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THE
CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1896.

ART. I.—PSALM II.

“ I will declare the decree :
The Lord hath said unto me,
Thou art My son ;
This day have I begotten thee.”—Psalm ii. 7.

THOUGH this Psalm is in the New Testament expressly ascribed to David, yet, in the absence of any superscription or other external note of authorship, we will let it speak for itself by its actual form and contents, before attempting to determine either the historical events, if any, out of which it sprang, or its prophetic application to an expected Messiah.

Even among the critics who differ most widely as to the date, authorship, and Messianic import of the Psalm, there is no difference as to its verbal meaning, except in a single sentence of the last verse, “ Kiss the Son ”—no difference whatever as to its surpassing beauty. The opening verses, it is truly said, show “ the utmost art of Hebrew poetry.” “ The words seem to live and breathe, and the rhythm to paint the action.”

The Psalm is, in fact, throughout a dramatic poem of singular force and beauty; the Spirit of prophecy has here enlisted in His service the highest powers of human genius. The action is carried on by a succession of speakers, who seem to live and move before us. Their voices are easily distinguished, and in their vivid language we can almost hear and see the changing scenes which they describe.

The Psalm opens abruptly with a question full of surprise and indignation, which hurries us at once into the midst of the action. A king of Israel, the Lord's anointed, has been recently enthroned on Mount Zion. But Israel is surrounded by heathen nations partially subdued, impatient of subjection, and hating the pure religion of Jehovah. They eagerly seize the

opportunity to revolt, before the new king is firmly settled in authority.

The king himself, strong in the assurance that the grace of God, which has set him in the kingdom, will be his protection against every foe—full, therefore, of a lofty sense of rightful authority and kingly power—beholds with astonishment the tumultuous gathering of the hostile league.

What can be the meaning of so mad an enterprise? What hope of resisting the God of Israel, the Lord of Hosts? In a sudden burst of indignation and amazement the king exclaims: "Why do the heathen rage, and the peoples imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against His anointed."

Then, still looking out upon the rebel hosts, the speaker pauses for a moment to listen to the distant voices which come wafted on the wind, and we hear the proud boasts with which they encourage themselves against Jehovah and His king: "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

The sound and the rhythm of their words correspond, says Delitzsch, to the hoarse murmur of hatred and defiance.

But now, in the second strophe, a new scene is presented, and the king's voice is heard again, as he turns from the wild tumult below and looks up to heaven. There, as if the clouds were suddenly rent asunder, he sees Jehovah seated on His throne, and laughing His enemies to scorn: "He that sitteth in the heaven laughs: Jehovah hath them in derision."

"There is something very awful," it has been truly said, "in the representation here given of God. First, as if in calm contempt, He laughs at the folly of His enemies, and then, in bitter derision," mocks their vain attempts.

We know the kind of criticism which is sometimes based upon such representations of Jehovah. This God of the Hebrews, it is said, is a creature of their own imagination, an enlarged personification of their own thoughts and feelings, stirred by all emotions and swayed by all passions of man's heart, and only wielding superhuman power to enforce the dictates of an arbitrary will.

But see how such objectors transgress one of the chief canons of their own criticism. They often tell us that, in interpreting the Scriptures, we must not turn rhetoric into logic, nor poetry into prose.

An excellent rule when rightly applied, and nowhere needed more than in those many passages of the poetical books, in which psalmist or prophet strives with all the powers of the imagination to realize the idea of a living God—to make us feel His presence and understand His thoughts as clearly and

as vividly as if we could actually see Him seated in the heavens, looking down upon the children of men, and judging their good or evil deeds, as we ourselves ought to judge them, speaking to us in the language of earth, and in all the varying tones of human feeling—in love or pity, in patience and forgiveness, in warning and remonstrance, in righteous anger or indignant scorn.

It is thus in the Psalm before us. Jehovah speaks as a mighty king, strong enough to despise the puny rage of His rebel subjects, but terrible in His anger if they will not be warned; for “then shall He speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure.”

Thus ushered in, the voice of the Lord Himself is heard, “mighty in operation,” speaking in all the majesty of resistless power: “But *I* have set *My* king upon *My* holy hill of Zion.”

The heathen may rage, but they shall not touch Mine anointed. The kings of the earth may set themselves in array, but in vain they conspire against *My* king. For I, even I Jehovah, have fixed his throne on Zion, and there “*My* hand shall hold him fast, *My* arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not be able to do him violence, the son of wickedness shall not hurt him.”

Such is the meaning, as a later psalmist has taught us, of the few words which are here made to proceed out of the mouth of God. And then the first speaker, the anointed king himself, is heard again. Those words of Jehovah, so clear to *him*, and so full of promise and encouragement, must be explained both to his own people and to his enemies, that they may have no excuse for fighting against God.

“I will declare the decree: Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art *My* son; this day have I begotten thee.”

This “decree” of Jehovah is rightly regarded as an echo of the Divine oracle, which was conveyed by the prophet Nathan to David, when he wished to build a house for the Lord. There the promise concerning the seed of David runs thus: “He shall build a house for *My* name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be *My* son.”

It is impossible to mistake the reference to that passage in the Psalm before us; compare the two last sentences of that promise with the two parts of this “decree:”

There—“He shall be *My* son;” here—“The Lord said unto me, Thou art *My* son.”

There—“I will be to him a Father;” here—“This day have I begotten thee.”

The resemblance both in thought and in expression is far too close to be accidental.

Here, then, we have found a sure mark for our guidance in the literal interpretation and primary application of the Psalm; it must have had its origin in some occasion closely connected with the promise which was revealed in a vision of the night to Nathan, and by him announced to David.

And this connection is confirmed, and more closely defined, by a comparison of the historical events of that early part of David's reign in Jerusalem, with the further contents of the promise, enlarged, as it is, and paraphrased both in Psalm ii. and in Psalm lxxxix.

Here we listen to Jehovah saying to the anointed King, His son, "Ask of Me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

"Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

Such language, we are told by one class of interpreters, is too lofty for any application to an earthly king; it "could not be uttered by any man without an impropriety"; it must, therefore, be understood directly and exclusively of the Messiah Himself.

But let us turn to the 89th Psalm, an acknowledged paraphrase of Nathan's vision; and there, in express reference to David himself, the promise runs, "I will beat down his enemies before his face, and plague them that hate him. In My name shall his horn be exalted; I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers. Also I will make him My first-born, higher than the kings of the earth."

If we now turn to the history in the 2nd Book of Samuel, we find that the promise in the 7th chapter is immediately followed by the account of David's wars with the heathen nations round about him, and the destruction or submission of all his enemies. "He smote the Philistines and subdued them;" "he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive; and so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts." "He smote the King of Zobah, as he went to recover his border," or rather "to re-establish his dominion at the river Euphrates"; he smote the Syrians of Damascus; he received the submission of the King of Hamath, and put garrisons in Edom, and he dedicated to the Lord the silver and gold of all nations whom he subdued, of Syria, and Moab, and the children of Ammon, and the Philistines and Amalek.

It is natural to ask with some surprise, how David could thus carry his arms in triumph to "the Euphrates" in face of the great Assyrian power. But here modern discoveries come

to our aid, and by an indirect and undesigned coincidence confirm the Scriptural account of the extent of David's conquests.

For a period of 150 years, including the reigns of David and Solomon, "the Assyrian empire sinks into obscurity, and the very names of its sovereigns are unknown." "The inscriptions," says Mr. George Smith, "afford us only one ray of light: they record that a disaster overtook the Assyrian arms; defeated by the King of Syria, they "lost the whole region of the Euphrates."

"It is a curious fact," observes the historian, "that this period of decline in the Assyrian power synchronizes with the rise of the Hebrew monarchy.

"A powerful Syrian empire was founded at Zobah, and David, King of Israel, having defeated Hadad-ezer, King of Zobah, subdued all the kings as far as the river Euphrates.

"The Jewish power, now under David and Solomon, his son, took the place formerly occupied by the Assyrian monarchs; but on the breaking up of this empire on the death of Solomon the Jews at once lost their supremacy."

It is thus unquestionably true of David that God gave him the heathen for his inheritance, and that he ruled them with a rod of iron; true, also, in his conquests, extending from the sea-coast of Philistia to the border of Euphrates, that God did "set his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers."

If, then, we are asked, What was the historical occasion of the Psalm? who the original of so vigorous and life-like a picture? we know not where to find in modern criticism a more reasonable or a more truly scientific answer than that which was given a hundred years ago by Herder in his "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry."

He speaks of it as "a beautiful picture living and growing in every word. But whom does it fit? . . . Whom, according to the plain meaning of other Psalms, did God set as His son and vice-regent upon that holy hill (of Zion)? Who had so many enemies within and without the land of Judah as he? And who triumphed over all those enemies with such distinguished glory? . . . All expressions which occur here occur elsewhere also concerning David, and the whole purpose of the song, the aim for which it was *at the time* composed, is evidently adapted to the place and occasion.

"Nations equip themselves for war; they are threatened and warned; short respite is given them. Who does not see that the bow-string is drawn that the arrow may fly to a *present* mark? Set this mark a thousand years off, *without any occasion from the circumstances of the time*, and the bow is slack, the arrow flies up into the air.

"The finest lyrical structure of the most impressive song is

lost when . . . it is robbed of its local origin, its first proper aim and meaning."

An interpretation based upon such reasoning, and commended by the authority of such a name as Herder's, cannot be ascribed to any want of critical acumen or literary taste. And when we add that it is the interpretation held almost universally, not only by the Christian Fathers, but by the Jews of every age, from the later Psalmists even to our own day, we may fairly claim that those who assign a later date to the Psalm should show some very strong reason for their opinion.

Let us, then, proceed to notice first the chief objections that have been urged against the very ancient and well-approved tradition, which assigns the Psalm to David as its author, and then glance very briefly at the alternatives which have been suggested.

1. First let us hear Hupfeld and his latest editor, Nowack :

"The historical background of the Psalm will hardly admit of being ascertained. The reference to David is *impossible* on account of verse 6 ('Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion'), which presupposes a longer duration of the royal residence upon Zion."

We ask in vain, Why do the words "I have set my king on Zion" imply a long duration? The assumption is purely arbitrary; *how* arbitrary may be judged from the fact that so keen a critic as Reuss remarks on the same words, that "The author was, according to all the probabilities, a king residing at Jerusalem, perhaps *recently enthroned*." The same opinion is more strongly expressed by Bleek: "The poet in his song had before his eyes only the king of Israel, who had *just at that very time* come to the throne."¹

We may thus judge of the value of the one sole argument, on the strength of which Hupfeld ventures to pronounce the reference to David "impossible."

2. Not less futile is Hitzig's objection that the king in the Psalm is said to be "consecrated" or "anointed" upon Zion, and that David cannot therefore be intended because he was not "anointed" there.

But the original word has not the meaning thus forced upon it, and nearly all modern scholars support the rendering of our Authorized and Revised Versions, "Yet have I set My king upon My holy hill of Zion."

3. A third objection, that when David began to reign none of the neighbouring nations had yet been subdued, may be set aside by simply referring to the history:

When "Saul took the kingdom over Israel" (1 Sam. xiv.

¹ On Heb. i. 5, p. 112.

47), "he fought against all his enemies on every side," against Moab, and Ammon, and Edom, and the kings of Zobah, and the Philistines, "and whithersoever he turned himself *he vexed them*," or, according to another reading, "he was victorious." "And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul."

In those wars David had made his name terrible by many a grievous slaughter of Philistines, and Amalekites, and other nations. And so, "When the Philistines heard that they had anointed David king over Israel, all the Philistines came up to seek David."

What could be more natural than that these and the other nations who had been so often defeated and partially subdued should rise up to attack the new king before he could unite all the armies of Israel under his sole command? Nor is this a mere conjecture; for the very same nations against whom Saul had to fight when he "took the kingdom over Israel," namely, Moab, and Ammon, and Edom, and the kings of Zobah, and the Philistines, are all found again, as we have already seen, among those whom David smote and subdued in the early part of his reign on Mount Zion. The supposed discrepancy between the history and the language of the Psalm is thus found to be, in fact, a strong confirmation of the truth of the description, "The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against His anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

We may notice one other objection, based upon the supposition that in the Book of Samuel the promise, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to Me a son," refers to the *seed* of David, without including David himself, whereas the author of the Psalm, speaking in his own person, says, "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee."

But the supposed difficulty disappears when we remember that the words "Thou art My son" are addressed to the Lord's anointed, just because he *is* the anointed, the divinely-chosen ruler of God's people. The divine sonship and the enduring kingdom are bound together in the same covenant and promise to David and to his seed for ever. "My king," "Mine anointed," and "My son," are only different expressions of the same relation to Jehovah, and in that relation David himself is expressly and emphatically included by the closing words of the promise, "Thine house and *thy kingdom* shall be established for ever before thee, *thy throne* shall be established for ever." If, therefore, each of his descendants, who by virtue of this promise succeeds to the throne of his father David, becomes at the same time heir of the promise, "Thou art My

son," it is because this filial relation to Jehovah was first bestowed on David himself, and none but he, to whom the promise was first spoken, could so properly and truly say, what he says in the Psalm, "The Lord hath said unto me, My son art thou: I have this day begotten thee."

With this consideration borne in mind, it will be enough for us to notice very briefly the alternatives proposed by those who refuse to acknowledge David as the author of the Psalm.

Not a few of these critics seek refuge in a purely negative opinion. It is impossible, they say, to determine either the occasion or the person to whom allusion is made. Reuss, who adopts this opinion, and who also rejects any reference to the Messiah, yet regards it as certain that the Psalm was composed in view of *some* real historical circumstance. "There is nothing," he adds, "which can peremptorily exclude the name of David, but neither is there anything which directly points to him"; and he refuses even to discuss the opinions of those critics who would in turn see here a Solomon, Uzziah, Hezekiah, or even an Alexander Jannæus.

To the first and to the last of these names, though for very different reasons, a word may perhaps be due.

Of Solomon's songs, which were a thousand and five, some few are probably to be found in our present Psalter. His poetic genius shines out in full splendour in the Canticles, a poem of which it has been truly said that "No pastoral poetry in the world was ever written so exquisite in its music, so bright in its enjoyment of nature, or presenting so true a picture of faithful love." This is a poem not unworthy to be called "The Song of Songs," as surpassing all others, *but* it is *very* different from the poetry of the Psalms—most different, we may add, from the poetry of this second Psalm, and by that difference we recognise the voice of a poet greater even than Solomon.

The bright and joyous tone of *his* glorious hymeneal, its exquisite music, its tenderness of feeling, its soft idyllic grace, all form the most complete and striking contrast to the warlike spirit that breathes through the abrupt and vehement language of a Psalm which "rings with the tramp of gathering armies," the wild uproar of the camp, the scornful laughter of God's wrath, and the menacing tone of the poet's own warning to his enemies. He that thus speaks is not the "man of peace," but the warrior-king, "strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might." Just as little do the historical circumstances of Solomon's early reign correspond to the warlike tone of the Psalm. Of him the promise ran, "Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will

give him rest from all his enemies round about : for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days."

And the event was a complete fulfilment of the promise, notwithstanding Ewald's elaborate attempt to prove the contrary by antedating the troubles of Solomon's reign. At his accession there is no trace of rebellion among the conquered nations, "no war or battle's sound," through all the wide empire, which David had brought into subjection.

Our best witness is Solomon himself; for when Hiram had heard that they had anointed him king in the room of his father, and sent messengers to congratulate him, Solomon made answer, "Thou knowest how that David my father could not build an house unto the name of the Lord his God for the wars which were about him on every side, until the Lord put them under the soles of his feet. But now the Lord our God hath given me rest on every side, so that there is neither adversary nor evil occurrent."

Solomon, therefore, was not the newly-enthroned king against whom the heathen were tumultuously raging together, and who was to "dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

The last alternative to be noticed is due to Hitzig, who tries to prove, by an elaborate argument, that the Psalm must have been written about one hundred years before Christ by Jonathan, or Jannæus, who called himself Alexander, and added the title of King to that of High Priest. He was so detested by his own people, that, as Josephus tells us, when he stood at the altar at the Feast of Tabernacles, he was pelted with citrons, and reviled as the son of a female slave, unworthy to be a priest and to offer sacrifice. In his fury at this insult he ordered a massacre of 6,000 of his subjects; and to save himself from vengeance, shut himself up in the temple and fortified it with barricades.

For six years he waged war against his own citizens, and slew in that time no less than 50,000 of the Jews; and when at length he tried to appease their hatred, and asked them what ought to be done, all shouted out that "he must die." In the bitter war which ensued he was at last successful, and celebrated his triumph by an act of shameless and inhuman atrocity. He ordered about "800 of his prisoners to be crucified in the midst of the city, and slew their wives and children before their eyes, and watched the sight himself as he lay feasting and drinking in the midst of his concubines."¹

This "son of a Thracian," as the brutal and drunken soldier

¹ Jos. Ant., XIII., xiv. 2; Bell. Jud., I., iv. 6.

was commonly called, is represented by Hitzig as the inspired poet who says in the Psalm, "Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee." Such criticism may appear incredible, and lest I should be thought to exaggerate, I will translate his own words: "The deep and certain conviction in which he (Jannæus) ascended the throne appears to him as a word of God. As an orthodox king and high priest, he feels himself connected with Jehovah in the intimate relation expressed by sonship; and his duty and consequent right to enforce the service of Jehovah extends as far as Jehovah's claim to his own obedience."

Such is the ignominious depth to which the literary taste and historical judgment even of a great expert in Hebrew scholarship may possibly sink, under the force of preconceived antipathy to any real divine inspiration of Messianic prophecy!

From such criticism we may come back with increased satisfaction and conviction to the traditional belief of both the Jewish and the Christian Church, enshrined in the Scriptures of the New Testament. With them we say that David here prophesies of Christ; but how, and why? Not mechanically, as the unconscious instrument that gives sound to another's thoughts, but as a rational spiritual being taught of God, his mind enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and guided by his own experience of God's providence, to understand the thoughts of God, and his soul longing to realize and fulfil them. He knew, from the direct revelation brought to him by Nathan, that his earthly kingdom was the pledge and promise of a kingdom that should endure for ever. He knew that God had anointed him with His holy oil, and set him on His holy hill of Zion, that he might be both the type and the progenitor of that anointed Son of God whose throne should be as the days of heaven.

Thus the dark horizon, which hides the future from common eyes, was for him already glowing with the dawn of that light which "now shineth," and shall shine evermore "unto the perfect day."

Look at the Psalm from this point of view, and we readily understand how, for David, the glory of that greater kingdom seen afar was already casting back its glow upon every event that touched him in his kingly office, and in his typical character as the Lord's anointed.

It will thus appear quite natural that the language and imagery of the Psalm should have been suggested by the events of David's own reign, although "its words are too great and its tone too lofty" to be limited to such an application.

The "raging together" of the heathen, and the confederacy of hostile kings, were not the less real and natural in David'

own experience because, in the light of a Divine revelation, they imaged forth the spiritual revolt of an unbelieving world "against the Lord, and against His anointed."

The little company of first Christians, to whom Peter and John reported the fierce threatening of the Jewish Council, saw in the events of their day an actual fulfilment of David's description of "the rulers taking counsel together"; "for of a truth, Lord, against Thy Holy Child Jesus both Herod and Pontius Pilate, and the Gentiles and people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever Thy hand and Thy counsel determined before to be done."

But even that fulfilment, they well knew, was not final; it was itself typical and prophetic of the long-enduring struggle, in which all the powers of evil are leagued together against the Lord and His Christ, saying, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

Nor was his sonship to a Heavenly Father less real to David because announced in words whose *highest sense* could neither be applied to angels nor to men, but only as the New Testament has taught us to apply it, to the true eternal Son, whom God raised up from the dead, "as it is also written in the second Psalm, *Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee.*"

Again, the promise, "I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession," was not the less full of encouragement to David, in his task of subduing the enemies of Israel, because it foretold for his seed a dominion too great for any earthly monarch.

And when we are told that "the Christian idea of the Messiah is different from that which is here presented," because "Christ does not rule the nations with a rod of iron," we answer that the "iron staff" is the symbol of the irresistible power ascribed to the Messiah alike in the expectation of the Jews, and in the faith of Christians.

Of the sense in which the Jews interpreted this second Psalm, and the prophecies connected with it, we have unquestionable evidence in the so-called Psalms of Solomon, written rather less than fifty years before the birth of Christ: "Thou, Lord, didst choose David to be king over Israel, and swearest unto him concerning his seed for ever, that his kingdom should not fail before Thee."

But sinners "in the pride of victory have cast down the throne of David"; and so there follows a prayer for Israel: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, at the time which Thou, O God, knowest, that Thy servant may reign over Israel. . . . May He thrust out the sinners from His inheritance, and with 'a rod of iron' break them all in pieces like a potter's vessel."

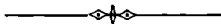
In the visions of the Apocalypse the "iron rod" is still the usual symbol of Christ's power :

"I saw heaven opened, and behold! a white horse, and He that sat on him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness He doth judge and make war"; but we all know the picture of that majestic, awful presence, the eyes as a flame of fire, the head with many crowns, the vesture dipped in blood, the sharp sword going out of His mouth wherewith He shall smite the nations, "and He shall rule them with a rod of iron," when He treadeth "the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God."

Can any man still say this is not "the Christian idea of the Messiah"? True, it is an aspect of His countenance which none need ever behold. For mark how even on the Psalmist's lips the warning of destruction is followed quickly by the pleading voice of Mercy: "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son"—or if any choose a different rendering—"lay hold on instruction," or "offer pure worship, lest He be angry, and ye perish in the way—for His anger may soon be kindled.

"Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him."

E. H. GIFFORD.



ART. II.—CHRIST ALONE "IMMACULATE" IN HIS CONCEPTION, AND IN HIS LIFE.¹

THE controversy on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which, after raging for two centuries with the greatest virulence between the Dominican and Franciscan orders, was suspended by the prohibitory constitution of Sixtus IV. (*Grave nimis*) in 1483, reached its acutest stage just two years before, when the former General of the Dominicans, Vincentius de Bandelis à Castronovo, produced his exhaustive treatise "*De Singulari Puritate et Prærogativâ Conceptionis Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*," in which he claims the prerogative of a conception without sin, as belonging distinctively and exclusively to Christ.

In this treatise, which represents a disputation held before the Duke Hercules of Este at Ferrara, the author adduces the testimonies of 260 of the greatest divines of the Western Church in every age, in defence of the unique and exclusive prerogative of the Saviour, who alone, as "conceived by the

¹ A review of the rare treatise of Vincentius de Bandelis à Castronovo on the "Singular Purity and Prerogative of the Conception of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Holy Ghost" could be holy in His conception as well as in His birth. In his preface, Bandelis declares to us the fact that multitudes, led away by the teaching of the Immaculists, had preached far and wide that the Virgin was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and needed not to be redeemed by Christ—a belief which calls for the exclamation, "O scelus inauditum—O! facinus detestandum!"

And yet this is the logical outcome of the doctrine their teachers asserted; for there can be no need of release to those who were never in captivity, nor redemption to those who were never "sold under sin." Hence the statement of Pope Benedict XIV., "Sanctissimam Virginem etsi nunquam peccati mancipium fuerit, Jesus Christus redemit," is a contradiction in terms, and clearly refutes itself. The work of Bandelis is a masterly refutation of the historical falsehoods, and doctrinal contradictions of the Bull "Ineffabilis," which (according to parliamentary phrase) applied the guillotine to the whole controversy, and peremptorily enforced the acceptance of a doctrine which strikes Christianity at its very root.

The confusion which the publication of Bandelis' treatise occasioned in the camp of the Immaculists is indescribable. As the original edition, published at Bologna in 1481, had become so extremely rare that two centuries afterwards it was scarcely possible to find a copy of it, it appears to have been largely circulated in MS. For Antonius à Treio, titular Bishop of Carthage, who acted as orator from Spain to promote the cause of the Immaculists with Pope Paul V., and was afterwards created a Cardinal, tells us that it was "spread abroad over Spain and Italy in MSS., and propagated in sermons" (in cathedrâ et manuscriptis quasi codices undique commendatos). He entreats the Pope, therefore, to decree that Bandelis should be "removed from the midst" (ut tolleretur de medio Bandellus), a demand suggestive of that gloss of the Roman commentator "Haereticum devita" "supple tolle." Fortunately, though Bandelis had been taken away from the evil of the world and the sins of the Church, he lived still in the great work which he completed of vindicating the Western Church from the guilt of transferring to the Mother of our Lord the distinctive attribute which separated Him from every merely human being—that of a miraculous conception. About two centuries after Bandelis had made this good confession, and apparently as a protest against the attempt of the Court of Spain to establish the doctrine authoritatively, a reprint of the treatise without place or date, in small octavo, came forth; and this is now almost as rare as the original edition had

¹ Preface to the reprint of Bandelis' treatise (sm. 8vo).

become at the period of this reproduction of it. An indication of this appears in the fact that the learned Pope Benedict XIV. mentions having seen only this reprint in the celebrated library of Cardinal Passionei.¹ Of this I possess a copy, the value of which is enhanced by the autograph of the celebrated Stephen Baluzius, whose profound learning and solid judgment well enabled him to appreciate the clearness and force of its reasoning. Another reprint of it of a later date, but of similar obscurity of origin, in a small quarto form, I have also possessed. This I gave to the late Bishop Harold Browne.

The finished work of Bandelis, which is represented in the treatise "De Singulari Puritate," had been preceded by another published at Brescia in 1475, and dedicated to Count Peter Gambara, entitled "Libellus de veritate Conceptionis gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ." In connection with this earlier work, a very curious question presents itself. In 1494, from the press of Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, there came out at Venice, in the form of an appendix to the "Catena Aurea" of Aquinas, a tract of the same title, the author of which is described to be a certain Petrus de Vincentiâ, also of the order of Friars Preachers. This enumerates 216 authorities, instead of the 260 of the later work of Bandelis, and is evidently the germ of that more developed argument. Of this rare edition I have a copy, given me by my friend the late J. B. Inglis, Esq., to whose almost unique library it belonged. The introductory chapters of the two tractates are word for word identical. These chapters describe the entire doctrine of original righteousness and original sin, and are obviously not derived from any other sources. Is it possible, then, that our Vincentius and this Vincentiâ are the same person, the one name being his name "in religion" as a simple friar, the other representing him as the head of his order, and setting forth his name and origin? If this suggestion, the evidence for which appears to me to be conclusive, is correct, it would appear that the tract of 1494 represents the earlier work of Bandelis, which, for obvious reasons, had a less controversial title, while its production under the same title in 1494, under the shield of the great name of Aquinas, was renewed, in order to save it from the penalty decreed by the Constitution *Grave nimis* against any assertion of either doctrine, or any discussion of the subject. It appears, from a careful comparison of the treatise of 1494 (which we may regard as representing the earlier work of Bandelis) and the larger work of 1481, that the re-arrangement of the treatise as a connected argument was necessitated by the exigences of a public dis-

¹ Bened. XIV. de Festis, Pars II., c. 192.

putation. In the "Libellus de Veritate," etc., the authorities are arranged according to their rank as popes, cardinals, heads of religious orders, divines, etc.; while in the finished work of 1481 the authorities follow the course of the argument, which is carried on in a series of syllogisms.

We now proceed to give the reader a succinct account of a work whose solid theological learning has rendered it an irrefragable protest against the idolatrous Bull "Ineffabilis," and whose great rarity disables too many from taking advantage of its testimony.

The treatise begins by laying down three propositions and three corollaries from them :

I. The Blessed Virgin Mary was, like the rest of mankind, conceived in original sin.

II. To affirm that she was not thus conceived is not pious.

III. The opinion which asserts that the Blessed Virgin contracted original sin in her conception is most agreeable to the piety of faith.

He proceeds (chaps. iii., vi.) to lay down the entire doctrine of "original righteousness" and "original sin," as held from the first in the Western Churches. The state in which man was created, in which the body was governed by the soul, and the soul under the supreme direction of God, he describes as the state of original righteousness—a Divine gift bestowed on Adam, not personally, but as the first principle and origin of all the human race. He then shows that the fall of man was caused by his failure to carry out this Divine law of subordination, and that the consequent withdrawal of the gift extended itself to all who belong to the race of Adam, and inherited its appointed penalty; and that hence even infants were born in original sin, which he defines as equivalent to the "loss of original righteousness" ("*carentia originalis justitiæ*"). He vindicates the justice of God in this dispensation by showing that He rather withdraws a gift than ordains a punishment herein, and compares it to the course of an earthly king who bestows a great feudal privilege on a subject which is transmissible to all his heirs, but which his heirs forfeit as well as himself, if he should be guilty of treason or rebellion. He then shows that the Virgin Mary, as deriving her nature from Adam, fell under the disqualification which extended to all his descendants, and was therefore conceived in original sin. "By which we mean that when the reasonable soul was infused into her, she was destitute of that original righteousness which would have been hers had Adam not sinned."

He proceeds from this to enumerate the 260 authorities who have borne witness to this doctrine in every age and place. As even the mere catalogue of these would take us far beyond

our present limited scope, we will pass on at once to the series of syllogisms with which he completes his argument.

He first proves that as redemption can only be from bondage, and in the case of man's redemption, from bondage to sin, the Virgin, as redeemed by Christ, must have been sometime under sin. Here he demolishes the figment of a "preservative redemption," that favourite refuge of the Immaculists, "which proceeds," he writes, "from an ignorance of the meaning of the term. For he who is *preserved* from all stain cannot be said to be *cleansed* from it, nor he who is preserved from every illness to be *healed* of it, nor he who is preserved from death to have *risen again*, nor he who is preserved from captivity to be *redeemed*, but rather guarded and protected." He then proves that the penalty of death in all mankind, not excluding the Virgin, proves the presence of sin in all, illustrating this by the words of Augustine, "Adam mortuus est propter peccatum. Maria, ex Adam, mortua est propter peccatum. Caro autem Domini ex Mariâ mortua est propter delenda peccata" (in Ps. xxxiv.).

His first syllogism takes this form :

"All men who are redeemed by Christ have had in themselves some sin, or were in bondage under some guilt or servitude.

"But the Blessed Virgin was redeemed by Christ.

"Therefore she was sometime under sin."

His second argument is derived from the fact of concupiscence, which involves original sin.

His third reason is thus expressed :

"All men, except Christ, who have died since the fall of Adam have had some sin.

"But the Virgin is of man's race and is not Christ.

"Therefore," etc.

The fourth reason, which he deems most effectual, arises out of the death of Christ, and has this form :

"All men for whom Christ died have had, in fact, some sin.

"But Christ died for the Virgin Mary.

"Therefore the Blessed Virgin had, in fact, some sin.

"But as she had not actual sin, she must have had original sin."

The fifth argument runs thus :

"Christ alone was in His conception holy ; and Christ alone, and His soul alone, was without sin ; and Christ alone had no necessity to be born again, and all men except Christ have incurred some sin.

"Therefore the Blessed Virgin, who was human and was not Christ, was not holy in her conception, and needed to be born again, and consequently had original sin."

The sixth argument is thus formed :

"All those to whom remission of sins is necessary have had, in fact, some sin, which is not remitted except to one who is bound thereby, and sin is not remitted except to him in whom it exists in form" (*formaliter existit*).

But the remission of sins was necessary to the Virgin.

"Therefore she had *de facto* some sin."

Our author then proceeds to deal with the argument derived from the *piety* asserted by the Immaculists for their doctrine, and here his first reason is given thus :

"Every assertion which contradicts Scripture is impious."

"But the opinion that the Blessed Virgin was not conceived in original sin contradicts the Scripture.

"Therefore such an opinion is not pious, but impious."

He applies the same argument to the doctrine as in direct opposition to the traditions of the Church, to the teaching of its doctors, and to the determination of the Church.

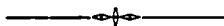
His Scriptural argument rests mainly upon the following passages of Scripture which he expounds and illustrates with great learning and judgment, viz., Rom. iii. 22, 23, and v. 12, 18; 2 Cor. v. 14; Gal. iii. 22; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, and i. 15; Matt. ix. 12; Luke xix. 10.

In the second portion of his work he refutes all the arguments of the Immaculists, and vindicates the famous letter of St. Bernard, in which their doctrine is condemned in the strongest possible terms, from the dishonest interpretations by which even the learned Pope Benedict XIV. has not been ashamed to explain it away.

As the late Pope, in the famous, or, rather, infamous, Bull "Ineffabilis," which is as full of historical falsehoods as it is of doctrinal errors, has appealed to his predecessors for their confirmation, it may be well to remind the reader that, among the many Popes whom Bandelis brings forward to witness the contrary doctrine, Eugenius IV., as declaring his opinion synodically, has a conspicuous place. In the definition of the Roman doctrine given to the Armenian delegates in the Council of Florence, the miraculous conception of our Lord is made one of the foundations of His redeeming work. This proves that the prerogative of an Immaculate Conception would carry with it the office and the power of redemption. This I pointed out to my lamented friend, the late Cardinal Wiseman, on the occasion of the Lateran Council in which he took part, in a printed letter. He replied that the Eugenic definition had not been lost sight of in the Council; but that it had been violated in the letter as well as in the spirit must have been evident to any impartial member of that spellbound assembly, gathered together only to accept a foregone conclusion, and to

inaugurate a dogma which displayed as much profane curiosity in its inception as it did fruitlessness in its result. It is, too, possible that the dangerous precedent may lead on to still more fatal developments, and that the next stage in this sad declension from primitive doctrine may be that which was reached by the popular preachers in the time of Bandelis—viz., the conception of the Blessed Virgin by the Holy Ghost—the only conception which can be immaculate—and her consequent exemption from the necessity of redemption. For that this is the necessary and logical conclusion from the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is proved to demonstration in the work of Bandelis. Nor can we doubt that the mass of the laity in the Roman Church, to whom the distinctions of the schoolmen are unknown, and, if known, would be incomprehensible, regard the doctrine as their predecessors did of old. The "singular purity and prerogative of Christ" will then be no longer singular or exclusive. The Virgin Mary will be associated with the Son of God in the creed as "conceived by the Holy Ghost," and the supreme work of redemption shared by her who claimed no other title than that of "the handmaid of the Lord."

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



ART. III.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

NO. III.—THE NARRATIVE OF CREATION.

AS we have seen, the German critics, and their English following, assign Gen. i. and Gen. ii., down to the words "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created," to a priestly writer after the return from captivity. But the German form of the Higher Criticism has been dominated by a foregone conclusion, namely, that the Pentateuch is a compilation of the kind which has already been described. The process of discovering its component parts, and assigning them to their respective writers, has occupied almost a century. When the critics have found that their analysis has failed, they have had to revise their work, and it would be neither an uninteresting nor an unprofitable task to investigate the variations of their analysis, according as one or other theory held the field for a time. The boasted agreement of the critics at the present moment is due to the fact that just now the theory of Wellhausen and Kuenen holds the field, and as long as it does so, its analysis must hold the field also. But this theory may be found as short-lived as its predecessors. We must always carefully

bear in mind that a number of able men have been engaged for about a hundred years in elaborating a theory which shall defy criticism, and that what appears at first sight so ridiculous, namely, the separation of sentences and halves of verses, and assigning them to this or that author, is due to the necessity of marking off certain phrases and terms of expression, and assigning them to one or other of the authors from whose writings the compilation is alleged to have been put together. This process has become more and more elaborate as the extreme difficulty of the task undertaken has become obvious. But the question has so far never been approached from the opposite point of view—that of investigating the theory which regards the narrative as a whole. Sufficient attention has not as yet been given to the signs of unity of plan and of style in the various parts of that narrative, suggesting, as they do, the idea that whether or no the Pentateuch is the work of one or of various writers, it all shows traces of the ascendancy of one and the same master mind.¹ I believe this method, if carried out by competent hands, will serve as certainly to show that the Pentateuch was in all its main features the work of one author,² as it would be within the power of an anatomist to show that the mangled remains which have been brought to him for identification once constituted a human body, however barbarously those remains may have been hacked and hewn by the murderer in the hope of concealing his crime. I do not pretend that mine are hands competent to the investigation, but at least I may serve as a pioneer in a task which I am convinced will be ultimately achieved. And even if two-thirds of my arguments are dismissed as being as fine-drawn as those of the critics themselves—and this will be to say a good deal—yet, if the force of the remaining one-third is admitted, at least a *prima facie* case must be held to have been made out against the German school and its conclusions.

To begin, then, with the first word in the Book of Genesis, בראשית. This word with the prefix ב is found only here and in four places in Jeremiah, where it is used of the beginning of the reign of a king. The more usual expression

¹ It is worthy of note that Maurice Vernes, in his "Nouvelle Hypothèse sur la Composition et l'Origine du Deutéronome," though he believes in the Jehovist, the Deuteronomist, and the Priestly writer, and regards them as having written in the order just stated, regards them, nevertheless, as closely connected in time and place, and all as post-exilic.

² Some recent critics have imagined, and not without reason, that Genesis and Deuteronomy were written by Moses himself, and Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers by scribes commissioned by him.

in the subsequent books is **בתחלה**. This last word is found in Gen. xiii. 3, and other passages assigned to JE. The word **ראשית**, without the prefix, is used for *beginning* in Gen. x. 10, Gen. xlix. 3, Deut. xxi. 17, and in the poetical books.¹ It occurs, however, five times in Proverbs, a book which may not unreasonably be considered as poetical. A well-known characteristic of poetry in all nations is its tendency to archaisms. It may therefore fairly be contended that the use of this word in the later poetry gives force to the contention that it is an early, not a late word, and that whenever it is employed in poetry, it is because of its associations in the writer's mind with its position here, at the beginning of the first book of the Hebrew Scriptures, and commencing the striking account of the origin of all things. Jeremiah's use of it is not, it must be confessed, at all poetical. But, steeped as he evidently was in reverence for the law, and familiar as he now undoubtedly was with its contents, it is not by any means surprising that he should instinctively use a word so often present to his memory in preference to the more usual and colloquial word. In Prov. viii. 22 even the English reader can see that the writer has the first chapter of Genesis distinctly in view. And his style is also more modern, as may be seen from the use of the word **קדם**, which, in the earlier books means simply *the east*, save in Deuteronomy, where it has the signification *eternity*, from which the more modern signification *before* is evidently derived. We may further remark that in Deut. xxi. 17 there is evidently a reference to Jacob's song, Gen. xlix. 3, under circumstances which leave no doubt of the priority of the song to the use of it made in Deuteronomy. The critics, however, think that J incorporated it from some collection of national poetry, and therefore would not be inclined to dispute the proposition that here "D" has quoted "J." Yet the fact might not be unfairly regarded as pointing to a higher reverence and authority attributed to Jacob's song by the writer of Deuteronomy than would be felt for any portion of a collection of sacred songs from which extracts might be made.

We come next to **ברא** (he created). We are first told that there is an evident distinction between the dry and formal style of chaps. i. to ii. 4, and the rest of chaps. ii. and iii., and that while P uses a word to signify *create* (**ברא**), a variety of terms are used in JE. But we are *not* told that in the passage attributed to P **עשה** is used as well as **ברא**, and that when

¹ The word is not unfrequently used for *first-fruits*. But this is quite a distinct sense. In the passages to which I have referred above the idea is clearly *source* or *origin* of things, like *ἀρχή* in John i. 1.

JE, as is supposed, takes up the running in the middle of ch. ii. 4, the word עִשָּׂה, used in P, is continued in the narrative of JE. We shall see presently that the use of יָצַר (to form, as a potter moulds clay), which very seldom occurs in Genesis, and which has been carefully assigned to JE in every passage there in which it occurs, may be explained in other ways than those which have found favour with the critics, as also the unquestionably superior vividness of the account in the portions attributed to JE. We shall have occasion hereafter to show that the utmost ingenuity of the critics cannot prevent them from assigning to P passages as vivid and picturesque as any contained in the portions assigned to JE. The word בָּרָא, however, which is constantly used in solemn and elevated and poetical passages by the prophets, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as very particularly "dry and formal," is to be found once in Deuteronomy, and—in spite of the care of the critics to assign Gen. v. 1, 2 to P—three times in JE, in Gen. vi. 7, Exod. xxxiv. 10, and Numb. xvi. 30, where there is a remarkably lively and poetic use of this "dry and formal" word. Where in the Authorized and Revised Versions we find "make a new thing," the Hebrew has "create a creation" (בָּרָא בְרִיאָה). Thus the word here regarded as characteristic of P has been shown (1) to be common to P and JE (it occurs very nearly the same number of times in each), and (2) to be, if its frequent use in the prophets can be regarded as evidence, the very reverse of a characteristic of a "dry and formal" style.¹

In truth, the whole passage is strikingly eloquent and poetic. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was wasteness and emptiness,² and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was brooding long and earnestly" (the intensive sense given by the Piel voice³ conveys hardly less than this) "on the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light,

¹ Isaiah's remarkable use of this word is worthy the attention of the student.

² These words are quoted only once in Jer. iv. 23, and alluded to only once in Isa. xxxiv. 11, where, in the A.V., they are translated "confusion and emptiness." Jeremiah's words deserve special quotation: "I beheld the earth, and it was without form, and void (תָּהוּ וּבְהוּ), and the heavens, and they had no light." The reader must judge whether it is most probable that P adopted his language from these passages, or that Isaiah and Jeremiah are referring to a well-known passage in the earlier sacred books of the Jews.

³ The Hebrew voices are generally most inexactly termed *conjugations* by the grammarians, to the infinite confusion of the learner, who has been accustomed to attach an entirely different meaning to the word *conjugation* in Latin and Greek.

and there was light." It will be regarded as little less than sacrilege to say a word in disparagement of the learned and careful scholar Dillmann, although it is *not* sacrilege, with Wellhausen, to disparage the Hebrew Scriptures with the most merciless severity. But for Dillmann to describe a style which could produce a sentence such as that which we are now considering as "juristisch, pünktlich, und formelhaft" is scarcely even a *tolerabilis ineptia*. Critics accustomed to use the comparative method of dealing with literature are far better able to judge of style than a mere Old Testament critic, however learned, and however minute in his powers of analysis. And with one consent they have agreed to regard this passage, in spite of, or perhaps we might more fairly say *because of*, its incomparable self-restraint in the use of words, as one of the most sublime to be found in the whole range of literature. Some of us may remember how, with the aid of a dream, it stimulated Joseph Haydn to the sublimest flight of musical inspiration he ever attempted, in his expression of the appearance of light at God's command, and the subsequent shout of joy of the "Sons of God," "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork." "Juristisch, pünktlich, und formelhaft"! Of what could the learned German critic have been thinking? We have evidently here the utterance (to put inspiration aside) of genius—of a master of thought and expression. And therefore we need not hesitate to attribute these words to one who has ever been regarded as among the world's greatest men—the man who led the people committed to his charge "through the wilderness like a flock," and there gave them "commandments, statutes, and judgments" which have been the admiration of the world for a thousand generations.

We proceed in our analysis of this striking passage. תהום, again, is a distinctly poetic word. It is used only here, in Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 2 (all assigned to P), and in passages distinctly poetic. In the Pentateuch it occurs in Deut. viii. 7, in Jacob's song, in Miriam's song, and in the blessing of Moses. It is noteworthy that the critics have assigned part of Gen. viii. 2 to P, and part to JE, in order to maintain their position that the words "fountains of the deep" are characteristic of P, and the word "rain" of JE.¹ But surely the words "fountains of the great deep" are poetic enough, and reconcilable with difficulty with what would be termed a dry and legal style. Surely the "rain" of which JE speaks

¹ It may be as well to subjoin the analysis of the critics in these verses. The large type denotes JE, the small type P: "The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven" [observe the poetic language of the supposed "dry and formal writer"] "were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained."

is a more prosaic idea altogether. To this point, however, we shall return when we reach chap. vii. But we may mention here that once more Prov. viii. quotes P's narrative in Genesis. In verse 28 the writer, evidently familiar with Genesis as we have it, uses the phrase "the fountains of the deep," only with *עין*, the simple, instead of *מעין*, the derivative form of the word.

The next word is the Piel participle (*מרחפת*) of the verb *רחה*. This word only occurs three times in the Hebrew Scriptures: once, in Jeremiah, in the Kal voice; and in the present passage, and in Deut. xxxii. 11, in the Piel. It would, of course, be unfair to draw any definite conclusions from this fact. Yet, as far as it goes, it tends to suggest unity of authorship between Genesis and Deuteronomy. And as the passage in which it occurs in Deuteronomy is in Moses' song, it strengthens the argument against the notion that P's phraseology is hard and legal. The idea involved in the word in the narrative of creation, we learn from Deuteronomy, is one which compares the Holy Spirit of God in the early ages of creation to a bird fluttering over its nest with love and anxiety, in order to quicken into full existence the germs of life which are as yet imperfectly developed there. Can any more beautiful and poetic idea be found in the whole range of literature?¹

J. J. LIAS.

P.S.—It may be well, in view of certain recent utterances, to explain that it is not in the least surprising to find leading Egyptologists and Assyriologists, as the new critics are apt to boast, accepting provisionally the conclusions of the German school of criticism. For utterly unsound as we believe those conclusions to be, they are the only critical theories at present in existence. The Conservative school has not yet attempted any criticism; its line has been chiefly defensive. But we may be sure that when English and Scotch criticism is fairly in the field, neither Assyriologists nor Egyptologists will any longer accept the conclusions of the Germans as a matter of course.² Nor does it concern us much if the Egyptian Ritual

¹ Milton shows his appreciation of the poetry of the idea in his noble lines:

"On the watery calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread
And vital virtue infused, and vital warmth."

"Paradise Lost," Book VII., 234.

² Since writing the above, I have discovered that so distinguished a critic and divine as Professor Godet has expressed himself in terms almost verbally coincident with mine. He wrote on September 7, 1893, "I have already felt that English theology will have its part to play in the present crisis, and will be able to rebuild the altars which Germany is labouring to destroy. I do not mean to say that all is false in the

of the Dead has come down to us in a form which proves that it has been largely added to and reshaped. For so has our own Prayer-Book. But it is not pretended that the Ritual of the Dead or the English Prayer-Book is the product of one master mind, stamping its genius ineffaceably on the laws and religion of a country. Such a man was Moses. Such a man was Mahomet. And the Koran has been in existence for 1,250 years in the same shape as it appears now. We have no evidence whatever to prove that the Israelites, at the Exodus, were less cultured than the Arabs of the era of Mohammed, and therefore less capable of handing down their sacred books in a complete form. There is therefore as good reason for supposing that the Pentateuch might have been handed down substantially unaltered from the time of Moses to that of our Lord, as there is historical evidence for the Koran having existed in its present shape for nearly the same period. Lastly, we deny that there are any such marked differences in style or mode of treatment in the Pentateuch as make it easier to separate P from JE than Besant from Rice, or Dickens from Wilkie Collins. It would be quite as easy, on the same principles of criticism, moreover, to divide the lively narratives of Macaulay, Froude, Green or Motley into two parts, the one dry and formal, the other vivid and picturesque, as it is to do the same thing in the five books attributed to Moses.



ART. IV.—ON THE SUPPLY OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

FEW prefatory remarks are needed to prove that there is a great and increasing scarcity of candidates to minister in the Church of God. We have only to read the advertisements in clerical papers, sometimes oft repeated, the stipends being occasionally printed in colossal figures, as if the advertiser stood aghast at his own proposal. That he may well do, for, owing to the scarcity of the supply, the net stipend offered for the curate often exceeds the gross income of the benefice. Sometimes additional attractions are stated—"beautiful scenery," "nice society," "good fishing."

In the younger days of many clergy now living it was otherwise. A clergyman need not then have announced his

immense task to which Germany has committed itself. 'But there is another note to be sounded in the ears of this century, and it seems as if this duty would devolve upon England and Scotland.' I wish most emphatically to endorse in every particular these sentiments of the great Swiss divine.

need of a colleague more than once, for he would soon hear of applicants seeking ordination ; while those of eminence in the clerical world, no matter of what school of thought, would have a list of men ready at any time to aid them, sometimes for merely nominal stipends. Also, if a clergyman held a large cure with very scanty emolument, or a small cure, but he needed help through failing health or advancing years, there was at one time little difficulty in obtaining such subsidiary aid. There were numbers of clergy with other sources of income who were willing to aid, and rejoiced to aid an invalid, a veteran, or an earnest man struggling with an onerous charge.

Hence has arisen the immense importation of Irishmen and Welshmen into the English Church. It is not intended by this remark to cast any slur on those nationalities, for many of them have been bright ornaments of our Church ; but it is somewhat of a reproach to the English Church that she cannot adequately supply members for her own ministry. It calls to mind the early days of the Church Missionary Society, when her missionaries were mostly Swiss or German.

Attention was called to this scarcity by many speakers at the religious meetings of the past year. A distinguished Oxford professor remarked that the laity of the Church had no idea of the extent of this falling off in the number of candidates. Nor is it any answer to this to refer to the numbers of clergy seeking occasional employment, domiciled mostly in London. One bishop in his charge begged his clergy, when engaging temporary help beyond three weeks' duration, always to communicate with him first ; for, said his lordship, "I have a list of three hundred, not one of whom I should wish to officiate amongst us." The writer remembers that once, when at his wits' end for temporary aid during an illness, he implored his diocesan to allow the employment of one of these "extravagant and erring spirits," and he found by experience that the diocesan was justified in his reluctance.

Various causes have been assigned for this admitted scarcity.

1. It has been said that many more spheres are now open to young men ; that appointments, civil and military, are now procurable by merit and competition, and not, as heretofore, by influence or purchase. This cause is operative, but perhaps not to the extent supposed. The bulk of such applicants would always seek a life of stirring enterprise, or social and pecuniary advancement, and would be seldom attracted to clerical life.

2. The poverty of the clerical profession is said to deter many from entering it. This remark would be of weight if the poverty of the Church were something new. In the case of the younger clergy the reverse is the case. Every curate

receives now 50 per cent. more at the very outset than in former years. If £100 a year was offered, it was where the population was very large or the labour very severe. More frequently the title for ordination was given with a very small stipend, or none at all. Thus the neophyte would be at least two years longer dependent on other sources of income.

3. Great stress is laid by some on the wide-spreading scepticism of the age, and especially in our universities. Colleges have been mentioned in which the tutors themselves are alleged to be, if not Agnostics, absolutely indifferent as to religion. With such a decadence of religious belief has followed a decline of religious zeal. Men are unwilling to become *pauperes Christi* when the love of Christ barely exists in their surroundings. This assigned cause is entitled to grave consideration, for it is alleged, and with much more evident proof, to be most potent in France, Switzerland and Italy. It is asserted, and with truth, that in France, in the rural districts, the presbytères are empty, and that the bishops are obliged to send itinerant priests to celebrate Mass in one village after another; that in Switzerland numerous churches are without pastors, and that in Northern Italy the services of the Church are only supplied by ordaining the son of a peasant, who lives with his family, and with their aid cultivates his glebe and their farm.

4. Others speak of the more exacting life demanded now from the clergy; they are called upon to know, to do, and to endure so much, that young men are unwilling to face the responsibility; or, if willing, their parents strongly oppose it. This objection is of weight as a deterrent. A friend of sporting habits, previous to his ordination, though now a most devoted parish priest, thus describes his clerical life: "I am worked like a hack all the week, and am expected to be a first-rate hunter on a Sunday." A humorous prelate thus described part of his incessant avocations: "I am asked to open a church on the Monday—good; to open a school on the Tuesday—good again; to open a reading-room on Wednesday—'Well,' I say, 'cannot you do without me?' but on Thursday I am asked to open a bazaar, so that on Friday I expect to be asked to open an umbrella."

5. Finally, it has been stated that the Gospel of self-sacrifice is no longer preached, that the race for wealth is the absorbing passion, and that men are valued and dignified for success in that race, and that above all; that the plutocrat is deified; and that he who prefers voluntary poverty, but poverty sanctified by devotion to the Church of Christ, is a relic of days gone by, not fitted for the present luxury-seeking age.

Every one of these causes may be admitted as operative, but

even the aggregation of them all is not sufficient to account for the paucity complained of. The observation of many years induces the writer to assign another, greater than all: it is the revolution now going on in the education of Englishmen, and the agencies connected therewith.

The bulk of English education, above the primary, was in former years by the grammar schools, as they were generally called, the endowed schools, with which England was dotted. These schools were formerly all day schools, mostly free, or, if any fee was paid, it was slight. The income of the master was provided by property bequeathed or made over by the generous founder. Thus the poor parson, though with a family often in inverse proportion to his means, and the struggling professional man, the classes from which the Church has ever been most largely recruited, could obtain for their sons a first-class education *gratuitously* for years, till the sons were old enough to aspire for admission to the universities.

At the head of these grammar schools was a man of university education himself, often of university distinction, and invariably in holy orders, for it has been the glory of England that education has been, hitherto, at least, regarded as a *cure of souls*. Lord Eldon said that his master devoted the first hour every morning with his Upper Form to Greek Testament, and Eldon ever wrote and spoke of that master in terms of the highest regard. Arnold regarded his ministerial function so important that he solicited for himself the office of chaplain to the school, previously detached from the headship, for, said he, "I cannot conceive of the duties of my office as Master of Rugby School being otherwise rightly discharged." Consistently with this precedent, the present Bishop of London insisted as a condition in all applicants for the headship of Rugby, recently vacant, that they should be in holy orders. For so insisting, he was disgracefully belaboured in the press by those who wished to divorce the clerical from the educator's office, but for his noble conception and the firmness with which he adhered to it, the Bishop deserves the thanks of English Churchmen.

The head of the school, being in holy orders himself, had the well-being of the Church at heart. He was often aiding in Church work himself outside his scholastic functions; very frequently he was a deep and accomplished writer as a divine, and not unfrequently he rose to a high rank amongst dignitaries, and sometimes was elevated to the Episcopal Bench.

Such a head would elevate the clerical office in the eyes of his form; his example would fire their ambition to rise therein. Large numbers of wealthy men, so educated, entered the ministry, spending their substance, and rejoicing to spend it, on

the Church of God, serving Him for nothing, counting themselves honoured by so consecrating themselves and the means God had given them.

Such a head would have a fatherly eye over his poorer pupils ; he would bring the youths of ability under the special notice of the governors. These, from the very fact of their accepting the office, would be interested in the rising youth, would watch with interest those who won their scholarships, founded for the continuance of education in the universities. These governors were sometimes wealthy men, and would give aid themselves to struggling intellect.

Thus these grammar schools became great nurseries of the Church. The *pauperes scholares* who won their scholarships became *pauperes Christi*, for in every case the ministry of the Church was the goal of their ambition. It may be safely asserted that hundreds of clergy in years past owed their elevation from the humblest walks in life to these foundations of Christian philanthropy. For, besides the proffered scholarship, there were numbers of wealthy Churchmen ever willing, on good cause shown, to subsidize deficient funds.

The whole of that machinery is rapidly passing away. First of all, the head of the school is becoming increasingly a man not in holy orders, and he naturally supplements his staff with laymen. He may be a distinguished scholar, a man of literary distinction, blameless in life, apt to teach ; but as he has no bias himself to the ministry, he will not be likely to give a bias thereto to those under his tuition. He has now a boarding-house, and all his staff have boarding-houses. The flourishing condition of these is to each occupier the one object of prime importance ; these must be filled with good payers ; and the office is no longer a cure of souls, but a mode of amassing a fortune.

That transformation was commenced in the first instance by such schools as Harrow, and it is being imitated all over England. Trollope tells us, in his "Autobiography," that his father, being a poor barrister, went to live at Harrow that his son might receive the gratuitous education provided for its inhabitants by its munificent founder. The form-master having a boarding-house, and being bent on making a fortune, informed the form, with execrable taste, that "Trollope did not pay," and poor Trollope was held up to scorn as a "town-cad." But it was for the "town-cads" that the school was founded.

Rugby was becoming filled with widows and gentlefolk of very limited means, that their sons might enjoy the benefits of the school as day-boys. But what then would become of the boarding-houses ? A rule has in consequence been estab-

lished that no one shall claim the advantages of Rugby as a day-scholar unless he has been a resident for ten years.

Uppingham is now a school of considerable celebrity, with well-filled boarding-houses, tenanted by boys from all parts of England, of the well-to-do classes, and who afterwards bear away the scholarships. There are not a dozen natives of Uppingham in the school. But Archdeacon Johnson, who founded the school three hundred years ago, and established its scholarships, intended to benefit his own archdeaconry, and not to provide education and scholarships for the sons of wealthy Liverpool merchants.

This perversion is going on all over England. In the county of York, Ripon, Sedbergh, Giggleswick are vying with each other in the construction of boarding-houses, to be filled with good payers, if they can be got; and the only two schools of any note in that county that adhere to their original foundation as day-schools are Leeds and Bradford. Even these two have thrown over one distinguishing feature—they are no longer *free*, fees being demanded.

Here, then, is the explanation of the paucity of candidates for the ministry of the English Church. The great feeders used to be, and would naturally be, the clergy themselves, but the preliminary education is now beyond their impecunious condition; the free grammar school no longer exists, or if existent, it has a boarding-house attached, of which the inmates duly snub the town-boy, though the son of a parson and scholar; the boarding-houses are beyond the poor clergyman's means, and thus the scholarships founded for the *pauperes Christi*, the *pauperes Christi* can no longer obtain.

The next step in clerical education is that at the university, for most Churchmen desire—in some places insist—upon the parson being a graduate of either Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham.

In the University of Oxford, on which the writer is best informed, being a humble member thereof, the same revolution has taken place which has been pointed out in schools. There were numbers of scholarships and exhibitions, founded expressly to aid *imprimis* the sons of clergy, and every applicant certified, in addition, that such aid was essential to his existence as a student. All these conditions have been abolished. The scholarships in Oxford are obtained by competition, fairly contested, and the winner is sure to be a promising scholar. But he is universally a man to whom such aid is not essential, his father being well-to-do. The expensive education which the youth has already received proves that he is not the son of a poor man; the actually poor man is left out in the cold.

Nor does the winner, when his education is completed, enter the ministry, to aid which the scholarship was founded. Time was when two-thirds of the students in Oxford repaired thither for that purpose. It is no longer so. The winner of a scholarship holds himself free to enter the legal, medical, and even military professions, to follow civil or literary pursuits, and but a comparatively small proportion enter the ministry of the Church.

There is another result from these changes. The standard of education in Oxford is now so high, that a residence of four years is generally essential for a degree. This, though a great advantage to the cause of learning, is a disadvantage to the aspirant to the Church, if of scanty means. Hence, it is a common remark that Oxford is no longer the place for a poor man.

If we turn to Cambridge, the impediments appear at first sight not so formidable. The Cambridge ordinary degree is more easily obtained. A youth has been known to change his occupation in life and has desired to enter the ministry; he has been taught the Greek alphabet at the age of nineteen, and in three years has obtained a degree at Cambridge. The tone of society is not so expensive; the academic fees are lower; there are still scholarships and exhibitions for struggling men, and St. John's College was described by a recent professor as pre-eminent above any institution in existence for its philanthropy towards struggling merit. But there is an obverse to this picture. In that college one-third of the students are Nonconformists; the fellows and tutors, as the old men die off, are becoming all laymen, and as to their religious principles, their position does not necessitate any. Such men may be of world-wide fame as mathematicians, scientists, physicists, or perhaps could write a book about the particle *av*, but will have little sympathy for the struggling aspirants to the ministry of God.

Finally, when the degree has been obtained, a youth must be twenty-three years of age before he can be ordained, and so off his father's hands, and that is a late period of life for a struggling impecunious parson to be relieved from supporting his sons.

All these causes are operative with great force; except the last, they are not fifty years old, and they are sufficient to account for the scarcity which has suggested this paper. To point out causes of a want is something; to suggest remedies is another and more difficult. But an attempt shall be made.

1. The first suggestion would obviously be to undo, wherever possible, the mischief wrought by the misappropriations in the endowed schools. In former years parsons' sons would

walk for miles, or ride double the distance to a good grammar school to obtain gratuitous education at the hands of a scholar and a clergyman. By Act of Parliament gratuitous education is provided for the peasant and the artisan, at an enormous cost to the nation. By Act of Parliament the revolutionized governing bodies have swept away the higher education from the struggling professional man, which cost the nation nothing, solely because the education was adapted to the Church of our fathers. There are grammar schools still, of which the governors are not all agnostics or dissenters. Could not some of these be induced to allow the son of the poor parson, or, if it is preferred, of the minister of religion, from consideration to the sacred office, to receive the higher education, exempt from all fees, as our fathers did?

2. There are schools founded expressly in recent years to give *board* and education to the sons of clergy, such as St. John's at Leatherhead, and St. John's at Hurstpierpoint, and one at Eastbourne, gratuitously, or at a very low figure.

There are also others, such as St. Chad's, Denstone, and one recently opened at Worksop, which have the same object (cheap board and education on Church lines), but not limited to the sons of clergy. Clergymen have hitherto hesitated to send sons to the former, because the very mixture made the curriculum of study and the social status not suitable to the clerical profession. This difficulty might be overcome by requiring in one of them, say Worksop, a certain proportion to be sons of clergy.

Now, all these schools, Leatherhead, Hurstpierpoint, etc., are struggling hard for existence. They would gladly double their numbers, if their funds were increased. There is great munificence in our laymen, and as English Churchmen desire an educated clergy, it may surely not be a delusive hope, that if this matter be pressed on generous Churchmen, it would meet gradually with a hearty response. It should not be like a dream of fairyland to hope that these institutions may be sensibly felt as recruiting the Church and her ministry. Great care will have to be exercised by the well-wishers of the Church, lest such schools should double their fees, as Rossall, or triple them as in others, to exclude the poor student so sedulously invited by our fathers. Scholarships should rather be sought to increase the number of recipients of gratuitous education.

3. Proceeding from the school to the university, the great success of Keble College, Oxford, indicates that it supplies a recognised demand. Though founded in honour of a great name, that great name could not alone have created such a success. Its principle is to confine the annual expenditure

within a certain limit, that limit being perhaps less than half the usual expense elsewhere. Expense is not only kept down, it is made impossible. The idea has "caught on," showing that not only the clergy, but other professional men, and that increasing body, the impoverished gentry, hailed the foundation with delight. Keble has scholarships which still further aid the impecunious—these could be multiplied to any extent by further munificence.

This success points out the advisability of another on kindred lines, not necessarily limited to that school of thought in the Church, to be founded in the sister university. Cambridge abounds in colleges, not all full to repletion. Could not some existing college, such as Jesus, be induced so to shape its administration, and by having meals in common, stringent discipline, and a high religious tone, to help largely the cause of the *pauperes Christi*? Surely the governing bodies are not all Nonconformists, or agnostics, or laymen professing indifference. Such a college, already possessing scholarships to be given *cæteris paribus* to struggling ordinands, would greatly aid the Church of Christ. Thus if a struggling student came up with a scholarship from his school, and won another in the university at a college like Keble, he would meet the whole expense of his career, from his childhood to his graduation. Such a process was possible in the days of our fathers; it is because it is not possible now that we are bewailing the paucity of educated Englishmen for our ministry.

4. Many members of both universities have long seen this, and in consequence was projected the *non-collegiate* system. Under this system a student becomes a member of the university, but not of any college. His fees to the university and also for tuition are minimized, and not being fettered by the *tone* and customs of a college, which have almost the force of unwritten law, he can lodge or board most economically. Under the fostering care of such men as Dean Kitchin, the number of non-collegiate students in Oxford has been steadily on the increase, their standard of education has risen in like manner, and some of them have been winners of university distinction. The expense is one half of the cheapest college, and this is diminished to those who win scholarships. If these scholarships be multiplied, and some of them, *cæteris paribus*, be awarded preferentially to the sons of clergy or aspiring ordinands, here will be another method for a poor man, if he be of character and a scholar, to obtain education for the ministry.

5. The University of Durham has a cheaper course still, and the degree is obtainable in about two years. The words of Mr. Gladstone when describing the Welsh Church may be

fittings applied to that little university in the North—it is a living university, it is a growing university. The Professor of Divinity has regularly at his lectures eighty or ninety men. That faculty has also scholarships, so that a youth of limited means can, with the aid of such a scholarship, cover his university expenses. Let such scholarships be multiplied and there is provided another university for aspiring ordinands.

6. There are Ordination Funds, which have aided many struggling men, and the writer has himself supported applicants in their petition for the boon. There are two objections to some in existence—they are either on strictly *party lines*, and most practical men object to such a narrowing bias, or they are *imperial* in operation, and thus the subscriber knows nothing of the recipient.

These Ordination Funds should be *Diocesan*, the recipient growing up under the subscribers' eyes; he may be the son of some clergyman whom all know and respect. In former years there were philanthropists who had their eyes on such youths, and rejoiced in thus recruiting the Church of God. We have yet to learn that such noble encouragement to struggling intellect no longer exists among English Churchmen.

7. The programme thus sketched out will bring a youth up to the age of twenty-one. At that age he might be admitted to Ordination as a deacon, but his diaconate should last at least three years. During that diaconate he should not be allowed to preach, except in school-rooms, mission-rooms, and occasionally in week-day services. But the training under an experienced incumbent would be invaluable; house-to-house visitation, religious instruction in the school, home services to the aged and infirm, ministrations to the sick and dying—these would occupy his time, and would be to him like "walking the hospitals." The youth ordained thus early would be sooner off his father's hands, and would work for a much smaller stipend. There are many veteran clergy still alive who in their early manhood served the Church on £60 a year. They were not arrayed in purple, nor did they fare sumptuously, but they were working for the great Master, and were respected for so doing by those whose respect it should be a clergyman's ambition to win; if he has no such ambition, he has no true call to the ministry. Such curates will be so serving senior men, their fathers in the Church, and by such an apprenticeship they will have gained experience and weight of character. They may then fairly seek for cures with higher remuneration, and as reforms of patronage are in the air, and will infallibly be carried out ere long, the faithful curate's further advancement will not be a matter of purchase money, or social attractiveness, but of proved fitness and devotedness to the noblest of callings.

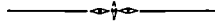
On reviewing the whole question it may be stated as a summing-up, that in years gone by the Church of England had everything in her favour for recruiting her ministry. There was free education at the grammar schools, and that of a kind preparatory to the higher education of the universities. These schools were presided over by men in holy orders, who regarded their office as a cure of souls, and who lifted up the hearts of their pupils to the ministry of God as their highest aspiration. There were scholarships founded expressly for aiding such aspirations, and benevolent men supplemented them further, so that the poorest youth could hope to be one of the aristocracy of intellect that adorned the English Church.

All these aids are swept away. The scholarships are obtained by youths highly educated, but who need them not, and would certainly not be contemplated by the founder, but who yet appropriate them; the lay educator would rather discourage a youth from aiming at the ministry of God, even if his father could afford it. But he cannot afford it, for whilst education is rising in cost, clerical incomes are dwindling to zero.

Simultaneously with this is a wide diffusion of education throughout the land; the peasant and the artisan are instructed to enter civil life at enormous cost to the nation, by masters and mistresses highly trained, and still more highly paid. Is the parson to be less educated, instead of being, as heretofore, more highly educated than the bulk of his parishioners? The cry amongst laymen, especially in towns, is for an educated, a university-educated clergy; whence is the demand to be supplied? These questions must be faced by English Churchmen with an earnestness becoming the gravity of the situation.

The writer of this paper has stated the observations of long experience, as to the decline of the supply and the causes. If any of the remedies he suggests should "catch on" and be carried out, these pages will not have been written in vain.

RICHARD W. HILEY.



ART. V.—EARLY PRINTED VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

JOHN FOX, the martyrologist, in setting forth the advantages resulting from the invention of printing, says: "Hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all

through the benefit of printing. Wherefore, I suppose," he goes on to say, "that either the Pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; or else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. Both the Pope and all his college of cardinals must this understand: that through the light of printing the world begins now to have eyes to see and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisibly in a net but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the *press* to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven. And what God revealeth to one man is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is open to all."

This great and useful art, which the old writer thus lauds with so much enthusiasm, was invented about the year 1440 by John Gutenberg, a native of Mentz, though the honour has been claimed by writers for Laurence Coster, of Haarlem.

The question may perhaps be amicably settled by supposing that both Dutchman and German, who were contemporaries, made the valuable discovery about the same time. Be the inventor who he may, the "almost Divine benefit" of the printing-press effected a complete revolution in the literary history of Europe. "Knowledge stepped forth from the cloister and entered into the market-place."

The first attempts at printing were made by Gutenberg on characters carved in small tablets of wood. Afterwards he, with others, made use of movable characters cut in wood, and, finally, as at present, of movable metallic types. The invention of founding types in moulds or matrices is attributed to Peter Schoeffer. He and John Fust were partners with Gutenberg, and carried on the business partly in Strasburg and partly in Mentz. And thus the good work has proceeded during the centuries, until in our time a single London firm can produce copies of the Bible at the rate of a hundred and twenty per hour! Contrast this with the state of things at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it would take a rapid writer ten months to transcribe a single copy of the Word of God.

The first Bible ever printed was a Latin one without date or printer's name, supposed to have been printed at Mentz between the years 1450 and 1455, in two volumes, folio. It is known as the Mazarin Bible, from the fact that a copy of it

was found about a century ago in Cardinal Mazarin's library at Paris. Copies of this very rare edition are in the Bodleian and other libraries. Lord Spencer's library at Althorp possesses a copy of this Bible, which is "justly praised for the strength and beauty of the paper, the exactness of the register, the lustre of the ink, and the general beauty and magnificence of the volumes." There is also a splendid copy of this Bible in the Royal Library at Berlin, printed upon vellum, and "enriched with a profusion of ancient and elegant embellishments"; and in the Imperial Library at Paris there are two other copies of this most valuable edition, one upon vellum, in four volumes, and the other upon paper, in two volumes. The latter copy has a subscription, written in red ink, at the end of each volume. That at the end of the first volume is: "Et sic est finis prime partis biblie seu veteris testamenti. Illuminata seu rubricata et ligata p Henricum Albch alius Cremer Anno dm. MCCCCLVI. festo Bartholomei Apli. Deo Gracias. Alleluia." (Here ends the first part of the Bible or Old Testament. Illuminated or rubricated and bound by Henry Albch, or Cremer, on St. Bartholomew's day, April, A.D. 1456. Thanks be to God. Hallelujah.)

At the end of the second volume the inscription is: "Iste liber illuminatus ligatus et completus est p Henricum Cremer vicariū ecclesie collegiate sancti Stephani maguntini sub anno dui millesimo quatringsesimo quinquagesimo sexto, festo assumptionis gloriose virginis Marie. Deo gracias. Alleluia." (This book, illuminated and bound by Henry Cremer, Vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen in Mentz, was completed on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1456. Thanks be to God. Hallelujah.)

This edition is printed in the large Gothic or German character.

In the year 1457 the Latin Psalter was printed separately, in folio, by John Fust and Peter Schoeffer at Mentz, and is the first printed book that bears a *date*.

Five years after, in 1462, Fust and Schoeffer, who seem to have worked together, published a Latin Bible, in two folio volumes. This is the first edition with a *date*, and is of extreme rarity and value. The copies of this Bible on paper are even more rare than those on vellum, of which last probably more were printed, that they might have the greater resemblance to manuscripts, which the first printers endeavoured to imitate as much as possible. M. Lambinet, in his "*Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*," says: "It is certain that from the year 1463, Fust, Schoeffer, and their partners sold, or exchanged, in Germany, Italy, France, and the most celebrated universities, the great number of books which they had printed,

and, whenever they could, *sold them as manuscripts*. As they were on parchment, and the capital letters illuminated with blue and purple and gold, after the manner of the ancient manuscripts, he sold them as such at sixty crowns! But those who first purchased copies, comparing them together, soon found that they exactly resembled each other; afterwards they learned that Fust had sold a great number of copies, and had lowered the price, first to forty, and then to twenty, crowns. The fraud being thus discovered, he was pursued by the officers of justice, and forced to fly from Paris and return to Mentz; but not finding himself safe, he again quitted Mentz, and withdrew to Strasburg, where he taught the art to Mentelin."

The facility with which Fust, or Faust, thus supplied Bibles for sale is said to have brought upon him the unenviable reputation of being a necromancer, and to have given rise to the well-known story of the devil and Dr. Faustus. Others have called the truth of this in question, and have remarked that there was a Faustus living at the same period, who wrote a poem, "*De Influentia Lyderum*," which, with a number of other tracts, was printed at Paris "*per Guidonum Mercatorem*, 1496." His proper name was Publius Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis, but he called himself, and his friends in their letters to him called him, Faustus.

There were many other editions of the Latin Bible executed about the same time by other printers in different places, most or all of whom had learnt the art from the original inventors; and so indefatigable were these early printers, that nearly a hundred editions of the Latin Bible were printed before the end of the fifteenth century, sixteen of which were accompanied by the *Postillæ*, or Notes, of Nicolas de Lyra, a great Flemish commentator, who lived about 1340. Besides these, there were upwards of thirty editions of the Latin Psalter, many of them with commentaries; three editions of the Latin New Testament, with Lyra's Notes; and several editions of the Prophets, the Gospels, or other portions of the sacred volume.

The first printed edition of the Bible in any *modern* language was in the German, supposed to be printed by John Mentelin, a disciple and co-worker of Fust, but without date, place, or printer's name. Fust also printed a German edition of the Scriptures in 1462 in two folio volumes.

In 1471, an Italian version of the Bible, by Nicolas Malermi, a Camaldolese monk, was printed at Venice, and is said to have gone through no fewer than nine editions in the fifteenth, and twelve editions in the sixteenth, centuries. But being written in a style unsuited to the age of the Renaissance, it was set aside by a new version undertaken by Antonio Brucioli, a

learned Florentine. His version of the New Testament appeared in 1530, and was followed, at intervals during two years, by translations of the rest of the sacred books. A great desire had seized upon the people to read the Scriptures in their native tongue, and, to their honour, it must be said, that scholars were eagerly disposed to gratify the desire. And, accordingly, in the course of a few years several other Italian translations were made, and published by Marmochini, Zaccario, and others. Brucioli's Bible was ranked among prohibited books of the first class in the Index of the Council of Trent, and all his works published, or to be published, were formally interdicted as heretical. The Church of Rome has seldom shown sympathetic approval of the circulation of the Word of God.

In 1475, a Dutch Bible was printed at Cologne, in two folio volumes; a French one at Lyons in 1477; one in the dialect of Lower Saxony in 1490, folio; and a Bohemian one at Prague in 1488, folio. The Bohemians had long been lovers of the Bible. At the Council of Basle, held in 1431, we have remarkable testimony borne to this fact from no less a person than Cæneas Sylvius, a contemporary cardinal, and afterwards Pope Pius II. He said that "it was a shame to the Italian priests that many of them had never read the whole of the New Testament with attention, whilst scarcely a woman could be found amongst the Bohemians, or Thaborites, who could not answer any questions respecting either the Old or New Testaments." Here we have indirect testimony to the influence of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as well as of the writings of our own Wycliffe, which had a wide circulation in Bohemia. A Roman Catholic historian, speaking of Huss, says that "he spent his time in translating certain books of the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongue, to which he added commentaries, and gave thereby to women and tradesmen means of disputing with the monks and clergy."

In Spain the New Testament was printed in 1478, though the circulation of the Scriptures, as we might expect, was prevented by the establishment of the Court of the Inquisition by the reigning sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1480, and the subsequent royal edict which enacted that "no one should translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or have them in their possession under pain of the severest punishments." But about the year 1500, a Spanish translation of the whole Bible, which had been made in the dialect of Valencia, was printed at Amsterdam, where an edition of the Pentateuch in Spanish had been printed twenty years before. A Spanish version of the New Testament, by Francis Enzinas, a native of Burgos, in Spain, was printed at Antwerp in 1542; and a Spanish trans-

lation of the Pentateuch was printed by the Jews at Constantinople in 1547, folio. Like the other early translations, these were all made from the Latin Vulgate. The circulation of the Scriptures throughout the Southern Peninsula would have been attended by the happiest consequences in the promotion of Reformation principles, had not the fierce influence of the Inquisition been mercilessly used to counteract and crush out the new movement.

In 1477, the Psalms were printed in Hebrew, with the Commentary of Kimchi, by Joseph, and his son Chaim, Mordecai, and Hezekiah Monro. This edition was in quarto, and consisted of three hundred copies. From this time different portions of the Scripture in the original continued to issue from the press; and in the year 1488, a complete Hebrew Bible, in folio, was printed at Soucino, in Italy, by a family of Jews who, under the adopted name of Soucinati, established printing-presses in various parts of Europe. In 1494, there was executed at Brescia an edition of the Hebrew Bible, in octavo, which has an interest for us as being the edition afterwards made use of by Luther in his translation of the Bible into German. This department of typography was, we might almost say, entirely monopolized by the Jews in Italy until the year 1518, when an edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, accompanied with various readings and Rabbinical commentaries, proceeded from the splendid press which Daniel Bomberg had recently erected at Venice.

Simultaneously with the discovery of printing was the revival of Greek learning in Europe. The Greek language began to be widely studied everywhere. And one of the chief results of the cultivation of Greek literature was a revived interest in the New Testament. "Greece," it has been finely said, "arose from the grave with the New Testament in her hand," and before a hundred years had passed away the "New Learning," as it was called, had become an important part of university education in Europe. The first printed edition of any part of the Greek Testament is one by Aldus Manutius, who printed the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel at Venice, in 1504, and in 1512, the whole of St. John's Gospel was printed at Tubingen, in Swabia. In 1516, Justinian, Bishop of Nebo, secured the printing of the Psalter in Genoa, by Peter Paul Porrus, in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, and Greek, with the Latin versions, glosses, and scholia. The Arabic was the first that ever was printed, and the Book of Psalms was the first portion of the Bible that appeared in so many languages. Justinian caused fifty copies to be printed upon vellum, and presented every crowned head, whether Christian or infidel, with a copy.

It is not necessary to say anything here of the various editions of the English Bible which were issued from time to time from the press—Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, the Great Bible, and others—for our readers are more or less acquainted with their history. It may be enough to observe that their appearance gave a wonderful impetus to the Reformation, and enabled those who had severed themselves from the Roman Communion to give to any who asked "a reason of the hope that was in them with meekness and fear." "It was wonderful," says an excellent writer, "to see with what joy this Book of God was received, not only amongst the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the Book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose, and even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read."

WILLIAM COWAN.



ART. VI.—TYNDALE.

(Concluded.)

IN 1524 Tyndale went to Hamburg, and then probably to Wittenberg, the home of Luther, where he stayed some months and completed his translation of the New Testament. Modern inquiry has shown that he was for his age a skilled Greek scholar. He translated from the 1522 edition of Erasmus' Greek Testament, and used also the Latin translation of Erasmus, the Vulgate, and Luther's New Testament. To get the book in type he went to Cologne, then famous for its printers.

It has been said by Mr. Froude that "of the translation itself, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius—if we may be permitted such a word—which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached in the attempted "improvements of modern scholars, all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man, William Tyndale." I will

quote a few verses of his translation, which will show how what we read to-day is substantially the same :

“These words spake Jesus, and lift up His eyes unto heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee. As Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him. This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, *that only very* God, and whom Thou hast sent Jesus Christ—I have glorified Thee on the earth. I have finished the works which Thou gavest me to do.” The changes are almost imperceptible.

A printer named Quentel undertook the work ; an edition of 3,000 was decided on, and day by day Tyndale saw the close of his labours approaching. But there was “in Cologne at this time one of the bitterest enemies of the Reformation, John Cochlæus. He learnt that in Cologne there were two Englishmen lurking, learned, skilful in languages, eloquent, whom, however, he could never see. Quentel was at the same time printing a book for him. He invited some of the printers to his lodgings, excited them with wine, and extracted from one of them the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the Reformation, namely, that there were at that very time in the press 3,000 copies of the New Testament translated into the English language, and that they had advanced as far as the letter K in the order of the sheets.

Cochlæus at once obtained an order from the Senate of Cologne prohibiting the printing. But Tyndale and his companion, Roye, warned of their danger, collected the sheets already printed and sailed up the Rhine to Worms. Cochlæus sent tidings of his discovery to Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, and the Bishop of Rochester, in order that the English ports might be strictly watched.

Tyndale pressed on his work at Worms. Changing the size, he printed 3,000 copies in octavo, and then completed the original quarto. Of the quarto only one mutilated fragment remains, esteemed by the British Museum as one of its greatest treasures. It was recovered in 1836 attached to a tract of *Æcolampadius*, by one Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street. Of the octavo there are two complete copies.

The books reached England in 1526. A copy fell into the hands of one of the Bishops. A synod was summoned ; Tunstall denounced it ; it was resolved that the book should be burnt wherever found. Tunstall preached against it at Paul’s Cross, declaring that he had found in it over 3,000 errors—every misplaced dot of an i or comma, as Tyndale said—and then flung the copy into a blazing bonfire. Men present muttered that the book was not only faultless, but very well

translated, and was devised to be burnt because men should not be able to prove that such faults as were at Paul's Cross declared to have been found in it were never found there indeed, but untruly surmised. *The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.*

On October 24 Tunstall proclaimed that all who did not give up their copies to the Vicar-General would be excommunicated. So did the Archbishop of Canterbury on November 3. In 1529 Tunstall, being at Antwerp, met a merchant, Packington, a friend of Tyndale's. Tunstall offered to buy all the copies that Packington could obtain. Packington bought up all that were left, and thus, not only put Tyndale out of debt, but enabled him to print a new and better edition.

In the margin are courageous and invaluable glosses, which the Bishops were never weary of denouncing, showing a keen insight into the very heart of Scripture, and throwing a vivid light upon many a vivid passage. For instance, on the text, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," he writes, "Here *all* bind and loose;" and on the words, "If thine eye be single," "The eye is single when a man in all his deeds looketh but on the will of God, and looketh not for land, honour, or any other reward in this world; neither ascribeth heaven, or a higher room in the heaven unto his deeds; but accepteth heaven as a thing purchased by the blood of Christ, and worketh freely for love's sake only."

In the prologue we see Tyndale's very heart and soul. With admirable modesty he exhorts his readers, "if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them, but for to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation which is the body of Christ."

From the completion of the first issue till his imprisonment Tyndale laboured at the translation of the Old Testament and the improvement of the New. He was like one inspired for the work, and he toiled at it with a persistence that sprang from intense love for his task, the keenest sense of its supreme importance, and a self-sacrifice culminating in martyrdom heroically met. Bishop Westcott says: "In rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English Version. . . . It is of even less moment that by far the greater part of his

translation remains intact in our present Bibles than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. . . . His influence decided that our Bible should be popular, and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so, by its simplicity, it should be endowed with permanence."

The first of Tyndale's own books was published in 1528. He had been living quietly at Marburg. The work is called "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and is a powerful setting forth of the doctrine of justification by faith, and a careful examination of those passages of Scripture considered to tell for and against. In his preface he says: "Some man will ask, peradventure, why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the Gospel. I answer, in burning the New Testament they did none other thing than that I looked for: no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so be." He had suffered four years of exile, and he was beginning to feel what would be the end. He was perfectly willing to lay down his life for the brethren. "It is a wonderful love wherewith a man loveth himself," he says in this book. "As glad as I would be to receive pardon of mine own life (if I had deserved death), so glad ought I to be to defend my neighbour's life, without respect of my life or my good. A man ought neither to spare his goods, nor yet himself, for his brother's sake, after the example of Christ."

Those who think the Reformation effected so small a change, and that things were very much the same before as after, should note that this book, saturated with the doctrine of St. Paul, and containing the belief of ninety-nine Englishmen of the Reformed faith out of one hundred at the present day, was denounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury as containing many detestable errors and damnable opinions, and was called by Sir Thomas More, the bigoted Romanist, "The Wicked Book of Mammon, a very treasury and well-spring of wickedness."

There appeared soon after the longest and most elaborate of Tyndale's books, "The Obedience of a Christian Man." Next to God's Word itself, it was one of the most potent influences on the side of the Reformation in England. After discussing the duties of various classes, and the existing ecclesiastical system of righteousness, he concludes: "Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ; till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for His sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest.

Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. . . . If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all? . . . Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages gettest thou no rest. As pertaining to good deeds, therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for His sake; and on that rock build thine house and there dwell."

The book had a wonderful effect in England. More and the prelates were more than ever furious. Those who were turning towards the Reformation received it like a trumpet-call. Thoughtful men at the Universities, recoiling from the spider's webs of scholasticism and the wickedness and lies of the Church, were won by its pure and gentle logic to Christ. Bilney the martyr, who had recanted, carried it in his hand when he gave himself up; so did Bainham, a London lawyer, who was in the same case. Ann Boleyn delighted in it, and so did the ladies and gentlemen of her court. Henry VIII. himself studied it with marked satisfaction, and said, "This book is for me and all kings to read."

At the beginning of 1530 appeared Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch, printed at Marburg. The one perfect existing copy is in the British Museum. Here, again, he translated direct from the original, with the help of the Vulgate, Luther's German Bible, the Septuagint, and perhaps Wycliffe's manuscript translation. It is equally the basis of our Old Testament, as in the case of the New. From the famous prologue is the following striking and useful passage: "Though a man had a precious jewel and rich, yet if he wist not the value thereof, nor wherefore it served, he were neither the better nor richer of a straw. Even so, though we read the Scripture, and babble of it never so much, yet if we know not the use of it, and wherefore it was given, and what is therein to be sought, it profiteth us nothing at all. It is not enough, therefore, to read and talk of it only, but we must also desire God, day and night instantly, to open our eyes, and to make us understand and feel wherefore the Scripture was given that we may apply the medicine of Scripture, every man to his own sores; unless that we intend to be idle disputers and brawlers about vain words, ever gnawing upon the bitter bark without, and never attaining to the sweet pith within."

In the course of 1530 Tyndale issued his celebrated "Practice of Prelates," in which he exposes the tricks of the Pope and the existing hierarchy. He likens the Pope to the ivy first clinging to, and then "sucking the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches that it choketh and stiflenth them," and closing with the words: "The nearer unto Christ

a man cometh, the lower he must descend, and the poorer he must wax. But the nearer unto the Pope ye come, the higher ye must climb, and the more riches ye must gather."

More was commissioned by the Bishops to write an answer, which he called a Dialogue. Tyndale replied in an "Answer," one of the best exhibitions of enlightened reasoning in the English language. More again replied with a Confutation in 500 pages, in which he showed no favour to the reformed doctrine. He describes Tyndale as "a shameful, shameless, unreasonable, railing ribald," as one who learned his heresies "from his own father, the devil, that is in hell," as being one of the "hell-hounds that the devil hath in his kennel."

In 1531 Stephen Vaughan, the English envoy, had interviews with Tyndale, and did his best to promote Henry VIII.'s interest in the exile. But Henry's ecclesiastical policy continually changed, and these efforts were useless. It was by Vaughan that Tyndale sent his noble message to Henry: "If it would stand with the King's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the Emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, *be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty*, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same; but immediately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, *offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his Grace will, so that this be obtained.*"

If Tyndale had waited a little longer, he would probably have been recalled with honour, and witnessed the issue of his own Bible by the King's authority. The clouds were lifting from England, but they were descending more darkly on the Netherlands. Thomas Cromwell, Henry's Minister, did his best to save the illustrious exile; but he had offended against the Emperor's laws of heresy, and as there was a coolness between Henry and his uncle, the Emperor Charles V., there was no likelihood of pardon being extended as a favour. The immediate authorities were the Marquis of Bergen and the Archbishop of Palermo; the appeal was to the Regent, Mary of Hungary, and the Emperor himself, who had become exceedingly bitter against Reformers.

In 1534 Tyndale returned to Antwerp. The account of what befell there may best be given in the words of Foxe, the English martyrologist, as quoted by Tyndale's biographer:

"Tyndale lived in the house of an English merchant named Pointz, and, while thus sheltered, a plot against his life seems to have been formed in England, and a certain Henry Philips

sent over to execute it. Tyndale occasionally went out to dinner or supper among the English merchants, and Philips managed to make his acquaintance and get on such terms with him that Tyndale invited him to Pointz's house. The latter distrusted Philips, but Tyndale, slow to think evil of any man, defended him. Philips, having prospered so far in his iniquity, visited Brussels, and arranged for the betrayal of Tyndale into the hands of the Emperor's officials. Pointz was compelled to leave Antwerp for a few days on business, and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and, coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings, "For," said he, "I lost my purse this morning coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had of him if he had it, for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert. Then said Philips: "Master Tyndale, you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Tyndale; "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth at Pointz's house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in afront. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who, being there, might see who came in at the entry; and, coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him and brought him to the Emperor's attorney, or Procuror-General, where he dined. Then came the Procuror-General to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford (Vilvorde), eighteen English

miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.' ”

Tyndale remained in prison for over a year, and was able to continue his translation of the Old Testament to the end of the Book of Chronicles. The rest was finished after his death, in his own language and spirit, by his friend, John Rogers, and published with Tyndale's New Testament in what is known as Mathew's Bible. There are few more interesting scenes in English history than the progress of that translation in the castle in the Netherlands. While in prison Tyndale wrote in Latin the only letter of his extant to the Governor of the Castle. It is so touching and so graphic that I will give it you :

“ I believe, right worshipful, that you are not ignorant of what has been determined concerning me (by the Council of Brabant); therefore I entreat your Lordship and that by the Lord Jesus; that if I am to remain here (in Vilvorde) during the winter, you will request the Procureur to be kind enough to send me from my goods which he has in his possession, a warmer cap, for I suffer extremely from cold in the head, being afflicted with a perpetual catarrh, which is considerably increased in the cell. A warmer coat also, for that which I have is very thin; also a piece of cloth to patch my leggings; my overcoat has been worn out; my shirts are also worn out. He has a woollen shirt of mine, if he will be kind enough to send it. I have also with him leggings of thicker cloth for putting on above; he also has warmer caps for wearing at night. I wish also his permission to have a candle in the evening, for it is wearisome to sit alone in the dark. But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar, and Hebrew Dictionary, that I may spend my time with that study. And in return, may you obtain your dearest wish, provided always it be consistent with the salvation of your soul. But if any other resolution has been come to concerning me, that I must remain during the whole winter, I shall be patient, abiding the will of God to the glory of the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit, I pray, may ever direct your heart. Amen.—W. TYNDALE.”

Are we not reminded of the words of Paul to Timothy, “ Wherein I suffer trouble, even unto bonds: but the Word of God is not bound ” ?

The end came on Friday, October 6, 1536. Philips had frustrated all efforts to save him. Pointz had been on the point of succeeding, when Philips, with extraordinary zeal and activity, got Pointz himself imprisoned.

“ At last after much reasoning, where no reason would

serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg, and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford A.D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal and loud voice, 'Lord! open the King of England's eyes!'

The very next year, Tyndale's Bible, in the completed form of his friend John Rogers, was actually licenced by Henry VIII. through Cromwell's dexterous management. It was received with enthusiastic joy by Archbishop Cranmer and the reforming bishops, and even Bonner, Bishop of London, was obliged to sanction its issue. A revision was almost immediately begun, which ended in the publication in 1539 of what is known as the Great Bible.

So lived and died this truly noble man. His influence still lives in every one of the millions of copies of the English Bible that are abroad in the world. There is in his character a majestic simplicity, an entire self-sacrifice, an absolute devotion to duty, a lofty courage, a calm perseverance, a quiet dignity, a wonderful thoroughness, a humble likeness to Christ, that places him in the very highest rank of the heroes of the Christian Church.

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WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Short Notices.

The Sunday at Home. Vol. for 1895. Pp. 812. Price 7s. 6d. R.T.S.

THIS delightful volume is a welcome addition to many a home library. The coloured illustrations are even more beautiful than ever, particularly the frontispiece from Mr. Grace's picture "October's Biting Frosts." The series called "The Story of the Faith" is most useful; and that on "Sunday in East London" throws great light on one of the most important problems of the age: How to bring Christianity home to the masses of the Metropolis. Biography, poetry, the Bible, Scripture studies, serial stories, sketches from life, talks with workers, and the Monthly Record, fill up a volume which in its special purpose it would be difficult to surpass.

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Merrieland's Farm. By L. B. WALFORD. Pp. 241. S.P.C.K.

This popular authoress has turned her attention to English rural life in Cheshire. The contrast between modern town agnostic folk and the pure life and faith of the unsophisticated country-side is admirably drawn. But Mrs. Walford must not make an English farmer say "Hoots, toots!" That is purely Scotch. It is a healthy and charming story.

Randolph Caldecott's Painting Book. Price 1s. S.P.C.K.

This is a delightful selection of Randolph Caldecott's best pictures for the young, printed in colours on one page, with outlines for colouring on the opposite, which is of prepared paper.

The educational value of this book in cultivating the eye of children for form and colour is very considerable.

John Horden. By A. B. BUCKLAND. Pp. 141. Price 1s. 6d. Sunday-School Union.

This contains the life of a good man told in an interesting and attractive manner.

Augustine and his Companions. By the BISHOP OF STEPNEY. Pp. 201. Price 1s. 6d. S.P.C.K.

The Bishop of Stepney is an acknowledged authority upon the period he writes of in this interesting little book.

The Last Load Home. By the Rev. J. R. VERNON. Pp. 256. Price 3s. 6d. R.T.S.

These graceful little essays on rural life are prettily illustrated.

Steps through the Stream. By MARGARET SIMPSON. Pp. 112. Price 1s. James Nisbet.

A very helpful series of short morning readings for a month.

Gertrude's Lover. By CHRISTABEL COLERIDGE. Price 1s. S.P.C.K.

Miss Coleridge is so well known as a writer for girls that it is only necessary to say that her reputation is maintained by this pleasant little story.

Our Little Ones. By the Rev. WALTER SENIOR. Pp. 69. Price 1s. 6d. Home Words Office.

This little book contains some well-thought-out hints to parents.

Stories of the Coal Mine. By FRANK MUNDELL. Pp. 160. Price 1s. 6d. Sunday-School Union.

This is another of Mr. Mundell's excellent series, containing various accounts of incidents which thrilled the nation through the columns of the newspaper, at the time they took place, and which thoroughly deserve to be recorded in more permanent form, and brought to the notice of the young people of England.

The Child Jesus. By the late Dr. ALEXANDER MACLEOD. Pp. 270. Price 3s. 6d. Hodder and Stoughton.

It is not everybody who has the gift of speaking to children; but it was possessed in an eminent degree by the late Dr. Alexander Macleod. The volume consists of thirty-five admirable addresses, or papers, and is

a suitable Christmas gift either for those who have to teach children or children themselves. The beautiful binding in white and gold is appropriate to the subject.

Stories of the Royal Humane Society. By FRANK MUNDELL. Pp. 160. Price 1s. 6d. Sunday-School Union.

As the population of Great Britain have developed in a small group of islands constantly swept by storms, they have probably become more accustomed to the sea and more adventurous than any other race. Accidents are constantly happening, and the courage of our people never fails to display itself in heroic acts of rescue. Mr. Mundell has collected some of the most striking of these, and presented them in a popular manner to the boys of the day.

The Pirate Slaver. By HARRY COLLINGWOOD. Pp. 384. S.P.C.K.

A thrilling story of British combat against the slave trade on the West African Coast, with evidently familiar knowledge of the conditions and circumstances of such an enterprise.

The Parish District Visiting Book. By the Rev. J. PARRY. Pp. 90. Price 1s. 6d. Allenson.

A convenient book for the records of visits and lists of sick and communicants has long been desired. Mr. Parry, a successful and experienced clergyman in North and East London, where both his parishes have been admirably organized, has provided a very useful and handy companion. There are two pages of excellent guidance, advice, and information for the district visitor or the young clergyman.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (January) magazines :

The Thinker, The Expository Times, The Religious Review of Reviews, The Review of the Churches, The Anglican Church Magazine, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Evangelical Churchman, The Church Sunday-School Magazine, Blackwood, The Cornhill, Sunday Magazine, The Fireside, The Quiver, Cassell's Family Magazine, Good Words, The Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, The Girl's Own Paper, The Boy's Own Paper, Light and Truth, The Church Worker, The Church Monthly, The Church Missionary Gleaner, Light in the Home, Awake, India's Women, The Parish Helper, Parish Magazine, The Bible Society's Gleanings for the Young, The Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, The Zenana, The Cottager and Artisan, Friendly Greetings, Little Folks, Our Little Dots, The Child's Companion, Boy's and Girl's Companion, The Children's World, Daybreak, Day of Days, Home Words, and Hand and Heart.



THE MONTH.

THE Rev. Arthur Frederic Clarke, Vicar of Cockerham, near Garstang, has been appointed by the Bishop of Manchester to the archdeaconry of Lancaster, in succession to the Ven. Archdeacon Hornby, resigned.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells has conferred the archdeaconry of Bath, vacant by the death of Archdeacon Browne, who had held the office since 1860, upon the Rev. Hilton Bothamley, Vicar of St. Stephen, Lansdown, Walcot, Bath, and a prebendary in Wells Cathedral. The new Archdeacon took a First Class from Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Theological Tripos in 1861, and was Scholefield and Carus prizeman and Crosse theological scholar of the University.

Church Bells announces the election of four clergymen to newly-created bishoprics in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America: Archdeacon Mott Williams, to the bishopric of Marquette; the Rev. Dr. Satterlee, Rector of Calvary Church, New York, to the bishopric of Washington; the Rev. J. H. Johnson, Rector of Christ Church, Detroit, to the bishopric of Southern Carolina; and the Rev. L. W. Burton, Rector of St. Andrew's, Louisville, Kentucky, to the bishopric of Lexington,

The Queen has been pleased to appoint the following to be Chaplains in Ordinary to Her Majesty: The Rev. Canon Thomas Blundell Hollingshead Blundell, Rector of Halsall, Ormskirk, Lancashire; and the Right Rev. Bishop Selwyn, D.D., late Bishop of Melanesia. The Queen has also been pleased to appoint the following to be Honorary Chaplains to Her Majesty: The Rev. Charles Henry Turner, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East; and the Venerable Archdeacon Walter John Lawrance, Rector of St. Albans, Hertfordshire.

The canonry in Wells Cathedral, vacant by the death of Archdeacon Browne, has been offered by the Bishop of Bath and Wells to Prebendary Ainslie, of Over Stowey, who has accepted it.

Honorary canonries in Ripon Cathedral have been conferred by the Bishop of Ripon on the Rev. Herbert Edward Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ripon; and on the Rev. Frederic Daustini Cremer, Rector of Keighley, Yorkshire; on the Rev. J. T. Maguinness, Vicar of St. Luke's, Manningham, Bradford; and on the Rev. John Trower, Vicar of Otley, near Leeds.

The Bishop of London has appointed the Rev. E. A. B. Sanders, Rector of Whitechapel, to the Vicarage of St. Mark, Dalston. It is only in consequence of the ill-health of his wife that Mr. Sanders has felt compelled to give up that important parish, where he has worked with conspicuous blessing for four years. St. Mark's, with two churches, several sets of schools, and many institutions, left in perfect order by Mr. Pilkington, is no less influential a sphere than Whitechapel; but Mr. Sanders would have preferred to continue his work. He was the founder and organizer of the parish of All Saints', Tufnell Park, and in all his labours he has shown a masculine common-sense and power of organization which has brought him to the front rank of London clergymen.

The Rev. Frederic Relton, curate and evening preacher of St. Luke's, Chelsea, has been appointed by the Bishop of London to the living of St. Andrew's, Stoke Newington, in succession to the Rev. Professor Bevan, Rector of Upper Chelsea. Mr. Relton, who hopes to begin work at St. Andrew's on the 26th inst., was educated at Liverpool College and King's College, London (Th. A., 1881, First Class), and was ordained in 1881 by the Bishop of Rochester (Gospel deacon and first in priests examination). He was curate at St. Paul's, Lorrimore Square, under the late Rev. E. F. Alexander, from Christmas, 1881, to Easter, 1883. He was then appointed curate and evening preacher at St. Luke's, Chelsea, where the Sunday evening congregation is one of the largest in London. From 1883 to 1891 he was Wednesday evening lecturer at All Saints', Kensington Park. Mr. Relton has been chairman of the Chelsea public libraries during the building of the Central Library and Kensal Town branch. He promoted the South-West London Polytechnic, and has been a frequent lecturer for the Christian Evidence Society and the

London Diocesan Church Reading Union. He has been selected to preach at Westminster Abbey four times, and at St. Paul's once. He was an examiner in Apologetic Theology (in conjunction with the Rev. Professor Iverach and the Rev. A. J. Harrison) for the Senatus Academicus of the Associated Theological Colleges, British and Colonial, 1893 to 1895. Mr. Relton is the author of "How to Study the Bible" (S.P.C.K.), and numerous articles in the *CHURCHMAN*, *Expository Times*, *Sunday School*, *Economic Review*, *Church Bells*, *Illustrated Church News*, etc.

HOSPITAL SUNDAY IN LONDON IN 1895.

The *National Church* for January says that the collections made in church and chapel on Hospital Sunday last June, the report of which has just been issued, do not prove, as might have been expected, to be the largest recorded. They exceed by very little the total of 1889, and are nearly £400 below that of 1890. They show, however, an advance of £2,407 on 1894, of which £1,801 comes from the increased contributions of the Church: Church of England, £30,329 18s. 6d.; Congregationalists, £1,620 6s. 10d.; Jews, 1,147 2s. 6d.; Presbyterians, £1,121 11s. 9d.; Wesleyans, £1,011 8s. 11d.; Baptists, £916 8s. 1d.; Roman Catholics, £505 18s.; Unitarians, £433 12s. 3d.; Society of Friends, £136 11s. 11d.; Church of Scotland, £114 12s.; Greek Church, £101 6s. 6d.; German Lutheran, £96 12s. 5d.; Foreign Protestants, £90 12s. 11d.; Catholic Apostolic, £77 10s. 3d.; Reformed Episcopal Church, £62 8s. 10d.; Methodists (Welsh Calvinistic), £43 7s. 5d.; Swedenborgians, £26 6s. 3d.; Methodists (United Free Church), £21 18s. 1d.; Methodists (Primitive), £16 1s. 3d.; Free Church of England, £10 1s. 7d.; Moravians, £2 5s.; Methodists (New Connexion), £1; various, £451 14s. 5d.—total, £38,338 15s. 8d. The largest collection is that of St. Michael's, Chester Square—£1,180 10s.; while Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, follows close behind with £1,170 18s. 11d.

Anonymous donations of £1,000 and of £500 have lately been received in aid of the work of the Church Army.

Two sisters have sent to the Missions to Seamen a cheque for £1,000, dated on Christmas Day, towards a Bristol Channel mission steamer.

The Duke of Bedford has offered to give, entirely free of cost, the land necessary to build schools, schoolhouse, playground, and outbuildings, at Battlesden, near his seat at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, and to build the same at his own cost. The gift has been gratefully accepted by the Rector (the Rev. J. Heneage Jebb) on behalf of the parishioners. The gift will save the children of the parishes of Battlesden and Pottsgrove from walking some four miles to Woburn or Hockliffe for scholastic purposes.

A generous offer has been made by a Belfast business man, Mr. Gibson, a jeweller, towards the new cathedral in the city. He has promised £2,000 to provide a new peal of bells for the proposed edifice; and the gift is rendered all the more noteworthy from the fact that Mr. Gibson is not himself a Churchman, but he has always shown himself most generous in the distribution of his money.

Mrs. Warde-Aldam, who recently restored Hooton Pagnell Church at a cost of £6,000, has presented to the same church a set of chimes and clock costing £600.

A parishioner of St. John's, Upper Holloway, has recently bequeathed £2,000, invested in the funds, for the use of the poor; and the Vicar (the Rev. J. Seaver, B.D.) and wardens have been appointed trustees. The Dickenson Trust produces £100 per annum, so that St. John's has now £150 each year for the temporal wants of its poor.

Obituary.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

THE Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate of Ireland, the Most Rev. Robert Samuel Gregg, D.D., has gone to his rest. Dr. Gregg, 110th Archbishop of Armagh, was born in 1834, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1857. He was ordained deacon in that year by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, and began his ministerial life in the diocese of Cork, as curate of Rathcooney. He was appointed, when only twenty-five years of age, to the important incumbency of Christ Church, Belfast, where he made his mark at once as an active and business-like city clergyman. On the elevation of his father, Dr. John Gregg, to the see of Cork, in 1862, he returned to that diocese as domestic chaplain to the Bishop and as incumbent of Frankfield. Here he laboured for twelve years, being promoted successively to the rectory of Carrigrohane and the deanery of Cork. In 1875, on the death of Bishop O'Brien, he was selected to fill the vacant see of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. Without the learning or intellectual power of Dr. O'Brien, he was yet well qualified in other respects for the duties to which he was called. The Church of Ireland had been disestablished but a few years before, and it was all-important that the new bishops should possess the confidence of the laity. This Dr. Gregg had gained in Cork, and he was already well known in the General Synod as a prudent, patient, honourable man, without extreme views of any kind, who could be trusted to rule his clergy with impartiality. And his work as Bishop of Ossory was so energetically and successfully performed that when his father died in 1878 he was recalled to Cork to preside over the diocese in which he had spent the greater part of his ministerial life. It is as Bishop of Cork that he will be best remembered. An excellent financier and a man of great common-sense, he did good service to the Church in the South of Ireland. He was not an eloquent preacher, nor did he leave behind him any published work, save a short memoir of his father; but he devoted his life to the punctual discharge of the ordinary duties of his episcopate. And thus, when the Primacy of All Ireland became vacant by the death of Dr. Knox, in 1893, he was elected by the Bench of Bishops to the Archbishopric of Armagh. The choice was of itself a witness to his high personal character, and to the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best; and during the years that he was Primate he filled the Chair of St. Patrick with dignity and discretion.

A correspondent of the *Times*, speaking of him, said: "Widespread regret has been caused in the united dioceses of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross by the death of the Primate. Thirty of the thirty-eight years which he served in the ministry were spent in this diocese, where he was exceedingly popular amongst all religious denominations. By direction of the mayor, Sir John Scott, the municipal flags were, on the receipt of the news, hoisted half-mast, and the church bells were tolled. In all the churches touching references were made to his career and the loss the Church has sustained through his death. Bishop Meade

bore testimony to his great wisdom and good judgment in administration. The Dean of Cork, Dr. Archdall, attributed the remarkable unity of the clergy of this diocese to his wise guidance, good sense, and tact. The satisfactory position of the Church funds to-day was due to the foresight of Dr. Gregg. During the dark days succeeding the disestablishment, his financial scheme had placed every clergyman in that diocese, if not in a wealthy, in a decidedly comfortable position. In Presbyterian and Methodist churches, also, credit was given the Primate for his broad Christian views."

ARCHDEACON BROWNE.

The Ven. Robert William Browne, M.A., F.G.S., Archdeacon of Bath, and the senior of the Canons-residentiary of Wells, has been called away, after a short illness, in his eighty-sixth year. He was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, whence he took his degree in 1831 with double First Class honours. He was subsequently elected Fellow and appointed tutor of his college, and this latter appointment he held till 1839. In 1853 he received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg. He was Professor of Classical Literature of King's College, London, from 1835 to 1862, and was made an honorary Fellow of the same institution in 1876. He was also classical examiner for the Secretary of State for War, 1853-55. He was ordained in 1833, and was assistant-preacher at Lincoln's Inn 1836-43, and Select Preacher at Oxford in 1842-43. He was also chaplain to a former Bishop of Lichfield, a Prebendary of St. Paul's (1845-63), and of Wells (since 1858), and examining chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1857 till 1872, including portions of the episcopates of Lord Auckland and the late Lord A. C. Hervey. He was appointed Archdeacon of Bath in 1860, received a canonry of Wells in 1863, and held the rectory of Weston-super-Mare from 1862 to 1876. Archdeacon Browne was the author of "Histories of Greece and Rome," "Histories of Greek and Roman Classical Literature," "Ethics of Aristotle Translated," and a "Latin Grammar for Ladies." The late Archdeacon, who was one of the oldest members of the Athenæum Club, was, says the *Times*, a kindly and courteous gentleman, and a scholar of the old-fashioned type. At the Abbey Church on Sunday morning the rector (Canon Quirk), preaching from 3 John 2, said: "It was my good fortune on Tuesday last to be introduced by the Bishop to one who was then my new Archdeacon. He was much in his usual health, though complaining slightly of bronchial trouble, but for a man of eighty-six he was a remarkable specimen of prosperity and health. He met me as your new rector, and threw himself at once, with characteristic ability, into the various interests of this church and city, and when I left him I indulged in the hope that, as far as Bath was concerned, I had found in him a 'guide, philosopher, and friend.' But it was not to be, for in scarcely more than forty-eight hours he had breathed his last, and on, I think, the very day after that on which another Archdeacon of the diocese—Archdeacon Denison—had completed his ninetieth year, he was called up higher. The Bishop, in writing of him, says: 'Archdeacon Browne is deeply missed by a large number of clergy, who have known him as a kind friend and a wise counsellor.' And the record of him in the newspapers is brilliant indeed. Appointed Archdeacon of Bath so long ago as 1860, he exemplifies to the full that tripartite division of our human nature, the due proportion of body, mind, and spirit. Let us cultivate a similar proportion; for an ancient epitaph which I once read is true still—

Live well, and die never,
Die well, and live for ever."

—*Guardian*.

LORD DUNLEATH.

The death of Lord Dunleath removes a loyal and devoted Churchman from the diocese of Down, where he has long taken an active part in the work of Church organization. Speaking of him on Sunday last in Ballywalter Church, the Rev. Dr. Greer remarked that "as Christ's soldier and servant he held a higher patent of nobility than any earthly sovereign could give him. He was a man of keen intellect and wide culture, and yet his faith was simple and straightforward as that of a little child. His zeal for the welfare of the Church was felt in her Synods, in her Councils, in their beautiful church, in the endowments of their parish, and in the support of every deserving cause."—*Record*.

BISHOP REINKENS.

A Reuter telegram dated Bonn, January 5, says: "Professor Reinkens, Bishop of the German Old Catholics, is dead." Joseph Hubert Reinkens was born at Burtscheid, near Aix-la-Chapelle, in March, 1821, and, after studying at Bonn, entered the priests' seminary at Cologne in 1847, and obtained his degree of doctor of theology in Munich, 1849. In 1850 he settled in Breslau as a teacher of ecclesiastical history, and in 1852 was appointed preacher at the cathedral. In 1857 he was appointed ordinary professor of theology, and in the year following resigned his post of preacher at the cathedral. He was among the fourteen professors who at Nuremberg protested against the Vatican decrees in August, 1870. For this action he was suspended from his clerical functions, and the students were prohibited from attending his lectures. Since that time Professor Reinkens entirely devoted himself to the promotion of the Old Catholic movement, and in 1872 he was excommunicated by Prince Bishop Foerster of Breslau. On June 4, 1873, the Professor was elected Bishop by the delegates of the Old Catholics of the German Empire, and on August 11 the ceremony of consecration was performed by the Dutch Old Catholic Bishop Heycamp, of Deventer.—*Times*.

CANON REGINALD SMITH.

The death is announced, at the age of eighty-six, of the Rev. Reginald S. Smith, Canon of Salisbury, formerly Rural Dean of Dorchester, and for sixty years Rector of West Stafford, Dorchester. Canon Reginald Smith was fourth and last surviving son of Sir John Wyldbore Smith, of Sydling and the Down House, Blandford. He was educated at Winchester College along with the late Lords Selborne and Sherbrooke, Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, Ralph Disraeli, Anthony Trollope, and the late John Floyer, M.P. for Dorset, and life-long friend and neighbour. He was the eldest surviving Wykehamist, except the Warden of New College. At Balliol he was stroke of the college boat when it was head of the river in 1829. He was a prominent member of the Evangelical party in the Church, but his tolerance, charity, and individuality gave him extraordinary influence with all sections of opinion throughout the diocese of Salisbury and far beyond it. He married, in 1836, Emily Geneviève, daughter of H. H. Simpson, of Camden Place, Bath (she died in 1877). Three daughters and three sons survive him, the sons being Mr. Bosworth Smith, of Harrow, Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. Marriott Smith, R.A., and the Rev. E. F. Noel Smith, head of the Marlborough College Mission, Tottenham.—*Times*.

PREBENDARY GRAHAM.

The Rev. John Graham, Prebendary of Bishopshull, in Lichfield Cathedral, died at his residence, Beacon Hill, Lichfield, in his eighty-third year. The deceased was stricken with paralysis, from which he never rallied. A few years back he retired from active clerical duties; but he will long be remembered with affection and respect, says the

Birmingham Post, as the Rector of St. Chad's, Lichfield, the restoration of which church was commenced by him shortly before his resignation. He was born at Downpatrick, county Down, in 1813, and was ordained priest by the Bishop of Durham in 1845. In 1876 he was appointed Rural Dean of Lichfield, and in 1886 was presented to the prebendal stall of Bishopshull.—*Record*.

DR. JELLETT.

Canon Morgan Woodward Jellett, LL.D., Rector of St. Peter's, Dublin, died at his residence in Palmerston Road. He was cousin of the Dean of St. Patrick's and of the late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. For many years he was a member of the Representative Church Body and one of the secretaries of the General Synod of the Irish Church, and he took an active part in the administration of its financial and general business. He was thoroughly conversant with all matters relating to the position and interests of the Church, and an able exponent of her rights and claims, as well as an earnest parochial minister. He began his ministerial duties as curate in Sligo. He had been for the last eighteen months in very delicate health.—*Record*.

The *National Church* publishes the following list of better-known clergy who have died in 1895: *Bishops*.—A. W. Thorold (Winchester), R. Durnford (Chichester), J. B. Pearson (late of Newcastle, Australia), A. B. Suter (late of Nelson, N.Z.), C. Maples (Likoma), J. C. Campbell (late of Bangor), W. W. Jackson (Antigua), G. Hills (late of British Columbia), M. B. Hale (late of Brisbane). *Deans*.—R. Payne Smith (Canterbury), W. R. Fremantle (Ripon), F. Owen (Leighlin), H. Townshend (Achnonry). *Archdeacons*.—J. E. Blakeney (Sheffield), R. W. Browne (Bath), B. S. Clarke (Liverpool), Cust (late of Richmond), H. De Winton (Brecon), R. Hobhouse (late of Bodmin), G. Maddison (late of Ludlow), E. Palmer (Oxford). *Canons*.—James Duncan (Canterbury), C. A. Heurtley, D.D. (Christ Church, Oxford), H. W. Phillott (Hereford), E. Venables (Lincoln). *Hon. Canons and Prebendaries*.—J. C. Blomfield (Christ Church, Oxford), C. Brereton (Ely), Hon. G. T. O. Bridgeman (Liverpool), T. Briscoe (Bangor), T. H. Chester (Durham), E. Clayton (Chester), T. P. Coulson (Truro), G. Cruddas (Newcastle), H. Foster (Chichester), Hon. J. Grey (Durham), F. W. Harper (York), G. Heathcote (Ely), H. R. Heywood (Manchester), J. T. Jeffcock (Lichfield), R. Joynes (St. Albans), A. Kent (Gloucester), H. Maclean (Lincoln), G. H. M. Moberly (Salisbury), W. Morton (St. Asaph), M. F. Osborn (Newcastle), J. H. Poo'ey (Lincoln), E. Roberts (St. Asaph), M. F. Sadler (Wells), J. F. Smith (Lichfield), Reginald Smith (Salisbury), F. V. Thornton (Truro), R. Tonge (Manchester), J. T. Turnock (Norwich). G. W. Warr (Liverpool), G. R. Winter (Norwich). *Revs.*—G. W. Atlay, H. L. Baker, H. Barnacle, A. L. W. Bean, W. A. Beaufort, W. R. Bell, W. Bellars, B. E. W. Bennett, W. J. Blew, C. W. Boase, J. Booker, P. Bowden-Smith, G. Brewin, Sir T. P. Bridges, Bart., J. W. Caldicott, D.D., J. Chapman (æt. 92), T. W. Collis, T. Cottle, C. Daman, A. P. Dunlap, S. A. Ellis, A. Gordon, W. Gray, Septimus Hansard, H. D. Harper, D.D. (Principal, Jesus College, Oxford), J. H. Harrison, J. S. Hilliard, H. Hogarth (æt. 93), R. E. Hooppell, T. G. P. Hough, C. Jackson, R. M. Jones, S. Flood Jones, W. T. Ker, Bryan King, J. W. B. Laurie, W. H. C. Luke, A. Majendie, C. Marson, T. D. C. Morse, H. L. Parry, J. Polehampton, J. S. Pollock, J. J. Reynolds, Sir E. Rogers, Bart., J. Salwey (æt. 94), J. Sharp, D.D., W. B. Shepherd, H. Smith, D.D., J. Stewart, C. Richmond Tait, W. Thompson, R. St. John Tyrwhitt, C. L. Vaughan, W. R. Vaughan, S. L. Warren, C. Whately, C. T. Whitley, D.D., R. Whiston, E. C. Williams, M. Wynnell-Mayow.