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I. THE career of Innocent III. represents a great attempt by a great man to realize an impossible ideal—the ideal of a universal spiritual empire on earth, ruling over all the nations of Christendom, and through them exercising a dominating influence over the history of the world. In him, by general acknowledgment, the power of the Papacy rose to its greatest height. For more than five hundred years, since the pontificate of Gregory the Great, that power had been advancing, as circumstance seemed to demand concentration of the forces, both of ecclesiastical order and of social civilization. The growth was in itself natural—due in part to the patriarchal dignity of an acknowledged Apostolic See—due, in even greater measure, to its position as representative of the world-wide empire of Roman law and order, now become (so men believed) not a worldly empire, but a city of God. But unhappily with that natural growth men were not content. They ventured to stimulate it by human artifice, and to give it a false sanction and consolidation by two gross and now acknowledged forgeries of about the ninth century—the donation of Constantine to Sylvester, transferring to it the palace and the city of Rome, and the whole Empire of the West—-the False Decretals carrying the full claim of universal spiritual power through the earliest times up to the

1 It is right to say that this lecture has no claim to originality. It would be difficult to add anything to the splendid picture of this great pontificate given in Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” Book IX.

2 See Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” Book I. (vol. 1., p. 72, of the fourth edition).
authority of the Apostolic Age itself. These gigantic falsehoods—by whomsoever and in what spirit soever originated—were adopted and grasped at by the popes themselves; probably at first under the pressure of a supposed necessity in troublous times, doing evil (as men will do evil) that good might come; afterwards in all probability inherited by them without suspicion as one of the unquestioned traditions of their office. Naturally in course of time the falsehood wrought its own failure and condemnation. As in the vision of Daniel, the towering fabric of the Papal power rested on feet, part of iron, part of clay, having in it something of the adamantine force of truth, having in it much of the crumbling weakness of unreality. But in the time of which I now speak there was no suspicion of any unsoundness in this foundation. The Pope was unhesitatingly reverenced as a spiritual head of Christendom; and, since it was impossible to separate absolutely the spiritual and temporal powers—since, moreover, it was clear that the spiritual must be higher than the temporal—men felt, and Innocent himself expressly declared, that the one was like the sun, a supreme light and life in itself, the other at its best only as the moon, shining with an inferior and borrowed splendour. There could be, therefore, ultimately no limit and no rivalry to the dominion claimed for the Papacy. Wherever there was the Christian Faith embodied in the Church of Christ, it was to be supreme in His Name over the bodies and souls of men, and over their whole life, both here and hereafter.

The Ideal was not only a grand Ideal in itself, but one in which there seemed to be the one secret of comfort and hope for an age of crude and ill-compacted civilization; when intestine war, violence and lust, oppression and cruelty, set the nations of Europe, and the classes in each nation, against one another. The supremacy of a spiritual power, representing the unity in Christ, which bound all together, ruling by the purely spiritual forces of truth and righteousness, of love and holiness over the free loyalty of men, needing no attempt at compulsion, supported by no physical force—such a supremacy might well be a real kingdom of Christ, and he who could wield it might well be called a Vicar of Christ on earth.

¹ The authorship of these "False Decretals"—added to the true Decretals, which dated from the end of the fourth century—is unknown. They appear to have been composed in the ninth century, probably at Mentz, and were first adopted as authoritative by Pope Nicolas I. (858-867). See Milman's "Latin Christianity," Book V., c. iv. (vol. iii., pp. 190-197 of the fourth edition).
² This title seems to have been first assumed by Innocent (see Creighton's "History of the Papacy," vol. i., c. i., p. 21).
But for its realization it is clear that there were three things absolutely necessary. First, that he to whom it was entrusted should be (as Milman remarks) not only infallible, but impeccable—free, as from all folly and error, so also from all sin and selfishness. Next, that its spiritual powers should be used only for spiritual ends, in the cause of righteousness and truth and holiness, not for the sake of any personal interest or any mere worldly aggrandizement. Lastly, that they should rely only on the spiritual weapons of persuasion and love, the prevailing force of truth, the reverence for a fatherly wisdom and authority. Just so far as the so-called spiritual power deserved its name in these respects, it undoubtedly told for good; it introduced into the confusion and discordance of human society, if not a peace, at least a "Truce of God." Just so far as it failed in these—misguided by error and perverted by sin, prostituted to selfish and worldly purposes by greed of gain in wealth and power, using recklessly the force of compulsion, whether by religious terrorism or by the temporal sword—just so far, I say, it was doomed not only to failure, but to much worse than failure. For the old proverb is true which says that "Worst of all evil is the corruption of the best." A spiritual power corrupted was, in itself and in its effects, more carnal and degraded than the power which frankly confessed itself to be but a power of this world.

Now, in the claim of the Papal autocracy to be in the true sense a supreme spiritual power, the career of Innocent III. is a splendid object-lesson. For in his pontificate the autocracy itself was certainly at its height of power; the ideal of which I have spoken was most unhesitatingly recognised, both by the Pope and by the world. The character of Innocent himself was not unworthy of the highest calling. He was a man of noble birth and high culture, remarkable for ability and grasp of mind, strong in learning and eloquence, power of administration and influence over men, with a firm undaunted will, and an undoubting belief in his Divine mission, with a character of purity and integrity, of personal holiness and devotion, and (where he allowed it fair play) of a certain graciousness and gentleness of disposition. He came, moreover, to the Papacy at the age of thirty-seven, in the prime of life and strength, ready to devote himself with all his heart and mind and soul to the service of high dignity and responsibility to which he was called, and apparently free from the distraction of such struggle for its authority as had made the life of Gregory VII. a continual battle. In Innocent III. the Papacy was in all respects at its best. What under these auspicious conditions was it able to achieve?

II. It must be remembered that in its claim of universality
of power it had necessarily to face a rival claim from what was called the "Holy Roman Empire." The Empire (be it always remembered) was not a merely national power, like that of France or England, perhaps somewhat greater than the rest. It was the heir of a general European suzerainty in Charlemagne, which itself claimed heirship from the old Roman Empire of the West. The Emperor was held to be in the largest sense the "Lord's Anointed"; the sacredness of his royalty seemed almost to be a modified Christian reproduction of the old Pagan deification. He stood at the head of the great feudal system of European society; he was acknowledged to be the temporal, as the Pope was the spiritual, head of Christendom. In theory the two headships were to be in perfect harmony; in practice they naturally stood in rivalry, which constantly became open antagonism. The relations between them, moreover, were complicated by this—that, while the Emperor could receive his crown only from the Pope, and so far was in a position of dependence and inferiority, the Pope, on the other hand, by the grant from Pepin and Charlemagne of Italian dominion—the "Patrimony of St. Peter"—became a feudatory of the Empire, and had so far to submit to the imperial sovereignty. At the great scene of the coronation of Charlemagne we read that the Pope first gave the crown to the kneeling Emperor, and then did homage to him when crowned. And the confusion was still further aggravated by the fact that, the Empire having by this time practically become German, its sway was always regarded with jealousy, and constantly met by open resistance, by the Italian powers, and by the people of Rome, who still retained some remnant, in theory and occasionally in practice, of the old republican power of election.

Of that local patriotism the Papacy, as a chief temporal power in Italy, became the natural head. It was inevitable not only that there should be conflict between the Papacy and the Emperor, but that the issues of that conflict should be confused; and that the spiritual authority claimed by the Pope should be (so to speak) carnalized—mixed up with worldly struggles and jealousies, using worldly weapons of intrigue or violence, often stained by the vice and the bloodshed of the world in their most revolting forms.

The most critical times of the antagonism to the Empire did not belong to Innocent's Pontificate. The first internecine

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1 It is almost unnecessary to refer to the brilliant and lucid account of the true idea of the Empire and the various phases of its history, given in Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire."

2 See the remarkable career of Arnold of Brescia (A.D. 1132-1155), and his assertion of Republican Privilege, crushed by combination of the Imperial and Papal Powers.
struggle had been over the question of investiture of high ecclesiastics under Gregory VII. some thirty years before; and the victory, under some show of compromise, was with the Pope. The humiliation of the Emperor at Canossa could not be misunderstood or forgotten. The last decisive conflict was to be waged about fifty years later under Innocent IV., when the old imperial house fell, and the imperial power practically withdrew within German limits, and gradually became but one—perhaps the greatest—of European monarchies. But still we find Innocent, even more than his predecessors, mixed up with Italian intrigues and quarrels, using alternately the sword of temporal power and the spiritual weapon of excommunication. 1 We find him on the death of the Emperor, Henry VI., plunging into the conflict as to the Imperial succession, seizing the opportunity of setting up a rival in Otho of Brunswick to Philip of Swabia, the brother of the late Emperor, using all his ecclesiastical and spiritual influence in vain, till a chance assassination removed the victorious Philip; then, when he had crowned Otho, finding his own nominee a bitter enemy; and, at last, setting up against him the young Frederic II., son of Henry VI., who had been in his boyhood under the Pope’s own guardianship, but who was to be—by what seemed an irresistible necessity—the determined foe, not only of the Papacy, but of the ideas on which it rested, in the days to come. In all this conflict the Pope was on the whole victorious, but not without much struggle and failure—certainly not without much degradation of the lofty position above the world, which he claimed for his office.

III. We turn from this rivalry to the relation which he assumed towards merely national powers, such as France and England. Here his position was simply that of a spiritual supremacy, and therefore free from the confusion which marked his relation to the empire. Here accordingly he could put forth all his spiritual powers, while yet he sought to assume, strangely enough, the anomalous position of an absolute feudal supremacy. These spiritual powers—so long as their reality was believed in—were tremendous, almost irresistible. The greatest king in Europe could be by excommunication made a spiritual outcast here, and be doomed (so it was believed) to perdition hereafter. His kingdom—although the great mass of his subjects probably had nothing whatever to do with his supposed sin—could be reduced to religious desolation, by the interdict which silenced all religious Services and refused all Sacraments, except the Baptism of Infants and the Absolution of the Dying. Beyond even this the Pope

1 He was “the first Pope to claim and exercise the rights of an Italian Prince” (see Creighton’s “History of the Papacy,” vol. i., c. i., p. 21).
claimed the right, in case of obstinate resistance, of pronouncing him deposed, and offering his crown to some other prince—to any one, in fact, who had power to seize it. We can see, of course, that in respect of these spiritual powers the minister of Christ is purely a minister, having no right to exercise them, except as a discipline for sin against God—having certainly no right to make them the means of enforcing a policy, however right that policy may be. But in the eyes of the Pope himself and of the world, resistance to his authority in any matter, spiritual or temporal, was mortal sin—at least as mortal as the most flagrant breaches of the moral law. He claimed the right to wield his spiritual powers, as he would and when he would. The time was to come when the belief in the reality of these powers was to be shaken; and then, of course, the Papal authority collapsed at once. But as yet the world believed absolutely, and trembled before them.

Still, it is interesting to see how the character of the cause in which they were exercised told upon their effectiveness even then.

Thus, in relation to Philip Augustus, of France—one of the ablest and most ambitious kings of the age, who has been always noted in history as one of the founders of the greatness of the French monarchy—Innocent stood forth nobly as the guardian of the sacredness of marriage. He firmly refused to sanction the dissolution of the king's marriage with Ingeburga, a Danish Princess, sought for simply to gratify his passionate affection for Agnes of Meran, and demanded with violent threats from the clergy of France. Here he discharged unflinchingly the high duty of a Vicar of Christ; here, after stern remonstrance, he pronounced the interdict and threatened excommunication. Under the terrible power of the interdict the people rose (so to speak) in a religious insurrection against the king; reluctantly, grudgingly, sullenly, he was forced to bow to the Pope's righteous decree. The spiritual power was here spiritually exercised, and so exercised, it was irresistible.

In relation to England the merits of the case and the course of events were widely different. John was on the throne—weak, profligate, treacherous, cruel. He had snatched the Crown from his nephew Arthur: he was suspected, and more than suspected, of sealing his usurpation by murder. Through these crimes he was to lose for England her wide dominions in France; at home, by his barons and in some degree by his people, he was hated and despised. But for none of these things was he brought under the rebuke or discipline of Papal authority. Innocent here was the champion, not of morality, but simply of his own power. On a vacancy in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, there was a disputed election
between the monks of the cathedral and the Bishops Suffragan of the province, backed by the King. The Pope, appealed to as arbiter, calmly set both nominees aside, and peremptorily ordered the election of Stephen Langton. The choice in itself was a splendid choice; for Langton was to be among the noblest of our Archbishops, and the truest champion against Pope and King of English liberty. But it was clearly an usurpation. John burst out into fury, open resistance, and cruel violence against those who obeyed the Pope. Once more the interdict was pronounced in all its severity; yet, remarkably enough, for four years it was defied by the King and the country. Then followed the excommunication of the King, his deposition, and an offer of the Crown to Philip Augustus, eagerly accepted by his ambition. John himself was brought to abject submission. In his terror he actually consented to acknowledge publicly that the kingdom was but a tributary fief of the holy see. In the ancient cathedral, which stood on this very site, he laid his crown, in token of vassalage, at the feet of the Legate. Innocent eagerly accepted the homage, and at once threw the mantle of his fullest protection over his weak and wicked vassal. But it is notable that here his spiritual power, so misused, was not irresistible. The French King refused to retire at his command; the barons, with the Pope's own nominee, Stephen Langton, at their head, rose against the tyranny of John, extorted from him the great charter of our English liberties, and absolutely disregarded the decree of the Pope annulling that charter. There was a fierce and terrible struggle against the King and the Pope united. It was virtually closed by the death of John and of Innocent himself. England, in the name of the young Henry III., drove out for herself the French invaders, absolutely repudiated vassalage to Rome, and under Edward I. humbled the clerical and Papal power. Soon began the series of parliamentary enactments which limited, resolutely though not quite logically, the Papal autocracy, and prepared for the abjuration of it in the future. The proud triumph of the Legate, trampling on the independence of England, by its very insolence and unrighteousness led to its humiliation, and to the full assertion of that national independence in the sixteenth century.

IV. But there was another aspect still in which the Pope stood out at the head of Christendom—as the authorizer and the organizer of the Crusades. These Crusades—disastrous as they were in the waste of incalculable treasure and countless lives, full of all the mournful contrasts, and outrages against the ideas of Christianity, which attach to all religious wars—yet undoubtedly marked a most important step in the advance of European civilization. They brought the rising
nations of Europe into something like unity, and unity, moreover, in what was in its origination a great unselfish and religious impulse. They had important secondary effects: they stemmed the tide of Mohammedan conquest; they developed maritime enterprise and commerce; they stimulated learning and culture. But in their essential character they were movements of a warlike religious enthusiasm. Naturally they increased the ascendency and the power of the religious head of Christendom.

It was now nearly a hundred years since the first great Crusade had rescued the Holy City from the grasp of the infidel, and set on the throne the noble Godfrey de Bouillon, the first Christian king. It had all the intense enthusiasm and all the ruthlessness of a really religious war. Since that time the crusading fervour had burst forth from time to time, as the renewed advance of Mohammedan force threatened the existence of the Christian power thus established in the East. But the character of the Crusades had gradually altered: religious enthusiasm had in some degree passed (as with our own Richard I.) into a chivalric delight in heroic daring; and even this had partly given way to the lower ambition of territorial conquest. Now, however, the last remnant of the Christian power was threatened. Innocent, stirred to the very depths of his religious zeal for Christendom, called the nations of Europe once more to arms. The impassioned eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly renewed the magic power of the old preaching of Peter the Hermit; tens and hundreds of thousands assumed the cross. A great victorious movement seemed at hand, blessed by the Vicar of Christ himself. But over it there came a strange spell of degradation and perversion. The Crusaders sought to avoid the long and deadly march by land; the great maritime power of Venice was accordingly invoked, and the promise of transport bought by gold. So the commercial element for the first time came in, with its baser admixture. On a partial failure in the promised payment, the Venetian Merchant Republic drove a hard bargain, and insisted, as a condition of fulfilling its promise, on diverting the army of the Cross to the conquest of the Christian city of Zara from the Christian King of Hungary. In vain Innocent himself and the nobler spirits in the army protested. Venice was inflexible, and her territorial ambition was satisfied by the storming of Zara, and its addition to the realm of the Republic.

It was a miserable perversion of the crusading idea. But it might have been but a temporary perversion; worse was to come. At the entreaty of a deposed Byzantine prince, the whole force of the great Christian army of the West was turned,
not against the infidel, but against the great Christian imperial city of the East. Constantinople was taken by storm, the Greek dynasty driven out, and a Latin Emperor, Baldwin, set upon the throne; the Greek Church forcibly subjected to the Latin obedience, under a usurping Latin Patriarch appointed by Rome; the Greeks themselves treated, both civilly and ecclesiastically, as a subject race. There was a certain fictitious glory about the achievement; there was a rich wealth of spoil; there was necessarily to the Court of Rome a profound satisfaction in thus forcibly terminating the great schism, and putting down the only formidable resistance to the Papal sway. But it was a horrible falsification of the promise and true character of the Crusade. Its very success, such as it was, soon passed away by the restoration of the Greek monarchy and Church; the only effect clearly was to weaken Christendom still more in face of the advance of Islam. Here also Innocent, in the height of his apparent power, uttered protest and condemnation in vain. He had set the fierce warlike force of the Crusade in motion; he could not direct it or stay it from its reckless course.

But there is a sadder story yet to tell. Another so-called Crusade was to follow, not against the infidels of the East, but against the heretics of the rich, smiling, cultured province of Toulouse, in the South of France. The heresy, as men deemed it, there rising up, was of varied character. In part it was simply a resistance to the power and wealth and high pretensions of the clergy, and an appeal from the Church to Holy Scripture; in part it was really a reproduction of the Manichaean heresy of the East. Innocent vainly called upon the independent Count of Toulouse to put it down by force. His commands, although not defied, were evaded; for there was in Count Raymond no strong religious fervour, still less enthusiasm for the power of the clergy, great reluctance to persecute loyal and quiet subjects. The Legate Peter, of Castelnau, a zealous instrument of the vehemence of Papal denunciation, was murdered. The Count was accused, truly or falsely, of connivance in the murder. A Crusade was proclaimed, in a storm of furious indignation, against the unhappy country. The ambition of the Crown of France for domination over what had been an all but independent country, the greed of noble adventurers for spoil and territorial conquest, were called in, to strengthen religious intolerance of heresy and religious devotion to the Church and the Pope. In vain the Count protested his innocence, offered an almost abject submission, submitted (like Henry II., after the murder of Becket) to humiliating public penance.

The wrath was not to be stayed. War, in its most cruel and
ruthless form, sparing neither innocent nor guilty, was let loose upon the whole land. Gallant resistance was made here and there in vain against overwhelming force. The torrent of destruction rolled on, at times stayed for a moment by patriotic reaction against the cruel invaders, but only to gather in the end more terrible force. There was fanatical and cruel intolerance, as in Simon de Montfort; there was in others the eagerness for spoil and conquest, and the very wantonness of warlike excitement. Innocent himself began to feel compunction, some pity for the young Raymond, the innocent heir to the Countship, some shrinking from the horrors of bloodshed and rapine; but, as before, he could not check the terrible force which he had roused. At last the royal power under Louis VIII. intervened, subjugated Toulouse, quenched heresy in blood. Spiritually and temporally men “made a solitude, and called it peace.” It was a terrible example of the prostitution of a force claiming to be spiritual, and yet fighting by the arm of the flesh, resolved at all costs and by all means to enforce its sway.

V. Out of it there came but one fruit of good. The spread of heresy among the masses of the people, and the resistance to the proud and often worldly dominion of the clergy roused the Church to the need of laying a stronger hold on the hearts of men, by popular preaching of the truth of Christ in the Church itself. The fruit of that conviction was the foundation—not originated, only accepted, after hesitation, by Innocent himself—of the two great Orders of Friars, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the preaching and ministering friars, the sterner apostles of truth and the gentler apostles of love. They were like the old monastic Orders in their vows of poverty, obedience, chastity, self-devotion, putting to shame the luxury and pomp of the Church of their days; they were like those Orders, again, in their detachment from the regular hierarchy of the Church, and their absolute obedience to the heads of their Orders, and through them to the Pope. But they were utterly unlike them in this—that they exchanged monastic seclusion and contemplation for public ministration everywhere to the masses of the people, professing to supplement, tending to supersede, the evangelistic and pastoral functions of the parish priests.

It was a great movement; it met the needs, it harmonized with the enthusiasm, of the time. Its founders, the ascetic Dominic, the loving Francis, men of heroic and saintly character, had the unusual experience of seeing what they had begun, almost singlehanded, with at most but a handful of followers, grow even in their own lives to cover nearly the whole Church. Through hundreds of branches of the Orders, through
many thousands of members, there spread everywhere this great wave of popular influence; and that, speaking generally, in face of much natural jealousy from the Bishops and parochial clergy, and from the older monastic Orders. How corruption made its way in—how the vows of absolute poverty and hardship were evaded or forgotten—how the Orders, once the delight of the people, earned afterwards so much of hatred and contempt—it happily lies beyond the province of this lecture to trace. In Innocent’s time they were at their best, a strong enthusiastic support of the Papal supremacy, a powerful religious influence over the whole body of the Church, uniting the most resolute orthodoxy of creed with the most glowing fervour of devotion—so far a true spiritual power, wielding the sword, not of the flesh, but of the Spirit. It is a refreshment to close our sketch of Innocent’s great Pontificate with this picture, after the survey of all its struggling with imperial and national power, after the bloody annals of its religious wars.

VI. But I must come back at the end to that with which I began. The ideal of the Papacy, then most clearly grasped in thought and set forth in practice, is seen, both in its theory and by its fruits, to be an impossible ideal. The power claimed was far too great to be concentrated in any mere man, and it led by necessary inference to further claims of attributes virtually superhuman, trenching even on the Divine. But history showed only too plainly—what even without its witness we could not but anticipate—that no man could be wise enough or good enough to be trusted with an absolute power over humanity, practically overbearing the freedom, which is its birthright before God. Nor could it be kept to be really a pure spiritual power. It was impossible to separate spiritual pretension from grasp at temporal dominion. I mean, not the miserable temporal power over a fragment of Italy, to which so blindly the Papacy has always clung, and in our own days clings still, not seeing that it would be, now at any rate, a source, not of strength, but of weakness; but the universal Empire, necessarily resulting from a universal Pontificate, which afterwards Boniface VIII., on the eve of the great humiliation of the Papacy, so overtly and arrogantly claimed. And, perhaps naturally, the advance of that claim coincided with the use of worldly intrigue, reckless coercion, reckless bloodshed, in the endeavour to sustain it. So even its apparent success was real failure; and the reality of that failure, traceable at the time by those who looked below the surface, was in after days to be manifested by obvious disgrace and disaster. The lesson is therefore plainly to be read, and certainly should not be ignored or forgotten. If ever, in the painful sense of divisions and
perplexities, of irregularities and rebellions in doctrine and life, men are tempted to sigh for a spiritual despotism, and to lay at its feet the freedom which seems to them to be a perilous gift, in the vain hope that its sway will be perfectly wise, perfectly beneficent—it may be well in this matter, as in others, to turn from theory to history, and to read the story of the Papacy, not in its worst corruption, but in its palmy days of dignity and nobility of idea—as impersonated not in an Alexander VI., but in an Innocent III.

ALFRED BARRY.

ART. II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

No. XVI.

In chap. xxv., verses 7-11a, 12-17, 19, 20, and 26b, are assigned to P. It may assist the inquirer to have these verses before him in connection with the passage immediately preceding. In xxiii. 20 we find the words, “And the field and the cave that is therein were made sure unto Abraham as a possession of a burying-place by the children of Heth.” The narrative of P, as separated by the critics, then immediately proceeds: “And these are the days of the years of Abraham’s life which he lived, an hundred threescore and fifteen years. (We may here interpolate a remark that the omission of any sentence by way of transition from xxiii. 20 is unusually ‘jurisprudent,’ even for P.) And Abraham gave up the ghost and died in a good old age, an old man and full (of years), and was gathered unto his people. And Isaac and Ishmael his son buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre; the field which Abraham purchased of the children of Heth; there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham that God blessed Isaac his son. Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham’s son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah’s handmaid, bare unto Abraham; and these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations; the first born of Ishmael, Nebaioth and Kedar and Adbeel and Mibsam, and Mishma and Dumah and Massa, Hadad and Tema, Jetur, Naphish and Kedemah. These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names by their villages, and by their encampments; twelve princes according to their nations. And these are the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he gave up the ghost and died,
and was gathered unto his people. And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son. Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Paddan-Aram, the sister of Laban the Syrian, to be his wife. And Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them."

One rubs one's eyes a little at the last sentence, which appears a little unintelligible. But one has to rub one's eyes—at least, if they are ordinary eyes—a good deal when one has to deal with biblical criticism of the modern type. At least, it is perfectly clear here that some portion of P's narrative—if there be such a narrative—has been left out. And as I have observed before, if anything be left out here, how do we know how much has been left out here and elsewhere? But by the hypothesis nothing of importance is left out, but the "priestly" narrative is embodied in extenso, or almost so. P's account, then, of the birth of Jacob and Esau must be regarded as a matter of no importance. That being the case, why the detail of Isaac's age was carefully inserted from P seems not quite clear, nor can we altogether take it for granted that all details on such a point must necessarily have been inserted from P. However, let that pass. Another point which strikes one as singular is the insertion of details about Ishmael and his family between the references to Isaac in ver. 11 and ver. 19. With Ishmael the "priestly" writer has nothing to do. Then the narrative just here is singularly and unusually "juristic," and formal, in great contrast to the last supposed extract from P (chap. xxiii.). Nevertheless there is repetition in it (see ver. 8), a fact which, when it suits the critics, is a proof of different authorship, and when it does not suit them, is not a proof of different authorship. Moreover the poetic phrase, "give up the ghost," is used as in chap. vii. 21. Other points also call for notice. First of all, verses 1-5, though genealogies, and "formal and juristic" enough in all conscience, one would think, are assigned to JE (in spite of that writer having been the reverse of formal and juristic), no doubt because יש, and not ישא, is used for "begat." The latter is used in ver. 19, and therefore ver. 19 is taken from P. If we ask why, we are told that ישא is characteristic of P. This is a proof according to the critics. No other demonstration

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1 The translation here is Mr. Bissell's, in his "Genesis Printed in Colours."
2 It may be observed that in ver. 8 the two expressions assigned to JE and P in chap. vii. 21, ישג and ישא, are combined—no slight indication that all three verses are due to the same hand.
The Authorship of the Pentateuch.

is forthcoming. Again one is inclined to wonder why the redactor permitted himself to hand down the paragraph about the children of Keturah. We hear nothing of them in the later history, and the whole story seems harder to believe than anything else we learn of Abraham, nor does it fall in with the supposed object of the redactor. The allusion to Abraham's concubines seems stranger still, stranger than anything else in the history, and it appears doubly strange to find it inserted in a post-exilic redaction, drawn up for the purpose of glorifying the ancestor of all Israel. The word נֵכְבָּד, as I have before stated, is never found save in connection with genealogies, which seems to suggest the idea that the genealogies existed in a separate form when the book was compiled, and were added at the time, or afterwards, from ancient records. However this may be, one may at least be permitted to wonder where the redactor, compiling the book at so late a date as he is supposed to have done, found his information about Abraham's concubines and their children. For ver. 6 is supposed to be the work of the redactor himself. And, as we have seen, the insertion of such a detail is the last thing we should have expected from him.

The next remark that would occur to the literary critic would probably be that the mention once more (chap. xxv. 9) of the “cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohar, the Hittite, which is before Mamre, the field which Abraham purchased of the children of Heth,” is a little unnecessarily formal and legal, even in a “priestly” writer, coming, as we are asked to believe, immediately after chap. xxiii.,¹ where the story of the purchase of the cave is recorded in minute detail; whereas if chap. xxiv. be interposed, the repetition of the phrase becomes at once natural. Another presumption this in favour of homogeneity. Then the interpolation from JE of the words, “and Isaac dwelt in Beer-'lahai-roi,” is remarkable; but, as I have already referred to the point, I need say no more than that the assignment of this half-verse to J seems a little “willkurlich.” Then the expression, "נָבָאָר תַחְנוּת (a good grayness), is a very remarkable one, and occurs only here and in chap. xv. 15 in the Pentateuch. How does the reader think this little difficulty—this rather striking indication of unity of authorship—is got over? Chap. xv. 15 is assigned to the redactor! This is ingenious, no doubt, but not conclusive. As usual, no proof is given. Were the so-called “traditional” critic to resort to such violent expedients, what fierce reproaches, what scornful

¹ The reader is requested to read chap. xxiii. and then chap. xxv. 7-11, omitting chaps. xxiv. 1-xxv. 6, to see the force of this remark.
epithets, would be hurled at his devoted head! And yet, one
might think, he has just as good a right to make assertions as
other people. Then, again, we only have the poetic expres-
sion, "old and satiated" (with years) here, though it recurs
in a slightly altered form, "satiated with days," in chap.
xxxv. 29 (assigned to P) and at the end of the poetic book of
Job. Thus, in this short passage we have two instances of
the "juristic" writer deviating in the most surprising and
inconsistent way into poetic forms of expression. There is
evidently either a fund of poetry in the "juristic" writer,
which he found it difficult to repress, or no "juristic" writer
at all. The phrase, "was gathered unto his people" (vers.
8, 17), once more, is a little out of place in a "juristic"
writer. The redactor, we are told, has introduced on his own
account a sort of imitation of it in chap. xv. 15, and it occurs
again in chap. xxxv. 29, and twice in the touching passage
(about as little "juristic" as any passage can be) chap. xl ix.
29-33, in which we are bidden again to see the hand of the
priestly writer. We submit, of course, to the voice of authority,
as in duty bound. But we feel a little puzzled at the
beautiful touch of nature in the "juristic" writer publishing his
narrative twelve hundred years after the event, and putting
the words dramatically into the mouth of Jacob: "There they
buried Abraham and Sarah his wife, there they buried Isaac
and Rebekah his wife, and there I buried Leah." We observe,
too, that this post-exilic writer was well acquainted with the
fact that Rachel was not buried there, so he must have had
JE or some other narrative before him, which contained some
similar mention of Rachel's place of sepulture. And why did
he commit himself to the statement, which is not in any other
of the presumed authorities which have come down to us,
that Leah was buried there? and how did he so carefully
avoid committing himself to the statement, which would have
fallen in admirably with his presumed purpose, that Rachel
was not buried there?

Other difficulties also crowd upon us as we reflect. Is the
story of the purchase of the field of Machpelah history or
tradition, for it meets us only in P? And why did Jacob not
wish to be buried with Rachel, whom he loved, rather than
with Leah, whom he despised? It looks very much as if the
only explanation of the mystery is that the whole history is
authentic, and that even Jacob's love for Rachel must needs
give way, at that supreme moment, to the sacred thought of
the covenant made by Jehovah unto Abraham, and confirmed
unto Isaac, and after him to Jacob himself. To this solemn
conviction of a Divine appointment even private and personal
affection, however strong, must be postponed; and thus
these minute touches not only corroborate each other, but bring out the deep inner religious meaning of the whole story. At least, so pious Christian interpreters used to think, until the time came when they were ordered to surrender their private judgment to those who sit in the chair of authority, and tell them that it is all a mistake.

Even the list of the sons of Ishmael, while it is impossible that it can have been compiled from the incidental mention of some of them in Isaiah and elsewhere, is in remarkable keeping with these stray hints. Thus in Isa. lx. 7 we have Kedar and Nebaioth mentioned together, while in Ps. cxx. 5 the tents of Kedar are spoken of as alien to the habits and feelings of an Israelite. Dumah, again, is mentioned as in the direction of Edom in Josh. xv. 52, and in conjunction with Seir in Isa. xxi. 11, while immediately afterwards we have "the burden of Arabia." One would naturally look for the descendants of Ishmael in the neighbourhood of Edom. And so we are told to do in ver. 18, in which, however, we are asked to see the hand of JE. Here, therefore, we have a network of subtle coincidences between JE, P, and other books of Scripture which is far beyond the inventive powers of any individual whatsoever. P here therefore shows once more the extraordinary minuteness and accuracy of his information. Where did he get it after the return from the Captivity? Have we not here once more another of those subtle touches which point to the oneness of authorship of Genesis and to the extreme improbability of the compilation theory which now holds the field?

Then there is the reference to the sons of Ishmael as inhabiting "villages" (טַשְׁרִים), by which is meant enclosures round a courtyard, or encampments with an open space in the middle, such as the book of Joshua tells us surrounded the cities of Israel after the settlement in Canaan. All these passages, it is true, are assigned to P. But again we ask, and ask in vain, why these minute details concerning the early pastoral life of Israel and Ishmael in the post-exilic writer? The word is not found in this sense in the later history of Israel, except in Chronicles of early tribes and of the Levites, though in Deut. ii. 23 it is used of the encampments of the Avites, and in Isa. xlii. 11 of encampments in the wilderness, and therefore of nomadic tribes. The peculiar and rare word הַרְבִּים, again, translated "castles" here, and in Chron. vi. 54 (E.V.), "goodly castles" (of the Midianites); Numb. xxxi. 10, "palaces," Cant. viii. 9, and Ezek. xxv. 4;

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1 We may observe, further, that Kedar is mentioned as heathen in Jer. ii. 10, and as Arabian in Ezek. xxvii. 21.
and "habitations," Ps. lxix. 25. The passage in Numbers is assigned to P. But it is a little surprising to find a close similarity suggested between the dwellings of the Ishmaelites and the Midianites, and a close alliance between these tribes also hinted at in J and E (Gen. xxxvii. 25-28).

Our next point is that the word מַשְׁפָּה, according to Wellhausen, is characteristic of J and P, but not of E, where we find מָשָׁה. This may serve as an instance of the charge I have brought against him and his school of drawing very important conclusions, when it suits them, from very slender premises. If the use of מַשְׁפָּה for מָשָׁה distinguishes J from E, why may not the use of מַשְׁפָּה by J and P be a sign of common authorship? And we have this latter word in xvi. 1b (J), in xvi. 3 (P), xvi. 5 (J), xvi. 8 (redactor), and xxv. 12 (P). Moreover, we have the phrase "Hagar the Egyptian" in xvi. 3 (P) and in xxi. 9 (E), and she is also called an Egyptian (מִלְךָ הָעָרָיָה) in xvi. 1b (J). Here are sufficient coincidences in style to balance, if not to outweigh, Wellhausen's contention that the use of מַשְׁפָּה in chap. xxi. 8-32 is a sign of a second Elohist writer, distinct from P. Is it not as fair, if not fairer, to conclude that the introduction of מָשָׁה does not indicate a change of author, but only a change of idea, and that it was intended, as I have argued on chap. xxi., to emphasize the position of slavery in which Hagar stood?

Another point not undeserving of mention is this: if the German methods be correct, at least they ought to be applied universally. We have seen in the last paragraph an instance of the onesidedness of their application. We now arrive at another. We are asked to see in the use of תּוֹת and תּוֹתָה respectively a sign of divergent authorship. Why should we not equally see in the use of three different forms of expression in the verses assigned to P in this chapter tokens of the presence of three different authors? Thus in ver. 12 we have "Abraham's son," whom his mother "bare to Abraham." In ver. 13, instead of תּוֹתָה, etc., we have "the sons of Ishmael." And in ver. 19 we have the phrase תּוֹתָה (begat), which alone is said to be characteristic of P.

Returning to ver. 9 another significant fact meets us. P, we are told, confines himself to noting the special point of the covenant between God and the descendants of Abraham according to promise. Why does he then record the fact—natural enough if this be an authentic history, but quite improbable if it be history manipulated for a purpose—of the interment of Abraham by Isaac and Ishmael?

1 מַשְׁפָּה seems to refer to the duties, מָשָׁה to the position of the servant.
Our next point will be to remark on the odd character of the extracts from J here. I will give the material part of them in extenso. Chap. xxv. 1-5 is, we are told, from J, then ver. 11b, then ver. 18, then ver. 21. Let us see how they read consecutively: "And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac, and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi. And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria: he abode in the presence of all his brethren. And Isaac intreated Jehovah for his wife, for she was barren." This singular combination of extracts suggests a mine of research to criticism, which is certainly at present unexhausted; I mean the omissions of the redactor in his citations from J and E, and his reasons for them. JE, too, it may be observed, so far as it is known to us, "knows nothing" of the death and burial of Abraham. What, we may wonder, does he say about it, for he could hardly pass it by unnoticed in his history. And why does not the redactor give us what he says on the subject? Then ver. 18 makes it clear that he has made some mention of Ishmael, for he says "they," and his sentence refers evidently to the Ishmaelites. Can the critics, after the manner of Professor Owen, construct the whole passage for us, or even any part of it, from the specimen afforded us here? And can they explain to us why the redactor has selected this, and only this verse? Why the critics have selected it is plain enough. Havilah occurs in Gen. iii. 11 (where, however, it has been assigned to the redactor). It may have been a slip to assign the word here to J. Perhaps further consideration may "prove" that the mention of Havilah here belongs to the redactor also. But we have the words "he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," in chap. xvi. 12. This passage is assigned to J, therefore (my readers will observe the mathematical exactness of the proof) here also it must be from the hand of J. It is true there is the remarkable word "fell," which according to all laws of the German criticism ought to suggest a new author altogether. It is a remarkable ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, for Judg. vii. 12 does not suggest quite the same idea. Perhaps the idea is of the fall of the lot, as though Jehovah had allotted his position to Ishmael, and designed that it should be contiguous to Israel and Edom. But what J has specially to do with this way of looking at the matter we are not told. "As thou goest," we are told, is a gloss here; but the same expression occurs twice in chap. x. 19, 30, xiii. 10 (J). Is it so certain that the German critics are right? Have we not here an expression peculiar to the author of Genesis? It is

1 Heb., fell.
not found in any other book. Altogether the motives for the insertion of this passage from JE are somewhat difficult to divine. *Prima facie* "they" would seem to be "his people" just mentioned, while "he," later on in the verse, refers to Ishmael himself, also mentioned in ver. 17. The two verses are coherent and consecutive enough as they stand. It is only the necessities of Germanizing criticism which demand that they shall be assigned to two different authors.

The same may be said of vers. 20, 21. The narrative after the death and burial gives us an account (for the word נרזר seems to have a meaning something like our word career) of Isaac, the covenant representative of Israel, after the death of his predecessor. Ver. 21 tells us his age when he married Rebekah; ver. 22 tells us of Rebekah's barrenness, and of Isaac's prayer on her behalf. The following verses tell us of the answer to his prayer, and ver. 26b informs us that it was delayed for twenty years. It is only the pure assumption that all the drier details and the numbers are the work of a separate author, which compels the assignment of this portion of ver. 26 to P. There is nothing strained, artificial, unnatural, but quite the contrary, in supposing it all to be one man's work.

Since the above was written, I have observed a letter from Dr. Woods in the *Guardian*, in reference to Professor Driver's "Leviticus." I should like once more to explain that I have no complaint to make of a criticism which attempts to explain Leviticus by assigning different dates to different parts of the book. It is, of course, by no means impossible that later additions may have become embodied in the Law. Such questions may undoubtedly be left to experts. What I have combated in my papers, and what, I feel, must be left to the judgment of Christians at large, is (1) the assertion that it is possible to distribute with infallible accuracy the contents of the Pentateuch or "Hexateuch" between a Jehovist, an Elohist, a Deuteronomist, and a priestly writer; (2) the extremely late date assigned to these various writers; (3) the assertion that the history, as handed down by them, is seriously and fundamentally inaccurate; and (4) the assertion that the after history has been subjected to a careful revision, in order to give currency to their blunders or intentional mis-statements.

J. J. Lias.
The word "sacerdotium" is a connecting-link between the Gospel of Christ and the religions of the world. The Gods of the heathens had their altars and their priests—men set apart to serve at their altars with sacrificial service. The true root-idea of sacerdotium is probably a connecting-link between the truth as we know it and a primitive tradition of a primeval history, if not of a primeval revelation. In the midst of corruption—the corruption of human error—there was ever a witness to a record, the record of Divine truth. In the "Pontifex Maximus" of Roman history we may see a testimony in some sort to man's need of "a great High Priest," even as we see a foreshadowing of Him who is "made higher than the heavens" in the Sovereign Pontiff of old, who was King of Salem, and Priest of the Most High God. Altars, we know, were older than the Flood, and sacerdotium was far earlier than the sons of Aaron.

These are trite remarks, the statement, it may be thought, of the merest truisms, yet they are not altogether insignificant. They have a bearing on a very important subject. The Mosaic idea of sacerdotium should be regarded in connection with what was in the days of Moses both the past and the future of priesthood. It is true, no doubt, that it was mainly concerned with the future, but not altogether with the future alone. The Pentateuch itself testifies to a more ancient sacerdotium independent of, and superior to, the sacerdotium of the law—a Gentile sacerdotium in a far higher place—the place of a far nobler office, then the Mosaic Priesthood.

But the purpose of these observations must not be misunderstood. It is not intended at all to detract anything from the teaching which is to be obtained from the careful study of the ceremonial law and its witness to the true character and functions of the sacerdotium. It is only contended that this teaching, to be viewed aright, should be regarded as a part, and only a part, of the unfolding of the counsels of God. When in the light of the Mosaic ritual we have endeavoured to form a true idea of the true sacerdotium, we are not to suppose that no light can be shed on our idea from other sources. There is a volume of the roll containing the hidden mysteries of God's infinite wisdom, which things angels desire to look into. And this is gradually unrolled in a light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.
We are to look at the *sacerdotium* of the law not without an eye to the records of the past; but we shall most grievously err if we think to shade it from the clear light which shines upon it from the sure word of prophecy. Much more shall we err if we desire to examine it all apart from the truth and the glory of the Gospel of Christ.

In the light of the New Testament, altar, and sacrifice, and *sacerdotium*, are brought together under an epiphany of glory which ceremonial teachings could lead up to, and prepare for, but failed to exhibit. Doubtless, indeed, there were saints of old whose faith looked through and beyond the veil, and saw (some, perhaps, not dimly) under the shadows of the Old Covenant what belonged to the light of the New. Still, the teaching of the Old Covenant was the teaching of shadows—shadows which in due time were to pass away.

When the veil is taken away, as from the face of Moses, sacrifice and *sacerdotium* are to be seen, not only in relation to legal ordinances, but much rather in their relation to the need of the sinner man, in his fallen, outcast, ruined condition, the heir of condemnation and death, and herein in their relation also to the glory of God and His eternal purposes of mercy for the lost. A new light is made to shine on sacrificial death when it is seen in connection with the righteous judgment of God, and with Divine Redemption from the condemnation of sin, from the sting of death and the power of Satan. This is the view of the New Testament. And in the same view with this, but beyond this, is to be seen the rainbow of a new Divine glory encircling the idea—the new enthroned idea of *sacerdotium*. It is, if we may so speak, the rainbow of the New Covenant—the rainbow round about the throne—the throne which belongs to the one High Priest, seen now as the Mediator of the New Covenant—the Covenant of Peace made by His blood.

If this is so, we have need to beware of the error of divesting our sacerdotal idea of its New Testament glory, and conceiving of it again only as under its Mosaic veil. The New Testament is not so much to be interpreted by Old Testament shadows, as those shadows are to receive interpretation and explanation from the revelation of the Divine originals, from the pattern of which they were to be made as necessarily imperfect and inadequate copies.

The neglect of this truth will surely lead, as it has led, to a Judaizing process in respect of the faith of the Christian Church, tending to mar its perfection and dim its glory, and to turn souls back from the liberty of Christ, and bring them again into bondage to the elements of the world. To this cause must be attributed the tendency to sacerdotalize the Christian ministry,
a tendency which from the time of Cyprian has been more or less a growing evil in the midst of the Church's influence for good, and which is to be traced through the ages as a leaven gradually corrupting the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ.

But this is not all. The bearing of these introductory remarks on some modern forms of error will appear more clearly as we proceed. But it may be well, perhaps, here to ask some special attention to so much as this: That a prevalent view of the sacerdotium of Christ, and His present High Priestly functions in heaven, claiming to rest on the typical foreshewing in the ceremonial ritual of the law, is not only a misapprehension of the true teaching of the type, but a mistake which could hardly have been conceived save in the dimness of the shadowy light which is passed, and which should disappear as soon as the veil is removed, and the darkness expelled by the clear shining of the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Indeed, it can hardly be doubted that the Christian faith might be held, and held in its saving power, without any teaching whatever, or any knowledge whatever, of any sacerdotium whatever, except so far as the sacerdotal idea may be said to be implicitly involved in the simplest Articles of the Christian faith.

It is not surely without an instructive lesson for us that we may mark the position which teaching directly concerning sacerdotium (as such) is found to occupy in the writings of the New Testament. In the earlier dogmatic Epistles we do not meet with any teaching concerning it by name at all. This is surely not a little remarkable. And if so, it certainly ought to be not remarked merely, but well considered, and carefully weighed.

Take, for example, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. It will hardly be disputed that we have here what may be truly called a systematic treatise concerning the truth and the power of the Gospel of Christ. And what is it which we have here set before us as the great object of our faith? It is undoubtedly the death of Christ, the equivalent of which is the blood of Christ. And we are taught to see our justification (the justification of the ungodly) as resulting immediately and directly from that death regarded in its juridical aspect, with its redemptive side turned towards us, for our faith's apprehension. Moreover, in just one very important verse we have this redemptive death brought into line with the sacrificial ideas of the Old Covenant—ideas which thus, we can hardly doubt, are meant to receive their true interpretation here. We have also a view given us of Christ at the right hand of God, and making intercession for us. But
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(if we except metaphorical allusions) there is, throughout the Epistle not a word concerning any sacerdotium in the New Covenant. In the whole treatise there is not a word of instruction directly concerning the Priesthood of Christ.

The same may be said of the Epistle to the Galatians, in which the redemptive view of Christ's death, and the view of His redemption as by substitution, is prominent, but in which we look in vain for a word concerning sacerdotium.

So in the Epistle to Philippians there is not an allusion to any sacerdotal functions. And in the Epistle to the Colossians, while we have teaching concerning Christ's session at God's right hand, and strong insistence on the redemptive, peace-making efficacy of Christ's death upon the Cross, there is absolute silence concerning sacerdotium.

But there is another Epistle which, of all the Epistles, is most like a manual of Christian theology. This is the Epistle to the Ephesians. In this Epistle, besides the teaching of the redemptive efficacy of Christ's death, which runs parallel with the Epistle to the Colossians, we have a statement, as of a well-understood fundamental truth, concerning Christ's giving Himself for us as an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour, and much also concerning the gifts of the ascended Saviour; but still no word directly concerning the sacerdotium of the Christian Church, not one word concerning any Priesthood of Christ in the heavens.

Now all this is perfectly intelligible, and quite natural, on the supposition that the true essential ideas of sacerdotium are to be sought and found as implicitly contained in the teaching of these Epistles concerning Christ's redemptive death, and His heavenly intercession and saving succour. But it is quite inconsistent with the theory that we are to see in Christ's heavenly sacerdotium a most important function, an all-important object of every Christian's belief, which is not at all involved in the teaching of these Epistles, which is something quite outside of, quite beyond all that they have taught us as pertaining to the Christian faith.

1 Chap. v. 2, παρέδωκεν ἐαυτὸν. So in v. 25 and Gal. ii. 20 it can hardly need to be said that the verb implies the willing surrender of the sacrificial victim, not any sacerdotal function of the priest. Cf. Isa. liii. 6 and 12 (LXX.) with Rom. iv. 25. Yet error has arisen from want of marking clearly this distinction. Thus, e.g., if I mistake not, the idea of surrender unto death, as implied in the institution of the Lord's Supper was too soon clothed upon (by human thoughts) with the idea of sacrificial oblation. And, as a natural consequence, the starting-point of the sacerdotium after the order of Melchizedek was transferred from the Cross to the Supper. And then, as a further consequence, the "Do this" was regarded as investing the apostles with the sacerdotium of the New Covenant.
But yet further. Let us look at the records we possess—inspired records—of the beginnings of the Christian Church, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we have various proclamations of the Gospel of Christ, many instructions in the Christian faith—elementary instructions, doubtless, for the most part, yet instructions sufficing for the saving of believers. They set before us Christ: Christ once the Crucified—Christ now the Exalted—Christ at God's right hand—Christ the Giver of Divine gifts—Christ the Head of the corner—Christ the only Saviour, by faith in Whom believers receive remission of sins.

But in vain we look for one word bearing witness by name to the sacerdotium of Christ.

Is this to be accounted for? It is easy to account for it on the supposition that the teaching of Christ's sacerdotium gathers together and unifies and develops the ideas contained in the elementary teachings of the Apostles. It can hardly be accounted for on the supposition that we are to build on the teaching of Christ's sacerdotium new and most important doctrines which had no place in the early apostolic doctrine.

And this argument might be added to from a fair view of the visions of the Apocalypse. There we have indeed the symbolical representation of the Saviour as our High Priest in the heavens. We have set clearly before us the cleansing efficacy of His atoning blood. We behold Him as Himself applying that shed blood for our washing or for our loosing. Moreover, we are taught to recognise His death as our redemption price; we see ourselves redeemed by His having been slain for us. But we find nothing whatever that can fairly be said to set Him before us as either offering sacrifice, or being offered in sacrifice in heaven.

Nor is this all. It would doubtless be a mistake to rest overmuch weight on what is absent from the teachings of our blessed Lord Himself. The Disciples were to wait for the teaching of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. He, when He was come, was to guide them into the whole truth. He was to testify of Christ. He was to show them the things of Christ. He was to glorify Christ. Nevertheless, it was to be part of

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1 In Rev. i. 5, against the weight of MSS. evidence for Νόημα (which will vary according to our estimate of the uncial A and C) may perhaps be set the "mystery" contained in John xiii. Cf. especially verses 1 and 10. Cf. also 1 John i. 7 and Rev. vii. 14; and view in connection Heb. x. 21-23.

2 If the angel of Rev. viii. 3 is to be understood as symbolizing Christ, and even if we suppose Him (with Archdeacon Lee, p. 597) to be first seen as over the brazen altar (cf. vi. 9), His offering (the word is τελευτής) is only upon the golden altar of incense (upon which might be offered no sacrifice, Exod. xxx. 9) "with the prayers of all saints."
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the Spirit's teaching work to bring all things to their re-
membrance which Christ had said to them. And it is surely
to be much observed that He had said no word to them con-
cerning His priesthood. Yet He had spoken to them of His
ascension, of His going His way to Him that sent Him, of
His going to prepare a place for them, of His future interces-
sion for them, of the Divine Gift Which He would send unto
them from the Father.

Now, this is all perfectly natural and intelligible on the
hypothesis that we have here the telling of functions which
were afterwards to be gathered into the teaching of Christ's
sacerdotium; but it is surely hardly consistent with the
notion that we are to see in Christ's heavenly sacerdotium
that which is altogether foreign to all that Christ had taught
His Disciples concerning Himself both before and after His
resurrection from the dead.

And may we not yet add to all this a very significant fact?
The doctrine, if accepted, must needs, in consistency, claim for
itself a high place among the objects of a Christian's belief.
Yet there has been found no room for it in any creed of the
Christian Church. It is surely strange that an important
matter of belief should never have found a place among the
Articles of the Christian faith. Surely we may say that,
according to the doctrine of some of our modern teachers, the
silence of the earlier Epistles and of the early apostolic preach-
ing—to say nothing of the discourses of our blessed Lord—on
what, if true, must be regarded as such an important article
of our faith, is utterly unaccountable.

On the theory of Christ's offering His sacrifice continually
for ever in heaven, because He is a priest for ever, it is surely
inexplicable that all New Testament teaching concerning His
priesthood should have been omitted till the truth was taught
in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is only when we come to this Epistle of apparently
later date, and an Epistle specially concerned with the exposi-
tion of Jewish ordinances in their relation to the revealed
mysteries of the Gospel, that we have set before us a doctrine
of Christian sacerdotium at all. Here we have indeed the
truth of sacerdotium—the sacerdotium of the true High Priest
of our profession. But have we here the doctrine in question
set clearly before us? I have confidence that it will be found
that this question can only be fairly answered in the negative.
If a mistaken exegesis of two isolated texts has sometimes
answered in the affirmative, it is simply because those texts
have, for the purpose, been isolated indeed from the whole
tenour of the doctrine in which they are set. But here we
shall see the sacerdotium of Christ set before us—and this
should be well observed—not in anything like an isolated position, but to be viewed in connection with the redemptive aspect of Christ's death—in the aspect in which it is seen as the blood of the new covenant, and in relation to the risen and ascended Saviour as the Mediator of that covenant.

Are we, then, to make light of the Epistle to the Hebrews? Is it for us to disparage its distinctive teachings? God forbid! We are not only to recognise fully its important position in the Canon of the New Testament Scriptures: we should not fail to estimate its high value in relation to the whole volume of inspiration, and to the history of God's dealings with the human race, and to the unfolding of the revelation of His wondrous loving-kindness for the lost. In its teaching concerning *sacerdotium*, we not only have an idea put before us which may be said to be a uniting centre, binding together into one the doctrines of Divine grace, and in that unifying process bringing them under an illuminating power of Divine glory; but, further, we have here shown us how ideas, roughly misshapen in the religions of the heathen, and strangely disfigured by men's carnal thoughts, have been shaped, re-formed, and educated by a preparatory dispensation in the chosen school of God's favour and Divine instruction, educated by earthly shadows that they might be prepared to fasten on heavenly realities—realities to be revealed when the fulness of the time should come, and God should send forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

No doubt we do well to regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as having a very special purpose in relation to the people to whom it is addressed. Very valuable and important is its teaching as a connecting-link between the old and the new. But in view of the unrolling of the volume of the book, we may be sure it has a voice of instruction not for Jewish believers alone. In the revelation of the Divine *cleovopia* it has an important purpose for the edification of the whole Christian Church. The view which it sets before us of the *sacerdotium* of Christ may be said to concentrate the teaching of the whole Divine *evangel* in the fulness of its Divine blessing.

And there is nothing in what has been urged in this paper which, rightly understood, will be found to deduct anything from the fullest recognition of this truth.

Let it be granted that the doctrine of the high priesthood of Christ adds nothing to the teaching which may be said to be involved in the simplest declaration of the message of the Gospel, yet it certainly tends to evolve from this, and then
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to throw a strong light upon, an aspect of the Redeemer’s present position and function in heaven which may be said, I believe, to sustain all the other Articles of the Christian faith, and an aspect which might well, perhaps, be much more strongly emphasized in our Christian teaching, and which certainly needs to be much more fully realized in our Christian living.

Moreover, in view of this educating purpose of the ceremonial law, as seen in this Epistle, we need not hesitate to call it to bear witness against the doctrine of Christ’s continual offering His sacrifice in heaven.

It is surely saying too little—far, very far too little—to assert that the doctrine is not to be found here. The doctrine of the Epistle, fairly viewed in its entirety, is simply fatal to the idea. The notion must fall before it. Its grievous wounding, as by stroke upon stroke, is to be seen in various details of the inspired teaching. Its wounding unto death is to be found in a succession of texts following hard one upon another. Its death-blow is to be seen in the view of the instruction of the Epistle as a whole.

And we shall need to carry with us the remembrance of this educating purpose of the shadows of the Mosaic ceremonial law as we proceed to further investigations of the subject which is before us. It must suffice for the present to indicate vaguely and roughly the central and main idea of sacerdotium to which it leads us. The early history of the Mosaic priesthood brings out clearly what may be called the root idea of the need and office of the priesthood in relation to God and to the people of His inheritance. The need is the need of those who, though taken out of the world to be the people of the Lord, dare not draw near to the glory of Jehovah. The office is the office of those who are called of God to draw near with a mediatorial nearness on behalf of those who must worship afar off.

When man sinned God drove out the man. A way is being prepared, according to God’s eternal counsel for the outcast race to return. But the sinner man must be taught to know the terrible truth of sin, and the awful condemnation of sin. Even the people chosen to be near to God, that He may dwell among them, must learn the truth concerning their God, that to outcast sinners He is a consuming fire, and thankfully to acquiesce in the Divine provision of a chosen class, called to draw near in their behalf, with a nearness to Him which is not for them.

And this idea of priesthood will be found connecting itself with the earlier teaching of altar and sacrifice, a teaching which now also in the law receives a much fuller development.
The priests are to be continually standing and ministering at the altar, that they may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins. Their nearness of mediation is dependent on sacrificial atonement; and the sacrificial atonement for the whole people is dependent on their continual ministration. So much as this will probably be allowed by all, and this much must serve as an introduction to what will have to follow.

N. Dimock.

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ART. IV.—SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS: MANNING, HUGH JAMES ROSE, DEAN HOOK, GLADSTONE, MACAULAY, THACKERAY.

[These are given with no other object than to illustrate the standpoint of the different writers.—Editor.]

I.

THE REV. H. E. MANNING (CARDINAL) TO THE REV. JAMES TRIPP.¹

(On the early Oxford Movement.)

My dearest friend,

I was on the point of writing to you yesterday, and intended to do so to-day, not to apologize for my non-appearance, but to ask how you are. Your account of Mrs. Tripp truly grieves me. I earnestly hope and pray it may please God to alleviate her sufferings and to sanctify your successive trials to you both.

I wish to refer, as you assure me it is not too much for you, to your last letter. The part, which implied an uncomfortable feeling in your mind, was the sentence, "I call no man master"; which seemed to me a sort of unconscious resentment of a suspicion that I desired to make myself your master, or that I thought the * * * was your master. Now the suspicion, and the wish, are as unworthy of me as of yourself; and I will in a moment show you that the rule of my faith and teaching is diametrically levelled at the system of "I am of Paul and I of Apollos," etc.; which system is the universal rule of the so-called Evangelical party, little as they may be aware of it.

¹ Mr. Tripp was Rector of Hardham, Cold Waltham, and Up Waltham, and gave Manning his title in conjunction with Mr. Sarjent, Rector of Lavington.
But first: the number of the * * * I sent you contains:
1. A denial of Holy Orders.

I. The denial of Holy Orders is contained in the letter of Misopapisticus.¹
   He says there is no proof the ministry was to be successive.
   And Orders are very good, and well for propriety's sake, etc., but not as anything further.
   Now oblige me by reading:
   (1) The first paragraph of the Preface to the Ordination Services: drawn up by Cranmer, etc. Read it several times over.
   (2) The words in the Service for Priests' Orders at the imposition of hands, "Receive ye," etc., quoted from St. John xx. 22, 23.
   (3) The 2nd Ember prayer, and the prayer in the Consecration Service beginning, "Almighty God, Giver of all good things," in which God is declared by His Providence and Spirit to be the appointer of divers orders, etc. See Eph. iv. 7-13.

II. The denial of the Holy Communion is contained in the marked passage at the end of the leading article: "no greater, nor even so great a mystery, as that one man may inspire another with hope, or love, or fear" !!!!!² No Socinian living would refuse to kiss the Gospels in attestation of this doctrine.
   Read:
   (1) The Catechism:
      "The Body and Blood of Christ which are verily and indeed taken," etc., and the next answer.
   (2) The Communion Service.
      a. Prayer "We do not presume," etc.
      b. Consecration Prayer: "partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood," etc.
      c. Second Prayer after receiving: "Holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood," etc.
      (3) XXVIIIth Article: "not only a sign, but a sacrament, insomuch," etc.
   Now read the scored passage in the * * * again, and remember dear brother Smelt at East Dean.
   These are the OXFORD views, and no others. Do not, my

¹ The editors could not be held responsible for the opinions of a correspondent.
² The controversy must indeed have been badly conducted if this sentence is fairly quoted. None of the party in question would at the present day endorse it.
dearest friend, blind yourself with the nickname Oxford views. Satan is using nicknames to bring in Socinianism, Infidelity, and Antichrist, whatsoever that be. Now I say to you, do not follow me, or the * * *, but the Prayer-Book.

But of this more another time.

Did you see in the last number a paragraph about Newman's brother? You will appreciate the coarse inhumanity\(^1\) of it when I tell you that it is a subject so acutely painful to Newman that his friends dare not mention it to him. It is years since I have spoken on it. This is as like Christian love as their teaching is like Christian faith. Again I say, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

I must break off, though I have very much more to write. May God unseal our eyes to see Satan's devices, even in the radiance of light.\(^2\)

Believe me, with very true and tried affection,

Ever yours,

H. E. M.

II.

THE REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE (ORIGINATOR OF "TRACTS FOR THE TIMES") TO THE REV. JOHN SINCLAIR (AFTERWARDS ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX).

HADLEIGH, February 6, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

I owe you a thousand apologies for having so long neglected to acknowledge your obliging attention in sending me your very valuable "Dissertations."\(^3\) I can only say with great sincerity that in reading them I deeply lamented that the volume did not entirely fall in with our plan, as, wherever it does, I should despair of seeing anything so likely to suit us, and do special service to our cause.

In the few animadversions which have appeared in the British Magazine of this month on your work, the two or three minor points on which I dissent from your opinions are matters where my own notions are, I am aware, sadly anti-

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\(^1\) The editors could not know that the subject of Francis Newman's scepticism was so sore a point with Newman.

\(^2\) Manning's secession to Rome caused his old friend and rector sincere grief. He lived in great activity as Rector of Spofforth to his ninety-third year, riding about his parish unattended three hours every afternoon. He always spoke with great affection of Manning, of whom he retained many reminiscences.

\(^3\) "Dissertations vindicating the Church of England." Rivingtons, 1833.
quated; and I believe that the notice of our not entirely agreeing on these would be more likely to serve your volume than to injure it, if any criticism there could be of the least consequence.

May I flatter myself that you will think of the request which I have made there with great sincerity, viz., that your two essays on Episcopacy and a Liturgy may appear in a cheap form for general circulation?

Believe me to be,

Dear Sir,

With very great esteem,
Your obliged servant,

HUGH JAMES ROSE.

III.

THE REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE TO THE REV. JOHN SINCLAIR.

ADDINGTON PARK, December 4, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,

I fear that you have long given me up as one a stranger to all the courtesies of life. But my justification is rather a melancholy one. When you so kindly sent me your book in the spring, I did not like to acknowledge a book of yours in the usual evasive manner, knowing how much real pleasure I should receive from it. I was then slowly recovering from a first attack of influenza. I read the book as I intended, but before I could write and say how much pleasure I derived from it, a second attack came on, to which the first (though it confined me to my bed for a month) was nothing. If I ever recover from its effects, it will not be but after a longer period than, in this world, one anticipates from ordinary health; and it is only within a recent period that I have been able to write or read, or transact any business whatever. Now, however, I am anxious at once to thank you most heartily for your kind remembrance of me, and to set myself right in your eyes. Any praise which I could bestow on one so distinguished that two most competent judges pronounced his works on two very different but most important subjects to be the best authorities would be idle. But to yourself I may perhaps venture to say that I do not see how you could have discharged your delicate but interesting duty better, for while the praise which your father's character and services might justly claim is given, you have so contrived that it is given by others rather than yourself.

Believe me to be, etc.,

HUGH JAMES ROSE.

¹ "Life of Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair."
Some Unpublished Letters.

IV.

Dr. Hook to the Rev. John Sinclair.

(On Hook's Appointment to Leeds.)

Coventry, March 30, 1837.

My dear Sir,

Accept my best thanks for your letter and for all your kindness towards me. Of your generous exertions in my behalf I had heard before, and fully intended to write and thank you. Our friend Sheepshanks, who is an enthusiastic admirer of yours, and when he does like a man likes him with all his heart, when he heard of your conduct, exclaimed, "Now that is glorious: it is the Duke of Wellington bearing testimony to the merits of Sir Robert Peel!"

The opposition of the Low Church Party is calculated to do me much good, as it has prepared and uproused a Party ready to receive me as their Leader, into which I shall endeavour to infuse such a spirit of activity as will in the end swallow up my opponents. There will be much need of firmness united with patience and gentleness on my part. But when a man is firm, he is at first very unpopular. Every art is resorted to, to move him from the position he has taken; foes will threaten, friends entreat, the lukewarm will sneer—zealous opponents rage. After a time, however, when they find that he will not go round to them they will gradually come round to him. You see, I am well aware of all that I have to encounter. And if you shall hear much evil of me for a year or two, pray do not throw up your brief, but still continue my advocate; or rather, what is better, remember me frequently, very frequently, in your Prayers. It is on the aid that cometh from above that I rely. I did not seek for the Living of Leeds. I at first shrunk from it. I had, indeed, little worldly inducement to lead me to seek it. I have had the promise of two Livings with less labour and nearly equal emolument in this neighbourhood, and the Archbishop of Canterbury told a friend of mine the other day that if I had not been appointed to Leeds, he should have advanced me. I mention this that you may believe me when I say that my present Preferment was not what I should have sought. And when I was asked whether I would accept it if offered, it was not for a long time that I could prevail upon myself to put the matter in God's hands, and to consider an appointment as a special call of Providence. Having signified my assent, and

1 In the candidature for the Vicarage of Leeds.

2 Warden of Holy Trinity, Coventry.
finding that in my Person an attack was made on true Churchism, I certainly did feel anxious not to be defeated. Or, as my dear Parishioners here say, "We are very sorry to part, but we should have been mortified had you not been elected."

I now feel that my appointment is the appointment of Him by whom the lot was directed, and this gives me courage to hope that He intends to use me as an instrument for introducing sound Church Principles in a place where they are little known.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir, with sincere respect and esteem,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

W. F. Hook.

V.

Dr. Hook to the Rev. John Sinclair.

(On the growth of the early Oxford Movement in Yorkshire.)

Vicarage, Leeds, August 29, 1839.

My dear Friend,

I had heard from Churton, who wrote to congratulate me as a friend of the Church on your appointments in London, of that which must indeed be a subject of rejoicing to all who are acquainted with your character; and I was on the point of writing to express my feelings to you, when your Letter arrived. I do most heartily rejoice at your being settled in London, and placed in a situation so admirably adapted to your Talents. I know not anything that has given me more real satisfaction for a very long time. Your cool logical mind cannot fail to have much influence with the Bishop of London, who is, I suspect, much more influenced by those about him than most people are aware of, perhaps much more than he is himself aware of. Persons who are decided and impetuous when they have once made up their minds, are often thus easily influenced while making them up . . . prejudices the Bishop against our Oxford friends, who, I suspect, is not acquainted with their writings. It will be a great thing to have one at hand who, without defending them when they are indiscreet, can argue calmly on their Principles, when those Principles are misunderstood.

You will be glad to hear that things are going on most favourably in this part of the world. The advance of right
Principles throughout this large county is quite wonderful. The number of quondam "evangelical" clergy who beg me to assist them in instilling Church Principles into their flocks would surprise you. I have had two applications from such by this very post—by men who two years ago would rather have seen me burnt than permit me to preach for them. Surely all these things show that there is an Almighty Power working with us. . . .

. . . I cannot tell you how with all my Heart and Soul I rejoice at your appointments; and heartily do I pray that the Lord Jesus may be with you.

Yours very affectionately,

W. F. Hook.

VI.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., TO THE VEN. JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

(Attendance of Elementary School-children at Church.)

13, Carlton House Terrace,

Sunday, June 9, 1844.

MY DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,

Pray accept my best thanks for your Charge, which I have read with great interest; and I rejoice to learn how large a measure of effect has attended your exertions in the matter of Education.

Perhaps, however, you will think my view too gloomy, when I proceed to say that I do not believe the most perfect and comprehensive system of school training will accomplish the great work of the recovery of the population, until the Church has herself a system of training to apply in after life, through the revival of her discipline; and also, that I look with much apprehension to the results of the present system of attendance at Church as it is applied to school-children. The length of the service, the character of the preaching, the description of place in which they are usually packed, are much against them; and I confess I have a dread of positive reaction and recoil as the consequence at the period of emancipation. In such London Churches as I frequent I see scarcely any children of the middling and higher classes.

But I am very glad of it if one so competent to judge as you are does not share in these sinister anticipations.

Believe me, with many thanks,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

1 Dr. Hook, who was the modern originator of Evening Communions, afterwards drew off from the later developments of the Oxford Movement.
VII.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., TO THE VEN. JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

(First Appointment to Glenalmond College.)

HAWARDEN CASTLE, N.W.,
September 16, 1845.

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR,

I am anxiously engaged in searching for such a person as may be confidently recommended to the Scottish Bishops as a Candidate for the Wardenship of Trinity College.

Mr. H. Holden, Curate of Upminster, has been named by Mr. E. Coleridge as one singularly well qualified for the office. Dr. Grant and Mr. Allies were mentioned as persons able to speak to his merits. From the latter I have received a very favourable report, but he desires me to apply to you for the corroboration of it, and I shall be much obliged by the free communication of your views of Mr. H.'s character; and I will even add, as I may be summoned away from this place on family business very shortly, that you will further oblige me if you should be able to make an early reply to my inquiries.

The points I mentioned to Mr. Allies were, I think, piety, learning, theological and secular, assiduity, temper, and tact, and turn for education; and on all he responds in the affirmative.

The last of these has a peculiar importance, and it is necessary to be the more jealously satisfied upon it, from the circumstance that Mr. H. has, I presume, little or no direct experience in teaching. Now, our Warden will not be expected to be a Schoolmaster, but he will, notwithstanding, I think, have to take some share, perhaps at first a considerable one, in the instruction of our boys, and it is contemplated that he shall be permanently responsible to the Council or Governing Body for the manner in which it is to be conducted.

You will have heard that all our proceedings connected with the adoption of a Constitution went off to the high satisfaction of all concerned.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Archdeacon,

Most faithfully yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

You will readily understand that what the Free Kirkmen call "acceptableness" will be an important quality in our Warden.

1 Afterwards Headmaster of Uppingham, Headmaster of Durham, and Hon. Canon of Durham.
VIII.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., TO THE VEN. JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

(On the American Civil War.)

HAWARDEN, December 19, 1861.

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR,

I have read the Bishop of Pennsylvania’s letter with interest, and, except as to the pleasing light it throws on his personal character, with pain. It is something strange that Americans, and that such Americans as he is, should feel no doubt as to the propriety of the war in which they are engaged on a scale so gigantic, when the nearly unanimous opinion of the civilized world is against them on that subject. With respect, indeed, to their finance, nothing can be more unfortunate than their course so far as we know it. One of the most dangerous features of modern war, in a modern and Christian sense, is the way in which, by avoiding compulsory service, and by loans, it hides the hideous features of strife, and substitutes what are even attractive. As the Bishop observes, employment is on the whole abundant; that is to say, a fictitious prosperity prevails; just as an individual seems to thrive when, a great call being made upon him for extraordinary expenditure, he meets it out of his capital. I have not been able to make out for certain that the United States have up to this moment met any portion of the charge of the war by taxes actually paid. Now, if this be so, then I must say they have set a bad example to the world; a portentous example, for the charges of war are providentially appointed to check the angry passions of mankind; and contrivances to evade and postpone what might be borne simply remove one of the most effectual curbs from those miserable passions.

The Bishop speaks of five disqualifications under which many Englishmen write of America at this juncture. I do not think we sin much against her from fear or envy. As to ignorance and contempt, of them I fear we have plenty, not as to her in particular, but as to foreign nations generally; and the latter most of all when we disapprove their ways. I earnestly desire, while sensible of imperfect knowledge, to be purged of every sentiment towards every country inconsistent with true brotherhood. There are few Americans who go beyond me in admiration for the great Founders of their

1 The prognostications of this letter were not borne out by subsequent events.
Some Unpublished Letters.

republic. I am deeply convinced that it was for our interest that the old Union should continue, on grounds which are to me conclusive. Had I ever felt unkindly towards America, their reception of the Prince of Wales would have banished for ever any bad and unworthy thought. I admit, further, that few nations indeed at critical times act according to the dictates of wisdom. But with all this I am amazed to the last degree at witnessing the manner in which they hug and congratulate themselves on what they have been doing; and I am persuaded they have undertaken one of the blindest enterprises on record in human history, for if (and what an if!) they could conquer the South they would only find themselves confronted by political and civil problems which are, especially under the conditions afforded by their institutions, wholly insoluble.

To all this, distressing enough, the strange affair of the Trent adds a new and fearful anxiety. May God guide us all, His erring children!

Will you kindly bear in mind that at ten on Thursdays after Easter holidays we see our friends to breakfast, only asking of them the favour of a written notice?

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

IX.


(On Charities to the Parish of Kensington.)

Holly Lodge, May 22, 1856.

My dear Sir,

I propose to subscribe two guineas a year to the National Schools, a guinea a year to the Infant School, and a guinea a year to the District Visiting Society. To the Dispensary I will make a donation of ten guineas, and subscribe two guineas annually. Will you, in addition to the trouble which you have already kindly taken, take that of desiring the Collectors to call on me?

Believe me,

My dear sir,

Yours very truly,

T. B. Macaulay.
X.

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY TO THE VEN. JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.
(On Lecturing for a Charity in Kensington.)

DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,

I should have very much pleasure indeed, but I have only those six lectures delivered in the summer, and they're scarcely good singly, or interesting except for people who care for literature not quite of a popular sort. And a lecture takes me ten days to write, and my time is not my own just now, being sold to a publisher as usual.

But I am exceeding anxious to do something, and if I can think of a subject suitable will be very glad to aid your project.

Believe me,

Very faithfully yours,

W. M. THACKERAY.

NOTES ON PASSAGES OF THE GREEK TEXT.

I.

Note on 1 Cor. vii. 32-34.

It is proposed to examine the force of the Greek word here translated "care" or "careth"; it is believed that considerable light may thus be thrown on the meaning of the passage. The word is "merimnan" (μεριμνάν). We find the noun "merimna" (μεριμνά) in the New Testament six times:

2. In Luke xxi. 34 ("cares of this life").
3. In 2 Cor. xi. 28 ("care of all the churches").
4. In 1 Pet. v. 7 ("casting all your care [or "worry"] upon Him, for He careth for you"). N.B.—In this passage the word "careth" is expressed by a different word from that used for "care."

We find the verb "merimnan" (μεριμνάν)—

5. In Matt. vi. 25, 27, 28, 31, 34 (twice), and in the parallel passage in Luke xii. 22, 25, 26 ("take thought").
6. In Matt. x. 19 ("take no thought"), and in the parallel
Notes on Passages of the Greek Text.

Mark xiii. 11, in composition with the preposition “pro” (πρό).

7. In Luke x. 41 (“thou art careful”). N.B.—The “care” of verse 40 is a different word; it is the same as the “careth” of 1 Pet. v. 7.

8. In the passage under consideration, 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33, 34 (twice).

9. In Phil. iv. 6 (“be careful for nothing”).

10. In 1 Cor. xii. 25 (“that the members should have the same care”); and in Phil. ii. 20 (“who will naturally care for your state”).

We find the adjective “amerimnos” (ἀμέριμνος)—

11. In Matt. xxviii. 14 (“secure”); and in 1 Cor. vii. 32 (“without carefulness”).

Now, laying aside for a moment the verses under consideration, with regard to which we must make no assumption, we find that in all the passages above quoted, except those in 10, which are two in number, the word, whether noun, verb, or adjective, has a bad signification, as if it denoted something which the Christian was to lay aside—something which was to be deprecated. It follows that the word “merimnan” (μεριμνάω) cannot, except in the two passages quoted in 10, signify that state of thoughtfulness and attention which we generally mean when we speak of “care,” and which the Christian should habitually cultivate, but that it must have the sense of “worry” or “anxiety.” The passage under consideration, therefore, is a warning, much needed in these days, against a snare to which all Christians, whether engaged in religious or secular work, are exposed—viz., the spirit of worry or anxiety. Whether in “the things of the Lord” or in the affairs of daily life, this is to be specially guarded against, and St. Paul’s teaching in this respect should never be forgotten by any Christian worker.

Other words used in the New Testament for “care,” all, apparently, in a good sense (except, perhaps, in 1 Cor. vii. 21), are:

1. “Melein” (μελέω), Matt. xxii. 16, Mark xii. 14, “neither carest thou for any man.”

Mark iv. 38, “carest thou not that we perish?”
John x. 13, “carest not for the sheep.”
John xii. 6, “not that he cared for the poor.”
Acts xviii. 17, “Gallio cared for none of these things.”
1 Cor. vii. 21, “care not for it.”
1 Cor. ix. 9, “doth God take care for oxen?”


1 Tim. iii. 5, “take care of the Church of God.”
Notes on Passages of the Greek Text.

3. "Epimelos" (ἐπιμελεῖν), Luke xv. 8, "diligently."
4. "Spoude" (σπουδὴ), Rom. xii. 8, "he that ruleth with diligence."

II.
"Baptisms," Heb. vi. 2.

The Greek word "baptismos" (βαπτισμός), here translated "baptisms," occurs in the Greek Testament only here and in Mark vii. 4, 8, and in Heb. ix. 10, in both of which places it signifies the ceremonial washings of the Jews, and not any Christian ordinance.

III.
"Ye do show the Lord's death," 1 Cor. xi. 26.

The Greek word "kataggelein" (καταγγέλλειν), here translated "show," occurs in sixteen other places in the Greek Testament; in all of these it refers to preaching to men, and not to any showing or declaring to God.

Acts iv. 2: "They preached through Jesus the Resurrection."
Acts xiii. 5, 38: "At Salamis they preached the Word of God"; "through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins."
Acts xv. 36: In every city where we have preached the Word of the Lord."
Acts xvi. 17, 21: "Which show unto us the way of salvation"; "and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive."
Acts xvii. 3, 13, 23: "This Jesus whom I preach unto you"; "that the Word of God was preached of Paul at Berea"; "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you."
Acts xxvi. 23: "And should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles."
Rom. i. 8: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world."
1 Cor. ii. 1: "Declaring unto you the mystery of God."
1 Cor. ix. 14: "That they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel."
Phil. i. 16, 18: "The one preach Christ of contention"; "Christ is preached."
Col. i. 28: "Whom we preach, warning every man."
IV.

"Born, Gennasthai" (γεννᾶσθαι), John iii. 1-8.

The word here translated "born" (γεννᾶσθαι) is generally used in the New Testament for the first impartation of life. See Matt. i. 1-16, 20; Acts vii. 8, xiii. 33; Gal. iv. 23, 24, 29; Heb. i. 5, v. 5, xi. 12.

The word is also used for "birth" (which is not the impartation of life, but the passage of the being, whether dead or living, from one state to another), Luke i. 57; Matt. ii. 1, 4; John ix. 2, 19, 20, 32, 34, xvi. 21, and elsewhere.

It is often used figuratively in a spiritual sense, as in John i. 13, iii. 1-8, and in 1 John frequently. See, too, 1 Cor. iv. 15, where a comparison with 1 Cor. i. 14-17 makes it clear that it is preaching, and not baptism, which is referred to.

"Genesis" (γένεσις), which signifies "birth," occurs only in Matt. i. 1; James i. 23, iii. 6. In Matt. xiv. 6, Herod's "birthday" is "genesis" (γενέσιοι).

"Paliggenesia" (παλιγγενεσία), or "regeneration," occurs only in Matt. xix. 28 (where it apparently refers not to a new creation, but to the renewal of this earth), and in Titus iii. 5, "the washing of regeneration."

Compare Mark xvi. 16, and Rom. x. 9, 10, in both of which passages the teaching seems to be the same, though in the latter the fact of confessing Christ, and in the former the appointed means of confessing Him, are specified. In Acts xxii. 16, "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins," we have an example of faith and confession crowned by the forgiveness of sins.

It appears, then, that in our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus, the word which He used was one which generally, though not exclusively, denotes the first impartation of life rather than birth, which is used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. iv. 15, in a sense excluding the idea of baptism, and which is not the same as the word translated "regeneration" in Titus iii. 5.

T. A. FREEMAN.
VERSES BY BISHOP COSIN, OF DURHAM.

(From the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Who more can crave
Than God for me hath done
To free a slave?
Who gave His only Son.

Blest be that hour
When He repaired my loss,
I never will
Forget my Saviour's Cross;
Whose Death revives
My soul—once was I dead;

But now I'll raise
Again my drooping head;
And singing, say,
And saying, sing for ever,
Blest be my Lord
That did my soul deliver. Amen.

Reviews.


A very cursory glance at this book would be amply sufficient to prove its value. The fact that it emanates from the pen of Professor Blass is of itself an excellent guarantee that it will be no mere perfunctory compilation, such as an inferior scholar might put together. Every page bears the clear stamp of learning and patient industry; indeed, it is not too much to say that there is no grammar of New Testament Greek extant which the philologist will more prize, or the student find equally useful. It is not so cumbrous as Winer, but it appears to be quite as exhaustive.

It is not at all the sort of book that discloses its merits to a student who approaches it without some fair knowledge of Greek; nor can any reviewer, however well-intentioned, pronounce with confidence on its contents if he has not tested it carefully. It obviously belongs to that class of books which, the more constantly they are utilized, the higher they are esteemed. Like a dictionary or an encyclopædia, a grammar
Reviews.

cannot be known after a month or two's study; it must be at one's elbow perpetually if we are to get the best use out of it. More particularly is this the case in a book which, like the present, bristles with tabulated facts and references. In our opinion Dr. Blass has rather supplied us with a grammatical cyclopædia than with a grammar proper; hence we are grateful to him for the full and concise indices which the book contains.

The blot on the volume as a whole is the method of abbreviation which is employed. The abbreviations are far too closely clipped; and no attempt is made to lighten the reader's difficulty by any of those typographical devices which modern printers have devised. For example—we open the book quite at random—on p. 94, under the head of "accusative of reference," we have the following:

"In τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν, 'daily,' L. 19. 47, 11. 3, Α. 17. 11, 28 D, 19. 9 D the article is meaningless; . . . τὸ λαοτῆδεν and λαοτῆδεν, 'for the rest,' 'now,' 'already,' Mt. 26. 45=Mc. 14. 41, Α. 27. 20 (λ.), 2 C. 13. 11 (λ.), E. 6. 10 τὸ λ. . . . "

Now, this sort of thing goes on for over 300 pages, and is a great strain on the reader's eyesight and nerves, all the more so because the pages are not sufficiently broken up in paragraphs. It seems the fashionable thing, however, for we have noticed the same in the New Bible Dictionary, in Driver's books, and (in general) among the publications of the higher critics.

In noticing a book of such value as a work of reference, we must not end with a complaint; so we will call attention to one or two interesting points in connection with Dr. Blass's critical standpoint. First, he refuses to allow such terms as "bastard," "debased," and so forth, to be applied to Hellenistic Greek, which, if not Attic in its purity, is, nevertheless, a pure language, governed by regular laws of its own. Greek at the Universities and elsewhere is not half studied as it should be, nor, for that matter, is Latin either. The curriculum is fixed to include a set of authors known as "classical," which are studied to the neglect of every author who fails to come up to the standard which modern pedants have fixed. Hence, a vast majority of those who are reckoned as good scholars, well read in the literature of Greece and Rome, have hardly heard of Ammianus, or Claudian, Lactantius, Cyprian, Augustine, and only know by merest hearsay such writers as Gregory, Plotinus, Clement, Origen, or the great Byzantine historians. Against this literary exclusiveness Dr. Blass justly protests.

Secondly, as regards textual criticism, Blass, instead of quoting the editions of the New Testament writers, simply quotes the MSS., leaving the reader to draw his own conclusion as to the vera lectio in each case. Surely this is a wise plan.

Thirdly, his attitude towards the "higher" criticism of the New Testament writers is, in the main, conservative, as his recent "Philology of the Gospels" has taught us to expect.
A word of acknowledgment is due to the translator of this volume. Too often, despite the drudgery he has gone through, the translator receives little enough in the way of adequate thanks from readers who enter upon the fruits of his labour. But we wish to express here our hearty gratitude to Mr. Thackeray for his toil. He has presented in an accessible form to English readers a work of the highest critical and philological importance.

E. H. B.

The Subconscious Self. By Louis Waldstein, M.D. London: Grant Richards.

In general, by the phrase "the religious mind" one is given to denote an attitude of deep spirituality, and naturally enough, for the opposite condition in that connection is usually regarded as the "worldly mind." But really everyone has a religious mind to some extent, be it great or small, and notwithstanding whether he is a saint or a sinner. Moreover, this department of our being is a section of by far the most powerful division of our mental states—that which psychologists have agreed to call the subconscious self. This is the frame of mind which fosters religion, where all our ideas of faith, awe, mystery, and trust live and move and have their being, unless at any time, that is, our critical faculty or reasoning powers are called into play.

Our mental personality, says the author, is represented by the sum of all the impressions which have been deposited in our memory during our lifetime. These impressions, of course, depend primarily upon our own peculiarities of organic structure, because all our knowledge is conditioned by our senses; e.g., if a man is colour blind, he lives in a different world from those who are not so affected. But taking all these impressions together in their sum total, their nature differs in two well-defined manners. Some of them have been at the outset conscious, fully grasped and exercised by the conscious activity of the mind, and these form in their aggregate a conscious self. But by far the greater number of our mental impressions have been subconscious—that is to say, have become a part of our mental being without any conscious exercise of the intellectual faculty. The sum total of these is that other part of our self from which emanate impulses and moods, the consuming desire to live our own life, to realize our ideals, irrespective of the relations which surround us. This is the subconscious self.

Dr. Waldstein, having laid down the difference between the nature and the work of our two selves, devotes his book to discussing the manner in which they can be wrought into a complete harmony and live in agreement together, subsisting for the benefit of the individual. He points out the danger of either becoming unduly prominent, and how these two inherent parts of our inner self are constantly at conflict. In short, he expresses in philosophical language that dualism which Scripture indicates as existing in the life of every one of us, and with true sympathy he takes as his motto a couplet from Burns:

"What's done we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted."

In truth, the subconscious self plays a most important part in our existence. It is certain that by far the majority of the impressions on our senses leave no trace in conscious recollection. Yet they cannot be destroyed; no one thought that we have ever conceived but keeps a permanent record of itself within our mind. And all this total of dim "sub-liminal" impressions is capable of being evoked by some appropriate stimulus into a power of conscious being which for the time dominates us entirely. The result of this unperceived labour of our
minds is often more valuable than those of our intelligent efforts. Great inventions, wonderful works of art, so-called "inspirations" are really the fruit of this unconscious laying up of impressions. And, most important of all, it is really this part of our mind which forms the domain of religious feelings pure and simple.

It has long been recognised that, except in a limited sense, pure intellect has little part in the religious life. It is true that such questions as, e.g., the date of St. John's Gospel are to be determined by the conscious use of the critical faculty, but unaided reason will not, for instance, persuade us to love our neighbour as ourself. This is the teaching of St. Paul when he declares that the "natural man" cannot discern spiritual mysteries. The faith by which they are received, speaking of its human aspect, lies in the subconscious self. It will readily be admitted, therefore, that in religious matters a great deal of attention should be paid to the education of the subconscious self, especially in childhood. Of course it has been held from time immemorial that the child is father of the man, but Dr. Waldstein illustrates the old truth so clearly, and enforces it in such scientific fashion, that his remarks on religious training are worthy of close attention. Another point we are glad to call attention to is his insistence of the part that training in childhood may play in combating the influence of heredity. We are, unhappily, too familiar with the favourite theories of Ibsen and other decadent pessimistic bards with reference to the supposedly hopeless condition of people with a hereditary tendency towards some fault, and we gladly welcome such a sane and vigorous refutation of an overstated case. He has let light into the dark regions of hereditary tendencies.

We would willingly discuss other aspects of a brilliant book, did space permit, but must content ourselves with saying that its remarks on self-discipline, mental control, and education are deeply interesting, and of great importance to religious workers.

W. A. Purton.

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Short Notices.


Mr. Mackenzie Bell is already favourably known in the world of letters as the author of a charming book of verse, "Spring's Immortality, and other Poems"; as the writer of two valuable critical biographies, "Charles Whitehead" and Christina Rossetti"; and as a thoughtful and discriminating essayist. He has added to his reputation by the delicate and graceful lyrics and the strong, clear blank verse of the present volume. His writing shows a deep and appreciative sympathy with Nature in her varying moods, and an ear swift to catch the lessons which, as the visible vesture of the Eternal Mind, she suggests. "Pauillac," "Meudon," "Roses and Snow," "The Garonne," "St. Sauveur," "Genera," all show a mind in tune with Turner and Wordsworth. The longest poem, "The Battle's Pause," is a series of vigorous imaginative scenes in the rhythm of Scott. The strong human sympathies of the poet are shown in "The Worker amongst the Poor," "The Philosophy of Feelings," "The Philosophy of Failure." The vindication of a religious belief which is apart from science and demonstration is given


This is indeed a labour of love. The little church of Holy Trinity, Minories, on the eastern confines of the City of London, the last relic of the Abbey of Minor Sisters founded by Queen Blanche, has been condemned to cease to exist independently on the next voidance. The Vicar, Dr. Kinns, with strong literary instinct and the zeal of an enthusiastic antiquarian, has collected into one fascinating volume all the memories and associations of any of the historical characters who had anything to do with this remarkable church. The story of all the churches of the rich and powerful mediæval City of London is replete with incident and interest; and this is one which combines in itself almost more of the kind than any other. The tale of such a foundation is a series of lights thrown on the ecclesiastical and social history of England. Dr. Kinns has performed his work with the devotion of a lover. He has many curious things to say on all kinds of subjects. No pains have been spared to make the book attractive; the illustrations, which are very good, amount to no less than eighty. It is encouraging to other local historians to know that the work has been very well received.

_St. Francis of Assisi, and the Third Order in the Anglican Church._ By F. P. Luigi JosA, Canon of St. George's, Guiana. Mowbray and Co. Pp. 145.

This very interesting little treatise contains an account of the beautiful life and work of St. Francis of Assisi, and a scheme for adapting his Third Order of Lay Brothers and Sisters, living in their own homes, and devoting themselves to works of charity and religion, to the needs of the Church of England. It is the wisdom of the Church to gather and learn from all sources. Bishop Westcott has been for many years pointing out how the Church needs above all things the organization of lay work, both for men and women. The idea embodied in this little book seems most happy. It has nothing superstitious, sacerdotal, or disputable; simply the regulation of spontaneous and active forces on plain lines of correlation to the Church. Who can say, if some such system had been adopted long ago, how much of vague, irregular, conflicting, and often ill-directed movements might have been spared?


This important and valuable work contains seventy-six lives, from 1536 to 1603. The author has consulted many original sources, inaccessible to the general reader—the State Papers at the Record Office, the collections at the British Museum, the Lambeth collections, including the archiepiscopal registers, the Petyt papers at the Inner Temple, and the two hundred volumes of manuscripts at Hatfield House. The result is, a series which throws brilliant light on the state of the Church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. White, who is an Islington vicar, has treated his subject in a thoroughly impartial manner, and extenuates nothing. At a time of revolutionary change, some of the lives were not free from blame; but this only brings out the greatness of others by contrast. Mr. White's style is luminous and pleasant, and the reader will be anxious not merely to look out the important names, but to read the whole from beginning to end.
CHRISTMAS BOOKS.


Every year this delightful serial seems to increase in vitality and interest. The chief features are adventures, competitions, natural history, correspondence, electricity, chess, tales, indoor amusements, pets, photography, poetry, notebook, and puzzles. The contents are most varied.


It is difficult in a few lines to give an idea of the excellence of this volume. Besides numerous charming tales, short and long, it contains answers to correspondents, cookery recipes, typical Church towers, prize competitions, illustrated biographies, varieties, music, and pictures.


It is a pleasure to look over this excellent volume, with its admirable portraits and sketches.


This is a capital collection of good and well-chosen matter, with interesting and varied illustrations.


Three pleasant tales for children.


A lively and touching story, with a drift that cannot fail to be appreciated.

A Thoughtless Seven. By Amy Le Feuvre. R.T.S. Pp. 93. Price 1s. 6d.

A bright and amusing account of how some of a careless set of brothers and sisters became changed. There are twenty-seven very sympathetic illustrations.

A Puzzling Pair. By Amy Le Feuvre. R.T.S. Pp. 144. Price 3s. 6d.

A very charming story of child life. It is beautifully printed, and each page has an illustration.


A vigorous and wholesome picture of seaside life, adventures, mistakes, and a happy ending.


A thrilling series of incidents and adventures in connection with the Chartist riots in Derbyshire; well-imagined, written, and illustrated.


A set of very quaint and amusing nursery tales from far Japan, with an approving preface by Mrs. Bishop (Miss Isabella Bird), the traveller. Beautifully got up, and quite exceptional as a gift-book.

Tales and Rhymes for Happy Times. By Dorothy Arnold. R.T.S. Royal 4to. Pp. 64. Price 2s. 6d.

A splendid volume, with four large coloured plates and eighty engravings, accompanied by stories and rhymes in large print, which will carry wonder and delight to the heart of many a child.


Full of fun and frolic, and humorously illustrated.
**Short Notices.**

*Other People's Stairs.* **By Isabella Fyvil Mayo.** R.T.S. Pp. 256. Price 2s. 6d.

The experiences of a Highland girl from the north of Sutherland, in servant life in a town, well and skilfully told by an experienced writer.

*Maidens Three.* **By A. Fraser Robertson.** R.T.S. Pp. 255. Price 2s. 6d.

The adventures of three young ladies from the time of leaving school till marriage. A useful and suggestive book for the schoolroom.

*Christie, the King's Servant.* **By Mrs. O. F. Walton.** R.T.S. Pp. 128. Price 1s.

Everybody will want to read this, as it is a sequel to "Christie's Old Organ," told in the charming authoress's best manner.

*Fencote's Fate.* **By Ellen Louisa Davis.** R.T.S. Pp. 255. Price 2s. 6d.

A pleasant story of how a young man, whose life at first seemed blighted by his father's death and bankruptcy, worked his way up by manliness and perseverance to prosperity and success.


A vigorous story of the finding of a treasure, told in Manville Fenn's best manner.


A charming book for elder girls, inculcating unselfishness.

*To1•mentilla.* **By Liesa Forest.** S.P.C.K. Pp. 253. Price 2s. 6d.

A pretty story of French children brought up with English cousins, illustrating their different ways.


A well-drawn picture of the troubles brought on in village life by an uncontrolled will.


A good story for boys of pluck and endeavour at home and in Canada.


A pleasant tale of South Africa and Cornwall, with the moral that wrongdoing never brings happiness.


A useful little sketch of a thoughtless stepmother and a conscientious child.

*Some Features of Modern Romanism.* **By the late Rev. F. B. Woodward.** S.P.C.K. Pp. 178. Price 2s. 6d.

An excellent, temperate, and convincing polemic, for personal or parish use.

*Selected Sermons.* **By the late Rev. F. B. Woodward.** S.P.C.K. Pp. 178. Price 2s. 6d.

In his preface Dean Boyle strongly commends these sermons, by the British Chaplain in Rome, who died in 1865, as models for candidates for orders, and worthy of Butler or Chalmers.


An elaborate attempt to prove that the Reformers, in condemning "Sacrifices of Masses" did not condemn "the Sacrifice of the Mass." As each Reformer fulminated with all the force he could command against "the Sacrifice of the Mass," this is a dead controversy. If the writer had read Dimock's "Missarum Sacrificia," he would not have
written the book. If the Sacrifice of the Mass is a truth, it must rest on other support than that of the Reformers.

*St. John Baptist.* By the late Dean GouLBURN. S.P.C.K. Pp. 118. Price 1s. 6d.

Eight selected sermons, hitherto unpublished, from the pen of the valued writer of "Thoughts on Personal Religion." A welcome addition to homiletical literature.


These thoughts of encouragement and consolation for the suffering and perplexed, by so spiritual and experienced a writer, should have a wide circulation.

*Holy Thoughts for Quiet Moments.* By Bishop HUNTER DUNN, of Quebec. S.P.C.K. Pp. 133. Price 1s. 6d.

There is much that is very beautiful and useful in these thirty-one devotional exercises. The blemish "Here we offer and present unto Thee the one acceptable Sacrifice," which is not Anglican doctrine, can be passed over for the character of the rest.


This little book, which is full of piety and devotion, goes beyond Anglican teaching. One of the nine resolutions is: "To assist at the late celebration, if possible, every Sunday" (reception having been resolved on at an early celebration). "Worthily taste Thy sacred Body and Blood" is an expression which in these times is of questionable wisdom. "As soon as the consecration has been uttered and is complete," an act of special adoration is provided, containing the "Hail, sacred Victim."

*Our Only Hope.* By Bishop HUNTER DUNN, of Quebec. S.P.C.K. Pp. 60. Price 6d.

This is a little manual for the recently confirmed. Like "Our Church Manual," it contains expressions not warranted by the Prayer-Book. It speaks of the duty of assisting in presenting Christ's wondrous Sacrifice; if ever the reader finds himself tempted for any reason to fall back, then he is to take some opportunity of speaking to his clergyman; he is taught to pray that he may venerate the holy mysteries of Christ's Body and Blood; he invokes the Holy Spirit so to bless and sanctify the bread and wine that they may be to us the precious Body and Blood of Christ (the Prayer-Book, on the contrary, prays that we, receiving, may be partakers); and immediately after the consecration there is an act of adoration, with the "Hail, saving Victim!" If the Bishop could have left out these points, his little book could be used by most people.


A neat little edition, with the rubrics printed in red, and some devotional drawings after the German manner.

*Readings for Mothers' Meetings, from Advent to Septuagesima.* By Lady LAURA HAMPTON. S.P.C.K. Pp. 116. Price 1s. 6d.

Thirteen simple devotional expositions.


Excellent teaching for working women.


Antiphons are short sentences from Scripture, or original poetry, interposed before or after any psalm or canticle, giving it special

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meaning. These were common in pre-Reformation services, but were struck out of the Prayer-Book by the Reformers among the "multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations," etc., as too confusing. Many of them are beautiful in themselves, and suitable for private devotion.


Price 6d.

Most useful and timely. There are no such obstinately bad cooks as English cottagers. Improvement can only come from the elder girls and young women.


This book is written with a cleverness and a lucidity which are almost French. The theology of it, we must also add, shows a want of depth which Englishmen commonly associate with Frenchmen. Surely the treatment of St. Peter's confession which ascribes to Christ the words of eternal life is hopelessly inadequate. And who could believe that St. Paul's address to the Philippian jailer really meant what M. de Quetteville makes of it? There is a haziness about the author's view of prayer, of miracles, and of sin which is none the less regrettable because it is much in vogue.


This work, though somewhat loose in structure and prolix almost to garrulity, offers some very interesting and suggestive thoughts upon the great problem, "What is man?" The author analyzes that department of our being which is the seat and source of mood and emotion. He appears to be somewhat sceptical as to the truth of the doctrine of heredity, which is usually proclaimed with great assurance in the present day. The friends of temperance will be glad to know that Dr. Waldstein is a foe to the use of alcohol. The book is useful rather than profound.


This book is an attempt to ascertain the mental endowment and characteristics of the Lord Jesus in the days of His flesh. The writer is competent and thoughtful, reverend and candid, and has patiently pondered a difficult subject. How far such attempts can ever reach results satisfying and correct must be regarded as an open question. Mr. Adamson, at any rate, appears to conform to the conditions without which no measure of real success can be expected. Those who take interest in such inquiries will find the present volume helpful.


This book purports to be a critical inquiry concerning the orthodox creed, and a declaration of its contents in proof of its capacity to meet the needs of modern life. The author—who is evidently a widely-read man and a sincere thinker—proposes to recover what he believes to be the vital and primitive "orthodox creed," by disencumbering it of its Latin systematization, and reverting to the "more liberal theology of the Greek mind." Hence he proposes to substitute Athanasius for Augustine in the hierarchy of the Fathers of the Church. Mr. Beeby is distinctly and avowedly a Broad Churchman in his sympathies, and his book will, therefore, not be likely to command a general assent among Churchpeople. But it is not one to be dismissed lightly; and there is much of it which is excellently and carefully thought out.

Despite the local colour which pervades this stout octavo volume of nearly 500 pages, the book is likely to be of permanent value to Christian ministers, to whatever Church or denomination they belong. The book is divided into twenty-one chapters, among which we have read with special interest those dealing with the "Social Life of the Church," "Church Organization," and "Revivals and Revivalism." This last is particularly good. While fully cognizant of the occasional need of so-called "revivalistic" work, the author very properly insists that we must not allow the stimulus of religious excitements to usurp the function of the normal law of Christian development. Normal methods may be less spectacular and dramatic, but the accession of strength that results from them is more lasting. Chapter xviii., on the "Institutional Church," is interesting, too, in its way, though the title is ugly. The Church which is described as "institutional" is one which, in addition to the usual features of Church life, adds "a number of appliances not commonly regarded as ecclesiastical—e.g., gymnasiums, reading-rooms, and the like." What (to put it briefly) strikes us so favourably in Dr. Gladden's work is not merely the evidence of practical acquaintance with every nook and cranny of his subject, but robust common-sense and business-like capacity. These excellent virtues are, in too large a number of the clergy, noticeable by their absence. Dr. Gladden's book is an ornament to the International Theological Library which Messrs. T. and T. Clark are publishing, and we wish it signal success.


Mr. Macpherson is favourably known to theologians by his commentary on the Ephesians. The present work will enhance his reputation. It is excellently done, considering the limitations as to space under which the writer has worked. Not the least useful feature is the copious bibliographical clues which accompany the various sections of the book. They are not exhaustive, but they are entirely adequate to their purpose. The treatise itself—the standpoint of which is a moderate, and a good deal modified, Calvinism—is succinct and comprehensive. We cannot say the book, as a whole, is easy reading—it is too compressed to be exactly easy or attractive; but it appears to us—and we have read most of it carefully—to be well up to date, and to be clear and sufficient in its statements. Fortunately, too, it is possessed of an index; so the volume serves the purpose of a reference book, as well as of a manual for study.

The Month.

The Bradford Church Congress, if not altogether brilliantly, has been soundly successful. Many of the papers and speeches were first-rate, and the Bishop of Ripon's presidential address was a marvel of eloquence. There were few opportunities for disturbers of the public quiet to obtrude themselves, though there was something of a scene when, after the President had called for Bishop Barry's paper on "The Expansion of the Empire," Father Black protested against Bishop Barry having part or lot in the Congress; his protest, however, was coldly met. Mr. Kensit was accorded a few minutes wherein to make an attack upon the bishops, a theme on which he not seldom is in the habit of enlarging.
Among noteworthy papers must be mentioned Mr. Justice Grantham’s pungent and clever criticisms of the mutual relations between clergy and laity; a very able paper on the responsibilities of labour and capital by Mr. G. Hawkins (a working men’s representative); an eloquent paper by the Bishop of Manchester on “The Unrest of the Age.” The Primate was given an extraordinarily cordial reception at the working men’s meeting. Congress sermons were preached by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. The Church Times has seen fit to allude to the presidential address as a “futile attack on the Church’s catholicity”; but we cannot refrain from quoting its closing paragraphs, as they appear to us to convey a much-needed lesson in these days: “Of one thing I am sure. As humanity begins to understand itself, and to realize that fellowship which belongs to it in the revelation of the one Eternal Father and of the all-redeeming Christ, it will be satisfied with no Church whose powers are narrower than the world. The future of the world does not belong to sectarianism, and so the dream of Catholicity will be fulfilled. Of another thing I am certain. As increasing light falls upon great problems, and men begin to realize how much of Judaistic, pagan, and scholastic thought is mingled with popular Christianity; how many accretions due to human weakness and race prejudice have been incorporated in our conceptions, they will distrust any Church which for every new epoch has added new dogma to faith, and with every new dogma has gone further from the simplicity of Christ. The future of the world does not belong to Latinism, and so the vision of Protestantism will be fulfilled. But of a third thing I am convinced even more surely. The religion of the future will neither be Protestant nor Catholic, but simply Christian. The dogmas which have separated communion from communion will fall off as autumn leaves before the fresh winds of God. Many views which in the very providence of God have played their part in clearing the thoughts of men will pass into forgetfulness. Men will not grieve to see the old things go, for a larger faith will be theirs:

‘They will not think God’s world will fall apart
Because we tear up parchment more or less.’

It will be content with a simpler symbol because it will have learned Christ. It will not need any longer Trent, or Westminster, or Lambeth, or the Vatican to lead it. It will be satisfied with simpler thoughts and a purer faith. It will be satisfied to realize that there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.”

During Congress week there was a largely attended meeting of the E.C.U., under the presidency of Viscount Halifax; and an equally largely attended conference, convened by the Church Congress Evangelical Union, under the presidency of Sir John Kennaway.

It has been decided that the Church Congress of 1899 is to be held in London, under the presidency of the Bishop.

The Archbishop of Canterbury delivered his primacy charge to the clergy of the diocese on October, 10, 11 (in the cathedral), on the 12th in the Parish Church, Ashford. The charge was divided into sections, and was mainly occupied in unfolding the mind of the Church of England upon (1) the Eucharistic Doctrine, (2) Prayers for the Dead, (3) the Discipline of the Church. The London Review thinks that the Archbishop’s Visitation addresses will go down to history as one of the strongest efforts to obtain cohesion in the whole annals of the Church. The Spectator of October 15, in one of the most acute ecclesiastical articles we ever remem-
ber having seen in its pages, is confident that the Primate's charge is not only of capital importance, but has successfully defined the position of the Church of England as to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. According to Archbishop Temple, the Anglican Church, while she steadily repudiates in her formularies every taint of the Roman heresy of transubstantiation, does not exclude the Lutheran doctrine as to the Sacraments.

The annual meeting of the National Protestant Congress took place at Folkestone on October 18-21. The annual autumn meeting of the C.P.A. is announced to take place on October 27 at Exeter Hall.

APPEAL.—The Committee of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews are just now making an important appeal for additional funds to enable the Society to meet its liabilities and increased expenditure. Remittances should be addressed to the Secretaries, 16, Lincoln’s Inn Fields, W.C.

The extraordinary vigour of the Primate has been generally remarked. After having addressed two meetings at Bradford during Congress week, he travelled by night to London, arriving at Lambeth at 3 a.m. At 10.15 a.m. he consecrated the Rev. J. MacArthur as Bishop of Bombay and Rev. W. Ruthven Pym as Bishop of Mauritius. On the following day he visited Rugby to reopen the School Chapel, which has recently been enlarged. After the sermon the Archbishop unveiled a stained glass window in memory of Dr. Goulbourn, whom he (Dr. Temple) succeeded as headmaster, and subsequently uncovered a memorial slab, with medallion portrait of Archbishop Benson, who was an assistant master at Rugby under Dr. Temple.

On Wednesday, October 19, at 7.30 p.m., the Bishop of London preached at St. Paul’s Cathedral to the members of the medical profession. The service, which is an annual one, is organized by the Guild of St. Luke. There was a large gathering of doctors on the present occasion.

The Church Times has just published a fierce rejoinder to Mr. Walsh’s "Secret History of the Oxford Movement" (now in its twentieth thousand), under the title of "A Protestant Mare’s Nest." Mr. Walsh announces that he will shortly publish a reply to this attack.

The Rev. Arthur Robins, Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen and Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, was recently presented at Windsor, by his parishioners and friends, with a testimonial, to mark the completion of his twenty-five years' services as Rector of Holy Trinity and Chaplain of the Household Troops. A guard of honour was furnished by a detachment of the Church Lads' Brigade.

The Truro Cathedral Building Committee again met this month at Truro, the Bishop of the diocese presiding. Mr. Wix, treasurer, reported that after paying nearly £2,000 for preparing the foundations, £27,500 remained available for building the nave. About £1,800 was collected by the Ladies’ Association, and £200 had been received from the London committee of the Archbishop Benson Memorial Fund. The architect was instructed to have specifications for the nave prepared, as well as a sketch of that portion of the interior.
Mr. Duff Asheton Smith, of Port Dinorwic, has contributed £1,000 towards the Bishop of Bangor's Clergy Augmentation Fund.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has offered the Bishopric of Osaka, Japan, to the Rev. H. J. Foss, for twenty-two years a missionary of the S.P.G. at Kobe, within the limits of the Bishopric. The offer has been accepted.

We congratulate (says the Church Times) the parishioners of St. Andrew's, Leeds, on their noble effort to provide, out of their earnings, a sum of £5,000 to reconstruct the church schools with additional accommodation for three hundred children. The new buildings were opened by the Bishop of Rochester, whom Leeds people regard with affection as their former vicar. It was announced by the Vicar of St. Andrew's that the new school, which is to be entirely free, will bear comparison with the Board schools in regard to the education provided, as well as the appliances and surroundings. It is worthy of mention that the Leeds Church Day Schools Association has already raised £44,000 out of the £50,000 it aims at raising. Speaking at the opening of St. Andrew's School, Mr. Gerald Balfour referred to the occasion as furnishing an answer to the question often asked, whether it is worth while to continue the struggle for denominational schools, instead of leaving all to the Education Department.

It is stated that the Primate has arranged to take up his residence in the cathedral precincts, Canterbury, on November 5, with the intention of remaining until the end of the year. His Grace will occupy the house which, after additions and alterations, is to become the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishop of Liverpool has written to the Guardian to deny explicitly the truth of a rumour which is being circulated to the effect that he contemplates retiring.

A monumental cross of the old Anglican pattern, erected in memory of Caedmon, was unveiled in Whitby churchyard a short while since by the Poet Laureate. It stands nearly twenty feet high, and is hewn out of sandstone taken from the Roman quarries of Chollerford. On the front, or eastern face, are panels containing the figures of Christ in the act of blessing, of David playing the harp, of the Abbess Hilda, and of Caedmon inspired to sing his first song. Beneath runs the inscription: “To the glory of God and in memory of His servant Caedmon, who fell asleep hard by A.D. 680.”

Under the auspices of the Protestant Reformation Society two meetings were held on October 6 at Bedford, of which the afternoon meeting took the form of a conference of clergy and laity to discuss the respective positions of each in the present crisis.

On Saturday, October 8, the Bishop of London consecrated the new parish church of Emmanuel, West End, Hampstead, to meet the wants of the growing population of nearly ten thousand people. The cost of the first portion of the building, including the site, etc., will be £10,000, towards which £9,000 has already been paid or promised.

The Calcutta Statesman is responsible for the following announcement: “It has been settled at home, consequent on various difficulties as to
precedence which have arisen in the city, that the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon will come out to this country as Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Established Church of England in India."

In the course of his Visitation Charge, the Bishop of Worcester said he could not put evangelical sins of omission and ritualistic sins of commission on the same footing. Gradually the poison of Romish tractsarianism had filtered through the veins of the Church. He was thankful for comprehensiveness, but Protestants could not allow services which were an imposture, or submit to have distinctive Roman doctrine taught in all its unscriptural repulsiveness from their pulpits and at their altars.

Addressing the synod of the diocese of Armagh, the Archbishop of Armagh said: "Ignorance of Reformation principles seems to account for a good deal of the Romanizing extravagance so painfully prominent in some quarters. I am not afraid for England or her religion; I do not believe that the great English Church will go to pieces over ignominious squabbles over curiously tessellated opinions and patchwork, or piebald rites. When I look round Christendom, England is about the only country where faith is not afraid to reason, nor reason ashamed to adore. There are other things to be weighed besides these flaunting phantasies that catch the eye. The Church of England waits with the colossal calm of conscious strength, and is thinking intensely while she is accused of being asleep, and will find remedies against excesses which are best suited to her traditions and her people. In our island Church ritualism is not only non-existent, but impossible. It cannot be until our Prayer-Book is rewritten, until our rubrics are removed, until our canons are sponged out, until our traditions are forgotten, until our people are remade. Our Church does not permit fancy services."

With reference to the proposal for a conference, made by Lord Halifax, between the Sacerdotal and Evangelical sections, the Yorkshire Post, in its issue of October 1, comments thus: "We saw on Tuesday evening a hand outstretched from one section of the Church to another which we trust will not be withdrawn until the opposing parties have fairly met face to face, and talked over their differences with a sincere desire to purge them of all that makes them a reproach to Christian worship. This potential summons to friendly conference should in its ultimate result prove to be the most memorable and beneficent product of any Church Congress, and with such a pledge of earnest purpose offered in the sight of the world it will, we hope, prove morally impossible for the overtures made to pass unheeded." Not everybody, however, is so sanguine as to permanently beneficial results accruing from the proposed Round-Table Conference.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—In London, the second jubilee of the C.M.S. and the Gleaners' Union anniversary will to some extent be merged. The Bishop of Exeter will preach the sermon at a special commemoration service in St. Bride's Church on the morning of Tuesday, November 1, and he will preside at the jubilee meeting the same afternoon at Exeter Hall. There will be a large evening meeting in Exeter Hall, which will be the Gleaners' Union anniversary gathering, and various conferences on the following day, Wednesday, November 2. On the following Monday, November 7, there will be a men's meeting—that is, for men exclusively—in Exeter Hall, which the London Lay Workers' Union is organizing, and they are inviting other unions of lay workers in the provinces to have similar meetings in celebration of the second jubilee.
The Month.

SOME NEW BOOKS.


*First Epistle of St. Peter.* Greek text, with commentary, by the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D. Macmillan. Price 6s.


*Testimonies to Christ.* By the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. Wells Gardner. Price 6s.

*Short Life of Christ.* By Rev. Dr. Geikie. Longmans. Price 3s. 6d.

*Priestly Ideals.* By Rev. Canon Newbolt. Longmans. Price 3s. 6d.


*Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion.* By H. Gee, B.D. Clarendon Press. Price 10s. 6d. net.

*University Addresses.* By the late Principal Caird, D.D., LL.D. Glasgow: Maclehose. Price 6s. net.


*Sir F. Lockwood: A Biographical Sketch.* By Augustine Birrell, Q.C. Smith and Elder. Price 10s. 6d.


*Isles and Shrines of Greece.* By S. J. Barrows. Sampson Low. Price 8s. 6d.


Among important announcements we observe the following: “Cardinal Newman as Anglican and Catholic: With some unpublished Correspondence,” edited by Mr. E. S. Purcell.

Messrs. George Bell and Sons have a costly and important work in the press on “Westminster Abbey: Its History and Architecture,” with nearly one hundred collotype plates, many of which have been taken expressly for the work. Mr. H. F. Feasey has supplied the historical text; Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., the architect to the Dean and Chapter, an architectural account of the Abbey buildings; and Mr. Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A., an appendix on the earlier sepulchral monuments. The number of copies will be limited to 250.