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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1891.

ART. I.—THE MAXIMS OF THE JEWISH FATHERS.

THAT in the services at a Jewish synagogue two lessons are read from “the Law and the Prophets” now, as in the days of our Saviour, is a fact doubtless well known to most.

It will, however, not be so generally known that on certain sabbaths¹ in the year another book of a very different kind is steadily read through week by week. This is the so-called *Pirke Aboth*, or the maxims of the fathers—a book which may be viewed, in a sense, as the very kernel of the Talmud.

It may be well to make it clear in a very general way what is meant by this word Talmud; for it may be doubted whether many, even of those who have laughed at the mediæval monk’s notion of “Rabbinus Talmud,” of a gigantic work so called from its author, have themselves more than the vaguest idea on the subject.

The Jewish belief then was that, besides the written law of Moses, which we know as the Pentateuch, special revelations were made to him when he was admitted to behold the glory of God on the top of Mount Sinai. This oral law was handed down through a long course of generations, and not till about two hundred years after Christ was a definite attempt made to reduce it in some sort to writing. The chain of succession is thus given in the opening sentence of the *Pirke Aboth*: “Moses received the law from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua,

¹ It may be worth noting that in synagogues of the Sephardic Use (Jews of Spain, etc.) the Sabbaths are those between Passover and Pentecost; in those of the Ashkenazic Use (Jews of Germany, Poland, etc.) this reading is continued to New Year’s Day—that is, the Jewish New Year’s Day, the 1st of Tisri.

and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and they delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue." The mass of decisions and opinions of the great doctors of the nation, based on this oral and on the written law, was at last embodied in writing and reduced to some kind of arrangement by Rabbi Judah, surnamed the Holy, the president of the great college at Tiberias. This is the work we know as the Mishnah, the Lesson *par excellence*. One is tempted to apply to it those words which Tennyson applies to English law :

That codeless myriad of precedent,
That wilderness of single instances.

Yet for many centuries the Jewish mind saw in it deeper truths than those of the Bible, as the Rabbi says in the miracle-play in Longfellow's "Golden Legend" :

For water is all Bible lore,
But Mishna is strong wine.

The Mishnah, on its publication, at once became a new basis for exposition, and two commentaries were gradually formed, one in the Babylonian and the other in the Palestinian schools; whence, from text and commentary combined, arose the two Talmuds of Babylon and (so-called) of Jerusalem.

We must now return to the *Pirke Aboth*. Here, broadly speaking, we have the sayings of a line of Rabbis, from "the men of the Great Synagogue"—the scholars traditionally associated with Ezra in his work of reformation—to Judah the Holy.

Of the more famous names in this list we may mention one or two. We meet with Antigonus of Socho, to whom some would refer indirectly the origin of the Sadducees. We have the great name of Hillel, the president of the Sanhedrin, who died at the age of a hundred a few years after our Saviour's birth, and whose son and successor, Simeon, some would identify with him who spoke the "Nunc Dimittis." Hillel's grandson was the yet more famous Gamaliel, the teacher of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. One other name may suffice, that of Akiba, the associate of Bar-Cochba, the false Messiah, who headed the last desperate rising of the Jews against the Romans in A.D. 135.

Still, a Christian student's interest in our document is not to be narrowed to the sayings of a few well-known names. One or two may actually have been of those Pharisees who heard our Lord's denunciations; but in any case it is to this party that all, or nearly all, belong. In other words, the portraiture of the Pharisees derived from the New Testament is here supplemented from the other side. Here we see the portraits painted by themselves.

The result in its broad features is strikingly like what we might have looked for. What could they do, these guides of a people, from whom, however keenly the pulse of national life beat, independence was gone for ever? In the unrelaxing grip of Rome, what freedom remained for them? Nay, more: Greek philosophy and culture threatened to sap the soundness of their belief. One thing alone remained—their religion and law. To this with desperate tenacity they clung; round this everything circled. Accordingly, the teaching of Rabbi after Rabbi dwells on the thought of guarding the law, on the all-importance of the study of it, on the dangers of neglect or unworthy use of it.

It will be well to exemplify our meaning by some definite instances. The men of the Great Synagogue, already referred to, enjoined, "Be cautious in judgment, and raise up many disciples, and make a hedge for the law." Everything is subordinated to the one end. The law must be jealously guarded, and scholars must be trained who can guard it aright. A "hedge" must be made for the law; fresh restrictions must be devised, by which the chance of transgression is lessened. A familiar instance of this may be found in the treatment by the Jews of our Lord's time of the injunction (Deut. xxv. 3) that a judge may not impose more than "forty stripes" on an offender. Consequently, to be on the safe side, as it were, the later Jews inflicted only thirty-nine (2 Cor. xi. 24).

The last survivor of "the men of the Great Synagogue" was Simeon the Righteous. Though it is not well to be too certain, we can hardly doubt that we may identify him with "Simon the high-priest, the son of Onias" (Ecclus. i. 1), the last of the worthies of Israel whom the son of Sirach commemorates. His habitual saying was, "On three things the world stands—on the law, and on Divine service, and on the showing of kind actions."

Under conditions of life such as we have been considering, it is clear that the position of the Rabbi would become increasingly one of importance. They were, *par excellence*, the leaders of the people. Nor were the Rabbis themselves slow to insist upon this. For example, we find Jose ben Joezer in the habit of saying, "Let thy house be a house of assembly for wise men, and cover thyself with the dust of their feet, and thirstily drink in their words." The same injunction is echoed by one who bears a much more widely known name, the great teacher of Saul of Tarsus. Rabban¹ Gamaliel used to say,

¹ This title Rabban is higher than that of Rabbi. Its use is restricted to seven men; all, with one exception, descendants of the great Hillel. The one exception is Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, who was the president

"Get thyself a Rabbi, and keep thyself far from doubt, and do not get into the habit of paying tithes by guesswork;" in other words, Aided by the guidance of a master, aim at making belief and duty alike definite, and so avoid the temptation of drifting away into "philosophy and vain deceit" on the one hand, or of being swayed by self-interest into robbing God on the other. The lines of "In Memoriam"—

There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds—

Gamaliel would have repudiated with horror.

With such views of the study of the law, it is clear that everything, however innocent in itself, which tempts men away from that study is highly dangerous. Thus we find R. Dosa saying, "Sleep in the morning and wine at mid-day, and gossip of young people, *and sitting in houses where common people meet*, take men out of this world." It will thus be seen that this feeling, while having an undoubtedly noble side, is capable of degenerating into narrowness, and even bitterness: the last-quoted saying, spite of a certain amount of truth, would be a dangerous weapon in the hands of a fanatic.

Female society might prove a dangerous rival to the study of the law. Hence Jose ben Jochanan, after laying down the noble precept, "Let the destitute be the children of thy house," goes on to say, "Do not talk much with women: it was of a man's own wife that [the wise men] said it, much more of the wife of one's neighbour. Hence the wise men have said, Everyone who talks much with women brings about evil to himself, and ceases from the words of the law, and his end inherits Gehenna."

Again, a later Gamaliel, son of Judah the Holy, after bidding, "Make [God's] pleasure to be even thy own pleasure, that He may make His pleasure to be as thy pleasure," adds the less satisfactory sentiment, "Make thy pleasure to cease before His pleasure, *in order that He may make the pleasure of others to cease before thy pleasure.*"

From a certain R. Jacob we get the statement that the study of the law can brook no possible rival, not even admiration of God's fair earth. He says, "He who walks

of the Sanhedrin for a time after the destruction of Jerusalem. The title, with a pronominal affix, is twice applied to our Lord in the Gospels: Mark x. 51, John xx. 16.

¹ Lit. "people of the land," the vulgar herd. We find an exact parallel to this sentiment in the remark of the Pharisees (John vii. 49). "This people (*ὄχλος*, not *λαός*), who knoweth not the law, are cursed." We find even the liberal-minded Hillel saying, "No vulgar person can be pious."

along a road studying, and, breaking off from his study, says, 'How beautiful is that tree! How beautiful is that field!'—the Scripture imputes it to him, as though he had incurred the guilt of death;" and R. Judah says, "Be careful in study, for a mistake in study amounts to wilful sin." That is to say, forgetfulness and inaccuracy amount to moral guilt, a sentiment more suggestive of a *plagosus Orbilius* than anyone else. One is irresistibly reminded of the Doctor's address to Arthur Pendennis, in chapter ii. of his veracious history: "A boy who construes *dè and*, instead of *dè but*, is guilty not merely of folly, ignorance and dulness inconceivable, but of crime, of deadly crime, of filial ingratitude which I tremble to contemplate."

Yet, on the other hand, we meet occasionally with sentiments of a distinctly noble order.

Antigonus of Socho used to say, "Be not like servants who serve the master in order to receive a reward, but be like servants who serve the master not in order to receive a reward; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you." In other words, we should aim at serving God disinterestedly, and not simply from the hope of recompense in the world to come. A current Jewish tradition, which, however, must be viewed as very doubtful, would derive the sect of the Sadducees from a perversion of this teaching: "We are bidden not to work for reward; perhaps, indeed, there is no reward or world to come."

A remark of Hillel, though cast in rather enigmatic form, is full of suggestiveness: "If I am not for myself, who is there for me? and when I am for myself, what am I? and if I am not so now, when shall I be?" Man must "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling." No other man can do this for him—"no man may deliver his brother;" yet how entirely vain his unassisted efforts would be!

Hillel's great-grandson, Simeon, the son of Gamaliel I., used to say, "All my life I have grown up among wise men, but I never found anything good for one (*lit.*, for the body) but silence;¹ and it is not learning that is the main thing, but work, and everyone who multiplies words brings on sin."

In a later chapter Hillel appears again. There is wisdom in his counsel, "Do not judge thy neighbour till thou comest to his place," and "Do not say, 'When I have leisure I will study,' lest thou never have leisure." There is wisdom and true nobleness in the injunction, "In the place where there are no men, endeavour to show thyself a man."

One more example of this type may suffice. A certain

¹ Carlyle would have liked this, with his "Speech is silvern, but silence is golden."

Rabbi Tarphon, whom some, with apparently very little reason, would identify with the Trypho with whom Justin Martyr's famous dialogue is held, expresses the truth of man's relation to God, and the relation of this world to the next in a very striking way: "The day is short and the work is heavy, and the labourers are slothful and the reward is great, and the Master of the house is urgent. He used to say, 'The work is not given thee *to finish*, but thou art not a free man to cease from it.'"

Reference has already been made to Rabbi Akiba, as one of the leaders in Bar-Cochba's revolt. The Talmud tells concerning him, that he was put to death by the Romans, by having his flesh torn from his bones by iron combs; yet amid the torture he was able to recite the confession of faith known to the Jews as the *Shma*. This formulary is so called from its first word, meaning "Hear thou" (Deut. vi. 4). "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah is our God, Jehovah is One." As he pronounced the word "One," so runs the story, he died, and a voice came from heaven, "Blessed art thou, O Akiba, that thy soul hath departed with 'One'"—with the proclamation of monotheism with his last breath.

A striking saying of Akiba is preserved in the *Pirke Aboth* :

Everything is given on pledge,¹ and the net is spread over all living things: the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the hand is writing, and anyone who wishes to borrow can come and borrow, and the collectors are going round continually every day and exacting from the man, whether he knows it or knows it not, and they have whereon they can lean, and the judgment is a judgment of truth, and all is prepared for the banquet.

A thought which has often been echoed is that embodied in the saying of Elisha ben Abuyah. This Rabbi indulged in various subtle speculations, the outcome of which was that he drifted away from the faith. The Talmud tells a curious story, that after his fall he asked children from thirteen synagogues to tell him the verse of Scripture they had learnt: in every case the verse seemed to pronounce his condemnation. A curious modern application of the name has been in a Hebrew translation of Goethe's "Faust" by the late Max Letteris. Here Faust is represented by Elisha ben Abuyah, "who entered upon things too wonderful for him in the meditations of his heart." The saying, however, attributed to this Rabbi, is a very simple truth: "He who learns as a child, to what is

¹ The Hebrew word here is that which meets us in the New Testament as ἀρραβών (2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5, Eph. i. 14), "the earnest." In these passages, it will be noticed, there is rather the notion of a partial bestowal of a gift, as an earnest of a fuller gift hereafter; whereas the Old Testament use of the word is simply that of a *token* or *warrant* of future payment.

he like? To ink written on new paper. And he who learns as an old man, to what is he like? To ink written on blotted paper?"

Sometimes a very decidedly quaint element is present in these sayings. The following pair furnishes an amusing illustration of jealousy as between older and younger teachers. R. Jose ben Jehudah says, "He who learns from young men, to what is he like? To one who eats sour grapes and drinks wine from his vat. But he who learns from old men, to what is he like? To one who eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine." R. Jose is evidently by no means a young man himself, and receives a sharp retort from R. Meir, who evidently is, "Look not at the pitcher, but at what there is in it: you may have a new pitcher full of old wine, and an old one in which is not even new wine."

The fifth chapter of the *Pirke Aboth* consists largely of sets of ten and seven and four things, associated or contrasted. The first of these, which we shall cite, contains matters of a more speculative and less practical character than those which we have already cited:

Ten things were created in the evening of the Sabbath, between the lights (that is, in the moment of transition between the sixth day and the seventh, which could not strictly be spoken of as belonging to either day), and they are these: The mouth of the earth,¹ the mouth of the well,² the mouth of the ass,³ and the rainbow, and the manna, and the rod [of Moses], and the shamir, and the alphabet,⁴ and the writing, and the tables (i.e., the two tables of stone), and some say also the tomb of Moses our Rabbi, and the ram of Abraham our father, and some say also the demons, and also a pair of tongs, which must have been made with another pair of tongs.

The thought which underlies this idea is clearly this: All these things existed in their proper season, yet no mention is made in Scripture as to the time of their creation. They were not, then, created in the six days of creation, and they cannot have been created on the seventh, for then God rested from His works; therefore they must be referred to a sort of "debatable ground" between the sixth and seventh day.

Most of the items tell their own story. The *shamir* bears a less familiar name, though a favourite topic in Rabbinic legend. The *shamir* was a sort of worm, which had the power of cutting through the hardest stones if placed upon them. For example, we are told (1 Kings vi. 7) "there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building." The Rabbinic fancy is to explain this

¹ Numb. xvi. 32.

² *Ibid.*, xxi. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, xxii. 28.

⁴ This and the following are probably to be explained of writing in the abstract and concrete respectively.

as brought about by the *shamir*, a saving consequently both of noise, labour, and material.

Why a pair of tongs should be specially singled out for creation at this exceptional time may seem rather extraordinary. The reason is simply this: Every pair of tongs that is made implies an earlier pair of tongs with which to handle the red-hot iron while fashioned into tongs. Thus we get an endless chain of causation, until at last we come to the archetypal pair, made without hands, and created immediately by God.

We shall conclude our quotations by three instances of curious contrasts:

There are seven things in a "clod," and seven in a wise man. A wise man does not speak before one who is greater than himself in wisdom or in rank; he does not break into the midst of the speech of his companion; he is not in a hurry to answer; he asks questions with reference to the subject-matter, and answers according to the orthodox view; he speaks with reference to the first thing first and the last thing last; and with reference to a matter which he has not heard, he says, I have not heard, and he confesses the truth; and the opposites of these things are in a "clod."

There are four sorts of dispositions: One easily provoked and easily appeased—his gain is cancelled by his loss. One hard to provoke and hard to appease—his loss is cancelled by his gain. One hard to provoke and easy to appease—he is a godly man. One easy to provoke and hard to appease—he is a wicked man.

There are four sorts of those who sit before wise men: a sponge and a funnel, and a strainer and a sieve. The sponge is he who spongeth up everything; and the funnel is he who letteth in at this ear and letteth out at that. The strainer is that which letteth out the wine and retaineth the dregs; and the sieve is that which letteth out the bran and retaineth the fine flour.

It has sometimes been said that had not God in His providence for His Church raised up the great Apostle of the Gentiles to proclaim His truth, then, humanly speaking, Christianity would have taken a totally different form. The further thought might be added that had not Saul of Tarsus been converted to the faith of Jesus, then of a surety there would have been no Rabbi in the schools of Jerusalem more keen and resolute than he, no fiercer champion for the cause of the law, no more unwavering combatant for the traditions of the fathers. Probably we should have found shrewd and pointed sayings of his in the *Pirke Aboth*.

It would be an interesting study in the realm of "things that might have been" to ponder upon the possible course of Saul of Tarsus as one of the foremost of the Rabbis. More profitable is it to dwell on him as one who summed up all wisdom in "Christ crucified," as Paul "the ambassador" of Christ, as the old man who, alone in his Roman prison save

for the faithful Luke, can declare that wisdom unto salvation can be got from the ancient writings of his nation, simply "by faith, which is in Christ Jesus."

ROBERT SINKER.

ART. II.—DR. DÖLLINGER ON THE INFALLIBILITY
OF THE POPE.

THE indefatigable Professor Reusch has given to the world another instalment of Dr. Döllinger's writings: *Kleinere Schriften gedruckte und ungedruckte von Joh. Jos. Ign. v. Döllinger*. Stuttgart, 1890. Some of these have been published before, and at least one of them, that on mediæval prophecies, has been translated into English (Rivingtons, 1873). But many even of those speeches and articles which have been previously published in pamphlets and periodicals will be quite new to English readers. Of the pieces which have never been printed before the most important are an "Historical Sketch of the Council of Trent," and a portion of a biography of Pius IX. The latter is a beautiful piece of work, but it carries us no further than 1855. The following translation of an article on the Vatican Decrees was made soon after the original appeared in the *Deutscher Merkur* in 1876, but it was not published because the original article was left unfinished. Dr. Reusch has rightly included this valuable fragment in his collection, and the translation of it may now see the light. The article was written by Dr. Döllinger on the appearance of a German translation of Mr. Gladstone's famous pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees. The English translation of it will be read with interest in connexion with the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, February 5th.

Gladstone's pamphlet shows in detail what to everyone acquainted with history and the internal circumstances of the Roman Catholic Church is an incontestable truth, that perfect loyalty of subjects to their Sovereign and to the law of the land is absolutely incompatible with a serious acceptance of the Vatican Decrees of 1870.

The decrees, as is well known, have made it an article of faith that the reigning Pope, and likewise all his 257 predecessors, have always been infallible in the whole sphere of faith and morals, and that all his successors likewise will always be so; and that therefore every Catholic—nay, every baptized Christian—is bound to accept and obey every Papal utterance or decision, if only it falls within the immeasurably wide province of morality, or in any way comes in contact with it, with the same unconditional obedience, the same absolute surrender of his own judgment, with which he would submit to a command directly revealed by God

Himself. This decree, therefore, embraces the whole of the past back to the time of the Apostles, as well as the whole of the future. All that any of the 257 Popes have maintained and taught in matters of faith and morals, if it has been spoken in the character of universal teacher—*i. e., ex cathedrâ*—and is not a casual, unconsidered utterance, is exempt from error, and accordingly binding to this day and for all futurity on every Christian.

But it is only through another article of faith, published along with it on the 18th of July, that this new article of faith receives its full force and significance. In its propositions respecting the nature and extent of the power of the Pope are put forth and ratified as articles of faith, such as hitherto were only to be found in the writings of the flatterers of Rome, partly theologians, partly jurists. The Pope has power and dominion, limitless and immediate, over every baptized human being, from the Sovereign to the beggar, and everyone in the whole extent of religious life, duty and morality is bound to submit unconditionally to what he commands and forbids. This power of his is at the same time an episcopal one; that is to say, the Pope has in every diocese, and over all the Christians in it, all the rights which the Bishop has; and he can, therefore, whenever he pleases, interfere in the Bishop's field of operations, and anticipate or overturn his arrangements. And in the exercise of this plenitude of power (and a greater one cannot be imagined—he has *totam plenitudinem*) he is responsible to no earthly being—not even to the whole Church represented in a council. The whole Church consists of one lord and 180 millions of slaves, whose first duty is blind obedience, and whom a single act of persistent disobedience to a Papal command, or the rejection of a single Papal dogma, consigns to eternal perdition.

Thus that “universal Episcopate,” which the greatest of the Popes twelve hundred years ago rejected with horror as a Satanic extravagance, is made in plain language, and without circumlocution or concealment, into a constitutional principle of the Church, and the ancient fabric is ruined. What Gregory the Great designated a mark of Antichrist, and anathematized as such, is now put before children in their very catechism as a chief article of their religion. And the Bishops who voted for it in Rome, and thereby flung away their ancient dignity like a worn-out garment, returned home as prefects of the Pope.

It is an unlimited despotic power which the Pope has had ascribed to him by the council. For, as is now taught, he is not only not bound by mere human law—that is, by the series of canons laid down, partly by councils, partly by former Popes, all of which he can, on the contrary, abrogate, or alter, or render of no effect in particular cases, just as it pleases him; but not even by Divine law: that is to say, those precepts given by Christ Himself or by His Apostles, which are specified in Holy Scripture, are subject to Papal interpretation and dispensation. The Pope can at his discretion dispense from them in individual cases, or declare that in such cases the Divine law is not binding. At the present time this is accepted in the whole Papal world with all the more security, because the new great doctor of the Church, St. Alfonso di Liguori, has confirmed it with his high authority, and given as a reason for it that, had God not conferred this power on the Pope, He would not have made sufficient provision for the good government of His Church. In the whole extent of the Christian world, therefore, there exist no limits for the Pope but those which he thinks fit to impose upon himself.

I say in the extent of the Christian world, not (as you might expect) merely of the Roman Catholic world; for the Popes have repeatedly declared, and it is the prevailing doctrine taught now in all theological colleges, that all baptized Christians, although from their birth they may

have belonged to other and Protestant communions, yet legally are just as much subject to the Pope as Catholics, and so also remain perpetually bound to observe all the rules of the Church of general obligation, although an ignorance, for which they are in no way responsible, may excuse their transgression of these rules in the eyes of God. The practical consequences deduced from this doctrine are very far-reaching, especially in the subject of marriage.

It is easy, then, to see how these two new articles of faith, of the universal dominion and of the infallibility of the Pope, mutually support and complete one another. As ruler of the whole Church he promulgates universal laws, which, if they concern the faith or touch upon morals, are infallible. For, as in the case of Christ, so also in that of His representative the Pope, law and doctrine are inseparable. When the Pope decides a moral question, he then and there gives a law, and in each of his ethical laws a doctrine is at the same time involved. By the decrees of the 18th of July, 1870, the collections of Papal decretals, which Gregory IX., Boniface VIII. and Clement V. massed together into codes, and solemnly published as such, have now in all the articles belonging to the sphere of faith and morals been invested with indefectible authority. One may safely question whether in the whole Roman Catholic world there are at the present moment half a dozen persons who yet know the full extent of all the principles, doctrines and traditions which have become infallible since 1870. At the present moment the most influential powers and their literary organs are still anxiously careful to avoid discussions on the subject at all risks, and a large number of important articles, which have now become articles of faith, are so far as possible buried in silence and withdrawn from public notice. One must not offer men's intellectual organs of digestion too much at a time any more than their physical ones; and people are also recommended to wait for more receptive times and tones. Moreover, it would be indiscreet to provoke divisions and glaring differences of opinion in one's own camp. It was in itself a most unpleasant circumstance, that the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, which makes all civil power and every Sovereign subject to the Pope even in temporal matters, suddenly received two mutually contradictory interpretations; for, while the German Bishops, under the pressure of their position in reference to the German Government, set aside precisely the most plain and definite part of the Bull, and would allow nothing in the whole document to be binding but one single indefinitely expressed proposition, the Jesuits, in their own Papal organ, the *Civiltà*, and the English Ultramontanes, were honest enough to recognise the plain wording of the Bull, and the fact that this doctrine has now become infallible—that the Pope, as God's Vicegerent on earth, is supreme lord of all kingdoms and peoples, and that they are subject to him in temporal no less than in spiritual things.

Let us consider that for three hundred years a General Council always seemed to be the most improbable of all possible events, that since 1564 not a single Pope has expressed even the wish or the intention of summoning a council, that the mere desire for a council was regarded in Rome as something offensive and as treason against the Pope's majesty; and then the question is forced on us: How, then, is this sudden change in the views of the Curia to be explained? How has it come to pass that what had hitherto at best been regarded as in the highest degree a grave, troublesome and perilous proceeding, now was divested of its terrors and made to seem so desirable?

There was a time when Rome, in spite of her own obligations and her promises in answer to the requests of all Europe, for scores of years refused to summon a council. When she was driven to extremities, and

at length put her hand to the work, the Curia took care that only a miserable caricature of what a council ought to be should be produced. Then, in the year 1868, because no one wanted a council, because not a single voice worth listening to raised this once so mighty cry, because there were no questions requiring a council for their solution, and no one not behind the scenes could conjecture what in the world the assembly was to occupy itself with—then it was arranged by the Pope to hold one.

Meanwhile, everything was already prepared—so well and cleverly prepared that the undertaking, as far as appearances went, was completely successful. Many thousands of hands, episcopal, priestly, and to some extent also lay hands, had helped in the preparation, without knowing what the goal was that was to be reached. But the order of Jesuits did the best service, induced by the hope that the harvest also from this outlay would fall to its share. So long as this order was not strengthened, so long as the education of the younger clergy was not in its hands or in those of its disciples, the accomplishment of the plan was not to be thought of. But with the year 1849 that activity began, and increased in steady progression, which secured the success of the council. The nascent clergy were educated in Ultramontane views, the disciples of the Jesuits thrust themselves more and more into theological colleges, gained influential posts in Chapters and Faculties, in not a few instances became Bishops, and forthwith efforts were also made to drive out the old books of instruction from the theological colleges and schools, and the old catechisms from the national schools, and replace them by new ones composed by the Jesuits or in their spirit, in which none but the names of Perrone, Liguori, Gury and De Harpe might be mentioned. In the course of twenty years this has been done in Italy, France, Ireland, England, Germany and elsewhere, with a success that may well have exceeded the expectations even of those who have brought it about.¹ In this process one finds, on the side of the Bishops and the lower clergy, unconcerned passivity; on the side of the Governments, utter indifference and carelessness. A success so complete justified the boldest hopes with respect to the council; it might reasonably be expected that, by a proper application of the Papal machinery already tried at Trent, the Bishops would be found to be very willing tools, and that the small handful of prelates who still held the old faith would be easily and quickly overwhelmed by the immense majority of those who surrendered unconditionally.

Side by side with the preparations which were conducted more in silence, loud-sounding announcements also, great ecclesiastical demonstrations and spectacles, were meanwhile set on foot, which helped to prepare the way for the council, inasmuch as the Bishops poured themselves out in the humblest assurances of devoted submission, and tied their hands beforehand. The proclamation of the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception was brought to pass, it is true, in the presence of many Bishops who had been summoned to Rome; but good care was taken that this defining of the dogma should have entirely the character of an autocratic act on the part of the Pope deciding by his own authority, and that the Bishops, in spite of their great number, should not even appear as a merely assenting council. On two other occasions, at a great canonization and at a newly invented festival, the so-called *Centenarium Petri*, crowds of Bishops were got together. They appeared in greater

¹ This has been well shown by the Abbé Michaud in his interesting book, "De la Falsification des Catéchismes Français et des Manuels de Théologie" (Sandoz und Fischbacher, 1872).

numbers than ever assembled at Trent. A council might have been formed. There would have been no lack of the richest material for reformatory decisions, of which the pressing need was being felt in all countries. But so tame, so passive and submissive had the Bishops already become, that, with the exception of the Archbishop of Prague and perhaps a couple of French prelates, not one dared even to utter the word "reforms." Accordingly, the Festival of St. Peter closed with the declaration of the Bishops, which was accepted with the greatest applause, and understood as homage paid in advance to the Papal Infallibility: "We all believe and teach as thou believest and teachest." Thus three rehearsals, as of a dramatic performance, preceded the council, and the result was so satisfactory that with perfect confidence it was thought possible to produce the drama itself before the eyes of the world.

The Syllabus with the Encyclica of the year 1864 had already declared war upon the principles on which the life and intercourse of peoples and States rest in modern times; freedom of the press, freedom of opinion, freedom of creed, civil sanction and equalization of other creeds and Churches with the Roman Catholic Church, all this was repudiated, partly by Gregory XVI. previously, partly by Pius IX. in the Syllabus. On the top of this came the solemn condemnation of the fundamental law of the Austrian Empire on the 22nd of July. Pius had declared the new constitution to be an abomination—its conditions respecting the freedom of the press and of faith, respecting the equalization of creeds, to be detestable—and in particular had specified the burial of Protestants in Catholic cemeteries as one of the reasons for his pronouncing this condemnation. At first no one knew how to explain why in the world the constitutional system of the Austrian Empire in particular should be visited with such energetic anathemas, while the like propositions existed in all, or almost all, the constitutions of European States without the Popes saying a word against them, or at most only a gentle diplomatic expression of their dissatisfaction. It was not till two years later that the passing of the Vatican Decrees cleared up this mystery also. It was a prolepsis or preliminary exercise which Pius was making; a programme, from which the world was afterwards to see what extension he meant to give to the new articles of faith promulgated on the 18th of July, 1870, and how he intended to use the self-gotten dignity of supreme ruler and judge over Sovereigns and peoples, constitutions and laws.

One more preparatory act was recognised as likely to be of service. By the proclamation of the Infallibility of the Pope the Bull of Leo X. against Luther, and in it the article which declares that the burning of heretics is a work of the Holy Ghost, became an infallible rule of conduct. In a long chain of Bulls and constitutions, extending over six centuries, the Popes had founded and built up the institution of the Inquisition, had ordained a legal process against persons of other creeds, had created a code of pains and penalties, which, for severity, injustice, and gross violation of the simplest notions of morality and the teaching of the Gospel, is quite without a rival. All this was now to be covered with the shield of the Infallibility; for here it was as legislators, and consequently as teachers of the nations, that the Popes had struck deep into the sphere of morals. The Syllabus had already proclaimed three very comprehensive dogmas, which were also intended to cover the Inquisition:—1. That the Popes have never exceeded the limits of their power. 2. That the Church has the right to use physical compulsion. 3. That freedom of creed is a damnable doctrine. But it seemed advisable to take still more energetic steps with a view to initiating and preparing men's minds in this direction. This was done in the year 1867, by

placing inquisitors,¹ who had been murdered in the work of burning heretics, as, for example, Peter Arbues and the inquisitors of Avignonet, among the saints, and canonizing them. The simultaneous canonization of Archbishop Josaphat Kuncevicz, whom the Greeks that he had persecuted and robbed of their churches had murdered, was intended to serve the same purpose. With a keen eye to the end in view, several smaller councils also were made to precede the grand main act in Rome. Suddenly and unexpectedly commands from Rome had ordered the holding of provincial councils. Such were held at Cologne, Prague, and Colocza in 1860, at Utrecht in 1865, at Baltimore in 1866. Those who took part in them were bound to the strictest secrecy; the results of their deliberations were sent to Rome, came back from thence revised and corrected, and soon it was shown that these were compendious statements of dogma, just such as are found in a hundred school-books; and in many cases the Tridentine decrees and the like had been merely copied. The world wondered that so simple a business, which might well have been left to the nearest Jesuit or the best teacher in the nearest theological college, should be thought to require the immense expenditure of time and costly apparatus necessary for a provincial synod. But the riddle was soon solved when, as the Jesuits forthwith triumphantly made prominent, all with wonderful unanimity taught the dogmatic Infallibility of the Pope.

In the convictions expressed in this article Dr. Döllinger died. About the character of the Vatican Decrees he never wavered. No Old Catholic could be more profoundly convinced than he was that to accept them meant, for Roman clergy, a violation of their ordination vow, and for every well-instructed person, adhesion to what could be proved to be a lie.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

ART. III.—JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

THE life of John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, coincided with the period when the National Church of England had almost sole control of the elementary education of the country. It covers also that great period of the development of Church life which began with the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," at Oxford. As he was secretary and treasurer of the National Society for upwards of thirty years, and held the Archdeaconry of Middlesex from 1842 to 1875, his work in both respects gave him great influence. Archbishop Tait wrote of him and of the peculiar position which he occupied in the greatest diocese in Christendom, that he was the trusted friend of Bishop Blomfield, and had the same

¹ See the "Report of the Reunion Conference at Bonn," 1875, p. 46, English translation. Pickering. 1876.

indomitable industry and perseverance as his chief, and was devoted to the same good works which have made Bishop Blomfield's episcopate ever memorable; adding that, as he distinctly and calmly marked out for himself what he thought the proper course, both in practical Church government and in matters of speculation, he was never swayed by the persuasions of others, and had no temptation to give encouragement against his better judgment to any fancies amongst those with whom he was thrown. The Archbishop points out how useful such a character was amid the difficulties of his age. Innovations were rife on all sides. The Church of England, thoroughly awakened from the torpor of the past generation, was subjected to a variety of experiments, according to the zeal and caprice of those who rejoiced in its new vigour. The noble and somewhat impetuous character of Bishop Blomfield was well suited to foster the signs of rising life; but the calm, shrewd intellect of the Archdeacon, trying all things according to their real merits, and by the test of a sound logic, was an invaluable assistant in those days of excitement. Archdeacon Sinclair was quite as capable as his chief of reading the signs of the times; he saw where change was indispensable, and was quite ready to accommodate himself to the wants of the age; but he never gave way from mere impulsiveness.

The two great practical duties to which he gave his official life may be said to have been the adjustment of national education on such a religious basis as was suitable to the changed circumstances of the times, and the forwarding of that work of Church extension on which his Bishop had chiefly concentrated the energies of his great mind.

Few, perhaps, of the present generation recognise how much the country owes to Archdeacon Sinclair in the matter of religious education. His attention was turned to this subject at a time when many vague theories were afloat, and there was great danger lest the National Church might lose that influence over the education of the poor which, he saw, must constitute its chief claim to the confidence of the nation in the difficult times that were approaching. It is not too much to say that to the Archdeacon and those who worked with him, and to the wise compromise which they effected with the Government of the day, we owe that wonderful advance in the religious education of the poor which we would fain hope has secured the allegiance of the nation to Christian as opposed to mere secular teaching, and enables us to look forward in comparative security, even to the greatest changes which may possibly befall us in the outward organization of our public educational arrangements.

When we pass through the country, and see church schools

newly erected in every district, when we read of the extraordinary sums which the clergy, out of their poverty, and the Church laity have contributed to the cause of religious education, and even when we think of the former efforts of Dissenting communities to vie with the Church in this good work, it would be wrong not to remember gratefully how much we owe—I am still adopting the language of Archbishop Tait—to the sound sense and indomitable perseverance of him who was first secretary of the National Society, and afterwards Archdeacon of Middlesex during the years of that crisis when the English nation was first awakened to appreciate, even imperfectly, the great responsibilities of the State in the education of the poor.

John Sinclair was one of the numerous family of the well-known Scotch statesman in the reign of George III., the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, M.P., of Thurso Castle, Caithness, founder of the Board of Agriculture, and author of "The Statistical Account of Scotland," and between 300 and 400 other financial, political, social, and economical works. Sir John had inherited the vast estates of the ancient earldom of Caithness, in that county, which had been carefully nursed during a long minority by the shrewd energy of his mother, Lady Janet Sutherland, of Dunrobin Castle; but travelling in those days was so difficult, and Sir John was so occupied with his Parliamentary duties, that his family were chiefly brought up in Edinburgh and at Ham Common, near London. Sir John was an indefatigable philanthropist, and promoter of all schemes of agricultural progress, and had impressed upon all his family the duty of public spirit and of devotion to the commonwealth. He was somewhat deficient in humour, and his indefatigable energy occasionally led him into situations which would have been disagreeable to a man with more tact and reserve; and to this fact we must trace the shy, retiring, and reserved nature of the Archdeacon. The mother, of whom all her children always spoke in the warmest terms of respect and affection, was the Hon. Diana Macdonald, only daughter of Lord Macdonald (of the Isles), twenty-fifth chief of the principal part of the clan Macdonald. Lady Sinclair's children were lastingly indebted to Sir John's eldest daughter by a former marriage, Hannah Sinclair, a lady of great powers of mind and earnest religious feeling, who impressed upon each of them at a very early age the fear of God and a strong sense of duty. She wrote a letter on "The Principles of the Christian Faith," which had a preface by Hannah More, and was widely read at the beginning of the century.

John Sinclair was to some extent adopted by his unmarried

uncle, Alexander, second Lord Macdonald. He studied at Edinburgh University, and afterwards went to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he took his degree, as what was then called a Grand Compounder. At Edinburgh he was the chief means of forming what was known as the "Rhetorical Society," among the members of which were the late Earl of Wemyss, the late Adam Anderson (afterwards the judge Lord Anderson), and David Robertson, who was created Lord Marjoribanks. When he was at Oxford he proposed a similar society, but the Dons frowned upon him and prevented it. The project was renewed some years after, when the "Oxford Union Club" was formed, of which John Sinclair's younger brother William was one of the early presidents.

After travelling for some time with his uncle, in 1820 he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln to the curacy of Stanford, of which he has printed some amusing reminiscences. He was also curate to Archdeacon Norris at Hackney, and it was here that occurred the closing scene of the well-known children's book "Holiday House," by his sister, Catherine Sinclair, in which his younger brother James, the "Frank" of the story, comes home from military service in India to die. James was buried in the churchyard at Hackney. John Sinclair was shortly afterwards appointed to St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Carrubbers Close, Edinburgh, where he remained till he became a colleague to the Rev. Archibald Alison, of St. Paul's Church, York Place, in the new part of that town. In his book of reminiscences called "Old Times and Distant Places," the Archdeacon has given an interesting sketch of Mr. Alison. No one who attended old Kensington Church, or who heard the Archdeacon read family prayers, can fail to remember the wonderful reverential dignity of his voice and manner. It was like a strain of serene and solemn music, and it was to a considerable degree to Mr. Alison that he owed this great gift. He quotes himself from Mr. Lockhart, of the *Quarterly Review*, a description of Mr. Alison's reading :

I have never heard any man read the service in our church in so fine a style as Mr. Alison. The grave, antique majesty of those inimitable prayers, acquiring new beauty and sublimity as they passed through his lips, could not fail to refresh and elevate my mind. In his preaching the effect of his voice is no less striking, and, indeed, much as you have read and admired his sermons, I am sure you would confess after once hearing him that they cannot produce their full effect without the accompaniment of that delightful music.

During this period of his life Mr. Sinclair resided with his father and mother at the family town house, 133, George Street, which was for half a century one of the most hospitable centres in Edinburgh society. While living in Edinburgh he attended the history classes of the celebrated metaphysician

Sir William Hamilton, and became an intimate friend and correspondent. Nothing could have been more delightful or instructive than Edinburgh society at this period. As one of the most trusted of the episcopal clergy, John Sinclair had an opportunity of observing it on all sides. In 1820 he became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in this capacity he and Dr. Abercrombie, the writer on moral philosophy, were appointed to examine the letters and correspondence of David Hume, the philosopher and historian, on which Mr. Sinclair drew up a very interesting paper. In 1828 he became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who had become Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University. He attended his first course of lectures, and describes the intense interest with which he and other students listened to the Professor's discourses. The salary of the Professors was only at that time £200 a year, and at the end of his first course Mr. Sinclair persuaded the other students to join with him in presenting Dr. Chalmers with an equal sum. In 1839, at the age of 42, he went to London to a celebrated oculist about a weakness of the eyes which troubled him throughout the whole of his life. While he was there a vacancy occurred in the post of secretary to the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England. While curate to Archdeacon Norris, Mr. Sinclair had become acquainted with his brother-in-law, Joshua Watson, one of the founders of this great institution. While forbidden to receive visitors under the effects of his operation, Mr. Watson, treasurer of the society, insisted upon seeing him. He introduced at once the subject of elementary education, spoke of the very serious difficulties which had arisen between the National Society and the newly constituted Committee of Council on Education. The Rev. J. C. Wigram (afterwards Bishop of Rochester) had resigned his office as secretary, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley), the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield), and himself, as treasurer, had been empowered to choose a successor. He ended by wishing that Mr. Sinclair would undertake the duty. Mr. Sinclair expressed himself with his usual caution; but a few days afterwards Mr. Watson returned, saying that he had been both to Lambeth and to Fulham, that the Archbishop would feel relieved from a serious difficulty if he would accept the vacant post, and the Bishop of London, in proof of his favourable disposition, was ready to appoint him one of his examining chaplains. To these representations he yielded; and thus was formed an official connection which lasted no fewer than thirty-two years.

The first education grant was voted by Parliament in 1830;

the whole amount was only £20,000 a year. Ten shillings was the sum allowed for each child provided with school accommodation, and the grants were given on the recommendation of the National Society or the British and Foreign School Society. The latter, although not decidedly a Nonconformist institution (for the managers and teachers might be of the Church), enabled Nonconformists to obtain a share of the public bounty. The arrangement had lasted ten years, when the Lords of the Treasury were superseded by a Committee of Privy Council, who undertook to distribute £30,000 a year on their own responsibility, and with the same regard to the recommendations of the two societies. It is singular in these days to read how the mode in which the new committee spoke and acted excited at that time general alarm throughout the Church. It was the inspection of schools by a Government official which was at that time such a startling innovation. The State inspector, never sanctioned nor directed in any way by the authorities of the Church, was to have the right of entering schools, and, without inquiring into the religious education of the pupils, was to examine and report on their secular attainments. The declared object of his visit was to secure conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as might from time to time be established by the Committee of Council.

As State inspection was a novelty, and as the form it assumed seemed liable to serious objection, applications poured in on the new secretary for advice whether the clergy should submit to the required condition or reject the grant. They were impatient for an immediate answer, being called upon to accept or reject the Government subsidy within a period which would soon expire. The committee of the National Society had fixed their next meeting for a day after the date when the answer must be given, and the members were scattered all over the kingdom. What was the secretary to do? With great courage he drew up a private circular, advising the applicants to ask the Privy Council for further time, in order that, before returning a final answer, they might consult the National Society. As soon as the circular was set up in type, he hurried with a proof to Fulham Palace to consult the Bishop of London. His reception was very characteristic. Mr. Sinclair found the Bishop seated quietly at dinner with his family. He asked him to take a chair, as if he had been an invited guest, discussing a variety of subjects with perfect coolness; and then, as soon as the ladies were gone, began abruptly: "Something of moment must have brought you here at this hour. What is it?" Mr. Sinclair explained, and presented the circular. Having read it, Bishop Blomfield

gravely said: "It is a bold beginning of your secretaryship to issue an unauthorized circular affecting the relation of the society to the Government; and yet I cannot advise you to suppress it."

The circular produced the favourable result anticipated. On the 16th October, 1839, when the committee assembled, with Archbishop Howley in the chair, Mr. Sinclair was able to say that if they should wish to recommend the clergy to decline public grants until the obnoxious clause was withdrawn, he had already ascertained that a very large majority were prepared to risk the loss. This course was followed, and out of 204 schools applying for public aid only 49 accepted it; and of that small number 14 afterwards declined it. The feeling in the country was very strong. A second circular was shortly issued by the Archdeacon to strengthen the resolution of the friends of the Church, with the approbation of Lord Ashley and Bishop Blomfield. A committee was also formed to raise money, which had its headquarters in Leicester Square, with Lord Ashley as chairman. Its moving spirit was Mr. Matheson, chief assayer at the Mint. He had a large staff of clerks, and availed himself without stint of the penny post, then recently established, to issue circulars by tens of thousands. He was the first to adopt on a large scale the new facilities thus afforded for letters. The result was highly satisfactory; no fewer than 15,310 promises of help were obtained. As the liberality of the upper classes is sometimes impugned, it may be worth while to mention that this number included 789 of the nobility and landed gentry, and 4,099 clergymen. Mr. Sinclair was desirous to obtain the support of the Universities, and in the case of Oxford he found a favourable opportunity. His friend Dr. Shuttleworth (afterwards Bishop of Chichester) was Vice-Chancellor, and he prevailed on him, although a Whig, to give him an opportunity of preaching from the University pulpit. Announcements were made in all the colleges and throughout the city that the secretary of the National Society was to give a sermon on the critical state of elementary education. No small excitement was created. St. Mary's was crowded not only with undergraduates, but with Masters of Arts and Heads of Houses. The result far exceeded Mr. Sinclair's most sanguine hopes. His friend, Mr. Philip Duncan, of New College, made a good beginning by coming to the college with a contribution of £100. The University unanimously voted £500 for the society, and not long after the University of Cambridge, with the same unanimity, voted £300. It was on this occasion that Mr. Greswell exerted himself in the generous and energetic manner which is so well described by Dean Burgon in his "Twelve Good Men";

but Dean Burgon does not record the origin of the movement.

It was hoped that Parliament would be induced at any rate to consider the wishes of the Church; but, as usual, the important responsibilities of national religious education were ill-understood, even by the friends of the Church. Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. Colquhoun declined to bring the subject of national education forward. They told the society that Church education was not the first business to be attended to, but rather Church extension. But Sir Robert Inglis's proposal for grants of money for the building of churches was laid aside as impracticable, and the opportunity was lost. The Committee of Council, however, began to understand better the position of the National Society. They had underrated the strength of the Church, and also its sincerity in the cause of secular instruction. The secretary of the Committee of Council at this time was Dr. Kaye (afterwards Sir James Kaye Shuttleworth), who was not only able and energetic, but reasonable. Before long a way was opened for mutual understanding. Mr. Sinclair was one day walking in Oxford Street, when he met an old college friend, Sir Henry Thompson, whom he had supposed to be dead. Sir Henry inquired why he was so hostile to the Committee of Council. He had heard of the state of affairs from his brother-in-law, Dr. Kaye, and his friend, Sir George Grey. Mr. Sinclair replied: "I am a man of peace, and shall be obliged to you to convey this message to Sir George Grey and Dr. Kaye: 'If you will give us full security for the religious education of the people, we shall give you full security for their secular instruction.'" Negotiations began with the Government. It now became necessary to convince Archbishop Howley of the wisdom of a compromise. Mr. Sinclair was summoned to Lambeth, when he found the Primate complaining that he was only to have a veto on the appointment of inspector. Mr. Sinclair showed him that he had a concurrent right of recommendation, and if he withdrew his approval the inspector was, *ipse facto*, deprived. With regard to Church schools, he was himself to draw up the instructions to inspectors on the subject of religious knowledge. The Archbishop was satisfied, and authorized him to go to the Bishop of London. Bishop Blomfield was setting out in his coach, with court liveries, to attend a christening at which the Royal Family were to be present; but Mr. Sinclair jumped into the carriage, and explained the matter as they drove along. The Bishop of Salisbury, who was a Whig, was the intermediary with the Government. To him Mr. Sinclair hastened, and on the 10th August, 1840, the concordat was signed at Buckingham Palace. The success

and popularity of the concordat throughout the country was complete; and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York proposed to appoint Mr. Sinclair secretary to both for education. An objection, however, was raised at the office of the Privy Council, and their friendly intentions were not realized. Joshua Watson was one of the few who disapproved of the concordat, and he resigned the treasurership in consequence. The fact that Mr. Sinclair was appointed to succeed him in that office while he still held the office of secretary shows the immense amount of authority which he had already acquired.

In the year 1843 Mr. Sinclair, who as much as his father, Sir John, merited the title of "the indefatigable," was called on to undertake important pastoral work. Bishop Blomfield appointed him Vicar of Kensington, and in the following year Archdeacon of Middlesex. The population of that new suburb had already greatly outgrown the means of public worship, although it was still separate from London, and it was rapidly increasing. So he set himself to work with constitutional vigour and enthusiasm for the work of Church extension. He remained Vicar and Archdeacon for the last thirty years of his life. When he came into the district there were only three parishes and churches—the hideous old red-brick "William III." edifice of St. Mary Abbott's, and the more modern churches of St. Barnabas and Brompton. Before the close of his career he had been the means of subdividing it, with equal wisdom and disinterestedness, into twenty-three parishes, with upwards of thirty churches. As well as being secretary and treasurer of the National Society, he was also secretary of the Diocesan Church Building Society of Bishop Blomfield, which was afterwards replaced by the Bishop of London's Fund of Dr. Tait. This office gave him great opportunities, not only in his own vast district, but in all parts of London, of pursuing with the utmost zeal the work not only of providing the growing masses of the people with schools, but also with those means of worship which, for the most part, they were unable to provide for themselves. The Metropolitan Churches Fund had been inaugurated by Bishop Blomfield in 1836. By the 20th June, 1837, the day of the Queen's accession, it had received in money and promises £117,423. Two years later, out of this earlier association arose an offshoot, the Bethnal Green Churches Fund, promoted by Mr. William Cotton; and in 1854, when it had by that time raised £266,000, it was transformed into the London Diocesan Church Building Society. The Church Building Society issued an appeal in May, 1854, the Queen heading the list of subscriptions with £500. Working with Archdeacon Sinclair were his friends, the Rev. J. Stooks and the Rev. W. D. Maclagan, who, after his death,

succeeded him as Vicar of Kensington, and afterwards became Bishop of Lichfield. During the nine years that followed, the society raised £65,000 to promote the erection of fifty churches in the Diocese of London. At the end of that time the action of the society was to a great extent superseded by the Bishop of London's Fund. During all these years the vicarage of Kensington was the resort of anxious clergymen and laymen who were eager for the erection of churches, and who were always welcome to the wise and fatherly advice of the Archdeacon. In the account of his friendship with the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, John Sinclair relates the hint which he received on the last occasion that he saw that great and excellent man. It was in the year 1843. He had been telling the Doctor of what he was doing for the support and extension of the Church of England National Schools, and, in particular, how he had received promises of support from hundreds of influential people, including members of the Cabinet and both Houses of Parliament. "Dr. Chalmers," he said, "heard me patiently for some time, and then replied, 'Mr. Sinclair, I perceive you are an enthusiast. Your National Society must, under God, depend upon the nation for support, and not on Cabinets or Parliaments.'" Mr. Sinclair threw himself heartily upon the general opinion of the National Church in the public meetings which he resorted to when he wanted to raise money or to influence public opinion. He never spoke from a platform himself, for after leaving the University he lost the fluency of speech which he had acquired there; but he had the most remarkable tact in arranging public meetings and providing speakers who were likely to be listened to. On one of these occasions Mr. Thackeray had recently come to live in Kensington, and the Archdeacon thought his name would be a powerful attraction. He called upon him. Thackeray was unwell, and in his bedroom. The Archdeacon having sent up his card, Thackeray came downstairs, when Mr. Sinclair explained his object. Thackeray at once declined, saying he had never in his life made a speech on a platform, and that he only wrote for the public, and, besides, he was too ill to leave the house. Mr. Sinclair said he would not insist on a speech, but that it was very difficult to get up a meeting in Kensington, and that if Mr. Thackeray would only allow his name to be printed on the handbills he would not insist on his saying anything, and would have the speaking done by others. Mr. Thackeray was amused, and said: "Well, if I am alive I will come to your meeting." The handbills were accordingly issued with Thackeray's name on them. A great crowd assembled. Mr. Thackeray appeared on the platform. He found that when there he could not avoid saying something. His words

were few but telling, and they were received with enthusiasm. Mr. Sinclair adds that this was the only time when the rhetorical powers of the great novelist were proved at a public meeting.

Besides all these important public labours, a hint of which only can be given in a brief magazine article, Archdeacon Sinclair's influence with the clergy and Church was greatly increased by the long series of his important Charges, which were collected in 1886, after his death, by Messrs. Rivington, with a preface by Archbishop Tait, and an historical introduction by the Archdeacon's learned friend Canon Jenkyns, of Lyminge. This series forms a very interesting contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the thirty important years of his archidiaconate. Archdeacon Sinclair's style was terse and epigrammatical, and brimming over with suppressed humour; and the width and breadth of his learning made the occasions of their delivery at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, an interesting event to all his clergy. The first Charge, in 1844, was naturally largely occupied with the position at that time of National Education. He was able to state that National Schools alone had within the last four years increased from 6,778 to 10,087, and the number of scholars for whom accommodation was provided from 587,911 to 875,194, or at the rate of 71,820 a year. He also took occasion to make a statement of reasons against making all sittings in churches free and unappropriated, the wisdom of which subsequent experience has made abundantly clear. At that early period he was also warning the clergy that prayers against unhappy divisions must be practical, that there must be a general diminution of party jealousies, a general desire through the great body of the Church, the laity as well as the clergy, to prevent innovations, to maintain inviolate the standards of faith and worship handed down by our forefathers, and to transmit these uncorrupted and unmutilated to our posterity.

The Charge of 1845 was occupied again with National Education, the history of ruri-decanal chapters, and the interpretation of the rubrics. At a date twenty-four years before the Act of Mr. Forster, and with a view to the controversy of the present day, the Archdeacon's anticipations of School Boards are highly instructive. He is speaking of the important wish of many persons to supersede all voluntary efforts, whether of individuals or associations, by parochial or general assessments, and a Board of Public Instruction.

These persons (he says) direct their eyes to foreign countries, where education is in the hands of the Government, and where the machinery for conducting it can be established at will; and they complain that England should be an exception to the rule. They forget that neither France, Russia, Holland, nor Lombardy, can furnish in this respect a

precedent of any value to Great Britain. They forget that in all of them the Government does everything, and the clergy and people comparatively nothing. Nor do such persons sufficiently consider that the present divided state of religious opinion throughout this country, and the little ground we have to hope that a Board of Public Instruction would be able or disposed to maintain the schools, over which the clergy should have their proper influence, and in which Christianity should be taught fully and unreservedly without compromise or mutilation.

With regard to ruri-decanal chapters, he pointed out that, although voluntary associations of the clergy for mutual counsel were frequent and well known, it was to Bishop Blomfield and the Archdeacons of the diocese that the revival of the ancient system was owed.

With regard to the interpretation of the rubrics, he pointed out that leanings either to Rome or Geneva must be rightly held as a disqualification for ever in the Church of England. He warned the clergy against the danger of party badges, however small. He recommended to them as their proper object the reconciliation of usage with regulation; he spoke of custom as the best interpreter; and he insisted that the minister could never be the judge of disputed points. He reminded them of the significance of disuse, and that as the legislative functions of the Church had been for generations in abeyance, the only way in which she could express her will, that a form or ceremony should fall into disuse, was by actually disusing it. He was very keenly averse to any appeal whatsoever either to the law or to legislation.

It is easy (he said) to conceive the general turmoil, the strife, the jealousy, the exasperation likely to follow any legislative interference with our existing arrangements. All that we are sure of is contention; the changes we intend to urge may be rejected, while those we mean to strive against may be forced upon us; and whether we succeed or fail in carrying out our favourite schemes, we may find occasion to grieve over the irreparable injury of schism and separation which, with no evil intentions, we have done our utmost to inflict.

In the year 1846, instead of charging himself, he preached at the visitation of Bishop Blomfield. He chose for his subject "Divisions in the Church." He pointed out that such divisions, however lamentable, were nothing new; they existed in the Primitive Church, in the Church of Rome, and in the unhappy ramifications of English sects. He showed that unity was undervalued, and that there was a special danger for the clergy in not putting into practice what they preached. He pointed out the natural difficulties of unity, in view of the great number of subjects touched by religious belief; that they were increased by the extreme importance of these subjects; and that there was often as much self-indulgence in discord as in any other vicious tendency. At the same time he pointed out that while there were no restrictions for charity, there were

necessary limitations for actual unity; and while enforcing the benefit of unity in public objects, he deprecated any support of sectarian associations. In the next place, he spoke of the natural propensity of the human mind to extremes, not only in religious matters: "It is quite as prevalent," he says, "in matters of taste, in literature, politics, and philosophy." He went on to warn preachers and public men against the common habit of negligence with regard to being misunderstood. It is perfectly true that many men are too indolent, or too proud, or too timid, to explain; and consequently party spirit grows. He pointed out, too, the dangers of oratory, —magniloquent indistinctness, and the common habit of using important words in a double sense. He deprecated, in sentences of great wisdom, all asperity of language in controversy. He spoke strongly against the practice of anonymous writing, and ended with a touching and eloquent appeal, as true now as it was thirty-four years ago, for self-sacrifice in the cause of unity.

The Charge of 1848 reflected the natural alarm of a shrewd and cautious mind at the novelty of the assembling of Convocation after 170 years of silence, in times of dispute, turmoil, and innovation; especially as the demand came from the innovating party. On this he further enlarged in the Charge of 1852. In the second place he recorded an energetic protest against the misrepresentation lately made with regard to the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford, to the effect that the election of Bishops should be popular. Popular election was an innovation which crept into the Church through divisions caused by the Arians and the Donatists. He related the frightful enormities committed at these elections, expressed the lasting gratitude of the Church to Councils and Emperors for her rescue from republicanism, investigated the system of lay patronage, and recommended a prudent acquiescence in a harmless anomaly, which on the whole acted well. The remainder of the Charge was taken up with the progress of National Education. Besides topics of which the immediate interest has now passed away, he pointed out what is still a difficulty in the administration of education grants, the inequality with which these grants fall on rich and poor localities. This was the year of revolutions, and the Charge ends with a passage of the most earnest eloquence on the fact that religion, besides its other claims, is the only political security.

The Charge of 1849 continued the discussion of the same subject. The Archdeacon pleaded for that which we should now be so glad to find—greater width and liberty in the management of schools in different localities and in different

circumstances. He objected to the arbitrary manner in which the Education minutes were passed through the Houses of Parliament, inconsistent with the proceedings of the Committee of Council; and he strongly protested, in consideration of the early age at which children left school, against the multiplication of subjects of instruction of which they could only obtain a smattering. He insisted that knowledge of Christianity and the English language are the true objects of elementary education. He pointed out that the certain result of impracticable standards of knowledge would be to gradually place education more and more upon the rates and taxes, and to oust voluntary effort from the field. He objected very strongly, in language which we should now be prepared to echo, against the unwholesome excitement produced by frequent inspections, and he warned the clergy, in language which in many cases has not been sufficiently regarded, that the best security against both cramming and parade would be their own frequent presence in their schools. The Charge had a most interesting appendix of nearly fifty pages of letters from clergymen, showing the actual results of the influence of the Church and Church schools, in the support of law and order, during the turbulent years immediately preceding.

The Charge of 1851 has a peculiar interest, as it gives the impressions of a shrewd and unbiassed mind (which had already exerted its strong Church loyalty as far back as the year 1833, in a volume of "Dissertations indicating the Church of England in respect of some Essential Points of Polity and Doctrine) on the general advance of the mediæval and Romanizing body within the Church of England, and in particular on the tempest of excitement which followed the Gorham judgment, which swept from the English communion Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester; Wilberforce, Archdeacon of the East Riding; Henry Wilberforce, and others. The Charge gives a brilliant and most artistic picture of the history of the "Tracts for the Times." It speaks in frank and weighty language of the evil of all party associations. He contrasts with great skill the protests of the earlier "Tracts for the Times" with their latest developments, and quotes with much effect the language of Mr. Dodsworth to Dr. Pusey, showing how far his teaching had brought him on the road to secession. In discussing the Gorham question of Baptismal Regeneration, the Charge points out that neither the Church of Rome nor the Church of England had ever strictly defined the amount of grace received in baptism; that the modern question of the nature of regeneration was not in any way before the Fathers, but simply an inquiry whether second baptism were possible. The question was really one of the absolute decrees of

predestination, about which the Church of Rome felt just as much perplexity as the Church of England. Regeneration, as a change of condition, did not imply that change of nature which belongs to conversion, and which is foreseen by predestination. The Church of England is sacramental, but sacramental in no exclusive sense. In concluding with the discussion of the subject of the recent Papal aggression, the Charge argued that the right weapons against Rome were the study of Scripture and zealous enthusiasm for Church extension amongst the poor, avoidance of sudden excitements and hasty pledges, and the cultivation, by the representative officers of the National Church, of the great duty of circumspection.

In the Charge of 1852 the Archdeacon discussed with great completeness the dangers of the revival of synodal action. He began by enumerating the advantages which the Church already enjoyed, and which synodal action could not touch. These were the authorized canon of Holy Scripture; the Authorized Version; the recognition of the inspiration of the Word of God by the Primitive Church faithfully embodied in the three Creeds, the Articles, the Liturgy and Catechism; the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Administration of the Sacraments, so complete in itself that the revision of it would be perilous in the extreme, and must be postponed, as Dr. South said, till a reviser should be found equal in ability, judgment, piety and learning to the original compilers; large endowments, and the spirit of general progress for Church extension and Church education. Synodal elections, he thought, would but increase party spirit; the history of synodal debates was the reverse of encouraging; the multiplication of doctrinal decrees was much to be deprecated; there were as many disputes inside Rome as out; as a specimen of clerical creed-making the Westminster Confession was deplorably narrow. Large assemblies were bad courts of appeal. In the present state of difficulty it was most undesirable that Convocation should attempt to legislate; the laity desired no revival in its powers; its mechanism was extremely antique; all kinds of hitches might be foreseen, and their recent experience of the party who were most desirous of the revival of Convocation was by no means of happy augury for its future.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

(To be continued.)



ART. IV.—THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

THE question to be discussed in the following paper is the genuineness and authenticity of the fifth book of the Pentateuch?

On taking up the Book of Deuteronomy with the view of subjecting its contents to examination, we are met at the very vestibule by the name that it bears; this has not always been the same. Among the ancient Israelites the Books of the Law were not so sharply distinguished from each other as in later years, but were generally known merely by the commencing words of each book. This begins with אלה הרברים, *Elleh hadd'bharrim*, "These are the words;" this was probably the earliest title. In after-ages the Jews called it משנה התורה, *Mishneh Hatto-rah*, "The repetition of the Law." From this the Alexandrian Jews, who were the translators of the LXX. Version, in all probability conferred upon this book the name *Δευτερονόμιον*, which was transliterated by St. Jerome when he edited the Latin Vulgate, and through this channel has been derived by us the familiar title of *Deuteronomy*.

It is not within the scope of this paper to furnish a summary of the contents of the book; we have simply to investigate its authorship and integrity. In reading its pages we cannot fail to be struck with the following features that stand out in bold relief. The book throughout professes to be the work of Moses. His name is found thirty-seven times on its pages. He makes a plain declaration over and over again, "The Lord spoke unto Moses and said." He treats of events that took place under his own eye and the eyes of his contemporaries. He appeals to his own personal authority and office, and the exercise and duration of the same. The truth of these statements has been called in question, and the book has been relegated either to Josiah and Hilkiah separately or conjointly, or to Jeremiah or some post-exilic scribe. The question therefore is, On which side does truth find rest for the sole of her foot? or in other words, Did God speak to Moses or not? did Moses deliver the speeches herein reported to the people? is this book veritable history? or, as has been advanced, a dramatic work founded on events of the Mosaic period? or is it the idealization, that is, a transference of after-thoughts to an early period? and was the name of Moses appropriated to give weight and win acceptance for its contents?

It will be well, at this point, to state the concessions, as some might term them, or rather rectifications, which it is

necessary to make. There can be little room to doubt that the original autograph of this, as of all the other ancient books of the Old Testament, has undergone revision from time to time at the hands of the schools of the prophets, and finally of Ezra at the return from the Babylonish Captivity, and that not only were explanations, historical, geographical, or otherwise, made in the form of marginal or foot-notes, as we should call them, which were grouped and, to the uninitiated eye, were identified with the text itself, but also that modifications of some passages in the original text were introduced, such as change of time and circumstance rendered advisable in a system of working laws. These editorial additions find an integral example in the last chapter. Such admissions as these relieve the text, as it now stands, of certain difficulties, but in nowise compromise the bulk of the text. The notes were made by competent, that is, by inspired authority, and were intended to elucidate the narrative, and they no more invalidate the original authorship than the notes of a commentary of the present day cancel the text which they endeavour to explain.

It will be most convenient to consider the objections raised against what may be termed the traditional view of this work under separate heads. The first is naturally the question of *authorship*.

With the exception of a few stray utterances of Aben Ezra in the twelfth century, the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, as well as of the preceding four books, was an unquestioned tenet of faith both in the Synagogue and the Church. The seventeenth century ushered in a new movement, and names, by no means savouring of reverence and piety, such as Hobbes and Spinoza, are found giving a certain amount of weight and authority to the nascent efforts to deprive the great Lawgiver of the honour which the foregoing centuries had held was his undisputed right. After this date the question broadened out to wide proportions; some started the theory that, as there is a striking similarity between the book of Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah, this portion of the Pentateuch must be attributed to that prophet; others, among whom Ewald must be numbered, ascribed the book to a writer of the times of Manasseh, when idolatry had secured so strong a footing in the kingdom of Judah, and others, again, have assigned the work to the days of Solomon. Kuenen and Wellhausen, whose labours have been received with a warm welcome among members of a certain school of critics in our own country, would allot to Deuteronomy some early materials which have been mixed up with the main body of the book, but they say that the form in which it has come down to us is

not older than the reign of Josiah; and many advocates of the rationalistic movement do not scruple to assert their conviction that Hilkiyah wrote the work and brought it to the king, Josiah, pretending that he had found it in the temple, or that the book was the joint work of the prophet and the king, got up by connivance, to meet a crisis that had arisen in the national affairs, or to bring about a revival of monotheism among the people, who had become almost universally addicted to idolatry. It will be seen that the attack has considerably changed front. The earlier critics post-dated Deuteronomy to a period long after Moses, but they held also that it was later than the other books of the Pentateuch. Most of the later critics, however, teach that this book, though a comparatively late production, was penned before the other portions of the Pentateuch. There are great names on both sides, hence we may gather that in such fundamental questions each critic followed his own subjectivity. If there had been any real internal evidence, there could have been no room for a difference of opinion on a point of so much importance. So much for the history of the movement.

Now, it is right that the strictest examination should be prosecuted when the highest claims are made by any authority upon our faith and our fears, and the same scrutiny should be exercised when such an authority is called in question; the arguments on both sides that should carry any amount of legitimate conviction should be either possible, or probable, or plausible; but short of this the verdict must be "not proven." But admitting that there are considerable difficulties in this, as in all other literary remains that have come down to us from remote ages, yet if we cast a truly critical eye over the evidence both internal and external, it will be evident that the surrender of the Mosaic authorship involves demands that are far more preposterous and incredible than any claim that is made upon our faith in accepting the traditional view.

One main characteristic of this book is solemnity. It comes into our presence like a figure draped in holy vestments, that fills the mind of the beholder with reverence and godly fear; but the new school demands a critical inspection of the pretentious *simulacrum*. It is stripped of its disguise and exposed to the gaze of theologians, students, and the Christian public at large, naked and bare, and behold! this awe-inspiring form, according to their verdict, is discovered to be not even a clever delusion to puzzle the wise, but only a mere scarecrow to intimidate the ignorant. The stately personage, that marches up and down the scene as a tender-hearted father breathing his dying exhortations into the ears of his children, is the design or the dream of a playwright,

and the awful admonitions conveyed in the ever-recurring "Thus saith the Lord," are not the veritable utterances of the Deity, but are simply supposititious strains, like the burden of a song or the empty echo of stage-thunder; they are only the words of a wily though well-intentioned priest, who may be placed on a level with an after-generation of false teachers, who imposed upon the faith and fears of the crowd with figures that winked their eyes or moved their limbs in obedience to the wires that were concealed under the skirts of their clothing. This may be a very unpalatable mode of exposing the tenets of the modern teachers, but can any honest or even plausible escape be found for those who hold that the book which contains the constantly-reiterated asseveration that God spoke these words to Moses, and that it was Moses who spoke in turn these words to the people, and details also other incidents of a strictly personal nature. was not written by Moses, and that God never spoke to him, and that all the contents of the book are due to the design of a writer hundreds of years afterwards, who imitated an archaic style, and arrayed his narrative in fictitious garniture, and performed the ruse so successfully that he deceived priests and people, kings and subjects, Rabbis and scribes, the Synagogue and the Church, Apostles and Evangelists, and critics and expositors, till the latest centuries of the Christian era, and then the plot was discovered, the lie detected, and the bubble burst? Well may we say "*Credat Judæus!*"

But to turn to some of the specific indictments that have been advanced. The charge of patent errors in this book has been brought against statements that are made concerning the geography and relative positions assigned to certain localities in the wilderness, and concerning the ethnography, the origin and distribution of other ancient tribes and nations. It is argued that neither Moses, nor any one of his time, could have penned these particulars, neither will they bear close examination, nor comparison with other statements which are contradictory. There is no need to crowd our pages by entering into these objections severally, as one simple, but to our mind complete, refutation disposes of them all in a mass. If anyone at any age after Moses had undertaken to write a pseudograph, or to palm off an idealistic romance upon the great name of Moses with a view of reproducing his personality, his character, his times, and his circumstances, he would have taken at least ordinary pains to have avoided so many difficulties; he would have kept silence about things concerning which he was totally ignorant or not quite sure; he would have made occurrences fit in with one another more mechanically, and not have bounded off at a tangent instead of keeping

on the safe boundary-line of the circle of known truth. Places, peoples, titles, names, dates, and events would have found an arrangement that would have witnessed to identity and not have suggested diversity; the writer would have saved the reader trouble instead of thrusting before him at every corner a stone of stumbling and rock of offence; there was no necessity for an imitator or an impostor, whatever object he might have in view, to introduce such matter, and it was far too dangerous ground to tread upon, as disproof, and that on a large scale, might spring up at any moment and from any quarter. The very discrepancies and difficulties introduced, that might have been avoided, furnish the best proof of the author's integrity. Had we all the facts in possession as he had, there is little reason to doubt that all that appears to us perplexing and enigmatical in a narrative so concise and fragmentary, and penned at so distant a date, was to the patriarchal author and to the people of his generation quite plain and correct, straight as a right line, and clear as a sunbeam.

Another general objection has been raised that Moses almost always is spoken of in the third person, which looks unmistakably as if another author were describing him, rather than that Moses is giving personal details respecting himself; but if we compare other books of the Bible, do we not find this to be a rule of great frequency? To say nothing of the superscriptions of the prophets, the titles of the psalms and the prefaces to the epistles, does not St. Matthew speak of himself as "a man sitting at the receipt of custom," St. Mark probably as "a young man having a linen cloth cast about his naked body," St. John as "the other disciple" or "the disciple whom Jesus loved," St. Paul as "a man caught up into paradise"? Such a mode of self-description by an author appears to have been one of universal usage. And we may add that our blessed Lord is reported by the Evangelists to have spoken of Himself constantly as "the Son of Man."

But further, if the author is Moses, the charge is preferred against him of speaking in most complimentary and self-adulatory terms about his own character and disposition, which is scarcely compatible with humility and decorum. We are very apt to transfer the manners and modes of speech and thought from the second millennium after Christ, and from a Western and Japhetic nation, to the second millennium before Christ, and to an Eastern and Semitic nation, entirely ignoring the wide difference that time and racial peculiarities must have introduced and stereotyped. All this plain speaking, both of themselves and others, was perfectly natural and according to established usage, and far removed from the conventionalities and "the pride that apes humility" of our

day. Why should we find a stumbling-block in a few phrases which, though they may savour of self-laudation in our ears, were perfectly true, and yet find none in the utterances of other writers of Holy Scripture, as of St. Paul, "As ye have us for an example;" "Those things which ye have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do"? or have we forgotten the words of the Great Exemplar of all, "I am meek and lowly in heart"? On the other hand, we may retaliate: If the praise of Moses forbids our believing him to be the author of this book, what shall we say of the dispraise that is awarded him in the same book? Would any other writer, usurping the authority of Moses and appropriating the glory of his name, have disclosed his faults and failings and recorded the sentence of his punishment? Surely a novelist would have avoided such a handicapping of his hero, and would rather have painted, in the most vivid colours, the climax of his career, and instead of concealing his remains in an unknown spot in the valley of Moab, would have borne him on a triumphal car through the fords of Jordan, and planted his feet safe within the precincts of the Promised Land.

A difference in the style of composition is urged: This objection partakes so much, wherever it is advanced, of a subjective character, that little dependence can be placed upon it, and indeed critics are, to a great extent, laying this weapon of warfare aside. A style which in the judgment of one critic is a proof of variety, is to another a proof of identity. The variation exists generally more in the mind of the reader than in that of the writer. Nevertheless, men in their old age, it is to be expected, modify the features of their composition; advancing life and ripening years produce a chastening effect on utterances that once burned with zeal, and passion gives place to pleading. Moreover, a difference in subject almost necessitates a difference in style. In other books of the Pentateuch Moses is the Leader and Lawgiver; his words must be definite and decided, they must command and enforce obedience in his hearers: but in this book the patriarch presents himself as a prophet, to warn of future dangers and depict future blessings, to win the hearts of the hesitating and the refractory with tears and touching appeals, as his form is about to vanish from their sight, and his voice dies away in his last farewell. Surely we might know that *Exodus*, with its authoritative behests, and *Numbers*, with its stern rebukes, must be couched in verbiage distinct from the elegiac valedictions of *Deuteronomy*.

Intimately connected with this question of style and character of composition is the theory that Deuteronomy must be the product of Jeremiah's pen, inasmuch as both the line of

thought and the language also frequently furnish a striking similarity to that prophet's undoubted writings. This leads us to ask the question: Who was the copyist, the Deuteronomist or the prophet? Let us seek an answer. Who was Jeremiah? He was a prophet, but he was also a priest; moreover, he was the son of a man called Hilkiyah; it is scarcely possible that this Hilkiyah was identical with the high priest who found the Book of the Law in the Temple in the days of Josiah, but it is by no means unlikely that the name points to some family connection between the prophet's father and the high priest. The fact that Jeremiah was a priest accounts readily for his knowledge of the book recently discovered in the Temple; and if the latter hypothesis is true, the strength of the argument is much enhanced. The prophet-priest, connected not only by official but by family ties, would naturally draw largely from these archives recovered by one of his own race and calling; and as the predicted judgments had sunk deeply into his heart, his mind would recur continually to the source of his information, and his language would take shape in the same or similar terms, as a sermon echoes and repeats the text on which it is founded. From a moral point of view this explanation of the similarity of style and diction between the two books is much more likely to be true, than to suppose it credible that Jeremiah wrote the Book of Deuteronomy and foisted it on the people as the work of Moses, and that the ruse was not discovered till the latter days of another dispensation by a comparison of the acknowledged and the pretended writings of the prophet. Moreover, from a critical point of view, even though it is admitted that a close relationship subsists between the phraseology of Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah, still, on the other hand, it is equally certain that the differences in phrase, in construction, and in dialect, are even more striking, so that, if weighed in the balance, the result of gain would largely be on the side of non-identity of authorship. Neither must it be forgotten that, if Jeremiah was the author, the book found in the Temple could neither be, nor contain, the Book of Deuteronomy; and again, it must be added that such a theory altogether negatives the still more impossible and profane theory, mentioned above, that the Book of Deuteronomy was the composition of Hilkiyah, with or without the assistance and connivance of King Josiah, to bring about a reformation among the people of Judah. Rationalistic theories are for the most part mutually destructive.

Among the many minor objections to the genuineness of this book, we may select as examples two of those most frequently raised against it. It is asserted that the priests are

called the "sons of Aaron" in the earlier portions of the Pentateuch, but the "priests the sons of Levi," or the "priests the Levites" in Deuteronomy. Many reasons have been advanced to account for this divergency. One of the most satisfactory is, that in the former books the classes which composed the clerical tribe were differentiated from each other, and in Deuteronomy the tribe itself was distinguished from the other tribes, that is, the clergy of all ranks from the rest of the tribes that formed the laity. But it may be suggested as a better explanation that the title "sons of Aaron" was in favour before the profane act perpetrated by Aaron's eldest sons in offering strange fire before the Lord, but after that sacrilege the portentous punishment of silence fell upon that name, and the tribe, rather than the family, furnished the badge that defined the priestly race. The other example is found in the laws which affected the imposition of tithes. We should have thought that the incidents of our own history, during the last half century or so, would have shown what variations both in assessing and collecting this payment may be legalized. Laws, laid down in the early years of the wandering in the wilderness, may well have been modified, added to, or even withdrawn, when the people were about to exchange the nomad for the settled life, and the fortuitous patch in the desert for the lot of a tribal and family inheritance. If we knew all the changes and chances of that period of unrest, the difficulties would vanish, which, after all, are not more puzzling than the Parliamentary Bills respecting the imposition, the levying, the commutation and the redemption of the tithe which have become, and are becoming, history in our own time and country. The above may serve as specimens of the objections that have been framed against the Mosaic authorship of this book. Want of space forbids extension in this direction.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that there is another side to this question; that is, that there are evidences both patent and latent which substantiate the unbroken tradition that Moses was fundamentally the author of Deuteronomy. In the former part of this paper a brief account was given of the rise and development of the theories that labour to controvert the Mosaic authorship of this book. But against these new-born efforts to disparage the archives of our faith, what a long and unbroken line of witnesses may be summoned to support the validity of the traditional view! We ask the Christian Church in all its branches, Eastern and Western, ancient, mediæval and modern, reformed and unreformed, what is the place in the Canon which universal consent has allotted to the book of Deuteronomy? and the answer is too well known to need repeating, and no voice has called that decision

in question till these latter days. We pass out of the precincts of the Church into the courts of the Synagogue, and the Jews scattered throughout all the lands of their dispersion proclaim the same verdict as the Church. We consult the Massoretic text, which was fixed by the Rabbis about the sixth century according to the most ancient traditions of their fathers, that when their schools were broken up, and communication between distant settlements intercepted, all might possess the same form of the written Word, and the Hebrew Bible thus edited bears witness that Moses was the author of Deuteronomy, as of the other books of the Pentateuch. We inspect the pages of their great historian, Josephus, who flourished between 38 and 100 A.D., and we read in *Antiq.*, iv. 8, a most graphic paraphrase of this book, in which Moses is declared to be the author. We open the works of the great Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, Philo, who lived some years before the birth of Christ, and survived the date of the Crucifixion a few years, and we find a like testimony. We trace our steps further into the recesses of the past. The LXX. Version was undertaken about 280 B.C. It is from this source that we derive the familiar name of this book, *Deuteronomy*. It is classed with the other books of the Pentateuch, and is clearly accepted as the composition of Moses. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a valuable witness also. Whether this copy of the Law was in possession of the ten tribes from the day of their disruption, or whether it was compiled when the temple on Mount Gerizim was built—to take the two most extreme opinions—at all events this book forms the same integral portion of the Samaritan Pentateuch that it does in the Hebrew Bible, and that before the LXX. Version was made. The opinion that the Pentateuch was preserved among the ten tribes, however its commands were neglected, is by far the most probable both on external and internal grounds, and if so this testimony is of very ancient date. But if the latest date is accepted, it will bring us almost to the period which those that advocate a post-exilic origin for this work have fixed for its composition. Would the hostile Samaritans have accepted so recent an addition to the Jewish literature, whose text they felt constrained to alter in some places? would they not have rejected it altogether, and by that rejection have exposed the imposture? Thus this theory at least receives its death-blow. Still further, it may be urged that there are numerous passages in the prophets and the psalms that go far to show that this book was in existence and well known and esteemed as one of the foundation-stones of the temple of revelation. To these evidences must be added the express testimony of the New Testament Scriptures. St.

Paul, who was well versed in the sacred lore and traditions of his people, quotes the book of Deuteronomy and attributes it to Moses (Rom. x. 5-8 and 19). St. Stephen, when standing arraigned before the Sanhedrim, spoke "with wisdom and the Spirit," and he testified, "This is that Moses which said unto the children of Israel, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you," etc., thus stamping with his authority the Mosaic authorship of this book (Acts vii. 37 and Deut. xviii. 15 and 18). St. Peter also quotes the same notable prophecy and connects it with the name of Moses (Acts iii. 22). And it may be observed, in passing, that these undoubted authorities in the word and doctrine apply this prophecy to One, and to One alone, the promised Messiah, and do not evaporate the force and point of the prediction, as so many moderns seek to do, by thrusting a plural sense upon a singular noun, which is contrary to both the text and context. It is true that a singular generic noun sometimes represents a plural idea, but certainly not always, and the context settles the question that it cannot be so here, for then, beyond legitimate doubt, the pronominal suffixes that follow would have been plural. But more, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself made frequent use of this book. It was from this quiver that He drew the arrows by which He repelled the tempter in the wilderness; and when the Lord would set forth the first commandment of all, He cited the well-known formula of the Creed of Israel, "Jehovah, our God, Jehovah is One" (Mark xii. 29 and Deut. vi. 4). Surely the Lord would never have countenanced and honoured a mere religious romance; and who will dare to say "the Lord God of the holy prophets" did not know the authorship of the inspired writings? Side by side with these testimonies we must place the witness of the work itself, such as the constantly-repeated "the Lord spake to Moses," and that Moses acted as a mediator and interpreter to the people, the various places visited by the wanderers, the sights they saw, and the circumstances experienced. All these are detailed with a minuteness that could only be in the power of an eye-witness.

The cumulative force of all these arguments, each strong in itself, and irrefragable when taken together, compels us to form but one conclusion, that the book of Deuteronomy was substantially the work of Moses. Let the above suffice for declarative testimony. Our attention may now be directed to certain evidences that present themselves in the book itself. No one who reads Deuteronomy can fail to see that the most clearly-pronounced purpose which the writer had in view was the prevention and suppression of idolatry. He points out the heinousness of this sin, and the deadly results that follow our

defection from God and submission to idols. He reminds the people of their apostasy in making the molten calf, and the hot displeasure of the Almighty that arose against them; he bids them remember their turning aside unto Baal-peor and the destruction that ensued; but why does he stop at this period of Israel's history? Why, if the book was written in the time of Jeremiah or after the Captivity, was no mention made of Jeroboam, who "made Israel to sin" by the setting up of the calves at Dan and Bethel? and why is he silent about the judgments that were predicted, and the fulfilment of the same in the days of Josiah? Why did he pass over the outburst of idolatry under Ahab and Jezebel, and the signal victory achieved by Elijah? And why, may we demand further, is there no reference made to the provocations of Manasseh that were culminating, or had already culminated, in the banishment to Babylon? Why were these examples, which would have served the writer's purpose so well, withheld? Surely no other answer can be forthcoming than that these episodes in Israel's history had not yet taken place—they lay in the depths of a distant future, and the author confined his examples within the limits of his own knowledge and experience.

Again, in the blessings pronounced upon the tribes of Israel, could a Jewish writer at a late date have penned such a panegyric upon the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh, to say nothing of the other tribes after the apostasy under Jeroboam and after the leading into captivity of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser? The thing is incredible.

Moreover, if the work were devised by Hilkiyah and Josiah, or if written by Jeremiah or some Jew of the Captivity, could any such recent composition have had any influence upon the then present generation or a closely subsequent one? Either the book would be known to be a pretentious publication or not; if the origin was not known, the success of the work would consist in a misrepresentation—in a falsehood, and if it were known, respect and reverence for its contents would be impossible.

Among all evidences none are so valuable, because convincing, as those that are undesigned. Men speak and write naturally about things which are around them, and their experience prompts the choice of the facts which they relate and the features of those facts. Out of a number of such testimonies one or two examples may be selected. One characteristic of this book forces itself on the observation of the most careless reader, the greatness and grandeur of the cities and houses of the land which God had promised Israel.

"The cities" of the Amorites "are great, and walled up to heaven," i. 28. And those of Bashan are "fenced with high walls," iii. 5. Would a writer accustomed to the palaces of Jerusalem or the noted walls of Babylon have selected this feature for emphatic demonstration? But how suitable is such a description in the mouth of one who was addressing those who had for forty years bivouacked in tents or sought shelter in the limestone rocks in the wilderness? Again, why should a writer of the date of the exile contrast the land of Canaan with Egypt, and the mode of cultivation there, xi. 10? Such an one must have been familiar with the agriculture of Assyria, and not of Egypt, but restore the author to the place and period which he claims, and all falls into shape and is intelligible. Would the threatening of the diseases of Egypt (vii. 15 and xxviii. 60) be quoted as a warning to a people who were just going into captivity at Babylon, or had just returned from thence? Surely the horrors that were fresh in their memory would have been far better calculated to furnish the salutary lesson of obedience. There have been enumerated in this book nearly forty allusions to ancient Egypt and the circumstances of Israel in connection with that country, and not one reference is traced to Assyria and Israel's bondage there. It is but a feeble criticism advanced by one of the most prominent leaders of the modern school that the writer very successfully imitated the style and surroundings of the Lawgiver whose name he assumes. We have the high authority of one of the most popular writers of this century that a man may call his house an island if he likes; so some may be found who call this subterfuge criticism, but it certainly is neither common-sense nor truth.

Another incidental argument may be gathered from the fauna of the desert. No higher authority on matters connected with the natural history of Bible lands can be cited than that of Canon Tristram. In his address at the Church Congress of 1890 he said :

In the lists of animals there occur nine in Deuteronomy which do not appear in Leviticus. Of these, five or six at least, probably more, are creatures which do not, and never could have, lived in the rich valley of the Nile, or in wooded or hilly Palestine. They are not named in Leviticus, because, immediately after the Exodus, these antelopes and desert denizens were strange to the Israelites. But after thirty-nine years had been passed in their haunts, they must have been familiar with them all. Is it conceivable that any writer of the later monarchy should have inserted in his catalogue animals which he could never have seen or known but by report? What could Hilkiah or Jeremiah have known of the desert? The Jews were neither travellers nor curious observers of nature. It seems impossible that the list could have been compiled at any other period or in any other place than when and where it purports to be, just before the entrance into the Land of Promise.

As an expansion of the argument from natural history, we may refer to a proof proposed in a former paper. Attention may be called to the tree of which the ark was made. "And I made an ark of *Shittim* wood," says the author of Deuteronomy, x. 3. This is in exact accordance with Ex. xxv. 10. What was this tree? It appears always (with one exception, Isa. xli. 19) in the plural form. The woodwork of the tabernacle and its furniture was framed from this tree, which is one of the species of acacia that abounded in Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula. At the first mention of this tree, however, in Ex. iii. 2, it bears a different name, it is called *Seneh*, which is translated in our versions "bush." Now this word is Egyptian, not Hebrew, in origin; it is found in papyri of the nineteenth dynasty, a period about contemporaneous with Moses. There is only one other place in Scripture where this word is found, and that is in Deut. xxxiii. 16, which is a clear reference to the above Divine manifestation, in the blessing pronounced by Moses over the descendants of Joseph, "the blessing of Him that tabernacled in the bush." *Seneh* and *Shittim* are both names of the same tree, but the former is Egyptian and the latter a Hebrew translation, or perhaps transliteration of it, for some are of opinion that the original word *sent* or *sunt* was converted into *shittah* by the dropping of the sound of the letter which is represented by *n*. However this may be, the word was one that belonged to the old Egyptian language, which in some way became popularized among the Hebrews in the well-known form of *Shittim*, which is preserved throughout the sacred books from those early days downwards. Could, we may ask, the ancient word *Seneh* have been revived or brought into use at a late period of Israel's history, when we are told that they were fast losing even their own Hebrew tongue and lapsing into an Aramaic dialect? No word can bear with it a plainer history, or fix more accurately the date of its use and disuse. It would be natural enough in the mouth of the Israelites just come out of Egypt, where the name of a common tree was familiar, and its corruption into the other form would follow easily the ordinary fate of words in frequent use, but to resuscitate the foreign word, and that in its archaic form, in the days of the exile would be a perfect incongruity and contrary to all philological experience.

This leads us to a kindred line of evidence derived from certain words and forms of words found in this book. It is well known that Hebrew was formerly written in the arrow-headed or Phœnician character, such as is seen on the Moabite Stone, and the one recently discovered at the pool of Siloam, and that this was exchanged for the square character now in

use some time after the exile. The exact date of this alteration is not known, though there are reasons for believing that it was at a later period than has generally been received; the process was very likely gradual. It was at this epoch in the history of the Old Testament text that the Scribes exhibited a great genius for caligraphy, and probably introduced, certainly accentuated, that special care and reverence for the letter of their Scriptures, for which the Jewish people have been celebrated ever since, and for which the Church of Christ owes them a vast debt of gratitude. It may be accepted as a certain truth that, although the shape of the letters was considerably modified and changed, the words themselves suffered little or no disturbance, as the purpose which the copyists had at heart was the preservation and perpetuation of the archives of their nation as they had come down to them from their fathers. If, therefore, there were in the ancient text any peculiar or distinguishing words or forms of words, or variations in grammar or spelling, these would be reproduced faithfully in the transcript. It will be at once apparent that evidence of this kind is of no small value in fixing both the date and the authorship of any literary relic. Philological weapons are held in high esteem by our critics, and it is not fair on their part to repudiate their use when inconvenient to them. Lists of words and forms peculiar to the Pentateuch generally, and to Deuteronomy in particular, may be consulted in most critical commentaries, such as those of Delitzsch, Keil, Wordsworth, and in the Dictionary of the Bible. One or two may be mentioned which commend themselves most readily to the English reader. It is said that the neuter pronoun "its" is not found in our language before the period of the later Stuarts; the masculine form "his" was in use previously for both the masculine and neuter, as may be seen throughout our Authorised Version of the Bible. Now, if we were to open a book and find this word, we should fix the date of its composition posterior to that period, and *vice versa* if we found it lacking and the other taking its place. To apply a similar test, in Hebrew $הוּ$, *hu*, signifies *he*, and $הִי$, *he*, signifies *she*, but in the Pentateuch the former word covers both genders, it signifies both *he* and *she*; but in all the other books of the Bible this form is restricted to the masculine, and the latter is employed for the feminine. The solitary form is, of course, a proof of antiquity, and this form is found in the feminine sense no less than thirty-six times in Deuteronomy, and as this use is confined to the Pentateuch, we have a proof that this book is of the same date as the residue, and that that date is an early one, and could not by any possibility be postponed to the period of the exile. Akin to this, the same Hebrew word $נָעַר$,

na'ar, stands in Deuteronomy, as well as in the other books of the Pentateuch, for both *lad* and *lass*, with one solitary exception; but the feminine form נַעֲרָה, *na'arah*, is employed for that sex in all other parts of the Bible. This is another evidence of an early age. A word which must have been of frequent use among a nomad race signifying a *sheep*, presents the archaic form of כֶּשֶׁב, *keseb*, in this and the other Mosaic books, but in all others the two last letters are transposed כֶּבֶשׂ, *kebes*. Many other distinctive marks in the phraseology and verbiage might be adduced which go far to show that Deuteronomy is one of the five sisters which constitute the Pentateuchal family, and that the period which witnessed their birth is that which is denoted in the register of Israel's earliest records, and witnessed by the handwriting and signature of no other author than Moses.

This is but a brief sketch of a controversy of no small importance. The alteration of a date or ascription of a book to an author other than the one universally accepted may appear at first sight a matter of little moment, but it involves so much that must follow. If this book be an allegory, a myth, or an idealization, a drama, or a deception, or in plain speech, a forgery, perpetrated, though it may be, with the best intentions, why should not the other books of the Bible, Old and New Testament alike, be called into like question and doubt? It is mere mockery to profess loudly faith in the Incarnation, and then to cut away all the foundation on which the doctrine rests. If this book and the residue of the Pentateuch be reduced to dust and ashes in the fires of sceptical criticism, how can we believe and reverence the witness of Him who said, "Moses wrote of Me;" and "if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe My words"?

F. TILNEY BASSETT.



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

No. 3.

VER. 12. *Jesus says to them, Come, break your fast. None of the disciples ventured to question Him, Who art thou? knowing that it is the Lord. So Jesus comes, and takes the bread and gives it to them, and the fish in the same way. This was the now third manifestation of Jesus to his disciples, as risen from the dead.*

The fishes were numbered, and Peter's work was done.

And now the solemnly reticent Master speaks again; and with the word *He* approaches (ver. 14) the fire, evidently from a position beyond it, as the disciples looked from the beach landwards. And as they sit near Him He personally dispenses the morning meal. Apparently it was a silent time. A spell was upon the Seven; a sense of awe even greater than on former occasions of interview in these blessed days. And no wonder; for at each successive time, surely, something said to them as they looked and listened that the Lord was nearer to His glory.

So He, none other than Himself, and by no intermediary, fed them. And He is the same still. From some points of view there is and must be much intermediate agency in the carrying about in the world the message and the ordinances of the Lord. Men must translate the Scriptures, and labour in their publication and exposition. Men must minister to other men the sealing Rites of the blessed message. But in the ultimate truth of the matter nothing but Christ is the soul's aliment, and none but Christ, in the work of His Holy Spirit, is the Host, the Provider and Dispenser of Himself. "I will come in, and will sup with him, and he with me."

This then was the third appearance, the third time. The statement is meant, of course, to stand in relation to the whole of this Johannine narrative of the Resurrection period. It thus means obviously that this was the third appearance to any considerable gathering of the disciples, as on the Easter evening and on that day week, when Thomas was brought to believe. Neither John nor the Synoptists record, for certain, any other appearance to a company beside these three occasions and—what surely followed later than this—the meeting on the Galilean mountain (Matt. xxviii.), and then the meeting before and at the Ascension. This "third time" needs notice only as an example of the way in which Scripture expects us, if I may say so, to use our common sense in its explanation. Pressed literally, these words of St. John may seem to contradict other records. Taken with remembrance of the context, which the thoughtful reader is assumed to remember, the agreement with the whole record is complete.

Such, then, was that third interview. There sate that favoured group before the Master, on the grassy border of the lake, in the stillness of the morning, after the night of toil; and "ate and drank with Him after He had risen from the dead," and knew it was He. A silence, as we have said, seems to lie upon them. It was a silence of awe, yet also of rest. In that hour they asked Him nothing, because they saw, because they knew.

Toil was over, and so also was unconsciousness of His

presence, and doubt about it. There is much in the whole fair scene to make us believe it to be, besides its inestimable value as a record of fact, a picture drawn by the Saviour's own hand of the eternal festival beyond the waves of labour and strife, where "they hunger and thirst no more," and where yet "the Lamb shepherds them, and leads them to the living fountains." That blissful hour "is prepared as the morning," silently as the rising of the day, but as surely too, it is coming, it will be here. Shall we not all be found there through grace, leaving the night and the deep behind us, and feeling the Sun of eternal joy upon us and on the land of our desire, as we feast in and on the manifested presence of the beloved Lord?

But St. John leaves the lesson, the mystery, to be drawn out by the reader, and passes on at once.

Ver. 15. *So when they had broken their fast, Jesus says to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonah, am I dear to you more than to these? He says to Him, Yes, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He says to him, Feed my lambs. Again He says to Him, a second time, Simon, son of Jonah, am I dear to you? He says to Him, Yes, Lord. Thou knowest that I love Thee. He says to him, Shepherd my dear sheep (προβάτια). He says to him the third time, Simon, son of Jonah, do you love me? Peter was pained that He said to him the third time, Do you love me? And he said to Him, Thou knowest (οἶδας) all things; Thou seest (γινώσκεις) that I love Thee. Jesus says to him, Feed my dear sheep.*

The silent meal was over, then, and Jesus speaks. He speaks so as indeed to answer fully the unspoken question, had they felt it stir within them. *Who art Thou?* He who now speaks is indeed the LORD.

Peter is addressed. He has been already conspicuous in the scene; plunging into the lake while the others row shoreward, climbing into the beached boat and drawing in the net. Now he is singled out to be for a while the one figure, with Jesus, in our view. And this is done (the Lord often does so still in His grace and providence) so as to leave the disciple at once humble and happy.

We may suppose that Peter needed both humiliation and happiness specially just then. His haste to reach the shore may have had in it some slight trace of personal display of devotion. And on the other hand there was a deep wound in his soul, left by the denials of that remembered and recent night of terror. In the complexities of that human heart there was possible room for both feelings at once; for a yielding once more to a self-asserting impulse and for a sore sickness of soul in memory and conviction. Self-assertion and inmost sadness

sometimes lie near together. And to both maladies the blessed Lord knows how to apply His searching, healing hand.

We are not to think that this was the first moment of Peter's restoration and acceptance. He was present on both the previous occasions when Jesus had met His disciples and had blessed them with His peace. He had enjoyed one secret interview, on the great Easter Day itself; "*the Lord appeared unto Simon*;" an appearance which assuredly conveyed to the penitent Apostle, *in private*, a blessed restoration. But very deep griefs, especially of the conscience, may well ask for more than a solitary act and word of reassurance. In his pain and exhaustion the sufferer is thankful if the message may be "doubled unto him." And besides, in this case, the secret welcome back and the general benediction could not fully take the place of a public reinstatement of the lapsed Apostle, in view of his association with his brethren and, in some sense, leadership amongst them.

So the Lord deliberately and solemnly restored him, with His own lips, and before six apostolic witnesses. The mighty wound needed a proportionate remedy. And the remedy was to be such as to remind him for ever of his snares and his weakness, that he might watch and stand.

"*Simon, son of Jonah, am I dear to you?*"

"Simon, son of Jonah." It is almost exactly the same phrase as that used in St. John's first chapter (verse 48), only a little briefer, by the omission of *νίός*, as was natural in a direct appellation. The appellation occurs nowhere else in this Gospel, often as Peter is referred to in its narratives. The use of the words here is assuredly by design, and observable; the Lord uses on purpose in this restitution of the Apostle the name which He had used at his institution. He reminds Peter thus that he must be content to start anew, to begin again as the catechumen; not Cephas now, not Peter now, but just Simon, Jonah's son.

And the question put by the Lord is as elementary as the appellation: *ἀγαπᾷς με πλείον τούτων*; "*Do you love me more than these others do?*" It is possible, grammatically, I hardly need say, to explain the Greek either thus, or "*Do you love me more than you love these men?*" But surely of the two renderings the latter is not to the purpose of the occasion. Nothing in the narrative suggests any special need that the Lord should, as it were, lay His hand on Peter and ask him if he could prefer Him to his apostolic friends. But the other explanation fits exactly into the picture as we have it: "*Is your love to me warmer, stronger, higher than theirs?*" The old weakness of Peter's heart was its tendency to profess a peculiar and superior love. "*Though all should deny Thee, yet*

will not I; I will never be offended." So he had said just before his fall; self-assertion had gone before, close before, what had indeed seemed to be his utter ruin. He had not been willing to love, to trust, to follow, quite simply; he must needs do so with a mind full of estimates of comparison favourable to himself: "my love, my obedience, see what they are; admire the devoted Apostle!" It is a mysterious possibility, the lingering of such thoughts in the same soul which at the same time in a measure feels, and utters, true love to its Redeemer. But it is as true as it is mysterious. And what shall be the antidote? Nothing but such a God-given view of Him in His beauty and glory as shall draw the soul clear off from its centre in itself to rest, not in an abstract self-oblivion, but in Him. To shake off the consciousness of our personality is the dream of the pantheist. The self-denial of the Gospel comes when the individual so sees and receives Christ that He occupies and fills the personality with the power and peace of His living presence. Then, indeed, it lives; lives individually, lives with rich developments of character, yet lives purely and simply, because in and by the Lord. The more it is thus with the man the less will he be betrayed into the hollow and unhappy thought, "I love Him better than others do; I serve more, I bear more in His name, than others."

Such surely, be it said with all reverence for the blessed Apostle's sacred memory, had been the special risk for St. Peter. And upon this now the Master lays His firm and loving hand, in the question: "*Am I dear to you, more than to these?*"

I venture to render ἀγαπᾶς με thus: "*Am I dear to you?*" It may at least remind us that there *is* a difference here in the Greek words rendered "love" in our version: ἀγαπᾶν, φιλεῖν. But it can only express imperfectly the generally recognised distinction, that ἀγαπᾶν, on the whole, denotes the more deliberate affection and φιλεῖν the warmer emotion. Archbishop Trench gives careful attention to the distinction in his *New Testament Synonyms*, a book which is often the best of commentaries on a difficult text; and his conclusion is as I have just said. Thus here the Lord asks the Apostle, in His first two queries, whether he loves Him in the clear, exalted way of the soul's full choice and calm satisfaction, and the Apostle, surely as owning himself unworthy to assert so serene and sublime an affection, feeling himself inadequate to it, sinner that he is, replies in the other word, so warm, so personal, but also humble; *φιλεῶ σε*, I love Thee with my poor heart's love. My paraphrase does but doubtfully express this, but it can point to it. Let me only add, as regards the study of the two words, that the distinction is by no means to be pressed generally.

The two verbs, when either occurs apart, are apt each to absorb something of the other's meaning. It is when placed together, as here, that their distinction must be carefully remembered.

"*Simon, son of Jonah, am I dear to you?*" So says the Lord Jesus twice over to His servant. Am I dear to you? Does your heart, with a strong, full choice of love and gladness, choose me? Does it rest in Me, as all its salvation and also as all its desire? *Ἀγαπᾷς με*; Wonderful question! We cannot but remark it, as we pass on, as an instance of the mysterious, persistent "self-assertion" of the Lord. He mentions not the word GOD. It occurs but once in this chapter, and then not in His utterances. It is "I," "me," "till I come," "my sheep," "my lambs," "lovest thou me?" Observe this with reverent attention. It is one of the deepest implicit proofs of the Divine Oneness of the Father and the Son, this tone and claim of the Son about Himself which, but for the truth of the *Homöision*, the Co-essentiality, would be nothing else than the intrusion of an alien medium between the soul and the Maker, the claim of a love for the creature, however exalted a creature this might be, which is due only to the Creator, who is blessed for ever.

"Am I dear to thee, in the dearness of this lofty affection, this *ἀγάπη*?" Wonderful question, let us say again; wonderful from this other point of view, that it shows such a care on HIS part for the love of such poor hearts as ours. It is indeed lovable in JESUS CHRIST that He loves us to love Him; that it is something to HIM that the sinful human being who a few weeks earlier had denied acquaintance with Him should return now, not with terror and despair, but with love, to His blessed side. "Give me thine *heart*" is the most searching, as it is the most characteristic, of the demands of the God of Revelation, of the God of Christ, of Christ the Son of God. But it is also a demand infinitely amiable. He who thus asks for the gift of the heart has on His part a heart to give. "Lovest thou Me? I care that thou shouldst love Me. Read in My question the truth, the certainty, that I loved thee, that I love thee."

Let me quote the words of one of the greatest of modern preachers, as he was one of the most devoted and loving of modern believers, Adolphe Monod; words in his Sermon entitled, *Dieu demandant le cœur à l'Homme*: "No other religion presents anything which resembles this invitation to give God the heart. Give me thy observances, says the God of Pharisaism. Give me thy personality, says the God of Hegel. Give me thy reason, says the God of Kant. . . . It remains for the God of Jesus Christ to say, give me thy heart. . . . He makes it the essence

and the glory of His doctrine. With Him, to give the heart to God is not merely an obligation of piety; it is its root, its beginning, its middle, and its end. It is the unmistakable feature (*le caractère non équivoque*) of a genuine conversion. You tell me that a man believes the gospel of grace; he does well, but does he believe it with a living faith? You tell me that he is in the front of every Christian effort; ay, but does he bring with him a Christian spirit? But tell me that he has given his heart to God, and every other question is superfluous. Faith, works, grace, holiness, the new creation, all is there. Will you enter on the possession?"

"Am I dear to you?" Such was the question put by Jesus to Peter, on the shore, by the fire, in the presence of Peter's six listening friends. It was a strangely searching moment. The night was over, with all its movements, its excitements, its lassitude; his stirring, leading spirit is for a while in check; and now, before his Master and his friends, he is faced by this question altogether of the heart, the inner heart, not of the outer act: "Am I dear to you?" Let us sit reverently down beside the Apostle, and humbly put ourselves also in the line of that question. Let us often listen for it; and not least after some hour of vivid interest, of strong exertion, of rich intercourse. Then, if ever, let us sit down before the Lord and hear Him say, "Am I dear to you?" Do not ask others whether they think you love Christ. Let Christ ask you. Friends will be very kind and indulgent in their answers for us; at least, so it will be if they are themselves humble believers. They will give us more than full credit for every work we try to do under the banner of religion, for every sacrifice we seem to make in a Christian cause. Yes, they will be kind; and so will the Lord Jesus be. Only, He will be omniscient also, and will not for a moment mistake act for motive, hand for heart. When He puts the question, we shall have to reply with Peter, *Lord, Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest—what shall it be?—that I love Thee?* Why should it not be so? If you love, not worthily (impossible) but really, you may surely *know* it. And why not love really? Nothing can prevent it but blindness to what Jesus Christ is, oblivion of what Jesus Christ is and does for you.

Oh, sweet it is to know, most simply, that the soul loves Him; not as it should love Him, truly, and not "more than these," with a glance of self-consciousness around; but that indeed it does love Him—whether *ἀγαπᾶ* or *φιλᾶ* be its chosen word.

St. Peter, happily, could answer at once, before his Lord and his companions, *Yes, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. Φιλᾶ σε.* The stress is on *φιλᾶ*, not on *σε*. And the *φιλᾶ* is

emphatic, as I have said above; it indicates a certain avoidance of the other verb. "I love Thee, with such love as this poor heart can feel. I speak not of the heights of heavenly affection now. But Thou knowest, my Lord, my Saviour, that I do love Thee with most personal devotion."

No utterance could have been more beautifully in keeping with that hour of mysterious agitation and solemn joy. It was otherwise with Peter in later days. In his first epistle, that golden document of the Gospel, he says without reserve, of all true believers, "*Him having not seen ye love*" (ἀγαπάτε). But here, by the lake, what could have been more true to all the wonderful surroundings than this φιλω σε? And we observe that the Lord, in His third inquiry, concedes this word to the Apostle: He meets him, He condescends to him, half-way. "*Simon, son of Jonah, do you love me? φιλεῖς με*; I note your chosen word; I understand your choice; and now I am content to put my question in your way. I ask you now for one final assurance thus—φιλεῖς με?"

Let us too hear our blessed Master put to us His question in those terms. If indeed φιλεῖν is in so far lower than ἀγαπᾶν that it indicates less of insight and more of emotion, yet the word, though lower by comparison, is in itself a precious word. "Do you feel a loving affection for me?" Do we? Are we not somewhat too easily content to dispense with that experience? In a just anxiety not to build our salvation on our feelings (and indeed we need to be very clear upon that matter) let us not forget the other side. Let us not forget that exactly because our peace is built not on our feelings but on our most adorable and loving Lord, therefore it is for us to draw from it, in the glad necessity of a true spiritual sequence, the result of an ardent affection in the inmost heart.

I love Thee for the glorious worth
 In Thy great Self I see;
 I love Thee for the shameful cross
 Thou hast endured for me.

If we believe, if we enter into the truths, let me say, of the Nicene Creed, that blessed summary of truth and love, worthy of often repetition in private, as well as before the Table of the Lord, shall not the words of our confession of His Name be inbreathed all through with the secret consciousness, strong and reverently tender, ἀγαπῶ σε, Κύριε, φιλω σε, Κύριε?

I have not attempted to take up *seriatim* the three questions and three answers. The *thrice*-repeated inquiry seems to carry so manifest a reference to the threefold denial, and a reference of that suppressed and implicit kind characteristic of St. John's record, that it is surprising that a doubt should

ever have been cast on the reference. What to my own mind makes the reference certain is the whole character of the scene. It is a solemn reinstatement of St. Peter, not merely into right relations with his Master generally, but into apostolic relations with Him. Certainly it was *not* a commission to him to be the Prince of the Apostles, the universal Bishop.¹ Were it so, Peter was most unfaithful to his commission; for never, by written word or recorded deed, did he claim even the shadow of such a power. But the saint, though he receives no commission here to be lord over his brethren, does receive a threefold assurance of his full restoration to a sacred place among his brethren. "Be a feeder of my lambs, the weak, the young; be a tending watchman of my dear flock. In all the fulness of the privilege, the labour, and the peril, be again my own Apostle, till at the last you are my Martyr."

I must not at present follow out further the details of this part of the passage. I close now with one obvious remark of application to ourselves. The Lord's questions to Peter about love to Himself are each at once followed by a command, a command to help the souls of others. From this, two reflections naturally arise, and with them we will once more withdraw for a season from that holy group on the Galilean beach.

First, the great qualification for work for Christ in the hearts of others is love to Christ in the worker's heart, real, personal love in the conscious individual experience.

Then, secondly, where that love is present, kindled by His free and wonderful love to us, there we may expect as the sure sequel that some work for Him in the hearts of others will be put by Him into our hands. He lights the holy flame. He also lays on the fuel which will draw out its life and power.

Happy the Christian who, in the path not of self-choice but of the guidance of God, finds evermore both truths exemplified; love of the Saviour animating work for Him, work for Him giving movement and expansion and permanence to the sense of love.

H. C. G. MOULE.

. In the previous number, p. 245, line 16 from the foot of the page, "quite full, quite full," is a *lapsus plumæ* for "quite full."—H. C. G. M.

¹ It is curious to read here in M. Lasserre's often excellent modern French rendering of the Gospels the significant words, *Sois le pasteur de mes agneaux, Sois le pasteur de mes brebis.*

Notes on Bible Words.

No. VI.—“STRIFE” (PARTY-SPIRIT).

IN that welcome work, “Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy,” by the late Bishop of Durham (Macmillan and Co.), appears a striking comment on Philip. ii. 3: *Μηδὲν κατὰ ἐριθείαν μηδέ κικυρόμην κενοδοξίαν.* *Do nothing of party-spirit nor yet of vain glory* The Bishop wrote:

Two distinct habits of mind are here condemned and rejected. . . . What are these two tempers which the Apostle condemns as influencing action in a perverted way? . . . the spirit which unduly exalts party, and the spirit which unduly exalts self . . . They are two species of the same genus.

The one is *ἐριθεία*. I need not remind you that this word is confused with *ἐρις*, and translated “strife” in the Authorised Version. But its true significance is thus obliterated, and the force of the passage before us disappears. It denotes the temper, habit, principle of action of the *ἐριθοῦς*, the hireling, the hired servant, the hired canvasser, the hired partisan. Thus it designates party-spirit generally; for, though no actual money may have passed into his hands, the partisan consciously or unconsciously is influenced by the motive of gain. It may be influence or success or reputation or the getting one’s own way or the humiliation of one’s enemies or some other low aim. But in some form or other, gain to self through the triumph of party is the underlying motive. Though the direct object is not self, yet ultimately this spirit may be traced to self.

But in the other word, *κενοδοξία*, self is the immediate as well as the ultimate aim. The whole motive concentrates itself on self. It is the inflated estimate of one’s own ability, one’s own reputation, one’s own position and importance.

In his surroundings at Rome, when he penned this letter to the Philippians, St. Paul saw the evils of party-spirit. There were those who preached Christ *ἐξ ἐριθείας*:² envy stimulated their zeal; the triumph of their party stood first.

This *ἐριθεία*, continues Bishop Lightfoot,

is especially dangerous, because it masks itself and disguises its true character. . . . It may display its activity in the dissemination of the truth, or in the defence of the Church of God. Where, for instance, do we find more painful and extravagant exhibition of it than in the great Councils of the Church? . . . This party spirit is the last infirmity of the religious man, the devoted, and zealous follower of Christ, follower at least (at however great a distance) in His zeal and self-devotion; but not follower in His wide sympathy, not follower in His large charity, not follower in His concessive, indulgent moderation, His *ἐπιείκεια*, which is the direct negation of partisan zeal.

We have simply quoted. The student will compare Rom. ii. 8; 2 Cor. xii. 20; Gal. v. 20; Jas. iii. 14 and 16.

¹ “The correct reading. . . . In the common text,” says the Bishop, “the distinction is more or less obliterated.”

² Philip. i. 16, “preach Christ of contention,” A. V.; *out of a spirit of faction.*

Short Notices.

The Dawn of the English Reformation: its Friends and its Foes. By HENRY WORSLEY, M.A., Vicar of Ashford Bowdler. Pp. 370. Elliot Stock.

THIS work meets a want. Well designed, it is written with ability, and shows good judgment. Not only students, but members of the general-reader class will find it very informing, and far from dry. It is the few who have leisure for such bulky volumes as Professor Brewer's, or even books like Friedmann's, while to the original sources still fewer can at all find access. Mr. Worsley has evidently taken great pains in preparing material, and has, moreover, thought for himself, while, as we have said, he writes with discrimination and power. Book I. is a sketch of the Church in the beginning of the sixteenth century, showing the need of the Reformation; Book II. is *preparation*, Colet at Oxford, the Gospellers at Cambridge; in Book III. we have the English New Testament; Book IV. pictures separation from Rome, with the Act of Royal Supremacy, and such like; Book V., particularly interesting, "Martyr Constancy," shows us Fryth and Tyndale; and the closing pages, headed "Mediævalism Passing," bring before us, in an admirable manner, the burial of Wolsey, "the burial of a system, and not only of an individual." Many of Mr. Worsley's sketches, both of "foes and friends," of the Reformation are effective; they are not only clever and striking, but free from prejudice. His description of the social and religious state of England in the reign of Henry VIII. is clear enough, and so is the analysis of the causes which, in the providence of God, brought about the Reformation.

It should be added that the book is very well printed.

Passiontide Sermons. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and Chaucellor of St. Paul's. Longmans, Green and Co.

Among the papers left by Dr. Liddon was a collection of Passiontide Sermons, which he is known to have intended for publication, and his literary executors have added some Lent sermons. By many of our readers this volume will be welcomed, and it will certainly repay a careful perusal.

Principia; or, The Three Octaves of Creation. By the REV. ALFRED KENNION, M.A., Vicar of Gerrard's Cross. Pp. 160. Elliot Stock.

This is a curious and suggestive work, marked by erudition and ability. On an opening page appears a triangle with these three notes: The Word, The Work, The Seal, or *Origination, Operation, Completion*, together with a quotation from St. Augustine, running as follows:

Ita ut in eo quod DIXIT, imperium ejus intelligatur;
In eo quod FACTUM est, potentia;
In eo quod PLACUIT, benignitas.

The idea of Mr. Kennion's work will thus be perceived at the very commencement. A passage in one of the closing chapters is explanatory, and has an interest of its own. Mr. Kennion says (p. 112): "We have now completed our survey of the three octaves of creation: the eight words in which all things originated, the eight branches of *operation* in which they are classified, and the eight *signatures* by which they were handed over to the use and enjoyment of men. Novel as this division

"may perhaps seem to some, we have already seen that it is frequently referred to by Augustine, and that it is acknowledged by Thomas Aquinas (see p. 19)."

The division between the *fiat* and the *factum est* was, at all events, plainly seen both by St. Augustine and Th. Aquinas, p. 19: ". . . dicit 'dixit Deus, fiat,' importatur *imperium Dei* in faciendo: per hoc autem quod dicit 'Factum est' importatur *complementum operis*."—St. Th. Aquinas.

The three spheres of thought before-mentioned, continues Mr. Kennion (p. 112), "correspond exactly in substance and in order with the 'three knowledges' with which, according to Bacon, human contemplations are occupied. . . . 'The contemplations of man do either penetrate upon God, or are circumferred to nature, or are reflected or reverted unto himself. Out of which several inquiries do arise three knowledges, 'Divine Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and Human Philosophy, or 'humanity. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple character, of the power of God, the difference of nature, and the use of 'man.'"

From Messrs. Macmillan we have received the third edition of *Natural Religion*, by the author of "Ecce Homo."

Index to Schürer's History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ (T. and T. Clark) will be welcomed by many students. A glance at the word "Synagogue" in this Index, to give an instance, will show how exhaustive a work Professor Schürer's is.

Mr. D. B. Friend's *Brighton Almanack* is a model. How many of our large towns, we wonder, have so complete and cheap a "Clerical, Medical, Law, and Educational Year Book"? (77, Western Road, Brighton.)

Two volumes of *The Biblical Illustrator* series (Nisbet and Co.) are devoted to the Book of Genesis, each volume containing about 660 pages of small print. To whom will all this mass of extract prove useful?

The periodicals of Cassell and Co. are as good as usual; *Quiver*, *Family Magazine*, and *Little Folks*. The 17th part of *The Holy Land and the Bible*, illustrated edition, has "Gethsemane and Calvary."

In *Blackwood* appears "A Ride in Kaffirland," by Mr. J. E. C. Bodley, with some interesting information concerning Missions. It may be hoped that a reply to some of its statements, perplexing enough, will be given by a friend of Missions, well qualified to speak about South Africa.

We heartily commend *Gleanings from a Ministry of Fifty Years*, a selection of sermons by the Rev. Charles Holland, Rector of Petworth (Elliot Stock). Mr. Holland is known as one of the most esteemed incumbents in the diocese of Chichester, successful alike as a pastor and a preacher. The discourses—short expositions—which make up this book, says the preface, are written out from notes. They may well be read at family worship. Mr. Holland is not ashamed of the "doctrines of grace"; but he shows a truly "catholic" temper. Simplicity (with strong common sense) and suggestive spirituality, practical as well as deeply devout, are chief characteristics of his teaching.

We are much pleased with Mr. Bullock's little book, *The People's Archbishop* ("Home Words" Office); dainty as to type, paper, and cover, and full of interesting matter. Mr. Bullock truly says: "All who really knew Dr. Thomson well knew his worth. A deep thinker, a practical worker, a born leader of men, he was recognised as a tower of strength in our Church by all classes. But he was emphatically, and in a fuller sense than any predecessor, 'the People's Archbishop.'" Quotations

appear, of course, from the noble sermon of Archdeacon Blakeney, one of the Archbishop's dearest friends and most valued co-workers.

In the "Notes" of *Newbery House Magazine* we are pleased to see protest made against dallying with Romanism. A good many fairly-educated people, *Newbery* says, "not in earnest enough to examine its claims," "like the music and the ritual, and also the skilful literary manipulation which some of the Roman controversialists use." This is timely. But as we read it we were reminded of an expression in the first article, entitled "The Attitude of Catholics towards Biblical Criticism," by the Rev. F. F. Irving. Mr. Irving refers to the Councils of "Florence, Trent and the Vatican," and says that "we may well give their decrees on such a subject our deferential consideration, if not necessarily [!] an unquestioning adhesion." Mr. Irving, however, it is fair to add, gently rebukes "our Roman brethren" upon one point—"exaggerated teaching as to the office of the Blessed Virgin." He refers, in particular, to an "admirable" Roman work, 15th edition, in which *ipsa* (Gen. iii. 15) "is advanced without note or comment as the first and practically sole Scriptural proof of the doctrine" of the Immaculate Conception.

Canon Rawlinson's new book, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (one of the "Men of the Bible" series, published by Messrs. Nisbet), is especially welcome just now because of its reply on several points to Professor Kuenen's "Religion of Israel." The value of that work, says Canon Rawlinson in his preface, "is much impaired by the confident adoption of quite unproved and most improbable hypotheses with respect to the late origin of the Mosaic Law, and the promulgation of much of it by Ezra and Nehemiah 'for the first time.'" Here and there, as we have said, in his *Ezra and Nehemiah*, the Canon replies to Kuenen. For example:

Was Zerubbabel in possession of the entire Pentateuch? Did he promulgate, as binding upon the nation under his charge, all those multitudinous precepts, which are generally regarded among ourselves as constituting "the Mosaic Law," and which occupy eleven chapters of Exodus, and almost the whole of Leviticus and Numbers? It is maintained that he did not. It is maintained, indeed, that the greater part of the precepts of these books was not yet in existence. The Babylonian priests, we are told,¹ and especially Ezra, composed them in Babylon, between the time of Zerubbabel's departure and Ezra's arrival in Palestine. But then, we ask, what is meant by the statement that Zerubbabel "builded the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the law of Moses, the man of God" (Ezra iii. 2)—what, again, by the declaration that "they kept the feast of tabernacles, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt offerings by number, according to the custom, as the duty of every day required" (*ibid.*, ver. 4). What is this but an allusion to Num. xxviii. 11-15, and a statement that Zerubbabel followed exactly the directions therein contained? Further, what is meant by the assertion that "they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem, as it is written in the book of Moses"? Does not this allude to Num. viii. 9-15? It is true that nothing is said in the Pentateuch about the "courses" of the Levites, or the "divisions" of the priests, and so far the author of *Ezra* i.-vi. may have expressed himself inaccurately;² but does he not intend to say that Zerubbabel, in committing the service of the sanctuary to the priests and Levites, was following instructions which he found in the book of Moses, and what part of the Pentateuch can he refer to, so far as the Levites are concerned, but Num. iii. 6-9 and viii. 9-15? Clearly, we are intended to understand that Zerubbabel guided himself in religious matters by a "book," a book which he regarded as containing "the law of Moses"—and this book comprised directions which are only found in Numbers. But this is exactly the part of the Law which it is said was not yet written. Thus Kuenen's view contradicts at least two passages of *Ezra*, and is consequently untenable (p. 124).

¹ "Religion of Israel," vol. ii., p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

THE MONTH.

THE Religious Disabilities Removal Bill, brought in by Mr. Gladstone, and commended in an eloquent and very skilful speech, was rejected, on Wednesday, the 4th, by a majority of 33. With a Bill for removing the disability of Roman Catholics to act as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir J. Pope Hennessy's instruction in Committee to abolish restrictions on the faith of the Sovereign would have been logical. The First Lord of the Treasury quoted with effect from Mr. Gladstone's "Vatican Decrees." Mr. Sydney Gedge, in a telling speech, remarking that the question might be looked at either from the political or religious side, also quoted from the "Vatican Decrees."¹

The Tithe Bill has at last left the House of Commons.

Archdeacon Denison's Convocation speech on *Lux Mundi* was in many ways admirable. The debate was somewhat disappointing.

Dr. Perowne, Bishop of Worcester, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the 2nd.

Mr. Dibdin has been appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham, in the place of Mr. Jeune, now a Judge. The Right Hon. H. C. Raikes, M.P., succeeds at St. Asaph, and Mr. A. B. Ellicott in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol.

The Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, has, with the approval of his Bishop, reduced the ritual of his church in accordance with the Lincoln Judgment, but some of the curates, it is said, and "important" members of the congregation, have resigned.

The Bishop of Chichester, in a letter to his clergy, has pronounced strongly in favour of the Archbishop's Judgment. The venerable Bishop, in a significant sentence (echoing, so to say, the Church's direction "*before the people*"), lays it down that "the manual acts prescribed by the rubric" must be "so done as to be seen *by the congregation.*"

We record with sincere regret the death of Dr. Plumtre, Dean of Wells.

¹ The *Anti-Jacobin* says: "The idea propounded in the *Times* that this Bill was brought in to give artistic finish, by its contrast with the pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, to the history of Mr. Gladstone's expressed opinions on the subject, is ingenious, but wanting in substance. . . . The Bill would be pleasing to the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, and might to some extent dispose them to stand by Messrs. McCarthy and Gladstone for the purpose of staving off a little longer their imminent surrender to Mr. Parnell; but then Mr. Gladstone had announced his intention of introducing the Bill before the quarrel between Mr. Parnell and the Irish Roman Catholic bishops arose. There remains no motive plausibly attributable to Mr. Gladstone except a friendly wish to make himself agreeable to Sir Charles Russell and Cardinal Manning, or an extremely tardy conviction of the 'injustice and anomaly' of a law which, while Prime Minister, he had expressly refused to alter, and neither of these seem adequate. . . . Sir Henry James insisted that the disability of Roman Catholics to hold the offices in question was religious and not political. The opposite is the truth. All Catholic disabilities were at all times political, and for a long time before Catholic emancipation they were nothing but political. It was a political motive that caused Elizabeth to coerce and persecute Roman Catholics, it was a political motive—and a good one—that caused the Lord Lieutenancy and the Chancellorship to be excepted when Catholic emancipation took place. It is for political reasons that it is not now desirable to make Roman Catholics capable of holding any high office which they cannot at present hold. . . ."