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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

BERENGAR AND THE REFORM OF SACRAMENTAL DOCTRINE. By the Rev. A. J. Macdonald, D.D. *Longmans, Green & Co.* 21s.

Review by the Rev. Canon A. J. TAIT, D.D.

*Whosoever hath, to him shall be given*, were the arresting and challenging words in which our Lord gave expression to a law that governs all intellectual achievement ; and it causes us no surprise to learn from Dr. Macdonald that in pursuing one bit of research he was being led to another, and that this book on the Berengarian controversy owes its inception to his study of the life, the work and the writing of Lanfranc (*Lanfranc*, Oxford University Press). What may cause us surprise is the fact that the subject of the book now under review has "not hitherto been allowed the dimensions of a volume in English."

We congratulate and thank the author for having supplied the deficiency. For English readers he has done in respect of Berengar what Bishop Handley Moule did in respect of Ratramn and Bishop Ridley in his book *Bishop Ridley on the Lord's Supper* (Seeley & Co., 1895), and, we may add, what the published researches of N. Dimock have done in respect of the Eucharistic doctrine of the English Church (available since 1908 in the editions published by Longmans, Green & Co., notably *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Eucharistic Worship in the English Church, The History of the Book of Common Prayer in its bearing on present Eucharistic Controversies, and Notes on the Fulham Conference*, 1900).

There are two outstanding facts in the history of Eucharistic doctrine to which Dr. Macdonald's account of the Berengarian controversy bears its strong witness. The first fact is that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is a relatively late development. It is true, the author warns us against the opinion, which appears to exist in some quarters, that it was not the recognized doctrine of the Church until the thirteenth century : he is prepared to place it in that category two centuries earlier. But the fact remains that it was a relatively late development. In the ninth century Ratramn was commissioned by Charles the Bald to denounce as an innovating error the opinion that the Eucharistic elements become through consecration the Lord's Body and Blood *ipsius rei veritate* (see Moule, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

The second fact is that the Evangelical interpretation, which associates with the consecrated elements *the value* of the thing signified, does not date from the time of the Reformation : "it is no mere teaching of yesterday, but has a long and honourable history from the Apostles to Berengar." Indeed a notable feature of the position of Ratramn in the first Eucharistic controversy, and of Berengar in the second, and of the English Reformers in the third, is the claim that they were not introducing novelty, but were standing for Apostolicity and the true tradition of the Church.

Their writings are rich in Patristic citation, and their appeal is to the New Testament as interpreted by the Fathers of the Church.

"It is necessary to go behind the Reformation in order to trace adequately the venerable history of the Evangelical tradition, and when we do that we find it flourishing in the very centuries when Catholicism was in the making" (Preface, p. ix).

Dr. Macdonald's book is divided into two parts: the first part describes with fullness of detail the life and work of Berengar, the second part is doctrinal and contains a careful examination of Eucharistic opinion of centuries nine to twelve.

The Biographical section, which provides in the footnotes a critical examination of the work of Continental scholars, gives us the detailed history of the Second Eucharistic controversy. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, in his book on the Thirty-Nine Articles (published A.D. 1699), wrote of Berengar that he was "a man of great piety, so that he passed for a saint, and was of such learning that, when he was brought before Pope Nicolaus, no man could resist him." Nevertheless in the end Berengar was silenced.

"Many councils" (writes Burnet) "were held upon this matter; and these, together with the terrors of burning, which was then beginning to be the common punishment of heresy, made him renounce his opinion: but he returned to it again; yet he afterwards renounced it: though Lanfranc reproaches him, that it was not the love of truth, but the fear of death, that brought him to it. And his final retracting of that renouncing of his opinion is lately found in France, as I have been credibly informed. Thus this opinion, that in the ninth century was generally received, and was condemned by neither pope nor council, was become so odious in the eleventh century, that none durst own it: and he who had the courage to own it, yet was not resolute enough to stand to it. The anathemas of the church, and the terrors of burning, were infallible things to silence contradiction at least, if not to gain assent" (Burnet, *Articles*, Ed. 1845, p. 381).

Dr. Macdonald's estimate of Berengar helps us to understand the position.

"The story of Berengarianism illustrates the fate which overtakes ideas when unsupported by a dominant personality for their publication. Berengar was not a Luther. His temperament was not qualified for the rough-and-tumble of life among ambitious churchmen, who place expediency before principle and lose no opportunity of advancing themselves by crowding to the wall the men of scholarship and thought. His personal influence was exerted rather in the class-room than the council-chamber. Before the shallow but confident criticism of zealots like Humbert, or experienced pleaders like Lanfranc, he was unable to make an impression. That his ideas made an appeal when quietly considered is proved by the attitude of Hildebrand, and by the long list of distinguished clergy who were counted among his friends. But he had no force of personality sufficient to impress the minds of adversaries. Within his smaller academic sphere, in the presence of the generous open-mindedness of young men when listening to intellectual genius, the spirit of Berengar felt no restraint. Here he was master of himself. Here could he successfully plant his teaching and draw the love of those who listened" (pp. 214 f).

In the doctrinal section of the book, the author shows Berengar's place in the stream of tradition. He completed rather than started a long line of spiritual teachers who stood for the principle of dynamic

symbolism in the Eucharist, the Elements being regarded as *relatively* changed by the consecration which gives to them the *value*, and produces through their faithful use the effect, of the Body and Blood of Christ. The theory that the consecration in the Eucharist is evacuated of meaning and effect, if the Elements are not thereby rendered tabernacles of the Lord, has no place in this tradition. The consecration gives to the Elements "the spiritual value of the Body and Blood of the Lord. But the spiritual actuality depends on the relation or attitude of the recipient to the Sacrament, and mere reception does not effect communion. Berengar draws the Augustinian distinction between a sacrament and the thing of the sacrament" (p. 262).

The following six chapters provide a well-annotated examination and discussion of the teaching of both sides in the controversy. There follow three chapters on the history of Eucharistic doctrine in the twelfth century, when medieval theory was developed in the era before the fourth Lateran Council. The book closes with an estimate of the influence of Berengarian teaching upon the English Church.

"To-day there are not wanting signs that his theory of dynamic-symbolism, expressed not in the terms of virtue or effectiveness, but of value, will come again into its own. . . . Modern thought is moving towards a new interpretation of symbolism. In the doctrine of Berengar, derived philosophically from Neo-Platonism, theologically from Augustine, a foundation can be found upon which to create a new interpretation of eucharistic symbolism, centring round the Berengarian conception of the religious value or effect—the dynamic influence of the consecrated symbol upon the believing communicant. So the great Reformation doctrine of Faith, which is also being re-emphasized, will be given its true function in sacramental doctrine" (p. 2414).

The author has added a rich bibliography, and the indexing has been thoroughly done. It is a great book: and I do not hesitate to think that it will be indispensable for any serious study of this phase of Eucharistic history.

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THE VATICAN COUNCIL. The Story told from the inside in Bishop Ullathorne's Letters. By Dom Cuthbert Butler. *Longmans*. 2 Vols. 25s.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1864-78). By J. B. Bury. *Macmillan*. 10s.

We hope that these two books will have many readers, for it is necessary for students of contemporary events to understand the position of the Church of Rome and the doctrines held by it. We are told that the adjourned Vatican Council will soon meet again and that its proceedings will be of surpassing interest. The Council that defined and declared the Infallibility of the Pope, in the teeth of much teaching to the contrary, marked an epoch in Church History. The interpretation of the Dogma may be either Maximist or Minimist—the fact remains that since its promulgation Encyclicals from Rome have greatly increased in number and they are received by the faithful as if they are infallible and the duty of obedience

is taught by every Roman Catholic Bishop and Priest. As long as it is compatible with policy, the documents remain infallible, but even when they are endorsed as in the case of the *Apostolicæ Curæ* by the Pope in later documents, they seem to have only a temporary value when events make it necessary to forget their contents. And from Dom Cuthbert Butler we gather that for the last hundred years only two occasions occurred when the Pope spoke infallibly, i.e. when he declared the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and declared his own infallibility.

Dom Cuthbert Butler is very anxious to defend the freedom of the Council and uses the Letters of the able Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham to prove his point. He has also had the advantage over previous writers of consulting the complete records of Mansi, and therefore has had before him the speeches made and a running commentary on the proceedings. He is most anxious to discredit Salmon, Dollinger and Lord Acton, who, according to him, have given misleading accounts of the Council and its proceedings. We are told that they are wrong when they say the speeches were either not heard or misheard by men who did not possess familiarity with Latin. On the first point we gather that Bishop Ullathorne had no difficulty in hearing even when acoustical conditions were bad and when they were improved; and although he approves of the changes made in the Hall, it does not seem to us that they ever made the Hall ideal for a Conference. As to the non-intelligibility of Latin, Dom Cuthbert Butler argues that he has come across only one instance of such difficulty: "While Pie was making a great speech some Italian Bishops called out that they could not understand. He repeated a sentence slowly in his best Italian style, and then said, 'Gallus sum, et Gallice loquor.'" This, we think, is evidence that there was difficulty, and we are sufficiently sceptical of the gifts of Bishops to believe that even those trained in Latin-speaking Seminaries retained the gift of following long discourses more like treatises than anything else. He is also anxious to show that the Council was not in the hands of the Pope, who only paid L.200 a day for the cost of the proceedings. But he admits that there were over 200 Italian Bishops as compared with 110 from France and Germany. The poorer Italian Bishops were unable to afford carriages to attend on wet days. The Pope took a leading part behind the scenes and rebuked those Bishops who spoke most strongly against the Dogma—stating on one occasion that he was tradition!

But one of the worst features of the whole Council was the action of those who so manipulated the choice of the chief Committee as to exclude all who were in favour of the non-defining the Dogma. The sinister figure of Manning flits to and fro as chief whip of the Infallibilists. He was a master of every cunning plan to secure the Decree, and Ullathorne certainly loses no love in his remarks on his proceedings. It is plain to all that the Council was summoned to decide "*the question*," and that all else was mere skirmishing. We have no doubt that Ullathorne and Dom

Cuthbert Butler desire to set forth things as they were, but impartial readers, while admitting that the Vatican Council was not as disorderly or as carefully manipulated as other Councils, will come to the conclusion that the Pope who on his own authority declared the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception could not suffer the Council to act freely in opposing what he had claimed. The word "freedom" has various meanings, and we leave it to students to determine its connotation with regard to the Vatican Council.

Professor Bury is an Irishman from the North, while Dom Cuthbert is a Dublin Roman Catholic. Bury had the training of an historian and had his prejudices, as Dom Cuthbert has his. His book is much briefer and his statements much more direct. His discussion on the Syllabus (which, by the way, Spanish Bishops still declare has the force of Law in their country, and Maltese Bishops act as if it has the same vigour in a British Colony) merits the closest reading. It is at once a corrective to the longer work and a piece of very clear writing. The impression left on the mind is that Infallibility depends on the interpretation given it by the Pope, and in the last resort Roman Catholics are in a very large number of matters without that "indefectible certitude"—the absence of which they make a source of attack on Protestants. We close by recommending students to read carefully both these books, for within a short time we may find ourselves in the midst of a discussion on Infallibility. We may say that we have re-read the pages in Salmon on the Council, and with the fuller light thrown by the two Treatises under review we have come to the conclusion that they may be trusted as a truthful *résumé* of the proceedings and work of the Council. We do not place implicit confidence in Ollivier, and are not prepared to write down as untrustworthy Acton, Döllinger and Friedrich. In spite of all Dom Cuthbert Butler says, we believe with Bury on what to us is of more practical importance than the exact meaning of Infallibility. "The true conclusion is that the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII has been confirmed by the Vatican decree, and that its doctrine is binding *de fide* on members of the Church of Rome," and this means the "direct power" of the Pope over temporals.

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MY HOPES AND FEARS FOR THE CHURCH. Edited by the Very Rev.

H. R. L. Sheppard. *John Murray*. 7s. 6d.

This book had evidently been written some months before publication, and it therefore may not be as "up to date" as would be wished. It professes not in any way to dictate to the Lambeth Bishops, but it has been composed with the Conference in view. It is by no means of one way of thinking, for the writers are drawn from all parties in the Church and therefore we have subjects approached from different angles. We have found the comparison of views extremely attractive, for they prove that what one set of minds deprecate, others approve. Dr. Mozley holds that on the main issue of Reunion "as in 1920" should be the decision of the Conference in 1930. He is, however, sympathetic in his treatment

of the South India Scheme. But he contends that nothing should be said which "should commit Anglicans to the view that episcopacy was simply the most convenient form of church government and the one most likely to promote and safeguard unity. Secondly, during the interim, ministers who have not received episcopal ordination should, under no circumstances, be given charge of Anglican congregations. . . . The question of intercommunion during the interim could be left for settlement by the representatives of the Anglican Church in South India and of the United South India Church. Certainly there should be no difficulty in the admission of United South Indian Christians to Anglican altars. There are only two final obstacles of the nature of Church order to the receiving of the sacrament of Holy Communion—lack of baptism and formal excommunication." We welcome the last two sentences from his pen. Dr. Mozley writes wisely on the Prayer Book issue when he says, "Perhaps something like a microcosm of the mind of the communicant members of the Church of England may be found in the resolution of the Parochial Church Council of an important Church, approving of the Revised Book, but in a rider expressing the hope that it never would be used in that Church."

We have quoted Dr. Mozley as one of the central minds in the book and when, for example, we turn to the Essays of the Bishop of Middleton, the two Anglo-Catholic writers, and of Canon Guy Rogers, we see differences of temperament and something more in their expositions. Mr. Child tells us that "all the time the dignitaries who love to speak of the English Church as a 'Bridge' Church are either feverishly lopping off the posts at either end, forgetful that folk do not live on a Bridge but on the land at each side of the stream." "A canon of Westminster has outraged the religious convictions of Christians by openly questioning the Resurrection," Dr. Parsons writes: "I hope the Bishops will most carefully consider whether the Church's loyalty to the essentials of Christian truth really requires insistence on the acceptance of these clauses in the Creed which deal with our Lord's Birth and the physical Resurrection as a necessity for sincere and honest membership in the Church. Can they be included among those things of which the rule holds good *in non necessariis diversitas*? I hope they can." And Canon Guy Rogers says: "The real interest of Lambeth will be to see whether it will boldly welcome the coming day, or keep the shutters up, or merely fiddle nervously with the bolts." It is impossible to review briefly a book of this type, which provokes agreement and disagreement as we turn from writer to writer. Its hall-mark is sincerity, and this is a real benefit.

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THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION: THEIR HISTORY IN RELATION TO OTHER FORMULARIES, ENGLISH AND FOREIGN.  
By Harold Smith, D.D. S.P.C.K. 2s.

Dr. Harold Smith, of St. John's Hall, Highbury, has had considerable experience as a teacher of theology, and he is also well

known as an accurate and scholarly writer on historical subjects. His work as a teacher has led him to believe that there is room at the present time for a short account of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and he has produced in brief compass a valuable statement of the principal facts essential to an understanding of the origin and development of our English standard of Doctrine. The older work by Hardwick is well known to students and still remains the standard text-book, but since Hardwick's time a number of fresh points have come to light or been brought into prominence and with these Dr. Smith deals. It is specially appropriate that this brief history should appear so soon after the issue of Dr. Griffith Thomas' great book on the Articles—*The Principles of Theology*, which has turned the attention of many Evangelical students afresh to the value and interpretation of the great statement of the doctrine of our Church.

Dr. Smith explains in his opening chapter the special character of the various Declarations of Faith which appeared in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. They were coloured by the conditions of thought of the time, and the emphasis on some doctrines and the omission of others were largely the outcome of the Roman controversy on the one hand and the Anabaptist contentions on the other. The first of these Doctrinal Statements was The Confession of Augsburg in 1530. The character of this is indicated, and from it is traced the series of doctrinal pronouncements which followed in more or less rapid succession till the XXXIX Articles assumed their ultimate form in 1571. Various disputed points are carefully considered, the evidence is weighed, and Dr. Smith's opinion carries the weight due to learning and sound judgment. The differences between the Lutherans and the Swiss Protestants had their influence, especially in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The brief account of the Council of Trent gives a clear impression of the sessions of that important gathering, and the influences at work to secure the repudiation of the doctrines of the Reformers. The later doctrinal statements are explained. The Lambeth Articles of 1595, the Irish Articles of 1615, the Armenian controversy and the King's controversy are dealt with. The Westminster Confession receives special notice, for as Dr. Smith explains, it is little known in Anglican circles, and he adds: "In my opinion the Assembly forms part of the history of the Church of England, and, if allowance be made for its Augustinianism and Calvinism, its Confession is a most valuable theological document. It is the best available standard document of British Protestant theology, and knowledge of it and of the Directory secures against crude ideas often held of such theology, while their language often shows that similar phrases in our Prayer-Book need not be taken in an Anglo-Catholic sense."

The concluding chapter deals with the important matter of Subscription to the Articles. We recommend very heartily to students and others interested in the history of our doctrine this useful and reliable handbook.



SOUTH INDIAN SCHEMES. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D.  
S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

No reader of this book will learn anything fresh concerning the South Indian Reunion proposals. The best sources of information are still the "Proposed Scheme of Union" prepared by the Joint Committee of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, and the other contracting parties (S.P.C.K., 1s.), and Bishop Waller's *Church Union in South India* (S.P.C.K., 2s.). Of the thirteen chapters into which Dr. Sparrow Simpson's book is divided, only five are devoted to the scheme. The rest deal with Lausanne, Canon Streeter, Dr. Headlam, Apostolic Succession, the Lambeth Conference, etc.—all matters which have been treated over and over again in current periodicals and special treatises. The only apparent reason for the writing of this book, and it is an insufficient reason, is the desire to assist with the wrecking of the scheme at all costs. Indeed the critics are getting nervous as Lambeth draws near. Dr. Sparrow Simpson clearly expresses alarm by attempting to prejudice before the event any opinion favourable to the proposals, which Lambeth may put forth. We are informed that "no individual can be justified in acting on a resolution of the Lambeth Conference unless and until that resolution has been accepted by the local Church of which that individual is a member"; he quotes Dr. Gore's plea that Lambeth is purely a consultative body, and continues, "a Lambeth Conference is not part of the synodical constitution of the Church, has no canonical authority. . . ." All this may be true, but the practical value of the decisions of Lambeth as the only œcumenical body of the world-wide Anglican Communion is a fact which even Dr. Sparrow Simpson is driven, also, to admit. Canon Streeter and Dr. Headlam are, of course, directly criticized, the academic apologia based upon Apostolic Succession is emphasized with more than the usual pedantic reiteration, and the theory is buttressed by an attempt to trace the succession back to Christ through the apostolic commission, which is an entirely different thing. The bankruptcy of constructive criticism among Dr. Gore and his friends has all along been made obvious by their insistence upon the comparatively modern notion of Apostolic Succession. The central feature of interest for Anglicans in the South India Scheme remains unimpaired. Episcopacy is given a central place, and the Free Churches are willing to adopt it. The strength of Dr. Palmer's presentation of the case lies in the fact that the Free Churches in South India are desirous of accepting Episcopacy as a necessary contribution towards the new constitution, to which they also are contributing special features. The practical problems of the mission-field, which are compelling Anglican and Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Wesleyan to seek for union are ignored in this book; nothing is suggested which might help towards amending the scheme; a deliberate attempt is made to belittle the movement of the Spirit, which has surely driven the contracting parties, they know not how, through ten years of negotiation, into the present atmosphere of fellowship and Christian comity. This is the most distressing feature in the book.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By C. P. S. Clarke, M.A. *Longmans*, 1929. 10s. 6d.

Prebendary Clarke has rendered a service to all students of Church History by writing this book. It is the fruit of wide reading and of practical experience as a Lecturer at Salisbury Theological College. In no other volume in English is the whole field of Church History covered. The Early Church receives some 50 pages, the Middle Ages 260, the Reformation 100 and the Modern Period about 240 pages respectively. This allotment indeed fairly maintains the relative balance of significance between the several epochs. It was time that the over-emphasis upon the first five centuries, and the comparative neglect of the Middle Ages, which have been the weakness of English writers on Church History, should be rectified, and Prebendary Clarke leads the way in this necessary reform. But it is doubtful whether the first section supplies quite enough information for students who have to show a competent knowledge of the early period. A little more space might have been devoted to this era, without unduly interfering with the admirable sketch of the Middle Ages.

In several places the English is loosely colloquial, and some curious slips in detail appear. For example, Lanfranc was Prior not Abbot of Bec; the protagonist against Berengar was Humbert, not Lanfranc; the Corpus Christi festival was first officially recognized in 1264 not 1262; Urban VI, not Urban II, was the contemporary of the anti-pope Clement VII; the next Lambeth Conference will not be held in 1931, nor are the Baptists negotiating with Wesleyans and Anglicans for union with the South India United Church. The sketch of the Scottish Episcopal Church is inadequate, and reference should be made to Sir Thos. Fowell Buxton's work on behalf of the liberation of the slaves, and of the work of Cambridge University and its colleges among the settlements and missions of South London.

But these are small defects in a work of great merit. The treatment of Protestantism and Evangelicalism is full and sympathetic; the account of foreign missions, and of the Eastern Church, is well done. The book will not only be of the utmost value for every student, but its pages, especially on the Modern Period, form an enjoyable recreation for the general reader. It deserves a very wide circulation.

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The Rev. Frank H. L. Paton, B.D., in *Patteson of Melanesia* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d. net), gives a brief life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop. The story is a familiar one to all interested in Missionary work, and Mr. Paton tells it again with freshness and charm. His aim is to interest others in one of the great heroes of the Mission Field, and he has succeeded admirably in his task. It is a life to inspire others to give themselves to the work.