---

A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

# THE CHURCHMAN

**September, 1912.**

## The Month.

Authority.

THE question of authority in religion is an ever-recurring one, and whenever it recurs it is all-important. It lies behind most of our controversies, and its settlement—so far as we do settle it—controls our whole religious life, our whole life. For us Christians part of the settlement is easy—authority resides in Christ; but our knowledge of Christ comes to us in one or more of three ways: through experience, through the records of His life and teaching, through the society which bears His name, the Christian Church. Through these avenues Christ speaks to us, and His voice is authoritative. Ultimately our faith rests upon an infallible person and an unmistakable experience, and not upon either an infallible Church or an infallible Book. Dr. Forrest, in his book on "The Authority of Christ," puts this point helpfully and practically. Speaking of the Christian's apprehension of Christ, he writes:

"What he sees, he must see with his own eyes in that definite concrete shape which makes it the illumination of his individual life. The doctrine of the Spirit is, therefore, the indispensable correlate of a historical Incarnation; it simply means that He who at a consummative epoch of the world's history gave His Son has not left subsequent ages of mankind without that Divine guidance which would enable them to realize afresh for themselves the imperative significance of Christ's mission. . . . There is an ever-repeated demand in humanity for a formal instructor, whether person or book; but history must have written itself in vain for us if it has not taught us the futility of the desire. The measure in which we shall comprehend the true authority of Christ will be in proportion as we keep life on all its sides, intellectual as well as moral and spiritual, true to the highest."

With this Dr. Forrest's book ends, but it brings no end to the problem. We still have to ask, What is the function of the Church, and where is the place of the Book?

Half Solutions.

There are three rough-and-ready answers to the question, Where shall men find guidance in the maze of life? We put them in their extremist form, because they thus disclose their inadequacy. Follow the inner light, says one, you need no other guidance. Trust yourself to the Church, says another; let the Church solve your problems, and accept its solution without question. While yet another bids us take the Written Word in our hands, and by its light and guidance find the way, paying no heed either to Church or private judgment. More than three centuries ago the fathers of the English Reformation had these three answers dinned into their ears as they set their hands to their great task. That which was true in each answer they accepted, and Articles VI. and XXI. were the result. They brushed aside the pretensions of a private judgment run mad, and the arrogant claims of a medieval ecclesiasticism; they recognized that the consentient voice of all Christian men, where it could be heard, spoke with an authority of its own, and so esteemed highly that which was Catholic and primitive; they accepted the New Testament as the revelation of Jesus Christ, full, final, and sufficient for this dispensation, and they brought all things to the touchstone of that revelation. Where the Reformers stood, we stand. But, it is urged, things have changed; science and archæology and higher criticism have made the Reformation position impossible. The Bible has been discredited, and at any rate it can only be used safely as a textbook in the hands of the Church.

If the Reformation position had depended upon a hard and fast literal and verbal inerrancy, the objection would hold. For English Churchmen, the Revised Version would have settled the question. The disappearance of the angel from the pool of Bethesda would have undermined Protestantism and Article VI. But Article VI. makes no such suggestion, and

Martin Luther, greatest Protestant of them all, was a higher critic. Few believing higher critics to-day are so revolutionary as the great monk who called the Epistle of St. James *Epistola straminea.*

**The Present Position.**

"The Church to teach, the Bible to prove," represents for many Churchmen the present position and the true solution. They forget the difficulty that we have but one Bible and several dissentient Churches; they forget, also, that most epigrams are but half-truths. The Church is a teaching Church, and the Bible is a Book that proves; if this is all that is meant, we would hardly trouble to condemn the phrases. But the epigram is sometimes used to claim for the Church a prior and superior authority to that of Scripture; and, when this is so, we believe it becomes untrue to the position of the Church of England. The whole question has been recently dealt with in a book from the pen of the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, the author of some very suggestive "Studies in Apostolic Christianity." Mr. Blunt's new book is called "Faith in the New Testament,"[1] and in it he discusses at length the new situation created by modern criticism. Probably few will agree with everything that he says, but most people, and we amongst them, will feel very grateful to him for showing that the effect of modern criticism upon the New Testament has in no real way weakened its authority. The book is an important contribution to the subject, and we hope it will be widely read. We must here content ourselves with one or two brief quotations from it.

**Faith in the New Testament.**

Discussing the relationship of the New Testament to the Church, Mr. Blunt writes:

"We must take, and we cannot help taking, the witness of the two together. They are, indeed, not two, but one. The New Testament is a standard of truth, but it is an accepted standard, and its acceptance by the Church is part of its voucher. Similarly, the teaching of the Church is the explanation of the New Testament; we cannot hope to understand the New

[1] Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Price 2s. net.

Testament aright, except in relation to the history of the Church and the Church's creed. At the same time, it is hard to see how, with any respect for history, we can hold any other view than that for the Christian of to-day the New Testament furnishes us with the basis of belief."

And again:

"A Christian Church has no moral right to propound new doctrines, which cannot be supported out of the New Testament, as necessary articles of faith. In so doing, it is wholly deserting the idea of the early ages of the Church—that the New Testament gave the groundwork of the Christian faith, and that Church doctrine must be deducible from these records. . . . In short, the Church has no moral authority to establish any doctrine that it pleases as an article of faith; it may only do so along the lines of the New Testament, for the New Testament is the standard which the Church itself has accepted as its record of revealed truth."

With regard to private judgment, Mr. Blunt is equally clear:

"The exercise of mere individual private judgment upon the New Testament records, without any respect for the Church's interpretation of these records as embodied in its Creed, is an abuse of individual liberty and a dangerous act of intellectual license. . . . It is surely right to plead that private judgment should recognize its own limitations, and should pay to the voice of the historic Church that respect which is deserved by the inspired experience of nineteen centuries."

**Mr. Blunt and Evangelicalism.**

Mr. Blunt has a paragraph concerning Evangelicalism, with which we should agree if it were wholly true. It is not true of the Evangelicalism of this magazine, and we do not believe it is really true of Evangelicalism at large. He writes:

"One of the dominant needs of present religious life in England is that the Evangelical party should consent to reconsider their dislike of modern Biblical scholarship and their predilection—I speak of the rank and file more than of the leaders—for sneering and girding at 'the critics,' as if they were the *ne plus ultra* of infidelity. This party stands for such noble ideals and such a precious aspect of truth—especially precious in view of current perverseness and exaggeration of its other aspects—that it is melancholy to see how these ideals and this presentation fail to have the full influence which might and ought to be theirs, because they are accidentally combined with an exploded theory of inspiration."

This is sufficiently an appeal to Evangelicals to make them read his book in full, and we are convinced that none who read it will regret the time and thought.

Tendencies in Criticism.

The CHURCHMAN, under its present editorship, has not stood committed either to "conservative" or to more "advanced" views in connection with the literary and historical criticism of the Old Testament. We agree with many of our warmest friends and supporters in thinking that either of these points of view is compatible not only with genuine Christianity, but with that particular construction of Christianity which is represented by the Evangelical School in the Church of England. At the same time, we have our own tastes, our own instincts; and we make no particular secret of the fact that they are, on the whole, conservative in character. Criticism, after all, is a good deal a matter of temperament. One scholar is anxious to establish the old, another is equally anxious to discover the new; and in each case the searcher is prone to find very much what he *wants* to find. For ourselves, having, as we have already said, conservative instincts, we hold that literary criticism of the Old Testament has been far too active in a disintegrating direction, and that the historical character of Old Testament narratives has been unduly minimized. Holding these convictions, we are inclined to welcome with avidity any evidence which seems to support their truth.

The Elephantine Papyri.

Such evidence, we venture to think, is forthcoming in the recent discovery of papyri at Elephantine. These papyri contain records of the Jewish colony on that island during the fifth century B.C., with interesting sidelights on earlier periods. They have already been published under capable editorship, and now Dr. Eduard Meyer has attempted in a small book to show the relation of these documents to the history of Judaism. One interesting passage may here be given in his own words. We quote the translation given in the *Times Literary Supplement* of August 8. Speaking of several copies of decrees of the Persian Government found among these documents, Dr. Meyer says that they

"agree minutely in their composition and wording with those contained in the Book of Ezra, so that no more doubt can now prevail as to the genuine-

ness of the latter. More than this: some of the personalities who appear in the papyri are identical with those who figure in the Biblical narratives, so that we now possess information about these narratives and their times which is absolutely authentic and completely independent of the Old Testament records, whose dates and their general picture of the period are confirmed in every particular, and supplemented by new information. At the same time, we obtain information about the ancient Jewish popular religion, as well as about the reforms introduced in the Persian period, which confirm the results of historical investigation, and further illuminate and complete them."

**Feine on Criticism in Germany.**

In matters of New Testament criticism our conservative instincts are equally dominant. It will not, therefore, be surprising that here, too, we are somewhat keen to scent out the first traces of a return to what we hold to be a wiser and truer point of view. We would recommend all who share this sentiment with us to read for their comfort and instruction Dr. Paul Feine's survey in the August number of the *Expository Times* of positive theological research in Germany. The article is profoundly interesting not only in the detailed account it gives of various series of books issued by the conservative scholars of Germany, but also in Dr. Feine's wise and illuminating comments on the general drift of critical thought. With regard to the books, it will probably be news to many in England that conservative theology and scholarship is so active in Germany. It is the destructive work in Germany, for the most part, that gets translated into English. It is our misfortune, and perhaps a good deal our fault, that larger works, such as the "New Testament Commentary" which Zahn is editing, and the forthcoming "Evangelisch-theologische Bibliothek" of Bess do not get translated also into English.

**The Task of Conservative Scholarship.**

We cannot here do more than indicate the outline of some of Dr. Feine's own comments. He depicts the two tendencies that have lately been in vogue. There has been, on the one hand, the attempt of "liberal" theology to extract, by processes of "historical" criticism, a purely human Christ from the pages of the

Gospels; and there has been the tendency to treat the whole of the Gospel history as a myth, and so to deny that Christ ever existed. The polemic of these latter thinkers has been directed mainly against the "liberal" presentation of Christ. Their arguments were quite rightly directed against the worship of the ideal man Jesus. "We conservative theologians," says Dr. Feine, "held ourselves in reserve at first in this dispute. We have followed with great pleasure the many tendencies on the part of the critical school towards a deeper view of the Person of Jesus; but we think that our particular task lies in penetrating with the means and methods of present-day scientific research with the fulness, the wealth, and the super-historicity of the Biblical evidence of Christ, and in so working at our part that our knowledge may also help to bear witness to the majesty of Christ as our Divine Saviour."

**University Education in India.**

In our last issue we called attention to the significant words of the Chancellor of Hong-Kong University with reference to University problems in the East. Since then Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, has made an important speech on the subject of education in India. He included in his survey the whole extent of the field—primary, secondary, and University. With regard to the last, we may soon expect to see far-reaching changes and developments. Hitherto, in India, Universities have in the main been examining bodies; in future they are to be places of residence and personal instruction. The formation of residential hostels will be encouraged, in which students may live the collegiate life under care and supervision. Here will be an opportunity for Christianity—the opportunity to awaken, not only the head, but the heart; not only to discipline the intellect, but to form and build up character in the name and in the power of Christ. Our friends of the C.M.S. will doubtless see to it that at Dacca, Benares, Rangoon, and wherever else these projected Universities may be founded, ample provision is made for undergraduates during their term of residence to live under Christian care and influence.

**The Bishoprics Bill.**

There is still a possibility that this Bill may become law during the present Session. We hope it may be so. Some Evangelicals seem to be opposed to it, and this opposition has found expression in a letter to the *Record*. The argument seems to be: Bishops have displeased us—and verily sometimes they have—let us therefore keep them as few in number as we can. Surely it is hardly fair to blame Bishops for not doing their duty, and then by restriction of their number to make that duty difficult—nay, wellnigh impossible—to be done. We believe true Churchmanship stands to gain by the increase of the Episcopate. If Bishops had dioceses of such convenient size as made it possible for them to be true fathers in God to the flock, they would know the feeling of the Church, especially of the laity, well enough to bring to an end some of the intolerable scandals from which we suffer. Both Sheffield and Chelmsford have waited too long for their Bishops, and Evangelicalism must not be so little-minded as to incur part of the blame for keeping them waiting.

**The White Slave Traffic Bill.**

It is not to be expected that all readers of the CHURCHMAN will agree in their estimate of the different Bills which during the present Parliament have reached various stages of completion. On one of them, however, we do hope for a strong consensus of vigorous opinion —that is, the White Slave Traffic Bill, which has already been in the hands of the Parliamentary Standing Committee. Some warm supporters of the measure are inclined to think that the amendments which have already been introduced by the Committee go far to rob the Bill of any value it originally had. We trust, however, that in its modified form it will not be without use in helping to check the infamous traffic against which it is directed. The success of this measure must largely depend on the powerful demand of public opinion, and it would be indeed tragic if the opinion which abhors this iniquity should be inoperative simply through silence.

# The Function of Creeds.

By the Rev. C. H. K. BOUGHTON,
*Principal of the Clergy College, Ripon.*

A RECENT writer on this subject asks the question, "Is man saved by his Creed?" and in answer he affirms that it is a common belief among Christians that a man's salvation does not depend upon the correctness of his confession.[1] "The religious Populus does think, with whatever correction by the clerus or its own deeper-minded members, that a man's Creed is the faith which saves him." It hardly needs much argument to prove that such a statement, in any strict interpretation of the words, is fatally false. Not such, at any rate, is the teaching of the New Testament. "Thou believest that God is one: thou doest well: the devils also believe, and shudder." The devils profess a Creed, but St. James was far from holding that it ministered to their salvation. Rather he maintained with St. Paul that the faith which saves a man is something radically different from an inactive otiose assent to a series of statements. It is something which, though it involves the intellect, resides more properly within the spheres of the emotions and the will. Simply expressed, it is a personal confidence in a personal God and Saviour, and a self-despairing committal of the life to Him. Of course the word faith is used with many shades of meaning in the New Testament. Dr. Sanday has distinguished seven in the Epistle to the Romans alone. But the crowning meaning "is personal adhesion, the highest and most effective motive power of which human character is capable."[2]

It is remarkable how strong the tendency has been in Church history to forget this. Perhaps part of the reason is that a conception which seems so simple, so congruous with human nature, is really so high and far-reaching in its con-

[1] Skrine, "Creed and the Creeds," p. 6.
[2] Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," p. 34.

sequences as to be difficult of attainment. At least the fact remains that Christians have continually fallen short of it. It was not long before the Early Church began to lay great stress upon orthodox belief. Whatever justification there may have been in the battle against Gnosticism, and there was much, the ever-increasing stress was not without its dangers, and they showed themselves unmistakably in later centuries. The Church of Rome was not without its mystics and its saints, its men of deep true faith, but it is surely painfully clear that, broadly speaking, a Pauline faith was exchanged for a bare intellectual assent. In proof of this it is hardly necessary to do more than refer to the gigantic systems of the scholastic writers, crowned by the all-embracing "Summa Theologiæ." Rebellion against this mistaken emphasis came at the Reformation. It was the truer conception of faith which made the breach with the Papacy possible. "True faith,"[1] says Luther, "cannot be made by our thought, but is purely a work of God in us, without any aid of ours." "When faith is of the kind that God awakens and creates in the heart, then a man trusts in Christ; yea, he is then so firmly founded upon Christ that he bids defiance to sin, death, hell, the devil, and all God's adversaries. . . . That is the nature of true faith, which is utterly unlike the faith of Sophists, Turks and Jews; for their faith simply lights upon a thing with human thoughts, accepts it, and believes that it is thus or so." Similarly Melancthon speaks of the necessity of practically trusting in Christ and experiencing the Spirit's activities, and says that thus "we shall come to know the Trinity better than by disputing with useless speculations on what the Persons of the Trinity do among themselves, not what they do with us."

It is clear, then, from the teaching of the New Testament, supported by the opinion of Luther and other great leaders of spiritual movements in subsequent history, that what saves a man is not his Creed, his assent to intellectual propositions, but his faith, the implicit trust of his whole personality in a living

[1] Quoted in Mozley, "Ritschlianism," p. 115.

Saviour. Yet it remains true that the intellect is part of the personality, and that the faith must become articulate. It must strive to express to the best of its power the nature of the object upon which it rests, and the consequences of the relationship. Faith must inevitably produce Creeds. At least faith has produced Creeds, and in the New Testament and in the writings of the sub-Apostolic age and of the Early Fathers we see the process steadily advancing to its completion. At the beginning of the Gospel story we see Jesus gathering round Him a small band of followers. He makes no statements about Himself. His favourite self-appellation "Son of Man" is agreed by the best writers to be a vague term, intended to conceal rather than reveal the secret which He Himself knew to lie behind it. He simply says "Follow Me." Impelled by the magnetism of His personality, they followed. They saw His deeds; they heard His discourses. Impression slowly deepened, and reflection began. The process of wonderment which was going on in the minds of all the Galilean crowds was more intense in the minds of the disciples, just because their experiences were deeper. "This man is a prophet." "This man is Elias." The possibilities were pondered, and were found unsatisfactory. Nothing seemed adequate to the facts but "This is the Messiah," and at last the thought burst into speech through the lips of Peter; faith had become articulate; the first Christian Creed had been said.

This is precisely typical of the whole process of early Creed-making. It was always the expression of experience, and it went no further than experience warranted. St. Peter could not in Matthew xvi. have said more than "Thou art the Messiah." (The phrase "Son of God" there means no more than this.) He had seen works which his study of Isaiah lxi. and other passages told him were works of the Messiah, and he spoke as he knew. After the Crucifixion and Resurrection and Ascension, experience had increased enormously, and hence the intellectual statement of that experience grew both in length and in significance. By the time St. Jude wrote his Epistle there was a "faith which was once for all delivered unto the

saints," and most interpreters are agreed that this refers to a rudimentary Creed. Indeed, here and there throughout the Apostolic writings there are phrases which seem to be fragments of Creeds. Thus in 1 Cor. viii. 6 we have "There is one God the Father, of whom are all things and we unto Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through Him"; in 1 Cor. xv. 3, "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and . . . was buried, and . . . rose again according to the Scriptures"; in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up into glory." The result of the process may be given in the words of Harnack, "It is highly probable that a short confession was definitely formulated in the Roman community before the middle of the second century, expressing belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, embracing also the most important facts in the history of Jesus, and mentioning the Holy Church, as well as the two great blessings of Christianity—the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection of the dead."[1]

This is the substance of our present Apostles' Creed, and if the clauses of that Creed be examined, it will be easily realized how entirely they express either experience or the necessary results of experience. Thus in regard to God, His existence, His fatherhood, and His almighty power had all been proved in the life-history of individual Jews and of the nation as a whole. His description as Creator necessarily follows. In regard to Christ, His Birth, Death, Burial, Resurrection and Ascension fell within the knowledge of the Apostles. His descent into hell is a simple inference which "completes our conception of the Lord's death."[2] This is not affected by the fact that it is peculiar to the West, and appears first in the Creed of Aquileia, about A.D. 390. His session at God's right hand may be partly based on Stephen's vision, partly inferred from Apostolic experience of Christ's victorious power. The future judgment is a direct revelation from Christ. The

[1] "History of Dogma," i. 157. [2] Westcott, "Historic Faith."

Divinity of our Lord is equally a necessary deduction. One who proved Himself such a Saviour as the Apostles knew Him to be must necessarily be regarded as no other than God, quite apart from any explicit assertions by Himself. The Holy Ghost was known as the Spirit of Jesus, who controlled the affairs of the Infant Church, and directed its leaders as He would. The Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints are but different names for the fellowship of believers from different points of view. The forgiveness of sins was a blessed experience. The eternal life and the resurrection of the body were but expressions for the full development which must be the inevitable crown of the experiences of new life which were being felt in every Christian heart.

Enough has been said to show that with the earliest Christians experience came first, then its expression; first faith, then a Creed. This is undoubtedly the ideal way, and to a certain extent it must be traversed by every believer in all ages. It is one of the great services of the Ritschlians to have laid stress upon the fact. But just because the Church is a continuous body with a historical succession of members, the later generations can never arrive at their Creed in exactly the same way as the first generation did. It is, indeed, obvious that the clauses dealing with the historic facts of our Lord's life can never become matter of experience at all, but must be received simply upon a tradition which historical criticism proves to be trustworthy. But what of the other clauses? Are they to be simple relics, interesting bygone results of a bygone experience? The Ritschlians tend to answer in the affirmative. Herrmann, for example, only allows that the Christian knowledge of the past should be "put forward as the expression of the inner world in which believers have lived,"[1] so that we may tell Christians "that they, too, will some day grow up to the comprehension of such things, if only each in his special situation exercises a right faith." To adopt this attitude is, however, surely to neglect unduly the existence of the Church. It is to

[1] Quoted in Mozley, "Ritschlianism," p. 130.

forget that the Church of all ages is the home of the Eternal Spirit, and that whatsoever experiences were wrought by the Spirit in departed Christians are a heritage for the admonition of us upon whom the ends of the world are come. It is to fail to notice a distinction in the attitude to Creed suitable to individuals and to the Church as a body. The Church in one generation has a duty towards the Church in the next. It cannot pass on its experiences; they are incommunicable. But it can and ought to pass on an intellectual statement of the essentials of its experience, and the existence of a Creed is an attempt to fulfil the duty. What, then, are the functions of such a traditional Creed?

Undoubtedly the function which was most prominent in the second century was that of a test of orthodoxy. Irenæus, the champion in the battle with Gnosticism, uses as his great weapon the tradition of the Churches. Whatever teachings are not in harmony with this tradition are to be rejected. Such a usage has its effect upon the tradition itself. It becomes more definite. Irenæus in one place has put together a fairly full Creed. It also becomes more theological, and so we have the development of the Apostles' Creed in those of Nicea and Constantinople, and later still the expansion of particular doctrines in the scholastic phraseology of the Symbol of Athanasius. The theological development is not an unmixed blessing, but it is clear that if a Creed is in any sense to form a standard of belief, it must fairly cover the field of historic fact, and put clearly the essential deductions. This is one reason for regarding as unsatisfactory the Creed recently suggested as a *Formula Concordiæ* by Dr. Denney,[1] "I believe in God, through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord and Saviour." Dr. Denney means every word of this to be pressed, and those of us who value his writings know that he does not wish to withhold assent from one iota of full Christian belief. But if so, is not his formula so condensed as to be almost unintelligible without much explanation, and is it not better to state the explanation

[1] "Jesus and the Gospel," p. 398.

simply and tersely, as the Apostles' Creed states it? Moreover, without going the length of saying with Mr. Edghill that "Modernists and the broadest Churchmen could unite in assent to such a formula,"[1] one feels that Dr. Denney has not answered his own self-criticism for the omission, for example, of any clause relating to the Holy Ghost.

But this first function of Creed is mainly negative, for use in meeting error. Let us pass to notice a second and positive use, in teaching. In the words of the Rev. C. L. Drawbridge, "There is a period in the development of the child, when its mind can very much more readily learn words than acquire ideas. During this period one teaches it words and phrases, which, at the time, convey little or no meaning. The religious teacher causes the child to learn, let us say, the Creed. The mathematical master teaches his pupil the multiplication table. It is only later on that either collection of words can be translated into the ideas which they are intended to convey. Thus it is necessary to teach mere words. But these words have no use, except in so far as, later on, they are converted into ideas."[2] The application of this principle holds good for those who are children in any subject as well as for those who are literally children in age. Hence it applies to new converts and others who are still going to school with the Church, and it makes no difference who in any particular case stands to the learner *in loco Ecclesiæ*. It is not that the words which are learnt are entirely meaningless. It is that the learner in the early stages of his education apprehends only a fragment of their meaning. Meanwhile, the words potentially cover a far wider range, and education advances as their content for the learner steadily increases. It was thus that our Lord taught His disciples. We have noticed their first Creed, "Thou art the Messiah." Christ accepted the title, but it became a mere shell. It is hardly too much to say that from the moment of Peter's confession onwards Christ's main work was to remove from the title

[1] "Revelation of the Son of God," p. 139.
[2] Training of the Twig," p. 75.

"Messiah" almost all the content which it previously had in the Apostle's mind, and to put into it a new and spiritual meaning, drawn from a wider and deeper study of the real message of the Old Testament. Similarly, too, He adopted the title Son of Man because it was almost meaningless, and He could make it cover all that He represented in the world.

From this point of view, it is interesting to notice the real truth of a phrase which is ascribed to Newman, and which has been quoted with approval in certain quarters: "We repeat the Creeds, not because we believe them, but in order that we may believe them." If this sentence be taken strictly, it is manifestly false. If we do not, for example, accept the truth of the historic facts of our Lord's life, we shall never make ourselves accept them by repeating the Creed. Moreover, no man has a right to repeat the Creed unless he already believes all the articles which it contains. But this is not to say that the meaning which certain clauses have for him does not, and ought not, to expand. To take but one illustration: we should say there was something wrong with a man's spiritual life if "I believe in God" did not mean vastly more for him at forty than at fourteen. A Creed, then, is a form of words which has been chosen by past generations under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to express as adequately as possible the content of their spiritual experience. For any succeeding generation it becomes a series of finger-posts, indicating directions in which men may explore with the sure hope of gaining a similar and sometimes a grander experience. The value of Creed in this connection is realized among the Ritschlians almost alone by Kaftan, who writes: "What holds the Church together and binds its members one to another is, before all else, its faith—its common faith. It is this faith which must be preached, and in this must the youth be instructed. There is no Christian Church which has not such a rule, in accordance with the proclamation and teaching of which it must direct itself; none also in which this rule does not present itself as teaching, and this teaching is its dogma."[1]

[1] "Glaube und Dogma," p. 26.

At this point a third function of Creed is suggested. It is a formula binding together the different ages of Church history. "The Christian religion," writes Dr. Sanday, "is a continuous process, and it has had a continuous history; and the Creeds bind together the beginnings of that process with the end."[1] But this at once raises a difficulty. "They represent the principle of identity which runs through all the flux of change. And yet even the Creeds, standing as they do for the principle of identity, are not themselves absolutely exempt from change. They must mean at one time something not quite the same as that which they meant at another—centuries before. They have to be adjusted to different conditions, to a different context of ideas. At the same time, it is their part to emphasize the identity and unity." To some minds, this may appear at first sight a dangerous admission. It seems to reduce the repetition of the Creeds as an expression of common faith to a mere sham. But if we consider the nature of their subject-matter, we shall see that some such admission is necessary. When two persons are speaking about a table which stands before them, the content of the word is probably the same for both. But let them be speaking about a picture in the National Gallery, and we should admit that to the one who was an artist the word "picture" connoted far more than it did to the other who was not. This difference in meaning becomes more marked in the field of religion. All language about its ultimate truths must be inadequate and in part symbolic. Now, if this be true in the case of men who are contemporaries, it is still more true of those who are separated by long intervals of time and by the wellnigh impassable gulf of different intellectual environment. Old phraseology cannot but modify in some degree its meaning. This is particularly so with some of the most symbolic clauses of the Creed. There have been those who have interpreted the Ascension and the Session of Christ in a crude, materialistic way. Most thoughtful men would prefer now to be more reticent; to think of the Ascension rather under the Johannine

[1] H. S. Holland, "Miracles," p. 2.

figure of a concealment from human view; to regard the Session as a symbol of triumphant rest. The case is similar with the resurrection of the body. The Latin here speaks of the flesh, and it can hardly be doubted that this too has frequently been taken literally. Indeed, a literal interpretation might be defended on the ground of the statement in St. Luke: "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have." To us, however, it appears that such a statement needs to be read in the light of others, lest it be misunderstood. We are not uninfluenced by reflections on the mysterious character of our Lord's appearances during the forty days and on St. Paul's distinction between a natural and spiritual body. Therefore, while we still retain the phrase "resurrection of the body," we use the word "body" in a symbolic sense. What we confess is our belief in the survival of the whole personality through death. We hold that if soul survives, then it must have some mode of expression, some medium of communication, as suitable to the new conditions as the present body is to the old. But thus to modify the meaning is not to be guilty of juggling with the Creed. We are true to the spirit, and that is the essential point. The statement of the resurrection of the flesh was the way in which Roman Christians expressed, to the best of their power, St. Paul's great doctrine. We go back behind the Credal clause to its New Testament foundation, and who shall say that we moderns are not nearer to St. Paul's meaning than our forefathers of a more materialistic age? At any rate, we do not hesitate to take the old phrases to ourselves, and repeat them with a clear conscience. The identity is far greater than the difference. Thus Creed becomes the great link with the historic past. It stands as a witness to the continuity of the Church. It forces home upon us the too often forgotten truth of the eternal fellowship of the saints. It inspires us with courage by reminding us of the battles they so nobly fought and won.

There is one more function which can be noticed in this article. The Creeds are used in public worship. How soon

they began to be so used is unknown. But it is certain that Peter, Bishop of Antioch, in A.D. 488 ordered the Creed to be recited at every meeting of the congregation. Timotheus followed his example at Constantinople in A.D. 512, and the practice was adopted at the Spanish Council of Toledo in A.D. 589. Now, we said at the outset that Creed must be the product of faith. A creed as an intellectual statement can never produce a saving faith. Nevertheless, Creed can minister to an existing faith, and so to life. Faith is a response of the whole man to the Divine, but the fruits of that response in conduct and character depend largely upon the man's conception of the Divine. The more worthy the conception, the better will be the response of the soul and the answering touch of God upon it. There is a fallacy in Pope's oft-quoted saying that it does not matter what a man believes. Conduct does depend upon belief. As Thomas Carlyle put it: "When belief waxes uncertain, practice becomes unsound." Faith, we repeat, is the movement of the soul which God answers by contact, and in the contact there is life. A Creed as "a declaration of personal trust and allegiance is in reality a high form of worship; to recite a Creed is no barren and dry test of orthodoxy; it is a loving outburst of a loyal heart."[1] "When a believer recites a Creed, either he does nothing at all or he offers by help of the words a sacrifice to the Creator of his whole personality, thought, emotion, conduct together. . . . Thus Creed is the instrument of salvation, by enabling the believer's act of self-surrender, which is half the act of life. If the Divine makes response by giving itself to the man . . . then the reciprocation has happened, and the man has life."[2] These modern writers are but repeating in new forms an old thought. St. Paul told the Roman Christians, "With the mouth confession is made unto salvation," and St. Augustine wrote, "What is it to believe in God? It is by believing to love, by believing to have affec-

[1] Goodwin, "Foundations of the Creed," p. 14.
[2] Skrine, "Creed and the Creeds," p. 197.

tion, by believing to pass into Him and to be incorporated in His members."

Nothing short of this act of winning life more abundant by repeated sacrifice takes place ideally at every repetition of the Creed. The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are splendidly adapted for the purpose. As expressed in the singular number, they have all the advantages of a personal confession; as recited in the congregation, they share all the benefits of the Communion of Saints. The same cannot be said of the Symbol of Athanasius; it is not a direct confession, but an impersonal statement; and its terminology is too much that of an antiquated philosophy. It can only minister to life for those whose knowledge of its historical setting and real significance is greater than that possessed by the average congregation.

The Church of England takes her stand on the historic Creeds. They are not perfect. The language is occasionally obscure, and perhaps some could wish the meaning here and there otherwise expressed. That is but to say that they are productions of men who attempted to express the mysteries of God. Yet they remain a cherished possession, and deserve the prominent place assigned to them in the Prayer-Book.

# Bishops and Presbyters in the Primitive Church.

By the REV. ALEXANDER HENDERSON,
*Assistant Curate of St. John's, Oulton, Leeds.*

## I. The New Testament.

WHILE in the Gospels themselves there is little to indicate that our Lord prescribed either a definite form of government or distinct orders of ministry for His Church, to maintain that He did neither seems both hasty and ill-considered. That He founded an ordered society and gave to His Apostles authority for the fulfilment of the mission which He entrusted to them seems clearly conveyed by many parables and direct instructions.[1] And, by implication, it would seem certain that He gave them some indication of the principles on which the Church was to be organized, although He may have left many matters of detail to be decided by them under the guiding influence of the Pentecostal Spirit according as the exigences of time and place should demand. It is, therefore, reasonable to view the New Testament period as one during which the organization of the Church became gradually settled, and to see in the Apostolic injunctions the result of those instructions which our Lord had given to the Twelve, but of which no detailed mention is made in the Gospels.[2] To form, however, a true conception of the manner in which the Church's orders of ministry and form of government developed, it is necessary to remember that in the period immediately following the Ascension, the Apostles were, in all likelihood, looking for their Master's speedy return, and that, consequently, it was not until after the disappointment of this their hope—many of them having been called to their rest—that those who remained on earth began to lay aside their cruder

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 24-30, 47-50; xvi. 18-20; xviii. 15-20; xxii. 2 ff.; xxviii. 18-20; St. Luke x. 16; xxiv. 45-49; St. John x. 16; xiv. 16, 17, 26; xvi. 13; xvii. 20, 21; xx. 22, 23.

[2] See St. Matt. xxviii. 18-20; St. Luke xxiv. 45-49; St. John xxi. 25; Acts i. 1-9.

eschatological conceptions, to contemplate the possibility of a lengthened earthly career for the Church, and to prepare for such an eventuality. Hence the Apostolic Age naturally divides itself into three periods. In the first we see the Apostles at Jerusalem governing, as a college, the infant Church, and apparently regarding their own ministry as sufficient, until a practical difficulty in regard to the care of the poor suggests the appointment of deacons whose duty it would be to administer the needed relief. These "deacons" at first, no doubt, confined themselves to the "serving of tables," but it is not long before we find them preaching—as in the case of Stephen—while a year or so later their ministry seems to be extended, for we read of Philip preaching and baptizing, and thus the diaconate early attains its full development, and reaches a point beyond which it has never since advanced—so far, at least, as spiritual functions are concerned.

In the second period the Call of the Gentiles and the commencement of missionary enterprise brings about a new state of things, and makes new demands on the Apostolic ministry. The necessity of providing for the spiritual wants of scattered communities obliges the Apostles to associate with themselves others in the work of the pastoral office. Hence we find early mention of "Presbyters," or "Elders," as sharing not only the temporal administration of separate congregations, as in Acts xi. 30, but as admitted to the solemn deliberations of the Apostles in council, as in Acts xv. 6. That these Presbyters exercised spiritual functions similar to those of the Apostles themselves, and were actually admitted to share the burden of Apostolic rule, is abundantly clear from the various injunctions given as to their appointment.[1] It is, indeed, almost certain that each particular or local church of any considerable membership was a kind of reflection of the Apostolic College so far as its ministry was concerned, being governed by a body of Presbyters under the presidency of a "Primus" or "Ruling Elder."

[1] *Cf.* Acts xiv. 23; xx. 27, 28; Col. iv. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7; 1 Pet. v. 1-4. The Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, *passim.*

In the third period of the Apostolic Age the Church begins to show early symptoms of a "Catholic" development. "In the Pastoral Epistles," says Bishop Gore, "a different situation is represented from that which appears in the Epistle to Corinth. The Church in the Pastoral Epistles is seen preparing itself to perpetuate the witness and ministry of Christ. . . . In the Pastoral Epistles, then, we find in the Church a general and a local ministry. . . . The local ministry consists of presbyters, also called 'bishops,' and deacons."[1] Who were these Presbyters or Bishops? "No one who reads the Pastoral Epistles, or the Epistle of Clement" (written by Clement from Rome to the Church of Corinth, about A.D. 95), "can doubt that the names indicate practically the same officers. . . . Practically we must recognize that the presbyters and bishops of the local Church are the same persons."[2]

Dr. McAdam Muir's comment on these admissions of Dr. Gore was as follows: "Were Bishop Gore to follow his premises to their legitimate conclusion, he would be among the foremost of the many clergymen of the Church of England who frankly acknowledge our orders."[3] But although such a conclusion might be "legitimate," it is not therefore logically inevitable, the question would still have to be answered whether Presbyters who had received ordination at the hands of an Apostle or his deputy were able in turn—and without further consecration—to transmit the presbyterate to others, and the most zealous advocate of the rights of Presbyteries must admit that there is a difference between ordination conferred by a Timothy or a Titus acting as an Apostolic delegate (*i.e.*, during the lifetime of the Apostle) and an admission to the ministry in a Scottish kirk to-day. Even if it *is* admitted that the Presbyters and Bishops of the Church of the Apostles were, to all intents and purposes, the same officers, it by no means follows that all alike had "power of order."

[1] Bishop Gore, "Orders and Unity," pp. 115, 116.
[2] Bishop Gore, *ibid.*, p. 116 f.
[3] Address, as Moderator, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1910.

There were, apparently, some who, to the exclusion of others, received a special, personal authority to ordain. And may it not have been this latter ministry which passed into that which has, for so many centuries, been known as the Episcopate proper? Might not the Apostles, by virtue of the authority which they had received from the Lord Himself, have created a new order of ministry endowed with the power of perpetuating itself, so that one who had acted as an Apostolic delegate became a Bishop in the later sense of the term? It must reluctantly be confessed that however attractive and plausible such a theory may be, so far as the New Testament is concerned there is no indisputable evidence in its favour, while the Epistle of Clement, written in the last decade of the first century, though it refers to an "injunction" given by the Apostles that "approved men" should succeed to the administration of the Church, gives no indication whatever of the manner in which they received their commission.[1] Taking the evidence simply as it stands, and without reading into it any of the conjectures which have resulted from later modes of thought, it would seem that in the local churches a place of honour was conceded to those Presbyters who had stood nearest to the Lord, or who had been personally acquainted with an Apostle or immediate disciple, either by friendship or through having listened to their teaching, so that "there would not be any electing one man as a president over others who had hitherto been his equals, but the bringing in of new men in the position of subordinates, as the responsibilities of the surviving members of the original Episcopate were gradually enlarged. In a transition of this kind there would be no difficulty, and it could be easily accomplished in a generation.

[1] Clement, "Epist. ad Corinthios: "Preaching through countries and cities, they (the Apostles) appointed the first-fruits (of their conversions) to be bishops and ministers (ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους) over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit" (xlii). "Likewise our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that contentions should arise over the name (dignity) of the overseer's office (τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς). And therefore, having received a complete foreknowledge, for this cause they appointed the aforesaid persons (*i.e.*, their first converts), and afterwards gave a further injunction that, if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their administration" (xliv).

Such a change does not lend itself to the suggestion of any unworthy grasping at superiority and exclusive rights, and it would obviously be an improvement of organization for exercizing the cure of souls."[1] There is, indeed, no reason to believe that the power of order was not regarded as inherent in the Presbyterate, or that the *Episcopos* of the New Testament was other than a "Ruling Elder" with an extending jurisdiction, it may be, but without peculiar spiritual powers as belonging to a distinct order of ministry.

## II. The Sub-Apostolic Age.

If the Pastoral Epistles reveal an evolution or growth of the idea of centralized authority in Church life, the period immediately following the Apostolic Age shows us the Episcopate in process of development. It contains, says Dean Stanley, "the great question, almost the greatest which ecclesiastical history has to answer—How was the transition effected from the age of the Apostles to the age of the Fathers, from Christianity as we see it in the New Testament, to Christianity as we see it in the next century, and as, to a certain extent, we have seen it ever since? No other change equally momentous has ever since affected its fortunes, yet none has ever been so silent and secret. The stream, in that most critical moment of its passage from the everlasting hills to the plain below, is lost to our view at the very point where we are most anxious to watch it . . . It is not so much a period for ecclesiastical history as for ecclesiastical controversy and conjecture. A fragment here, an allegory there; romances of unknown authorship; a handful of letters, of which the genuineness of every portion is contested inch by inch; the summary examination of a Roman magistrate; the pleadings of two or three Christian apologists; customs and opinions in the very act of change; last, but not least, the faded paintings, the broken sculptures, the rude epitaphs in the dark-

[1] See "The Cure of Souls," lectures delivered at Cambridge by the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, 1908. Lecture II. on "The Definition of the Sphere of Responsibility."

ness of the catacombs—these are the scanty, though attractive materials, out of which the likeness of the early Church must be reproduced."[1]

In contemplating the history of Christianity in the early part of the second century, we view it in its beginnings as a system of ecclesiastical polity. If, as Professor Harnack supposes, "the Monarchical Episcopate were firmly rooted in the time of Ignatius of Antioch,"[2] it must be asked when and how did the change take place? The New Testament leaves us regarding the offices of Bishop and Presbyter as practically identical. When did they become orders of ministry essentially distinct? Ask when and how the Bishop of Rome became a Pontifex Maximus, supreme over all his brethren in the Episcopate, with power to exalt and to cast down, and history will furnish us with some sort of an answer by tracing for us through successive centuries the growth and development of papal power. Ask, however, when and how the "Moderator" of a local Presbytery or the president of a provincial synod was transformed into the occupant of an Episcopal throne, through whose hands alone could be transmitted the orders of ministry which he himself had received from those who, formerly his equals, were now his inferiors in order and jurisdiction, and who were henceforward to be accounted virtuous in so far as they "ran together according to his will," and were "fitted to the bishop as exactly as the strings to the harp,"[3] and the answer to such a question will depend on a variety of conjectures of greater or less probability, it may be, but not in any sense indisputable. All that can be said with certainty is that the few documents of the second and third centuries at our command show us an evolution in the Church's ministry, by which "the ruling body in every congregation changed from being a session of elders without a president and became a session with a president. The president, sometimes called the 'pastor,' but usually the 'Bishop,' became gradually

[1] Dean Stanley, "History of the Eastern Church," Introductory Lecture, pp. 30, 31.

[2] *The Expositor*, January, 1886.

[3] Ignatius of Antioch, "Epist. ad Ephesios," iv.

the centre of all the ecclesiastical life of the local Christian Church, and the one potent office-bearer."[1] That such a change in the Church's ministry and government actually took place is admitted even by upholders of the Apostolical institution of the Episcopate as not being "the affair of a year," or "effected everywhere under the same conditions or at the same rate," "rather was the mode of it various: it came earlier here, somewhat later there,"[2] in fact, there is "considerable doubt as to how the rule of the single Bishop in each Church actually came about."[3] One very common cause of misconception in reading the history of the Early Church no doubt arises from the error of supposing that a threefold ministry and the Episcopal form of government are necessarily one and the same thing.[4] Frequent allusion to a threefold order is made by the early Fathers, and, in general, it may be conceded that Episcopacy is indicated, but it is none the less a matter of history that although the distinction between the offices of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon was common, it was by no means general until a much later date. Clearly, for instance, the Church of Corinth did not possess a Bishop when Clement wrote his epistle about A.D. 95.[5] In A.D. 117 the Church at Philippi apparently had no Bishop when Polycarp wrote urging submission "to the presbyters and deacons."[6] Jerome, in one of his letters, bears witness to the fact that "at Alexandria there was a substantial equality between the bishop and the presbyters down to about A.D. 250 in the sense that when the bishop died one of the other presbyters succeeded by mere election without any further ordination."[7] In Rome, too, there is reason to believe that the Church was, in the time

[1] Rev. T. M. Lindsay, D.D. "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries," p. 205.
[2] Dr. Bright, "Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life," pp. 43, 44.
[3] Bishop Gore, "Orders and Unity," p. 129.
[4] "The Presbyterian or Conciliar system of Church government is as much a threefold ministry as Episcopacy," Principal Lindsay. *Op. cit.*, p. 170 n.
[5] Bishop Gore, "Orders and Unity," pp. 129, 130; Dr. Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
[6] Dr. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 194 f., *cf.* Bishop Gore, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130.
[7] Bishop Gore, *ibid.* *Cf.* Jerome, "Epist." 146.

of Ignatius, governed by a College of Presbyters,[1] and it is a fact, surely not without significance, that the Roman Church has never formally declared the Episcopate to be a distinct order of ministry, but, according to the opinion of her older theologians, following ancient tradition, has generally regarded it as the crown or "complement" of the sacerdotal order,[2] and, as Principal Lindsay has pointed out, "there is many a trace in the ancient Canons that the Bishop was only a *primus inter pares* in the session of elders, and that he was distinguished from them by two things only—a special seat in the church, and the power to ordain elders and deacons. The practice made him the centre of the whole congregational life and the ruler; the theory recalled the earlier days when every congregation was governed by a council of elders who had no president. We find the theory in such law-books as the Canons of Hippolytus; it was repeated by Jerome; it never lacked supporters during the Middle Ages, of whom Thomas Aquinas was one; it re-emerged at the Reformation when the Reformed Church revived the ecclesiastical organization of the early centuries; and the same difference between theory and practice exists among the Reformed Churches in the present day."[3]

[1] "The threefold ministry developed much more slowly in Rome than in Asia Minor. *Cf.* Lightfoot, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians" (1881), sixth edition, p. 217 ff.; Réville, "Les Origines de l' Episcopat" (1894), p. 420 ff. (Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 195 n.).

[2] "Certum est episcopatum habere rationem sacramenti, sed controvertitur utrum sit ordo a presbyteratu distinctus. Multi antiqui theologi, cum paucis recentioribus (*cf.* Billot, S.J., th. 31, Roma, 1894), tenent episcopatum non esse ordinem a presbyteratu distinctum, sed ejus extensionem et intrinsecum complementum; nam distinctio ordinum accipitur secundum habitudinem ad Eucharistiam; atqui Episcopus non habet relate ad consecrationem potestatem superiorem sacerdoti," etc., *cf.* St. Thomas Aq., Sup. q. 40, a. 5 (Tanquerey, "Synopsis Theol. Dogm.," vol. ii., p. 602, Baltimore, 1897). In fact, the three Major or Holy Orders are said to be those of the Subdiaconate, Diaconate, and Priesthood, while the Episcopate, Archiepiscopate, Patriarchate, and so on, are regarded as degrees of the sacerdotal order only "varying in dignity and power" (see "Catechismus Trident," part ii., chapter vii., q. 25), and although ordination to the Diaconate and Priesthood may be conferred only by a Bishop, yet Confirmation, the Minor Orders, and the Subdiaconate may, by special delegation, be conferred by a simple priest (see Tanquerey, *ibid.*, "Tr. de Confirmatione," art. iv. 15; "de Ordine," iv. 21). It is interesting to note that in the Greek Church the priest is the ordinary minister of confirmation.

[3] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 225. For a large collection of authorities see Gieseler, "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History," vol. i., pp. 88-90, n. 1.

Taking into account, then, the fact that Monarchical Episcopacy was not universal during the first two centuries, and that there is evidence that even in the middle of the third, election and benediction by Presbyters was, in some churches, regarded as a sufficient Episcopal consecration, it can be said with something almost approaching to certainty that the maxim "no bishop, no church" did not apply universally, and, however useful it may have proved, it cannot be regarded as "fundamenal." Tested by the Vincentian Canon, it is found wanting in that *nec "semper," nec "ubique," nec ab "omnibus creditum est."* The lists of "bishops" which in some Churches were so carefully kept, as we see from such writers as Irenæus and Tertullian—and which have misled many, are found on examination to be adduced *not* as an argument for any theory of the Apostolic institution of the Episcopate, but as a testimony against the Gnostics that no secret tradition, such as they claimed to possess, existed, since it was not found in Churches of unquestioned Apostolic origin, as the lists of the succession of presiding ministers testified—"We refer them (*i.e.*, the heretics)," says Irenæus, "to that tradition which is preserved by means of the succession of elders in the Churches,"[1] the names of the presiding "elders" or "bishops" being given as seeming to impersonate the "genius" of the particular church, like the "angelic" presidents of the Apocalypse. According to Bishop Lightfoot, such notices "indicate that the solution suggested by the history of the word 'bishop' and its transference from the lower to the higher office is the true solution, and that episcopacy was created out of the presbytery." [2]

[1] Irenæus, "Adv. Hær.," III. ii. 2.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot, "The Epistle to the Philippians." Dissertation I. "On the Ministry of the Church," p. 225, Ed. 1869. *Cf.* "If 'bishop' was first used as a synonym for 'presbyter' and afterwards came to designate the higher officer under whom the presbyters served, the Episcopate properly so called would seem to have developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the Episcopate was formed not out of the Apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral order by elevation: and the title which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them" (*ibid.*, p. 194). "It is the conception of a later age which represents Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus and Titus as Bishop of Crete.

From such considerations, then, it would appear that those who so state the principle of Apostolical Succession as to identify it in all cases with the Episcopal form of government betray a tendency to make that a cause of separation, which is not declared in the New Testament to be essential to Christian Unity, and that however natural the desire to justify adherence to a particular eccleciastical system, it is frequently attainable only at the expense of actual historic fact. It may well be that Episcopacy is the more perfect way, it may be that the experience of ages has proved it to be a guardian of ancient tradition and godly order that the Church could ill afford to lay aside; still, the arguments in favour of its Divine, or even Apostolical, institution can hardly be regarded as so overwhelmingly convincing as to justify any one communion in cutting off from the ministration of Christian Sacraments those who differ from it in their conception of what is essential to the valid transmission of Orders. Were full justice done to the views of Bishop Lightfoot—as to those of Bishop Gore— might there not be seen to exist such a connection between Episcopacy and Presbytery as to open up a way for the recognition of a common source, and so as to embrace both in the communion and fellowship of the Catholic and Apostolic Church?

---

St. Paul's own language implies that the position which they held was temporary. In both cases their term of office is drawing to a close when the Apostle writes" (see 1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 9, 21; Titus i. 5, iii. 12). "But the conception is not altogether without foundation. With less permanence, but perhaps greater authority, the position occupied by these Apostolic delegates nevertheless fairly represents the functions of the bishop early in the second century. They were, in fact, the link between the Apostle, whose superintendence was occasional and general, and the bishop, who exercised a permanent supervision over an individual congregation. Beyond this stage the Apostolic writings do not carry us" (p. 197). "In the mysterious period which comprises the last thirty years of the first century, and on which history is almost wholly silent, Episcopacy must have been mainly developed" (pp. 203, 204). To the attempts which have sometimes been made to explain away these words, perhaps no better answer could be given than that, as Dr. A. K. H. Boyd testifies: "Liddon expressed great regret that Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, lately his colleague in St. Paul's, had written a well-known passage admitting that Presbytery was the primitive government of the Christian Church" (see Dr. Boyd's "Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews," vol. ii., p. 89).

# The Function of Prophet and Priest in the Church of God.

By the Rev. F. G. GIVEN-WILSON, M.A.,
*Vicar of Dedham, Essex.*

EVERY human institution if it is to fulfil the object which called it into being must be organized. It must take shape and form in law and rite. By this means alone can it give expression to those truths and principles to preserve and extend which is the reason of its existence. As Carlyle says in his forcible way, "It is meritorious to insist on forms. Religion and all else naturally clothes itself in forms. Everywhere the formed world is the only habitable one." And so the Church as an organized institution is a necessary means, in a world where every system must be governed by law and order if it is to survive and keep pace with human needs, towards that end which is the spiritual regeneration of mankind.

So much is this a law of human institutions that, if in course of time the organization of some society is found to be defective or inadequate, it will seek to obey the law of its being by organizing itself in a direction which may not be in conformity with its original character. A suggestive example of this may be found in the present behaviour of certain Nonconformist bodies, where, as in the case of the Independents or Congregationalists, the original intention was that each separate congregation should be autonomous and complete in itself. But as these separate Churches multiplied, it was inevitable that some central organization, something which linked them together, should be found for them. The narrowness of their original conception hardly admitted of this, and so an actual basis of unification is found, not in the spiritual sphere, but in the political; and to-day the great bond of union between a large number of separate and independent religious bodies is a political one; and in consequence political aspirations, or the

expectation that religious and social reforms can be carried out by means of politics, have largely taken the place of that particular religious teaching they were established to promote.

It will be seen, therefore, that want of organization may lead to the perversion of principles which it was the object of the institution to preserve. But it is also true that excess of organization may have the same effect. For when a living want of man becomes so urgent that to maintain its existence a system has to be devised for its protection, then the system itself may come to stand in the way of fulfilling the very want it was originally intended to supply. Religion, as we have seen, must be officially organized and protected if it is to supply the spiritual needs of men. It must have its churches, its sacraments, its clergy. But directly it is so protected and organized, there is always the danger lest the institution be held in greater reverence than the spiritual want it was created to supply. Ritual can never be anything else than an imperfect, though necessary, expression of the spiritual; but when the outward is made more important and impressive than the spiritual, then religion, viewed as an inward and transforming power—the new birth of the Spirit—is over-weighted by those means by which alone it is maintained it can be apprehended. The legalism, the ceremonialism, the rigid dogmatism of Judaism were devised to protect the purity of the religion of Israel. But the stricter Jews became so absorbed in mere outward observance that they came near to stifling all true religion, and certainly in our Lord's time were incapable of seeing the truth and purity of His teaching. And to-day even good Christians find it hard, and sometimes impossible, to believe in salvation apart from their own sacraments, or outside their own denominational forms.

With these preliminary observations we may pass on to the subject of this article.

Now, broadly speaking, the function of the Christian ministry is a twofold one—the priestly and the prophetic; and the ideal Christian minister is doubtless one in whom the priestly and prophetic functions are combined. For the priest stands in the

main for the organization; the prophet for freedom to push out beyond the organization. The one stands for the outward, the other for the inward, in the Church of God. The priest represents the principles of authority, and law, and order. It is that side of religion which legislates, and prohibits, and punishes. The prophet is typical of that freedom of the spirit which is always pushing out to find fresh indications of the Divine providence, and to reveal new aspects of the Divine character. The one is eminently the preserver of order and rule, the other is eminently the renewer of spiritual energy.

Yet the whole history of religion, instead of showing a gradual approximation of these two ideals, reveals rather the eternal conflict between them. The classic example is to be found in the religion of Israel. Its whole history is the history of the war between prophet and priest; yet they have always to come to terms, for neither can do without the other. When Amos, the inspired herdsman of Tekoa, appeared at the sanctuary of Bethel, and protested against the hollowness and insincerity of the religion practised there, the official voice of religion, in the person of the priest Amaziah, rebuked him and sent him about his business, as it has silenced many a true prophet since. But the voice of the prophet is a solitary, ineffectual thing, when it has no means of making itself heard; so Amos returned to his flocks in the wilderness and wrote a book—the first of the prophets to do so—and perhaps that was his reason for doing so, because it was the only way open to him of perpetuating his teaching.

But mark: it was the priests who collected and edited the Sacred Books, and formed the Canon of Holy Scripture. And the prophet cannot do without the priest. If our Lord said, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," He also recognized the place of ritual in worship, and said, "Thus it behoveth us to fulfil all righteousness"; and by righteousness He did not mean moral law, but man's duty of rite, and sacrifice, and tithe, and alms. Religion must have its duties and its obligations. There is also an invaluable loyalty to traditional habits, as there are

holy and special uses in symbol and sacrament. There are truths about religion which all feel are too great for formal utterance. They must be felt rather than expressed. They belong rather to the heart than to the head. But often by the concrete symbolism of ceremony the truth is seen through a glass darkly. And that may be the best means of keeping it alive. Its mystery, too high for mental grasp, would be lost unless it were preserved in some outward, tangible form. In the outward symbol we are reminded of the spiritual reality. We are able to see and feel what no words of ours can ever adequately express.

All this belongs to the function of the priest, and religion cannot afford to be without him. But, on the other hand, there is always the danger of clinging to the shadow and so losing the reality. What is wanted is that religion shall constantly be invigorated by the free breath of the Spirit. Just as we complain of red-tapism in a Government Office, which hinders that being done which it was created to do, so we must beware of the petrifying influences of an all-absorbing ceremonialism, which is in danger of becoming an end in itself, or of a rigid dogmatism which leaves no room for fresh streams of interpretation and inspiration to vitalize the consecrated forms of belief. And that is the function of the prophet, who breaks through the outward that he may grasp the inward. He sees the dulling effect on the spirit of a merely mechanical worship. He recalls men to the reality that underlies the outward symbols of religion. He startles them from that easy-going pietism which imagines that the duties of religion are fulfilled when their outward requirements have been observed. He warns them against the folly of believing that the Church can save them ; and in this he appears as the enemy of the priest, who regards his advent as interfering with the traditional forms of worship, and subverting the historical symbols of the faith.

Let us turn again to the religion of Israel as the classic instance of the antagonism between the two ideals of the prophet and the priest. The nation possessed an outward

worship, at once costly and elaborate ; but this was just to teach the worshipper that God could only be approached in reverence and awe, and to lift him above the very means he was using, because they were inadequate. "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee: how much less this house that I have builded," is Solomon's humble admission when he dedicated the Temple for the worship of God. And the temple, the altar, and the sacrifice were maintained, in order that they might teach by contrast that the true temple of God is the soul of man, and that the true priest is he who offers the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart to God. In the last phase of the nation's life—the period after the Exile—we see these two aspects of the inward and the outward in religion reach their highest development. "On the one hand," there is "the Levitical law which hedged round the life of the Jewish devotee with the minutest prescriptions of outward service and ritual ; and, on the other hand, the Book of Psalms, which expresses, in language that the highest Christian devotion is glad to accept as its own, the inward yearning of the soul that turns away from all outward forms as empty and worthless, and is content with nothing short of the deepest union with God."[1]

We pass on to consider briefly the position of the prophet in the early history of the Church. "The ultimate triumph in the primitive Church of the ministry of office," writes Dr. Armitage Robinson, "over what we may call the ministry of enthusiasm, has made it difficult for us to realize that there was a time when bishops, presbyters, and deacons were not the prominent figures of the ecclesiastical community."[2] The New Testament clearly shows that in the early Church the prophets ranked next in importance to the apostles. This is what we should expect—that so important a function in the old dispensation would survive and retain its dignity in the new. When John the Baptist appeared, he was at once recognized as a prophet, and our Lord confirmed the popular belief when He said that "a

[1] Edw. Caird, "Evolution of Religion," vol. i., p. 389.
[2] "Encyclopædia Biblica," vol. iii., col. 3883.

prophet, and more than a prophet" had appeared. And Jesus Himself was commonly spoken of as the prophet of Nazareth. The gift of prophecy, from the very earliest times, was ranked amongst the special gifts of the Holy Spirit. On the day of Pentecost the words of Joel were recalled as fitly describing that memorable scene: "I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." And in St. Paul's earliest letter to a Greek Church he defends the position of prophecy: "Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesyings."[1] To the Corinthians he writes that "God appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets";[2] and later to the Ephesians that the Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets."[3]

Now what was the function of the prophet in the primitive Church? As we might expect, his position was very like the conception of a prophet which had gradually been worked out in the history of Israel. He is the interpreter of the Divine will; a man who speaks for God, in words sometimes of warning, sometimes of consolation. Prediction, it is true, as in the case of Agabus, held an important place in the prophetic message; and it was this part which most impressed, as it does still, the vulgar mind.[4]

Prophecy, however, was not an office, but a special gift. It was inevitable, therefore, that those who exercised this gift should in course of time come into conflict with the responsible leaders of the Church. In the first instance a Church might owe its foundation to an itinerant preacher or prophet, but for its preservation it required a regular ministry. Not every Church possessed its prophet, but it depended upon its appointed officers for its effective administration. The prophets were

[1] 1 Thess. v. 20. [2] 1 Cor. xii. 28. [3] Eph. ii. 20.

[4] For a general definition of the prophetic function it would be difficult to improve upon the concise and balanced words of Professor Gwatkin: "The prophet's power is not in predictions of the future, though he may adventure some, nor in visions of another world if he have any, but in vivid understanding of his own age. Insight is his mark, not foresight, though marvellous foresight may come of true insight" ("The Knowledge of God," vol. i., p. 173).

never a numerous body; and however much they might be esteemed for their gifts of imparting instruction and arousing enthusiasm, it is clear that their function was not governmental. It was inevitable that their peculiar, and in some sense irresponsible, position would create difficulties. The passing visit of a prophet was not always welcome, because he would throw the local ministry at once into the shade. Again, it was not always easy to distinguish between true and false prophets, because their spiritual endowments lifted them above the judgments of men. Once more, the frailty of human nature was not above the scandal of seeking material gain as the reward of the prophet's special gifts. And so the second century sees the gradual decline of the prophet, and the rise of a regular and permanent class of officials. By the third century no more is heard of inspired persons, prophets, and itinerant teachers, but everywhere we see the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. The struggle with Gnosticism and Montanism compelled the Church to put its teaching, its worship, and its discipline into fixed forms and ordinances; and that was the work of the regular officials of the Church. "It was through her bishops that the Church was united to the apostles; they represented tradition and authority; and they alone were qualified to interpret doctrine, and to guide the faithful."[1]

Henceforth prophecy, as an institution, ceased to exist in the Christian Church; but as a spiritual element vitalizing the consecrated forms of belief, and transforming the traditional forms of worship with a new energy, arousing the consciences of men, teaching, warning, consoling them, the gift of prophecy can never be extinct. "Age after age," to quote once more from Dr. Armitage Robinson, "has seen the rise of great teachers, alike within and without the ranks of the regular ministry: men who were dominated by a sense of immediate mission from God, and filled with a conviction which imparted itself by contagion to their hearers."[2] That is the place

[1] Duchesne, "The Early History of the Church," p. 389. E.T.
[2] *Ibid.*, col. 3887.

that the spirit of prophecy holds in the Church of to-day —*i.e.*, if it is allowed to. The danger is when the voice of authority silences the least manifestation of an original and independent message to mankind which might be supposed to tell against its sacred privileges. This is what a branch of the Catholic Church has done in the past, and is notoriously doing now. The Church of Rome does not encourage prophets, and our own Church has generally been inclined to regard them with suspicion. It is natural that those who are impressed with the institutional character of the Church should desire uniformity of religious belief, but it is equally natural that those who are convinced that revelation is partial and progressive, and conditioned by man's capacity to receive it, should claim liberty of religious opinion. And if we believe that the Holy Spirit is a living and present Power, who shall, as our Lord promised, "testify of Me," and "guide you into all the truth," we cannot feel satisfied that any summary of religious belief is a complete and exhaustive statement of Divine revelation, however truly and adequately it may represent the needs and aspirations of the particular age which called it forth.

The priest, therefore, is typical to-day of one who venerates the Church as a Divine institution. For him its threefold ministry and its sacraments were specially ordained by Christ Himself, and are the Divinely appointed means whereby the Christian religion is presented to and maintained in the world. His power lies there—that he speaks with authority. It is not he that speaks; he is but the mouthpiece of the Church which is the repository of Divine revelation. That he recognizes is his great and unique power. And with this goes a passionate belief in the fixity of the definitions of the faith. He cannot tolerate the least deviation from a rigid dogmatism; that were to introduce the thin edge of the wedge of a dissolving scepticism. And so he stands out as the champion of orthodoxy, and the teacher of legalism.

The prophet cannot breathe in such an atmosphere. For him truth is relative, and his function is to embody it afresh, to

shake it free of its old forms, and reinterpret it in those which are in conformity with new streams of thought, and able to satisfy the changing spiritual and intellectual needs of men. He may complain of persecution, but it is the fact of the Church, as an organized institution, which gives power and advertisement to his utterance. That must content him for the present—slowly, and it may be in face of opposition, to let his message find his hearers out, and let time test the value of his word. When his word is tried, as silver is tried, then it will become a part of the body of common belief, and the priest will be glad to appropriate and hand on his message. As Mark Pattison slyly remarked of F. D. Maurice: "The ritualists stole the honey out of the Maurician hive." But the prophet is likely to be just as arrogant and self-assertive in his own sphere as the priest, and no less opinionated; only his lack of reverence for the Church may lead him to that fatal decision that he may fancy he can do without it, which is the illusion of the schismatic.

# Missions and Contemporary Literature.

By the Rev. C. HALDON.

"LITERATURE is essentially a social phenomenon," says Mr. A. S. Mackenzie, in his "Evolution of Literature," and one naturally asks why it is that the modern author is so frequently oblivious to the social effects of the missionary enterprise. Mr. Bernard Shaw will tell us with a fine disdain of facts that evolution has destroyed what he calls "Garden-of-Edenism," and the very thing that he brushes contemptuously aside has worked some of the most mighty social reforms of any age. Or we find Sir George Scott writing on Burma, and quite ignoring the existence of the Society for Propagating the Gospel! One asks whether missionary effort has come to such a diminished point that it eludes the observation. The contrary is the case. When Southey wrote his famous defence of missions, the incomes of all Societies were barely £50,000. To-day they are about £4,000,000.

In the region of *belles-lettres* it is surely pardonable to expect that the missionary's contribution to human progress should find proper recognition. Now, take these two quotations and remember they are highly characteristic.

In the Prologue to "The Life Everlasting," Miss Corelli says: "All the world over there are religions of various kinds, more or less suited to the various types and races of humanity." Again, in "Conflict of Colour" (p. 118), Mr. Putnam Weale says: "Christianity, no matter what ardent evangelists may say to the contrary, can only really live and thrive in temperate climes; as it stands to-day it is the product of temperate climes, and only of temperate climes;" Western people, he says, will be always Christian, and Easterns will be always non-Christian. No spiritual conception can make economic or racial changes.

I am tempted to examine these statements because, as I say, they are so characteristic of literature to-day. Has Miss Corelli ever heard of a case like this? A missionary in Nigeria found a newborn baby in the bush, cast out to perish because, although perfectly healthy, its birth was not entirely natural. He finds the mother, and insists on her nursing the child. She does so, and her natural affection returns; but the poor missionary has broken through their *Ju-ju*, and he is ostracized. The people will not come to him even for drugs. Miss Corelli may say that this is an extreme case among a barbarous people. Very well. She will hardly call the people of Madras a barbarous nation. Is she aware that in Hindu temples the dancing-girls have become so degraded that local officials are compelled to take steps in the matter, and that the Secretary for India has sent a special despatch on the subject? These cases are not merely the sins of heathen peoples, but they are the direct outcome of religions which Miss Corelli says are "more or less suited" to the people who believe them.

Mr. Putnam Weale, on the other hand, goes deeper, and attacks the principle of the work. It is a bold position, and one which is rarely taken, even by opponents of missionary methods. It is a strange thing that he says, "Christianity is the product of temperate climes." The question is, What is Christianity? A man may go into a Roman Catholic Church and see a great deal that he objects to, but what he sees is not Christianity, but the Roman Catholic conception of Christianity. The truth that I imagine our author has to learn is that Christianity is not a creed, or a church, or a moral code, but a life—a life whose principles and conditions are to be found in the pages of the four Gospels. The Apostles were ordered to preach this life. Under varying similes the order was given, sometimes, "the Kingdom of God," or "the Word," or "the Gospel"—terms expressive of different aspects, but always based on the fundamental conception of Christianity as a life to be received, to be learnt, and to be lived. To say that we have superadded our Western notions to this primary conception, and that

therefore we are incapable of presenting it to the East, is very much like saying that no Englishman can teach the natives of Nigeria unless he divests himself of his clothes! We then find Mr. Putnam Weale among the prophets. The West, he says, is naturally Christian, and the East will remain otherwise. No amount of spiritual teaching, he assures us, can overcome the barrier of race. It is a comfort to know that, as Europeans, we are safe from the inroads of paganism, but our comfort is a little disturbed by the facts of history. It is not the case that a nation once Christian is always Christian. The first country in Europe to embrace Christianity is now Moslem, and the once Christian Temple of San Sofia is crowned with the Crescent. It is estimated that South-East Europe contains nearly four millions of Mohammedans. Spain was for centuries a Mohammedan country, and so was South Italy. Then, as regards Christianity making headway with people of another colour, and across the border-line of race, Mr. Weale cannot surely be serious when he asserts that such a thing is impossible. We grant that the conquest of the Cross has not been universal, and that often it is slow in its working; but this is because Christians have failed, and not the Christian message. Seventy years ago the Church Missionary Society went to Yoruba, in Africa. What did they find? They found the people in the lowest state of degradation. What has happened in that seventy years? Human sacrifices have been abolished; slavery has become illegal; inter-tribal wars have been stopped; new industries have been started; thousands upon thousands have been gathered into the Christian Church; about fifty natives have been ordained, and four have been made bishops. This is the record of one country, but it is true of others. The names of Madagascar, North-West Canada, Melanesia, Fuh-Kien, and Ceylon, will occur to anyone who has made even elementary acquaintance with the story of missions abroad. The worker for missions has no reason to be ashamed of the story, but he has reason to be ashamed of a Christian country that spends two hundred times more on its sports than on its

missions, and that produces works of literature which decry the most humanizing efforts of the twentieth century.

Mr. Wells takes a much more intelligent view of missions than many of his contemporaries. He is quite ready to discount adverse judgments as to the supposed insuperable barrier of race.[1] He agrees with his friend the botanist that races are not universally inferior, and argues that you can no more take an individual Eastern as a type of his kind than you can judge England by a drunken cab-tout. I am afraid, however, that some of his remarks in the book I am quoting fully justify his own description of it in the "Note to the Reader" as "imaginative writing." I refer especially to the chapter in "Race in Utopia." Here is an example: "Both Christendom and Islam are indeed on their secular sides imperfect realizations of a Utopian World-State." He means that both are able to exist among people of different language, but I venture to say that it is an intolerable abuse of words to class them together even on the secular side. The fact is that Christianity and Islam are the only missionary religions in existence. The success of Islam is due partly to its missionary character, and partly to the elements of truth it contains, as Carlyle pointed out long ago. It is absolutely incredible that a man of intelligence should compare a religion which favours slavery and polygamy with the religion of Christ. Christianity was never intended to set up a Utopian World-State. It leaves that work to Islam, and incidentally, to Mr. Wells. Christianity does not tell us to expect the regeneration of mankind. It *does* tell us to expect and work for the regeneration of men. It goes to work in a way that thinkers of the type of Mr. Wells would do worse than to imitate, and teaches that when you have saved a man you have saved mankind. If one man can be made clean, there is not a man on earth that cannot be made clean. Christianity started out not with a perfect world, but with a perfect Man. I quite agree that environment is something. In many cases

[1] "A Modern Utopia."

it is everything; and it is precisely because I think that that I will not tolerate the presence of Islam.

A book well worth reading, from the missionary point of view, is Mr. Price Collier's "The West in the East."[1] Like everything that Mr. Collier writes, it is sensible, racy, and full of literary charm. His opinion of the individual missionary is a generous one. On p. 53 he is discussing the prospect of converting the world: "Far be it from me, a Christian, to discourage the attempt. On the contrary, Christianity has become so clogged with materialistic interpretations of its messages; the tent-making and fishing Apostles have been so lost in cardinals and bishops living in palaces with the revenues of princes, that the Christian missionary seems almost the one fine and genuine thing left. Just because there is no hope of visible success for him, he is the more admirable and the more Christian."

He quotes with favour these very outspoken opinions of Sir Harry Johnston, who, he says, at least cannot be accused of not knowing India: "The 162,000,000 Hindu men and women and children follow for the most part wholly unreasonable forms of religion, quite incompatible with modern ideas of physical development, social progress, sanitation, avoidance of cruelty, and unrestricted intercourse with one's fellow-men." "The Hindu religion is a mixture of nightmare nonsense and time-wasting rubbish, fulfilling no useful end whatever, only adding to the general burden borne by humanity in its struggle for existence" (p. 214). Again, on the missionaries, Mr. Collier says: "I know of nothing more courageous, patient, and self-sacrificing than the work some of them are doing" (p. 521).

It is a pity, however, that Mr. Collier repeats the exploded objection of missions in India being a failure. There are, he says (p. 228), something over 1,000 ordained missionaries in India, with about the same number of native pastors. "They have made practically no impresssion upon India, and the best of them, both European and native, admit as much themselves.

[1] Duckworth, 1911.

The converts are almost entirely from the lowest class of natives." It makes patience very difficult in dealing with a statement like this. You have, according to Mr. Collier, 2,000 workers to cope with over 300,000,000 of people; and yet he calmly sits down and says they have made practically no impression on India, and admit it themselves. But have they failed? It was estimated, according to the census of ten years ago, that whereas the entire population of India had increased by 3 per cent., the number of Indian Christians had increased by 50 per cent.[1] The recent census has also produced some remarkable figures. In the Punjab there are 165,000 Indian Christians, as against 37,000 ten years ago. In the Nagpur division the Christians in 1881 numbered 36,000, to-day they muster 177,000. In Travancore the population has increased 16 per cent. since 1901, and the Christians have increased by 30 per cent.[2] The total increase of Indian Christians since 1901 has been 34·2 per cent. As regards the educated classes, the Hindu does not share the opinion as to Christian failure. In tract No. 10, dealing with the Arya Somaj, these words occur: "The followers of the Prophet of Nazareth . . . are sapping the foundations of Hinduism." On the cover of the pamphlet it is asserted that Christianity is making "steady progress."[3] These are not the opinions of missionaries, but the words of the enemies, deadly enemies, of Christianity. Moreover, it is important to remember that there are over one hundred leading men in India to-day who are converts from Islam, men occupying important positions in the State or in missions.

I am afraid we must also discount Mr. Collier's strictures on the Korean people, and his depreciation of missions there. The country, he says, "has been a paradise for the missionary." The success of Christianity he puts down to the pliability and laziness of the people, who, he declares, are "the most contemptible and supine race in the East." Compare with this Mrs.

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1907.
[2] *C.M.S. Gazette*, November, 1911.
[3] *Church Missionary Review*, April, 1910

Bishop's testimony: "Mentally the Koreans are liberally endowed. . . . The foreign teachers bearing willing testimony to their mental adroitness and quickness of perception."[1] The "missionary's paradise" tends to fade a little when we read on p. 67 in the first volume of Mrs. Bishop's book: "The indifference is extreme, the religious faculty is absent, there are no religious ideas to appeal to, and the moral teachings of Confucius have little influence with any class." It is quite a mistake, she says, to regard the Koreans as simply waiting for a new religion. They were quite satisfied to have none, and for some years progress was slow indeed. Even to-day in Korea there is a trifle of some 12,000,000 outside the Christian fold. Mr. Collier is hard to please. Either missions are making no headway in India, or they are too successful in Korea. It is difficult to know what he wants, and apparently he does not know himself.

Another "fact" in the book is worth noting and answering. He tells us that the civilian or the soldier would be quite willing to see all the missionaries packed off. Mr. Collier should read the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for October, 1911. He will there find that far from sending them home, their work is praised by such men as Sir Walter Lawrence, Sir Thomas Holdich, and Lord Curzon, who were all present, and voiced their high opinion of the missionary in India.[2]

We are told that the East asks why we do not convert Europeans first, and then preach to other nations. The obvious answer is that, when a man is converted, whether European or Eastern, he ceases to ask the question. He learns that the first duty of a Christian is to evangelize (not necessarily convert) other people, and to that duty he will bend his whole life, and whether they hear or forbear he will not cease his labours so long as one human soul exists who has had no chance of sharing what he considers the noblest privilege of mankind.

The novel of to-day, when it refers to missions at all, has

[1] "Korea and her Neighbours," 1898.
[2] Quoted in *Church Missionary Review*, November, 1911.

this same tendency to depreciate them. We quite understand that the novel exists to please, rather than to teach, but it has to be remembered that tens of thousands receive impressions for good or evil from novels, who hardly read anything else. The works of Sir Conan Doyle or Mr. Jacobs are excellent examples of the novel's right use. I cannot say as much of Mrs. Grimshaw's "When the Red Gods call." Here is a book which has, although only just published, already gone into a second edition, and in most respects deserves its popularity. It is the story of a man of good parentage who has mixed in rough life abroad. The scene is laid in British New Guinea, and many are the beautiful descriptions of the country. The tendency I have spoken of comes when Lynch, the hero, looks for a wife at Port Moresby. Here are his words: "I didn't want a wild little savage, but a girl who could speak a bit of English, and was handy about a white man's house; and that meant a mission girl, and that meant marrying her. . . . Chalmers (the missionary) is a good man, and a plucky. . . . One of his teachers would take me over the mission school, and if I saw any girl that I liked, of suitable age, he would marry us—under protest he took care to add." He finds his girl, not in the school, but elsewhere, and sends her to the mission.

"They put her in a teacher's family, and started to instruct her about Noah and the ark, and Jonah's whale, and all the rest of it. I suppose it didn't do her any harm." Now, my criticism of language like this is not so much that it misrepresents a man like Lynch—probably it does not—but that it presents to the average reader a totally wrong impression of life in the mission-field. Mrs. Grimshaw, of course, is not concerned with upholding missions in this case, but that is no reason for misrepresenting them.

In the case of "The Unknown God"[1] we have, perhaps, the most glaring example of this modern tendency to belittle missionary effort. From first to last the book is an attack on missionary work in China. Paul Hancock is a young evangelist with plenty of money, whose mind becomes set against the

[1] Mr. Putnam Weale. Macmillan, 1911.

work from the moment he enters the Celestial Empire. On p. 177 he reflects in this way: "How hard it was really to succeed, save by following the stereotyped and often unlovely system which the missions had evolved in self-defence! As if conscious of their severe limitations, as if conscious that they had come too late in the day, when ideas and customs were so fixed in the very life-blood of the people that to uproot them was impossible, the missions had become the homes of schoolmen who hoped, by creating such centres of activity, gradually to attract the more open-minded and the children of the open-minded, and working through them and through the great floods of literature which they unloosed thus, to collect knots of adherents. Beyond that they had no real hope, no real goal."

Well might the *Spectator* say with reference to this book and such passages in it: "Is the picture true? Possibly so in this or that individual instance, but, as a whole, it is contradicted by a great multitude of witnesses. We venture to say that in the whole history of missions there is nothing that surpasses the successes that have been achieved of late years in China."[1] Apparently the opinions of "Mr. Denning," the Commissioner, find favour with the author, since the missionary has no answer for them. On p. 201 this gentleman asserts that only a hundred years ago England's treatment of the criminal was more brutal than that of China to-day. It is a common remark, but there is nothing in it. The faults of England are in spite of her religion; the faults of China are the result of religion. "It is highly important to remember," says Dr. A. H. Smith, "that neither for evils arising from wrong moral teaching nor for others has Chinese ethics ever furnished preventive or remedy."[2] Dr. Smith directly blames Confucianism for the evils inflicted on womankind in China.

As regards the contemporary poet, the reader must be blind indeed who does not read in much of our modern poetry the call to missionary effort. Perhaps the poet is to be the great voice of the future, rousing the Christianity of England to her

[1] October 7, 1911. [2] "Village Life in China," p. 306.

duties in the world. We are waiting, it may be, for this new vision from what Wordsworth calls "The breath and finer spirit of knowledge." Great movements of the past have been heralded with song, and time after time it has been the poet who has led in the vanguard of progress. There is, perhaps, no poet of to-day so worthy in genius and in reverence to voice the mission of England as Mr. Alfred Noyes. No one but a Christian could write "The Cottage of the Kindly Light," or give us the lofty morality of "The Statue." In "The Lotus of Wisdom" the poet stands on "The breathless borders of the world of strife," and sees the "Weary faces in the lotus-bloom" where the "Branches toss and weep at will, as if their sap were fed with human souls."

"Come, let us go!" he cries. "Take up thy cross and bind
The crown of thorns upon thy brows again,
And we will seek the world of endless pain,
The tortured stars, the wild tormented wind,
The passionate heart-break of the world of strife
Where, wrapt in Hell, the soul looks up to Heaven!
Here knowledge as a bride to Death is given,
The lotus blossoms on the tree of life."

It would be difficult to discover a more moving picture of the world's ills and of their remedy.

In "Nelson's Year" Mr. Noyes calls upon us to "Hasten the Kingdom." It is no dream to him, for "the night and morning meet," even where there is strife and pain.

"Ah, God speed that grander morrow,
When the world's divinest sorrow
Shall show how Love stands knocking at the world's unopened doors."

England must see the millions that bow to her decree, and, seeing them, bow her head in humility. The kingdom is hers not for self-glory.

"Not for the pride or power
God gave thee this in dower;
But, now, the West and East have met and wept their mortal loss,
Now that their tears have spoken,
And the long dumb spell is broken,
Is it nothing that thy banner bears the red eternal cross?"

The poet recurs to the call upon his countrymen in the lines "In time of war":

> "Hasten the Kingdom, England, queen and mother;
> Little we know of all time's works and ways;
> Yet this, this, this is sure; we need none other
> Knowledge or wisdom, hope or aim or praise.
> But to keep this one strong banner flying
> In this one faith that none shall e'er disprove,
> Then drive the embattled world before thee, crying,
> There is one Emperor, whose name is Love."

Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie in "The Sale of St. Thomas" has given us some vivid word-painting of missionary dangers and impulses. The poem is founded on St. Thomas's traditional connection with India to which duty calls him, but from which the voice of danger strives to keep him. On p. 22 India is described as—

> "That frantic pomp and hurrying forth of life,
> As if a man should enter at unawares
> The dreaming mind of Satan, gorgeously
> Imagining his eternal hell of lust."

The poem is, for the greater part, an account of the conflict of the Apostle between desire and duty—a conflict repeated to-day in the life of many a missionary. St. Thomas tells the captain of the ship that he has decided not to go, when a stranger appears on the quay, who claims the Apostle as his slave, sells him to the captain, and he is thus carried to India against his will. The stranger's parting word is a rebuke, not of St. Thomas's fear—which was not the fault—but of prudence, "the deadly sin." To England, as to the missionary, the stranger's words are appropriate:

> "Knowing the impossible, see thou try beyond it
> Into impossible things, unlikely ends;
> And thou shalt find thy knowledgable desire
> Grow large as all the regions of thy soul."

It is quite impossible to omit all reference to Mr. Kipling, who has "roused the sleeping nerve-centres of Imperialism." The "Recessional" it is foolish to call poetry according to

Mr. Le Gallienne, but there are some lines which even he admits to that eminence:

"The depth and dream of my desire,
The bitter paths wherein I stray,
Thou knowest who hast made the Fire,
Thou knowest who hast made the Clay.
One stone the more swings to her place
In that dread temple of Thy worth—
It is enough that through Thy grace
I saw nought common on Thy earth.
Take not that vision from my ken;
Oh, whatsoe'er may spoil or speed,
Help me to need no aid from men
That I may help such men as need."

These beautiful lines may surely be considered as containing the substance of missionary effort. It was when St. Peter learnt to call nothing common or unclean that he began his work among the heathen. Far off may be "such men as need," separated not only by distance, but by a hundred influences, and yet one with us in the human necessity and the human desire. It is said that half the world's population are ignorant of the Gospel, and have had no opportunity of embracing its comfort. That is a state of things which must cease. The advance of knowledge and of science may help it to cease. Never before in history have there been such facilities for advancing Christianity. We stand to-day on the threshold of splendid endeavour, and the words of Mr. Stephen Phillips are the reflection of many thoughts:

"In the years that have been I have bound man closer to man,
And closer woman to woman;
And a stranger hath seen in a stranger his brother at last,
And a sister in eyes that were strange,
In the years that shall be I will bind me nation to nation,
And shore unto shore, saith our God."[1]

[1] "Midnight."

# The Emersonian Period.

By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK,
*Charisma, Harpenden, Herts.*

IN the Christian development of many people there comes what may, with approximate accuracy, be termed the "Emersonian" stage. Also in the Christian experience of the Church in general a similar period, lasting perhaps a generation or two, now and then arrives. "Christian" development and experience are spoken of advisedly. Of course, outside Christianity the Emersonian stage is always present. But there is a sort of Emersonian-Christian phase frequently met with within the Christian lines. It may be described as one in which large and rather vague generalizations appear very attractive, one in which the emphasis of thought falls upon universal and inevitable processes instead of upon the responsibilities and moral alternatives of the individual, one in which the unit figure of the calculation is cosmic instead of personal. At the indicated stage, one talks of the working out of world forces rather than of working out one's own salvation; of the "one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves," rather than of personal redemption; of linking oneself with the ascending process of things, rather than of conversion or faith; of a power not ourselves, rather than of God; of a humanity worked out to its perfection in Jesus Christ rather than of a Divine life incarnate there in Him. For the apprehension of most, the terms, it is to be feared, remain somewhat indefinite as to their actual content, with the consequence (which is the really important thing) that the religious attitude, the spiritual adjustment, is no longer clear cut, but becomes indefinite too. Religion at the Emersonian period is apt to turn into a general emotional atmosphere, clinging around the soul and creeping through its nooks and crannies—an atmosphere elusive and unanalyzable by any exact test. It involves no definite activity of the inner nature on our part, only a lying down upon a tide

which sweeps in from far. One might almost put it that the required thing is to strike an attitude and wait rather than to fulfil an imperious condition whereon the whole spiritual issue depends.

The attraction of this attitude is not hard to understand—and this quite apart from the motive which produces it. As to this latter, it may be out of a really genuine humility, or out of a perverted pride, that the mood is born. The stress upon individual fate and destiny—implied in those views of religion which speak of strictly personal relations between man and God and of a whole "apparatus of salvation," so to call it, for their true adjustment—may seem to make man altogether too important a thing in the universal scheme. On the other hand, an enthusiastic flinging of the individual into the cosmic process may be merely egoism satisfying itself by a sort of suicide, the bringing back upon the individual life of a reflected greatness from the greatness of that "whole" in which it is lost. It is not necessary to decide which motive usually prevails. Whatever the motive may be, the subtle attractiveness of the Emersonian mood lies in the fact that by adopting it we get rid of the sharply personal, and so diminish the weight of responsibility we have to bear. It is inevitable, if we talk of falling in with "world processes" or "cosmic developments," of "lying down upon the stream of spiritual evolution," and so forth—it is inevitable that we should come to look upon our destiny as being, to a great extent, the affair of the universe rather than our own, and should, in consequence, come to let the spiritual sword swing listlessly from our hands and the spiritual watch relax. We no longer feel ourselves faced by sharp and solemn alternatives, we do not become conscious of a critical moment whose consequences may run through all time and beyond, and if our adjustment to the "cosmic order" remains imperfect—well, the statement of even that contingency hardly appears to suggest very acute personal loss. In fact, the idea of a "world process," once greatly emphasized, soon suggests the further consolatory idea that whatever we may do or be, the "world

process" cannot fail to bear us on with it to the goal. And all this is not unwelcome to the average man. The adoption of the Emersonian attitude of mind relieves him from the commanding, the sometimes stern, gaze which watched him before. He need not, therefore, watch himself so closely. He is not going to be singled out for individual judgment. He need no longer, therefore, judge himself in strictest ways.

But then, it is precisely by producing this diminished sense of responsibility that the Emersonian mood defeats itself, and brings about the failure, for the individual man, of those "processes" and "evolutions" whereof it speaks so loudly. For what is forgotten (but what is, nevertheless, forced home by experience upon every honest soul sooner or later) is this—that great ideas and "laws," all these cosmic processes, do not and cannot work themselves out *automatically* through us, and that it is only by individual effort these things can be made true. The mistake, in fact, at the back of these vague generalizings consists in taking mere size of conception for a sign of dynamic force, as though a large and all-inclusive idea (just *because* of its largeness) were better able to work itself into reality than a small one. Through so much current thinking runs the delusion that terms like "evolution" and "process" stand for actual power instead of for mere programmes, for something living and forceful instead of merely for the methods whereby something living and forceful pursues its ends. Neither "evolution" nor "process" are dynamic; they simply represent the "how" for something dynamic behind them. He who expects that through a simple lying down upon some assumed world-process his spiritual destiny can be achieved; that to fix the mind upon an "ascending progress of things" is just as good as climbing an ascending stair; that belief in an intensifying divineness of general humanity will make his own humanity more Divine—is surely the victim of a delusion both sad and grotesque. He is crediting a mere idea with life, and is taking as inevitable something which is no more than possible—and this only if certain conditions be fulfilled. And those who are caught in the

Emersonian mood may at least be asked to watch, in order that they may test the degree in which faith in a universal process, vaguely supposed to be going on, really makes for their character's growth in grace. For to every honest man, as has been said, comes, sooner or later, the conviction that no process *automatically* fulfils itself; that so far as he is concerned, the process exists only if and when he himself becomes a contributing cause. He finds that the Emersonian mood, by its diminution of the sense of responsibility, helps to defeat that very "process" to which its faith is pinned.

That is the central and crucial consideration. Yet this phase has something to teach over and above that lesson of disillusionment which is its first. And a word on this may perhaps lead some to take the lesson without waiting for the disillusionment, and by a less bitter way. If it be asked how a man may, when the Emersonian phase falls upon him, deal with himself in wisdom; or how religious teachers may, when in Christian thought at large the Emersonian phase sets in, seeks to correct it, this may be said. The phase is not without its usefulness or its truth; and even they who have emerged from it disappointed may, if they will think the thing through, feel that it was not all a mistake, and may find that the phase really results from a half-truth or a truth half-apprehended, which, clearly visioned, corrects the phase itself. For though there be no *inevitable* spiritual process that sweeps us forward and upward in its train, as for a little while we fancied there was, yet the conviction remains that there *is* some force making for righteousness at work, some real and living process being carried on by a real and living power. Those large ideas were, after all, something more than phantoms projected from our own minds. The great, sweeping forces *do* exist. "Law," "Evolution," and the rest correspond to something that is really going on. And since (as our own experience of failure has proved) these things have no dynamic in themselves, they witness to and represent effort made somewhere behind the scenes. What can be said, then, but that they witness to and represent the effort

of God? And, further, since when we merely stand idly by, the great forces leave us ungripped, does not their very existence become an appeal to us to take order with ourselves, to discipline ourselves, to put ourselves by every possible spiritual activity in their path, so that in us and through us their perfect work may be done? Thus God and God's Will, and their call to us, and our responsibility for response to them, come back; we are brought into contact with a personal Power through exploring the real implications of that mood which seemed to hand us over to impersonal forces; and the ultimate truth at the heart of the "Emersonian" phase is seen to be precisely that truth of a living God, making a living appeal to men to come into harmony with Himself, which the phase temporarily obscured. From the vague feeling that because there is a force making for righteousness at work, he can wait an inevitable issue undisturbed—from that a man will, if he tests the result of his waiting honestly, or, better still, if at the outset he thinks the thing through, pass on to the truer conviction that because there is a force making for righteousness at work, he must see that, so far as he is concerned, it shall not make its effort in vain. And so he comes once again face to face with God.

# The Missionary World.

AMONGST the other links with the past which are disappearing in China are some of her missionary veterans. A few months ago it was Bishop George Moule; now it is Dr. Griffith John, whom *The Times* well terms "the great missionary in China." He returned last year from a missionary service, broken only by three furloughs, covering fifty-five years. He began his career as a preacher of the Gospel in his boyhood, and carried it on until he became too weak to engage in public work. He is said to have taken part in the founding of more than a hundred mission-stations in China, and he stands in the front rank of missionary translators and administrators. He was a Congregationalist and a missionary of the L.M.S., but his leadership was acknowledged by the whole Christian Church and by all his fellow-missionaries. From a lengthy obituary notice of him in *The Times*, the following paragraph is extracted as being of permanent value:

"He had been a witness of the wonderful changes which had taken place in China, and was convinced that it would play a great part in the world's history. Certainly he was not unmindful of the immense difficulties which confronted the country in its work of reform, and he realized that it was possible for the Chinese to accept the results of Western civilization without professing Christianity. But he was profoundly persuaded of ultimate triumph. Few more enthusiastic and courageous Christian missionaries have laboured in a country which ever since the time of Francis Xavier has been the scene of repeated disaster to Christian missionaries, and yet challenges them to renewed efforts for the faith of the Cross."

* * * * *

There has in some quarters been a tendency to look on educational work as inimical to the interests of evangelistic missions; the two methods have been now and again classed as alternatives, if not as opposites. This has specially been the case in reference to mass movements in India. Now the close relationship of the two methods of work is being demonstrated once more. The Bishop of Madras has been speaking at the Far and Near Club on "Work amongst Indian Outcastes."

His address is reported at length in the *C. M. Review* for August. After a striking survey of the whole situation, he says:

"We must educate, educate, educate. What we want now is a large body of educated teachers . . . a strong body of educated men from among the converts themselves who may serve as a leaven for the rest. At the present moment, therefore, education is of primary and absolute importance."

The Educational Committee of the C.M.S. are most anxious to be enabled to respond to this plea, and are, we understand, about to give it prominence in their annual statement of needs.

* * * * *

The significance of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (held at Swanwick from June 12 to 14) will be recognized by all who procure and read carefully the excellent report just issued. It can be had, price 1s. (by post 1s. 3d.), from F. H. Hawkins, Esq., Secretary of the Standing Committee, 16, New Bridge Street, London, E.C. It contains the programme, the minutes and proceedings of the Conference, six reports presented to the meeting, and summaries of the subsequent discussions. Two of these reports—one on "Medical Education in China," and another on "Co-operation between Men and Women in Administration in the Field and at Home," make real contribution to the subjects with which they deal. The latter report, in particular, embodies the views of a strong subcommittee, of which the Rev. F. Baylis was chairman, and deals ably and at great length with the actual and ideal relationships of men and women in missionary work. The Conference has accomplished much in producing and circulating a statement at once so balanced and so far-reaching. It unhesitatingly recommends a wide extension of the sphere now open to women in missionary administration, and that for the sake of their contribution to the Church both at home and abroad. Thirty-seven societies were officially represented at the Conference. The influence of this joint gathering is bound to be very great. The societies gain by frank exchange of experience and cordial fellowship.

* * * * *

The growth of co-operation in missionary work is beyond what the most hopeful outlook before the Edinburgh Conference could have anticipated. The Foreign Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, in the August number of the *Herald*, writes, for instance, on "Baptists and Co-operation." He says:

"If the Christian forces are to cover the vast field with effective operation; if they are to satisfy the intelligent inquiries of non-Christian thinkers, and to displace the great pagan systems of the world by the pure faith of Jesus Christ, they must present a united front and avoid the distraction and scandal of mutual conflict."

Mr. Wilson goes on to quote instances of co-operation at the present moment between British and American Baptists on the Lower Congo; in India between Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Syrian Churches in the Serampore College, and between the S.P.G. Mission in Delhi and the Baptist Mission in the same city in the work of St. Stephen's College; in China, the B.M.S. and the American Presbyterian Mission are partners in one college, and in two others an Anglican mission joins them in both; the Wesleyans and Baptists have just agreed to join in a college in Kingston, Jamaica; the Baptist Zenana Mission has united with three other missions—one of them Anglican—in a training college for Indian Christian Women in Calcutta, and also has joined with the English Presbyterians and the L.M.S. in a training college for women missionaries near Birmingham.

* * * * *

The following paragraph from the *L.M.S. Chronicle* is so significant that we quote it almost in full. It is a call to both thanksgiving and to prayer—the first, because in their need the various missions have been so closely drawn together, the second because of the great issues involved for Christians and Christian work in Madagascar.

"An interdenominational conference of representatives of all the Protestant missionary societies at work in Madagascar was held at the L.M.S. Mission House towards the end of June. It was attended by three representatives of the Paris Missionary Society who had come over from France for the purpose, by Dr. Dahle of the Norwegian Missionary Society, by the

Rt. Rev. Bishop Montgomery and the Rev. James Coles on behalf of the S.P.G., by seven representatives of the F.F.M.A. and by five representatives of the L.M.S. The chairman of the conference was Dr. R. Wardlaw Thompson, and Dr. Henry Hodgkin of the F.F.M.A. acted as secretary.

Many matters of great interest were discussed, including the present relation of the French authorities to foreign missionary work in Madagascar, and the steps that were contemplated by the French Government with regard thereto.

The question of co-operation between societies, with a view to the evangelization of the whole island, received earnest consideration, and it was decided to send out a joint simultaneous deputation to Madagascar in the summer of 1913, with a view to surveying the field and making plans for its evangelization. . . . It was felt that the gathering was one of great and far-reaching importance, and gave promise of the day when by joint survey, planning, and prayer, the effective forces of the missionaries on the field may be very greatly increased, and the coming of the Kingdom in the great African island brought much nearer than it seems to be at present."

In the Monthly Survey presented by Bishop Montgomery to the S.P.G. (reported in the *Mission Field*), he says: "I never remember having attended a more informing meeting."

* * * * *

The necessity for a careful examination of the work in the various mission-fields, with a view to the close consideration of missionary policy, is at last being widely recognized amongst the societies. It is not a case for mere visitation, but for conference and investigation. The mutual dependence of the well-developed executive bodies in the mission-field and of the supporting committees at home is increasingly evident, especially in view of the need for developing the life of indigenous Churches. At the invitation of the Continuation Committee, Dr. John R. Mott is starting for the East in October, and will be engaged in important deliberative work at missionary centres in India, China, and Japan, throughout the winter. His wide experience, his clear insight, his balanced judgment, and his entirely international outlook, will be placed at the service of representative conferences of missionaries. There is confident expectation of much result. Dr. Mott has done more than any other man to sow the broader missionary ideals which are springing up among us. It is fitting that some of the harvesting should fall to his share.

Though he is neither an Anglican nor an Englishman, we have no hesitation in affirming that he will get to the heart of our missionary problems, and contribute no little to their solution. He starts shortly after the meeting of the Continuation Committee in America at the close of this month. For that meeting, and for Dr. Mott's subsequent journey, let us pray.

* * * * *

Another important winter journey is that of the Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley and the Rev. F. Baylis to China and to Japan, on behalf of the C.M.S. Committee. Full details of the proposed itinerary, and, later on, news from the delegation, will be found in the C.M.S. periodicals. Mr. Bardsley and Mr. Baylis leave England on September 12 for the United States, where Mr. Bardsley will attend the meeting of the Continuation Committee; the delegation, stopping *en route* at various centres of Canadian work, sail from San Francisco for Japan on October 3. The Society is wise in recognizing that the great issues at the present moment in the Far East need to be faced on the spot. Missionaries will welcome the opportunity for close conference with these leaders, over possibilities and problems, and we on the home side will await fresh light and guidance when the two "spies" return from surveying the land. God grant that their report may lead to the conviction, "We be well able to go up."

* * * * *

Prayer is also asked for Bishop Ingham, taking part in the "Mission of Help" to Canada, and for those left at the C.M.S. headquarters, on whom added work and responsibility will be thrown.

* * * * *

Before these notes are issued, the large *Annual Report of the C.M.S.* will be in the hands of thousands, or, in the case of many, would it not be truer to say—on their shelves? It is sure, as always, to be full of treasure for those who will mine in its depths. Meantime, the Society has for the first time embodied its popular report—*The Story of the Year*—in a double number of the *Gleaner*, containing thirty-two large, closely-

printed, illustrated pages, sold for one penny. The matter is admirable, though perhaps rather heavy for a popular report. The pages appear too crowded; a little loss incurred by allowing wide headings for the chapters, for instance, would have meant a gain in interest, and even in readers. Nevertheless, *The Story of the Year* is invaluable for use throughout the country, and no pains should be spared to secure that it shall be widely circulated and thoroughly read.

* * * * *

In September of last year the Women's Department of the C.M.S. issued a set of topics for thanksgiving and intercession for private simultaneous use by C.M.S. women workers throughout the country. Thousands of copies were applied for. This year a similar paper has been prepared for use on September 21 (St. Matthew's Day). Three half-hours are proposed for private united waiting upon God. The general subject is "Expectation." The first section deals with "The Moving of God in the World"; the second with "The Moving of God in the Church"; the third with "Possibilities through Faith in God." Women workers who desire to enter into this fellowship of prayer are invited to apply (enclosing a stamp to cover postage) to the Secretary for Women's Work, C.M. House, Salisbury Square, E.C. Copies can also be supplied for members of Study Circles, Gleaners' Union Branches, Women's Prayer Meetings, etc.

G.

# Discussions.

[*The contributions contained under this heading are comments on articles in the previous number of the* CHURCHMAN. *The writer of the article criticized may reply in the next issue of the magazine; then the discussion in each case terminates. Contributions to the "Discussions"* must *reach the Editors before the 12th of the month.*]

## ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

(*The "Churchman," June*, 1912, *p.* 469.)

MR. MAUNDER'S article, "Astronomical Evidence for the Date of the Crucifixion," which appeared on pp. 469-472 of the current volume of the CHURCHMAN, is, in form at least, a discussion of a paper by my brother, the Rev. D. R. Fotheringham, with the same title, but it is largely devoted to a criticism of my paper, "On the Smallest Visible Phase of the Moon," which appeared in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 1910, lxx., pp. 527-531, and which Mr. Maunder had previously discussed in the *Journal of the British Astronomical Association*, 1911, xxi., pp. 355-362. Mr. Maunder, in his earlier, but not in his later paper, also discusses my paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1910, xii., pp. 120-127, in which I applied to the date of the Crucifixion the results obtained in my earlier paper. As Mr. Maunder's papers dispute the validity of the deductions which I drew from Schmidt's observations at Athens, on which my earlier paper is based, and as they also dispute my application of these deductions to the date of the Crucifixion, I think it due to Mr. Maunder's eminence as an astronomer to attempt some reply.

Mr. Maunder's criticisms appear to me to be affected by a certain misunderstanding of the purpose of my earlier paper. I was not there concerned with the conditions of a record observation, and did not wish to discover what was the lowest altitude at which the young moon might ever be observed with a given difference in azimuth from the sun; I merely wished to know what minimum altitude at sunset should be regarded as corresponding to a given difference in azimuth for the purpose of calculating the beginning of a lunar month in a calendar governed by observation. For this purpose I was only concerned directly with the normal conditions of visibility. The importance of abnormal conditions would for my purpose depend on their frequency. I found a formula which satisfied sixty-nine out of seventy evening observations and five out of six morning observations, and I think I was justified in inferring that in the evening at least abnormal conditions are sufficiently rare to permit me to treat this formula as a rule for the calculation of the first appearance of the moon for chronological purposes. This result was confirmed by a comparison of my formula

with one given by Maimonides, who lived among peoples who regulated their calendar by observation, and whose rule would naturally tend to agree with the observations on which the actual calendar was based. He would certainly not be likely to treat the moon as invisible at an altitude at which it was frequently observed. I may add that the minimum distance of 12° from the sun, which I require for the visibility of the moon, agrees with that usually given by Arab astronomers, who were accustomed to a calendar based on observation, though I am not aware that any of them attempted a rule which takes into consideration altitude as well as elongation.

This difference of purpose would help to explain some of the specific objections which Mr. Maunder takes to my paper. In his later paper Mr. Maunder summarizes the conclusions of my earlier paper as three in number, each of which he regards as erroneous.

"First," says he, "he laid down a rule for determining a limit below which the young moon cannot be seen. The limit thus determined is, in fact, that above which the young moon ought to be seen if properly looked for—quite a different matter." Here I may be allowed to remark that the word "cannot" does not occur in my paper. If by "cannot" Mr. Maunder means "can never," I do not accept his interpretation of my paper. My paper actually recorded one morning and one evening observation below the limit defined. My words were: "The following table satisfies all the observations except Nos. 2 and 43." I cannot imagine how Mr. Maunder read this sweeping negative into my words, except on the assumption that he was interested primarily in record observations, and was therefore looking for a line below which the moon can never be seen.

"Second," says Mr. Maunder, "this rule was determined from observations made only in N. Lat. 38°. The latitude, therefore, naturally does not appear in the rule, and Dr. Fotheringham drew the unwarranted deduction, in which his brother has followed him, that the smallest phase of the moon visible is independent of the latitude of the place of observation." Later in the same article he writes: "The problem is analogous to that of the visibility of Mercury, and it is well known that Mercury is much more easily seen in low latitudes than in high—indeed, it is a fact that I have often verified by my own observations. Mercury, generally a difficult object here in England, is not only an easy object, but a conspicuous one, in the latitudes of Athens or of Jerusalem." Now, a reference to my paper will show that I did not assert that the smallest phase of the moon visible is independent of the latitude of the place of observation, but that the solution given in my paper is independent of differences in latitude. The fact is that latitude enters into the problem through its effect on the positions of the sun and moon in relation to the horizon. My solution, being expressed in terms of altitude and azimuth, has taken account of this effect of latitude, and does not need

to be corrected for a change in latitude. When Mr. Maunder says that Mercury is much more easily seen in low latitudes than in high, he does not mean that Mercury is seen lower on the horizon in low latitudes, or that it is seen there with a smaller depression of the sun below the horizon, but that Mercury is seen in low latitudes on evenings or mornings when it is not seen in high latitudes. The reason for this is that in low latitudes the ecliptic is more nearly perpendicular to the horizon than in high latitudes, and the more nearly perpendicular the ecliptic is to the horizon, the greater the altitude of Mercury at a given depression of the sun, and therefore the greater the ease with which Mercury can be seen. We need to know the latitude in order to calculate the altitude and depression of Mercury and the sun respectively, but the same formula expressed in terms of altitude and depression ought to suit all latitudes. It seems to me that Mr. Maunder's exception only goes to prove my rule.

"Third," says Mr. Maunder, "he drew the conclusion, which he strongly emphasized, that it is also independent of the atmospheric conditions. This is manifestly absurd, and was only reached by including a great number of irrelevant observations, and by disregarding those which were relevant but inconsistent with the conclusion sought. In effect, Dr. Fotheringham committed the solecism of asserting that the young moon could not possibly be seen under conditions when the observations he was discussing stated that it had been seen. It has been since easy for me to collect other well-authenticated instances in recent years of similar 'impossible' feats having been successfully performed."

This indictment sounds rather appalling, but I hope that a little explanation may show that I have asserted nothing so absurd as Mr. Maunder supposes. Perhaps I may begin by a mild protest against the quotation marks in which Mr. Maunder has placed the word "impossible." The word does not occur in my paper; it belongs to what I hope I have shown to have been an erroneous interpretation of that paper. Nor did I even assert that the smallest phase of the moon visible is independent of the atmospheric conditions. What I did assert was—"That there should be only one discordant evening observation among so many is remarkable, and seems to show that, given a clear sky, *the problem is almost purely astronomical, and not atmospheric.*" What I meant was that the conditions on a clear evening at a given place do not differ so much from day to day as to make it necessary to consider anything but the relative positions of the sun, the moon, and the horizon. I introduced the word "almost" because I recognized that instances do occur when the uniformity of the conditions governing the visibility of the moon is broken, perhaps because of some extraordinary clearness of the atmosphere, such as, I am told, practised observers have noticed from time to time. Mr.

Maunder asserts that my brother refutes my conclusion by claiming "that an observation in the morning might be made at a smaller distance from the sun than in the evening, on account of the better atmospheric conditions of the morning air." I fail to see the inconsistency. I had, as may be seen by reference to my paper, confined my general proposition to the evening because of the weakness of the evidence for morning conditions. When I assert an approximation to uniformity in the conditions obtaining on clear evenings, I do not assert any identity between evening conditions and morning conditions.

The criticism quoted above of my inclusion or neglect of different observations, which is more fully elaborated in Mr. Maunder's earlier article, does not appear to me to be justified. I had approached the investigation, expecting to find, not a dividing-line, but a dividing-belt, on one side of which all the observations would be positive and on the other side negative, with mixed positive and negative within the belt. Having determined that the series of observations recorded by Mommsen was one which was likely to suit my purpose, I examined the whole series without making any selection, and found that the observations gave me, not a belt, but a line, with two isolated positive observations on the negative side of the line. The inclusion of observations well on the positive side of the line showed at least that uniformity prevailed on one side of the line. An occasional negative observation there would have reduced the value of my rule. And it must be remembered that all the positive evening observations on the list were first observations of the new moon. The fact that the first observation was not made till the moon was on the positive side of the line is of value. It implies a failure to observe the moon on the previous evening; but I have not used such negative observations except where Schmidt included them in his list of negative observations, because I cannot otherwise be sure that observation was possible, or that a careful search was made. Finally, the inclusion of these easy positive observations is evidence of the relative frequency of the exceptional positive observations on the negative side of the line. Altogether my list contained sixty-six months in which the young moon was looked for, and in sixty-five of those months my formula held good. This suggests that it might be expected to fail once in five years, if observation were possible every night. I also pointed out that the one evening exception belonged to the small group of five observations where a difference of more than 20° in azimuth was combined with an altitude of less than 10°. It does not break the uniformity of the far more numerous evening observations where the difference in azimuth is small, and the reader will observe that among the new moons which I have treated as invisible in my discussion of the date of the Crucifixion, the difference in azimuth nowhere exceeds 6·6°. Nor can I accept Mr. Maunder's view that the negative observations on my list were "nearly all merely chance misses, where the astronomical conditions rendered the observation

possible." With few exceptions, these observations were made by Julius Schmidt, a very expert naked-eye observer, who made daily observations, when weather permitted, of the first appearance to the naked eye of stars of different magnitudes and of the zodiacal light, and who was able on most clear evenings when a first magnitude star was in the zenith to see it with his naked eye before sunset, after first finding it with a telescope. If Mr. Maunder will turn to Schmidt's paper in *Astronomische Nachrichten*, 1868, Band 71, pp. 201 ff., and to the discussion in Mommsen's *Chronologie*, 1883, pp. 69-80, he will find that in a large proportion of the negative observations, observation was made with a telescope as well as with the naked eye, and in many of these the moon, though invisible to the naked eye, was seen through the telescope. There was no chance here. Schmidt's observations were careful observations, and a moon which eluded Schmidt's vigilant watch would be likely to elude an ancient observer also.

I now come to what appears to me to be Mr. Maunder's most valuable contribution to the subject—his addition of eight evening and one morning observation to those recorded in Mommsen's *Chronologie*.

At the time when I analyzed the observations recorded by Mommsen, I was aware of those contained in the *Journal of the British Astronomical Association*, but I deliberately excluded them from consideration—partly because they contained no records of failure to observe the moon, and partly because they only consisted of observations which the observers regarded as remarkably early. These observations are naturally of interest to anyone interested in the phenomenal rather than in the normal, but it would have been misleading to combine them with the data published by Mommsen, which included negative as well as positive, late as well as early, observations. Still, these picked observations are of interest as indicating the extent to which exceptions to my formula may be expected. Five of the eight additional evening observations are satisfied by the formula. I have recomputed the three exceptions, and my result agrees very closely with Mr. Maunder's.

They are as follows:

| No. | Observer. | Maunder. | | | Fotheringham. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Altitude. | Difference in Azimuth. | Distance below Dividing-Line. | Altitude. | Difference in Azimuth. | Distance below Dividing-Line. |
| | | Degrees. | Degrees. | Degrees. | Degrees. | Degrees. | Degrees. |
| 79 | Denning ... ... | 11·5 | 1·3 | 0·5 | 11·4 | 1·2 | 0·6 |
| 82 | S. J. Johnson ... | 11·2 | 5·6 | 0·6 | 11·4 | 5·8 | 0·4 |
| 85 | Horner ... ... | 4·3 | 8·8 | 7·2 | 4·3 | 9·2 | 7·2 |

The most striking of these is No. 85, but it must be remembered that this observation was not made without the help of instruments. Mr. Horner first found the moon with opera-glasses, and afterwards

with the naked eye. As I have remarked above, Schmidt was able to observe first magnitude stars with the naked eye before sunset after finding them with a telescope. I do not know of anyone who has observed them before sunset without using a telescope. The modern Mussulman watching for the new moon of Ramadan makes his observation first with a telescope and then with the naked eye; but the ancient had neither telescope nor opera-glasses, and therefore Mr. Horner's observations, though interesting to students of the transparency of the atmosphere, will need corroboration from purely naked-eye observations before it is used for chronological purposes. The other observations establish that the moon may sometimes be seen half a degree below my dividing-line. It would be surprising if this were not the case.

The additional morning observation falls 1·8° below my line. As Mommsen's list contained only five positive morning observations and only one negative morning observation, and that one doubtful, it is difficult to make much of it. One of his five was 3·1° below my line. It was not one of Julius Schmidt's observations, but was reported to him by Friedrich Schmidt, doubtless because it was remarkable. The addition of another remarkable morning observation does not even prove that observation is easier in the morning than in the evening, though I am assured that that is the case.

I come now to the application of my astronomical formula to the new moons in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. The moons which I treated as invisible all lie at least 1° below my line, and are therefore unaffected by the evidence of Nos. 79 and 82. If any of these was seen, the observation was more remarkable than on any known to have been achieved by the unassisted eyesight. Even if we were to allow a margin of 2° below my line, the only moons which we should have to add to the list of the possibly visible are those of 26 March 8, 27 March 27, 32 March 30, and 34 March 9. But the two latter of these do not enter into the question, because they would place Nisan 14 on a Sunday and a Tuesday respectively. If the moon was visible on 26 March 8, Friday, March 22, in that year might be Nisan 14, and might therefore be made to accord with the Johannine date for the Crucifixion; and if the moon was visible on 27 March 27, Friday, April 11, in that year would be Nisan 15, and would therefore accord with the Synoptic date. The moon of 29 March 4, which Mr. Maunder proposes to regard as possibly visible, lay even nearer to the setting sun than the moon observed by Mr. Horner, though at a slightly higher altitude. If the moon was seen that evening without the aid of opera-glasses, then we must add one more to the list of miracles in that eventful season.

Mr. Maunder argues that the rule by which, if any two witnesses saw the new moon, a new month was to be inaugurated, justifies us in

assuming "that if the conditions approached those under which in modern times the moon has ever been seen, no matter with what difficulty, it would have actually been seen and employed for their calendar by the Jews in the time of our Lord." Now, the Mohammedans have preserved this rule of the two witnesses, yet their astronomers assert that the moon is not visible till 12° distant from the sun. The inference is that the two witnesses were not more successful than Julius Schmidt in observing the young moon, and the formula which satisfies his observations should satisfy theirs. If a naked-eye evening observation should turn up well on the negative side of the line, as a morning observation has done, it must be taken as evidence of an occasional abnormal clearness of the atmosphere, not as evidence that the observers whose observations are on record had frequently missed the moon when she was visible.

The story about Rabbon Gamaliel, which Mr. Maunder cites from the Mishna, does not seem to me to be proof positive that the beginning of the month was fixed two days too early. It is conceivable that this was an occasion of abnormal clearness of the atmosphere. At the beginning of Tishri the altitude of the moon at sunset increases but slowly from day to day, and it might happen that the moon was seen one evening but not the next, although the weather was clear. But that such an observation was quite exceptional is proved by the opposition of Rabbi Yehoshua and Rabbi Dosa, who regarded such a phenomenon as impossible. They, at least, had not heard of such an anticipation of the normal date of the beginning of the month.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

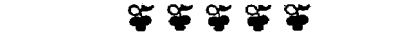
---

Mr. Maunder's article in the July number of the CHURCHMAN is interesting, but really it does not carry us much farther. Let it be remembered that for a century at least chronologers have been asking astronomers for some working rule whereby they may determine the commencement of the lunar month. This perfectly legitimate request has been so consistently ignored by astronomers that chronologers can hardly be blamed if errors creep into their system. Yet attempts *have* been made to satisfy their inquiry; and among such attempts the highest honour is due to Schmidt's series of observations at Athens. The results were communicated to Mommsen, but no practical rule was deduced. But in reality all the observations can be reduced to rule, and a line of limiting visibility can be drawn accordingly. Strictly speaking, of course, it is not a mathematical line, but a thin band—about a degree in width—on the surface of which visibility is doubtful. The band is so thin, however, that no doubt whatever will affect the solution of the problem in the case of any of the critical months connected with the Passion of our Lord. And the line (or band) having been drawn, the remarkable discovery is made that this is no new rule enunciated for the

first time in the twentieth century, but an ancient and forgotten rule familiar to the astronomers of bygone years, in which the lunar calendar was in common use. It is idle for Mr. Maunder to quarrel with such a rule, just as it is idle for him to cite observations dependent on the telescope or an opera-glass, or other artificial aids to sight. Nor even with such aid can he find any instance parallel to that demanded by Colonel Mackinlay and the chronologers who follow Clinton's date. Their date is simply impossible, and must be dropped.

Mr. Maunder is quite right, however, in drawing attention to the abnormal date assigned to the Crucifixion by the same chronologers in placing it before the spring equinox. Once again we may simply say this date is impossible. Such a full moon as fell in March, A.D. 29, would not be that of Nisan, but of Veadar.

D. R. FOTHERINGHAM.



## Welsh Disestablishment and Canon Law.

IT is a strong, and on the whole healthy instinct, which impels us to find modern political problems in our studies of past history. But, like many other strong and healthy instincts, it needs to be carefully watched. Mr. Ogle assures us that he had long ago found strong reasons against Maitland's theory, "without any thought that a sudden turn of political controversy might make it expedient to produce them in however imperfect a form."[1] We believe him; his rather lengthy preface is temperate, dignified, and therefore impressive. He there deals directly with the Disestablishment question; we could wish that his whole book had dealt with it equally directly. But the main body of the work purports to be a scientific historical discussion of one of the best known among all Maitland's historical works. In this discussion Mr. Ogle rapidly loses the self-control which had served him so admirably so long as he openly faced the political question alone. The sense that the Downing Professor is often unfairly used as a political stalking-horse has bred a very pardonable irritation in his mind. He is conscious of attacking Maitland, at this particular moment, only because other far less worthy adversaries are sheltered behind that great name. And we seem to trace a gradual discovery, not the less irritating for being subconscious, that, when it comes to serious gnawing, Maitland is an even harder file than he seemed at first sight. In any case, there is a steady rise of temperature, and the hopes raised by Mr. Ogle's preface are succeeded by a growing sense of disappointment, to use no stronger word. So long as we were on frankly political lines, all was well; but now that the time is come for scientific research, we find ourselves wading through a political pamphlet.

[1] "The Canon Law in Medieval England," by Arthur Ogle, M.A., Rector of Otham. John Murray, 1912.

Bishop Stubbs, the greatest medievalist among that school of historians who had been strongly influenced by the Oxford Movement, championed a "Theory of the Continuity," which, while refuting certain exaggerated assertions as to the breach caused by the Reformation, has often been accused of inspiring equally grave exaggerations on the other side. Mr. Ogle gives his own version of this theory when he asserts the independence of the Medieval Anglican Church to have been so great that, "when the crisis came under Henry VIII., the papal authority was found hanging by little but the purse-strings." Stubbs would never have written so strongly as this; yet he committed himself to a theory of our legislative independence of Rome throughout the Middle Ages, which seemed to Maitland so exaggerated that he wrote his "Canon Law in the Church of England" to prove the strict dependence of medieval English Church Law. Stubbs, in his brief answering note, admitted explicitly that he had once or twice overstated his case, and implicitly that he had not always kept the issues sufficiently clear. Those issues have since been confused by so much controversial writing that we must begin here by focussing them down to their narrowest and clearest point.

Nobody doubts that the Canon Law—a body of ecclesiastical jurisprudence created or codified by direct or indirect papal authority—was held up by the Popes as authoritative for all Christian people. Nobody doubts, again, that the natural resistance excited by this claim took very different forms in Eastern and in Western Christendom. In the East clergy and laity were united in their repudiation of the Pope's legislative authority; in the West, the resistance was mainly confined to the secular powers. We need not go far to find cases in which temporal sovereigns and temporal courts repudiated the papal ruling with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired by the most anti-papal of modern readers. The English King and barons, for instance, definitely upheld the old English law of inheritance at the famous Council of Merton in 1236. The English Bishops, at that Council, pointed out that Canon Law was opposed to that of the English State, which (as they contended) must therefore give way. They received the flat and uncompromising rebuff which has since become famous: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. Here is a case of resistance to Canon Law in a *secular* court, and *on legal principle*. The distinctions we have here italicized are of vital importance in every historical inquiry, but most of all in a matter which, like this, has been dragged into present-day politics. Mere resistance *in practice* to unpopular laws was, of course, common enough everywhere in the Middle Ages. Even in modern England, one of the most law-abiding among world-States, we may find the whole population of a great town chronically rebellious to the law of vaccination, imposed on the whole country by the sovereign legislature. But this bare fact would not justify the inference that the town in question claims to be a separate political entity, unbound by the legislation of the British State. Still less can we take any such disobedience in the Middle Ages to betoken more, at the very most, than an appeal from the written law to the great Unwritten Law of justice, to which men attributed even then a moral authority which might override the highest and most explicit enactment—*jus divinum et naturale*. In many cases, of course, there is not even so vague a principle as this at stake; we are confronted with

mere cases of indiscipline and disobedience, which leave the question of principle untouched. If Stubbs's theory of the legislative independence of the English Church is to be proved at all, it must be proved by adducing cases in which Englishmen resisted Canon Law neither (*a*) in reliance upon English Common Law (State Law), nor (*b*) because, being far from Rome, they might in practice safely ignore this or that inconvenient provision; but (*c*) in the name of an English Church Law, enacted by a National Church essentially independent of (though in many most important particulars admittedly dependent on) the Roman Church. This task is now attempted by Mr. Ogle; but, as one of the many Liberal Churchmen who have publicly spoken of the present Disestablishment Bill as illiberal, I may perhaps be permitted to say here equally frankly that Mr. Ogle's counterblast to Maitland is likely to do more harm than good. It may, indeed, encourage the already converted; it is readably written, and comes from a well-stored and naturally candid mind. Few readers will have time to compare it carefully with Maitland; fewer still will check the rival pleadings page by page with Lyndwood's "Provinciale," upon which both advocates rely for their main evidence. But Mr. Ogle's strong, though no doubt partly unconscious, bias renders such a comparison very necessary. Where he is most loose and rhetorical, we shall find Maitland clearest and most convincing. Where they disagree upon Lyndwood's meaning, we shall find (as we might have expected) that the eminent lawyer and brilliant medievalist has understood what the Rector of Otham has misunderstood. Mr. Ogle is a well-read man; yet his valour in this case is partly the valour of ignorance. He lays stress on the depressing words in which Maitland confessed himself "a dissenter from both [English and Roman] and from other Churches." But why should we not give an agnostic a fair chance, even in ecclesiastical history? Why should the devil have all the good science, or the children of light necessarily put themselves at a logical disadvantage against the children of this world? "Historic truth" (writes Mr. Ogle) "is not one of the kingdoms which the violent can take by force." These words, intended as a rebuke to Maitland, are in effect a most illuminating criticism of the mind which dictated them. If even the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, who shall separate us by force from the lesser province of historic truth? Of violence in the invidious sense, Maitland had astonishingly little; it is not pleasant to think of the comparisons which outsiders will draw between his controversial style and Mr. Ogle's. But few men of our time have more consistently applied to scientific problems that holy violence which Christ enjoined upon all of us: "Seek, and ye shall find." Mr. Ogle, who seldom really understands Maitland, convinces himself from the very first that the latter never understood Stubbs's main position. Yet a competent living witness informs us that Stubbs, after Maitland's criticism, "intimated to me . . . that he was not prepared to dissent from Professor Maitland's view"; and Mr. Ogle's attempt to pass off this confession as a practical joke shows an astounding want of humour. Moreover, Stubbs did, in fact, reply to Maitland, with almost Gladstonian obscurity and involution of phrase, in a note of two pages which Mr. Ogle appears not to know; it occurs only in the third edition of the "Seventeen Lectures" (p. 335). There is no complaint here of having been misunderstood; on the contrary, Stubbs says: "I have

so great respect for Professor Maitland's knowledge, critical insight, and fairness, that I would gladly submit to any amount of adjustment of facts and authorities that he might prescribe to me."

So much, then, for Mr. Ogle's general position. Let us now descend to details. It is very difficult to understand which he considers the crucial points of his polemic. He enters into a not very coherent series of detached skirmishes, after each of which he claims the victory, often adding accusations of superficiality against Maitland, which may do very well to blow up the flames of political controversy, but can only irritate serious students. We will, therefore, choose Chapter IV., which very clearly illustrates these methods, and to which Mr. Ogle himself seems to attach special importance. He is well aware, in one half of his brain, that Canon Law made a definite place for local custom; but this essential truth never seems to filter into that cerebral lobe which conducts the attack upon Maitland. If, therefore, the whole argument of this chapter were correct, Mr. Ogle would still have proved no more than Maitland was perfectly willing to admit. The Pope allowed England, like other countries, to have her local customs, even though these were sometimes discordant with Canon Law; but we are as far as ever from discovering a medieval Anglican Church which asserted its own legislative independence against that which was generally considered the Church Law of Christendom. Moreover, in attempting to convict Maitland of ignorance, Mr. Ogle himself make very serious mistakes. He takes the case of the Papal Decretal *Vas Electionis* and archidiaconal procurations. The Decretal fixes these for England at *a maximum* of £50 *tournois*, or about £12 10s. sterling. On the other hand, English local custom commonly allows the Archdeacon, when travelling with a full retinue, to charge no more than 7s. 6d. Out of this Mr. Ogle tries to manufacture a case of conflict between English Church Law and Canon Law, with the usual accompaniment of gibes against Maitland. But here, as usual, the confusion is only in his own mind. A modern statute fixes the maximum charge for passenger trains at 1d. per mile. If any railway chooses to fix a lower tariff in its by-laws, it does not thereby bring these into conflict with Statute Law. Moreover, Mr. Ogle has seriously misunderstood Lyndwood's note on p. 224, s.v. *solet solvi*. He evidently does not realize that *communis consuetudo*, like *communis fama*, does not necessarily imply *universality*; it goes no farther than *generality*. Therefore, though this seven-and-sixpenny tariff was the general English custom, yet there might well be districts which knew nothing of it. Accordingly, Lyndwood takes care to add: "But where custom does not limit the amount of the procuration, we must have recourse to what we find in the Decretal *Vas Electionis*." The meaning here is very plain; where the by-law happens to give us no guidance (and there may be many such cases), we must fall back upon the Statute Law—*i.e.*, the Papal Decretal—to which Lyndwood, as a man of business, therefore refers us. Yet Mr. Ogle misunderstands this; indeed, he is morally compelled to misunderstand it, since there would be no other way of imputing a blunder to Maitland. "His [*i.e.*, Lyndwood's] mention of it," writes he of this Decretal, "is purely academic . . . it has no bearing on the matter in hand. . . . But mark how Maitland presents the matter. He treats Lyndwood's glancing references to the *Vas*

*Electionis* as solemn statements of the law. In a grave disquisition as to the effect of the Decretal, he huddles up the one plain fact that for England it has merely a curious interest, being overridden by English law in *the one case to which it could apply*." These last words, which we have italicized, contain a third blunder as bad as the two which have already been exposed. Mr. Ogle has just quoted a remark of John of Ayton to the effect that English Bishops "do not commonly exact procurations, as they do not visit the churches in detail." He does not see that this word *commonly* belongs, in fact, to both clauses. No prelate could claim his procuration (by a healthy rule of Canon Law) except for a personal visitation; therefore English Bishops do not *commonly* take procurations, because they do not *commonly* visit in person. Not only is this John's evident meaning (for he was an eminent Canon lawyer, and knew how inevitably the two things went together), but we know it to have been the historical fact. At the very time when John was writing, Bishop Grandisson was not only visiting the parishes of Cornwall in person, but drawing up by-laws to regulate the procurations claimable in his diocese for such personal visitations ("Reg. Grandisson," pp. 817 *et seq.*, esp. p. 836), When, therefore, Mr. Ogle urges against Maitland "if our prelates did what they did not do, visiting particular churches and exacting procurations, etc.," he is simply exposing his own misapprehension of the fourteenth-century canonist, and his own ignorance of fourteenth-century church-life. Moreover, he is making a further blunder which betrays his unfamiliarity with common medieval technicalities. Archdeacons were "prelates," as well as Bishops; and, if Lyndwood could have read the distinction which Mr. Ogle draws here and on p. 77 between the "prelate" and the "archdeacon," he would simply have told him to go back to school.

On three consecutive pages, then, Mr. Ogle has made four bad blunders. He has missed the crucial fact that the *Vas Electionis* prescribes only a maximum tariff; he has misunderstood Lyndwood's very simple statements as to English custom; he has argued from the alleged complete absence of personal visitation among English Bishops (for his words on pp. 78 and 79 are meaningless, unless the statement be exhaustive); and he has tripped over a common medieval technicality. After all this he asks: "Now what is it that leads Maitland to find so much in this empty Vessel of Election? Simply his anxiety to prove that the Papal Law was operative in England." If Mr. Ogle permits himself this kind of language, not once but a dozen times, against the Professor for whose "knowledge, critical insight, and fairness" Bishop Stubbs expressed so deep a respect, it is not because the Rector of Otham has discovered flaws which remained hid from the one man who might have had a right to treat Maitland as an equal on this ground. It is simply because he does not know enough of medieval conditions to realize how incomparably greater was Maitland's knowledge and critical insight. When, in a later part of this same chapter, he goes on to insinuate that Maitland derived his knowledge of Lyndwood mainly from the index, those who know the Professor's work will only wonder that Mr. Ogle should have so little sense of humour and proportion. Further investigation will satisfy such readers that here, as elsewhere, he misunderstands the law, and therefore scoffs at the lawyer who expounds it correctly.

Mr. Bumble's attitude towards the law may sometimes raise interesting questions; but it is only the attitude of Mr. Bumble, when all is said and done.

One point, out of very many, deserves further mention—the insinuation that Maitland did not understand the medieval theory of Church and State (pp. 63 *et seq.*). Maitland had, at least, studied the subject deeply; if Mr. Ogle had read his translation of Gierke with any care, he could scarcely have written that the clergy had no shelter from Papal Law but the power of the Crown (p. 66); for all that was truly Christian in the clergy would have found it far more easy and effective to entrench itself behind the *jus divinum et naturale*. It is more interesting, however, to note that Mr. Ogle here takes a position against Maitland which really plays into the hands of the Liberationists. After treating Maitland as a lawyer who has strayed beyond his province, he writes (p. 65): "The medieval mind distinguished, not between Church and State, but between a spiritual and a temporal power consenting in the governance of one great Catholic community." One is tempted to ask whether Mr. Ogle has ever studied St. Augustine's "City of God," with its essential and repeated contrast between Church and State—the *Civitas Dei* and the *Terrena Civitas*. Medieval thought was saturated with this conception of the conflict, necessary in human nature, between these rival powers; the first founder of the earthly state had been Cain, and "the story of Cain and Abel prefigured the enmities between these two States, that of God and that of men" ("Civ. Dei," xv. 5). If we are to confine ourselves (as Mr. Ogle seems to argue) within the limits of Lyndwood's (and Augustine's) ideal conception of the Catholic Church as "the multitude of the faithful, united in faith and charity," then we admit very uncomfortable political corollaries. It would then be no robbing of the Church to distribute some of the Welsh endowments among Greek Christians or Wesleyans, to whom none but a bigot would deny a place among "the multitude of the faithful." Or, if he insists absolutely upon the qualifying clause, "united in faith and charity," he thus will only too fatally disestablish not only the Welsh, but every other Church in this wicked world. We have heard even faithful Roman Catholics express doubts as to the salvation of other Roman Catholics whose faith differs in details from their own; and the bond of charity is broken among Christians even more frequently than the bond of faith. Mr. Ogle will complain that all this is absurd; so it is, but it follows logically from his own premisses. It is the old story; where Maitland was transparently clear and logical, his critic takes refuge in a theory which has the apparent advantage of being too intangible to be severed by any earthly weapon. But this theory, like all vague ideals, is inapplicable to existing human institutions in direct proportion to its value as a rule of private conduct. Of all laws that ever were given, "Love one another" is, at the same time, the loftiest in authority, and the most impossible to enforce or to argue from. Lyndwood's definition of the Catholic Church could be used almost as effectively by a Christian Scientist or an anarchist as by Mr. Ogle; in a question such as Maitland is arguing, it proves so much as to prove next to nothing. All this was quite understood in the Middle Ages, and that is why we find medieval lawyers and political writers laying so much stress upon that

narrower sense of the words *ecclesia* and *ecclesiasticus*, as Maitland clearly saw, although Mr. Ogle fails to see it even after him.

It would be easy to adduce many more instances where Mr. Ogle's gravamina against Maitland rest upon a misunderstanding either of text or of evidence; but these are, perhaps, enough. We are confident that the few who take the trouble (sometimes needlessly increased by Mr. Ogle's imperfect references) to follow both parties through their authorities will rise from the work with the conviction that the "continuity theory," in the exaggerated form in which it is very commonly stated, is quite untenable. Not only does Lyndwood studiously avoid attributing to the *Ecclesia Anglicana* a lawgiving power independent of the Canon Law (though he has to comment upon texts which cry for some such exposition), but he makes repeated assertions which, on the face of them at least, contradict any such supposition. Moveover (as Maitland points out in a passage to which Mr. Ogle vouchsafes no attention), the one man whom we know to have made some such claim on the verge of the Reformation, Dr. Standish, was ill-received by Convocation (p. 89). His recorded exclamation, "What shoulde one poor frier doe alone against all the bishops and the clergie of England?" should have been among the first words to engage Mr. Ogle's attention in this attempt to defend the Welsh Establishment on the continuity theory of fifty years ago. The real line of defence is not to restate that theory in a form as exaggerated as the unauthorized corollaries which are sometimes drawn by politicians from Maitland's great work. We cannot destroy misrepresentation by misrepresentation. It is a pity that Mr. Ogle has not devoted his considerable powers of work and exposition to showing how tithes were originally private endowments; and how no principle can be invoked for Welsh Disendowment which would not equally apply to the moneys now enjoyed by Unitarians, though left for Presbyterians; and, lastly, how small is the chance that the commonwealth will really gain by the transference now suggested. He would then have secured the hearty support of many who will be compelled to greet this present book with an emphatic *non tali auxilio*.

G. G. COULTON.

## Notices of Books.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS FEELING. By Isaac A. Cornelison, D.D. *Putnam*. Price 6s. net.

The author is concerned to investigate the question of "miracles in the soul." This he does with regard to all forms of religious ecstasy, and particularly of conversion. His method is strictly scientific. The conclusion may be given in an extract from p. 163: "We believe that the emotion in religious experience is the product of a Divine action, that the Holy Spirit does comfort believers . . . but we believe that action to be providential, not miraculous—the kind of action that is now accomplishing all the purposes of God in the outer world . . . without once interrupting natural causes in their operation." Some of the tables of statistics about conversion and the discussions of its natural causes are very interesting. At the end is a

long appendix giving an account, usually autobiographical, of the conversion of Augustine, Luther, Bunyan, Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, Asahel Nettleton, C. G. Finney, Henry Ward Beecher, and S. H. Hadley. To us this was quite the most interesting feature in the whole.

THE CHRISTIAN HOPE. By W. Adams Brown, D.D. *Duckworth and Co.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

This is another of the excellent series of studies in theology planned by the late Dr. Fairbairn. It is divided into a historical and a constructive part. In the first, after a brief account of the primitive conceptions, and of the theories of immortality current in Greece and India, Dr. Brown traces the preparation for the Christian hope in Israel and the contribution of Jesus. Let us quote the following from the chapter on the Resurrection: "The present Christian experience, it cannot be too often repeated, is the convincing evidence of the resurrection of Jesus. . . . The fact for faith is the continued existence and supremacy of Jesus, and this is a fact in the realm of spirit. The significance of the events recorded in the Gospels is that they are God's method of bringing this fact to the consciousness of the disciples, and so to the Christian community as a whole. Any interpretation of the facts which is consistent with this double conviction conserves the interests which are vital to Christian faith." Valuable chapters follow on proposed substitutes for the Christian hope, such as the immortality of influence and value, and on the bearing of science and evolution upon it. Its chief historical forms are briefly noticed. In the constructive part the positive arguments are examined—historical, philosophical, ethical, religious—and the value for the individual and for society is indicated. There are valuable footnotes and references, and an extensive bibliography at the end.

LIFE'S CHANCE. By the Right Rev. Bishop Walpole. *Robert Scott.* Price 4s. 6d. net.

Surely it would be difficult to find a better message for a self-loving, self-indulgent world than that in this book. If for some friend who is on the threshold of life, entering a profession, or starting married life, we want a book which will attract and help, we have it in "Life's Chance." Life's chance is to learn to love, and the secret is learned neither by the way of Mammon nor of Self, but by the way of venture and loss. Portia's picture is in the casket of lead. Love was revealed to the world in Christ, and especially in the suffering involved in His "Great Venture" made on the world's behalf, for the Cross was "Love's greatest triumph." By His Spirit Love now overcomes the world and abides in His true Church. Self-seeking and insistence on privilege inevitably involve its loss. "Knowledge and a correct ritual rank low in the scale of those virtues that belong to the disciples of Christ." If I love my life I lose it; if I lose my life (in love) I find it—this is Life's only Chance.

And so Bishop Walpole gives us most delightful chapters on loving God with all my (1) Heart; (2) Soul; (3) Mind; (4) Strength as our ideal, and on loving my neighbour in the service (to Him) of my hands, eye, ear, tongue, feet. Frances Ridley Havergal speaks to us again, just as tenderly, just as pleadingly, and not less effectively, because through the lips of a scholarly Churchman of another school.

Love gave its *all* to us in Christ, and Love claims our *all* back to Him, and for His sake. "Love demands the whole, and will be content with nothing less." We have the certainty of being personally loved, and from this certainty springs the possibility of my love to God; and this carries within itself my love for a whole wide world of "neighbours." "It is any brother—the dull, the foolish, the hard, the sinful—they all present to us tests by which our love of God is discovered." Christ shows us how to love our neighbour, whether in the home, the parish, the city, or the State. Death itself falters before Love, for it goes along into the New Life with no pause or change, save that of growth and added strength, the one eternal dividing line between the saved and the lost. "The principle that underlies the separation is this old one of Love. No question of faith or doctrine, or sacraments rises here, but of that for which faith, doctrine, or sacraments served." Life's chance, life's choice, is to learn to love. On a man's wisdom in choosing depends his happiness here and hereafter.

The book is of the very best. We do not suppose the Bishop of Edinburgh wrote it to provide a suitable wedding present, but for such a purpose it is well-nigh perfection.

ASTROLOGY AND RELIGION AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS. By Professor F. Cumont. *Putnams.* Price 6s.

The author's well-known studies in the Oriental religions which permeated the Roman Empire have led him to push his researches further back, to the origin of those astronomical and astrological data which played so important a part in their creeds. His results are given in the present volume, the ninth published in connection with the American Lectureship on the History of Religions. He traces the beginnings of astronomy in Babylon, and its religious application in astrology, the relations between Babylon and Greece, and the spread of the beliefs in the Empire, and he describes the theology, ethics, and eschatology of the movement. Incidentally, he blows to very small pieces that "Pan-Babylonianism" which attempts to explain much of the Old Testament and of Homer as astral myths, by showing that the first *scientific* astronomy in Babylon dates back only to the end of the sixth century B.C.; for the theory of "cycles" on which the Pan-Babylonian theory is built up could only be formulated when accurate observation of the movements of the heavenly bodies had been made and co-ordinated. Another by-product of his investigations is the evidence adduced for the influence of astrology on Jewish Apocalyptic literature. Professor Cumont takes the Book of Enoch as an example; but a more familiar one might be found in the Book of Revelation, the twelfth chapter of which contains imagery which can only be reasonably explained as astronomical in its origin. His acute analysis of the attraction which the astrological doctrines of Babylon had for the religious mind is singularly interesting, and he makes it plain that the star worship of the East played no inconsiderable part in the "Præparatio Evangelica," in which so many strange and unexpected factors took a share. But astrology revenged itself upon the Gospel for its ultimate defeat by the influence which it long exercised, more or less illicitly, upon the thought of the Church, a fact to which many a common phrase of daily life, used without any recollection of its astrological origin, bears undying witness. The

book is one which is full of interest to the student of religions, and the interest of its material is equalled by the freshness and vigour of its style, which the translator has been most successful in reproducing.

M. LINTON SMITH.

PHARISAISM: ITS AIM AND METHOD. By R. Travers Herford, B.A. *Williams and Norgate.* Price 5s.

Mr. Herford has done well to publish the lectures on Pharisaism which he delivered at Manchester College, Oxford. There is probably no man in England who is so competent to interpret the Pharisees to Christian readers, and he writes on a subject which is associated with dull treatment with the ease of one who is completely master of his subject, and knows how to choose from his stores just the facts which will most interest, not only specialists, but any educated reader who wishes to understand the environment of our Lord and His Apostles.

Mr. Herford writes reverently but frankly from the Unitarian standpoint. He is therefore under no dogmatic presumption in favour of the presentation of Pharisaism which we find in the New Testament. But it does not follow that his verdict on this point is to be accepted, the less so as he seems to write in strong reaction from such presentations of Judaism as may be found in the pages of Edersheim and Weber. He is indignant with their inadequacy, and his motto is *Audi alteram partem.* We thank him for this, but we cannot accept his summing up and verdict. Life is more complex than Mr. Herford supposes, and a recent discovery has proved the existence of a sect of Zadokite Saducees whose tenets run counter to all our previous ideas, and warn us how easily judgments which rest on inadequate data may be mistaken. Mr. Herford does not really discuss his evidence—he probably was prevented from doing so from considerations of space—but it would require far more evidence than is likely to be available to convince us that the Pharisees never held a doctrine which Christ attributed to them (p. 160), and that Pharisaism was to St. Paul no more than "a distant memory of discarded things" (p. 178).

We have dissented from Mr. Herford's decision on the most important topic which he raises, but his book is of great value and importance. We have seldom found in so small a compass so much matter which was new, interesting, and suggestive. The style is very pleasant and lucid. There are good indices.

H. J. BARDSLEY.

SOME WEAK POINTS IN CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. By W. Sanday, D.D. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 1s. net.

Dr. Sanday's indignation has been aroused by the prevailing tendency to create class war, especially when that tendency shows itself in injustice to the middle classes. Dr. Sanday writes as kindly as is his wont, but with more assurance and emphasis than usual. He bases his arguments largely upon statistics—statistics which early criticism of his pamphlet have shown to be sometimes unreliable. In order to plead for the middle classes he goes a little out of his way to defend the millionaire. But the whole pamphlet is worthy of thought, and is a real contribution to the social problem.

Dr. Sanday teaches us that there is, there should be, an equilibrium between Labour, Capital, and the State. Experiments which tend to vary that equilibrium must be made carefully and without undue haste, or trouble is wooed. Dr. Sanday still prefers the true charity, that helps because it loves to help, to the rate that helps because it must. He concludes his little book with a gentle rebuke to the Christian Socialist for scolding the public. If this pamphlet does nothing else—and it will do much else—it will teach us the spirit in which to approach the problem—the spirit of wisdom, of love, of considered thoughtfulness and never-failing charity—a spirit too often sadly lacking on both sides.

HANDBOOK OF THE MODERN GREEK VERNACULAR. By Professor A. Thumb. London: *T. and T. Clark.*

This is a translation, by Dr. Angus, of Professor Thumb's "Modern Greek Handbook" from the original German. To the student of the New Testament modern Greek must always have a special interest. This is especially true now that we have realized that the Hellenistic of the New Testament was no ignorantly-handled and badly-written treatment of classical Greek, but the living, everyday language of many nations—the *lingua franca* of the then known world. The Hellenistic of the New Testament is one of the links in the chain between old Attic and modern Greek. Most of our English knowledge of modern Greek has been confined to the Atticized and learned language of to-day. Professor Thumb, practically for the first time, deals with the language as it is spoken. Seeing that the New Testament is written in the language of life rather than in the language of books, the study of the modern vernacular must tend to throw some light on the language of Scripture. For that study Professor Thumb provides a complete and illuminating handbook.

A DEVOTIONAL COMMENTARY TO THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. By Canon Girdlestone, M.A. London: *Religious Tract Society.* Price 2s.

A DEVOTIONAL COMMENTARY TO ROMANS XII.–XVI. By the Rev. Griffith Thomas, D.D. London: *Religious Tract Society.* Price 2s.

Two new volumes of this excellent series have come to hand. Dr. Thomas needs no introduction; he has already given us two volumes on this Epistle, and the third is as good as the first two, and they are all excellent. From the devotional and practical point of view Dr. Thomas has an easier task here than in the earlier volumes, but he has given it as much care and thought. Canon Girdlestone has the more difficult task. Galatians comes hot from the pen of a great teacher who is fighting a tremendous battle for the very first principles of his doctrine. One would hardly expect him to be devotional. But Paul found his strength in nearness to his Lord, and Canon Girdlestone realizes that beneath all the controversy there is devotion, and he makes his discussion devotional.