or (perhaps rather) incomplete state still — so you will be in plenty of time to say your say if you come here on the 28th inst.

I have written today to Stainer and Monk saying that I really can hardly say that we need meet: but at the same time it will be very pleasant to have you 3 here, and I should like to go together through the book again, see where we are, try B. Tours'[1] Tunes &c. &c.

So I dare say they will still come; but if [anything][2] changes, I will let you know as I want to see you most, because of the words — and yet I shouldn't like to drag you all this long distance, unless you quite liked it.

I hope you are well & prospering.

Ever affectionately yours,

Henry W. Baker

If you come, stay as long as ever you like. I shall ask 2 or 3 people to dinner on 30th.

PS. If you would rather meet in London please say so at once.

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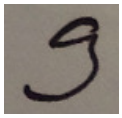
1 Berthold Tours, b. December 17, 1838, d. March 11, 1897. The Dutch-born English composer and music editor lived in London from 1861, writing, teaching and playing the violin. He was organist of the Swiss Church, Holborn from 1862, and in 1878 he became musical adviser and editor to Novello. His compositions are numerous but his best work is to be found in his hymn tunes, anthems and services for the Anglican Church. (from *Grove, G and Lamb, A.* 'Berthold Tours' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* Vol. 19 (Macmillan: London, 1980). p100)

2 

Letter from the Rev. Canon Edward Seymour to HWB 18 July 1873 (HAM)

17 Queen Square
S. James' Park
London S.W.

July 18th 1873

My dear Sir

In reply to your letter received this morning I send forward the Archbp. of Dublin's letter which will explain the object of my communication.

We are engaged in enlarging The Irish Church Hymnal — the Synod having added a large number of Hymns — and are seeking permission from you to use some of the tunes published in "Hymns Anct. & Modern". I enclose on next page a list of those we are desirous to have, and I may add that we have received letters from Dr. Dykes, Dr. Haynes, Mr. Barnby, & Mr. H. Smart & Dr. Jenner & Mr. Hayes taking a very warm interest in our work and granting us the fullest permission to use their compositions (so far as they are concerned) but referring us to you, for your sanction as Chairman of the Committee of Hymns A&M.

May I hope then that you will kindly grant us the required leave — and much oblige

Yours very faithfully

Edward Seymour

Canon of Christ Church

Dublin

To the Rev

Sir Henry W. Baker, Bart.

P.S. I shall be in Devonshire next week and (if necessary) can call upon you either on my way there or on my way returning to Dublin.

Hymns Anct. & Modern

15.	S. Columba	317.	Vox dilicti [*sic*] (Dykes)
17.	S. Matthias	324.B.	Paradise (Dykes)
100.	S. Cross (Dykes)	325.B.	Pilgrims (H Smart)
121.	Ascension (W H Monk)	329.	Cloisters (Barnby)
135.	Nicaea	350.	Alleluia (Wesley)
164.	Quam dilicta (Jenner)	363.	Alstone (Willing)
176.	Lyte (J B Wilkes)	368.	Eudoxia (S. B. Gould)
179.	Hollingside (Dykes)	378.	Gloria (H. Smart)
200.	Horbury (Dykes)	383.	S. Patrick (F.W. Hogan)
230.	Dominus regit me (Dykes)	385.	S. Alban (Dykes)
279.	Pax Dei (Dykes)	386.	Peterborough (W H Monk)
285.	S. Andrew of Crete (Dykes)		Chalvey (Dr. Haynes
299.B.	Stephanos (W H Monk)		

Letter from JBD to HWB 20 July 1873 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage
Durham July 20. 1873

My dear Sir Henry

Just a line to say that it w.^{d} give me sincere pleasure to come over to Monkland on Monday 28th for the inside of a week.

I am in <u>great</u> perplexity. I want two Curates: and the Bishop wont licence any, except I & they give a written pledge beforehand that the Curate shall never "stand with his back to the Congregation" at the Celebrat^{n} "except when just ordering the bread" — shall never wear a coloured stole &c. I have refused to sign or ask a Curate to sign any such document whatsoever. So he refuses to licence — And there we are ———

Please remember me meantime in this difficulty, in y.^{r} prayers that I may be guided by that which is <u>right</u> & accord^{g} to GOD's will — avoiding alike the Scylla of Cowardice & the Charybdis of Rebellion.

In haste

Believe me

Ever yours affectionately

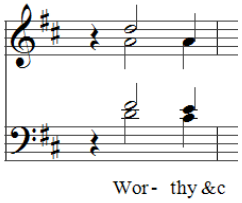
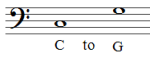
John B. Dykes

Letter from R P Stewart to JBD 23 July 1873 (RCO)
[The letter, which was written on bank paper, is damaged, leading to the loss of words]

My dear D[r] Dykes

I have arrived at ….. of the 475 Hymns of ……. volumes. It …… handsome, But there are somethings in it which I don't like. At **A**[1] I suggest the rel. minor, instead of as at present at **D**: My copies are mostly in MS, and my parsons Committee is dispersed everywhere, so I cannot ascertain whether these MSS are truthful or not. But at **B** 8[ves] appear (Sop. & Tenor) and again at **C** (Tenor & Bass). My only reason for altering the cadence in relative minor at **D** is that we may use it at **A**, previously.[2]

Throughout these Hymns (culled from every conceivable source) it seems to me that a good many tenors lie very low: too low for effective vocalization: for ……..

C, D, E, F? What, save grunt with a feeble church-yard tone? Making every allowance for the baritone-tenors which prevail everywhere, it does seem to me, that we all err too much in this low-tenor direction for Hymns. It has often struck me that a good deal of the force of Handel's choral writing arises from his high ……: thus "Worthy is the Lamb" starts so

and most of Handel's choruses are similarly written: It never occurs to English musicians to reflect that this Composer, whose choralizing is of all the others most popular, should write so high. He never dreams of writing low, unless where (as in "Since by Man Came Death") he means to be solemn & sad. One reason why Spohr's choral writing is so ineffective, is in my humble opinion, because his idea of the tenor voice coincided with that of the Viola, whose lower strings are its best point, the lower 5[th] from 

There is less tone to be got out of Spohr's choruses, than those of any other writer with which I am acquainted. Of course a wretched congregation cannot compare with a picked Choir, but on the other hand it seems to me Hymns are too low usually: I am sure you must consider me very hard to please in Hymn part writing. I wonder shall I have the pleasure of meeting …. either at Birmingham, or at Bonn on 19 Aug.

R P Stewart
Burlsfield
Greystones
Ireland
July 23[rd] 73

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1 The examples to which Stewart refers are missing.

2 In the event, JBD's tune was not used in Stewart's *Church Hymnal*.

Letter from the Rev. J Ireland Tucker to JBD 23 July 1873 (RCO)

Troy[1]
July 23rd 1873

My dear Dr. Dykes

I have not forgotten my promise to send you "the Church Hymnal", But, the fact is I was ashamed to present the book with its many errors to the notice of my friends in England. In the Edition which we are now printing I hope to find fewer blemishes, and then may venture to send a copy for your inspection and criticism.[2]

"The Hymnal with tunes &c" has met with such success that I am tempted to accede to the wishes of the publishers and edit "The Children's Hymnal" — and of course I need your aid. May I ask you then, to compose for me two Carols, one for Christmas and the other for Easter. But, if you do not feel disposed to have anything to do with Easter Carols, I would be well satisfied with a Christmas Carol, and a Children's Hymn tune. I say nothing about the words as you may prefer to make your own selection, and I can with confidence rely upon your judgment and taste.[3]

Can you favour me with any suggestions that may help me in my work?

With the assurances of my kind regard

Very truly yours

J. Ireland Tucker

The Revd
John B Dykes, Mus.Doc
St. Oswald's Vicarage
Durham
England

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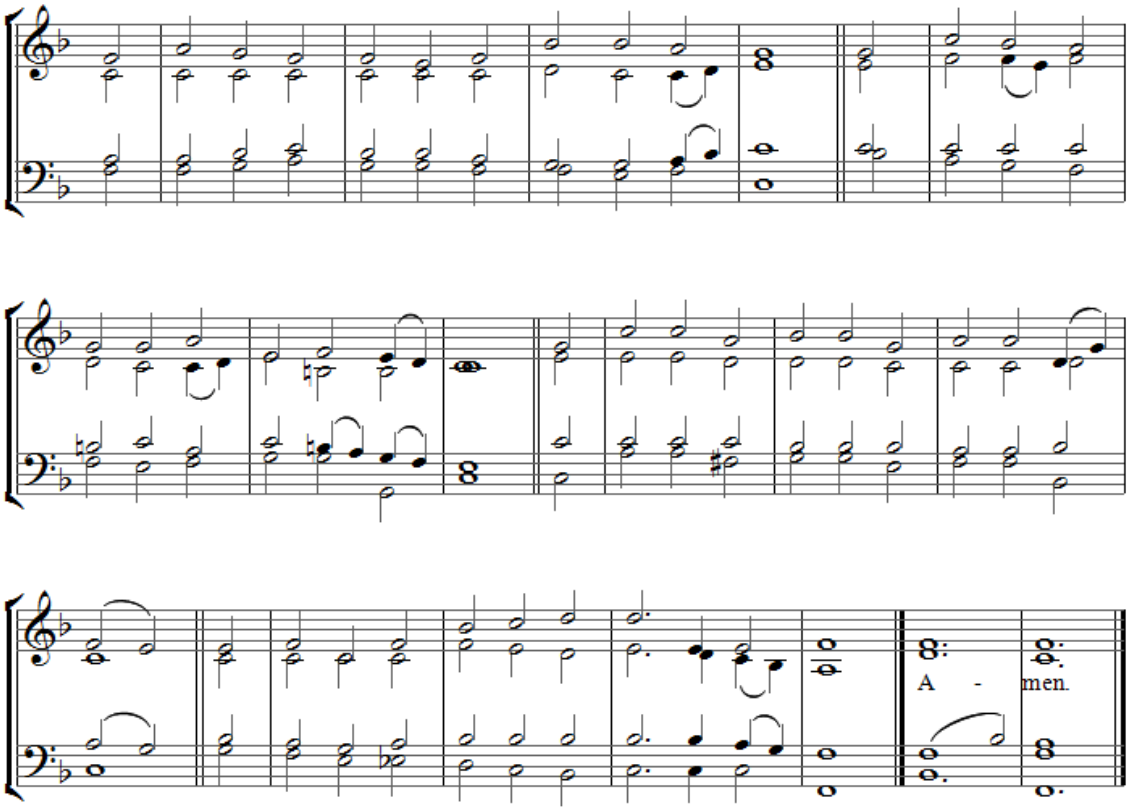
1 New York

2 JBD contributed three tunes, *viz.* BETHANY, FAITH, ST. EDITHA — see below.

3 JBD contributed eponymous tunes to *There's a friend for little children* and *It came upon a midnight clear* — see below.

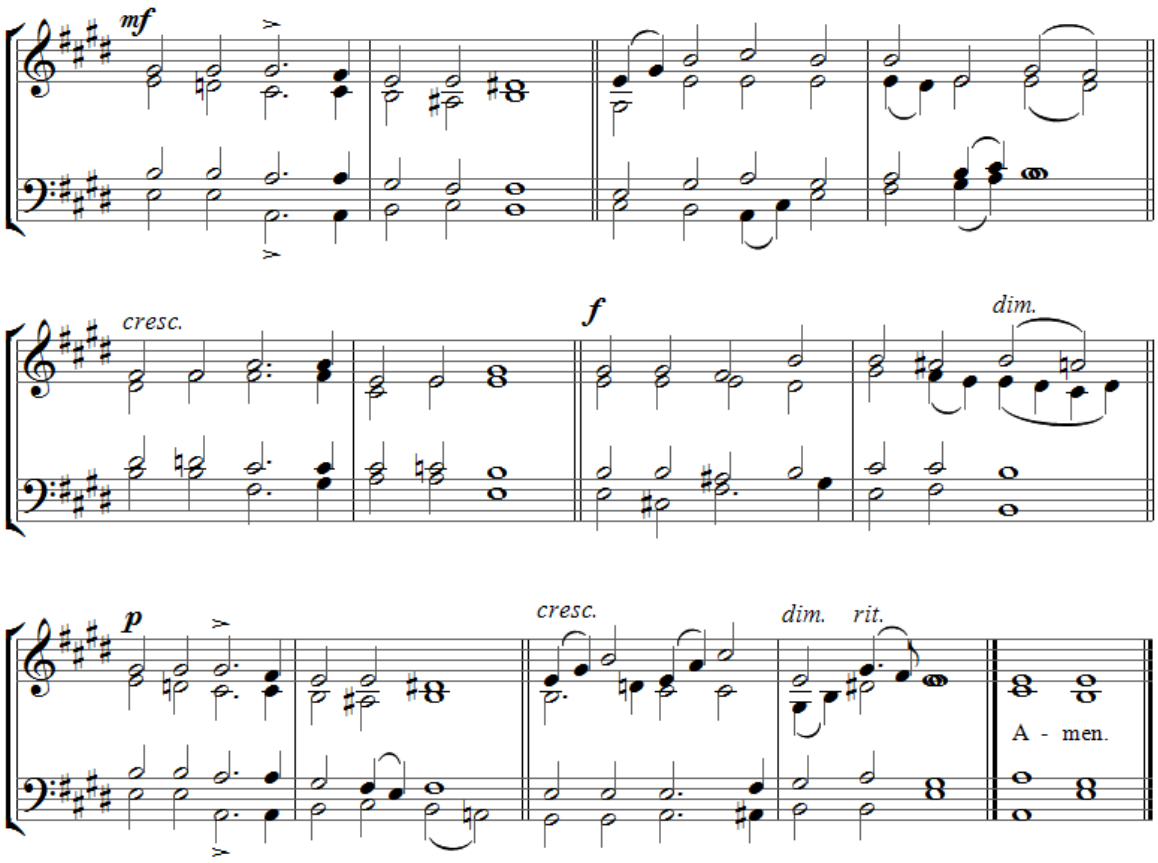
Bethany (11.11.11.11)

Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No.93

I would not live alway; I ask not to stay
Where storm after storm rises dark o'er the way.
The few lurid mornings that dawn on us here
Are enough for life's woes, full enough for its cheer.

Dr. Muhlenberg

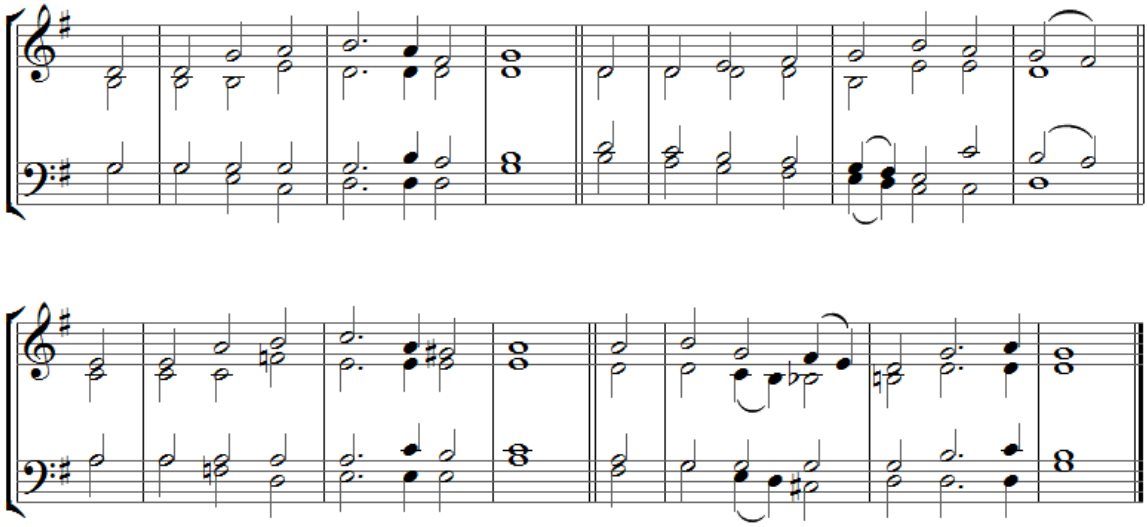
Faith (2) (777777)

The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No. 391

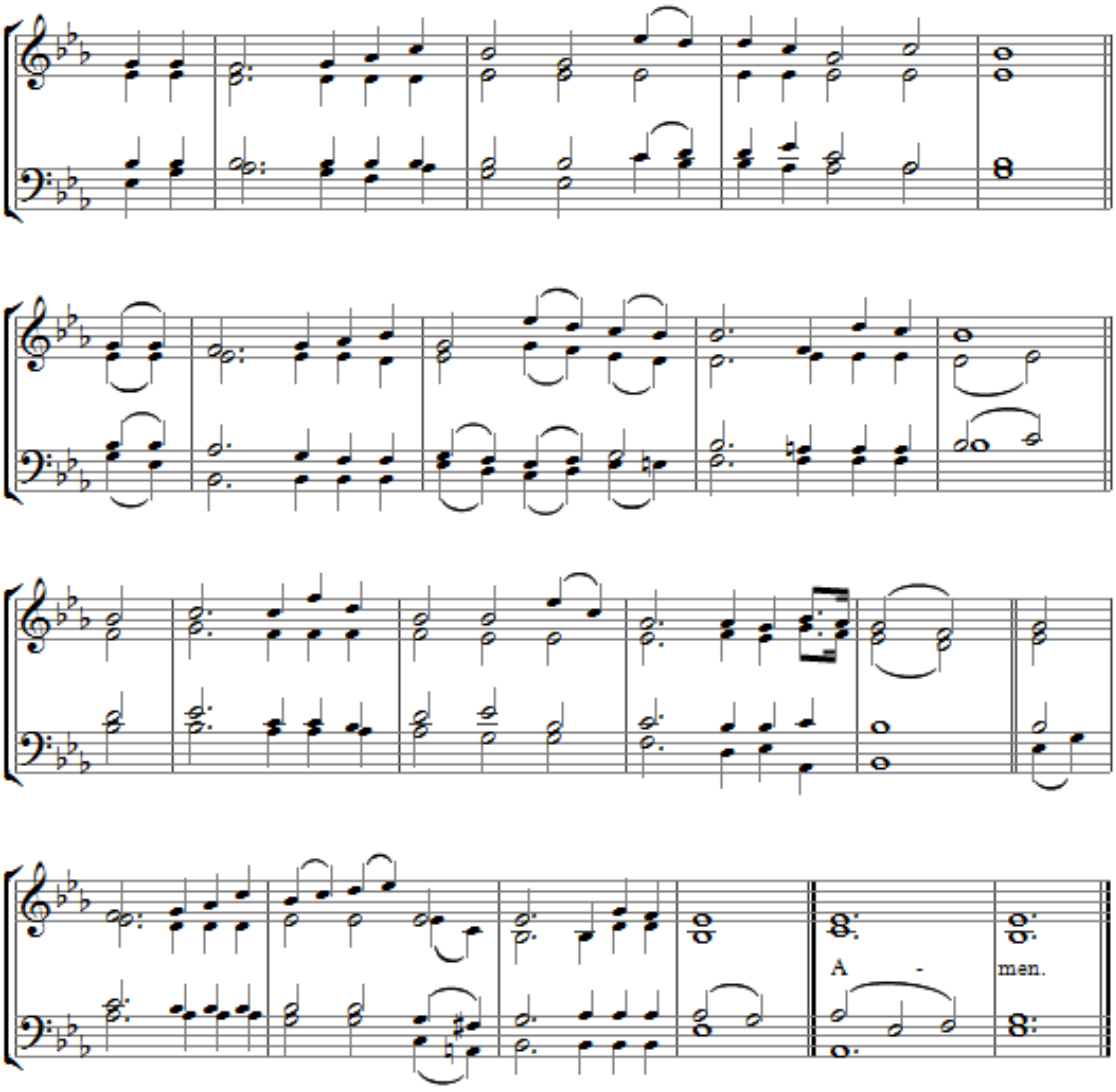
Other names:
Rock of Ages
Gethsemane
Trust

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee;
Let the water and the blood
From Thy riven side which flowed,
Be of sin the double cure,
Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Augustus M. Toplady

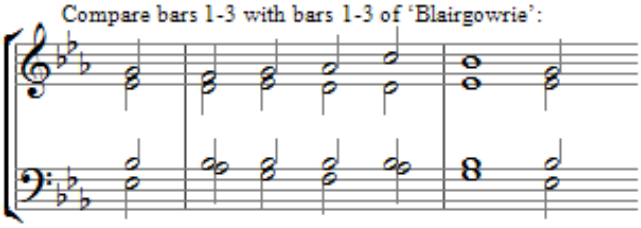
St. Editha (LM)

The Hymnal with Tunes Old and New (1872) No.339

Inspirer and Hearer of prayer,
Thou Shepherd and Guardian of Thine,
My all to Thy covenant care,
I, sleeping or waking, resign.

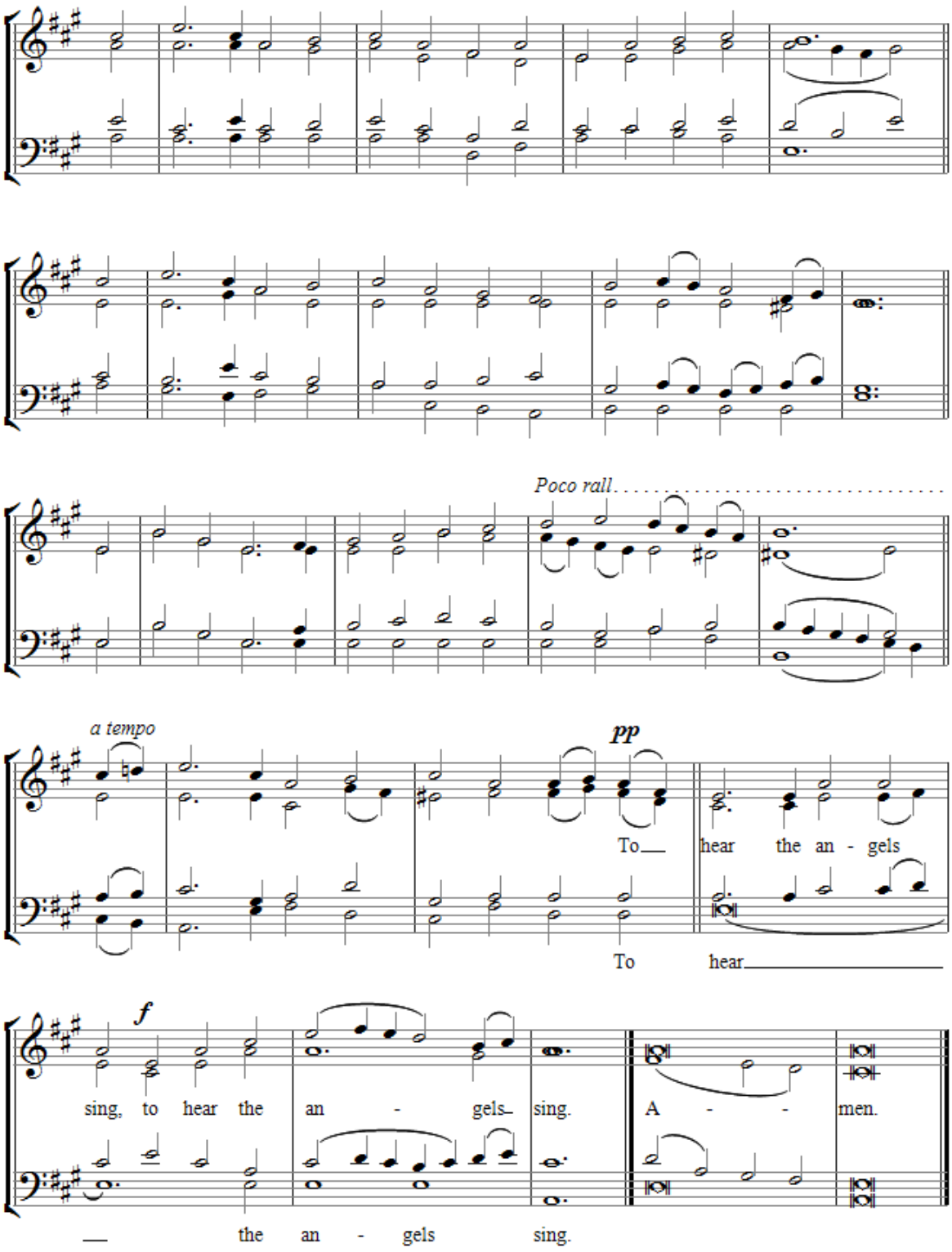
Augustus Toplady

'There's a Friend' (86767676)
The Children's Hymnal (1877) No.178

There's a Friend for little children
Above the bright blue sky,
A Friend who never changes,
Whose love will never die;
Unlike our friends by nature,
Who change with changing years,
This Friend is always worthy
The precious Name He bears.

Albert Midlane

Compare bars 1-3 with bars 1-3 of 'Blairgowrie':

‘It Came Upon a Midnight Clear’ (8686D)

The Children’s Hymnal (1877) No. 227

Other names:
Prince of Peace
Sears

Letter from the Bishop of Durham to JBD, 19 July 1873 (DCA)

Auckland Castle
July 19th 1873

Dear Sir,—

I regret that I must decline to license the Rev. G. E. F. Peake to the Curacy of St. Oswald's, Durham.

Yours faithfully,
C. DUNELM

To the Rev. Dr. Dykes.

Letter from JBD to the Editor, Durham County Advertiser 25 July 1873 (DCA)

Sir—

May I ask you to do me the favour to publish the following correspondence. It must tell its own tale. It is not without intense repugnance that I place it before the public. But it seems due to myself, due to my friends and parishioners, and due also to the diocese that I should do so. On the one hand, I cannot bear the thought of seeming to oppose my Bishop without openly stating the grounds on which I have acted; and, on the other, as regards the diocese, I cannot but think that it has become necessary that some voice, however feeble, should be raised against a one-sided system of administration which, if not kept in check, bids fair to produce much unhappiness and mischief.

In explanation of the first letter I have only to add that, after a long and most anxious search for a fellow worker in the place of my old friend Mr. Wray, who is on the point of leaving the curacy for the Vicarage of Ovingham, I succeeded in securing the services of a clergyman, most highly recommended, now working in the diocese, the Rev. G. E. F. Peake, and wrote to the Bishop, asking him to be so good as to grant him the usual licence.

Faithfully yours,

John B. Dykes

Letter from John Henry Blunt to JBD 28 July 1873 (RCO)

July 28. 1873
Beverstone Rectory,
Stroud

My dear Dykes

My hearty sympathy is with you. Your plain speaking about dishonest treatment of the Bible will certainly do good.

I wish I could spare time to collect facts for & write a pamphlet on the Reformation of Bishops!

Yours ever faithfully

J.H. Blunt[1]

[1] Editor of *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer* Part I (Rivingtons: London, 1866), to which Dykes contributed a section entitled 'The Manner of performing Divine Service'. (See App. C Part 2 pp64ff.)

Letter from HWB to JBD 21 August 1873 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Augst 21. 1873

My dear Dykes

I am afraid my scheme of having your Curate has come to an end.

I promised him lodgings rent free, & his railway fare, & two guineas a week, which in letter marked No (2). He apparently accepted for October — but was doubtful if he could stay longer.

—I wrote in reply closing finally with him & asking if I might tell the Bishop of Hereford he was coming; & what was his last Curacy for me to tell the Bishop—

This morning No. 3 arrives, altogether a [ ][1].

I thought he was simply to stay on from week to week till you were ready; but besides that, he evidently is short of money & wants money. We Vicars might ask a long while before we get our tithes paid us "in advance", mightn't we? It would be foolish for me to give anything like what he wants in this little easy place; so I have written kindly saying that "it is natural that he should want harder work & higher pay" whilst he is well & strong; but putting an end to our correspondence.

I thought you ought to know this — Please to return the 2 letters to me—

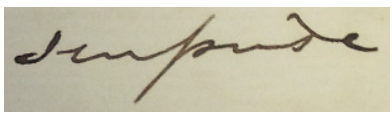
I hope to go to Huntingdonshire for one Sunday on 1st or 2^{d} of September: & perhaps may hear of some one else for October.

Do you go to Bath Congress? Or to Cowley Retreat? Are they not in the same week?

Ever affectionately yours

Henry W. Baker

1



Letter from R P Stewart to JBD 28 August 1873 (RCO)

Greystones: Ireland.
Thur. Aug. 28 '73

My dear Doctor Dykes

Your kind note of 18th has remained unanswered too long.

But I was at Bonn Festival where we were glorifying Robert Schumann, and only got back to Ireland a day or two back: Some of your English people were there, but more from The 'Isle of Saints' I think. Between hearing all the rehearsals & also the performances of such "interesting" music, I have got too much to enable me to enjoy Birmingham: besides it is blowing a gale and the railways & steamers are anything but safe nowadays: so I shall miss meeting you and many more lights of the English musical world, I fear.

The Tune[1] is very nice, far nicer than one I had attempted, [2] which I send you; I chose the same key and time, strange to say. In yours it seems to me A is too like B: and at C the melody for descending to a, is more vocal, than repeating the tenor d: but perhaps I am hyper critical.[3] I shall not fail to send you proof, it is quite certain our Committee will choose your tune[4], and think mine hoppy but yours happy.

Most truly yours

R P Stewart.

I think Alford in D minor, a horrible tune, if tune it can be called.

By the way, what about your Amen? — In our hymn book it exists.

As I shall probably leave this (a seaside village 20 miles East of the Irish Metropolis) & return to College soon, (in ten days) you will perhaps be safer kindly addressing me thus "3 Trinity College, Dublin"

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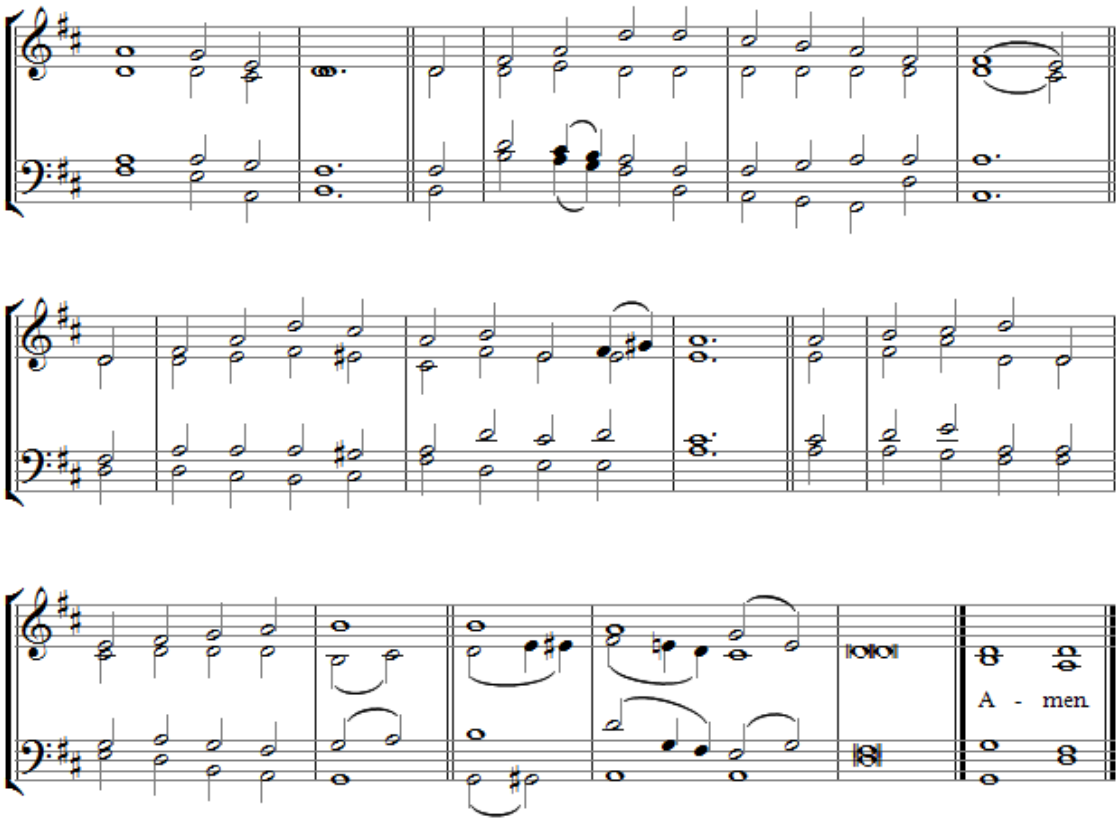
1 COME, LABOUR ON — see below.

2 ORA, LABORA — see below.

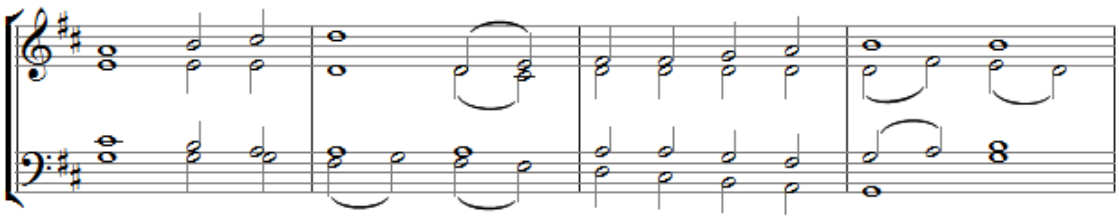
3 See examples below.

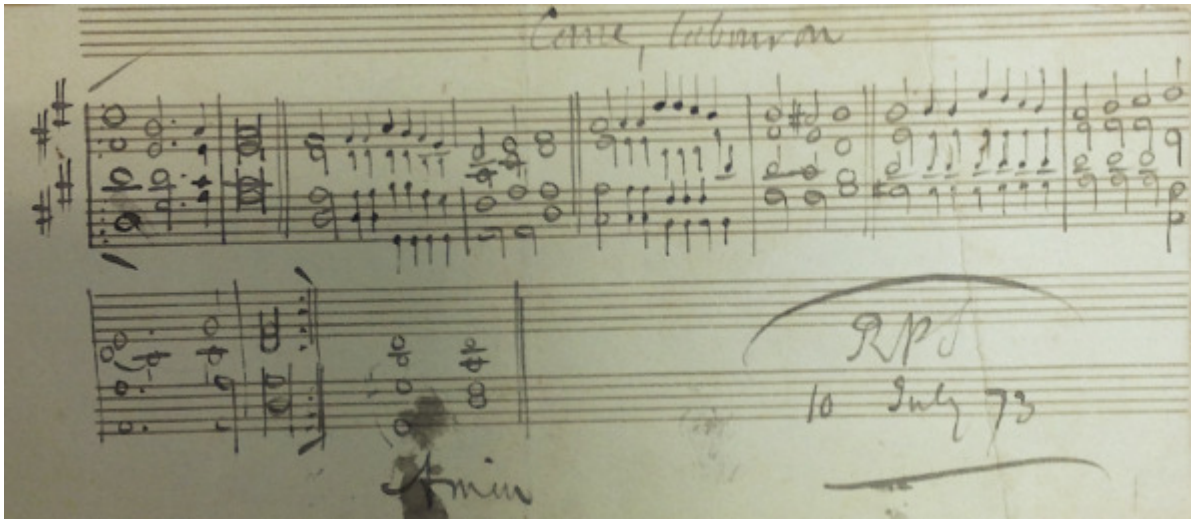
4 They didn't.

‘Come, Labour On!’ (4.10.10.10.4)

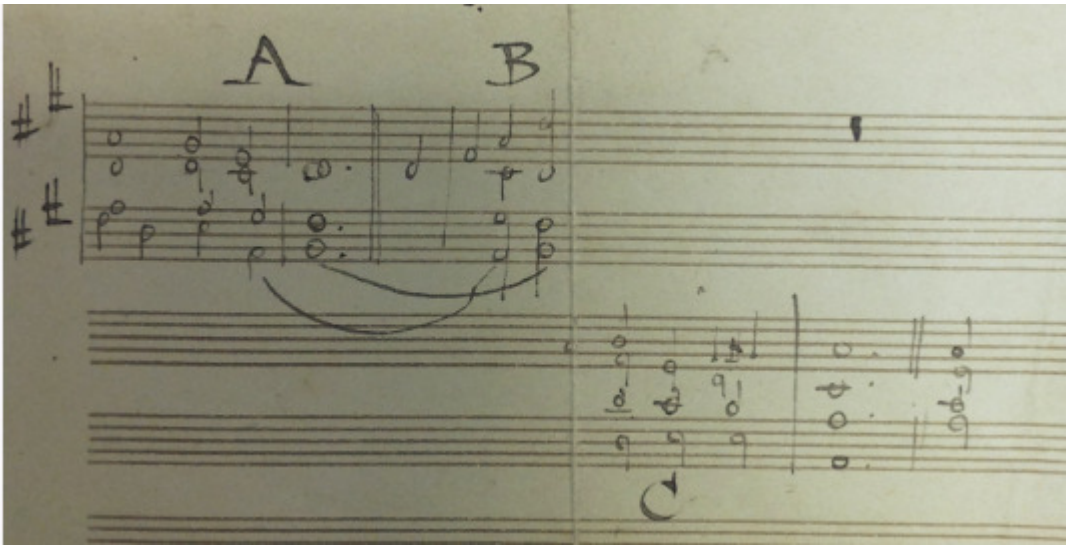
Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.224

Come, labour on.
Who dares stand idle on the harvest plain
while all around us waves the golden grain?
And to each servant does the Master say,
“Go work today.”

Jane Borthwick

Compare bars 11-15 with bars 9-12 of ‘Strength and Stay’

ORA, LABORA



Stewart's examples



Letter from JBD to HWB 17 September 1873 (HAM)

M^rs^ Scott's Lodgings
Birnam, Perthshire N.B.
Sep: 17. 1873

My dear Sir Henry

Here I am faraway north in Scotland.[1] My Church had got into such a state that it was quite necessary it sh^d^ undergo a little painting and cleaning. So I have closed it for one Sunday and have joined some of my brothers & sisters who were going North.

I am sorry that in my hurry, when leaving on Monday morning, I could not lay my hands on your letter containing the two f^m^ Mr. Collett. I have it in some safe place and must read it on my return.

You may probably have heard that I have <u>received</u> Counsel's Opinion it is to the follow^g^ effect.

(1) That the Bp has no <u>right</u> to exact these pledges and

(2) That I must apply for a Mandamus compell^g^ him to licence Mr. P.[2] which they anticipate would be granted.

I have sent it to his Lordship but he shows no sign. So I expect he intends to stick to his point and so I shall have, at all events, to wait till November for some settlement of the point one way or other.

I return the specimen page. The type is clear and good. I wish the page was larger because the book is at present, and will be more so, of a very awkward size — too thick and stumpy. Would it not be possible to get a page like the Anglican?

With regard to double bars[3], I feel sure that each tune must be treated independently. Some <u>require</u> double bars at the end of each line others are much better with the double bars at the end of every alternate line. So that we must lay down no unbending law on the subject. The two tunes here given are better as they are <u>without</u> the intermediate double bar.

I think I like the look of the page better without the perpendicular line between the words.

I hope there will not be too many expression marks to the words — they become fidgetting when multiplied.

I am sorry that you are not feeling quite strong. You must take care of yourself.

Believe me

My dear Sir Henry

Yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes

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1 A brief account of his short holiday is given in Fowler, p184.

2 Rev. G.E.F. Peake, whose services Dykes had hoped to secure as Curate.

3 See letter dated 11 September 1873 from HWB to a range of experts, asking for their views on the matter.

Letter from JBD to the Revd. Cecil Wray 23 September 1873 (LP)

Birnam Perthshire N.B.
Sep: 23 1873

My dear Mr. Wray

Pray accept my best thanks for your kind words of sympathy with me in my recent difficulties. I very much dislike the idea of being at war with my Bishop, & of having (as I fear will be the case) to go to law with him. But I really see no other alternative.

I could not bring myself to feel that it was right for me to yield to his requirements, & to contribute, by yielding, to the imposition of this new yoke on the necks of the incumbents & Curates of our Diocese & perhaps of other Dioceses: for had the Bp of Durham firstly succeeded, other Bishops, I fear, would only have been too glad to try the same experiment.

I can only trust & pray that GOD will direct me so to act in this matter as shall best please Him, & will overrule this issue to His glory & the good of the Church.

I was sincerely sorry to learn that your health had rendered it necessary for you to resign your important post at Liverpool. I trust that you are now strong again, and that you like your present sphere.

With kind regards & renewed thanks.

I remain
My dear Mr Wray
Yours very sincerely in ‘X’
John B. Dykes

Letter from Edward Seymour to JBD 25 September 1873 (HAM)

Dublin. 4 Kildare St.
Sep 25th 1873

Rev & Dear Sir

When I had the pleasure of meeting you this time twelve months ago at Worcester Festival (when there with Sir Robt. Stewart) I had a few words relative to our new edition of the Church Hymnal which the Dublin Christian Knowledge Association is about to publish.

Dean Dickenson has given over the correspondence to me, and hence my now troubling you with this letter.

We are most anxious to obtain the use of many of your tunes which you have contributed to Hymns A&M and the object of this letter is to ask you to exert a little of your influence with Sir H Baker and his committee to be generous to us of those good things for which they themselves were endibted [*sic*] to you & others.

This work of ours is in no way a mercantile speculation but altogether (like A&M) for the promotion of Divine worship.

I got a rather unfavourable letter from Sir H Baker, saying that he though his Committee would demur to our request & that they had been already too generous. Now I think they would (they ought to at least) be influenced by your wishes especially with regard to your own tunes, and if you would kindly assist us either by forward us a letter to enclose to Sir HB. or by communicating with him directly yourself, it would be a very real kindness & assistance to us.

I send you a list of the tunes we are so anxious to get and in many instances (as well as in your own case) the respective composers are desirous that we should be allowed to use their tunes — eg Bp Jenner, Smart, Barnby, Hogan, Hayne, Elvey & Oakley [*sic*], whose letters I have.

There is no way that Church principles could be better advanced in Ireland than through the medium of sound Church Hymns, recommended as they would be by the high class music to which we seek permission to wed them. And I think you will agree with me that your Committee ought not to withhold this practical sympathy with and aid to the Church Party here in their effort to advance Church principles.

I hope then you will lend us a helping hand — and oblige

Yours very faithfully

Edward Seymour

Canon of Christ Church

To the

Revd. J B. Dykes Mus D

List of Hymns from A&M

Rev D$^{r.}$ Dykes

100 S. Cross
135. Nicaea
179. Hollingside
200 Horbury
279. Pax Dei
285. S. Andrew of Crete
317 Vox dilicti [*sic*]
324 Paradise
330. Dominus regit me
385. S Alban
325. Vox Angelica

Other Composers

15.	S. Columba	(H. Irons)
17	S. Matthias	(W H Monk)
121.	Ascension	(Ditto)
164	Quam dilicta	(Bp Jenner)
176	Lyte	(J B. Wilkes)
299	Stephanos	(W H Monk)
318	Diademata	(Sir G Elvey)
325	Pilgrims	(H Smart)
329	Cloisters	(J Barnby)
332	Chalvey	(D$^{r.}$ Hayne)
335	Edina	(H.S. Oakeley)
350	Alleluia	(S.S. Wesley)
363	Alstone	(C.E. Willing)
368	Eudoxia	(Sir S B Gould)
378	Gloria	(H Smart)
383	S. Patrick	(F.W. Hogan)
386	Peterborough	(W H Monk)

Letter from JBD to HWB 30 September 1873 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Sep: 30 1873

My dear Sir Henry

The enclosed letter must speak for itself. May I give him permission: or will you write to him?

One does not like these hymns to get dissociated from their tunes: and as these Irish people may not use H.A.M. & yet will sing these hymns, I do not see how the Tunes can well be kept back.

The only way to keep H.A.M. still in advance is to improve it very much at this crisis of its new revision.

If other books now get several of our tunes wh. have established themselves: surely it may reasonably be supposed that as good ones may be forthcoming where the last came from.

For myself, I am f^m.^ time to time putting by in reserve any whi come into my head (or rather, I suppose I sh^d.^ say, as M^r.^ Bickersteth puts it into my heart) which seem to myself specially satisfactory for consideration when we come to the question of new insertions. I am of course only trying hymns wh: hitherto have not been happily set.

I have put by another version of "Hail gladdening Light" for trial and also a setting of the "Anima Christi" — wh: I think m^t^ be useful to sing at Celebrations & many others.

A. Sullivan has asked me to write a new tune for y^r.^ Litany Hy: (Rogation) "God the Father f^m.^ Thy Throne", which I have just done.[1]

I have just had a short run to Scotland, my church hav^g^ to be shut up for a Sunday for painting. I hear you are in S. Wales. I trust gain^g^ health & strength & haply in y^r.^ composition of Saints' day Hymns.

Will you kindly return this good gentleman's letter at y^r^ convenience.

Kindest regards

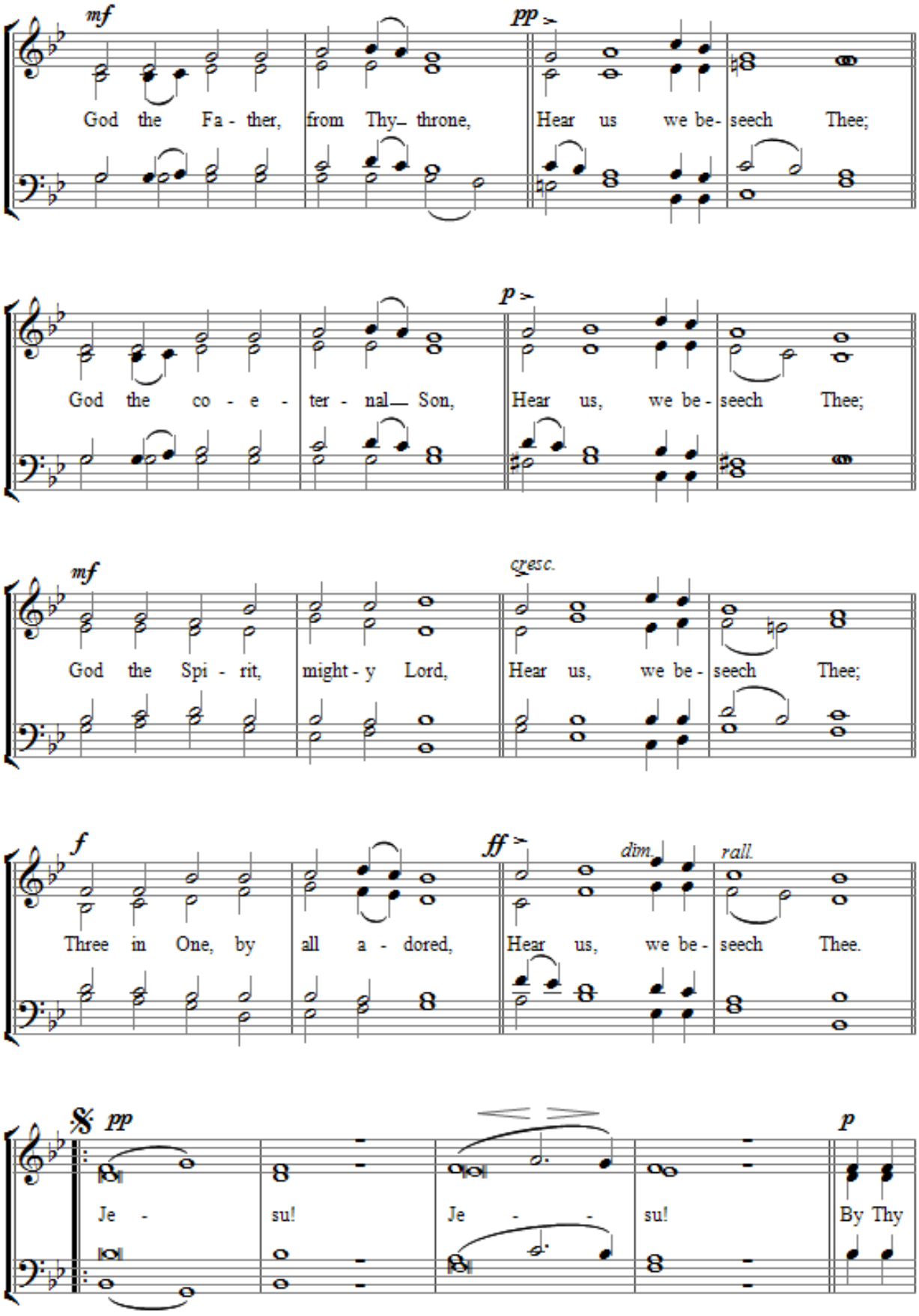
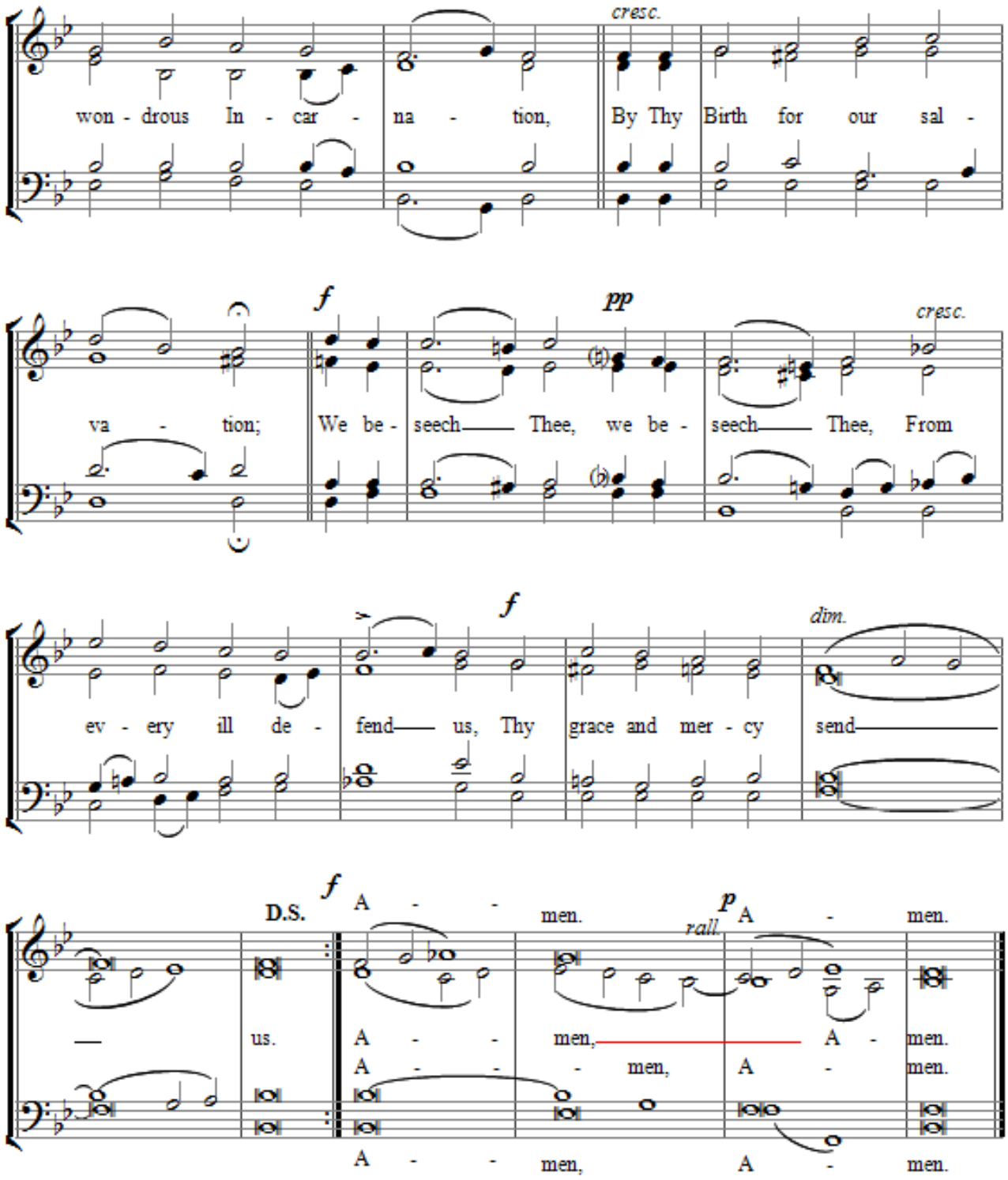
& yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes

[1] See below.

Litany (irregular)

Church Hymns with Tunes (1874) No.584



cresc.
won - drous In - car - na - tion, By Thy Birth for our sal -
f
pp
cresc.
va - tion; We be - seech Thee, we be - seech Thee, From
f
dim.
ev - ery ill de - fend us, Thy grace and mer - cy send
f
D.S.
A - men.
p
rall.
A - men.
us.
A - men, A - men.
A - men, A - men.
A - men, A - men.

Letter from HWB to JBD 8 October 1873 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Oct 8[1] 1873

My dear Dykes

The Irish Church Synod has sanctioned a most wretched Book doctrinally — E.g. they have actually altered a well-known Hymn like "O GOD unseen yet ever near" (our H. 207) & put "table" for "Altar". They have put "Jesus [*sic, recte* Jesu] Son of David" for "Son of Mary" in Dean Millman's Hymn[2] — cruelly murdered "Christian dost thou see them"[3] — &c &c.

Now if we give Tunes, don't we sanction on our part this act of the Irish Synod?

and don't we, so far as we can, deliberately deprive ourselves of all sales of H.A. & M in Ireland? I confess, & so far as I see at present, we have never had a request which we were more plainly called on to refuse—Nay more: I am disposed to desire the Synod, or whoever have done the book, to remove copyright words inserted without leave.

Conceive their printing verses 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 of our 164:[4] and coolly omitting verses 3 and 4: and (unless I am mistaken: I am taking steps to ascertain) without anyone's leave asked.

NO, my dear friend: your own loving amiable heart is I think wrong here in trying to help this book.

But I am writing only my own personal feelings as I see at present — Let me hear more from you.

I am to lay the whole matter before my colleagues at Chislehurst next week.

Ever affectionately yours

Henry W. Baker

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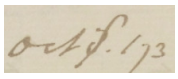
1 The date is ambiguous:



2 '*When our heads are bowed with woe,*
'*When our bitter tears o'erflow,*
'*When we mourn the lost, the dear,*
'*Jesu, Son of* [*Mary/David*]*, hear.*'
[HA&M (1861/8) No. 163 Church Hymnal No. 164

3 See the contrasting versions below.

4 *We love the place, O God* — see below

HA&M (1875) 91

p CHRISTIAN, dost thou see them
On the holy ground,
cr How the troops of Midian
dim Prowl and prowl around?
ff Christian, up and smite them,
Counting gain but loss;
Smite them by the merit
Of the holy Cross.

p Christian, dost thou feel them,
How they work within,
cr Striving, tempting, luring,
Goading into sin?
f Christian, never tremble;
Never be down-cast;
Smite them by the virtue
Of the Lenten fast.

p Christian, dost thou hear them,
How they speak thee fair?
cr "Always fast and vigil?
Always watch and prayer?"
ff Christian, answer boldly,
"While I breathe I pray:"
p Peace shall follow battle,
f Night shall end in day

mf "Well I know thy trouble,
O My servant true;
Thou art very weary,
p I was weary too;
f But that toil shall make thee
Some day all Mine own,
And the end of sorrow
ff Shall be near My Throne."

Church Hymnal 146

1.

p CHRISTIAN! dost thou see them
On the holy ground,
How the hosts of darkness
Compass thee around?
f Christian! up and smite them,
Counting gain but loss;
Smite them by the merit
Of Christ's holy Cross.

2.

p Christian! dost thou feel them,
How they work within,
Striving, tempting, luring,
Goading into sin?
f Christian! never tremble!
Gird thee for the strife;
Smite them by the virtue
Of Christ's risen life.

3.

p Christian! dost thou hear them,
How they speak thee fair?—
"Quit thy weary vigil,
Cease from watch and prayer;"
f Christian, answer boldly,
"While I breathe I pray;"
Peace shall follow battle,
Night shall end in day.

4.

p "Well I know thy trouble,
O my servant true:
Thou art very weary—
I was weary too:
cres. But that toil shall make thee
One day all Mine own;
And the end of sorrow
f Shall be near My Throne!" Amen

HA&M 164

WE love the place, O GOD,
Wherein Thine honour dwells
The joy of Thine abode
All earthly joy excels.

It is the House of prayer,
Wherein Thy servants meet;
And Thou, O LORD, art there
Thy chosen flock to greet.

We love the sacred Font;
For there the HOLY DOVE
To pour is ever wont
His blessing from above.

We love Thine Altar, LORD;
Oh what on earth so dear?

For there, in faith adored,
We find Thy Presence near.

We love the Word of Life,
The Word that tells of peace,
Of comfort in the strife,
And joys that never cease.

We love to sing below
For mercies freely given;
But oh! we long to know
The triumph-song of heaven.

LORD JESUS, give us grace
On earth to love Thee more,
In heaven to see Thy Face,
And with Thy saints adore. Amen.

Letter from Edward Seymour to JBD 23 October 1873 (HAM)

Dublin. 4 Kildare St
Oct 23rd 1873

My dear Sir

I regret to say that the Committee of Hymns A&M have declined to comply with our request for permission to use any of their tunes.

They assign no reason for this churlish refusal but, from a remark of Sir Henry Bakers letter, I infer that the chief reason is, that they entertain a hope that (by withholding these tunes) a few copies of H.A. & M. will ne sold in Ireland for the sake of the Music, to those who prefer to use these tunes with our Hymnal. Now I need hardly say that this hope is quite futile and that in 999 cases out of 1000 our own tune book will (for convenience sake) alone be used and it seems a selfish act to deprive us from using what will not affect them.

I imagine too that you and many other of their benefactors (who contributed your tunes gratuitously to promote Gods Glory and praise rather than the mercantile success of H A & M never intended that any large section of the Church should be deprived of the benefit of some of your labours.

In the face too of the gigantic pecuniary success of H A & M (which nothing can now affect) it is, to say the least, ungrateful not to comply with the least expression of a wish on your part, who have done so much to contribute to this success

My object in now writing is to enclose you a list of your tunes we are so desirous to include in our collection, and to ask you to let me know of there are any, with the copyright of which you have not absolutely parted.

And also to beg of you to strain a point and grant us permission to include such in our Hymnal.

100.	S. Cross	285.	S. Andrew of Crete
135	Nicaea	317.	Vox dilicti [*sic*]
179	Hollingside	324	Paradise
200	Horbury	325	Vox Angelica
279	Pax Dei	330	Dominus regit me

Beside these there are a couple of old tunes you have harmonised, viz Wir pflugen (360) & S. Alban (385) and there is likewise a tune in the Hymnary N^o. 429 (2nd tune) which if you will kindly allow us to use I should be obliged by your saying by what name you would wish it known.[1]
Hoping for an early and a favourable reply

I remain

Yours very faithfully

Edward Seymour

Rev J.B. Dykes Mus.D.

[1] This tune was originally published as SLINGSBY in the *Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book* (1869) albeit in a slightly different form.

Letter from Sir Robert Stewart to JBD 31 October 1873 (RCO)

Holyrood, Bray, Ireland
31. Oct. '73

My dear D[r]. Dykes

You probably have heard of the churlish action of the Committee who own H. A & M in reference to the Irish Church New Hymnal. We don't care very much for their tunes, but there are a few of yours, which we do not want to part company with: and if they have not altogether passed out of your possession, we should be well pleased to have your kind authority to include them in the Book. As I have changed my address since we last exchanged letters, I send you my locus in quo on an envelope.

I think Canon Seymour has furnished you with a list of these tunes of your composition, some of which are already included in the "Sarum", and also in "The Anglican" Hymnals.

Yours very faithfully

R P Stewart

Letter from JBD to HWB 4 November 1873 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Nov: 4 1873

My dear Sir Henry

The date of the enclosed letter will show you how long ago I ought to have written to you. But I have been so fearfully busy that I have never found time[1]. I have received a 2nd letter f^m. Mr. Seymour since this, renewing the request, noticing how the tunes have been given to other books, I assume Bickersteth & high & low, & urging on me to grant the use of them, and to employ my influence with the Props of H.A.M. to induce them to grant the use of them to the Irish book. Since then I have had a letter f^m. Prof^r. Stewart the Musical Editor, urging the same request. Now what am I to do? Of course I do not like their Hymn book: but I do not like to appear captious & ill natured And it seems to me that if they have these Hymns it is a pity they sh^d. associate them in Ireland to other tunes, if they wish to keep to their present ones.

Moreover, here is a consideration of moment. Sir Rob^t Stewart is one of the most accomplished musicians we have. His book is sure to contain many beautiful things, and it seems a pity to exclude prematurely y^r chance of obtain^g. 'quid pro quo'.

I have to write to you on another matter, but that must keep till another day. I am expect^g. a 4th Irish missive every day.

I say by all means give them the tunes if they want them but make a stipulat^n that you sh^d. have, if you like, tune for tune.

I don't want H.A.M. to get into bad odour: these Irish fellows are [ ][2] hands at talking.

So please say 'yes', & have done with it.

So no more for the present

f^m. yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes

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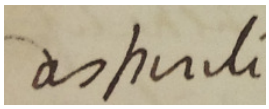
1 JBD had recently completed his anthem *The Lord is my shepherd* and was making final preparations for the hearing of his case in the Court of Queens Bench against his Bishop.

2 

Letter from Dr. H.H. Dickinson to JBD 18 November 1873 (RCO)

The Castle, Dublin

Nov. 18th [1]

Rev & dear Sir,

I had some time ago a very kind letter from you in reference to some Tunes wh we asked yr leave to print in our New Musical Edition of the Irish "Church Hymnal". You most generously assented as far as you "personally were concerned". I am sorry however, to say that Sir H. Baker, to whom you said that you wished "as a rule, to refer all applicants", has refused his consent. Now there are some words, printed (of course with Sir HB's permission) in respect of wh this refusal places us in great difficulty.

What we feel is that no one who knows yr tunes will ever like to use any other with these Hymns. I refer particularly to

St Cross. "O come & mourn"

St Andrew of Crete "Christian, dost thou"

Pax Dei "Saviour again in [*sic*] Thy"

Vox Dilecti "I heard the voice"

I don't know whether it wd be reasonable to ask you to use yr influence in obtaining leave to print these four or whether you would give us some form of modification of these Tunes — wh would not involve us in breach of copyright. I see that they have been (or at least two of them) printed elsewhere.

Perhaps you may have other Tunes to suit these words. And as you kindly said you wd help us in our work, I have ventured now to trespass on yr time & kindness in this difficulty. I am, with much respect, yrs sincerely &obliged

H H Dickinson DD.

Dean of Chapel Royal

[1] No year is given but the context dates this letter shortly after Sir R R Stewart's letter on the same subject dated 31 October 1873.

Letter from Arthur Sullivan to HWB 19 November 1873 (HAM)
[*Although neither to nor from JBD the letter is included because of its relevance to him.*]

8 Albert Mansions
S.W.
19 Nov: 1873

My dear Sir Henry

I find that Dykes's Tune "Melita" is only used to the prayer for those at sea. Now, as it is a very fine tune & very popular here, it seems to me a great pity to confine its use to such an exceptional & rarely used hymn. ~~The more so~~

Under these circumstances would it not be allowable to attach it to another hymn, the more especially as I find that organists adapt it indiscriminately to all sorts of things, so as to bring it into constant use.

The hymn I would propose to go with it in the S.P.C.K. book is N^{o} 191 "The saints of God"[1], to which the music is most admirably fitted.

I believe you said that the Proprietors of H.A&M did not like the words & music separated without special permission being given.

Please let me have an answer to this, as I am keeping that hymn back until I hear from you. You will understand of course that I do not mean to disassociate it from its original words.[2]

I am, my dear Sir Henry

Y^{rs} very truly

Arthur Sullivan

P.S.

I will write you an official letter, setting the one "condition" I left open, in a day or two.

1

1 THE Saints of God! Their conflict past,
And life's long battle won at last,
No more they need the shield or sword.
They cast them down before their Lord:—
cres. O happy Saints! for ever blest,
dim. At Jesus' feet how safe your rest!

2 It would appear that permission was withheld: the tune eventually used was SAINTS OF GOD by Sullivan himself.

Letter from JBD to HWB 24 December 1873 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Christmas Eve. 1873

My dear Sir Henry

I have only time for this line before the last Post, to acknowledge with sincere thanks the rec.^{t} of your handsome contribution (£5:0:0) this day towards the Defence fund.

It seems a horrible shame that good money sh.^{d} have to be so thrown away, merely to fill the pockets of certain lawyers or such a man as Dr. Stephens[1].

I will attend to your direction ab^{t} music proofs &c.

I have not rec.^{d} any hitherto. I will not forget the [earlier][2] request for the 13th Jan: [ ][3] hope to be able to get up to Town at that time, please God.

Thanks for your kind Xmas wishes whi I most heartily beg to reciprocate.

May the Peace of the Great Peace-Maker ever rest upon you.

Yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes

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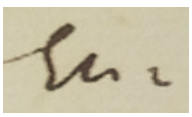
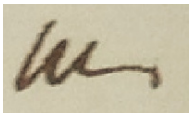
1 The Attorney General, retained by Dykes to argue his case against the Bishop.

2 

3 

Letter from the Rev. John Fenwick Laing to JBD 30 January 1874 (RCO)

Caldmore[1]
Walsall

Jan 30. 1874

Dear Dr. Dykes

The Bishop of Lichfield is going to let me have a curate for 12 months during which period he hopes that I may see my way to give up vestments. I have made no promise & trust that the so called law of the land may be changed ere long.

I now write to ask if you know of any man that would accept of my curracy £120. I have a nice church & a good choir. In case you do not know of anyone don't trouble to answer this.

I suppose the Bishop of Durham is happy now seeing that he can do just as he likes in his Diocese.

What in the world are you going to do?

Whenever you publish a new Communion service please let me know. I have one of yours but it wants the Agnus Dei & Benedictus.

With kind regards

Yours very faithfully in Chrst

J Fenwick Laing

[1] The *London Magnet,* 20 May 1872 (p8) reports Laing's appointment to 'the Perptual Curacy of St. Michael and All Angels, Coldmore [*sic*]'. 'Caldmore ecclesiastical parish was formed in March 1872. The church of St Michael & All Angels, is a building of stone, in the Gothic style….The south chapel was erected by the Rev John Fenwick Laing.' (Source: http://genuki.org.uk/big/eng/STS/Walsall/StMichael/)

Letter from Edward Seymour to JBD 11 February 1874 (HAM)

Dublin. 4 Kildare St
Feb 11th 1874

My dear Sir

I am extremely obliged for your prompt reply.

Whatever our faults were we have been pretty well taken to task by the total refusal of every tune, and by the manner in which the permission was granted to include those 6 copyright Hymns (words). So that I should not like to incur the risk of a similar rebuff by asking for anything else.

I thought however that as there is but one tine now that I wish for (Hollingside) that you might have felt at liberty to give it and tell the Committee of H.A.&M that you had done so.

It appears (as I said) in almost every collection {—} the Presbyterian — the Sarum[1] {—} Bickersteths Hymnal[2] & even in a revival Hymnal (dissenting) of Windles.[3]

We are now going through the press and the first 100 Hymns are set up. So that there is not much time to spare if you can get it for us, and if they were willing to grant 6 or 8 in the beginning I suppose there would not be much objection to granting one!

The Christian Knowledge Association were not to blame in respect of those 6 Hymns, It was the work of a Committee appointed by the Synod. I fancy too that those Hymns were taken second hand and that the Committee did not know where they were got, for the Authors names were wrongly given.

At all events the SPCK had nothing to say to the work except to print it at their own expense — and after all the trouble they went to the Synod would not even give its "sanction" to the book — but merely "permitted" its use. In fact we (i.e. the SPCK) have suffered a great deal by the meddling action of the Synod in this matter of the Hymnal. The Synod first of all rendered a valuable property (the old Church Hymnal) worthless, by starting the idea of having one authorised by themselves.

Then they handed us a Hymnal in which I am afraid there are a great many other hymns that they did not obtain any permission to use, and the publication of which by us (for the Synod would incur no expense) places us in a very false position with regard to the owners of any copyright Hymns it contains.

And finally, having put us all to this trouble and expense, the utmost in the way of approval that could be obtained was that the Synod "permitted" its use.

I explain all this to you as we appear in a very false light, as the publishers of a book that possesses so many faults, and which has made us so free with other people's property. Indeed I should not have been sorry if the Committee of H A & M had refused us these 6

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1 *The Salisbury Hymnal* (Brown: Salisbury, 1869)

2 *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer* (Sampson Low: London, 1870)

3 *The St. Stephen's Penny Hymn Book* (Warne: London, 1866)

or 8 Hymns. It would have perhaps broken up the work of the Synod, and then the S.P.C.K. could have started a book of its own.

However there is no use now in looking back on what was been done or left undone, or in lamenting the unwisdom of our Musical Committee in asking 4 times as many tunes as they absolutely needed. We have now filled up all the vacancies as well as we could. Barnby's tune however for "Jesus Refuge [*sic*] of my soul"[1] is too difficult for such a popular Hymn, and I do wish we had the tune that is associated with these words in almost every Hymnal.[2]

Pray excuse all this explanation.

Ever yours very faithfully

Edward Seymour

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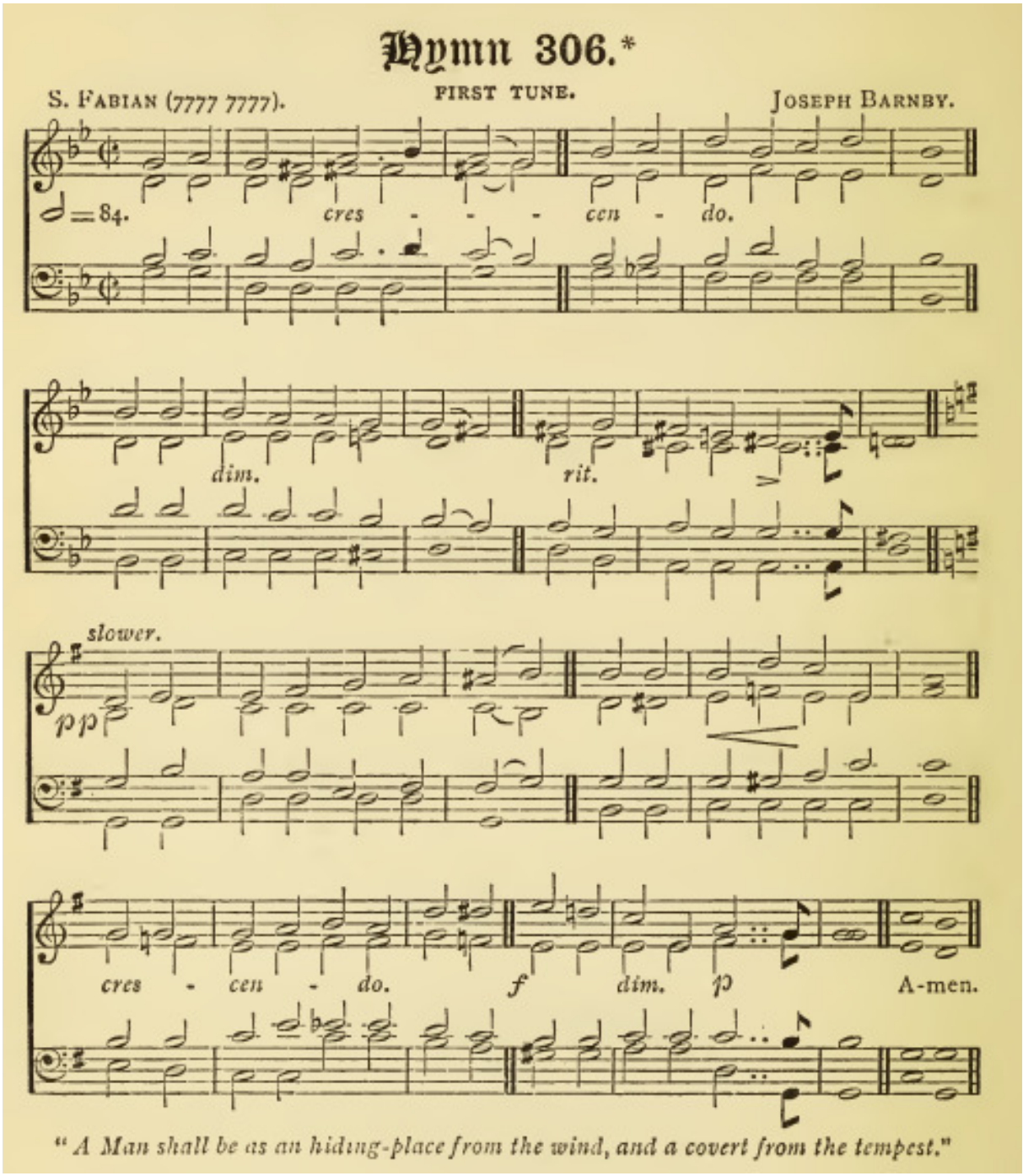
[1] S. FABIAN — see below.

[2] Given this *cri de Coeur* it is surprising that HOLLINGSIDE, for the use of which permission was eventually granted, should have been provided as the *second* tune. Moreover, it is little wonder that HOLLINGSIDE and ABERYSTWITH should have achieved pre-eminence over this difficult, highly chromatic (both harmonically and melodically) and, frankly, odd tune.

Hymn 306.*
S. Fabian (7777 7777).
FIRST TUNE.
Joseph Barnby.
♩=84.
cres - - - cen - do.
dim.
rit.
slower.
pp
cres - cen - do.
f
dim.
p
A-men.
"A Man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest."

Letter from JBD to HWB 17 Feb 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Shrove Tuesday 1874

My dear Sir Henry

I received the enclosed this morn.[g] and think it only right to forward it to you at once. I am very very sorry at all this. It does seem a thousand pities that there sh.[d] be these tiresome misunderstandings.

But I suppose harmonies and discords always did and always will go together.

Wishing you most heartily a happy Lent.

I remain

Ever yours affectionately

John B Dykes

Letter from Herbert S Oakeley to JBD 22 February 1874 (RCO)

Dalkeith House,
Dalkeith.

Feb^{ry} 22nd '74

My dear Dykes,

If I had not been much engrossed with our "Edinb^{h} Orchestral Festival", — of which I send you an acc^{t} in "The Choir", in case you do not see that paper — I should sooner have thanked you for your fine anthem "The Lord is my Shepherd", which I should greatly like to hear. The coincidence of pastoral idea between Handel & yourself is curious.[1]

I sent you the other day a little Romance which Hallé played here very charmingly.

Will Mr. Rogers introduce my Credo &c. in Eb at Durham? I sent him a score, & if you would ask him it would be very kind.

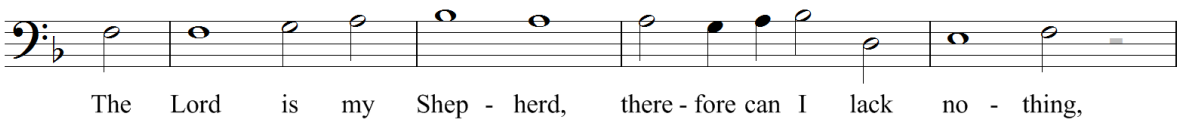
You will I think like to hear that I am much better than last winter, but still sadly crippled.

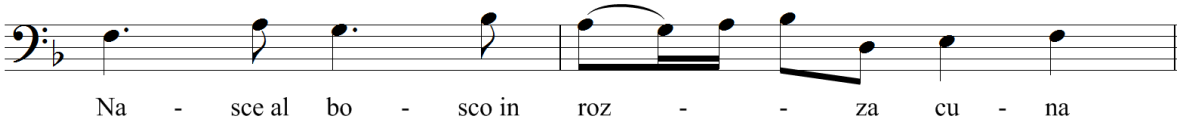
Yours ever sincerely

Herbert S. Oakeley

I return to Edinburgh tomorrow.

[1] A footnote to the score reads: 'It was not until some time after this Anthem was finished that the writer discovered that the third complete bar of the melody, which forms the leading subject of the first Movement, had been used by Handel in his bass song "Nasce al Bosco" ("He layeth the beams,") &c. He thinks it only fair to notice this purely accidental plagiarism.'

J.B. Dykes Opening theme from *The Lord is my Shepherd*

G.F. Handel 'Nasce al bosco' Bass Aria from *Ezio* Scene VIII



Letter from JBD to HWB 27 February 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage Durham
Feb: 27 1874

My dear Sir Henry

I wrote to Chope again requesting that he w^{d}. honestly and seriously tell me what I had said in my letters to him: as I had not the least wish to retract, or depart from, what I had said.

I understand that the letter of June on which he seemed to rely was written before the great mass of the tunes had been even composed.

But he had referred to another, in wh: I spoke of the tunes as "his property". I told him therefore that if he could assure me before God that I had written these words I w^{d}. gladly retract all I had said.

I suggested that he sh^{d}. show the correspond^{ce} to some friend who m^{t} act as arbitrator.

I enclose his reply.

If what he says is really correct I must have been much in the wrong. But this is the very first time I ever realized that I had done what I seem to have done. Some years ago he made a commotion ab^{t} copyrights. I then denied to him that I had ever parted with the copyright and said that I must hold to my opinion until he showed me the original or some duly certified copy of any letter or document in which I had done this — but he never w^{d}. show me anything: so the matter dropped.

I must ask him to send in a Registered letter this communic^{n} of mine dated Nov 26: for why has he not quoted it before?

If the extract given is a fair one, I have injured the man (God knows, unwittingly) and caused you & others much needless annoyance & vexation: for which I am heartily sorry.

Here is a miserable effect of a bad memory & of not doing a business thing in a business way.

I do hope his claims will be conceded & that we may have an end of it.

Please kindly return his letters.

Yours my dear Sir Henry

Every affect^{ly}

John B. Dykes

Letter from HWB to JBD 28 February 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

My dear Dykes

Do pray say "no".

Really I had rather ask my colleagues, when we meet in May, to yield our 2 Tunes of yours, than for you to do this. Don't. I am afraid my letters don't at all convince you, & you therefore of course think we are wrong in not helping the Irish Synod: but don't go & write second Tunes for those Hymns. I mean simply for your own sake — your musical friends would all so deeply regret to see you doing it, I am sure——

Do have done with these Irishmen———

What do you think now? They have parodied: [imitated][1] my 3 verses of "We love the place": have actually kept the first line of them "We love the Word of life"! and you think they have satisfied us— It promises to be more disagreeable than ever: we shall refuse everything; if they persist.—

They are not gentlemen – this is [ ][2] = no real gentlemen could have done such a thing —

Oh! don't you be so very foolish as to have anything more to do with them —— Forgive me. You know I love you — never stoop to write a 2[d] tune for "O come & mourn".

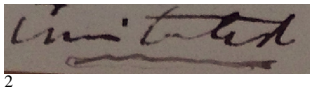
Affectionately yours in greatest haste

H.W. Baker

Saturday

Feb 28 1874

1



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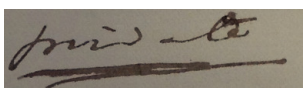

Letter from HWB to JBD 1 March 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Sunday Ev^{g}
March 1.[1]

My dear Dykes

I must add a few line to my very hasty note yesterday — pray forgive what was vehement in it —

If I have used too strong terms in writing to M^{r} Seymour[2], I am quite willing to wish them recalled: you may say whatever you think right to him for me hereon

—But now do be hard hearted for once in your life, & just cast those Irishmen adrift altogether — I do indeed calmly & seriously think that 1st for your own reputation & 2nd for what is fair to us you ought not to write another Tune to either Hymn. Certainly there are plenty of Tunes for "Jesu lover of my soul" [3] to be found — and can it be right, or fair to us, to give another to "O come and mourn with me"[4] — Personally I would rather even let them have the present Tunes than that you should write another for them —

Forgive me for saying that you puzzle me. I cannot make out what claims they have on you: if they were thorough gentlemen, they could not ask you as they do, knowing how you are almost one of us—

I would never stoop to pester one of the Hymnary contributors as they do you — But their conduct throughout has been as un-English as well can be: and I do indeed pray you to have done with them — there now: do just write a final no no no. It will do you good to be cross & hard-hearted for once and you will at least have the satisfaction of being fair to us —— Would not any real gentleman of feeling make them ask some one else, not you, to write for those Hymns? ——

It seems to me a despicable kind of flattery of you which you should be above yielding to—

Forgive plain speaking —— You know how totally I love & respect you — so truly, so gratefully ——

Ever affectionately yours

W.H. Baker

I hope to be at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, W on Tuesday evening till Friday morning, to see Monk & Clowes &c——

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[1] The RCO manuscript has '1875' added in pencil. However, 1 March 1875 was a Monday, whereas 1 March 1874 was a Sunday. Moreover, HWB did indeed write to JBD on the same subject 'yesterday', i.e. 28 February 1874.

[2] The Rev. Edward Seymour, Canon of Christ Church, Dublin, a member (Chairman?) of the Editorial Committee of the Irish *Church Hymnal*.

[3] To which JBD's HOLLINGSIDE was set for HA&M 1861.

[4] For which JBD had composed ST. CROSS for HA&M 1861

Letter from HWB to JBD 10 March 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley,
Monkland,
Leominster.

My dear Dykes

Monk says you don't like our 2^{d} Tune to "Now that the daylight fills the sky" — I agree with you that we don't want a 2^{d} Tune to that Hymn: but I have searched & searched in vain to find any other Morning Hymn to insert & so fill the page—

But it has pleased GOD to enable me to write a short Morning Hymn: which I venture to think is good: & likely to be very useful. I feel quite sure you will like it: & I hope that my colleagues, to whom I sent it yesterday, may also like it. If so, the vacant page caused by omitting, as you wish, the 2^{d} Tune to "Now that the daylight" is free for it——

What about the Tune? It should be within easy compass for early singing & likely to be popular — Do you care for Edinburgh (H Smart) in Nisbet's Book – I sh^{d} put it in A. — Or can you suggest or write another?

Ever affectionately yrs

H.W.B.

"Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of GOD". "In the Name of the Lord Jesus"—

My Father, for another night
Of quiet sleep and rest,
For all the joy of morning light
Thy Holy Name be blest.

Now with the new-born day I give
Myself anew to Thee,
That as Thou willest I may live,
And what Thou willest be.

Whate'er I do, things great or small,
Whate'er I speak or frame,
Thy glory may I seek in all,
Do all in Jesus'[1] Name.

My Father, for His sake, I pray,
Thy child accept and bless;
And lead me by Thy Grace today
In Paths of righteousness. Amen

H.W.B.
March 10. 1874

[1] It appears that H.W.B. originally wrote *Jesu's* before moving the apostrophe to make *Jesus'*. As the hymn finally appeared the word reverted to *Jesu's*.

Letter from JBD to HWB 12 March 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham
March 12. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

For several days I have had it on the list of my agenda to write to you: but I never could find time. And now let me touch very briefly on the different matters referred to in your recent letter.

1. First however let me draw your attention to S^r. Isabella's note which, I am ashamed to find, has been lying unanswered on my table more than month. Can you make her a grant? She is a most excellent & devoted soul — Mother Sup^r of a small Community in Edinburgh. They are poor, but are doing a real work for Christ.

2. I have been look.^g through all the long metres in the Hymn^y, Nisbet, "The Congregational Church Music" (a very good dissent^g book) & others, and am still going on, mak^g a list of those deserv^g of notice. I do not think I have lit on any specially suitable for 8.9.10[1] yet but I will do my best for them, & let you know the result.

3. I hope you will reconsider your determination not to print the words to N^o. 14.[2] I feel sure the music requires it, And as you have already done so (very perfectly) in 57 & 60, I can see no possible reason why it sh.^d not be done in the case of the difficult melody of No. 14. It will be a great help to choirs.

4. You ask me how I like Smart's tune "Everton" (Nisbet No. 30) for one of the new Hymns (I forget which this mom.^t). I fear I do not care much for it. It is harmless: and that is about all one can say about it. Moreover I do not like the repetition of the two first lines.[3]

5. I like your new little Morn^g Hymn exceedingly:[4] and am very thankful to see it. We wanted very much a nice little modern Morn^g Hymn of that sort. I take a double interest in it because it is dated March 10 (my birthday). I will do my best to get a nice tune for it. You mention "Smart's tune 'Edinburgh'" in Nisbet. There is no Smart's tune — altho' there is Hopkins' tune Edinburgh[5]. This is a nice C.M but I do not think quite the tune for your words.[6]

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1 Eventually numbered 9, 10 and 11, these are morning hymns for the third, sixth and ninth hours respectively: *Come, Holy Ghost, Who ever One; O God of truth, O Lord of might;* and *O God, of all the Strength and Power.*

2 The plainsong '*O Trinity, most Blessèd Light*'. It is evident from the published book that Baker was not persuaded.

3 Once again, Dykes evidently failed to convince, as the tune appeared (set to the hymn *Lord her watch thy church is keeping*) at number 362—see below.

4 '*My father, for another night*', No. 5. See also HWB's letter to JBD dated 10 March 1874

5 See below

6 Eventually, Baker composed his own tune—ST. TIMOTHY—which Monk edited. See below.

6. You ask "What about Hail, gladdening Light"? Of course, it would be possible to set it to a simple chant but it is too short for this: & too beautiful to be disposed of in this meagre way.

The setting I showed you in London will not be a bit harder to sing than a Psalm tune: not nearly so hard as some of our tunes. And I do think it w.d be found satisfactory. I do not see how the words can be adequately treated in any other way.[1]

7. You ask which new writers shd be applied to for Tunes: I sh.d certainly say Thorne for one.[2] He is an excellent music.n also Sterndale Bennett.[3] Then perhaps G.A. Macfarren.[4] I sh.d also have added Prof.r Sir Robert Stewart.[5] But I suppose this cannot be now: as he seems annoyed & disappointed at the line whi your excell.t Commtee have adopted in refce to the Irish Book.

8. And this brings me to my next pt. — The Irish Hymnal. I do not wish to reopen the whole questn again. But I may just say that I cannot quite agree with the line you take. I do not see how Mr S.[6] has acted in an "ungentlemanly" manner. He finds himself saddled with a Hymn book. He did not compile it. But he has to do the best he can with it. So he leaves naturally no stone unturned to get the tunes wh: will best suit his purpose. I think Irish Churchmen are to be thoroughly pitied nowadays. It must be a dismal prospect for them. Still, with proper Irish elasticity, they can only rise up & face their difficulties as best they may. Moreover, as R. Cath.cs & Presbyterians & extreme Low Churchmen have freely given to H.A.M. — at least, have not allowed their religious differences to act as a bar to their allow.g the use in that book of their compositions I do not see that much stress can be laid on the unsatisfactory theological complexion of the Irish book. I rejoice to think that, amidst all our serious & endless disputes, we & those who differ fm us, can at least have this bond of sympathy in sing.g the same Hymns.

However, I was glad you expressed yourself so strongly agst my writ.g fresh tunes to "Jesu, Lover" & "O come & mourn" — For I felt most reluctant to do this: and yr letter at once determined me. For I could not bring myself to act in direct opposition to the strongly expressed wishes of one for whom I entertain so warm an affectn & regard & fm whom I

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1 In the event HWB set the words to Stainer's SEBASTE, which is largely in the form of a double chant, modified for verse three. See below.

2 Frost, M (ed) *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern* (Wm. Clowes: London, 1962) p694 has this entry: "THORNE, Edward Henry, born at Cranborne, May 9, 1834. Educated at St. George's, Windsor, under Sir George Elvey. Organist at Henley Parish Church, 1853, Chichester Cathedral, 1865-1870. Later he held various appointments as organist, and in 1891 went to St. Anne's, Soho, where he attracted many listeners. He received the degree of Mus. D. from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1913. He died on December 26, 1916, at Maida Hill, Paddington." An examination of his tunes selected for inclusion in the 1875 edition (IRA JUSTA, ST. BARTHOLOMEW and WE GIVE THEE BUT THINE OWN) gives a hint as to why Dykes was so keen to recommend him: the chromaticism (especially in IRA JUSTA, where the ambiguity as to the main key is not resolved until bar 5) and the penchant for arriving at a midway point on the dominant of the relative minor are so Dykesian as to make Thorne's style indistinguishable from his own.

3 None of Sterndale Bennett's tunes was used in the 1875 edition.

4 One of his tunes (THY LIFE WAS GIVEN FOR ME) was used in the 1875 edition. See below.

5 None of Stewart's tunes was used in the 1875 edition, although two were used in 1889.

6 The Rev. Edward Seymour, Canon of Christ Church, Dublin, a member (Chairman?) of the Editorial Committee.

have rec.[d] so much kindness. I have therefore done noth.[g] more on the subject, & I do not intend to do anything more.

9. You ask me if I have attempted any of the new Hy.[s] myself. Yes: I have written some new L.M.s to be used in case of emergency.[1] Also I have tried my hand at y[r] new Morn[g] Hy: & at n[os] 115, 210, 221, 240, 244, [255.] 371. Any of these can be used merely <u>in case</u> no <u>more satisfactory setting</u> turns up. Anything more I have to say must be reserved till another time.

Believe me

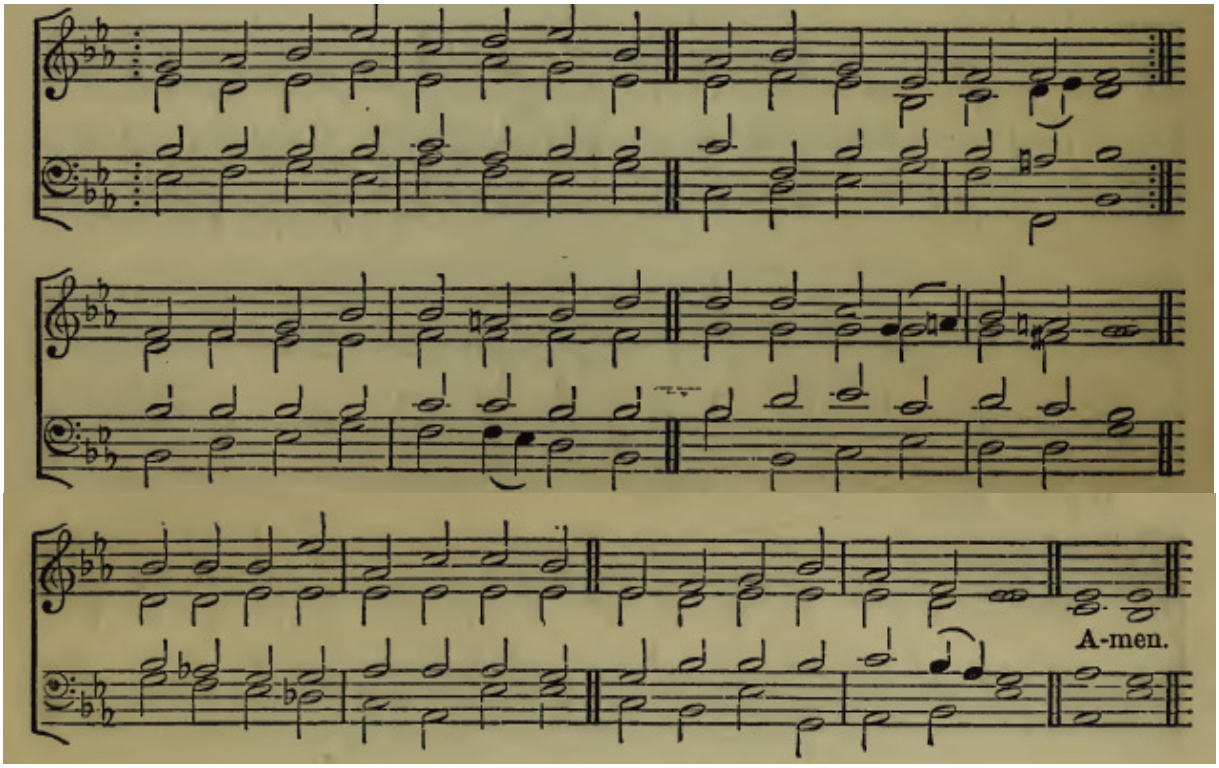
My dear Sir Henry

Most affectionately yours

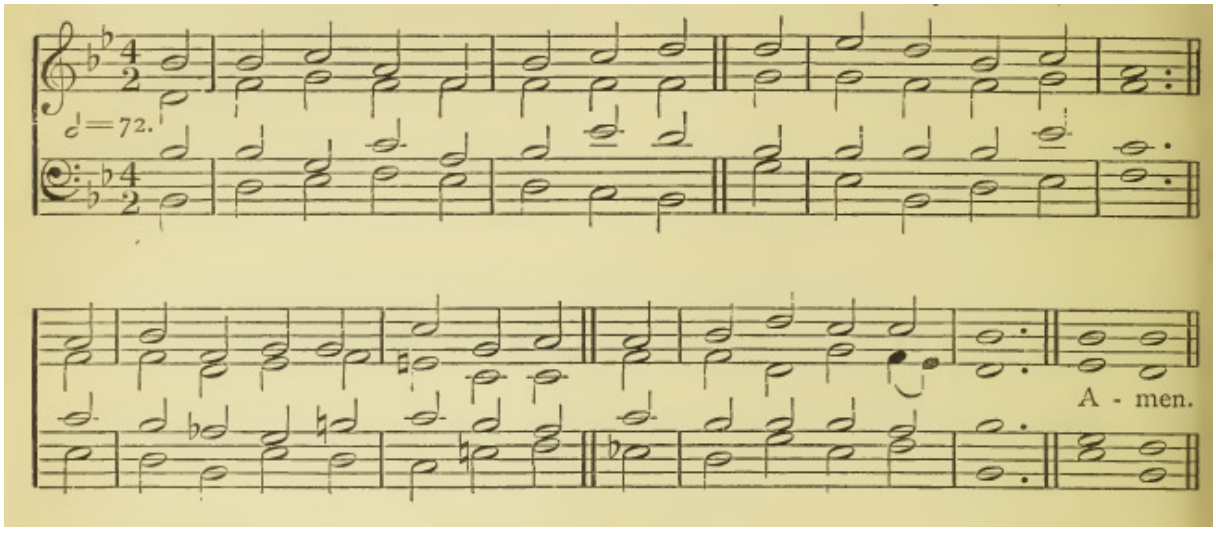
John B. Dykes

[1] This suggestion — that JBD wrote a number of 'general purpose' tunes to be used for any hymn of that metre — challenges the assertion made by Fowler and others that he always took pains to match tune with words.

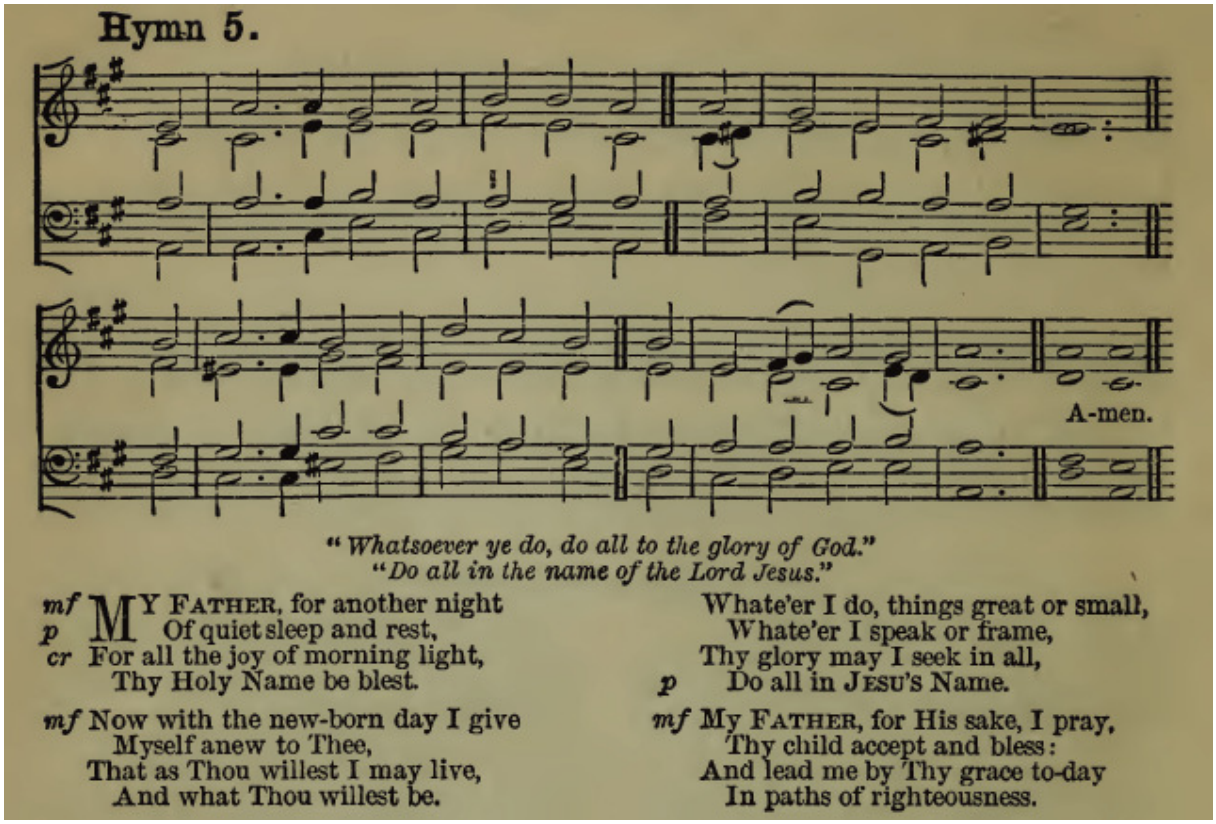
EVERTON Henry Smart



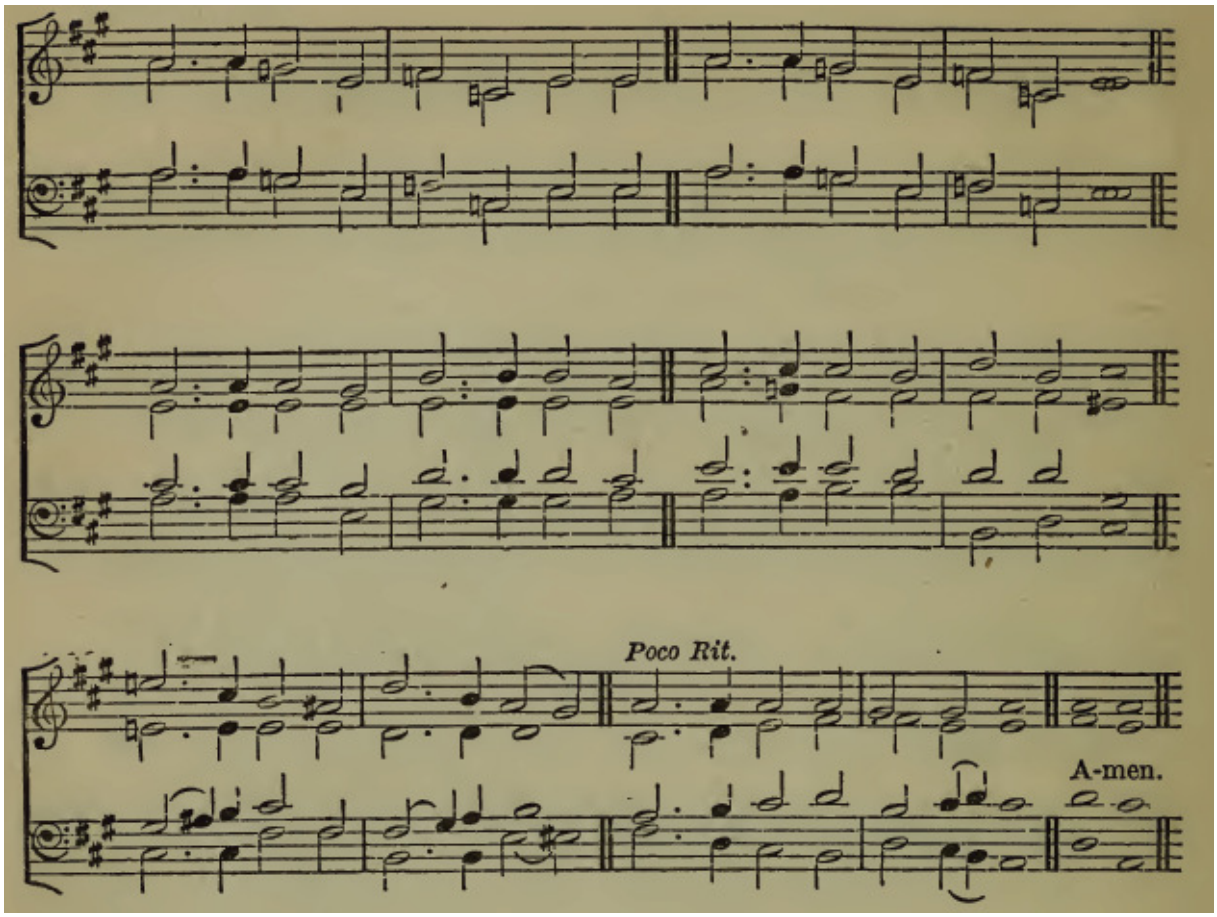
EDINBURGH E.J. Hopkins



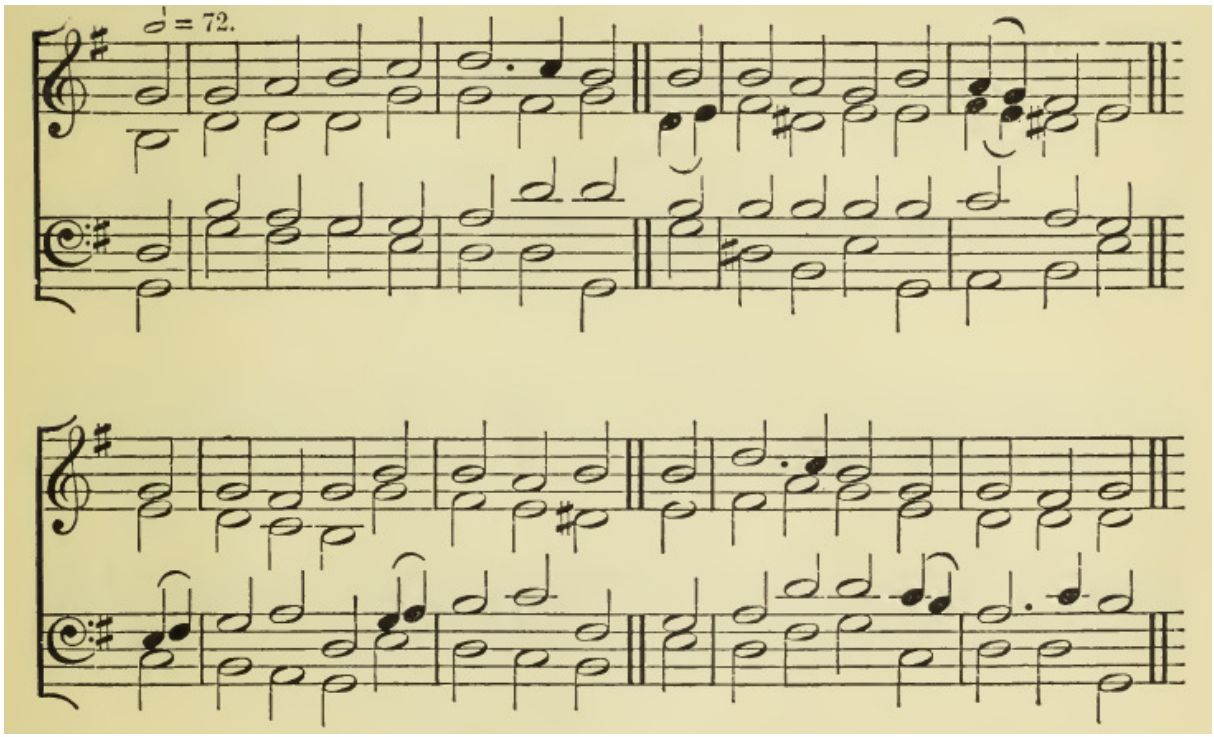
ST. TIMOTHY H.W. Baker ed. W.H. Monk



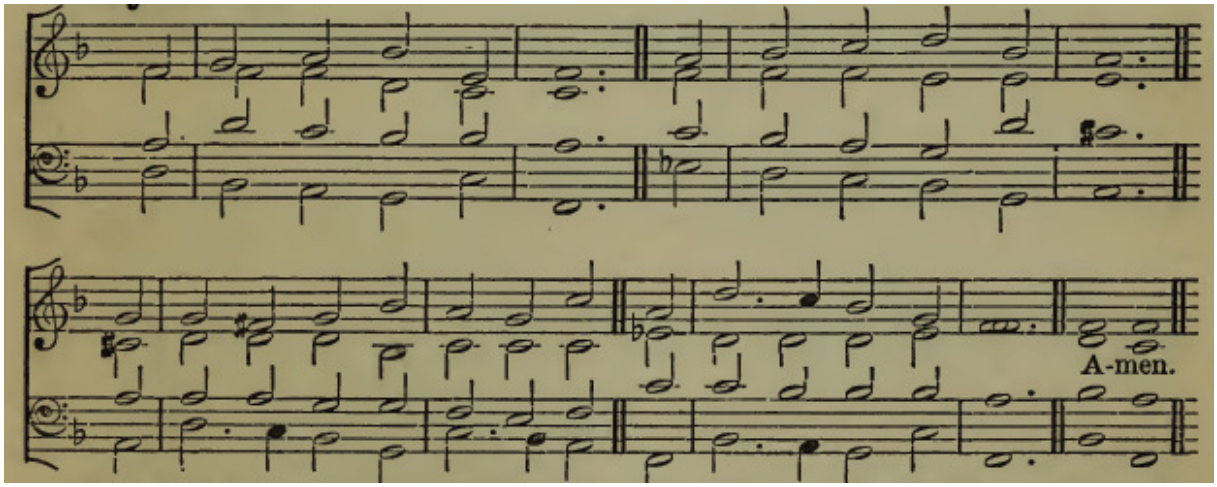
IRA JUSTA E.H. Thorne



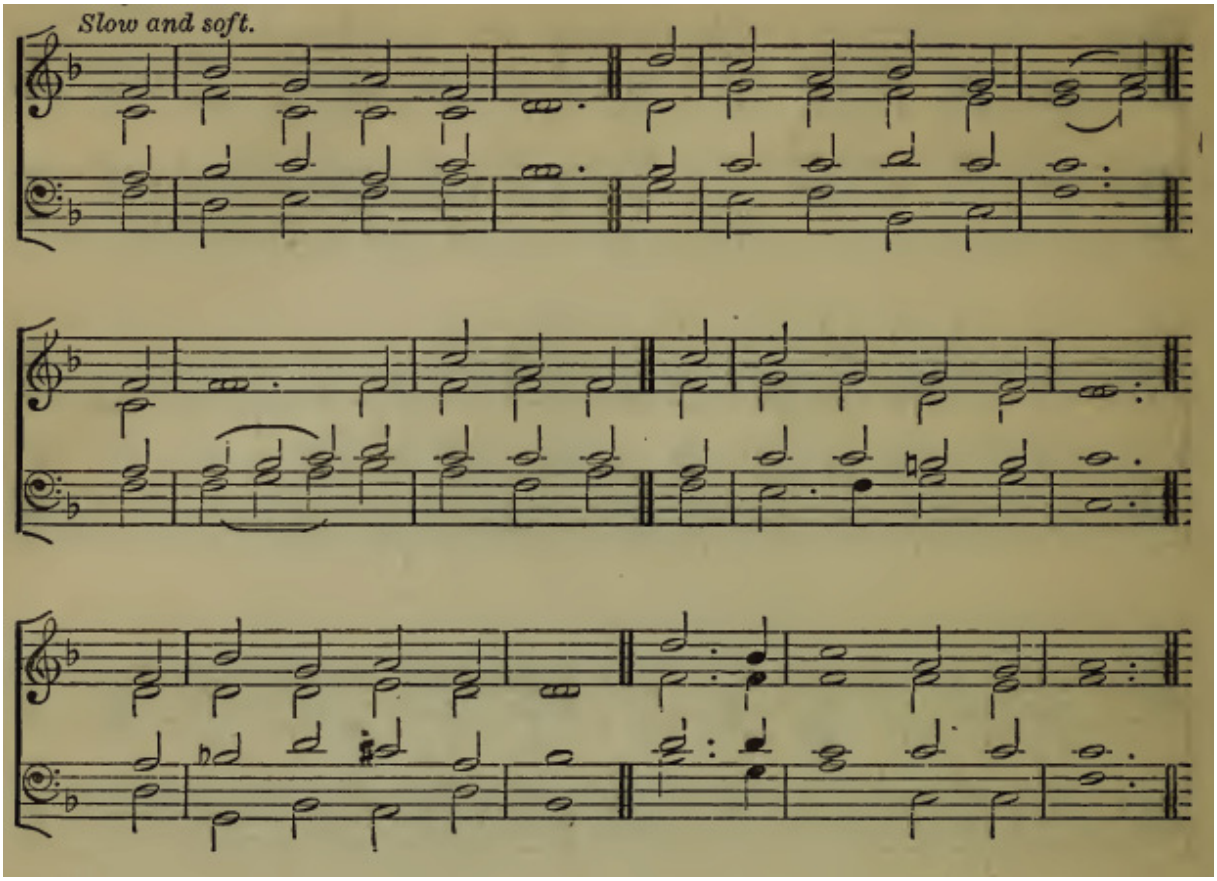
ST. BARTHOLOMEW E.H. Thorne



WE GIVE THEE BUT THINE OWN E.H. Thorne



THY LIFE WAS GIVEN FOR ME G.A. Macfarren

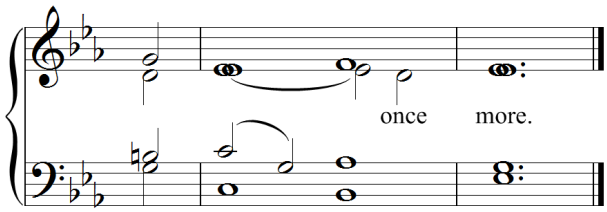


Letter from W H Monk to JBD 12 March 1874 (RCO)

Mar 12. 74
Glebe Field,
Stoke Newington.

Dear D[r]. Dykes

In new 13[1] (F.A.G.O.)[2] Mr. Sullivan now suggests the following which I hope you will accept.—



You know how strongly Stainer took up the idea of the alteration, writing "post haste" to Ouseley about it. I strongly think we ought not to have anything like syncopation = which the original contains. I am quite sure that it must be missed by a majority of humble Choirs. Now this copy contains the rose without the thorn? Doesn't it? I am asking Stainer about it. Will you reply on post-card enclosed by return, to facilitate my return of the proof (it is an early N[o.])

I am so pleased that you have found time to write me so much: and you may always rest sure that everything you say is considered valuable, and is well thought out. Many of the suggestions offered I have followed: others I have not thought myself at liberty to accept without first consulting Stainer — & in one or two instances he disagrees with you. These I shall either keep in abeyance, or write you again if important. May I remind you that your harmonies to the Greg: melodies have never been before the Mus: Com: at all (you enquire why 19[3] was not printed as "accepted" by them. It was at Monkland you offered to send to me harmonies for them, which it was left to me to use partly or as a whole. This was your own proposal.

The little alteration in that line was with a view of taking away a crotchet, the frequent occurrence of which in the inner harmony of a tune sung by men & boys in 8[ves] is, I think, objectionable — In fact if it occurs throughout the phrase, it would oblige the player to treat the time as 4/4 (or 4/2) while the rather quick & elastic performance of the Choir would pronounce the melody to be distinctly in 2/4 (or 2/2) — and I venture to think that you would feel this if you would sing the tune quick as it must be sung at early matins. You know I have played all these tunes for the entire year, at St. Mathias, these 20 years consecutively, & while I quite agree with D[r]. S. in what he said as to the chant being "fired off" (I abominate it) yet these old tunes in minims must be thought of & played as in Duple time (if in time at all) and these moving crotchets—involving as they sometimes do, a change of Chord root — are positively harmful. Our pace as to them, at St. M., is not too fast, and I know I could neither play or get played this flowing harmony. The most I can play is a chord of minims to each note of the Plain Song.

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1 It was to become no. 19—ST. GABRIEL.

2 Sir F.A.G. Ouseley. It is not clear why Monk was anxious that Dykes should 'accept' Sullivan's variation to Ouseley's tune. The sole variation was to replace the Alto C on the first minim with an E♭.

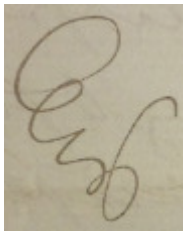
3 O LUX BEATA—See below

As regards the dot in melodies like New 18, which you sometimes like & sometimes not. In singing verse after verse from the square note these varying lines accommodate themselves to the sense and I must tell you that Helmore, especially in the Organ copy, is no authority, as you will see if you compare that with the little Plain Song Ed: from which Choirs sing. You will see in the Organ copy itself he does not always in the verse printed translate the square note by a minim, and the lozenge by a crotchet. Sometimes one way, sometimes another. We are at a disadvantage the moment we print with Bars — a difficulty which also besets us in setting the Psalter to measured Chants.

Then you will see that D^{r}. S. & yourself often entirely differ as to proposed treatment of the Gregorians. I am not at all disposed to go back to harmonisations in the old modes — they are not impossible but they would be very dull — tho' an occasional resort to them, in a large Building with a St. Paul's Organ, and a grand Choir may be very effective: as indeed is to be heard in the Churches abroad — the P.S. on the Pedale: e.g. I think I must steer clear of both extremes in the present Ed. & then invite you to do more than can be printed here, in the Organ Copy: of which I do hope something very interesting to us all — that must be engraved: so as to escape all these miserable difficulties of space — and by Leipsic engravers.[1]

The 2nd tune to new 4 was not a choice but necessary to get the opening right for a Double page a bit further on. However, I so entirely agreed with what you said that I pressed Sir Henry to find a new morning Hy: to go in place of it: and not being able to do this, he has at last made another, which I send you (please return) and which will fill up that page. This is a gain, do not you think?[2]

I must leave off. This Russian Duchess has given me a morning at home, while a house full of my pupils are cooling themselves in this Russian weather, waiting to see her pass — knowing all the while that they can see her any afternoon next week, in the Park without crowd or trouble.



W.H. Monk

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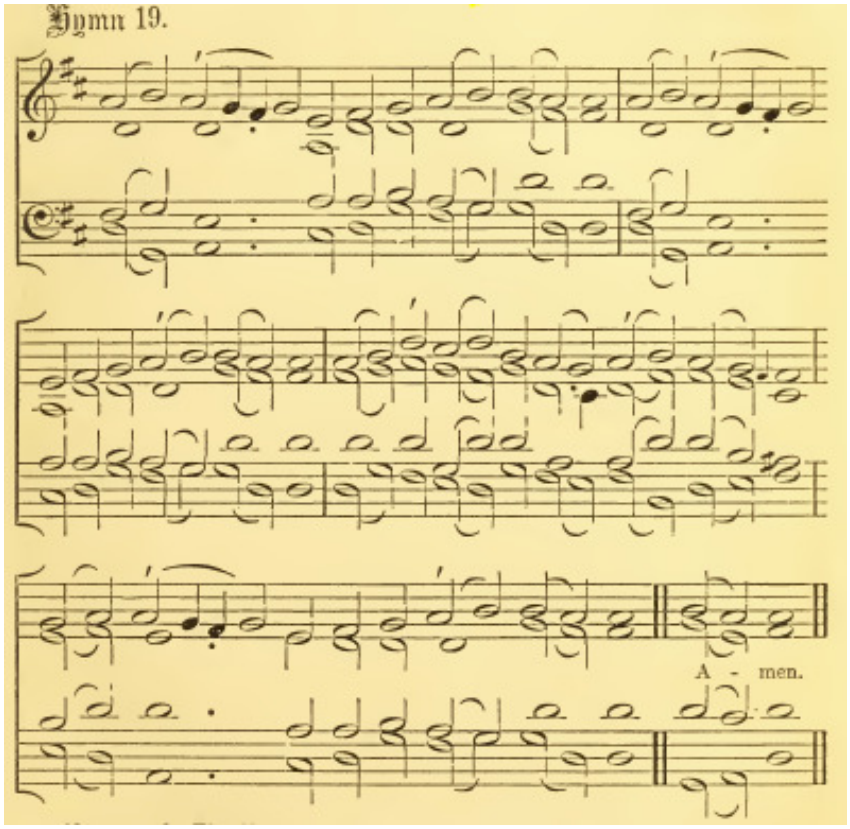
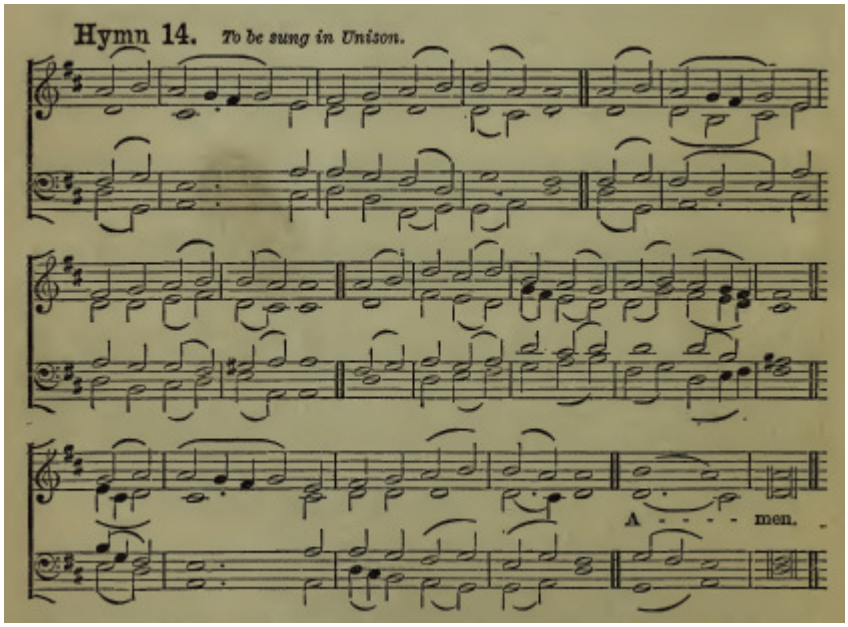
1 Here is a clue that the 1875 edition is in fact two, *different*, editions from a musical point of view.

2 The hymn is *My Father, for another night of quiet sleep and rest*, for which Baker wrote his own tune, ST. TIMOTHY. (See letter from Baker to JBD of the same date) It rather belittles a fine hymn to reveal it to have been a space-filler and raises the intriguing question as to how many other hymns or tunes which later became established favourites owe their very existence to engraving or typesetting considerations.

O LUX BEATA as it appears in the 1861 edition



O LUX BEATA as it appears in the 1875 edition



Letter from JBD to HWB 21 April 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham
April 21. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

Thanks for your letter.

1. As you instructed me to tell those Irish gentlemen that you w[d] ask for the use of S. Cross & Hollingside and I accordingly did so, I suppose it will be necessary to carry out your virtuous resolution. Mr. Seymour[1] expressed himself most deeply grateful for your kindness in undertaking to do this.

By the way, I received just at the same time a letter full of most exuberant thanks to you f[r]. Sister — I forget her name — in Edinburgh, for the grant of books you had kindly sent them.[2]

2. I shall be very glad to see your new tune when it is ready: If it is as nice as "Art thou weary" it will be a decided gain to the book. The words require something very nice.

3. So I just give poor Bartlemon[3] up! Well, it cannot be helped. I have done my best for him and I have not yet seen the tune I shall like better to those words. But it is a good thing we cannot have all our own way in this world. So I submit.

4. I am quite unconvinced about the words printed between the lines in the case if the difficult Gregorian melodies. I can see no conceivable objection to it. It is a great & obvious help. I find it a help to myself and I am sure 99 out of every 100 will find it so too. My good friend Dr. Stainer must remember that all the world are not musicians like himself. Being myself one of the weaker brethren I take their part. I sent to Mr. Monk last

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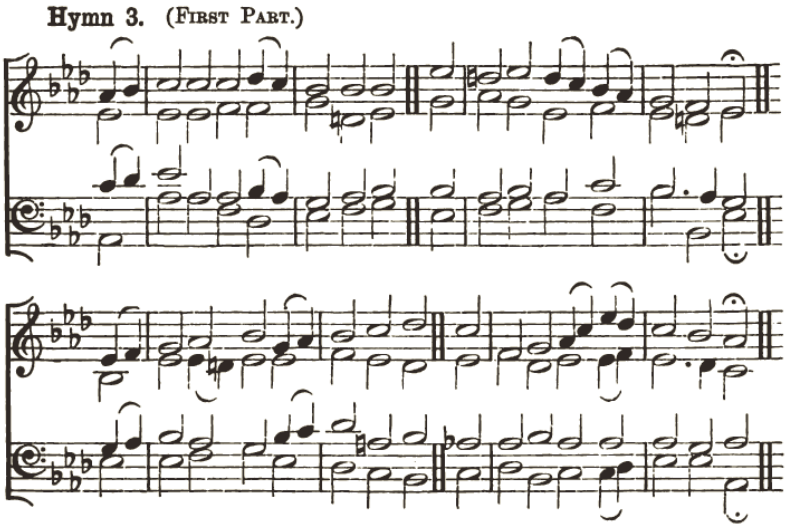
1 Rev. Edward Seymour, Canon of Christ Church. The *Church Hymnal* was published in Dublin in 1875 under the musical editorship of Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.Doc.

2 Sister Isabella — see letter from JBD to HWB dated 12 March 1874.

3 This may be a reference to MORNING HYMN by François Hyppolyte Barthélémon (1741—1808). This tune first appeared in A&M in the 1904 edition. It would appear that Dykes had been advocating its inclusion in the 1875 edition.

night the "Vexilla Regis": and I am certain that the words here introduced will be found a real & great help as enabling the eye to take in — what otherwise it w^{d} do only with difficulty — how the words & music fit.

I quite agree that in all cases this will not be absolutely necess^{ry}. But it is surely a bad reason to argue that because a thing is not desirable in cases where it is not necessary it is equally undesirable in cases where it is necessary. I cannot understand the reasoning that it must be done "always or never".

5. As for devoting some 20 or 30 pages of the book to printing out, in full, the Gregor "Hymns in the old notation{"}. I am very sorry to differ from my good brethren but I almost think it w^{d} be hardly worthwhile doing this. The book will be already so big that it seems a pity to swell it with what is not absolutely necess^{y}.

It w^{d} be rather interesting to give in a foot note under each Gregorian Tune the melody once in small type in the old notation. But to print whole Hymns through with their musical notation w^{d} be a much more formidable undertaking.

Moreover, however these tunes are printed, the result will simply be what the organist chooses to make it. One idea I thought was, not to go back to the (generally unintelligible) old notation; but to interpret this & reproduce the melody in mode notation, so as best to represent the spirit. If the melody is sung (as it will be) in unison, it is still open to organists to interpret it in any other way that suits them better. I do not think the practical good gained by the addition proposed would be commensurate with the extra space lost, & trouble & expense. But I shall never dream of opposing this, if it is thought by others desirable. I merely think that, according to my present lights, I could not urge it.

6. I have no special suggestion to make as to Hymns for 3^{d} hour. I have always used the tune in the Bk or Nr. 4 so that I have never felt the need of any other tune and I can hardly fancy a modern tune to the words. I have written and searched out a great many L.M.s but I have not stumbled on anything specially suitable for this. We will see what Bro. Monk turns out.

I fear I do not care for either of the 2 tunes of Sullivan wh W.H.M. sent me. I like "At Thy feet" the best of the two.

I have been suddenly [interrupted?] with a long controversy ab^{t} the burial of a suicide: and it is [hard question?] I am writ^{g} to Mr. M. again to n^{t}. or tomorrow m^{g}.

Ever yours affectionately,

John B. Dykes

Alas! the Archbp.^{s} Bill![1]

What cruel weather

[1] To become the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874, designed to remove 'ritualisim' from the church.

Letter from JBD to HWB 5 May 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's V Durham
May 5 1874

My dear Sir Henry

Pray accept yourself & convey to your Rev^{d} Colleagues my warm thanks for the very handsome & unexpected gift (£100) I have received from you this morning. It is really very good of you all: and I do feel most grateful. Nothing could have come more opportunely. I have just rec.^{d} some rather heavy bills for my dear boy in Cambridge who takes his degree this year — and I have been in a state of puzzlement how I was exactly to manage. I was seriously considering ways & means — when this most Providential help came, for which GOD be thanked.

You are good enough to speak of the trouble I have taken. I can honestly say that any little trouble I have had & am likely to have is a constant source of interest & pleasure to me. I cannot tell you what a help I have occasionally found it in the midst of parochial & Episcopal worries.

Never was letter more opportune than that you sent me a week or so ago ab.^{t} "Hail Gladdening Light". On the very day when it came, the Bp was over at Durh., & the important meet^{g} of the laity took place to present the money of the guarantee fund (£7,000 + more) with a most offensive address about the Romanism & unfaithfulness of certain of the clergy, an address responded to in a still more offensive reply on the part of the Bp, strongly confirming & repeating all the ignorant slanders of the laity. The whole thing worried me much. I was therefore so very, very thankful to have this to think about.

So instead of troubling myself abt the wretched meeting I spent my scraps of spare time in revisiting simplifying & copying out music for this selfsame glorious Hymn, & managed to forget my troubles.

I have been thinking over a chant-like setting of this again today: and see that it can be done. But I cannot make anything so nice, and that will be at all so satisfactory by means of a chant: as this setting is whi I have sent you whi I continue to like very much, & wh: I feel sure w^{d} be acceptable for Choral festivals &c. However you had perhaps better see Ouseley abt it. And if I continue to like my own and do not feel his to be quite up to the mark, I can still publish it, as I suggested, with 2 or 3 more little anthemlets for those who care to use it.[1]

I am glad you like the tune for 'O strength & stay'[2]. I have made two very slight alterations in it to today — suggested by a remark of Monk's — and am send^{g} them to him.

Sullivan's tune for "at thy feet" I think will be found to work well. It is not one of his best: but I think it is better than mine, whi I wrote rather in a hurry & whi I do not care for.[3]

With regard to your tune, the sentiment of it is very nice & the two first lines. I have never felt quite satisfied with the melody of the 3^{d} line. It does not seem to lend itself naturally

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[1] In the event, the tune—O LUMEN HILARE—was not published until the 1902 Novello collected edition. See below.

[2] STRENGTH AND STAY. Unfortunately, Monk's suggestions are currently lost.

[3] Dykes's tune does not appear to have survived in any form.

to harmony and I do not quite see how to improve it. I want to forget the tune, & look at it again in cold blood. For an ordinary Hymn I sh^{d} not hesitate a moment ab^{t} the tune. But I want to see something extra nice for those sweet & useful words whi will have to be very often sung.

W^{d} it be very wicked in you to add a verse at least to the Friday Creation Hymn (if they must stop in) to make it useful for Fridays & D^{o}. to the Thursday Hy: and to add a 2nd Hymn just for Thursday & Friday (weekly)?

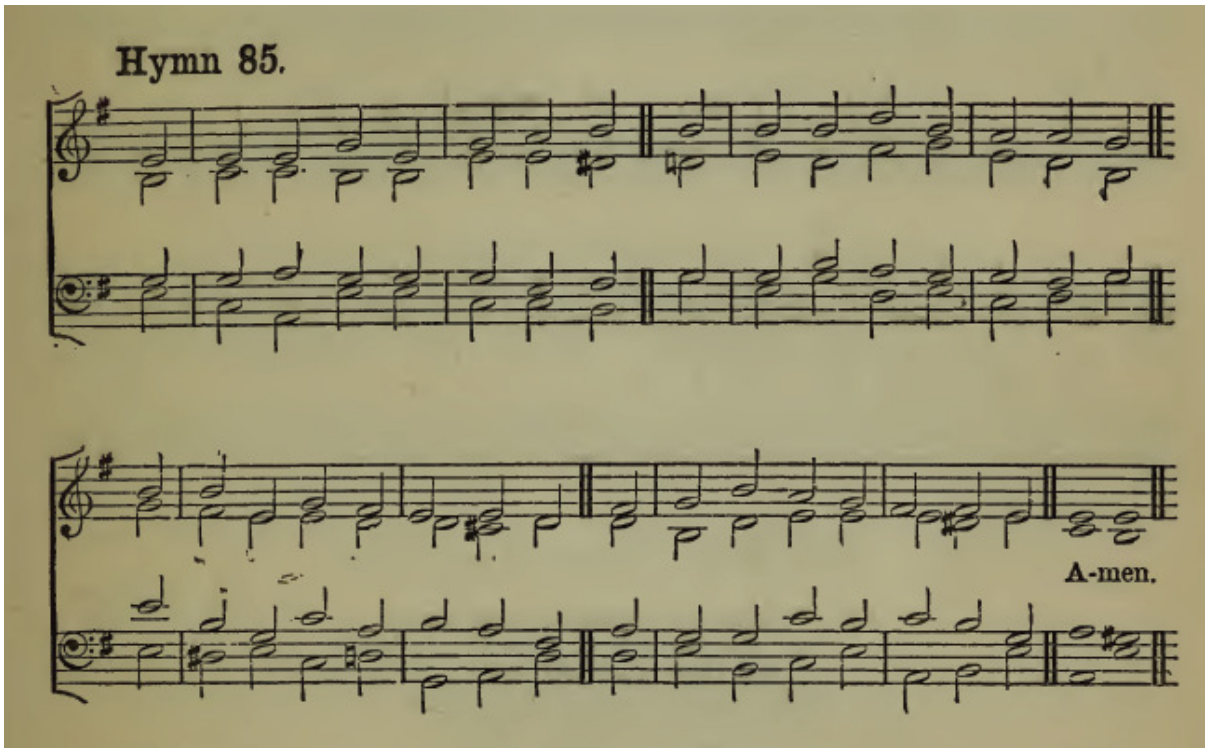
I w.^{d} not in any consideration use Saxony[1]. Only that I think this rather a long & trying Hymn for it. But perhaps you are right.

With renewed kindest thanks,

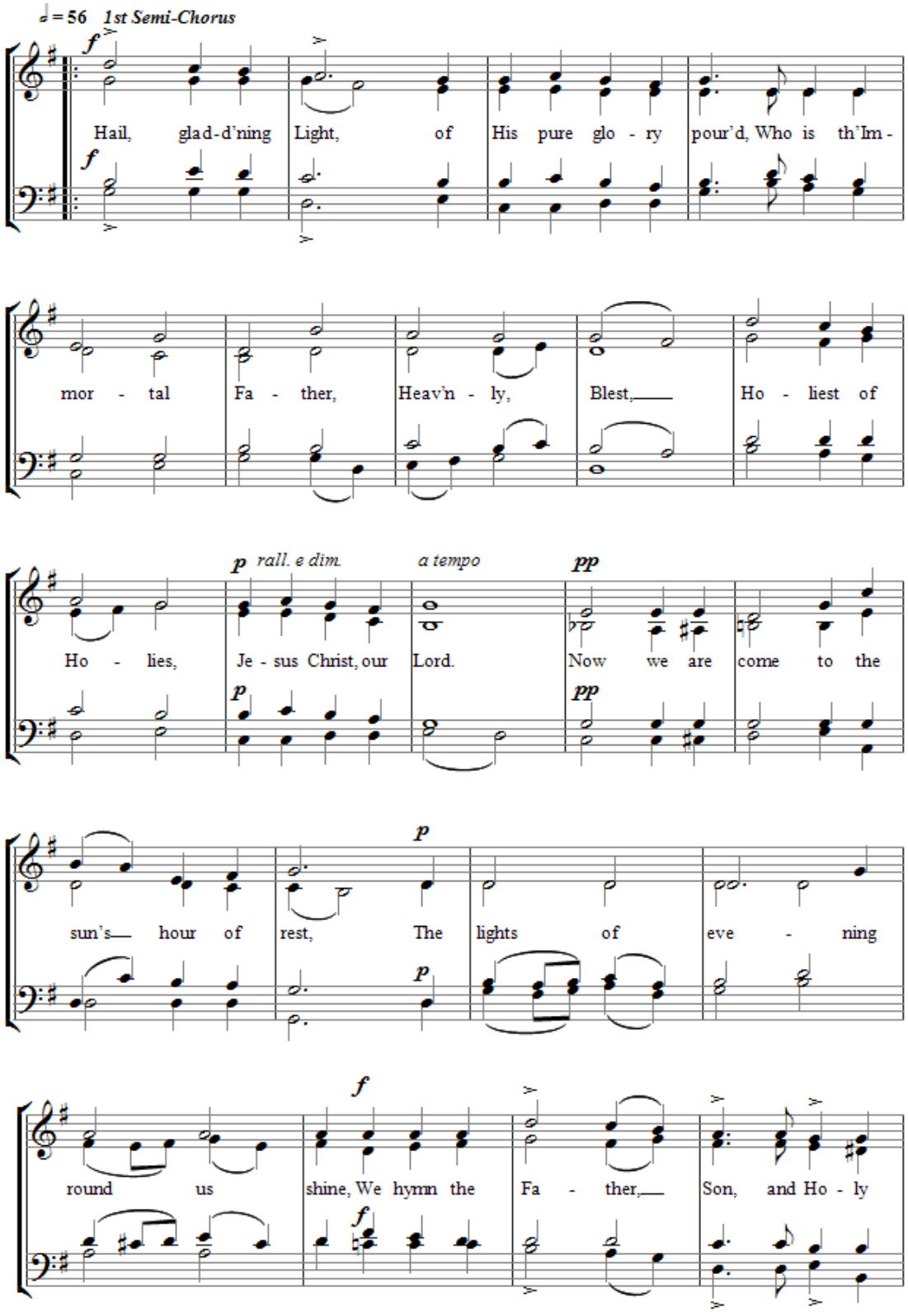
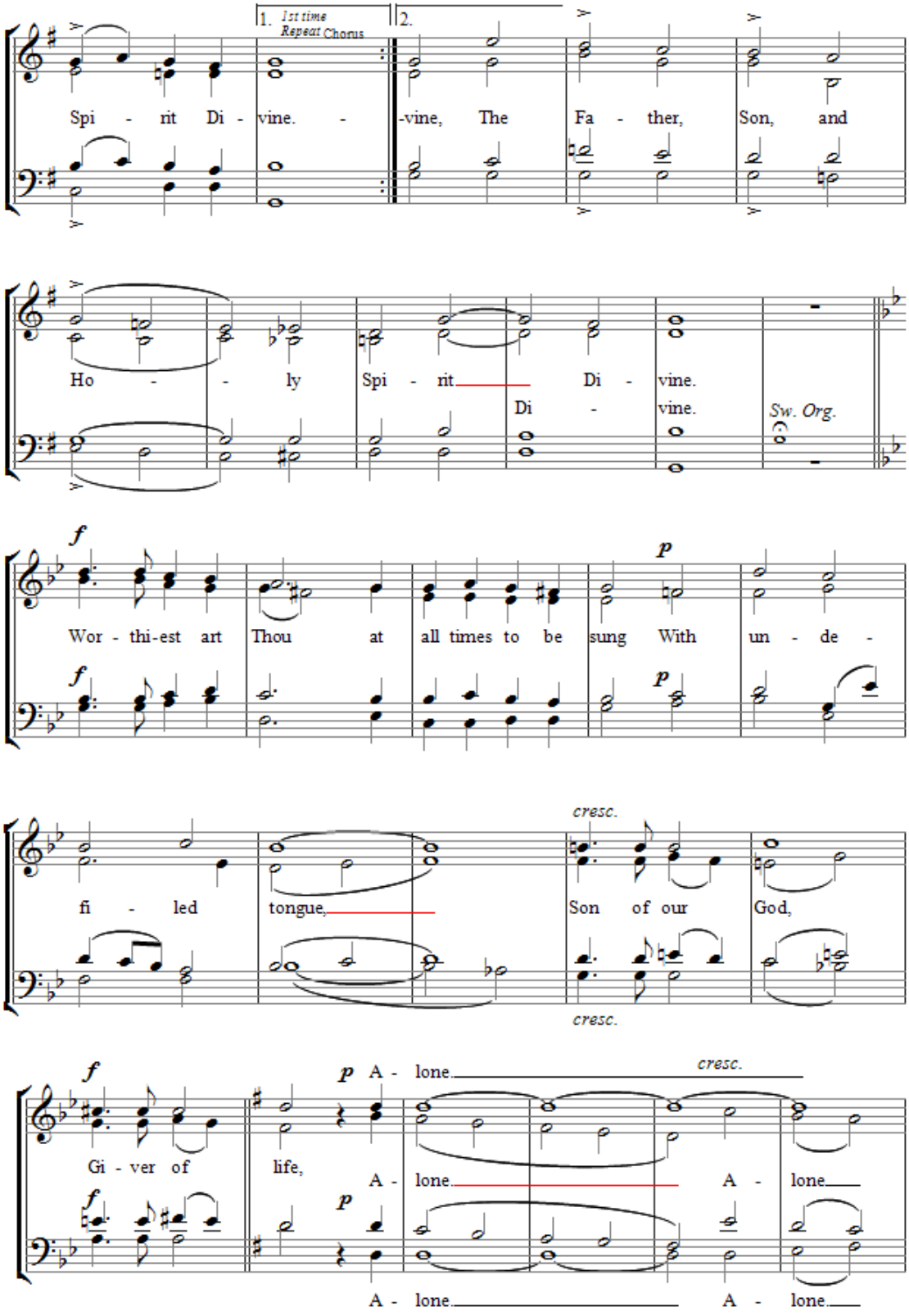
From your always most affectionate

John B. Dykes

[1] SAXONY (Old German, Lutheran). The hymn—*By precepts taught of ages past*—has eight verses.



O Lumen Hilare (Irregular)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.5

1. 1st time Repeat Chorus
2.
Spi - rit Di - vine. - -vine, The Fa - ther, Son, and
Ho - - ly Spi - rit Di - vine.
Di - vine.
Sw. Org.
f
p
Wor - thi-est art Thou at all times to be sung With un - de -
fi - led tongue, Son of our God,
cresc.
cresc.
f
p
A - lone.
cresc.
Gi - ver of life,
A - lone. A - lone.
A - lone. A - lone.

ff
There - fore in all the world Thy glo - ries, Lord, Thy glo - ries,
ff
Lord, they own, Thy glo - ries Lord they own.
A - men A men

Letter from JBD to HWB 6 May 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham
May 6. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

It has just struck me that I ought to have sent a proper receipt for the cheque you so kindly sent me yesterday. I accordingly enclose one, with renewed thanks.

I trust that, notwithstand[g] this present sudden outburst of chilly weather, you may have a pleasant journey to Monkland tomorrow & find all well.

Yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes

Letter from JBD to HWB 15 July 1874 (HAM)

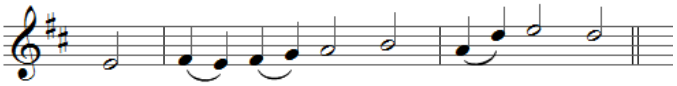
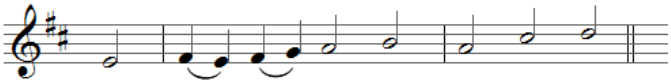
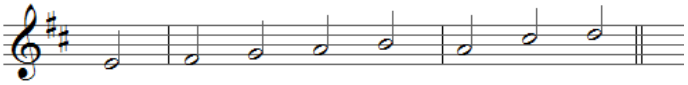
S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham
July 15 1874

My dear Sir Henry

Here beginneth the 2nd Lesson. I trust however not to be quite so long as the first. So here goes.

1. I will gladly return to Monkland (D.V.) on the Monday: and will <u>try</u> to get my duty taken for the follow[g] Sunday.

2. I beg to repeat — most good & excellent Sir, that in both 8. & 19 the 1st and 2nd lines are <u>exactly</u> alike; and that this is very common with those old hymns.

As for the long ending:[1] consider the alternatives: suppos[g] I made the ending short, retain[g] the melody I shd have

or

both of which w[d] sound weak & flippant. Of course I m[t] cut out the little bit of efflorescence in this line & like the dull old ending

But this does not suit the words. The "little flowers" <u>must</u> be somehow reproduced in the music and so to do this & yet to keep the line sufficiently [ ][2] I adopt the very common & most legitimate expedient of lengthening out the close by one bar, which in a very short Hymn is a great help.[3]

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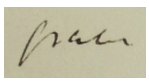
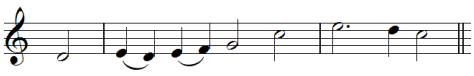
1 Dykes is here refering to his tune SALVETE FLORES (68)

2 

3 In the published book this line is rendered:

Hogan's[1] example is, *me judice, nihil ad rem*.[2] Here is a long tune & a very long Hymn & the lengthened cadence has no sort of meaning. I all along said this and altered it when the tune was first produced. Only the young man's father wrote such a piteous complaint that we have spoilt his son's Hy: in that you abandoned the amended & abbreviated copy.

Rules that will apply to one tune will not apply to another. It is perfectly fatal to all originality in musical expression to lay it down that every tune will follow one stereotyped pattern. If we keep too uniformly to one stiff type we shall soon overshoot our mark & drum that type out of fashion altogether. We shall be having Elizabethan tunes & their own rhythms and metres reintroduced.

But I am really mak^{g} far more fuss ab^{t} this wretched little tune than it deserves. I merely wished, however, to show that I had reason for adopting the form it has taken.

2. This brings me to the question of Harmony. You tell me I must be patient. Well I have tried to be very: and I will have another try. Also I quite agree with you that we must not have too much harmony of this particular style.

But, my dear friend, how much of my harmony have you in the book? In the original book there are some 93 tunes arr^{d} by Monk and not one by myself except my own tunes: so that you cannot say it is overdone with my style. In the Appendix Monk has rather a less share. I am responsible (leaving out my own tunes — which are not now the matter of discussion) for the harmonization of "Intercession", "Miles Lane", "O quanta qualia", "Onward X^{n} Soldiers"[3], "Wir pflugen", and "Martyrdom"[4] (wh I wish to alter) — I think these are all. And I confidently ask if the harmony of these is in any way below the general run of the harmony of the best? In myself I honestly believe that all those tunes have been considerably helped by the harmony.

And I have taken immense pain with the harmonies of the amended book. If you saw my M.S. Bks you w^{d} realize what I write. I have for 2 or 3 years made all sorts of experiments, harmoniz.^{g} & reharmoniz.^{g} so as to try what was the most perfect form. All the old tunes I have done. At Mr. Monk's request I sent a great number to him. And there they have remained. For all the good they have done they might never have been attempted. The whole set of tunes hitherto has reappeared, (with scarcely any exception) just if as of old. There seems to have been no attempt to get out of the everlasting rut of Dull mediocrity. Almost all the tunes that have been reharmonised seem to me worse harmonised than they were: at least, I know they might be infinitely improved but there seems no chance of this. I do not object to Stainer's harmony — this is always (or almost always) thoroughly thoughtful & excellent. But I cannot say this of that of our other good friend.

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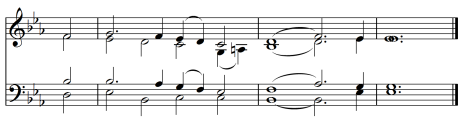
[1] Frederick William Hogan (1845-1921). The tune is ST PATRICK (383 in the 1868 edition) and the cadence referred to is:

[2] Trans: In my judgement, irrelevant

[3] ST ALBAN

[4] There are at least three harmonisations by JBD of this tune, in HAM 1868 and 1875 and in Tucker's *Hymnal with Tunes New and Old*, 1872.

Of course I do not know the ultimate form in which the successive tunes have appeared and therefore I must suspend my judgment. I can only say that my earlier work hitherto, almost without intermission, has been work of protest. Tune after tune has reached me with which I sh[d] feel thoroughly ashamed to have any thing to do. The waste of good money in revision of work wh ought never to have gone to the Press seems to me to have been most prodigal & extravagant. Tunes have been printed off anyhow, instead of being carefully prepared in MS. & thus the difficulties of thorough correction very much intensified, for one does not like to render a whole plate useless.

As far as the work has proceeded hitherto I can see hardly the ghost of an improvement on the old book. All the new tunes (with just 2 or 3 exceptions) are worthless — [with the] last of Salamans & Oakeley pre-eminently so.

There now! I feel better!

But honestly I have again & again been determining to decline to have anything more to do with the work of the revision of the tunes: for all I seem to write or say goes for nothing.

However, please God, we will go over everything when we arrive at Stoke Newington and perhaps I shall find matters more hopeful that I have supposed. So I will drop the subject now.

3. Now thank you very much for all the kind & generous things you say of me notwithstanding all the worry I have given you.

At this point I was interrupted by a visitor who w[d] not go. The I have had Cathedral and now I must send this off by the early Post.

If I have anything more to say — on any tune — I must send a line by the late Post.

What do you think of Hy 92 Sarum. It is rather dull (I don't care for the tune). Also dear old Herrick's No. 59, the tune of wh is very good. Also 296 Transfigured with Monk's tune wh is very good.

Also a 'touched up' [ ][1] of 320 [520?] with Stainer's lovely tune. With regard to the Hymns in the book wh I myself set the only two wh I really care for are those to 182 & 291, neither of which appear in the Book.

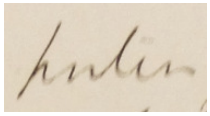
I fear I have done very little in marking Hymns. Not feel.[g] that this was my department I have only marked the good tunes I have met. I think most of them are to Hymns wh we have.

I trust to your goodness to say nothing to dear Monk of what I have said — at least noth[g] to cause offence. We must all try to work "harmoniously".

Yours ever affectionately

John B. Dykes.

1



Letter from John McKinlay to JBD 23 July 1874 (RCO)

Wilhelmsplatz 8, Braunschweig[1]

My dear D[r]. Dykes,

Your note reached me here this morning. I'm glad to know you think enough of the "spriggs" to frame them, especially as you, being well up in Church history &c &c, must know (as I did not until I went to J.!) that Gethsemane cannot be accurately identified with the enclosure now known as the Garden. So I'm sure it is as a little token of goodwill you accept it, rather than as a relic. I was in hopes we should have an opportunity to talk over all these matters; and I had put three days aside for a run up to Durham and back, so as to have an evening's chat with you and Mrs. Dykes, who have left an impression upon my mind that stands out in decided relief to general impressions, I'm afraid (!)

I shall not be able to forget you for some time. Learning from Mrs. Stainer though that you were to be in town very soon, I supposed you must be at that very time in London, because I didn't hear from you within the week. So instead of Durham, I took Oxford. Thanks to D[r]. Stainer, who sent me to his wife's people, I had a charming time there. One thing troubles me — I do not see my way to repaying the kindness of all you good people; for you speak of a visit to N.Y. with a "would" rather than a "will". Three years ago, I think D[r]. Stainer might have been tempted to go there; but now he has become such a great gun in L. I'm afraid he will never leave. Two things in N.Y. belong to the English Musician of prominence who happen to be there — Trinity Church and the Church Music Assoc.. Unfortunately, those we have had have been much more prominent as Englishmen than as musicians! A man like D[r]. Stainer, who speaks with authority (and with modesty too), would find time and his own artistic ambition the only limits in these positions — money and material of excellent quality would be entirely at his disposal. The outrageously extravagant sum of £7000 yearly was spent in Christ Church — a little church somewhat larger than Magdalen Chapel at Oxford — for two years in succession in an endeavour to have high class choral services. The failure, although apparently from other reasons, was really because of the shortcomings of the man in charge both as a musician and as a man. Trinity has spent far less money and had services that for special occasions certainly approximate to the best in England, simply because things have been in better hands. The Church Music Assoc. have recently disbanded and I know of no other reason except that talent in the two conductors they have has was absurdly conspicuous by its absence. Certainly fine voices and money didn't fail. D[r]. Stainer is the man I want to see in N.Y. — just him. In oratorio, there is much to be done: in Church services there is, with very few exceptions, an utter revolution to be made in our churches. We shall not have an established opera in my time, I'm afraid; as we remain in the semi-barbarous state of London in that respect. Star singers, Verdi, Meyerbeer, Auber — and fashionable fools enough to send 3000 night after night for 3 months — what a slough of despond both cities are in as regards opera! In other respects, the musical outlook in N.Y. is capital. Orchestral music, resident pianists, organists &c, madrigal societies — these all, to put it mildly, "compare favorably with other cities". If the time should come when D[r]. Stainer feels there is not only something for him to do in N.Y., but the ways & means of doing it, you mustn't keep him back. But I'm sure your interest is now exhausted in over-the-water musical matters. — Your brother in Leeds was good enough to send me a copy of your 23[rd]

[1] Brunswick

Psalm, and the next day I saw a review of it in the Mus. Times.[1] Sometimes I agree with the writer and sometimes not. What with a beginner is an absolute error, is simply a question of taste with a practised writer, I think. At least, I have in my mind an organ piece in which a delightful effect is made with consecutive fifths! and made by a man, too, whom I think the same people who hold their hands in holy horror at Wagner & Costa would say hardly needs improving. I think I recognise the style of your reviewer — a man for whom I have a great deal of respect & admiration. It may amuse you, however, to know that an organ sonata of his was instanced by a Berlin professor to show what puerile and ineffective counterpoint is. Possibly I'm mistaken, though — a man's writing manner is not always his talking manner. It does seem, however, that when our position demands of us once in a while that we must throw stones, it is far better to wrap a bit of cotton about them & toss them gently than to hurl them with terrific force. It must be a mournful subject for thought, too, this idea that if one is a vicar, one must write nothing but sermons! When I return I shall change my locus to Newark, Ohio; but my mind is assailed with doubts as to whether the music-room, organ & piano &c which enlivened the hours not given to cotton before, will or will not be "consistent with" the pursuit of iron-making in my new home! How much "food for thought" there is in this world of ours!

I sail from Bremen Aug. 4th. Excuse this long note — as I had nothing to do this afternoon and have missed seeing you once more, you must suffer. My regards and adieus to Mrs. Dykes, please: it will be quite two years before I can hope to meet you again.[2] Goodbye, my dear Dr. Dykes, and my heartiest good wishes.

Always yours

John McKinlay

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1 *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* Vol. 16. No. 377 (Jul. 1. 1874) pp.545-546. Of equal interest is JBD's letter responding to the review in No. 378 (Aug. 1. 1874) pp.588-589

2 This was not to happen as JBD died less than 18 months later.

Letter from John Stainer to JBD 11 August 1874 (RCO)

Llanberis Aug 11[1]

Dear Dr. Dykes

Many thanks for your kind letter — like all authors — I am perverse. I think my little tune to St. F. Xavier's hymn[2,3] — runs fairly smoothly and your suggestion would rob it of the only part which has a claim to novelty — so perhaps it had better stand or fall as it is.

I very much like your 'Ride on'[4] (it is yours is it not?)

Wife sends kind regards.

Yours truly

John Stainer

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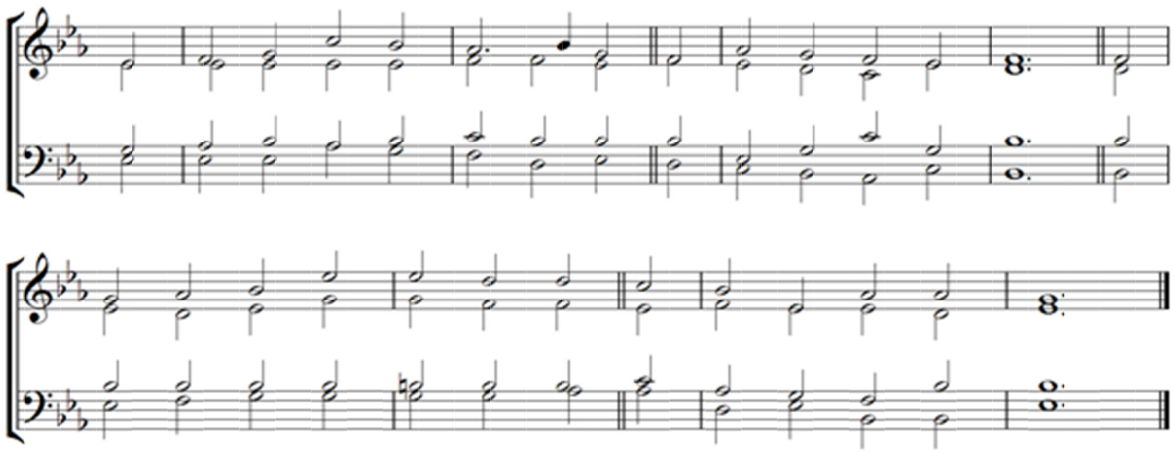
1 This letter is referred to by JBD in his letter to HWB dated 13 Aug 1874

2 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER (HA&M 1875 No. 106)

3 'There is no real evidence that [this] is the work of St. Francis Xavier.' (Frost, M (ed.) *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern* (William Clowes: London, 1962), p194)

4 ST. DROSTANE

Letter from JBD to HWB 11 August 1874 (RCO)

S. Osw: Durham
Aug: 11. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

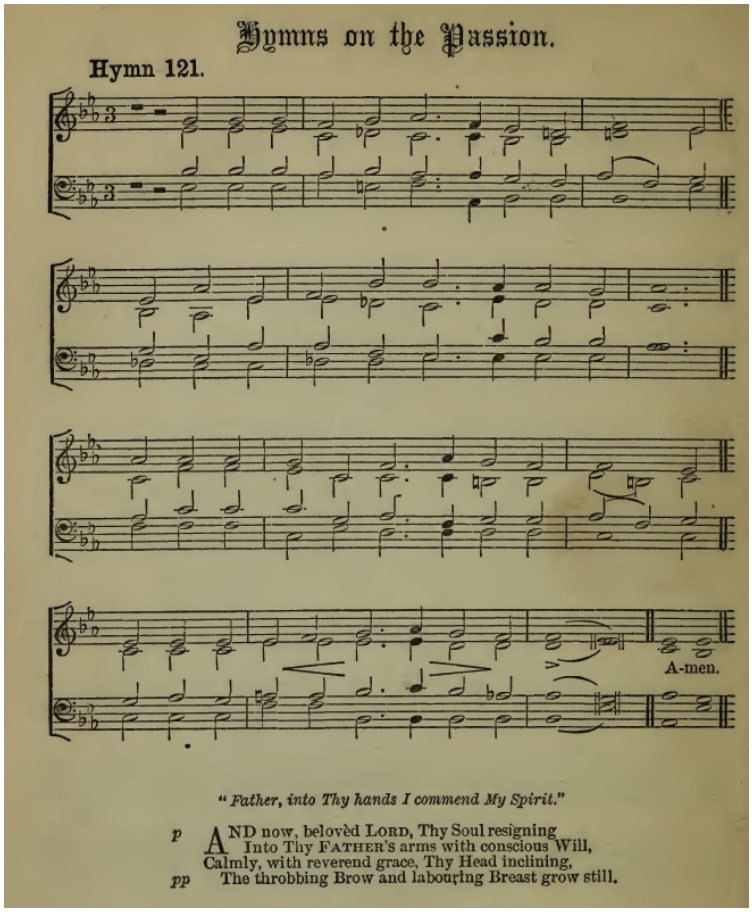
I am thankful to say that the luggage has turned up at last. It made its appearance yesterday even[g].

My sister has sent me her new Hymn (the Last 'Word') finished & revised. I think it most touching & beautiful: I will send you a copy, if all be well, tomorrow. At present I am just off to Coatham Nr. Redcar where I am to preach this Even[g].

I have written a simple quiet Recitative Tune for my sister's Hymn which will make it as short as a Hymn in any ordin[y] short metre. It seems to me to be too beautiful to lose any of it.

Yours ever affectionately,

J.B.D.



Hymns on the Passion.

Hymn 121.

A-men.

"Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit."

p AND now, beloved LORD, Thy Soul resigning
Into Thy FATHER'S arms with conscious Will,
Calmly, with reverend grace, Thy Head inclining,
pp The throbbing Brow and labouring Breast grow still.

Letter from JBD to HWB 13 August 1874

My dear Sir Henry

It is rather awkward, but I suppose if it must be, it must. So I will get to work and see if I can get any body to look after my Parish for the inside of a week.

I have really never found time to copy out my sixteen Hymns: but as we are to meet so shortly I will bring it. [Stainer?][1] has also sent a fresh suggestion for the end of Days & Moments[2] that I think will do very well.

I fear I shall have very little time to look through new Tune books before I come: but I must do what I can. I read 3 of the Tunes which you ment.[d] in your note. The other two "Jesus lives"[3] & "Thou art gone up on high"[4] were fairly copied out & given to Monk. (I fancy "Jesus lives" was printed). Perhaps you be (*sic*) so good as to let M[r] Monk have the copies I herewith send — when you have looked at them, or got them copied out for your own use.

I enclose Stainer's note[5]. I sent to him this little suggestion we proposed by way of simplicity in his tune[6]. He does not take to it and I think perhaps he is right and that, although the alternative w[d] add to the general smoothness & possibly to the popularity of the tune, it w[d] rob it of some of its piquancy.

I wonder how he will approve of my alteration of 'Ride on' on which your Reverence insisted. It is sometimes rather a hazardous thing to alter in a hurry a tune that he has carefully thought out: & which has worked well. However we must hope for the best. I return Monk's Proof to him now in London.

Don't overwork yourself – there's a good man

& believe me

ever affectionately yours

John B. Dykes

1

2 ST. SYLVESTER, HA&M 1875 No. 289

3 LINDISFARNE

4 OLIVET

5 11 August 1874

6 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, HA&M 1875 No. 106

Letter from JBD to HWB 23 August 1874 (HAM)

Sunday Evening

My Dear Sir Henry

I hope you rec.[d] your Guardian safe & sound. Thank you v much for the loan of it. I had a bit of work at tunes &c. till Peterboro. Then I put them aside to the end of my journey. At York I met with a young cousin of mine who had been travell[g] by the same train (although I did not know of it) and was coming up to the North for a few days shooting. So we travelled together, & had a carriage all to ourselves.

Well, the Irish A.P.C.K. Hymnal is at last out.[1] I found a Presentation Copy awaiting me on my return home. So I think we had rather better suspend for a few days a final appropriation of tunes till one has had time to look carefully through the book. This is very nicely got up and seems full of pleasing & popular tunes very chastely harmonised. Obviously you have rec.[d] a copy. The printing strikes me as remarkably clear & good. But Sir. R. Stewart has been culpably (I think) careless as to preserving the correct form of his melodies. The book — through as far as I can now see in a very hasty glance a charming & certain to be a popular one — is absolutely undependable as an authority from the editorial liberties taken. You shall hear more about it.

You were quire right about the "Who follow"! It flashed all across me as I was in the cab and as far as I got into the train. I rewrote the tune. The change improves it wonderfully. I will send Monk & copy for you to see.

The Irish people have got Handel's "O Love Divine": a very sweet but rather difficult melody.[2]

Ever my dear Sir Henry

Yours most affect.[ly]

John B. Dykes

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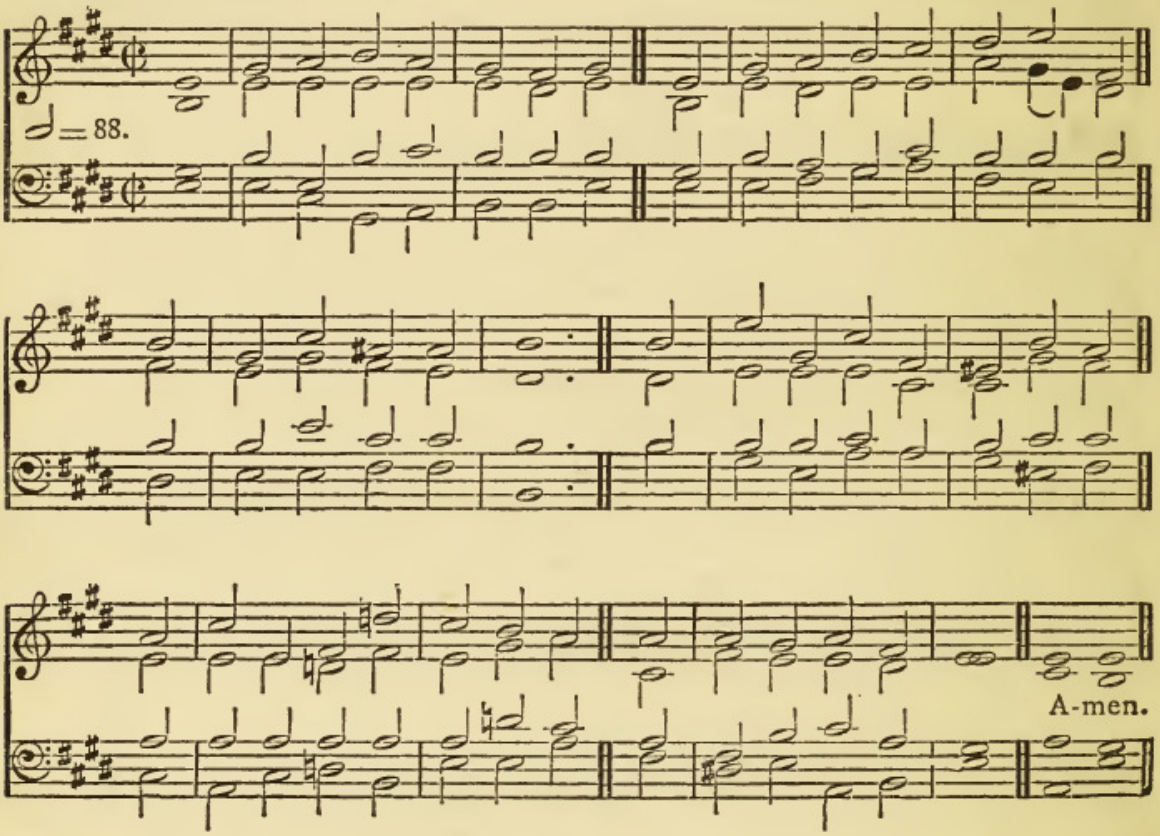
1 *Church Hymnal Set to Appropriate Tunes* Ed. Sir Robert Prescott Stewart Mus.D. (APCK: Dublin, 1874) The hymnal contains fifteen tunes by Dykes: ALMSGIVING, HOLLINGSIDE, LUX BENIGNA, MELITA, ST. AELRED, ST. AGNES, ST. ANATOLIUS, ST. BEDE (aka SLINGSBY), ST. CROSS, ST. CUTHBERT, ST. GODRIC, ST. NINIAN, ST. OSWALD (more usually known as ST. BEES), SYCHAR (aka ST. OSWALD) and his arrangement of WIR PFLÜGEN

2 See below.

Hymn 321.

FIRST TUNE.

DESIRING TO LOVE (886 886). GEORG FRIEDRICH HÄNDEL.



Letter from JBD to William Ewart Gladstone[1] 25 August 1874 (BL Add MS 44444 f.226)

S. Oswald's Vicarage Durham
August 25 1874

Dear and Honoured Sir

By this Post I send you a Pamphlet[2] of which I beg the favour of your acceptance.

As a humble Priest who has never even seen you, who has never voted on your side, between whom and myself there is no sort of outward bond of connection, I feel the Liberty I am taking in addressing you.

I can only say this much, that there is probably no one in this country who has a more profound personal veneration for you than I have.

And as a Churchman I cannot but feel bound to you by an inward cord of affection, and sympathy—a cord which has been considerably strengthened of late by the noble stand you have recently made in defence of the rights of the Church & in vindication of her claims.

Should you honour my Letter with a perusal you will find it, alas, dealing too much with personal matters. This was inevitable. But you will also see that I have had deeper reasons than any mere personal ones for writing—and that all mere personal or private considerations are subordinated to general & more important ones.

Praying that GOD may abundantly bless you, and long preserve you for the good of His Church, and after a faithful Service for Him here crown you with Everlasting glory.

I am
Your humble & faithful servant
and brother in Christ Jesus
John B. Dykes

The Right Hon[ble]
W. E. Gladstone

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1 Former Prime Minister and former Leader of the Liberal Party, at this date a backbench Liberal MP.

2 *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual* (Masters: London, 1874), being '*A Letter to the Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of Durham Occasioned by His Lordship's Reply to an Address from Certain Laymen in the Diocese.*'

Letter from JBD to HWB 25 August 1874 (RCO)

S. Oswald's Durham
Aug: 25. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

The enclosed is my Sister's S. John the Baptist Hymn which you asked me to let you see & which I was copying when you horrified me by telling me that I sh^{d} be late for my Train.

I will send her S. James' one (D.V.) tomorrow.

Your ever affectionate

J.B.D.

Letter from JBD to HWB 27 August 1874 (RCO)

S. Oswald's Durham
Aug: 27. 1874

My dear Sir Henry

You will think me a regular epistolary tormentor but as I do not wish you to reply I shall not take up much of your time.

I want to trouble you with a word about Hy 286[1]. "Through all the changing scenes of life".

I still feel strongly what I have two or three times explained to you that verse 3. "The hosts of God" is very much out of keeping with the soft (almost luscious) character of the tune[2] and I am a strong advocate for perfect congruity of feeling between music & words.

I observe that the version in H.A&M omits the original 2nd verse of the Psalm — a verse that suits this particular tune with exceptional felicity

> "Of His deliverance I will boast
> Till all that are distressed
> From my example comfort take
> And charm their griefs to rest."[3]

And wd it not do to make this (the original 2nd verse) our 2nd verse, "O magnify" (the original 3rd) our 3rd then to go on to "Hear Him ye saints" for the 4th verse & the Doxology for the 5th.[4]

This wd be quite long enough for a sweet tune that must be taken rather slowly.

If you liked to add "O make but trial" as a 5th verse (usg the Doxology as the 6th) you might only you strongly object (I can not quite tell why) to the juxtaposition of 2 verses each beginning with an 'O'.

Will you kindly look at Hy: 333.[5] You asked me to set it to a little child's tune. I have so done.

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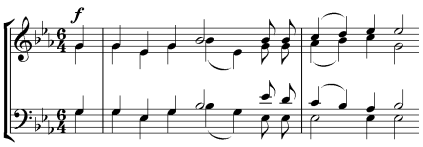
1 This became 290 in the 1875 edition.

2 WILTSHIRE, composed by Sir. George Smart

3 This slightly misquotes the verse, which is taken from Tate and Brady's 'New Version': "From my example *courage* take and *soothe* their griefs to rest."

4 HWB was evidently not persuaded, as the verses remained unchanged from the 1861 edition.

5 In This became number 340: HOSANNA WE SING

You observe there is first a 'Hosanna' then and 'Alleluia' verse. Then a 2nd Hosanna & 2nd 'Alleluia' verse. So I have made it a <u>double</u> tune, with a <u>Hosanna</u> half & an 'Alleluia' half. This makes it very pretty. But I want to repeat the word 'Hosanna' at the end of the former half, & the words 'Alleluia' at the end of the latter half. Will you therefore let those words be printed. 'Hosanna', 'Alleluia' 'Hosanna', 'Alleluia' at the end of the necessary verses in rotation.[1] I think it will be found very taking.

I rec^{d} a Post card f^{m} Gladstone this morning thank^{g} me for my letter (I sent him a copy). He tells me that he shall "read it with care and interest". There is a most gushing and enthusiastic Review of it in the "Church Herald" of yesterday — a copy of which (sent by I know not whom) reached me last night.

I shall not let you off your Durham visit!

J.B.

[1] It is evident that JBD's proposal was not accepted.

Letter from FAGO to JBD September 1874 (RCO)

Sunday[1]

My dear Dykes

I am very much pleased with your pamphlet, & greatly obliged to you for sending me a copy.

Without absolutely endorsing every sentence in it, I can truly say that in the main it endorses my own views — & I really believe will do much good.

Joyce is perfectly sound on all ritual & doctrinal points. So are about one third of our Convocational Committee on rubrics, of which both he and I are members. Others are doubtful. A few are too extreme, Archdeacon Denison on one side & Canons Conway & Miller on the other. Between us all I think we shall ultimately send up to our spiritual superiors a good & orthodox report, & I Trust Convocation will accept it in its integrity [*sic*]. If so, salva est res[2]. But there is no denying that there are rocks ahead & chiefly in our Upper House, alas!

We can but pray earnestly for the Aid of the Blessed Spirit to guide us safely into port.

Heartily wishing you Godspeed & all support in this crisis.

I am always

Your's affectionately

Frederick A Gore Ouseley

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[1] Apart from the day, the manuscript has 'Sept 74' added in pencil. This is consistent with the reference to JBD's 'pamphlet', which is probably his letter to the Bishop of Durham, written in July 1874 and published as '*Eucharistic Truth and Ritual*'.

[2] It is likely that Ouseley meant *salva res est* — the matter is safe.

Letter from HWB to JBD 15 September 1874 (RCO)

Please write to Monkland by Saturday (or Sunday at latest)

Aberystwyth
Tuesday
Sep[r] 15 1874

My dear Dykes

Thanks for yours today — We will print the Tune for "Ten thousand"[1] as you wish—

But I am sorely disappointed at nothing from you on Mrs Alderson yet as to her Hymn on the 7[th] hour[2] — I really do not know what to do —— I have expecting [*sic*] your promised letter day by day — you said ten days ago or more that you should see her "in a day or two"—

I cannot think it right to say that our dear Lord did not die with our sins on Him.[3] It contradicts types of him: & seems to me to destroy the efficacy of His death — At the very least it is surely most unwise to introduce a statement that must perplex, must be doubtful, into a meditative Hymn at such a service: and I am perplexed beyond measure as to what to do with printers waiting &c — I wish I had written to her myself: only on a point of theology I seemed to think she would be guided, as I fancied she had been, in the Hymn by you.

I never could sing that Hymn in Monkland Church at any rate — and why insist on it then? Surely some other words could be insereted for the 2[d] & first half of the 3[d] lines of verse 2[nd]

Pray do something: or say decidedly that she will not alter & I shall know what to do—

In g[t] haste by affectionately yrs

H.W. Baker

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1 ALFORD – see below

2 *And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning*, to which JBD wrote COMMENDATIO.

3 The full six verses (HA&M printed only the first four) are set out below. Fowler records (p207) that verse 2 originally ran:

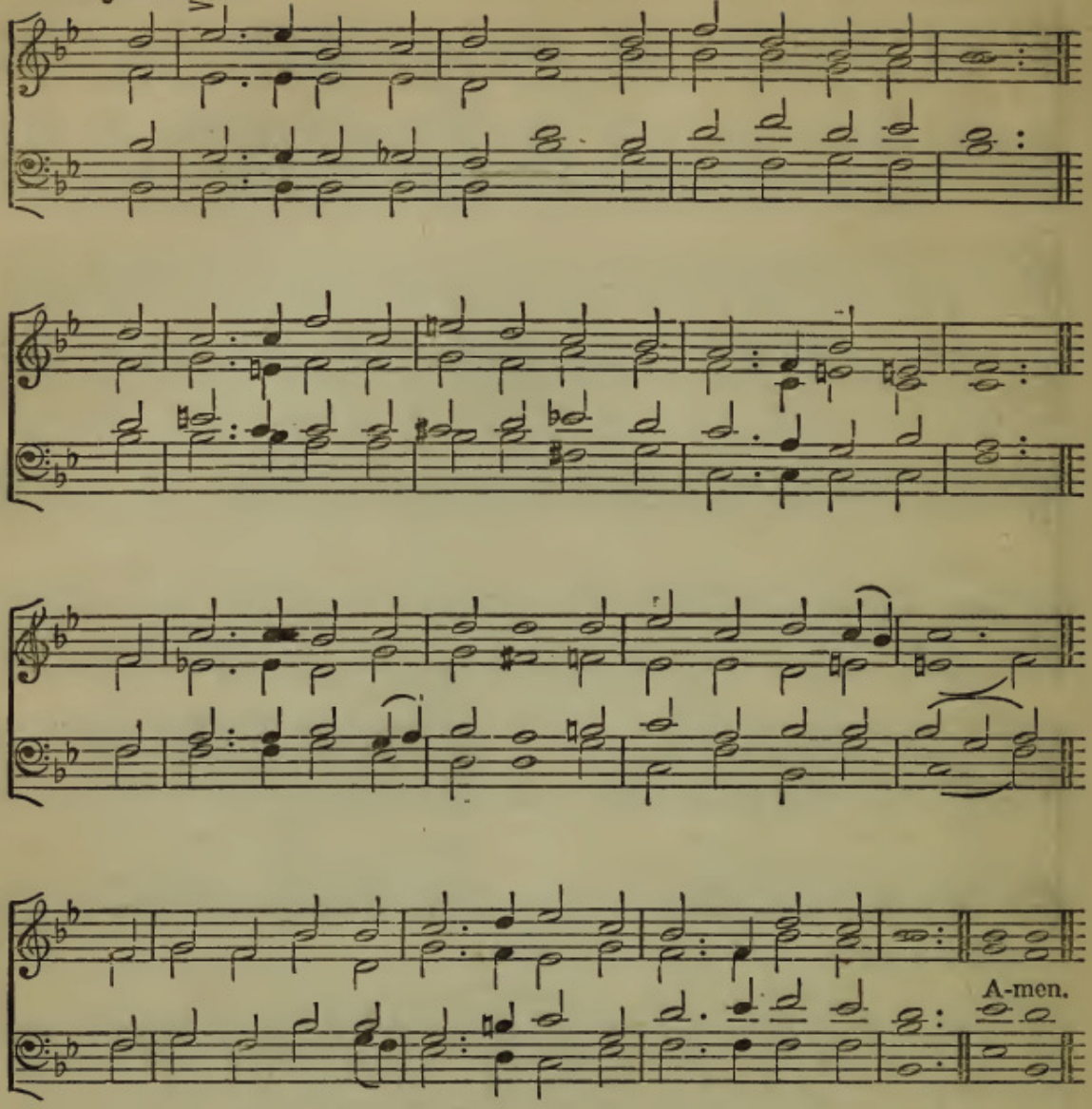
> Freely Thy life Thou yieldest, *'ere its ending*'
> Purged from sin's awful and accursed load;
> The conflict o'er in perfect peace commending
> Thy Spirit to Thy Father and Thy God.

He continues:

> The point at issue was that Sir Henry Baker thought it not right to speak of the "load of sin" being lifted *before* our Lord's *actual* death—at the "Word" "It is finished." Dr. Dykes believing…that "the work was finished, and so was all the suffering which it involved. The Cup had been set down empty. He had done what He came to do, He had borne what He came to bear. All was in that sense over."

See also JBD's letter to HWB dated 22 September 1874 which defends the theology inherent in this contentious verse and HWB's reply dated 6 October 1874.

Hymn 222.



" God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

TEN thousand times ten thousand,
In sparkling raiment bright,
The armies of the ransomed Saints
Throng up the steeps of light:
f 'Tis finished! all is finished,
Their fight with death and sin;
Fling open wide the golden gates,
And let the victors in.

What rush of Alleluias
Fills all the earth and sky!
What ringing of a thousand harps
Bespeaks the triumph nigh!
O day, for which creation
And all its tribes were made!
O joy, for all its former woes
A thousand-fold repaid!

mf Oh, then what raptured greetings
On Canaan's happy shore,
What knitting severed friendships up,
Where partings are no more!
f Then eyes with joy shall sparkle
p That brimmed with tears of late;
cr Orphans no longer fatherless,
Nor widows desolate.

p Bring near Thy great salvation,
Thou LAMB for sinners slain,
cr Fill up the roll of Thine elect,
f Then take Thy power and reign:
mf Appear, Desire of nations,
p Thine exiles long for home;
cr Shew in the heavens Thy promised sign;
f Thou Prince and Saviour, come.

And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning
Eliza Alderson

And now, belovèd Lord, Thy Soul resigning,
Into Thy Father's arms with conscious will,
Calmly, with reverend grace, Thy head inclining,
The throbbing brow and labouring breast grow still.

Freely Thy life Thou yieldest, meekly bending
E'en to the last beneath our sorrows' load,
Yet strong in death, in perfect peace commending,
Thy Spirit to Thy Father and Thy God.

Sweet Saviour, in mine hour of mortal anguish,
When earth grows dim, and round me falls the night,
O breathe Thy peace, as flesh and spirit languish,
At that dread eventide let there be light.

To Thy dear cross turn Thou my eyes in dying;
Lay but my fainting head upon Thy breast;
Those outstretched arms receive my latest sighing;
And then, oh! then, Thine everlasting rest.

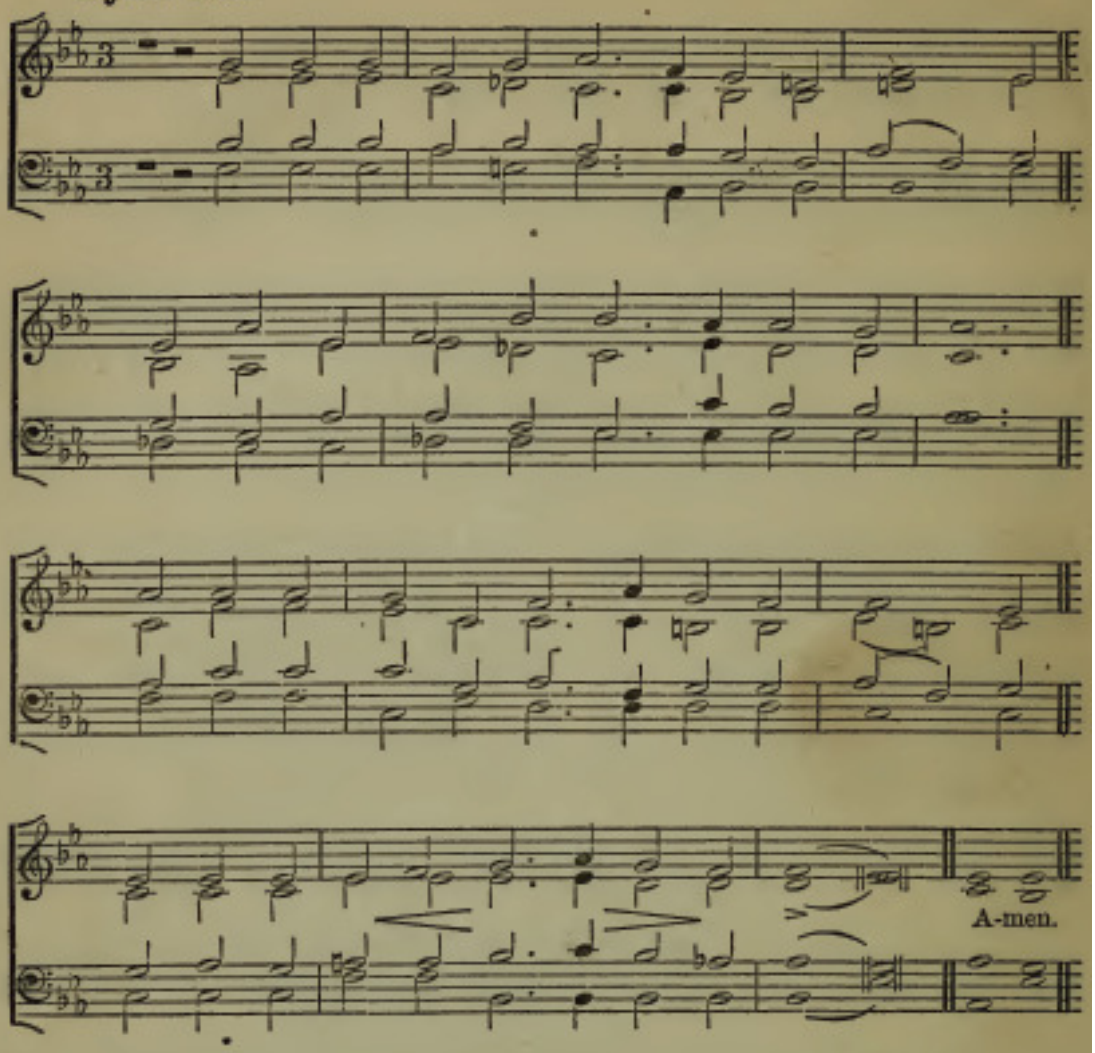
O love! o'er mortal agony victorious,
Now is Thy triumph! now that cross shall shine
To earth's remotest age revered and glorious,
Of suffering's deepest mystery the sign.

The present, past and future here are blending,
Moment supreme in this world's history,
Mid darkness, opening graves, and mountains rending,
New light is dawning on humanity.

See below for the four verses as printed in HA&M (1875), with JBD's tune.

Hymns on the Passion.

Hymn 121.



"Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit."

p AND now, beloved LORD, Thy Soul resigning
Into Thy FATHER'S arms with conscious Will,
Calmly, with reverend grace, Thy Head inclining,
pp The throbbing Brow and labouring Breast grow still.

mf Freely Thy life Thou yieldest, meekly bending
E'en to the last beneath our sorrows' load,
cr e dim Yet strong in death, in perfect peace commending
Thy Spirit to Thy FATHER and Thy GOD.

mf Sweet Saviour, in mine hour of mortal anguish,
dim When earth grows dim, and round me falls the night,
cr e dim O breathe Thy peace, as flesh and spirit languish;
cr At that dread eventide let there be light.

p To Thy dear Cross turn Thou my eyes in dying;
Lay but my fainting head upon Thy Breast;
Those outstretched Arms receive my latest sighing;
cr And then, oh! then, Thine everlasting Rest.

Letter from HWB to JBD 21 September 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Monday[1]

My dear Dykes

I got back here safe (thanks be to GOD) Saturday evening: & found an awful array of proofs from Clowes awaiting me — and your two long letters —

The latter I have just opened & hastily scanned — it is all I can do today, or at least all I can do before post time — they shall be most carefully read in the evening. But my heart sank at the sight of them: I had not the slightest idea of taxing your time & head with such a budget, and I am more than ever perplexed what to do.

These Hymns on the 7 Words are becoming a serious hindrance to us & I am tempted to wish we had never sought for them.

All I had in the least expected was that your sister would kindly at your suggestion find us an alternative two lines. If the Hymn had been printed, she might have thought that removing her statement amounted to a denial of what you believe to be true, but I am quite unable to see why a perplexing statement must be introduced into a devotional Hymn.

And if she objects to our omitting those 2 other verses, our difficultly is increased. It was not only for shortness that we omitted them. You know a Brother may easily be a little too partial & think a sister's verses better than others do.

I feel so truly grateful to you (for so vy vy much) and to Mrs Alderson that it pains me even to seem to find fault: but I am bound to decide as I think best for our Book——

I can only now say that I will consult my colleagues on the earliest possible day: & read your letters to them —

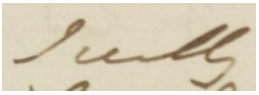
But with regard to what are omissions on my own part towards you, my dear friend, I do truly grieve to have ever seemed ungrateful or neglectful—

As to your most kind invitation to Durham, I thought we said at the time how unlikely I was to be able to come to you: & I had no idea you were at all forming your own plans, or Mrs Dykes her's, with reference to a possible visit from us. I do not see how I can get to you —

[I][2] down here feeling sadly overdone, perplexed as to some lines & words: anxious for the Book being not as it should be: and I dare not spare either time or head just now for a long railway trip. I see clearly that I shall not even get to Cowley for the Retreat—

---

1 In his reply of (Tuesday) 22 September, JBD alludes to the reference in final paragraph of this letter to his being 'gloriously represented' in the new edition, *ergo* it was written before 22 September but after HWB's letter of (Tuesday) 15 September. As this letter is headed 'Monday' it can only have been written on 21 September.

2 

So pray forgive me — you know how I should like to accept your most kind invitation.

And as to your Sister's other Hymns: you know I did say to you that I thought we ought not to
give more than one Hymn for St Matthew.

We had your Sister's Hymn before us long ago: and because we did not think it quite "up to the mark", we asked Mrs Alexander to write — Now I admit that you and she have improved it; it is much better now than it was when we considered it: but I do not see how we can give up Mrs Alexander's[1] or have two. But as the Saints Days come at the very end, & are not quite finally settled till we meet again, I thought I would wait & hear my colleagues' final opinion one way or the other before I wrote[2] — This is why I have not mentioned the Hymn & the same as to St. John Baptist.[3] Pray believe I was not intentionally neglectful. ————

Now I must stop: and must crave your indulgence for all faults —

Believe me ever

Affectionately yours

Henry W. Baker

Please not to think your letters "bore" me: I am bound to weigh all that falls from you: tho' you do press points again & again sometimes!! E.g. the keeping your St. Agnes[4] to only the 1st part of "Jesu the very thought of thee" — and the other Tune to the 2d & 3d parts. I do think it very unwise to try & fetter people thus and I am sure they will not submit to it — There are lines that the Tune does not well suit in all 3 parts: and it is surely wiser to be consistent with giving it as the 1st Tune: & let people use it as they wish. Don't grudge them a little "liberty" like this, my dear Friend[5]————

I have allowed 2 pages for your "O Paradise", tho' that is a case in which my own judgment would most decidedly omit it and be content with Smart's Tune[6] only — unless we come across another more taking. So far as I have ever heard, Smart's is always preferred to your's — altho' many people are not satisfied with either — But I saw that you wished it to remain: and I have given up my own judgment—

Perhaps you will be more displeased with Monk & me for not taking your "Jesu Thou art standing".[7] I can only trust that you will remember how decidedly Stainer was satisfied

---

1 *Dear Lord, on this thy servant's day.*

2 It is evident that the Committee agreed with HWB: Mrs Alexander's hymn was included in the 1875 edition, Mrs Alderson's was not.

3 The two hymns eventually included were written by Isaac Williams and John Mason Neale.

4 See below.

5 HWB is being inconsistent. In an undated letter to JBD in the RCO Archives he berates congregations who 'of their own wilfulness substitute "Melcombe" where we put other L.Ms…We cannot arrange our books…by their perversity. This is very unfair to our book if they sing Melcombe to Hymns to which we do not assign it — I simply cannot take the very slightest notice if such perversity.'

6 Both tunes named PARADISE— see below.

7 EXSPECTO — see below.

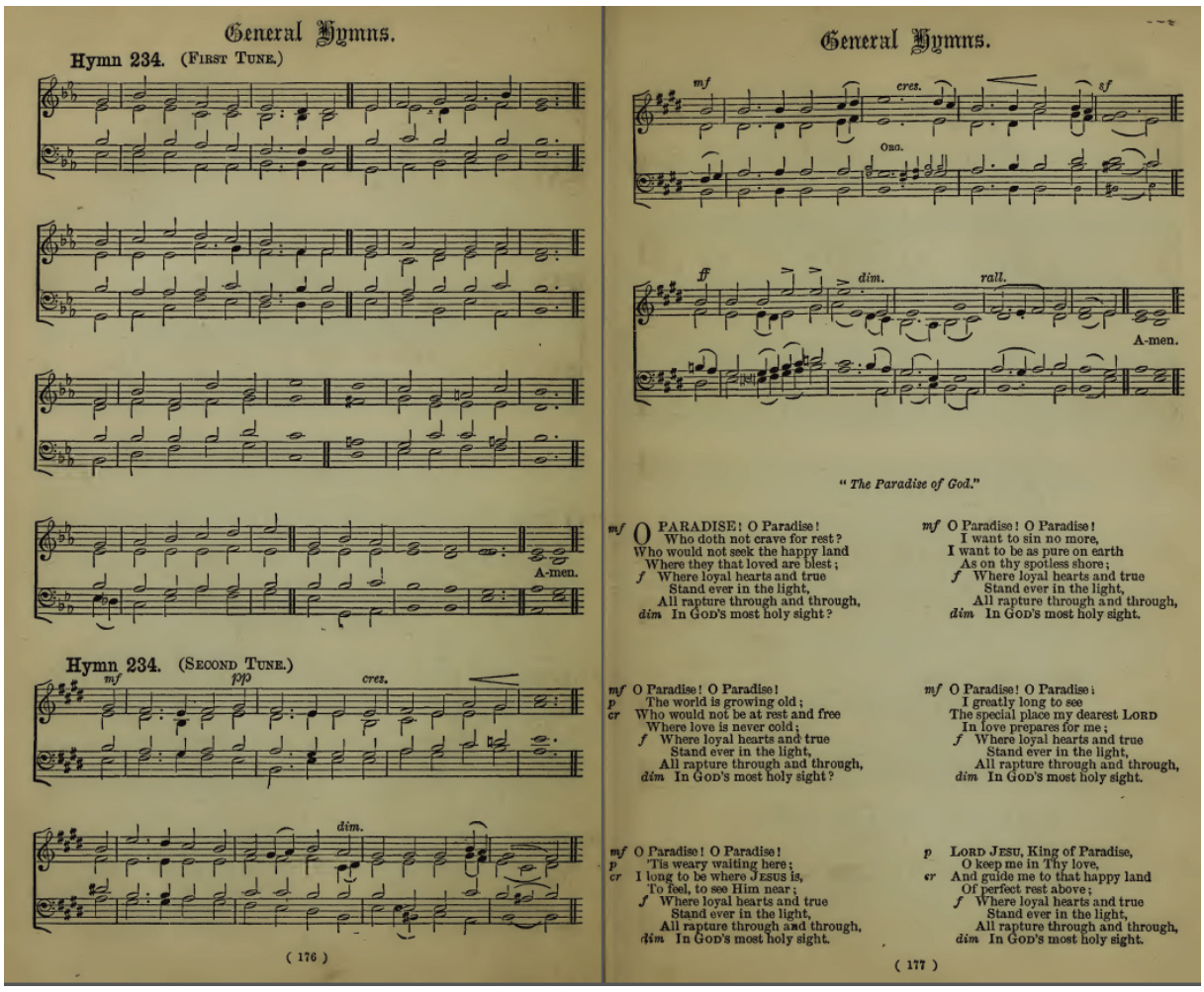
with the present Tune[1]: and I know you too well to think that you will wish to have your Tune inserted only because you yourself wish it.—

You will be gloriously represented in our Book now, and may well be content to let that not-very-good Hymn (*me judice*) be as it has been — There! how I am running on. & such a pile of Proofs still untouched! I wish you were here! to talk over a lot of things. Again I say, pray forgive all my seeming neglect or judgment different to your own —— I trust your Lake tour has done you good.

My kind regards to M[rs] Dykes———

Please forgive too the scraps of paper.

PARADISE (Henry Smart) (1st tune) and PARADISE (JBD) (2nd tune)



General Hymns.

Hymn 234. (First Tune.)

A-men.

Hymn 234. (Second Tune.)

(176)

General Hymns.

A-men.

"The Paradise of God."

O PARADISE! O Paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight?

O Paradise! O Paradise!
I want to sin no more,
I want to be as pure on earth
As on thy spotless shore;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight.

O Paradise! O Paradise!
The world is growing old;
Who would not be at rest and free
Where love is never cold;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight?

O Paradise! O Paradise;
I greatly long to see
The special place my dearest Lord
In love prepares for me;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight.

O Paradise! O Paradise!
'Tis weary waiting here;
I long to be where Jesus is,
To feel, to see Him near;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight.

Lord Jesu, King of Paradise,
O keep me in Thy love,
And guide me to that happy land
Of perfect rest above;
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight.

(177)

(The harmonies in JBD's tune in the 1875 edition were changed from those in the 1868 Appendix.)

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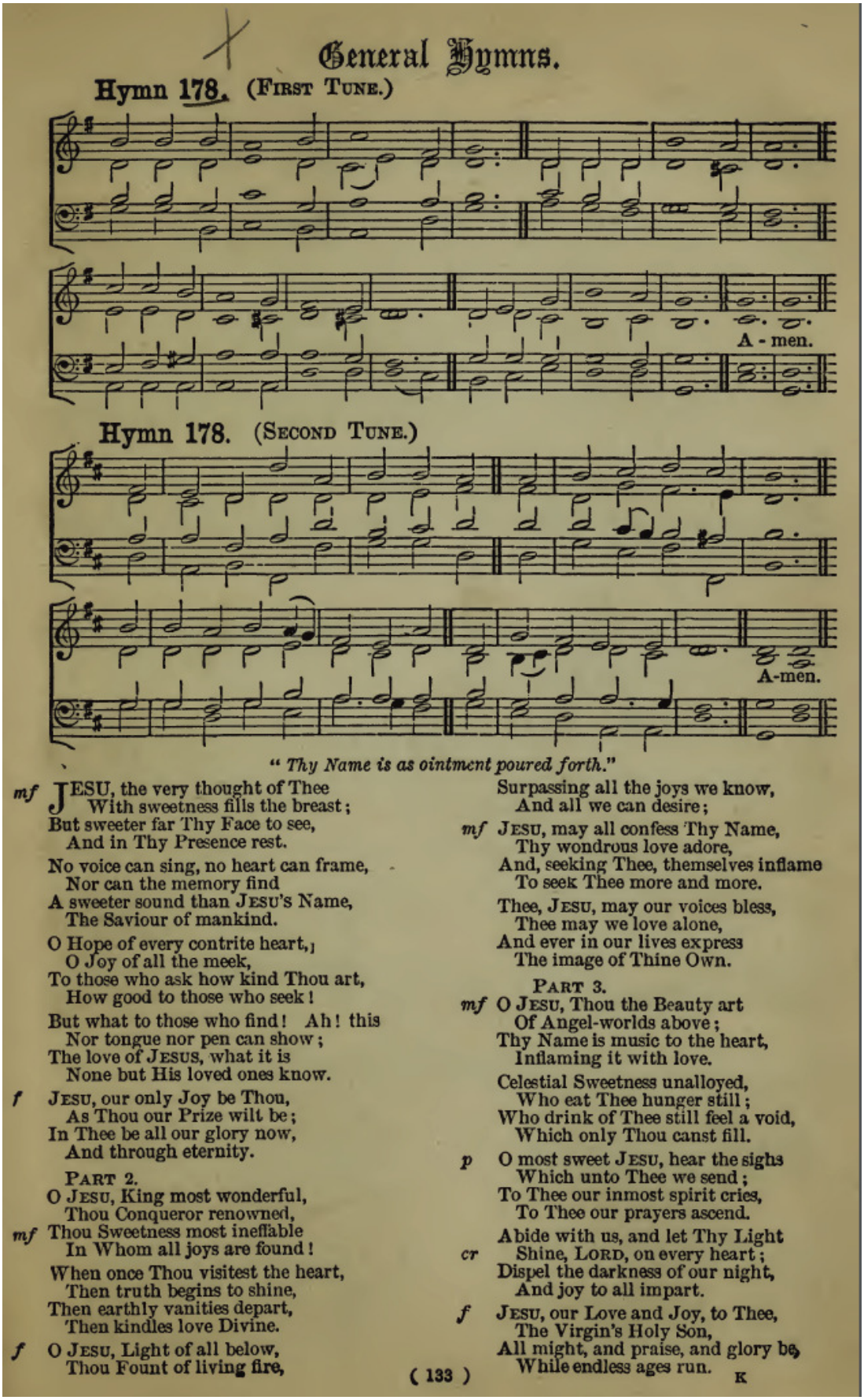
1 ST. CATHERINE by the Rev Reginald F. Dale

ST. AGNES (JBD) and METZLERS REDHEAD No. 66 (Richard Redhead)



General Hymns.

Hymn 178. (First Tune.)

A - men.

Hymn 178. (Second Tune.)

A-men.

" Thy Name is as ointment poured forth."

mf JESU, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills the breast;
But sweeter far Thy Face to see,
And in Thy Presence rest.

No voice can sing, no heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find
A sweeter sound than JESU's Name,
The Saviour of mankind.

O Hope of every contrite heart,
O Joy of all the meek,
To those who ask how kind Thou art,
How good to those who seek!

But what to those who find! Ah! this
Nor tongue nor pen can show;
The love of JESUS, what it is
None but His loved ones know.

f JESU, our only Joy be Thou,
As Thou our Prize wilt be;
In Thee be all our glory now,
And through eternity.

PART 2.

O JESU, King most wonderful,
Thou Conqueror renowned,
mf Thou Sweetness most ineffable
In Whom all joys are found!

When once Thou visitest the heart,
Then truth begins to shine,
Then earthly vanities depart,
Then kindles love Divine.

f O JESU, Light of all below,
Thou Fount of living fire,
Surpassing all the joys we know,
And all we can desire;

mf JESU, may all confess Thy Name,
Thy wondrous love adore,
And, seeking Thee, themselves inflame
To seek Thee more and more.

Thee, JESU, may our voices bless,
Thee may we love alone,
And ever in our lives express
The image of Thine Own.

PART 3.

mf O JESU, Thou the Beauty art
Of Angel-worlds above;
Thy Name is music to the heart,
Inflaming it with love.

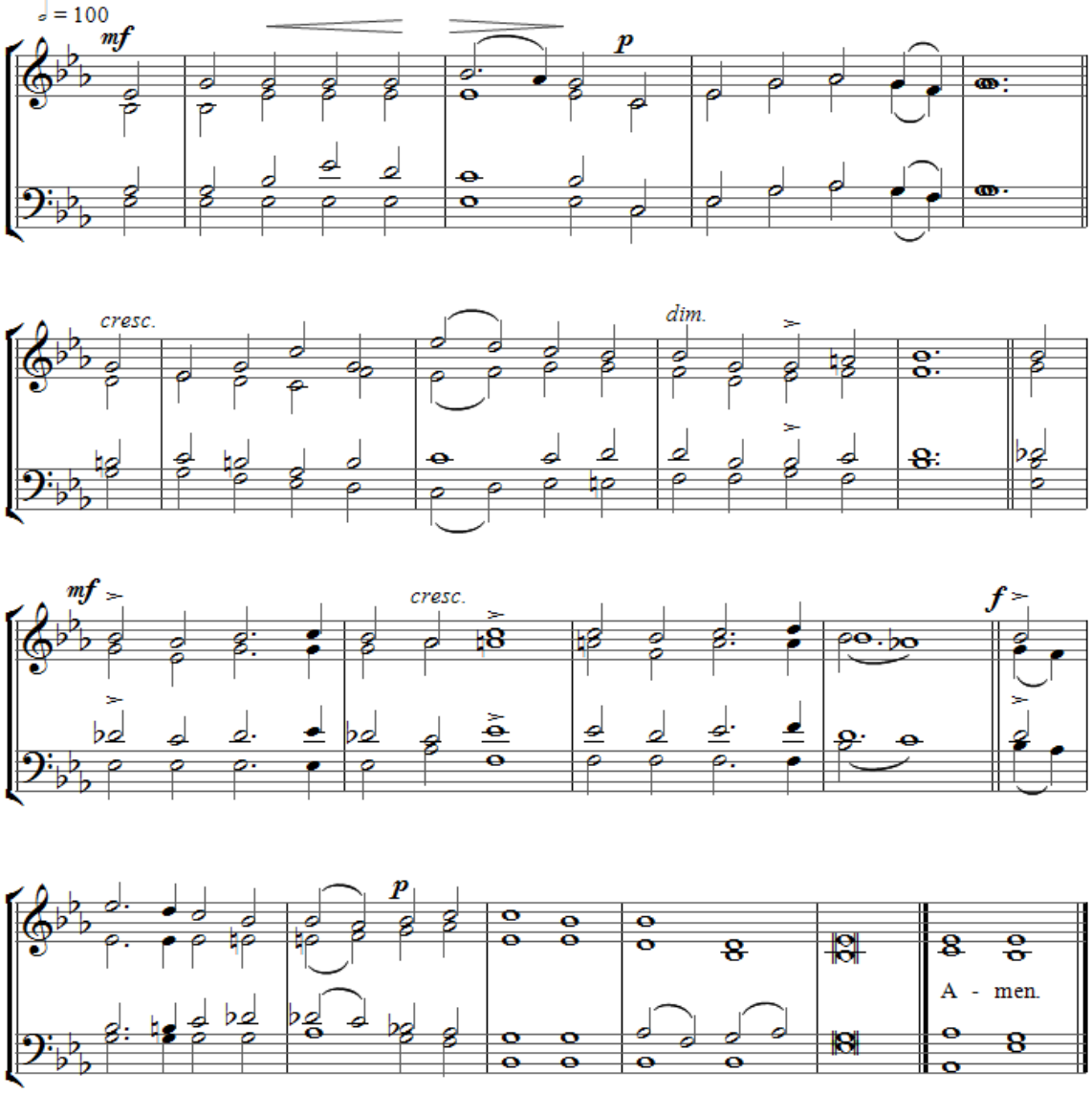
Celestial Sweetness unalloyed,
Who eat Thee hunger still;
Who drink of Thee still feel a void,
Which only Thou canst fill.

p O most sweet JESU, hear the sighs
Which unto Thee we send;
To Thee our inmost spirit cries,
To Thee our prayers ascend.

Abide with us, and let Thy Light
cr Shine, LORD, on every heart;
Dispel the darkness of our night,
And joy to all impart.

f JESU, our Love and Joy, to Thee,
The Virgin's Holy Son,
All might, and praise, and glory be,
While endless ages run.

Exspecto (7676D)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.139

O Jesus, Thou art standing, outside the fast closed door,
In lowly patience waiting to pass the threshold o'er:
Shame on us, Christian brothers, His Name and sign who bear,
O shame, thrice shame upon us, to keep Him standing there.

Willam W. How

Letter from JBD to HWB 22 September 1874 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Sep: 22. 1874.

My dear Sir Henry

Thank you much for your kind letter. Just a word or two in reply.

1. I will ask my sister to send two alternative lines: but at the same time I am glad that you will read what I have said to your coadjutors: because I feel more and more strongly drawn to the belief that the doctrine of the hymn is true and that what I wrote to you (I fear hurriedly and imperfectly) is true. And truth will take care of itself. Why not utilise a hymn to teach forgotten truths?

Since coming home I have been reading Carter on "the Passion & Temptation of our Lord"[1]. Please refer to pp 80-85. He regards the cry "It is finished" (as I have done) as the cry of completed victory. "There could be no agony (he writes) after this word", [but if Sin was yet in His Heart, there must have been agony] "Still more surely do the words that follow express the feeling of One already emerged from the terrible conflict, & beginning to enter into the exaltation of the Divine Sonship; Father into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit".[2]

As Ellicott[3] writes "The sponge of vinegar was pressed to the parching lips. The dying Lord received it, and with a loud cry of consciously completed victory for man, & of most loving resignation to GOD, bowed meekly His Divine Head & gave up the ghost."

2. I am very sorry you cannot come to Durham: but do get to Cowley. I am sure I need a Retreat to get my head clear & calm & I am sure you must need it. You will work all the better afterwards. You need it for your own sake & for your helpers' sake.

I will gladly give you a week any time & anywhere between then & Advent & do any amount of work if it will help you.

3. About 'S. Agnes'[4]. I merely suggested the note as an indication of the ideas of the Editor as to the appropriation of the 2 tunes, without any thought of interfering with the "liberty of the subject". However I care very little about it & willingly waive my opinion.

4. I wd have written a better tune to 'Opus Dei'[5] if I could, but I do not think I can. If properly sung, the present tune is very effective: & it is a great favourite here. A

---

1 Carter, T.T. *The Passion and Temptation of Our Lord: A Course of Lectures delivered at All Saints, Margaret Street, in Lent 1862* (Joseph Masters: London, 1863)

2 *ibid* p84 The word 'do' in JBD's quotation is extraneous.

3 Ellicott, Charles John *Historical lectures on the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, being the Hulsean lectures for the year 1859. With notes, critical, historical, and explanatory*. (Gould and Lincoln: Boston, 1863)

4 This tune originally appeared in Grey's *Hymnal for Use in the English Church* (1866) and then in the 1868 Appendix to HA&M. See below.

5 This would appear to be the tune named PARADISE (324 in the 1868 edition of HA&M)

clergyman (I think in Yorkshire) told me that he had had his choir divided & has put one portion under the belfry simply to get the proper effect of the echo of the 2nd "O Paradise" [which I had marked PP and is only printed P] He said the effect was very striking & charmg. If you have never heard this tune properly & intelligently sung of course you will fail to appreciate its merits. Both the American books have adopted it (besides other books), therefore it must have something to commend it.

It merely needs a slight simplification, & a few expression marks to make people understand it.

5. Thank you for what you say about myself being "gloriously represented" in the book. I really wish & pray to care less & less about being myself represented. But I do wish to see each & every hymn worthily set and this is why I have been obliged at times to press some of my own tunes because I felt that they expressed the words more truly than the tunes (not even written for the special words) to which they were being wedded.

And this is why I felt pressed by the letter. What cd be said in two or three minutes takes a long time writing.

We have had another delicious day — the county is lookg superb after the rain. There is such a wonderful transparency abt the atmosphere: & the clouds & shadows are so glorious.

My ecclesiastical experiences today have not been of the most desirable kind. No celebration! We went to Matins at Keswick. Preacher in black gown. Altar all but invisible.

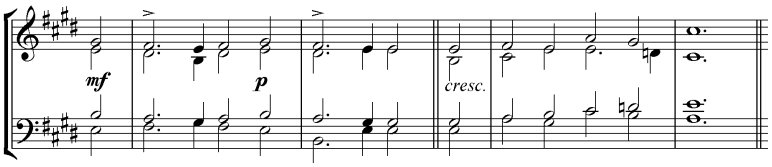
The 3 notices given out were

1. That on Tuesday there wd be a public meet on behalf of the "Irish Socy (for convertg Catholics into Protestants).

2. That at the Friday Prayer Meetg Canon Battersby would give an account of the late Oxford Evangelical Conference.

3. That on Sunday next God willg the H. Communion wd be adminisd after Evening Service.

The Sermon (which was not a bad one) was in behalf of the Irish Ch. Mission and was enlivened by touchg accounts of the work of the Associates. G.S. then mentd the case of a poor girl, a R. Cath; who was very near death. The Priest was sent for & he administered extreme unction. But the feared she dare not face Death with such a preparation. So she sent (or somebody sent) for an Agent of the Socy, a Scripture Reader by whose instrumentality she was brought to the clear lights of the Gospel; and the lass got better.

This Evang we were at Grange where Brown Borthwick used to be, & where of course his 'Supplemental Hymn book'[1] was used. They sang however "Art thou weary" to your tune: & it wd have done you good to hear how heartily it was sung. It was the most pleasg thing in the musical line we have had today.

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[1] Brown Borthwick, R (Ed.) *The Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book* (Novello: London, 1869) Two of JBD's tunes — FERRIER and BETHLEHEM — were first published in this book.

We heard from [Williams][1] in the Morn[g]

I rather think we are going to attack “Great Fell” tomorrow.

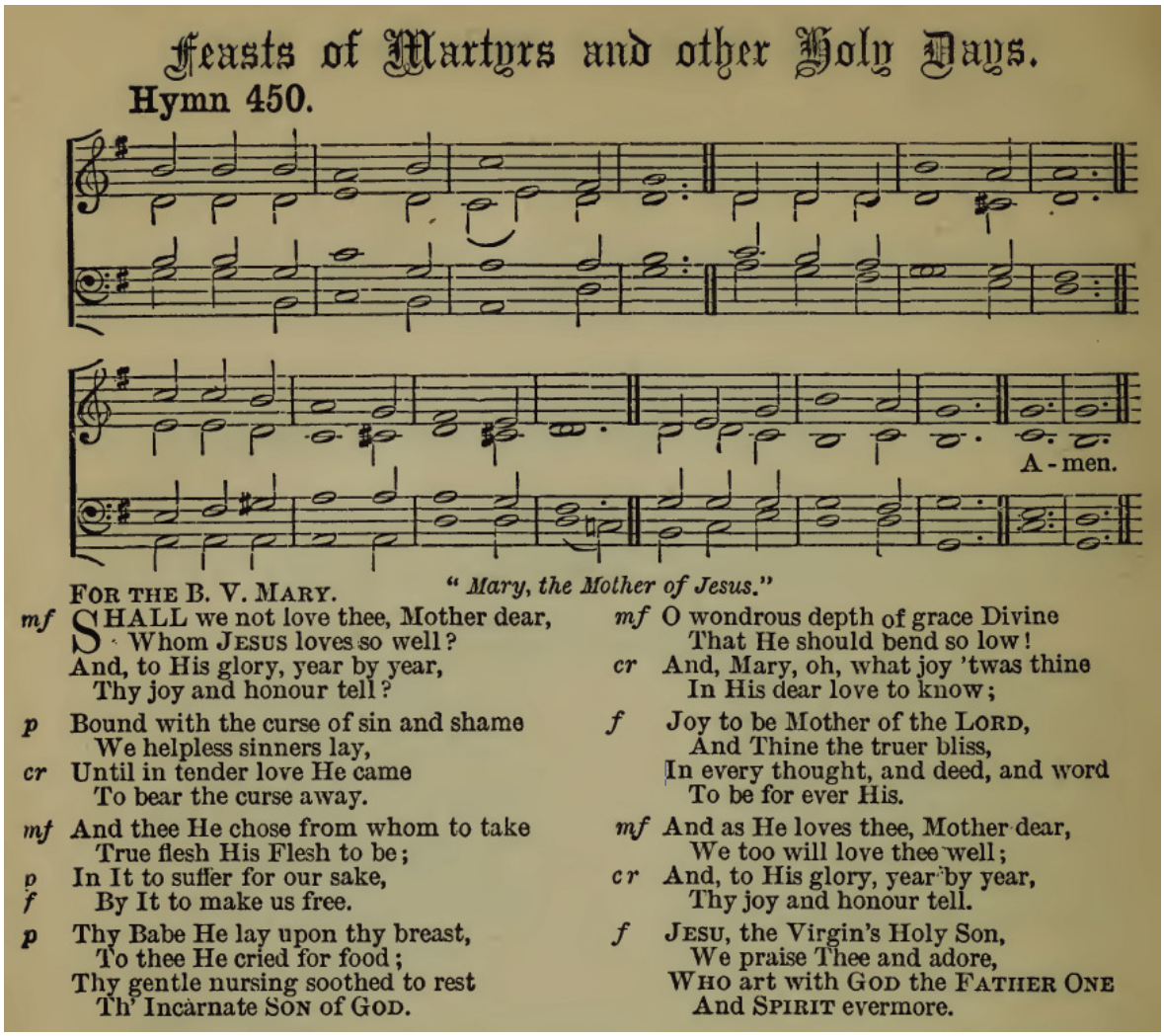
I wish you were here for a little bit of this wonderfully restoring mountain air. It w[d] do you a world of good.

I hope the Durham proposition is not <u>quite</u> knocked on the head.

Now I must really finish

So good night.

Ever affectionately yours

J.B.D.

Feasts of Martyrs and other Holy Days.

Hymn 450.

A - men.

FOR THE B. V. MARY. *“Mary, the Mother of Jesus.”*

mf SHALL we not love thee, Mother dear,
Whom JESUS loves so well?
And, to His glory, year by year,
Thy joy and honour tell?

p Bound with the curse of sin and shame
We helpless sinners lay,
cr Until in tender love He came
To bear the curse away.

mf And thee He chose from whom to take
True flesh His Flesh to be;
p In It to suffer for our sake,
f By It to make us free.

p Thy Babe He lay upon thy breast,
To thee He cried for food;
Thy gentle nursing soothed to rest
Th’ Incarnate SON of GOD.

mf O wondrous depth of grace Divine
That He should bend so low!
cr And, Mary, oh, what joy ’twas thine
In His dear love to know;

f Joy to be Mother of the LORD,
And Thine the truer bliss,
In every thought, and deed, and word
To be for ever His.

mf And as He loves thee, Mother dear,
We too will love thee well;
cr And, to His glory, year by year,
Thy joy and honour tell.

f JESU, the Virgin’s Holy Son,
We praise Thee and adore,
WHO art with GOD the FATHER ONE
And SPIRIT evermore.

1

Letter from HWB to JBD 24 September 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Thursday

My dear Dykes

I don't think we differ so much as you suppose. It is one thing to believe that whatever caused that awful cry "My God my God why hast Thou forsaken me" was removed from our dear Lord (which I entirely believe): so that "in perfect peace" He commended His Soul to the Father, and another to say that the "load of our sins" was removed from Him: and yet more that He was "absolved". Or in the Hymn words that He was "freed" from it.

He "died for our sins." "He died with sin." I dare not speak of Him as "absolved".—

I can not with all the press of proofs & letters write fully now: but I am sure that the difference is less than you think between us: &, as I have throughout said, might easily be removed in that sense. When I can, I will write more. I wish I could write as you do!—

Now as to a tune or two. I could not have the constant uncertainty & indeed repeated changes of page. You know every time a 2nd tune is inserted, or taken away, all future Nos of pages have to be changed — & plates to be corrected too, now. Up to yesterday even there were questions of Hymns to be inserted in the "General" — So I settled at Aberystwyth with Monk most of the General Hymns & Tunes as to Nos and as neither he nor I were enamoured of your Tune — I mean "Jesu Thou art standing"[1] — especially in the form in which you resolved to keep it (in spite of our joint petition otherwise) we settled to have only the one which Stainer clearly thought quite enough— Indeed we are getting too many double sets of Tunes; I don't know what the price of the Book will have to be — so I the less regret our decision, though truly sorry not to put in what you consider a good tune—

I have (for the same reason of not multiplying double pages) given up my dear dear pet Tune, the old 44th,[2] to the "Roseate hues", & I will be content with Stainer's only: but I must console myself with setting it alone to Hymn 214[3] "What time the evening shadows fall" if I be not strongly opposed — only in a lower key[4]—

At any rate will you try it?— I should be so sorry to lose the Tune out of the Book—

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1 EXSPECTO

2 See below

3 In the event, this hymn was numbered 216 in the 1875 edition.

4 The key of A major was chosen.

—I believe you wanted to write a new D.C.M. to H. 350. “How blessed &c”[1] but I dread such a number of new tunes, and venture to propose what I think is a favourite of your’s to it viz. S[t] Matthew[2]— It seems to me to suit it well,& it is an old well known Tune[3]—

I begin to be sadly afraid that the older tunes will be felt to be snubbed in our revised Book—— We must represent all tastes still: it has been the secret of our success——

Now I must stop.

Please send me a line soon.

Ever affectionately yours

Henry. W. Baker

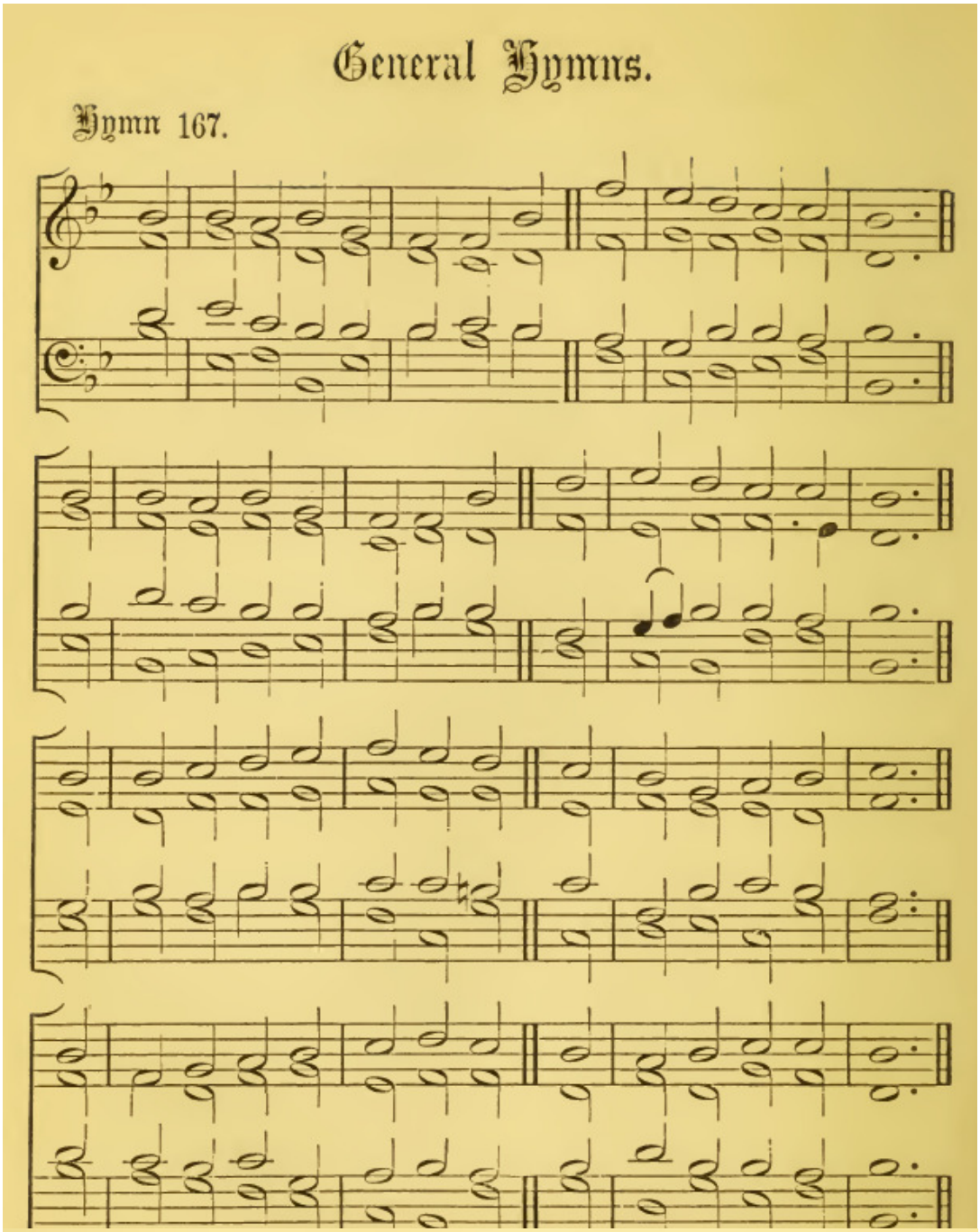
Sept 24. 1874

[1] *How blessèd, from the bonds of sin.* In the event this was numbered 357.

[2] See below

[3] At this point JBD has added the comment “So give us Winchester Old to it too”

THE OLD 44th (Anon)



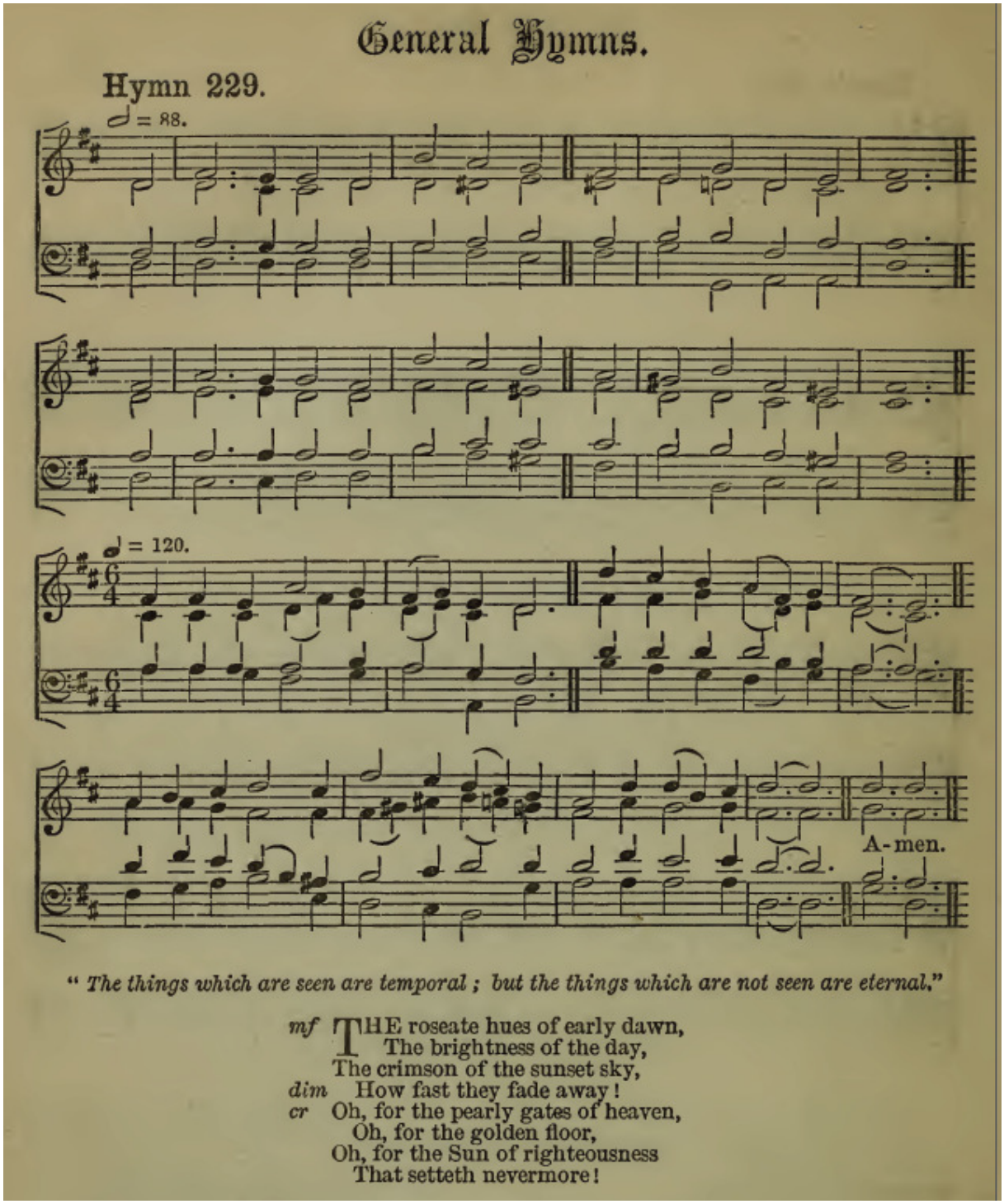
General Hymns.

Hymn 167.

" The things which are seen are temporal ; but the things which are not seen are eternal."

THE roseate hues of early dawn,
The brightness of the day,
The crimson of the sunset sky,
How fast they fade away !
Oh, for the pearly gates of heaven,
Oh, for the golden floor,
Oh, for the Sun of Righteousness,
That setteth nevermore !

THE ROSEATE HUES (John Stainer)



General Hymns.

Hymn 229.

♩ = 88.

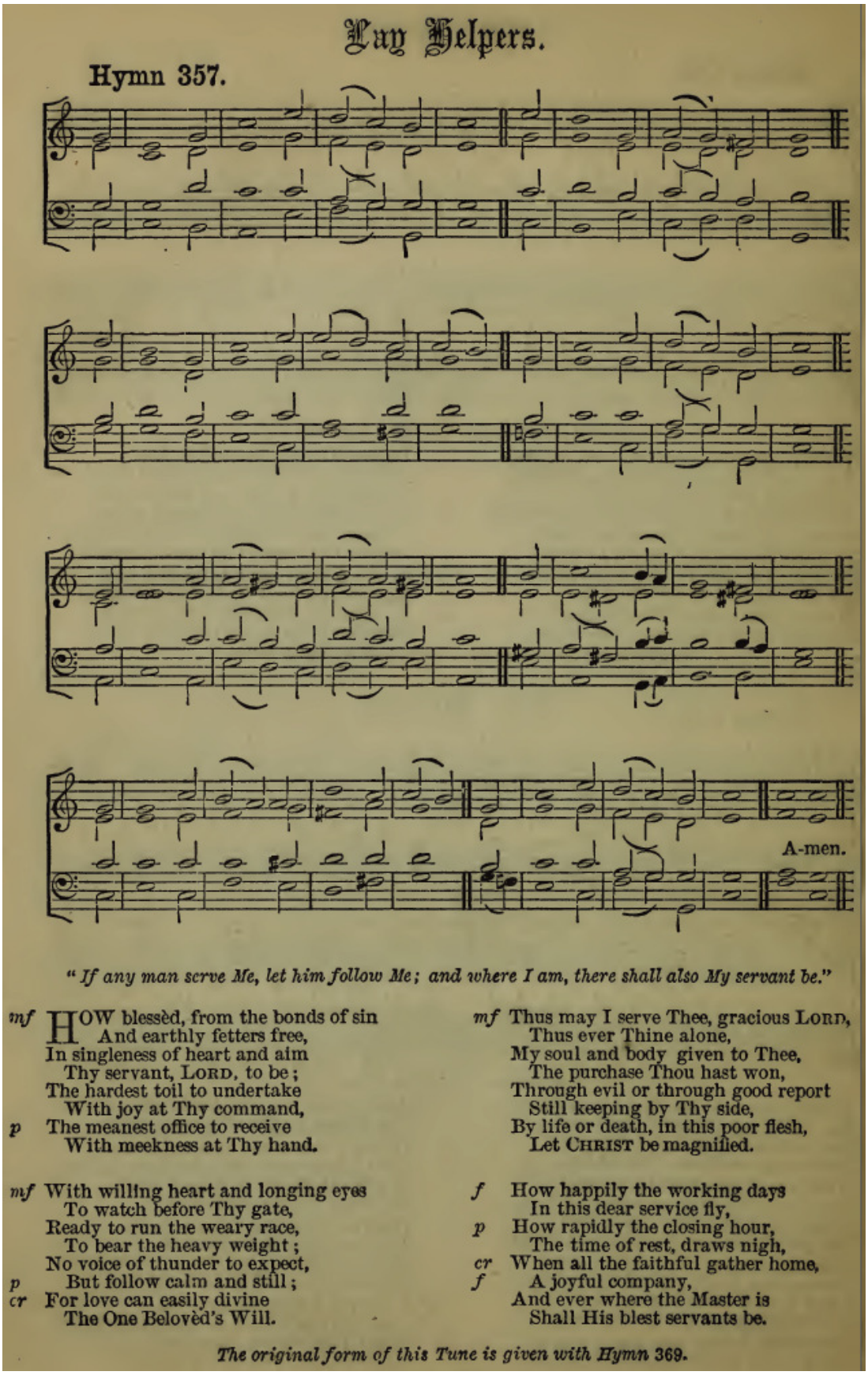
♩ = 120.

A-men.

" The things which are seen are temporal ; but the things which are not seen are eternal."

mf THE roseate hues of early dawn,
The brightness of the day,
The crimson of the sunset sky,
dim How fast they fade away!
cr Oh, for the pearly gates of heaven,
Oh, for the golden floor,
Oh, for the Sun of righteousness
That setteth nevermore!

ST. MATTHEW (William Croft)



Lay Helpers.

Hymn 357.

A-men.

"If any man serve Me, let him follow Me; and where I am, there shall also My servant be."

mf HOW blessèd, from the bonds of sin
And earthly fetters free,
In singleness of heart and aim
Thy servant, LORD, to be;
The hardest toil to undertake
With joy at Thy command,
p The meanest office to receive
With meekness at Thy hand.

mf With willing heart and longing eyes
To watch before Thy gate,
Ready to run the weary race,
To bear the heavy weight;
No voice of thunder to expect,
p But follow calm and still;
cr For love can easily divine
The One Belovèd's Will.

mf Thus may I serve Thee, gracious LORD,
Thus ever Thine alone,
My soul and body given to Thee,
The purchase Thou hast won,
Through evil or through good report
Still keeping by Thy side,
By life or death, in this poor flesh,
Let CHRIST be magnified.

f How happily the working days
In this dear service fly,
p How rapidly the closing hour,
The time of rest, draws nigh,
cr When all the faithful gather home,
f A joyful company,
And ever where the Master is
Shall His blest servants be.

The original form of this Tune is given with Hymn 369.

Letter from HWB to JBD 1 October 1874 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Oct 1. 1874

My dear Dykes

I find I cannot meet my colleagues as they are going to the Brighton Congress.

But I send on your letter to them: & by ~~Tuesday~~ Wednesday I hope to get their decision as to accepting the 2nd verse of Mrs Alderson's Hymn —

It will be none too soon: I fear Clowes will be writing before that day ——

Now I must ask you to let me know by that day what Mrs Alderson's wishes are or what she will kindly consent to.

Suppose e.g that (as Richard Roundell, [ ][1], & others have said) (they have not seen your letters nor been asked by me) it is impossible for them to accept the 2nd verse, what will she kindly give as an alternative?— Suppose too, that they wish to have only 4 verses, does she consent?

I am vexed at myself at having allowed myself to be drawn into a correspondence with you instead of having before this known what her wishes were— If she now expects us to insert the whole Hymn, and then not alter that verse, and my colleagues decide as I expect, it will be a serious delay to us. I never ought to have allowed it to be unsettled so long, & I blame myself——

Will you kindly get me by Wednesday at latest something definite, in case we do not accept what to me is [ ][2] impossible for us to accept. I really do not know what meaning you attach to "He died[3] for our sins"

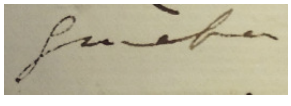
But I cannot write: I dare not: we will talk someday. But I have too much to write just now.

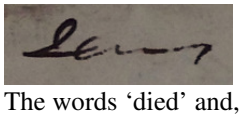
Ever Affectionately yrs

H.W. Baker

PS I don't the least think you see the tremendous power of the words "Purged from sin's load": not from the "forsaking &c", but from the load itself of our sins — Why did He die?

1

2 



3 The words 'died' and, in the last line, 'die' are underlined four times.

Letter from HWB to JBD 6 October 1874 (RCO)

Monkland
Oct 6. 1874

My dear Dykes

I withdraw all the earlier part of a long letter which I have partly written to you.

I cannot go into this controversy now—

Let me first say that you do not understand me: & that your letter this morning does not at all meet my objections. I do not know one single text of Scripture which authorizes us to talk of our dear Lord being "released from the load of our sin"; but at any rate I dare not say so: Never, never, never could say so of Him before He had died. "At its ending" is nearly as bad as "ere its ending"— "He died,[1] really died — not merely "suffered" for our sins.[2]" that is my faith. ——

My first impulse was to give up the Hymn entirely, after reading yours to-day. But, as I came back from Matins, the following verse was suggested to my mind, and I cannot but hope that it — or something like it — might be accepted by you on your sister's behalf. It is surely true: surely not out of keeping with the Hymn: surely not quite unworthy of the rest: and avoids, wholly, disputed points:—

Freely Thy Life Thou yieldest, meekly bending
E'en to the last beneath our sorrows' load;
Yet strong in death, in perfect peace commending
Thy Spirit to Thy Father and Thy GOD.

You will admit, I think, that He bore "sorrows" to the end: and the "last "loud"[3] cry "that pierced His Mother's heart" (as one of our old Hymns says), proved Him to be strong in death — So this verse is beyond dispute: and surely not a bad verse. I write to-day to ask my colleagues to accept it and to telegraph to me tomorrow: and I now ask you, my dear friend, to do the same. I enclose a telegraph form ready stamped — please write your reply & send it.

Now as to the omission of two verses — which is of course a very minor matter. I am indeed sorry to read in your letter that your sister "consents" "because she cannot hinder it".

Let me say — she can "hinder it". She was very kind indeed to take the trouble to write for us: but I greatly doubt whether my colleagues will not, after reading your letter tomorrow, desire me to reply that we cannot possibly accept the Hymn at all, as she feels that. I wrote to Mrs Alexander; & only yesterday received the kindest possible letter omitting two verses and entirely re-writing another for us in a Hymn which she had sent, because she felt the force of what I said that the original verses (beautiful in themselves) did not suit the time of the congregation at the 3 Hours Service on Good Friday — and I could not help wishing that you had tried to lead Mrs Alderson to look at this matter in the same light.

---

1 This word was underlined four times.

2 'for' and 'sins' were underlined three times.

3 The extra inverted commas are original.

Do you really think that one single person in Monkland Church would understand the 4th verse? good as it may be in itself — I must honestly say that I myself have not understood it till your letter came today: I did not know what was meant by "dim shadows from their graves are fleeting" — I have today desired Miss Paul — she is as good and intelligent as any one here, is she not? — to read the whole Hymn more than once, & that these especially with great care.

I have now asked her what those words refer to? & she says, she "supposes to the dead rising". I thought so to: at least I could attach no other meaning to it than some reference to the "graves being opened" at His Death. You say "With His Death the shadows of darkness begin to roll away from earth": quite a different meaning. Now is it expedient & wise to end the meditating on the Seven Words with so obscure a verse?

Surely the answer is "no": and yet if your sister only "consents" because she thinks she "cannot hinder", am I not bound in common gentlemanly courtesy to decline the Hymn altogether?

My sister (I have just been to her) thought the same as Miss Paul about that line. So my argument against it is really complete — And if that verse be left out, the preceding one must be: the two being together —

My sister says that those 2 verses are fine as poetry but that for a closing Hymn, at such a service, she thinks it so much nicer as we propose—And she very very much prefers my proposed emendation of the 2d verse — Oh! that your good kind sister could but see it so too—

Well: I must leave it to you —

If you do see your way to saying on her behalf cordially that it may be inserted, 4 verses, the second as now proposed, please telegraph (for this delay is truly serious to us)—

If you don't wish it, and think she won't, please telegraph so: and I will see if GOD will help me to write a short simple Hymn at once— I can't stop the book to ask any one else — I blame myself sadly for having gone on corresponding with you, dear Friend. But I thoroughly like the Hymn in its shortened & revised form: & think that if less grand it will be more truly useful—

Oh! that I only tried to settle it a fortnight ago—

I trust you will indeed be blest in the Retreat: and forget controversy: and if possible not feel called on to go on much more with it. I was rather sorry to read that you were writing to the Guardian again: controversy almost always hurts us.

I would I were with you.

Ever very affectionately yours,

Henry W. Baker

Letter from Henry Allon to JBD 29 October 1874 (RCO)

10 St Mary's Road
Canonbury N.
Oct. 29 1874

My dear Sir

Your tunes are so full of the true feeling of worship that we sing them I think more than any others. There is not one bearing your name in my book that we have not in constant use. I am compelled to add to my book some twenty or thirty tunes chiefly of peculiar metres — and I write to ask if you will kindly compose for me a tune for Charles Wesley's Hymn for watch night services[1]. Such services are becoming so common in both Episcopal and Nonconforming churches that it seems desirable to add to the provision for them in our Hymn Books. For the last two years we have in my church held such services and have used with great solemnity & religious effect your setting of 'Days and moments'[2], together with Nicolai's Grand Choral (*sic*) 'Sleepers Wake', But Charles Wesley's Hymn although somewhat jingling in its metre[3], is so very appropriate that if I could get a good setting for it I should be glad to include it. I send a copy. It could be set either in single or double verses, as might be most effective.[4] It is commonly sung after three or four minutes of silent prayer just as the clock has struck twelve. The first word in the new year is the announcement of the Hymn by the Minister 'Come let us anew'.

Of course it must under such circumstances be a simple setting, such I mean as a thousand people could sing with ease and full heartedness. I will either purchase the tune at any price you may fix, which however would not preclude any use you might wish to make of it elsewhere, or give you such acknowledgement for its use as you think fit. In either case I should wish you to receive full value for your kind service, with the addition of many thanks.

Your anthem 'Unto him that loved us'[5] has got into our common use. Eleven hundred people sang it last Sunday with a great effect. 'I am the way'[6] we have not yet ventured upon.

Thanking you for many precious devotional moments & feelings.

I am my dear Sir

Faithfully yours

Henry Allon

I need not say that I should be glad on the same terms of any other of your tunes.

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[1] *Come let us anew our journey renew*, for which Dykes composed MIZPAH. See next page.

[2] ST. SYLVESTER

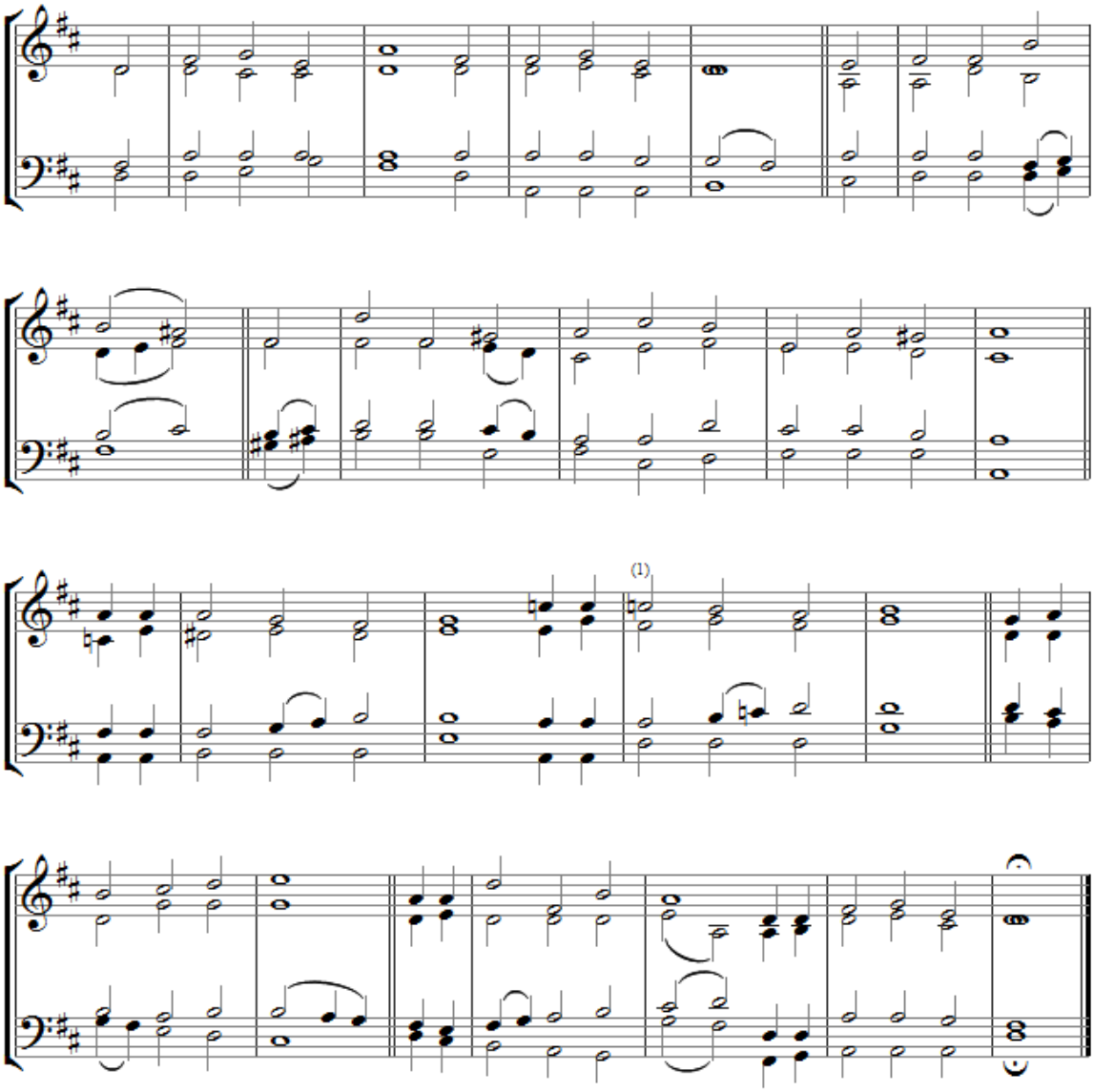
[3] 5 5 5 11

[4] Dykes chose double verses.

[5] Composed for Allon's *Congregational Psalmist (Third Section): Church Anthems* (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1872. *The Church Times*, 10 January 1873, p12, referred to Dykes's two contributions to this book (along with those of Ebeneezer Prout and 'E.R.B.') as 'most sorry rubbish'.

[6] Ditto

Mizpah (555.11D)

The Congregational Psalmist (1877) No.391

Come, let us anew
Our journey pursue,
Roll round with the year,
And never stand still till the Master appear,
His adorable will
Let us gladly fulfill,
And our talents improve,
By the patience of hope, and the labour of love.

Charles Wesley

Letter from Henry Allon to JBD 10 November 1874 (RCO)

10, St. Mary's Road.
Canonbury. N.
Nov 10. 74

My dear Sir

Many thanks for the tune & for your letter — the latter relieves me much. I shall not feel the obligation the less — and shall feel the freedom the greater — It is so far a matter of simple right & of business—

The two tunes I asked for the use of in my letter yesterday are I see in the appendix to Hymns Ancient and Modern — & are I think among the tunes written for it— If however you can permit the use of them, I shall gladly accept them on the terms proposed—

I have looked three or four times at your setting of "Lead kindly light"[1] & also at Sullivans in the new Book of the S.P.C.K. in which I also see your tune St. Agnes — which leads me to think that you have power to permit its use—

I do not feel quite drawn to "Lead kindly light". I hardly know why, it has not taken hold of me as some of your tunes do.

"Art thou weary"[2] again is very charming — but I can scarcely judge how it sings congregationally.

Have you another setting of either—

I shall be most glad to purchase copyright of any tunes you may write for me — which again will not hinder your making any other use of them — with the reference necessary to preserve property in them.

I have only hummed over the tune you have sent. It seems nice & effective — but I will have it sung through to the hymn—

Of course the latter is familiar to you — I wonder it is not more in use in Church Hymnals— The tone of the Hymn makes it somewhat difficult to preserve the solemnity requisite for the moment with the alacrity which the resolve demands. I hope you will have a good inspiration for Miss Proctor's fine hymn[3]—

Faithfully yours

Henry Allon

Rev Dr. Dykes

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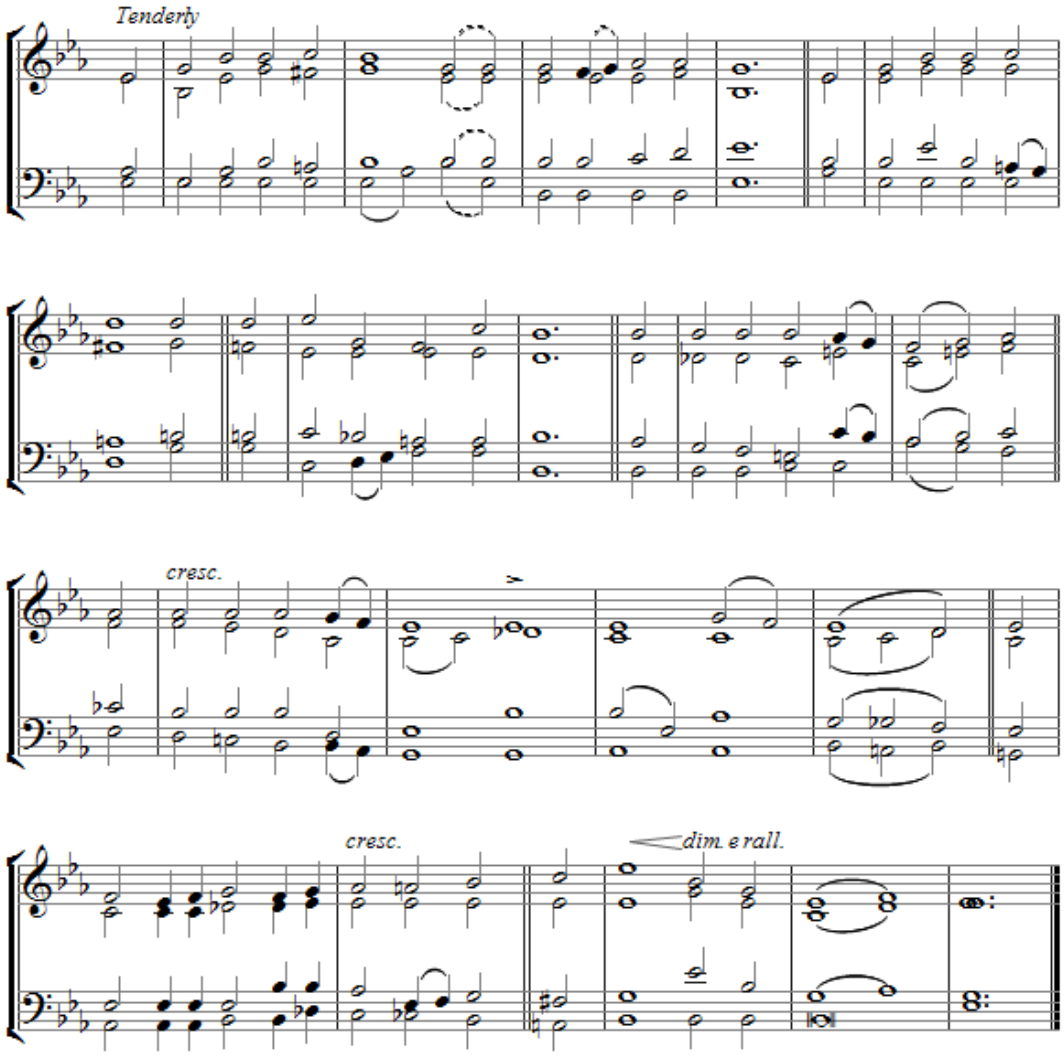
1 LUX BENIGNA

2 CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR

3 VIA CRUCIS – the last hymn tune JBD is known to have composed (see letter from Henry Allon to *The Guardian* reproduced in Fowler at pp228-229) – see below

Via Crucis (Irregular) Dykes's last hymn tune

The Bristol Tune Book (1881) No.775 (*)

The way is long and dreary,
The path is bleak and bare;
Our feet are worn and weary,
But we will not despair:
More heavy was Thy burthen,
More desolate Thy way;
O Lamb of God! who takest
The sin of the world away,
Have mercy upon us.

Adelaide Proctor

Letter from Henry Allon to JBD 4 December 1874 (RCO)

10 St. Mary's Road
Canonbury N.

Dec 4 1874

My dear Sir

I send proof of your tune which I have baptized Mizpah[1] but if you prefer any other name not appropriated in my book please say so — but please bear in mind that we always announce the tune by its name & therefore must be such as not to be incongruous

— I wrote to Mr Chope who kindly permits the use of the tune St. Aëlred — which however I fear precentors will find rather difficult to pronounce —

I enclose acknowledgment for it and for St. Agnes — will you kindly permit use of St. Andrew of Crete — "Christian dost thou see them", which is most effective —

Will you kindly write upon the proof sent the <u>form</u> in which you prefer your name to appear.

Do you wish to see proof of St. Aëlred & St. Agnes?

May I [ ][2] your acceptance of a copy of a little book which the publishers have compiled — from papers sent to them at different times?

Very sincerely yours

Henry Allon

Rev D^{r}. Dykes

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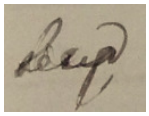
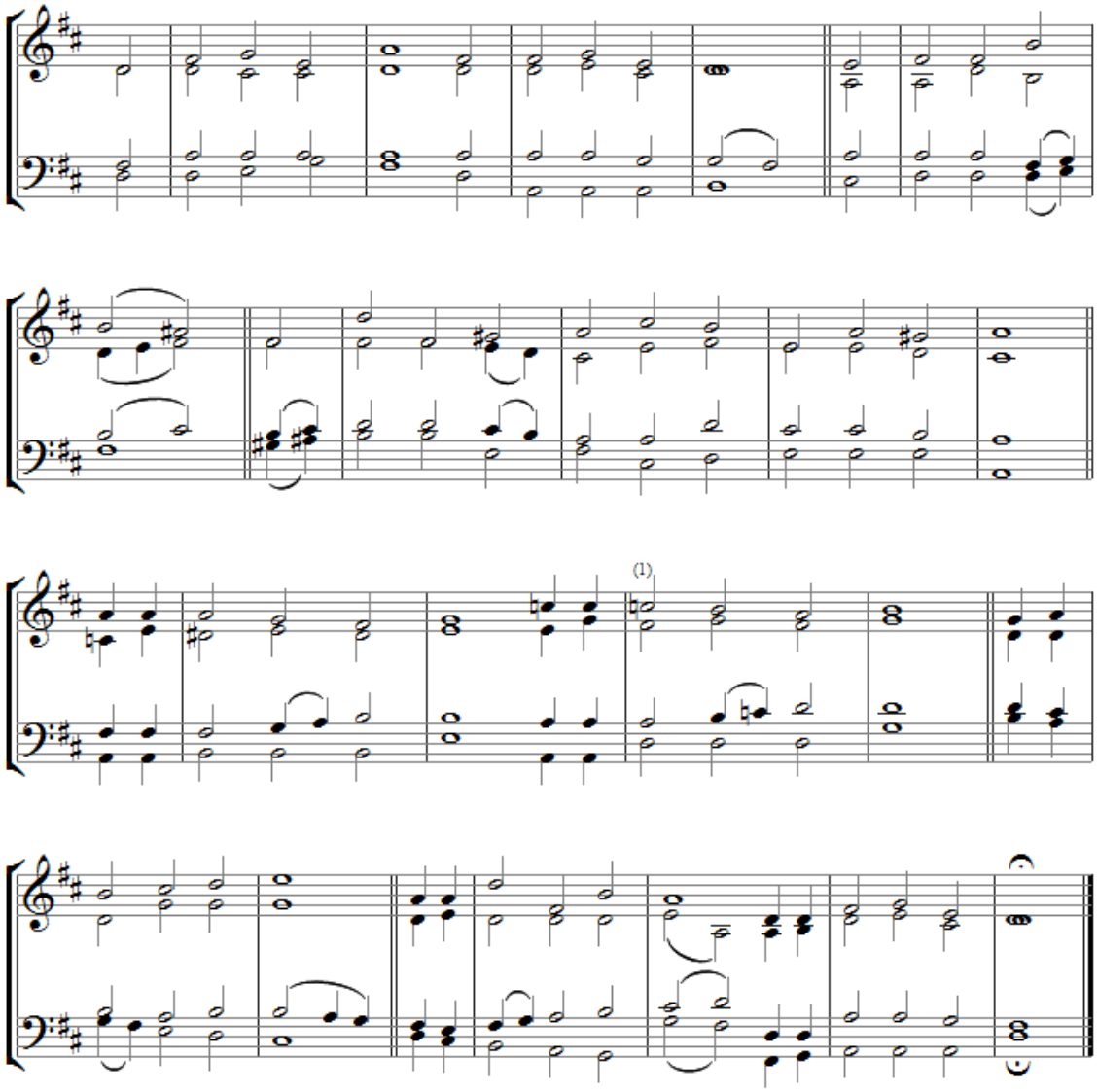
[1] See below

[2] 

Mizpah (555.11D)

The Congregational Psalmist (1877) No.391

Come, let us anew
Our journey pursue,
Roll round with the year,
And never stand still till the Master appear,
His adorable will
Let us gladly fulfill,
And our talents improve,
By the patience of hope, and the labour of love.

Charles Wesley

(1) The printed score omits the ♮

Letter from HWB to JBD 22 December 1874 (RCO)

My dear Dykes

Thanks for yours today about the Mission Hymn (old 357)[1] —

You have before now spoken of Melcombe as a "hack Tune &c &c": I cannot understand you — If you mean that people do not keep to our book & of their own wilfulness substitute "Melcombe" where we put other L.Ms' surely that is no sort of argument — We cannot arrange our books, surely, by their perversity. This is very unfair to our book if they sing Melcombe to Hymns to which we do not assign it — I simply cannot take the very slightest notice if such perversity.

Surely we are doing our very best, the most anxious thought, to give each Hymn the Tune which suits it best: & people ought to be humble enough to accept the results— Now in this, the only point of view in which I can consent to look at it, you will find Melcombe set in our new Edition to one Morning Hymn and one General Hymn: the only 2 Hymns to which it can be used often. There are 3 or 4 other instances of its use, but all special — Whitsuntide is one when that Hymn can at most be sung on one Sunday in the year & the following [ ][2] — "Laying Foundation Stone of a Church" is never in most places — "Confirmation" is once in 2 or 3 years — & only to some parishioners — "Lay Helpers" is for a small portion of one's flock only — Surely if we only add to these a Missionary Hymn, we are doing aught but making Melcombe a "hack Tune". I must say that I think we have used such a charming Tune with very great judgment & very moderately— As to this [specit][3] Hymn, I have sung it very often here to Intercession, & have come to the conclusion that practically it is too heavy a Tune for the Hymn —

We have transferred the Tune to the Virgin's Hymn "O Lamb of GOD whose love divine" which I can't help thinking is more like the soothing quiet character of the Tune. The Mission Hymn seemed to require a Tune better known & more easy than "Intercession" seemed to me to be — I wish we had discussed it with you very much: but it was the result of many a doubt in my own mind as to whether I should [ ][4] the [ ][5] [ ][6] —

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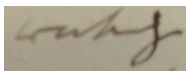
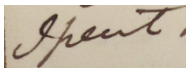
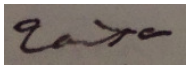
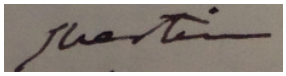
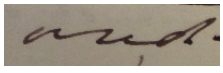
1 *Almighty God, Whose only Son*, set in the 1868 Appendix to Dykes's arrangement of INTERCESSION — see below.

2 

3  Conceivably *specit*, the third-person singular present active indicative of *specio*, to observe, watch, look at.

4 

5 

6 

I have been very anxious to get our Missionary Hymn set to popular Hymns [*sic*], and I think we have succeeded now — Stainer & Monk both say I made a great hit only last week in proposing "Aurelia"[1] to "From Greenland's icy mountains" — what do you say? I believe it to be the tune henceforth to those words — This is not mere taking a popular line: there is sympathy between the words & music: try it. —— Your opinion would stagger me more than it does as to Melcombe, if I had not before heard you speak of it in a way that I cannot allow any of it to influence us in the very slightest degree — We cannot, [oughtnot,][2] to arrange our Tunes by what people choose to do who do not use our book as we give it them ——

Now I must stop: I am awfully busy.

The fulness of all Christmas peace to you & to your's

[ ][3]

Your affectionate Friend

Henry W. Baker

Dec 22. 1874

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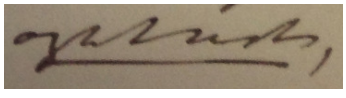
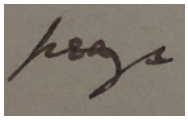
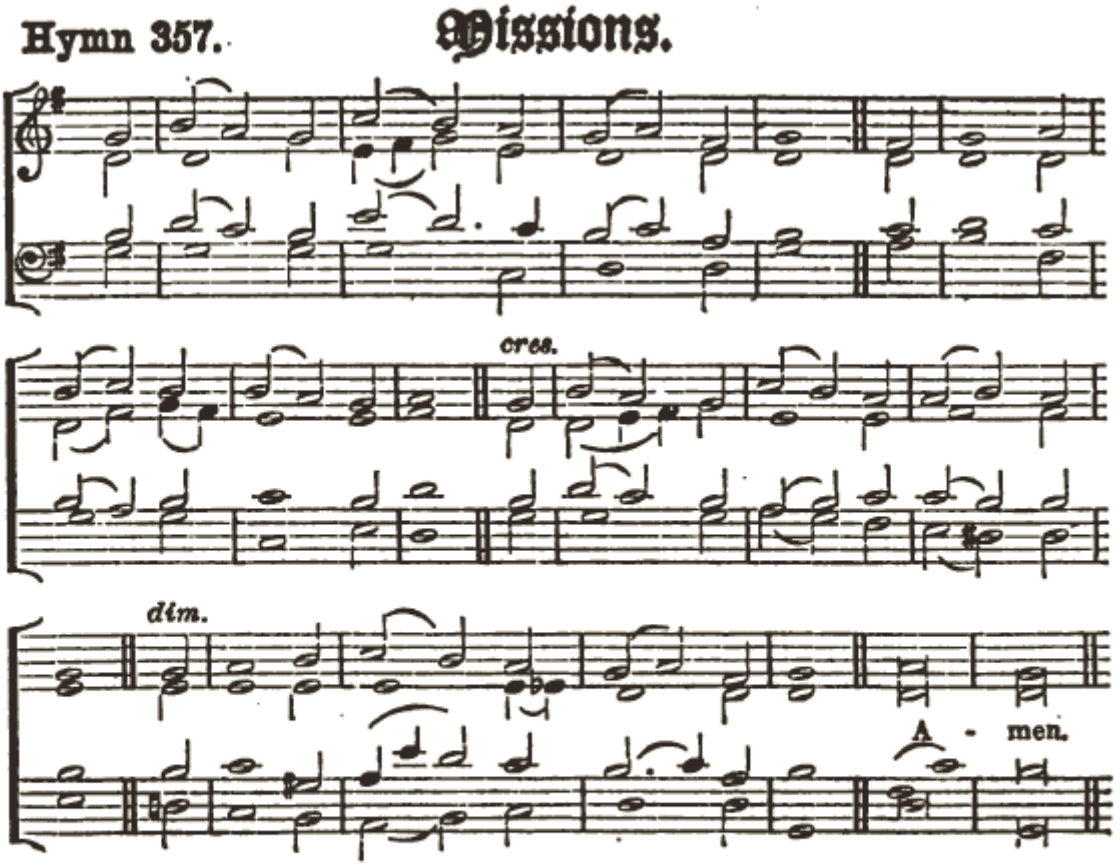
1 By S.S. Wesley

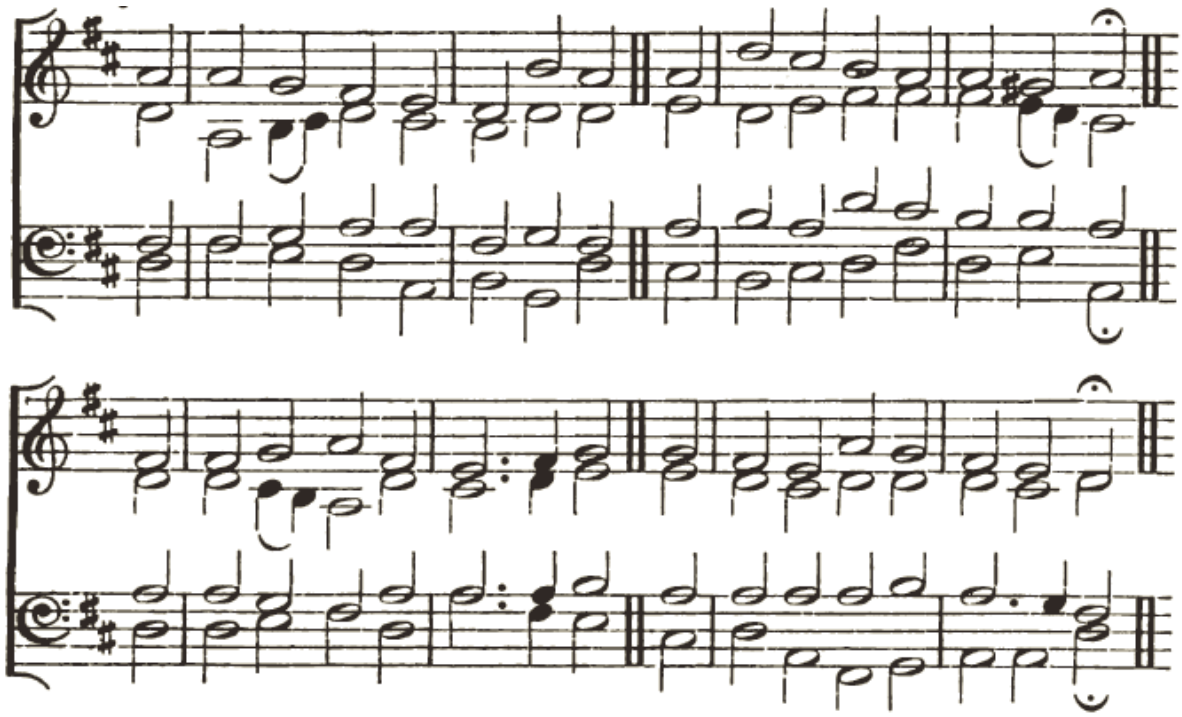
2 

3 

INTERCESSION (arr. JBD)

"Turn us, O God our Saviour."

ALMIGHTY God, Whose only Son
O'er sin and death the triumph won,
And ever lives to intercede
For souls who Thy sweet mercy need;

MELCOMBE (Samuel Webbe)



Letter from HWB to JBD 30 December 1874 (RCO)

Monkland
Dec 30 1874

My dear Dykes

I am so sorry — when I want you two to be in a particularly good mood about the copyrights! — to have to write about not taking a Tune which you wish us to have — but, my dear friend, we are not best judges of our own works always: & surely when we have so many — & glad indeed we are of them — still when we have so many of your Tunes it is not right for either you or me to urge any particular one after Stainer or Monk express an opinion against it —

I have given up one of Hurst's[1] that I did so much like, to a favourite Hymn of your's — a case in which we are parting with a very favourite old tune (you heard it here) — because of resemblances which Monk detected — and so it has been again & again.——

In this case of the "Son of God goes forth to war",[2] D^{r}. Stainer gave to me verbally an opinion against it as I happened to call the day his 1st proof reached him: but we have not accepted that decision for final, & M^{r}. Monk has been to see him again & taken your latest form. He (D^{r}. S.) writes to me this morning that he "does not like even the revised edition" &c &c ——

Now surely it is not a matter to press, and I do earnestly trust not a matter for you, dear Friend, to feel the least bit vexed about, is it? —

Do you know we can't quite make you out always. You wrote to me e.g. that you had "sacrificed" your harvest Tune[3] by putting it in a key lower for Monk's sake : & as you had done this, might you have 2 verses marked unison? Well of course neither I nor Monk ever wished you to "sacrifice" your own Tune for him, & so I said directly it must be set up again in its true key —

Now you write to Monk "I return harvest tune. I should have preferred it as I sent it &c &c But it seems this may not be" — the italics are mine: but surely my dear fellow this is hardly quite fair on us after what we did only in order that you Tune might not be "sacrificed". — I don't want to scold: indeed not: only we really do try — the more so as you are not actually with us — to please you as far as ever we can.

And so now, pray believe me that it is with much real regret — because I fear it does a little vex you — that I say that D^{r}. Stainer's opinion ought to weigh in a case like this where we have already so many Tunes kindly sent by you — The more so as the old 81st has been long quite the recognised Tune for those words: & our note as to its being sung in CM (if preferred) removes some difficulties.

If instead of a new DCM, we now give St Anne, we shall meet a new taste set by Sullivan & endorsed by the Hymnary, and I think that people ought to be satisfied.

---

1 William Hurst, 1849-1943.

2 ECCE VICTOR—see below.

3 This is probably a reference to WIR PFLÜGEN, melody by J.A.P. Schulz, *harmonised* by JBD.

So please let it be: & don't visit it on poor me by not looking amiably at my copyright letter!———

Now I must stop—

My heartiest desires for the truest happiness of you & yours in the coming year. Thank you so much for your most kind little Christmas note to me.

Believe me ever

Affectionately yours

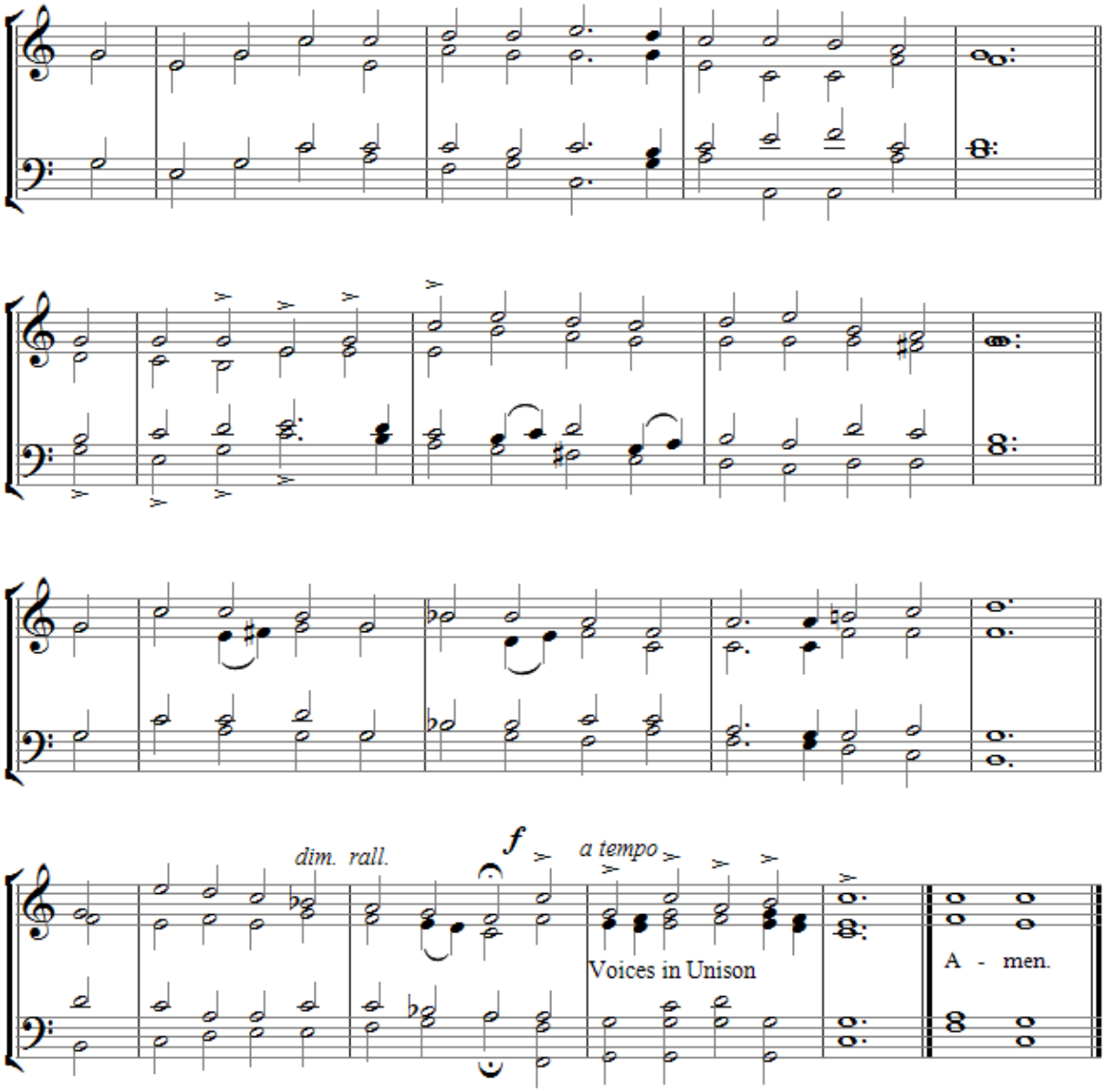
Henry. W. Baker

Dec 30. 1874

It is winterly. — Snowflakes covered the whole county for 3 weeks past: & today it is snowing fast again & so cold———

My copyright letter was done last night.

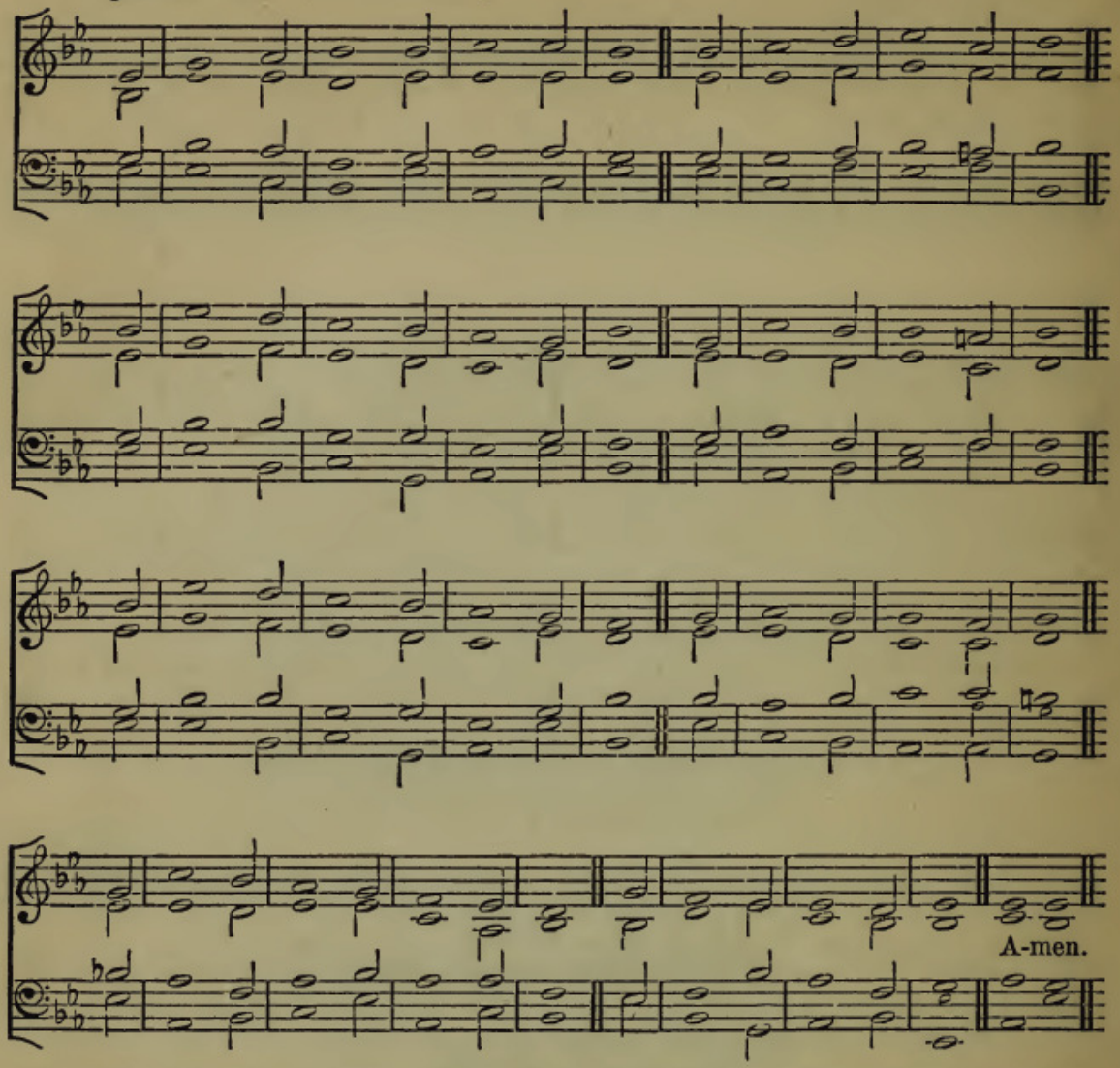
Ecce Victor (DCM)

Novello Edition of Dykes's Hymn Tunes (1902) No.179

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain;
His blood red banner streams afar:
Who follows in His train?
Who best can drink his cup of woe,
Triumphant over pain,
Who patient bears his cross below,
He follows in His train.

Reginald Heber

Feasts of Martyrs and other Holy Days.

Hymn 439. (First Tune.)



This Tune may also be sung in Common Time if preferred, by making the Semibreves, throughout, into Minims.

Letter from HWB to JBD (undated but evidently 1874, and probably July) (RCO)

Monkland

My dear Dykes

I suggested [ ][1] to that Hymn. It is a tune which does not occur at Christmastide now: and it seems desirable that children should have an easy well known tune to sing on Innocents Day. It seems to me to do well—

But I am willing to yield to your wishes, if you give us a thoroughly taking easy Tune — Mrs Charlesworth (whom I have duly honoured & consulted as you desired) quite agrees with me in not liking what I fear is your pet ending.

The Tune, with that exception, we also agree in thinking that we are inclined to like.

Would you condescend to end in an ordinary way? Will you consult Monk?[2]

With regard to your general complaint of a lack of novelty, please to remember

1st that we don't wish to make a new book: only to correct faults.

2d that the Season part of the Book is less added to than any other, and that when we come to the "General" Hymns there will be more novelty because more call for it. But really in all this first part of the Book it seems to me that there will be quite as much novelty as is desirable — indeed more than I had expected. You don't see all the novelty even yet in this 1st part.

You are not a Tory evidently![3]

I must stop.

Ever affectionately yours

Henry. W. Baker

Thursday pl?

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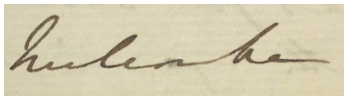
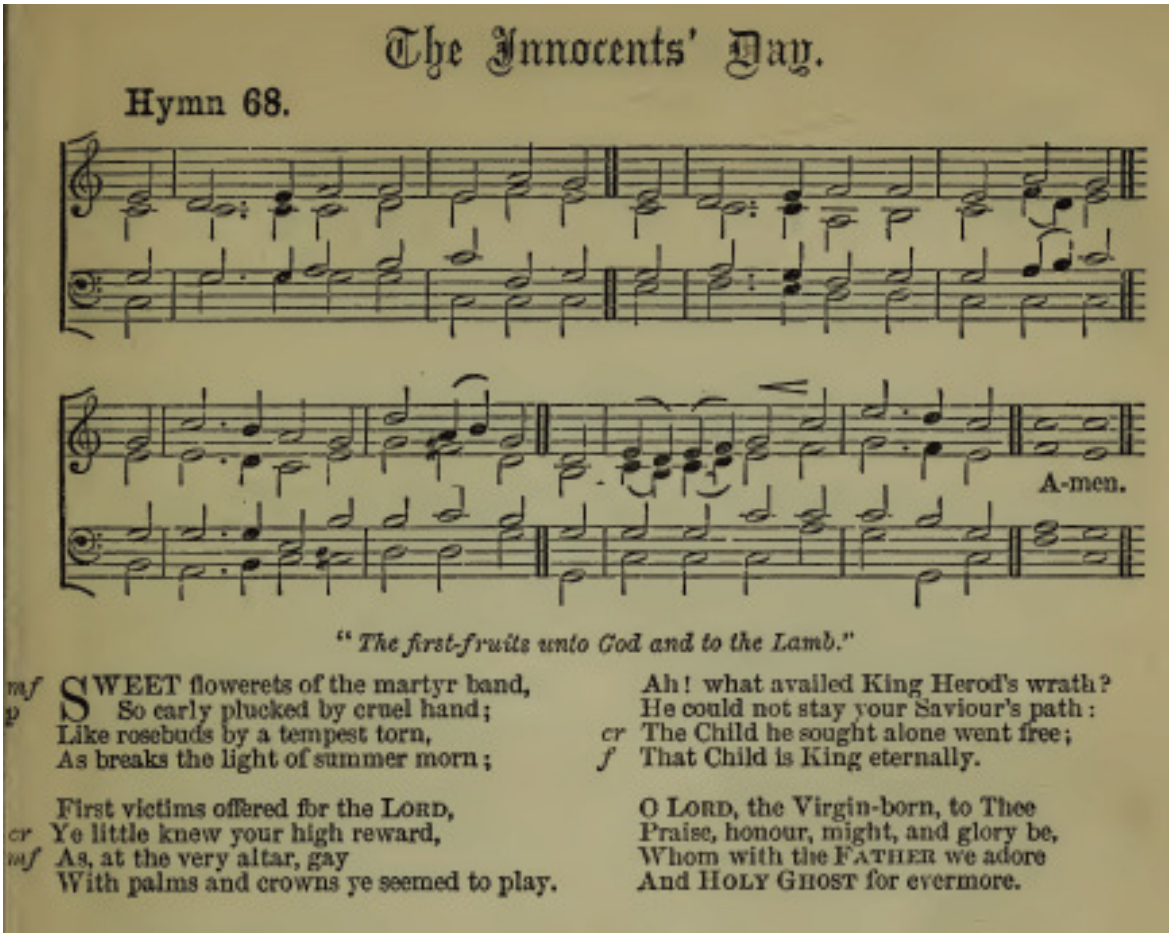
1 

2 There are only two hymns for Innocents' Day in the 1875 Edition, of which the first (*Sweet flowerets of the martyr band*) has a tune by JBD — SALVETE FLORES (see below).

3 A light-hearted comment, but not in fact accurate. In his *Eucharistic Truth and Ritual* Dykes proclaims himself to be just such.



The Innocents' Day.

Hymn 68.

A-men.

"The first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb."

mf SWEET flowerets of the martyr band,
p So early plucked by cruel hand;
Like rosebuds by a tempest torn,
As breaks the light of summer morn;

First victims offered for the LORD,
cr Ye little knew your high reward,
mf As, at the very altar, gay
With palms and crowns ye seemed to play.

Ah! what availed King Herod's wrath?
He could not stay your Saviour's path:
cr The Child he sought alone went free;
f That Child is King eternally.

O LORD, the Virgin-born, to Thee
Praise, honour, might, and glory be,
Whom with the FATHER we adore
And HOLY GHOST for evermore.

Letter from FAGO to JBD 11 February 1875 (RCO)
Tenbury. Feb^{y} 11th 1875.

My dear Dykes

M^{r} H. Wells is the same young man whom I mentioned to you. I found out his address, wrote to him, & advised him to communicate with you. I hope I did right. He was formerly a Chorister at Worcester Cathedral & I think fully up to the mark. I was within a hairsbreadth of appointing him to be my Organist here, last summer. If your write to Rev^{d} W^{m} Morton, S^{t} Asaph Cathedral, he can tell you more detail about him.

I am glad to tell you that I have now got a really good & efficient Head Master, & that the prospects at S^{t} Michael's College are fair — After all the anxieties of last year, its is indeed a comfort to feel secure again.

I wonder whether you can recommend boys to be sent here. I want to be full again — & I ought to be. I take ordinary Commoners at £120, & Clergymen's sons at £60.

But I will enclose a Prospectus in case you should have an opportunity of shewing it.

With kindest regards to M^{rs} Dykes & all your circle,

Believe me always

Affectionately your's

[END]

Letter from JBD to R R Chope 18 February 1875 (HAM)

Copy

S. Osw. Vicarage D.^{m}
Feb 18 1875

My dear Mr Chope

I am exceedingly sorry to have to trouble you on a disagreeable matter: but it cannot be helped.

Sir H.W Baker has sent me a letter f^{m} yourself in which you state that you <u>purchased</u> f.^{m} me the <u>Copyright</u> of certain tunes. S Sylvester, S. Andrew, S Bees, S. Drostane, S. Anatolius.

May I ask you to be so good as to forward me either the original or a duly certified copy of the docum^{t} in which I made over the copyright of these tunes to yourself, in order that I may learn the date of the transfer, the names & exact number of the tunes which I thus sold, & also the tunes you paid me for them.

Of course I am not referring to the 2 prize Tunes, ‘Jerusalem’ & ‘Gethsemane’ the copyright of which was duly purchased by, & duly made over to yourself according to agreement.

Hoping to hear f.^{m} you at y^{r} early convenience.

I am very truly yours

John B. Dykes

Letter from R R Chope to JBD 19 February 1875 (HAM)

Wilton House
Hereford Square
S.W.

Feb. 19. 1875

My dear Dr. Dykes,

I very much regret that you should be troubled about this 'thing' which ought not to have been done. But since Sir H Baker has referred to you, please ask him for all the correspondence:—

1. my two letters to him;

2. copies of letters, (α) yours to me asking permission for one of your own tunes for H.A.M. with acknowledgement — and he has taken five without; (β) yours to me in 1862 handing over to me entire control of tunes written for my Book[1], which you have acted upon for twelve years, except in re enlarged H.A.M. &c.

I enclose copy of my letter of this date to Sir. H. Baker that you may have all the correspondence. I have scores of letters in proof of my right. Here is an extract from one dated July 20th 1864. "I wrote to Dr. Dykes about Magdalen and St. Sylvester, as I thought he had full control over them. He wrote me on the 18th inst. saying that while he would consent to our using them, (for the Methodist connexion) as far as he was concerned, yet as he had given them to you as Editor of the Book in which they appear, I must communicate with you on the subject. Had I known this before I should have applied to you in the first instance."

Marginalia in JBD's hand: *N.B. this is the minister's own gloss on what I said — not (I feel certain) my own expression.*

My false delicacy was the cause perhaps of this mistake, which would have been avoided had I stated in my Book that such and such tunes were my Copyright, I paid for many besides those which you so kindly wrote at my request. The copyright of several were given to me.

You must have felt annoyed by the sort of spurious acknowledgement made in H.A.M. appendix "originally published in Chope's Congregational Hymn Book"!

With kind regards,

Believe me to be

very sincerely yours,

R.R. Chope

The

Rev John B. Dykes

[1] *The Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* (1858, revised edition 1862)

Letter from JBD to HWB 19 February 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Feb: 19 1875

My dear Sir Henry

Just a line to acknowledge the receipt of the Registered Letter with its enclosures; & I thank you for your own note.

I have written to Master Chope & will let you hear again when I have received his reply.

You kindly ask after my health. I fear I cannot give a very good account.

Believe me

Yours ever affectionately

John B Dykes

Letter from JBD to R R Chope 20 February 1875 (HAM)

Copy [1]

S. Osw. Vic. Dur. Feb 20 1875

Dear Mr Chope

You must allow me to say that your letter rec^{d} this morning, is no answer to mine. I must still ask you once again for a copy of the document attesting "your purchase" & my sale of the "Copyright" of the tunes I wrote for yr book.

I must utterly deny that I ever sold or thought of selling you this Copyright. You have the Copyright of the Prize tunes "Jerusalem" and "Gethsemane" and of these only.—There was one other tune, "S. Anatolius" for the use of which you paid me, at yr own request, half a guinea—especially urging me to refer all applicants for it to yourself. This I have done; although even in the case of this tune, I never sold you the Copyright.

With regard to the rest of the book, I am aware that I wrote a great many tunes for you, just as I did for M^{r}. Grey, for H.A.M., & for others: but I never sold you the Copyright of these tunes and you have no right to say that I did.

You asked me, for the protection of the book, to refer applicants for the tunes to yourself. I have generally, (not always by any means) done so, as a matter of friendly courtesy to yourself, but not of legal obligation. I did the same in the case of H.A.&M. The promise I gave you was exactly of the same character as that I gave (e.g.) to H.A.&M.—But the Proprietors of that book were so far from imagining that the Copyright of my tunes belonged to them (even though they had sent me, quite unlooked for by myself, a handsome Honorarium for my help & tunes) that it is only within the last month or two that they have requested me formally to make over to them the Copyright of such tunes as I was willing to part with.

They have now a legal right over my tunes which before they had not. Had I imagined that my courtesy to you in this matter was to be interpreted as a recognition that you had "purchased the Copyright of my tunes" of me — be assured I should never have been at the trouble to refer to yourself. And I must entirely decline to do so for the future, except this claim is repudiated.

After working hard at your book for many a month, composing, examining, revising tunes for you—harmonising & putting into shape a great number of your own tunes—you sent me in the month of Dec^{r}. 1862 the sum of £5 in consideration of postage & as a general recognition of my trouble. I accepted this little acknowledgement as it was meant: I had not been working for money but there was <u>no sort of allusion to</u> "Copyright" on either side.

It appears from the correspondence to which you refer & which was duly sent to me—that you profess to ground your claim to having made this "purchase" on a note (of which I should much like to see the original) written in June 1862 acknowledging the payment for the Prize Tunes (the Copyright of which was yours by special agreement) & also granting you a control over certain other tunes already sent. But <u>which</u>?

---

[1] This letter is marked 'Copy' and 'No. 13' and is in a hand other than JBD's

You must remember that up to this time I had had very little to do with your book. It was these two Prizes which my tunes had obtained which first brought us together. I see by my journal that I was working for you — sending up M.S.S. & proofs up to December 1862. Then what about the tunes which were sent up after June? So that I repeat I must still ask you for a copy of the Document in which I made over to you the Copyright of an indefinite number of tunes, in order that I may see the names of the tunes & the amount of the "purchase" money.

I was sorry to find that Sir H. W. Baker had omitted to mention you in his Preface. This is partly my fault: as he received the tunes from myself: &, with a thousand other things to think of, I inadvertently neglected asking him to mention the original source of the tunes in refer^{ce} to yourself till the book was on the Eve of appearing. I presume that my letter suggesting that this should be done was too late.

I would have done my best even now to have obtained true recognition of yourself & your book in the Preface—but as you would only regard it as an additional evidence that you had "purchased the Copyright" of these tunes of me — I fear I cannot take any steps in the matter.

I must apologise if I have not made my reply quite clear: but I am far from well & am writing with great difficulty. Deeply regretting that I have had to communicate in such a strain with one with whom I was for some time so pleasantly associated.

I remain

Very truly yours

John B Dykes

P.S. I think I might fairly ask why, if you felt that the Copyright was really your own, you have (except in the cases of 'Jerusalem' & 'Gethsemane') only granted 'permission' to applicants for the use of my tunes subject to my approval?

Letter from JBD to HWB 20 February 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Feb: 20. 1875

My dear Sir Henry

Enclosed I send you what I wrote to Chope with his rejoinder & my reply. I am pained beyond measure that this miserable squabble has arisen as I have neither head nor memory at present to engage in it. It w^{d} be a melancholy thing to inaugurate the new Book with litigation. So if you can get White, or any friend in London to make any sort of a compromise I sh^{d} be so glad. I must say I was rather surprised you had not mentioned his book in your preface as you had done in the former Edition.

Still his own claim is monstrous, & I ought to resist it.

I wish I could lay hands on any correspondence. My dear wife is now from home and she alone will know where to find any if any exists. But I will continue to wrack my brains to remember all that I did or said — except that I soon begin to see that he wishes to establish a claim to the copyright of my tunes & I have always tacitly resisted it. This is the first time he has openly avowed it.

I wished, — as I had taken a good deal of pains with & interest in the book, & I saw it was a great wish for him to let him have a fair start; & so, without even dreaming of giving up my own rights in my own property, to let him have a fair control over the tunes in this book — if it w^{d} be any help to him. But one sees how liable these indefinite arrangem.^{ts} are to be misunderstood.

Alas — it is only by experiences & mistakes that one learns wisdom.

I will return your "Registered Letter" tomorrow (D.V.) adding any thing further — in case anything strikes me.

I wish my head were a little clearer but it has never been right all the year.

Ever my dear Sir Henry

affectionately yours

John B. Dykes

Letter from JBD to HWB 22 February 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Durham
Feb: 22. 1875

My dear Sir Henry

I am very sorry I was prevented send^{g} this off by the early Post.

As yet I have been unable to lay my hand upon my Chope letters. I trust I have not destroyed them.

I <u>believe</u> I am right in what I said to him ab^{t} S. Anatolius: but my memory is very hazy on the subject.

I have got thoroughly bewildered on the subject of Tunes.

I have instinctively felt for some time that he has been try^{g} to take advantage of us.

All the same I wish to give everyone their due.

Yours ever affectionately

J.B.D.

Letter from R.R. Chope to JBD 24 February 1875 (HAM)

Copy

Wilton House
Hereford Square
S.W.
Feb. 24. 1875

My dear D^{r} Dykes,

I wish that I could speak of your letters as only "evasive". I have already given both you and Sir. H. Baker to understand that there is no need for me to correspond with you over this subject of the purchase by me of the copyright of "the tunes which you wrote for my book", and "over the future publication of which ×my property" you "gave me the entire control," and added thereto your promise "to refer all applications for the use of these tunes to me," (see your letter, dated Nov. 26, 1862) inasmuch as the key facts are sufficiently substantiated by several of your letters. As to how you have kept this covenant between us, your recent letters amply declare. I must now decline further correspondence with you, concluding that you do not object to the publication of the letters referred to, should it become necessary to publish them.

I remain

very sincerely yours

R.R. Chope

The Rev. D^{r} Dykes

{The underlining and the × in the letter, and the following text, were added, in pencil, in a different hand}

× "My property" — These words are not in D^{r} D^{s} letter of June /62

Letter from HWB to JBD 25 February 1875 (RCO)

Horkesley House,
Monkland,
Leominster.

Feb 25. 1875

My dear Dykes,

Your telegram is come this afternoon — It is very kindly meant of you I am sure: but if you have not grounds for legitimate complaint, we have. Against my written prohibition he printed one copyright Hymn: murdered another by taking 2 out of the 3 verses & tacking on a tail: besides lots of single verses & portions of Hymns: & refused to withdraw or acknowledge them.

We found we could do noth^{g} with him twelve years ago except suffer the injury & insult or go to law. So we suffered.

Now he complains of us! because we printed by your permission your own Tunes of which he has no sort of proof that he possesses the copyright. NO. this question is not to be settled so easily——

I do indeed most earnestly trust that it may not be a cause of worry to one who has been so kind & is so far from well as you are: but Mr Chope deserves nothing at our hands——

I have sent all correspondence to Harrison: & I shall hear what he says —

But why this emergency on Chope's part? he has never been thanked yet: I only said in the Appendix that you wrote the Tunes for his book: we can say that again no doubt, but I should have rejected the Tunes in the first instance rather than "thank" him — we have never thanked him — never meant to thank him — and that is what he now claims.

I must resist such a claim: I cannot thank him for gifts; nor ask him for gifts: till he acknowledges the shameful way in which he treated me 12 years ago —— And how insolent he is now: writing to me that I am unfairly trying to "gain the tune"!

I wrote him perhaps too sharp a letter yesterday. But I shall leave it in the hands of my colleagues now. But as to yourself, my dear Friend — do pray rest. Surely it is your plain duty. Let my Curate come & carry on the services any how rather than you become seriously & permanently ill. I have a great mind to write to M^{rs} Dykes about you.

You should do nothing for 3 months —

Ever affectionately yours

W.H. Baker

You will send me your letter from Chope & further information I suppose: we can't act on this telegram only.

Letter from JBD to HWB 26 February 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage Durh
Feb. 26. 1875

My dear Sir Henry

My telegram was meant if possible to stop litigation.

I have had such bitter experience of it that I dare not again have any thing to do with it: else I shall be losing my head [myself][1].

S. Paul tells us we had much better 'take worry' & 'suffer worry' than ever to answer 'wrath with wrath'.

To day is the day on which the week (wherein you were to make up yr mind) expires, after wh the matter was to go into lawyers' hands.

I can make noth out of him as he refuses to correspond with me — taking the injured line.

Probably his threats may be but empty threats. But suppose he issues an inhibition, stopping the Book till the copyright question is settled.

Fanny had heaps of private letters published — & gossip & tattle provided for people as of the squabbles of the promoters of Harmony!

May God avert all this! Thank you much for yr kind advice abt myself: I feel it to be wise. My dear wife is at present from home. I must get away as soon as I can. This wretched business has quite upset me again.

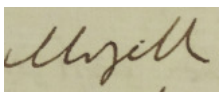
I must reserve anything more I may have to say till another time.

Ever my dear Sir Henry

most affectionately yours

John B Dykes

1



Letter from JBD to HWB 5 March 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage Durham
March 5, 1875

My dear Sir Henry

A simple line to say that I fully consent to your introducing the words which you propose into the preface.

Believe me

Yours ever affectionat[y]

John B. Dykes

Letter from JBD to HWB 6 March 1875 (HAM)

S. Oswald's Vicarage Durham
Mar. 6. 1875

My dear Sir Henry

I have been much distressed to hear that a 'Restrainer' (or whatever you call it) has been issued restraining the sale of H.A. & M, in consequence of this difficulty with Chope. Do please get the matter settled any how. I have not head to discuss the abstract merits of this question: and as I have never yet seen the letters in which he bases his claim, I can not possibly tell how far I have committed myself.

I trust no further complications will arise out of the letter of his, to which you refer, wh: I sent you. There are merely a few Editorial 'tu quoques' in it, wh: of course must be taken for what they are worth but must not stop a speedy settlement of the present dispute. Granted that he now claims too much — yet his fair claims have been unrecognized: so it may be worthwhile conceding a little for peace' sake, & to prevent further mischief.

I think, if I remember his note, he does not suggest that Lahee's leave has not been asked, for the tune to "Come let us join":[1] he merely regrets to see the tune divorced from its original words & in a new key.

I had perhaps no business to send you this letter at all: so please do not let it interfere with peaceable counsels. I feel wretched until the dispute is settled, as it is all my fault. I am certain Chope will go to law (if he has not begun already) if the affair is not settled at once: and then the miseries & uncertainties & scandal & gossip & ill blood wh accompanies law: Oh, not this —

Yours ever affectionately

John B Dykes

[1] NATIVITY

Letter from FAGO to JBD 19 April 1875 (RCO)

Tenbury — April 19th — 1875

My dear Dykes,

I only heard the day before yesterday of your illness, & projected tour abroad — & I cannot let a day pass without writing a few lines of sympathy — Whenever you have nothing better to do, it will be a gratification to me if you will write & tell me all about yourself.

If a visit here would be of use to you, I know you will not wait to be invited.

Ever most sin.ly and aff.tly yours

Frederick A G Ouseley

Letter from Philip Armes to a brother of JDB 25 January 1876 (RCO)

Durham
25. Jan: 76.

My dear Sir,

You are quite right about the Funeral Service which yr. brother wrote. We have a complete Score and set of parts of it, and very beautiful and impressive it is.

M^{rs}. Dykes, I believe, has left all the arrangements in Ernest's[1] and Mr. Hodgson Fowler's[2] hands — and I placed y^{r} letter before them, having previously tendered the services of the Cathedral Choir but it is decided to bury my dear friend y^{r}. brother at St. Oswald's Church, and to have the burial Service usually sung there performed by their <u>own</u> choir only —

So we at the Cathedral intend that all the music of next Sunday shall have reference to one who will be very greatly missed and regretted by us all —

Believe me

My dear Sir

Very truly yrs.

Philip Armes

---

1 JBD's eldest son

2 Charles Hodgson Fowler, from 1864 Clerk of the Works at Durham Cathedral

Letter from Sir Henry Williams Baker to the *Guardian* 30 January 1876

Monkland
January 30, 1876

Sir,

May I ask of your courtesy space for a very brief expression of regard for my dear friend Dr. Dykes? I would not ask it had not circumstances, quite beyond my control, kept me from being at his funeral, and perhaps more than most men I ought not even to seem unmindful of what English hymn-singing owes to him. It is a rare gift to be able to write hymn tunes of such sweetness and tenderness, and so expressive of the words, as he did; and he wrote both for Churchmen and Dissenters, and without a thought for pecuniary profit. I have often said his tunes were just like himself; he was so full of feeling, so gentle, and so unselfish.

May I add that we sang none but his tunes here to-day, at Holy Communion and both the other services, in loving recollection of him, and more than one voice faltered in his "Dies Irae," which we sang after the evening sermon, and then, after a short pause, that grand anticipation of the resurrection by Dean Alford (*Hymns Ancient and Modern,* 222), for which he wrote the most jubilant and spirit-stirring of all his tunes?

I am, Sir, yours faithfully

Henry W. Baker

Letter from A A Phillpotts to Mrs Susannah Dykes 2 February 1876 (RCO)

Horton Vicarage
South Shields
The Feast of the Purification '76

My dear M^{rs} Dykes

Though I hardly like to intrude upon your affliction, even by a letter, yet I cannot let another day pass without writing to express the very deep sympathy which I feel for you & your family in the irreparable loss you have sustained. Your late husband was a dear and valued friend of mine, & this enables me to enter more fully into your sorrow, and to wish to share it with you.

The loss is great to me personally, but how much greater is it to the Church in general, & especially to this Diocese of which he was one of the holiest & foremost Priests.

But if great to us, how much greater must it be to you whose happiness in life depended so much upon him. I fear that nothing I can say will bring you much consolation; still it is a satisfaction to me, & may perhaps be some little comfort to you, to say how much we loved him, how highly we valued him, how greatly we miss him. Your chief comfort, however, will be found, where I doubt not you have already sought it, in the thought that he is beyond the strife and harassing cares of this life, and safe in the arms of His Saviour.

His angelic life, (for it <u>was</u> an angelic life) has won for him a reward which, as yet, it cannot enter into our hearts to conceive. Be it ours, who remain, to follow his bright example, at a distance though it be, in the faith & hope of meeting him again when our time shall come.

My sister wishes me to add how greatly she feels for you in your trial, & how deeply she sympathizes with you in your loss. With our kindest regards to you & all your family.

Believe me, my dear M^{rs} Dykes

Yours very sincerely

A.A. Phillpotts

Letter from Faustina Hasse Hodges to Mrs Susannah Dykes 14 March 1876 (RCO)

2017 Spring Garden
Philadelphia
March 14 1876

My dear M^{rs} Dykes,

I have just received from D^{r} S.P. Tuckerman (who is now at Bournemouth) news of the departure of your lamented husband: I cannot refrain from this expression of my sympathy. He is no stranger to me, for many years I have loved his sweet music, and many a young child have I taught in our church to sing his grand Nicae [*sic*].

I have more sympathy with his church harmony than any other writer of the modern English school — there are such sweet chords in it; and he understands as so few do, what is the value of a grand Hymn tune that it must be one with the grand Hymn —

You do not perhaps know that I am the only daughter of one of Englands noblest Church composers[1] — said to be by D^{r} Sam$^{l.}$ Wesley father of the present D^{r} S. Sebastian. Dear Father was a contemporary with Elvey & Goss — but being unsuccessful in his candidateships for Cathedral positions he left England in 1838 and became the Patriarch of Church music in this land, but his dear dust lies in Stanton Drew churchyard[2] — & I was in England with him two years before he died in 1867.—

I am an organist & composer myself, and am publishing by my own efforts some of Father's music at Novellos. I am in the musical life so earnestly that I appreciate most heartily those who are labouring in the same field. I do want you to believe me a sincere friend dear M^{rs} Dykes — for the love of your dear husband's sweet harmony — thousands in this country have sung his Tunes — and I never heard one I was not instantly attracted to —

D^{r} Tuckerman sent me the memorial which touched my heart — I have a dear Brother whose earnest work in St Paul's Baltimore leaves him nothing for his family. He is a sweet musician too — and I have lost a still dearer Brother whose soul was all harmony. I want to know how old your youngest child is & what is the boys name. I do feel so interested for you. Are you a musician at all — Have you any good photographs of your dear husband? I have gone through so much sorrow. I had to turn to hard work to keep my mind balanced. Will you not accept me as a friend? I am English of course: but in this country people are more free to express their sympathies. With deepest regard, I am yrs

Faustina Hasse Hodges[3]

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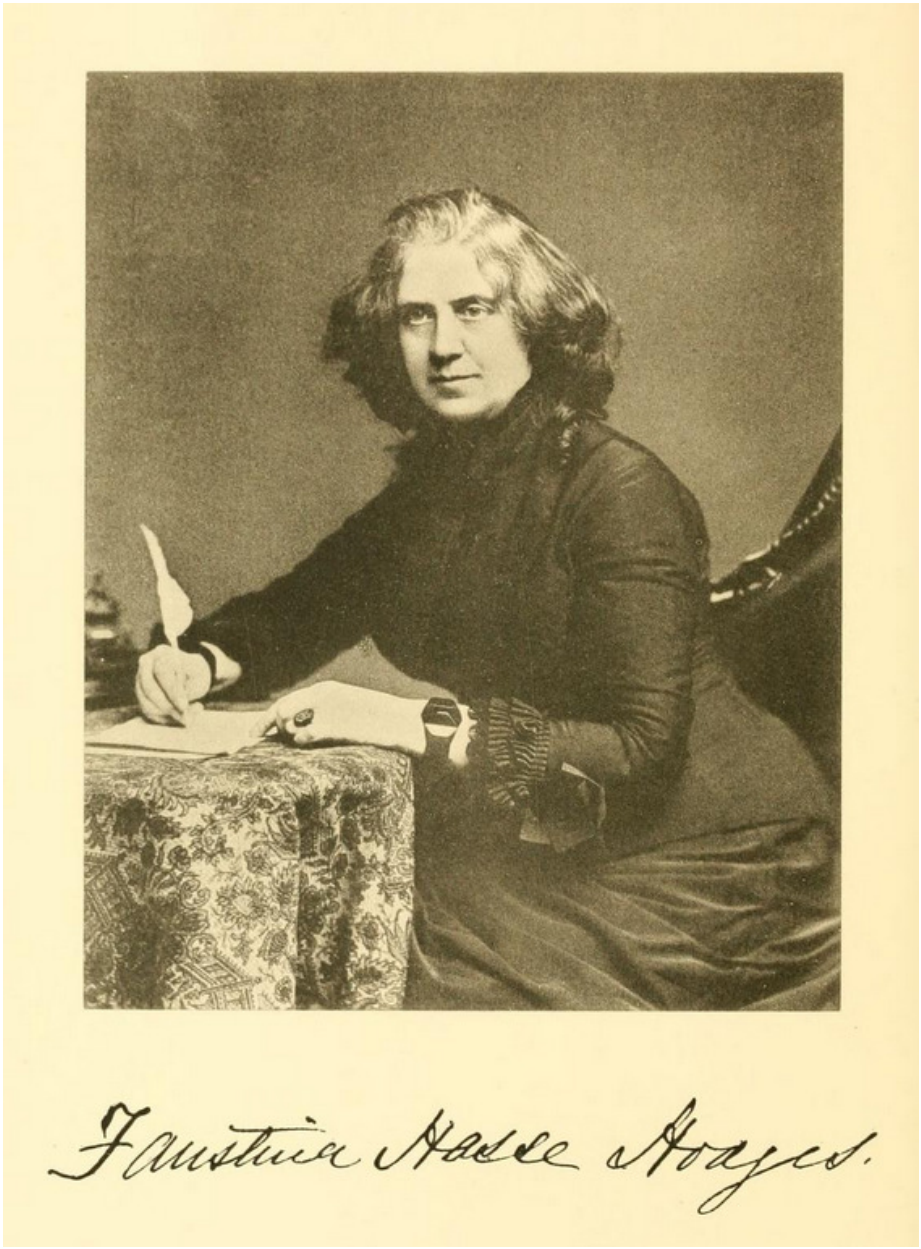
1 Edward Hodges, 1796—1867.

2 The inscription on his grave in the churchyard at St. Mary the Virgin, Stanton Drew, Somerset reads: 'Edward Hodges. Doctor in Music, of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, who died at Clifton, aged 71 years. Sometime Organist of St. James' and St. Nicholas' Churches, Bristol, and for a quarter of a century. Director of the Music of Trinity Church, New York. U. S. Departed this life on Sunday morning September 1, 1867.'

3 Born 1823 died 1895. See portrait photograph on next page. A minor composer whose works, now long discarded, include *The dreary day* and *The holy dead*. It is arguably a lapse of etiquette—certainly of High Victorian etiquette—to include within a letter of condolence so much material about the *writer,* her family and her circumstances. And the way she chooses to praise Dykes's tunes ('sweet music', 'sweet chords', 'sweet harmony') would doubtless have been seized upon by Ralph Vaughn Williams, Erik Routley, Kenneth Rose and all Dykes's other critics as making their point precisely. Her biography of



her father ([*Edward Hodges* Putnam: London 1896] which, in terms of hagiographic sycophancy, outclasses Fanny Dykes's effort on behalf of her brother) is at times unintentionally hilarious. After informing the reader that her father invented (*inter alia*) the Mowing Machine, the Screw Propeller, the Dumb Waiter, Sections in Ships, the Roller Skate, the bleaching of India Rubber, and Iron Steeples and Stairs (for which others stole the credit) she describes his 'Typhus pedal', a device for holding down any number of organ keys at one time, and the courteous response he got when he wrote to Samuel Wesley about it. One suspects that Susannah Dykes would have hesitated before passing on the family information (or photographs) requested, or before acceding to the request for a lasting friendship.

Durham University

Appendix C Part 1

to The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.: A critical re-appraisal
Ph.D. Thesis by Graham Cory

Writings in Theology, Ecclesiology & Musicology

by John Bacchus Dykes

1. Essays and Reviews in *The Ecclesiastic and Theologian*

i. The Babylon of the Apocalypse (Vols. 12 and 13, 1851-2) 1
ii. Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse (Vol.15, 1853) 56
iii. The Apocalypse: Messias and Antimessias (Vol. 15, 1853) 102
iv. The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes (Vol. 16, 1854) 118
v. Lee on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture (Vol. 16, 1854) 131
vi. Interpretation of Psalms (Vol. 17, 1855) 143
vii. The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture (Vol. 18, 1856) 167
viii. Internal Structure of the Sermon on the Mount (Vol. 18,1856) 184
ix. Rowland Williams' Rational Godliness (Vol. 18,1856) 198
x. Lord Arthur Hervey's Sermons (Vol. 18,1856) .... *printed seriatim in the original* ... 213
xi. Rowland Williams' pamphlet (Vol. 18,1856) 219
xii. Auberlen on Daniel, and the Apocalypse (Vol. 19, 1857) 226
xiii. Warnings of the Apocalypse to the Churches (Vol. 19, 1857) 262
xiv. The Voice of the Last Prophet (Vol. 20, 1858) 277
xv. Miracles of Antichrist (Vol. 20, 1858) 285
xvi. Antichrist (Vol. 20, 1858) 301
xvii. Sermons by Kingsley and Stanley (Vol. 21, 1859) 308
xviii. Galton's Lectures on the Book of Revelation (Vol. 22,1860) 321
xix. Curzon's Scriptural Key to the Revelation of S. John (Vol. 22, 1860) 340
xx. The Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the Scottish Controversy (Vol. 22, 1860) 348
xxi. Recent Annotators on the Apocalypse (Vol. 23, 1861) 358
xxii. Inspiration and Interpretation: Burgon and Wordsworth (Vol. 23, 1861) 386
xxiii. Bishop Colenso's commentary on Epistle to the Romans (Vol. 24,1862) 398

Editorial practice

Numbers in square brackets show page numbers in the original published editions.

Footnotes are from the original editions *except* when they, or sections within them, are preceded by ϕ, in which case they are editorial. Text in curly brackets is likewise editorial.

Idiosyncratic, unorthodox or inconsistent spellings are generally reproduced without recourse to *sic*, except where there might otherwise be scope for ambiguity. Manifest typesetting errors in the original edition have been corrected silently. No attempt has been made to reproduce Greek text: where it occurs in the original it is shown here merely as [Greek]. It is assumed that those for whom spellings, or the original Greek text, are important will consult the original sources.

Identifying Dykes's Papers

With many of Dykes's published papers being either anonymous or pseudonymous, one must look for clues to establish authorship. The following are examples of such clues: none is sufficient on its own but, when aggregated, they tend towards confirmation:

i. a reference to the paper in Fowler (e.g. some of his contributions to the *Ecclesiastic*);

ii. a reference, possibly oblique, in a letter or other document (e.g. Baker's reference, in a letter to Dykes, about a well-argued but otherwise unidentified piece on an unnamed subject in an unspecified edition of the *Literary Churchman*);

iii. a reference within one paper to another (e.g. 'as we said in our review in Vol…'), although the pronouns may be the editor's voice rather than the author's;

iv. a catalogue attribution (albeit one in which the authority for the attribution is not shown—e.g. Durham University Library's copy of a critique of a book by Bishop Colenso);

v. a consistent theological position (Anglo-Catholic; ritualist; Biblical literalist);

vi. the reiteration of arguments or propositions (e.g. consubstantiation; parallelism; numerical symmetry; the nature and identity of the Beast, the false prophet and Antichrist);

vii. the overall literary style of the piece and the way arguments are constructed and deployed (e.g. a liking for litotes; damnation by faint praise; a preference for the rhetorical rapier over the bludgeon; *ad rem* rather than *ad hominem* criticisms);

viii. the topic (e.g. hymnody and the music of the church from the earliest days; the Psalms; the Apocalypse; and the place of ritual in the liturgy, in respect of all of which Dykes had an impressive grasp and an obvious interest);

ix. the repeated appearance of idiosyncratic words or phrases, none of which may be unusual in itself (e.g. 'nay'; 'I must hasten on'; 'captious critic'; 'verily and indeed'; 'unutterable'; 'ever and anon'; 'so to say'; 'beside our purpose'; 'Not so.'; teachableness/teachably; *terminus a quo*); the repeated quoting of a particular author (e.g. the Jesuit Cornelius à Lapide); or frequent recourse to the original Greek.

These and other analytical tools give me the highest confidence that every paper in this Appendix was written by Dykes. They do not, of course, give me any confidence at all that I have identified everything Dykes ever wrote for publication. (Some contenders approach, but do not quite surmount, the evidential bar, such as the review entitled 'Dr Rowland Williams and the Bishop of S. David's', *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 22 p. 480, 'Kingsley's Inaugural Lecture', *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 23 p. 222, and 'Thrupp on the Song of Songs', *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 25 p. 341)

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vols. 12 and 13 (Joseph Masters: London, 1851-1852)

[227]THE BABYLON OF THE APOCALYPSE

1. *Lectures on the Apocalypse; Critical, Expository, and Practical. Delivered before the University of Cambridge; being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1848.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster; formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Public Orator of the University. Second edition. London: Rivingtons.
2. *The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation; the Original Greek Text, with MSS. Collations; An English Translation and Harmony with Notes; and an Appendix to the Hulsean Lectures for 1848, on the Apocalypse.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., &c. &c. London: Rivingtons.

High position, ecclesiastical and academical, honourably attained; practical energy and generosity of character; a blameless and consistent life; deep acquaintance with the learning of ages past, with the ability and courage to apply its stores to the present, and grapple fearlessly with the great questions of the day: these are the gifts which challenge, and justly challenge, our attention to the works and opinions put forth by any living divine of the English Church. And such claims to a respectful hearing few, we suppose, would deny to the author of the works before us. We have indeed seen in a Roman Catholic pamphlet, now acknowledged by Mr. Gordon of the Oratory, an insinuation that one of Dr Wordsworth's books is replete with falsified quotations. Such a charge ought never to have been made, or else should have been substantiated by particular examples. So far as we are able to form a judgment, no accusation is less likely to be founded in fact. The citations in Dr Wordsworth's volumes seem to us to be candidly chosen and exceedingly correct.

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For his labours in the preparation of these volumes, the abundant learning and illustration brought to bear on the mysterious book which closes the second canon, we would fain, as students of theology, tender the expression of sincere thankfulness.

The lectures have, however, enjoyed another advantage which English Clergy, as a body, are perhaps disposed to underrate. Not merely have they been addressed to the metropolitan audience of our ancient and regal abbey, and previously to the more intellectual assemblage gathered together in Great S. Mary's, Cambridge, but they have been listened to with the attention naturally and fairly gained but the fine and manly delivery of the speaker. We have heard from one of his academic auditory, of the thrill which ran through the whole assembly, when the preacher, commenting on that portion of the Revelation which describes the first resurrection, after the truly majestic description of the greatness of the baptismal gifts, and the need of holding them fast and going onward from the new birth unto the new life, gazed on those before and around him with a moment's pause, and then re-pronounced with emphatic tone the divine words of the apostolic seer: "*This* is the first resurrection."[1]

From pages which contain so much to call for praise and gratitude, so much that we cordially accept, and trust to see accepted by others, it may seem invidious to select for criticism those parts with which we utterly disagree. But any delicacy, which we might be disposed to feel upon this score, is effectually dispelled by the consideration that the subject on which we are compelled to differ from Dr Wordsworth, is that which he himself considers the most important, either in itself or under present circumstances. It is he

[1] Lect. ii. pp. 553—8.

himself who has singled out for an especial degree of attention those portions of his lectures and annotations which concern the questions: "Is Papal Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse?" Is the Pope of Rome the Son of Perdition, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist of Holy Writ? He has actually republished so much of his lectures as bears upon these points in the shape of an Essay, bearing the former of these queries for its title.

Dr Wordsworth's answers to these inquiries may be briefly stated as follows:

I. The Pope is *not the* Antichrist of Scripture. Antichrist is only mentioned *nominatim* by S. John in his epistle: and S. John therein refers, "I am persuaded," says our author, " to an *infidel power.*"

II. The Pope *is* "that man of sin, the son or perdition" (2 Thess. ii. 3); and so may be called *an* Antichrist.

III. Papal Rome *is* the Babylon of the Apocalypse.

We proceed to remark upon each of these statements. The two latter will, however, be found virtually to coalesce into one.
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I. Now the first of these assertions, *so far as it goes*, we receive with thankfulness and gladness. It does indeed tend to embarrass, to a certain extent, the course of the argument on our side, and to a far greater extent, as we must think, the argument of Dr Wordsworth himself. But still, coming from such a quarter, it is a great admission and a great gain. It shows that the ancient interpretation of the prophecies concerning Antichrist, is not only revived, but making way. The ancient interpretation we may, in a rough and general manner, sketch as follows:

That the Antichrist will come in the latter days, an infidel, blasphemous, and persecuting *person*.[1] That he will deny the FATHER and the SON.[2] That he will forbid men to worship any but himself alone, and this on the severest penalties.[3] That he may very probably appear in Rome, of which Babylon was a type.[4] That he will support, by a display of false and lying miracles,[5] his suppression of all religious worship, and persecution of the saints of the Most High, who will, of course, instinctively agree in recognising his dread presence,[6] and oppose him by the might of prayer and the majesty of martyr suffering. That he may possibly favour Judaism, perhaps spring from the idolatrous tribe of Dan, perhaps be himself a baptized apostate. That as the Man CHRIST JESUS was foretold not only by prophecy, but by types; so likewise the man Antichrist. That as the shadows of the Messiah, the centre of all holiness, fall infinitely short of the reality, even so do the forerunners of Antichrist, the prince of wickedness, fall far behind him in all evil, malice,

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1 1 S. John ii. 22. [ϕ 'Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son.']

2 S. Justin Martyr, in loc. cit. infra.

3 Rev. xiii. 8. [ϕ 'And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.'] S. Chrys. cit. inf.

4 See the authorities adduced by Dr. Wordsworth, Lect. xi.

5 Rev. xiii. 13, 14. [ϕ 'And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live.']

6 S. Matt. xxiv. 24. [ϕ 'For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.']

and hatred of God and His kingdom. And though it be easier, alas! for man to approximate to incarnate fiendishness of spirit, than to incarnate holiness, the perfect Man, who us also GOD blessed for evermore; yet as types of CHRIST have grievously sinned, so may types of Antichrist have repented and sought GOD, or at least have possessed many good qualities, calculated to win the admiration and even the love of their fellow men. Such have been in different degrees and ways Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, Simon Magus, Nero, Julian the Apostate, Arius, and in later ages Mahommed. More modern generations may perhaps have seen at least one other shadow of him "who shall come in his own name."[1]

We have not space to follow out the history of these men. A few brief extracts, with references to other sources of information, must suffice. Of the great king of Assyria, in his hour of pride, we read as follows:

"He cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves, for he[230] had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, *that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god.*" Judith iii. 8.

In another book of the Apocrypha (of the right use of which Dr Wordsworth has spoken so admirably in his Lectures on the Canon) we are informed of the atrocious conduct of Antiochus:

"He returned…and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, and *entered proudly into the sanctuary* and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof…The city was made an habitation of strangers,…her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness…For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Judæa, and the land of Jerusalem, and the cities of Juda, that they should follow the strange laws of the land; And *forbid burnt offerings and sacrifice, and drink offerings in the temple;* and that they should profane the Sabbath and festival days; *and pollute the sanctuary* and holy people…And wheresoever was found with any the book of the Testament, or if any consented to the law, the king's commandment was, *that they should be put to death*…Now the five-and-twentieth day of the month *they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of* GOD. Howbeit many in Israel chose rather to die. And there was very great wrath upon Israel." I Maccabees i.

We have been compelled, for brevity's sake, to weaken the force of this striking narrative. The reader, who is not well acquainted with it, will do well to peruse the entire chapter, paying especial attention to the circumstance that the *external* irruption of Antiochus was preceded by *internal* apostacy (verses 11—5) and comparing this with the prediction of the Apostle concerning the advent of the man of sin (2 Thess. ii. 3) to be preceded in like manner by a falling away.

Of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 18—23) it is enough to observe, that he was regarded by the early Church as the very originator and type of heresy, and a claimant of homage due to GOD alone. "*A multis,*" writes S. Irenæus, "*quasi Deus glorificatus est.* He even taught," adds the same Father, that "it was himself who appeared as the Son among the Jews, descended into Samaria as the Father and came upon the Gentiles (*in reliquis Gentibus*) as

[1] Lord Bacon (Adv. of Learning) [ϕ 'Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human', (Oxford University, 1605)] seems to follow the patristic appropriation of this text (S. John v. 43) [ϕ 'I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.] to Antichrist, whom the unconverted Jews may be expected to receive.

the Holy Ghost. That he was the most sublime virtue, that is to say, the Father who is above all things."[1]

Such was the terror inspired by the life and deeds of Nero, that men would not believe that he was really dead, or expected him to rise again. This we learn alike from the testimony of the heathen biographer, and its re-assertion by a great doctor of the Church.[2] [231] Amidst his atrocities he had been a despiser of all religions whatsoever. *Religionum usquequaque contemptor*, says Suetonius.

Arius had been the author of that dire heresy which troubled GOD'S Israel for centuries. He is said to have composed songs to spread it and increase its popularity; and his theological work, the *Thaleia*, is believed to have been composed in the style, and particularly the metre, of an impure heathen poet, Sotades of Thrace.[3] The faithful few, for such at times they were, looked with awe on the apostacy, and cried that Antichrist must be looked for, that this falling from truth was his forerunner.[4] His shadow came accordingly in Julian.

Julian, educated in Arianism, fell away to the Pagan creed of his forefathers and attempted to bring it into life again. It is a marked and singular circumstance, that he is the hero of that great Antichristian genius, the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The great success of the false prophet, Mohammed, was preceded by the rise of Nestorian and Monophysite heresies in that very region where the creed of the Crescent was implanted.

Of any later types of Antichrist for the present we forbear to speak.

But such as these, only uniting in himself their varied attributes of evil, like the king of Babylon in his early pride, like Antiochus in wrath and blasphemy, like Simon Magus in perversions of the truth, like Nero in inhuman cruelty, like Julian in ability and craft, like Arius in subtlety of speech, like Mohammed in the falsehood of his revelations, like all these, and worse in wickedness than any, was expected of old to be the awful *contra-type* of CHRIST. "The man of the apostasy," says S. Justin, "he that speaketh great things against the Most High, will dare unlawful things upon the earth against us Christians."[5] "There will be a time of affliction," writes S. Cyril, "such as never happened since there was a nation upon earth till that time. Thanks to GOD, who limits the greatness of the affliction to a few days; for the elect's sake, those days shall be cut short. Antichrist shall only reign three years and a half. Blessed surely shall he be who shall then be a martyr for CHRIST. I consider that the martyrs at that season shall be greater than all martyrs. Prepare thyself, therefore, O man! thou hearest the signs of Antichrist; nor remind only thyself of them, [232] but communicate them liberally to all around thee. For 'the mystery of iniquity doth

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1 S. Iren. Lib. I. Cap. 20. app. Hammond in 2 Thess. ii.

2 Suetonius (in vita Neronis, ad fin). Proferrent edicta, *quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri.* (Cf. Tacitus.—Histo. ii. 8 Vario super exitû ejus rumore, eoque pluribus *vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque.*)—S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, (xx. 19,) Neronem *cujus jam facta velut Antichristi videbantur.* Unde nonnulli ipsum *resurrecturum* et futurum *Antichristum* suspicantur.

3 Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog., &c. *Art.* Arius. Cf. Newman's Arians.

4 [Greek] S. Cyril. Catech. 15. Cited in "Tracts for the Times," No. 83. We are greatly indebted to this tract; but it may be well to observe that Dr. S.R. Maitland's revival of the ancient interpretation preceded it by nearly ten years.

5 [Greek] Dial. cum Tryph. § 110 (Ed. Otto) This is to be immediately before the second Advent of our Lord, according to Justin.

already work.' I fear the wars of the nations, I fear the divisions among Christians; I fear the hatred among brethren. Enough, but GOD forbid that it should be fulfilled in our day. However, let us be prepared."[1]

"He, receiving as it were," says S. Irenæus, "all the power (*virtutem*) of Satan, will come, not as a just king, nor as a lawful one, ruling in subjection to GOD; but impious, unjust, lawless, as an apostate, as a robber and a murderer, re-enacting (*recapitulans*) in himself the apostasy of Satan."[2]

"So blessed will Antichrist appear to men," writes S. Augustine, "that he will be thought by them to be GOD."[3] And throughout the writings of that Father we find applications of the prophecies of David, Daniel, S. Paul, and S. John, to the career of the Church's direst human foe. Of David, because the Psalmist's descriptions of the wicked culminate in the son of perdition, as do all his portraitures of holiness in the REDEEMER. Of the rest, in points already named, and likewise, it may be added, with reference to the power of working miracles. (S. Mark xiii. 22; Rev. xiii. 13—15.)

"He (i.e. S. Paul in 2 Thess. ii. 4) here discourses," says S. Chrysostom, "concerning Antichrist, and unfolds mighty mysteries. And he calls him the man of sin. For he will work, and induce others to work, infinite woes. But he terms him the son of perdition, because that he himself will be destroyed. ([Greek]). But who is this? Is it Satan? Not so; but a certain man imbued with all the working of Satan. And the man, he says, will be revealed; who exalteth himself above all that is called GOD or worshipped! For he will not lead men into idolatry, but will be a sort of antigod ([Greek]) and will overthrow all gods and will bid men worship himself instead of GOD."[4]

As in CHRIST," says Aquinas, (and we may surely quote one, from whom Dr Wordsworth has drawn so copiously) "as in CHRIST dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead, so in Antichrist all the fulness of iniquity; not indeed that his manhood can be taken by Satan into unity of person, as the Manhood of CHRIST by the Son of GOD; but because Satan will by suggestion infuse into him his own iniquity in a more eminent degree than into any beside (*eminentius…quàm omnibus aliis*). And in this way *all* other bad men who have gone before, are in some sense a type of Antichrist (*quasi quædam figura Antichristi*); according to that passage of the Thessalonians, 'The mystery of iniquity doth already work.'"…"But as the foreknown reprobate and unbelievers, *and even Anti*-[233]*christ*, are not deprived of the inward aid of natural reason; so likewise are they not deprived of the external aid divinely vouchsafed to the entire human race, to wit, the guardianship of angels; by which albeit they are not so assisted, that they should win eternal life: yet are they thus far aided, that they are kept back from *some* evils, by which they might injure themselves and others. For even the very demons are restrained by the good angels from doing all the injury they would. And in like manner Antichrist will not injure to the extent of his desires. (*Et similiter Antichristus non tantum nocebit, quantum vellet.*)"[5]

"It is this," writes Mr. Trench, (speaking of that instinct in man which leads him to look upwards and which *should* bring him to CHRIST), "this craving of men passionately to

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1 S. Cyr. Catech. xv. 16, 17. Cited in Tract 83, p. 48.

2 S. Iren. Lib. V. Cap. 25.

3 In Psalmum ix. 22.

4 S. Chrys. tom. iv. p. 232. Ed. Savile.

5 S. Thom. Aquin. Sum. Theol. Pars III. Qu. viii. Art. 8. Pars I. Qu. cxiii. Art. 4. ad. 3.

devote themselves *to some one, which makes an Antichrist possible, which will make him so terrible when he appears*,—men by a just judgment of GOD being permitted to dedicate all which they ought to have dedicated to CHRIST, to His opposite, to him who comes in his own name—because they refused to give it, because they refused to give themselves to Him, who came in the name of His FATHER. It will then be fearfully seen that there can be an enthusiasm of hell, no less than an enthusiasm of heaven."[1]

Dear reader (for we would fain be on good terms with you, if possible, even though you should chance to differ from us utterly), it is quite impracticable for us, within the limits of so few pages, to bestow any toil on the development and recommendation of that view of prophecy, which we believe to be founded in truth, as well to point out the difficulties and dangers of what we consider an erroneous interpretation. Our cause would doubtless gain much in every way, (for nothing more forcibly repels one view than the prepossession of the mind by another,) but its advocate, *spatiis exclusus iniquis*, must for the present forego that species of advantage. Yet suffer us for one moment to dwell upon the character of this primitive *exegesis* of Judaic and evangelic prophecy.

Assuredly it does not claim, in the detail, any thing more than high degree of probability. The meanings wrought out by it from the mine of Holy Scripture, are pious and reverent opinions, not articles of faith to be believed for necessity of salvation. But the value of *probabilities*, the uses of even uncertain warnings, where they accord with the general voice of the Christian Church, and give no encouragement to private fancies; where they are "in harmony with the main tenor of Christian teaching," where they serve to increase faith, love, devotion, and reverence for GOD'S Holy Word: this value and these uses have been pointed out with much force and beauty by the author of the volumes under re-[234]view.[2] And may we not fairly demand such admissions in favour of these primitive options? Do they not enlarge our sense of the probable meanings of many words of the Prophets, Daniel,[3] and S. Paul, and S. John, and of Him, the Prophet of Prophets, who is also our High Priest and King? Without prompting men towards the desire of being wise above what is written, do they not supply keys to the openings of many wards, do they not throw a ray of light upon very much that is going on around us, and tend to cherish that mixture of holy fear and holy hope, that "heart to love and dread," which is so peculiarly evangelic, for which from childhood we have learnt to pray? Surely these interpretations are something better than mere whims and fancies. They are winning in their aspect, large in their range, majestic in their simplicity. Borne upon the wings of all the Churches alike in the east and in the west, asserted and re-asserted, with scarcely a dissentient voice, for more than a thousand years after the birth of CHRIST,—the very differences in minor topics only strengthening the main points of agreement—they have formed the theme of meditation for saints and doctors, and fed the minds of the humblest of the flock. And now, when the world seems verging towards decay, and the lengthening shadows move and tremble; now, amidst the fall and disappearance of ancient thrones, and the feebleness in many lands "of the powers that be;" now, after a transient slumber, the thoughts of the wise of ancient days are in course of being awakened and finding a home in many a heart. And if they be, as we incline to believe, the truth of GOD, they will make their way, they will find their own. By many indeed they may be derided and contemned, by many more neglected and passed by. But thou, O Christian student, throw them not thus heedlessly

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1 Hulsean Lecture for A.D. 1846. Lect. ii.

2 Lect. iv. pp. 122, 123.

3 Consider e.g. Dan. xii. 1 compared with S. Matt. xxiv. 21, 22, and indeed with the entire chapter.

aside. Consider their source from primal fountains, and their gathered might from confluent streams. Consider above all, *how safely they may be acted upon.* For they teach no doctrine that is new and strange, they involve no previously unheard-of duties, but they do add one additional motive to the cultivation of all the higher graces of the Christian character. And motives to what is high and pure are never in this world too many. For take these interpretations at the worst. Suppose that after all we are mistaken in looking for infidel persecution, yet to fall upon our own or on a future generation. Yet how enviable, piously enviable, that frame of mind, which should be *really* prepared, in a strength not its own, to meet and face its terrors. Has the soldier, who has dressed his soul for death, misspent his labour when he finds himself unhurt after the battle? No: "dying so, death is to him advantage; or not dying, the time was blessedly lost, wherein such preparation [235] was gained."[1]

And is it ill for us, is it ill for those to follow us, if men learn to think that there may come even yet a time of tribulation, when wealth should lose its power and influence, and the prizes of this earth their charm, and souls be once more tried as in the furnace? If it come not, where is their loss; and *if it come*, how unspeakable is their gain!

"Time, as holy sages sing,
When earth and sin have waxed old
A direr progeny will bring,
The last foe of the fold.

"Of mortal seed, of woman bred,
The Antichrist, they write, will be
From a soft bosom duly fed,
Rock'd on a loving knee.

"High grace at first to Judas came,—
Who knows but he, the Man of Sin ,
In the baptismal wave and flame
May his dread course[2] begin?

"O ye who wait with hearts too light,
By font, or cradle, fear in time!
O let not all your dreams be bright,
Here in earth's wayward clime."[3]

But we may not longer stop to dwell, with our Christian poet, on the aweing, sobering tenor of these warnings on minds disposed to the idolatry of genius, rank, or power; enslaved to the excitements of the day, or yearning with parental fondness to witness the development in their children of all the precious gifts of mind. We have already occupied an undue portion of our limits, and must now turn reluctantly from the contemplation of what we hold for truth, to views which we as solemnly believe, in our heart and conscience, to be mistaken and untenable.

II. and III. Is the Babylon of the Apocalypse Papal Rome? Is the Pope the man of sin?

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1 King Henry V. Act. iv. sc. 1.

2 ϕ *recte* cause.

3 Lyra Innocentium. [ϕ Keeble, John *Lyra Innocentium: Thoughts in verse on Christian Children* (John Henry Parker: Oxford, 1846)] Judas's Infancy. [ϕ p. 68]

We have already implied that we shall treat these questions conjointly. Practically, they for the most part become one; he who answers the first in the affirmative or in the negative can hardly avoid making a similar reply to the other.

Waving for a moment the peculiar theories of Dr Wordsworth, we may observe that there is a well known interpretation of the Apocalyptic visions and the cognate prophecies contained in Daniel and the Epistles, which greatly differs from that which we have slightly sketched above. That difference is not a mere divergence, but a positive antagonism and contradiction. None, that we ever heard of, have pretended to hold at the same time the primitive [236] view and that more modern one to which we now allude. The leading points of distinction are stated with much clearness and conciseness of language in the following passage of a tract by Dr S.R. Maitland:—

> "1. As to the *nature* of the apostacy.
> "The early Church conceived of it as an actual departure, not merely from the purity of the Christian faith by professed Christians, but from Christianity itself: a falling away form all profession of Christianity into open and blasphemous and persecuting infidelity.
> "The Protestant Church understands by the apostacy the impure Christianity of a corrupt part of the Christian Church, or a hypocritical profession of Christianity by a Church pretending to be Christian.
> "2. As to the *duration* of the apostacy.
> "The early Church did not expect that the apostacy would take place until a few years before the second advent of our LORD, or that the persecution of the saints arising out of it would last more than three years and a half. Protestant writers in general maintain that the apostacy took place more than a thousand years ago, and that it has existed or will at its termination have existed one thousand two hundred and sixty years.
> "3. As to the *leader* or head of the apostacy.
> "The early Church expected an individual Antichrist, who should be an infidel blasphemer, giving honour to no GOD, suffering no religious worship to be paid except to himself, and requiring that worship from all men on pain of death.
> "Protestant writers suppose a succession of individuals, each in his turn becoming an integral part of an antichrist, composed of the whole series, and that the leader or head of the body has been and is a Christian Bishop, professing to be the Vicar of CHRIST upon earth, and to act for His glory."

We are not aware that Dr Wordsworth would object to what is here called the Protestant theory as an unfair representation of his own opinion, excepting in the matter of the one thousand two hundred and sixty years, and in the application of the title "*Protestant,*" which it will be found that he impugns, as being calculated to create a false impression.

It has, however, already been pointed out that these lectures distinguish between the antichrist and the son of perdition, between the object, that is, foretold by S. Paul in the second of Thessalonians and S. John in his first Epistle general.

The distinction appears to us to be forced, unnatural, and improbable; opposed moreover to the instinctive sense of the great majority of the students of Holy Writ and to the judgment of the most famous commentators, whether eastern or western, primitive or modern, Roman or Protestant.

Firstly, let the reader strive, if possible, to divest his mind for a moment of all theories whatsoever. Let him look at the expressions of these holy apostles placed side by side, and ask himself [237] whether the similarity would not lead him to conclude that both are speaking of the self-same enemy.

S. Paul.	*S. John.*
That man of sin, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself *above all that is called* God. ([Greek]) The mystery of iniquity doth already work ([Greek]).	He is antichrist ([Greek]) that denieth *the* FATHER. As ye have heard that antichrist ([Greek]) shall come, even now are there many antichrists ([Greek]). This is that spirit of antichrist ([Greek]) whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world ([Greek]).

In our ordinary parallel bibles the seeker is alternately referred from one set of these texts to the other as correspondent. Popular editions of the Greek Testament (e.g., Valpy's) make no doubt of the agreement. Martin Luther, in his famous commentary on the Galatians, never hints at more than *one* power which, in his judgment, fulfils these several conditions. Calvin (on 2 Thess. ii.) makes a special reference to the passage of S. John. Hammond treats them as practically one. The sainted doctors of the early centuries, Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, and many more, fearlessly commingle the phrases of these apostolic prophets, believing them to bear upon one and the same subject. *Nulli dubium est,* comments Augustine on the passage of S. Paul, *eum de antichristo ista dixisse*,[1] meaning evidently *the* antichrist. For presently he adds, "men believe it to pertain to the same mystery, of which John the Evangelist speaks in his Epistle," and proceeds to cite these texts. And whatever difficulty of explaining detail may arise from the obscurity of prophecy, there is no ambiguity, says this great father, on certain points, namely, those which we have already touched upon under our first head of inquiry.

Easy it were, we believe, to multiply authorities of very varied times and tempers. But we pause to ask, what authorities does Dr Wordsworth adduce in favour of the separation he proposes? Of course there may be many such, whom we in our ignorance have overlooked. But we are certainly unable to discover them in these [238] volumes. Twice or thrice is the assertion made, but in vain do we look for the usual mass of references. It is an "*I am persuaded*" (pp. 512, 274, 364), a mere *ipse dixi.* If this be all the authority that he can urge (and it looks suspicious, when so learned a man does not mention any other), then we must frankly avow that it does not weigh heavily in our scales. Indefatigable in research, and admirable in skilful combinations of the riches of antiquity, he will hardly, we imagine, be recognised by posterity as one endowed with the genius, the acuteness, and the instincts which are required to form the original commentator upon the inspired volume.

We have said that this distinction between the Antichrist and the man of sin, however untenable in our judgment, is yet thus far gratifying, that it does recognise the possibility of the early interpretations proving *partially* correct and sound. On the other hand, we have admitted, that it may cause us some apparent confusing and embarrassment. And for this reason. If we cite a passage form any author denying the Pope to be Antichrist, Dr Wordsworth and his disciples may rejoin, "And so do we." Yet that author assuming the justice of an identity allowed all but universally, as we conceive, both by Papist and Protestant, may have intended to deny at the same time, that the Pope was the son of perdition. Where, however, this is not expressed, the applicability of certain quotations in

[1] De Civ. Dei, XX. 19, § 2. Our previous extracts from the fathers will be found on reference to illustrate the point.

our favour may be denied. But we cannot suffer that which we believe a righteous cause to be in any way unfairly thwarted. By the context of passages, and by the general tone of the writers, we shall judge whether their voice is given for or against the opinions which we oppose, and our appeal must in such cases be made to the common sense and candour of the reader.

But if this proposed distinction between objects, respectively indicated by S. Paul and S. John in some degree confuses the array of arguments and witnesses on our side, still greater embarrassment will it ultimately, we think, be discovered to create in the camp and ranks of our opponents in this field. Gladly as ultra-Protestantism will momentarily hail as an ally, a Divine possessed of those gifts of learning and calmness in which its own spirit is most deficient, the warmth of its first welcome is not likely to prove very durable. It will be disappointed and reject him, both for what he holds and proclaims, and likewise for what he shrinks from proclaiming, and therefore also most probably from holding. Deeply as it must rejoice over his answers to the questions we are now about to discuss, it will dislike his Sacramental teaching, his declared reverence for the voice of the universal Church, his desire to accept in some modified form, the primitive teaching concerning the nature of *the* Antichrist. Its disciples may possibly oppose what he has written on the subject of the Millennium: they will certainly regard him as a defaulter upon the question of the [239] Apostacy foretold in the first Epistle of S. Paul to Timothy (iv. 1—3). If they patronise these volumes for a season, we predict that they will rapidly return to their old favourites, Keith or Newton, Bishop Hurd or Mr. Elliot. Sad to them must seem the havoc which Dr Wordsworth makes among their old authorities. Do they desire to regard Mede as a great name recorded in their favour? This latest commentator might be ranged by his side, but then he utterly rejects the theory of numbers, upon which Mede's scheme is entirely founded. Do they rest their cause upon Bishop Newton? Dr Wordsworth follows that writer in many respects, but then he drops the application of those Pauline prophecies just referred to, in which Newton coincides with Mede.

And we, who differ from both these schemes, the *numeric* one of Mede and the later one now before us, how can we be expected to attach any great importance to a list of authorities, of which the citers only accept exactly so much as may suit their purpose? If Dr Wordsworth be inclined to recognise in part the outlines drawn by primitive Fathers, why may not we step onward and accept them (as to substance) altogether. If he may take upon himself to deny that S. John in his Epistle prophesied of the Bishop of Rome, perhaps we may be found in as good company, when we deny that S. Paul so prophesied. If he must subtract from the fabric raised by Mede, both the scheme of numbers, and the theory of the apostacy, where is recklessness, if we attempt to remove the shattered remnants of the building? In fact, one half of the witnesses who Dr Wordsworth summons, will be found, if examined, to *prove too much;* and his admirers must not be surprised, if this be considered, in the eyes of many, as a close approximation to proving nothing at all.

Before however we proceed to enter more fully upon these topics, it may be well to see if there be any common ground of agreement, from which, as a starting point, we may commence afresh. Such ground does, we trust, exist between us and most of those who think otherwise on these points, and will not therefore fail us in the case of Dr Wordsworth.

Our opponents would, we presume, frankly admit thus much concerning the sense affixed by them to the son of perdition and the mystic Babylon: that it is an *opinion* and not a *doctrine*, not an article of belief, which, when once propounded, men reject at peril of their

salvation. Even Chillingworth,[1] *protestantium protestantissimus*, declares that these are open questions.

It will be indeed urged by some, that in accepting Holy Scripture as the infallible Word of God, we do of necessity accept, by implication, the propositions which they lay down. But this is a manifest *petitio principii*, the very question at issue being whether [240] these statements *are* really the teaching of the Scripture. On this point we cannot do better than borrow the clear and nervous language of Dr Wordsworth. The italics, we may observe, are of *his* choosing.

> "We would remind you…of what us too often forgotten, that a *wrong* interpretation of Scripture is *not* Scripture; and that it is *only* the *true meaning* of the *Bible* which can properly be called the Bible; and that they cannot be said to be really zealous for the perfection and sufficiency of Holy Writ, who would impose upon you their own notions of Scripture as Scripture. They do, in fact, substitute human imaginations for the Divine Word; and so they make Scripture to be very *insufficient* and imperfect; and when they speak of Scripture as sufficient and perfect, they are not contending for the sufficiency and perfectness of Scripture, but for the sufficiency and perfectness of their own wit…..Remember that Scripture *as a whole*, is your *rule of faith*, and receive nothing as the sense of any particular passage which is at variance with this rule…Remember also that Almighty GOD has not only given us Scripture as our rule, but He has also vouchsafed to us a guide for its application; namely, the Christian Church. In the words of our twentieth Article, 'the Church *hath authority in controversies of faith*.'…. By doing so [i.e. neglecting these rules]…you would be giving up the fundamental principle of Christianity. Scripture, as interpreted by the Universal Church would cease to be your rule of faith; and when this foundation is gone, the whole fabric falls.{"}—pp. 45, 46.

Earnestly desiring to bear in mind these important cautions, we may now advance to the statement of what appear to us some few of the leading difficulties in the way of receiving the interpretations maintained in these volumes. In so doing, we assume throughout the Catholicity of the English Church and the rectitude of her position: we assume too that the rejection of Dr Wordsworth's conclusions, *if they be erroneous*, can in no wise injure the reality of her solemn claims on our allegiance. Indeed, to imagine for one moment that any cause can be a gainer by the *prestige* of an admixture of error, is virtually an abandonment of that cause as hopeless and untenable.

1. It is then a real difficulty, which does not affect the primitive belief upon these subjects, but which does strike at the very root of the theory before us, that we are invited to regard the object of these prophecies not as a person, but as *a series of persons*. Personality, as is well known to all who have studied the controversy with Pantheistic tendencies, is a leading feature of the Christian religion.[2] That religion teaches its disciples

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[1] Works (Lond. 1742) p. 20, quoted by Todd on the Apocalypse. Preface, p. xxiii. note.

[2] We may perhaps be excused for referring to one of our early articles, headed "Socianism and Pantheism." *Ecclesiastic,* vol. i. p. 164.

[ϕ This footnote, with its reference to 'one of our early articles', raises briefly the possibility that the author was Dykes himself, but this appears highly unlikely. First, the date of that earlier volume—the first half of 1846—means that the article would have been written during Dykes's final months as an undergraduate when, one imagines, he would have been preoccupied with his final exams, with little leisure to research and write long articles for publication. Second, it reveals a range and depth of knowledge which would be surprising in someone so close to the beginning of his vocation as a theologian. Third, although it is possible (probable, even) that Dykes's style would have matured in the interim, this rather bombastic article (an adjective never remotely necessary in any consideration of Dykes the man) has none of the linguistic polish evident in his later works. Fourth, Fowler makes no mention of the article, either in the footnote to page 56, where he lists Dykes's contributions 'so far as {*cont.*}

to believe in a personal Triune JEHOVAH, a personal Creator, a personal Redeemer, a personal Sanctifier, in whom all abstractions, such as power, wisdom, [241] holiness, find their true and sole realization. It tells us of personal messengers encircling the throne of grace, and succouring weak and sinful humanity; and of personal enemies, the evil spirits; each band being headed by personal leaders, S. Michael and his adversary, Satan. A person, the first Adam, is the head of the earthly race, created man; a person, the Second Adam, the LORD from heaven, is the head of the spiritual race, regenerate man. The son of Perdition (S. John xvii. 12,) in the days of CHRIST'S sojourn upon earth, is an *individual person*, Judas Escariot. How natural then, how consonant to all experience and analogy is the expectation of the early Church that a personal enemy, an anti-Messias, was to be expected ere the days of trial ceased. Believing, with the great majority of Christians of our own day, that the little horn of Daniel, the man of sin of S. Paul, the Antichrist of S. John, referred to one and the same object, they considered that the very title [Greek] must signify one who did not *in any way* acknowledge CHRIST as his superior, but set himself up as an antagonist. And let any possessor of a Greek Lexicon look carefully over the list of words compounded with [Greek], how few will he find which can be even tortured into the ultra-Protestant notion of an *Anti*christ. Doubtless in Holy Scripture, a king may sometimes stand for the kingdom which he rules (as is frequent even in ordinary conversation), and a neuter or feminine noun[1] may indicate a system or community. But does there exist, from the first page of the sacred volume to the last, a single instance of *a man* being placed to represent *a continuous series of men?* We may be extremely prejudiced, but we certainly have not yet seen in the works of those whose opinions we are controverting, anything that looks to us like legitimate proof of such a usage. The common appeal to the case of the "High Priest," in the epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 7, 25) is irrelevant. The term there signifies the man who held the office at any given period (the [Greek] of classical Greek)[2] and not, as Newton would maintain, "the series and order of high priests."[3] The other examples given by the same commentator are assumptions, being self-chosen interpretations of the very passage in dispute.

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2. The object of the Divine wrath and condemnation in the Apocalypse is distinguished by the title Babylon. Now in the predictions uttered under the elder dispensation, this city is regarded as a pre-eminent type and figure of "the world," as the enemy of CHRIST: an interpretation urged with much force and clearness, though perhaps somewhat too exclusively,[4] in one of the most justly valued and most uncontroversial sermons of Dr Arnold, his two sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy. Viewed in the description of

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they can be ascertained', nor in the account of his Cambridge years. There is the further point that, if the earlier piece was indeed from Dykes's pen, there is an unexplained gap of nearly six years between his first and second articles. It is more likely, therefore, that the reference to 'our' early article is editorial.]

1 Neuter, for it may be regarded as *a thing*, as indeed may all *irrational* objects, of whatever gender: feminine, for it constantly involves the idea of maternity. Thus *e.g.* the Church, like the Mother of the LORD, is at once *et Virgo et Mater*. (2 Cor. xi. 2. Gal. iv. 26.)

2 Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 937. (Ed. Dind.)

3 The difference may be thus exemplified. When we read in Blackstone, "The king is the fountain of honour," we understand him to signify, not this or that person, but the Sovereign of England, as such, the abstract Monarch. Just so, if it may be said with reverence, does the Apostle here speak of [Greek], the abstract high priest. But if an orator predicted that a king would arise in England, who should attempt to gain the power of the purse, who would suppose him to mean, "a series and order of kings!" In neither case is the phrase correct, yet still less so with reference to the future, than to the past.

4 i.e. with too much neglect of the local and literal, and too exclusive attention to the spiritual sense.

uninspired historians, as Herodotus, or in the vivid pictures mingled with the denunciations of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, it rises before us with an earthly grandeur peculiarly its own, the representative of all that is mightiest in human power and magnificent in this world's glory, for its own permitted season, the very centre and soul of heathendom. Proud, sinful, self-reliant, acknowledging no law but its own will, it persecutes and yet receives within its walls the justly-chastened Church of GOD. But to the humbled and penitent, among the true, though weak and erring, servants of JEHOVAH is made known the coming doom of that great and guilty city. Direct and marked is the interference of the special providence of the Most High. The days are numbered. A century and a half before his coming, the conqueror is foretold; foretold too by name, a privilege accorded to none but himself, with the solitary exception of Josiah. Behold him at the gates of Babylon, the most remarkable among heather types of the true CHRIST, marching onward, while his enemies are engaged in the most idolatrous and blasphemous orgies. What shall stay his triumphant progress? The rolling waters of Euphrates? He, by whom kings reign, hath said to that deep, "be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers." The invader's plans are prospered and that river bed is laid bare and naked. Shall it be the two-leaved gates, the gates of brass with bars of iron? It is written aforetime, that no power on earth shall avail to close them; that they shall be broken in pieces and cut in sunder. Cyrus, the anointed, the avenger of GOD'S people and restorer of Jerusalem, is guided forward, not *wholly* unconscious, it would seem, of his sublime and hallowed mission.[1] The hand-writing is traced upon the wall: Babylon falls, and never more again lifts up her head to queen it over the nations of GOD'S earth.

Now, all who have ever read the mysterious book, which is at present mainly under our consideration, will agree that *in some way* [243] this scene of the fall of Babylon is to be reproduced on a yet more tremendous scale. All will agree that the future Victor must be looked for, not in the person of *an* anointed earthly king, but of *the* anointed, CHRIST, Messias, "whose kingdom shall have no end."

But concerning that which is to be destroyed, whether it be the world, acknowledging the rule of the prince of darkness, or some Pagan city, which is to prove the antitype of ancient Babylon, or some other corrupt community of men, on this point is re-opened the voice of discussion and controversy. We may herein have some dim ideas of our own upon the *positive* interpretation of the visions erst beheld in Patmos; but we forbear to enter upon them fully, at least in this stage of the argument. Our task must for a time assume for the most part a *negative* character. We are trying, in legal phrase, to show cause why we should not accept one particular explanation. "The first duty is to pull down what is unsound; and it is better to let the foundation which GOD has laid lie bare and level with the ground, until, in answer to our prayers and our labours, He shall enable us to build up something solid and substantial, than to heap up hay and stubble in order that we may seem to have done something."[2] We do not wish to imply, for a moment, our competency even to the humbler and less pleasing work of demolition. It is for us to state our reasons, with others it must rest to judge.

It is then, we aver, a perplexing effort to our mental vision, to be asked to discern the lineaments of the great city which fell before the hand of Cyrus, the portraiture of any

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[1] Cf. Isaiah xliv. 27, 28; xiv. 1—4; and especially verse 4, with Herod. I. cap. 204, where he is enumerating the motives impelling Cyrus to conquest, [Greek]. Cf. also Ezra i. 2, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. S. Cyril of Alexandria has some very interesting notices of Cyrus. *Cont. Nest.* II. and in the *Glaphyra* on Genesis. They are given in the original by Morris on the Hindus, pp. 93, 94.

[2] Dr. S.R. Maitland, Second Inquiry, p. 148.

society of men which acknowledges the true Cyrus, the one Shepherd[1] of the spiritual flock. We *can* see in Babylon the world by whose waters the humbled penitents sit down, and hang their harps upon the willows, weeping over the remembrance of Zion and for the sins which have led them away captive. We *can* see (as we may afterward attempt to explain)[2] the *city* of Rome, as the embodiment in her turn of the world's spirit, once Pagan, and perchance for a season to be Pagan again, ere her last and complete destruction. But we repeat it, (we hope in the fear of GOD, we hope with the desire to palliate nothing that is evil in any place or in any system) we *cannot* behold the utterly hardened and impenitent Babylon in any Christian Church whatever. Most striking are the contrasts between the bride and the harlot, the beast and the lamb, adduced in the pages of these lectures:[3] but to us they look like the antithesis between the purified Church (Eph. v. 27), and the unrepentant world, between CHRIST and the deceiver, the Antichrist. We recognise indeed in the Revelation the image of the Universal [244] Church, but we cannot perceive, after messages to "the seven" have been once delivered, any more reference to one single local Church, Antioch or Alexandria, Carthage or Constantinople, Rome or Canterbury. No, wherever men will admit the duties of prayer to GOD, and penitence for sin, both to be accepted through the one Mediator and atoning Justifier; wherever they will bow the knee to CHRIST, as over all supreme, the Incarnate LORD, their manifested GOD; there indeed may they commingle with their homage much that is displeasing to Him, or there may they omit much which He requires at their hands; but while there can yet be found amongst them any salt of holiness, the tears that well-nigh re-baptize the mourner with water form the once pierced side, the love that is permitted to win forgiveness of the sins "which are many," then, whatever else they may combine to form, such surely cannot be portrayed in the MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

They may indeed be individually or collectively mingled in spirit with the heathen around them and learn their works—idleness like that of Sodom, haughtiness taught by Moab, enmity in place of brotherly love copied from Edom, trust in merchandise like that of Tyre, and trust in self-wise counsel like the princes of Egypt; they may be, alas! too often willingly, captive to those sins which do at length immure men in the walls of the golden city, the glory of the Chaldees' excellency; but her sworn citizens and subjects *they are not*. They may be even dwellers in Samaria; they are *not* denizens of the mystic BABYLON.

3. It is urged however that these interpretations *must* be true, because they afford a key, which opens to us a very difficult and complicated lock; and that without any force or straining of its mechanism. Certainly a very strong presumption in their favour, provided only that it be founded in fact. Let us examine this a little: for to us this assertion does not appear to be thus securely based, indeed so much to the contrary as to involve some of our chiefest difficulties.

To take an example. In Rev. xvii. 10, we read: "And there are seven kings." We are not professing to explain what these kings are. To be told that each represented a kingdom would not surprise us, even though the powers referred to should not be strictly monarchical. But it would, we think, startle any one not prepossessed by a theory, to find them interpreted to mean *seven successive forms of government in one and the same place.* Yet such, wonderful to relate, is the popular Protestant exposition adopted by Newton,

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1 "That saith of Cyrus, he is My shepherd." Isaiah xliv. 28.

2 Cf. upon this psalm, the striking commentary of S. Austin.

3 *Vide* especially Note, p. 380, 381.

Scott, and even Mede. They suppose the kings to be the different kinds of rule in Rome, kings, consuls, dictators, &c.; till they have made up (each in their own way) the number seven. It is now some twenty years since Dr Maitland pointed out that these forms were in no sense properly successive; that the merest [245] tyro in the study of ancient Roman history, who was not defending an hypothesis, must acknowledge that the line runs somewhat in this way: kings, consuls, interrex, dictator, consuls again, decemviri, consuls, military tribunes, prodictator, triumvirate, perpetual dictator, emperor. Reader! you are gravely asked by learned and good men to believe that these multitudinous, ever shifting forms were designated by am inspired Apostle as—*seven kings!*—seven kings too, (observe) of which "five," says S. John, "are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come." Stern indeed are the exigencies of theory; to what will they not reduce even the ablest of their defenders?

Scarcely could we believe our eyes when we came upon the page in Dr Wordsworth's lectures, which repeats this truly wondrous specimen of *exegesis*. Yet there it is, at p. 272, and with an argument, we think a successful argument, to prove that the Roman power is termed a king by the prophet Daniel (vii. 17, 23). That piece of vantage ground, such as it is, we certainly do not care to struggle for.

But we are advocates for a cause, and so is our coryphæus, Dr Maitland. Is it possible to call in a bystander? This will be rather anticipating the examination of witnesses on which we propose to enter, DEO VOLENTE, in our ensuing number. Nevertheless, there is one at hand, not, we hope, a wholly unfit judge.

Mr. R.W. Evans, known as the author of the *Rectory of Valehead* and the *Bishopric of Souls*, is not a Roman Catholic nor a Rationalist. In the year of grace 1847, (i.e. one full year before the delivery of these lectures), he published a volume entitled, "The Ministry of the Body." It obtained some notice, though less probably than its importance deserved; but it doubtless influenced many of its readers, and suggested to one, Dr Goulburn, (now presiding at Rugby) the germs of his interesting Brampton Lectures. It was understood to be greatly admired by Dr Hook, who publicly and in print praised its author, (and, if we remember rightly, with special reference to this book) as a true Anglican, who kept perfectly clear of Romanising. Now herein Mr. Evans touches upon this point in the following words:

> "There is the *verbal juggle* which confounds government with form of government, and makes a distinguishing mark of the Roman empire seven constitutions, some of which are comparatively trifling, and almost momentary modifications of the original."—p. 227

Surely, to interpret thus, is not to open a lock lawfully, but to pick it, and that in an unworkmanlike and clumsy manner.

4. But Dr Wordsworth, who puts out of court the Roman Catholics as prejudiced in this matter, seems to regard all his own chief allies as quite unprejudiced. Is such indeed the case? Is [246] there no possibility of their weapons being turned against themselves? We once more turn to Mr. Evans.

> "Let us suppose a papist to take up the exposition of Rev. xvii. with the same bias against protestantism as such interpreters have shown against Popery, and to lay it down that England was the Beast. He might say, with as much plausibility as they make out most of their story, that her maritime situation and source of her power are most appropriately prefigured by his rising out of the sea. That the number seven has ever most marvellously prevailed in her government. Thus there was the Heptarchy, and since the Conquest she has had seven

> dynasties, (i.) Norman, (ii.) Plantagenet, (iii.) Lancasterian, (iv.) Yorkish, (v.) Tudor, (vi.) Stuart, (vii.) Hanoverian. That red has always been the military colour of England.[1] That the woman is the Church of England which was the creature of a woman Elizabeth, herself the daughter of a harlot, who cruelly persecuted the Catholics. Her fine dress, her cap, her blasphemies, represent her wealth, her commerce, and the heresies both of herself and her sectaries. That in her sex there is also no doubt an illusion to the remarkable peculiarity of succession to the English throne. The Plantagenets, the Tudors, the Stuarts, the Hanoverians *all* succeeding through the female line, and a fresh dynasty coming on after the same rule; that the ten horns are England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, all formerly independent kingdoms, and her possessions in the Mediterranean, in North America, in the West Indies, in Australia, in South Africa, in the East Indies. *How easily are such adaptations manufactured, and how readily can we expose our folly, when we are so audacious and unwise as to assume a prerogative of the* HOLY SPIRIT *of* GOD! And yet such shadowy pictures have been vindicated for truth with as much tenacity *as if they were points of doctrine and articles of faith;* and men have even borne contradiction in the latter more patiently than in the former. *Thus prophecy is degraded to the condition of a handmade to party*, and factious watchwords are supplied from its oracles; *this it must come into discredit, and sink into neglect.*"—*Evans, Ministry of the Body,* pp. 228—230.

These are only some specimens of our difficulties. Next month, if all be well, we trust to consider a few more, as also the nature of the evidence in favour of these theories, the kind and degree of acceptance which they have found in England, and the legitimate consequences of that acceptance, when realized and carried into practice. {*End of instalment*}

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We resume, according to promise, our investigation of this subject, left uncompleted in our last month's number, commencing with the statement of a few more of those difficulties which stand in the way of our acceptance of the modern interpretations. In so doing we shall not confine ourselves entirely to the teachings of Dr Wordsworth, taking care however not to impute to him any opinions of which he is not a supporter, however much they may have been advocated by those allies, who are for the most part in every way his inferiors. With a view to clearness we shall re-commence the numbering of our different points of objection, although some may have a close affinity with each other and with those which have been already stated.

1. It is all but universally admitted that the fourth kingdom described by the prophet Daniel in his seventh chapter is the Roman empire. It is a matter of less certainty, but still an opinion resting om very high and general patristic authority, not lightly to be set aside, that the existence of this fourth monarchy is the object referred to by S. Paul in the mysterious words addressed to the Thessalonians: "And now ye know what withholdeth ([Greek]) that he [the man of sin] might be revealed in his time."[2] Assuming, however, as an [321] entire certainty this opinion (which S. Austin treats as problematical[3]), our

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[1] It might here have been added: That the royal liveries in England are scarlet; that the royal arms are largely "trick'd out with gules;" that the same colour is most popular with our aged females among the poor in villages, and with country gentlemen in a national field-sport; and that not only is red the hue selected for the hoods of our *Doctors in Divinity*, but that their very robes, as displayed on feast-days as at Great S. Mary's, Cambridge, and the correspondent Church in the sister University, literally glow with red.

[2] 2 Thess. ii. 6, Cf. verse 7.

[3] Ego prorsus quid dixerit, me fateor ignorare. *Suspiciones tamen hominum,* quas vel audire vel legere potui, non tacebo. *Quidam putant* hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano. It is scarcely therefore correct to appeal to this passage of the *De Civitate* (xx. 19) as if it spoke decidedly, as is done by Dr. Wordsworth in his note at page 344, and again by implication at page 520.

opponents proceed to take for granted likewise that this fourth great empire is past and gone. "And surely this is universally recognised as an undoubted fact," cries a murmur of voices round us. We answer, so far is it from being such an unquestioned fact, that the most profound historical student of our time, Sir Francis Palgrave, asserts the direct contrary in his most recent publication,[1] a testimony the more unimpeachable because evidently given without the slightest reference to any theological disputes. Of course, those who believe that the son of perdition is already manifested, are ready to assume, without much examination, that the Roman empire (if that were the detaining power) has disappeared, and that the vision of the prophet Daniel is already realised. For *their* theory such a belief is necessary. To us it appears a matter of serious doubt whether, but for that theory, they would have ever concluded that there had yet arisen the fulfilment of the following description:—

> "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, *which shall be diverse from all kingdoms,* and shall devour the whole earth and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall arise *after them.*"[2]

The inspired writer of these words is remarkable, as has been justly observed, for the extreme definiteness of his predictions. Accordingly it was the ancient notion that in this passage were foretold *ten actual kings*, "who should appear at the end of the world and last but a short time, Antichrist coming upon them."[3] This is of course like other comments, a pious opinion only; but it is, to say the least in its favour, by no means improbable and not in any way inconsistent with the sacred text.

We should like to see any modern theory of which it is possible thus to speak. Have we seen ten well defined kings or kingdoms springing out of imperial Rome? Certainly, rejoin our adversaries, and they proceed to count the ten with the same ease with which Mr. Evans (in the passage cited in our last number) exhibits the *ten* parts of the empire of Great Britain. Here, for instance, is the most lately published list, that of Dr Wordsworth in these lectures,—

> "Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Hungary, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and our own England."—p. 369.

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Now we surely ought to have been informed at what period it was that the ancient Roman empire was thus in a state of division into *ten* European kingdoms, *and no more.* It would appear from Dr Wordsworth that this division lasted a long time. For these countries, he continues, "for many centuries were subject to the Papacy." Granting this last assertion for argument's sake, we naturally demand in what possible manner, which commends itself to common sense, the power of the Papacy can be said to fulfil the condition of the text that it should arise *after* the ten kings? Is such the opinion of unbiased historians, who are not writing with a view to prop the pillars of this tottering fabric? We take up the first that comes to hand, Mr. Macaulay, a witness to fact, who possesses a claim to be heard, in that, most unhappily, he appears to care but little either for Rome or her antagonists, saying in an intellectual point of view.

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1 History of Normandy and England, Vol. I.

2 Daniel vii. 23, 23.

3 Tracts for the Times, No. 83, p. 31.

> "The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday when compared with the line of the supreme Pontiffs. The line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is list in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern, when compared with the Papacy."[1]

To this however it is replied that the Papacy, properly so termed, did not commence until the title of universal Bishop was claimed by the Roman prelate, that is to say in A.D. 606, when Pope Boniface III. obtained that title from Phocas, the Emperor of the East. We are not disposed to quarrel with the distinction of times and titles, for it is one of real importance, but our old question still recurs. By what conceivable method are we to understand that this claimant of an universal episcopate arose *after the ten kingdoms* enumerated by Dr Wordsworth? If the reader will again cast his eye upon the list he will find that the second name is that of Switzerland. *Switzerland!* A republic never heard of, even by name, until the commencement of the fourteenth century; unheard of, because not in existence, before the days of William Tell and the battle of Morgarten. And Belgium too: a province of old Flanders, at one time part of the dukedom of Burgundy, at another subject to Spain, then ceded to the House of Hapsburg, at a later date acquired by France, and never, we believe, until the revolution of 1830, a clearly independent power.

But why continue the examination? Is it not evident, without further detail, that these interpreters count ten upon their fingers and then stop, because it is convenient? They mention the comparatively young republic of Switzerland, and ignore the truly ancient republic on the lagunes of the Adriatic: they tell us of the [323] united Cantons, but not of that powerful Duchy of which they once formed so prominent a part: they remind us that there has been an independent kingdom of Hungary, and leave us to discover that there was once likewise a reigning Sovereign of Bohemia; we are on no account to forget the separate government of Portugal, but must preserve a studied silence concerning the kings who governed Sicily and Naples. Of course some such plan must be adopted, or what becomes of the number *ten?*

Really we do wish to be calm and to reason soberly; and it is therefore with regret that we find the necessary process of our argument leading us to inquiry into such catalogues as this. We regret to find one who has been Public Orator in a great University, and fellow of its noblest College, and is now a Canon of our regal Abbey, lending the sanction of a justly honoured name to such extraordinary treatment of plain facts; to a scheme of geography, history and chronology which would not be for one moment tolerated among the pupil-teachers in our National Schools.[2]

2. In tracing the course of these schemes of interpretation, we read much concerning Christians in subjection to Rome and much likewise of Christians who are Protestant, taking the latter term in its largest and most popular acceptation. One might almost

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1 Essay on Ranke's History, *ad init.*

2 The writer has only just discovered *after finishing the above section*, that the same argument has met with the like treatment at the hands of Bossuet. (Variations, Lib. XIII. § 35.)—The catalogue furnished by Bossuet's opponent is as follows: 1, Germany. 2, Hungary. 3, Poland. 4, Sweden. 5, France. 6, England. 7, Spain. 8, Portugal. 9, Italy. 10, Scotland. To us this list appears neither better nor worse than that of Dr. Wordsworth. But for any supporters of these views who may be dissatisfied, we cannot doubt but that a new one can be supplied upon the shortest notice. Bossuet suggests Castile, Arragon, Leon, and Navarre; which may doubtless prove of service to any future commentator, having vacancies in his system, which need to be filled up.

imagine, from the books upon the subject, that this was what logicians call an exhaustive division of Christian communities. Now that men should reason as if such notions were correct, creates a fresh difficulty in our minds towards the reception of their teaching, and always leads us to suspect that there has been an oversight on their part or some embarrassment which they shrink from facing.

For if we turn our eyes toward Eastern climes or upon Greece or the mighty Empire of the Czar, we find a Church embracing the spiritual charge of forty, fifty, or even seventy millions of souls, according to the conflicting statements of those who desire to decrease or augment our ideas of her sway and influence. Its children are believers in the One GOD, revealed to us of Triune Personality, and hope to be saved by the merits of the One great sacrifice. The threefold order of Ministry; the Apostolical Succession; the possession of Sees, whose very names breath the spirit of antiquity, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, seats of Sainted Bishops of old, the Cyrils, Athanasius, Chrysostom; these and other notes too numerous to recount, attest the unbroken majesty [324] of her claims. These claims, we need scarcely say, have been again and again acknowledged by the great Doctors of the Church in England, and by that Church itself, from the sixth down to the nineteenth century.

But directly men are engaged upon the controversy, it becomes apparent that this vast and venerable Communion is likely to interfere with the harmony and simplicity of certain systems of theology. Its witness does not wholly make for Rome, far from it: still if cannot be entirely claimed for England, much less for continental Protestantism. In common parlance, its testimony "cuts both ways." Its children practise Invocation of Saints, and make addresses to the holy Angels. On the other hand they receive the same canon of Holy Scripture as the English Church with, we think, the single addition of the book of Baruch; they do not accept Roman teaching with respect to the intermediate state, and the claims of Rome to a Supremacy over the whole Church they utterly deny and reject: a rejection of which the latest instance may be seen in the Encyclical Epistle of its Bishops in reply to the address of Pio Nono.[1]

If then we are informed concerning any theological work that is of a strongly *pro*-Roman or extremely *contra*-Roman tendency, we hold that there is a strong probability that the very existence of the Greek Church will be practically all but ignored. Thus for instance in the farfamed "Essay on Development," a closely printed volume of 450 pages, purporting to embrace a survey of the "Holy Church throughout the world," there was devoted to this deep and interesting subject exactly the sum of *two lines and a half!*

> "Doctrine without its correspondent principle remains barren, if not lifeless, of which the Greek Church seems and instance."[2]

Voila tout! Well might a late gifted opponent, Mr. W. Archer Butler, observe in his reply: "the reader will admire the easy flexibility of the theory; the lion prostrates his strongest antagonist with a casual sweep of the tail."[3] Dr Wordsworth, however, if less unkind towards the Oriental Churches, is scarcely less brief. He observes very justly, that even the scourge of Mohammedanism was overruled to the good of the sincere and zealous dwelling in the climes where it arose. "Besides," he adds, "it united Christians together." To which last remark is appended the following note.

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1 See "Christian Remembrancer," of July last, Art. VII.

2 Newman on Development, p. 72

3 "Letters on the Development," p. 195, note.

> "This is specially true of Christians in Greece and Asia Minor, in with a spirit of religion had been kept alive by Turkish persecution."—p. 12.

Such is the only notice of those portions of the Catholic Church we have been able to discover in these Lectures!

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But the sober student of church history, who is not bound by the stern necessities of an unprimitive theory of development, or the no less rigid exigencies of an unprimitive theory of Apocalyptic interpretation, will surely pause ere he thus consign to apparent oblivion and neglect all interest concerning the fates and fortunes of so many millions of his Christian brethren. When the great family of the human race is passing in review before his mind's eye, he will ever dwell with quickened emotion upon those "who are of the household of faith;" and if the noble sentiment of the ancient dramatist, which spake of universal sympathy with all that relates to man, be more than ever full of life and meaning, yet with a still deeper feeling can he parody its words, and say, "*Christianus* sum: *Christiani* nihil à me alienum puto." Such a reader will find in the works of travellers many evidences of sloth and ignorance and superstition among the Christians of Greece and of the East; but he will remember that sloth and ignorance are not confined to Oriental churchmen; and that while freedom from superstition is a blessing ever to be cherished, there is need to be aware lest there arise in its stead a want of the reverence really due to holy things and a deficiency in our sense of the supernatural. He will trace even amidst the earthly brilliancy of such volumes as "Eothen" many testimonies to deep earnestness and single heartedness, yet existent among Eastern brotherhoods; much more will be find sources of thankfulness for evidence of Divine grace amidst those races, in pages beaming with purer rays, such as those of the "Wayfaring Sketches,"[1] and a recent *libretto* entitled "Eastern Churches."[2] Nor will he, whatever he find at present to condemn in these communions, forget their long train of glories in the past. He will not put lightly from him the remembrance, that that vast continent of Russia owes its conversion from pagan darkness to the knowledge of CHRIST, entirely to the labours of the Eastern Church, since its severance from communion with the West. He will not forget that our Spiritual Mother in this land owes much (it is a deepening conviction among antiquaries) to the missionary zeal of Asia, very probably to the Church of Ephesus: he will not forget in lands, where the light is now, alas! quenched and buried, how there once stood the seven golden candlesticks to whom the seer of Patmos uttered voices sent from the Eternal GOD and the seven spirits before His throne and from "the first begotten of the dead." No; while time lasts must those memories abide; though

"Moslem prayers profane
At morn and eve come sounding: yet unscar'd
The Holy Shades remain:"

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And if, by GOD'S mercy in CHRIST, we be forgiven and permitted to sit on the right hand on that dread day, the *Dies iræ, Dies illa*, we surely trust, among the great multitude which no man can number, to meet myriads, to whom that Oriental Church has been, under the Great Shepherd of the sheep, the appointed instrument of salvation.

And when, therefore, in any controversial writing professing to survey the fortunes of all who name the name of CHRIST, we discover an almost entire silence concerning such a

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1 Wayfaring Sketches among the Greeks, Turks, &c.

2 By the author of "The sure hope of reconciliation." London: Darlings.

church, we naturally demand some clear explanation of the circumstance. Dr Newman has since attempted to supply by a lecture the *lacuna* of his essay, to our mind with small success. But our opponents in Apocalyptic interpretation do not for the most part even attempt to supply the want of which we complain. Mr Elliott indeed gives an Eastern line of Witnesses, which somehow passes into *Aquitain!* [Aquitain for *Eastern* Witnesses!] and Bishop Newton seems to see the Greek Church, in the third part of men killed by the breath of the horses mentioned in Revelation ix. 18. Such interpretations we will leave to work their full effect upon the reader's mind.

But our difficulty which we here seek to have resolved is this. The Greek Church—is it, or is it not, a portion of the domains of the Mystic Babylon? Its children—are they, or are they not, among the followers of the man of sin? If these questions be answered in the affirmative, are we to understand that the only churches not Babylonized are those of England, Germany, and Geneva? If they be answered in the negative, where, we ask, is the even-handed justice which considers *cultus* of saints a mark of the son of perdition in Rome and does not recognize as such in Greece?

These queries Dr Wordsworth gives us no opportunity of solving. Meanwhile, until they meet with some definite reply consistent with the facts and orthodoxy, we cannot but regard the theory which constantly evades and never meets their pressure, as a building which is unsound at its very base.

3. Our next difficulty is one in which, as in the last named, we have been anticipated by Dr Maitland. Indeed so exhaustive is his catalogue of the defects of the modern scheme that it is hard, as we have discovered by experience, to mention a point of this nature upon which he has not touched. In the present instance, (although the topic itself is one which must have occurred to many, besides ourselves, previously to any acquaintance with his learned labours,) we shall freely make use of the illustration which he has thrown around it.[1]

The best proof, it is allowed on all hands, of the fulfilment of a [327] prophecy is the general conviction of the Church at large that it *has* been fulfilled.

This is generally the case, as is justly observed by Maitland, with the prophecies "relating to the first advent of our LORD, to the dispersion of the Jews, to the ruin of Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre. There is in the Christian Church a full and hearty conviction, that these prophecies have been fulfilled by certain facts respecting which Christians are generally agreed."[2] Nor is this assertion denied by Dr Wordsworth himself. (The italics are again his own):

> "It is indeed true that prophecy *is* best interpreted by its fulfilment; and *if* it *cannot* be proved to the satisfaction of candid, intelligent, and attentive inquirers, that these prophecies *have* been partly fulfilled in the Church of Rome, then assuredly there is a very strong presumption that they have *not* been so fulfilled."—p. 328.

The lecture proceeds, very naturally and fairly, to represent some parties as no "competent judges of the fulfilment of prophecy:"

> "Many persons pay little attention to the history of past ages and their own. They do not consider, and will not *discern the signs of the times.* Many are not qualified, by capacity or

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1 Second Inquiry, pp. 88—101.

2 In loc. cit. supra, p. 88.

attainments, to appreciate evidence. Many, again, are blinded by passion, prejudice, or self-interest."—Ibid.

We shall have occasion again to call attention to these very important admissions. At present we will only remark, that the fulfilment of these prophecies is probably denied by nearly three-fourths of the Christian world, and that if we were to examine the episcopal communities which are orthodox on the mysteries of the HOLY TRINITY and the Incarnation, we should find it difficult to discover *one* which was perfectly unanimous upon the point. "But you are forgetting," rejoin our adversaries. "It is a principle of justice, acknowledged every where, that the accused must not be accepted as judges in their own cause. What English court will allow the prisoner to step into the jury-box? And who therefore can take into account the opinions of Roman Catholics upon this matter?"

And is in not, we ask in turn, an equally well recognized rule, that the accuser must not mount the judicial seat? When was there an English prosecutor permitted to turn juryman? You must, in common fairness, equally reckon in or equally exclude both. Will it be for one instant maintained that "passion, prejudice, and self-interest" have been confined to one side of the controversy? And the "candid, intelligent, and attentive in-[328]quirers" ranged on one side only of the opposing forces? We hope, ere we conclude, to supply our readers with some materials for giving answer to these queries.

4. In close connexion with the preceding difficulty, and hardly to be separated from it, stands another, which we must now consider. It is this. In what way any Christian community can be, at one and the same time, both a true Church and the mystic Babylon, which is described as a very synagogue of Satan? A problem, we will grant, not wholly insoluble in the abstract; yet not, we must think, yet clearly worked out by our opponents in the particular case before us.

Ultra-Protestantism makes short work with it. Its disciples cut the know by simply denying Rome to be a Church at all: a proceeding which, by implication, acknowledges the existence of a difficulty, while it denies its pressure on the extremes of the anti-Roman camp.

But such a solution, we need scarcely say, is not calculated to satisfy the theology of Dr Wordsworth. Not merely in these Lectures, but in publications of five or six years standing, has he warned his readers against the danger and the inherent falsity of such statements.[1] Laud, Bramhall, Hooker, Casaubon, and Sanderson, are summoned to aid him in repelling them: Sanderson declaring that "they who, amongst other false principles, maintain that the Church of Rome is no true Church," are "great promoters of the Roman interest among us and betrayers of the Protestant cause;" and Casaubon (as cited by Dr Puller), that "The denying the Church of Rome the *being* of a Church, hath been a great hindrance of Reformation."[2]

This account of the matter then being laid aside as utterly un-Anglican, some other must be found by those who hold that Papal Rome is Babylon and yet a Church. For an explanation of the principles on which these tenets may be held conjointly, Dr Wordsworth refers his readers to the opening of the third book of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity." Gladly do we herein follow his recommendation, and only regret that we have not space for some lengthy quotations from that striking chapter. The following is the point which

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1 Theophilus Anglicanus, Part II. Chap. v. pp. 194, 195. (Fourth Edit.)

2 Quoted in Theoph. Angl. *ad loc. citat.*

Hooker labours to prove. It is "possible that *the self-same men* should belong to the synagogue of Satan and to the Church of JESUS CHRIST."[1] A proposition by no means unfamiliar to the student of Augustine, by whom it is affirmed, not once not twice; supported by reason and experience, and sanctioned by numberless examples (drawn from Holy Scripture) of Israelites, who were in external covenant with GOD, and yet withal disciples of false prophets and workers of the abominations of the Gentiles. [329] Such men S. Austin would agree with Hooker in assigning to the pale of the Church visible, but not of the Church mystical.

But here comes in an important principle, which is too closely interwoven with the case to be forgotten without grievous peril. The entire narrative of Scripture discloses to us that *none of the worshippers of Baal, nor the listeners to pretended prophets, were permitted so to act unconsciously*. Even the best men may partake of the errors of their age and country. Cruelty, intolerance, superstition, irreverence, a firm maintenance of groundless opinions, prolongation of existing schism, these and other sons have ere now been permitted to defile the white robes of many a one who was yet earnestly striving to serve GOD in spirit and in truth, according to the light which he possessed. But in what marvellous manner are we to understand that men, re-born in CHRIST, and eminent for personal holiness, have been, unknowingly and unwittingly, not merely infected with the errors of their age, but actually servants of the son of perdition, sworn citizens and soldiers of the mystic Babylon? that saints have been delivered into the hands of the blasphemous power of the Little Horn, and yet remained wholly ignorant of what had happened to them?

That this lot befell numbers for entire centuries, is the monstrous conclusion (for such we must term it, despite the many excellent men, who may have *theoretically* adopted it) to which we are inevitably brought by the scheme of interpretation now before us.

We do pray the thoughtful reader to look this matter steadily in the face. Throughout this article we may seem to be adducing every thing that can be alleged in favour of Rome. This is far from being our real intention, as we fully trust in time to show. We maintain, that the most perfect loyalty to this our English Church, and maintenance of her protestations against all distinctively Roman doctrine and practice, does not involve the acceptance, nay, rather necessitates the rejection, of the particular views we are opposing.

Does the study of Hooker, does the perusal of Dr Wordsworth's Lectures, does the reverent pondering over the Inspired Volume in any way militate against the proposition we have just now ventured to lay down? The maxim of Hooker embodies the principle contended for by S. Augustine against the Donatists, and asserted in the Twenty-sixth Article of our own Church. Of course we heartily accept it. It *is* a sad and fearful truth, that there are here gathered into the heavenly net those whom the angels at the last end of the world must utterly reject for evermore. But these—will they have been strivers after personal holiness, men living in the fear of God?

An illustration or two will best elucidate our meaning.

In the 11th century, there presided over the diocese of Canter-[330]bury the celebrated Archbishop Anselm. That the tone of his theology is mediæval we cannot but admit. That he was a conscious supporter of Papal authority against William II. and Henry I. is equally undeniable, despite the compliment paid to him and his See by Urban II., in terming him *alterius orbis Papa.*[2] But his character has received a tribute even from Milner; and his

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1 Bk. III. Cap. i. sec. 8.

2 At the Council of Bari, in Apulia, A.D. 1097.

most recent biographer, a German Protestant, Professor Hasse, has seen that his struggle was *essentially* one of the Church against the State. Now in the meditations of S. Anselm (a book scarcely containing a single page to which English Churchmen can object) we find the following prayer. (He is dwelling on his favourite subject, the *humanity* of his GOD and SAVIOUR):

> "Be it, that Thou mayest extend to my lips the sponge upon the reed, and apply to my taste the sharpness of the vinegar. Be it, that through Thy Scriptures Thou mayest enable my reason to taste and see, how all this flourishing world is an empty sponge, and all the lust thereof more bitter than vinegar. So, FATHER, be it wrought in me, that that golden cup of Babylon, that maketh drunken all the earth, may not seduce me with its empty splendour, nor inebriate me with its false sweetness; like those who put darkness for light and light for darkness, bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter."

Let scholars read it yet once again in the more touching form of its original dress:

> "Libet ut et spongiam per arundinem ori meo porrigas, et aceti amaritudinem gustui meo adhibeas. Libet, ut per Scripturas tuas rationi meæ conferas gustare et videre, quomodo florens hic mundus tanquam spongia inanis est, et omnis concipiscentia ejus aceto amarior. Ita, Pater, in me fiat, ut calix iste Babylonis aureus inebrians omnem terram, nec inani me splendore seducat, nec falsâ dulcedine inebriet; quemadmodum eos, qui tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras, amarum dulce, et dulce amarum arbitrantur."[1]

And then be the question put, whether it does not vibrate strangely on the ear, to be told that this saintly penitent was, after all, so *utterly* self-deceived: that while he was contending against the fiend-like wrath of William Rufus, he was only subserving the cause of a worse tyrant, "the man of sin, the son of perdition:" that while he was imploring the crucified REDEEMER to save him from the spiritual Babylon, he was all the time an unconscious inhabitant of that accursed seat of abominations.

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We declare very solemnly, that we see no choice between holding this or else giving up the theory in question.

Take one or two cases of a like kind. Dr Wordsworth seems to enforce his applications of Holy Scripture most strongly against *conscious* and *post-Reformation* adherents of the Roman system.[2] This must especially affect controversialists, who cannot urge the plea of ignorance or lack of intention. And yet can we doubt that some of our chief opponents in the profound questions which divide the Churches, have been as sincere in their convictions, as anxious for the glory of GOD and the good of souls, as the champions of our own spiritual mother in this land.

First in *their* ranks, by the admission alike of friend and foe, stands the name of Cardinal Bellarmine. Is he unworthy to be matched in these respects with his opponent, our saintly Bishop Andrews?

Mosheim had lauded "his candour and plain dealing." Bishop Marsh in his "Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome," bestowed on him precisely the same praise; and even one so alien from Bellarmine's views as the late excellent Mr. Bickersteth has employed concerning him (in his book on Popery) the most charitable and hopeful

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[1] S. Anselmi Meditationes, Meditatio ix.; S. Ans. Op. P. 220 E. (Ed. Gerberon, *S. Maur.*) pp. 124, 125 (Ed. Buse). This last edition is a recent one (published at Cologne) of the Meditations only. It may be obtained through our foreign booksellers, for the sum of two shillings. Readers of children's books will find some very pleasing notices of Anselm in a story called *The Birthday.* (Masters.)

[2] Pp. 300, 301.

language, with reference to his "pious practical works" and his ultimate trust in CHRIST alone. Hard it must prove to be called upon to consider such an one, as a life-long labourer on behalf of a blaspheming ruler, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called GOD or worshipped."

Turn we to their greatest *practical* controversialist, the man who more than any other arrested the tide of continental Protestantism, the world-famed founder of the society which boasts "to bear no human name." The following has been written concerning him by the most eminent of our living *non-conformist literati:*

> "It was a principle with him—and who must not approve it?—on every arduous occasion to exert his natural ability of mind and body with all possible energy, as if no divine aid or guidance were to be looked for; and then, having done so, and while thus employed, to seek that aid and guidance with a simple fervour, and an absolute reliance, as if human faculties of intelligence and power were wholly inapplicable to the work in hand. Fervent he was—fervently devout; and our Protestant notions would lead us into a very perilous kind of uncharitableness, if they forbade our thinking of Ignatius Loyola as *an eminently good and Christian man."—Isaac Taylor. Loyola and Jesuitism,* Pp. 145, 182

Are the characters and teachings of the chief continental reformers so wholly unexceptionable, that members of our Church must regard *them* with entire approval and admiration, and look upon this man who resisted them as a servant of the *man of sin?*[332] The interpretations, now being examined, seem to enforce on us, if not the first, at least the second of these two conclusions.

We proceed to give an account from the pen of another decided Protestant, of the last moments of a friend and follower of Loyola, who became one of the members of his order; that order to which (in company with Dominicans and Franciscans) Dr Wordsworth applies some Apocalyptic prophecies of peculiar awfulness. The person referred to is the great Eastern missionary Xavier.

> "But his earthly toils and projects were now to cease for ever. The angel of death appeared with a summons, for which, since death first entered our world, no man was ever more triumphantly prepared. It found him on board the vessel on the point of departure for Siam. At his own request he was removed to the shore, that he might meet his end with greater composure. Stretched on the naked beach, with the cold blasts of a Chinese winter aggravating his pains, he contended alone with the agonies of the fever which wasted his vital power. It was an agony and a solitude for which the happiest of the sons of men might well have exchanged the dearest society and the purest joys of life. It was an agony in which his still uplifted crucifix reminded him of a far more awful woe endured for his deliverance. It was a solitude thronged by blessed ministers of peace and consolation, visible in all their bright and lovely aspects to the now unclouded eye of faith; and audible to the dying martyr through the yielding bars of his mortal prison house, in strains of exulting joy till then unheard and unimagined. Tears burst from his fading eyes, tears of an emotion too big for utterance. In the cold collapse of death his features were for a few brief moments irradiated as with the first beams of approaching glory. He raised himself on his crucifix; and exclaiming, *In te, Domine, speravi non confundar in eternum!* he bowed his head and died."—*Sir J. Stephen's Essays,* vol. i. pp. 237, 8.

Well indeed may the same writer call S. Francis Xavier "the canonised saint, not of Rome only, but of universal Christendom."

Now, according to the interpretation of these Lectures (p. 279), the Papacy, acting by the preaching orders, is personified in the *second* Beast of Revelation xiii. (11—18). Moreover, all wilful and conscious adherents of the Papal power are worshippers of the former Beast (Rev. xiii. 1—8). To such Dr Wordsworth does not hesitate to apply by word of mouth and again in full print (p. 296) the following terrific denunciation:—"*If any man*

worship the Beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of GOD, *which is poured out without mixture into the cup of His indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb.*"—(Rev. xiv. 9, 10).

Without doubt his theory demands this application and must fall, unless it can be made. But how many of those who profess to accept the theory, are in reality prepared to make it? How [333] many, remembering what words are, and where they must be accounted for, (S. Matt. xii. 36, 37), are prepared to maintain, in the silence of their closets before Him who seeth in secret, or in the open before GOD, and men, and angels, that they do in their inmost conscience believe this prophecy to relate to that great multitude of their fellow creatures who are in communion with the Church of Rome? Let each ask of his own circle—*How many?*

There are some who may feel inclined to speak in this wise. "If I profess such a belief, I am not thinking of men like Anselm, Francis Xavier, or Bellarmine. No. I can respect their memory and that of many such besides. I have studied my Thomas à Kempis for years; some translations from Fenelon are my delight; I am fond of the sermons of the great Christian orators of France; I can even read with pleasure, and I trust with profit, such books as Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat* and many parts of Avrillon. If you hear me apply the Apocalypse to Papal Rome, you may be sure that I am not thinking of these, but of men like Cæsar Borgia or the Cardinal Dubois."

Remarks of this kind (and they are not uncommon) may speak well for the kindliness of those who utter them, but sure as pieces of reasoning they are the arguments of children and not of men. What should *we* say to a Roman Catholic, who denounced us as a body of unhallowed heretics, and when met by instances of saintliness, like those of a Wilson or a Ken, replied that he did not refer to men of such a stamp, but was alluding to an Archdeacon Blackburne or a Bishop Hoadly?

5. Last in our present list of *general* difficulties must come a question, which ought not to be lightly pondered by any who even *profess* to reflect on these mysterious subjects. How do they reconcile their interpretation of these prophecies with another weighty prophecy uttered by Him, by whose Spirit all true prophets spake, that prophecy, which was given in the form of a promise, that He who sent forth His Apostles and their successors would be with them "all the days ([Greek]) even unto the end of the world?"

That heresies should arise and corruptions abound, that few Churches should be exempt from special evils, even as few Christians from special besetting sins, we learn not only from the holy Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles, but most strikingly also from the opening chapters of the marvellous book now mainly under consideration. Of all the Apocalyptic Churches Smyrna and Philadelphia are alone found blameless; two only out of seven, and this while an Apostle was yet living!

But far different is the image presented to us by the modern scheme of prophetic interpretation. We are called upon to believe not only in the *corruption* of Churches, but in their almost entire abandonment of those ends, for which they were instituted by their Divine Founder. We are to believe that a community of Chris-[334]tians, "whose faith was spoken of throughout the world, whose obedience came abroad unto all men," not merely lost its first love, but became very early in the seventh century the Mystic Babylon, We are to believe that, even now, one half of the Church of CHRIST (especially in Europe and South America) is under the dominion of an Antichrist, and that this dominion has lasted, despite our LORD'S gracious promises, for more than twelve centuries! Moreover, that this Babylonian rule has at one time been more complete and comprehensive than at present,

embracing, before the separation of the East, the Holy Church *per orbem terrarum*, with the exception of a few obscure sects, who are assumed to have kept the Gospel intact and pure. Of these sects we will only say at present that the attempts to defend them from the charges of Manichæan or Donatistic heresy are daily waxing feebler, and in a fair way to be resigned as hopeless by every reasonable investigator of history.[1] Disguise it as men may, these theories demand a virtual acceptance of the belief, that at one time there has been an APOSTACY on the part of Christendom throughout its length and breadth. Possibly some of our readers can follow Mede in practically believing this, without any consciousness of violation to the sacredness of their faith. Yet let members of the English Church, before they commit themselves to a position involving such tremendous consequences, ponder well and reverently the following words of their greatest Doctor, when engaged upon this very question:—

> "Mirum mihi quidem hoc vel primâ facie videtur. An unquam de Apostasiâ Ecclesiæ Apostoli loquuti sunt? An de eâ Sanctum Spiritum ita locutum putabant, *contra quam* nuperrimè Christus ipse dixerat *ne portas quidem inferni unquam prævalituras?* An de eâ S. Paulus, hoc præsertim loco, intelligi potest, qui priori capite, ipsam appellat, [Greek][2]—Pearson, Concio IV. (in 1 Tim. iv. 1. Tom. II. p. 44. Ed. Churton.)

Forasmuch, then, as these interpretations seem to us to require canons of criticism, which are not applied to any other portion of holy Scripture; forasmuch as they set aside the pious, edifying, and Catholic views of ancient Christendom; forasmuch as they [335] make into the type of a Church an image ever understood of old to represent the Church's enemy, the world, and the chief embodiments of the world's spirit; forasmuch as they involve the most forced complications of historic facts, which on kindred principles of arrangement may be easily retorted on the accusers; forasmuch as they assume, for certain, positions open to exceeding doubt; forasmuch as they do all but ignore the acts and very existence of the oriental Churches; forasmuch as they suppose that prophecies were fulfilled before the very eyes of holy men, who were yet permitted by a GOD of Mercy to remain ignorant that they had sold themselves to the worship of His blasphemous foe, the BEAST; forasmuch as they invite men to regard the sins (and little but the sins) of Rome, and to pass almost in silence over those of all sectaries and Protestants in our own or other lands; forasmuch as they coolly refer to millions of our fellow Christians, and to them, *en masse*, maledictions not to be thought on without grief and trembling; forasmuch as they hold up to the gaze of a scornful and unbelieving world the Bride of CHRIST as in time past as spiritual harlot; for these, and countless reasons more, we proclaim within that humble sphere where our feeble voice may possibly be heard and listened to, that we do utterly refuse and abjure these modern theories; that for the sake of truth and love and of GOD'S Church everywhere on earth, but most especially for the sake of this His Church in

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[1] Hallam is *most decided* on this point as respects the Albigenses. (Middle Ages, Chap. IX., Part II.) "I have been," he says, "the more disposed to state explicitly the real Manicheism of the Albigenses; especially as Protestant writers, considering all the enemies of Rome as their friends, have been apt to place the opinions of these sectaries *in a very false light.*"—Cd. Palgrave's *Merchant and Friar, versus fin.* But what candid mind ever supposed that such a man as S. Bernard would wilfully lie about matters which he must have known? See his Sermons on the Canticles LV. and LVI.

[2] "To me in truth this notion appears even *primâ facie* marvellous. Did the Apostles ever speak of an apostacy of the Church? Did they think that the HOLY SPIRIT had thus spoken concerning her, *against whom* (CHRIST Himself had just said) *the gates of hell should not prevail?* Can S. Paul, especially in this passage, be understood concerning her, he who in the preceding chapter calls her *the pillar and ground of the truth?"*

England, we do pray that these notions may fade away, and perish as though they had never been.

We have thought it better to lay down our leading *principles* of objection than to attempt the wearisome task of following the steps of any writer through a series of arguments in detail. It is not that we have any craven fear of examining the separate topics even of one so gifted as Dr Wordsworth himself, (while he is defending such a cause,) but that the entire subject hangs so much upon certain general views, that particular points may for the most part be safely left for acceptance or rejection, accordingly as those first principles are acknowledged or denied. A single instance will serve our present purpose. The union of the dragon and the lamb (Rev. xiii. 11) convinces Dr Wordsworth that the power referred to *must be* a corrupted Christianity and not a form of Infidelity. To us, who are content to follow the ancient teachers, this condition appears amply satisfied by their expectation of Antichrist as one who should prove, not merely a tyrant ruling by force of arms, but likewise a subtle deceiver, displaying those miraculous gifts which are usually the prerogative of holiness, and therefore, above all, of the true CHRIST. Thus, e.g., S. Anselm, repeating probably primitive traditions, not only remarks (with Haymo and Aquinas) that the Antichrist will delude men by his preachers, but adds that he himself will have a perfect knowledge of holy Scrip-[336]ture.[1] And if this last idea strike the reader, at first sight, as something strange and startling, let it be remembered, that this great beguiler has been ever looked for as the nearest approximation which can possibly be made by man of the power and craft of Satan himself, and that the knowledge of Scripture possessed by the Evil One is guaranteed to us by the Inspired Records of the wondrous Temptation in the Wilderness.

Again, we may observe that whole pages of these Lectures consist of antithetical statements, to the effect that the claims of the Roman Church to supremacy, &c., are unrecognised in the Apocalypse, whence it seems half implied that she is Babylon. Of course, as English Churchmen, we have little to do with such hints as these. To Roman Catholics we leave it to answer the first of the two assertions. *We* do not argue against it: *è contrario*, we hold it to be true; but that the second assertion is *in any way* a consequence of the first we are quite unable to perceive.

There are some other points in these Lectures on which we are *perforce* compelled to touch. Could they be left unnoticed with safety it should be done, for it is an invidious labour and may be thought to savour of personality. But although in this, and in other portions of our *critique*, we may seem obnoxious to such a charge, our conduct assuredly does not spring from any personal feeling whatsoever. There are, indeed, arguments and assertions in these Lectures, which we cannot and will not treat with respect, be they employed by whom they may. But we do not forget the Horatian *aliquando bonus dormitat*, and trust that the tone of our strictures may not prove inconsistent with the sincerest respect for the character and abilities of one, in every way, so far above us. Of inaccuracies we say little, for these *will* happen everywhere. Two or three shall be committed to a foot note, not without hope that they may in due time be corrected.[2] But

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[1] Notitiet omnem Scripturam.—(Elucidarii, Lib. III.)

[2] An inaccurate reference to S. Augustine has already been noticed. It is much more strange to meet with the assertion, (twice made) that the tribe of Ephraim is omitted in the sealing of the 144,000. (Rev. vii.) We had never imagined that there was a doubt but that it was indicated by the tribe of Joseph in verse 8. If not, what *is* meant by that tribe? Again, then "*the Twelve*" are mentioned (p. 262 and note) it is apparently forgotten that their marred organization was ever again perfected. We have heard that, in a recent sermon preached in the Abbey, Dr. W. actually spoke of Judas as one of the Twelve Foundations

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there are four topics of larger range which we cannot think it right to pass by without some comment: two of which however must be deferred till the next month.

(*a*) Firstly, if we were to judge Dr Wordsworth by these Lectures (which we should be sorry to do, for we deem him capable of things in all respects far superior) we should imagine him hardly [337] able to realise any mysteriousness in evil, excepting in the form of a corrupt Church. Such sentiments at least appear to pervade the entire framework of the volume.

Now we must request any, who may feel inclined to adopt this cast of thought, to reflect carefully upon a few leading dogmas; which we have not space to develop in these pages, although intrinsically they would repay the toil of a lengthened consideration. Such, for example, are these following.

That we know positively nothing of the origin of evil. That we are scarcely able to conceive the mode by which an archangel and angels could, in the immediate Presence, tempt themselves and fall. That these fallen angels compassed, even in Paradise, the overthrow of man's innocence. That they are ever about our path, and perhaps, as holy men have believed, learn much of our inmost thoughts by observation of the workings of the countenance or even by some subtler means.[1] That they can suggest to our minds ideas of despair, presumption, and numberless other forms of sin, and this even in our very dreams. That their leader tried, by the allurements if appetite, ambition, and spiritual pride, to seduce the sinless humanity of His Maker, the Incarnate GOD. That, although utterly defeated, he seams to have ventured upon a second and last approach (S. John xiv. 30). That he most probably overreached himself in bringing about the death of the Just One, who thereby despoiled him of his proprietary right[2] over man's life. (Heb. ii. 14, 15). That original sin is transmitted even to the children of regenerate Christians. That souls are permitted to be called into existence (and, therefore, to an eternity of weal or woe) at the dictate of earthly passion; even when that passion is unsanctified by GOD'S hallowed ordinance of marriage.

He who has well meditated these, and the thousand other kindred themes connected with them, will readily arrive at the conclusion, that as for the salvation of men there has been wrought a "mystery of godliness," even so (without necessary reference to corrupted Churches) may we justly speak of a "mystery of iniquity."

Now if any reader has firmly grasped this conviction, as an abiding and indwelling thought, we may venture to predict that a large portion of the substratum, upon which these lectures are reared, will sink down and crumble away under its influence.

(*b*) In the second place, we must endeavour to call attention to the apparent non-recognition, on the part of the lecturer, of the depth, power, subtlety, and extension of the infidelity of the nineteenth century. We say emphatically of the nineteenth century, [338] because the age has its own new inventions, as in the world of science, so likewise in that

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of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 14); and idea admirably adapted to suit his theories, but utterly irreconcilable with the plain narrative of Holy Writ, in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. [ϕ Dykes subsequently wrote a sermon on the subject of Judas' replacement: 'The Two Places (S. Matthias)' (Acts i. 25), published in FOWLE, E. (ed.) *Plain Preaching for a Year Vol.3* (Skeffington: London, 1873). See App. C Part 2 p. 50.]

[1] Cf. the striking lines in the Lyra Innocentium, which commence,
"The powers of ill have mysteries of their own," &c.

[2] Vide Dr. Mill on the Temptation, and the note on this subject at the end of these Five Lenten Sermons.

of unbelief. The coarse deism, if not atheism, of Chubb, Toland, Tindal, and their brethren of a past generation, has disappeared. The suppers of the Baron Holbach, where men could, as a joke, appoint *un avocat the Dieu*, are no longer fashionable; though their likeness is, we fear, reproduced on a more fearful scale among the votaries of London cider-cellars. A wicked woman is not openly adored as the Goddess of Reason, in the consecrated aisles of *Notre Dame*. No, all *that* is too coarse, too repulsive for the would-be literal thinkers of the day. Far different is their line of thought and action. General terms of love for all men; a professed zeal for the second table of the Decalogue, with a quiet but studious oblivion of the first; a condescending admiration of Christianity, with a secret fear and hatred of its most solemn claims; a vague acceptance of its promises without its threats, its accents of joy without its notes of fear, its moral code without its sacramental teaching; a sublime patronage of its Divine Founder, as *un assez grand genie pour son temps*, or an idealised *mythus* of abstract humanity: these are the echoes form the shores of North America, Germany, and France, which are being reproduced with marvellous skill, learning, and even genius among all classes in this realm of England.

We must not suffer ourselves to be betrayed into a long digression upon this vast and fertile subject. Those who desire to study it will find means without much difficulty. But if, after a careful survey[1] of its phases, he meet with such a sentence as this, "Infidelity proclaims itself," he will surely fancy that the writer must be referring to the unbelief in other ages than our own. "Infidelity proclaims itself!" Is it possible to imagine a more incorrect account of the insidious unbelief which is working its way amongst us; which, when attacked, denies that it *is* unbelief and claims the title of a most pure, beneficent, and spiritual religion, exactly adapted to man's needs in the present state of the world's progress? Yet such a declaration he will light upon at page 366 of these Hulsean Lectures; and if his sentiments at all coincide with ours, it will give a shock to his confidence in the entire system of interpretation which can, in such an age as ours, adopt and sanction it. That this, and many similar statements of Dr Wordsworth, are required by the necessities of his scheme, we do not doubt: that they will bear the slightest examination at the hands of candid and impartial observers we do most profoundly doubt.
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We are here compelled, by sheer lack of space, to make a somewhat abrupt termination of this second instalment of our article. Like many more valuable productions, it has run to a greater length than was anticipated: a circumstance demanding an apology on our part to that large class of readers, who take but little interest in the subject. Those who *are* interested, will, we trust, make allowance for our prolixity, when they consider the size and

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[1] The revelations of Alton Locke upon this head, have not, we think, been combated. Much information may be gleaned from articles in the *Revue des deux Mondes* during this present year; especially those on German literature, and American poetry, and above all the high-toned and masterly critique of M. Nicholas' *Etudes Philosophiques* by M. Albert de Broglie in February last.—M. Veuillot (reviewed by us last year) must not be omitted, despite his many faults. How significant is the recent purchase of the Westminster Review by Mr. Chapman!

[ϕ Once again, a reference to an earlier review 'by us' offers the possibility that Dykes may have been the author of that article, too. Certainly the prose style of the review at issue is closer to Dykes's than was the case referred to previously (p. 11). And the use in both articles of certain words which do not feature in everyday conversation is a further, slight, indication that the reviews might have a common author. On the other hand, the reference in the earlier article (Vol. 10. pp. 218) to the author's having 'once held converse with [Gustave Xavier] de Ravignan' (1795—1858), a Jesuit priest who is not known to have travelled to England before 1851, and with whom Dykes is not recorded in Fowler as having held any converse, written or in person, relegates the likelihood of Dykes's authorship of the previous article to the category of 'possible but improbable'.]

importance of the volumes criticised: an importance arising from the learning and ingenuity with which certain *theses* are defended, as well as from the character and position of their defender. And if these disquisitions must still be considered by very many as lying wholly *in nubibus*, and not descending to the sphere of practical utility, we will yet request their kind attention to matter which we have still to bring before them, or at least ask them to pardon our occupation of so large a space, on the plea that there are others who believe that particular parts of these inquiries touch very closely upon the fundamentals of the faith.

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We had intended to commence this portion of our *critique* with an examination of Dr Wordsworth's authorities. But, before attempting this task, we must complete that division of our argument which was left unfinished in the last month's number, that the subject might not engross an undue proportion of its pages. Two topics out of four which seemed to call for especial observation, were disposed of. We proceed to those which remain.

(*c*) The third point to be noticed is the exceedingly hard measure dealt out by our author, to the Monastic Orders, who are supposed, (as has been said) in conjunction with the Papacy, to be the second Beast of the Apocalypse. Doubtless, in this particular, we English of the present generation were, for the most part, nurtured in a school of prejudice, as unwise, as it was narrow-minded and uncharitable. But a re-action has taken place, a re-action so deep as to penetrate our most valuable books of history, so extensive as to influence the publications even of the Religious Tract Society.[1] The value of these Orders in feudal times, their kindness as landlords, their successful subdual of the soil, their sanctuaries against the lawlessness of lay barons, their services to literature, *especially in the preservation of the manuscripts of Holy Scripture;* these and innumerable other benefits arising from their institutions have been brought before our notice in the most varied forms and by writers of the most widely different schools of thought. Nor has it been passed by that, whatever they at last became, they were at first in an eminent degree *reformers of many practical abuses:*[2] and if reforms are to be condemned, because, after a season, they lose vigour, what shall be said of those reforms headed by Luther in Germany and by Calvin at Geneva?

That re-action has certainly, like most others, been in many quarters somewhat excessive. *We* at least can have no wish to see the faults into which these bodies fell, unduly extenuated, much less concealed from view. Had they preserved their first warmth and earnestness, Tintern and Rievaulx would even now perhaps have been preserved from the hand of the spoiler. But as little can we desire to cherish the miserably false and partial statements [399] which were in vogue before the commencement of the re-action to which we have alluded.

When some future Hallam or Sismondi shall indite a history of the literature of this century, he will doubtless have occasion to chronicle this remarkable alteration of tone with reference to the monasteries of the middle ages. He will allude perhaps to the intention of Southey to have written a history of those Orders; he may find room for reference to Thierry, Comte and others of that class, whose admiration, however well

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1 See "The Dawn of Civilization" and "The Middle Ages" on their list of small books.

2 See Sir J. Stephen's *Francis of Assisi* versus fin.; and likewise his "Founders of Jesuitism." *Essays in Eccl. Biog. Vol. I.*

deserved, yet springs from questionable grounds; he will make more favourable mention of some delightful volumes of Neander (despite occasional Germanisms), as his life of S. Bernard and "Light in Dark Places;" he will remind his readers of Maitland's "Dark Ages," and possibly of Sir J. Stephen's brilliant sketches of Franciscans, Jesuits and Benedictines; and assuredly he will not forget that a great English poet, the laureate Wordsworth, has dedicated to the praises of the monks some of the most graceful as well as truthful of his sonnets. But the foremost place will undoubtedly be assigned to that distinguished Protestant writer, the philosophic statesman who for many years so largely swayed the destinies of France. The lectures of M. Guizot first brought forward the mediaeval church as a mighty instrument of civilization, as the chief witness and protectress against feudal violence and barbarism; not, as used to be said, its nurse and parent. And nowhere are the beneficial effects of the monasteries more fully recognized or more vividly portrayed.

But our literary historian will be compelled to admit that there were books, which not only attempted to check any excesses of recoil arising from the past fury of anti-monastic writers, but which actually reproduced certain theories of the 16th and 17th centuries, holding up these Orders to the deepest reprobation of mankind. He may instance, as a proof of his assertion, certain lectures of another Wordsworth, not the sweet singer of Rydal Mount, wherein the preaching orders are said to combine with the papacy to form the second beast of the Apocalypse.—p. 279.

Deep indeed, upon this hypothesis, must be the guilt and responsibility of writers like Dr Maitland and M. Guizot. They have been employed in representing these Orders as originally instituted with a view to the glory of GOD, and as composed of men who, with whatever alloys arising from corruptions in the Church, from the spirit of their age or from personal defects, were yet benefactors to the human race, the channels of many rich gifts of heavenly love and mercy to their fellow creatures: whereas according the Dr Wordsworth, these societies deserve nothing less than the anathema of every Christian man.

(*d*) An important topic yet remains, namely that of religious persecution. Its bearing upon the matter in hand will be seen presently.
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The history of persecution appears to admit of a brief summary; so far at least as regards the most marked and leading features of the case. Punishment for religious error was seemingly permitted under the Patriarchal dispensation. (Job xxxi. 26—28.) It was sanctioned, even to the death, by the law of Moses. (Deut. xiii. 6—11.) It was acted upon by the sons of Levi and by Phinehas, in whose persons zeal obtained a blessing from on high. The children of Judah re-awoke that spirit during their temporary reformation in the reign of Asa. (2 Chron. xv. 12, 13.) Nebuchadnezzar, in an hour of repentance, makes a like decree, unblamed of the "greatly beloved" prophet who records it. (Daniel iii. 29.)

But a holier dispensation came. The dread lightnings called down by Elias upon the messengers of a wicked king were no longer to be a pattern for imitation by the servants of GOD. There might indeed arise peculiar cases; an Elymas to be struck with blindness for a season; a wretched pair, who conspired to "tempt the Spirit of the LORD," to perish by a swift and sudden destruction. But these were acts of Apostles, who enjoyed the gift of discerning the spirits, and cannot therefore be alleged as infringements of the general spirit of the Gospel precepts, nor examples to be followed by the Church at large.

For the first three centuries the Christians were a persecuted body. But when Constantine had mounted the once despised Cross upon the imperial diadem, state penalties against heathen idolatry were soon enforced by the sovereign power. A few years later Arian heresy is rife and wins the ear and convictions of Constantius. To the Arians is attributed,

we believe with justice, the first invocation of the civil arm against their brethren; and the Ecclesiastical historian, Socrates, who mentions this novel plan, mentions it only that he may condemn it.

Nevertheless it spread and was before long adopted by the Catholics. Even S. Augustine deemed it lawful against the Donatist heretics; following, if we mistake not, in this matter the example of Cyprian.

Grievous injustice it were to the memory of holy men to attribute such conduct to wanton cruelty or pride or what the world calls priestcraft. They argued themselves into a course of conduct. We are not disposed to defend their conduct or their arguments; but it was held and acted upon by all sides and possessed a kind of plausibility adapted to the spirit of their times. If an heresiarch became the spiritual murderer of a myriad souls, why, they reasoned, should *he* be spared while the assassin of a single subject could not escape the sword of Cæsar? His early removal would save the eternal ruin of numbers and avenge the insulted majesty of a greater than Cæsar. "Also the king said to me," writes the Sire de Joinville, "that no man, unless he be a great clerk or perfect theologian; ought to dispute with the Jews. But a layman,[401] when he hears the faith gainsaid, ought to lift up his sword and make a thrust with all his might." And who was the sovereign who thus addressed his seneschal? Was it a Nero under the guise of a Christian? Was it a wicked ruler, thinking to make amends for his own bad life by ruthless severity against the enemies of the Cross? Not so; far otherwise. It was Louis the Ninth, S. Louis of France. "The noblest and holiest of monarchs," as he is emphatically termed by Dr Arnold. "Perhaps," says Hallam, "the most eminent pattern of unswerving probity and Christian strictness of conscience, that ever held the sceptre in any country." Large words, yet not one whit too large, as will be admitted by any who have ever studied the original records of his reign.[1]

A darker period was to arrive. What had been sincere, however mistaken and unchastened zeal, became mixed up with the lust of gold and power. European politics grew more complex, and statecraft but too often made a cat's paw of the Church, and hid the most selfish ends under a pretended desire of extirpating heresy. Without attempting here to disentangle that most subtle web, it is enough to say that the system reached a climax in the Spanish Inquisition under Torquemada, in the Netherlands under the Duke of Alva, in France, in that most awful deed, the massacre of S. Bartholomew.

With Rome, gigantic alike in her virtues and her crimes, must rest, we think, the *maximum* of guilt in the whole of this terrific system. But it is idle, it is worse than idle, it is weak and wicked to shut our eyes to the fact that the system was adopted by all sides, alike in theory and in practice. Ziska, the Bohemian reformer, rooted out by fire and sword the wretched Beghards or Beguini. Huss, so shamefully betrayed and burnt at Constance, had persecuted the Nominalists to the utmost of his power, because he was himself a Realist. Calvin put to death Servetus, and Melancthon perfectly approved of it. Edward VI., at the instigation of Cranmer and Ridley, burnt Joan Bocher for Arianism; and Fuller, the Church

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[1] *Vie de. S. Louis, par Jehan, Sire de Joinville,* not long since translated and published in a cheap form. Compare "Guizot's Hist. de la Civilisation en France," "Velly, Histoire de France," "Hallam's Middle Ages," vol. i., and Keble in the "Christian Year:"

"Where shall the holy Cross find rest?
On a crowned monarch's mailed breast;
Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,
Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene."

historian, writing a century after, declares that she was justly put to death. The large mind of Lord Bacon did not rise superior to this belief. Elizabeth made it death to deny her supremacy *twice*. Upon this count there suffered seven lay gentlemen and five Roman Catholic Clergy. Between the years 1585 and 1603, there perished in this land one hundred and twenty of [402] the secular Roman priesthood. How Henry VIII. ended the lives of the Carthusian monks with the most dreadful tortures we do not include in this list; for Henry stands by himself, alone, uncared for, indefensible. But we must remark that the Huguenots in France made the fiercest retaliation, lauded the murderer of the famous Duc de Guise, and often slaughtered their prisoners in cold blood; that Calvinist princes persecuted Lutherans, and Lutheran princes Calvinists.

These are a few facts out of many. Those who do not choose to believe them on our authority, may be referred to Hallam, Smyth, and Robertson; writers whose bias, so far as they are biased, is most assuredly not Romeward. Meanwhile, let us beg of them to read carefully a few short extracts from these historians. The following is the language of the late Cantabrigian Professor.

> "It is generally supposed that it was only the bloody Queen Mary and Bishop Bonner who put people to death on account of their religious opinions; that the Protestants were incapable of such enormities. *This is not so, and Protestants should know it*. There were put to death more than one hundred and sixty of the Roman Catholic communion in the time of Elizabeth; sixteen or seventeen in the time of James I.; and more than twenty by the Presbyterians and Republicans."[1]
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> "On the whole, more than one hundred and sixty persons were put to death in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for being priests, or for acting as priests; for harbouring priests, for converting, or being converted; lastly, for denying the supremacy.
>
> "The offences of each party may be compared, and the atrocities of the one may be more tremendous than the cruelties of the other—they certainly were. The guilt, however, of putting to death their fellow-creatures must be shared by both."[2]

And thus speaks Dr Robertson, whom Smyth quotes:

> "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome, upon such as called in question any article of their creed. To their followers, and perhaps their opponents, it would have appeared a symptom of diffidence in the goodness of their cause, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not, employed in its defence all those means which it was supposed truth had a right to employ."[3]

Lastly, thus writes Hallam concerning the Elizabethan statutes.

> "It is much to be regretted that any writers worthy of respect should either, through undue prejudice against an adverse religion, or through [403] timid acquiescence in whatever has been enacted, have offered for this odious code the false pretext of political necessity. *That necessity, I am persuaded, can never be made out.*"[4]

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1 Smyth's Lectures on Modern History, Vol. I., Note ii. p. 266, *et seq.*

2 Ibid. p. 271.

3 Robertson, ap. Smyth, Vol. i. p. 242

4 Hallam's Const. History, Chap. III.

It is not well, then, for either Anglican or Gallican, foreign Protestant or Ultra-montane, to talk grandly on this theme of persecution, as if any party could display clean hands. We did not think it well in the Comte de Montalembert to call our Irish churchmen "inheritors of unrepented, inexpiated sins," as if they had never known what it was to suffer for *their* religion. We did not think it well in Mr. H. W. Wilberforce to point his argument not merely by an account of the death of poor Swallowell, but by a narrative of all the sickening details of his sufferings; as if the case could not but too easily be paralleled. (Mr. Pugin's pamphlet
ought to convey him a stern rebuke upon this head.) We do not think it well in Dr Newman to speak of the sword and the halter being employed against the Roman teaching; and then to refer to the employers of precisely similar means on *his* side, as "holy men and zealous," who "would have interfered with a high hand;" *a high hand* being, we presume, an euphemism for the fires of Smithfield. We do not think it well in M. Veuillot to wish to revive in the 19th century the spirit of the 15th. We cannot admire the French historians, who attempt to palliate or defend the deeds of that fearful night of S. Bartholomew. Far better for them to exclaim with their countryman and co-religionist, De Thou,

> "Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant
> Sæcula—*nos certè taceamus* et obruta multâ
> Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis!"

But that which we think culpable in our opponents, we cannot learn to approve in our friends. We cannot admire books which proclaim loudly the tremendous acts of Rome in the way of punishment for religious opinions, and leave it to the reader to discover that the principle of persecution was long acknowledged over the whole of Europe.

And further, it must be said, at the risk of whatever amount of outcry, that a very large proportion of those who perished so awfully at the dictate of the Roman Church can in no proper sense of the word be termed *martyrs*. Many of them "took the swords and perished with the sword;" heroes it may be, but not martyrs. Many, as the Albigenses, were sufferers for what they believed right; but their creed was deadly heresy, and a *martyr* must die on behalf of GOD'S own truth and not for a soul-destroying falsehood. Many likewise in Spain, cruelly and wickedly as they were treated, had yet been guilty of the dire sin of professing [404] to be Christians, and so gaining posts of honour and authority, while in reality they cherished Judaism.[1] Nor can we forget that adherents of that Church have in our own land suffered for conscience' sake, for a long time and in very trying and varied ways.[2] And in the present day the Noble Army of Martyrs has been really enlarged and recruited from the bands of French missionaries in Cochin-China. While other nations have made treaties concerning the interests of the tea and opium trade, France alone (to her honour be it said) has constantly introduced clauses *intended* to protect the lives of her propagators of Christianity.

These things ought to be known, and if *we* seem to have dwelt in any degree partially, it can only arise from the re-action forced upon us, as seekers after truth, by what we are compelled to call the one-sided insinuations of other writers. But let those who think us partial in the matter read M. Guizot's 12th *Leçon* in his *Civilization en Europe*. When good and candid men adopt a strain so different from his, does not this arise from the

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[1] See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella; and the admission of a partisan of the Jews, Mr. Disraeli, in the too truthful sketch given in "Coningsby."

[2] On this head, the reader will do well to study the striking and candid sermon of Dr. Mill for the 5th of November, A.D. 1848. (Four Sermons before the University of Cambridge. London: Masters.)

pressure of some theory which needs that difference? If Dr Wordsworth adopts it, it must be because he is obliged to consider Rome a persecutress and ignore all like conduct on the part of her adversaries. It is because he must make Papal Rome "the woman drunken with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of JESUS," because he must see her in that image, which to the eye of Victorinus (almost the earliest commentator on the Apocalypse) represented *Pagan* Rome with her ten awful persecutions of the faith.

But such representations, however popular with the many during seasons of excitement, will they bear the test of calmer hours and the research of large-minded students of history, whether civil or ecclesiastical? Let them be welcomed as they may by multitudes, who make no immediate inquiry. There are by-standers who can afford to wait their time, for that they have the deepest confidence in the inborn power of truth.

One more consideration of a rather different character and we shall hasten onward to the question of authorities.

The first two of Dr Wordsworth's Lectures are devoted to an examination of the doctrine of the Millennium. Against this doctrine he argues with great force and clearness. Without pretending to have examined the question very profoundly, we may yet thoroughly acknowledge the weight and cogency of his reasonings and express our own sympathy with them and willingness to abide by their results. The Lecturer calls upon his audience to reject the theory of the Millennium, because, although it is "propagated [405] with industrious zeal and appears to have laid a strong hold on the public mind," (p. 44,) although it has enjoyed the countenance of several great and venerable names, yet the balance of reason and authority seems on the whole to lie decidedly against it. The teaching of the Millennarians is pronounced by Dr Wordsworth to be inconsistent with other parts of Holy Writ; to lack the sanction of the Universal Church; to have been adopted by some holy wise men before its consequences had been fairly tested; to have brought discredit upon the study, and to have endangered the reception, of the sacred book from which advocates imagine it to be deducible. These statements, we repeat, are in our humble judgment, forcible and well founded.

But of a truth there is scarcely a single argument adduced by Dr Wordsworth against this popular interpretation of *the thousand years*, which does not appear to us to recoil with fatal force against the interpretation which he supports concerning the Beasts and the Mystic Babylon. Does he aver that the Millennarian teaching has been advocated with zeal and laid strong hold on the public mind? We may, though with some qualification, assert the same of his account of Babylon. Does be admit that the doctrine of the Millennium has received the sanction of some revered and illustrious names? Truth requires us to make a similar admission respecting his explanation of Babylon and the Man of Sin. Does he maintain that, despite these advantages, the former doctrine may be rejected, as having a stronger case against it than can possibly he made out in its favour? We maintain precisely the same position respecting the modern theories on Antichrists and the city of abominations. Does he urge the inconsistency of the common notion of the Millennium with other parts of Holy Writ? We have, both directly and indirectly, attempted the same task with respect to his theory upon the other subject. Does he challenge the advocates of the Millennium to display the warrant of the Universal Church? We demand from the assertors of this volume's teaching the same august and binding sanction. Does he maintain that the Millennarians have brought discredit on the study of the Apocalypse? We, in company with Mr. Evans and many more must declare the very same conviction respecting these subsequent interpretations. Lastly, does Dr Wordsworth think that Papias, S. Justin Martyr, S. Irenæus, might have changed their opinion on the Millennium, (p. 41,) had their

lives been prolonged to a later age? We think that Hooker, Andrewes, and even Mede would have spoken very differently on the questions here at issue had they been spared to witness the career of continental Protestantism.

We are at last arrived at the question of authority. What and of what kind are the testimonies in favour of this tremendous arraignment of millions of Christians, as servants of the Man of Sin and denizens of the spiritual Babylon?
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With many Dr Wordsworth himself is a sufficient authority. We had prepared some two or three pages intended to explain, why, despite all the excellent gifts of this learned Divine, we demur to so *entire* an acceptance of his opinions. We had therein hinted, how, in looking for a commentator on the writings of *the loved disciple*, we should prefer some one of less controversial habits, one whose volumes displayed more of affection and enthusiasm, dwelt more largely on the cycle of consequences arising from the Holy Incarnation, or gave more instruction concerning the secrets of the inward life. But however much those pages might excuse our non-adoption of Dr Wordsworth's teaching, it is perhaps more charitable to withhold them.

Who then are Dr Wordsworth's witnesses? He appears to admit that he has none to produce from the *first six centuries*. And, (with the exception of some words of S. Gregory the Great) the first name of any weight which he can cite is that of Peter of Blois, a French ecclesiastic of *the twelfth century!* The reader may hence judge of the Primitive character of these opinions.

But the Fathers were not prophets, argues the lecturer, and could not therefore foresee what the Roman Church and her Bishop would in time become. Granted;—but did not the ancient Fathers, one and all, hold an interpretation, which, if accepted, renders that of Dr Wordsworth impossible? We assert, unhesitatingly, that they did; and we challenge contra-diction of the assertion.

From all the ages prior to the Reformation, Dr, Wordsworth's vast extent of learning selects the following list of great theologians: Peter of Blois, the Waldenses, Joachim of Calabria, Ubertinus de Casali, Peter Olivi, Marsilius of Padua, Petrarch, Dante. For this list (not, we think, a very overwhelming one) he is mainly indebted to Wolf's "Lectiones Memorabiles." We must add that Vitringa is summoned as an eulogist upon Olivi, and reference made to many other passages of Wolf, besides those employed; as likewise to Signor Rosetti's comparatively recent work, entitled "Spirito Antipapale."

We, on the contrary, take our stand upon these two positions. *Firstly*, that among sober-minded adversaries of the Roman clams, these theories have scarcely ever, if ever, become a *living idea.* And, *secondly*, that wherever they have energised and attained to vigorous life, they have been conjoined with so much of fanaticism, heresy, or violence of conduct, as may well induce all thoughtful Christians to pause, ere they venture to embark in the same vessel.[1]

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[1] By a *living* idea, we of course, mean one which is not a mere theory of the head, but is inwrought into the very heart and conscience; which is displayed in practice, and moulds other notions into harmony with itself. That an idea should be capable of thus flourishing is indeed no criterion of its abstract truth. It simply goes to prove the existence of power and of capacity for laying hold of *some* leading prin-[407]ciples and faculties in the mind of man. But that an idea should lack this innate vigour,—that it should seldom be acted in as true, or, if so acted upon, produce strange contortions both of sentiment and practice; that it should be fitful, variant, arising only in seasons of controversial excitement and sinking into torpidity when they are past: all these signs afford a very strong presumption *against* its reality and truth.

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Let us look at these witnesses a little more closely.

(α) Peter of Blois.[1] Of this divine Dr Wordsworth has not either in his lectures or in his edition of the Apocalypse, quoted so much as one sentence or even syllable. Had he done so, he would willingly have examined his remarks: failing that, we have reason to doubt whether they would repay the trouble of research.

(β) To believe that the Waldenses were *far* superior to the Albigenses (whom we are glad to find Dr Wordsworth quietly ignoring); to respect their constancy and purity of life; to sympathise deeply with their unmerited sufferings is one thing. To accept them as authorities for an English Churchman is another. The few statements we have to make concerning them shall be taken wholly from a book which thoroughly, and in all respects, patronises their cause.[2] "The Vaudois line," says the writer, "may generally be known by its opposition to the Papacy, and its reference to *Sylvester, as affording the first manifestation of Antichrist.*" (Proof of this fact is given from Remer, Dachery, and the famous Vaudois document, claiming to be of the twelfth century, the *Noble Lesson*.) In A.D. 1178 Peter Yaldo had journeyed to Rome to obtain the sanction of the then Pope, (Alexander III.) to his fraternity, the poor men of Lyons. "Never," continues our author, "did the founder of a religious community experience a better reception from Prince or Pontiff. The Pope embraced Valdo, and approved of the order, as professors of voluntary poverty; but while he crave them a limited licence, as preachers, he forbade them to exercise it without the especial permission of the regular priesthood." This injunction was for a time obeyed, but at length the restraint seemed burdensome. Recriminations ensue between various Bishops and the followers of Yaldo; they are admonished to be silent, refuse, and are at length excommunicated, and select from themselves their own unordained ministers. However hardly dealt with, it is impossible to regard them thenceforth as anything more than *a sect*.

Now, their reason for selecting Sylvester as the first manifestation of Antichrist is obvious. The Waldenses professed voluntary poverty, and a grant of lands was fabled to have been given to Sylvester by Constantine.
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And yet, considering that Sylvester was elected Bishop of Rome in A.D. 314, this is rather an early period for Dr Wordsworth to see an Antichrist, especially when we remember that he does not thus regard S. Gregory, whose date is A.D. 590. We read that a church was dedicated to GOD in honour of Sylvester, and that this very S. Gregory the Great preached therein; that his name is found in very ancient martyrologies, and his festival kept not only by the Latin, but likewise by the Greek Church.

Moreover, in a certain Calendar, generally considered an authority with devout sons of this our English Church, as being that contained in the Book of Common Prayer, we find among the minor commemorations of holy men; "December 31, Sylvester, Bishop." In other words, the man whom the Waldenses regarded as the first Antichrist, is honoured by the English Church as a saint of the Most High! Said we not truly at the commencement, that some of Dr Wordsworth's witnesses would be discovered to prove *far too much*?

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[1] Our *belief* is, that this Petrus Blesensis wrote to his friend to come out of Babylon just as a country Rector might with us advise a London friend to come out of the bustle of Babylon to rural quiet. Thus Napoleon spoke of Paris as Babylon, and does not Cowper address London by the same title?

[2] The Church of CHRIST in the Middle Ages. London: Seeleys, 1845. See pages 303—321, and again p. 484.

(γ) The next supporters of these views may be fitly introduced by an extract from Dr Todd. He is speaking of the earlier portion of the thirteenth century.

> "The awful words of prophecy were seized upon as the most effective weapons of political and religious controversy. To the followers of the abbot Joachim, the Fratricelli, the Beguins, and other extravagant sects, who were engaged at that period in an angry warfare with the court of Rome, the fanatical application of the Apocalypse had peculiar charms. They pretended to predict from its visions, *with the help of some new and peculiar revelations of their own, the total abolition of the Christian Church, its worship, its hierarchy, and its endowments*; and in its stead, the substitution of a new dispensation brought about by the agency of the mendicant friars of S. Francis—a dispensation which was to excel in spirituality, the Christian religion, as far as the Gospel of CHRIST had surpassed in excellence the abrogated law of Moses. And the existing hierarchy of the Church, by whom, of course, such doctrines were vehemently discountenanced, were denounced as the Babylon of the Apocalypse, the children of Antichrist, the beast to whom it was given to make war upon the saints, and to whom the dragon gave his power and his seals, seals, and great authority."[1]

A longer account of poor Joachim may be found in a note appended to Dr Todd's earlier set of Lectures.[2] He, who shall have studied that account, will be able to appreciate more fully our reasons for profoundly distrusting the authority of this Abbot, as and Interpreter of Holy Writ.

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(δ) The evidence of Peter John Olivi is very similar to that of Joachim, and must stand or fall upon like grounds. Dr Wordsworth, with a candour which never forsakes him, even in controversy, has supplied the students of his valuable edition of the Apocalypse, not merely with Olivi's comments, but likewise with the criticism upon those comments, made by the eight Papal Divines appointed to examine them.

Notwithstanding this candour, which deserves the highest praise, his demands upon the subject appear to us not a little unreasonable. That there is but too much truth in Olivi's assertions "concerning the corrupt state of the existing Church," we learn from very numerous and unquestioned sources of information. But Olivi looked for reformation "by means of the order of that section of the Franciscans (*spirituales* or *perfecti*) to which he himself belonged," says Dr Wordsworth: a reformation, we must add, which was expected to diminish or even annul the power of Bishops, to exalt that of the Pope, and to do away with the possession of Church property, including, we presume, all deaneries, canonries, and the like. With what consistency we can regard Olivi as *fanatical* in his ideas of Church reform and *sober-minded* in his *exegesis* of the Apocalypse, we are utterly at a loss to understand. Enough for the present to observe, that in Olivi's judgment the decline of CHRIST'S Church commences "*sub* Monachis et Clericis *temporales possessiones* habentibus," and a new and happier state commences, "à tempore *beati viri patris nostri* Francisci." In Olivi's Postils the Franciscans stand forth as the best and greatest of reformers; in Dr Wordsworth's Lectures these same Franciscans combine with the Papacy to form the second Beast foretold in the Apocalypse! Admirable harmony!

(ε) But Olivi's comments are not to rest merely upon their own merits. Dr Wordsworth would fain endorse them with the authority of a great and respected name, that of the

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[1] Lectures on the Apocalypse, Lect. I. pp. 27, 28.

[2] Todd on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist, Note D. p. 453. sq. —It is only *since* the publication of the two former portions of this article, that the writer has had the opportunity of making use of this book. He mentions this, lest he should seem to have borrowed, without acknowledgement, some materials which were collected by independent research.

Dutch divine, Campegius Vitringa. And Vitringa certainly does assure us that he read Olivi's Interpretations with admiration.

Nov the question thus raised is this: not whether Vitringa is justly extolled as the glory of Dutch Protestantism, and as a good and (in many respects) even a great man, and an illustrious commentator upon Isaiah, but whether he is a competent witness on the particular subjects now before us. We venture to assert that, with all his great merits, Vitringa is often far too self-sufficient, somewhat wanting in the sense of the supernatural; and, lastly, upon the point of the respective merits of Rome and Geneva, absolutely wild and fanatical.

An example of the first two faults may be pointed out in his comment upon Isaiah xiv. 12. In that verse the ancient fathers were wont to see a reference to the fall of the ruined Archangel, who has thence obtained the name of Lucifer. Now here is Vitringa's cool dismissal of primitive testimony in this matter:—
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> "Veterum lusus et ipsius jam Tertulliani, qui in Luciferi, lapsû hic viderunt lapsum Satanæ, cui populari errore inde adhæsit Luciferi nomen, ipsis relinquendi sunt, non refellendi, cum nihil probabile suadeant."
>
> "The *triflings* of the ancients, and even of Tertullian himself, who in the fall of Lucifer have here seen the fall of Satan (to whom by vulgar error has thence adhered the name of Lucifer), must be left to their authors, not refuted, since they carry with them no probability."

Moreover, in his "Anacrisis Apocalypseos," he interprets the sixth seal (Rev. vi. 12—17) as a prediction of the future abolition of anti-Christianity, Popery, Monachism, and *Episcopacy!* (This "Anacrisis," we must observe in passing, is pronounced by Dr Wordsworth to be "distinguished alike by solid learning and *Christian moderation*.")

Once more, in his " Elucidation of the Parables," Vitringa discovers in the servant, owing the ten thousand talents, the Pope, or line of Popes, who have "maltreated the true servants of GOD, and shall be delivered over to an irreversible doom." In the parable of the merchant seeking goodly pearls, the pearl of price signifies, according to him, " the Church of Geneva, and the doctrine of Calvin, opposed to all the abortive pearls, that is, to all the other reformed Churches."[1]

Upon the whole, those who are dissatisfied with the Sermons of Olivi will not, perhaps, consider his case improved by the introduction of Vitringa as his patron.

(ζ) Of the exact sentiments of Marsilius of Padua, Dr Wordsworth has given us no means of forming an opinion. We have let pass an opportunity of examining them for ourselves, which we cannot just now conveniently recall.

(η) We had well nigh omitted the case of Ubertinus de Casali, whose date is about A.D. 1310. His language is slightly vague, and appears to identify, as completely as did his judges, the Church of Rome with the Church Universal. On the strength of this identification, his examiner declares that like opinions had been held not merely by the Waldenses, but likewise by the Donatists and Manichæans. Dr Wordsworth catches at this admission with delight, italicises the words in which it is made, and calls them "a remarkable confession on the part of these Romish divines, and of the Pope himself, that the identification of the Apocalyptic Babylon with Papal Rome was no *new* opinion in the 14th century".

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[1] Todd on the Apocalypse, p. 71 (note); Dr. Wordsworth, Lect. VI., p. 165; Trench on the Parables, p. 41. (Second Edition).

Now on this assertion we must take the liberty of making two observations.

The first is, that we believe Dr Wordsworth to be in error in imagining that the followers of Donatus, or the Manichæans, *did* stigmatise the Roman Church as Babylon. They did indeed, es[411]pecially the Donatists, heap upon the *Catholic Church of* CHRIST a collection of the most injurious titles that could possibly be found, but we certainly cannot discover from S. Augustine that they singled out Rome from among the lists of Churches. If indeed the Church of Rome and the Church Catholic be precisely convertible terms, then (but not, we think, otherwise) may it be truly said, that they called the Roman Church the *magma meretrix*. But is Dr Wordsworth prepared to admit this hypothesis? We presume not.

But, secondly, assuming that these Donatists and Manichæans did, like the Waldenses, consider the Roman Church to be Babylon, are *we*, English Churchmen, for the sake of strengthening an article of impeachment against Rome, to make common cause with the partisans of two of the most blasphemous, anti-Christian and soul-destroying heresies, that the world has ever witnessed? With all reverence and solemnity may we say it, GOD forbid!

(*θ*) In the poetry of Petrarch the anti-papal interpreters of S. John will probably find their best support. His cv. sonnet, entitled, *Invettiva contro la Corte d' Avignone*, and the two which follow, do in truth pour a tremendous storm of epithets, such as might have well-nigh satisfied Martin Luther. And Wolf quotes similar passages from his Latin poems and letters, though we have not had the opportunity of testing the accuracy of these citations.

Nevertheless, those who are seeking for what they call *witnesses to truth* before the era of the Reformation, ought not to be surprised if their opponents consider that there exist certain drawbacks to the weight of this "illustrious name."

For in the first place, it is against the Papal court and not against the Roman Church, as such, that Petrarch seems to launch those thunders, which appear so curiously intermingled in his pages with his love poems to the far-famed Laura. And of that threefold qualification which is commonly required to render a man an authority among Christians, namely, eminence of genius, of learning, and of personal sanctity, the last item unhappily, cannot possibly be assigned to Petrarch. Lastly, the reality of his convictions may be judged, when we call to mind that he strenuously persuaded Urban V. to move the court from Avignon to Rome, that on attaining his wish he started, though old and infirm, to pay his homage to that Pope, and was only withheld by a severe illness, which seized him on the road; that in early life he had enrolled himself in the clerical order and received the tonsure; that he died in full communion with the Roman Church, and that his funeral was attended by the Bishop and all the clergy of Arqua, his tomb is shown to the present day.

(*ι*) But a claim is laid to a far loftier name, that of the author of the "Divina Commedia." Now, if by this claim be meant, that Dante became an ardent Ghibelline', who, both by word and deed, [412] supported the *temporal* power of the empire against the *temporal* power of the Papacy; if it be meant that he spoke fearlessly against the personal vices of the clergy from Popes and Bishops downwards, and declared that under rulers like Nicholas V. and Boniface VIII. the court at Avignon might become the beast with the seven heads and the ten horns; that he condemned their too much study of the decretals in place of the gospels, and their wrongful and avaricious use of excommunication; all this may easily be gathered from his *De Monarchiâ* and his immortal poem. But if it be insinuated that Dante really believed the Pope, to be by office the man of sin, or the Roman Church a harlot, or even the theology of his own age (as represented by Aquinas) a corrupted system, such insinuations must be pronounced simply ludicrous. Mr. Carlyle is

here at least an unbiased witness, and his view of Dante in these respects[1] is that which every by-stander will accept. We subjoin a sample or two of illustrative passages:

Even when on the point of declaring that the avarice and ambition of pastors like Pope Nicolas III. (whom historians have called the introducer of nepotism) had realized for the time the Evangelist's vision of the mystic Babylon, Dante yet prefaces his address to the man, with terms of respect for the office he had held.

"E se non fosse, *ch' ancor lo mi vieta*
La reverenza delle somme Chiavi,
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
Io userei parole ancor piu gravi."[2]
Inferno. Canto xix. (100—4).

Again, it is evident that Dante had the most unfavourable impression of the personal character of Boniface VIII. Nevertheless, when he comes to speak of the sad end of that Pontiff, who was seized and insulted by Philip IV. of France at Alagna, in the Roman Campagna, and shortly after died of grief, in what sort of terms does he allude to the event? "I see the *fleur-de-lys* enter Alagna, and in his Vicar CHRIST be taken captive. I see him again derided, I see renewed the vinegar and gall, and himself murdered amongst living robbers."

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e 'l fele
E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso."
Purgatorio. Canto xx. (86—90)

[413]
Is this the poet, whose language Dr Wordsworth would wish men to make their own?

One more passage and we will part with the great Florentine. In the preceding canto of the *Purgatorio*, he meets with Pope Adrian V., who is said before his elevation to the Papal chair to have been worldly and fond of money. Did that elevation, in the view of Dante, at once, transform him into an anti-Christ? Here are the words which the poet puts into his mouth:

"Scias quod ego fui successor Petri

* * * * *

La mia conversione, omè! fu tarda;
Ma, come fatto fui Roman pastore,
Cosi scopersi la via bugiarda,
Vidi che lì non s'acquetava 'l cuore,
Ne piu salir potiesi in quella vita;
Per che di questa in me s'accese amore.

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[1] Lectures on Heroes and Hero Worship.

[2] "If reverence of the keys restrain'd me not,
Which thou in happier times didst hold, I yet
Severer speech might use."

Fino a quel punto misera e partita
Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara."[1]
Purgatorio. Canto (99—113).

Before this spirit, still supposed to he uncleansed, the poet hastes to do obeisance and is only checked by an intimation from the departed Bishop, that the annulling of all marriages in the unseen state, (S. Luke xxi. 35) extends to the relationship between pastors and their flocks.

We have only to add, that the opinions we have expressed concerning the sentiments of Dante, have not been formed without careful consideration of the passages referred to by Wolf and Signor Rossetti.

(χ) It remains to offer a few remarks upon the character of these last-named writers. Rossetti may be very briefly dismissed. He may be acute and ingenious in tracing allegories, and eloquent in their exposition; but his idea of discovering anti-papal devices secretly hidden in the arrangement of Dante's words, can only be regarded as a light and childish fantasy. Mr. Cary is compelled "to avow his disbelief of the secret jargon imputed to our poet [414] in the 'Spirito Antipapale;'"[2] and the "Quarterly" reviewers justly said, that such imaginations would be "the ruin of Dante as a poet" giving us only "sundry curious conundrums instead of bursts of inspiration." As if Dante Alighieri, who for his opinions suffered exile from his much loved Florence, and refused to return, if it involved an admission that the Ghibelline cause was wrong, would have stooped to veil his sentiments in tricks of letters and almost impenetrable enigmas!

But the two bulky folios of Wolf are a much more serious matter, for they are the great storehouse for quotations, and but for their aid, Dr Wordsworth himself, with all his research, would probably have been greatly at a loss for his Ante-Reformation witnesses. Only a few readers of the lectures can be expected to have looked into the "Lectiones Memorabiles." We will therefore give them a specimen of the book, which is not, we trust, unfairly chosen.

In Tom II. pp. 839—841, (this last page being *specially* indicated by Dr Wordsworth,) we find a list of no less than *thirty* testimonies from writers of the highest authority (*maximæ auctoritatis scriptoribus*) all said to confirm the conclusions arrived at in these "Hulsean Lectures." They are collected by Simon Schardius, assessor of the Imperial Camera. And certainly the secretaries and partisans of the Emperors of Germany do appear to have been this way given; not indeed wholly without provocation, yet perhaps not entirely without a few grains of prejudice. Friend Schardius is rather a lax quoter, not accustomed to mention chapter and verse. E.g., in citing Tertullian, he affords us no means of discovering whether

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[1] . . . . "Me know first
The successor of Peter,
. . . . "Late, alas!
Was my conversion: but, when I became
Rome's pastor, I discern'd at once the dream
And cozenage of life; saw that the heart
Rested not there, and yet no prouder height
Lured on the climber; wherefore, of that life
No more enamour'd, in my bosom love
Of purer being kindled. For, *till then*,
I was a soul in misery, alienate
From GOD, and covetous of all earthly things."

[2] Note to Canto i., line 45 of Eng. Trans.

he is referring to an ante-Montanist or post-Montanist treatise. Some of his "writers of the highest authority" speak very hypothetically. Thus Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, is reported to have said that a Bishop of Rome, "*if* he be devoid of charity, and puffed up, and exalted, by knowledge only, is an Antichrist." A guarded statement, and quite compatible with even Hildebrandic views the office itself; for all men know that an Apostle *may* prove a Judas, the son of perdition. The respect due to some others is certainly new to us. Did our readers ever hear the praises of a Minorite, by name Haybalus, or of Ulric, secretary to Louis of Bavaria, as great theologians? We suppose that they must have been such, for they stand as Nos. xx. and xxiii. in Schardius's enumeration. But, after all, his first two testimonies will be the *most* convincing, at least to those who choose to accept them. The first is that of the Angel, in Rev. xvii. 18, whose words are expected to form their own interpretation, and to be understood according to the mind of Schardius; i.e. as concerning *Papal* Rome (this being the precise question in dispute). But the second is at least an independent [415] and extraneous witness. It is [we can hardly expect to be believed, but there it stands in the aforesaid Tom. ii. p. 839] the most ancient of all the Sibyls, Arezia or Aretia, *the wife of Noah!* She, records Schardius, declared that "Babylon was an impure city of the Latin land. That Belias (meaning Antichrist thus denoted by her as the author of all evil) will come and display many signs to men. Then in truth will there be casting down of holy men, and an overthrow of the elect and faithful."[1] A very correct picture of that patristic idea of Antichrist, which *we* have been humbly attempting to advocate: howbeit, a testimony, which we have no thoughts of trying to wrest from Schardius, until we have a little additional evidence for its being the *genuine* utterance of a *genuine* Aretia.

We have now gone through the entire list of Dr Wordsworth's continental authorities. What must be the intrinsic poverty of those finances, which can drive even *him* to have recourse to such miserably forced loans as these!

But on directing our steps homeward, we come to that which is by far the strongest part of Dr Wordsworth's case. It *is* true that the weapon wielded by Luther was partially adopted in our land, not only in the first heat and excitement of the Reformation, but also by some wise and holy men of the succeeding age. Some of these lived when, in addition to these deep doctrinal differences which still divide the Churches, there existed a mass of practical outrages upon piety, from the seat of the Roman primate downward. On the other hand, they did not think to augur of the future corruption of continental Protestantism: they did not look for a time when a Scotch Presbyterian traveller should say: "Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, the fountain head from which the pure and living waters of our Scottish Zion flow, the earthly source, the pattern, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and practice, has fallen lower from her own original doctrine and practice than ever Rome fell. Rome has still superstition: Geneva has not even that semblance of religion."[2] If then Papal Rome Babylon, by what name ought we to call Geneva?

Whilst Protestantism abroad was declining, the Reformation had wrought for Rome the inestimable blessing of a great *practical* purgation. Mr. Macaulay's sketch, if somewhat rhetorically stated, has but too much truth in it.

> "To the debauchees, the poisoners, the atheists, who had worn the tiara during the generation which preceded the Reformation, had succeeded Popes who, in religious fervour and severe

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[1] "Babylonem impuram civitatem Lainiæ terræ. Belias veniet (sic Antichristum vocat, notans eum autorem universi mali esse) et signa multa edet hominibus. Tunc verò sanctorum virorum dejectio, et profligatio electorum atque fidelium."

[2] Laing's notes of a traveller, p. 325.

> sanctity of manners, might bear a comparison with Cyprian or Ambrose. The order of [416] Jesuits alone could show many men not inferior in sincerity, constancy, courage, and austerity of life, to the apostles of the Reformation. But while danger had thus called forth in the bosom of the Church of Rome many of the highest qualities of the Reformers, the Reformers had contracted some of the corruptions which had been justly censured in the Church of Rome. They had become lukewarm and worldly. Their great old leaders had been borne to the grave and had left no successors."[1]

Let him who would judge the case equitably, remember these facts. Let him also, we must request, carefully apply to all authorities those two positions which have previously been laid down.

[Vol. 13. p. 44]
The leading English authorities for our opponents are these four, the Homilies, Bishop Andrewes, Hooker, and Joseph Mede.

Of the Homilies we will say but little; for it is a painful theme, (so far as regards the matter here before us,) and might induce *apparent* disrespect of this our Spiritual Mother, the Church in England. Thus much may suffice. The Homilies do nowhere, as Laud said at his trial, define the Pope to be antichrist. Do those who call on us to hold all opinions therein incident-ally expressed think English churchmen *bound* to believe the doctrine of the divine right of kings? How far this last idea be scriptural or not is no part of our present business to inquire. But seeing that it forms the burden of a sextipartite Homily, those who do not conceive themselves on this account tied to it, as to a necessary part of their belief, must not dream of pressing us with the authority of the Homilies.[2]

The case of the holy Bishop Andrewes is certainly remarkable. King James I. took up the modern theory of Babylon. Bellarmine answered the royal scholar, not, so far as we can judge, with his usual skill; and then Andrewes came to the rescue. But did the idea ever attain to life and become a practical conviction, in the mind of either the monarch or his friend? Historians tell us that James, in order that he might marry his son into one of the great reigning families on the continent, was ready to make very large concessions to Rome, and admit, as so many of our divines would also do, a modified primacy in the Pope. When Santa Clara was trying, as a Roman Catholic, to take a conciliatory view of the English Articles, he supported that view (as Mr. Arthur Baker mentions in his letter to the Bishop of London) from the writings of Bishop Mountague and Bishop Andrewes. And if any living Bishop of our Church, who may profess to agree with Andrewes in his view of the Apocalypse, will at the same time employ the devotions of that great and good man, and will further introduce into his private chapel the ritual adopted by him,[3] we may safely predict, that these ideas concerning Babylon will not display much salient energy; and that lookers on, whether Puritan or Papal, will not readily imagine that they form any prominent part of such a Bishop's inmost thoughts.
[45]
Must we bow, then, in this controversy to the judgment of Hooker? Hooker wrought a work on behalf the English Church against Puritanism, such as, humanly speaking, none other could have effected. His deep ponderings on the mystery of the Incarnation, and his

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1 Article on Ranke.

2 Cf. Palmer on the Church. Supplement *ad fin.* and Vol. I. Pt. 1. Chap. xi.

3 See the account nin Dr. Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography, Art. Andrewes.

exposition or the nature and force of law are for all time. But are there no marks even in *him* of those lowering influences of the time, form which even the best and greatest are seldom free? Must we follow Hooker in the Erastrian teaching of his later portions of the Ecclesi-astical Polity? Can we look back so fondly as he did (Lib. iv. *ad fin*.) to the memory and Church policy of Edward VI.? Are we to join with him in that excessive admiration of the character of Calvin, which Bishop Bull did his best, in after time, to check, and which Mr. Dyer's recent biography will perhaps annihilate for ever? Considering that Hooker's sermons are usually held to be the productions of his earlier and less matured mind; considering that he never terms the Roman Bishop an antichrist or man of sin, we trust that we are offering no disrespect to his memory, if we do not pay great attention to that *single* sentence in *single* sermon, wherein he alludes to Papal Rome as Babylon.

There remain the elaborate works of Mede. His learning, his piety, his high tone upon other questions of theology, have rendered his writings one of those formidable batteries, under cover of which whole regiments of very inferior soldiers may discharge their smaller metal in safety. Dr Wordsworth's books may perhaps prove the same. But Mede, to make his theory coherent, was obliged to see Rome in a well-known text of S. Paul, (I Tim. iv. 1—3) and consider it the great apostacy. It is with deep pain that we have learnt, through the kindness of a friend, that Dr Wordsworth in a recent sermon appears to sanction this notion, from which he has shrunk in the argument of the Hulsean Lectures.

Happily it does not devolve on *us* to rebuke this teaching. It has been done already and by those who had a right to speak. Well may Archdeacon Churton term Mede's "Apostacy of the Latter Times," "a treatise, which while it has found much popular acceptance," has "singularly escaped that critical examination, which many of its positions seem greatly to require."

Next let us hear Bishop Horsley:

> "In Mede's scheme of interpretation, every thing depends on the numbers, and nothing is plausible but the supputation. And that plausibility is nothing more than a delusive appearance produced by gratuitous assumptions, by irregular arbitrary applications of the prophetic images, not warranted by the usage of the prophetic style, and in many instances dependent upon facts of doubtful history, and, above all, upon *that unwarrantable, monstrous supposition, that Chris-*[46]*tian Rome is Antichrist, and all who have at any time opposed her, however wild and fanatical in their opposition, saints.*"[1]

Once more yet, we turn to Dr Burton, a man not unworthy, in any respect, to be placed side by side with Mede or Dr Wordsworth.

> "I ought perhaps to enter an explanation, why I do not follow the host of commentators who have referred the prophecy in 1 Tim, iv. 1, &c., and in 2 Thess. ii. 1—12 to the errors of the Church of Rome. I can only say, that *after giving the passages every consideration, I cannot see the smallest probability of this being the right interpretation.* We ought perhaps to be very cautious how we trace any illusion to the Church of Rome in the New Testament, when we find the Romanists making use of this very passage, [from Timothy] and turning it against ourselves."[2]

But why speak we even of a Horsley and a Burton? Mede met with his deserved reproof from a yet weightier hand of his own time. And another member of the University of

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[1] Bishop Horsley, Brit. Mag. No. 34. p. 738, quoted by Churton—Memoir of Bishop Pearson, p. 63.

[2] Burton's Brampton Lectures, note 60, p. 436.

Cambridge saw with eagle glance the entire consequences which Mede's theory, if accepted, must necessitate. He saw that it *must* follow that the *primitive church itself* was apostate and idolatrous; that the promises of CHRIST OUR LORD had failed; that the *ancient* reverence for the mortal remains of martyrs, and the belief in the efficacy of their prayers for us, as they lay beneath the altar, was thus attacked as sinful: that—but we prefer to give the vigorous Latin of *Bishop Pearson,* from the *Concio*, of which we quoted a single paragraph in our previous argument.

> "Hæc à me ideo tantùm dicta sunt, ne de promissione JESU CHRISTE, de viris apostolicorum temporum (sine quibus ne sacris quidem Scripturis jam frueremur) reliquisque primitivæ Ecclesiæ heroibus, tam malè sentiamus; ne tam fædam Ecclesiæ apostasiam, tamque idololatricam, prædicemus: Quæ, si vera sit, non tantùm ab imperii Romani dissolutione, sed ab ipsis ferè Ecclesiæ cunabulis, omnes Christianorum conventus infecit atque conspurcavit. Nam, si angelorum sanctorumque, pro nobis humi degentibus, et cum immundorum spirituum catervâ colluctantibus, omnem intercessionem intercludamus; si martyrum pro CHRISTO vitam profundentium nullam omnino apud thronum Dei potentiam agnoscamus; si omnes, qui eorum reliquias venerabantur, rejiciamus, conspuamus, et idololatras vocemus; si hæc omnia ex '*bestiarum cornibus, ex tempore, et temporibus et dimidio temporis*' scire nor presumamus, *quænam illa unquam fuerit Ecclesia quid nos communionem habere possumus, penitus ignoro.*". . "Si autem illa religio, quæ totum ferè mundum sub CHRIST jugum[47] misit, apostatica et idololatrica fuit; ubi verè Christiana, ubi Catholica, ubi Apostolica unquam apparebit?"[1]

We must leave it, as we promised, to the good sense of our readers to judge which side these great men would have taken in the questions at issue between ourselves and Dr Wordsworth. In their days, be it remembered, no one doubted the identity of the man of sin with *the* Antichrist. We must once more beg to remind them of a previous citation from these Hulsean Lectures:

> "If it *cannot* be proved to the satisfaction of candid, intelligent and attentive inquirers, that these prophecies have been partly fulfilled in the Church of Rome, *then assuredly there is a very strong presumption that they have not been so fulfilled.*"—p. 328.

Our opponents' case has sunk and broken down in former days: we cannot think it hazardous to predict a like fortune to it in our own. Even Mr. Stanley Faber, though inclined to look for an infidel *power* rather than a *person*,[2] decisively rejects the ultra-Protestant hypothesis. In our own circle of acquaintance we know of more than one, who, at first carried away by the learning, ingenuity, and high character of Dr Wordsworth, has begun to doubt and waver in his allegiance to these views. At present, we will content ourselves with but one more extract from a writer (not dull, uncandid, or unattentive), who does not appear to have had these interpretations proved to his satisfaction. Thus, in his eloquent and deeply interesting Bampton Lectures, speaks the present Archdeacon of S. Alban's concerning the Church's expectation of the future.

> "Here we are met by two main ideas. The first is the prediction of the great falling off and apostacy which is to mark the last times, and which will have reached its crisis and been fully developed in the Man of Sin, when 'the LORD shall consume him with the Spirit of His mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming.' The second is, the announcement that 'this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world *for a witness* to all nations; and then

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[1] Concio IV. ad Clerum. Minor Works, Tom. II. p. 55. The reader may see an excellent translation of most of this passage in Dr. Mill's Sermons on the Nature of Christianity. Sermon II. *ad fin.*

[2] Calendar of Sacred Prophecy; cited by Todd on Antichrist.

> shall the end come.' *That neither of these announcements has met with an adequate fulfilment*, whatever foreshadowings have from time to time prefigured them, or however they may have seemed, at intervals, to be very nigh at hand, *can hardly be doubted;* and so closely are they both connected with the second coming of our LORD, that each of them has at all times attracted the expectant gaze of those who have been looking out for that solemn event."[1]

[48]

Dr Wordsworth argues, very justly, that the identification Papal Rome with Babylon ought to annul for ever all attempts at amalgamation with any Churches of the Roman obedience. Most certainly it ought, and must, wherever it is *really* believed. But we therefore argue *è converso*, that those, who have made attempts at reconciliation, *could* not have held such a belief. This assures to our side the authority of Archbishop Wake and the famous Lutheran Syncretists, Leibnitz, Calixtus, Cassander and their followers.

There are many other great English divines, and some of them conspicuous as anti-Roman controversialists, from whose works we have never seen one syllable produced, which tends to support the theories of Dr Wordsworth. Such are Bishop Sanderson, Bishop Bull, Barrow, Bishop Jeremy Taylor.[2] Now that these famous men were either ignorant of these schemes of interpretation, or that, knowing would not have employed them, had they possessed the slightest confidence in their correctness, is utterly inconceivable. They did not indeed, perhaps, argue against them. It must still be owned, that the mass of the holders is *far* beyond the reach of argument. An advocate on our side can only entreat such, with the Roman bard:

> "Ne mea dicta, tibi studio dispôsta fideli,
> Intellecta priùs quàm sint, contemta relinquas."

While on the other hand, to many more, on our side, the whole system seems too absurd to be patiently dealt with. Many, however, probably kept silence, lest in expressing their disbelief of any charge against Rome, they might be accused, or at least suspected, of Romanising. For whatever Dr Wordsworth may allege (p. 309) about the fear of Stuart kings who were wedded to Roman Catholic princesses, having discouraged and silenced supporters of *his* view, it may safely be rejoined, that for every *one* thus kept at bay, there have been *ten* deterred by the fear of clamours like those of Exeter Hall in our own time. During the last three centuries it has daily become more natural to dread, not the *vultus instantis tyranni*, but the *civium ardor*—alas! too often—*prava jebentium*.[3]

Yet, of those who think that there *may be something* said in favour of regarding the Roman Church as Babylon, how few are there who do not, on some important point, clash with the positiveness and elaboration of the scheme adopted by Dr Wordsworth.[49] We take a single instance, that of a man, who is often held forth as the *princeps* of our anti-Roman writers, Archbishop Bramhall.

> "They [the Protestants] have *defined nothing* concerning Antichrist; howbeit some particular persons have delivered their private opinions with confidence. The name of Antichrist is taken sometimes more largely, sometimes more strictly."

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1 Grant's Brampton Lectures, pp. 21, 22.

2 Taylor is said, however, to have recommended the study of Bishop Andrewes' argument. No marvel that he should shrink from *open* espousal of the cause, when his own obligations to foreigners, especially *S. Francis de Sales,* are considered.

3 Grotius and Hammon, for daring to run counter to the popular voice upon this subject, were termed by a French Protestant "the shame and reproach, not only of the Reformation, but also of the Christian name."

Then, after maintaining that the Pope may be called *an* Antichrist, he continues:

> "The name of Antichrist is sometimes used more strictly, and in a more eminent sense for *the* Antichrist; for that 'man of sin, the son of perdition,' mentioned in 2 Thess. ii, 3." [N.B. Dr Wordsworth is *convinced* that the 'man of sin' and *the* Antichrist are quite distinct. Bramhall names those marks of the man of sin, which may suit the Pope, and then adds:] "*But it is confessed, likewise, that these marks do all agree to the Turk. So whether the one or the other, or perhaps a third, Protestants determine not; but leave private authors to their own opinions.*"[1]

Again, Hales, the friend of Pearson, in a sermon on abuses of hard places of Scripture,[2] speaks forcibly of the danger of pressing these uncertain expositions; and among living writers, Mr. Palmer has exclaimed:

> "GOD forbid that we rest our arguments against the errors of Rome on so *sandy a foundation* as these modern interpretations of the prophecies. We appeal to *facts*: we see and prove the corruptions of the eastern and western Churches; but we are not compelled to exaggerate those errors, nor forced to attribute to all alike, those superstitions which many unquestionably reject. This is one of the great evils of the systems of interpretation to which I allude. *Their tendency is to produce an exaggerated view of errors, an indiscriminate censure unsupported by fact*, in order to justify the awful sentence of damnation denounced by Scripture against those whom they identify with the visible Churches of Christendom."[3]

How different is the tone assumed by Dr Wordsworth, as e.g. at page 316 of these Lectures.

To Bishop Horsley and the rest already named must be added the names of Fell, Whitby, Wells, Hammond, and Mr. Greswell, who deny that these Prophecies apply to Rome, as a Church, or to its Bishop. And on the continent there have appeared Grotius, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Rosenmuller,[4] among Protestants; to whom we believe that we might with justice add, Puffendorf, Neander, Guizot, and many more.

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Bossuet, whose strict honour in the statement of fact is unquestioned alike by his Protestant or Ultramontane adversaries, writes as follows with reference to his own sphere of place and time.

> For my own part, thus much is true, that I never in my life have met with any man of good sense among our Protestants, that laid stress on this article: in sincerity, they were ashamed of so great and excess, and more in pain how to excuse the transports of their own people that introduced this prodigy into the world, than we were to impugn it. Their ablest men freed us from this labour. It is well known what the learned Grotius wrote on this subject, and how clearly he has demonstrated that the Pope should not be Antichrist. If the authority of Grotius seem not weighty enough to our Reformed, because truly this learned man, by studying carefully the Scriptures, and reading the ancient ecclesiastical authors, disabused himself by little and little of the errors he was born in, Dr Hammond, that learned Englishman, was not suspected in the part. Nevertheless, he took no less pains than Grotius to destroy the frenzies of Protestants touching the Antichristianism of the Pope."[5]

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1 Protestants' Ordinations Defended. Works, Vol. V. pp. 256, 257 (Ed. Angl. Cath. Library).

2 Cited by Churton, Memoir of Bp. Pearson, p. lxiii.

3 Palmer, Supplement, pp. xxiii., xxiv.

4 Palmer of the Church, Supplement.

5 Variations, B. XIII. § 10.

Events have indeed occurred since the time of Bossuet, which have bestowed a momentary *éclat* upon these interpretations, over and above that attraction which *any* definite explanation of prophecy must always possess for a large class of minds, especially among those who have never heard but one view of the question. The conduct of James II. exasperated the mind of the nation into a willingness to believe every charge which could possibly be brought forward against Rome. In that day Englishmen had begun to desire the defeat of the Polish hero John Sobieski, by the Turks, lest a triumph to his arms should lend new strength to the mandates issued from the Vatican. But a dissenter, the celebrated Daniel Defoe, recalled his countrymen to a more natural and worthy state of feeling. He reminded them that the battle about to be fought under the walls of Vienna was against the common foe of all who named the name of CHRIST; and that in such case, no intensity of feeling, however provoked by the acts of a rival communion, ought to make men hush the voice of prayer and sympathy on behalf of the Champion of the Cross. About seventy years since, occurred another season well fitted for the revival of these theories; we mean the time of the Gordon riots, so graphically described by a well-known writer of fiction of the present day.[1] The preface to that tale might have been imagined tom foretell the recurrence of a like display,—that long to be remembered winter of A.D. 1850—1, when the storm, originally brought down by Roman Catholics upon themselves, glided so profusely on to the necks of many of the most devoted children of the English Church.

A student of theology may well be recommended to seek the verdict of some calmer hours, and not confine his researches to [51] the statements and reasonings of one side only. Since however, the fear of being charged either with intellectual feebleness or with unsound Churchmanship, appears to frighten some readers from the study of Todd and Maitland, it is worth while mentioning, that a deceased prelate, of remarkable abilities, and very decided anti-Roman, and even anti-Tractarian bias, Bishop Copleston, declared himself so staggered at their arguments, as to withhold his own opinions on the man of sin, which he had been on the point of publishing. It is only due to these writers to reprint some of the remarks of this distinguished scholar, as contained in a letter addressed, in 1841, to his intimate friend, Archbishop Whately.

> "I have resumed the publication of two anti-papal sermons, preached at Newport. I had intended to introduce my own views, generally, not critically, of the New Testament prophecies, as to the 'man of sin' &c.; but the reading of Todd's Lectures, and his coadjutor's writings in the same strain,— Maitland, of Lambeth palace—have made me pause. I should like to know what your opinion is of Todd's view. He has certainly thrown great light upon the historical view of this question,[2] and has compelled me to give up the [Greek], to which we have been so long prone, *taking for granted Mede's theory*, and looking no further back than his expositions for the principles by which to guide our opinions.
>
> "*At first I was prejudiced against* both Maitland and Todd, but a diligent perusal has satisfied me that they are both sincere and orthodox Christians, men of remarkably strong intellect, perspicuous writers, accurate and indefatigable in their researches, and acute reasoners."[3]

If Bishop Copleston cannot be claimed as a convert to the views we have been attempting to advocate, it will at least be admitted that he was on the road toward their acceptance.

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1 ϕ Charles Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge.*

2 We have not bound ourselves to the acceptance of all Dr. Todd's *positive* views, though perfectly agreeing with his *negative* ones; in which last he follows Maitland.

3 Memoir of Bishop Copleston, p. 172.

The thought that such a man, even under such circumstances, was compelled to pause, may perhaps induce some among his numerous admirers to do likewise.

Very observable also is the circumstance that, although these theories have flourished during some seasons of great excitement, they have *thoroughly* failed to lay hold upon the intellect of England. Her great philosopher (claimed, with reason, as the offspring of the Reformation,) Lord Bacon; her chief moralist and first political philosopher of the last century, Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, all employ language completely incompatible with these interpretations. And we have pulled down from the shelves of a humble private library a multitude of books with cognate passages: works of historians, as Clarendon, Robertson, Smyth, Hallam, Alison; of men of letters, as Dr Parr; of travellers, as Borrow, Ford, Laing; of writers on art, as Lord Lindsay; of poets, as [52] Crabbe and Wordsworth; of essayists, as Goldsmith, Lord Mahon, Macaulay, Sir J. Stephen; of Anglo-Americans, as Prescott and Washington Irving; or Nonconformists, as Isaac Taylor and Robert Hall; of clerical *literati*, as Dr Arnold, Mr. A. P. Stanley, Mr, Maurice, Mr. Chevenix Trench. Not *one* of these authors, it must be observed, but is quite decidedly anti-Roman in his cast of thought. Of course, it may be objected that secular authors will always adopt the world's tone, and can therefore carry no weight with religious men. Most true; but we are only mentioning these names as witnesses to *facts*; though some of them my have right to a much higher place. Had we named several among them as teachers, the objection referred to would at least come with a bad grace from any, who can venture to make appeal to the fanaticism of a Joachim, the sectarianism of the Waldenses, the somewhat lax morality of a Petrarch. We had thought of printing the passages above referred to in an appendix. As this course seems impracticable, it is only fair to give one or two specimens of what we *do* consider to be a tone incompatible with the conclusions of these lectures.

> "Believing, as we may, and, to give any meaning to a large period of Church history, we must, that Papal Rome of the middle ages had a work of GOD to accomplish for the taming of a violent and brutal world, in the midst of which *she often lifted up the only voice which was any where heard in behalf of righteousness and truth*—all which we may believe, with the fullest sense that her dominion was a wicked usurpation, however overruled for good to Christendom, which could then take no higher blessing—believing this, we may freely admire these lines [of Hildebert] which so nobly tell of that true strength of spiritual power, which may be perfected in the utmost weakness of all other power."—*Rev. R.C. Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 163.

> "Lastly, he may admit that Popes have been instruments in the hands of the Divine Ruler for bringing light, establishing, and propagating great truths; that their influence has often been exerted to distinguish truth from falsehood, what Mr. Newman would call a faithful development from a corruption; that, in the course of ages it was part of the Divine purpose, that the Latin kingdoms should exercise a very peculiar influence over the destinies of the world, and should, in an especial manner, present the form of a Christendom to the different portions of it; that the position of the Bishop of Rome did help to make the reality of a Christendom more manifest, and that he had a special, most awful, most responsible stewardship entrusted to him, *in the discharge of which, it is mere arrogance, party spirit, and contempt of history, to say he was not often in the main faithful;* a daring intrusion upon GOD'S judgment to assign, in each individual case, the limits of fidelity or infidelity. But all these admissions, so far from approaching one step towards the notion of Mr. Newman, that the true LORD delegated His developing authority, tend, far more than the opinions which I have repudiated, to set that notion utterly at nought."—*Rev. F.D. Maurice, on Epistle to Hebrews*, preface, p. xli.

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> "If these slight notices of the heroes and heroines of Port-Royal (slight, indeed, when compared with the materials from which they have been drawn) should be ascribed by any one to a pen plighted to do suit and service to the cause of Rome, no surmise could be wider of the mark. No

> Protestant can read the writings of the Port-Royalists themselves, without gratitude for his deliverance from the superstitions of a Church which calls herself Catholic, and boasts that she is eternal.
>
> "But for every labour under the sun, says the Wise Man, there is a time. There is a time for bearing testimony against the errors of Rome, why not also a time for testifying to the sublime virtues with which those errors have been so often associated? *Are we for ever to admit and never to practise the duties of kindness and mutual forbearance? Does Christianity consist in a vivid perception of the faults, and an obtuse blindness to the merits, of those who differ from us*? Is charity a virtue only when we ourselves are the objects of it?. . . . Amidst the shock of contending creeds, and the uproar of anathemas, good men have listened to gentler and more kindly sounds. They may have debated as polemics, but they have felt as Christians. On the universal mind of Christendom is indelibly engraven one image, towards which the eyes of every true disciple of CHRIST are more or less earnestly directed. Whoever has himself caught any resemblance, however faint and imperfect, to that divine and benignant original, has, in his measure, learnt to recognize a brother in every one in whom he can discern the same resemblance."—*Stephen's Essays*, vol. i. pp. 516, 17, 18.

But if we look to those, in whom these theories have taken root and shot upwards and borne fruit, the sight is indeed full of sadness and of solemn warning. Certainly, for our own part, if we believed that Rome as a Church was Babylon and its ruler the son of perdition, we should argue against safety in the English communion, which admits the validity of Roman orders; we should shun the countries where Roman rule exists; forsake the buildings wherein Roman rites had once been celebrated; strive to shut our eyes to the work of a Raphael and our ears to the strains of a Haydn; mislike antique stained glass, and in cathedrals be anxious to "break down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers."

The best proof that such reasonings are not forced and unnatural lies in the fact, that they have often *really* followed from adoption of the premises. How full of meaning is that well-known distich, which begins with a pæan over Rome as Babylon, and concludes with the praises of an arch-heretic.

"Tota jacet *Babylon*: destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, *sed fundamenta Socinus*."[1]

Martin Luther was the leading promulgator of the theory that the Pope was anti-Christ. Yes! but it seems *certain* that Luther did not believe in the Canonicity of the Apocalypse; a fact recorded by Michaelis and seized with joy by Mr. Francis Newman. Milton sung of "the triple tyrant" and the "Babylonian woe." [2] True:[54] but Milton likewise taught the sleep of the soul and ended in thorough Arianism.[3] David Georgius (called by his biographer, Osiander, a man of GOD and of holy life) came to the conclusion, that if the doctrine of our LORD and His Apostles had been true and perfect, the Church they founded would have still subsisted; but that since it was manifest that anti-Christ had overthrown it, it lay beyond all doubt that their doctrine was false and imperfect. Ochin, a man of solid judgment and "of greater learning than all Italy put together," according to Calvin, thus arrived at a similar conclusion. "Considering," said he, "on the one side, how it was possible that the Church could have been established by CHRIST, and watered with His blood; on the other, how it could be, as we see it, utterly upset by [Roman] Catholicity, I

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[1] ϕ Trans: 'Babylon [in this context, the Church of Rome] is completely laid low: Luther destroyed the roof; Calvin destroyed the walls and Socinus the foundations.' Dykes often cites this line.

[2] ϕ *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont*

[3] See his *De doctrinâ Christianâ.*

have concluded that he who established it could not be the SON of GOD, for His providence has evidently failed." From these reasonings Ochin renounced Protestantism and became a Jew.[1]

But we may view the matter on a larger scale. Lord Clarendon says concerning the Scotch of his day; "a great part of their religion consisted in an entire detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be anti-Christ, and perfectly hating the persons of all Papists."[2] The English Puritans confidently affirmed, and *acted on*, a like belief. What followed, let the page of history relate. Dr Wordsworth indeed sees in these men mere fanatics, who called many primitive customs anti-Christian, and brought discredit on the cause which he espouses. Their fanaticism we grant, their individual hypocrisy must in many cases be admitted, though the lines between conscious deceit, and self deluding enthusiasm, are often very hard to draw. But these men do nevertheless, in part, extort a portion of that respect which is ever due to a determined carrying out of deep convictions. We regard the Puritans, as men who *acted* where Dr Wordsworth and others only *theorize*. And when their Scotch brethren sought to bring ancient cathedral music into dishonour, by wedding wicked songs to the old chants,[3] they seem to us consistent enough as logicians, however indefensible as doers of evil that good may come.

Some may throw their lot with these Puritans, who *practised* what they held. Many others will adopt the course of accepting these interpretations as a *theory*, and belying by their actions the teaching which they *think* they hold. We submit a third course to their choice, acceptance of the primitive belief concerning antichrist, or at the least, rejection of the modern theory. In that acceptance of the one, or rejection of the other, they will be joining with a vast [55] assemblage of the wise and good in every age. With us we claim the voice of the primitive saints and doctors, Irenæus, Chrysostom, Cyril, Lactantius, Augustine, Victorinus; with us we have the brightest names of the middle ages, Venerable Bede, Aquinas, S. Bernard, S. Anselm, Haymo; with us we reckon many of the first among continental intellects, Grotius, Wetstein, Rosenmuller; with us, we believe, stand Puffendorf, Leibnitz, Lessing, Palmer, Chevenix Trench; with us are certainly Bishop Pearson, Hammond, Bishop Horsley, Doctor Burton; with us we have still Grant, Greswell, Stanley Faber, Maitland, Todd, Evans: who are they that presume to reproach us as men who speak without the sanction of authority?

There are many, many topics which we are compelled to leave untouched, although we thus leave in the hands of Dr Wordsworth some positions which seem remarkably assailable. Fain would we have spoken of his scorn of the notion, that Rome may again for a season become Pagan. One might think that he had never heard of that great neighbouring nation, which, only half a century back, openly abolished Christianity, enthroned the goddess of reason, and declared death to be an eternal sleep. One might think that he was utterly ignorant of the fact, that in the very year his Lectures were delivered, Rome did actually fall into the hands of an unbelieving ruler, Giuseppe Mazzini. Fain would we have inquired how it comes to pass that in the France of our own day, where infidelity is still so rife, there is scarcely a work of love and mercy, scarcely a book against unbelief, scarcely a fraternity or a sisterhood, but it emanates from the servants of the "man of sin." And we had intended to show how thoroughly that *antichristian* power

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[1] These last two instances are given by M. Nicholas (*Etudes Philosophiques.* Tom. iii. p. 210,11). His facts we may accept without committing ourselves to all his conclusions.

[2] Hist. of Rebellion. Book ii. vol. i. p. 165. (Ed. 1807).

[3] See Percy's Ballads. Preface to John Anderson.

was in that country the main stay of *Christianity*, by extracts from a very interesting "Diary in France," which bears upon the title page the name of "Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of S. Peter's, Westminster."

We should further like to have examined whether this country was guilty of a great national sin, when, in March 1799 the English cruisers were appointed to watch, that they might save Pope Pius VI. from the heavy hand of Napoleon Buonaparte. We should have tried to discuss the question, how far it is lawful to trace in that marvellous conqueror the lineaments of a type of him, who is one day "to come in his own name." We could have again called attention to the manner in which the career of that wondrous and versatile intellect destroys the entire *onus* of improbability, which before time seemed to rest upon the primitive ideas concerning Antichrist.

Lastly, we had meant to draw out *seriatim* the dangerous consequences of these theories, their tendency, to unreality if taken up and not acted on, to uncharitableness, Donatism, and fanaticism, if attempted to be realised in practice. Dr Wordsworth is indeed far above the generality of their advocates. He speaks with a sense [56] of responsibility, sadly wanting in many of his allies; he speaks, as those only can, " who have lived in good conscience before GOD; he is often elevating and sometimes even touching in his appeals. It is no doubt always charity to proclaim truth, of we feel confident in our case. But can that confidence in these interpretations be arrived at without uncharitableness? Does Dr Wordsworth so arrive at them? We cannot say that, in our judgment, he does.

But on one danger only of these theories have we space to dwell, and that is, their Romeward and Romanizing tendency. Yes! we repeat it, paradoxical as it may sound, their Romeward and Romanising tendency.

We speak of what we know. Among Dr Wordsworth's undergraduate hearers were those, who recoiling from the shock of being told by a great Doctor that they ought, as Christians, to regard Papal Rome as Babylon and the Beast, began for the first time to think badly of their mother's cause, if she were compelled to have recourse to such weapons. It must be ever thus in the long run. Excess will produce recoil. Men are told, as in these lectures, of tittle but the evils of Rome; they commence in time to look at nothing but her merits. She is denounced as well-nigh wholly an enemy of CHRIST, [Greek]: they become ready to accept her as represent-ative of CHRIST, [Greek]. They are reminded only of "savage and portentous confessions,"(indefensible enough, we know); they turn to an equally one-sided study of such works as those of Scupoli and Horst. They are told loudly of fierce Inquisitors; they will learn to see nothing but meek-eyed sisters of charity. "Do not treat Rome as *no Church,*" says Dr Wordsworth, in his *Theophilus Anglicanus;* "look at the use made of such speeches by Bossuet in his 'Variations.'" Do not call Rome an antichrist, we add; look at the use made of such names, by Dr Newman, in his "CHRIST upon the Waters."

We might show from contemporary publications that our view is gaining ground; that men feel how a leaning on such extremes is apt to beget a suspicion that they are at a loss for better supports; and drives back very many who would have listened to more reasonable controversy. But we will be content with one extract from Dr Todd. May it be found to command the attention which it deserves!

> "The author of the following pages does not think so ill of the reformation, and is too deeply convinced of the truth of that Protestantism which is professed by the Church of England, to suppose for a moment that its cause can suffer anything by renouncing error or embracing truth. The real question therefore should be, not what interpretation of prophecy is most useful or effective in controversy, but what interpretation is most in accordance with the plain words of

> Holy Scripture and most likely to represent exactly the mind of the HOLY GHOST. The [57] Pope-Antichrist argument is, no doubt, an effective weapon with the ignorant or weak-minded who look not beyond the surface and are led away by words rather than by things, and yet even with them the author is persuaded that such arguments have more frequently inflamed unholy passions and nurtured unchristian bigotry, than produced rational conviction grounded on a love of truth; whilst with the learned and sober-minded, the serious student of Holy Scripture and of history, *they have done more to damage the cause of Protestantism than the disputations of twenty Bellarmines*.
>
> "Let us not suppose that the nicknames of Antichrist, or Babylon, or Man of Sin, cast upon our opponents, with rancorous acrimony, in popular invectives, can permanently advance the cause of truth; but let us ever remember, as has been well said by a learned and pious layman of our Church, that, 'a good cause needs not be patronised by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute.' And in point of fact, does not experience prove that such arts of controversy have more frequently been the means of hardening against the truth the minds of many, who would perhaps have yielded to the legitimate influence of fair and sober reasoning?"[1]

The defence of another Communion from charges (however *ultra modem* and untenable those charges be) carries with it its own peculiar dangers. A real desire to be just and candid towards the accused may glide into unfairness towards our own Church; may engender, at least temporarily, that spurious humility, which delights to find in her faults parallel to those of other Churches; which is quick to "speak evil of dignities," without secret prayer for those whom it condemns.

If we have, in the spirit of opposition and from the pressure of haste, been extreme, or uncandid, or too partial, we sincerely regret it. But we cannot apologise for the temporary pain which is caused to many by the merely being asked to give up early prejudices, so far as they can be shown to be mistaken or unfounded.

> "By the common cry, the common mind
> Is buoyed aloft; be it not so with us:
> Whatsoe'er possible evils lie before,
> Let us sincerely own them to ourselves
> With all unstinting, unevasive hearts;
> Reposing in the consciousness of strength,
> Or fervent hope to be endowed with strength
> Of all-enduring temper—*daring all truth*."[2]

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[1] Todd on the Apocalypse. Preface, and again on page 264. We must disclaim any illusion to Dr. Wordsworth in making this citation. It is the *general* question which we have in view.

[2] ϕ Taylor, Sir H. *Isaac Commenus*, Scene V Act III.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol 15 (Joseph Masters: London, 1853)

[350] WILLIAMS AND HENGSTENBERG ON THE APOCALYPSE.

1. *The Apocalypse, with Notes and Reflections.* By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS B.D.,[1] late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Francis and John Rivington, 1852.
2. *The Revelation of S. John expounded for those who search the Scriptures*. By E. W. HENGSTENBERG,[2] Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the original by the Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, author of "Typology of Scripture," &c. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and P. Clark, 1851—2.

There are few among our readers, we apprehend, who have made the Revelation of S. John in any degree a subject of study, who will not feel the force and truth of these words of S. Jerome, "Apocalypsis Joannis *tot habet Sacramenta quot verba*. Parum dixi pro merito voluminis. Laus omnis inferior est: *in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ*." And it is the existence of these "multiplices intelligentiæ" which, while it doubtless enables the humble, unlettered Christian who reads this sacred book merely for practical edification to reap therefrom a rich harvest of spiritual supplies suited to his individual

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[1] ϕ From Jacskon, S.M (ed.) *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* Vol. 12 (Funk and Wagnalls: New York, 1909) p. 368 we learn (here précised): WILLIAMS, ISAAC: poet and harmonist; b. 12 Dec. 1802; d. 1 May 1865. Harrow and Trinity College, Oxford (B.A., 1826; M.A., 1831; fellow, 1831; B.D., 1839); deacon, 1829; curate of Windrush-cum-Sherborne; priest 1832, philosophy lecturer at Trinity College, 1832, and dean of the college, 1833; rhetoric lecturer, 1834-40; vice-president, 1840-42. Curate to Newman at St. Mary's, Oxford, and later had charge of the church at Littlemore. Curate to Keble at Bisley, 1842-48; and at Stinchcombe, 1848-65. Associated with Newman and Keble in *Lyra Apostolica* and *Tracts for the Times*, writing Tracts 80, 86, and 87. His works embrace commentaries on the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Apocalypse; and *The Cathedral, or the Catholic and the Apostolic Church of England*. In Verse (Oxford, 1838); *A Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (London, 1850); *A Short Memoir of R. A. Suckling, with Correspondence and Sermons* (1852); and many sermons, individual and in series. A writer of hymns, but none of them had great currency.

[2] ϕ From Jacskon, *op.cit.*Vol. 5 pp. 224-225 we learn (again précised) : HENGSTENBERG, ERNST WILHELM: German Protestant exegete; b. the son of a Lutheran clergyman 20 Oct 1802; d. 28 May 1869. In 1819 he entered the University of Bonn, studying OT exegesis and church history, classical philology, Aristotelian philosophy and Arabic. The results of his philosophical studies were embodied in a German translation of the metaphysics of Aristotle, and from his Arabic studies he obtained his doctorate.

He took his baccalaureate in theology in 1825, his thesis embodying a defence of the truth of Protestantism and a criticism of rationalism, especially on OT problems. As head of the seminar of OT studies his activity and his reputation increased, albeit that the vigour of his orthodoxy earned him the dislike of the authorities. In 1827 he became editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, a medium through which he was to exercise a wider and deeper influence on the religious life of his age than through his strictly academic labours.

Hengstenberg entered on a task that he was to carry on, despite discouragement, for forty-two years, earning for himself opposition and enmity, ridicule and slander, open and secret denunciation. "The opinion of the world during the last forty years has associated with Hengstenberg's name all that it finds condemnatory in the revival of a former faith—Pietism, a dead orthodoxy, obscurantism, fanaticism, Jesuitism, sympathy with every influence for retrogression" (Kahnis). However, *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* remained steadfast in the pursuit of its great mission—the combating of rationalism. It was not content to assail rationalism as an abstract system, but attacked its tendencies in whatever individual form it manifested itself. Its quarrel was with all who assailed or denied the divinity of Christ, exalted matter and the flesh, or paid undue worship to human reason. Against error in its manifold forms it upheld the standard that the Church of all ages has upheld against error and recusancy—the word of God and the creed of the Church.

needs; while it also furnishes the superficial expositor with an *apparent* solution of many of its "hard sayings," and affords standing-room for the daily-increasing company of major and minor prophets who are ever and anon perplexing the world with their confident and conflicting vaticinations;—yet it is this, we say, which is one of the chief sources of the difficulty attending the interpretation of this marvellous book.

To discover, in so far as such discovery is possible, what is the *primary* bearing and scope of its successive visions; to discriminate between what is literal and what purely symbolical, and where the two combine, to separate clearly the border territory of *adaptation*, from the region of legitimate interpretation;—here are, and here ever have been, some of the great difficulties in which its exposition is involved.

And hence too, in a measure, arises the infinite importance that the student who would really arrive at a knowledge of the book itself, and sound its mystic depths, should primarily seek to fix its sacred imagery and interpret its symbols by the sure light of Holy Scripture, and not by the thousand fitful and illusive gleams thrown back upon them by the histories of the world.'[1] [351] Not that we would be understood in the least to deprecate the humble study of the world's history as a useful auxiliary to the understanding of the Apocalypse, or the reverent endeavour to trace out some of the images, more or less indistinct, projected by its deep and mysterious predictions upon the world's canvas,—far from it. Nay, we think such a study, if carried on in a devout and humble spirit, interesting and instructive to a degree. But what we chiefly complain of in so many of our modern Apocalyptic expositors, is this,—that they seem to elevate history from its subordinate position, and impose upon it functions which it is utterly unable to discharge; forcing it whether it will or not, to unlock all the mysteries of prophecy. And hence the melancholy failures which follow their attempts.

It is, indeed, most sad to see this divine book, this "Holy of Holies," as it has been called, of the Word of God, converted into a dry historical and arithmetical puzzle, nay, still worse, to find it stripped of its glory, bound in fetters, and constrained to serve as the miserable slave of near-sighted and uncharitable prejudices! And yet it requires but a very moderate acquaintance with our multitudinous modern expositions, to evidence how much this is the case. It would be endless to give examples. Historical failures are pardonable; but let a single example serve as an illustration how this holy book may be degraded to be the minister of party prejudice.

All our readers will have heard of, many, perhaps, will have read, Mr. Elliott's laborious and learned work, "Horæ Apocalypticæ;" and none are more willing than ourselves to testify to the vast amount of painstaking research of which it everywhere gives evidence. But how melancholy it is to see a work, in many respects so valuable, yet so incurably disfigured with this near-sighted prejudice. Conceive an English Clergyman, a man, too, of undoubted learning and piety, seriously endeavouring to demonstrate that the great Church revival which, through the unmerited mercy of a gracious God, has been for many years, and still is taking place amongst us, is predicted in the Apocalypse, and alluded to by the inspired seer under the figure of "*one of the unclean spirits like frogs*," which were

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[1] Mr. Williams remarks: "S. John looked to the countenance of his Divine Teacher, did not cast it down to the historical developments below—his interpreter must do the same. The knowledge of the Blessed is said to consist in reading all external events of the world in the vision of God. It is in gazing into His Holy Scriptures, not in the histories of the world, that men become divinely wise. The attitude of the learner must ever be that of one looking as for the morning watch, looking for what God may do, listening to hear what God will say."—(Preface, p. ix.)

seen issuing from the mouths of the Dragon and the Beast, and the False Prophet (ch. xvi. 13, 14.) And yet Mr. Elliott positively endeavours to demonstrate this, and at some length too. We are glad, for his sake, that he was not the author of this edifying interpretation. The honour of parentage is due to the good Mr. Bickersteth. Mr. Elliott, however, adopts it with great satisfaction. After demonstrating that Infidelity and Popery are the [352] first and second respectively of these evil spirits, he arrives at the third, namely, the spirit from the mouth of the False Prophet: and thus solemnly commences:—

> "The warning cry of a watchman of our Israel . . . has been lately heard to denounce the modern *Oxford Tractarianism* as, in part, the *very voice* of the False Prophet in the text. Can this be the case? Is it really the *voice of the unclean spirit Apocalyptically prefigured as issuing like a frog out of the mouth of the False Prophet* that has been *resounding* these last eight or ten years from the banks of the Isis?
> "This is a grave question. Certainly," &c.,[1]

He then proceeds to prove his point; and after adducing many ingenious and instructive parallels between Tractarianism and a frog, showing, among other things that—

> "Its mode of speech and action has well answered to the symbol of a frog . . . . its unceasing emissions of *voice* in conversational or more formal discourses,—from the pulpit and from the press; in tracts, sermons, essays, reviews, romances, novels, poems, children's books, newspapers; in music too, and paintings, and *church decoration*, (!) and architecture (e.g. the Camden Architectural Society, at Cambridge,)" &c., &c.

with a great many more equally obvious parallels,[2] he concludes—

> "So the parallel between the spirit of the modern *Oxford Tractarianism*, ... and the spirit prefigured to S. John as *going forth like a frog* from the mouth of the *False Prophet*, has been made out, as I think, *clearly* and *completely*."—Hor. Apoc., *pp*. 1226—1242, 1st ed.

Now, all this would be very ridiculous, if the subject were not really far too solemn for merriment. So long as expositors approach this book with minds darkened by prejudice, expecting to discover in its sacred depths but the imaged reflection of their own vain imaginings,—their own likes and dislikes,—it is hopeless to expect that any real advance will be made towards fixing its interpretation.

Leaving out of consideration, however, interpretations of this kind, and coming to the more general questions of Apocalyptic exegesis, we are free to confess that our objections to the generality of our modern expositions are rather of a negative than a positive kind, and are grounded not so much on what they severally admit, as on what they deny.
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There are, as all our readers know, three great classes of interpreters,—the Preterists, the Presentists, and the Futurists,—each maintaining that themselves alone are right, and their brethren necessarily in error: the first asserting that the great bulk of the Apocalyptic predictions have already received their accomplishment; the second proving incontrovertibly that they are now in course of fulfilment; and the third contending that they are still future. Now, our own opinion with regard to these three schools has always

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[1] ϕ The emphases in this and the following quotations from Elliott are Dykes's.

[2] The method in which Mr. Elliott seeks to establish the parallel between Tractarianism and another feature of these unclean spirits, (viz. when it is said that they are "the *spirits of Devils working miracles*") reminds us—we say it in all sober seriousness—of nothing else save S. Matt. xii. 24—31. It is unnecessary to say more than that Mr. Elliott's awful parallel is grounded upon the words of our LORD: "Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go to the FATHER;" and on the fact of the Church's faith that in Baptism and the Holy Eucharist there is some *real* work effected. (Ib. p. 1233.)

been, that so far as their positive statements respectively extend, they have each of them a certain amount of truth on their side, but that in their negative statements they all alike fail; in fact, that, to a certain extent, all are right, and all are wrong.

That S. John, writing, as he did, in the time of a bloody, persecution,[1] himself an exile on the lonely isle of Patmos, "for the Word of GOD, and the testimony of JESUS CHRIST," should be. inspired by the HOLY GHOST to write a book for the benefit of the Church, in which his suffering brethren should be well-nigh forgotten, and the infant Church of his own day, struggling as though for very life, should be overlooked, and the consolations and warnings all reserved for a future age,—is what an examination of every other prophetical book in the sacred Canon absolutely forbids us to imagine.

But again: that S. John should be inspired to write a prophetical book, the only one in the New Testament Canon, addressed to the "Holy Church throughout the world,"[2] which was only intended for the guidance of the Christians of his own, or immediately succeeding generations, and was in no way designed to throw light on the several crises which might arise in the subsequent history of the Church,—this is what we can still less brings ourselves to believe.

Now far be it from us to attribute any vagueness or aimless generality to the Divine predictions. What we are anxious to maintain is their comprehensive character—looking not merely in one direction, but behind, before, and around. The truth, we feel convinced, is that they have different stages of fulfilment, progressive developments. "It is the Divine custom," says Mr. Williams, "to combine literal and spiritual meanings, and to intend by the same words successive fulfilments. For judgment moves cycle on [354] epicycle—thus sending warning shadows before, that wisdom may teach through analogy." (p. 108.)

If any feel disposed to question the comprehensive character of the Divine predictions, we would beg them to turn for a single moment to one of the earliest, recorded in the Old Testament. "GOD shall enlarge Japhet and (He) shall dwell in the tents of Shem," Gen. ix. 27, (where the intentional ambiguity as to the subject of the verb "shall dwell," whether "GOD" or " Japhet" must be noticed,) and we would merely ask when did this passage receive its accomplishment,—nay, has its deep meaning yet been exhausted? Will it ever wholly be until "the Tabernacle of GOD is with men and He shall dwell among them, and GOD shall wipe away all tears from their eyes"?

In further illustration of the comprehensive character of the Scripture prophecies, we have but to refer to any of those passages in the New Testament wherein the accomplishment of an Old Testament prediction is noticed, and in almost all these cases we shall feel morally certain that the fulfilment there announced is not the only one, nay, not even the *primary* one, but merely *a* fulfilment, *an* historical reflection, as it were, of the Divine saying. So that in almost every case the words [Greek] should be rendered "then did that receive *a* fulfilment which was spoken," &c., &c.

And so too with many of those great Apocalyptic symbols which have given rise to so much controversy and angry altercation. The most that a modest interpreter will feel

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[1] Hengstenberg has an admirable section (pp. 1—36) on ."the time of writing the Revelation" in which he establishes most conclusively the truth of the general Church tradition, that Domitian was the author of S. John's banishment—and that the Revelation was written during the time of a bloody persecution, the *first* regularly organized one which extended *all over Christendom*, (that which took place in Nero's time was confined to Rome) and which shortly preceded the death of Domitian

[2] "*Septem Ecclesiis*". (cap. i. 4) "per has septem Ecclesias *omni Ecclesiæ* scribit. Solet enim universitas septenario numero designari, quod septem diebus cunctum hoc seculi tempus evolvatur."—(Beda in loc.)

disposed to say in offering a suggestion for the interpretation of any of them (we allude to any *historical* interpretation) will be that such and such an event appears to be *an* accomplishment of the prophecy, *one* of the shadows cast by it.

Take, for instance, the prophecies which have caused so much discussion between Romanist and Protestant writers, between the schools of Bossuet and Mede. We allude chiefly to those which relate to the Beast from the sea, and the Harlot Babylon.

They refer to the Papacy and the Church of Rome, say the one party. Nothing of the kind, rejoin the other, the thing is impossible; they evidently refer, and refer exclusively to the Roman Empire and the heathen city of Rome.

Now without giving an opinion at present as to which party appears to have the *best* of the argument, all we can say is that it is manifest at the very outset that neither of them has the *whole* truth with it, and that the predictions have a wider scope, and a more comprehensive grasp than either is disposed to admit. We are emphatically told with regard to the Beast, (and the statement is reiterated) that "*all who dwell on the earth whose names are not written in the book of life* shall worship him," (ch. xiii. 8.) and with regard to the Harlot Babylon that "in her was found the blood of [355] *all* who were slain on the earth." (xviii, 24.) We maintain then that the œcumenical character which is thus seen to attach to these predictions, prohibits our *limiting* them to any *one* historical realization; and that, however we may see strange lights cast by them upon events of passing or past history, yet we are not justified in confining their range within arbitrary or circumscribed limits.

The two works which form the heading of this article are in a great measure free from the faults to which we have alluded, and in so far we give them our cordial approbation. Mr. Williams' work we have read throughout with very great gratification; and, without professing to agree with him in every minor point of his exposition, we yet have no hesitation in saying that we have met with no exposition of the Apocalypse with which we feel to agree so thoroughly. It is quite refreshing to meet with a work on this sacred subject free from controversy and party prejudice, and breathing throughout such a spirit of real Christian love and of such deep unaffected humility. The general aim of the Exposition is practical and devotional, and on that account we may devoutly trust that it will be a means of inducing many a humble Christian who has hitherto shrunk from it, from feelings of awe perhaps, or it may be, dread of finding himself upon this great controversial arena, to study its "Blessed"[1] contents. And whatever speculative difference he may have on minor points, with the writer, we can promise him that he will be amply repaid by its perusal.

> "Nothing," says Mr. Williams, "appears so much to be apprehended and avoided as any mode of interpretation which will put it far from ourselves. The fact that any line of exposition does not tend to Practical edification is, to the writer's mind, a strong argument against its truth. It is not the guidance intended. * * *
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> "Wrong, therefore, as many of the points maintained in this volume doubtless are, yet the writer is of this most fully convinced, that in this direction alone the truth is to be found, viz., when the interpretation is made a matter for 'instructing in righteousness,' warning, and comfort; that every Christian is bound to make the Apocalypse a subject of study; and richly indeed, by GOD'S mercy, would these labours be crowned, if the writer could but instil into others one spark of that love which he entertains for this most Divine book."—*Preface*,

[1] *Vide* Rev. i. 3.

The work of Professor Hengstenberg is one of greater pretensions than that of Mr. Williams, containing nearly one thousand pages of closely printed 8vo. It is undoubtedly a very valuable work and one likely to prove of eminent service to the critical student of the Apocalypse. Though many will consider his exposition unsatisfactory in certain points (some of which we shall have occasion to notice) yet few will deny it to be a great advance on the ordinary run of Apocalyptic commentaries. From his very careful [356] and critical examination of the text and from the immense amount of Biblical illustration which he brings to bear upon it, tracing almost each several clause to its "fundamental" passages in the Old Testament, his work must ever continue one of great value.

A writer so well known in the Theological world as a man of deep piety, a profound student as well as voluminous expositor of Holy Writ, he is in many points eminently fitted for a task which he has, on the whole, admirably performed.

The portion of his work in which we feel ourselves the least able to coincide with him is that wherein he treats of the first resurrection, and the thousand years' reign (vol. ii. pp. 271—298.)

Rejecting alike the theory of the modern (as well as the ancient) Chiliasts, and also the more sober Church theory, he propounds a theory, and maintains it with considerable earnestness, which to ourselves, at least, is perfectly novel. He argues that the millennium is now past; that it commenced on or about the first Christmas Eve of the year 800, "the day of the inauguration of the Western Christian empire, when the Pope placed the crown on the head of Charlemagne, and the joyful proclamation sounded forth, 'To Charles Augustus, crowned by GOD, the great and peaceful Roman Emperor, life and victory.'" (p 275.) He, of course admits that the beginning and end of the space bear somewhat of a floating character, and that it is not possible to point them out with precision, so that we must satisfy ourselves with a period which *nearly* corresponds to it.

Writing as he does in the eventful year 1848, he fancies (and not without some show of reason) that he sees evident indications of Satan having been loosed from his stronghold, and having, gone forth to seduce the nations.

But here is one of the evil effects of reading prophecy in the light of the history of our own time rather than in that of Holy Scripture. Moreover it appears evident that our author has mainly adopted this view because it enables him thereby to settle the other portions of his hermeneutic scheme. This passage has had to bend to his system of interpretation, not his system of interpretation to this passage.

The great fault of a view of this kind is its excessive vagueness and the absolute uncertainty which it tends to produce, whether Holy Scripture really means anything or not.

Now, in the Church's mode of interpreting this passage, (Rev. xx. 1—6,)—we mean that advocated at length by S. Augustine, in the *De Civ. Dei,* lib. xx. cap. 6, sqq., which entirely superseded the ancient Chiliast view, and has been followed by the great bulk of the Church expositors, we have at least Scripture ground to stand upon for every part of the explanation.

The great angel (xx, 1,) who holds the key of the abyss, is evidently CHRIST, "The Angel of the Covenant," Who hath the keys [357] of Death and Hell. And the *binding* of the Devil with "the great chain," which He effects, is manifestly that which our LORD Himself refers to, when He says, in allusion to His Incarnation, "No man can enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he first *bind* the strong man, and then will he spoil his goods" (S. Mark iii. 27,) "signifying the *Devil* by the *strong man*," adds S. Augustine,

"quia ipse genus humanum potuit tenere captivum;" and by "*his goods*," "fideles suos futuros, quos ille in diversis peccatis atque impietatibus possidebat." The "*binding*," he[1] thus explains; "ejus potestatem ab eis seducendis ac possidendis, qui fuerant liberandi, cohibuit atque frænavit" (ib. lib. xx. cap. 7.) By "the *abyss*" into which Satan is cast, he understands "multitudo innumerabilis impiorum . . . . non quia ibi Diabolus ante non erat, sed ideo dicitur illuc missus, quia exclusus à credentibus plus cœpit impios possidere."

This last, perhaps, hardly gives the *whole* meaning of the expression.[2] But the other parts of the prophecy also seem capable of a most satisfactory solution, if we only take Scripture for our guide. Let us but bear in mind what this book—more, perhaps, than any other in the Canon—presses by every conceivable form of expression upon us,—the absolute *oneness* between CHRIST and His people, and all becomes clear.

The prophet Isaiah beholds Zion travailing, and giving birth to a "*man-child*." But in the very next verse, the "man-child," the type of CHRIST, is explained by the plural "*children*" (Isa. lxvi.7, 8.)

So S. John (Rev. xii.) sees this same "woman" and the same birth of the "*man-child*," which the context equally shows to signify, not the Man CHRIST JESUS alone, but His mystical Body, the Church. So that the *man-child* who, in ch. xii., is caught up to GOD'S "*throne*," corresponds to the *children* who, in ch. xx., are seen sitting on "*thrones;*" of whom our LORD elsewhere speaks. "I appoint unto you a *kingdom*, as My FATHER hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on *thrones*" (S. Luke xxii. 29.) And with regard to what is said of the man-child, (ch. xii. 5,) that "he was to *rule* all nations *with a rod of iron;*" this is precisely what is said respecting [358] Christ's people, "those who overcome and keep His word," namely, that they shall "have power over the nations," and shall *rule* them *with a rod of iron*, *even as* I received of My Father" (ii. 26.) "Thou *hast* made us *kings* and priests, and we shall *reign* on the earth."

And with regard to the other expression "they *lived*" ("they lived and reigned with Christ," xx. 4.) It has already been explained, and by our Lord Himself in those profound and blessed words, "He that believeth on the Son *hath* everlasting *Life*, and shall not come into condemnation, but *is* passed from death unto *Life*." "Whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall *never die*." We feel persuaded that it is mainly from the low and unscriptural view which is taken of the blessings of the regenerate state that this, the Catholic view of this striking passage has been so very generally rejected. Men have been saying "Lo, here," and "Lo, there," merely because they disbelieved Christ's word that "the kingdom of Heaven was within them."

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[1] "Alligatio diaboli, est non permitti exercere totam tentationem."—De C. D. xx. 8.

[2] "Alligatio diaboli secundum litteram intelligenda est, ut in aliquo abyssi loco,vel in Profundo inferorum, virtute divinâ, religatus teneatur usque ad tempus Anti-christi, quo solvetur et maximè sæviet in sanctos. Aliqui interpretantur non de omnibus dæmonibus, sed de Sathana principe dæmonum, qui ita in infernum detrusus est, ut inde exire non possit, neque homines per se ipsum tentare. Ita exposuit Gregorius, lib. 4, Moral. cap. 13. Si id exponamus de universo dæmonum imperio, intelligendum est eo sensu dæmonem fuisse ligatum ut non posit ad tentandos homines ex abysso exire nisi permittente angelo, eum ligavit, i.e. Christo. Unde fit ut neque in hoc mundo tam liberè regnet sicut antea, neque tam acriter possit homines tentare ac seducere, ut ligare dæmonem sit ejus coercere ac cohibere potestatem."—L. Cequæi Comm in lib. xx. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, cap. 7.

It is most worthy of notice how entirely the death of the body is overlooked in this passage. It is in fact no *death*, but merely a transition to a higher stage of development of the resurrection Life. For these who are here represented as "living and reigning with Christ" are, evidently, as well those in the body as those who are out of the body; they consist as well of "those who have been smitten with the axe" ([Greek]) as of those who have continued firm in their allegiance to Christ, who have resisted the seductions of "the Beast and his Image," and thus have not fallen from those "heavenly places" to which they had been raised by Christ and from which Satan had been expelled.'[1]

It is but fair to state that Hengstenberg considers the first part of the 20th chapter as chronologically subsequent to the close of the 19th, and thus is compelled to look out for an historical realization of the contents of the former passage, *after* the final discomfiture of the Beast which is described in the latter. The "Beats" he considers to be the whole state of heathendom, and the "kings of the earth with their armies" (ch. xix. 19) to be the ten horns on its seventh head, and so to correspond with the last phase of the God-opposing principle; with whose extinction, which was effected [359] "partly through the peaceful mission of the Church (xvii. 14), partly through severe judgments of God" (xix. 11—21) he considers the dominion of the world to have been broken, and the Beast, whose last instruments these kings were, to have retired from the stage. (Hengst. vol. ii. p. 272.) So that the Church was left for the space of a thousand years to enjoy a peaceful and undisturbed reign. But just at the threshold of this millenary period he conceives that "those who had departed earlier whether by martyrdom or a common death, if only they died in the Lord, are *represented*" (?) by S. John "as solemnly inaugurated in their possession of the heavenly inheritance."

Our readers we feel convinced will agree with us that this *ideal* inauguration to a kingdom is very unsatisfactory. If we forsake the landmarks which Holy Scripture affords us in our prophetical investigations, we shall soon find ourselves lost in the intricate mazes of profitless speculation.

Two resurrections, and two only, are spoken of in Holy Scripture: the first, when we are made members of Him who is "the Resurrection and the Life"; which resurrection, with its inestimable privileges and dread consequent responsibilities, is perpetually employed by S. Paul as the ground of his practical exhortations to holiness of life. "We *are*, now, *risen* with Christ," "our life is hid with Christ in God." "We *are* come to Mount Sion." GOD "*hath* quickened us together with Christ, and *hath raised us up* together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." He "hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and *hath translated us into the kingdom* of His dear Son."

Now surely if words mean anything, the regenerate state is here represented as *a* resurrection. But Holy Scripture speaks of *none other* save the "general resurrection at the last day." Therefore the expression "the first resurrection" would undoubtedly seem to

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[1] Mr. Williams thus beautifully alludes to the expression "they lived." He tells us that in this passage there is no mention made of *death*, and that it is only afterwards that any notice of death occurs; "I saw the *dead*." "But here," writes Mr. Williams, "it is not the dead, but '*the souls*' of the living; of those who are not dead, and cannot die, although *smitten by the axe.* Scripture avoids, in a remarkable manner, applying the word *death* to the departure of the good: 'Lazarus sleepeth;' 'the maid is not dead, but sleepeth;' 'they that sleep in Jesus;' or that 'depart hence in the Lord.' It is 'to depart and be with Christ which is far better.' And it may be observed that S. John avoids saying 'lived again;' it is 'lived' with Christ. He says not of them [Greek], but [Greek]. 'He that believeth on me shall never die.' Here on earth their 'life is hid with Christ in God;' and though *smitten with the axe*, yet safe in that better life they die not.

refer *as plainly* to our salvation from our first death (the death entailed upon us at our birth) as the "second resurrection," to our salvation from the "second death."[1]

With regard to the expression "the thousand years," it will obviously be merely a definite number put for an indefinite—the day of grace; the day of the Lord, which is as a thousand years. "Mille annos pro annis omnibus hujus seculi posuit ut perfecto numero notaretur ipsa temporis plenitudo. Millenarius enim numerus denarii numeri quadratum solidum reddit." (C.D. xx. 7.)[2]

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The verse "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished" (v. 5) is thus explained by S. Augustine.

> "*Reliqui eorum non vixerunt*. Mora enim nonc est cum mortui audient vocem Filii DEI, et qui audierint, vivent, (Joan. 5.) *reliqui* verum *eorum non vivent*. Quid veto subdidit, *donec finientur mille anni*, intelligendum est, quod eo tempore non vixerunt, quo vivere debuerunt, ad vitam scilicet de morte transeundo. Et ideo cum dies venerit quo fiat et corporum resurrectio, non ad vitam de monumentis procedent, sed ad judicium: ad damnationem scilicet, quæ secunda mors dicitur. *Donec* enim *finiantur mille anni* quicunque non vixerit, id est, isto toto tempore quo agitur prima resurrectio non audierit vocem Filii DEI, et ad vitam de morte non transierit; profectò in secundâ resurrectione, quæ carnis est, in mortem secundam cum ipsâ came transibit."—*Ibid*. c. 9.[3]

Mr. Williams is very satisfactory on this millenarian question; he follows, in the main, the view we have briefly sketched out; supposing that Chap. xx. is one of the numerous recapitulations which all admit to be of frequent occurrence in this book, and maintaining as he says, "with S. Augustine, Tichonius, Andreas, S. Gregory, Primasius, Bede, Cornelius à Lapide, that the binding of Satan is from our LORD'S incarnation." (p. 410.)[4]

His chapter on the loosing of Satan for the little season (pp. 414—428) is most deeply interesting and suggestive. But we must hasten on to some other portions of the works before us.

Few questions can be more interesting than that relating to the four mysterious "living creatures" seen by S. John "in the midst of the throne and round about the throne." (ch. iv. 6—8.)[5]

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[1] "Sicut ergo duæ sunt regenerationes, una secundum fidera quæ nunc fit baptismum: alia secundum carnem quæ fiet in ejus incorruptione atque immortalitate per judicium magnum atque novissimum: Ita sunt et resurrectiones duæ; una prima, quæ et nunc est, et animarum est, quæ venire non permittit in mortem secundam: alia secunda, quæ nunc non est, sed in seculi fine futura est: nec animarum, sed corporum est, quæ per ultimum judicium alias mittit in secundam mortem, alios in eam vitam, quæ non habet mortem."—(De C. D. xx. 6.)

[2] We feel surprised that Hengstenberg, who throughout maintains the symbolical character of the Apocalyptic numbers, should, almost in this solitary case, have maintained, and apparently on the slenderest grounds, a literal meaning. We will advert to this interesting question of numbers by and by.

[3] Mr. Williams takes a different view from this of S. Augustine, of the meaning of the expression, "*the rest of the dead* lived not." He rather inclines to the notion that they are the *Old Testament saints* who had been previously mentioned under the fifth seal, (who are there spoken of as having died "for the word of God," but *not* "for the testimony of Jesus,") and who are there told that they are to "rest for a little season *till their brethren should be fulfilled*." (Ch. vi. 11.)—*Vide Williams*, pp. 99—101; *and* 436—7. The view is certainly most worthy of consideration.

[4] Dr. Wordsworth advocates the same mode of interpretation, with great eloquence and force, in his Lectures on the Apocalypse.

[5] Hengstenberg notices the very striking recurrence of the number *three* in the description of the [Greek].

{*cont.*}

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What is the precise import of these remarkable symbols?

We often hear them explained as being certain Angelic manifestations. Hengstenberg considers them to be "a representation of living beings, of all that is living on the earth," (vol. i. p. 212) "a concentration of created life," (ib. p. 218) a kind of epitome of the whole animal creation.

But all such hypotheses are proved to be absolutely untenable by this simple fact, that *these cherubic figures are represented as giving thanks for redemption*. "*Thou hast redeemed us*" is the joint song of themselves and the twenty-four elders "out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, and made us to our GOD kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth."[1] (ch. v. 9, 10.)

Now the first thing here to be noticed is the well-nigh universal, Catholic tradition which connects these [Greek] in *some* way with the four Evangelists, or four Gospels. Hengstenberg, after giving *his* interpretation, merely alludes to this Catholic interpretation for the purpose of informing us that "all such notions are exploded," that "besides being untenable in themselves, they are quite unsuitable here," that it is entirely out of date to attempt any revival of them now, (Hengst. i. 214.) Now compare with this, what Mr. Williams says (p. 67). He refers to the Catholic interpretation and simply adds, that *this* therefore "must be taken as the basis of all other interpretations or co-ordinate with them." And most significant and beautiful do these Divine emblems become when we arrive at their full import.

For what do we mean when we identify these [Greek] with the four Gospels, or the four Evangelists?

"And the four Beasts	*had each six wings*	and *were full of eyes;*	and *rest not;* &c.
saying	*Holy;*	*Holy;*	*Holy;*
	LORD;	GOD;	ALMIGHTY;
	which was;	*and is;*	*and is to come;*
And when those Beasts give	*Glory;*	*and Honour;*	*and thanks* to Him, &c.
The four-and-twenty elders	*fall down, &c.;*	*and worship, &c.*	*and cast their crowns,* &c.
Saying, Thou are worthy to receive	*Glory;*	*and Honour;*	*and Power;*
For	*Thou hast created, &c.*	*and for Thy pleasure they are;*	*and were created."*

—(Ch. iv. 8—11.)

An *eight-fold three.* How, even the very language itself strives, as it were, to give testimony to the fact that we are here very near that abyss of light unapproachable which shrouds the tabernacle of the Holy, Blessed, and GLORIOUS TRINITY!

We have an intimation of the same kind shortly afterwards, (ch. vii. 15—17) where, as Hengstenberg notices, the blessedness of the redeemed is described in *a three-fold three.*

They are before the throne;	*they serve;*	*they are tented;*
They hunger not;	*they thirst not;*	*they suffer no heat;*
The LAMB *feeds them*;	*and leads them;*	*and wipes away their tears.*"

But examples of this kind are of frequent occurrence in the Apocalypse.

[1] Hengstenberg endeavours to evade the force of this argument by the unwarranted assertion that it is only the twenty-four elders who sing this song. Corn. à Lapide who seems to consider the four [Greek] to be the "quatuor Angelos Primarios," meets this difficulty quite as unsatisfactorily.

We cannot mean that they are merely the Gospels *themselves*, for the [Greek] give thanks for *redemption*. Nor merely the four *personal* Evangelists.[1] For they have been redeemed out of "every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation."

But what are the Evangelists? and what are the Gospels?
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They are the narrators, and the records, respectively, of the *life of* CHRIST, the delineators of *His* perfect, four-sided[2] character; and thus, as describing the several aspects or features of *His* character they necessarily describe the character of *His people*, who are "complete in Him," "created after His Image," and gathered from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south.

We may perhaps be pardoned, if we add a few words on the question of the *appropriation* of these four emblems. Let us, however, assure our readers that we have not the remotest wish to press our view upon others, especially as we feel ourselves in a great minority. Still we feel the less reluctance in venturing what, after all, is offered but as an opinion, because there is really *no* definite or consistent tradition on the subject.[3] And the commonly received tradition, which assigns the man to S. Matthew, the lion to S. Mark, the ox to S. Luke, and the eagle to S. John, has not much more claim, on the ground of real Catholic tradition, than others,[4] and, we venture to add, has little internal consistency to recommend it.

For ourselves we confess that we have always been disposed to connect the four symbols with the four Evangelists *exactly in the order* in which they occur in S. John's description. And thus to identify the lion, the bullock, the man, and the eagle, with S. Matthew, S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John respectively.

Now passing over the primâ facie argument which *the order in which S. John mentions them* presents to us, and we can by no means deem it unworthy of notice,[5]—we beg to ask one question. Which is pre-eminently the R*oyal Gospel*, the Gospel wherein our LORD is more peculiarly identified with the *Kingly* "*Lion of the tribe of Judah*"? And we feel convinced that there is not one of our readers who will not answer with S. Augustine, and say the Gospel of *S. Matthew*, "qui *Regiæ* dignitatis in Christo, prosapiam narrat qui et 'vicit *Leo de tribu Judæ;*' '*Catulus*' enim '*Leonis Juda;*'" "Et in quo ut Rex à Rege timetur, à Magis adoratur," (Bede in loc.); S. Matthew, who wrote his Gospel first in Judæa, and for the use of Jewish converts, who throughout connects the Gospel with the theocratic glories of the typical kingdom, who, throughout, speaks of our LORD as of the Royal line of David, as the great [363] Lawgiver, and Prophet, the Kingly MESSIAH to whom the Old Testament, Scriptures give ceaseless testimony.

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1 Corn. à Lapide argues against the Evangelical allusion, solely on the ground of the four personal Evangelists being supposed to be referred to.

2 So [Greek]. The square being a symbol of completeness.

3 Suicer says that ancient writers "in assignandis Evangelistis animalibus *mirè variant*." (voce [Greek]).

4 "Ex his igitur patet veteres Matthæo hominem; *Marco aquilam*; Lucæ vitulum; *Johanni Leonem* tribuisse."—(Suicer. voce [Greek].)

5 We believe that our present tradition had its origin solely in the fact that Ezekiel, in his description of the cherubim (which, we must bear in mind, differ in important respects from the [Greek] of S. John) mentions the four beasts in this order: the man, the lion, the bullock, and the eagle, and that thus these emblems gradually became associated with the four Evangelists in *the same order*, an appropriation which S. John's altered arrangement did not disturb.

Still less can we doubt the answer, if we ask another question.

Which is pre-eminently the *Human* Gospel? Which Gospel does more particularly represent our LORD as the "*Son of Man*"?

That *this* is the, distinctive character of S. Luke's Gospel, none can fail to see.

In S. Matthew, CHRIST is the Son of David, the Son of Abraham. In S. Matthew, the Birth of JESUS is connected with national glories. In S. Luke, with pious hopes, "with a recital of the acts of GOD'S mercy to the just and prayerful, and his grace to the holy and believing." In S. Matthew we read of the Incarnation as it was revealed to Joseph, a type of the ancient people. In S. Luke, to the Blessed Virgin, the type of the Christian Church. In S. Matthew, the Magi. offer adoration to the new-born *King*. In S. Luke, the humble shepherds proclaim with praises the SAVIOUR of the 'meek in heart.' In the one we read "the fulfilment of the Jewish idea of the Royal MESSIAH. In the other, the realization of the indistinct cravings of the *human* heart." (Vide *Westcott's Gos. Harm*., Cap. iii.)

In S. Luke's Gospel we see peculiarly the *Manhood* which was taken up into GOD. Manhood with its affections, and sympathies, and sinless infirmities. But this great feature of S. Luke's Gospel is so universally recognized as pervading not only the narrative, but even the parables and miracles, which are peculiar to this Gospel, that we feel it would be needless to dwell longer upon it.

As the *Eagle*, gazing upwards towards the Sun, is so uniformly identified with the Gospel of S. John, [Greek], we need say nothing more in support of an appropriation so obvious and beautiful.

In fact, the second emblem, the *bullock*, is the only one which at first sight appears to present the slightest difficulty.

But we cannot but think that this difficulty vanishes so soon as we ask ourselves this question. What aspect of our SAVIOUR'S character should we naturally *suppose* to be shadowed forth under the symbol of the bullock or ox? Scripture speaks of the "oxen strong to labour." And we feel that if we express the character typified by the bullock to be that of unmurmuring, untiring, active *usefulness*, we have exactly delineated that aspect of our LORD'S character which S. Mark's Gospel peculiarly brings out. It is most true that the bullock was a "sacrificial" animal, it was one of the *burnt* offerings. But as all the offerings had their fulfilment in CHRIST, so did each several offering shadow forth some particular feature of His perfect work, or His perfect character. So that the question still arises, what aspect of our LORD'S work or character was the offering of the bullock designed to prefigure? and we be[364]lieve the answer to be that which we have already given above, viz. that of patient, self-sacrificing, laborious *usefulness*.

In corroboration of this view let us quote a single passage from a very thoughtful and (in many respects) valuable[1] little work on the subject of "the offerings"; in the course of which the writer adverts to the offering of the *bullock* and its peculiar significance, and after pointing out that in it, we have CHRIST represented to us as the toilsome, unmurmuring, labourer for others, and have therefore the same character pressed upon us as one of the necessary features of the perfect Christian; he proceeds to make this incidental (though, apparently, quite unintentional) allusion to the very subject we are now considering.

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[1] As the writer is a dissenter we must be understood to speak with certain important qualifications. He was once a member of the Church of England, and in Holy Orders.

> "The fact is, we need to be ourselves in service, and to know practically something of its toil and trial, before we can at all rightly estimate the aspect of CHRIST' offering which is presented in the offering of the bullock. The Gospels, however, are full of this view of the burnt offering; in fact, *one whole Gospel is specially devoted to it*. In *S. Mark*, JESUS is not brought before us as in the other Gospels, either as Son of Abraham, Son of Adam, or SON of GOD; He stands rather as the *patient, untiring labourer for others*. In S. Mark, turn where we will, we see JESUS always the 'girded Servant'; always at the disposal of others, to spend and be spent at their bidding."—*Jukes on the Offerings*, p. 72—3.

Far be it from us, however, as we have before said, to press this view of the appropriation of the Evangelical symbols. The question is an interesting one, and we have but volunteered our own opinion.

Such then do we conceive to he the general signification of the [Greek]. Symbols of the aspects or sides of the perfect character of our Blessed LORD and Master, and therefore, of the different features which, in greater or less measure, are manifested in the members of His Body;—aspects which the several Evangelists have been peculiarly guided by the HOLY GHOST respectively to delineate.[1]

We need hardly stay to remind our readers of the Awful and Blessed union which this mysterious vision represents to us as subsisting between CHRIST and His people. "*In the midst of the* [365] *Throne*." Even as our LORD elsewhere expresses it—"Shall sit with Me *on My* Throne."

There can be no question that there is some profound connection between the [Greek] of which S. John's Gospel is so full, and these [Greek] which here tenant the throne of GOD.

It is not mere *animal* life (as Hengstenberg would seem to imagine) which these "Living creatures" embody, and with which S. John has here to do, but "*Life hid with Christ in God*."

CHRIST alone is '[Greek],' Life essential. His people are *manifestations* of that Life.

But what is meant by the statement that these [Greek] are "*full of eyes*"?

It is, we believe, a most beautifully significant one.

The eye, we know, is the organ through which the *Light* visits us.

So that in order to benefit by that light our eyes must be "single" (for if "evil" our whole body will be full of darkness).

We can only drink in the light through the medium of our eyes, and if they *be* single "our whole body shall be full of light.

Why then are these symbolical figures represented as "*full of eyes*"?

Plainly in order that they may drink in the fulness of Light from the Source of Light. Now CHRIST is the source, to His people, of *Life* and also of *Light*. For "in Him was Life, and that *Life* was the *Light* of men." It is then because these Beings take in so much of that

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[1] Haymo tells us that "besides the Gospels," the four living creatures "represent the Lord Jesus Christ and His Saints."—(Quoted by Williams, p. 69.) Bede says "Animalia nunc Evangelistas, nunc totam significant ecclesiam cujus fortitudo in leone, victimatio in vitulo, humilitas in homine, sublimitas in aquilâ volante monstratur." Joachim (quoted by Corn. à Lapide) says, "Quatuor animalia sunt quatuor ordines et status in Ecclesiâ. Leo significat fortitudinem fidei Apostolorum; Bos, invictam patientiam et victimam martyrum; Homo, doctorum sapientiam; Aquila, virgines angelicè viventes, et religiosos contemplationi addictus."

Light that, therefore, they *live*. They live through Him. "*Because I live, ye shall live also*." They are merely receptacles of Him the "True Light." And beholding in such full measure "the Glory of the LORD, are changed into the same image from glory to glory even as by the Spirit of the LORD."

There is a manifest difficulty attending Mr. Williams' suggestion that the *four and twenty elders*, whom S. John beholds seated "round the throne and the living creatures," are a representation of the Christian Priesthood. Nor can we think the reason he assigns for the fact of their *having a subordinate position* to the [Greek] other than very unsatisfactory.

The living creatures (he says) i.e., "the whole body of the elect, are more near than the twenty-four (or the Christian Priesthood,) inasmuch as this indwelling of CHRIST speaks of closer union with Him than any ministerial function can be." (p. 69.)

But has not "the Christian Priesthood," as such, the very same privileges and dignity which "the whole body of the elect," as such possess, but with certain peculiar privileges *superadded?* And we feel at a loss to conceive how the superaddition of the ministerial functions over and above their common privileges as members of Christ's BODY can be represented as a reason for a subordination in position.

Will not rather S. Jerome's suggestion help us to the explanation [366] of this part of the vision? He says that the twenty-four elders were considered by some of the ancients as representatives of the *twenty-four books of the Old Testament*.[1]

The Old Testament, we know, was frequently called by the Jews the *twenty-four*. "Præfigitur hoc nomen ut plurimùm fronti Bibliorum Hebraicorum et impressorum, et manuscriptorum."[2] S. Ambrose thus explains the vision. "Viginti quatuor seniores sunt Patriarchæ, et sancti Patres veteris Testamenti qui in lectione et meditatione viginti quatuor librorum veteris Testamenti, quasi in viginti quatuor sedilibus quiescebant."[3]

Moreover we know that the number of the courses of priests amongst the Jews was *twenty-four*. Is it, then, unreasonable to conjecture that this vision may represent the Ancient Jewish Church, those "Israelites indeed" in whom had been no guile?

Thus, only, do we think, can the relative position of these two orders of the Celestial Hierarchy be explained.

We might, perhaps, also mention another circumstance here. The twenty-four elders all appear one to resemble the other. They are all *elders*, representatives of but *one* people. They are "the *elders*" who "obtained a good report through faith." (Heb. xi. 2.) Whereas in the [Greek] we see a picture of the *various* tribes and people of whom the Catholic Church consists, gathered out of *all* nations from the East, and West, and North, and South

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1 "Nonnulli putant. . . . esse priscæ legis libros viginti quatuor, quos sub numero *viginti quatuor seniorum* Apocalypsis Johannes inducit adorantes Agnum."—(*vid. Prologum Galeatum.*) This identification, however, seems to have been very common in the early Church. e.g. Victorinus (in the third century) says, "Viginti quatuor faciunt tot numeros quot et seniores. Sunt enim libri veteris testamenti qui accipiuntur Viginti Quatuor." Primasius says, "Veteris Testimenti Libros canonicâ auctoritate suscipimus tanquam viginti quatuor seniores tribunalia præsidentes. See also quotations from Ambrosius Ausbertus, Berengaudus, Bede, Haymo, Aquinas, &c. in a note of Dr. Wordsworth's. (Lecture on Apoc. No. iv.)

2 Hottinger, quoted by Wordsworth, Can. of Scrip. App. C.

3 Vid. Corn. à Lapide in loc.

(the number *four* always including in it some idea of universality); we see the Bride's vesture "wrought about with *divers* colours.'[1]

Glorious then, indeed, is the salvation to which the *four-and-twenty* are represented as having attained. They are crowned, enthroned, seated around the throne of GOD.

But there is a higher dignity even than this. There is the position in the very "midst of the throne." In which may we not reverently behold a picturing forth of the wondrous truth contained in these profound sayings: "*The Glory* which Thou gavest *Me* have I given them." "*I in them* and they in Me. . . . that they also may be *one in Us.*" "We being many are one Bread and *one Body*, [367] *for* we are all partakers of *that one Bread*." "We are members of *His Body, of His Flesh, and of His bones*." "The mystery which hath been hid from ages, but now is made manifest to the saints, to whom GOD would make known what is the riches of the *glory of this mystery* . . . . which is CHRIST IN YOU." "Verily I say unto you, among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist; notwithstanding he that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is *greater than he*."

One further remark we will make before leaving this part of the subject.

We have noticed the relative positions of the "living creatures," the "four-and-twenty elders," and "all the angels"; "In the midst of the throne"; "Round about the throne and the living creatures"; and, at a still greater distance, "Round about the living creatures and the elders."

Now we confess that it is not without considerable regret that we have so frequently occasion to notice the unguarded use, and unconscious misapplication of the English version of our LORD'S expression [Greek] "equal to the Angels." E.V. (Luke xx. 36). For it is not more manifest that the rendering "*equal to*" is liable to a most grave misapplication, than it is certain that such misapplication is constantly being made.

[Greek] does not mean "equal to" or "of the same nature as" the wind; but "like to the wind in one particular respect," viz: that of fleetness. So [Greek] is not "equal to a star," but like to a star in one respect, viz: that of brightness.

And so in the passage before us. Our LORD is replying to the Sadducees and their carnal question respecting the resurrection. And He merely tells them that they totally misconceive the nature and dignity of the Resurrection body. The risen saints, says our LORD, do not marry or give in marriage—for in this respect (viz: that of having no sexual intercourse) they resemble the angels—like them too, they are immortal. But He does not stop here, for He immediately adds something else, something which raises them far above all Angelic Intelligences—"Yea, further, seeing that they are 'Sons of the Resurrection,' they are '*Sons of God*';[2] And what the fulness of meaning contained in *that* expression may be, the day of "the manifestation of the Sons of GOD" will alone declare. "Beloved, now are we the Sons of GOD, and it doth not *yet* appear; what we *shall be*; but *we know* that when He shall appear we shall be *like Him*." Our hope is, not that we shall be like the holy Angels—No!—but that we shall be like CHRIST. And we must have "*this hope*" in us,

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[1] Whether in the introduction of the several animals into this wondrous vision, and in thus dignifying them by making them serve so Divine a purpose as to figure forth some of the features of CHRIST' Body, there may be any secret parallelism with what S. Paul tells us of the Creature taking part with, and having a mysterious interest in, man's restoration; of creation waiting and "longing for the manifestation of the sons of GOD," we dare not presume to say.

[2] The words [Greek] are evidently in a parenthesis. In S. Matthew and S. Mark the words are [Greek]—Cf. Heb. i. 5.

if we would "Purify ourselves as He is Pure." The *servants* in the parable rejoice when the master's *child* comes back. "Likewise, 1 say unto you, there is joy in the [368] presence of the *angels* of GOD over one sinner that repenteth." "To which of the Angels said He at any time, Sit thou on My right hand? Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to *minister* to them who shall be *heirs of salvation?*"

"To him that overcometh will I grant to sit *with Me* on *My throne*, even as I also overcame and am set down with My FATHER on His throne."

But we must hasten on to another point.

In our remarks upon the four living creatures we incidentally noticed that the number *four* always included in it some idea of universality. We are thus brought to a most important subject, and one bearing closely upon the general question of Apocalyptic interpretation. And we rejoice to say that in both the works before us (Mr. Williams' especially) the subject is very satisfactorily treated: both writers concurring in the main, in the opinion, which we feel intimately convinced is at once the most safe and the most correct, that the *numbers* in this Book are generally the symbols of *ideas*, rather than measures of time and quantity; in fact that there is a sacred language of numbers which must be interpreted, like every other part of prophetic imagery, by a reverent examination and comparison of Holy Scripture.

"The numbers in the Apocalypse," says Hengstenberg, "have only an ideal signification, they belong not so properly to the chronological as to the symbolical forum" (vol. i. 396.).[1]

Mr. Williams says:—

> "With regard to the periods and dimensions of time, let us endeavour to learn the reverential caution of early writers, not rashly supposing that it is for us to know and determine what was denied to Apostles, to Angels, and to the Son of Man Himself." (Preface, x.)

And again,

> "There are reasons for believing that it is not intended that we ever know the times or the seasons which the FATHER hath put in His own power. And it is remarkable that in no single instance has any modern interpreter succeeded in explaining any period of time in the Apocalypse: from the ten days of Smyrna's persecution, or the five months of the locust plague, to the thousand years of CHRIST'S reign on earth. The reason is obvious, they do not perceive that, like everything in the Apocalypse the numbers are allegorical, and that although it is not for us to know the secrets of GOD, yet, by comparing things spiritual with spiritual, they furnish us with a hieroglyphic language which is in the highest degree instructive."—P. 187

Now to take the most obvious example. Let any one, be he never so opposed to anti-literal interpretation of Scripture, merely notice the manner in which the number *seven* is employed in the sacred volume, and it will be simply impossible for him to deny [369] that it is manifestly the exponent of some important *idea*. It is used above *fifty* times in the Apocalypse alone, and, there is no question that could we but discover the precise meaning conveyed by it in these several places, and by the other numbers with which it is shown to be related, we should have advanced far in arriving at an explanation of many of the difficulties with which this book is so thickly strewn. For in the first place we have the *half a seven*, the number *three and a half*, demanding an explanation; a number, as our readers will well know, filling a most important place in the Apocalypse, as indicating the term of the duration of the woman in the wilderness, the Beast, and the ministry of

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[1] Dr. Wordsworth takes the same view in his "Lectures."

witnesses. Then again we have the numbers *three* and *four* which together make up the *seven*, and into which we find the number frequently divided in this book (Hengstenberg endeavours to show that in almost every *seven-fold* group in the Book there is a division of this kind marked: and a distinction between the *four-fold* and the *three-fold* group plainly indicated). Let us turn, for a moment, to these two last mentioned numbers.

And first, the number *three* is manifestly a sacred number, based on the Awful Mystery of the ever Blessed Trinity. While the number *four*, as Hengstenberg constantly notices, is "the signature of the earth." The use of this number appears marked and definite. It is an *earthly* number as distinguished from a *spiritual*, and yet almost always conveys the idea of universality.

How continually we have "the four winds of the earth." " The four corners of the earth." "The four winds of Heaven." So too with the inhabitants of the earth, we find them arranged in four-fold groups. "Every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation" (Ch. v. 9). "They of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations" (Ch. xi. 9). "Every tribe, and people,[1] and tongue, and nation" (Ch. xiii. 7). "Every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people" (xiv. 6). So the universe is "the heaven, the earth, the sea, and the fountains of waters" (xiv. 7).[2] Human characters are "the unjust, the filthy, the righteous, and the holy" (xxii. 2).[3] Human griefs are "death, sorrow, crying, and pain" (xxi. 4). So also Satan, to indicate his universal *worldly* sway, is twice designated by a four-fold group of names, "the Dragon, the Old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan" (Ch. xii. 9; xx. 2). And we have no doubt we could extend the list much farther.

"Four days of the seven completed the *material universe*, and living creatures followed . . . . '*four is of body*' says S. Augustine, '*three is of spirit,* four is of man, three is of GOD.' 'Four,' says the same writer, 'is of things temporal, and the temporal distribution of the year is varied by four seasons. And in time, there appears a kind of four-fold [370] vicissitude. Hence the Gospel on four cardinal points is spread, which is a temporal dispensation.'"—*Williams*, p. 149.

"*Four is of man, three is of God*," says S. Augustine. So that in the number *seven* which combines the two we may perhaps see some hidden allusion to the mystery of the Incarnation. God reconciled with the world. And so Mr. Williams suggests, adding•

"There may be a reason therefore why in the seven of the Apocalypse there is a distinction between the 3 and 4, developing itself occasionally in various combinations. For, as a matter of fact, in the 7 seals, and the 7 trumpets, and in the 7 vials, a marked distinction will be found between the 4 and 3, of which there is this slight intimation[4] in the 7 epistles."—p. 51.

Our readers will hardly need to be reminded of the beautiful illustration of the division here alluded to which is afforded us in our Lord's perfect form of prayer. Here we have the sacred 7 and its separation into its two elements, the 3 of Heaven, and the 4 of earth, most strikingly exhibited. The 3 first petitions relating solely to God:—the Hallowing of *His* name, the coming of *His* kingdom, the doing of *His* will, containing moreover a

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1 Omitted in some editions.

2 Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 6; vid. Ps. xcv. 4, 5; Ps. cxlviii. 9—12, &c. &c.

3 Cf. parable of the sower.

4 He is alluding to the relative position of the two appeal—"He that overcometh," and "He that hath an ear."

manifest allusion to the 3 several Persons of the ever Blessed Trinity; the last 4 relating to ourselves—*our* daily bread, the forgiveness of *our* sins, *our* preservation from temptation, *our* deliverance from the Evil one.

Thus is the number 7 peculiarly the number of the Christian covenant. The number of forgiveness of sins, of the rest remaining for the people of God. The number of the Christian's armour; of his daily prayer; of the eternal Hymn of Praise of the Church triumphant in Heaven (Rev. v. 12; vii. 12); of the Christian ministry, and the Church Catholic (Rev. i. 20).

The warnings and exhortations of the Great High Priest to the Church are contained in 7 epistles; the Church's prophetic history unfolded at the opening of 7 seals; the corrective judgments whereby the Church is visited are heralded forth by 7 trumpets. The punitive judgments on Antichrist and the world poured out from 7 vials.

Whatever else, then, we may notice respecting the mystical meaning of this number, one thing is evident, that it is a kin of Divine Symbol of perfection, and completeness.

And this brings us to another number, the symbolical mention of which, like that of other numbers we have mentioned, is intimately connected with, and dependant on that of the number seven.

We allude to the number *eight*. The idea expressed by which is at once most simple, most obvious, most beautiful. It is merely [371] this. The seven-fold cycle is supposed to have completed its revolution, and there follows *a new commencement*. It is the *octave:* the *repetition of the first*, though in a different phase; and thus it is ever considered by the fathers as an exponent of the idea of *re*-creation, *re*-generation, *re*-newal, *re*-surrection. The *eighth day* exactly illustrates its meaning,[1] the seven-fold cycle of the week has performed its revolution, and then succeeds the *eighth day*, the repetition of the first, the new commencement. So the fathers consider the circumcision on the eighth day, a type of our recreation.in CHRIST.[2] They consider the same also to be typified in the *eight* souls who were saved of old "by water."[3]

So CHRIST, as being the Resurrection, is in that respect peculiarly *the eighth*.

And, therefore, Mr. Williams is undoubtedly right in his incidental allusion to this at p. 139.

We have been reading of the "Seven Angels," and then follows the mention of "*another* angel."

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1 So S. Barnabas, XV. (near the end.) "The eighth day—that is the *beginning* of the other world. For which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness in which Jesus rose from the dead."

2 Vid. Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. XLI. "The precept which commands you to circumcise male infants on *the eighth day* was a type of that true circumcision by which we are circumcised from sin and error through Him who rose again from the dead on *the first day of the week*, viz. JESUS CHRIST. For the first day of the week is the first of all the days: but when all the days of the week are gone regularly round again in their course, it is called *the eighth*, and still continues to be, as it really is, the first."

3 Ib. cxxxviii. "The mystery of man's salvation was in the deluge; for righteous Noah . . . . with his wife and three sons, and his sons' three wives, *being eight in number*, were a type of that day in which CHRIST appeared when He rose from the dead, which was the *eighth* indeed in number, but *first* in power, rank and order. For CHRIST, though He was the first begotten of every creature, was also again made the Author of a new race, who are regenerated through Him by water, faith, and wood, which was a type of the cross; even as Noah was saved by wood sailing on the water with his family."

> "Another Angel," writes Mr. Williams, "one in addition to the 7, i.e. the eighth, and as such must represent CHRIST Himself, the first, and the last, the first-begotten from the dead. It is,' says Tichonius, 'the LORD' JESUS CHRIST.'"—

David we must remember, that great type of CHRIST, was the eighth son of his father.[1]

But the meaning of this number is of importance in another respect, viz., as affording, at least, *some* clue to the meaning of that remarkable expression concerning the Beast or Antichrist, which seems to defy all the separate and combined ingenuity of the literal expositors, that he is "*an eighth*." (xvii. 11.)

Now whatever further meaning this may have, it is clear that this feature of being *an eighth*, mainly appertains to him in virtue [372] of his character, not only of Adversary, but of being also a kind of *diabolical reflection*, of CHRIST.

CHRIST'S term of ministry lasted *three years and a half*. So CHRIST'S Church, as living again His Life on earth, is represented as also existing for the same length of time; for this is the period of the woman's sojourn in the wilderness.

Three years and a half, therefore, is the term of Antichrist's reign.

But Christ died and rose again, and reappeared "no more to return to corruption," the eighth—The first-begotten from the dead. Even so of Antichrist do we read that "He was, and is not, and shall appear." He died, and yet underwent a marvellous revivification, insomuch that "all the earth wondered after him." And, in virtue of this,—of his dying and subsequently reappearing (apparently in a more dreadful phase) he is also designated "*an eighth*."[2]

But we must reserve all detailed notice of "the Beast" with his awful associates "the Dragon," and "the False Prophet," together with the Harlot-Rider, till a future occasion.

We cannot refrain, however, from referring our readers, for a single moment, to a beautiful scripture illustration of the use of the number Eight. We allude to the heptad of Beatitudes in the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (S. Matt. v. 3—10); the full, perfect, seven-fold Benediction of GOD'S children.

The *first* blessing promised is "for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." The Benediction then proceeds through the whole of its seven-fold cycle, and then extends to the octave, or eighth. And what is the eighth blessing promised? It is but *the repetition of the first*, "for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." Thus shadowing forth the most important and blessed truth, that the kingdom of Heaven, upon the fruition of which we shall enter at the *second* resurrection, is no *new* state, but merely a new and more exalted phase of that *selfsame* "*state of salvation*" into which, by GOD'S infinite mercy, we were introduced at our *first* Resurrection in Holy Baptism. "The kingdom of Heaven" is thus the *first* and the *eighth*; begun in time, developed and consummated in eternity.

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[1] We may mention in connection with this, the singular fact, first noticed by S. Irenæus, that the letters in the name [Greek] (added together according to their numerical value) make up the number 888.

[2] There is an apparent difficulty connected with the death of the Beast which will doubtless strike every reader of the Apocalypse; viz.: that while at one time we read that it is the Beast *itself* which has received the mortal stroke, and so died; at another time it appears that it is only *one of its heads* that has been "wounded to death." But the solution is most obvious. For the beast can have no separate existence, (save a purely ideal one) independent of his heads. Nor has he more than "*one active head*" at any particular time, the others having only "either an historical or prophetical import." So that when the head *for the time being* dies, the Beast necessarily dies with it. And when the head returns to life, the Beast revives with it.—*Vid. Hengst.* vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

With one further remark respecting those scripture numbers of whose symbolical import we have been latterly speaking, we will conclude for the present.

It is impossible not to observe how strangely this mysterious language of numbers, which fills so important a place in the volume [373] of God's *Word*, is found written, in like manner, on many pages of the sister volume of His *Works*. And if we would seek to decypher these significant hieroglyphics in *one* volume, we must not reject the reverent use of any helps (whether in the way of suggestion, or analogy) which we may find ourselves furnished with in the other.

But our meaning will be best explained by illustration. We will, then, confine ourselves to one or two of the significant analogies that are presented to us by the ordinary phenomena of sound and light.

Now in regarding these wondrous creations, the first thing that arrests us is this, viz., the mysterious interest with which they are found to be invested from the fact of the sacred number *seven* being indelibly impressed upon each.

Look at the common diatonic scale in music, consisting of seven tones, and of seven only; for this is no arbitrary division of the scale, but one borne witness to, as well by the investigations of science, as by our natural instincts.[1]

Look, again, at the Solar Spectrum, at that marvellous picture obtained by the decomposition of the rays of light. Here, too, we find this same sacred number, keeping guard at the shining portals, and paying silent and ceaseless homage to Him by whose Almighty fiat light was first called into being.

But we have noticed also the use of the number *eight* in sacred symbolism. That use is here most beautifully illustrated and confirmed.

Turn we to the musical scale. The scale terminates with the *seventh* tone. But the *eighth* or octave next appears. And what is it? *It is but the repetition of the first in a new phase*.

So again with the Solar Spectrum. The luminous scale terminates, in like manner, with the *seventh*, or violet colour. But if we observe the violet band as it gradually shades away from our sight, we cannot fail to observe that is plainly resolving itself into *red*, i.e. the octave of the *first*.

The *extreme* rays, at the top and bottom of the spectrum, are almost exactly similar in colour. The luminous scale commences with *red*, and just as it is returning to the octave of the red, after completing its seven-fold cycle, the light vanishes.

But we have noticed another circumstance connected with the employment of the number *seven* in Holy Scripture, viz., that it is frequently divided into two other numbers, four and three; in fact that it combines two elements, respectively symbolized by these, its two component numbers; whereof, as S. Augustine tells us, the *three* represents the Primary, or Spiritual element; and the *four*, the Secondary or Earthly; and we have witnessed a most significant and sacred illustration of this division in our Blessed Lord's seven-fold form of prayer.

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[1] ϕ This is a very narrow view. Even before the exploitation of quarter-tones in Western classical music (and the music of e.g. Boulez and Stockhausen, which he could not have anticipated) Dykes is ignoring Indian, African, Persian and Oriental scales and the development of the religious music of the Israelites, which (a) appears to have been of limited range (horns and pseudo-trumpets), and (b) eclectic, borrowing from secular sources.

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Now we need scarcely remark the striking and wonderful counter part to this which the luminous, and musical scales severally present to us.

In both cases the *very same division* takes place. The two scales contain, either of them, precisely three primary tones or hues, and four secondary ones.[1]

We have already mentioned the awful source whence the number *three* is supposed to derive its mystic meaning. And we will only add, that although all earthly illustrations must necessarily fail (as the melancholy examples furnished us in some of the writings of the Fathers, as well as of our own Divines, sadly attest) to give any adequate representation, however faint, of that ineffable mystery the "Trinity in Unity;" yet it is most certain that no earthly illustration seems to shadow it forth, on the whole, with such faithfulness, as that of the separate and combined functions of the three primary tones and three primary colours.

As well in sound as in light (more particularly in the latter) there is—if we may venture without irreverence to adopt this sacred terminology—a marvellous "Trinity in Unity." Each single musical sound we hear is certainly *one*; it is no less certainly *three*. There is really no such thing in nature as an *individual* musical sound; each several sound, though apparently single, being but the effect of the consonance of its three primaries in the same or different phases.

And so too, even in a more striking manner, with light.

Every beam of solar light that visits our eyes is in a certain sense *one;* it is no less truly *three*. In the mysterious unity of every single ray of solar light—however uniform and homogenous it may appear,—there are *three distinct rays; each systematically, and unconfusedly, performing its own peculiar functions*. The *red* [375] exercising the heating; the *yellow*, the illuminating; and the *blue*, the wonderful chemical, properties.

But we dare not say more. We know that "God is Light," and how far He may have been pleased to cast a faint shadow of the mysteries of His Ineffable Being upon His "first-born"

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[1] In the Diatonic scale, the Primaries occur at the 1st (or 8th); the 3d; and the 5th of the scale. In the solar spectrum their order is *exactly the same*. So that in both cases the arrangement of the primaries and secondaries will be as follows:—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)	(5.)	(6.)	(7.)	(8.) or (1.)
Prim.	Sec.	*Prim.*	Sec.	*Prim.*	Sec.	Sec.	*Prim.*

We cannot resist giving here one striking Scripture illustration of the sacred seven, in which not only the distinctions between the three primaries; and the four secondaries are most strongly marked, but even the *relative position* of each is most noticeable. We allude to the celebrated passage in Eph. iv. 4—6; the fundamental scale of Christian doctrine: the Divine Diapason. We must of course commence the scale with Him "Who is above all, and through all, and in all;" Whose sacred Name is seen to complete the scale (v. 6,) the ultimate source of all Being, the "Father of an Infinite Majesty." The sacred scale will thus appear as follows:—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)	(5.)
"One *God and Father;*	one Body;	one *Spirit;*	one Hope;	one *Lord;*

(6.)	(7.)	(8.) or (1.)
one Faith;	one Baptism;	one *God and Father*.

Now if we may venture to compare this with the two scales alluded to above, we find the analogy perfect. Even the relative order of the primaries and secondaries precisely identical. Far be it from us to presume to draw any inference from this. We merely allude to it as a remarkable (it may be, to some, suggestive) coincidence.

Creature, Himself only knows. We can but reverently and silently adore, not daring to let our fancies indulge in presumptuous trifling with His dreadful secrets; or yet to allow ourselves thoughtlessly to cast from us any means He may have mercifully vouchsafed us for strengthening our faith, and aiding our weak apprehensions.

Here then we must stop for the present, hoping on a future occasion to treat of some other interesting subjects which are handled in, or suggested by, the volumes before us, and which the Revelation of S. John in such abundant measure opens out to us.

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We have already alluded to the fact of the "Beast from the sea" (chap. xiii. 1—8,) being, in regard to many of its features, a kind of *Diabolical reflection* of CHRIST: in consequence of which, perhaps, together with other significant marks whereby it is characterized, the mysterious designation of S. John "the Anti-Christ"[1] has been usually appropriated to it by the Church.

Let us turn, for a short time, to the associates of "the Beast;" and we shall probably see other reasons for this appropriation.

We thus come to speak a few words concerning "the Dragon" (ch. xii.) and the "Beast from the earth," or "False Prophet" (Rev. xiii. 11—17, xvi. 13.)

Now the first thing that strikes us in this three-fold "mystery of iniquity" is, that in it we see a kind of satanic counterpart to the mystery of the Ever Blessed Trinity."

"The Dragon," the dread Ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness, being the infernal correlative, so to speak, of GOD the FATHER."

"The Beast," to whom the Dragon delegates his Power and Authority,—of GOD the SON,[2] into whose hands the FATHER hath committed all things.

And the "False Prophet" or "Beast from the earth," who silently furthers the worship of "the Beast," influencing men to accept his authority by means of the miracles he is enabled to work, who has power to cause "fire to descend from Heaven," and to [412] "give life[3] ([Greek]) to the Image of the Beast,"—of GOD the HOLY GHOST, whose office it is to glorify CHRIST, to take of the things of CHRIST; and show them unto men.[4]

And as the mystery of godliness, and the truths of our most Holy Faith have their origin deeply seated in the eternal relations of the three several Persons, and their mutual actings towards each other, towards the universe, and towards man; so would the mystery of

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[1] We must bear in mind, as Mr. Williams justly notices (p. 422), that there is not only a [Greek], a [Greek], but also a [Greek]. Now the "*the* [*sic*] *beast*" *itself* would appear to be a personification of the former of these. The *last head or phase* of the Beast, which has not yet appeared, will probably develop the latter, but we must allude to this more fully hereafter.

[2] "'*Et adoraverunt Draconem qui dedit potestatem Bestiæ*.' Illi dicunt adorare se Deum qui dedit potestatem Christo."—*Bede, ad loc*.

[3] "*Spiritum veritatis* se dare simulabit." *Ibid*.

[4] Moreover as the Holy Ghost is the great Invisible Agent among men in the Divine Economy (S. John xiv. 26; xvi. 8—15)—for "all these things *worketh* that one and the self-same Spirit,"—even thus is it with His Rival in the kingdom of darkness. For, as Mr. Williams remarks, "so much is this mysterious *efficacy* applied to the second Beast, that the expression 'he works,' or brings about and effects, arrests attention as eight times repeated in this short account." (P. 247.)

iniquity appear to be the result of a Diabolical transcript (so to speak) of these relations and actings in the Kingdom of Darkness.

The Prince of that Kingdom is far too wise not to arrange this GOD-opposing machinery with consummate skill. And hence we may conceive it not so much the result of mere impious defiance, as of deep-penetrating craft that, so far as his created powers enable him, he has striven to copy from Divine Wisdom Itself, and to have recourse to the Awful "Pattern shown in the Mount"—thus giving unwilling homage to that Great Supreme, against whom his impotent rage is directed, and by whom he is yet to be crushed.

As however the faith of the Holy Trinity is peculiarly designated the "faith of CHRIST," as to be baptized into the Holy Trinity is to be "baptized into CHRIST" as a knowledge of the mystery of godliness is peculiarly seen to consist in "knowing CHRIST:" So the GOD-opposing mystery is, in a peculiar way, the mystery of Anti-Christ. These are the two great manifested Antagonists of the present dispensation.

CHRIST who is the *Eighth*; Anti-Christ who "*is also an eighth.*"

CHRIST who died and rose again; Anti-Christ who was, and is not, and shall appear. CHRIST who has the Bride the Church; Anti-Christ who has the Harlot Babylon. CHRIST the [Greek]; Anti-Christ the [Greek].[1]

But to return. This marvellous triplicity of iniquity may perhaps be the result of some mysterious necessity.

It is against man, the master-work of GOD that this dread organization of evil is directed; and therefore, to be effectual, it must necessarily be framed so as to meet the peculiar constitution of man.

But man was created in the "Image of GOD." And one consequence of this creation may doubtless be traced in the mysteri[413]ous tri-personality of his being; in the [Greek] (1 Thess. V. 23,) which combine to form his complex nature. Whence it appears that the seduction of man from his Creator must necessarily be adapted to the several elements of his being.

For the *first* of these ([Greek]) there is, as we learn from Scripture, "the lust of the flesh"—the gratification of the mere animal nature, "the rebellion of the lower appetites against the powers of reason and conscience which should naturally control them.[2]"

For the *second* ([Greek]) we find that which is designated in Scripture by the two-fold title "the lust of the eye" and "the world"—"the illusion" (namely) "produced in our higher mental nature by outward things," the pomps and allurements of the world, &c., seen in other light than that of God.

For the *third* ([Greek]) we find all that is classed in Scripture under the generic expression "the Devil," i.e., an impersonation of all purely *spiritual* wickedness; or sometimes under the specific title "Pride," as one great and particular form of spiritual evil, and as that which is, in a peculiar way, the Devil's sin, the sin which prevailed to ruin him, and "with worse ambition" to

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1 See also the striking parallel between the two expressions, [Greek] and [Greek], alluded to in a note in Dr. Worsdworth's 12th Lecture.

2 Vide Mill on "the Temptation," p. 60.

"Hurl him down,
Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless King."[1]

By these three Antagonists we find the first Adam to have been assailed. And let that sad verse which records the result of the complex temptation testify to its success."

"When the woman saw that the tree was *good for food*," here is the lust of the flesh; "*and—pleasant to the eye*," here is the lust of the eye; "*and-a tree to be desired to make one wise*," here is spiritual pride and ambition,[2]—yes, when she came under the malignant influence of this three-fold delusion—"she took of the fruit and did eat, and gave to her husband also, and he did eat."

And we all know how, through the same three avenues of His Man's nature, the second Adam was assailed.

First through His bodily appetites; when the keen hunger consequent upon His protracted abstinence is engaged as a means to shake His confidence, as man, in God.
[414]
Secondly through His [G; when His mental vision morbidly stimulated perhaps by the long absence of bodily support is powerfully excited by a dazzling panorama, a glorious visionary concentration of "all the kingdoms of the world and their glory;" and the immediate possession of all is pressed upon His reeling imagination, if He will but consent to offer [Greek] to that radiant Being[3] who offers them.

And thirdly through His [Greek]. When His spirit is assailed by pride and presumption; and the glorious title "Son of God" lately bestowed by the voice from Heaven is paraded before Him (as doubtless it had been before the first Adam) in order to induce Him to transgress the bounds which His Human dependence on, and allegiance to, Another circumscribed around Him, and arrogantly challenge a continuance of the Divine Favour and protection, even while not walking in the "ways" of the Lord.

Thus then were the first Adam, and the first Eve assailed, and vanquished; thus also was the second Adam assailed—and victorious. But there is a *second Eve*. And when S. Paul adopts the parallel in his Epistle to the Corinthian Church, (2 Cor. xi. 3,) he adds this significant warning, "I fear lest by any means, *as* the serpent beguiled Eve, *so* your minds should be corrupted."

Is there then in this Book, which contains the prophetic history of the second Eve, the Church, any distinct notice of her being similarly assailed?

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[1] ϕ *recte* 'Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King!' (*Milton, Paradise Lost*)

[2] The Spiritual Element in the temptation of our first parents appears to have been twofold, consisting,—not only
(1) In *pride and presumption*,—in the complacent conviction that, being objects of such *peculiar* regard on the part of the Almighty, their continuance in His favour was necessarily guaranteed, whatever their subsequent conduct might be: *they* "*should not surely die*,"—in which delusion we may plainly see the first germs of what has developed itself in the Church, on one side in the Calvinistic tenet of indefectible grace, and on the other in the equally dangerous figment of the inerrancy and unconditional security of a particular branch of the Church:—But also
(2) in *ambition*,—in an illicit desire after a higher dignity, and for a knowledge of mysteries *over and above what* God *had been pleased to reveal*: "*Ye shall be like* GOD, *knowing good and evil*,"—in which we may certainly trace the first dawnings of that presumptuous "intrusion into things not seen" which (in the career of the *second Eve*) has issued in the daring addition to the Church's creeds.

[3] Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14.

We cannot withhold our belief that in the three Dread Enemies of the Church already alluded to, whatever else may be therein symbolized and prefigured, we may see a mystical representation of something in Her history and career correspondent to the fleshly, worldly, and spiritual temptations, severally brought to bear against the first and second Adam.

Let us look at the symbols themselves. A "great red Dragon." A "wild beast." And a "False Prophet" (for so the second Lamb-like Beast is afterwards designated); where we might even at first sight not deem it inappropriate that Antagonists, answering in some measure to the lower, middle, and higher regions of our being should be severally represented under three gradations of created intelligence.

Under the first symbol then, "the great Red Dragon"—a huge unwieldy mass of flesh—we undoubtedly, in one sense, see the Devil himself (even as we may in like manner recognize him[1] [415] ultimately, as the animating principle of the "Beast" and the "False Prophet"); But it is not Satan *abstractedly* whom we here witness, but rather one of his particular phases or manifestations.

Within the sphere of this first symbol then, we conceive to be included every thing which is absolutely and *openly* opposed to CHRIST'S religion. Not as "the world," which *avowedly* professes neutrality, and, like Gallio, to "care for none of these things;" nor spiritual wickedness, which so often derives its dangerous potency from this, that it professes to *side with* CHRIST: but rather, all which is included in the general and comprehensive designation "the flesh:" "the flesh" which openly and professedly "lusteth against the Spirit:" the "carnal mind which is *enmity* against GOD." The developments of this first class of assailants we may see displayed in the grosser forms of Heathen Idolatry: devil worship and other awful exhibitions of man left to himself, uninfluenced by the restraints of Reason and Religion. We may see them in the dreadful influences exerted of old by Satan over the *bodies* of men; as the case of Job, of the wretched cripple "whom Satan had bound" down to the earth "for eighteen years," of the poor demoniacs, and many others so fearfully attest.

Now this Draconic phase of the Devil's power was crushed by our LORD. Satan, the *open Adversary*, was cast from Heaven. He had thought to overwhelm the infant Church by external assault, to *put it down* by mere brute force, but he was doubly foiled, for not only was "the blood of the Martyrs the seed of the Church," but his open violence was also restrained. Satan was bound, the Dragon received a mortal stroke from the sword of Michael. And though his death was a lingering one, and his expiring efforts most awful—witness the Hellish persecutions raised by him through the instrumentality of the Heathen

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[1] Mr. Williams says, "In the Apocalypse . . . S. John speaks not of *persons*, but throughout of great principles, their developments in the course of time, their operations in whole bodies of men, and the phases they assume in successive generations . . . . It appears doubtful whether S. John ever speaks in it of our Blessed Lord Himself, as it were, *personally*, but only in His Manifestations.in and through His Church, by His Spirit , and in His Members, or through the medium of His Angels in allegoric visions." (P. 414—5.) And the same is true, to a great extent, of our Lord's great adversary the Devil. While, then, we fully admit that in one sense the Dragon is the Devil (and that the expression *sometimes* appears to be employed as a mere personal designation(,—even as we must also in a certain sense admit, what many of the Fathers seem to hold, that the *Beast itself* is also the Devil,—we yet maintain that we are not justified in regarding either the one or the other as merely Satan *abstractedly*, but that ch. xvi. 13, constrains us to try and discover, if we may, what are the *distinctive* features which discriminate these three great manifestations or emissaries of the evil one,—a question, we believe, of considerable importance.

power of Rome;[1] yet his end was come, his power broken; for we [416] read that *the Earth* now sided with the *woman*. The Empire itself became Christian. And the Draconic phase of the Evil-one was no more.

Alas! it has yet to be revived, though but for "a short space."

We come then to the *second* assailant. Persecution, it appears, has doubly failed. Not only has it given life to the very cause it was meant to crush, but it has *itself* been crushed. Cast out of the bodies of men, the Evil-one will attack their minds and spirits. The fury of the Dragon gives place to the wiles of the Serpent.

Let us turn to the second symbol "*The Beast*."

And here there can be no doubt we have an emblematic representation of the power of the *world*. It is a *wild Beast, seven headed, ten horned, ten crowned*, where the numbers *ten* and *seven*, both alike mystical numbers, seem evidently to symbolize (we are not stating that they have no further meaning as well)—the former, the *wide extent* of its dominion,[2] the latter, the important truth that its sway is not merely an external and temporal one, but rather a *mystical* one involving a secret influence upon the hearts and minds of men.

The Monster we see is composed out of the four Beasts of Daniel, which were identified by the interpreting Angel with the four empires of the world. Now, the number *four*, as we before remarked, being an earthly number, and yet containing the idea of universality, there can be no doubt that in this huge four-fold monster with its many heads and diadems we see *that very thing*—only clothed in a symbolical dress—which was presented as the second temptation to our Blessed LORD Himself—"*All the kingdoms of the world and their glory*."[3]

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[1] We must not be thought to intimate that persecution and bitter opposition to Christianity will not *as* certainly follow in the train of the other two enemies of the Church. Still it will be only secondarily and by implication. These latter will persecute Christianity, not *quâ* Christianity, like the Dragon, but simply because it comes into collision with them, interferes with their authority, or testifies against them.

We may, of course, see other fulfilments of this Draconic Symbol besides the one noticed above,—*e.g.*:

In the restless anxiety of *Herod* to discover the Infant Jesus in order "to destroy Him," and in his subsequent brutal command that all the little nurslings in "Bethlehem and all the coasts thereof" should be butchered, we plainly see a realization of this picture of the great Red Dragon standing before the woman, to devour her child as soon as it was born, and casting forth a flood out of its mouth to destroy it. (Even as we may see the same spiritually fulfilled whensoever CHRIST is being formed in any soul; external opposition, and the battlings of a corrupt nature, being sure to ensue, and only subsiding to give way to the more dangerous blandishments of the world, and the gentle cajoleries of the Evil *Spirit*.) And further:—in the flight of our LORD'S parents into "*Egypt*,"—the common Scripture type of the "world,"—and their being thus saved from the Dragon, we obviously see something parallel to the next statement, viz., that "*the earth helped the woman.*"

[2] The idea conveyed by the number *ten* seems to be merely that of numerical multiplication. Mr. Williams thus speaks of it: "The number *ten* is a mystical number in Scripture, the complete aggregate of individuals; itself like unity brought back to unity, the foundation too of indefinite multiplication . . . . the number ten stands for a multitude . . . . ten horns for many," &c. (P. 29.)

[3] "The form of the Beast," says Hengstenberg, "is compounded of the different Beast in Daniel,—quite naturally so, since the Beast here imaged the ungodly power of the world *as a whole*, while in Daniel the *different phases* of this power are represented." (Vol. ii. 15.)

And Mr. Williams: "This Beast, like the four Beast of Daniel, '*arises out of the sea,*' so often put for the nations, and it is in itself composed of those four Beasts. It has the leopard-likeness of the third, . . . the bear-feet of the second, . . . the lion-mouth of the first, . . . and the ten-horned head of the fourth. . . . Nor is that all, for it has also *seven heads* which make up the heads of the four Beasts, inasmuch as the leopard of Daniel has four heads (Dan. vii. 6), which four, together with the other three, form the {*cont.*}

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Moreover precisely as we see that our LORD was tempted, for the sake of the world, to offer [Greek] to Satan; even so do we here see the very same temptation repeated—yes, and men yielding to it, giving [Greek] to the Dragon *who gave power* [1]to the Beast.

Words, of course, which merely embody the great fundamental truth that "the friendship of the world is," *really* "*enmity* with GOD:" that the service of the world necessarily tends, as its ultimate and inevitable result, to *open hostility* against GOD: allegiance to the Beast, to the worship of the Dragon.

As for the peculiar meaning of the word [Greek]; the idea conveyed by it is very well given by Hengstenberg. "The point of comparison," he says, is not merely "the attribute of wildness and ferocity," for thus the distinction would be lost between it and the Dragon.

> "It must rather be regarded as standing generally in the *want of the Divine Image*, which at the threshold of Revelation (Gen. i. 26, 27) is represented as the properly and distinctively human—the want of the living Breath of GOD." (Hengst. vol. ii. p. 6.)

So that the idea conveyed by it will be precisely what we have assumed, viz., that it is correspondent to the [Greek] in our nature, and will find its peculiar sphere in those whom S. Jude speaks of as [Greek] (v. 19.)

> "The change" from a "*beast* into a *man*" is "the same with that which . . . passed upon Nebuchadnezzar, in whose personal history the fate of his empire was imaged. In his career of ambition and pride . . . the human heart was taken away, and a beast's *heart* given him. As a punishment for this he was reduced to the *condition* of a beast in intellect and outward appearance. 'And at the end of the days,' it is said, 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted up mine eyes to heaven, and my understanding returned unto me. And I blessed the Most High; and I praised Him Who liveth for ever.' . . . .Here it appears as the characteristic of *man* to lift the eyes adoringly to heaven, to praise and glorify the Most High, in contrast to the senseless indifference toward the Divine . . . as connected with the condition of a beast." (Ib. ii. 7, 8.)

But we come now to the third symbol. "The Beast from the earth" or "False Prophet." And here the context plainly shows that some great principle of *Spiritual* deception is impersonated. And not only so; but some, *connected with the profession of* [418] *Christianity*. For He is represented as having two horns like a *Lamb*—[Greek], a word which, occurring as it does twenty-six times the Apocalypse, and *twenty-five* of those times as a designation of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, must necessarily allude to Him here. So that the outward semblance of the "Lamb" must obviously refer to some outward profession of Christianity.

> "He "comes up out of the earth,' i.e., from the visible Church of GOD; and he has '*two horns like a lamb*.' 'He professes CHRIST, His lowliness and sanctity,' says S. Gregory. The two horns as of 'the Lamb of GOD,' the name by which John the Baptist pointed out CHRIST. 'They are,' says Haymo, 'the feigned semblance of His innocency, and purity, His doctrine and miracles.' Primasius explains them as the two Testaments, which are indeed the horns or powers of CHRIST. Peter Olivi, as false Christs and false prophets which induce men to worship the carnal desire and glory of the first secular beast; others, as ecclesiastical and spiritual powers." (Williams, p. 247—8.)

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seven. This appears to indicate that he represents some great principle of evil found in all the heathen kingdoms,—the four of universality combined in one." (P. 233.)

So that in their *ultimate* and catholic signification, the solemn warnings against worshipping the Beast and his image will correspond exactly to what S. John elsewhere enforces in plain language, "Love not the world, neither the things of the world."

[1] [Greek]. Cf. Luke iv.5. [Greek].

And here we must express our utter dissent from those commentators who refuse to see under this symbol any allusion to a *spiritual* delusion and corrupt Christianity. As the first Beast is destitute of every single spiritual mark—merely the GOD-opposing, GOD-denying Anti-christian power of the world—external to the Church, and therefore merely assailing or influencing her from *without*: so is this second Beast some principle *within*, the Church, seducing men to the service of the world and of Satan, and all under the semblance of Christianity.

Many of our readers will be acquainted with Hengstenberg's Chapter on the "Beast from the sea," in which he so ably disposes of the common Protestant notion that it represents "the Papacy" (a notion advocated, to a certain extent, by Dr Wordsworth.[1]) [419] This chapter appeared some time ago in the pages of our late and short lived contemporary "The Theological Critic," and we would gladly, did our space allow, quote portions of it here.

But powerful as Hengstenberg is in his essay on the first Beast, we cannot but think him quite as unsatisfactory in his treatise on the second. He considers it merely an embodiment of worldly *heathen* wisdom; and identifies the *image* of the first Beast set up by the second, with the pictures of the Roman Emperor set up of old for public reverence.

> "The setting up of the likeness of the Emperor," he says, "was one of the most effectual means which the heathen despotism could employ to place itself in the centre of the world. By means of this image the Beast was rendered in a manner omnipresent . . . . Its living representative the Roman Emperor was confined to no particular place. . . . The *Spirit* which, according to v. 15, belongs to the image of the Beast, is not one properly residing in him, but flowing out of him, along with the *speech* given to him by the wisdom of the world." (Hengst. ii. 44.)

Now, without professing to apprehend the precise *meaning* of this last sentence, we may at least say that if 'the Beast' be the GOD-opposing power of the world *generally*, it seems

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[1] It is no easy matter to discover what, according to Dr. Wordsworth's scheme, are the distinguishing characteristics of the "Beast from the sea," the "Beast from the earth,' and the "Harlot Babylon." All three seem indiscriminately merged into "the Papacy." And this is only one of the many exegetical incongruities with which his (in many respects) able "Lectures" abound.

Take, for instance, his interpretation of the "loosing of the four angels bound at the Euphrates," in the sixth trumpet, where the *four* of universality is to be noticed, and the manifest connection between this vision and the *sixth vial,*—the awful gathering of all nations from the "*four* quarters of the earth" to the final and decisive conflict between the powers of good and evil. Dr. Wordsworth, however, sees in this vision a loosing of the *four gospels* which have been *bound in fetters by the Church of Rome!* (Lect. VII.)

Or again, his interpretation of the "seven thunders," on the "uttering" of which S. John was about to write, but was ordered *not* to write, but to *seal up* what they had revealed, where Dr. Wordsworth interprets S. John's being ordered *not to write* by his being ordered *to write* the Apocalypse, and so *seal up* the Apostolical Canon! (*Ibid.*)

Or yet again, his exposition of the "*two witnesses*," (*i.e.,* Christ's true followers, His "little flock"), whose *dead bodies* lie *unburied* in the broadway of the Great City, the Spiritual Jerusalem,—a passage, the interpretation of which is fixed by the parallel words of the Psalm, O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance, . . . the *dead bodies* of Thy servants have they given to be meat to the *Beasts* of the earth ([Greek])—perhaps some secret parallelism with the [Greek] in the Apocalypse). Their blood have they shed like water on every side of Jerusalem, and there was no man to *bury* them" (Ps. lxxix. 1—3),—in which Dr. Wordsworth sees a marvellous prediction that the two Testaments will be put to death by the Church of Rome, and not be suffered to be *put into monuments,—i.e.*, "editions, translations, expositions!" (Lect. VIII.)

Now it is not that we object to Dr. Wordsworth introducing these several passages as *illustrations* of the subjects to which he has referred them, or as admitting a possible *accommodation to them*; but we *do* object, in behalf of the general question of Sacred Exegesis, to having such expositions set forth—nay, delivered from our University pulpits—as *the* interpretation of Scripture, its *real* and primary meaning.

extraordinary that the image of this Beast should he merely the *picture* of a particular emperor.

With regard to the general scope, however, of the symbol, we repeat that the two horns like the '*Lamb*' CHRIST, and the designation the 'False Prophet;' coupled with our LORD'S cognate predictions concerning the "false Christs, and false Prophets" who were to arise,—attired "in sheep's clothing," deceiving, if it were possible, the very elect—not to mention the numerous other features of this second Beast, which point in the same direction—all, seem manifestly to point to some spiritual, some pseudo-Christian delusion.[1]
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We frankly own that it appears to ourselves mere wilful blindness to close the eyes to the numerous intimations, with which this Book abounds, of some grievous defection from primitive faith and from doctrinal purity which is to overrun the Church of CHRIST

Look at the picture of the Catholic Church presented to us in the opening *seven Epistles*, wherein we have a kind of synoptical view of the general state of the "Holy Church throughout all the world."[2]

It is still the Church Catholic. There are the *seven* candlesticks. CHRIST'S Presence is still within it. He "walketh in the midst of" it. And yet, we find *five sevenths* of the Church overrun with some secret spiritual idolatry, or corrupt faith and practice;—for that this is what is shadowed forth under the Scripture emblem of fornication we need hardly stay to prove.[3]

Ephesus has "*left her first love*" and has "*fallen*." Pergamos has "them that bold the doctrine of Balaam," who taught Israel "*to commit fornication*." Thyatira suffers "that woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to seduce" GOD'S "servants *to commit fornication*." Sardis is "*dead*," and contains *only* a "*few* names who have not *defiled their garments*." Laodicea, though vaunting to be "rich and increased with goods, and to have

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[1] Mr. Williams says that it probably represents what is afterwards seen as the Harlot, or Babylon, "but as different forms and aspects of the same spiritual wickedness" (p. 243). The difference between the two, however, would rather appear to be the difference between the abstract and the concrete: the lamb –like Beast representing the *evil principle*, the Harlot Babylon that principle embodied and developed. Or, perhaps, like as *Balaam* taught Israel "to commit fornication," so the False Prophet her may represent the hidden *seducer*, and Babylon the once faithful, now faithless, Israel, whom his wiles have corrupted.

[2] Hengstenberg strangely objects to the uniform Patristic interpretation which identifies the *seven* Churches with the Church Catholic, maintaining that they are *only* seven *particular* churches which are alluded to. The reason he assigns is most feeble. He appears to think, as the Church of old was symbolized under *one* golden candlestick in the temple, that therefore, were the whole Church here alluded to, it would be symbolized by the same *one* candlestick, and not by seven, which therefore, he thinks, would seem to point merely to seven particular churches. But he appears to forget that the Church is no longer the Church of *one* people. It is the Catholic Church. "The barren hath borne *seven*, which," says S. Cyprian, "are the *seven churches*; whence also Paul wrote to seven churches, and the Apocalypse sets forth seven churches, that the number seven may be preserved," (Tract. III. (i.) 20.) The one candlestick has become seven. So the *single trumpet* of the Law has given way to "the seven trumpets which introduce the Gospel." The "One Spirit" is in this book spoken of as "the Seven Spirits." And instead of the *One Hill*, Mount Sion, on which the Church is built, we find the Mystic Babylon, with whom the visible Church is, for a time, and in a certain sense, identified, seated on *Seven* Hills. "Her foundations are upon the Holy Hills."

[3] "The crime of *fornication* is a charge of the most definite kind; the idea of it being determined by the idiom and usage of the Old Testament, wherein purity of religious faith and worship is designated under the name of chastity, or conjugal fidelity in the Church of God; and apostasy, or corruption in religion, but especially idolatrous corruption, is branded as the gross pollution of virgin modesty or plighted faith." (Davison on Prophecy, p. 435.)

need of nothing," is yet "*the wretched one, the poor, the miserable, the blind, the naked*," and about to be "*spued out*" of CHRIST'S mouth.

In all these cases condign vengeance is denounced if the fornication is not repented of. Deeply though we mourn to say it, we are yet constrained to believe that the context indicates *it is not*, and that in the history of the great Harlot subsequently recounted [421] we see an awful foreshadowing of the guilt being continued in, of its increasing yet more in intensity, and of its finally drawing down a tremendous retribution.

A remnant of the Church, however, maintains its integrity. *Two* of the candlesticks, Smyrna and Philadelphia, preserve their light pure, keeping diligently open the conduits through which alone the Holy Oil can flow into them, their flame burns steadily, and they still "*shine as lights in the world holding forth the Word of Life.*"[1]

But the rest of the visible Church appears overrun with evil. It.is Jerusalem, but where "our LORD is crucified," and where Antichrist reigns. It is the "Great City," but yet, mystically. Babylon or confusion.[2] The Holy City, but trodden underfoot, and stained with the blood of GOD'S servants. It is GOD'S Temple, but yet—saving only the inner Sanctuary, where the two witnesses, the true worshippers are—defiled and profaned, (Rev. xi. 1, 2.). The "House of Prayer for all nations,' but yet "a den of thieves." My FATHER'S House," but yet a house of merchandise.

The sun-clothed woman, the virgin daughter of Israel, has, like her mother, proved false. She was at first beheld by the inspired Seer as [Greek] (ch. xii. 1) who fled on eagle's wings into the *wilderness*. The Seer is afterwards borne by the spirit into this selfsame *wilderness*, and beholds [Greek], shorn of her former radiant robe, the sun of righteousness, and girt with her own "filthy rags,' the world's gaudy attire. "How is the *Faithful City* become an *Harlot!*"[3]

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We have already dwelt upon the fact that under the three-fold symbol of the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet, we may perhaps discover something in the Church's secret

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[1] It is probably the number two in this place, which fixes the number of the *witnesses*, of whom S. John afterwards speaks. They are the "*two* witnesses," and are expressly identified with "the *two candlesticks* which stand before the God of the Earth" (ch. xi. 4). In the first vision were seen [Greek]. But in this vision we find that a "falling away" has taken place. And what is elsewhere said of the heads of the Beast may be said with equal truth of the candlesticks,—"Five have fallen," have (even now, in the deep foreknowledge of God) "been removed out of their place;" and here are the two which remain, [Greek], the two candlesticks which *still retain their position* "before the God of the Earth."

[2] "Ista civitas quæ appellata est Confusio, ipsa est Babylon, . . . Babylon quippe interpretatur confuzio." (De Civ. Dei xvi. 4.)

[3] "Throughout," writes Mr. Williams, "since the mystery of the Church has been introduced after S. John's eating of the Book; all the representations seem connected with some corruption, some [Greek] in the Church itself. . . . The great ten-horned Beast of all Blasphemy and Wickedness never appears apart from some *mysterious spiritual* iniquity, either as the second Beast of lamb-like dissimulation, or the False Prophet, or as the Mystical Babylon and adulterous Church." The reason of this may be, "that the Apocalypse, being the description of the *Christian Church*, does not speak of the first" or infidel "Beast, *except* as it comes in connection with *it*; or, it may be, that the Church visible will never be separate from it by the wiles of the Dragon. And one great object of this Divine Book appears to be to assure us that, during the desolation of the Church, the Lamb on Mount Sion will be all the while gathering His own out of her; the two witnesses more or less heard; their presence felt; the Word, which under the first seal went forth unaccompanied on the White Horse, will, notwithstanding, be seen to have a great army with Him; and it is not till at last, when her destruction is coming on, that the Sons of God will, by a distinct Divine Voice, be summoned to come out of the Mystical Babylon." (P. 244—5.)

history parallel to the three-fold temptation of our Blessed LORD. Whether this be really the case or not, we can only conjecture. One thing, however, certain—that we have distinct evidence in this book of the Church *having* been assailed by those fleshly, worldly, and pseudo-spiritual principles to which we have suggested that these emblems may be, in a measure, severally correspondent, and of her having moreover *succumbed to each*. Let one single verse attest the sad truth: we mean Rev. xi. 8, in which the "Great City," or visible Church, is spoken of as spiritually identical with three notable cities, Sodom, Egypt, and Jerusalem. Sodom, the Scripture type of the "*flesh*;" Egypt, the type of the "*world*;" and Jerusalem, "where also our LORD was crucified," of *spiritual defection*.

Mournful as it is to have to write thus, still we cannot but think much more healthy for us to look these sad forecastings full in the face, and not wilfully close our eyes against what the HOLY GHOST has so plainly revealed. However we may dislike some of the inferences which may appear to follow from them,—however they may seem to interfere with what we could *wish* to be the truth, and to crush some of our most fervent and deep yearnings,—it can do us no good to try to evade them. For ourselves, we feel not more earnestly convinced of the truth of anything than we do of the absolute impossibility of dissevering many of these Apocalyptic prophecies from the Christian Church,[1] and *confining* them to a single heathen city. This last learned endeavour of Professor Hengstenberg has more than ever convinced us of this; and we cannot but feel deeply indebted to Mr. Williams for having so calmly and dispassionately, with such tenderness, though with such plain speaking, drawn the attention of Churchmen to a melancholy subject which they are but too apt to overlook.

We hope on a future occasion, in conducting our notice of these interesting volumes, to advert to one or two of the important considerations which are so plainly involved in the identification of Babylon with Christendom, and also to the mysterious question [423] whether or not this Book contains any intimations of a *Personal* Antichrist.

At present we will close with one consideration arising out of the comparison we have instituted between the temptations of the Bride and Her Divine Bridegroom. And it is this: How that, in glancing at the recorded history of the Church, we may see strange indications of her having been *really* assailed with temptations, not only *generically* correspondent to those of Her LORD (as we have seen reason from this Book to *anticipate*), but even, to a certain extent *specifically* identical.

We have already noticed that the Great City, or visible Church, is spiritually identified in this Book with the three cities, Sodom, Egypt, and Jerusalem; and we feel it were needless to refer to Her sad *history*—to that "little Book," the mystical eating of which proved so "*bitter*" to the beloved Apostle (*vide* Will.p. 181—2)—in order to convince ourselves of the justness of these Divine appropriations:—

1. Of the immorality and licentiousness, and of that ruthless persecuting spirit, which have found their way even into her high places ;—or,

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[1] One cannot but feel *assured*, by a careful attention to all the parts of the Apocalypse itself, and to the Old Testament, to which all the figures constantly refer, that by the harlot is intended—not the infidel world, or *any heathen city*, but a Christian Church, or the Church Universal," ("the worldly church, or Christian world," Mr. W. elsewhere expresses it,) or the whole Christian name. This latter must be added. For as Samaria is represented as an Harlot as well as Jerusalem, the lapsed and broken Israel as well as Judah, so Christian bodies, in form less perfect, and not according to the measured primitive pattern of the Church, may yet be included under the name of the 'Mother of Harlots.' Inasmuch as . . . . they may yet agree in this alliance more or less, with the great principle of infidelity."

2. Of her unholy alliance with the *world*, and that lust of *temporal power* which has so marvellously penetrated her; on which head we will merely confine ourselves to this,—the striking indications we behold of Satan's worldly temptation, wherewith, he failed to seduce the Bridegroom, having been repeated, and *successfully*, in the case of the Bride, and of Her having eagerly grasped that very thing which He so solemnly repudiated." "All the kingdoms of the world and their glory" were offered to Him and rejected. Let one spectacle, silently though significantly, attest how *real*, even though impotent, are the yearnings which She has entertained after this very *repudiated dominion*. See the Primate of Christendom, at his coronation, not only invested with the Sacred Mitre, the insigne of œcumenical spiritual sway, but subsequently divested of that in order to be crowned with the triple tiara, the badge of *universal temporal dominion*, and thus solemnly addressed, "Accipe tiaram, tribus coronis ornatam, et scias te esse *Patrem Principum et Regum*; RECTOREM ORBIS!"[1]

But we come to notice, lastly,—

3. The Church's spiritual temptations. And here we have already intimated (*vide* supra p. 413, n.[2]) how the presumptuous desire to be "like GOD, knowing good and evil," which assailed our first parents, has again manifested itself in the history of the [424] Church.[2] We have also noticed how remarkably the *other* portion of the first spiritual temptation (and we here further add, our LORD'S spiritual temptation also) has, in like manner, been brought to bear against Her. Satan, we have shown, seduced our first parents with the assurance that, being the children of GOD, they "should *not* surely die,"—they could not forfeit His protection and favour. He repeated the same assurance to our Blessed LORD, "If thou be the SON OF GOD,"—and again, "For it is *written*, He shall give His Angels charge over Thee to keep Thee." And would it not seem that his words to the Church have been precisely the same in kind? "If thou be the Spouse of CHRIST,"—and again, "For it is written," "thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall *not* prevail against it." It is indeed no less remarkable than it appears strictly true, that in this master-temptation of Satan (the awful potency of which he probably first discovered in his terrible *personal* experience), we may discern the secret spring of the sad history of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church. Assuming herself to be *the* Church, not a branch only, and dwelling complacently on the "exceeding great and precious promises" which undoubtedly *are* made to the Church, she has sadly overlooked the *conditions* to which these promises have been tied; and, instead of regarding her security as depending on her fidelity, has rather regarded her fidelity as *guaranteed* by her security. She has imagined herself unconditionally safe, and therefore necessarily pure.

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[1] "Ruler of the world!" An ominous title this; when we bear in mind to *whom* it was that our Blessed Lord, so far from claiming it Himself, appropriated the corresponding Greek expression [Greek]. Cf. S. Matt. xxiii. 8—12; S. Luke xxii. 24—26.

[2] No power can alter a law, save a power *at least* co-ordinate with that of the-lawgiver. Let one awful example indicate our meaning.

Compare 1. The following words of our Blessed Lord, "*Except* ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, *and drink His Blood*, ye have no life in you," and "*This is My Blood*," (pointing to the cup). "*Do this* in remembrance of Me." "Drink ye *all* of this." Compare with this,

2. The following extract from the celebrated decree of the Council of Constance, (Sess. 13.) "This practice then" (i.e. of *withholding* the cup) "is to be held as *law.* And any Priest who hereafter administers to the people *in both kinds*," (i.e. who obeys Christ's *positive* command,) "is to be excommunicated as *guilty of heresy*, (!) and delivered over, if necessary, to the secular arm."

There is no need that her peculiar doctrines should be tested by GOD'S written Word, and by the decisions of the Church Universal. The very fact of herself sanctioning any doctrine,—*i.e.,* making that to be doctrine which was not doctrine before,—(be it that of the "Deification" or "Immaculate Conception" of the Blessed Virgin, or of the mutilation of the Blessed Sacrament, or of the [Greek] (Exod. xx. 4, 5), or of the Purgatorial flames),—is in itself sufficient to manifest that it *must* be true. How singularly appropriate, when viewed in this connection, are those ominous words of the Apostle Paul addressed of old to the Church of Rome, "Be not high minded, but *fear*. If GOD [425] spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He spare not *thee*.. . . Behold, therefore, the goodness of GOD to thee, *if thou continue* in His goodness; otherwise *thou also shalt be cut off*."

Passing strange, too, that this assumed grant of indefectibility, which, as claimed for *the individual* (superseding, thus, all necessity for Sacraments and Church Communion), has been the fundamental tenet of modern popular Protestantism, the seductive source of its influence among men, and the "corpus" on which its multitudinous parasitic heresies have grown; strange that this very grant, claimed for *the body corporate,* should have been no less truly the peculiar animating principle and distinguishing mark of that powerful section of the Church, from its opposition to which the former derives at once its being, its "faith," and its name.

But here our limited space compels us abruptly to terminate for the present. We trust to be able to conclude the subject next month.

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As the cardinal question on which the explanation of all the predictions concerning the Lamb-like Beast and Harlot of Babylon turns, is this—whether those emblems are to have a heathen or Christian application, it is necessary that this should be satisfactorily decided, before any further advance is made into the details of the prophecies themselves. For all other questions are subordinate to this, and will fall into their places, *only* after this fundamental consider-ation has been determined.

I. We have already offered much direct as well as indirect evidence for the *Christian* interpretation of these symbols: but as the consequences flowing therefrom are so serious and important, and as the interpretation itself is so strenuously opposed by many, with whom on a question of this character we feel such unfeigned reluctance to disagree, we must crave indulgence while we discuss the question a little further.

And to begin with a point to which we have already adverted, but which is of such infinite importance in the investigation as to justify our further reference to it, viz.:—

1. The crime of *unchastity* which marks the Mystical Woman. Here then we maintain that an examination of the use of the expressions "adultery" and "fornication" not only throughout the Old Testament, but even in the Apocalypse itself, prohibits our applying them in this place to mere heathen impieties, or lust of dominion, or infidelity from *without*.

> The whole account of the Harlot," writes Mr. Williams, "the judgment, the name, and the figures by which she is characterized,—is little more than bringing out into distinct mention the descriptions in the Old Testament of Israel and Judah—more especially of the latter, as the Bride or Wife which had become adulterous. The basis of the whole description will be found in those two most pathetic and striking chapters of Ezekiel, the 16th and the 23rd; but it is the usual and acknowledged figure in the Prophets for the Sacred Nation. The term 'adultery' is

> never applied to a heathen kingdom; that of 'harlot' never as an appropriate designation, or as descriptive of a general name and character, and only *twice* as an incidental expression:—as to Tyre, whose singing on her restoration is compare to that of 'a harlot'; and to Nineveh, 'whose dominion was the sea, and the water her walls;' whose 'whoredoms and witchcrafts' are mentioned. It is evident from the Old Testament that by the term '*the great Harlot*,' is meant, not the world at large, nor any infidel city, but a Christian [501] Church;—the Jerusalem dwelling; 'the great city,' 'the great Harlot;' nay, more, 'the Mother of Harlots.'314.[1]

Now we must own that we cannot regard it as other than extraordinary that Professor Hengstenberg, who appears to possess such a marvellous acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures, and who generally is so copious in his quotations from them, should yet, when referring to the symbolical meaning of the terms "fornication," and the like, have passed over in *perfect silence* all the reiterated applications of those expressions to the unfaithful Churches of Israel and Judah, and drawn his *one* illustration from the exceptional case of Tyre. (Vol. ii. p. 191; vide also p. 66.) In like manner too, Bossuet, and the modern expositors who follow him, derive the meaning they attach to these expressions exclusively from their incidental employment in the case of Nineveh and Tyre, while their *general* Scripture signification, and that sanctioned in the earlier part of the Apocalypse itself, they absolutely and entirely ignore.

But even these two cases of Nineveh and Tyre cannot after all be said to prove much. How little do we know of either the one or the other to be able to ascertain the precise force of these expressions as applied to them. We merely know, with regard to the former, that the people of Nineveh had, about fifty years or so before her "whoredoms" are spoken of by the prophet Nahum, "*believed God's word*," had " *turned in sackcloth*" *and ashes* "*from their evil ways*," and "*cried mightily unto God*"; so that even here there may be some allusion to their subsequent defection from the Almighty. And with regard to the passage wherein the expression "Harlot" is applied to Tyre, and which speaks of some "mysterious resuscitation" of her after she has " been forgotten" (Isa. xxiii. 16), [502] there can be no reasonable doubt, as Mr. Williams suggests, that there is, in it, some secret connexion with the prophecies concerning the Apocalyptic Babylon in which "so much has a reference to the Tyre of the prophets. As the old Babylon which had 'been forgotten' 'comes into remembrance before GOD,' so likewise is the lost Tyre revived." (p. 315.)

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[1] With regard to the question on which such stress is laid by Bossuet, in the preface to his work on the Apocalypse (Œuvres. t. iii. pp. 100—3, ed.1815,) and by his numerous followers, viz. why the woman is not called an "*adulteress*" if she be a faithless Church, and is only called a "*harlot*." Mr. Williams adds: "The reason appears to be, in order to keep up more closely the connection with the Old Testament, where the former word (i.e. harlot, [Greek]) is used as applied to Jerusalem of old, as may be seen throughout the above-mentioned chapters of Ezekiel (16th and 23rd) on which this vision is founded, where the term occurs throughout in frequent repetition, especially in the former chapter. Moreover, in that and other places of the prophets, it is equivalent to adultery; and the subject referred to is unfaithfulness to her first espousals to God (Jer. ii. 2,) and to His love and care of her (Hos. ii). Again: an adulteress would imply one instance of unfaithfulness: but in these cases there is infidelity "with many lovers" (Jer. iii. 1), which is the case throughout with the Jerusalem of the Prophets (as may be seen especially in the Prophet Hosea), and with "*the Great Harlot*" of S. John. There may be a further difference in the meaning of the two words. The term translated adultery simply signifies defilement; but the other expression, selling herself for hire ([Greek]) which idea pervades the whole of this subject; the impure Church barters and prostitutes her faith to Christ for the advantages of the world; the gold and the silver, the glories and delicacies of the world, are especially dwelt upon; and for these she sells herself to kings, great men, and merchants. The word "adulteress" would be here very weak compared with that of "the Great Harlot." (pp. 314—5.)

In fact we firmly believe that in these very prophecies concerning Tyre and Nineveh, this peculiar language is incidentally employed, merely because that, *besides* the primary reference to the two cities themselves, they contain a further allusion to the crimes, history, and fate of the Harlot Babylon itself—the faithless Church—the carnal Jerusalem of the New Dispensation.

And so writes Tichonius (A.D 390.)[1]

> "Nineve . . . bipertitæ *Ecclesiæ* figura est. Erat Nineve civitas magna. . . . adversa Deo . . . Sed in figurâ Ecclesiæ, prædicante Jonâ, i.e.Christo, omnis omnino liberata est. Eadem Nineve omnino in sequenti Prophetâ peritura describitur, cui prædicans Dominus 'Signum est Jonæ in ventre ceti.' Atque ut et ipse propheta ostendit *non* esse *illam civitatem specialem*, interponit aliqua quæ speciei modum excedant. 'Non erat' inquit 'finis gentilibus illius.' Et iterum: 'multiplicasti mercatus tuos super astra cœli,' i.e. Ecclesiam. Et iterum; 'super quem non venit malitia tua'? Numquid potuit *unius civitatis* malitia super omnem hominem venisse? Manifestius adhuc docet Propheta *Ecclesiam* esse *Nineve*," &c. &c.[2]

And with regard to Tyre, the same writer thus speaks in reference to the very mysterious passage in which the prophet alludes to her as the "harlot," who after being forgotten many years should revive, and "commit fornication with *all the kingdoms of the world*," her "merchandize and hire" being "holiness to the LORD," "It is incredible," he says, "that all the world should be spoken of as negotiating with Tyre, si non Tyrus Ecclesia est in quâ omne terrarum negotium est æternæ vitæ." (p. 118.)
[503]
On the whole then, it appears quite impossible to build any solid argument against the system of interpretation which would attach to the words "fornication" and the like, in the case of the Mystic Babylon, their ordinary and recognized Scripture meaning, merely on the ground of their incidental and exceptional application (and even then apparently not without some ulterior spiritual design,) to the two cities Nineveh and Tyre; cities, be it also remembered, alluded to in a peculiar way by our Lord in connection with the fate of His Apostate Israel.

But there are many other expressions which occur in these prophecies which equally refuse and repel a heathen application.

2. Look, for instance, at the word [Greek] inscribed on the Harlot's face, a word occurring nearly thirty times in the New Testament, and always with a deep spiritual meaning.

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[1] In his "*seven rules for interpreting Scripture*." (Gallandi, vol. viii. P. 117) The rule in illustration of which he introduces these passages, (Reg. iv. 'De specie et genere') relates to the frequent transition observable in prophetic Scripture from a particular subject to a more general cognate one, from a part to the whole, from the species to the genus, and conversely; as (e.g.) from the city Jerusalem to the Church Catholic, or from the individual King Solomon to the same. And he truly says of the Holy Spirit, when "speaking by the Prophets," that "dum in *speciem* narrat, ita in *genus* transit ut transitus non statim liquido appareat: sed talia transiens ponit verba, quæ in *utrumque* conveniant, donec paulatim *speciei* modum excedat, et transitus dilucidat." (p. 115.) As we shall have occasion again to allude to this same book "De septem regulis," we may just notice what S. Augustine says of it; that it ought to be perused "à studiosis, quia *plurimum adjuvat* ad Scripturas intelligendas." (De doct. Chr. lib. iii.; Gallandi, viii. 741.)

[2] The same explanation will also account for the elaborateness of the detail, and magnitude of the images in which the Prophets foretell the destruction of Babylon of the Chaldeans. Although in her case, as though for the very purpose of guarding against the confounding her peculiar sins with those of her Apocalyptic antitype, *no* allusion to fornication occurs; she has no chastity of religious faith to violate; she is invariably the *virgin* daughter of Babylon.

3. Or at S. John's pregnant remark that when he saw the *woman* "drunken with the blood of the Saints," he "*wondered*, with *great* amazement." Now surely the Apostle had seen enough of old Heathen Rome to render it a subject of no *very* great astonishment to see her drunk with the blood of the Saints. But to behold the once faithful city, the *Church of* Christ, inspired with the same ruthless and persecuting spirit, this might well confound him; might well move him; even as of old our Lord had been moved to think that it was Jerusalem, *His own* "*Jerusalem* that *killed the Prophets*." "When He beheld *the city*, He wept over it."

4. And with regard to the Lamb-like Beast, or False Prophet, with whom the Harlot seems so mysteriously connected, and whose representative she appears for a time to be, we have already shown how its features are all of a spiritual[1] character.

We will however in further illustration of this subject quote one or two passages from an Exposition of Rev. xiii., written by a Christian Bishop about the year 780 a.d.[2]

He has been quoting the whole passage concerning the Second Beast, and then adds—

> "Hoc totum, quanquam *corporaliter* Antichristi tempore factum erit, tamen in Ecclesia *spiritualiter* hodie fit. . . . Ipsa quæ una videtur Ecclesia tres partes sunt; una pars *ipsa* Ecclesia quæ imitatur Christum. Cæteræ duæ partes sunt quæ contra ipsam Ecclesiam pugnant, i.e. hæretici et Christiani mali (Lib. ii. ch. 16.) . . . . Hos habet Diabolus prophetas suos quos constituit in Ecclesiâ de corpore suo; hos habet [501] sub nomine Christi qui Christum prædicare simulent, et corpus Diaboli fiant . . . . *Intus* Ecclesiâ est hæretica pravitas a quâ vastatur Ecclesia. Sicut de eâ Dominus in hoc libro dicit: 'Scio ubi habitas, ubi sedes est Satanæ.' 'Sedes Satanæ ipsi pseudo-apostoli sunt in quibus sedet in Ecclesiâ Christi. Apostolos Christi se dicunt esse, et Apostoli non sunt sed deceptores Ecclesiæ quia non imitantur Apostolos Christi." (c. 17.) And he goes on to add that these false teachers would not be described under the symbol of *another*, *second* Beast "si *aperte* mala fuissent, aut *intra Ecclesiam* non fuissent, et *Sanctitatem Religionis* simulassent." And in further corroboration of this he notices that whereas the first Beast rises from the *sea*, this second rises from the *land*. "Nam mare fluctuat; terra vero quieta est. *Mare* enim intelligitur populus *aperte malus*. *Terra* vero *Religio est falsa*, et hæretica pravitas. Proinde Bestia 'duo cornua Agni similia' habet, i.e. duo Testamenta Legis et Evangelii. . . Agnum se profert quo Draconis venena latenter inserat. Agni enim similis non esset si *aperte* ut Draco loqueretur." (c. 19, 20.)[3]

And shortly afterwards he likens the Church to Paradise; and adduces Satan's temptation of the woman, as a type of his present temptation of the Church, and especially of his insidious promptings to doctrinal developments. "Cur præcepit vobis Dominus ut non comederetis ex *omni ligno* Paradisi? Quare fugitis *scientiam* habere *latentem*? *Novam superexquirite*, et boni et mali scientiam penetrate." (c. 28.)

5. But it is when we refer to the supposed fulfilment of the judgments denounced against the Great Harlot that we feel most strongly how Bossuet's and Hengstenberg's theory falls

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[1] Bossuet however thinks not. He says (in loc.) "cette bête, c'est la philosophie, et en particulier la philosophic Pythagoricienne." And one of his suggestions for the interpretation of the two Lamb-like horns is that they represent "Plotin et son disciple Porphyre". Corn. à Lap. on the contrary says, "videtur quod hic pseudo propheta erit *episcorpus quispiam apostata*, et simulator Religionis, Ecclesiastici honoris proditor, qui Draconis venenum sermonibus populo propinabit." (Comm. in Rev. xiii.)

[2] This treatise, the joint production of a Bishop and a Presbyter, (Etherius, and Beatus) is entitled "De Christo et ejus corpore quod est Ecclesia; et de Diabolo et ejus corpore quod est Anti-Christus." (Gallandi, xiii. 328—351.)

[3] So Primasius in loc. "Agno enim similis non esset si aspertè ut Draco loqueretur. Nunc autem Agnum fingit ut *Agnum* invadat, i.e. *Christi Corpus*." (Mag. Bi. Pat. vol. vi. 2nd part, p. 179.)

to pieces. We are assured by the Angel that the Harlot shall be "*utterly burnt with fire*," and that the fire shall "*never be quenched*": and these assurances are reiterated. To indicate the universality of her destruction, her plagues are spoken of as four-fold, *Death, Mourning, Famine*, and *Burning*; and they are described, partly as the work of the "Kings of the earth" who have hitherto dallied with her, and in a sudden phrenzy of revenge shall fall upon her, and partly as the result of judgments from Heaven.

Her destruction is to come upon her "*in one day*," nay, "*in one hour*." And she is henceforth to become the "habitation of Devils and the hold of all unclean birds." She is to be "cast as a millstone into the sea," and to be found "*no more at all*."

Now it seems well nigh incredible to think, that we should be assured by a whole array of learned Expositors that all these tremendous predictions *have* been accomplished, that the "burning" means merely the "fire of war"—that the "shall never be quenched" means nothing—that Rome has entirely disappeared, that she has [505] been cast as a millstone into the sea and has been found *no more at all*. That "her smoke rises up for ever and ever," that she has become the habitation of Devils, that in that one heathen city was "found the blood of *all* who were slain on the earth;" that the expressions "in one day" and "in one hour" are merely the gathering into a focus all the calamities which in various ways and at different periods have lighted upon her; that the fulness of the description is, according to Bossuet, merely "the manner of speech drawn from common discourse," (Œuvres, iii. 436,) and according to Hengstenberg, to give reality to the predictions, it being extremely difficult *not* to see, and yet to believe." (Hengst. ii. 212—237; 246.)[1]

But we need not enlarge upon these difficulties. We wonder however that the following obvious consideration has not struck this class of interpreters.

6. Two women are introduced into the Apocalypse,—one faithful, the other faithless—[Greek] and [Greek]. Two cities are also introduced, with which the two women are severally identified. The one, Jerusalem from above, the Holy city—the other, the carnal Jerusalem, "where also our LORD was crucified," called also Babylon, Sodom, Egypt—"the great city." Now the obvious parallelism which appears to he drawn between these two, compels us to adopt a uniform system of interpretation in explaining them. We cannot take one woman to be a type of the whole company of the faithful, and the other to be merely one heathen city. No. The [Greek] has a spiritual meaning, so has the [Greek]. The one city is mystical, so also must be the other. So that the two pairs form striking illustrations of Tichonius' Second Rule "De Domini corpore bipertito."[2] The Harlot and the Bride, Babylon and Jerusalem being but different *sides* of the *same body*; the former corresponding to the *left*, the latter to the *right*. For "CHRIST'S Body" he says, "has two sides"; which accounts for the Church being able thus to speak of herself "Fusca sum et

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[1] Corn. à Lap. says of this interpretation, "Non esse *probabile*, hoc caput et sequens (17th and 18th,) *posse* accipi de cladibus et excidiis illatis Romæ ab Alarico &c. Illa enim non fuere tanta quantum hoc erit, nimirum *extremum* et *inauditum.* Rursum, tunc Roma fuit Christiana ac consequenter non fuit tunc infidelis nec ita superba et dives ut Babylon vocari possit." (Comm. in Cap. 17.). His own opinion is that Babylon is "Roma non Christiana ut nunc est, sed infedelis et pagana qualis fuit tempore S. Johannis qualisque rursum erit tempore Antichrists." The opinion, it will be remembered, advocated by the learned writer of the four Sermons on Antichrist. Oxf. Tr. 83.

[2] S. Augustine excepts to this peculiar expressions of Tichonius, inasmuch as, "*that*," says he, "non re verâ Domini Corpus est quod cum illo non erit in æternum." And instead of corpus bipertitum he would substitute corpus verum atque permixtum; or verum atque simulatum; or ecclesia permixta. The church being able to call herself both *black* and yet *comely*, "propter temporalem unitatem intra una retia piscium bonorum et malorum."—Gallandi, viii. 741.

decora,"—I am both *black* and *comely*. "Absit enim ut ecclesia quæ non habet maculam aut rugam, quam Dominus suo sanguine mundavit, *aliqua* ex [506] parte fusca sit *nisi in parte sinistrâ*, per *quam* nomen Dei *blasphematur*."[1] (Gallandi viii. 109.) And among other illustrations of this rule he adduces the case of the "Septiformis Ecclesia" of the Apocalypse, part of which, he says, is holy and mindful of God's law, part stained with many crimes. And he gives also that striking example in the Gospel, wherein we find, as he expresses it, "unum corpus," and yet a "diversum meritum." We see the Church under two aspects. We first have that "*blessed servant*" whom his Lord at His coming shall find faithful; and then, with reference to the very same, we have that "*wicked servant*" whom his Lord will "cut asunder and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites." So that according to the terminology of this writer the [Greek] and [Greek], Jerusalem and Babylon will respectively typify the *pars dextra*, and *pars sinistra Christi Corporis*.

7. But we must not omit to notice one important fact connected with the doom of the Harlot which further strengthens the evidence for her being no mere pagan city, but in very truth God's apostate Israel. For her fate is none other than that of the faithless priest's daughter under the Law. She "is burned with fire." For "the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the harlot, she profaneth her father, *she shall be burnt with fire*." (Lev. xxi. 9.)[2]

And many awful foreshadowings of this her fate do we meet with in the Old Testament. Take for instance the following:

> "Wherefore, O *Harlot*, (Jerusalem,) hear the word of the Lord . . . I Will gather all thy lovers with whom thou has taken pleasure . . . . And I will give thee into their hand, and they shall break down thy high places . . . . and leave thee naked and bare . . . . and shall *burn thy houses with fire*."—Zech. xvi. 35—41.
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> And again,—"Behold, I raise up thy lovers against thee . . . . and they shall deal furiously with thee. They shall take thy sons and thy daughters; and thy residue *shall be devoured by the fire*."—ib. xxiii. 22—25."
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> "The punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is *greater than the punishment of the sin of Sodom that was overthrown as in a moment*. The Lord hath accomplished His fury, and *hath kindled a fire in Zion*. It hath *devoured the foundations thereof* . . . . for the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests." Lam. iv. 6—13.
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> "I will *kindle a fire* in the gates" of Jerusalem, "and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and *it shall not be quenched*." Jer. xvii. 27.

And listen to the lamentable cry of the faithful remnant who during this sad desolation of the Church visible shall yet maintain their integrity.
[507]

> "O GOD, wherefore art Thou absent from us so long, why is *Thy wrath so hot* against the sheep of Thy pasture? . . . . Thine adversaries roar in the midst of thy congregations. . . . They have *set fire* upon Thy holy places, and defiled the dwelling place of Thy Name even unto the ground. . . . . *They have burnt up all the houses of* GOD *in the land*. We see not our tokens, there is not one prophet more."—Psalm lxxiv.

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[1] Just as the Jerusalem of the Old Testament is both the "holy city" and the "bloody city," the "joy of the whole earth," and yet "worse than Sodom."

[2] Quoted by Williams, p. 352.

> "Turn Thee again, Thou GOD of Hosts, look down from Heaven, behold, and visit this vine, and the place of the vineyard that Thy right hand hath planted. . . . . *It is burnt with fire and cut down*."—Psalm lxxx.[1]

Now in these and other kindred passages we cannot but feel that "Novum Testamentum in vetere latet," and that we may here discern awful forecastings of some tremendous judgment awaiting the Church visible.[2] Would to GOD we could read them otherwise, but we cannot, and therefore must not, and dare not close our eyes to them. We see the doom of "that servant who knew his LORD'S will, and yet did it not." We see "judgment *beginning* at the *house of* GOD.[3]

8. But the most mysterious and awful statement concerning the mystical Babylon is this, that "in *her* is found the blood of all who are slain on the earth." But this again, only the more firmly and [508] indissolubly connects the prophecy with the carnal Jerusalem, or apostate church. Listen to our LORD'S emphatic words, "It *cannot* be that a prophet perish *out of Jerusalem*." And "Upon *her* shall come *all the righteous blood shed upon the earth from the blood of righteous Abel*."

It is a tremendous thought that as the Christian Church has inherited the blessings, so has she terribly *inherited the curses* of the elder Jerusalem. Our LORD'S public ministry commenced with an eight-fold *blessing*, it terminated with an *eight-fold woe*. Solomon, the peculiar type of the Christian Church, began his reign most hopefully, with the brightest prospects and most glorious promises, but ended it, alas! we hardly know how. Like his great Antitype he was allured and overcome by the seductions of the seven-headed Beast, by worldly pomp and prosperity. And here we may, perhaps, notice the strange coincidence (quoted by Mr. Williams from Bede) that just at the crisis of Solomon's prosperity we are arrested by the mention of the very *number of the Beast*, 666. The

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[1] Compare also the following description of the Harlot of the Old with that of the Harlot of the New Dispensation. "All that pass by clap their hands at thee, they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth? . . .. The Lord hath fulfilled His word, He hath thrown down and hath not pitied."

Compare also the detailed account of the *merchandize* of the mystic Babylon with our Lord's stern and fearfully significant rebuke, "Ye have made *My Father's house* a house of *merchandize*.''

Let the expression "The Light of a candle," also be noted—that spiritual Light which the Church as a candlestick has to hold, or as the mystical woman, to carry in her hand. "She lighteth *her candle* and sweepeth her house diligently.' "Ye *shine as lights* in the world *holding forth the Word of Life*." "She girdeth her loins with strength, and her candle *goeth not out by night*." But both Jerusalem of the Old, and Babylon of the New Testament are judicially deprived of this Sacred Light, this "Candle of the Lord." Of the former it is solemnly affirmed "I will take from Jerusalem the voice of the *Bridegroom* and the voice of the *Bride* . . . . . and the *Light of the candle*" (Jer. xxv. 10 ;Cf. vii. 34; xvi. 9.) And of the latter we read in that most pathetic lament in the Revelation: "And the *Light of a candle* shall shine no more at all in thee: and the voice of the *Bridegroom* and of the *Bride* shall be heard no more at all in thee . . . . for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived. (Rev. xviii. 23.)

[2] Or rather the great bulk of the Church visible. For we must never forget that there is a distinct assurance of preservation vouchsafed, during these sad times, to one faithful section, prefigured by the Church of Philadelphia. "Thou hast a little strength and *hast kept My word* . . . Because *thou hast kept the word of My* patience, I also *will keep thee* from the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world . . . . Behold I come quickly, *Hold fast that which thou hast*." (Cap. iii. 10, 11.)

But we shall have to allude to this again.

[3] For the Harlot, or faithless Church, is destroyed *before* the Beast, or infidel worldly power. Even as Jehovah predicted by His Prophet, "Lo I *begin* to bring evil on the *City which is called by My Name*, and shall *ye* (addressing the ungodly world) be utterly unpunished? Ye shall *not* be unpunished, for I will call for a sword upon *all the inhabitants of the earth*." (Jer. xxv. 29.)

worldly wealth of this monarch has this ominous title inscribed upon it. For "the weight of gold," we read, "which came to Solomon in one year was 666 talents of gold." (1 Kings x. 14.)

II. But leaving this painful subject for the present, we must proceed to say a few words on the mysterious question whether or not the Apocalypse furnishes any intimations respecting the dread Personal Adversary, [Greek]. Is such a Being yet to appear? If so, what is to be his nature? What will give rise to him? And what now "withholds" his revelation? What connection has he with the Beast? What with Babylon?

It is with no small sense of the difficulty attaching to these and kindred questions, and with an earnest disclaimer of the remotest intention on our part to dogmatize upon them, but yet with a deep conviction of their momentous importance, that we venture to offer a few suggestions on some of them.

And 1st. Is such a Being to appear? Assuredly *not*, says Hengstenberg. Antichrist is but an "*ideal* person," (ii. 87,) and the belief in the future manifestation of such an *individuals* is but the result of a "vicious realism" applied to the prophetic Scriptures.

But in answer to this we have simply to say, To whom are we to give credence, the German Professor or the Catholic Church? For, leaving out of consideration matters of faith, we believe there are few points with regaled to which the "semper, ubique, et ab omnibus" may be more truly predicated than that a personal Antichrist is yet to appear.

But what is to be his nature? He is unquestionably to be a *man*. But, "though a man by nature," says Theodoret (in 2 Thess. ii.) "yet being endued with all the working of Satan, ([Greek]) he is therefore called the 'man [509] of sin.'" Bede speaks of him as "unus de *hominibus* in quo totus Satanas habitaturus est corporaliter," (in Rev. xiii. 18.) Corn. à Lapide, as "organum Diaboli," et "quasi *Diabolus incarnatus*."[1]

In truth, so mysterious is our nature, so "fearful and wonderful" a being is man, that it would seem even Satan himself must enlist the services of one of our flesh and blood, some wretched son of Adam in order successfully to carry out his grand final assault.

Mr. Williams truly says that the advent of a personal Antichrist is "rendered probable by what we know of the *wonderful*, *as it were magical power of personal influence*; the universal tendency to what is vulgarly called hero-worship," (p. 424.) And so it is. Man, created originally in the image of GOD, is so framed that nothing *less than* GOD can satisfy him. And if the Almighty's seat in the heart be unoccupied by *Him*, there is a void which it will ever be the restless endeavour of the soul to fill up with the creature. Hence the instinctive yearning and craving of the ungodly world for some one on whom to rest, to whom to "yield themselves servants to obey," which, when this Demon-Man shall appear

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[1] S. Jerome alludes to him (in 2 Thess. ii.) simply as "Diabolus." S. Chrysostom however ever says (ibid.) "Who is this? Is it Satan? *By no means*. But some *man* endued with all the working of Satan" (the words quoted by Theodoret, as mentioned above—quoted also by Theophylact and Œcumenius). Pope Gregory speaks of him as "Damnatus ille *homo* quem in fine mundi Apostata Angelus assumet" (Vol. i. p. 422. B.) "In illo, *humana* quiden forma cernitur, sed verbis suis ultra homines elevatur." "*Purus homo* generatur: sed immaniter crescit, quia useque ad conjunctam sibi vim Angelicæ fortitudinis proficit." "*In uno illo damnato homine tota Diaboli virtus congesta densatur.*" (ibid. p. 1062.) Berengaudus says of him that he will be a *man*, but that "the Devil will take up his abode within him," 'et per eum, quicquid nequitia Diaboli excogitare potest, operabiture. (S. Ambrose, vol. ii. p. 550.)

Aquinas says that he is called "the man of sin," "quia sicut in Christo abundavit plenitudo virtutis, ita in Anti-Christo, multitudo omnium peccatorum. . . . . Et propter hoc homo peccati dicitur quod totaliter erit peccatis deditus." (in 2 Thess. ii.)

with all his irresistible personal influence and superhuman powers of fascination, will cause them, by the retributive permission of an offended GOD, to fly like the filings round the magnet, to his standard—so as to justify the simple statement of S. John, that "*all the world wondered* after the Beast," followed him in blind infatuated admiration.

But have we any intimation afforded by S. John as to the particular stage of the world's history which is to witness the revelation of this wondrous being?

The world's history is briefly capitulated by the Apostle in his account of the seven-headed Beast. And without entering into any discussion as to the identification of these several heads, we will simply say that we entirely coincide with what appears to be the general patristic opinion, maintained also by Mr. Williams, that *the seventh head* which the angel affirmed was yet to come, and at coming to continue only *for a short space*, is the head which will develop the personal Antichrist—that it is still future—that its [510] rise, or rather, perhaps, full development, coincides with the loosing of Satan our of his strong hold, who, in fact, appears loosed for this special purpose, to be permitted to organize his grand final confederation of iniquity and apostacy, to inspire the human leader of this confederation, to gather together to one centre, to concentrate as it were into one focus all the powers of the earth and Hell for one tremendous and open attack upon CHRIST and the faithful remnant of His Church—symbolized, in our LORD'S career, by Satan's terrific onset in Gethsemane, the intense energy of resistance to which wrung from Him a sweat of blood—and then to be gloriously and terribly, and eternally crushed. Satan, we must remember, is to be loosed only for "a little season," and this "little season," and the "short space" of the seventh head's dominion would appear obviously identical.

As for the six other heads,[1] we will satisfy ourselves with what Bede says: (in Rev. xvii.) "Cum in *septenario* numero *plenitudinem mundani* descripsisset *imperii*, cujus ultima pars, i.e., Antichristi nondum venerat regnum; consequenter *quinque* reges præterisse, *sextum* adesse, *septimum* venturum esse testatur."

But now comes the *crux commentatorum*.

What are we to understand by that strange assertion which the Angel apparently makes, viz., that the Beast itself is *one of its own heads*, i.e., its own seventh head? "The seven heads [of the Beast] . . . . are seven kings . . . . and the Beast . . . . is one of the seven."—(xvii. 9—11.) Mr. Williams says that the Angel cannot mean this (p. 341); and he endeavours to solve the enigma by a reference, we think unsatisfactory, to Daniel. Hengstenberg explains "he is of the seven," as meaning he is like the seven in that he goes to perdition. In fact, we are not aware of any expositor (and we have referred to many,) who fairly meets these words in their plain and literal acceptation. Assuming that they *cannot* mean what they *appear* to mean, they *first* modify the statement itself, and *then* endeavour to explain it.[2] For ourselves we [511] firmly believe that, paradoxical as the

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[1] Hengstenberg gives forcible reasons for supposing the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian to the the five fallen world-monarchs or heads of the Beast, and the Roman to be the sixth which existed in S. John's time. (ii. 10—12; 201.) Thus far we might perhaps agree with him—further we cannot.

[2] We may here just notice the strange mistake into which Dr. Wordsworth, Mr. Elliot, and so many others fall in giving the Beast and *eighth* head, though we are distinctly told that he has only *seven*. In order to settle the position of this apocryphal head—i.e. the Papacy which succeeds the seven successive forms of government of Rome—Dr. Wordsworth translates the words [Greek] "He rises without interruption *after* the seventh" (vide 'Essay on Babylon' pp. 40—1; also 'Lecture' ix.) But Dr. W. does not translate these same words so when they occur {in} Acts xxi. 8. "We entrered into the house of Philip the Evangelist, [Greek] who was one of the seven." Therefore, until it can be shown where this new head comes from, {*cont.*}

statement may appear, this is just what the Angel does say, and not only so, but that the statement itself is of the greatest exegetical importance, as furnishing the proper clue to the interpretation of this tangled and complicated prophecy. For it simply indicates this, that the expression "the Beast," has a two-fold reference, and consequently that the prophecy itself has two distinct and parallel lines of interpretation corresponding with the two meanings of its subject, the Beast. And such, we feel convinced, is really the case. The whole seven-beaded monster is the *Beast*, *general*; the seventh head is the *Beast*, *special*. The self-same title is indiscriminately attached to the whole "corpus" and to the seventh head, inasmuch as, in the extraordinary career of the latter, there would appear to be a marvellous summary and recapitulation, as it were, of all the previous history of the former, together with a concentration of all its power and wickedness.

In fact, as *each* successive *head* has in its turn appeared upon the stage, that head has, for the time being, been in a manner identified with the Beast itself—the only monster having one "active" head at a time. For instance, during the period of the Assyrian dynasty the "Beast" would represent, specially, the empire of Assyria; during the ascendancy of Rome it would represent the Roman; and so, though in a more full and peculiar manner, during the times of Antichrist will it represent that new world-monarchy which Antichrist shall head.

Now, in its *sixth* head, the whole Beast received a mortal stroke by the death of CHRIST. As Hengstenberg truly remarks, that event "is the *one* event in the world's history in which the whole Beast was smitten in the one head," (ii. 21);[1] and the Beast's [512] mortal stroke and gradual death in its sixth phase, or head, obviously coincides with the gradual disappearance and death of the Dragon, and that again with the binding of Satan. So that, on the other hand, the loosing of Satan for a short season, the resuscitation of the Beast in its seventh phase, and the reappearance of the Dragon, will be all equally coincident, and will synchronize as we have before intimated, or perhaps be consummated by the development of the personal Satan-inspired Antichrist.

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and until the present reading [Greek] is changed for [Greek] we must beg to translate the words [Greek] here also "He is *one of the seven.*"

And surely a comparison of the anarthrous [Greek] with the [Greek] (xvii. 10, 11,) would of itself indicate that the parenthetic statement that the Beast "is himself *an eighth*" has no reference to any of his seven heads. What then does the expression refer to?

We have one Scripture example which appears exactly to explain it. It is said of Noah (2 S. Pet. ii. 5) that he was [Greek], "an eighth," an expression which has, as well a *mystical* as a *literal* meaning. The former we have already hinted at in a previous paper when speaking of the No. 8. The latter *includes a reference to the Old Testament* from which we discover that Noah was *one of eight* who were saved.

Now the meaning of [Greek] appears precisely the same in this other case. We have first a *mystical* meaning, already explained; we have also a *literal* meaning *including a reference to the Old Testament*, from which we discover that the Beast in like manner is *one of eight*. The expression seems merely a slight, though sufficiently significant note of identification of the *Beast*, *special*, with the "Little horn" of Daniel, (or rather, with the *monarchy* headed by him) who, it will be remembered, finds ten kings, subdues three, and reigns along with the seven, as *the eighth*, the dominion of his seven confederates however being more nominal than real—"they reign *as* kings."

In the Beast reigning supreme with his seven subordinates, some of the fathers hint a possible allusion to the "unclean spirit," who on his return to his deserted tenement takes with him seven other spirits—himself therefore *an eighth*.

[1] "I have overcome *the world*," says our LORD. "Now is the judgment of *this world.*" "Now shall the *Prince of this world* be cast out." Here we see the *Beast itself*; the world, in the fullest significance of that term, about to receive a death blow.

But here another *crux* occurs. S. John says of the Beast, in his time, that he both "*is*" in his sixth head, and yet that he "*is not*." How can both statements be true?

One[1] solution of the difficulty is plainly this, that inasmuch as its death-blow had been *given*, the Beast even *then*, in the Prophet's eye, *was not*; but inasmuch as the effect of the death-blow was not actually *complete*—for the expiring struggle was lingering and violent, and the death itself to be only gradually effected by the gradual extension and influence of CHRIST'S Church, therefore the Apostle could as truly say that, in one sense, the Beast still *existed*.

III. But now a very interesting and important question arises. Is there anything to fill up the long interregnum between the death of the Beast in its sixth, or Roman head, and its awful revival in its seventh, or Antichristian head? During the whole period of the Beast's torpor, during the long season of the Dragon's disappearance, and Satan's incarceration, in fact, during the whole period from the firm establishment of CHRIST'S Church[2] upon earth to the Apocalypse of Antichrist, is there no world-monarchy of any kind in existence?
[513]
Now it seems to be here where the fake prophet, or lamb-like Beast intervenes. In his extraordinary history (not but that it will have a more full and *literal* fulfilment hereafter corresponding with the *special*, as the present supposed fulfilment corresponds with the *general* signification of "the Beast," we seem to have an intimation of what took place during that period. The old "Beast" is now, in a manner, torpid, inactive, and harmless, for he has lost his animating principle—the Dragon. He continues, it is true, a sort of fitful life in his ten horns. But there is no head to unite the disintegrated fragments of the old world-power, no centre round which for them to rally. Hitherto "from the time of Pharaoh downwards, one vast world-monarchy has always supplanted another," (Hengst. ii. 73.) But it is so no longer.

A new head *shall* arise, the Dragon again animate it, and a tremendous final centralization yet take place. But this head has not come yet. His coming is withheld. There is a restraining power—of which we must speak anon. And the Beast lies prostrate. But his place is supplied by *another*, and what he cannot effect himself is done for him. Like the Divine Person, of Whom he is the special opponent and counterpart, though in a manner

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[1] Another solution would merely be this, that although, as a representative of any definite world-monarchy, the Beast had ceased to exist—as is the case in this present time—yet that, as a personification of the abstract principle of *worldliness*, it still held unabated sway, still continued as a rival to Christ, as a powerful godless *principle*, (the light in which we exclusively regarded it in our last paper,) and as that formidable entity of which S. John says in one place, that "*all shall worship him* whose names are not written in the Book of Life," and in another, that "*all that is not of the* Father is of *the world*."

[2] For we must remember that it was through the instrumentality of His Church that our Lord gradually consummated those great events, (the destruction of the Draconic power of the Beast; the binding of Satan, &c.); and through the same instrumentality was it to be that the subjugation was to be continued. For the Church had supernatural aids at her disposal whereby she would ever, if faithful, be enabled to "trample the Lion and the Dragon under her feet." It has been remarked that no mention is ever made of *Dæmoniacs* appearing at Jerusalem where the public worship of God was openly maintained. And so, in like manner, as the Church of Christ began to make her voice *openly* heard, the Dragon and Satan *openly* disappeared; so that, in course of time, throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, the old Dragon-inspired, God-hating, persecuting world-power *openly* vanished.

But what if the Church instead of fulfilling her commission of trampling upon the Lion and the Dragon begins to trifle with them? will not her powers of resisting them be gradually withdrawn, her dread foes regain their vitality, and, it may be, at last turn round upon her, and terribly *trample* upon *her*? The death of the old Adam in Holy Baptism and its subsequent revival if not kept under, may serve forcibly to illustrate this mysterious subject.

removed from sight, yet is he not the less really, spiritually, and efficiently present. Like *Him* too, he has a vicegerent who mysteriously "worketh" for him. And what does this lamb-like vicegerent "work?" Not only does he exercise "all the power" of the first Beast before him, but he is further enabled to give life to an "image,"[1] or representation of the Beast itself. So that again is to be witnessed, though not the old world-monarchy itself, yet its very image and picture.

But, strange to say, instead of being leagued *against* the Lamb, as its *original* had always been, this new provisional world-sovereignty is ostensibly energized and actuated by the Lamb Himself. And this, in fact, is the great mark which distinguishes it from its original; that though claiming as world-wide a dominion, or even more so, than any preceding phase of the latter, yet, instead of being opposed to Christ, it grounds its peculiar and relentless title to *universal* allegiance[2] on the very fact that its power is derived *from* Christ. It is no longer Dragon-inspired, like the old [514] Egypts, and Assyrias, and Romes of ancient times, the avowed persecutors of GOD'S people, but it is Lamb-inspired, and professes to exercise its sway by virtue of, and under immediate commission from Him Whom it was ever the custom of its original to oppose.[3]

But we must hasten on.

The expression, "*the Beast*," we have shown to have as well a generic as a specific meaning, generically, to designate the world power as a whole, specifically, to designate the seventh, or Antichristian phase of this power.

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[1] If in this place we appear to refer peculiarly to the world-monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual, claimed by the Roman Pontiff, it is not because we by any means *confine* these predictions to that, but mainly because we there see exhibited in a concrete form, and in so striking and palpable a way, that which .exists in a subtler, and not less dangerous because less perceptible a manner, throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. The marvellous union of the Church and the world which the Primatial See of Christendom exhibits is at once a convenient illustration, and striking type of that same secret union elsewhere; and of that worldliness which, whether in the form of secularity of erastianism, has, under the guise of Christianity so defaced the fair proportions of the "temple of God."

[2] The *theoretical* extent of its claim is best given in the words (extracted from the Canon Law) of the Power itself. "Porro, subesse Romano Pontifici, *omni humanæ creaturæ* declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pro-nunciamus, *omnino esse de necessitate salutis*."

How very wonderful do the predictions of Pope Gregory appear with regard to the assumption of this ecclesiastical sovereignty, and how noticeable the fact of his regarding it as a prefiguration in the Church of the very dominion of Antichrist—in short, as an "image of the Beast." And *he* wrote much and thought deeply on this subject of Antichrist, as his "Magna Moralia" so fully attest. (Vide on the subject of this note, his *Moral*. P. 924. B. [op t. i. Bened. ed.] also quotations from his epistles &c. in Allies' *Ch. of Eng. cleared &c.* pp. 344—368, especially 355—6)

[3] It must be observed that the picture of the Lamb-like Beast, or Spiritual Power giving life and energy to the "image" of *the Beast*, i.e., to some revived phase of the old world-power, has a counterpart, or complement, in the other picture of "the Beast" itself with the harlot on its back, itself apparently harmless and powerless, and merely employed as the beast of burden of the mystical woman who directs and controls it.

In both cases we see a "Babylon," or "confusion; an illicit combination between Christ and the world. In the former we see the spiritual energising and vivifying the worldly power. In the latter, the worldly power *supporting* the spiritual. The two pictures certainly look not unlike two aspects of some complex power, one while employing its *temporal* sway for the propagation of a corrupted faith, at another, its *spiritual* pretensions for the subserving its secular aggrandizement. Such, verily, is a picture of the monarchy which Antichrist shall head; who will rise out of an apostacy, and propagate an apostacy. But may we not add in the words of Etherius, already quoted, "Hoc totum quanquam corporaliter Antichristi tempore factum erit, tamen *in Ecclesiâ* spiritualiter, *hodie fit*"?

The "*Image of the Beast*" must necessarily have, in like manner, a two-fold signification corresponding with these two aspects of its original.

As answering to the *Beast general*, we have considered it chiefly to refer to that representation or copy of the old world-dominion, which for many centuries held sway in Christendom, (it being peculiarly with Christendom that the Apocalypse has to do,) and which has ever put forth *claims* to allegiance, which at least have never been *exceeded* by the most extravagant which any phase of the real world-power has ever yet advanced.

But what will the "image of the Beast" refer to, as answering to the *Beast special?* We have considered this latter to be an impersonation of the last great world-monarchy, of the political organization of the world during the time of Antichrist. What then will the "image," or representative of this gigantic, though short-lived dominion be? Plainly its *individual Head*, that one human being who, first of all his race, will have offered to him and will *accept* (what was once offered to Another and rejected,) in [515] the fullest comprehension of the vast expressions, "All the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," and who, awful to add, will agree to, and fulfil the conditions to which the bestowal of this grant is attached, "*If thou wilt fill down and worship* ME!"

So that we thus arrive at a point suggested, and we believe most truly, by Mr. Williams, (p. 425,) that in this expression, the "image" of the Beast, we appear to have the *one* notice with which the Apocalypse furnishes us of that extraordinary *individual* whom Prophet Daniel (nay, nearly all the Prophets), whom the Apostle Paul, and S. John in his epistles, describe in such dreadful terms—the "Apostate,"—the "Man of Sin," the "Son of Perdition." If this suggestion be true, it will appear that the word [Greek] is used in the New Testament as a *personal* designation of two Beings only, "The Image of the invisible GOD," and "the Image of the Beast;" the Incarnate JEHOVAH, and that miserable son of Adam, "in quo totus Satanas habitaturus est corporaliter," (Bede); who shall be set up for *adoration* in "the holy place" by the Lamb-like Beast or spiritual apostacy out of which he shall spring, ("quem creant adorant,") and who shall lay absolute and literal claim to universal spiritual as well as temporal authority—authority over [Greek].[1]

And once more.—As the Beast has a general as well as a special meaning—as his "Image" has the same—such will be the case also with his other concomitants, as e.g. the "two witnesses" against whom he wages war, and the *numbers* which indicate their respective terms of continuance; which latter, although as viewed in connection with the *Beast general* they are doubtless to be considered as symbolical and merely exponents of certain ideas, yet as connected with the *Beast special*, must in all probability be interpreted literally.

And lastly.—These considerations certainly seem to explain the cause of the difficulty and obscurity which hand over so much of the symbolic history of the Beasts. For it can hardly be doubted that, even as the symbolic history of CHRIST'S Body, the Church, is in this book described in language borrowed from the personal history of our LORD Himself, so the career and developments of the *Beast general*, or great Body of Antichrist are described in

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[1] 2 Thess. ii. 4. ([Greek], Augustus.)

We confess it is no source of wonder to us that the power which we have in some measure identified with the "image'' of the *Beast general*, should have been so frequently confounded with the "image" of the *Beast special*, viz., Antichrist himself. The broad features of resemblance between the *supremacy* respectively laid claim to by each are too striking not to render such a mistake more than probable.

language borrowed from the personal history of Antichrist himself.[1] Whence it will be evident that with our present knowledge we can only [516] arrive at the full import of these latter prophecies approximately and uncertainly. Until the rays reach the focus, the image will necessarily appear distorted and confused. Marvellous therefore and inexplicable as many of these Apocalyptic sayings at present appear, they will be plain and clear when the time of their *special* accomplishment arrives. And then, doubtless, to "the wise" who "understand," they will in that gloomy season, in that dim twilight and black night of the Church's and the world's history, "shine as a light" in a very "*dark place.*"

We had hoped to have completed the subject in our present number, but as we have as yet said nothing with regard to the [Greek], or restraining power which now keeps back the coming of that wicked one; or the practical conclusions which the subject forces upon ourselves, we must yet once again beg to trespass upon our reader's patience.

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[1] There are few passages, perhaps throughout the whole of Scripture which afford better illustration of Tichonius' fourth rule, "De *specie* et *genere*," alluded to above.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol 15 (Joseph Masters: London, 1853)

[529] THE APOCALYPSE: MESSIAS AND ANTIMESSIAS

(Concluded from page 516.)

Messias and Antimessias. A Prophetical Exposition, to which are added Two Homilies on the Body of CHRIST. By the Rev. CHARLES INGHAM BLACK. Masters.

I. BEFORE proceeding to the subjects which we proposed to consider in the present paper, we must beg to draw our reader's attention to the short but valuable treatise of Mr. Black, the title of which we have given above, which bears closely on the matters which have recently been engaging us, and of which we shall have occasion to avail ourselves in our present number.

It is a work of unusual ability. And although not adopting several of the writer's conclusions, we yet cordially recommend it to our readers, as a work, at least most suggestive and interesting, forcible in style, catholic in spirit, and giving evidence of careful reading and much original thought.[1] Its main object is to trace out the several developments and manifestations of the great Anti-christian Principle as it has been seen to come to a head at different crises of the world's history; and thus to deduce, as well from the prophecies of the future, as from the history of the past, what may be safely conjectured respecting the grand final Antichristian outbreak. Subordinate to this is an attempt to classify the historical prophecies of Scripture; such, at least, as are left *unexplained* by the sacred writers themselves; Mr. Black's theory being, that the predictions contained in the Inspired Records respecting the destiny of the several branches of Adam's posterity, are uniformly to be interpreted in that wider scope which relates to, not tribes, nor nations, but *races*; that, as the human family may be regarded as comprising *three* great races, sprung from the three sons of the Patriarch Noah,—so in fact *is* it regarded in Holy Writ: insomuch that, wherever the contrary is not distinctly specified, the historical prophecies are to be considered as contemplating, primarily, some one or other of these three great Parent branches.

> "The power of the world-King," writes Mr. Black, "was first appropriated by the family of Ham . . . Afterwards, however, dominion was granted to the families of Japhet and Shem successively. Shem, the first named, for his spiritual greatness, is the last to have temporal power. The earthly power thus granted to the family of each son appears to have furnished a nucleus for the future develop[530] ment of the kingdom of Antimessias. Each family, moreover, has been found to evolve a religious element. All, combined in their religious and political phases, compose the force and power of the great enemy. These powers are the subject of *uninterpreted* prophecy.
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> "Those outlying clans which never formed component parts of these empires, and thus have never been arrayed against the Redeemer, will remain exempt from the conflicts of the *Antichristian world*, and will compose the GOG and MAGOG of a later dispensation."—Pp. 33, 34.

Our author proceeds, with some ingenuity, to apply his theory to the explanation of the Dream Image of Nebuchadnezzar; to Daniel's vision of the four wild beasts from the great sea (Dan. vii.); to S. John's vision of the going forth of the four riders at the opening of the first four seals (Rev. vi.); and to his complex wild-beast in Rev. xiii.

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[1] The two homilies which close the book are admirable. We know few things more impressive and beautiful than the last; "*the Body of* CHRIST *invisible*" or "*the Church requiescent.*"

But although the theory appears, at first sight, plausible and attractive, yet we are constrained to think that the application of it to the prophecies selected by Mr. Black is by no means satisfactory enough to carry with it the conviction that it is sound. In fact, in following our author in these applications, we are driven to the conviction, that he has by no means been led to frame his theory by any legitimate process of induction from the exigencies of the prophecies themselves; but rather, that he has first conceived it in his own mind, been pleased with its simplicity and completeness, and *then* tried to fit it on to various portions of the prophetic Scriptures. Take, for instance, the Dream-Image of Nebuchadnezzar.

Doubtless there are difficulties attending the ordinary solution of it, which connects its successive parts with the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman Empires—as Dr. Maitland (following Lacunza) has shown in his essay on Antichrist.[1] (pp. 5—9.) But surely Mr. Black's theory only removes these difficulties to supplant them with greater. How the empire of Mohammed which he identifies with his *third*, or Shemitic dynasty, could be described by the Angel as the *third kingdom*, *which was to bear rule over all the earth*, we are at a loss to conceive.

Dr. Maitland and Mr. Black agree thus far; that the Babylonian and Medo-Persian are to be regarded as one continuous empire, and that they *conjointly* constitute the golden head of the Image. They likewise agree in identifying the *fourth* empire with the future kingdom of Antichrist. But here they part company; the former contending that the *second* and *third* empires are the Grecian and Roman respectively; the latter, that (the Grecian empire being passed over without notice,) the Roman, or great Japhetic empire, is the *second*, and the Mahometan, or Shemitic, the *third.*
[531]
Now without stopping to discuss this question here, we can merely say that whereas, ever since the time of Hippolytus, (not to mention a long catena of Jewish interpreters before his time) the common explanation of the several parts of this Image has been universally and unhesitatingly received, we must see more forcible reasons urged against it, than are offered by either of these writers, before we can consent to reject it in favour of any modern rival.[2] We may merely add that, omitting every other consideration, the statement made by the Angel that *the kingdom of* CHRIST *was to be set up in the time of*, and on the ruins of, the *fourth* world-kingdom (which the learned Doctor, by the way, strangely deems conclusive *against* the "Roman" interpretation) is quite sufficient to demonstrate that this *fourth*, *must be* the *Roman*. So that the mysterious stroke of the "stone" upon the "iron feet," which overthrew and scattered the *whole Image*, will precisely correspond to the mortal stroke which S. John saw inflicted on his great complex Beast in its sixth, or Roman, head, by the death of CHRIST and the setting up of His kingdom.

With regard, however, to the subsequent vision of Daniel, wherein at the striving together of the four winds of heaven on the great sea, he beheld four wild Beasts emerge therefrom (Dan. vii. 2, 3); notwithstanding there is wellnigh the very same *consensus patrum* for connecting these also with the same four empires, we quite agree with Dr. Maitland and Mr. Black that the reasons urged in behalf of this explanation are most unsatisfactory and

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1 "*An attempt to elucidate the prophecies concerning Antichrist.*" By the Rev. S.R. Maitland, D.D. 2nd edit. 1853. Rivington.

2 The answers to Dr. Maitland's objections against the current interpretation are very well indicated by Mr. Elliott. (*Hor. Ap*. iii. 996, n. 3. edit. 1.)

inconclusive. As the fourth kingdom of the *Dream-Image* seems undoubtedly to be the *Roman*—being the one in which, according to the prophet, the kingdoms of the world crumbled before the setting up of the kingdom of CHRIST (corresponding thus with the *sixth* head of S. John's Beast), so the fourth kingdom of the *wild Beasts* seems, most unquestionably, to be none other than the kingdom of *Antichrist* (corresponding thus with the *seventh* head of the Apocalyptic Beast), that terrible and world-wide Monarchy which the "Little Horn " or "Image of the Beast" or "Son of Perdition" shall head.

The fourth kingdom of the *first* set, received its death blow at the *first* advent of CHRIST and the establishment of His kingdom. The fourth kingdom of the *second* set is destroyed at the *second* advent of CHRIST to Judgment, and at the consummation of His kingdom. The description too of the former well corresponds with the Power of Rome. "It shall be strong as iron . . . and forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth . . . so shall it break in pieces and bruise." (Dan. ii. 40.)

But the description of the latter is too dreadful for any kingdom that has yet appeared. The monster is beheld in the "*night*-[532]*visions*" (the *night* being a peculiar and *constant* Scripture symbol for the times of Antichrist—the "thick darkness" which shall close the "*day* of grace"), and he is described as a *wild Beast, dreadful, terrible, strong exceedingly, with great iron teeth, devouring and breaking in pieces*, and *stamping* the residue with his feet, and *diverse from all the Beasts which were before it*. (!) (Dan. vii. 7.) Now surely the Prophet must here have seen something supernaturally fearful to account for the expressions of terror in which he endeavours to describe the monster. One noticeable feature about it, however, must not be overlooked, that it appears somehow connected with the old heathen empire of Rome; in both we have the iron, in both the number *ten* (ten toes, ten horns); as if the seventh head of S. John's Beast was some dreadful resuscitation, not merely of the whole Beast generally (as it *is*) but in a peculiar way of the sixth head; as though Rome were to form the nucleus and head quarters of that dread Antichristian confederation.

> "Who does not believe" in the "political resurrection of Rome?" writes Mr. Black. "It is one of the instincts of European life, that the day of Rome is yet to come; that the city so often presumptuously named Eternal, shall bear a conspicuous part in the final tragedy of the nations. That political development is checked and impeded by the circumstances under which the territory of Rome is placed. It is now subjected to a Prince who is a great spiritual ruler; and so long as the truth and the HOLY SPIRIT in the Church he presides over, prevails at Rome, so long shall the final splendour of Rome be delayed."—pp. 43, 44.

As for the other three Beasts seen by Daniel, we are unable to offer an opinion, save thus much; that the first certainly seems like the Assyrian dynasty revived. The Eagle-winged Lion, which recent research has discovered to be the symbol of that empire, undoubtedly appears to point in that direction, and may be supposed so to do with less show of improbability, inasmuch as there is distinct Scripture ground for believing in the future restoration of that empire, though humbled and humanized. (Isaiah xix. 23—25.) The same is foretold of Egypt (ib.); the same of Elam or Persia (Jer. xlix. 39); the same of many other kingdoms. Now it is quite open to consideration whether these four wild Beasts, *which all appear to rise contemporaneously* or nearly so, and in the latter days, may not represent certain of the great kingdoms of the earth which shall be revived in the "times of the end," prior to being absorbed in the all-embracing empire of Antichrist. Such a general resurrection of the old nations appears intimated in Scripture in many places. The *whole Beast* of S. John (composed we must remember out of these four Beasts of Daniel) shall be

resuscitated in its seventh head, to be finally crushed. "My determination is," saith the LORD, "to *gather the nations*, that I may *assemble the kingdoms*, [533] to pour upon them Mine indignation, even all My fierce anger." (Zeph. iii. 8.) However, we must not press this point. It is dangerous to swim against the full tide of ecclesiastical tradition.

And this is what Mr. Black, in his prophetical investigations too little fears to do; though a most thoroughly right-minded and Catholic writer, he yet appears to entertain no misgivings at finding himself *quite alone* in his Scriptural expositions.

Take, for instance, his explanations of the first four seals—the going forth of the SON of GOD, with His three great judgments, war, famine, and pestilence in his Train—where we cannot but think that nothing but the intellectual gratification of fitting on a new theory can have persuaded him to refer them to the empires of Assyria, Rome, Mahomet, and Antichrist.

The first Rider on the *white* Horse ([Greek], the colour appropriated *in every instance* in this book to CHRIST) is so manifestly GOD the Word, the Solitary Rider, "travelling in the greatness of His strength," His "arrows very sharp" and the people about to be subdued unto Him"—"going forth conquering and to conquer" (for this is the interpretation that the Church has ever put upon this vision)—that we feel rather shocked at being informed that He is verily *Satan*. (p. 47.)

Or take Mr. Black's explanation of S. Jude's expression "the way of Cain" which appears to us not a little strained and far-fetched.[1]
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Or his, still more objectionable, reference of the "*us*" in the passage "Let *us* make man," to the Holy Angels. Surely the ALMIGHTY did not call upon His *Creatures* to aid Him in *Creation*. Nor was man made in the Image of the *Angels*. The "Let us make man in *our*

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[1] Mr. Black says "we are fully justified (?) in believing that *length of days even to the flood* was granted to Cain" (p. 22); and further, gathers from the words "Then began men to call upon (or 'to call themselves by') the Name of JEHOVAH," (Gen. iv. 26), that Cain appropriated to himself the Incommunicable Name, and set himself up as a God upon earth, and thus remained even till the time, of the Deluge, as the manifested Deity of the GOD-less world, as "the great Antichrist named by the name of JEHOVAH," (p. 29). But the first statement—concerning Cain's marvellous longevity—appears simply a naked, gratuitous assertion (the reference made to Bp. Patrick we are unable to find). And with regard to the passage "Then began men to call," &c., the context unquestionably refers it to the posterity of *Seth*, *in plain contradistinction to that of Cain*. Here are two families introduced, whose histories run parallel; the one prefiguring the world, the other the Church—the families of Cain and that of Seth. When *Cain's* first son is born we merely read of Cain *building a city*, and calling it by his son's name, (Gen, iv.) When *Seth's* son is born, however, the only consequence recorded by the inspired writer is, "*Then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord*;" not that the voice of prayer had not been herd before, but that this "multiplication of the family necessitated some more formal establishment of the Divine Service." (Wilberforce's Five Empires, p. 4.) "Then *began* men to worship," says C. à Lapide,—"scilicet *publicè* et *per cœtus*."

As for S. Jude's expression, the "*way of Cain*," taken in connection with the two other phases of iniquity with which he associates, to wit, "*the error of Balaam*," and "*the gainsaying of Core*," (Jude 11,)—they seem merely, particular manifestations or examples of the spirits of the *Dragon*, the *Beast*, and the *False Prophet* respectively (to which we have already referred at some length). There is the spirit of the *Dragon* exhibited in the persecuting hatred of the first murderer—the "*Carnal* mind at *enmity* with GOD." The spirit of the *Beast*, exhibited in Balaam's love of the *world*, his feverish thirst after secular distinctions and the "wages of unrighteousness," terminating, as the friendship of the world will ever terminate, [534] in open hostility to the ALMIGHTY. And the spirit of the *False Prophet*, exhibited in Core's *spiritual arrogance* and presumption, in that despite of the Powers that be, and the rebellion against GOD and His Church, which, of old, issued in the expulsion of the first 'gainsayer' from the shining courts of Heaven.

image" is too clearly explained in the Inspired Narrative itself to need a word of further comment. "So GOD created Man in *His own* image" "in the Image of GOD created He him."

This same chapter, on the "War in Heaven," a chapter of singular interest, and perhaps one of the most important in Mr. Black's volume, contains also other expressions to which we must except. Take one further example.

Our Lord did *not* say that the knowledge of the Angels was limited with respect to "*one event only*" (p. 4). Rather, our LORD *mentions one* event whereof the Angels are ignorant, never intimating, however, that this is the *only* one. Mr. Black's words would suggest that the knowledge of the Angels is coextensive with that of the SON" (S. Mark xiii. 32); forgetting how many things there are which they "*desire* to look into,"[1] and that it is only *through the Church* that many of the Divine Mysteries are made known to them (Eph. iii. 10).

But our space warns us to leave this portion of Mr. Black's work, to pass over also his most ingenious delineations of the particular developments of the Anti-Christian idea, which have ap[535] peared in former dispensations, and also at the period of our LORD'S Crucifixion; and to hasten to the question we proposed to consider, and to which he refers several times, viz., what is the *restraining* power, alluded to by S. Paul, which "withholds" the great *final* Anti-Christian Manifestation, and the Apocalypse of the "Man of Sin"?

II. We have already noticed more than once that Holy Scripture speaks both of a [Greek], and [Greek], as well as of [Greek] and [Greek]; i.e. of a great 'Corpus Antichristi' or multiform Anti-Christian Principle variously developed and embodied 'according to the diversity of countries and times,' and taking its peculiar shape and colour from that particular manifestation of the 'Mystery of Godliness' wherewith it may chance to be confronted and opposed—as well as of a Personal *Head* [2] in whom all this wickedness will

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[1] Mr. Black's limitation of the word '*Angels*' in this passage (1 S. Pet. i. 12) to the *Angel Prisoners* reserved in chains of darkness, appears to us as unwarrantable as it is novel; as may also be said of his similar limitation of the "*things in Heaven*" (Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20;) [p. 24]. Bede thus beautifully paraphrases the first of these passages (1 S. Pet. i. 12), "Contemplatio Divinæ Præsentiæ ita Angelos beatificat, ut ejus semper visâ *Gloriâ satientur*, et semper ejus *dulcedinem quasi novam, insatiabiliter esuriunt.*"

With regard to our author's remarks respecting the Angels being like man in person, and, like man, sustained by food (p. 2); being capable of the marriage union (p. 26); as also, the hint thrown out (p. 27)—"Scripture speaks of Angel's *food*, and the physiological suggestion is irresistible." We would merely remind him of such passages as the following: Who maketh his Angels *Spirits*;" "Are they not ministering *Spirits*?" and beg to refer him to the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas, P. i. Q. 50, Art. 1, 2; also Q. 51, Art.1, 3; where he will find his statements fully answered by anticipation.

We may just add perhaps, respecting the ancient. interpretation of the 'Sons of GOD,' the 'daughters of men,' and the 'giants,' (Gen. vi.) which Dr. Maitland has revived among us, and which Mr. Black advocates with some earnestness; that it is as well to bear in mind that it has been *deliberately rejected* by S. Augustine, S. Cyril, S. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Bede, S. Th. Aquinas, Corn. à Lapide, and other great Church writers, as false and untenable. *Vide* the learned note of L. Coquæus on the Civ. Dei of S. Aug. xv. 23. *Paris*, 1613, pp. 950—2. *Vide* also Philastrius de Hær. (c. lxxx.) who thus writes (A.D . 380): "Alia est *Hæresis*, quæ de Gigantibus adserit, quod *Angeli miscuerint se cum feminis* ante diluvium, et *inde esse natos Gigantes* suspicatur," &c. Gallandi, vii. 500.

[2] With regard to the propriety of giving this title of "*Head*" to Antichrist, which would appear exclusively to belong to *Satan*, vide the "*Summa*," P. 3. Q. viii., art. 8; Aquinas objects (ib. 2) "Antichristus est membrum Diaboli, sed *caput* distinguitur a *membris*, ergo Antichristus *non* est *caput* malorum." He answers however, that "sicut *caput Christi* est Deus, et tamen Ipse est *Caput Ecclesiæ*, ita Antichristus est *membrum Diaboli*, et tamen est *caput malorum*."

culminate and concentrate; in like manner we read, concerning "that which withholdeth," both of a [Greek], or restraining principle or entity, as well as of [Greek] or Personal Restrainer. What are these two?

We may here say at once that Mr. Black, Mr. Williams, and Professor Hengstenberg, all agree, in the main, in their answers to this question. They each alike reject the current solution (a solution of very high authority, and well-nigh contemporaneous with the Apostolic age) that they are Rome and the Roman Empire, and maintain that they are none other than the Church, or the HOLY SPIRIT, or the LORD JESUS. Our own conviction is, that this latter is the true solution. But they shall speak for themselves. "He that letteth, ([Greek]) writes Mr. Williams, "must be the Good Spirit of GOD; . . . That which letteth ([Greek]) His Church" (p. 424). But he adds, in another place, "It is impossible not to connect the *Babylon*, the woman sitting on the Beast, with the *Power that letteth*; for it is on her being overthrown that the wicked One is revealed" (p. 422)—thus identifying the visible Church with Babylon, and *it* again with the restraining Power. In another place he writes:

"Although it was the early opinion of the Church that Rome was this power that letteth, yet it was not such as to be beyond question or discussion. It was an indefinite apprehension. Thus Tertullian . . . Lactantius, &c. But S. Chrysostom says 'what is that which withholdeth? . . . Some indeed say the Grace of the Spirit, but others the Roman empire, to whom I most of all accede. Because if he meant to say the Spirit, he would not have spoken obscurely but plainly.' But what, if the mystery be explained by its being a strange complication [536] of power combined of these two? . . . A Church, however adulterous and corrupt, yet may keep down the open breaking forth of the floodgates and of Antichrist. The Babylon—the commingling—the Church leagued with the world—like the iron mixed with the clay—the strength of GOD with man's corruption, this may be the mystery that holdeth under and restraineth till she is overthrown, then shall this 'Wicked One' who so long and so extensively hath worked secretly, 'be revealed.'

> "The long continuance of an empire implies the existence of some good thing in it . . . and the long continuance of any Christian Church indicates its holding in preservation some holy deposit of truth; but this may be the case with extensive corruption; the mystery of truth therein preserving life, the mystery of evil working death. Such a state of things is implied in the very term. Babylon and that of Mystery, and the wonder of the Apostle that witnessed it" (pp. 349—351.)

Mr. Black thus writes,

> "The restraining or letting power in 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7, is evidently a good power, as in Rom. i. 18, the power is evil which 'holds (it is the same word) the truth in unrighteousness.' In the latter case the good is kept back, in the former the evil. This would appear to prove that the letting power of S. Paul is not the Roman Empire and emperor; but CHRIST and the HOLY GHOST" (note p. 187).[1]

Hengstenberg takes, in the main, the same view.

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[1] Again. "The familiar custom with S. Paul of suppressing the name of the LORD or His Spirit, while engaged, it may be, in the more earnest mental contemplation of Him—as in such passages, 'I know in whom I have believed' (2 Tim. i. 12, and compare Acts xxii. 17—21) clears away any doubt that the LORD and His Spirit are subjects of the Apostle's allusion'' (p. 120).

> "It is an ideal person," he writes, "who withholds—the personification of the noble powers that then watched and prayed for the Church; or the ideal Person of the Good Shepherd." (Vol. ii. p. 88.)

Now we would have our readers bear in mind that this interpretation of the Letting Power, by no means involves the unsettling of any real Church tradition to any such extent as at first sight it may *appear* to do. For this connection of it with the Roman Empire, though constantly referred to by ancient writers, appears nothing more than an oft-repeated. *conjecture*, offered, merely in default of a better, by way of meeting a great and acknowledged difficulty.

S. Augustine, we must remember, professes himself *utterly ignorant* of the meaning of 'that which letteth'—"ego *prorsus* me fateor *ignorare*." (C. D. xx. 19.) And although he alludes to the Roman Empire, in common with other solutions which he has heard or read, yet he regards it as nothing better than a *bare supposition*. There is no question however that the *other* interpre[537]tation, referred to above, is the one *next* in traditional authority to the 'Roman.'

S. Chrysostom, already noticed, mentions "the grace of the Spirit" as *one* ordinary explanation of the [Greek].

Theodoret (in loc.) asks "which is it which restrains? Some say the Roman Empire, some, the *Grace of the Spirit*." For himself he rather inclines to the belief that it is the universal preaching of the Gospel. "After which, the end shall come."

Theophylact, in like manner, copies S. Chrysostom, mentioning both "the Grace of the Spirit" and the Roman Empire, although inclining to the latter.

So also Œcumenius, who says that "There are *many* who consider the restraining power to be the HOLY GHOST." "For," he adds, "as soon as He shall be removed out of the midst, in consequence of the sins of men, and shall take His departure, then will that Wicked One soon be revealed, there being no one any longer to prevent him."

Tichonius speaks once or twice of the *Church*[1] as being the restraining power, and alludes to the case of Sodom (a city to which the carnal Jerusalem is likened, as well in the Old as in the New Testament, both for her guilt and her punishment) and to the departure of Lot from out of it. The ALMIGHTY could not punish Sodom till Lot was taken out of the way: after which He rained down fire and brimstone.[2] So till the HOLY SPIRIT takes His departure, and GOD'S people have "come out of her," judgment cannot be executed upon the Harlot and the ungodly world, after which it will take its course—*beginning* at the *Household* of GOD.[3]

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[1] Hoc enim geritur a passione Domini quoadusque de medio ejusdem mysterii facinoris discedat *Ecclesia*, *quæ detineat* ut in tempore suo detegatur impietas, sicut dicit Apostolus 'et nunc quid detineat scitis,' &c. (Reg. 7, Galland. viii. 128.)

[2] "Cum discesserit [sc. *Ecclesia*] è medio mysterii facinoris, tunc pluet ignem Dominus a Domino," &c. (ib. 129.)

[3] The only objection urged by the Fathers against this interpretation is the following:—Had S. Paul meant the HOLY SPIRIT or the Church, why not say so? We cannot tell. Possibly the infant Church may not have been in a condition to bear the sad truth. That she, who was so faithfully and fearlessly struggling against the world, should one day basely succumb to the world, that the HOLY SPIRIT would ever desert His earthly temple, and the visible Church be removed for her iniquity—this doubtless would be a truth which if communicated at all, would necessarily have to be communicated most gently and perhaps obscurely. Moreover it is the custom of the HOLY GHOST not so much to dwell, *overtly*, on the contingencies in case of disobedience, as on the glorious and unspeakable promises in case of obedience.

{*cont.*}

[538]
The common tradition which makes *Rome* the 'Power which letteth,' would seem partly to arise from the fact of the Apostle appearing to identify that Power with *Babylon*, and then, from its being generally assumed that *that mystic city*, "which reigneth over the kings of the earth," is none other than Rome. And it must be full conceded that, inasmuch as the expressions employed in the Harlot's description are obviously and undisguisedly borrowed from Rome, we are not only justified, but in a manner compelled to regard the prophecy as containing, *besides* its proper and comprehensive application, some special reference to the crimes and fate of that doomed city. Without doubt the early Christians saw, and were intended to see, in the fate of the Harlot, the downfall of that Empire under whose iron wheels they were being so terribly ground and crushed. Without doubt too, under the same mystic history is strikingly indicated the haughty, ambitious, and tyrannical spirit, that corrupted Faith and Practice, which have so strangely marred the beauty of that once fair Branch of CHRIST'S Church, "whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." Without doubt, whatever fuller scope we assign to these prophecies, it is idle to disguise the fact that they do, as Mr. Williams expresses it, "*in some awful manner, hover as with boding raven wing over Rome*."

All this must be fully granted—still we must take care that the minor does not put out of sight the major fulfilment. That the Church of Rome is, in *some* peculiar way, pointed at in this description of the Harlot, the language undoubtedly appears to indicate, but that she is exclusively designated, it absolutely forbids us to imagine; nor can the language, we feel convinced, be satisfied by any interpretation less circumscribed than that advocated above.[1]

The following would seem to be the sequence of, events connected with the removal of the [Greek] and [Greek][2] respectively.

The former long strives with the latter. But alas in vain. She whose function it had been, like the salt, to keep the earth from corruption, herself loses her savour, till she "is henceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." The Church carnal, gradually deteriorating, becomes in the end so corrupt—her spiritual eye so dim, that she *loses the* [539] faculty of "discerning between good and evil." The seducing spirits are at work preparing the way for the Man of Sin, and the Great Day of GOD

Here is the charter given to the Church Catholic—the city of the Living GOD—Jerusalem which is above. "It shall come to pass, saith the LORD, if ye hearken unto Me . . . *this City shall remain for ever* . . . and they shall come from the cities, . . . and the plain . . . and the mountains . . . bringing sacrifices of Praise unto the house of the LORD." But then there is a sad alternative; therefore it is added: "But if ye will *not* hearken unto Me . . . I will *kindle a fire* in the gates [of Jerusalem] and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem; *and it shall not be quenched.*" Jer. xvii. 24—7.

The Church, in the person of the chief Apostle, boldly confesses the faith of CHRIST, and receives such gracious promises as heart cannot conceive. But the Church begins to *temporize*: and the tremendous rebuke ensues. 'Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art an offence unto Me.'

[1] Mr. Williams' suggestion is doubtless the true one, that even "as the seven Churches in Asia did really exist," and yet "their state and local character are given to express, in addition to their particular intention, universal principles of CHRIST'S governing His Church by his Spirit; so the local Church of Rome may be designated, and given as a type and instance of the corruption of the Christian Church throughout the whole world, which is at the same time mainly intended."—p. 339.

[2] It need hardly be mentioned perhaps that the Church can only be regarded as [Greek] in virtue of her being the organ, and depository, so to speak, of the [Greek]; and that so soon as He is taken out of the midst of her, that moment does she cease to be, in any real and objective sense, [Greek].

ALMIGHTY. Strong delusions are abroad which she is impotent to resist; still at last her corruption waxes so flagrant that the HOLY SPIRIT can abide no longer in His defiled temple.

Alas! she knoweth not that "the LORD hath departed from her"—but it is so. HE that withholdeth has been removed. Meanwhile the "vile person," the future World-King whom the Apostate Church has nurtured, has been gradually gaining strength—"coming in peaceably and obtaining the kingdom by flatteries" (Dan. xi. 21). He makes friendly overtures to the Harlot, pledging himself to support her claims and supremacy, while she, in return, to further his political aggrandizement. "The words of his mouth are softer than butter, having war in his heart." All seems to favour him. He is waxing "mighty," though "*not by his own power*." For the Dragon is being unloosed, and affording him supernatural aid; the false Church too energetically befriends him. But all is as nothing while Mordecai refuses his obeisance, while the faithful few (impressed with an overpowering presentiment as to who this Mighty One is) withstand his ominously increasing claims. They *must* worship the Image of the Beast, or be cast into the 'burning fiery furnace.' True to their LORD—and sternly prepared to resist unto blood—they joyfully choose the latter. The fiery trial commences. And the Harlot *openly* joins with the Adversary. Irrevocably pledged to the support of the rapidly-consolidating world-dominion, she now appears, in the face of High Heaven, leagued with the Beast in the rabid persecution of CHRIST and His Saints; "drunken with the blood of the Martyrs of the LORD JESUS." While the "little flock" has to find herself not only hounded to the death by the Godless world—by the "*open enemy*"—but (oh! aggravation of woe!) even by members of the same fold, of the same family and household with herself—her "guide"—her "own familiar friend"—with whom in bonds of amity she once "took sweet counsel and walked in the House of God;" but for whom, having now committed the unpardonable sin—having openly sided with the Adversary, and thus committed the "sin unto death"—she is no longer permitted even to pray, and has but to utter the dread imprecations, "Let death come hastily upon them, and let them go down quick into Hell, for wickedness is in their dwelling, and among them" (Ps. lv. 12—16)—imprecations which shall be fearfully answered in the pouring out of the *seven vials* of JEHOVAH'S burning indignation (Rev. xvi.)

But a change now conies. The Beast, anon, finds himself independent of the Harlot. He has used her so long as it. served his purpose. And now "in that wherein she has sinned in the same [540] is she" fearfully "punished." She has "trusted in the strength of Pharaoh: the strength of Pharaoh shall be her ruin." The wild monster throws his careless rider and tramples upon her, tears her to pieces, and devours her flesh. The pent-up hatred of centuries bursts forth with maddened energy, and great Babylon is made a heap, a desolation, a hissing. "The city of confusion is broken down—all joy is darkened—the gate is smitten with destruction" (Isa. xxiv. 10—12). Heaven is deaf to her cries for aid. The deep roll of the fiery wheels of JEHOVAH'S Chariot of Judgment but commingles with the tumultuous "roar of the Adversaries" (Ps. lxxiv. 4). "Sion is a wilderness"—"Jerusalem, desolate and void." The temple of JEHOVAH is burnt with fire. The enemy run riot in the sanctuary. They "set fire upon the Holy Places." They "defile the dwelling-place of the Most High even to the ground." Yea, they say; "Let us make havoc of them altogether, "and so burn up "all the houses of GOD in the land" (*ibid*. 6—9).

And now, the last vestige of the restraining power ([Greek]) being removed, the dread three and a half years fairly set in. The "overflowings of ungodliness" burst furiously in on all sides. The Sun of Righteousness is veiled. The blood-red moon is hidden in eclipse. The stars have fallen from heaven. "The whole earth is full of darkness and cruel habitations." The world-king, set up as an object of adoration, magnifies himself above every god, and,

"his mouth stretching forth to Heaven," dares to utter "marvellous things against the GOD of Gods." The daily sacrifice is taken away, all public worship of JEHOVAH suspended, and the faithful followers of the LAMB driven into deserts and mountains, into dens and caves of the earth, where yet they are miraculously sustained by GOD, till the tribulation be overpast, when they shall come forth as "gold purified seven times in the fire." For the "ungodly" shall not always triumph. For the elect's sake, that dread time shall be shortened, and the son of wickedness "shall not live out half his days." While the Godless world and their Idol King (the image of the Beast)[1] are saying "Peace and safety, [541] then sudden destruction shall come upon them as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape;" for GOD shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow." "Oh, how suddenly shall they consume, perish and come to a *fearful end*! Yea, like as a dream when one awaketh, so shalt Thou make their *image* to vanish out of the city."

III. But we must not forget that Professor Hengstenberg claims to have solved the enigma of the "*name and number of the Beast*"; and tells us that the name can be discovered with *perfect certainty*. This is gratifying intelligence. What then, is this mysterious piece of information?

"In the whole of the Old Testament," writes the Professor, "*there is but one instance in which the number* 666 *occurs in connection with a name* [sic]. It is said in Ezra ii. 13, 'The sons of Adonikam 666.' The name *Adonikam* must therefore be the name of the Beast. It was admirably adapted for being so. It means 'the LORD arises,' &c.—(vol. ii. p. 52).

Unfortunately however this most stupid and unmeaning solution, in examining the corresponding enumeration of names and families in the parallel passage in Nehemiah we meet with this most disastrous variation, "the sons of Adonikam 667"! (Neh. vii. 18.)

More worthy of notice is the suggestion which he throws out (though-alluded to by others before him) that there may perhaps be something intentionally significant in the very writing of the number itself, [Greek].[2] Where the first and last letters [Greek] form the common abbreviation of the name of CHRIST; while the middle letter [Greek] is the ordinary symbol of the crooked serpent. The idea is ingenious and striking. The numerical monogram certainly appears to bear on its face a silent hint of the illicit concourse of "CHRIST with Belial:" of the temple of GOD, and the Idol Image: of the abomination in the Holy Place: of the Lamb giving support on either side, by means of its "two horns," to "the Wicked One."

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[1] On further consideration we feel ourselves unable to entertain any doubt that under this title, the Personal Antichrist *is* ultimately designated by S. John. Man was created in the "Image of GOD"; which Image was defaced by the fall. CHRIST took flesh, died and rose again to restore that Image. So that while the great work of CHRIST and the Blessed SPIRIT is to renew the Image of GOD within the soul, the great work of Satan is still further to mar and deface that Image and replace it with the "Image of the *Beast*" (for "all that is not of the FATHER is of the *world*"). Hence, as the Image of GOD becomes obliterated in any man, the Image of the Beast becomes more and more complete. In *two only Individuals* of the Human race do these two Images become *perfected*. CHRIST and Antichrist. The All Holy One, and the Man of Sin ("quia *totaliter* peccatis deditus," Aquinas.) As then they alone perfectly exhibit these two opposite Images, they are severally designated as the [Greek] (2 Cor. iv. 4) and the [Greek] (Rev. xiii.15, &c.) Of the latter of whom we have a strange symbolical prefiguration in the haughty king of Babylon, who, raised to the summit of worldly ambition, for a time lost the Image of GOD, and was reduced to the *Image of a beast*. Even as we may [541] see the same wretched being ultimately indicated in the Psalmist's allusion to the "Man raised to *Honour*, who hath no understanding," (who loses that higher part of his nature which is distinctively human) and is compared unto the Beasts that perish."

[2] S. Irenæus, he tells us, testifies to the fact of this being the original manner of writing the number.

Mr. Black, for no apparent cause whatever, rejects the ordinary reading 666, in favour of the far less supported 616. He should at least remember that S. Irenæus (Adv. Hær. v. 30) *distinctly rejects the latter reading as spurious*; maintaining that the former is not only adopted by those who have conversed with S. John himself, not only is found in all the best copies of the Apocalypse, but also contains some mystery involved in the *three-fold six* which [542] the other entirely misses. Let us see, however, what use Mr. Black makes of his preferred number. He writes:—

"The number of Antichrist is 11 . . . His number is also 8 . . . The number of completeness is 7. These multiplied together 11 x 8 x 7 = 616." (p. 50.)

But this solution is even more pointless and unmeaning than Hengstenberg's. One might as well adopt the suggestion of the late learned Cambridge Professor of Arabic, Dr. Lee, who on arriving at this verse quietly says, with regard to the number of the Beast, "my opinion is that we *need not trouble ourselves concerning it*. I am not without my doubts whether it has not *been introduced by some early copyist*"!—(Dissertations on Prophecy, p. 329.)

Mr. Black, we see, states that, "the number of Antichrist is 11," and that "his number is also 8." To a certain extent he is correct; as both these numbers are considered to symbolize *particular aspects*[1] of the Son of Perdition. But he has omitted that number which is *peculiarly* appropriated to him, and his times, in the Apocalypse—to wit the number 6.

> "The number six," writes Mr. Williams, "is ever of Antichrist, the sixth epistle, the sixth seal, the sixth trumpet, the sixth vial, in ever extending cycles, as if 6—and 60—and 600. At the sixth hour on the sixth day is the power of Antichrist, the 'power of darkness' of being forsaken of GOD—the great tribulation.—"(p. 251.)

Man was created on the sixth day, "therefore," writes C. à Lapide, "the number 6 is called the *number of man*." But man has fallen. His number therefore has fallen with him; and now the number is "symbolum hominis *imperfecti*, *corruptibilis*, et *peccatoris*": and therefore, in a peculiar way, of the Man of Sin whose number is expressed (if we may thus employ so sacred a word) by a *Trinity* of sixes.

It is interesting to observe that the sins into which the godless world are represented as falling in respect of the first Beast, and at the instigation of the second, are *three-fold*. There is (1.) the worshipping of the Beast; in violation of the first commandment, and in despite of the First Person of the Blessed TRINITY. There [543] is (2.) the worshipping his Image; in violation of the second commandment, and despite of the Second Person, the Image of the Invisible GOD. And (3.) the receiving his *mark*,[2] i.e. "his name or the number

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[1] For Antichrist rises as the *eleventh*, i.e., the little horn from amongst, and after, the ten, but plucking up three, becomes the *eighth*. But these two numbers are also supposed to belong to him mystically; the 8, in virtue of his death and apparent *resurrection*, as we have already shown; the 11, in consideration of his being the "*lawless one*," [Greek]. For the Fathers, singularly enough, regard the No. 11 in that light, as one *beyond* the *ten* and so *transgressing* the *ten* (commandments.) Whence also Antichrist is called the Man of *Sin* (sin being the *transgression of the law*.) So S. Gregory: omne peccatum *undenarium* est; quia dum perversa agit *præcepta Decalogi transit* (Moral. xxxii. 27; Op. t. 1, p. 1061, Ed. Bened.). So also S. Augustin (Civ. D. xv. 20.) "Quoniam ergo Lex *denario* numero prædicatur; profectò numerus *undenarius*, quoniam transgreditur denarium *transgressionem Legis*, ac per hoc, *peccatum* significat." S. Gregory, fancifully, accounts for the haste with which the Apostles elected Matthias into the place of Judas, by their fearing to remain at the number *eleven*.

[2] Mr. Williams seems In error (p. 253) in separating the Beast's mark *from* his number; his mark *is* his number. For the [Greek] is distinctly explained as being either "*his name*, *or the number of his name*," c. {*cont.*}

of his Name," instead of the Name of GOD: in violation of the third commandment, and in despite of the Third Person, by whom we have been named with the Name of JEHOVAH, and signed with the sign of the Cross. Now S. Paul connects the coming of the "Man of Sin," with some great Apostacy—some falling away from the faith of the HOLY TRINITY—out of which he is to rise, and which doubtless he will head. The Apostle further connects this [Greek] (1 Tim. iv. 1) with some spiritual brand or mark. Men are to apostatize and have their consciences branded as with a hot iron. Now inasmuch as the letters of the word [Greek] make up the mystic 666; one obvious interpretation of Rev. xiii. 16—18, would be, that men shall not only secretly apostatize from GOD through the influence of the "seducing spirits," but that they shall be compelled—yes, and by the false church, by the Lamb-like Beast—to make open profession of their Apostacy, and to pledge themselves heart and hand to its support; to receive the [Greek], the name or number of the Beast, in their right hand and in their forehead. But as to the *real* solution of this enigma of the Beast's name and number—as to that *specific* purpose which the HOLY GHOST *peculiarly* designed it to serve—we can, of course, but guess in the dark. Many ingenious suggestions have been made.[1] But prophecy has been given to us not merely as an exercise of our intellect and imagination, but as a light to guide us in a dark place. When CHRIST'S faithful servants shall arrive at this dark place in the world's career, *then* shall this Scripture gleam with its proper light; then shall the meaning of this enigma be discovered by the *wise*: for "the wicked shall not understand, but the wise shall understand," and "they that have understanding" shall be able to "count the number of the Beast." And doubtless when the dread enemy appears, there will be abundant cause for some such distinct *note of identification* to point out who he is. For so plausible and gentle will he be in his first ap[544]proaches, when "by peace he shall destroy many"; so energetic a reformer of abuses; so submissive and obedient to the fawning church whom with "words smoother than oil" he will cajole to her destruction—*ostensibly* seek naught so much as her honour and advancement—in reality, using her but as a contemptible stepping-stone to his ambition, to be cast loathingly away as soon as his ends are answered; so miraculous also will be his successes, as though under the manifest control of the Almighty; so dazzling the supernatural halo which shall surround him, and overpowering the delusions which shall seem to point to his Divine mission, delusions not only permitted, but even (dreadful thought!) *sent* in judgment by God Himself—for then doubtless the carnal Church will indeed appear "*hung with miracles*" in support of the claims of the false one; so bewildering will all this be, even "to deceive if it were possible God's own elect," that there will be terrible need of some unmistakeable cypher, some distinct token, to warn the elect, and prop up the staggering faith of the small remnant who shall then remain true to their Lord.

IV. Ah! then who shall compose that small remnant? Who shall share in the great coming Apostacy? who succumb to the great tribulation which shall succeed it? What portion of

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xiii. 17, (the [Greek], after [Greek] in this passage is spurious.) The only passage which appears to disconnect the *mark* from the *name or number*, is xv. 2; but here the words [Greek] are an interpolation. Vide Hengst. ii. 144; also Scholz and Lachmann in loc.

[1] Perhaps one of the best solutions hitherto offered is the [Greek]. Another suggestion is [Greek] (the Doric, Latinized termination). But this is not so satisfactory as the former, inasmuch as (to mention no other objections), the Beast itself is *not* a Spiritual Power but the personification of the power of the *world* generally, or, specially, of some particular world-power, or kingdom. This same is the great objection to [Greek]. Now without for a moment supposing that the HOLY SPIRIT really pointed to one or other of these words; we should yet feel some little hesitation in maintaining that the fact of their severally containing the mystic number was *nothing but* accident.

Christ's Body shall, through all, remain true to their Lord and Head? For our Lord's hint is most dreadful, that when He cometh faith shall hardly be found. This then is our great question. This it is which gives such a solemn practical interest to the portions of Holy Scripture we are considering. And this too it is, we must add, which invests with so intense and momentous importance our present Church revival. For doubtless, upon the course it takes, upon its healthy and steady continuance, depends the question whether *our* candlestick shall be removed, whether, as a church, we shall basely yield to the Apostacy, or boldly resist even unto death. One of the twelve was found standing lovingly near the Cross of Christ. Some portion of the Church will so *stand*. The *sixth* epistle tells us that.[1] The very epistle which is marked by Antichrist's number, and points to his times, tells us that; tells us of a small section of the Church which though having but "a little strength," has yet faithfully kept God's Word, and not denied His Name; which, though held in ruthless scorn by certain which claim the *exclusive* privilege of being *the* church, "which say they" alone "are Jews," God's true Israel ("and are not, but do lie,") is yet not despised by God, for He has regarded her; and receives this blessed assurance:—"Because *thou* hast kept *My* word, *I* also will keep *thee* from the hour [545] of temptation ([Greek]) which shall come upon *all the world.*" The great *temptation* to which we cannot doubt that the *sixth* petition of our LORD'S Prayer has some secret and ultimate reference—to which, therefore, the Church should constantly be looking—against which she should be daily earnestly and intensely preparing herself.

Is it presumptuous to indulge a trembling hope that it is against this day of trial that our branch of CHRIST'S Holy Church is instinctively beginning to arm herself? Had the enemy come a century ago—aye much less than that—as a Church, there would have been no hope for her. Branded with the mark of the Beast, secularized, and crippled by the heavy incubus of the monster Erastrianism whom she so fondly and lovingly hugged; palsied by secret, and wide-spread, and deeply ingrained heresy; the Blessed Sacraments neglected or profaned, and her spiritual life therefore gradually ebbing away from sheer lack of support, and for want of the infused virtue of the Divine Redeemer Himself; what could she have done? But, GOD be thanked, a little respite is vouchsafed her. "Space is given her to repent of her fornication." O that she may earnestly repent! There is a moving amongst the dry bones. Through more frequent and loving communion with the Source of Life, a new life is breathing into the dying mass. The revival proceeds, slowly it may be, but surely, hopefully, progressively. At home and abroad the whole body seems instinct with a new and vigorous energy. We must not say more. It ill becomes us to be "highminded," there is yet much cause for "fear." But let us fear with hope, hope with fear; love, pray, and work. The reward of Philadelphia is yet within *our* reach.

V. It is impossible, however, to cast our eyes without alarm, on that mighty section of the visible Church under the dominion of the Bishop of Rome. For one *cannot* either look at her past history and present state by the light of these Apocalyptic prophecies, or look at these prophecies by the strange light cast upon them by her history, and not entertain most sad and gloomy forebodings respecting her future destiny. She is *not preparing herself* against the day of calamity; "she saith in her heart, I sit as a queen, and am no widow, (not mourning her absent LORD, and longing for His appearing,) and shall see no sorrow." "Her prophets have seen vain and foolish things for her, and have not discovered her iniquity to

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[1] To the Church of *Philadelphia*. It is the Loving Apostle alone, who stands by the Cross. So is it the Church of Love, alone, which endures the fiery trial; the church which is impressed with that mark which the same Apostle pronounces to be the mark of Spiritual Life, "The Love of the Brethren." (1 S. John iii.. 14.)

turn away her captivity."—(Lam, ii. 4—17.). Nay, not only is she not preparing herself against "the hour of temptation," but rather does she appear to be gradually and systematically disciplining her children for yielding to it. What is the unhallowed sanction openly given to the ever-increasing mass of false miracles; the moving eyes, and bleeding forms of consecrated pictures, the bowing heads and animated limbs of idol images, and the like; but a positive *training* for the acceptance of [546] those lying wonders and strong delusions, before which the well-exercised faith of the very elect shall totter? What is the fable of the "Immaculate conception" of the Blessed Virgin, and the awfully developing doctrine of her "Deification," doctrines tending to the implied denial of her being really *woman*, and therefore of her Son being really *man*;[1] what those perpetual exhibitions of our Risen LORD as an impotent baby, helplessly dependent on His mother; and the shocking, though allowed, devotions addressed to Him as such, but a subtle and effectual preparation for the reception of the great Antichristian denial of the proper *humanity*, and present mediation of the *Man* CHRIST JESUS? What are the popular supplications and invocations addressed to "JESUS, Joseph, and Mary," but secret preparations for some new trinity which Satan shall set up for the worship of the ungodly world? What the [Greek] of the "creature *alongside* of the Creator," but the natural antecedent to the worship of the "creature *instead of* the Creator?" But we need not continue. There is one further point, however, which we must yet notice, and it is this:—How significant are the indications in that Church, of a malignant *endeavour* on the part of Satan to close up the channels of grace, and so cut off communion with the Source of Life, and thus *drive away* "*Him that withholdeth*;" shutting up the public worship of GOD in a dead language, and thus debarring the mass of the people from their "reasonable service" to the Eternal FATHER; mutilating the adorable Sacrament, and thus depriving them of the Life-giving Blood of the Blessed SON; interdicting, practically, the study of the sacred Scriptures, and thus shutting them out, in thus far, from the illuminating, guiding, and comforting influences of the HOLY SPIRIT. How mysterious too, the infatuation which contentedly acquiesces in these devices of the enemy, and which checks the slightest endeavour to open out to the great body of the Church these Divine Media of commun-ication with the Blessed Trinity.

It is from no want of Charity, no lack of love or respect towards that important Branch of CHRIST'S Holy Church, to whom we ourselves, to whom the Church Universal owes so much (even though it must be added, by whom we have both been so grievously wronged) that we thus write concerning her; that Branch, which can boast of so many Saints and Martyrs of the LORD JESUS, so many holy souls of whom it may in truth be said "the world was not worthy"; that Branch which contains even now, so many, whom we of the Church of England have such cause to love and venerate—it may be with some of us, even our "brethren after the flesh"; No, but from a sad conviction, which the Apocalypse seems to press [547] with overwhelming force upon us, that *she* will be the foremost in, the nucleus, and headquarters of, the Great coming Apostacy. How large a portion of the Church Universal will be then comprehended with her in the Mystic Babylon we cannot say. Even the great Romish expositors intimate as much. Bellarmine, Ribera, Corn à Lapide, Viegas, Lacunza,[2] and we know not how many more of the learned Jesuit commentators tell us, with more or less variety, that Rome shall apostatize and be consumed; "that," in the words

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[1] "The Blessed Virgin has been received as a Deity, as one conceived and born immaculate; and *how then capable of imparting to her Child the genuine humanity of our race*?"—Messias and Anti-Messias, p. 150; vide also 90—92.

[2] Vide *Apostolical* {recte Apostolic} *School of Prophetic Interpretation* (pp. 387—315) [*sic*] by C. Maitland. Longman. A most able and useful work.

of Ribera, "she will equal her old sins with new crimes and horrible wickednesses, and so will be burnt with a great burning;" all which, he adds, "we learn so plainly from the Apocalypse that the greatest fool cannot deny it."

These learned writers generally maintain that Rome must once again become *heathen*, before she can be called Babylon. The Jesuit Lacunza, however, thinks *not*.

> "Rome," he writes, "not idolatrous but Christian, not the head of the Roman Empire, but the. *Head of Christendom*, may very well, without ceasing from this dignity [i.e., becoming again heathen, as urged by Bellarmine] . . . be guilty of harlotry with the kings of the earth. . . . and receive upon herself the horrible chastisement spoken of in the Prophecy. . . . O that it were possible to speak in her ear . . those words which GOD spake to His ancient Spouse, . . O My people, they which call thee Blessed, cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy path.' And again, 'Our priesthood it is, and nothing else, which is announced for the last times under the metaphor of a beast with two horns like a Lamb. Our priesthood, which, like the Good Shepherd, should defend the flock of CHRIST, shall prove in those times its greatest scandal and most perilous snare."[1]

It seems a most dreadful thought, but yet one that should be fairly recognized, as explaining the particular ground for the tremendous chastisements with which the Harlot shall be visited, that it will be through *her*, mainly, that the Son of Perdition will owe his rise, and ascendancy in the world. In the garden of Eden Satan *Himself* did not entice man to sin, but employed the woman to administer the temptation; so, in the latter days, the Dragon himself does not seduce the world, but he employs the Lamb-like Beast or false Prophet, and the *Mystic Woman*, to execute this dread commission. It was the Hebrew Priesthood, says Lacunza, which, of old, utterly undid the Jews and opened the mouths of the people to reject CHRIST, and so will it be with the Christian Priesthood who in the latter days shall be "*the stumbling-block*, and most perilous snare."

> "Until the Apostacy," writes Mr. Black, (who by the way falls into the Common error of *limiting* the title of Harlot, to the Church of Rome, [548] instead of comprehending within it the whole state of carnal Christendom) "until the Apostacy takes place, which will be preceded by the universal preaching of the Gospel, and the home gathering of the tribes,—the Incarnate Demon[2] will not be revealed. Then the apostate Prophet or Church will be to him what the Baptist was to JESUS; what Elias will be to the returning SAVIOUR; commissioned to proclaim and make Him known to the world. The Church of Rome, indeed, is now a harlot, guilty of spiritual uncleanness; but not until some eminent political personage shall arise, whom she shall address and . . . religiously regard, can she be considered guilty of blasphemy. When she will thus act, she will herself take out of the way the impediment (that which letteth,) to the manifestation of Antichrist. The proceedings on her part will doubtless be attended with a violation of all social, religious, and political order, over the whole world; and thus she will indicate the beginning of the 1260 days, and the moment of her own visitation."—pp. 125—6.

But we must bring this paper to a conclusion, apologizing sincerely for the length to which it has extended. It is a hopeful sign to see the Apocalypse becoming, amongst ourselves, so

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 392; 409.

[2] As this expression of Mr. Black's is calculated to suggest a wrong impression concerning the *nature* of the Son of Perdition, it may be as well to add the following caution from the '*Summa*.' "In Antichristo inhabitabit plenitudo omnis malitiæ: *non* quidem ita quod *humanitas ejus sit assumpta a Diabolo in unitatem personæ*, sicut humanitas Christi a Filio Dei; sed quia Diabolus suam malitiam eminentius ei influet suggerendo, quàm omnibus aliis." P. 3. Q. viii. 8. c.

much more generally a subject of reverent study; remembering that it is the *one* book in the whole Canon, to the diligent reading of which there is a *distinctive* "*Blessing*" attached. And so long as it is approached in the earnest and devotional spirit which so engagingly characterizes the whole of Mr. Williams' admirable work, and is hardly less discernible in the writings of the other two authors before us,—many of its dark sayings will doubtless, by little and little, open out to the Church; and she will thus be furnished with new weapons of defence against the day of calamity. Manifold and important were the lessons of wisdom which this Book contained for the early Church: Infinitely weighty and significant are the instructions which it contains for us at the present day: and when the world's evening shall set in, the twilight shadows of which seem even now lengthening upon us, and men's hearts begin to fail them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming,—then shall its Divine sayings gleam with an intensity of light and meaning of which we can as yet perhaps form no idea.

At all seasons, and surely not the least in these times of change and uncertainty, should that warning knell of the HOLY SPIRIT—those ten solemn words which arrest us at the very threshold of the Apocalypse—that unearthly refrain *seven times* mysteriously repeated—be silently ringing in our souls, [Greek].

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 16 (Joseph Masters: London, 1854

[197] THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE BEATITUDES.

Everything tending to illustrate the Divine prayer which our LORD bequeathed to His Church, and throw light into the profound abyss of meaning contained in its few simple clauses, must be acceptable to the Christian.

Believing that, inasmuch as the words are those of Eternal Wisdom Himself, and are given by Him as the expression of the innermost feelings and wants of His Church in all ages and circumstances, they may therefore be viewed in an infinite variety of aspects, and will, under all, reflect some beautiful phase of heavenly light; he will ever seek to deepen his acquaintance with them, nor deem anything unworthy his regard which tends, in however slight a degree, to assist him therein.

Among the different views of our LORD'S Prayer, which the multitudinous paraphrases made by holy men in all ages afford us; there is one, which we are surprised has not been more frequently noticed, and which, as it appears to ourselves not a little interesting and suggestive, we will endeavour, to the best of our ability, to trace out for our readers.

There are two occasions referred to in the Gospels in which our LORD delivered this Prayer. It is in connection with the first of these, that we desire now to treat of it; viewing it in relation to the peculiar position in which it stands, viz., as a part of a particular and connected discourse, the Sermon on the Mount.

The discourse opens, we remember, with a heptad of Beatitudes (the eighth benediction being but a repetition of the first.) And the whole of the succeeding discourse appears to be but an amplification and development of those few pregnant introductory sentences. They constitute the key-note of the whole succeeding strain.

And so writes S. Augustine (Enar. in Ps. xi.); referring the Psalmist's expression: "The words of the LORD purified seven times in the fire," to the seven Beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount, "from which seven," he adds, "*totum illum sermonem prolixum* dictum esse animadverti potest."

So again, in his exposition of the sermon; on arriving at the LORD'S Prayer, and noticing its seven petitions, he adds, "Videtur mihi septenarius iste numerus harum petitionum congruere illi septenario numero *ex quo totus iste sermo manavit*." And this introduces the point to which we are anxious to advert.

We have in this Divine discourse, first, a brief delineation of the several features of the children of God; a sketch of the perfect Christian's character. Shortly after, we have the prayer of the children of GOD; that is, we have the living utterance and expres[198]sion of that very character whose several features have just been described. And what we wish to notice, is this (which is also briefly intimated by S. Augustine, De Serm. Dom. in Mon. 1. ii., c. 11:) that there is a beautiful and continuous parallel running throughout, between the heptad of Beatitudes and the heptad of petitions; each several petition appearing to be, merely, the peculiar expressions of that particular phase of character indicated and "blessed" in the corresponding Beatitude.

Before tracing out this parallel, however, we may just call attention to the fact (alluded to in a previous number,[1]) of the striking example which our Lord's Prayer furnishes us, of

[1] Vide Ecclesiastic, vol. xv. p. 369, &c.

the frequent division observable in Holy Scripture of the number seven into its two components three and four: of which S. Augustine has noticed "quaternarium numerum ad corpus pertinere; ternarium, vero, ad animum:" the *three*, plainly deriving its symbolical meaning from the perfection of the Eternal Godhead, the "Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity;" the *four*, from its being the ordinary exponent of the perfection of earthly things.[1]

So that while the last four petitions refer mainly to ourselves; our daily bread; our forgiveness; our freedom from temptation; our deliverance from evil;—the three first as evidently refer to the honour, the kingdom, the will of the Eternal Trinity.

Nor can it be unnoticed how without ill any way *limiting* the meaning of any petition, yet that each of the first three appears to contain some peculiar reference to the three several Persons.

1. "Hallowed be Thy Name." These words would appear specially addressed to the Everlasting Creator, the infinite source of all being, "glorious in holiness fearful, in praises," Whom the Holy Church doth "day by day acknowledge," "The Father of an Infinite Majesty:" and in them the Church but adopts the language employed by the co-eternal Son, at that period of transcendent interest, the crisis of man's salvation; "Now is my soul [199] troubled, and what shall I say? FATHER, save me from this hour? FATHER *glorify Thy Name*."

2. "*Thy kingdom come*." But whose kingdom is it for the advent of which we thus pray? "I saw in the night visions," says the prophetic Seer, "and behold one like the *Son of Man* came; and there was given to *Him* dominion, and glory, and a *kingdom*." "Unto the SON He saith: Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever, a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom." This it is, to which the Church is ever looking forward and hastening; the glorious appearing of our great GOD and SAVIOUR, when the "kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our LORD and His CHRIST, and He shall reign for ever and ever. KING of Kings."

3. "*Thy will be done*." What do we pray for here? For the moral renovation of mankind. We pray that man's will, our own included, may be brought into conformity with GOD'S will; may be again bent parallel with it. And whose office is it thus to renew and sanctify, thus to "order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men?" Plainly that of the Eternal Spirit. "This is the *will* of GOD, even your *sanctification*." And GOD'S Will must ultimately triumph. Nor shall the Omnipotent Spirit cease from His regenerating work, till this prayer is answered, and God's will is done on earth as it is done in heaven.

But let us now retrace our steps, and follow out the parallel which we have already referred to; showing how that each several petition of our LORD'S Prayer, is but the natural

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[1] "*Ternarius* numerus, Conditorem, Patrem et Filium set Spiritum-Sanctum, insinuat. In *quaternario* numero, est insigne temporalium. Et annus *quadrifariè* variatur, verno, æstate, autumno, et hieme. Et maximè apparet in tempore, quaternaria quædam vicissitudo. Quatuor etiam ventos Scriptura commemorat. Per quator enim cardines perrexit evangelium, quod obtinuit."—S. Aug. Ser. 252.

Anastasius of Sinai descants with great prolixity on the number four. We may just add a specimen. After alluding to the four Evangelists, &c. he adds: "Ex quator elementis fecit omnia Deus; nempe igne, terrâ, et aquâ et aere. Propterea et ipsa quatuor, in singulis eorum, in quatuor considerantur; *ignis* quidem, in luce, et stellis, et luna, et sole: *Aqua* autem, in firmamento, et alia aqua supra firmamentum, et terrestri, et abyssina: *Aerem*, in quatuor ventos, et quatuor anni tempora divisit: *Terram*, partitus est in quatuor fines; quomodo etiam in quatuor generationes; herbarum inquam, et fructuum, et animantium, et hominum. Similiter etiam *ainimantia* in quatuor genera—pecora, animalia, feras, et reptilia. &c." and much more to the same purpose.—(Contempl. in Hexaem. b. iv.; Bibl. Pat. t. vi. p. 641.)

utterance and expression of that particular phase of character to which the corresponding Beatitude is attached.

I. And first; who are they to whom the *hallowing of* GOD'S *Name* will ever be an object of the deepest concern? "Thus saith the High and Lofty One Who inhabiteth Eternity, whose *Name* is *Holy*, I dwell with him that is of an *humble spirit*." This then is the first Beatitude, "Blessed are the *poor in spirit*, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Humility, and reverence for the Great Name, are necessary correlatives. "Man fell by pride; his restoration begins by humility:" "Initium peccati, superbia; initium sapientiæ, timor Domini." There is a deep and eternal truth conveyed in the connection of these two clauses. Man must be emptied of self, before he can be filled with GOD; poor in his own spirit, ere he can be rich in the Divine Spirit. We must debase ourselves before ever we can glorify GOD For "His dwelling is with the humble, but the proud He beholdeth afar off." Thus, the first condition of acceptable prayer, is profound adoration for the Almighty Jehovah, and the indissoluble accompaniment to that, is unfeigned abasement of ourselves. Assuredly, none but the "poor in spirit" will ever utter as they ought, the first petition, "*Hallowed be Thy Name*."

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II. But we now come to the second petition. "*Thy kingdom come*." Who then are they to whom the *kingdom* of CHRIST particularly belongs? What is the distinguishing mark of *royalty* in the Gospel? On one occasion, while on earth, and on one only, our Blessed LORD appeared as *King*; viz. in his triumphant entry into Jerusalem. What then was the peculiar attribute in Him to which our attention is there, especially, drawn? "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, behold Thy *King* cometh unto the, *meek*."

This then is the mark we must look for in all candidates for His kingdom. The very feature of character which is *most* opposed to our ideas of earthly royalty, is the very distinguishing characteristic of heavenly royalty. It is the *Lamb* that becomes the everlasting Conqueror over death and hell. It is the *meek* who possess the kingdom. In beautiful harmony with which we find the second[1] Beatitude, "Blessed are the *meek*, for they shall inherit the earth;" the "new heavens and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." True, the petition includes a reference to the present setting up in the hearts of men, of CHRIST'S kingdom of grace, yet, undoubtedly, it seems to refer chiefly, to the advent of CHRIST'S kingdom of glory, when they who have shared His lowliness, shall share His triumph, when He shall "put down the mighty front their scat, and exalt the humble and meek." S. Paul tells us that the "habitable earth" shall yet one day, be visibly placed under the dominion of CHRIST and His Saints; "Man, and the Son of Man:" For CHRIST is the "Heir of the world;" and His people are to be assessors with Him in His kingdom. "Thou hast made us kings—and we shall reign *on the earth*." ("In the

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[1] This is the order of the Beatitudes to which Lachmann gives the preference, and which he has inserted into the text, (reversing, viz. the position of, "Blessed are they that mourn," and "Blessed are the meek," as they stand in our Bibles.) It is the order of S. Augustine, which he has in common with the Vulgate, and the Latin fathers. The Greek fathers generally follow the less logical order of the textus receptus. Origen however does not; but places, "Blessed are the meek," *second*, as we have done; drawing also an inference from its particular position. [Comm. in Mat. t. xvi. 16; Op. t. iii. p. 740, ed. Bened.]

And indeed, according to this arrangement, there seems a natural sequence and connection between the first and second Beatitudes, between the "kingdom of *heaven*," and "the inheritance of the *earth*," which is quite lost where the common order is adopted. To ourselves, the internal reasons for this arrangement, *added* to the purely external ones, appear quite conclusive for its adoption; a conclusion which is not a little strengthened by the perfectness it gives to the interesting parallel we are endeavouring to draw out.

regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit on thrones.") Then shall be fulfilled the glad words of the Psalmist, "The meek shall inherit the earth, and be refreshed in the multitude of peace."[1]

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One important remark here arises. The kingdoms of this world *shall* one day visibly belong to CHRIST; and Himself shall put down all rule, and authority, and power. "But we see not *yet* all things put under Him." CHRIST has been visibly manifested as a Prophet and a Priest. As a *King*, He yet awaits His glorious manifestation. (*Nondum* se Regem appellat Christus, quai in primâ Apparitione nondum Regiâ fungebatur Potestate." *Euseb*. ap. *Corn. à. Lap. in Luc*. xix. 12.) The prophetic and priestly offices, then, are those which CHRIST'S Church has now chiefly to discharge. And if, because the kingdoms of this world are solemnly promised to CHRIST she therefore attempts to lay hold of them for herself; to antedate the judgment of God; and to strive, in a carnal way, to bring about the fulfilment of prophecies which GOD in His good time will bring about in His Own way; she grievously errs. Her duty is not now to grasp at worldly dominion, but to "learn of Him Who is *meek* and lowly in heart." The Nobleman has gone into the far country to receive solemn investiture of His kingdom. And it is only after the "long time" has elapsed, that he will return and visibly enter upon it; *not till when* does He give those who have quietly "waited," and diligently worked for Him, authority over five cities, or ten cities, as they have severally shown themselves fitted for the exercise of authority. "The patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever." They shall yet hear the glad words, "Come, ye blessed of My FATHER, inherit the kingdom."

III. And as the second petition, as we have already shown, relates peculiarly to CHRIST so does the third bear special reference to the work of the HOLY Ghost. Nor can we fail at once to see allusion to one of the great offices of the same Divine Person, the [202] Blessed Comforter, in the third Beatitude. "*Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted*." But why is the petition, "*Thy will be done*" peculiarly the petition of the *mourners?* S. Paul answers the question. Because "*tribulation* worketh *patience*" It is in seasons of sorrow especially that the grace of holy resignation is developed. It is under the chastening and hallowing influence of affliction that the sufferer learns to say from the

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[1] Corn à Lapide , in his commentary on this second Beatitude, thus interprets the word "*earth*" "Per *terram*, accipe orbem terræ futuram quam Apostolus (Heb. ii. 5) ait, post judicium generale, subjiciendum Christo, quasi heredi, ac sonsequenter, *mansuetis ejus coheredibus*. Post judicium euim, mundus totus, putà coelum et terra, innovabuntur, et glorificabuntur, subjicientur Christo, ejusque sanctis."

We feel convinced that the interpretations which make this word "*earth*" here, mean either heaven, or nothing, or merely the earth in this present [Greek] (Cf Matt. xiv. 39, 40) are alike erroneous. We believe that the popular notions, that, at the second Advent and the overthrow of Anti-Christ, this earth, which has apparently for a long series of ages undergone a slow and gradual preparation for the abode of man, is to be utterly destroyed; that there is to be a literal *day* after this, in which all the tremendous concerns of judgment are to be crowded up, after which day, the good are all to be transported to heaven;—"is founded upon no warranty of Holy Scripture," but absolutely and hopelessly "repugnant to the Word of GOD."

Without entering here upon a question involving points of great obscurity and difficulty; or insisting on the plain and obvious deduction from S. Peter's language, (2 S. Pet. iii. 5—13,) that the earth is to emerge, *as substantially the same* out of the purgatorial deluge of fire, as of old it did out of the deluge of water; we would yet just ask: Is any adequate meaning (any meaning in fact at all) usually given to passages of this character? "The earth *abideth for ever*." "He hath made the round world co sure that it shall *never be moved at any time*." "The posterity of His servants shall inherit it, and they that love His Name shall dwell therein." "The earth hath He *given to the children of men*" "Those that patiently abide the Lord, *they shall inherit the earth*." "The righteous shall inherit the earth, and *shall dwell for ever and ever upon it*." ([Greek] —Ps. xxxvii. 29.)

heart, "Father, Thy will be done." And how strikingly is this connection seen in the History of our Lord. It was just at the time of His most intense suffering; just when His awful agony was wringing from Him a sweat of blood, that He Himself uttered this petition, which He has here taught us. "Not My will, but Thine be done."

But this is not the only parallel between these two clauses.

What is the chief, nay, what is the only legitimate source of Christian *mourning?* Nay, what is the secret source of all present sorrow? It is the disharmony which exists between man's will and God's will. The Christian grieves for himself because he so very imperfectly keeps God's will. "His eyes run down with water, because men keep" it not. But they who thus mourn shall be one day abundantly comforted. The Spirit of truth must one day triumph over the Spirit of evil. God's will must yet be victorious. For the distinguishing mark of the "New heaven and new earth" shall be this, that therein shall dwell "*righteousness.*" Sorrow and mourning will then have ceased; for the source of sorrow will be removed. God's will shall then "be done on earth as it is done in heaven."[1]

IV. The fourth petition, the petition for "*Bread,*" is plainly the language of those who *hunger*. For it is only they who need, who ask. The request, then, necessarily implies a feeling of *want* on the part of the petitioner. So, in exact harmony, we find the [203] fourth Beatitude attached to those who "hunger and thirst after "righteousness." For it is the "hungry" alone whom Christ "filleth with good things." Moreover, in the word "Righteousness" we see somewhat of the hidden meaning of the parallel expression "Bread." It is "Christ our Righteousness" for Whom we sue; Christ "who of God is made unto us—Righteousness." He is the super-substantial Bread for Whom we are to hunger. While then we exclude not from the petition "all things needful for our bodies," yet we rob it of its peculiar significance, if we see not in it that "Living bread, which cometh down from heaven;" that Sacred Flesh, which is "meat indeed," that Blood which is "drink indeed." And those who now thus hunger and thirst "shall be filled spiritually and sacramentally here; in blessed and glorious fruition hereafter, when "they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more." For "they shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of Thy House, and Thou shalt give them drink out. of Thy pleasures as out of the river."

V. The petition is, "*Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors*." But, who are they who alone can offer up in faith the former part of this prayer? Plainly, those only who fulfil the condition imposed on them by the latter part. Those alone who are merciful and forgiving, can ever hope to receive mercy and forgiveness from God. And so, in perfect

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[1] We must not shut our eyes to the important considerations which this petition forces upon us, viz.:—

1. The petition *must* ultimately be answered. It were infidelity of the deepest dye to doubt it. GOD'S will, then, *must* yet be done *on earth, as it is done in heaven.* But
2. When shall this be? Certainly not *before* the Second Advent of our LORD and SAVIOUR. For at that time, we have His own assurance that "Iniquity shall abound;" that the love of the many shall have waxed cold; that faith will be hard to find: that wars, and discords, and heresy, and impiety, that every kind of evil will prevail; that matters will have come to their very worst; the earth shrouded in a thick "darkness which may be felt;" creation groaning for deliverance.
3. The fulfilment of this prophetic prayer *must* then *follow* the destruction of Anti-Christ, and have reference to some future period, when creation shall throw off her garment of corruption; when the heavy incubus of the primæval curse shall be removed; when the floods, the fields, the woods, the hills, the hoarse ocean, shall join in one triumphant song of praise "before the LORD, for He cometh, He cometh to judge the folk righteously, and to *govern the nations upon earth.*" "And righteousness shall be the girdle of His loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins;" when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb;" when " wars shall cease;" and "the knowledge of the LORD shall cover *the earth as the waters cover the sea.*"

harmony with this do we find the filth Beatitude, "*Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy*." The exactness of the connection between these two passages is best seen by a reference to S. Matt. xviii. 23—25, where our Lord is illustrating the lesson of the Beatitude, viz.: that the "merciful" alone "shall obtain mercy;" and He does it by means of this very illustration employed in the petition before us viz.: the forgiveness of a *debt*; in the case of a servant who did not, forgive his own debtor as he himself had been forgiven. "Thou wicked servant, shouldest thou not have had mercy ([Greek]) on thy fellow-servant, even as I had mercy on thee?"

The quasi-sacramental character of forgiveness is here much to be noticed. It is, indeed "twice blessed:" and being the great gift which we receive by becoming Christians, is the great duty which, as Christians, is laid upon us. For Christ has now so hallowed this duty, by the stupendous price at which Himself has purchased our forgiveness, that it is ever since consecrated to be the sacred channel through which forgiveness is to be obtained for ourselves. "Si vis impetrare misericordiam Dei, esto misericors. Si tu negas homini humanitatem; negabit tibi et Deus Divinitatem (h.e. incorruptionem immortalitatis, qua nos facit Deos) . . .Miserere hominis, homo; et tui miserebitur Deus." (S. Aug. Ser. 259.) But we must hasten on.

VI. *Lead us not into temptation*. Of what class of suppliants is [204] this petition, in a peculiar way, the language? Who are they who will ever evince the most shrinking dread of temptation? Evidently the "pure in heart," the simple-minded, guileless, and earnest Christians, who dread the contact of any thing which may sully their purity, and stain the robes of their innocence. We have a striking example of the connection of the pure, guileless heart, and the dread of temptation, in the case of Agur. "Two things have I required of Thee; deny me not. Give me neither poverty nor riches, lest I he full, and deny Thee; or lest I be poor and steal." He shrunk from poverty and riches alike, as being circumstances of temptation; and he shrunk from temptation because he dreaded sin; and he dreaded sin because he loved GOD with pure, guileless love. "Lest I take the Name of my GOD in vain."

But there is a still deeper connection between these two clauses, than this. For no less true is it that the pure-hearted will shrink from temptation, than it is, that sanctified temptation will, assuredly, produce purity. It frequently pleases the Most High to permit His servants to pass through the fiery ordeal of temptation. And for what purpose? Simply, to *purify* them; to test them; and by means of the furnace of trial, to purge away their dross. He sits over them, like the refiner of silver, tempering the heat of the furnace to what they are "able to bear;" watching them till He sees His Own Image reflected, by degrees, in their purified hearts; and then, blessed retribution! as He gradually sees Himself in them, so shall they be gradually permitted to *see Him*, until at last they wake up "*after His likeness*," when they shall "*see Him as He is*."

On the sixth day it was that man was first created in the "Image of GOD;" so here, in the sixth Beatitude have we an intimation of his gradual restoration to that Image.

But the number six is also the number of Anti-Christ [vide *Ecclesiastic*, XV. 542—5,] and we can hardly doubt, but that in this sixth petition, we have some secret allusion to the dread season of "fiery trial," through which the Church has yet to pass during the times of Anti-Christ; referred to in the *sixth epistle* (Rev. iii. 10) as that "hour of *temptation* which shall come upon all the world to *try* them that dwell upon the earth;"[1] alluded to also by

[1] The particular *subjects* of this "temptation" must be carefully noticed. The season of tribulation, we are told, is to `fall upon *all the world*, ([Greek]) but its peculiar mission is to *try* "them" only "who dwell on {*cont.*}

Daniel, as the time when "many shall be *purified*, and made white, and *tried*, but the wicked shall do wickedly." (xii. 10.) The evil which for ages has secretly existed in the Church, paralyzing her energies and crippling her strength, shall then be revealed and brought to a [205] head. "This fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." The issue shall be the everlasting destruction of CHRIST'S enemies, and the "manifestation of the sons of GOD."

VII. But we now come to the seventh and last Petition. "*Deliver us from evil*." As the seventh day was that wherein the Almighty rested from His work, and "was refreshed," so has this petition ultimate reference to that sabbath of peace, that time of deliverance from evil alluded to by S. Paul as the [Greek] (Heb. iv.), by S. Peter as the "time of refreshing" and "restitution," (Acts iii. 19—21,) when "evil". shall be put under, when the effects of the Incarnation are allowed uninterrupted sway, viz., "*Peace on earth* and good will to man," and when the oath which GOD sware to our forefathers is accomplished, "that we being *delivered* from all our enemies, should serve Him without fear, in holiness and righteousness" for ever.

But we have in this petition and the corresponding Beatitude, allusion to two great personal Antagonists. On one hand, *the evil one*, ([Greek],) the mighty Adversary of GOD and man, the restless "accuser," whose one object it is to put variance between the creature and the Creator, and keep them at enmity; and on the other hand, the SON of GOD, the Deliverer, ([Greek], cf. Rom. xi. 26; 1 Thess. i. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 18, &c.,) the Prince of Peace, Whose peculiar office it is to *reconcile* GOD and man, " having *made peace* by the Blood of His Cross," to keep them at one, (cf. Eph. ii. 14—17; Col i. 20.)

And not only do we here see allusion to the Great Peace Maker, the SON of GOD Himself; but also to those His members, who, exhibiting in themselves this His great characteristic feature, are therefore honoured with His own august title, "Sons of GOD," ("Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the sons of God.") And who will so earnestly pray for deliverance from the great adversary and enemy of peace as they? Who, with so great a chance of being heard? The SON Himself having in discharge of His office of Peace Maker, vanquished the evil one; they, fellow-workers with Him in this blessed office, and sharers with Him in His peculiar title, share also the right to deliverance from the same "evil one."

It has ever been their business to "eschew evil and do good, to seek peace and ensue it," and as they have sown also shall they reap. They shall be eternally freed from *evil*, eternal partakers of that *peace* which is "sown for them that make peace," (Isa. iii. [206] 18.). Being sons of GOD, the SON of GOD Himself shall deliver them, and "if the SON make them free, they shall be free indeed,"[1] and being "delivered from every evil work," shall be "preserved to His heavenly kingdom."

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the *earth*," ([Greek]). In other words, the passage seems to intimate that, though the times of trouble which shall usher in the revelation of the Anti-Christ, shall extend over the whole world; yet that, as a *purgatorial judgment*, as a "fiery *trial*," the tribulation will fall chiefly on the *visible Church*, "Judgment shall begin at the House of GOD." For although [Greek] frequently signifies, in this hook, the earth generally; yet, when contrasted with [Greek], or with [Greek] (which as a general expression, comprehends the two,) it signifies the *dry land of* GOD reclaimed from the waste of waters, or mass of the unregenerate. But the [Greek], and the [Greek] shall ultimately be coincident, for all the earth shall be finally reclaimed. In the new heavens and new earth (morally as well as physically) there shall be "*no more sea*." "All shall know Me from the least to the greatest."

[1] So Augustine, "Si beati sunt pacifici, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur; oremus ut liberemur à malo; ipsa enim liberatio liberos nos faciet, id est filios Dei, ut Spiritu adoptionis clamemus Abba Pater."

VIII. And here the petitions of our LORD'S Prayer terminate. One Beatitude however yet remains, the eighth, or octave. The seven-fold cycle has now completed its revolution, and a *new commencement* ensues. For this is the common symbolic meaning of the number eight, as the *eighth day* exactly explains. The number supposes a fresh beginning, a repetition of the first in some new phase.[1] Hence we find the eighth Beatitude but a repetition of the first; to the "poor in spirit," and to the "persecuted," the same blessing attached, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

One or two observations here arise. And

1. First. The *eighth* never signifies merely a bare, unuttered repetition of the first, but always some higher or more exalted phase of the first. Hence, the two meanings of the expression "the kingdom of Heaven," must be never lost sight of. The one expresses a state

manifested in the present [Greek], the other, a state not to be manifested till this [Greek] has passed away, and till the SON of GOD now seated on His FATHER'S throne assumes His own throne, and His Saints reign with Him. But the "saints are hidden" now. The " manifestation of the sons of GOD" is yet future. Therefore we pray as though for something yet future, "Thy kingdom *come*."

2. The difference between the *seventh* and the *eighth* also is not without important significance: The former number would appear rather negative, the latter positive. The former, to indicate chiefly deliverance from evil, and rest from toil; the latter, the positive enjoyment of new and glorious felicity.[2] Evil reaches its climax on the evening of the sixth day. "Heaviness endureth for that night, but joy cometh in the morning." For deliverance comes on the seventh day, a day which has no evening,[3] but which [207] gradually unfolds itself into the eighth or everlasting day, wherein the words "Behold, I make all things new," which began to be accomplished at the Incarnation, and which receive a still further, and beatific fulfilment at the opening of the seventh day, shall have their full and, eternal consummation. Creation was pronounced "very good" at the morning of the first day. At the Everlasting Octave of that day it shall again be pronounced, though with still deeper meaning, "*very good*." During the seventh day redemption is not fully achieved. For Satan, though perfectly harmless, is not yet destroyed. The eternal bliss of the Saints has commenced, and the number of the elect filled up. But the curse is not fully removed from "the nations;" or the renovation of all things yet complete, (as may be seen by the *Old Testament* descriptions of the new heavens and the new earth, which apparently do not

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[1] Vide *Ecclesiastic*, XV. 370, &c. ϕ Dykes's review 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse (1853). See pp. 72ff *supra*.

[2] Augustine thus speaks of the seven days of the world:— "*Primus* dies—tempus ab Adam usque ad Noe; *secundus*, a Noe usque ad Abraham; *tertius,* ab Abraham usque ad David; *quartus*, a David usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam [S. Matt. i. 17]; *Quintus*, a transmigratione useque ad Adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ab adventu Domini *sextus* agitur: in sexto di sumus. Et ideo, quomodo formatus est homo sexto die ad imaginem Dei, sic et in isto tempore, quasi sexto die totius sæculi, renovamur in baptismo, ut recipiamus imaginem Conditoris nostri. Sextus autem dies iste cum transierit, veniet *requies*, post illam vitam de qua dictum, 'quia oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit,' &c. Tunc, *velut ad caput* reditur. Quomodo enim cum peracti fuerint isti septem sæculi transeuntis, ad illam immortalitatem beatitudinemque rediemus de quâ lapsus est homo." [Serm. 259.]

[3] "Quære septem dies, Genesim legens, invenies *septimum* sine vesperâ, quia requiem sine fine significat. Requies ultima sempiterna est, ac per hoc, et *octavus* sempiternam beatitudinem habebit, quiai requies illa quæ sempiterna est excipitur ab octavo, non extinguitur. Ita ergo erit octavus qui primus, ut prima vita non tollatur sed reddatur æterna." [Ep. lib. ii. 55. t.ii. p. 101.]

carry us beyond the seventh day.) But at the ushering in of the eighth day all shall be fulfilled, every vestige of the curse eternally removed, and "the mystery of GOD shall be finished,"

3. But another question may arise. We have traced out the parallel between the seven Beatitudes and the seven petitions. But there is an eighth Beatitude. Why then is there not an eighth petition to correspond with it? For this simple and beautiful reason. Our Lord's Prayer, we know, is the universal prayer of His members, His blessed and elect people. But, for them, after the dawn of the eighth or everlasting day, though "Blessing" shall continue, (for they shall be blessed for ever,) yet prayer shall have ceased, "For in that day ye shall ask Me nothing." Faith shall then be swallowed up in sight, hope in fruition, and prayer in praise. Hence the eighth clause[1] of the prayer is prayer no longer, but an ascription of praise to the "Holy, Blessed and Glorious TRINITY,"—to the Eternal SON for that glorious *kingdom*, on the full enjoyment of which they shall then have entered; to the Blessed SPIRIT, through Whose *power*[2] they were first admitted into it, and preserved therein "through faith unto salvation;" to the GOD of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the FATHER of *Glory*, of Whom it is declared that "every tongue shall confess that JESUS CHRIST is LORD, to the glory of GOD the FATHER."

4. Another important consideration also here presents itself. How peculiar and signal is the honour of suffering *persecution* for CHRIST'S sake. For it is this privilege, and this alone, which is mentioned by our LORD in connection with the future and glorious phase of His kingdom. The present "kingdom" is entered [208] through the lowly gate of humility and poverty of spirit. But the octave or future kingdom, the glorious distinction of *reigning with* CHRIST, appears destined in an especial way, (though not exclusively,) for those who suffer persecution for Him. "If we *suffer* we shall also *reign* with Him." In exact accordance with which, we find it stated that those who after the destruction of the beast and the false prophet reign with CHRIST during the thousand years and thenceforward for ever, are those who have "overcome the beast and his image," and have "been *beheaded* for the witness of Jesus and the Word of GOD." (Rev. xx. 4.)

5. And here we feel bound to take this opportunity of expressing our conviction, that in alluding to this passage (Rev. xx. 4, &c.) on a former occasion,[3] and enforcing the admirable exposition of it which the Church has inherited from S. Augustine, we were in error in so far as we advocated that interpretation to *the exclusion* of any more glorious one still future. That the passage refers to the inestimable privileges of the regenerate state in the present phase of the kingdom of heaven, this we still earnestly maintain; but that it relates to nothing further, this we find ourselves, after a careful consideration of the passage, *absolutely* unable to believe.

And let one simple question suffice to show this.

Of whom are we expressly told that the enthroned victors who reign with Christ the thousand years consist? We have distinct and special reference made amongst them, to those who have *encountered and overcome the persecutions of Anti-christ*, (for however we may truly interpret the " beast and his image" to designate *generally* "the world, and the things of the world," yet we must never do so to the exclusion of their obvious *special*

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[1] i.e., assuming, what yet appears most questionable, that the concluding ascription is genuine.

[2] Cf. S. Luke i. 35; iv. 14; Acts i. 8; x. 38; Rom. xv. 13, 19; 1 Cor. ii. 4; &c.

[3] *Ecclesiastic,* vol. xv. 356—360. ϕ pp. 61ff *supra.*

reference to Anti-Christ himself); hence it follows that the full accomplishment of this prophecy *must* take place at a period *posterior* to the destruction of Anti-Christ, and *therefore posterior to our* LORD'S *second advent*.

And still further, how are the victors employed? They are "reigning with CHRIST," "*seated on thrones, judging.*" And this still more conclusively, refers the passage to a yet future period. For when does our LORD Himself declare that this enthronization and judgment shall take place? "In the *regeneration*, when the Aon of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory," *then* "shall ye *sit on thrones, judging*." So again, it is when the nobleman, after the "long time," returns, having received solemn investiture of His kingdom, that *then*, and not till then, He makes His servants *sharers in His dominion*, setting one over five, another over ten cities.[1]

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6. Nor must another consideration on this latter subject be omitted.

S. Peter, we remember, speaking in particular reference to the *day of judgment*,'[2] (2 S. Pet. iii. 7, 8,) uses this expression, that "one day is with the LORD as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Again, S. John alluding also to the *day of judgment* ("judgment was given unto them,") speaks of it in like manner as extending over a period of a thousand years, (i.e. either a literal millennium or some perfect period known to GOD). Now may not S. Peter's thousand years and day of judgment, be identical with S. John's thousand years and season of judgment, and both comprise the *seventh day* of the earth's duration (as S. Augustine and the earlier fathers seem to have held)? And may not this seventh day (as we have already suggested) be the period obscurely shadowed perhaps in the seventh petition, and the corresponding Beatitude? For the one speaks of "deliverance from the evil one," and the other, of the "manifestation of the sons of GOD;" and both of these are prophetically connected with this period. "Deliverance from the evil one;" for during this day, says S. John, Satan is "bound with a great chain that he should

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[1] Let it here be carefully borne in mind what view S. Augustine himself *inherited from the earlier Fathers of the Church.*

We learn this from his 259th Sermon, wherein he thus writes:

"Octavus ergo iste dies in fine sæculi *novam vitam* significat: *septimus, quietem futuram sanctorum in hâc terra. Regnabit enim Dominus in terrâ cum sanctis suis, sicut dicunt Scripturæ, et habebit hîc ecelesiam quo nullus malus intrabit, separatam atque purgatam . . . Nam Ecelesia hîc primo apparebit in magnâ claritate, et dignitate, et justitiâ." Now it is much to be considered that the only reason he assigns for his subsequent change of opinion on this subject, is the abuse made of the doctrine by carnal-minded men. (Civ. D. xx. 7.) As we considered at length, on a former occasion, the exposition of Rev. xx. 4, &c. which he afterwards substituted for the one given above, and which the great authority of his name caused to be received in the Church for above a thousand years, to the exclusion of any other; we need not again refer to it, or say more than this, that our firm persuasion is, that both interpretations are correct; that neither one must be held to the exclusion of the other; that the prophecy evidently admits of a double interpretation, and of progressive fulfilments; and that the earlier fathers must not be thrown in opposition to the later, but their interpretations harmonized and combined.*

[2] The prevalent idea that this expression "*day* of judgment," or "last *day*," or "*day* of the LORD," refers to a literal day of twenty-four hours, instead of to a dispensational era, is, we are persuaded, a most erroneous and misguiding one. The [Greek] is not a literal day; neither is the [Greek]. "The *night* is far spent, the *day* is at hand." Here again, the night is not a literal night, nor the day a literal day. Let the expression, moreover, "In that *day*," which occurs so continually in the Old Testament prophecies, be noticed, and the idea that it refers to a literal day will soon be dissipated. "*In that day*, Judah shall be saved, and Israel dwell safely." "*In that day* the LORD shall punish the host of the high ones, and the kings of the earth." "The LORD alone shall be exalted *in that day*." "*In that day* will I cause the horn of Israel to bud forth." "And many nations shall be joined unto the Lord *in that day*." "*In that day*. . . . shall the house of David look on Me whom they have pierced and mourn," &c. &c.

deceive the nations no more." "Manifestation of the sons of GOD;" for as soon as Christ their life shall *appear*, then shall they also, His members, *appear* with Him in glory. They shall be "gathered" at once from the four winds of heaven "to meet their LORD in the air." The day, then, would appear to open with the "*resurrection* [210] *of the just*,"[1] accompanied perhaps by some purgatorial judgment on the living, and to terminate or issue in the eighth or everlasting day, with the general resurrection and final judgment; in which it must be remembered that CHRIST'S saints are not to be judged, but "to sit on thrones" with Him "*judging*."

The Bride is made ready by the morning of the seventh day. The mystic number of the elect is made up. But the marriage is not immediately consummated. The guests are seated at the supper, and the KING appears. The judicial sentence of exclusion and consignation to the "outer darkness" of the unrobed guests takes place, and the sabbatism of the saints commences; a time typified by the transitional abode of our LORD on earth *after* His resurrection, and before His full exaltation, when His elect alone had visible communion with Him, "eating and drinking with [211] Him, and "speaking of the things pertaining to the" coming "kingdom." Even as the saints in incorruptible, though perhaps not yet *fully* glorified bodies, shall *then* enjoy a visible communion with their Lord, and a beatific antepast of bliss and glory yet to be revealed; learning of Him also of the " things pertaining to the kingdom;" undergoing a preliminary training for their part in the coming

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[1] Let it be remembered that this is an expression of our Blessed LORD Himself. He speaks of the "resurrection of the *just*," as though of some *distinct* occurrence. And many intimations do we appear to have that such will indeed be the case. We read of the "resurrection *of* the dead,"' (i.e. the general resurrection,) and the "resurrection *from* the dead," (i.e. of a particular elect number; of the saints); of the[Greek], and the [Greek], (Phil. iii. 11); of the general company of the dead whom the FATHER raiseth, and the limited chosen company whom the SON quickeneth, (S. John v. 21); of those who rise to undergo a *judgment*, and those who "shall not enter into judgment," having been *ipso facto* judged, by being gathered to CHRIST at His coming, (Cf. Ps. 1. 5; S. Matt. xxiv. 31; 2 Thess. ii. 1; i. 10; 1 Thess. iv. 16), who shall awake to the "resurrection of *life*," and shall themselves take part in *judging*, yea, shall "judge angels;" of the [Greek] who shall be admitted to share in the kingdom of CHRIST as happy *subjects* (S. Matt. xxv. 34), and the [Greek] (S. Matt. v. 3—11; Rev. xiv. 13; xix. 9; xx.6, &c.), who shall share with their LORD the *government* of the kingdom, "seated on His throne," "reigning with Him." Again, S. Paul in 1 Thess. iv. 13—18, as also in 1. Cor. xv. 49, &c. is plainly speaking not of the general resurrection, but of the [Greek], of the resurrection of the sleeping, and rapture and change of the living *saints*. And in the same xvth chapter he states unequivocally, that there is to be a threefold order observed in the resurrection; "every man," he says, "in his own order," (1) "CHRIST the first fruits;" (2) "*afterward* they who are CHRIST'S at His Parousia;" (3) "*afterwards*," he adds, "cometh the *end*," (i-e., the period of general resurrection, when the sevenfold cycle of time shall complete its revolution, and the everlasting day commence,) "when He shall deliver up the kingdom," (not *resign*, for "of His kingdom there shall be no end;" nor, till then, indeed may the kingdom be said *fully* to have "come," but) present it, faultless and entire to the FATHER, to be henceforth the perfected kingdom of GOD and CHRIST, "the throne of GOD and of the Lamb." Now S. John does no more than state plainly what has thus been frequently intimated before; viz. that at the dawn of the seventh day, or day of judgment, all CHRIST'S saints and martyrs, all who "have been thought worthy to suffer shame for His name," shall be raised to enjoy a sabbatism with Him *before* the mass of the dead are raised, (prefigured by the partial resurrection of the saints which took place on the Easter-morn,) that they shall "reign with CHRIST" over an untempted and partially renewed earth; that at the close of this day, the general resurrection of the countless myriads of the dead, and the final judgment shall take place when CHRIST and His saints shall "judge the world in righteousness," shall "judge angels" also, and shall execute the eternal and awful sentence upon Satan himself, (who for the purpose of undergoing it shall have been loosed "for a little season," which he shall have employed in organizing a desperate but unavailing attack upon the "camp of the saints and the beloved city;")—and that after this and the succeeding judgment, the renovation will be *fully* complete; every vestige of the curse everlastingly removed; death, sorrow, tears, and pain for ever at an end; and the unknown ages of eternity begin their ceaseless course.

"judgment" of [Greek] (S. Matt. xxv. 32,) as well as for their share in the government of the *whole created universe* (Heb. ii. 8,) which is to be eternally given to them. And now, all things being made ready, the Bride, girt with celestial radiance, makes her public appearance; the Holy City descendeth "having the glory of God;" and the everlasting and ineffable union takes place; the eighth day commences; the "Perpetua quies, sempiterna lætitia, indeficiens Beatitudo;" and the Bride shares in the " Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever."

7. But a concluding observation yet presents itself.

S. John, we have seen, describing the eternal state, speaks of the Holy City, the Tabernacle of the Saints, as descending from Heaven to *earth*; and of the Tabernacle of God being with men. But our Lord in His final benediction of "the persecuted," bids them "rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is their reward in *Heaven*." Now an apparent difficulty here presents itself as to the locality of this reward. But it is no *real* difficulty. Our Lord never says "great *will be* your reward in Heaven." The language of Holy Scripture is most consistent on this point. It never speaks of the Saints going, after their Resurrection, to their reward in Heaven: but, rather, of their reward *coming down from Heaven to them*. It represents it as now in safe keeping with Christ, but as about to be brought to them at His Appearing. "The gift is to *be brought* at the Revelation of Jesus Christ." "The crown of righteousness" is to be *given* by our Lord when He comes. The prize is *laid up* in Heaven, but *ready to be revealed*, at the Parousia of Christ. So the saints do not *go up* to inherit the New Jerusalem. It descends to them. It overshadows and illuminates the renewed earth. Moreover, this "Tabernacle of God," or Blessed Company of the Glorified, must on no account be considered as merely identical with the "new earth," and the nations of saved men The distinction between the two is most marked and important, as indicating conditions of felicity differing not only in degree but in kind. On the one hand, we have the holy city itself, radiant with the Glory of God; and on the other, "the nations[1] of them which are saved," (Rev. xxi. 24,) who "walk in the [212] Light of It," and the "kings of the earth who bring their glory and honour into it," (ib.) On one hand, the King and Queen; and on the other, the happy subjects over whom they reign. On the one hand, the Divine Bridegroom, and the Bride "all glorious"; on the other, her "honourable women, "the virgins that bear her company (Ps. xlv.). On one hand, the husband and Spouse; on the other the spiritual "children" whom they shall have, and "make princes in all lands," (ib.) Our LORD, we remember, prayed for "*the world*," that "it might *believe*." The world therefore itself, *must* ultimately believe in Him. The whole world. But He prayed something further for His *elect*. He prayed that they might be "*glorified with His own Glory*." And this, too, shall be fulfilled. For as S. Paul says, our LORD shall be "*glorified in His saints*," while He shall be "admired in them that believe." And Simeon: that, when He shall be "a Light to lighten the nations," (i e. the "nations of the saved" who "shall walk in His Light") He shall be "the *Glory* of His peculiar people," His elect "Israel."

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[1] Amongst whom (if, indeed, one half of the Old Testament prophecies are not to mean absolutely nothing) the children of Israel, restored to their own land, shall occupy a conspicuous and peculiar position as the Metropolitan Nation. The Spiritual Israel, it is true "the Seed," Christ and His Members, will occupy the highest position of Glory, and inherit those unspeakable promises of Blessedness which the other might have held, but forfeited. But this does not, in the least degree, make void those reiterated assurances, those solemn oaths of Jehovah, that the land of Canaan ("the land which I sware to your fathers to give then," yea, *the land wherein your fathers dwelt" (!)* (Ezek. xxxvii 25,) shall belong to the literal descendants of Abraham for an "everlasting possession."

But we must bring these remarks to a conclusion, not without the consciousness that to some of our readers they may appear, at first sight, fanciful, if not presumptuous. We can only trust that a candid examination of them may show them to be (at least in the main) neither the one nor the other.

Circumstances having recently drawn our attention to a more close consideration of the particular subjects on which we have been writing; we have been struck, not only with the vagueness of some of our traditional notions, but also with their manifest divergence from the express declarations of Holy Scripture.

It is with no vain desire of pressing our opinions upon others, that we have ventured to offer the suggestions above made: but with the simple hope, if so it may be, of drawing the attention of some of our brother Churchmen to considerations of intense interest, which perhaps hardly meet with the measure of regard which their importance demands. And if any thing we have written be the means of opening out some new train of thought to our readers, or of directing them to Scripture Harmonies which they may have hitherto overlooked; whatever be the deficiencies or errors with which this paper may be justly chargeable, it will not have been written in vain.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 16.(Joseph Masters: London, 1854)

[535] LEE ON THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin. By WILLIAM LEE, MA., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. London: Rivingtons. Dublin: McGlashan. 1854.

This is an important work, and supplies a real want in our English Theological Literature. The subject on which it treats is one, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated; on which opinions the most vague, unsatisfactory, and contradictory are widely spread; and which has long stood in need of a careful and systematic treatment. This treatment it has here met with. The writer appears well qualified for the task he has undertaken. His work, too, has been written not without great care. It bears traces of much honest labour, diligent reading, and independent thought. It is replete with matter: and perhaps it is in this respect (viz., the copiousness of its material), that the only drawback to its general utility will be likely to be met with. So many collateral topics are introduced by way of illustration, counter theories examined, rationalistic objections refuted, difficulties, real or apparent, grappled with, that the leading argument of the work seems too frequently arrested, its unity interfered with and perhaps the general effect of the whole, in a measure, impaired.

The form of 'Discourses' in which the treatise appears, and the necessity that each Discourse should be complete in itself, has contributed to this defect, a defect which the absence of any index, and the very slender character of the analysis prefixed to each chapter, tends to enhance. But to turn to the subject itself.

No feature is more apparent in the structure of Holy Scripture, or more universally recognized, than this, of the co-existence of two distinct elements,—a Divine, and a human; the former, now appearing to predominate, now the latter.

Now from this obvious fact, two opposite Theories (as is well known) have arisen as to the Authorship and Inspiration of Holy Scripture, based respectively on the undue prominence given to one or other of these elements.

On the one hand we hear it said, The Bible, doubtless, contains the Word of GOD; still many portions of it bear evident indications of being but the word of man. For we see every mark of human authorship—imperfect knowledge, misquotations, occasional contradictions; and the like. The writers doubtless received a *germ* of Truth from GOD, but they developed it according as they severally thought fit; so that, though unquestionably infallible in essentials, [536] yet, in unimportant matters, their writings partake of the imperfections which characterize, more or less, everything which has to flow through a human channel. Thus, according to theory (which appears in infinite variety of forms, though all radically identical), part of the Bible is infallible, part fallible; part Divine, part merely human; and, as it rests with each individual to determine exactly how much is from God, and how much from man, it, follows, that regarded as an unerring guide, the Holy Scripture is simply useless.

Here then comes in the opposite school, the writers of which maintain what is commonly called the '*Mechanical*' (sometimes the '*Organic*' or '*Objective'*) Theory of Inspiration; the theory which, practically ignoring the human element in the Bible, asserts that the sacred penmen were mere *machines*, unintelligent *organs*, as it were, through which the message of the Holy Ghost was communicated to men; that everything, therefore, contained in Scripture, whether history, personal narrative, or doctrine, was, whether as to form, matter, or manner, directly and immediately dictated by God.

But it is needless to add that this theory cannot stand for a moment, the test of any candid and intelligent examination; that it is opposed by the whole form and structure of the sacred Writings; and that, in consequence, it is being gradually, and deservedly abandoned.

The only consistent Theory of Inspiration is that—ably advocated in the volume before us—commonly designated as the "*Dynamical* Theory;" the theory which, fully recognizing both the Divine and the human element in the structure of the Bible, gives to neither an undue prominence; which combines the two according to their several laws of operation, considering each equally necessary in the resultant organism; which regards the human instrument, not as the soul-less "*pen*," but as the intelligent. "pen *man*" of the Holy Spirit; which supposes not the suppression, but the due employment and exaltation of the natural faculties of the human instruments.

The Revelation, of which the Bible is the vehicle, is from God; therefore it is Divine: but it is *for man*; therefore it is clothed in human language, for (as has been truly said) "the Divine can only be grasped by man, when embodied and moulded according to the laws of nature."[1]

Nor does the fact of the human medium, through which it is transmitted, and from which it derives its peculiar *form*, in the least degree detract from the supreme Divinity of the Revelation itself; since "when addressed to *man*, the human element becomes an essential *part of* the message from Heaven."[2]
[537]
To adopt a sacred illustration: is CHRIST the less GOD because He has inseparably united Himself to our nature? No, His Godhead is not compromised, nor converted into flesh, by the marvelous act of Incarnation, but manhood has, rather, been taken up into GOD. Even so has GOD'S Revelation not become deteriorated by the human form which it has assumed: rather, the earthly language which has been employed for its conveyance has become Divine.

And again, Truth, we know, is many-sided. Human characters are various. One character has a natural affinity for one aspect of Truth; one, for another. The Divine Revelation is for all; and has therefore, been so presented, that it may find a response in all: for "unless the peculiarities of each writer were chosen to exhibit a special aspect of truth, they must in some degree distort it."[3]

> "What just reason," asks Mr. Lee, "can possibly be assigned for supposing that the Divine Power should have obliterated the peculiar characteristics of each (writer) before it qualified him for his task? Must we not rather assume that, when the individual was chosen, there were certain grounds existing in his nature, in *consequence of which* the lot fell upon him? Such peculiarities of character, therefore, are rather to be regarded as the *condition* of the particular form under which the Divine Influence willed to exhibit itself in operation. And thus the actuation of the Spirit will not consist in the exclusion of the Human element, but rather in illuminating and exalting it according to its several varieties, for the attainment of the end proposed."—Pp. 24, 25.

But does Scripture contain nothing else save Revelations? Have not the Sacred Writers recorded many things which were personally known to them without any Divine

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1 Westcott's Gospel Harmony, p. 9.

2 Ibid. p. 8.

3 Westcott, p. 13.

interposition whatever; and many, too, which they may have easily derived from ordinary human sources? undoubtedly. But ere we bring this important consideration to bear upon the general Theory of Inspiration, let us clear the ground by asking the following elementary questions.

What do we mean by Revelation? What by Holy Scripture? What by Inspiration?

First, then, by Revelation we ordinarily understand, any information or communication imparted from GOD to man,[1] for, [538] although the word signifies the act of unveiling, as well as the matter unveiled, the latter is the sense in which we more commonly employ it. Revelation, then, is the *foundation* of Revealed Religion. Now there have been several epochs of Revelation—progressive stages in that system of self-communication, whereby the ALMIGHTY has been pleased to make known His Being and Will to man—all culminating in the Great Revelation in the Person of CHRIST, the development and complement of all former Revelations, the bond which unites them in one connected and indissoluble whole.

But secondly: what do we mean by Holy Scripture? We mean that series of writings which record these progressive Revelations on the part of GOD; consisting, as well of the Divine Revelation itself, as of the Historic groundwork to which it is attached, whereby it is illustrated, on which it rests. Holy Scripture is the "*Record* of Revelation."

But why do we call it *Holy* Scripture? Simply because it deals with sacred subjects? because it *does* record Revelation? because it is the most Holy of all books? No, but because it is the *Inspired* Record of Revelation; which brings us to our third question, What do we mean by Inspiration?

> "By Inspiration," writes our Author, "I understand that actuating energy of the HOLY SPIRIT, in whatever degree or manner it may have been exercised, guided by which the human agents chosen by GOD have officially proclaimed His will by word of mouth, or have committed to writing the several portions of the Bible."—P. 28.

And this introduces us to the important distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, the systematic and able discussion of which forms the characteristic feature of the present volume, distinguishing it from all other treatises on the subject, with which we have hitherto met. The difference between the two is shown to be one, not of degree, but intrinsic and specific: Revelation being the peculiar work of the Second Person,

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[1] A communication, that is "either of such knowledge as man could not of himself attain to, because its subject matters transcends human sagacity or human reason. . . . or which (although it might have been attained in the ordinary way) was not in point of fact, known to the person who received the Revelation.'—Lee, p. 27.

"Revelation, in Scripture, is distinguished into Revelation by Word, and Revelation by Act—the Act, or Miracle, representing and expressing in the world of sense, what the Word, or Knowledge communicated, expresses in the world of thought. . . . In one point of time, and in one form of life, both these elements have found their perfect union. Both have united in Him Who is the subject of all Revelation—the Logos, God's eternal, personal, Self-Revelation."—*Ibid.*

P.S. Hence "in the Christian Faith matters of *fact* exhibit and convey *doctrines;* while doctrines are presented to us as matters of fact. Christ's Birth, Death, and Resurrection are the most sublime of *doctrines.* That He is co-essential and co-equal with the Father; His atonement, and His bestowal of spiritual gifts , we receive as matters of *fact* . . . . The record of Christ's acts too, is as important as that of His *words*. He taught by the former, not less than by the latter. . . . Each of His miraculous acts being but the *natural expression* of the Higher reality concealed beneath His human form."—*Ibid.* Pp. 364, 365.

Inspiration, of the Third Person of the Ever-Blessed Trinity. It is GOD the Word Who *reveals*, GOD the HOLY GHOST Who *inspires*.

But, to understand this distinction, let us examine a little more closely what we mean by *Inspiration*. And here we shall find, that there are comprehended under the term two distinct, though kindred operations of the Blessed Spirit: the first, having its sphere in the Revelations of GOD; the second, in the ordinarily acquired knowledge of man.
[539]
Now the peculiar office of Inspiration—regarded in its connection with the objective Revelations of GOD—is simply this:—to enable the recipients thereof "correctly to *apprehend* and faithfully to *express*" the Revelations imparted to them; to "bring to their remembrance" also, the communications of the eternal Word (S. John xiv 26) and unveil their hidden meaning; to "take of the things of CHRIST) and *show* them to men" (S. John xvi. 14); in fact, to bring Divine Revelation into the field of human knowledge. Hence, Revelation and Inspiration far from being identical, not only *may* be separated, but actually are seen to *have been*, in many instances.

For instance: the Patriarchs, of old, received divine *revelations*; but they were not *inspired* to record them, and put mankind in possession of them. Again: the author of the "Acts of the Apostles" received no personal *revelation* whatever; and yet he is universally acknowledged to have been *inspired*. Mr. Lee quotes also the case of the Tyrian prophets (Acts xxi.) to whom it had been *revealed*, that bonds and afflictions awaited Paul in Jerusalem, but who, enjoying no *inspiration*, adulterated and misinterpreted this Revelation, warning the Apostle *not* to go up to Jerusalem—an injunction which S. Paul's inspired insight into the meaning of their communication led him to disregard. (Cf. Acts xxi. 4; xx. 22—4.)

In so far then as Holy Scripture consists of direct Revelation from GOD, the Inspiration of the sacred writers would merely ensure the correct apprehension and faithful transmission of what was imparted to them; and the "Dynamical Theory," already referred to, will account for all the phenomena, whether of form, style, language, imagery, or the like, which its pages exhibit.

But Inspiration has a further office to perform, in connection with the different field whereon it is exercised.

In respect of this its second function, Inspiration may be described as that moulding, guiding, energizing Influence which pervaded the whole activity of the sacred writers, assimilating into the one body of Scripture, not only the Revelations imparted to them, but even such of their *ordinarily acquired* knowledge as suited the all-wise purposes of the Author of Scripture. For the sacred penmen unquestionably employed such material for their work as their own personal knowledge or ordinary labour placed at their disposal;—the inspiring Spirit, meanwhile, secretly co-operating with them; prompting and directing them in the selection of such as was calculated to subserve His gracious designs; breathing into their very language a supernatural power, penetrating it with His quickening influence; infusing into their earthly facts a divine significance; and so pervading the whole sphere of the thought and diction of the writers as to ennoble their entire work, and render, by His omnipotent energy, what would otherwise be but the word of man, strictly and essentially the Word of GOD.
[540]
Such then is Inspiration;—not only, that supernatural Influence which enabled the holy men of old to express in human language what was suggested to their mind by GOD, but that further agency also, whereby they were "moved to embody divine communications,

history, and doctrine, in one organic whole, of which each member transmits its own heavenly message to every age."—P. 196.

For the Bible is no fortuitous collection of scattered documents:

> "The several books which make up the Old and New Testaments conspire to form one organized whole; and each member of the inspired volume performs its own part in completing the Record of Revelation. In short, the completion of this assemblage of writings may be compared to that of a pre-arranged structure, to which many labourers contribute their toil, of whom none, perhaps, have any adequate notion of the Architect's design—some being occupied upon that portion of the building committed to their own workmanship; others overseeing sections of the plan, and perfecting its various parts as the work proceeds—the Master-builder alone overlooking the whole, distributing His orders to one immediately, to another mediately, and rejecting every addition inconsistent with His original conception. And so the structure grows to completion according to the original idea, but, in no part, without the Master-builder's care."—Pp. 41, 42.

Into the nature of the *proof* offered for these positions and for the general theory of Inspiration connected therewith (which we have briefly sketched above), our limited space obviously prevents our entering. We will merely say that the whole line of proof appears most ably and carefully drawn out. Antecedent reasoning is brought to bear; and the theory maintained, shown to offer a satisfactory solution to a series of phenomena otherwise inexplicable: The immemorial doctrine of the Church of GOD, both in Jewish and Christian times, is appealed to; and a most valuable and exhaustive Patristic Catena on the subject of Inspiration supplied: and lastly, Holy Scripture itself is introduced; the credentials of the sacred writers being assumed, and their veracity ascertained, they themselves are interrogated, and made to give their own copious and conclusive testimony as to the *nature* of their powers and the source of their instructions.

Very interesting and ingenious is some of the Scripture analysis which this investigation involves.

The direct Scripture proof, to which chaps. vi. and vii. are mainly devoted, is preceded by its indirect testimony (chaps. iii.—v.) And this again is introduced by an examination of the peculiar form and *structure* of the Old and New Testaments severally, with a view of establishing their essential and indissoluble connection. Not only is their coequal authority demonstrated, and the fact that the latter is but the development of the former; the former, the basis whereon the latter reposes;—but a striking *external* unity is shown also to [541] pervade them, and, in particular, in respect of those Supernatural Agencies seen to have been employed by GOD in each, in communicating His will.

The divine Logos is shown to have been the Revealer under both Dispensations, presented to our view in the one as "the Angel of Jehovah;"[1] in the other, as "The Apostle and High Priest of our profession, JESUS CHRIST."

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[1] That the Angel of Jehovah is God the Word is manifest; for
(a.) He identifies Himself with the Divine Nature. " The Angel said to Hagar—*I* will multiply thy seed" . . . And . . . "She called the Name of Jehovah that spake to her, 'Thou God seest me.'" Again, "The Angel of the Lord said unto Moses . . . *I* am the God of thy fathers."
(b.) But, though partaker of the Divine nature, there is a Personal distinction between Him and the Eternal Father. Jehovah says, "*I* send an Angel . . . obey Him; provoke Him not; He will not pardon—for My Name is in Him." In this uncreated Angel, says Mr. Lee, "the essence of Deity became *manifest* and *operative*."

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But the Personal Presence of the Logos is, in both cases, after a time withdrawn; and His subsequent Presence vouchsafed only in a veiled and mysterious way, through the agency of the third Person of the Blessed TRINITY. Revelations are henceforward imparted (except in one or two very particular instances) by means of some mysterious and supernatural Influence, variously designated as the "Spirit of the LORD," or " The Word of the LORD," or "The Hand of the LORD," which is represented as "falling on" the Prophets. These expressions, indicative as they are of some actual objective agency from without, are examined by Mr. Lee, as are also the several correlative expressions which describe the subjective conditions of the recipients of this Influence. And this introduces us to some interesting remarks on the subject of Angelic appearances, dreams, visions, prophetic ecstasy, symbols, symbolic actions,—all which we must reluctantly pass by; as we are anxious to add a word or two on a question, incidentally adverted to by our author, and, we believe, of considerable exegetical importance in the study of Holy Scripture—we mean the distinction between the two expressions [Greek] and [Greek].

There are few phrases, in the New Testament, of more frequent occurrence than this, "The Word of GOD ;" and yet, most of our thoughtful readers will admit that its precise meaning is, in many cases, by no means easy to ascertain, and is occasionally much misconceived.

It is certainly to be regretted that our English version translates both [Greek] and [Greek] alike, giving both the [542] same uniform rendering, "The Word of GOD;"[1] for, however the distinction between the two may be, at times, difficult to trace, we cannot doubt but some specific difference does still exist between them.

Mr. Lee connects the two expressions with the two stages of Revelation already adverted to, considering [Greek] as pointing to that divine Influence which was exercised in the communication of supernatural information subsequently to the withdrawal of the personal Presence of the Logos. His words are as follows:—

> "It results from an examination of the texts in which the phrase [Greek] occurs, that it invariably implies the divine spiritual Influence."—P. 132.

Now fully admitting that this statement, as far as it goes, is substantially correct, yet we cannot but regret that Mr. Lee, notwithstanding his copious notes, should have dismissed this interesting question with so scanty notice, and without affording us more *practical* help towards the understanding these two expressions in some of the numerous passages wherein they occur; especially as the question is one which seems to have been entirely overlooked by commentators; and our author himself animadverts on Mr. Westcott for passing it by undiscussed.

Without attempting to go any depth into this important verbal distinction, we will yet venture a few simple remarks towards its elucidation.

After the transgression in the matter of the calf in Horeb, however, the Presence of the uncreated Angel was withdrawn, and a created Angel substituted. For "there arose no prophet like unto Moses whom God saw face to face," i.e., communicated with, immediately. The sentence, moreover, had now gone forth against Israel, "*I* will not go with thee," (Jehovah withdraws His Personal Presence) "because thou art stiff necked; lest I consume thee: I will send an Angel." Most probably, as Dr. Mill suggests, Michael, the Archangel.

[1] The Vulgate is equally unsatisfactory, translating both uniformly by "Verbum." Beza, however, has marked the distinction, and renders [Greek] invariably by "Sermo," confining "verbum" to [Greek].

I. In the first place, it is evident that the expression [Greek], which is of very constant occurrence in the New Testament, admits of a far greater latitude of interpretation than the much less frequent [G.]

The ordinary acceptation of this latter, appears simply to be GOD'S *word*, objectively, i.e., in the sense of a *saying* or "*utterance*" of GOD. As *contrasted* with [Greek], it signifies rather the letter of the word; the other denoting its import, or subject-matter: the [Greek] is rather the verbal covering or outward exponent of the [Greek].

1. Now the most common signification of the [Greek] in the New Testament is pretty much what we understand by 'the Gospel,' i.e., the general complex of the Christian Faith, whether regarded in its own objective existence, or its subjective influence on the heart; it is that system of truths whereof the Eternal Word. is the Sun and Centre, e.g., "The sower soweth the *word."* So mightily grew the *word* of GOD and prevailed." "The people pressed upon Him to hear the *word* of GOD." "I have given unto them Thy [543] *word*." It is not meet to leave the *word* of God and to serve tables." "We will give ourselves to prayer, and the ministry of the *word*." "The *word* of God increased." "The Gentiles had received the *word* of God" "Samaria received the *word*." Forbidden to speak the *word* in Asia." "The *word* of reconciliation." "Corrupting the *word* of God." "Let the *word* of Christ dwell in you." "The *word* of God is not bound." "Receive the engrafted *word*." "The *word* spoken by *angels*," (i.e., the *law*, as contrasted with the Gospel, or "*word* spoken by the Lord." Heb. ii.) So, S. John was an exile for the "*word* of God," &c. &c. Now in all these, and many similar cases, [Greek] is used; and an examination of the several passages at once suggests a second remark, viz. :

2. That, by the [Greek] or word of God, the Holy Scriptures are *never*, primarily, designated. Scripture is the *written* vehicle, or Record of the [Greek], but not the [Greek] Itself. But,

3. The *full* idea of the [Greek] is, of course, only satisfied, when we discern in it Him Who is the Author and subject of the Gospel, the great Revealer and Revelation of God—our Lord Jesus Christ. And in many instances (as every student of Scripture will attest) a vast deal of force and depth is communicated to a passage, by giving it this its ultimate signification, and referring the expression to the [Greek], (Ignat. ad Magnes.) e.g. "The *Word* of God is quick and powerful, and is a *discerner* of the thoughts of the heart." We are "born again by the *Word* of God" (1 S. Pet. 1. 23.)[1] Again, "So mightily *grew* the *Word* of God "—what signifies this latter, save that the mystical Body of the "Word made Flesh," His Complement or [Greek], was being gradually enlarged and edified; the number of His elect increased; and a stage of growth towards the "perfect Manhood" of the Body, rapidly effected? Again, is not the "indwelling of the *Word* of God in the heart, only fully explained by S. Paul's words, "Know ye not that *Christ Jesus* is in you:" "The mystery hid for ages, which is *Christ in you*?" He alone is "the engrafted *Word which* is able to save our *souls*." (S. James i. 21.) And what else is the "Ministry of the *Word*" save the mystical and sacramental communication to the Faithful, of the God-Man, through the sacred ordinances of His Church ?

II. But let us turn to [Greek].

1. Now the ordinary significance of [Greek] is (as we have already noticed) simply a *saying*, i.e., some particular, and definite saying or utterance; e.g., Jesus said "Launch out

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[1] In this passage, the [Greek] (v. 23) *through Whom* we are "born again," must be carefully distinguished from the "[Greek] of the Lord" (v. 25) which is "preached to us."

into the deep;" Peter answered, "Master at Thy *word* [[Greek], this saying, or command of Thine] I will let down the net." Jesus said, "The Son of Man [544] shall be betrayed, &c. . . And they understood not [Greek]. "He said, Render unto Cæsar, &c. . . . and they were not able to lay hold of His [Greek]" Again "Then remembered I the *word* ([Greek]) of the LORD, how He said, John indeed baptized with water" &c. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but [Greek]" "He said, Wist ye not that I must be about My FATHER'S business? and they understood not [Greek] which He spake." So "The *word* of God came upon John the Baptist;" i. e., he received some definite commission from above; he was charged with a proclamation, which he had to herald forth: "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Here was the [Greek] preparing the way for the [Greek]; the "Voice" preceding the "Word." Again, we bear the aged Symeon exclaiming, "LORD, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, [Greek];" for be had received a specific promise that he should "not see death until he had seen the CHRIST." In the difficult passage, Rom. x. 8, &c., [Greek] is plainly, not, E. V. "The word of faith," but "the Confession of *the* Faith," some specific formulary or enunciation of the Faith;[1] even as [Greek] (Eph. v. 26,) is the Baptismal Formulary, or Sacred Invocation; and [Greek] (Heb. vi.

5,) is doubtless the same—the context in this latter passage assuming that the subjects of the Sacrament of Initiation had here been, not merely recipients, but *conscious* recipients of the blessings of that sacred ordinance; that they "had *tasted* the [Greek]," had subjectively realized the "good Word," sealing the remission of their sins: hence the peculiar aggravation of their apostacy.[2]

2. But, like [Greek] has also a further signification, a deeper and more sacred meaning. As, in the case of human language, a word, or saying, is simply the *breath* of a man which is used by him as the exponent and vehicle of his thoughts; that, by which his thoughts are made known:—so is the [Greek] of GOD, in its ul[545]timate signification, none other than that Divine Spirit or Breath, that Energetic Utterance, whereby His Revelations become known to His creatures. In fact, as the personal [Greek] is GOD the SON; so is the Personal [Greek], GOD the HOLY GHOST.[3]

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[1] Probably, the formulary given in v. 9, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, &c."

We may just notice here, in passing, that the important distinction between the subjective [Greek], and the objective [Greek] must never be lost sight of; the latter denoting the Christian Faith objectively, the former, the personal reception of it. It is much to be regretted that our E. V. renders both, so uniformly, by the ambiguous term "Faith." Let the following passages be examined, out of many others, to show how real and important is this distinction. 1 Tim. i. 19; Rom. iii. 30, 31; v. 1, 2; Gal. iii. 23—27; vi. 10; Eph. ii. 8; iv. 13; vi. 16; Col. i. 23; 1 Tim. iii. 9; iv. 1, 6, 12; vi. 10—12; &c. &c. . . . We need not, of course, add that this distinction ceases to hold when the possessive pronoun is attached to [Greek], or from the context obviously understood (as in S. James ii. 14—18;) in such cases the "Faith" will be manifestly subjective.

[2] In the somewhat involved passage, Acts x. 36—38, the [Greek] (v. 35) unquestionably stands in apposition with [Greek] (v. 38); both of them being governed by the verb [Greek] (v. 37): The [Greek] signifies (as usual) "that Revelation whereof Jesus Christ is the Subject" and the parenthetic clause.[Greek] seems equivalent to "The report, (or rumour) of which, spread over all Judæa,"—that is, the report, or *history*, of the personal career of Him, the Author and Subject of all Revelation.

[3] It is not a little worthy, of remark that both [Greek] and [Greek], i.e., both the *verbal* and the *written* vehicle of the [Greek], when personified, refer alike to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. For the Personal use of [Greek] vid. Gal. iii. 8; Rom. ix. 17; where "Scripture" plainly signifies "the Author of Scripture." With regard to [Greek], however, it may be observed that it is only when it signifies the Word, Utterance, or Breath of God *abstractedly*, that it can be identified with the Personal Spirit: this identification cannot hold, so long as it merely maintains its ordinary signification and refers to some *given* and *particular* saying or word of God;—although even in this case, there is involved in the

{*cont.*}

We have S. Paul's express authority for this in the well-known passage "And take the sword of the Spirit, *which* (*Spirit*) is the Word of GOD;" [Greek]; (Eph. vi. 17.) Again, (Heb. vi. 4, 5,) the Apostle joins together, as though intimately associated, the "partaking of the *Holy Ghost*," and the "tasting the [Greek]" Again, when aged Symeon exclaimed, "LORD, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace [Greek]," the full propriety of expression is incidentally made known to us: For "It had been revealed to Him by the *Holy Ghost*, that he should not see death," &c.; and "he came [Greek] into the Temple." So, we read, "He whom GOD hath sent speaketh the [Greek] of GOD *because* GOD giveth not the *Spirit* by measure unto Him," as though the pouring forth the [Greek] of GOD was a necessary consequence of overflowing with [546] the Spirit of GOD. Even as we read, in like manner, "The words [Greek] which I speak unto you, they are [Greek]."

3. It is important further—bearing in mind that the HOLY GHOST is, in a peculiar way, the *Operative* energy of the ALMIGHTY—to observe how [Greek] and [Greek] are insensibly connected in the New Testament. Thus, the Angel tells the Blessed Virgin: "The *Holy Ghost* shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest overshadow thee . . . for with GOD [Greek]" So, the shepherds say "Let us go to Bethlehem and see [Greek]. "Believest thou not" says our LORD "that the FATHER is in Me; the [Greek] which I speak, I speak not of Myself, but it is the FATHER which dwelleth in Me Who [Greek]: for the [Greek] and [Greek] are identical in Him "Who *speaks*, and it is *done*." And hence, as the words of our Great Exemplar Who had received the "Spirit without measure" were so energetic as to bear the appellation of "works," we see the foundation of that necessity which is laid upon all who have been made, in their measure, recipients of the same Spirit, that their speech be, in like manner, influential and useful; for here too, we see the basis of our LORD'S fearful protest against [Greek], (S. Matt. xii. 36;) viz., that it is an offence against the HOLY SPIRIT; against that Divine Person revealed to us in the 29th Psalm as the *sevenfold* "Voice of the LORD"—the "Voice of the LORD, mighty in *operation*."[1]

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expression a *certain* allusion to the same Divine Spirit. For our Lord proclaims it as one of the distinctive functions of the Holy Spirit: "He shall *bring to your remembrance* whatever I have *said* to you." It is the peculiar office of that Blessed Person not only to suggest to the memory, but also to give meaning and life to the *words* of God. Thus, when our Lord vanquished the evil one with three Divine [Greek], we are expressly told that it was when He was " full of the Holy Ghost," (S. Luke iv. 1); for it was the Holy Ghost Who "brought to His remembrance" (as Man) these sayings of God; Who furnished Him with these weapons of defence, and gave them their sharp edge and irresistible power. In like manner, when the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius' household; and the Apostle Peter doubtless experienced some of His Present Influence; the Apostle tells, as one immediate result of the Sacred effusion, "*Then remembered* I the [Greek] of the Lord, how He said," &c. &c.

When the same Apostle on a more mournful occasion, called to mind another saying of the Lord, viz., "Before the cock crow thou shalt deny Me, &c." we cannot doubt Who the Divine Suggester was, Who "brought to his remembrance—and so *effectually* to his remembrance,—this [Greek] (as SS. Matthew and Mark recall it) of the Lord Jesus A difficulty however, here presents itself. S. Luke, recounting the same sad transaction, instead of [Greek], employs [Greek] to designate that which was brought to the Apostle's recollection. But the interesting propriety of this change will at once be recognized. S. Luke does not barely repeat the account of his brother Evangelists, but gives a new aspect of the scene: he introduces a new Suggester—even the Divine Logos Himself. "The *Lord*" he writes "turned and *looked upon* Peter:" He himself recalled to the mind of His faithless Apostle the subject of their former conversation. In exquisite propriety then, the concluding sentence is thus altered by S. Luke; instead of [Greek], we read [Greek].

We have, in the two-fold aspect of this scene, an interesting example of the *coincident* operations of the several Persons of the Blessed Trinity

[1] We have a striking example of the *operative* Power of the [Greek] in the *Word* of Consecration in the Holy Eucharist, whereby—the ever-present Mediator uttering it through the voice of His Minister—the {*cont.*}

4. Further: as we learn that creation was the joint work of all Three Persons of the Trinity; that, not only "were the heavens made by the Word ([Greek]) of GOD," but "all their host by the *breath of His mouth*," ([Greek], Ps. xxxiii. 6,) so do we read in the New Testament, that "the worlds were created," not only by the [Greek], (S. John i.) but also by the [Greek] (Heb. xi. 3) and that GOD the SON upholds all things [Greek] i.e. by that energetic Utterance or Spirit eternally proceeding from Him.

5. Nor is it to be overlooked that this very mysterious subject of the Procession of the Spirit from the FATHER and the SON, receives interesting illustration from this word [Greek].

Procession from the FATHER, we must remember, is distinctly predicated in the New Testament of the [Greek] (S. Matt. iv. 4) and the [Greek] (S. John xv. 26.) Even as from the SON, we read in like manner, of the "*Procession*" ("from out of his mouth,") of the "sharp sword with two edges," wherewith He destroys the hosts of Antichrist, (Rev. i. 16; xix. 15,)—for "with the [547] *breath* of His lips shall He slay the wicked;"—this sword being manifestly the same Divine [Greek] or Spirit: just as in direct antagonism we read of the '*procession*," from out of the mouth of His manifested adversaries, the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet, of the "unclean *spirits*," those pernicious maxims, doctrines, and influences, which shall pave the way for the apocalypse of the Man of Sin, and shall "make ready a people prepared for Him."

At all events we seem to be able to discover some faint illustrations in the two expressions [Greek] and [Greek], of that Almighty Wisdom or Reason eternally begotten of the FATHER, and "which *lay* in the bosom of the FATHER" from everlasting, ([Greek] to "lay," pass. to *lie*,) and that Divine Spirit eternally *proceeding* ([Greek]) from the FATHER and the SON, that Omnipotent Utterance which is the exponent of the former.

It is necessary to add, in quitting this subject, that when these two expressions [Greek] and [Greek] are merely employed of ordinary human language, the distinction we have been tracing seems frequently to disappear, and their two meanings to merge insensibly into one, and become *practically* identical: for a *saying* necessarily involves some *subject matter*; and the subject matter again assumes some *verbal covering* to give it form and substance, so that the difference between the two will obviously be, at times, rather an ideal than an actual one. It is mainly when introduced into *sacred* ground, (and when employed in the singular number; for in the plural the two appear commonly used synonymously) that the essential distinction between them must be carefully noticed.'[1]

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earthly elements become (and that in an infinitely deeper and more real sense than we can ever apprehend) the very Body and Blood of the Incarnate Redeemer. It is the [Greek] which is the Operative Principle in Consecration. [Cf. Isa. lv. II. (LXX.); Rom. iv. 17.]

[1] We cannot dismiss this question without noticing one important instance where we feel persuaded the force of the original has been missed by our translators, and is, almost universally, missed, through not observing the, distinction above alluded to. We refer to the ejaculation [Greek] recurring in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which is invariably rendered "This is a faithful *saying*." Now to convince ourselves of the erroneousness of this interpretation we have only to refer to every other passage in these same Epistles where [Greek] occurs: viz.. 2 Tim. i. 9, 15; iv. 2: Tit. i. 3; ii. 5. In all which places it uniformly means—if not God the Word personally, yet that *doctrine* of which He is the sum and substance.

We have spoken of [Greek] as an ejaculation, and we may observe that there are just seven occasions in S. Paul's Epistles, where he employs either it or an ejaculation precisely similar, e.g.

(*a*) [Greek] .....1 Cor. i. 9.

{*cont.*}

But our space does not permit us to proceed farther with this [548] discussion, the importance of which must be the excuse for our, prolixity. We may just add, in quitting the subject, that a similar kind of distinction to that existing between [Greek] and [Greek] will be found to exist between the verbs [Greek] and [Greek], the former referring rather to the subject matter and inward meaning of what is said, the latter to its outward expression; the former being rather "to speak intelligently," the latter to "utter," (mechanically or intelligently, as the case may be,) cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 11—16; [Greek] moreover, being the word usually employed for the utterances of the Spirit. Cf. S. Matt. x. 19,20; S. Mark xiii. 11; S. John iii. 34; 1 Cor. xiv. 2; &c.

We find ourselves reluctantly compelled to pass over many subjects most worthy of notice, which Mr. Lee's volume brings before us. We may specify his remarks on the important distinction between the *official* and *personal* inspiration of the sacred writers; the former, a gift peculiar to themselves, being *perfect*; the latter, the common inheritance of all Christians, *imperfect*; a striking example of which is furnished in the case of S Peter, who though he *officially* proclaimed the call of the Gentiles, yet *personally*, entirely misapprehended the bearing of his own words. In one capacity he was infallible, in the other fallible.

In fact, it is only in our belief in the objective and all-pervading *official* Inspiration of the sacred writers that we have any real ground for reverently examining their very *words*. Such a discussion, for instance, as that which has just been engaging us, would be worthless did we believe that the writers had been left, like ordinary authors, to select their own words and expressions. It is because we believe the language of Holy Scripture to be *inspired*, that therefore we examine it so carefully; following herein the example of the very writers themselves, who, in their private capacity, "searched diligently" and earnestly into the meaning of that which they officially announced:—Nay, following the example of Inspiration itself, as evidenced by the case of S. Paul, who in his [549] inspired Epistle to

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(*b*) [Greek]..... 1 Thess. v. 24.
(*c*) [Greek] ..... 1 Tim. i. 15.
(*d*) [Greek]..... 1 Tim. iii. 1.
(*e*) [Greek]..... 1 Tim. iv. 9.
(*f*) [Greek]..... 2 Tim. ii. 11.
(*g*) [Greek]..... Tit. iii. 8.

Now in *all* these cases (with but one exception) the ejaculation is immediately consequent on, and *subsequent to*, some allusion to *salvation* in the 'day of the Lord,' or other glad promises of the Doctrine of Christ. In the only case (*c*) where the ejaculation refers primarily to what *succeeds* it, S. Paul has been speaking (v. 11) of the "glorious gospel of the blessed God," and of that 'superabundant' grace and mercy which had been shown to him, even him the persecutor; and then he bursts out [Greek]. "The doctrine is most true, and most worthy to be embraced by all, that CHRIST JESUS came into the world to save sinners—ay, even the chief of sinners!"

It will be observed that this ejaculation (*c*) (*e*) consists of seven words; the first three referring to the objective truth of the word or doctrine, and meeting their explanation, Rev. xix. 1l, 13; the last four, alluding to the subjective reception and appropriation of that word.

The position of (*d*) in our version is singularly unfortunate. The Apostle has been speaking about "*woman*" in the preceding context, and affirming that through one of her own sex she has inherited both a curse and a blessing. Man was deceives through a woman; but the Son of Man was born of a woman. Therefore though woman in lowly recognition of the former, must for ever remain mute in the churches; yet she shall not, therefore, be excluded from that Eternal Life which her Offspring the SAVIOUR of all came to bestow; for "If she continue in faith and love, she also shall obtain *salvation* through *Him that was born of a woman*." [Literally through *the* Childbearing.] The Apostle then adds [Greek], "the Word of Promise is sure!" and then turns to a different subject.

The other cases (*a*) (*b*) (*f*) (*g*) present no difficulty.

the Galatians builds an important argument on the fact of a particular word in an Old Testament writing, occurring in the singular rather than in the plural number, (Gal. iii 16)—nay, further, following the example of our LORD JESUS CHRIST Himself Who deduces the great doctrine of the resurrection of the dead from the circumstance of a particular verb, in a document written by Moses, being employed not in the past but in the present tense. (Vid. Lee, pp. 197—.8; 270—4; 366—371.)

Mr. Lee has a valuable lecture on the quotations made by one sacred writer from another; and some admirable remarks on the alleged contradictions between Scripture and Scripture, between Scripture and profane History, between Scripture and the results of Science. The length of the present paper, however, forbids our entering upon them.

We can only repeat, in conclusion, that the work is one which will amply repay perusal; and although, as we have hinted, somewhat defective in lucidity of arrangement, and sadly standing in need of an index, in order to render available the mass of valuable material, original and collected, scattered throughout its pages, (a want which we trust hereafter to see supplied,) it yet bids fair to become the standard treatise on the important subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 17 (Joseph Masters: London, 1855)

[303]THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PSALMS.

Parochial Lectures on the Psalms from the Fathers of the Primitive Church. By the Rev. F. H. DUNWELL, B.A., Curate of Gleadless, near Sheffield. London: J. H. Parker. 1855.

It has often been remarked, and not without reason, that of all portions of the Bible, none is so well known or so little understood as the book of Psalms.

Twelve times in the course of the year is the Psalter sung through in the services of the Sanctuary: so that to those who attend Church, its words must necessarily become very familiar. And yet it needs but a limited acquaintance with the mass even of educated Church people, to convince one how very little the book is either appreciated or understood.

The fact of the Psalms forming so large a portion of our daily devotions, and the Church taking such diligent heed by this means to impress them on our memory, may of itself indicate that they are of infinite importance to our spiritual progress and advancement. Yet the Psalter is unquestionably a book of great difficulty. A book, in fact, so deep, rich, and varied in its spiritual treasures cannot be otherwise. And perhaps there is no portion of either Old or New Testament, standing in greater need of a good, plain, accessible, Catholic and attractive commentary. The perpetually recurring historical, personal, and national allusions; the artificial structure of the poems themselves;[1] the deep poetic character of the language, so full of images borrowed from natural objects, and the sacred ceremonial of the Jewish Religion; the continuous vein of profound mystical, allegorical, and spiritual meaning perpetually underlying the literal sense; the constant changes of the speakers, and the perplexity frequently produced thereby as to who the speaker for the time being really is; then the difficulty of arriving at the leading idea of each several Psalm, and the earthly (historical or other) groundwork on which it rests, from which it derives its peculiar form, and on which its spiritual and higher meaning is so fundamentally dependent; here are some of the numerous obstacles in the way of a thorough and intelligent apprehension of the meaning of these Sacred Songs.

Not that a mastery of all these points is necessary for a practical and devotional use of this most delightful book. GOD forbid. Else would these streams of celestial comfort be effectually closed up against the poor, the simple, the unlearned. Nay, though there are mines of priceless value, veins of the richest ore to reward the labours of the diligent and studious, requiring the toil of the critic and the scholar—yet, is wealth in rich profusion, for the devout but unlettered reader, to be found even on the surface requiring neither learning nor wisdom to appropriate it, but simply a reverent use of the ordinary helps which the Holy Spirit has so abundantly afforded. For "doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction," are here ready at hand; the noblest utterances of praise, the deepest expressions of penitence, the brightest consolations: here is comfort in sorrow, advice in difficulty, sympathy in distress. Here may we learn the "whole counsel of God," and find all the mysteries of Creation and Redemption epitomized and converted into subjects for meditation, self-examination,

[1] For some account of the artificial appliances employed in the construction of the Psalms, see the Appendix (No. V.) to Hengstenberg's learned and laborious commentary;—a work, we may add, not less valuable and important, than it is (on the whole) heavy and unsatisfactory.

devotion, or thanksgiving. "*All good*," says Hooker, (speaking of the Psalter) "necessary to be either *known*, or *done*, or *had*, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be *any* grief or disease incident unto the soul of man, *any* wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found." Here too is an infinite field of delight even for the intellect of the renewed man. In these Divine Songs the Old Testament Scriptures are, throughout, exhibited to us as instinct with a new and spiritual life: in them the Jewish ceremonial is shown to be but a veil concealing the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and the earthly Jerusalem a dim shadow cast by "Jerusalem from above, the mother of us all." In them, too, the voice of Nature is unloosed: the fields, the floods, the trees; the sun in his glory, the moon in her beauty, the stars in their brightness, are all endowed with a supernatural utterance, and are made to speak of a more glorious Sun, a fairer Moon, and Stars more resplendent, of trees whose fruit is Life eternal, and streams "which make glad the City of God,"— and, under the direction of the "*Chief Musician*,"[1] to join in one concenting voice of glad harmony in hymning the lauds of the Ever-blessed Creator.

Why, then, is it that the truth of all this is not more commonly *felt?* these sacred features and uses of the Psalter not more generally recognised? Chiefly because there is such a wide extending ignorance and misapprehension even amongst good Christian people as to its intent and scope; so little practical realization of its profound Catholic character, and of the interest therefore which we *individually* have in Divine utterances; so little living, actu[305]ating conviction that while recounting David's history and experience, we are, in truth singing the mystical history and experience, the trials and temptations, the sufferings and persecutions, the triumphs and glorious ultimate Universal Empire of CHRIST and His Church.

Now one *great* cause of this misapprehension (leaving out here, what of course, is *the* great cause, viz.: the general spiritual torpor which has enchained the Church, incapacitating it for seeing those things which are "spiritually discerned") is, as we have before said, the neglect of the individual use of those important helps towards understanding the Psalter, which are so copiously vouchsafed to us in Holy Scripture. There is no Book so frequently referred to, or

towards the interpretation of which we have more assistance offered. Fifty Psalms are quoted in the New Testament. Nor are these mere barren quotations, or (as they are too often regarded) but casual *adaptations* of the words. For they not only furnish us with a Divine key wherewith to unlock the spiritual (and therefore real) sense of the particular Psalm whence they are taken; but further, present us with important canons of interpretation which by the ordinary rules of analogy we may ourselves apply to others.

Let us adduce a few instances of New Testament quotations from the Psalter. And here, perhaps, the introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews will furnish us with one of the most obvious as well as convenient examples:

S. Paul commences this Epistle by declaring the perfection of the present, as compared with all former Dispensations; this perfection being based on the infinite superiority of the "Minister" and "Messenger" commissioned to proclaim it, over all other GOD'S ministers and messengers. And this the Apostle sets himself to prove—beginning with the case of

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[1] This title, as Mr. Dunwell truly reminds us, is referred by the early Fathers to Christ Himself; Who indeed seems to appropriate the office of Chief Musician in these words: "In the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto Thee." [Heb. ii. 12; Psalm xxii. 22.] He it is who is at once the great Leader and the great Object of the Hallelujahs of Israel.

"the Angels," whose inferiority to the MESSIAH he establishes in a series of quotations from the Psalter which we will briefly follow out.

1. And first: what is the *title* of this new Messenger? For even in this very title, adds the Apostle—which belongs to Him by exclusive right, and is His "by inheritance"—we may see the *measure* of His superiority to the Angels. The title is that of "SON ," given Him by the FATHER when He inaugurated Him to His Mediatorial functions on His Resurrection from the dead. For, saith the 2nd Psalm, "Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee." Now it is needless to say how entirely this quotation together with those of Acts iv. 24—28; xiii. 32, 33, settles the drift of this Psalm, showing it to refer to the solemn commitment, on the part of the FATHER, of the Mediatorial kingdom, despite all the malice and machinations of His foes, to the victorious Redeemer, ("made perfect through suffering,") on His New-Birth from the Spirit quickened womb of Death.

2. But are the functions of this new "Messenger" to continue? Is [306] the dignity, involved in the title conferred on Him at His Resurrection, to he an abiding one? Yes, proceeds the Apostle. For not only does Jehovah say, "Thou *art* My Son, this day *have I* begotten Thee;" but He declares the permanence of the relationship, "I *will be* to Him a Father, and He *shall be* to Me a Son"—words originally found in 2 Samuel vii. 14, and more fully developed in Psalm lxxxix. 26—28, "He shall call Me My Father, My God . . . . and 1 will make Him My Firstborn, higher than the kings of the earth: My mercy will I *keep with Him for evermore*, and My Covenant *shall stand fast with Him*." And here again, how entirely have we the spiritual sense of this long 89th Psalm unlocked to us—a Psalm of such peculiar importance, in these times, to the Church Catholic, containing as it does, a prophetical description of that very state of division, disunion, disorganization, which has actually come upon her; her "hedges broken down," her "strongholds in ruins;" "spoiled by her enemies," "reproached by her neighbours;" and all for *her own sins*, because she has "forsaken God's law," "walked not in His judgments," "broken His statutes," "kept not His commandments:"[1]—a Psalm, nevertheless, which proclaims that, notwithstanding the dark present, of Jehovah's covenant-promises to the "SON" shall yet be triumphantly vindicated: "I have sworn by My Holiness that I will not fail David."

3. And this, the Apostle proceeds to show, in his next quotation. For a time has still to come, he tells us, when the full meaning of the august title of "Son," conferred upon the risen Mediator shall be gloriously manifested: for He shall yet be visibly presented as the Deified[2] Object of worship to all the Hierarchy of Heaven—"Let all the Angels of God worship Him," Psalm xcvii. 7. And here, too, how important is the information incidentally communicated by S. Paul as to the central design of this particular Psalm. It

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[1] There is no portion of Holy Scripture which contains a more solemn illustrative comment on our Lord's parting commission to His Church than this Psalm. There is the same gracious *promise*, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," (v. 22—29), and the very same *condition* to which this promise is annexed, the Church, (namely) "teaching" and "observing" "*all* things *whatsoever* Her Lord had commanded" (vv. 31, 32), handing down without mutilation, without augmentation, His Sacred Deposit. The Psalm, however, adds the sad prophetic sequel;—the condition disregarded; the sacred Presence in a great measure withdrawn; the Church therefore split up and disintegrated, (vv. 37—45). Nay, it points to a darker future than she has ever yet experienced, still brooding over the Church. Although it assures us that even in the gloomiest times, God shall yet have a witness who having "kept His Word" is "kept by Him;"—"My Loving kindness will I not *utterly* take from Him." The elect shall still be gathered in from the "highways and hedges," till their number is made up; till the House is filled; the Bride perfected.

[2] "Deified:" i.e., as to His human nature.

celebrates, he tells us, the visible inauguration of Christ's kingdom of Glory at His second Advent. For these words are spoken, says he, when the Father "bringeth the First-begotten again [307] into the world" ([Greek]). That is to say—When Christ comes again in glorious majesty to assume, *manifestly*, the throne of that kingdom now swayed for Him, through the medium of His Church, by His Vicar the Holy Ghost; then shall the words of this Psalm be accomplished, "the earth and hills rejoice," and "the multitude of the isles be glad," "the Heavens declare His righteousness, and all the people behold His Glory."[1]

4. But can the *Angels* lay claim to any dignity or dominion corresponding with this? Nay, the very same Almighty Who I this Psalm commands them *all* to "*worship the Son,*" is represented in another, as "making His Angels spirits and His ministers a flame of fire"—merely creating and sending forth, as the earthly elements, to execute His several commissions. Nor is even this quotation without its important bearing upon the whole Psalm whence it is taken. That Psalm, as is well known is David's joyful Creation: and the verse quoted by S. Paul is, in the original, simply, "He maketh the winds His messengers, the flaming fire His servants." (civ. 2.) Now it is obvious that the Apostle by referring this verse to the Blessed Angels, and transferring the words thus into a higher spiritual region, sanctions a corresponding transfer of the whole of the Psalm. If the "winds" and "fire" have their counterparts in a higher sphere, so also have the "earth" and "water," &c. And we shall thus see that S. Augustine's beautiful, though apparently fanciful exposition of this Psalm, however unsuccessful in particular points of detail, is at least, sound and scriptural in principle.

5. The Apostle proceeds further to show from the Psalter, that while the Angels are thus, mere spirits without independent power, *sent* to and fro, like the flame or wind, on special embassies; the "Son" on the contrary, is that very Eternal King Who *sends* them, of Whom the 45th Psalm sings, "Thy throne, O God,[2] is for ever and ever," &c.—the reference, be it remarked, fixing who is that Mighty Rider, Warrior, Victor, Bridegroom, King and God, first introduced in this magnificent Hymn, and subsequently in the Revelation of S. John.

6. And while they are but creatures made; He is none other than their Omnipotent and everlasting *Creator*, invoked in the [308] 102nd Psalm in these words, "Thou, JEHOVAH, has laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands," &c.—the quotation incidentally making known to us that the 5th of the Penitential Psalms is addressed to "GOD the SON, Redeemer of the world."

7. And in further proof of His Personal and essential, as well as economical and official dignity, S. Paul shows from the 110th Psalm that, at this very time, the "SON" is seated far above all blessing and praise, in Majesty inaccessible, on the Throne of Deity itself, at the FATHER'S right hand; awaiting the time when, His enemies being made His footstool, He

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[1] Hengstenberg in this, as in many other cases, entirely ignores the Apostolic reference to the Psalm.

[2] It must not be unnoticed how forcibly this word illustrates the mysterious prayer of the SON (S. John xvii. 5.). "And now, FATHER, *glorify Thou Me* with Thine own Self *with the glory which I had* with Thee before the world was." The Godhead which is predicated of the SON in this Psalm is not (primarily) His Essential Deity, of which He never divested Himself, and with which therefore He could not be reinstated; but that Deity which in His Man's Nature He purchased, prayed for, and *earned* as the reward for His obedience. It is needless to add that His *ability* to do this must rest on, and imply, His inherent Godhead. Man may earn human rewards. None but GOD can *earn* and *merit* Divine Rewards.

shall come, attended by ten thousand times ten thousand of His holy Angels to assume His own victorious Throne.[1] (S. Matt. xxv. 31; Rev. iii. 21.)

8. One link more has the Apostle yet to add to this lustrous chain of quotations from the Psalter.[2] And as it is one bearing so closely upon the general question of Psalmodic interpretation, and exhibiting in so interesting a way, the depth of spiritual meaning often to he found underlying the plain literal sense, we must notice it somewhat more fully. He is expatiating on the *greatness*. of the "Salvation" brought in by the SON. And, as one element in its greatness, he proclaims that they who embrace it, though now heirs of corruption and death, and, like their Master, *for a little time* ([Greek]) made lower than the Angels, shall yet be exalted to a dignity and glory far above that of the highest Seraph. Even at the present time these Blessed Spirits, by us unseen, are ever hovering in radiant bands around the "heirs of Salvation," ministering unto them. But when corruption shall have put on incorruption, and the New Creation have unfolded itself, then will this super-angelic exaltation of the "Brethren" of the Firstborn" be illustriously and eternally manifested. The Apostle's eighth quotation then, is devoted to the elucidation and proof of this marvellous Gospel revelation. It is from the eighth [309] Psalm: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the Son of man, " &c.?

Now here we are at once met with the important discovery that this 8th Psalm in its full and ultimate design, is still an unfulfilled prophecy, and that it relates to the "*coming age*" ([Greek], Eph. i. 21) to a future glorious period for which "all Creation," old and new alike, "groaneth and travaileth in pain together;" the "eighth day" or "Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory."

But has the Psalm then, it may be urged, *no* reference to the present time, or to the past? is its plain surface meaning to be excluded by its higher aim and scope? By no means. With whatever ulterior spiritual truth it may be charged, its simple literal announcements are not thereby a whit compromised. And this is a very important general consideration, as we shall have occasion further to show. But at present, a word as to its mystical grasp and import.

i. And first, Who is the "LORD the Governor?" None other than the "SON given," on Whose "shoulders shall be the Government," and "His Name called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty GOD," &c. We have His own warrant for this; when, as the "SON of David," He elicited "praise from the mouth of babes and sucklings" (S. Matt. xxi. 16)

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[1] Mr. Dunwell (vid. p. 226) says this word "until" merely means "for ever." Now without questioning it *may* have that meaning, or that, in *one* sense, it *must* have that meaning here, inasmuch as CHRIST must ever partake by virtue of His Divine Nature in the incommunicable Divinity, Majesty, Supremacy, of the Eternal FATHER; still, the allusions made by our LORD and His Apostles to this verse, and His own words, Rev. iii. 21, implying a mysterious *distinction* between His FATHER'S Throne, which He has yet *visibly* to assume, point to some ineffable but specific meaning contained in the word "*until*," which we must not evade by merely identifying it with the word "for ever." S. Paul tells us (Heb. x. 12) that the SON "after offering His one, perpetual [Greek] Sacrifice," has "sat down at the right Hand of the FATHER;" but immediately adds that He is " *awaiting the time when* His enemies shall be made His footstool." It is not the FATHER'S Throne which S. John describes in those sublime words, Rev. xx. 4, (cf. 11); vid. also S. Matt. xix. 28; xxv. 31. The whole subject however is one of profound mystery.

[2] Quotations, we mean, in proof of the super-angelic Dignity of the SON. For the two succeeding references to the Psalms (vid. vv.11, 12) are in illustration of a different subject, viz. the blessed oneness between the SAVIOUR and His people, the Sanctifier and the Sanctified, the "firstborn" and His "many brethren."

and, appealing to this Psalm, identified Himself with the "LORD and Governor" to whom it asserts that praise be due. But

ii. Has the first verse of the Psalm yet been fulfilled? Is CHRIST'S Name yet "excellent in *all the earth?*" Do all own Him as their LORD? Is His will yet "done on earth *as* it is in Heaven?" No, for the Psalm, as we have already remarked, has its standing-point and sphere, not in the present [Greek], but, as S. Paul tells us, in the "*world to come*" [Greek]; not till when shall its words be abundantly realised.

iii. And who is the "enemy and avenger?" Our LORD tells us who the "enemy" is (S. Matt. xiii. 39; S. Luke x. 19; vid. also 1 Cor. xv. 26). He is none other than that great "Corpus Diaboli," whose head has already been bruised; who has been cast out of Heaven; who has yet to be bound, head and members, with a "great chain;" and then crushed and silenced for ever.

iv. And what are the sheep, oxen, and beasts; the "fowls of the air;" the "fish," and other denizens of the "great deep," over whom "man and the Son of Man" have obtained supremacy? S. Paul simple explains them by the words "*all things*" (Heb. ii. 8) or, in another place, (Phil. ii. 10) by "things in heaven, things in earth, and things under the earth." That is to say, CHRIST and His Elect, are to have *universal* Dominion: every tongue shall confess that CHRIST is [Greek] [cf. Ps. viii. 1; Phil. ii.11]; every knee shall bow to Him; alike of [Greek], i.e., "Angels, Princi[310]palities, Powers," here represented as the "fowls of the air;" of [Greek], here spoken of as "sheep, oxen, and beasts," i.e., the several classes of men (cf. Ps. cxliv. 13, 14; S. John x.; 1 Cor. ix. 7—11; Isa. xi. 6—9;) and of [Greek], the "fish of the sea," the gloomy inhabitants of Sheol, on whom "Death gnaweth," and over whom "the Righteous shall have domination in the *Morning*." (Ps. xlix. I3.) In fact, this Psalm only recounts the actual attainment by the second Adam (the [Greek]) of that visible Lordship over the New Creation, the correlative to which over the old creation had been promised to the first Adam in precisely similar terms. Rather perhaps, seeing that "Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet," we might speak of Psalm viii. 6, 7, as recounting the fulfilment of the prediction originally made in Gen. i. 28.

Here then we are arrested by a consideration of great importance. It seems we cannot apprehend the full meaning of the Psalms without constantly bearing in mind the important typical character impressed not only upon the Old Testament History, but also on the whole of the material universe; how that all things earthly are but figures and shadows of heavenly realities; that between the two there is a continuous harmony and correspondence.

Holy Scripture itself is perpetually attesting this. Let a single familiar example in addition to those already adduced, suffice. The Apostle Paul (Rom. xi. 18), speaking of the universal diffusion of the Gospel, and the full realization of the Apostolic commission, "Go ye into *all the world* and preach the Gospel to every creature," has recourse to the Psalter for a confirmation of this prediction. And where does he find it? In the 19th Psalm; where David says that the heavenly luminaries, though without voice and sound, intelligibly proclaim, "*in all lands*," the "glory" of their great Creator. The natural light is sent into all the world. The spiritual Light therefore "which lighteth every man" cannot be less universally diffused.

Now from these few examples (which we have selected almost at random) of the Holy Spirit's manner of interpreting the Psalms, we have at least seen sufficient to convince us how meagre and inadequate are our own ordinary expositions, and that this is, in a great measure attributable (as already, maintained) to our individual neglect of the helps provided for us in the written word of God.

For there are, as we have already stated, about fifty Psalms quoted in the New Testament, and some of them more than once. E.g. There are no less than seven distinct quotations from Psalm xxii. alone, and the same number from Psalm lxix. One particular verse of another Psalm (cxviii. 22) is quoted *six times* by different writers in the New Testament.[1]

And even in the case of Psalms not absolutely quoted, how fre[311]quently have we light incidentally thrown upon them. Take, for instance, the short 29th Psalm, with its magnificent description of the effect of the sevenfold "voice of the Lord;" so often regarded merely as a poetical description of a thunderstorm.

By the light of the New Testament, however, we unquestionably see portrayed in this Psalm the tremendous convulsions and transformations effected in the moral universe by the Almighty "Voice" or Spirit of Jehovah—that Omnipotent Breath, which, if it does not renew and purify, rushes forth as a whirlwind and storm of devouring fire to destroy. But do we ask at what particular crisis of the world's history this mighty seven-fold Utterance is most energetically felt, and the Psalm therefore meets with its specific, and most complete fulfilment? S. John tells us, in the Revelation, that, immediately before the seventh or "last trumpet," announcing the visible inauguration of Messiah's kingdom of Glory, then it is that "*the seven thunders* utter their" mysterious "voices" [Greek][2] the article evidently appearing to refer us to this Psalm. Here then is the true Baptist "preparing the way" before the victorious Saviour; the great "*Voice*" before the Almighty "*Word*." Here is the "fiery Utterance;" here the "rushing mighty Wind" tearing up the "cedar trees;" bringing down everything that exalteth itself against the obedience of Christ; and levelling "a way" for the King of kings and Lord of lords.

But ere we proceed further with our subject, two questions demand attention.—

1. Are we justified in giving a mystical sense to *every* earthly thing whereof the Psalmist speaks ? and

2, In giving this mystical interpretation are we justified, ordinarily, in ignoring the literal sense ?

Both these questions must undoubtedly be answered in the negative. For first; it is most true that Holy Scripture gives us ample warrant for supposing that every part, not only of the Mosaic Dispensation but also of the old creation, has its mysterious counterpart (or rather, archetype) in the Christian Dispensation and the New Creation. And doubtless, one of the fruitful sources of intellectual joy in the future Life will be the tracing out these Divine analogies, listening with "opened ears" to their wondrous harmonies, comparing the earthly picture with the heavenly Original, and the shadows of the world which now is with the blissful realities of the "World to come."

But with our present limited faculties. "knowing but in part," "seeing but through a glass, darkly," is it possible to translate accurately from its earthly to its heavenly sphere the words of [312] wisdom which the book of nature (to confine ourselves at present to this) utters? It cannot be. We know so little of the original that we cannot rightly adjust the parts, or appropriate all the points of the model. And hence, where Scripture has furnished us with *no* key wherewith to unlock its symbolic meaning, we must be humbly content to

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[1] Viz. S. Matt. xxi. 42; S. Mark xii. 10; S. Luke xx. 17; Acts iv. 11; Eph. ii. 20; 1 S. Peter ii. 7

[2] For the thunder appears to be the outward expression in the natural world of the voice of the Lord in the spiritual World. So, when Jehovah speaks from heaven, S. John xii. 28, His "voice" was understood and interpreted by the eternal Son, whereas "the people that stood by said, *it thundered*.

remain in ignorance; believing that what is hidden from us, is hidden from us for some wise purpose, and that it is healthier for us to abide in reverent, trustful ignorance than to give the rein to mere presumptuous, profitless, imaginings.

But again; may we in Scripture interpretation, safely neglect as unimportant the earthly vehicle whereby the heavenly truth is conveyed? As a general rule, certainly not. One of the great beauties and excellencies of Scripture language is this, that we constantly have two, sometimes even three, distinct streams of interpretation running side by side of one another—literal, it may be, spiritual, allegorical; or past, present, and future—each maintaining its own proper course, keeping its own separate channel, without confusion or mutual interference. And here is one particular wherein Holy Scripture so infinitely transcends all earthly compositions. Here is one of the most significant signs of the presence of the One All-pervading Spirit, who speaks in nature, "who spake by the prophets," to. whom past, present, and future, to whom "all flesh" and "all spirit,"[1] with accordant voice, though each in their own tongue, give harmonious testimony.

In human allegory, the outward covering may be safely passed over as neither being nor professing to be anything beyond a mere verbal clothing of the higher truth, and having no independent existence of its own. But this is not the case with the words of God. Here "deep answereth to deep," nature to grace, the old Dispensation to the new, the past to the present, and both to the future. Here, the outward vehicle has no less an objective reality in its own region than the inward mystery: and the evolution of the latter no more necessitates the abandonment of the former, than the verity of the "Res Sacramenti" involves the annihilation of the "Sacramentum."

This, however, is sadly overlooked in Scripture exegesis. How are we perpetually hearing of the "carnal dreams" of the literalists, and the "mystic unrealities" of the spiritualists; and yet both parties, as far as they go, are right in principle. The fault of either lies in the advocacy of one system exclusively, and to the neglect of the other, or perhaps in the arbitrary confusion of the two together.

Now we cannot doubt for instance, that S. Augustine was right in regarding the beautiful language of the 104th Psalm which recounts God's works in the old creation, as, throughout significative and symbolical of His corresponding greater works in the New Creation; and that the whole Psalm is pregnant with a deeper [313] import than that which appears on its surface. But is its literal meaning to be therefore disregarded, or its earthly truth thereby compromised? No; it has a beauty of its own, even in its lower sphere which is well worthy our loving and adoring gratitude. What lover of nature would lose this fresh, healthy, joyous description of GOD'S universal providence, this illustrious homily on the text, "Thy tender mercies are over all Thy works?" In fact, in some portions of the Psalm where we seem to lose our way in tracing the Heavenly Original, it would seem far safer and more reverent to satisfy ourselves with the intrinsic excellencies of the earthly shadow, without fancifully intruding into what we have not perhaps sufficient data for interpreting correctly.

But this branch of our subject forces upon us another consideration.

The material universe is represented in Holy Scripture as having a past history, a present, and a *future history* of its own. Now we all readily acknowledge that the real *truth* of the past and present history of the natural world, as recorded in Scripture, is not the least affected by the fact of its having pictured, throughout, a continuous parallel series of

[1] Psalm cl. 6.

greater and antitypical correspondencies in the spiritual world;—Are we then arbitrarily to maintain the reverse, in the case of its future history? Are we to affirm that the material universe is to have *no* future of its own; to enjoy no "resurrection of the *body*;" to be utterly annihilated? We are fully persuaded that this great exegetical inconsistency is not more unwarrantable than it is detrimental to the proper understanding of the things which GOD has revealed to us.

Let us take an example. And here perhaps the word "earth" itself will be most to our purpose. What then is the meaning of this word? When the Psalmist speaks of its *past* or *present* history, all interpreters—however they may legitimately refer to some illustrative (or illustrated) parallel in the spiritual Creation—do so without any idea of robbing the word thereby of its literal signification. But let the Psalmist allude to the *prospective* destiny of the "earth." Let him speak of a yet glorious *future* of the *material* universe when cleansed and purified by the purgatorial fiery deluge of which S. Peter writes—of a "Paradise restored"—of the removal of the curse which came over creation at the fall—of the re-appearance, with blessed " interest," of that long-suspended state pronounced by the ALMIGHTY Himself to be "very good," for which all nature is "travailing in pain," when even "the *earth* shall bring forth her increase," and her womb energized again by JEHOVAH'S "blessing," may once again perhaps become instinct with Sacramental virtue and bring forth "the tree of Life" for the "healing of the nations."[1] Then immediately the word "*earth*" [314] must lose its proper meaning, the stream of literal interpretation must be suddenly and arbitrarily dammed up, and the word in question mean anything, everything rather than what it obviously does mean.

How, for instance, does the great S. Augustine explain this word? It has reference, he says, in one place, to the "inward man;" it signifies a "stable inherence in God." Again, "every thing," be writes, "which is *infra spiritalem hominem*," is deservedly called "earth." He explains it as the "future kingdom of glory;" as "this present life;" as the "inferior part of man;" as the "sinner," in contradistinction to "cœlum" which is the "righteous man" (inasmuch as both are "the habitation of God"); as the "flesh" in opposition to the "spirit;" as the "flesh of Christ." Or again; whereas "cœlum" alludes to the exalted saints who are able to understand the mysteries of the kingdom, "terra" refers to those who are *below* the former in spiritual understanding, although established firm in the faith and stably fixed upon the baptismal waters ("firmavit terram super aquas.") Or "terra" is the common people in the Church as distinguished from the "prædicatores" or "cœlum," because "cœli enarrant gloriam Dei," &c.

Now, without for a moment questioning the truth, or appropriateness, or beauty, of these and kindred adaptations—perhaps legitimate symbolical interpretations—of this word; still we cannot think it either safe or justifiable to ignore one other meaning of the word—viz.: its own peculiar and literal meaning.[2] It is undoubtedly most reverent to expect that the

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[1] For the natural and sacramental blessings in store for this earth and the "nations of the saved," (Rev. xxi. 24.) are, it must be remembered, generically *distinct.*

[2] This word, be it remarked, receives an additional interest from its finding a place in the Lord's Prayer, and from its meaning therefore being perpetually pressed upon us. We are constantly praying that God's will may be done on *earth* as it is done in heaven. Now, inasmuch as the curse originally came upon the earth as an outward visible token of God's and man's will having become discordant, it seems but reasonable to suppose that when they are again brought into unison, the cause of the curse having been removed, the curse itself will vanish—the earth again "bring forth her increase." But how often is this petition offered without even the remotest idea, on the part of the offerers, that it ever will be answered; nay, with a deep-rooted conviction that it will *not?*

words employed by the Holy Spirit should mean far *beyond* what they outwardly express; it is dangerous to assume that they therefore do *not* mean *that*.

As we hope to return to this subject again, we will just conclude the short space yet remaining to us by a few words with regard to the little volume which heads our article. It is a sort of running commentary, chiefly in the words of the early Fathers, upon the first 23 Psalms, together with the 45th and the 110th, given in the form of "lectures" or homilies to a country congregation.

If we regard the Book in the light in which it claims to be viewed, as a series of "Parochial Lectures" on the Psalms, it is [315]very successful. Mr. Dunwell has in a plain natural way, given to the Psalter somewhat of its proper dignity, and used it as a vehicle (even as the Church in her purest days has ever done) for conveying and enforcing sound Catholic Truth. But regarded as a commentary, as a help to the understanding the real central and specific meaning of the several Psalms, we can hardly think that the Biblical student will reap much benefit from it; Mr. Dunwell having invariably adhered (as in fact was almost necessary under the circumstances) to the musical though imperfect translation of our Prayer Book;[1] having confined himself almost entirely to the mystical meaning of the several Psalms; and not having taken, we think, sufficient heed to settle their original framework and skeleton, before clothing them with flesh and blood—thus rendering them at times vague, indefinite, and unsubstantial.

Mr. Dunwell professes in his Preface to ignore all modern commentaries on the Psalter. This (if we are to regard his own work as a Commentary) seems to us wrong in principle. If we are *tied* to the use of *either* the ancient *or* the modern expositors, by all means, let us have the former. But why not combine the excellencies of both? We are convinced that a really satisfactory commentary can dispense with neither; and that each are equally important in their own territory. The earlier commentaries, while of infinite value in disclosing to us the deep spiritual treasures of the Psalms, are yet little to be depended on as critical guides in unravelling their constructional and other difficulties; suffering as they do, so seriously at times, from the inaccuracy of the translations their writers had to work upon. Who has not observed this again and again in S. Augustine—how constantly be is thrown off the right track by his adherence to his faulty version; establishing important arguments perhaps, on what turn out after all to be mere mistranslations? But it is obvious, as Bishop Lowth truly
remarks, that

"Whatever senses are supposed to be included in the" Psalmist's "words; spiritual, mystical, allegorical, analogical, or the like; they *must* entirely depend on the literal sense. This is the only foundation upon which such interpretations can be securely raised: and if this is not firmly and well established, all that is built upon it will fall to the ground." *Preliminary Dissertation to Isaiah*.

"The ancient expositors," writes Bishop Horne, in the very admirable preface to his commentary, "Were chiefly taken up in making spiritual or Evangelical applications of the Psalms. The modern, in investigating their literal scope and meaning. Piety and devotion

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[1] For this version, though well adapted by its smooth and flowing rhythm for devotional purposes, and musical expression, yet, being but a translation from a translation, can never he safely adhered to, if we would seek to arrive at the real and precise meaning of the words of the Psalter. How, for instance, could any expositor treat a verse of this kind? "When the company of spearmen and multitude of the mighty are scattered abroad among the beasts of the people, so that they humbly bring pieces of silver, and when He hath scattered the people that delight in war; then shall the princes come out of Egypt," &c. (lxviii. 30.)

characterize the writings of the ancients: the comments of the moderns display more learning and judgment. The ancients have taught us how to rear a goodly superstructure: but the moderns have laid the surest foundation. To bring them in some measure together, is the design of the following work; in which the author has not laboured to point out what seemed wrong in either, but to *extract what he judged to be right from both*."

However, Mr. Dunwell's work, as far as it goes, is one to be truly thankful for; not only as likely to prove to many an introduction into a deeper knowledge of the spiritual riches of the Psalter, but as being in itself a hopeful indication that the claims of this Divine Book are becoming more devoutly recognized and appreciated by Churchmen.

We trust to be enabled to resume this subject next month. {*cont. below*}

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The most important of all the general questions connected with the interpretation of the Psalms is, Who is the chief Speaker in them, the principal Subject of them? All other considerations connected with their exposition are subordinate to this, and in a measure dependent thereon. On this leading question, together with certain of the consequences thence resulting, we propose in the following paper to offer a few observations.

Who then is the chief speaker in the Psalms? But this question may seem to involve a second—Who are the several authors of these Sacred Songs? as the Person of the speaker may be naturally supposed to depend, in some measure, upon the writer of the Psalm, and to vary with the several variations in the authorship.

Of the hundred and fifty Psalms, David appears to have been the author of about eighty; twenty-six we owe to David's singers, i.e., twelve to Asaph and his school, fourteen to the school of Korah: Psalm xc. is due to Moses; lxxii., cxxvii., to Solomon: besides which we appear to have forty-one nameless Psalms.

Now as many of these Psalms are occupied with the recital of personal history and experience, are we therefore to assume that the individual subject of it, is constantly varying, and that in singing this experience day by day, we are merely recounting the private trials and deliverances of certain holy Jews?

One remarkable fact here deserves notice, that *personal* history finds place in the Psalms in reference to one individual only, viz., David. It is in his Psalms only, together with certain of those composed by his singers, that personal narrative, occurs at all: and even in these latter cases, it is not the person of the writer that appears, but that of David alone.[1] He is the one representative Psalmist. Now this is an important and suggestive fact; and points to another probable conclusion , viz., that David himself *qua* 'Psalmist,' is a typical personage. And this probability is converted into a certainty when we listen to his own description of himself in this capacity, and see how he unconsciously identifies himself with his Divine son and LORD. He describes himself as "the Man that was raised on High, the Anointed One of the GOD of Jacob, the Sweet Psalmist of Israel," in whom "the Spirit and Word of JEHOVAH spake." (2 Sam. xxiii. 1.) Here then we have an explicit declaration as to the real Person of the "Psalmist:" he is the [366] Exalted One, the Anointed One, the Tabernacle of the Spirit of JEHOVAH.

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[1] Our readers will find some interesting facts connected with the external features of the Psalter, its arrange-ment, division into books, &c. &c., in the appendices to Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Psalms.

But how does the dying monarch yet further describe his compositions? They are not only Psalms or 'Praise-Songs," but 'Praise Songs of *Israel*.' Therefore the chief Singer is CHRIST Himself. The Songs are the Songs of Israel. In other words, it is the Church of CHRIST in the Person of her Head, it is the 'whole CHRIST,' Who is the one complex centre, subject, sum, and substance, of the Psalmodic Poetry. The Songs are the Songs of Israel—of every one of us. Each individual member of the Church, no less than the collective Body, may claim them as the expressions of his or her sorrows, experience, temptations, consolations, triumphs. They are the blessed inheritance of every 'Israelite indeed.'

Now this individual multiplicity of the speaker in the Psalter, this idea of a Representative Psalmist, who is at once Israel and Israel's 'chief Musician'—an individual Head, but with many members; a 'First-born,' but with 'many brethren'—will go a good way in explaining many of the surface difficulties of the Psalms, such (e.g.) as the abrupt apparent changes in the Person of the speaker; his one while appearing, as Divine, at another as human; now as holy, now as a sinner; now as a single individual, now as a whole congregation. It will also tend to give us a much more living and personal interest in these Holy Songs, than we could otherwise possess; by reminding us that in uttering them, we are speaking of nothing extraneous to ourselves, but of what effects us most intimately; that we are singing CHRIST'S own words, in so far as He was one with us, nay, *our own* words, in to far as we are really one with Him; and that in. them we may recognize "et in Illo voces nostras, et voces Ejus in nobis." (S. Aug. in Ps. lxxxvi.) The 'Psalmist' is the Anointed of the LORD"—that Holy Corporation on Whose HEAD the HOLY GHOST was poured without measure, that it might descend to the skirts of His raiment, (Ps. cxxxiii.) and suffuse the whole Body. So that, in our humble degree—each in his measure—the 'Psalmist' is every one of ourselves: His experience is ours; His sufferings are, or will be to some extent, ours; His triumphs and glory, ours. The career of the Head is repeated, corporately as well as individually, in the members: "CHRISTUS illuc pergit quo præcessit: præcessit einem CHRISTUS in Capite, sequitur in Corpore." *S. Aug. ubi sup.*

We see then *by* whom the Psalms are uttered—by CHRIST in us, by us in CHRIST. But *to* whom are they uttered? Can CHRIST be separated from that Eternal GODHEAD Who is the Blessed *Object* of these Songs of Israel? No, wondrous Mystery!—He is Subject and Object at once; the Being *to* Whom as well as *by* Whom Israel's prayers and praises are sung; the one Divine Mediator Who prays for us, Who prays in us, Who is prayed to, by us: [367] "Orat pro nobis ut Sacerdos noster; orat in nobis ut Caput nostrum; oratur a nobis ut DEUS noster."

But let us turn to certain other features of the Psalmodic poetry which hence perhaps may receive elucidation.

And first, how often do we find sincere Christians shrinking from the use of the Psalter language, as expressive at times, (1) of states of mind with which they feel themselves to have so little sympathy, or (2) of degrees of Grace to which they can lay so little claim. We allude (1) to the 'vindictive' passages in the Psalms, and (2) to those claims of perfect uprightness, innocence, holiness, which are so constantly made by the Psalmist. A word at present about the latter of these.

How frequently in the Psalter do we find Righteousness, perfect Righteousness, challenged for himself by the Speaker; asserted as a *ground* for being heard, and as necessarily, even by the rule of justice, ensuring to him, at once deliverance out of his present troubles (those troubles which, arising out of the enmity of the evil world, always *must* accompany

Righteousness here), and everlasting salvation: "Judge me, O LORD, *according* to my Righteousness, &c."[1] Language like this is often pronounced as "savouring of legality," as unbecoming in the mouth of a Christian who knows himself a sinner, who feels that if GOD *were* to deal with him "according to his righteousness," his case would be sad indeed.

But, irrespective of the direct allusion to "the LORD our Righteousness," has such language no equivalent even in the New Testament? Undoubtedly it has. Not only in the Psalmodic prophecies, but even in the Apostolic Epistles is *perfect Righteousness* predicated of the Christian: "He that is born of GOD. . . . *cannot* sin."[2] THE Christian in such passages speaks, and is regarded, *as* "Christian." He speaks in the Psalms, and is described in the Epistles as a member of the New Creation "created in CHRIST JESUS unto good works," and is viewed solely in reference to this New Birth. The language therefore and description are not only approximately, or in a qualified manner, but absolutely true. And this must be fully recognized if we would understand the real force of the words of the Psalmist and S. John. True, in many places, alike in the Psalms and (still more) in the Epistles, we meet with the ordinary complex Christian, with his twofold nature, the old and the new—his two lives, struggling the one against the other; the Spirit elevating the flesh, the flesh dragging down the Spirit; the two being "contrary the one to the other," and ever fighting for the mastery—their sub[368]ject himself possessed as it were of a double personality; able "to do all things," and yet capable of nothing; superior to "all the power of the Enemy," and yet groaning under the weight of "the body of this death." While in other places, as we have already said, (keeping exclusively to the order of the Spirit) we read of the old man having *died*, of the flesh having been buried in Baptism, of the old creature having become a New Creature; and this creature, as having sprung from "incorruptible Seed," and born "through the Word"—regarded in its own essential nature—a Holy Thing.

It is this New Creature then, regarded in its abstract type, and viewed irrespectively of the earthly vessel or organ through which it has here to work, and the sable "Tabernacles of Kedar" wherein it is condemned to "dwell," whereof this real, absolute Righteousness is asserted: even as, on the other hand, it is the old nature viewed in itself,—regarded as to its own inherited degradation and disorganization, uncorrected by any Regenerating Influence, direct or indirect, prelusive or retroactive, of the Divine Word—that in other and opposite passages, is the personified subject of the severe descriptions and indignant denunciations of the Psalmist and the Apostles.

This latter is "corrupt and abominable," it can do "no good thing;" "Destruction and misery" is its present portion, the bottomless pit its future destiny. Now inasmuch as in one Son of Adam alone has the New Birth been fully and absolutely realized; it is obvious that the outward description, inward experience, prayers, and praises of the Righteous One, the "Man of God, the express, unsullied 'Image' of the Most High, can belong, in their simple unqualified comprehensiveness, to Him and Him only: while, on the other hand, the converse character, the 'fool,' the 'sinner,' the 'enemy,' of the Psalmist, when not Satan personally, will meet with its full embodiment only in that wretched Son of Adam "whose coming is after the working of Satan"—in whom alone of mankind the Divine Image

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[1] So, "Give sentence with me, O Lord, *according to my righteousness*, and *according to the innocency* that is in me." Again, in the 18th Psalm, the Psalmist stops in the narration of his glorious successes and victories, to tell us the *ground* of them all, viz., his own integrity; "The Lord reward me *according to my righteous* dealing;" and to enunciate thereupon the Eternal principle that Righteousness alone is the sure and necessary pathway to Salvation.

[2] Vid. 1 S. John ii. 6, 20; iii. 3, 6, 9; v. 4, &c.

becomes *absolutely* obliterated, and the "image of the Beast" perfected—the "Man of sin," the "Son of Perdition," the Antichrist, of whom "ye have heard that he cometh; and even now are there many in the world."

These two Representative men, the righteous and the unrighteous, meet us at the very threshold of the Psalter. In fact, the whole series of Psalms, from the 1st to the 18th is a continuous description of them under various aspects and circumstances: the former perpetually harassed, maligned, and persecuted by the latter, but still keeping his integrity, quietly awaiting God's time—till at last, a grand final and conclusive victory is gloriously achieved, Ps. xviii. 37—50, (a victory of which bright prophetic glimpses had already been vouchsafed, Ps. ii., viii.); and the enemy vanquished and silenced for ever.[1]
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To trace at any length the leading features of these two antagonistic characters is beyond our present purpose, though we may add a few words on one or two of them.

No characteristic of the Righteous Man perhaps, is dwelt on so constantly as this (which is the first to meet us)—His perfect love for the Law of GOD, and perfect conformity to the will of GOD. The 1st Psalm beautifully exhibits the happy consequences of this: viz., complete success in *everything* which he undertakes. His "leaf" is ever green—none of his *words* fall to the ground; his "fruit" withers not—all his actions are crowned. For, his will being coincident with GOD'S will, whatever he willeth *must* come to pass; "whatever he doeth" must "prosper " He is ever imbibing Blessing; ever communicating Blessing. He is the ever Blessed source of Blessing.

It is in token of this his perfect love for the Law of GOD, that the Psalmist, in the person of the Righteous Man, is represented as praising GOD upon a *ten-stringed lute*—his *peculiar* instrument, (Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 3; cxliv. 9). For what is the import of this symbolical expression? S. Augustine at once refers us to the Decalogue. Nor can there be any doubt that he is correct. The idea is this, that the Psalmist's heart is brought into such perfect accordance with the Divine Law; each several string of his inner man is tuned in such strict unison with the particular Mandate whereby its note has to be regulated; that his whole soul vibrates in active response to the sound of the Law of the Most High, and thus gives forth sweet and delicious music to the ears of Him Who "inhabiteth" and delighteth in "the Praises of Israel." The expression, "I will praise Thee on a ten-stringed lute," is simply a beautiful symbolical rendering of the plan words, "O how I love Thy Law;" "The Law of Thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver."

Another interesting indication of this complete coincidence between the Psalmist's will and GOD'S will, is found in this—which is at first sight, rather an unaccountable feature in some of the Psalms; we mean the frequent inversion (as to position) of his prayers, and his thanksgivings for the answer to those prayers; the latter often preceding the former. Take for example, the 9th Psalm. Here the former part (vv. 1—6) contains the thanksgiving for the abundant accomplishment of the petition contained in the concluding part (vv. 13, 18—20.)And how is this to be accounted for? It is merely a practical indication of the perfect holiness of the petitioner. For acceptable prayer pre-supposes *faith* in the suppliant: "*Believe* that ye receive, and ye shall have;" "*according to your faith*, so shall it be unto you." Hence [370] the faith must be *perfect*, in order that the answer may be perfect. But who can pray in *perfect* faith? None but he who is fully conscious that (his will being in

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[1] Not but that these two Personæ are constantly reappearing, and are described even at greater length in sub-sequent Psalms: but that the title of the 18th Psalm—the song of the Beloved One on his deliverance from *all* his enemies—seems to suggest the idea of its being intended to form the close of a cycle.

entire accordance with the Divine Will,) whatever be desires, as being the desire of GOD Himself, *must* be accomplished. And this is the case with the Psalmist. His introductory thanksgiving then, is but the expression of a victorious faith, overpassing the bounds of time, and "substantially realizing things hoped for." But does this faith supersede the necessity of prayer? By no means. Not even the fullest assurance of a future and joyful answer, can ever justify the neglect of the Divinely-appointed subjective means through which alone that answer is to be obtained. Hence we find our LORD Himself praying, even "with strong crying and tears,"[1] for His own Resurrection. Hence we ourselves pray in like manner for the joyful Resurrection of His sleeping Saints, His Body Mystical; as we do for the 'coming of His kingdom,' the spread of His Glory, *the accomplishment of His Will*.

One other feature of the Righteous Psalmist's character we will just notice.

He is ever exhibited, not on1y as the great friend, but as the very representative of the *poor;*
himself the poor one—"As for me, I am poor and needy." And how does this only the more identify him with Him Who "though rich, yet for our sakes became *poor;* and with that Society whose very charter is "Blessed are ye poor, whose highest glory it is to be emptied of self and the world, that it may be filled with GOD, to be "poor yet making many rich, to "have nothing" while "possessing all things."

Corresponding to the varied description of the "Psalmist's" character, is the opposite description of his antagonist—wealthy, mighty, powerful, cunning, malignant, unscrupulous, in great prosperity, fearless of death, regardless of GOD and His law, his "eyes swelling with fatness," having "Whatsoever his soul lusteth after." And here it will be observed that, as the Psalmist or "Corpus Christi" is described equally as an individual and as a corporation, the same is the case with its great antagonist the Corpus Diaboli; the character and aspect of the latter, being ever correlative and conversely correspondent to the particular form and manifestation of the other, against which it may be brought to bear. The poor one meets his adversary in the rich one; the feeble and expiring, in the "lusty and strong;" the humble in the proud one; the Holy One in the wicked; the "beloved" in the "enemy;" the keeper of GOD'S law in the "lawless one;" David in Saul, Absalom, or Ahithophel; the faithful one in the traitor; the helpless and persecuted in the relentless and cruel; the "hind of the morning" (the enigmatical title of Psalm xxii.) in the "dogs, buffaloes, and lions," (the natural adversaries of the former,) which are re[371]presented as gaping and roaring upon it. Or, if the Psalmist assumes a collective character, and personates GOD'S Israel, his enemies are the successive foes of the national Israel; Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Philistines, Assyria, Chaldæa. We see him as the captive Church in Babylon, exulted over by the godless victors; then after the captivity, vexed and harassed by the Samaritan false professors during the building of the second Temple.

Under these and many other typical representations, doe we see shadowed forth the various forms of evil and enmity which the Church militant, in her ever changing circumstances, will ever have to encounter. Many of the Psalms referring to these conflicts appear to recount, or to be suggested by, real historical events; and therefore, not only serve as memorials of past trials and deliverances, but as earnests and prophecies of future ones,—prophecies admitting of many inchoate, rudimentary, and germinant fulfilments, all pointing to some more real, grand, complete accomplishment yet to come. Other Psalms

[1] Cf. Heb. v. 7; Ps. vi. 5,6; lxxxviii. 3—13, &c. &c.

again, treating of the same class of subjects,[1] appear to have been written, as far as we can ascertain, without immediate reference to any particular event, to be expressed in mere general comprehensive terms, or perhaps to border more closely on the territory of pure prophecy.

Take (e.g.) one of the earliest Psalms of this character—the 7th. "Shiggaion[2] of David which he sang to the LORD concerning the words of Cush the Benjamite." Now, what is the meaning of this title? Who is Cush the Benjamite? Holy Scripture mentions no such person. Nor does there appear any reasonable doubt but that under the designation of *Cush* (i.e. "*Niger,*" the black one) is represented the emissary of the "Prince of Darkness" himself. The title then will be "An Ode to the Beloved One (i.e. the Mystical Body of the 'Beloved SON') concerning the slanderous accusations of the Ethiopian, or Black One." And Cush will be but an enigmatical designation of the *organ* (whoever he may be, and at whatever period of the Church's history) of Satan *qua* "*Diabolus*." He will be the vehicle or instrument, for the time being, of the "Accuser of the brethren, who accuseth them before our GOD day and night." So that the whole Psalm may admit of many specific interpretations according as its Cush happens to be Saul;[3] the "false witnesses" (S. Matt. xxvi. 60); the "Son of Perdition," or any of his shadows or emissaries; or the "Father of lies" himself. The grand fulfilment of the Psalm is yet future. [372] Its real and final scene is laid (as is the. case with so many other Psalms) at the "Resurrection of. the just," when the challenge, "who is he that condemneth?" is triumphantly and unanswerably heralded aloud through Heaven, earth, and Hell; and the Bride "*overcomes* through the Blood of the Lamb."

In truth, the Church has yet to learn the deep, inestimable value of this her sacred treasure-house of song. She has practically to discover an awful significance and reality about many of the strains she has daily on her lips, of which perhaps in these seasons of comparative calm she knows nothing. Nor will it be till the emergencies therein foreshadowed are assuming form and shape, or are actually pressing upon her that she will fully recognise and apprehend their import. Still, she should have her appliances ever at hand. She should keep her armour burnished, and accustom herself to its use in her present daily recurring preliminary contingencies, that it may stand her in good stead when she has fairly to gird herself therewith for the final encounter. The Church's songs have yet to do a glorious work. They are even now instinct with living, mighty energy. But a time has to come, when "the praises of GOD in the mouth of the saints," shall be "a two-edged sword in their hands," dealing "vengeance to the heathen, rebukes to the people." [Ps. cxlix. 6, 7.] How soon this glorious time shall come—this first dawn of Everlasting Day, or the dark and stormy night which has to usher it in, GOD only knows. Even now the shadows seem little by little to be lengthening upon her; the cold, mysterious thrill of twilight to be insensibly stealing over her: silent mutterings as though of a distant tempest, may be ever and anon faintly heard; the still solemn voice of the Watchman, warning that "though the Morning cometh, the night has to come also:" heavy banks of cloud may be seen looming over the western horizon. And the Church (our own branch of it, at least, GOD be thanked!) seems instinctively bestirring herself for a coming something. Through the

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[1] We are not now referring to the ordinary *didactic* psalms. These, having generally *no* historical element, are (of course) applicable, equally and alike, to all times.

[2] That is, "A Wandering Ode," says Bp. Horsley.

[3] It is Saul probably at whom the title primarily, though not openly, points—himself a Benjamite; the *Cush*, as Hengstenberg, thinks, containing a gentle play upon his father's name, with an intimation (we may perhaps add) *whose* son the slanderous king showed himself *really* to be, by his conduct.

longsuffering mercy of the LORD, Who has not cut her off in her sins, she is yet alive, is awakening from her slumbers, "arising from the dead," girding on her armour, and preparing herself against the season of "great tribulation,"—that evening of portentous gloom, which has yet to fall upon her, whereof the Psalmist speaks, "Thou makest darkness that it may be *night*, wherein all the beasts of the forest do move; the lions roaring after their prey, [cf. Ps. xxii. 13,] do seek their meat from GOD (Ps. civ. 20, 21)—That terrible time, the very anticipation of which fills the Church with "fearfulness and trembling," and "overwhelms" her with an "*horrible dread*." (Ps. lv. 4—8.)

And here we would beg the reverent attention of our readers to a subject of very solemn interest, (which we can but advert to,) viz., the intimations which Scripture gives, that the closing career of the Divine Head and LORD has yet to be mysteriously re-enacted [373] in corporate history of His Mystical Body; that the Church has yet to undergo her bereavement, (her untrue members "scattered every man to his own," and she "left alone," her betrayal, her Gethsemane, her Calvary.

A comparison of the language of the 22nd, 69th, and other "Passion" Psalms, with the bitter wails of GOD'S Jerusalem in the Lamentations, seems undoubtedly to point to the conclusion that the former have yet *again* to be mystically fulfilled.

Thus, for instance, we see GOD'S Jerusalem, like her LORD, stripped of her raiment, made naked and bare; her enemies dividing her vesture among themselves, and making them rich with her spoils and pleasant things. (Lam. i. 8, 10.)

Her "beauty," like her LORD'S, "is gone for very trouble, and worn away because of all her enemies." (Ib. i. 5, 6.)

We see "all that pass by laughing her to scorn," "shooting out their lips, and wagging their heads," saying, "Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?" (ii. 15, 16.)

We see her, like her LORD, bowed down beneath the weight of a heavy and accumulated load of sin—her "iniquities a sore burden, too heavy for her to bear;" but her sins *personal*, His imputed; "for Jerusalem hath grievously sinned, therefore she is removed." Of her is required "all the righteous blood shed from righteous Abel." She had inherited sevenfold the blessings of her elder sister. Those blessings she has abused. Therefore has she also reaped sevenfold her sister's *curses*. (Rev. xviii. 24.) "The LORD hath accomplished His fury, He hath poured out His fierce anger upon Zion. . . . for the sins of her prophets and the iniquities of her priests," who have "crucified the SON of GOD afresh" in her streets.

Again, like her LORD, we find her suffering an awful racking "*thirst*," "her tongue cleaveth to the roof of her mouth." (Lam. iv. 4, 8.) There is a dreadful, mysterious, and retributive "cry for *Wine* in her streets," (cf. Isa. xxiv. 11,) as though the abused Sacrament was judicially dried up, the channels of Grace closed.

Like Him, she is "poured out like water," "all her bones[1] are out of joint," and "consumed;" "the heart in the midst of her body is like melting wax," her "strength dried up." (Lam. i. 13, 14; ii. 11, 19.)

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[1] The very framework and support, as it were, of the Body Mystical, the strong members of the Church, her prop and stay,—"Ossa sua firmos suos dicit, ossa enim firma sunt in corpore." (S. Aug. in loc.) Thus in prosperity the Church sings, "All my *bones* shall say, 'LORD, who is like unto Thee?" In distress, "Make me to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which Thou hast broken may rejoice." In persecution "Our bones lie scattered before the pit." (Ps. xxxv. 10; li. 8; cxli. 7) And, alas! the Church may yet be able to "tell all her bones," to count them for their small number; when "there is hardly one godly man left, and {*cont.*}

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She is deserted, too, of the Father, there is none to comfort her. "The Comforter that should have relieved her soul is far from her." (i. 21, 16.)[1]

But this consideration of the ulterior mystical exposition of the Passion Psalms (which seems fully .recognized in the Patristic commentaries) brings us to another point, and it is this,—that there is no portion of Scripture where we meet with such copious details of the precise nature and phases of the final Anti-Christian catastrophe, of the man of sin and his confederate bands, as in the Psalter.

There are two classes of Psalms which in an especial way appear to refer us to the times of Antichrist, (for their full accomplishment,) and to exhibit the two leading components in the impious coalition which shall then exist. The one series of Psalms having reference mainly to heathen, the other to Israelitish foes. The one prefiguring God's enemies external to the Church, the other His enemies within the Church;—Assyria, Chaldæa, Edom, &c. being the representatives of the former; Saul, Absalom, Ahithophel, of the latter. Saul especially, as the most powerful and malignant of all David's Israelitish foes, being a sort of standing typical representative of the *Israelitish* enemies to be encountered by the True David and His seed. To the former belong such Psalms (e.g.) as lx., lxxiii., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxiii., &c.; to the latter, such as vii., xxxv., xli., lv., lix., cix., cxli.[2] The "Enemy" in the one series having its mystical equivalent in the "Beast," or world-power of the Revelation—Satan's great secular organ; the Enemy in the other series having its equivalent in the "False Prophet," Harlot—Rider, or Faithless Church—Satan's great ecclesiastical organ. The one a representative "of the heathen," the other "of the people." (Ps. ii. 1; xviii. 43; cxlix. 7.)
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Saul himself, it must be remembered, is a type of an unhallowed *visible kingship* over GOD'S Israel, opposed to the original divine idea of the Theocracy, and but a late development of the carnal Church; professedly borrowed, too, from the "kings of the Gentiles." (Cf. S. Matt. xx. 25, 26; xxiii 8—12; S. Mark ix. 33—35; x. 42—44; S. Luke xxii. 2.5, 26; 1 S. Pet. v. 3.) The most powerful ingredient in Saul's hatred of David was an instinctive feeling that the kingdom was not to abide with himself, but to revert to David. The sovereignty he held was, in itself, opposed to the mind of GOD, and though

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the faithful are minished from among the children of men," when even "all the Apostles have forsaken" her "and fled."

[1] This parallelism extends even to the particular figures under which the two are described. Take, for example, the emblem of the *hart* or *hind*. Messiah is likened in the 22nd Psalm to a hind (see Title) hounded by its pursuers, "many dogs," &c. So the Church and her rulers are likened to the "*harts* that no pasture, and go without strength before the pursuer." (Lam. i. 6.) The same figure appears in the 42nd Psalm,—Messiah thirsting for His Father's presence on the Cross, or the Church during the times of Anti-Christ, gasping for the comforter who is far from her," is likened to a "*hart* panting after the water brooks." Even as the mystical woman—the Zion travelling with the Promised Seed (the "Man Child Who is to rule all nations,") whose period of gestation terminates at the second Advent—is likened to a "*hind* bringing forth her young," (Ps. xxix. 9,) bringing it forth with sorrow and difficulty, "in pain and crying out in her pangs. (Cf. John xvi. 21, 22; Job xxxix. 1—4; Isa. lxvi. 6—8; Rev. xii. 2.) We considered the mystical meaning of this 29th Psalm in our last Number, p. 311.

[2] In other Psalms (e.g., the 9th and 10th which make one in the LXX) we see both phases of wickedness combined. In fact, in most of the Psalms referred to above, we meet with *some* recognition of each element. For the power of the world derives its peculiar barb and sting during this terrific emergency, from the religion which for a while it adopts; while the false Church derives her unholy might from the vast world-power which for a time backs her up. The Church gives point, the world strength. The fair flatterer is seated on the monstrous Beast. *She* directs *him*. *He* supports *her*.

permitted by Him, was permitted only for a time and in wrath, "I gave thee a king in Mine anger, and took him away in My fury." But further, Saul had personally misused this sovereignty, so that even now, in the Divine Mind, it had been taken from him and given to the meek shepherd stripling. And hence the burning jealousy, the ill concealed dread and hatred, the malignant and calumnious misrepresentations, the ruthless persecutions, of his innocent rival, on the part of the "King of Israel."

This gives a tone and colour to all the Sauline Psalms, which, without exception, appear to point us, for their full realization, to the times of Antichrist. The Saul of that period being (as already stated) the representative, not so much of the infidel might of the world, as of the more bitter and remorseless foe the Church shall meet in the false and dominant part of herself; an enemy exhibited under many aspects, as at once Absalom, Ahithophel, Judas Iscariot, Saul—member of my own family, faithless and crafty counsellor, false Apostle, king of Israel.

And this, in the Psalter no less than in the Revelation, is represented as being far the most appalling feature of this dread period,—that it is not the heathen world alone, but the city of the Living GOD itself, in which Iniquity has taken up its seat, ("I have spied unrighteousness and strife in the *city*; wickedness is therein: deceit and guile go not out of her streets,")—that it is not "the Enemy and Adversary" alone that "magnifieth himself against" the prostrate Church; for that were to be borne; but her "guide, her companion, her familiar friend," her fellow-member in the household of faith. who "having eaten bread with her hath lifted up his heel against her."

It is when the impiety is at its head; when the world-king, mainly through the instrumentality of the temporizing Church, has well nigh reached the summit of his ambition; and the dominant Church, become now the State-Religion of Anti-Christ,—caressed, and (for his own wicked purposes) mightily befriended by him,—is at last permitted to realize, as never before, the carnal dreams of universal dominion, and is at the height of her short-lived Babylonish and tyrannical security; it is then that the "vindictive" portions of the Psalter find their place and full meaning, those [376] tremendous denunciations of GOD'S wrath upon ungodliness, and particularly upon this grand culminating antichristian confederation of iniquity. It is now that the souls under the altar cry aloud for vengeance. And vengeance "lingereth not." For the "sin unto death" hath been committed, and in the very Tabernacle of GOD. Anti-Christ, Prosperity, and Apostasy have been chosen instead of CHRIST, Persecution, and the "Faith once for all delivered." And now the day of grace is past. The "night[1] has come when no man can work" The faithful remnant may *not*, then, pray for their apostate brethren. The beloved Apostle has forbidden this. Their's is a very different duty. They have but to utter the ALMIGHTY'S fearful sentence of commination against their own flesh and blood, Jerusalem become Babylon, the "faithful city become the harlot:"—"Let death come down hastily upon them; let them go down quick into hell:" "for the blasphemy wherewith (not the heathen world only, but) our *neighbours* have blasphemed Thee, reward Thou them, O LORD, sevenfold into their bosom," a petition anticipatory of, and answered by. the pouring out of the seven apocalyptic vials.

And these soon ensue. For the Church having at last followed her LORD to Calvary; the two witnesses having been at last put to death; and the Body having now "filled up that which lacked of the sufferings of" the Head,—judgment has but to run its tremendous course "beginning at the household of GOD." The 'governor of the Jews' and the world-

[1] "He then having received the sop went immediately out, ("they went out from us,") and it was *night*."

king have had a shortlived friendship. Jerusalem leagued with heathen Rome, has put to death the SAVIOUR: Jerusalem shall yet fall by the hands of Rome. The Beast and the Harlot have joined in killing the witnesses. The Beast at last turns round upon his rider, and tears her furiously to pieces. The heathen world rushes wildly upon the false Church. "Jerusalem, who hath killed the prophets," is now in her turn visited; and "not one stone is left upon another that is not thrown down." "The eagles" of prey carouse in bloodthirsty riot over the "dead Body." (S. Matt. xxiv. 28; Rev. xi. 8; Job xxxix. 30.) "Come and let us root them out that they be no more a people, and that the name of Israel be no more in remembrance."

But the Church has also her Resurrection. LORD, be merciful unto me," has been her prayer, "raise Thou me up again, and I shall requite them." And the prayer is heard. The Spirit of GOD reanimates the dormant Body; while a quaking fear seizes the ungodly world. The Heavens open. In dazzling terror appears on high the "sign of the Son of Man;" while, careering in awful majesty, is seen the white-robed warrior train of the "King of kings, and LORD of lords." And the faithful remnant are "caught up to meet their LORD in the air."
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But this brings us to another point.

The Church is seen, in the Psalter, to live again,—as well corporately, as in her individual members, —her Lord's life; to share in His trials, woes, crucifixion, and death: "she suffers with Him, shall she also *reign* with Him?" The righteous *Sufferer* in the Psalms is not only an individual but a Mystical Body; who then shall be the righteous Judge and *King?* Is He *only* an Individual? Is He the Personal Head without the members? the [Greek] apart from the [Greek]?

On this deeply interesting question we must be brief. But we may at once observe, that the very fundamental passage bearing on this subject,—a passage asserted by S. Paul to be spoken of the Messiah,—distinctly proves that the kingship there promised to Him, not as an Individual but as "Head of the Body of the church." "I will set up thy Seed," says. God to David; "I will establish His kingdom. He shall build an House for My Name; and I will establish the Throne of His Kingdom for ever. I will be His Father; and He shall be My Son. *If He commit iniquity I will chasten Him with the rod of men, &c.*" (2 Sam. vii. 12—14; Heb. i. 5.) Now here, inasmuch as it is the very Everlasting Son and King whose "Throne is to be set up for ever," of whom it is also added, "if He commit iniquity," &c. it is evident that the subject of the passage can be only that Mystical Body, to which, in virtue of its Head, the Eternal Kingdom belongs; but of which, in respect of its members, the preliminary and corrective course of discipline is foretold. In fact, the royal Seed here spoken of is none other than that [Greek] (Gal. iii.) whereof S. Paul tells us, (v. 16,) that " It is Christ" Himself; and yet (v. 29,) that it is *we ourselves* also "if we are Christ's." It is the [Greek] of which the same Apostle writes, (1 Cor. xii. 12,) which, though "One," yet [Greek].

But *when* is this Anointed One raised to the kingdom? Has this exaltation yet taken place? In its plenary sense undoubtedly *not*. "The Heir, the Lord *of all*," is yet "under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the Father." Even the departed saints are *awaiting* their kingdom. "They without us cannot by made perfect." So that the regal Psalms, as to their full significance, are yet unfulfilled prophecies.

Take the first of them, Psalm ii. Has this been fully accomplished? Unquestionably not. It received *a* glorious and germinant fulfilment at the resurrection of the Head. It shall receive complete accomplishment at the resurrection of the Body; "when He bringeth His

First-begotten *again* into the world." For the Psalm recounts the triumphant *adoption* of the [Greek], i.e., the [Greek], (Heb. xii. 23.) But when shall this *visible, official* adoption take place? In the case of the Head it took place on His victorious conquest over death. And the same [378] shall be the case with the Body. Not till its glorious election *from out of* death, its resurrection *from* the dead, shall its "adoption" take place. For though "now the sons of GOD," though sealed with the adopting Spirit, though "saints elect," yet are CHRIST'S members not "declared to be the sons of GOD in power," till their "resurrection from the dead." And therefore S. Paul says, that though even now sons, though "heirs of GOD, and joint heirs with CHRIST," though endowed with "the firstfruits of the SPIRIT," yet we are "*waiting for* our *adoption*, to wit, *the redemption of our body*." (Rom. viii. 23.) It is not, then, till the last member is brought in, the mystical number of the elect made up, and "the resurrection of the just" effected, that this visible "adoption" ensues; the Anointed One, the [Greek], the full grown perfected MAN, is formally recognized as SON; and the "King set upon the holy hill of Zion."[1]

And how beautifully do all the Scripture types of the Church combine in elucidating this subject. What does S. Paul's application of the word [Greek] to the Church (Eph. i. 23; iv. 13,) the "complement of CHRIST," indicate, but that, without her, the full idea of CHRIST is not realized; that, till her number is wholly made up in every part, the CHRIST of the Mediatorial kingdom cannot be said to be 'perfected?' Even as the word '*Head*' so plainly shows. The Head is incomplete without the Body. And [379] till the Body is full grown, Christ is still said to be incomplete. And so too with the image of the *Bridegroom* and the Bride. "It is not good for man to be alone." The full complex 'homo' consists of man *and* woman. "God created man in His own image; male and female." Either is incomplete without the other; incapable of reproduction, and the exercise of many of the natural feelings and affections. Infinite, unspeakable, Almighty Love has imposed this same condition to the perfection of "Man Christ Jesus." He is *incomplete* (with all lowly and adoring reverence be it said,) without His Bride. He assumes not, visibly, His glorious Kingdom, (for love will not permit Him,) till she is ready to share it with Him, and "sit with Him on His Throne." Again, the Church is the "*Temple* of God." But it is not while the building is in course of erection that the title can with full propriety be given it. The

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[1] In further proof of the correctness of this explanation of the '*King*,' in Ps. ii. we have but to compare Ps. ii. 9, with Rev. ii. 26, 27; iii. 21, where we see that the very promise made in the former to the King, is made in the latter to all the faithful.

We may just remark, in passing, that any idea of a *visible kingship* exercised by the Church during the present [Greek], is fundamentally erroneous. It is essentially inconsistent with the character of the present dispensation which is a dispensation of Grace, not of manifested Judgment and Royalty. Moreover, Christ Himself, though *visibly manifested* as Prophet and Priest, has not *yet* openly assumed His Kingly functions. "*Nondum* se regem appellat Christus, quia in primâ apparitione nondum regiâ fungebatur potestate." And the Church during the present [Greek], has to live again her Lord's life, to share in His sufferings, His meekness, His humility, His Cross, and Passion. The last act recorded of her, in her corporate history, is her resurrection and ascension to meet her returning Lord. The Spirit of God reanimates the witnesses, and they "ascend up in a cloud" in sight of their enemies (cf. 1 Thess. iv. 14—17). The present dispensation, again, is altogether preparatory. It is the dispensation of the Spirit introductory to the more glorious one of the manifested 'Christ.' The Church during the present 'age' is the mystical 'Messenger,' sent to 'prepare and make ready' her Lord's "way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at His second coming" to reign, He may have "an acceptable people" prepared for Him, whom He may "exalt the humble and meek one," (to dethrone Saul, and lift up the houseless David,)—any idea of her settling herself down to *reign*, establishing in the person of her chief bishop a visible mundane autocracy, and carnally antedating the inauguration of the kingdom,—is simply anti-Christian; it is a development, not of the Spirit of Christ, but of the spirit of the world. "I *sit* as a *Queen*,"—these are not the words of the Bride.

title will *then* only be realized, when the last "living stone" has been added, the solemn Dedication taken place; when the "Glory of the Lord has filled the House," and consecrated it to be for evermore the Habitation of Him whom "the Heaven, and Heaven of Heavens cannot contain."

We have said that the official 'adoption' and inauguration of the King, the Anointed One, the "perfected Christ," takes place on the resurrection *from among* the dead, of His Mystical Body. Is this event synchronous with the general resurrection (the resurrection *of* the dead)? We have referred on a former occasion to this mysterious and interesting subject,[1] and can only repeat our firm conviction that the two events are *not* contemporaneous, but two distinct and successive stages of the one grand event—the Resurrection—whereof a still earlier stage has already passed, to wit, the resurrection of Christ.[2]

He is the "First-begotten *from out of* death; "*from* the dead," [Greek]. But His Bride is called the "Church of the first-begotten ones." Of *her* therefore is this same resurrection from the dead, or [Greek] predicated. For "if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus *from out of* the dead dwell in her, He that raised up Christ from the dead will likewise raise up her." In fact the very word [Greek] of itself seems to point to the same conclusion. The Church is called out of the living, (to a higher life,)—she shall be called out of the dead. The election of God impressed upon her, shall follow her into the grave and raise her from amongst the 'sleeping ones,' not only that she may be for ever "blessed," but [380] to a *higher* glory; that she may be (with her loving LORD,) the *source* and channel of Blessing for ever. "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

"We believe" then, that at the 'Corning' or [Greek] of CHRIST, "all men shall rise again with their bodies:" "*but*," as S. Paul adds, "*every man in his own order*—CHRIST the first-fruits; *then* those that are CHRIST'S; *afterwards* cometh the end." The Seventh Day, the Day of Rest, the Day of Judgment, the Day of Resurrection, *opens* with the rapture, and revival out of death, of the living members of "the Resurrection and the Life," who having already "passed from death unto Life," shall not enter into judgment, or "be condemned with the world;" nay, who shall be assessors with CHRIST on the judgment-seat, and "judge angels." It *closes* with the Resurrection of the *dead*, and the judgment "according to their works" of [Greek] (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3; S. Matt. xxv. 31, 32; Rev. xx. 12, 13;) multitudes of whom shall receive a merciful sentence of acquittal; and shall be rewarded with a joyful entrance into the Kingdom of everlasting Peace, as happy *subjects* of the King and glorified Bride, as members of those "saved nations" who "walk in the Light of" the Golden City.

And what a meaning does all this give to those incessant prayers, wherewith the Psalter abounds, of the Mystical CHRIST (the members as well as the Head), for *Resurrection*; and to the Prayers which the Catholic Church has ever continued to offer up for the "dead in CHRIST." The trustful, loving, use of such prayers is but a living and practical realization of the glorious doctrine of the Communion of Saints; it is but an expression of that

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[1] Vid. *Ecclesiastic*, May, 1854, pp. 208—211. ϕ Dykes's review 'The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes.' p. 118 *supra.*

[2] The earlier prophets, looking through the vista of futurity, seem to view all three stages as simultaneous. We find the resurrection of Christ spoken of as contemporaneous with that of His members, ("Thy dead men shall live, *together with My* dead Body shall they arise,") even as, by the same prophetic perspective, the two advents of Christ seem constantly combined into one. It is only by little and little that the several stages of events begin to unfold themselves, and the intervals which separate them to become apparent.

personal interest which *each* must necessarily take in the welfare of *all*. The members must, like their Divine Head and exemplar, be earnest in -their prayers for the 'Resurrection of the *whole* Body,' for the 'accomplishment of the number of the elect,' for the hastening of the Kingdom of Glory. Till that glad time, the bliss of the 'departed' is but inchoate and incomplete. They are awaiting their 'perfection'—their 'adoption'—the awful, ineffable, UNION. And this beatific consummation may be hastened even by us. Our prayers and Eucharists are not merely our own breath and food, but, in their degree, the breath and food whereby the whole Body 'groweth the growth of GOD.' The restoration too, of every wanderer to the fold—the addition of every new member, by Holy Baptism, to the Church—these are events, in like manner, affecting the whole Body: they are for the benefit (by accelerating their Resurrection) of the departed: they are deeds done "in behalf of" (i.e. for the benefit of) "the Dead" ([Greek] 1 Cor xv. 29), who can only by such means attain to their "perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul."

Into the kindred, but most difficult and mysterious question, as to the nature of that 'Pit,' 'Grave,' 'Corruption,' 'Hades,' *from* [381] *which* the mystical Body prays for Resurrection, out of which It is raised, by which "it is not possible for It to be holden,"—or into an examination of the unsatisfactory solution which has been forced upon this question in another branch of the Church, we do not propose to enter.[1]

With a single remark on a different subject we must conclude. We have referred frequently to GOD'S Israel, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the true SEED of Abraham:—are the predictions concerning the literal Israel, Jerusalem, Canaan, to be all absorbed in their higher spiritual fulfilment?

We feel earnestly persuaded that this cannot be; and that the system of interpretation which would abruptly cut off the history of the national Israel at their present 'dispersion' and 'blindness,' is one, not only involving conclusions utterly repugnant to the revealed character of Him "Whose gifts and calling are without repentance," but productive also of inextricable confusion, if legitimately carried out, in the prophetic Scriptures. Unquestionably the natural seed has a history of its own, as well as the Spiritual SEED. S. Paul categorically declares this in Rom. xi.; drawing a marked distinction between "All Israel," i.e., his brethren after the *flesh*, who "shall be *saved*;" and the "Remnant according to the Election of Grace," who are admitted into the higher Fellowship, and lose all national distinctions by incorporation into that Sacred Body, "where is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, but only CHRIST."

There is to be a renewed earth, as well as New Heavens: a "Paradise restored" as well as a "Tabernacle of GOD." And "glorious things are spoken of" both. Not only have 'glorious' celestial promises been made to the Spiritual Israel, but glorious terrestrial promises to the natural Israel. True, the latter are a continuous outward type of the former: but are they therefore, not to be realized? Is the current of literal interpretation to be suddenly arrested, and merged in the hitherto parallel and distinct stream of spiritual interpretation? Are the mundane promises solemnly pledged to 'Israel after the flesh' to be broken, merely because they have been consecrated to a further purpose—to bear the weight of, and shadow forth, more glorious promises in a higher heavenly sphere? It cannot be. As truly as 'Angels, Principalities, and Powers,'—all things in the New Heavens—shall be subordinated to the Spiritual SEED, so truly would it appear that, in the new earth, the natural seed shall hold a corresponding position, and Israel be the first among the "nations

[1] Cf. Ps. xxviii. 1; xxx. 3, 9; xl. 2; xlix. 14, 15; lxix. 15; lxxxviii, 4—8, &c. See also Isa. xxiv.17—23; xxxviii. 17—19; Ezek. xxxi. 14—17; xxxii. 18—30; Jon. ii. 2—6; Zech. ix. 11, 12; S. Matt. v, 25, 26, &c.

of the saved;"—their deep national repentance,[1] and the fact of their being the first of the nations to acknowledge, and humbly submit themselves to, their returning [382] King, being perhaps the formal cause of their realizing this high, foreordained position.

But we must conclude. We have ventured to offer these latter suggestions with the more freedom, inasmuch as they deal with points (of acknowledged difficulty and mystery) which have never been ruled by the Church, on which there is no real ancient and continuous tradition, and which lie therefore in that debateable territory, wherein individual conjecture has a legitimate sphere of exercise. We believe, moreover, that some mode of interpretation like that we have adopted, is necessary in order to harmonize the older and literal, with the later spiritual, Patristic commentators; to render full justice to each of their systems; and to exhibit the two (with the modern repetitions of each), not as contradictory, but rather as complementary the one to the other.

We will only add (inasmuch as these suggestions have been based upon the Psalter language) that, though the Prophetic student may receive most valuable guidance from the Psalms, by tracing out the several emergencies and triumphs of the Church, as seen reflected in the Songs and Prayers to which these events give rise;—yet, after all, this is not the primary object of the Psalter. Its whole end and scope is pre-eminently devotional and practical. And the former employment of it is desirable, and even legitimate, only so far as it is made subordinate and auxiliary to the latter.

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[1] Cf. S. Matt. xxiv. 30; Jer. iii. 21, 22; xxxi. 8, 9; Zech. xii. 10—14; Ps. cxxx.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 18 (Joseph Masters: London, 1856)

[389]THE SYMMETRICAL STRUCTURE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

The Symmetrical Structure of Scripture; or the Principles of Scripture Parallelism, exemplified in an analysis of the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, and other passages of the Sacred Writings. By the Rev. JOHN FORBES, LL.D., Donaldson's Hospital, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Clark. 1854.

THE estimate formed of a book of this character will necessarily vary, to a considerable extent, with the habit, tastes, and tone of thought of the reader. While to some, investigations such as those pursued in the present volume will prove at once interesting and suggestive; to others they will present themselves rather in the light of the profitless speculations of an ingenious fancy. We claim to be regarded among the former of these classes. And although we are far from thinking the author of the work before us to have been peculiarly successful in certain of his elaborate exegetical detail, still we are unable to withhold from him our thanks for an instructive and thoughtful volume. It bears traces of extensive and accurate Biblical knowledge. It is written in a calm, reverential, earnest tone; and has evidently been to the author a labour of love. He evinces a becoming eagerness to acknowledge the obligations under which he lies to others, and a corresponding modesty in offering his own private opinions. He is an ingenious and original writer, and though not always convincing, seldom fails to be suggestive: and few can read his book without learning something new, or having their views with regard to the infinite perfection of the Sacred Writings deepened.

The treatise professes to be an application of the principle of "Scripture Parallelism"—first brought into prominent notice (we believe) by Dr Lowth, and subsequently developed by Dr Jebb and other recent writers, English as well as German—to the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount, as well as to other portions of the Old and New Testament.

> "Under the powers of this new instrument of investigation, the Sermon on the Mount is shown to be one of the most perfect compositions that can be conceived, not only from the depth of wisdom which it displays, but for the exquisite arrangement of all its parts, which constitute one grand symmetrical whole, while yet each smaller portion is finished with the most consummate skill and minuteness of detail."—Pref. p. 1.

Dr Forbes reasonably anticipates the very obvious objection [390] which is sure to be made *in limine* against investigations such as those which occupy him:—

> "The author is fully aware of the preliminary objection which will be taken by many to the artificial character of the arrangements of Scripture given in the following pages. Such extremely minute attention to numbers and order, as is alleged to pervade much of the Holy Scriptures, will repel some minds as a littleness unworthy of the oracles of GOD. The author candidly confesses that, when he first began to remark these niceties of composition, be felt extremely jealous of himself lest he should be allowing his mind to be carried away by the creations of his own fancy, and, instead of humbly following the guidance and teaching of the Spirit, should make the Scriptures speak his own conceits. But the truth has gradually forced itself upon him by its irresistible evidence, and forms only another illustration of the maxim, that GOD'S 'thoughts are not our thoughts, neither are His ways like unto the ways of the children of men.' Yet why should it be thought a thing incredible that a GOD of order should have stamped this impress on the Book of Revelation; and that attention to number, the symbol of order, should characterize His works of Revelation as well as His works of nature?"

We would gladly quote the remainder of this passage, did our space admit of it. Dr Forbes concludes by saying, that

> "he has not ventured to publish this first specimen of his inquiries, until he had tested the accuracy of his principles by their application to a great portion of the Sacred Volume, and in some cases even to entire books."—pp. vii. viii.

Our author begins by explaining the nature of what is termed "Parallelism," and endeavours to show that, whereas it is the recognized and formal characteristic of Hebrew Poetry, just as rhyme or metre is of modern verse, yet that it is not confined to strictly poetical compositions, nor yet to the Old Testament; but is frequently employed even by our LORD and His Apostles.

He proceeds to illustrate and exemplify the various species of Parallelism. At these we can give but the most cursory glance.

(1.) The first class he styles (after Bishop Jebb) *gradational*[1] parallels, of which the following familiar instance from the lot Psalm may serve as a short and convenient example:—
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"Blessed is the man,
Who bath not *walked* in the counsel of the *ungodly*,
Nor *stood* in the way of *sinners*,
Nor *sat* in the *seat* of the *scornful*."

Where the regular ascending gradation of each of the three members in the three consecutive lines will be obvious to all.

(2.) The second class consists of "Parallel lines *antithetic*."

e.g. "*Faithful* are the *wounds* of a *friend*,
But *deceitful* are the *kisses* of an *enemy*."

So again: "The *mouth* of the *wise* man is in his *heart*,
But the *heart* of the *fool* is in his *mouth*."

(3.) Next come "Parallel lines *synthetic* or *constructive*;" in which, the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction.

e.g. "The *Law* of JEHOVAH is *perfect*—converting the soul;
The *Testimony* of JEHOVAH is *sure*—making wise the simple;
The *Precepts* of JEHOVAH are *right*—rejoicing the heart;
The *Commandment* of JEHOVAH is *pure*—enlightening the eyes.
The *Fear* of JEHOVAH is *clean*—enduring for ever;
The *Judgments* of JEHOVAH are *truth*—they are righteous altogether."[2]

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[1] Dr. Lowth gave to this class of parallel lines the title of "synonymous;" as intimating that they were but *repetitions* one of another, expressing precisely the same sense in equivalent though different terms. Our author, after Bishop Jebb, properly vindicates Scripture language from the charge of a mere useless tautology, insisting that in all these cues, with the change of language, there is, and is designed to be, a change in meaning—each succeeding line generally forming an advance upon that going before; expressive of some "*gradation* either in the ascending or descending scale."

[2] Dr. Forbes gives an example of this kind from S. Paul's detail of his own labours and sufferings. 2 Cor. xi. 22-27. [Greek]

It is needless to add, what vividness is imparted to this enumeration, by the sort of rhythmical cadence into which the Apostle appears unconsciously to fall.

Our space does not permit us even to allude to the subordinate varieties of these several species of parallelism, or to illustrate the numerous combinations, comprising stanzas of 8, 4, 5, 6, or more lines, which are thereby formed.

(4.) It is interesting to notice, however, how the parallel lines sometimes "answer to one another *alternately*, the 1st to the 3rd; the 2nd to the 4th."—P. 20.
[392]

e.g. "Fret not thyself because of *evil men*,
Neither be thou envious at the *wicked*;
For there shall be no reward of *evil men*,
The candle of the *wicked* shall be put out."

Sometimes, in the four-line stanza, the "third line forms a continuous sense with the 1st; and the 4th with the 2nd."

e.g. "I will make mine arrows drunk *with blood*,
And my sword shall devour flesh;
With the blood of the slain and the captive,
From the heads of the chiefs of the enemy."—
(Deut. xxxii. 42.)

Or again: "Being darkened in the understanding,
Being alienated from the life of GOD;
Through the ignorance that is in them,
Through the callousness of their heart."—
(Eph. iv. 18. P. 21.)

In which cases it is at once evident that the 1st and 3rd lines form a continuous sense; the 2nd and the 4th.

Still further. It often happens that the first line is connected with the *last*; the 2nd with the 3rd.

e.g. "Give not that which is holy to the *dogs,*
Neither cast ye your pearls before *swine*;
Lest they [the *swine*] trample them under their feet,
And they [the *dogs*] turn again and rend you."

(5.) But this last example introduces us to a very interesting form of parallelism which is of common occurrence, especially in the Psalter, viz., the *introverted* parallelism. In this case, says Bishop Jebb, "the stanzas are so constructed, that whatever be the number of lines, the *first* shall be parallel with the *last*; the *second* with the *penultimate*; and so throughout."[1] Those of our readers who have read Mr. Palmer's masterly, though wild and unequal, "Dissertations on the Orthodox Communion," will remember that he endeavours to show, in his last chapter, that this arrangement obtains in the Epistles to the Seven Churches in the Apocalypse. In fact, in this particular instance, there would appear to exist (though Mr.

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[1] This arrangement is familiar to musicians under the title 'Per recte et retro.' The following may serve as a brief example:

"NO MAN CAN SERVE TWO MASTERS:
For either he will hate the one,
And love the other;
Or else he will hold to the one,
And despise the other.
YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON."

Palmer does not notice it) an antecedent probability that it should be so. The symbol to which the seven churches are [393] likened is the seven-branched golden candlestick, or rather the "seven golden candlesticks." Here there would manifestly be a centre branch, and a correspondence between every pair of branches equidistant from the centre. This is a very common arrangement of the No. 7. That it is moreover the arrangement of the seven petitions in our LORD'S perfect form of prayer, we shall hope to notice shortly.

But we are here treading on the interesting question of the symbolism of numbers, on which our author has some sensible remarks. It is impossible for us to follow him in his elaborate analysis of the Sermon on the Mount, the Decalogue, or the longer passages whose construction he examines—in which he is occasionally very felicitous, and occasionally (as it appears to us) equally unsatisfactory. We will confine our attention to two points alone, (each incidentally involving questions of numerical symbolism) viz., *the main division of the Decalogue*, and *the arrangement of the petitions in our* LORD'S *prayer*.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to make any apology in these pages for assuming, what was universally taken for granted in the early Church, that *numbers* have a language of their own in Holy Scripture. Yet in some quarters such apology seems necessary. "On this subject," wrote a thoughtful dissenting writer a year or two ago, "I scarce *dare* enter. A belief in mystic numbers too often in these days provokes only a smile." He proceeds however to fortify himself with the authority of S. Augustine, and adds—"I confess I cannot see, why, if all creation be a type, numbers alone should be excluded as having no signification. But here, as everywhere, the seer is wanted." "No one," writes Dr Pusey, "can observe the use of numbers in Holy Scripture, especially in the Old Testament, without being *convinced* that they have some special meaning. . . . This is recognized alike by Jewish, Christian, Heathen antiquity."

We have frequently had occasion, in this journal, to allude to this interesting subject of inquiry. We must be pardoned, if the points at present under discussion render it necessary for us again to advert to it. We will endeavour to be as brief as possible.

And here, of course, the first number that arrests us is the sacred *seven*, occupying as it does so marked and prominent a position throughout the whole of the Sacred Volume. Nor are we left to mere idle conjecture as to the fundamental idea conveyed by it. The literal meaning of the common Hebrew verb (*nishba*) 'to swear,' or 'bind oneself by solemn engagement,' is 'to become *be-sevened*." (p. 159.) Hence the leading signification of this number would appear to be that "of a *covenant* or engagement entered into between GOD and His creatures." For here is the sacred *Three*, the symbol of the Blessed TRINITY, brought into combination with the *four*, which, as is well known, is the ordinary [394] signature of the earth.[1] But as we have referred to this on former occasions, we need not here enlarge upon it. The familiar division of the petitions of the LORD'S Prayer into the three of heaven and the four of earth, may serve as an appropriate illustration.[2]

But further: as the 3 and 4 *united* make up the covenant number 7; so do the 3 and 4 *multiplied together* (the 4 being in this case, as it were, penetrated by the 3) make up the

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[1] On the number *four*, as being the recognized symbol of the perfection of earthly things, see the quotation from S. Augustine and Anastasius of Sinai, in our number for May 1854, page 198.

[2] It is interesting to observe that, as the *seven* is the ordinary signature of the *covenant*, so the broken or divided seven, 3½, which appears in. the Apocalypse in connection with the mystic Babylon and Antichrist, (the latter of whom reigns 3½ years) is plainly the signature of the *broken covenant*.

twelve, or the signature of the "covenant-*people*, 'the *midst of whom* the LORD walked and dwelt.'"

> "The same idea was designed to be conveyed by the form of the encampment prescribed by Divine appointment to the Israelites . . . in the wilderness. They formed a square, each side of which was composed of three tribes; or, in other words, they formed a *four*, or regularly ordered whole, but which received its distinctive meaning from its interpretation by the *Three*, the symbol of the Deity, which, on whatever side one looked, was that which first met the eye."—p. 161.

Hence the High Priest, as the representative of the covenant-people, always appeared before the LORD with the 12 precious stones thus significantly arranged on his breast.

And when we come to the new dispensation, we find the same number still speaking the same language. We yet find "the twelve" the representative of the covenant people. First we have the 12 Apostles. Afterwards we find the Church enlarging her borders; and hence, to symbolize as it were her future extension, the first time we hear of her numbers after our LORD'S ascension we still meet the sacred 12—but multiplied, now, by *ten*, (which, as the basis of all *multiplication*, usually symbolizes the idea of numerical extension;) "the number of the names," we read, "was an *hundred and twenty*" (i.e. 12 x 10.) And yet further: more fully to indicate the Church's all-embracing Catholicity, we find the elect spoken of as the "sealed" from each of the 12 tribes;—out of each tribe 12,000 (i.e. 12 multiplied by the solid cube of 10)—making altogether 144,000. And in like manner the new Jerusalem, the tabernacle of GOD ("as GOD hath said, I will dwell in them and I will walk in them") lieth *four*-square; and the measure of the city is 12,000 furlongs; and the wall thereof is 144 (i.e. 12 x 12) cubits; and the wall of the city hath 12 foundations, and 12 gates—"on the east 3 gates, and on the north 3 gates, and on the south 3 gates, and on the west 3 gates." (Rev. xxi.)

We have stated that the number *ten*, from the fact of its being [395] the basis of numerical multiplication, is the ordinary exponent of the idea of totality, completeness, or perhaps *multitude*.'[1]

The number *five*, as the imperfect, broken ten, is the ordinary symbol of *incompleteness* or imperfection, looking to another half as its necessary complement.[2] Our author barely alludes to this number, while touching on the question of numerical symbolism; but as it is a number which has a somewhat important incidental bearing on the subject immediately before us, we must crave the indulgence of our readers while we dwell some little time upon it.

Now this number is commonly recognized by the Fathers as the signature of the *law*. It was an imperfect dispensation, and looked forward to "some better thing." When "that which

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[1] *Ten*, according to Mr. Isaac Williams "is a mystical number in Scripture; the *complete aggregate* of individuals; itself like unity brought back to unity; the foundation, too, of indefinite multiplication."—*Apocalypse*, page 29.

"Ten," writes Dr. Forbes, "is the symbol of completeness, since it closes the series of fundamental numbers, and contains in itself, as it were, the germ of all numbers; the rest being but a repetition of the first ten, and a further development of them." Thus, he continues: "the Commandments by being ten in number, are thereby indicated to be a complete whole; and as they evidently relate to man's duty both to His GOD and to his fellow-men, are intended to form a perfect summary of religious and moral duty."—p. 140.

[2] "*Five* speaks of what is *imperfect*: ten is a perfect number, indicating indefinite multitude; but five, as half the same, is of incompleteness and deficiency."—*Williams*

was *perfect* should come," then "that which was *in part* should be done away." The Law looked forward to the Gospel as its necessary complement.

And fast it is to be noticed that the law was actually the *fifth* day, or dispensational era of the world. The *first* day saw man in blissful communion with his Maker in Paradise.

After the dark night of the fall, the *second* day dawned with GOD'S Covenant-promise to our first parents, that the woman's seed should ultimately vanquish the serpent seducer.

After the flood followed the *third* day, opening with GOD'S new Covenant with Noah.

Then ensued the *fourth* or Patriarchal day, ushered in with the more explicit Covenant to Abraham, limiting the promises made to the Seed, to one particular line.

Next in order came the *fifth* day, or Law, extending from Moses to CHRIST.

With the birth of the Son of Man the *sixth* day dawned. "In the *sixth* day," (writes S. Augustine, Serm. 269,) "we are now living. And as man was originally formed on the sixth day in the Image of GOD, so in this, the sixth age of the world, are we renewed in Baptism, that we may again be made to bear the Image of our Creator."

"After the sixth day is past," (continues S. Aug.,) "the *day of rest* shall ensue, and the Saints shall enjoy their *Sabbath*, ["[Greek]—Heb. iv. 9.]
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"And after the seventh, we enter that life whereof it is written, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,' &c. Then we return to the beginning (caput). For even as [in the natural week] after the seven days have passed, the *eighth* is the same as the *first*, so after the seven eras of transitory time have terminated, we return to that blessed immortality whence man originally fell."[1]

The law, then, is the *fifth* day. Its charter is the Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses; even as the Psalter, the manual of praise and prayer for GOD'S Israel has in like manner always been divided into five books.[2]

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[1] There is a singular inconsistency in Augustine's distribution of these several "*days*," which is worth noticing, as it appears to have been followed, as far as we have seen, (with more or less diversity of detail,) by all writers who have referred to this subject. We mean his meaning the "*first day*" to extend from Adam to Noah, and being compelled in consequence, in order to bring the present " day" to the *sixth* place, to divide the period from Abraham to CHRIST into three eras. But, to mention no other objection, if, "*octavus* ipse est qui *primus*," on what principle can the everlasting Octave, the ineffable bliss of Heaven, be typified by a state of lawlessness and iniquity which necessitated a universal deluge? Whereas if the "*first day*" embraces, and *only* embraces (as unquestionably is the case) the happy, short-lived period in Paradise, then "*octavus ipse est qui primus*" has some intelligible meaning. And the beautiful idea of a " Paradise restored," and restored with untold "interest," comes out with due force. The "*second day*," it will be remembered, extending from the Fall to the Flood, will thus correspond with that particular day of creation which was characterized by this mysterious mark,—that it alone, of all the days, received no blessing.

While on this point we may just add that our author will perhaps see from what has been advanced, that there *is* a specific and interesting symbolical meaning attaching to the number 8 (the octave) which he has strangely missed, (pp. 208, 209.) *The repetition* (viz.) *of the first, as a higher phase*, thus typifying *re*-generation, *re*-creation, &c.; of which the eighth Beatitude furnishes so beautiful an example. The *first* blessing and the *eighth* are alike, "The kingdom of heaven,"—the flower and the fruit,—begun in time, developed and consummated in eternity.

[2] The divisions are distinctly marked by the Doxologies; the order being as follows:—Psalms i—xli.; xlii.—lxxii.; lxxiii.—lxxxix.; xc.—cvi.; cvii—cl. Dr. Forbes endeavours to show that the fifth book is plainly divisible into three parts, e.g., Psalms cvii.—cxvii; cxviii—cxxxv.; cxxxvi.—cl., thus making the division of the whole Psalter a seven-fold rather than a five-fold one. Be this latter subdivision real or not, {*cont.*}

We have said that the Fathers commonly recognize this number as the symbol of the law. Thus when David chooses his "*five* smooth stones" out of the brook, wherewith to attack Goliath, "it is the *law* of GOD that he takes," writes S. Augustine. "Prefiguratur enim Lex *quinario et denario* numero." (Serm. xxxii. in Psalm 143.) In like manner does he explain the Pool of Bethesda. "The *five* porches," he writes, "are the law. But wherefore did not the five porches heal the impotent folk enclosed within them? Because, 'had there been a law given which could have given life, righteousness had been by the law.' Wherefore then did the porches contain those whom they could not heal? Because the Scripture *conclusit omnes sub peccato*," &c. Tr. xvii. in Johan. c.5.)

So again, of the *five* brethren of Dives, who, not believing Moses [397] and the Prophets, would still remain incredulous even though ONE should rise from the dead,—he tells us that, the "*Jewish people under the law* were thereby signified." (Enar. in Pa xlix.)

S. Ambrose in like manner explains the "*five* husbands" of the Samaritan woman (S. John iv. 18) as the law to which she as the representative of her people had hitherto professed allegiance.[1] (vid S. Amb. in Luc. xiv. 21; xx. 28) The Samaritans, it will be remembered, received only the five Books of Moses.

It will be borne in mind also that when our Lord miraculously fed the *Jewish* (as distinguished from the Gentile) multitude, we have the signature of the law characteristically appearing—the "*five* thousand," the "*five* loaves," (*barley* loaves, moreover—barley being a well known type of the law.)

So when S. Paul warns us against the sins of Israel of old, he represents them (as being violations of God's law) as *five*-fold, viz., lust, idolatry, fornication, tempting of God, murmuring, (vid. 1 Cor. 1.6-10.) Even as our Lord, when He re-enunciates in the Sermon on the Mount, the precepts of the Divine law, rescuing them from the carnal glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, and opening out their true spiritual and all embracing significance, as though to preserve their characteristic signature, distributes them under *five* heads, as will be seen by the five times recurring expression, "*Ye have heard* that it bath been said," &c.[2] Thus again when our LORD foretells the disruptions and divisions which His Gospel would introduce into the Jewish polity, He tells that the "*five*" in the "household" [i.e., of Israel] "shall be divided, three against two, and two against three." Nor is the suggestion of S. Irenæus unworthy of notice, that when our LORD revealed Himself in glory on the mount to the "law and the prophets," in the persons of Moses and Elijah, He revealed Himself before five witnesses, the three Apostles and the two visitants from the other world. (S. Iren. Lib. ii. c. 42.)[3]

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it still must not interfere with the universally received tradition which establishes the former five-fold arrangement.

[1] S. Augustine refers in this passage to the *five senses;* telling us that the woman had hitherto only served the flesh. For this is another common patristic explanation of the umber *five*, the five senses being the means whereby the soul holds converse with, and receives impressions from the external world,—in awful correlation to which the Church has ever devoutly contemplated the five ghostly Wounds on the Cross.

[2] On the rationale, so to speak, of our Blessed LORD'S selection of these five precepts (three only of which appear in the Decalogue) the embodiment of the whole spirit of the second table, and as thereby leading us on, as though to their necessary complement, to the fulfilment of the whole law,—our author has some vary valuable and suggestive remarks.

[3] S. Cyril's explanation of that number in S. John xxi. 11, which has exercised the ingenuity of so many of the ancient commentators, is worthy a passing notice. We allude to the 153 great fishes caught by the {*cont.*}

Look also at the Tabernacle itself. Here we find ten curtains coupled together, *five* and *five*. (Ex. xxvi. 3.) So, the veil for the entrance into the holy place hung on *five* pillars, in *five* sockets of brass. (ib. 36, 37.)[1]

Again, the altar of burnt-offering was *five* cubits long and *five* broad, (its height three cubits.) The length of the court of the Tabernacle was one hundred cubits, the breadth "fifty everywhere," and the height five cubits, (Ex. xxvii. 18.) In like manner the redemption money of the first-born was *"five shekels apiece,"* impressed, as it were, with the symbol of imperfection, to point to a more real and perfect redemption yet to come. Again, in Solomon's temple we find the molten sea five cubits in height. We meet with ten lavers on ten bases, five on the right side of the house, five on the left. In like manner the golden candlesticks before the oracle, five on the right side and five on the left. (2 Chron. iv. 6—8; also 1 Kings vii. 23, 39, 49.)

We alluded just now to S. Augustine's explanation of the five smooth stones wherewith David smote Goliath. May we not trace a like mystical reference in another incident in his history, when he calls upon GOD'S High Priest and asks for bread? He inquires for "*five* loaves," (1 Sam. xxi. 3.) What is this but a symbol of the "man after GOD'S own heart" esteeming the *law* of GOD as "his necessary food?" "Thy words were found and I did eat them."

I. But to come to our immediate point—the Decalogue itself. *What was the original division* of the Ten Commandments? We are not now inquiring what division of them the Christian Church, under the teaching of the Spirit, may adopt, in pressing them in their full spiritual import upon her children, but what *was* the division of them when they were originally written by the finger of GOD upon the two tables of stone?

It appears to us that what has already been advanced may serve to show that there is a strong *antecedent* probability that the divi-[399]sion advocated (we believe with reason) in the volume before us, maintained also by Professor Hengstenberg and other learned

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seven Apostles at that mysterious fishing scene on the Sea of Tiberias. That the whole narrative is instinct with deep spiritual and prophetic significance is admitted by all. We see a picture of the mighty work the Church has yet to accomplish in the world,—but not yet,—not till the "night" has passed; for the scene takes place "in the *morning*."

What then signifies this number—this *hundred* and *fifty* and *three—in* reference to the " shoals" hereafter to be gathered into the Apostolic net ?

The *hundred,* says S. Cyril, (i.e., 10x10, the symbol of indefinite multitude, multiplied into itself,) signifies the vast concourse of the Gentile world that shall be saved, " the *fulness* of the *Gentiles*" who have yet to "*come in.*" ("Centenarius significat plenitudinem Gentium intraturam in rete Petri et Ecclesiæ.")

The *fifty,* (i.e., 5x10, the symbol of the *law* into the symbol of *multitude*,) signifies "*all Israel*" who "shall be saved." (Rom. xi. 26.)

Whereas the *three,* the symbol of Deity, "representat mysterium S. Trinitatis in cujus fide et cultu, tam *hi* quam *illi* congregantur et salvantur." (Lib. xii., c. 63; vid. *Corn. à Lap.* in loc.)

Thus the signature of Israel stands intermediate between that of the Gentile world and that of GOD; as though Israel were to be instrumental in bringing the "nations" to the faith of GOD, and under the yoke of His Church. "If the fall of them be the riches of the *world,* and the diminishing of them the riches of *the Gentiles, how much more* shall their fulness be ?" " GOD shall bless *us,* [i.e., Israel,] and *all the ends of the world* shall fear Him."

[1] When we reach the Holy of Holies, however, the type of "some better thing," this number disappears. Here we meet the Evangelical, or Œcumenical *four*. The veil hung on four pillars in four sockets of silver, (v. 31, 32.)

Biblical students, is correct; the division, namely, which assigns *five commandments to each table.*

But first, for external testimony. What say the ancient Jews ? [Moses] "presented to them," says Josephus, "two tables, with the Ten Commandments engraven thereon; *on each table five* [Greek] written with the finger of GOD." (Ant. lib. c. 5, sect. 18.)

In like manner Philo, "He distributed the commandments which were ten in number, into two *divisions of five each,* ([Greek]) which He engraved on two tables. The former *Pentad* embraced the primary precepts, the latter contained the secondary ones. The *first* table treats concerning the unity of GOD,. . . concerning images, concerning profane swearing, concerning the sanctification of the seventh day, concerning the reverence due to parents. . . So that it begins with GOD the FATHER and Framer of the universe, and closes with our parents who resemble Him in their measure, in being *authors of life.* The *second* table consists entirely of interdictions. [It prohibits] adultery, murder, theft, false-witness, covetousness."[1]

Irenæus bears testimony also to the same division. "Unaquaque tabula quam accepit [Moses] a Deo præcepta habebat *quinque.*" (Ubi sup.)

Nor are the internal reasons for this division less worthy of notice. The first table, we know, has reference more immediately to GOD, whereas the second embraces our duty to our neighbour. It is not a little significant then to find (as Dr Forbes reminds us) that in each of the first *five* commandments we meet with the expression, "THE LORD THY GOD," (occurring once in each, and only once); in none of the last five.

Again, what is the summary of the second table with which our LORD furnishes us? "Thou shalt *love* thy *neighbour* as *thyself."* But

> "none of the terms here employed apply to the fifth commandment. The idea uniformly attached in Scripture to the word translated 'neighbour,' is that of *fellow, companion, equal.* But our parents are not our *neighbours or equals,* but our *superiors.* Again, the sentiment with which we are ordered in this commandment to regard them is not that of '*love,*' but of '*honour.*' We are called upon not merely to love them 'as ourselves,' that is, as our *equals,* but to '*honour*' them as our superiors set over us by the LORD.—P. 142.

In fact our author seems undoubtedly right in classing the first five commandments under the general head, "The Law of *Piety;*" the filial reverence due to our earthly parents, the "piety at home"[400] ([Greek]) to which S. Paul refers, (1 Tim. v. 4,) being the Divinely appointed type and earthly manifestation of that higher reverential love due to "our FATHER in heaven." The first table then tells us that (i.) GOD claims our love and honour as the one sole object of our worship; further, (ii.) that He wills to be reverenced, not by our spirit only, but by our bodies also, and while worshipped, to be worshipped in a particular manner; (iii.) that He will be honoured with our lips, in all revelations of Himself, in everything whereon He has placed His Name, or wherein His Name can be named by us; (iv.) that He will be honoured in the honour paid to His positive *ordinances;* and (v.) in the reverence bestowed on His earthly *representatives.* Thus "the fifth commandment," says Philo, "while it is the last of the 1st Pentad which treats of our duty to GOD, forms as it were the link to the 2nd, which treats of our duty to man. And for this reason. The nature of parents is, as it were, a border nature between the mortal and the immortal. It is mortal, from its relationship to man and the other animals; immortal, from its faculty of producing its own likeness, in which it resembles GOD, the Parent of all. . . .

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[1] See the "Treatise on the Decalogue." (Op. t. ii. pp. 188, 189. Ed. Mangey, *London*, 1742.)

Parents moreover are able to confer benefits on those who have it in their power to make no like return." He goes on to speak of piety, whether towards GOD or man, as the queen of virtues. "Nor can the man who fails in piety towards his parents whom be can see, cultivate piety towards Him whom he cannot see." (*De Decal.* pp. 198-201.)[1]

With regard to the division of the Decalogue adopted by S. Augustine (probably from the Masorites) and after him, by the Church of Rome—which assigns three commandments to the first table, and seven to the second; joining the first two commandments into one, and dividing the tenth into two—it appears demonstrably untenable: nor, in fact, has it anything to recommend it save this alone, (which appears to have suggested it) that it adopts a division of the number ten, which is by no means uncommon in Holy Scripture. Thus, the only reason assigned by S. Augustine for his arrangement of the Decalogue appears to be this *à priori* reason, that as the first table relates to GOD, so it ought to be marked with the signature of the TRINITY, and embrace three commandments, thus leaving seven for the second table (vid. *Ques.* 71 in *Exod.;* also Ep. lv. cap. xi.) But

1. First, a word with regard to the separation of the tenth commandment into two. That this division is purely arbitrary, is self-evident. So little did Origen conceive of it as admissible, that he maintains that, whereas certain persons are for uniting the first and second commandments into one; this can never be admitted, [401] because " if so, *the number of the ten commandments will not be completed,"* (in *Exod.* xx. *Hom.* 8.)

For, that neither of the introductory clauses of the tenth commandment can possibly stand by itself, to serve for the ninth, is evident from the simple fact (often referred to) that on the two occasions when the Decalogue was proclaimed, *these two clauses were transposed.* Thus the tenth commandment in Exod. xx. begins: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's *house;* thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's *wife;*" and in Deut. v., "Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's *wife;* neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's *house;*"—this significant change being apparently introduced as a plain Divine intimation of *the intentional connection under one head* of these two clauses: as is unequivocally evidenced also, even from the New Testament, where the two are simply classed under one comprehensive title, "Thou shalt not *covet.*"

Moreover, as the fourth commandment which treats of the observance of the seventh day is impressed on the very face of it with the *covenant number, seven: "Thou,* thy *son*, thy *daughter,* thy *manservant*, thy *maidservant,* thy *cattle,* thy *stranger:"* so is the tenth commandment, which closes the Decalogue, similarly impressed, reminding the chosen people with its last words, that they are not their own, but the LORD'S. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's *house,* thy neighbour's *wife*, his *manservant,* his *maidservant, his ox;* his *ass,* nor *anything* that is thy neighbour's." But this characteristic mark is, of course, lost, when the commandment is arbitrarily split up into two.

2. And as there is every reason for not *dividing* the tenth commandment, so is there every reason for not *joining* the first and second.

We have already remarked that there is a fundamental distinction between the two ideas of, the *Being* whom (and whom alone) we are to worship, and the *mode* in which that Being chooses to be worshipped. In both these respects did Israel again and again rebel; (i.) in

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[1] Since the above was in type we have found that this fivefold arrangement of the tables of the Decalogue has been defended with considerable ability (on the ground of its being the original arrangement) by Dr. Kalisch, in his recent learned work on the Book of Exodus. (Longman, 1855.)

worshipping *false Gods,* as Baal, &c.; and (ii.) in worshipping the True GOD in *an interdicted manner*, under similitudes of various kinds, as (e.g.) the golden calves,—this latter phase of idolatry, be it remembered, being *the specific sin* for which Israel was cut off.

Moreover, nothing is more obvious than that in the first three commandments there is a plain and manifest reference to the Three Persons of the HOLY TRINITY.

As the *first* has an evident relation to "the FATHER of an infinite Majesty:" so has the *second,* to Him by Whom the FATHER has been manifested to us, and through Whom alone we are to worship the FATHER—"the *image* of the invisible GOD"—the Co-eternal SON—the one, only representation and embodiment of Deity, "GOD manifest in the Flesh," "CHRIST the Image of GOD." And as plainly, has the *third,* reference to the Third Person, the Eternal SPIRIT, by whom we have been named with the Sacred Name of [402] GOD;—Who "spake by the Prophets;" and through Whose Holy Inspiration alone it is that the 'things of GOD' can be clothed in human language, and the Ineffable and Incomprehensible One can be named by us.'[1]

And in striking antithetic correspondence we find (as we have shown in a former number of this journal) that the sins of the people of Anti-Christ are represented as threefold. 1st. They "worship the *Beast*" instead of the FATHER: 2nd. They worship his "*Image*"—the Image of the Beast, instead of the Image of GOD, the Eternal SON: and 3rd, they are marked with his *Name;* branded on their right hands and foreheads with his mystic signature. But we have not space to pursue this subject further.

The question before us has simply been, what *was* the *original* division of the Decalogue? Into the further inquiry, what *is* the division which should now be practically adopted, we do not propose to enter. The *glossator* on Irenæus says that, though according to the *Jewish* division the fifth commandment belonged to the first table, according to the Christian division it belongs to the second. Nor can there be any doubt but that our common division is that for which there is the far greatest amount of authority in the early Church.[2]

The single question of interest which in any way hinges upon the inquiry (at least as far as regards our own Communion) is the question concerning the nature of parental authority—whether it is to be viewed as coming within the scope of our reverential duty to GOD in His Representatives, or rather, of the more familiar and unrestrained duty towards our neighbours. It *may* perhaps be that, since "the kindness and love of God the FATHER have been manifested towards us by Jesus CHRIST," the altered position of the commandment may be a kind of tacit intimation of the more endearing, the less distant and awful light in which we are now encouraged to regard "our FATHER" than was permitted to those under the former covenant; and therefore of some corresponding relaxation—less of restrained awe, more of affectionate familiarity—in our intercourse with our earthly parents.

We are not able to follow our Author in his minute analysis of the structure of the Decalogue. His arrangement of it appears to us ingenious: but as its discussion would

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[1] It is singular that the division adopted by S. Augustine with the view of preserving (as he thought) the signature of the TRINITY, should have the very effect of obliterating that sacred impress which according to the true division is so plainly discernible.

[2] The Latin division, according to Ger. Joh. Vossius ("*De Divisione Decalogi,*") is opposed to that of "*all*, or *almost all* the Fathers, Greek and Latin, who lived before Augustine, and of numbers, especially among the Greeks, who flourished since his time." ("Theses Theologicæ, pp. 338—364.)

involve more space than we have at our disposal, we must leave it for the study of those who are interested in investigations of this character.
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2. To the Sermon on the Mount, Dr Forbes next proceeds; entering upon an elaborate examination of its structure, and the mutual relationship of its parts.[1] He draws out at great length the parallelism between the seven petitions in the Christian's prayer, and the heptad of Beatitudes. As we brought this interesting parallel before our readers' notice on a former occasion,[2] we need not again advert to it; save only to remark, that this independent recognition of it from a different quarter (even although Dr Forbes differs from us in certain matters of detail) serves to attest the existence and reality of the harmony itself—a harmony first noticed, we believe, by S. Augustine. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject altogether without adverting, as we proposed, to one or two of the structural features which characterise our LORD'S Prayer.

We noticed while touching on the subject of *"introverted* parallel lines," that *one* of the common Scriptural arrangements of the number seven, was that exhibited by the familiar emblem of the seven-branched candlestick. We say, *one* of the arrangements; for those who have examined the subject will not need to be told that this number, like most of the mystic numbers, admits of several arrangements. Thus a very common division of it is into *six* and *one;* pointing to the six days of Creation and the sabbatical rest. "The number six," (writes Mr. Williams,) "is of *man* on the sixth day created; of Adam in whom 'all die,' without the *seventh* of sanctification; the *creature* without the *rest* of GOD . . . of man in self-sufficiency without Christ." And hence, this number *intensified,* as it were, and expanded as though to form a sort of *human* counterfeit of the Trinity—6 6 6—becomes the number of Anti-Christ (whose "number is the number of man,") the "man of sin." Another not unfrequent division of the seven (especially in the Psalter) is 5 and 2. But the most symmetrical, and as our Author maintains, far the most common division of this number is the following, 3.1.3:—a centre unit, like the centre branch of the candlestick, with a triplet on either side; the two triplets having some mutual correspondence; bearing either a direct, or inverted, parallelism one to the other. In our LORD'S Prayer the parallelism appears to be of the latter kind. The petitions have their origin in the unfathomable abyss of goodness—"the waters which are above the Heavens,"—the Author of all Good. From Him they descend, by little and little, through Heaven to earth; gradually converging and contracting, till they reach, in the centre, the very petitioner himself, and touch upon the present moment of time and its needs. No sooner is the creature introduced than he is seen surrounded by evil ; evil within him and without him; evil gradually intensifying [404] and diverging, in antithetical correlation with the fore-mentioned good, till it closes with the Author of evil; the Evil One. The whole structure of the Prayer is not a little singular and artificial.

[Greek]

Now here let us notice the following structural peculiarities.

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[1] While our Author throws valuable incidental light upon particular passages in the Sermon, we cannot think his general arrangement of it—as to the progressive sequence of its subjects and their mutual relation—satisfactory. We may possibly return to this question on some future occasion.

[2] ϕ Dykes's review 'The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes', pp. 118 *supra*.

1. The number of petitions is sevenfold. The Prayer bears upon its front the signature of GOD'S covenant. It is impressed with the 3 of Heaven, and the 4 of earth:[1] "GOD reconciled with the world."

2. The particular arrangement, however, of these numbers is 3, 1, 3. In other words, we have a *central petition,* enclosed on either side by a *triplet.* We have the suppliant, who appears in the centre clause, asking for the needs of the present hour—that Bread which connects him with Heaven, and that bread which connects him with earth—hemmed in, as it were, between two worlds; enclosed within two mighty spheres of attraction: an abyss of good above him, an abyss of evil beneath him; a "mystery of godliness" and a "mystery of iniquity:" himself "willing to do good," but having "evil ever present with him."

3. We have then two divisions in the Prayer, connected by a central petition.

(i.) In the *former* of these divisions—rather in the *body* of it (omitting the introduction and conclusion)—we meet the signa-[405]ture of the *Covenant-people;* the sacred 12; *three* petitions, each containing *four* words: these twelve, giving us the outward expression of the very *heart* of the Body and Bride of CHRIST, "the Tabernacle of the Most High," in its ideal and perfected condition. In them we find a voice given to the very "stones" of the "Temple of GOD." From them, as they ascend in three-fold cadence, (like the thrice-repeated "Holy") we learn what it is which constitutes the very being and essence of the "Holy People"—the hallowing of that *Name* which is in and upon all; the extension and development of that *Kingdom* of which there shall be no end; the entire conformity of all will to the One *Will*.

(ii.) In the *latter* division, we no longer meet "the LORD in His Holy Habitation," but the *creature;* and not only so, but the creature surrounded with *evil.* Here therefore we find each petition significantly impressed with the number *six;* the meaning of which we have already briefly hinted at. We have a triplet of sixes.

4. We have stated above, that the two triplets of petitions are in inverted parallelism one to the other. Thus

(i) The 3rd and 5th petitions are plainly seen to be parallel; each having a dependent clause attached to it (consisting of 7 words, and commencing with the adverb [Greek]].) Both the one and the other allude to the confluence of man's will on earth with GOD'S will in Heaven. But we meet with the following antithesis. In the former case we pray that what is done on *earth* may respond to what is done in *Heaven:* in the latter, that what is done in *Heaven* may respond to what is done on *earth.* Hence the latter petition presupposes, and

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[1] "The Beatitudes," says our Author, " are divided into 4 and 3, beginning with man and man's wants, and ending with GOD and GOD'S fulness. The Christian Prayer, on the contrary, is divided into 3 and 4, beginning with GOD and His Glory as the first and highest object to be contemplated in prayer; second and subordinate to which must be the petitions for the supply of our own wants, however pressing." —P. 190.

This observation is interesting and valuable. It appears, therefore, that in the formation of *character* we must begin from the negative, or receptive, side of Christian perfection, and ascend thence to the positive. We must first learn poverty of spirit, meekness, Godly sorrow, hunger and thirst after Righteousness; then we shall be fit to exhibit the *positive* and *God-like* graces of the Christian—*mercy*, *purity*, *active beneficence or* "*peace-making.*" When we have thus ascended from the 4 to the 3, and the whole character in its seven-fold perfection is realized in us, then—and not till then—shall we be worthy to be "*persecuted* for Righteousness' sake." In *prayer* however, this order of progression is reversed. We must first have our faith strengthened by the contemplation of GOD'S love and power; our souls raised by desire for His Glory;—and *then* we shall be qualified to prefer, with confidence, the petitions for ourselves.

is based upon, the actual fulfilment *in ourselves* (to some extent) of the former one. The former prays that GOD'S Will *may* be wrought, as everywhere, so *in us*. The latter pleads, that in one respect this will *has been* wrought in us. We *are* (in our poor measure) "merciful, even as our FATHER in Heaven is merciful:" as then we are merciful to others, may GOD extend mercy to us. Through His grace preventing us, we have striven *to do as He does.* May *He now do as we do. We* forgive others on earth: may He forgive us in Heaven.

(ii.) In like manner are the 2nd and 6th petitions related; the one, however, referring to the realms of light, the other to the realms of darkness;—the former supplicating for the Advent of the Kingdom of Glory, the latter deprecating whatever may hinder our sharing in that Kingdom. They both alike have a present as well as a future bearing. In the *Kingdom* of Grace alone is there security from *temptation.* Satan has been expelled from Heaven. So long therefore as we maintain our position in this Kingdom (even in its present undeveloped stage) and abide in those "Heavenly Places" to which we have been exalted by Christ, so long every temptation *must* be but a means of grace; and the "endurance" of it but an augmentation of "blessedness" (S. James i. 12.). Before [406] Satan can harm us, he must persuade us voluntarily to "throw ourselves down" from our high position in the "Temple of GOD," and so bring ourselves within the boundaries of *his* own dominions. Entering, thus, a region where he is *king,* we throw ourselves into his power. Quitting the borders of the "Kingdom of Heaven," and visiting the world, the "Prince of the World" becomes our recognized master, and *has* sway over us: we are defenceless against his temptations.

But let us turn to the future. "The Kingdom of Heaven" is yet "*within* us." The day of its *manifestation* has yet to appear. And what does the apocalyptic seer represent as being the correlative occurrence in the kingdom of darkness, to the visible inauguration of the Kingdom of Glory? "I saw thrones; and they sat upon them . . . and they lived and reigned with CHRIST." Here is the fulfilment of the prayer, "Thy Kingdom come." And how does S. John proceed to describe the events in the other kingdom? "I saw an Angel descend from Heaven . . . and he laid hold of that old Serpent which is the Devil, and bound him a thousand years, *that he should not deceive the nations* any more until the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that, he must be loosed for a season." Three times it is stated in this brief glimpse of the visible setting, up of CHRIST'S Kingdom, that during this period (whatever this period may be—into which we are not now inquiring) Satan's *seducing* power shall be crushed, his temptations entirely suspended. "The whole earth shall be at rest." The [Greek] shall have come. There shall be a glorious manifestation to Angels, Principalities, and Powers, of the effects of the Incarnation, "Peace on earth—good will to men." Thus, literally, the cessation of *temptation* is the one marked consequent upon the "coming of the *Kingdom.*"

(iii.) But "the *end* is not yet." The Everlasting Octave has not yet dawned. Even the *seventh day,* together with the preceding six, has its evening.[1] *Evil,* though suspended, is not extirpated. Satan, prior to his everlasting overthrow and the universal judgment of [Greek], is loosed "for a little season." His *instruments* have, one by one, been vanquished. The slimy

[1] In one sense the "seventh day" *has* no "evening." It has no evening to the "Blessed and Holy" ones "who have part in the first resurrection," on whom "the second death has no power," and whose bliss, first realized in body and soul on the morning of the seventh day, shall but go on expanding [Greek] (Eph. iii. 21). It is to the wicked alone that this day has an evening; and a very dread evening; the eve of Everlasting Death.

serpent; the "*Angels* that kept not their first estate;" *Sodom; Egypt;* the carnal *Jerusalem;* and lastly, *Anti-Christ,* in whose crowning temptation all previous phases of temptation have been recapitulated; which is therefore designated (in the *sixth* Apocalyptic Epistle, which specifically alludes to it) as "THE *Temptation* which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell on the earth;"—[407] that dread masterpiece of temptation (the several elements of which have been long in secret preparation) which closes this *sixth* day of the world, and ushers in the peaceful reign of the saints—all, all are now past and gone; the Beast and False Prophet long since confined to the burning lake. But the Evil One still exists. Bound, incarcerated, his *final* "judgment" still "lingers." He has still to be everlastingly vanquished in his Own Person. At the evening of the seventh day, the solemn vigil of Eternity, Himself appears upon the stage; "having great wrath;" "knowing that his time is short." The whole of this scene is so replete with profound mystery that we forbear to comment upon it. That the "nations" who, so long untempted, have enjoyed the peaceful reign of the "Saints of the Most High," should yet, in great numbers, take part with him[1] in this his final attack upon the "kingdom"—quite passes the bounds of our comprehension (cf. Isa. xxvi. 10). It only shows us how weak, even in its best estate, is the creature if left to [408] itself. It shows us, further, that *freedom from temptation* and *deliverance from evil* are by no means the *same.* Temptation may be suspended; and the germ of evil lie long undeveloped; but if not finally eradicated, circumstances may yet call it into action. Thus then, at the close of the seventh day, "Satan shall be loosed, and shall go out to deceive the nations . . . . And they went up, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the

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[1] The only parallel to this would be the case of our first parents in Paradise, between whose condition and that of the untempted nations of the earth during the seventh day there would appear to be (whether as regards the physical condition of the earth, the revealed Presence of the Deity, the freedom from sin and misery,) a marked correspondence. The very *day* is the same: in both cases alike it is GOD'S *Sabbath* (cf. Heb. iv. 4,5,9.) The punishment to those who yield to the temptation also, is the same—expulsion from Paradise.

And as the first and seventh days correspond, as well in their concluding catastrophe as in the temptation itself and the subjects of that temptation, so do the *second* and *sixth.* Both of these terminate with a purgatorial *Deluge*—the one of water, the other of fire. In the former case there had been an illicit *confusion* between Heaven and earth—"between the sons of GOD and the daughters of men." The *giants* were born; and "the earth filled with violence." In the latter case the same unholy *confusion* is spiritually realized. The mystic Babylon rears her head on high. There is an impious commixture between the Church and the world; the woman and the beast; the lamb and the dragon. The great [Greek] (or [Greek] —the "Man of the Earth," Ps. x. 20) is thence generated; and the whole earth again "filled with violence."

The specific temptation of the *third* day (the day of the Noahitic Covenant) was the "Lust of the Flesh," which came to a head, and was awfully visited, in the cities of the Plain. But "the *flesh* lusteth against the spirit." *Sodom,* therefore, and *Jerusalem* are antithetical. Hence the temptation of the *fifth* day (which is in inverse parallelism with the *third*) is the abuse of *spiritual* privileges; which was visited in the tremendous catastrophe upon the Holy City and whole Jewish Polity. Of the former of these two visitations the Apostle writes, "even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them, giving themselves over to fornication and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," (S. Jude 7). Of the *latter* the Prophet writes, "The punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is *greater than the punishment of the sin of Sodom, that was overthrown as in a moment.*" (Lam. iv. 6.)

And thus we reach the *central*, the *fourth* or Patriarchal day; during which we find the "seed" brought down into *Egypt* and ground down under the tyranny of the *world;* the day closing with the signal catastrophe upon the hosts of Egypt and their King. Here is our great central enemy—the *world* and its Prince—that "world," the personified Adversary of " the FATHER"—the present stage of all our temptations, whether "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life." This is the true halting-place and culminating point in the history of temptation; having Sodom on the one side, the false Jerusalem on the other. The descent of the "Seed" from Paradise to Egypt; its recovery to the restored Paradise; and the final destruction of Egypt and its King;—here is the burden of Scripture.

Beloved City: and fire came down from GOD out of Heaven and devoured them. And the Devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone where the Beast and the False Prophet are, and shall be tor-mented day and night for ever and ever." (Rev. xx. 7—10.) And with this final and everlasting destruction of *evil* and the *Evil One,* shall ensue the consummated and eternal glory of the Re-deemed. "Delivered" *for ever* "from the bondage of corruption;" every vestige of the curse removed; "all creation shall be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of GOD." And thus, the correlation between the first and seventh petitions of our LORD'S Prayer becomes manifest. For not till the final "*Deliverance from all evil,*" shall the "*Name*" *of the Triune God be perfectly* "*hallowed.*" When evil is for ever put down, when the SON hath vanquished every enemy, and especially the last Enemy, Death, and "Him that had the power of death,"—then shall the SON "deliver up," i.e. present in its glorious and consummated perfection, "the kingdom to the FATHER, that GOD may be all in all."

As for the obvious connection between these two petitions (the first and the last) in the sphere of practical conduct, it need hardly be dwelt on. It is at once manifest that as we have been baptized *into* the Name of the All-Holy, and that Name is upon us, all *evil* in *us* is so much *dishonour* done to *Him;* every "defilement" to the "Temple of GOD," an indignity done to Him that dwelleth therein; and therefore that this "Name" will only *then* be fully "hallowed" in us, when we are "delivered from *every* evil work."[1]
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[1] We have been gratified to find the view here taken of the general arrangement of the petitions in our LORD'S Prayer corroborated by Mr. Palmer (*Diss. on the Orth. Comm*., pp. 323—4 ;) and the more so, as we were unaware of the fact until we had traced it out independently for ourselves. We quote Mr. Palmer's words.

"To those who have noticed the correspondence or analogy which exists between nature and revelation, it will be no new thing to be told, that there is often discoverable in spiritual things a regular symmetry, or proportion, or harmony of measured parts or numbers, answering to the symmetry, proportion, and harmony of numbers, lines, sounds, colours, and the like, in the material world. So the seven petitions of the LORD'S Prayer form a symmetrical whole, which may be represented by writing them in seven parallel lines, thus:—

H a l l o w e d b e T h y N a m e
T h y k i n g d o m c o m e
Thy Will be done in earth, *as it is in Heaven.*
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our debts, *as we forgive our debtors.*
A n d l e a d u s n o t i n t o t e m p t a t i o n .
B u t d e l i v e r u s f r o m e v i l

The 1st petition corresponds as a parallel with the last, the 2nd with the 6th, and the 3rd with the 5th. The 3 first petitions above relate to what is good; and from the highest and most comprehensive wish gradually narrow down to that which is lower and nearer to the individual soul that prays on earth. The 3 last petitions relate on the contrary to what is evil; and from the narrowest contemplation of evil and that nearest to the individual soul that prays (concerning our own trespasses and our neighbours',) gradually widen and deepen to the contemplation of the lowest depth and greatest extent of evil, and to the author of evil himself. The two contrary triplets of petitions in their inverse order are connected in the centre as at a point, by the personal petition for our own necessary subsistence for this day . . . . The parallelism holds good even to the least details in the *sense* of the corresponding petitions."

Dr. Forbes, by removing from its place the words "*as in Heaven so in earth,*"—which, standing as the dependent clause to the 3rd petition, are plainly seen to correspond with the similarly dependent clause at the end of the 5th petition—and by regarding them as belonging equally to the whole of the first triplet, loses sight of the peculiar symmetry of the whole prayer, and thus misses this most interesting example of the introverted parallel.

5. One only point further, in the structure of the LORD'S Prayer, have we yet to notice.

It was originally delivered by our LORD on the "Mount," when, as the Antitype of Moses He was proclaiming His own Divine Law; asserting meanwhile that in this His New Law He was not abrogating the old but fulfilling it.

This Prayer is the devotional epitome of the New Law; at once embodying all man's duty, and meeting the supply of all man's needs. We have already alluded at some length to the number 5 as being the recognized symbol or signature of the Law. It is not a little singular to find the sacred Prayer secretly impressed with this same number. In each of the two divisions *there are exactly* 25 *words*, (5 x 5) i.e. The Signature of the Law, multiplied into itself; The *Law,* as it were, *fulfilled.*

Even as it may just be noticed, that the little word, in which our LORD tells us "the whole Law is fulfilled," is (as Irenæus has incidentally remarked—Lib. ii. c. 42) a word of 5 letters—[a five-letter Greek word].

But let all such hints be taken for what they are worth.

A word in conclusion. We are well aware that throughout the whole of this discursive paper we have exposed ourselves to the charge of indulging in a somewhat perilous licence of speculation; and shall probably have startled some of our readers with suggestions which may appear fanciful and visionary. We can only say, they *may* be but fanciful and visionary. If so, by all means let them be rejected. We object however *in toto* to any *à priori* inhibition of all original suggestion, merely because it may turn out to be erroneous, or may chance to appear fanciful. "Guesses," such as those we have ventured to throw out, or like some of those proposed in the interesting volume before us, will in course of time find their own level, and be accepted or rejected according to their inherent value. They are at least calculated to stimulate thought, and awaken a more diligent attention to the Inspired Volume; and, even though valueless [410] in themselves, may incidentally lead to the discovery of unknown beauties which would have escaped a less minute examination.

We have not alluded to our author's admirable concluding Essay on the "Inspiration of Holy Scripture." We can merely add that we heartily subscribe to the views on this all-important subject therein maintained. We are glad to see that he proposes to pursue his Biblical investigations, and shall look forward with pleasure to meeting him once more in this interesting field.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 18 (Joseph Masters: London, 1856)

[501]THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

In reviewing Dr Forbes' interesting treatise on the 'symmetrical structure of Scripture' in our September number, we had occasion incidentally to notice his analysis of the "Sermon on the Mount;" and while admitting the value of his remarks on certain isolated portions of the Sermon, yet expressed our opinion that, in regard to the particular end proposed to himself—namely, to trace out its *leading* divisions, the sequence of its subject-matter, the arrangement and mutual relation of its parts, and the general symmetry of the whole—we could not think he had been successful.

Our space will not admit of our following Dr Forbes in his elaborate analysis. It will save confusion to treat the subject independently, and offer for our readers' consideration the view of the matter which commends itself to our own mind.

Olshausen tells us that "the Sermon on the Mount, in the form in which it is given us by S. Matthew *cannot possibly have formed* [502] *a whole* when delivered by JESUS." And it must be fully admitted that the internal connexion of its several sentences and sections, the progressive order of thought, the central aim and scope of the entire Sermon is by no means obvious at first sight; as indeed the numerous and ever-varying synopses of its contents, no less than the opinion just quoted, sufficiently attest.

Still, we strongly suspect that we are not really left without a clue to guide us in the prosecution of this interesting inquiry. In the very heart of the Sermon we cannot but think we meet with an index—how little soever it may have been hitherto regarded in this light—which conveys to us the very information we desire; not only pointing out the successive divisions or sections of the Sermon, but showing us, further, what is the leading thought of each section.

But before we proceed, let us ask, What does the Sermon on the Mount profess to be?

On the Mount of Beatitudes we meet our LORD as the archetypal Moses, the Law-giver of the New Covenant, formally introducing and inaugurating His everlasting Gospel: and the Dis-course there delivered forms a compendious abstract of the moral teaching of the Kingdom of Grace—a complete ethical code—an authoritative manual of practical guidance, to be studied and exemplified by all who submit themselves to be ordered by His holy governance.

Now imbedded in the very centre and heart of the Sermon we meet with a short devotional epitome of its entire contents—a brief but comprehensive Prayer, in the few concise clauses of which is summed up and compressed (that thus it may be at once graven on the memory, presented perpetually as matter for supplication before GOD, and informed into the whole spiritual being) the full substance, burden, and essence of the complete Discourse:—the legitimate answer to the *prayer* (viewed, at least, in its relation to the petitioner) being the personal exhibition of every point of moral duty enjoined in the *sermon.*

It is simply, therefore, to be anticipated that, as in the central Prayer we have the whole teaching of the Sermon gathered up and concentrated, so inversely, in the Sermon itself we should meet with the natural expansion and unfolding of the Prayer; and hence, that while the latter forms a short summary of the former, the former should serve as the recognized exegetical development, and Divine commentary on the latter—the two reciprocally imparting and receiving light the one from the other. That this is really the case we feel

forcibly persuaded; and further, that the regular sequence of thought and subject-matter in the Sermon is precisely the same as in the Prayer; each continuous section of the former forming a "plain," practical, and (which is of such infinite importance) *Divine* "commentary" on each successive petition of the latter. As the whole Prayer constitutes (as its very position indicates) the [503] kernel of the entire Sermon, so does each successive *petition* form the kernel of each successive *section* of that Sermon.

Let us briefly endeavour to show this.

First, then: what was our LORD'S parting injunction to His Apostles concerning the admission of members into His holy Church? They were to be baptized *into the Name* of the Blessed TRINITY, and instructed in whatsoever He had commanded. They were to have, therefore, not only a new Name impressed upon them, but a new nature thereto corresponding, implanted within them, and a new character externally manifested by them. With the unfolding of this new nature, and a delineation of the features of the Divine character to which the new Name is attached, the Sermon opens. And here we must beg our readers to notice that the chain of Beatitudes, which forms at once an introduction to, and a succinct compendium of, the whole subsequent Dis-course—a *practical* compendium, as the LORD'S Prayer forms a *devotional* one—stands in precisely the same relation to the entire body of the Sermon, as the introductory invocation ("Our FATHER Which art in Heaven,") does to the entire body of the Prayer. Moreover, the two introductions form a sort of complement and counterpart the one-to the other. In the one we address GOD as "our FATHER: in the other we learn what it is to be *His children.* We belong to GOD'S Family—says the former. If we do, rejoins the latter, such and such are the features that must characterize us.

One further point here demands notice. We mean the solemn and crucial test which our LORD adds, by way of helping us to ascertain the extent to which this Divine Life is actually realized in us. The Godlike character has to be exhibited in a world lying under the dominion of the Enemy of GOD. If then, "all men speak well of us," and the world smiles on us, and we are on excellent terms with it, this character cannot be exhibited in its *fulness* in us. The one only perfect embodiment of the "Blessed" character—the only-begotten SON, in the bosom of the FATHER—was '*persecuted*' and put to death. The character itself is still the same; still in absolute, essential antagonism to the "world lying in evil;" and still must—if it come in contact and collision with it—evoke, in some form or other, the malignant hatred and envenomed opposition of the world and its king. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you:" "Great is your reward in Heaven."

I. After the Introduction (ch. v. 3—12,) follows the *first* section of the Sermon, (v. 18—16) containing the first lesson—the first practical exhortation—the first direct precept. And what is it, that our LORD would thus, first of all, press upon us? It is this: that we are not *our own,* but *Anther's:* that we belong to GOD; and therefore, to GOD'S honour and glory must live. We are called by a very Sacred Title. The Name of the HOLY TRINITY is on us. In us, therefore—through us—by us—upon us—this Name must [504] be hallowed; and honour given to "Our FATHER Which is in Heaven." This is the burden of the first section.

We have our several positions—so our LORD intimates,—in society, in the world, in the Church: in all these our FATHER must be glorified; and the Life-giving, self-diffusing, self-manifesting energy of the Sacred Name be felt and seen.

(i.) We have duties, each in *our own immediate sphere.* Placed in the midst of corruption, we must, like the "*salt,*" silently, unobtrusively communicate life and health to

all around, and let our correcting and vivifying influences be felt.. And they *must* be felt if we are what we claim to be. Salt which. seasons not is salt no longer. (v. 13.)

(ii.) We are placed, too, in the *world,* and have duties towards it, both *active* and *passive.* We have (a) to *enable it to see,* and (b) to *be seen by it.* We are (a) "the Light of the World,"—the representatives and organs of the True Light: we must therefore diffuse Light. Nay, if true receptacles of the great Name, we cannot help doing so. The sun *must* shine: so must we. But we have a further duty to the world—we have (b) to be *seen by* it. "A city set on a hill cannot be hid." For, not only are we to enlighten men—encircling them with the Light of Day without disclosing the instrumental source of that Light, but we are to *be seen*—or .rather, CHRIST is to be seen in us. And hence, the additional image of; the noble City, "the City of GOD," high and lifted up, rearing its lofty battlements far into. the blue Heaven: seen, that is, by the world—but not as *of* the world—towering aloft *above* the earth and. its concerns. (v. 14.)

And still further: we have a position in the *Church.* We are the "*Lamp*" in the *House,* and have to keep the Sacred Flame of pure, unsullied doctrine ever burning bright. We must be constantly fed with the Holy Oil, and be ever communicating an ever-communicated radiance. (v. 15.) And thus, whether in the Church or in the world, we must "let our light so shine before men that. they may see our good works, and glorify our FATHER Which is in Heaven." (v. 16.)

Here then we have our LORD'S practical commentary on the first petition of His own Prayer. Here we see what we mean when we ask that our FATHER'S Name may be hallowed. Here we learn the dread responsibility which the possession of this Name entails upon us—the vast amount of personal duty which it involves.

And here, we cannot fail further to observe the exquisite propriety and significance of the first Beatitude which corresponds with all this.

If we would really live the life of GOD'S children, it is not *ourselves* that must live; but "CHRIST" alone Who must "live in us." Our name has not to be hallowed, but GOD'S Name. We have to be merely like the Cherubim, "full of eyes before and behind,"—[505] purely receptive—absolutely *nothing* in ourselves, that we may be everything in Him. Here then is the deep meaning of the first Beatitude—"Blessed are the *poor* in Spirit." For our riches in CHRIST are in exact proportion to *our own "*poverty."

II. We come now to the *second* section, (v. 17—20) the leading subject of which is at once indicated by the thrice-repeated expression, "The *kingdom* of Heaven." It is addressed to all who desire to be enrolled as citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom, who profess a wish to be identified with its interests and to aid in its extension. Our LORD straitly reminds such, that His Kingdom, though doubtless one of Grace, is yet a kingdom of perfect, uncompromising Righteousness. It professes no antagonism to—nay, it is but the continuation and unfolding of—the ancient Theocracy; and demands, no less than the former, implicit, unfaltering obedience. So far is it from holding out any prospect of relaxation from GOD'S revealed Law—that Law which, as an expression of the Mind of the ALMIGHTY, is eternal as Himself—that its peculiar glory. consists in this, that in IT for the first time the Law is *fulfilled.*

Here then we see the Christian in a new light—not now as an individual, but as the subject of a Kingdom. And we see further, what is the nature of this Kingdom, and what is wrapped up in the idea of personal subjection to its rule. As its full establishment in the world will result in the absorption into itself of all authority and power, and a universal subordination to its King; so does the setting up of it in any individual heart involve the

surrender of "every *thought* to the obedience of CHRIST." There can be no divided service. "If I be a Master, where is Mine honour?" Hence our LORD would have His hearers count the cost, and not close in with His allegiance until they have fully realized the nature of the engagement into which they are entering. If they are willing without reserve, without compromise, to "fulfil all righteousness,"—then they may say heartily, "Thy Kingdom *come.*"[1] If not, they must choose some other king.

The submission, indeed, to the laws of the Kingdom will be found its own blessed reward; the "yoke easy," the "burden light," the "service perfect freedom;" but this, only in proportion to the reality and extent of the self-surrender. And this feature, it will be remembered, of unreserved submission and unquestioning obedience, is the second phase of character to which our LORD has attached a [506] blessing, "Blessed are the *meek,* for they shall inherit the earth."[2] Yes, they who have most resolutely *rejected* the earth in not being possessed by it, who in calm hope and patient confidence have pursued this one engrossing object—"The *Kingdom* of GOD and His Righteousness,"—they shall have even this "*added* to them" that "they shall *possess the earth.*"[3] While they who have loved this earth too well to forego it for CHRIST'S sake shall, with their forfeited place in the Kingdom, lose even *it* also; "They shall be rooted out of the earth."

Such then, our LORD would teach us, are the strict requirements of His Kingdom; and such the solemn promise virtually contracted to *keep* all those requirements, and to "fulfil" every "jot and tittle," even every "*least* commandment" of His righteous Law—when we daily pray in His own words, "Thy *kingdom* come."

III. But *how* are these commandments to be kept, and this obedience rendered? In the oldness of the letter, or the newness of the Spirit? Is the conformity to the requirements of the Kingdom to be external or internal? a carnal bondage to the outward forms of its precepts, or a hearty reception of their inner life ?

This is the question disposed of in the *third* section (v. 21—48.) Our LORD'S answer takes the form of a series of examples. In these He brings before us, one by one, the main constituents (in so far, that is, as they relate to our practical duty) of GOD'S revealed *Will*, embodied in His written Law. He unfolds to us the infinite comprehensiveness of that expressed Will; and the nature of the obedience which it claims—hearty, spontaneous, in

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[1] Twice in this section our LORD uses this word '*come*' with regard to Himself. '*I am come,*'—I, as the Head and Representative of the kingdom. His personal Advent being one great stage in the progressive coming of the kingdom. Nor will this gradual *coming* ever cease until GOD'S Law and Will being *perfectly* performed on earth, the object of the prayer. will have been answered and the kingdom shall have fully *come.* If then we desire to know what are the results to be effected (as regards ourselves as well as others) by the full establishment of the kingdom, we have but to ask what are the objects for which our LORD came. This question He answers in the present section. He is "come to *fulfil*" GOD'S righteous "*law.*" (v. 17.)

[2] We have stated our reasons for reversing the common order of this and the succeeding Beatitude (i.e., for placing 'Blessed are they that mourn,' *after* 'Blessed are the *meek,*' instead of before it) in a previous Number,—May, 1854, p. 200,—in which we traced out more at length the parallelism, here necessarily referred to, between the LORD'S Prayer and the Beatitudes. Dr. Forbes strongly objects to the transposition. We have given his reasons our best consideration, but as yet cannot see sufficient cause to alter our former opinion. External testimony seems decidedly in favour of the order we have adopted. And (though we confess the point has cost us no little thought, and some hesitation) internal reasons appear to us consistently to confirm the external. We shall have occasion to touch upon this order again before the close of the present paper.

[3] "*Self renunciation*," writes Stier, "is the way to *World-Dominion.* Give thyself up in passive *obedience to* Divine Grace, and It will present thee one day with a *crown* of glory."

"spirit and in truth," like that of the Holy Angels. The advance observable in this section upon the last is most interesting and important. There we learnt the necessity of *obedience* to GOD'S *Law.* Here we learn something as to the *nature* both of that Law and of this obedience. We are taught that the revealed Law of GOD is but the earthly transcript of the Mind and *Will* of GOD. And hence, would we really obey that Law, it must be, not by a mere naked adherence to a series of external precepts, but by an interior conformity of heart and will to that Almighty Will whereof these precepts are but the outward forms and expressions. We need not add that the [507] whole burden of this section could not be more fully conveyed than it is in the *third* petition of our LORD'S Prayer, "Thy *will* be done on earth as it is in Heaven;" even as (substituting the form of *practical exhortation* for that of *prayer)* it is not less comprehensively summed up in the short sentence which concludes the present section, bringing to a focus its whole spirit and teaching—"Be ye therefore *perfect,* as your FATHER which is in Heaven is perfect." (v. 48.)

As we are not writing a commentary, we must not linger over the many interesting details of this section. We cannot however but notice what a striking parallel we have in the reiterated expression, "Ye have heard that it was said to the fathers, but *I say to you,*" to the words of S. John, "The law was given by Moses, but *grace and truth* (i.e., the unfolding of the *true* meaning of the Law, and grace to keep it) came by JESUS CHRIST." The Law is to be no longer a law of commandments outside the man, but a Law of love within him. And this it is which accounts for many of the startling and seemingly paradoxical sayings of our Lord in this His exposition of the Decalogue; the apparent impossibility of fulfilling these in their outward letter, indicating that, under them, our Lord is giving laws to the *spirit* of man.

But the mystery of this Law of Love, and of our being able to keep it, lies in this, that we have been endowed with a new nature .which (if we may so speak) is *consubstantial with the law itself;* being none other than the imparted nature of HIM Who is the very Law and Wisdom of GOD embodied—the "WORD made flesh,"—so that in so far as we "live after" this new nature, and "walk in the spirit," the " righteousness of the Law *must be* fulfilled in us." Hence the prayer that GOD'S *will* may be perfectly wrought in us,' and the corresponding precept that we are to be perfect *as our* FATHER *is perfect,'* are not hyperbolical expressions. The full development of the new nature—which is Christ in us—involves the realization of both; involves a "transformation" and "renewal" so complete that our own personal will shall henceforth be none other than [Greek] (Rom. xii. 2.)[1]

But "that which is perfect" is not yet "come." As yet the "flesh lusteth against the Spirit," as yet we have to "groan being burdened," having an old, carnal, antagonistic will resolutely opposing this new Will—itself to be determinately and painfully brought under. It is this awful struggle—this terrible crucifixion of the old nature—this lingering and lifelong conflict, which seems to be referred to in the *third* Beatitude. ("Blessed are they that mourn.") For this is that "godly sorrow" which has the promise of the Divine COMFORTER, through Whose mighty energy alone the old nature can be subdued, and the human will concentred with the Divine Will.

IV. But how is this new Will in us to be strengthened? What [508] are the means whereby the regenerate nature must receive its daily and constant corroboration? This brings us to the great *central* section (c. vi.) of the whole Sermon—corresponding with the

[1] ϕ 'And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.'

fourth or central petition of the Christian's Prayer—in which we meet with a most instructive and minute exposition of that petition.

"*Give us this day our daily bread.*"

First then, what is the meaning of the subject-word of this petition, *"Bread?"* The fourth Beatitude answers, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after *righteousness.*" Hence in this expression *"righteousness,"*—one of the designations, be it remembered, of CHRIST Himself—comprehending the whole complex of out spiritual aliment, we discover the equivalent to the term "Bread." In accordance with which, we find the very first subject-word of this section, the meaning of which is subsequently developed at length, to be this identical word "righteousness:" "Take heed that ye do not your *righteousness,*"[1] (see Marg.) even as we meet with the same word at the close of the chapter, (vi. 33,) in our LORD'S brief summary of the contents of the whole section, "But seek ye first the kingdom of GOD and *His righteousness,*" &c. The burden of. the paragraph being simply, that as our spiritual life can only be sustained by the continuous impartation of HIM "Who of GOD is made unto us *righteousness,*" we must allow *nothing* to interfere with our earnest and single-hearted strivings after HIM.

But does "our daily bread" merely include *spiritual* aliment? No; it unquestionably embraces "all things necessary for our *bodies*" as well as our souls. Hence we have two co-ordinate lines of interpretation for the petition, corresponding with these two significations. And these are strikingly and beautifully recognized in the section; the former part referring to the spiritual, the second part to the earthly bread: this latter (vi. 19—34) reminding us that the body no less than the spirit has its *real* claims upon our care, that the earthly bread *has its legitimate,* though subordinate, place in our regard, and that, so long as it merely holds this its *true* place, our care for it (involving as it must a daily exercise of grateful dependence on "our FATHER") forms but a necessary constituent of the righteousness we are to cultivate; whereas if allowed to engross an undue share of our regard, it becomes to us an "occasion of falling:" our affections are estranged from GOD; we are guilty of idolatry, and professing to be but seeking daily bread,' are really doing daily homage at the shrine of a false deity, "Mammon," the "Mammon of *un*righteousness."

But let us take a hasty glance at the contents of this section, as it relates to (1) our spiritual, and (2) our temporal needs.

1. In reference to our spiritual needs, the first point that arrests [509] us is (i.) that (as already noticed) our, great want is *righteousness. This* it is we are to pray for, "hunger and thirst" after, (ch. v. 6,) seek before everything, (vi. 33.) But (ii.) *how* are we to obtain it? The all-important answer meets us in the very first sentence of the section. We are to obtain it by *practising it.* "Take heed that ye *do*," i.e., exercise or practise "righteousness." The Bread is miraculously multiplied while it is being distributed. To *use* grace, is the way to *receive* grace. It will be observed however, that what we are bidden to "seek" is [Greek] (vi. 33,) and what we are to practise, [Greek] (vi. 1.)—(iii.) What then is this personal righteousness by the exercise of which we are to secure GOD'S Righteousness? Our LORD represents it as involving duties towards GOD, our *neighbour,* and *ourselves.* "Thou when thou *prayest,*"—"Thou when thou *doest alms*,"—"Thou when thou *fastest*." Yes, devotion, charity, self-denial; or inversely, the living soberly, righteously, godly,—here are the great

[1] Our readers will hardly require to be reminded that the common reading [Greek] 'alms,' is universally rejected. [Greek] is without doubt the true reading.

subjective means whereby we are to receive, appropriate, assimilate, the various Self-communications which He our everlasting Righteousness is pleased "in divers manners" to make to us. But (iv.) may not this righteousness be practised *unproductively,* so that *no* augmentation of grace, no *reward* ensues? It may. It may be "done to be seen of men." (vi. 1.) Hence the solemn warnings against hypocrisy and insincerity. A wrong intention will frustrate all, and turn what should be our aliment into deadly poison. There must be "hunger and thirst" after Righteousness *as such,* and not after the credit consequent upon the practice of it.

2. And this brings us to the second part of the section. (vi. 19—34.)

As our "hunger and thirst" must be real, so must the object of that hunger and thirst be one, and one only. Not heaven *and* earth; GOD *and* mammon; CHRIST'S Kingdom and Righteousness *and* "all other things." No; our *hearts* (19—21) must be single; not distracted between the rival attractions of two treasure-houses. Our *eyes,* (22, 23,) our mental vision, must be single; directed to one Object alone: else our sight will grow indistinct and confused; the images presented to it will all appear vague, undefined, distorted; the "light that is in us will become darkness." Our *service* (24,) must be single; not an attempt to satisfy the incompatible demands of " two masters."

All earthly goods we need are comprehended under the simple expression "bread;" i.e. food, health, raiment, and other *necessaries* of life. And for these, while thankfully employing the ordinary means, we must rely on GOD'S Providence and *promise;* for in so far as we really need them, and they are good for us, they are guaranteed to us. Anxious solicitude on their account is no less *unreasonable* and *useless,* than it is essentially *heathenish.* For He who continues the greater will surely continue the less. "The [510] life is more than its meat; the body than its raiment." Is it *reasonable* to think that He will give .the one and yet withhold the other? (25.) Moreover, how *useless* is this solicitude: not all our anxiety can prevail to add span to our existence. (27.) Away then with this distrust; it may do for the *heathen*, (32,) not for children of an all-wise, all-powerful, all-loving FATHER. Day by day repose on His good and covenanted Providence. Entertain no misgivings about *to-morrow:* to-morrow will bring its own cares and duties, and strength to meet them. Let care and supplication be limited by present wants, temporal as well as spiritual: " Give us *this day* our daily bread:" "Sufficient unto the *day* is the evil thereof." (v. 34.)

V. This brings us to the *fifth* section, (c. vii. 1—12,) the close parallelism of which with the fifth petition and the corresponding Beatitude, is not less obvious and interesting. All three alike refer to the principle of Divine *retaliation* which guards the practice of the Law of Love. As we *'forgive,'* says the first, so may we hope to '*be forgiven.*' As we are '*merciful*,' says the second, so may we trust to '*obtain mercy*.' As we '*judge*', as we '*measure*' *to others,* adds the third, so shall we '*judged*,' and '*measured unto*.'

The recognition of this principle of holy retribution in GOD'S dealings with us is the sole basis of this section. In the first place (1.) the principle itself is enforced and exemplified. (2.) Then its application is guarded from possible misconceptions. (3.) And lastly, a grand ethical precept, the golden rule of practical Christianity is founded on it.

(1.) The principle is enforced (v. 1-5). We are warned in general terms that we must exercise love in thought, word, and deed, towards our brethren, if we ourselves would be mercifully judged, sentenced, and dealt with by GOD. We are bidden to be rather diligent in searching out and imploring forgiveness for our own trespasses, than in detecting and passing sentence on those of our neighbour. And we are assured, that if we would receive

largely and bountifully at GOD'S hands, we must so measure out our charity towards others.

(2.) But this Law of Love must be practised *wisely* as well as humbly and heartily. (i.) Our *brethren*, it is true, are not to be censoriously "judged;" but it does not therefore follow that in the case of the *godless world* (vii. 6) this judicial faculty should not be exercised. Nay, the godless worldling, the voluptuary wallowing in the mire of sensuality, these *must* be recognized as what they are, and dealt with accordingly. (ii.) And hence, though .the general rule holds "*give,* and it shall be given unto you;" still it does not follow that holy things are to be given to dogs, and pearls to swine. No: *discrimination,* no less than humility and sincerity, must ever characterize real charity. (iii.) We must take pattern from our heavenly FATHER. Our charities, therefore, although large and liberal—and in this respect resembling [511] His, from whom we have but to 'ask' and 'receive,' to seek' and 'find,' 'to knock' and be 'opened unto'—must, like His also, be discriminative. He *gives;* but only what is best for each, and suited to our particular needs. Like a wise and loving FATHER, He bestows not on His children what He knows would be either useless or hurtful; 'stones' for bread, 'a serpent' for a 'fish;' even though we in our ignorance should ask for them. Be our charity the same. And that it may be so, independently of our asking, and seeking, and knocking, for that Holy Spirit which is at once essential Wisdom,[1] and essential Love, take we this short golden rule,

(3.) "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them*," (v. 12.) In all our dealings with others let us constantly ask, how should we ourselves desire—*considerately* desire—in changed circumstances, to be treated? Let us regulate our conduct accordingly. Thus the section which began by warning us what we were *not* to do, concludes by telling us what we *are* to do. Here is the short *practical* summary of the Law of Love. Act we upon it, and we shall never 'want any thing that is good' So doing, we shall be done by; thus charitable in judging, we shall be charitably judged; thus forgiving, we shall be forgiven; thus tender and reluctant to condemn our brethren, our FATHER shall "not be extreme to mark what *we* have done amiss;" thus merciful, we shall obtain mercy; "good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over," shall be poured into our bosoms.

VI. But now we arrive at the *sixth* section (vii. 13-21.) And here a new ground opens upon us. We are solemnly reminded that this life of self-denying self-sacrificing love is no easy thing; that we have enemies within us and without us; that we live in a world full of *temptation,* whose very prince is the tempter himself; and that there is need of earnest, true-hearted, persevering watchfulness.

It is noticeable that the two great tempters hinted at by our LORD in this section, are the very same which S. John introduces and personifies in his Revelation, under the titles of the 'Beast' and the 'False Prophet,' the one the godless world, the other the religious world; rather, Satan acting through different organs, now secular, now sacred; now exhibiting himself as the 'Beast,' now as the 'Lamb.'

Here are the two seducers : the one avowedly careless of GOD; his votaries openly repudiating the "path of life," keeping the world's broad way, sharing its interests, joining in its giddy revelry, taking part with it for time and for eternity:—the other, the ostensible

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[1] It is with reference to *Wisdom* that S. James quotes this promise of our LORD, 'Ask, and it shall be given;' "If any of you lack wisdom let him *ask* of GOD, who giveth liberally, *and it shall be given*." (S. James i. 5.)

friend of GOD; his followers adopting the livery of the [512] 'Lamb of GOD,' their religion meanwhile (to adopt a homely expression so true to our LORD'S figure) but *skin deep*, endeavouring. to satisfy GOD with half a heart, reserving the other half for mammon, anxious to "make the best of both worlds," trying to unite things wholly incompatible, and all eager to propagate their counterfeit religion.

Now these latter are the tempters we have most to fear. This is the sort of pseudo-religion against which CHRIST most sternly warns us. He tells us once for all that His service will admit of no false hearted compromise with the world. The 'way' throughout is strait and narrow, and would we ever reach its end, namely, the 'gate' that introduces us into the everlasting Kingdom, we must make up our minds to try earnestly for it, not satisfying ourselves with a listless LORD, LORD,' but *denying* ourselves, and resolutely "*doing* the will of our FATHER in heaven." (vii. 21.)

As for the broad way, He tells us, there is no difficulty about that. It is plain enough. Once enter into it, and simply follow the multitude, ('all the world,' who 'run after the Beast,') and you cannot fail to reach its destination, the wide open pit of Perdition. But not so the other way. Every step of it has to be *found,*' and alas! 'few there be that' persevere in 'finding it' till the end. It is confined and devious, as it were a concealed mountain track, with lying guides crossing it at every turn, and giving the traveller false directions.

But what is this way, this [Greek] which leadeth unto life? As the Life to which it leads is none other than CHRIST Himself, so also is the way. He is the Life at the end of and throughout the way; He is the Way itself, and He is the Truth, the true Guide along the way, in opposition to the false Prophets who mislead the travellers to their destruction.

And who are they alone who will succeed in steadily keeping the way? Here the corresponding Beatitude comes beautifully in. They are the "pure in heart;" they whose spiritual vision is purged, and who maintain their course by keeping their eyes steadily fixed upon their Leader. These—their prayer having ever been, "O hold Thou up our goings in Thy paths:" "Lead us not into temptation"—shall "endure as *seeing* HIM who is invisible." These shall ever hear the voice of their Guide behind them, when they would turn to the right or left, "This is the way, walk ye in it." These, having in their hearts the image of the Crucified, will ever lovingly pursue 'the way of the holy Cross,' the real [Greek], till they arrive at the narrow portal of death which admits them to their everlasting rest. His grace preventing them, they have learnt "to withstand the *temptations* of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and with *pure hearts* and minds to *follow* Him" their only GOD and SAVIOUR. They follow Him to the end, ever tracking His blood-stained footsteps, going after Him 'through fire and [513] water,' emerging ever refined and purified; till, having long "beheld His presence in *righteousness,*" they at last "wake up after. His" blessed "likeness;" and having like their Leader, "*learned obedience* by the things they have suffered," through "much tribulation" they "enter into the Kingdom of GOD."

But this reminds us that the section before us will receive additional light, if we look. at it in connection with that part of the Sermon to which it answers in position. We examined at length, in our September number,[1] the peculiar structure of our LORD'S perfect Prayer, showing it to consist of a central petition with a triplet of petitions on either aide; the

[1] ϕ Dykes's review of 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture', p. 167 *supra.*

members of each triplet being in inverse parallelism with one another—the third petition answering to the fifth, the second to the sixth, the first to the seventh,'[1]

We may not unreasonably, therefore, anticipate a similar relation between the corresponding sections of the Sermon. Such a relation plainly exists.

1. Thus the third and fifth sections are obviously parallel.

The *third,* (c.v. 21—48,) as we learn from its concluding verse, teaches us that we are to fulfil the law of love *inwardly*, "in spirit and in truth," as it is fulfilled in *heaven.* The *fifth,* (vii. 1-12,) as we learn from *its* concluding verse, teaches us that we are to fulfil the law of love *outwardly,* as we would have it fulfilled towards ourselves on *earth.* Thus the one completes the other. The former, containing as it does, a searching analysis of the second table of the Decalogue, enforces upon us the law in its interior scope as a law for our *minds* and spirits; the latter impresses upon us the necessity, as well as the mode, of exhibiting this law in our *actions.* The whole of the former section, as our LORD on another occasion reminds us, is comprehended "in this saying, namely, 'Thou shalt *love* thy neighbour as thyself;'" the whole of the latter in, Thou shalt *do* to thy neighbour as thou wouldest have him do to thyself,—the inward love and the outward act being, in each case alike, but the overflowing of the "Love of GOD (the HOLY GHOST, namely; that Personal LOVE wherewith the FATHER loveth the SON, S. John xvii. 26,) shed abroad in our hearts."
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Now continuing this inverted parallel, we find the intimate relation between the *second* (ch. v. 17—20) and *sixth* (vii. 13—21) sections. They are strictly complementary, and reciprocally illustrative the one of the other.

"*Enter ye in*," says the latter. The way is strait, the gate narrow. "Enter ye in" *whereto?* What is this strait *way,* and wherein consists its straitness? "Enter into the *kingdom of heaven*" answers the former, (ch. v. 20.) The strait way thereto is the narrow path of perfect undeviating *obedience.* Not a partial one-sided obedience, as the carnal heart suggests and the false teachers whisper. No: the Law of JEHOVAH is *perfect;* not "one jot nor one tittle of it" can be knowingly set aside. The "scribes and Pharisees," the "blind guides," maintain otherwise. But "except your righteousness shall exceed" theirs, "ye shall in no case *enter into the kingdom of heaven.*" And the concluding verse of the present section (vii. 21) reiterates the same warning, assuring us that it is only by active hearty obedience, and by "*doing* the will" of our FATHER, that we can look for admission into the Kingdom.

It will be observed that in both these sections, the *second* and the *sixth,* we meet with the same carnal opponents of the '*Law*' of the Kingdom; the same subtle teachers of [Greek][2]

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[1] We have since found that Stier has adopted, in the main, a similar arrangement of our LORD'S Prayer. He regards it as divided into "two tables," each consisting of *three* members, connected as at a common centre in the fourth or middle petition. He notices also the inverted parallelism between the members of these two triplets or "tables." "The first table," he writes, proceeds "from above, downwards;" in it we *pray down,* from heaven to earth. "The first three petitions are inseparably triune." "The fourth petition mediates between the two tables." After it "the prayer *returns back* . . . in the order of a Sacred Three corresponding to the former." Thus "our *trespass* consists in our not having done the *will* of our FATHER;" hence "reconciliation is our first need. Then comes *temptation*, opposing through the might of the wicked one the coming of the *kingdom:* then the *evil* under which we sigh, opposing the full glorifying and hallowing the *Name of* GOD in His saints," &c. (Extracted from "Words *of* the LORD JESUS," pp. 224—226, vol. I Clark's Edition.)

[2] It is worthy of notice that the same phase of evil—this disparagement of GOD'S Law (clad moreover, in the garb of peculiar deference to that Law)—which marks the second and sixth sections of the Sermon, {*cont.*}

the "Prædicatores Antichristi"—'Pharisees' of former, False Prophets' of latter days; introducing a flexible, compliant *morality*;[1] or, it may be, mutilating; whether by addition or subtraction, the *Faith* once delivered;—in some way or other failing in the performance of the ascending SAVIOUR'S last charge to His Church, viz., to 'teach' and practise '*all things* whatsoever' He had enjoined; and thus coming within the bounds of the denunciation pronounced in the Sermon, (ch. v. 19,) "Whosoever therefore shall break *one* of the *least* of these commandments, and *teach men so,* he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven."

We must not fail, further, to notice how peculiar a significance is seen to attach to those two graces which seem, from their position, to stand out as the special antagonists and correctives of this [Greek]—the two, namely, which filling the *second* and *sixth* places in the [515] Beatitudes, would appear to bear some specific inverse relation to the forms of evil censured in the corresponding paragraphs of the Sermon. We refer to *meekness* and *pure-heartedness.*

(i.) The first is the distinctive characteristic of the Bride—of Her who, when 'the mighty are put down from their seat,' shall be 'exalted' to share with Her Divine Bridegroom the Throne of the Universe; and who, having now meekly bowed her neck to the yoke of the Kingdom, shall another day see her foes bowing their necks before her feet, and owning that her LORD has loved Her (Rev. iii. 9). She covets not dominion or worldly distinction here. All her thoughts, all her desires are centred in her absent LORD. For Him she yearns. "*Thy* Kingdom come:" "Come, LORD JESUS." She is not seen flaunting in 'gold and pearls and costly array' ("I am rich and increased with goods"); Her "ornament is that of a *meek* and quiet spirit,[2] which in the sight of her LORD is of great price." She presumes not "to speak, or to usurp authority over the Man," but remains "in silence." She claims no independence; no authority to initiate doctrine for herself. Her LORD'S voice is heard, not hers. Her one duty, privilege, glory, is *obedience*—unfaltering obedience to whatever her LORD has revealed. After His blessed example (Who said, 'Learn of Me, for I am *meek*') she now '*learns* obedience' to the laws of the kingdom. Nor is her submission like that of the 'False Prophets' (vii. 21) who say, LORD, LORD,' and yet exalt their own traditions and developments above His .commands. No: "as Sarah *obeyed* Abraham calling Him 'LORD,'" so does she *obey.* Does He say, '*Do this in remembrance of Me?*' .She hesitates not. She *does* it. And if perchance she speaks, it is but to repeat that one priceless saying bequeathed to the Church by .Her whom "all generations shall call 'Blessed'"—the fairest

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meets us in the *second* and *sixth* epistles to the Church Catholic in the Apocalypse—the epistles to Smyrna and Philadelphia, the only two unblamed Churches, the sound Branches of the early and the 'latter days.', In both these instances the faithful Body is opposed and confronted by a community claiming the exclusive honour of being GOD'S true Israel—denounced in each case as "the synagogue of Satan" (Cf. Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9;)—which imperiously presumes to tamper with that Law and impose, instead, its own unhallowed glosses; ruthlessly persecuting the faithful Remnant for its determined adherence to the original Deposit, and its refusal to accept as "doctrines, the commandments of men."

[1] There are few more startling facts, in connection with this subject, and the probable future of the greatest Branch of CHRIST'S visible Church, than the deliberate acceptance on the part of the Church of Rome of the whole subtly elaborated system of moral [Greek] of which Liguori is the great modern exponent.

[2] This (i.e. the spirit of meek self-surrender) is the *gate* that opens into the *way* (the way of unswerving obedience); even as the *way* itself, in turn, conducts to the *gate;* the gate, in one case, being the entrance into the kingdom of grace; in the other, into the kingdom of glory.

member, the noblest type of the Spouse of CHRIST—"*Whatsoever* He saith unto you, *Do* it."[1]

(ii.) But meek unquestioning obedience is not the only grace .necessary for the Church in her contact with [Greek]. She not only needs the power of embracing the true; she must be able also to , detect the counterfeit. Hence she needs the purgation of her visual organs—the 'enlightenment of the eyes of her mind'—that she may 'discern between good and evil.' And this, after. all, is but a further stage of the same grace of meek obedience: "If any man will *do* His will, he shall *know* of the doctrine." And great indeed will be the need of this *formed* obedience (i.e. obedience developed into [516] spiritual discernment) in the latter days, when the *unformed* grace, isolated and inchoate, stunted in growth, and dissevered from its Divine Object—not a spiritualized and intelligent obedience, but (to use its own accepted and awful title) a '*cæca* obedientia'—is made a fearful occasion of stumbling. "Many false Prophets," says our LORD, "shall arise and shall deceive many; and because [Greek] shall abound, the love of the many shall wax cold" (S. Matt. xxiv. 11, 12.) Claiming to be sent by GOD, they will exact '*blind* obedience' to their precepts and doctrines. And then will it be that this other, most difficult, supplementary function of obedience—spiritual discernment—will have to be called into exercise. In the normal condition of the Church, whatever GOD'S Prophets, speaking officially, pronounce, 'that' the faithful are to 'observe and do.' But what, if "the Prophets" themselves "prophesy falsely in the Name of the LORD?" What, if a *false* 'Prophetess' is found "teaching, and seducing GOD'S servants to commit fornication?" (Rev. ii. 20.) What, if the Mystical Woman herself who claims to be the Bride, and to rule all nations by authority delegated from her LORD, is found propounding dogmas utterly irreconcilable with the Faith once delivered, industriously circulating throughout her dependent nations an intoxicating chalice of adulterated doctrine? Is the poison to be imbibed? Is the counsel to be followed? Is the teaching to be '*blindly*' accepted and believed? 'No: the natural course of obedience has here to be arrested, and its order inverted. The *teaching* can no longer be implicitly received because of the *Teacher;* the doctrine, because of the official authority of its propounders. The 'Prophets' themselves have now to be tested by the conformity of their doctrines with the 'Law and the Testimony.' The *teachers* have to be tried by their *teaching:* the 'tree by its fruits: the fountain by its streams.

They may parade their Divine mission and spiritual powers—the "horns of the LAMB" (Rev. xiii. 11)—and with 'LORD, LORD' on their lips, may come in CHRIST'S Name; but if, their tenets conform not with the Will of GOD revealed in His Word, and witnessed by His Holy Church from the beginning—even though like the old Prophet of Bethel they claim angelic revelations in support of their 'developments'—they "*lie:*" they must be determinately resisted. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see GOD." In His Light they shall see Light. In-gating on His Blessed Countenance, in studying His Mind and Will as revealed in His Holy Scriptures, they shall become divinely wise; and during the long protracted season of temptation, ever darkening, as the 'stars' one by one 'fall from Heaven,' and the 'Lights of the world' are obscured, until midnight darkness folds the earth in her deathlike embrace, they shall hold on their course "seeing HIM Who 'is invisible;" and "enduring to the end," "shall be saved."

VII. But now we come to the last section.

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[1] The occasion on which this solitary command of the Blessed Virgin was uttered, is not without a peculiar significance. It was spoken to the 'ministers' of the household, in reference to their commission to communicate to the guests at the marriage banquet, the 'New Wine.'

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As we have had the subject of *temptation* bought before us, and have witnessed some of its forms and manifestations, so are we now called upon to see the dread *consequences* of yielding to it. We have seen temptation in action: now we must see it—as essentially 'evil,' and 'coming of the evil one'—exhibited in its inevitable results. As "lust when it hath conceived bringeth forth sin," so "sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death."

The Day of Grace, the twilight shadows of which seemed trembling, in the last section, has now passed. The Day of Judgment has dawned—"judgment *beginning* at the Household of GOD." "Many shall say to Me *in that Day.*" The first judicial act, in this final paragraph, (vii. 22, 28) is confined to the visible *Church,* and GOD responds with the solemn proceedings pictured forth in S. Matt. xxiv. 42—xxv. 30. The last scene (24—27) portrays the terrible course .of judgment in more general terms:—the two together being designed to paint the miserable end of ungodliness, and particularly of *unfaithfulness;* and to force from all, the earnest-cry wherewith the LORD'S Prayer concludes, and which is so beautifully expanded in the touching words of our Litany, "From *all evil* and mischief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the Devil, from Thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation—Good LORD, *deliver us.*"

It is interesting to observe that the inverse parallelism which we have seen to subsist between the *third* and *fifth* sections of the Sermon; then between the *second* and *sixth*, extends also to the *first* and *seventh.*

The first section, as we showed, proclaims the duties devolving on us as members of CHRIST, partakers of the Blessed Life,' named with the Name of GOD.

The All Holy *Name* being on us, we must take good heed that IT be "hallowed" in and by us; that the Sacred Flame be kept burning; "our odorous Lamp filled with deeds of Light;" that in our Light others may see Light, and "glorify their FATHER in Heaven."

Now what is the plea of the miserable castaways which introduces this last section? "LORD, LORD, have we not prophesied *in Thy Name*, and *in Thy Name*, cast out Devils, and *in Thy Name*, done many marvellous works? Here is the *thrice-repeated Name.* And here too is the bitter sting of the now inevitable rejection. They who are about to be consigned to the dungeons of black despair, have been impressed with the Name-of the HOLY TRINITY, and in the might of that Name profess to have *worked.* But alas! the stern answer extinguishes hope.

"*Lord*, *Lord!*" *We* have always owned Thee as our Master:—Save us!

"*Depart from Me!*"

We are called by Thy *Name*, we are Thine own Household and Family.
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"*I never knew you!*"

"We have done many marvellous" and religious "*works*."

"*Ye workers of iniquity !*"

The principle of Love has been wanting in all their deeds. The .works have been done 'to be seen of men,' not for the glory of GOD. Hence, as '*Love* is the fulfilling of the Law,' the deeds done without that actuating influence are simply called [Greek] *(v.* 23.)

It is most instructive to note, from a comparison of the *first* and *last* sections of the Sermon with the *first* and *last* petitions and Beatitudes, *wherein,* according to the mind of our LORD, consists the highest *good,* and wherein the greatest *evil,* to men. The highest good

we here find to consist in *knowing* and *being known* of GOD—maintaining full and loving communion with Him; in not only having His Name *upon* us, but being so emptied of ourselves, filled and penetrated with Him, that His Name is 'hallowed' *in* us, its Sacred Influences actively and beneficially diffused—the 'Light' shining, the 'salt' vivifying, the 'Lamp' burning (for 'it is more blessed to give than to receive'):—it consists in '*making,*' restoring, disseminating '*Peace*,' and thus showing ourselves so truly the children of GOD,' that the FATHER looking upon us sees HIMSELF in us and is refreshed. Whereas the greatest *evil* consists in having our old nature so effectually in the ascendant that GOD is shut out: Far from diffusing 'Peace,'—ourselves eternal strangers to Peace; (for "there is no *peace,* saith my GOD, to the *wicked*"): The Divine Name and Image obliterated in us: Insomuch that GOD looking on us sees nothing of Himself, and *knows us not.*'

The mysterious close of the whole Sermon, pointing to the security of the righteous and the destruction of the wicked—with its iterated description of the desolating and inexorable career of Judgment—defies all exposition, and must be left in its simple and terrible language, to proclaim its own solemn lesson.

One point yet deserves notice—we mean the corroboration incidentally afforded by the close of the Sermon, to the fact (so abundantly attested from external sources) of the Doxology, which the Church has been guided by the Spirit to adopt in her ordinary use of the LORD'S Prayer, having yet had no place in its original delivery.

Stier, fully admitting that MS. testimony is against him, yet argues strongly *for* the Doxology, on the ground of it being "in every view *inconceivable* that the LORD should actually have closed the prayer with "*Deliver us from evil*." It *may* appear strange. Still it becomes us not to speculate what our .LORD *should* have said, but to inquire what He *has* said.

It seems most strange to us that His first Sermon which opens with such words of peace, should yet conclude with such words of terror;—that His Public Ministry which was ushered in with an [519] octave of Benedictions should close with an octave of Woes;—that His later parables should all ring forth such notes of alarm. There may be some mysterious connection underlying all this. The Apostolic narrative terminates in a *shipwreck.* S. Paul disappears from view a prisoner in Rome. The last great event which marks the corporate history of the visible Church is "the Apostacy." The last Apocalyptic Epistle speaks of haughty, self-dependent, faithless Laodicea, as about to be "*spued out* of CHRIST'S month."

The Church's daily Prayer *may* then contain in its still depths some hidden reference to Her Prophetic history. And it may be that as the gloomy twilight begins to fall, and "*evil men* and *seducers* to wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived," and "the foundations of the earth" to be shaken and "out of course," she will have some peculiar and appalling need for the anxious and agonized cry, "Lead us not into *temptation;*" " Deliver us from *Evil*."

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 18.(Joseph Masters: London, 1856)

[145]WILLIAMS' RATIONAL GODLINESS.

Rational Godliness, after the mind of CHRIST, *and the written voices of His Church.* By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow and formerly Tutor of King's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1855.

This is a distressing book—distressing because it contains so much that is really good, many valuable and suggestive remarks, many indications of an earnest, inquiring spirit, an original, independent, and (at times) devotional mind; while all is so incurably mixed up with what is crude, questionable, and pernicious, that we feel constrained to give the book, as a whole, an unqualified condemnation.

Mr. Williams seems to imagine that he has a "call" to subvert the ordinary belief of Christians as to the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, and undermine their traditional reverence for it. To this melancholy object he applies himself with a zeal not easily accounted for. Still we cannot but indulge a hope that the truer and better part of our Author is not so warmly enlisted in this sad cause as might at first sight appear. For his better self seems instinctively to shrink into the background, his very style to undergo a species of deterioration, whenever he approaches this subject. His thoughtful, religious tone seems to forsake him,[1] and he assumes an unpleasantly self-conscious, defiant, irreverent manner which is simply offensive.

We are not now proposing to write a treatise on the Inspiration of the Sacred Volume: neither do we feel qualified for so serious and responsible a task, nor would the short space at our disposal admit of it. We merely wish to point out, what appear to us, the dangerous tendencies of the teaching of Mr. Williams on this subject. As to examining his own theory, the thing seems next to impossible, because he has no fixed theory. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from his words appears to be (what we trust himself would be the first to disavow) that the Holy Scriptures have no sort of claim whatever upon our faith, save just as much as would be challenged by any other "good book,"[2] the constituents of this "goodness" to be determined by the "consciousness" of every individual Christian.

For what is the ultimate standard of appeal, according to Mr. Williams? How are we to test whether any dogma is, or is not, [146] according to the analogy of the Faith? The appeal is entirely *within.* Truth is simply that which, to our dim vision, seems true; goodness, that which appears to every man good in his own eyes. External standards there are none, because these in their turn have first to be submitted to the internal standard. To find any fixed standing ground of truth is a hopeless impossibility, it ever slips from under our feet,—*labitur et labetur.*

Now absurd as such a notion may appear, Mr. Williams (as far as we can understand him) deliberately adopts it. For instance,—he is apologising in one place (p. 311) for taking his text from the Second Epistle of S. Peter, an Epistle which he maintains was never written

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[1] As a specimen of the writer's best style, we may perhaps specify (notwithstanding an objectionable statement here and there) the 16th Sermon, "GOD worketh hitherto." It strikes us in parts as very beautiful.

[2] "We believe the Word of GOD recorded in the Bible; we also believe the Word of GOD recorded in the Book of Mormon, and in all *other good books.*" Extracted from the *Confession of Faith of the Latter Day Saints.*

by the Apostle. Why then take his text from it? The objector, he retorts, "thinks things are true *because they are written,* instead of being written *because they are true.*" He does not stop to inquire, "How are we to know that they are true?" but at once disposes of the matter in hand by the conclusive dictum, that *he himself* feels "no difficulty in adopting the sentiment of the text *whoever may have written it.*"

But further,—The words even of the SON of GOD Himself must be brought for their accreditation to this ultimate and *internal* court of appeal. They are not binding upon us because they come stamped with Divine Authority; rather, the Speaker is Divine because He utters words which have received the stamp of our approbation. According to Mr. Williams' teaching, we are not to go to Him in Whom, *because He is* GOD, "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" seeking from TRUTH Itself "What is Truth;" and while gazing in lowly adoration upon His perfection, be changed more and more "into the same image." We are rather to believe CHRIST'S words "*because* they *are* Spirit and Truth," (p. 393) i.e., because *we* happen to think them good and true. We are to embrace them, not because HE says them, but because they establish their claim to truthfulness before the infallible bar of our *fallen* reason; in short, we are not to believe that whatever He says, whether we can understand it or not, *must* be true, because He is our GOD. We are to invert the process, and infer that He is our GOD, from His teaching that which commends itself to our poor, finite, ignorant minds as true.

> "This free allegiance from love and for the *excellence* of the Object [i.e., its conformity with our own private standard of excellence] is perhaps not exactly that of those who, starting with the Bible, or even with the Divine authority of our LORD, infer from thence dogmatically the excellence of His precepts; but it is more like that of the Apostles, who saw the super-human beauty of our LORD'S truth and patience. . . . and then reasoned upward, Surely this was the SON of GOD." P. 396.

Now without entertaining the abstract question herein involved, [147] or investigating into the amount of absolute truth which underlies this passage, let us look at the practical application of this subjective process of discriminating truth, in the case of the Sacred Volume.

A great portion of the Bible (every one must determine for himself exactly how much) is confessedly human and fallible: out of this mass of the "letter," it is the duty of the "man of GOD" to extract the "spirit," to the essential truth of which his own spirit shall give its infallible responsive testimony; from the heap of useless dross he must separate the pure metal; out of the miscellaneous pile of material he must select such, as to quantity and quality, as shall enable him to rear a structure of "rational godliness" against which the rain and the flood shall beat in vain.

Mr. Williams lets fall several examples of the conclusions to which *his own* discriminating faculty, applied to the Holy Scriptures, conducts him.

E.g., It tells him that the history of the Fall of man, recorded in the Book of Genesis, is but " an "allegory," not "a narrative of events which happened literally," (p. 268); and the whole story is merely meant to give a vivid expression to this sad fact—which might à priori have been anticipated—that "when the human soul *became*[1] cradled in flesh and blood, liable to ignorance, and fettered by circumstances, it *must* often in *all probability* mistake evil for good," and "often *fall,* in actual brutishness, from the likeness of GOD

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[1] Mr. Williams fails to inform us where the "human soul" was "before it became cradled in flesh and blood."

stamped upon it *in idea*" (!) (pp. 268-9)[1] By this profound solution, by this judicious substitution of the "spirit" for the "letter," our author proceeds to inform us, "we should have *several difficulties cleared up*.'

What these difficulties are, we will not stay to inquire. We merely add, Mr. Williams thinks the narrative of the Fall an allegory. Well, and Mr. Somebody else thinks that the narrative of the several processes of man's *recovery* from the fall, are a corresponding allegory. The one has every whit as much right to his opinion as the other. And the two opinions, we may add, are precisely of equal value.
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Again, Mr. Williams thinks that "much of what is said of our LORD'S second coming" may after all be but "parable," (p. 284.) And how much of the history of His first coming?

In another place he pleasantly talks of "the allegory in Jonah *about the whale*." At least let him reverently bethink him of his LORD'S words, "*As* Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, *so* shall the SON of MAN be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." If the one is a fable, why not the other?

Mr. Williams' spiritual intuition leads him to be very suspicious when mention is made of the supernatural.

When the prophet Elijah is miraculously fed in a cave, "he is sustained," says our author, "through the agency of the *Orebim,* (whether ravens or *Arabians,* it matters little.)" P. 68.

The miracle of the Red Sea seems to have been the effect of the "morning roll of the tide, and the stormy wind arising." P. 391.

The Angel of the LORD at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, is but the "disembodied pestilence ceasing to slay," p. 78. So that when "David lifted up his eyes and *saw* the Angel of the LORD standing between the earth and the heaven," or when Araunah and his four sons, on *seeing* the same dread Being, "hid themselves," (1 Chron. xxi. 16—20,) what they witnessed was but a gigantic *abstraction.*

But Mr. Williams refers us to another abstraction. We beg our readers mark his words: "That *one thing,*" he writes," which is *diversely named*—the great enemy; *the devil;* disobedience; unbelief; *an evil heart*."—*(p.* 143.)

The Devil merely another name for a man's own heart! Satan converted into a figure of speech—his personality ignored! The last new device of the Devil (says Mr. Kingsley, in one of his sermons) is, that he is "*shamming dead*." Has Mr. Williams, we are constrained

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[1] It appears to us that the whole of this passage trembles upon the verge of very deep heresy. We believe we might express ourselves stronger.

1. It is here intimated that man was not created in the image of GOD; this image was only stamped upon him in *idea.*

2. Any lapse of man from his primeval state is denied.

3. The current expression, "the Fall," is merely a sort of verbal recognition of the fact, that the pure human soul is linked to a feeble, peccable human body, it being the latter alone wherein resides the liability to sin,—therefore

4. "The corruption of nature" (as it is termed) is owing, not to the "*creature's defection,*" but to the "*Creator's action.*" It is not that man's whole being has *become* disorganized, but that there is an *inherent* defect in one of its constituent parts. So that man was never "very good," and GOD is the author of sin. Is Lampeter to become a school for Manicheans?

to ask, been taken in by the feint? We sincerely trust however, that this sentence, though betraying culpable carelessness, does not really express the convictions of the writer.

Our author, further, in common with those who, like him, "*endeavour to discover the meaning*" of Holy Scripture, discredits the reality of the demoniacal possessions; and is therefore driven to hold that our Blessed LORD countenanced and uttered deliberate falsehood; and that the Evangelists, in the detailed and circumstantial accounts of these mysterious transactions, knowingly combined in propagating a wicked and most dangerous fable.[1]

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Here then, are a few passing examples of our author's process of disengaging the 'spirit' from the 'letter' in the pages of Holy Writ. Let them go for what they are worth. But we must seriously ask, Where is all this to stop? Are there any valid grounds whatever, why this method of dealing with Scripture, if admitted so far, should not be indefinitely extended; and the fair system of Rational Godliness, have to retire before the irresistible logic of a Godless Rationalism?

But let us turn to the more immediate subject of this paper,—viz., Mr. Williams' views respecting the Inspiration of the Sacred Volume: for it is to his loose notions on this important point that all his other "divers and strange doctrines" may be traced.

It appears to us that there are two cardinal errors which characterize his teaching on this head.

I. He denies the *peculiar, official* Inspiration of the Sacred Writers, and identifies the Influence under which they wrote, *in kind,* with that general, personal, guidance which is the common heritage of all Christians. And

II. He holds that the acknowledged indications of *human* agency which appear in every page of the Bible, must necessarily qualify (and that to a very material extent) its infallible authority.

Let us take these two points in order.

I. He ignores any peculiar, official Inspiration of the Sacred Writers. Nay, even Revelation, under him, entirely loses its objective side. It ceases to signify, either GOD'S *act* in communicating hidden knowledge to man; or the knowledge *itself* so communicated, ("The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, which GOD *gave* to Him, and which He signified, by His Angel whom He sent, to His Servant,") and sinks down into the merely subjective

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[1] Williams may pretend that it is a matter of indifference whether we believe in the reality of demonacal possession or not. We emphatically deny this. If his explanation is true, two inevitable conclusions follow:—

1. That our Lord give the whole weight of His authority to the propagation of a *Lie:* for He perpetually spoke of Possession as something *real,* and entirely distinct from any kind of disease; and that, not only in His public teaching, but in His private instructions to His disciples: He employed the fact of their possessing the power of expelling Devils, as the basis of solemn admonitions; and on the exercise of the same power by Himself, and His superiority to Satan thus evidenced, He grounds His claim to be the Messiah:—but

2. If the reiterated, positive, and definite statements of the Evangelists on this head, are to be quietly set aside as inconsistent with the "rational" belief of enlightened men, there is not one single fact or assertion in the Gospels which may not be similarly put away. To use Mr. Williams' own significant words, We must "make up our minds to accept (the Evangelists') declarations *as a whole,* or *reject them as a whole*."—P. 245.

process whereby man puts aside his prejudices and the like, and so turns himself into a prophet.

> "There must be put aside much natural prejudice, with all such local and personal predilections as acted upon the mind *like a veil* between its gaze and the true likeness of GOD; and the removal of such a veil is called in the language of the New Testament, *revelation*."—P. 196.

Hence, as this process of internal purgation can never be but very imperfectly effected even in the best of men, the whole notion of the infallible authority of the Bible falls at once to the ground.

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As for the Divine Inspiration under which we are told (2 S. Tim. iii. 16) that "all Scripture" was written, Mr. Williams considers it to have been a sort of "general Providence" which "permitted, rather than directed."

> "It may be that the composition of Scripture is attributed to the ALMIGHTY, *just as sowing and threshing are said to be taught by Him*; for *every part played by man* comes from the Divine Disposer of the scene."—P. 292.

Now here again, we can only refuse to press the shocking conclusions which spring from this writer's most reckless statements. If the Bible comes from GOD, only in the same way as "every part played by man comes from the Divine Disposer," then do the Koran and Book of Mormon come from Him, and may be said, with no less propriety, to have been "given by Inspiration of GOD." But it is idle wasting words on language so monstrous.

But even when Mr. Williams writes more soberly, we still find his views on Inspiration most misty and low. According to him, the Inspiration of Homer and Isaiah (for instance) though not equal in degree, was yet the same in kind. Throughout the whole of heathendom, he reminds us, we may find many traces of the Spirit's operations: in fact, *nemo sine aliquo Afflatu Divino vir magnus unquam fuit*. Still, he admits that we stand in need of more "definite teaching" than the Records of Classical Antiquity will furnish. And

> "If we seek such aid in the Hebrew Scriptures, we shall soon *find reason to believe* that He, Who nowhere left Himself without witness, yet gave the Spirit *in larger measure* to those who knew Him by His Name Jehovah."—P. 47.

And after descanting on the general historical fidelity of these Hebrew Records, and their superiority to the fabulous writings of later Rabbins, he adds :—

> "Nor *can any reason* be given for this superiority of the older books, more obviously true, than that the writers *conceived themselves* to be acting under a responsibility of a strictly religious kind."—P. 48.

Not the barest recognition of the superintending Influence of the "Spirit of Truth!"

> "Thus" (he writes in another place) "the *spirit* which runs through the literature of the Hebrews is eminently a *religious spirit.*"—P. 296.[1]

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And seeing the "spirit" which pervades these books is " eminently religious,"

> "Why should not the devout sayings" and "noble deeds which they record, serve to the *same end in religion,* as the history of kingdoms in politics, and the strains of poetry in education,

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[1] Mr. Williams' careless use of this important word, is mystifying alike to his readers and to himself. He speaks in another place about "*believing* in the *spirit* of Moses and Isaiah," (p. 395); about "grounding our faith mainly on the *spirit*" (p. 389); about "the *inspiration* of patriotism" as well as "that of religion" (p. 90.) When the subject of Inspiration is under discussion such language is alike objectionable and dangerous.

> without our *presuming to assign to the writers an infallibility which they never claim for themselves.* We may read Moses, not for his physical geography, but for *his ten commandments* and his history. We may read the Book of Joshua, not for its astronomy, but for a tremendous example of the law by which GOD sweeps corrupt nations from the earth. . . . We may also fully admit the unalterableness of Scripture, *in the sense that deeds truly done cannot be undone.* [What *does* this mean?] Nor would it be *modest* to weigh the personal authority of even the most spiritual teacher now, *against that of the Apostles who followed* CHRIST: *but yet* we need not suppose that the arm of the Eternal is shortened, or that the HOLY SPIRIT *ever ceases to animate the devout heart*."—P. 298.

Here is a specimen of the vague, offhand, careless way in which Mr. Williams thinks it becoming to write concerning the "Scriptures of Truth." He may think his flippant allusions to "Moses' physical geography and ten commandments," "Joshua's astronomy," and the like, very smart: to ourselves they are simply distressing.'[1]

But this passage shows, further, (the point to which we are specially adverting at present) how entirely this writer ignores the peculiar, official Inspiration of the Sacred Authors. For (1.) he speaks of the Influence under which they wrote, as identical with that which "ever animates the devout heart." (2.) He intimates that it is merely *modesty* which prevents himself or any other great Light of the present day claiming an Inspiration equal to that of the Apostles. For "they were men" he takes care to tell us, "compassed with infirmities like ourselves; and they professed only to know in part and to prophesy in part," and it is only "on *this* ground, that they *generally* saw our LORD and had the best means of information as to His religion," "that their writings seem to be properly added to those of the Old Testament, which they explain." (P. 59.) But it is needless to point out how thoroughly inadequate and erroneous is this view. Nay, so far is the personal inspiration of the Sacred Writers identical with their objective Inspiration as organs of the HOLY GHOST, that we are told, the Prophets themselves in their private capacity "searched diligently" into the full import of what they officially announced. In the one case, they learn as men; in the other they "speak as the Oracles [152] of GOD." But Mr. Williams steadily persists in confounding these two separate Influences, virtually insisting that, because "there is not a just man upon earth that *sinneth* not," therefore it cannot be true that "*all* Scripture is given by Inspiration of GOD."

The case of Balaam shows plainly that a man may be a wicked man and yet an official organ of the HOLY SPIRIT, and as such, and in that respect, infallible. For though there is but one Spirit, yet has He diversities of gifts and operations. Mr. Williams' strictures seem based upon the identification of these various gifts. Thus he writes: "the Apostles' Epistles were inspired *because their lives were full of the Spirit* of GOD." Here then is a case in point: S. Barnabas "was a good man, and *full of the* HOLY GHOST and of faith;" why is not his Epistle included in the inspired Canon? why not S. Clement's, "whose name was in the book of life?" The only answer is this, that the "One, self-same, Spirit," divideth His gifts "to every man, severally, as *He will*;"—giving to one the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to a third faith; to a fourth prophecy; and that the extraordinary and specific Influence under which the Sacred Writers composed their respective works was vouchsafed but to a privileged few. A man may have one gift in plenary measure; may lack another. He may understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have all faith, and yet be destitute of the great gift of charity. Hence, neither can S. Paul's rupture with S.

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[1] As we have considered the subject of Joshua's Miracle, in connection with its general bearing on the alleged contradictions between Science and Revelation, in a former Paper (vid. *Eccles.* Feb. 1855); we venture to refer our readers to that.

Barnabas, nor S. Peter's dissimulation, a whit interfere with the absolute fidelity of their writings,[1] or their *infallible* authority as vehicles of that portion of Divine Truth which the HOLY GHOST selected, qualified, and inspired them to convey.

Compare S. Paul's language on these two heads. As a man he is 'nothing,' or 'the chief of sinners;' as an organ of the HOLY GHOST he is 'not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostle.' He makes no secret of his bodily infirmities, and yet claims for his writings Divine authority: "If any man think himself a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things *I write* to you *are the commandments of the* LORD." "We *command* and exhort by our LORD JESUS CHRIST." "If any man obey not *our word* by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him." "Which things we teach not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but *which the* HOLY GHOST teacheth." "Though *we* (even *ourselves,* in our personal capacity,) or an Angel from Heaven, preach any gospel unto you beyond (or beside,' [Greek]) that which *we* have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

And as for what Mr. Williams further maintains, that the Inspiration of the Sacred Writers, if greater than that of the present day, merely arose from the fact of the better natural opportunities which they possessed of obtaining information respecting CHRIST and [153] His religion, let the same S. Paul answer him. He emphatically protests that he did *not* derive his knowledge of the Gospel through those ordinary channels here referred to. "I *certify* you, brethren, that the Gospel preached by me is *not* after man: for I *neither received it of man,* nor was I taught it, *but by the Revelation of* JESUS CHRIST." So again, in his authoritative account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist: "I *received of the* LORD that which also I delivered unto you." And again, "I delivered onto you *that which I also received,* how that CHRIST died for our sins," &c.

We believe then, that each writer of the Sacred Canon, so far as his commission extended, whether his particular province was "doctrine, reproof, correction, or instruction;" whether himself a recipient of Divine Revelation and inspired to translate it, for the permanent benefit of the Church, into the language of men; or whether equally inspired to narrate faithfully, and as seen by the eyes of GOD, the historical basis of these progressive Revelations, and the chain of significant events which link them together,—we believe that each individual writer, in this his own proper domain, was guided into *"all* truth;" that his writings, though the work of erring fallible man, are no less truly and essentially the work of GOD: for, he whom GOD hath *sent* speaketh the *words of* GOD, *because* GOD giveth His Spirit unto him. It is the HOLY SPIRIT who thus qualifies His instruments for the work severally assigned them: it is as His organs for a specific purpose, that they are one and all *infallible.*[2]

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[1] "Non inquire quid *fecerint*" (writes S. Augustine) "quid *scripserint* quæro."

[2] Into the question of the alleged discrepancies between the several writers of the Canon, our space forbids us to enter. We may merely remark, that it is at once suggestive and instructive to compare the language of our modern theological sciolists on this head, with that of the Saints and Fathers of old; to contrast the easy, self-confident, voluble manner in which the former pronounce upon the 'errors,' 'imperfections,' 'contradictions,' of the Inspired Penmen, with the thoughtful, reverent tone in which the latter allude to the subject. "If you think," says S. Justin Martyr, to his Jewish opponent, "to reduce me to the strait of confessing that the Scriptures contradict one another, you are mistaken; for I *never dare either think or say such a thing:* but if any Scripture is proposed which has the appearance of contradicting another, *since I am fully persuaded that Scripture nowhere contradicts itself,* I will rather confess that *it is I myself who do not understand* what it says."—(Dial. c. Tryph. c. 65.) This is but a sample of the deep conviction which universally pervaded the early Church on this head. And what is such an intuitive conviction on the part of CHRIST'S mystical Body, but the voice of GOD Himself? The *deep* harmonies of the SPIRIT {*cont.*}

II. But this brings us to the second cardinal error of Mr. Williams' Theopneustic views,—the assumption (namely) that the human element which unquestionably pervades every page of the Sacred Volume, detracts from its plenary authority. He loses no opportunity of pressing upon us these various indications of *human* handiwork which every where abound, reminding us how the writings are absolutely unintelligible if we "refuse to see that they[154] are the embodiments of thoughts that have passed through the minds of living *men*" (p. 207); that the "mental horizon" of each writer is in exact accordance with the age wherein his lot was cast, &c. &c.

> "Only," he continues, "it must be added that all these proofs of *genuineness* are, also, equally proofs of a positive *limitation of the range of knowledge.* We cannot, in one moment, say, these books were written in such an age because they have the knowledge of that age, and in the next moment argue that they have a Divine *omniscience.*"—P. 293.

A word in passing, on this last expression. Mr. Williams is perpetually insinuating that the belief in the proper Inspiration of the Sacred Writings involves with it the absurd notion of the individual *omniscience* of the *writers;* and that there is no standing ground between his own sceptical opinions and this extravagance. This may be a convenient artifice to perplex the minds of the simple, and to give, by contrast, a favourable colour to his own views: it is questionable, however, how far such (virtual) misrepresentation is calculated to subserve the cause of truth. But this by the way. The argument now before us, stripped of all disguise, is simply as follows: here are certain writings, presenting unequivocal traces of human authorship, "embodying the thoughts," speaking the language, of "living man:" a "deep religious spirit" undoubtedly "animates" them, but being confessedly human, they *cannot* be Divine.

The mystery of the HOLY INCARNATION utterly annihilates this argument. The human *has been* Divine. The words of man *have been* the very words of GOD. In the Incarnate SON, as Man, the HOLY GHOST dwelt without measure; and hence His every word was essentially Divine. For "He whom GOD hath sent speaketh the words of GOD, because GOD giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him." Hence the Apostle tells us, that it was "GOD" who "*spoke in the Son*" ([Greek] Heb. i 1.) But here comes the important consideration, that the very same expression which the Apostle employs concerning the SON, he employs also concerning the Prophets, telling us that it was no less GOD who spoke *in them:* the same Inbreathing Spirit being the efficient cause in this latter case even as in the former. But to none of them was the Spirit imparted "without measure;" therefore they, one and all, "knew" but "*in part*," "prophesied" but "in part;" the ALMIGHTY using each of them as the vehicle of transmission, not of His "whole Truth," but of *one portion* or phase of His Truth. And this is what the Apostle means, in telling us that when GOD "spake in the Prophets," He communicated His Revelation "in *many parts"* ([Greek]) as well as "in divers manners." So that it is not any isolated writing in the Canon, but the combined aggregate of the [155] whole, which forms the one, complete, many sided, written Revelation of GOD —the [Greek],—the written "Word;" the full manifestation of the Being and Nature of GOD, in so far as It impinges upon and concerns *man*. For, not for the blessed Angels, but for *man* is the Scripture given; hence, so far from its human form vitiating the Divine communication, it becomes an integral and necessary part of it, being in fact the very channel of its conveyance.

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will ever appear discordant to the mere intellectual religionist, and to the ear unattuned to the music of Heaven.

On the office of the HOLY SPIRIT in blending together the Divine and human elements in the Sacred Writings, we may quote the following from Mr. Lee's very valuable Treatise on Inspiration.

> "The HOLY SPIRIT," he writes, "as the productive *principle,* embraces the entire activity of those whom He inspires, rendering their language the Word of GOD (1 Thess. ii. 13.) The entire substance and form of Scripture, whether resulting from Revelation or natural knowledge, are thus blended together into one harmonious whole: direct communications of religious truth, as well as the inferences which the Sacred Writers deduced therefrom; the lessons to be learned whether from exhibitions of miraculous power, or from the facts of history;— such matters, together with all the collateral details of Scripture, have been assimilated into one homogeneous organism by the vital energy of the Spirit."—*Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, p. 33.

With regard to the idiosyncrasies of the several writers, Mr. Lee expresses himself no less ably and carefully,

> "The peculiar type of each writer's nature was even essential to the due *reception* of that particular phase of truth presented by his statements; his share in the great work was apportioned to the order of his intellect and the class of his emotions; while his characteristic form of expression was absolutely requisite for the adequate and complete *conveyance* of his Divine message. Without the moving power, man could not have grasped the Divine communications; without the living instrument those communications could not have received fitting expression."[1] *Ib.* p. 145.

It will be seen from what has been said, how utterly shallow and vain is this notion of Mr. Williams, that the human form, in any way, detracts from or qualifies the Divine message; that we are to rise above the "letter" in order to grasp the "spirit;" to discard the words, that we may lay hold of the essential truth of which they are but the empty symbol. Now all this may look very specious, and have a show of wisdom: in reality it is mere folly. How can we grasp the "spirit" but by means of the "letter?" How can we reach the truth without the words? It is only when clad [156] in human form, expressed in human language, that Divine Truth can be apprehended by men. We have no faculties for embracing abstract, essential Truth. Therefore this visionary and high-sounding talk about the 'spirit' versus the 'letter,' the 'religion' versus the 'book,' the 'truth' versus the words,' &c. &c., if not sheer nonsense, can only proceed on the supposition that we are *not men;* that we ourselves are "out of the body" and therefore stand in need of disembodied truth.

Take the first illustration that comes to hand.

Mr. Williams asks, When we read 'GOD *said,* Let there be Light,' must we understand the emission of a human sounding voice? We simply reply that we have no means of ascertaining; and hence, just because we *cannot* understand the *mode* of either this or any other Divine operation, we reverently adopt that translation of it into the sphere of our human conceptions, which the Almighty Himself has condescended to give us; convinced that it is, *to us,* the most adequate expression of the operation that either language could convey, or ourselves comprehend.

In connection with this subject, the important theological distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, so carefully traced out (and we believe, in the main, accurately) by Mr. Lee, claims a passing notice. The Divine Revealer, alike in the Old and New Testament, is

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[1] And again (p. 234): "Even when acting *officially* as organs of the HOLY SPIRIT, the agents chosen exhibit styles quite dissimilar,—they pursue different paths of teaching,—they grasp the truth from different sides; such individual peculiarities being, in fact, the means which GOD has employed for the purpose of exhibiting and developing the different phases of Divine truth."

GOD the SON, the Personal LOGOS, the great Self-Revelation of GOD ;—for "no man knoweth the FATHER save the SON, and he to whom the SON will reveal Him." But through what agency is this "Wisdom of GOD" brought within the bounds of human apprehension? Whose office is it to "take of the things of CHRIST and *show* them unto *men?*"

The same Eternal Spirit who, in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin, fashioned the Body of the Incarnate WORD, that thus "GOD might be *manifest* in the flesh," and infinite Wisdom and essential Truth bold converse with men; He it was who inspired the Sacred Penmen to give human expression to the same incomprehensible WORD, that thus the mysteries of the everlasting Godhead might be exhibited to mankind,—exhibited too, not merely in their objective awfulness, but (their *practical bearing* on man being herein enunciated by precept and illustrated by example) so that they might subserve the purposes of "doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness." And as, in the case of the Incarnate WORD, the Godhead suffered no degradation, but the Manhood a supernatural exaltation; so, in the case of the written WORD, the Divine Revelation underwent no deterioration by its outward expression; but the human vehicle, *without ceasing to be human,* became Divine. It is the Blessed Spirit then, by whose all-vivifying transforming agency the Divine is introduced within the sphere of the human; is projected on earthly media, vested in human form, clothed in human language, rendered capable of being the subject [157] of human contemplation. And if, from any vain and presumptuous notion of grasping what *we* imagine to be *unadulterated* truth, we depreciate the Divine medium of its conveyance, we shall assuredly miss the Truth itself; and shall be found despising, *not man, but* GOD.

Mr. Williams thinks that in order to do full homage to the [Greek] it is necessary to show a lofty contempt for the [Greek] which convey it. CHRIST tells us exactly the reverse, assuring us (let Mr. Williams heed the warning) that he who despises *the words'*([Greek]) , him the WORD ([Greek]) shall judge at the last day. And why? Because, in rejecting its Divinely-moulded outward expression, he must necessarily apprehend it erroneously, and will therefore be found to have embraced some counterfeit phantom of his own, and rejected that which was alone "able to save his soul."

So uniformly, in fact, are the *spoken* and *written* vehicles of the WORD attributed in Scripture to the agency of the HOLY GHOST, that (as we have shown in a former paper[1]) the [Greek] and the [Greek] are even occasionally personified, and identified with their Divine Author Himself[2]—the omnipotent *Breath* or Utterance of JEHOVAH. The HOLY SPIRIT is that "*Mouth* and *Wisdom*" promised by CHRIST which the adversary should be unable to resist; and His first miraculous manifestation in the form of an embodied utterance, affords an interesting illustration and confirmation of this.

We must reluctantly quit this subject. A word, however, to guard against misconception.

1. This peculiar gift of the HOLY GHOST, technically called *Inspiration,* pervading and vivifying the whole organism of Scripture, was *confined* to the writers of the Sacred Canon. No other writer has possessed it.[3] This the Church has ruled; here is an end of the

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[1] See *Ecclesiastic,* Dec. 1854, [ϕ Dykes's review 'Lee on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture', pp. 131ff. *supra*.] where the distinction between the [Greek] and the[Greek], and their connection with the Second and Third Persons, respectively, of the Blessed Trinity, are entered into at some length

[2] The same is the case with the word [Greek]: e g.[Greek] Rev. xi. 10.

[3] And yet Mr. Williams, with no clear conception, evidently, of what be is writing, presumes to suggest an invidious comparison between the Song of Solomon, and the works of Leighton, accounting for the {*cont.*}

matter. Other works may tend to individual improvement, "*ad ædificationem plebis*" (in the well known words of S. Jerome), but "*non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam*." Henceforward, this particular gift, *in so far as it has descended,* (as exhibited in the unerring apprehension and correct enunciation of doctrinal truth,) belongs to *no* individual, but resides only in the collective Church—the Body of CHRIST. An individual therefore, even with Scripture to guide him, may not frame [158] his faith for himself; nay, he possesses not the faculty to enable him to balance and adjust with accuracy, and according to the Divine "Analogy," the Inspired statements of Revelation. The Faith he has to learn from the one only official. Organ of the HOLY GHOST. The gifts of the Spirit which he can claim are the "ordinary" gifts; personal guidance and direction, Communion with CHRIST, Comfort, and Holy Love.

2. But does the Church inherit the faculty of *Revelation* as well as the gift of *Inspiration*? No. This resides only in her Divine Head. She has *received* her Revelation "once for all." Her office is that of the HOLY GHOST (whose Organ she is)—to "take of the things of CHRIST and show them to men." It is in the "Scriptures of Truth" that she has these "things of CHRIST" stored up for her. Here is her material. She is "not to diminish aught from it;" she is "to add nothing to it." She is merely to "teach *all things*—neither more nor less (and upon her so doing is CHRIST'S Presence with her dependent)—"whatsoever" CHRIST, by His own mouth, or by His Spirit in the Prophets, "*has commanded;*" to "hold fast *that she hath, until"* her LORD comes.

To her therefore, "have been committed the Oracles of GOD." They are her possession. She is their witness, keeper, expounder. From her the individual has to learn "the Faith." And then, for confirmation therein, for further "teaching," for personal "correction and instruction in righteousness," she sends him to the Inspired Page. And if he approaches these Sacred Oracles, humble and believing,—yes, "*believing* that he *may know;*" in a lowly, self-renouncing, and receptive frame of mind; will he ever doubt that the words he reads are Divine? As his own spirit, quickened by prayer, drinks in the "unutterable utterances" of the SPIRIT; as he listens in reverent amaze to the wondrous Harmonies of Heaven; as he hears the solemn and mysterious pulses thrilling through the whole compass of the Sacred Diapason, while "deep answers to deep," the Old to the New, the Mystical to the Literal, the Law to the Gospel, and his innermost soul is made to vibrate in sympathetic response; as he feels, with a feeling only the more intense because defying analysis, that he is upon Holy Ground—that above, below, around him are the Breathings of GOD,—that he must "loose his shoes from off his feet," that he must "open his mouth and draw in his breath," and "hearken what GOD the LORD will say;"—will his deep calm *certainty* in the Divinity of the Sacred Volume, his absolute assurance that "*All Scripture* is given by *Inspiration of* GOD" be shaken by whole tomes of cold, sceptical, critical, intellectual rationalism? impossible. The Church told him, this Book was from GOD. He believed her. But his faith has now expanded: he believes no longer "because of her words" alone. He "*knows* it *of a truth*" himself. Nay, he finds but an additional ground for this conviction in these very books written [159] to upset that conviction. Their appearance has been predicted. He is prepared for them. For what is their object?[1] To unsettle the Christian in

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superiority of the latter on this ground, that "if CHRIST has improved the world, and the Church is better than the ancient Jerusalem, the indwelling SPIRIT *being better (!) must speak better words*." p. 398. And this is the way a Christian author dares to express himself with regard to the "HOLY GHOST, *who spake* by the Prophets!"

[1] We mean of course their virtual object: GOD forbid that we should say (at least with regard to the book under notice) their intentional object.

his belief in the Divinity of the Bible and the authority of the Church: to undermine, thus, the two great pillars of *the Faith,* and effect that the Faith shall repose on the crumbling basis of every man's opinion; and so to upset it. Many "unstable souls" shall be beguiled. Not "rooted and settled" they shall be allured by the seductive advances of a "Godliness" which grounds its claims on being "Rational:" devoid of Mysteries, and not repugnant to the *natural* instincts of man, and that *"all embracing wisdom which is scarcely other than* CHRIST;" (p. 213.)—a Godliness too, which thinks more about piety than orthodoxy, inasmuch as it is the "spirit" only which "giveth life," while the "letter killeth;" which holds that "no man is really better or worse for framing his religion into formal propositions;" (p. 249.) and "the stereotyped rigidity" of "formularies" is not "so healing to the mind as those devout feelings" of which the other are "the moulded expression," (p. 278.) The "Man of GOD" heeds not, hearkens not. He is forewarned, forearmed. [Greek][1]

It is impossible however, to witness the rapid spread amongst ourselves of this modern rationalistic School of Divinity without serious alarm; or without acknowledging, at the same time, the far-penetrating and malignant subtlety of the Great Enemy. He well knows that the Church is invincible so long as she remains clad in the Armour of Light. So all his energies are directed (S. Paul gives a terrible hint[2] as to the eventual success of his schemes) to induce her to undervalue or misuse her Celestial Panoply, to lay aside "the shield of *the Faith*" and the "Sword of the Spirit," or perhaps to try and refashion them according to the improved standard of modern times, and thus leave herself exposed to his sleepless advances. Passing strange too, that the *first words* ever recorded to have been uttered by the Tempter, are precisely those [160] with which he is now insidiously plying the second Eve: "*Yea hath* GOD *said*?" darting envenomed doubts into the minds of the "wise and prudent" whether GOD *has* really spoken or not; urging that "Religion" does not consist in "propositions," nor Divine Truth in a congeries of statements which may after all be but of human origin; and thus, whatever be the doctrine which a man happens to find unpalatable, Eternal Punishment, the Atonement, Sacramental Grace, Original Sin,—rendering the denial of it easy by this plausible but poisonous insinuation, *"Hath* GOD *said it*?" How can we be sure that it is not but a human perversion of Truth? Is it not merely S. Paul adopting the ordinary but erroneous phraseology of his time? Or Moses indulging in a little harmless play of fancy'?

Too well does the Adversary know the keen edge of the "Sword of the Spirit," not to fear it. He has not forgotten the three terrible thrusts himself received from it, those three Old Testament [Greek]. He has often experienced its irresistible power. He sees the Church is invincible so long as she keeps firm her grasp of it. He *must* delude her into loosening her hold. He has his emissaries hard at work spreading disparaging opinions as to its efficacy; representing it as old fashioned, as well enough for days of intellectual childhood; but not

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[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21. It is interesting, as evidencing the Catholic character of these Epistles to S. Timothy which lies hid in their particular form, to notice that the [Greek] is exhorted to "contend for the Faith" and "keep the Commandment, *until the Appearing* of the LORD JESUS," (I. vi. 11-14); and that it is with special reference to the "*last times,*" and the perplexities and heresies which shall then arise, when men "turning their eyes from the Truth shall be turned to fables"—when the question, "what is Truth?" shall be pronounced unanswerable,—when Scripture itself shall be, by some denied in toto, by others in part; the Old Testament superciliously depreciated by many, both Testaments by more ;—that it is a merciful provision for the special needs of these times that the Solemn Dictum is pronounced: *All* Scripture, whether Old or New, is *Divinely Inspired. All alike is profitable* for doctrine, instruction, &c. *All alike* has its part to perform in the thorough and perfect equipment of the " Man of GOD."

[2] [Greek] (2 Thess. ii. 3). Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1; S. Luke xviii. 8

for the full grown maturity of man's reasoning powers. It is *old,* and "old things ought to pass away,"[1] and the Indwelling Spirit now in the Church "*being better,*" and having advanced with the age, "must speak better words." To what extent he will ultimately succeed, GOD only knows.

In taking leave of the melancholy book which has suggested these remarks, we find ourselves compelled to ask, whether it is fitting that a writer entertaining and propagating views so loose, so uncatholic, so supremely dangerous, should continue to occupy the place of trust which Mr. Williams now holds. A writer who formally denies the Inspiration of Holy Scripture; a writer who so far ignores the Prophetic Element in the Sacred Volume as to question [161] the existence of any *direct predictions* concerning CHRIST, either in the "Law of Moses, or in the Prophets, or in the Psalms;" a writer who insists upon the *utter abrogation* of the Moral Law, even of "the ten commandments;"[2] who loses no opportunity of speaking disparagingly (or with a patronizing approbation worse than dispraise) of those Old Testament Scriptures which our Blessed LORD never mentioned but with the profoundest respect, proclaiming them again and again to be the very words of GOD, insomuch that sooner could Heaven and earth pass, than one jot or one tittle of them fail; a writer who denies the Church's teaching on the solemn doctrine of Original Sin, proclaiming the Mosaic account of the Fall an "allegory," and seeking to lessen the force of S. Paul's startling statements on this head by the apologetic insinuation that "due. allowance" must be made "for the *language of his school*," (p. 270); who teaches that "such texts as "There is none other Name given but One," &c. are to be clearly interpreted in a spiritual, not in a *grossly nominal* sense" (p. 36) in other words, to be pared down so as to square with a certain theory of his own; a writer whose private Sadduceean notions lead him to call in question the most positive assertions of our LORD and His Apostles on the subject of Spiritual Manifestations and operations, if not to ignore the existence and personality of Satan himself; who is ever insisting that Holy Scripture abounds with "imperfections," "transparent errors," "discrepancies," "contra-dictions;"—is such a writer, we repeat, a fit person to be intrusted with the Theological training of the Clergy of the

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[1] Mr. Williams' elaborate exposition of S. Peter's celebrated saying, (2 S. Pet. i. 21.) "Holy men of GOD spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST," &c., is far too characteristic to be passed over without notice, (p. 294, &c.) He begins with the words, *"Holy Men.*"

1. "The writers after all are men; and the condition of mankind is imperfection."
2. "They were *holy men*," but "all human holiness is *comparative.*"
3. "They *spake;* but speech is the organ of thought; therefore there is *nothing in Scripture but what was first in the mind of the scribe.*"
4. "They. spake *of old;* but all old times represent as it were the *childhood* of the human race and therefore *had childish things, which we must put away*."
5. "The *Holy Ghost* was their teacher; but the province" of the HOLY GHOST " is not to give knowledge,". . but . . . "rather to quicken our conceptions of things otherwise known."
6. The important word[Greek], telling us of the Divine [Greek] or Impulse under which these ancient Seers wrote, is unnoticed in this edifying exposition, and
7. Our Author reminds us that, after all, S. Peter never wrote these words! We need not add any comment!

[2] We wonder whether Mr. Williams has ever signed or read the VIIth Article. [ϕ 'VII. **Of the Old Testament:** The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.']

depressed Church in Wales? It must not, it cannot be. Mr. Williams appears to be a learned man, an accomplished scholar, a man too of personal piety, and with a high-minded earnestness of character, (at least, so his book seems to indicate—for we know nothing of him beyond); nay, even his present work, as we have fully admitted, contains many really valuable thoughts and suggestions; but *he is in the downward road to positive heresy.* And is it to be, that a teacher, himself pursuing that perilous path, should hold the position of accredited guide to those who have in their turn to be teachers of thousands? that we are to have our Theological neophytes in Wales indoctrinated, at the most critical period of their lives, with opinions and tendencies of thought which, if legitimately developed and not corrected by the Omnipotent Grace of GOD, *must* lead them to "make shipwreck of the Faith?" GOD forbid it. Our Author tells us, with regard to himself, how his views have advanced within the last few years, (p. 60.) And unquestionably his worst sermons are his latest; especially the two preached before the University of Cambridge. May a Good LORD arrest any further *advance* in the same direction!

If Mr. Williams will *really* make progress in Theology, and render that true service to the Church which his natural endowments [162] warrant her in expecting at his hands; he must learn to postpone his individual opinions to that teaching of the HOLY GHOST of which Holy Scripture is the depository and the Church the authoritative exponent; he must learn the difficult lesson, that the receptive faculty whereby alone Divine Mysteries can be appre-hended, is not natural reason, but supernatural Faith; he must bethink him of the Apostles themselves, whose 'reason' led them all astray as to the meaning of the Oracles of GOD, who merely groped in the dark, till the Risen SAVIOUR "opened their understandings that they *might understand* the Scriptures;" he must realise the profound depth of truth involved in that old Catholic dictum to which he himself refers, though only to except against it—"*Believe* that thou *mayest understand;*" above all, he must reverently meditate on those solemn words: [Greek].

ϕ Fowler records: 'In his letter, written to his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Cheape, who was then laid aside from active work, he alludes to his review of a book which at the time was famous:—

DURHAM, *1856*

> I have just been sending to the press a review of Rowland Williams' "Rational Godliness." He is an ex-fellow of King's, Cambridge; and vice-principal and Hebrew Professor of Lampeter Theological College. Some of his sermons are striking and beautiful.
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> Unfortunately, he has most loose notions on the subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. It strikes me these notions are spreading fearfully. The devil seems to have a great many "irons in the fire" at present. There is a great movement going on in the English Church, and he evidently wishes to meet it, and to thwart it somehow.
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> He seems at present to be instituting a series of experiments in different quarters, in order to test the assailable [60] points, and to collect data, to enable him to elaborate some more definite and concentrated mode of attack. It behoves us all to be prepared, holding fast to the "Shield of Faith," and the "Sword of the Spirit"—the two great weapons of defence and offence—

"praying always with all prayer." I fancy this last great spiritual engine is too much underrated by all of us. Preachers and Controversialists, and Reviewers, go on fighting the Battle of the Lord, and if the cause of Truth seems to triumph, they are apt to think it is their own arm which has prevailed to subdue Amalek; forgetting, perhaps, many a retired, unnoticed, unheeded Moses, whose Prayers in the Mount are the real cause of the success of the Combatants.'[1]

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[1] ϕ Fowler, pp. 59—60.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 18 (Joseph Masters: London, 1856)

[245]LORD A. HERVEY ON INSPIRATION: LAMPETER THEOLOGY.

The Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Five Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in the month of December, 1855. By the Rev. LORD ARTHUR HERVEY, M.A., Rector of Ickworth with Horringer. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1856.

Lampeter Theology exemplified in extracts from the Vice-Principal's Lectures, Letters, and Sermons. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856.

It is a fact deserving attention, that the minds of churchmen seem to be directed in many quarters towards a reconsideration of the important subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. If the Church would "continue" grounded and settled "in those things which she has learned and been assured of," she must be fully certified *"from whom* she has learned them," whether from GOD or man. And it is hardly possible to possess even a cursory acquaintance with much of the current theology of the day, especially of the 'broad' Anglo-German school of divinity, without the persuasion that its whole tendency is to suggest doubts on that fundamental and deeply momentous question. Many will remember the warning offered some years ago, by one, himself an acute observer of the tendencies of thought which characterized the age: "I wish to declare what I think will be found really to be the case, viz. that a battle for the canon of Scripture is but the next step after a battle for the Creed; . . . . and that if we were not defending the Creed, we should at this moment be defending the Canon. Nay, I would predict, as a coming event, that minds *are to be unsettled* as to what is Scripture, and what is not."

Already the truth of this warning is being seriously realized. We are beset with writers, not only external to our own communion, but even amongst ourselves, who are disseminating opinions utterly annihilative of any real belief in the Inspiration of Holy Scripture; drawing arbitrary distinctions between the 'letter' and the 'spirit;' accepting just as much of the Canon as commends itself to their individual intuition, boldly rejecting the rest; utterly unsettled in their minds as to the nature and extent of the authority of either Holy Scripture or the Church; and eagerly parading their own melancholy doubts, and spreading the spiritual infection.

The sermons which head this article have been written under a serious sense of the dangers above alluded to, and with the view of offering a sober check to the spread of such opinions; they were delivered before that university before which some of the most [246] reckless of the recent attacks upon the plenary Inspiration of the Bible had the accidental distinction of being preached.'[1]

Lord Arthur Hervey is favourably known as an accomplished scholar, and as a devout student of Holy Scripture. He writes too under a sufficiently becoming sense of the responsibility which the propagation of opinions on such a subject and in such a place entails; and generally, in a religious, sober, and earnest tone. Still we must at once confess that his sermons have strangely disappointed us. In fact, it appears hardly necessary to look farther than these very discourses, delivered with the distinct purpose of upholding the plenary Inspiration of the Written Word, to see how widely disseminated are views on this subject absolutely fatal to any consistent idea of Inspiration whatever. The writer appears to labour carefully and religiously in establishing the reality of the Divine Influence pervading and penetrating the whole of Scripture: he rears the edifice diligently and discreetly, and then at the last has the questionable satisfaction, by means of a number of fatal concessions and limitations, of overturning it to the very ground. He "buildeth his house," and then "pulleth it down with his hands." Let us briefly show this.

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[1] See Williams' "Rational Godliness," Sermons xix. and xxiv [ϕ p. 198 *supra.*]

Lord Hervey commences with a detailed examination of S. Paul's famous declaration, 2 Tim. iii. 14—17; taking it clause by clause. After some remarks on verse 14,[1] he proceeds to the expression [Greek] of verse 15, where he truly reminds us, our English Version misses the particular shade of meaning conveyed.

> "[Greek] means simply 'to know letters,' to be educated,' or 'learned,' . . . e.g. S. John vii. 15; Acts xxvi. 24, &c. . . . When therefore S. Paul says 'From a child [Greek] and that too in connexion with his having *learnt* such and such things, ([Greek]) it is manifest that he is using, so to speak, educational language. He reminds Timothy, that in his youth he had not learnt merely letters, but 'sacred letters;' his studies had been in the literature of heaven; he had been conversant with Divine books. And then, keeping up the metaphor, he adds, still in the same professional language, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation,' &c. [Greek] ordinary learning, letters, are intended and adapted to make men wise with earthly wisdom But the sacred letters in which Timothy had been taught were able to make him wise unto salvation.' Thus the whole verse acquires point and elegance, and we have not to affix a meaning to [Greek] which they nowhere have in Scripture; for though in the passage before us they indirectly mean the Scriptures as being the sole repository of sacred learning, yet it is, I conceive, only *indirectly* that they do so.'"

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Still it should not be overlooked that [Greek] was a phrase in ordinary use among the Jews as designating the Books of the Old Testament. Both Philo and Josephus employ it in this sense.[2] And this should be fully borne in mind in reading the above extract.

In the succeeding verse, however, the technical word [Greek] occurs, and this of course can only be rendered by our corresponding expression "Scripture." We need not follow our author in his discussion of this verse: the conclusion at which he arrives (in which we perfectly agree with him) is, that our English Version adequately and accurately expresses the sentiments of the Apostle.[3]

> "Nor can one fail to be struck with the perfect consistency of S. Paul's language, who speaks of the instrument by which the 'man of GOD' is to be thus thoroughly furnished as given by 'inspiration of GOD.' By his office the 'man of GOD' has Divine work to do, and therefore GOD has furnished him with a Divine instrument to do it. And oh! . . . . if all those who are called to the office and work of the ministry would betake themselves to the study of the holy Scriptures in a spirit correspondent to what the Apostle here says of their power and excellency and Divine origin! if they would seek wisdom from them as from a fountain not of human but of Divine intelligence; and study the 'sacred letters' with that mixture of earnest curiosity and deep reverence which lessons breathed by the breath of GOD seem to demand at the hands of an

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[1] Lord Hervey has wisely reconsidered (note p. 9) the interpretation of [Greek] offered in his first Sermon. The reference of [Greek] to GOD, which he there advocates, strikes us as forced and untenable (Cf. [Greek] ii. 2.)

[2] See *Lee,* p. 256

[3] Our readers will be aware that against this rendering there is urged, i. The absence of the article before [Greek]. But to this it is to be answered that [Greek], being a technical word used in reference to one exclusive and peculiar object, comes under the category of a proper name, and, as such, may omit the article; e.g. [Greek] not *"every* house of Israel," but "all the house of Israel;" so [Greek], &c., &c. ii. The omission of the copula. But this is of most ordinary and constant recurrence in S. Paul's writings, e.g. [Greek] "Every creature of GOD is good," &c.

The Vulgate translation, "Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est," &c. doubtless arises from the fact of the omission of the [Greek] after [Greek] in the Greek text employed; as appears to be the case in certain old MSS. The ordinary reading, however, [Greek]. is unquestionably the true one [vid. Lachman in loc.]: and this being the case, the suggested translation, 'Every inspired Scripture is *also* useful,' &c. can only be designated as awkward and unnatural in the extreme, and. we believe, quite without parallel in the New Testament.

Our English Translation is that adopted by S. Chrysostom, S. Athanasius, S. Gregory Nazianzen, Œcumenius, &c. Among later writers we may mention C. à Lapide, Estius, Bengal, Beza. It is the translation of almost all the versions, including the modern Greek. S. Athanasius' quotation of this passage *(Ep. ad. Marcellin.,* see Lee, p. 476,) is worth noticing. [Greek]

> intelligent creature like man I verily believe that neglect of the Scriptures is one of the great sins men will have to answer for when they stand before the Judgment seat of CHRIST."—Pp. 3, 4.

This passage presents a fair indication of the feeling of sincere and unaffected reverence with which our author himself regards [248] the Inspired Volume. He truly urges, that as "*All* Scripture is of Divine origin and animated with the breath of GOD'S Holy Spirit," "*every part*" of it "has its proper use and profit;" that it is "an inexhaustible treasury of wisdom to which we may resort for guidance and instruction on every occasion" (p. 18); that we should cultivate the habit of "minutely criticizing" even "particular expressions," "not *thinking any criticism too minute*, provided it be true, by which the exact force of particular expressions can be ascertained:" and, advancing from general assertion to particular proof, he proceeds to indicate what are the "broad lines of argument," whereby, as be conceives, the [Greek] or Divine Inspiration of '*All* Scripture' "may be demonstrated with all the force which a moral demonstration is capable of" (p. 48);—himself meanwhile bearing in mind that he is speaking, not to doubters or cavillers, but "as a Christian minister to a Christian congregation; to those who possess, who study, who believe and love the Scriptures as the [written] Word of GOD." (ib.)

All we can say is, so far so good.

Our author now advances to the alleged objections urged against Inspiration; reminding us *in limine* that "many of them are altogether of our own creating;" and that "others will also disappear as larger and juster views of Holy Scripture in general, and particular portions of it, are admitted into our minds." (p. 50.)

After dealing concisely but fairly with the difficulties introduced by Scripture statements which appear to invest immoral actions with Divine sanction; or which seem to militate against the discoveries of science, the truth of history, or general probability' (pp. 52—71); he proceeds to the further difficulties springing from particular expressions, seeming contradictions, and other traces of mere *human* authorship (Serm. v.). And here we must confess that his mode of dealing with these objections appears to us most inadequate and unsatisfactory. One concession is made after another, till he has unconsciously abandoned the high ground occupied in his earlier sermons, and virtually resigned all he fought for. He has guarded all the great outworks of the castle, its visible battlements, and defences; and now leaves exposed a secret portal through which the enemy may effect an entrance into the very heart of the fortress. He commits himself to that most treacherous and delusive hypothesis, that in many cases "while the *substance* or message was from GOD, the writer was *left* to clothe it in *his own words;*" for thus only, he thinks, can we account for the contrast between the sublimity and beauty of many parts of Scripture and the "*needless coarseness* of expression" of other parts.

In other words, (for it cannot be too frequently urged that the case comes to this) *part* of the Bible only is Divine and part human. And who is to apportion their respective extents of territory to the [249] two elements? Once admit this theory; admit that the Sacred Writers were occasionally *left to themselves*, allowed to clothe the germ of truth in their own language, allowed to fall into *slight errors and inadvertencies;* and the peculiar infallible authority of Scripture is gone. For as each person is to decide for himself what is the germ of essential truth, and what but the verbal covering, the inevitable result will be, that whatever any individual finds distasteful or inexplicable will be at once consigned to the latter category. We saw in our April number the perilous extent to which this same theory is developed in Mr. Williams' "Rational Godliness." But so it must be. Let it once be assumed that "*All* Scripture" does not really mean "*All*," and that the Holy Spirit occasionally withdrew His superintending Influence and "left" the Writers to themselves—it only remains for every man to apply this theory according to his tastes and predilections, to recognize so much of Scripture as Divine which commends itself as such to his limited faculties; to disregard as "human" whatever fails so to establish its claims.

Lord Hervey may say that it is merely in "*insignificant* details" and "minutiæ" that he considers the Holy Spirit to have deserted[1] the writers. But what are "*insignificant* details?" What are minutiæ? Who dare pronounce? Moreover, how can a writer so express himself who has solemnly admonished his readers to "consider no criticism too minute" which may enable them to arrive at the exact force of the "particular expressions" of Holy Writ? For of course the number and nature of the "insignificant details" will vary in exact proportion to the individual prejudices, the intellectual or spiritual attainments of each individual. One reader will find most Divine "significance" in "details" which to another appear barren and trivial. Nor can any more effectual means be adopted to extinguish that "earnest curiosity and deep reverence" which Lord Hervey so truly commends, and which is due to every word and phrase of the Inspired Volume, than the disheartening suspicion that after all, such labour may be but in vain; a waste of time; a bootless search for "foot-prints of the CREATOR" where none are to be found. Is it likely that men will ever apply themselves with hearty zeal to the "minute criticism of particular expressions," if, renouncing the ancient belief that "*every word* of Scripture (to quote a saying of Origen's) rightly understood, has *some special purpose* to effect," and that, as in nature, the closer the examination, the more abundant will be the harvest of beauties disclosed, the more glorious the proofs of Infinite Perfec[250]tion; —they are to content themselves with the notion that *much* of the language (how much they cannot say) is but that of ordinary mortals? Is it probable that any solid advance will be made in Scripture exegesis if this dangerous opinion, in all its various stages of development, spreads; if the student is to be encouraged, when arrested by any difficulty or seeming contradiction—instead of 'searching diligently' for the Divine Mystery enwrapped in the verbal ambiguity, for the real and profound agreement underlying the apparent discrepancy—to pass it by, content with the miserable comfort that it is but the "infirmity of human eyes, human ears, human memories, ['HE shall guide you into *all* truth, and bring *all things to your remembrance,*' &c.] and human intellect," which "produces these varieties" and difficulties, and that "it was *not part of the purpose of* GOD to interpose" and correct them? (p. 80.)

We trow not.

Lord Hervey has taken up that vague and ensnaring notion that there exists some solid standing ground between the absolute truthfulness of Inspiration, and the fallibility and uncertainty of ordinary human diction. Will this estimable writer define for us the limits and extent of this unexplored border territory, and assure us who is really the owner of it; whether it is held by man and GOD conjointly, or alternately; whether absolute truth and partial error are here supposed to tabernacle side by side. We confess to feeling a strong suspicion of these unappropriated tracts. But, says our author, such a region plainly *does* exist; for (i.) in many cases a "reconciliation" of the Sacred Writers one with another is "*hopeless;*" hence there *must* be imperfection somewhere; and (ii.) "it is *obvious* that such a complete overbearing of the individual minds of the Sacred Writers as would have been required to produce the unanimity wished for [i. e., we suppose, to enable them all to relate with perfect truthfulness] would have *entirely destroyed* the value of their separate testimony and *reduced it to the single testimony of the one Spirit.*" (P. 80.)

It is with unfeigned regret that we find a pious and accomplished writer like Lord Hervey lending his countenance to crudities such as the above.

A word on each of these two points.

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[1] "The disagreement" . . . . *commences* at the *minutiæ* before named. Is not the conclusion naturally resulting from this, that the direct *inspiration did not extend* to such minutiæ, but that in them the writers expressed *in their own words the thoughts of their own hearts?* And these observations apply equally to the Old and New Testaments." (P. 81.)

I. The Sacred Writers so manifestly contradict one another in certain places, that any attempt at reconciliation seems "hopeless." That is, Lord Hervey has not yet discovered the clue to unravel certain complex and conflicting statements of the writers; he has not yet been led by the Spirit to discover the central and consistent truth wherein these verbal divergencies have their point of meeting; to grasp the solid reality, of whose several sides the other form the *necessary* outward projections or expressions; so he pronounces that no such interior unity exists, and reasons accordingly.
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He does not say, Here are certain writings: the Church of GOD has ever pronounced them Divinely Inspired. As such, they must infinitely transcend all mere human composition. Being, like "all the works of the LORD," "perfect," they must to our limited apprehensions present many difficulties, many things "hard to be understood," incentives to faith ("to be *sought out* of them that have pleasure therein"), as well as occasions of unbelief. In them I find certain ambiguities, apparent contradictions and the like, which evade all my sagacity. How am I to account for them? Is it that the expression, "*All* Scripture" does not include these particular passages, that positive error (be it never so small) has crept in, that the Divine Records are really inconsistent with one another? Or is it perchance that for some cause or other I misapprehend them? It *must* be the latter. I will with patience wait. In GOD'S good time, if such be His pleasure, He will make this seeming difficulty plain to me.

Our Author however rather argues as follows:—All Scripture is doubtless inspired; but then *we see* in certain places it contradicts itself; *we see* in it occasional unimportant errors and misstatements. Hence the word "Inspiration" must obviously be accepted with such qualifications and limitations as will give scope for the existence of such observed and acknowledged imperfections. And this conclusion it is further urged, is the result of "sound induction." Were we infallibly certified that *we see* either correctly or fully, and that what appear to our finite capacities contradictions, appear so to the eyes of GOD, the "induction" would be "sound;" as it is, it is futile and visionary. But secondly,

II. Our Author seems further to maintain that these slight discrepancies and errors are in a measure *necessary,* as vouchers for the independence of the testimony of the several writers to those great doctrinal verities to which they severally bear witness; i.e., that a certain admixture of falsehood is necessary in order to establish truth.

We do not profess fully to apprehend Lord Hervey's meaning. "Absolute unanimity" between the writers, he says, "would have entirely destroyed the value of their separate testimony." Does "*unanimity*" here mean. *absolute coincidence* of narrative and expression? If so, the sentence is intelligible, though somewhat trite. Or does "unanimity" mean strict adherence on the part of all to truth? Does our author mean, that in describing different scenes, or events, or different aspects of the same event, had not the several writers slightly deflected, one or all of them, from the line of perfect truthfulness, the value of their several testimonies would be gone? If so, we can only marvel at the strange confusion of thought betrayed.

It appears in fact, to be here intimated that the Blessed Spirit [252] could not have guided His human instruments into "*all* truth" without some consequent detriment to the truth itself. Had the writers maintained an undeviating verbal accuracy in matters of detail, such inerrancy would have involved the "*substitution* of the One Omniscient Mind of GOD as the sole Author of the Books of Scripture, *instead* of the many *minds* of Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists;" it would have "entirely destroyed the value of the separate testimony."—(Pp. 80, 79, 76.) Such remarks can only be based on a complete misapprehension of the idea of Inspiration; on the hypothesis that it must necessarily involve the suppression of the individuality of its subjects. But this cannot be admitted for a moment. There is no *substitution* of the One Mind for the many minds, but rather a combination or co-operation of the two. It is not the Mind of the Spirit "overbearing" the several minds of His human instruments, but acting *through* them; first elevating them, then employing them. For *gratia non tollit sed perficit naturam.* Nature is not obliterated

but perfected by grace. Selected, as each several writer doubtless was, in *consequence* of a certain natural capacity for apprehending and expressing some one particular phase of Divine Truth, and a certain inherent affinity, as it were, to it; such personal features would not be suppressed but *employed,* and illuminated and exalted while employed; the ordinary human sources of information at the writer's disposal, his particular endowments, his style, his acquirements, educational or other, his memory, his modes of thought and expression, all enlisted, sublimated and illumined, to subserve that specific purpose, and convey that particular message, Doctrinal, Practical, Historical, for the transmission of which he was originally chosen and qualified.

The same breath through different instruments gives forth tones perfectly dissimilar; the oneness of the former does not "overbear" the individuality of the latter. And who can fail to perceive how infinitely the beauty of the divine strains of Scripture is enhanced by reason of the symphonious combination of the various human instruments through which the Breathings of the One Spirit are borne to our ears ?

But we considered this whole subject at considerable length in our recent notice of Mr. Williams' "Rational Godliness," so that we need not further enlarge upon it.

We find however that we have omitted one of Lord Hervey's arguments. He tells us that we have distinct Scripture authority not only for the border-territory of doubtful Inspiration, but for a third region also where there is no Inspiration whatever. S. Paul, he tells us, makes this three-fold distinction. "We find him," he writes, "in his Epistles *carefully distinguishing* between precepts given by direct commandment, precepts given on his own *human* [253] authority, and precepts in which he *thought* he also had the Spirit of GOD."—(P. 82.) So that in the case of certain of the Apostolic injunctions we *know* that they come to us simply with *human* authority, as the advice of an ordinary man; while in others, as S. Paul himself *could not decide,* still less can we, whether his words express the mind of the Spirit of GOD or not. It is really disheartening to find a pious and learned writer, like our author, having recourse to arguments so miserable and so often refuted, against the reality and *universality* of Scripture Inspiration.

Here are certain 'cases of conscience' proposed (1 Cor. vii.) for Apostolic adjudication. They are treated in various ways. S. Paul begins by offering certain inspired "*counsels*:" "I speak this [Greek] by way of counsel ['secundum indulgentiam:' Vulg.], not by way of command" (inasmuch as "every man hath his proper gift of GOD;" and the Apostle, like his Divine Master, would not cast stumbling-blocks before the consciences of any.) Further on, a case presents itself, (ver. 10, 11,) which had already been solemnly pronounced upon by our LORD Himself, (vid. S. Matt. v. 32; xix. 6, 9.) Here, therefore, the Apostle adds nothing beyond, but simply refers to what "the LORD" had already spoken, ("Not I, but the LORD.") The following cases had not been specifically noticed by "*the Lord.*" Here, therefore, S. 'Paul brings his own inspired authority to bear, (ver. 12, 25,) as being himself "one who, through GOD'S mercy, was worthy of .confidence."[1] And so little did he regard his own words as mere "*human*" suggestions, that he challenges for them implicit obedience throughout Christendom: "*So ordain I in all the churches.*"

But the Apostle, says our author, in other cases only "*thinks* he has the Spirit of GOD. Lord Hervey might surely have informed himself as to the patristic and Scriptural use of the word [Greek], before he employed it to bear the burden of so perilous a conclusion. As he alludes to Mr. Lee's volume, it will be sufficient to refer him to the extract from Montfaucon in p. 295. That learned patristic scholar speaks of this, as one of the words in which "non pauci interpretes labuntur;" adding that, instead of being used ordinarily to express doubt, it commonly "*nihil minuit adfirmationem.*"

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[1] It must be remembered that [Greek] is one of the peculiar titles of the [Greek] Cf. Rev. xix. 11, 13; 1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; iv. 9.

"In this verse," writes Corn. à Lapide, "the Apostle gently suggests the *authority* with which he spoke, lest it should be supposed that these decrees and counsels were uttered by him *as man,* and *not by the Divine Spirit*." "S. Augustine," he continues, "remarks (Tr. 37 in Joh.) that this word [Greek] *non dubitantis esse,* sed *asseverantis et increpantis.*" [Vid. S. Aug. Op. t. iii. p. 400, b. Ed. Ben.]

In conclusion, we can but express the hope that Lord Hervey [254] will reconsider this important subject. His present theory, we are convinced, will fail to satisfy either himself or any one who fairly tries to realise and apply it: it does not the less strike at the very foundations of Inspiration, because it comes to us commended, as in the present instance, by the advocacy of one, himself a devout believer in Inspiration, and by whose personal piety and reverence its inevitable tendencies are constantly corrected and kept in check. It is a serious thing to admit the existence of carelessness of execution, imperfection in detail, error, inadvertence, (be it *never so little,)* in the 'Scriptures of Truth' and 'Oracles of GOD.' For who, as we have urged, is to regulate the application of this admission, and to define where 'insignificant' merge into significant 'details;' 'minutiæ' into facts; history into doctrine?

Lord Hervey so truly tells us that "difficulties connected with Inspiration are continually disappearing, as juster views prevail; and that, whatever may at last remain incomprehensible to us will be found to result from our own ignorance." (P. 14.) We are intimately persuaded that this is the true account of Scripture 'errors' and 'contradictions.' Our author will be the first to confess how many, that once appeared as such to himself, appear so no longer; and how often he has caught glimpses of Divine significance, and design where once he could see nought save human confusion. Let him not think he has exhausted these discoveries. For ourselves, we know no study so intensely interesting and *satisfying* as the so-called 'discrepancies' and 'inaccuracies' of the Gospels. That they have all a meaning (could we but discern it); all alike bearing witness to a deeper, a Divine, harmony and *purpose* pervading the entire Records, extending even to the veriest minutiæ; far transcending any which the wit of man could have conceived, and so much more convincing than a mere naked, verbal coincidence, because so much less obvious;—of the truth and reality of this we have the most profound and earnest conviction. In these Sacred Enclosures there is nothing without meaning, nothing without mystery; the whole, as well as its minutest parts, bearing alike the impress of the Great Designer. Each Record is infinitely self-consistent; the respective details of each harmonising, as to nature, form, and colour, with that great central Idea round which they cluster, and to the complete exhibition and embodiment of which they severally contribute. Hence arise the Gospel 'variations.' Hence we meet, now with a whole narrative recounted, now only a fragment of it: one Evangelist records a complete discourse, another but an isolated saying: now we see events grouped together in historic, now in deep moral order: here we find one slight but characteristic feature introduced, there another: here one face of an event portrayed, one meaning of a Divine utterance elicited, there an opposite one:—all, as well what is omitted as what is inserted, combining to illustrate that particular phase of [255] the Redeemer's perfect character which each several Evangelist was guided by the HOLY SPIRIT specially to delineate and develop. But our space forbids us to enlarge.

We will only add (we gladly avail ourselves of the pious language of our author) that "if the Scriptures are given by Inspiration of GOD, it is natural that some measure of inspiration should be required to understand them. 'For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?' and 'Even so the things of GOD knoweth no man, but the SPIRIT of GOD.' Let us ever pray, therefore, that we may receive, not the spirit of the world, but the SPIRIT which is of GOD, that we may *know the things* which are freely given to us of GOD." (P. 80.)

Since the above was in type, we have received, through the courtesy of Mr. Williams, the pamphlet the title of which is given at the head of the present article. Its object is twofold: (1.) to defend the writer against the unscrupulous attacks of certain of his reviewers; and (2) to present a true picture of what really are his sentiments on certain points whereon his

teaching has been most canvassed, and, as *he* conceives, "cruelly" misrepresented. With the former of these subjects we are thankful to have no concern, as the pamphlet seems to have preceded our April article. Mr. Williams appears to feel keenly the harsh inferences as to his general orthodoxy which same, especially of his Welsh brethren, ("Silurian Shimeis," as he quaintly designates them,) have gratuitously drawn from his sermons. It is to be regretted, however, that he should have suffered himself to be betrayed into an asperity of tone which his better judgment will hardly approve. For an author who writes feelingly on the evil and danger of detraction, to characterize certain of his reviewers as men who "having *no other moral quality, make a virtue* of crying him down," strikes us as inconsistent. But this by the way.

The contents of the pamphlet are as follows: I. The preface; II. Mr. Williams's opening lecture to his Divinity class at Lampeter, written in a manly, earnest, religious spirit, and containing (though we cannot commit ourselves to all its statements,) some valuable counsel; III. a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, which we pass over; IV. A series of propositions, purporting to express accurately the writer's views on those subjects with regard to which he has been most assailed; V. An additional series of propositions, further developing the same views, each several proposition being confronted on the opposite side of the page by a counter-proposition, supposed to express the opinions, on this particular head, of Mr. Williams' critics: the series on the one side of the page being entitled "Rational Godliness;" that on the other, "Modern Judaizers:" the latter being merely a congeries of wearying extravagances, the point and drift of which we confess to have entirely [256] escaped us. This fragmentary and disjointed document terminates with (VI.) a few extracts from various writers, sectarian and "orthodox," who appear to have expressed themselves with more or less freedom on the subject of Scripture Inspiration.

Our only concern is with Mr. Williams' restatement of his own opinions. And here we are bound at once to add, (and we do this with very sincere regret,) not only that we find nothing to retract in the unfavourable verdict we have already had occasion to express concerning them; but that our convictions as to their most dangerous tendency have gained strength by this supplementary evidence. Our limits plainly forbid any detailed examination of the propositions contained in this pamphlet: nor would such examination be other than tedious and unedifying. Much of the ground we have traversed before. We notice many pointless platitudes, for the insertion of which we are unable to assign any possible reason,[1] and much dim verbiage, whose chief use appears to be, to conceal the indistinctness of thought which it clothes. We observe, however, that Mr. Williams still deliberately maintains that the gift of Inspiration was not a specific endowment[2] of the

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[1] e. g. "Holy Scripture . . . is to be regarded with veneration . . . . But it is by *no means our paramount source of secular knowledge!* . . . . we none of us go to the Bible *to learn practically any trade or art.*" (p. 36.) "The books of the New Testament were not *dictated in words audible from the clouds.*" (p. 39.) "We use Scripture best when we turn it to our own edification and devotion. We use it *ill if we make it a vehicle of malicious passions and false imputations*." (p. 29.) "S. Paul calls himself the 'chief of sinners,' though *probably he was not so sinful as Simon Magus,*" &c., &c.,—with many other equally edifying and novel remarks.

[2] We should be nearer the truth perhaps, were we to describe the gift of "Inspiration" not as *one* specific endowment, but as a particular *combination*, in one individual, of *several* (mutually completing and correcting) *charismata* of the Spirit. We find in the early Church that the possession of certain isolated spiritual gifts did not ensure to the individual immunity from error; as the "treasure was committed to earthen vessels," was liable to be affected by the medium of its transmission, and, like natural endowments, abused. One possessed the gift of Prophecy, or prediction; another, of Knowledge; a third, of Interpretation, i.e. of clearly apprehending and correctly communicating the knowledge imparted to others; a fourth, of testing and discriminating the prophetic utterances;—the harmonious combination and confluence from different sources, of these several gifts, (like the joint action, as the Apostle adds, in the one body, of the energies and functions which belong to its many distinct members,) being necessary to ensure that the result should be in *perfect* accordance with the analogy of the Faith, and should express fully the mind of that One SPIRIT Who inhabits the one Body of CHRIST.

{*cont.*}

sacred writers, but the common property of all Christians. He tells us that when S. Paul and S. John claim Inspiration for their writings, [257] they allow the *same gift* to their hearers also, (p. 40,) and that "Whatever individual dignitaries may say, *our Church* seems to hold that Inspiration was *not* confined to the Apostles." And in order to bring ourselves the more readily to acknowledge this obvious truth of the universality of Inspiration in the Church, and get "clearer ideas" on the all-important subject of the peculiar authority of Holy Scripture, our author recommends a very simple process. We should gain much, he thinks, by "habitually translating the words, Bible, Scripture, Inspiration, into *book, writing, animation,* or *inbreathing*!" (p. 41.)

Our only question here is, Can Mr. Williams really mean what he says?

Mr. Williams, as we regret further to notice, loses no opportunity of reiterating his assertions respecting the errors and imperfections of the Bible. The fallibility of Scripture, he assures us, may be *proved,* "*morally, scientifically, historically, and critically.*" As an illustration of the *critical proof,* he adduces the mode of *reasoning* employed by the Apostles, the poverty of which offends him: referring us, as an example, to S. Paul's argument "*about* '*seed*' *and* '*seeds*,'" (Gal. iii. 16,) of which he superciliously remarks, that though an argument "*adapted, perhaps, to the age,*" yet it is one of which *we* cannot discover the "*philological cogency*." (p. 71.)

In reading a sentence of this kind, we feel quite at a loss whether to marvel more at the quiet presumption, or the entire absence of all theological *instinct* displayed.[1]

The writer, however, strangely argues, that neither by its moral scientific, historical, nor critical errors, is the authority of the Bible in the least compromised.

> "Neither the *numerous discrepancies* in the Bible, nor the *evident shortcomings* of the writers' knowledge, nor their participation in *human passions and prejudices,* nor, in short, *the limitation of their horizon in every way* can properly affect the value of the Bible as a book of religion and devotion." (P. 38.)

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That which specifically characterised the Apostles and sacred writers, appears, then, to have been a peculiar *combination* of these miraculous (and ordinarily separated) *charismata;* such as would *perfectly* equip them for the particular work severally assigned them, and so actuate their entire being, that the words which they officially spoke and wrote would be really and truly " the words of GOD." (S. John iii. 34.)

It is worth noticing, in passing, how this subject incidentally illustrates the importance of joint action of the *whole Church* at the present day, for obtaining any trustworthy enunciation of doctrine. The *whole* Body must be represented, and give forth a *corporate* utterance: the "*revelations*" of one branch, must be subjected to the "*discernment*" of another branch: else the promised aid of the HOLY SPIRIT can never be realized. Had *all* the Church been represented,—the independent testimonies of the several co-ordinate branches compared,—the gifts of one portion of the body balanced and corrected by the completing gifts of all the other portions,—that recent monstrous doctrinal decision at Rome *could never* have been arrived at.

While on this subject, we cannot withhold from our readers the marvellous process by which Mr. Williams accounts for the language of Holy Scripture. "*The gift* (!) of the HOLY SPIRIT" (he writes—as if there was one gift only) "is *mental truth*. And through the working of Providence in nature and in society, this mental truth *becomes embodied in books,* as does also record of experience." (p. 61.) We wonder if our author himself has any definite notion what this means. We have not.

[1] We must entreat Mr. Williams to examine diligently all the peculiar phraseology, the arguments, the modes of thought, adopted by our Blessed LORD Himself. Let him for a moment waive the consideration that the speaker is the Omniscient JEHOVAH; and let him pronounce upon the numerous indications of "fallibility," critical, scientific, &c., which his discriminative sagacity discerns. We are intimately convinced that if this writer's strictures upon the language of the Apostles and Evangelists be sound, they must be extended to the utterances of Him Who "spake as never man spake!" He will find there no lack of that "foolishness" in which the Divine Wisdom ever loves to clothe itself when addressing the intellectual, half-doubting, religionist.

That is, having proved the messengers unworthy of reliance in every particular, where we have the means of testing them, it does not follow that our faith in their veracity need be in the least degree shaken when they tell us of facts, the truth of which it lies out of our power to ascertain. Verily, Mr. Williams must think his readers and pupils marvellously simple.

As an illustration of the practical benefits accruing from the disparagement of the text of Scripture, Mr. Williams instances the Quakers, "who of all sects[1] have laid least stress upon the letter of the Bible," and yet "have most of all justified the Gospel by their works." (p. 46.)[2]

We have alluded to the absence of theological *instinct* betrayed by Mr. Williams. Thus, in one place he gives it as his opinion that the "Book of the Revelation was *fulfilled* in the *fall of Jerusalem, or of Rome,* or of both."

In another, he incidentally notices that glorious Psalm, the 18th, the Psalm "of the servant of JEHOVAH, the Beloved, who spake unto JEHOVAH the words of this song in the day that JEHOVAH delivered Him from the hand of all His enemies and from the power of Hell," [Horsley]—a Psalm which, though it received, doubtless a germinant and precursive fulfilment in the person of David, and again, a more triumphant one in the Resurrection and Victory of CHRIST, still *awaits* its final and exhaustive accomplishment, when the whole Mystical Body shall rise, shout its shout of triumph, tell its glad experience, and proclaim aloud the everlasting truth that 'Righteousness alone is the path of salvation.' Of this Psalm Mr. Williams warns us to remember that it is only 'poetry,' and that "things originally poetical" must not be "taken too literally as prose;" and it "becomes the critic's duty to *distinguish the spheres wherein the faculties play.*" So that our author has to assume the attitude of critic towards the "words which the HOLY GHOST spake by the mouth of David," by way of pronouncing authoritatively how far they have any definite meaning, and how far the glowing language is to be put down to the score of mere poetic imagery.[3]
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[1] Is the Church included among these, "*Sects?*"

[2] We commend to our author's notice, Mrs. Greer's *Quakerism,* or *the Story of* My Life. He will there learn something concerning the interior life of that frigid, sanctimonious, worldly-minded, self-indulgent, semi-infidel community.

[3] Mr. Williams's apparent desire to evacuate such a Psalm as the 18th of any definite meaning, on, the score of its being poetry,' is only a single manifestation of one particular feature of his theology, which is to ignore the *prophetic* element in the Bible. The prophets, according to him, merely predicated or recounted the events of their own time of which they were personally cognizant; although their words very frequently "*acquired*" a new meaning from the fact of the recurrence of events *analogous* or similar in spirit, and from the "identity of principle which GOD repeats in His works." Now although this theory doubtless contains important elements of truth; yet as a complete or sufficient explanation of the phenomena of Scripture prophecy, nothing can be conceived more demonstrably fallacious. Of what character, we would ask, were Balaam's predications respecting the future fate of Amalek; Moses', respecting the siege of Jerusalem; Isaiah's, concerning the doom of Tyre and Babylon; Malachi's, relating to the advent of John the Baptist, and, perhaps, of the still coming Elijah;—the utterances respecting David, Josiah, Cyrus, Sennacherib; the descendants of the three sons of Noah, and the Patriarchs; the kingdoms of Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Macedon, Rome; the birth place of our Blessed LORD, and every circumstance of His Life and Death? But it is vain to continue. It is for Mr. Williams, however, to show how all these and similar instances of pure prophecy accord with his favourite maxim, "*Nihil est in Scripts quod non prius in Scriptore.* We will only add, with regard to the accumulative fulfilment of Prophecy, that of all indications afforded us in Scripture of the constant superintendence and Inspiration of the Omniscient Spirit, few are so striking as the glimpses herein manifested of the *pregnant* character of the language;—how that it is ever teeming with new and hitherto unnoticed significance; continually developing; ever casting new and Diviner lights as the history of the world is progressively evolved, and new cycles of GOD'S providential dealings introduced.

Again, in another place Mr. Williams, with a temerity which nothing can justify, pronounces a considerable portion of the prophetic part of the Book of Daniel, to be mere *history* written after the events predicted. The idea has not even the poor merit of originality. It is due to the Apostate Porphyry, and was triumphantly refuted 1500 years ago. Still, it commended itself to Dr Arnold. So Mr. Williams, without a word of explanation and as though he were making the most ordinary and indisputable statement, mentions as one of the elements for ascertaining the date of the Book of Daniel, the fact of its containing "a *minute history down to Antiochus Epiphanes."* (P. 45.)

With regard to our author's churchmanship, a passing remark here and there will help us at arriving at a tolerable estimate of it.

E.g. He considers it "desirable that such a *relaxation of our formularies* should be granted as might have enabled men like Baxter to conform to the Church;" and suggests that "the principle of *option,* or *allowing a choice of prayers at discretion,* affords the easiest way out of such difficulties.' (P. 47.)

He would have the clergy permitted to "choose the lessons at their discretion;" and leave out the Athanasian Creed if themselves or their flocks object to it. It is due to him, however, to state that he earnestly repels the imputation of either holding or teaching any error as regards "the ancient symbols and authoritative conclusions of the Church, or what may be called scientific theology." But here again we consider the qualification he appends to this important disclaimer most grave and significant.

> "True," he proceeds, "I *generally* teach (and *more so latterly)* that *these things are not of the essence of that faith* which saves the soul alive. They are partly of human development and may be handled with respectful *discussion.* Still I am always careful to state them accurately; and acknowledge their authority to be *about as binding* on the Churchman as 'the law of the land upon the citizen."—(Pref. p. viii.)

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And he goes on to show bow far his tentative suggestion, as to a more rational explanation than the Church has given, on the "*ecclesiastical dogma* of original sin," may be considered to accord with this assertion of orthodoxy.

But this reminds us of another of Mr. Williams's opinions on which we are bound to add a word. It appears from the pamphlet under consideration that others besides ourselves have charged him with questioning, if not denying the personality of the Tempter. Our suspicions were but too well founded. As far as we can discover the meaning of his studiously indistinct, and oracular phraseology, he admits the charge and with an elaborate feebleness endeavours to justify it.[1]

We are not now about to attempt to *prove*, what no one who really reverences the 'Oracles of GOD' and the 'faith once for all delivered,' will venture to deny. But we do seriously ask, where is this wanton habit of insinuating doubt, this unhallowed licence of speculation, to stop? Are we to question or *disbelieve* our LORD'S emphatic words respecting 'the Tempter,' 'the Father of lies,' 'the Evil one,' who '*abode* not in the truth,'

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[1] Thus he writes: "Since our LORD called Peter *Satan* . . . . and since the hortatorily personal is often speculatively abstract, while at least evil works and the spirit of evil are not always nicely distinguished; it cannot be a fatal heresy to call the disturber of the world *either* sin *or* the devil; even if from a hostile point of view it *might be twisted into an inaccuracy* . . .The war in heaven between Michael and Satan may be a highly figurative picture of the conflict of *moral principles*."—(P. 77-9.)
Again: "'Personality' is a metaphysical rather than a Scriptural term . . . . If good persons think that by *intensifying such an idea* in reference to the spirit of evil they are enabled to fight, *as it were, more vividly against the hosts of darkness,* I say nothing to disturb them. But, if any one without authority imposes on me a metaphysical term, he must *first define it clearly,* and then prove his definition."—(P. 48.)
It must be fully noticed that our author speaks (as above) of Satan as the *spirit* of evil. But after observing the vague and indefinite sense in which he employs this word throughout his book, we fear we cannot derive much evidence as to his orthodoxy from that.

and to whose personality (if indeed human language is intended to convey any idea whatever) HE has given most positive, unequivocal and reiterated testimony? Are we to regard the history of the temptation in the wilderness; the awful scene in Gethsemane's garden—that mysterious conflict between the "Prince of this world," (S. John xiv. 30,) and the Incarnate SON, the terrific intensity of which wrung from the Human Sufferer a sweat of blood—are we to regard these dread realities as mere allegory ?

We are absolutely at a loss to conceive on what grounds Mr. Williams believes anything. Child-like, implicit faith in whatever GOD has revealed and the Church of GOD taught—this to him is unhappily unknown. He must bring the most solemn verities of Revelation before the bar of his feeble reason; he must try to substitute a more rational terminology for the mysteries of the faith, than that which the HOLY SPIRIT has provided and the wisdom of [261] ages reverently accepted; he must question, hesitate, speculate, instead of believing; and thus, vainly endeavouring to be 'wise,' falls short of that which alone is true wisdom.

There is nothing more hopelessly irrational than what is falsely termed rationalism; i.e. the irreverent intrusion on the part of individual reason into subjects which all right Reason has antecedently pronounced to be quite external to her province. The phenomena of the unseen world, the nature and operations of spiritual essences, and all the various matters which combine to form, explicitly or by implication, the one consistent complex of "The Faith"—these, Human Reason (whereby we mean the collective Reason of mankind—the intuitive convictions of our common humanity—the Vox DEI—as it has from time to time found utterance) has confessed to lie quite beyond her domain. And yet, individuals will ever be found giving rein to the licence of their own private reason within these Sacred Precincts; and then—because the intruding faculty is dazzled, staggered, perplexed; all seeming strange to it, inconsistent with it, beyond it—proceeding to pronounce upon these mysteries; to explain away one; reduce another to a more intelligible shape; deny a third; to treat the seeming incongruities which everywhere abound, as 'folly,' suitable to a state of intellectual childhood, but not to these enlightened days—in awful forgetfulness that this very 'foolishness' is part of "the unsearchable Wisdom of GOD."

We feel a strong repugnance to speak harshly of a Clergyman who is devoting himself in earnest, and according to his conscientious convictions, to the good of his Church and fatherland; who is no mere self-indulgent talker, but a laborious *worker* in the vineyard of his LORD; who possesses varied and important talents, all of which seem to have been dedicated, with simple unreserve, to the cause of GOD; and who, moreover, appears already to have been subjected to a full share of calumnious misrepresentations by some (it may be) who are rather shamed by his zeal than shocked by his heterodoxy. The painfulness of the duty, in joining in a severe expression of condemnation of his teaching, is infinitely enhanced by these considerations: the duty itself is only more paramount.

So long as Mr. Williams continues to entertain and propagate the opinions for the advocacy of which he has obtained a luckless notoriety, and which reappear in all their dangerous potency in the pamphlet before us, he cannot, without infinite peril to the souls of his pupils, and of the thousands hereafter to be committed to their charge—without inflicting a deep and positive injury on the Church in the Principality—occupy the position of solemn trust now committed to him at Lampeter. If the seeds of heresy are permitted to be sown, they *must* spring up. Not all the personal excellence, and self-devotion, and piety of the teacher, not [262] all his unexceptionable and even admirable instructions on other matters, can hinder that. The corrupt seed will bring forth *evil* fruit. Deep reverence, implicit reliance on authority, cordial, unquestioning acceptance of *everything* which Scripture and the Church teach—*because* they teach it—these we are convinced are the true habits to instil into the theological student. "Continue in the things which thou hast learned and hast *been assured* of; *knowing of whom* thou hast learned them." A foundation of doubt, hesitation, speculation, or even "respectful *discussion,"* when the subject is GOD'S clear Revelation, and the "faith once delivered," is too often completed by a superstructure of positive infidelity.

Until Mr. Williams is "fully persuaded in his own mind;" until he is able to embrace with *perfect sincerity*, and teach in all its fulness and integrity, that body of Catholic doctrine which the Church. (whose representative he is at Lampeter) holds, and of which he is the official exponent, he should withdraw from his present position. He *must be*, either unconsciously compromising his own convictions by inculcating what he does not cordially receive, or compromising the plain teaching of the Church by imparting it with faltering lips, and a questioning reserve. But enough of this.

A word in conclusion to Lord Hervey. Mr. Williams in a postscript to the present pamphlet adduces him[1] as an authority for the views on Inspiration advocated by himself; adding that *if Lord Hervey's Sermons are innocent, his own cannot be very guilty*. We trust his Lordship will not neglect the warning; for Mr. Williams is undoubtedly correct. The difference between the theories of the two writers is only one of degree, not in kind. The fundamental error of both is the same, though its consequences have been more fully developed and recklessly expressed in one case than in the other; and the one writer has been restrained by feelings of humility and reverence, which the other, we regret to say, has yet to learn.

Both writers have yet to be brought to acknowledge the proper *Divinity* of the Holy Scriptures: they will then cease to hint at the possibility of their containing any admixture of. error, any inconsistencies or contradictions; and will confess, with the great Augustine, that though they exhibit "multa diversa," yet "*nulla adversa;*" though "multa varia," yet "*nulla contraria.*"

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[1] Mr. Williams alludes also to the Bishop of Melbourne as giving some countenance to his peculiar views. We have referred to the Bishop's Sermons (University Sermons, 1856, p. 17). We find, however, that he merely professes to abide by the teaching of "that excellent commentator Scott." Now as we do not profess to any deep acquaintance with the writings of Mr. Scott (and the Bishop favours us with only a single harmless sentence from him) we are unable to say whether the Lampeter school of theology meets with any real countenance from this quarter or not; though we very strongly suspect not. Bishop Perry appears merely to object to the naked *dictation,* or *mechanical* theory, though his words are culpably vague and open to misconception. The fault of his Sermon (and it is a singularly poor one) lies quite in an opposite direction.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 19. (Joseph Masters: London, 1857)

[170] AUBERLEN ON DANIEL AND THE APOCALYPSE

The Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelation of S. John; viewed on their mutual relation. With an Exposition of the principal Passages. By CARL AUGUST AUBERLEN,[1] Dr Phil., Licentiate and professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Basil [*sic*]. With an Appendix, by M. FR. Roos. Translated by the Rev. ADOLPH SAPHIR. Edinburgh: Clark. 1856

Of the manifold endowments bestowed on the Catholic Church, by virtue of her inhabitation by the One SPIRIT—endowments which are severally developed within her or withdrawn, as they are faithfully employed or misused—few would appear more necessary for her at the present day, than the "spirit of *understanding*;" we mean, in so far as this gift would comprehend an insight into her true position with respect to GOD and the world—an intelligent apprehension, as to the measure of her *present* conformity with her *original* "Pattern," the general direction in which she is advancing in her several branches, the specific nature and source of her most imminent dangers, and the final issue of the many conflicting tendencies and activities now stirring within her.

True, it may be rejoined—and this is the commonly received view of the matter—that as knowledge is the offspring of obedience, so long as she applies herself heartily to the fulfilment of her plain duties, there is no need for her to waste her energies in dreaming upon the mysteries of her abstract position, her condition and prospects; for such knowledge is rather speculative than practical: and not only will there be time enough to think about her dangers when she finds herself confronted by them: but, doubtless, when they arise she will be intuitively forearmed against them.

Now much of all this is true. Active obedience, practical work, *is* unquestionably the best safeguard for the Church. Still, not to press such obvious considerations as the following: that there is such a thing as self-deceptive unenlightened 'obedience,' and 'work' which GOD will never recognise as His, and which will but enervate and injure, rather than invigorate; that, as a matter of fact, what is deemed 'holy obedience' and GOD'S work' in one section of the Church, is not unfrequently esteemed in a very different light in other sections; and that such perverted or defective obedience, wheresoever existing, can but deaden, instead of quickening, the Church's spiritual perceptions; not to press, we repeat, obvious considerations of this character, there remains this paramount fact, that GOD has given His Church copious and detailed Revelations respecting her future career and the several cardinal [171] temptations she will have to encounter, with particular warnings against them, and intimations, all significant, as to the extent to which she will be thereby affected; and that to this His 'sure Prophetic Word,' as to a guiding light through a

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[1] ϕ Jackson, S.M. (ed.) *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* Vol. 1 (Funk and Wagnalls Company: New York and London, 1908) at p. 359 provides the following information: 'Auberlen, Karl August: Theologian; b. at Fellbach, near Stuttgart, Nov. 19, 1824; d. at Basel May 2, 1864. He studied in the seminary of Blaubeuren 1837-41, and theology at Tubingen 1841-45; became repetent in theology at Tubingen 1849, and professor at Basel 1851. As a young man he was attracted by the views of Goethe and Hegel and enthusiastic for the criticism of Baur; but he later became an adherent of the old Wurttemberg circle of theologians—Bengel, Oetinger, Roos, etc. He published *Die Theosophie Oetingers* (Tubingen, 1847); *Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis* (Basel, 1854; Eng. transl., by Adolph Saphir, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation*, Edinburgh, 1874; 2d German ed., 1857); *Die gottliche Offenbarung* (i, Basel, 1861; Eng. transl., with memoir, Edinburgh, 1867). A volume of his sermons appeared in 1845; a volume of lectures on the Christian faith in 1861.'

trackless wilderness, a 'Lamp shining in a dark place,' He has straitly bidden her to "take heed."

Nay more: to that one mysterious Book, which treats specially on these subjects, the great Prophetic Manual of the Church, wherein her history is mirrored forth, her trials and disasters foretold, the 'cunning craftiness' of the enemy 'whereby he lies in wait to deceive her,' and its terrible success exposed to view—there is affixed a solemn invitation by God Himself to its earnest perusal and diligent study—a special 'blessing' to all who 'hear and read it.'

But strange to say, this Divine admonition seems deliberately set at nought. And the very Book, to the earnest meditation of which God has been pleased to invite and allure us as it were beyond all others, is precisely the Book which Churchmen study less than all; of the very contents of which, to say nothing of its meaning, there is the most widespread ignorance and indifference.

It may be as regards our own Communion that there is something in the English mind uncongenial with studies of this character. Our restless practical habits are ill-accordant with the slow, patient processes of investigation, the cautious, self-restrained diffidence, the unprejudiced and reverent teachableness, which the successful prosecution of such investigations imperatively demands.

Nor is it to be concealed that, in some portions of the Church, there may possibly be a lurking uneasiness with regard to the disclosures which the Apocalypse really has to make—a dimly recognized suspicion that it is charred with messages hard and unpalatable, and inconsistent with dreams of Churchmanship fondly cherished but never to be realized—messages, therefore, which there is no desire honestly to face, and of which it is deemed more convenient to remain in undisturbed ignorance.

Whatever be the cause, the fact is certain, that Apocalyptic study meets with but little encouragement; that it is not unfrequently regarded as giving evidence of some false Churchmanship, if not of mental imbecility in those who pursue it. And thus it has happened that—for the very reason, no doubt, that the Holy Spirit has so specially invited attention to the Book—the Evil Spirit has set himself, and with malignant success, to seduce men from it; blinding their eyes to its Divine beauty, straining to convert its mystic wisdom, through the extravagance of carnal-minded interpreters, into very foolishness, and its guiding light into the deepest darkness.[1] [172] The difficulties of the Book are no excuse for its neglect: nay, they constitute one weighty reason why its elucidation should be again and again reverently attempted. It is by 'reason of use' that the Church's 'senses are exercised to discern' meaning and significance of the rich Prophetic Treasury that has been bequeathed to her. Surely one special end of these seeming difficulties—while they doubtless serve the same purpose as the parabolic covering of many of our Lord's sayings

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[1] Mr. Maurice hopefully anticipates the day when the true character of the Apocalypse (which the Church, it appears, has hitherto entirely missed) shall come out, and it shall be demonstrated to be, after all, but an *historical* record, a "summary of Christian politics." "I do not despair of seeing this Book come forth out of the hands of prognosticators, as a real lesson book respecting the dealings of God with the nations. The craving there is in the minds of men for *a faithful history of the past*, which shall be also a faithful guide to the future, will surely be satisfied some day; this Book may teach us how it shall be satisfied." (See *Discourses on the Gospel of S. John.*) It will be, doubtless, considered in some quarters an instance of the profound wisdom and far-penetrating sagacity of Mr. Maurice, that he has been able to put the whole Catholic Church right on an important point of this kind, and to make the discovery that, in regarding this Book for 1800 years as a Prophetic Book—("write the things which are, and the things *which shall be*")—the Church has been labouring under a delusion.

of old, namely, to veil the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven from the thoughtless and undevout—is to stimulate the holy curiosity of the humble and prayerful Christian; to teach those who, with simple unreserve and patient self-surrender, desire to be taught.

If we would see an example of the manner in which the mysteries of the Prophetic Word should be pondered, we have such an example furnished us in the case of one "greatly beloved," and selected to be himself the great Apocalyptic Seer of the Old Testament Dispensation. Daniel "understood by books," i. e., by a diligent study of the Prophetic Records, among which he specifies the Prophecies of Jeremiah—the 'number of the years' which the Babylonian Captivity would last. He treats the prediction not as a matter of barren speculation; but makes the fulfilment and further elucidation of it the basis of one of the most earnest and intensely pathetic prayers that Holy Scripture has recorded. "I set my face," he tells us, "unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplication, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes; and I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession." And in answer to this the mystery was unravelled. The Angel Gabriel is commissioned to give him skill and understanding. The interpreter of Prophecy at the present day will assuredly be successful only in proportion as he realizes in himself something of the deep, inquiring earnestness, the intense sympathy with his subject, which characterised the privileged interpreter at the Court of Persia.

The work which heads this article is one of the latest contributions to the study of Apocalyptic Prophecy. It is one of very high order, and which must command attention. It is rather exegetical than critical. Its aim is mainly to settle the fundamental symbolism of the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of S. John, to [173] trace their mutual relation, and to penetrate into the central scope and design of certain of their leading visions. Professor Auberlen appears to us to possess in no ordinary degree those faculties of head and heart so absolutely necessary for the prosecution of that most difficult branch of sacred exegesis to which he has devoted himself. Nor do we feel that we can more truly convey our estimate of the general character of his attempt, than in his own words, descriptive of certain writers whom he seems anxious to take for his patterns.

> "These men,"[1] he writes, "must be regarded as true models . . . . in the simple, clear, and docile position which they occupy to the teaching of Holy Scripture; in the delicacy and persevering diligence with which they search its mysteries; in the discipline of truly scientific thought, and spiritual and devout tone of their theology. Hence the depth and fulness of their knowledge, the solidity and abundance of their theological fundamental ideas, their clear insight into GOD'S ways and the plan of His kingdom. In reading the works of these men we feels as if we had entered a temple."—P. xii.

The former half of the volume is occupied with the Book of Daniel. Thence he proceeds, at once, to the twelfth and following chapters of the Revelation, passing over its earlier chapters, and devoting his chief attention to the elucidation of the Great Vision of the 'Woman and the Beasts.' It is not long since we discussed the leading features of this vision in these pages; and we are gratified to find that the views we then advocated with respect to its general scope and interpretation are those which commend themselves to the present author.

His treatise has convinced us that we were in error in one or two points of detail; while, as regards certain others, we shall have occasion to express dissent from him. In his main

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[1] He is referring to certain of Bengel's school of interpreters to whom he confesses his great obligation, and with whom, though differing in many important points of detail, he yet has a general and fundamental accordance.

principles of interpretation we agree entirely. His work has a valuable appendix containing a brief survey of the leading modern expositions of Rev. xii.—xx. These are compared and criticized; and a very important service rendered to the student of the Apocalypse. The representative of our English school of Apocalyptic exegesis is unfortunately Mr. Elliott, according to whose system of interpretation, adds our author, "*all* the chief symbols" of the Book "refer almost exclusively to the Papacy." (p. 386.) We need hardly say, such a shallow and monstrous system of misinterpretation finds little countenance with so thoughtful and sober-minded a writer as Professor Auberlen. It is a matter for regret that he had not met with Mr. Isaac Williams' work when he published the present volume; as we believe there is no commentary extant which (leaving out of [174] consideration Rev. xx.) has so much in common with his Own. We feel bound to add, however, that in certain important respects, the present work has the advantage over that of Mr. Williams. It is, on the whole, more systematic and scientific, and is characterized by greater independence and originality of thought, and has the advantage also in definiteness and distinctness of conception; although as regards reverent handling, Catholic-mindedness and real unction, Mr. Williams' must ever remain a standard and model.

But in order to put our readers in possession of the general features of the present work, we must glance hastily at the two important Books which the writer proposes to elucidate.

The Book of Daniel, as we are reminded, occupies the same position in the Old Testament Canon, as the revelation of S. John in the New. The former was the Apocalypse of the Israelitish, the latter of the Christian Church; the latter forming the natural continuation and supplement of the former. Our author designates the Book of Daniel as the Old Testament *Apocalypse*, from the fact of its being impressed with that peculiar character which discriminates the Apocalyptic from the Prophetic Word. The prophets of the Old Testament, like the epistolary writers of the New, write primarily and specially for their own times, for the present emergencies of the Kingdom of God. The prophetic element intervenes only when the elucidation of *then*-existent circumstances seems to demand it, or when the present or imminent crises of the Church are themselves typical, precursive, or suggestive of mightier future events. The 'Word' or 'Hand' of God comes upon them always for a *particular* purpose. They utter it—a 'Word' deep and pregnant, and too large as it would seem for the contracted sphere of its immediate application; but instinct with life, and, as expressing part of the *abiding* thought and truth of God, hereafter to develop itself, when its sphere has enlarged and expanded, and It finds a stage ample enough for its operation.

But 'Apocalypse,' on the contrary, is not given, primarily or specially, for present, but for future times. It is not the immediate product of any particular present emergency. Its primary object is to serve as a guiding lamp for the people of God during those dark periods when there is no revelation.

Thus the great Israelitish Seer, independently of the comprehensive *world*-historical prophecies wherewith he was charged, was commissioned to reveal to his countrymen a continuous narrative of the career of the 'Kingdom of God' from his own time to that of the first Advent of Christ, and the rejection of Israel. The Christian Seer takes up the history at the "times of the Gentiles," and pictures the gradual development of the same "Kingdom of God"—the secret growth of progress, side by side, within her borders of the 'Mystery of Godliness' and the 'Mystery of Iniquity'[175]—from the destruction of Jerusalem till the period of the second Advent.

The very position of both writers is in accordance with the peculiar character of their Revelations.

> "Far from being in immediate contact with the congregation, we find them isolated; the one at the court of a heathen power, the other on a lonely island rock. They are alone with GOD."—(Pp. 23, 70, 71.)

Daniel is a captive in Babylon. Here then with his own times does his prophecy open. Nor is there any important event which befell the Kingdom of GOD from that era to the final destruction of the Jewish polity, which does not find place in his narrative. He discloses to us the downfall of that haughty power under which the Church was then enslaved; the rise of the Medo-Persian kingdom, to which Israel was next in subjection; the restoration of his people from captivity; the "troublous times" of the rebuilding of the desolated Temple and city; the re-establishment, under Ezra, of the Theocracy. He glances at the culminating point of Persian history in the times of Xerxes, and its subsequent decadence; the victorious career of Alexander, the sudden efflorescence and rapid decline of the Grecian empire, and its fourfold dispartition among the generals of the conqueror. To two of the partitions of the dismembered empire he next turns his prophetic eye—Egypt and Syria,—because in their long-protracted struggles the Jewish nation was deeply embroiled. The one kingdom lying to the 'north,' the other to the 'south' of Judea—and the unhappy people alternately subjected to the one and the other, and reduced at times to the most distressing extremities—there seemed peculiar need why the consoling light of prophecy should irradiate the gloomy season. Here therefore we are introduced to the most minute historical prophecy which is to be found in the whole Inspired Word—the detailed succession of the Syrian and Egyptian kings, the dynasties of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies—conducting to the culminating point of Israel's distresses in the times of the Old Testament Anti-Christ, the monster Antiochus Epiphanes, the last hideous representative of the expiring third empire, and most terrible shadow of the still future Anti-Christ of the fourth empire. The prophet foretells the Apostasy of Israel which prepared the way for this 'Man of sin,' the glorious successes of the Maccabean heroes, and Antiochus' miserable end. He reveals the rise, greatness and unprecedented military successes of the Roman Empire; the birth of the MESSIAH; His Holy Baptism; His Ministerial career; His sacrificial and atoning Death, and the cessation thereupon of the sacrifices and oblations of the old Law; His introduction of a New Covenant, of the terms of which 'many' should avail themselves, but which the nation as a whole would reject; Israel's renunciation of the offers of mercy made through CHRIST; GOD'S renun[176]ciation of Israel; the translation of the Kingdom of God from Israel to the gentile world, and the desolation and destruction of the whole Jewish state.

At this point the history is taken up by the apocalyptic Seer of the New Testament.

But does Daniel's prophecy look no further than the first Advent of Christ, and the destruction of Jerusalem? Written as it is to serve as the Apocalypse for the people of Israel, does it tell of no distant dawn after the dark night of the desolation? Has Israel, as a nation, no bright future? does its political history for ever cease with the 'dispersion?' Has He whose 'gifts and calling are without repentance' *no* national hopes for His scattered sheep of the house of Israel when the "times of the Gentiles" which form the subject of the New Testament Apocalypse have been fulfilled?

The inspired patriot leaves not his countrymen, and 'kinsmen after the flesh,' thus without comfort. He tells not of that second captivity—so far more abiding and terrible than that of his own day—without pointing to a still future glorious Restoration therefrom, of which the post-Babylonian restoration was but a dim type and figure.

But of this anon.

The prophecy of Daniel, as is well known, admits of division into two main Sections, the leading subject of which is not obscurely indicated by the very language employed. The

former Section, extending to the close of ch. vii. is written in Chaldee,[1] the language of the ruling world-power; the latter in Hebrew—the language of the people of God. Hence it is natural to anticipate that the central subject of the former division is the development and career of the world-power; of the latter, the fortunes of God's ancient Church and people.

A word or two on the contents of these two Sections; as they have, both of them, an important bearing on the interpretation of that portion of the Apocalypse which has to come under examination.

The *first*, or Chaldee Section, contains a sketch of the history of the world-power from the period of the Babylonian captivity until the time when the "kingdoms of the world shall have become the Kingdom of our God and His Christ."

The second, or Hebrew Section, recounts the fortunes of the people of God, from the time of Daniel till the destruction of Jerusalem.

Our author points out that the subject matter of both Sections is arranged in the form of an 'inverted parallelism,' an arrangement frequently recurring in Holy Scripture, as we showed in a recent number.[2]
[177]
Thus of the six chapters, (ch. ii.—vii.) which the Chaldee Section embraces, the first three are inversely parallel with the last three. The 2nd chapter answers to the 7th, the 3rd to the 6th, the 4th to the 5th.

The subjects are as follows.

Ch. ii., vii. The development of the five world-monarchies; four of earth and one of Heaven; exhibited (1) in the four parts of the "Great Image," and the mysterious "Stone;" (2) in the four *Beasts* and the Son of *Man*.

Ch. iii., vi. GOD'S protection of His people when they seem crushed by the world-power; exemplified in the preservation (1) of the 'three children' in the fiery furnace; (2) of Daniel in the lions' den.

Ch, iv., v. Instances how GOD suddenly humbles the world-power in the midst of its arrogance and pride; exemplified in the judgment (1) on Nebuchadnezzar; (2) on Belshazzar.

These two intermediate pairs of chapters form practical comments on and illustrations of the great subject of this whole Section—as given under two aspects in its two extreme chapters (i.e. ch. ii. vii.)—viz. the history of the world-power; its seeming strength, inward weakness, gradual decay, and final destruction by the LORD the King.

The *second*, or Hebrew Section, consisting of three divisions, exhibits the same arrangement: the central division standing out by itself; the first and last being parallel.

The central division, ch. ix., contains Daniel's great intercessory prayer, and the revelation concerning the 'seventy weeks,' the Advent and sacrificial Death of Messiah, and the destruction of the Jewish polity.

On each side of this (i.e. in ch. viii., ch. x., xi.) we meet with a somewhat detailed account of the second and third monarchies, Persia and Greece, (which had been hastily passed

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[1] We should except the introduction, which is in Hebrew. The Chaldee commences ch. ii. ver. 4. " Then spake the Chaldeans to the king, in Syriack," &c.

[2] ϕ Vol. 18 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture', see pp. 167ff *supra*,

over in the Chaldee Section,) as introductory to the disastrous conflicts between Syria and Egypt, and the manifestation of the Old Testament Antichrist, Antiochus. The two visions, of course, present this portion of history in different lights. In each, the account of Antiochus adumbrates a particular phase of the history of his monstrous Antitype[1] not yet revealed; the detailed and *direct* account of whom occurs in the Chaldee Section.
[178]
To this Section (ch. ii.—vii.) we must now again return.

We have seen that it comprises a history of the powers of the world. An unusual subject, it would seem, for Scripture prophecy, but not without a peculiar and distressing significance for GOD'S ancient people.

The Church of GOD had arrived at an important crisis and turning-point in its history. It was in captivity. The Theocracy was now subject, nay more, was *henceforward to remain in subjection*, to the powers of the world. It had lost its independence. Hitherto there had existed a *visible kingdom* of GOD on earth, independent of all other kingdoms. It was the high prerogative of GOD'S Israel not to acknowledge the rule of any other nation or kingdom whatever. Doubtless, as a punishment for its sins, the Theocracy was occasionally permitted to be in temporary subjection to other nations. Yet this was but an exceptional and abnormal state. On Israel's repentance deliverers appeared; and the Church immediately rose to its true, independent, and lofty position. At last ensued the great schism; the apostacy of the northern kingdom of the ten tribes, and its final destruction by Assyria. Subsequently followed Nebuchadnezzar's attack upon Judah, and then the Babylonian captivity. And with this, the independence of the Theocracy ceased. Henceforward the national glory departed. The Kingdom of GOD was doomed to remain in subjection to the successive powers of the world, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome. Here

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[1] Dr. Auberlen is certainly in error in limiting the prophecy of Dan. xi. xii. to the times of Antiochus, and in not recognizing—what is so abundantly apparent, and has been universally admitted in the Church, (we may particularly specify S. Jerome, who argued this very point at length against Porphyry,)—the important *ulterior* reference it contains to the times of Antichrist.

Our author accordingly sees in the allusion to the resurrection (ch. xii.) merely a solemn warning to GOD'S people during that time of distress, with regard to the eternal retribution awaiting them according to their faithfulness or unfaithfulness under this terrible season of temptation. And doubtless the noble confession of the Maccabean mother and her sons, (2 Macc. vii. 9, 14, 23,) apparently in reference to these words, and S. Paul's mention of the "better resurrection" in connection with this same incident in Maccabean history, (Heb. xi. 35,) show that there is some ground for regarding the account of the resurrection (ch. xii.) in conjunction with the previous description of the times of Antiochus, and that at least these words of Daniel produced practical fruits in that period of tribulation. Still, the reference to the general Resurrection is far too unambiguous to be explained away, and must therefore have an important bearing upon the interpretation of the preceding chapter. It makes it clear in fact, as S. Jerome maintains, that this is one of those double prophecies, like Ps. 72, descriptive at once of Solomon, and the "greater than Solomon," and, we may add, like our LORD'S celebrated prediction with regard to the destruction of Jerusalem, and His second advent, wherein the type and antitype are combined together in one continuous narrative. "In this prophecy," (writes Mr. C. Maitland,) "we are shown a picture representing with an accuracy that defies criticism the history of the Greeks from Alexander to Antiochus. Suddenly, and without warning, this picture grows faint, the likenesses vanish, the figures fade from the canvas; but out of the dissolving shadows there springs a new creation: in place of Epiphanes stalks Antichrist; and in the distance, seen through the glare and havoc of the great tribulation, are the deserted sepulchres and the eternal blessedness of the risen saints."—*Apostolic School of Proph. Int*. p. 23].

It will be observed that in the first Section of the Book of Daniel, we see the career of Antichrist as bearing on the world-power; in the second Section we see (under the type of Antiochus) his career as bearing upon the people of Israel; and in the Revelation of S. John, as bearing on the Church of CHRIST.

therefore arises the necessity for a new Revelation to teach the people of GOD the light in which to regard the several earthly kingdoms whose yokes they were to feel. Hence

> "The prophet must needs take a different stand-point from his predecessors. For the Divine Word has always a starting-point, and its [179] organ is made fit to receive the Divine Revelation . . . . Thus Daniel's prophetic watch tower was erected beside the throne in Babylon; and standing here, in and yet above the first monarchy, he looked out into the farthest future, and discerned with prophetic eye, which GOD had opened, the changing shapes and events of coming kingdoms in their relation to the people of GOD."— Pp. 20, 21.

Now the first thing worthy of notice in this Chaldee Section of Daniel is this, that, though extending from the Seer's own time until the consummation of all things, there is no mention therein made of the first coming of CHRIST, and the establishment of his Church.

The reason is obvious. The *subject* of this Section is the course of the successive kingdoms of the *world*. But the present phase of CHRIST'S Kingdom, as it was inaugurated at Pentecost, is "*not* of this world." It is yet a hidden and suffering Kingdom. "The Kingdom of GOD is within us." CHRIST rules, by His Great Vicegerent the HOLY GHOST and through the agency of His Church, by spiritual and unseen processes; not in manifested power and glory. The secret principle is now working *within*: it shall hereafter develop itself, from within, *outwardly*. And its august manifestation is yet in the womb of the future. In its present stage, therefore, the Kingdom of CHRIST does not enter "Daniel's horizon:" it does so only "at that point where it begins to be a real and *external* power of the world" (p. 22), when "the kingdoms of the world *become* the Kingdom of our LORD CHRIST." "The mysterious 'Stone' has no *visible significance* till it smites the mundane Image, dashing it to powder, and Itself becoming 'a mountain' majestically fills the whole earth."

We learn then, nothing in this section respecting the present aspect of the Christian Church; that is all reserved for S. John's Revelation.

We here read of the successive falls of Babylon, Persia, Greece: then, with deeper emphasis, of the rise of the Roman Empire. We read of its formidable strength, its firm iron solidity; then of its disintegration, and the intermixture into its iron groundwork of the plastic material of the Germanic and Sclavonic tribes, through the migration of nations. We learn that these elements shall never thoroughly cohere and amalgamate. 'They shall not cleave together.' And in the incoherence of these two elements, our author tells us, we see the moving principle of modern history.

> "The Romanic element strives towards universal empire; while the Germanic represents the principle of individualization, division. Hence we see ever renewed attempts to establish world-monarchies, e.g. The Papacy"—(which he maintains is capable of being viewed in this light)—"Charlemagne, Charles V., Napoleon. 'But they shall not cleave to one another.' The different nationalities assert again and [180] again their right. Romanic, Germanic, Sclavonic, oppose each other in political and religious questions. 'Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, till Anti-Christ succeeds in producing a demonic union."—P. 222.

To this dreadful consummation does the Seer hasten on. He mentions the subdivision into divers smaller kingdoms of the Romano-Germanic Empire, adding that, in its final period, these kingdoms shall be ten in number; that from small beginnings an eleventh shall arise which will subdue three of the existing ten, and receive the prostrate allegiance of the remaining seven; that this kingdom, now become "an *eighth*," shall rise suddenly to an unprecedented height of power; that, in it, the long cherished dream of earthly potentates, a

universal mundane empire, shall be actually and terribly realized; that its Head, energized by Satan, shall reign the manifested God of the world, till judgment suddenly overtakes him; his kingdom is scattered to the four winds of Heaven; the "stone" shivers the "Image;" the rightful Ruler and Heir of the world appears in glory; and "the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole Heaven is given to the saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii. 27).

At this portion of their prophetic histories, the Revelations of Daniel and S. John run parallel. Each describes this glorious consummation; but from different points of view and with a different aim. The one writes for the natural Israel, the other for the spiritual Israel. One tells of the mundane aspect of the coming Kingdom of glory, and of the exalted position therein, among the "nations of the saved," of "Israel after the flesh," the "holy people" of Daniel: the other treats concerning that spiritual community where is neither Jew nor Greek, but only CHRIST, and tells of the unutterable glories of the Bride, the beatified, glorified, Deified Spouse of the LORD the King whereof the royal and exalted position of Israel on the regenerated earth is still but a type and sublunary transcript.

Another question demanding notice, here presents itself.

Why is it that in Daniel's prophetic survey of world history, such peculiar stress is laid upon the fourth monarchy; and still more, upon the final stage of that monarchy, which, as is universally admitted, will not extend but over a period of a very few years—"a short space?"

First. With regard to the Roman Empire. One of its very striking peculiarities, contrasted with its predecessors, is its long continuance. It is to be well observed that the "whole of the lower portion of the Image is referred to it;" nor must it be forgotten that, even at the present moment, dismembered though it be, mixed up with foreign elements, it is still essentially existing; only awaiting the time when its scattered fragments shall be gathered up and united under one Head—that "Coming Man," [181] of whom the godless world has even now a sort of undefined and intuitive anticipation.

It is interesting to bear in mind that one of the greatest shadows of Anti-Christ, of modern times—Napoleon—quite took up the idea of the Roman Empire.

"His universal monarchy was essentially and avowedly Roman: his son was called 'King of Rome:' his nephew, in order to found his power, distributed among the French army 'Roman eagles.' The Roman empire is the ideal which exerts fascinating power on the rulers of the world, which they are ever striving to realize, and *will doubtless succeed in realizing*. Of all phenomena of history, none bears more essential resemblance to Anti-Christ than this demonic Napoleonism, which from the outset identified itself with the idea of the Roman empire. In like manner it is the Czar's policy to surround his throne with the splendour of Constantinople and the eastern empire." P. 221.

It will at once be acknowledged that the real and secret reason of the long continuance of the fourth monarchy, in comparison with the preceding ones, is this, that "the planting and spread of Christianity has brought new vital elements also to the world power" (p. 224). Hence, as its opportunities and privileges have far surpassed those of any former kingdom, so will its fall be infinitely more terrible.

Its external Christianization, we shall find, has not altered its real character. But it is the *fact* of this Christianization—of the kingdom extending from the first till the second Advent, and thus, of the whole career of the Christian Church in its militant state running parallel with, and being as it were included in its history—which gives it this peculiar and special significance already noticed. It is a fearful thought, however, that it is after the

world has been penetrated for centuries by Christianity, that it reaches its deepest depth of degradation, and finds its deified "Image" and Representative in the "*Vile* Person."

Descending from its original "gold," it passes through the stages of 'silver,' 'brass,' 'iron,' and finally terminates in the 'miry clay.' It travels down from the 'Image of God' in Paradise, to the 'Image of the Beast' ripe for judgment. It becomes intensely civilized and intellectual, and yet in God's eyes only more intensely abominable; until at last its real essential nature, which consists in alienation from God and proud self-assertion, comes into full and open manifestation.

In alluding to the *Bestial* nature of world power, we have touched upon a subject of paramount importance in the present investigations; and upon which Dr Auberlen offers many admirable and profound observations:—we allude to the fundamental difference between the *human* and the *bestial* symbols both in the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of S. John. The former Book clearly [182] settles the question, revealing to us that the proud "nature-strength" of man, unregenerated by the Spirit of GOD, is *not* of a *human* but of a lower character.

The only possible condition for the attainment of true humanity, a gift unattainable save in the kingdom of GOD—is humility, If proud man will not stoop down before his Creator and empty himself that he may be filled with the Spirit of GOD, which alone differentiates him from the brutes, he must be content to take his position in the creation of GOD among the "brute beasts which have no understanding." For so says the Psalmist: "Man raised to honour hath *no understanding*"—loses that which alone constitutes him *man*—"and is compared unto the beasts that perish." The exaltation of man must commence from above, not from beneath. He that exalteth *himself* is abased—abases and degrades himself in the scale of GOD'S Creation by the very act of, and in exact proportion to, his self-exaltation. The whole parable was visibly enacted in the case of the old world king; in whose humiliation—so important as fixing this fundamental point in Apocalyptic symbolism—we see an *outward* exhibition of the interior spiritual change that came over him when, in GOD-defying self-assertion, he began to prate about the "great Babylon which *I* have built, by the might of *my* power, for the honour of *my* majesty;" and in whose restoration, so beautifully recounted in Dan. iv. 34—37, we learn what it was that really made him *man* once more.

These considerations will help us to answer the *second* question—Why is it that, notwithstanding its very brief duration, such infinite stress is laid upon the reign of Anti-Christ, the last representative of the world power?

> "It is a characteristic of prophecy," writes Dr Auberlen, "to put into the clearest light those phases in which the essence of things is revealed, *and their true and innermost nature comes into fullest manifestation*. Prophecy dwells chiefly on the *end* of the powers and factors about which revelation is given, because it is then that a long-preceding development reaches its consummation, and for the first time unfolds its true nature."—P. 38.

And this is the reason, he tells us, why the first three monarchies are passed but rapidly over; and why, even in considering the fourth, we are led almost at once to its final shape; for here we find the true bestial nature of 'worldliness,' and the real characteristics of that nature, fully exposed to view.

The subject, already referred to, of the progressive deterioration of the world-power, notwithstanding its ever-increasing refinement, culture, and civilization, is one of the deepest interest, and meriting the most serious attention. We have seen that it is based upon

the simple fact that, the development of its natural powers has [183] the effect of making it esteem itself ever more and more self-sufficient, and independent of the supernatural aids of GOD the HOLY GHOST, and thus, of sinking it ever lower and lower in the scale of moral being. And, in truth, who that looks thoughtfully around can doubt but that the world, notwithstanding its respectable exterior, is advancing farther and farther from GOD, that society is becoming more superficial, less genuine, "the world decreasing not in external power but in internal worth and solidity." Philosophers would view "the development of man as having taken place from a lower to a higher state." It is a hard truth for such men to find the inspired statesmen placing our age, with its culture and science, far below the Oriental kingdoms, "under the fourth kingdom, and towards the end of it, when the mystery of iniquity, of the GOD-opposed beast-nature is beginning to unfold itself with ever-increasing vigour." (P. 203.)

> "Herein," proceeds our Author, "consists the gigantic lie, and little narrow-mindedness of our generation, that civilization is looked upon as the highest thing, and as a substitute for Regeneration by the Spirit of the Living GOD. . . . What Daniel represents in his four world-kingdoms is in reality, nothing else but the development from a natural, vigorous, solid mode of existence to a life of refinement and intellectualism."—P. 204.
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> "It is clear," then, "in what manner Prophecy places the ancient kingdoms of the world over the modern, those of the East over those of the West. In outward civilization, refinement; in political institutions, arts, sciences, there is doubtless an immense progression. But there is something much higher than these goods of life. . . . the invisible, vital root of nations and kingdoms. This is *the original, tender, mysterious connection between man and* GOD *in the conscience*; 'Pietas,' the natural and almost instinctive reverence for the divine fundamental institutions of life. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation.' This righteousness shows itself principally in man's reverence for things Sacred, in obedience of subjects to rulers, in respect of children to parents. These are the fundamental pillars of man's life; upon these religion, the family, the state are built. Let these be shaken or destroyed, and all arts and sciences will be found unavailing; the most refined civilization will prove ineffectual to save such a nation, as is clearly proved by the times of the decline of Greece and Rome, and the history of our own day."[1] Pp. 209, 210.

But far the most startling thought in connection with this view of the gradual deterioration of the world-power is this, already referred to, that it reaches its lowest point of degradation in that very kingdom which alone has been brought under the influence of Christianity. For we have seen that all Church history lies [184] within the times of the Roman empire; that this, though dismembered and mixed with foreign materials, is yet the empire which exists until the Second Advent; even as Daniel in another portion of his prophecy, and S. John in the Revelation clearly represent Anti-Christ's kingdom, in some peculiar way, as a resuscitation of the old disintegrated empire of Rome. And yet this very empire has as a *whole*, been Christianized. Nay, it is emphatically the home and earthly guardian of the Catholic Church. *This* "world" is pre-eminently the *Christian* world. It is the "kingdom of the world" outwardly "become the kingdom of our LORD and of His CHRIST." And yet it is *this* which, notwithstanding its transcendent privileges, its long protracted term of probation, is sinking and about to sink deeper than all previous powers

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[1] We have been compelled to abridge this paragraph from want of space. The whole passage however, pp. 198—213, is profoundly suggestive and well worthy of attention.

of the world in shrewd, refined, respectable alienation from GOD; in which the "mystery of iniquity" is secretly striving; whose deep seated enmity is but preparing—when once the faithful "Witnesses" of the Most High have really begun to reassert their true position and spiritual powers, and boldly to maintain before High Heaven the eternal truths committed to them—to burst forth in avowed antagonism to GOD. Yes, Christendom itself is that "great City," whose streets which have seen such mighty works as no other kingdom has seen, shall yet reek with the warm life-blood of the martyrs of JESUS; and which is preparing to do, what the heathen world did not and could not—to commit the sin against the HOLY GHOST, and give birth to the Anti-Christ.

But where—for this, after all, is the question for Churchmen—where, during all these hundreds of years, has been the "Light of the world?" Has it been shining in the firmament brightly and steadily? Where has been the "Lamp in the house," has it been burning pure and unsullied? Where has been the Divine "Salt" whose function it was to season the world, to correct the tendencies to corruption, to arrest and retard the processes of deterioration? These questions come not within the scope of Daniel's Revelations. Of the *spiritual* history of Christendom be tells us nothing, this he leaves to his evangelical successor. The Statesman reveals to us the mundane aspect of the fourth empire, the Apostle the spiritual aspect. Daniel gives us the history of the world; S. John discloses the hidden sources of that history. He adds something further—the secret history of the *Church*. To this we must return.

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[206]
In reviewing the able treatise of Dr Auberlen in our last number, we confined our remarks to the Book of Daniel. We gave a general outline, drawn chiefly from the work before us, of the contents and structural arrangement of the Book. We noticed its two cardinal divisions, the Chaldee Section and the Hebrew; the one treating of the career of the successive powers of the World, the other recounting the fortunes of the Israel of GOD. The former of these principally engaged our attention, introducing us to a subject of no slight interest—the secret history, resistless advance, indomitable might, decay, disruption, and still future mysterious redintegration [*sic*] of that particular phase of the World-power with which the destinies of the Visible Church are so intimately associated; that fourth or "iron" Empire which witnessed the birth and was instrumental in the death of the SON of GOD; which persecuted the nascent Church with rabid fury; which, at last, broken, humbled, revolutionized, submitted its neck to the Yoke of CHRIST; and which, after professing for centuries the faith of the Crucified, shall yet, as Jewish and Christian seers alike testify, rise in sevenfold malignity against the REDEEMER, "Crucify Him afresh" in His Members, and "put Him to an open shame."
[207]
Ere we proceed to bring to bear on this subject the additional light afforded by the Revelation of S. John, and to touch upon the practical considerations, especially in reference to the Church of CHRIST and our own branch of it, which it involves, we propose to turn for a short time to the second or Hebrew Section of the Book of Daniel, and glance at its great central prophecy of the "Seventy Weeks," a prophecy claiming our attention not only on the ground of its own peculiar interest and importance, but also from the fact of its having a considerable incidental bearing on the subjects more immediately under consideration.

It is evident, in S. John's history of the mystic Woman, that the numerical and chronological references which occur in it form an important constituent of the symbolic clothing of that history, and hence, that a right understanding of their import must be essential to the correct interpretation of the remaining portions of the vision.

Now the prophecy of the "Seventy Weeks" appears to us to possess this peculiar significance (in reference, that is, to this portion of the Revelation of S. John)—that it furnishes the fundamental basis of its *chronology*; and hence, that it is no less necessary to the perfect apprehension of the vision of the "Woman and the Beasts," than the parallel history of the "Beasts and *Man*" in Daniel, is to the elucidation of its symbolism.

To this prophecy, without further preface, let us turn.

Its history is as follows:—

One year before the expiration of the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah as the duration of the Captivity, the aged Daniel set himself with prayer and fasting to consider the future prospects of his people in connection with this revelation of GOD (Jer. xxx. xxxi.) and the now-approaching restoration. It was a time of deep interest and thrilling expectation. Glorious things had been spoken of Zion, the city of the Living GOD, and of His own people. MESSIAH had yet to come. "The kingdom" was yet to be "restored to Israel." (Cf. Acts i. 6.) The Theocracy was to be re-established and the temple re-built, though after a more glorious fashion than had ever hitherto been realized. Prophecies of peace and prosperity, of everlasting forgiveness and reconciliation to Israel, had been solemnly given by GOD: and the prophetic records *appeared* to connect these blessings with the redemption from Babylonian exile. Seventy years was the predetermined time: Sixty-nine had now run their course: was another year to bring with it these good things which GOD had promised? Moreover, was the nation itself fitted to *receive* and make a good use of such transcendent blessings: was it sufficiently humbled for its past sins? had the corrective visitation worked in it a "godly sorrow unto repentance," given it a "new heart and new spirit?"

Fasting, prayer, and meditation, earnest confession and intercession are the resources of the "man greatly beloved." Nor did [208] they fail. An Angelic Messenger is at once commissioned to communicate the coveted information.

The Angelic response we are about briefly to consider.

And first, we learn from it something as to the comprehensive and pregnant character of the prophetic Word, and the difference between Divine and human modes of computation. We learn, moreover, somewhat of the nature of prophetic *perspective*; how that future events which seem placed in immediate juxtaposition in the inspired records, may yet be separated by long intervals of time, and the prophecies which relate to them meet with numerous protracted periods and stages of fulfilment.

Thus Daniel discovers, that although a return from captivity is assuredly about to ensue at the time foretold, and the city and temple be rebuilt, yet this, after all, will be but a feeble type and earnest of the real proper fulfilment of the prophecy of Jeremiah. For he learns that this prophecy of the seventy years enfolds within itself an ulterior prediction of "seventy weeks" of years yet to run out, in order to "finish" Israel's "transgression," "to make an end of sin, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to bring in everlasting Righteousness, to seal up the vision and prophecy and to anoint the Most Holy."[1]

[1] For convenience of reference we will give the passage at length. Dan. ix.

{*cont.*}

To enter into any minute and critical analysis of this much controverted chronological prophecy, or bring in review the multitudinous interpretations it has received from Jews and Christians, ancients and moderns, is quite beside our purpose.[1] The prophecy comes before us mainly for one specific object; and in referring to it we shall chiefly content ourselves with that solution of its principal portion which is most generally accepted, and which, it is but right to add, is most ably and fully vindicated in the work before us.

The first question started by the prophecy is, of course, the fol[209]lowing:—What is the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks?" From what point are they to be calculated? The Angel says they are to be reckoned "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem."

Now Holy Scripture mentions four edicts of the kings of Persia in favour of the Jews.

1. That of Cyrus. (Ezra i. I.)
2. That of Darius Hystaspes. (Ezra iv. 6.)
3, The decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the *seventh* year of his reign. (Ezra vii.)
4. A second decree in the *twentieth* year of the same monarch.

The first two of these may be disposed of at once; inasmuch as they have no reference whatever to the restoration or building of Jerusalem, but solely and exclusively to the rebuilding of the temple. The question then lies between the last two decrees; the former granted to Ezra, the latter to Nehemiah. And of these the former appears unquestionably to be the decree referred to. It is the original and fundamental edict, and virtually *includes* the second. The latter is merely supplementary to, and confirmatory of it. It is an edict of great importance and of most comprehensive character, and is transcribed entire in the sacred narrative—(the subsequent decree, granted to Nehemiah, is *not* transcribed—an indication, surely, of its secondary importance).—It gave the solemn sanction of the court of Persia to the restoration of the Jewish constitution, civil as well as ecclesiastical: making full provision for the re-establishment of the Public Worship of the Most High; granting immunity from taxation to the priesthood; and arranging for the administration of government, of justice, and judgment, according to the law of Moses.

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24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy.

25. " Know therefore and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the MESSIAH the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times.

26. "And after threescore and two weeks shall MESSIAH be cut off, but not for Himself; and the people of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

27. "And He shall confirm the Covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week He shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations He shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

[1] Corn. à Lapide alluding to the difficulties which beset the prophecy, tells us of an estimable divine of his acquaintance who, after devoting many years to its elucidation and becoming only more and more perplexed and confused, ended his investigations by insanity. We trust none of our readers will expose themselves to the risk of sharing the same fate.

Well might it force from Ezra the devout ascription: "*Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, which hath put such a thing as this the king' s heart!*"[1]

From the issuing of this edict, says the Angel, (i.e. 457 B.C.) to Messiah, that are to elapse 7 + 62 (= 69) prophetic "weeks," or 483 years; which bring us down to the *very year* of our LORD'S Baptism, when He was anointed by the HOLY GHOST and visibly inaugurated to His mediatorial office.

But ere the Angel enters upon the *seventieth* or sabbatical week, he proceeds to deal with this preliminary period of sixty-nine weeks, extending from the seventh year of Artaxerxes to the Baptism of our LORD. He instructs us [210]

1. What is to take place *during* this period.
2. What is to take place *after* it.

1. And *first*: What is to take place *during* it. We have already seen that he divides it into two unequal parts, 7 weeks and 62 weeks. The reason of this is plain. The 7 weeks, or 49 years, embrace the time during which the work of restoration was *being carried on*, the streets and walls being rebuilt; the interval comprehending the final period of the Old Testament revelation, and bringing to a close the lives and labours of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi. After this, the work of restoration, political as well as material, having been effected, revelation having ceased, the second part, or 62 weeks of years, ensues, a period of trouble, (minutely described in the other chapters of the Hebrew Section—the distress reaching its climax in the days of Antiochus,) terminating, as we have said, the very year of our Lord's Baptism.

2. But what is to take place *after* these 69 weeks? The seventieth or sabbatical week alone remains to be accounted for. But the Angel does not proceed to this immediately. He has an important disclosure to make to Daniel ere he enters upon this final period. The aged seer had originally hoped that the seventy years of exile now expiring would usher in the glorious reign of Messiah, the "restoration of the kingdom to Israel," and the joyful times of the Prince of Peace. He had already learnt that these hopes were not to be realized; that the seventy years were but a type of, and about to expand into, 70 long weeks of years; that the partial redemption and restitution at the close of the former was but an earnest and faint shadow of the full redemption, and the "restitution of all things," to be effected by Messiah at the close of the latter; that the "times " of the *coming* restoration were not to be times of *peace*, but emphatically "troublous times;" and that, instead of Messiah appearing at once, 69 'weeks,' or 483 years, had to elapse ere He entered upon His gracious office. But a more strange disclosure has yet to be made. Even after Messiah *has* come, instead of swaying His regal sceptre on the throne His Father David, over a loving and loyal people, he learns that He shall be "*cut off*," and by that very apostate people;[2] instead of bringing peace, His advent should be succeeded by terrible and fearful "*wars*;" instead of reigning

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[1] It is but right to add, that the margin of our Bible refers to the later edict, in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, as the *terminus a quo;* probably from S. Jerome, who to account for the chronological discrepancy of 13 years thereby introduced, assumes that the years are '*lunar* years,'—each of which is 11 days shorter than a solar year. However this computation has been very generally and deservedly rejected. It is carefully discussed and disposed of by C. à Lapide, who gives his verdict strongly in favour of the view we have advocated in the text.

[2] "Messiah shall be *cut off*, but *not for Himself*." This reminds us of Isaiah's words. "He was *cut off* out of the land of the living; *for the transgression of My people*." It is perhaps hardly necessary to add, with regard to the expression (v. 26) "*After threescore and two weeks,*" that it is to be counted *from the expiration of the seven weeks* already mentioned; making up sixty-nine weeks in all.

Israel's "*Prince*," in the glorified city and sanctuary, another Prince would appear, even the ruling head of the world-power, who would "*destroy the city and sanctuary*;" after which would follow, not Israel's consummated restoration and exaltation, but Israel's consummated desolation, destruction, degradation.
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This fearful disclosure having been made, the Angel is able to proceed intelligibly to the "seventieth week." This he does in v. 27.

It is to be a week of mercy and grace to "*many*." For "through His knowledge shall My Righteous Servant justify *many*." Messiah shall establish His covenant of peace; for He is the "Messenger of the Covenant;" nay, Himself *the* "Covenant," ("I will give Thee for a Covenant of the people,") i.e. He in Whom the covenant between GOD and man "finds its personal expression." His Blood is the "Blood of the New *Covenant*, which is shed for *many* for the remission of sins."[1] Hence the Angel describes in these few characteristic words the great work of the seventieth week, "*He shall confirm the covenant with many for one week*." He shall bring His people into a nearer and *firmer* covenant with GOD. But "in the midst of the week," he adds, "He shall make the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease." That is, by the "full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction," made on the cross, He shall put an end to the offerings of the old law. "Sacrifice and Offering and burnt-offering and Offering for sin Thou didst not require: then said I, 'LO, *I* come.' He *taketh away the first*," (i.e. the legal sacrifices and oblations,) "that He may establish the *second*," i.e. the perpetual, continuous, and all-prevailing Offering of the BODY of JESUS CHRIST.

Thus the first half of the seventieth week extends from the Baptism to the Death of CHRIST, embracing a period of 3½ years.

Where are we to look for the second half of the week, and the close of the whole prophetic era? On this point the Angel is silent: He gives us no definite information whatever. After alluding to Messiah's death—describing it, as we have seen, from an Israelitish point of view, as causing the cessation of the old shadowy ritual of the law—he merely proceeds to recount the tremendous consequences which this BLOOD-guiltiness would entail upon Israel; adding that the nation should sink deeper and still deeper in sin and apostasy, abomination heaped upon abomination, till vengeance could no longer tarry; the rejected KING should come in judgment, send forth His armies, destroy the murderers, and burn their city. ("And for the overspreading of the abomination HE shall make [the city] desolate:") and this desolation shall continue even "*until* the consummation," till judgment has expended itself, "and that which is determined has been poured out upon the desolated ones."

"*Until*" the consummation." We are at once reminded of our LORD'S words, "Jerusalem shall be *trodden down* of the Gentiles *until* the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;" and of His solemn farewell to the nation and city, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, ... your house is left unto you *desolate*. For I say unto you, Ye shall [212] not see Me henceforth *until* ye shall say, Blessed be He that cometh in the Name of the LORD:" and of S. Paul's parallel, saying, "Blindness in part is happened unto Israel *until* the fulness of Gentiles be come in: and so all Israel shall be saved." " For if the *casting away* of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the *receiving of them* be but life from the dead?"

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[1] So "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of *many*." "By the obedience of One, *many* were made righteous."

> "For thus saith the LORD, which giveth the sun for a light by day and the ordinances of the moon and the stars for a light by night; *if* those ordinances depart from Me, then the *seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before Me for ever. If* heaven above can be measured, and the foundation of the earth searched out, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all they have done. Behold, the days come, that *the city shall be built* to the LORD, ... and the measuring line shall yet go forth against it. It shall be holy to the LORD: *It shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for ever*." (Jer. xxxi. 35—40.)

Here then we arrive at the great difficulty in the Prophecy of the seventy weeks. The Angel first announces that *after* this period has run out, the iniquity, transgression, and sin of the people and holy city of Daniel shall be finally "*taken away*," (cf. Rom, xi, 27;) everlasting Righteousness brought in; a seal set on the Prophetic Vision by its complete fulfilment; and the "Holy of Holies" consecrated. The Prophecy, we see, has a specific reference to the people and city of Daniel ("*thy* people," and "*thy* holy city:") it looks forward to the final reinstatement into GOD'S favour of "*all Israel*"—not merely the "Remnant according to the election of grace," or yet the "wild" Gentile "olive tree," which, when the "natural branches were broken off," was "graffed in among them, and with them partook of the root and fatness of the" old "tree"—but the original stock and family of Abraham, the very "natural branches which GOD is able," and has solemnly pledged Himself "to *graff in again* into their *own* olive tree." Well, then, has the Prophecy yet been fulfilled? Unquestionably not. But has not the period elapsed? The prophetic era included only seventy weeks. But it is admitted that the *last* of these weeks *commenced* with our LORD'S Baptism, and was *broken in half* at His death. Where are we to look for its remaining half?

That this question should sorely have perplexed commentators in all ages is no wonder. Dr Auberlen, in common with many interpreters, supposes the seventieth week to terminate with the calling of the Gentiles and the final rejection of Israel, which took place, it appears, about 3½ years after the death of CHRIST. But, independent of the fact that we have no certain chronological data for fixing this precise period, it is obvious to remark that the events which were to follow the close of the seventieth week, were *not* the final *rejection*, but the final *restoration* of Israel; not the [213] destruction, but the glorious reconsecration of the Temple; events which notoriously have not yet taken place.

Does Holy Scripture then afford us *no* clue to discover the position and duration of this final half week?

We dare not presume to speak positively; but we confess it appears to us that this period is abundantly accounted for.

In no less than five passages in the Revelation, (not to refer, here, to two additional passages in the Book of Daniel,) do we find mention of this very period of half a prophetic week. It is divided into days, and months, and years; it is mentioned as "1260 days," "42 months," and 3½ years, "time, times, and a half;" the difference in the manner of its calculation doubtless indicating different *aspects* of the same period. Nor must it be deemed strange if we discover that this final half week, which is so variously expressed, is to be subjected to a mode of chronological computation different from that of the other portions of the "seventy weeks." In fact, *if* we are right in fixing the middle of the seventieth week at the Death of CHRIST, (on which point there is no reasonable doubt;) and *if* the close of the whole period of 70 weeks is to witness events which, as yet, have not taken place, (which seems to us most incontrovertible,) we appear *driven* to the adoption of some such hypothesis as that already referred to.

Nor is there any antecedent improbability in the suggestion.

(i.) Rather, the fact of the 70 years' captivity having, just at its close, been found pregnant with, and about to expand into a prolonged era embracing hundreds of years, is in itself eminently calculated to prepare us for a similar development at the seeming close of this latter period. Such an expansion and unfolding of times is in strict accordance with the whole analogy of Scripture Chronology, and the law of Prophetic perspective.

(ii.) Again we must remember that this last half-week has fallen into a New Dispensation. It is, therefore, subjected to new rules, It expands with the Dispensation. The LORD'S days may now be "as a thousand years." He measureth not after the measure of man.

(iii.) Further. The work of the *whole* of the last week is thus described: "He (MESSIAH) shall confirm the covenant with many for one week." But is this work yet accomplished? Is it not still progressing? Is not the "BLOOD of the Covenant, shed for *man*." still daily offered and pleaded at His altars in memorial of the One great Blood-shedding? Is not the covenant, originally made with "Abraham and his seed," and confirmed by GOD in CHRIST, being still made good to the "many"—the true "seed?" Is not the LORD still daily adding the saved of His Church? During the former half of this 70th or jubilee week, He carried on His work of mercy in His Own Person: during the latter half He performs it through His Church.

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(iv.) And this suggests an additional reason for concluding that the present Dispensation is but the continuation and progressive unfolding of the last week. For the first half of the week comprises the Personal ministrations of the Head, the second half, of the Body. The Body has but to *fill up that which remains* of the suffering, life, and work of her Divine Head.

As the "Complement" of Christ her work and time of work is complementary to His. She fills up that which remains of the jubilee week. The broken week is her allotted period of work even as it was His.

And this S. John distinctly shows in the Revelation, where we find the Church of God—the "Woman clothed with the Sun"—after the ascension of her Divine Firstborn, supernaturally conveyed into the wilderness of heathendom, the Gentile world, where she is nurtured and sustained by God during this very period of half a week, 3½ years, or 1260 days.

Hence, we repeat, we cannot but think that Holy Scripture distinctly identifies the present Dispensation, or day of grace, with the concluding half of the last of Daniel's seventy prophetic weeks.

This subject opens out several questions of considerable interest, to some of which we will briefly refer.

1. How are we to account for the fact that, when this final half-week is referred to in the Apocalypse, it is expressed in such a variety of manners in months, days, years? There is doubtless some mysterious reason. Mr. Isaac Williams thoughtfully suggests that *evil* is indicated by *months*, and *good* by *days*.[1] Thus when the profanation of the holy city is

[1] "Months are of evil or of travailing in pain, and days are of good, and the year and a half is of suffering persecution; and all three founded on deep, analogies of Scripture. The Jewish festivals were regulated by moons or months; the expression of months, of keeping new moons, and the like, is of frequent occurrence in the Law; the moon rules the night of the Law, in distinction from the Sun of Righteousness which rules the day; and therefore the Holy City trodden underfoot, and the reign of Anti-Christ is computed by months. And this apostasy has moreover some secret connection with Judaism. But 'we are of the day,' 'we are not of the night, nor of darkness;' and therefore the Christian Witnesses and the {*cont.*}

spoken of, (Rev. xi. 2,) which is to continue during this period, the time is expressed in months, "they shall tread it under foot forty and two *months*." In the very next verse, the same period is referred to as embracing the time of the preaching of the "two Witnesses," and here the terms are changed, and we read, "They shall prophesy 1260 *days*." So the Woman is sustained in the wilderness by God 1260 *days*, (c. xii. 6); whereas the Beast (xiii. 5), or 'world,' which holds sway during all this time, reigns for "forty and two *months*."

The division of the period into *years* (i.e., "time times and a half,") appears added with respect to the wilderness sojourn of the [215] [215] Woman, (xii. 14,) to connect the half-week in some manner with the reign of Anti-Christ, which, according to Daniel, is to extend over this period, and thus to indicate that it is from Anti-Christ that she flies.

2. And this introduces another question.

What relation does this long-protracted dispensational half-week bear to the literal half-week, or 3½ years of Anti-Christ's reign? Does the literal interpretation of the period militate against the symbolical and *un*-chronological? By no means. The one rather supports the other. And here we must in the first place bear in mind what is the fundamental idea conveyed by the number *seven*. We showed it, in a former paper,[1] to be that of a *Covenant between* God *and man*. It is emphatically the *Covenant number*. Hence the half or broken seven, 3½, is the signature of the *broken Covenant*. Thus the three and a half years drought in Elijah's time, under the apostate king of Israel and his idolatrous wife, was in token of the Children of Israel having "forsaken God's Covenant, and cast down His altars." Now Daniel's 70th week may be regarded from two points of view, in respect to God and His goodness, or in respect to man and his unfaithfulness. From the divine standing point it is seen impressed with the sacred Covenant number *seven*. "He shall *confirm the Covenant* with many for one *week*." For as regards God and the "seed to whom the promise was made," i.e., the "many," or "Remnant according to the election of grace," the Covenant standeth sure. Here is no break: one uninterrupted act of mercy. "All that the Father hath given" the Son, come to Him; not one is "cast out." But regarded from a human standing point, this same glorious "week" consists of two broken periods—two *half*-sevens. It consists of two epochs, both characterized by a covenant broken and mercy rejected. In both, Messiah "comes to His own, and His own receive Him not:" first, in Person, to His brethren after the flesh, who crucify Him; then, through the Spirit, to His Gentile flock who "crucify Him afresh" in His members.

In both half-weeks we find the streets of His Jerusalem bedewed with His Blood. (Cf. Rev. xi. 8.) It will be observed that wherever the number 34 occurs in Scripture we always find it in connection with a "faithful and true *witness*,"—whether Elijah, our Lord or the Woman in the wilderness—and this Witness oppressed., resisted, persecuted, not only by the world, but by the professing people of God, the carnal children of the Covenant. Now, as the whole of the present Dispensation, or "last time" of S. John, bears upon it these characteristic features, of which the broken seven is the recognized numerical signature, we find it impressed with this symbolical mark. But as, just at its close, all the essential characteristics of the era shall reach their highest development, and burst forth into open and intense manifestation, [216] and the real true nature of the activities now working secretly reveal itself—hence this short culminating period shall be impressed *visibly* with

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Apostolical Bride are numbered by days and years."—*Williams on the Apocalypse*, pp. 187, 188. ϕ See Dykes's review 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse' in *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 15 (pp. 56ff *supra*).

[1] ϕ 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture' in *Ecclesiastic* Vol. 18 (p. 167 *supra*).

this same mystic signature, it shall last literally 3½ years. And this consideration at once explains any ambiguity as to the duration and discriminating features of this present era (the "last hour," "night far spent," "little time," "short season") as foretold in Scripture. For Prophecy hastens at once to its close, and describes the whole era in the strong language which shall only then be fully and intensely realized when its secrets are discovered, and its final consummation shall disclose the "depths of Satan" and "mystery of iniquity" which are as yet concealed. If the Church of Christ at the present day fails to recognize herself as the persecuted "Woman in the wilderness," "in perils from the *heathen*, in perils from *false brethren*," it can but be because she herself has ceased *fully* to utter her "*testimony*." It is the "faithful and true Witness" that is persecuted. If the Church sleeps, or corrupts the Word of her testimony, the world will seem also to sleep. Being "of the world," "the world will love its own." It will not persecute. But let there be a *thorough awakening*, doctrinal and practical, in any individual Christian, or in any branch of the Church, and the truth of S. John's assertion that "even now there are many Anti-Christs" will be assuredly and abundantly proved.

3. Let us proceed to another question.

We have already spoken concerning the *natural* Israel, Daniel's *own* "holy people." Does this last week, and the prophecies relating to it contain *no* word of covenant mercy for them? Apparently *not*. During its progress Israel has *no religious significance* whatever. It is but drinking to the last dregs the bitter cup of national punishment. Hence, as the *positive* work of the period lies out of Israel's horizon, Daniel, as we have seen, is not inspired to speak of it, but leaves it for his Christian successor. We merely learn from him that the half-week is to extend "till the consummation" of Israel's distresses, and that the *final close* of Israel's trouble will coincide with the conclusion of the period itself. "When He shall have *accomplished the scattering* of the holy people, ([Greek]) all these things shall be finished." (Dan. xii. 7.) That the nation will ere this, have regained some sort of political existence, and for political purposes have been reinstated in their own land, and will play some very important part in the final Anti-Christian tragedy, is abundantly evident, as from Daniel, so from other Scriptures.

4. We turn to another point.

The seventieth week brings before us two Consecrations, the one marking its commencement, the other its consummation; the one indicated in the words, "messiah the Prince," i.e., the Prince, the *Anointed One*, (Dan. ix. 25,) the other, the words, "to *anoint* the Most Holy," lit. the "Holy of Holies," (ix. 24.) [217] Now these two Consecrations must not be identified, as they continually are. The Consecration which closed the 69th week, or (which is the same,) *introduced* the 70th, or jubilee week, was that of our Blessed Lord in the Jordan, When "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost." The Consecration which ensues on the *termination* of the week is that of the Perfected Christ, the [Greek] and the [Greek], the Head and the Members, the Bridegroom and the Bride, the whole *completed* Temple of the Living God. This solemn Consecration is yet being deferred—the "Living Stones," hewn and prepared in different quarters, being silently added one by one to the spiritual structure—until at last the "Head Stone"[1] once rejected by the builders, now adoringly recognized, shall be brought forth with shoutings and Hallelujahs, and the glory of the Lord fill the House.

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[1] See Zech. iv. 7. "And He shall bring forth the Head Stone with shoutings, crying, Grace, Grace unto It." The Chaldee Paraphrast thus expounds the words, "His MESSIAS shall come forth, who was named from all eternity, and *shall obtain the empire of all the kingdoms of the earth."*

But are we justified in *entirely* overlooking the primary and local allusion contained in this last expression? Doubtless the greater and more spiritual reference, already admitted, may well seem to transcend and eclipse the other; still, we cannot think the lesser and literal interpretation should be quite passed over. For we must remember the specific subject of Daniel's prayer. His *own* people and city, the holy mountain, and the desolated sanctuary. When, therefore, the Angel alludes, in connection with the close of the 70 weeks and the end of the "indignation," to the reconsecration of the "Holy of Holies," we cannot be justified in quite losing sight of that *one particular meaning* which the words must have conveyed to Daniel himself, and which receives illustration and confirmation from numerous parallel passages in the Prophetic writings.

And here we are necessarily reminded of that most mysterious vision which closes the prophecy of Ezekiel, in which we find a detailed reference to that very event which the Angel seems here to predict. The seer is "brought in visions of God into the land of Israel," and set upon a very high mountain, where he beholds to the south the framework of a city,—that very city, the description of which is borrowed by the evangelical prophet to serve as the basis of his picture of its spiritual counterpart, the heavenly Jerusalem. In a former vision the Israelitish seer had been solemnly assured by God that the time had to come when his dispersed people should be gathered from all the nations where they are scattered, and brought into the their own land, and made "one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel;" that they should "defile themselves no more with any of their *transgressions or sins*," (cf. Dan. ix. 24,) but be a holy people to the Lord.

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"And David My servant shall be king over them, and they shall all have one shepherd, and they shall walk in My judgments. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob My servant, *wherein your fathers have dwelt*;[1] and they shall dwell *therein*, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them; an everlasting covenant; and I will set *My sanctuary* in the midst of them for evermore. *My tabernacle* also shall be with them. Yea, I will be their God, and they shall be My people. And the nations[2] shall know that I the Lord do sanctify

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[1] Cf. Gen. xiii. 14—18. "And the LORD said unto Abram, Lift up thine eyes, for *all the land* which thou *seest*, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever." And again, xvii. 6—8. "I will give unto thee and thy seed after thee the land *wherein thou art* a stranger, *all the land of Canaan*, for an everlasting possession."

The cool and presumptuous way in which these and hundreds of other equally distinct predictions, respecting the literal Israel and their future national reinstatement in their own land and exalted position amongst the nations of the renewed earth, are put aside, has been clearly foretold and sternly denounced by the inspired 'Hebrew of the Hebrews,' in the Epistle to the Romans, cap. xi. It was a supercilious unbelief in GOD'S purposes of mercy to the Gentile world which led to Israel's rejection; a similar unbelief in GOD'S gracious promises still outstanding to Israel shall be *one* mark (S. Paul clearly intimates) of the Gentile apostasy of the latter days. "Boast not against the branches . . . . If GOD spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee." "Behold the goodness of GOD to thee *if* thou *continue* in His goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be *cut off* ; and *they*, if they continue not in unbelief, *shall be graffed in*." And to prove that this shall really be the case; that the 'natural branches shall be graffed into their own olive tree,' their "partial blindness" removed, so soon as the Gentile complement is made up; and that, when received again, they shall be, under CHRIST and His Saints, the great instrumental source of blessing to the now haughty Gentile world, he refers us to the magnificent 60th chapter of Isaiah, which is well worthy of study in this connection.

[2] It is part of GOD'S eternal and unalterable promise that Israel shall be the first of the nations of the earth. That promise must be literally realized. "The gifts and calling of GOD are without repentance."

Israel, when My *sanctuary* shall be in the midst of them for evermore." (Ezek. xxxvii. 21—28.)

Now the *tabernacle* and *sanctuary* here spoken of is in the preceding vision minutely described. But, in particular, the seer witnesses the very thing referred to by Daniel—the Consecration of the Holy of Holies—the reappearance of the Shekinah in the temple—the visible return of the glory of the Lord and the sacred Presence.

"He brought me toward the gate that looketh toward the east. And behold, the Glory of the Lord came by the way of the east. And it was according to the vision which I saw when I came to prophesy that the city should be destroyed.[1] And the Glory of the Lord came into the house by the way of the gate towards the east. So the Spirit took me up and brought me into the inner court; and behold, the glory of the Lord filled the house. And He said unto me; Son of man, the place of My Throne, and the place of the soles of My feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever: [219] and My holy Name shall the house of Israel no more defile, . . . and 1 will dwell in the midst of them for ever." (Ezek. xliii. 1—9.)

Now we maintain that we cannot disconnect the statement of Daniel as to the consecration of the Holy of Holies, from the obviously parallel and explanatory words here uttered by his contemporary and brother captive Ezekiel.

Into the mysterious questions opened out by these passages we have neither space nor ability to enter. We can only add that this sacred sanctuary and tabernacle here alluded to is obviously *not identical* with the "Tabernacle of God," the glorified Body of Christ, in the Revelation; but the earthly counterpart of this ineffable Heavenly Reality. That same hallowed spot in this our earth, which once witnessed the awful scene of the Crucifixion of the Lord of glory, whose soil was everlastingly consecrated with the "Blood of God," is now the local seat of His manifested and glorified Presence—the central point where the united worship of the nations of the renewed earth culminates, whence it ascends on high, where earth and Heaven meet, and the Angels and Saints of God ascend and descend, where the King and glorified Bride hold converse and visible communion with this loved province of their boundless dominions.[2]

5. One additional point yet remains here to be noticed.

This present Dispensation, or day of grace, is as we have seen, represented in the Apocalypse, as but *half a week*: it is but the 'little time' while our Lord is absent, 'a night far spent,' a 'short season,' during which the faithful Church is persecuted by Satan and the "many Anti-Christs," and sheltered and sustained by God in the wilderness. In marked and striking antithetical contrast with this we read of a second period, not of 3½ years, but of a *thousand years*, the term of its duration being six times emphatically repeated; not of suffering, but of *reigning*; not of dying, but living,—"they lived and reigned with Christ;"

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[1] See margin. We see that whatever this city may be, the prophet speaks of it as *that same city* whose destruction and desolation he had already foretold.

[2] Cf. *Ecclesiastic*, vol. xvii. pp. 377—381. ϕ 'The Interpretation of the Psalms' see pp. 162ff. *supra.*

Dr. Auberlen truly remarks, that "the doctrine of the future glorious restoration of Israel is such an essential and fundamental idea of all prophecy, that the difficulty is not so much to find passages in which it is taught, as to select from the *great number*." (P. 346.

In the coming Kingdom, he says, "converted Israel shall stand at the head of humanity. The Israelitish priest-kings are upon earth what the transfigured Priest-Kings are in heaven. There shall be a blessed glorious chain of giving and receiving—GOD, CHRIST, the Transfigured Bride the Church, Israel, the world of nations." P. 344.

not of weakness, but of *manifested* power; not of oppression under the Beast, but of joy and triumph after *victory* over the Beast *has been achieved*, and the Beast itself cast alive into the pit. And more fully still to mark the contrast between these two eras, we are told, that during the *former*, (i.e. the half-week,) Satan, who had been cast down from *heaven*, at our Lord's ascension, is still all-powerful [220] *on earth*, 'walking about as it roaring lion seeking whom he may devour,' deceiving and destroying the nations; whereas that during the latter, or thousand years, he is cast down from off the *earth* into the *abyss*, "that he should *deceive the nations no more*" till the era is concluded.

And yet, strange to say, it is one of the received and peremptory canons of orthodox exegesis, that these two eras, thus strongly and pointedly contrasted, as well by their numerical signatures as by every possible feature which characterizes them, are to be identified, and regarded as one and the same era; the sole result of the process, as it appears to us, being to introduce inextricable confusion into the interpretation not only of the Apocalypse but even of our Lord's parables, and, in fact, of the whole cycle of Scripture prophecy. We sincerely rejoice that Dr Auberlen has expressed himself with such great clearness and sobriety on this important subject. The following quotation from Ebrard's work on the Apocalypse will at least show that this question is engaging the thoughtful attention of biblical students elsewhere.

"The thousand years must be considered as a mystical number. When the whole long period, from the ascension of Christ to His second coming is represented symbolically, as half a prophetic week of 34 years, and the period of the visible existence of the Kingdom of God upon earth, as a thousand years, we have therein an indication that the period, after the result of the preceding ages has been gained, will be very much longer than the period of conflict. The time when Christ's kingdom will exist on earth, will be the true New Testament time, in the strict sense of the word; the present period of the oppressed and militant Church is of a duration which appears insignificant when compared with it. And this corresponds also spiritually with the dignity of Christ, whose way it is, not to gain great results by long struggles, but by short conflicts to achieve victories extending through æons."

(Quoted by Auberlen, p. 419)[1]

And here it should at least be borne in mind by those who oppose what arc commonly called "millenarian views," how universally they were held in the early Church. S. Justin Martyr, for instance, claims them not only for himself, but "for all Christians who are really orthodox." (Dial. c. Tryph. § 80.) S. Jerome testifies to their being maintained by a "very great multitude;" and Eusebius to their being embraced by "far the greatest number of Church writers." Doubtless from their gross abuse they [221] sunk into disfavour. During the middle ages they naturally disappeared, as the whole series of predictions which spoke of the future Kingdom of glory, and the earthly dominion and exaltation of Israel, were pressed into another service, and by a complicated process of misinterpretation, employed in defence of a universal, temporal, and spiritual autocracy in the capital of Christendom. However, on all sides, we are beginning to find the ancient

[1] The following passage ought perhaps to be added from Dr. Auberlen. "Not even the millennial kingdom is the final end of the development of GOD'S Kingdom. For even during the millennium there is a separation between heaven and earth—between humanity transfigured and humanity still living in the flesh. Hence it is possible that an apostasy should take place at the end of the millennium. The Kingdom is more glorious than the Church, but it is not yet the New World. It is a time of refreshing after the time of warfare, but not yet the time of Perfection in the strict sense of the word." P. 356.

interpretation of these prophecies reviving; in England, Germany, America, not in our Communion alone, but in the Church of Rome also, is it gaining ground and finding advocates. That it will extend we cannot doubt.

But here we must close for the present. We will reserve our concluding remarks on Dr Auberlen's interesting volume till a future number.

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THERE is no portion of the Revelation of S. John which has so much engaged the attention of students of prophecy, of which such varied and conflicting interpretations have been given, as the mysterious vision of the Woman and the Beast, contained in the 12th, 13th, and 17th chapters.

It is, perhaps, the most important section in the whole of the Apocalypse in an exegetical point of view, inasmuch as upon the explanation given to the symbols therein contained, the interpretation of the whole Book very materially depends. Although we have ventured some remarks on this portion of the Revelation on a former occasion in these pages,[1] we make no apology for returning to it. And we do so the more readily from the fact that the general views we have already advocated, with regard to its scope and interpretation, (which we rejoice to find ably maintained by Professor Auberlen,) have not been commonly received as yet, are in certain quarters violently opposed, and may therefore well demand a little further consideration.

Let us turn to the vision itself, (c. xii.) without further preface. In the "Woman clothed with the Sun," it is universally agreed that we see a symbolic representation of the Church of the living GOD. But is it the Christian or the Jewish Church? It is neither one not the other exclusively; it is the Church in her abstract universality—GOD'S faithful and true Witness throughout all times [270]—that is here depicted. "The Woman," says Victorinus, (in loco) "is the ancient Church of the Fathers, and of the Prophets, and of the Holy Apostles:" she is the mystical Sion: and she is represented to us at a particular crisis of her history—labouring with, and in pain to bring forth the promised Seed. "She being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered." It was of Israel, says S. Paul, that "CHRIST came, who is over all GOD blessed for ever:" and here we see the mystical Israel, the daughter if Sion, on the point of giving birth to her Divine Firstborn, 'the Man, the LORD;' 'the Child born,[2] the SON given:' and malignantly watching her, we espy her old Enemy the Devil, "standing before her to devour her child as soon as it was born." Of this implacable Foe it was originally said, "I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy seed and her Seed." Here, then, in the symbolic encounter between these mortal antagonists, we descry the secret background of all Church history; the ceaseless conflict between the dragon and his seed, and the Woman and her Seed. The primary and

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[1] Vol. XV., pp. 375, 500, 529. ϕ 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse' See pp. 56ff *supra.*

[2] Although the historical reference to the birth of our LORD is plainly the *immediate* allusion in this passage, and the basis of all other interpretations, yet it must not be pressed *exclusively*. Thus, S. Hippolytus conceives the birth and rapture of the Man-Child to be a *continuous* act. "The Church will *never cease* bringing forth the Word, which is persecuted in the world by the unbelieving: 'And she brought forth a Man-Child.' For the Church teaches all nations, *evermore bringing forth* that male and perfect Offspring, CHRIST, the SON of GOD." Nor can it be doubted, that the whole passage has a further particular reference to the time "when He bringeth *again* His First-begotten into the world," (Heb. i. 6,) to the periods of distress preceding the second Advent, the birth throes of the perfected CHRIST, and the rapture of the saints.

immediate reference in the birth of the Manchild is doubtless to our LORD Himself; the organs, for the time, of the great Dragon, being "Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles, and people of Israel." However the mystery of the Holy Incarnation could not be frustrated. " She brought forth her Child—a male[1]—who is to rule all nations with a rod of iron." He did the work His FATHER had given Him to do; and then "was caught up to GOD and His throne."

But what became of the Woman, the second Eve, the spiritual "Mother of all living?" "She fled into the wilderness," adds S. John, "where she hath a place prepared of GOD, that they should feed her there" (v. 6); or, shortly afterwards (v. 14), "To the Woman were given two wings of the great Eagle, that she might [271] fly into the wilderness into her place where she is nourished." This mystical history of the Woman, we plainly see, is based on the personal history of our LORD. She is borne into the wilderness on the wings of the great Eagle, even as "JESUS was led up of *the Spirit* into the wilderness;" the eagle's pinions symbolically representing the operative Energy or Spirit of GOD, the "rushing mighty wind," the Life-giving 'Breath' of the ALMIGHTY.

The Great Eagle is GOD Himself. For thus does He address His ancient Church: "As an eagle fluttereth over her young, beareth them on her wings, . . . so the LORD did lead thee;" the fundamental passage referring to Israel's miraculous deliverance out of Egypt, and transport into the wilderness; "Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bare you on *eagle's wings*, and brought you to Myself." Thus the picture represents to us the Church of GOD supernaturally conveyed from out of the mystical Egypt,—that "city spiritually called Sodom, and Egypt," which had crucified its LORD, even the carnal Jerusalem; which had hitherto, like Gideon's fleece, been alone blessed, while all the world beside was dry, but which having forfeited its blessings was now to be left barren and dry in the watered earth,—and about to be located in the wilderness of heathendom, the desolate Gentile world; placed in the very seat and centre of the power of the world, the old Roman empire, "where she has a place prepared her of GOD."

But "whence can she be satisfied with bread here in the wilderness?" S. John merely tells us, "she is nourished," (v. 14,) or, "They feed her," (v. 6.) *Who* feed her? Our LORD'S history explains it. "The angels came and ministered unto Him." "*They* are the ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation." As Israel of old was miraculously sustained in the wilderness; as the prophet Elijah was daily nourished through Angelic ministrations; as our LORD, without earthly sustenance, was supernaturally supported, teaching us that man doth not live by bread alone, but by the supersubstantial Word; so is the Church sustained: she is made to eat "angel's food;" taught day by day to pray for that 'daily Bread' which "cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world,"—that "Flesh which is Meat indeed, that Blood which is Drink indeed."

But something else befell our LORD in the wilderness. "He was tempted of the devil." S. Mark adds, "He was with the wild Beast." In mysterious correspondence we find the Woman, in the present vision, first assailed by the devil, the great Red Dragon; and then in company with wild beasts, the Beast from the *sea*, and the Beast from the *earth*.

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[1] "The characteristic of *woman*," writes Dr. Auberlen, "in contradistinction to that of man, is her being *subject*, (Eph. v. 22—24,) the surrendering of herself, her being receptive . . . It is this receptive, womanlike, position of man towards GOD and Divine things which the Bible calls faith, and on which according to its teaching all reception of Divine life depends . . . Humanity, in so far as it belongs to GOD, is the *woman*; therefore it is said emphatically of CHRIST the Son of the Woman, that He is a *Man-Child*, a *Son*, ([Greek]) . . . Besides Him *no man* dare call himself '*male*,'—no man dare deny his receptive woman-like position."—Pp. 241, 242.

Yes, she is "tempted and proved in the wilderness." This is her period of probation. The Dragon will persecute; and if that fails to injure her, he will *seduce*. He will strive to make her forget her hidden life in heaven, whither in spirit she has been raised; [272] and tempt her to regard with too great affection and complacency her wilderness lodging. He will seek to persuade her to look for *maintenance* there; to convert the 'stones' of the wilderness into 'bread' for herself, and thus strive to sustain a heavenly life with the barren unrealities of earth.

Her position is one of infinite blessing, and yet of extreme peril. For though admitted "in the *spirit*," into the "heavenly places," whence Satan, (who till the Atoning Blood had been shed had still access to the courts above as the "accuser of the brethren,") has been eternally ejected; yet in the flesh she is still upon earth, and subject to his sleepless machinations. Hence it is always *possible* that her lower life should be stimulated to the detriment of her higher life; that she should be led to cast her desires downwards, to cherish an illicit curiosity after the things of sense and time, and lose her chaste spiritual-mindedness; that she should forget the one only reason wherefore she has been placed in the world, viz. to influence it, not to be influenced by it; to *act*, not to be acted upon; to subdue, not to be subdued; to attract it heavenward, not to be attracted by it earthward; to transform it, not to conform to it.

Satan, we have seen, was judicially expelled from heaven at our LORD'S ascension, the Archangel Michael being the executioner of the sentence against him. The cry therefore is heard, "Rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them; for the accuser of the brethren is cast down." His incessant and inexorable claims upon JEHOVAH'S justice, for the punishment of sin, had been triumphantly recognized and satisfied. He is everlastingly silenced. "Who is he that condemneth? It is CHRIST that died, yea rather, that is risen." But "woe," continues the heavenly voice, "woe to the inhabitants of the *earth* and the *sea*; for the devil hath come down to you, having great wrath."

Cast down from heaven, and not as yet consigned to the eternal "lake of fire and brimstone," (as at the final judgment, xx. 10,) nor yet locked up and chained in the *abyss*, (as during the millennial period, xx. 2, 3,) his malignity and subtlety are concentrated upon the two intermediate regions, the *earth* and the *sea*,— the latter signifying the restless agitated mass of the nations, the unregenerate waste of mankind; the former, the dry land reclaimed from the turbid waters of heathenism, the civilized, consolidated, outwardly Christianized earth. Here lies the sphere of the devil's power. From each does the Apostle behold a Monster emerge, the Beast from the sea, the Beast from the earth; the representatives and organs of Satan in these separate regions; the one, an embodiment of the power, dominion, brute-force of the world; the other, of its wisdom, civilization, and intellectual culture. So that, as the Woman is the visible representative of CHRIST in the world, these monsters constitute the visible representatives of Satan.
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Through these he approaches her whose real home is in heaven; striving to seduce her, either by the dazzling dreams of earthly dominion and *power*, or by the specious advances of earthly *wisdom*,—that "wisdom which descendeth not from above, but is earthly, natural, of dæmon origin." His *persecutions* hurt her not. Does she remain equally scatheless under his *seductions*? Alas! well might the eating of the "little book," containing the secret history of the Church, so sweet at first to the taste of the Apostle, make his very "heart of hearts" sad—"My belly was bitter." The Spirit conveys him again into the "wilderness;" and ah! what a change! No marvel at his poignant exclamation, "when I saw her I *wondered with great admiration*!" For "as the Serpent beguiled Eve by his subtlety," so has the second Eve been allured from the simplicity of her faith in Christ. "The virgin,

the daughter of Israel hath done a very horrible thing."—"How hath the faithful city become an harlot !"

But let us examine each of these symbols somewhat, the Beast from the sea; the Beast from the earth, or False Prophet; and the Harlot.

I. And first: the Beast from the sea, or as it is usually designated by eminence "*the* Beast." That this is a symbolic representation of the "*world*,"[1] there can, we conceive, be no possible doubt. The expression "the *world*" is quite characteristic of S. John. Whereas it occurs but 9 times in S. Matthew's Gospel, 3 times in S. Mark and S. Luke, it occurs 79 times in S. John's Gospel alone, and very frequently also in his Epistles. He employs it moreover, in a distinct manner; representing it, throughout, in some peculiar way, as the visible, personal, Antagonist of the Father. The Beast in the Revelation is unquestionably the very same power. In the one case we learn, that "all that is not of the Father is of the world:" in the other, that "all whose names are not in the Book of Life worship the Beast." When we find the Woman therefore allured by this ten-horned, seven-headed monster, we but behold her subjected to the very same temptation to which our Lord was exposed, "All the kingdoms of the world and their glory." The result of the temptation we have yet to. see.

The Beast itself, as has been frequently observed, is merely com[274]posed out of the four bestial symbols under which were represented to Daniel the four great world-monarchies which were to last from his own time, until the setting up of Christ's kingdom of glory. It represents the World-Power as a *whole*. But at the time when S. John wrote, this Power had reached its sixth stage of development. "Five of its heads,"[2] says the angel, "have fallen; one is; one is yet to come," which is to be an '*eighth*.' We have discussed this most difficult passage on a previous occasion in these pages.[3] But it is well worthy of a little additional consideration. And we are fortunate in having to prosecute our examination in company with so thoughtful and sober-minded an inquirer as Dr Auberlen.

The 'Woman' and the 'Beast,' as we have already seen, represent respectively the kingdoms of God and of the world, "not in this or that period of their development, but in their general universality." Hence the different heads of this Beast are but the successive evolutions of the one God-opposed Power whereby the Woman has been at successive periods of her history confronted and ensnared.[4]

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[1] We have already observed that the fundamental contrast between the human and the bestial symbols, in this Book, is derived from Daniel. In Daniel we have the "*four Beasts*" and the "*Son of Man*;" in S. John we have "*the* Beast (a compound of the same four Danielic Beasts) and the *Woman*."

In both cases," writes Dr. Auberlen, "human is opposed to bestial; only with Daniel in male, with S. John in female shape. We know that herein the contrast between the kingdom of God and that of the world is symbolized. Daniel beholds the *Man*, the Bridegroom, the Messiah; because he looks into the time when CHRIST shall reappear visibly, and establish His kingdom upon earth. S. John, on the other hand, within whose horizon lies (to speak, at present, only in a general way) the *time before the second Advent*, beholds the Woman, the Bride, the congregation of GOD *in the World*."—p. 240.

[2] See c. xvii. 9—11.

[3] Vol. XV. pp. 510, &c. ϕ 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse' see pp. 56ff. *supra.*

[4] The 'heads' of the Beast, it will be observed, are explained (xvii.. 9, 10) as being at once 'seven *mountains*' and 'seven *kings*' (or kingdoms). But this twofold interpretation of the symbol is merely in order to keep up the propriety of the imagery. The parallel case of the Bride explains it. She is spoken of as a *City* and as a *Woman*. As a *City* she is seated on an exceeding high *mountain*: as a *Woman*, she pays loving homage and service to her Divine LORD and King. So the Harlot in like manner, as a city, is seated

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'Five' of these heads 'are fallen,' in S. John's time; 'one is.' The then reigning head was plainly the power of Rome. The five fallen heads, or world-monarchies, will thus naturally be (as our author, with Hengstenberg and others, assumes) Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece. As regards the sequence of the last four of the six heads, i.e. Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, we can have no doubt; as Daniel fixes them for us. The only question is, which are the two great phases of the world-power, *anterior* to the time of Daniel, which have a significance in respect to the history of God's Church, from having either persecuted or seduced her. That these are Egypt and Assyria, Holy Scripture seems clearly to indicate. "The collocation of these two, as the pre-Chaldean worldly powers that *oppressed* the kingdom of God (says Hengstenberg) is of frequent occurrence in the Old Test.—Comp. Isa. lii. 4, 5, 'For, thus saith the Lord, My people went down aforetime into *Egypt* to sojourn there [and suffered violence]; and the *Assyrian* [afterwards] oppressed them without cause. And now what shall I do *here* [i.e. in respect to the Chaldean invasion]; for My people is taken away for nought, and My Name every day [275] blasphemed."[1] And with regard to the *seduction* of the Church by the World-Power, the same collocation occurs. Here is God's indignant remonstrance with His ancient Church. "Thou hast committed fornication with the *Egyptians*. . . . Thou hast played the whore also with the *Assyrians* . . . Thou hast moreover multiplied thy fornication into *Chaldea*." (Ez. xvi. 26—29.) And thus we are brought, as in the preceding passage, up to the times of Daniel, from whom we learn the remainder of the sequence. In like manner (in Ezek. xxiii.) we have another enumeration of the abominable whoredoms of Israel and Judah; and again the same order adopted. We read of the Church's whoredoms with *Egypt* (v. 3) with the 'chosen men of *Assyria*,' (v. 9); and lastly, with 'the Babylonians of Chaldea,'(v. 15.)

So much then for the first six heads.[2] "One is yet to come." Which is that?

"He describes," says Bede, "the plenitude of the Power of the World in the number seven; the last phase of which, to wit the *kingdom of Antichrist*, has not yet appeared. Hence he says that five heads are fallen, one is, and *one* is yet to come."—(*Comm. in Apoc*. in loc.)

We cannot agree with Dr Auberlen in his interpretation of this portion of the vision. He appears to us, in fact, to contradict himself. One while he tells us that the Roman Empire (i.e. the sixth phase of the Beast) is *still* "essentially *existing* in history" (p. 220.) Another while he tells us that the seventh head has already arrived, viz. the '*Germanic*,' p. 271, and that the '*eighth*' head is to be the kingdom of Antichrist.

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on 'seven *mountains*' or strongholds of power: as a *woman*, she holds unholy intercourse with 'seven *kings*,' the successive phases of the power of the world, the representatives of its successive seats of dominion.

[1] See his '*Revelation of S. John*,' vol. ii. p. 11 (Clark's Ed.) "So also are Egypt and Assyria coupled together in Isa. x. 24—26; xi. 11—16; xix. 23; xxvii. 13; Hos. ix. 3; xi. 11; Jer. ii. 18, 36; Zech. x. 10, 11; where Egypt and Assyria, as the most dangerous enemies in earlier times, appear as the types of the present and future oppressors of GOD'S people."

[2] It ought not perhaps to be left quite without notice, in reference to the five fallen heads, that (independently of the literal historical allusion to the preceding phases of the World-Power)—as the number *five* is the recognized numerical signature of the imperfect times of the Old Dispensation (as we showed at length in a recent paper) [ϕ 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture', Vol. 18 (pp. 167ff *supra*)]—it is but conformable with the propriety of numerical symbolism to find the Bestial Antagonist of the Woman during that period, impressed with that particular number—to find it represented as having passed through *five* stages of development.

We have only to remark (as we have pointed out before) that the Beast has *not* eight heads. We are definitely told that he has only *seven*. The seventh head however has certain terrible characteristics which differentiate it from all predecessors.

And first: we have this enigmatical, but significant, statement made with respect to it, that it is "an *eighth*" ([Greek]).

The number *eight*, as we all know, is symbolical of regeneration, resurrection. As such, it belongs to Christ, the 'first begotten from the dead,' and therefore to His Diabolic counterpart Anti-[276]christ, who in like manner, in virtue of his seeming death and resurrection, is styled "an eighth."

But this is not all. We see in this expression an indication the sevenfold intensity, power, malignity of the culminating phase of the World-Monarchy. Noah was '*an eighth*' ([Greek] 2 S. Pet. ii. 5); because he was 'one of eight;' he had *seven with him*. Even as the Evil Spirit which animates the World-Power, which has appeared to have been cast out and to have departed, after long seeking for rest, shall 'return unto his house whence he has been cast out,' *with seven other Spirits more wicked than himself* (S. Matt. xii. 45.) Note the expression, "He *goeth* and taketh to him seven other spirits:" 'goeth' whither? Doubtless to the abode of Evil Spirits, the 'Abyss' or Bottomless pit. Even as we are significantly warned with regard to the Beast, in its awful final manifestation, that it is to 'ascend out of the bottomless pit,' (Rev. xvii. 8.) He is to reappear reinforced with all the powers of hell, with sevenfold spiritual wickedness, so that in the last head shall be recapitulated all the combined GOD-opposing malignity of all previous phases of the Beast. The essential enmity to GOD and His people which really animates and characterizes the World, shall then be fully and intensely manifested. Times of untold distress and persecution shall ensue: and the furnace of affliction be heated for the faithful few, "*one seven times more than it was wont to be heated*."

But, as in the case of the rest of the symbolical language of this Prophecy, there is here also a definite historical allusion underlying and supporting the obscure expression 'he is an *eighth*,' as applying to the seventh head.

The sixth or Roman head, we must remember, though broken up, revolutionised and disintegrated, is still essentially existing. The terrible short-lived seventh head has not yet come to supply its place. Now from this sixth head, as we learn both from Daniel and S. John, ten horns were to sprout forth: which horns as we learn from Daniel, are "ten kingdoms which shall rise up out of it." From among these ten fragments of the old Roman empire, we further learn, an *eleventh* (the "little horn" of Daniel) shall suddenly and mysteriously emerge, who shall subdue and utterly uproot *three* of these kingdoms, and receive the submissive allegiance of the other seven; so that he shall reign along with his seven confederates, "an eighth." "It is clear," says Irenæus, in reference to these ten kingdoms, "that the Coming One will destroy three of them, subdue the rest, and thus become the *eighth* among them."

It will be at once seen that the mistake of giving the Beast an eighth head, into which so many of our modern commentators have fallen, simply arises from the fact of their failing to notice the absence of the article before [Greek], in marked contrast with the [Greek] (v. 10, 11.)

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Moreover, from this last expression we learn, plainly and categorically, that this still future, multiform head is, not some additional eighth head, but, "*of the seven*" ([Greek]: cf. Acts xxi. 8.) "We entered into the house of Philip, who was [Greek], *one of the seven*.")

But a further difficulty, in connection with this most compressed and enigmatical synopsis of the history of the World-Power as given by the Interpreting Angel, is presented by the following fact, that the expression 'the Beast' is attached indiscriminately to the whole continuous Monster and to his short-lived seventh head. We must bear in mind, generally, that the Beast has no separate existence independent of his heads; that he lives and manifests himself through his heads; that they represent but the successive historical evolutions through which he passes; that he has only one at a time; and that each successive head is the Beast for the time being.

Thus in Egyptian times, the Beast was the power of the Pharaohs; in Roman times the power of Rome. But in the seventh or Anti-Christian head shall be revealed, in some peculiar and terrible manner, a summary and recapitulation of the *whole* intimate nature and history of the Beast. Nor will it be, in fact, till the seventh head has arisen that this Apocalyptic Vision will be perfectly plain, and the Beast fully manifested. S. John sees the Beast and Harlot alike *when they are ripe for judgment and have reached the summit of their impiety*. Hence the Beast which S. John sees, is emphatically the Kingdom of Antichrist. It is the World-Power *when it has reached* its highest point of Antichristian development; i.e., in its seventh head. This is the Beast proper of the Revelation. And it is only when exhibiting the historical relationship of this final mundane manifestation with the long previous career of the World-Power, that the former preparatory history of the Beast is touched upon, and the exact stage to which in S. John's time it had already arrived, is alluded to.

One very obscure remark of the Interpreting Angel we have not yet noticed.

Three times, when explaining the secret history of the Beast, he throws in the words "*He is not*" ([Greek] c. xvii. 8, 11); and he asserts this, even when affirming that he is yet about to appear ([Greek]) and to ascend out of the abyss. He asserts this also notwithstanding the seeming vigour of the then reigning sixth head; notwithstanding the predicted sprouting forth of the ten horns, and the yet future rise of the seventh head or Beast *special*.

It is evident that this statement can refer, in its full bearing, to nothing short of the Victory *already achieved* by our LORD over the Beast: I *have* overcome *World*." It can only refer to the Death-stroke which the World-Power received in the very moment [278] of its seeming triumph, when it "crucified the Lord of glory." Hitherto the fall of one of the Beast's heads had been immediately succeeded by the rise of another. But in its sixth head, the whole Beast received its death wound. As Adam and Eve died in the secret counsels of God the very day they partook of the forbidden fruit, so did the World and its Prince die when the dying Saviour "by his Death destroyed Death, even the Devil." The power of the World, notwithstanding its seeming might and seductive fascination, is only visionary; it is not real. True, its death is not *manifested* as yet. It is not apparent to sight, only to faith. Faith triumphantly realizes it, and men now joyously sing, "Thanks be to God which *giveth* us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Thus then, although it is a profound and absolute spiritual truth that even now the Beast 'is *not*;' still, relatively to the corporate history of the visible Church, its prolonged existence is a most important practical fact. As Christ suffered 'once for all' for sins; and yet His Church has to '*fill up*' her complement of His sufferings. As He obeyed perfectly, and yet she has to render up, in her every individual member, a strict tale of holy requirements,—'the righteousness of the Law' being 'fulfilled' in her. In like manner, although our Lord *has* already, for us, overcome the world, vanquished and killed the Beast, still the victory has not the less to be wrought out, the battle to be personally fought and won by His Church. The 'half week' of our Lord's Ministerial life witnessed His Personal encounter

and conquest. The remaining half-week, the period of His Church's militant career, witnesses her long protracted struggle; closing, like her Lord's, with her Gethsemane and Calvary; but succeeded by the triumphant shout, 'The kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdom of our Lord and His Christ."[1]

One weapon has the Church bequeathed to her whereby she is to effect the conquest, and one only, "This is the Victory that overcometh the world, even our *Faith*." The 'Faith once for all delivered'—the Divine Deposit enshrined in the Holy Scriptures, and witnessed to by the *whole* Church from the beginning—this, in its simple, unadulterated, unmutilated integrity, is the one, the only impregnable defence against the assaults of the World: protected by this supernatural shield, and wielding with steady arm her great offensive weapon the bright 'sword of the Spirit,' the infant Church "strong in the Lord and the power of His might," bravely [279] withstood all the hosts of the enemy. Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; ever dying, and yet ever more truly and vigorously living; she rose after each encounter like a 'giant refreshed with wine.' From her Martyr-seed sprang forth an ever increasing and still goodlier progeny. The Beast's power tottered to its foundations. He was ever worsted: He was losing heart and strength. At last he was laid low; and appeared, says S. John, [Greek]. His time had come. The very World Power itself became Christian. The Beast *qua* Beast died. The Church's final conquests now seemed sure: the Kingdom of the world was already becoming the Kingdom of the LORD CHRIST. Aided now by the friendly World-Power, the Church will assuredly carry all before her, subdue to the obedience of CHRIST the remotest tribes of earth, and bring about the times of universal peace.

But stay, let us ascertain what is the precise nature of the change that has come over the Beast. Is he transformed, is he regenerated? It is true that as regards his GOD-opposed, savage, bestial nature he is no more. But has he really become man? Has a man's heart been given to him? Though mortally wounded, powerless, prostrate, has he ceased to be a *Beast*? No, with emphatic and terrible significance S. John always reminds us that the deadly wound has yet to be healed: that the Beast has yet to reappear in his proper nature, reinforced from the abyss, and with a sevenfold intensity of rabid ferocity: that its ten horns have to rise to power[2] and to engage in open and infatuated warfare with the LAMB.

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[1] The difficulty as to the simultaneous existence and non-existence of the Beast is perhaps best illustrated and explained by the analogous case of the destruction of the Old Adam in Holy Baptism. The old man then dies and is buried: we are regenerated. We have a *potential* victory given us over Satan, the world, and the flesh. If however, we do not improve our advantage, and make the victory *real* and lasting, through the indwelling Power of Him Who hath obtained and *given* us the victory, the old man will revive; the Evil Spirit will thither return whence he has been cast out; and our last state shall be sevenfold worse than our first.

[2] But are not these ten Kingdoms in power already? For surely, if they represent the several kingdoms of modern Europe, the sprouts from the old Roman head, they are at this time exercising their several independent sovereignties. True: but this is not the particular kind of dominion here signified. The power here specifically referred to, is *bestial*, open Anti-Christian power. This they have not received as yet. The horns already exist; but they are not *crowned*: for the Dragon has to crown them.

It must be observed, that when S. John first sees the Beast, he beholds it in its full-blown vigour, and developed proportions, with its horns crowned. But he is subsequently told that this state of things has not *hitherto* been realized: it only '*is to be* hereafter.' These several horns, or kingdoms, then, which have already emerged, as predicted, from out of the old broken Roman head, are yet waiting for their bestial life, their Anti-Christian power and kingdom. For that they have not this at present, is manifest from the fact of their being hitherto, outwardly friendly to Christ. But their power has to come from the Abyss: and bestial nature of the World-Power is beginning to revive, and the Seventh Head is springing into being, then shall these kingdoms (at that time *ten* in number) be animated and possessed with the same diabolic

{*cont.*}

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But meanwhile, the Beast is in a state of torpor. He is lying headless and prostrate. He has become Christianized: and instead of devouring, gently supports the Woman. He is her harmless and friendly Beast of burden.

This good understanding between the Church and the world is expressed by S. John under another figure in the original picture of the woman in the wilderness, in the twelfth chapter. Let us revert to this chapter for a few moments.

We saw, a little while ago, that the Church had found her a home in the barren wilderness of heathendom; had obtained a secure seat in the very centre of the kingdom of the wor1d. Meanwhile the dragon, furious at her success, "casts out of his mouth water as a flood after her that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood." (xii. 15.) What signifies this "flood of water?" It "refers undoubtedly," says our author, "to the streams of the migration of nations." (p. 261.) The Roman empire, once his great stronghold, having deserted his cause and embraced Christianity, he will let loose upon it his unregenerate masses, who shall destroy it, and thus, as he fondly hopes, the Christian religion itself. But once again he is foiled, "the *earth* helps the woman and swallows up the flood."

> "We know that the *earth* in contradistinction to *water*, signifies the world as already consolidated and civilized. The cultured Roman world received the wild Germanic masses, subdued and mollified their hostility, and reconciled them to Christianity, which is regarded here, as we see, not so much in its heavenly aspect, as in its earthly, as a power of civilization."

But at this point of the symbolic history a very important distinction arrests us which runs secretly throughout the whole of the Apocalypse; we mean the distinction between the *Woman* and her *Seed*; or, as it is here expressed, "*the remnant of her seed which keep the commandments of* GOD." What is the import of this distinction? With two characteristic notices S. John for a time leaves them. With regard to the woman he says, "The *earth* helped her;" with regard to the faithful remnant of her seed, he says, "the dragon persecuted them." So that henceforward we are to have two distinct phases of Church history running on side by side, an exoteric and an esoteric. We have the Church, henceforward, regarded in two separate lights (1.) as militant and visible, consisting, like the net, the barn, the field, of good and bad, wheat and chaff; good seed and tares; and (2.) as consisting of the true faithful members of CHRIST alone. In her visible, mundane aspect, [281] woman, she soon becomes Babylon, confusion; in regard to the Holy Seed she is still Jerusalem the city of GOD.

The Man-Child to whom the woman, or mystical Sion, gave birth (xii. 5,) was CHRIST Himself; hence therefore, the "remnant, or *remainder* ([Greek]) of her seed" are the

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life; the same rabid and open hostility against God and His people. "This shall be their hour and the power of darkness."

It is at this particular crisis—while the change is coming over them, and. they are being demoniacally energized from beneath, and have begun in savage frenzy "to make war upon the Lamb,"—it is at this crisis that God shall use them as His terrible instruments of retributive vengeance against the Harlot. She has "trusted in the strength of Pharaoh: the strength of Pharaoh shall be her ruin." "The ten horns shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate, and burn her with fire." It is not till after the destruction of the Harlot that the Anti-Christian Kingdom is *fully* consolidated; that, subduing three of his confederate kings, he becomes "an eighth;" and that he sets himself up openly and deliberately, as the god of the world; claiming, and exacting on pain of death, universal and exclusive worship, as though he were Incarnate Deity, the Image of GOD, instead of the 'vile' impersonation of the Beast-nature—the "image of the Beast."

complement of CHRIST, His true members; the invisible Church which is now hid and included within the visible. The *Woman* is the Church *as manifested during the present dispensation*; her *Seed* are those alone of her present members which shall be accounted worthy to attain to the glories of the first resurrection; they are the secret election from out of the visible election.

It is they who are *hereafter* to reign; *not* the Woman who is to reign *now*. The distinction is of infinite importance. The attitude of the Woman is to be a suffering, meek, militant one, not a haughty regnant one. When the kingdom comes, it will be set up and established by means wholly supernatural, not by earthly processes. The weapons of the Church's warfare are not carnal. The whole dream of a visible, universal mundane theocracy during the present [Greek] is an essential and fundamental mistake. The words, "I sit as a *queen*," are essentially those of the harlot. The duty of the woman is now to 'bring forth children unto CHRIST;' in the *next* dispensation her *Seed* shall "rule all nations with a rod of iron."

Now of the Church under these her two distinct aspects, as visible and invisible, S. John proceeds to tell us many things.

Of the Seed we read that the devil "went his way to persecute them." For of every true member of the Body Mystical, it ever has been, and ever must be true, that 'in the world they shall have tribulation;' 'that their reigning with CHRIST' shall be antedated by their 'suffering with Him.' These are the blessed mourners to whom are assured the strong consolations of the everlasting Comforter; "sorrowful, but always rejoicing; poor, but making many rich; having nothing, and yet possessing all things." These appear in the Apocalypse as the " Two Witnesses," as keeping the two Testaments, and nurtured by the two great Sacraments. As the Woman comprehends the whole Temple of GOD, so do these constitute but the inner Sanctuary. They are the 'called,' the 'sealed ones;' they re-appear as the Bride. As yet they belong to the Woman. But as of old when Jerusalem became Sodom and Egypt, GOD summoned His Church out of it ("I called My SON out of Egypt"); so when the 'faithful city' has again 'become a harlot,' and the woman's 'sins have reached to heaven,' the mysterious voice will again be heard: 'Come out of her, My people, that ye partake not of her plagues.' For their sakes GOD as Yet spares the city. But when their secret number has been made up, the last one brought in the Bride fully prepared, they will, like righteous Lot, be summoned to 'come out [282] and separate themselves,' that judgment may take its relentless and inexorable course.

Thus much with regard to the 'Seed.'

On the career of the 'Woman,' the Apostle dwells more at length. Nay, her sad history and miserable doom form the leading feature of the remaining portion of the Apocalypse.

The earth helps her. The Beast receives a deadly wound; becomes gentle and friendly. The kingdom of the world ceases to oppress her from without. But a far more dreadful thing befalls her; the essence and spirit of the world penetrates into her own sphere. In influencing the world she suffers herself to be influenced by the world.[1] The world lays aside its enmity; and she her stern virgin purity.

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[1] The deeper the Church penetrated into heathenism, the more she herself became heathenish; she then no longer overcame the world; but suffered the world to overcome her; instead of elevating the world to her divine height, she sunk down to the level of the worldly life. As the heathen masses came into the Church unconverted, so in like manner the heathenish worldly spirit passed over into the Church without passing through the death of the Cross."—*Auberlen,* pp. 291, 292.

> "As the Beast gives up its God-opposed character, the Woman gives up her divine one. Both parties meet half way. World and Church make mutual concessions: the Beast carries the harlot. *Christianity* has become *worldly*; the *world* has become *Christianized*. This is the fundamental type of the Christian era. The gainer in this process is, after all, the World; for the Church whose life comes from the Father and the Son, can only be a loser by thus mixing with the world. Hence, though the state of the Christian world may appear satisfactory in the eyes of man; yet in the sight of God, the present Christianity of the world is by no means genuine."—P. 299.

II. We have left ourselves very small space to allude to the second Foe of the Woman.

The "Beast from the sea" is not her only antagonist. She has an enemy more plausible, specious, wily, and dangerous: the "Beast from the earth," or false prophet: the official mouth-piece of him who was "more subtle than any beast of the field."

What is this second Beast?

The first thing that strikes us is this, that he comes in the name, and parades the authority of Christ. Its two horns are those of the lamb: yet his words are those of the dragon. Notwithstanding the accident of his imposing and Christian exterior he is still a Beast.[1]

Now as the 'Dragon,' the dread ruler of the kingdom of darkness, is plainly the diabolic counterpart of the everlasting Father:

As the 'Beast' or 'Corpus anti-Christi,' the visible representa[283]tive of the Dragon, to whom he commits his seat and authority, is of GOD the SON:

So is the 'Beast from the earth,' or false prophet—the impersonated utterance, and wisdom, and power, of the Dragon and the Beast—of GOD the HOLY GHOST.

He is the representation or embodiment of earthly, sensual, demoniacal wisdom.

> "The first Beast," writes our author, "is physical, political; the second Beast is a spiritual power, the power of doctrine and knowledge, of intellectual cultivation . . . . Both are from below: both are *beasts*. The worldly anti-Christian *wisdom* stands in the service of worldly anti-Christian power."—P. 306.

And this has ever been the case. The world's wisdom has ever energetically supported its GOD-opposed power. Thus, when Pharaoh represented the 'Beast from the sea,' his 'wise men' stood to him in the relation of the 'Beast from the earth.' When the king of Babylon succeeded to the dominion of the world, his "magicians, astrologers, and soothsayers," would occupy a corresponding position. But no mention is made by the interpreting Angel of the early career of the False Prophet or 'Beast from the earth,' as is made of the former history of the first Beast. Hence we need not dwell on it. The second Beast does not come into notice at all till after the ascension of CHRIST. His great manifestation is still in the dark womb of the future.

We merely learn that he has ever attended upon, and invisibly and energetically worked for the first Beast. Hence as the latter passes, between the first and second Comings of CHRIST, through three great phases, *Heathen*, *Christian*, and *Antichristian*,[2] so will the False

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[1] We feel convinced that, in our examination of this vision on a former occasion, we missed the particular point and bearing of this symbolic figure, by neglecting to observe the fundamental distinction which holds in this book between the human and the bestial emblems. The harlot, notwithstanding her miserable degradation is essentially 'from above.' Both the beasts are essentially 'from beneath.'

[2] The essential difference between *ancient* and *Antichristian* heathenism must not be lost sight of. The ancient, as represented by the first heads of the Beast, "was only an apostasy from the general revelation {*cont.*}

Prophet undergo three corresponding transformations. During Roman times, he would manifest himself through the various forms of heathen philosophy. During the transition period, now passing, of the Christianization of the Beast, he will naturally conform to Christianity: but of this anon. During the final or Antichristian period, after the healing of the deadly wound, with the new Demoniacal power infused into the 'Beast,' will his potent influences receive a fresh and hellish vitality. Then shall all his "power and signs, and lying wonders and deceivableness of unrighteousness," foretold by our LORD and His Apostles, reach their full height. Then shall the 'False Prophet' of the 'False CHRIST' be fully manifested. Then shall there be a new Revela[284]tion; but from Hell. "Great shall be the company of the preachers:" "They shall stretch forth their mouth unto the Heavens, and their tongue go through the world." Then shall there be real Inspiration, real miracles; but Diabolic. A terrible inversion and counterfeit of Christianity. The impious centre if it, the Beast that "died and rose again:" who although for a time *apparently* worsted (so shall his prophets say) by Christianity, has yet shown himself victorious, and demonstrated, by his successes, that the religion of CHRIST is a failure, a fable, an imposture. And all the world shall believe in him. And they shall eat and drink and blaspheme.

But this frightful glimpse of the coming reign of terror is not our immediate concern.

Our business lies with Christian times. We have to do with the *Christian* manifestations of these two Beasts, and their influence on the *Woman*: for it is through their specious and pseudo-Christian seductions that the Woman is little by little enervated and demoralised, that she loses her real purity and strength, is enticed like Samson into parting with her supernatural powers, and thus, when the 'Philistines fall upon her,' impotently succumbs.

A very few words must suffice; as we have already exceeded our limits.

Here then are her two foes: the seductions of worldly *power*; the specious advances of worldly *wisdom*.

No wonder if, allured by the *first*, we find her beginning to sigh for a place in the world; for dominion; for universal allegiance.[1] No wonder if, inspired by the *second*, we find her presuming to tamper with the stern uncompromising simplicity of her Creeds; to improve upon the Deposit which she was commissioned, by sanctions the most solemn, to keep and hand down pure and intact—that faith which not even an angel from heaven might dare to add anything to, or diminish aught therefrom. No wonder if the specious subtleties of worldly philosophy and the showy refinements of "science falsely so called" have penetrated the Sacred Enclosures of the Church's Faith, affected its terminology, enervated and adulterated it; if an ambitious and dogmatic scholasticism, or a sensuous sentimentalism, or a cold rationalism should have shed their blighting influences on different tracts of the heritage of the LORD.

S. John declares that even in his day the 'Spirit of Anti-Christ' was secretly at work. What wonder if, even in the Church of [285] CHRIST, it has already shown itself above the surface under different guises manifesting itself in the Pharisaism of Rome, the

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of GOD in nature and conscience of Divine love in the SON (Cf. Matt. xii. 41, 42); it is refined, intensified heathenism," "a heathenism more demonic, more of the nature of the bottomless pit."—(vid. Auberlen, p. 300.)

[1] It is noticeable that the Woman becomes somehow mysteriously identified with the seat of the then reigning World-Power. And "it is this very spirit of the *Roman World-Kingdom* (writes our author) which penetrated into the Church, and changed her in the West into a *Church State*, striving after an eternal, unreal, world-power, having its centre in Rome; and in the East, into a *State Church*, fettered by the world-power, having its centre in Byzantium: in both places into a World-Church." (p. 294.)

Sadduceism of Germany, the Herodianism of England? S. Paul speaks in the same strain: he informs us that even in his own time the subtle Antichristian principle was silently operating. What wonder, we repeat, if we are able to discern, in the various Branches of the Church, various indubitable developments of this one energetic but multiform principle of evil?

We have been assured, for instance, with regard to the greatest Branch of the Church, that "*some* hypothesis" is *necessary* to account for the "difficulty" which is presented by the variations between primitive and mediæval Christianity. And a most ingeniously elaborated and plausible hypothesis is accordingly advanced. That these new growths and expansions of the Old Faith—these corrections of the errors of the early Church and progressive enlargements of her imperfect and rudimentary knowledge—should be characterised as the simple developments of mere natural religion, and the manifestations of the inworking of the "wisdom of the world," will be deemed the height of ignorance or impiety by those who reverently regard them as the outward indications of the Church's 'growth in grace,' of her 'increase in wisdom and stature;' as the continuous and authoritative utterances of the indwelling Spirit of GOD. At all events, here are two theories. All we can say is, "*Respice finem.*" What is to be the issue of these ever-germinating developments of the Faith? S. John is thrown into an ecstasy of sorrowful amazement at seeing the Woman transformed into the *Harlot*. S. Paul mournfully tells us that this Dispensation will terminate in '*the Apostasy*.' Our LORD bodingly adds, "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find *the faith* on the earth?" Here is the issue of the Developed Creed.

But no. Victory over the world is guaranteed to, and secured by one weapon alone—the Faith, the whole Faith, and *nothing but the Faith*. Its power was tried in early times, and never failed. It *must* have undergone some fearful transformation in later days, by addition or subtraction, or both—have lost its invincible consistency and solidity, and so become *the* Faith no longer: for we find it is found wanting. This adulterated Faith *is overcome by* the World.

Be this our watchword, our sole aim and object, in our present Church Revival: "*The Faith once for all delivered*." Nothing more: nothing less.

We trust to add a few concluding remarks in a future number.[1]

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[1] ϕ In fact, the review is continued in 'Warnings of the Apocalypse to the Churches' which follows immediately.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 19. (Joseph Masters: London, 1857)

[304]THE WARNINGS OF THE APOCALYPSE TO THE CHURCHES

IN commencing the series of papers on Professor Auberlen's work on the Apocalypse—which we purpose bringing to a close in our present Number—we expressed the opinion, that of all the Church's endowments, none seemed more urgently needed by her, in the days of change and excitement, than the "spirit of *understanding*," to enable her, if so it might be to apprehend intelligently her true position with regard to GOD and the world, the measure of her [305] present conformity, in her various branches, with her original 'Pattern,' and the real nature and tendency of the several activities now stirring within her.

We propose to offer, in all humility—and merely as ignorant inquirers—a few thoughts on this head, suggested by that mysterious Book which has lately been engaging our attention. And here we must at once express our persuasion, that if we would derive any light from the Apocalypse on the momentous questions which continue to agitate Christendom, there is one central, cardinal point which before all others we must have definitely fixed, and it is this, What is the Harlot Babylon?

In our last paper we discussed at some length the distinctive features of the Beast and False Prophet, the embodiments respectively of the Power of the World, and the Wisdom of the World. And with regard to the Harlot, without entering into any detailed proof of our position, we yet assumed that she was, in some measure, identical with the Sun-clothed Woman in the twelfth chapter—that she was *one aspect* of that concrete, whereof the Sun-clothed Woman forms *another*—or, perhaps, (we might rather say) a representation of the Woman of the twelfth chapter fallen from her primitive purity and chaste spiritual-mindedness; allured by the Beast into conformity to the world, and by the False Prophet into tampering with her holy Faith.

But as this a question of no ordinary importance, we are quite willing, ere we proceed, to examine it a little more closely.

Many of the Clergy of the East Riding will remember the two interesting Papers read before them, on the subject of the Apocalypse, (subsequently embodied, to a considerable extent, in an article in the *Christian Remembrancer*,[1]) by one lately gone to his rest, ever to be remembered by them with affectionate veneration and painful regret.

In these papers Archdeacon Wilberforce argued that the Harlot must necessarily be Heathen Rome. We will quote his words as given in the *Remembrancer*:

> "That *Rome* is intended by the Woman who sits upon the seven-headed Beast is *of course* allowed on all hands, *because the Angel says so*. This is one point *of which we have an authorized interpretation*. The question is, whether the reference is to a civil or a spiritual power . . . . And we maintain, that the emblem connects itself so plainly with a *worldly* power, and not with a *Church*, that to doubt it is to lose sight of the entire analogy of Holy Writ." . . . . And, after referring to the 'De Civitate Dei,' and the contrast there maintained between Babylon and Jerusalem, he proceeds . . . . "To allege that S. John, when he saw a woman having the name of Babylon, would think not of a worldly power but of a Church, is as great a practical absurdity as [306] to suppose that the readers of a political apologue would understand Nick Frog to mean the English, and John Bull the French." XXVI. p. 398.

Now in the first place, it is to be regretted *in limine* that the Archdeacon had not a more rational theory to combat than that against which he argues. The object he proposes to himself is to examine the respective claims of two rival systems of interpretation, both of

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[1] Vol. xxvi. 383.

which appear to us equally, and on precisely the same grounds, untenable; to wit, the "Anti-pagan and the Anti-papal;" the former of which refers all the emblems alike, Beast, False Prophet, Harlot, to Heathen, the latter to Christian Rome. Archdeacon Wilberforce assumes that, as one of these systems must be true, if the 'Anti-papal ' is manifestly absurd, (as he has no difficulty in showing against Mr. Elliott, Dr Wordsworth, and others,) the 'Anti-pagan' must be established.

But here arises the necessity of discriminating between the human and the bestial. It is every whit as wrong to identify the Woman with the World, as it is the Beast with the Church. Here lies the contrast. Not but that the two *may*, and do in fact, become in a certain sense practically identical. When the Beast becomes wounded to death, and the Woman demoral-ised; when the Beast ceases to oppose the Woman, and the Woman the Beast; when they effect a mutual compromise, the World becoming Christianized, the Church worldly, it then, in fact, appears impossible to discriminate them. The worldly Church and the Christian World compose externally the same concrete. Still, if we would understand the Apocalyptic symbolism, we must not lose sight of the real, intimate distinction. The Christianization of the World is but an accident. The being wounded is as abnormal a state for the Beast as the being defiled is for the Woman: the former has to part with his distinctive bestial attributes, the latter with her feminine graces. The World "falleth down and humbleth himself self that the congregation of the Poor (i.e. the Church,) may fall into the hands of his captains." The truth of the following verse has yet to be fearfully experienced: "He *doth ravish* the Poor when he getteth him into his net."

But, says the Archdeacon, to allege that the Harlot is 'a Church,' is 'an absurdity.' Moreover, we have an 'authorized interpretation' of the symbol. We are assured that she is the *City of Rome*: '*the Angel says so.*'

Where does the Angel say so? Nowhere. The Angel speaks of this mystic Woman as a City seated on seven mountains, and exercising a potent sway over the kings of the earth. But then the question arises, How is this word 'City' employed in the Apocalypse? Is there a single instance of its signifying a *city* in the concrete, literal, ordinary sense? Not one. And the same is true of the other word '*Mountain.*'
[307]
In fact, to select one particular verse out of the whole of the Apocalypse, as is usually done, and apply to it a method of interpretation which notoriously will not hold in any other passage in the whole Book, appears to us irrational in the extreme.

Are the seven kings seven individual persons? the seven vials literal vials? the seven thunders, seals, trumpets, stars, &c., literal thunders, trumpets, &c.? Is the 'great Mountain,' thrown into the sea, a literal mountain?

Moreover in the ease of the Harlot, the Angel instructs us, from the very first, to *prepare* for difficulties, and quit the regions of sight and sense. Her very name shows that the carnal or careless observer will fail to read her character and history aright. Her brow is impressed with the solemn word MYSTERY! It is of the marriage union of CHRIST with His faithful Church that the Apostle exclaims, 'This is a *great Mystery*.' Surely it is no less an awful 'Mystery' to find the Church faithless to her LORD. It is that fearful 'Mystery of iniquity,' which S, Paul connects with the Church's 'Apostasy.' (2 Thess. ii. 3, 7.) Thus the Angel begins by telling the Apostle that he is about to put him in possession of the '*Mystery* of the Woman and the Beast which carries her.' He proceeds, (still further to prepare us to look beneath the surface of his words,) "Here is the mind that hath *Wisdom*." Now we are constrained to ask, Why should the Woman and her history be alike solemnly represented to S. John as Mystery? Why should the faculty of a supernatural Wisdom be

appealed to? Why, too, should the sorrow-stricken Apostle, "wonder with great admiration," if, after all, the Angel merely meant to signify that the symbol represented old Heathen Rome built upon the well-known seven hills?

No, as soon as the one Woman—the Bride, Jerusalem—whose 'foundation is *upon the holy hills*' who is seen on the 'great, high mountain,' (Rev. xxi. 10; Ezek. x. 2,) is ruled to be the literal Jerusalem, then, with equal truth, may it be maintained that the other Woman—the Harlot, Babylon—seated on the seven mountains, is the literal city of Rome. The expression 'the Woman,' has a definite meaning throughout the Apocalypse: she may be chaste, or she may be defiled: she may be regarded in either of the three aspects, Woman, Harlot, Bride; but that does not affect the fixed and determinate sense of the expression itself. It is the abstract designation of the Church of GOD. And as the Church in the Old Testament is at once the 'Holy City,' (as containing GOD'S chosen ones,) and yet the 'Bloody City;' in one of her aspects, Jerusalem, in another Sodom and Egypt: so is the visible Christian Church, in one aspect, (as the Mother of the true Seed,) the Sun-clothed Woman: in another, (from her conformity to the world,) the Harlot.

Note too the marked and obvious antithesis. In the twelfth [308] chapter we meet with a Beast, a Wilderness, and a Woman; but here she is [Greek]: her own form is scarce discerned by reason of the supernatural radiance which encircles her. It is CHRIST that shines. She is lost, absorbed as it were, in Him. In the seventeenth chapter we meet with precisely the same collocation, a Beast, a Wilderness, a Woman;[1] but now she is [Greek].

Nor are we unprepared for this sad defection of the Woman from her original purity. The sevenfold Epistle to the Church Catholic foreshadows it all. Ephesus has fallen from her first love. Pergamos has those who teach fornication to the people of GOD. The Angel of Thyatira is represented as mysteriously wedded[2] to the false-prophetess Jezebel, and as faithlessly *permitting* her to seduce GOD'S servants into fornication. Sardis is *dead*, and contains but a small remnant who have not *defiled their garments*. Haughty Laodicea is about to be spued out of CHRIST'S mouth.

But, argues the Archdeacon, from Bossuet, had the Woman been the Church she would have been called an adulteress rather than a harlot. She would have been represented as the Bride that had become unchaste.

It will be observed, however, that, according to the symbolism of the Apocalypse, the *Bride* never appears during the present Dispensation. She is only manifested, when the possibility of her defection is for ever passed. As yet we merely meet with the *Woman*. However it is not for us to inquire, what word *ought* to be used: we have merely to see what word *is* used. And we find that all throughout those very chapters in the Old Testament, whereon this vision of the Harlot is founded, (Ezek. xvi. xxiii.) where we behold her earlier impurities, her unholy converse with the World-power in its former

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[1] Professor Auberlen bids us notice that when these three expressions are introduced the 17th chapter, they all alike occur without the article, "as referring to expressions known from their previous occurrence." But the omission of the article, he maintains, has a further reason. For the World-Power, the Church and the heathen world have, between the two Visions, "undergone great changes, insomuch that S. John can scarcely recognize them, and sees *a* Beast, *a* Woman, *a* Wilderness."—P. 277.

[2] [Greek]

stages, [Greek] and [Greek] are again and again employed. Hence they are continued in the present vision.[1]

It may appear strange, at first sight, that the Woman should be designated by the name of a great World-city. A corrupt Church, it is argued by Bossuet, might have been indicated by Samaria, or [309] even Sodom, but never by Babylon. This, however, only shows how terribly the spirit of the world has penetrated her. Her very name is fearfully significant—"Confusion." She exhibits a miserable confusion of things sacred and profane. She is "My FATHER's House," and yet "a house of *Merchandise*;" the "House of prayer for all nations," and yet "a den of thieves." She barters in all manner of worldly traffic, and no less with "the souls of men." She has "the *form of godliness*," and yet she "*denies the power thereof*." The world hates her, and yet bewails her. It tears her rabidly to pieces, and burns her with fire, because (as to her ultimate origin) she is from the FATHER: it bemoans and laments her, because she was really "of the world," and "the world must love its own."[2]

And still more apparent does this monstrous 'confusion' become, in her doom. In her destruction we witness a combined fulfilment of the denunciations pronounced by GOD, as well on Nineveh, Tyre,[3] and ancient Babylon, as on Jerusalem.

Our LORD had declared that it should be more tolerable for heathen Tyre in the Day of Judgment than for His apostate Church; and that the men of Nineveh should rise up and condemn it. For "the worldliness of the Church," as Professor Auberlen truly says, "is the *most profane and worldly of all worldliness.*"

> "Hence it is that in the description of Babylon, the Apocalypse unites not only the chief features of Israel's sins, but also the sins of the heathens, as we find them delineated in the prophets. And for the same reason the Seer dwells longer on the description of the abominations and judgments of the Harlot, than on those of the Beast . . . And for this reason it is that there is more special joy in Heaven at her downfall, than over the downfall of the two Beasts. (Cf. xviii. 20—xix. 5)—P. 287.

But notwithstanding all the accumulation of worldly images, which characterise the description of the Woman, and especially the detail of her unholy "merchandise," (S. Matt.

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[1] Moreover, "the term translated adultery simply signifies defilement; but the other expression, selling herself for hire, ([Greek] from [Greek], *vendo*) which idea pervades the whole of this subject. The impure Church barters and prostitutes her faith to CHRIST for the advantages of the world. The gold and the silver, the glories and delicacies of the world are especially dwelt upon; and for these she sells herself to kings, great men, and merchants."—Vide *Williams on the Apocalypse,* pp. 314, 15.

[2] "The Harlot Church did not molest the kings and mighty ones of this earth: she did not reprove their sins, but made their way to heaven smooth and easy: she was of service to them as a bridle, to keep in subjection the nations: she offered herself as a means of restoring their authority, and re-establishing order and safety; and her help was accepted, and found useful. Hence, no wonder that the kings mourn over her fall, (xviii. 9, 10) Also the merchants, shipmasters, found the Church useful as preserving order and peace; and under her protection commerce prospered, and their gains increased, (11—13.) And not only this, but she did not lift up her voice to witness against worldly-mindedness and luxury—the sources of the merchant's gains—but rather conformed herself to the world, and partook of its joys and pleasures: instead of caring for the sheep, she cared for the wool . . . . instead of opposing and lessening, she *promoted and increased the sinful life and decay of the world by her own earthliness*, allowing the salt to lose its savour," (xix. 2, [Greek])—*Auberlen*, p. 289.

[3] With regard to the solitary and exceptional use of the word 'fornication,' in the case of the two cities, Nineveh and Tyre; see *Ecclesiastic*, vol. xv. pp. 500—503. ϕ In 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse', pp. 88ff *supra*,

xxii. 5; S. John ii 16; 2 S. Pet. ii. 3; Rev. xviii. 11—13;) we have still far too [310] many plain and indubitable 'notes,' to make it at all doubtful what she *really is*; to convince us that she is no mere worldly power, and that it was not always thus with her, but that she was once none other than the 'City of GOD.'

We see she is not judged with the World. No judgment begins at the Household of GOD." It is not, therefore, till vengeance has been fully poured out upon her, that the Beasts, or Powers of the *World*, receive their doom.

Again: what is the nature of her punishment? It is that of the Priest's daughter of old. For "if the daughter of any Priest profane herself by playing the harlot she profaneth her Father: she shall be *burnt with fire*."[1] Hence of the Harlot Babylon we read, "she shall be *utterly burnt with fire*; for strong is the LORD which judgeth her." The words of GOD to his ancient Church are to meet with some awful and mysterious fulfilment in her. "Wherefore, O Harlot, hear the words of the LORD, I will gather together all thy lovers with whom thou hast taken pleasure . . . . and I will give thee into their hand; and they shall break down thy high places, and leave thee naked and bare . . . . and shall *burn* thy houses *with fire*." (Ezek. xvi. 35—41.) For "the ten horns shall hate the Whore and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall *eat her flesh, and shall burn her with fire*:" "For her sins have reached to Heaven, and GOD hath remembered her iniquities." (Rev. xvii. 16; xviii. 5.)

Again: the removal of the Divine Presence from her, is predicted in the very words used of old to Jerusalem: "The light of a *candle* shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the *Bridegroom* and of the *Bride* shall be heard no more at all in thee . . . . for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived." (Rev. xviii, 23; cf. Jer. xxv. 10; vii. 34; xvi. 9.)

And more terrible still: to her (we find) belongs that extreme malediction denounced by our LORD Himself upon His apostate Church, that "upon it should come *all the righteous blood shed upon the earth*, from the blood of righteous Abel." It is of the Harlot of the New Testament that this blood is required. For she has inherited the curses as well as the blessings of GOD'S ancient Church. "In her," therefore, we read, "was found the *blood of prophets and saints, and of all that were slain on the earth.*" (Rev. xviii. 24) Yes, according to the exceeding multiplication of her blessings, so will be the miserable accumulation of her woes. Her guilt is infinitely intensified by reason of the immeasurable excess of her gifts and graces above those of her elder sister. The "Mystery hid from ages and generations"—hid from the Jewish Church—has been revealed to her; to wit, the indwelling of CHRIST; actual incorporation into Him—we in Him, He in us; and the continuous Gift, through Him, of the informing, inworking SPIRIT. She has, [311] therefore, been called to be Holy *as her* LORD *is Holy*; to exhibit a pattern of Heaven on earth—a pattern of *intimate,* intrinsic, unity—oneness in CHRIST, oneness in Faith—a unity developing itself from within outwardly, attracting, and assimilating to it all who should come within the sphere of its Holy Influence. And has she done all this? Where is her unity, her purity, her earnest, uncompromising holiness? Ah! "How hath the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed!" Ancient Jerusalem abused her gifts, and became the Harlot: the Jerusalem of the New Dispensation, by reason of her more transcendent endowments, and deeper fall, becomes the "Mother of Harlots."

There is a boding solemnity in that most difficult saying of our LORD: "I must work the works of Him that sent Me, while it is *day*: the *night* cometh, when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the *light* of the world," (S. John ix. 4, 5.)

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[1] Lev. xxi. 9,—See Williams, p. 352.

Our LORD here speaks of a *day* and a *night*; of a Day wherein He *works*, and which *is* day by reason of the Light of His Presence; and a Night wherein He works no longer and wherein no man can work, and which is night by reason of the withdrawal of His Presence.

But through what agency is CHRIST still in the world? What is the instrumentality whereby the *Light* of His Presence still shines on mankind, and through which He still *works*? It is His Church. "Ye," says He, "are the *Light* of the world:" and, "greater *works* than these shall ye do, because I go to the FATHER." His Church, then, still continues His *illuminating* Presence, His gracious *operations* on earth.

Our LORD'S words then, plainly bear (besides their personal allusion) a *Dispensational* reference; hinting at some dread time, a night of gloom, of clouds and thick darkness, yet impending ere the sixth Day, or Day of Grace, dies into the seventh, or Day of Judgment; when the Sun itself, not of the natural only, but of the spiritual world, shall be turned into darkness, and the Moon, therefore, or visible Church, cease to give light; when the '*stars*' or 'Angels' of the Churches, the luminaries of the heavens, shall fall from their spheres;—a night wherein "if any man walk, he stumbleth, because he seeth not the Light of the world."

S. Paul, predicting the manifestation of the Anti-Christ, warns us of the coming night. He tells us that side by side with the Spirit of CHRIST in the Church, there is also a spirit of Anti-Christ, a hidden Mystery of iniquity, a Principle of lawlessness secretly at work. But this latter Principle, he adds, shall not always work *secretly*. There is, as yet, a *Restraining* Power keeping us in check, which prevents its open manifestation. Let but this Restrainer be removed; and all this pent up wickedness, now inwardly seething and stirring, shall burst impetuously forth—the Mystery of iniquity be exposed to view—the Man of Sin be revealed.

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And who can this Restrainer be—[Greek]—"He who letteth?" Who, but CHRIST and the Blessed Spirit?[1] What was it, of old, restrained the sulphurous torrents from sweeping away the cities of the plain? The presence of Lot, righteous Lot, type of the HOLY SPIRIT in the Church; "*I can do nothing* till thou be come out." What is it restrains the floods of darkness from breaking in upon the *natural* world? The presence of the *sun* in the heavens. Even as it is the Presence of CHRIST alone which withholds the billows of night from engulphing in their black surge the spiritual universe.

But what? Is CHRIST'S Presence, is the Light of His Holy Spirit ever to be withdrawn from His Visible Church? Where is His Promise, 'Lo, I am with you always?' It cannot be too often repeated that this Promise is not *unconditional*. It is *entirely contingent* on the Church's teaching and observing '*all things*'—neither more nor less—"all things whatsoever CHRIST has commanded," (vid. S. Matt. xxviii. 20.) So that just in proportion as any Branch of the Church fulfils this condition, in that proportion may she look for the gracious Presence of CHRIST. In proportion as she corrupts the Deposit, listens to the plausible seductions of the False Prophet, mutilates or augments the Faith, prefers her own developments or 'traditions' to the simple 'commandments of GOD,' and teaches as

[1] This is one of the only two suggestions on this mysterious question, common in the early Church. " There are *many*," says Œcumenius, "who consider the restraining power to be the Holy Ghost." For as soon as He shall be removed out of the midst, in consequence of the sins of men, and shall take His departure, then will that Wicked One soon be revealed; there being no one any longer to prevent him." See this point further discussed, Vol. xv. pp. 535—538.

'doctrines' i.e., as '*de fide*'—what are but human inventions—in that proportion *she cannot but* forfeit the Divine Presence.

And this it is that the mystical Woman does. She adulterates the Christian Faith. The great season of trial comes—*the* Temptation (Rev. iii. 10); and this emasculated faith is unable to bear up against it. The *Apostasy* ensues (2 Thess. ii. 3); and the *Apostasy drives away the Restrainer*. And then it is that the Woman becomes in the fullest sense of the term the Harlot—the Mother of Harlots and abominations. Then only does she fully and intensely realize the description given of her by the Apostle. Dazzled by the flatteries, captivated by the friendly advances of the future World-King, who professing the most abject recognition of her spiritual claims, employs her as the great stepping stone to his schemes of universal dominion—for him, and in his cause, she fills up the measure of her iniquities. Her Babylonish dreams of worldly ascendancy and prosperity are realized. Energetically backed by the zealous and obsequious World-Power, she succeeds in putting down all opposition. Heretics are summarily committed to the "secular arm." She now reigns as a Queen. She has [313] "*gained the World*." Flushed with her successes and glorious prospects; drunk with the blood of the martyrs of the LORD JESUS, the faithful Witnesses who have still dared before High Heaven to utter their deep Protest against her blasphemous impieties;—she sits as a 'Lady'—the World at her feet—she directing the Beast, while he supports her. But her time has come. The spirit of Life has departed from her. She has become a loathsome, putrid carcass; and stinks in the nostrils of the Most High. The eagles of prey scent her, and flock around her. The kings with whom she has lived deliciously fall upon her, tear her to pieces, trample upon her, and eat her flesh in frenzy of infuriated hatred. Out of the frightful Revolution that attends her downfall, the Kingdom of Anti-Christ, the visible despotism of Satan is organized and consolidated.

From all that has been advanced we thus learn, that Holy Scripture intimates, in language neither to be evaded nor mistaken, that like Israel of old, the Visible Christian Church shall apostatize from the Faith—fall from her first love—teach and practise spiritual fornication—grow in arrogance and self-sufficiency—embrace and enforce novel Doctrines incompatible with the Faith bequeathed her by our LORD and His Apostles, ('I am rich and *increased* with goods') and be finally spued out of CHRIST'S mouth.

But this is not all.

For we also learn that GOD shall yet reserve to Himself, through all times, a secret election who shall not bow the knee to Baal—the two sackcloth-clothed Witnesses—the "Remnant of the Woman's seed who keep the Commandments of GOD;" against whom, as their Protest grows louder, and her infidelity more flagrant, the Harlot shall institute ruthless persecution; and who shall experience a terrible meaning in oaths like the following, imposed upon all the Dominant ecclesiastical Party—"Hæreticos *omnes* et rebelles *pro posse persequar* et expugnabo." "The time cometh that whoso killeth you will think he doeth GOD service." History furnishes us with but too ample warnings and foretastes of this bitter Cain-like spirit towards those who humbly and faithfully obey GOD, on the part of those who prefer a more ostentatious, self-gratifying worship of their own—not to prepare us for still more ruthless exhibitions, in the Church, of the pregnant truth of our LORD'S words, "O Jerusalem, which killest the Prophets."

But, where is the Harlot now to be discerned? Where the Witnesses? GOD knoweth. Still, not to use the spiritual senses GOD has given us, in a momentous question of this kind, would be either feeble affectation or infatuation. And here, while fully admitting, with Dr Auberlen, that it is "Christendom *as a whole* in all its manifold manifestations of Churches and sects," that is the Harlot, even as, of old, it was Israel *as a whole* that became a

Harlot—still it appears to us deliberate blindness not to acknowledge [314] with our great devotional writer, the earnest, devout, thoughtful Isaac Williams, that "the whole Prophecy does, in some awful manner, hover as with boding raven-wing over *Rome*."

The Œcumenical scope of the Epistles to the seven Churches in Asia does not militate against, but arise out of, their particular reference. And, in like manner it is quite impossible to miss the *intentional* allusion to the local city and Church of Rome, underlying the more general reference to Christendom.

Rome claims to be the centre of Christendom. Hence, as Jerusalem was employed to designate the whole ancient Church, so under the figure of Rome, have we represented to us the whole carnal Church of modern times. And again. As Jerusalem was at once the great seat and centre of spiritual gifts, and also the great centre of apostasy, insomuch that the vials of wrath poured upon the whole Jewish Polity, were there locally concentrated:—So may it be that the doom of her modern counterpart shall present a fearful parallel; and that the very Branch of the Church which has in so signal a manner been exalted (or exalted itself) to Heaven, shall, in some equally signal and mysterious way, be cast down to Hell. The intensity of the whoredom in any part of corrupt Christendom, must plainly be proportionate to the extent of its endowments. "To whom much is given of them will much be required." Hence we may well conceive the accumulated impurities of Christendom, in GOD'S sight, to be gathered up as at a focus in this richly-endowed Church—that famous Branch whose "Faith *was* spoken of throughout the world," and yet to whom the great Apostle gives this prophetic warning, "Be not highminded, but *fear*." "Behold the goodness of GOD to thee *if thou continue* in His goodness: otherwise *thou shalt be cut off*."

That Rome will again rise to power, that her deep unsatiable thirst after universal supremacy,[1] for the securing of which she will 'compass sea and land,' shall yet be terribly gratified, seems far from improbable. Although "the Harlot is the unfaithful Church generally and universally," and "bears the name of the World-city Babylon, not from its central geographical position, as on account of its worldly character," yet it seems far from impossible that this inward, unfaithful, Babylonish spirit may again "concentrate itself in Rome in the final period when all Apocalyptic powers assume concrete embodiments." We quote the following from Dr Auberlin:—[315]

> "As yet the mystery of Babylon is not fully developed; and we *do not know what revolutions of the false Church are in the future, till it reaches that culminating point when it is ripe for judgment.* But Bengel, who (notwithstanding all the mistakes in the details of his exposition) was endowed with a wonderful intuition, which was increased by his study of the Prophetic Word, was probably correct in his expectation, that *Rome will once more rise to power*. . . . The adulterous, worldly elements in all Churches and Sects, lean towards that false Catholicism, and pave the way for its progress. . . . But let us take heed to the signs of the times, to the confusion of truth and error, worldliness and Christianity in manifold shapes and forms, and let us not partake of it."—Pp. 295, 6.

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[1] "He that reigneth on high"—(so begins the famous Bull of Pius V., absolving the people of England from their allegiance to Elizabeth)—"to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, hath committed the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to *one alone* upon earth; to Peter and Peter's successor, the Bishop of Rome, to be *governed in plenitude of power. Him alone* hath He made *Prince over all people and all kingdoms*, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume," &c. &c. [a.d. 1570.]

It is as well to bear in mind what are the real theoretical claims of the Papal supremacy, as asserted by itself.

The future of Christendom is shrouded in awful mystery. We see, however, enough in the recorded past, no less than the manifested present, to assure us that a fearful day of reckoning has yet to come between GOD and His faithless Church for her abuse of her transcendent privileges. Let us but contrast her professed character, as One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, as the Body, Spouse, Representative of CHRIST, and the Tabernacle of His SPIRIT, with her actual condition at almost any era of her history, and can we forbear to adore the long-suffering mercy of a gracious GOD, Who has not long ago "paid her that she has deserved?" Can we fail to marvel that vengeance has not burst forth long ago? We have given below[1] a few passing notices, selected almost at random, [316] picturing the

[1] Take (e.g.) Baronius' well-known description of the beginning of the 10th century, (a.d. 900,) "an age which by reason of its barrenness of good has been wont to be called the *iron* age, and by the deformity of its exuberant evil the *leaden* age" . . . . an age which witnessed "the *abomination of desolation* in the Temple of God." "To our shame be it spoken, how many *monsters horrible to behold* were intruded into that seat which is reverenced by Angels! With what filth was it her fate to be besprinkled who was without spot or wrinkle, with what stench to be infected, with what impurities to be defiled, and by these things to be blackened with perpetual infamy!" &c. Then again, (a.d. 912) "What was the face of the Holy Roman Church? How exceedingly foul! when most powerful and abandoned harlots ruled at Rome, at whose wills the Sees were changed, Bishops presented, and (what is horrid and frightful to hear) false Pontiffs, their paramours, intruded into the See of Peter . . . . Christ was then evidently in a deep sleep in the Ship, when these winds blowing so strongly, the Ship itself was covered with the waves."

In the next century we find Gregory VIIth complaining, (see his letter to Hugo, Abbot of Clunium, *Bar. An.* a.d. 1075,) that "the *Eastern* Church wanders from the Faith by the instinct of the Devil." . . . . "And when I regard either the *West*, *South*, or *North*, I find *scarcely any* Bishops who are lawful either in institution or mode of life, who govern the Christian people from love of Christ and not from secular ambition."

In the following century, (notwithstanding the great reformation effected by Hildebrand,) we gather from the stirring sermons of S. Bernard, a frightful picture of the corrupt state of the Church, the more widely diffused the more incurable; the more internal the more deadly." "All ministers of Christ; and all *servants of Antichrist*." (*In Cantica. Serm.* 33.) John of Salisbury gives a precisely similar account at the close of the same century.

In the ensuing century, (a.d. 1241,) we find Matthew Paris writing: "At that time the insatiable covetousness of the Roman Church, confounding right and wrong, reached such a height, that laying aside modesty, she, *like a common and shameless harlot, ready to be hired*, and exposed to all, esteemed usury a trifling evil, simony none at all."

No wonder that we now begin to find the Apocalyptic Harlot boldly identified with the then carnal Church. The parallel between the two is drawn with fearful power in the Postills of the Franciscan, Peter John of Olivi. "The Church," he writes, "publicly and most impudently plays the harlot away from her Spouse CHRIST. She has made both herself and all her subject-people drunk with the foul and carnal joys, simoniacal gratifications, and the vain pomp and glory of the world." Again: "She is called the Great Harlot, because departing from the faithful service and true love of CHRIST her Spouse, she clings to the riches and pleasures of the world, and herein to the Devil."

The Sonnets of Petrarch, (vid. P. i., Son. 107,) and the Revelations of S. Bridget (e.g. Lib. i., c. 41; iv. 33,) alike give testimony, in the next century', to the wide-spread and appalling corruption of the Church.

The 15th century opens with the Council of Pisa, at which the abominations festering in the Church are loudly denounced by faithful men. See the speech of Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, on Ascension Day, (A.D. 1409,) who bitterly deplores the universal impurity, debauchery, and secularity of the Clergy. But, as Mosheim informs us, it is impossible to find a writer of eminence in this 15th century who does not wail over the "*miserable state of the Christian Church*," and anticipate its ruin unless GOD should interpose for its rescue. The close of this century brought in that monster of monsters, Alexander VI. What marvel that we find Luther then writing to Leo X. early in the ensuing century. "The Roman Church, once the holiest of all Churches, has been converted into a den of thieves the most licentious, a brothel of brothels the most abandoned: a kingdom of sin, and death, and hell; *so that even were Antichrist to come, nothing could be conceived possible to be added to her iniquities.*" See the large collection of authorities on this melancholy subject collected in *Brown's Fasiculus*. See also '*Counter Theory,*' pp. 123—151.

{*cont.*}

actual condition of the Western Church, (as this most concerns ourselves,) at two or three periods of her history; and, we repeat, can we forbear to wonder that judgment has lingered so long, that the great Harlot and Mother of Abominations has not long ago met with her terrible doom? But the LORD is merciful, "He hath long patience." The HOLY SPIRIT still strives in the Church. The number of the elect is still incomplete. "When the kernel is mature the shell is thrown off." Meanwhile, little by little—one here, another there—the LORD is gathering in His own, the meek, the lowly, the humble ones, who, when the mighty are put down from their seat, and she which has exalted *herself* is abased, shall be raised by CHRIST to share in His Kingdom, and Power, and Glory for ever. One by one, the faithful are being taken from out this troublous scene, and conveyed to their quiet resting-place in the Bosom of their LORD, waiting in thrilling bliss of expectation for their Perfection. One after another, the 'living stones,' dug out of this earthly quarry, and here hewn, squared, and polished by the sharp strokes of the wise Master-builder, are being carried to that shadowy and mysterious land, where in dim and awful silence the August Temple is rising.

Soon shall the Bride, the Holy City, be complete. Soon shall her mystic number have been made up, her last jewel added. She [317] shall be "prepared for her Husband." And then the two Witnesses shall have "*finished* their testimony;" and "the Beast shall overcome them." Their martyr life shall be exchanged for a martyr death. On earth it shall seem that there is "*not one* godly man left;" that "the faithful are extinct among the children of men." It is "night." A thick darkness veils the spiritual world; but meanwhile the "Saints are rejoicing in their beds." Christianity has been *put down*, says the world. Little thinks it, that its Morning of terrible, and exulting, and everlasting triumph is just at hand.

But as yet the Harlot rules. So long, however, as she contains any true members of the mystical Bride, for their sakes she is holy: judgment tarries; space for repentance is vouchsafed.

Who can doubt—(to bring this subject to bear on our own position)—that the troublous season of the Reformation was, in some signal sense, a loud call on Christendom to "repent and do its first works"—a convulsive struggle on the part of the SPIRIT of LIFE in the Church to free itself from the loathsome incubus of death and corruption, of adulterous Faith and Practice which weighed it down? Would that the call had been heeded—the golden opportunity seized! That the great Movement which took place in this country, despite its acknowledged imperfections, was yet a genuine effort on the part of the Branch of the Church in these realms to recover herself from her fornication, to regain, if it might be, her lost purity, to conform herself to her pristine model, to disentangle her Apostolic Faith from the modern speculations, which, "while men slept," had, little by little, intertwined themselves around and amongst it, to detach the "commandments of GOD," which she had received to hold, from the "traditions of men," which virtually voided and nullified them, it were infidel blindness to doubt. The warning voice which throughout the whole of this age is continually sounding, "Come out of her, My people;" "Be ye separate and touch not the unclean thing," was then heard aloft, ringing loud and clear. She heeded the voice, and set herself with energy to purge her from her harlotry, to "come out of the Harlot"—*qua* Harlot—to purify those very sources of the Faith, which, vitiated by earthly accretions, sent fourth streams of practice foul and unwholesome.

Painful as this subject of Church History is to contemplate, it is not the less useful occasionally to be reminded of it.

Arduous and difficult was the task.—Herself paralysed by long unfaithfulness—enemies on all sides assailing her. Through GOD'S mysterious Providence the work was achieved. But her position was necessarily rendered critical and difficult in the extreme. Cast off by her Western Sister because she determinately refused. to obey man rather than GOD. Tottering, crippled, enfeebled, isolated; how is it she has not long ago fallen to pieces and come to nought? Had the Reformation really been a fatal error or a *schism* on her part, it *must have been so*. But what is the case?
[318]
The author of the Theory of Development shall speak.

> "Heretical and schismatical bodies cannot keep life; they gradually become cold, stiff, and insensible. They may do some energetic work *at first* from excitement, or *remaining warmth* . . . but, whatever their promise at first, whatever their struggles, they gradually and surely tend not to be . . . Now if there ever were a Church on whom the experiment has been tried, whether it had *life* in it or not, the English is that one. For three centuries it has endured all vicissitudes of fortune. It has endured in trouble and prosperity, under seduction and under oppression. It has been practised upon by theorists, browbeaten by sophists, intimidated by princes, *betrayed by false sons*, laid waste by tyranny, corrupted by wealth, torn by schism, persecuted by fanaticism. Revolutions have come upon it sharply and suddenly, to and fro, hot and cold, as if to try what it was made of . . . . Yet what has been its career *upon the whole*? which way has it been moving through three hundred years? . . . . *Every act, every crisis* which marks its course has been UPWARD . . . . Look too at the internal state of the Church: much that is melancholy is there, strife, division, error. But still there is *life*. And, we humbly trust, a Heavenly Principle after all which is struggling towards development, and *gives presage of truth and holiness to come*. Look to the *daughter* Churches of England. Shall one that is barren bear a child in her old age? Yet 'the barren hath borne seven.' Schismatic branches put out their leaves at once in an expiring effort. Our Church has waited three centuries; and then *blossoms, like Aaron's rod*, *budding and blooming and bearing fruit*. Surely she has 'Notes' enough . . . . the Note of *life*, a tough life and a vigorous. She has *ancient descent, unbroken continuance, agreement in doctrine with the ancient Church*,"[1] &c. &c.

We have been compelled from want of space greatly to mutilate this striking passage, which we have quoted as introductory to a question of intense interest to ourselves namely:—What may we humbly conceive to be the secret Mission; what, therefore, the particular duties and dangers of our own Church? That GOD is manifestly preparing us for *something*—whether for doing or for suffering—it is impossible to doubt. If only our unfaithfulness, restlessness, wilfulness, be not permitted to frustrate His merciful intentions towards us.

Dr Auberlen thoughtfully remarks, in reference to the Second Advent, that "The LORD cannot come to judge Christendom *till He has given again an opportunity of* hearing His Gospel proclaimed faithfully and *purely*." (p. 378.)

Is this then the Mission of our Church? Is it for this, she has been undergoing this long probation, this weary and protracted discipline? "At evening time it shall be light." It is immediately before the judgment on the Harlot that an Angel is seen flying through mid heaven bearing "the Everlasting Gospel" to all them [319] that dwell on the earth. (Rev.

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[1] See "A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford." 1841. Pp. 35—40.

xiv. 6—8.) "This Gospel of the Kingdom," said our LORD, "shall *first* be preached in all the world *for a witness* to the nations; and *then* shall the end come." Even as it is just before the dread judgment denounced on haughty self-satisfied Laodicea, that the cheering words are uttered to the Church of Philadelphia: "I have set before thee *an open door*: and no man can shut it: for thou hast *a little strength*, mid hast *kept My Word*, and hast not denied My Name."[1] Yes: "a great door and effectual" is again to be "opened" to the heathen world ere CHRIST returns; and again, as before, there will be found "many adversaries." The Gospel message has been lightly regarded in the "streets and lanes of the Great City;" one has preferred "his farm, another his *merchandize*;" the King's ambassadors are now to be sent into the 'by-ways and hedges,' the remotest corners of the earth, that the number of the guests may be made up, and the House be filled. And the message must be no *new* message; but "*that which we have heard from the beginning.*"

"Apocalyptic Prophecy is approaching its fulfilment." Perilous times are drawing near. But "GOD will give Apostolic knowledge for Apostolic times and struggles." Oh ! is it for this, the Church of England is secretly preparing; to stand out, as well in Christendom as throughout Heathendom, as GOD'S faithful Witness in the latter days? Is she learning afresh the old well-tried Apostolic Faith to fit her for times of more than Apostolic trouble? Has she been clearing off the rust and defilement from the 'Armour of GOD' which has been left her, to enable her to encounter with success the Hosts of Hell? Is it to be her lofty privilege to nurture the Martyrs of the 'last time'—the martyrs on whom the Beast shall vent his fury, and with whose blood the imperious Harlot shall yet be drunk? GOD knoweth.

But, say some, the tendency of the present Movement in the Anglican Church, and the one great issue to be thence looked and prayed for, is re-union with her Western Sister, and through her with the rest of Christendom. "Depend upon it," said a member of the Society of Jesus to the writer, the other day—"the only chance of your Church weathering the storm of infidelity which is lowering over her, is her dutiful *submission* once again to Rome." And the same view, we regret to see, is being sedulously and inconsiderately propagated in many quarters, even amongst ourselves. But what?—we are bound to ask—Is unity more valuable than truth? Is a hollow, compromising, craven-hearted uniformity a greater prize to be sought after than a pure primitive Faith? Is the Church built upon the Faith, or the Faith dependent upon the changing phases of the Church? Was Arianism more true when all Christendom was infected by it? Was the faith less the faith [320] when it was witnessed to by well-nigh and Athanasius alone? As the Church did not make the Faith, so neither can she alter it. Not one iota can she add to or subtract from it, without ceasing in that proportion to be truly the Church, and forfeiting the blessings promised to the Church. Now the *distinctive* tenets of Rome are either Catholic and Apostolic, and therefore true; or they are neither the one nor the other, and therefore false. If they can be demonstrated to have formed a part of the original Deposit, and to have been held as such by the Primitive Church; in GOD'S Name let us embrace them at once: in which case union with Rome will necessarily ensue. But if we fail to establish their claims; then, even though East and West combine in embracing them and pressing them on our acceptance—if GOD be true, we shall be infinitely stronger and more invincible, isolated, protesting, anathematized, than were we to compromise the *smallest particle* of Truth for expediency, or purchase a visionary union by cutting ourselves off, in so far, from the Everlasting Source and Centre of Unity.

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[1] See the very interesting chapter on the Church in Philadelphia in Mr. Chamberlain's "*Seven Ages of the Church.*"

That GOD is gently and gradually leading us on, in His own all-wise and secret way—as we are able to bear it—towards a fuller apprehension of catholic truth, a deeper sense of our responsibilities and miserable shortcomings, an increased earnestness and self-denial,—that He is stirring up among us more reverent longings to know and conform ourselves to His revealed will, we humbly and trustfully believe. But are we being therefore brought any nearer to Rome as she now is? Are we a whit more likely to hold and submissively acknowledge, that "obedience to the Bishop of Rome, on the part of every human creature, is *omnino de necessitate salutis*?" Are we any nearer believing that when our Blessed LORD has left a solemn injunction to His Church, "*Drink ye all of this*," reiterating the command through His Apostle, confirming it by the practice of His holy universal Church in her public eucharistic services for 1200 years, this command may be deliberately set at nought? that we may with impunity reject that Holy Gift which the Head of the Church declared to be the "True Drink" of His mystical Body, and *necessary* to its spiritual health, simply because Rome arrogates to herself to pronounce that it is *not* necessary?

Are we likely to look more favourably on Rome's modern revelations respecting the position of S. Mary in the economy of grace? Are we any more disposed to embrace this 'new Gospel' (Gal. i. 8) ourselves, or to go and "tell it out among the heathen:"—that "no one can partake of CHRIST'S Blood save through the intercession of Mary;" that "*all* gifts, virtues, graces are dispensed through *her* hands, to *whom she wills, when she wills,* and *how she wills*;" that "it is impossible for those who neglect the devotion of the blessed Virgin to be saved;" that "she is the most true mediatrix between GOD and man," the "great Peace-maker;" that [321] "we shall often be heard more quickly if we have recourse to Mary, and call on *her* holy name, than if we called on the Name of Jesus!"[1] Is our catholic revival, we repeat, bringing us any nearer to the admission of these and other kindred 'developments' of Primitive Christianity, and so to union with Rome? We earnestly believe that the very reverse is the case; and that, notwithstanding the generous hopes of certain of our youthful enthusiasts, restoration of visible communion between the two Churches is farther off than ever. Surely the more we advance in Apostolic Christianity, the more thoroughly we are penetrated by the stern realities, the awful and soul-subduing mysteries, of the Catholic Faith, the more deep and solemn *must* be our protest against the uncatholic innovations of Rome,—especially that seductively elaborated system of emasculate and sentimental devotion whereof the Blessed Virgin forms the centre; which with its appalling power of fascination is bidding fair, like some deadly canker, to eat out the very heart of Western Christianity, and leave it like the apples of Sodom, fair and beautiful to look at, dust and ashes within.

No; we cannot afford to waste our energies, or delude ourselves and others, by indulging in visionary dreams of reunion with Rome. We have other work to do. We have to strive after the restoration of discipline amongst ourselves.

Here is our great practical need. Here is a subject demanding most prayerful caution, most wise untiring vigilance. GOD has given us our position; our duty is to make the *best of it*. Here we are patiently to abide with HIM; leaving the *future* to His All-wise and merciful Providence; contentedly working on for the *present*. Not restlessly sighing after a visible unity which HE who in infinite wisdom has permitted it to be broken can alone restore; but bravely, trustfully, contentedly working on where He has placed us, endeavouring to make the fullest use of all the appliances of grace which have been left us: not querulously

[1] See "Glories of Mary," *passim*.

yearning or wilfully grasping after what is not *legitimately* within our reach, nor impatiently trying to *hurry on* the orderly course of that loving Providence which is so tenderly watching over our revival; but reverently and cheerfully, "in quietness and confidence," using that which we have. "We can bear no *sudden* restoration,"—(would that some of our impetuous revivalists would ponder these words of deep *practical* wisdom of Dr Pusey,)—"but in this and all things we need but patiently to wait for His Hand, who is so graciously and wonderfully restoring us . . . All will be well with our Church *if man outruns not by his impatience the deep orderly movements of the Spirit of God.*"[1]

But we must draw to an end.
[322]
And as we have been presuming to touch on the subject of unfulfilled Prophecy, let us venture to conclude with a caution which seems suggested to us by the points which have come under review.

If we ask any number of English churchmen in what quarter lies the danger which most imminently threatens our Church, we shall receive three different answers. One party will assure us that our greatest danger is from the side of *Rome*: that she is deluding us, and flattering us; that we are wilfully shutting our eyes to all her false teaching and uncatholic tenets; and we are about to allow ourselves to be blindly ensnared within he net. Another party will tell us, that *Rationalism* is our greatest object of dread,—Rationalism, preparing the way for open infidelity: they will tell us that *broad church* views are spreading far and wide; that all definiteness of faith is disappearing; that Germanism is on the ascendant; and that hither ought all our energies of resistance to be directed. A third party will assure us that it is on the side of *State encroachment* that our real danger lies: that *Worldliness* is our great adversary, whether in the form of secularism or Erastrianism; that Parliamentary influence and tyranny is the one monster bane of our Church.

Now we frankly confess, it appears to us that we are threatened by *real* dangers in *all* these quarters; on the side of Pharisaism, Sadduceism, and Herodianism; and that it is infatuation to ignore or disparage any one of the three.

But the point we wish to notice is, that (if we read the Apocalypse aright) these are precisely the three classes of enemies we are prepared to expect:—the Harlot, or false Church; the Beast, or power of the World; the False Prophet, or intellectualism; earthly, natural, demoniacal *wisdom*.[2]

But these three Antagonists are the Witnesses assailed. Their faithful testimony arouses the malignant attention of the great Enemy. It disconcerts him. He applies himself to frustrate it; and in each of these directions sets his emissaries at work. And for a time he is terribly successful. "Many of understanding fall to try others by them." But his seductions at last begin to lose their effect on the well-tried faith of the Woman's Seed. Many hold fast their integrity. And it is their uncompromising attitude; their bold and simple proclamation of the 'Faith once delivered;' their open denunciations of worldliness; their unflinching maintenance of the mysteries of their Holy Religion despite the infidel sneers of the 'wise and prudent;' which at last arouses the open and bitter hostility of all the powers of evil. The False Church [323] (whose self-asserting claims seem at last to have been well-nigh

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[1] See Dr. Pusey's admirable Sermon on "The entire absolution of the penitent," pp. 49, 50.

[2] It is to be observed, that after the Woman has been herself corrupted by the pernicious influence of the two Beasts, and become a Harlot, she, in her turn, becomes a Tempter, distinct from the other two. Her seductions are the more dangerous as combining *spiritual* elements. She poisons GOD'S people not with worldliness *as such*, or the 'wisdom of the world' as such, but with adulterated Christianity.

universally recognized) cannot endure that her authority should be here stoutly repudiated. The World cannot and will not tolerate that Christian men should presume to have a conscience, and dare to place any Law higher than "the Statute Law of the land." The 'wise men after the flesh' are cut to the quick to find their 'wisdom' calmly accounted 'folly,' and reason set at nought by Faith. Seduction gives place to persecution. "These men must be put down," is the universal cry. "They are heretics;" "They forbid to give tribute to Cæsar;" "They are arrogant fanatics." And now ensues the unholy league. Jerusalem again combines with heathen Rome in putting to death the SAVIOUR. Here is the culminating act of the monstrous 'Confusion:'—The World and the Church linked together in crucifying CHRIST. HIS "open adversary," and His "own familiar friend who ate of His table" united in a diabolical crusade against Himself, and glutted with the blood of His own members!

But we must not proceed.

Let it but be our care with steady eye and hand to meet our several foes, and not think of opposing one by rushing into the arms of another. The dangers of our position are manifold and complicated. Our every step is fraught with peril; false friends and open foes surrounding us on all sides. Still, 'greater are they that are with us than they that arc against us.' If we would indeed stand forth as CHRIST'S faithful Witnesses, it must be ours to maintain constant communion with HIM, ever looking into His Blessed Countenance, pondering over His written Word, learning of HIM, taking up our cross and following HIM. So, in His Light shall we see Light, and be endued with a "Wisdom and a Power which none of our adversaries shall be able to gainsay or resist."

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 20. (Joseph Masters: London, 1858)

[433] THE VOICE OF THE LAST PROPHET

The voice of the last Prophet. A Practical Interpretation of the Apocalypse.
By the Rev. EDWARD HUNTINGFORD, D.C.L., late Fellow of New College, Oxford.
London: William Skeffington. 1858

We have here another work on the Apocalypse.

Though unable to endorse the Author's own estimate of his labours as expressed in a somewhat pretentious and unpromising preface, we yet gladly accord the book the merit of originality and ability. It is written in a clear, vigorous, and interesting style; and, though but small in compass, has evidently been the result of much patient thought and conscientious labour. As the Author distinctly disclaims writing for "the student," and only professes to address himself to the "sensible and practical Christian reader," we ought not, perhaps, to complain of rather a loose way of dealing with the Inspired text. His object, however, is not to explain and examine the language of S. John, but rather to furnish a general view of the interpretation of the whole book. He assures us, with honest self-complacence, that his is the only consistent scheme of interpretation of the entire Book of the Revelation that has ever yet been offered; that it has been patiently and independently worked out, and that he doubts not it will commend itself to all candid readers as, in the main, correct.

But we will proceed to take a hasty glance at a few of the points in Dr, Huntingford's scheme of interpretation.

His explanation of the seven Epistles calls for no remark. He treats them but slightly, regarding them merely in their practical bearing as containing warnings and consolations for the Church in all times; and singularly enough, postpones their consideration till nearly the close of his work, (pp. 345—353,) with a view, we suppose, of being enabled thereby to point out more clearly the allusions contained in them to other portions of the Apocalypse.

The chapters, from the 4th to the 19th inclusive, he treats as a whole; regarding them as one continuous dramatic Allegory, consisting of many separate acts and scenes, which he designates, "The Allegory of the Rider on the White Horse."

He supposes it to commence with the opening of the first seal—immediately after S. John's rapture into Heaven. Here we have introduced to us the Divine Hero of the Drama—the Solitary Rider—mounted on a White Horse, a bow in His hand, a victor's wreath on his brow, issuing forth on His eventful career, "conquering and to conquer." The final scene of the Allegory he conceives to be represented in Rev. xix. 11, &c.: "I saw Heaven [434] opened, and behold a White Horse: and He that sat upon him was called Faithful and True. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on His head were many crowns... and His Name was called the Word of God. And the armies which were in Heaven followed Him upon White Horses... and He hath on His vesture and on His thigh a Name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords."

This Allegory contains a series of connected visions, embracing the 7 seals, 7 trumpets, 7 vials, together with other parenthetic visions of an explanatory or supplementary character. Its leading subject is "the warfare and final victory of the Rider on the White Horse; or, in plainer language, the warfare of Christ with Satan, the struggles of Christianity with the world."—p. 35.

The two sequences of Seals and Trumpets are treated by Dr Huntingford in a very interesting and able manner. The former, (pp. 30—73,) he regards, generally, as unfolding the prophetic future of the Church; the idea being that of a book, or sealed scroll, "the seven seals of which are opened successively, and the contents of the volumes thereby disclosed in order to the Apostle." The Church's career is here revealed to us; her bright commencement, and sad progressive deterioration; the persecution of the holy souls within her who from time to time witness against her departures from primitive faith and practice; and the terrible events of the "great Day of Wrath." The Trumpets, (pp. 76—143,) he regards as the successive warning-notes of judgment wherewith God has from time to time startled the Church and the world. They are "judgments which fall upon some for not accepting, and on others for corrupting the pure doctrines of Christ's Holy Religion."

His Exposition of the 12th chapter, containing the Vision of the Sun-clothed Woman and her old enemy the Dragon, is carefully and ably worked out. We are quite unwilling, however; to accept his assertion, that "Michael and his Angels" signify "Christ and His Saints."

In his interpretation of the symbol of the "Beast from the sea," (c. xiii.) he adopts, what we conceive to be, the only admissible explanation, which regards it as the Personification of the God-opposing Power of the World; its successive heads beings the several evolutions of that Power, or great World-Kingdoms, as they have appeared one after another on the stage of history.

With regard to the Harlot Babylon, our Author seems clearly to recognize the adverse and antithetical relation subsisting between her and the Mystic Jerusalem: on one side the pure woman, on the other the defiled—the Bride and the Harlot, the Holy City and the faithless City, Jerusalem and Babylon. Still, after distinctly pointing out this, it is by no means clear on what grounds he so constantly speaks of Babylon as the actual "*City* [435] of Rome," "Rome Papal." He himself has shown, and that very clearly, that Babylon and Jerusalem are equally œcumenical in their signification, and therefore, that the idea of a *literal* city in either case is equally untenable. Hence we are quite at a loss to account for the apparent confusion of thought, that permits him, again and again, notwith-standing all himself has written, to speak of Babylon as the "*City* of Rome." He may, however, be right thus far: that, Rome claiming to be the centre and Metropolis of Christendom, there may unquestionably be some particular allusion to her, independently of the more general reference to the whole of the secularised Church. We think, however, that this confused explanation of the Woman Babylon seriously injures other parts of our Author's scheme of interpretation. Thus (e.g.) he invariably speaks of the Euphrates—the river of Babylon—as symbolizing the "popular support" now given to *Rome*, (p. 305.) Why only to Rome?

With regard to the symbol of the Beast from the earth, or False Prophet, Dr Huntingford appears to us to narrow unwarrantably its scope and significance, by confining its reference to the Pope.

To a limited extent, and in a certain secondary sense, we might perhaps admit the correctness of the interpretation. The False prophet is the spiritual ally of the Beast; his devoted attendant, and the secret source of his stability and power. Hence, during the present stage of the world's history, while the Beast itself is externally Christian, the Pope may be considered as the visible, persona1 representative of the spiritual Power. In a later stage of the Church's downward progress, we find her realizing the terrible image of Babylon, "the Mother of Harlots and abominations," and showing herself the active and overt ally of the now well-nigh un-Christianized and anti-Christian World Power. Like the "salt," she has "lost her savour;" she has failed in keeping the world from rapid

deterioration and decay; and now, in judicial retribution, she is about to be destroyed by the world, being in her LORD'S stern language, "henceforth good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men." It is only when this destruction of Babylon has taken place, and the kingdom of Antichrist is rising out of its ruins, that the False Prophet officially succeeds to the place once occupied by the Harlot, and enters actively upon the career of wickedness predicted for him in the Apocalypse.

His history seems to be as follows.

It is well known that amongst the three great classes of Apocalyptic Expositors, Præterists, Presentists, (if such a term is admissible,) and Futurists, three distinct explanations of this symbol are offered.

The first class, among whom we may mention such names as Bossuet, the late Archdeacon Wilberforce, Hengstenberg, with [436]many others, regard him as a personification of ancient Pagan Philosophy, an embodiment of the *Religion* of old Rome.

The second class—among whom we may rank our Author, although he is far in advance of the ordinary type of the class—consider him to represent the corrupt Church, (special reference being had to the Roman Communion,) of the present day.

The third class, the school of Dr Todd, Dr Maitland, &c., regard him as the High Priest, or Priesthood, of the still future Antichrist.

Now it appears plain to ourselves that there is reason in all these interpretations. The fact being, (as we have suggested in these pages before,[1]) that as the World Power itself passes through its three predicted stages of Heathen, Christian, and Antichristian, (represented as the Beast from the "*Sea*;" the Beast "*wounded to death*;" the Beast from the "*Abyss*;") its spiritual ally will necessarily undergo a similar transformation. We have now Satan at work *in* the Church, and *through* the Church, clad as an Angel of Light, seeking to corrupt the Church's Faith, mutilating or developing (as the case may be,) her Sacred Deposit; acting the part of the old false Prophet at Bethel, and teaching that the explicit commands of GOD must give way to the fancied authority of some subsequent revelation. ("I am a Prophet as thou art; and an *Angel* said unto *me*," &c.)

It is evident, however, that the fearful description of this Enemy, the "Beast from the earth," as recorded in the 13th chapter, cannot be fully realized till he appears in his final and Antichristian stage of development.

It is when the deadly wound of the first Beast is being healed; when the Monster, once seemingly dispossessed and humanized, is regaining his proper *bestial* nature: when the Beast, designated now by the enigmatical title, "*an eighth*," to symbolize its terrible Resurrection and Re-possession, is rising from the Abyss, reinforced with new powers from Hell, and tenanted by seven other spirits more wicked than that which of old held it in thrall; it is then that the False Prophet, in his true character, appears upon the arena. What will be his particular form, or mode of manifestation, its seems presumptuous to imagine. We may merely assume thus far: that in him we see an embodiment of the various supernatural agencies; an ideal, (possibly a *real*,) head of that vast array of "false Prophets showing great signs and wonders," coming in with "all deceivableness of unrighteousness," by means of which the future World-King will be enabled to maintain, during the foreordained period, his absolute and undisputed sway over the bodies and souls

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[1] See *Ecclesiastic*. June, 1857. P. 283. ϕ 'Auberlen on Daniel and the Apocalypse', at p. 259 *supra*.

of men, as the one manifested object of civil and religious adoration on the part of "all the world whose names are not written in the Book of Life."
[437]
In connection with this symbol, we must express our inability to accept Dr Huntingford's solution of another, closely related to it—the very mysterious symbol of the "Image of the Beas." He identifies it with "the Revived Western Roman Empire; the Holy Roman Empire which commenced in the person of Charlemagne."

As our Author is by no means singular in his interpretation, and maintains his point (as is generally the case with him throughout the Book,) with considerable ability, it is worth while adding a few words on the subject.

And here, it seems at once plain that if, as himself appears to acknowledge, the "Beast" of the Revelation represents the World Power in its abstract universality, we cannot confine the corresponding symbol, "the *Image* of the Beast," merely to a *partial* revivification of *one* of the Monster's heads.

That Rome was the 6th head of the Beast we agree with our Author. That it was, therefore, the reigning head in S. John's time, and the visible representative to him of the World Power, and, as such, is alluded to in some special manner, we likewise fully admit. Nor can we doubt the abstract propriety of the application of such an expression as the "*Image* of Old Rome," or "Image of the Beast," to the revived Empire of the Middle Ages.

Still further, we cannot question that other seeming requirements of the Prophecy are in a measure met by this interpretation. The Image of the Beast is represented as owing its being, vitality, and continuance to the Spiritual Power which supports it; even as (Dr Huntingford reminds us,) it was the Pope to whom this New Roman Empire owed its life and consolidation. He recalls to us the august ceremonial of the Coronation of the first representative of this new dynasty of Cæsars; the symbol of royalty placed on his head by Leo himself; the air meanwhile resounding with the joyous acclamations, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious *Augustus*, *crowned of God*, *the great pacific Emperor of the Romans.*" And here, he insists, we see a visible fulfilment of the predictions that the "False Prophet" should "give life to the Image of the Beast."

Now that all this *may* come within the comprehensive scope of the Prophecy, as one of its partial precursive fulfilments, as a faint shadow of a more terrible fulfilment in future times, we are far from disputing. But that it exhausts the meaning of the prediction, or constitutes in any sense its *primary* reference, we must emphatically deny; and for this additional reason, above all others: the Beast in the Apocalypse is the *God-opposing* Power of the World, the *avowed* Antagonist to CHRIST: hence it is obviously necessary that the Beast's Image, or personal representative, should possess a like character. Now in Heathen Rome the [438] Beast exhibited itself in its true character as GOD'S open enemy. But when the Empire became Christian, and the World began to side with the Church, and persecution ceased, the Beast lost for a time its proper nature, or, in S. John's language, became "wounded to death;" so that for a long term of years the Beast, *as Beast*, is scarcely discernible. Hence we can never admit that any evolution of the World Power, during this its prostrate and unnatural condition, can really fulfil the awful requirements of the symbol in question.

No, it seems evident that, as yet, this Image has not appeared. The Beast has had many *heads*: he has undergone, that is, many successive modifications and developments; and his last, ten-crowned, Antichristian Head is yet to appear. But his one perfect *Image* has never yet been manifested; by which we understand, some individual embodiment and personification of all his concentrated energy and impiety. Such an one is yet to rise. A

Personal Image of the invisible Prince of the world is to be revealed, as the antagonist of the "Image of the invisible GOD." But an individual Prince of the world has never yet been seen. The world has never yet beheld any *absolute* universal monarchy. For there has been no one principle of coherence as yet developed and universally diffused, sufficiently active and constraining to draw and absorb into itself all the conflicting interests of mankind, and weld together in one consolidated mass all the separate fragments of the vast mundane empire. No phase of heathenism has been sufficiently energetic or sell-consistent to effect such a concentration. The only Power that *is* capable of knitting together in one unbroken and *permanent* communion, under one Head, the universal family of man—yea, "all things in Heaven and earth," has never yet been brought fully to bear upon mankind. The Organ through which it was to be diffused throughout the world has itself failed in performing its sacred functions. An Election, it is true, is being continually called *out* of the world, and being incorporated into that Kingdom which is yet to "fill the whole earth,' (Dan. ii. 35;) but the world, *as such*, has never been penetrated by Christianity; and hence, the kingdoms of this world have not yet become the everlasting Kingdom of our LORD CHRIST. The diluted, nominal, partially diffused Christianity of the middle ages was utterly powerless to gather into one, through its attractive and assimilative influence, all the kingdoms of the earth. Worldly Christianity, like "the double-minded man," is "unstable in all its ways;" it is inconsistent, and therefore weak. For a short time, however, *one* Principle shall be let loose which shall be found possessed of the requisite energy and consistency to effect for a *brief* period the union now contemplated—active, diabolic, all-pervading *Antichristianity*. Silently and stealthily this Principle is even now diffusing itself, despite the feeble counteracting influences [439] brought to bear against it by the Church. The "Mystery of Iniquity" is actively at work; at present mainly under the very cloke of Christianity itself. By little and little it will gain strength; increasing in potency as the world's twilight grows on apace, and the spirits of darkness begin to issue from their lurking-places, the "predicatores Antichristi," the "ministers and stewards of his mysteries," sent "to prepare the way before" the Man of Sin.

And they will "go on and prosper." Like the devastating swarms of scorpion-locusts issuing out of the Bottomless Pit,[1] by reason of whom "the sun and the air are darkened," they will spread their pestilential tenets far and wide, inflicting their deadly sting on all "who have not the seal of the living GOD" firmly impressed "upon their foreheads." False Babylon, who has ever tried to rule the world by conforming to the world, will be compelled to advance with the movement; prostituting herself to the restless World Power ever more and more unblushingly.

Times of fearful revolution will ensue; the very earth heaving to and fro through the power of this mighty Influence, whereby it is being gradually impregnated; the ten Antichristian Kings[2] striving with each other for mastery; "nation rising against nation, and kingdom

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[1] See the Fifth Trumpet, (c, ix. 1—12,) which seems to point to these "seducing spirits," and to the "evil men and seducers," who shall be their instruments. ϕ Dykes's grandfather used the 'bottomless pit' as a metaphor for the Oxford Movement, 'which threatens to shed darkness over the whole land'. (King, J. *Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Dykes LL.B* (Seeleys; London, 1849) pp. 207—208) We may confidently assume that the grandson would have deprecated the use of any metaphor which equated Keble, Newman, Pusey *et al* with the '*predicatores Antichristi*'.

[2] In other words, the ten crowned Horns of the *seventh* Head of the Beast; which Head just springs to maturity, shoots forth its horns, enjoys a short-lived divided existence, and is absorbed, together with its Six pre-decessors, into the One universal Empire of Antichrist. Dr. Huntingford uniformly identifies these Ten Kings with the Christian Kingdoms of Modern Europe—the dismembered fragments of the Roman Empire. To a certain extent this is correct. Still, we must not forget what the Angel says, "they have received *no* kingdom *as yet*; but shall receive it at the same time as the Beast." In other words: so {*cont.*}

against kingdom;" till, at last, one all-controlling interest succeeds in uniting the Rulers of earth in impious combination—namely, bitter, *active* hostility against GOD and Christianity.

The Sixth Trumpet blast is blown. All providential restraints, are judicially removed. The "four Angels bound at Euphrates" are loosed. Babylon is seized upon by the infuriated Kings. The Harlot's flesh is torn to pieces, and her mutilated remains burnt with fire. False Christendom becomes "the habitation of demons, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." The Restrainer is removed; the Evil Spirit thoroughly disenthralled; and now, out of the surging, heaving mass, the Despotism of Antichrist emerges. The Name of GOD [440] and CHRIST is repudiated; and on this awful basis, of *negation of* GOD, (cf. Ps. liii.,) is the World Kingdom established. The world will make its own GOD, "Quem creant adorant." The Idol of the people—the Coming Man, whom the world is even now instinctively sighing after—is set up as GOD and King; "sitting in the Temple of GOD, showing himself that he is GOD."

The express Image and Representative of Worldliness in its innermost essence, this is enthroned in the person of Antichrist. And to it "all peoples and nations and languages" fall down and offer worship. And thus it is that the False Prophet "gives life to the Image of the Beast." By his teaching, he has "prepared the way before him." The universal diffusion of Antichristian Principles has trained men to accept a Personal Antichrist. The world sets him up as its own Image; and worships the work of its own hands. It worships *itself* in him. Or rather, (for we must go a step deeper,) it worships *Satan* the invisible Prince of the World; who himself reminds us that the grant of "all the Kingdoms of the World and their glory," is annexed to one condition—worship of *him*.[1] This, then, is the secret principle which is to bind men together! Here we see what worldliness is in its essence!

It will be borne in mind that, till CHRIST had appeared, Anti-christianity could not exist. It involves a deeper fall, and more terrible sin, than could have been committed, had not the Redeemer died, and the HOLY SPIRIT been given. It is essentially, "blasphemy against the HOLY GHOST." Hence the Antichrist himself, of whatever nation sprung, (whether Jew, as maintained by many, or European,) *must* have been once a believer in CHRIST, and *baptized in the Name of the* HOLY TRINITY.

We have parted with our Author, and must return to him for a moment to remark that, although throughout his book he explains the Image of the Beast as the Empire of the Middle Ages, still, in two passages, he rises above that narrow interpretation. Thus he writes:

> "This Image, to which the Pope gave life, came to an end after having lasted a thousand years. But the same claim to universal dominion was set up by Napoleon. And it is in this claim to universal dominion that the likeness to old Rome consists. Any Prince in Christendom who strives to gain *universal dominion*, identifies himself thereby with . . . the Image of the beast."—P. 266.

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long as they remain *Christian*, their proper *bestial* kingdom does not come. It is only when the World Power as a whole is arousing from its state of torpor and death, and is becoming Antichristian, that the *proper reign* of these Kings (who, *together*, seem to constitute the *seventh* Head of the Beast,) commences. Thus they are contemporary with Antichrist, and jointly constitute the Antichristian Kingdom in its first, or divided stage. They subsequently, (after the destruction of Babylon,) lose their independent sovereignty, and are merged into the despotism of the Personal Antichrist.

[1] "All power will I give Thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and *to whomsoever I will give it. If Thou therefore will worship me*, all shall be Thine." S. Luke iv. 6,7.

And again, in a sentence which we accept more cordially:

> "S. Paul's Man of Sin cannot be the Pope. He is rather the Beast to whom is given a mouth speaking great things; the great Head of [441] the world Power; the last great *Image* of ancient Rome who shall fight against the LAMB."—p. 293.[1]

We consider Dr Huntingford's explanation of the Seven Vials, the least satisfactory portion of his work. He regards them all, except the two last, as having been already poured out upon Christendom.

Is it not rather plain that they are all still future; that they represent the successive judgments, poured out in answer to the prayers of the "two Witnesses," upon the Kingdom of Antichrist?

We think that a comparison of c. xvi. (containing the description of the Vials,) with c. xi. 3—10, and also with Ps. 79, will go far to prove this; although the real clue to the progressive order of events in this as in other parts of the Apocalypse is, beyond measure, difficult to discover. It is only by constantly recurring to the same points, comparing the parallel parts of the successive visions again and again, taking advantage of all discovered failures and mistakes on the part of ourselves or others, not being ashamed to part with some favourite interpretation, and being content to [442] [412] remain in humble, teachable ignorance of a great deal, that we can make any progress in this most difficult and mysterious Book.

Dr Huntingford follows Professor Hengstenberg in his interpretation of chap. xx.; regarding the thousand years of Satan's incarceration as the thousand years of the Church's

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[1] It should not be forgotten that, as it would be impossible for any Prince of Christendom to obtain universal Supremacy without the aid of the Church, it *must* be through her outward instrumentality (as Holy Scripture seems to intimate,) that the future World King will succeed, in the first instance, in winning his way to Power and Dominion. Hence he will doubtless appear, for a time, the great Champion of the Church, the most devoted of her sons; craftily enlisting, in turn, in his own behalf, her energetic sympathy and zealous support; blinding her, the while, by his obsequious flatteries, and seducing her to her ruin.

Let the Church beware of any second Charlemagne—of the "Monarcha fortis,", from whose chivalrous patronage the *Union* anticipates such glorious results.

The Church's day of triumph has yet to come: but it will not be brought about (as Satan will tempt her to believe,) by human means, or through the might of any *earthly* Potentate. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, before her Morning dawns, "the *Night* cometh." She has to pass through her Gethsemane and Calvary before she can celebrate her Easter. Further: so long as the "Mystery of Iniquity" is secretly at work *within* her, as well as in the world without, so long must her predicted season of glory be delayed. It is not till this hidden wickedness has come to a head, and the Harlot and Beast, (the embodiments of this lawless Principle in the Church and the world respectively,) have reached their maturity, and been terribly judged; not till the faithful Church has been baptized in a baptism of blood, and the piteous and agonizing cry has pierced the Eternal Throne, "There is not one godly man left:" "My GOD, my GOD, why hast Thou forsaken me!" that the "Almighty WORD leaps down from Heaven," the Millennial binding of Satan takes place, and the Church's day of exulting triumph commences.

Once more. Before the final catastrophe, a great religious revival is, doubtless, plainly predicted; which even now, appears in process of being realized. But a specious counterfeit revival seems also predicted, as existing side by side with the former, producing infinite perplexity and mischief; Satan, in the sacred garb of an "Angel of Light," secretly directing the latter. The course of the one is indicated in the words, "Thou hast a little strength, and has *kept My Word*:" of the other, in "Thou sayest, I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing." The Enemy will assuredly be sleeplessly at work to misdirect the awakened energies of the Church, or to mar her work of steady revival by stimulating it into unhealthy and feverish vitality. May our own Branch of the Church be awake to his manifold and multiform devices!

quiet establishment during the Middle Ages, extending from the times of Charlemagne till the French Revolution. Now, while fully admitting that this period of general tranquillity for the Church may be considered as *one*, very partial, fulfilment of the Prophecy, and as a dim shadow of the glorious fulfilment yet in future; still to regard this, as our Author does, as the full and adequate realization of the prediction, we confess ourselves wholly unable.

What can be clearer than that the thousand years of triumph *succeed* the 3½ years of distress; and that, of the glorious band of Martyrs and Confessors that share in the Kingdom, *they* have the highest place who have withstood Antichrist himself, and have passed through all the horrors of "*the* great tribulation." According to Dr Huntingford's theory the 1000 years either precede, or form a *part* of the 3½ years. This surely cannot be.

Our Author's great objection to placing the 1000 years, (where S. John places them,) *after* the coming of CHRIST to destroy Antichrist, is, that he cannot understand there being any "Resurrection of the just," or [Greek], prior to the general "resurrection of the dead." He seems to think that all the dread events attendant upon the Resurrection and Last Judgment must be crowded up into one literal *day*. But no, Holy Scripture seems rather to indicate that this great series of transactions will be no more simultaneous than were the first and second Advents, which, seen through the Prophetic perspective, undoubtedly seemed to comprehend but one event.

S. Paul distinctly warns us: "Every man in his own order" CHRIST the First-fruits: *afterwards* ([Greek]) they that are CHRIST'S at his [Greek]: *afterwards* ([Greek]) cometh the *end*, when He shall deliver up the kingdom," &c. We cannot throw away our cheering belief that the petition we are taught to offer day by day shall yet be fully and gloriously realized, and that "GOD'S will shall yet be done on *earth* as it is done in Heaven." "Thou hast made us kings and priests, and we shall reign on the *earth*."

We have ventured to differ in several respects from our Author. We do not the less entertain a high estimate of the general ability and value of his work.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 20. (Joseph Masters: London, 1858)

[385]THE MIRACLES OF ANTICHRIST

THE writer of the following article is desirous of not looking upon the subject simply in the light of a speculative inquiry. If the times of the last great Antichrist are to be distinguished by the performance of Satanic miracles, both unprecedented as well as stupendous in themselves, it is in the very highest degree important that the Church should accustom herself to the anticipation. She will then be able through GOD'S mercy, when the awful time does come, so to maintain her ground as not to be shaken from her confidence by any display of signs, or wonders, or prodigies, which may be used to tempt her to forsake her allegiance as the Bride of CHRIST.

Two propositions, with respect to miracles and miraculous signs, may be safely laid down. The first is, that there never has been an age since time began when they have altogether ceased. The second, that speaking both of a *Divine* interference with the ordinary laws of what is called Nature, as well as of extraordinary permitted manifestations of diabolical power, distinct from that liberty to tempt which is of ordinary course, it is quite evident that each of those, that is to say, both Divine and Satanic agencies have been far more active at some periods of the world's history than at others.

It will be unnecessary here to point out the Scripture evidence which there is, for a very great variation as to the manifestation of Divine miracles and prophecies during the Old Testament dispensation. But we shall proceed to take notice of two or three periods, in which there seems to have been an extraordinary development of Satanic activity; and which, in so far as they were characterised by a display of miraculous powers, are typical of the rising of Antichrist, and of the end of the world.

But before entering into this branch of our subject, it may be well to quote a passage from S. Gregory of Rome, which brings vividly before us what we may well call the peculiar horror and fearfulness of the latter days, that at the very time when Satanic miracles shall abound beyond all former precedent, true miraculous power shall be all but entirely withdrawn from the Church.

S. Gregory takes occasion from the words, "Want goeth before his face,"[1] (which is the Vulg. translation of Job xli. 20, in the description of leviathan), to speak as follows:—

> "With regard to our knowing that want goes before his face, there is another point for us to expound in a more melancholy manner. For by the [386] awful curse of the secret dispensation, before this Leviathan (Satan himself) appears in that accursed man whom he assumes, signs of power are withdrawn from Holy Church. For prophecy is hidden, the grace of healings is taken away, the power of longer abstinence is weakened, the words of doctrine are silent, the prodigies of miracles are removed. And though the heavenly Dispensation does not entirely withdraw them, yet it does not manifest them openly, and in manifold ways as in former times. And this is so caused by a wonderful Dispensation, in order that the Divine mercy and justice may be fulfilled together, by one and the same means. When, therefore, the humility of the faithful is deprived of the manifold manifestation of wonders, by the terrible judgment of the secret Dispensation, there is heaped up more abundant mercy for the good, and just anger for the evil by the same means. Because these signs of power cease in great measure, in Holy Church, before this Leviathan manifestly and visibly comes, it is now rightly said, 'Want shall go before his face.' For the riches of miracles are first withdrawn from the faithful, and

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[1] Faciem ejus præcedit egestas. Vulg. [Greek]. LXX. "Sorrow is turned into joy before him.". E.V.

> then that ancient enemy displays himself against them with visible prodigies, in order that as he boasts himself on his wonders, he may be overthrown more mightily and more honourably by the faithful without wonders. For though signs will not be wanting to the faithful in their contest with him, yet his will be so great, that those of our people will seem to be rather few or none at all. But their virtue doubtless becomes mightier than all signs, when it crushes with the heel of inward resolution all his terrible deeds which it beholds. But the malignant enemy displays himself against them with so much the fiercer cruelty, the more he grieves that he is despised, even with the brightness of his miracles. He, therefore, gathers himself together for their destruction, and unites all the reprobate with unanimous cruelty for the death of the faithful; in order that he may put forth his cruelty with so much greater power, in proportion as all the members of his body agree with him in the things he seeks perversely to effect."—S. Greg. Magn. Moral. III, 623, 624. Oxf. Trans.

Few, probably, but persons of ultra-montane opinions, or such as write for a party purpose, would be inclined to deny that extreme paucity of authentic miracles and prophecies in the Catholic Church, at the present day, agrees exceedingly well with what S. Gregory says in that respect with regard to the character of the times which shall immediately precede the coming of Antichrist. And recollecting what S. Gregory says in other places of the miracles of Antichrist, combined with his dreadful persecution of all the faithful, we may well take up our parable with Balaam, and say, "Alas, who shall live when GOD doeth this?"

Thus we read, "Antichrist at that time rouses himself with such power as to confound, if possible, even the elect members of [387]{#3}the LORD. He makes use of such signs and prodigies, as to seem to glitter with the power of miracles, as if with a kind of light of fire. For in rousing himself to persecute the just, he shows forth before the eyes of the reprobate with mighty signs." And again, "The prudent of this world, who adhere to the perverse counsels of the malice of Antichrist, are, as it were, the eyelids of the morning, because they declare that the faith of CHRIST which they meet with is, as it were, the night of error, and profess that veneration for Antichrist is the true morning. For they promise to banish the darkness, and to announce the light of truth by brilliant miracles; because they cannot persuade what they wish, unless they profess to offer better things."[1]

To proceed with the investigation of the history of Satanic miracles, in order to deduce what conclusions we may respecting such as are yet future, it is indeed peculiarly marvellous, yet none the less strictly true, that there has been a constant effort on the part of the great enemy of GOD and man to imitate the miracles of Divine Grace. And when signs have been spoken of aforetime by the Prophets, as about to take place when the SON of GOD should become Incarnate, Satan has endeavoured to anticipate them. Thus he has striven to retain the nations of the world still under his sway and dominion. So S. Justin Martyr writes, that the demons knowing the old Hebrew prophecies, imitated them in many of the actions of the heathen gods, as far as they could understand them, but that they were at the same time often mistaken in their import. This they did, he says, in order that the actions of the Blessed JESUS, when, when He did truly fulfil prophecy, might be discredited and disbelieved. Among other instances S. Justin mentions the prophecy in Gen. xlix. 11, " Binding His foal unto the vine, and His ass's colt unto the choice vine; He washed His garment in wine and His clothes in the blood of grapes." "The demons," he says, "knowing of this prophecy, asserted that Bacchus was born the Son of Jove. They

[1] Moral. III. 609, &c. &c.

ascribed to him the invention of the vine; and in the celebration of his mysteries led an ass in procession, and taught that Bacchus was torn in pieces, and taken up into Heaven."[1] Again, from Ps. xix. 5, "Who rejoiceth as a Giant to run His course," the "demons invented the fables of mythology about Hercules, as they did those about Æsculapius, from the prophecies in Isaiah concerning CHRIST HEALING THE SICK."

It is the opinion of many, who are eminently well qualified to form an opinion upon the subject, that the entire history of Buddhism has been signalized by a constant succession of diabolical miracles and prodigies; frequently exerted even now, but especially active at the period of its rise as a form of religion, and at [388] its introduction into countries foreign to its birth, as China and Japan.[2] Again, persons who are conversant with missionary reports, both Catholic and Protestant, are well aware that the evidence of facts, and of their own senses, frequently forces from educated Europeans the conviction and acknowledgment, that diabolical agencies are in operation in a marvellous way in heathen lands; and that the power of Satan appears to be unchained to do visible and tangible acts so to say, operating not inwardly only upon the soul, but outwardly upon the body. To mention one instance: the contortions of what are called the devil-dancers in Ceylon, and on the Coromandel coast, are such as are considered incapable of being performed by human beings, except upon the supposition of some bodily Satanic possession. At the same time we have evidence from quarters the least liable to suspicion, that all direct and immediate power of the devil on the heathen ceases at once upon their becoming Christians. Ellis, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and therefore either a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist, has a remarkable chapter on this subject in his Polynesian Researches.[3]

He describes the system of Tabooing; and shows how it was connected with the idolatry of the South Sea Islanders. And he affords abundant evidence to show that the system was maintained, and its violation vindicated by supernatural means. But he adds, that neither upon the Missionaries themselves, nor upon their converts as soon as they were baptized, were the devils ever able to produce any effect; and that the Priest of Oro, their chief god, from the first, confessed this to be the case. But it would be exceedingly easy to accumulate facts which would fill volumes upon this subject. And we must proceed with our inquiry.

It will be advantageous to examine the records of some of those periods, when the diabolical agencies of which we are speaking, would seem to have been most actively in operation. The age immediately preceding the Flood was clearly such a period. The time before the Flood, and the Deluge itself, were with all their dreadful accompaniments highly typical of the close of the present Dispensation, and the end of all things. "As it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man. As the days of Noe were, so shall also the Coming ([Greek]) of the Son of Man be."

S. Justin Martyr has a very remarkable passage, showing the activity of Satan and his legions during the Age before the Flood.

"[Greek]"[4]
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1 Apol, § 70—73

2 See Huc's Travels in Tartary, and F. Schlegel's Philosophy of History.

3 ϕ Ellis, William *Polynesian Researches During a Residence of Nearly Six Years in the South Sea Islands* (Fisher and Jackson: London, 1829)

4 Apol. §. 5. See also Tertull. Apol. cap. xxii.

It is chiefly with the latter portion of this passage that we are concerned at present—[Greek]. And it is especially noteworthy that S. Justin, in speaking of the acts of the demons, uses the very word ([Greek]) which our LORD employs to describe the prodigies which happened before the Fall of Jerusalem. And we know that this event again is so lively a type of the end of the world, and our LORD'S prophecies relative to both are so intermingled and interwoven, that it is impossible entirely to disentangle them, and determine exactly what belongs to each. We may safely conclude then, that both before the Flood, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were fearful sights and great signs ([Greek]) *from Heaven*, sent by the Divine power to warn all such as were willing to take heed, and escape the impending Judgment: and that the demons, and the giants in the one case, and the Antichrists and false prophets, who our LORD told His disciples should arise, in the other, exhibited countersigns, so to say, to neutralize and destroy with their hellish power and wisdom the effect of GOD'S warnings. So, too, will it doubtless be before the Last Judgment. Then, as ever, Satan will presume to imitate the signs and miracles of Divine origin. He will do it by means of Antichrist, into whom he will enter; and will show such *signs* and wonders as to deceive if it were possible the very elect.

Comparing our LORD'S words in which He brings the days before the Flood, before the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the end of the world, all into close juxtaposition, so to say, with what S. Justin says, it seems impossible to doubt that these [Greek] will constitute a parallel between the period of the first general Deluge of waters, and the last universal Flood of fire.

We will proceed to consider what will in all probability constitute another parallel between the times of Antichrist, and the period of the Deluge;, and on which S. Justin's words throw much light. The parallel is to be found in the worship, or system, of false religion which prevailed before the Flood. Frederick Schlegel was of opinion that this did not consist in idolatry, properly so called. It was not a brutish bowing down to stocks an stones. But it consisted in the practice of a dark and diabolical magic, an unhallowed diving into the secrets of nature, for the purpose of obtaining a mastery over the elements.

We will quote a note of the Translator of Schlegel's Philosophy of History which enlarges upon this subject.

> "We must not suppose that the impiety of the Cainites was of a dogmatic kind. How could those primitive men, living so near the Fountain-head of Revelation, conversing with those who had witnessed the rise and first development of man's marvellous history, and engaged themselves in a close communication with the infernal powers: how could they fall into atheism, or any other species of speculative unbelief? Their impiety was of a more practical nature, dis[390]playing itself in a daring violation of the precepts of Heaven, and in the practice of a dark, mysterious magic. By the allurements of sense, and the fascination of their false science, they by degrees inveigled the great mass of mankind into their errors. Their vast powers, supported and strengthened by infernal agency, were calculated to introduce disorder and confusion in the economy of the moral and physical universe, and to let loose on this probationary world the science of the abyss. What do I say? The barrier between the visible and invisible world would have been broken down. Hell would have ruled the earth, had not the Almighty, by an awful judgment, buried the guilty race of men and their infernal knowledge in the waters of the Deluge."

It cannot be fancy or mere imagination which is able to trace a very awful parallel between this description, and what is now going on in what is called the civilized world. It may not be generally known, but it is the case, that there is an entire literature devoted to what are

really most unhallowed and abominable mysteries. There are Publications, and Periodicals, both in England and America, which are circulated by tens of thousands, which profess to give accounts of communications with the invisible world by means of spirit-rapping, as well as by answers received from spirits who appear in certain crystals. The former species of impiety has assumed in America the shape of an actual form of worship. It is probable that every form of incantation and magical rite which was ever practised in the world is being revived at the present day, in professedly Christian lands. And what is very observable is, that the dregs of Protestantism, the followers of those fanatical Creeds which have abundant progeny of the last three hundred years, such as Swedenborgianism, are the first to be allured by any promise of communicating unlawfully with the world of spirits, and to be seduced by such frightful superstitions. It is sufficient in this place to be content with this allusion to the subject; but if it were needful, it would be very easy to bring forward most voluminous proof, and multitudinous examples, in support of what is here alleged.

Thus much for the commencement of that intercourse, or at least attempted and desired intercourse with unhallowed spirits, and the infernal powers, the revival of which is so stinking a sign of the times, and which will be yet more and more eagerly pursued until Antichrist himself appear. To proceed to another parallel between our own and antediluvian times—the diving into the secrets of nature, and obtaining a mastery over the elements.

We are far from desiring to cast any reproach upon the unprecedented triumph of modern science. At the same time we think it quite possible to discern even now, in some quarters, a growing dissatisfaction with the slow processes of inductive natural philosophy, and a desire to accelerate them by any methods, legitimate [391] or otherwise. Again, is it not a kind of impiety, which, though not indigenous to our own age, is making ever more and more rapid and gigantic strides, we mean the presumption, with which whole schools of natural science assume to sit in judgment upon the facts of Divine Revelation? And is it not a truth, that in the memory of even comparatively young persons the dictum has gradually developed itself, that Holy Scripture must not be considered infallible in matters of fact, especially with regard to the facts of science? And so widely does this opinion prevail that Christians seem scarcely to feel it their duty to controvert what now incessantly assails their ears on every side. If Scripture be at variance, it is said, with the conclusions of modern science—the ephemeral creation, be it remembered, of yesterday—then Scripture must be in error in those points. Or else Christians may be allowed sometimes to interpret Holy Scripture in some forced unnatural way, so as to appear to harmonize with geology, or chemistry, or astronomy, as the case may be. This is a concession made by the more liberal-minded philosophers. Thus for the present, a worldly science, instead of sitting humbly and teachably listening to the holy oracles of GOD, prefers to patronise, so to say, the precious Revelation of the Ever-Blessed Maker and Governor and Preserver of all things, both in Heaven and Earth. This is the present attitude of science in the hands of unbelieving men; but in the day of Antichrist's power, that knowledge which is not from above, but is "earthly, sensual, devilish," will seek to set her heel upon every Scriptural truth and doctrine, and to crush them altogether with the concentrated might of hell.

But the greatest parallel, perhaps, which is to be found between the miracles and wonderful works of GOD and His CHRIST on the one side, and Satan and Antichrist on the other, is in the history of the Egyptian Magicians and their enchantments. Jannes and Jambres, their two chiefs, withstood Moses by the exercise of a magical miraculous power. We are told expressly that their so doing was the means of hardening Pharaoh's heart. Thus the light

and conviction, which might otherwise have dawned upon him by the exhibition of the true miracles which were wrought by Moses' rod, were stifled in their birth.

> "And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the LORD had said: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants; and it became a serpent. Then Pharaoh called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents; but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. And He hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said." Exod. vii. 10—13.

There is an important difference in the Vulg. Translation of the last verse.
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It is, "Induratumque est cor Pharaonis, et no audivit eos." "And Pharaoh's heart was hardened;" showing more directly that this hardness of heart was the effect of the magicians' enchantments.

Again, with respect to the turning the waters of the Nile into blood: "And Moses and Aaron did so as the LORD commanded: and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants: and all the waters that were in the river were turned into blood. And the fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river. And there was blood throughout all the Land of Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened; neither did he hearken unto them, as the LORD had said." The LXX translation for "Pharaoh's heart was hardened," in the 13th verse, is peculiar, "[Greek".] "And Pharaoh's heart grew strong and stout." As though he had wavered and been softened at the sight of Moses' miracles, but that as soon as he saw that the magicians, his own magicians, did so with their enchantments, he became reassured. He looked upon the whole scene as a contest between opposing magical powers. And his heart received infernal strength to oppose GOD'S will to the uttermost of his power.

Again, in the plague of frogs. "And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up and covered the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt."[1]

The Apocalypse, in prophecies which concern both the miracles of the Beast, and the False Prophet, Antichrist and his Instigator, and the judgments with which GOD afflicted them, has an evident reference to the plagues of Egypt, and the enchantments of the Magicians. The first of the angels who had received the seven vials of GOD'S wrath, "poured his vial upon the earth: and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the Beast, and upon them which worshipped his image."[2] The expressions, "having the mark of the Beast," and "worshipping his image," show that the prediction is to be understood of Antichrist and his Times. If this be so, Dr Wordsworth can scarcely be correct in supposing that the periods of the sounding of the Trumpets, and the pouring forth of the vials are contemporary. But he has a very useful observation to the effect, that the plague of the noisome sore is equivalent to the boils and blains which broke out throughout the land of Egypt. And that the reason why this plague was the sixth in the literal Egypt, and the first in the spiritual, appears to be that this plague infested Jannes and [393]

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1 Exod. viii. 6, 7.

2 Rev. xvi. 2.

Jambres the magicians, and that it is thereby intimated that the judgment in the Apocalypse will be directed principally against the most eminent false teachers and dealers in lying wonders in the spiritual Egypt.

"The third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood."

The waters of the Nile were turned into blood, as a chastisement for the slaying of the Babes of the Israelites by Pharaoh's commandment to cast them into the River—a worthy retribution of the sin, as an ancient Father has observed, by the means by which it was accomplished. In like manner the angel of the waters cries in the Apocalypse, "Thou art righteous, O LORD, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because Thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets; and Thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy."

The conclusion then at which we arrive from these passages in Exodus and Revelation, bearing upon the Advent and sway of Antichrist is this, that it will probably be a period of the most awful and terrible convulsions in the natural and physical world, and the distress and perplexity not be confined to the sphere of religion and morals only. Our LORD expresses how fearful these dreadful events will be, by saying, that "except the days were shortened, no flesh should be saved; but that for the elect's sake the days shall be shortened." And of what will happen in these last times the history of Israel's bondage in Egypt will prove a most exact foreshadowing and representation.

As Pharaoh persecuted Israel, so will Antichrist as supreme Ruler of the whole earth persecute all who will not receive the mark of the beast. GOD in taking vengeance for His servants' blood which shall be shed will plague Antichrist, his false prophet and preachers, and all who adhere to his Empire with great plagues—just as upon Pharaoh and all the Egyptians were shown signs and wonders and plagues, great and sore. Then, when the hearts of the mass of mankind begin to relent, and to perceive that they are fighting against GOD, Antichrist will show by means especially of his false prophets such infernal wonders and miracles, that those of the Egyptian magicians will be but very faint types in comparison.

Thus will the hearts of all but the elect be reassured and strengthened, to confide in the power and wisdom of "that son of perdition;" and thus, though they will not at times be able to refrain from acknowledging the Finger of GOD, Antichrist will lure them on, until the LORD JESUS shall Himself be revealed, and shall consume both him and them "with the Spirit of His Mouth, and destroy them with the brightness of His Coming."

The next branch of our subject which remains for our consideration is to ascertain from Holy Scripture and Primitive Tradition, as far as we may, what will be the miracles and wonders which Antichrist *will actually perform.*

We shall examine the question,

1. Negatively. What miracles Antichrist will not be suffered to perform.
2. Positively. What he will perform.

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WE concluded our last article upon this subject by dividing the consideration into two branches.

1. Negatively; or what kind of miracles Antichrist, as we believe, will not be suffered to perform.

2. Positively; or what miracles he will perform.

First then, negatively. There seems to be not a little ground for supposing that whatever miracles Satanic power may be suffered to exhibit in the end of time, however dazzlingly and overwhelmingly Antichrist may display the whole organized craft and might of hellish wisdom, he will never be allowed to perform miracles, involving strictly creative energy. Creation is a prerogative, which the Divine TRINITY appear to have jealously and exclusively reserved to Themselves and that not only in its more strict and primary signification of the creation of something out of nothing, but also in its more usual and general acceptation of the forming of organic out of inorganic substances; in other words, the production of any creatures which have life in themselves.

Satan has frequently had committed to him licence to destroy, never we think to create anew. In whatever instances he may have *seemed* to have done so, we are bound to seek some explanation which shall not involve even permitted creative energy.

S. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 8) says, "And then shall that Wicked ([Greek], Antichrist, the pre-eminently lawless One, as being the embodied expression of the [Greek], which was beginning to work secretly like leaven in the Church even in the Apostolic age) be revealed—even he whose coming ([Greek, the very word used of our LORD'S Coming the line above,) is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the Truth that they might be saved; and for this cause GOD shall send them an energizing of deceit, that they should believe the lie." It is *the lie* ([Greek]) the grand, final, crowning lie, with which the great Liar, the father and maker of lies, shall in setting up the reign of Antichrist, deceive all nations, the lie which shall be the complement to the first lie which deceived Eve, the lie of lies in which all the deceits, and falsehoods of the devil, and false prophets and teachers, and wicked men shall be finally merged and summed up. Of this great lie, the miracles of Antichrist will form no small or insignificant part. They are the "signs and wonders of the lie," of which S. Paul speaks ([Greek]).

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S. Augustine after quoting at length the passage in the 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians (De Civ. Dei, xx. 19,) proceeds to speak thus upon these lying wonders. "At that time Satan shall be loosed, and through Antichrist shall work wonderfully indeed, with all his might, but with falsehood (mendaciter.) About these words of S. Paul, there is usually understood to be an ambiguity—whether they are called lying signs and wonders (signa et prodigia mendacii) because Antichrist will deceive the senses of men by means of phantasms, that he may seem to do what he does not do; or because the wonders, though they be real, will lead to a lie, that men who are ignorant of the devil's strength, especially at a time when he shall receive greater power than he ever had before, will believe that they would not be possible unless they were done by Divine Agency." How terrible this power will be in the hands of Antichrist is well shown by S. Gregory in many passages, besides those we have already quoted.

> "His fierceness makes him break forth into cruelty, yet the Divine pity confines him with fewness of days. Hence the Truth says by Itself—Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, nor shall be. Again it says—Except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved. But it must be greatly considered, in what way that Behemoth, when he raises his tail as a cedar, (Job xl. 17) arises with greater fierceness than he now exerts himself. For what

> kind of punishment do we know, at which we rejoice not, as having already exercised the strength of the martyrs? When, therefore, this Behemoth expands his tail more fatally in the end of the world, what greater cruelty can spring up in these torments, except that which the Truth says Itself in the Gospel—There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, so that if possible, even the elect may be led into error. For now our faithful ones do wonders when they suffer wrongs, but at that time the ministers of this Behemoth are about to do wonders even when they inflict wrongs. Let us consider therefore, what will be that temptation of the mind of man, when both the pious martyr submits his body to tortures, and yet the torturer works miracles before his eyes! Whose resolution would not then be shaken from the very bottom of his thoughts, when he who tortures with the scourges, glitters also with miracles. Let it be rightly said then—He setteth up his tail like a cedar, because he will doubtless be exalted from reverence for the prodigy, and harsh with the cruelty of his torture."

And again—

> "He is then exalted, not only in power, but is supported also by the display of miracles. Whence it is also said by David—He lieth in wait in secret as a lion in his den (Ps. x. 9.) Because this enemy is unchecked in all his strength—he is let loose in contest against the Elect, both by [509] fraud and strength; in strength by his power, in fraud by his miracles. He is rightly said therefore, to be both a lion, and lying in wait; lying in wait by the splendour of his miracles, a lion by his secular power. For in order to draw those who are openly wicked, he displays his secular power; but in order to deceive even the just, he pretends sanctity by his miracles. For he persuades the one by the height of his greatness, he deceives the other by a display of sanctity.."

And again: "what he says in his craft, he supports by working wonders; for whatever his lying tongue pretends, that does the hand of his work set forth as if true." (Moral. Vol. iii. pp. 528, &c. Oxf. Trans.)

Nothing can show more strongly S. Gregory's belief that Antichrist will be permitted to work real miracles of *some* kind, than the preceding quotations. By the aid of S. Augustine, we shall proceed with our present inquiry of endeavouring to distinguish between what he will have power to perform, and what he will not. S. Augustine says thus—"When indeed fire fell from heaven, and at one impetus consumed the whole family with so many flocks and herds of holy Job, and a whirlwind rushing upon and overthrowing their house, killed his sons, these things were not illusions. They were the very works of Satan, to whom GOD had given such power."

This is in accordance with what we have previously remarked, that Satan with permitted power can destroy life; but GOD alone, the FATHER, and CHRIST, and the HOLY GHOST; preserve life and living creatures, even as they are their only source and Creators. S. Augustine has another most curious and most valuable passage in the De Civitate, (Lib. xviii. c. 18) in which he altogether denies the possibility of any creative power being ever really exercised by the demons. After quoting the "Asini Aurei " of Apuleius he proceeds—

> "These things are either false, or so unusual as not to deserve credit. This, however, is firmly to be believed, that Almighty GOD can do all things whatsoever He pleases, both of right, and by actual performance; and the demons cannot perform anything to the potency of their own nature, (for they are really angelic by creation, but evil by their own fault) save what is permitted by Him Whose judgments are often secret, never unjust. The demons in truth cannot create any beings, (naturas) even if they can do any

> of those things which we are at present discussing, but can only change the appearance of things which have been created by the True GOD, so that they should appear to be what they are not. I would never, therefore, by any means believe that either the mind, or even the body of a human being could by any device or power of demons be really changed into the members and lineaments of a brute."

He then in a passage too long to quote, proceeds to show that any metamorphosis which may have ever taken place, may possibly have arisen from [510] that part of man's mind called the fancy, which is so active in dreams, assuming for a time some visible shape.

We shall find then that the whole instinct of the early Catholic Church was altogether opposed to the idea that Satan, or any evil power or principle could by any possibility, under any circumstances, create, or call any beings really to life. And to maintain this principle, we know that she battled manfully against the more than hundred-headed Hydras of Gnosticism and Manicheism. To enter into any of the tenets of these heresies, which bear largely however upon this very question, would take us too long. We will only quote a passage from S. Jerome about the Marcionites (Comment. in Isa. L. vii. c. 17. Ed. Vallar.) "Marcionistæ quum enim recipiant Providentiam, accusant Creatorem, et asserunt Eum in plerisque operibus errasse, et non ita fecisse ut facere debuerat. Ad quam enim utilitatem hominum serpentes, scorpios, crocodilos, et pulices, cimices et culices pertinere?"

And in the acts of certain Persian martyrs under King Sapor, we see that the early Christians were ready to endure any torments, and to suffer death itself, rather than admit that there is anything in the universe which is not created by the only GOD. Among the charges brought against them by the Magians were the following,[1]—"They abolish our doctrine; they teach men to worship one only GOD; they forbid them to adore the sun or fire; they permit all sorts of animals to be killed; they say that serpents and scorpions were made, not by the devil, but by GOD Himself."

We are only aware of one or two things in Holy Scripture which seem to require any explanation as appearing opposed to this belief, that Satan, and therefore Antichrist his instrument, will neither of them be ever permitted to give life to an kind of beings, not even the very lowest and meanest in the scale of creation. Indeed we are *inclined* to doubt if this power has ever been delegated to a *creature*, either to the highest archangel, or to the prophet. And this perhaps was one reason why our LORD'S giving sight to a man who had been born blind, seemed to astonish the Jews more than His raising Lazarus and others from the dead, acts similar to what had been previously performed by Elijah and Elisha. "But since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind." Whence S. Augustine takes occasion to say very beautifully,—"Our LORD anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay; as though He Who formed the whole man of clay, had not of it made for him eyes in the womb, so now He made them."

The first instance which we will notice as seeming to be opposed to what we have said is in Exodus vii. 10, 11, 12—"And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the LORD commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and [511] before his servants, and it became a serpent. Then Pharaoh called also the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." About Aaron's rod becoming a serpent, it is only necessary to make this

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[1] See Butler's Lives of the Saints. March 14.

remark. It did not involve any real and abiding act of creation, because the serpent into which it was changed, resumed its original form, becoming a rod again in Moses' hand.

What requires more explanation is what occurred in the plague of frogs. (Ex. viii. 6, 7.) "And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt." Aaron stretched out his *hand* upon this and some other occasions, says Origen—"Ne virgæ vim magicis prestigiis plurimi adscriberent."

In the first place, it may be suggested that there is no mention here made of any actual creation of frogs, either on the part of Moses and Aaron, or by the magicians. It is said "they brought frogs," which may mean, that frogs which had been already formed by the Only Creator, were really but miraculously summoned to that spot by Moses and Aaron. Of what the magicians performed, there may be two explanations. The first is, that while they really did by GOD'S permission turn water into blood, they only *seemed* to create frogs. They enchanted the eyes of Pharaoh and his servants. This is an hypothesis which would hold good, even granting, for the sake of argument, that the magicians did anything more than bring frogs already in existence, from some other spot to that in which Pharaoh and his servants were then assembled. What renders this explanation the more probable is, that eminent Hebrew scholars are of opinion that the original word which expresses the act of the magicians, gives by its root and primary signification an intimation of this very kind; there is something of cheating and jugglery expressed, of casting a film upon the eyes of beholders, so as to make them appear to see what they really do not see, and what is really not in existence. It is said that there is a class of men in Egypt who possess a similar power to this very day.

A second explanation is, that it may have been a multitude of demons assuming at the bidding of the magicians the very form and appearance of frogs. As it is said in Psalm lxxviii. 49—"He sent evil angels among them." The account of the frogs proceeding out of the mouth of the dragon, and the beast and the false prophet (Rev. xvi. 13) would seem to be rather in favour of this latter supposition; since in the following verse they are declared to be the spirits of devils. These lying unclean spirits might either [512] possess or take the form of frogs, just as Satan in the beginning either possessed or took the form of a serpent.

Whatever may have been the power which at the period of the earliest plagues was conceded to the magicians, those lively types of the lying prophets and teachers who shall go before the face of Antichrist, it was very speedily brought to a termination. It is not a little singular, that they failed with their enchantments in even seeming to produce or to summon at their bidding what are perhaps the meanest and vilest of all living creatures. And in this instance we must allow that it is not said of Aaron that he *brought* lice, but that as GOD commanded, he "stretched forth his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth; and *it became* lice in man, and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt." (Ex. viii. 17.) Thus, in whatever way we view the matter, the failure of the magicians was the more signal, their credit the more completely blasted and overthrown.

The second thing, which it is, to say the least, probable Antichrist will not be suffered to perform amongst the multitude of signs and wonders which he will exhibit to deceive the nations, is the raising of the dead.

There are two wonders mentioned in Rev. xiii., which will be more properly fully considered when we enter upon the second branch of our inquiry—the positive miracles of Antichrist. We shall only advert to them at present. One wonder is that the first beast was as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed. The Greek is perhaps a

little stronger than our translation. "[Greek]" By this we may understand that he shall receive some such wound as without miraculous powers of healing must terminate in death; but that he will be healed by miracle. And this will be the nearest approach to raising the dead which Satan will ever be permitted to perform.[1]

About the second miracle, namely that the second beast will "have power to give life to the statue of the first beast, and that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed"—(see verse 15,)—there is something in the very description itself, which is given by blessed John, that serves to strike us with horror and dismay, something which long before the time arrives, exhibits to us the very marks and signs by which the elect, who alone will overcome at that awful time, will discern clearly the tokens of the working of diabolical power. There will be life. The signs of life in this image of the beast will be incontestable and unmistakeable. But it will be devilish and demoniacal life. The whole atmosphere will seem as it were, to breathe of hell, to be reeking [513] with the smoke and stench of the Bottomless pit. There well might be life, but it will be a kind of vampire life; it will be life, such as if we could conceive it possible, a galvanised corpse moving and acting and speaking might possess. It will be as though a living spirit of the Abyss were controlling and actuating a putrefying human carcass.

The practical conclusions which we deduce from the preceding inquiry are these,—that Antichrist will endeavour by the assistance of Satan to do both these things, to create life and to raise the dead. The more strictly and jealously and exclusively GOD has reserved these things to Himself as His own prerogative, the more strenuously will Antichrist seek to usurp that prerogative. And in some terrible manner, he will contrive to present an appearance of so doing. But the strength of the saints in their contest with him will consist in this, that do what he will in that way, it will all bear evidently, on the face of it, the character of a frightful and horrible diabolical machination, and similitude of the miracles of GOD and His Prophets and Apostles.

We are now arrived at the third and concluding branch of our inquiry, namely the Positive Miracles of Antichrist, or those which he will actually perform.

The words of S. Augustine—which we quoted from the "De Civitate "—may be not inaptly applied to those two branches into which we have divided this subject.

Some of the Miracles of Antichrist will be "signa et prodigia mendacii" because he will deceive the senses of mankind by seeming to do what he does not do. Other signs and prodigies, though they be *real*, will yet be "signa et prodigia mendacii," because they will be done by the power of the Father of Lies, utterly to overthrow the Truth of GOD. It is with these that we are now about to deal.

And it becomes us to acknowledge at the outset, that it is our duty to tread warily and discreetly; endeavouring to follow with humility and teachableness the faint indications which Scripture and Antiquity afford us. For though, as we think will be readily allowed by those who have perused our former remarks, we have the most abundant testimony possible to the fact of Antichristian miracles generally, of some kind or other, it is widely different when we come to inquire what they will actually be. We shall, however, proceed to show that we have not been left entirely in darkness.

First, there is reason to believe that Antichrist will be allowed to utter prophecies, which will be fulfilled by subsequently occurring events. There is a passage in the Book of

[1] See S. Chrysos, quoted by Corn. a Lapide, on 2 Thess. ii. 8.

Deuteronomy, (xiii. 1—5,) which proves at least the possibility of such a thing, very conclusively:

> "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the [514] sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams: for the LORD your GOD proveth you, to know whether ye love the LORD your GOD with all your heart, and with all your soul."

This of course applies primarily to the false prophets and teachers who were continually arising under the Old Law to deceive the people of Israel, such as Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah[1] who led Ahab on to perish, as the prophets Ahab and Zedekiah,[2] whom Nebuchadnezzar roasted in the fire, and Pashur the son of Imlah to whom Jeremiah gave a new name, and prophesied a fearful doom.[3]

It is to such as these S. Peter refers: "But there were also false prophets among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the LORD that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction."[4]

But that which specially as it were projects the practical bearing of the passage in Deuteronomy on to the time of Antichrist is this, that the false prophets under the Old Covenant were very much more famous for the failure, than for the accomplishment of their predictions. We do not assert positively that no instance of a false prophet, by whom we mean, one speaking after the suggestions of the lying spirits of devils, giving such predictions as were justified by the events which followed, can be produced; but if any there be, they are exceedingly few.

On the contrary, the failure of such prophets in their prophecies afforded a test to GOD'S people to discern the false prophets from the true. Thus (Deut. xviii. 21, 22): "And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the LORD hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the LORD, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the LORD hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him."[5] The precept, or warning then, in Deut. xiii., evidently not having any full application before the coming of GOD the SON in the Person of CHRIST, we must seek for it afterwards; and we shall most probably and reasonably expect to find the application to refer to that period when iniquity shall come to the full, and "the king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up."

This is Antichrist, who, according to the twofold meaning of [515] his name, shall both set himself *against* CHRIST, and place himself *in the stead* of CHRIST[6].

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1 1 Kings xxii. 11.

2 2 Jer. xxix. 22.

3 3 Jer. xx. 1.

4 2 S. Pet. ii. 1. I cannot help stopping for a moment to remark, how sadly our Translation misses the *point* of the original in this passage, by rendering [Greek] in so many different ways. Thus, in the compass of only three verses, [Greek] is swift destruction; [Greek], are damnable heresies; [Greek], pernicious ways; and again [Greek], in the third verse, is damnation.

5 See also Jer. x. 2; and Zech. x. 2, &c.

6 See Trench: Synonyms of the New Testament.

Just as CHRIST, both by His own Mouth, and by the mouth of His Prophets and Apostles predicted oftentimes signs and wonders which oftentimes came to pass: so will Antichrist predict signs and wonders as about to take place. And these—his command of the power of Satan, for a time unbound, will enable himself to effect, to the delusion of the reprobate, and the temporary dismay even of the elect. Thus in the time, and under the hand of Antichrist, will real and actual, not pretended or ambiguous prophecy, as it was in the case of the old oracles, and miraculous signs and wonders, be united.

Having examined this question of prophecy, we will proceed to inquire if we have any indications afforded us to know beforehand of what kind those signs and wonders are likely to be. We think that we are able to give an affirmative answer; and that the signs and wonders in question will have to do principally with the region of the air, and with appearances which will be presented in or among the heavenly luminaries. If, as we know Satan was able to draw into his rebellion a third of the angelic host, whom GOD created perfect in purity and happiness, and drag them down to hell,[1] much more, may we conceive it possible that he may be permitted to do this, which is by comparison so infinitely less.

An examination of the LXX. Trans. of Deut. xiii. at once sends us to S. Matt, xxiv. 24. Moses says, "*If* there arise among you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder" ([Greek]). Our LORD says, "There *shall* arise false Christs, and false prophets, and they *shall* give[2] great signs and wonders" ([Greek]). Our LORD proceeds to tell us that His Own Corning will be preceded by the most dreadful signs in heaven and amongst the heavenly bodies: "Lightning," doubtless far more fearful than any yet beheld by child of Adam: "The sign of the Son of Man, the wondrous Standard of the Cross beheld in mid-air: Falling Stars: The Moon becoming red as blood: The Sun dark like sackcloth of hair: The shaking of the powers of Heaven ([Greek])—[Greek] is a word, applied to the tossing of the sea in a storm; so that what is here meant, may be a violent apparent rocking to and fro of the visible heavens, that firmament or framework of the sky in which the stars seem to rest, as though both it and they were about to be dissolved, and reduced to primæval chaos. With this may be compared Rev. vi. 13, where the entire heaven is likened to a fig-tree shaken by a mighty wind ([Greek]): an unnatural and ominous [516] twilight, by which all things will be enveloped, or shrouded rather, in the dim and sickly and unearthly darkness of an eclipse.[3] Of the inspired prophecies relative to this, there is doubtless a tradition in those old Norse Sagas, which describe so grandly, yet sometimes so quaintly, the end of all things, when they mention amongst other signs the Rogmarok, or twilight of the gods. These signs, and such as these, being the *heavenly* indications that the Son of Man is about speedily to be revealed, if we bear in mind that principle of imitation, which we have already discussed, we shall feel it not improbable that Antichrist will endeavour, as it were, to forestall them all; and none are to be surprised if, in a great measure, he be successful in his efforts.

When Josephus records the fall and ruin of Jerusalem, which fulfil to the very letter our LORD'S predictions, he has a passage too well known to be necessary to quote it, on the signs and wonders which preceded, and which were in the judgment of all, tokens of the unparalleled miseries which followed.[4] He describes the many great signs and fearful

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[1] See Rev. xii.. 7—9

[2] It may of course be simply coincidence; but it is a little remarkable that both Moses and our LORD use the same word, "give" here. The LXX. has also "give."

[3] S. Matt. xxiv. 29, &c. Zech. xiv. 6, 7.

[4] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 5.

sights which there were from Heaven, and which were doubtless sent by GOD both to warn His own people, and to leave His enemies without excuse. Josephus also mentions the fact of the numerous false prophets who rose up at this period, and lured on the Jews to utter destruction by promising them victory. And he says expressly that they performed wonders and prodigies; but singularly enough, he does not inform us of what they actually consisted. Had he done so, it would have been of much use to us in helping us to draw out from analogy a probable theory concerning the wonders and signs of Antichrist. But in lack of this, we are thrown upon other resources.

We must again revert to Rev. vi. 12. The Prophet says, "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood, &c."

What we are especially concerned with in this passage at present is, that the prodigies here described occurred at the *opening of the sixth seal*.

The opening of the previous five seals are all prophetic of tribulations or persecutions about to come upon the Church: and of this 6th seal we may use the words of an ancient writer, quoted by Dr Wordsworth, and say, "Ipsa est persecutio novissima in tempore Antichristi."[1] And the strength of our position will be readily perceived. All the great crises and catastrophes in the world's history, such as the Deluge, the Plagues of Egypt, the Fall of Jerusalem, which were types of the last days, and which were marked [519] in their earlier stages by persecutions of GOD'S people, have been distinguished by a display of signs and wonders sent from heaven. These have been more or less successfully imitated by hellish wisdom. The last persecution of Antichrist, referred to in the opening of the 6th seal, is accompanied likewise by heavenly prodigies of the most stupendous description. And Satan, acting as he has ever done before, will, through the agency of that accursed man whom he will then assume, imitate those signs and wonders and prodigies. And it is quite in accordance with what we know from Revelation, that Satan should be permitted to exercise such powers: he was able to destroy the sheep of holy Job by fire from heaven, and his children by a tempestuous wind.

Subsequent to our LORD'S Incarnation, up to the time of Antichrist, such permitted power seems to be withheld: which gives one important meaning to our SAVIOUR'S words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." And yet, even in this his period of greatest restraint, S. Paul calls him the "Prince of the power of the air." And it would seem to be expressly intimated to us that the very power which he exercised in the earlier ages, of causing fire to fall from heaven, will be restored to him in the days of Antichrist. For so we understand Rev. xiii. 11—14. "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon." By this beast, S. Gregory understands the band of false preachers, who, uniting the art of persuasion to the support of the temporal powers of this world, bring almost all mankind to the feet of their master, the first beast, or the real Antichrist, "And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him," ([Greek]) that is, in his presence: for an examination of the whole chapter will show that these two beasts are intended to be described as contemporaries, not as one succeeding the other, in the sense that the first became extinct. S. John proceeds, "He causeth the

[1] See Wordsworth's Lectures on the Apocalypse: a work of which we feel compelled to say that we differ from it in most points, where the author arrives at conclusions which are not supported by the ancient expositors.

earth, and them that dwell therein,"[1] to worship the first beast; and he doeth great wonders so that he maketh fire to come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the first beast.

We forebear in this place to speak of the fiery prodigies exhibited by Simon Magus, first, because the First Canon of S. Augustine, by which he explains "signa et prodigia mendacii," clearly applies to them; and secondly, because we hope in one or two subsequent papers to speak of some of the personal historical types of Antichrist, amongst whom we should include Simon Magus.

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GOD keep us watchful and prayerful, with loins girt and lamps burning, and we ourselves, like unto men that wait for their LORD, knowing, indeed, that He will not come until "The Apostasy" has taken place, and that Man of Sin been revealed whom He will slay with the Breath of His Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His Presence.

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[1] We cannot refrain from pausing for a moment to remark how fully this expression, "the *earth*, and them that dwell therein," bears out the theory so ably advocated in the *Ecclesiastic* some time ago, that not merely individual Christians, but that the Church herself shall become apostate in the time of Antichrist: "earth," in the Apocalypse, signifying the Church, as the sea the world.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 20. (Joseph Masters: London, 1858)

[207]ANTICHRIST

THERE are probably few things in which we perceive so great a difference of *tone* between the Patristic writings, and the theology of modern times, as in the whole of the important and awful question—Who or what is Antichrist?

The difference is one rather to be felt and understood by such as are accustomed to compare the two, than capable of any full and adequate expression in words, except perhaps in some one or two main features.

Modern theology would seem in its idea of Antichrist to point chiefly to the development of a *system* of false religion—occasionally, as for instance, where Antichrist is identified with the Papacy, to a *series* of persons, no one of whom can, for that very reason, be said to be himself individually "Antichrist," "*the Antichrist*." Patristic writers on the contrary, who speak when the solemn warnings concerning Antichrist, given by our LORD and reiterated by the Apostles, were sounding trumpet-tongued in the ears of the early Church, point rather to the development of Antichrist as being the appearance, or the revelation of some one individual person. And they say he will be known and recognized by the elect by means of those indelible marks which prophecy has stamped upon him.

Shadowed forth by types, designated by prophecies—many dark and obscure, a few to be understood even by babes in CHRIST—"that reprobate Person" as S. Gregory the Great calls Antichrist, will thus be able to be discerned and rejected by the Saints of [208] God, when in his time he shall be revealed, just as our Lord in His time was recognized by them with adoring love.

It is truly wonderful to observe the constant parallelism, and antagonism, so to say, between our Lord and Antichrist, which pervade Holy Scripture in all its parts alike, history and prophecy, the Psalms and moral writings, the gospels and the epistles—interwoven like threads of varied hue and texture, and running all through the mighty web of the revealed purposes of God. As though it were that what our Lord was to be for good, Antichrist should be for evil: the One the Incarnation of Uncreated Goodness; the other the embodied Impersonation of the utmost development of the powers of the world, the flesh and the devil: the One endued "without measure" with the Gift of the Holy Ghost; the other possessed in some strange mysterious way by "the Prince of the devils," beyond any former precedent, and really working miracles, and showing signs and wonders such as to "deceive if it were possible even the elect." And it is not a little remarkable, and a point in proof of this parallelism, that the same terms should be, as they are, not unfrequently applied to these two, Christ and Antichrist, and to none besides. For instance, not to go more fully into this branch of the subject at present, the terms "Revelation" and" Revealed"[1] are thus applied to both. So again "Mystery," as though the Incarnation of Christ, the great "Mystery of Godliness," and of the heavenly world, were only to be paralleled by the rising of Antichrist, the fearful and terrible mystery of hellish wisdom and malice, and of the world of devils.[2]

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1 2 Thess. i. 7; ii. 3, &c.

2 2 Tim. iii.; 2 Thess. ii. 7, &c.

It will be the object of the present article to trace out one of these Scriptural parallelisms. In so doing, we shall endeavour to follow as closely as possible the guidance of the Early Church, and the path traced out for us by its great doctors and luminaries.

This point is the connection of Antichrist with one particular tribe of the children of Israel, the tribe of Dan. As it "is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah," and that thus the prophecies which marked out that tribe for the honour of His Birth were literally fulfilled, so it would seem not altogether unreasonable that the intimations which appeared to the Fathers to foreshadow that Antichrist should arise out of Dan should have a literal fulfilment likewise.

It will not be necessary here to do more than allude to the consternation which was spread through Europe in the Middle Ages, and even later, by the report that Antichrist had actually appeared, and set up his standard in the tribe of Dan. We rather pass on to the consideration of the fact that every mention of Dan in the Scriptures, with scarcely an exception, bears, if we may be allowed the expression ,somewhat at least of a sinister character. And [209] the exceptions are not more difficult to be accounted for than those of an exactly opposite character with regard to Judah. For instance, although *generally*, in a typical view, Judah and his tribe foreshadow the MESSIAH, yet in Gen. xxxvii. 27 he is clearly a type of Judas the traitor. He is represented both as covetous, and the prime mover in the scheme to sell his brother for twenty pieces of silver.

To return to Dan: we will commence with his birth. He is not only the son of one of the handmaids of Jacob's wives, which was common to him with three others; but he is the first-born of Rachel's handmaid. His birth therefore, closely followed Rachel's passionate speech to her husband, "Give me children, or else I die." The child then who is born, and which she adopts and considers as her own, she names Dan, saying, "GOD hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son." (Gen. xxx. 6.) As though the words addressed to the children of Israel might be here applied to Rachel, "I gave thee a king in Mine anger:" I gave thee a son in Mine anger. We know that there are many similar instances of GOD's answering prayers like Rachel's in wrath and judgment, granting the thing prayed for, and at the same time making it an instrument of His most righteous vengeance. See two remarkable instances, Numb. xxii. 20, and 1 Sam. viii. 7—9.

The next important notice of Dan is in Gen. xlix. 16, 17. In this chapter is recorded Jacob's blessing of his sons. Or rather he shadows forth in mysterious prophecies the temporal and spiritual destinies of their respective descendants. "Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel. Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder by the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." On these words, S. Greg. Magn. comments as follows: "For some say that Antichrist is coming out of the tribe of Dan, because in this place Dan is asserted to be a serpent, and a biting one. Whence also when the people of Israel were choosing their position in the partition of the camp, Dan most rightly first pitched his camp to the north:[1] signifying him in truth who had said in his heart; "I will sit upon the mount of the Testament; in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds. I will be like the Most High.'[2] Of whom also it is said by the Prophet, 'The snorting of horses was heard from Dan.' (Jer. viii. 16.) But he is called not only a serpent, but a horned serpent (cerastes). for [Greek] in Greek are called *cornua*

[1] Num. ii. 25.

[2] Isa. xiv. 13.

in Latin. And this serpent, by whom the coming of Antichrist is fitly set forth, is said to be horned: because together with the bite of pestilent preaching, he is armed also against the life of the faithful with horns of power. But who can be ignorant that a path is narrower than a way? Dan [210] therefore becomes a serpent in the *way*, because he compels those whom he flatters by seeming to spare them, to walk in the broad way of the present life: but he bites them in the way, because he destroys with the poison of his error those upon whom he confers liberty. He becomes a horned serpent in the *path*, because those whom he finds to be faithful, and to be confining themselves to the narrow path of the heavenly precepts, he not only assails with the wickedness of crafty persuasion, but also oppresses with the terror of his power. And after the kindness of pretended sweetness, he employs the horns of his power in the torture of persecution. In which passage, the 'horse' signifies this world, which foams through its pride in the lapse of passing times. And because Antichrist strives to seize the latter end of the world, this horned serpent is said to bite the horses' hoofs. For to bite the horses' hoofs is to reach the ends of the world by striking them: *That its rider falleth backwards*. The rider of the horse is every one who is exalted in worldly dignities; who is said to fall backward, and not on his face, as Paul is said to have fallen. For to fall on his face, is for each one to confess his own faults, in this life, and to bewail them with penitence. But to fall backwards, where we cannot see, is to depart suddenly out of this life, and to know not to what punishment he is being led. And because Judæa entangled with the snares of its own error, is looking for Antichrist instead of CHRIST, Jacob in the same passage, rightly turned round suddenly, in the language of the elect, saying, 'I have waited for Thy salvation, O LORD;' that is, I do not, as the infidels, believe in Antichrist, but I faithfully believe Him Who is about to come for our redemption, even the true CHRIST." S. Greg. Magn. Moral. III., 457, 458, Oxf. Tr.

We must not omit to notice the form of the expression, "Dan shall judge *his people*, *as* one of the tribes of Israel," as though Dan were not *really* a part of the "true Israel of GOD; but as though Antichrist, who should spring from Dan, should have his people, whom he shall rule and judge,—even the whole multitude of the reprobate; just as CHRIST and His twelve shall sit on thrones judging and approving His Own elect.

What S. Gregory says of the words with which Jacob concludes this prophecy, agrees very plainly with the comment of another of the Fathers: that Jacob looking forward to the time of Antichrist, and discerning in his spirit something of the horror and misery which should then overflow the earth as an irresistible flood, was overcome with the thought, and only supported himself by the recollection that even then the faithful would be in the Hand of GOD, and that though salvation might tarry long, it would surely come at length to those who waited for it. Therefore he said, "I have waited for Thy salvation, O God."

The fact of Dan being the tribe which gave a name to the hin[211]dermost camp of Israel in the wilderness, has been already noted by S. Gregory. The hindermost was also the tribe which pitched northward. The north is the quarter which in the mystical language of Scripture is appropriated to the dominion of Satan, just as the south is the region of Heaven and of the Church.

Again, it is not a little significant that the Captain of the host of Dan, the Prince of his tribe in the wilderness, was Ahiezer, the son of Ammishaddai.[1] Ammishaddai signifies in Hebrew, "*My people* is the ALMIGHTY:" just as though Antichrist were to gain his power by a deification of the popular will. That he should make flattery of the people's

[1] Numb. i. 12.

omnipotence be the stepping-stone whereby he should be by them in turn lifted up above "all that is called God or worshipped." And surely it is not very difficult to detect many traces of such coming "signs of the times" as this, even now in the world.

Again, with reference to the northernly location of Dan, it is to be observed that when Ezekiel mystically redistributes the whole of Canaan amongst the tribes of Israel in equal and parallelly-conterminous portions, the extreme north of all is assigned to Dan. Possibly, it might be said, because of the geographical position of the city Dan. But then it is not to be forgotten that Dan being originally located within the confines of the portion of Judah, the southernmost of all the tribes, and hard by the Temple and Altar of GOD, afterwards migrated to a spot north of all the other tribes, and almost, if not entirely, without the boundaries. of the Holy Land, properly so called. This, therefore, is quite .in accordance with the typical character of the tribe. "I saw the wicked . . . who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were *forgotten in the city* where they had so done.": (Eccles. viii. 10.) And S. John says,[1] "They went out from us, but they were not of. us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." And these words are the more appropriate to the case in point, because S. John is speaking expressly and by name of the times of Antichrist. And they show us that he will in all probability be a recreant and a traitor from the fellowship of the saints and from the communion of the Church, of which he will at first, without doubt, profess himself a member.

So completely is the tribe of Dan identified with the northern city, that it became eventually their chief seat. In fact, in the later Israelitish history we lose all trace of southern Dan.

The account of this migration from the south to the north, as related in Judges xviii, shows that it included a system of organised rebellion against the GOD of Israel: and that the very foundation of their civil polity was based on a kind of *national establishment* of idolatry. "And the children of Dan set up the [212] graven image," (which together with an ephod and teraphim and a molten image, they had taken out of Micah's house.) And Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests *to the tribe of Dan*, until the day of captivity of the land. And they set them up Micha's graven image, which he made, *all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh*." This passage establishes two important points: First, that this northern Dan was thus early considered the representative of the tribe: and secondly, the enormity of this apostasy is surely intended to be represented as greatly enhanced, by contrasting it with the fact, that the true temple of GOD and the ark of the covenant where the Divine service of typical sacrifices was conducted, was at Shiloh, in the south. Shiloh, we know, is one of the earliest and most famous names of our LORD— "until Shiloh come."

So it is seen that within the short space of twenty years, according to the received chronology, after Israel's establishment in Canaan, a system of false worship was fully organised in that tribe, from whence Antichrist is to spring, and in open and glaring defiance of JEHOVAH'S worship at Shiloh.

The next important passage to be noticed relative to Dan occurs in Moses' blessing of the tribes, Deut. xxxiii. 22. "And of Dan he said, Dan is a lion's whelp: he shall leap from Bashan." Taken by themselves, the words are of course susceptible either of a benedictory

[1] 1 S. John ii. 19.

or a maledictory interpretation. We must in such a case be guided by the light which a comparison of the rest of the notices concerning Dan will throw upon what is of itself ambiguous. If then we remember that there is about almost every other passage in which this tribe is mentioned, something fearfully, yet mysteriously significant, pointing it out as in some way or other connected with the powers of hell, a kind of fount whence moral evil was ever springing up to be a snare and a trouble to the rest of Israel, we shall not be at a loss for the true interpretation of Moses' words.

The connection of Dan with Bashan is seen at once on a consideration of their migration to Laish, or Leshem. And he shall leap as a lion's whelp. For as our LORD is "the Lion of the tribe of Judah:" so we know there is another lion, "who walketh about seeking whom he may devour." And Antichrist is a "lion's whelp," as it were the progeny of that other lion—see Ps. x. 9; xvii.12—passages which S. Augustine explains of Antichrist, and his instigator and possessor the devil. And he in Dan. leaps from Bashan. He in the north sets himself against the King of the south; against that Incarnate GOD Who "stooped, and couched as a lion, and as an old lion,"[1] on Calvary, before He arose in the might and glory of His resurrection in the same holy hill. This Lion, this King it was, Who was born amongst the hills of Judah; [213] Who received His first earthly homage in the hill country of Hebron in the South, when S. John the Baptist leapt in his mother's womb for joy at the presence of His Incarnate GOD; and Who, from Olivet, another Mount of the south, leapt as it were heavenward, when his earthly work was accomplished. In opposition then to this "King of the south," Antichrist unfurls his banner in the north. He is the lion's whelp who leaps from Bashan. And still further, to connect Bashan with the enemies of our GOD, and with Satanic power, we read in Ps. xxii. 12, that in His Passion "strong bulls of Bashan beset Him around." He was then sore beset with legions of devils. As then Dan was the first tribe of Israel which fell into idolatry, from which at no subsequent period in Old Testament history was it ever purged, so also, immediately upon Jeroboam's defection it became one of the two chief seats of the worship of the golden calves, by which Israel was made to sin, and which ultimately brought about the final apostasy of the ten tribes, their utter ruin, and as far as we can learn from observation, their complete extinction. But if it indeed be that Holy Scripture points to their restoration at a day known to Him Who "gathereth together the outcasts of Israel," and "brings them back from the *north* country whither He had driven them;" then may we well conclude that Dan will return with them and play no unimportant part in the world's future history.

To sum up the actual history of Dan as a tribe. It was the first which fell into idolatry, and the first which was carried captive[2] to Assyria. It was, as we might conclude, one of the six tribes who stood upon Mount Ebal to curse.[3] It was the tribe which was made use of as an instrument by the prince of darkness to overthrow GOD's ancient Church; and in which he succeeded so far as to draw ten out of those twelve "tribes of Israel to whom the Word of the LORD" came, into an apostasy which has lasted fully three thousand years, since Jeroboam the son of Nebat who made Israel to sin, set up the two golden calves, one at Bethel and one at Dan. In another respect Jeroboam only followed the example which had been set at Dan four hundred years previously—making Priests of those who were not of the seed of Aaron to minister at the High Places.

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1 Gen. xlix. 9.

2 1 Kings xv. 20, &c.

3 Deut. xxvii. 13.

Lastly; though Dan is apparently to return with the rest of the tribes, and to be located again in the land of Israel,[1] it will, if the testimony of antiquity be true, be once more the seat of an apostasy which shall seduce all but the elect. And we may remark in passing, that this very mention of Dan in connection with the restored city and temple, in the latter part of Ezekiel, is partly a proof that the Prophet is not speaking of the city Zion which is above, nor of the new Jerusalem, in which S. John saw no temple; but that it is rather a prophecy descriptive in mystical language of [214] the restored polity of the children of Israel, when they shall return to their own land, and GOD shall feed them "upon the mountains of Israel." Thus we have examined, with scarcely an exception, every mountain of Dan in the Old Testament Scriptures, and we have found them uniform in the hints which they give, and the light which they seem to throw upon some mysterious connection between this tribe and the powers of evil throughout the entire course of Old Testament history and prophecy.

We are come now to examine if there be anything in the New Testament which may assist us in our inquiry. It is at once obvious that there is no mention, by name, of either the city or the tribe of Dan in any part of the New Testament Scriptures. Cæsarea Philippi, as the ancient Laish was then called, is mentioned upon one occasion.[2] But it was one of the very highest importance. It was when S. Peter pronounced his memorable declaration in answer to the question of our LORD, "Whom say ye that I, the Son of Man am?" "Thou art the CHRIST, the SON of the living GOD." And then CHRIST Himself replied immediately, "Verily I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Thus, if we have been correct in our previous conclusions with respect to Dan, we see that the tribe and the locality which are especially connected with the rise of Antichrist were chosen by the Providence of GOD as the very spot above all others, where the Incarnate SON should be confessed and proclaimed in the most solemn manner, by express revelation from the FATHER, as emphatically "The CHRIST."

We come now to what is, perhaps, the most significant of anything which has been adduced, the omission of any mention of the tribe of Dan in the seventh chapter of Revelation, which records the sealing of the 144,000 out of all the twelve tribes of Israel. These are they who correspond to and represent the innumerable company of the faithful, which no man could number, out of every nation, and tribe, and people, and tongue. All are found there except the tribe of Dan. Here it finally disappears, and another is found in its place, the tribe of Manasses. All the rest are there, the other tribes, sinful and wayward as their course had been, still of them all it might be said as in the early prophecy of the destiny of Gad, "The troop of false gods shall overcome them, but they shall overcome at the last." Even so the name of Judas, hypocrite and traitor though he were, appears in all the catalogues which are given in the Gospels of the twelve Apostles, until at last he falls for ever, and his "place is no more to be found." Then the prophetic curse is fulfilled, "Let his habitation be desolate, and his bishopric let another take." His name occurs no more in the sacred story, and Matthias takes the place "from which Judas by [215] transgression fell." So it is with the tribe of Dan. The long-suffering GOD bore with it through all the long course of Scripture history. The tribe is restored with the rest, and obtains an honourable position in the renewed earthly Zion; if indeed, as most probable, this be the meaning of

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1 Ezek. xlviii.

2 S. Matt. viii. 13, &c.

Ezekiel xlviii. 32, "And at the east side three gates; one gate of Joseph, one gate of Benjamin, one gate of Dan." But without doubt he will still be the "serpent in the way, the adder by the path." From him, as S. Gregory says, *that Antichrist*, of whom all other antichrists have been but faint types and shadows, shall arise to "bite the horse heels," that is, to afflict the bodies of the faithful; to vex, and make war against, and "wear out the saints of the Most High." But the Apocalypse looks onward still beyond the fulfilment of all the prophecies which concern the earth. It looks onward to the heavenly and eternal life of the saints. It gives us blessed glimpses, and opens out to us glorious vistas of the New Jerusalem, the city "not made with hands," the eternal spotless "Bride of the LAMB." Then, when its blessed possessors are numbered finally in mystic numbers, as 144,000 of all the tribes of the true "Israel of GOD," who are without guile, Dan is no longer amongst them. His name is blotted out of the Book of Life. The beast and the false prophet, Antichrist and his members and followers, all who have obeyed them and all whom they have seduced are cast together into the lake of fire, and the smoke of their torment goeth up for ever and ever.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 21. (Joseph Masters: London, 1859)

[465]RECENT SERMONS: KINGSLEY AND STANLEY.

The Good News of God: Sermons by CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. London: J. W. Parker. 1859.
The Unity of Evangelical and Apostolical Teaching. Sermons preached mostly in Canterbury Cathedral, by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, &c. &c. London: Murray. 1859.

THE present is a Sermon-reading age. Probably there never was a time when so large an amount of this class of religious literature was issued from the press, or was, on the whole, so favourably received. We regard this, in the main, as a healthy sign; as an indication that that powerful, mysterious entity, "the Public," is not unwilling to be instructed in religious matters, and looks with a sort of respectful satisfaction and deferential complacency upon the laudable efforts ever being made by its accredited teachers, to "do it good."

Under these circumstances, when writers of known ability, who have obtained a large measure of popular favour—who are looked upon as, in some sense, oracles, and leaders of thought, by considerable portions of the intelligent community—take upon themselves to give forth their "views" on religious subjects, write sermons, assume the responsible position of theological teachers—there is always real ground for serious and anxious solicitude that their teaching should be sound and salutary; in strict, uncompromising conformity with the "faith once delivered."

We confess, that volumes of sermons by popular writers always inspire us with a vague sense of apprehension: and we freely acknowledge that it was with feelings somewhat of this nature—by no means diminished by a recollection of former theological speculations by their gifted authors—that we applied ourselves to the perusal of the two volumes of Sermons named at the head of this Paper. We rejoice, however, at once to state that our original grounds of apprehension have been only very partially confirmed.

Mr. Kingsley's volume will occupy the greater part of our [466] space; his sermons being marked with a stronger character, and offering more points for special notice than those of Professor Stanley.

It cannot be denied that "*the Good News of God*" contains passages, (on some of which we shall have occasion to animadvert,) the presence of which is deeply to be regretted. Nevertheless—despite all blemishes—the sermons undoubtedly possess great merit: and, what is more, afford unquestionable evidence of a more decided and respectful bearing, on the part of the Rector of Eversley, towards the teaching of the Catholic Church. Their style is singularly attractive. Not that we admire the easy off-hand manner too often employed, even upon the most sacred and solemn subjects—at times degenerating into mere flippancy. This is a grave defect. But saving this, the style is hearty, vigorous and genial. There is a reality, and manly earnestness of tone pervading the sermons—a bracing freshness and energy—which renders them peculiarly effective and impressive. They are plain, straightforward, and practical; not unfrequently enlivened with glances of a somewhat keen irony; and occasionally betraying warm and deep feeling.

But we must leave the author for a while to speak for himself.

And, by way of commencement, we are glad of an opportunity for hearing Mr. Kingsley express himself on an important subject, on which he has not always spoken so distinctly and so well; and concerning which his sentiments have not unfrequently been unfavourably misrepresented.

We have heard and seen it laid to the charge of Mr. Kingsley, that he speaks and treats of men as good by nature, as "born good." The present volume contains an admirable sermon, entitled "Human Nature," on the text, "So GOD created man in His own Image," in which this subject is handled. The preacher maintains forcibly, that even man's original goodness before the Fall was no inherent goodness; but only the result of a supernatural endowment, viz. the sustaining and life-giving Presence of GOD the WORD; that this endowment could only be maintained by faith and obedience; that man forfeited this "gift " at the Fall; and that it is only by union with our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in Holy Baptism, that the gift is restored to him.

> "What then does Holy Baptism mean? It means that GOD lifts us up again to that honour from whence Adam fell. That as Adam lost the honour of being GOD'S son, so JESUS CHRIST restores to us that honour. That as Adam lost the supernatural grace in which he stood, so GOD for CHRIST'S sake freely gives us back that grace, that we may stand by faith in that CHRIST, the WORD of GOD, Whom Adam disbelieved, and fell away.
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> "Baptism says, You are not true and right men by nature; you are only fallen men—men in your wrong place: but by grace you become [467] men indeed, true men; men living as man was meant to live, by faith, which is the gift of GOD. For without grace man is like a stream when the fountain-head is stopped; it stops too—lies in foul puddles, decays, and at last dries up. To keep the stream pure and living and flowing, the Fountain above must flow, and feed it forever.
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> "And so it is with man. Man is the stream; CHRIST is the Fountain of Life. Parted from Him mankind becomes foul and stagnant in sin and ignorance; and at last dries up and perishes, because there is no life in them. Joined to Him in Holy Baptism, mankind lives, spreads, grows; becomes stronger, better, wiser year by year; each generation of His Church teaching the one which comes after; as our LORD says, not only 'If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink;' but also, 'He that believeth in Me, out of him shall flow rivers of living water.'. . . .
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> "Heathendom is the foul and stagnant pool, parted from CHRIST, the Fount of Life. Christendom, in spite of all its sins and shortcomings, is the stream always fed from the Heavenly Fountain. And Holy Baptism is the River of the Water of Life which S. John saw in the Revelation, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the Throne of GOD and of the LAMB, the trees of which are for the healing of the nations. And when that river shall have spread over the world, there shall be no more curse, but the Throne of GOD and of the LAMB shall be in the City of GOD . . . .
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> "Then—when all men are brought into the fold of CHRIST'S Holy Church—then will they be men indeed; men not after nature, but after Grace, and the likeness of CHRIST, and the stature of perfect men," &c. &c. Pp. 217—219.

The whole of this sermon is so good, and the practical duties flowing from its subject-matter so strikingly enforced, that we are loth to yield to the necessity of quoting so limited a portion.

The same subject is pursued in Sermon XXIX., "GOD'S Creation;" from which we extract the following:

> "Yes: we may say boldly now, Whatever has been; whatever sin I inherited from Adam; however sinful I came into this world; GOD looks on me now, not as I am in Adam, but as I am in CHRIST. I am in CHRIST now, baptized into CHRIST, a new creature in CHRIST; to CHRIST I belong, and not to Adam at all; and GOD looks now, not on the old corrupt nature which I inherited from Adam, but on the new and good Grace which GOD meant

> for me for all eternity, which CHRIST has given me now. It is that good and new Grace in me which GOD cares for; it is that good and new Grace which GOD is working on, to strengthen and perfect it, that I may grow in grace and in the likeness of CHRIST, and become at last what GOD intended me to be when He thought of me first before the foundation of all worlds, and said, 'Let Us make man in Our Image, after Our likeness.'"—p. 272.

But this doctrine of our re-creation in CHRIST made to minister to carelessness and inaction? By no means. Numerous [468] and earnest are the appeals to practical, personal godliness, scattered throughout the volume.

We will quote a characteristic passage from the Sermon on "True Repentance," directed against those who are for claiming the privileges of the Christian life without honestly striving to fulfil its duties; who console themselves with the idea that they are converted characters, because they like the excitement of hearing sermons and reading good books; who delude themselves with the notion that their sins are done away by CHRIST'S Blood when they are yet consciously living on in their sins.

> " Now, my dear friends, I complain of no one going to hear all the good they can; I complain of no one reading all the religious books they can: but I think—and more, I know—that hearing sermons and reading tracts may be, and is often, turned into a complete snare of the devil by people who do not wish to give up their sins and do right, but only want to be comfortable in their sins.
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> "Hear sermons if you will; read good books if you will: but bear in mind that you know already quite enough to lead you to repentance . . . .
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> "Now, my dear friends, let me ask you as reasonable beings, do you think that hearing me or any man preach, can save your souls alive? Do you think that sitting over a book an hour a day, or all day long, will save your souls alive? Do you think that your sins are washed away in CHRIST'S Blood, when they are there still, and you are committing them? Would they be here, and you doing them, if they were put away? Do you think that your sins can be put away out of GOD'S sight, if they are not even put out of your own sight? If you are doing wrong, do you think that GOD will treat you as if you were doing right? Cannot GOD see in you what you see in yourselves? Do you think a man can be clothed in CHRIST'S righteousness at the very same time that he is clothed in his own unrighteousness? Can he be good and bad at once? Do you think a man can be converted—that is, turned round—when he is going on his old road the whole week? Do you think that a man has repented—that is, changed his mind—when he is in just the same mind as ever, as to how he shall behave to his family, his customers, and everybody with whom he has to do? Do you think that a man is renewed by GOD'S Spirit, when except for few religious phrases, and a little more outside respectability, he is just the old man, the same character at heart, he ever was? . . . . 'Be not deceived, GOD is not mocked. What a man sows, that shall he reap.' Let no man deceive you. He that doeth righteousness is righteous even as CHRIST is righteous, and no one else.
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> He who tries to do as CHRIST did, and he only, has CHRIST'S righteousness imputed to him . . . . He who does righteousness, and he only, shall save his soul alive: not by *feeling* this thing, or *believing* about that thing, but by *doing* that which is lawful and right."—Pp. 119—121.

The following beautiful passage occurs in a Christmas Day Sermon, entitled "CHRIST-Child." [469]

"Yes, my dear children, you may think of GOD as a child now and always. For you, CHRIST is always the Babe of Bethlehem. Do not say to yourselves, 'CHRIST is grown up long ago; He is a full-grown Man.' He is, and yet He is not. His life is eternal in the Heaven, above all changes of time and space; for time and space are but His creatures and His tools. Therefore He can be all things to all men, because He is the Son of Man.

"Yes; all things to all men. Hearken to me, you children, and you grown-up children also, if there be any in this church—for if you will receive it, such is the Sacred Heart of JESUS—all things to all; and wherever there is the true heart of a true human being, there, beating in perfect answer to it, is the Heart of CHRIST.

"To the strong He can be strongest; and to the weak, weakest of all. With the mighty He can be the King of kings; and yet with the poor He can wander, not having where to lay His Head. With quiet Jacob He goes round the farm, among the quiet sheep; and yet He ranges with wild Esau over battle field, and desert, and far unknown seas. With the mourner He weeps for ever; and yet He will sit as of old—if He be but invited—and bless the marriage feast. For the penitent He hangs for ever on the Cross; and yet for the man who works for GOD his FATHER, He stands for ever in His glory, His eyes like a flame of fire, and out of His mouth a two-edged sword, judging the nations of the earth. With the aged and the dying, He goes down for ever into the grave; and yet with you, children, CHRIST lives for ever on His Mother's bosom, and looks up for ever into His Mother's face, full of young life, and happiness, and innocence, the everlasting CHRIST-Child, in Whom you must believe, Whom you must love, to Whom you must offer up your childish prayers.

"The day will come when you can no longer think as a child, or pray as a child, but put away childish things. I do not know whether you will be the happier for that change. GOD grant that you may be the better for it. Meanwhile go home, and think of the Baby JESUS, *your* LORD, *your* pattern, *your* SAVIOUR; and ask Him to make you such good children to your mothers, as the little JESUS was to the Blessed Virgin, when He increased in knowledge and in stature, and in favour both with GOD and man."—Pp. 179, 180.

We cannot withhold the following touching extract from Sermon XXXIII., "The Friend of Sinners."

"O blessed Charity, bond of peace and of all virtues; of brotherhood and fellow-feeling between man and man, as children of one common FATHER. Ay, bond of all virtues—of generosity and of justice, of counsel and of understanding. Charity, unknown on earth before the coming of the Son of Man, Who was content to be called gluttonous and a wine-bibber, because He was the Friend of publicans and sinners!

"My friends, let us try to follow His steps; let us remember all day long what it is to be *men*; that it is to have every one whom we meet, for our brother in the sight of GOD; that it is *this*, never to meet any one, however bad he may be, for whom we cannot say, 'CHRIST died [470] {#6} for that man, and CHRIST cares for him still. He is precious in GOD'S eyes; he shall be in mine also.' . . . .

"And if any of you have a neighbour or a relation fallen into sin, even into utter shame; oh, for the sake of Him Who ate and drank with publicans and sinners, never cast them off, never trample on them, never turn your back upon them. They are miserable enough already, doubt it not. Do not add one drop to their cup of bitterness. They are ashamed of themselves already, doubt it not. Do not you destroy in them what small grain of self-respect still remains. You fancy they are not so. They seem to you brazen-faced, proud,

> impenitent. So did the publicans and harlots seem to those proud, blind Pharisees. Those pompous, self-righteous fools did not know what terrible struggles were going on in those poor sin-tormented hearts. Their pride had blinded them, while they were saying all along, 'It is we alone who see. This people, which knoweth not the law, is accursed.' Then came the LORD JESUS, the Son of Man, Who knew what was in man; and He spoke to them gently, cordially, humanly; and they heard Him, and justified GOD, and were baptized confessing their sins; and so, as He said Himself, the publicans and harlots went into the kingdom of GOD before those proud, self-conceited Pharisees." . . .
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> "And now, I will give you one lesson to carry home with you . . . . And my lesson is this. When you go out from this church into those crowded streets, remember that there is not a soul in them who is not as precious in GOD'S eyes as you are; not a little dirty ragged child whom JESUS, were He again on earth, would not take up in His arms and bless; not a publican or a harlot with whom, if they but asked Him, He would not eat and drink—now, here, in London on this Sunday, the 8th of June, 1856, as certainly as He did in Jewry beyond the seas, eighteen hundred years ago. Therefore do to all who are in want of your help, as JESUS would do to them if He were here; as JESUS is doing to them already: for He is here among us now and for ever seeking and saving that which was lost."—Pp. 319—324.

But we might easily multiply striking passages did our space admit of it. Among the Sermons deserving special commendation we may mention a deeply touching and beautiful one entitled "Dark Times;" an admirable Sermon on "True Prudence;" another equally valuable, headed "Heroes and Heroines;" and also a peculiarly suggestive and original one on "Music." For the interesting and ingenious line of thought contained in this last, as to the respective powers and functions of 'Melody' and 'Harmony' in musical composition, and the fundamental Archetypal Verities of which they are severally the earthly symbols and expressions, every devout musician, who reads the Sermon, must feel thankful.

In fact, throughout the whole volume there is so much to admire, that we feel loth to apply ourselves to the less grateful task of finding fault. But we have no alternative.

And first, we cannot but repeat our objection to the light and trifling manner in which subjects of the gravest import are occasionally handled. We are far from entertaining any rigid desire [471] to see all vivacity of style banished from the pulpit. By no means. Only let due care he taken that the subject-matter be such as will fairly admit of a lively treatment. To hear solemn and momentous themes referred to in a careless, indifferent tone is simply distressing. It is necessary for the preacher, it is necessary for his hearers, that the very approaches to these regions of awe and mystery should be guarded with scrupulous reverence; that the command, "Loose thy shoe from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground," should ever be devoutly regarded.

Now what subject can be conceived, in connection with which the faintest approach to levity would be more painfully unbecoming than the terrible theme of the final doom of the impenitent. And yet Mr. Kingsley seldom refers to that dread subject but in an easy half-joking way, which strikes us as singularly deplorable.

Thus, he disfigures one of his best Sermons by the following flippant dissuasive against people needlessly distressing themselves whether they shall he saved or not.

> "In the first place, my friends, the Devil was a liar from the beginning, and therefore the chances are a million to one against his speaking the truth in any case; and if he tells

> you that you are going to be damned, I should take that for a fair sign that you are *not* going to be damned, simply because the Devil says it, and therefore it *cannot* be true." P. 282.

In fact, the salutary fear of future judgment—the personal application of the terrible warning, "The wicked shall be turned into Hell"—seems to be, throughout the volume, generally attributed to the suggestion of the Devil himself, "the Devil who slanders and curses GOD to men, and men to GOD."

> "And men [so he continues in his last sermon]—men who preach the Devil's doctrine, will talk to us likewise, and say, 'Yes, GOD is very dreadful, and very angry with you. GOD certainly intends to damn you. But *I* have a plan for delivering out of GOD'S hands; *I* know what you must do to be saved from GOD—join *my* sect or party, and believe and work with me, and then you will escape GOD.'
>
> "But, after all, would it not be wiser, my friends, to hold our own tongues, and let GOD Himself speak."—P. 372.

In another place he contrasts himself with other teachers in these words:

> "I am here to talk to you about what is really going on in your soul, and mine; not to repeat to you doctrines at second-hand out of a book, and say, 'There, that is what you have to believe and do; and if you do not, *you will go to Hell*;' but to speak to you as men of like passions with myself," &c.—P. 259.

Here is another passage, the mischievous exaggeration of which strikes us as extremely painful:
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> "If I were to get up in this pulpit, and preach the terrors of the law, and Wrath of GOD, and Hell fire: if I tried to bind heavy burdens on you and grievous to be borne, crying—you *must* do this, you *must* feel that, you *must* believe the other—while I, having fewer temptations and more education than you, touched not those burdens with one of my fingers; if I tried to make out as many sins as I could against you, crying continually, This was wrong, and that was wrong, making you believe that GOD is *always on the watch to catch you tripping*, and telling you that the least of your sins deserves endless torment—things which neither I nor any man can find in the Bible, nor in common justice, nor common humanity, nor elsewhere, save in the lying mouth of the Great Devil himself;—or if I put into your hands books of self-examination (as they are called) full of long lists of sins, frightening poor innocents, and defiling their thoughts and consciences, and making the heart of the righteous sad, whom GOD has not made sad;—if I, in plain English, had my mouth full of cursing and bitterness, threatening and fault-finding, and distrustful, and disrespectful, and insolent language about you my parishioners: why then I might fancy myself a Christian Priest, and a minister of the Gospel, and a very able, and eloquent, and earnest one; and might perhaps gain for myself the credit of being a 'searching preacher,' by speaking evil of people who are most of them as good and better than I, and by taking a low, mean, false view of that human nature which GOD made in His own Image and CHRIST justified in His own man's flesh, and soul, and spirit: but instead of being an able minister of the New Covenant, or of the Spirit of GOD, I should be no such man, but the very opposite," &c. &c.—Pp. 128—129.

Now this unfortunate passage indicates, only too clearly, one of the dangerous tendencies of this attractive volume. What is its title? "*Good* News of GOD." Hence those parts of GOD'S revealed mind and will, which are not supposed to come under the category of

'*good*;' which are not likely to commend themselves to the acceptance of that mixed mass of characters composing an ordinary congregation—as for instance, His hatred of sin, and assured future punishment of the sinner—these must be either veiled, or gilded over. The revealed character of GOD is, in this volume, only *partially* represented; and is therefore *mis*represented. The "good news of GOD," is not GOD'S *own* 'good news' concerning Himself.

GOD is represented, indeed, (we quote Mr. Kingsley's irreverent language,) as "an *honest*, and *honourable*, and *fair* GOD: not a deceiving or unfair GOD, who lays snares for His creatures, or leads them into temptation. That would be a *bad God*, a cruel GOD." But there seems to be no adequate recognition of the august and awful *Holiness* of GOD; of the terrible malignity of sin—necessitating the ineffable Mystery of the Divine Atonement—and of the consequent and inevitable "fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation" for those who reject the Mercy held out to them.
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Consistently with all this, Repentance is represented as the easiest possible work:—

> "As soon as man turns round, and, instead of doing wrong, tries to do right, he need be under no manner of fear or terror any more. He is taken back into his FATHER'S house as freely and graciously as the prodigal son in the parable was. Whatsoever dark score there was against him in GOD'S books, is wiped out *there and then* (!), and he starts clear, a new man, with a fresh chance of life. And whosoever tells him that the score is not wiped out, lies, and contradicts flatly GOD'S Holy Word."—P. 122.

Here is no mention whatever made of "godly sorrow" for past sin, of lowly contrition, or confession. The " Ministry of Reconciliation" is simply and entirely ignored. These humbling doctrines seem to form no portion of the "Good News " which Mr. Kingsley feels commissioned to announce to a flock, who are "most of them as good, and better than himself." It is only necessary to add, that if Mr. Kingsley's statement of the doctrine of the "Remission of Sins," viz., that, "as soon as a man turns round, and instead of doing wrong tries to do right . . . . whatsoever dark score there was against him in GOD'S books is wiped out there and then," be a full and sufficient statement, then such passages as (e.g.) S. John xx.

23, Gal. vi. 1; S. James v. 14—16; 1 S. John i. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 10; vii. 10, 11; together with others of a similar character, which illustrate or enunciate the conditions of Evangelical Forgiveness, and the ordinary channels through which it is conveyed, have no abiding meaning, and might never have been written.

We have no wish to misrepresent Mr. Kingsley. We doubt not his object is to show GOD'S loving readiness to forgive; and, at the same time, to insist on the necessity of a change of life, to render forgiveness possible. Moreover, that the grant of forgiveness is for the alone "sake of JESUS, the Lamb slain," he distinctly assures us. But still, this doctrine of Repentance and remission is of far too momentous a nature to be treated so carelessly and imperfectly, and in a way so likely to mislead, as is unfortunately the case in the present volume. The only allusion to the Ministry of Reconciliation, and to the "good news of GOD"—that "He hath given *power* and commandment to His Ministers" (acting in their Master's Name) "to declare and *pronounce* to His people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins"—occurs in a foolish and uncharitable attack upon the practice of Confession in the Church of Rome. (p. 117.)

But the most reprehensible portion of Mr. Kingsley's "Good News" is, where he dares to intimate to his flock that repentance and forgiveness may take place even in *Hell*

What else is the meaning of the following passage, from a striking Sermon, entitled, "the Measure of the Cross?" He is [474] descanting upon the wide-extending efficacy of the Cross of CHRIST. After speaking of the *breadth*, and *length*, and *height* of the Cross, he proceeds:—

> "And how *deep* is the Cross of CHRIST?
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> "This is a great Mystery, and one which people in these days are afraid to look at . . . But if the Cross of CHRIST be as high as Heaven, then, it seems to me, it must also be as deep as Hell, *deep enough to reach the deepest sinner in the deepest pit to which he may fall*. We know that CHRIST descended into Hell . . . . . We know that when the wicked man turns from his wickedness, and does what is lawful and right, he will save his soul alive. We know that GOD tells us that His ways are not *unequal*—that He has not one law for one man, and another for another, and one law for one year, and another for another. It is possible, therefore, that *He has not one law for this life, and another for the life to come*." (The italics are our own.)—P. 152.

Now what, we repeat, is the plain purport of this passage, but to intimate that after this life—in Hell itself—in the abodes of the lost—there is a prospect of Repentance[1] and Recon-ciliation; that the Cross of CHRIST may save those who are there suffering the everlasting penalty irrevocably attached to the wilful rejection, in this life, of Salvation by the Cross; that GOD in fact, may, after all, deny Himself: and that the dread threatenings of Holy Scripture, which tell of the "wrath to come," and the hopeless anguish of those who shall be subjects of that wrath, are, perhaps, a *fabrication*.

We can only enter our warm and indignant protest against this style of preaching, which, without daring overtly to deny the simple statements of GOD'S written Word, and the plain teaching of the Church, yet sets itself to invest them with an atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty; which satisfies itself by *insinuating* that probably GOD does not really mean what He says; which whispers "Peace, peace, when there is no peace;" which seeks to blunt the edge and weaken the force of GOD'S merciful, but awful warnings; which hints that Everlasting Death is not, perchance, an object of such woeful dread, as we have been led to imagine, for that it *may*, possibly, come to an end—Eternal Death *may* be but the vestibule [475] of Eternal Life—the Great Gulf *may* have been bridged over by this time, and a passage have been discovered from the abyss of Hell, and the company of devils and lost souls, into the realms of the Blessed, and the Presence of the chamber of GOD?

How does S. Chrysostom address those who seek to weaken the force of Divine threatenings?

> "Why deceive thyself, O man, and put cheats upon thy soul? Why fight with the *Love* of GOD toward man. For through *Love* it was that He threatened Hell, to the end that we

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[1] [Greek]—*S. Clem. Rom.* Ep. ii. c.8

"Quando istinc excessum fuerit *nullus* jam *pœnitentiæ locus* est, nullus satisfactionis effectus: *hic* vita aut amittitur, aut tenetur; *hic* saluti æternæ cultu DEI et fructi fidei providetur." *S. Cypr.* ad Demetr.

We sincerely regret to observe the same objectionable line of thought (suggesting a "locus pœnitentiæ" for the damned) stealthily reappearing, and introducing itself in a most attractive and seemingly unexceptionable language, in the Sermon "De Profundis." In fact, so far as we are able to penetrate into the not very manifest meaning of this Sermon, it appears to us that the hope of final deliverance from the very abyss of Hell, even after the departure from this life, underlies its whole teaching. We notice an explanation of the parable of Dives and Lazarus casually volunteered, which refers to "torments" of the former merely to this world. Vid. p. 71.

> might not be cast into it, having by this *fear* become better. And, thus, he who does away with speaking on these subjects, doth nothing else than covertly thrust us into Hell, and drive us thither by this deceit. Slacken not the hands of those, then, that labour for virtue, nor *make the listlessness of the that sleep greater*. For if the many be persuaded that there is no Hell, when will they leave off vice?"—Hom. xxvi. in Ep. ad Rom.

And again,—

> "Let us continually bear in mind the awful Judgment-seat, the stream of fire, the indissoluble chains, the darkness with no ray of light, the gnashing of teeth, and the venomous worm." . . . And this torment shall last for ever. . . . "For, that there shall *never* be any termination, hear His own words: 'Their worm shall *not* die, neither shall the fire he quenched.' And, ' These shall go away into everlasting Life, the other into everlasting punishment.' Now if the *Life* be *eternal*, the *punishment* is likewise *eternal* . . . Let then those that talk in this way; [i.e. weakening the force of GOD'S threatenings,] leave off deceiving both themselves and others: since even for these words of theirs will they be punished, for detracting from those awful things, and undoing the awe of many who are minded to be in earnest."—Hom. xxv. in Ep. ad Rom.

It will be at once seen from this brief extract from S. Chrysostom, as it might be shown from multitudes of kindred passages from the great Fathers and Doctors of the Church, how entirely they were ignorant of the modern gloss of Mr. Maurice and his sceptical school, which seeks to evacuate of their force and terror the dread warnings of Scripture with regard to the *Eternity* of punishment, and Eternal Death, by ruling that all idea of time must he eliminated from our conception of the word Eternal; that the word must be scrupulously dissociated from any notion of *duration*, else we shall utterly fail in apprehending its signification.

We venture to think that the great Saints of bygone times, "mighty in the Scriptures," are more to be trusted on such points than the shallow self-confident speculators of modern days.

To refer for instance to the passage just quoted. What does S. Chrysostom mean, when he argues from our LORD'S own words, that the punishment in store for the ungodly is no less *eternal* than is the Life which shall be the reward of the righteous? Does he [476] *intend* us to disconnect Eternity from any conception of duration? On the contrary, the very question he is answering is one in which endless continuance is the uppermost idea. "How is it [argues the objector,] that we are to be the subjects of a *deathless* punishment ([Greek]) hereafter, after having sinned here only a short time ([Greek])?

In like manner, in another place (How. xxxiii. in I Ep. ad Cor.) he writes: "As the punishments here cease with the present life; so the future punishments continue for ever ([Greek]).

Elsewhere he writes of the [Greek] (Hom. v. ad pop. Antioch.)

How, again, does S. John Damascene define "*Eternal*" punishment in his Treatise [Greek] (Lib. ii. Orthod. Fid. e. 1.)? He says that the word "*Eternal*" describes the *interminable condition* ([Greek]) of the future state. "After the Resurrection," he adds, "there will be no more computation by days and nights; rather one day without evening; . . .but to sinners a night profound and *endless*." ([Greek])

The following passage from S. Gregory is much to the point:

> "Sunt enim nunc etiam, qui idcirco peccatis suis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoque finem futura super se judicia suspicantur. Quibus breviter respondemus: Si quandoque finienda sunt supplicia reproborum, quandoque finienda sunt ergo et gaudia beatorum: per semetipsam namque Veritas dicit, 'Ibunt hi in supplicium: æternum, justi autem in vitam æternam.' Si igitur hoc verum non est quod minatus est, neque verum ets illud quod promisit." (S. Greg. Magn. Moral. Lib. xxxiv. cap. 19.)

And the following to the same effect, from S. Augustine.

> "Si *utrumque* 'æternum;' profecto, aut *utrumque cum fine diuturnum*, aut *utrumque sine fine perpetuum* debet intelligi. Paria *enim* relata sunt, hinc 'supplicium æternum,' inde 'vita æterna.' Dicere autem in hoc uno eodemque sensu, 'vita æterna' sine fine erit, 'supplicium æternum' finem habebit, multum absurdum est. Unde, quia 'vita æterna' Sanctorum *sine fine* erit, 'supplicium' quoque 'æternum' quibus erit, *finem* procul dubio *non habebit*."[1]

But it is needless to multiply quotations, or to look elsewhere; for Holy Scripture itself, not only nowhere leads us to disconnect the idea of endless duration from our conception of eternal punishment, but absolutely compels us to recognise it as one awful and [477] inevitable constituent of that punishment. "There is no comfort" (writes Archer Butler,) "in those unsubstantial shadows which the impatient curiosity, or secret terrors of man have interposed between himself and the inevitable truth. They leave us unsheltered, unreprieved; naked and trembling before the terrible simplicity of Revelation—of those unambiguous Oracles in which that GOD, Who is a 'consuming fire,' hath described Himself in the very volume of Mercy, as bidding the cursed into 'everlasting fire,' into a 'fire that is not quenched,' that is 'unquenchable,' whose 'smoke ascendeth up for ever,' whose 'torment is *day and night for ever and ever*.'"

That we are unable to grasp the appalling reality, here threatened, in its absolute truth, is unquestioned. In order to do this—in order to apprehend it 'in the way of direct perception'—we should need 'faculties on the scale of Eternity itself.'

But what we maintain and what not all the mischievous sophistry of Mr. Maurice and his sentimental school[2] can prevail to disprove—is this;—that Holy Scripture does deliberately exhibit Eternal punishment under the aspect of an endless duration of woe;—that (if language is designed to convey any idea whatever), this representation of the *perpetuity* of happiness or misery, and of the fixed and irreversible nature of the sentence pronounced at the Judgment, is a representation which the GOD of Love and Truth Himself *intends* to press upon us, as at once a stimulus to our sluggish exertions, and also as the best

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[1] In the same chapter he writes: "Ceterum, eos qui putant *minaciter* potiusquam *veraciter* dictum: 'Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem *æternum*;' et, 'Ibunt isti in supplicium *æternum*;' et, 'Cruciabunt in *secula seculorum*;' et, 'Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis non extinguitur;' et cætera hujusmodi; non tam *ego*, quam ipsa Scriptura Divina planissime atque plenissime redarguit et refellit."

But see this melancholy question, as o the hopeless perpetuity of the woe of the condemned, discussed in the "*Summa.*" Suppl. Q. 99.

[2] We must not be understood to make Mr. Kingsley responsible for all Mr. Maurice's hollow speculations on the word 'eternal.' How far he would endorse them we know not. We merely know that, by whatever theoretical processes, they both *seem* to arrive at the same practical conclusion, that the Catholic Church, in teaching unhesitatingly for eighteen hundred years the everlasting and unalterable woe of the damned, has been teaching erroneously.

It is only right to add that, in one of his sermons, Mr. Kingsley does emphatically *connect* the idea of perpetual duration with the word 'eternal.' He says that nothing can be designated 'eternal' but what has *already* existed from everlasting—in fact, but GOD Himself. And yet he seems to speak (p. 215) of our LORD'S *human* nature as "eternal." He surely cannot mean to intimate that It has existed from everlasting.

expression and translation into the language of our finite conceptions, of an inconceivable and inexpressible Reality;—that it becomes, therefore, the solemn and imperative duty of those who wish to conform their teaching with that of GOD'S Revelation, faithfully and fearless to proclaim this Truth in GOD'S own language;—and that those who, presuming to be wiser, or more just, or more merciful than GOD, in any measure seek to conceal, or improve upon, this portion of His Revelation, are in so far, grievously dishonouring GOD, trifling with their own souls, and imperilling the souls of those whom GOD has entrusted to their keeping.

We have dwelt at length, perhaps, on certain objectionable features in Mr. Kingsley's sermons, than their prominence in the [478] volume seemed to call for. But error is not less dangerous because it does not thrust itself obtrusively forward; because it presents itself in seemingly unexceptionable guise, and in company with much that is truly good and excellent.

In conclusion however, we still have pleasure in recording our conviction that, with all its failings alike in style and matter, this volume possesses sterling merit, and is replete with what is noble in thought and forcible in expression. Many of the sermons are such as few can read without benefit; without feeling themselves braced up to a more cheerful and vigorous discharge of their duties, and actuated by a more loving trust in GOD, and more lively sympathy with their fellow men. Nor must we fail to notice with satisfaction, the many expressions of genuine unaffected reverence for the Church of England spontaneously and unobtrusively presenting themselves throughout the volume. Neither, lastly, can we withhold an expression of pleasure at the tokens which the book affords, that, notwithstanding his occasional theological aberrations, this able and vigorous writer is steadily gravitating towards a deeper and more unreserved submission to the teaching of the Church Catholic; that he is losing somewhat of his over self-reliance; is becoming more humble, teachable, receptive; and thus qualifying himself for greater usefulness, and for the attainment of larger measures of that True Wisdom, whereof the Eternal SPIRIT is the alone Inspirer, the Sacred Scriptures the sole infallible depository, the "Holy Church throughout all the world," the one only divinely authorized mouthpiece and exponent.

Mr. Kingsley's sermons have detained us so long, that we have small space for those of Professor Stanley. Nor need the latter occupy us long. In their general cast and complexion they are utterly dissimilar to those of Mr. Kingsley. Instead of practical, homely discourses, characterized by a terse pointed brevity, and rugged energy, we meet with carefully elaborated and finished compositions, pervaded by a tone of chastened refinement, and graceful gentleness, but, withal, deficient in force and point. The language, we need hardly say, is thoroughly unexceptionable—at times, peculiarly felicitous and picturesque: but most of the sermons are too fragmentary and discursive, too indefinite in aim, for the pulpit; and are far more suited for quiet reading in the study.

We consider the somewhat ambitious title of the book as unfortunate. It awakens expectations which are doomed to disappointment.

As a treatise on the 'Unity of Evangelical and Apostolical Teaching'—an attempt (so we should interpret the title) to exhibit, in some sort of systematic and scientific manner, the absolute oneness of Evangelical and Epistolary portions of the New Testament, underlying their diversity of style and matter; to point [479] out the essential identity of 'the Gospel,' as proclaimed in the perfection of its Divine integrity by our LORD, and as expanded, developed, applied in the teaching of His Inspired Apostles; to exemplify how the explicit 'doctrinal' announcements which meet us in the writings of the latter, are all contained,

implicitly and in germ, in the living, pregnant utterances of the Incarnate WORD—regarded in this light, the book strikes us a complete failure.

In fact, as in any sense a contribution to pure, or exegetical theology, (as the title would lead us to anticipate) the work is thoroughly disappointing. Professor Stanley's mind is eminently unscientific and untheological. As for dogmatic theology, he evidently shrinks, with pious horror, from the very name of the thing. It is rather amusing to observe how instinctively he recoils from committing himself to any doctrinal statement whatever. Nay—he is ever seeking to impress upon us that 'doctrine' merely means 'teaching,' i.e., '*practice*;' and that practical Christianity is purely independent of speculative questions.

Hear the easy, gentle way in which he sums up the general "object he has had in view in these discourses:"—

> "It is not that I wish to disparage creeds or sacraments," [we feel duly grateful for the admission] "or ceremonies, or absence of ceremonies, or circumcision or uncircumcision,[!] or clergy or congregation, anything else that GOD has given, or that man has invented for the support and the nourishment of *faith*[1] within us. All and each of these in their place *may* be most worthy of attention, of study, of explanation. But what the Apostle teaches, is that all these things are means to an end; and this end is the making of men, women, and children wiser, happier, and better—in one word, more like CHRIST, and more fit for Heaven. This is the proportion of faith, as it is set forth in Scripture. Compared with this, all other things are as nothing," &c., &c.—Pp. 270, 271.

To like effect he writes in another passage, in a most jejune and superficial Sermon on the "New Creation." He is alluding to our religious "differences," and thus delivers himself:—

> "Think of those differences in the *gravest* form in which you like to put them; think of the Church, the *party*, the *sect*, the *opinions*, against which you feel most keenly. And then remember that 'in CHRIST JESUS' they 'avail nothing at all.' They may avail, they may be of importance, socially, ecclesiastically, politically, philosophically . . . . but not 'in CHRIST JESUS' . . . . because they *belong not to the* [480] *essentials* of religion, not to its substance, not to its life, but only to its outward accidents, its bulwarks and defences. We do not find them in the life of CHRIST in the Gospels; we do not find them in the parts of the Epistles which most nearly resemble the Gospels, and which are *most near to the Spirit of* CHRIST (!)."—Pp. 193—194.

Now, in so far as this paragraph has any meaning at all, (which we venture to doubt,) it is deserving of the severest possible censure. It is simply a repetition of Pope's famous distich:—

> "For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight:
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

Any comment upon the lax and mischievous tendency of the above extract would, we are persuaded, be superfluous.

We merely notice, in passing, the last clause, in which Dr Stanley speaks of certain portions of the Epistles being "*more near to the Spirit* of CHRIST" than others: and we ask, Does he believe, or does he not, that it was One and the same Divine SPIRIT who "spake by

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[1] This barren Zuinglian conception of the Holy Sacraments, that they are mere aids to *faith*, appears to be the only one entertained by Dr. Stanley. As for any recognition of their being the Divinely ordained means of joining us to, and incorporating us with CHRIST, of communicating to us "of His fulness," and making us "partakers of the Divine Nature"—we look in vain for it. Thus, we read again in the 7th Sermon: "They" [sacraments, &c.] "are all means to an end; and that end is to give us a firmer and fuller *belief* in CHRIST." Cf. pp. 94, 95.

the SON," (for "He whom GOD hath sent speaketh the words of GOD, *because* GOD giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him,") and who "spake by" the Apostles—does he not believe, moreover, that the same plenary Inspiration pervades all their canonical writings *equally*; or does he hold that some portions of the Epistles are more inspired than others?

We ask this, because the incidental allusions to Scripture Inspiration scattered throughout the volume, are most perplexing. Whether the accomplished Professor has any definite 'views' on this important subject or not, we are hopelessly unable to discover. We trust the following expression of opinion may be more intelligible to our readers than it is to ourselves.

> "We sometimes ask, what is meant by Inspiration. This is Inspiration. It is Inspiration, it is the Gift of GOD'S Spirit, that through the whole of the Scriptures there is, though expressed in divers manners,' the same unmistakeable *mode of speaking* 'with authority, and not as the scribes.' We feel as we read that there is in the Scriptures a solemnity, a simplicity, a dignity which ordinary writers have not. They command our attention," &c., &c.—P. 70.

But it would, unfortunately, be easy enough to multiply instances of lax, careless, superficial, or defective theological teaching dispersed throughout this volume. Let us rather turn, for one moment, to a more grateful task, and acknowledge, as we cordially do, the real excellence of much that is contained in it.

There is a spirit of gentle wisdom, of persuasive and thoughtful earnestness pervading the hortatory and practical portions of these discourses (which occupy a considerable portion of the book) which lends a value and charm to the whole volume, and which greatly tends to atone for its grave deficiencies, and to counterbalance the [481] disappointment awakened by its inadequate fulfilment of its professed object.

Again: although in the sacred domain of Scripture Exposition and Interpretation, into which the author's subject-matter necessarily conducts him, we meet with nothing profound, nothing indicating any far penetrating spiritual intuition; still, in the lower regions of illustration and application, we meet with much that is valuable, interesting, original and suggestive.

We feel that a writer who can pen such sermons, as, for instance, the admirable one on the "Wisdom of CHRIST," with others of nearly equal merit, contained in the present series, is one from whom the Church has a right to look for much true and useful service. GOD grant that such expectations may even yet be realised!

We rise from the perusal of both these volumes with the same mingled feelings; of having been, on the one hand, interested, instructed, (we trust) benefited; but yet, on the other, pained and disappointed.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 22 (Joseph Masters: London, 1860)

[62]GALTON'S LECTURES ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Notes of Lectures on the Book of Revelation, delivered in the parish church of S. Sidwell, Exeter. By JOHN LINCOLN GALTON, M.A., Incumbent. Two Vols. London: Masters.

THE increased attention paid by sober-minded and devout men in all sections of the Church to the study of the Apocalypse, is unquestionably one of the significant marks of the present time.

That the minds of Christians will be more and more turned to this "Sure Word of Prophecy" as the world's twilight grows on apace; that the necessity for its Divine guidance will be more anxiously felt, as the evening closes in—is to be fully anticipated; nor can it be doubted but that, amid the deepening gloom and lengthening shadows, the Light shining from its pages will ever appear, to those who "take heed to it," to burn with a more clear, steady, and welcome radiance.

The Author of the present Lectures seems to us to have undertaken a good and seasonable work, in endeavouring, in a thoroughly sober and catholic spirit, to popularise the study of the Revelation of S. John; and, by employing it as a vehicle for earnest practical teaching, to demonstrate how replete it is—even notwithstanding its mysteries—with matter for "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction."

Mr. Galton's volumes take the form, not of a commentary, but of a continuous series of short, earnest, practical sermons (delivered extempore, and taken down in short-hand by one who attended the course) during the progress of which the preacher boldly conducts his hearers through the entire range of the Revelation of S. John.

To say that the work loses, in a strictly exegetical point of view, by its homiletic character; that, as an exposition of the whole Apocalypse, it bears traces of lack of system and precision; that it somewhat fails in continuity, clearness, definiteness; that it suffers from its discursive and fragmentary character—is only to say what might have been more or less anticipated of an attempt of this nature.

We cannot but feel, moreover, that the "Notes" would have gained by compression and retrenchment. The frequent digressions—whether explanations of other portions of Holy Scripture, or allusions to matters of ephemeral or local concern, or applications of the several Sermons to the successive seasons of the Christian year in which they chanced to be preached—although often striking and felicitous, interesting doubtless to those who heard [63] the Sermons, and calculated to impart a life-like reality to the whole, are yet hardly possessed of sufficient permanent and intrinsic importance to warrant their reproduction, in a published form, in a work devoted to the elucidation of the most mysterious and difficult of all books. These extraneous accretions swell the volumes needlessly, arrest the regular flow of thought; and, by increasing the labour of reading, and the difficulty of reference (there is no index), in some measure detract from the value and usefulness of the book to the ordinary Apocalyptic student.

Still we not the less regard Mr. Galton's "Notes" as a valuable and successful attempt, as abounding in beautiful and suggestive matter, and well worthy the perusal of all thoughtful Christian people.

In Mr. Galton's general system of interpretation we find so much with which we cordially coincide, that, in adverting to one or two points wherein we are compelled to differ from his conclusions, we do so, not with any view to depreciate his work as a whole; but rather, by suggesting differences of opinion, to contribute, in however slight degree, in forwarding the common aim of author and reviewer—namely, the clearing up of some of the multitudinous difficulties which encompass the Apocalyptic Visions.

The very first verse of the Revelation presents two points on which we are unable to accept the conclusions of the Lecturer:

"The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, which GOD gave unto Him, to show unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass."

Now the Lectures open with the consideration of the question: What is the meaning of the expression, "The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST?" Does it signify that our LORD Himself is the *Revealer*, or that the object of the Revelation is to reveal *Him*? Is it "CHRIST the Revealer, or CHRIST the Revealed?"

Mr. Galton decides, erroneously as we think, in favour of the latter. "The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST," he says, "is the Revealing of JESUS CHRIST: that is, the subject-matter of the book is to unfold Him in His glory, even as the Gospels do in the main unfold Him in His humiliation."

But if this be the meaning, what (we would ask) is the force of the accompanying words, "*which God gave to Him*?"

We must remember that our Blessed LORD, in the days of His humiliation (as our Author forcibly reminds us) was a participator in human ignorance. The mysteries of the latter days were hidden from Him as man. In unutterable condescension He "took upon Him the form of a servant." But "the servant knoweth not what His LORD doeth." Hence in that Gospel which peculiarly reveals our LORD under the aspect of the Servant,[1] we meet with the [64] astounding announcement, "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the Angels which are in Heaven, *neither the Son*; but the FATHER."

But with His Resurrection and Ascension, His Human Nature received new and transcendent capacities. It became penetrated and invested with "all the fulness of the Godhead." "GOD highly exalted Him." That Dignity and Divinity which, as GOD, He had possessed from all eternity, as Man, He received from the FATHER as a reward for His meritorious obedience and sufferings. And as one evidence of this exaltation, and forming part of the vast endowment, GOD gave to Him, as Mediator and Head of the Church, this Revelation as to the future of His Visible and Mystical Body. No sooner does He receive the Revelation than He communicates it to His Church, in conformity with His own previous words, "All things which the FATHER hath showed to Me, *I have made known* unto you." We conceive then that the expression under notice evidently brings before us "CHRIST as the *Revealer*."

The orderly and mysterious chain of communication between Heaven and earth in the Economy of Grace, as indicated in this verse, is not a little worthy of attention. The

[1] The Gospel according to S. Mark; vide *Ecclesiastic*, vol. xv. p. 362—4.

FATHER gives the Revelation to the SON. The SON communicates the Revelation to an Angel. The Angel in turn, by means of a marvellous system of symbols, exhibits it to the entranced gaze of the Holy Seer of Patmos. The Apostle transcribes these symbols, and bequeaths them to the reverent contemplation of the Church.

The other point on which we differ from our Author in this verse is his interpretation of the words [Greek]. He rejects the ordinary rendering, "the things which must shortly come to pass," and substitutes, "things which are to come to pass *in a short space of time:*" i. e., things which, when GOD begins to work them (whether shortly or long hence) shall be all "consummated within an incredibly brief period of man's history." This rendering is adopted in consequence of its agreeing, better than the ordinary one, with the general scheme of interpretation advocated throughout the book.

Here are two features of that scheme against which the common translation appears to militate.

The first—that the whole cycle of events up to chap. xx. refers wholly and exclusively to a very brief critical period immediately preceding the Second Advent.

The second—that, *previous* to this period, chap. xx. predicts the thousand years reign of CHRIST and His saints; of which anon.

It is obvious, then, how much more favourable to both these points of exegesis, is the suggested, than the ordinarily received interpretation of [Greek]. For, first, all reference to the great events of former times, as (e. g.) the Downfall of Heathen Rome, the Rise of the Mahomedan power, the Revival of the Empire under [65] Charlemagne—so earnestly insisted on by varying commentators—will be at once excluded, by the fact of their having extended over a long series of years: whereas the cycle of events which it is the particular province of the Apocalypse to disclose, is one which, once entered upon, must be consummated [Greek], in "an incredibly brief period of man's history."—And, secondly, the *previous* position of the thousand years will be thus found to be in strict accordance with the other Revelations of the Book; inasmuch as the Interpreting Angel gives no reason for supposing that this dread series of events shall be fulfilled either *before* or *after* the expiration of a thousand years; but merely affirms that whensoever (whether shortly, or after a protracted period) "these things *begin* to come to pass," they will be evolved with amazing rapidity.

Now without any reference to the supposed exigencies of any system of interpretation, we must merely express our full conviction that the common translation is the correct one. The expression occurs in several places in the New Testament. Take an example from this very book, "The Lord God hath sent His Angel to show to His servants the things which must shortly ([Greek]) be done. *Behold, I come quickly*." (Rev. xxii. 6.) Surely this is a note of preparation for the *speedy* accomplishment of what is here revealed. In like manner, Rom. xvi. 20, "The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly," ([Greek])[1]

In fact, our Lord's *speedy* approach forms the whole burden of the Revelation of S. John. "Blessed are they that hear the words of this Prophecy . . . for the time is *at hand*," (i. 3.) "Behold, *I come quickly*; hold fast that which thou hast," (iii. 11.) "Behold, *I come as a*

[1] Cf. Acts xii. 7; xxii. 18; xxv. 4.

thief." (xvi. 15.) "Behold, *I come quickly*: Blessed is he which keepeth the sayings of the Prophecy of this Book." (xxii. 7.) "He which testifieth of these things saith, *Surely I come quickly, Amen*." (xxii. 20.)

And the other New Testament writers frequently express the same truth: "It is the last time." "The night is far spent, the Day is at hand." Upon us "the ends of the world have come." "The Judge standeth at the door." " Yet a little while, and He that shall come will come, and will not tarry." "The Lord is at hand."

Now it will not do for us to part with this idea. The attitude of the Church is to be one of constant watching and expectation of a Lord Who is always coming.[1]

And this, we may add, is one of the many reasons why we cannot accept the interpretation of the 1000 years reign—which yet has so much to recommend it, and is advocated with so much ability and modesty in the present volumes—which identifies it with the hidden, spiritual reign of Christ and His Saints in the Heavenly places, during the period intervening between the first and second Advents. Surely the broad announcement that 1000 years at least had yet to elapse before our Lord's second Appearing seems altogether inconsistent with the uniform language of the rest of the New Testament, and the reiterated warnings, "The Lord is at hand:" "Behold, I come quickly." But we shall refer to this again.

With regard to our Author's explanation of the successive sequences of Seals, Trumpets, Vials, we believe he is right in regarding their main fulfilment as still future; but not so as excluding all partial, precursive, and lesser accomplishments. His lectures on these do not offer much material for special notice: their only fault is, the somewhat superficial mode in which they deal with their very difficult subject-matter.

The series of sermons on the allegory of the Woman and the Beasts we take to be the most valuable and successful part of the work. Mr. Galton adopts, though with independent exercise of judgment, the general line of interpretation advocated, on one or two occasions, in these pages, maintained by Mr. Isaac Williams, Professor Auberlen, and other eminent writers—which regards the Mystical Babylon as a representation of corrupt Christendom.

"The Harlot," he writes, "represents nothing short of the whole of the visible Church at the time of the end; with the exception of a small remnant prefigured by the suffering Church of Smyrna, and the loving Church of Philadelphia."

In connection with this sad subject we will quote a passage as at once affording a specimen of our Author's style, and also well demanding our anxious attention. He is referring to that awful feature in the Apostle's description of the Harlot—her being "drunken with the Blood of God's saints."

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[1] True it is that, notwithstanding the reiterated announcements of CHRIST'S speedy return, there are yet many hints scattered throughout the New Testament, of His coming being *actually* delayed—that (to speak after the manner of men) our LORD'S plans of mercy would be disconcerted by the faithlessness of His Church and of the "ministers and stewards sent to prepare His Way." "While the Bridegroom *tarried*, they all slumbered and slept." " I gave her *space* to repent of her fornication; and she repented not." But these incidental intimations do not negative the general assertion made in the text.

"If the view given by some, that this Woman represents heathenism, were correct, the Apostle would not have *marvelled* when he saw her 'drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ.' But if this Woman be a symbolical representation of the whole Church of the last days, the Apostle might indeed be surprised to behold her, who once seemed the Spouse of Christ, drunken with the blood of His children. There is a passage, which, after every successive perusal, impresses the mind with a deeper conviction of its amazing awfulness, in S. Luke xii. Our Lord had been speaking of the necessity of watchfulness, because He would come at an hour when men would not expect Him: and when 'Peter said unto Him, Lord, speakest Thou this pa[67]rable unto us, or even unto all? the LORD said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward whom his lord shall make ruler over his household. . . But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to *beat* the menservants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and will cut him in sunder,' &c.

"Now if we look at these words, it appears that our LORD designed to intimate, that the Church, at first faithful and wise, as a steward fully conscious that he must give an account of his stewardship, would ultimately pass into the condition of one who would disregard his master's commands, and 'begin to beat the menservants and maidens, and to eat, and drink, and to be drunken.' For evidently there is *no change of person* when our LORD is describing this awful transition from one state to another. So that what S. John says in the address to the Seven Churches, comes out with fearful distinctness. In the seven Churches we saw that five were corrupt: only the suffering Church of Smyrna, and the loving Church of Philadelphia were faithful, and had promises without threatenings. All the rest exhibited, in some particular form, alienation from the living GOD. And to these were addressed the following denunciations . . . . 'I will fight against thee with the sword of My mouth.' . . . . 'I will spue thee out of My mouth.' What awful words! S. John then naturally *marvels*. It is the only passage in the whole book where it is said that he did marvel." —Vol.ii. pp. 94—96.[1]

With regard to the symbol of the Beast, Mr. Galton adopts, what we conceive to be the true interpretation, which sees in it a combined "exhibition of the powers of the world, put forth in opposition to CHRIST; beginning with the earliest times." " If," he continues, "we believe that the Number 7 in Scripture is a keynote, implying perfection, the expression, 7 heads, must be interpreted as representing all the dominions which the world has ever seen." (Vol. i. p. 500.)

As this first Beast symbolised the *Power* of the world, so does the second, the *Wisdom* of the world: this latter exhibiting the same diabolic counter-relation and antagonism to the Blessed Spirit, as the former to the Incarnate SON.[2]

The Image of the Beast he regards (correctly, as we believe; and as we have heretofore maintained in these pages[3]) as symbolising the Personal Antichrist.

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[1] We have been compelled slightly to compress this extract for want of space.

[2] Vid. *Ecclesiastic*, Vol. XIX. (June, 1857) pp. 282—285. ϕ 'Auberlen on Daniel, and the Apocalypse', pp. 258ff *supra*).

[3] Ibid. Vol. XX. (October, 1858) pp. 437—440. ϕ 'The Voice of the Last Prophet' pp. 280ff *supra*).

The Beast's deadly wound, he holds to have been the death-stroke inflicted on the world and its Prince on Calvary.

In the 5 fallen heads, he sees the old Monarchies of the world which preceded the Apostle's
time;[1] in the then existing head, the [68] regnant power of Rome; in the head yet to arise and "continue a short space," the future kingdom of Antichrist.
On the expression, "He is an eighth," the lecturer does not appear to us very intelligible. In fact to explain such an enigma in a sermon, is obviously no easy task: to say nothing of the difficulty of explaining it *at all.*

Does not the following seem the true solution of the Mystery?

It would appear that the 7th, or Antichristian, head or kingdom passes through two distinct phases. When it first emerges—i.e. when the powers of the world throw off their Christian character (as there are but too evident signs of their becoming gradually less unprepared to do), and avow open antagonism to CHRIST and His Church,—when the deadly wound is healed, and the Beast, energised anew from the abyss, rises to life again when Anti-Christianity becomes the religion of the civilised world;—in all this we see the *first* development and manifestation of the yet future 7th head, which is to "continue a short space."

This head differs from its predecessors in being 10-horned, 10-crowned. The old monarchial forms of the World Power have passed away: and now follows a *divided* sovereignty—a joint reign of many co-existing kingdoms. Though not acting in concert in other matters, in one cause they shall all unite, and the Herods and Pilates become friends: "The kings of the earth and the rulers shall take counsel together *against the Lord and*

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[1] Without seeing our way clearly to the answer of the question, we would yet ask, Does the Apostle's *own time* come here into consideration *at all.* Does not the "five are fallen, one *is*," refer to the ideal time represented in the vision, when the Harlot has reached that particular stage in downward and God-renouncing career in which S. John here pictures her, when her "sins have reached to Heaven," when, in the full bloom of carnal security, she is saying, 'Peace and safety,' and when just on the very eve of destruction? We strongly suspect this to be the case.

We see the exact state of the world's history at this period, indicated by the following marks.

In the first place: we find that the 7th, or Antichristian head, has not arisen. This is evident, not only from the words of the Angel, but also from the fact that, at this crisis, and so long as the woman is quietly seated on the Beast, enjoying the '*friendship* of the world,' the 10 horns are not crowned. As soon as the new power emanates from the Abyss, and the horns receive their crowns, they at once dispossess, mutilate, tear, and burn the Harlot.

Hence it is evident that chap. xiii. represents a time posterior to chap. xvii. For in the former chapter, the horns are *crowned,* the false Prophet has succeeded to the Harlot, and the Anti-Christianity of the resuscitated Beast taken the place of the pseudo-Christianity of the wounded Beast.

But another mark also shows the time. It is a period in which two apparently contradictory conditions can be satisfied.

1. The Beast "*is not;"* and yet
2. Notwithstanding his non-existence, his sixth head "*is.*"

And therefore it is evident that it is the wounded head, the head during which the whole Beast received a death-stroke and became non-existent, the "caput mortuum," that "*is;*" and that the period of the vision, therefore, as we have stated, is shortly anterior to the Beast's Anti-Christian revival in its 7th phase.

against His Christ." In this unholy object they shall all "have one mind"—to uproot the Christian name, and establish the worship of the Prince of the world. It is now that Babylon is overthrown. For [69] we must remember, it is not Antichrist himself, it is the "*Horns*" which "hate the whore and make her desolate"—the various apostate powers of the world—GOD's ministers of vengeance upon His faithless, infatuated Church; who, having put her trust in the strength of Pharaoh, finds the strength of Pharaoh her ruin."[1]

It appears to be out of the turbulent billows of anarchy, confusion, lawlessness which succeed the fall of Babylon, that the dread Autocracy of the Personal Antichrist arises. GOD's faithful servants have not perished with Babylon. Warned by a supernatural voice they have "come out of her:" they have been constrained to sever themselves from her, lest sharing in her impieties, they should participate in her doom. Their secession, and the consequent departure of the Divine Restrainer, the SPIRIT of Life, renders her destruction not only possible, but inevitable. Thus they survive her fall: for a higher honour awaits them, viz., to witness and suffer during the awful times of Antichrist himself. "The Beast shall overcome them." "He shall wear out the Saints of the Most High; and they shall be given into his hand."

With the rise of the personal Antichrist to power, ensues the *second* stage of the career of the 7th head. "Among the 10 horns of that head," says Daniel,—i. e., among the 10 apostate kingdoms which together constitute the 7th phase of the world power—"there shall arise a little horn," which shall uproot 8 of the horns—thereby becoming "an eighth." Thus, then, though this little horn is identified with the seventh head—inasmuch as he *belongs* to that head, and springs from it; and his career is but the continued evolution of that head; and the entire interest of [70] that head finally settles in him—still he is something *more:* he is something beyond the 7. For he ultimately merges into a very embodiment, epitome, reproduction, recapitulation of the *whole* godless power of the world—the *entire Beast.*

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[1] On this subject—the future spoliation of the secularised Church by the World-Power, to whom she has given her heart and confidence, and whom she has hitherto found her faithful supporter and ally; and on the present indications of such an issue, we cannot forbear quoting the following characteristic passage from our author:

"Because Christendom has forgotten her great dignity, because Christendom has been sporting with flesh, it is first to be made desolate by those with whom it has been seen to be conversant, to be stripped naked, and burnt with devouring fire.

"Surely one seems to find some intimation of a state like this already exhibited: for what is the world doing for. GOD's professing Church?

"*Why the world is preparing to make her as desolate as the world can make her:* the world is preparing to strip her as naked as it can. The world envies the riches which the Church was led once to covet, and which she contrived to get from the world: the world is envying the Church those high places in which the world has helped to place her;—and is it not now the desire of the world to pull down that which it took centuries to build up? It took centuries to place the Church in the position which enabled her to claim a great portion of this earth's dominions as her own. It took a long time to make her bishops vie with princes and nobles, decked in fine linen, purple and scarlet, gold, silver, and precious stones, having ample possessions, lands, and costly equipages, with the power to gratify 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life,' things which speak not of CHRIST, but of Antichrist. It required centuries for this. But it will require but a little time comparatively to make those who have coveted these things desolate and to strip them naked. Thus the world will be found eating the flesh of the Church. It is torturing her now, and it is preparing to eat her."—(Vol. II. pp. 122, 123.)

And hence the Number 8, or symbol of Resurrection, attaches to him; not only because he becomes the 8th *horn* on the 7th head (this is but an outward visible expression of a deeper inward mystery); not only because, in counting the heads of the Beast, though belonging to the 7th, he is yet something *beyond* the 7th; not only, because in him is fulfilled our LORD's parable of the dispossessed Spirit, who, having been cast out of the world, ultimately gains re-possession, "with 7 other spirits more wicked than himself," and thus re-enters his old tenement as "an *eighth;*"—all this is included; but chiefly because he is the very embodiment of diabolic and bestial *Resurrection.* He is the full Satanic realization of that mystery whereof the Number 8 is the recognised numerical signature. In his miraculous resuscitation we see the Devil's counterfeit of the central Mystery of the Christian Religion. Faith in CHRIST Who died and rose again, will be superseded by a blind infatuated belief in the Beast who died and rose again, and who by his rising to life has extirpated Christianity ("he shall make war against" the witnesses, "and *overcome* them,") and proved it to be a failure and a fable, and unworthy the credence of intelligent men. And GOD shall send a strong delusion, and men shall believe the Lie; and "great shall be the multitude of the preachers" of this New Gospel from Hell.

We repeat, then, that although this Octave Head is really and truly "one of the seven" heads of the old world-historical Beast,—being the seventh head in its last and most intensified form; still it is none other than the *whole "* Beast, which was, and is not, and shall appear," "with 7 heads and 10 horns," all reproduced, all revived and epitomized. It is the entire monster, in the full bloom of its power, wisdom, malignity, impiety; recapitulating, in the compressed period of three and a half years, and in the person of one Human Organ—the Image of the Beast—the whole dark "Mystery of Iniquity" slowly and progressively evolved in former ages, "at sundry times and in divers manners," from the very beginning—in order that, in this its one final and concentrated form, it may be eternally judged.

We were anxious to add a few words on other portions of the present interesting "Notes;" and especially on Mr. Galton's interpretation of that which he characterizes as "confessedly the most difficult part of this wonderful Book,"—the mysterious vision of the binding and incarceration of Satan, and the 1000 years reign, in chapter xx. We must reserve the subject, however, till our next Number.

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[106] In proceeding to a brief examination of Mr. Galton's exposition of Rev. xx., we fully agree with him that the subject is beset with difficulty. We question, however, whether this difficulty arises so much from any real ambiguity in the language wherein the revelations are clothed, as from the mysterious nature of the revelations themselves.

The chapter tells us of things which, with our present limited view, our contracted range of experience and apprehension, we find it supremely hard to grasp: but it tells us these things in language tolerably plain and intelligible. Hence it appears, to us that not a few of the difficulties here encountered by expositors, are of their own making; arising from the prepossessions with which the passage is studied—from a conviction that it cannot and must not mean what it plainly says, and from a consequent endeavour to force upon it a signification which it will not bear.

Of any c*onscious* attempt on the part of the author of the present Lectures, to bring this chapter into conformity with his own preconceived opinions, we at once and entirety acquit him: his whole tone is that of one anxiously and sincerely searching for the truth and he frankly confesses that during the "thirty years through which his attention has been directed to this part of Holy Writ, he has been at different times inclined to different opinions." Still, the lecturer himself will, doubtless, be the first to admit how powerful an influence such preconceptions and prepossessions may unconsciously have exercised over the conclusions at which he has ultimately arrived.

We will first endeavour to state, as concisely as possible, what appears to be the general system of interpretation in reference to chapter xx., at present advocated by our author; and will then re[107]fer to some of the considerations which appear to ourselves to militate against his theory.

The "binding of Satan," the lecturer regards as "dating from the Ascension of our LORD."

His casting down and degradation, is the same as that described by our LORD in the words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven."

The enthronization of the Saints, is a symbolical description of "the condition which the Church acquired in virtue of our LORD's Ascension." (p. 246.)

The "first Resurrection," is that to which Holy Scripture elsewhere constantly refers; e.g., "If ye be risen with CHRIST:" "GOD hath quickened us together with CHRIST and made us sit together in heavenly places;" "GOD hath translated us into the Kingdom of His dear SON:" &c. &c.

The loosing of Satan after the expiration of the thousand years, is contemporaneous with the manifestation of the personal Antichrist, and with the coming of those times of unprecedented trouble and tribulation which shall immediately precede the Second Advent of the SAVIOUR.

Now to this scheme of interpretation, which we have very imperfectly sketched, one insuperable objection at once seems to present itself.

What is the precise *time* of Antichrist's manifestation, according to this view? It is immediately on the *expiration* of the thousand years; in accordance (so it is assumed) with the following passage, "When the thousand years are *expired,* Satan shall be loosed from his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations," &c. But is this really the time of Antichrist's manifestation as revealed by S. John? In describing these two great events, the reign of the Saints and the persecution under Antichrist, is *this* the relative order in which the Inspired Seer introduces them—first, the Christian reign; and afterwards, the Antichristian persecution? Not so. The order is just the reverse. The prophetic narrative expressly signifies, that it is not till *after* the time of the "great tribulation"— not till after Antichrist and his host have been destroyed—that the peaceful reign of the Saints commences. Just as Isaiah predicts: It is when "the extortioner is at an end, and the spoiler ceaseth, and the oppressors are consumed out of the land" that *then* "in mercy shall the Throne be established, and HE shall sit upon it." (Isa, xvi. 4, 5.)

For who are they whom S. John represents as reigning with CHRIST *during* the thousand years? The *only* class specially mentioned, are they who have passed through the Church's last "fiery trial." "If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him." Yes: the Saints who receive the honour of signal and peculiar notice, as sharing the Dominion of their LORD during the thousand [108] years, are they who have suffered order Antichrist. And yet, according to the system of interpretation advocated in the present Lectures, Antichrist is not manifested until the thousand years have terminated. This objection appears to us, of itself, fatal to the system.

What unprejudiced reader (we would ask) carefully and honestly perusing the Apocalyptic Record, can fail to see that the following is the revealed sequence of events:—The persecution of Antichrist (closing the present Day of Grace); the Parousia of our LORD, and the immediate destruction of Antichrist and his Host; the "gathering together unto HIM" of all the members of His Mystical Body, whether "quick," or "resting in their beds;" the binding and incarceration of Satan; the "Regeneration;" the reign of CHRIST and His Saints over the untempted nations of the earth during the mystic period of a thousand years; the loosing of Satan from his restraint, prior to his everlasting doom (the inexplicable mystery attaching to which event, and our utter inability rightly to conceive of it, must not interfere with our humble reception of it as a revealed fact, or drive us to a preposterous dislocation of the whole narrative in order to evade it); the Resurrection and the Judgment of [Greek];[1] the Eternal State?

That the whole sequence of events is replete with mystery, and opens out questions of which it is impossible at present to offer any adequate solution, we earnestly admit. Still we cannot the less feel persuaded that this is, on the whole, the real revealed order of occurrences, and that only by preserving it, can we make the Passage consistent with itself, or in harmony with other parallel portions of the Inspired Word.

The vision of the thousand years' reign has doubtless a bearing upon all times, and is intended as an encouragement to all who at any season, or in any manner, suffer for CHRIST, or resist the seductions or tyranny of the World and its Prince; but it is no less assuredly designed, in some special and particular way, as a support and consolation to those who shall have personal experience of the terrible trials of the latter days.

But we must proceed to a further objection to the system of interpretation advocated in the present Lectures.

We are expressly told that, during the thousand years, Satan shall be so bound that "*he shall deceive the nations no more* till the thousand years be finished." But can it possibly be said that this state of things is being realized at the present time? Has it been ever true, since the Ascension, that Satan has been so bound for any length of time as to be unable to deceive the nations? Has he not been ever prowling about "as a roaring lion seeking whom [109] he may devour?" What are the Beast, the false Prophet, the Harlot, but Satan's various *organs*, whereby he carries on his work of destruction and deception on the bodies and souls of men?

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[1] Cf. S Matt. xxv. 31, 32. This must not be confounded with the terrible judgment on the visible *Church* (S. Matt. xxiv. 44—51; xxv. 1—30) which occurs at the close of this present Day of Grace, immediately upon the Parousia of our LORD. Judgment begins at the House of GOD.

True, the Prince of the World received a terrible blow on Calvary. He was then potentially slain—just as our first parents *died* in the day they partook of the forbidden fruit. But the full effects of the enemy's death-blow are not yet realised. His *power* is curtailed; but his *craft* and deceptive influence are still unabated. What says the Angel with regard to the Harlot—Satan's organ of seduction *inside* the Church? "By thy sorceries were *all nations deceived.*"

It is indisputably true, as our Author maintains, that Satan *was* "cast down" at the Ascension, that his power was curtailed, that he was in a measure "bound." But this binding is only *one stage* in his gradual binding and degradation. It is plainly a *second* and further stage in his humiliation and confinement (though not the final one) which is recounted in the first verse of the 20th chapter.

The history of the Arch-Enemy presents an ever deepening downfall.

Up to the period of the first coming of our LORD, be is powerful, not in earth only, but also in *Heaven.* He has access (as we learn from the book of Job) even to the Throne of GOD.

At the Ascension, he is "cast down" from *Heaven* to *earth.* This fall is referred to in such passages as the following. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven." " Rejoice, ye Heavens and ye that dwell in them; for the Accuser of the brethren is cast down. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and the sea, for the Devil is come down to *you*."

At the Second Advent he will be east down from the *earth* into the *Abyss*. The earth and the happy inhabitants of the earth will be entirely freed from his malignant influence. He will be fast bound and "sealed" in Tartarus. *This* is the stage of his degradation referred to in the passage under review: and it is of the last importance to the right interpretation of the whole chapter, that these separate stages of the enemy's downfall should be kept distinct and unconfounded.

We are all experiencing the effects of the first "binding" and fall. "The Accuser of the Brethren has been cast down." Entrance into Heaven has been everlastingly closed against him. And hence, all whose "conversation is in Heaven" are free from his assaults. He is powerless to hurt them. His temptations and persecutions merely "work together for their good." He is ever, therefore, striving to allure them to "cast themselves down" from Heaven to earth, and thus to place themselves in the sphere of his permitted power and influence. For the "earth" is as yet, we repeat, his peculiar domain. Here he still reigns. Satan is still the [110] recognized "Prince of the World." It is most true that the World has been "wounded to death." The Beast—the visible organ, representative, vicegerent of the unseen "Prince of the World"—seems to have failed and deserted his master. It has itself turned religious. Instead of openly fighting for Satan against "the LORD and His CHRIST," it has itself been overcome for a time by the Sword of the SPIRIT, and has become Christian. But (as Mr. Galion truly remarks) "although the world has become religious, it is the *world* still." The wounded Beast has not been transfigured, or become MAN. It is still the *Beast*. And by the joint instrumentality of this wounded Beast and the Harlot, i.e. of religious worldliness and worldly Religion, does the Old Serpent still terribly and successfully deceive the nations of the earth.

But are the nations to be always so deceived? No: another stage of the Tempter's humiliation has shortly to ensue. "I saw an Angel come down from Heaven, having the key

of the *Abyss*, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years: and cast him into the *Abyss,* and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, *that he should deceive the nations no more*, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season."

Here then, we have an entirely new order of things introduced.

The Adversary has encountered a new and more decisive defeat than any he has heretofore experienced. He had put forth all his energies in the times of Antichrist. The "mystery of iniquity," silently working and preparing for centuries, has come to a head: the grand universal attack upon CHRIST and His Church has been made; and its author has but secured for himself a lower and more hopeless depth of degradation. His trusty organ and vicegerent the "Beast" has now failed him for ever. The GOD-opposing Dominion of the World—mortally wounded on Calvary—is now at an end for evermore. There is a glorious return of the Theocracy. "The kingdoms of the World have become the Kingdom of our LORD and His CHRIST." The rightful Heir and "Prince of the world" has taken to Himself the power and reigned. While His impotent Foe, once powerful in *Heaven,* then east down to *earth,* is hurled still lower down, and fast chained in the *abyss.* Meanwhile the earth is at quiet. The Sabbath him come; that blessed seventh day of Rest—of rest on earth for the nations of the earth— that joyous time of "freedom from temptation" and "deliverance from the Evil One."

One further chapter in the history of the great Enemy of GOD and man yet remains, before he receives his eternal doom; and the Everlasting Octave of Blessedness dawns. For "a little season" he is to be again loosed; and then, finally and for ever, consigned to the dismal "lake of fire and brimstone" where the Beast and [111] the False Prophet—cast in before him—are already "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire."

And now, with regard to the Find Resurrection.

It is most true, as our Author beautifully impresses upon his flock, that the Christian is even now raised with his SAVIOUR, and made to "sit with Him in Heavenly Places." It is most true that he has already undergone a real and most blessed Resurrection.

But the question is, Is *this* the particular Resurrection referred to in the chapter now under consideration, under the title of "the First Resurrection?" We cannot believe it.

Professor Stewart, in reference to this portion of Scripture, remarks "The exigencies of the passage absolutely demand the sense of a bodily Resurrection. Indeed if this be not a position in the interpretation of Scripture which is fully made out by philology, I should be at a loss to designate one which *is*, from among the many difficult passages of the Sacred Volume."

It is objected, that the Seer only beholds "the *souls* of them that were beheaded," living, reigning, enthroned, judging. Therefore the whole vision refers exclusively to a *spiritual* Resurrection.

But does not S. Peter, when referring to the analogous case (plainly typical of the present) of those who were saved of old, from the watery deluge, describe them as "few, that is

eight *souls*?" Why then should not those who are preserved to inherit domination over the renovated earth after the fiery deluge, be similarly designated as "*souls?*" In fact, the use of this word tells neither for nor against either theory of interpretation?[1] The word is merely indicative of personality; and seems to be here employed mainly for the purpose of expressing the absolute *personal identity* of those who are now seen reigning with CHRIST, with those who have heretofore suffered with Him—notwithstanding any outward change, transfiguration, glorification, that may have passed over them.

That the regenerate one of GOD are not only risen with CHRIST but do now and ever reign with Him, is a most sacred truth. But this vision refers us to the "*manifestation* of the sons of GOD:" it reveals to us that glorious time when the Kingdom, originating from within, and in the realm of spirit, shall have unfolded and developed itself *outwardly*; when CHRIST and His Saints shall be *visibly* exalted, "heirs of the world," rulers of the earth. And Holy Scripture uniformly teaches, that this exaltation and manifestation shall take place as soon as, and not until, CHRIST Himself appears a second time, for the destruction of His enemies and the salvation of His people.

As this is a point of considerable importance to the right un[112]derstanding of the chapter before us, we will mention one or two out of the numerous passages where the particular *time* of the setting-up of the Kingdom is referred to—with a view to corroborate our position that it is posterior to, and consequent upon, the destruction of Antichrist at our LORD's Second Advent.

And first—as we have seen—S. John categorically affirms, that the enthroned victors are they who "have gotten the victory over the Beast and his Image." Therefore their reign *must succeed* the overthrow of the Beast—"whom the LORD shall consume with the Spirit of His Mouth, and destroy with the Brightness of His Coming."

Again. CHRIST has not yet assumed His own Throne. He is still seated on His FATHER's Throne; and we pray, "Thy Kingdom *come*." He has promised, moreover, that He will grant to him that overcometh to sit with Himself on His own Throne, even as He overcame, and is seated with His FATHER on the FATHER's Throne. As, therefore, it is unquestionably an exaltation with their LORD to *His own* Throne, which the Apostle sees here granted to CHRIST's fellow-sufferers and victors, ("they lived, and *reigned with* CHRIST") and as this exaltation and reward are not to be realised till the LORD again appears, we see additional reason for removing the period and sphere of the vision, from the *First* Advent (as maintained by our Author,) to the *Second* Advent.

Isaiah, as we have already seen, fixes the period of the inauguration of the Kingdom at the same critical juncture; not at the First Advent, but at the Second. It is "when the extortioner is at an end," and "the spoiler ceaseth, and the oppressors are consumed out of the land," (i.e. when Antichrist and his hosts are destroyed,) that "in Mercy shall the Throne be established, and He shall sit upon it."[2]

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[1] Cf. Acts ii. 4. "The same day there were added to then three thousand *souls:*" ib. vii. 14, "Joseph called his father Jacob to him and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen *souls:*" xxvii. 37, "And we were in all, in the ship, two hundred three-score and sixteen *souls*."

[2] Although this passage refers primarily to the reign of Hezekiah, yet its ulterior reference to a greater King is obvious. In the Douay Version it is thus rendered: "The dust is at an end; the Wretch is consumed. He {*cont.*}

In another place the Prophet specifies the *time* when the earthly glories of the Kingdom shall be revealed. It is when the earth is "clean dissolved" and "removed," when the "City of Confusion is broken down," when the LORD of Hosts has "punished the host of the high ones" and "the kings of the earth:" *then* it shall be, that the "moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed when the LORD of Hosts shall reign in Mount Sion, and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously." (Isa. xxiv.)

Just as in chap. lix., we read of the Enemy coming in like a flood, and the Spirit of the LORD withstanding him. Immediately after which we are told that "the Redeemer shall *come* to Zion," (a yet unfulfilled Prophecy, as S. Paul assures us, Rom. xi. 26,) and shall establish that Kingdom of Peace and Righteousness, the [113] earthly and Israelitish glories of which the succeeding chapter (Isa. lx.) depicts in such bright and glowing colours.
And Daniel's testimony is precisely to the same effect; who clearly reveals that it is only *after* the destruction of Antichrist and his host, that the "Dominion and glory and kingdom" are given to the "Son of Man, Who comes in the clouds of Heaven to take possession of them" (Dan. vii. 13, 14). And *who* shall share the kingdom with Him? The Prophet proceeds to add, that at the same period—the time of the *end,* when the judgment shall sit ("I saw Thrones, and they sat upon them,") and Antichrist's dominion is taken away—"the kingdom, and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole Heaven, all be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High."

But the whole of Old Testament Prophecy attests this: that the Kingdom, which S. John refers to in the 20th chapter of the Revelation, has not yet come; and that the present Dispensation is but a short prelude and preparation for it. The Kingdom belongs to Christ and His Saints; but the Saints are not yet gathered in; the number of the Elect is not yet made up; the sacred Company in Paradise are waiting for their "perfection," which cannot be theirs until the full complement of their brethren, still in the flesh, or yet unborn, is added to them: meanwhile the Kingdom is deferred. The coming Royalty belongs jointly to the Bridegroom and the Bride. But the loving Bridegroom assumes not His Throne, till His "Bride hath made herself ready," and till she is fully prepared to share the Dominion with Him. As the Prophet Zachariah declares, "The Lord my God shall come, and all *the Saints with Thee;*" and *then*, he adds, "The Lord shall be *King* over all the earth."

And do not our Lord's own words agree precisely with this order of events? He promises to His Apostles, and to those which have "followed Him," that they shall "sit on Thrones, judging," (cf. Rev. xx. 4; "I saw Thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them.") But when is this judicial enthronization to take place? During the present Dispensation? In Heaven, before our Lord's Second Coming? No: but hereafter. "In the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of His Glory, ye also shall sit on Thrones." (S. Matt. xix. 28.)

The "Son of Man," we repeat, is not yet seated "on the Throne of His Glory." He is still "seated with the Father on *His* Throne." The Saints, therefore, cannot yet have taken their Thrones, or received their Dominion. For this they are still in anxious expectation. "Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the world?" "Do ye not know that we shall judge

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hath failed that trod the earth under foot. And a Throne shall be prepared in Mercy, and One shall sit upon it in Truth in the Tabernacle of David, judging."

Angels?" "They shall be Kings and Priests, and shall reign on the earth." "For unto the Angels He hath not put in subjection [114] the world to come." He hath put "*all things* under the feet" of "*man* and *the Son of Man:*" although (as the Apostle adds,) this universal subjection to CHRIST and His Saints, is not yet actually realised, "We see not *yet* all things put under him."

The blessed ones seen by S. John in the vision before us, are plainly those "faithful and wise servants," elsewhere spoken of by the Evangelist, "whom their LORD *when He cometh* shall make rulers over all that He hath."

The whole Church, struggling, and at rest, is earnestly looking for the coming back of the Nobleman, who hath "gone into a far country to receive for Himself a kingdom, and to return" in order to enter upon His Royalty. He will shortly reappear to take His Throne: and then, and not fill then, will He make the faithful ones who have been true to Him during His absence, partakers of His Dominion; giving one, authority over five cities; another, authority over ten cities: according to their several capacities, and degrees of fidelity. "This parable," says S. Luke, "He spake, because *they* thought that the Kingdom of GOD should *immediately* appear."
We think, then, that the above passages are amply sufficient to show that the sequence of events as given by S. John in the 20th chapter, is simply in strict and accurate accordance with the relative positions of those same events as predicted in other portions of GOD's Word.

The Seer represents the time elapsing between our LORD's First and Second Advents as a short, uncertain, broken period—a half week—three years and a half (a number of mystic significance)—a period which shall doubtless terminate in a brief critical season of, *literally,* three years and a half, wherein the whole mystery of iniquity and of godlessness which has secretly characterised the era, shall come out into a shortlived but intense manifestation, and all the hidden processes of good and evil now silently working and counterworking shall be openly revealed. And what shall succeed this troublous three years and a half, this broken time of suffering and agitation and unrest? It shall give place, says the Apostle, to a thousand years of rest and peace and joy and triumph. Now, explain this we cannot; believe it we must. And we are persuaded that any attempt to dislocate the consecutive portions of the Revelation, either by making the three years and a half coincident and conterminous with the thousand years, or by placing the thousand years before the three and a half, will only be found to introduce confusion and uncertainty, and needless difficulty into the interpretation of the Prophetic Records.

But is this period of manifested triumph—this thousand years of peace and rest—the consummation of all things? Does it coincide with the eternal state of the Blessed? By no means. We must not, as so many do, confound the Seventh Day—the Day of [115] Rest—with the Everlasting Octave. This confusion is most fatal to the right interpretation of Scripture Prophecy.

If—as is so constantly maintained—the Eternal State—the endless Bliss of Heaven, succeeds immediately upon our Lord's Second Appearing, and the destruction of Antichrist; then, where and when will all the glorious predictions respecting the future dignity, universality, dominion of God's Church on earth receive their accomplishment? When shall the glad promises made to "Israel after the flesh" be realized? Plainly *never.*

By some indefinite and unsatisfactory spiritualizing process, they are evacuated of all distinct meaning, and one after another explained away.

We must remember that, to the Old Testament seers, the present Gentile Dispensation, between the fall and restoration of Israel—while the "complement of the nations" is being gathered in—appears a mere parenthesis. The course of Prophecy is, as it were, arrested till God's ancient people again comes upon the stage. The Apocalypse fills up the hiatus; tells us of the fortunes of the Holy Catholic Church, of the great Gentile ingathering, and the coming Gentile Apostasy which shall throw the Apostasy of ancient Israel into the shade. In many other respects also does the Revelation of S. John supplement the disclosures of the Old Testament Prophets. The latter tell us of the coming terrestrial glories of Restored Israel, the former of the unutterable exaltation of the "Bride the Lamb's Wife:" the one speak of the renewed earth, the other of the New Heavens: the one of earthly Jerusalem, the other of the Mystic City which "descendeth from God out of Heaven, having the glory of God."

S. John's Revelation, moreover, proceeds a whole stage further than the revelations of the Old Testament. Nothing appears to us more plain than that the "New Heavens and new earth" described by Isaiah and S. John are not identical. Old Testament Prophecy extends but to the Seventh Day, and reveals to us the earthly glories of Israel during that Seventh Day. The Apocalypse of the New Testament carries us on through that period, to the Universal Restitution and Transfiguration "There shall be no more curse."

The Millennial state of which the ancient Prophets speak, is evidently not one of perfection. The curse is not entirely removed, or sin done, for ever, away. It is a state of things compatible with the mysterious announcement made by S. John, that ere its close, and prior to the universal judgment of [Greek], Satan shall be loosed for a little season from his prison, in order to seal his everlasting doom, and to manifest to the whole spiritual universe the tremendous justice of the sentence about to be irreversibly pronounced upon him; in order to show moreover the weakness of untransfigured human nature even in its best state, and to offer to the hitherto untempted denizens of the renovated earth a shortlived but awful crisis of probation.
[116]
That the Arch-fiend should be terribly successful in this his *last* attempt, after all his gathered experience, is not a whit more marvellous than that he should have been successful in Paradise, nay in Heaven itself!

The Old Testament Prophets tell us that, on this renovated earth during the Seventh Day, Israel shall bear rule; that Jerusalem shall be the Political and Religious Metropolis of the world; that, as "of Zion it can be reported that HE was born there," "the Most High shall stablish her;" and that all earthly dignity and majesty shall cluster round that centre of life and health and blessing to the whole earth. But S. John tells us something more. He lifts up the earthly veil, and gives us a glimpse of the mystic realities which are taking place in the Holy of Holies beyond.

Though Israel, then, is to be the head of the nations, yet the Apostle reveals to us that the real dominion of the earth shall belong to the Incarnate Redeemer, and the transfigured Priest Kings who share in the First Resurrection. The exaltation of Israel is a real, visible exaltation; but belongs merely to the earthly sphere. It is but a faint terrestrial type, expression and shadow of the glory of those exalted ones who "live and reign with

CHRIST." They share His throne; "where He is, there are they also," transformed after His Image, glorified with His glory. Satan is no longer "Prince of the World." He is fast bound in Tartarus. *They* are "Princes of the World;" fellow-Monarchs, fellow-Mediators, fellow-Intercessors with their Divine LORD and Head. This once abode of their trial and probation is now the loved object and sphere of their holy interests. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." They are privileged to participate in this highest blessing. It is their happy lot to be the constant media of graces and benedictions to the nations upon earth. The Kingdom on earth seen by the ancient Prophets, is thus intimately connected with, dependent on, expressive of, the Kingdom in Heaven as seen by S. John. The visible heads of humanity are the "twelve tribes of Israel." But the celestial guardians, protectors, rulers of those tribes, are the Blessed Twelve in the Church above. "There shall be a blessed chain of giving and receiving—GOD; CHRIST; the transfigured Bride the Church; Israel; the world of nations." (Auberlen.)

But we must yet add a word with respect to *the* great objection entertained by our author, and so many other devout writers, to these Revelations of S. John, interpreted according to their obvious apparent meaning. This interpretation, it is urged, involves the opinion that the Resurrection of the "Saints" shall not synchronize with the general Resurrection. Unquestionably it does. And that these two stages in the great work of Resurrection shall not occur simultaneously, is plain, no less from the teaching of [117] Holy Scripture, than from the corroborative belief of the early Church.
But this notion, it is urged, is explicitly condemned by the Creeds. Our author lays great stress upon this point. "At Whose coming" (so, he reminds us, we profess to hold) "all men shall rise again with their bodies." Whereas, according to the theory in question, "all men" shall *not* then "rise with their bodies;" only a limited number of men.

Now as for this theory in any way controverting the Catholic Faith, be it premised, that the fact of its very general acceptance in the early Church at once proves the contrary. When S. Justin Martyr tells us, that the general system of interpretation now repudiated as "Millenarian" by Catholics, was adopted not only by himself but "by all Christians who were really orthodox" (Dial. c. Tryph., § 80); when S. Jerome witnesses to its being maintained by a "very great multitude," and Eusabius, by "far the greatest number of Church writers;" it is idle to suppose that there is anything intrinsically heretical about it.[1] It was only the gross abuse of these doctrines, in course of years, by carnal-minded speculators, which induced S. Augustine (who at first unhesitatingly advocated them) to cast about for some other system of interpretation of Rev. xx., which should save it from the low mundane and thoroughly sensual conceptions (connected with the idea of the earthly reign of the saints) wherewith the whole passage had become inextricably associated. So he removes these predictions, respecting the binding of Satan, the thousand years, the First Resurrection, the reign of the Saints, entirely from the region of unfulfilled prophecy: he treats them as having, all of them, their sphere in present or past times; as all requiring a figurative and spiritual mode of interpretation, and as merely symbolical representations and expressions of mysteries already realized, or now in course of being realized in the unseen world.

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1 That this system of interpretation is deemed not other than orthodox in the modern Church of Rome, is manifest by the recent work of Father Pagani, a devout and able theologian who occupies a post of distinction and responsibility as the Superior of the Order of Charity in this country. In his work. entitled "*The End of the World*," he warmly advocates "millenarian doctrines," and insists strongly on their Catholicity.

It is this novel scheme of interpretation, which the weight of S. Augustine's great name caused to be so generally received for a length of time in the Church, which finds an able and intelligent advocate in the author of the present Lectures. We do not for a moment question that the successive parts of the vision of Rev. xx., taken separately, are susceptible of the spiritual interpretation affixed to them by S. Augustine in the "*De Civitate Dei;*" but we say that the exposition, *as a whole,* is palpably insufficient; and absolutely fails to satisfy the exigencies of the passage, regarded as a continuous vision.
[118]
With regard however to the assertion, that the theory maintained in the present paper is contradicted by the Creed, it is hardly necessary to show how visionary the objection is. What says the Creed? "At whose coming all men shall rise with their bodies," &c. That is to say, the Creed tells us thus much: that *all* men shall hereafter rise; that they shall rise in their *bodies;* and that this Resurrection shall not take place till our Blessed LORD, Who is now seated on His Father's throne, shall *come* to assume His own throne and enter upon the solemn Work of judgment. Whether all the dead shall rise simultaneously, or in certain foreordained orders and detachments, the Creed says not. It merely insists on this cardinal verity, that with our LORD's Second Coming, the "Resurrection of the dead" shall commence—that this shall be a *bodily* Resurrection, and shall include *all*. Here we are met by S. Paul's statement, which distinctly affirms that the universal Resurrection shall *not* be a simultaneous work. It has three great stages. "Every man in his own *order*; CHRIST the first fruits; *afterwards* they that are CHRIST's, at His Coming: *afterwards* cometh the end." The Resurrection *from* the dead comes first; the Resurrection *of* the dead comes afterwards. We may perhaps be pardoned for quoting here a short extract from a previous paper in which we were led to refer to this interesting subject:

"The earlier Prophets, looking through the vista of futurity, seem to view all *three* stages [i.e. of Resurrection, as referred to by S. Paul] as simultaneous. We find the Resurrection of CHRIST spoken of as contemporaneous with that of His members ('Thy dead men shall live, *together* with *My* dead BODY shall they arise)'; even as, by the same prophetic perspective, the two Advents of CHRIST seem constantly combined into one. It is only by little and little that the several stages of events begin to unfold themselves, and the intervals which separate them to become apparent. . . .

"Now CHRIST 'is the First-begotten *from out of* death;' '*from* the dead,' [Greek]. But His Bride is called the 'Church of the first-begotten ones.' Of *her,* therefore, is this same resurrection from the dead, or [Greek] predicated. For 'if the SPIRIT of Him that raised up JESUS *from out of* the dead, dwell in her, He that raised up CHRIST from the dead will likewise raise *her* up.' In fact, the very word, [Greek], of *itself,* seems to point to the same conclusion. The Church is called out of the living (to a higher life)—she shall be called out of the dead. The Election of GOD impressed upon her, shall follow her into the grave, and raise her from amongst the sleeping ones, not only that she may be for ever 'blessed,' but to a *higher* glory; that she may be (with her Loving LORD) the source and channel of 'Blessing' for ever."[1]

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[1] Vid. *Ecclesiastic.* Vol. xvii. (Aug. 1855), pp. 379—380. [ϕ 'The Interpretation of Psalms' pp. 163—4 *supra*.]

A few more we subjoin, from the same Paper, in further illustration of the subject. "The Seventh Day, the Day of Rest, the Day of Judgment, the Day of Resurrection, *opens* with the Rapture and revival out of death, of the living members of 'the Resurrection and the Life,' who, having already 'passed from death unto Life,' 'shall not enter into judgment,' nor be condemned with the world; yet, who shall be assessors

{*cont.*}

[119]
We conceive, then, that there is abundant warrant for disconnecting the [Greek] from the [Greek]; the "First Resurrection," from the Resurrection of "the rest of the dead;" and that a system of interpretation, which confounds the two together, contradicts the plain teaching of the Prophetic Word.

And as with the Resurrection, so does it appear that the renovation and transfiguration of the earth shall be in like manner, progressive. This seems abundantly evidenced by a comparison between the Old and New Testament Prophets. Isaiah, S. Peter, and S. John all speak of great physical changes accompanying the renewal of the Heavens and the earth. Doubtless the language which describes these changes is profoundly symbolical, and is employed by the Prophets as the outward clothing and expression of mighty corresponding revolutions in the spiritual universe: as S. Peter's application of the Prophecy of Joel, on the day of Pentecost, plainly shows. Still, there can be no doubt that the language includes also literal, physical changes on the earth's surface; as S. Peter's reference to the Deluge seems meant to teach; and that, as the revolutions in the spiritual world advance, and grow in extent and intensity, there will be a corresponding progress and gradation in the physical revolutions whereby the former are at once illustrated and accompanied. When we bear in mind the well-nigh universal conclusion of devout and competent inquirers, as to the physically local and circumscribed extent of the Deluge of Noah, we have many possible limitations suggested, which may help us to reconcile and explain the several references to the establishment of the New Heavens and New Earth, and the destruction of the Old Heavens and Old Earth, as contained in the writings of Isaiah, S. Peter, and S. John.

The subject is an attractive one; but we must desist. We have only to conclude, by expressing our cordial thanks to Mr. Galton for his valuable and seasonable contribution to the popular and devotional study of the Apocalypse. On certain points, of a more or less speculative nature, we differ from his conclusions. Possibly he may find cause to reconsider some of his opinions. Possibly we may. At all events, we rejoice to find a book on this most mysterious portion of GOD's written Word, containing so much which we cordially sympathize with and approve.

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with Christ on the Judgment-Seat, and 'judge angels.' It *closes* with the Resurrection of the dead, and the judgment 'according to their works,' of all the nations (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3; S. Matt. xxv. 31, 32; Rev. xx. 12. 13); multitudes of whom shall receive a merciful sentence of acquittal; and shall be rewarded with a joyful entrance into the Kingdom of everlasting Peace, as happy *subjects* of the King and glorified Bride, as members of those 'saved nations' who shall 'walk in the light of the Golden City.'"

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol 22 (Joseph Masters: London, 1860)

[293] CURZON'S SCRIPTURAL KEY TO THE REVELATION OF S. JOHN

The Scriptural Key to the Revelation of S. John, presented to us in the 24th Chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel; and the whole subject clearly explained from Scripture references alone. By the Hon. JOHN ROPER CURZON. London; Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.

THE Writer of this little Manual appears to have had a twofold object in view, a general as well as a particular one—his general object being to elucidate, by reference to Holy Scripture, the meaning of the occult language and imagery employed by S. John in the Revelation; his particular object, to establish a certain theory as to the scope and interpretation of the whole Book. So far as he has adhered to the former of these, and contented himself with simply illustrating S. John's mystic phraseology by the light thrown upon it from other portions of the Inspired Volume, he has rendered a useful service to the ordinary reader of the Apocalypse: so far as he has occupied himself with the advocacy and application of his private scheme of interpretation, he has simply wasted his time and labour, and done what in him lay to evacuate this most Divine Book of all its beauty, majesty, and significance, and reduce it to a mere senseless congeries of arbitrary symbols, and objectless images.

Mr. Curzon states his general object in his preface; and his reader has a right to anticipate, from the statement, that he will derive some solid satisfaction and profit from the ensuing pages.

> "The principle of the self-interpretation of Scripture has been relied upon exclusively in this work. Careful search has been made for the places in the Sacred Writings from which S. John has adopted his imagery and his language; and these, together with the numerous explanations given by the Inspired Writers, both of the imagery and of the prophecies themselves, seem alone capable of leading us to a full apprehension of this remarkable Book. And with this assistance it will be found that the whole subject explains itself clearly and consistently."— Pp. 4, 5.

It is this unfortunate attempt at "clearness" and "consistency" which mars his whole performance, and renders what might have been a serviceable little manual, and guide to the figurative language of the Apocalypse, not only useless, but thoroughly perplexing and misleading.

If the simple process of affixing to a whole series of dissimilar and independent images, one and the same arbitrary signification, [294] be a mode of securing "clearness" and "consistency" of meaning, Mr. Curzon may take to himself the credit of having here offered a very clear and consistent interpretation of the Apocalypse: but not otherwise.

Let us take a very hasty glance at his work.

Prefacing his exposition with a few remarks on the 24th chapter of S. Matthew, he proceeds (passing over the seven Epistles) to an examination of the mysterious introductory Vision described by S. John in the 4th chapter, where the entranced Apostle, lifted up "in Spirit" into Heaven, is permitted, through means of a wondrous system of symbolical appearances, impressed upon his imagination by the "Angel who showed him these things," personally to witness, and then reproduce in language for our devout contemplation, the unutterable realities which environ the very Throne of the Everlasting Trinity.

In his brief explanation and illustration of the details of this sublime Vision—the emerald Bow, the Cherubic figures, the august "Twenty-four," the glassy Sea, the "Lamps of fire," &c., &c., Mr. Curzon manifests considerable aptitude and ability; and had all his work

been equal in execution to his 4th Section, and had he kept his private theory as to the meaning and object of the Apocalypse in the background, he might have written a book which would have been welcomed by many.

We will give our readers the benefit of his theory by-and-by. But ere we pass on from that mysterious introductory "Scene in Heaven," to which we have just referred—that Vision of the Throne of GOD, which forms, as it were, the fixed celestial background of the succeeding Apocalyptic disclosures—we would claim permission to pause for a single moment in order to draw attention to one feature in the description which is unnoticed by our author, and which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere adverted to; a feature which (though apparently trivial and unimportant) is yet sufficiently characteristic to claim a passing word: we allude to the significant *sevenfold* nature of the representation.

A Throne was set in Heaven:

i. And upon ([Greek]) the Throne, *One Sitting*, like to Jasper and Sardine stone:

ii. And round about ([Greek]) the Throne, a *Rainbow*, in sight like to an emerald:

iii. And round about ([Greek]) the Throne, *four-and-twenty Thrones*, and Elders seated thereon.

iv. And out of ([Greek]) the Throne, *Lightnings, and Voices, and Thunderings*:

v. And before ([Greek]) the Throne, *seven Lamps of fire*, which are the seven spirits of GOD:

vi. And before ([Greek]) the Throne, a *Sea of glass*, like to crystal:[295]

vii. And in the midst of the Throne, and round about the Throne ([Greek]) *four Living Creatures*, fall of eyes, &c.

Nor must the *order* of this sacred Heptad be passed over without notice.

For we have here an interesting example of the symmetrical arrangement of the number (the original type of which is furnished in the seven-branched Candlestick) where its first 3 members are inversely parallel with its last 3,—the two extremes corresponding; the second and penultimate; the third and fifth: leaving a central member.

1. In this case, then, the two extremes are associated. We have the Divine Presence—the "One sitting,"—brought into connection with the Cherubic Four. This is, of course, a most familiar, and constantly recurring combination; as expressed in the well-known formula "O Thou that *sittest* upon the *Cherubims*."

2. In like manner the second and sixth members form a pair. In the former we have the "Rainbow in sight like an Emerald;" in the latter, the "Sea of glass like to crystal." Here is the familiar combination of the "*Bow* on the *Waters*," the Emerald Arch spanning the Crystal Wave.

3. And the third and fifth are no less obviously parallel. In the former (the august "Twenty-four") we see a typical representation of the Holy Catholic Church, united in one common Faith, built upon the foundation of the Patriarchs and Apostles:[1] in the latter (the "seven Lamps of fire, which are the seven Spirits of GOD,") we see a mystical image of that Holy, energising "Spirit of Life" by whom the Church is indwelt and vivified, and by

[1] "*Ecclesiam* de Patriarchs et Apostolis generatam, in vigintiquatuor sedilibus cernit." Beda in loc. Cf. Rev. xxi. 12, 14.

whose quickening Influences alone her ministrations can be effectual. "I believe in the HOLY GHOST: the Holy Catholic Church."

It is possible that the *order* and arrangement of the several members of this series, and the indication thereby afforded of their special mutual relations, may prove an important element in the interpretation of the several symbols; and may contribute something towards the elucidation of certain of the difficulties which the series opens out—especially that perplexing question as to the difference, or connection between the Twenty-four Elders and the Four Living Creatures. That they both in some way represent the Church, is obvious, and generally admitted: but in what special aspect or relation, is far from evident.

Probably their respective *positions* in the series may indicate the direction in which their discriminating characteristics are to be looked for.

The Cherubic Four, we have seen, are indirectly associated with the *Person* of the Everlasting FATHER—perhaps with the Triune [296] DEITY,[1]—the awful "One sitting." The Twenty-four are associated with the *operations* of the HOLY SPIRIT. For here there is no mysterious *Being* seen, as in the former case, but "seven Lamps of fire;" these Lamps pointing rather to the energies and gifts of the Blessed Spirit than to His *Person*.

And hence it may perhaps be, that in the one emblem we see the Holy Church in its aspect towards *God*; as indwelt by GOD; the Organ of GOD; the Tabernacle and Throne of GOD;—and that in the other we see the Church in its relation towards the *world*; the Church in its ministerial and sacerdotal capacity; the conservator and guardian of the Faith (the Twenty-four are afterwards seen as forming the foundations of the Everlasting Temple); the vehicle of the "seven Spirits of GOD *sent forth* into all the earth."

> "These seven Spirits of GOD (writes Mr. Curzon) are sent. forth by CHRIST into all the earth, and so represent the Apostles and others commissioned by Him to preach the Gospel to every creature. The whole Christian Church seems thus represented as *ministering* in spiritual things: which shows its missionary character, in opposition to the restricted privileges of the Jewish system."—P. 29.

So that while the Cherubic emblem probably symbolises the Church in its innermost essence and idea and Divine perfection, the Patriarchal and Apostolic emblem represents it in its mediatorial functions towards the world.

The Cherubim are seen engaged in no ministerial work with reference to earth. Their myriad eyes are directed to GOD alone. Their sole business is with "Him that *sitteth* upon the Throne," who "dwelleth between the Cherubim,"—that awful One with whom they are here seen so mysteriously and intimately associated: their employment, to offer Him ceaseless adoration and worship. Their occupation is Heavenly, not earthly: they address GOD, not man.[2]

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[1] The question whether the Dread Being seated on the Throne symbolises the FATHER, or rather, the whole Blessed and undivided Trinity, may be seen discussed in Cornelius à Lapide. Both interpretations are probably correct; and while the representation points particularly to the Person of the FATHER, it not the less, generally, includes a reference to the whole Trinity in Unity.

[2] The "*Come and see*" (ch. vi.), ordinarily supposed to be addressed by the four ([Greek]) in succession to S. John, forms, we believe, no exception to this statement. In the first place, the best authorities agree that the reading is incorrect, and that in each case there is but a single word uttered by the Living Creatures: "*Come*." ([Greek])

The question next arises, To whom is this word addressed?

In each case, in answer to the summons, a Mysterious Rider appears.

{*cont.*}

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Whereas the Elders are seen engaged in Priestly and Ministerial work; presenting the prayers of the Saints, and on two occasions administering instruction and consolation to the Blessed Apostle. (Rev. v. 5; vii. 13—47.)

The ([Greek]) appear to be an intense symbolical representation of the Human Nature of our LORD the Body of the Incarnate Redeemer—extended and imparted from Himself, by means of the Sacraments, to His Elect, who are thus taken up into Him, made one with Him, glorified with His own glory, and consecrated to be the "Dwelling" and "Rest" of GOD for ever. This is the True Temple and Throne of the Most High, the various sides, or modes of manifestation, of which, as exhibited in the perfect Life of the Redeemer, are revealed and brought out in the Quadriform Gospel.

Whereas the Twenty-four symbolise the Church as to its visible, earthly composition and organisation, made up of the 12 of the Old and the 12 of the New Dispensation, united in one Faith, ministering and mediating, as well as worshipping.

4. We have thus glanced at the first three, and the last three members of the sevenfold series, and their mutual relation.

The central member stands alone. "Out of the Throne proceeded *Lightnings* and *Voices* and *Thunderings*;[1] a collocation which may seem suggestive of the Three succeeding groups—Seals, Trumpets, Vials—which characterise this division of the Apocalypse: the *Seals* bringing to light the obscure prophetic future of the Church; the *Trumpet-Voices* (cf. Rev. i. 10; iv. 1) sounding forth their notes of warning, preparation and alarm; the *Vials* dealing out wrath, indignation, and judgment.[2]

And who are these Riders? The first is universally admitted to represent our LORD Himself (cf. Ps. xlv. 4-6). And probably, in some sense, the three succeeding Riders equally represent our LORD; as, speeding on His way, and mounted on His mystic Charger, His visible Church—He ever and anon appears, in different stages of His continuous Advent; coming, now in mercy, and now in His "four sore judgments." And thus, for example, we find Him as it were identifying Himself with the second dread Rider, the Minister of War, in these words: "I am not *come* to send peace on earth, but a Sword."

The divers *appearances* of the ([Greek]) are consequent upon the different phases through which His *Church*, as His visible representative, passes.

It is worth noticing that this characteristic word ([Greek]), so expressive of the deep heart-yearning and intense longing of the whole Church on Earth and in Paradise, occurs just seven times in the Apocalypse.

1. "I heard one of the four Living creatures saying, as with a voice of thunder, Come."
2. "I heard the second Living creature saying. Come."
3. "I heard the third Living creature saying, Come."
4. "I heard the fourth Living creature saying, Come." (Ch. vi. 1, 3, 5, 7.)
5. "The SPIRIT and the Bride say, Come.' (Ch. xxii. 17.)
6. "Let him that heareth say, Come. (Ib.)
7. "Amen. Even so Come, LORD JESUS." (xxii. 20.)

It is to be observed that in the 5th and 6th cases the Text. Recept. has, incorrectly ([Greek]), instead of ([Greek]).

[1] Not "Lightnings and Thunderings and Voices" as in our E.V.

[2] May there be some secret allusion to the Three Divine Persons in this symbolic triad;—the illuminating flashes suggesting the HOLY SPIRIT; the Voices, the Incarnate Son (Rev. i. 10—13); the Thunders, the "FATHER of an Infinite Majesty?" We may perhaps see also a mystic parallelism with our LORD's well known triad, "Sin, righteousness, and judgment:" the Lightning glances of the HOLY SPIRIT convincing of {*cont.*}

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But where, in this hallowed and solemn scene in Heaven, with its sevenfold group of Mysteries, is there any direct symbol of the Blessed Redeemer? We have an ineffable representation of the Eternal FATHER in the "One sitting, like unto jasper and sardine stone." We have an emblem of the HOLY SPIRIT, as manifested in His operations in the Church, in the "Seven Lamps of fire burning before the Throne." But where is the Great Head of the Church militant and triumphant, where is He the peculiar Object of the Love and Praises and Adoration of all the redeemed in Heaven and earth? We look in the central position of the whole group: but we see Him not. We are but dazzled by the blinding lightning-gleams, bewildered by the awe-inspiring voices and thunderings which issue from that abyss of unapproachable majesty; as though betokening the presence, hitherto undiscernible, of some peculiar and dreadful Mystery. But as yet the Mystery is not disclosed; and the remaining features of the group are recounted in order. Thereupon follows the marvellous detailed description of the "Living Creatures:"[1] then the reference to the sealed Book; and the angelic challenge to open it. At length the Apostle, strengthened and comforted by one of the Elders, is enabled to discern and gaze upon the central Mystery of all. There, in the very midst, where nought could hitherto be distinguished save awful Lightnings, and Voices, and Thunderings, is now seen the OBJECT round which the whole system of Wonders clusters. "I beheld, and lo, in the *midst* of the Throne, and of the four Living Creatures, and in the midst of the Elders, stood a LAMB *as it had been slain*, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of GOD sent forth into all the earth." Here is the culminating Mystery of all: Incarnate GOD sacrificed for man. And now from the "thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands" peals forth the Anthem of jubilee, echoing through the everlasting vaults in its sevenfold cadence, "Worthy is the LAMB that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing."

Ere we leave this Scene in Heaven, there is one other point in connection with it, which we cannot pass over without notice. It is this: that in the wondrous sevenfold group depicted by S. John, we seem to have but a symbolic representation of the famous sevenfold sequence of Christian Verities enunciated in plain words by S. Paul in the 4th chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. "There is

"One Body"—The Body of the Incarnate Redeemer, the Temple and Throne of GOD—("as GOD hath said, I will dwell in It and I will walk in It." "Here shall be My Rest for [299] ever; here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein")—typified in the Quadriform Cherubim.

"One SPIRIT"—Doubly pourtrayed; in the seven Lamps of fire burning before the Throne of GOD, and the seven eyes of the Lamb sent forth into all the earth.

"One Hope"—The emerald Bow; telling of GOD's unfailing covenant-promises, of His mercies ever fresh and new, and of the "Crown of Glory that fadeth not away, eternal in the Heavens."

"One LORD"—The "LAMB as it had been slain."

Sin; the Voice of the Incarnate Redeemer (through the agency of the same Spirit) telling of *Righteousness*; the Thunders of the FATHER announcing *Judgment* to come.

[1] The language in which the description is conveyed, forming itself into a succession of threes (ch. iv. 8—11); a fact which has doubtless unconsciously stamped the passage as appropriate for Trinity Sunday.

"One Faith"—The Faith of GOD's elect, the ([Greek]) (2 Tim. ii. 19), symbolised by the twice Twelve—the Patriarchs and Apostles—the foundation stones of the Eternal Temple (cf. S. Matt. xvi. 16—18; Eph. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 12—14.)[1]

"One Baptism"—The glassy sea in whose crystal depths we are "begotten again unto a lively hope."

"One GOD and FATHER"—The awful Being seated on the Throne, in sight like jasper and sardine stone."

The arrangement of the two series is different. That the order of each has its own mystery we cannot doubt.[2]

But we must not allow these interesting and alluring (we trust not wholly idle and visionary) speculations to divert us longer from the book at present under our notice, whereby these thoughts have been suggested.

A very few words however will be necessary to dispose of this "Scriptural Key" which claims to unlock all the arcana of the Apocalypse.

Mr. Curzon's "short and easy" method of dealing with the Revelation of S. John, is simply as follows.

Duly recognising the fact, on all sides admitted, that our LORD's address in the 24th chapter of S. Matthew presents many parallels with the disclosures of the Loving Apostle; he first maintains that the whole of the Apocalypse is, in that chapter, contained in germ;—and possibly he may be so far correct. He next proceeds to an [300] arbitrary division of our LORD's discourse. He maintains that it is susceptible of classification under seven heads. (Whether this again is the case or not, we are not quite prepared to say: though we certainly do not accept our author's division.) He arranges these different subjects or heads,—these so-called *leading* statements of our LORD—in an arbitrary order of his own: not the order followed by our LORD. And then he lays down, that this (and no other) is the sequence of events opened out in the Apocalypse: that this particular series is introduced again and again (for no conceivable reason, apparently,)—veiled each time in new forms of imagery; that, commencing with the seven seals, it is seven times *repeated*, in seven different modes of typical illustration; and that it closes the whole of the Revelation.

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[1] The Twenty-four are enthroned and crowned, as typical representatives of the victorious "Faith which overcometh the world;" and to which the promise is made "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me on My Throne."

[2] S. Paul's sequence is as follows:

1. One Body; 2. one SPIRIT; 3. one Hope; 4. one LORD; 5. one Faith; 6. one Baptism; 7. one GOD and FATHER.

Here again there appears to be an inverted parallelism.

i. The "one LORD" forms the centre of the group.

ii. "One Faith" and "one Hope" are brought into connection.

iii. "One Spirit" and "one Baptism:" "water and the HOLY GHOST:"

iv. And lastly (as in S. John's series) the "One GOD and FATHER is associated with the mystic Cherubim in which "He dwelleth"—the one Body—the Sacred Manhood of Incarnate GOD.

For another arrangement of this celebrated sequence, vid. *Ecclesiastic*, Vol. XV: p. 374. ϕ 'Williams and Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse' p. 56 *supra*.

What a waste of language on the part of the Apostle! And what a disheartening announcement, moreover, for those who, allured by the promise of the "blessing" attached to the devout study of this Divine Book, "search diligently" into its meaning—to learn that, after all, their labour is useless. For the whole meaning lies in a nutshell; and each succeeding sequence is nought save a naked and objectless repetition (disguised in a new suit of figurative clothing) of what has gone before.

Now these seven heads, or prophetic statements, which comprise the whole of the Apocalypse, are the following:—

1. The Gospel is to be preached, with certain effects.
2. Wars are to ensue.
3. Jerusalem and the old Jewish polity to be destroyed.
4. Famines and pestilences to fall on the heathen nations.
5. The early Christians to be persecuted.
6. Heathen Rome to be overthrown.
7. The Gospel to triumph.

Now that all these events are referred to in the Apocalypse is most true; and they are doubtless introduced, moreover, as illustrations and prophetic shadows of more appalling and world-embracing occurrences yet to ensue.

But this latter truth our author steadily refuses to admit. It interferes with the simplicity, with the "clearness and consistency" of his scheme of exegesis. He maintains that these several announcements of our LORD and His Apostle have *no* ulterior reference whatever: for prophecy "has its *distinct* period of fulfilment, and to that it must be *limited*. *No double interpretations or successive fulfilments can be admitted!*"

Now to refute this monstrous assertion, or seriously examine a theory of Apocalyptic interpretation based upon such foundations, is quite beside our purpose.

We will simply exhibit, in conclusion, one or two of the results which follow from its application.

Let us take (as a simple example) the case of the *numbers*, which [301] all thoughtful students universally recognise as constituting so important, though so difficult an element in the symbolic contexture of the Book.

Here is a specimen of the "short and easy," the "clear and consistent" method of dealing with the numerical difficulties.

The Apostle speaks of a particular visitation which is to last "*five months*." But *why* "five months?" What does this mystic period signify? Oh, it signifies *nothing whatever*, answers the clear and consistent interpreter. "This period of five months," he writes, "is elsewhere called an *hour*, a *day*, a *month*, a *year*, *forty and two months, one thousand two hundred and sixty days*," &c. Can anything be more miserably unsatisfactory?

Again: "The *third* part of the city fell." What does the *third* part signify? It plainly signifies "the *whole*," answers Mr. Curzon. In another place: "The *tenth* part" of the city falls. And again: "The *tenth* part" merely means "the *whole*." Why then, we reply, did not the Apostle say so?

Again: Mr. Curzon gravely informs us that the "*thousand years' reign*" of the saints extended from A.D. 30 to A.D. 95. (P. 170.)

Here, too, is an example of this summary method of dealing with inspired imagery, and clearing away Scripture difficulties:

> "The Locusts out of the bottomless pit; the two hundred million of Horsemen from the Euphrates; the people and tongues of the Great City; the Beast out of the sea; the Water, as a flood, cast out of the mouth of Satan; Great Babylon, or the great Whore; . . . the Beast, the False Prophet, and Kings of the earth; Gog and Magog: *all these* have severally been proved to represent the *same* power, namely, the *heathen* Roman Empire."—P. 127.

Again: the Apostle sees a mighty angel standing in the *sun*. The "*sun*," Mr. Curzon tells us, is the same "heathen Roman Empire." The "Lake of fire and brimstone" symbolises the destruction of the Roman Empire. The "Great White Throne" and the awful Judgment merely depict the overthrow of the same heathen empire, together with the passing away of the Jewish covenant:—with much more to the same effect.

A writer who can contrive, with such perverse ingenuity, to evacuate of all its majesty, dignity, beauty, and significance the most striking and awful imagery of Holy Scripture, in defiance of the concurrent voice of the Universal Church, and in mere deference to a private theory of his own,—a writer, moreover, who dares to call in question the Church's doctrine of the "Resurrection of the *Flesh*," arguing that the expression is not to be found in Scripture,[1]—such a writer must not be surprised if a system of inter[302]pretation which presents itself thus commended, is deemed utterly unworthy of serious attention.

Mr. Curzon has shown, in the earlier part of his work, that, had he not applied himself to his task with a preconceived theory to establish, and with an utter contempt for the voice of the Church, he is not without endowments which might have enabled him to compile, what he undertook to furnish, a convenient Scripture help to the ordinary reader of the Apocalypse.

At present we have only to add, that if any wish to find the mysteries of this Divine Book effectually closed against them, they have but to employ Mr. Curzon's "Scriptural Key to the Revelation of S. John."

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[1] The two bodies," he writes, i.e. "the natural body and the spiritual body" "*do not seem to have anything in common*, except that they are successively our own bodies and the habitations of our spirits." P. 137. Here is a specimen of the way in which Puritanism is joining band in hand with Rationalism in undermining the very foundations of the Faith.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol 22 (Joseph Masters: London, 1860)

[585]THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE, AND THE SCOTTISH CONTROVERSY

Pastoral Teaching on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, addressed to several Congregations since Maundy Thursday, 1860. By Seven Priests of the Scottish Church. Edinburgh: Lendrum. London: Masters.

IT is the glory of GOD to bring good out of evil, to make the very errors and follies and sins of men contribute to the working out of His secret counsels of Wisdom and Love. Man's mistakes do not, in the end, frustrate His work: they are frequently the very instruments whereby that work is brought about.

We consider that the unhappy Eucharistic controversy which still continues to agitate our sister Church in Scotland, furnishes an apt illustration of this great Truth.

That the course of the controversy has been characterised by much—very much—of evil, no sober-minded Christian, we imagine, will be found to deny. It has been attended by heart-burnings, misrepresentations, bitterness, and uncharitableness.

On the side of the Scottish Bishops, we fear it has been too evident that in the case of certain of them (Bp. Wordsworth in particular) mere personal feeling has been allowed to exercise an undue influence on their official conduct; that wounded pride, impatience of contradiction, fear of incurring popular displeasure, anxiety to satisfy the influential laity, and other questionable motives, have been permitted (we trust unconsciously to themselves) to dull their spiritual perceptions, to bias them in their solemn administration of justice, and to inspire much of their action.

While on the other side, we must no less express our opinion, that the settlement of this solemn controversy has been seriously arrested by the gall and bitterness which has thus been infused into it from the opposite quarter; and that had the defenders of High Eucharistic Doctrine manifested more of Christian forbearance, more meekness and patience, more humble trust in the overruling Love and Mercy of the Great Head of the Church; had they written (when called upon so to do) with sobriety and charity, and not been so eager to fasten upon the Bishops (to many of whom the course of the discussion must have presented very serious theological difficulties) almost every conceivable form of heresy—the storm would ere this have passed over, and our sister Church be enabled to serve GOD with some measure of "godly quietness."

The Holy Spirit of Wisdom, whose it is to "guide into all the Truth," is also He whose nature and whose name is *Love*—who [536] is the very Personal LOVE of GOD, that Holy Bond uniting the FATHER and the SON in indissoluble, ineffable Oneness; and who is ever repelled therefore, by acts or words inconsistent with true Christian Charity. How then can He manifest His Illuminating Presence if His Holy approaches are recklessly interfered with and resisted, by those whose sacred duty it is, in every way to court His guiding Influence?

We must claim indulgence for writing in this strain: but really if the Church of Scotland is not to be rent asunder from one end to the other, the writers who take upon them to conduct the controversy—whether anonymously or otherwise, whether in journals, pamphlets, or elsewhere—must suffer a word of exhortation, that they will never write a line on this most solemn subject, without earnest prayer that they may be guided to say nothing which shall not be for the true benefit of the Church, nothing which is not

demanded by Christian charity, nothing which may cause needless pain or irritation to any, nothing which may grieve or repel the Holy Spirit of Wisdom and of LOVE.

We have hinted at some of the evils with which the present Eucharistic controversy in Scotland has been fraught. But while fully admitting this, and expressing our serious conviction that the state of the Church in that country is such, even notwithstanding the momentary calm, as to awaken anxious apprehension, we yet are very far from imagining the religious agitation to have been an unmixed evil. Far otherwise. As in the case of the Baptismal discussion, when the turmoil had ceased, and men began to collect their thoughts and look calmly about them, it was discovered that the Church of England had made an important and decisive advance in general orthodoxy of sentiment upon that great question, and had obtained a firmer grasp and more explicit recognition of truths she had always implicitly held; so will it inevitably be found in the present instance. Documents of permanent interest and value have already been given to the Church, called into being by recent disputes; men's minds have begun to open to verities to which they have hitherto been strangers; and doctrinal statements on the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar have obtained acceptance in quarters where, but a short time ago, they had no apparent prospect whatever of gaining admission.

Among the works of permanent value for which we are indebted under GOD to the present Eucharistic Controversy in the Church of Scotland, the foremost place must, of course, be assigned to the masterly Theological Defence of the Bishop of Brechin.

Although this Defence was prepared merely to meet a special emergency, and was drawn up hastily, it is our firm belief that no Branch of the Church can produce a Treatise of a similar character, of equal value. We question very much if such a one has *ever* been written. As an exposition of the real Primitive Doctrine of [537] the Holy undivided Church on the subject of the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar, disencumbered of modern errors, whether of misbelief or unbelief, its worth is incalculable. Grave, comprehensive, learned and devout, pervaded by a tone of earnest seriousness, which a knowledge of the important issues depending on it would necessarily impart—we consider it a very model of dignified and persuasive religious writing. The full value and importance of the work, as illustrating, throughout Christendom, the theological position of the British Churches, has yet to be tested. A treatise of this kind could not perhaps have been produced but in a time of anxious controversy. We must thank GOD, then, for the very controversy that evoked it.

We think this Defence should be reprinted, with the original Charge, and a few pages of explanation recounting its history. It should be broken up moreover into sections, and furnished with a table of contents, and an index, by way of facilitating reference.

It is interesting to trace the Providence of GOD silently preparing the Church for this important emergency. Had not Archdeacon Wilberforce's, Dr Pusey's, Mr. Keble's, and other works preceded,[1] and the mind of the Anglican Church by these means, and by the revived study of the ancient Liturgies, been gradually exercised in the investigation of the Eucharistic Mystery, the composition of such a Defence in so brief a period would have been a simple impossibility.

The *specialty* of the Eucharistic Controversy in Scotland, wherein it has providentially supplemented and completed the antecedent discussions in this country, has been the attention paid in it to the *sacrificial* aspect of the Holy Sacrament.

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[1] We must especially mention Dr. Pusey's Catena—a work of really inestimable use and importance, and perhaps the greatest of all the great boons he has conferred on the Church.

On this all-important branch of the subject, Archdeacon Wilberforce's able work was singularly defective. In the Denison discussion again, the question of the *Sacrifice* did not present itself for consideration. Archdeacon Wilberforce having reminded us of—and by the help of the useful scholastic terms, pressed strongly upon us—the fundamental distinctions between the *Sacramentum,* the *Res Sacramenti,* and the *Virtus Sacramenti,* the Denison agitation expended itself chiefly on the establishment of the great truth of the objective Presence, after Consecration, of the *Res Sacramenti,* irrespectively of the qualifications of the recipient.

As a corollary from the objective Presence, the question of Adoration necessarily came under notice; although at that time it received but a secondary attention. Mr. Keble's beautiful Treatise well-nigh exhausted that question. In consequence, however, of [538] the appearance of Mr. Freeman's thoughtful and attractive though misleading "Introduction" (the influence of which upon the theological mind of the Scottish Episcopate has been very singular), and of the theory therein propounded, that the objective Presence of our LORD's Body and Blood in the Eucharist does not necessarily involve the very personal Presence of our LORD Himself, or call therefore for any act of Adoration—it became needful that the subject should undergo still further investigation: and this, in Mr. Keble's "Considerations," in the very able pamphlet "The Modest Reply," in the powerful writings of Mr. Cheyne and the Bishop of Brechin, it has abundantly received.

This last point, then, (viz. the Presence and consequent Adoration of our LORD *Himself* in the Eucharist, as necessarily involved in the admitted Presence of the Body and Blood) is *one* of the points for the complete discussion of which the Church is incidentally indebted, under GOD, to the present Controversy. Another, equally important, is the vindication of the use of the word *Substantial* as applied to our Blessed LORD's Humanity, mysteriously Present under the Sacramental veils.

But the one subject (as we have stated) which has impressed its special and distinctive character upon the Northern discussion, and rendered it so valuable a supplement to our preliminary disputations in this country, has been unquestionably the Eucharistic *Sacrifice.* And on this cardinal question, the Bishop of Brechin's Defence—ample as it is in its treatment of the other cognate doctrines (the objective Presence—the effect of Consecration— the coexistence under one subject of two real distinct though unconfused *Substances*—Adoration—reception by the wicked, &c., &c.)—is yet peculiarly ample and exhaustive.

In what sense the Blessed Eucharist is a Sacrifice, in what sense it is not; how far it is identical with, in what respect dissimilar from, the Sacrifice of the Cross—these and kindred matters are treated of with a reverence and sobriety and learning truly admirable.

The Bishop insists, as in his Primary Charge, on the importance of discriminating between the two senses, the active and passive, of the word Sacrifice; the one signifying *the act of offering,* the other *the thing offered;* the one denoting the "*rite,*" the other the "*victim*."[1]

He shows how that, in the latter, or passive, sense of the word, the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Altar are absolutely identical, inasmuch as the *thing offered* is the same—the very Body which hung on the Cross being the very Body (for there [539] can be no other) which is pleaded and received in the Holy Eucharist. Whereas in the former, or

[1] Waterland notices the same cardinal distinction. "CHRIST," he says, "performed His Sacrifice in the *active* and *transient* sense, once for all, upon the Cross. He distributes it daily, in the *passive* and *abiding* sense of it, to all His true servants, to every faithful Communicant." (Distinctions of Sacrifice.)

active, sense of the word, there can, of course, be no such identity; the Holy Eucharist being but the solemn commemoration or Memorial, before GOD and man, of the one active Sacrifice once for all made and finished on the Cross.

The unconscious confusion between these two distinct meanings of the word, has really been one cause of much of the misapprehension which has prevailed on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

CHRIST is not again immolated on the Altar. But CHRIST our Sacrifice is there pleaded. In other words the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice, inasmuch as it is a *Memorial,* or sacrificial commemoration, of the Sacrifice of the Cross.

So that whereas it is objected, It is not a sacrifice because it is only a memorial; we answer, It is the very fact of its being a real "Memorial" which imparts to it its sacrificial character.

To show this, we have but to gaze reverently upwards, and ask, What is the nature of the Sacrifice which our Blessed LORD as "Priest for ever," is now "for ever" offering up? It is the *Memorial* of the One Great Sacrifice which He once offered with pain and Blood on the Cross. It is Himself "as He had been slain." ([Greek], Rev. v. 6.)

The same Sacrificial Memorial, which is pleaded in Heaven, is the very same which, under Sacramental veils, is pleaded on earth: and we repeat, it is the very fact of its being really and truly a "Memorial," which imparts to it its distinctive Sacrificial character.

There is no fresh slaying of the Lamb in Heaven: but there is the continuous and availing Presentation before the FATHER of the "slain Lamb"—the "Lamb of GOD" bearing the marks of violent Death, though now ever-living, and by the merits of that Death interceding.

So there is no sacramental mactation of CHRIST on the Altar; no repetition of the one great Act once for all effected on Calvary; no slaying, in successive Eucharists, of fresh victims to propitiate GOD—like the reiterated sacrifices of the Jewish priests (the doctrine strongly and justly condemned by our thirty-first Article, as one of the popular misconceptions of a great Catholic verity)—but a mysterious commemorative Oblation of the precious Body and Blood once offered on the Cross.

Moreover, the Divine Victim presented on the celestial and on the earthly Altar being one and the same (His earthly presence being brought about, according to His gracious promises, by the agency of the HOLY GHOST)—whatever propitiatory virtue is essentially inherent in Him, must necessarily appertain to Him, energize through Him, flow from Him, wherever His all-pleading, all-availing Presence is manifested.

The Jewish sacrifices at once exhibit and explain the *memorial* nature of our LORD's continuous Oblation.

The sacrifice, of old, was not complete, when the act of macta[540]tion had been performed. Nay, had the service terminated there, no good whatever would have been effected. The most important part—that which alone made the sacrifice available—had yet to ensue. The *essence* of the sacrifice—i.e., the sacrifice *itself* by representation—had to be solemnly offered up, pleaded and presented before GOD. Now it was this representative sacrifice, which contained, as it were, the *essence* of the sacrifice, which attested also the fact of the immolation having taken place, and which thus put GOD in remembrance of His covenant which was ratified between Himself and Israel with Blood—this it was which constituted the memorial. If the offering was an animal, the memorial was its life-blood; if the offering was of flour, the memorial was the priest's "handful" taken from it.

Now it was the solemn presentation of this sacrificial memorial before GOD, which gave practical efficacy to the whole service, and without which the sacrifice itself would have been useless and availing. To enter into details at present is beside our purpose. Sufficient that we see the broad meaning of the rite, and observe that the oblation of the memorial was not something of secondary moment, but the effectuating part of the whole service.

And even so, CHRIST's precious Death had proved all unavailing to the pardon of sin, had He not risen and ascended, and, as the Great High Priest, entered within the veil, there to present before the throne of GOD the one 'living and continuous' Memorial of His infinitely meritorious Death and Passion. And what is the Memorial of His Death, but His own *life-blood*—nay, His Divine and once crucified *Manhood,* in its entire subsistence—for though dead, He liveth for evermore. This He pleads. This He ever presents to GOD; with this He intercedes: as S. Paul says, "It is CHRIST that died, *yea rather,* that is risen again, Who is even at the right hand of GOD, Who also *maketh intercession* for us."

All the offerings exhibit, and have their realization in, Him. He is the great antitype at once of the sweet-savour offerings, and of the sin offerings;[1] the former class having their main fulfilment in His all-holy self-devoted life; the latter in His atoning Death.

In the entire self-consecration of His whole being to GOD, in the free, spontaneous, lifelong sacrifice of His own will to that of His FATHER, He was an "offering and sacrifice to GOD for a sweet-smelling savour." In the mystery of His expiatory Death, "He who knew no sin was made a sin-offering for us." And it is the continuous presentation in the Holy Place, of the Memorial of that great sin-offering, viz., the atoning Blood, which obtains for the [541] Church the continuous grant of the "remission of sins," justification, sanctification, and all the benefits of the sacred blood-shedding on Calvary. As S. Paul distinctly shows in Heb. xiii. 11, 12, (a passage constantly misunderstood.)

He first insists that we, in the Christian Church, have a privilege which the Levitical priesthood possessed not, viz., the right to partake of the highest grades of the sin offerings. For what became of those offerings of old? Might they be eaten? No; being wholly charged with sin, they were wholly consumed "without the camp."

But of these very offerings *we* may eat. At the Christian Altar we may *eat* of Him " Who was made *sin* for us."

The eating of the sacrifices symbolized the notion of deriving from them nourishment, satisfaction, support. Was there then, of old, such a knowledge of the "forgiveness of sins" as to impart to the penitent worshipper this support and comfort? Not so; the forgiveness of sin was shrouded in awful mystery. The sin offerings, though duly offered up, were yet not permitted to afford food or satisfaction to the sin-burdened soul, or make the offerers "perfect as pertaining to the conscience." But now, the case is far otherwise. We may eat, and are commanded to eat of them. The very "Lamb of GOD" charged with our *sins,* He it is who grants us His "Peace." Of Him Who was made sin for us, we may eat and be refreshed.

But the point immediately before us relates to the *Blood* of the sin-offering, and to the question, How does our LORD, as our anti-typical Sacrifice of expiation, secure for us continuous acceptance and sanctification?

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[1] In the "offerings of a sweet savour" were included the Burnt Offerings, the Meat Offerings, and the Peace Offerings. In the "Sin Offerings" were included the Sin Offerings, properly so called, and the Trespass Offerings. The former division were offered for acceptance, the latter for expiation.

S. Paul intimates to us, in this same passage, that it is not by the act of His Death once consummated; but by Himself, as High Priest, "bringing the Blood" of Himself, as sin offering, "into the Sanctuary."

A glance at the parallel clauses of verses 11, 12, will show this. The bodies of the sin offerings are burnt without the camp. JESUS suffered without the gate.

But in order that the "people might be *sanctified"* by the sacrifice, and participate in its merits, its "Blood was brought by the High Priest into the Sanctuary." And in like manner, in order that His people might be sanctified by the precious Blood of JESUS, and might derive virtue from His atoning Death, *His* sacred Blood was brought by Himself into the Heavenly Sanctuary.

And in this respect, as we have before shown, does JESUS still "sanctify the people with His own Blood," offering it to the FATHER for us in the Heavenly Sanctuary, pleading its merits, and by it procuring for us access to the FATHER, and all other 'good things,' specially the great gift of the HOLY GHOST. And this continuous intercessory action of our Great High Priest we see ever [542] and anon let down (as it were) from Heaven to earth, visibly embodied and represented in the Eucharistic mystery; and so brought near to us, that we may all singly participate in its propitiatory virtue.

But the mystery of our sanctification by the Blood of JESUS is not exhausted in this type. That Blood is not only presented to the FATHER to purchase our sanctification; it is also communi-cated to *us* to impart it.

To see this, we must have recourse to another type to which our LORD Himself refers us on a very sacred occasion.

At the time of the solemn inauguration of the Mosaic covenant, Moses took the sacrificial blood. Half of it he sprinkled on the altar; with the other half, "he sprinkled the people and said, *Behold the Blood of the Covenant* which the LORD hath made with you."

Here then we see the people brought into actual *contact* with the Divinely appointed instrument of sanctification, the "*Blood of the Covenant;"* it was sprinkled *on* them. And so too with us: the "Blood of the Covenant" must not be merely presented to the FATHER for us; it must be communicated to us; we must be brought in *actual contact* with it; its cleansing efficacy must be imparted to each of us individually.

But we cannot ascend up to Heaven, in order that the true Moses, who is sprinkling it on the heavenly Altar, may also sprinkle it on us. And hence, in infinite love, He *brings it down* from Heaven to earth in order that we may in very deed and truth receive of its purifying, consecrating touch. And that our LORD *intended* us to regard the Holy Eucharist in this additional light, as the means whereby we may not only plead, but receive, be touched and sprinkled with the holy instrument of sanctification, His own blessed words plainly attest. "*This is My Blood of the New Covenant;*" "*Drink ye all of it.*"

S. Paul refers us also to the same significant ceremony. All things under the law, he tells us, were purified with blood. And hence Moses (to express this mysterious truth, and symbolize the future sanctifying efficacy of Blood), "took blood, and sprinkled *all* the people, saying, "This is the blood of the Covenant:"—where, in the words "*all,*" and "*the*

Blood of the Covenant," it is needless to point the intentional symbolical allusion to the Holy Eucharist, and to the sacred words of Institution.[1]

Well may the Apostle argue, that if the blood of the old Covenant imparted, by its contact, purification from ceremonial defilement—much more shall the "Blood of the New Covenant" sacramentally conveyed to us, operate to the purifying of our consciences: and [543] well may he foretell the fearful doom awaiting those who sacrilegiously profane this transcendent Gift, which he characteristically designates as "the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith we are *sanctified*."

But the full Mystery of our Sanctification by the Blood of JESUS, as symbolized of old, cannot be apprehended except we take also into consideration another very strange but significant enactment of the earlier Dispensations.

The flesh of many of the sacrifices might be eaten; but not so the blood. Under the most awful sanctions was any participation of the blood interdicted. It might, we see, be sprinkled externally, but not partaken of internally. "I will set My face against the soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off. . . For the *life* of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the Altar to make an atonement for your souls . . . for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul . . . therefore no soul of you shall eat blood . . . for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off." (Lev. xvii. 10-14.)

The Mystery of *communicated Life,* i.e., *real* sanctification, was as yet unrevealed. What benefit could the communicated life of a beast convey? This solemn interdict evidently enveloped some great Divine Secret; a secret which was not disclosed till HE our Life, our Sacrifice, our GOD, transfigured and reversed the interdict into a positive command. "This is My Blood." "Drink ye *all* of it." For "Whoso eateth My Flesh, *and drinketh My Blood,* hath eternal *Life."* In the "Blood is the Life:" it is the vehicle of the Lifegiving Spirit which animates the Body of CHRIST; by communion of which (as S. Paul says) "we are *all* made to *drink* into One Spirit." No sooner had our LORD conveyed this transcendent Gift to His Church, namely the Sacred "Flesh with the Blood which is the *Life* of the Flesh," and made her thus partaker of the "Life of GOD," than He bids her to manifest this new Life, and call in action this Divine energy (the very nature of GOD) infused into her. "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye *Love* one another." For "Love is *of* GOD," and *is* GOD; and "whosoever *loveth* is born of GOD." "He that *loveth* not, abideth in *death.*"

We can never reflect on this subject without marvelling at the mysterious infatuation which has possessed the Church of Rome, and the terrible guilt wherewith she has deliberately charged herself, and for which, except she "repent and do her first works," condign judgment *must* overtake her, in permitting herself to presume to countermand this solemn and positive injunction of her dying LORD.

There is much, very much, in our own Branch of the Church to make us sober, anxious, and humble. But, thank GOD, we have nothing like this to disquiet us; no impious mutilation of the very [544] sources and channels of Spiritual Life. Here we see an open defiance of the clear voice of CHRIST and of the Holy undivided Church. Here we see something to constrain us to regard with profoundest suspicion other dogmas that present themselves to us merely on the authority of that Branch of the Church.

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[1] It is to be observed that the "Blood of the Covenant" which Moses sprinkled on the people, was not the Blood of Sin offerings, but of offerings of sweet savour. It is interesting to notice how in the Holy Eucharist, both great classes of offerings combine.

Against this we must continue to protest with all our might. So long as the Church of Rome persists in this uncatholic and wicked innovation, union with her would be simply a sin against GOD.

CHRIST's Faithful Remnant, we know, on the express testimony of the HOLY GHOST, will be found "eating of this Bread, *and drinking of this Cup*" " *until* the LORD comes." The Church of Rome, then, cannot expect to be numbered amongst that little flock who at that time will be found obediently "showing forth their LORD's Death" as He commanded them—if she persists in her present unlawful practice.

From what mysterious graces she is wilfully excluding herself, we cannot tell. She may have bitterly to discover this when too late; when those graces are most intensely needed (as a protection, perchance, against "the strong delusion") but are not to be had; and when there is an earnest but, unavailing "Cry for *Wine* in the Streets."

If the Gift of the "Cup" was necessary at the first, it is so now. If it was *then* the vehicle of *particular* graces and blessings, (and if it was not so, it would not have been superadded to the Gift of the "Bread") it is so now. If it was needful to the completion of the Mystery then, and the command "Drink ye all of it," imposed any obligation on the Church then, the obligation is every whit as solemnly and inevitably binding now. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My Words shall not pass away." "The Word that I have spoken, the same shall judge you at the last Day."

We have dwelt at such length on the general subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (although we have been able to do no more than barely suggest one or two lines of thought upon so important a question) that we have left ourselves but small space to notice the little work at the head of our present article.

It consists of seven sermons on the Holy Eucharist by different writers, and is chiefly occupied with the sacrificial aspect of the Sacrament. The sermons vary in merit and mode of treatment, but, on the whole, handle the subject in a thoughtful, satisfactory, and reverent way. We trust that the circumstances under which the book has been brought out, may not mar its usefulness.

As to the delicate question of the prudence or charity of publishing the volume at this particular juncture, we see so plainly how much there is to be urged on both sides, that we are glad not to be called upon to express a decided opinion.

Anything looking like a challenge or defiance to the Bishops [545] under present circumstances, would of course, be much to be deprecated. And after the acquittal of the Bishop of Brechin, on the delivery of the noble Defence to which we have referred, and the important step thereby virtually gained, it would almost have seemed to us living at a distance, that the real interests of the Church had best been advanced by the Catholic party, by their laying aside hostilities for a while, abstaining studiously from anything likely to cause irritation or offence to the Bishops, by leaving the cause in GOD's hands, and praying Him, in His own good time, and in His own way, to vindicate His Truth, and restore peace to the Church.

We fear lest, if the Bishops are so ill-advised as to regard this book in the light of a challenge, and act accordingly, it may have the effect of delaying the otherwise inevitable (though not perhaps immediate) restoration of Mr. Cheyne, producing fresh complications, and throwing matters further back than ever.

It is on this account that we regret the tone of the last of these sermons. We cannot think it altogether wise, or charitable, or becoming, under the circumstances. The sermon itself is

good and valuable; but it bears too much of the appearance of a direct personal attack to be quite suitable for the place where it was preached, or for the volume in which it now occurs.

We have all of us need at these times to impress deeply on our hearts this great truth, that though we have the gift of illumination, and are able to "understand all mysteries and all knowledge," and are even willing to give our bodies to be burned in defence of the faith, and yet are deficient in real genuine *Charity,* our wisdom and zeal will avail but little.

The two best sermons in the volume appear to us to be the first, by Mr. Harper, on "CHRIST the great High Priest;" and the fourth, by Mr. Comper, on "the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the reception of very CHRIST, as flowing necessarily from the concession of the Real Presence." This latter is a very carefully written and comprehensive discourse.

We quote the following from Mr. Harper, on the important subject of Eucharistic Worship:

> "CHRIST in His glorified Humanity . . . . is the Worship of the redeemed, whether by worship we understand the Victim which we offer up to the glory of GOD the FATHER, or the Object Whom we and the countless myriads of the blessed incessantly adore. In both respects CHRIST is our Worship. Him Whom we offer up, the same do we adore, and adore while we offer. Him Whom we receive under the 'form' of Bread and Wine as the food of our souls, we also worship with lowly reverence. He is always and everywhere adorable—adorable in Himself and in His attributes—adorable in His Divinity—adorable in His Humanity—adorable on His Cross and in His Tomb—adorable in His Throne in Heaven—adorable in His Sacramental [546] Presence an earth: and if at the very *Name* of JESUS every knee shall bow in adoration, how shall we not adore Him, when He comes in His very Person to His Altar-throne, and gives Himself wholly to us 'to be our spiritual Food and Sustenance in the Holy Sacrament.'"—P. 10.

And the following from Mr. Comper:

> "There is one only true Body of CHRIST, and of that one Body He spake, saying of the Sacrament, 'This is My Body.' Even His mystical Body the Church, which seems another, is not really so. It is the outgrowth, development and fruit of His Incarnate Body, formed by It, and one with It. When, therefore, we speak of His Sacramental Body, or His Spiritual Body—in distinction to His Natural Body—we can only rightly be understood as distinguishing the *manner* of Presence. The Body of CHRIST Which was crucified, is that Which is in Heaven, and it is the same Which is in the Holy Eucharist. He has no other Body. Were it otherwise, CHRIST would be divided. The one CHRIST is bodily or locally in Heaven: spiritually and sacramentally in the Eucharist. The real Presence in the Sacrament must, therefore, mean the Presence of His one real Body. He who believes not this, virtually denies the real Presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament."—Pp. 43, 44.

Dean Smith applies the text, "the Good Shepherd giveth His Life for the sheep," to that Blessed Sacrament wherein the Good Shepherd still continues to feed the Church with His own Life-giving Body and Blood.

Mr. Blenkinsopp's sermon on the text, "For their sakes I sanctify Myself," &c. is perhaps fanciful, though at the same time it evidences a thoughtful and original mind.

Mr. Howard adds a devout, though very brief sermon on Eucharistic Worship. And Mr. McColl another, on "CHRIST's Presence no blessing to the unworthy," containing a useful popular explanation of the province, and receptive character of Faith, and a thoughtful note on the *nature* of our LORD's Presence in the Sacrament, showing it to be real and Personal, though not "localised."

Our space warns us that we must come to an abrupt conclusion.

A new Ecclesiastical year is just opening before us. The season of the Nativity—the season of "Peace on earth, and goodwill amongst men,"—is drawing on apace. May the prayers of

all who "love the LORD JESUS," who yearn for the unity of His Church, ascend up mightily to GOD that He would restore "Peace and goodwill" to this distracted portion of His inheritance. "Turn Thee again, Thou GOD of Hosts, look down from Heaven: behold and visit this Vine."

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol 23 (Joseph Masters: London, 1861)

[193]RECENT ANNOTATORS ON THE APOCALYPSE: WORDSWORTH AND ALFORD

Wordsworth's Greek Testament. Vol. IV. Rivingtons. 1860.
Alford's Greek Testament. Vol. IV. Part II. Rivingtons. 1860.

WE have here the concluding volumes of two very important works—works varying considerably in their general scope and execution, characterised each by grave defects, yet both likely to prove of real and permanent value to the Church. Traversing simultaneously the same ground of sacred exegesis, the writers still pursue their journeys by totally different routes. Neither work interferes with the other: neither supersedes the other: each has a value of its own: each brings to light beauties unnoticed by the other: each supplies deficiencies to be found in the pages of the other.

Dr Wordsworth's Commentary is, as is well known, professedly Anglican and Patristic. The specialty of Dean Alford's consists in its claim to furnish a compendious *résumé* of the results of the best German and other modern criticism. Dr Wordsworth is stanchly conservative; Dean Alford progressive. Not that the former ignores the labours of recent critics, or the latter neglects all appeals to patristic authority: we are merely stating the general complexion of their respective works.

Our present object, however, is not to undertake a detailed examination of either of the volumes now under notice, but to confine ourselves to one portion of each,—the Revelation of S. John.

We own to having felt a certain measure of curiosity and anxiety to see how this mysterious Book would be handled in both these works. We have wondered, with regard to Dr Wordsworth, whether maturer reflection, and the deeper insight into the scope and language of New Testament prophecy, which his recent labours will have afforded him, would have induced him to qualify or abandon any portion of that system of Apocalyptic interpretation with which his name has become in a measure associated. We have been glad to notice occasional modifications of previously expressed opinions; but regret that in regard to the leading features of his hermeneutic scheme, his views have undergone little or no alteration.

We opened Dean Alford's notes with a vague feeling of apprehension; which, however, we are bound to say, has been considerably dissipated by their perusal. The notes are too often meagre and most unsatisfying, and in certain crucial instances vexatiously brief: still they are, on the whole, characterized by a careful sobriety of [194] tone; they evince a thoughtful and cautious recognition of the real difficulties and exigencies of the text, and occasionally exhibit in this respect a favourable contrast with the more copious and ambitious annotations of the Canon of Westminster. Dean Alford is often wise enough to acknowledge his inability to offer any solution of difficulties which present themselves: and in the case of several of the visions, merely aims at suggesting certain broad and general principles of interpretation—at indicating some of the leading way-marks which seem designed to point out the main tracks of exposition to be pursued, and those to be avoided—rather than at attempting to thread all the intricate mazes and by-paths into which the details of the text invite the reader. Dean Alford is thus often saved from the forced, far-fetched, and incongruous interpretations which occasionally disfigure Dr Wordsworth's volume: but on the other hand, he misses numberless beauties of detail, and marks of Divine perfection and design, which a more laborious analysis of the text would have disclosed to him.

I. In his exposition of the Seven Epistles, Dr Wordsworth's notes are replete with valuable and suggestive matter. This important section of the Revelation of S. John is treated by him very ably and completely; the writer appearing to take a reverent delight in tracing out the numerous tokens of Divine superintendence furnished by the very language itself, and in detecting the many indications of minute elaboration and system which are so abundantly discernible in the general structure and contexture of that sacred series.[1]

We rather wonder, however, that he has not noticed the *symmetrical* arrangement of the septenary series, (an arrangement very common in the sevenfold sequences of Holy Scripture, and in this case specially indicated by its visible type, the seven-branched candlestick,) in which the *first* and *seventh* members correspond, the *second* and *sixth,* the *third* and *fifth,* leaving a fourth or central member.

That in the present instance, (amid multitudinous other traces of order and design which are constantly presenting themselves,) there exists this kind of balancing contrast, parallelism, or relation between the corresponding members on either side of the central Epistle, we conceive to be sufficiently plain.

1. Thus in *Laodicea* we see the full development of those germs of evil which were beginning to manifest themselves in *Ephesus.* Ephesus is zealous and enduring, keen-sighted in the detection of error, and able with righteous fervour to *hate:* but she is forget[195]ting. how to *love.* Here is the root of that censorious self-sufficiency which exhibits itself in the "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing," of Laodicea. In Ephesus we see love *waning:* in Laodicea (which seems specially to point to the latter days) we see "iniquity abounding, and the love of the many *waxen cold*." We learn from the two, that zeal if only "one-sided," eventually "loses even that one side:" all religious fervour which is not kept alive by love, soon chills: the loveless abhorrence of error degenerates into cold, self-satisfied indifference to error. We see, moreover, in the rebuke to Ephesus, "Thou hast left thy first love," the explanation of that to Laodicea, "Thou art lukewarm;" and also the ground of the peculiar loathsomeness of that state. Had the Church never received the gift of Divine Life—the supernatural infusion of Charity; were she but in her natural state of coldness and death, it had been far better. There were then far more prospect of mercy. "It had been better for them not to have known the way of the LORD, than *having known it* to turn" therefrom.[2] But here there is not this natural coldness: here are the decaying embers of a supernatural Flame: here are the sad tokens of a love that *has been;* of a charity that has become tepid, lukewarm, and to CHRIST loathsome and intolerable. And as all other graces die out (some earlier, some later) with love; so, even that keen-sighted sagacity in detecting error which characterized Ephesus, has now departed. Laodicea has become "*blind;*" and is exhorted "to buy eyesalve of GOD that she may be able to see." For with the absence of love, she has lost not only her true riches, and her true clothing, but also (what she specially plumed herself on) her true *wisdom.* She has become denuded of all her beauty and loveliness. And her present state of secular prosperity, so far from being a token of GOD's favour, is rather (from Him who "loves those who love Him," and Who "rebukes and chastens" all His loved ones) a token

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[1] When Dr. Wordsworth, however, adduces the sevenfold repetition of the [Greek] as one of the marks of Divine order, he should bear in mind that the weight of MS. authority is very decidedly against the insertion of these words in the case of the 2nd and 3rd Epistles, and that they are there rejected by almost all recent editors.

[2] Dr. Wordsworth appositely refers here to 1 Tim. i. 13; S. Luke xii. 48; xxiii. 34.

of reprobation. The threat of removal denounced against Ephesus is now to be terribly realized, "I am about to spue thee out of My mouth."

2. In the Epistles to *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia,* the parallelism is even more marked. In these two Epistles, and in these only, is there praise accorded, without any admixture of blame. We see adumbrated in these, probably, the faithful Martyr-Church of the early, and the latter days. Both have fallen upon a season of *temptation.* Satan is about to *tempt* and afflict Smyrna, without harming her. Philadelphia is to be kept scatheless from the *temptation*[1] which is coming on all the world. Both the Churches are opposed by the very same ecclesiastical foes, "those who say [196] they are Jews, and are not; but are of the Synagogue of Satan" (ii. 8; iii. 9.) Smyrna has promised to her, if she continues faithful, the "*Crown* of Life." Philadelphia is encouraged to hold fast that which she hath, that no man take her *crown.*"[2]

3. And in like manner, *Pergamos* and *Sardis,* the *third* and *fifth* Churches, present a similar kind of secret relationship or parallelism. Pergamos is established in the very seat of the world-power, the "Throne" of the "Prince of the world." Here appears to be a reference to State-establishment. Her danger, therefore, will arise from state friendship and worldly compliance. We see the developed result of this in the case of Sardis, who has lost all her higher life. Pergamos still bolds fast GOD's Name, though she suffers tenets of earthly conformity to be promulgated: Sardis keeps the Christian profession, but has lost the reality: she "has a *name* that she lives, but is dead." Pergamos harbours those who teach the seductive doctrines of Balaam and tempt GOD's people to spiritual fornication: so rapidly do these insidious tenets spread, with such desolating power does the spiritual impurity propagate itself, that in Sardis but "a few names" can be found who have not "defiled their garments."

To those in Pergamos who cherish the hidden life, while traversing the world's wilderness, is the "hidden manna" promised, and also a "*white* stone."[3] The possession of this latter gift—this secret token of acceptance and absolution—this "pearl of great price"—is said to be known only to its owner. The world discovers it not. But the world *shall* discover it. The glistening *white* shall yet manifest itself. The colour of the sacred "stone," and of the "Bread from Heaven" shall yet be seen by all. And thus, of the faithful in Sardis we read, that they shall walk with CHRIST in *white,* and shall be apparelled in white garments. They shall be *all white*, like their LORD on the. Mount of Transfiguration.

But further: in Pergamos the white stone is impressed with a "New *Name*"—the reward for holding fast GOD's Name: and this Name is recognized by none save him to whom it is given, the SPIRIT bearing secret witness with his spirit that he is GOD's own child. But in the promise to the faithful in Sardis we see an advance upon this. The New Name is now not only the receiver's for a time; given to him engraven on a white stone, and so perhaps capable of being lost: but it is really his own—his own for ever: "I will not blot out *his* name out of the Book of Life." [197] Nor is the name any longer a secret which "none knoweth save he that receiveth it:" it is proclaimed to the whole spiritual universe; "I will

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1 Cf. ii. 10; iii. 10; the only two references to temptation ([Greek]) contained in the Apocalypse.

2 Cf. ii. 10; iii. 11; the only two instances in the Apocalypse in which this word [Greek] occurs; except in reference to our LORD Himself, and certain of the symbolical personages introduced.

3 [Greek]; the distinctive colour of CHRIST in this book. It may be remembered also, that it is expressly stated (and the statement repeated) that the colour of the manna was *white* ([Greek]). In the Book of Numbers it is said to have been "like the colour of bdellium." It is not quite certain whether bdellium was a white shining gum, or a "white stone;" some pure gem, a pearl or crystal.

confess his name in the Presence of My FATHER, and in the presence of His Angels." (Cf. ii. 17; iii. 5.)

4. In the central church of *Thyatira,* midway between Pergamos and Sardis, we see the worldliness, which in the former was beginning to manifest itself, and in the latter had resulted in spiritual death, existing side by side with active work for CHRIST; the two opposing principles, Christianity and antichristianity, for a time in energetic and loving co-operation. The Church of Thyatira is full of activity (the unnatural energy preceding the expiring life): we read of love, faith, service, endurance, and works. And yet "He whose eyes are a flame of fire" discerns that the Angel of the Church has taken to his very bosom the false prophetess Jezebel, that she is industriously disseminating false doctrines, and he tacitly permitting it.[1] Here is some unnatural and unholy alliance: and hence the denunciations of vengeance, "Behold I cast her into a bed, and those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of her deeds." It is not said "of *their* deeds," but "of *her* deeds" ([Greek]). *She* is responsible. "By *thy* sorceries (it is said to her great antitype) were all the nations deceived." (xix. 23.)

But we must not dwell longer on this introductory heptad.

II. In his exposition of the mysterious. vision of the Throne of GOD, in cap. iv., Dr Wordsworth adheres to the strange conclusion already adopted by him, that the four [Greek] represent the four Gospels, and the twenty-four elders the books of the Old Testament. Now it is on all hands admitted that there are some apparent points of typical connection between the Inspired Scriptures and the symbols in question; but to attempt to establish a bald identific-ation of them appears to us something like a grave trifling with sacred symbolism.

How, for instance, can it be possible, without a most extravagant straining of S. John's mystical language, to identify the Elders with the books of the Old Testament?

What are we told respecting the sacred *twenty four?*

We find them vested in white robes, enthroned, worshipping, crowned with golden crowns (iv. 4); prostrating themselves before GOD (iv. 10); conversing with, questioning, comforting, instructing the Apostle (v. 5; vii. 13—18); presenting the prayers and praises of the saints before GOD; singing a new song; sweeping the strings of their golden harps, and blessing GOD for redemption[2] [198] (v. 8—10); offering thanksgivings to GOD because of His dread judgments (xi. 16); chanting the "Amen, Alleluia" (xix. 4).

Now how can any sober writer endeavour to reduce these various statements into conformity with the interpretation adopted by Dr Wordsworth? In certain instances Dr Wordsworth does not even attempt any explanation (as we have occasionally noticed

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1 [Greek]

2 [Greek]. Dr. Wordsworth, together with Dean Alford and other recent editors, rejects the important word [Greek]; but, we feel persuaded, on insufficient grounds. The preponderance of MS. authority seems unquestionably in its favour. See the note of Tregelles, who strongly insists upon its retention, in his useful little work, "The Revelation, from ancient authorities" (p. 11, 12.).

The translation of the genuine text appears indisputably to be, "Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the seals thereof: because Thou west slain; and redeemedst *us* to GOD by Thy Blood out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation, and madest *them* a kingdom and priests; and they reign on the earth."

The Church in heaven gives thanks for its own redemption, and for the establishment of the rule of the Church on earth.

elsewhere, in cases of real difficulty): in others he does offer a solution, and our readers may judge with what success.

The elders are *crowned,* have each golden *harps*, and *present the prayers of the saints to God.* How can the Scriptures be said to satisfy these conditions?

First: Why are the elders crowned, and seated on thrones? Because (says Dr Wordsworth) "Holy Scripture has a Divine power and authority, as GOD's law. It is a *royal* law (S. James ii. 8); thus it is *enthroned,* and wears a *crown*."

But secondly: the elders sing praises and offer the prayers of the saints. How does the Scripture effect this? Because "it is expressive of man's *desires* and *praises* to GOD for His mercies in CHRIST. The Scriptures declare the *longings* of holy men for the Gospel, and they record their *gratitude* for it." (P. 182.) Can anything be more weak and unsatisfactory?

But again: on the fall of Babylon, the elders and the [Greek] fall. down and worship GOD, and chant "Amen, Alleluia."

Here is the exposition:

> "The voice of the Two Testaments will be lifted up in praise to GOD for His judgments executed by Him on the Harlot City, which has corrupted the Faith delivered to the Church in Holy Scripture, and has done wrong to Holy Scripture by placing unwritten Traditions on a par with it, and by exalting the Apocrypha to a level with the Canonical Books, and by withholding the Scriptures from the people, and by elevating her own Latin Version to a position of not less, even *if not greater*, authority than the inspired Originals themselves."—P. 256.

We wonder if Dr Wordsworth considers such a method of interpreting GOD's Word to be one whit more respectful towards it, than the treatment of it with which he here charges the Church of Rome? We do not.

III. In chap. vi., at the opening of the four successive Seals, Dr Wordsworth adopts what we conceive to be the erroneous reading, [Greek], and thus misses the meaning of the utterance; [199] regarding the fourfold "Come and see" as addressed by the Living Creatures to S. John.[1] The genuine reading, however, appears to be merely [Greek], the solitary word. We noticed in a recent number the sevenfold repetition of this word in the Apocalypse; embodying as it does the deep yearnings of the entire Creation of GOD, and the whole Church in Paradise and on earth. Four times it is uttered by the Living Creatures. Then we have, "The Spirit and the Bride say, "[Greek]" then, "Let him that heareth say, "[Greek]". And lastly, the Apostle himself concludes, [Greek].

To whom, then, do the Living Creatures address this word, "*Come?*" We believe, to the same Divine Object to whom the word is addressed in the other cases where it occurs in this Book.

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[1] It must be borne in mind that, according to Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation, it is the *four Gospels* in succession that utter this exclamation to the Apostle. The idea of S. John's Gospel addressing S. John is somewhat a novel one. However, an explanation of the difficulty is fairly attempted. But in a subsequent vision, when one of the four living creatures is represented as giving to the Angels of the last plagues the seven golden vials full of the wrath of GOD, (xv. 7,) here his ingenuity entirely fails him, and he leaves the question, as to *which* of the Gospels presented the vials, and *how* it performed the operation, without an attempt at an answer.

We have been glad to notice that Dean Alford takes this view (which we cannot but believe to be the true one) respecting the Cherubic utterance: when we pressed it in a former paper we were not aware that any writer had adopted it.[1]

As the question is one of interest, and may be new to some, we will quote an extract from Dean Alford's note on the passage:—

> "To whom, and with what meaning, is this [Greek] spoken? The great majority of commentators . . . have regarded the 'Come' as addressed to the Seer. But whither was he to come? Separated as he was by the glassy sea from the Throne, was he to cross it? And where shall we find the simple verb [Greek] used absolutely in such a sense, 'Draw near,' without [Greek], or some such particle? . . . In interpreting so unusual a term of address, surely we should rather begin by inquiring whether we have not the key to it in the Book itself? And in this inquiry are we justified in leaving out of consideration such a verse as ch. xxii. 17; . . . and xxii. 22? This seems to show in my mind, beyond a doubt, what, in the mind of the Seer, the remarkable and insulated exclamation [Greek] imported. It was a cry addressed, not to himself, but to the LORD JESUS. And as each of these four first seals is accompanied by a similar cry from one of the four living beings, I see represented in this fourfold [Greek] the groaning and travailing together of creation for the manifestation of the sons of GOD, expressed in each case in a prayer for CHRIST's Coming; and in the things revealed when the seals are opened His fourfold preparation for His Coming on earth. Then at the opening of the fifth seal the longing of the martyred saints for the same great consummation is expressed, and at that of the sixth it actually arrives."—P. 611.

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We are unable also to acquiesce in Dr Wordsworth's interpretation of the four Riders, who appear on the opening of the first four Seals. He sees in the first a representation of our LORD, and in the three others various representations of Satan.

Rather: we see in these four visions the successive phases of our LORD's continuous Advent; the four-fold, or complete, judicial preparation for His great final Coming. We are assured in the first (the "Rider on the White Horse" who goes forth "conquering and to conquer") that the ultimate and everlasting victory shall belong to CHRIST and His Church; but we are taught by the subsequent visions that this glorious result will not be brought about without 'great tribulation,' and the presence on earth of GOD's "four sore judgments."

"The horses and riders," writes Dean Alford, "are the various aspects of the Divine Dispensations which should come upon the earth preparatory to the great Day of the LORD's coming."

> "All four (he adds) are *judgments* upon the earth: the beating down of earthly power, the breaking up of earthly peace, the exhausting of earthly wealth, the destruction of earthly life."—P. 612.[2]

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[1] Vide *Ecclesiastic,* No. XCI., July, 1860, pp. 296, 297, *note.* ϕ This cross reference is inaccurate: the correct reference is to 'Curzon's Scriptural Key to the Revelation of S. John', Vol. 22. See p. 342 fn2 *supra*.

[2] Thus, in the Rider on the White Horse, Dean Alford sees, not exactly our LORD Himself, but "a Symbol of His Victorious Power, the embodiment of His advancing Kingdom as regards that *side* of its progress where it breaks down earthly power, and makes the kingdom of the world to be the kingdom of our LORD and His CHRIST." Our LORD, in the seals, is working in "bodily absence." In the vision, however, of chap. xix. 11, where the Rider on the White Horse again appears, there He comes in very reality—there He is {*cont.*}

The distinction between the "*sword"* in the second seal, and the "*sword*" in the fourth seal (chap. vi. 4, 8,) should be carefully noticed. In the first instance the word used is [Greek]; and the meaning of the Vision, sufficiently determined by our LORD's saying, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword" ([Greek]). Here then is the sword of war—the 'carnal' weapon. But the sword introduced in the other Vision is the [Greek], a word invariably employed in the Apocalypse in a mystical sense (chap. i. 16; ii. 12, 16; xix. 15, 21,) to signify the glittering Weapon proceeding out of the mouth of CHRIST, wherewith He smites His foes. The [Greek] is CHRIST's Word judging; as the Manna is the Word sustaining. These two types of the Word are frequently brought into connexion. Thus in the Epistle to Pergamos the faithful are promised sustentation by the hidden Manna, the unfaithful are threatened destruction by the [Greek]. In the present vision again, the same connexion is observable; the judgments denounced being *famine* (i.e., the withholding of the spiritual manna) and the *sword*—the two alike issuing in *death.* In these two emblems, moreover, we see the Church's work, on its active and on its passive side, symboli[201]cally represented. The Church has to be fed, during her passage through the world, with the Manna; she has to fight her way and vanquish her foes with the "Sword of the LORD." Thus, on her passive side, the faithful Church is subsequently pictured, as the poor woman in the wilderness, sustained for the space of "1260 days" by the Bread from heaven (chap. xii. 6): on her active or aggressive side, she is represented under the emblem of the "two witnesses" (the Minister of the Two Testaments, the Dispenser of the Two Sacraments) prophesying and testifying during the same space of "1260 days," and smiting the unbelieving earth with divers plagues (chap. xi. 3—6). But *only* (be it remembered) so far as the Church realizes one emblem, can she realize the other. In order that she may be the real terrible Wonder-working Witness to GOD's truth, she must be the poor fugitive woman in the wilderness. She can only wield her supernatural powers in proportion as she is herself supernaturally sustained, and, living in the earth, has her conversation in Heaven.

Satan will evermore tempt her to prefer the "quails" or the very "stones" to the "Bread of GOD," and to exchange the [Greek] for the [Greek]: and appalling will be the success of his seductions.

We conceive then, that when Dr Wordsworth sees in the "sword" and "famine" and "death" of this fourth Seal, the incursions of Huns, Goths, Vandals, and other Barbarian invaders, he quite misses the scope of the vision.

The vision reveals to us the last of GOD's four sore judgments. This final judgment is of a three-fold nature—[Greek]; and it is brought about by means of certain terrestrial agencies—[Greek]; these "Beasts of the earth" representing (according to the universal symbolical usage of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse) the various world-powers, the kings or kingdoms of the earth.

Where, then, do we see mention of some terrible destruction brought about through the agency of the "kings of the earth"—a threefold destruction, as indicating the wrath of the Blessed TRINITY; a destruction by death, and famine, and by the "Sword. of the LORD?" We see it all in the overthrow of Babylon. There we see all the natural and supernatural elements of the judgment of the fourth Seal reproduced. There are the Beasts, or powers of the earth, who are the visible instruments of her ruin (chap. xvii. 12, 16). In the background

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visibly present "with ten thousand of His saints." ϕ Alford was subsequently (1867) to write the hymn '*Ten thousand times ten thousand,*' for which Dykes composed the tune ALFORD.

there is the sword of the LORD—"Strong is the LORD which judgeth her:" and there are the *death* and the *famine* combined (xviii. 8.)[1]

IV. We pass on to the seventh chapter.

This presents to us two visions: first, there is the sealing of a *definite* number, 141,000, from one particular people—the children [202] of Israel; and then we behold an *indefinite* number—"a great multitude which no man can number"—out of "*every* nation, and tribe, and people, and tongue." Now we cannot agree with Dr Wordsworth that these two visions represent exactly the same thing, and that the last is merely an explanation of the first. This is a very unsatisfactory mode of interpretation.

Dean Alford thus distinguishes between these two episodaical visions which separate the sixth from the seventh Seal. The former he takes to represent the sealing of the elect on earth; the latter, the great final assemblage of the saints in heaven. So that, although the 144,000 are ultimately *included* in the great innumerable multitude from all nations and tribes, yet it cannot be said that the two represent exactly the *same* company. The former are the first fruits, the latter the great ingathering.

The two visions seem plainly designed to prepare the mind of the Apostle and of his readers for the sad revelations about to ensue respecting the visible Church and the world.

1. We are going to read of GOD's tremendous judgments yet to fall on the visible *Church*—the Israel of GOD. But ere we witness them, we are comforted by the assurance that "the LORD knoweth them that are His;" that in every section of His Church He has His own, and knows every individual of the "seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal." Some of the mystic candlesticks, it is true, are seen to have been judicially removed. Dan and Ephraim appear no more. But their places are supplied, and GOD's plans are not thereby thwarted. There is still the sacred signature, the twelve. For this chosen number—for this His true Church—for these, His "secret ones," who have the "white stone," whom He feeds with His "hidden Manna," who "follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth," who "testify" for Him, who learn and know the melodies of Heaven, and though *on* earth are ever not *of* earth—for these, the judgments about to be let loose are not designed. These are "sealed." The rivers and fountains are about to be poisoned with "wormwood," yea, "turned into blood," (viii. 11; xvi. 4,) but if these "drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them." The scorpion-locusts are coming to plant their tormenting stings in the hearts of "them that have not the seal of GOD on their foreheads," (ix. 1—6;) but these "have power to tread on scorpions" and on all the might of the Enemy. When the Sun and Moon are darkened (viii. 12,) the LORD shall be to them a Light: when the blazing orb is commissioned to scorch men with its blood-red rays, (xvi. 8,) the LORD shall be to them a shadow. The pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, shall accompany them through all their journey. As GOD's Witnesses they may ("when they have finished their testimony"—not before;) be put to death by the Beast; but death is no death to them, for they cannot die. They are "sealed"—they are safe, for ever safe.
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2. And a like lesson of comfort is read by the other preliminary vision. We are about to hear, not only of a degenerate *Church*—.of GOD's "faithful city become a Harlot;" but also of a *world* become wholly abominable—of the "cities of the nations" all "fallen"—of all

[1] These are the only two instances in which [Greek] occurs in the Apocalypse; and in both it is in conjunction with [Greek]. (vi. 8; xviii. 8.)

the earth worshipping the Beast—of GOD looking down from Heaven and seeing that "*all flesh* has corrupted its way."

Now what is the natural inference from all this, but that Christianity has proved a total failure? Such a conclusion, however, is checked at the very threshold of these disclosures. We have just seen a vision of GOD's sealed ones—His Church according to the Divine pattern—His true Israel—abiding throughout all time, and about to accomplish that exact work which He has foreordained that she should do. And then we are permitted to see the *result* of that work—to see that, through GOD's Israel, even *yet* shall "*all nations* of the earth be blessed." We see a "great multitude" gathered in, baffling all human computation, "from all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues." We learn that Satan shall *not* eventually triumph; but that CHRIST shall assuredly see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied.[1]

V. In Dr Wordsworth's exposition of the Trumpets, we find, as is always the case with him, very much that is striking, ingenious, and beautiful: but yet we constantly feel that we are with a guide in whom we cannot place entire confidence. He is too hasty an [204] interpreter, too positive, and (more than all) too prejudiced, ever to be a safe one.

Take, for example, the fifth Trumpet. At the sounding forth of its warning blast, the pit of the abyss is opened, and the earth is darkened by swarms of scorpion-locusts which thence emerge. They have a limited commission: they are to hurt neither the grass, nor the herbage, nor the trees, but "only the men who have not the seal of GOD on their foreheads." They are not absolutely to kill them, but to dart into them their envenomed sting, and torment them five months. So severe is this judgment to be, that men (we read,) shall "seek death" and shall "long to die;" but "death shall flee from them." We see a sort of parallel to this terrible visitation (though of somewhat intenser description) in the vision of the fifth vial, (xvi. 10, 11.) *There* is the same supernatural darkness: in the former case "the sun and the air were darkened from the smoke of the pit;" in the latter, the "kingdom of the Beast

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[1] With regard to the somewhat difficult question as to the exact difference and relation between the definite sealed number and the indefinite and innumerable multitude, it may be remarked generally, that the sealed ones seem to represent the foundation, the "great multitude which no man could number," the *superstructure*.

S. Paul tells us that the "foundation" of GOD is impressed with a "*seal*"—the seal of GOD's election. (2 Tim. ii. 19.) This definite company of sealed ones, then, would appear to symbolize the firm, sealed foundation, the [Greek], of the Mystic Temple;—the number itself (10^2 x 12^3) pointing at once to some Divine Pattern and Predestination, and also to the fact of the Sacred Building being reared upon the "Foundation ([Greek]) of the Apostles and Prophets"—the [Greek] to which S. John refers, (ch. xxi. 14.)

The superstructure, or edifice raised upon this Foundation (the innumerable living stones heaped thereon) comprises the infinite number "out of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues." This last (in one sense) seems to represent what S. Paul terms the [Greek] of the nations, (Rom. xi. 25,) i.e., that complement which is required to *make up* the whole Temple, and which has to be introduced in order to supply the [Greek], or deficiency, consequent upon the rejection of Israel. (Rom. xi. 12.)

But in its full and ultimate grasp, this latter Vision seems entirely to overpass the bounds of the present Dispensation, and also of the "thousand years," and to bring us to the great final Ingathering—the Great Feast of Tabernacles (indicated in the palm-branches)—the joy of the completed Harvest, when the whole produce of CHRIST's labour shall be brought in. In this, which we believe to be the true sense, the "144,000" will only include those who are gathered in *before* our LORD's second Advent. They are, in fact, those whose number we pray may be speedily "completed"—(GOD's "elect," His [Greek] called out of the world)—in order that CHRIST may come to take His Bride and establish His Kingdom.

Thus the innumerable Company, as *distinct* from the 144,000, will correspond to the "*nations* who walk in the Light of the *Golden City*." They are the "Blessed Children" "who shall inherit the Kingdom;" the Blessed Subjects of the King and the glorified Bride.

became darkened." *There* also is the same (or some similar) tormenting sting, "they gnawed their tongues for pain."

Now the visitation of the fifth Trumpet Dr Wordsworth identifies with the rise and spread of the Mohammedan power: and that this dreadful scourge may have been one of the precursive fulfilments of this judgment, and that it presents, in its general features many points of apparent similarity, we do not for a moment question. But when the attempt is made to press the absolute identity of these two plagues, and to explain away much of the strong and clearly defined language of S. John with a view to removing all obstacles to the proposed interpretation—against this we must enter our protest.

That Dr Wordsworth can produce a goodly array of authorities for his interpretation, we well know. This does not make the interpretation itself more true or defensible.

What are the features of the Vision?

Here is a dense *smoke* out of the Pit, "like the *smoke of a great Furnace;*"[1] and here is mention also of an excruciating *torment,* under the agony of which men desire to die, but cannot. Now, can we fail to notice an intentional connexion between this dreadful "woe," and *another* "woe," more fearful, more intense, and of infinite duration; when the *smoke* of their *torment* ascendeth up for ever and ever, and escape from that "deathless death" will be to all eternity impossible?

How then does Dr Wordsworth explain the *torment* here—a torment (be it remembered) of such intensity that "in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and shall vehemently desire [Greek] to die: and death fleeth from them?"

> "Mohammedanism (he says) did indeed tempt men by many allurements to adopt its own creed; and this was a severe *torment.* It was, in the strict sense of the word, a [Greek]: it was a *touchstone* [Greek] of their faith."—P. 202.

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We need not stop to argue against this interpretation; for we will not do Dr Wordsworth the injustice to believe that he himself is satisfied with it.

Dean Alford writes:

> "There is an endless Babel of allegorical and historical interpretations of these *locusts. from the pit*. The most that we can say of their import is, that they belong to a series of judgments on the ungodly, which will immediately precede the Second Advent of our LORD; that the various and mysterious particulars of the Vision will no doubt clear themselves up to the Church of GOD, when the time of its fulfilment arrives. But that no such clearing up has yet taken place, a very few hours' research among histories of Apocalyptic interpretation will serve to convince any reader, who is not himself the servant of a preconceived system."—P. 641.

Nevertheless, although we must ever earnestly protest against the custom of explaining away the characteristic details of the Apocalyptic Visions in order to reduce them into conformity with some supposed historical fulfilment: we cannot in this instance regard it as other than a true instinct, which has discerned in the Mohammedan Scourge, a strange, partial and preliminary, accomplishment of the "Woe" of this fifth Trumpet. The mysterious armament from the "pit of the abyss," combining in monstrous and horrid confusion elements of the man, the woman, the locust, the horse, the scorpion, the lion, (thus impressed in their very nature with the number *six* of Antichrist,) has never perhaps

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[1] ϕ Dykes would doubtless have deprecated his own grandfather's use of this image as a metaphor for Puseyism. (King, J. *Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Dykes LL.B* (Seeleys: London, 1849) pp. 207—208.)

hitherto met with so signal a realization, as in the desolating ravages of the hosts of the Victor-Prophet, dealing out in their devastating career, not only temporal death, but also by means of their pestilential doctrines, the bitter woes of eternal death.

That the full and actual realization of this vision, however, is yet *future;* that in these semi-human, semi-bestial, semi-diabolical armaments, we see symbolically depicted swarms of "seducing spirits," and of "evil men and seducers" their organs, industriously "preparing the way" before the Man of Sin, insinuating into men their envenomed scorpion-sting, and giving them a sharp foretaste of the gnawing torments of the undying worm—of this we cannot entertain any possible doubt.

We have referred to the fifth Trumpet, let us add a few words respecting the sixth.

And here we confess that Dr Wordsworth's interpretation perfectly amazes us.

We have just been witnessing, in the fifth Trumpet, a fearful array of armed scorpion-locusts. The sixth Trumpet reveals to us an innumerable array of armed horsemen.

There are also many marks of similarity between the consecutive Visions. The armed array in the former Vision are "like horses prepared for war" (ix. 7); in the latter they consist of "myriads of horsemen" (ix. 16.) In the former, the horses have lions *teeth* [206] (ver. 8); in the latter, lions' *heads* (ver. 17.) In the former, they have tails like *scorpions* (ver. 10); in the latter, tails like *serpents* (ver. 19.) Both armaments are protected with "breastplates;" the former "of iron," the latter of "fire and jacinth, and like unto brimstone" (ver. 9, 17.) The former have stings in their tails (ver. 10); the latter have heads in their tails (ver. 19.) In the tails of both is seated their "power to hurt."

Now will it be believed that, while in the former Vision Dr Wordsworth descries Arabians and Saracens "with their long flowing hair plaited like women;" in the latter he sees the diffusion of the Scriptures by means of the Printing Press!

Yes, to the Holy Scriptures does Dr Wordsworth in all sober seriousness apply such a verse as this, "Their power is in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails are like serpents, and have heads, and with them they do hurt" (ix. 19)1

Dean Alford enlivens his note here with an allusion to what he designates "the culminating instance of incongruous interpretation,"—viz: Mr. Elliott's historical exposition of this Vision; who sees in these mystic horses with their serpent-tails reference to the "horse-tails borne as symbols of authority by the Turkish Pachas."—P. 644.

But we really think, notwithstanding all the learned ingenuity with which Dr Wordsworth advocates his interpretation, that it far surpasses Mr. Elliott's in "incongruity" and absurdity.

It is very easy to see what suggested it.

The multitudinous hosts of darkness of the sixth Trumpet are suddenly let loose on the issuing of a Divine command to remove certain Providential restraints which had hitherto kept them in check: "Loose the four Angels which are bound at the Great River Euphrates." This at once sets Dr Wordsworth off: for Euphrates is the River of Babylon: and Babylon is Rome: therefore what can the four Angels be but the Four Gospels, which have been kept in fetters by the Church of Rome, but which at the Reformation were released?

> "GOD's Word has been bound. It was bound for a long time; it was not read to the people; it was chained in the fetters of a dead language; and so it remained, as it were, in prison for many

centuries. And even to this day, in many countries, the Word of GOD is bound by some who profess themselves to be Chief Rulers is the Church of GOD!

"The vision has revealed also that the Holy Scriptures, though bound as captives for a time, would be loosed by the command of GOD, and that they would traverse the world like an innumerable Army. And although they are GOD's Army, and ministers of salvation to many, yet the vision has declared that the Holy Scriptures would be like instruments of punishment and death to the enemies of GOD...

"Thus the four angels have been loosed which were bound at the [207] river Euphrates. The Word of GOD has been translated into all languages. By the aid of Printing, copies of the Scriptures have been multiplied innumerably. The Scriptures in swiftness and strength like an innumerable Army of Horsemen are now sweeping the world."—Pp. 205—6.

Into the details of this monstrous piece of exegesis, of which the above extract gives the general scope, we have neither space nor inclination to enter. Nor is there much necessity: as we feel tolerably certain that the Canon of Westminster will be left in solitary and undisturbed possession of his interpretation.

"This vision of the Sixth Trumpet," writes Mr. Isaac Williams, "seems connected with the completion and fulness of the last times; the last contest between infidelity and faith throughout the world. For it has been already shown that the number *six* is of Anti-Christ: and 'the *four Angels*' indicate the whole world; and the number of the army is as it were infinite; all powers of evil going forth arrayed for the conflict with the good . . . The *fifth* Trumpet is expressly limited in its duration: but no termination is intimated of this array under the *sixth* Trumpet; but at the end of the description it is emphatically stated that there is no repentance. . . . Bede speaks of this sixth Angel as 'the preaching of the last contest which will lay open the frauds of Anti-Christ.' The innumerable army represents those spiritual forces which the Apostle describes, and against which he tells us to take the whole armour of GOD, that we may be able to withstand in the *evil day; i.e.* preparing for that *day of trial* to which these horsemen are tending."—Pp. 161, 166.

That this vision of the sixth Trumpet is, in fact, the natural sequel to, and full development of, the woe temporarily let loose under the fifth, seems manifest.

In the former, however, some Restraining Force is still in operation, which has the effect of limiting and confining the visitation. In the latter this is removed.

That the mystic Babylon is in some mysterious way connected with this Withholding Power; that in the prolongation of her existence is secretly bound up the continuance of those Providential checks which hold back the myriad powers of the Enemy, seems indicated in many parts of this book.

The judicial removal of all these restraints is expressed in the command "Loose the four Angels bound at Euphrates." Instantly swarm forth from their lurking places all the unnumbered, legions, the "200,000,000" warriors of the Fiend.

The obvious connexion, moreover, between this vision and that of the sixth vial will make it still more plain how senseless is the interpretation that would discern in these hosts of Satan and Anti-Christ, *copies of the Holy Scriptures!*

Thus, in both these visions, the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial, we have special mention of "the Great River Euphrates." In both [208] we see preparations for some vast and awful armament. Both are impressed with the number *Six* of Antichrist. In both, we see the propagation of infidel *doctrines,* indicated in the emphatic mention of the *mouths* of the assailants:—and that these in the sixth Trumpet are *antichristian* "mouths," is expressed in the fact of their being *lion-mouths* (ix. 17, 19); the lion-mouth being a characteristic feature of the "Beast from the sea." (xiii. 2.) This is that proud "mouth which is stretched forth to

the Heaven," and which "goeth through the world," and whereat "the people fall." Moreover; alike in the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial is there the same *three-fold* mention of this word *mouth,*—as though pointing to some blasphemous doctrines against the Holy Trinity (Cf. ch. ix. 17—19; xvi. 13). Out of the "mouths" in the former vision, proceed ([Greek]) "fire and smoke and brimstone:" out of the "mouths" in the latter proceed ([Greek]) "three unclean spirits—the spirits of demons, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the whole world to gather them to the battle of the Great Day of GOD ALMIGHTY."

Further: of the mystic horses in the sixth Trumpet, we read, that their "power" was seated not only in their "mouth" (their lion-mouth—for "their heads are the heads of lions") but also in their "*tails*" (their serpent-tails); and that "with them they do hurt."

Now does not this mention of the *tails* confirm the conclusion arrived at respecting the general drift of the vision? Was it not the "tail" of the great Serpent that of old "drew down," and is now ever drawing down, "the third part of the stars of Heaven," and "casting them to the earth?"

And how does the Prophet Isaiah explain the symbolical meaning of this expression? "The LORD" (he says, ix. 14, 15,) "shall cut off from Israel head and tail—in one day. The ancient and honourable he is the head; and the *Prophet that teacheth lies* he is the *tail.*" ([Greek]).

In the serpent-tails, then, we evidently see allusion to those "false prophets that shall arise, showing signs and wonders," and indoctrinating men with their poisonous [Greek]; teaching them to deny "Him Who is come in His FATHER's Name," and to accept the Other who "shall come in his own name."

We have dwelt perhaps at tedious length on the details of this vision. We referred to it chiefly as furnishing a characteristic instance of the random and far-fetched explanations which too often meet us in Dr Wordsworth's pages. We have already said that his notes contain a vast amount of really valuable matter; but on the whole they are very disappointing and unequal, and often betray a serious lack of sound judgment and true exegetical instinct. Some passages are treated at an inordinate length. Long extracts from sermons and other previous works of the Editor are introduced which are quite out of place, and too often have merely the effect [209] of bewildering both writer and reader, and of veiling the true meaning and difficulties of the text under a showy glitter of words. In other instances, real *cruces,* in which one would be glad of a few suggestive aids from a learned Commentator, are passed over almost without notice.

We have observed however with pleasure that Dr Wordsworth has had the good sense to reconsider and abandon *some* of his former interpretations. We may specify his explanation of the "seven Thunders," and of the command given to S. John to "seal up" what they had uttered and *not* to write it;—which he originally expounded (if our memory fail us not) of the commission given to S. John to "seal up" the Canon of the New Testament by *writing* the Apocalypse! This wild specimen of exegesis is now abandoned, and its place occupied by some sensible and suggestive remarks on the general purport of the vision. We may instance also his explanation of the death and non-interment of the Witnesses; which he interpreted in the Cambridge University pulpit as signifying the slaughter of the Two Testaments at the hand of the Church of Rome, and the endeavour on the part of that Church to prevent their dead body being put into tombs—*i.e.* into monuments; *i.e.* "not to be committed to the immortal *monuments* of Editions, Translations, and Expositions."

"And wonderful it is," (so continued the preacher) "that not a single Edition of the Original Scriptures has ever been printed at Rome, that great city which calls herself the Mother. and Mistress of Churches." Dean Alford in commenting on this "strange exposition" which he adduces "as showing how far men can be led, in forcing the sense in favour of a particular view," notices the unfortunate fact "that it is now to a *Roman* printing press that we owe our only edition of the oldest published Codex of the Greek Old and New Testaments."

Dr Wordsworth, however in the present volume has considerably modified this ridiculous interpretation. He now only writes:

> "*Something of the spirit described in this Vision* is seen in those of the Church of Rome, who, on the plea of obscurity in Holy Scripture, withhold it from the people, and so virtually *kill* it; and when they have done so, will not allow it to be committed to those enduring *monuments* of Literature, such as editions, and vernacular translations; by which its words may be engraven on the memory of man, 'in perpetuam rei memoriam.'"—P. 214.

Dr Wordsworth has written wisely and well on the subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. No living writer is more truly and tenderly jealous of its honour and supreme authority. We wonder if it never strikes him that the exegetical extravagancies in which he too frequently allows himself to indulge, are far more calculated to lessen men's reverent regard for this Holy Book—to [210] impress them with the idea that, after all, it is but a "nose of wax" capable of being turned and twisted any way according to the prepossessions and prejudices of its interpreter—than the most rationalistic criticisms of sceptical writers like Mr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Jowett.

We shall hope to conclude our examination of these "Notes" in a future number.

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(Continued from page 210.)

In continuing our remarks upon Dr Wordsworth's and Dean Alford's Apocalyptic Notes, it will be necessary for us to go over ground which has been partially traversed in these pages before; although we will endeavour to do this as little as possible.

Dr Wordsworth, in his present work, in the most solemn and emphatic manner, reiterates the conclusions adopted by himself some years ago as to the interpretation of the Beast, the Harlot, the false Prophet, &c.; insisting that all these prophetical symbols meet with their fulfilment in Rome and the Church of Rome. He affirms, with regard to the various arguments which from time to time have been brought to bear against this interpretation, that they are idle and unsubstantial, and have but served to convince him of the absolute impregnability of his own conclusions.

But he shall speak for himself. The italics are his own.

> "After a careful meditation, for many years, upon these prophecies concerning the Apocalyptic Babylon, the present writer here solemnly, in the presence of the Omniscient Searcher of hearts, Who dictated these awful predictions, records this as his deliberate judgment upon them, probably for the last time. He has endeavoured seriously to examine all the *objections* which have been urged against this interpretation. He has found that these objections, as far as they have any validity, affect some minor incidents and subordinate details in the *mode* in which that interpretation is sometimes stated; but do not in the least affect the *principle,* or in any way impair the soundness of that interpretation itself. And when he has proceeded to examine other *different* interpretations of these Prophecies—such, for instance, as that interpretation which applies these Prophecies to *Heathen* Rome, or to *some Infidel* Power—he has found all those other interpretations to be so vain and futile, and so inconsistent and irreconcilable with the general scope and language of these Prophecies themselves, that even on this account he has been

> confirmed in the conviction that the Interpretation adopted in these notes, is the *true, and only* true Interpretation." P. 246.

Now let us fully admit, that convictions thus firmly and conscientiously maintained, thus (as the writer assures us) carefully weighed and tested, and thus solemnly and religiously expressed, are entitled to all grave consideration. We trust and pray, therefore, that they may meet from ourselves with nought but a candid and respectful attention.

But ere we examine Dr Wordsworth's interpretation of that [256] portion of the Apocalypse to which we have now arrived—the allegory of the Woman and the Beasts—let us first ascertain what are the principal conclusions to which that interpretation conducts him. The chief debateable points are, the meanings (so far as ascertainable) of the Beast, the false Prophet, the Harlot Babylon, the Image of the Beast, its Mark and Number.

Now the conclusions on these several heads to which Dr Wordsworth's long protracted investigations have led him are as follows: that the Beast symbolises the Papacy or Papal kingdom; the false Prophet or second Beast, the Roman Hierarchy; the Image of the Beast, the Pope; the Harlot, the city and Church of Rome: that the Name of the Beast is Lateinos; his Mark or [Greek], the *Cross Keys!*

Let us then proceed to inquire how this scheme of interpretation, defended as it is with all learned gravity and earnestness, will bear the test of impartial examination. We undertake this task not with the slightest hope of convincing Dr Wordsworth himself. He appears to us far too confident in the absolute certainty of the truth of his interpretation to be even capable of impartially weighing the objections with which others see it to be beset. But some there may be, who have been staggered by the solemnly reiterated asseverations of the Canon of Westminster, who may be glad to see the subject a little further discussed.

Let us, then, by way of testing the general soundness of the system of interpretation, glance at one or two of its leading results. And first (to fix on a single particular by way of example) let us turn our eyes to the characteristic symbol, the "Image of the Beast." Now this Image, as Dr Wordsworth teaches (and so far correctly enough), is obviously the *impersonation* of the Beast—its individual embodiment or representative. But the Beast, argues our Author, is the Papacy: hence we arrive at the necessary result, that the "Image of the Beast" is the individual *Pope* for the time being.

What, then, does the HOLY SPIRIT, by the mouth of S. John, teach us respecting this Image? He tells us that—inspired and called into being through the agency of the "Beast from the Earth" or false Prophet—so absolute and so universal will be the homage that he will exact and *receive* from the world, that he will "cause *all* who will not worship him to be *killed:*" and further, that so real and binding will be his demands upon the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the earth, that "*all,* both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond," will be compelled to "receive a mark on their right hand and on their forehead," so "that no one may buy or sell, save he that hath the mark—the name of the Beast, or the number of his name." Now, seriously to affirm that all this is true of the Pope, we hold to be nothing short of an insult to the understanding of reasonable men. In fact, we feel [257] convinced, that if this interpretation be correct, we may as well close our Bibles at once. Dr Wordsworth may load his notes as he will with fitting extracts to show the general iniquity of Popes, and their accomplishment of these inspired predictions concerning them; but until his readers will consent to part with every vestige of common sense, he will never succeed in persuading them that the Bishop of Rome is he of whom the Prophet here speaks. If the Pope "causes *all* who will not worship him to be *killed,*" how comes it to pass that the Canon of Westminster is yet (as GOD grant he may long continue to be!) in comfortable possession of his life, his liberty, and his stall?

And this is but a solitary instance of the absolute futility of the attempt to force this monstrous interpretation upon the words of S. John.

Take another example.

What says the HOLY GHOST respecting the Beast itself? Not only that "power was *given* unto him over *every tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation;*" but also that "*all* who dwell upon earth, whose names are not written in the Lamb's Book of Life, shall worship him:" in connection with which, the following terrible announcement meets us: "If any man worshippeth the Beast and his image, and receiveth his mark, he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of GOD; and *he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever:* and they have no rest day and night who worship the Beast and his Image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." (xiv. 9-11.)

And yet we are to believe that the Beast is the Papacy, and his Image the Pope! Now we must be permitted to say that a system of interpretation which makes such demands upon the credence of sober people—not to say upon the feelings of Christians in one Branch of the Catholic Church towards their brethren in another Branch—is deserving of no indulgence whatever: it merits nought save earnest and heartfelt reprobation!

Conceive for a moment what this miserable theory really involves. "*All who dwell on the earth, whose names are not written in the Book of Life,* shall worship the Beast." So that we are called upon seriously to believe that the "reprobate" and the "worshippers of the Papacy" are convertible expressions, that eternal perdition is the inevitable consequence of obedience to the Pope, that devotion to the See of Rome is the one terrible condition of exclusion from the Kingdom of Heaven!

But Dr Wordsworth shall give his own explanation of the crucial and decisive statement of S. John, that "all who dwell on the earth whose names are not in the Book of Life shall worship the Beast." "All who dwell on the earth," writes our author, "that is, *the great body of worldly-minded persons,* will worship him!"
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So that the great characteristic of worldly-mindedness is devotion to the Papacy!

This interpretation, of course, at once presents the two following questions:—

First, is the suggested gloss—which makes the expression, "all who dwell on the earth whose names are not written in the Book of Life," signify no more than "the great body of worldly-minded people," (where "great body" is used in a vague, unreal, sense, so as to have no definite meaning whatever)—is this a true and adequate explanation of, or a miserable and mischievous attempt to explain away, the terribly emphatic words of S. John; an attempt which few writers would resist more resolutely than Dr Wordsworth, did the gloss present itself for acceptance under any different circumstances?

And secondly; is it a *fact?* has it ever been the fact? or is it not notoriously opposed to fact—that the "great body" of worldly people have been those peculiarly characterised by devotion to the see of Rome? Is not the statement itself as baseless as the interpretation on which it is founded is fallacious and unworthy?

But we will turn to another of S. John's symbolical personages, the Harlot. What does the Inspired Seer tell us with respect to her? That "in her was found the blood of ALL that have been slain on the earth." How then does Dr Wordsworth attempt to reduce this critical statement into conformity with his assertion that the Harlot is the city and Church of Rome? In this instance he simply evades the difficulty. He does not even attempt a solu-

tion; but, instead of fairly meeting and combating the objection, he favours us with two or three columns of an "occasional sermon."

In reply, then, to our author's assurance that he has endeavoured seriously to examine all the objections against his interpretation, and that "he has found them vain and futile," we must venture to express our opinion that objections of the very gravest character, and so far as we can see quite insurmountable, have been (unwittingly, we doubt not,) ignored and left wholly unnoticed by him; and that it is only by keeping these objections in the background that his theory assumes any colour of probability.

It appears to us that the homiletic (not to add the strongly controversial) tone which pervades a large portion of these notes, has been a great snare to the writer, as it is a constant and wearisome distraction to the reader; and that had Dr Wordsworth confined himself more strictly to the legitimate work of the annotator, than to that of the preacher, orator, polemic, and not been so anxious to convert the pages of his Greek Testament into a sort of receptacle for all the brilliant anti-papal passages of which he has delivered himself in earlier days—he would have arrived at very different conclusions on many most important points, and produced a work infinitely more useful and serviceable to the Church.
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But it is time that we endeavoured to show *wherein* we conceive Dr Wordsworth to have missed the true meaning of the symbols now under notice. We must briefly state how far we agree with him, and at what point our lines of interpretation diverge.

Now the two leading *personæ* of the Sacred Drama are, as has been frequently noticed, the Woman and the Beast. And upon an accurate and clearly defined understanding as to the essential nature of these two, does the interpretation of this entire section of the Apocalypse in a great measure depend.

We hold it then to be an all but demonstrable truth, that these two symbols, the one human, the other bestial, represent respectively, in their abstract universality, the Church and the World. The former—whether pure or corrupt, whether typified by Philadelphia or Laodicea, whether the Woman fleeing from the dragon and supernaturally fed in the wilderness, or the Harlot 'decked in gold and pearls, and costly array'—still the *Church:* the latter—whether tamed or ferocious, whether wounded to death or restored to a more terrible vitality—still the *world.*

But we will glance at each of these symbols separately.

I. And here, in the first place, we conceive that our author is indisputably right in insisting that the Harlot Babylon represents no heathen city—no merely worldly power—but a corrupt *spiritual* power. His error consists in his arbitrarily confining an œcumenical symbol to one particular Branch of the Church, and in his referring to present times and circumstances, predictions whose special fulfilment plainly appertains to the times of the 'latter days.' With regard to the attempt of Dr Wordsworth and others to identify the Harlot with the modern Church of Rome—it is sufficient to say that S. John's whole language is a continuous and emphatic protest against any such local limitation of the symbol.

The figure is simply "the faithful City become a Harlot," GOD's Jerusalem carried captive to Babylon, corrupted by Babylon and finally *become* Babylon.

Two mystical women are presented to us (or rather *one*, under sadly different aspects): each of these is likened to a city. Now does Dr Wordsworth for a moment maintain that the one woman is the local city Jerusalem? just as unreasonable is it to insist that the other woman is the local Babylon or Rome. We have whole pages full of notes to inform us that

Rome is a seven-hilled city. But what has this to do with the distinctive symbolism of the Apocalypse. Are the seven Thunders, or Epistles, or Trumpets, or Vials, or Heads, literal heads, or trumpets, or thunders? Is the "great and high mountain," on which the holy city Jerusalem stands, a literal mountain? No; then just as little are the seven mountains whereon Babylon is reared literal mountains. Such an exposition is utterly inconsistent with the mystical language of the. book. The Church's "foundations are upon the Holy Hills." Mount [260] Sion is "GOD's Hill in which it pleaseth Him to dwell." But the faithless Church has established herself upon the high places of the earth—upon the Seven Hills of Babylon—upon the eminences of worldly supremacy. As Rome was in the Apostles' time the centre of the world-power, of course there may be a passing allusion to her, as the then representative of earthly dominion; but nothing further.

We are glad to fortify ourselves on this point by a quotation from one of the most thoughtful and consistent of all modern writers on the Apocalypse, Professor Auberlen:

> "The seven hills (he writes) may contain an allusion to the seven hills of Rome in which the world-power was concentrated in the days of S. John: yet this is at most a passing allusion which *ought not to be looked upon as the proper meaning of the passage.* Such a trivial geographical notice could scarcely follow the introductory remark of the angel, 'Here is the mind which hath wisdom' (xvii. 9); which words demand expressly the mystical exposition. Besides, it would be against all analogy to understand by the heads of the beast, mountains in the concrete sense."—P. 269, Clark's edit.

And again, in a passage which we shall be compelled slightly to abbreviate for want of room—

> "The Harlot is identical with the Woman; who, we saw in ch. xii., is a symbolical representation of the Church of GOD in the world. This Woman has become a Harlot. The Harlot is consequently not the City of Rome—such a view is totally at variance with the spirit of this thoroughly symbolical book—but *Christendom;* Christendom, called after the name of the world city, Babylon, Rome; because she has forsaken CHRIST, and given her love to this present world." (Page 274-5) . . . "The Harlot is not only a church here and a church there, but Christendom *as a whole;* even as Israel *as a whole* had become a Harlot. . . This universal character of the Harlot is indicated by the expressions 'She sitteth upon many waters,' and she corrupted the *earth* with her fornication (xvii. 1, 15; xiv. 8; xviii. 3; xix. 2.) This external extensiveness over the whole world, and internal conformity to the world, is symbolized by the name of the world-city Babylon. The woman, in influencing the whole world, permits herself at the same time to be influenced by it, thus committing adultery. The deeper the Church penetrated into heathenism the more she herself became heathenish. She then no longer overcame the world, but suffered the world to overcome her."—P. 291.

In the words of John Michael Hahn-

> "The Harlot is not the city of Rome alone, neither is it the Roman Catholic Church to the exclusion of another; but all Churches and every Church, ours included, viz. all Christendom that is without the Spirit and Life of our LORD JESUS. It is called Babylon, that is, Confusion; for false Christendom divided into very many churches and [261] sects, is truly and strictly a confiner. However in all churches of Christendom, the true JESUS Congregation, the Woman clothed with the Sun, lives and is hidden."—*Ib*. p. 293.[1]

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[1] "The invisible Church is contained *within* the visible." . . . . " The Woman is the Kernel, Beast and Harlot serve as shell, as scaffolding for the Temple of the LORD. But whenever the kernel is mature, whenever the edifice is complete, the shell is thrown off, the scaffolding destroyed and what does not belong to the Temple must perish amid the falling ruins. Thus, when judgment will come upon Babylon, a voice from Heaven will say, 'Come out of her, My people,' (Rev. xvii. 4). Thus it was that out of the ruins of Israel {*cont.*}

Had Dr Wordsworth, instead of passing over without a syllable of comment (we presume as being hopelessly incompatible with his own interpretation), the decisive and emphatic words of S. John respecting the Harlot—"In her was found the blood of Prophets and of Saints, and of *all* that have been slain on the earth"—words which absolutely forbid the limited and merely local application of this prophecy; had he seriously weighed them, and compared them with our LORD's parallel, saying with regard to her, that of old "killed the prophets and stoned them that were sent unto her," "*It cannot be that a Prophet perish out of Jerusalem;*" he could not have failed to perceive that the subject of these two fearful statements is one and the same—that the modern Babylon is essentially identical with the ancient Jerusalem—that the one is but the continuation of the other; the inheritor of the blessings no less than the terrible denunciations pronounced over her elder sister. *If* Rome, and Rome exclusively, be the Catholic Church, then may Dr Wordsworth's interpretation hold good: otherwise it must fall to the ground.

We have been glad to notice that, although Dean Alford finds it hard practically to disencumber himself of the old Protestant tradition that the Harlot is exclusively Rome and the Roman Church, yet in one passage he rises above this narrow exposition.

After stating (what we cannot admit but in a very secondary and subordinate sense) that the Harlot represents the city of Rome, he adds:

> "But she is also a [Greek]. She is herself a harlot, an apostate, and faithless Church; but she is also a *mother*. From her spring, of her nature partake, with her shall be destroyed, all the fornications and abominations of the earth, though they be not in Rome, though they be not called by her name, though in outward semblance they quarrel with and oppose her."—P. 704.

We wish we could add that all Dean Alford's notes on these mysterious prophecies manifested an equal practical recognition of the true character of this and other symbols.

We must again repeat, that no consistent advance can possibly be [262] made in the interpretation of this important portion of the Revelation of S. John, unless there is a clear preliminary recognition of the essential nature of the two great Personæ whose mystical his-tory is here recounted. We are introduced to the two ancient foes the Dragon and the Woman, and we see symbolically portrayed the various processes and instruments whereby the Old Serpent succeeds in 'beguiling' the Second "Eve by his subtlety."

The Dragon is the secret, invisible 'God of this world:' the Beast is his visible representative and vicegerent; the false Prophet, his priest. They together constitute the Diabolic counterpart of the Holy Trinity.

Thus we have two great Powers before us, one temporal, the other spiritual; one from beneath, the other from above; the former, the visible representative of Satan in this world, the latter the professed representative of CHRIST. And we find a succession of images introduced, wherein are depicted the various influences mutually brought to bear by the one Power on the other. They all tell the same sad tale; all alike reveal the same appalling result, so mysterious, so hard to be realized, of the Heavenly Power succumbing before the earthly; of Satan again visibly triumphing, and achieving for a while a tremendous success—even although the victory be but the precursor to his own more tremendous defeat and judicial incarceration in the bottomless pit. Well may the Apostle have exclaimed, after partaking of the little book which disclosed this portentous intelligence respecting GOD's Church, and making its unpalatable contents his own—"when I had

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and Jerusalem came forth the first congregation of Christians, when the Old Testament people of GOD were judged. (Matt. xxiv. 18.)" *Auberlen,* p. 284.

eaten, my belly was bitter:" well may he, when beholding the second Eve at a still future stage of her career, have "wondered with great admiration."

The point to be noticed is this, that the defeat of the spiritual Power is brought about after, and by *means* of, a long and apparently successful career of victory. The triumph is the very cause of the ultimate ruin; not being a legitimate triumph, and thus becoming a secret source of weakness. The spiritual Power overcomes visibly, by being itself secretly overcome; and achieves a conquest over its foe by means which ensure and entail its own ultimate downfall.

The images which picture these two conflicting Powers are both animate and inanimate.

One while we have the terrestrial Power likened simply to a great tract of earth, to a vast wilderness expanse. Then the celestial Power is likened to a mighty City reared upon its seven eminences, towering apparently above the earth, ruling and subduing it, but really supported by and founded upon earth, and at last destroyed by it through the earthquake and fire.

Another while, we have the temporal Power figured by a huge seven-headed monster. Here then is a corresponding change in [263] the symbolism of the spiritual Power. She is now no longer a city, but a *woman,* seated upon and controlling the Beast. It had been given her, "strong in the LORD and in the power of His might," to have slain him with the sword, (for he is "covered with blasphemy,") to have "trampled him under her foot," to have "broken the heads of Leviathan in pieces." But she has not done this. True, she has achieved a signal and manifest success: to a certain extent she has vanquished her foe: the head whereon she is seated is "wounded to death." But she does not follow up her victory; she does not, like David with Goliath, "cut off his head:" nay, she makes *use* of the prostrate monster, she employs him as her beast of burden; and for a while he tamely carries her. But the deadly wound is at last healed; and with seven-fold vitality does the revived Beast, energized anew from beneath, fall upon his helpless and confiding Rider, and with ravenous ferocity tear her to pieces.

Again, the terrestrial Power is described simply as an aggregation of this world's potentates—"the kings of the earth." And here we find the spiritual Power still represented as a woman, but now as a harlot; subduing the temporal Power, but only by subjugating herself to it; reigning over the 'kings of the earth,' but only by committing adultery with them. For a time she succeeds; but her charms at last lose their force. She has demoralized them, and drugged them, and driven them frenzied, only that they may at last, in a paroxysm of hate and loathing, fall upon her and burn her with fire.

And other images there are which foreshadow the same unwelcome truths, viz., that the false church will subdue the world by conforming to the world, and becoming herself worldly. Thus, she is now represented as a great enchantress influencing and overcoming all the nations; but by "bewitching them with sorceries," poisoning them with potions from her chalice of subtle, refined, religious worldliness.

And once more, she appears as the "temple of the LORD," and drawing all people to her sacred courts; but how? Not as being the "house of prayer," but the "house of merchandise for all nations."

These and other images, each conveying its own lesson, and contributing its part to the general whole, we find blended together in S. John's mystical description of the mutual relationships between the visible Church and the world-power; the whole combining in preparing us for the reception of the mournful result shadowed forth in our LORD's words—that the mystic "Salt" designed by GOD to keep the world from putrefaction and

decay, should itself lose its power of seasoning, and arresting corruption, and should at last become good for nothing, save to be "cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."

It is almost needless to add that these dire predictions have not [264] yet been fully realised; that such images as the Harlot and the Beast describe the *final* stages of these two Powers, and the ultimate *result* arrived at after a long preliminary inworking of the hidden "mystery of lawlessness." Thus, while merely glancing at former periods in their respective careers, the Inspired Seer specially introduces them to us at that critical epoch when the pseudo-Christianity of the professing Church, and the anti-Christianity of the world have reached their full development; when judgment is just about to be let fall, 'beginning at the household of GOD'—or rather, at what once *was* the House of GOD, but is so no longer, and by the heavenly Voice, "Come out of her, My people," has been given over to utter destruction.

When, therefore, Dr Wordsworth and others interpret the Harlot as the present Church of Rome, and the command, "Come out of her, My people," as a call to the members of that communion to become Protestants, they are simply wresting Holy Scripture from its Divine meaning, to subserve unworthy party purposes; converting into the 'Word of GOD' what are the mere baseless traditions of men; and asserting, "the LORD hath said," of that which "the LORD hath *not* said."

We add this, not with any view of extenuating the errors of the Church of Rome, or of relieving her from any portion of that full and mysterious share in these woeful predictions which must under any circumstances appertain to her, but simply as guarding the integrity of the holy written Word of GOD.

II. Having examined Dr Wordsworth's interpretation of the Harlot, it is time that we turned our attention more particularly, as we proposed, for a few moments, to the second principal Actor in this Sacred Drama—the Beast.

Now, if any one thing is certain in the domain of sacred symbolism, we hold it to be this—that the Beast represents the godless power of the *world.* The 'Beast,' in S. John's Revelation, corresponds exactly with the 'world' in S. John's Epistles. It "lieth in the Wicked One," and embraceth all who are "not of the FATHER," all whose names are not in the Book of Life. The love of it is incompatible with the "love of the FATHER." It is the great visible antagonist of the FATHER; it is that great Power which, under some form or other, usurps the allegiance of all who are not 'of GOD;' it is "the world which is passing away," which is doomed to destruction; to the sphere of which appertain "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life;" it is the world which loveth its own, and which, however speciously submissive and obsequious, does ever secretly hate all who are of GOD, and are not really of the world. It is called a *Beast* as being destitute of that Divine Image which is the essential mark of man.

It is needful that we apprehend the precise being and nature of [265] this important emblem, 'the Beast;' otherwise we shall inevitably fail, as both our present annotators do, in assigning its true meaning to the derivative and dependent emblem, the "*Image* of the Beast."

By Dean Alford, the true signification of the original symbol appears to be throughout correctly apprehended.

"The Beast," he says, "is not Rome, nor the Roman empire, but a general symbol of the secular Anti-Christian Power."

Both he and Dr Wordsworth seem to recognize in this symbol a combined representation of the four great Beasts, or World-powers of Daniel, and therefore an embodiment of the godless mundane Power in its totality. But so anxious is Dr Wordsworth to be at the Pope, that he no sooner touches on the true interpretation, than he at once abandons it; and through the whole of his exposition, practically treats the Beast as nothing more nor less than the Papacy and the Papal kingdom.

We gladly notice that he has had the good sense to abandon one very foolish piece of interpretation originally adopted by himself, which explains the heads of the Beast to be the successive forms of government of Rome, kings, consuls, &c.; and that he now expounds these, in company with every other respectable commentator, as figuring the successive phases or evolutions of the world-kingdom; although he regards them, not in their relation to the history of the Church of GOD, or to that of the world-power itself, but merely in their assumed relation to Rome, as being the kingdoms which were ultimately absorbed into the Roman Empire and were thus transformed into the 'Beast proper' or Papal Kingdom.

With respect to the question of the identification of the successive heads, although differing slightly in their account of the five fallen kings, both Dr Wordsworth and Dean Alford agree in regarding the sixth head or king as the power of Rome. In the seventh head Dr Wordsworth sees the imperial power of Germany, and Dean Alford (with Auberlen) "the Christian Empire beginning with Constantine."

The eighth king, or resuscitated Beast, or 'Beast proper,' is of course regarded by Dr Wordsworth as the Papacy. Dean Alford, on the other hand, truly writes:

> "There can be little doubt in the mind of the student of Prophecy *who* is thus described; that it is the ultimate Anti-Christian power prefigured by the little horn of Daniel, and expressly announced by S. Paul. 2 Thess. ii. 3."—P. 706.

But the one important question that at this point arrests us, is the following:—What does the deadly wound, or temporary nonexistence of the Beast signify?

Because the monster, we find, is first alive; then to all appear[266]ance dies; and lastly, shortly before its final consignment to perdition, arises from the Abyss with new diabolical powers. And in this its final revived manifestation does the entire interest of its godless career ultimately centre. It is the Beast that 'died and rose again,' which is the universal object of the world's worship, xvii. 8; xiii. 3, 8, 12; the 'Resurrection from the dead' being the great crucial doctrine of Anti-Christianity, no less than of Christianity.

Now Dr Wordsworth tells us that the death of the Beast took place in the year 476, when Romulus Augustulus abdicated the imperial dignity; and that its resuscitation was coincident with the rise of the Papacy.

Whether the Monster was alive or dead during the sprouting forth and continuance of its seventh, or Germanic, head—which intervenes *between* its death and resurrection—our author does not inform us.

But the point to which we beg serious attention is this: that we have here a Christian writer gravely representing the *Christian* kingdom, i.e., Rome Papal, as something infinitely more awful and godless and Anti-Christian, than even *heathen* Rome!

The Beast, we must remember, is represented as dying, and then coming to life in some far more terrible and devilish state; rising, not from the 'sea' as before, but from the "bottomless pit" or "Abyss," suffused with blasphemy, abjuring the Name of GOD; the very visible embodiment of the GOD-bating dominion of Hell. And this Power it is which

Dr Wordsworth identifies with the Papacy—a Power so far worse than Rome heathen as the "bottomless pit" is deeper than the "sea," and as the "seven spirits" (according to the parable which distinctly foreshadows this subject,) are "more wicked" and terrible than the "unclean spirit" which originally held the man in bondage.

This learned writer may strive as he will to defend this conclusion, he may bring the whole of his ingenuity into exercise in order to fasten on that great Branch of CHRIST's Holy Church—which, however fallen from her pristine state, and committed to grave errors, is yet owned by GOD, and used by Him as an organ of His Holy Spirit, and a means, and the only means, of bringing the souls of thousands and tens of thousands to CHRIST—all the emblems and attributes which the Sacred Scriptures affix to mere devilish GOD-repudiating Anti-Christianity: for our part, we can but say, that we regard his attempt with horror; and that it is only our strong conviction that the Christian sense of all thoughtful and devout sons of the Church of England will instinctively reject such a perverse misapplication of GOD's Holy Word, which qualifies our profound feeling of the mischief likely to ensue from the dissemination of such fearful interpretations.

Dean Alford, we are glad to observe, has seized what is unques[267]tionably the true view of the "deadly wound." He regards (with Auberlen) the wounded condition of the Beast to be synchronous with the external Christianization of the world-power, and to continue throughout the whole period of the Christian kingdom, during which time, "the Beast in his proper essence, in his fulness of opposition to GOD and His saints, ceases to be."—P. 706.

This abnormal state of the Beast is expressed in two ways: He is said to have *ceased to exist;* and he is said to have been mortally *wounded.* Three times we are told, absolutely and without qualification, that the Beast "*is* not." (xvii. 8, 11.) And this state of non-existence is predicated of him even while his sixth head is still in being.

And three times again, he is said to have received a '*wound.*' It is a '*deadly* wound,' (xiii. 8); it is a 'wound with a *sword,'* (ver. 14); it is inflicted on 'one of his heads,' (ver. 8); but it affects his whole self, (ver. 14).

Now, in reference to the former expression ('he *is not*'), his future manifestation is described in the words, "He shall be present," ([Greek][1]) and, "he shall ascend out of the Abyss and go to perdition."

In reference to the latter expression, (the mortal '*wound*'), his future state is spoken of as a *healing* of the deadly stroke, and a restoration of *life.*

We learn from the whole, that the Beast for a time loses its bestial vitality, and ceases to be a Beast. But the two sets of expressions seem to us to deal with two distinct aspects of this change. The first tells of the Beast's invisible, the second of its visible defeat. The former we take to refer, chiefly, to the actual death which passed upon it, when the world and its Prince were vanquished on Calvary. Just as Adam *died* in the day when he ate the forbidden fruit, so the Beast really died when JESUS "by His Death destroyed him who had the power of death." Thus the expression, "he is not," is deeply and absolutely true, even although the final terrible death struggle has not yet been actually realized. The 'world' is now ever 'passing away.' But this its essential non-existence is not as yet manifested: it is a secret realized only by GOD's people: it is a mystery communicated by the angel to S. John.

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[1] This word reminds us of the [Greek] of Anti-Christ, of which S. Paul writes. (2 These. ii. 9.) In like manner the expression, "he shall go to perdition," ([Greek]) connects the prophecy with S. Paul's [Greek].

The other expression, however, which speaks of the deadly *wound* recounts something which is obvious and manifest: it tells of the *visible* victory achieved by the Church over the world; of the *visible* defeat sustained by the Beast, when ancient heathenism was wounded to death by Christianity (from which wound it shall yet triumphantly recover, to the 'astonishment' of 'all the world'). Our Blessed LORD Himself potentially slays and vanquishes the [268] Beast: but He leaves it to His Church to carry this victory into full effect—to "trample the young lion and the dragon under her feet." As in the parallel case of Holy Baptism, the old Adam in us dies, and is thenceforth potentially slain, and yet we have ourselves laboriously to kill it; else it will destroy us; so does our LORD essentially, and once for all, destroy the Beast; and yet commissions His Church, for herself, to vanquish and destroy him—to "overcome the world."

He bequeaths to her "the Faith:" with this she is to gain her victory. "The weapons of her warfare are not to be carnal," but spiritual; the only weapons which are really "mighty to the pulling down" of the world's "strong holds." Power was given her to say to the world's seven mountains, "Be ye removed, and be ye cast into the sea." Power was given her to "bruise the serpent's heads;" yea, to "break them in pieces." But no: she established herself upon the mountains; she seated herself upon the heads. True, in the fervour of her early faith she made a noble attack upon her enemy. The "great mountain rolling down into the depths of the ocean" (ix. 8), and the "head wounded to death," tell of a hopeful career of victory begun. But alas! it was not resolutely pursued. The contents of Heaven's Armoury did not satisfy her; she wished for more speedy and manifest results than could be obtained by means of her celestial ammunition. Hence to the "sword of the LORD" (the [Greek]) she added the earthly weapon also (the [Greek]);[1] and with this she attempted to subdue the world: with the world's own appliances she sought to obtain that "Victory over the world" which could only be achieved by "the Faith." For a while she succeeded. But the success is only partial: it is not a real triumph: "the deadly wound shall yet be healed;" and "all the world shall wonder" and rejoice.

We conceive, then, that in the "deadly wound," or "stroke with the sword," we see depicted the *visible defeat* sustained by the world-power in its sixth or Roman Head (the varied expression hinting at the admixture of earthly elements in the warfare). We see foreshadowed, not only the temporal destruction of the old empire by the northern barbarians (for this seems included), but a still greater victory also, viz., the subjugation to CHRIST and His Church of the ancient heathen kingdom—this subjugation having been previously rendered possible by the secret victory obtained by CHRIST. But we see, lastly, a mournful but plain hint that this present visible subjection of the world-power to the Church shall [269] not be final, but shall be ultimately succeeded by a terrible reverse.

We cannot see our way to the acceptance of Auberlen's and Dean Alford's view, that the "*Christian Empire"* is the " seventh head of the Beast."

It appears to ourselves that the sixth kingdom (the "*one*" which "*is*") is supposed to continue during the whole period of the non-existence of the Beast; and that when the Beast rises from death, it is in its *seventh,* ten-horned Anti-Christian phase. For the Angel tells us that the seventh king (corresponding to the seventh head) "is *not yet* ([Greek])

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[1] We noticed the Apocalyptic distinction between these two words above, p. 200. It is only in conformity with the *lex talionis* enunciated by our LORD to S. Peter, (S. Matt. xxvi. 52,) and repeated (Rev. xiii. 10) that they who have unauthorised recourse to the earthly weapons of warfare, must themselves fall therewith. The very expression, "the stroke with a sword," seems itself to contain a hint that in so far as the wound was inflicted with a *sword* it would not be permanent in its effect.

come," and that "when he cometh he must continue a *short space.*" And similarly of the "ten kings" (corresponding to the "ten horns") he says that they have *not yet* ([Greek]) received a kingdom, but that "they shall receive power as kings *one hour*" with the Beast—where the "one hour" of the ten horns' dominion seems to correspond with the "short space" of the seventh head's continuance.[1]

Hence, the seventh kingdom appears to be the divided Anti-Christian kingdom of the ten kings, with whom the Harlot consummates her impurities, and by whom she is destroyed. From amongst these arises, on the overthrow of the Harlot, the fully developed despotism of the "Man of Sin." It is first an eleventh or "little horn" growing out of the seventh head; it uproots three of the "ten," becoming an *eighth,* and at last develops itself into an absolute recapitulation of the entire Beast, and in a form so much more awful than that of any of the old heathen empires, as blasphemy against the HOLY GHOST is a sin of infinitely deeper malignity than any sin possible in the ancient world.

It remains for us to ask, Who, or what, is the Image of the Beast?

What can he be, save the individual *head* of the Anti-Christian kingdom, the visible personification of the entire Beast; not of this phase or that phase (as Dr Wordsworth would have it), not of this or that particular head, but of the *whole* Monster, in its full plenitude of power, and GOD-defying CHRIST-denying impiety? He is that one human being, "the last foe of the flock," who will emphatically "gain the whole world and lose his own soul"—of whose future coming the whole Church, in all ages and countries, has given united testimony; to whom Satan shall give, what he once offered to CHRIST, "all the kingdoms of the world and their glory," claiming in return the worship of himself. He shall be the manifested Prince and God of the world, of whom all former world-kings and Anti-Christs have been feeble types—the very embodiment of worldliness in its inmost essence, the exact image and *beau* [270] *ideal* of the world's own conception of greatness and nobility; in whom the world shall see and worship itself. He shall "come in his own name," and "him the world will receive."[2] He shall be surrounded by all the pomp and solemn circumstance of religion, but of a religion of which himself is the centre and sole object;—himself the human organ of the Fiend, the very incarnation (so to speak) of Satan. His high Priest, the false Prophet, in whom we see summed up, in one ideal (possibly one actual) head, all the swarms of false prophets foretold by our LORD, "showing great signs and wonders, so as to deceive if possible the very elect"—shall prepare his way before him, shall work for him, shall call him into being.

The *time* when this "Beast from the earth," or false Prophet, comes into full and matured existence, is clearly marked: it is on the "healing of the deadly wound" of the first Beast (xiii. 12);[3] when Christianity is fast disappearing from the earth before the irresistible course of reviving heathenism, and when this diabolical "resurrection from the dead" may

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[1] Dean Alford seems to think that the [Greek] contains a hint of the possible continuance of this head for a considerable period; the stress being, not on the [Greek], but on the [Greek]. We cannot agree with him. It certainly appears to us that the [Greek] is emphatic.

[2] We have said that S. John represents the FATHER and the World as the two great secret Objects of worship. Each has a visible representative or Image. There is the [Greek] of the Father (2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15); and the [Greek] of the World: The CHRIST and the Anti-Christ.

[3] The "false Prophet" appears to discharge towards the Anti-Christian world the same functions which the Harlot of old discharged towards the Christian world. He is the official successor of the Harlot; though possibly for a time they may be practically one and the same

be confidently appealed to, as a crucial test of the truth and rational certainty of Anti-Christianity, of the failure and folly of Christianity.

The false Prophet (the impersonation of the world's *wisdom,* as the Beast is of its *power*,—he) and his wretched crew, the "predicatores Anti-Christi," these emissaries from the bottomless pit, shall have been the great means of indoctrinating men with the poisonous [Greek] of the latter days—for which the teaching of the Harlot has previously prepared them—and thus of gradually reawakening the world to a restored heathen, or rather a new Anti-Christian life. Mighty and terrible will be their success. For they are aided not only by all the powers of Hell, but even by Heaven itself; GOD in dire judgment sending upon men 'a strong delusion,' so that *all*—the *entire* inhabitants of the once Christian earth, save only the 'little flock' of the elect—will receive and embrace them. The time for half-Christianity is past. It must be either CHRIST or Anti-Christ; death with CHRIST, or worldly joy with His enemies.

At an early stage of the movement, the Harlot or false Church which has pandered to the advancing tide of opinion, has served as the religious ally of the world; it may be, as the State Establishment of the ten confederate kings—some specious visible reunion of Christendom, on an Anti-Christian basis, having possibly been effected. Her intolerance, cruelty, and self-assertion increase with [271] her corruption; until the [Greek] predicted by S. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3, reaches such a head, that the Majesty of Heaven is outraged past endurance. GOD's people are warned in unambiguous accents to renounce her communion; the SPIRIT of Life deserts her, and she becomes the loathsome carcase, spoken of by our LORD, whom the eagles of vengeance scent out to devour. Alas, she little knows that her hour has come! Meanwhile, onward sweeps the resistless tide of infidel opinion. And now, *no* form of Christianity, however corrupt, will satisfy the quickened demands of the intellects of the men of the day. The very name of Christianity has become odious and intolerable. The growing Apostasy of the ten kings of Christendom receives a diabolic stimulus from some new Power suddenly arising, by means of which fresh elements of Anti-Christianity are infused into the fevered mind of the world; and in a frenzied paroxysm of hate, every vestige of Christianity and the Christian name is obliterated; the Harlot is torn to pieces and burnt with fire, and false Babylon becomes a habitation of devils. While the Head of this new Power which fast fills all the earth, and which speedily subdues or absorbs all other kingdoms, is solemnly proposed to the world, and deliberately accepted, enthroned, crowned as its sole King and God. Here is the end of the world and its *wisdom!*

What shall be the secret cipher, the 'number,' or 'mark,' whereby the last dread Enemy shall be recognised by the 'wise,' (a mystic key to which, intelligible at the time, S. John has bequeathed to the then faithful remnant,) it seems presumption seriously to inquire. Of Dr Wordsworth's solution of the enigma we will not speak further than to say, that it pains us to see a learned Christian man committing himself to such, transparent folly.[1]

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[1] One trifling point of detail we may just notice in passing.

Dr. Wordsworth, as is known, contrives by some ingenious process (we doubt not satisfactory to himself) to discover in the arrangement of the Keys on the Papal coin the "following letters, X Ξ Σ T." Now, counting these, he tells us, we get X=600, Ξ= 60, Σ T (=στ = ς) = 6. Now admitting, for the sake of argument, (which we do not) that these capital letters have any numerical value whatever,—with the exception of X, which represents 1000—we affirm that the combination of letters χ ξ σ τ so far from being equivalent to 666, really amounts to 1190, and nothing else.

Dr. Wordsworth's assertion that the =στ = ς = 6 is a complete mistake. The ς (=στ) and the episemon ς (= 6) have no connection whatever, in respect to their numerical equivalence. The latter was the regular {*cont.*}

But what is to succeed this terrible triumph of Anti-Christianity?

Our LORD and His Saints suddenly appear from the opened [272] Heavens, in the midst of the world's short-lived jubilee, to destroy His impious foes, and "with the Breath of His lips to slay the wicked;" to hurl the old Dragon into the Abyss, to seal and chain him, and to consign the Anti-Christian confederation, secular and sacred, to the everlasting torments of the Burning Lake.

But what is to ensue? Is the Church never to have *her* visible time of triumph upon this earth? Is the earth to be then destroyed, as we are now usually taught, and all the Old Testament Prophecies which tell of the Church's future glories to fail of accomplishment? Is Christianity to exhibit itself last in the world as a failure? Are CHRIST and His Saints never visibly to assert their rights as the real Lords and Kings of the earth?

The 20th chapter of this book emphatically negatives such an idea. It affirms distinctly that the three and a half years, which shall see the long inworking "Mystery of Iniquity" at its head, and the triumph of Satan and Antichrist, shall be succeeded by "a thousand years" of *manifested* victory.

Dr Wordsworth adopts the common, but most unsatisfying interpretation, which spiritualises away the Prophecy, and dislocates the inspired sequence of events; placing the thousand years of triumph *before* the three years and a half of distress and defeat, and regarding the thousand years as now continuing.

Dean Alford adopts, in the main, what we are more and more convinced is the alone admissible interpretation of the chapter.

> "I cannot (he writes) consent to distort the words of this passage from their plain sense and chronological place in the prophecy, on account of any considerations of difficulty, or any risk of abuses which the doctrine of the Millennium may bring with it. Those who lived next to the Apostles, and the whole Church for three hundred years, understood them in the plain literal sense. . . As regards the text itself, no legitimate treatment of it will extort what is known as the spiritual interpretation now in fashion."—P. 726.

As we recently devoted an entire paper to the subject of "the thousand years reign"[1] we must refer such of our readers as take an interest in that very interesting and important question, to the remarks we then offered.

We regret the length of the present Paper. But we have omitted much which we wished to say, and possibly what may be needful to guard us against misconception.

It has been our misfortune to disagree with many of the conclusions to which Dr Wordsworth has arrived, in his interpretation of this mysterious book; and we have felt bound to state our disagreement unreservedly. Any feeling of disrespect towards this esteemed writer we entirely disclaim. But it grieves us, in the present instance, to see a really valuable work, like the Greek Testament now [273] under review, disfigured by blemishes so serious; to find a learned, devout, and Catholic-minded writer lending all his energies to the hopeless task of upsetting a tradition of the Holy universal Church, handed down from Apostolic times, and drawn from Holy Scripture itself; and substituting in its

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symbol in S. John's time for the number 6, borrowed, as Bishop Beveridge maintains *(Arithm. Chronol.,* lib. i. c. 7,) from the sixth letter of the Samaritan alphabet inversely written. The former, though similar in appearance, bears no possible relation to it, and is merely a modern stenographical contraction introduced in the 12th or 13th century. So that to take no higher ground, this absurd explanation of the "mark of the Beast" is, on this account alone, seen to be utterly baseless and visionary.

[1] Ecclesiastic, March, 1860. ϕ 'Curzon's Scriptural Key to the Revelation of S. John', p. 340 *supra.*

place a modern perversion of GOD's Inspired Word, not more false and unsubstantial in itself, than it is mischievous in its results, and derogatory to the Divine Author of Scripture.

The present Volume is a sad anti-climax to Dr Wordsworth's work, as a whole. His Commentary on the Gospels was sound and devotional, and, excepting where the writer touched on the Church of Rome, left little to be desired.

The Volume on the Acts of the Apostles was not quite equal to its predecessor. In the next Dr Wordsworth seemed frequently to miss the sense of S. Paul; and in reviewing it, we were obliged to say that a Commentary on S. Paul was still a desideratum in the English Church. The last Volume contains the Commentary on the Apocalypse!

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian VOL 23 (Joseph Masters: London, 1861)

[502]INSPIRATION AND INTERPRETATION: BURGON AND WORDSWORTH

The Interpretation of the Bible: Five Lectures, delivered in Westminster Abbey. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London: Rivingtons. 1861.

Inspiration and Interpretation: Seven Sermons preached before the University of Oxford: with preliminary remarks: being an answer to a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews." By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, and Select Preacher. Oxford and London: J. H. & Jas. Parker. 1861.

THE Church of England is passing through a new phase of her chequered history. Again has the tempter been at work, plying his insidious artifices to seduce her from her allegiance to GOD: again, through the overruling care of the great Head of the Church, shall his malignant designs be frustrated, and his mischievous devices redound to the Church's spiritual welfare.

Having discovered that his subtle endeavours to tempt her into abandoning her faith in the two great Sacraments have come to nought, and have only proved the means, under GOD, of enabling her to attain to a clearer apprehension, and firmer practical grasp of these cardinal mysteries, he has been attempting bolder measures, setting himself to work craftily to undermine her faith in the Creeds, in Holy Scripture itself—nay, in the entire complex of Divine Revelation.

He has been resorting to his old well-tried weapon, first successfully plied by him in Paradise—"*Yea, hath God said?*"—seeking [503] to instil the baneful poison of doubt and uncertainty into the minds of thinking Christians. "Yea, *hath* GOD said?" Hath He really spoken, or not? Is it really *true* that He has made known His will to man, save through man's individual conscience? Are not these which are uncritically assumed to be Divine utterances, not rather the simple utterances of fallible men? Is not that Book, popularly though inaccurately designated as the 'written Word of GOD,' merely the "written voice of the congregation?" Is not its language, at least through the greater portion of the volume, but the language of frail humanity—of humanity, too, in its early childhood? How then can this—an interesting, doubtless, and valuable, though miscellaneous and unsystematic, compilation of early records—be regarded as any conceivable *authority* to the advanced intellects of the nineteenth century, to those who have arrived at 'mature age,' whose 'eyes are opened,' and who 'by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern good and evil?' Is not the notion of an 'external revelation' a mere 'fiction,' one of the exploded dreams of an over credulous and unscientific age?

These, and the like, are the views which, popular amongst the "wise and prudent" of Germany, are now pressed upon the acceptance of the clergy and laity of the Church of England; pressed upon them, moreover, not by the Church's "adversaries" or "open enemies," but by " her own familiar friends," by names of note and influence within her borders, by men in every way entitled to a respectful and affectionate hearing.

Thanks be to GOD! the Church of England has not yet fallen so far from GOD as to consent to adopt such principles. From one end of her to the other, has the teaching of the miserable book wherein the views above referred to have obtained an embodiment and a wide circulation, been indignantly repudiated. And not only this: but an earnest desire also has been elicited, and called into active practical exercise, throughout her whole communion, to strengthen the bulwarks against which the attack has been directed, and

thus render herself, under GOD, better prepared for similar attempts hereafter. The enemy has once again overreached himself. Even now we see, that through GOD's loving Providence, this assault on our Faith is beginning to subserve a great purpose, and to contribute towards a fuller restoration of Catholic Truth amongst us.

Among the multitudinous array of books, pamphlets, sermons, &c. called into being by the appearance of the "Essays and Reviews," the two works named at the head of the present paper deserve a passing notice.

Dr Wordsworth's little volume consists of a short course of sermons on the Interpretation of Holy Scripture: being the sequel to a former course recently delivered on the subject of Inspiration.

The sermons are carefully and earnestly written; and the im[504]portant theme of Scripture Interpretation handled in a grave, learned, and reverent, though not perhaps very deep or complete manner.

The first sermon contains a brief but interesting historical survey of the evil results which have ensued in Germany from erroneous principles of interpretation:—the author glancing in order at the most noticeable of that series of mutually-contradictory heresies to which these successive schemes of misinterpretation have given rise; tracing out how "the rigid dogmatism of Lutheranism and Calvinism gave way to the enthusiastic fervour of Pietism;". how "Pietism fell beneath the attacks of Rationalism;" how "Rationalism was driven from the field by Pantheism:"—and "Pantheism," as he adds, "is only another name for Atheism." (P. 30.)

The second sermon treats of the qualifications, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, for the interpretation of the Bible. A valuable passage on the same important subject occurs in a later sermon: pp. 94, 5.

The third—"JESUS CHRIST interpreting the Bible in His own Person and by the ministry of His Apostles and Evangelists"—is perhaps the most seasonable and useful of the series for the present time; as indicating in a lucid manner the true answers to the mischievous theories of interpretation suggested by writers of the Rowland Williams and Jowett school.

In the fourth sermon—"the Bible interpreting itself"—are to be found some thoughtful remarks on the probationary character of Scripture. We must find space for a short quotation.

> "It is a characteristic of the Divine Mind in Holy Scripture to speak strongly on special points of Christian Doctrine in particular places of Holy Writ, and to leave it to the reader of Scripture to supply the correlative truths from other portions of Holy Writ, which are necessary to *complete* the statement of the doctrine as a *whole.* Sometimes Holy Scripture startles us by seeming paradoxes, and staggers us by hard sayings, and perplexes us by riddles and enigmas. And why does the Divine Author of Scripture deal thus with us? In order to try us. He does it in order to allow us, if we will, to carp and cavil, and to rely on our own reason with overweening pride and presumption, by which we shall be self-condemned; He does it in order to teach us that all parts of Scripture are dependent on one another, like joints in a well-organized body, or like parts of a beautiful building; He does it in order that we may not confine our attention to *any one part* of Scripture to the neglect of others, but may carefully consider the whole; and in order to exercise our patience and diligence in *searching the Scriptures,* and to test and prove us, whether we possess those moral dispositions of meekness, candour, and love of truth, which are requisite for admission into the Kingdom of GOD."—Pp. 98, 9.

Many apposite illustrations are added, showing how that to partial views of Scripture well nigh all heresies are attributable. He teaches, moreover, how [505] "the various portions of Scripture are ever touching one another without any evidence of effort on their part and thus give strength and support to each other, and present the Holy Scriptures to our view as one harmonious whole."

"These *points of contact,*" he adds, "have sometimes been called, *undesigned coincidences.* But surely this is hardly a correct description of them. *Nothing* in the Holy Scripture is done *without design.* The Author of them is GOD; and whatever He does, He designs; and whatever He designs, He does . . . . The silent adjustment of one part of Scripture to another is not the less designed, because *we* do *not* at first *perceive* the *design:* but rather the *non-appearance of design* was itself *designed* by GOD, in order that we might *search* for, and *discover,* the coincidences, and that they might serve for our moral probation, and show what manner of spirit and temper we are of."—P. 112.

The subject of the fifth and last Sermon, which we think hardly equal to its theme, is, "JESUS CHRIST interpreting the Bible, in matters of faith, by the Presence and Power of the HOLY SPIRIT in the Universal Church." On the whole we consider this a very timely and valuable little volume, and one which might be advantageously put into the hands of our educated laity.

Mr. Burgon's book is on a much more extended scale. It is a goodly octavo, handsomely printed, containing from five to six hundred pages. The former half of the volume consists of a Preface and Introduction, devoted to a sharp criticism of the Essays and Reviews; the latter half, of seven Sermons on the subject of the Inspiration and Interpretation of Scripture—together with a short Appendix.

We need hardly say that this volume contains very much admirable matter, that the Author insists ably and earnestly on the supreme authority and Divinity of Holy Writ, that he vindicates its plenary inspiration and orthodox interpretation from the old godless and oft-refuted cavils recently revived against them, that he stoutly defends what is good and true, and that his answers to the Seven Essayists, though occasionally betraying undue haste, and an inadequate apprehension of the arguments which he is undertaking to subvert, as well as an entire want of sympathy with the perplexities with which his adversaries may be really beset, are generally searching and complete.

We much regret, however, that his work is so sadly disfigured by its style; and that the whole volume loses in effect, and in its power of convincing the understanding, or beneficially influencing the heart, by the singular absence of good taste which characterises great portions of it. There is an unpleasing tone of banter and bluster about it; an air of self-consciousness and unseemly self-sufficiency; a manner, at times, condescending and patronizing, at times rude, arrogant, and contemptuous: there are indications, too, even of sentiments of personal rancour and animosity against one [506] of the Seven Essayists—all which have the effect of marring the usefulness of the book, and weakening the confidence of the reader in a guide who appears wanting in that chastened humility, that sensitive charity, that transparent self-forgetting purity of motive, which befit one whose sacred and self-imposed task should lead him to court with all earnestness the aid and Presence of that Illuminating Spirit "who spake by the Prophets," and whose very being, and name, and essence is Love.

Even in a literary point of view, we consider Mr. Burgon's style a great mistake. Dispensing with grace, courtesy, dignity, it loses in force and effect.

Who, for instance, can read such a passage as that on pp. ccxiv.—xvi., without feeling that it is overdone, and in the worst possible taste; without finding, too, that the indignation so coarsely invoked against the Professor of Greek, misses its intended object, and really expends itself upon the writer who can manifest such a want of Christian delicacy?

Or take another and briefer specimen in the same style.

> "Indeed to follow that most confused of thinkers [Mr. Jowett], and crooked of disputants, through all his perverse pages; to expose his habitual paltry evasive dodging—his shifty equivocations—his misapplications of Scripture—his unworthy insinuations,—his plaintive puerilities of thought and sentiment; would require a thick volume."—P. ccvi.

Or again:

> "I shall be thought a very profane person, I dare say, by the friends of Mr. Jowett, if I avow that the passage with which he concludes his Essay, instead of sounding in my ears like the plaintive death-song of departing genius, sounds to me like nothing so much as the piteous whine of a school-boy who knows that he *deserves* chastisement, and perceives that he is about to experience his deserts. [We presume at the hands of Mr. Burgon.] Views, except negative ones, Mr. Jowett is altogether guiltless of. Can anybody in his senses suppose that a man 'has by a Divine help been enabled to plant his foot somewhere beyond the waves of time,'[1] who doubts everything, and *believes nothing?* Can any one of sane mind dream that posterity will come to the rescue of a man who, when he is asked for his story, rejoins, (with a well-known needy mechanic,) that he has 'none to tell, sir?' *What* then is posterity to vindicate? *What* has the Regius Professor of Greek written so many weak pages to prove? Just nothing!" &c. &c.—Pp. ccx. xi.

Now this kind of writing, of which there is far too much in Mr. Burgon's pages, is very foolish, very mischievous, and very weak. Moreover, after admonishing his readers as to the effects he *intends* to produce by his book—how that "he cannot for a moment allow [507] some of the sophistries" of Mr. Jowett "to *escape without castigation,*" (p. clxxxix.);—how that, in answering the Essayists, he purposes "*mercilessly to uncover their baseness, and uncompromisingly to denounce* it," (p. xxiv.);—how he intends "to *hold them up to ridicule to the very utmost of his power,*" to "*make them objects of unqualified reprobation to all,*" (p. 249), &c. &c., he should really have had the wisdom to adopt a style of writing more calculated to aid him in effecting these desirable results.

But Mr. Burgon's vehemence occasionally leads him to an entire misrepresentation of his opponent's meaning. Thus—to take a single early instance, from his review of Dr Williams' Essay. Dr Williams is referring to Bunsen's "Prophetical disquisitions," and says that "no fair reader will rise from them without feeling that he has been under the guidance of a master's hand."[2] Mr. Burgon hastily assumes that by these "Prophetical disquisitions" of Bunsen, Dr Williams signifies the Prophetical Scriptures: and, thereupon, thus proceeds to develop the Essayist's meaning:

> "The 'Prophetical disquisitions' therefore are subject to error of every description; and possess no higher attributes than belong to any ordinary human work by a master's hand.'"—P. xxxviii.

This is very careless work, and singularly unpardonable in one who deals so freely with the character of his opponents.

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[1] See the close of Mr. Jowett's Essay.

[2] Essays and Reviews, p. 77.

Nor—(quitting the Preface and Introduction)—can we agree with Mr. Burgon in considering the following, a becoming *sermon* style. The preacher thus represents one of the Essayists accosting the four Blessed Evangelists.

> "You are four highly respectable characters, no doubt; and you *mean* well. But it cannot be expected that persons of your condition of life should have described so many intricate transactions so minutely without making blunders. I do not say it unkindly. I often make blunders myself,—*I*, who have a 'clearness of understanding,' a 'power of discrimination between different kinds of truth' unknown to the Apostolic age!" &c. &c.—P. 60.

Nor again, for a preacher who has the faintest desire to influence his hearers for good, is it wise to scoff and rate at them as though they were infidels. He is encountering, in his fourth sermon, the objection, that it cannot be said, of such a passage, as (e.g.) the "catalogue of the Dukes of Edom," that it is inspired by GOD. Well, then, he fairly rejoins, if not inspired, let it be ejected from the Volume of Inspiration. But (he argues) the process of excision cannot stop here: by parity of reasoning, it must be extended to more, far more, than half the Bible. After which he continues to address his hearers in the following unpleasant strains:—

> "If *your own* handling of Holy Scripture,—*your own* method, by [508] *yourself* applied—be not a *reductio ad absurdum,* I know of nothing in the world which is. Look only at that handful of mutilated pages in the hands of one who is supposed to be the impersonation of 'common sense;' turn the tattered and mangled leaves over and over, which *you* are pleased to call the Volume of Inspiration; and get all the comfort and help out of it you can! But be not surprised to hear that you are exposing yourself to the ridicule of the sane part of mankind," &c.—P. 99.

And then mark the self-conscious and inflated tone of what follows:—

> "Let *me* now be permitted to lay before you a somewhat different view of the office of Inspiration. Since the illumination of science, falsely so called, and the process of common sense, would seem to have resulted in the extinction of the deposit, I ask your patience while I try to show that common sense, *informed by a somewhat loftier Theological Instinct*, may give such an account of the matter as will enable us to preserve every word of the deposit entire.
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> "*You call my attention* to the catalogue of the Dukes of Edom, and tell me that it required no supernatural aid to enable Moses to write it. How, may I ask, do you ascertain that fact? No specimens of the documentary evidence of the land of Seir in the days of Moses are known now to exist. *You therefore know absolutely nothing whatever about the matter of which you speak so confidently.*"—P. 100.

And so on, for pages in the same uncomfortable strain.

Now, we sincerely regret these errors in judgment: for, as we have said, they materially detract from the value and usefulness of a volume of unquestionably sterling merit. Mr. Burgon surely ought to know that young men will not be sneered and bullied into orthodoxy from the pulpit. But throughout the whole of his volume the author manifests, what we can only call, a strange deficiency in *tact*—an absence of any nice perception of what is really becoming, or *effective*, either in writing or speaking. Mr. Burgon's volume may confirm believers: it will convert no sceptics; it will reclaim no doubters.

Nevertheless, with all its blemishes and foolish waste of power, the work is really a valuable one; and, as an antidote to the pernicious teaching of the Essayists, (to those who can bring themselves to study it) on the whole, most satisfactory and complete.

We must not omit to quote Mr. Burgon's estimate of the respective merits (or demerits) of the individual Essays—a judgment in which, for the most part, we concur.

> "The most foolish composition of the seven is Dr Temple's; the most mischievous is Professor Jowett's; . . . . the most unphilosophical Essay, (where *all* are unphilosophical,) is Professor Powell's; the most insolent, Dr Williams'; the most immoral, Mr. Wilson's; the most shallow, Mr. Goodwin's; the most irrelevant, Mr. Pattison's."—P. xxvii.

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Great and permanent, however, will have been the benefit arising from this sevenfold league against orthodoxy, if it awaken the minds of Churchmen to a more accurate examination of the several points 'freely handled' by the *septem;* and especially, if it draw them to a more careful consideration of those cardinal questions which form the subject matter of the volumes now under review,—namely, the Inspiration and Interpretation of Holy Scripture.

No subjects can be of more vital interest: for if the systems of interpretation and the theories of Inspiration advanced by men of the Williams and Jowett school be true, then our faith is vain, our hopes visionary; our Christianity vanishes like a dream.

For, as has been again and again shown, and cannot be too seriously urged, there is absolutely *no logical resting place whatever* between such theology and the most avowed and GOD-defying infidelity.

If the Bible be divested of its paramount claim upon our faith and obedience: if its [Greek] be denied—or, which amounts to the same thing, be only nominally and partially admitted, so that it is left to each self-opinionated questioner to determine for himself, or herself, how much is Divine and how much merely human, how much is 'spirit' (according to the cant of the day) and how much bare 'letter,' and, as such, capable of being discarded, how much is *actually* true, and how much only true *ideally*—then is all dark and uncertain before us; our path through this world, our journey to an unknown future, are shrouded in gloom: we are, indeed, as S. Paul says, 'most miserable.'

How far, in the case of the writers above referred to, the traditional faith wherewith they have been early indoctrinated, and the salutary atmosphere of dogmatic truth with which their position in the English Church has caused them to be encircled, may still for a while have kept them sounder at heart than their explicit avowals of misbelief show them to be in theory, we cannot say: we can only hope, with fear.

But if the way of unbelief is a downhill road; if an uncertain faith is too soon a certain scepticism, and an unwillingness to believe, an *inability*[1] to believe; if, moreover, the burning woe denounced against those who offend CHRIST's little ones, begins even in this life to shed its withering blight, in judicial blindness, upon those who recklessly mislead;—then may we indeed tremble for men who, having once "known the way of the LORD," are turning, and seeking to turn others, "from the Holy Commandment delivered unto them;" and in the Name of CHRIST are subverting the doctrine of CHRIST.

It is very sorrowful to watch the gradual declension of sceptical minds from the path of orthodoxy. Who, for instance, that has [510] perused the able and (on the whole) unexceptionable and valuable Sermon of Dr Williams on the Athanasian Creed, in his

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[1] "Therefore they *could not* believe, because . . . He bath hardened their heart." S. John xii. 39, 40.

"Rational Godliness" (Serm. xvii.)[1] can read without a shudder the cold infidel sneer in which that venerable Symbol is now (apparently) referred to, in his recent Essay (p. 87)?

Compare again—as more closely bearing on our immediate subject—his earlier teaching with his later on the Interpretation of Scripture Prophecy.

In his earlier writings on that interesting theme, he appeared to manifest a sincere desire to explain (though with an undue freedom of speculation) the phenomena of Prophecy—and especially its double sense. In his late productions, especially his last, his sole object appears to be to deny with reckless impiety, the very existence of any Prophetic element—in fact, of any supernatural element—in the Bible.

Thus, in 1850, we find Dr Williams writing in this guarded and sober strain.

> "We do not indeed assert, that the Hebrew Prophets knew precisely what manner of salvation they foretold;[2] for they often shadow it forth under such temporal deliverances, as to make the literal, or Jewish interpretation of their predictions, not altogether unreasonable . . . Still, amidst this imperfect knowledge, we find them . . . foretelling with the strongest confidence the ultimate triumph of pure Religion, the springing of a Righteous Branch out of the stem of Jesse, and the Reign of a King who should execute Justice and Mercy . . . .
>
> "Although some circumstances in the description of GOD's Firstborn and Elect, by whom this change is to be accomplished, may primarily apply to collective Israel, *many others will admit of no such application. Israel surely was not the Child whom* a *Virgin was to bear; Israel did not make his Grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his Death; Israel scarcely reconciled that strangely blended variety of Suffering and Triumph which was predicted of the Messiah."*—(Rational Godliness, p. 56.)

In 1855, Dr Williams appends a note to the passage we have italicized, to the effect that he no longer feels confident of the assertion therein contained: adding "I *now* believe that *all* the prophecies have primarily an application nearly contemporaneous."

Nor can we offer the least possible objection even to this latter statement. We firmly believe, with Dr Williams, that a nearly [511] contemporaneous *primary* application .is the *rule* in the ancient Prophecies.

And all students of Prophecy would admit the same. Thus Dr Lee writes:

> "In considering the predictions of Scripture . . . we may observe that a certain method has been almost uniformly pursued, which constitutes as it were, the *Law* according to which the different portions of GOD's Revelation have been communicated:—namely, that each prediction, with scarcely an exception, proceeds from and attaches itself to some definite fact in the historical present. In other words, when the future is to be foreshadowed, certain events of the time, historical or incidental, are selected as occasions on which may be founded the several disclosures of the Divine Will. The Almighty—who can question it?—could in all cases have unveiled His purpose without observing any such method; but He has not only thought fit to disclose His Will *gradually*, as the Scripture narrative clearly implies;—He has also, as a general

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[1] In referring to this most unsettled and unsettling work, our relative commendation must not be understood to extend beyond the portions specially noticed. We recorded our opinion of the book as a whole some years ago; but little thought then, that the strong convictions we expressed as to its dangerous tendency, and the downward career of its author, would meet with such speedy and melancholy confirmation. Vide *Ecclesiastic,* Vol. XVIII., April, June (pp. 145, 245). ϕ 'Williams' Rational Godliness.' pp. 198ff. *supra.*

[2] On the subject of the imperfect and indistinct knowledge of the import of their own predictions, on the part of the Prophets themselves, see an interesting note in Dr. Wordsworth's little book, p. 81.

> rule, availed Himself, (if we may use the phrase) of certain occasions which were presented, from time to time, and which formed a species of natural channel for the conveyance of His Revelations. . . . By this fact of the connection of single Predictions with the historical present, may be explained, I conceive, that characteristic of Prophecy which consists in its 'double sense;' according to which the *particular* is brought forward as a pledge of what lies far beyond, without representing the former as the true or highest end."—*Inspiration of Holy Scripture,* pp. 152—7, 2nd Ed.

And in conformity with this, Dr Williams truly wrote in his earlier work, respecting the double sense of Messianic Prophecy:

> "The proper position of the Christian divine is, not that the Jewish interpretation of their own prophecies is untrue, but that it is *inadequate. As far as it goes*, it is right: but if this be *all*, then has their faith failed them. There is only One King of their race, Who is even now ruling over many nations . . . . There has been only One Child born of a Virgin, Who has delivered mankind . . . . as to be emphatically and properly GOD with us. There is only One, and He too a Priest, both smitten through the iniquity of the people; and yet, through whose stripes His very smiters are healed. Nor, once more, is there any other save One, of Whom indeed Israel, as GOD's Firstborn, was no mean type; Who had been taken in some emphatical sense out of His Mother's womb; Who had also been called out of Egypt; but Who was reduced in agony, too awful to be traced, to exclaim from the Tree, My GOD, My GOD, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'"—*Rational Godliness,* Pp. 169—70.

But now Dr Williams has advanced beyond all this. He now appears to deem the "Jewish interpretation of their own prophecies" not only '*true,*' but '*adequate.*' He now appears to deny any real ulterior reference of the Prophecies to the MESSIAH altogether. True, he writes, there still exists "*one* passage perhaps in Zechariah, [512] and one in Isaiah *capable of being made* directly Messianic." "But even these cases," he adds, "tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching inquiry."[1]

This, then, is the result to which Dr Williams wishes to conduct us all, and to which he has brought himself; to deny the very existence of any prophetic (in the sense of predictive) statement in Holy Scripture. It is 'predication,' not 'prediction.' Prophecy is in fact simply religious history, and its phenomena are dependent (for this appears to be the *rationale* of his theory) upon the fact of the ever-recurrent unity of the Divine dealings with man. GOD's Providence loves to repeat itself. Hence the events of one period are foreshadows, and as it were 'fore speakers' of the events of other and after periods. The Prophets were religious and thoughtful men, who acutely observing the signs of their own times, and reverently tracing out the order of the Divine Government therein exhibited, accustomed themselves to 'read the ideal in the actual,' or more correctly, to infer the abstract and real from the concrete and phenomenal; and thus learnt certain of the "abiding thoughts of GOD," and of the fixed principles of His providential administration. These men, like our modern poets or historians, were ofttimes led to record, by the light of the sacred knowledge thus acquired, the facts of their own day—facts which, as outward utterances in the world of sense, of realities deep in the Divine mind, were destined ever and anon, under fresh conditions, to repeat themselves.

When the Providential Cycles came round again, and the same dramas were re-enacted under changed circumstances,—in other words, when the Divine 'thoughts' which had exhibited and embodied themselves in the events of the Prophets' own times had shaped for themselves parallel expressions in the characters and movements of later periods,—

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[1] Essays and Reviews, pp. 69, 70.

these poet-historians who had left in their mystic records mirrors of the future, would naturally come to be regarded as actual *foreseers* of what was to ensue, and as possessors of some peculiar and specific and supernatural faculty denied to the rest of mankind.

Now that this theory has a plausible look, and contains also important elements of Truth, few will deny; its only fault is that when any attempt is made to *apply* it, it shows itself to be absolutely and hopelessly fallacious and insufficient.

So long, however, as it presents itself, claiming to be founded, by an honest process of induction, upon the *facts* of Scripture Prophecy, and to be offered in sincerity as a possible means of accounting for those facts, so long we gladly give it a respectful hearing. But when it reveals itself in its true light, as framed independently .and in *defiance* of the notorious facts of the case, and urged with the simple end of supporting the foregone conclu[513]sion that there is no *supernatural* element in the Bible, and as a mere expedient for accounting for the otherwise unaccountable phenomena of Prophecy, by divesting them of their apparently supernatural character, why then we treat it for what it is worth, and deal with it accordingly.

When we are urged to believe that the Prophecies of the ancient Seers had no predictive element about them, and were uttered by the exercise of their natural powers, and that there are only two of them at most "*perhaps capable of being made* directly Messianic;" we simply recall the explicit statements of our Blessed LORD and of His holy Apostles on the subject, and the confirmatory verdict of Holy Church testifying 'throughout the world' that it was the 'HOLY GHOST' Who 'spake by the Prophets;' we simply bethink us of the reiterated assurances of Holy Scripture itself,[1] that it was "the Spirit of CHRIST" which testified *in* and *through* the Prophets, (1 S. Pet. i. 11,) that it was "GOD Who made heaven and earth and all things therein," Who "spake by the mouth of His servant David," (Acts iv. 24, 25,) that "the HOLY GHOST spake beforehand through the mouth of David," (ib. i. 16,) that "GOD spake of the mighty salvation" to be brought about in the house of David "by the mouth of His holy Prophets since the world began," (S. Luke i. 68, 70,) that "holy men of GOD spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST" (2 S. Pet. i. 21,) that Moses "wrote of CHRIST," (S. John v. 46,) that the distinguishing characteristic of all Prophetic Scripture is to "testify of CHRIST," (S. John v. 39; Rev. xix. 10; S. Luke xxiv. 44,) that "the HOLY GHOST spake through Esaias the Prophet," (Acts xxviii. 25,) that "GOD by the mouth of all His Prophets foretold the sufferings of CHRIST," (Acts iii. 18;) that so little was the peculiar prophetic impulse under which the ancient Seers spoke, the result of any activity of mere natural powers, that the import of their own utterances was often veiled even from themselves, insomuch that they "searched diligently" to penetrate the meaning of that "Word of GOD" with which they felt themselves charged, (1 S. Pet. i. 11); and that even after the fulfilment of many of their predictions, it still needed that the Divine LOGOS should "open the understanding" of His people to enable them to discern all that was written "in Moses and the Prophets, and in all the Scriptures concerning *Himself,*" (S. Luke xxiv. 25—32,44—46.) We bethink ourselves, we repeat, of these and a hundred kindred declarations of Holy Writ, and we throw the infidel suggestions to the winds.

The question of the interpretation of Scripture Prophecy in fact, simply resolves itself into this:—To which are we to give credence, the solemn asseverations of our Blessed LORD Himself and His Holy Apostles and Evangelists, or the cold Sadduceean specula[514]tions of a few modern doubters of the Williams and the Jowett stamp—men who are little by

[1] Vid. Burgon, pp. 56, 57.

little parting with those moral and spiritual qualifications through which alone they can by any possibility understand the Sacred Oracles?

For, most providentially, on this important subject of Sacred Interpretation, the Bible itself is peculiarly explicit and communicative.

Are we assured, for instance, by the writers above-mentioned, that Holy Scripture is "to be interpreted like any other Book;" that its words have only one meaning, viz., that which first "struck on the ears or flashed before the eyes of those" who originally heard or read them: we can only remember that the Bible declares itself to be essentially unlike any other Book, to admit of modes of interpretation of which no other book is, or can be, susceptible, and to possess a manifoldness and profundity of significance to which no other writing in the world has ever presumed to lay claim.[1]

Are we encouraged to treat Scripture lightly, with a half-contemptuous, half-patronizing indifference; to regard it not as our "master" but as our "servant;"[2]—we can only remember the profound and lowly reverence with which GOD Incarnate, our Creator, Redeemer, and Judge, ever referred to those Sacred Records; and His solemn assurances, that the "Scripture *cannot* be broken," that "Scripture *must* be fulfilled," that "sooner shall Heaven and earth pass than one tittle of the Law fail." We bethink us that the three first recorded utterances of the MESSIAH, after His official inauguration, are appeals to Holy Scripture [Greek] (S. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10)—and that this mysterious threefold appeal is made, not before man, but to the Arch-enemy himself: the whole scene proving, that the power and dignity of Scripture are abundantly recognised even by Devils; Satan himself not presuming to call in question, before his August Opponent, the paramount and conclusive *authority* of the Written Word, but merely seeking to parry off its deadly thrusts by qualifying counter-quotations.

And does not the first official discourse of our LORD evince the same reverential bearing towards the Old Testament Scripture? What means the emphatic protest, "I am not come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to *fulfil* them." The New Law promulgated on the Mount of Beatitudes is represented throughout, as the development and completion of the Old Law. The Lawgiver is the [515] same: but the old "Letter" is by Himself unfolded and expanded, to meet the enlarged receptivity of its new subjects. "It was said to them of old time; but I say to you."

And throughout the whole of our LORD's ministerial Life, is the same respectful regard, the same constant and conclusive appeal, to the Sacred Scriptures exhibited. And not only in His life: for even when the dews of Death were beginning to fall on Him, did He not, even then, manifest the same holy jealousy for their honour? Was it not at that awful time that He vouchsafed to unfold the true meaning of the mysterious 22nd Psalm? And when His Sacred "tongue clave to the roof of His mouth," is it not recorded that the racking *thirst* which consumed His parched frame was, in order "that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled?"

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[1] See this inquiry, as to the mode in which Scripture itself interprets Scripture, ably conducted by Mr. Burgon, pp. 144—163.

[2] "Even if Holy Scripture were, as is popularly fancied, the foundation, and not, as I believe, the expression and memorial of religious truth in man, it would be absurd to render it honours essentially different from those which it claims for itself, or to make it a master, where it claims only to be a servant."—Vide "A letter from Dr. Williams to the Editor of the 'Christian Examiner.'"

The melancholy effrontery with which Dr Williams affects to ignore the Prophetic reference to our LORD in the 53rd chap. of Isaiah, is deserving of earnest reprobation; and affords a fair and sad evidence (if any were wanting) of the spirit in which his "Essay" has been conceived and written.

Did that touching scene in the "way going down from Jerusalem to Gaza," never flash across him, as he penned those miserable lines:—the devout eunuch bending in reverent contemplation over that very chapter? "The place of the Scripture which he read was this: *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before its shearers, so He opened not His mouth.* . . . . And the Eunuch answered Philip and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the Prophet this, of himself, or of some other man? Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached to him *Jesus.*"

Did it never pass through his mind—we say not that Apostles and Evangelists only, again and again, apply this Prophecy to their LORD, but—that the Redeemer Himself set His own Divine seal to the truth of their interpretation; pointing to this sacred chapter, as the time of its accomplishment drew on; affirming that its mysterious announcement, "He was numbered with the transgressors," *must needs* be accomplished in Himself (S. Luke xxii. 37);— a statement which S. Mark further explains in these words: "With Him they crucify two thieves: and the Scripture was *fulfilled,* 'He was numbered with the transgressors?'"

Was it, we ask, in careless forgetfulness, or wanton contempt, of these inspired comments on this memorable Prophecy, that Dr Williams coldly asserts that "*if* any single person should be selected" as the subject of the Prophecy, Bunsen's arguments *"prove* that Jeremiah should be the one!"[1] In other words, the four Holy Evangelists, S. Philip, S. Paul, S. Peter, the Holy. Universal Church, and our Blessed LORD Himself have all miscon[516]ceived and misinterpreted this celebrated prediction, and must meekly submit to be set right by the searching criticism of Chevalier Bunsen and Dr Rowland Williams!

The fact of Jeremiah, as in some peculiar way the Prophet "acquainted with grief," having realised in his personal experience, many foretastes of the afflictions which were yet to be accomplished in the Divine "Man of Sorrows," is not for a moment questioned. On which of GOD's faithful servants has not the awful Shadow of the Cross fallen? But this is no justification of Dr Williams' heartless attempt. His ill-concealed endeavour is, not to show how Jeremiah was a striking *type* of his Redeemer; but to *dissociate* the Prophecy from the suffering Son of Man; to represent that as an erroneous and uncritical interpretation which regards *Him* as the great Subject of it—the one *true* fulfilment, of which all others, before or since, were but feeble shadows,—and to apply the inspired predictions to *another,* independently of, and in place of Him.

But the whole animus of this, and all other of Dr Williams' sceptical suggestions is so obvious, as to render his Essay utterly unworthy the serious thought of any devout Christian.

In drawing, as our space warns us to do, these cursory remarks to a close, we are bound to repeat that on almost all points bearing upon the present controversies respecting the inspiration and interpretation of Holy Scripture, we have found Mr. Burgon's volume very complete and satisfactory. Had his manner been as unexceptionable as his matter,[2] his

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[1] Essays and Reviews," p. 73.

[2] We must remonstrate, however, against a flippant and needlessly objectionable remark of his on the subject of the Apocrypha, p. 76.

book, though unsystematic and fragmentary, would on these points have left little to be desired.

In meditating upon the mysteries of the Bible, its apparent simplicity and want of method and design, together with other of the many difficulties which beset it, arising out of the ever varying conditions (the "sundry times and divers manners") of the complex and multiform human medium through which GOD has been pleased to speak to man; we should ever remember that the very same *class* of difficulties clustered round the Form of the Divine Redeemer Himself when tabernacling on earth.

As Mr. Burgon truly reminds us, (p. cl.,) The Written WORD stands out amongst books, as the Incarnate WORD stood out amongst men. The one mystery explains the other.

Thus the very moral qualifications which were necessary to prepare men to recognize under the veil of flesh the true Divinity of the One, are still needed to enable them to perceive the Divinity of the other. The mysterious majesty and glory of each are concealed from the "wise and prudent," and revealed to "babes." Intellectual subtlety, critical and scientific sagacity are just as worthless to aid or engender faith in the one as in the other. So [517] little, in fact, are they courted by either, that they are rather defied and set at nought. A lowly, teachable, inquiring, loving, confiding spirit—this is all that is needed; to this the wisdom and knowledge of GOD will ever unlock their treasures. Mysteries are revealed to the meek, and *only* to the meek. "The hungry are filled with good things, the rich sent empty away." He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

The Written and the Incarnate WORD are alike "despised and rejected of men." The world is equally offended at GOD manifesting Himself to man in the lowly Carpenter of Nazareth, and GOD speaking to man, and teaching him, in the homely, human, historical details of the Bible. But the world shall be constrained to own its folly one day.

"As He whom the Evangelist saw riding in the Heavenly pomp on high, was the same who rode into Jerusalem;—in humiliation here, in glory there—here veiled, there in brightness unveiled;"—so may we "regard that Sacred Volume which the poor cottager knows as the Word of GOD, as placed under the same dispensation, as veiled here, reserved for *Revelation* hereafter" . . . . "In this world (to conclude with the words of the thoughtful writer[1] already quoted)

> "We are using sounds which mean more than we know. In our Churches we are in the highest sense singing the songs of Sion, of the future and Heavenly Sion. If Saints in Heaven shall sing (as we are told they shall) the Song of Moses, then the Song of Moses is already a Song of Heaven: only, *there* we shall know its meaning, or more of it than now we do. And the use which I make of the reflection is, to suggest the frame of mind in which we should approach the consideration of the Sacred Page, such a frame of mind as that no future revelations of the import of that page shall have power to reproach us as having dishonoured it by our interpretations here, and having betrayed an inadequate feeling of what Inspiration was."

[1] Rev. C.P. Eden, quoted by Mr. Burgon.

The Ecclesiastic and Theologian Vol. 24 (Joseph Masters: London, 1862)

[107]BISHOP COLENSO'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: newly translated from a missionary point of view. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

This book has caused us no little surprise and regret. We would fain speak of its Right Reverend author with the respectful regard which his high office, his devoted missionary labours, his great and varied endowments, his large-hearted Christian sympathies would appear to warrant. But when a Bishop, in defiance of the solemn obligations under which he is laid, to guard with jealousy, and transmit in all its integrity the sacred Deposit of the Faith entrusted to him, and to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to GOD's Word and the dogmatic teaching of that Church whose commission he bears—sets himself forward as a champion of heresy, as a propagator of novel opinions in palpable variance with the Faith of entire Christendom;—then, the very antecedents which should have won for him and his words respect, become the most powerful reasons why his unsound and dangerous sentiments should be exposed and condemned.

Error is not the less error, or to be less earnestly rejected, because gently insinuated into the Church by one in the garb of an "Angel of light." The great heresiarchs of ancient as well as of modern times have been not unfrequently men of high intellect, of winning address, and exemplary life. The instruments of the Enemy of souls are ever selected with consummate skill.

Now, we are far from unconscious of the excellencies of much of the volume before us. We have read portions of it with unqualified satisfaction. We have found ourselves interested, instructed, encouraged. And yet it is not the less our deliberate conviction that the work, as a whole, is so incurably infected with error as to call for the most decided and earnest reprobation.

The Bishop is ever and anon employing language of the most unexceptionable orthodoxy, and yet the while, attaching to it a meaning so absolutely heretical, that there is often the greatest difficulty in disentangling the truth from the error of his statements, and discovering how far he is teaching in conformity, and how far in direct antagonism with the analogy of the Faith.

He tells us in his Preface that he has devoted "many years of close study" to the Epistle which he now undertakes to expound. We find from an incidental notice in a letter of one of his fellow-voyagers in the *Jane Morice* from Birkenhead to Port Natal, that [108] during his original passage to the scene of his present missionary labours, the same Epistle was specially occupying the Bishop's mind:—

> "We had always prayers on board, morning and evening. They consisted of a selection from the Daily Service. The Psalms were always chanted; and the Bishop gave us an exposition of some part of Scripture. For the last month he was going regularly through S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and had advanced as far as to the eighth chapter."—*Colon. Ch. Chron.* Vol. ix. p. 214.

Many are the indications throughout the volume of an original and thoughtful mind, as well as of a tender and loving heart, and, where the Bishop's doctrinal aberrations do not lead him quite astray as to the meaning of the Apostle, of a clear insight into the argument of the Epistle, and an accurate and scholarlike mastery of the text. The commentary, however, possesses but little of the critical character. It seeks rather to develop the general scope and object of the Epistle, together with the practical lessons thence deducible; the

leading aim of the writer apparently being to elicit therefrom material for furnishing answers to certain of the momentous questions respecting GOD's dealings with the heathen world, which his missionary experiences have from time to time forced upon him.

As a specimen of the earnest practical character of much of this melancholy book, we may cite the following, on the text, "I find then a law that when I would do good, evil is present with me."—

> "To the true Christian these words of S. Paul are abundantly intelligible. He finds it to be the law—i.e. the rule under which his life in this world must be passed—that, when he would do good, evil will be present to him, suggested to him, or tempting him. The more devout, and earnest, and heavenly-minded a man has grown by GOD's grace, the more conscious he will be of this . . . that sin is there, close at hand in his fleshly nature. But this is the difference between his present state and his former state. *Then*, when he was stirred to the very depths within him by GOD's living Word coming home to his heart—when he thus became convinced of sin, of the of the perfect holiness of GOD's Blessed Law, and his inability to keep it—he fell into hopelessness and despair, he fell back under the power of Sin and Death. *Now* he understands the whole. He knows that there is this Sin, 'which is in him,' that evil *will* be present to him, whenever he would be doing good. . . The knowledge he has of this fact will help to keep him humble and dependent, 'watching unto prayer:' but it will not *now* drive him to despair; for his spirit is till alive unto GOD, quickened with CHRIST's Life. He knows this, even when fallen for a season, and lying oppressed under the accursed slavery of Sin. He knows this, so long as he feels within [109] him one single pulse, as it were, of spiritual life, one movement of the heart towards GOD and the remembrance of His Holiness , one thought of repentance, one desire to return and throw himself at the feet of his Heavenly FATHER, and say, 'FATHER, I have sinned, I am no more worthy to be called Thy child.' And knowing that his spirit is thus still alive with CHRIST's Life, he knows also that he can have it quickened with the abundance of that Life. He is able now to shake off the whole of Sin. He confesses his fault to that Gracious FATHER who has known it all along, and receives again that 'righteousness,' that 'forgiveness of his unrighteousness,' that 'covering of his sin,' which that FATHER's Love has freely provided for him in His Own dear SON. And then, with the sense of that renewal of the gift of righteousness, there comes a flow of fresh life into his whole spiritual being. Being 'justified by faith,' by simple trust in GOD's Fatherly forgiving Mercy and restoring Love, he has peace again with GOD. He is able now to look up again to Heaven, with tearful eyes, indeed, and with a broken heart, but yet with joy beaming through his tears, and a living hope possessing his bosom. And so he springs forward again to his work by his Master's side, singing cheerfully the song of faith, and saying, 'Sin shall not lord it over me: for I am not under the law, but under Grace."—Pp. 173—5.

Now to speak of a Bishop who can write in such a strain as this (and this is no mere isolated extract) as one who is setting himself to subvert the doctrine of CHRIST, and to publish "another Gospel" in the place of that which our LORD and His Apostles preached, is to make a very painful and serious charge. It will be our ungrateful duty to endeavour to substantiate it.

The cardinal error which appears to us to pervade the Bishop's entire theology, is his defective appreciation and representation of the revealed character of Almighty GOD. The GOD he depicts, is a GOD all amiable, and loving, and kind; but not the GOD of Holy Scripture. There is no adequate recognition of the awful holiness and justice of GOD, or of the consequent heinousness and malignity of sin, necessitating the Death of Incarnate GOD. The doctrine of the Atonement and Propitiatory Sacrifice of CHRIST is ignored. The doctrine of Justification explained away to mean nothing. The doctrine of the Sacraments utterly and most perversely misrepresented. And the doctrine of the eternal duration of future punishments absolutely and elaborately denied. Let us briefly examine the Bishop's teaching on these several heads. We will begin with the subject of Justification.

Now by Justification, we presume, is meant GOD's solemn acquittal and acceptance of man: a Gift, which having its root in the love of the FATHER, and being purchased by the meritorious Propitiation of the SON, is conveyed by the effectuating agency of the HOLY GHOST, through instrumental means of His own appointment; imparted (namely) as to its initial grant in the Holy Sacrament of Baptism; renewed after falls from grace, on true repent[110]ance, through the "Ministry of Reconciliation;" received on man's part by faith; maintained and preserved by holiness of life, in other words, by "faith working in love."[1]

Thus, the grant of Justification, according to Scripture and the teaching of the Church, belongs, not to *all*, but to those only whom GOD effectually *calls*: "Whom He *called*, them He also *justified*." And *faith*, on man's part is the essential requisite to the reception of GOD's gift of Justification.

But in defiance of the plain teaching of Holy Scripture, the Bishop insists again and again that the grant of "Righteousness," or "Justification" has been given to *all* men absolutely, independently of any instrument of conveyance on GOD's part independently of any instrument of reception on man's part; i.e., whether the recipients be baptized or not, whether they be possessed of faith or not.

To show that we are not misrepresenting him, we will quote his own words. S. Paul, he says, tells us that,

> "Under the new covenant of the grace of GOD in the Gospel, *all human beings* were declared to be accepted before GOD . . .they were *all* pronounced to be righteous." (P. 71.) Again; "As he has said that all sin, and all come short of GOD's glory, so now he must mean that *all* are made righteous, justified freely by the grace of GOD. The gift of Righteousness . . . was intended for all mankind, and *was* actually, in fact, *bestowed* upon them, though they knew it not." (P. 85) . Again, "The *whole human race* are partakers of the gift of Life in the Gospel." (P. 87.) Again; speaking of the justification of Abraham and the fathers, he says, "Justified indeed they were by the grace of GOD, as *all others of the human race*, even *before they were born*." P. 96.) Again; "Thus the good tidings of great joy for all mankind, is this Divine announcement, that the *whole human race* are looked upon and dealt with as *righteous creatures* in CHRIST their Head. The curse of their sinful nature *has been taken away* altogether—has been taken away from the first, though the fact is only now fully declared in the Gospel—by GOD's Fatherly Love . . . . As by their natural birth from Adam, they fell at once as fallen sinful creatures under a 'condemnation of death,' so by the free grace of GOD in CHRIST JESUS, they shall receive *every one* of them a 'justification of life.'" (P. 129.) "The curse has been utterly taken away, and *all* we of *the human race*, being recognized as one with our Head, are counted to be righteous as He is righteous, are made the righteousness of GOD in Him. We shall die, indeed, still, but we shall not die under a curse. We shall die as righteous creatures, creatures freed from the curse, however needing to be chastised." (P. 134.) "What our Head did, that we share in, *we* [not the regenerate race, the members of His mystical Body, the New Creation, but] the *whole brotherhood of man*, the *whole race*." (P. 135.)

[111]
But we need not multiply examples, for this heresy as to the universal justification and regeneration of the whole race meets us at every turn. What then, we ask, according to the above system of theology, is the province of faith? What is the object of Holy Baptism? Have our LORD's words, "He that *believeth* and is *baptized*, shall be saved," any meaning, or not ?

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[1] We must not, of course, be understood for a moment to call in question the supplementary truths involved in the inspired statements, that "The Gentiles who have not the Law, are a law unto themselves;" and that, "In every nation, he that feareth GOD and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him."

First, let us seek to discover the place and office of *faith* in the Bishop's scheme. Is it, in any sense, what Holy Scripture represents it, an instrumental cause of our justification, a necessary requisite to its reception ? By no means. We are not "justified by faith," or by anything else, for we are equally justified whether we have faith, or whether we have it not. Faith is merely that faculty in ourselves which makes us *conscious* of the grant of justification, which we, in common with the whole family of man possess, quite irrespectively of our faith. Faith simply reveals to us the existence of a privilege which belongs to us as human beings.

Hence when S. Paul tells us that GOD's gift of Righteousness is "unto and upon all that *believe*," the Bishop expounds the passage by the assurance that "the fact that those who *believe* receive the gift of Righteousness, cannot be understood to exclude from it all those who do *not* believe;" (p. 86,) and finally interprets the Apostle's words to declare that "the justification here spoken of extends to *all*, to those who have never heard the Name of CHRIST, and who cannot have exercised a living faith in CHRIST, as well as to Christians," (p. 85.)

Those then who believe in CHRIST, and those who disbelieve in Him, are equally justified; the only difference being, that the former are conscious of their justification, the latter know it not. And hence, he insists that the fact of the allowed justification of those who have faith—that is, (so he explains it) "who have the blessedness of *knowing* that they are justified, and so have peace with GOD"—this fact "does not exclude the case of the mass of humankind who are not yet privileged to know this, but of whom the Apostle distinctly speaks as sharers in the gift of Righteousness" (p. 93). In like manner, he tells us that when S. Paul specially speaks of GOD justifying any—as Abraham, or others—(words which certainly appear, at first sight, to *imply* that He does not justify all)—the Apostle merely "means that He justifies them in their own *consciences*, brings home to them consciously the gift of Righteousness."

And just as *faith* is, in no sense, an instrumental means on man's part for receiving any gift from GOD, but merely a faculty which makes us conscious of a gift of which we have been always partakers; so is *Baptism*, in no sense, an instrumental means on GOD's part for communicating justification, or in fact any gift whatever, but simply a naked sign and outward expression of certain gifts otherwise received.
[112]
The Bishop shall speak for himself.

Thus he informs us, at p. 9, that when our LORD said to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of GOD,"

> "Nicodemus in point of fact *was* already thus born again, thus born from above; he had already received the second spiritual birth, though he did not know it."

In like manner he tells us that "circumcision, *like Baptism*, was a *sign*, appointed by GOD to declare and ratify the grace *already given*," (p. 101.) Again, ch. vi. ver. 3, "Know ye not that we who were baptized into CHRIST JESUS were baptized into His Death"—"that is," (adds the Bishop,) "were *declared* by our Baptism to have a share in His Death;" "were declared" (as he elsewhere adds) "to have a share in the Death unto sin, as our portion in our LORD'S own Life and Death, *which was given us from the first moment of our existence*, and of which our Baptism therefore is *not* the *efficient agent*, but the *declaration*, the sign and the seal," (p. 148.)

And again, on the passage, "If any man have not the Spirit of CHRIST, he is none of His," he tells us that

> "the words are not intended to imply that some men have the Spirit of CHRIST, and some not, any more than the words addressed to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born again,' &c., implied that some men were thus born again and others not, or that *he* needed at some future time to be born again, and was not so born already."—P. 186.

And once again:

> "Christians are said to be 'adopted,' declared, avouched to be the children of GOD, receiving each for himself personally in Baptism a formal *outward sign* of ratification of that adoption which they *shared already, independently of the sign, with the whole race.*"—P. 220.

And thus we have the Church's doctrine of Holy Baptism flatly and categorically denied. We are instructed that the Church teaches falsely, when she tells us that, "being by nature children of wrath," are *by Baptism* made children of grace:" seeing that, so far from our being therein *made* members of CHRIST, children of GOD, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, we were all this from the very moment of our birth. Hence, the only admissible interpretation of our LORD's words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," is, *Every one* shall be saved, whether he believeth and is baptized, or not. Hence too, we find S. Paul's words, "By one Spirit we are *baptized* into one Body," presumptuously contradicted; inasmuch as we are taught that we belong to this 'one Body' *before* we are 'baptized into it.' We are members of the mystical Body of CHRIST by nature; our union with Him dates from the first moment of our existence. "We have already died [113] to sin, and risen again unto righteousness in our very birth-hour, by that mysterious union with CHRIST our Head, which we *all* enjoy *as members of the great human family*," (p. 136). "What He our Head did, that, we the members of His Body share in—we, the *whole brotherhood of man*, we, the *whole race* whose nature He took upon Him."

We have thus then seen that, according to the system of theology wherewith the infant Church in Natal is being perverted from the Faith of CHRIST, GOD's gift of Righteousness is utterly independent, not only of faith, but also of baptism; and that the grants of justification and regeneration belong alike to every child of Adam.

But as we have glanced at the Bishop's teaching on one of the great Sacraments, let us examine, for a moment, his teaching on the other also.

> "The Body and Blood of CHRIST," he tells us, " are represented to us by the Elements." "'These things are set forth to us in that Holy Sacrament as the source of all Life—as the great Provision of our FATHER'S Love—of which every man everywhere is partaker, though he may not know what the WORD made Flesh has done for the children of men. But in the Holy Supper, these things are brought vividly before us by the outward and visible sign of them: and we are called more closely and deeply to consider them, and to feed upon them in our hearts by faith."—P. 137.

And the heresy of a merely shadowy, pictorial Eucharist is repeated and expanded in a sermon on the Holy Eucharist, on the text, S. John vi. 51, printed at the close of the present volume, preached, we grieve to say, before the Bishop's candidates for Ordination: the general teaching of which we shall best exhibit by an extract or two.

"The Holy Eucharist," he tells us,

> "is a *sign* and pledge to us of that eating and drinking of CHRIST's Body and Blood . . . which is carried on within us by every act of true faith which we exercise upon the Life and Death of our risen LORD, as *really*, and *truly*, and *in the very same kind of way*, as when we meet together at His command, and eat the Bread and drink the Wine in remembrance of Him. Beware then, brethren, of attaching a superstitious meaning to the Holy Sacrament, and fancying that our LORD is present to us more really, when we eat and drink at His Holy Table, than He is when we are privileged to have communion with Him *at any other time*, and in *any other manner*—as

> if, by partaking of the consecrated Bread and Wine, we are made, in some mysterious way, more truly partakers of CHRIST's Body and Blood, than we are by *any other act off living faith*."—P. 301.

And again:

> "As I do not feel, so would I not speak lightly of the dignity of that Holy Feast, [!] to which our LORD invites us. . . .Yet still, as I have said before, so say I now again, the bread which we then break, the [114] cup which we then bless . . . are *visible signs* to us of that communication with Him which is daily supporting our spirit's life . . . .The food which is then supplied us . . . is the *same* as that which we may trust to receive at *all times*, according to our need when diligently treading the path of Christian duty. . . . Yes, brethren, our LORD is always present with us—as *really* and *truly* present—and in the *very same kind of way*, in the midst of our every-day duties, as when on some High Festival we gather together round His Board and keep the Feast at his command."—P. 301, 2.

> "Let this be the use we make of the Holy Eucharist"—to approach It—"*not* in the hope of realising in some ineffable, extraordinary way, the Presence of our LORD, as *we do not at other times*. But let us come to it, as the appointed means for *keeping us in mind* of that far more awful but withal cheering mystery of the Real Presence of our LORD with us *at all times*." P. 305.

And *this* is the miserable heresy with which the poor candidates for Orders are poisoned at the very moment of their entering upon their sacred ministerial functions. The solemn teaching of our LORD and His Apostles, and of the whole Catholic Church of Christ in all climes and all ages, defiantly set at nought, to make room for a theory of yesterday, the solitary recommendation of which is that it approves itself to the individual mind of the Bishop of Natal. We commend this case to the serious attention of all supporters of the Propagation Society, and to all who have the interests of our Colonial Church at heart. But we must proceed.

After what has been written above, it will cause our readers no surprise that this false teacher absolutely denies the doctrine of our LORD's Atonement and Propitiatory Death. It concerns him not, again, that he has the "Holy Church throughout all the world" against him, and that his teaching is in palpable antagonism with the formularies of that branch of the Church through which he has received his commission, and in whose name he presumes to put forth his private fancies. If the Church holds not with him, so much the worse for the Church.

"Once for all," he writes,

> "let it be stated distinctly, that there is not a single passage in the whole of the New Testament which supports the dogma of modern theology that our LORD died for our sins, in the sense of dying *instead* of us, dying *in our place*, or dying so as to bear the *punishment* or *penalty* of our sins."—P. 115.

Now in reply to this twofold misrepresentation which denies (1) that our LORD died instead of us; and (2) that He died to bear the punishment due for our sins; we have simply to ask

(1) What is the meaning of our LORD's own words '[Greek]' (S. Matt. xx. 28;[1] S. Mark x. 45[2])? Here we have the very preposition [Greek], on the non-use of which the Bishop

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[1] ϕ **'**Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'

[2] ϕ 'For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'

appears to rest the [115] whole of his argument, emphatically employed by our LORD Himself, as expressive of the vicarious character of His precious Death. And with regard to the Bishop's further assertion that the preposition [Greek], which is ordinarily employed in reference to the bearing of our LORD's death upon ourselves, is "*never* in any single instance" used in the sense of "in our stead," or to convey the idea of substitution, we have but to ask how he translates the clause in the Epistle to Philemon, [Greek] (v.13)[1] where [Greek] must inevitably have this meaning? And any careful examination of the passages in the New Testament where it occurs, will convince a candid and unprejudiced inquirer how very frequently this its secondary sense must necessarily be included in and united with its more strict and primary meaning of "on behalf of," or "for the advantage of."[2]

And (2) with respect to the additional misrepresentation of the Bishop that there is no single passage of the New Testament which supports the modern (?) dogma that our LORD died "so as to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins;" we should like to hear his exposition of such passages as the following: "CHRIST was once *offered* to *bear the sins* of many" (Heb. ix. 28); "He His Own Self bare our sins in His Own Body on the tree" (1 S. Pet. ii. 24);"CHRIST suffered for sins ([Greek]—the expression peculiarly appropriated to the "sin-offerings" and offerings of expiation) the just for the unjust" (1 S. Pet. iii. 18); "CHRIST hath appeared to put away sins by the sacrifice of Himself" (Heb. ix. 26): for "the LORD hath *laid on Him the iniquities* of us all." As in like manner, we read that "CHRIST *gave Himself* for our sins;" that "He tasted death for every man;" that "we were redeemed with the precious Blood of CHRIST as of a Lamb without blemish;" that He "our Passover was *sacrificed* for us;" that He is the "LAMB of GOD that taketh away the sins of the world;" that He is the "Propitiation for our sins," &c. But we need not proceed: for if language of this character is not intended to convey to us the idea that our LORD's sufferings were the consequence of our *sins*, and that the punishment which He, as the Great Sin-bearer endured was that which *our* iniquities had merited; that in the words of Isaiah, "His wounds" were the consequence of "our sins," "His bruises" of "our iniquities," and that " the chastisement" which was "laid upon Him," "whereby our peace was effected," was that which was due to ourselves—then it is vain to look for meaning from language of the most plain and unambiguous kind.

For what purpose then, we ask, *did* our Blessed Lord die? What [116] awful necessity was there that the Blood of GOD Incarnate should be spilt? He died, answers the Bishop, because He was a *Man*. That is all. "He paid that debt, which, if He really came to be a true member of the race, a true brother man, He was bound, as any one of us, to pay." Death, it is true, has, in the case of ourselves, some connection with sin. But in His case, death has no connection with "sin," or with any idea of "a curse," in regard either to Himself or others. Because His sinful brethren must die, therefore it pleased Him, though without sin, to pass through their experience.

> "If He came to be made like unto His brethren, it was needful that He should die. And death, though to us the consequence of sin, has *no necessary connection with sin*. . .To Him death was, *what it is to us* now, the painful passage for a human being out of this life to another, *without any shadow of the curse to darken it.*"—P. 133.

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[1] ϕ 'Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel'

[2] See a notable example in 2 Cor. v. 14; where S. Paul reminds us that "One died for all" ([Greek], not only, "on behalf of," but "*instead of* all"), and that "therefore *all died*" ([Greek]). His Death was a vicarious and representative one: it was the Death of *all* in One. The forfeit life of humanity was paid in Him. Cf. also 1 Tim. ii. 6, where S. Paul combines [Greek] and [Greek].

We have only indignantly to ask, Does Holy Scripture, or does it not, emphatically state that our adorable LORD "was made *sin* ([Greek]) for us;" not merely "a sin offering," but SIN in the abstract—the great Representative of *Sin*? (2 Cor. v. 21.) And does it not further tell us that, as such, He became "a curse ([Greek]) for us;" that is, not merely accursed, but Himself a very CURSE? (Gal. iii.13.) Insomuch that He, the all Holy, all Blessed One, "bearing our sins in His own Body," laden with the "iniquities of us all," suffering as the great antitypical Sin-offering "without the camp," became for us the very impersonation of the *Curse* and *Sin*; and mankind, summed up in Him, sinful and accursed, paid through Him the penalty, and endured the curse which was its due, and thus was liberated from the curse: the curse being overcome by a Curse, sin by Sin, and death by Death.

And yet we are to be taught by one of our "Fathers in GOD" that our LORD's Death had no more significance than that of any other child of Adam—had no connection with "sin" or with "the curse" but was merely "the painful passage for a human being out of this life to another!" May GOD have mercy on a Church whose Chief Pastor so miserably perverts the doctrine of CHRIST!

We have said that the Bishop's Commentary often exhibits an accurate mastery of the original text. But this, only in cases where the Apostle's statements do not conflict with his private theories. In such instances the Bishop manifests a capability of obscuring and perverting the meaning of S. Paul, truly marvellous.

A notable example occurs in the celebrated passage, Rom. iii. 21—26; in which the Apostle, after speaking of "the Righteousness of GOD"—a righteousness which, though appertaining to GOD only, is yet, through the Propitiatory Redemption of CHRIST, imputed and imparted to all believers—proceeds to show how that this propitiation has vindicated and manifested GOD's *justice*, both [117] in His prætermission of past sins, and in His remission of present sins. GOD'S [Greek], or passing by of sins in former times, and his plenary forgiveness of them now, are both seen, in the light of the Cross, to be compatible with the most strict righteousness. In the former case justice was not dormant; it was only suspended. The Mystery is now cleared up. Mercy and Truth have met: Righteousness and Peace have embraced. Forgiveness is proclaimed; but, forgiveness *through Propitiation*. Justice is tremendously vindicated, and yet the sinner is released.

Thus there has been an [Greek] of GOD'S Righteousness. And this [Greek] which the Apostle declares to have been *necessary*, "on account of GOD having in His forbearance passed by the sins of former times" ([Greek])—and necessary also to explain the fact of GOD being able to "justify," without compromise of His "justice"—was none other than "GOD setting forth His SON to be a Propitiation by (the shedding of) His Blood."

To go through the Bishop's obscure and elaborate exposition of this passage, which extends over twelve pages (pp. 82—95,) is beside our purpose—first, because our space does not admit of it; and secondly, because we are quite unable to see the drift of it. We only notice the warning he gives to his readers. He admonishes them that the words "that GOD might be just, and yet the justifier," &c.,

> "are often explained to mean that GOD does not lightly treat sin: but, if He reconciles to Himself our fallen race, it is only by sending His dear SON to suffer in our stead. Thus, it is said, He vindicates His ways, and is able to be just, and yet the justifier of him that believes in JESUS."—P. 94.

But this interpretation he entirely rejects. "This," he says, "is *not at all* the Apostle's meaning." The expression "GOD is just" here merely signifies that He is "righteous" or "faithful in respect of His promises made of old to the Jewish race." And the particular respect wherein this justice or faithfulness needed vindication was, that whereas the

promise was only made to "Abraham and his seed," it really included every child of man. True, the Apostle *says* that the promise appertains to "those who *believe*; but he *means* that it belongs to all men *absolutely*, whether they believe or not. We repeat, however, that we are unable to follow the thread of this obscure exposition. We therefore simply add the Bishop's rendering of the verses and pass on.

> "But now, apart from law, the righteousness of GOD has been manifested, being witnessed of by the Law and the Prophets: I mean the righteousness of GOD through faith in JESUS CHRIST, unto all and upon all them that believe. For there is no distinction. For all sin, [118] and come short of the glory of GOD, being made righteous freely through His grace, through the redemption which is in CHRIST JESUS; Whom GOD hath set forth, a propitiation through faith in His Blood, unto the showing forth of His righteousness, with a view to the remission of bygone sins during the forbearance of GOD,—for the showing forth of His righteousness in the present season, to the effect of His being righteous, and making righteous him who is of the faith of JESUS."

We note with pain that, in chap. ix. ver. 3, the Bishop rejects the interpretation adopted by the unanimous voice of the ancient Church, acquiesced in by well-nigh the entire bulk of orthodox and trustworthy commentators of modern times, and apparently necessitated by the arrangement of the words, and the rules of grammar, which refers the clause [Greek], to *Christ*, of whom the Apostle is speaking in the immediate context; and regards them as an isolated and independent doxology addressed to GOD the FATHER. His professed reasons for this uncatholic interpretation are most unsatisfactory, and may be found ably refuted by anticipation in Alford's or Wordsworth's note. We notice this with the greater regret, as in another important passage he deliberately rejects the Orthodox for the Arian interpretation. Having occasion to refer to the words "I and My FATHER are One," he appends the following unworthy comment:—

> "Our LORD was not then speaking *at all* of His substantial unity with the FATHER, but *only* of His unity of Will and Word." [As though this mysterious declaration did not necessarily embrace *both* of these two great truths; His unity of Will and Word being but the outcoming and manifestation of His Substantial unity with the FATHER]. "The expression sounded to the Jews as if He were taking higher ground than any mere man might take. . . . And yet in truth He *did not*, and *did not intend to do so* by these words, but *only* to express that His Mind was wholly one with the Mind of His Eternal FATHER, Who had sanctified Him and sent Him into the world."—P. 17.

Now far be it from us to lay a charge of Arianism against the Bishop, on the ground of these his heretical interpretations: such a charge would be eminently unjust. We merely adduce them as showing how untrustworthy and dangerous an expositor he is, and how entirely unfit to be the theological instructor of others.

His contempt for the teaching of the Church seems to be unbounded. Nay, and if his language be weighed, we think it will appear that he has just as little real reverence for the Holy Scriptures also—whensoever, that is, they do not express his own private opinions. True, he does not infrequently declare his mind on this important subject: but his incidental remarks are too significant to be passed by wholly without notice.
[119]
Thus, in allusion to S. Paul's assertion that Death came into the world as a consequence of sin, he takes occasion to notice the indications of death in the lower creation anterior to the time of Adam, (a matter, by the way, wholly irrelevant: the mystery being the death of a being created in the image of GOD,) and thus patronisingly speaks of the Apostle:—

> "It is possible that S. Paul entertained this notion himself, of all death having come into the world by sin. For we have no reason to expect that scientific knowledge of any kind, beyond that of the people of his age, in a Scripture writer. It is not in this way, by securing an historian,

> a prophet, an Evangelist, or Apostle from all errors of detail in matters either of science or of *fact* (*!*), that the power of the Divine Spirit is exhibited in Scripture.". . . . "In all such matters," he proceeds to add, "the books of the Holy Scriptures must be tested by the ordinary rules which critical sagacity would apply to *any other* (*!*) *human* compositions. So it is quite possible S. Paul may have entertained the erroneous notion so common among the best Christians within the memory of the present generation."—P. 122.

Again, he thus speaks of S. Paul's argument at the beginning of Rom. vii., "The wife is bound by the law to her husband," &c.

> "The Apostle's meaning is sufficiently plain; but there is here a *little confusion* in the statement of his argument. He has changed inadvertently the line of thought which he was pursuing in the first verse."—P. 160.

So, with regard to the quotation, Rom. xv. 3, "The reproaches of them that reproached Thee fell upon Me:"—

"S. Paul," he tells us,

> "quotes it in his usual way, merely as illustrating the self-sacrificing, sympathising spirit of our LORD's life, without recalling distinctly to his mind to whom the pronoun 'Thee' pointed."—P. 278.

> "It is worth remembering," he elsewhere adds, "that so long an Epistle as that to the Romans could not have been written at one sitting, and probably required several. This will account for S. Paul not taking up the thread of the argument, in some places, exactly as he left it."—P. 291.

It is needless to observe that in passages of this character, all idea of an objective Inspiration—of the Inspiring Spirit being the real Author of the Sacred Books, and the inspired penmen but the human agents through whose co-operative instrumentality the Divine Word, historical, didactic, doctrinal, prophetic, was translated into human language, and communicated to the Church—is virtually denied; and the human writers regarded as the real *authors* of those Books which the Church has ever held to be the written Word of GOD.

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But, in truth, neither the voice of the Church, nor the voice of the Bible are to this writer any decisive authority. The only authority which he will acknowledge is the inward light—the light of his own fallen, fallible conscience and intellect.

> "By that light within us," he writes, "the acts of the Church, the proceedings and decisions of her Fathers and councils, *the writings of Prophets and Apostles*, the *words recorded to have been uttered by our Blessed Lord Himself* (*!*) must be tried. . . . To the man himself there is but *one* lawgiver. He that sitteth upon the Throne has set His own Law to be the Law of Life within the heart of every man. Whatever contradicts that Law, whether it be the word of man, or *the dictum of the Church*, or the supposed *teaching of Holy Scripture*, cannot, *ought not*, to be a Law for him . . . No seeming authority of the Church, or Scripture, *ought* to persuade a man to believe *anything* which contradicts that moral Law, that sense of righteousness and purity, and truth and love, which GOD'S own finger has written on his heart,'—Pp. 209, 210.

These last extravagantly misleading and mischievous words occur in a treatise on the Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, parenthetically introduced into the Commentary, in which the Bishop sets himself elaborately to explain away the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Universal Church on that momentous subject. (Pp. 195—219.)

We have no space to follow the Bishop in his discussion of this theme. We feel bound, however, to say that he writes with the utmost seriousness and tenderness; and that in his denunciations of the unchristian exaggerations of those who wish to condemn the entire heathen world to everlasting perdition, we heartily agree with him. Where he contents

himself again with urging, with Mr. Archer Gurney and others, the apparent necessity of some state of corrective punishment hereafter for those justified ones who yet require to be beaten with "few stripes," and the possibility that such are aided by the prayers of the faithful on earth—here, from much of his reasoning we can find no cause to dissent. But when we find ourselves called upon to reject the teaching of the whole Catholic Church from the very first, and the plain, stern, unambiguous utterance of Holy Scripture; here, we start back, and reject the seductive tones of the deceiver.

There is nothing new in the Bishop's objections against the doctrine of the everlasting duration of the punishment of the lost. We are told that "Eternal" does not mean "endless." No. But who dare affirm that endless duration is not *one element* in the wide-embracing meaning of that mysterious word? Does not S. Paul in one place assume the necessary existence of that element in the word, by bringing it out into special notice? [Greek] (2 Cor. iv. 18.)

"If the *Life* be eternal (says S. Chrysostom, speaking in special [121] reference to endless *perpetuity*), the punishment is likewise eternal." (Hom. xxv. in Ep. ad Rom.)

And S. Augustine:

> "Si *utrumque* 'æternum;' profecto, aut *utrumque cum fine diuturnum*, aut *utrumque sine fine perpetuum* debet intelligi. Paria enim relata sunt; hinc 'supplicium æternum,' inde 'vita æterna.' Dicere autem in hoc uno eodemque sensu 'vita æterna' sine fine erit, 'supplicium æternum' finem habebit, multum absurdum est. Unde quia 'vita æterna' Sanctorum *sine fine* erit, 'supplicium' quoque 'æternum' quibus erit, *finem* procul dubio *non habebit*." (De civ. Dei, xxi. 3.)

Now, we may argue as we will: we may *wish* as we will; we cannot evade the terrible force of these plain simple declarations of Holy Writ. To say that, in such words as these—"Good had it been for that man if he had not been born;" or, "their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," (S. Mark ix. 43-48), where our LORD asserts five times consecutively, with terrible emphasis, the unquenchable nature of the fire reserved for the lost; or, "they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever"—to say that, in these and kindred denunciations of Holy Writ, we are *meant* to discern one single ray of comfort, or to gather from them any thought of a possible termination to that dreadful woe to which they introduce us, appears to us a mere reckless sporting with sacred mysteries, a presumptuous intrusion into things not seen, a wanton trifling with the souls of those, to alarm whom these appalling disclosures were made by the Loving Spirit of GOD.

But no, teaches the Bishop of Natal, the doctrine of endless punishment *cannot* be true, *whatever* be the teaching of the Church, or of the Apostles, or of our LORD Himself, because it contradicts that higher Law and Instinct within us. As though we, poor, feeble creatures, with spiritual perceptions darkened, with our moral sense impaired, had any faculties wherewith to test the claims of an Infinite Holiness, or to measure the heinousness or deserts of wilful unrepented sin.

But herein lies the cardinal error of the Bishop's theology—his inadequate appreciation of the guilt of *Sin*. He measures it by his own faulty notions of its malignity, and not by the awful standards of the Cross. All his false theories have their origin in this—his taking a human not a Divine estimate of sin; his false theories respecting Justification, Atonement, the means of Grace, and Eternal Judgment.

Read our LORD's burning words of terror at the close of the 9th Chapter of S. Mark; and then note the easy way in which the Bishop speaks of death and judgment, even in the case of the *wilfully* impenitent.

"It is the Devil," he writes,

> the Slanderer, the Accuser of GOD and [122] the Brethren, who teaches us to connect the idea of a curse with death." And he takes care to assure us that he is not speaking only of those who are in CHRIST, for whom death hath lost its sting; but that, even those
>
> > "who have been *consciously* keeping back the truth in unrighteousness *all their lives*, and have died *hardened and impenitent* . . . even to *such* as these, death itself has no curse attached to it. It is but the gate through which their LORD and Master calls them to Him, that He may pass the righteous sentence of His Love upon them—that is, that He who knows exactly what they are, in consequence of what they have done, may appoint for them that lot, that degree of *purifying chastisement* which they need." P. 147.

We have thus furnished our readers with a few samples of the teaching with which the nascent Church in South Africa is being poisoned and corrupted in its infancy. We can only utter our most solemn and emphatic protest against such miserable perversions of the doctrine of CHRIST. If every individual Bishop is to be permitted to invent a private system of theology for himself, to accept just as much of the Catholic Faith as commends itself to his own intellect, and to reject the rest, what is to become of the Sacred Deposit which the Church is commissioned to preserve, and hand down whole and entire?

We are convinced that this is not a case to be trifled with, and that, if there is a vestige of discipline remaining in the Anglican Communion, (and if not, she has forfeited one of the claims to be a part of the Catholic Church of CHRIST,) this heretical Bishop must be called upon to give an account of his teaching, to retract his errors, or to be degraded from his office.

If a Bishop is at liberty, by a licentious exercise of private opinion, to throw to the winds the solemn teaching of that Holy Catholic Church, of which he is the divinely appointed representative, and to promulgate his own visionary fancies in its place, what are to become of the souls of the sheep committed to his charge?

Bishop Colenso is destitute of that which is the very first essential in a Christian Bishop—reverence for the authority of the Church. The consequence will be, that we must either have the Church of Natal in open mutiny—the faithful Priests (as GOD give them grace to do!) boldly repudiating the heresies of their Bishop; or see a promising branch of the LORD's Vine pine and sicken and wither, from the deadly canker of false doctrine.

Durham University

Appendix C Part 2

to *The Life, Works and Enduring Significance of the Revd. John Bacchus Dykes MA., Mus.Doc.: A Critical Re-appraisal*
Ph.D. Thesis by Graham Cory

Writings in Theology, Ecclesiology & Musicology

by John Bacchus Dykes

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NATURAL AND SUPERNATURAL LIFE

A SERMON

PREACHED IN

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF DURHAM

on

ASH-WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1859.

BY

JOHN B. DYKES, M.A.,

PRECENTOR OF DURHAM.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST

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MDCCCLIX

[The following Sermon was written without the slightest idea of publication, and the writer is fully sensible of the slender claims it possesses. He has merely to urge, that the request that he would give it a more permanent form, was of such a character that he did not feel himself justified in disregarding it. He has made a few unimportant verbal alterations, and added an occasional brief note. He humbly commends it, with its many imperfections, to the Mercy of GOD.]

Durham, March 18, 1859.

[3]A SERMON

S. JOHN XVI. 16.

"A LITTLE WHILE, AND YE SHALL NOT SEE ME:
AND AGAIN A LITTLE WHILE, AND YE SHALL SEE ME."

This enigmatical saying of our Blessed LORD perplexed His disciples. And no marvel. As in the case of so many of the utterances of Him Who "spake as never man spake," we have to *search* for its meaning.

The particular point of the saying our English version somewhat misses, by its not reproducing the significant *change* of expression which characterises the two members of the sentence.

We might, perhaps, render our LORD'S words thus: "A little while, and ye shall not *see* Me: and again a little while, and ye shall *behold* Me."[1]

The disciples cannot comprehend the saying. "What is this that He saith: 'A little while, and ye shall not *see* Me; and again, a little while and ye shall *behold* Me:' and, 'Because I go to the FATHER' (in allusion to a former statement of our [4] LORD?[2]) What is this that He saith? We cannot tell what He saith."

"JESUS knew that they were desirous to ask Him, and said unto them, Do ye inquire among yourselves of that I said, A little while, and ye shall not see Me: and again, a little while, and ye shall behold Me? Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned to joy;" for "I will see you (rather, '*behold* you,')[3] again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you."

It is evident, then, not only from the passage itself, but also from an examination of the general usage of its two characteristic words in other parts of the New Testament, that our LORD is referring to two distinct orders or spheres of vision; the one natural, the other supernatural.

"A little while, and ye shall not *see* Me." For I shall be removed from your bodily sight. Ye shall mourn My loss: though the world shall rejoice thereat. But though 'sorrowful,' ye shall not the less be 'always rejoicing.' "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy." For a *new* range of sight shall be opened out to you. "The eyes of your [5] understanding shall be enlightened." Ye shall be endowed with new faculties, whereby ye shall be enabled to "see Him Who is invisible;" and enjoy a more real and glorious *spiritual* vision of Him Who is, in 'a little while,' to be removed from your bodily gaze. Nor shall ye behold Me, as ye may even now by faith behold My FATHER, in *Heaven*. For I Myself will come to you upon *earth*, in a new

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1 [Greek]

2 See verse 10. [Greek] According to the most reliable MS. authority, the words, "Because I go to the FATHER," do not recur (as in our Version) in the 16th verse.

3 [Greek] We should rather have expected [Greek] — "*ye* shall behold *Me*." Our LORD'S word, however, merely presents a deeper view of the same Truth. Our beholding CHRIST, is the consequence of His first beholding us. He looks on us, and thereby enables us to look on Him.

and mysterious way, and will dwell in the midst of you; and ye shall dwell in Me. I will come and behold you; and ye shall behold Me.

That this is the real bearing of our Blessed LORD'S words, is further plain from another parallel saying: "A little while, and the *world* seeth Me no more; but *ye* see Me: because I live, ye shall live also."[1] Here, our LORD teaches, that the spiritual *sight* of Himself to be enjoyed by His people, is the consequence of a spiritual *life* communicated to them from Himself — a life depending [6] on, and continuous as, His own Blessed Life. "Ye shall see Me: *because I live, ye shall live also*."

Thus then we read of two orders of vision, natural and supernatural, dependent upon, and resulting from two orders of *life*, — natural and supernatural. The subject is a familiar one; but one which may perhaps suggest a few profitable thoughts at this penitential season, when we are called upon by the Church to consider the mutual bearing of these two lives, the one upon the other; to examine, each in his own case, how far Grace is transforming nature, or being marred and impeded by nature — how far the Spirit is moulding and subduing, or being subdued by, the flesh — how far "the corruptible body" is aiding, or "pressing down, the soul."

The new *Vision*, we have seen, is no isolated and independent endowment, but one of the consequences of a new *life* inbreathed, and a new range of faculties opened out.

It is important to observe how uniformly this idea of a New Life — a New Creation, after a supernatural order, pervades the whole of the New Testament. No sooner does our LORD begin to unfold the "Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven," than He hastens at once to enunciate this fundamental truth, so incomprehensible to natural reason — that men already born must be born *again* — must undergo a *New* Birth; that there must be a new Creation after an entirely new order — not of 'flesh,' but of 'Spirit.' "Marvel not that I said unto you, ye must be born again."

Let us look, too, at the very commencement of our Blessed LORD'S parabolic teaching. Here we shall find the same mystery figuratively shadowed [7] out. How apt and beautiful is the first illustration of this cardinal truth vouchsafed in His first parable of the '*Sower.*' Here he instructs us that the regeneration of mankind can be affected by no possible process of natural education; by no laborious development of the powers and faculties which man inherits from his first fallen Parent, who is "of the earth, earthy;" but only by the introduction into him, from *without*, of a New Divine Element, an energetic and fructifying Principle — the seminal Word — which again must be consciously entertained and cherished by man on his part, in order that the renovating and transforming effects of which it is capable may be fully and permanently realized within him.

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[1] S. John xiv. 19. In this verse, it will be observed, the verb *θεωρέω* expresses both orders of vision. But here the antithesis is otherwise marked; viz., by the words '*ye*' and '*the world.*' The emphasis does not lie, as in the other case, upon the *nature* of the vision, but upon the *subjects* of it; our LORD'S words merely teaching, that in respect to the *sight* of Himself, as in other matters, an important distinction separates *His people* from *the world.* The former would be able to see Him even after He was gone: the latter would see Him no more. It is of course obvious that these predictions of our LORD'S re-appearance to His own, embrace His transitional manifestations of Himself to His disciples (not to the world) after His Resurrection; as they also point to His final re-appearance in Glory when His elect shall "see Him as He is." Still, it is not the less plain that the central and principal reference of the passages (and, at least, that which most concerns ourselves) is the one given in the Sermon.

Very instructive, and very important for our present purpose, is our LORD'S explanation of this Divine Seed. You will remember that He gives to the emblem two distinct and apparently contradictory interpretations.

(1.) He first tells us that the "Seed is the Word of God" — that everlasting Word (namely) which dwelt in the bosom of the FATHER, and "was made man," in order that it might become communicable to man.

Yes, my Brethren, this is the Divine Word which the Great Sower, by Himself and His earthly fellow-labourers, is ever disseminating. He is ever sowing *Himself*. All his various Self-communications to man are included under this comprehensive expression. Whether we allude to the initial germ of the regenerate nature imparted in Holy Baptism; or to the Word of God written; or the Word preached; or the Word secretly uttered and brought [8] home to the heart in GOD'S Providential visitations; or to the great Self-communication of the 'Word made Flesh,' in the Holy Eucharist. In all these cases 'the Seed' is still 'the Word of God.' 'The Sower soweth the Word.' And this Holy Thing, this Sacred Seed, meets with various fortunes and issues, according to the measure of its entertainment in the hearts of the children of men.

(2.) But our LORD immediately proceeds to add a second explanation of this emblem. 'The Seed,' (He tells us), "The good Seed, are the *children of the Kingdom.*" Those who were just now the *soil* into which the seed falls, are not the *Seed itself*. Most instructive and significant is the apparent change of figure.

The good seed sinks into the genial soil. By its own self-developing energy it begins to swell and expand. It puts forth its fibres and feelers. It attracts and absorbs the soil into its own being, assimilates it to itself.. The soil is gradually taken up and made one with the Seed: it becomes a part of the plant. That which was once just now inert, barren earth, had, through the agency of the seed, been transformed into a living, breathing organism. The soil has been 'born again' through the Seed. "Old things are passed away: all things are become new." The soil has been taken up into a new and higher order of life. There is a New Creation.

And what do we see in all this but a picture of the regenerate Christian who is "born again not of corruptible Seed but of incorruptible, by the Word of GOD."

We have already learnt that the Divine Seed, as [9] to its ultimate being and essence, is none other than our LORD JESUS CHRIST — the Second Adam — the New Origin of a new race — the 'Word made flesh' — GOD revealed and made communicable to man — the Word "by Whom we are born again" — the "engrafted Word which is able to save our souls" — the Word of God, which "effectually worketh in them that believe." And herein (as S. Paul reminds us) consists the characteristic 'mystery' of the New Dispensation which is "*Christ in us*."[1] — CHRIST working with us, dwelling in us, and taking us up to dwell in Him. Yes, my Brethren, such is the Holy Seed whereby we have all, "who have been baptized into CHRIST," been once impregnated. But if the Seed by CHRIST; such also (after its measure) must be the new Plant growing therefrom; which is "renewed after the Image of Him Who hath created It."

Now many and various are the modes in which this Mystery of the New Creation — the New *Man* sprung forth from the New *Seed* — is brought before us in Holy Scripture: doubtless for

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[1] 1 Coloss. i. 27. Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Know ye not. . . how that CHRIST JESUS is *in you*, except ye be reprobates?"

the purpose of guarding so sacred a Truth from the misconceptions to which, were it expressed in one way only, it would be so peculiarly liable.
At times the New Birth of the Christian seems almost disregarded and unnoticed: and he appears to be spoken of solely in relation to his *natural* birth — as the corrupt offspring of a fallen parent. Then, he is the 'wretched man,' the 'chief of sinners:' 'evil is ever present with him:' to 'do good' he is [10] powerless: there dwells in him 'no good thing:' 'there is no health in him:' he is 'shapen in iniquity;' 'carnal, sold under sin.'

At other times the Christian is regarded simply and entirely in reference to his New Birth — as a 'member of CHRIST,' as newly created in Him — as possessor of a spiritual and supernatural life. And now we read that, *as such*, and viewed in this light, he 'sinneth not' — he '*cannot* sin:' sprung from the Holy Seed, which is CHRIST, he is essentially and absolutely holy 'even as CHRIST is holy.'

More commonly he is regarded as a complex being; possessed of a kind of double personality; 'born of the flesh,' and yet 'born of the SPIRIT;' naturally engendered of the 'corruptible seed' of the first Adam, supernaturally engendered of the Incorruptible Seed of the Second Adam: sprung from the first man, and yet sprung from the Second; having two existences stirring and struggling within him, his old birth of the flesh in which, and by which, he can 'do no good thing,' his new Birth 'of water and the SPIRIT' (alas! too frequently, never brought to maturity) in which he '*cannot* sin.'

It is needless to remark, how these apparently conflicting, but really most harmonious modes of expression may be perverted from their meaning; how they may be wrested from out of the sphere of truth to which they severally appertain, and in which alone they hold good, and be forced into another, in which they are most false; and may thus be employed (as they ever have been) as foundations of opposite, but equally perilous and unscriptural systems of theology.

I have spoken of a new Birth — a new growth — [11] a new order of being — a new Life. Now it is evident that if this New Life is ever to arrive at maturity, it must be *sustained: it must have* 'nourishment ministered.'

Now Holy Scripture represents this nourishment as twofold — natural and supernatural; coming in the former case from *within* the man, in the latter from *without* him. The new growth seeks sustenance alike from the earth and from heaven.

The Images of the New *Plant* and the New *Man* will furnish us, perhaps, with the clearest conceptions of this two-fold nurture.

I. And first, (to begin with the *external* nourishment), we are taught that the regenerate Christian is, as such, a new *man* — that he has been the subject of a new birth of Spirit — has received the germ of a new *spiritual humanity*, communicated to him from the "*Man* CHRIST JESUS." And this is not mere figure and parable (like the picture of the New 'Plant') but most deep and real, though mysterious, *truth*. "Verily, verily."

To see then how this *new* Humanity is to be sustained, we must ask, How is *natural* man sustained? Sprung as he is from the 'dust' — we find that his nourishment in like manner comes from the 'dust.' It is like himself, "from the earth, earthy." It is composed of the same ultimate elementary particles. It is *consubstantial with himself.*

How then must the New Man be sustained? In like manner. By food *consubstantial with Himself.* But this New Man is 'CHRIST in us' — the 'Second Adam' — the LORD from heaven.' Hence by the 'LORD from heaven' alone can the New Man be supported.
[12]

The new spiritual Birth can be sustained only by new spiritual Food; by that which alone is "Meat *indeed* and Drink *indeed*" — the Flesh and Blood of Incarnate God — the Sacred Manhood of Him Who is called 'a quickening,' or life-imparting 'Spirit' — Who is at once the Seed and the Support of the New Birth.

This All-holy spiritualized Humanity — this "spiritual *Body*" — in which "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead," is the Fountain whence flow all the streams of life to the regenerate nature. "As I live by the FATHER: even so, he that *eateth* Me shall *live by Me.*"

It is interesting here to observe that a *change* precisely analogous to that which passes over the man himself, comes over his natural *food* of bread and wine. *It* is "of the earth, earthy;" and yet, after being breathed over by the energetic Word, is *spiritual* as well as earthy. It receives a "new birth, of Spirit." After the order of *nature*, it is still the very same after Consecration as it was before — bread and wine — the natural food of the natural man — consubstantial with him. But after the 'order of grace,' it has become *something else.* It has become, not figuratively but '*verily* and *indeed*,' the Flesh and Blood of CHRIST — the spiritual support of the New Man, and *consubstantial with Him.*[1]

[13]

The receptive organ whereby the New Man receives, appropriates, assimilates, draws 'virtue' from, this new Food, is Faith. But we must not suppose that the man's faith *makes* the supernatural food. No, the 'LORD'S Body' is there on His Holy Table, whether we are able to 'discern' It, or not — whether our spiritual faculties are active enough to recognize It or not. It is there, by virtue of the energetic Word of Consecration uttered by CHRIST through the mouth of His earthly representatives: It is there, to nourish and vivify those who partake of It worthily; and to condemn those who reject It or partake of It unworthily.

[14]

II. But not from *without* alone, but from *within* also must the New Birth be sustained. The Second Adam within us seeks for earthly as well as heavenly nourishment. It must be fed by *ourselves* as well as by CHRIST. And this important truth we shall find most aptly illustrated (though now, in language avowedly figurative) in the parable already referred to, of the seed and the soil.

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[1] It would seem hardly necessary (were it not for the widespread misapprehension which prevails respecting this Holy Sacrament) to notice a very common misconception, which identifies the doctrine of the Eucharist as stated above, with a shadowy and erroneous theory entitled *consubstantiation*.

Now consubstantiation signifies the combination of two substances into one—a commixture or confusion of substance.

But does the doctrine of the co-existence of the earthly and the [13] heavenly parts in the Sacrament, involve so monstrous a conclusion? By no means.

The Mystery of the Incarnation, which the Church has ever regarded as illustrating, and illustrated by, the parallel Mystery of the Eucharist, at once explains this; and shows us that two substances of different orders may, unconfusedly, co-exist under one subject. Thus, our Blessed LORD, we are taught, is 'GOD of the Substance of the FATHER;' 'Man of the Substance of His Mother;' and yet '*without confusion of substance.*'

And the Holy Eucharist presents an analogous Mystery.

Here, Holy Scripture expressly asserts two truths: 1st, That the Consecrated Elements are, really and truly, 'bread and wine;' and 2nd, That they are really and truly the Flesh and Blood of CHRIST, i.e., that they are at one and the same time the natural food of natural man, and the spiritual Food of the New Man.

Human reason at once objects, "How can these things be?" and proceeds to solve the Mystery in two ways—by denying, first the one side, then the other, of the complex truth. The Romanist denies the reality of the earthly substance after Consecration; the Zuinglian denies the reality of the spiritual substance. The former maintains that the Consecrated Elements are the Body and Blood of CHRIST and *nothing more;* the latter, that they are bread and wine and *nothing more.* Each party equally "makes the Word of GOD of none effect through its traditions."

The nourishment of the new Plant is not celestial only, but terrestrial also. Not the vivifying emanations from the sun; not the dews and breath and gentle rains of heaven alone, can sustain it. It seeks nurture from the earth as well. Without this it will die. And does it duly receive this nurture?

Most solemn is the answer which our LORD'S parable returns to this question — most worthy of our earthly attention: disclosing to us, as it does, the appalling fact, that of the whole number of those who are subjects of the Regenerating Influences of the Word, *three* classes out of the *four* are finally lost. "They bring no fruit to perfection." Nature is never thoroughly penetrated and transformed by grace. They live and die barren and 'unprofitable.'

They give the Word, either *no* conscious entertainment in their hearts, or a *superficial* entertainment, or a *divided* entertainment. They do not offer that personal co-operation — that *real, deep, thorough* co-operation with the grace of GOD which the healthy germination of the new seed demands. They withhold, in whole or in part, *that*, with nothing short of the *entire possession of which* Divine LOVE will be satisfied — the *heart*. And so, the [15] heavenly germ, the new Man, never becomes vigorous and robust: it grows sickly and dwarfed: it loses its vitality: it droops and pines: and the new-born Christian dies the 'second death' — that death from which there is no awakening.

He has entertained CHRIST in his own soul and then crucified Him. He has offended His Infinite Majesty by giving Him but a secondary and subordinate place in his affections. He has given to the world — to the fleeting baubles of earth, its cares, pleasures, allurements, lusts, honours, distinctions; he has given to these and the like cumbering weeds, the richness and fatness of his soul: he has *starved* the new Plant. 'The Spirit of the LORD departs from him.' Satan, the world, and the flesh obtain at last undisputed possession of him. "The ground that beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing: whose end is to be burned."

Here then, my brethren, we arrive at the great practical lesson which the Church presses upon us at this season: the absolute necessity of preparing and examining the heart, and 'keeping it with all diligence,' that it may be enabled to give due admission, retention, and sustenance to the heavenly germ; the necessity of *furrowing* and *opening* it, that it may consciously receive and give entrance 'to the engrafted Word;' the necessity of *deepening* it by penitence and humble confession, and thus of obtaining from GOD that "broken and contrite," that crushed and softened heart, into which the new seed can strike its roots deeply down and receive its proper nutriment; the necessity of *cleansing* and *purging* it of all the noxious 'roots of bitterness' and growths of worldliness which absorb the rich[16]ness of the soil, and prevent the New Man growing to maturity; the paramount necessity of prayer, penitence, self-culture. The heart must be "kept with all diligence," must be opened, deepened, purged, else no advance whatever can be made in holiness and the spiritual life.

My text tells us of a supernatural vision of Himself which our LORD since His Ascension has granted to His Church. But do all members of His Church *enjoy* this vision, and rejoice in the sight of Him Who is "invisible?" Alas! No. "Blessed are the *pure* in heart, for they shall see (shall *behold* [1]) GOD." The supernatural sense, though bestowed upon all who are 'baptized into CHRIST' is yet realized and enjoyed by how few! Because the heart is not yet *purged* and cleansed: the visual organs are not kept healthy and active: the sanctifying SPIRIT is not prayed for, courted, worked with: the earthly affections and appetites are not subdued: the spiritual faculties are not trained, and matured by 'use.'

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[1] [Greek]

I have already reminded you that the spiritual Presence of CHRIST in the Church and the supernatural vision of Him are represented by our LORD as dependent upon the removal of His bodily presence, and the consequent cessation of the *natural sight* of Him. Just as, in our LORD'S address to the Magdalene after His Resurrection, He spoke of the supernatural *touch* of Himself (hereafter to be bestowed in the Blessed Eucharist) as dependent upon His bodily withdrawal, and the consequent cessation of *natural contact:* "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My FATHER."
[17]
I shall not dwell upon the particular meaning of these and similar deep utterances of our LORD; but merely notice them as generally illustrative of this important truth; that nature has, in some way, to retire and make way for grace — that a kind of antagonism now subsists between them, (the consequence of the Fall), and that the presence and activity of the one interferes with the workings of the other. Nature must be brought under, else grace will never triumph. The 'flesh' must be subdued and mastered, else the 'Spirit' will never thrive. The 'old man' must be subjugated and mortified, else the New Man will perish.

And to this point, many other Scriptural antitheses and seeming paradoxes tend. We must 'see not,' and be 'blind,' in order that we may 'see;' be 'empty,' in order that we may be 'full;' 'naked,' that we may be 'clothed;' 'hungry and thirsty,' that we may be 'filled;' 'fools,' that we may be 'wise.' The Christian is to be 'sorrowful,' yet 'always rejoicing;' as the 'sufferings of CHRIST abound' in him, so do his 'consolations' abound; when he is most 'weak,' then is he most 'strong;' he is daily to 'die,' that he may daily 'live;' he is to be 'unknown,' that he may be 'well-known;' 'poor,' he is to 'make many rich;' 'having *nothing*,' he is to 'possess *all things.*"

The great danger with us all is, our sacrificing grace to nature; remaining content with earthly comforts, earthly prosperity, earthly reputation, earthly wisdom, earthly joys; and then being found at the last by GOD "miserable, and wretched, and poor, and blind, and naked."

The Church, like a wise and loving parent, [18] knowing how great our danger is; knowing that it is absolutely necessary for us that nature should be subdued to grace; and that the Spirit must either gain the mastery over the flesh, or yield and die; knowing, too, how distasteful these indispensable duties of self-subjugation and self-discipline are to us all; and that if they are pressed upon us only in general terms, they are well-nigh certain to be neglected, — has appointed certain definite days and seasons, wherein she especially calls upon us to the consideration and *practice* of these duties: nor can we neglect her command without detriment to our spiritual health. *Here,* we may rest assured, as everywhere, the path of humble, self-renouncing, teachable, loving *obedience* is the only path of true safety and true wisdom.

One day in every week the Church commands us to observe as a day of abstinence, in devout remembrance of our dear LORD'S bitter Cross and Passion. Other days she has in like manner set apart for the same purpose, for bodily discipline and penitential exercises, — the Ember days, the Vigils, the Rogation days, and the sacred Season of Lent, upon which we are now entering.

Now we may neglect these injunctions of our Spiritual Mother if we choose — we may repudiate an authority set over us by the LORD, to which "we must needs be subject for conscience' sake" — we may pass unheeded, too, those precepts of our Blessed LORD and Master which enjoin, and give rules for the exercise of, this duty of fasting; and shut our eyes to that part of His All-perfect example which so powerfully illustrates and confirms this teaching: but we cannot do so with impunity: [19] we cannot but be, to a greater or less extent, losers by our self-indulgent disobedience.

Let us but ask ourselves, my Brethren, honestly, in this as in other matters: Am I honouring GOD, and benefiting my own soul and the souls of others, by *obeying* the commands of my Church or by *disobeying* them? I doubt not our conscience will suggest the *true* answer.

Our Church, most wisely, forbears to prescribe the exact nature or extent of the abstinence or fasting she enjoins upon us. Sufficient, that (in conformity with the example and teaching of our LORD and His Apostles and His whole Church) she does enjoin it; and *enjoins it at particular times.* She leaves it for the individual consciences of her children to regulate the precise measure and detail of their conformity to her precept; and to discover, for themselves, the most beneficial mode of fulfilling their obligation. In cases of perplexity she would have counsel sought at the mouth of CHRIST'S Ministers.

But let us remember, Brethren, in conclusion, that these acts of self-discipline, together with all our other religious exercises, are not to be rested in, as possessed of any inherent virtue in *themselves.* They are but means to an end. They are means — *necessary* means — for keeping down that which will otherwise inevitably 'keep down the soul'; means for opening the heart, and preparing it for the due reception and apprehension of the Divine Word; means for deepening the affections, and breaking up our hard stony selfishness, so as to give the Word free scope; means for invigorating the *will*, for keeping under and eradicating all that [20] may impede the growth of the Word, and hinder its renewing and transforming effects. They are means to aid us in maintaining the Presence of CHRIST in the soul, and purging our hearts of anything that may prevail to draw them from Him, and dim our vision of His beauty; means to empty our hearts of self, and fit them for His Gracious Indwelling, that so He may 'make His abode with us,' and take us up into ineffable union with Himself; means for weakening our hold upon this world, that we may cling more lovingly and tenaciously to the realities of the unseen world; for deadening our eyes to earth's fleeting vanities, that we may enjoy the vision of GOD, and be changed, while we gaze, "from glory to glory;" and after faithfully beholding GOD'S 'Presence in Righteousness,' may at last 'awake up after His most Blessed Likeness,' and be eternally '*satisfied*' therewith.

ϕ The Rev. Edward Greatorex, Dykes's successor as precentor, wrote of him that 'His first sermon in the Cathedral (the Precentor being the Preacher on every Ash Wednesday) was spoken of on all sides, as being the production of no ordinary mind, and, both by the Canons and the University tutors, was mentioned with great approval.' (Fowler, p. 76)

THE CHORAL WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH

TWO SERMONS

PREACHED IN

ST PETER'S CHURCH, DERBY,

ON THE

SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT, (DEC.9,) 1860

(ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNUAL COLLECTION IN AID OF THE CHOIR,)

BY

THE REV. SIR F.A.G. OUSELEY, BART., M.A., MUS.DOC.;
PROFESSOR OF MUSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;
PRECENTOR OF HEREFORD; INCUMBENT OF ST MICHAEL'S, TENBURY, &C.

AND

THE REV. JOHN B. DYKES, M.A.
PRECENTOR OF DURHAM

Published by Request

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[17]SERMON II.

CHURCH WORSHIP, IN CONNECTION WITH THE MEDIATORIAL WORK OF CHRIST[1]

PSALM cl.

1. *Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in His Sanctuary: praise Him in the Firmament of His power.*
2. *Praise Him for His mighty acts: praise Him according to His excellent greatness.*
3. *Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet: praise Him with the psaltery and harp.*
4. *Praise Him with the timbrel and dance: praise Him with stringed instruments and organs.*
5. *Praise Him upon the loud cymbals: praise Him upon the high sounding cymbals.*
6. *Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.*

WITH this jubilant song does the Psalter conclude; reaching its final close in a call upon "all breath" to "praise the LORD" — all in whom is the breath of life, and specially all who are inbreathed by the Breath of GOD, the HOLY SPIRIT proceeding eternally from the FATHER and the SON.

It is interesting to observe "how the Psalter, (as a holy man has noticed,) which began with the calm declaration of the blessedness of the man who keepeth from evil and delighteth in the Law of GOD, becomes more joyous at its close, until the last Psalm . . . with its twelvefold 'Praise ye the LORD, Praise Him,' sounds like the endless song of the Blessed; and our earthly Psalter dies away in the sound 'Let all spirit praise the LORD;' not flesh any longer, but '*spirit;*' when we shall be made like unto *His* Glorious Body, and all shall be spiritual, and filled with the fulness of GOD."[2]

[18]

Now in seeking to ascertain somewhat as to the *nature* of the tribute of Praise which GOD requires of us, let is first bethink us that we, the children of men, are not the only creatures of GOD on whom the duty of praising Him is laid.

The 148th Psalm strikingly exhibits this. It gives us a lively picture of GOD'S great Chorus-band. It enumerates in order the several members of that vast orchestra whose notes are to ascend in one swelling symphony of Praise to the ears of the Almighty.

It represents to us two grand choral companies, one celestial, the other terrestrial; the former, introduced by the call, "Praise the LORD from the *Heavens;*" (v.1) the latter, by the call, "Praise the LORD from the *earth.*' (v.7)

In the former division, which comprises those who are to praise GOD "from the Heavens" and "in the heights," meet with seven orders of voices — Angels, Hosts, Sun, Moon, Stars, Heavens, and supercelestial Waters — the whole company including (as we must observe) not only animate but inanimate, not only spiritual but material, creatures.

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[1] Preached in St. Peter's Church, on the Evening of Sunday, Dec. 9th, by the Rev. J.B. Dykes.

[2] Dr. Pusey's letter to the Bishop of London, (1851) p. 118.

Next follows the great terrestrial company, subdivided into three separate choirs.

1. First in order, the choir of the *elements* is invoked — Dragons and deeps, fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind.

2. Next follows the choir of *irrational* creatures upon the earth — Mountains and hills, fruit-trees and cedars, beasts and cattle, creeping things and flying fowl.

3. And lastly the *human* choir — Kings of the earth and all people, princes and judges, young men and maidens, old men and children.[1]

[19]

Thus no part of the creature is exempt. And if you or I, Brethren — if any of us — fail in contributing our share to that grand chorus of Praise which is ascending up to the Majesty on high from the whole creation; the very stones, the elements, irrational nature, will all lift up their voices against us. And the "Heavens," as "they declare the Glory of GOD;" the "firmament," as without articulate "speech or language" it showeth forth to all lands "His handiwork;" the hills, as they clap their hands in exultation before their Creator; and the heaving ocean, as it murmurs forth from its surging bosom its hoarse Hallelujahs "before the LORD the King" — will all put us to shame, and bear earnest witness against us.

But the question now presents itself, *How* are we to praise GOD? Now one obvious answer is returned by the Psalm which I have chosen for my text; from which we learn that, if we would praise GOD worthily, we must praise Him "in his *Sanctuary;*" and that thence our praises shall ascend up to His High Presence-Chamber, "the firmament of His Power;" that we are to praise Him because of "His mighty acts," and in such a way as becomes "His excellent greatness;" that we are to praise Him with all outward expressions of reverence, and with the highest appliances of musical art and skill, with trumpet, with psaltery and harp, with stringed instruments and organs, with timbrel and high-sounding cymbals.

Here, I say, is one obvious answer to the question, *How* are we to praise GOD? But it is manifest that this is not the *whole* answer, and that the entire subject of Praise is not herein exhausted.

While then we take the teaching of the Psalm for granted; while we fully admit, as all candid Christian people must admit, and as was so forcibly and conclusively proved to us this morning, that it is GOD'S *Will* that He should be praised in His earthly Sanctuary with all marks of external honour, with the appropriate aids of musical [20] skill and science, and the best choral and instrumental strains that can be obtained, as befitting His "excellent greatness;" and that you therefore, Brethren, in maintaining in this your beautiful Church those complete and efficient choral arrangements for which our aid is asked to-day, are acting in strict conformity with the intimations which GOD has given you in His Holy Word; still let us not forget, that the solemn public expression of our thanksgivings in GOD'S House does not comprise the whole of that comprehensive duty of Praise which is laid upon us, but only one (most necessary and important) branch of it: as the Apostle intimates, when he reminds

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[1] It may be noticed that the celestial and elemental choirs each consist of seven orders of voices; the two earthly choirs (*i.e.* of creatures *on* the earth) each of eight orders of voices. Or rather, perhaps, (seeing that, in the language of numerical symbolism, the number four is the usual signature of the earth,) we should say that the entire *earthly* chorus, animate and inanimate, consists of *four* times *four* voices. [ϕ For a further discussion of numerical symbolism see Dykes's review of 'The Symmetrical Structure of Holy Scripture' App. C Part. 1 pp. 167ff.]

us that we are to praise GOD not only with our *voice*, but with our "*understanding*" and our "*spirit;*"[1] that is, with the combined activities of our whole being.

Suffer me then to speak to you for a short time on the *general* nature and duty of Praise. And in doing this, we shall perhaps be enabled to obtain a clearer insight into the *special* value attaching to those public sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving which claim our peculiar consideration this day.

I. It is part of the law of man's original being, that he should praise his Creator. We have seen that "*all* GOD'S works praise Him:" and to this end was man also framed.

How then is he to praise his Creator?

How do the sea, the air, the luminaries of Heaven praise their Creator? Holy Scripture says: "He hath given them a *law* which shall not be broken;" and it speaks of the "stormy wind which fulfils His *word*."

That is to say: all things praise their Creator by fulfilling that *word* and *law*, and so reflecting that portion of His own Divine perfection, which He has impressed severally upon each of them.

[21]

Now man was created in the very image of GOD, the express representative on earth of the Triune Deity; the Lord and High Priest of creation, endued with the marvellous faculty of speech, wherewith to give intelligent utterance to the mute praises of the rest of the creatures; reflecting in the mystery of his threefold nature, (body, mind, and spirit) that everlasting TRINITY whose impress was originally stamped upon him. With his entire nature, then, was he to praise his Maker — to praise Him, not only with the manifold endowments of his *physical being*, (his bodily energies and faculties,) but also with the intellectual consciousness of a lofty *reason*, and the heart-love of a free *will*. He then was to fulfil the law of his three-fold nature, by living on his Creator, by believing in his Creator, by loving his Creator.

And so long as his life and bodily powers were sustained by the vivifying effluences from the everlasting "I Am," the self-existent, unoriginated FATHER: so long as his mind and reason were illuminated by the bright beams ever shining on him from their co-eternal, co-equal SON, the Word and Wisdom of GOD, "the true Light which lighteth every man:" so long as his will and inmost spirit were regulated and inspired by the Almighty SPIRIT, the Personal Love of God wherewith the FATHER loveth the SON, GOD proceeding from GOD (enabling him to will what GOD willed, and love what GOD loved, and utter forth the words of GOD[2]) — so long, man *could not but* praise his Creator. This perfect instrument constructed and tuned by GOD Himself, could not but ever breathe forth melodious sounds of Praise into the ears of its Divine Framer.

But man sinned and fell. The harmony of his nature was destroyed. Appetite, Reason, Conscience, became mutually discordant; and all jarred with the solemn [22] diapason of GOD'S Will. The Image of GOD in man was marred. The Presence of GOD, which alone sustained man's nature in its original perfection, was withdrawn. Body, soul, and spirit, no longer kept in their proper mutual relations by the ever-superintending interference of the great Master, were all thrown out of tune; and man lost his glory, his native dignity, and lost the natural capacity for praising and pleasing his Maker.

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[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 15. Cf. Eph. v. 19, 20; Col. iii. 16, 17

[2] "He whom GOD hath sent *speaketh the words* of GOD, because GOD giveth the *Spirit* unto him." (St. John, iii. 34.)

How then can this endowment be restored? Can man help himself? Nay, he is powerless, degraded, feeble; he has no energies or faculties wherewith to rise. GOD must undertake for him: else he must forever remain amongst the "dead" who "cannot praise God."
And God *has* so undertaken for man.

As man had lost the power of reaching up to GOD, GOD in an unutterable condescension stooped down and laid hold of man; yea, was Himself "made Man." Yes, Brethren, He, the very Word and Wisdom of GOD, Who was from the beginning *with* GOD, GOD the Eternal Son ever-begotten of the FATHER, was, as at this season, "made flesh," and became one of us. He took our nature up into His own Divine Personality, and not only purified and renewed it by contact with His own Deity, but invested it with all the fulness of the Godhead. In It He lived, obeyed, suffered, died for us. Not only did He "bear our sins in His own Body on the tree" — thus reconciling us to the FATHER; but further, instituted new and mysterious Means whereby He might communicate to *us* that His all Holy Human Nature in which the Deity is enshrined, and thereby revive and re-fashion us; re-tuning, by degrees, our discordant nature, restoring its original harmony, and giving us once more the capacity for praising our Creator.

What was it that maintained our nature in its first perfection? It was (as I have said) the constant Presence of GOD within us; which was lost at the Fall. But now [23] that Presence is restored, though in a new manner; and "GOD in Christ" takes up His abode in us, to renew and remodel us after that Divine Image which we lost. "The Mystery hid from ages" is now revealed, which is "CHRIST *in* us."

This mystery of union and communion with "GOD in CHRIST" is brought about by the joint agency of GOD and ourselves; by GOD working *within* us," and by ourselves "working *with* GOD." On GOD'S part it is begun and continued by means of the Holy Ordinances of His Church, those sacred channels of Grace which our Lord hath ordained, for first joining us to Himself, and ever afterwards sustaining us by Himself. And on our part, this ineffable union is perfected, by our own conscious co-operation with the new energies stirring within us; by our "working out" for ourselves that renewal and "salvation" which GOD has begun to "work in us;" by the active, intelligent, loving surrender of our Life, Reason, and Will, to be sustained, illuminated, directed, by the ever Blessed TRINITY. For remember, Brethren, that though our revival and renovation proceed entirely from GOD, yet except we co-operate with His gracious inworking, they will never be perfected or effected. We shall be found, at the last, to have "received the Grace of GOD in vain," and shall live and die in a state only so much *worse* than that of *nature*, as we shall have contracted the dread responsibility of having sported with supernatural powers. We must bear in mind, moreover, that this renewal is no one single process once for all effected; but a slow, gradual work, depending for its continuance and progress upon our active, living communion with CHRIST.

When man first came from his Maker's hands, the strings of his nature were in perfect harmony: but that harmony with himself and his GOD could only be maintained (as I have said) by the constant *Presence* in man of his Creator: and that sustaining Presence was dependent [24] for its continuance on man's *obedience*. Disobedience forfeited the Presence; Discord ensued; and the "fair music which all creatures made to their great LORD"[1] was marred by the "harsh" notes of man's instrument.

What obedience was to man in his original state, *communion with Christ* is to man now — communion with CHRIST, sustained by Him from without, through the Means of Grace; sustained by man from within, by holy self-consecrating surrender to his LORD. So long as

[1] See Milton's beautiful Ode, "At a solemn Music."

this communion lasts, our renewal progresses: for the saving, vivifying "virtue,"[1] ever flowing from Him "in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead," cannot fail of exercising its own proper and mysterious influences: we thus gradually become more "in tune with Heaven," in more perfect accordance with GOD; regaining daily more of the Divine Image, and acquiring daily the faculties of praising GOD better. The moment this communion is *suspended*, that moment does inward discordance and deterioration begin to ensue; and our very praises jar upon the ears of the Almighty.

II. And now, dear Brethren, we shall be enabled to see somewhat more as to the *special* value of the worship and praises of the Sanctuary.

I have said that our gradual renewal depends upon our continued communion with CHRIST, and that it involves the joint action of GOD towards ourselves, and of ourselves towards God. If GOD withholds His grace and help, or we withhold our duties, that communion must cease. And yet, again, it is only by virtue of that sacred communion, and through means of it, that we *can* either receive graces *from* GOD, or perform duties acceptable *to* GOD. For we need from GOD the great Gift of the Holy Spirit; we owe to GOD praise, worship and obedience, love, sacrifice: but it is only through CHRIST that we can [25] receive the Gift of the SPIRIT, or any gift, from the FATHER. This, whichever way we regard our state Godward, we are thrown upon the great Doctrine of the Mediation of CHRIST — upon the cardinal verity of the New Testament — that no graces can descend from GOD to man, no services ascend from man to GOD, save through our Incarnate Mediator. "There is *one*," and one only, "Mediator between GOD and men, the *Man* CHRIST JESUS."

Now it is on this fundamental truth of the Mediation of CHRIST, that the value of Church worship entirely depends. Church worship is at once the outward expression of our belief in, and the revealed means of personally participating in the benefits of, our LORD'S continuous Mediatorial work. It is the great means of offering up to the FATHER, through the SON, what St Paul calls "our sacrifice of Praise, the fruit of our *lips;*" and of receiving from the FATHER, through the SON, those supplies which are needful for the support of the spiritual life. "Where two or three are met together in My Name," and the place where I put My Name, "*there am I* in the midst of them." We do not meet in Church as isolated individuals, but as fellow-members of CHRIST. Our prayers and praises are worthless, save in so far as they pass through Him, and as by Him they are presented to the FATHER.

It is He who really praises in His House — He, the great Leader of the songs of GOD'S Israel: and our praises are worthless save in so far as they are united to and hallowed by His. "In the midst of the congregation (He says) will I praise Thee."[2] Would we wish then to imitate Him, and have our hymns sanctified by and associated with His, we must also "praise the LORD in the *congregation.*"

"Having then a High Priest over the House of GOD," [26] who presents our Praises and Services to the FATHER, "let us draw near in full assurance of faith;" "*not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together*."

No: for if we forsake, or lightly esteem, these solemn "assemblies" of the Church, where the earthly members of the great "Family in Heaven and earth" meet in the Name of their Divine LORD and Head, we, so far, and to that extent, reject the Mediation of CHRIST, and seek to throw ourselves back into a state of nature, and to approach the FATHER through a way that

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[1] St. Mark, v. 30

[2] See Heb. ii. 11, 12; Psalm xxii. 22, 25.

has been for ever closed against fallen man; and thus at once rob GOD and ourselves: we rob the FATHER of the sacrifices He claims of us, and which can only be offered up through His SON and through channels of His SON'S ordaining; and we rob ourselves of the renewing graces which, through the same media alone, can be derived to us.

What *need* of frequenting Public worship? men ask. What need of partaking of the Holy Eucharist, or of perplexing ourselves with any *means* of grace, as they are called? Why cannot we satisfy ourselves with worshipping our Heavenly Father *alone?* Why cannot we hold *immediate* individual intercourse with Him, in secret, at our homes, or as we walk by the fields?

My Brethren, GOD holds individual and immediate intercourse with *one* Man, and one Man *only;* and that Man is our LORD JESUS CHRIST, very GOD and very Man. *We* can only communicate with the FATHER *through* Him, as members of His Body. And on this fact, as I have said, does the entire value of our Church worship depend.

Our Blessed Lord, in confirmation of this great truth, that we adore the FATHER only *in* and *through* Himself, designates Himself and the "Temple of GOD;"[1] *i.e.,* as the Sanctuary and Shrine in which GOD dwells, and is worshipped. Our *earthly* shrines are at once types and figures [27] of that true Temple "which the LORD built and not man," and also the visible modes of communicating with, and worshipping in, the Sacred Reality. For the earthly Temple is the vestibule to the "Temple made without hands;" and our earthly Church worship the direct means of sharing in the True Worship which is being offered by our great High Priest in the Heavenly Sanctuary.

People sometimes speak of a zeal for the Church and her Holy Ordinances as a disparagement of CHRIST — as an exaltation of the Church above CHRIST. Not so, Brethren. It is emphatically a glorification of CHRIST: it is an exaltation of Grace above nature. Had man not *sinned*, our LORD'S Mediatorial work, and the ordinances of the Church, were alike unnecessary. In Eden, ere yet the Divine Image in man was effaced, GOD and man held blissful *immediate* communion. St John saw "no Temple" in the New Jerusalem, when man's restoration was completed. The services of the Sanctuary are standing witness to the fact of *Mediation*, (in Jewish times, of Mediation imperfectly realised; now of Mediation fully revealed,) and to that great Gospel word, "No man cometh unto the FATHER *but by* Me."

The holy communion with GOD in CHRIST which we are privileged, as Christians, to maintain, (and are commanded ever to strive to maintain even in our closets,[2]) is [28] most

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1 St. John, ii. 19-21

2 Even in our closets, be it remembered, we do not approach GOD as isolated individuals, but as members of His SON. We are to pray to our "*Father* who is in secret." But it is only through CHRIST that GOD is our Father (for it is on our being made "members of Him," that we become "children of GOD and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.") Private worship then is acceptable, not as independent of Church Worship, or as a substitute for it, but as supplementary to it, springing from it, carrying it out.

Of course the *value* of any act of worship in itself, (leaving out of consideration the state of heart of the worshipper,) increases in proportion as it gives expression and prominence to the fact of CHRIST'S Mediation. Hence the highest act of worship is the Blessed Eucharist, in which our Mediator is *really present*, in some mysterious and *special* way, uniting us to Himself, feeding our souls with Him[28]self. Then follow the daily Offices of Prayer and Praise in the Church; and, lastly, our private worship in the family and in the closet. Hence it is needless to add, that they who (not neglecting the necessary duties of domestic worship) do devoutly and often partake of the Holy Eucharist, and they who religiously frequent (as far as they can) the daily Services of the Church, have a right to look for special blessings over and above those who neglect to give honour to their Saviour and Mediator, Who has said, "Whoso honoureth the SON honoureth the Father," and "If any man serve Me, him will My FATHER honour."

{*Cont.*}

fully and intensely realized, when we meet as brethren; when our separate individualities are merged, as it were, into that of our common Brother, Mediator, and GOD; and we are put in connexion with all those sacred Influences, Benedictions, and Graces, ever flowing from Himself, and wherewith He has promised to bless those who meet in His Name.

The religious practice of giving all outward honour to our public services, of marking our respect for them, and our sense of their value, by becoming musical appliances and reverent ritual appointments, (independently of its being strictly enjoined by GOD, as in my text,) is thus seen to have a deep significance and propriety. And the like may be said of the kindred custom of adorning the very structures wherein those services are offered, and especially that part of our Churches where our union with our Divine Mediator is most intimately realized, where He is more peculiarly present, and made known to us in the "Breaking of the Bread," cleansing our bodies with His own Blessed Body, and "washing our souls in His Precious [29] Blood": — this devout custom is, similarly, founded in sentiments of true godly reverence. Such practices are touching outward expressions of faith in the prevailing Intercession of our great LORD. They are attempts — feeble, it may be, but real, and acceptable to GOD — to give honour to the One Mediator, and to testify before men, and Angels, and Devils, our grateful appreciation of the infinite Love of our Heavenly FATHER in sending His dear SON to be Incarnate for us, and the Infinite Love of that dear SAVIOUR in not only dying for us, but ever living to intercede for us.

Alas! I have no need to tell you, what is on all sides so obvious, how fearfully prevalent is the unloving, utilitarian, infidel spirit of Judas, which would disparage all attempts to render GOD'S Service and Sanctuary beautiful and attractive, and which ever finds utterance, as of old, in the cold selfish cry, "Wherefore all this *waste?*" Wherefore this needless expenditure upon external decorations, upon organ, and singing, and painted windows and other decent ornaments and aids to public worship? They "might be sold for much and given to the poor:" they might, with advantage, be dispensed with; and the money lavished on them, be devoted to purposes infinitely more *useful.*"

This sounds very specious and plausible. Our Blessed LORD, however, does not for a moment admit the objection. He at once detects the spirit from which it springs. He discerns at a glance that it is not real love for the poor that prompts the remark, but *want of love* for *Himself*. And instead of joining in the condemnation of the lavish mark of reverence and love for His Sacred Body, on the part of the "Woman who was a sinner," He declares with a "verily, verily," that it should be proclaimed throughout all the world as bearing the stamp of His *signal approval.*"

True genuine love for CHRIST must ever manifest itself in loving reverence for "the Temple of His Body;" for [30] all His sacred Institutions and Ordinances, and for all those blessed means of grace wherein He manifests and perpetuates His Presence amongst us. And this love, again, (if allowed to gush spontaneously forth, and not arrested in its course by barriers of prejudice and party feeling,) *must* further exhibit itself in tender solicitude even for the *externals* of Church worship: it must have everything the best of its kind.

Let not the humble attendant on the Means of Grace despond, because he or she cannot always experience sensible refreshments, or measure the subtle increments of Grace therein communicated. GOD'S "Kingdom" in the heart "cometh not with observation." His work is not less certain, because it is silent, unobtrusive and gradual. "Such as are planted in the House of the LORD shall flourish in the courts of the House of our GOD. They shall *bring forth more fruit in their age,* and shall be fat and well liking; that they may show how true the LORD my strength is." "They shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of Thy House; and Thou shalt give them drink of Thy pleasures as out of a river."

I know, dear Brethren — we all know — that undue attention to externals may degenerate into formality and superstition; just as every single religious duty may be exaggerated to the disparagement of opposite and balancing duties. But with us in the Church of England at the present day, *this* is not our most imminent danger. It is not from an excess of *reverence* that we have cause for fear, but from an excess of cold, calculating, worldly-minded, careless *irreverence*. God forbid then that there should be any lessening of our reverent regard for the externals of worship: let only due care be taken that it be ever accompanied with the loving allegiance of the heart.

And now, my Brethren, in asking you to contribute, each and all, as GOD hath prospered you, to the support of the solemnities of the public worship of this Church, and especially to the maintenance of the Choral Service, let me beseech you to suffer no niggard or unloving feeling to interfere with the cheerful presentation of your offerings.

If you value the Mediation of CHRIST, if you duly recognize the fact that your restoration to GOD'S favour, and inward renewal, (without which you can never praise GOD worthily here, or join in His Praises hereafter,) depend upon that and that alone; if you bethink you that it is through these ordinances of grace provided by Him in His Church, that you are privileged to participate in that Mediatorial work — to hold Communion with Him — to receive from the FATHER, though Him, the gifts and graces of which you stand in need — to offer to the FATHER [31] through Him, that tribute of worship and thanksgiving which He claims from you — you will need no laboured persuasion to induce you to give liberally for the service of the Sanctuary.

Think of *Whose* honour the Choral worship of this Church is maintained. Can anything be too good for your Saviour, Redeemer, and Intercessor? Is it right that you should have better and more carefully prepared music in your concert rooms, for your own personal gratification, than in GOD'S House, for His Glory?

Grudge what you will in other matters, but grudge nothing for your Church. Be parsimonious, if you will, when self is concerned, but not in matters pertaining to GOD. Let everything be simple, and even mean, if you will, in your own dwellings, but not in GOD'S Sanctuary. No meanness *there!* He must ever be praised and worshipped there "according to His excellent greatness." Remember also Who has said, "Them that honour Me, I will honour."[1]

And, Oh! may we all take heed, that the services of the Church are followed up by the services of our whole selves, souls and bodies; that the thanksgiving of our lips be the real utterance of the devotion of our lives;[2] that in all our thoughts, words, and deeds, we utter forth the praises of GOD, and thus earnestly co-operate with the renewing graces ever flowing into us from our Divine Mediator.

Then, whatever be our station or sphere in life — whatever the circumstances wherein GOD has been pleased to place us — we shall glorify Him, and like the rest of His universal Creation, contribute to the vast symphony [32] of His Praise. Whatever be the particular note to which He has originally attuned us, that note shall we sound forth with ever increasing clearness and perfection to the Ears of GOD; and our "Chief Musician," the Divine Leader of the Praises of Israel, will have pleasure in us; recognizing us as in consonance with the great

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1 ϕ Collections for the day amounted to £45. 17s. 7½d (£45. 88p)

2 "Thanksgiving is good," says an old writer, "Thank-living better." "Fratres (writes St. Augustine) cum laudates Deum, *toti* laudate. Cantet vox, cantet vita, cantent facta." *Ennar. in Psalm* cxlviii.

Choir in Heaven and earth, as faithfully performing the particular part assigned to us by Himself, and fulfilling that Word and Law which He at first impressed upon us.

And not only so: not only shall we be ever advancing to more perfect harmony with the entire Creation, and the whole Church of the Redeemed; but within ourselves also, in our own inmost being, shall there be a restored and ever perfecting harmony. The strings of our renewed nature shall again begin to vibrate in concord with each other; each maintaining its proper proportion and relative subordination; appetite not jarring with reason, nor reason with conscience. And the Breath of GOD moving over the tended chords, shall waft up sweet music to the ears of the Almighty.

The SPIRIT of GOD, proceeding to us from the FATHER through the SON, shall pervade our whole being, animating our hearts, speaking on our lips, living on our lives. He shall dwell in our hearts in Love, speak from our lips in Praise, be seen in our lives in Holiness. And the Eternal FATHER, beholding us from His Holy Heaven, shall see and hear in us His Own Dearly "Beloved SON in Whom" He is ever "well pleased."

The Holy Eucharist the Christian Peace-offering

A SERMON PREACHED IN S. OSWALD'S CHURCH DURHAM, ON SUNDAY, NOV. 3, 1867

BY THE

REV. JOHN B. DYKES, M.A., MUS.DOC

VICAR OF S. OSWALD'S

With a Postscript, containing some notice of a Sermon preached on the preceding Sunday before the Mayor and Corporation of Durham (and since published), by the Rev. G.T. Fox*, M.A., Incumbent of S. Nicholas, Durham.*

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Preface

IT is not without reluctance that I publish this Sermon, dealing, as it chiefly does, with one side only of a many-sided Mystery. As it has been thought, however, by those whose opinions I value, that recent events in this City have rendered its publication desirable, I bow to their decision. May the Great Head of the Church forgive whatever in it is not in strict accordance with the "Truth as it is in Him," and overrule it to the advancement of His glory! A few remarks are added, in a Postscript, with regard to the Sermon to which reference is made in these pages.

J.B.D.

S. OSWALD'S VICARAGE,
Nov. 12, 1867

A

SERMON,

&c.

I COR. x., part of ver. 18

"Are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?"

"The Law," says S. Paul, "was our schoolmaster to bring us unto CHRIST." The Rites of the old Jewish Covenant were like a series of pictures, or elementary lessons, to prepare men for, and lead them on to, Him who is the subject and substance of them all. Although possessed of no *inherent* virtue, they were yet the ordained media of communion between man and GOD; giving the worshipper a covenant interest in that great and all-meritorious Sacrifice hereafter to be offered up.

As the worship of the Old Testament is dark and obscure until irradiated by the New, so is [6] much of the language of the New Testament respecting our Christian worship unintelligible, until the light of the Old is brought to bear on it. The Mysteries of the Gospel are constantly expressed under the language of the Law. To apprehend these mysteries, it is plain we must have some familiarity with the *meaning* of the language in which they are conveyed.

Now, the need of some such knowledge is peculiarly apparent in the case of that Holy Ordinance in which our Christian worship centres and culminates — the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. For in the New Testament references to this august Mystery, I believe there is hardly one simple expression used which is not directly borrowed from the old sacrificial language of the Law.

Far be it from me to intimate that, in order to the devout and beneficial reception of this Holy Sacrament, it is necessary that we understand all these sacrificial allusions. Nay, verily. But I do mean to say that, to all who would desire an intelligent and comprehensive insight into the nature of this great Mystery, some knowledge of the ancient sacrificial system under the Law is quite indispensable.

Such expressions as (e.g.) "*Do this* in remembrance," or rather "*as a Memorial, of Me*" (where [7] we find, in the Original, two Sacrificial terms); "Drink ye all of this;" My Blood of the New Covenant;" "the New Testament in My Blood;" "the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith ye are sanctified;" "partakers of the Altar;" the "Altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle;" "the Communion of the Blood of CHRIST;" the "Cup of Blessing;" the "Sacrifice of Praise;" — all these, and other like expressions, have a previous history, and are *meant* to carry our minds back to former ordinances of Divine worship.

There is nothing, perhaps, more striking with regard to the Holy Eucharist than the extreme simplicity of the Rite itself, and yet the marvellous things revealed in connexion with it in the New Testament. The ordinary temptation against which we are to watch, is the regarding it in no more sacred light than that in which it presents itself to our outward gaze. For what do we see? a morsel of bread; a cup of wine. And multitudes of Christians, measuring the dignity of this Holy Mystery simply by outward sense, refuse to believe that there is any thing more in it

than that which presents itself to their eyes. Just as unbelievers in our Lord's time measured the dignity of His Person and office by what met their natural gaze: — "Is not this the carpenter's son?"
[8]
His assurance that He was the SON OF GOD was answered by the rejoinder, "Thou blasphemest." They argued by what they *saw;* and by that only. To admit that this poor tradesman was "the Son of God," and, as such, entitled to Divine honour, was madness, impiety, idolatry. And so in the Holy Eucharist: men *see* nothing mysterious; hence they will not believe there *is* any thing mysterious. They trust their own eyes more than the solemn words of GOD. They reject the notion of any *real* and Divine Presence there vouchsafed, of any *real* and supernatural Gift there bestowed, because they cannot see it. "We eat bread in the Lord's Supper," they tell you, "and we drink wine; and we think of Christ," that is all; there the mystery begins and ends. True, GOD says very differently. GOD assures us that in this Divine Sacrament we do, not figuratively, but "verily and indeed," receive the "Flesh" and "Blood" of GOD Incarnate; and the "Cup of Blessing," solemnly *"blessed"* by those who have received authority to *"bless with the Spirit,"* is in very deed "the Communion of the Blood of CHRIST;" and the Bread "broken" and dispensed by the appointed "stewards of His Mysteries" is "the Communion of the Body of CHRIST;" but they have so accustomed themselves to explain away these and the like wondrous and weighty expressions, that if their [9] truth is insisted on, the cry of extravagance, or false doctrine, of "Popery," is at once raised.

The great difference between the Jewish sacrifices and the Christian Eucharist is, that in the former the *outward* part was every thing, in the latter the *inward*. There, an appeal to sight, here to faith. There, *shadows*, imposing but unsubstantial; here, simple visible forms, veiling heavenly and substantial *realities*. There, "the blood of bulls and goats" telling of pardon needed, of sin and its penalty, death; here, the very Blood of CHRIST conveying to all penitent hearts a present grant of pardon and remission.

We know that under the Jewish Ritual there were several distinct classes of offerings: *Burnt*-offerings, with their Meat-offerings; *Peace*-offerings; *Sin*- and Trespass-offerings. And so great is the dignity of the Holy Communion in GOD'S sight, that we find language used of it which connects it with each one of these great divisions of offering.

This consideration conducts us into a very interesting field of inquiry, into which, however, I cannot now enter, save in so far as is necessary to explain the meaning of my text.

In a famous passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 10—13), S. Paul connects and contrasts the Lord's Supper with the *Sin*-offerings of the Jews, showing how infinitely it surpasses [10] them. "We have an Altar," he writes, "of which they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle." He is showing that, whereas not even the *Priesthood* of old might partake of the highest class of the Sin-offerings; the *blood* of which was offered for Atonement in the Holy of Holies, but their *bodies* wholly burnt without the camp; *all* Christians, priests and people alike, may eat of our great Sin-offering; that the very "Lamb of GOD, who taketh away the Sin of the world," may become our food.

But in my text He is referring to the *Peace*-offering. Now the characteristic of the Peace-offerings was this: that the worshipper who brought the offering, and who was supposed to be in communion with GOD, was regularly permitted to *feast* upon his sacrifice. The offering itself was called a "Eucharist," and "offering of Praise and Thanksgiving." Part was presented on GOD'S Altar, part was partaken of by the sacrificing Priest; while on the remainder the offerer and his friends were allowed to feast. They were, in fact, as S. Paul says in my text, "partakers with the Altar." That very same victim which was sacrificed to

GOD was their food. The significant rite expressing a loving fellowship between GOD, His Priest, and themselves: here is a feast upon a sacrifice.

You will at once see S. Paul's reference in my [11] text. He reminds us that a great Peace-offering has been offered up for us, a Blessed Victim in whom the FATHER is ever "well pleased." But he further recalls to us that they who, of old, would share in the *benefit* of the Peace-offerings must themselves partake of the sacrifice; must feed upon that which was offered on the Altar to GOD, and thus become, as it were, identified with their sacrifice. The same flesh which they offered to GOD, and which He accepted as an oblation well pleasing to Himself, by becoming their food, must be made "one with them, and they with it." Their hallowed Gift became a part of themselves: and GOD, accepting their oblation, accepted them in and for the sake of it.

And so with us, though in a surprisingly sacred and transcendent way. If we would individually share in the benefits of our Great Peace-offering, we must *eat* of It. We must partake of that same sacrifice which has been offered for us. We must "feast" on "CHRIST our Passover;" the "very Paschal Lamb" must be our food, ourselves identified with It, made one with It, and It with us; so that the Father looking upon us may accept us for Its sake, and may see in us, not our old selves, but the Dearly Beloved Son in whom He is ever well pleased.[1]
[12]
And the Holy Eucharist is the very means instituted of GOD whereby and wherein we *may* thus communicate with Incarnate GOD; "our sinful bodies being made clean by His Body, and our souls washed in His most precious Blood:" — GOD having ordained, that the natural process whereby the waste of our earthly life is repaired, and earthly nourishment assimilated, should be used (under certain conditions) as the mysterious means and instrument of repairing the spiritual waste, and assimilating Heavenly Sustenance. In this mysterious Sacrament it is given to us to *feed upon* our Sacrifice, to communicate with that Divine Victim which has been, and is ever *being*, offered for us [13] (for He, who is a "Priest for ever," must have "for ever somewhat to offer"), and to have fellowship, in and through Him, with the Everlasting FATHER. Hence S. Paul proceeds to assure us that the "Bread which we break" is the communion of [[Greek] — the means of communicating to us] the Body of CHRIST, and "the Cup of Blessing which we" (GOD'S ministers) "*bless*, is the Communion [Greek] of the Blood of CHRIST."

His argument is plain. "They," he says, "who eat of the sacrifice are partakers [Greek] of the Altar;" communicants in that which is offered to GOD for a Peace-offering on the Altar. In like manner we in the LORD'S Supper are partakers, sharers, communicants, in that great Peace-offering which has been, and is for ever being, offered for us.

Only, the Jew might not drink of the *Blood* of his Sacrifices. It was to be drained off and poured out, and might not be partaken of on pain of death. CHRIST has reversed this command in the case of the Great Sacrifice of the New Law, and now says, "This is My

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[1] The universal belief of ancient times was, that the object [12] and end of Sacrifice was *Communion;* participation in the Sacrifice carrying with it some participation in the nature of the Being to whom the offering was made. The Sacrifice was the supposed meeting-point between the Deity and the worshipper; the medium through which the worshipper was lifted up to, brought into communion with, the Deity. S. Paul distinctly recognizes this in the case of the Idol sacrifices (or Demon sacrifices, as he calls them; the invisible Demon being the real recipient of the worship offered to its visible representative). These Demon sacrifices, he says, entail Demon fellowship: "and I would not that ye should have fellowship (i.e. Sacrificial Communion) with Demons. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the LORD and the cup of Demons; ye cannot be partakers of the LORD'S Table and the table of Demons." How can ye be guilty of such monstrous confusion, as to make your souls a meeting-place, as it were, for the LORD and for Demons?[13]

Blood of the New Covenant, drink ye *all* of This." For "the Blood is the Life." And it is the communion of the Blood of CHRIST which conveys to all prepared hearts the constant grant of remission of sins, and evermore renews the spiritual being by fresh sup[14]lies of Life from the Everlasting Source of Life.[1]

I need not tell you, Brethren, what you all know full well — even though there are some who, to bring the teaching of the Church into ridicule, falsely maintain that we hold and teach the contrary — that there is no carnal change in the elements. I need not tell you that the Body and Blood of CHRIST "are given, taken, and eaten [15] only after a heavenly and spiritual manner," and that the Bread and Wine do not lose their natural substances by Consecration. I do not enlarge upon the dangers of your entertaining such erroneous notions; because I believe there is no occasion: the danger in our day is of exactly an opposite kind. *That* against which S. Paul warned his Corinthian converts was, not a failing to discern the Bread and Wine, but failing to "discern the LORD'S BODY:" — the danger of arguing that because It is not present as an object to the senses, therefore It is not present at all; of arguing that because It is only spiritually present, It is not really present.

"There is a natural body," says the Apostle, "and there is a Spiritual Body" — the one no less *real* than the other. *Spiritual* does not mean *figurative*. It is in spiritual things that the true *reality* subsists. "God is a Spirit." Is He not *real*? Judging merely by carnal judgment, we think *that* only which we *see* and feel, to be real. We walk by sight and not by faith. But the truth is exactly the reverse. It is the *unseen* things which are real: it is what we *see*, which is but shadow and symbol and emptiness. It is the Bread and the Wine in the Eucharist which are the figures. They are absolutely useless, save in so far as they are (what they become by Consecration) [16] the veils, the vehicles, the outward form, of what is *real* and substantial; of *that* whereof CHRIST Himself says, "My Flesh is meat *indeed*, and My Blood is drink *indeed*." To our carnal apprehension they appear mere earthly creatures; but in GOD'S eyes they *are*, verily, and in the intensest reality, what He Himself *calls* them, and what His effectuating Word, spoken by His Priests in His Name, *makes them to be.*

I have felt constrained to refer to this sacred subject, as occasion has been taken in this city, within but a few days (and by one of whom I would not speak but in terms of Christian respect), to deny and contemn the Church's faith in this Holy Mystery, and to represent all attempts at giving honour to its Celebration, as superstitious, if not idolatrous. It has been

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[1] It may not be amiss to state here, in few words, that, whereas the three great necessities of the Christian life are—

(1) *Remission of sins;*
(2) *Communion* with God, consequent on that remission;
(3) *Self-oblation*, the ultimate end of all existence;—

we see these three same ideas expressed in the three great divisions of Sacrifice,— the Sin-offering, the Peace-offering, the Burnt-offering:—

(1) The *Sin*-offering telling of guilt and its expiation;
(2) The *Peace*-offering telling of restored communion;
(3) The *Burnt*-offering telling of life-long self-dedication.

And all these ideas are embodied in the Blessed Eucharist.

1. There is the solemn memorializing before GOD of the "Body broken" and "the Blood shed for the remission of *sin;*" a "shewing forth" in the lower Sanctuary, and pleading of the Great Sin-offering whose Body was consumed "on the Wood," "without the camp," but whose Blood is being even now presented and offered by the Great High Priest in the Holy of Holies.

2. There is, then, the *Communion;* a feeding on the Peace-offering, God and man having sweet fellowship in the Divine Victim. And

3. There is the solemn oblation of "ourselves, our souls and bodies," in union with our Great Burnt-offering, "to be a reasonable, holy, lively sacrifice unto GOD."

stoutly affirmed that the Bread and Wine after Consecration are "*nothing but* bread and wine:" and the idea that the earthly elements are transformed into that which CHRIST'S Omnipotent Word solemnly *declares them to be*, is pronounced an "absurd conceit." In order to represent the mystery in a repulsive light, the notion is reprobated of men "having power to *make* their GOD[1]," and of "a Saviour being *shut* [17] *up* in bread and wine." Clergymen are ridiculed for adopting "various mummings and postures and acts of idolatry, as if they were holding the flesh and blood of the Lord JESUS in their hands."

Now when we remember *Whose* words they are which are here made light of — not those of man, but of the Eternal Word and Wisdom of GOD, Who *cannot* exaggerate, Who *cannot* speak what is not strictly, eternally, awfully *true*, being Himself THE VERY TRUTH; and Who has Himself said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the Flesh of the SON OF MAN and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you;" "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him;" "He that eateth *Me*, shall live by Me;" "*This* is My Body, take eat;" "This is My Blood, drink ye all of It;" and Who has confirmed the same by the mouth of the Apostle, assuring us that the Consecrated Cup is in very deed "the Communion of the Body of CHRIST" — when we remember, I say, Who it is that speaks these words, we must see that any attempt to explain them away, or to *ridicule* the awful and mysterious truths conveyed in them, is an insult offered not to the Churchmen and Churchwomen who humbly and reverently *believe* them, but to the ALMIGHTY GOD who *spake* them.

[18]

But, my dear friends, let us not concern ourselves with others: let us rather look at home, and see that while we profess to hold the Catholic Faith, we devoutly embrace and practice it. How are we to account for the fact that so many among us who profess to be Churchmen and Churchwomen do yet deliberately reject the Ordinances of the Church, and disobey the commands of their Lord and Master, neglecting that Holy Sacrament which He has solemnly pronounced necessary to their salvation? You dare not go without sustenance for your bodies, for you know that were you to do so you would die. Now, CHRIST has told you with a "Verily, verily," that if you do not receive this Heavenly Sustenance of the soul, even "the Flesh and Blood of the SON OF MAN," you will "have no Life in you," no *real* Life, no spiritual Life. Can it be that you care not for this "Life Eternal"? Oh dare no longer to disobey the command of Him Whose Word shall judge you at the Last Day! But remember, it is not enough to "draw near" to His Holy Table: you must drawn near with prepared hearts; you must "draw near in faith." Consider the case of the multitudes who drew near to our Lord on earth, and touched Him, and handled Him. Virtue was ever flowing from Him then, as from His Sacred Body now: but they only who touched Him in *faith* benefited by that divine Efflu[19]ence ever proceeding form the Adorable Humanity of Him "in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Do not neglect to approach His Holy Altar; but take heed *how* ye approach. Come with searching self-examination, and penitent confession. Come with sincere purposes of amendment. Come with lively faith in His love to you, and His tender anxiety to save and bless you. Come with cheerful thankfulness for all His mercies. And come with feelings of love and charity towards all men; gladly and heartily forgiving all who may have offended you, as you would have forgiveness at GOD'S hands.

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[1] When this sermon was originally preached, this language (given from memory) was not quoted accurately. [ϕ Given that this footnote shows Dykes to have been present when the sermon alluded to was preached, it may be inferred, for reasons which will become apparent, that he would have sat through it in some personal discomfort.]

And ye who approach the Holy Table but infrequently, settle it with yourselves that you will become more habitual worshippers at the Altar of your Lord. You are ever sinning: surely you are ever needing fresh interest in that "Body broken for you" and that "Blood shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins." Your spiritual life is ever wasting: surely you are ever needing that your inner man should be strengthened and refreshed by renewed Communion with Him Who hath said, "He that eateth Me shall live by Me." You are ever falling from allegiance to GOD, and forgetting the end of your existence: surely you are ever needing a re-dedication of yourselves to GOD, a re-presentation of your souls and bodies, in union [20] with our Great Continuous Burnt-offering, "a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to Him." Come then frequently, "come boldly, to the Throne of Grace." Let it be your greatest earthly delight to "go to the Altar of GOD, even to the GOD of your joy and gladness." So shall you be evermore "satisfied with the plenteousness of His House, and He shall give you to drink of His pleasures as out of a river."
[21]

POSTSCRIPT

I would fain have avoided any direct reference to the recent sermon by the Rev. G.T. Fox: but as many of its statements appear to me so utterly contrary to the Truth, and the sermon itself has been so widely disseminated,[1] I feel bound, however briefly, to notice it.

Mr. Fox, in the very teeth of the plain teaching of the Prayer Book, and the faith of universal Catholic Christendom, denies that there is any Priesthood in the Church of Christ. The Christian Church, he tells us, is distinguished by the "*entire absence*" of these things, altar, sacrifice, and *priest*. And he proceeds at some length, and in language which I had rather not characterize, to denounce and ridicule those who maintain that the Catholic Church of Christ, and our own, as a true and living Branch of the same, does not really possess these essential features of a Church.

In order to prove that there is no Priesthood under the New Dispensation, he tells us, truly enough, that the Jewish Sacrificial Services were intended to prefigure the Person and work of the coming Saviour. But then he goes on to add: "That Saviour came; *that work was fulfilled:*" — intimating that Christ's Priestly work has come to an end. But is this so? On the contrary, CHRIST'S special Priestly work, so far from coming to [22] an *end* at His Ascension, only properly *began* then; for it was not till then that He went into the Holy of Holies, there "to appear in the Presence of GOD for us," and to carry on His High Priestly Ministrations at the Mercy Seat within the Veil. The *Death* of the Victim on the great day of Atonement (type of this present Gospel Day — the Day of Atonement and Grace) was not the effectuating part of the Solemn Service, but the subsequent *presentation of its blood* by the High Priest in the Holy of Holies. It was the exhibition and pleading before GOD of the Memorials of the Death which *had been* wrought, which had power to turn aside the Divine wrath. "The High Priest" (says S. Paul) "*offered* the blood for his own sins and the sins of the people:" even as our Great High Priest, notwithstanding His One Oblation on Calvary, is to this day ever *offering* His Priceless Blood for the sins of the Church and of the world. He is presenting and pleading before the FATHER the Memorials of His accomplished Death. And the earthly Liturgy is the Divinely appointed means whereby the Church, in the lower Sanctuary, takes her part, and claims her interest, in the great Intercessory and Sacerdotal Act which is continuously going on in the Heavenly Temple. S. Paul speaks of our Lord as a

[1] Fox, George Townshend *The Signs of the Times: or, Ritualism in the Church of England* (Durham: 1867)

"Priest for ever," *i.e.* a *continuous* Priest [Greek] (Heb. vii. 3). In like manner he describes His Sacrifice as a "Sacrifice for ever," *i.e.* a *continuous* Sacrifice [Greek] (Heb. x. 12). The latter is the correlative of the former. It is a Sacrifice, not past, but ever fresh, ever abiding. He is the "Lamb of God," Who *took away*, but Who *is ever taking away*, "the Sins of the world."

And Christ's Priesthood in Heaven, so far from militating against the subordinate and representative Priesthood of His earthly Ministers, is the very ground and source of it. They are Priests *because* "He [23] abideth a Priest for ever." He acts *through* them. They are the organs through which He carries on His sacerdotal work. He is the alone Source of blessing, the alone Baptizer, the alone Consecrator, the alone Absolver. But He blesses, He baptizes, He consecrates, He absolves, through them. He employs their mouths and their hands. Hence we find a Christian Minister described in the New Testament as [Greek], and his worship by the word [Greek]: even as in the Acts, the word translated "as they *ministered* to the Lord and fasted," is properly translated "as they sacrificed to the Lord," or "celebrated the Liturgy" [Greek] (Acts xiii. cf. [Greek] Heb. x. 11). When CHRIST'S Priests exercise their ministrations, they act not in their own name but in His. They put forth His delegated powers; and He ratifies and confirms in Heaven what is done by them as His representatives on earth. As my FATHER hath sent Me, even so send I you: lo, I am with you, till the end of the world." "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven." "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto them."

Now, we may rebel and protest against these and the like solemn utterances of the Divine HEAD of the Church — we may explain them away and ignore them; but there they stand in the "Scripture of Truth," and neither man nor devil can erase them: there they stand, ever fresh, ever living, ever energetic. When Mr. Fox endeavours to prove that the Church of England repudiates the plain, straightforward teaching contained in these and the like words, and rejects the notion of a Priesthood, he simply labours to prove that she has been false to her LORD, and is no true branch of His one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. But [24] any attempt so to vilify the Church of England is (thank God!) hopeless. The general *principle* of what is called "Sacerdotalism" *could not* be more strongly asserted than it is in her formularies. Let any honest and unprejudiced man or woman read the solemn words in our Ordinal, wherein the sacred and awful functions of a Priest are conveyed, with imposition of hands, to the candidate for that responsible office; and then let them turn to the office of the "Visitation of the Sick," and look at the practical exemplification of the *meaning* of those words, as expressed in the form of Absolution there provided; and they will see that, although Mr. Fox's violent anti-sacerdotal language may be true enough as expressive of his own peculiar views, and of the views which he would *like* the Church to profess, they are radically and absolutely irreconcilable with the real teaching of the Church of England, either as held by her greatest Divines, or as expressed in her public formularies.

I have no wish to prolong these remarks; but I must add a single word in reference to Mr. Fox's contemptuous denunciation of the term Altar, as applied to the LORD'S Table.

Mr. Fox, in the first place, informs us, that the Church of England has distinctly "*denied* that it is an Altar." I am bound to ask, where? On the contrary, as every one knows, in the first edition of our Prayer Book, a work conducted by the very Reformers of whom he speaks in such terms of praise, the term Altar was the one deliberately adopted, and universally employed. It was owing to the influence and interference of foreign Protestants that the word was subsequently removed, and the equally appropriate and synonymous (though, at that time, among more extreme Protestants, more acceptable) terms LORD'S Table, or HOLY

Table, were introduced. The same extreme [25] party, we know, tried hard to effect the removal of the word Priest; but this was strongly resisted. In the Coronation Service, the word Altar is still retained. But it is idle to say that one term is either more or less appropriate than the other — GOD the HOLY GHOST employs both interchangeably in the Old Testament. The "Altar" is there called the "Table of the LORD," and the "Table of the LORD" is called the "Altar" (Cf. Mal. i. 7; Ezek. xli. 22). And the same Blessed SPIRIT employs them interchangeably in the New Testament. S. Paul distinctly affirms that "*we*" in the Christian Church "*have an Altar;*" and this same Altar he designates in another place by the august title "the LORD'S Table." It is the LORD'S Table, *because* it is an Altar; and it is an Altar, *because* it is the LORD'S Table. In the earliest ages of the Church, the term Altar seems to have been the term exclusively used to designate the Holy Table; but in aftertimes all three terms have been freely and equally employed in all parts of the Church. All the greatest names in ancient and modern times have unsuspectingly adopted this term. The opposition to it in certain quarters seems, at least, foolish and irrational, if not worse. It may be said that it does not actually occur in our present Prayer Book: true; neither does the popular term, by which it is sought to supplant it, "Communion Table." No, it is designated "the *Holy* Table," "the *Lord's* Table," or, emphatically, "*The* Table." It is not *man's* Table, but GOD'S.

And this, I may add, is a sufficient answer to the charges Mr. Fox thinks fit to bring against those who would seek, in an humble way, to give *outward* dignity to the Altar in our Churches; to show his contempt for whom he seems to consider no language too strong. The simple expression "LORD'S Table," adopted by the HOLY GHOST, is sufficient justification for those who [25] *believe* what GOD says. Why do we give the Holy Bible even outward reverence? Because it is *God's* Book. Why do we religiously respect Sunday? Because it is the *Lord's* Day. And if CHRIST has imparted a peculiar dignity to His Altar, by appropriating it to Himself, calling it emphatically *His* Table, as the seat of His Special Presence, where He is manifested in the "Breaking of the Bread," pleading thereon, in a Mystery, His All-atoning Sacrifice before the FATHER, and feeding therefrom His faithful with His very Body and Blood: are we to treat all outward tokens of *belief* in our LORD'S words, all outward signs of respect for that which Himself has dignified and hallowed, with scorn and reprobation?

Mr. Fox is very ready to hand over to the Evil One all who differ from him; to attribute to *Satan* the revival of faith in CHRIST'S own words, and the growing desire to give outward, practical expression to that faith which is manifesting itself on all sides amongst us, and which, so far from being checked by sermons like his own[1], can only be thereby fostered and deepened and intensified: — But let him be *quite* sure that it is not he *himself* who is doing that great Enemy's work; let him be *quite* sure that, in denying the doctrine of the Priesthood, in seeking to evacuate of their solemn dignity and mystery the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church in which he himself holds the responsible office of *Priest*, he is not setting *himself* madly against the Everlasting Truth of GOD, and grieving that SAVIOUR Whom I am convinced he sincerely loves and desires to serve.

[27]

Dr Colenso is not the *only* teacher, in professed communion with the Church of England, who is rejecting her doctrines, and undermining the Faith. No portion of GOD'S Revelation can be rejected with impunity. The denial of one truth leads to the denial of others. It is only a step from the disbelief in the reality of the ministerial work carried on by CHRIST'S priests in the lower Sanctuary, to the disbelief on the reality of, and necessity for, the work of the Great

[1] Or, I must add, by speeches like that which the Bishop of Massachusetts was not ashamed to deliver at a recent Missionary Meeting in this city, or which Mr. Fox's sermon appears to be a melancholy expansion.

HIGH PRIEST Himself in the Holy of Holies, which is the sole ground, and source, and energizing principle of their earthly ministrations. It is only a step from the disbelief in the instrumental agency of the "joints and bands" through which "nourishment is ministered from the HEAD to the members,["] to disbelief in the Divine HEAD Himself, Who has instituted these agencies; and Who has said of His earthly "fellow-workers," "He that heareth you heareth Me; and he that despiseth you despiseth Me." There is a world of sad truth contained in the moral of the old and familiar lines:—

"Total jacet Babylon: destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus."[1]

May GOD preserve the Church of England from such a progressive course of unbelief!

THE END

[1] ϕ Trans: 'Babylon [in this context, the Church of Rome] is completely laid low: Luther destroyed the roof; Calvin destroyed the walls and Socinus the foundations.'

CHRISTIAN UNITY

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

Parish Church, Penrith,

BEFORE THE MEMBERS OF THE PENRITH BRANCH
OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION, AT
THEIR ANNUAL MEETING,

APRIL 16TH, 1868.

BY THE
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VICAR OF S. OSWALD'S, DURHAM.

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SERMON

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"I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." — S. JOHN xii. 32.

To bring about the unity of mankind, to make men recognise the fact of their common brotherhood, and act in harmony as brethren, has ever been one of the great but unrealised aims of the world's potentates, legislators, and philanthropists.

My text reveals to us the only mode by which this mighty object can be achieved. "I will draw all men unto *Me*." Let us examine this statement.

I. GOD is our one common Father; to meet one another we must meet in Him. What is the only possible condition of unity in an earthly family? That one will and law, the law and will of the head of the family, should actuate all its members; that all should work harmoniously round the one common Divinely-appointed centre.

And so with mankind. Until the whole human family are again brought to their one Father, they will never be brought to, and be one with, each other. No scheme, therefore, can contribute to the promotion of the real unity of mankind which does not tend to further their union with, and their conformity to the Will of, their "FATHER which is in heaven."
[4]
II. But *how* are men to be brought to this one paternal centre of unity?

The Everlasting FATHER "no man hath seen nor can see." "The Only-begotten SON which is in the bosom of the FATHER, He hath revealed Him." The co-equal, co-eternal SON, made man for our sakes, is the FATHER'S representative: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the FATHER." "I and My FATHER are One." The Incarnate SON, "GOD made Flesh," is the delegated centre of unity; our union with the FATHER is to be effected through our union with Him. "No man cometh unto the FATHER but by *Me*." *His* bosom is the one common home wherein all men must meet each other.

Here, then, we advance a further step, and find that the union of man with man can only be effectually obtained through union with and obedience to the "Man CHRIST JESUS." "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me, and so to one another."

Thus every system of unity which has not its root in CHRIST, which has not for its end to draw men to CHRIST, and of which CHRIST'S revealed mind and will is not the rule of law, is not of GOD, will never bring men to GOD, and, therefore, never bring them permanently to each other.

III. But we must proceed another step.

The Almighty FATHER has delegated His power and authority to the SON, and made *Him* our great centre of unity. How does the Blessed SON carry out this His work of union? How does He draw men to Himself, and unite them to each other in Himself? How, too, does He make known to us those central laws and ordinances to which He wills us all to conform? He discharges all this work through the agency of the HOLY SPIRIT acting in and by means of a certain visible organisation of His own ordaining.
[5]
And what is this visible instrumentality in which the HOLY GHOST operates, and through means of which the Incarnate SON is pleased to carry on His work of love — to knit men into communion with Himself, and so with each other?

It is His Holy Church. Listen to His own words to the "ministers and stewards of His Mysteries," words which indicate the orderly and systematic course of His dealings with men. "As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." "He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth Me; and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me:" (*i.e.*, As CHRIST is the FATHER'S representative, so are His Ministers *His* representatives). "He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him that sent Me." "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." "Lo, I am with you always, *even till the end of the world.*"

These and the like passages reveal to us, that as the FATHER hath delegated His authority to CHRIST, and made Him the one centre and source of unity, so hath CHRIST, in turn, delegated this same office and power to a visible earthly community, which He hath energized by His own SPIRIT, and made the channel and depository of His own Life, and the Instrument of His own Work. And hence, until men will hear and obey this His Holy Catholic Church, and be one with her; enjoying therein communion with GOD, and keeping "the unity," not of the flesh, not of mere earthly leagues and combinations, but "of the SPIRIT, in the bond of peace;" as fellow-members of "*One Body*," the visible Body of CHRIST; recipients, through it, of the *One* SPIRIT; animated by "*One* glorious *Hope;*" owning therein and obeying "*One* LORD;" holding [6] the *One Faith*, that "Faith once for all delivered to the Saints;" baptised with the "*One Baptism;*" and this united to the "*One* GOD and FATHER Who is above all and through all, and in all;" until they will submit to this, there will not, there cannot, be aught save disunion and confusion and every evil work.

IV. And now, my dear brethren, I can well imagine some of you saying — nay, the thought is forced upon us all — Where can we *find* this *One* Church speaking with One Mouth authoritatively in the Name of CHRIST? Where is she, that we may believe?

Alas! that such a question should have to be asked, and asked with so much reason! Our Lord prays, in the great Intercessory Prayer uttered on the eve of His Crucifixion, that His Church might herself be "*one*, in order that the world might believe." From which we gather that, until the miserable breaches are healed amongst ourselves, the world as such will never believe; for the Church herself will not possess that mighty and irresistible power of attraction which is needful to enable her to draw men to herself, and which can only be attained by perfect inward unity. "Jerusalem," the Abode of the Great King, the centre of the spiritual universe, "is a City that is at unity in herself." If the instrument and organ through which CHRIST works, and in which the HOLY SPIRIT is enshrined, be broken up and disordered, His Blessed operations on the mass of mankind will be arrested and impeded. And most sadly true it is that the visible Church of CHRIST, through the wickedness of man and the malice of the Devil, has been terribly wanting in the fulfilment of her high calling.

But I would at present speak, not of the Church's failure in realising (as yet) her glorious destiny, and discharging her Divine commission, but of her commission *itself*, of her LORD'S *intentions* respecting her, [7] of the nature of her work and office as revealed in Holy Scripture and bequeathed her by CHRIST: and here I repeat that, however the idea may be distasteful now-a-days, it is not less the plain teaching of GOD'S written Word that through the Church, and through her *alone*, it is GOD'S *will* to bring about the union in CHRIST of all the families of the earth, making them "all one in CHRIST JESUS." Every scheme of unity, therefore, framed independently of the CHURCH is not of GOD; and, as keeping men from essential unity, is but a perpetuation and fresh source of disunion.

I know, my dear friends, that the very idea of men being drawn to CHRIST or bidden to approach CHRIST and receive his fulness, through the Church, through any intermediate

channels, is displeasing to the minds of many religious people. They think that, in insisting on the necessity of any means or ordinances through which to approach the Saviour, to enjoy and maintain communion with Him, and draw from the treasure-house of His Grace, we are really derogating from His honour, His love, His power. But remember: it is CHRIST, not man, Who has ordered that so it shall be, Who has entrusted that same power and authority to His *Church* which the FATHER first entrusted to *Him*, It is His own Institution and Promise which impart all their efficacy to the various instrumentalities of grace which He has ordained in His Church. They are not independent of Him, as men thoughtlessly speak, but the means whereby He draws men to Himself, and gives Himself to them. How common it is to hear sinners warmly but vaguely exhorted to "come to CHRIST," and at the very same time to hear those means of grace disparaged which CHRIST has ordained for the express purpose of so enabling them to "come" to [8] Him. As CHRIST is the "Way" through Whom we come to the FATHER, so is His Church and her ordinances of grace the "way" by which we come to Him.

V. For example: When the infant is brought to the Font for the Church's Benediction, it is through this *means* that it is first drawn and united to that loving Saviour Who hath said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not."

When CHRIST'S Minister baptizes it with water in the Name of the Blessed Trinity, it is then and by this agency that our LORD Himself endues it with the regenerating grace of His HOLY SPIRIT, joining it on to Himself as one of the members of His own Mystical Body.

When the young Christian has begun to learn somewhat of its dangers and duties, and CHRIST'S Ambassador lays his hands upon its head in his Master's Name, that our Lord Himself imparts the confirming grace, the "sevenfold Gifts," of the Great Comforter.

When the Steward of CHRIST'S Mysteries communicates to the faithful the hallowed Elements, "blessed" in the Name, and through the ever-living power of the Consecrating Word, of Him who hath given His servant authority to "bless with the SPIRIT," in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, it is then and by this means that our LORD and Master imparts His very Self to His loved ones, giving His own Flesh and Blood, His Body, Soul, and Divinity, to sustain their regenerate nature.

When the sin-sick Christian, grieved with the burden of guilt, comes, as the Church lovingly encourages him, to "open his grief" to one of those to whom CHRIST hath committed the "Ministry of [9] Reconciliation," to claim pardon through the Precious Blood; and CHRIST'S Ambassador reverently confiding in the unfailing efficacy of his Master's commission, "Receive ye the HOLY GHOST; whose soever sins ye remit, *they are remitted unto them,*" "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," when the priest, I say, humbly but trustfully pronounces the sentence of Absolution, it is *then* and by this His own appointed means that our Blessed Lord Himself releases the penitent from "all his offences," and whispers to him the joyous word, "Son, Daughter, be of good cheer: thy sins *are forgiven thee.* Go in peace."[1]

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[1] It is very sad and fearful to hear how constantly this sacred power of "Priestly Absolution," this *Ministry* of Reconciliation" through which the Great Absolver is pleased to effect the restoration of His penitents, is set at naught and repudiated in sermons, speeches, charges, by those whose "lips should keep knowledge." We find our brethren and fathers in the Lord expressing themselves with praiseworthy energy against the deadly errors of *Dr. Colenso*, and his denial of certain truths of Revelation; [ϕ John William Colenso (1814-1883), English-born bishop of Natal, rejected certain traditional Biblical interpretations (for example, the doctrine of eternal punishment). Not surprisingly, his liberal theology, which would scarcely raise any eyebrows today, was fiercely attacked in England by High Church clergy, not least by Dykes. Colenso was condemned by his peers in South Africa, and the Bishop of Cape Town formally deposed him in 1863. He appealed to the privy {*Cont.*}

[10]
VI. I have already mentioned these as examples of CHRIST'S orderly and revealed course of action, blessing men, absolving, teaching them, giving them life, strength, food, medicine, through the Church; nourishing the fainting multitudes through the agency of His Disciples; imparting Himself to men, and drawing them up to Himself in and by means of the system of earthly ministrations which He has ordained. And I must now return to my immediate subject, and repeat that, as all systems of religion which presume to approach the FATHER otherwise than through the Incarnate SON are not really of GOD, but are devised by the Enemy of souls to keep men *from* GOD, and so from permanent unity with one another; so all the innumerable systems of religion which propose to men to approach CHRIST, and draw from His fulness otherwise than through the channels of His own appointment, the various means of grace provided in His Holy Catholic Church, which *alone* He has promised to bless, are, in like manner, not really of GOD; are set on foot and multiplied by the great Adversary to thwart and arrest the orderly course of GOD'S saving work, and keep the nations from *real* abiding unity — unity of faith and worship, "unity of Spirit," unity in CHRIST, and unity with GOD.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not for one moment presuming to limit the grace of GOD, or to confine it absolutely to the use of His own appointed means of grace. Nay, I fully believe that multitudes brought up under imperfect systems, and not fully instructed in the ways of the Lord, perhaps in times and places (alas! how numerous) where the Church has not faithfully discharged her mission — but honestly using the light GOD has given them, have received and [11] do receive His rich blessings independently of the regular channels of His appointment.

But still, GOD'S goodness must never be converted into a pretext for man's presumption. The fact of His bountifully permitting His grace to overflow at times beyond its ordained channels, must never tempt us to despise those channels. Because He has compassionated man's ignorance, and of His Almighty goodness ever and anon brought good out of evil, we must not close our eyes to the evil itself, or for any fancied results presumptuously "do evil that good may come."

But the point I would press is this: that no system which begins by disregarding the orderly and regular revealed course of our LORD'S saving work, can look, or has any right to look, in so far as that disregard exists, for His abiding blessing, or can be expected finally to

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council, which found in his favour as far as his deposition was concerned but otherwise delivered no judgment on the theological aspects of the case. Although Colenso's adversaries successfully achieved his inhibition from preaching in England, and the Bishop of Cape Town both excommunicated him and consecrated a rival bishop for Natal, he had his supporters and was able to return to his diocese and to his work as a Bible scholar and Zulu translator.] and yet, in the very same breath, following his bad example, and denying this fundamental and Catholic verity. But all revealed Truth is to be equally shielded; we may not choose what we will accept, and what reject. If it is heresy to repudiate the authority of Him Whom the Father hath sent, and *through* Whom He works, it is no less heresy top repudiate the authority of those whom the Incarnate Son hath sent, and *through* whom He works, consecrating, blessing, teaching, remitting and retaining sins. A terrible responsibility lies at the door of those who, with no personal experience either in respect to themselves or others, of the inestimable value of private confession and Absolution, occasional or regular, as the case may be, dare, in defiance of the plainest teaching of the Bible and Prayer-book, to denounce it. The Great Day alone will declare how many souls have been lost to the Church of England through the unfaithfulness of her bishops and priests in this matter. Habitual compulsory confession has been doubtless productive of great evil; but what are we to say to its habitual, and (as our modern teachers would fain have it,) compulsory neglect and disuse! If the one has ruined its thousands, may not the other, alas, have ruined its ten thousands?

contribute towards the furtherance of that great work of unity — unity of men with one another in Himself, and through Himself with the FATHER, in one and one way only.

VII. And now, my friends, the practical question for us all is this, How may we individually contribute towards the advancement of that great work of unity for which our LORD on the eve of His Passion interceded with the FATHER?

We have seen that the unity of mankind springs not from man but from GOD. Since man fell away from his Maker, he fell away from his brother man. We have seen that the reunion of the race can be effected not by the exertion of any inherent power within ourselves, but through our being brought gradually back into the sphere and under the influence of that central Force which originally ruled us, and which can alone restore us individually and collect[12]tively to harmony and order. No mere human contrivances, associations, combinations, can bring about this great result: it can only be effected through the diffusion among us *from above* of a Sacred Power, a Mysterious Energy, a Divine Principle, an attractive assimilating Influence — even the living Person of Him Who is essential LOVE — proceeding from the FATHER to the SON, and from the Incarnate SON diffused throughout the articulation of the Mystical Body, and thence sending forth its vital forces to the nations of the world, drawing them up and uniting them to that One Sacred Corporation of which It is the Life and SOUL; and thus drawing and uniting men to GOD and to each other. Our LORD in His great Eucharistic Intercession refers several times to this Mysterious Power which was to flow forth from Himself, drawing men in Himself to each other and to the FATHER; and He gives It two august titles; He calls It "Glory" and "Love." He prays first that His Own Body may be consecrated therewith; and then that the consecrating Unction may diffuse itself from the "Head" through the members; yea, and spreading to wider spheres, may at last unify and transfigure the world itself. "FATHER, glorify Thou Me with the Glory which I had with Thee before the world was." He prays (we see) that He, as Man, may receive that "unmeasured" Indwelling of the HOLY GHOST which as GOD He possessed from all eternity. But the Gift is not to terminate with Himself. His Manhood is to be sanctified, that His mystical members may be sanctified. "The GLORY which Thou gavest Me have I given them, *that they may be One as We are One.*" He receives the Gift of essential LOVE, in order that they, too, might be indwelt and energised by the same All Holy Person; "that the LOVE wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them."
[13]
Our LORD, you observe, in this Prayer for Unity, not only supplicates for the bestowal of this "great Gift of Glory and Love," but speaks of It, in the language of triumphant faith, as already granted. "The Glory which Thou gavest Me *have I given* them." For the Gift was already made over in His loving Will.[1] The first sprinklings had been poured forth. But it was not till the Ascension and the Pentecostal effusion that the first great realization of the

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[1] Or rather, perhaps, we should say that the great Gift which was shortly to be bestowed on His Church collectively, was at this solemn time actually given to His loved ones by way of earnest and anticipation—the Gift of Himself, and *therefore* the Gift of the HOLY GHOST enshrined in, and proceeding from, that Sacred Body wherein "dwelleth all the fulness of the GODHEAD."

And here it is to be observed that it was not till our Divine LORD *had* thus given Himself—even His Own Adorable Body and Blood—to His people, commanding the perpetuation of this Mystery of Self-giving in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar "until He should come again," (a command which came in force and began to be obeyed by the whole Church at Pentecost, as soon as His Sacred Body had been fully consecrated in Heaven to Its Divine offices of mercy; and the GLORY welling therefrom had begun thereupon to "fill all the earth,")—that, on the basis of this New Gift, He grounds the fundamental Law of His kingdom; "A New Commandment I give unto you that ye *love* one another." CHRIST first *imparts* the Gift of essential Love, making us "partakers of the Divine Nature," *then* He admonishes us to use and call into active service, this New Supernatural Energy.

petition took place. Hitherto "the HOLY GHOST was not given, because JESUS was not *glorified*." It was not till "He ascended on high," that He "received gifts for men," and "gave them to men," even the great Gift of Indwelling GOD. It was the "GLORY" and the "LOVE" of JESUS, the Risen and Exalted SAVIOUR, which then began to suffuse the Church — the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD shed forth on, and proceeding from, the Manhood of CHRIST — GOD coming to us through [14] *Man*, and receiving from *Man* the capacity of holding converse with our *human* spirits. And what was the immediate visible effect of the outpouring upon the Church of this "Spirit of Glory and of GOD?" Was it not such as to constrain even the world to exclaim, "See how these Christians *love* one another?"

O brethren, when shall the Church of CHRIST arise and *shine*, and the Glory of the LORD once more beam upon her! When shall she shine forth in her true glory, the glory of the visible restored unity! When shall she be entirely irradiated, penetrated with that All Holy Unction which is "Glory and Love," which is the "Glory of God on High," and the alone source of Love and "Peace on earth!" Oh! would *you* really give "Glory to GOD on high," *pray* for the unity of His Church; "pray for the *Peace* of Jerusalem;" "they shall prosper that love her." Pray and work that the whole Church of CHRIST, and especially our own branch, may yet put on the lustrous garments of Transfiguration; be beautiful as the Bride in the Canticles; that she may be "all glorious within," so that her outward "raiment" may display the "wrought gold" of love and holiness; and that growing on from glory to glory, as by the SPIRT of the LORD, she may *compel* men by the irresistible force of her Divine Beauty to believe.

And here we see the answer to the practical question I but just now asked, How may we individually contribute towards the advancement of that great work of unity, for which our LORD on the even of His Passion interceded with the FATHER?

Our first work must be with ourselves; earnestly striving after the full possession of our own souls by that Holy "SPIRIT of CHRIST;" reverently seeking Him from without, in all those channels of grace through which our LORD imparts to us of His fulness; [15] and earnestly cherishing Him from within, by active obedience and a life of Holy Love, always remembering that it is by "loving each other" that GOD'S LOVE is perfected in us.

But we must labour not for ourselves only, but that *others* also may share in this transforming Power, and so be drawn up and united to the One only Source and Centre of Unity. And this, brethren, you can only do effectually, by striving as you are able, each in his own little sphere, to build up and edify the Church of GOD; to lend your active sympathy also to whatever may contribute to the extension or maintenance of that hallowed machinery and system of Grace through which our LORD works upon mankind, giving Himself to them, drawing them up to Himself.

VIII. And it is with this view that I would commend to your support, your sympathies, and your prayers, that Association in whose behalf we have met together at GOD'S Altar this morning — the English Church Union. It is an organization not independent of the Church, (GOD forbid!) but simply consisting of Churchmen and Churchwomen linked together with the sole view of helping on the Church's work in the Church's own way, and defending her rights against the numerous adversaries within and without her borders who are openly and secretly seeking to despoil her.

GOD has blessed the work of this Union in a signal way, and I earnestly believe *is* blessing, and (if it only continues to work as it has done) will yet bless it. It is at the Altar of GOD that the Union has ever sought and found its strength. It is there — at that great Seat of Glory and Love — that it has ever humbly asked, and (I believe) graciously received, those supplies of wisdom and help whereby it has been enabled to originate and carry forward its various [16]

works. Its strength has, I humbly believe, been the strength of GOD, its wisdom the wisdom of GOD; because this strength and wisdom have been dutifully claimed where He has pledged his Omnipotence to bestow them.

Were the Church in her normal condition, uncrippled by State encroachments, unparalized by inward unfaithfulness, such subsidiary organizations would be unneeded. In her present condition, they appear almost a necessity. And so long as they are conducted with the wisdom, and zeal, and fidelity which have marked the counsels of the English Church Union hitherto, they cannot but be productive of unmixed good, and contribute to the hastening on of that time (GOD speed its approach) when their help will be no longer needed.

GOD'S promises tarry long. He ever likes to try our *patience* and faith, our obedience and humble confidence. In His good time, and in His Own way — and just perhaps, when it seems that "His Promise has come utterly to an end for evermore" — shall His good work "which He hath purposed in Himself, to *gather together in One all things in* CHRIST" be triumphantly accomplished; but not perhaps till the world has first learned a terrible lesson as to its own abject and miserable inability to do anything towards securing its dreams of "liberty" and "fraternity," in opposition to, or independently of, the Church of Christ.

"Pray," then, brethren, "for the Peace of Jerusalem." Make thankful use yourselves of the Blessed means of Grace wherewith GOD has favoured you in your own parish, for your use of which you will have to render a searching account; and labour that others may share in the like Holy privileges. Pray that GOD would continually inbreathe into His Universal [17] Church, and specially our own beloved Branch, the SPIRIT of Truth, Unity, and Concord.

And may we all, strengthened continually in our own souls by the same transforming SPIRIT "grow up together into Him in all things which is the Head, from Whom the whole Body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of GOD."

ϕ There followed a reprint of a meditation by John Keble on the Lord's Prayer.

Fowle, Edmund (ed.) Plain Preaching for a Year, Vol. 2 (Skeffington: London, 1873)

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THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT.

(FOURTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.)

BY REV. JOHN B. DYKES, MA., Mus.Doc.,
(Vicar of S. Oswald's, Durham.)

GAL. v. 22, 23.
"The fruit of the Spirit is love; joy, peace, long-suffering,
gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

IN the Epistle of this day we meet with two lists, the one of vices, the other of virtues; the former characterised by S. Paul as "the works of the flesh," the latter as "the fruit of the Spirit." Observe his change of expression. There are two lives we may lead, two masters we may serve — the flesh and the Spirit. In both services there is a promise of reward. It is well, then, to compare in each case the proportion between the labour and the profit, between the work and the fruit. Very significant, in this view, is the Apostle's language.

In the one service the toil is so great, that in comparison thereof the reward is nothing. In the other the reward is so great, that in comparison thereof the toil is nothing. Hence in [208] the former case, without any mention of fruit, he simply speaks of "the *works* of the flesh." In the latter, without any mention of work, he simply speaks of "the *fruit* of the Spirit." In reference to the former he asks in another place, "What *fruit* had ye then in those things the end whereof is death?" He speaks of "the *unfruitful works* of darkness." In reference to the latter, he speaks of "the peaceable fruit of righteousness, and of our having our fruit unto holiness, and the end Everlasting Life."

Another point may be noticed. He does not say "works" and "fruits," but "works" and *"fruit;"* the former word being in the plural, the latter in the singular number. For the "works of the flesh" are many and divers, like noxious weeds overrunning a fair ground. The fruit of the Spirit is *one.* This delicious produce has an infinite variety of manifestations, but it is essentially; one. "Love, joy, peace," and the rest, are not separate and independent fruits, but the various constituents, the several elements which. contribute to the perfection of the one fruit. In order that this divine produce may possess the full richness, and consistency, and beauty, and flavour, which the great Husbandman looks for, it needs the presence of all the graces here specified. If one of them be absent, the fruit will be defective. All must be there. They will be present in infinitely varied proportions and combinations, each separate combination producing its own delightful result, one grace predominating in this Christian, another in that; but in no single Christian character will anyone of these constituents be really absent.

Although, then, we may for convenience speak of these several graces as the several fruits of the Spirit, we must yet not forget their essential oneness.

Now the former catalogue, comprising "the works of the flesh," consists of sixteen members:[1] there is a fourfold four. The latter catalogue comprising "the fruit of the Spirit," consists of nine: there is a threefold three. In the case of the former, as there is no principle of unity underlying them, we may expect them to occur fitfully and irregularly, and in no very definite order.

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[1] There are seventeen in our Version. But the first, "Adultery," is spurious.

In the case of the latter, we may look for a more regular and orderly sequence. We may, [210] perhaps, also expect (if I may dare so to express myself) to find the most engaging and attractive and obvious graces coming first, and the more inward and hidden and difficult graces following.

The series, we have seen, consists of three triplets of graces.

I. Let us begin with the first. I have said that we might almost expect the series to open with the most obvious and attractive graces. What do we find? What is the first natural outcome of the Christian life? the first fruit we should almost instinctively look for?

1. I need hardly answer, "By *this* shall all men know that ye are My disciples if ye have *love* one to another." The HOLY SPIRIT *is* the Personal LOVE of GOD. He is LOVE essential. Hence Love, methinks, *must* be the first outcome of His life in the soul, the first sweet fruit formed on the Tree of Life. And so it is. "See how these Christians *love* one another!" Here is the unction from the Holy One streaming forth, "the Love of GOD shed abroad in the heart by the HOLY GHOST given;" ever proceeding, giving itself forth in love to GOD and in charity to man. We give what we have received. We love because we have been loved.
[211]
2. And if Love is the first fruit of the Spirit, can we wonder what is the *second?* Think for a moment of earthly love. Can any earthly lover feel and know him or herself beloved, without a thrill of *joy?* No. Where Love is, there must be Joy. And this is the next "fruit of the Spirit" which S. Paul names. The reason we are all so joyless is because we are so unloving. Love in full activity is realized joy. And where the Love of GOD is — that Love which is ever proceeding forth to bless, ever self-diffusive — there, as it gushes forth to fertilize and bless, it must ever reflect from its joyous wave the sunny laugh of Heaven. When the Love of GOD came down at Pentecost it filled the hearts of the first believers with a strange unearthly Joy. A holy ecstasy, or inebriation, possessed them: they were said to be filled with new wine. Joy ever accompanies Love. Moreover Love will ever delight to dwell in the presence of the loved One: and "in His presence there is fulness of Joy." Some Christians seem to think it right to be always mopish and melancholy. This is not the Christianity of the Bible. We should cultivate brightness and cheerfulness. "The righteous is ever merry and joyful."
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3. But is this Joy like earthly joy, a mere superficial feeling, transient and fleeting; as the babbling brook, noisy because shallow? Ah, no! for this holy Joy leads on to, nay, it is itself but an outward manifestation of a deep inward Peace. And this is the third blessed "fruit of the Spirit" — *Peace;* "the Peace of GOD which passeth all understanding" — something deeper and sweeter than even Joy itself. Some Christians are either all excitement, or all depression; now exuberant with gladness, now in the depths of despondency. We should seek after a reposeful, quiet spirit, at peace with GOD, at peace with self, at peace with the world. "When the surface of the stream is agitated, it can not reflect on its bosom the image of the Sun, or the quiet Heavens, or the lovely landscape. And so with ourselves. It is not till GOD says "Peace, be still," and there is a "great calm," that the soul can receive, and respond to, and mirror forth, the images GOD wills to impress upon it. The Christian Joy must have nothing of mere animal excitement about it: it must be a "Joy in the Lord," resulting from and issuing in the deep unearthly "Peace of GOD." He has "all joy and *Peace* in believing."

Here, then, is the first triplet of graces: the [213] first manifestation of the SPIRIT'S work in the soul. "Love, Joy, Peace."

II. But now we come to a second stage in the Christian life. All has been loving, joyous, placid hitherto. But there has been no allusion to trials, and crosses, and obstructions. But *can* this continue? Ah! No. "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of

GOD." Love must ere long encounter hatred; Joy meet with sorrow; Peace enter into conflict. So that in the second triplet we find Grace, not as in the first, pursuing its course uninterruptedly, but under trial. And thus we arrive at the fourth, fifth and sixth of the "fruits of the Spirit." "Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness."

4. To begin with the first of these, *Long-suffering.* It is true in nature, it is true in Grace, that the course of true Love never did run smooth. Love has to be confronted by unlove, to be betrayed by a kiss; to be wounded in the house of its friends. For the Love that I have unto them, lo, they take now my contrary part." Oh, what need of further grace to bear up with this. Here then the HOLY GHOST gradually produces in us His *fourth* fruit, *long-suffering* — a word which tells of calm, brave bearing up with the per[214]verseness of others. Scripture tells us of GOD Himself enduring with much *long-suffering* the ungrateful returns of man. And we must be prepared for the call to exercise the same Grace; must seek to attain it; and implore our long-suffering GOD Who has borne so patiently with us, to enable us to bear patiently with the perverseness of those who, not loving the Head, can not love the members. Our love, checked and opposed, must not be destroyed: it must alter its complexion: it must gain in pity and tenderness, and endurance, and sympathy. "Pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you."

5. But here a caution is needed. It is very necessary that in this steady bearing up against opposition, in this "endurance of the contradiction of sinners," in this exercise of the grace of long-suffering, there should be nothing of hardness or stoical severity. It is not uncommon to see persons who have long and bravely borne up against human perverseness, against slander, opposition, or other forms of trial becoming by degrees stern, ungentle, unamiable: Exemplary, but *hard.* Hence the need of the next Grace here specified, *Gentleness.*
[215]
Now this is the central word of the whole group. And therefore it is the Grace which will most distinctly mark the true Christian in his outward deportment. He will be gentle, affable, approachable; softened, mellowed, and sweetened by trial; and with sympathies soon touched by sorrow, from having had personal experience of sorrow. The love, joy, peace, long-suffering, will have settled down into an habitual *gentleness.* The true Christian will be the true and only true *Gentleman*.

6. But here another check is needed. This last grace *may* degenerate into mere pliant, easy, languid, amiability. This must not be. To counteract this possibility we meet with the next "fruit of the Spirit" — *Goodness.* This "gentleness" must never lead to, or be the expression of mere nerveless weakness: it must always be associated with real solid *goodness.* This latter is an *active* grace as the former is rather *passive*. It is possible to be passively *gentle* with those who have injured us: but to be actively *good*, to do them good, wish them good, overcome their evil with our good, is far harder. But it is to this we must advance. GOD is not only long-suffering and gentle towards sinners: He is *good,* [216] He *does* them good, He showers down blessings on them, He vanquishes their evil by His own persistent untiring *Goodness.* And this goodness we must seek to attain.

We have thus then considered the second triplet of Graces; the second stage of the SPIRIT'S work in the soul; the second cluster of the SPIRIT'S fruits. We have seen Grace not only in the freshness of its first power; but also tried by opposition.

III. We are lastly to see it *perfected* by experience and suffering. And we are thus brought to the third cluster of the Spirit's fruits, "Faith, Meekness, Temperance."

7. To begin with *Faith.* You will at once see that this is not merely that grace which lies at the very foundation of the Christian life. No: it here signifies a deeply tried, an earnest,

experimental trust and inherence in GOD. You observe, this grace follows immediately after *goodness.* And you will remember how the Psalmist speaks of goodness leading on to a full assurance of faith, "The *good* man (he says)…shall never be moved: for his heart *standeth fast, and believeth* in the Lord.["] But there is a further beautiful propriety in this sequence of [217] Graces. For *Faith* here does not only mean trust in GOD: it means trust in *man* also. Now the good man is always the trustful man. Goodness is catching. It calls out goodness, it makes people not only trustful but trusty. A bad man is always suspicious, and is being always taken in. A good man is always trustful, and rarely misplaces confidence. The good man also, however sorely tried, feels so certain that "the Lord is good," he feels so certain that the goodness and mercy which *have* followed him, *will* "follow him all his days," that he *cannot* doubt God's love, or wisdom, or guidance. "Faithful is He Who hath promised , Who also will do it. I *know Whom I have believed,* and am *persuaded* that He is able to keep me." "Let the earth be removed, let the hills be carried into the depth of the sea, the Lord of Hosts is still with me, the God of Jacob my refuge."

8. And *faith* must ever lead on to, must ever be accompanied by, *meekness.* For meekness is the great outward mark of deep reverential faith in GOD. It accepts all His Providential orderings with gentle, loving, unmurmuring submission. It never chafes and rebels in the face of adverse circumstances. Discerning GOD'S hand in all, it [218] bows and yields. See our great king before His passion coming into Jerusalem "*meek,* and sitting upon an ass." He is truly "King," He already inherits the earth, because in Him meekness is perfected. This is the *royal* grace of Scripture. These meek ones overcome by submission, they triumph by yielding. Here is *faith in action,* ever bowing before every manifestation of the will of GOD. See our meek King, as he says " Learn of me;" ever dutiful, obedient, reverent, humble; submitting Himself to every ordinance of GOD or man; calmly enduring the contradiction of sinners against Himself; allowing Himself to be set at nought, abused, scourged, spit upon, crucified by His own creatures; simply because in all this treatment He discerned the expression of the will of His heavenly Father. And this He dare not resist. "Let him curse, for the *Lord* hath said unto him, 'Curse David.'"

9. And closely allied with this, contributing to it, and yet resulting from it, is the last, the ninth "fruit of the Spirit;" the most rarely acquired, the most hardly acquired, of all. I mean the grace of *Temperance.* It is a word signifying habitual inner *self-control,* and self-mastery. [219]
This last triplet seems to tell of the soul's final victory over its three dead foes, the Devil, the World, and the Flesh. The Devil is overcome by *faith,* the World by *meekness,* the Flesh by *temperance,* or self-discipline. This last grace, depend upon it, dear friends, is the hardest of all to acquire. It denotes such an entire inner subjugation and *holding in* of all our natural impulses, motions, affections, such a continuous "keeping under of the body and bringing it into subjection," that it shall be fully and completely under the loving control of the indwelling, in-working SPIRIT. "I live, yet *not I,* for *Christ* liveth in me."

And now, in conclusion, I can only beg you to seek to attain these various graces. Seek to co-operate at each step with the blessed SPIRIT, in His loving endeavour to perfect and mature this sweet "fruit" in you. For, from first to last, we are to be "fellow-workers with God." And these graces can be only painfully and gradually formed in the soul. If any be wanting the whole will he marred. At different times and in different ways are they developed in different Christians. Aim and pray and strive after all. Examine your hearts and lives, find out where [220] you are most deficient, and make special efforts to acquire that grace. Have a good hope. Be sure that the great Husbandman longs for his own delicious fruit, and will second all your endeavours after the cultivating, and ripening, and perfection of it.

1. Be *loving* then. Be bright and *joyous*. Let the *Peace* of GOD rule in your heart.

2. You will meet with trial and contradiction: so you must learn the grace of *long suffering*. Let this soften and mellow your character into a CHRIST-like *gentleness;* and this again develop into active *goodness,* like His Who not only was gentle, but "went about doing good" to them who were ever doing Him evil.

3. The ripening and perfecting of the fruit in you may not be without pain. The Devil, the World and the Flesh may fiercely assail. Let nothing shake your *trust* in GOD: let "the trial of your Faith be found unto praise and honour and glory." Bear with *meekness* whatever comes upon you whether directly from GOD'S Hand, or through the agency of the evil and hostile world. Seek to gain complete inner *mastery over your own self;* so that every impulse, every "thought, may be brought into cap[221]tivity to the obedience of CHRIST." So shall you be neither barren nor unfruitful; so shall "your labour not be in vain in the Lord"; so shall you, "plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, be plenteously rewarded" through the merits and Love of our Lord and only Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

Fowle, Edmund (ed.) Plain Preaching for a Year, Vol. 3 (Skeffington: London, 1873)

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The Mother of Jesus.

(THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.)

BY REV. JOHN B. DYKES, MA., Mus. Doc.,
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S. LUKE I. 38.

"And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy word."

ALTHOUGH the present festival brings before us, in some special way, the great cardinal doctrine of the Incarnation, the central truth of Revelation; although, therefore, like all the Church's festivals, it directs our gaze primarily to Him Who at this time, that He might deliver man, "did not abhor the Virgin's womb;" — yet, as it is a day peculiarly associated with thoughts of *her* whom "all generations shall call blessed;" as it is known by the names "lady Day," "the Annunciation of our Lady," "the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary," I will take the opportunity of speaking a few words in reference to that honoured Maiden who was at this time the subject of the mysterious overshadowing by the HOLY GHOST.

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How much we should all like to know something of her early history, the circumstances under which she was trained and fitted for the overwhelming destiny awaiting her. But nothing is revealed.

We see her not till we hear of her being espoused to a man of the name of Joseph, of the royal family of David.

She has reached the years of early womanhood. She is alone, possibly engaged in devotion, though this is not told to us. A sudden blaze of light fills her solitary chamber, and she finds herself face to face with an Angel. It is the Angel Gabriel, who has been sent in former times to give the prophet Daniel skill and understanding in reference to the mysterious future of the chosen Race, who had appeared recently to Zacharias, and announced the birth of the Baptist, striking the aged priest dumb because he believed not the heavenly message, it was *he* who now stood before the lowly Jewish maid.

And how does this mighty Archangel, "who stands in the presence of GOD," open his salutation? "Hail thou that art highly favoured" — or "full of grace," as the Latin version reads it — "The Lord is with thee, Blessed art thou among [109] women!" Never, surely, since the world began was such a reverent salutation from one of GOD'S highest Archangels coming directly from the presence of GOD, bestowed on any daughter of Adam. Well might the lowly maid be overpowered by such a greeting. The dazzling majesty of the celestial visitant, and the deep sense of her own unworthiness terrify her. "When she saw him, she was troubled at her presence," and began to "cast in her mind," what the salutation might mean. With re-assuring accents the Angel addresses her, "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with GOD; and, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a Son, and shalt call His Name JESUS. He shall be great. And He shall be called the Son of the Highest. And the Lord GOD shall give unto Him the Throne of His father David. And He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end."

And now, mark the strong *faith* of this wondrous maiden — the invariable accompaniment of genuine humility, humility which, distrusting self, clings and trusts implicitly to GOD. She "staggers not" at this amazing "Promise of [110] GOD, through unbelief;" but abides "strong in faith," "fully persuaded that what GOD hath promised He is able also to perform." She

meekly, therefore, enquires of the Angel *how* this Mystery is to be brought about, seeing that she is yet unmarried, and that something whispers to her inmost spirit that such a Birth can result from no mere earthly and natural generation. The Angel finding her thus prepared to accept the whole truth, proceeds with his astounding revelation:

"The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shalt overshadow thee. Therefore also that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called *the Son of* GOD." Yes, awful, inscrutable truth — the Son of GOD, and yet "born of *thee*": issuing from the virginal bosom, and yet, not the less "very GOD of very GOD."

To strengthen a faith which might well have given way under the crushing weight of an announcement so glorious and inconceivable, and also as a sign for the fulfilment in its time of the Mystery of "GOD made flesh," the Angel encouragingly refers her to the state of her "cousin Elizabeth," who in her old age had by [111] the power of GOD received strength to conceive; — adding, "for with GOD nothing shall be impossible."

"And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord: *be it unto me according to thy word."*

O moment of supreme interest in the history of man's Redemption! For a brief space, the Salvation of the world was hanging upon the will of a poor country girl. This may sound strange: but it is true. There must be the *willing* surrender of the human instrument, before GOD can employ it. The hands of the Omnipotent are tied, when the creature mistrusts, or hesitates to respond to, His Word. He "*can do no mighty work,*" when there is "unbelief" in those through whom, or upon whom, He wills to work. But here, in this "humble and meek" one, there was just that strong, self-forgetting, unquestioning faith which He needed: that entire trust in His Power, that complete repose in His goodness, that absolute acceptance of His word, that perfect linking and clasping of her will with His Will, which He looked and longed for — so that every bar to the consummation of the Mystery was removed. "The Angel departed from her."[112] And already the Celestial Overshadowing had taken place: already was Incarnate GOD being secretly formed within her: already had man's Redemption and the Salvation of the world begun to be realised.

But whenever GOD greatly graces, there He greatly tries. And Blessed Mary had to discover that, although she was to be the honoured instrument of bringing Life and Joy into the world, and so of counteracting the mischief wrought by her forerunner Eve, who had brought in Death and sorrow, yet was she to have no personal immunity from the woes entailed upon the race by the natural "Mother of all living."

Her humility and meekness, her patience and faith, have to be subjected to the severest tests. GOD will gradually perfect His work in her: He will purge her as gold, and make her thoroughly worthy of Himself.

She is to bring forth a Son. The Angel tells her that her Child is to occupy the Royal Throne of David, that He is the be "Great," to be "called the Son of the Highest," to reign for ever, to be the Founder of an Everlasting Kingdom. Then what will *her* position be? Surely, she must have been more than human, if [113] such a question never arose in her mind. As a presage of what was to come, while paying the visit to her cousin Elizabeth, she hears her old friend and relation reverently designate her as "the *Mother of my Lord.*" Yea, she learns that the very babe in Elizabeth's womb has "leaped" in sacred joy and lowly obeisance before the Eternal King Who, in the secret place of His Tabernacle, was yet being "fearfully and wonderfully made."

Well, the time of the Nativity draws near; and with it, a first great trial of faith. Surely some fitting mansion will be prepared by GOD, or Angels, or men, in which to *receive* this "King of all the earth." But, *no*. He comes homeless into the world. She brings Him forth in a stable.

A manger is His cradle. The ox and the ass His attendants. But brighter times, perchance, will come. Nay: very soon she, her husband, and her Babe have to fly for their lives. On their return, they continue to live on in an obscure village. Year passes year: still no prospect of Royalty. Like other Jewish boys, the Son of Mary pursues his father's trade. They are too poor to obtain for Him any higher post or dignity. *For thirty long years* this state [114] of things lasted. Here was this wondrous Son, about Whom so much had been predicted, living on, a simple quiet, retiring youth, unknown beyond His own village, and even there held in no esteem. True, His Mother gathered up His deep sayings and pondered them in her heart. But that this constant daily intercourse with her Divine Child was in itself no natural aid to faith we learn from this astounding fact recorded by the HOLY GHOST, that even "His brethren[1] did not believe in Him," — that bodily familiarity with His outward presence was no aid to the fostering of a faith in His Divine Person and Mission.

At last comes His Baptism. He is now definitely called and set apart by GOD to His special ministerial work. The Marriage Feast of Cana takes place, symbolical of our Lord henceforth leaving earthly father and mother, and cleaving to His spouse, the Church. The Mother trusting to the natural relationship between herself and her Son, and remembering His unswerving [115] obedience and filial devotion in their cottage home, gently expresses her wish in matters outside her maternal role and concern; and is at once met by the new and unlooked for rebuke, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? *Mine* hour is not yet come." Words which seem to say, Old things are passed away. I cannot recognise any authority in the affairs of the Kingdom. Here thy natural relationship gives thee no claim upon My regard, beyond that which is possessed by any other daughter of Eve. In the earthly home I obeyed thee as Son. In the new Home I am entering, thou must obey Me as thy God. If thou would'st be "blessed" for ever, it will not be because thy womb bare Me, or thy paps gave Me suck, but because thou hast obeyed My voice. "My mother and My brethren are they who hear the Word of GOD and keep it."

My friends, we can little conceive the keen trial to faith which all this weary waiting, in the first stages of our Lord's life, must have been to His Mother, nor the still sharper trial to her faith, her humility and meekness, which this second stage must have proved. After thirty years of patient tarrying for the Coming King-[116]dom, to find it, now at its inauguration, so mean in outward show; to find herself, moreover, not only with no recognised position in it, as Mother of the Founder, but even separated, as it would seem, by a new chasm from Him; to have the strange stern truth gradually unfolded to her (for this is the burden of our Lord's whole teaching concerning her) that the natural tie uniting herself to her Son carries with it no one single title to place, or precedence, or authority in His Kingdom, but that her position must depend solely on her own *use* of GOD'S wondrous grace, her own inward correspondence with His goodness to her, and on the measure in which she has personally and experimentally "heard and kept" that Word which shall judge her at the last day.

But her greatest trial remains behind. The aged Symeon had told her that "a sword should pierce through her own soul." She had already quailed under its keen edge. She had already been pierced and probed by the sharp questionings of doubt, by the poignant pangs of hope deferred, and biting sorrow. She has now to feel that two-edged blade penetrating deeper, and cutting to the very quick her quivering soul and spirit. Her Son, according to the Angel, was to be [117] honoured and worshipped, to occupy David's Royal Throne, to reign for ever.

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[1] The generally received opinion in the earliest ages of the Church with regard to these "Brethren of the Lord" was, that they were the sons of Joseph by a former wife, before he espoused the Blessed Virgin. See the authorities in Prof. Lightfoot's Commentary on the Ep. to the Galatians: Dissertation ii. "On the Brethren of the Lord."

But, (oh! terrible mystery) instead of this, in the very prime of life, she has to see Him doomed to death. Yea, she has to behold Him "despised and rejected of men, a Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;" to see Him laughed to scorn, betrayed, forsaken, scourged, lacerated with thorns, nailed to the bloody Cross, a companion of thieves, hanging between heaven and earth, accursed of GOD and man. Oh, who can read those simple words, "Now there stood by the Cross of JESUS His Mother," without feeling the terrible nature of the conflict she was being called upon to undergo, the awful sternness of that discipline whereby divine love would try and perfect her.

But Holy Scripture tells us nothing about her inward feelings and experiences, it hangs a deep veil over all; it reveals not to us the *effect* of this burning furnace on her soul, and of her emergence therefrom like "gold purified seven times in the fire;" or yet the unutterable glories which her afflictions have wrought out for her — how GOD proved her, and found her worthy of Himself.
[118]
Let us only strive to imitate her faith, her lowliness and meekness, meekness which trustfully receives from GOD'S hands the most transcendent favours and the deepest sufferings and humiliations, and *we*, too, shall like her be exalted by Him Who hath said, "My mother and My brother are they which hear the word of GOD and keep it."

Fain would I here leave her, awaiting in bliss, with all saints the glorious day of her espousals and coronation, when, not on the ground of her exalted natural dignity as Mother of Incarnate GOD, but on the simple ground of her faithful use of grace given; not, as S. Augustine says, for conceiving CHRIST, in her womb, but for conceiving Him in her heart, she will take her place as the first of all saints, the most sorely tried, the most humble and meek, therefore the most abundantly rewarded and highly exalted. fain would I leave her, nor sully her gentle name by associating it with anything sinful. But I cannot, I dare not, quite dismiss the subject, without adding one word to express the sorrow and pain which we, as Christians and Catholics, ought to feel at the thought that her holy memory has been and is abused by the Devil as a [119] means of dishonour and indignity to her Divine Son.

If Holy Scripture be true, if the teaching of the ancient Church be true, the modern systematized devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the modern theory, too, which seems to have apportioned to her in the economy of Grace a distinct office on the ground of her Maternity, as Mediatrix between ourselves and her Divine Son — all this, however widespread it may unhappily have become, is not only unjustifiable, but perilously sinful.

The early ages of the Church knew nothing of this. When this new form of illicit and sentimental devotion to the creature first began tentatively to show itself in the fourth century (as our LORD'S significant and half-prophetic words to His Mother strangely seem to indicate that it *would* ere long show itself) it was sternly denounced by the Fathers of the Church as simply *idolatrous.*

I well know that devotion to the Mother of GOD has been insisted on as a safeguard and defence of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Probably it has to a certain extent served this purpose, and acted as a temporary stay. But [120] like all mere human supports, it cannot stand. Being in itself unsound, it must give way; and then what will become of the Christianity of those countries, where the very central Truth of the Gospel has been propped and buttressed up by means of a lie?

But I will say no more on so sad a theme, on this Holy Feast of the Annunciation. In the Church of England, our danger does not lie in the direction of over-exalting the saintly Virgin, but, by a natural re-action from excesses elsewhere, of forgetting her, and withholding

from the holiest and most blessed of womankind that made of affectionate reverence which is her due.

Cherish we ever lovingly and gratefully the memory of her gentle holiness, of her spotless purity, of her profound humility, of her wondrous meekness. Let her history, too, remind us (as I have said) that wherever GOD signally graces, there He signally tries; and that if suffering and humiliation were *necessary* for the perfection of her whom "all generations shall call blessed," they must be no less needful for us; and that if GOD dearly loves is, He will chasten us "even as a father the child in whom he delighteth."

And whether He call us to joy or sorrow, [121] whether to some unlooked for dignity and success, or to some crushing humiliation and trial, learn we humbly and meekly to acquiesce, with that trustful repose, that self-forgetting resignation of soul which breathed forth in the memorable words, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; *be it unto me according to Thy word.*"

Fowle, Edmund (ed.) Plain Preaching for a Year, Vol. 3 (Skeffington: London, 1873)

[94]

The Two Places.

(S. MATTHIAS.)

BY REV. JOHN B. DYKES, MA., Mus. Doc.,
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ACTS. 1. 25.
"That he might go to his own place."

It was a sad and solemn occasion on which these words were uttered. The apostolic company was met together for the purpose of selecting a man to fill the vacancy caused by the untimely death of one of its own number.

Occasions of this kind have always something mournful about them, when Death has made his first inroad into some little society banded together for the advancement of one great common object. True, such gatherings are sometimes brightened by the encouraging memories of the virtues and good example of the departed; and, amid regrets for their own loss, the survivors are not unfrequently nerved to a more zealous [95] and hopeful prosecution of their work by thoughts of him who is gone.

But here there were no such cheering reflections to gild the gloom. Here was the little Christian company prayerful and expectant, but anxious; their Divine Leader removed from them, the HOLY GHOST not yet come; commissioned to revolutionize the world: and one of themselves had proved a deserter, a traitor, and apostate. One in whom they had trusted so fully as to make him their treasurer, their almoner, had basely deceived them, and by his fearful impiety and his awful and notorious death, had brought the whole sacred cause, as it would seem, into imminent peril.

It was *his* place they had now to fill. There could, then, be no pleasing reflections connected either with his own life, or death, or present condition, to shed one ray of comfort or hope on his memory.

1. What about his *life?*

His past history is here briefly referred to by S. Peter in the words, "Judas, which was guide to them that took JESUS." Mark you, *not* "guide to them" who loved and followed JESUS (as an Apostle should have been), but "guide to [96] them" who hated, and captured, and slew Him.

2. What about his *death?*

His death is briefly related by S. Peter in these words: "This man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."

3. And what about his *present state?*

This is solemnly hinted at in the words of my text — "That he might go to his own place." What place? Ah, brethren, may you and I never go there!

But I wish to draw your attention for a few moments to these words, as they are very striking. The Apostles, you remember, are praying to be guided aright in making choice between two men, "Joseph, surnamed Justus, and Matthias." The words of their prayer are to this effect, "Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two Thou hast

chosen, that he may take the place of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas fell away to go to his own place."

Our own Bible version does not quite give the full force of the original here. It speaks of [97] Matthias "taking *part* of the ministry and apostleship from which Judas fell." The word "*part*" should be "*place.*" And what I want you to observe is this, that mention is here made of two places — "the place of ministry and apostleship," which GOD had chosen for Judas, which was *God's* place; and the mysterious and unmentioned place which Judas chose for himself, and which is here called "*his own place.*" He deserted one to go to the other. He made his choice: by that he must abide.

Had he remained faithfully in GOD'S place — in the post assigned him by CHRIST — what would have been the end of his ministry? His "faithfulness in a few things" would have resulted in his being "ruler over many things." He was elected to one of the twelve apostolic thrones, to a place of regal dignity, of exalted happiness, of unutterable glory and majesty in the world to come. But he failed in his trust, he took his own way, and went "to his own place." "Good were it for that man if he had never been born!"

Now let us think how it was, that one living so close to CHRIST, in daily personal intercourse with Him, fell away so woefully and irretrievably. [98] Very little is told us of his personal history. We are startled, all at once, by finding how cheap he holds his Divine Lord. He has set his heart upon a certain field, he must have it, even although he has to betray his Master to get the money. He obtains his money, and buys the coveted field. And how much joy does it bring him? He goes down to claim it as his own, and there, in an agony of frenzied remorse, he hangs himself, leaving his field defiled with the mangled and mutilated corpse of its impious owner.

But this betrayal of his Lord was simply the determining crisis of his life. The final *act* of unfaithfulness was but the natural result of a long *habit* of unfaithfulness. He seems to have been throughout a self-seeking man. He liked the thought of the future throne and kingdom, but he did not like the preliminary probation. He found by degrees that his "place of ministry and apostleship" assigned him by CHRIST involved the "loss of all things." He had not bargained for that. Even the little earnings and savings of the Twelve, the very alms and offerings given to them by the faithful, he found were to be devoted, not to their own use but to [99] the relief of the poor. He could not see the reason of this. He was no advocate for extravagance; but to make *some* provision for the future was absolutely needful. So, his good business habits seeming to point him out for the post, he contrived to be made treasurer of the little Company, and thus found opportunities for looking after his own interests, and reserving something for himself. Instead of planning how their small savings might be best disposed of for the welfare of the *poor*, he begins to think how they may be disposed of so the he *himself* may secure something. "His eyes are set against the poor," and thus against CHRIST the Guardian and Representative of the poor. The wants of the poor (that is, of CHRIST) come into collision with his own wants. He must sacrifice himself or his Master, and he chooses to sacrifice CHRIST.

Did not He "Whose eyes are as a flame of fire," and "Whose eyes consider the poor," observe every mite that His faithless steward was withholding from Himself? Did He not note whether the poor were receiving their rights from His Apostle?

It is very striking how God is represented jealously watching the poor, and resenting and [100] injury done to them; and how, in this particular instance, it is the wrong secretly practised upon them which first awakens His anger. You remember S. John's significant and half-contemptuous comment on the words of Judas when he saw Mary's precious gift poured

on the feet of JESUS, "This ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor." "Not that *he* cared for the poor!" adds S. John; "but he was a thief, and kept the bag, and bare (i.e. made away with) "what was put therein."

How does that Psalm open (the forty-first) which our Lord quotes as prophetic of Judas? "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy, the Lord shall deliver *him* in the time of trouble." It goes on to speak of the wretched man who does *not* consider the poor, it tells of his treachery: "If he cometh to see me, he speaketh vanity, he deviseth mischief against me: yea, even mine own familiar friend whom I trusted, which did eat of my Bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." And it hints at the terrible judgment awaiting him at the Resurrection, "Raise Thou Me up, and *I shall reward* (or *requite*) *him.*"

S. Peter, in the address from which my text [101] is taken, quotes two other Psalms as likewise prophetic of him. He recites from Psalm CIX. the words, "His Bishopric let another man take" — words bearing on that very work in which himself and his brethren were then engaged, viz. the handing on the Apostolic succession. Now in this Psalm, again, we read of Messiah's enemy "rewarding Him evil for good," and "*persecuting the poor.*" We read that his ill-gotten gains shall do him no good, for that "the extortioner shall consume all that he hath, his children shall be beggars and vagabonds; there shall be no man to pity him or his fatherless children;" "in the next generation his name shall be clean put out." He shall die the death of the cursed (for "he that is hanged is accursed of GOD."): and the curses which he has brought upon himself "shall come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.".

The LXIX. Psalm speaks of "the things which should have been for his wealth being unto him an occasion of falling;" of his going in "from one wickedness to another;" of GOD'S "wrathful displeasure" at last "taking hold upon him;" of his being "wiped out of the [102] Book of the Living, and not written among the righteous."

So that we see, a little unfaithfulness in money matters, a little selfish disregard for the poor, led on to the hopeless ruin of this Apostle. He "fell from one wickedness to another," till he was finally blotted out of the Book of the Living.

Now, my dear friends, do not go away with the impression that there was anything very exceptional about the case of Judas, and that there is no fear of yourselves sharing in his doom. There was nothing very exceptional about it. He was not worse than thousands of Christians. Nor is their sin different in kind or degree from his. The singularity of his case is simply this, that we are able to *see* his sin in its true character, with the veil drawn off, and its intrinsic nature exposed; to view its fearful heinousness and miserable results, and to hear with our own ears CHRIST'S solemn word of doom, "Good were it for that man if he had never been born." Here is one of GOD'S terrible pictures. In it he points out and explains to us what sin in the Christian *is*, and what it *leads* to. It matters not whether CHRIST is visibly manifested in human flesh or not, the sin against Him is equally great. He [103] is betrayed by faithless disciples no less now that He is in Heaven than He was by Judas when on earth. The very psalms which tell of his wickedness do not speak of him only in the singular number, they speak of multitudes as involved in the very same sins and as expectants of the same punishment.

He was not always a bad man. He was once held in high respect by the whole company of the Apostles, yea, by our Lord Himself Who speaks of him in the Psalm as "Mine own familiar friend whom I trusted." He had, as we all have, his weak points of character: and GOD, in order to perfect what was lacking in him, placed him in circumstances where he would be gently tried and disciplined. He was subjected, as every Christian must be, to temptation, in order that by using the helps which GOD ever provides, he might learn to

master the temptation, and receive the blessing promised "to him that overcometh." But he yielded, instead of overcoming; and, yielding in one thing, he learned to yield in others also; falling, as the Psalm says, "from one wickedness to another," till he fell past recovery.

And how many are doing just the same? How [104] many of you, my brethren and sisters in CHRIST, are habitually yielding, Judas like, to some secret temptation which you know you could overcome if you chose, but which you will not take the trouble to overcome, and have not the *will* to overcome, and are thus daily losing the power to overcome. It matters not whether it is dishonesty, untruthfulness, gluttony, intemperance, impurity, profanity, to which you are tempted; if any of you are treacherously yielding, and not vigorously striving in GOD'S Name and strength to overcome the tempter, you are simply becoming another Judas, betraying your Master. You will not obey Him *implicitly*. You will be His disciple, and will work for Him, perhaps be active and zealous, but you will have some reserves from Him. You cannot afford to give Him your whole heart, your whole allegiance, your whole will. You cannot part with this darling lust, this cherished bad habit which has become almost part of yourself. You do not wish to be wholly CHRIST'S. This would involve a sacrifice which you are not prepared to make. You must reserve some little corner of your being for yourself; in other words, for the Devil. If so, you are neither better nor worse than Judas. You are just as untrue to [105] your Lord as he. His whole fault was that he *would reserve something for himself*. He would have something of *his own* apart from CHRIST. He must have *his own* will in some matters. So he went *his own* way, and ended by going to *his own* place.

Here is the moral of the whole sad story. We cannot go to CHRIST'S Holy Place by *our own* way. He must lead us at every step. We must have no reserves from Him. If we take *our own* way, follow *our own* course, we must abide by the consequences, and go to *our own* place. I know CHRIST'S way looks uninviting sometimes, our own way very pleasant. He Himself tells us that the one is strait and narrow and lonely, the other wide and broad and full of people. We catch, perhaps, a glimpse of the Cross at the end of one, not so at the end of the other; for the crosses on that road are so veiled and garlanded that we cannot discern them. But *can* we evade the Cross by taking the broad road? No. For a time we may; and all may seem smooth and pleasant. But come it will. And we shall find that we have only run away from CHRIST'S sweet Cross, to meet one made by ourselves and Satan. Yes, for on his broad road he is ever and anon [106] compelling us to make crosses for ourselves, and then he gibbets us thereon. Here is another terrible lesson which Judas' history teaches us. He tried to evade CHRIST'S Cross, so he died miserably on the cross he made for himself. He died by *his own* hand, in *his own* field, on *his own*, gallows. S. Matthias and he both hung, like their Master, upon the tree of shame; only one on CHRIST'S Cross, one on his own. The latter went by his own way to "his own place," the former went by his Master's way to his Master's Place of everlasting Peace.

God give us all grace to overcome self, to subdue our unruly flesh with its affections and lusts, to be evermore true and loyal to our Divine Lord, and to make His word and will the one only rule and law of our life; and may He bring us at last by His own way to His own blessed Place, through JESUS CHRIST.

Fowle, Edmund (ed.) Plain Preaching to Poor People Series 6 (Skeffington: London, 1875)

[131]

The Foundation and the Building

BY REV. JOHN B. DYKES, MA., Mus.Doc.,
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S. Jude 20, 21

"But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy Faith,
praying in the HOLY GHOST. Keep yourselves in the love of God,
looking for the mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST unto Eternal Life."

Here we see the beginning, the progress, and the end of the Christian life. It is the "*life* of *faith*; beginning with *faith*; leading on to, and ending in, Eternal *Life*. It's gradual development, throughout the whole course thereof, is the joint result of GOD's work and our own: GOD working in us, ourselves "fellow workers with GOD."

You observe in this passage that no sooner has the Apostle made mention of the "Faith", than he names the Divine Object of that Faith — even the HOLY TRINITY; reminding us, too, of our living relationship with each Person of the Blessed Godhead; and that the faith we profess is not a mere string of abstract propositions, but something in which we are to "live, and move,[132] and have our being." He speaks of our "praying in the HOLY GHOST, keeping ourselves in the love of GOD, looking for the mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST unto Eternal Life."

The exhortation of my text is the needful completion of the exhortation with which S. Jude begins his Epistle. He there tells us what had moved him to write. He found the "most holy Faith" of CHRIST denied. Therefore, he adds, "it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort that ye should *earnestly contend for the Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints*."

I. Now mark these words. For the first point before us is this: that there *is* such a thing as "our most holy Faith"; that the Catholic Faith is not a fancy but a reality. The truth needs to be pressed upon people. For in these days when every man is claiming to be his own creed-maker, when every one is for asserting that his right to believe and profess and act just as seems best to himself, without any reference to external authority, we need (I say) to be reminded (1) that the Catholic Faith is a reality, that there *is* such a thing as "*the* faith"; — (2). That it is *old*: it was delivered not to us, but "to the saints" of [133] bye gone days; — (3) That it is *unchangeable*; it was delivered "*once for all*" — this is the meaning of S. Jude's expression here; — (4) That it is *Divine*; for it was not drawn up nor invented by the Saints, but "delivered *to* the Saints," delivered by GOD. "The doctrine which I preach unto you", says S. Paul, "is not after man: for I received it not from man, but by Revelation of JESUS CHRIST." It comes to "the Saints", then, even to "the Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints", from GOD Himself. The Church has but to preserve and proclaim and formulate it, and hand it down from generation to generation. It is as unchangeable as GOD who gave it. "There is one Body, one Spirit, one Hope, one Lord, one *Faith*, one Baptism, one GOD and FATHER." Therefore, just as there is one Triune GOD, and one only, so is there one *Faith*, and one only. And this *Faith* the Church (the "one Body") is in all ages to maintain; for this she is "earnestly to contend"; guarding it against sacrilegious subtraction, and no less sacrilegious addition.

Here then is the string impregnable "*Foundation*," the solid "Rock", on which the holy Edifice must be reared.
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II. But is this all that is needed? May there not be the most orthodox belief, with an unholy life? The Spirit, while commending the Church of Ephesus for her intolerance of error, yet adds, "Nevertheless I have this against thee, that thou hast left thy first *love*." A praiseworthy hatred of heterodoxy may exist with a waning *love*, and a declension in personal holiness. And hence S. Jude's language in my text. After urging the brethren on to an earnest contention for the Faith, and after a sharp denunciation of the heretics of his day, he proceeds to exhort Christians not to rest content with a direct belief. Faith is but the foundation; and a foundation demands a superstructure. So he goes on: "But ye, beloved, *building yourselves up* on your most holy Faith."

A man who builds his house upon the shifting sand of human opinion will see it swept away by the storm; the man who builds it on the solid Rock of the Catholic Faith will see it stand firm. But then, you see, the house *has* to be built. The foundation waits for the building. And what are we to build? The Apostle gives a personal application to the image. We are, he says, to "build up *ourselves*, to build up our [135] true selves, our real selves, our new selves. See, how GOD's work supposes our own. Some people hold that they are to "believe in the Lord JESUS CHRIST," and that this is the beginning, middle and end of what they have to do; for that GOD will do the rest. I know that this monstrous perversion[1] of Gospel truth is sometimes called "The Gospel." It is, in fact, the devil's caricature of the Gospel message. If is in effect to say: Stop at the foundation; only *believe*; all is well with you; leave the rest to GOD; He will do all the work.

But no, dear brethren, GOD's message is, that we are each, for ourselves, to *build* upon this foundation, and to build not only laboriously, but carefully and skilfully: "Let every man take heed *how* he builds thereon." It is a difficult and delicate work. Not only is the whole Church likened to a temple, but each separate Christian also is to be a shrine for GOD. And this shrine, this habitation of GOD through the SPIRIT is to be our own handiwork: "Building *yourselves* up on your most holy Faith." S. Peter says the very same when he has us "add to our faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to [136] temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity." Here is a work of patient, persevering, reverent toil. The religion of most people is utterly unprogressive. You see them at first, half, unformed, inconsistent Christians, fitful and unstable; you see numbers of graces begun in them, but nothing finished; you see them yielding to bad habits, systematically falling into certain temptations. And there they stay. Look at them year after year; no advance; until at last the bad habits, perhaps, gain the ascendancy, and the spiritual fabric, so hopefully commenced, remains a mere unfinished wreck, unfit for the dwelling of the Most High, and is razed to the ground.

The work is one of difficulty, involving anxious thought and pains, a work calling for the exercise of steady, continuous, persevering exertion.

III. But, although involving anxious care and pains, it is a work full of hope and encouragement. For think of the supernatural help which is ours. Baptised into the name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, admitted into the mystical Body of Him "in

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[1] ϕ The original has 'persuasion', an evident misprint.

Whom dwellers all the fullness of the GODHEAD," it is our mysterious privilege, [137] our high calling, to "dwell in GOD, and GOD in us," and therefore to have the powers of the HOLY TRINITY energizing in us. Hence S. Jude, having exhorted us to "build ourselves up on our most holy Faith," goes on to remind us how that our admission into this Holy Faith not only entails new responsibilities, but imparts new *powers*, placing us in vital relationship with that Blessed TRINITY Whom we confess: so he bids us, "praying in the HOLY GHOST," to "keep ourselves in the love of GOD, looking for the mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST unto Eternal Life."

"*Praying in the* HOLY GHOST."

This is a wonderful expression, yet it is not an unusual one. We are told to "live in the SPIRIT," to "walk in the SPIRIT," to "sing in the SPIRIT," and, here, to "pray in the SPIRIT." Just as our "works" are to be "wrought in GOD, (S. John iii. 21,) so our prayers are to be prayed in GOD. Our words and aspirations are to go up from us to the FATHER. "We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the SPIRIT Himself maketh intercession for us." The SPIRIT in us prays to the FATHER through [138] the Incarnate SON. GOD prays to GOD through GOD. The SPIRIT prays in us; we are to pray in the SPIRIT.

And who is this SPIRIT in whom we are to pray? He is the Personal Love of GOD. He is "the Love wherewith the FATHER loveth the SON." (S. John xvii, 26). He is the Divine Bond uniting the FATHER and the SON together; uniting the Human and Divine Natures in the Person of the LORD; uniting the members of the Mystical Body to the Head, and to one another. He is the Love proceeding from the FATHER to the Incarnate SON; and from Him, "the Man CHRIST JESUS", proceeding onwards to His brethren, shed abroad in their hearts, and radiating from them to others.

So S. Jude, after the words "praying in the HOLY GHOST," adds "*Keep yourselves in the Love of God*."

The HOLY SPIRIT ascends from us to the FATHER in prayer; He descends from the FATHER to us in Love. These are the expirations and inspirations of the Christian life. The Christian breathes out prayer, he inbreathes divine charity, which, in turn, he is to breathe out on others. For we are bidden to "keep ourselves in the [139] Love of GOD," and we can only "keep ourselves in" that Love, by exercising it. "If we love one another, GOD's Love is perfected in us." For — as our Lord says, on Maundy Thursday, in reference to His two "New Commandments," of Love and Communion, then delivered — "If ye keep My Commandments, ye shall abide in My Love, even as I also have kept My FATHER's Commandments and abide in His Love." All outcomings of love to the members for the sake of the Head, are means of keeping ourselves in that Love wherewith we have been loved by GOD. We could not love at all, had we not first been loved. We give forth a Divine Power, because we have received one. And we can only remain recipients and objects of that Love, by exercising it towards others. "Give, and it shall be given unto you." Love, and ye shall be loved. By loving, "keep yourselves in the Love of GOD."

And we are to live this life of prayer and Love — of devotion to GOD and charity to man — "*looking for the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto Eternal Life*." Yes, we owe this gift of the HOLY GHOST, and this restored Love of GOD the FATHER, solely to "the Mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST." For it isn't "the Grace of [140] our Lord JESUS CHRIST" that hath made us partakers of "the Love of GOD," and brought us into "the fellowship of the HOLY

GHOST." In that Grace and Mercy let us confide. How rich it is! We have seen that we are to "*build ourselves up* on our most holy Faith," and that we are to do this by *devotion* and *charity*; for faith worketh by Love, and Love lives in devotion. But we have seen also how possible both Prayer and Love are to us; how easily (if we will) we may both pray and love effectually. For we have but to pray "in the HOLY GHOST" — in the power of that Divine Presence whereby we are indwelt and overshadowed; and to "keep ourselves in the Love of GOD" — to use, and exercise, and so maintain ourselves in, that celestial Charity which is above us, around us, within us, and which is streaming on us, only that it may stream forth from us. Let us so pray, so love; assured that the infinite Mercy which hath so endowed us will never fail us, till it bring us to Life Eternal. In the certain hope of the continuance of this "Mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST may we repose, in life, in death, and at the dread Judgment." "The Lord grant that we may find Mercy of the Lord at that Day!"
[141]
Thus, then — to repeat what I have said before — the *Faith*, on which we are to build ourselves up, is not a mere abstract system of dogma. It is a living, vitalizing foundation; a blessed, energetic spring of life and action. We are not only to "believe in the HOLY GHOST;" not only to believe in GOD the FATHER, but to "keep ourselves in the Love of GOD" the FATHER; not only to believe in the Lord JESUS CHRIST," but to repose in, and rest upon, and "look for, the Mercy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST unto Eternal Life." Our most holy Faith, you see, develops into Hope and Love. Our Hope, as an anchor of the soul, is fixed in the Lord JESUS; and the "Love of GOD is shed abroad in our hearts,"

The work of building, then, although (I repeat) one of toil and pains and care, is a work full of present peace and comfort, and a work gilded with the brightest anticipations. The HOLY GHOST, ever ascending from us to the FATHER in prayer, and descending to us in Love, fills us with a sweet and serene joy here: and then, there is the bright and all-sustaining hope hereafter of "the Mercy of the Lord JESUS CHRIST unto Eternal Life."
[142]
But lastly, let us not evade the solemn question which forces itself upon us. How has this work of spiritual building progressed hitherto? How is it now progressing? How much of the Spiritual Temple in ourselves is complete? GOD is looking upon you, my brethren and sisters, this moment. He saw you a year ago at this time; He saw you two years ago. Does He now see what pleases Him, or what disappoints and grieves Him? Does He see definite progress being made? Does He see the Angel workmen, so to speak, busy and alive, running here and there with their trowels, with their ladders, adding stone to stone? Does He see the beautiful carving and mouldings, the "polished corners of the Temple," gradually coming into shape, and unfolding their rich designs? Does He, perchance, behold a very different sight? Does He see everything at a standstill. Nay — for so, alas, it must be, if there has been no progress — does He see His beautiful work, with "its foundations upon the Holy Hills", falling to pieces, and going to decay? Unfinished walls; bits of buttresses; a thousand things begun, nothing complete; mis-[143]chievous demons pulling down the unstable and unguarded masonry; nothing advancing; bad habits strong as ever; good resolutions come to nought; promises broken; holy inspirations slighted; ruin, desolation, dilapidation; torpor, and lethargy stealing over the sound; self-destruction instead of self-edification; — Is this the sad spectacle which meets the eye of GOD?

Oh! once more — yes, once more, in the Name of GOD — I bid you arise; "Repent, and do thy first works." Make new and more vigorous resolutions of amendment. Never mind if you have broken them a hundred, yea ten thousand, times before: begin again; "build the old walls, repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations." It is not as if it were a

hopeless work. Even though faith has waxed feeble, prayer become lifeless and formal, love dead and cold, still, are you not to look for the *Mercy* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST even to Eternal Life? Is not His Mercy, if only you will throw yourself boldly and earnestly on that mercy, sufficient to make up for past neglects, to give you effectual aid, and do for you abundantly above what you can either ask or think? Can He not save you from past sins, and present infirmities? [144]. Does He not long, if only you will let Him, to finish His own work in you, to "send you help from His Holy Place, and evermore mightily defend you?" Oh trust to that unfailing Mercy, and once more, in faith, and prayer, and hope, and love, arise and *build*. "Work out your own salvation," through the aid of inworking GOD. May He "guide you with His counsel" here, and at last "receive you into Glory!" Amen.

RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FOR EVIDENCE BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS,

appointed 10 November 1852,to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales.

Commissioners' Request for Evidence

To the Reverend the Precentors, and to the Organists of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Wales.

Cathedral Commission, 1 Parliament Street,
Whitehall, London, 20th July 1853

Sir,

I am desired by the Cathedral Commissioners to transmit to you the following Queries, with a request that you would favour them with a reply to them as soon as convenient.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
Rd. Jones
Secretary

I. Are you of opinion that it is desirable to give greater musical power to the choir of the church with which you are connected, for the more effective performance of Divine service?

II. Are you of opinion that laymen of approved piety and zeal for the worship of Almighty God, and with adequate qualifications for taking part in its celebration, might be found in your cathedral city, who would be desirous of being connected with the cathedral, and who would offer their services (particularly on Sundays) gratuitously, as honorary lay clerks or vicars choral, in addition to the present body of singing men and choristers?

III. If such a plan appears to you to be practicable, would you oblige the Commissioners with a statement of your opinion as to the mode of carrying it into effect?
   1. In ascertaining the qualification of such additional members of the choir.
   2. In securing regularity of attendance.

   And with any other suggestions that you think desirable on the subject?

Dykes's Evidence to the Commissioners

Durham, 26th August, 1853

Sir,

With regard to the *first* question proposed by the Commissioners, I certainly think, that although the choir of Durham Cathedral is sufficiently numerous (consisting of ten men, and ten foundation boys, with two or three additional probationers,) for the performance of the daily service, yet it is decidedly too small for the services on Sundays and high festivals. The screen which formerly separated the chancel from the nave of the church having been removed, and the sittings for the congregation extending a considerable distance down the nave, when the church is well filled, our body of choristers is *far* too limited for the effective performance of Divine service.

The plan suggested in the *second* question is undoubtedly a very desirable one, provided it could be carried out; but in a small city like Durham, situated in an unmusical district, I fear there would be considerable difficulty in finding gentlemen *qualified* to undertake the office of honorary lay vicars. The university would doubtless be able to furnish such; but then their attendance would be confined to about half the year only.

As I have never been fortunate enough to be connected with a choir in which amateur members were admitted, I do not feel myself competent to offer suggestions as to the points alluded to in the *third* question, except thus far: 1. That no gentleman ought to be admitted to the office without some certificate from the precentor as to his fitness, which would be easily ascertained; and 2. When so admitted, he should consider his continuance in the choir conditional upon conforming to such regulations, respecting attendance and practice, as may appear to the precentor, or other superintending officer, to be necessary. As I understand, however, that in many churches the system of honorary lay clerks has been adopted, and found to answer satisfactorily, I confess myself more anxious to benefit from the practical experience of others, than to suggest untried expedients of my own.

May I be forgiven, while writing on this subject, if I presume to suggest to the consideration of the Commissioners two points, which in many, I believe I may say in most, of our choirs present very great *practical* difficulties to those who superintend the musical portion of the service, and which certainly appear to call for some consideration.

The first relates to the subject of *practice*. It is absolutely necessary that in every cathedral there should be stated times in which all the members of the choir should be expected to meet for the purpose of practising, when not reasonably prevented; but in this cathedral (I have understood that it is the case in many others) *no power* to enforce attendance for such a purpose exists. The precentor has no means whatever of obtaining the attendance of any single member at a practice, on any occasion, save by begging it as a *personal favour*; the consequence of which is, that it is almost impossible to get *all* the choir together at any one time.

The subject is not referred to in the statutes; no regular practice seems to have been enforced hitherto. The choir, therefore, consider it as no part of their stated duty, but as an encroachment upon their privileges, which they are justified in resisting whensoever their attendance is not represented to them as a personal obligation conferred on the precentor.

The Dean and Chapter have not thought it expedient to insist upon the point, fearing that in case the choir refused, which they undoubtedly would do (having already intimated as much), themselves would have no power to enforce the command, and that the cathedral statutes would not support them sufficiently to render it safe to bring the matter into Court.

The question is one, in Durham at least, of considerable practical importance; and I earnestly trust that, in course of time, it may meet with some consideration on the part of the Commissioners.

The second point to which I would presume to allude, relates to the superannuated members of a choir.

If, out of a small body of eight or ten men, two or three, as is almost invariably the case, have grown old and inefficient, have lost their voices, and have got quite past their work, so that they really do more harm than good in a choir, it is a very serious consideration. There are at present no means of dispensing with the services of such members, either by pensioning them off, or supplying their place by paid substitutes; and as the efficiency of so many of our cathedral choirs is weakened by this cause, I trust I may be pardoned for having ventured to refer to it.

Apologizing for the length and freedom of this communication,

I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
John B Dykes,
Precentor of Durham.

Accompanying Tunes to the Hymns for Infant Children (Masters: London, 1862)

Dykes's Preface

The Editor of the following little Work having frequently heard the complaint expressed, that amid the great and growing abundance of admirable Hymns for young children, there is yet a considerable dearth of suitable tunes wherewith to associate them; and having, in particular, been solicited on several occasions by friends to furnish a few simple melodies for the little collection entitled "Hymns for Infant Children," has, after some hesitation, determined to comply with the request, to the best of his abilities.

He has made it his aim to provide music which — while, if possible, such as shall satisfy the taste of the musician — shall be pleasing and attractive to children.

To ensure this latter most important result, he has taken the precaution of submitting all the little tunes to an august tribunal of very juvenile critics, anxious to admit none which did not seem to 'take' with them, and meet their general approbation. And, in deference to their judgment, he has willingly altered or withdrawn tunes which, after a fair trial, did not appear to commend themselves.

After some consideration, he has thought it better on the whole that the tunes, with one exception, should be arranged for four voices, and printed in short score, in order that the adult members of a family, who may be so disposed, may be enabled to join occasionally with the younger ones in singing their little Hymns.

THE AMBROSIAN *TE DEUM*

A letter to the *Church Times* 4 November 1865, p. 347

Sir, Your correspondent "J.W.D.,"[1] who writes "in favour of calling things by their right names," objects to the title Ambrosian being given to the melody to which Merbecke has set the *Te Deum*. He says it should be called Merbecke's *Te Deum*, not the Ambrosian; and he directs all who wish to see the original Ambrosian melody, to refer to the copy in the "Mechlin Vesperal," or to his own adaption of the same to English words. Now, supposing that I, on the other hand, were to object to the title Ambrosian being given to the melody to which "J.W.D." has set the English *Te Deum;* supposing I were to insist on its being simply called the Mechlin *Te Deum*, or "J.W.D.'s" *Te Deum*, not the Ambrosian, and were to direct all who wished to see the original melody to refer to Merbecke, I should be just as correct, or just as incorrect, in my assertion as "J.W.D." The truth is, neither "J.W.D." nor anyone else, probably, knows what was the original form of this old melody, or which of the numerous extant versions most closely reproduces it. The Mechlin version, edited by "J.W.D." and "S.N.," is interesting, as apparently solving the problem of the ancient, simple, chant-like structure of the melody. But it is impossible to feel any confidence as to its authenticity.

The late Mr. Dyce (an authority whom all will respect) thus wrote concerning the substantial correctness of Merbecke's version. "A collation of four copies of the Ambrosian *Te Deum* has been made by Stafford Smith, in his 'Musica Antiqua,' from which it will be found that, of these, Merbecke's version (though the number of notes is greatly reduced) is, on the whole, *the nearest to the most ancient copy known* — viz., that published by Meibomius, (*Antiq. Mus. Auctores*). The Ambrosian *Te Deum* in the Roman Processional (edit. 1827) is, in many parts, note for note the same as Merbecke's version."

Now, supposing Meibomius's copy is really the most ancient in existence (an assertion which, I confess, I feel disposed to question) one thing is clear, that Merbecke is much more true to the original than "J.W.D." In fact, of the copies I have myself examined, I cannot remember any which differ so much from Meibomius, as the Mechlin version edited by "J.W.D." and "S.N."

But if any of your correspondents can throw any light on the interesting question of the original form and structure of this ancient melody, I for one, shall feel exceedingly grateful.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN B, DYKES

St Oswald's Vicarage, Durham, Oct. 25.

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[1] ϕ Almost certainly James W. Davison (1813—1885), sometime student of composition with Macfarren, whose contributions to Grove, G. (ed.) *A Dictionary if Music and Musicians* (Macmillan: London, 1879) were also subscribed "J.W.D". He was music critic of the *Times* from 1846 until 1879.

THE ANNOTATED

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

BEING AN

HISTORICAL, RITUAL, AND THEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY ON THE

DEVOTIONAL SYSTEM

OF

The Church of England

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "DIRECTORIUM PASTORALE," "HOUSEHOLD THEOLOGY," &c. &c.

PART I.

"Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." — JEREMIAH vi. 16.

RIVINGTONS,
WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON;
HIGH STREET, OXFORD;
TRINITY STREET, CAMBRIDGE.
1866.

[li]SECTION II.

THE MANNER OF PERFORMING DIVINE SERVICE.

THE performance of Divine Service may be regarded in a twofold relation; as it affects the eye, and as it affects the ear. In other words, it may be considered as coming within the province, and under the superintendence of, one or other of the two representative Church officers, the Sacrist and the Precentor. In the present section some remarks will be offered upon it under its latter aspect, as it bears upon the subject of Church Music.

In looking, then, from the Precentor's point of view, at the question of the manner of performing [lii] Divine Service in the Church of England, the first thing which strikes us is this, — that the directions in our Prayer Book, although scanty, are yet full of significance, implying much more than they seem actually to express. They carry us back to former times for their elucidation, and obviously assume a certain amount of familiarity with pre-Reformation usage. Thus the very brevity of our musical rubrics is one of their most interesting features, as necessarily presupposing a former history, and referring us to that history for the completion and explanation of their concise verbal injunctions.

There is a world of meaning in the simple little word "Even*song*," as applied to our daily Evening Office. So again, such brief notices as "here followeth the anthem;" "then shall be said, or sung;" "here shall follow;" "then shall be read;" "here the Priest and Clerks shall say;" "these Anthems shall be sung or said;" with many others, all seem to demand some additional explanation over and above what their words actually express.

But before directing attention to the musical notices of our Prayer Book, and their immediate history, it will be necessary to carry our thoughts further back, and see what is the ultimate basis on which they rest. And this will compel us to touch, though very briefly, on the subject of the Divine authority for the employment of music in the worship of Almighty God.

No lengthened remarks will be needed on this head. For the fact of music forming a recognized and Divinely ordained element in the public worship of God, and of the Almighty having herein given His deliberate sanction and approval to that which the instinctive piety of all nations has taught them, is familiar to all careful readers of Holy Scripture. Still it is well that Christians should have this truth, of the Divine origin and authority of Church music, firmly impressed on their minds; that they should be perfectly settled on this point, that it is not only not *wrong* to employ music freely in Divine Service, but a direct contravention of God's revealed Will *not* to employ it, where it can be had; that Church music, therefore, should not be regarded with indifference, as a mere "non-essential," but as a matter demanding earnest and reverent consideration.

We pass over the Antediluvian and Patriarchal times, as the notices of a definite and settled Ritual, and consequently of sacred music, are but slight. We pass over, also, the sojourn of the Chosen People in Egypt, and their wanderings in the desert. So long as God's Church was in poverty, and under persecution, struggling for existence, and unable, through sheer necessity, to "put on her garments of praise," God (in Jewish, as afterwards in Christian times) waived her becoming tribute and "Service of Song." We must not look for our example to a state of things confessedly abnormal and transitory. We must refer to a period when the Church was able, through her outward circumstances, to give that full ritualistic form and expression to

her worship which God deemed consistent with the duty she owed to Him.[1] Let us at once pass on, then, to the period of King David.

The first great religious celebrations in his reign took place in connexion with the removal of the Ark from its place of banishment (after it had been captured by the Philistines in the time of Eli) to its resting-place on Mount Sion. There were two grand Choral Processional Services in connexion with this removal. The former of these, in consequence of certain ritual irregularities which offended God, came to a sad and untimely close. [I Chron. xiii. 8—12; xv. 11—16.] The latter is the one which, as meeting with God's express approbation, especially demands our notice. It is in reference, then, to this second and successful ceremonial, that we read of David, by God's appointment, "speaking to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren to be the singers with instruments of musick, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding, by lifting up the voice with joy." "Thus all Israel" — the narrative proceeds — "brought up the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps." [1 Chron. xv. 28].

Nor was the work of Praise at an end. So soon as the solemn business of the Translation of the Ark is over, there must still be a special festival of Thanksgiving in commemoration of the auspicious event, as well as provision made for a *continuous* service of Praise. Hence David "appointed certain of [liii] the Levites to minister before the Ark of the Lord, and to record, and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel;" some "with psalteries and harps;" some to make "a sound with cymbals;" besides "the priests with trumpets continually before the Ark of the Covenant of God."

Then it was, that "David delivered first this Psalm to thank the Lord [Ps. cv.] into the hand of Asaph and his brethren: 'Give thanks unto the Lord, call upon His Name . . . . sing unto Him, *sing Psalms* unto Him… Sing unto the Lord, all the earth: show forth from day to day His salvation.'"

And that the words of this Song should be practically realized, and the offering of Praise not cease with the festive occasion which had drawn forth the Psalm, we read of "Asaph and his brethren" being "left before the Ark of the Covenant to minister continually;" of "Heman and Jeduthun," and others, "who were expressed by name," "being chosen to give thanks to the Lord, with trumpets and cymbals…and with *musical instruments of God"* [1 Chron. xvi. 37. 41, 42]; of a great company of Levites being set by David "over the *Service of Song* in the House of the Lord, after the Ark had rest;" who "ministered before the dwelling-place of the Tabernacle of the Congregation with singing " [ib. vi. 31, 32]; and of "the singers, chief of the fathers of the Levites…who were employed in that work *day and night"* [ib. ix. 33]. And so highly developed did the musical department of the Divine Service become, that we see David, later in life, enumerating no fewer than "four thousand, who praised the Lord with the instruments which I made to praise therewith" [ib. xxiii. 5]. And lest we should deem these and kindred ritual arrangements of "the Man after God's own heart," "the Sweet Psalmist of Israel," mere private unauthorized exhibitions of strong musical and æsthetic taste on the part

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[1] "In *Egypt,"* writes Hooker, "it may be God's people were right glad to take some corner of a poor cottage, and there serve God upon their knees; peradventure, covered with dust and straw sometimes… In the *Desert,* they are no sooner possessed of some little thing of their own, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of *Canaan,* and having David to be their King, when the Lord had given him rest, it grieved his righteous mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of Religion continuing in the former manner. What he did propose it was the pleasure of God that Solomon his son should perform; and perform in a manner suitable to their *present*, not to their *ancient* state and condition," &c. [Eccl. Pol. IV. ii. 4.]

of an individual monarch, we are expressly told in one place, that "all these things were done according to…the commandment of the *Lord* by His Prophets." [2 Chron. xxix. 25.] Solomon carefully perpetuated all the musical arrangements of his father, and after the completion of his glorious Temple, according to the pattern shown him by God Himself, he transferred thither all the "*instruments*" which David had made for God's service.

On the magnificent ceremonial of the Temple Dedication, with its gorgeous musical and ritual accessories [2 Chron. v.; vii. 1—6], we need not dwell, since it is familiar to all; but it may be as well to remark that it is not for *nothing* that the Holy Ghost has thought fit to give us such an example of a Consecration Service. Surely if the ordinary bald Consecration and other Festal Services of modern times, with which we ourselves are familiar, are according to the Divine Mind, are suitable to the Dignity of HIM to Whom they are offered, and are adequate expressions before Angels and Men of His awful and "excellent Majesty,'' this soul-stirring description would seem somewhat unnecessary, and hardly to have been "given for our learning."

In proportion as subsequent monarchs neglected God, in that proportion did they cease to care for the Ritual of His House, and suffered the music of His Sanctuary to decline. And conversely, as any monarch was mindful of the Lord of Hosts, and zealous for His Honour, so do we ever see one token of his zeal and devotion in his reverent attention to the Ritual and the Music of God's Holy Temple. Of Joash, of Hezekiah, of Josiah, the Holy Ghost recounts with special approbation their efforts for the restoration and encouragement of Church Music. But times grew darker. God's people fell away from Him. They forgat that "God was their strength, and the High God their Redeemer." The sad era of the Captivity ensued. The harps of Sion were hung on Babel's willows. On the return from the Captivity we read of laudable and energetic attempts on the part of Ezra and Nehemiah to restore the ancient choral worship, and with a certain amount of success. But Israel's glory was departed.

Thus we learn, even from this brief and incomplete survey, that God's Church is emphatically "a singing Church;" that music, vocal and instrumental, is designed, by His express appointment, to constitute one essential element, one necessary feature, one integral part, of His public Ritual; that the *absence* of music and suitable ceremonial in the history of His ancient Church, is, in every case, not the result of His Will, but of man's sinful disregard of that Will; an infallible sign, not of the faithfulness, but of the unfaithfulness of His people.

But has not Christianity introduced a change? At no time and in no manner has God ever given a hint that He has altered His will on this subject. Our Blessed Lord did not utter one single word in disparagement of the general principle of ceremonial worship, or of the ancient ritual, or music, of God's Church. It was one of His chief earthly delights to take part in that worship Himself: and an elaborately ceremonial worship was the only public worship which He attended while sojourning here below. He was first discovered in His youth in His Father's Temple. His first recorded words are, "Wist ye not that I must be [Greek]" words which "remind the earthly mother [liv] that it was in the courts of His Heavenly Father's House that the Son must needs be found; that His true home was in the Temple of Him Whose glories still lingered round the heights of Moriah.[1]" Do we not see Him here and elsewhere expressing in *deed* that which of old He expressed in *word* by the mouth of His "Sweet Singer," — "Lord, I have loved the Habitation of Thy House . . . . My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the Courts of My God ?"

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[1] Ellicott, "Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord," p. 93. 1st ed.

And even after the Ascension, while we read of our Lord's chosen ones meeting together for their *private* celebrations of the Blessed Eucharist in their own consecrated Oratory, "the large Upper Room" (that sacred spot, hallowed first by the visible Presence of Christ, and then by that of the Holy Ghost[1]), we find them exhibiting the effect of their Master's reverent example and teaching, by "*continuing,*" none the less, "*daily, with one accord, in the Temple,*" for the *public* worship of God.

Our Lord came, not to abolish, but to transfigure the old Ritual; not to diminish, but to increase its glory; to breathe into its dead forms a Divine and Life-giving Energy. Christian worship, at its first introduction, was not designed to supplant, but to supplement, the ancient Ritual. It was probably simple in outward character, as being only *private*; God's *public* worship being still entrusted to, and conducted by, the Ministers of the Old Dispensation. For a time, doubtless, the two went on simultaneously; the public worship of the Old, the private worship of the New Dispensation. The two were ultimately to be fused together: the outward and expressive forms of the Old, adapted, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, to clothe the august realities of the New.

It is plainly recorded *when* and *where* the first Christian Service took place; viz. on the eve of our adorable Lord's Passion, and in "the large Upper Room " — hereafter to become the first Oratory of the Christian Church. Though outwardly, it may be, without pomp and show, as bearing on it the shadow of the great Humiliation to be consummated on the morrow, yet has the world never beheld, before or since, a Service of such surpassing dignity, sacredness, and significance. Here we witness the meeting-point of two Dispensations; the virtual passing away of the Law, and its transfiguration into the Gospel: the solemn Paschal close of the Old Economy, the Holy Eucharistic Inauguration of the New. Here we see the whole Representative Church assembled together with its Divine Head. And here we find every essential element of Christian Worship introduced and blessed by Incarnate God Himself. The grand central feature of the Service is the Holy Eucharist itself. Clustering round, and subsidiary to it, we find supplication, intercession, exhortation, benediction, excommunication, and Holy Psalmody: "after they had *sung* ([Greek]) they went out to the Mount of Olives." Here, in the solemn Eucharistic Anthem which accompanied the first Celebration; — the Celebrant, God Incarnate, "giving Himself with His Own Hands;" and the Leader of the Holy Choir, God Incarnate, fulfilling His own gracious prediction, "In the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto Thee" — ([Greek]) — do we behold the Divine Source of that bright and ever-flowing stream of "Psalm, Hymn, and Spiritual Song,'' which was to "make glad the City of God."

In this august and archetypal Service, then, we see all those venerable *essentials* of Christian Worship which it would afterwards devolve upon the Church, under the guidance of the indwelling Spirit, to embody and express in her solemn Liturgies; and for the clothing and

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[1] Our English version, "breaking bread from house to house" [Acts ii. 46), would lead us to imagine, if it suggested the Eucharist at all, that this solemn Breaking of the Bread of Life—that "Bread which is the Communion of the Body of Christ"—took place irregularly, now in one private house, now in another. This is not, however, the meaning. ([Greek]) is not at *any* house, but "at home," at one particular house, or home. And where was the then Home of the Infant Church but that Sacred Place where the Holy Ghost had descended, "filling the whole *House* where they were sitting?" there, even in that "Large Upper Room," where the first Eucharist had been celebrated, where our Lord had appeared on two consecutive Sundays— "*the* Upper Room" [([Greek]) Acts i. 13], to which our Lord's chosen ones resorted after the Ascension in obedience to His command that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait there for His Promised Gift, and "where abode Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip," &c. &c., who "all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and with His brethren."

reverent performance and administration of which, it would be needful for her, under the same Holy Teaching, to borrow and adapt from that Divine Storehouse of Ritual which God had provided in the ancient Ceremonial.[1]

[lv]But the chief point for us, at present, is this; that in the "*Hymn*" of our Ever-Blessed Redeemer we meet with a *new,* and, if possible, more constraining sanction to the use of Music in Divine Worship. We learn that the "Service of Song," ordained of old by God for His Church, and commended by so many marks of His approval, so far from being discountenanced by our Lord, was deliberately sanctioned, appropriated, perpetuated, re-consecrated, "for His Body's sake," by His own most Blessed practice and example. Music was hence-forth, no less than of old, to form one necessary adjunct, one essential element in Divine Worship. Nor must we fail to notice that, as music was doubtless intended to find its appropriate place throughout the *entire* offices of the Christian Church, even as the threefold division of Church Music into "Psalm, Hymn, Spiritual Song,"[2] twice emphatically repeated by the Holy Ghost, would seem to indicate, so its *special* home is the Liturgy. Wherever absent, it should not be absent here: and the *immediate* juxta-position of the Words of

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[1] It is necessary to bear in mind, not only what the Upper Room Service *was* designed, but also what it was *not* designed, to teach us. Some would gather from it a lesson *against* the use of solemn circumstance and ceremonial in Christian worship; but most incorrectly.

Passing over the significant notice, that the "Large Upper Room," even before any of the Holy Company entered it, was by God's secret Providence (working by human or angelic ministration) "furnished and prepared"—words which *may* imply much—it must never be forgotten that, in the possibly simple arrangement of the Feast, there was something mysteriously in keeping with the then estate of Him who was to be Lord of the Feast. He bad "emptied Himself;" and His voluntary self-abasement was on the eve of its full consummation. At this very Repast He suffers an Apostle to "lean on His Breast" in the unrestrained familiarity of friendly intercourse. From the loving and simple freedom, then, of this first Eucharist (in which God Incarnate was Himself the *visible* Celebrant) no single argument can be adduced against outward tokens of awe and reverence before our Lord's *supernatural* and s*piritual* Presence, which would not equally apply to His *natural* and *visible* Presence.

Our Lord is now "very highly exalted." The very same Apostle who here reclined on His Bosom, as on that of a dear friend, is careful to narrate to us how that, when next be beheld Him, after His entrance into Glory, be "fell at His feet as *dead*."

So, again, the Holy Ghost is no less careful to record, "for our learning," the solemn warning which the Christian Church so speedily received, as to the paramount *necessity* of fencing round this Holy Mystery with suitable ceremonial; telling us of the solemn judgments of the Most High upon those early communicants, who, presuming on the simple exterior of this august Service, ere yet the Church had been able to perfect her expressive Ritual, and approaching the Sacred Table without reverence, "not discerning the Lord's Body," and counting the "Blood of the Covenant" a "common thing," drew down upon them the heavy wrath of God, being smitten with "grievous diseases, and sundry kinds of death."

[2] Eph. v.19. Col. iii. 16.
In this threefold division, it is scarcely possible to miss some special secret relation with the three several Persons of the Ever-Blessed Trinity. (1) The "*Psalms,*" flowing to us from, and inviting us to, the Old Dispensation, primarily lead us up to, and reveal to us, "the *Father* of an infinite Majesty." (2) The "*Hymns,*" originating, as we have seen, from the Eucharistic Hymn in the Upper Room, bring us into special connexion with our *Lord Jesus Christ*. (3) The "*Spiritual Songs,*" as their very name indicates, rather represent the free, unrestrained outbreathings in Holy Song of that Divine *Spirit* which animates and inspires the Body of Christ.

So that we find the *first* in our Psalters; the *second* chiefly in our Liturgical Hymns, "Gloria in Excelsis," "Ter Sanctus," and the like; the *third* in our metrical songs, or odes,—those songs in which Christian feeling has ever delighted to find expression.

The first class is rather occupied with God Himself; the second, with God in his dealings with man, through the One Mediator; the third, with man in his dealings with God, through the Spirit of God quickening him. Reverence and devotion speak in the first; dogma finds utterance in the second; Christian emotion in the third.

Institution, in both Gospels, with the mention of the Hymns, may be reverently conceived to teach this. So also does the Church seem instinctively to have felt: regarding the Holy Eucharist as the great centre round which her songs of praise should cluster and revolve; the great source from which they should take their rise, and flow forth. Pliny's mention of the early morning meetings of the first Christians to offer Divine Worship and sing hymns to Christ, probably refers to their Eucharistic assemblies. And Justin Martyr's expression must have a similar allusion, when he speaks of their offering up "solemn rites and hymns," ([Greek]) — where the word ([Greek]) is interpreted by Grabius to denote the solemn prayers "in Mysteriorum elebratione." [Apol. i. 13.]

With regard to the *nature* of the music used in God's Church in early times, we are utterly in the dark. Over the grand old Temple Music, in fact over the whole of the ancient Jewish Ritual Song, there is an impenetrable veil hanging. There are doubtless natural reasons which may, in a measure, account for the fact; especially this, that the ancient Jews seem to have possessed no musical characters; so that the melodies used in their services have been traditional, and as an inevitable consequence, more or less at the mercy of the singers. And we must further bear in mind that, ever since the woeful time of the Captivity, the Holy Nation, instead of maintaining its ancient grand Theocratic independence, has been in subjection successively to all the great powers of the world; to the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Græco-Macedonian dynasties; then, in turn, to Egypt and Syria; then to the mighty power of Rome. When we consider this, and take into account also their intestine factions, their constant unfaithfulness to God, their gradual loss therefore of their inward strength and glory, and with it of the beauty and completeness of that perfect Ritual which at once clothed, expressed, enshrined, and preserved their Holy Faith; can we wonder that, even before their dispersion into all lands, the memory of much of their own ancient music had faded away, and their Church song had lost its character, under the ever-varying heathen influences to which it had so long been incidentally subjected?

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From the modern Jewish music we can learn nothing. Music, we are told, has been authoritatively banished from the Synagogue ever since the destruction of Jerusalem; the nation deeming its duty to lie, rather to mourn over its misfortunes in penitential silence, until the Coming of Messiah, than to exult in songs of praise. Hence the music which still practically exists in so many Jewish congregations throughout the world, is more or less arbitrary, and destitute of traditional authority.[1]

[1] Dr. Burney says that "the only Jews now on the globe who have a regular musical establishment in their Synagogue, are the Germans, who sing in parts: and these preserve some old melodies or chants which are thought to be very ancient."

Padre Martini collected a great number of the Hebrew chants, which are sung in the different synagogues throughout Europe. Dr. Burney has inserted several of these in his History of Music. But, with a single exception, they show not even the remotest affinity to the Gregorian system of melody; nor, in the sequence of their notes, any possible observance of the ecclesiastical modes or scales.

There is, however, one exception. One single melody bears so strange a resemblance (probably purely accidental) to a Church Chant, that it is worth preserving. Transcribed into modern notation, and written in a chant form, with simple harmony, it is as follows:—

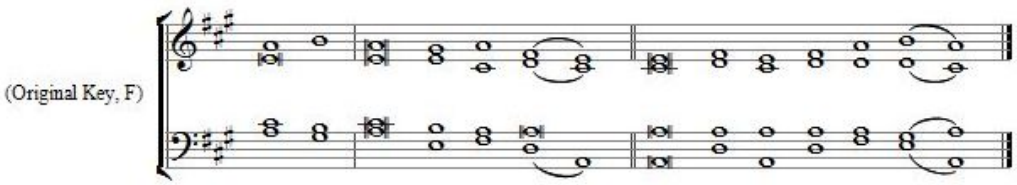
{*Cont.*}

We are in equal doubt as to the nature of the ancient Christian music. All we know is that antiphonal singing was at a very early period introduced: in fact, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was a heritage bequeathed to the Christian Church from her elder Jewish sister, and that the Author of it was none other than the "Chief Musician" Himself. It was at Antioch, however, where the practice seems first to have systematically established itself, and whence it was ultimately spread over Christendom. This was a city of great importance in the history of Church Music. The Church in Antioch was the one which, next in order after that of Jerusalem, rose to pre-eminence. It was in a special way the mother and metropolis of Gentile Christendom. The very name *Christian* originated here. Socrates' account of the beginning of antiphonal singing in this city is too interesting to be passed over. The passage is thus given in Dr Hanmer's translation (London, 1636):—

> "Now let us record whence the hymnes that are song interchangeably in the Church, commonly called *Antemes* [Anthems], had their originall. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in Syria, the third Bishop in succession from Peter the Apostle, who was conversant, and had great familiarity with the Apostles, saw a vision of Angels which extolled the Blessed Trinity with Hymnes that were sung interchangeably: and delivered unto the Church of Antioch the order and manner of singing expressed in the Vision. Thereof, it came to passe, that every Church received the same tradition. So much of *Antemes."* [Soc. lib. vi. c. 12.]

Antioch, as capital of Syria, capital also of Roman Asia in the East, seems to have become a great intellectual as well as theological centre. Here we find the principal theological School of Syria and the East; a school exercising a great influence throughout Christendom.[1] Antioch appears to have been the city in which Church Song first worked itself into shape; where Jewish tradition and Gentile intelligence met and blended; where the ancient Hebrew antiphonal system of Psalm recitation, and the shattered fragments of the old Ritual Song, allied themselves with, and were subjected to the laws of, modem Grecian musical science. It seems almost certain that Church music is rather Greek than Hebrew in origin. Hellenism had long been doing a Providential, though subsidiary work in preparing the world for Christianity. And though Greece had fallen under the iron grasp of the power of Rome, she had, in turn, subdued her conquerors to her literature, her language, and her arts. In the department of Christian Song, then, in the Church's first essays at giving musical expression to her sacred services, no doubt she would be mainly indebted to the science and skill of that nation which had already furnished her with a language, and which yet ruled the intellect of the world. The very names of the (so-called) ecclesiastical modes, or scales, — Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian, &c., — bear incidental testimony to this fact. Perhaps the Church's metrical hymn-music is that branch of her song which is most directly and immediately borrowed from ancient Greece. We find the old Greek and Roman metres freely employed in the ancient Christian hymns; and doubtless the music to which they were first allied, bore no very remote resemblance to that used in the heathen temples.

Melody to the Title of the LI Psalm, of Lamnatzeach, as sung by the Spanish Jews.



[1] An influence which was eventually exercised towards very pernicious ends.

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Metrical hymns appear to have been first used to any extent by heretics, for the promulgation of their tenets; and then by the Church, with the view of counteracting heretical teaching, and popularizing the true faith. St Chrysostom's attempts to overcome attractive Arian hymn-singing at Constantinople with more attractive orthodox hymn-singing, are well known. Socrates tells us of "the melodious concert and sweet harmony in the night season;" of the "silver candlesticks, after the manner of crosses, devised for the bearing of the tapers and wax candles," presented to the good Bishop by *"Eudoxia,* the Empress," and used by him to add beauty to his choral processions.

It was shortly before this period that St Ambrose had introduced into the West the system of Hymn-singing and Antiphonal Psalm-chanting. He is said to have learnt it at Antioch, and to have brought his melodies thence. Responsive singing seems never to have been practised in the West till his time: and the circumstances attendant upon its introduction, — for the purpose of relieving his people in their nightly services during the Arian Persecution, — form an interesting episode in Church History. St Augustine's touching account of the effect produced upon himself by the psalms and hymns in St Ambrose's Church in Milan, has often been quoted, and is well known. And it is in reference to the period just referred to, that he informs us [Conf. ix. 7], that "it was then ordained that the Psalms and Hymns should be sung 'secundum morem Orientalium partium;'" and that from Milan this Eastern antiphonal system spread throughout all parts of Western Christendom.

It is very difficult to ascertain accurately (and this is not the place to discuss) the exact nature and extent of the influence exerted by St Ambrose over the Music of the Church in the West. That his influence was very considerable is shown by the fact of the extended use of the term "Cantus Ambrosianus" for Church song generally. Possibly this wide use of the term may account for the title given to the old melody of the "*Te Deum,*" which — certainly, at least, in the form in which it has come down to us — cannot be of the extremely early date which its name would appear to imply.

But the name of St Ambrose, as a musical reformer, was eclipsed by that of his illustrious successor, St Gregory, who flourished about 200 years after. As Church Song was all "Ambrosian" before his time, so has it, since, been all "Gregorian." The ecclesiastical modes, or scales, were finally settled by him; until the time when Church music broke through its trammels, rejected the confined use of modes and systems essentially imperfect, and, under the fostering influence of a truer science, developed its hidden and exhaustless resources.

Without entering into any detail respecting the ancient Church scales, it may not be out of place to state thus much:—

I. The four scales admitted by St Ambrose, called the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian (modifications of the ancient Greek scales so named), were simply, in modern language, our respective scales of D, E, F, G, *without any accidentals*; the melodies written in each ranging only from the keynote to its octave, and ending properly on the key-note, thence called the "*final.*"[1]

Now each particular scale had its own reciting note (or "dominant"), generally *a fifth* above the final. Thus (had there been no exception) we should have had:—

[1] It is not meant that all the chants or melodies in each mode *do* really end on the "final"; but that this is the note, in the scale, on which a melody, which came to a full close, *would* naturally terminate.

The respective "*finals*" of the 4 scales { D, E, F, G } and their corresponding "*dominants*", or notes for recitation { A, B, C, D }

But there was *one* exception. For some reason or other, B was not approved of as a Recitation note; and hence, in the second scale, C was substituted for it.

II. To each of these four scales, St Gregory added a subordinate, or attendant, scale — just as, in the ancient Greek system, each "principal" mode had two subsidiary, or "plagal," modes; the one below ([Greek]) it, and the other above ([Greek])it — beginning four notes *below* it, and therefore characterized by the prefix ([Greek]) *(hypo,* or *under).*

Thus, to St Ambrose's 1st (or Dorian) mode, St Gregory added a *Hypo-Dorian.*
To his 2nd (or Phrygian), St Gregory added a *Hypo*-Phrygian.
[lviii]To his 3rd (or Lydian), St Gregory added a *Hypo*-Lydian.
To his 4th (or Mixo-Lydian), St Gregory added a *Hypo*-Mixo-*Lydian*
So that the number of the scales, instead of four, became eight.

Each added scale is essentially the same as its corresponding "principal" scale; the "*final*" (or key-note, so to speak) of each being the same. Thus, D (for instance) is the proper final note for melodies, whether in the Dorian or Hypo-Dorian mode.

The only points of difference between St Gregory's added, and St Ambrose's original, scales are these:—

1. That each added scale lies a *fourth below* its original. Thus, while the melodies in the four primary scales lie respectively between D, E, F, G, and their octaves; the melodies in the "plagal," or secondary, scales lie between A, B, C, D, and their octaves.

2. And next, that the recitation notes (or dominants) of the two sets of scales are different; those of the added scales being respectively F, A, A, C.

Thus the eight scales as finally settled by St Gregory are as follows:—

Name	Range of 8 notes Beginning from	"Final" (or Key note)	"Dominant" (or Reciting note)
1st Dorian	D	D	A
2nd Hypo-Dorian	A	D	F
3rd Phrygian	E	E	C
4th Hypo-Phrygian	B	E	A
5th Lydian	F	F	C
6th Hypo-Lydian	C	F	A
7th Mixolydian	G	G	D
8th Hypo-Mixolydian	D	G	C

In strict Gregorian song the notes were all of uniform length; and the only accidental ever allowed was the B flat.

It was necessarily by slow degrees that Ritual song assumed its full proportions, and the Divine Service clothed itself, in all its parts, with suitable musical dress.

Monotonic Recitative forms the basis of "plain song." In fact, in early times it would appear that, except in the Hymns, Church music was exceedingly simple in character. St Augustine

tells us that St Athanasius strongly discouraged the use of much inflexion of voice and change of note in the saying of the Divine Office. He would even have the *Psalms* sung almost in monotone: a practice, however, with which St Augustine's keen musical susceptibilities could not bring him wholly to sympathize.

From the simple monotone, the other portions of the plain song little by little developed themselves. The bare musical stem becomes ever and anon foliate: its monotony is relieved with inflexions, recurring according to fixed rule. Then it buds and blossoms, and flowers into melodies of endless shape.

When the musical service of the Western Church became in a measure fixed, it consisted mainly of the four following divisions:—

1. There was, *first,* the song for the prayers, the "Cantus Collectarum," which was plain monotone.[1]

2. *Secondly,* there was the song for the Scripture Lections, the "Cantus Prophetarum," "Epistolarum," "Evangelii," which admitted certain inflexions. These inflexions were for the most part of a fixed character, and consisted (ordinarily) in dropping the voice,— *α.* at each comma or colon, a *minor third* ("accentus medius"); *β.* at each full-stop, a *perfect fifth* ("accentus gravis").[2]

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   The same rule was followed in intonating the versicles and responses, the versicle and response *together* being regarded as a complete sentence; the close of the former requiring the "mediate," the close of the latter the "grave" accent.[3]

3. The *third* division embraces the Psalm-chants. These seem originally to have followed the rule of the "Cantus Prophetarum;" to have consisted of plain monotone, relieved only by one of the "accents" at the close of each verse. In course of time the middle, as well as the

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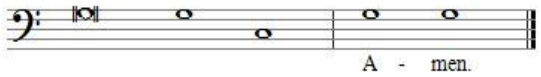
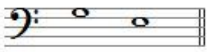
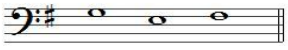
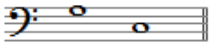
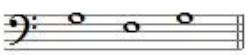
[1] In the Roman use, the monotone was unbroken; but in the Sarum use, there was generally the fall of a perfect 5th (entitled the "grave accent") on the last syllable before the Amen.

[2] But in the case the clause ended with a monosyllable, the following variations took place: —

α. The "accentus medius"

gave way to the "accentus moderatus," or "interrogativus,"

β. And the "accentus gravis"



to the "accentus acutus,"



It is noticeable that while the Church of England (following the lead of Merbecke) has retained the use of the "mediate" and "moderate" accents, she seems practically to have parted with the "grave" and "acute."

[3] Or their substitutes, in case of a monosyllabic termination. See preceding note.

end of the verse, came to be inflected. The inflexions became more varied and elaborate; the result being a whole succession of distinct melodies, or chants, following the laws of the several ecclesiastical modes.

4. As the third division admitted of far greater licence than either of the two former (ultimately, of very considerable melodic latitude), so was *the fourth* division more free and unrestrained than all. This embraces the music for the Hymns, metrical or prose; for Prefaces, Antiphons, and the like. From these any continuous recitation note disappears altogether, and an unrestricted melody is the result.

Church Song has passed through many vicissitudes; becoming at times viciously ornate, debased, and emasculate. So long as the people took part in the service, the music was necessarily kept very simple. When they ceased to participate, and the service was performed for them, the once simple inflexions and melodies became expanded and developed, — ten, twenty, or more notes being constantly given to a syllable; and the plain song became the very reverse of *plain,* and for all purposes of edification practically useless.

Many protests were from time to time issued; but it was not until the period of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, that really effectual and energetic measures were taken to arrest the growing evil. At that time the laborious task of examining and revising the Plain Song of the Western Church was entrusted to Palestrina (who took for his coadjutor the indefatigable Guidetti) by the musical commissioners (one of them the great St Carlo Borromeo) appointed by the Council of Trent.

But twenty years before Palestrina had set about his toilsome work, a similar movement had been initiated in this country, in connexion with our revised Office-books.

When the great remodelling of our English Services took place, earlier in the same century; when the energetic and successful attempt was made to render them once more suitable, not only for private and claustral, but for public congregational use, and at the same time to disencumber them of any novelties in doctrine or practice which in the course of ages had fastened round them; when the old Mattins, Lauds, and Prime of the Sarum Breviary were translated into the vernacular, compressed, and recast into the now familiar form of our English "Mattins," or "Morning Prayer," and the Vespers and Compline of our "Evening Prayer," or "Evensong;" the question of the *music* for these rearranged offices forced itself upon the notice of our Church rulers. And it is most interesting to note, how the same wise conservative spirit, which had guided the changes in the *words*, manifested itself in the corresponding changes in the *music* with which those words were to be allied.

Radical alteration in either department there was none, simplification being the main object. And thus, in the province of Church Music, the great aim was not to discard, but to *utilize* the ancient plain song, to adapt it to the translated offices, to restore it to something more of its primitive "plainness," to rid it of its modern corruptions, its wearisome *"neumas,"* and ornaments and flourishes; so that the Priest's part, on the one hand, might be intelligible and distinct, and not veiled in a dense cloud of unmeaning notes, and the people's part, on the other, so easy and straightforward, as to render their restored participation in the public worship of the Sanctuary at once practicable and pleasurable.

It has been hastily imagined by some in modem days that our great liturgical revisionists of the sixteenth century designed to abolish the immemorial custom of the Church of God, alike in Jewish and Christian times, of saying the Divine Service in some form of solemn musical recitative, and to introduce the unheard-of custom of adopting the ordinary colloquial tone of voice. But such a serious and uncatholic innovation never appears to have entered into their heads.

The most that can be said of our English Post-Reformation rule on this subject is, that in case of real incapacity on the part of the priest, or other sufficient cause, the ordinary tone of voice *may* be employed; but this only as an exceptional alternative. The *rule* itself remains unchanged, the same as of old.

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The Rubrical directions, "read," "say," "sing," expressed in the old technical language, are substantially what they were before. The first of these words, "legere," was the most general and comprehensive; merely expressing recitation from a book, without defining the *"modus* legendi," or stating whether the recitation was to be plain or inflected. The usual *modes* of recitation are expressed in the words "say" and "sing;" the former ("*dicere*") pointing to the simpler, the latter ("*cantare*") to the more ornate mode. Thus the old "legere" *might* signify (and often did) ornate singing; and it might signify (and often did) plain monotone; and it is observable that the words "say" and "sing" are often employed interchangeably in the old rubrics, when their specific distinctions do not come into prominence.[1]

Now the same holds good in our present Book. For instance, in one place we find a rubric ordering that the Athanasian Creed shall be "read here." Now, the point of this rubric being the particular *position* in which the Creed shall be recited, and not the particular *mode* of its recitation, the general term "legere" is employed. The "*modus* legendi" is determined by other rubrics, which prescribe that it may be "either said, or sung;" i.e., which allow of *both* modes of choral recitation, either the plain, or the ornate; either the simple monotone, or the regular chant.

The same thing occurs in another rubric, which (like the former), dealing with the *position*, not the mode, orders the "Venite" to be "read" in a certain place. Now the general term "read" in this instance is obviously equivalent with the word "sing;" the Church of England always contemplating that the Psalms shall be not said on the monotone, but sung to regular chants.[2]

The two works which directly illustrate the mind of the English Church as to the musical rendering of her reformed Service are, 1st, the *Litany* published by Cranmer with its musical notation (the first instalment of our Book of Common Prayer); and, 2ndly, the more important work containing the musical notation of all the *remainder* of that Book, edited (plainly under the Archbishop's supervision) by John Merbecke, and published "cum privilegio" in the same year with the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

A word or two may be said respecting both these publications.

l. The Litany was published in 1544 in a work entitled "An exhortation unto praier thought mete by the King's Majestie and his clergie, to be read &c. Also a Litany with suffrages to be said or sung." Now this Litany was set to the beautiful and simple old Litany chant still used in most of our Cathedrals and Parish Churches where the service is chorally rendered. It was republished by Grafton, with harmonies in five parts, a month after its first appearance. Some twenty years afterwards it was again harmonized by Tallis; and it has been harmonized and set in different forms by many of our English Church musicians.

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[1] "How depe and inwarde comforte should yt be to you to synge and rede and say thys holy seruyce." Oure Ladyes Myroure, f.v. ϕ Gascoigne, Thomas *Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of Oure Lady very necessary for all relygyous persones* (London: Richarde Fawkes, 1530)

[2] "The Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be *sung* (or said) in Churches." The Psalter, we see, is specially pointed for singing: the pointing itself plainly expressing the mind and wish of the Church. The "say" only gives a permissible alternative where there is no choir.

2. The other publication was entitled "The Booke of Common Praier noted," wherein "is conteyned so much of the Order of Common Praier as is to be song in Churches." Like the Prayer Book itself, it contains nothing absolutely *new*: the old English Service Music being simplified and adapted to our revised and translated Offices. The adjustment of the musical notation is as follows:—

   i. For the Prayers, the old "Cantus Collectarum," or simple monotone, is used.[1]

   ii. For the Versicles and Responses, the old inflected "Cantus Prophetarum."[2]

   iii. In the Scripture Lections, however, it seems manifest that it was not in contemplation to retain the use of this last-mentioned inflected Song, which of old appertained to them. In the Pre-Reformation Service-books the "Capitula" and the Lections were generally very short; the latter being moreover broken and interrupted by Antiphons. Here, inflected musical Recitative might not be inappropriate. But to sing through a long lesson from the English Bible in the same artificial method, would be plainly wearisome, if not somewhat grotesque. Hence our rubric ordered that "in such places where they do sing, then shall the lesson be sung in a *plain* tune, after the manner of distinct reading; and likewise the Epistle and Gospel."

[lxi]

   Now here the emphatic word appears to be "*plain,*" as opposed to "inflected;" and the object of the rubric, to recommend the substitution of the "Cantus Collectarum," or monotone, for the Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel, in place of the ancient "Cantus Prophetarum." It is needless to point out, by the way, in the face of a rubric which defines the mode in which even the *lessons* are to be "sung," how little idea there was on the part of our Liturgical Revisers of interfering generally with the ancient musical performance of Divine Service.

   It may not be out of place here to remark, that the above rubric which ordered the *"plain* tune" for the lessons, was, after the lapse of above a century, ultimately withdrawn. The Puritans strongly urged its withdrawal at the Savoy Conference, prior to the last Review in 1661. Our Divines at first refused to yield, alleging that the objections urged against the use of Monotone for Holy Scripture were groundless. However, they gave way at last: and it is, perhaps, happy that they did. For, while in the case of solemn public addresses to Almighty God, the grave, devout, unsecular, ecclesiastical recitative is alone appropriate; in the case of addresses to *man,* even though they are lessons of Holy Scripture, which are read for purposes of *instruction,* a freer and less formal mode of utterance seems alike suitable and desirable.

   iv. The *Te Deum* is set to the ancient Ambrosian melody, simplified and adapted to the English words from the version given in the Sarum Breviary.

   v. The other Canticles and the Psalms are assigned to the old Gregorian chants. The Book does not actually contain the Psalter with its chants (just as it does not contain the Litany with its music, which had been already published). A simple Gregorian melody (8th tone, 1st ending) is given for the "Venite;" after which is added, "and so forth with the rest of the Psalms as they are appointed." The primary object of this

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[1] In two instances (but only two) Merbecke has adopted a special peculiarity of the Sarum (as distinguished from the Roman) Rite, in the employment of the *grave accent* (see p. lviii) on the last syllable of the collect preceding the Amen.

[2] See also p. lviii.

was, probably, to keep the Book in a reasonably small compass, and avoid the great additional expense of printing a musical notation for each verse of the entire Psalter. But partly, no doubt, it was the uncertainty then felt (and even to the present day, to some extent experienced) as to the best mode of selecting and adapting the old chants to English words, which caused the editors instinctively to shrink from the responsibility of so soon determining these delicate points, and to prefer leaving it to the different Choirs and Precentors to make experiments, and adapt and select according to their own judgment. There is no proof that it was intended to fasten this particular book upon the English Church. It was probably of a tentative and experimental character. It was put forth as a companion to our Revised Service-book, as a practical explanation of its musical rubrics, and as also furnishing examples and specimens of the *way* in which the framers of our vernacular offices originally contemplated that they should be allied with the old Latin Ritual Song.

vi. In the music for the Hallelujah ("The Lord's Name be praised"), for the Lord's Prayer in the Post-Communion, and for the Kyrie (the melody of the latter borrowed from the Sarum "Missa pro Defunctis"), we find merely the old Sarum plain-song reproduced in simplified form.

vii. The Nicene Creed, Gloria in Excelsis, and offertory sentences appear, from the structure of the music, to be all set to simplified forms of ancient Gregorian melodies. But their immediate source has not yet been clearly ascertained.

From what has been said it will incidentally appear, 1st, how fully determined were our sixteenth century Revisionists that the Offices in their new form should not lose their old choral and musical character; and thus that Divine Service should still continue what it had ever theoretically been, a "Service of Song." And, 2nd, how earnestly anxious they were that the music should be of a plain and simple character, so that it might be a real aid in the great object they had before them, that of restoring to the people their long-suspended right of due and intelligent participation in the public worship of the Sanctuary.

In illustration of these points, Cranmer's letter to Henry VIII., dated Oct. 7, 1544, is interesting; and although it is printed entire at p. xxii, [1] it is necessary again to refer to it in

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[1] ϕ The text of the letter (including original clarifications in square brackets) reads: "It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that, according to your Highness' commandment, sent unto me by your Grace's Secretary, Mr. Pagett, I have translated into the English tongue, so well as I could in so short a time, certain processions, to be used upon festival days, if after due correction and amendment of the same, your Highness shall think it so convenient. In which translation, forasmuch as many of the processions, in the Latin, were but barren, as me seemed, and little fruitful, I was constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator: for in some processions I have altered divers words; in some I have added part; in some taken part away; some I have left out whole, either for bycause the matter appeared to me to be little to purpose, or bycause the days are not with us festival days" [having been abrogated in 1537]; "and some processions I have added whole, because I thought I had better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latin; the judgement whereof I leave wholly unto your Majesty: and after your Highness hath corrected it, if your Grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as is to the procession which your Majesty hath already set forth in English), I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts of men unto devotion and godliness. But in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto should not be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be the Matins and Evensong, *Venite*, the Hymns, *Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis,* and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the Mass, *Gloria in Excelsis, Gloria Patri,* the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater Noster,* and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough; wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing, can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song. But bycause mine English verses lack the grace and facility that I would

{*Cont.*}

connexion with our present subject. After speaking of the English Litany already published with musical notation; and of certain other Litanies, or "Processions," which he had been preparing, and which he requests the King to cause to be set to music, on the ground that "if some devout and solemn note be made thereunto," "it will much stir the hearts of all men to devotion;" he proceeds to offer his opinion as to the kind of music suitable for these Litanies, as also for other parts of the Service :

> "In mine opinion the Song that shall be made thereunto would[1] not be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note; as be, in the *Matins and Evensong,* 'Venite,' the Hymns. 'Te Deum,' 'Benedictus,' 'Magnificat,' 'Nunc Dimittis,' and all the Psa1ms and Versicles; and, in the *Mass,* 'Gloria in Excelsis,' 'Gloria Patri,' the Creed, the Preface, the 'Pater noster,' and some of [lxii] the 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus.' As concerning the 'Salve, festa dies,' the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough; wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song."

The last portion of this letter introduces a subject on which it is necessary to add a few words, viz., the use of Metrical Hymns in public worship.

Cranmer himself was most anxious to have retained the use of them, and with that view set about translating the Breviary Hymns. But he was so dissatisfied with his attempts, that eventually he gave up the idea. This loss was a serious one, and soon made itself experienced. Fervent Christian feeling must find means of expression; and if not provided with a legitimate outlet, such as the Hymns of the Church were intended to furnish, will vent itself in ways irregular, and, perhaps, in unorthodox language.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact time when the practice of popular Hymn and metrical Psalm singing established itself in connexion with our revised ritual, though independently of its direct authority. Such singing was in use very early in Elizabeth's reign, having doubtless been borrowed from the Protestants abroad. For the purpose of giving a quasi-official sanction to a custom which it would have been very unwise to repress, (and thus, through a sort of bye-law, to supply a practical want in our authorized public Ritual,) it was ordained, by a Royal Injunction in the year 1559, that, while there was to be "a modest and distinct *song* so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church that the same might be understanded as if it were read without singing;" (in other words, while the old traditional plain-song, in its simplified form, is to be employed throughout the whole of the service; yet,) "for the comforting of such as delight in musick it may be permitted, that in the beginning or at the end of the Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and musick that may be conveniently devised; having respect that the sentence [i.e. sense] of the hymn may be understanded and perceived."

To this Injunction of Queen Elizabeth we owe our modem Anthem; on which it is necessary to add a few words.

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wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence" [the English sense], "I suppose it will serve well enough. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in long and prosperous health and felicity. From Bekisbourne, the 7th of October.

"Your Grace's most bounden

"Chaplain and Beadsman,

"T. CANTUARIEN.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty"

[1] ϕ *recte* should

The term itself is merely an Anglicized synonym of the word Antiphon. Its old spelling was *Anteme,* or *Antempne*.[1] Its origin is the Greek word ([Greek]), or rather ([Greek]) *(antiphona:* neut. plur.), which is the old ecclesiastical term. From *antiphona* comes the Italian and Spanish *antifona,* as well as the old English form *antephne,* and the Anglo-Saxon *antefn.* Now, just as the Anglo-Saxon word ste*f*n (the end, or prow, of a ship) became ste*m* in English, so did Ante*f*n become Ante*m*. The further change of the initial *ant* into *anth* is merely parallel with the corresponding change of the Old English *te* and *tat* into *thee* and *that*.[2]

From the fact of Barrow in one of his sermons spelling the word "Ant*hymn,*" Dr Johnson and others have hastily inferred that its true origin is to be traced in ([Greek]) or ([Greek]) (*anti-hymnus,* or *anthymnus*), which would give it the meaning of a responsive hymn. And it is by no means improbable that the accidental similarity in *sound* between the final syllable of "Anthem" and the word "hymn," coupled with the fact of the intelligible, and in a measure correct, meaning which this plausible derivation would seem to afford, has not been without its influence in determining the popular sense of the word itself. But there is not a vestige of authority for this latter derivation, nor shadow of doubt that ([Greek]) and not ([Greek]) is the root out of which "Anthem" grows.

In its earliest form, the Anthem, or Antiphon, seems to have been a single verse out of any Psalm repeated after the recitation of the Psalm (and, in later times, *before* its recitation also) with a view of fixing the *key-note,* so to speak, of the Psalm; of bringing into prominence, and fastening attention upon, some special idea contained within it. In course of time the Antiphons came to be selected, not exclusively from the particular Psalms to which they were affixed. Appropriate passages of Scripture from any part, even short uninspired[3] sentences in prose or verse, came to be similarly applied. From the fact of the Antiphon giving the key-note or leading idea of the Psalm to which it was attached, we find the word Anthem frequently used for the text of a sermon [4]

[lxiii]

When the use of a "Hymn, or such like song," was authoritatively permitted at the beginning or end of Common Prayer — not only with a view of adding dignity and interest to the worship of Almighty God, and rendering the Service of Praise more worthy of Him to whom it was offered; but with the twofold secondary end also (1) of "comforting" musical people by allowing the strains of the Sanctuary a greater freedom of development than the mere chant and plain-song intonations admitted, and thus (2) of encouraging amongst all classes the study and practice of music — our Church composers, in casting about for suitable words, seem first to have had recourse to the old Antiphons, many of which they set to music. Other similar brief and characteristic passages of Holy Scripture, Prayers, Hymns, and the like, were speedily selected for the same purpose; but the name "Anthems," whether they happened to have been used as Antiphons or not, equally attached itself to all.

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1 See p. lvi, and "the Myrroure of our Lady." fol. lxxxix.

2 For a discussion on the derivation and use of the word Anthem, see Notes and Queries, 2nd series, xi. 457. 491; xii.90. 151.

3 ϕ i.e. not derived from the Bible or Prayer Book.

4 It may be remarked, that as the idea of Responsive Music lies at the bottom of Antiphon, or Anthem (whence we find old writers speaking of the Psalms as sung *Anthem-wise*, i.e. responsively), so, in the actual and varied use of the word, we find, sometimes the Responsive, and sometimes the Musical, element coming into prominence; occasionally, one or the other element entirely disappearing. In the text of a sermon, for instance, there is nothing *musical*. In a modern Anthem, there is nothing necessarily *responsive*.

Many have endeavoured to discover some definite ritual significance in the word itself, and in the position occupied by the Anthem in our Service, to account for its name. It has been regarded as the intentional "residuum" of the Antiphons of the old Service-books. But such theories, though interesting, are unsubstantial. It is all but certain, that it was through a loose, accidental, popular application of an old term, the strict meaning of which was not a matter of much concern, rather than through any deliberate conviction of the modern Anthem being, practically or theoretically, identical with, or a legitimate successor and representative of the old Antiphon, that the name Anthem finally allied itself with that class of musical compositions or Sacred Motets which now form a recognized adjunct to our English Service.[1] It may be added that, in country parishes, where a trained choir could not be obtained, a metrical Psalm would be sung in the place of the Anthem, and fall under the same general designation.

The actual period of the introduction of the term in its familiar modern and popular sense, to denote a piece of sacred music for the use of the Church, may perhaps be approximately illustrated by a comparison of the titles of two successive editions of a very important musical work. Within the year after the publication of Queen Elizabeth's Injunction giving permission for the use of a "Hymn, or such like song," John Day printed his great choral work entitled, "Certain notes set forthe in 4 & 5 parts, to be sung at the Morning, Communion, & Evening Prayer, very necessary for the Church of Xt to be frequented & used. And unto them be added divers godly Prayers & Psalmes in the like form to the Honour and Praise of God." Five years later, this fine work, to which Tallis with other famous Church writers contributed, was reprinted, though with a somewhat different title: "Morning & Evening Prayer & Communion set forth in 4 parts, to be sung in Churches, both for men & children, with divers other godly Prayers & *Anthems* of sundry men's doyings." In the second edition we thus have the word *"Anthems*" used, where in the first edition *"Psalmes"* had been employed.

An illustration of the early actual use of the Anthem, in its modern English sense, is afforded by Strype, in his description of the Lent Services which took place in the Chapel Royal, within a year of the time when the permissive Injunction for the use of "a Hymn, or such like song," was published, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

> "The same day" (he writes, i.e. Midlent Sunday, March 24, 1560), "in the afternoon, Bp. Barlow, one of King Edward's Bishops, now Bishop of Chichester, preached in his Habit before the Queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock: and, presently after, her Chapel went to Evening Song. The Cross as before standing on the Altar; and two Candlesticks, and two Tapers burning in them. And, Service concluded, a good *Anthem* was sung." (See also Machyn'a Diary, 1560.]

Thus the place of the Anthem became practically settled after the third Collect, with which Morning and Evening Prayer at that time concluded; although it was not till above 100 years after this period that there was any *rubrical* recognition of the Anthem, or direction concerning the time of its performance. When, however, at the last Review, in 1661, the concluding prayers were added, the Anthem was not removed to the *end* of the Service, as before, but was still allowed to retain its old traditional place after the third Collect. And it was with a view of fixing this position that the Rubric was inserted, "In Choirs and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem."

But although this is the only place where the introduction of a "Hymn, or such like song," or "Anthem," is definitely authorized, yet custom has sanctioned a much freer interpretation of

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[1] It may also be observed, that the two English words — really identical, and coming from the same root — Antiphon and Anthem, have finally parted company; the former retaining its ancient ritual, the latter acquiring a modern musical meaning.

the [lxiv] Rubric than its words actually convey. Practical need has asserted and substantiated its claim. The Rubric, or rather the original Injunction on which the Rubric was based, has shown itself conveniently expansive and elastic, and the word "Anthem" proved a pregnant and germinant one, covering at once the Hymn, the Introit, and the Anthem proper. The truth is, however, that it is to custom and necessity, not to Rubrics or Injunctions, that we owe the general introduction of Music, as distinct from Plain song, into our Revised Offices. Custom drew forth the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth; the Injunction subsequently gave rise to the Rubric. But as Music originally found its way into our Reformed Service, independently of written authority, so, independently of written authority, does it continue. For the very necessity which received formal recognition in the Anthem-Rubric, refuses to be satisfied with or limited by the strict terms of that Rubric. The Anthem, in some shape or other, was a *fact* before ever any written authority called it into legal existence; and in like manner, Hymn-singing, over and above the Anthem, has been, and is, and will be, an actual *fact,* notwithstanding its apparent want of formal rubrical sanction.

The result of all is, that while "*the* Anthem" still retains its place, as a special offering to God of the firstfruits of sacred musical skill and science, "in choirs and places" where such an offering is possible, the additional introduction elsewhere of suitable Hymns, whether in the Eucharistic or other Offices, as aids and reliefs to the Services, is not only not thereby excluded, but practically and subordinately and implicitly sanctioned.

This Section may be concluded with some practical rules on the subject of which it has treated.

1. Although, as we have seen, there was no deliberate intention, on the part of our Liturgical Revisers, that the old Antiphon should be reproduced, or find an exact counterpart in the modern Anthem; still, on the other hand, it is most desirable that the Anthem should practically — by its appropriate character, by its responding accordantly to the Service of the day, bringing out and emphasizing its special theme — vindicate its right to the title it has obtained, and prove itself a legitimate successor and representative of the Antiphon.[1] Anthems or Hymns may thus become invaluable auxiliaries; imparting a freedom and variety to our Service which it would not otherwise possess, and rendering it susceptible of easy adaptation to the ever-changing phases of the Church's year. If the "Hymn, or such like song," does *not* possess any of this "Antiphonal" character, if it is regarded merely in the light of so much music interpolated into the Office by way of relief, it becomes simply an element of disintegration, splitting up the Service into several isolated fragments, instead of imparting a unity and consistency and character to the whole. Hence the need of due and reverent care in the selection of the Anthems and Hymns. Judiciously chosen, they may not only give new beauty and meaning to our Services, but may also prove most useful and delightful means of propagating and popularizing Church doctrine, and promoting the growth of genuine and healthy Church feeling.

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[1] It should, perhaps, be remarked, that there still remain in the Prayer Book a few instance of the word Anthem retaining its old meaning. For example, the Invitatory Psalm, "*Venite exultemus,*" is regarded in some sort as a fixed Antiphon before the Psalms for the day, and is in this sense called an Anthem; the Rubric enjoining its constant use "except on Easter-day, upon which *another* Anthem is appointed." The word is also used in its old sense in the following passage from the Introduction, "Concerning the Service of the Church:" — "For this cause be cut off *Anthems*, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture."

The "O Saviour of the world," after the Psalm in the "Visitation of the Sick," is strictly an Antiphon.

2. As regards the position of the Hymns. The Elizabethan Injunction specifies the "beginning or end of Common Prayer;" and the Rubric says, "after the third Collect." So that we have three available places for "Hymns, or such like songs." The Hymn at the *beginning* of Common Prayer, although desirable on great Festivals, as a kind of Antiphon fixing the key-note of the whole succeeding Service, is somewhat inconsistent with the general penitential character of the Introduction to our Mattins and Evensong, and should not, therefore, be ordinarily employed.[1] During the Eucharistic Office, the singing of Hymns, independently of the Nicene Creed, and the great Eucharistic Hymn "*Gloria in Excelsis,*" is most desirable. There may be (1) an introductory "*Introit;*" (2) a Hymn, or (as the alternative provided in Edward's First Prayer Book) the *"Agnus Dei,"*[2] after the Prayer of Consecration; and (3) a Hymn, or (as a very suitable alternative) the *"Nunc Dimittis,"* when the Service is over, and the remains of the Consecrated Elements are being reverently consumed. In the [lxv] Office for Holy Matrimony, the Order for the Burial of the Dead, and other occasional Offices, Hymns may be often most appropriately and happily introduced.

3. With regard to the exact nature of the music to be employed in the Psalms, Hymns, Canticles, Anthems, &c., it would be most unwise, even if possible, to lay down any strict rules. While it would be a great error to discard many of the ancient Hymn-tunes and Psalm-chants of the Church, it would be a no less serious error to keep exclusively to them. The Church must bring forth from her treasure-house "things new and old;" not only the severe (and to some ears uncouth) unisonous strains of by-gone times, but also the rich, full harmonies of modern days. All must be freely, fearlessly employed, according as taste, or special circumstances, or choral capability may dictate. Experiments must be made, mistakes perhaps braved; for many questions as to the best practical methods of linking together the "sphere-born, harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse" in the Service of the Sanctuary remain as yet undecided. Hasty dogmatism, and intolerant exclusiveness, in reference to the accessories of Divine Worship, are much to be deprecated, for in all matters of external apparatus the Church of England has yet much to learn. In putting forth the full strength of our Prayer Book, and developing its inward powers and energies, there will be also gradually disclosed outward features and graces which seem new and strange from their having been so long latent. But it is certain that all the resources of the Church, external as well as internal, are needed for modern times; and that all appliances, musical, ritual, aesthetic, should be brought to bear on the services rendered to God by so cultivated an age, and set forth before men to win and help their souls. God having given all these outward aids — music, ritual, art — He *means* them to be employed for His glory, and in order to influence, and subdue, and attract mankind. As churches should be beautiful, and ritual beautiful, so music also should be beautiful; that it may be a more fitting offering to Him, and better calculated to impress, soften, humanize, and win. None of these Divinely-granted helps may be contemptuously laid aside. All should be reverently, humbly, piously used; used for God, not for self; used in full and fearless confidence that it is His own blessed *will* that they should be used; used with the single eye to the glory of God, and the spiritual welfare of His people.

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[1] See, however, a note on the invitatory character of the sentences, at p. 1.

[2] "In the Communion time the Clerkes shall sing—

"'O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us.

"'O Lamb of God, &c., grant us Thy peace.'"

Extract from *the Minute Book of the Select Vestry and later of the Four and Twenty*, *St Oswald's Parish Church, Durham (1866)*

Memorandum of a Visitation held in the Parish Church of St Oswald's in the County of Durham by the Venerable George Bland, an Official of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, on the fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty six.

Present,
The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes, Vicar
Mr John Fagg Elliot, } Churchwardens
Mr Thomas Bagley, }

The Dean and Chapter have permitted Mr. J. R. Davison to place a Memorial Window in the East end of the Chancel, on the conditions, that the whole of the Window be filled with Stained Glass, and that no part be blocked up by any permanent or temporary erection: I therefore direct the Churchwardens to remove the frame-work, now placed above the Communion Table and obstructing part of the Window, as soon as the above Memorial Window shall {be} ready.

The Communion Table, presented by the late Archdeacon Thorp, has been altered and enlarged without any authority from the Churchwardens. This ought not to have been done.

The Floor of the Chancel has been raised; it is said, <u>to its ancient level</u>; but no plans were submitted to the Dean and Chapter or to their Official. As however it has been so raised, the wooden platform, on which the Communion Table now stands, seems unnecessary, and I recommend it's {*sic*} removal, so that there may be convenient room for the Minister to stand "at the North side" of the Table, in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

No gifts, whether of Furniture, coverings for the Communion Table, Ornaments or other things, become "Church Goods", till they be formally accepted by the Parish and be delivered into the custody of the Churchwardens; and a note should be made in the Parish Books of such acceptance; nor may such gifts be used in the Church till so accepted and approved by the Churchwardens, or if any difficulty shall arise, by the Ordinary.

The Candlesticks, which are now placed upon the Communion Table, have not been formally accepted by the Parish, nor ought they to have been placed there without consultation with the Churchwardens.

In reference to the introduction of any Ornaments, the question is not simply, what the Law may seem to allow, but, what discretion, charity, and a due regard for the feelings and opinions of others, enjoin us to avoid.

My attention was directed to a small picture of the Crucifixion, hanging in the Vestry, and the Vicar explained that it was useful to remind the children, when assembled there, of the sacredness of the place.

Such a use may be considered dangerous and liable to misconstruction. It seems contrary to the principles of the Church of England that her children should be encouraged to look at pictures in order to keep alive holy and devotional feelings.

I recommend the removal of this picture.

I order, that a Book be provided for entering regularly the names of Preachers.

I also order, that a Book be provided for entering regularly the Collection made in the Church, whether at the Offertory or in any other way; and that the particular mode of applying or distributing such Collections, whether by the Vicar, or by the Vicar and Churchwardens together, be entered in a Book which may be ready for examination, if required, at the Easter Meeting of each year.

I also order, that a new Terrier ne made, and that one copy, on Parchment, be kept in the Parish Chest, and another copy be sent to the Official, to be deposited in the Registry of the Dean and Chapter. It is desirable that the Terrier should be signed, not only by the Vicar and the Churchwardens, but also by some substantial inhabitants in the Parish.

George Bland
Official of the Dean and Chapter of Durham

Remarks on the above

The "Visitation" here referred to was held in St Oswald's Church on Jan^{y} 4, 1866. More than three months after that date — on March 14th — this Book was sent to the Vicarage, without note or message, having the above Memorandum inserted. Inasmuch as possession was obtained of the Parish Vestry-Book, and this entry made, without permission being either asked or granted, or any communication whatever addressed to myself, I feel bound as Vicar of the Parish, and as the ordinary custodian of the Book, to record my respectful[1] protest against what I cannot but regard in the light of an irregularity.

Before noticing the Document itself, it must be observed that the Instructions therein contained appear to carry a somewhat uncertain weight from the fact of the Venerable Official occupying two distinct offices at one and the same time; representing the Dean and Chapter in the double capacity of Lay Rectors or Appropriators and also of Archdeacons.

In estimating, therefore, the force of the Monition it becomes necessary to discriminate between those parts which are delivered by the Venerable Official qua Appropriator and qua Archdeacon.

I. With respect to the munificent gift of a stained glass East-Window, promised to S. Oswald's Church by J.R. Davison Esq, and the "permission" stated to have been granted by the Dean and Chapter for its erection, provided it fulfils certain conditions; I venture to observe that I am not aware that power is usually claimed by Lay Rectors or Appropriators either to give or to withhold "permission" for the presentation of such offerings, or to pronounce beforehand what precise form the offering shall assume, provided there is no interference with the fabric of the Church or the masonry of the window; — such questions resting with the Incumbent and the Ordinary. As regards, therefore, the decision respecting the Window itself, and also the Order that the small dorsal-cloth now hanging before its lower compartment shall be removed, and that no such hanging shall in future be used, I am bound to remark that a power of control over the internal arrangements of the Chancel is claimed by the Appropriators which does not seem to be recognised by Law. In corroboration of which statement I refer to the case of Griffin V Dighton in which the Lord Chief Justice gave it as the "unanimous opinion of the Court" "That the Appropriator had not as against the Vicar a right to the possession and control of the body of the Chancel. That altho' the Rector had the freehold of the Church and therefore of the Chancel, this was only an abstract right, and

[1] ϕ It will be seen that the word 'respect' in various forms appears seven times in Dykes's response. Compare with Mark Antony's repeated references to 'honourable men' in Act III Scene II of *Julius Caesar*.

carried with it no right to the possession. That the Incumbent had, upon induction, the legal possession of the Church. That there was no distinction [in this respect] between the body of the Church and the Chancel. That the Rector had no more right in the Chancel than in the rest of the Church. That the Rector was bound to repair the Chancel, by reason, not of exclusive right, but of the custom of the Realm. That the general right of the Rector to have a pew in the Chancel did not carry with it any other consequence as to a peculiar right or interest in that part of the Church. That the guardianship was in the Incumbent and Ordinary."

It appears, therefore, form the whole tenor of this decision, that the Dean and Chapter have no more legal right to issue Instructions as to the particular character and arrangement of the East Window (in a matter not affecting the fabric itself) than of the West Window, or any other window in the Church: and that the question of the employment of a dorsal-cloth obscuring a small portion of a window, itself disproportionately large, is one which no more comes within their cognizances than that of the use of a blind or hanging in any other part of the Building.

On this ground — with no feeling of disrespect but simply for the protection of my own rights as Incumbent, I am bound to decline to pledge myself in any way either to the use or non-use of the present, or any other, hanging.

II. It is true that the "Communion Table" was "enlarged" between 2 and 3 years ago, under the following circumstances. It was at that time most unbecomingly small for so stately a Chancel; and, moreover, perfectly bare. A subscription having been made in the Parish, and a sum of £25 presented to the Vicar with a request that a suitable "Altar-cloth" might be provided; it seemed to myself a mere waste of money to procure a handsome Covering, without first making the Altar itself of a suitable size to receive its Covering. The enlargement was effected under the superintendence of the then Chapter Architect, without cost or charge to the Parish: nor did I hear a word of dissatisfaction expressed at this obvious improvement either by Churchwardens or Parishioners.

III. As the foot-pace on which the Altar stands has been in use in the Church between 2 and 3 years; as I have never, till now, heard any objections expressed against it, either by Churchwardens or others, or even by the Ven^{ble} Official, who has himself held Visitations in this Church, and kindly taken duty on several occasions, who has also examined the Church with the Vicar, and expressed his general approbation of everything, I must respectfully decline to adopt the recommendation to 'remove' this 'platform'. The Altar was, till within a recent date "elevated six steps" (vid. Surtees, and Hutchinson) and is, therefore, even when standing on the footpace, below its original height.

In reference to the remark of the Ven^{ble} Official respecting the <u>position</u> of the Minister, I must remark that his place is, not at the North <u>end</u>, but at the "<u>North-side</u>" of the Holy Table — and old Liturgical expression which has one, and only one, legitimate meaning. "There can be no doubt whatever," writes the present Archdeacon of Exeter, "as to the <u>intention</u> of the English Church about the position of the Celebrant in administer^{g} the Holy Communion. The slab or surface of the Altar or Holy Table was always conceived of as divided into <u>three</u> portions, of about equal size. The central was called the "media pars," then other portions the "<u>latus sinistrum, et dextrum</u>"; or "Septentrionale, et Australe." These would be in English the "midst of the Altar," the "left or North-side," and the "right or South-side": the term "side" being used with respect to the middle portion. The most solemn parts of the Rite, these were performed "<u>at</u> the middle"; the subordinate parts, "<u>at</u> the Northern or Southern portions{"}. In all cases the word "<u>at</u>" <u>certainly meant with the face turned Eastwards</u>." (Freeman's Rites and Ritual)

IV. I proceed to the statement that no gifts, "ornaments or other things" become Church Property "nor may be used in the Church until accepted and approved by the Churchwardens"; and, that the "formal acceptance" by the Parish is indispensable in the case of all offerings to the Church: And I feel bound to record my respectful, but very earnest, dissent from the decision here pronounced, and my opinion that a power is here attributed to the Churchwardens of which the Law and custom alike are ignorant.

The only reason given by Prideaux[1] why "the consent of the Parish is necessary" (and of the Churchwardens as their representatives) in the introduction of new ornaments, furniture and the like, provided they are legal, is "to ensure their estates from unjust taxation". "The consent of the Parish," he writes "is not necessary to authorize the thing, but only to oblige them to pay for it. This is all the reason which makes their consent requisite. And therefore, if the parson with leave of the Ordinary, or any other person with the consent of the Parson…have a desire to set up rails at the Altar, at their own proper costs and charges…the Parish is no way concerned either to give or deny their consent thereto."

It is to be observed that in these cases, altho' the "consent of the Ordinary" (i.e. "a faculty") is theoretically necessary; it is practically (except in the case of important additions or alterations to the Church) dispensed with: for, as Lord Stowell says, "the Ordinary usually reposes confidence in the Minister to do what is proper."

In confirmation of the view taken by Prideaux as to the powers of the Parish and Churchwardens over gifts and offerings, may I quote the following legal "opinion".

"Churchwardens seem to have no power to accept or refuse Ornaments. Their business is to take care of anything given. The only ground on which they can demur to the maintenance of an Ornament so given (not a necessary Ornament) is that it is likely to entail an expense upon the Parish for keeping it in repair."

Inasmuch therefore as the Candlesticks, footpace, West Window (itself the devout and liberal Offering of a Churchwarden), Altar rails, Credence Table, Frontals, Offertory bags, Thermometer, Kneeling-Cushions, Carpet for Sanctuary, Office-Books, Book-markers, Chalice-veils, and other gifts, which have, from time to time, been presented by different individuals to the Church will plainly entail no charge upon the Parish, the Churchwardens have no power to refuse them; still less to prevent their use in the Church and Services.

IV. In reference to the little Picture in the Vestry, I may quote the following "Opinion": "There would seem to be no authority on the part of any one to remove a Picture of a Crucifixion from the Vestry. It is not a part of the Church used for Divine Service: it is not an Ornament for use in the Service: and therefore appears to be a matter really with the sole discretion of the Incumbent."

On this ground — considering, moreover, the whole character of the objections raised against this most harmless and appropriate decoration of the Vestry, and, further, the reasons for which I am advised to remove it — I must respectfully decline to adopt the recommendation.

V. Against the last three Orders (enjoined as they are by this 'Canon') I can offer no possible objection.

I have only to add that it is in no captious or disrespectful spirit, with no desire to resist legitimate authority, or to defy the wishes of Churchwardens, Parishioners, or any other, that I

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[1] ϕ One infers: Prideaux, Humphrey *Directions to Church-Wardens for the Faithful Discharge of their Duty* &c. (Walker: London, 1805)

have felt it my duty to make, most reluctantly, the above remarks: — but simply in order to defend my own rights as Incumbent, and to guard myself from implicit acquiescence in a Document the tenor of which appears to divest the Parish Priest of his proper authority and responsibility, in regulating the details and accessories of Divine Service.

John B. Dykes M.A., Mus.D., Vicar of S. Oswald's.

"Deus, Qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus. Illustratione docuisti: Da nobis in eodem Spiritu de omnibus recta sapere…Per merita Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi." Amen[1,2]

[1] ϕ God, who has taught the hearts of the faithful by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, grant us in that same Spirit to understand rightly about all things, by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen *Tr. Diana Barclay, Durham University*

[2] ϕ Note 1,884 words in response to the Archdeacon's 637.

The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 27 (Joseph Masters: London, 1866)

[146] DR. DYKES ON SAYING AND SINGING

A Letter to the Venerable Archdeacon of Easter; reprinted from the Essay of the latter on Rites and Ritual.

"MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,

"With regard to the question which you ask respecting the mode of performing Divine Service, it appears to me evident that it never entered into the heads of those who undertook, in the sixteenth century, the great work of remodelling, translating, simplifying, congregationalising (to use a barbarous word,) the old Sarum Offices, and recasting them into the abbreviated form of our Matins and Evensong, to interfere with the universally received *method of reciting* those Offices. It is quite certain that they sever dreamed of so great an innovation in immemorial usage. Their object was merely to simplify the old Ritual music. It had become so tedious and ornate, that it was impossible for the people to join in *their* part; and the priest's part was rendered unintelligible by means of the wearisome 'neumas' and flourishes, which had little by little crept in, to the utter ruin of the staid solemnity of the ancient Plain Song. So the great business was to make the *priest's* part devout and *intelligible*, and the people's simple and *congregational*.

"The first part of our Prayer Book which came out was the *Litany*. But it came out *with* its beautiful and simple Ritual *Music*. It was thus *originally intended* to be *sung*; but to music so plain and straightforward that a child may join in it. (It is the same melody as is still generally used for the Litany.) *Only* the melody was published at first; no harmony: therefore it would be sung in unison.

"But a month afterwards a *harmonized* edition was published for the benefit of those choirs which were more skilled in music. It was set in five-part harmony, according to the notes used in the 'Kynge's Chapel.' Tallis's more elaborate version was published twenty years afterwards.

"But this English Litany was harmonized over and over again in different [147] ways by different composers; the very variety of setting incidentally proving how very general its musical use had become.

"It was in the following year (1545) that Cranmer wrote his well-known letter to Henry respecting the 'Processions' and Litany Services, which it was in contemplation to set forth in English for festival days; requesting that 'some devout and solemn *note* be made thereto,' similar to that of the published Litany; 'that it may the better excitate and stir the hearts of all men to devotion and godliness:' the Archbishop adding that, in his opinion, 'the song mode thereto should not be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note.'

"Four years after came out Edward's First Prayer Book, and almost simultaneously with it (at least within the year) the *musical notation* of the book, published 'cum privilegio,' and edited by John Merbecke.

"There seems no doubt in the world that this book was edited under Cranmer's supervision; and was intended as a quasi-authoritative interpretation of the musical rubrics.

"The old ritual words, 'legere,' 'dicere,' 'cantare,' continue in the re-formed, just as of old in the unreformed rubrics. They had a definite meaning in the Latin Service Books. There is not a vestige of a hint that they are to have any other than their old meaning in the vernacular and re-modelled Offices. They are often loosely used as almost convertible expressions. 'Dicere' rather expresses the simpler, — 'cantare,' the more *ornate*, mode of musical reading. The

word ‘legere’ simply denoted ‘recitation from a book,’ without any reference to the particular *mode* of the recitation. Applied to the Gospel in the old rubrics, it would simply express that the Gospel was to be here ‘recited,’ according to the accustomed ‘Cantus Evangelii.’ The same with other parts of the service. As ‘legere’ did not signify non-musical recitation in the old rubrics, so neither does it in the revised. In fact, in two or three instances, it is used avowedly an synonymous with ‘say or sing,’ — e.g. in the cases both of the ‘Venite’ and the Athanasian Creed. These of course are definitely ordered to be ‘said’ or ‘sung,’ — on the monotone, or ‘sung’ to the regular chant.

“But yet in two rubrics, which merely deal with the *position where*, on certain particular occasions, they are to be recited (the rubrics *not* adverting to the *mode* of their recitation), the general term ‘read’ is applied to them — ‘The Venite shall be read here.’

“Now as the *rubrical directions* respecting the performance of the Services are virtually the same in the old and the new Office, so is the *music itself* given in Merbecke. His book is nothing more than an adaptation, in a very simplified form, of the old Latin Ritual Song to our English Service. Cranmer’s rule in rigidly followed — ‘as near as may be, for every syllable a note.’

“The Priest’s part throughout is very little inflected. Even the ‘Sursum Corda’ and ‘Proper Preface’ in the Communion Offices are plain monotone; as well (of course) as all the Prayers.

“But the Introit, Offertory Sentences, Post-Communion, Pater-noster, Sanctus, Agnus-Dei, Credo, ‘Gloria in Excelsis,’ in most of which the people would be expected to join, are all infected, though the music is plain and simple.

“That there was not even the remotest intention of doing away with the immemorial practice of the Church of GOD (alike in Jewish as in Christian times), of employing some mode of solemn musical recitation for the saying of the Divine Offices, is further evident by the rubric relating to the Lessons. Of course, *if* in *any* part of the Services, the ordinary colloquial tone of voice should be employed, it plainly ought to be in the Lessons.

“Bet not even here was such an innovation contemplated.

“The ancient ‘Capitula’ were much inflected. The Cantus Evangelii and Epistolarum admitted likewise of a great and wearisome licence of in-[148]flection. Now it would have been absurd to inflect a long English lesson. The rubric, therefore, ordered that the Lessons should be said to uninflected song.

“‘In such places where they do sing, then shall the Lesson be *sung* in a *plain tune* after the manner of *distinct* reading’ (i.e. recitation); in other words, the ‘Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel,’ were to be all alike said in *monotone*.

“You are aware, of course, that it was not till the last Revision in 1662 that this rubric was removed. The Divines at the Savoy Conference at first objected, and, in their published answer, stated that the reasons urged by the Puritan party for its removal were groundless. However, the rubric disappeared; and, I think, happily and providentially. For certainly (except the reader chances to have a *very* beautiful voice) it would be painful to hear a Lesson — perhaps a chapter of fifty or sixty verses — said all in monotone. Moreover, while in solemn addresses, (whether of prayer or praise to God,) the solemn musical recitation seems most fitting and reverential, in lections or addresses delivered primarily for the edification of *man*, a freer mode of utterance appears desirable and rational.

“Merbecke’s book (I should have added) does not contain the music for the Litany — as that had been already published — not for the whole Psalter. It simply gives a few specimens of

adaptation of the old chants to English Psalms or Canticles, and leaves it to individual choirs to adapt and select for themselves.

"The *intention* of the English Church to retain a musical service is further confirmed by the often quoted injunction of Queen Elizabeth, 1569 (c.49,) which gives licence for an anthem.

"It first orders that 'there shall be a modest and distinct *song*,' (i.e., the ordinary plain song)' used in *all* parts of the Common Prayers of the Church;' while, for the comfort of such as delight in music, it permits, at the beginning or end of the services, 'a hymn or song in the best melody and music that can be devised, having respect to the sense of the words.'

"The utmost that can be said of our rubrics is, that in cases of musical incapacity, or where no choir can be got, where priest or people *cannot* perform their part properly, then they *may* perform it improperly. But unquestionably, whenever the services *can* be correctly performed, when the priest *can* monotone his part, and the people sing theirs, then the services ought to be so performed. It is a matter of simple obedience to Church rule. The single word '*evensong*' is a standing protest against the dull conversational services of modern times.

"In reference to the popular objection that the musical rubrics refer merely to cathedrals and collegiate churches, Lord Stowell observed, in his judgment in the case of Hutchins v. Denziloe (see Cripps, p. 644, 3rd ed.,) that if this *be* the meaning of the rubrics and canons which refer to this subject, then 'they are strangely worded, and of disputable meaning,' for they *express* nothing of the kind. The rubrics, he says, rule that certain portions of the service 'be *sung* or *said* by the *minister* and *people*; not by the prebendaries, canons, and a band of regular choristers, as an a cathedral; but plainly referring to the *services of a parish church*.'

"It is very difficult to say *when* the use of the monotone generally dropped and gave place to our modern careless unecclesiastical polytone. The change, I suppose, took place gradually; first in one district, then in another. The Church's mode of reciting her Offices would involve more *care* and *skill* than the clergy much cared to give. So, little by little — first in one locality, then in another — they fell into the modern, loose, irregular way of talking or pronouncing instead of 'saying and singing.'

"Yours ever,
"John B. Dykes."

The Guardian[1] 26 June 1867 p. 691

LETTER ADVERTING TO BISHOP BARING'S INHIBITION OF THE BISHOP-COADJUTOR OF EDINBURGH

Sir—

The correspondence between the Bishops of Durham and Edinburgh published in your last issue must have caused grief and amazement.

For myself, although I had heard the rumour of the inhibition of the Scottish prelate by his brother of Durham, on the ground of the former having prefaced his sermon at St Oswald's with the Invocation of the Blessed Trinity, yet the story seemed to me so utterly incredible that I never gave it a serious thought. We live, however, in strange days, and I learn, for the first time, from your columns, that the report is actually true.

On the inhibition itself I forbear to comment: but as vicar of the parish of St Oswald's, I must beg to add a very few words in reference to two statements in the Bishop of Durham's letter.

1. First, then, the Bishop asserts that the introduction of the Invocation at St Oswald's was *due* to the Bishop-Coadjutor of Edinburgh[2]: intimating that it was he who first taught us it: and that its subsequent use in the church arose out of his example. In answer to this, it is only right that I should affirm that the Bishop had *nothing whatever* to do with the introduction of his practice; that neither by word nor suggestion was he in any way responsible for it. The responsibility, which I gladly accept, rests with myself alone. Inasmuch as the use of prayers in the pulpit is at once irregular and unauthorised, it had been our custom for a long time to commence the sermon with no word of preface whatever. This seemed rather cold: and I determined last Lent (when we had our usual series of special week-day sermons by special preachers) to adopt the more reverent, and now very general, practice of prefacing the sermon with the simple Invocation of the Triune Name. It so happened that the Bishop of Edinburgh (*although quite unknown to himself*) was the first who actually adopted our improved "use." With the characteristic delicacy and courtesy which render him ever anxious to conform to the usage of the church where he may chance to be officiating, his lordship asked me in the vestry how he should begin his sermon, whether with or without a prayer. I at once answered, "With the words 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'" He did so; as did all my other Lent preachers, and all who have since preached in the church. When I found my brethren around me, some using the Bidding Prayer before the sermon, some a long extempore prayer, some a collect, some even the Lord's Prayer, some nothing, I need hardly say that it never even crossed my mind that this particular form of introduction (to me, as it appears, the most simple and fitting of all) should have anything specially objectionable in it. (The objection as to its being Popish, I confess, had not occurred to me.) And that the use of this innocent and sacred form should be deemed by a Christian Bishop a sufficient ground for offering the grave indignity to a brother Bishop — a large-hearted and loyal English Churchman, who has ever kept aloof from party strife, and one of our great preachers — of forbidding him to officiate in his diocese, seems to me so

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[1] ϕ This is the Church of England newspaper, not the national newspaper of the same name.

[2] ϕ Charles Hughes Terrot (b. 1790, Bishop. of Edinburgh 1841—1872, d. 1872) (Source: *Cambridge Alumni Database*. University of Cambridge.)

inconceivably sad and strange that I can hardly bear to contemplate it, still less to write about it.

2. But, secondly, the Bishop of Durham adds that the Invocation of the Triune Name before the sermon at St Oswald's has caused "great distress and annoyance to many of the congregation." This statement has taken me wholly by surprise. Surely, *had* such "great distress and annoyance" been experienced, I must have been in some measure aware of it. But I can honestly say that I have never, either directly or indirectly, until I saw the Bishop's letter in your columns, heard even the faintest whisper of any dissatisfaction on this particular ground. I doubt not that there are mischief-makers in abundance (not worshippers at St Oswald's) who have so represented the matter to the Bishop; otherwise his lordship would not have made the above assertion. But until I can discover any of these aggrieved individuals, I shall remain incredulous as to the fact that any of St Oswald's congregation should feel either "distress" or "annoyance" because the preachers in that church begin their sermons with the brief but reverent recognition of that Blessed God in whose holy name they desire to preach, and by whose gracious aid alone their sermons can effectually reach the hearts of the people.

JOHN B. DYKES, Vicar of St Oswald's, Durham.
Leeds, Nativity of St John Baptist, 1867.
PS. — It is scarcely necessary to add that the Bishop of Edinburgh knows nothing whatever of this letter.

The Church Choirmaster and Organist Vol. 2. (London, January 1868) pp. 11—13

DR STEPHENS ON INTONING THE PRAYERS IN PARISH CHURCHES

[11]*To the Editor of the Church Choirmaster and Organist*

SIR—Permit me to offer my best thanks for your timely comments upon the wondrous "Opinion" lately put forth by Dr A.J. Stephens[1] on the subject of "Intoning" the prayers in parish churches, and the more wondrous "Order" based thereupon by the Bishop of Melbourne. May I be allowed to add a few supplementary remarks on the same subject?

And first as to the word "*intone*." Dr Stephens tells us that we derive it from the old rubrics; that it means to sing, or say, the service musically; that it is used in the ancient Latin Books, but not in our Prayer-book. Hence we are to gather that, as there is no rubrical direction for the service to be "intoned," this mode of recitation is not authorised amongst us.

Now, Dr Stephens should really have informed himself that the old word "*intone*" had nothing in the world to do with the "intoning" of the service (in our modern acceptation of the term), but simply meant "to give the *intonation* — *i.e.*, the few introductory notes, of a Psalm-chant. When a Psalm was chanted, the Officiant or Cantor gave out the "tone" — *i.e.*, sang the first hemistich of the Psalm: after which it was taken up by the choir or people. This was to *intone* a Psalm. Our popular use of the word is simply a loose and *very modern* misapplication of an old technical expression.

And now for the rubrical terms "say," "read," &c.; — were they, or were they not, originally intended to express musical recitation? No one, of course, doubts that non-musical reading may be included in the expressions; that they, in fact, cover *any* [12] sort of recitation; that (*e.g.*) a child may *say* its Catechism, a preacher *say* his sermon, or a priest *say* mass; that the same priest, again, may *read* a newspaper, or may *read* the Holy Gospel; — and that these terms, "say" and "read," will have different meanings corresponding with the different circumstances under which they are employed. Nor again will any one doubt that, even in reference to the very same Offices, the words may bear varying interpretations; — that (*e.g.*) a priest *saying* Office privately, or *reading* the Gospel at low mass, or otherwise officiating where there are no choir or musical accessories, and employing his ordinary tone of voice, would, *under the circumstances*, fulfil the rubrical requirements equally with him who, reciting Office publicly, should use the regular musical mode of "saying" or "reading." But I am now referring to these terms in their full and proper signification, as applied to the *public worship* of God, in churches where singing is possible and there is a choir — large or small, paid or voluntary, it matters not. And here I fearlessly assert that the words had, before and after the Reformation alike. the same recognised musical signification; and that the Church of England has *knowingly and deliberately authorised a musical recitation of her Offices*.

Dr Stephens's argument proceeds upon the supposition that the Book of Common Prayer, and its rubrics, had no former history. That Book at every turn negatives and repudiates such an assumption. It claims to be nothing more than an abbreviated, simplified vernacular version of the old Office-books of the English Church, adapted for congregational use, employing the old language, and with its old meaning.

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[1] ϕ Dykes was later to retain Dr. A.J. Stephens QC in his Court action against Bishop Baring.

Until Dr Stephens, then, can prove that the words "*legere*," "*dicere*," &c., did not notoriously express musical recitation in the unrevised Office-books (which, of course, he can never do), his attempt at proving that they do not bear a musical meaning in our present Book is simply hopeless. To show the identity of interpretation of the terms as employed in reference to the old Latin service, and the vernacular, we have but to turn to the Prayer-book itself, where we find both "legere" and "dicere" used at once retrospectively and prospectively — retrospectively in the Preface, as describing the *past* use of the English Church, prospectively in the Rubrics, as describing its present and future use. "These many years" (we read) "the order of the ancient Fathers hath been so neglected that, when any Book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters were *read out*, all the rest were *unread*. Moreover the service of *this Church of England*, these many years, hath been *read* in Latin to the people. A few only of the Psalms have been daily *said*, and the rest utterly omitted." [N.B. — The above extract is slightly abbreviated.] Now, according to Dr Stephens' line of argument, all these words "*read out*," "*read*," "*said*," should have been "*sung*:" because they are used, as he himself must acknowledge, in reference to services which were recited *musically*, and to which, therefore (according to him), "say," and "read" cannot apply. It is obvious, therefore, to remark, that when the framers of our rubrics adopt these words in giving orders respecting the future performance of the vernacular services, they must employ them in the same recognised, and technical, and comprehensive way in which they use them in describing the past performance of the old Latin services. The exact shade of meaning of the words will, of course, depend in each particular instance on the position where the word occurs, and the subject-matter in reference to which it is used. The Sermon or Office or Lection will be "said" or "read," but according to the accustomed "*modus* dicendi aut legendi." The comprehensive word "sing" *may* include non-musical utterance, just as "read" may and often did signify ornate vocal recitative.

Dr Stephens' tentative effort to divest the word "dicere," even in the old rubrics, of its musical signification is somewhat amusing. He quotes the well-known expressions "*dicere sine notâ*," "*dicere cum notâ*," as confirmatory of the conclusion he seeks to establish. That is to say, because it needs a special limitation, ("*sine notâ*") affixed to the word, to divest it in special cases of its ordinary musical meaning (the corresponding "*cum notâ* indicating the withdrawal of that limitation, and the resumption of the legitimate use of the word), *therefore*, in ordinary cases, where there is no special qualification named, it carries with it the same restricted and abnormal signification.

But although Dr Stephens throws this argument in by way of swelling his Opinion, it is evident he lays no stress on it, for he presently allows that "in the old Latin service-books '*dicere*' *generally meant to intone*.' Only, he adds, "there is no proof that the Reformers when they framed the English rubrics intended that the word 'say' should bear that meaning." I have shown that there *is* such proof, positive as well as negative; and I will show it still more fully. Look at the negative proof. Did the Revisers of our Offices ever hint at any change in the meaning of the old rubrical terms which they adopted?

It is well known that the practice of saying the public service of God in solemn musical recitative (either in simple monotone or with slight inflections — in a tone distinct from the ordinary conversational mode of utterance) has been universal in the Church of God, alike in Jewish and Christian times.

Now when we consider that the *whole Catholic Church of Christ* adopts, and ever has adopted, this reverent practice, it is simply monstrous to believe that the Revisers of our English Offices ever contemplated for a moment (and without a word in explanation) such ,a

serious innovation on immemorial Catholic usage as the discontinuance of the old mode of public Recitative, and the substitution of "talking and preaching" for "saying and singing." The foreign Protestants invented a new religion, a new Order of Divine Worship, and, consequently, a new method of performing it. The English Church, thank God! did none of these things: and it remains for Dr Stephens to prove that she did, in the teeth of her strong and reiterated asseverations to the contrary.

But leaving the negative line of proof, there are two facts of a positive kind which of themselves leave the mind and intention of the framers of our rubrics, and the true interpretation of the words under discussion, without doubt.

I. The first of these is the "Lesson" Rubric — which was not removed till the last Revision. Now I suppose there is no person in the world so foolish as to imagine that it was the design of our Reformers to prescribe that the prayers should be *talked*, and the Lessons *sung*. If in *any* part of the service the natural tone of voice was to be used, it must be in the Lessons. Now, since the providentially unambiguous language of the Lesson Rubric shows that they meant the Lessons to be *sung*, *i.e*., musically "said," it is absolutely beyond question that they *intended* the rest of the service to be similarly recited, after the old immemorial use.

Then why (argues Mr. Stephens) if the word "say" would naturally mean. "say" *musically*, does the rubric not merely content itself with ordering Here shall the Lesson be *said*?

For two plain and obvious reasons.

1. In the first place, both words "say" and "read," as I have before stated, have a loose as well as a technical and ecclesiastical meaning. In places where there is no choir, and the service is not sung, they may represent ordinary natural reading. Hence, had they been nakedly, and without explanation, applied to the Lessons — since here there was a great change in our Revised Book, and instead of the short Capitula of the old Offices, there were whole chapters ordered to be read — it might almost inevitably have been concluded that the words were to be interpreted in their loose or non-musical sense. But *no*. It was the deliberate intention of the Revisers of our English Office-book that *Plain-song* should, as of old, extend to the Lessons *as well as* to the prayers and Psalms. Therefore they are careful to express this, and go out of their way to make their meaning intelligible.

2. But, in the second place, the words "say" or "read," if unexplained, might have been misinterpreted in another direction. They might, as we have seen, have expressed too *little*; but they might, also, have expressed too *much*. Interpreted according to their loose every day sense, they would have *under*-stated the intention of the rubrical direction; interpreted according to their *strict* technical sense, they would have *over*-stated it. For they would have been (or *might* have been) taken to signify that the Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel were all to be "said" or "read" according to the old *mode* of saying or reading them, and that the ancient Cantus Prophetarum, Evangelii, &c., should be retained.. Now this was an ornate and inflected mode of recitation, somewhat elaborate and tedious; and though suitable enough for short versicles and the like, would have been most objectionable in the case of long Lections. So in order to prevent this the musical *limitation* of the rubric was introduced. Plain-song was to be used; but it must be *uninflected plain-song*. "In such places where they do sing there shall the Lessons be sung in a *plain tune*, after the manner of distinct reading; and likewise the Epistle and Gospel."

The word "*plain*" is the emphatic word here, as opposed to "ornate" or "inflected." In other words, the ordinary "Cantus Collectarum," or simple monotone, was to be employed.

Now this rubric continued in force till the last Revision in 1662, when the Puritans took exception at it. The reply of "the Bishops" to the demand of "the Ministers" for the alteration of this rubric is as follows: — "The rubric directs only such singing as is after the manner of distinct reading, and *we never* [13] *heard of any inconvenience thereby, and therefore conceive this demand needless*." We learn from other answers given by the Bishops *why* they were very cautious in acceding to the requests of those men: they were jealous of departing from any usage or practice which the Catholic Church sanctioned, and so in any way compromising the Catholic character of the Anglican branch of Christ's holy Church. These men ask for changes (the Bishops urge) "as an expedient for *peace*; which is in effect to desire that our Church may be '*contentious*' for peace' sake; and may *divide* from the *Church Catholic*, that we may be at *unity* with *ourselves*. For St Paul reckons them amongst the '*lovers of contention*' who shall *oppose themselves against the customs of the Churches of God*."

However, as is well known, this point was ultimately conceded, and the rubric (I think happily) withdrawn. For plain-song, though eminently suitable for prayers, short lections, versicles and the like, is not so for long Scripture readings. Henceforward, therefore, it became the English custom to drop the monotone for the Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel, and substitute the ordinary tone of voice.

So much, then, for the first fact.

II. The second fact to which I would refer, as irresistibly confirming the above conclusion as to the legitimate meaning of the rubrics under discussion, and the intention of their framers, is John Merbecke's *Booke of Common Praier noted*, published, "cum privilegio" almost simultaneously with King Edward's First Prayer-book; — a work originally intended for the use of the Chapel Royal (which was at that time a sort of model for other churches, as the Papal Chapel had hitherto been), and therefore invaluable as illustrating the *intention* of those under whose direction the Revision of our Offices was conducted with regard to the mode of their performance, and also the *contemporaneous interpretation* which was put upon the rubrics by those best qualified to understand them. Now in this Book it is simply taken for granted that all the service is to be musically recited.

The *Litany* is not contained in Merbecke's Book as it had already been published together with the notes to which it was to be said or sung; — *said i.e.* in monotone, or unisonous plain-song, "*sung*" *i.e.* in full harmony and with organ accompaniment, as the numerous harmonised editions by various composers which speedily issued from the press plainly evidence. It was in the year after the publication of this Vernacular Litany that Cranmer wrote his well-known letter respecting the "*Processions*" he wished to bring out in English for Festivals, requesting the King that some "solemn and devout *note* may be made thereto," as had been done in the case of the Litany. And four years after this it was that the first Book of Common Prayer came out; and almost simultaneously with it, as I have said, its regular musical notation. The great feature of this "notation" is its extreme simplicity; Cranmer's general rule being followed, that there should not be "many notes" to a syllable, but "as much as may be, to every syllable a note." The priest's part, except in the Versicles, and the Lord's Prayer after tho Consecration in the Communion Office, is monotone throughout; the whole Book plainly showing what the one end and aim of the framers of our rubrics was — not to discountenance the practice of the Universal Church of saying the Offices in a solemn musical tone (such an idea plainly never entered into their heads) but merely to provide that the music should be grave, intelligible and simple, and that the service should be pronounced articulately and distinctly.

And this is what Sir R. Phillimore lays down in his concise and pertinent "Opinion," that "the incumbent is bound to say or sing *distinctly*, so that the people may best hear and best understand." "But," he adds, "an incumbent may conscientiously believe that by that modulation of his voice which is called 'intoning' he does make himself best heard and best understood, while he avoids the possibility of theatrical reading or any false taste or trick in reading. It appears to me a matter which the *law of the Church leaves to the discretion of the incumbent*."

That the voice *does* really carry far better in a large building, and with far less physical exertion to the reader, when the service is said in monotone, is simply notorious. And if a clergyman practically finds this to be the case, as I for one most certainly have in my own experience, no Bishop, I am morally certain, has right or power to interfere with him.

With a word on (1) Queen Elizabeth's Injunction of 1559 (c.49), and (2) Lord Stowell's Judgment, I will conclude.

1. This Injunction (the object of which was to encourage sacred music, and prevent the alienation of any choral endowments which might have been bequeathed to collegiate or parochial churches), while ordering that "a *modest* and *distinct* song shall be used in all parts of the Common Prayer," further directs that "for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that at the beginning or end of the Common Prayer there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the *best sort of melody and music that may be devised*."

Now here it is needless to remark on the confirmation given to the musical interpretation of the original rubrics. Puritanical endeavours had been made, such as have never ceased to be pertinaciously repeated (of which this last in the diocese of Melbourne presents a notable example), to upset the true meaning of the Church's directions, and convert "saying and singing" into "talking and preaching." The Injunction simply confirms the old and true meaning of the rubrics; and further gives a license, which the Church has practically endorsed and accepted, to the introduction in certain places of "hymns, or such like songs." Mr. Stephens' statement that we *owe* "intoning," even in cathedrals, to this Injunction, is simply absurd. His further attempt to prove that the license for plain-song extends *only* to cathedrals and large collegiate or other foundations is equally monstrous. The Injunction merely expresses the common rule of the Church in all places where there is singing. The services may be said *privately*, or with but "two or three" to make response. Want of skill or taste on the part of minister or people, want of funds, or other obstacles may render any music whatever, vocal or instrumental, undesirable or impossible. But where no disabling causes operate to prevent the carrying out of the Church's rule, there that rule is in force. It matters not whether the church be stately or mean, the choir large or small; — in whatever church there is singing *at all* ("where they do *sing*"), there the *rule* is that there shall be plain-song — in other words, that the service shall be intoned.

2. And this brings me to Lord Stowell's Judgment referred to by Dr Stephens and the Bishop. The Bishop of Melbourne intimates that Lord Stowell *contrasts* the service of a parish church with that of a cathedral, and rules that a distinction is to be observed between what may be said or sung by "minister and people" only, and by "Prebendaries, Canons, and a band of regular choristers." This is just what Lord Stowell does *not* do. He maintains that there is *no* distinction, as far as the rule of the Church extends; and that whatever may be sung by "Canons and a band of regular choristers" may be sung by "minister and people." The choir in a parish church are simply the representatives and leaders of the people; and if they choose,

under the direction of the minister, to do their part well instead of ill, carefully and correctly instead of carelessly and irregularly, no Bishop has power to interfere with them.

My time and your space warn me that I must come to an abrupt conclusion. If a Bishop is so ill-advised as to take upon himself to prohibit what the Church, whose minister he is, does *not* prohibit, and never has prohibited, but has on the contrary in every way sanctioned and encouraged, he must accept the consequences. *He cannot be obeyed*.

No diocese in England would for a moment tolerate or yield to such an Order as he has issued. It is to be hoped that no colonial diocese will yield to it

JOHN B. DYKES.

St Oswald's Vicarage, Durham, St Stephen's Day, 1867.

The Literary Churchman, 9 January 1869

[27]THE APPENDIX TO HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN.

To the Editor of the LITERARY CHURCHMAN

Sir,—May I crave permission to offer a few observations on the "Notes on the Appendix to Hymns Ancient and Modern," which appeared in the Literary Churchman of December 12. On the preliminary remarks of the writer respecting hymns [28] and hymnals in general, I will not dwell; much of what he says is valuable and true. I will confine myself to his strictures upon the "Appendix," which I regret to say appear to me captious and unfair, and to have been dictated by some unfriendly desire to damage the reputation of a work for which I, for one, feel myself under a deep debt of gratitude to the compilers, and which I am persuaded is yet destined to do good service to the Church.

1. To test the value of your correspondent's criticisms, I will begin with his very first. So anxious does he seem to find fault, that he seizes upon the first hymn in the book, and expends half a page of disparaging comment on its first verse. The composition itself is by the Rev. Godfrey Thring; it was written for an afternoon service; and the verse which offends your critic is as follows:

> "The radiant morn hath passed away,
> And spent too soon her golden store;
> The shadows of departing day
> Creep on once more."

The hymn proceeds to speak of life's dawn, life's noon, life's evening. Now surely, one may well ask, What is there here for the most fastidious censor to object to? Your critic replies, that "this is all hollow" (a conveniently ambiguous phrase); and that the whole verse might have been expressed in two words "'tis evening;" and further, that the Hymn should have begun with the thought of GOD rather than with that of evening. Now with regard (1) to the "hollowness," I will say nothing. With regard (2) to the suggested abbreviation, I will only observe, first that if the criticism is sound, if the gradual approach of evening may not be expressed in a slightly poetical manner, by way of gently preparing the mind for the contemplation of the "creeping on" of the evening of life, if a congregation is to be cut down in a hymn to the barest, curtest statement of plain facts, we had better give up the idea of both poetry and music in Church, and substitute for our hymns a few prosaic sentences from a sermon. But I would observe, secondly, that the words "'tis *evening*" would be altogether inadequate as a substitute for the above verse; for — to say nothing of the loss of the parable of life's stealthy growth and decline — the hymn itself is not strictly an "*evening*" hymn. Its very specialty consists it its being an *afternoon* hymn, and, as such, a real and valuable acquisition to our Church hymnals. We have many good Evening Hymns. But a really pleasing *afternoon* hymn was much wanted. And we are not a little indebted to the compilers of the "Appendix" for recognising and meeting that want. With regard (3) to the objection that the hymn should have began with the thought of GOD rather than with that of evening, that an Evening Hymn "*naturally* begins 'Glory to thee, my GOD,'" &c., that it "*must* begin, 'Sun of my soul,'" one can only reply, that there is no "*must*" about it. Such a subject may be handled in a hundred different ways, and with equal propriety. One writer may prefer to lead down from GOD to Nature, another to lead up from Nature to GOD. The idea of imposing any arbitrary restrictions on the mode of treatment seems almost monstrous.

2. The next hymn your critic assails is also an Evening Hymn, No. 368. It is by Mr Baring-Gould, and commences

"Now the day is over."

He objects to this hymn on the ground of its being unfit for [29] congregational use. But the hymn is not *intended* as a general congregational hymn (and why did the writer suppress this?). It was written, and is introduced, simply as a *children's* hymn, and a charming little children's hymn it is.

3. Your fastidious critic turns next to *Morning*. He proceeds to attack Mr Caswall's excellent translation of the bright German hymn:

"Gelobt sey JESUS CHRIST

It opens: "When Morning gilds the skies
My heart awakening cries
May JESUS CHRIST be praised."

The refrain recurs at the close of each verse.

Our censor begins by condemning the first line. The expression "The morning gilds the skies" is mere "patch sticking:" moreover, there is a needless waste of words; instead of five, there need only be two, "*every morning*." Then again, the whole hymn is "essentially feeble" and "essentially opposed to the spirit of praise." I cannot admit the truth of either allegation, except indeed the "Benedicite" and the 128th Psalm, each with its joyous and oft repeated refrain, are equally feeble, and opposed to the spirit of praise. The hymn, it is true, is subjective; but it is no less valuable on that account (the greater part of the Psalter deals with personal experiences): it simply tells how each circumstance of life should be an occasion of lifting up the soul in praise to JESUS CHRIST, and how the remembrance of His goodness should penetrate and brighten all earth's joys, sorrows, and seasons. To designate the hymn as "an excuse which the mind makes for itself when it shrinks from real praise," seems to me mere extravagance.

But I must hasten on. The next hymn that arouses your correspondent is No. 341,[1] a nice useful Litany hymn, wedded to a lovely tune by Mr Hopkins.[2] Here, after objecting to a slight poetical amplification of the words "in the time of our wealth," he actually takes exception to the epithet "solemn" as applied to the "hour of dying," and "awful" as applied to the Judgment Day. They are both superfluous, he maintains. For "what Christian man needs to be told this? Is there never anything to be left to the mind to supply for itself?" (!) Surely this is a mere wanton perversion of criticism.

5. And yet after thus objecting to the *insertion* of qualifying epithets, he proceeds, in the case of the very next hymn which he attacks, to find fault with their *omission*. Each verse of Hymn 340 begins with

"I need Thee, Precious JESU."

But he complains that the word "Precious" — a distinctive epithet, be it remembered, of our LORD in the New Testament (f. 1 S. Peter i. 19; ii. 4, 6, 7) — is inadequate. In the LORD'S Prayer, he tells us, "to the word FATHER is subjoined 'which art in Heaven:'" and here there is

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1 ϕ *Jesus, Lord of life and glory.*

2 ϕ ST RAPHAEL.

need of some verbal safeguard" to remind us that He whom we are addressing is GOD. One can only reply, in the writer's own words, "What Christian man needs to be told this? Is there never anything to be left to the mind to supply for itself?" But if this is not mere petty fault-finding for fault-finding's sake, I know not what is.

6. After a passing hit at the joyous little German Harvest Hymn, "Wirpflugen,"[1] on the ground that it does not repeat everything which is already abundantly supplied in the Har[29]vest Hymns in the original book, Nos. 223—227, he fixes upon Dr Male's translation of the Fragment from S. Comas (A.D. 760) on the Transfiguration.[2] "The hymn" he says "is a failure, and worse than a failure." "It does not mention what was going on at the foot of the Mount:" "it does not speak of the Transfiguration as a pledge and earnest of the Resurrection Body" (as though a short Hymn of three verses could contain a complete Treatise on the Transfiguration); "and there is an inexcusable transgression of Scripture." What is this "inexcusable transgression?" The hymn mentions Moses and Elias as recounting our LORD'S "co-eternal Glory." It should (says he) have been "His Decease." But does the latter exclude, and not rather pre-suppose, the former? Surely the object of the Transfiguration was two-fold; to bring vividly before the spiritual, and mental, and even bodily, vision of the Apostles — and thus to confirm their unestablished faith in — the essential, pre-existent Divinity and Glory of the Incarnate Son; and *thus to prepare them* for accepting the opposite Mystery of His humiliation and coming Passion. S. Luke alone mentions the "Decease." But SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, Peter, all alike dwell on the "*Glory,*" the Glory seen, and the Glory borne witness to from Heaven. It was *this* that most impressed them. The mention of His Decease then, I repeat, does not exclude, but assume[s] the preliminary revelation of the true being and Nature of Him Who was about to die.

7. But I must proceed. After some discursive remarks, in which he regrets that the compilers have inserted the "Pange Lingua" (I wonder how many Churchmen will join in this regret), complaining that the "Crux Fidelis," is "not Scriptural in tone" (!) — he falls upon the fine hymn (No. 218) "Crown Him with many Crowns" — written by a devout Roman Catholic layman, Mr Matthew Bridges.

The verse which he singles out, as specially deserving censure, is the following:

> "Crown Him the Virgin's Son
> The GOD Incarnate born
> Whose Arm those crimson trophies won
> Which now His Brow adorn."

But what is there objectionable here? *Is* not the Virgin's Son "crowned with many crowns" (Rev. xix. 12)? *Is* not His Brow adorned with the trophies of the Salvation He has wrought? And *did* not "His own Arm" win that Salvation? It is easy enough to protest against "these commonplace "images of military trophies." Only we must remember that it is GOD Himself who teaches us to employ and adopt them: and we are not to affect to be wiser or more reverent than He. And so with regard to the further complaint, as to the "audacious handling" of the Body of the Lord, in the lines—

> "And round His pierced Feet
> Fair flowers of Paradise extend
> Their fragrance ever sweet."

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[1] ϕ *We plough the fields, and scatter* (the tune to which — WIR PFLUGEN — Dykes harmonised).

[2] ϕ *In days of old on Sinai.*

We must remember that it is our Blessed Lord from Whom we learn this imagery. It is He who tells us about His "flowers," His "gardens," His "lilies," His "spices," His "pomegranates," likening Himself to the "Rose of Sharon" (vid. *Cant.* passim); it is He who tells us of the trees of Paradise among which, as of old in Eden, He deigned to walk (Rev. ii. 7; xxiii. 2; Ezek. xlvii. 12). If, then, the language of the hymn be frivolous and "audacious," these epithets must be equally applicable to the words of our Blessed Lord Himself.

Your correspondent's strictures on the last verse of the hymn—

> "Crown Him, the Lord of years,
> The Potentate of time," &c.,

seem equally affected and weak. He asks, how the Victor can be "Lord of years," when years shall have passed away; "Potentate of time," when time shall be no more? But how *can* human language, which is based on conception arising out of limitations of time and space, express a state where time shall not exist? Thought and language are here alike impotent. Holy Scripture everywhere shows us that the ideas of Eternity *must* be translated for us into the language of sense and time. It is, perhaps, needless to argue further, that as the greater includes the less, the Lord of Eternity must be also the "Potentate of *time*" and "Lord of *Years.*" But it is idle wasting words on objections so groundless and visionary.

The final exception he takes to this hymn is based on the fact of the compilers having omitted a few lines. This necessity, he argues, should have made them suspect the hymn; and is, at least, an indirect evidence against it. But no, the only thing which this omission evidences, is the caution of the compilers: it shows that they did not exclude, or insert, without careful thought; and that they were not so foolish as to reject the whole of a fine and useful hymn, because it contained two or three weak lines which they considered it better, to omit.

There is only one other hymn to which your critic objects, the lovely hymn for the Annunciation (No. 376), written, if report speaks correctly, by the editor of the book himself [1] — a hymn for which I conceive the thanks of Catholic-minded Churchmen to be especially due. The hymn is warm, tender, thoroughly scriptural and reverent, and such as the most loyal English Churchman can honestly and devoutly use. But this captious critic positively objects to it in consequence of the following verse:—

> "Thy Babe he lay upon thy breast,
> To thee he cried for food;
> Thy gentle nursing soothed to rest
> Th' Incarnate Son of GOD."

He says that "these pictures of infancy and maternity are an endeavour to 'know CHRIST after the flesh,'" and as such are "plainly condemned" by Scripture. I can only reply that if "these pictures of infancy and maternity" are not proper themes for Church hymns, they are not suitable for Church Lections. Yet, if this extravagant criticism be sound then not only must the whole realm of Christian Art, which has ever found her chief glory and delight in the reverent contemplation and illustration of the earthly facts of the Incarnation, be placed under interdict, but even the Gospel narrative itself, which recounts those facts, must be proscribed!

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[1] ϕ It is difficult for Dykes to escape the charge of dissembling by this feigned uncertainty: *Shall we not love thee, Mother dear* (which was indeed written by Baker) is set to his own tune ST AGNES — a fact, the revealing of which might have blown his cover and revealed a deeper interest in the hymnal than his later protestation of disinterest was to suggest.

If we may not sing about the Blessed Nativity and Childhood of GOD Incarnate, we may not paint it, or pray about it, or read it.

Your critic refers to Mr. Keble. What has he to say to that devout writer's

> "Ave Maria, mother blessed,
> To whom, *caressing* and *caressed*,
> Clings the Eternal Child?"

Is *this* hymn to be rejected as "plainly condemned" by Holy Scripture? But I need not waste words, as [30] I feel sure that the Christian instinct of every Catholic-minded man or woman will repudiate the hard, frigid conclusions which he seeks to force upon us. Most true it is that these subjects must always be treated with deep, tender reverence, and chastened awe. But it is impossible to read the hymn now under notice without feeling how thoroughly it is penetrated with this spirit, or without gratefully recognizing the wonderfully successful and satisfactory way in which it supplies what has hitherto been a very serious want in our hymnals — a really *good*, warm, Catholic, and Scriptural hymn for the festivals of the Blessed Virgin.

But I must conclude. I am writing as one who has no sort of personal stake, or pecuniary interest, in the success of the book under review, and who has probably had just as little to do with the selection of the hymns as your correspondent himself.[1] But I do not like to see a work which has done, and is yet likely to do, good service to the Church of England, wantonly pulled to pieces without offering a word in defence. I have freely recognized the value of much of what your correspondent has written; at the same time I own to a feeling of devout thankfulness that the editorship of our most widely circulated English hymnal has not fallen to him. Surely the priggishness — forgive the word — which can denounce an apostrophe to the Cross (are there not hundreds of apostrophes to inanimate nature to be found in the Bible?), or a poetical reference to the facts of the Incarnation, as unscriptural, is not an indication of that breadth of mind and sympathy which the successful compilation of such a work must imperatively demand. The Church of England has lost her hold on the masses by her want of fervour and unction, her cold intellectual respectability. We do not want only hymns which shall be dogmatically correct, concise, and frigidly irreproachable. We need them to touch the imagination, kindle the affections, awaken the sensibilities, soften the heart; we want hymns warm, though without irreverence; stirring, though without extravagance; tender, though without sentimentalism; such as, without any wandering[2] to bad taste, or any compromise of either theological accuracy or poetical propriety, shall yet reach, and gently draw upwards a fuller grasp of Catholic truth the masses of our people. There should be a genial comprehensiveness about a hymnal: it should not be the work of one individual; else it will inevitably reflect that individual's idiosyncrasies. And on this ground, I cannot but think it a happy circumstance that the hymnal in question is the result of a combination, and that its committee of compilers (how many or how few I know not) do so fairly represent the general mind and heart of the Anglican Branch of CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church; and, further, that the "Appendix" (notwithstanding its necessary imperfections) seems so fully calculated to deepen and carry on that good work of Revival which the original book has been unquestionably *one* of the great instruments in the hands of GOD for quietly effecting.

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[1] ϕ Deconstructed word for word, this statement is true. But it is surely designed to suggest a greater distance from the Editor of HA&M and his committee than a dispassionate observer would reckon to be the case.

[2] ϕ *sic*—possibly a misprint for 'pandering'?

I have only to express my regret at the unexpected length of these remarks, and to offer my sincere apologies for any seeming, but unintentional, discourtesy to the writer of the vigorous "Notes," on portions of which I have felt it my duty to comment. — I am, &c.,

A LOVER OF HYMNS

Jan. 2 1869.

The Literary Churchman, 17 April 1869

[183]THE APPENDIX TO HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN.

To the Editor of the LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

Sir,—As Mr Warren appears to have finished his papers on "Hymns," &c., it may be right, perhaps, that I should briefly notice them so far as they relate to, and animadvert upon, my letter of Jan. 9.

I must premise that I have no wish to discuss Mr Warren's personal sentiments respecting Hymns, or any mere abstract theories as to their matter and structure. I have neither disposition nor leisure. No two people think alike on such subjects: and C. W. has as much right to his private opinions as L. H. In fact, I should not have thought of noticing his original letter, had it appeared as a general essay on Hymns. It was as a direct attack upon a certain work — a work which I have perused and employed with great thankfulness and satisfaction, and which I did not like to see unfairly assailed — and as headed "Notes on the Appendix to Hymns Ancient and Modern," that I considered it worthy of examination. It is evident that C. W. does not like to have his opinions questioned: I am sorry for this, but I cannot help it.

I will then very hastily run through Mr Warren's defence of his former strictures; adopting the order I observed before.

1. As the charges against Mr Thring's' Hymn, "The radiant Morn hath passed away" (No. 274), have been abandoned, I need not revert to them.

2. Mr Baring-Gould's Hymn "Now the day is over" (No. 368), was objected to on the ground of its being unfit for a general congregation. I reminded C. W. that it was inserted simply as a *children's* Hymn, and as such, separated from the general congregational Hymns. He replies that "whether the Editors intended it to be sung by adults or by children *makes "no difference!"* I add no comment. I will only say that had C. W. heard this charming little hymn *sung* by a choir of children, as L. H. has heard it, he would never have expressed himself as he has done respecting it.

3. I pass on to Mr Caswall's translation of "Gelobt sey JESUS CHRIST," which C. W. persists in erroneously ascribing to Faber. His justification of his former strictures seems to amount to this: that in a certain collection of hymns by a man of the name of Weaver — popular, partly because of its merit, partly because of its profane vulgarity — the general subject of the hymn under notice is treated in a somewhat different way; one writer compressing into a single line ("At home, abroad, [184] by night, by day,") the mention of the times and occasions when "JESUS CHRIST" is to "be praised;" the other writer *dwelling* a little on each of these occasions as he names them, and shewing, somewhat more graphically and in detail, how the praise of the Saviour should penetrate and brighten each portion of time, each circumstance of life. And what then ? Are all hymns to be squared after exactly the same fashion ? Because an active, business-like Lancashire man treats a theme of this character in one way, is it to be forbidden to a quiet meditative German to treat the same subject in a rather different way? C. W.'s renewed charge against the hymn, that it is full of self and not of GOD, all 'padding' no 'praise,' I simply meet by referring again to the Psalter, and maintaining that if this hymn is *selfish*, so are multitudes of the Psalms, which are chiefly

taken up with reference to the writer's feelings and experiences, and the circumstances under which he wrote.[1] It is true that descriptions of natural scenery are not met with (but very rarely) in the Bible. But then they are all but unknown in ancient *secular* poetry. This forms one characteristic difference between modern and ancient verse. And, of course, our religious as well as our secular song will exhibit the change. It is all very well to decry every attempt at poetical amplification, to condemn it as 'finery,' 'dilution,' and the like; to insist on the presentation and expression of truth in its most bald and naked form; to carp at every superfluous word. But how *can* Truth be brought home to the masses of the people? It cannot be administered it its abstract undiluted essence. It *must* be diluted, that it may gently insinuate itself into the spiritual being.

Truth must be imparted to the people by driblets, particle by particle, fragment by fragment [(Greek)], and in an infinite variety of methods [(G)]. Each little gem of truth may be set in a thousand different ways. Through every avenue of our complex nature — feelings, fancy, memory, imagination, affections — must the heart be, in turn, approached. To lop off every little poetic luxuriance from our hymns, to divest them of all their "finery," and clothe them in one dull monotonous regulation uniform, would be simply to destroy all their value. The greater variety about them, under certain limitations, the better. But I must hurry on.

4. C. W., I regret to see, attempts to sustain his objections against the epithet "solemn" as applied to the "hour of Dying," and "awful" as applied to the "Judgment Day" (in Hymn 341), by the argument that these words, introduced into the clause in the *Litany* which speaks of "the hour of Death, and the Day of Judgment," would not add force to, but weaken the sentence. That is to say: because, in the grandly balanced sentences of our Litany, any arbitrary addition or subtraction of words might injure the harmony of the clause, therefore such epithets may not be appropriately introduced under *other* circumstances, and in different combinations! In Sir Walter Scott's "That Day of Wrath. that Dreadful Day;" in the *Media Vita*, where we speak of "the *bitter* pains of Eternal Death" (not to mention hundreds. of more apposite examples), are the epithets "dreadful" and "bitter" to be cut out, as mere superfluous expletives, mere "padding?" I can only earnestly repudiate such criticism.

5. In reference to C.W.'s remarks on the hymn "I need Thee, precious JESU" (No. 340), I must remind him that there is a vast difference between addressing our LORD in the word "*Precious,*" and in such terms as "*der* JESU," "*lovely* JESU." The first is a special and distinctive epithet given to our LORD by the HOLY GHOST; the latter are mere expressions of human affection. "Precious," it is true, may be employed in a lower sense; but, applied to its true Object, its raises to its proper dignity and significance, and carries with it nothing of irreverence or familiarity.

As the Hymn for Harvest, and the short cento on the Transfiguration, are not further noticed, I pass on to

6. The "*Pange Lingua.*" And here, as I did not take up my pen to discuss abstract questions of Hymnody, but with the more humble and practical aim of simply vindicating the editors of 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' from a considerable amount of unfair and supercilious criticism (the references to the "boys and girls fresh from the lowest class of boarding-schools," whose tastes the editors are supposed to consulted, may be passed over), I will

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[1] Take for example the familiar 42nd Psalm, with many others. I am, of course, not forgetting their deep mystic interpretation. I am simply regarding them in their obvious view, a models of Christian songs.

appeal to Mr. Warren himself in justification of the editors for their non-rejection of this grand and tender hymn, with its touching apostrophe to the "Crux Fidelis." He admits "the extreme beauty of the poem," "the high honour in which it is held in the Western Church" by "Protestants," as well as "by the obedience of Rome," the "high authority" also "of those who have reintroduced it into our Services." It is obvious to remark, then, that the editors, like wise and humble men, took the right course, in yielding to such reasons and authority, and in trusting the devotional instincts of the whole of Western Christendom, rather than the theories, however forcible, of C.W., or any individual.

7. Notwithstanding Mr. Warren's lengthened reassertion of his charges against Mr. Bridge's Hymn (No. 318), "Crown Him with many crowns," he appears to me to have signally failed in substantiating them. The lines at which he professes to be so much shocked, are where the writer speaks of our LORD as a Conqueror:

"Whose Arm those crimson trophies won
Which now his Brow adorn."

In answer to his renewed protest against these "commonplace terms of military trophies," I have only to repeat, that it is the HOLY GHOST himself who uses, and teaches us, this very imagery; who represents our LORD as a Victor going forth "conquering and to conquer," and returning, after a hard-won fight, with the trophies of His victory. But why "*crimson*," urges C.W.? Because they all tell of the mystery of victory won through the Death of the Victor. His very "vesture," says S. John, is "dipped in blood" (Rev. xix. 11—16). C.W.'s attempt to show that Mr Bridges, by these blood-stained trophies, signifies no more than the "stigmata of the crown of thorns" seems manifestly unfair. If S. Paul speaks of his converts to the Faith as *his* trophies, his "joy and crown — ([Greek]), the chaplet of victory — why should the innumerable blood-bought trophies of the Divine Victor be represented as signifying nothing more that the wounds on His Sacred Body? Just as the "*Arm*" which won the trophies is not to be narrowed down in its interpretation to signify merely the Saviour's literal Arm, so neither is the Sacred "*Brow*" which wears those trophies, to be confined to the literal, bodily Brow. Mr Warren should at least try to [185] understand a hymn before he pulls it to pieces. His cold objection to the poetical allusion in the same hymn to the "Fair flowers of Paradise," which spring up where our Redeemer's "piercèd feet" have trod, and shed their fragrance around His sacred path, may be left without serious comment.

8. I hasten to the last hymn which I shall notice — the lovely hymn on the Annunciation (No. 376); in reference to which C.W. seeks to maintain his extraordinary position, that the second verse (alluding to the Virgin Mother),

"Thy Babe He hung upon thy breast,
To thee He cried for food;
Thy gentle nursing soothed to rest
The Incarnate Son of GOD,"

is an unwarrantable attempt to "know CHRIST after the flesh," and, as such, a virtual infraction of the command implicitly contained in 2 Cor., v. 16. I can but reiterate my earnest and emphatic dissent from this frigid conclusion. C.W. quotes Hammond in support of it. I am unable to see *where* Hammond countenances this inference. Cornelius a Lapide writes:

> "Vides hie quàm hœretici Scripturam, quasi nasum cereum, quóvis ad sua phantasmata flectant trahantique. Sic olim I — conomachi, et nuper Calvinus, hæc Apostoli verba detorserunt; quasi diceret Apostolus, Jam post Resurrectionem non novimus Christum secundum carnem; id est, quicquid in

> Christo carnale fuit, *oblivioni tradendum est.* Sed hoc non velle Apostolum clarissimum est."

And he goes on to shew how the very institution of the Holy Eucharist, in which the LORD'S Death is perpetually exhibited and memorialised, negatives the idea that the events of the Saviour's Life "after the flesh" are not to be had in devout remembrance.

The passage is one of acknowledged difficulty. But it must be borne in mind that when the Apostle denies that he "knows CHRIST after the flesh," he denies that he "knows *any man* after the flesh." In fact, he is writing here as one "out of the body," as one living entirely in the sphere, and by the power of the regenerate Life. Hence, he maintains that the historical CHRIST, and every one whom he has known, or does know, through the medium of the bodily senses, is mystically dead to him: they have vanished from his view. "Old things have passed away:" he has been translated into a new region, where "there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female." His old carnal knowledge is superseded by a new spiritual apprehension.

But it is obvious that all this, although deeply, mystically, true, is not the *whole* truth. It is *one side* of a complex truth; the other side being, that the old faculties, although transfigured into new, and changed after the order of Grace, yet, after the order of nature, continue what they were. That which is born "after the flesh," and the knowledge "after the flesh," although sublimated into a new birth and knowledge "after the Spirit," still *exist* after their own order. Hence the Apostle, while at one time describing himself as in a state of ecstasy ([Greek]), and as already "out of the body," and telling his converts that they are no longer "in the flesh;" yet, at another time, speaks of himself and them as still "*in* the flesh;" recognises all earthly relationships and national distinctions, speaks of our LORD Himself as born of the seed of Abraham, as of a particular nation and family. There are, in fact, two distinct spheres of living and knowledge: as Christians, we have to be conversant with both: and to deny or ignore the continuance of the lower, because of the existence of the higher, is the very same error, in kind, as to assert that because a woman had become a Christian, she has ceased to be a woman; or that, because the Elements after Consecration have become verily and indeed the Body and Blood of CHRIST, they have ceased to be bread and wine.

And now, if S. Paul may tell of Gideon and Barak, of Jepthah and Samuel; if he may recount the glories of other Saints of GOD "of whom the world was not worthy;" if he may tell how they were stoned and sawn asunder, persecuted, afflicted, tormented; if he may tell of his own experiences, his humiliations, and his honours, his rapture into the third Heaven, and admission into the very Presence-Chamber of the Supreme — is the Church to be mute with regard to the unutterable dignities conferred on our Sister whom "all generations shall call blessed?" Are we to be checked and silenced when we would reverently ponder over and sing of GOD'S wondrous "exaltation" of "the humble and meek" one, in conceding to her the amazing honour of being Mother, Nurse, Guardian of the Incarnate Son; and of the ineffable condescension of that Eternal Son in deigning this to be beholden to the tender fostering care of His own creature?

To appeal to our Lord as *now* subject to His Mother, as *now* liable to hunger, and thirst, and temptation, and suffering, and Death, as *now* a member of a particular family, a citizen of a particular country, would be to seek "to know CHRIST after the flesh." This it is which Hammond condemns — the regarding CHRIST on His Throne of Glory, to be such as He *was* in the days of His weakness and humiliation. But to recount His *former* loving kindness, to memorialise before GOD in "Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs" His *past*

condescensions, to ponder in reverent contemplation, again and yet again, over the ever-new wonders of the Nativity, Infancy, Childhood, Youth, Manhood of "GOD made Flesh" — it seems almost shocking to have to defend *this* from the charge of being unscriptural, or contrary to the revealed Will of GOD.

Depend upon it, the Church of England has been far too prudishly and nervously reticent on the unique and singular glories of the ever Virgin Mother of GOD. And it is at least a question whether our people have not suffered almost as much by our cold reserve on the subject (I mean, in their tender, living realisation of the *fact* of the Incarnation), as they of the Roman obedience have by the illicit and exaggerated veneration paid to the blessed Virgin in that Communion. I conceive that if the editors of the Appendix to H.A.M. had done nothing more than provide us with the lovely and devout and Catholic Annunciation Hymn to which I have referred, and on which C.W. animadverts, the best thanks of English Churchmen would be owing to them.

But I have done. I do not question the soundness of many of C.W.'s views and theories respecting "Hymns, their Language and Structure." I have only to record my devout thanks that the editors of our most widely-circulated Hymnal have been guided, in the difficult and delicate task of selection and rejection, by something *more* than mere abstract theory; and that, through their practical good sense and Catholic instinct, the tens of thousands of English Church people who use their book have not been deprived of the admirable Hymns referred to in the present letter: — and (last, but not least) that our dear old friend, "From Greenland's icy mountains," has not been ostracised, and turned adrift from our Churches and Missionary Meetings, to do duty as a "gathering song of Commissioners for a Crystal Palace."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A LOVER OF HYMNS

April 10, 1864 [*sic*]

EUCHARISTIC TRUTH AND RITUAL

A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM

OCCASIONED BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM CERTAIN LAYMEN IN THE DIOCESE

BY

THE REV. JOHN B. DYKES, M.A., MUS.D.,
Vicar of S. Oswald's, Durham, and Minor Canon, and late Precentor, of the Cathedral

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I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say. 1 Cor. x. 15.

LONDON:—MASTERS AND CO.
DURHAM:—ANDREWS AND CO.

1874

{This transcript of the First Edition includes the
Appendix to the Second Edition, also published in 1874}

{In the original edition the quotation from 1 Corinthians on the title page appears in Greek}

[1]A LETTER

TO

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

MY LORD,

It is not without very serious hesitation and reluctance, and only from an imperative sense of duty, that I take up my pen to offer a few remarks on the Address recently presented to your Lordship in this city by certain laymen of the Diocese, and on your Lordship's reply thereto. The wise man tells us "there is a time to be silent, and a time to speak." GOD knows that, as far as personal feeling is concerned, I had always much rather be among the "silent" ones. But as the occasion is one in which it seems the plain duty of *some one* to "speak out," — and as your Lordship specially alluded to myself in your reply, and the presenter of the Address thought it right to single me out and mention me alone by name among all the clergy of the Diocese, — it may, perhaps, seem that the call is made upon myself, however unworthy and unqualified, to offer a few words in vindication of myself and my brethren.

[2]I am aware it may appear to many that the Address itself and the circumstances of its presentation are not deserving of serious notice. In one respect this is most true. The Address (by whom drawn up I know not, nor care to know) is an unworthy production, and the number of signatures quite insignificant — a little above three thousand in a Diocese containing between one and two million inhabitants. Nor do these three thousand profess to be communicants, or even necessarily churchmen. But it has received an adventitious importance for two reasons:—

(1.) Because the Archbishop of Canterbury[1], in bringing his new Bill[2] before the House of Lords, took occasion to refer to the movement in this Diocese, of which the presentation of the Address with an accompanying guarantee fund is the fruit; and spoke of the laity of the Diocese having risen up "*in a body*" to support the Bishop in his vigorous efforts to put down Ritualism. On which it is only needful to remark, that this great "Rising of the North" was inaugurated by a meeting at Newcastle, where the Address and guarantee fund (for the prosecution of "Ritualists") were planned, at which about twenty were present; and was consummated by a meeting at Durham, where the Address and guarantee *subscription list* (not *fund*) were offered, at which about twenty-five were present. When it is considered how this Address had been sent into all the parishes, how for several months it had been busily hawked about throughout the Diocese, what an amount of influence, lay *and clerical*, had been exerted to collect signatures, and how many of our leading men *declined* to sign, it will be seen that if the Archbishop had said that the laity of the Diocese had simply refused *as a body* to have anything to do with the demonstration, he would [3] have been far nearer the

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1 ϕ Archibald Tait (1811—1882)

2 ϕ Later to become the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874.

truth.[1] With regard to the imposing-looking sum (£7,000), I only trust your Lordship will insist on having it *paid down* into your Diocesan Church Building Fund, which the laity (as "*a body*") so miserably supported. If the laity can be persuaded to pay a few thousands to do a little good, instead of *promising* a few thousands to do a little mischief, it will be better for themselves, for their Bishop, and for the whole Diocese.

(2.) The second reason why the Address has received an importance not belonging to it, is your Lordship's *reply* thereto. It is this alone, in fact, that makes it at all worthy of the attention of the clergy.

My Lord, I have characterised this Address as an "unworthy production." And so it is. And I can only trust that the framer of it, and those who have thoughtlessly signed it, may live to be ashamed of it.

What is its burden? It is simply (in effect) to denounce with feeble and reiterated pertinacity a number of the clergy of the Diocese, whom it cannot or dare not name, as unfaithful and dishonest, as traitors to the Church of England, and as secret and conscious workers in the cause of the Church of Rome.

It speaks about "your Lordship's efforts to discountenance the innovations of *certain* ROMANISING *clergy in this Diocese*." And it volunteers the information that "the attitude of the Church of England towards ROME has ever been that of protest . . so that any leaning of its ministers towards ROME, either in their teaching or [4] their practices, involves to that extent *unfaithfulness* to their charge and *unfitness* for their office;" and that these Ritualistic clergy aforesaid "are in a false position so long as they continue to teach ROMISH doctrine in our pulpits, or to use ceremonies *borrowed from the Church of* ROME whilst ministering at our communion tables!" Then, after a fling at the "ROMISH doctrine of the Confessional," the petitioners proceed: "We feel deeply indebted to your Lordship for having come forward in defence of the Protestant principles of the Church of England against ROMANISING practice and doctrine;" concluding with some remarks on your Lordship's "high sense of duty and religious feeling" in adopting the measures you have taken (that is, in cutting off the spiritual supplies from thousands of the unhappy inhabitants of the Diocese), and on your Lordship's "attachment to the Protestant Church of England."

Now, my Lord, your clergy might naturally have looked to your Lordship for some vindication from these ignorant and unbecoming slanders. They might have expected that you would (while gladly recognising the kindly feeling of your lay brethren towards yourself personally) have endeavoured to show the petitioners that in charging their clergy wholesale with Romanism they were probably writing about subjects which they did not understand, and making grave accusations which could not be substantiated.

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[1] Since the above was in type, an analysis of the contributions to the guarantee fund has appeared in the *Literary Churchman* of June 6. The writer states that there are just *fifty-five* guarantors. He adds:—"Of all the numerous Durham and Northumberland nobility three only appear, namely, the Marquis of Londonderry, Earl Grey, and Lady Waterford:—not one Baronet or Knight:—of the *twenty-one* Members of Parliament, one only, namely, Mr Dodds, of Stockton-on-Tees."

But no. Your clergy look in vain for this measure of justice from their Bishop. Moreover, you do not answer hastily. The Address is sent to you. Time is given you to reflect upon it. You meet your petitioners, and you read a carefully prepared reply, in which you deliberately *confirm* their slanders; and, instead of seeking, as you were bound to do as our Father in GOD, to re-esta[5]blish confidence between the clergy and laity of your Diocese, you do your best to exaggerate misunderstandings, to stir up strife, and set clergy and laity against one another. You speak of the Address as "most welcome," and thank the petitioners for their "manly and generous protest against the *leading errors of the day*."(!) In contrast with the faithful petitioners whom you describe as among the "most zealous and respected churchmen of the Diocese" (alas for the Diocese, if this be the language of its "most zealous and respected churchmen!"), you speak of the "unwise" and "unfaithful clergymen," their "offensive novelties," their "subtle attempts to *Romanise* our Church by the introduction of *false doctrine* and medieval Ritualism;" of "the designs of these *disloyal* members of our Church, their antipathy to everything connected with the Reformation, their *sympathy with the grossest errors and most offensive rites of the Church of Rome*." "They are unscrupulous" (you say) "in the means which they adopt for the "propagation of their tenets. All that misquotations, mis-statements, boundless personal abuse of their opponents, and laudation of themselves, can contribute to the advancement of their cause, they employ with untiring perseverance." You speak of a "Romanising faction," a "band of traitors," of the Church's "secret enemies."

Now, my Lord, you must pardon me for writing plainly; but I maintain that you are bound, even as a Christian and a gentleman, to say nothing of your being our Bishop, to tell us plainly *to whom you refer* in these and the like slanderous accusations. Are you referring to the clergy of your own Diocese or are you *not*? If you are, to *which* of them? It may be very gratifying to yourself and your lay friends to fling about these charges indiscriminately in the hope of blackening and undermining [6] the character and influence of some of your clergy without hurt to yourself; but I repeat that, as an honest and upright man, you are bound to specify by name *whom* you refer to, in order that these libellous charges may be fairly met.

But I have done with this. I cannot go on in this strain. It is not less hateful to me to write it, than it is grievous for the Diocese that there should be occasion. It is only right, however, that your Lordship should be plainly reminded that your clergy cannot and will not have their character lightly taken away without at least some words of remonstrance.

And now I hasten on to add a few remarks on other portions of your Lordship's reply.

Passing, then, over vague accusations, which are too indefinite to handle — as, for instance, when you speak of the clergy aiming at "substituting the Romish Mass for the Lord's Supper" — I proceed to a few points on which your Lordship expresses yourself more explicitly, points on which infinite misapprehension prevails, and on which therefore I would presume, with all humility and seriousness, and I trust not forgetting the relationship in which I stand to your Lordship, to offer a few observations.

Now the one only *definite* charge against the "ultra-ritualistic" clergy with which your Lordship attempts to deal is that of "turning the back on the congregation at the time of the

consecration of the elements," a "position," your Lordship adds, "universally adopted in the corrupt Church of Rome." Your Lordship proceeds to specify *three* reasons why this position is dangerous and objectionable, and why the "ultra-ritualistic" clergy adopt it. Because it is "calculated to impress in the minds of the ignorant:"

[7]

(1.) "That the Lord's Table is an Altar."

(2.) "That the minister of Christ is a sacrificing priest."

(3.) "That in the bread and wine is contained the natural body of our Lord."

So that here are three additional charges virtually included in the original charge. Here is, in fact, an error of posture involving three errors of *doctrine*. I will glance at each as briefly as I can.

I will speak first of the posture itself: and then of the three doctrinal errors supposed to be expressed or implied by it.

I. Now in regard to the posture itself of the Celebrant during the Prayer of Consecration[1,2] I have simply to ask, what is the plain, honest, straightforward meaning of the words of the rubrical direction, "When the Priest standing *before* the Table hath so ordered the bread and wine, &c. . .. he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth"? Can "before the Table" mean "round the corner of the Table"? When the man and woman in the latter part of the marriage service are ordered to kneel "*before* the Lord's Table," do the words mean that they are to go round and kneel at the two ends facing each other? In the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the case of Martin *v*. Mackonochie[3] it was simply taken for granted that these words meant, and could mean nothing else than, what they say, viz.: that the Priest was to stand *before*, or *in front of*, the Holy Table, and to stand there during the whole prayer. True enough in [8] the one-sided pleadings of the Purchas case[4] this interpretation was set aside,

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[1] As your Lordship only refers to the position of the Celebrant during the Prayer of Consecration, I am happily relieved from entering here into the "North end" and "North-side" controversy, in connection with his position during the earlier part of the Service. (See Note A at the end of this Letter.)

[2] ϕ The difference in meaning between north (or left) *side* and north (or left) *end* of the Altar was discussed at length by Dykes in his riposte to the rebuke delivered to him by the Archdeacon of Durham in 1865, recorded in *The Minute Book of the Select Vestry and later of the Four and Twenty* (St. Oswald's PCC: Durham). (See pp. 84ff *supra*)

[3] ϕ Alexander Mackonochie (1825—1887) was a committed ritualist whose crimes, as perceived by the evangelical Church Association, included adopting the Eastward position during the celebration of the Eucharist, mixing water and wine in the chalice, placing candles on the Altar, elevating the bread and kneeling during the prayer of consecration. After attending a service in St. Alban's in 1866, Lord Shaftsbury described it as being 'in outward form and ritual…the worship of Jupiter or Juno'. Away from the Eucharist, Mackonochie introduced the then un-Anglican practice of hearing confession. He was subjected to a succession of prosecutions and judgments between 1867 and 1875, as a result of which he was ordered to pay costs, was suspended for varying lengths of time and inhibited from preaching in the Ripon diocese. The prospect of a further prosecution sapped his resolve and he resigned his living in 1882. See Thesis pp.80—1.

[4] ϕ Rev. John Purchas (1823—1872). In 1871 the Privy Council held, in what became known as 'The Purchas Judgment', that the adoption of the Eastward position during the Eucharist, the mixed chalice, the use of wafer bread and the wearing of vestments other than cassock and surplice (portrayed by C.H. Spurgeon as 'salvation by haberdashery') were illegal. In his diary Dykes recorded: 'Read the dreadful Purchas Judgment;—may God have mercy on His poor Church, and direct us what to do.'

and a novel and non-natural meaning imported into the words which has since been loudly and extensively protested against. Here, however, was an undefended suit. There was no counsel to point out the absurdity of the new *ex parte* interpretation. And the judgment as a whole has been so universally discredited that it has proved the death of the Court which pronounced it.

And here I cannot but complain of your Lordship's extreme unfairness in seeking to represent this position of the Priest as distinctively *Romish*, and those who adopt it as faithless to the principles of the Reformation. My Lord, I ask, how did our Reformers themselves deal with the position of the Celebrant in our first Prayer-book, which expresses their real mind, before they were subject to pressure from without? The rubric orders that the Priest is to "stand humbly *in the midst of the Altar*." Now I ask, did these men, who were strong in their denunciations of Rome, for a moment deem that there was anything peculiarly Romish in this? Not they. We all know, to our bitter cost, that the expression of the *true* "principles of the Reformation" was seriously affected by the incursion of foreign Protestants — fathers of the Church Associationists and Liberation Society of the present day, who hated everything Catholic, who were bent on destroying us as a Church, cutting off our connection with the old historical Church of the country, and turning us into a mere heretical sect — the spread of whose levelling and revolutionary tenets throughout the land resulted at last in the overthrow of the Church and the Monarchy. We all know, I repeat, that the noisy influence of these men, and an earnest but vain desire on the part of the Revisers of our Offices to conciliate them, [9] resulted in an unhappy modification of the language which our Reformers had themselves deliberately adopted; — nay more, that it resulted in the dragging down of our Altars, for a time, from their proper position, and the placing them "table-wise" in the body of the Church. But so far from these unwilling concessions to a party of irreconcilables being regarded in the light of a condemnation of the language and practice originally adopted by our English Reformers, we have their own admission that these changes were not voluntarily made from conviction, but rather extorted under pressure. In the Act of Uniformity which sanctioned the *first* Book, the Book is affirmed to have been compiled in conformity with "*Scripture* and *the usages in the primitive Church*," "by *the aid of the* HOLY GHOST, *with one uniform agreement*." This direct recognition of the aid of the HOLY GHOST does not appear in the Act authorising the *second* Book, in which the Protestant changes were made. The Book is spoken of as a concession to doubts which have arisen "rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause." Now to brand as mere Popery what our Reformers deliberately sanctioned with the expressed "aid of the HOLY GHOST" is, to say the least, strange.

But we have to do with our present Prayer-book, and the sentiments of our great Reformers who brought it into its *existing* form. The old 16th century formularies and the Acts of Parliament confirming them have no practical bearing on us now. What concerns us is the *final* revision and settlement of our Offices in 1662. It is *this* by which we all, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and laymen, are bound. This is the ultimate phase of our English Reformation. Let us see, then, if our latest and our greatest Reformers ever deemed that praying, or celebrating the [10] Eucharist, towards the East (or, as your Lordship somewhat

grotesquely describes it, "with the back to the congregation") was Popish, or otherwise objectionable.

The Puritans of that day, of course, like their successors at the present, objected to it. How did our Reformers, the noble Bishops who were entrusted with the revision of our Offices, answer them? They reply: — "When he (the minister) speaks to the *people*, as in Lessons, Absolutions, and Benedictions, it is convenient that he turn *to* them. When he speaks for them to *God*, it is fit that they should *all* turn another way, *as the ancient Church ever did*." And they refer to S. Augustine (lib. 2 de Serm. Dom. in Monte, c.5), who writes, "*Cum ad orationem stamus ad orientem convertimur*" — "When we stand to pray we turn to the East"[1]

Bishop Sparrow,[2] one of the chief Revisers in 1662, in his 'Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer,' enters into the question at some length, showing that it was the all but universal custom of the ancient Church, Christian as well as Jewish, to pray towards the East. "As the Jews," he writes, "in their prayers looked towards the principal part of the Temple, the Mercy-Seat, so the Christians, in their prayers, turned towards the principal part of the Church, the Altar, of which the Mercy-Seat was but a type."

Not to enter further, however, into the interpretation of our rubrics, I can only say that to represent the Eastward position of the Celebrant as something specially Popish appears to me a mere pandering to popular ignorance. From the time of the Apostles, no part of the Catholic Church, except a portion of our own, has ever consecrated the Eucharist in the position which an [11] attempt is being made permanently to fasten on ourselves. The position of the Priest at the North end of the Holy Table is simply a relic and memorial of a Puritanical (and for a time victorious) endeavour to depose and degrade our Altars themselves from their place of dignity in the Chancel and to thrust them down into the Nave, and to cut us off, in one respect at least, from the recognised order of the universal Church of Christ. It is but the witness and issue of an attempted compromise on the part of our perplexed rulers with a system which is in irreconcilable variance with the Church system; of a temporary bending on the part of our Church before a hostile invasion upon her Catholic ritual and discipline. Even the Lutherans themselves have never conceded this point of the position of the Celebrant at the Eucharist. The Celebrant with them always faces East. S. Paul's words to the innovators of his day may well be ours — "We have no such custom, *nor the churches of God.*'

II. I proceed to the three doctrinal *errors* stated by your Lordship to be implicitly involved in, and expressed by, this posture of the Celebrant, viz.: — (1) that "the Lord's table is an Altar;" (2) that "the minister is a sacrificing Priest;" and (3) that "in the bread and wine is contained the natural Body of our Lord." Now, my Lord, as one of the clergy who are indirectly pointed at by your Lordship as disloyal to CHRIST and our Spiritual Mother in these points, suffer me distinctly to state, at the outset, that I *do* teach that the Lord's Table is an Altar; that I *do* teach, and believe, that I am a Priest; and that I *do* teach that the Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour CHRIST are "verily and indeed" "given and taken and eaten" in

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[1] See Cardwell's Conferences, pp. 820, 353.

[2] ϕ 1612—1685

the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist. And may GOD forbid that I should ever be so [12] unfaithful to Him and to His Church as to deny, or fail to teach, any of these plain truths which the Catholic Church has in all ages held and taught, and which the Church of England would forfeit her right to be called a Branch of the Church Catholic if she denied.

(1.) As for the first point, your Lordship must surely know that the question whether the Lord's Table is rightly called "Altar" *or* "Table" is an utterly misleading one: — the truth being (as your Lordship, I think, was bound to have told your petitioners) that *both* terms are equally Scriptural and Catholic, *both* equally to be retained. The only objection to the word "Table" (and it is a serious one) is this: that *in itself* it is an ambiguous expression, and may be used, and is used, to lower the dignity of that which is the most sacred thing in a Christian Church. The very word "Altar" suggests reverence: the word "Table" does not. Look into hundreds of our Churches (I might have said thousands a few years ago, before the despised "Ritual" movement had begun), and see a miserable four-legged slab or board, which a rich man would be ashamed to have in his kitchen, with a dingy piece of green baize on it, or a torn and dirty dinner cloth; and see the practical result of the exclusive use of this doubtful word, "*Table*." S. Paul uses indifferently the two names, "Altar" and "Lord's Table:" which latter, be it remembered, is really the more solemn expression of the two — it is "the Table of JEHOVAH," "the Table of GOD." The word "Altar" rather suggests the idea of man humbly offering something to GOD; the word "Lord's Table," of GOD, invisibly present, offering something to man: it tells of Heaven and Heavenly things brought down to earth. And if people will only remember that it *is* GOD'S Table and not man's; that, just as Sunday is holy because it is GOD'S Day, the Church [13] holy because it is GOD'S House, the Bible holy because it is GOD'S Book, so the Altar is holy because it is GOD'S, Table — all well and good. But to hear people talking flippantly about the "table" and the "table-cloth," forgetting *whose* table it is, and thinking it rather a fine thing to show their good Protestantism by treating *that* from which GOD Incarnate distributes His very Body and Blood, as if it were a little more contemptible than the meanest table in their own houses, is simply odious and disgusting.

It is urged that the word Altar does not occur in the Prayer-book now. No more does the expression "Communion-table," which your Lordship's petitioners are virtually commended for using. But the word "Altar" was the one which our English Reformers themselves deliberately adopted in their first Prayer-book of 1549, when they had their own way. It was only to satisfy the ignorant clamours of foreign sectaries, and in a hopeless attempt at conciliation, that they withdrew the word from the public Offices, without for one moment dreaming of abandoning it in ordinary usage, or branding it as wrong. All our greatest divines have freely employed it, and have defended it when attacked. In the Coronation Service it occurs over and over again; it occurs also in many Acts of Parliament, so that it is a thoroughly *legal* expression. Holy Scripture uses it and the word Table as synonymous. Thus, in Ezekiel xli. 22, we read "The *Altar* of wood was three cubits high: and he said to me, This is the *Table* before the Lord." And in Malachi i. 7, "Ye offer polluted bread upon Mine *Altar*, and ye say, the *Table* of the Lord is contemptible." Just so, S. Paul speaks of heathen altars as "the *tables* of demons;" and, referring to the Lord's Table, says, "We have an Altar."

(Cf. 1 Cor. x. 18, 21; Heb. xiii. 10.) He uses as parallel [14] expressions "partakers of the Altar" and "partakers of the Lord's Table." The truth is, as I have stated above, that the two words express two aspects or conceptions of one and the same thing. It would be just as wrong to part with one as with the other. Our great Bishop Andrewes, in his famous sermon on the "worshipping of imaginations,"[1] after inveighing with his usual force against some of the "imaginations" of the Church of Rome, speaks no less strongly against the "imaginations" of Protestants, in ignoring entirely the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist. "Many of us," he writes, "look strange at the mention of a Sacrifice. . . . But the old writers use no less the word 'Sacrifice' than 'Sacrament,' '*Altar*' than '*Table*,' 'offer,' than 'eat;' but both indifferently, to show there is both."

Bishop Sparrow in his Rationale writes: "Now that no man take offence at the word Altar, let him know that anciently *both* these names, 'Altar' or 'Holy Table,' were used for the same things; though *most frequently* the Fathers and Councils use the word '*Altar*.' And *both* are fit names for that Holy Thing."[2]

John Wesley writes, "To man it is a sacred *Table* where GOD'S Minister is ordered to represent *from* GOD his Master the Passion of His dear Son as still fresh and still powerful for their eternal salvation. And to GOD it is an *Altar* whereon man mystically presents *to* Him the same Sacrifice as still bleeding and suing for mercy." (The Christian Sacrament.)[3]

But to attempt to defend the use of a word which has the Sanction of Holy Scripture, of all the primitive Liturgies, of all the Early Fathers, and of our greatest English Divines, is a mere waste of time.

(2.) I proceed therefore to the *second* error which your Lordship considers to be involved in the Eastward [13] position of the Celebrant, viz., "that the Minister of CHRIST is a sacrificing Priest."

My Lord, if I am not a Priest, what am I? Would it not be somewhat absurd to charge it against your Lordship that, instead of being a "preacher of the Gospel," you claim to be a consecrated Bishop? If your Lordship is a Bishop, I am a Priest. If I am no Priest, your Lordship is no Bishop.

But to give a little point to your charge, you add "a sacrificing Priest." What your Lordship exactly means by this epithet I do not know, except that you wish thereby to raise a prejudice against the idea of Priestly Ministration at all. The Priestly office is one, and one only, all Christendom over. Whether expressed by the Eastern term *ἱερεύς*, or the Latin "Sacerdos," or by our own grand Welch word, "Offeiriadd," or by the "Presbyterio," "Priester," "Prêtre,"

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[1] ϕ Andrewes, Lancelot 'One of the Sermons Upon the Second Commandment, preached in the Parish Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate on the ninth January MDXC11' in *Ninety-Six Sermons &c.* Vol. 5 (John Henry Parker: Oxford, 1843) at pp. 54ff.

[2] ϕ Sparrow, Anthony *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer* (John Henry Parker: Oxford, 1843) at pp. 303—3-4

[3] ϕ 'The Christian Sacrifice and Sacrament extracted from Dr. Brevint' in Wesley, John and Wesley, Charles *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (3rd Edition) (H. Cock: London, 1751) at p. 22

"Priest," of Spain, Germany, France, England, the idea is the same. The ecclesiastical term, "Priest," with its equivalents in other languages, is a definite and technical one, carrying with it a definite meaning. "It is evident," says our Prayer-book, "to all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of Ministers in the Church — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." Now each of these words has carried with it its own meaning from the beginning. A Bishop is a Bishop, whether in the Church of Greece, England, or Rome. What he was in the Primitive Church, that he is now. And so with a Priest. You may call him "sacrificing Priest," or "teaching Priest," or "blessing Priest," or "interceding Priest," or "absolving Priest," or any thing you please: it makes no difference: he is neither more nor less than a *Priest*.

The title, I know, is distasteful to many. They hate [16] the name because they hate the idea. Conceive, however, what a triumph it would have been to our Roman adversaries, could they once have exacted from our Church the admission that she had rejected the Priestly notion, and adopted the Presbyterian theory. I have heard again and again of the grief and humiliation felt by many of the clergy of this Diocese at listening to your Lordship advocating (to all intents and purposes), and throwing in your part with, this latter (and, what I must call, this false) theory. You have taught, from S. Peter's words, "Ye are a royal Priesthood," &c., that there is *no special* Priesthood in the Christian Church, other than that which belongs to all Christians alike.

Suffer me to quote a few lines from a letter to the *Record* by Canon Clayton, circulated widely throughout this Diocese:—

> "It was my great privilege to listen to a most profitable sermon preached by the Bishop of Durham at the opening of the new Church at Coundon. His Lordship's text was 1 Peter, ii., 4, 5. After discussing the other parts of these two verses, the Bishop went onto explain the words 'an holy priesthood.' In doing this be showed (1) that all true believers, whether ministers or lay people, are *alike* 'priests,' and that the only sacrifices we can offer are the sacrifice of ourselves, of prayer and praise. He then stated (2) that the Christian Minister in the New Testament is called 'ambassador,' 'shepherd,' 'pastor,' &c., but that he is nowhere called *priest*." . . . [Then, after a good deal about "priest," in the Prayer-book simply signifying "*presbyter*," or "minister," and not "*sacrificing* Priest," &c., the writer continues:] "A clergyman who was present said to me after the service was over, 'The Bishop to-day completely cut the ground from under the Ritualists' feet.' I thought so too. Would that all those in authority over us in our Church were equally plain spoken with the Bishop of this Diocese! Were this the case, the *monstrous pretensions of these sacerdotalists* would, by GOD'S blessing, speedily collapse, either by their giving up their unscriptural teaching and Romanising practices, or by their *showing their honesty in quitting a Church whose principles are so diverse from their own*. — Yours faithfully, CHAS. CLAYTON."

[17]

Now, without staying to comment on the characteristic close of this letter,[1] I must add two or three words on the line of argument here adopted.

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[1] The writer of this letter is a Bishop's Examining Chaplain(!), but not, I am glad to add, of the Bishop of Durham.

(a.) All Christians are addressed as "priests," therefore there is no *special* priesthood in the Christian Church. Unfortunately, S. Peter's words are merely a quotation from Moses, and were originally addressed to the *children of Israel.* GOD tells them that, if they will be obedient, they shall be a "Royal Priesthood," "a Kingdom of *Priests*, a holy Nation" (Ex. xix. 6). Therefore, if S. Peter teaches that there are to be no special priests in the *Christian* Church, Moses taught that there were to be no special priests in the *Jewish* Church — all the people were to be priests; and therefore Korah and his company, who tried to act upon that theory, were martyrs!

(b.) But again. S. Peter and Moses both tell GOD'S people that they are to be "*Royal* priests," a "*kingdom* of priests;" as S. John says, "He hath made us *kings* and priests." Therefore if all are priests, and there are to be no special priests, all are to be *kings*, and monarchs are unscriptural. Our Charles the First had practical experience of the force of this argument.

So much for the reasoning which "completely cuts the ground from under the Ritualists' feet!"

(c.) As for the etymological derivation of the word "Priest," I reply, This is not a question of words, but of things — not of etymology but of fact and doctrine. Still, it is very important to remember that in the word [Greek] — which it has pleased the HOLY GHOST to associate so intimately with the second order of the ministry, and whence our term "priest" ultimately comes[18] — is contained and expressed the grand fundamental and archetypal notion of the Priestly office. The word itself expresses age, dignity, reverence. It hints, too, at the priest being the "*ambassador*" from GOD to man, and from man to GOD. But it points back to the right of *primogeniture*, in which the priestly office had its rise. "I will make Him my *First-born*, higher than the kings of the earth." The priestly office belongs by original right to the first-born, as representing "the First-born of every creature," the one only Priest and Mediator, JESUS CHRIST. When the tribe of Levi was elected to its special ministry, it was expressly elected as representing the *first-born* of all the families of Israel. (See Num. iii. 12,13; viii. 14-18.) This is the underlying idea of priestly ministration. The right of primogeniture confers that of priesthood. We see the full realisation of this aspect of the priestly office in the "four-and-twenty Elders," with their white robes and incense-bowls, presenting the prayers and worship of the Church below. (Rev. iv. 4; v. 8-10.)

So that the mere etymology of the word "Priest" gives no help whatever to those who wish to deny the reality of a sacerdotal ministry in the Church.

But we have to do with facts, I repeat, and not with words. And S. Jerome's well-known saying "*No Priest, no Church*," ("*Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotes*") expresses the teaching of the universal Church of CHRIST. And this is why our great champions in the controversy with Rome — such men (e.g.) as Archbishop Bramhall and Bishop Andrewes — so strongly insisted on the faithful retention on the part of the English Church of the *full* Sacerdotal theory. In fact, let any Branch of the Church, ancient or modern, be produced which expresses this theory more clearly than the Church of England does in her Ordinal. To talk, as Canon Clayton does, of the [19] "monstrous pretensions of the Sacerdotalists" with their "unscriptural and *Romanizing*" teaching, is sheer nonsense. Who in the English Church

has written so powerfully against the errors of the Church of Rome as the present Bishop of Lincoln?[1] Now let any one read Chapters xiv., xv. (part 1), and vi. (part 2), of his "Theophilus Anglicanus"[2] where he treats of "Sacerdotal Absolution, Intercession, and Benediction," as also of the Apostolic Succession, and see if he ever deems these plain verities any more *Roman* than are the doctrines of the Incarnation or the Trinity.

I would however, my Lord, seriously request any of the laymen whom your Lordship has addressed, to read for themselves the English Ordinal, and the form of the Commission given to every Priest in the English Church, and then to answer candidly and sincerely this question, Who are the most honest men, those who believe these solemn words and try to act them out, or those who *disbelieve* them and try to explain them away?

I do not ask whether they think the Church of England right or wrong, wise or foolish, scriptural or unscriptural, in giving her Priests such an awful Commission; that is not the question: I merely ask, Who are the honest men? and, Is it fair that we the High Church clergy should be denounced as a set of Jesuits, or knaves, or traitors, because we simply *believe the truth* of the solemn words which were pronounced over us with imposition of hands at the most solemn moment of our lives?[3]

[20]We are so used to this offensive kind of language about dishonesty, perversion of moral sense, eating the Church's bread and denying her doctrines, &c., that we are coming to regard it as a matter of course, and perhaps to take it too easily. I think, however, that when our Evangelical brethren plume themselves on their own unsullied honesty, they are apt to forget certain honest men of bye-gone times. It should be remembered that the Puritan party — objecting, as now, to the priestly name and idea — used earnest and unremitting endeavours before the last Revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, to have the word Priest removed, and other changes effected which should purge our formularies of (what they deemed) this false and unscriptural notion. But our Reformers knew too well what they were about. Instead of banishing the priestly idea from our Offices, they only fixed it there more firmly than ever;

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[1] ϕ Christopher Wordsworth (1807—1885). Dykes wrote six hymn tunes especially for Worsdworth's *The Holy Year,* including ALMSGIVING to *O Lord of heaven and earth and sea,* in respect of which Wordsworth declared himself to be 'indebted [to Dykes] for one of the most beautiful tunes set to one of my unworthy hymns.' See *Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham* (W Wells Gardner: London, 1871) p. 397.

[2] ϕ Wordsworth, Christopher *Theophilus Angicanus: or Instruction Concerning The Church and the Anglican Branch of It* (*Sixth edition*) (Rivington: London, 1850)

[3] Since the above was in type I have chanced to receive a published Letter by an excellent Cumberland clergyman to his parishioners, occasioned by the dissemination in his Parish of a Tract by the Rev G. T. Fox of Durham, on the subject of Confession and Absolution, in which the writer maintains that "there is not such a thing as a Priest upon earth." Now were a Dissenting Minister to write this, it would be all well and good; for he *shows by his actions that he means what he says*, and that he has an *honest* right to his opinion. The honesty of those who can accept the solemn Priestly Ordination of the English Church, and then use their Priestly position to repudiate their Priestly office, is more questionable. But the immaculate honesty of Protestantism, of which we hear so much, is altogether a mystery to myself. [ϕ For a detailed critique of George Townshend Fox's position on the question of the priesthood, and particularly for an admonition of him for preaching 'in the very teeth of the Prayer Book, and the faith of Universal Catholic Christendom' see Dykes, J.B. *The Holy Eucharist: the Christian Peace-offering* at pp. 21ff. (p. 21ff *supra.*)]

even inserting the word Priest in two or three important places, where it had been only Minister before. *All* the changes they made in our Offices (and there were very many) were in a Catholic, none in a Protestant direction. And what was the result? Why that some 2,000 Ministers, who could not accept what Canon Clayton calls the *monstrous sacerdotalism* of the Prayer Book, not only *talked* but *acted* like honest men, threw up their emoluments, and left a Church to which they felt they could not conscientiously conform.

[21]

It strikes me, my Lord, that our laity need a little enlightenment on the subject of dishonesty![1]

But it is a "*sacrificing*" Priesthood to which your Lordship specially objects. I have no wish to evade this qualifying word. I own, however, I should have been sorely perplexed as to the exact form of error here condemned, had not the subject received recent illustration from your Lordship's treatment of Mr Wilkinson, of S. Paul's, Gateshead.

Placed in a miserable District, without Church or school, he set about the wearisome work of collecting subscriptions towards the erection of a Church — your Lordship kindly promising him £25. Meanwhile you are "informed" that Mr Wilkinson is a member of the "Confraternity of the B. Sacrament " — an Association to which it has been my happiness to belong for some years, the sole objects of which are (1) the promotion of more reverent regard for the Holy Eucharist, and (2) mutual intercession. Your Lordship, discovering that the Association in one of its papers describes the Eucharist as the "Holy *Sacrifice*," writes to Mr Wilkinson withdrawing your promise, and refusing to pay your subscription. Mr Wilkinson writes back in amazement, pointing out to you the "severe condemnation" of himself implied in this act, and protesting his unswerving fidelity to the Church of England. But you are inexorable. You speak of a party "whom you regard as traitors," who "imitate the *Romanist* in the use of theological words," &c., and thus justify your breach of promise. Fortunately, the other [22] subscribers, not having learnt that "faith is not to be kept with heretics," declined to follow their Bishop's lead; so that the blow dealt at the reputation and the purse of an exemplary clergyman to a certain extent miscarried.[2]

I notice this painful transaction, however, not for the purpose of drawing attention to a question in Casuistry, but merely for the light it throws on the meaning of your Lordship's ambiguous term, a "*sacrificing* priest;" viz., one who offers the Holy or Eucharistic *Sacrifice*. It is this title, this conception, against which you relentlessly set your face.

Let me point out here a characteristic instance of the difficulties under which the clergy of this Diocese are labouring who would be loyal to the Church and loyal to their Bishop.

We have heard, my Lord, some pitiable complaints in Parliament and Convocation as to the insubordination of the second order of clergy to their Spiritual Rulers.

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[1] It could be wished that some of those who are so fond of denouncing the dishonesty of the High-Church party would read the able treatise entitled "Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance." By John C. Fisher, M.A., of the Middle Temple. London: Hamilton. The writer is an extreme Low Churchman.

[2] I cannot forbear noticing the illustration here afforded of a point adverted to on pp. 2, 8 of this Letter, viz., that a Subscription list and a sum of money paid down are not identical.

But, I ask, whose fault is it? If the Bishops will set up their private teaching in opposition to that of the whole Church of CHRIST, what are the clergy to do?

Now your Lordship condemns, in language far more severe than any mere words can express, all notion of a Eucharistic Sacrifice — even the very *term* "Holy Sacrifice" as applied to the Eucharist. But I affirm, and you cannot gainsay it, that throughout the whole of Christendom, from the earliest ages, whether in East, West, North, or South, the Holy Eucharist has *always* been regarded as a Sacrifice. Here is an undoubted case of "*semper, ubique, ab omnibus.*"[1] The ancient Liturgies, Canons, [23] Fathers, give complete and irrefragable evidence of this. The Holy Communion is called a "Sacrifice" or a "Sacrament," the Priest is said to "offer" or to "celebrate," quite indiscriminately. When your Lordship, then, places yourself in antagonism to the united voice of the whole Catholic Church, how *can* we accept or respect your teaching?

Let me remind you of the words or our great Bishop Andrewes, which I quoted (p. 14).

> "As the Church of Rome hath her 'imaginations' . . . So we want not ours. For many among us fancy only a *Sacrament* in this action, and look strange at the remembrance of a *Sacrifice*: whereas the ancient writers use no less the word '*Sacrifice*' than '*Sacrament*,' '*Altar*' than '*Table*,' '*Offer*' than '*Eat*.'

And he shows how Holy Scripture sanctions the use of both sets of terms.

What says John Wesley on the subject?

> "We believe that there is, and always was in every Christian Church (whether dependent on the Bishop of Rome or not) an outward Priesthood ordained by JESUS CHRIST, and an outward *Sacrifice* offered therein by men authorised to act as ambassadors of CHRIST and stewards of the Mysteries of God" [*Letter to his brother. in-law, Mr Hall*.]

The devout and learned Bishop Beveridge,[2] after stating that the Holy Eucharist was ordained by our Lord to succeed the bloody sacrifices of the Mosaic Law, writes,

> "It may *as properly* be called a *Sacrifice* as any that was ever offered, except that which was offered by CHRIST Himself. For His, indeed, was the only true expiatory Sacrifice that was ever offered... . Those under the Law were typical, and this is a commemorative Sacrifice." [Quoted in "Eucharistica."]

Bishop Sparrow, one of the Divines to whom we owe the last Revision of the Prayer-book in 1662, in contrast with your Lordship's statement that "the *only* sacrifices" which ministers or people alike can now offer are "the [24] sacrifice of ourselves, and the sacrifice of prayer and praise," writes,

> "*Besides* these spiritual sacrifices mentioned, the Ministers of the Gospel have *another* Sacrifice to offer, namely, the 'unbloody Sacrifice,' as it was anciently called — the Commemorative Sacrifice

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[1] ϕ Always, everywhere and by all.

[2] ϕ 1637—1708.

> of the Death of CHRIST, which does as really and truly "show forth the Death of CHRIST," as those sacrifices under the Law did foreshadow it. [Rationale. Of the word Priest]

The holy Bishop Wilson,[1] in his Sacra Privata, gives the following Prayer for the Celebrant before the service begins:

> "May it please thee, O God, who hast called us to this Ministry, to make us worthy to offer unto Thee this Sacrifice for our sins and for the sins of Thy people."

Bishop Overall[2] (Chaplain to your Lordship's great predecessor Cosin), who wrote the part of our Catechism which treats of the Sacraments — after stating that, whereas the Sacrifice of the Cross was the alone "*sufficient* Sacrifice," yet the Eucharist "is a true, real, and *efficient* Sacrifice " — adds,

> "Neither do we call this Sacrifice of the Eucharist efficient, as if that upon the Cross wanted efficacy; but because the force and virtue of that Sacrifice would not be profitable to us unless it were applied and brought into effect by this Eucharistical Sacrifice and the other holy sacraments and means appointed by God for that end. This is no new Sacrifice, but the same which was once offered, and which is every day offered to God by CHRIST in Heaven, and continueth here on earth by a mystical representation of it in the Holy Eucharist" (Notes on Com. Prayer.)

The present Bishop (Harold Browne)[3] of Winchester writes,

> It cannot be doubted that *from the very first* the Fathers spoke of the Eucharist under the name of an "Offering" or "Sacrifice."

And yet the clergy and laity in this diocese are to be taught that this is merely the language of Romanists or traitors!

[25]

The only Sacrificial view of the Holy Eucharist which the Church of England *rejects* — and which every good Churchman, Ritualist or non-Ritualist, would reject — is one which would conflict with the all-sufficiency of the Sacrifice of the Cross; which would represent the Eucharist, in any way, as a *fresh* offering up of CHRIST, with an independent atoning virtue of its own. It is this notion against which our Thirty-first Article protests.[4] It insists on the perfectness, the absolute sufficiency, and all-propitiatory power, of that One great Offering, and condemns the popular heretical notions of there being any fresh offering or immolation of CHRIST in each Eucharist; of each Mass being, as it were, a new and iterated Sacrifice — instead of a mere application, pleading, memorialising of the One Great and only Sacrifice.

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[1] ϕ 1698—1755

[2] ϕ 1559—1619

[3] ϕ Edward Harold Browne, 1811—1891

[4] ϕ 31. *Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross*.
'The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.'

Why, my Lord, I was taught, some thirty years ago, in my "Theophilus Anglicanus," that whereas there is in the Holy Communion a 'Sacrificium Eucharisticum,' a 'Sacrificium votivum,' a 'Sacrificium repræsentativum' (which word Thorndike derives *a Re præsenti*), a 'Sacrificium impetrativum,' a 'Sacrificium applicativum,' &c., &c., there is no 'Sacrificium suppletivum,' to supply any supposed defects in the One great Sacrifice.[1]

If your Lordship, then, thinks well to warn us against any misuse of the Sacrificial terms which the Church has always employed, all well and good. But to condemn the terms altogether, to ignore one entire side or phase of the great Eucharistic Mystery, this is not the way to benefit your clergy, or to give them confidence in your own teaching. But I must hasten on.

(3.) Your Lordship objects to the Eastward position, thirdly, because "it is calculated to impress upon the [26] ignorant that in the bread and wine is contained the natural body of our crucified but now ascended Lord." Here is *the* great question of all. On this, therefore, I shall have to write more at length. The consideration of it will involve a further consideration of the preceding question. For it is obvious that the question whether or not the Eucharist is really *sacrificial* in its nature must all depend on *what the Eucharist itself* is. And here, once again, I have to complain of your Lordship's language. I must speak plainly. But I can only read it as designed to mislead.[2] You have used in one short sentence two important expressions of known ambiguity. You have spoken of "the *natural* Body of our Lord" being "*contained* in the bread and wine;" and you intimate that the "Ritualists," by adopting the Eastward position, wish to teach this to the people. I ask you, my Lord, when and where you either heard or read of a High Churchman adopting these expressions? I do not say that they are incapable of a Catholic interpretation; but I affirm that they suggest most serious error, and that they seem purposely chosen to create a prejudice against the so-called "Ritualists," as though they were teachers of heresy. If the expression "*natural* Body" is meant (as it is apparently selected to do) to suggest any natural mode of Presence — a "Corporal Presence"[3] — a Presence "after the order of nature;" then every decently instructed Churchman would reject it. And in like manner, if "*contained* in" is designed (as it apparently is) to imply any local inclusion, any physical existence in a place, then it would be equally repudiated. The Church of Rome, no less than the Church of England, [27] would disclaim the doctrine which it is apparently sought to fasten on the "Ritualists." The Catechism of the Council of Trent (Pt. II. iv. 42) says, "CHRIST the Lord is not *in* the Sacrament as in a place." And the Council decrees that, although our Saviour "sitteth at the Right Hand of GOD according to the *natural* mode of being," yet that "nevertheless He is *sacramentally* present unto us in His own Substance in His Holy Mysteries." (Sess. XIII. c.1)

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[1] ϕ Wordsworth *op.cit.* pp. 218—219

[2] ϕ In a treatise which is almost exclusively *ad rem,* this accusation, being a circumlocutory way of saying 'You have set out to lie' (itself only a short semantic step away from 'You, Bishop, are a liar') is decidedly — and unusually for Dykes — *ad hominem.*

[3] "*Corpus* Christi est, sed non *corporaliter.*" See the famous treatise of Ratramn, or Bertram.

Our Lord warns the Magdalene, "Touch Me not, *for I am not yet ascended*." He rejects the natural touch; for "old things are passed away:" but after His Ascension it would be permitted to her, and to all His people, to touch Him in a new and ineffable way. He is going from us; but He is coming to us. We "see Him no more;" and yet we are to "*see* Him." He is to be absent, and yet mysteriously *present*; absent as an Object of sense, present as an Object of faith: "Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed." And thus the Apostle regards it as a mark of a faithless Christian not to be able to "discern the Lord's Body" in the Blessed Eucharist. But it must be *present*, for us to "discern" it.

Our great Dr Mill,[1] in his work on the Catechism, while affirming that our "feeding on the Incarnate GODHEAD" must not be conceived "after that gross and *corporeal* manner in which the men of Capernaum understood our Lord's words," adds

> "But while the act is thus mystical and spiritual, it is not the less *real* and *substantial*, if those earnest declarations of CHRIST are accepted as bearing any true meaning whatever. . . . . The natural food which, taken into our mortal frame, supplies the decays of nature, and maintains us in continued life, thus represents a deep spiritual reality, — of the new Life received from the Incarnate GODHEAD, here strengthened and perpetuated by that mystical but most *real Presence* of its SOURCE."

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Our own Church exhorts us to render hearty thanks to GOD for "giving his Son JESUS CHRIST, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual Food and Sustenance IN that Holy Sacrament." Now it is well known that, through Protestant interference in Edward Sixth's reign, these most true words (or rather, words identical in meaning) were omitted; and, instead of thanking GOD for giving us his Son to be our Food "*in* the Holy Sacrament," we were bidden to thank Him for giving His Son to be our Spiritual Food "*as it is declared to us, as well by God's Word, as by the Holy Sacrament*." But, thank GOD, our good Catholic Reformers of 1662 restored the old language: and now our Prayer Book teaches, without stammering or hesitation, that God *in* His Holy Sacrament gives us, not merely bread and wine (as some falsely hold), but His Own Son JESUS CHRIST to be our Spiritual Food.

My Lord, I wish to write with all humility and seriousness. But I must maintain that the whole of the present Eucharistic controversy turns on the momentous question, Are we to believe GOD'S infallible Word, or are we to "make it of none effect" through Protestant "traditions"? Are we to believe the Omnipotent and All-wise Creator, or the poor ignorant creature? CHRIST, my Lord and my GOD, says "This is My Body, This is My Blood." No power on earth, please GOD, shall ever induce me to hold or teach that what He calls His Body and Blood is *not* His Body and Blood, but only, as it were, a sign, figure, or picture of His Body and Blood. Your Lordship, in order to show to our young people at Confirmations the absurdity of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, constantly adopts the following illustration. You suppose the case of a mother who has a son abroad, and lovingly treasures

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[1] ϕ Dr. William Hodge Mill (1792—1853), sometime Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, a supporter of the Cambridge Camden Society and, according to Fowler, a profound influence on the undergraduate Dykes.

his photograph, often [29] exhibiting it to her friends, and saying "this is my son;" and you argue that no one in his senses would gather from these words that this *likeness* was really, veritably, substantially the son which it represented. My Lord, I can only call this kind of natural reasoning a trifling with the infallible Word of GOD. "Hath He said, and shall He not do it? Hath He spoken, and shall He not perform?" Our Blessed Lord, Who could not speak less and *could not speak more* than the Truth, Who knew well the force of language, and saw clearly how His words would prove a stumbling-block to those who would not implicitly believe Him, — He did *not* say what you would have wished Him to say, "This *represents* My Body," but "This IS My Body." We must receive CHRIST'S words as a whole, or reject them as a whole. We cannot choose how much we will believe, and how much we will reject; how much we will loyally and fully accept, and how much we will rationalise away.

If His Body and Blood are not *really* "given, taken, and received" in the Eucharist, then He did not *really* die on Calvary. The Cross and the Eucharist must stand or fall together. If it is only a pictorial and figurative feeding, it was only a pictorial and figurative Death. If it is impossible that GOD incarnate should sustain us with His Own Body and Blood, then is it impossible that He should have ever offered up that Body and Blood in Sacrifice. The denial of the Eucharistic Mystery leads on to the denial of the greater Mystery of the Passion. The inevitable tendency of the common Protestant or Zuinglian views of the Eucharist is to Socinianism. I do not mean to affirm (GOD forbid) that there are not thousands of devout souls who most implicitly believe in their Lord's supreme Divinity and all-atoning Sacrifice, who have yet very inadequate views respecting His Holy [30] Sacrament. I simply maintain that the terminus to which these views logically and necessarily *lead* is Socinianism.

"Tota jacet Babylon. Destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus."[1]

Dr Liddon,[2] in a valuable passage, points out the important position which the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper occupy as outworks, to fence and guard the Church's faith in the Mystery of the Incarnation. Disbelief in the Sacraments is the first step to disbelief in Him who communicates and sustains His Own Life in us by means of those Sacraments. I much regret that my space forbids me to do more than quote a few lines from the conclusion of this most important section:—

> "That depreciation of Sacraments *has* often been followed by depreciation of our Lord's Eternal Person is *a simple matter of history*. True there have been, and are, earnest believers in our Lord's Divinity who deny the realities of Sacramental grace. But experience appears to show that *their position may be only a transitional one*. For history illustrates this law of fatal declension even in cases where Sacramental belief has been far nearer to the truth than is the naturalism of Zuingli.

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[1] ϕ Trans: 'Babylon [in this context, the Church of Rome] is completely laid low: Luther destroyed the roof; Calvin destroyed the walls and Socinus the foundations.'

[2] ϕ The Revd. Professor Henry Parry Liddon (1829—1890), sometime vice-principal of Cuddesdron Theological College; sometime Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; at the time of this treatise Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture at Oxford and canon of St. Paul's Cathedral; a supporter of Tractarianism and (*inter alia*) an opponent of the anti-ritualist Church Discipline Act 1874.

> Many of the most considerable Socinian congregations in England were founded by the Presbyterians who fell away from the Church in the Seventeenth Century. Imagine that the Sacraments are only picturesque memorials of an absent Christ, and we are already in a fair way to believe that Christ Himself . . . is only and purely human. Certainly if Christ were not Divine, Sacraments *as channels of graces that flow from His Manhood* would be the wildest of fancies."[1] &c., &c. Bampton Lectures. Lect. VIII. 2.

[31]I take my stand, then, on the firm rock of Holy Scripture. To its infallible oracles I submit myself. And what does it teach? It teaches that He Who was born, Who lived here below, Who was crucified, dead and buried, Who ascended, Who is now offering and pleading His finished Sacrifice, as the Lamb slain, gives us *Himself* to be our Food in the Holy Eucharist. It is HE, and no other. He did not give His Body and Blood to be our Ransom, and then put us off with mere bread and wine as our spiritual nourishment. He does not give us the husks in place of the children's Bread. *That* which wrought our Redemption, *That* and nothing else must be our supernatural Sustenance. In the case of the Passover, and the ancient Peace-offerings, the very victim which was slain was the food of the offerer. A Lamb was not offered, and a picture of the lamb given to the worshippers to look at. They had to feed off the victim. They had, as S. Paul says, to be "partakers of the Altar," to "eat of the sacrifices": just as, now that "Christ our Passover [32] is sacrificed for us," we must "keep the Feast," and feed on Him our Great Sacrifice. No less than five times does our Lord tell us, in the sixth chapter of S. John, that His own very "Flesh and Blood" must be taken in by us, as food is, by

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[1] Although a digression, I cannot forbear to add in a note an illustration, in reference to the Sacrament of Baptism, of the way in which modern Protestantism exalts its own traditions above the teaching of the Church or of the Bible. Your Lordship doubtless knows the treatise on Regeneration put forth not long ago by Mr Fox. I wish not to breathe a word of disparagement against a brother clergyman for whom I entertain personally a warm regard and esteem. I merely refer to him as the representative of a system. The work is dedicated to the Archdeacon of Durham, with a testimonial (on the good taste of which I say nothing) [ϕ a typical example of Dykes's use of litotes: implying much by explicitly refraining from saying anything] as to his personal experiences of the New Birth. It is introduced by the Rev. Dr Winslow, of Emmanuel Church, Brighton, who describes it as "an able and exhaustive treatise," and vouches for its excellence and orthodoxy. "I know of no treatise" he writes "that surpasses the present one in the *Scriptural*, lucid, and forcible manner in which this great doctrine" of the New Birth "is discussed." The text of the volume is our Lord's saying, S. John iii. 3, "Except a man be born again, &c." Now will it be believed that, although here is an "exhaustive" treatise *explaining* these mysterious words, yet our Blessed Lord's *own* explanation of them is NEVER ONCE QUOTED. Our Lord has no sooner used the expression, "born again," than He explains it (ver. 5) by the words "born o*f Water* and of the Spirit." Mr Fox tells us that "being 'born again' is immediately after called by our Lord 'born of the Spirit;'" deliberately suppressing all mention of the earthly element *through which* the Divine Agent works. The fact is, the phrase "*Water and* the Spirit" is inconsistent with the Protestant tradition which teaches that Regeneration has nothing to do with "water." Mr Fox refers sneeringly—as "false, unscriptural and dangerous"—to "the figment commonly called baptismal regeneration," p. 159; and his patron speaks of his as an "honoured and blessed pen for exposing and refuting heresies so fatal as the baptismal and sacramental theories" (Pp xii. xxii, Pref.) In fact, these writers quietly throw to the winds the teaching of the Universal Church of CHRIST. Dr Winslow assures us that "all" the believer's "sins, past, present, AND TO COME, are entirely and for ever put away" (p. xx.); and Mr Fox, that "he who is really born of God CANNOT *apostatise*, and MUST persevere. . . There is no failure in that Birth, . . but a SURETY of *perseverance unto Eternal Life*' (pp. 158, 4.) My Lord, I ask, is this safe, in this Scriptural, is this Catholic teaching? Will you point out one of your "Ritualistic" clergy who has published anything so contrary to the plain teaching of the Church of England? I do not deny that there is much pious and earnest writing in the book. A good man cannot write a work which shall not contain much that is good. But the Gospel "scheme" here set forth is not the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST, but simply the Gospel of John Calvin.

a spiritual but real assimilation, if we would have our New Life sustained. His words gave great offence: the idea of "this Man giving His flesh to eat" was ridiculed then as it is ridiculed now. Even many of His disciples were staggered and left Him, as disciples are staggered and shut their ears to the same teaching now. But He braved the offence. He qualified nothing, He retracted nothing, He explained away nothing. He solemnly reaffirms the truth of His words, if they will not believe, they must disbelieve. He merely hints that this is no carnal eating of natural flesh; and that, before the Gift is bestowed on the Church at large, He must have "ascended up where He was before"; and that the "quickening SPIRIT" will be the Agent whereby His Humanity will be [33] endowed with these transcendent powers. For there are two distinct Mysteries in that Sacred Manhood; a twofold Union with GODHEAD — a *Personal* and a *Possessive*. The Holy Humanity is *Personally* united with GOD the WORD; and then, as a consequence (and for our sakes) *possessed*, indwelt, energised "without measure," by GOD the HOLY GHOST. It is not the pure GODHEAD that acts upon us. Man is acted on by *Man*. The Holy Humanity of GOD Incarnate is the Instrument whereby the GODHEAD works on the children of men. And the Eucharist is one special means whereby this work is carried on. If the Prophet's voice and touch made the "handful of meal" and the "little oil" capable of indefinite extension, so long as GOD willed; — If the few loaves and small fishes were sufficient to feed the universe, so long as they passed through Apostolic hands, and were sanctified by the original touch and Word of CHRIST — *Who* shall dare to limit the capacities of that Holy Body "in which dwelleth all the fulness of the GODHEAD," and pronounce that It *cannot* be, as GOD says It *is*, present at every Christian Altar, there to be memorialised before the FATHER, and there to be "given, taken and eaten" as the abiding Spiritual Food of the Lord's people "until He cometh again?" The very province of faith is, so to trust the words and power of CHRIST, so to "*believe* the promises of GOD made *in* that Sacrament," as to be able to penetrate the lowly earthly "form," and "*discern* the Lord's Body" — discern the "Res" underneath the "signum." Our Church does not bid us pray to GOD that, by gazing upon this "outward sign," we may remember Him Whom it signifies, but that we may beneficially *partake of* that invisible "*Thing*" of which the earthly element is the visible veil — "may so eat the Flesh of CHRIST and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may [34] be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed by His most precious Blood;" and that we may ever, more and more, "abide in Him and He in us."

If there is no real communion with the very Body and Blood of JESUS in the Eucharist, S. Paul's argument (Heb. xiii. 10-12), is without meaning. He argues that, whereas the Jews of old might *not* partake of their sin-offerings, we Christians *may* partake of ours. No sin-offering whose blood was presented before GOD for expiation might be eaten. It must be wholly burnt with fire (Lev. vi. 30). The Apostle specially refers to the solemn Sin-offerings on the great Day of Atonement. The bodies laden with sin were burnt outside the camp as accursed: the blood was taken into the Holiest by the High Priest, and there "offered" (Heb. ix. 7), sprinkled, memorialised, before GOD. But there might be no *feeding* on these sacrifices. In them, says S. Paul, there was but a solemn and periodical *ἀνάμνησις*, or Memorial, before GOD of *sin*; and of sin *not as yet put away*. So there could be here no *eating*, no love-feast telling of reconciliation and communion. But, blessed be GOD, this is not so with us. Our great Sin-offering died as accursed "without the camp," consumed in the fire of GOD'S wrath:

the great High Priest has taken the Blood of Atonement into the Most Holy Place: He is there *offering* (Heb. viii. 3), pleading, memorialising It before the Celestial Mercy Seat; and He will do so till this present Day of Grace or Atonement is over, and He returns again to earth. But of This we *may* eat. Of His Body, yea and of His Blood too, we may partake. "We have an Altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle." Not only on CHRIST our Passover, CHRIST our Peace-offering, CHRIST our Burnt-offering, but on CHRIST our *Sin-offering* may we feed. And [35] as in the Jewish rite there was a continuous ἀνάμνησs of sin, so in the Christian Rite there is a continuous ἀνάμνησs (for our Lord and His Apostle use the same word) of *sin put away*; or rather, of HIM Who hath put away, and is still putting away, sin. Of such a Sacrifice we may indeed eat; for while it tells of sin, it tells of sin *forgiven*. "This is My Blood shed for the Remission of sins, drink ye all of This."

It is then (I repeat) on the *reality* of That which is "given, taken, and eaten" in the Eucharist that all the significance of its sacrificial character depends.

Can GOD be satisfied with merely looking at a *Photograph*, at some barren empty sign? Does HE see nothing on the Altar but mere bread and wine? No, says S. Paul; "As often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup of the Lord," — that Bread which he has just declared to be the "Communion of the Body of CHRIST," and that Cup which is the "Communion of His Blood" — "ye do *show forth the Lord's Death* till He come." Ye all, priests and people, join in memorialising and exhibiting before the FATHER, as well as proclaiming before men, that Death. GOD sees on the Altar what CHRIST'S own words declare to *be* there — His Son's precious Body and Blood: He sees Them still pleading, still eloquent, still fresh, as on the day when the world's Sacrifice was offered. The Sacrificial Action is not over. It continues as long as the High Priest remains in the Holiest. And He has not returned yet. It is *Θνσία εις rò διηνεκὲs* (Heb. x. 12), an Offering of abiding, perpetual, inexhaustless, efficacy; sacrificially prefigured before His first Coming, Eucharistically memorialised till His Second Coming.

> "The Thing that is offered [says Dr Field, the learned Dean of Gloucester, 1609] is the Body of CHRIST, which is an Eternal and [36] perpetual Propitiatory Sacrifice, in that It was once offered by Death upon the Cross, and hath an everlasting and never ending force and efficacy. CHRIST offereth Himself, and His Body once crucified, daily in Heaven; and in this sort we too offer Him daily on the Altar."[1]

John Wesley teaches the same over and over again, e.g.:

> "There is no ordinance or Mystery that is so blessed an instrument to *set the Sacrifice of Christ forth before the eyes of God* as the Holy Communion is... To God it is an Altar whereon men mystically present to Him the same Sacrifice as *still bleeding and suing for mercy*." [And again]

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[1] Quoted by the Bishop of Brechin [ϕ Alexander Forbes (1817—1875)] in his masterly "Theological Defence." [ϕ Forbes had been accused, but was subsequently acquitted, of heresy on account of his stated views on the Eucharist. Keble testified in his defence. (See 'Forbes, Alexander' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) (CUP: Cambridge, 1910) p. 636).] It is to be observed that Dr Field here uses the word '*offer*' as S. Paul does in Heb. viii. 3; ix. 7. More than half our Eucharistic controversies are occasioned by people failing to recognise the twofold liturgical use of this word. In one sense CHRIST *offered* Himself "once for all;" in another sense He *offereth* Himself continuously "until He come again."

> "Jesus our Eternal High Priest is gone up into the true Sanctuary, and doth there continually present His own Body and Blood before God. In the meantime we, beneath in the Church, *present to God His Body and Blood in a Memorial*." [The Christian Sacrament]

So, in one of his many grand Eucharistic Hymns,[1] after speaking of the completeness of the Sacrifice on Calvary, he adds,

> "Yet may we celebrate below
> And daily thus Thine Offering *show*
> *Exposed before Thy Father's eyes*;
> In this Tremendous Mystery
> Present Thee bleeding on the Tree
> Our EVERLASTING SACRIFICE"

People cannot be too strongly reminded that the Sacrificial work of CHRIST is not *over*. S. John is permitted to see, "in the Spirit," the very central Mystery round which the entire worship of the Christian Church revolves. And he sees "a LAMB as it had been slain," with the [37] marks of sacrificial Death still fresh upon It. The Church's ceaseless pleading is, "Agnus Dei Qul *tollis* peccata mundi, Miserere nobis." HE is still ever "*taking away* the sins of the world." The actual death of the victim, of old, was only one *small part* of the sacrifice. The effectuating part of the great Sin-offering was not its death, but the continuous oblation of its blood — i.e., of its offered *life*, in the Holiest. In fact, to speak generally, the oblation, the death, the presentation of the blood before GOD, the sprinkling of the worshipper, the feeding, all formed parts of one continuous Sacrificial action. Hence the significance of the comprehensive word [Greek] for "to *offer* sacrifice;" implying, as it does, the manifoldness of the sacrificial conception, and expressing either a whole or a part of the entire Rite, as the case may be. Our translators render this word indiscriminately "sacrifice," "offer," or "*do*." It is employed some seventy times in the Old Testament in a sacrificial sense. Thus we read, "Thou shalt offer, [Greek] , every day a bullock for a sin-offering," Exod. xxix. 26. "The one lamb shalt thou offer, [Greek] , in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer, [Greek], in the evening," *ib*. 39. It is the word perpetually employed with regard to the "Sacrifice of the Lord's Passover " — the Passover being a sort of parent or archetype of all the Jewish sacrifices, and having, like the Eucharist, affinities alike with Burnt-offering, Peace-offering, and Sin-offering. S. Paul employs it when referring to the original institution of the Passover: He says of Moses, that "By faith he celebrated," or "sacrificed" [*lit*: "he *did*,"[Greek]], the Passover, Heb. xi. 28. Our Lord borrows the same old ritual word when preparing for that solemn Rite of which He says, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." He sends the follow[38]ing message to the unnamed Householder: "The Master saith, My time is at hand, I will celebrate [*lit*: "I will DO," [Greek]] the Passover at thy house with My disciples." S. Matt. xxvi. 18. (cf Acts xviii. 21). They meet together on that memorable evening. They sit down. But what? Is this a Paschal Feast? Where is the Paschal Victim? We are reminded of the words of Isaac, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is

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[1] ϕ *All hail, Redeemer of mankind*

the Lamb for the burnt-offering?" And we recall the mysterious answer, "My Son, GOD will provide HIMSELF a Lamb for the burnt-offering." GOD will give HIMSELF as the Paschal Victim. A pause is made. The Redeemer "rises from supper." A deeply significant ceremonial act is performed. The feet of the disciples are solemnly washed, as introductory to a new and more august part of the feast. And then the mystery of the absence of the typical Passover is explained by the Presence and the Self-donation of the *Real* Passover. The eyes of the Divine Celebrant are lifted up to Heaven: He blesses, He breaks, He pronounces the words of power. And lo! not mere bread and wine, not the old typical lamb, but the very " Lamb of GOD which taketh away the sins of the world," CHRIST the true Passover, is given to them to be their food: "This is My Body, take, eat:" "Drink ye all of this, for this is My Blood:" "Do this, [Greek], as a Memorial of Me: This is the Paschal Oblation which ye must henceforth "sacrifice," "celebrate," "offer," or "DO." The shadow has already passed away, the Substance has come.

But not with the Passover only, but with the whole ancient sacrificial system the Eucharist allied. In fact, there is *not a single word* employed by our Lord or by S. Paul in regard to that august Mystery, which has not a former history in connection with the sacrificial rites of [39] the Old Covenant: and it is impossible to understand the one without the help of the other.[1]

All these solemn Eucharistic conceptions, which would be familiar to those who had the ancient sacrificial system before their eyes, were preserved to the Church by means of her Liturgies and Ritual. For the Eucharist is not only a Doctrine, it is an Action: it is not only a Mystery but a solemn Rite: we are not only to believe but to DO something. The Eucharist was from the first the one great Central Service of the Church. The disciples did not meet together "on the first day of the week" to hear a sermon, even from S. Paul; but to *break the Bread* (Acts xx. 7). All the lesser services were subordinated to, and gradually clustered round, the Great Service. And no sooner did the Church begin, under the guidance of the Indwelling SPIRIT, to settle her Ritual, than we find her at once manifesting her earnest belief (as testified by the ancient Liturgies of the Universal Church) in the simple truth of her Lord's Eucharistic words, and her intense desire reverently to guard and embody and express that belief. We see the miserable effects of the loss of Catholic Ritual amongst modern Protestants: it has led to the loss of Catholic *Truth*. To regard the Eucharist in any way as a Sacrifice, is deemed by them heresy. *To believe in the truth of our Lord's own words* is denounced by them as *Popery!*

No doubt very much of this is to be laid to the door of the Church of Rome herself. For Protestant infidelity is simply a reaction from Romish superstition. Rome [40] has been the original Eucharistic offender. She has ceased to DO what CHRIST enjoined; no wonder if she has ceased to believe what CHRIST would have her believe. There is no more strange and mysterious spectacle in Christendom than to see this great Church deliberately interfering with the Institution of CHRIST, breaking in upon the Ritual of universal Christendom,

[1] Moreover, independently of the fulfilment on the part of our Lord of the old Aaronic Priesthood, we must remember that in Him is realised a still older and more august Priesthood also—the Royal Priesthood "after the order of Melchizedek," the actual material of whose Offering is perpetuated in the "outward part" of the Eucharist.

mutilating the channels of Grace, and cutting off the whole Christian people (save only the officiating Priests) from the Chalice of Salvation, of which our Lord commanded "Drink ye *all* of this !" One of the most positive precepts of the old Dispensation was this, that whereas the *flesh* of the sacrifices might be partaken of, there might be no participation in the *blood*. The law was peremptory: if any soul dared to partake of the blood, " that soul shall be cut off from his people." "I will set My face against that soul, and will cut him off." "For the *life* of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul" (Lev. vii. 27; xvii.. 10-14). The blood, we see, was the instrument of Atonement; and while Atonement was yet unaccomplished, and GOD and man were still *not* "at one," there could be no refreshing fellowship between them in *that* which was only the sad memorial of sin and death. Again, the blood is the vehicle of natural life: and there could be no real communion between the life of a being created in the image of GOD, and that of the irrational creature; between the spirit of man which goeth upwards, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth" (Eccles. iii. 21). But the Blood of our great Sacrifice is the Blood of Incarnate GOD; it is the Memorial of accomplished Atonement; It is to us the vehicle of the Eternal SPIRIT of GOD. Hence on Maundy Thursday the old ritual law [41] was solemnly reversed: the interdict was changed into a positive command. Drink ye *not*, was transfigured into, Drink ye *all*.[1] And yet, notwithstanding the explicit injunction of CHRIST on this point, and notwithstanding that the Church Universal in her public Ritual for at least a thousand years religiously obeyed her Lord's dying precept, Rome has since, on her own responsibility, *countermanded the order!* By this presumptuous act — this authoritative perpetuation of what one of her early Popes[2] called a "*grande Sacrilegium*" — she has for ever shown that in Eucharistic matters *she is not to be trusted*.

And this brings me to her suspicious tenet of *Transubstantiation* — a tenet which, as a mere abstract philosophical speculation, may be susceptible of a harmless interpre[42]tation, but which practically has been the means of producing serious error and confusion in the

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[1] Another reason would seem to be this. Life is peculiarly GOD'S portion in Creation. The primeval law of food, while giving the fruits of the earth to man, reserved life to GOD. The sacrifices expressively pictured and preserved this idea. In these, the "Meat-offering" (typifying the fulfilment of the Second Table, man's duty to man) consisted of the fruits of the earth, man's portion: Whereas the "Burnt-offering" (typifying the fulfilment of the First Table, man's lifelong self-oblation to GOD), together with the principal Peace-offerings and Sin-offerings, consisted of animal sacrifices—the flesh of some of these, the blood of all, being reserved for GOD. Creature life is not due to the creature, but to the Creator. We are to give up our lives for others, but not to others. CHRIST offered Himself to GOD for us: we are to do the same for the brethren. Cain's offering is not enough by itself. We owe to man our service, to GOD our life. But now, wondrous Mystery! the Life of GOD not only was given for us, but is given to us. We offer our lives to GOD; GOD Incarnate offers back His Own sacrificed Life—His very Life-Blood—to us. This is My Blood, My Life—Drink ye all of It. If Rome's repudiation of this "unspeakable Gift" is not a "counting the Blood of the Covenant a common thing," I know not what is!

[2] Pope Gelasius, A.D. 492-6. "*Divisio* unius ejusdemque Mysterii *sine grandi sacrilegio* non potest provenire." [ϕ 'The Eucharist could not, without sacrilege, be received in one kind only' (translation from Mason, H.J.M. *Religion of the Ancient Irish Saints* (Goodwin: Dublin, 1838) p. 84)] This passage is inserted in the Roman Canon Law. So that Rome stands condemned by her own Law, no less than by the Law of GOD.

Eucharistic belief and practice of Western Christendom. Our laity often imagine that when the Church of England repudiates the dogma of Transubstantiation, she rejects the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of CHRIST in the Sacrament. Heaven forbid! Our Church tells us exactly what she does condemn under this term — "Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of the bread and wine." She condemns the notion that the bread and wine lose, by Consecration, their natural subsistence; that the Presence of the "Ghostly Substance"[1] involves the desition (*sic*) or annihilation of the earthly substance. And she does this on two grounds: because (1.) it conflicts with Holy Scripture; and (2.) it "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament" (1.) It conflicts with Scripture; because our Lord definitely speaks of the consecrated elements as bread and wine. (2.) It overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament; because a Sacrament consists of two parts, a natural and a supernatural; whereas if the natural part is destroyed or absorbed, it will consist only of one. But, my Lord, these are exactly the grounds on which the modern Protestant theory is self-condemned. (1.) It conflicts with Holy Scripture; this I have shown. (2.) It "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament;" because it denies the verity of the "*Res*,"[2] or "Inward [43] Part," as the Roman does of the "*signum*," or "outward part." The argument which refutes the Roman theory crushes the Protestant theory to powder. The ancient Church had to defend the Mystery of the Incarnation against misbelievers, by appealing to the Eucharist; the Modem Church has to defend the Mystery of the Eucharist against misbelievers by appealing to the Incarnation. For the two Mysteries are strictly parallel. As the Divine and Human Natures co-exist in Hypostatic union in our Lord's Sacred Person, so do the Spiritual and natural substances co-exist in Sacramental union in the Eucharist: neither is absent: neither is absorbed into the other. Transubstantiation is, in the case of the Eucharist, what Eutychianism was in the case of the Incarnation:[3] each supposes a sort of absorption of the earthly part into the Heavenly, thus destroying the integrity of one part or side of the two-fold Mystery.

It is strange to see how Protestantism merely attempts to overturn one error by substituting an error far more serious.

To hear the Protestant admonishing the Romanist on the reverence due to Holy Scripture, and on the all-importance of *faith*, would be ludicrous, were not the subject so serious. Here is an example. Our Lord says, Drink ye all of this, for this is My Blood. The Romanist says, This is My Blood, but drink ye *not* all of It. The Protestant replies, Drink ye all of it, but this is *not* My Blood! The one party declines to *do*, the other to *believe*, What CHRIST said. And each condemns the other.

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[1] The Meat we seek for in this Supper is spiritual Food; a Heavenly refection, and not earthly; a *Ghostly* SUBSTANCE, and not carnal," &c. [Homily concerning the Sacrament, let part.]

[2] It should be remembered that in Baptism there is no "*Res*." In the case of Baptism, the Church speaks of (1) an outward sign, and (2) an effect. In the case of the Lord's Supper, she speaks of (1) an outward sign, (2) an invisible *Thing*, and (3) an effect which this Sacred Thing produces. Our Lord does not say that Water *is* the Holy Spirit: He does say that the Wine in the Eucharist *is* His Blood. The Three Mysterious Witnesses on earth are "the SPIRIT and the *Water*, and [not the *Wine* but] the BLOOD " — the "Blood of the Covenant."

[3] See Bishop Andrewes' sixteenth Sermon on the Nativity, near the end.

And where, let me ask, is the real *faith* of those who are for ever crying up the all-sufficiency of faith? Our [44] dear Lord, well knowing the strain He was about to put on the simple faith of His Church, was at great pains to prepare her for the trial. Being about to close His Ministry by an invisible conversion of wine into Blood, He opens it by showing His power in a visible conversion of water into wine. Look also at the significant miracles of the loaves. On two separate occasions He touched and blessed the earthly element of bread, and at once it became possessed of new and supernatural powers. Bread becomes "Living Bread;" the food of one grows into the food of an indefinite multitude. His people *see with their eyes* the miracle, and they *believe*. But lo! a third time He touches and blesses the earthly element, and again it becomes possessed of new and supernatural powers: again bread becomes "Living Bread," but in a deeper and more mysterious sense — yea it has become (without losing its natural form and subsistence) the very Body of GOD Incarnate. But this time the change is removed from the region of sense: men cannot see it: they have only His WORD for it: so *they refuse to believe!*

I have thus then, my Lord, (I fear at wearisome length), referred to the *third* error which your Lordship imagines to be implicitly involved in the Eastward position of the Priest at the Holy Table — the objective *reality* of the Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in His Mysteries.

I would gladly at once conclude: only there are several things which, as I have taken upon me to address you, I feel I ought to add. And first, I do not wish your Lordship to imagine that I am insensible to the possible dangers attendant on the free and unconditioned expression of belief in the doctrine of the Real Presence. All Catholic truths must be carefully and reverently [45] handled; the whole history of Christian dogma is a continuous warning how narrow may be the line which separates truth from error; and I am far from being unaware that there have been in recent times instances here and there of the use of language respecting the Blessed Eucharist scarcely consistent with Catholic verity.

I have noticed occasional tendencies to speak of the sacramental union between the "*Res*" and the "*Signum*" in the Eucharist, as though it were not only parallel and analogous to, but in some sort *identical* with, the Hypostatic Union; whereas it by no means follows that what may be predicated of one Union may be predicated of the other. The Union between the GODHEAD and Manhood, between the "*Res*" and the " *Signum*," between soul and body, between the New Man and the old man in the regenerate Christian — each is a Union, unique, *sui generis*, and unlike any other. Thus the Union between the GODHEAD and Manhood in CHRIST is an *abiding* and *Personal* Union: that between the "Ghostly" and natural substances in the Eucharist is neither abiding nor Personal; it is but *temporary* and *possessive*. The Humanity of the Son of GOD "cannot see corruption;" whereas the elements decay. Hence there can be no permanent Incarnation of GOD-incarnate, involving a worship directed to the elements themselves, as to a localised. Deity — "GOD manifest in Bread."

Again, there has been just a *tendency*, perhaps, amongst some to favour the theory of Rome, that there is no absolute *need* for Christians to receive the "Blood of the Covenant," because if they receive the Body they *must* receive the Blood also. It is needless to say, however, that this is a mere piece of natural, carnal reasoning, and that our Lord Himself taught directly otherwise. He did not say of the Bread, "This is My Body *and* My [46] Blood." The Blood

has its own special medium of communication. And the careful separation of body and blood in the ancient sacrifices points to some distinct Mystery in each, necessitating their separate bestowal.[1]

Now in these and kindred matters it is only fitting that our Bishops, as well as our Fathers in the Faith, and our older Divines, *should* exercise a watchful care over the theological language of the day. All will acknowledge how necessary this may be for the sake of us all — clergy and laity, writers and readers. But how different such discriminating care, to the wearisome and wholesale denunciation of everything which does not square with the shallow popular Protestantism of the day, as Popery. What feeling, for instance, save one, of wrong and injury, if not of resentment, can be awakened among the clergy, when they find themselves utterly misunderstood and misrepresented by their Bishops: like one of ourselves recently in this Diocese — one beloved and revered amongst us, one bearing a noble and historic name, than whom a more loyal and honourable Churchman does not exist — whose conscientious inability to obey the Purchas judgment, was thus cruelly interpreted by your Lordship to a parishioner of his own who objected to the Eastward position. "*No amount of legal proceedings will make the foolish or the traitor to his Church loyal, or the Jesuit honest.*"[2]

[47]

I believe, my Lord, that there is not one single High Church clergyman in this Diocese who is not true, to his heart's core, to the Church of England; not one who does not earnestly desire, in reference to the Mystery of the Eucharist, to hold and teach simply what our Spiritual Mother, and the Church Universal to which she always appeals, hold and teach.

My Lord, we hear a great deal of the *Romeward* movement in the Church of England. The slightest development in a High Church direction is at once put down as a desire to imitate *Rome.* The lay Address and your Lordship's Reply, which have occasioned the present Letter, may serve as an example. And I, for one, would be the last person to underrate the real (and possibly increasing) power of Rome. I cannot look at her mysterious past history, her grand organisation, her wondrous fascination, and think lightly of her influence. But this I will say, that the real aiders and partisans of Rome are those who would in any way rob the Church of England of one vestige of her Catholicity, or weaken the outward expression of that Catholicity; who would drag her down from her high and holy position, as a sound Branch of CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church, with a past history of 1,800 years, into a miserable Protestant Sect of yesterday; who would strive to divest her of her Priesthood, of her life-giving Sacraments, of her "power of the Keys," of all the essential things which discriminate the Church, as the visible Representative of CHRIST in the world, from any institution of man;

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[1] A subject of profound and mysterious interest is here approached, on which my space forbids me now to enter—I mean the possibly *bloodless* state of the Spiritual Body ("flesh and *blood* cannot inherit the Kingdom of GOD"). Our Lord's Resurrection Body has "flesh and bones" (S. Luke xxiv. 39), but has it *Blood*? See a most interesting excursus in Bengel's Gnomon on Heb. xii. 24. Tom. ii. pp. 469-477. See Note B. at the end of this Letter.

[2] See "Correspondence between the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham and the Rev, and Hon. F. R. Grey, Rector of Morpeth." (Longhurst: London, 1873).

and would convert her into a weak, nerveless thing, bearing on her dishonoured front the name "Ichabod." The world is ever seeking to laugh the Church out of her old superstitions; it wishes to see her, Sampson-like, *shorn of her seven locks*, in order that, from being a mighty giant, she may become a blind, imbecile captive.
[48]
What power have the Protestant Sects against Rome or infidelity? We have a fresh Sect about every week. And what force and sway will they have singly or collectively, in the long run, to stem the approaching torrent of error and lawlessness, the muttering of whose distant surge may even now be dimly heard? Is the past career of Calvinism an encouraging one? How much of Christianity is now taught in the pulpits of the Founders of that new Gospel? "Rome," (writes a thoughtful Presbyterian traveller)[1] "has still superstition: *Geneva has not even the semblance of religion*." The late Bishop of Exeter,[2] referring to the apostasy from the Faith of the "Venerable Company of Pastors" at Geneva, as testified by Dr Merle d'Aubigné, hesitated not to designate them, in his vigorous language, as "*a brood of Antichrists*."

The Church of England is a strong bulwark against Rome, *just in proportion* as she is Catholic — Catholic in Faith, Catholic in practice, Catholic in doctrine, and Catholic in Ritual; for Ritual protects Doctrine. The body that is doing the work of the Church of Rome most effectually in this country is the wretched Persecution Society, miscalled the "*Church* Association," whose sole business it is to degrade, weaken, and stir up "confusion and every evil work" in, the alone Power in Western Christendom that can cope with Rome.

The only way to account for the fatal infatuation of this "residuum" of the grand old Evangelical party is to suspect that Rome, if not at the bottom of, is at least a most active partisan in, their unholy work of dragging the Church of England through the mire. History tells us that in past times the "No Popery" cry has been one of the most favourite and successful cries with unscrupu[49]lus Roman enemies of the Church of England. Let Rome only persuade the people of England that the doctrines of the Priesthood, of Apostolical

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1 'Notes of a Traveller,' by Samuel Laing, Esq

2 ϕ Henry Phillpotts (1778—1869). Once again, Dykes cites an authority scarcely likely to impress Bishop Baring. A controversial High Church man little regarded for his tact, diplomacy or judgment, his obituarist did nothing to downplay his weaknesses. 'It would be impossible to record here a tithe of the contests in which the Bishop was engaged, or to give a list of his voluminous writings…In his western diocese he was always "in hot water" with some one or other of his clergy, so that it was said that the peace of the Church was more continually broken in Devonshire and Cornwall that throughout the rest of the kingdom. To the end he was ready to do battle for his Church; and it is hard to believe that if another Gorham case had arisen [ϕ in a mirror image of the conflict currently being played out in Durham, the High Church Phillpotts had declined to present to a living in his diocese the evangelical George Gorham—a conflict which, unlike its Durham counterpart, resolved itself firmly in favour of the junior man] to the very last he would not have buckled on again his *arma vix diu desuetu,* and fought the good fight afresh. Fierce, fiery, and intolerant of opposition to a fault, and sincere and earnest in an age which is not remarkable for earnestness in religion [ϕ an odd assertion to make at the height of the internecine conflict between ritualists and anti-ritualists], he held to the last to the *via media* of the Anglican Church as the strongest safeguard against Romish and Calvinistic errors, and probably rejoiced to die like Ken and Laud and scores of High Church prelates of the Stuart times, expressing his firm faith in the Anglo-Catholic Church as essentially one and the same in doctrine and faith with the undivided Church of the first five centuries of the Christian era. Well, at length he rests from his labours side by side with Archbishop Sumner and Mr Gorham. Let us write on his tomb one simple word, Requiescat.' *The Times*, 20 September 1869, p. 5.

Succession, of Sacerdotal Absolution, of the Real Presence, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c. are mere Popish figments, that the Church of England has wisely and deliberately rejected them, and that *she* alone in the West has retained them; — let her solemnly warn us against these Popish superstitions; let her denounce the "Sacerdotal and Sacramentarian theory," as the Rev. Octavius Winslow does in Mr Fox's Preface, as *in direct and virulent antagonism to the Christian Faith*" (!) until she has succeeded in fully convincing our people that we have no Priests, no Altar, no Eucharistic Sacrifice, no Succession; and that we are simply a pure, scriptural, Protestant Establishment, invented by Henry VIII, dependent for our Faith and Doctrine and Ritual and very existence on the will of the State; — she will have gained her point. See her then quietly turning round and saying, Here you are self-condemned; you have lost all the essentials of a Church, you are confessedly no organic part of the Divine Society, you are a Protestant Sect and nothing more; let all Catholics come to *me*; I alone possess the Sacraments in their fulness; I alone have the Succession, and the Power of the Keys; I alone can bless, absolve, excommunicate, teach, in the Name of CHRIST; I alone am His one living Representative on earth.

It is well known that Baxter himself in his latter days was strongly impressed with the notion that *Rome* was at the bottom of much of the anti-Popery agitation in his own time. Especially, he expressed his strong Conviction that she had "had a finger in the pie. . . in the extirpation of Episcopacy." And he records his earnest persuasion that the Sectarianism of Protestants has done [50] more to "make Papists in England" than "all the arguments in Bellarmine and all other books that ever were written."[1]

It is not a little significant, in this light, to hear Monsignor Capel and other Romish proselytizers joining in the cry against 'Ritualism,' and endeavouring to scare the people of London by assuring them how fast it is drawing converts to Rome. The truth being simply this, that the present great Movement in the Church of England — of which Ritualism is one slight outward manifestation — has done, and is doing, more to check the onward march of Rome in this country than any movement since the Reformation. Hence Rome's secret dislike and dread of it.

But, my Lord, Rome is not the worst enemy we have to fear. There is something *behind* Rome; something more dreadful than Rome. I mean Protestant *infidelity* — an infidelity which begins by denying the Church, and goes on to deny the Divine Head of the Church. The Church is CHRIST manifest in the World. S. Paul gives the very name "CHRIST" to His Mystical Body. And be tells us that, just as GOD Himself is One, so the Mystical Body the Church is One, her Faith One, her Baptism One:[2] she is possessed of an organic unity, although, like the Vine, or the seven-fold Candlestick, she has many separate Branches. There can no more be separate *Bodies* or separate *Faiths* than there can be separate GODS. And the "One Faith" was "once for all" committed to the "One Body," to hold and teach and formulate and guard and contend for, and hand reverently down, unmutilated, unaugmented.

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1 See Lathbury's 'History of the Book of Common Prayer.' 1858. P. 264.

2 Eph. iv. 4-6; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 27.

[51]
The Divine Mission and Supernatural Power of the Church is every whit as much a Catholic verity as the Divine Mission and Supernatural Power of CHRIST. "*As* My Father hath sent Me, *even so* send I you." [1] He says that, by virtue of His Own accession of Power as Man on His Ascension, His Church should be able to do, not only the works which He Himself did on earth, but even, through the Might of the Indwelling SPIRIT, "*greater works*"[2] than His Own. The denial of the Church is as much a heresy as the denial of CHRIST: the former, moreover, is the inevitable prelude to the latter.

I do not for a moment presume to deny that the more orthodox Sects have done and are doing real work in bringing souls to CHRIST: GOD prosper their work, so far as it is carried on in the faith of that dear Lord Who hath said, "He that is not against us is on our part!" There are "other little ships"[3] following in the wake of CHRIST'S Ship, and sharing indirectly its blessing. But we must not turn CHRIST, Jonah like, out of our midst, in order that we may be like them: else, where should both we and they drift to? The Sects little know how much they owe to the Church.

Suppose we yield to their advice, and set to work, as many of the Irish, and English, laity would do, to purge ourselves, from our "baptismal and sacramental *heresies*";[4] suppose we honestly act out the anti-sacerdotal advice of our Protestant friends, and do away with our Priesthood, *name* and *thing*, by abandoning the farce of Episcopal ordination; suppose we follow the persuasive [52] eloquence of Mr. Spurgeon, who is in high repute as "speaking with the tongue of men and Angels," and who declares that "he had rather be called demon than Priest"; — how, I ask, would the Sects permanently benefit themselves by the longed-for spectacle of our humiliation and degradation? We and they should soon perish together. And richly we should deserve it!

The One Body has "nourishment ministered" through the sacramental "joints and bands"[5] ordained by CHRIST. If the organism is broken up, the Body decays. A waning life may linger on for a time; but the body is dying, and must fall to pieces. And where the Body is not, the Faith is not. The Spirit of Life and Truth dwells in the Body; not in disjointed limbs. Severance from the Body results in severance from the SPIRIT that dwells in the Body. "These be they who *separate* themselves; sensual *having not the Spirit*"[6] And thus will Protestantism more and more break up and fall to pieces, more and more lose faith and truth and love: yes, and become more and more embittered against that Faith which she has, Judas-like, betrayed and lost. Rome may "chastise us with whips": infidel Protestantism will "chastise us with

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1 S. John xx. 21. Again, "As Thou hast sent Me into the world even so have I also sent them into the world." Ib. xvii. 18.

2 S. John xiv. 12.

3 S. Mark iv. 36. Cf. Ps. xlv. 14.

4 Mr Fox's Preface, p. xxii.

5 Col. ii. 19; Eph. iv. 16.

6 S. Jude, ver. 19.

scorpions." The one may give birth to the imperious *Harlot*, who saith 'I sit as a Queen':[1] the other will give birth to the *Anti-Christ*,[2] [53] by whom not only shall the Harlot be destroyed, but the very name of Christianity for a time be almost obliterated from the face of the earth.

But before these last days of the Church's trial, Holy Scripture seems to predict a mighty Revival of Truth, a mighty extension of the visible Kingdom of CHRIST.[3]

And what shall be the result?

As the presence of Incarnate TRUTH in the world brought to a head all the powers of evil, within and without the Church, to crush Him; so shall it be in the case of the revived Truth of the latter days. The Devil and the world have let the Church alone of late, because she has been asleep. She has offended nobody — not even the great Enemy himself over-much. But the active Revival of Catholic Truth *must* reawaken the old hatred of the world and its Prince. The Evil one "shall have great wrath, knowing that his time is short." And the Faithful Remnant, like her Lord, shall triumph through suffering. She may be (*and will be*) disestablished, stripped, degraded, despised, persecuted. But through this "great Tribulation" shall she triumphantly win her way to the "Kingdom and the Power and the Glory *for ever*."

But the Night has not come yet. It is still Day: and the Church is bidden to work while the day lasts. But [54] we may even yet see signs of the powers of evil restlessly bestirring themselves, and "taking counsel against the Lord and His Anointed," trying here and there and everywhere to impede the good work, and arrest the onward march of the Catholic Movement.

Who, for instance, can witness the renewed malignant attempt to worry the faithful Priest of S. Alban's, Holborn,[4] without recognizing the REAL *source* of the opposition, and instinctively feeling *who* is the *true* invisible Aggrieved Parishioner! Where the Devil, a few short years ago, held his throne in peace, there CHRIST has now His Altar. Where sounds of blasphemy, obscenity and malediction arose to the skies, there do the sweet hymns and psalms and Eucharists of the Church ascend. The ritual of Hell has had to make way before the Ritual of Heaven. And the old 'Parishioner' is 'aggrieved'! And no wonder. The strong man chafes under the might of the Stronger. So he seeks by craft to mar the work, and harass

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1 Rev. xvii.

2 Rev. xiii.; 2 Thess. ii. The prediction of S. Gregory the Great (lib. 7, Ep. 33), when viewed in connection with the actual past history of Christendom, and her mysterious future as mirrored in the pages of Inspiration, is not a little strange and startling. "I confidently affirm that whosoever calls himself or desires to be called *Universal* Priest, in his pride *goes before Anti-Christ*." Note: he does not *identify* this Ecclesiastical Autocrat with Anti-Christ; but he says that the former will precede, and *prepare the way for*, the latter. Verily, "being High Priest, he prophesieth." For what did the breaking of Christendom (which leads on, as its final and bitter result, to the intolerable despotism of Anti-Christ) originate in, but in a general reaction from the illicit usurpations and uncatholic domination of Rome? It is the old, old story—overstretched authority leading to lawlessness, and this to a worse despotism. The Rule of CHRIST, if abused, leads on, through the lawlessness of the latter days, to the dread tyranny of Satan and his Viceregent, the Mock-Christ, the "Man of Sin." The infidel Power will at first energetically uphold the waning cause of the Mystical *Woman*, and so gain prestige and strength. She helps him to power; he at last turns round and crushes her, and tramples her to the dust.

3 Rev. xiv. 6, 7.

4 ϕ Alexander Heriot Mackonochie. See p. 116 *supra*.

CHRIST'S Minister. He gets good men to help him: for he talks like a very "Angel of Light." He is much distressed now about the *Law*. The Priest is no doubt a very devoted clergyman: but he does not keep the *law*; and the law *must* be obeyed. When the King gives an order, it will never do for Daniel to disregard it; and, not only to pray, but to pray several times a day; and worst of all, in a certain significant *posture*: it is very sad, — but the peace and safety of the country demand that he should go to the Den of lions!

And this, my Lord, is but an example of what is going on all around. The agitated cry passes from mouth to mouth, — The Church, the Country, the Queen, Protestantism, Everything, Everybody is in danger! "Something must be done" to put a stop to Ritualism! And the Press, the Pulpit, the Senate, the Bench, with varied [55] emphasis, re-echo the cry, "Something *must* be done!" And the result seems very likely to verify Lord Melbourne's saying, that when people act because "*something* must be done," they are sure to do "something" very foolish.

The cry of "aggrieved parishioners" is an utterly false and hollow cry. Where are they? Who knows any? How many, for instance, of the 3,000 in this Diocese who signed the Address to your Lordship have a *real*, veritable, substantial grievance? No doubt there is not a Parish in the land in which there are not some half-dozen people who make it a point of conscience to disapprove of something the clergyman does. But who and where are the aggrieved parishioners in these Northern parts? To talk about the " ultra-Ritualism " of a Diocese over-run with Puritanism is simply an outrage on common sense. But we find that, nowadays, everybody is very much concerned for *everybody else*. The lawlessness of which we hear so much, which is driving the laity so fast from the Church, and to check which "something MUST be done," is *never at home*: it is always elsewhere. What Bishop, during the recent debates, could give one single veritable instance, from his own experience, of an aggrieved congregation? The Bishop of Peterborough assures us there is nothing in *his own* Diocese: but that there are very awful things in some other places. The Archbishop of Canterbury has nothing wrong in Canterbury; only he hears that some wicked priests, nobody knows where, use Altar cards which contain invocations to the Saints (a simple untruth!). The Archbishop of York had nothing at home to produce — no single instance of a congregation seeking redress from the lawlessness of a Ritualistic priest — but he horrifies the House with a sensational account of some terrible priest in the Diocese of [56] *Winchester*, who had erected a stone Altar to the Blessed Virgin; and done I know not what beside. Of course, a few days after, a letter appeared from the clergyman referred to, denying seriatim the truth of his Grace's statements. We are always hearing of congregations leaving the Church in disgust, and of the Church being weakened: but we can never find them. The *real* grievance, my Lord, is not that the Church is being weakened, but that the Church is being *strengthened*, is attracting, is gaining hold of the people. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.*

The truth is simply this. The Devil knows well, what every observant and unprejudiced person must see, that the Ritual movement is helping on the cause of Religion, and making it rather more popular; whereas he wishes it to be unpopular. He likes religion and religious Worship to be a sour, gloomy, unattractive thing. GOD, Who made man, and Who knows what is in man, when He lovingly condescended to reveal to us His mind on the subject of

public Worship, encouraged His people to make their religion as attractive as possible. He encouraged — yea commanded — the use of beautiful Music, and Ritual, and Incense, and Vestments; of everything innocently attractive. He well knew how the spirit is being ever dragged down by the senses to earth. He wished to enlist even the very senses themselves in His service, and make them auxiliary in raising the spirit Heavenward.[1]
[57]
The only Public Worship our dear Lord Himself ever took part in was of a highly ornate and ceremonial character. And what GOD teaches, is merely what the natural instinct of plain common sense dictates. Where would the Court be without its Ritual? Where would be the Army, or the Law?

Now the Devil wishes practically to persuade us, that when GOD taught and sanctioned and commanded a beautiful Ritual, *He made a great mistake*; he tries to impress upon us that, because "GOD is a Spirit," therefore *man* must regard himself as only spirit, and must eschew all external helps, and must have a purely *spiritual* religion, in which the body and the senses shall have no share. He wishes GOD'S public Service to have nothing stately or grand about it, to help us to realise the *Majesty* of GOD; nothing sweet and inviting, to help us to realise His *loveliness*; no single memorial of the Passion, not even the Symbol of Salvation, to tell of a Divine *Sympathy* strong as Death. All use of flowers, expressive hymns, banners, processions, sweet music, he would at [58] once discard. He wishes the poor to come to *him* for everything pleasant; he wishes to associate the Religion of JESUS with everything stiff, formal, dull, uninteresting. Any Ritual but the Ritual of the Church he delights in; all the pomp and pageantry of earth, all that can conduce to *man's* glorification, he will encourage; but all that tends to the glory of GOD Incarnate, every vestige of the "Beauty of Holiness," he would suppress and "stamp out." For Satan well knows that no mere unembodied sentiment can retain its hold on the popular mind: hence his steady opposition to all efforts to externalise and give living expression to Catholic Doctrine. He hopes to dwarf and stunt Church life by allowing it no free outward development. But no, please GOD. The Church is alive: and a living Body *will not* be treated like a corpse. If the Church of England is — what she *is* — a real Branch of the Holy Catholic Church, she must be an organ of the ONE manifold SPIRIT of

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[1] "In its ordinary state," says a thoughtful writer, "the soul is weighed down by the senses; the multitude of objects ever acting on the senses enthral the soul, and Prevent it from soaring to things spiritual and divine. It requires a great effort to break this thraldom, and this effort is facilitated by the impressions made on the senses by the Ceremonial of public Worship. The senses are thus used against the senses, not to ensnare and captivate the soul naturally free, but to *set free the soul naturally captive*. The great pageant of things temporal ever before the eyes is, for a time, effaced by the imagery of things invisible.. . . . Faith creates a Ceremonial, a living embodiment of its own thoughts and feelings, which then *helps* Faith in its turn in the contest against the lies and treachery of sense." The writer (whose words I have been obliged to weaken by curtailment) proceeds to quote the testimony of "the gallant Major Hodson, the hero of Delhi," from his 'Twelve Years of {a} Soldier's Life in India,' who writes: "The more I think of it, the more strongly I feel the effects of mere external sights and sounds on the inner and better man. . . . . The wisdom and piety of our ancestors constructed noble and stately Temples—feeling, justly, that the human mind in its weakness requires to be *called to the exercise of devotion* by the *senses* as well as by the reason and will. . . . I am sure you would feel this more strongly than 1 do, were you to live for a time in a country where *everything but Religion has its living and existent memorials and evidence*." See 'In Spirit and in Truth: an Essay on the Ritual of the New Testament,' pp. 36-8. Longmans. 1869.

GOD. She must have her affinities, and be allowed the free expression of her affinities, with all genuine forms and outcomes of Spiritual Life, whether in Rome, or Greece, or in the Protestant sects.[1]

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She must be able to sympathise with all that is good and true in them, and so be a real Peacemaker among them. Unity is not maintained, but only destroyed, by the enforcement of a rigid uniformity. Every attempt to suppress the free workings of the multiform SPIRIT in the Church, and to coerce intelligent Christianity into a system of dry monotonous formalism, is an insult to the Divine SPIRIT Himself; who, in nature and in Grace, has myriads of modes of self-manifestation; who, though Himself ONE, has "many voices;" addressing every separate people and set of people "each in their own tongue;" adapting Himself to all classes, cold, intellectual, ignorant, warm, emotional, practical, mystical; with the weak becoming weak; making Himself "all things to all men, if by any means He may save some." How, in her purer and more palmy days, did the Church of Rome maintain her sway over such multitudes, but by the practical recognition of this great truth? Just in proportion as she has sought — by the suppression of national usages and Liturgies — to exchange a free cohesive unity of spirit for a stiff disintegrating uniformity of letter, she has failed.

Now, my Lord, a Diocese is an epitome of the whole Church. The first essential, then, of a Bishop *quâ* Bishop [60] (assuming his personal piety and soundness in the Faith) is that he should be a thorough *Catholic*, with wide sympathies, willing to give full and generous play to every phase of real Church Life in his Diocese. A Bishop is a Representative of the Catholicity of the Universal Church, not of the peculiar prejudices of one narrow section of Church-people. And any attempt to govern a Diocese on sectarian rather than on broad, generous, Catholic principles — any attempt to suppress and cramp the free exercise of the marvellous self-adapting Power of the Church to meet the ever-varying forms of human need, and to enforce one dull stereotyped monotony of outward worship and observance — must be absolutely fatal to all healthy life and growth. A Bishop has no moral *right* to be the mere Bishop of a party. In his general administration, in his distribution of Patronage, he acts for

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[1] That this is the true explanation of what may seem to be spirit of *compromise* which characterises our Prayer Book is historically certain. Let the well-known language of our 30th Canon, and our Church's open profession of sympathy with everything really Catholic in the Churches of "Italy, France, Spain, and Germany," &c. &c., bear witness. As a Branch of the Catholic Church, she has an inherited right to all the beautiful and expressive Ceremonial of the Church. But she is full of consideration for the "weaker brethren" whom the necessities of the times have committed to her fostering care, and who have been driven into a puritanical dread of all Ceremonial through reaction from the uncatholic developments and excesses of Rome. Thus, for instance, although our proper legal Eucharistic vestments are the old Pre-reformation ones (the "Ornaments Rubric" having been wittingly and deliberately, and in expressed defiance of Puritanical remonstrance, retained at the last Revision), yet she will not insist on their universal adoption; she will be satisfied with the plain surplice. In the same spirit she possibly [60] leaves an alternative position for the Priest at the Altar. So, again, she retains the old wafer bread; but says that, where prejudice is strong, the ordinary bread "may suffice" (there is irrefragable evidence to show that this is the real meaning of the expression). She will deal very tenderly with all honest scruples. But now, forsooth, through long-continued laxity and toleration and non-enforcement of the higher standard of Church Ritual, the "weaker brethren" have been allowed to become inveterately confirmed in their "weakness": and, instead of being thankful for the toleration they have enjoyed, are wishing to refuse toleration to any beside themselves, and with the ineradicable intolerance of Puritanism to persecute and cast out all who adhere to the genuine "Principles of the Reformation."

the whole Church, and not in the interests of a particular clique. Had any High Church Bishop exercised his right of *Patronage* as your Lordship has, filling up every single living, every office of trust and dignity (with scarce a solitary exception), with men of his own peculiar views — conceive the cry that would have been raised by the Evangelicals at his unfairness and bigotry.

[1]Our very Church Architecture bears witness to the same attempt to limit all expressions of Church Life to one narrow type. No single Diocese in the country has suffered so much as ours in this respect. Compare the dignified Chancels and Sanctuaries of multitudes of our grand Southern Churches with the miserable Sanctuaries of our modern Northern ones, whether new or restored. In this Diocese, be the Church large or small, stately or simple, be the necessities and style of architecture what they may, if the number of the steps between the Nave and the Altar exceed the mystic regulation number of [61] three, then the Church may not be consecrated.[2] No foot-pace may be allowed, no piscina, no re-table, no screen of any kind. If a clergyman introduces the eloquent symbol of our Salvation (*in hoc Signo vinces*), it must be banished. Or, if *unwilling* to lose a legal ornament so deeply expressive, he must expect to be treated like the excellent Vicar of Tynemouth; who, simply because he removed his little Altar-Cross to a bracket above the Holy Table, on your Lordship objecting to its standing *on* the Holy Table, was thus paternally admonished by his Bishop:

> "As I am satisfied that your peculiar views have so warped your mind that you are no longer able in theological matters to distinguish between what is frank and honest, and what is dishonest and mean, I do not think myself justified in committing any deacon to your training," &c., &c.[3]

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[1] ϕ In what follows, Dykes makes very clear his support for the principles expounded by the Cambridge Camden (later the Ecclesiological) Society, led by John Mason Neale.

[2] It is a mystery to me how our lay Patrons and our accomplished Architects submit to the perpetual Episcopal and Archi-diaconal meddling with their plans. One Bishop has no more right to insist that there shall be *no more than three* steps to the Altar, than another Bishop has to insist that there shall be *no less than twelve*. I hate and dread lawlessness. But, in the interests of Law and Right, I maintain that this sort of vexatious interference with Church-building, so fatal to the healthy development of Christian Art, should be loudly protested against; and that, if a Bishop will not consecrate a Church because of some architectural arrangement (itself perfectly legal) which does not tally with his own private views, the Church should be left unconsecrated, and the onus thrown on the Bishop.

[3] I have no wish to write a word against the Dean and Chapter of Durham, a body with which it has been my happiness to act in unbroken harmony for a quarter of a century. [ϕ This is not entirely accurate, as witness the rebuke served upon Dykes—for making physical alterations to the layout of his church in accordance with Ecclesiological principles—and his scathing riposte, recorded in the St. Oswald's Vestry Minute Book in 1866. The reference later in this footnote to the 'polite Monition' about the print of the Crucifixion is covered by that same rebuke and riposte. (See. p. 84ff *supra*)] But it may serve to show how widely the atmosphere of Puritanism which overspreads the Diocese has penetrated, to mention that—permission having been asked only a few years ago by a layman to place a stained-glass East window in S. Oswald's Church—the Chapter Order, granting this permission, contained the following condition, That the window must contain *no representation of the Crucifixion!* A short time after this, an excellent Parishioner, conscientiously feeling that—as I was a suspected person—it was his duty to find something of which to complain, drew the attention of the Venerable Official to a little print of the Crucifixion, about nine inches in height, in the Vestry. The consequence was, that I received a polite Monition to remove it, as such representations *might be dangerous!* I might add more, but I forbear. [ϕ He might have added that he declined to remove the print.]

And now, my Lord, in order to force upon the Diocese that hopelessly doomed and discredited perversion of law, the Purchas Judgment (or rather, I should say, a particular part of it; for while insisting on the "lawlessness" of those who disregard *one-half* of the Judgment you, with strange inconsistency, sanction the universal disregard of the *other half*), your Lordship is contented to leave thousands of sick, ignorant, and dying deprived of the Ministrations of the Church. You visit the offence of the clergy in standing Eastward at the Celebration — a position now rendered more imperative than ever by your Lordship's fatal interpretation of the significance of its *non-observance* — not on the clergy only, but on the innocent laity; and this, in what is notoriously the most wicked Diocese in the land; the Diocese which, from its gathering together such heterogeneous masses of the floating surface (I will not say scum) of the population of the country, needs, more than any other, every conceivable appliance of the Church — the fullest development of all its machinery, High or Low, Ceremonial or Non-Ceremonial — to attract, win, humanise, Christianise, and save! One thing, however, has been achieved. Your Lordship's extra-legal pledge which was to cut off the supply of High Church Curates, and which was hailed with such a chorus of exultation by a small and extreme section, has, I am thankful to find, met with general and increasing disfavour; the other Bishops have declined to adopt it; and I believe it will be found to have done more towards securing the Eastward position to the English Church than anything which has transpired. The attempt to snatch an unfair victory has resulted in failure.

Still the "pledge" has not yet been withdrawn. It is yet doing its quiet work of mischief and obstruction in the Diocese. It has been exacted, too, with strange [63] inequality. Although your Lordship stated that it was *for all alike*, and on presenting it to myself for signature expressly told me that you did this in entire ignorance as to my own Ritual practice; yet you have since granted licences again and again to "Evangelicals" (so-called) without any exaction of this objectionable "declaration." It is only the suspected men, only those who are reported to have any High Church proclivities who — in the very teeth of the Act of Parliament which orders that "NO declaration or subscription" other than those prescribed by the Act shall be demanded as a condition of licence — are required to sign this novel and illegal document. A few of my dear friends in the ministry, out of sheer necessity, have been compelled to yield. And I should be the very last person to condemn them. I have felt the difficulty of the situation far too keenly myself to judge those who have adopted a different line of action from my own, and who, yielding an enforced obedience, have signed a "declaration or subscription" of which they thoroughly disapproved. Others are still waiting; standing in need of curates, but unwilling to apply for them; working on, as best they can, alone.

My own case may serve as a solitary example of the action of this new device for the extermination of Ritualism. A Priest of some twenty-six years' standing, placed in a Parish which according to the judgment of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners needs three active clergymen, the Commissioners themselves providing stipends for two assistant-curates, *subject to the Bishop's licence*, I am left to work single-handed — and this, after having in the early part of my incumbency so injured my chest by remaining too long without a curate that my voice entirely gave way; I was for several years absolutely unable to take a full Service

without assistance; [64] and I have been seriously warned by medical men (both at home and in London) of the great danger I incur if I overstrain my voice. I should add that, independently of my Parish, I have my regular Cathedral duties to undertake. All this, and more, I have told your Lordship privately. GOD has wonderfully helped and strengthened me; and friends have been most kind in volunteering occasional assistance. But this does not lessen the hardness of the case itself.

I know your Lordship thinks you have no alternative. You *must* put down "Ritualism;" you *must* check "lawlessness;" you *must* maintain and exercise, and make your clergy feel the weight of, Episcopal authority. My Lord, you could not have devised a scheme more effectually to help on Ritualism, to encourage lawlessness, to weaken your own authority. And, while on this last subject, I must crave forgiveness if I ask, What *example* does your Lordship set us of deference to legitimate Episcopal authority, when you encourage priests and whole congregations over the Border, to rebel against their Diocesans; yourself invading the rights of your brother Bishops, and countenancing schism by offering and administering Confirmation to those who wittingly and deliberately repudiate the authority of the Bishops set over them by GOD?

I have referred, my Lord, to the hardship of my present position. But I must not forget its compensating advantages: GOD strangely orders events for the carrying out of His Will. Had I not been placed under Episcopal ban, I should never have had the opportunity of speaking my mind thus freely. I have laboured long enough under the inconvenience of a damaged reputation. I have known long enough what it is to feel myself suspected by clergy and laity of being secretly unfaithful to [65] my Church, of being a weak silly Romanizer. Although the Ritual of S. Oswald's is of the very mildest type, and I am too old-fashioned ever to make much of a Ritualist, yet I verily believe that many of the pious Evangelicals of this city would as soon think of worshipping in a Mormonite Meeting-house as in S. Oswald's Church. Has not our great Evangelical authority, Mr Fox, pronounced Ritualists to be about on a par with "cut-purses?" And am not I a reputed Ritualist? Has not Archdeacon Prest solemnly warned all Christians to hold aloof from such dangerous persons? Moreover am not I, at the present time, in my curateless condition, a standing witness to the Diocese of the just punishment due to unfaithful pastors? I choose, then, to avail myself of the *privileges*, as well as of the inconveniences, of a damaged reputation. It is not a wholly unmixed evil not to have a character to keep up. I have long enough silently endured the unpleasantness of a state of ecclesiastical ostracism: for once I have claimed its advantages.

But, while on personal matters, I am anxious most emphatically to repudiate any thought or word of disrespect to your Lordship individually. I will yield to no man in sincere appreciation of your *personal* character — your honest goodness, your warm sympathy, your generous kindness, your open-handed liberality, your single-hearted and transparent sincerity of purpose, your genuine Christian simplicity, your untiring zeal in your Master's service. No, my Lord, believe me it is on no personal grounds that I have presumed to remonstrate with you; but solely on public and official grounds. Your Lordship has told us many times of the

strange deteriorating effects of Ritualism on the character.[1] I would venture very [66] humbly to reply that I cannot but think we see in your Lordship an example of the deteriorating effects of Puritanism — how that, in religious matters, it can make a kind man harsh, a generous man ungenerous, a truthful man suspicious, a man full of sympathy hard and unsympathetic, a just man illiberal and unfair. Your professed ground of objection against the High Church clergy is, that they dishonestly explain away the plain words of the Prayer-book. Is not your real ground of objection, that they honestly refuse to explain these words away? In fact, your true complaint against us is simply this, that we believe in our office. Our complaint against your Lordship is, that you do not believe in yours. Hence the weakness of your administration. No gifts of intellect, position, fortune, nor even of grace, can compensate for a failure in realising your supernatural Commission and endowments. The only time I ever asked your Lordship for your Blessing you declined to give it.[2] You always seem anxious to teach our children at Confirmation not to look for any special gift through the Apostolical "Laying on of hands." You repudiate the doctrine of the Priesthood. It is difficult to see how your teaching on [67] the Eucharist differs in any respect from that of mere Protestant sectaries. You seem to have no veneration for the teaching of Catholic antiquity, and no realisation of the Church as a Divine Society, with a Divine organisation, instinct with Divine Life, and wielding Divine power. Not all the personal piety in the world (and none can doubt the depth of your own) can ever make up for inability to grasp the true dignity and sacredness of your Calling. You are not a mere minister of the Establishment, pledged to carry out State Law: you are an "Angel of the Church:" you are the chief Representative in this Diocese of the Lord JESUS CHRIST; acting for Him, ruling with His delegated authority, blessing, confirming, ordaining, administering, in His Great Name and in the plenitude of His communicated Strength. Realising and acting in the simple faith of your supernatural Commission, your power and influence would be mighty for the edification of the Body of CHRIST in this dark Diocese: in proportion as you fail to realise this, you will be weak. Nature resists nature: it bends before the gentle irresistible power of Grace.

Now here, my Lord, I take it, is one great lesson which GOD is seeking to impress upon us all, clergy and laity, at the present time — that our Church, whatever its accidental connection with the State, is no mere human organisation, but a true, vigorous Branch of that One Divine Society, of which GOD-Incarnate is Head, and which is carrying on in the lower Sanctuary the solemn Ministerial work which He is discharging in the Holiest. A Pulse of new Life from Heaven is throbbing throughout her whole framework; and we must all seize the opportunity,

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[1] e.g. "it is one of the most painful features of the School that its members, in their constant efforts to excuse to themselves their gradual departure from the teaching of the Prayer-book, have as gradually *destroyed their moral power* of discerning in these matters between *truth and falsehood*, between *honesty and Jesuitry*, and are ready to adopt the most unnatural meaning of plain words, or to *hazard the most unscrupulous assertions*, if by such means they may palliate their advocacy of Doctrines which *they know in their inmost heart to be directly and essentially at variance* with the formularies of our Church." [Fourth Charge, pp. 47, 8.]

[2] I had come to Auckland for the purpose of being admitted to my present Incumbency. I had to kneel before your Lordship in order to receive from your hands the formal Instrument committing to me this Charge and cure of souls; and I waited a moment, earnestly longing for and expecting an accompanying Blessing. I ventured at last to ask for this privilege. Your Lordship at once rose and said, "Oh no, I do not give Blessings!"

recognise and correspond with the Grace of GOD. The wondrous work of Church Revival spreading on all sides is GOD'S work: our rulers [68] may seek to check and thwart it; they are powerless to stop its progress. They may as soon seek to stop the advancing tide of the mighty Ocean. See how steadily, silently, irresistibly — and in defiance of all opposition — the work has gone on hitherto. To say nothing here of our marvellous Missionary development, and the extension of our Episcopate — look at home; see our open Churches, our Sanctuaries showing forth the "Beauty of Holiness," our multiplied Eucharists, daily services, surpliced choirs, choral Celebrations, our increased and constantly increasing Means of Grace, our new organisations, Guilds, Missions, Retreats, the multitudes of people moved to seek, and availing themselves of, the "Ministry of Reconciliation." See on all sides — even in this our own languishing and backward Diocese — these and the like evidences of a new vitality beginning to make themselves felt. Ridicule and petty persecution have only helped the work on. How many new nicknames have been tried, in order to bring the Movement into discredit. It has been styled successively "The New-mania," "Puseyism," "Tractarianism," "Ceremonialism," "Ritualism," "Sacerdotalism," "Sacramentarianism." Chancing to see a recent number of the *Rock*, I was interested in observing a new effort at a name, "*Shuffling, Drivelling, Ecclesiastical Jesuitism*." This looks as if matters were becoming desperate. However, calling names will never do any real harm. If the Master was called "Beelzebub," His work will not escape.

Again, think how every attack of the miserable "*Church* Association" has only given the Movement a fresh impetus. The more it is cursed, the more does GOD bless it. Marked with the Sign of the Cross, it *must* excite active opposition, and be "everywhere spoken against." And we may be quite sure it has yet to [69] awaken hostility more bitter than any it has yet encountered.

Being itself an earnest and distinctively Catholic Movement, it will be especially distasteful to the fashionable Herodianism of the age, which is content to believe what the State believes, and to learn from Cæsar how to worship GOD; and is ready to conform to the Church today, to Presbyterianism to-morrow, in hopes perchance of propping up the Establishment, and earning a hollow credit for liberality. Such a Religion will benefit neither the Church to which it is unfaithful, nor the Sects which it patronises, nor yet the Establishment it hopes to save; it is but the unconscious ally of the coming Infidelity. A Religion without heart or consistency or principle or conviction can minister, in the long run, to no cause save to that of Irreligion. We can surely wish our Nonconformist brethren GOD-speed, so far as they are working (even though, it may be, imperfectly) for CHRIST, without compromising ourselves and them by an insincere union with them in their schism, and by acting undutifully and disloyally to our own Spiritual Mother.

Vast opportunities, a future big with momentous interests, lie before the English Church. GOD is seeking, on all sides, to arouse her out of her dreams of worldliness, unreality, unfaithfulness, to a deeper and truer sense of her real character, and dignity, and future destiny. He has a mighty work to achieve by her, throughout Christendom, yea, throughout Heathendom. Rome *must* deteriorate. She may extend her power and influence greatly — I believe she will. But she is irretrievably committed to error: and she has cut herself off from

the possibility of repentance. Her fatal dogma of Infallibility, her Donatist arrogance and se1f-assertion, her claiming to herself the grants of in-errancy and inde[70]fectibility,[1] which belong only to the Mystical Body of CHRIST in its entirety, and not to any isolated Branch — these, together with the boding and mysterious Prophecies which seem to be hanging over her, appear to render it in the last degree improbable that she ever will hearken to the Voice of CHRIST calling her to return to her first Faith and Love. A Church that cannot err, cannot repent. "I sit as a Queen, and shall see no sorrow." S. Gregory the Great plainly saw that the idea of a "Universal Bishop" was an artifice of the Devil for mining the Church. Our Saviour's charge to His Episcopate is, "One is your Master, even CHRIST; and all ye are brethren." Thus, in the "Episcopatus unus cujus *a singulis* in solidum *pars* tenetur," there is a constant system of check and countercheck. If one brother falls, another raises him up. The One SPIRIT works through the entire organism; and a single diseased limb does not cause the death of the whole. But fix the Headship of the Church on *earth* instead of in Heaven; subordinate the whole Church to this Head; and tempt *him* into error; and the whole Church must share in, must be infected by, his error. As S. Gregory says, "The *whole Church* falls, when he who is called '*Universal*' falls." [Lib. 5, Ep. 20.] Through GOD'S infinite mercy, Greece and England, and now the "Old Catholics," have successfully resisted the claims of this would-be "Universal" Bishop, and without severing their corporate union with the Visible Body of CHRIST. We and they are *outside* [71] the sphere of this baneful Papal influence. We still can repent. We still can confess mistakes. We do not profess to be infallible: so there is hope for us.

Here, then, is our only chance of safety or of greatness — our recovering our *full* grasp of the "One Faith once for all delivered." Nothing can stand but this. Every fraction added, every fraction lost, is a source and element of weakness. To this — as witnessed to and preserved and formulated and handed down and practised by the Church Universal (not by any mere isolated section) — we must tenaciously cling. We must consent to lose *nothing* which is the heritage of the Church Catholic. Thank GOD for all our quarrels, all our exhibitions and confessions of weakness, if we can only be painfully and gradually brought back thereby to the complete recovery of *that* wherein alone "our real Strength lieth."

This is the meaning of the mighty Impulse which is thrilling through the English Church. The Voice of CHRIST, bidding her "repent and do her first works," is stirring her to the very depths of her being. If she would be the means of sanctifying others, she must first sanctify herself. She is "rising, as one out of sleep." And, "refreshed like a Giant" with the New "Wine" which her faithless Sister refuses, she is preparing, please GOD, for new conquests.[2] All her old foes are rousing themselves to resist her. But "if GOD be for her, who shall be against her?" No doubt, her Awakening is fitful and irregular. When Rulers, who should sympathise and wisely

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[1] One cannot forget that it was to the *Church of Rome*, the famous Church whose "faith was spoken of throughout the whole world" (Rom. i. 8), that the HOLY GHOST left this solemn warning, "*Be not highminded* but *fear*…. Behold the goodness of GOD to thee, *if thou continue in His goodness*. . . . . *Otherwise thou shalt be cut off*" (ib. xi. 20.22). Cf. S. Luke ii. 41-46; Rev. ii. 19-23; xviii. 23.

[2] Rev. iii. 8.11

direct, who should be the first to interpret the "Signs of the times," shut their eyes, stop their ears, misread the characters traced by the Unseen Finger, and merely seek to thwart and impede what they do [72] not understand — how can the work but be irregular! But when GOD Will "work," man cannot "let it." So — fitfully, irregularly, impulsively, but determinately — it advances.

In testimony of the steady continuity of the Movement, let us hear Dr Newman's graphic words,[1] written above thirty years ago, and note how much more fully and deeply and strangely everything he then said of the English Church is being now realised:—

> "If there ever were a Church on whom the experiment has been tried, whether it had *life* or not, the English is that one. For three centuries it has endured all vicissitudes of fortune. It has endured in trouble and prosperity, under seduction and oppression. It has been practised upon by theorists, brow-beaten by sophists, intimidated by princes, *betrayed by false sons*, laid waste by tyranny, corrupted by wealth, torn by schism, persecuted by fanaticism. Revolutions have come upon it sharply and suddenly, to and fro, hot and cold, as if to try what it was made of. . . . Yet, what has been its *career upon the whole? Which way* has it been moving through three hundred years? *Every act, every crisis, which marks its course has been* UPWARD. . . Look too at the internal state of the Church: much that is melancholy is there, strife, division, error. But still there is *Life*: and, we humbly trust, a Heavenly Principle after all which is struggling towards development, and gives presage of Truth and Holiness to come. Look too at the Daughter Churches of England. Shall one that is barren bear a child in her old age? Yet "the barren hath borne seven." Schismatic branches put out their leaves at once in an expiring effort. Our Church has waited three centuries; *and then blossoms, like Aaron's Rod, budding and blooming, and bearing fruit*." — ["A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford." 1841. Pp. 35-40.]

Dr Newman goes on to speak of our 'ancient descent,' our 'unbroken continuance,' our 'agreement in doctrine with the ancient Church,' and our other 'Notes of genuine Catholicity.'

And now, with such a past, with such a present, with such a prospect for the future, what cause have we not [73] to 'thank GOD and take courage!' The present development of Ritual, I know my Lord, sorely disconcerts your Lordship and many good men. You can see nothing in it but Rome — Rome. Never was a greater mistake. This particular phase of a great, wide-spreading, and many-sided Movement was inevitable. It must have come sooner or later. Religious feeling and conviction must externalise themselves. Truth must express and embody itself outwardly; if not, it will die. The 'spirit' needs the 'body.' Abstract Doctrine does not alarm the Great Enemy. But when Truth is formulated in Creeds, and enshrined in Ritual, then it has a chance of living, and winning its way. The onset against the Athanasian Creed had very much the same origin as that against Ritual. The opponents and the defenders have been pretty nearly the same in both cases. The readiness with which the Evangelical

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[1] ϕ One cannot help thinking that a Tractarian who defected to Rome was hardly likely to sway the evangelical Bishop.

School was willing to throw over that Venerable Symbol was most significant; and, to one who is linked to that once great Party by many cherished associations, very sad. The attack on Ritual means far more than it expresses. It is not the Ritual, but the Faith which that Ritual symbolises and teaches, which is hated: just as it is not the Athanasian Creed, but the Truth which is there strongly fenced round, that the Enemy aims at. The attempt to suppress the Creed has failed: the attempt to stamp out Catholic Ritual, please GOD, will also fail. The Ritual excitement, which has been mainly raised by the Archbishop's Bill,[1] and by [74] the contemptible 'Association' to whose clamour our Fathers-in-GOD have lent a too ready ear, will soon, with a little tact and forbearance on all sides, settle itself, just as other and more serious excitements have calmed down. People will become as used to the sight of a Chasuble as to a surplice, to a Cope as to a black gown, to a coloured stole as to a funeral scarf. They will begin to like beauty as well as ugliness, cleanliness as well as squalor; to be no more frightened at the sight of a Cross than of the Ten Commandments, of a stately Altar than of a stately Pulpit, of the sculptured figures of Saints, than of the superstitious images of the Lion and Unicorn; they will learn to think it no more strange to see a clergyman turning *from* them when addressing GOD, than turning *to* them, when reading or preaching to themselves.

The Ritual Movement is now at once despised and dreaded by our rulers. Such has been the case with each consecutive stage or phase of the great Awakening. The Dean of Durham in the Northern Convocation spoke of there being no men of genius or mark connected with the Ritualist party. This is what the ecclesiastical dignitaries said of the new Movement in our Lord's time. They deemed it a sufficient condemnation of Him and His Cause that "none of the Rulers or Chief Priests believed in Him." It was only the "cursed *people*" who cared not for the "*Law*" who sided with Him. But — waiving the question of the genius or worldly position of the Ritualistic clergy — I may remark, that the absence of great names, of [75] noted leaders, of all that the world thinks necessary for a winning cause, is merely one of the many indications that the work is not from man, but that it is GOD who is moving people here and there to look after, and attend to, (among other important things) the decent Ritual of His Church. He cared for the Ritual of His ancient Church, and He cares for the Ritual of His Church now. All Ritual has been originally taught by Him. He is the Arch-Ritualist; the Author and Giver of Ritual. We must never forget, what I have already urged, that the only public Worship of GOD which our Blessed Lord ever took part in, was of a highly Ritualistic character; and that it was in His Holy Temple that the early Christian Church first learnt the GOD-inspired lesson, that everything connected with His public Service should bear outward recognition of the greatness of His Holy and Reverend Name, and that there must be ample

[1] [ϕ Subsequently the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874.] This famous (?) Bill furnishes another instance how marvellously GOD overrules the mistakes of good men to the carrying out of His purposes. How any one in the Archbishop's position, not judicially blinded, could have imagined that a Bill such as that which he originally brought forward—so utterly degrading to the Church, and insulting to her Divine Head—could ever benefit the Mystical Body of CHRIST in this country, passes all conception. However, the result has been very different to what he anticipated: it has simply been to *help* on that which the measure was designed to put down and extinguish. Not all the Ritualistic Clergy put together have done so much, for many years, to help on the cause of Ritualism throughout the country, as His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has effected by means of his luckless Bill, and the discussions, public and private, to which it has given rise. "Man proposes; GOD disposes."

provision for the *body* and the *senses* to have their share in the worship of Him Who claims the worship of not *one part* of us only, but of "body, soul, and spirit."

GOD has strangely watched over the Ritual of the English Church. Even when there has seemed no human probability of practising it, He has left ample provision for its development. Notwithstanding all the Puritanical raids that have been made or contemplated against our Liturgical inheritance, here stands the "*Law*," plain and unrepealed. "Such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof *at all times of their Ministration* SHALL BE RETAINED AND BE IN USE as were in the Church of England by the Authority of Parliament in the *second year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth*." "The Chancels shall remain *as they have done in times past*." Here is our positive Ritual Law. Here it has continued, quietly waiting on until the time when it should cease to be a [76] dead letter, and be quickened into a living Precept. The late Bishop of Exeter, many years ago, seeing how plainly the Eucharistic vestments were enjoined by this Rubric, openly affirmed that if the Churchwardens of any Parish provided the vestments, he should insist on their adoption by the Minister. And here we see the sum and substance of the offence of the "lawless" Ritualists of the present day. They have simply tried to *carry out* what the Prayer-book *enjoins* upon them. Every other thing that has been gained, we have gained in the same way; not waiting with folded hands till our Rulers asked us to "move on;" but availing ourselves of the liberty which the Law provides, and watching opportunities. Had we not done so, we should be still in our high boxes, listening to the monotonous parson-and-clerk duet, enlivened by an occasional strain of "Brady and Tate" from a distant gallery.

And how has it been attempted to *stop* this more recent development? By what I only call *immoral* Judicial Decisions — Judicial attempts to explain away and override Law. I have noticed at the beginning of this Letter the ingenious ruling whereby "*before* the Table" is interpreted to mean "round the corner of the Table." And now, we find that the plain precise Order, that the ancient Ornaments of the Church and of her Ministers "SHALL BE retained," and "SHALL BE in use," is, by a process of legal legerdemain even more extraordinary, ruled to mean that they" shall NOT be retained," and "shall NOT be in use." And then, because loyal sons of the Church, clergy or laity, cannot accept these judicial triflings with plain English, we find noble Lords and Bishops and Judges and the Press and the Public all standing aghast at their appalling lawlessness, and the whole country stirred up to come to the rescue, and "stamp [77] out" and put down these "troublers" of our Protestant "Israel." Not long ago, we heard the Bishop of Melbourne, fortified with an *ex parte* legal opinion, forbidding any clergyman in his Diocese to say the Service on a musical note; not contenting himself with merely asserting that he did not like it, and therefore it must not be, but gravely assuring them that it was contrary to Law, and that our Protestant Church did not permit it. If the clergy treated such an Order with contempt, were they not only treating it as it deserved? The clergy of the Church of England have been Protestant too long, not to have learnt to protest against such falsifications of fact and history. My Lord, in order that Law may be respected, it must be above suspicion: it must show itself that it is Law. It is plain what the next move will be. The misinterpretation of existing Law has failed to carry conviction, or to command obedience. Now we shall witness an endeavour to obtain an alteration of the Law, so that at

last the Ritualists may really be made to merit the title 'lawless' which has been so long undeservedly attached to them.[1] But the attempt will not succeed. The Great [78] Head of the Church, Who knows the value of Ritual, and Who has so lovingly watched over our Revival, will not suffer us to lose any valuable auxiliary, of symbol, or vestment, or posture, or rite, which the Catholic Church has sanctioned and found conducive to edification or reverence, and which we have inherited from her.

It is not a question, my Lord, whether you or I care personally for Ritual. It is very hard to overcome old prejudices. The English Church *as a whole* requires it: and there must be ample provision for its sober develop[79]ment. Ritual is one of GOD'S gifts: it is a merciful condescension to our weakness. And a Church is simply mad if she scornfully despises it.

Solemn Ritual was *forced* on the Jewish Church: and Solemn Ritual was *forced* on the Christian Church. What gave the first impulse to the building of the Temple, with its stately ceremonial and gorgeous magnificence? It is impossible to read the detailed narratives in 2 Sam. vi—vii. 3; and 1 Chron. xiii. xv.—xvii. 2; and not to see that it was the direct result of the working in David's mind of the solemn lesson taught by GOD in His judgment on Uzzah for his ritual negligence in handling the Ark. Seeing it not surrounded by any outward signs or marks of honour, Uzzah forgot its sacredness. This Holy Thing, instead of being borne

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[1] Since the above was in print, this has been actually attempted. The Bishops of the Southern Convocation have proposed to *remove* the Ornaments Rubric, and to substitute for it some new Rubric invented by themselves. The Bishop of Lincoln's temperate Motion to interpret it by the corresponding Rubric in Edward the Sixth's first Prayer-book was repudiated by the House—and, on the Archbishop's part, in language savouring of contempt and reprobation.

And now mark this. These our Spiritual Rulers, at this very same time—as though to evidence to the Church their fitness for the settling of her Ritual—proposed also to alter the Rubric about the *Daily Office*. Do we need a more appropriate act of self-condemnation?

Had these men been really dutiful sons of the Church, and obedient to those Ordination vows about the observance of which they talk with such paternal gravity to us; had they themselves been wont to heed and obey the command of their Spiritual Mother, which enjoins upon *all her clergy* the golden rule of Universal Christendom binding them to the daily recitation, privately or publicly, of their Office; it would have been simply impossible for them to have conceived the idea of seeking to *release* the clergy from this blessed obligation, and, in so far, to cut off the present Church from her former self, and from the rest of the Catholic Community.

I venture to say, there is no priest or deacon who has tried, to the best of his power, for any length of time, to fulfil this holy duty—in his Church, his study, his walks, his journeys—who has not felt its incalculable value, its calming, sobering, elevating influence amid the snares and excitements and worries of life; who has not blessed GOD for teaching him, through the Church, so helpful a practice; who has not found out that *time* thus spent is no *waste time*; and who has not sought to commend and press upon others a wholesome duty which the wisdom of the Church has prescribed, and which personal experience has proved to be so profitable.

I repeat, then, that the Bishops who wish—however plausibly and considerately—to break in upon this Rule of the Catholic Church as to the Recitation of the Daily Office, show themselves, before the face of Christendom, unfit to deal with the delicate question of the Church's Ritual.

They have been very busy, some of them, lately, in Convocation and Parliament and elsewhere, in representing, and *teaching the laity* to regard, the clergy who try to obey the Prayer Book, as 'traitors.' May I humbly tell them that if they succeed in any weak tampering with the honour and Catholicity of our Church's Office Book in this important crisis of her history, it will be they *themselves* whose names will go down to posterity as *traitors* to their spiritual Mother.

Thank GOD, there is some good honest English stuff in the Lower House, and in the Northern Convocation: and one cannot but trust and pray that GOD will strengthen His servants to resist all attempts, however well-intentioned and fair-seeming, to injure our Sion.

reverently on the shoulders of the Levites, as the Law ordained, was being rudely jolted in a cart. The oxen stumble. Uzzah stretches forth his hand to steady the Ark; and is instantly struck dead. David is appalled. The lesson goes home to him. After taking due heed that the next time the Ark is moved all the Ritual requirements shall be strictly observed, he begins to argue, that if the Majesty of an earthly King needs to be shielded by solemn state and ceremonial, how much more the Majesty of the Great KING of Heaven and Earth. GOD tells him he has argued rightly, and bids him carry out all the pious designs he has been conceiving in his heart.

The early Christian Church received, not once but many times (because here the impiety was more serious), the self-same stern lesson which so affected David. The profaned *Eucharist* was producing the same terrible effect as the profaned *Ark*. The Dread Presence of the Body and Blood of GOD-Incarnate was ministering destruction as well as Salvation. Christian Uzzahs were being, again [80] and again, visited with "sundry diseases and divers kinds of death." The Church, in tender compassion, was compelled, she was moved by the HOLY GHOST, to fence her Holy Mysteries round with solemn and becoming Ritual, to shield Them from irreverent approach, to proclaim outwardly and visibly to all who drew nigh to partake of the Sacrament, that It was a Divine Thing; and that the place whereon they were standing was "holy ground."

Far be it from me to limit the compassionate Goodness of our "merciful and gracious High Priest," Who comes to us in such lowly form and in such infinite condescension: far be it from me to question the exceeding greatness of His forbearance, and the extent of the allowance He makes for unwitting irregularities on the part of His Priests or people. The beautiful account of the great Passover in Hezekiah's reign — the Ritual irregularities accompanying it, and GOD'S gracious acceptance of the intercession of the King that "the Good LORD" would "pardon every one" who came in sincerity, even "though not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary" (2 Chron. xxx. 17-20) — may well suggest an encouraging hope as to the vast reach of the all-prevailing Intercession of our Divine Hezekiah in staying the Hand of Justice from "visiting extremely" the ceremonial irregularities of those who come without due preparation to the Christian Passover, and without adequately "discerning the LORD'S Body." Still, the Church dare not presume on GOD'S mercy. She must take all due precautions. For the FATHER will not see His Incarnate Son treated with indifference. He cannot, and will not, see the "Blood of the Covenant" regarded as a "common thing."

The communicants throughout the Church of England are now rapidly on the increase: Celebrations on all sides [81] are multiplying. The HOLY GHOST, therefore, is forcing it on the minds of Church people, that this increase must be met by a corresponding increase of inward and outward reverence. The Eucharist *must* be fenced and guarded with all external accessories of decent Ceremonial. Our people must be taught by the eye as well as by the ear, and our Priests be ever silently reminded of the sacredness of their Ministrations. A Priest who celebrates perhaps only once a month, does not feel the need of Ritual helps: whereas, one who celebrates several times a week — it may be daily — realises the absolute necessity

of such outward checks against the danger arising from familiarity with holy Things. A Priest needs every aid, outward and inward, to sustain in him the indispensable Priestly grace of *εὐλάβειν* — i.e., tender, sensitive reverence towards GOD — a grace which specially conduces to, and is directly fostered by, a reverent handling of the things of GOD.[1] All who have been touched by the inner Life of the present great Movement will feel the meaning and propriety of its outward manifestations. I doubt not that a special *Eucharistic* vestment will soon be regarded as much a necessity as a special *choir*-vestment for the saying of Matins and Evensong is now regarded, or as a special *preaching* vestment was regarded a short time ago.[2] The Church will be no more torn to pieces by the restoration of the Cope or Chasuble than she was by the restoration of the Surplice, notwithstanding the solemn vaticinations of archiepiscopal and other alarmists. The [82] Church of England, if she is to rise to her grand position as a Peace-maker and Restorer in Christendom, must have full provision for solemn Ritual, wherever it can be safely used, and will be found helpful; while, at the same time, very tolerant in not unduly pressing it where people are not prepared. The High Church party, I trust, will never be found copying the suicidal tactics of their Low Church brethren, and trying to stamp out, or expel from the Church, all who cannot pronounce their Shibboleth. "We believe" (said our great preacher, Mr Body, the other day), "that GOD'S Truth, charitably taught, will surely win its way. We don't want to drive the Evangelicals from the Church: we want to convert them, and make them more evangelical than they are." The more the Church is thoroughly Catholic, the more will she show forth the Divine Charity of Catholicity, which does not see Unity in uniformity; and whose loving characteristic is to be "all things to all men, so that by all means it may save some."

To all who would seek the extermination of any of the honest Schools of thought in the Church, by crippling their work, by cutting off curates,[3] or by any other means of worry and annoyance, I would but quote the ever-to-be-remembered words of Gamaliel: — "And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of GOD, ye CANNOT overthrow it; lest, haply, ye be found even to fight against GOD."

My Lord, I feel strongly the liberty I have taken in addressing you with so much unreserve. I could not do [83] otherwise. I will close with the well-known words, first spoken at the Feast of Darius, as recorded in the 1st Book of Esdras (Cap. iii., iv). Three youths proposed each "to speak a sentence:" the wisest to be rewarded. "The first wrote, 'Wine is the strongest.' The second wrote, 'The King is strongest.' The third wrote, 'Women are strongest: but, above all things, Truth beareth away the victory.'" Each defended his saying. The last contended, Women, wine, kings, are all strong, but Who made them? HE who is TRUTH. "Therefore, great is the Truth, and stronger than all things. . . . As for the Truth, it endureth and is always

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1 Heb. v. 7; xii. 28. See Trench, *New Test. Syn.*, pp. 39, 191 (First series).

2 Had our Durham Copes not been wantonly thrown aside through sheer indifference a hundred years ago—which had been continuously worn since the Reformation—all the present difficulty in reviving what ought never to have been abandoned would have been avoided.

3 When this Letter is published, I shall myself have been just about a year without a curate.

strong, it liveth and conquereth for evermore. . . . She doeth the things that are just; neither in her Judgment is any unrighteousness. She is the Strength, Kingdom, Power, and Majesty of all ages. Blessed be the GOD of Truth!' And with that he held his peace. And all the people then shouted and said, 'Great is Truth: and mighty above all things' — 'MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRÆVALET!'" (iv. 41.)

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant in Christ,

JOHN B. DYKES.

[84]NOTE A. (See page 7.)

In regard to the *vexata questio* of the position of the Celebrant during the earlier part of the Communion Office, it is well to remember that, whatever the expression "North-side of the Holy Table " signifies, it seems plain that (although, no doubt, in its convenient stretch of possible meaning, it may indirectly cover), it does *not* directly or historically express, nor was originally intended to express, the position which is now quietly assumed to be its only legitimate, nay possible, interpretation.

The term "North-side" appears to have *two* definite historical meanings; and has apparently been retained, with its admitted ambiguity, as a matter of policy, so as not to give needless umbrage either to the Catholic or the Protestant party within the Church. The expression bears a relation to *two* distinct positions of the Holy Table, and therefore has, as I have said, two separate significations, corresponding with those two positions, — both, I repeat, different from our modern hybrid usage, which is merely an unmeaning compromise or afterthought, without a vestige of authority in Catholic antiquity. The twofold interpretation, then, of the term bears reference to what may be called (1.) the "table-wise" and (2.) the "Altar-wise" position of the Holy Table. I will add a word on each.

1. In my Letter I have alluded to the serious inroads on Catholic Ritual and Practice to which, through foreign sectarian influence, the Church of England was compelled to yield during the reign of Edward VI. Half-measures would not suit the fanatics of those unsettled times. Hence, partly under cover, partly in defiance or through misunderstanding, of the altered rubric of 1552, the Altars were dragged down from their proper position, and placed length-wise in the body of the Church or Chancel — their *ends* standing east and west, their *sides* north and south. Here then the Priest (or, as they would delight to call him, the Minister) stood at the *North side* of the Holy Table, i.e., its *long side*, facing south. Here all is plain enough.

Now, this grave irregularity, once allowed, having spread throughout the country, it became a matter of most serious difficulty to get the Altar back into its own place. Here was one of the great practical Ritual Reforms which our Church Restorers of 1662, and their predecessors before the Great Rebellion, set themselves to effect. Let me illustrate this point from the records of our own Cathedral, by a well-known passage in the history of the most famous of our Revisers in 1662, [85] John Cosin, Bishop of Durham. Besides exhibiting the difficulties which our Reformers, alike before and after the Great Rebellion, had to encounter from the then "Evangelical" party, it will show that the expressions North-*side* and North-*end* were never intended to be synonymous, and were regarded as anything but synonymous by the Puritans of earlier times. Cosin, at the period to which I am about to refer, was Rector of Brancepeth, and one of the Junior Canons of Durham. The Canon second in seniority was one Peter Smart, a man who, were he living now, would make a first-rate Chairman of the "Association," or Editor of the *Rock*. His righteous soul was sorely grieved at the Ritualistic practices of the then Dean (Hunt), of Cosin, and the greater part of the Chapter. So — the spirit of the "Aggrieved Parishioner" being hot within him — he instituted proceedings against his brother Canons in the High Commission Court at York. The Articles exhibited

against them are very numerous. Amongst other things, he protests against their "making legs to the Altar,"[1] *i.e.*, making an act of reverence on entering or leaving the Church — a devout practice still retained, even although it has been continuously protested against, silently or openly, by Peter's more worthy successors.[2] He protests against the "Babalonish vesturs" of the Cathedral; against the "payre of gorgeous organs," the music of which, he complains, has the effect of "driving the people from Church." He protests against the "upstartings, down-squattings, east-turnings, crossings; and kissings," the "altar-clothes," the "duckings and prostrations," the "Angells in greene petticoates," and I know not what beside, in all of which matters he politely charges his reverend brethren with "imytating the whore of Babylon's bastardly broode, the preists and Jesuits."

However, I simply wish to refer to this elegant document as referring to the position of the Altar in Durham at that time. He alludes to this point two or three times. [86]

"The Altar," he says, "stands upon 6 stone pillars. . . . fastened to the ground. . . . and it is placed at the end of the quire, along by the wall, with *neither* SIDE *toward the North*, al which is contrary to the Booke of Common-Prayer and Injunctions, which command it to be a portable table, and to stand, when the Communion is administered, in the middest of the Church or Chancell. . . . and that the Minister should stand at the *north syde of the table* which *cannot be done* when *neither* SYDE of the Table standeth *northward*." § 9.

A little further on he returns to this point—

"Item: we article and object to you, John Cosin, &c., that. . . . although the Communion-booke, Injunctions, &c., tearme it the Lord's Table, not Altar, appointing it to be placed. . . . in the body of the Church or chancell, and *so* to stand that the Minister may stand at the *North* SIDE of the Table: yet ye, like bold and blinde buzards, contradicting both CHRIST and the lawes of the realme, will seldome or never call it otherwise than by the name of an Altar. . . . and you will needs set it at the east end of the Church. . . . contrarie to the rubrike directly. Again you have lately so set it, that the Minister *cannot possibly stand on the North* SIDE of the Table, ther being *neyther* SIDE standing *Northward*." Vid. "Bp. Cosins' Correspondence," Surtees Soc. Vol. L, pp. 161-199.

And once again—

"Nothing can be lawdable that is not *lawfull*; and that *it* [*i.e.*, praying towards the East] is *unlawfull* it appeareth manifestly by the Rubrick of the Communion-booke, which straitly

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[1] "When you have done all your praires to GOD upon your knees, then, rising up and standing on your feet, before your departure, you will not be so unmannerly as to turne youre backe to the Altar, having not taken your leave of GOD with a lowe leg to Him at the Altar, which you make very solemnly, with marvellous devotion and humilitie." § 13.

[2] Peter's great and oft-repeated objection to this act of reverence on leaving Church and at other times is, that it is an infraction of the 2nd Commandment (1) Thus he piously writes, 'By your idolatrous jestures, *contrary to the 2nd Commandment*, 'Thou shalt not make to thyselfe the lykeness of any thinge in heaven above or in earth beneath; thou shalt not bow down to them,' &c., you have changed the Lord's Table Into an idole, a damnable idole; you have taught the people to adore the same Altar . . so that like Jannes and Jambres, you have so bewiched them with your cunning inveglings and allurements, that they may well be called foolish and sottish Galathians running headlong to hell" § 20.

injoyneth the Minister, at the Administration of the Holy Communion, to stand at the *north syde* of the Table, that his face may be toward the south, and not, as mass-priests use to doe, to *stand with theire backes to the people* and faces to the east when they say Mass, whose example you, John Cosin, chusing to follow (it being directly contrary to the Act of Uniformity, and Booke of Common Prayer) you, I say, stand indicted by the Grand Jury at the Assyses in Durham the last July, 1629. And yet you feare not to tearme it a laudable custom, which indeed is abominable, as being used by the Manichees and Paganns, by the anti-Christian papists in their idolatrous Mass, and by necromancers and sorcerers. For surely it little becomes Christians to follow witches and conjurors in their superstitius and divelish devotions, preferring east before west, it being a ceremony of *all others most deserv*[87]*ing to be rejected*, as being *hereticall, papisticall, paganicall* and *magicall*." § 22.[1]

I need not add more in illustration of the meaning attached by Smart and the Puritan party to the term "*North-side*."

2. I come then to its second and true meaning. And here the question at once arises; if the expression signified *only* what Peter Smart and such as he assumed it to mean, why did Cosin and our Revisers in 1662 retain it? Simply because the Puritan interpretation of the term is *not* the real, the true, the ancient, the genuine interpretation. The term "North-side" was not *invented* by the Edwardian Revisers in 1552: it was borrowed by them from the Pre-reformation books. The history of its introduction into our Second Prayer-book seems to be simply as follows. In the *first* Prayer-book, the Office began, after the opening Collect, etc., with the "Gloria in Excelsis," which was ordered to be said, as of old, at the centre of the Altar facing East. In the *second* Book, there was a transformation in the order of the Service. The "Gloria" was removed till later on: and the new introductory portion of the Office, according to old usage, would not be said at the centre of the Altar, or Holy Table, but in a position either to the *right* or *left* of the centre, as the case might be — the Celebrant of course facing East. Our Revisers chose the *left*, or "*North-side*" of the centre; the Priest being expected to go to the centre later on, for the Consecration. The expression "*North-side* of the Table" is an old Liturgical expression, and is every whit as correct and Catholic as "in the midst of the Altar." Only, it has not such an awful sound in the ears of the "weaker brethren;" and on that account, therefore, it doubtless commended itself to the cautious Revisers, who would little anticipate the novel and outrageous interpretation which these "weaker brethren" were about to give to it.

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[1] It is not a little singular, amusing, and instructive, to observe that the very same language, the very same arguments, which are addressed to the Ritualists now—the identical charges of disobeying the Law, and the Prayer-book, and the Ordinary, and driving people from Church—*were made against the very men to whom we owe our present Prayer-book*. The one only difference is this, that whereas we are nicknamed Popish Ritualists, they were nicknamed "Popish *Arminians*." (The Rock had better make a note of this name.) No single individual had so much to do with our existing Prayer-book as John Cosin, Bishop of Durham. His work comes down to us as the last phase of the Reformation. Now, let any one ask of himself this question. The present Bishop of Durham complains of certain of his clergy, as being breakers of the Law of the Prayer-book. Suppose that his predecessor in this See, from whom we receive our Prayer-book, and who was *himself similarly charged*, were to be summoned from his grave—With which party would he side? Which would he conceive to be most faithfully carrying out the views of himself and his brother Revisers—his Episcopal successor, or the "lawless" clergy?

[88]
Our Caroline Revisers (Cosin and his coadjutors) who, in the still unsettled state of the country, were obliged to act most cautiously and warily, did not think it wise to disturb the existing rubrical direction: but, taking care that the ancient position of the Altar was secured, and the position of the Priest "*before* the Holy Table" during the Prayer of *Consecration*, left the less important matter, as to his previous position, to time and increased liturgical knowledge — in quiet hope that the Rubric would right itself, and at last regain its old and true meaning.

What this real and only legitimate meaning of the term "North-side" *is*, is as clear as the sun at noonday. It has nothing in the world to do with the four structural sides or ends of the rectangular *Mensa*; — *one* only of these sides having any sort of Liturgical recognition. Poor Peter's ribald bluster about "sides" and "ends" is all beside the mark. The North and South sides at the Holy Table are simply (as I have said) what are called the Gospel and Epistle sides. There are three positions: a Central position for the Celebrant; a *North*, or Gospel, side to his left; and a *South*, or Epistle, side to his right. And when either of these terms, North, or South, is used in reference to the Celebrant himself, he is always supposed to be facing East, except when reading Epistle or Gospel.

In the Roman Office, the Celebrant says certain of the earlier portions of the Service at the *South side*; the corresponding portions of which, in the English Office, are said on the *North-side*; after which, in both Offices, the Priest goes to the Centre.

Our Puritan innovators, availing themselves of a phrase they did not understand, gave, as we have seen, a disastrously novel rendering to the old term; which has lingered on in our present absurd use, which, it is to be hoped, will soon die out. For to perpetuate such a piece of unmeaning ritual, except merely as a tolerated irregularity, would be pure infatuation.

It is well known that the word "*part*" (North-*part*) was all but substituted for "*side*" at the last Revision, in order to indicate more clearly the true meaning of the expression in reference to the normal position of the Altar: but, at the last moment, this verbal change was abandoned. Through the over-ruling Wisdom of our watchful High Priest, the old expression was left undisturbed — in trustful confidence that in GOD'S good time the Church's Ritual would right itself.

In the ill-fated Scotch Prayer-book under Charles the 1st, which preceded our final Revision by 25 years, and in which the restoration of the Altar to its own place was first authoritatively enjoined, two concessions were made to the domineering Puritanism of the time: the term Presbyter was substituted for Priest; and the North "end" (*i.e.*, our own modern [89] irregular position) was rubrically recognised as an alternative to the ancient North-*side*. But our own Revisers yielded on neither of these points. They had learned a few wholesome lessons as to the nature and ultimate aim of Puritanism: and they were not sufficiently enamoured therewith to make needless concessions thereto. So they did the best they could for

themselves; they winked at inevitable temporary irregularities; but *they kept their rubrics correct*.[1]

I have only to add that in our own venerable Coronation Service, which is one of the invaluable records of the historical continuity of the English Church from ancient times, and which was, like our Prayer-book, revised by the Caroline Divines, we find irrefragable confirmatory evidence as to the meaning of the rubrical phrases "North-side, South-side." Mr Maskell, in the third volume of his "Monumenta Ritualia," after a most interesting dissertation on the Unction and Coronation of Sovereigns, gives the ancient Coronation-service "according to the use of the Church of England" from the Sarum Pontifical: first, the Office for the Coronation of a King, then the corresponding Office for a Queen. He adds the "Order of Coronation according to the Pontificals" of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 740; and of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1080; then, the Order of the Coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria; and lastly, that of her Majesty Queen Adelaide, as Queen-consort.

Now, when her gracious Majesty was ordered at her Coronation to occupy a place "at the *South-side* of the Altar," the Archbishop standing at the *North-side*, did she go to the South *end*, and kneel at a cushion, the Archbishop and she facing one another? No; we are distinctly told that "on the South-side, East of the Queen's Chair, nearer the Altar, stand the Dean and the Prebendaries." it is obvious, throughout, that "South-side" cannot mean South *end*. It simply means some position to the *right* of the centre of the Altar; as *North-side* denotes a position to the *left* of the centre; the particular *nature* of the position to be regulated by circumstances, and liturgical propriety.

I much regret, on the subject of this note, to have to express my entire disagreement with the conclusions of one whom I can only name with feelings of profound and affectionate respect, the Bishop of Lincoln. I cannot, however, mention him without recording the thrill of gratitude [90] which has been stirred in many a heart by his noble and manly utterances during the recent crisis; by his loyal vindication of the Catholicity of the English Church; and by his clear perceptions both of the utter hollowness of the anti-ritualistic clamour, and of the deep significance of the present Movement in our Communion. May GOD long preserve him, and raise up many wise and learned and truly Catholic Bishops like him!

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[1] I believe Archbishop Laud was the first person who ever thought of, or adopted, the North-*end* position, it was a mere artifice or expedient or compromise on his part, to render possible, what otherwise seemed hopeless, the restoration of the Altar to its old seat at the East-end of the Chancel—a restoration on which he had set his heart, and which, in the face of determined and bitter Puritan opposition, he was the great means of effecting and securing to his successors.

NOTE B (See page 46.)

A point is here touched upon, on which I would express myself with all diffidence and humility, which I cannot but deem worthy of devout attention. I mean this: that Holy Scripture everywhere seems to teach that the "Blood of the Covenant" is *not* the Blood now in our dear Lord's veins, but the Blood of the *Passion*, the "*incorruptible*" Blood (as a Peter calls It, 1 S. Pet. i. 18, 19), which streamed from Him throughout the Agony, the Scourging, the Laceration with thorns, nails, and spear, as drop by drop He gave up His Life for us: it is *This*, miraculously preserved, like the "Widow's oil," which our Great High Priest uses as His Instrument of Atonement and cleansing, in Heaven and earth, — ever fresh, eloquent (Heb. xii. 24), powerful to plead, powerful to absolve, powerful to purify, as when It flowed from His Sacred Body. I have stated that there appears to be nothing to lead us to suppose that the Spiritual or Resurrection bodies of saints — still less our Lord's Spiritual and Glorified Body — are possessed of *blood*. Whence arises the ancient Heathen tradition that the vehicle of Celestial Life is not blood, but '[Greek]'? The blood is the vehicle of the *natural* life, of the ψυχὴ. In fact, the two are identified in Holy Scripture. Three times in one brief passage do we meet with the following statement "The *life* (or soul) of all flesh is the *blood* thereof" [Greek], Lev. xvii. 11, 14. Hence it would seem that the "natural body," [Greek], of which S. Paul writes, 1 Cor. xv. 44, is the present *corpus sanguineum*: and that the "spiritual body," while identically the *same* as the present body — even although so transfigured and sublimated as to be capable of being the willing organ and handmaid of the quickened Spirit — will have a vehicle of Life more ethereal, more subtle, of which we cannot speak.

It is interesting in this light to think of such expressions as these, "He *poured out* His *Soul* unto death" (where the [Greek] and the Blood are identified): or, "When Thou shalt make His *Soul* an Offering for Sin:" "He laid down His *Soul* ([Greek]) for us," &c. So that, I repeat, it would [91] seem that the Instrument of the world's Purification, the Instrument, too, which the HOLY SPIRIT uses in His work of Sanctification — the Mystery exhibited before the FATHER, and given us to partake of, in the Eucharist — is the *once sacrificed* Life and Life-Blood of JESUS. In fact, to speak liturgically, and with the utmost reverence, we are communicated from the *Reserved Sacrament* from the "Blood of sprinkling" reserved in the Celestial Tabernacle. This was the Instrument of our Lord's Own Consecration. He "came," or entered on His *Prophetical* Office, through the Baptismal "*Water*:" He "came," or entered on His *Priestly* Office, through the "*Blood*". He was consecrated to His everlasting Priesthood by His Own Blood.[1] This was His Own mysterious Unction. Here was the "Holy Oil" of Consecration — even the SPIRIT acting through the Blood. And with the Instrument of His Own Unction does He anoint us. He "sanctifies Himself" first, that He may be able to sanctify us. The whole Mystical Body is cleansed and anointed by the self-same "Holy Oil" wherewith the Head is anointed. The Church, waiting for her Lord, is the mystical "Widow:" and this is her inexhaustible "Cruse of Oil," wherewith she comforts and refreshes, and makes cheerful the countenances of her children. For CHRIST'S Blood, which the Widow dispenses

[1] 18. John v.6. See Jackson on the Creed. Book ix.

from her consecrated "Cruse" or Chalice, is now the vehicle to us of the Eternal SPIRIT. "In CHRIST," says Bp. Andrewes, "His Blood and His SPIRIT always go together."[1] When S. Paul mentions the separate actings of the SPIRIT in the Water and in the Blood, He says that "by one Spirit we are all *baptized into* one Body; and have been all made to *drink into* one SPIRIT" (1 Cor. xii. 13). In drinking of the Blood of the Eucharist, we drink of that SPIRIT which "quickens," and acts through, that Blood.[2]

I repeat, then, that the Blood given to us in Holy Sacrament, wherewith the High Priest cleanses and pleads in the Heavenly Sanctuary, and which the HOLY SPIRIT uses as His Vehicle on Earth, is the Blood of the *Passion* — the Blood of the Covenant — always spoken of in the New Testament as a Mystery somehow separate and distinct from our Blessed Lord Himself: "We are come to JESUS the Mediator, *and* to the Blood of Sprinkling." What Christ *gave for* us in Sacrifice, that He *giveth to* us in Sacrament.

"We feast on CHRIST'S Body," says Bishop Andrewes, "but not on "CHRIST'S Body *as now It is*, but *as then It was* when He suffered Death.[92]". . . . We are not only carried up, to CHRIST, but we are also carried *back* to CHRIST as He was at the very instant, and in the very Act of His Offering. . . . . By the incomprehensible power of His Eternal SPIRIT, not He alone, but He *as at the very Act of His Offering* is made present to us. If a Host could be turned into Him glorified as He is, it would not serve. CHRIST *offered* it is."[3]

I cannot but draw attention to what Archdeacon Freeman has written on the Mysterious subject here referred to by Bishop Andrewes, in the Introduction to the second volume of his "Principles of Divine Service," pp. 143-146. I wish not to defend everything the Archdeacon has here stated, nor yet everything he has uttered on the Eucharistic questions of the day; as in some points I earnestly differ from him. But I feel convinced that his general line of argument in the passage to which I have referred is deserving of a more reverent and careful consideration than it has generally met with. He has been hastily charged with heresies from which it seems almost an insult to add that he is entirely free. It is to be hoped that the Archdeacon may see cause to modify some of the *practical* conclusions to which he has arrived, and to overcome certain (what I can only consider) strange prejudices. But there are few theological students of the present day to whom the Church is under a deeper debt of gratitude.[4][93]

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1 Serm. xviii. on the Resurrection.

2 S. John vii. 63. It must never be forgotten that the Flesh and Blood of CHRIST, however employed by the Great High Priest in the work of the World's Redemption, are (even when sundered, really or mystically, in sacrificial Death) yet both Hypostatically united to the Divine Personality of GOD the WORD.

3 Serm. 7 on the Resurrection.

4 If it might be permitted without presumption to offer a suggestion on a subject of such sacred Mystery, with a view to a possible reconciliation between two distinct and apparently conflicting lines of Eucharistic Interpretation, *both* apparently warranted by Holy Scripture and Catholic Tradition—one of which regards the Holy Sacrament as a means of immediate Communion with our Lord in His "Body of *Humiliation*," the other as a means of Communion with His Body *glorified*—may I venture to hint that *both* interpretations are true, and that each Element is specially allied with one, or other, side of the double Mystery. Our dear Lord in His present glorified state (if what has been advanced above be correct) has not *Blood*; but He still has *Flesh*. May it then be true that, in one part of the two-fold Sacrament, we are brought into Communion with

{*Cont.*}

Having spoken once or twice, somewhat severely, of the mysterious sin of the Church of Rome in interfering with the Eucharistic Institution of CHRIST, I feel bound in charity to add, that one cannot but hope and feel convinced that this daring innovation resulted from a secret feeling of Reverence, and of dread lest, in the then corrupt state of the Church, "the Blood of the Covenant" should be exposed to indignities. It may have been one sad stage in the solemn withdrawal of the HOLY SPIRIT from that once great and glorious Church. At all events, it is deeply ominous to see her quietly acquiescing in the perpetuation of that act of disobedience to the dying Command of her Lord, and taking no active steps for the Restoration of her forfeited privilege.

We read in the prophecies of the latter days, of a "*Cry for Wine* in the Streets" of the once Holy "City," and of all "joy" being "darkened."[1] The Cry seems then to come too late. The rejected Blood Itself then crieth from the ground for vengeance!

His past Life of *Suffering* yea, with that Precious Life as at the very time, and in the very Act, of being offered and poured out for us; and, in the *other* part, with His present Life of Glory? May it be that, in the *Blood* and the *Flesh*, we behold a strange Union between Death and Life; so that we are thereby brought into vital fellowship with Him Who is at once mystically "*dead*," and yet "*alive* for evermore?" May we not here behold *suffering* and *glorification* linked together,—the "Lamb *slain*," and the Lamb in the Majesty of a New and Immortal *Life* receiving the adoration of the whole universe of GOD?

In the old sacrifices, the *blood* of the offered victim was used for sacrificial purposes before it had undergone any change; whereas the *flesh* was not. The flesh had to be subjected to the action of fire—to be roast—to pass into a new stage of existence—before it could be employed as the sacrificial food of GOD'S people, in these two separate states of physical being, then, may we possibly see foreshadowed two distinct stages of our Divine Lord's Human Life—His *old* Life when poured out, and His *New* Life when qualified to be the sustaining and purifying Principle of our "sinful bodies?" And may there not be something analogous to this in the Eucharist; so that, in the Wine and the Bread, *i.e.,* in the poured-out Blood and Life-giving Flesh, we have simultaneous Communion with His Death and with His endless Life, with His Passion and with His Exaltation, with the Bloody Cross and with the Throne of GOD—ourselves being "conformed to the likeness of His Death," and therewith "to the likeness of His Resurrection?" "If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him." Far be it from me to presume to offer any positive opinion on this or any other subject on which GOD has not clearly spoken, or the Church pronounced, and which transcends all human knowledge. I merely throw out the above suggestion for the reverent consideration of those who are drawn to investigations of this character, and who love to search out in GOD'S Inspired Word for mysterious Truths there lurking hid, and only "to be found of those that diligently seek for them."

[1] Isaiah xxiv. 2.

[94] POSTSCRIPT.

One word more in conclusion on the Public Worship Bill which, with such unseemly and panic-stricken haste, is being now hurried through the Lower House.

Its ultimate fate and issue are in GOD'S Hands. But the debate to which it has given rise has not been without its deep significance, as illustrating what the Duke of Argyll (speaking of the Scotch Bill) calls the "*chaotic*" state of "the mind of Parliament" on Church matters; and as showing how real is the ground for his dread that, if the Church looks to the Imperial Legislature for the regulation of her affairs, "she will have thrust upon her some measure, in the name of Reform, involving a gross violation of all principle, which will be simply disastrous to her."

One hears from those who were in the House during the progress of the debate — men with no sort of sympathy with Ritualism — of the sense of humiliation experienced at the crass ignorance of the real status and history of the English Church displayed by one after another of the agitated members who rose to support the Bill; how mere blind prejudice seemed to reign where calm sense and reason should have maintained firm sway; how the most stupid no-popery clap-trap was cheered to the echo; how the noble utterances of perhaps the greatest Statesman in Europe, of whom the English Church and nation may well be proud, who dared to brave party unpopularity, and speak according to his own deep, earnest convictions, remembering that he was a Christian and a Churchman as well as an English Statesman — a servant of GOD-Incarnate as well as of Cæsar — how his burning words, and the further utter[95]ances of other of our true-hearted Christian laymen, were *lost* upon the House through its stolid incapacity to appreciate truths and sentiments which altogether transcended the powers of its paralysed understanding.

Yes — and, as a staunch and lifelong Conservative, I blush to add — What are we to think of the hollow magniloquence of England's Prime Minister who — although *knowing better* — condescended to seek a party triumph over a greater Rival by appealing to and stimulating all this silly fanaticism; with heartless solemnity assuring an applauding House that "Ritualism *must* be put down," that "Mass in masquerade" could no longer be tolerated, that the Imperial Parliament must arise in its majesty to the greatness of the crisis, and England once and for ever crush the Ecclesiastical conspiracy whereby she is being imperilled!

I am uttering the sentiment of hundreds of the Conservative clergy in saying that, if Mr Disraeli's oration on occasion of the second reading of the Public Worship Regulation Bill is an indication of the line marked out for Conservatism, why then — *To the winds with Conservatism!*

To take the lowest ground — the mere ground of party strategy: it may be found to have been a piece of *thoroughly bad policy* to have turned the whole body of the High Church clergy, who are gaining in number and influence every day, into active political opponents!

One sad word more.

For *who* have been mainly responsible for *raising* this senseless excitement? *Who* had rendered possible Mr Disraeli's brilliant feat of drawing to himself the enthusiastic support of both sides of the House, as the very Saviour of his Country? *Who* had created this false, unreal, unhealthy, fallacious public opinion, by traducing the clergy before the nation, by propagating injurious [96] gossip about their services and their prayers, by encouraging the laity to regard an indefinite number of them with suspicion as traitors and deceivers and secret agents of Rome?

Who — but our own English Archbishops: receiving their information from, acting as humble instruments of, energetically aided and urged on by, the "Church Association!"

And now the Church of England has to endure the degradation of seeing her Ecclesiastical Heads going pitiably to the State, and telling it that the clergy have become so rebellious and lawless that Archbishops and Bishops can control them no longer, that the Supernatural Powers committed to themselves by our LORD JESUS CHRIST for the government of His Mystical Body have proved altogether inadequate, that they *cannot* do the work which Almighty GOD has solemnly charged and *enabled* them to do, and that Cæsar must "come over and help them," or do it for them. We are called upon to see the Rulers of GOD'S Israel[1] consciously and impotently *surrendering* their Judicial Powers to the World.

If this is not a *traitorous* act, I know not what is!

The sooner our Archbishops and Bishops take home to themselves the lesson GOD is trying to teach them, that the Catholic Church of CHRIST cannot be ruled on Protestant principles, the better for themselves, their clergy, their Dioceses, and the whole country.

Da pacem, Domine!

[1] S. Luke xxii. 29, 30.

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Report for the *Newcastle Daily Journal* 13 December 1864, p. 3.

THE HISTORY OF CHURCH MUSIC

The Rev. Canon Dykes, M.A., Mus. Doc., delivered a lecture yesterday evening, in the lecture-room of the Church of England Institute, on the "History of Church Music." The choir of St Peter's Church, under the direction of Mr. Wish, organist, sang several anthems, chants, and hymns, in illustration of the lecture; Wish presided at the piano. The hall was crowded; a great many persons were unable to gain admittance.

C. D. Barker, Esq., was in the chair; and after prayer had been offered up, he introduced the Rev. Canon DYKES, who said that the subject which he had the pleasure of introducing to them was one, which he rejoiced to find, in which there was a growing interest in the minds of all sober thoughtful church people throughout the land, although it was one which was still regarded by suspicion. Many who, though they understood and appreciated good music, were careless about the music of the church; they did not expect to hear good music there; that was not the place for music. They studied the art, and derived pleasure from it at home and elsewhere; they liked music as a sort of personal gratification, but did not look at it in a higher light. There were others who had the idea that the use of music in public worship was for a sort of individual edification, and everything of that class was to occupy a subordinate place. Hence, as music was not in itself a direct means to spiritual concern, it were better to confine it to the least possible limits, and to be of the simplest and most meagre character.

To the former class he would ask if music was given merely as a means of gratification for their own private amusement or comfort, or was it given to them that it might be devoted to the honour and glory of the giver? Music, doubtless, was given them for their enjoyment, but the principal end for which it was intended was unquestionably that it might be used in praising the Most High, and for that end it should be most reverently employed. Then, with regard to the second class of persons, was there anything to countenance such an idea as they entertained to be found in the Scriptures; or did the teaching of the Holy Word tend in the opposite direction? They had but to look at the ritual instituted by God, and see how large a portion of the Temple services was sung. The head of the choral department was King David; the number of those who were instructed in the songs of the Lord were two hundred and four score and eight; and, in addition, there was a chorus of 4,000 Levites. And they read that all these things were done as was commanded of the Lord by His prophets. Our Lord and the Apostles were frequenters at the Temple service, and took part in the elaborate ritual there performed, and thus gave it their full sanction.

At the present day, supposing the worshippers were those who had not where to lay their heads, it would be quite fitting that their place of meeting should be in some upper room, and that their ritual should be of the simplest kind. But where they were surrounded in their houses by every luxury, then there was some little incongruity in their having a mean, poor, unadorned service in God's house, and nothing in the Holy Scriptures that could warrant so doing. The Church emulated the Temple in her ritual. The original purpose of the art was that it might first be consecrated to God's service, and then that it might furnish them with a source of innocent gratification. David played before the Lord on all manner of instruments.

The great end of public worship was not for individual edification, but for God's glory. They were told to enter into His gates with thanksgiving, and into His courts with praise.

It appeared to him that the great glory of the ancient Temple, music, was in a great measure lost at the Captivity. It was partly restored, but never again attained to its pristine splendour. As no authentic specimen remained of the music used in the early Christian Church, it was impossible to say of what description it was, but it would no doubt be such as was used by the Hebrews, particularly in chanting the Psalms. There was no definite account of the progress of Church music till the time of St Andrew[1], who was born in 303, and who first introduced into the West antiphonal chanting which had long been practised in the East. St [Ambrose] set himself to reform and simplify the service of the Church. After 200 years had passed, they came to the time of St Gregory the Great, who was born in 590. St Gregory appeared to have collected the musical fragments used in the Church, and arranged them in order; and he effected a great reformation in the sacred singing throughout Western Christendom. During this century musical missionaries seemed to have been sent from Rome all over Europe, to give instruction in the Church services; and that would account for the similarity of the Church services throughout Europe at the time of the Reformation. About a thousand years after, an advance in scientific harmony was made; and little by little harmonised services became used in the Church. The fourteenth century seemed to be the time when part music came first into use, and the compositions became more and more elaborate.

The lecturer then reviewed the various composers of sacred music from this period down to the present time. Between the death of Charles I. and the restoration, the Church services had much degenerated, and were not permitted; but they had gradually been restored. Amongst the present composers of sacred music of high order, he would mention Wesley, Walmisley, Ouseley, and Goss. Church music at the present time was not deteriorating. The symptoms of improvement in Church music were beginning to increase; they found even seceding bodies adopting chanting and other music in their public worship. The chants should be simple, and he thought double chants should be avoided. Where services were used in parish churches, they should be simple ones. The anthems might be metrical hymns, or short passages from the Scriptures; but they should not be of too exhibitional a character.

Votes of thanks were passed to the lecturer, the choir, and the chairman, and the proceedings then terminated.

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[1] ϕ This is a reporter's error, and should read St. Ambrose.

Paper Delivered to the Norwich Church Congress

Extract from *Authorised Report of the Church Congress held at Norwich on the 3rd, 4th and 5th October 1865* (1866) Norwich: Cundall and Miller

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TUESDAY OCTOBER 5th, EVENING MEETING

IN ST. ANDREW'S HALL

THE RIGHT REV. PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR

This was the last meeting of the Congress, and there was a very full attendance.

After prayer, the President requested the members of Congress to stand while the illustrations to Dr Dykes' lecture were being given by the Cathedral choir. He said, by doing this they would be expressing their reverence for the name of Him to whom the words of the illustrations had reference.

LECTURE ON CHURCH MUSIC

BY THE REV. DR. DYKES

[It is impossible not to feel embarrassment in undertaking a paper on so comprehensive a theme as Church Music. The difficulty is, how best to treat so large and important a subject in a short time. It shall be my aim to be rather practical than technical: and if I leave unsaid much which I ought to say, or, on the other hand, say much which to many of my audience is old and familiar, I must bespeak a kind indulgence.]

It is, I think, very encouraging to find, what an increasing attention [291] is being paid to Church Music by thoughtful and religious people in this country. It is no longer possible for a writer on the Choral Service to complain, with one only thirty years ago, that "the want of interest manifested towards devotional music is so glaring, that we might imagine all reasoning upon its properties based upon the assumption, that real godliness is in inverse proportion to the cultivation of sacred song," and that "it is doubtful whether sacred music be more deserving of cultivation from its inherent good, or of destruction from its attendant evils."[1]

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[1] ϕ A paraphrase, the accurate quotation being: "So glaring is the want of interest manifested toward devotional music, that we might imagine all reasoning upon its properties was based upon the assumption, that real godliness is in inverse proportion to the cultivation of sacred song…When a writer deigns to notice sacred music, it is either to denounce abuse in some general terms, or to burden its many advantages with such limitations, as grievously to cramp its freedom and fulness, and leave the reader in doubt, whether it be more deserving of cultivation from its inherent good, or of destruction from its attendant evils." La Trobe, J.A. *The Music of the Church considered in its various branches, Congregational and Choral* (Seeley and Burnside: London, 1831)

Still I think it desirable that Christian people should be duly impressed with the remembrance, that in taking an interest in Church Music, and regarding it as a matter of real importance, they are only following the example set them by Almighty God. It is from Himself and from His holy Word that we first learn the value of music as an element in public Worship. [In fact, why did He first give us music? Merely for purposes of self-gratification? No: but that we might dedicate it to Him, and employ it in His service.]

On the numerous notices of sacred music in the Old Testament, it is needless to dwell. [They have been often enlarged upon of late.] We all know that God strictly enjoined its use, vocal and instrumental, in His worship. "So was the commandment of the Lord by His prophets."[1] Independently of the more grand and solemn performances on festive occasions, we read of a *perpetual* Service of Praise, night and day, being offered to Him, according to His own will. And to provide for all this, we read of a company of no fewer than four thousand musicians, exclusive of two or three hundred *principal* singers, attendant on His Sanctuary.

The constant mention, moreover, of such instruments as comets, harps, timbrels, psalteries, shawms, cymbals, trumpets, and the like, is a proof that no mere dull uninspiriting music was looked for in God's Worship, but that He willed His people to render Him the best Service of Praise they "had it in their power to offer". He did not wish to see His Sanctuary the most uninviting, but the most delightful and attractive (religiously *attractive*) of all places — He wished, as the Dean of Ely beautifully reminded us, to see His "dwellings" "*amiable*." He well knew that His creatures are, and *must* be, influenced by external objects, [how the mind and heart are affected through the bodily sensations.] And he made provision for this. Himself "a Spirit," He yet knew well that His worshippers are not unembodied spirit; and He willed to be worshipped with the *whole*, and not with a *part* only, of their complex being; to be glorified in their bodies as well as in their spirits. The Worship which he ordained would be denounced by many as sensuous. But, depend upon it, God knows better than we, "whereof we are made," and what we require. And hence, be it ever remembered, if our people love an attractive Service, if they love good music and affecting Ceremonial in their public Worship, *it is God Almighty Who first taught them to love it*. The instinct comes not from below, but from above. It is not earthly, but heavenly in its origin.

But it is urged by some that Christianity introduced a change in all these respects. It is argued that because our Lord did not, in His own Person, inaugurate a Service and Ritual of like outward dignity, because He and His Apostles did not adopt a stately Choral and Ceremonial Worship, these things therefore are no longer acceptable to God. [292]

The objection is vain and shadowy. In the first place it must be remembered, that during the whole of the Gospel period, the ancient Worship of God was still in existence, and that our Blessed Lord and His Apostles were punctual in their attendance thereon. Even after the Ascension we read of the twelve "continuing daily with one accord in the *Temple*"[2] for God's *public* Worship; while meeting together in their Oratory, or "Upper Room," for the *private* Celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord came, not to set up a new Religion, but to transfigure the Old. For many years the New and the Old Systems ran on together — the public Ritual of the Old, the private Worship of the New. In Gospel times public Christian Worship was not exhibited; because God's public Worship was still committed to, and

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1 ϕ 2 Chronicles 29:25

2 ϕ Acts 2:46

conducted by, the ministers of the Old Ritual. Even the *private* introductory Service of the New Dispensation did not take place till the very eve of our Blessed Lord's Death.

On this august Service in the "Upper Room" — the most august and important that the world has ever seen — I must add a passing word. In it we behold the affecting meeting of the two Dispensations; the Paschal close of the Old, the solemn Eucharistic inauguration of the New. Here we see the whole Christian Church representatively assembled together with its Divine Head. And in the mystic Ceremonial which ensued, we find every essential element of Christian Worship introduced and blessed by Incarnate God Himself.

The crown and centre of all, I need not say, is the blessed Eucharist itself. This is the special and peculiar Christian Service, the Holy Mystery around which everything else must revolve, to which all else is but ancillary. Attendant upon this we find "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks;" we find "exhortation and doctrine;" and we find "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." "When they had sung an hymn ([Greek]) they went out to the Mount of Olives." Doubt has been expressed as to the nature of the Hymn offered to God at this solemn time by the "glorious Company of the Apostles, and the honorable, true, and only Son." Whether it was, as commonly supposed, the usual Hallel Psalms sung at the Passover, or, as Archdeacon Freeman suggests, some other special Eucharistic song, we cannot tell. The great fact of Jesus singing, is all we need to know. This it is on which the Holy Ghost would fix our attention — the significant fact of God Incarnate employing music at the Church's first Communion Service; and with His own blessed lips inaugurating that system of Eucharistic psalmody and Choral Worship which He willed ever to continue, and whereof He spake before in the Psalter, "In the midst of the congregation will I praise Thee;" " O come before His Presence with a Song."

[It is most needful to bear in mind not only what this "Upper Room" Service *is* meant, but what it is *not* meant to teach us. We are not to see in it any discountenance of suitable ceremonial and magnificence in Christian worship.]

Not to dwell on the fact of this "large Upper Room " being, even before the Apostles entered, by God's secret Providence, (perchance by no human hands) "furnished and prepared;" words which may imply much; we must remember that the possible simplicity of the outward arrangements of the Feast was but in keeping with our Lord's mysterious self-concealment while on earth. He emptied Himself. He [293] suffered an Apostle at this very Solemnity to lie familiarly in His bosom. No argument, therefore, can be drawn from this scene to justify carelessness or irreverence before our Lord's *Sacramental* Presence, which would not justify a like familiarity of manner before His *visible* and *natural* Presence.

Our Divine Master is now highly exalted. The same Apostle who here leaned on His breast in the loving freedom of unrestrained intercourse, the next time he beheld Him, after His Exaltation, "fell at His feet as *dead*," The Holy Ghost is careful to tell us this, lest perchance we should deem that there *may* be, in our Communion with our Divine Lord, any continuance of that unawed tone and manner which the former posture of the beloved Apostle might seem to indicate.

And with regard to the great Act of Christian "Worship", we learn that the Most High, very early in the history of the Christian Church, was compelled sternly to interfere, to impress

upon her the practical *necessity* of fencing it round with suitable Ceremonial; by visiting with "grievous diseases and sundry kinds of death"[1] those early communicants who — ere yet the Church had been able to put on her beautiful garments, and express in outward act the intense inner reverence due to so high a Mystery, and adapt to her own Services those general principles and features of Solemn ritual which God had taught His ancient Church, and which still lingered round her departing form — presumed on this absence of visible splendour and awfulness, and approached the Holy Table of the Lord carelessly, unpreparedly, "not discerning the Lord's Body," and counting as a "common thing" the very "Blood of the Covenant."

Moreover, when the Church was poor and persecuted, she could not but worship in poverty, retirement, and simplicity. It was so in Jewish, it was so in Christian times. "When she became rich, God claimed her riches and magnificence. He will not countenance ease and splendour in secular concerns; niggardliness and indifference in our public recognition of Himself. Outward ceremonial (as Mr. Beresford Hope reminded us) is found absolutely essential in duly impressing men's minds in the things of this life: it is no less needful (as the religious instincts of all nations have testified) in matters affecting the Life to come. It surely needs not the inspired injunction, that all things are to be done in the Church to teach us this.

But to return. The music of the Christian Church, we have thus seen, originated with our blessed Lord himself. His Eucharistic Anthem was the first welling forth of that full stream of choral harmony — of "Psalm, Hymn, and Spiritual Song" — which was to make glad the City of God; to which we find such constant reference, as well in the Apostolic Epistles as in the writings of the early Fathers.

But what was the *nature* of the early Church music? And first: do we know anything definitely as to the music of the Jews? I believe, nothing whatever. Judging from their instruments, so far as we can recognize them by their names, (and even here there is the greatest obscurity) it seems that their music, to us of the present day, would sound not a little uncouth and barbarous. That harmony and counterpoint were unknown to them seems certain. Their melodies, too, though affecting them with pleasure, would doubtless appear to us now wild and irregular, not being determined by any of the laws which regulate melody amongst ourselves.

[294] [Probably the effect of their music may have depended more on the mere sound itself, on the beauty and flexibility of the Hebrew voices, the passion and declamatory energy of the reciter, the contrast and varied character of the several instruments, than on the precise nature of the tunes or melodies sung, or the strictly harmonious consonance of the instrumental accompaniments.]

I have spoken of their being unacquainted with the laws of harmony. And possibly there may be a sacred significance in the fact of the harmonic Triad, the root of all harmony, having been unknown to them; and their music, such as it was, unisonous. The mystery of the Blessed Trinity was not yet revealed. The *oneness* of the Deity was the great doctrinal verity then impressed on the mind of God's people. "Hear, Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord." And hence there may have been some designed congruity between this and the corresponding state of their musical knowledge. We are emphatically told of the special manifestation of the

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[1] ϕ 'divers (sic) diseases' &c. From an exhortation in the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer.

Divine Presence "when the singers and trumpeters were as *one* in praising and blessing the Lord."

Harmony itself tells of the mystery of a Plurality in Unity, and specially of a Trinity in Unity. It is the daughter and handmaid of the Christian Dispensation. And to banish it, as many are seeking practically to do, from our Christian Worship in favour of bald unison, is simply irrational and intolerable.

Of the progress of Church Music till the time of S. Ambrose in the fourth century we know absolutely nothing: nor have we any clear information as to the precise nature of the musical reforms which resulted from his influence. The two great debts we owe him are the introduction of antiphonal chanting into the West, and the revision or settlement of the Church's musical scales. On. both I must say a few words.

Till his time, antiphonal or responsive Psalm chanting was unknown in the West. Nay, it seems uncertain whether there was any systematic chanting of the Psalms at all. We have all heard of the occasion of the introduction into the West of the psalmody of the East. It was during the struggle of S. Ambrose with the heretical Empress Justina. The people were on the bishop's side. The Basilica in which he and his flock were met for worship was on one occasion surrounded by the imperial troops, and for several days the church was blockaded, and the people shut in with their bishop. It was in order to relieve his distressed flock that the good prelate providentially bethought him of the Eastern mode of singing the Psalms. Familiar with the ecclesiastical chants, he began at once to instruct his people. The result was most happy. Not only was his flock relieved and interested; but even the besieging soldiery caught some of the sacred enthusiasm, and were heard outside joining in the sweet songs of Sion. S. Augustine tells us how he himself, still an unbeliever, was touched. He relates also that "from that time it was first ordered that the Psalms should be sung" in the West "after the manner of the Eastern nations. . . And from that period," he adds, "till the present, the system is retained at Milan, and imitated by almost all the congregations in the world."

But where had he learnt this mode of chanting himself? He had resided at some period of his life at Antioch, the capital of Syria. Now the Church in this city was one of great importance, and took a [295] pre-eminence in Christendom, next in point of time after that of Jerusalem. Here it was that, by the consecration of SS. Paul and Barnabas, the Gentile, as distinguished from the Jewish Apostolate, was established; and that the Gentile believers were first called Christians.

Now at Antioch, which long retained a sort of dignity as the metropolis or mother Church of Gentile Christendom, great attention seems to have been paid to music. It was renowned at this period, the time of Constantine, for its choirs and Church psalmody. Here Gentile and Jewish influences had met and blended together, and the Jewish system of chanting had probably, little by little, allied itself with the Gentile systems of music. [I know that antiphonal chanting is often said to have been first introduced into the Church by the venerable martyr Bishop of Antioch, S. Ignatius, who learnt it in a dream from the Angels. But as it seems unquestionably to have been in use amongst the Jews, in some form or other, we cannot reasonably doubt that it was from them that the Christian Church derived it.]

With regard to the Church modes, or scales; that we learn them from God's ancient people is utterly inconceivable. I know it is confidently asserted by many, that our ancient (so called) Gregorian Psalm-chants were composed by David, were inspired, were the identical chants

sung in the Temple; and that the ecclesiastical modes have the same sacred origin. It is scarcely needless to say, that there is not a vestige of authority for all this; and that there is nothing more sacred about the origin of the old ecclesiastical modes, than about the origin of our modern major and minor modes. As musical science has gradually advanced, and man has, little by little, discovered the mysterious laws of harmony which have their origin in God Himself, the Church has availed herself, and ever should reverently avail herself, of this increased knowledge. The multiplied modes and scales of the ancient Greeks, several of which remain to us in the Gregorian systems, are but a gradual and unsatisfied feeling after that which our modern division of the scale at once provides us.

The history of the ancient tones is involved in much obscurity; their number and names are so differently stated by different writers, as may be seen in the curious collection of tracts on ancient music edited by Marcus Meibomius.

The best authorities seem to fix the number of the old Greek scales at fifteen. Five *principal* ones, [the Lydian, Iastian, Æolian, Phrygian, Dorian]; each principal having two subordinate or relative scales: one ranging a fourth above, the other, a fourth below the principal scale. [Thus, attendant upon the Lydian would be the Hyper-Lydian and the Hypo-Lydian; upon the Dorian, the Hyper and the Hypo-Dorian; and so with the rest.] S. Ambrose is said to have limited the number used in the Church to four. S. Gregory the Great, two hundred years after, is said to have admitted four more. S. Ambrose's are modifications of four of the old *principal* scales; S. Gregory added to each, one of their *plagal* or collateral scales. [The four Ambrosian modes are simply the scales, of eight notes, of D. E. F. G., without accidentals. To each of these S. Gregory is said to have added one plagal scale, running, not from the keynote to its octave, but from the fourth below to its octave. S. Ambrose's first mode is called the Dorian; S. Gregory's superadded mode the Hypo-Dorian. The remaining Ambrosian modes are the Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixo-Lydian. The [296] superadded plagal, or Gregorian, modes haying the same names, with the prefix of *hypo*, [([Greek]) or *under*.] But even here our traditional information is all uncertain. We still possess the melody to which S. Ambrose is said to have wedded the noble hymn "Te Deum." But it is obvious that most of the latter portion of it consists of the *fourth* tone. It is a repetition of the chant which is considered the *representative chant* of the fourth mode, or scale. But this is a plagal or Gregorian mode; *not an Ambrosian*, Hence, either the fourth tone does not belong exclusively to the fourth mode, or the fourth mode was freely used before the time of S. Gregory, and not introduced by him; or the "Te Deum" (words or music, or both) is of a date posterior to S. Ambrose.

As I have mentioned the very interesting old melody entitled the "Ambrosian Te Deum,'' I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing it. We find multitudes of versions of this old melody, in mediaeval and modern times, and licences of every description taken with it. The version adapted to the English form of the "Te Deum" by Merbecke in 1649, which we are about to sing, appears to be taken directly from the Sarum Books; the melody merely undergoing such alterations as the change from the Latin to the English words necessitated, and being also in one or two places as (e.g.) the "Holy, Holy" rather simplified.

You will remember, of course, that the harmony or accompaniment is modern, as harmony was unknown in the days of S. Ambrose, and that the melody is in some places difficult to harmonise satisfactorily. [Many unsuccessful attempts have been made at it. The aim of the present attempt has been to keep the harmony simple, grave, and characteristic, without being too crude."]

(The "AMBROSIAN TE DEUM" was sung.)

Now if we examine this old melody, we find it not so much an original composition, as a compilation or adaptation of two or three old forms of chant. Especially do we discern in it, oft-recurring, the quaint old chant of the fourth mode, the most characteristic and, by its appearance, most ancient of all our Church tunes. I may just remark that this, the most ancient setting of the Te Deum in existence, may suggest to us of the present day a suitable and convenient musical treatment of that noble Hymn.

The next great name that meets us in the annals of Church Music is, of course, S. Gregory. What was the exact nature of his musical reforms we know very imperfectly. We are told that he diligently collected the musical fragments of the ancient Hymns and Psalms used in the Church from primitive times, selecting, methodising, and arranging them in the order long continued in Rome, and adopted throughout western Christendom. What was the "Canto figurato" which he banished, is not quite obvious. Probably the term is a general one, including all musical developments which he deemed unsuited to the music of the Church. He seems to have insisted upon the use of notes of one uniform length, in special opposition to the trochaic metre of the Greeks — our triple time. The melody therefore of the *Canto fermo* was very staid and simple.

But though he corrected excesses in rhythm and melody, he enlarged, as l have said, the number of the modes. Probably he found a greater [297] number in use than had been formally sanctioned by S. Ambrose, and he wisely submitted to necessity. The art could not be so trammelled. Thus, the recognised modes in his time were eight — or really seven: for the eighth, or Hypo-Mixo-Lydian mode, is but the repetition, an octave higher, of the first or Dorian mode, although with a different final note. And each of these seven scales simply corresponds, as to the position of its tones and semitones, with one or other of the scales of the several notes of our modern gamut, [A. B. C. D. E. F. G; but without any accidentals: the order of the scales being as follows, — D. A. E. B. F. C. G.]. Church song, moreover, was ordered to be strictly diatonic. Neither the chromatic nor enharmonic genera were allowed[1]; the latter of which (strange to say), which moved by quarter-tones, was held most in esteem by the ancients.]

The only admitted accidental was the B flat. Thus there was little scope for modulation. These and other restrictions imposed by the Church authorities contributed to keep music long in a state of infancy. Nor was it till the lapse of several centuries, and by slow stages, that it fairly burst its trammels.

I have no time to specify these gradual improvements. I can do no more than mention the names of Guido, the celebrated Benedictine monk of Arezzo in Tuscany, to whom, shortly before the Norman conquest, we owe the Gamut, and the first practical advance in the systematic study of harmony; of whom Cardinal Bona writes, that "he so simplified the study of music, that a poor unlettered lad might learn in a few months what, before Guido's time, it took a clever man almost a lifetime to master."

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[1] It is very strange that, of these systems of scales, the *enharmonic*, which moved by quarter-tones, (like the scale of the Hindoos) was far the most esteemed by the ancient Greek musicians. But this was discarded from the Church because of its intricacy, as the chromatic genus was for its softness or effeminacy: and diatonic progression alone was permitted.

Nor can I do more than simply refer to his great successor, Franco of Cologne, to whom we are indebted for the time table. Sufficient to say, that one discovery led to another, one improvement to another. Innovations and licences, moreover, some good, more very bad, found their way into the Church, till the old plain-chant was in danger of absolutely disappearing; being either discarded for more modern strains, or so disfigured by flourishes, or veiled by the superadded descant or harmony, as to be scarcely recognisable.

The fact was, secular music was advancing. The music of the Church — its authorised music — meanwhile remaining stationary. The Church instead of wisely recognising, meeting, availing itself of, while gently controlling, the spread of musical knowledge, avowedly treated it with indifference. But while, on the one hand, professing a stiff, unyielding purism, she was, in actual practice, driven in sheer self-defence to resort to all manner of questionable expedients to render her service attractive. The Bull of John XXII in the fourteenth century[1] was yet in force, which, instead of regulating the use of harmony in Divine Service, had virtually condemned it; insisting on the strict observance of plain-song, and confining the use of concords to the great Festivals.

But people can never be satisfied with mere plain-song; they would have, and will have, *music* — if not good, they will have bad. Popes [298] and synods might legislate; they could not stem the advancing tide of knowledge. The laws of music were beginning little by little to be understood, the hidden resources of the Divine art to disclose themselves; and it was manifest that, if the Church would retain her hold upon her people, and not suffer her music to become wholly contemptible, she must relax some of her stiff restrictions, and allow the time-honoured crudities of musical infancy to make way for something which could address the intelligence, and touch the sensibilities of her children.

It is singular and instructive to notice — as illustrating the inevitable certainty of the reaction which must ever take place against unwise authority — how utterly extravagant was the extent to which, at the time of the Council of Trent[2], the practical needs and instincts of the Church had defied her written authority. No musical abuses of modern times are comparable to those which existed three centuries ago. Every sort of excess was committed with the plain-song. Secular ditties were introduced. And, whereas this rule was, that all new Church Music should be at least based upon some of the old chants, it is a fact that there were at least one hundred masses in common use founded on the tune of a common ballad, "*The Armed Man.*"

Interpolations of the most incongruous nature, entitled "farsa," or *stuffing*, were common in the Sacred Service.

The Council of Trent was compelled to take the matter seriously in hand. At first very stringent repressive rules on the subject of music were in contemplation; but, through the influence of the Spanish bishops, these were not carried, and the measures finally adopted were sensible and sound. The Council rather confined itself to general principles, than entered into details. Among other things, it insisted strongly (and I wish some of our priests would attend to that now-a-days) on the *clear and distinct enunciation* of the Sacred Words.

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[1] ϕ 1249-1334

[2] ϕ 1545-1563

Two Commissioners were appointed (one of them the great Carlo Borromeo) to superintend the practical carrying out of the decisions of the Council. But there needed the mind of some master *musician*. And God raised one up to meet the emergency.

Giovanni Pier Luigi, called, from his birthplace, *Palestrina* (the ancient Præneste near Rome) was born in the year 1529, and at this time, still a young man, was choir-master at S. Mary Major. The Commissioners were directed to take counsel with him. He strongly discountenanced the idea of discarding harmonized and scientific music from the Church, and employing mere bald unisonous plain-song; and, with a view of furnishing a specimen of what he deemed to be legitimate Church Music, and also satisfying the Commissioners as to the sacred capabilities of the art, he composed in succession three Masses. The last of these was considered a great success. It was called, after his former and now deceased patron, Marcellus II., "Missa Papæ Marcelli," and gave the Commissioners such satisfaction, that they at once saw the folly of excommunicating an art which might prove so fitting a handmaid to the Divine Service. Thus music was saved, and the Church preserved from an egregious mistake.

Palestrina thus became the founder of a new and admirable school of Church Music, grave, learned, and pleasing. Many of his compositions have been adapted to English words by Dean Aldrich and others. I will ask the choir to have the goodness to sing a short and [299] pleasing adaptation from Palestrina, by Aldrich, from Dr Boyce's Collection —

"O GIVE THANKS."

But in another important branch of Choral Worship was Palestrina's influence felt. To him was committed the laborious task of examining, revising, and correcting the entire system of the Church's *plain-song*.

Thus Palestrina's history brings before us two, or rather, I may say, *three* questions of great practical interest, on which I am bound to offer some opinion.

I. First, the use of music, not Gregorian, in Divine Service.
II. Secondly, the employment of Gregorian music.
III. Thirdly, the limits and provinces of these two separate classes of Church song.

I. First, then, is the use of music, other than Gregorian, permissible and desirable in the Church? I am specifying no particular kind, whether the cathedral anthem, or the simple hymn tune. I am merely considering the abstract question. Because there are some who seem to look with grave suspicion on all music not Gregorian; who appear to think that the music of the Church should be all but confined to plain-song; who would have Preces, Psalms, Canticles, Credo, Kyries, Introits, Gloria, even Hymns, *Gregorian.*

Is there any ground for this? None whatever. Every such attempt in former times has proved a failure, and has resulted in some extravagant reaction. The people will have *music*. God has bestowed on us this divine gift, that it should be reverently employed in His Service. We have no business to reject it. To confine our songs of praise to rude melodies destitute of form or beauty, or any intrinsic recommendation whatever, is most objectionable.

Who does not sometimes feel that beautiful words, instead of having their beauty enhanced by their association with suitable music, are cruelly robbed of all their beauty and

impressiveness, by the uncouth and incongruous musical alliance to which they are condemned?

Now, turning to the Council of Trent, and regarding Palestrina as the then living representative of modern and scientific music; we find the use and position of such music in the Divine Service distinctly recognised, — music as such, and not mere plain song. *Music* the best that could be devised (so that it was of a sacred character) was, as God Himself had taught of old, to find place in His Service, as an offering pleasing to Him, and edifying to His people.

The same general principle is recognised in our own rubric — "Here followeth the Anthem;" a rubric, which merely gave written authority to a long pre-existing practice, expressed in the well-known injunction of Queen Elizabeth[1]: "For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that at the beginning or end of Common Prayer, there be sung a Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that can be devised," — a practice, I may further add, illustrated by the following incidental record of the usage in the Queen's own Chapel.

"On the same day," writes Strype, (he is recounting the Lent Preachers in the year 1560, and has reached the morning of Mid-Lent Sunday; and then proceeds — "On the same day") "in the afternoon, Bishop Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, preached, in his habit, before the [300] Queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock: and presently after, her Chapel went to Evening Song — the Cross, as before, standing on the Altar, and two candlesticks, and two tapers burning in them. And, sermon concluded, a good Anthem was sung."

In the time of Benedict XIV. [1740 — 1758] the question of Church music came again under the notice of the authorities at Rome. The exclusive use of Gregorian Song had been urged by several bishops and others, as the only way to correct the growing secularity of Church Music. Benedict objects to this, and characterises such a restriction as a *novelty*, and a novelty sure to excite trouble and dissatisfaction. Some musical purists in his day, moreover, were for discarding the organ and other instruments from the Church. He will not hear of this. He advocates the use of instrumental music; prohibiting only instruments of a noisy or secular character. His lists of interdicted and permitted instruments are interesting. He also advocates the judicious use of music occasionally *without words*, organ voluntaries, or instrumental symphonies, "*ad levandos animos fidelium*;" as well as for enhancing the solemnity of the Service.

In the recent Malines Congress the only recorded decision on the subject of plain-song was, *against* its *exclusive* use.

II. But this reminds me of the *second* question which Palestrina's history brings before us. Not only is he the great founder of the best school of high and dignified Church Music, but to him are we indirectly indebted for the transmission and revision of the great body of the ancient plain-song of the Western Church.

The plain-song had become thoroughly debased. The modern Service books therefore were to be diligently collated with more ancient Manuals, in order to the recovery, in its purest form,

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[1] ϕ 1533—1603.

of the several portions of the Church's inheritance of Canto Fermo. Palestrina seems to have shrunk, as a musician, from the sheer mechanical labour which such an investigation would involve. He committed the execution of the task (himself exercising only a general supervision) to an industrious and competent friend, Guidetti, who describes his work as one "*nullius ingenii, sed multarum vigiliarum*."[1] He published the result of his labours in 1582.

But it is not a little interesting to bear in mind that, not Italy, but *England* was the country which took the initiative in the work of correcting the Church's plain-song. When the ancient Offices of the Church were revised in this country in the sixteenth century, translated into the vernacular, and compressed, partly with a view to simplification and adaptation to congregational instead of mere cloistral use, and partly for the clearing of them from modern corruption, in doctrine and practice, which had, little by little, infected and marred them — when the old Matins, Lauds, and Prime of the Sarum Breviary assumed the now familiar form of our "*Matins*" or "*Morning Prayer*" and the Vespers and Compline, of our "*Evening Prayer*" or "*Evensong*" — the question of the *music* for these revised, remodelled and translated Offices, forced itself upon the attention of our Liturgical Reformers.

Archbishop Cranmer seems to have been the first to try his hand at this work of adaptation. We find him translating old Breviary Hymns, and putting the Gregorian music (or "Latin note," as he calls it) to them, in order to see how "English would do to a song." To him, it appears, [301] we owe the setting of the present beautiful old *Litany Chant* to our incomparable Litany. We find him, however, in one of his published letters, expressing the hope that some competent person, "cunning in music," should take this matter up; himself merely objecting to the modern ornate forms of the plain-song, and hoping that the song set to our revised Offices, should not be "full of notes," but having, as a general rule, only one note to each syllable.

The work thus referred to by Cranmer, was ultimately effected by John Merbecke, organist of Windsor, a competent musician, as well as zealous reformer, who hardly escaped martyrdom for his opinions. Under his musical editorship, the Book of Common Prayer, set to Ritual Song, came out within the year after the publication of the first Book of Edward VI. And a very important work it is, though small in compass; partly, as furnishing a useful pattern and precedent for the adaption of the old plain-song to our translated Offices; and partly, perhaps chiefly, as affording an unimpeachable contemporary witness as to the practical *meaning* of the rubrics which speak of the method of performing our Service; then shall be "sung, said, read." Merbecke's book incidentally confirms what is on other grounds abundantly clear, that there was no intention whatever on the part of our Reformers to interfere with the time-honoured and universal method of reciting the Divine Office. The idea entertained by some that the word " read," which occasionally occurs in the rubrical directions, conveys any order for the ordinary colloquial tone of voice, is utterly baseless. It is merely the translation of the word "legere," used in the unreformed rubrics to denote Recitation from a book, chorally or not, as the case might be. It is employed both in the old and reformed rubrics as identical with "say" and also with "sing;" the former word generally denoting the simpler, the latter the more ornate form of choral recitation. The utmost that can be gathered from the word "read" is this: that in churches where priest or choir cannot, from want of skill, employ the legitimate modes of saying the Divine Office, there the ordinary tone of voice may be used, as a permissible, but exceptional, alternative. The well-known injunction of Queen Elizabeth, to

[1] ϕ No talent but many sleepless nights.

which I have referred, confirms this. For, while recommending the introduction of some Hymn or Anthem "in the best music that can be devised," before or after Service, it not the less enjoins that, during the whole of the Service itself, "modest and distinct song shall be employed;" [the old plain-song, in fact, though revised and simplified, still continued.]

The only parts of the Service on which doubts were reasonably entertained were the Scripture Lections. The Capitula in the old Service Books had been generally very short, and were always sung after the accustomed method of choral recitation. And it was at first distinctly ordered that this old mode of reciting Scripture should be retained, and that the plain-song should extend to the lessons as well as to the rest of the Service; the rubric ordering (as you will remember) that "in such places where they do sing, there shall the *Lessons* be *sung* in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the "Epistle and Gospel." This rubric continued till the time of the Savoy Conference, before the last Revision in 1661, when the Puritans objected to it. The Commissioners in their published reply refused to give way, alleging that the objections against the old practice were [302] groundless. But ultimately, through what influence is not quite plain, they yielded: at least, the rubric was withdrawn. I think happily: because a long recitation of Scripture in monotone, except the reader has a very musical voice and good ear, is not pleasing. The "Cantus Prophetarum," or old musical mode of reading Scripture, was formerly relieved by occasional inflections. But the "Cantus" contemplated in our Reformed rubric was plainly monotone, as I think the illustrative injunction given by Bucer incidentally shews: "In hic locis, in quibus musica figuralis cani solet, lectiones, etc., simpliciter uno tono, in modo perpetuæ dictionis, distincte legantur."

Merbecke's book then [the contents of which are now familiarized amongst us through Mr. Helmore's useful Manuals,] contains the "modest and distinct song'' for all parts of the Service, except for the Litany, which had been published shortly before. It does not contain the Psalms for the day. Certain of the old Gregorian melodies are set to the Canticles as specimens of adaptation; a notice being appended that the Psalms are to be sung in like manner: a liberty of choice being thus left in selecting the Psalm-chants, and the book itself being kept in a moderate compass.

III. But having now enforced the two leading principles in Choral "Worship; 1st, that there shall be real genuine *music* ("figured music" as it is technically called); and, secondly, that there shall be also "modest and distinct song;" in other words, "plain-song," or musical recitative: we come, thirdly, to the question of the limits and provinces of the two in Divine Service. We come to this question: In which part of our public Offices are we *confined* to the use of the ancient plain-song; and in which may we legitimately employ music of a more modern character ?

I have spoken of plain-song as musical recitative; and this it is fundamentally. Monotonic recitative forms its basis; the monotone being relieved by certain periodic inflections, occurring generally in uniform order, and after certain recognized rules.

Now, the nature and frequency of these inflections vary according to the different parts of the Service. They are least in the recitation of Scripture; greater in the versicles and Psalm-chants; and greatest, perhaps, in the prose Hymns, such as the "Gloria in Excelsis" and "Ter Sanctus;" with which I may also class the Nicene Creed and Offertory Sentences; during large portions of which, all idea of a dominant, or reciting note, practically disappears; the inflections recur in no fixed order, and a long melody, or tune, is the result.

Now, as in the case of the Prayers, Versicles, Litany, and the like, there has been no attempt, worth notice, to disturb the established system of plain-song, as traditionally handed down, and as employed in substantially the same form, though with local varieties, in all places where the Service is chorally rendered, I may pass them by. [There seems no desire to substitute for these, modern melodies or modern forms of recitation. Where simple monotone is not employed, these prevail almost universally amongst us, and, I trust, ever will prevail.]

I will only say, that it is very important that the people should become familiar with these simple inflections, and should be gradually accustomed to *sing* them in unison. It will tend to render the service much less of a weariness to them, and will give them a greater interest [303] in it. And, on this ground, I cannot but think it unfortunate that at all our Church gatherings, and on all Sundays and Festivals, even in many country churches, Tallis' elaborate harmonies (beautiful as they are) are sung. Here the plain-song is, throughout the greater part, assigned to the *tenor* voice; and, being thus veiled by the superadded harmonies, is neither recognized, nor learned, nor sung by the people.

The word *tenor*, I may remark in passing, properly denotes that part which *holds on to*, or sustains, the *plain-song*. When only one other voice sang the descant, or double song, or accompaniment, that voice was called the *contra-tenor*. When a third part was added, it was styled "*triplum*" whence our treble. The fundamental or lowest part was called "basis," or "*bass*." Now, provided the plain-song, or tenor, was sung out by a great body of voices in unison, and the accompaniment kept quite subordinate, so that the congregation could learn and join in their proper part, all would be well and good. Instead of this, we are condemned often to hear a whole congregation, men and women, trebles and basses, singing Tallis' treble part, which is simply an accompaniment, all in unison and octaves, as if this was their own part. And the effect is most objectionable.

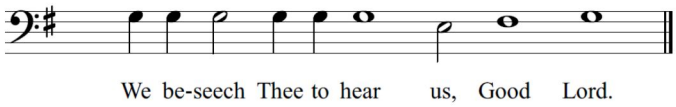
Take (e.g.) the Lesser Litany after the Apostles' Creed; or the verse "Because there is none other that fighteth for us," &c. In both these cases, the *people's part*, with the exception of the last two syllables, is *monotone* throughout. Instead of this, we hear them all struggling through a difficult melody, and straining their voices, in one place to reach a high E (or E sharp, when the service is chanted in A): and the result is most disagreeable.

Look again at the recurring response in the Litany, "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord." Here the people's part is lost. This, again, according to Cranmer's plain-song, should be monotone, until the antepenultimate word "us." Instead of this, we hear them all singing a pretty tune, each syllable to a different note, in a tripping dactylic metre falsely accented.

Wē-ĕ bĕ | seēch thĕe tŏ | hēar ŭs, goŏd | Lōrd.||

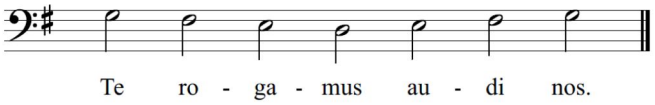
Now there can be no doubt, Tallis wrote his harmony to the Latin form of this, "Te rogamus, audi nos:" in which the accent will fall gravely and correctly: nor can there be any doubt that the treble part was originally but an accompaniment to a form of the old plain-song in the tenor. But the harmony of this response has been so modified, that the plain-song has entirely *disappeared* from the tenor, and there is nothing to connect the response with the *canto fermo* of the rest of the Litany. Before, then, it is thoroughly popularised among us, it should be subjected to two alterations. First, the harmony should be so changed as to allow of the restoration, to its proper place in the tenor, of the plain-song. And secondly, the words should be arranged to suit the English, not the Latin accent; removing the absurd emphasis from the initial "*we*," and lengthening the penultimate "*good*."

It is to be observed that the Plain-Song which Tallis adopted in his Version of the Litany, is not exactly the same as that employed by Cranmer. Cranmer, studying great simplicity, used the old tune of the introductory Invocation to much of the succeeding portion of the Litany. He, therefore, set the above Response as follows: —

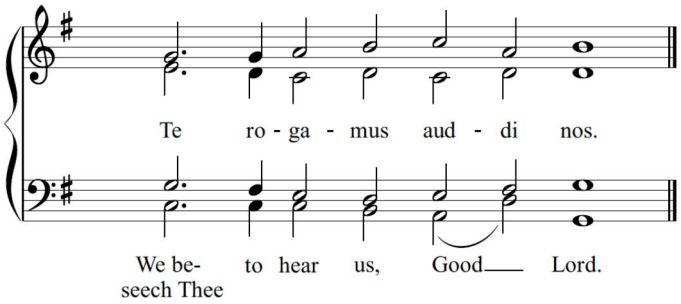


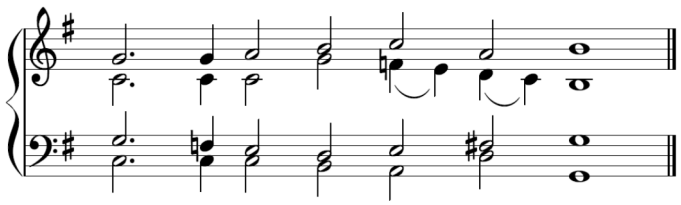
[304] Thus, then, as far as Preces, Versicles, Responses, Litany, and the like extend, all nearly will be agreed that wherever the service is chorally rendered, and not said in monotone, there should be no substantial interference with the ancient *plain-song* as fairly represented in Merbecke, and as exhibited in many interesting forms in Dr Jebb's most valuable work, entitled "Litanies and Responses of the Church of England." But how about the Credo, Gloria, Offertory sentences? Are we here equally bound to adopt the musical adaptations which Merbecke has given? Not by any means. These, although based on the old plain-song, and embodying considerable portions of it, have yet more of the character of original attempts, and must be judged by their own merits and intrinsic fitness. It seems imagined by many, that because Merbecke's "Credo" and "Gloria in Excelsis" come to us originally in old square notes, and a four-line staff, there is a sort of religious necessity to employ them on all occasions. But this is by no means the case. Merbecke, as an adapter, or composer, possesses no higher authority than his great successor Tallis; nor he, again, than any more modern writer who has successfully attempted the same words.

Tallis, on the contrary, employed the ordinary Latin melody, as given in the Roman and Sarum Books: —



Retaining, then, this melody in the tenor, and harmonising in four parts, he would obtain the following result: —



This is the *harmony* attributed to Tallis in the MS. copy in S. Peter's College, Cambridge. The harmony given by Edward Lowe in his "Directions for the Performance of Cathedral Service," (1661) is as follows:—

Now it is evident that either Tallis himself, in subsequent editions of his work, or else musical editors who have taken upon them to improve upon his performance, with a view to enriching the *harmony* of this Response, have thoughtlessly interfered with the *Plain-Song itself*. In Dr Boyce's edition it has entirely disappeared. The result is that, while every one knows the air of the treble part, no one knows *that which is the real people's* part.

[305]The most happy of Merbecke's original compositions, or rather, adaptations or compilations, is his notation of the Nicene Creed. This has been revived of late years, and has become, I think, deservedly popular.

I do not say that I approve of all the modern settings and harmonised arrangements of this old melody — some are repulsively crude and bad: and I cannot for one moment see why harsh crudities should be adopted, without necessity.

I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing a simple version of this old Creed.

"MERBECKE'S CREED."

All, I think, will admit that this old melody is far too full of character, and too easy to sing, to be cast aside. It is certainly more appropriate to the words than a great majority of our cathedral settings, with their little verses and canons and points of imitation. Still it has no claim to exclusive adoption: and on festive occasions, and at High Celebrations, where there are competent choirs, it would seem that music of a higher and more developed character might with propriety be adopted.

I come next to the subject of the Psalm-chants. Are we here bound to adhere to the old plain-song forms of Psalm recitation, or may we adopt chants of a more modern character?

Here I must speak carefully, for I am touching on a fiercely controverted point. So strong does the current of feeling run on this subject, that whereas we hear some of our brethren, in whom perhaps the musical element predominates over the ritualistic, speaking of Gregorian chants as barbaric, detestable, and the like: we hear others, in whom the ritualistic predominates over the musical, speaking of all chants but Gregorian with even greater contempt and reprobation; broadly stating (as I saw it affirmed in a recent letter in one of our Church papers) that the use of modern or Anglican chants was a sure and inevitable index of some latent heretical proclivity; that heresy and Anglican chants were indissoluble associates. Language like this cannot be too strongly denounced; it is far worse than foolish.

A word or two then on this subject.

And first, what is a chant? It is the form of musical recitation employed for the Psalms. Originally it seems to have been all monotone, with the exception of the last syllable of each verse, where the voice fell a minor third or perfect fifth. By and bye this simple ending

assumed the form of a more decided musical cadence; then there came a corresponding cadence called a "mediation" in the middle of the verse; and lastly, the "intonation" at the beginning. Thus there was one uniform reciting note, called the "dominant;" relieved by inflections, at the close, at the middle, and, in certain cases, at the beginning, of each verse. In modern, or Anglican, chants the introductory intonation has been dispensed with, the chants all reduced to one uniform rhythm, the mediation and cadence released from the special melodic laws which had bound them, and the rule as to the one recitation note throughout both divisions of the chant, abolished. So that in a modern double chant, instead of *one* you have commonly *four* notes of recitation; and the chant seems almost to lose its character as a chant or recitation, and to become a pretty rhythmical tune. Without absolutely deprecating the occasional employment of double chants, I am glad to find that their use is becoming less frequent. Besides their general unchant-like character, they are unsuited for an [306] intelligent musical recitation of the Psalter. They have been at times employed, not unsuccessfully, for long metrical hymns; but, interfering as they do with the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry of the Psalter, making the verses to run, as the verses rarely ever do, in stiff uniform couplets, they should be very sparingly used, if at all, for the Psalms.

But, passing from them. Where are we to find our best models for Psalm chants? Unquestionably in the simple ferial forms of those old Gregorian melodies which have been associated with the Psalter for so many centuries, and have been sung through the length and breadth of the Catholic Church. I say the simple ferial forms; for florid and worthless as are many of our modern double Anglican chants, the very worst of them are not so extravagantly flimsy, grotesque, and worthless as are certain of the ornate festal forms of the Gregorian chants. The melody, instead of being broad and dignified, is utterly emasculate and feeble. All the oddest vocal flourishes and ornaments in use amongst old-fashioned dissenters in their metrical psalm-singing, we find here freely introduced.

When I speak, then, of the Gregorian tones furnishing us with our best models for Psalm-chants, I refer to them only in their simple ferial forms. We know that when Guidetti, under the auspices of the great Palestrina, revised the plain-song for the Western Church in the sixteenth century, he admitted twenty-three only of the chants which from time to time have been in use, as ancient and legitimate: five forms of the 1st tone; one of the 2nd; four of the 3rd; three of the 4th; one of the 5th; one of the 6th; five of the 7th; two of the 8th; and the beautiful irregular or Peregrine tone. Can any Psalm chants be more grave, vigorous, and pleasing than most of these? Surely the mere interest attaching to them, independently of their intrinsic excellence, should make us loth to part with them. But are we to use them exclusively? "Of course you are," say many. "You cannot serve God and mammon. All compromises are bad; a compromise between Anglicans and Gregorians, intolerable." Those who so speak know little of the practical difficulties with which the subject is beset. I will mention a few.

And first: if you adhere to the pure recognized forms of the Gregorian tones, you have at most twenty-three chants for the whole Psalter: but several of these are simply varieties of the same chant, and so like one to another, that it is confusing to your people to teach them *both*. So you have only some *dozen fresh forms* of melody for the whole Book of Psalms: and the result is, that you become so weary with the iteration, that you are *driven* to some method for enriching your stock. Two methods have been adopted — the Mediæval and the Anglican. We must determine for ourselves which is the more sensible. The Mediæval method, already referred to, was to *restrict* the psalm-chants to these nine tones alone: not to construct new and original melodies, according to the laws of the several ecclesiastical modes, but to keep to

this limited number of melodies — one representative tune for each mode, or scale. And yet, while *professedly* doing this, while *professedly* adhering to the nine old orthodox chants, and them alone; *practically* to increase their number almost in-definitely, by submitting each individual chant to every conceivable kind of usage, — putting here a new beginning, here a new middle, hero a new end; inserting a few notes here, omitting a few notes there, till one chant became twenty, or fifty, as the case might be.

The method adopted by the Anglican Church for supplying itself with suitable chants according to its needs, was, not to ring any fresh changes [307] on the old tones, or torture them into any new forms; but to fix on some simple *type* or *pattern*, leaving it to her musicians to construct chants according to that type, embodying the spirit of the old Church melodies, and based upon the Gregorian system, but adapted to the accent and genius of the English language, and susceptible of legitimate harmony.

I am not speaking a word in disparagement of the old Gregorian chants. Their varying rhythms and quaint cadences I dearly love. To hear them well and intelligently sung and accompanied, is to myself a great treat. But it is mere blind idolatry which refuses to see the practical value of the other system of chanting. 1st, Anglican chants give us, what we really want, a greater and more *legitimate* variety than Gregorians. 2nd, they present fewer difficulties: (1) less difficulty in pointing, and (2) less difficulty in accompanying. 1. Less difficulty in pointing. The rhythms and metres of the Gregorian chants are so different, that a Psalm pointed to suit one chant will not suit another. These changes of rhythm are very pleasing, but create great practical difficulties. For you cannot have your Psalter pointed once for all, and then select your chants, — you must have each Psalm pointed for its own chant. This cripples one very much. 2. But the difficulty in accompanying is also great. The structure of most of the chants is really inconsistent with such a tonal system as the laws of harmony demand. And, therefore, how best to clothe them with organ harmonies is a great problem. Take, for instance, the 4th tone. Who really knows how to harmonize this? And to hear an unskilled organist labour through it, with harmonies utterly crude and irrational, is no small penance to musical ears.

I have occasionally heard the Gregorian chants very finely accompanied: but, generally, the practical difficulties which attend their successful rendering are so imperfectly overcome, that the Psalms, which should form one of the most delightful parts of the service, become a very "pain and grief." The choir and congregation may bawl out at the top of their voices; still one too often feels that the music is not such as the words of the sweet Psalmist merit, or such as is fit for an offering to God.

Now the Anglican system obviates both the difficulties I have mentioned. Instead of twenty different rhythms or metres, it has, with practical good sense, fixed on *one*, the most common, and perhaps most satisfactory, of all the ancient ones, and the best adapted to the general requirements of our language; a rhythm (as those who take interest in mystic numbers will be pleased to observe) having a sevenfold division; the former half of the chant containing three, the latter four members. So that you have your Psalter pointed once for all; and *any* chant will suit *any* Psalm. And thus, provided you can obtain a collection of good chants, (which, with a little pains, you may easily do) you may go far towards securing a very satisfactory musical rendering of the daily Psalms. For we ought not, I think, to keep one Psalm rigidly to one chant (except *perhaps* the 114th to the beautiful Peregrine tone): for the Psalter is so prolific in meaning, each Psalm has so many faces, that even our music should not seem to teach that it has only one. Circumstances may occur, particular Festivals come round, which may render

it desirable to bring out one or other aspect of a psalm into prominence: a judicious change of chant will often aid you in this. And our best Anglican single chants are so very simple and straightforward, that a congregation will catch one almost directly.

I may mention, that although the Gregorian chants, as a rule, suffer by being adapted to our Anglican mode of pointing, requiring a somewhat [308] freer treatment; still many of the best of them, and certain forms of all of them, may be sung to our common Anglican division of the words.

In connection with harmony, I must not omit to notice another advantage which our English chants possess. Being written in modes which invite harmony, they are *naturally* susceptible of it. Now harmonized music is (as I have before said) essentially Christian. It is of an intrinsically higher order than unisonous; and, surely, pure vocal harmony is the most appropriate music for the Sanctuary, and the most perfect and fitting offering to Him from whom all harmony proceeds. Why the Psalms, which should form the most delightful part of our ordinary morning and evening Offices, should be always condemned to be sung (sometimes, I should say, *howled*) in unison, I cannot tell. My idea is this — that our English chants should be so constructed (as numbers of them are) as, first, to be independent of any organ accompaniment; and second, to bear unisonous as well as harmonized singing; so that their effect shall be not impaired, but rather enhanced, by the congregation singing the melody in unison and octaves. By this means, those who prefer it, may sing the air; and those whose ears or voices prompt them to contribute to the harmony, may join in one of the vocal parts. This is an important consideration. Unisonous singing is very painful to some voices. Alto voices especially dislike it. They are constantly compelled to sing out of their proper register. And this, I doubt not, is one of the secret personal reasons for the objections entertained by my valued friend, the Oxford Professor,[1] against Gregorian music. He feels himself excluded from participating in an important part of the Office. Moreover, it is ruinous to a choir always to sing in unison. The singing soon becomes coarse and harsh, and degenerates into mere shouting. The trebles lose the power of singing in tune when unsustained by others. The tenors lose their higher, the basses their lower notes; the altos their voices altogether: everything becomes dependent on the organ. If you have a clever organist, the mischief will be veiled. The incompetence of the choir will not be very apparent; and the Service will probably be considered a very good one. For a clever organist has much in his power; but if you lose him, woe betide your choir. My belief is, that our choirs throughout the country have sensibly deteriorated since the revival of so much unisonous singing. And they will deteriorate. It saves trouble; it prevents the necessity of any man or boy knowing how to sing; but it results in offering to God a maimed and imperfect offering.

Now, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not speaking against the Gregorian chants. I love to hear them well done, and to join in them. But the universal adoption of them, advocated by many, is beset with difficulties so serious, which I have not by any means exhausted — difficulties which our simple Anglican system, with practical good sense, evades — that I cannot think it right to pass them over without notice, as they are by no means sufficiently recognized.

There is a kind of weak sentimental dread of everything Anglican among some of our brethren, which warps their judgment. Call a chant “Parisian,” and be it never so poor and

[1] ϕ The Revd. Sir. F.A.G. Ouseley.

modern, it will be eagerly appropriated. Call it English, and be it never so good, it will be held in contempt. ["*Debased*" is the epithet we usually see applied to Anglican chants, in certain of our Church newspapers, and by certain of our advanced writers. Such language is mere nonsense.] I am not about to offer any private theory of my own with respect to chanting. We must go on making trials, and gathering experience. My feeling is, that we should, if possible, [309] appropriate and utilize both classes of chants; either incorporating the best of the ancient ones into our modern system, or employing both systems according to our need. The Church, like a wise householder, brings forth from her exhaustless treasury "things new and old." The question of Psalm-chanting is one of great and growing interest to us. No Church in Christendom makes such congregational use of the Psalter as our own. And this use, please God, will increase. The Psalter and Offices are recited privately and cloistrally elsewhere, but not "in the great Congregation." We are bound therefore to look for music which will suit congregational worship; music, simple, broad, and susceptible of harmony.

It is because so much of the mediæval plain-song, with its long vocal flourishes, and wearisome multiplication of notes to one syllable, is so unsuited for congregational use, that I regret to see the attempts made to introduce so much of it into our Service, especially into the Communion Office. A single Priest, or small choir of men singing in unison, accompanied, as we often hear them abroad, with an ophicleide, may perform such music well enough, and not without effect. But to attempt to force music of this character on a congregation of English worshippers is, I am convinced, a great and serious mistake. I know nothing more wearying, more utterly painful to musical ears, than to hear some of these modern and most ill-judged adaptations. I forbear to specify instances. So again, there is something fascinating in singing a hymn-tune with a pretty Latin title, and written in square notes; and I freely own that a few of these revived Latin tunes are well worthy of adoption; susceptible of pure harmony, simple, vigorous, and pleasing; and that most of them possess an interest for the antiquarian and musician; but I must express my candid opinion, with regard to many of them, that to inflict them on a congregation is sheer, downright cruelty.

From the earliest ages, the Hymns of the Church have been regarded as, in some sort, a permitted outlet for Christian feeling and enthusiasm, and have claimed for themselves music of a somewhat more free and popular character than the Psalms. In the Psalms, Christian truths are in a measure veiled, and indirectly expressed; in the Church Hymns, they are *directly* announced "in all their gracious and heart-stirring fulness." Now to wed these Hymns to archaic strains, uncouth, unrhythmical, unharmonious, devoid of all power to move the peoples' hearts, is a grave error. Our Hymns and Anthems, while devout and ecclesiastical in character, should be at least pleasing and soberly expressive; so that they may really be a help, not a hindrance, to the words with which they are associated.

I regret that I have found it quite impossible in the compass of one short paper, to attempt any systematic course of illustrations. Still, as it would be unpardonable to pass over our long and illustrious line of English Church musicians wholly without mention, I must ask the choir to be so good as to give, in conclusion, two short specimens; the former from one of our earliest, the latter from one of our latest writers: the one from a composer who lived during the eventful crisis of our English Reformation; the other from a composer of the present day. The little anthem from Thomas Tallis first appears in a great choral work published by John Day in 1560, entitled "Certain Notes set forth in four and five parts, to be sung at the Morning, Communion, and Evening Prayer; very necessary for the Church of Christ to be frequented and used. And unto them be added divers godly Prayers and Psalms in the like form, to the honour and praise of God."

[310]

"IF YE LOVE ME." — *Tallis*

The other specimen is by Dr Wesley. It is what he would consider one of his lesser compositions. It is written in a free style; still it is so thoroughly religious and expressive, and, like every thing which comes from his pen, bears so plainly the mark of the thoughtful and accomplished musician, that it cannot but commend itself to all true lovers of the sacred Art. I may be pardoned for adding that the lesson of *unity* which its sacred words inculcate, "Love one another with a pure heart fervently" is not unfitting the close of this Church Congress, as reminding us of a way in which all may individually contribute in bringing about that glorious Consummation (when "all shall be *one*") at which the Archbishop, at the opening of the Congress, directed our wistful gaze; a Consummation, the ultimate realization of which is, as the Anthem also reminds us, infallibly *certain*: resting on the promise of the everlasting Word — "For the grass withereth, the flower thereof fadeth away, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever."

''BLESSED BE THE GOD AND FATHER." — *Wesley*.

I must apologise for the length and yet great incompleteness of this paper. I have aimed at bringing before you a few of the principles of Choral Worship, rather than at dealing much with details. Our aim should be to keep our music simple and congregational, and yet of such a character as shall be consistent with the increased musical knowledge, with which God has blessed us above our ancestors. There is a great Revival going on in the Church of England, musical, ritual, devotional: I believe it to be of God, *and that no power on earth can arrest it*. If the Church is to win back her masses, she must not refuse to avail herself of any legitimate means, of which God may have signified His approval, for rendering her Service soberly attractive. May God give us all wisdom, in our several departments of study and spheres of influence, to contribute towards this Revival, in such a way as shall best promote the edification of His people, and His own Honour and Glory!

I have nothing more to say than to thank the choir for their kind and most efficient aid; and, with your Lordship's permission, make a final request, that, in order that we may not go away without a single specimen of a hymn tune, they will be so good as to sing four verses of the Evening Hymn to the old canon tune by Thomas Tallis.

"GLORY TO THEE, MY GOD, THIS NIGHT." — *Tallis*.

The Standard (*London, England*), *12 October 1865; p. 3*

DYKES'S RESPONSE TO A LETTER CRITICISING THE NORWICH LECTURE

(The Standard's "Special Correspondent" had written: *"The proceedings terminated with a lecture by the Rev. J.B. Dykes, Mus. Doc., on "Church Music," illustrated by a few short pieces sung by the choir. Of this lecture there is not much to be said. It was devoted almost exclusively to a defence of Anglican, or rather modern music, as opposed to Gregorian, and was written in a studiously dry and unpopularised vein. Occasionally the dead level was slightly varied by a passing contest between the Gregorian and the Anglican factions among the audience, but for the most part it was listened to in solemn silence, suggestive equally of the struggle so many of us had recently passed and of the placid contentment which naturally supervened upon the excellent repast which followed it. The choir, too, was unsteady and ill-trained, and did anything but justice to the few pieces that were sung. The noble Nicene Creed, for instance, of Merbecque (sic), was utterly ruined, first by the unwarrantably florid style, and secondly by the unsteadiness of execution. The lecture, however, though unhappily combining the opposite weaknesses of dryness and controversiality, was nevertheless by no means devoid of interest, and will doubtless read better than it delivered."* (The Standard (London, England), 7 October 1865; p. 3))

Sir,—Having had my attention accidentally drawn to the letter of your special correspondent, dated Norwich, Thursday, Oct, 5, may I be permitted to offer a very few words in reference to one portion of it which affects myself?

I feel loth to find any fault with a letter so interesting and valuable; but when the writer, in noticing my lecture, describes it as "devoted almost exclusively to a defence of Anglican, or rather modern, music as opposed to Gregorian," I must really venture to suggest that the recent "struggle" to reach the banquetting (*sic*) hall, and the succeeding sumptuous "repast," of both of which he gives so graphic a description, had somewhat deadened (as he himself intimates) his powers of attention. And I do not wonder.

It is true that a part of my lecture dealt with the relative claims of Anglican and Gregorian music. But I seriously endeavoured to give to each its due; and spoke merely against the exclusivists on either side — against those who would banish either one or the other style from the Church.

Your lively correspondent is quite true in his remarks upon the somewhat dry and unpopular character of my paper. After such a day as he describes it would doubtless have been more refreshing to the audience, and certainly more pleasing to the speaker, to have delivered an address more *ad populum.* But the session of the Congress is not the time for popular lectures. The presence of a large company of listeners is but an accident of the Congress. The papers are not written for the multitude, but for the few, the intelligent, the thoughtful. They are designed, moreover, for subsequent publication, and to serve a serious after purpose, when the short and temporary excitement of the occasion is over. The writer, therefore, must exercise self-restraint, and must be content to aim not at momentary popularity but at future usefulness. The committee having done me the honour of entrusting the subject of church music to myself, I felt a responsibility laid upon me to treat it in a serious way.

I cannot think your correspondent's strictures respecting the performance of the music just. The choir was undoubtedly too small for so large a room and such a crowded audience; and their position, at a considerable distance from the organ, presented great difficulties to themselves and their accompanyist (*sic*). I was both surprised and pleased to hear how well they sang the music under these circumstances, and overcame their difficulties; and I felt not a little grateful to Dr Buck and his able coadjutor, Mr. Bunnett, for the willing pains and care to which this result was due.

When your correspondent, however, speaks of the "noble creed of Merbecke" being "utterly ruined by its unwarrantably florid style," as well as by its unsteady execution, I think he should explain his meaning. The melody was note for note from Merbecke, and the organ harmonies of the simplest possible character. The charge of the performance being "florid" is unmeaning as well as groundless. The lack of general effect (which I felt in common with your correspondent) was simply owing to the small size of the choir in proportion to the room.

I am bound to say thus much in justification of myself and of those for whose kind and efficient help I owe a debt of gratitude. But I will add no more. My paper will ere long be printed, and it will then be seen if I have spoken unfairly against Gregorian music.

I have only again to express my sincere regret at having even a word of fault to find with the amusing and interesting letter of your valued correspondent. — I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN B DYKES.

St Oswald's Vicarage, Durham, Oct. 9

ϕ Dykes's diary (quoted in Fowler, p. 105) records:

'*Octr. 5th* —Set to work to prepare for evening, feeling exhausted, nervous, and anxious. St Andrew's Hall crammed. Tried humbly to seek for and trust in God's help, and did not find it fail me. Got through my paper so much better than I had dared to hope. The music, too, was very nicely done, though the choir, (especially for the unison parts) was too small and delicate for the room. Was glad to hear from Mr. Cadge and others that I was distinctly heard. Thank God! for all His mercies.'

PAPER DELIVERED TO THE NOTTINGHAM CHURCH CONGRESS

Extract from "*Authorized Report of the Church Congress held at Nottingham on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th October 1871*" (W. Wells Gardner: London, 1871)

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Hymnology and Church Music

The Rev. Dr DYKES, Vicar of St Oswald's, Durham, read the following:–

As Church Music has been divided by the HOLY GHOST Himself into three classes, it will be reverent as well as convenient to adopt a division which comes to us with such high sanction — "Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs."[1]

I am aware that there is diversity of opinion as to the special significance of these three terms. I can simply adopt the view which commends itself most to my own mind, and which I have elsewhere expressed, that the three words carry with them some secret relation to the Three Persons of the Blessed TRINITY.

1. The "*Psalms,*" flowing from and linking us with the old Dispensation, seem to lead us up to "the FATHER of an infinite majesty."

2. The "*Hymns*," originating as they do from the Eucharistic Hymn in the Upper Room, bring us into special connection with our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

3. The "*Spiritual Songs*," as their very name indicates, rather represent the free, unrestrained outbreathings in holy song of that Divine SPIRIT which animates and inspires the Body of CHRIST.

So that we find the *first* in our Psalters; the *second* chiefly in our Liturgical or Office hymns; the *third* in our metrical songs or odes — our "Hymns" commonly called — in which Christian feeling has ever [374] delighted to find expression. The first class is rather occupied with GOD Himself. The second, with GOD in His dealings with man through the one Mediator. The third, with man in his dealings with GOD, through the SPIRIT of God quickening him. Reverence and devotion speak in the first; dogma finds utterance in the second; Christian emotion in the third.

I. To begin, then, with the first division — the Psalter, and psalm-chanting. And here I find myself at once in a region of controversy, as to the relative claims of Anglican or Gregorian chants. I do not intend, however, to set myself up as the advocate of either system to the exclusion of the other; as I am convinced that *both* may and should be freely employed.

There is one aspect of the question which, I think, has been too much lost sight of. The Psalter belongs to no time, or people, or age. It is neither ancient nor modern; rather, it is both "ancient *and* modern." It is the inspired prayer and praise-book of GOD'S people in every time and place. Though mainly speaking the language of GOD'S ancient Church, it is yet the devotional manual of the whole mystical Body of CHRIST; that "great nation," as the

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[1] ϕ "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord;" (Ephesians 5:19)

sand of the sea innumerable[1]; that true and mystic "Seed," out of every people and tongue, on whom the "Blessing of Abraham" eternally rests.

Now I cannot but think that this *œcumenical* character of the Psalter should find some expression even in the music to which it is allied.

Keeping, then, for the present, to this line only, it appears to me that the melodies to which it is sung should be neither exclusively new nor exclusively old — but "new *and* old."

It is plainly incongruous to confine these venerable hymns of GOD'S ancient Church, as many would have us do, entirely to post-Reformation, nay, to nineteenth century tunes; as though the Psalter were the peculiar heritage of the English Church of to-day. But is it not similarly incongruous to *confine* it to a very few ancient melodies of Western Christendom, as though the Psalter only belonged to the Latin Church?

It seems to me that, on principle, we ought to use — at least, that there is no valid reason why we should *not* use — chants ancient and modern alike, just as either may prove most convenient.

I would, then, for this as for every other reason, advocate the free use of either Anglican, or (so-called) Gregorian melodies. I presume we are all well-nigh sick of the controversy on this endless subject which periodically crops up. I say endless, because where both sides are so much in the right, neither side can own defeat.

I am, of course, referring to honest controversy and rational argument. For the silly utterances, on one side, as to Gregorians being the very inspired melodies of the Temple, and as to the essential connection between Anglicans and heresy; or, on the other, as to these same Gregorians being barbarous, Popish, intolerable to the musician, and so on — these and the like are not to be accounted as arguments.

On one practical point I must touch. It is often urged, How *congregational* your chanting when you are Gregorians! how feeble when you employ Anglicans! But you must remember this:–Till recently we have had but *one* Gregorian Psalter — I mean, but one extensively used — Mr Helmore's. The consequence is, that our "High Church" con[375]gregations, being accustomed to hear the same melodies always wedded to the same psalm, have learned to sing them out "lustily and with a good courage."[2] Until any really good Anglican Psalter, with chants adapted equally for unisonous and harmonised singing, has had a similar chance, very little stress can be laid upon the argument as to the exclusive adaptability of Gregorian chants for congregational singing.

But here an important question arises — Is the loud and lusty singing of the Psalter the *only* result to be aimed at? I cannot think so.

We must remember that in no part of the Church is such practical and general use made of the Psalter as in our own. The Psalms are recited privately elsewhere. Certain festival psalms,

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[1] ϕ "And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude." (Genesis 32:12) "If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand:" (Psalm 139:18)

[2] ϕ "Sing lustily and with good courage. Beware of singing as if you were half dead, or half asleep; but lift up your voice with strength. Be no more afraid of your voice now, nor more ashamed of its being heard, then when you sung the songs of Satan." Wesley, J (1761) "Directions for Singing in Worship with Commentary" in *Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext*

the Sunday Vesper-psalms for instance, are known and heartily sung by the people in the Roman Church. But nowhere save in the English Church, is the Psalter publicly sung *throughout*, chanted day by day, as part of the sacrifice of praise of the whole congregation. Surely then we ought to make the most of this signal privilege.

Now, without saying one word in disparagement of the labours of Mr Helmore — of whom every Churchman can only speak with grateful and affectionate respect — is it to be *desired* that his Psalter should become the *one* Psalter of the English Church, merely in order to insure lusty congregational chanting? Would he wish it himself? I feel sure he would not. He and others have been successful pioneers — all honour and thanks to them. But we must not think we have reached our ultimatum. We must still go on: not stupidly dogmatising, but learning and making experiments, and mistakes; remembering that many questions as to the really best mode of singing the Psalms are still unsolved.

In the case of modern *hymns*, which have *one* definite meaning, it is very fitting that each should be associated with its own tune. Not so with the inspired Psalms. Their meaning is manifold. They express many sides of truth. "Full of eyes,"[1] gleaming with divine intelligence, they flash forth mysterious lights in all directions. I do not then consider it at all desirable that each psalm should be for ever wedded to one melody. *Who* wishes to hear that wonderful Psalm on the 15th evening always sung to the Second Tone? It is very easy to shout out the Psalter in a mechanical, parrot-like manner; but should we not aim at something beyond this? I have often been struck with the new meaning and intelligence imparted to a psalm by a judicious change of chant; and with the pleasing relief afforded by the substitution of one system of chanting for the other. Each system, the Anglican and the Gregorian, has its special merits; and I should deeply regret the loss of either.

I think that a great deal more might be done in the way of alternating harmony with unison in psalm-chanting. If psalms are long, this is a great relief.

Our usual *unison*-singing (so called) is not pure unison: it is *octave*-singing, which, continued for any length of time, is no less bad for voices than it is painful to musical ears. I know nothing more thoroughly distressing than a so-called "plain-song" service, where you have this octave-singing throughout. Of course, in the case of small choirs, it is very convenient to have music which does not demand vocal [376] harmony. But a choir that can only sing in octaves is little better than no choir at all.

Harmony is of Northern origin. And it is strange how in many parts of the North (take, for instance, parts of Yorkshire) the choirs cannot tolerate continuous unison-singing. They reject the Gregorian chants, because they do not come to them in harmonised form. I should, then, be an advocate for the free admixture of *pure unison* (now bass, now treble), of *harmonised*, and of occasional *octave* singing, in our psalm-recitation.

The one great crux is the pointing.

One way of getting over this difficulty would be for our choirs to have two sets of Psalters, one pointed for Anglican, the other for Gregorian chanting.

A simpler and better way, and a way adopted in some of our recent Gregorian Psalters, is to have only one book, but to have some of the psalms pointed with a mediation and cadence of

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[1] ϕ "And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind." (Revelations 4:6)

three and five syllables respectively, to suit our modern Anglican system; some with the mediation and cadence of four and six, and some of two and three, so as to suit the chief forms of Gregorian chanting; and then further — which has not yet been done — to have a carefully selected body of chants, ancient *and* modern, fairly representing the best of each; — the Gregorians, as a rule, being such as are susceptible of simple rational harmony, and the Anglicans, as a rule, such as are susceptible of unison or octave singing.

The more we conform to the ordinary Gregorian rules of pointing, even for Anglican chants, the better. Let it be quite *syllabic*, wherever possible. Where this cannot be, sing two, or even more notes to a syllable, but never, save in the most extreme cases — and at the close of a whole or half verse absolutely *never* — two or more syllables to a note. Fancy singing two such words as "caterpillars innumerable" to two musical notes! The Psalter where these true rules for *Anglican* pointing are most consistently carried out, is the one published by the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. Our great aim must be, not to keep Anglican and Gregorian chanting distinct, but to amalgamate the two; not to discard either our beautiful *ancient* chant-melodies, or our *modern* ones, many of which are thoroughly good, but to utilise *both*.

My limited time prevents me even touching upon many important matters of detail which seem to call for notice, as I must hasten on to my second division — viz., Hymns. Before I do so, however, I must ask the choir to be so good as to sing two chants — one, a fragment of Hebrew melody, adapted to the 51st Psalm, "Have mercy;" the other, a simple Anglican melody, adapted to the 137th Psalm, "By the waters of Babylon."

II. This second word of the Apostle I rather associate with the Holy Eucharist. "When they had sung an hymn," [Greek]. And I include under this title the sacramental or dogmatic hymnody of the Church, prose or metrical, the Church's Office-music of the Incarnation: The [Greek] of old was specially a festive song in praise of the gods or heroes. Justin Martyr tells us how the early Christians sang hymns to CHRIST as to God. The word [Greek] is used but on *three* occasions in the New Testament; *once*, of our Lord and His [377] Apostles singing together at the first Eucharist; *once*, when St Paul quotes the Redeemer as appropriating to Himself the words of the Psalter, "In the midst of the Church will I sing hymns to thee,"[1] [Greek]; and *once*, in the case of Paul and Silas, in the prison at Philippi, of whom we read that at midnight they offered up prayer and hymns to God, [Greek] — "In their prayers they were singing hymns to God."[2] They were singing on their knees. The prayers and hymnody formed a continuous act of devotion. Here, again, we see the special meaning of [Greek]. It expresses singing in the way of direct worship. It is singing to CHRIST, and with CHRIST. It is the special word for the praise-utterances of the Mystical Body of CHRIST. The devout songsters little knew WHO was joining, according to His promise, in their sacred hymns. But the great earthquake presently told of that Mysterious Presence. Not only were the holy prisoners delivered from their bondage; their very jailer and his household were delivered from a worse bondage — from the bondage of Satan, into the liberty of God's children. "He was baptized, he and all his straightway."[3]

Now, as it is in our Eucharist worship, where "with all the company of heaven" we laud and magnify the Triune, that Church-Hymnody proper receives its most intense realisation, when we offer up in "Sanctus," "Credo," "Gloria" (and, where used, Alleluia, Sequence, "Bene-

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1 ϕ Hebrews 2:12

2 ϕ Acts 16:25

3 ϕ Acts 16:33

dictus," "Agnus Dei"), adoring songs to and with CHRIST; so in this solemn Office, should our music be *most* reverent, *most* faultless, *most* appropriate.

And yet it is just *here* one most feels the inadequacy of any earthly vehicle of praise to embody and express our worship. It is not *only* carelessness that has brought about the very common cessation of music in the Eucharistic Office.

Much as I love music, I am often disposed to wish it might cease altogether, when we hear solemn and touching words associated with the most uncouth crudities of many-noted plain-song, sung in octaves with incongruous and laboured organ harmonies — performances to which Mr Macfarren's severe strictures are only too applicable, when he speaks of compositions which "evince mistaken zeal, false antiquarianism, illogical deductiveness, and ecclesiastical error."[1]

How far the opposite attempt to introduce the showy Mass-music of Haydn and Mozart, with full orchestral accompaniments, is likely to tend to devotion and reverence with edification, I am afraid to hazard an opinion. I appreciate the motive — to give our best to God. And if orchestra and choir were Angels, all might be well. But is there not too much fear — taking us poor creatures, singers and fiddlers, at what we are — lest an intense act of worship, in which we sing on our knees, as it were, to CHRIST and with CHRIST, should degenerate into a mere occasion for sensuous and æsthetic gratification? Our Church has a due regard for the comforting of such as delight in music, by providing, in the Anthem, a special musical offering where devout musical feeling may find its legitimate gratification. And I am quite disposed to think that could our parish *bands* be generally restored, and utilised in our service, especially on festive occasions, it would be a very good thing. But hardly at Holy Communion. I cannot but feel that, as a rule, [378] that noble instrument which God has given to His Church — the *organ,* with its many voices, and only one performer, figuring the myriad utterances of the SPIRIT of God under the hands of the Chief Musician — must satisfy us for our solemn Eucharistic Office. The fewer that are off their knees then, the better.

The practice of introducing a little appropriate music — hymns or organ Voluntaries — during "Communion time," is a very useful and pleasing one, provided the music is not too obtrusive, or too continuous. This custom seems to have always held ground. Merbecke's book — the only book possessing any musical authority — provides two settings of the "*Agnus Dei*" to be used at this time, one for the ordinary, the other for Funeral Celebrations. For a prose hymn, nothing could be more touchingly appropriate. When I was a lad, I was accustomed to hear Doddridge's hymn, "My God, and is Thy table spread," sung during Communion. We have now, thank God, an abundance of beautiful hymns, ancient and modern, for this time. The music which Merbecke has used for his *funeral* "Agnus Dei" is the same strange and beautiful melody which Tallis has introduced at the close of his festal Litany, containing the abrupt transition at each cadence from the key of F to that of G.

I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing this, together with the short "*Benedictus*," also

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[1] ϕ "It must be obvious…firstly, that the Gregorian chant is of purely Pagan origin; secondly, that its appropriation to Christian worship was entirely upon artistic and popular grounds, not on account either of its antiquity or its sacredness; thirdly, that it was not held as essential to the service throughout Christendom, nay, throughout Western Europe, when the advance of music enabled the clergy of France to improve upon it; and lastly, that those well-meaning men, who would resuscitate its use in the Church of England, evince mistaken zeal, false antiquarianism, illogical deductiveness, artistic blindness [Dykes omitted this fault] and ecclesiastical error." Macfarren, G.A. *Six Lectures on Harmony delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (Longmans: London, 1867) at p. 10.

from Merbecke. The words of the "Benedictus" are, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord;" those of the "Agnus Dei," "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace." I should state, that in the copies we happen to have to-night, and which I have not had time to alter, the words are from the Sarum Office of the Dead, and instead of "Grant us Thy peace," have "Grant them Rest Eternal." But this does not affect the music.

The priest's part in the Communion Office, according to Merbecke, writing under Cranmer's supervision, is in monotone. I do think it a pity that the elaborate inflected song of the "Comfortable Words" and "Preface" (to say nothing of the Gospel) should be deemed a necessary adjunct to a High Service. If the priest has a very good voice, correct ear, and faultless intonation, all is well. But how frequently are those solemn parts of the service rendered simply painful and grotesque by the pious labours of unmusical priests to compass these difficult inflections. I do earnestly wish that many of my dear brethren would exercise a little self-restraint in this matter, and content themselves with the less ambitious, but more safe, monotone. Nay, far, far better have the priest's part irregularly spoken in the natural voice, than discordantly sung to difficult and obtrusive inflections. In recommending monotone, after Cranmer, when a priest finds inflected song trying to his voice, I should not forget that a certain Colonial Bishop recently issued a wonderful Monition, in which he pronounced monotone *illegal*. Fortunately, we do not live in the diocese in question, so that this marvellous Ruling does not affect us.

III. But I must hurry on to add just a word on my third division. "*Spiritual songs.*" These last, I take it, whatever more definite meaning the expression might bear before the extraordinary gifts of the SPIRIT were withdrawn, may be fairly represented in the sacred songs, [379] hymns, or anthems, wherewith we brighten up our services, and wherein Christian sentiment and emotion find their legitimate vent. We might, perhaps, very roughly associate Psalm, Hymn, Spiritual Song, with Choir, Sanctuary, and Nave respectively of our churches.

It is impossible to estimate the good that popular hymnody has effected, in greatly helping on the great Revival which, through God's mercy, has been spreading throughout our borders. He was a wise man who said, "Let who will make the laws of our country; let me make its songs."[1]

Our great danger now is being *deluged* with tunes and hymns. Some people have a perilous facility in writing; they can knock off any number of tunes or hymns with the utmost complacency. And no one shall be either better or worse for them. Having not come from

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[1] ϕ A paraphrase extracted from a pæan to the nation's capital city and a deprecation of the corruption and debauchery of its leaders and people: "*What great Corruptions do you find in this place, ſo obſtinate and incorrigible, ſaid the Earl. No Laws or Regulations, replied Sir Chr[istopher] are ſufficient to reſtrain the luxury of Women, to baniſh ſo many thouſands of common Proſtitutes, or to prevent a far greater number of that Sex from being debauch'd by the innumerable occaſions and opportunities which ſo vaſt a City affords…Even the poorer ſort of both ſexes are daily tempted to all manner of Lewdneſs by infamous Ballads ſung in every corner of the Streets. One would think, ſaid the Earl, this laſt were of no great Conſequence. I ſaid, I knew of a very wiſe man ſo much of Sir Chr[istopher]'s ſentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the Ballads, he need not care who ſhould make the Laws of a Nation."* Fletcher, A "*An Account of a Conversation concerning a right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind"* (Edinburgh, 1704). (It is reasonable to doubt—not least because he appeared not to be familiar with the context in which the original statement was made—that Dykes was equating those responsible for the nadir in the hymnody, from which the English Church was at last emerging, with those who delighted in the lewdness of London ballads of the early eighteenth-century.)

the heart, they fail to reach the heart. It is not given to any to write *many* either hymns or tunes which will live on. I suppose, in one case, there must be "a live Coal from the Altar,"[1] and in the other, a special impulse from the "Chief Musician," before either song or melody is fit for the Sanctuary, or to do a work for GOD.

We are, practically, allowed considerable license in the selection and use of hymns, and we should wisely avail ourselves of it. We need, not only our solemn dogmatic Eucharistic or Office hymns, of the "*Veni Creator,*" or "*O salutaris*" stamp (such as would rather fall under my second division); not only, again, the historical and didactic hymn; but also the more free and emotional ones of the "*O paradise*," or "*Jerusalem the golden*" type. For this last class of hymn, though it should be used with discretion, and not made the staple of our Church psalmody, has yet a definite and important work to discharge. For our tunes, too, we need not only the stately German chorale; the fine old English psalm-tune; the flowing and unrhythmical plain-song melody, of which we possess some thoroughly grand specimens, all worthy of retention; but also the lighter modern English tunes. All these should be freely employed, care only being taken, in the last division, that the tunes be not too chromatic, or sentimental, or effeminate, and not adaptations from operas. For a good specimen of this modern style of tune, I would instance the admirable tune of Dr Wesley, "*Aurelia,*" which has been sung at this morning's meeting. And for a specimen of a *bad* tune (whether ancient or modern I cannot say), may I be pardoned for instancing the tune sung to the "*Veni Creator*" at the opening of this Congress[2]. I really think there should be a heavy fine imposed upon the Editor of every new Hymnal for the next six years. Our hymn-books, public and private, may now be counted by hundreds; and, nearly every week, some new supplement, or appendix, or complete hymnal is projected.[3] All this shows a Church alive and at work; but it also shows the existence of a large amount of restlessness, caprice, and self-will. And where is it to end?

Many of these are honest attempts to meet real wants, and, as such, are entitled to respect. Others are mere heartless money speculations: and hymn and tune writers are teased into sending contributions, for which there is no call, in which they can feel no interest or enthusiasm, to the great detriment of genuine Church Hymnody.

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[1] ϕ Isaiah 6: 6,7

[2] ϕ Unfortunately, no record is known to exist of the tune used on this occasion

[3] ϕ Dykes can hardly be thought a disinterested party in this matter, nor can he wholly escape the charge of hypocrisy. In addition to the two editions of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1861 and 1868) to which he had already contributed a total of 28 compositions and harmonisations, and the 1875 edition to which he would contribute a further 36, he had also contributed in the past nine years, or would contribute in the remaining four and a half years of his life, to Chope's *Congregational Hymn and Tune Book* (1862), Wordsworth's *Holy Year* (1865), Darling's *Hymns for the Church of England* (1865), Grey's *Hymnal* (1866), Barry's *Psalms and Hymns* (1867), *The Sarum Hymnal* (1868), Reid's *Praise-Book* (1868), Barkworth's *A Supplement to the Collection of Psalms and Hymns used at Reading* (c1870), *The People's Hymnal* (1870), *The Anglican Hymn-Book* (1871), *The Parish Church Hymnal* (1871), *Hymns for Infant Children* (1872), *The Child's Book of Praise* (1873), *Church Hymns* (1874), *A Book of Litanies, Prose and Metrical* (1874), Evans-Freke's *Song of Praise* (1875), Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion* (1875), Tucker's *Children's Hymnal* (1877), Brown-Borthwick's *Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book* (1869), Bemrose's *Choral-Book* (1861), *The Bristol Tune-Book* (1863), Hall's *New Mitre Hymnal* (1875), Biden's *Processional Hymns with Tunes* (1872), Tomlin's *Hymns for Advent and Lent* (1873), Jude's *Popular Congregational Music* (18??), Joyce's *Church of England Hymnology* (1870), Hughes' *St. Asaph Tune Book* (1876), Cooke's *Congregational Church Music* (1853), Nisbet's *Church Praise* (1883), Allon's *Congregational Psalmist* (1858), Hiles' *Wesleyan Tune-Book* (1876), Tucker's *Hymnal with Tunes Old and New* (1870). This list excludes hymnals which reprinted tunes already published.

I cannot think, however, the time has come for a Convocation book. [380] What section of the Church would hail it? Attempting to please all, it would please none. Shocking nobody's prejudices, it would enlist nobody's sympathies.

"Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null,"[1]

Like the good old-fashioned tracts of a Venerable Society, it would not touch the Church's heart. It would merely send into the field a new claimant on popular favour, and so add to existing confusion. What parish would give up its own popular book for the Convocation Hymnal? What new "Mitre Hymnal" would succeed in ousting, for instance, our old friend "Ancient and Modern?" The latter has been more abused, perhaps, than any other Hymnal, but it has steadily maintained its ground. And its daily increasing circulation shows that, somehow or other, it has met and satisfied a real want in the Church. It needs thorough revision, both of music and words (and it will meet with this some day): but I think Convocation must be very sanguine if it expects to bring out a book sufficiently successful to supersede this and other good Hymnals, which have established for themselves a position in the English Church.

It would not be amiss if the Bishops were to authorise a few of the existing Hymnals, which have the largest circulation, for general use. This might do something towards the promotion of a greater uniformity in our worship, and also towards stopping the reckless, and heartless, and meaningless, and bewildering multiplication of Hymnals.

Of children's hymns and services, of the use of metrical litanies, and their composition, of the best means of utilising women's voices in our choirs, and on the introduction of brass instruments at large choral gatherings, I should like to have said a few words, but have no time. I can only ask the choir, in conclusion, to be so good as to sing a setting of that noble hymn of our Right Rev. Chairman, to which no tune seems to do adequate justice, his grand All Saints Hymn, which you have on your Congress paper —

"Hark! the sound of holy voices."[2]

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[1] ϕ "*Perfectly beautiful: let it be granted her: where is the fault?*
"All that I saw (for her eyes were downcast, not to be seen)
"Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null,
"Dead perfection, no more."
Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *Maud; A Monodrama*, 1855. Part I, section ii.

[2] ϕ Speaking after Dykes, the Rev. Robert Brown-Borthwick, Editor of *A Supplemental Hymn- and Tune-Book* (1869) said: 'If all modern hymn-tunes were as good as that by Dr. Dykes, to which we listened a short time ago, I should have little fear for church music', clearly suggesting that the tune sung on this occasion was SANCTUARY, published that same year in The Anglican Hymn Book.

The Musical Times, 1 August 1874, p. 589

DYKES'S RESPONSE TO A CRITICAL NOTICE OF HIS ANTHEM "THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MUSICAL TIMES

SIR,—I am far too conscious of the use of honest criticism, however unfavourable, ever to object to be exposed to its ordeal. We all of us learn by our mistakes: and I trust I shall never be foolish enough not to be thankful to any critic who will take the trouble to point out my own. But I object to captious criticism, and to fault-finding for its own sake. I trust, therefore, you will kindly allow me to offer a few words in reply to the critic who did me the honour to review my Anthem, "The Lord is my Shepherd," last month. Although I must thank him for his flattering words concerning myself personally, he yet plainly considers that because I am a parson I have no business to write music; and that, if I do, I must be true to my cloth and make a suitable number of "clerical errors." He sets himself therefore to detect and point out these.

Had he satisfied himself with mere generalities, I should have had nothing to say. But as he has entered into particulars and adduced *instances* of my want of "artistry," I hope I may without impropriety refer to these instances. One of them I cannot discover as he does not furnish the reference. But as regards the others, I confidently appeal to any sound musician, I care not whom, even to my critic himself, in his normal state, whether there is *one single* point really deserving of reprehension in all that he has adduced, and whether the objections themselves do not rather indicate a determination to find fault somewhere. I ask him if he honestly thinks that I should improve my composition by *altering* it in any of the passages against which he has taken exception? Let me with the utmost brevity glance at these.

(1) What thoughtful composer, *e.g.,* would for a moment be scared by fear of "false relation" into altering the alto E (page 3, score 2, bar 2), because the bass, immediately afterwards, taking up a subject which is repeated in sequence has an E♭?

(2) As for the alleged error at page 8, score 1, bar 1, I can only express my amazement at an intelligent critic seriously drawing attention to it as an error. I invite examination.

(3) My critic objects to the word "Righteousness" being sung in G; but he does not tell us why.

(4) He complains of the "extraordinary length" of the composition. Well, there is a vast amount of short scrappy writing for the Church now-a-days. The Psalm is one of singular devotional and poetical beauty. Why should I not treat it somewhat fully?

(5) He complains that the voice-part in the bass solo, No. 3, lies low for the voice. Surely he must see that there is a meaning in this. After the "green pastures" and "still waters" of the tenor solo, No. 2, we come to the "Valley of the Shadow of Death." Does not the poetic contrast seem to demand that the sense of gloom should find expression in the range and character of the music? As the song progresses the feeling of confidence in the Heavenly Guide overcomes the first sense of horror, and the voice-part rises to a pitch quite high enough for any bass singer to render with comfort and effect.

(6) My watchful critic proceeds to remark on the "strangely extraneous" key of the next movement (the quintett and chorus, No. 4.) Let me explain. The pastoral chorus and tenor solo, Nos. 1 and 2, are in F. Then we come to the "Dark Valley," in F minor; the song ending in the relative major A♭. Suddenly this A♭ becomes G♯; and we find ourselves *out of the Valley.* We are in the bright key of E. I do think my worthy censor must be strangely

insensible to musical effect not to *feel* the effect of the return to light and fresh air produced by this transition of key. But he *does* feel it; for, spite of himself, he lays aside for a moment his severe aspect and begins to smile. This is the only movement in which he has condescended to bestow a word of commendation.

(7) He soon becomes grim again; for he now objects, that there is "little skill in the development" of the Eucharistic melody, "Adoro Te devote," which I here introduce. I merely answer, that it formed no part of my purpose to "develop" it. I simply introduced it (to borrow a word from my own profession) for *exegetical* purposes, and in order to suggest the Eucharistic association of the words, "Thou shalt prepare a Table," &c., which, from the earliest times, has been recognised. I should add that the joyous and mirthful character of the music is suggested by the *"Calix inebrianus"* of the Vulgate.

(8) As for the "violent transition" into the key of F, "*which has no warrant in the words*," I have simply to reply that the transition in question *does not require* "warrant from the words," inasmuch it is *not associated with any words at all*. The case is merely this, that the movement in E concludes with a short postlude or symphony, returning, by a modulation very familiar to all lovers of Spohr, to the original key of F, the key of the final chorus.

(9) This last movement, he says, is "long and laboured." Well, it *is* rather long. The words are doubly associated with the idea of *length*: they tell of earthly perpetuity, and heavenly perpetuity. We have first, "Thy loving kindness and tender mercy shall follow me *all the days of my life*." Then we have, "And I will dwell in the House of the Lord *for ever*." But I do not consider the chorus "laboured," except in so far that it was a labour of love to write it.

But my critic has not let me off yet. We have got to the concluding fugue, "And I will dwell," &c.

(10) In the first place he will only condescend to describe this as a "fugue, *so to speak*."

(11) In the next place, he says that it is wrongly constructed. Here I must join issue with him. He pronounces that the fugue "*must*" follow the course of a *tonal* fugue. I have chosen to treat its three subjects strictly after the manner of a *real* fugue. If he does not like it, I am sorry: I do.

(12) Then he says that "the further conduct of the fugue is unskilful." I reply, that a fugue may be treated in an infinite variety of ways. My one object was to treat it in the way best calculated to do justice to the beautiful words, without caring to introduce into it the entire family of regulation puzzles, by way of showing off my own ingenuity. I simply endeavoured so to construct this final chorus as to give due emphasis and expression to its two noble themes — the unfailing Mercy which is to follow us (1) in this life, and (2) in the Life to come; and then to conclude all by a return to the original theme — the care of the Good Shepherd, to whose loving guidance we owe all.

I leave my Anthem to its fate. Experience has taught me that if music is good and genuine, and written from the heart, no amount of adverse criticism will, in the long run, injure it; and that if it is worthless, no amount of puffing will make it live. I wrote a long Anthem some years ago, "These are they which came out of great tribulation," the only critique of which I ever saw was of a most contemptuous character. The Anthem has survived the criticism, and I am not without hopes that the disparaging remarks of my present and more generous censor will not prove the death of "The Lord is my Shepherd."

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN B. DYKES.
S. Oswald's Vicarage, Durham, July 17, 1874.