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

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

The Churchman Advertiser.

JANUARY, 1926.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

NOTES AND COMMENTS 1
Queen Alexandra. The Bishops and Prayer Book Revision. The Tendency to Centralization. Church Patronage. The Voice of the Laity in Patronage. Clergy Pensions. The Misrepresentation of the Reformation. The Doctrinal Significance of the Reformation. Anglicanism. Dr. Headlam and His Critics. Lord Halifax at Louvain. Editorial Note.

SOME CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION. By Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of English History, University of London 8

THE CHURCH IN THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. By the Right Rev. E. A. Knox, D.D. 19

THE POSITION OF THE MINISTER AT THE LORD'S TABLE. By Albert Mitchell 31

ST. AUGUSTINE'S MESSAGE FOR TO-DAY. By the Rev. T. A. Gurney, M.A., LL.B. 44

ANNE ASKEW, "THE FAIR GOSPELLER." By John Knipe .. 53

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS. By G. F. I. 59

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 65
The Master and His Friends. Science, Religion and Reality. The Nation and the Church. Life and Letters of William Boyd Carpenter. Reminiscences of a Maynooth Professor. Henry Montagu Butler. Jeremy Taylor. The Glory of God. The Five Portraits of Jesus. The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul. Jesus Christ in History and Faith. The Doctrine of Grace. Punishment, Human and Divine. The Ring of Straw. The Giant Masquerade.

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(Literature on application.)

THE CHURCHMAN

January, 1926

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Queen Alexandra.

THE death of Queen Alexandra caused a great wave of sorrow to pass over the nation. Sympathy with the King and the Royal Family was widespread. For many her death meant the breaking of one of the last links with a great epoch in the history of our country. Although she took no part in political affairs, she had a place of her own in the Victorian age. She represented Queen Victoria on many important social occasions. During the brief reign of Edward VII she adorned the position of Queen by the charm and graciousness of her personality. From the day of her arrival in England at the age of eighteen in the year 1863, she occupied a warm place in the affections of the people. As the years passed that affection grew, and the love of the nation became stronger, till in the years of her widowhood she was held by many in special reverence. Her practical sympathy with suffering, and her special interest in the wounded during the war, revealed the goodness of her nature. It was her genuine goodness that won for her the love of the people. She well merited the many tributes which have been paid to her life and work, and her memory will be treasured as one of the finest examples of queenly character associated with the royal line of England.

The Bishops and Prayer Book Revision.

The Bishops have commenced their consideration of the final form of the revised Prayer Book, and will probably be engaged in their deliberation until the session of the House of Bishops which meets in the summer. There is considerable disappointment among Evangelical Churchpeople that they did not accept the Bishop of Norwich's proposal that the Communion Service should be reserved for later consideration. There are a number of changes in the Prayer Book of a non-controversial character. Churchmen of all schools would gladly have seen these adopted, and would have welcomed the provision for elasticity and adaptation to the needs of the day which would have been thus provided. It would have shown the large measure of agreement that exists regarding changes where doctrine is not concerned. It is difficult to under-

stand the attitude assumed by some of the Bishops, that the division of the measure would indicate a lack of courage on their part in dealing with the difficulties of the situation. Indeed much of the discussion was irrelevant, as the Bishop of Norwich pointed out at its close. The courage of the Bishops could be shown when the time came to deal with the proposed changes in our Communion Service, which aim at admitting into it those features which gave Bishop Gardiner and others the opportunity in the sixteenth century of asserting doctrines which have been repudiated by the great divines of the last three centuries.

The Tendency to Centralization.

It is not too much to say that the old system of the Church of England is being rapidly revolutionized by the work of the Church Assembly. The whole tendency of its measures is towards centralization. The measures passed seem in the main to concentrate power in the hands of the diocesan authorities, and through them to transmit it to the central powers of the Church, as represented by the Bishops and those associated with them in the ordering of affairs in the Church Assembly and its numerous Committees. There are no doubt many advantages to be gained from this central control. We may hope that it will produce economy of working and greater efficiency in the direction of the resources of the Church in men and money. But it has many disadvantages, and these will have to be faced by those who are in a position to suffer. The tendency to bureaucracy is a constant danger in centralization. The officials who have gained a little power always desire more. They have a natural wish to magnify their office, and to secure positions of greater influence for themselves. The control of finances is the sure road to such power. We may therefore look for a continuous effort to increase the amount of the Central Fund, and to influence the method of expending it. It is obvious that this will strike hard at the old system of working through Societies. At no distant period we expect to see proposals on the part of the Church Assembly to take over the work of our Missionary Societies, both home and foreign.

Church Patronage.

This tendency to centralization is observable in another direction. The English system, or want of system, in the patronage of benefices has grown up during the centuries, and it naturally presents instances of anomaly. It has, we venture to say, on the whole worked well, but it may be admitted that there is room for reform in several directions. The Church Assembly has taken the whole question in hand, and at the moment the patronage of the Church seems to be in the melting pot. It is a thorny subject, for it concerns large vested interests. The Church cannot afford to show an example of anything approaching spoliation or pillage. Whatever it may be able to do by methods of persuasion, it will be guilty of an egregious blunder if it attempts to deprive individuals of rights

which have been recognized hitherto. Patrons are not an unreasonable class in the community—not even the much abused Trustee patrons—and they are anxious to secure the best and most suitable men for the parishes in their gift. They are not prepared to hand over their privileges to others at the dictation of any central body of the Church. The Crown, and kindred sources of patronage, have, we believe, made it quite clear that they are not going to allow themselves to be restricted by any Boards that may be set up. As the Archbishop of Canterbury hinted to the Church Assembly, it will be well for them to act cautiously in whatever steps they are taking that may interfere with the position of the private patron.

The Voice of the Laity in Patronage.

At the same time there is a legitimate wish to give parishioners an opportunity of expressing their views as to the type of clergyman most likely to serve the parish best. The difficulties are, how this can best be done, and to what extent is it advisable that they should be given a voice in the matter. None of the suggestions so far made seem to be satisfactory. The proposal to set up Diocesan Patronage Boards, on which two representatives from the Parochial Church Council of a vacant parish will sit, does not do much to give the parishioners any adequate influence in the choice of their clergyman, while the power of veto which it is proposed that these Boards should exercise over a Patron's power of appointment will prove a source of considerable dissatisfaction. Even the right of appeal to the Archbishop will not allay the feelings of resentment that may be aroused by what will inevitably be regarded as undue interference. In the discussion in the Church Assembly it was seen that a number of knotty problems arose in connection with other proposals, such as the transference of advowsons from Deans and Chapters, and from the incumbents of large parishes. The desire to give Diocesan Bishops a larger share in the patronage of their dioceses, and especially to place in their hands the appointment to the most important and largest of the town parishes, is one that recent experiences of Evangelicals will lead them to oppose rigorously. The plea used against Trustee patrons, that their appointments " stereotype " parishes, is simply an excuse rather than a reason for condemning " Party Trusts." The point would not be raised if it helped to stereotype Anglo-Catholic parishes.

Clergy Pensions.

A revised scheme for clergy pensions was presented to the Church Assembly at its last session. It is impossible to give the details of the scheme here, but it is an improvement on the previous one in so far as it provides for the return of the contributions in cases where necessity might arise. At the same time the scheme proposed is open to criticism on several points. The amount of the contributions involves a severe additional tax on the already overburdened clergy. The expenditure involved in the recent Dilapidations Scheme is not yet known and may prove a heavy

burden in many cases. The proposed legislation in regard to tithes may also place many of the clergy in a position of difficulty. The fixing of the retiring age at seventy raises a number of questions which we hope will receive serious consideration. Is it not possible for the benefits of the Scheme to be available at the age of sixty-five? Contributors to the Clergy Pensions Institution Scheme seem to be in a position to lose some of the privileges which they have been led to expect, through the new proposals. They were eligible for a pension at sixty-five. This was made up of an annuity bought by their annual contributions, an additional amount given by the Ecclesiastical Insurance Office, and a grant from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The total amounted to something like £127 a year. This is now to be swept away, and a small additional sum of £20 or £25 is to be given to them at the age of seventy. The Clergy Pensions Institution has, we are sure, every desire to safeguard the rights and expectations of its beneficiaries, but the Church Assembly has a somewhat drastic method of dealing with vested interests, which does not increase confidence in its working.

The Misrepresentation of the Reformation.

With the growth of the Counter-Reformation in the Church of England there has been an increase in the character and extent of the misrepresentation of the Reformation movement in this country in the sixteenth century. Roman Catholics have of course for a long time represented the Church of England as originating in the desire of Henry VIII to secure a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. This contention ignores the movements in the English Church during the previous two centuries, and the constant effort to limit the interference of the Popes. It also fails to take into account those movements of thought usually summed up under the term, the Renaissance. The invention of printing had produced a revolution in the outlook of the people. Professor Pollard dealt with these matters in the two able lectures which he recently delivered under the auspices of the Reformation Study Brotherhood in Dean Wace House. One of them we have the pleasure of printing in this number of THE CHURCHMAN, and the second will appear later. The causes of the English Reformation are to be sought in the awakening of a fresh consciousness in the people. The success of Wycliffe and of the Lollard Movement, in spite of the drastic measures adopted to extirpate their supporters, is evidence that a desire was astir for something more than the ecclesiastical system of the mediæval age, with its penitential system, binding the thoughts and consciences of men, and the merely objective presentation of the sacrifice of the Mass could satisfy. These elements must be taken into account if an adequate estimate of the significance of the Reformation is to be obtained.

The Doctrinal Significance of the Reformation.

The Anglo-Catholics are, however, even more obscurantist than the Roman Catholics in their treatment of the Reformation. They

endeavour to minimize its significance. They admit that it secured the removal of the papal supremacy from the Church of England, and they make strenuous endeavours to convince themselves that this was its sole result. They can only succeed in their efforts by an extensive falsification of history. The records show that there were doctrinal changes of far-reaching significance. These changes involved a complete revolution in the conception of God and of man's relationship to Him. Luther's proclamation of " Justification by Faith " was the dawning of a new and brighter day than the Church had known for many centuries. It is customary to misrepresent this doctrine by saying that it is purely subjective, that it has no philosophical basis, and that it fails to account for the full significance of the Incarnation and the Sacramental principle with the objective values which they represent. Some recent Anglo-Catholic books show a strange disregard for the facts in their treatment of the whole subject. Faith may be subjective but it has no value unless it is directed to a definite object. Luther's faith was founded on the objective fact of the death of Christ. The assurance of forgiveness was not an end itself, as has been stated. It was the beginning of a personal relationship to God that cleared away the necessity for the Romish mediatorial system, with the Priest providing pardon in the Sacrament of Penance, and offering the Sacrifice of the Mass not only for the living but also for the holy souls enduring the pains of Purgatory.

Anglicanism.

The question which Churchpeople have to face at the present time is not whether certain doctrines and practices are allowable in the Church of England, but the much larger question whether the whole ecclesiastical system embraced under the comprehensive title of Anglicanism is to continue to exist, or whether it is to give place to a system described as " Catholic " but in reality represented by the Roman Church in all essentials of doctrine, and even more in that atmosphere which marks the difference between the Reformed and the Unreformed Communions. The Call to Action was a challenge to make this difference clear, and to maintain the distinctive character of the Church of England since the days of the Reformation. Anyone who comes in contact with the effects of Anglo-Catholicism in our Church to-day is aware that the atmosphere of the movement is absolutely different from that of the Church of England of the past and even of the Tractarian movement. The imitation of the Roman Church as the representative of Western Catholicism is destroying the old ethios of Anglicanism. The new spirit is alien in every way to the past traditions of our Church, even as represented by the highest of the older high Churchmen. Laud and his followers were as strongly opposed to Romanism as any latter-day Protestant. The earlier Reformers, who were brought up as Romanists, understood its true character, and in drawing up our forms of worship and the fundamental teachings of the Church were careful to exclude the old system, and to give every opportunity

for the development of a Church which would rejoice in its adherence to the teaching and practice of the New Testament and the Primitive Church. Churchmen to-day are faced by the question, Is this all to be reversed by this generation?

Dr. Headlam and his Critics.

Bishop Headlam's Preface to the second edition of his *The Church of England*, recently issued, deals drastically with some of his critics. It contains a strong reply to Bishop Gore's criticism of that work. He says that Dr. Gore's attitude indicates certain peculiar habits of thought with which he is somewhat obsessed, which . . . as far as they prevail are disastrous to the Christian religion. These views concern the Apostolic Succession—among other matters. They were examined with great care by the Lambeth Conference Committee on Christian Unity, but were found unconvincing. "Bishop Gore and his friends," he says, "must prove their position, or must give up trying to impose on the world by pontifical utterances." When Bishop Gore says that "the Church's Canon of valid ordinations is as authoritative as its Creed" he is saying what nine out of ten members of the Church of England would think was untrue, what many would think almost blasphemous, for it would seem to imply that this doctrine of orders rested on as strong a foundation as the Incarnation. Turning to the intellectual life of the Universities he says, "It has often been a criticism of Dr. Gore's work that he wishes to follow his intellect so far and no farther, that he writes as if criticism could be accepted up to a point and then neglected." The Universities have a far more bracing atmosphere than the theological colleges, some of which "send out clergy who alienate many by talking a religious language which people do not understand. A theological college has undoubted advantages for those who wish to teach what they cannot prove." Dr. Gore's "patronizingly contemptuous" attitude towards "moderate" men is rebuked. They, at any rate, have no fear of "the very bad times ahead" which Dr. Gore predicts. Altogether Dr. Headlam regards the criticism as "extraordinarily wrong-headed."

Lord Halifax at Louvain.

The Belgian Roman Catholic paper *Le XX^e^ Siècle* has published under the heading La Réunion des Eglises a eulogistic account of Lord Halifax, and of a speech delivered by him at Louvain. From the report we gather that the Roman Catholics who heard him will have obtained a very erroneous conception of the English Church. He made some interesting admissions with which we can all agree, as, for example: "Ce n'est pas la répudiation de Catherine d'Aragon par Henri VIII qui est au fond de la séparation de l'Angleterre avec Rome, mais la nécessité de certaines réformes." He goes on to say that under Edward VI some modifications in the breviary were introduced, when it would be more correct to say that the old form of the breviary was practically abolished. Again he made the

astonishing statement to this Roman Catholic gathering: " Sur l'enseignement sacramentaire, il y a identité entre notre Catéchisme et le vôtre." We wonder what the compiler of the portion of our Catechism dealing with the Sacraments would have said to such a statement.

Lord Halifax is, of course, entitled to his opinion that the Oxford Movement restored its purity to the faith of the Anglican Church, but when he says, " J'ai pu sans protestation d'aucune sorte, publier une brochure et prononcer une conférence devant un vaste auditoire à Londres, sur le droit divin de la primauté du Pape dans ' l'administration ' de l'Eglise," he must know that his opinion would be repudiated not only by the great majority of English Churchpeople, but also by a number of those who call themselves Anglo-Catholics. Lord Halifax is now following the logical course of the assumptions upon which his opinions have been based during his long lifetime. They lead to submission to the Pope and his claims.

Editorial Note.

We have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in this number the first of Prof. Pollard's interesting and valuable lectures on the Reformation period. It will be seen that he is thoroughly at home in every aspect of that age. Bishop Knox deals with several important aspects of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. That Epistle was described by Coleridge as " one of the divinest compositions of man," and Bishop Knox recalls some of its most important characteristics. Mr. Albert Mitchell has made a special study of Prayer Book history and kindred subjects. Evangelical Churchpeople owe him much for his work in the Church Assembly, and they will read with interest his contribution on the position of the Minister. The Rev. T. A. Gurney is known as a writer on the Early Church. His treatment of St. Augustine shows the fundamentals of his teaching, and their application to the problems of our own day. The well-known author John Knipe contributes the first part of a study of the life and time of " one of the great souls of the Reformation "—Anne Askew. It is important at the present time to recall the faith of those martyrs who gave their lives for the cause of truth in the reign of Queen Mary. The number of books issued by the publishers this autumn has been very large. We have endeavoured to deal with as many as possible of those in which our readers would be likely to be interested. Although we have given more space than usual to them, we regret that we have been obliged to hold over many pages of reviews and notices. We hope that those which we have been able to insert will be a guide to our readers to form an estimate of the contents and characters of the various volumes with which our reviewers have dealt. Our Notes and Comments treat of events and principles of special interest at the present time.

SOME CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION.

By Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., F.B.A.
(Professor of English History, University of London).

FUNDAMENTALLY the duty of a historian, certainly one who occupies a Chair, is to attempt to see things steadily and see them whole, and not merely to see one side or one aspect of those things. There are, it seems to me, two fundamental qualifications for the study of history to any profit at all. The first is sympathy, and the second imagination. I do not, of course, use the word "imagination" in the sense of imagining things which never existed, I mean rather the faculty of realizing the things unseen, of seeing what is below the superficial occurrence of events. Sympathy we need, not on one side of a question, but in the sense in which we can put ourselves in the place of either of the combatants. Unless we can feel something of what they both felt, and not merely of what one of them felt, we can never realize what happened, nor why it happened, nor how it happened. If we are to understand things we have to cultivate sympathy, not merely with one party or one cause, but also with the opponents of that party or that cause. The student of history has to get this sympathetic and imaginative understanding of the events that took place.

All that I can do in this lecture is to put before you certain aspects of the Reformation as they appear to me, and leave you to make what use you can of what I have to say. I do not propose to invite you to attend to any detailed exposition of any particular part of the Reformation. If you wish to study any particular aspect of it you have had provided for you by Professor Alison Phillips [1] a bibliography which, I think, will satisfy the most expansive appetites for detailed information, and I do not propose to give you a list of the facts or details about any part of Reformation history. It is one of the defects of our education in history at the present time that the discovery of facts has been going on at such a rate—owing largely to the assistance of the Master of the Rolls—that the assimilation of those facts has not kept pace. In the physical realm, for example, a man's health does not depend upon the amount he eats, but upon the amount he digests. If the student of history tries to take in more facts than he can assimilate it is not good for his historical education. What I wish to bring out is not so much facts, whether old or new, as the meaning of facts. I want, broadly speaking, to indicate the place of the Reformation in certain general lines of development, evolution, or progress, or whatever you may like to call it.

An eminent dignitary of the Church [2] denies, with some emphasis,

[1] The Churchman, October, 1925.
[2] Dean Inge in his Romanes lecture on *The Idea of Progress.*

that there ever has been or can be any progress in human affairs. That, in a sense, is true, or, if I may put it in another way, there are certain spheres of activity of the human mind in which progress hardly seems to apply. I do not suppose any of us would be so bold as to say that, so far as the highest ideals in religion or literature or art are concerned, there has been very much progress during the last two thousand years. If people mean that there has been evolution or progress in these highest spheres I think it is a disputable proposition. But it does not follow that there has been no progress at all. These terms that seem so simple are pitfalls to the understanding. I believe there has been a very great deal of progress, even though I eliminate progress in the very highest intellects and minds. This progress, I think, has two main aspects. First, more or less ordinary men, as time goes on, realize more fully what was meant by these greatest teachers of the past. It is not that the doctrine or the teaching has altered, but that we see more in it; as time goes on there comes about a fuller realization of what was really meant by the things then said. At any rate I believe myself that we can see no limit to the increasing realization of the truth in that sense. Truth has not changed, but we change, and I hope and believe that we change in a sense for the better, that we see more truth than before.

Again, the number of people who become capable of seeing more and more of the truth is increasing. We must not limit our attention to one particular point. We cannot fairly compare the select few of brilliant Athens with the general mass of modern democracy. In the general mass I think we see evidence of progress. In the last war, for instance, I do not know that there was any single courageous act which stood out more markedly than similar acts in the wars of the last two thousand years; but whereas courage had formerly been the characteristic of the few it became in the last war the common characteristic of the mass. As Mr. Chesterton says, 'Looking for a hero, you can point to nothing but a mob.' I think there has been a similar increase in the number of people capable of appreciating more and more literary and artistic and religious truth. One classical author said that the human race lives in the few. The great mass of men are born and live and die, leaving no memory behind them, and as far as people can judge, no effect follows from what they do. It has been only in the few that the human race has really lived and made progress. But those few have increased, and I believe they steadily go on increasing.

It is, of course, a point we always have to bear in mind, whether we are talking about the Reformation or any other great event or revolution in history, that while we say that it was brought about by the nation or by the people we should be careful to define what we mean by the nation or the people. How large a proportion of the English people, for instance, were really vitally interested in or understood the issues at stake at the Reformation? However optimistic our view of that period, it would be a tiny fraction

of the nation. How many people really understood the issues of the Civil War of the seventeenth century? One per cent, five per cent, ten per cent, how many? It is a sound criticism of a great deal of historical writing that we do use terms implying big forces without explaining what we mean. Even in modern times the first French Revolution, I believe, was essentially a *bourgeois* Revolution. Its leaders were not of what we call the working-class. You have people like Robespierre, a middle-class lawyer, Danton, another lawyer, and Marat, a highly respectable physician and honorary graduate of the university of Aberdeen, a man who made considerable contributions to medical science. As to the American Revolution, a very competent and learned American historian has shown that even in that most democratic of political agencies, the Boston Town Meeting, which threw the tea into Boston Harbour, only about four per cent of the adult population of Boston at that time were represented. What do we mean by the nation, by the people? Is it really true that at any time before the twentieth century—even if it is true now—the majority of the people really thought, took an interest in, or really knew much of the questions propounded for their decision?

I am quite convinced of this, that one of the general important aspects of the Reformation to which I wish to call your attention is that it was caused by, and resulted in, a very considerable increase in the number of people who were interested in various things, particularly, of course, in religion, but also in politics and in social questions. As I once put it,[1] the period of the Reformation—including other aspects of it than the religious—is the period of the advent of the middle class. It is the period of the entrance of the middle class into active participation in ecclesiastical matters, in political matters, and in other matters as well. You may call it intrusion, if you like; if you dislike the effects and manifestations of it, you probably will! But at any rate it is the intervention of people in matters in which they had not previously intervened to any considerable extent. If we examine that we shall find that it determines many of the episodes and important consequences of the Reformation. It might be said, perhaps, by a rather unfriendly critic that Protestantism is essentially a *bourgeois* religion. If you examine the history of the sixteenth century you certainly find that the people who were most zealous and interested in the adoption and development of Protestantism were members of the middle class. Take, for instance, France—take the Huguenots. Almost the entire force of the Huguenots in France lay in the towns. The peasants were hostile for one reason or another. Or again, take the Lutheran movement in Germany. The strength of it lay in the cities, not in the country, nor in the highest social ranks or spheres. Wherever you go you find that it is the middle class who are the most zealous for the cause of the Reformation.

We have to remember one thing in connection with all this,

[1] *Factors in Modern History*, 1907, pp. 26–51.

that the middle class, while much wider than the class that had been interested in these things before, was still a narrow class compared with the whole nation; and from that point of view Protestantism in the sixteenth century stood upon a somewhat narrow, and therefore a somewhat unstable foundation, with, consequently, an unstable equilibrium. That is one of the things which helps us to understand the rapidity of the changes, particularly in England, though in other countries too, during the sixteenth century. The cause of the Reformation advanced rapidly at one time, and then there came a setback, and then it advanced again, and so on. I think that is because the foundation of political and other power rested upon a somewhat narrow basis, and it was comparatively easy to overturn things. At any rate, I have no faith in the theory sometimes put forward that all these changes were merely due to the strength of will of a single man. Whatever your form of government, however autocratic a ruler may be, he can never achieve anything except with the help and co-operation of forces, interests, and so forth, existing independently of his will. So I have no belief in that somewhat superficial explanation of historical events, even in the sixteenth century under the Tudor despotism. These changes are not to be ascribed merely to the individual will of the monarch for the time being.

I propose to deal with some illustrations of this intrusion of the middle class into certain spheres of activity. First of all we take perhaps the most important from our point of view—the Church. What was the Church? What did the *Ecclesia* mean to the people in the middle ages and at the beginning of the sixteenth century? That question, I find, to students at the beginning is always made difficult by the change in our terminology. In our historic studies we have no constants. Words to-day mean something different from what they meant in the sixteenth century or in the middle ages. We have to learn a fresh terminology for every different period with which we are dealing. So this question of the Church is complicated by the fact that to-day we talk about a Churchman more or less indifferently as to whether he is in holy orders or is a layman. We are quite sure that some laymen are good Churchmen, perhaps sometimes better Churchmen than some Bishops! But in the Church of the middle ages no layman could be a Churchman. In a description of Henry VII, Bacon says, that "his countenance was reverend, and a little like a Churchman." The writer was not contrasting the countenances of Churchmen with the countenances of Nonconformists, he was contrasting the countenance which a man in holy orders was supposed to have as against the ordinary frivolous countenance of the secular-minded person outside. Therefore the *Ecclesia* consists exclusively of ecclesiastics. No layman could be a Churchman. No layman had any part in the election to ecclesiastical assemblies. No layman had any vote in the determination of ecclesiastical questions.

It has been contended that that sharp distinction between Churchman and layman in the middle ages has been exaggerated.

That was the view of the late Dr. Figgis, a learned and admirable writer on these questions, though, no doubt, a number of us would not agree with what he said. He contended that in the middle ages there was one body with two sets of officers, ecclesiastical and lay, and that the Crown represented the one set and the hierarchy the other. There is something in that view, but Dr. Figgis did not point out that while the secular officers associated the general body more and more with them in the exercise of their functions—in Parliament and so on—the ecclesiastical officers shut themselves up more and more, and insisted on the exclusion of the rank and file. That is one of the reasons for the Reformation. When the conflict came the Crown and Parliament were on one side and the Church on the other. The ecclesiastical officers found themselves in a comparatively weak position. While the laity had no voice in the election of clergy, clergy as well as laity were represented by bishops and abbots in Parliament. Parliament, therefore, although very imperfectly representative from our modern point of view, was vastly more representative than the ecclesiastical authority.

There was, of course a much older conception of the Church than this which separated so decisively and unfortunately the ecclesiastic from the layman. The older conception was very different, and the older conception did exist throughout the middle ages. There is no period through the middle ages in which you cannot find that some one puts forward a wider and more liberal view of the Church as the whole body of the faithful. You find that Marsiglio of Padua, in the fourteenth century, was so impressed by this conception of the whole body of people constituting the Church that he held that all jurisdiction and all authority was derived from the people, both secular jurisdiction and ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well. But that was not the view usually adopted even in the later middle ages. Of course, what he said coincided very well with what many of the Reformers wanted to do. We find Thomas Cromwell subsidizing a printer in order to get printed a translation of Marsiglio of Padua in English in 1534. One of the conflicts of the Reformation is over that question; what is the conception of the Church? Is it something which practically precludes the laity from determination of ecclesiastical questions, or does the Church include the whole of the faithful?

My own view of what was happening towards the close of the middle ages is this, that the narrow view was getting ever narrower, whereas the other view was beginning to make more progress. You all remember the story of how Luther in his early years saw a picture over an altar in which a ship represented the Church, and the rest of the world was in liquidation, so to speak. No one except an ecclesiastic was in the ship, no one except a layman was in the water! Ecclesiastics were, it is true, throwing a stray rope out here and there, but the general conception that the Church was a ship in which there were only ecclesiastics underlay a good deal of what happened at that time. There was a feeling that

this whole conception that had come to be held must be altered and reformed. That was one of the fundamental points in the conflict.

This intrusion of the laity, or this advent of the middle classes, was, of course, possible owing to the fact that the Church—the ecclesiastics—no longer possessed the monopoly of education and intelligence which they had practically possessed in earlier times. Here I should like to make a still more general remark. I very much demur to the use of words like "usurpation," even with regard to the Papacy. No doubt the privileges of the mediæval Church were abused, but they were a natural development. The Papacy itself was a natural development. The whole hierarchy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and courts was a natural response to needs that were real. I do not myself believe that any human institution has developed, struck root, or lasted for any considerable time unless it has been to some extent and in some sort a response to needs that were real. We can easily imagine those needs. We can easily see how, the greater the need the greater the response. Take the worst epoch in English history —the anarchy of Stephen's reign, when brute force decided everything. What an appeal must have been made by any kind of jurisdiction or authority which did hold up some kind of peaceful settlement and determination of questions. Then, of course, it was owing to the anarchy of Stephen's reign that you got such a tremendous development of ecclesiastical claims and privileges. Thomas à Becket's too exalted ideas of his position were due to the anarchy of Stephen's reign. Anarchy made people more willing to accept if not to welcome the claims of Thomas à Becket.

Institutions, I say, are always rooted in a response to needs that are real. Therefore, in a sense, the very extensive privileges of the Church in the middle ages had a natural and legitimate foundation. Churchmen did practically monopolize the intelligence and the education of that time, and it was natural that the Churchman, being able to read and write with skill when the ordinary layman could not, should take a large and determining part even in the political and secular affairs of that time.

But at the close of the middle ages intelligence and education and religious feeling were ceasing to be so much the monopoly of the expert—the specialist Churchman—as had been the case. There are endless illustrations of that. One knows, for instance, how the intelligence which found expression in the monastic chronicles and other writings withers up in the latter part of the fourteenth century and still more in the fifteenth century, and, on the other hand, we find purely secular chronicles beginning to develop, in a childish and elementary way at first, and becoming more extended in their outlook until they blossomed out into the national chronicles of Stow and Holinshed in the sixteenth century. Take the development of schools. By the fourteenth century even villeins were sending their children to school. There was a spirit moving among these people. They wanted their children

to be educated. The humblest class of layman began to want some sort of education, and expressed that need in the last century or so of the middle ages.

That leads us, of course, to this point, that what is commonly called the Renascence in the latter part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is very different from the earlier revival of learning. Mrs. J. R. Green writes about the Renascence of the reign of Henry II. But that had been a revival of ecclesiastical learning confined almost exclusively to ecclesiastical circles. In the fifteenth century there was no revival of ecclesiastical learning but there was a new birth or demand for education and learning among the laity. The Renascence fundamentally is a response to that demand for education, for culture on the part of the *nouveau riche*. There had been a great development of capital and capitalism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It sometimes produced depressing results for the time being. One of the general tragedies of the late war was that it effected the transference of so much wealth from the pockets of the intelligent to the pockets of the unintelligent. But the unintelligent become intelligent in time. Their descendants become intelligent. And it was the descendants of these early capitalists, of these people who had developed commercial enterprise and so on, that wanted the new learning which was provided for them by the Renascence of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Take the use of the English language itself. You are familiar with that phenomenon in the translation of the Scriptures, but that was not the earliest development of the use of English. We have the Act of 1367, that English should be used in the law courts, though the lawyers disobeyed it for a long time. Still, there was a tremendous development of the use of English in the latter part of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century. The translation of the Scriptures by Wycliffe and so on is part of the general movement. It is part of this increasing demand by people for the use of a language that was understanded by them. Then, of course, you get a perfectly natural conflict. We do not always do sufficient justice to those obscurantist people who resisted the translation of Scriptures into the vernacular. They wanted the Scriptures to remain in a common tongue. After all, Latin was the common tongue of all the ecclesiastics, and so long as the Church was regarded as only the ecclesiastics, it was natural that they should think that the one language was the best guarantee of orthodoxy and uniformity. We are prone to lay stress on the common English language on both sides of the Atlantic. Perhaps we lay too much stress on it, because understanding what the other fellow says does not always promote good feeling! Still, we can understand how that early resistance was partly due to a fear lest diversity of tongues should lead to diversity of doctrine. With the authoritative books kept in exactly the same language there was less danger of diversity of opinion and heterodoxy in religion. The fact that those translations were made into languages or vernaculars

that were becoming national, links up the movement with the development of nationality.

First of all, let us look at some illustrations of this intrusion of the middle classes into religious affairs. Fundamentally in the middle ages religious service was something done for you by the expert. You might participate in the effects of that service, but you only assisted by being present while it was performed for you. And connected with it was this idea that service was public worship. That is one of the features of the middle ages—the service was public. There was very little but public worship. So long as people could not read or write, and could only grasp a little of what was said, how could they themselves develop religious thoughts and expression? It is quite natural that while the vast bulk of the population had not the faintest idea how to read or write, worship should be public, official, and formal, and not private or family. One of the significant developments to which attention has not been adequately directed is the quite spontaneous development of family worship and private worship before the Reformation, in the latter part of the fifteenth century or perhaps earlier in that century. That is one of the elements of the Reformation, the desire for self-expression, for self-determination, the growth of discontent with having all these things done for you, and not being able to do very much of it yourself. Hence, of course, the familiar features and developments of the Reformation, the conversion of the Mass into the Communion Service, from something that was done *for* people by the expert into something which the people had to do for themselves. Hence the Book of Common Prayer. Hence the congregational singing of Psalms in place of the sacerdotal solo. Hence almost all the familiar features of the Reformation movement in England. They are all an expression of this increasing desire of an increasing number of people actively to participate in religious services which previously had been performed for them by the expert. That idea of the expert doing things for them was ceasing to be satisfactory. Just as in modern times we see the increasing self-determination, the increasing demand of an increasing number of people to have a voice in their own affairs, so we see it in the Reformation movement.

Now I come to the other aspect of the subject—the growth of a deeper and more spiritual meaning among this increasing body of participants. Again I am not going to suggest that anybody saw deeper spiritual meaning than St. Francis of Assisi or Thomas à Kempis. The point is that whereas these people had been but a few individuals, now, in the sixteenth century, you have an increasing number of people who saw spiritual truth in what they read or were taught.

That leads me to say something about the materialism of the middle ages. What we generally understand by the middle ages is a period of romanticism—anything but materialism. I do not mean materialism quite in its ordinary sense at the present time. What I mean is a more comprehensive kind of materialism—that

materialism which makes it so difficult for the natural man to grasp a spiritual or even a moral or intellectual truth, except by means of a concrete material symbol. It is a very familiar difficulty to all those who have anything to do with education from the elementary schools up to the universities and even beyond—the difficulty people have, unless they are very highly educated, in grasping anything abstract except by concrete symbol. Let me tell you a true story, which may shock you at first. A father of a little girl of four was trying to teach her some elementary notions of God. "Is God here?" she asked (that was in the Isle of Wight). "Yes." "Is He at Portsmouth?" "Yes." Then came, "Isn't He fat?" When some of us are talking in eloquent language about abstract ideas to our students it would be good for us to ask ourselves how those ideas appear and reproduce themselves in their minds. That is one of the things which makes me doubt a little bit about the demand for illustration in schools—even the cinema. They are all right in their way so long as you remember that you cannot make visible to the eye the really vital things. You can portray the King, but not the monarchy. You can show the Houses of Parliament, but you cannot photograph the constitution. You may have a beautiful illustration of Westminster Abbey, but you cannot reproduce the Church upon the screen. The vital and fundamental things have always been and will always be invisible to the material eye. Yet we have this difficulty, that the natural man cannot grasp these invisible things without some material symbol to suggest them. Hence we get some of the familiar controversies at the time of the Reformation. We know the value of the Union Jack. It is an emblem of a great idea, it is necessary to have that symbol. When a Government changes office seals of office are exchanged. So the old Romans who, when they wanted to convey an estate, could not do so without actually taking a clod of the earth and handing it over in court from one person to the other. You cannot get married now without a ring. If you appoint a commissionaire to keep order in restaurants not very orderly, you must have not merely a big man but a man in uniform. Authority depends upon its symbols, and even a judge owes something to his wig.

We most of us remember village grocers' almanacs, coloured and showing the king, but always in a crown. People would not recognize him without it. William the Conquerer at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide wore his crown in different parts of his realm to show his people they really had a King. The material symbol was the essential thing. We know it now in political controversies. When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain started the campaign for tariff reform we know that the really effective way to argue was to produce the big and the little loaf. It was no good talking about principles. If you are to be really effective in popular argument you have to get your concrete material symbols, or at least your figures of speech.

We thus see the importance of images in the controversy.

Bishop Stephen Gardiner, one of the most honest and best opponents of the Reformation, used a reasonable argument against abolishing images. " You want to abolish images and get the people to read the documents themselves," he said in effect, " but images are the only documents people can read." So we find also in religious controversies an enormous importance attached to vestments. We hope that the vestments were the outward sign of an inward grace, but the popular controversy seems to be all about the external, not about the fundamental. And the underlying reason, again, was that the mass of the people, even of comparatively educated people, could only grasp the abstract thing in and through the outward symbol of it. An elaborate ritual, a gorgeous ritual will always be popular. Necessarily it will appeal to a large number of people who will not be able to get any religious conception apart from the visible symbol. Unless the thing is visible to the physical eye they cannot grasp it. So with the most important controversy. No Presence was " Real " unless it was corporeal. The same with the term " religion " itself. There was once an eminent archivist, nearly a century ago, who came across a charter of King John to a certain Baron *condere noram religionem*, and thought that it referred to a new religion. He thought it threw new light on King John, that it revealed him as a Modernist ! He was mistaken by the use of the word " religio " in that connection ; it meant not religion, but a religious house. It had to do with mortmain. Even " religio " was something concrete, something you could see with the visible eye. The alteration of " religion " in Henry VIII's reign was the dissolution of the monasteries. In Elizabeth's reign Religion (with a capital R) always means Calvinism. Gradually religion comes to be more abstract, more general, in a sense more spiritual. You get an expansion of meaning, and an increased power of perception.

That was very greatly needed. It only comes about, and it can only come about with increasing education, with a growing intellectual and spiritual life on the part of the people. In the time of the religious orders of the Benedictines or the Dominicans, at any rate in the earliest periods of their existence, there was something intense and all-absorbing in their " religio." It came to be less intense as the thing came to be generalized, and that is one of the great troubles in connection with all history, not merely religious, but political as well. The more you extend, the more you dilute. The larger a party becomes, the more diluted it grows. The Labour Party with increasing size becomes diluted. The Conservative Party is very big indeed, and it is diluted. The more people you take in the more you dilute your faith. Was not that the trouble even with early Christianity ? The earliest Christianity was very intense indeed. As it grew it became a little more diluted, and most of the medieval abuses in the Church grew from that compromise which men almost made inevitable when they were trying to bring people in and were smoothing the path for them. The Jesuit Missions in the East

in the seventeenth century were very successful because they diluted Christianity; but at length there came a papal protest; they were told they must stop the dilution, and the Missions failed.

Well, we have this expansion, this intrusion of the middle class into the religious sphere, taking a more and more active part in religious affairs. The religious public, I believe, increased rapidly during that period, but the religion got diluted, diluted particularly by commercialism. I remember a phrase in a sixteenth-century pamphlet—a dialogue between a merchant and a lawyer. The lawyer refers to laying up treasure in heaven, to which the merchant replies, "A good jest indeed, I lay it up in my chest." Religion was diluted also by patriotism. I have often wondered what Sir Francis Drake's religion would have been if by any chance Spain had become a Protestant country. Old Thomas Fuller, a sound historian, had a good phrase—"sea divinity." It was something by which Sir Francis Drake and Hawkins managed to combine piracy and the slave trade with a firm belief in the Protestant religion. Owing to expansion you have dilution. A Spanish ambassador makes this complaint at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: "Here in England religion has become simply a matter of politics." The dilution was inevitable. Although in politics I consider myself somewhat advanced, I have no doubt that every extension of the franchise, with the possible exception of that in 1832, meant a diminution in the intelligence of the average voter. That does not mean that an extension of the franchise is a bad thing, because the voters who come in get more intelligent in time. So I still think we gained by the Reformation. We brought people in, or they thrust their own way in, and this meant dilution for the time, but in the long run it was a good thing. If religion became simply a matter of politics, there is something to be said for the ideal of making politics a matter of conscience and religion. If the priest was being reduced to a citizen, there was at least an effort to make the citizen religious; and if there was a movement to secularize the Church there was also an attempt to sanctify the State.

The first of a series of lectures under the auspices of the Reformation Study Brotherhood, given at the Dean Wace House on Monday, October 19th, 1925, with the Right Hon. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Bart., M.P., in the Chair.

[Professor Pollard's second lecture on the Reign of Henry VIII will appear in a subsequent number of THE CHURCHMAN. Ed.]

THE CHURCH IN THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

By the Right Rev. E. A. Knox, D.D.

IN this paper it will be taken for granted (1) that "the Epistle to the Ephesians" is an Epistle of S. Paul, (2) that it is a circular letter to Christians in Asia Minor, and (3) that it was written towards the close of S. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, about the year A.D. 63. The mention of the date suggests a reason for the letter. The five first years of Nero's reign, dominated to some extent by the humaner influence of Seneca, were over. Tigellinus, associate of Nero in his brutality and sensuality, had come into power. The world-conscience, shocked by Caligula, was to be more profoundly moved by the barbarities and senseless orgies of the worst monster who has ever disgraced a human throne. That monster was to be worshipped as God, and the cult to be more stringently enjoined as a test of loyalty. Special pressure to observe it might be expected in Asia Minor, a Province directly ruled by the Emperor and owing its prosperity to the Imperial régime. The Church in Asia must prepare itself for persecution.

Important as Rome undoubtedly was for the missionary work of the Apostle, his work there had been hampered by his imprisonment. He could not preach in the Synagogue nor lecture in the Forum. For whatever reason, S. Luke dismisses that work in a few lines. To Ephesus he devotes far more space than to any other sphere of Pauline activity. We are told how the Apostle was twice hindered by the Spirit from entering Asia, how brief was his first visit, and also the special circumstances attending his final arrival. The variety of the interests concerned and of the difficulties encountered is impressed on us. There Aquila and Priscilla, in a sense founders of the Church, Roman Christians, had forgathered with the Alexandrian Jew Apollos, and had brought him to Christ. Roman organization and Greek philosophy had been united in the preliminary work. There, the Apostle found disciples of John the Baptist, Jewish sorcerers, Asiatic magicians. There, for two and a half years, he had laboured with signal success. "So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed." There, by his collection for the Christians of Jerusalem, he had prejudiced the success of the collection for the Temple at one of its chief centres, and had thus made the Sadducees for the first time opponents of the Church. There he had spoilt the trade of the silversmiths of the great goddess Diana. There, in what way we know not, he had "fought with beasts." There, as usual, the Jews had laid plots against him. How he loved the work there, how he loved the converts and their presbyters is recorded in his farewell address. There, we are told, more than elsewhere, of the parting embraces and tears. Nor may we forget that the preaching of the word was there confirmed by a signal display of miracles. No, S. Luke was not wrong in his

special attention to the Church of Asia Minor. Rome was destined one day to eclipse it in Europe. But if we remember the debt which our theology owes to the gospel and epistles of S. John, or that which in all ages of persecution the Church has owed to the Apocalypse, or the debt of our Church government to the Pastoral Epistles; and again remember the connection of all these with Asia Minor, we shall feel that the instinct which fastened on the importance of that Province to the Church was, in fact, an instinct of inspiration.

S. Paul was not alone in being moved by this instinct. Two other Apostles, S. James and S. Peter, wrote letters to the Christians of Asia Minor, letters which the Providence of God has preserved for our instruction. They were all written, according to our chief commentaries, within the same quinquennium, A.D. 58 to 63, possibly within the same triennium, 60 to 63. The order of their appearance seems to be, first, the Epistle of S. James, then S. Paul's to the Ephesians, and, thirdly, that of S. Peter. All three were circular letters written not to one Church, but to a wide district of Churches. S. James writes exclusively to Jews of the Dispersion, Christian Jews evidently and without reference to Gentiles. He had Palestine and Syria primarily in view, but from the Dispersion Asia could not be excluded. The picture which he draws is far from attractive. Antinomianism is sheltering itself behind S. Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith. The synagogue is honoured (!) by visits of the religious plutocrat. There is much talk, all want to teach, fiery disputation, prayer and profane oaths from the same lips, self-conceit, back-biting, profiteering, oppression of the sweated worker, forgetfulness of the Judge who is at the door. We are reminded of S. Paul's denunciation in the epistle to the Romans, but the portrait is more lifelike, more realistic. If we put ourselves in the position of the Gentile convert, we are not surprised that he is under a temptation to run a separate Church of his own. Indeed, if S. James' insistence on the whole law broken by transgression of one commandment includes the ceremonial law, a mixed Church of Jew and Gentile becomes an impossibility.

Then comes to the same district the Epistle to the Ephesians, addressed primarily to the Gentile Christians. It opens with such an idealized picture of the Jewish Christian as we have nowhere in the New Testament. S. Paul writes in his own name, but he quietly associates his fellow Jewish Christians with himself in addressing the Gentiles. We, blessed with all blessings in heavenly places in Christ, chosen before the foundation of the world, pardoned of all our sins, privileged to know the mystery of the Will of God, inheritors of His Kingdom by predestination, seated with Christ in the heavenly places, *we* pray that the eyes of you Gentiles, once exiles from the commonwealth of Israel, without hope, without God in the world, may be opened to know the glory of the Divine inheritance in the Saints. There is nothing like this in any other New Testament writing. It removes the sting which lurks in the Epistle of S. James. It lays upon the Divine purpose the whole

burthen of the long-delayed evangelization of the world. It calls to unity, to mutual confidence, to the privilege of a position far above any that had been vouchsafed to the circumcision. While insisting on the doctrine of the free grace of God and the abolition of the law of commandments with its precepts (touch not, taste not, etc., see the Epistle to the Colossians) it avoids the question of justification and of the bitter controversy surrounding the Jerusalem decrees. It calls to unity, to purity of life, and to preparation for war in which spiritual powers of wickedness will be arrayed against the Church of God.

S. Peter's letter addressed to the Dispersion is not confined to Jews of the Dispersion. Gentiles are no doubt included. It knows no special privilege of Israel, hints at no alienation between Jew and Gentile, sees the persecution as even more imminent, is aware that the very name of Christian may be a death-warrant, and anticipates the glory of martyrdom. Silvanus and Mark are bearers of the letter, S. Paul's two companions in travel. The hatchet is buried. The old controversies are forgotten. The two letters, those of S. Paul and S. Peter, are strongly characteristic. The eyes of S. Paul are fixed on the vision glorious, which for him never fades into the light of common day. S. Peter, who has walked with the Christ of daily life, still walks with Christ step by step in an earthly pilgrimage now drawing to its close. Marriage for S. Paul is seen in the mysterious light of the relation between Christ and the Church. S. Peter, " who was himself a married man," thinks of it in the terms of jewellery, hairdressing, clothes, in terms of the relations between Abraham and Sarah.

It is time to leave these prefatory notes and to turn to our subject, the Church in the Epistle to the Ephesians. We may sum up the teaching on that subject under the heads of (1) the Temple, (2) the New Man, (3) the Bride of Christ, (4) the Body of Christ, (5) the Pleroma, which I will translate provisionally as " the full complement, the consummated whole of Him Who is fulfilling His design in all creation."

We will follow this order as presenting to us the simpler ideas first. (1) *The Temple.* " Ye are built upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone, in Whom every building fitted and welded together groweth up to a holy temple in the Lord, in Whom ye also are being built together with us into a habitation of God in (or by) the Spirit." The Spirit is not the builder here, but the indwelling, Temple-inhabiting God.

To the Jews the " Temple " suggested Jerusalem, to the Gentiles Ephesus. It is possible that in Asia as at Corinth, there was the temptation to break up the Church into congregations of Apollos, of Aquila and Priscilla, of Paul or of Peter : or at least into Jewish and Gentile congregations. The Jewish Christians might become some new shade, for there were many shades, of adherents of the Synagogue, while the Gentile Christians might be loosely attached members of one of the heathen tribes of their city, and so retain, or be qualified for, citizenship. Either course would render them

inconspicuous and secure them from persecution. S. Paul makes it quite clear that no such separate foundations are possible for the Saints and faithful in Christ Jesus. God is building Himself a new Temple on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Himself being the chief Corner Stone. The very care with which the Apostle sought out a reconciling phrase has been used as an argument against his authorship of the letter. To the Church of Corinth he could write, "ye are God's building. According to the grace given me as a wise master builder I laid the foundation, another buildeth thereon. But let each see how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." But in the case of the Asiatic Churches he was only one among many master builders. Especially would he avoid conflict with S. James and S. Peter. Therefore he varies his metaphor. Christ is the corner-stone of the foundation. The Apostles and Prophets, of whom there is reason to think there were many (Bigg on 1 Peter, p. 73), are also part of the foundation, for through them came the evangel. So skilfully are the Ephesians reminded that whatever rumours may have reached them of dissensions between S. Peter and himself, or of criticisms of his doctrine by S. James, Christ Who is the corner-stone brings all the rest of the foundation into line. In Him all questions of priority in the Apostolic college or Prophetic order disappear. The new Temple is built on a new foundation, and on that one alone.

The purpose of the Temple is to be a home of sacrifice, and as to the character of the sacrifice S. Peter and S. Paul are in entire agreement. The sacrifices are spiritual sacrifices, acts of self-oblation for the community, tokens of the presence of the inspiring and uniting Spirit. Such were the gifts of the Philippians to S. Paul, "a sweet-smelling savour, an acceptable sacrifice pleasing to God." "I am poured in libation on the offering and liturgy of your faith." "We are a savour of Christ in those that are being saved and those that are perishing, to the one a fragrance of life unto life, to the other a fragrance of death unto death." These are a few out of many passages which shew that the sacrifices of the new Temple are acts of self-surrender on the part of the living spirits of men, self-surrender for mutual service, whereby this Temple, built up of living stones, is cemented, and grows up to fulfil the design of the Divine Architect. "Be ye therefore imitators, of God, children beloved, as Christ also loved you and gave Himself for you, an offering and sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour."

(2) From the Temple we pass to the *New Man*. "He is our peace, Who made both one (= united both), and dissolved the partition wall, or the barrier, and abolished in His flesh the enmity, the law of commandments in precepts, that He might create the two into one new man" (Ephesians ii. 14, 15). We are not to think here of the old nature which has to be laid aside, or of the new man which has to be put on. This truth has its place, but it is another place. Here the Apostle is teaching us that the second Adam is

the start of a new creation. The former creation was a history of separations. The first Adam became as it were two, male and female. His descendants were shattered into a multitude of races by Babel. By the call of Abraham a further division was introduced. The world was divided into the "people" and the "no people," the covenanted and the uncovenanted. The second Adam going behind all these has made of Jew and Gentile one man; of Barbarian Scythian, Greek and Roman, one man. "Ye are all," he says to the Galatians, one man, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female" (Galatians iii. 28). He says the same to the Colossians (iii. 11), adding, "Christ is all (everything) in all (His Saints)." This new man must grow up into a perfect man. The standard which he is to reach, the stature to which he is to attain, is that of the completeness of Christ, in Whom the design of God is completely realized. You will see that we are here dealing with something different from the reform of individual characters. If it were possible for each Saint separately to be a second Christ, we should be short of S. Paul's conception. He is putting before us the fusion of the whole body of the regenerate into a unity. He is thinking of the Church, though he does not expressly say, This new man is the Church. The new humanity in Christ is not for S. Paul an abstract conception, but a new living organism. In this new man creation returns to Him from whom it came forth.

(3) *The Bride of Christ.* "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it in the laver of water, in (or by) a (or the) word,[1] that He might present to Himself the Church all-glorious, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it might be holy and blameless." We are turning over the pages of a letter addressed to Greek and Asiatic Gentiles. The Apostle is trying to rescue the married life of his converts from the degrading effects of former religious associations. Heathen temples were not only places of assignation, but places where sensuality might be indulged as an act of worship. Heathen gods and goddesses set evil examples to their worshippers. The stories of their loves were publicly and shamelessly enacted in theatres. The heathen who retained his moral purity did so in spite of his religion. S. Paul appeals, not as S. Peter did, to the purity of patriarchial life, for that life in fact was not without its blemishes. He prefers to use the prophetic idealization of the relations between Jehovah and Israel. Especially he seems to have in mind Ezekiel xvii. where the LXX uses words that are echoed in the "cleansing in the laver of water," and the adornments which Jehovah heaped on His bride are paralleled by the Church all-glorious.

[1] It is suggested that S. Paul is thinking of a Divine creative word establishing marital relation, corresponding to the word (Genesis ii. 24) by which Adam and Eve were united. A curious parallel is to be found in S. James i. 18, "He begat us by a word of truth," on which see the note in Dr. Hort's Commentary. Compare also "Now ye are *clean* through the *word* which I have spoken unto you," (S. John xv. 3).

It is no wonder that S. Paul speaks of his teaching as a great mystery. It was indeed a holy audacity that not only put the Gentile on the level of Israel, and so made the new brotherhood the true antitype of the most sacred and enduring relations established between God and His people. No, the audacity did not end there. That sublime and wonderful relation was brought into the home of the humblest Christian. What Christ was to the Church that the husband was to the wife. Conjugal infidelity was to be as inconceivable, and especially on the husband's side—as infidelity of Christ to His Church. "Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love." Conversely we are taught that the Church on which this love is outpoured is all-glorious, spotless, without wrinkle, holy and blameless. Truly a great mystery.

(4) *The Body.* "He put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, inasmuch as it is His Body" (i. 22). Again, "that He might create the two into one new man, and might reconcile both in one body to God, through the Cross" (ii. 16). "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling" (iv. 4). "He gave some Apostles and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for equipping the saints to a work of ministry, for building up the Body of Christ" (iv. 11, 12). "From Whom the whole Body fitted together and knit together through every supplying joint, according to the proportionate working of each several part, maketh increase of the Body to the building up of itself in love" (iv. 16). "No one ever yet hated his flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ doth the Church, for we are members of His Body" (v. 30). We are so familiar with these words that we hardly realize that, with two exceptions (1 Corinthians x. 17 and 1 Corinthians xii. 27), the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ belongs exclusively to the letters of the Captivity addressed to the Asiatic Churches. We can hardly avoid seeking for an explanation of this fact. It is the more important because in the passages in the Corinthians there is no mention of the Church. "We who are many are one Body"—in reference to the Holy Communion—and "ye are the Body of Christ," in reference to using spiritual gifts for mutual edification. But in the Epistles to the Asiatic Churches, there are twelve references to the Body, and in four of these the Church is specifically called the Body of Christ.

I do not remember to have seen this point noted in any commentary, and my suggestion must be taken for what it is worth. It is that the impending persecution was likely to try the Asiatic Saints at their weakest point, the separation which Christianity had wrought between them and their fellow-countrymen, whether Jew or Gentile. As Jews they had exceptional rights secured to them in Asia by a special constitution, as Gentiles they had civic rights dependent on tribe membership, which in its turn involved worship of tribal gods. As Christians they were outcasts from public life. If only the powers of evil could drive a wedge into the infant community, hardly ten years old, sending the Jews back to Judaism, and the Gentiles to

paganism, all the labour spent on these beloved Churches was lost. On the other hand, they could not form themselves into a corporation or society. The Imperial law tolerated no such unions. What could be done? S. Paul with his wonted courage and statesmanship—yes, and guided by the Holy Spirit using the Apostle's mental gifts—drew Jew and Gentile together by their living union with Christ. Hitherto, as we have seen, he had spoken of them as the Temple in which the Spirit dwells, the new Man modelled on the second Adam, the Bride cherished by the Bridegroom. Yet all these relations, though close to Christ, were external to Him. Under the figure of the Body, he portrays a union which almost amounts to an identity. Their union with Christ makes their relation to one another as close as their relation to Him, and it is a union which all the powers of Hell cannot dissolve. For you cannot kill or dismember the Body without destroying the Head. It were as easy to kill Christ once more as to kill the Church, for indeed the Church is seated with Christ in heavenly places, triumphant not only over human malice, but also over the powers of Hell.

It is true that S. Paul moves here in a plane of thought in which it is hard for us to follow him. But it was not hard for these Asiatic Christians. Earthly things were to them a counterpart of heavenly. Ramsay gives us an Asiatic coin in which the upper half depicts a sacrifice in heaven, the lower a sacrifice on earth (strange anticipation of an idea afterwards adopted by some Christians). To S. Paul the ideal, the heavenly, was the real. The Saints of Asia might have their common worship, their presiding officers or Bishops, their, as yet unwritten, laws; might be visited by Apostles, and receive three letters from three different Apostles in three years. All these things might tend to form a corporation, the extension of which might in time to come become world-wide. But for the Apostle these were not the realities. The reality was this, that Christ lives in every Christian, and by the fact of this life makes all Christians one with one another. He speaks of the Soma the body; he does not call it Somateion. The Body of Christ to him is not a "somateion" or corporation. It is a living soma, which death cannot touch. As for Christians who belong to the *psuche* (soul), but not to the soma of Christ, S. Paul could not have imagined them. For without the soul, as S. James says, the body is dead. In Christ, or not in Christ, alive or dead; there is nothing between the two. "Where Christ is there the Church is, and where the Church is Christ is." It is true, no doubt, that the translation of S. Paul's ideas into practice is full of difficulty. He who taught that in Christ there is neither male nor female, bade wives to be subject to their husbands. He, who found in Christ neither bond nor free, returned Onesimus to Philemon. Dr. Hort reminds us "that in the necessary work of building itself up as a corporation the Church would have needed far-seeing wisdom indeed to save itself from unconsciously giving insufficient heed to building itself up as a true body."

(5) *The Fulfilment of the Divine Purpose.* We have come to the most difficult part of inquiry. It would be time well spent to devote a whole paper to the words, "the fulfilment of Him Who fulfilleth the whole in all its parts." All that can be here attempted is to indicate lines of inquiry and the general conclusions to which they have led me. As to lines of inquiry: (1) There is sufficient material in S. Paul's use of pleroma to determine his meaning. We need not go outside his Epistles, in which the word pleroma occurs twelve times. (2) S. Paul is quite consistent in adhering to the proper grammatical force of pleroma as a noun ending in "ma" formed from a verb. Such nouns signify not the doing of a thing, but the completed, determinate act. Pleroma is not a process of filling or fulfilling. In Romans xiii. 10, "Love is the pleroma of the law," we have the phrase nearest to an exception but it is no exception. If there be any other commandment it is summed up in this saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love, therefore, is the summary of the law. The connection of summing up with pleroma settles this point. S. Paul does not mean that "love" is a process of fulfilling the "law"—however true that may be, but that the whole law may be epitomized in the one word love. With this text may be taken the words "I know that in coming to you I shall come in the pleroma of the blessing of Christ" (Romans xv. 29):—that is in the plenitude of the blessing which Christ has to bestow: all the blessing that Christ can give will Paul bring with him.

The two passages in Colossians i. 19 and ii. 9 indisputably refer to a completed fulness, not to a process of fulfilling, "in Christ it pleased Him that all the completeness (pleroma) should dwell," the whole of the Divine work of creation of the world seen and unseen, its sustention, headship of the Church, the beginning of all things, the firstfruits of resurrection, the reconciliation of all things —these constitute a Divine conception which in all its fulness has been realized in Christ. The process of completion has been in time, and extended, but as a fully conceived and complete idea, it was the Father's pleasure that it should wholly centre in Christ. "In Him," we read, "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead" (ii. 9) —"all that constitutes Godhead has its home in Him." In both passages we read of a pleroma which "dwells," has its settled home —not one that is in process of being worked out: dwells, not energises.

With these two passages are naturally associated Ephesians iii. 13, "that ye may be filled up to all the fulness of God," and iv. 13, "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." In both cases there is a standard to be reached. But a fluctuating or ever-rising standard is impossible of attainment. It is true that the standard of the completeness of God being infinite is unattainable, but the fact that it is infinite rules out the idea that it is progressive. Progress must imply a state of previous deficiency.

We have now exhausted seven of the twelve uses of pleroma.

Of the remaining five,[1] four have clearly an eschatological significance. Romans xi. 12: "If the stumbling (of the Jew) is the riches of the world, and his defect the riches of the Gentile," how much rather his pleroma, and xi. 25: "Hardening of heart has come upon Israel till the pleroma of the Gentiles come in and then all Israel shall be saved."

In these two passages is reflected the Apocalyptic idea that the end of the age and the regeneration can only take place when the number of the saints has been completed. "The times and periods of the world's history have been predetermined by God." "The underlying idea is predestinarian" (Box, Ezra Apocalypse, pp. 35, 36). To this idea let us return after briefly noticing that this thought of predetermined time and seasons reappears in Galatians iv. 4, "When the fulness of time was come God sent forth His Son," where the reference is clearly to the previous decree or settlement of the Father immediately preceding the pleroma, and in Ephesians i. the dispensation of the fulness (pleroma) of the times, which God appointed for Himself to sum up all things in Christ. Notice once more the summing up and the pleroma appearing together as in "Love is the pleroma of the law."

Now we return to the predestinarian language which we found in Romans, a destiny not merely of times and seasons, but of the number of the elect. In the light of this language we must read the words. The passage which we have to consider stands at the end of the first chapter of the Ephesians (*v.* 23), "gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, for it is His Body, the fulfilment of Him that fulfilleth for Himself all in all."

The whole chapter rings with the eternal purpose of God: "He chose us before the foundation of the world, having foreordained us to sonship" . . . "according to the good pleasure which He predetermined in Himself for a dispensation of the pleroma of the times." "We had our inheritance being foreordained according to the purpose of Him Who works in us according to the council of His Will that we should be the praise of His glory who first hoped in Christ." Another characteristic of the chapter is the exaltation of the might of God, the "greatness of the power according to the energy of the might of His strength." S. Paul seems to ransack the dictionary for synonyms of power displayed in the exaltation of Christ above all rule and authority and power and dominion—not only far above all Cæsars, but also above the spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places. Where Christ is seated at God's right hand in the heavenly place there we too are seated, far above all the powers that are plotting persecution against us. They cannot touch Christ, and they cannot hurt us, for He is Head of the Church, we the Church are His body, the

[1] Of these five the fifth is a quotation from the LXX, "The earth is the Lord's and the pleroma thereof." Parallelism makes it certain that here pleroma is the equivalent of "all who dwell therein." The idea which this use of pleroma suggests is that the Church is to the new heavens and the new earth, what the inhabitants of the world are to the present earth.

fulfilment of Him that is fulfilling for Himself the whole in all its parts.

Now I will ask you to remember that the Churches of Asia were called to a far more severe persecution a generation later, and that letters were again written to encourage them. In those letters they were transported by the Seer into the Heavenlies, and there beheld between the throne and the living creatures and elders the all-prevailing Lamb, saw Him open the book, which none but He could open, saw Him break the seals, and after all the catastrophes attendant on the six seals, saw the 144,000 sealed, and the great multitude which no man could number before the throne of God and serving Him day and night in His Temple. What John the Divine expressed in form of Apocalypse, S. Paul tells us in his dithyrambic prose. Paul also has visioned the preordained Israel and the Gentile. He also tells us that they were *sealed* with the Spirit which is the earnest-money of the full possession. He also sees Christ exalted in the heavens and His people exalted with Him. He is the Head of the Body, the Church, and what can pleroma be but the full told complement, the sum of God's elect, Who is everywhere fulfilling the whole of His design in all creation.

This eschatological significance of the first chapter is confirmed if you set beside the latter part of Ephesians, 1 Corinthians xv. 23, 35, where you have the same glorification of Christ, the same exaltation over all powers, the same quotation from the Psalms, and the same end in view, " that God may be all in all." God is the source, God is the end of creation.

I find myself, therefore, obliged to reject Dr. Armitage Robinson's explanation of the pleroma which is dominated by evolutionary conceptions to which S. Paul was an entire stranger. No doubt S. Paul believed and taught that the Divine purpose included a body of affliction and tribulation still incomplete. He also believed and taught such sympathy between Christ and His people, as is indicated in the words, " In all their afflictions He was afflicted," and in this sense the afflictions of Apostles and martyrs constituted a volume of the afflictions of Christ, which was as yet incomplete. But the idea of the " Christ that is to be " seems to me entirely foreign to the thought of S. Paul, and a reading into his words that which we wish to find there. But that is not exegesis.

To conclude. The Apostle in view of imminent persecution fortifies the saints to whom he writes with the remembrance of the living unity of all believers in Christ—We are one being in Christ—not one abstraction. If the Christians are a Temple they are a living Temple, they are one man, they are the Bride of Christ, they are a body, not a corporation, they are the Divine idea which is finding its fulfilment, and that very shortly. We love abstractions, S. Paul did not. We live in days when martyrdom is almost inconceivable, S. Paul did not. Our minds are dominated by ideas of indefinite, almost infinite Progress, S. Paul's was dominated by the idea of a Fall, ending in a catastrophe. Our thoughts are as much suffused by Arminianism, as S. Paul's were by

Calvinism. For us Heaven is hardly a world at all, for S. Paul it was a place where he had been. Our Heaven excludes all conception of evil, S. Paul's heaven was the scene of a warfare with evil, in which the battle was not completely won. When we ask, " What is the Church in the Epistle to the Ephesians ? " we must make up our minds whether we mean to ask, " What was in the mind of S. Paul ? " or " How can we apply the words of S. Paul to an existing Institution ? " They are both legitimate questions, but they are different questions.

My answer to the first question is that S. Paul was conscious that the Saints throughout the world were more than isolated individuals in whom one Spirit breathed. They were a brotherhood or society embodying that Spirit so that the world might be conscious that Christ was still living, and living not only as the ascended Lord in the Heavens, but also in the person of a new fellowship upon earth. As yet that fellowship was loosely organized, knit together by two sacraments, striving to express itself by material acts of service, such as the forwarding of missionary brethren on their journey, or transmission of relief to the necessitous Saints in Jerusalem. The Apostle welcomed and encouraged such acts, he passed on messages of greeting from Church to Church. But the society as a whole was knit together rather by its ideals, its standard of morals, and its brotherly love than by external institutions. S. Paul says "one baptism." Why did he not add, "one eucharist, one priesthood?" There was discipline in each local Church, but of central authority very little. The Jerusalem decrees were imperfectly observed. S. Paul's own authority was questioned even in the Churches that he had founded. His proclamation of the unity of the visible Church was an act of faith, prompted by his assurance that the purpose of God to sum up all things in Christ could never be defeated. Martyrdom and heresy were to institutionalize the Church, and, after that, prosperity and State alliance were to stereotype a constitution. These things were hidden from the Apostle's foresight. He could see the ideal—its practical realization he could not see.

How, then, can we apply the vision of S. Paul to the realities of to-day ? Surely not by identifying it with any one of the existing institutions that invoke its name, nor by giving heed to unhistoric fictions. The Church is one Temple, not many : one man, not Greek, Anglican, and Latin ; one bride, not three ; one body, not many. The brotherhood formed by Christ exists to-day as it existed in S. Paul's day, and it is animated by the same Spirit. Unhappily divided by institutions intended to secure its unity and its purity, it survives in the Christ-society throughout the world which ever has been and ever will be at war with the powers of darkness, the world rulers who preach the gospel of materialism. Its unity is dimly perceptible to us, but it is not hidden from Him Whose eyes of flaming fire still keep watch over the Churches, Who punishes their sins, sympathizes with their sorrows, and controls their destinies. In the midst of all their failures and disheartening

bickerings and in spite of traitors within their folds, there still exists among them the ecclesia of God. "The Lord knoweth them that are His" and they know Him. "We are slow," says Newman, "to master the great truth that Christ is, as it were, walking among us, and by His hand, or eye, or voice, bidding us follow Him. Who will recognize Him on the day of His Coming? . . . The marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready. She has already attired herself; while we have been sleeping, she has been robing; she has been adding jewel to jewel, and grace to grace; she has been gathering in her chosen ones, one by one, and exercising them in holiness, and purifying them for her Lord, and now her marriage hour is come." So nearly did Newman approach to reconciliation of faith in the one visible Church on earth with faith in the Church invisible of the Puritans, the company of the redeemed, the object of God's electing love before the foundations of the world were laid. For us there are billions of planets more important than our own all to be summed up in Christ. May not by far the greater part of His Church be there? Can we measure up God's pleroma with our ecclesiastical footrules?

Messrs. Morgan & Scott Ltd. publish for the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society *"And the Villages thereof,"* by Maud Elizabeth Boaz, C.E.Z.M.S. Missionary, China (3*s.* 6*d.* net). Graphic scenes depicting various aspects of work in China are drawn from an extensive experience of the life of the people. Incidents telling of Christian enterprise, and successful work in the homes of many, give a cheering sense of the steady advance of the Gospel, in spite of many failings and discouragements. An admirable series of photographs adds to the interest of a well-written and frequently amusing volume of missionary experiences.

The Vision Beautiful, Short Chapters for Girls, by Lily Watson (S.P.C.K., 2*s.* 6*d.* net), contains a number of chapters on aspects of the Christian life such as How to Pray, Some Difficulties in Prayer, The Friendship of Christ, The Need for Self-discipline, The Discipline of the Affections, Vocation. The writer has a pleasing style and conveys her lessons with sincerity and sympathy. It is a book specially suited for cultured girls, and is tastefully produced with an appropriate frontispiece.

Moffat of Africa, by Norman J. Davidson, B.A., and *Arnold of Africâ,* by Nigel B. M. Grahame, B.A. (1*s.* each), are two useful additions to Messrs. Seeley, Service & Co.'s series of Missionary Lives for Children. Simply told and suitably illustrated, they ought to be widely used to interest young people in the heroes of the Mission Field.

THE POSITION OF THE MINISTER AT THE LORD'S TABLE.

By Albert Mitchell

THERE are three possible positions for the Minister who at the Table of the Lord celebrates the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour. The first is *behind* the Table. This position by agreement of East and West in the preservation of tradition was the primitive Use. It appears to have been universal in the earliest and purest days of the Church; it continued the normal or authoritative use down to the eleventh or twelfth century at least—perhaps later; and it has (in places) been maintained in unbroken continuity to the present day. The second is *before* the Table. This innovation is of unknown date, but may be as old as the fifth century. It never at any time became universal in the Church; but for three centuries, the thirteenth to the sixteenth, it was the prevailing (but not exclusive) use of western Christendom at the least; and it is still the normal (but not exclusive) use of unreformed Christendom. The third is *at the side of* the Table. This use (although there is suggestion of it earlier) appears to be peculiar to the English Church since the Reformation. So stated, it will be seen that to the careful liturgical and historical student the use of the term "end" to represent any Use is to be deprecated. The distinction is and always must be (to the student) between standing "behind" or "before" or "at the side of" the Table. In practice, the position "at the side of" the Table is limited to the *North* side, as prescribed in 1552 and 1662; although the *South* side may have been experimented with between 1549 and 1552.

For evidence I will go first to the historic church of Saint Clement, near the Lateran. Here underneath the existing basilica is the older church of the fourth century, almost intact, with its frescoes (not later than the ninth century). According to tradition, the church of Saint Clement is one of the oldest Christian centres in Rome, and it has been generally identified with the site of the house of Clement. This identification is partly based on the fact that under the apse of the fourth-century church is the atrium or principal room of a first-century Roman house, while under that again are the ruins of a building of the time of Republican Rome, about 200 B.C. To-day there are, by reason of the steady rise in the ground level of Rome, the remains of four buildings one upon another. The first-century house, the traditional meeting-place of the Church of the Romans to whom St. Paul wrote, was raised upon the walls of the older house. In the fourth century, when the peace of the church made possible proper church building, a large basilica was built over "the house of Clement," and continued in use probably until the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard in 1084. After the site was reoccupied, the present stately church (smaller than the earlier one) was built over the older church, and the beautiful

marble fittings of the choir (believed to date from the early sixth century) brought up into it. This upper church is reasonably dated from 1099, as Pascal II was elected that year at a conclave in "S. Clemente." The old (or under) church was in use as late as 1059, as appears from an inscription; while the newer church was in use, according to another inscription, in 1125. The newer church repeated the general arrangements of the older church, except that it was narrower, the North outer wall of the new church being built on the North aisle arches of the older church: as a consequence the Western apse was about half the size of the apse of the under church. To support this a new apsidal foundation was necessarily constructed to the lower church, so there are two apses intersecting. The marble choir fittings, including the pulpits, or ambone, were taken upstairs; but a new baldaquin,[1] or canopy, was erected by Pope Paschal in the upper church; and although the present Table is not original (having been reconsecrated in 1868, at the same time the existing Table was placed on the old site below), it is in the original position. The (eleventh century) arrangement is such that the "back-to-people" position, "before" the Table, is physically impossible, as the floor drops sheer in front, and the steps ascend at the side. (See plans and sections in Nolan's *Basilica of S. Clemente* [Roma: Tipografia Cuggiani, 1910], pp. 4, 9, 103; also Baedeker's *Central Italy*.) While the actual Table and baldaquin in the lower church date only from 1868, they correspond to the tradition: and when used on S. Clement's Day the position behind the Table (as I ascertained by inquiry on the spot) is adopted.

In the lower church are several fine frescoes not later than the ninth century. The most important of these represents St. Clement celebrating the Sacrament (Nolan, p. 181). Clement stands behind the Table, with a group of two bishops and deacon and sub-deacon behind him in the apse, and the rest of the congregation in front of the Table in the Nave. The painter, with the true medieval disdain for perspective that characterizes so many old pictures, depicts all the people (including the celebrant) full face looking towards the spectators, and also imposes the small size votive figures of the donors: but the book (open at the *Dominus vobiscum*, which the saint is pronouncing with extended hands) and chalice and paten are carefully placed. The Dominican lay brother, a charming Irish gentleman, who was my guide, carefully explained that "In St. Clement's day it was customary to celebrate Mass facing the people." Less direct evidence is afforded by another of the frescoes repre-

[1] Baldaquin, or baldachino, is derived from Baldacco, the Italian of Baghdad, and originally meant the fine silk there made which was used for "altar" veils. These were hung from four posts round the "altar," drawn across while non-communicants were present, but drawn back when they retired and only the "faithful" remained. (Hence the "Prayer of the Veil.") Afterwards a roof was placed on the four posts to protect the vessels, and the whole structure called baldaquin or baldaquino; and when it was made in the shape of a cup the structure was called Ciborium. The use of the term Ciborium for a closed vessel (as distinct from the open monstrance) to hold the Elements is of much later origin.

senting the translation of the relics of St. Clement in 867 (Nolan, p. 129). Here the pope stands under the baldaquin behind the Table looking towards the spectators, with the book open in front of him at the words *Pax Domini sit semper*, which indicates a celebration: but the fresco is imperfect and the architectural details cannot be certainly recognized, while the grouping is a little perplexing. But the evidence of both frescoes is that the celebrant faced the people.

The evidence of St. Clement's is, therefore, that down to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century the only position contemplated for the minister at the Lord's Table was that behind the Table, facing the people.

The recognition of this fact presents no difficulty at Rome, as this position is still retained at Rome not only at S. Clemente, but at all "patriarchal" celebrations (as, I understand, is also the case in the provinces). At St. Paul-without-the-walls (as well as at other basilicas) the "high altar" is a great square Table, with a row of candles across the middle. At the "patriarchal" celebrations the priest stands behind, and faces the people; at ordinary celebrations he stands before, with back to people; and this at precisely the same Table. It is interesting to note that at St. Paul-without-the-walls the apse is at the Eastern end of the basilica, and not at the West, as more usual.

Mr. Geo. Gilbert Scott (who left the communion of the English Church for that of the Roman obedience) says that in seventeen churches at Rome with western sanctuaries the priest still faces the people, as well as in two with eastern sanctuaries (other than St. Paul's), and he also adduces evidence of the same practice in some Eastern churches. He mentions that the same practice is retained at the western sanctuary in the cathedral at Naumberg in Hesse, although the back-to-people position obtains in the eastern choir of the same church. He believes the double use to have obtained at the famous Abbey of St. Gall. Mr. Scott indeed attempts to argue that the priest was originally invisible to the people because of the veils that Mr. Scott regards as being drawn: but this contention would appear to be negatived by the words of the Roman rubric (below referred to), *Ostendit populo*. It would seem that the veils were drawn aside when those not entitled to communicate had retired. (See *The Liturgy and the Eastward Position*, by J. T. Tomlinson—a valuable mine of information.)

At the old Vatican basilica of St. Peter, which subsisted till the fifteenth century, when it was demolished to make room for the creation of Michelangelo, the "high altar" was so placed that the position before the Table was physically impossible. In front of the Table there was a sheer drop (as still at St. Clement's), with an ascent of seven steps up to each side of the Table. And according to the ground plan shown in Scott's book (cited below), no less than eleven of the subsidiary "altars" were also arranged for the celebrant to stand behind the Table, and these the most important: although the plan also shows others where such a position is excluded.

The evidence I have adduced from Rome does not stand alone. I will take our own English church at Canterbury. The cathedral, or more precisely Metropolitical, church established by Augustine, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, had its apse at the West end, and the Lord's Table arranged for the minister to face towards the people. Later, a new addition was built at the East end for the use of the convent, and here the new-fashioned practice of celebrating with back to the people seems to have been adopted; but the Archiepiscopal Chair still remained in the Western apse, and the people still worshipped about the older Table, although it had come to be called the "Mary-altar." Eadmer, the precentor, describing this church before the fire of 1067, wrote: "When the priest celebrated the Divine mysteries at this (i.e., the Western) altar, he was face to the people, who were standing down the church, while he looked Eastward." (*Ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina misteria, faciem ad populum, qui deorsum stabat, at orientem versam habebat.*) [1]

After the fire Lanfranc rebuilt the church, re-dedicating it as Christ Church, and abolished the Western "altar." Nevertheless, in the arrangement of the newer choir some reminiscence of the old tradition lingered, as the Archiepiscopal Chair was placed behind the "altar." The same was done by Herbert with his episcopal chair at Norwich, where all was arranged for the face-to-people position. But I do not know of any definite evidence of its use. At Canterbury the arrangement was displaced early in the nineteenth century: at Norwich it still remains.

We are not limited to architectural evidence. We can learn something by comparing the rubrics of the Roman *Ordo Missae* and the Sarum *Ordo*. The crucial rubric is that which immediately follows the pronouncing of the fateful words, "*Hoc est enim corpus meum*" (for this is My Body). The Roman rubric runs: "Having pronounced the words of consecration, immediately bending the knee, he adores the consecrated Host: he rises, shows it to the people, replaces it upon the corporal, again adores: and he does not disjoin his thumbs and forefingers, except when the Host is to be handled, until the ablution of the fingers." Similarly, in regard to the chalice, the same words occur: "*Genuflexus adorat, surgit, ostendit populo,*" adding "*deponit, cooperit, et iterum adorat.*" [He puts it down, covers it, and again adores.] Now, this precise statement of action shows that all the while he is face towards the people, so that he simply has to rise from his knees to "Show it to the people." There is no provision for any change of front. How different from the Sarum rubric, where the priest has his back to the people, which runs: "After these words let the priest incline himself toward the Host, and afterwards raise it above his forehead so that it may be seen by the people; and reverently replace it in front of the chalice in the manner of a cross made with the same." Here, it will be noticed, it cannot be seen by the people unless he raise it

[1] See plan in George Gilbert Scott's Essay on *The History of English Church Architecture*, facing page 58.

supra frontem. So at the time the Roman rubric was framed, the minister was behind the Table, face to people: but when the Sarum rubric was made the position had changed. Osmund, to whom is attributed the first form of the Sarum Order, became bishop of Sarum about 1085. Incidentally, we may see (as I said above), from the words *Ostendit populo* (he shows it to the people) in the Roman rubric that the attempt of some to avoid the evidence by alleging that the whole action was behind the "veil" is vain.

It is interesting to note that in the Ambrosian Rite, which once prevailed in the whole province of Milan (then extending far north of the Alps), but is now confined to the diocese of Milan, the rubric for the "elevation" of the host agrees with the Sarum rubric, but the rubric for "showing" the cup to the people follows the older Roman form. This would appear to indicate that the change of use at Milan was after the rise of the heresy of concomitance and the relegation of the cup to the background in popular estimation. This would probably bring us to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and so agree with our other evidence.

At Milan the "altar" stands clear, and the deacon, after censing the celebrant, "goes round, censing behind the altar, and coming to the gospel-corner makes the sign of the Cross over the corner of the altar in front with the censer." This is another evidence of the older Use.

The rubrics of the other independent Western use, the Mozarabic, prescribe the back-to-people position. But the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, in his valuable article in the CHURCHMAN of February, 1904, shows that these rubrics date only from the end of the fifteenth century at earliest, and that the evidence is overwhelming that the service books were without written or printed rubrics until about 1485. What was the use of the Mozarabs (the Christians who lived under Muslim rule and had limited intercourse with Rome)? Mr. Pulvertaft believes that their Use was to stand behind the Table facing the people. I refer to that article (which I hope may be reprinted) for the evidence: but it includes the Canons of the Council of Toledo in 633; the architectural arrangements of the Spanish churches, where the central tower is called the Cimborio (showing that it covered the "high altar," between the presbytery and the choir); and the express statement of Cardinal Lorenzana in 1770 (in explanation of the fact that the sole rubric *vertat se ad populum* in the present Mozarabic Rite is associated with the benediction) that "The principal reason for this is the antiquity of the Mozarabic Rite, for in the first ages of the Church the altar was placed towards the faithful and the priest looked at the people, wherefore it was not necessary for him to turn when he saluted, as it is necessary to-day, for the people stand behind." Mr. Pulvertaft also refers to evidence in Spanish America that shows that the "face-to-people" Use was carried there at the colonisation by the Spaniards, a significant instance of the late survival (or at least tradition), of this primitive Use in Spain itself. The Mozarabic Use

was discouraged as the Moorish regions passed under Castilian rule and, consequently, Roman influence.

If we turn to the East,[1] the most valuable Liturgy is the Clementine, preserved in the so-called Apostolic Constitutions, and possibly to be dated in the third or fourth century. As this Liturgy fell out of use in time, it is rather more free of suspicion of interpolation than those liturgies which are preserved only in manuscripts of fourteenth or even later centuries. The Clementine rubric is most elaborate, describing the bishop (termed the high priest; cf. Cyprian's usage) standing at the Table with " the presbyters on his right hand and on his left as disciples present with their teacher," an obvious likening of the action of the celebrant to that of the Master Himself; and the whole prescribed action requires that he is behind the Table facing the people. The rubric proceeds: " Let two deacons on each part (i.e. side) of the altar hold a small bellows of fine parchment or peacock's feathers or linen and gently keep off the little flying creatures lest they defile the vessels." There is no change of the position of the bishop for prayer, blessing, the *Sursum Corda*, or the consecration. In the Liturgy of St. James (oldest MS. of fourteenth century) there is no hint of change of position between address to the people and address to God. The Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites exists to-day in translation only, and that only from 1572, but that also has no hint of change of position. The Deacon goes all round the " altar," censing East, West, North, and South. For the communion the translator uses the expression " comes down in front of the altar and bowing before the Table of life," and after the ministration he " ascends the steps." On the whole this supports a presumption of the " behind-the-table " Use. There is no rubric in the Liturgy of St. Mark (1583), which may remind us of the old Mozarabic. The Abyssinian and Nestorian rubrics appear to contemplate the back-to-people position, but both are late, the former dating only from 1670. The Nestorian rubrics speak of " those within the altar " and " the door of the altar," [2] and the priest " worships towards the four sides of the bema." In the Coptic Rite (thirteenth century) there are ambiguous references to " the front of the altar " and to " facing west "; but the Armenian Rite, while containing references to " turning to the people," speaks also of the deacons " going round the altar " to offer the Gospel book to the people to kiss: and again going to the " right side " of the Table and then to the " left side " to proclaim; and the Sahidic Rite (Upper Egypt) follows the Clementine almost word for word. The overwhelming balance of the Eastern evidence, so far as I can follow it, is therefore in agreement with the Western tradition.

Taking the East with the West, the conclusion that appears to me indisputable is that the universal primitive Christian Use was for the Minister-Celebrant to stand behind the Table facing the people throughout the action of the Rite: that this Use continued the more

[1] In the Greek Church the Bishop's seat is behind the Holy Table.

[2] Cf. Westcott's note, " On the history of the word *θυσιαστήριον*.," *Hebrews*, p. 453.

general until the eleventh or twelfth centuries, but was gradually being displaced to an increasing extent by the newer position " before the Table " : that by about the thirteenth century the new position was so strongly established that rubrics directing it began to appear and its use to be regarded as normal, but never to the entire exclusion of the older Use, preserved at conservative Rome and other places.

The origin of the " back-to-people " (so-called Eastward) position, or the reasons for its invention, are not matters of exact history. One theory connects it with the erection of basilicas with Eastern sanctuaries, as if the point of the compass were deemed to override the proportion of worship, but I have not found evidence to support this. Another much more probable theory is that it originated when additions to existing churches (with Western sanctuaries and face-to-people Use) were made at the Eastern end to accommodate monks, or special churches were built for the exclusive use of monastic or clerical communities.

In the great churches the " college " of clergy was at festivals grouped behind the celebrant in the apse, all facing the laity in the nave ; and the clergy came to think of themselves as " assisting " the celebrant, and occupying a position of honour superior to the place of the laity. When they in their turn formed the only congregation, the same conception surviving might bring about a revolution (as so often is the case) from mere ultra-conservative obstinacy and reluctance to occupy the place of the laymen. In support of this theory is not only the architectual evidence, but also the survival in the phrase " assisting at Mass."

One thing is certain : the practice came into the Church after the Arian heresy as to our Lord's Person ; and its symbolism is precisely that which Arianism calls for. It pictures the re-presentation of a propitiatory offering made by an inferior Deity to another greater Deity ; in direct challenge to the New Testament teaching that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself. And it is also clear that it made its way in the Church with the growth of false doctrine as to the atoning and substitutionary work of our Lord and the nature of the most comfortable Sacrament of His Body and Blood. The Syrian Al-Mansur (called St. John Damascene), who was Vizier at the Muslim Court of Baghdad, broached the Augmentation theory, which became for a time the official doctrine of the East, about 740 ; and Paschasius Radbertus, the monk of Corbey, propounded the doctrine of Transubstantiation about 826 (although the name was not invented till about 1100). Lanfranc, the man who appears to have abolished the " face-to-people " ministration at Canterbury, was the man who brought the doctrine of Transubstantiation into the English Church. This was no mere coincidence. The back-to-people position teaches to the eye that an offering is being made, or re-presented, to God. Such teaching necessarily involves false doctrine as to the relation between the Father and the Son in the work of atonement, dividing the substance of the Godhead, and also false doctrine as to the nature of the Sacrament, which is, rightly, the man-ward proclamation of a finished work.

No one has put this latter point more pithily than the martyred Bishop Hugh Latimer: "And where you should preach the benefit of Christ's death to the people, you speak to the wall in a foreign tongue"; and also, "And I say, you lay people, as you are called, come away from forged sacrifices . . . lest your bodies, which are, or should be, Christ's temples, be false witness-bearers against the blood of our redemption."

It will be seen, therefore, that while the position of the Minister-Celebrant behind the Table, facing the people, is both Primitive and (in the sense traditional to the English Church) "Catholic," the position before the Table, with back-to-the-people, is neither Primitive nor (in any proper sense) "Catholic." It is merely the expression of the false conceptions of the work of our Lord, and the doctrine of the Eucharist, which corrupted the Church in the Dark Ages and dominated the Middle Ages. As soon as the spirit of the Reformation awoke, with its appeal to Holy Scripture, antiquity, and true catholicity, the "Eastward Position" (to borrow the modern question-begging phrase) was challenged.

In England no change in the position of the minister was made in 1549; for although he was allowed option between the Mass Vestment and the Cope (probably, but not clearly, the black choir cope is meant), he was still directed to be "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar" as in the Sarum Rite. But in 1552 the new rubric appeared "standing at the North side of the Table." This is the first *certain* appearance in the Church of the practice of standing at the side of the Table instead of either before or behind it. I repeat that this is the true liturgical distinction, and it is quite uninfluenced by the shape of the Table (which might be square, oblong, or round—or, indeed, any shape; there is a seventeenth-century semicircular table in one church in the City of London [1]). The Table was intended to stand, of course, as it usually does to-day, but not always, close to the wall. In the return made by Archbishop Parker in 1565 we read: "The Table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the Table standeth, altarlike, distant from the wall a yard; in some others in the middest of the chancel, North and South." Presumably the latter phrase means that the oblong table was placed so that its *length* was North and South, which would be the ordinary usage of the term. But most of the Elizabethan tables extant are not much longer than their breadth [2]: even where they were it should be remembered that many chancels were bare of seating. But whatever the shape or position of the Table, it is clear beyond question that the intention was that the celebrant should place

[1] I have recently seen the statement that the square cedar wood table of Nicholas Ferrar still exists at Little Gidding. This would date from Stuart days only; but it is interesting.

[2] At Kedington in Suffolk I found a Tudor table, with the characteristic bulbous legs, nearly as broad as it was long, in the vestry under the Tower, much worm-eaten. It had been displaced in the Sanctuary by a smaller, narrower Jacobean table. At this church the (seventeenth century) rails are made for kneeling north, south and west of the table.

himself at the side of it, not before it and not behind it. Cartwright's amusing grumble that after morning prayer the minister "for saying another number of prayers, climbeth up to the farther end of the chancel and runneth as far from the people as the wall will let him," is not without value as evidence; but all the Elizabethan controversialists, whether Popish or Puritan, are in agreement in language that bears out Parker's return and verifies the position and usage to be that which is fancifully and unliturgically referred to by Lancelot Andrewes when he speaks of the clergy at the Table "one at one end and the other at the other, representing the two cherubim at the mercy seat." This, of course, was under James I, when polemical reasons were causing the invention of a supposed distinction between "side" and "end."

There was evidently considerable uneasiness on this point of the position of the Minister during the contest with the Puritans in the reigns of the first two Stuarts. There is rarely smoke without fire; and it seems clear that some ministers did act in such a way as to cause suspicion of their intent. Cosin vaguely admits that "he might haply do as others did there [Durham Choir] before him (though he remembereth not to have so done these twelve years) and step to the former part thereof, to consecrate and bless those elements which otherwise he could not conveniently reach," and he explains the excuse to be that the Table was "about seven foot in length." I have also come to the conclusion, after renewed careful study, that Matthew Wren's words involve the construction that *once*, in 1636, at Ipswich, he consecrated before the Table. His words are ambiguous, and obviously minimizing in intention, but I now think that is their effect. His excuse is that he was "but low of stature." But *exceptio probat regulam*: the fuss over these isolated instances of transgression witnesses to the rule and normal practice: and the lame excuses of the distinguished delinquents show that they knew they had overstepped the mark. Cosin indeed states as his practice that "he constantly stood at the North side or end of the Table to read and perform all parts of the Communion Service there." This is long before he became Bishop, when he was merely a Prebendary.

In 1661 the Revision of the Prayer Book was taken in hand. Up to now the rubric before the Consecration Prayer read simply: "Then the priest standing up, shall say as followeth." Wren, who was chairman of the Revisers, proposed that it should run: "Then the Priest standing before the Table shall so order and set the Bread and the Wine that, while he is pronouncing the following Collect, he may readily take the Bread and break it, and also take the Cup, to pour into it (if he pour it not before), and then he shall say . . ." The rest of the Revisers, however, evidently recognized the dangerous ambiguity [1] of these words, and in the first stage of the revision they

[1] I once hinted to Mr. J. T. Tomlinson that the ambiguity suggested a desire on Wren's part to have a rubric *patient* of the eastward position; but he was exceeding wroth with me at such an aspersion on Bishop Wren's character!

preferred the form: "When the Priest hath so ordered the Bread and Wine placed upon the Table as that he may with the more ease and decency take them into his hands, standing up he shall say as followeth." But this had got them out of one difficulty into another, as these words almost suggest that the ordering preceded the standing up! So finally they settled on the form in the Annexed Book of 1662: "When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands; he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth." This must have seemed to them invulnerable; for the semi-colon after "hands" expressly grammatically limits the "standing before the Table" to the act of ordering; while the words "before the people" (*coram populo*) necessitate a position that makes the manual acts (now expressly directed for the first time) visible: and visitations of the following years show that this was the contemporaneous interpretation (Pory asks if the Table is so set "as the priest at the time of consecration may stand before the Table to order the bread and wine"). But, alas, they reckoned not with the printers and the casuists of later centuries: by the unauthorised substitution of a comma for the semi-colon, Wren's ambiguity was revived, and a huge column of argument came to be built on the unstable foundation of the fateful comma! The mischief began, perhaps, with the Latin Prayer Book of 1670, but it was not until the Nonjuring schism that the practice of coming before the Table for the whole Consecration Prayer appears to have been raised by a section of the Nonjurors, and carried by them into the Tractarian ranks. One of the most illustrious of the Nonjurors, Dr. Thomas Brett (consecrated a bishop of the schism), opposed the practice and even argued for the antiquity of the North side position.

A few words may be necessary as to the legal decisions of the later nineteenth century, on which the modern "landslide" in favour of the "back-to-people" position rests its claim to "legality." Most of its advocates glibly cite the "Lincoln Judgment" as their authority. As a matter of fact it is the judgment, or more accurately the "advice"[1] tendered to the Crown by the Lords of the Council, in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton that is crucial, as follows:—

"Their Lordships are not prepared to hold that a penal charge is established against the appellant merely by the proof that he stood while saying the Prayer of Consecration at the west side of the Communion Table, without further evidence that the people

[1] The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a Court. The appeal from the Ecclesiastical Courts is to the Crown (i.e., the King in Council); and the Crown chooses its own legal expert advisers. But in hearing Church appeals the Crown summons Bishops as Assessors. The whole campaign against "Privy Council judgments" is based on the misconception that the "Judicial Committee" is a Court. Whatever "reform" of Ecclesiastical Courts is made, and whatever new appellate tribunal is constituted, the ultimate right of the subject to appeal to the Crown cannot well be avoided. (Cf. Bishop Pollock's *The Nation and the Church*, pp. 37–40.)

could not, in the sense in which their Lordships have used the words, see him break the bread or take the cup into his hand, and they will, therefore, recommend that an alteration should be made in the decree in this respect." They had previously expressed their opinion: "The minister is to order the elements 'standing before the Table'; words which, whether the Table stands 'altarwise' along the east wall, or in the body of the church or chancel, would be fully satisfied by his standing on the north side and looking towards the south; but which also, in the opinion of their Lordships, as the Tables are now usually, and in their opinion lawfully, placed, authorise him to do those acts standing on the west side and looking towards the east. Beyond this, and after this, there is no specific direction that, during this prayer, he is to stand on the west side, or that he is to stand on the north side." Here, as regards the Consecration Prayer, the legal view rests, as this point has not since been reopened.

What then happened in Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln—the much exploited "Lincoln Judgment"? In the Court of the Archbishop two separate charges were made affecting this point: (1) That Bishop King stood during the Communion Service down to the ordering of the bread and wine on the west side of the Table and not on the north side thereof, and (2) that he stood while reading the Prayer of Consecration on the west side of the Holy Table with his face to the east, between the people and the Table, and with his back to the people, so that the communicants could not see him break the bread nor take the cup into his hand according to the directions of the rubric. It will be seen that this second charge is strictly based on the letter of the decision in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton. It was fought throughout on the point of the visibility of the manual acts. The decision of the Court was "that the order of Holy Communion requires that the manual acts should be visible," and that "the Lord Bishop has mistaken the true interpretation of the order of the Holy Communion in this particular, and that the manual acts must be performed in such wise as to be visible to the communicants properly placed." The Archbishop remarked "it is not charged as illegal that he stood in what is called the eastward position," which was technically true, so any decision on this point was avoided; and as there could be no appeal on this charge, the decision in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton is the last judicial word. Probably the promoters had hoped to secure such a decision as would have taken the sting out of Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, but they were no match for the Archbishop. But the first charge (which excluded the Consecration Prayer) was fought in detail. The Court (*i.e.*, the Archbishop) decided that a certain liberty in the application of the term "north side" existed, and "dismissed" the charge. "Such existing liberty," quoth the Archbishop, "it is not the function of a Court, but only of legislation, to curtail." The Archbishop remarked: "The Eastward position is, it is said, a sacrificial position. . . . If it were true it would apply more strongly by far to the Consecration Prayer, where such position

is admitted to be lawful, than to the beginning of the service. But by whomsoever put forward the statement is, in both cases, without foundation": and later, "none of the alternative positions which have been mentioned . . . convey any intrinsic error or erroneous shade of doctrine." This dictum must, of course, be construed in the light of Archbishop Benson's own view, as to what was or was not erroneous. The Archbishop made no general statement as to doctrinal significance. The observation that the "Eastward position" was "admitted to be lawful" in the Consecration Prayer does not appear to be supported by the official record: but it may have been inferred from the absence of argument. The dictum as to the significance of the position may be discounted by the curt opinion of the chief assessor, Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Temple, that "There could be no doubt that the Eastward Position and the sacrificial aspect went together." The *only appeal* to the Crown (on these charges) was on the limited point as to the position prior to the Consecration Prayer, and by the form of the Archbishop's judgment (coupled with that of their own charges) the appellants were precluded from arguing on the Consecration Prayer, and the Lords of the Council followed the Archbishop in accepting the unhistorical theory of change of position of Table. They pointed out that "the appellants did not seek to impeach the decision" in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, which they stated more brusquely than accurately as being that the celebrant may at the time of consecration stand at the middle of the Table facing eastwards (the precise decision is given above); and asked "of what importance" it could be to insist upon the minister standing at the north side of the Table for another point of the service, saying "The very necessity of occupying the position . . . during the early part of the service, would serve to emphasise the subsequent change of position"—a very true deduction if the premise had been equally true. Finally, their Lordships advise the Crown "that it (the rubric) cannot be regarded as so definitely and unequivocally enjoining that the priest shall, no matter how the Table may be placed, stand at that end of the Table which faces the North when saying the opening prayers that no other position may be assumed without the commission of an ecclesiastical offence. . . . All that they determine is that it is not an ecclesiastical offence to stand at the Northern part of the side which faces Westwards."

The legal position is, therefore, that by the combined effect of Ridsdale *v.* Clifton and Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln (but not by the "Lincoln Judgment" alone, for the earlier "judgment" is the key to the latter) the back-to-people," or "Eastward" position, with an unimportant limitation as to the part of the West side occupied, is "not illegal" in the sense that no minister who adopts it can be judicially penalised for so doing. But there has been no legal alteration of the rubrics as contained in the Prayer Book of 1662, which rubrics continue in full moral force. Beyond dispute, even on these judgments, the more certainly legally accurate (and most certainly the historically sounder) position is that "at the North side of," and not that "before," the Table; but those who

wish to stand " before " the Table cannot be precluded from such moral support as they can obtain from the Archbishop's dicta. Nevertheless the same could also be said for anyone who decided to stand " behind " the Table ; for if liberty exists it cannot be one-sided. If the ethical obligation to stand at the North side is relaxed, the relaxation must be absolute and not limited to one particular variation. Some years back one of the bishops suggested that, to secure uniformity, all should agree to restore the primitive face-to-people usage. There could be no better solution ; and it is the most desirable piece of Prayer Book revision.

Is it not clear that as matters are, those who contend for the true Eucharistic teaching of the Church, as re-asserted at the Reformation, are put at an unfair disadvantage, as regards the appeal to the eye ? The position before the Table, back-to-people, is powerful in its implication and symbolism : and its teaching insensibly soaks into the mind and consciousness of the ordinary worshipper. The position at the side of the Table is neutral and (while it is expressive of quiet dignity when taken in the old-fashioned way [1]) needs explanation by word to emphasise its appropriateness and devotional value. So the Evangelical faces the Sacerdotalist, in this matter, much as a contestant with one hand tied behind his back faces an adversary with both hands free. Put the Minister-celebrant behind the Table, as in ancient days, and the symbolism and teaching become manifest to the worshipper without necessity for verbal explanations.[2]

[1] The use of the fald-stool helps to obscure it.

[2] Read regularly the exhortation, " Dearly beloved in the Lord " for the teaching to the ear !

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. issue *Through Human Eyes*, by F. Chenalls Williams (paper, 3*s*. 6*d*. net). In a number of brief sketches, scenes from our Lord's life and teaching are reconstituted, so as to bring out their chief fact or feature. The graphic nature of the treatment is likely to be a means of instruction on some neglected aspects of New Testament incidents and stories.

Messrs. Morgan & Scott Ltd. publish A Jewish Missionary's Experience of Divine Guidance during War, Revolution, and Opposition in Eastern Europe, by Peter Smoljar (Mildway Mission to the Jews) (1*s*. net). It is translated by Mr. S. H. Wilkinson, who pays a tribute to the devotion of the writer.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S MESSAGE FOR TO-DAY

By the Rev. T. A. Gurney, M.A., LL.B.

I

HARNACK thinks so highly of the influence of Augustine that he describes him as "incomparably the greatest man whom, between Paul and Luther the Reformer, the Church possessed"; and he even declares that it would almost seem as if the miserable existence of the Roman Empire was providentially prolonged for the express purpose of affording an opportunity for the influence of Augustine to be exerted upon universal history. There can be no doubt as to the potency of that influence upon all the after-life and thought of the Church. And it is all the better worth studying to-day because, in so many respects, his standpoint and problems are parallel with our own.

Augustine was both unique and universal. There are a few men —Plato, Socrates, Paul—who are examples of both. He was unique, for he was raised up for a unique task at a unique moment, and it is hard to see how that task could have been accomplished except by one specially and divinely equipped for it. Like Paul he was a "chosen vessel." All the circumstances of his parentage, his home, his environment, his training, his life-calling, his temperament, converged upon his future mission. The note of time is one of the most important of these influences. "He stood,"[1] it has been said, "at the watershed of two worlds. The old world was passing away; the new world was entering into its heritage, and a man was needed to mediate the transference of the culture of the one to the other." Augustine was that man. "He gathered up into himself all that the old world had to offer, and, recoining it, sent it forth again bearing the stamp of his profound character."

Augustine was, in no ordinary sense, the creature of his own time—a fact which enabled him to be the creator of the time that followed. He felt in his own personality the conflict of ideals which it so vividly illustrates. Like our own the Age was one of transition, with the large expectations and bitter disillusionments which belong to such crises. The morning of dazzling hope which had burst upon nascent Christendom with the Decree of Milan, forty years before Augustine was born (A.D. 313), and of which young Athanasius had sung with such passionate fervour in his glowing *De Incarnatione*, had already passed away. While it lasted, it had "seemed as though the servants of Christ were sitting amid the beauty of peace, and in tabernacles of confidence, and in rich repose."[2] It was "a golden prime," and, for the Church of the East especially, "a long, bright, Paschal festival."[3] But it had soon passed away. The

[1] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Art. "Augustine."
[2] Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, pp. 9–11.
[3] Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*.

" demons " had not, after all, " been utterly " and finally " put to shame," though " The King had come forth," indeed, " and His glory had flashed upon men."

> " Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven ! " [1]

But the years that followed had been overclouded by the partial recovery of Heathenism, in more seductive and dangerous forms. The air was thickened by the spirit of compromise. Augustine found it, on his return, late on in life, as a bishop, to Madaura. Apart from the action of the " Old Believers," [2] as Dr. Sihler calls them, under the apostate emperor Julian, the spread of Neoplatonism, the revival of nature-faiths, the social abuses of the Empire, the partial character even of Constantine's own conversion—all had made the victory of Christianity incomplete. There is truth both in Gibbon's [3] admission and in his reservation : " The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman empire ; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals." So the century which saw the Faith of Christ for the first time a *Religio licita* became a century of bitter disappointment, of rude awakenings to terrible facts, of strong and glaring contrasts between the pleasant seeming of things and their ghastly realities. The larger background of Augustine's life is the Empire as a whole, especially in the West. And there was the appearance here of a gigantic strength which was found on examination barely to conceal appalling weakness. Rome —" aurata Roma "—sat the enthroned mistress of the world, city of gilded palaces, her Forum so crowded with statues, the reminders of a greater past, that her living men could scarcely move there, her huge historic buildings flinging their flaunting challenge across a conquered universe. Yet glaring poverty, age-long weariness, gloomy slums, universal discontent, slow-footed destruction, lurked like ghostly shades behind all the golden brightness. The " dusk of the gods " had already flung its twilight shadows across the faded glories of heathen temples, but the Christian splendours of a later age had not yet replaced them. " The gilded Capitol," writes Jerome from his retreat at Bethlehem, " is in a mean condition ; all the temples of Rome are covered with soot and cobwebs. The city is being dislodged from its foundations, and the people who formerly gathered like a flood before the half-tumbled-down shrines now run to the mounds of the martyrs." [4] The climax which marked almost the close of Augustine's life was a fitting parable of the whole travesty of a fallen greatness. Young Honorius swept in triumph up the Sacred Way, bringing back his court from Ravenna, within five years of the fatal day when Alaric, hearkening to the mysterious voices that had come to him in the Pannonian forests, urging him to

[1] Wordsworth's Prelude, bk. XI.
[2] Sihler's *From Augustus to Augustine*, c. IX.
[3] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXVIII.
[4] Sihler, *From Augustus to Augustine*, p. 307.

advance and destroy the city, swept down upon it and starved it, and then, two years after, besieged and sacked it. No wonder that after such culminating disappointments Augustine turned with relief from the City of the Cæsars, with its Babylonian greatness and fall, to that City of God which " stands and grows for ever," and has its everlasting foundations rooted in righteousness and peace. In this trying experience of overturning kingdoms we too share his vicissitudes and hopes ; and it has been well said that [1] " it is in that hope of the final triumph of the City of God that the course of this world becomes intelligible, for then we see that the rise and fall of earthly empires, the glories of ancient civilizations, the sufferings of men in their ruin, have not been unmeaning and vain."

Three men, at the end of the fourth century, stood forth as, in different ways, the leaders of the world's thought : St. Ambrose at Milan, St. Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem, and St. Augustine at Hippo ; but Augustine towers not only above both his compeers —more profound than Ambrose, his spiritual father ; more original and systematic than Jerome, his correspondent—but also above those of a later age, such as Gregory the Great (A.D. 590–604), whom he may be said to have trained for the Papal throne. And this was due primarily to his personal characteristics. For he had the unique genius which, when it comes into contact with truth, not merely interprets it to others, and passes it on, but assimilates it and absorbs it, giving it forth again stamped with the seal of its own individuality. His greatness lies, it has been said,[2] in his " synthesis of opposing tendencies." His rich, many-sided nature appropriated from all sources the truth he made his own, and then gave it forth—no longer as abstract truth, but as truth vitalized, interpenetrated, transformed by his own magnetic personality.

It is just this power of synthesis which distinguishes both St. Augustine and St. Paul. Both men were divinely called to a similar world-mission as the mediators in an epoch of transition between the old and the new. This is what brings Augustine into sympathy with the spirit of our own day. Like St. Paul, he needed for his task an outlook broad and sympathetic. The hope of success for each lay in such an assimilation of truth that it could come forth from themselves as it were molten and recoined, stamped with the vital impres- of their own individuality. And in both alike we mark this " synthesis of opposing tendencies." There is a realism in them both that makes vital their whole association with thought. They never grasp truth in the abstract, or as a dead thing, but with the intensity of their whole being, giving themselves wholly to its influence ; and, when they give it forth, giving it as a giving of themselves to men. This passion for reality forbids their ever becoming theological dialecticians. What the mind realizes as convincing, the heart appropriates as satisfying, and, therefore, it becomes absolutely essential that it should be forthwith communicated to others. " Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel." The emphasis of truth is

[1] Cunningham's *S. Austin*, p. 114.
[2] Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, p. 113.

always present with each. Neither Paul nor Augustine scoff at words as " idle words," " which half reveal, and half conceal, the truth within." For words to each were expressions of reality never to be trifled with. " I accuse not words," cries Augustine, speaking even of his heathen studies, " for words are choice and precious vessels. I accuse the wine of error that drunken doctors pour out for us into these fair goblets."

This determination to find an ultimate reconciliation for thought, even the most diverse and conflicting, to get down to the " Greatest Common Measure " of truth, to make words explain and justify themselves, and reclothe themselves to fulfil a fresh human service, is what marks Augustine as the teacher of thought-method not only for that age but for our own. He is modern, perhaps one may still say Baconian,[1] in his devotion to truth whenever and wherever found. It has to be followed and loved for its own sake, however strange the robe it wears. " Perhaps the most striking thing," writes Professor Cunningham,[2] " in the personal character of St. Augustine, as it stands out before us in his own writings, is his devotion to truth wherever it is found, not only truth in revelation, but truth in the form we specially prize to-day—empirical truth as detected through the senses in scientific investigation." " It almost seems," he adds, " when we read the *Confessions* as if Christianity won him not so much through the promise of deliverance from sin as by affording him a solution of the mysteries of the intelligible world." It is specially helpful to-day to find a man confronted, in an age of vast transitions, with problems of all kinds—scientific, psychological, spiritual, historical—quite as serious and perplexing as our own, and to discover that, even in that remote age, it was not necessary to be a mere traditionalist in order to be a sincere Christian. The revolt of the human mind which underlay the Renaissance of a thousand years later might not have been necessary if Augustine's freedom of thought had marked the minds of the Churchmen of a later age, such as Hildebrand. His passion for reality, not merely for formal or logical consistency, governed not only his modes of thought, but, inasmuch as they, too, were vital, his whole life-work and life-experience. There was nothing " ready-made " about that life-work. It is opportunist, spontaneous, and springing out of the need of the moment.[3] " His theories are but his interpreted experiences." His problems are problems that belong to his whole being, and cannot be treated in compartments. He feels, and confesses, like some modern, the influence of psychology. He admits the limitation of the written word. There is a stage in spiritual experience, he declares, in which we pass beyond Scripture.

It is because of this that all attempts to claim him as the Father of special Schools of Thought in the Church, or the Author of Mediæval Church developments, such as we find in the Papacy or the Holy Roman Empire, are doomed to failure, whilst in that very

[1] But cp. *The Making of the Western Mind*, p. 191.
[2] Cunningham's *St. Austin*, p. 10.
[3] Workman's *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, p. 114.

failure we find the secret of his continued usefulness. When we try to write down briefly his contribution to history, we seem to be writing contradictions. He has been described as the parent of the Schoolmen, and the Calvinist, of extreme Protestantism, extreme Sacramentalism, extreme Sacerdotalism. To him we owe the theory of the Invisible Church, which the Reformers were afterwards to develop, yet to him we also really owe the magnificent conception of the Holy Roman Empire, with the world-claims of the Papacy which Hildebrand fought for, and by which it was ultimately overthrown. In fact almost every " School of Thought " in the Church till modern times has claimed Augustine as its founder or interpreter.[1] In him lay the seed out of which the Roman Church as we know it to-day has grown, yet in him also is to be found the spring and strength of later mystical movements. The great types of Western Philosophic Thought declare him their fountain-head, yet he is equally, as his *Confessions* reveal, the missioner of vital, spiritual religion. And, if it is historically true to speak of him as Augustine the traditionalist, Augustine the Neoplatonist, Augustine the Catholic Churchman in a Cyprianic sense, yet it is equally correct to associate him with the type of religion we style " evangelical." For it was Augustine who sowed the seed of the Reformation, and " the Reformation inwardly considered, was just the ultimate triumph of his doctrine of grace over his doctrine of the Church." " There is hardly a topic," it has been said,[2] " in the whole range of theology and philosophy on which he has not something to say."

His knowledge of Christ is inwoven with his knowledge of the Teachers of the old world. One might almost say that Plato the Greek and Cicero the Latin were his schoolmasters to bring him to Christ. For the "Hortensius" turned his desires Christward, and the philosophy of Plato revealed in its very limitations the need for a richer and fuller revelation. It marked the difference, as he himself says,[3] " between those who saw whither they were to go, yet saw not the way . . . the way which leadeth not only to behold but to inhabit the blessed country." " The Greek philosophers showed the temple of the true God; but the Redeemer alone could bring him into it."[4] So, as his insight into God's nature grew in clearness and depth and intensity, the cold radiance of Platonism withdrew, and the very passion and devotion of the Confessions bear witness to it.

In all this strange diversity of experience he is God's special gift not only to an age confused then with conflicting impressions and influences, partly heathen, partly Christian, but to an age like the present, when systems of Thought and Society and Religion are running riot in their conflict of change, and leaving minds uprooted, unsettled, thirsting once again for the reconciliation of what is strange and diverse with what is old and proven as satisfying.[5] " He still towers as a master of Christian thought above all who

[1] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Art. " Augustine."
[2] Cunningham, *St. Austin*, p. 13.
[3] *Confessions*, Book VII, s. 26.
[4] Hatzfeld's *St. Augustine*, p. 43.
[5] Cunningham, p. 36.

have followed him in Western Christendom. He stands alone—a central Figure—the last spokesman of the wisdom of the Ancient World, the first who discussed the characteristic problems of modern times. It is just because he thus stands midway between the old and the new that it is profitable, that it is possible, to compare his doctrines with those of the men of all other ages." He can warn us as to the nature of evil, for he sounded it to its depths before his conversion. He can help us to gain spiritual freedom, for his own earlier career was one long struggle to win it. He can expound the reality of God's Sovereignty, for he has traced it for us in every stage of his own personal life. He can guard us against the fascinations of new heresies, for he felt them to the full in Manichæanism, with its exaltation of reason above faith and inner consciousness above external authority.

II

The local backgrounds of Augustine's life made an all-important contribution towards his mission. He was born in the little African free-town of Thagaste, the home of Alypius, his dearest friend, and the half-way mart-house between wooded Numidia and the sandy sun-splashed steppes of the southern mountains. Then, later, he became a schoolboy at Madaura, the old Numidian city on its open, shadowless table-land, where first he learnt what he calls "the fugitive beauties and delusive charm of a world of sense." Then he was flung, at a receptive age, into heathen Carthage—the Carthage of Venus, with its azure skies and shimmering seas, its glittering lagoons and twin-harbours crowded with sails, its towering Capitol crowned with heathen temples, its sensual atmosphere and its seductive offer, especially to the young, of the mixed goblet of Roman life. Archbishop Benson has painted it in his *Life of Cyprian*, and what Cyprian found it, that Augustine must have proved it too. For Cyprian's "challenge to the world's Creeds," in his first Thesis, "That Idols are no gods," and his "challenge to the world's life" in the *Tusculan Oration* to Donatus, his brother-rhetorician, are no whit more searching in their exposure of its falsity than are the *Confessions* and the *City of God*. "What gold, what silver, what raiment," Augustine exclaims of Cyprian, "he brought with him out of Egypt!" But Augustine brought more, for "above all the spoil he brought from without, he brought with it himself,"[1] a personality which could so appropriate its impressions as to pass them on to ages long after Rome had fallen. The *City of God* was born, not only out of the overthrow of Rome, but out of that sense of imperial heritage and imperial splendour which first dawned upon him in Carthage.

Then followed, in spite of Monica's prayers, the flight to Rome itself, still the throbbing hub of the world, and the busy, many-sided career of a professor of rhetoric there. And then—last halting place before he found his rest in Christ, and final field of activity by sea-washed Hippo,—the life in Milan as a state-professor, with its clash

[1] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Art. "Augustine."

of conflicting influences, Christian under Ambrose and Manichæan, till the great decision came.

Out of all this helpfulness of a diversified and parallel experience, can we gather any special message? Above the multiplicity of his writings tower two great works which contain in themselves the heart of that life-message. Neither of them is a scholar's book—their intellectual inadequacy and diffusiveness sufficiently prove that. The first—the *Confessions*—is the story of a QUEST. The second—*The City of God*—is the drama of a CONFLICT. In the first he unfolds the secrets and motives of his life. It has been compared to the *Imitatio Christi* or the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is Augustine's "Apologia pro suâ vitâ"—his Psalm *De Profundis* and *Non Nobis*. And the Quest it records is twofold—the quest of his soul for God and the quest of God for his soul. The *Confessions* are no breathings of a subjective idealism; they are the utterly truthful record of an actual experience which finds its echo in our own lives. All around the pilgrim are "the sights that dazzle," the "tempting sounds" he hears, and the ever-present snare of the world with its manifold, appealing charm. "I bore a shattered and a bleeding soul, and where to repose it I found not. Not in calm groves, not in games and music, not in fragrant spots nor in curious banquetings, nor in the pleasures of the bed or of the couch; nor, finally, in books of poesy found it repose." "For whither," he asks, "should my heart flee from my heart? Whither should I flee from myself?"

There is the quest on his side—so drawn aside by false lights, and the self-will of one who "loved to choose and see his way," and treat it as God's. "It was my sin that not in Him but in His creatures I sought for pleasures, sublimities, truths, and so fell headlong into sorrows, confusions, errors." "I was grown deaf by the clanking of the chain of my mortality, the punishment of the pride of my soul." "To Carthage I came, where there sang all around me in my ears a cauldron of unholy loves." "For within me there was a famine of that inward food, Thyself, my God." Yet the burning desire is always there, however concealed or even buried. "Hide not Thy face from me. Let me die, lest I die—only let me see Thy face!" Intellectual delights brought no real solace:—"fictions of my misery, not the realities of Thy blessedness."

And there is the quest of God, so patient, so persistent, so triumphant in result,—the continuous answer to Monica's prayers, the ever-present consciousness of God which forbad all satisfaction that fell short of Him:—"O Lord, Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee." "Thy hands, O my God, in the secret purpose of Thy providence, did not forsake my soul." "This, Thy whole gift, was to will what I willed, and to will what Thou willedst." So that the finding when it came, was due, not to man's willing but to God's following. The chief value of Augustine's views of sin, of freedom, of baptismal grace, of predestination and election, lies in their being the record of a personal experience. For here the seeming antinomies of thought are reconciled. He not so much found Christ, as, like Saul of Tarsus, was found of Him, and

the Confessions are the story of a Discovery, of a Goal finally won.

In the other book—*The City of God*—you have the natural sequel —the Conflict of faith by which the gift won is kept. It is the application of this discovery of God to the wider field of all human relationships. One must not regard it as a philosophy of history; it is the story of an inevitable conflict between Christianity and Paganism. The Conflict is with us still. It varies from age to age, as the character of the Paganism varies, but it is always present. "Love not the world" is the inevitable outcome of the command to love God. Two cities are, in each new age, making their rival appeals for the souls of men—the *Urbs terrena*,[1] whose origin is self-love in contempt of God, and the City of God, whose origin is contempt of self in love of God. The world is ever before us, an entity of delight and attraction that offers itself as complete without God. Like Muhammed outside Damascus, the Christian makes his choice, "There is only one Paradise for the souls of men, and mine is elsewhere."

Everything about Augustine—his African nature, his home training, his historic position, his social and intellectual gifts—made the conflict a real one. The appeal of love and beauty came home with all the more force to him, standing as he did at the parting of the ways. Dr. Figgis speaks of his life as passed in a series of changes like those which divide the Jubilees of Queen Victoria from the silver wedding of her grandson.[2] The "old order was changing, giving place to new." Augustine was the product, the exponent, the vanquisher, of an expiring Paganism. He, least of all men, scorned the power of the foe with which he had to strive, for to the last, he knew its power within his own soul. The most complete and most convincing, of any soul-history, is contained in him. The problem of the City of God is fundamental, nor has it ever been finally resolved. It is a conflict not primarily between two polities. That is only to externalize it. Rather, the conflict is between two religions, and this is an age-long problem. This is Augustine's primary and predominating thought. It never leaves him. These two religions are conceived as the binding force of two societies, the expression of two opposing passions, the passion for God and the passion for self.[3] "If we seek to understand him by the outcome to which his system led in history, we shall do wrong. Rather, we must seek to understand that by the deeper antagonism beween the other-worldly and the this-worldly influence of all institutions." In Augustine, there were struggling two men, like Esau and Jacob in the womb of Rebekah. There was Augustine of Thagaste, of Madaura, of Carthage, of Rome, of Milan, the brilliant boy, the splendid and expansive youthful leader, "skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," possessed of the antique culture, rhetorical, dialectic, Roman—the man of the world, the developed humanist, with enough tincture of Platonism to gild the humanism; and there was the Augustine of the *Confessions*, of the *Sermons*, of the *De*

[1] Hatzfeld, *St. Augustine*.
[2] Figgis, *Augustine's City of God*, p. 24.
[3] Figgis, pp. 114–5.

Civitate, the monk, the ascetic, the other-worldly preacher, the Biblical expositor, the mortified priest. "These two beings struggle within him, the natural man filled with the sense of beauty and the joy of living, expansive, passionate, artful—and the super-natural Christian, fleeing from the world, shunning it, burning what he adored, and adoring what he burnt, celibate and (at times) almost anti-social." "The book"—yes for that matter, the life—"is too great to be consistent. We can mark in it the traces of a never-ceasing conflict."

It is the same with ourselves to-day. On the one hand is the world, the course of life, the present, the immediate "nice things," and on the other, the eternal, the far-off, the spiritual city, the altar of sacrifice, the chalice of suffering—each calls us, each finds response in our nature. How can the problem be resolved? One way is by complete world-flight, the extreme asceticism, that is asceticism not as discipline but as self-annihilation. On the other is the Pagan solution, frankly materialistic, but ruling out as irrelevant all interests that look beyond. Have we yet discovered any third alternative? Is the reconciliation of all beauty, truth, joy, fellowship, *as the world offers them to us*, compatible with love to God as our foremost motive and principle in life? On the one hand, "the City of beautiful nonsense," the Vanity Fair of the "sights that dazzle" around us, the "dear city of Cecrops," the passing, perishing Rome of our desires; or the desert with peace, "the nostalgia of the infinite which finds its goal in the Eternal," the *Urbs beata* of the child of God, with its reality of present joy and blessing here and the blissful vision and enjoyment of God hereafter. It was not without realized cause that Augustine had the Penitential Psalms hung up before him, where he could easily read them, as he lay dying.

The recent numbers of *The Expository Times* maintain the usefulness which this interesting monthly has had for so long in keeping theological students in touch with current books and the latest thoughts. There are always some interesting problems under discussion, and valuable light is thrown on difficult passages of Scripture. The only criticism we might venture to make is that the notices of books are on occasions almost too favourable, and the generous spirit of the reviewers leads them to ignore partial and sometimes inadequate if not misleading statements.

The Bishop of Manchester edits *The Pilgrim* with the ability which we naturally expect of him. He has an able and diversified body of contributors whose views at times might be difficult to harmonize. Social questions are well in evidence. In the October number Mr. J. W. Hunkin has an article on "The Doctrine of the Atonement in the Primitive Church," which deserves attention as a study of the Acts and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians.

ANNE ASKEW, "THE FAIR GOSPELLER."

By John Knipe.

LONDON gave to Anne Askew the name of "The Fair Gospeller," for men admired her rare beauty while they scoffed or wondered at this young gentlewoman's zeal for religion. Undoubtedly she was one of the great souls of the Reformation, and justice has not been done to her influence upon her contemporaries, and the intense public indignation which was roused, not in London alone, but in the country, when the cruel manner of her martyrdom was known.

"She was a sacramentary and by the law worthy of the death she suffered," Bishop Gardiner wrote to Protector Somerset in 1549, complaining of the Winchester folk who flourished copies of her "Journal" under the episcopal nose. And Parsons the Jesuit, late in the reign of Elizabeth, made a savage attack upon Anne's memory, calling her "A gadabout!" He expresses his amazement that she should be taken for a saint.

The Askews, Stallingborough Manor.

Anne Askew was born in the Fen Country in 1521. The record is lost, but we know her age at her death. The name is derived from Ayscough of Yorkshire, who married a rich Lincolnshire heiress. Anne's father, Sir William, was an ambitious man who had been knighted by King Henry the Eighth in France. He had two sons and three daughters. Francis, the eldest son, married Elizabeth, heiress of the Haunsard, of Walworth and South Kelsey. Martha, the eldest daughter, was betrothed as a child to the boy Thomas, only son and heir of Squire Kyme, of Kelsey.

Then his plans "went agley." Martha "died on him," as the Irish say, and what was more, after he had paid down the half of her dowry. He had still to provide for Anne, Jane, and Edward.

The Betrothal.

As far as we can tell, this is how it was settled. For his younger son Sir William planned a grand Court career. He wanted money badly for Edward and requested Mr. Kyme to refund that half-dowry. Thrifty Squire Kyme civilly declined; son Thomas had been disappointed of his promised bride. Sir William kept his temper and invited the Kymes to Stallingborough Manor. He sent for his pretty second daughter Anne. She was then probably about sixteen, and in the flower of her girlhood. Since we know the taste of those times, she would be very fair, a dainty little blonde with the dazzling soft complexion of the damp Fenland air. She was lively and had a witty tongue. Thomas seems to have been of a sullen, taciturn nature. While the two Lincolnshire squires bargained, Anne would try dutifully to entertain the heavy, lumpish youth.

The bargain was struck. Son Thomas should accept Anne with

the remainder of the dowry of the defunct Martha. And Sir William proudly informed daughter Anne that she would be the Lady of the Manor of Kelsey.

Perhaps the sullen eyes of Thomas Kyme gleamed at the sight of Anne's dismay. She avowed later that she had detested Kyme. From what we know of her, the soft slip of a girl strongly objected. In the eyes of all around her and of contemporary opinion her conduct would be considered shocking and unfilial. Sir William would swear roundly from a vocabulary enriched in the wars. Squire Kyme would lift brows and stare at the " unnatural wench." That would be all. Her consent was not necessary. The two Kymes would ride home to Kelsey and leave Anne to parental discipline. She was helpless in the eyes of society and the law. She was a chattel, the property of her father, until he gave her to her husband. There is no mention of her mother, and she seems to have been too young and innocent for a lover's protection.

I think that Sir William would decide to ignore her refusal. The Marriage Contract would be duly signed by the respective fathers and the Betrothal announced.

But there seems to have been a respite. The marriage was probably not before 1538–9, and Kyme's father is not mentioned again. He may have died in the interval. Jane, the younger sister, was married to Sir George Saint Paul, and a position was found for Edward in Archbishop Cranmer's household.

The Marriage.

Meanwhile Anne developed from a girl into a woman of amazing beauty. Kyme demanded his bride, and a reluctant consent was wrung from her, " to save the money " as the chronicler bluntly puts it. I think that she yielded for the sake of Edward, who seems to have been her favourite brother. Sir William had obtained the promise of the coveted Court preferment, at the next vacancy.

The marriage of the eldest surviving daughter of the proud Askews would be celebrated with pomp and Nuptial Mass in the midst of a crowd of relatives and neighbours in the familiar parish church. Her nature was fearless and generous, her manners gentle and winning, little Mistress Askew would go through it bravely, but I think her hand trembled when Kyme put the ring on her finger and the priest declared them man and wife.

She had the satisfaction of knowing that her self-sacrifice secured her brother's good fortune. In December, 1539, Edward went to Court with a letter of recommendation from Cranmer to Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Cranmer writes significantly: he says that " this bearer, Edward Askew my servant, son unto Sir William Askew, Knight, is by some nobleman preferred unto the room of one of these new spears in the court which because it is done without my knowledge and his " . . . we see that Sir William did not consult Edward's wishes . . . and what is more significant Cranmer in his request continues thus: " I shall beseech you, my Lord, inasmuch as I have no friend to sue unto me for me and mine, but only unto

your lordship" . . . the Archbishop was out of favour with the King . . . "assuring your lordship that he, the young man is of a very gentle nature, right forward and of good activity, so that I think he shall be meet to furnish such a room and to do to the King's Majesty diligent and faithful service."

The letter is from Forde Manor, where Cranmer was living in retirement and disgrace for his strong opposition to the Bloody Statute. Sir William, the opportunist, promptly removed son Edward from Cranmer, who is evidently grieved that he was not informed beforehand.

The unhappy marriage of Anne was to be the turning-point in both lives. They were to meet each other at Court a few years later.

Married Life at Kelsey Manor. Conversion.

According to Gairdner, Anne had been brought up a Catholic and "highly educated." Her life at Kelsey was dreary enough, but as Lady of the Manor she would have the manifold occupations of a Tudor châtelaine. Kyme seems to have let her go her own way so long as it did not interfere with his. There was no love lost on either side. About 1540 there came the sudden change which was to transform first the inward and then the outward life. Anne had ridden to Lincoln and visited the Cathedral, probably as a devout Catholic to worship the reserved Host, or to pray at some shrine. She saw the crowd of eager, curious folk who pressed round the new marvel of the Great Chained Bible, which, by Royal Command, had just been set up.

She went forward, listened, and took her turn in reading it.

When Anne returned home her mind was full of the wonderful words which brought their own message of hope and consolation. She made frequent visits to Lincoln and read from the Bible each day. She questioned eagerly the Cathedral clergy, and was amazed at their cold, reluctant replies, their ignorance of the sacred Text, and she recorded later that they could not answer her on certain texts. They, for their part, resented her questions, which turned into arguments in which they were worsted by her keen wit. Anne became a mother about the same time and she resolved to procure a copy of the Book. There was in Lincoln a strong local branch of the famous society called "The Christian Brethren." They were the descendants of the Lollards, and most likely one of them had observed the fair Madam Kyme's deep interest in the Cathedral Bible. It must have been from some such source that she obtained her books—the New Testament in Tyndale's Translation and John Frith's celebrated "Treatise on the Sacrament." The dullness of Kelsey was brightened by her baby and her books. We cannot appreciate what it meant to our Tudor forefathers when for the *first* time in their lives they read the words of the Gospels. But the fact that those who did so were nicknamed "Gospellers" shows how their belief centred in the sublime doctrine of the Reformers, "Justification by Faith."

Lonely and neglected by her husband, Anne gave her heart unreservedly to a Personal Saviour. In her "Journal" she refers

to Christ as "My Lord and Master." It was not very long before her devotion was sharply tested. The Kelsey household seem to have loved their mistress, for they gathered together daily to listen while she read to them from her New Testament. Kyme paid no heed until after the birth of the second child, when he began to bully her.

The First Menace.

The high-spirited girl who had been bartered in the Matrimonial Market was now the eager disciple of a proscribed Faith. We may admit in justice to Kyme that he had married her as a Catholic and that the zeal of the newly converted can be a trial to their friends. But he had married an unwilling bride, and only a mean man would have taken advantage of Martha's death to withhold the dowry. He showed himself now in the odious light of a bigot. He appears to have been one of those dull, suspicious men who are capable of sudden acts of cruelty from brooding over injuries. The heavy Lincolnshire squire hated ideas of progress or enlightenment and resented his wife's superior learning. If he had behaved with sense and forbearance, the domestic differences might not have become acute. Anne was gentle and a dutiful wife. But she was not affectionate, and Kyme was growing tired of her. One Sunday in the Parish Church at the High Mass Anne took the step which startled the neighbourhood. Men said openly that young Madam Kyme did not bow down at the Elevation nor genuflect to the Pyx.

It was the personal ordeal of the Reformers that they must appear profane and irreligious in the eyes of their friends.

Kyme's rage may be imagined. The priest also complained formally of Madam's behaviour, and he applied the terrible word "Heresy" to her conduct at the Mass. Kyme consented to play the part of a spy. We read next that he and some other man, probably his body-servant, "listened to her prayers at her chamber-door. They soon obtained a conviction both of her piety and heterodoxy."

But she was a knight's daughter and privileged by statute to read the Bible in English. So far there was no valid ground for a citation before the Quest. But Anne was vehemently suspected, and the local clergy waited the occasion to attack her as a known heretic. Even Kyme hesitated.

Driven from Home.

The Statute of the Six Articles had been passed in 1539, but it was so abused by certain of the bishops that it could not be then enforced. No less than five hundred persons were arrested in London alone and released by the Privy Council by the curious expedient of allowing the prisoners to go bail for each other! But in 1543 a Mitigating Statute was passed, which forbade secret accusations by requiring the oaths of twelve men, allowed the accused trial by jury, with challenge of juries, and required presentment to be made within twelve months from the date of offence. But a dangerous exception was made to such arrest by sworn Indictment; and as this concerns

Anne, I quote the clause : " Unless it be by virtue and authority of one sufficient and lawful warrant or precept from one of the King's Majesty's Honourable Council or from two of the Justices or Commissioners aforesaid, whereof one of them to be a lay person."

The same year, 1543, Tyndale's New Testament was banned by statute and the writings of Frith. Under these two statutes the priests of Lincoln and Kelsey warned Kyme that his wife would be cited for heresy. Anne denied Transubstantiation and refused to go to Confession. They had been married some five years and the elder child was about four years old. She was a woman of deep affections and warm-hearted disposition. Kyme consulted his director and was advised to put his wife to the test. Would she obey the Church and the Law or renounce her home? It must have been a terrible choice for a mother's heart. We do not know if Anne was allowed any time for decision. We know that she refused to recant, while her spirit flashed out humanly in the words recorded in her replies. She said that if he drove her forth Kyme was then no more her husband. She would sue him at law for cruelty and appeal for the custody of her children.

Kyme mocked at the threat, for he knew the strength of his position. " And he violently drove her out " (Fuller).

LIFE IN LONDON. ANNE, " THE FAIR GOSPELLER." 1544–5.

It is pleasant to read that Anne was accompanied by her faithful woman. Her father seems to have been dead, and Sir Francis was a strong Catholic who that year was made High Sheriff of Lincolnshire. She must have obtained money, and I think that she would go first to Norton Disney, especially if the tradition is correct that Kyme turned her out at night. Jane, her only sister, had been widowed early and free to marry the man of her choice, Richard Disney, who was well inclined to the Reformers. He would hardly refuse hospitality to his wife's sister, and Jane was rich enough to supply Anne with funds for her present needs. Probably Disney advised her to go to London for legal advice, and he would provide his kinswoman with an escort, perhaps ride with her to Lincoln. There they would find a company of merchants or gentlefolk travelling to the Town, or some noble with retainers.

Anne arrived safely and found a quiet lodging " over against the Temple." We notice that she established herself near the Inns of Court. Now we come to the first indication of a romance. There was practising in Gray's Inn, one Edward Britain, barrister-at-law, of whom as the chivalrous " Cousin Britain " of her " Journal " we read much. It is practically certain that Anne consulted him on her suit against Kyme. She came to London, the passionate young mother who was longing for her divorce as the means of obtaining her children. She had lavished upon them the wealth of her loving soul. We can imagine how Britain would receive the fair ardent girl who came to him, wounded and indignant by Kyme's ill-treatment, and naïvely citing for argument Saint Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians !

The Tudor lawyer would gently explain the law of the land to her and show her that divorce was impossible. But, moved by her wrongs, Britain could advise her to present a petition to the Crown for the dissolution of her forced marriage. Certainly the grounds on which it was based show a legal mind. Anne's union with Kyme was open to the same objection as Henry's first two marriages; she had married her deceased sister's affianced husband, while the pre-contract between Martha and Kyme invalidated his marriage with a blood relation, the pre-contract being a legal bond, as had been maintained in the case of Anne Boleyn and Northumberland. Armed with the petition Anne went to Whitehall and asked to see Lieutenant Askew. He seems to have received her kindly and presented his sister to Lady Denny, wife of the Treasurer of the Household, one of the Queen's ladies. The Reforming Party were prominent at Court and Queen Katharine Parr welcomed young Madam Askew warmly and ranked her among her gentlewomen, which gave her the Entrée. Anne found congenial friends in the Royal Circle, which included Lady Anne Stanhope, Countess of Hertford, the Marchioness of Dorset, Henry's niece, and the lively, witty Duchess Katharine of Suffolk. In a short time Anne became a general favourite and the Queen called her "friend."

She continued to live in her modest Temple lodging and regularly attended with her maid the preaching at Paul's Cross, and listened to Master Porter, the Bible-Reader in the Crypt. She did not escape gossip and calumny. One "Wadloe, a cursitor of Chancery hot in his religion, got himself lodged at the next house to her." He spied and listened and was astonished that she prayed aloud for hours after midnight. Wadloe grew ashamed of his base suspicions and told Sir Lionel Throgmorton that she was "the devoutest and godliest woman that ever he knew."

First Arrest. March, 1545.

The Queen would speak to the King on behalf of her favourite, but Henry was no longer interested in divorces and pre-contracts. He allowed his Kate to enjoy her friend's company, but he refused her petition.

Suddenly Anne was arrested, probably at her Temple lodging, and cited before the Quest, or Inquisition appointed by the Statute. The details are not given, but as she refused steadfastly to bow the knee to the Pyx, her conduct in Saint Paul's would attract public comment.

She was taken to Sadler's Hall, Cheapside, and brought before Christopher Dare, Commissioner for Heresy, and charged formally in general terms with having broken the Statute of the Six Articles.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

CHRISTOLOGY is one of the most important subjects to theological students, perhaps indeed the most important, for on it all the others depend. Any book dealing therefore with the person of Christ ought to be of interest, if it helps to a better understanding of the supreme Personality of human history. Any book which sets out in perspective the history of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and shows us in particular the relation between the older definitions in their philosophical setting, and modern views in relation to modern thought ought to have a special value. This is practically what the Rev. Sydney Cave, M.A., D.D., has accomplished in his recent book *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (Duckworth, 5*s*. net). The volume is the latest of the Studies in Theology Series, which is already well known and appreciated for the character of its numbers. It contains such well-known contributions to theological study as Dr. Garvie's *Handbook of Christian Apologetics*, Dr. Forsyth's *Justification of God*, Dean Inge's *Faith and its Psychology*, Mr. J. K. Mozley's *Doctrine of the Atonement*, Dean Rashdall's *Philosophy and Religion*, and *Conscience and Christ*. Dr. Cave has already written in it *An Introduction to the Study of Some Living Religions of the East*. His aim in the present volume is to provide for theological students, clergy, and educated laymen " a concise account of the development of the doctrine of Christ's Person in the light of present problems and recent research." It is not an easy task, but Dr. Cave has been successful in giving not only a clear but an exceedingly interesting historical survey. Although in the earlier portion he follows familiar lines in examining the Synoptic Gospels and the New Testament generally, and then proceeds to the thought of the first two centuries, it is full of fresh and suggestive thoughts. We are reminded, for example, that however interesting it is to know how men have judged of the historic Jesus " it is of far greater importance to learn how Jesus Himself judged of His person." Regarding a modern view of St. Paul he says " To derive Paul's central message of a divine Redeemer from pagan myths of Gods who die and rise again, is surely a confusion of form with content, possible only for scholars to whom Paul's faith is unintelligible and so repellent." Passing over the period of the great controversies with which theological students become familiar in their early years, and the account of the Church of the West in the succession of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas we come to the era of the Reformation. From this period on Dr. Cave's treatment is of special interest. He touches the heart of the new movement of thought and life when he says that Luther is important as " the restorer of that experience of Christ which it is the task of Christology to express." To him we owe " a rediscovery of saving faith, faith which has one object only. God revealed in Jesus Christ." This might be taken as the keynote of the last four chapters. Schleiermacher is the

starting point of a new line of thought, yet by him also " the person of Christ is interpreted through our experience of redemption through Him. His Person and Work are inseparable from Christian experience." He " taught the nineteenth century its theology " and it was " a theology congruous with Luther's grand intuition."

To him " to know Christ meant to know His benefits, not as the Schoolmen teach to contemplate His natures, and the modes of His incarnation." The developments of the various phases of the Kenotic theories are recorded and explained. The modern period is associated with the name of Ritschl and that theologian is defended against some of the misrepresentations from which he has suffered, especially in regard to the meaning of his " value-judgments." The significance of the struggle between the Liberal and Eschatological Schools is explained, and an account is given of Troeltsch and the Religio-historical School. He ranks highly Dr. Forsyth's *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, as emphasizing " the moralization of all dogma and the evangelical experience of redemption," and Dr. Mackintosh's great book *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, regarding which he quotes Canon Storr, " No recent work on Christology is so profound or illuminating." The last chapter on " Our Present Problem " provides food for much reflection. He regards the categories employed in past definitions and the philosophy of " substance " as inadequate and incongruous with the conception of Christianity as communion,—fellowship between God and man. " Much of our difficulty," he says, " is due to the lack of a recognized philosophy, congruous with Christian values, and so able to supply Christian theology with its necessary categories," and he suggests that " only a philosophy which sees in personality the highest category can be adequate for its expression." Yet he ends on a practical note. Our need is " less for a correct Christology than for the practical assertion of the validity of those Christian values which our faith in Christ involves." This is certainly a book to be placed on our shelves and kept for reference.

The Daily Walk, by Cornelia, Lady Wimborne (Oxford University Press, 7*s.* 6*d.* net), is an admirably selected book of Devotions for every day of the year. There is first a short portion of Scripture, chosen for the twofold purpose of meeting the needs of those whose lives are fully occupied and at the same time of making the readers " more familiar with the glories of the Book, both from its spiritual and literary merit, and thus inducing them to dig deeper into the unfathomable depths of that volume, which contains the Revelation of God to man." This is followed by a selection of prayers. These also cover the needs and circumstances of the lives of busy people. Finally there are some appropriate verses, in some instances familiar hymns which have proved their value to many in times of trouble or difficulty. The book will have special interest to those who in the past have been associated with Lady Wimborne in various

forms of religious activity. They will appreciate the happy dedication of the volume not only to her own children but also " to all those whose devotion and affection have been such an inexpressible blessing to me during a long and varied life." To them and to many others the volume will be a daily companion reminding them of one whose influence has been widespread, and whether exerted in public or in private has been whole-hearted in support of our Lord and His work in the world. It is unnecessary to speak of the insight into spiritual things and the devotion which have inspired this work. It will fulfil the purpose for which it has been designed, and will have the wide circulation which it deserves. A cloth gilt edition suitable for a present is issued at the small additional cost of one shilling.

The Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttleton, D.D., has occupied several important positions in the course of his life. He has been associated with many interesting personalities and has had unusually varied experiences. He brings them all together in an interesting volume of *Memories and Hopes* (John Murray, 16s.) and adds his reflections on the past and his hopes for the future. Eton naturally takes a large part in this review, and old Etonians will be specially interested in the many contrasts made between the present and the past, as well as in the ideals which a former Head Master treasured. Churchmen generally will be interested in the contrasts drawn between the Church life of fifty years ago and that of to-day. Sportsmen will find much to entertain them in golf, tennis, cricketing and mountaineering reminiscences. His account of the Riffelalp in its early days will call up interesting memories of well-known climbers, in spite of the lady who declared that " one never meets anyone nice in an hotel." Readers with artistic taste will find interesting comments on music and poetry and painting. For those interested in theology and religion there are sketches of prominent divines, and notes on spiritual experience which will appeal strongly to them; while the general reader is provided with information of many points and a number of amusing anecdotes. From this brief outline it will be seen that Dr. Lyttleton has touched life at many points, and has learned to take the best from every aspect of it. There are a number of excellent illustrations, and altogether the volume forms a record of life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which is both profitable and entertaining.

Arnold Thomas of Bristol was an outstanding personality in the ranks of the Free Church ministry. Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. publish a collection of his papers and addresses, with a Memoir by Nathaniel Micklem, M.A. (10s. 6*d*. net). It is a memorial volume which many outside the circle of his own Church and friends will be glad to have. It represents him as a scholar with firm convictions, which on occasions he could express decisively, and yet as a humble and devoted servant of Christ with a record

of long and faithful ministry in Highbury Congregational Church, Bristol. From the Churchman's point of view one of the most interesting and touching features of the Memoir is his association with Dean Burroughs, who willingly acceded to his request to allow the Bristol Missionary Society to hold its Annual Service in 1922 in the Cathedral. On his death-bed he sent for the Dean as Head of the Cathedral, for which he had always had an affection, and requested him to repeat the General Confession and Absolution from our Morning Prayer. The writer of this note was in Bristol at the time of Dr. Thomas' funeral and remembers the good impression produced by the presence of the Bishop of Bristol, and the address in which he said " We of the Church of England shall feel that we have lost an understanding friend." His addresses show him as a careful thinker, and a wide reader with a power of clear expression. One of the most interesting of those given in this volume is his explanation of " The Witness of Congregationalism," delivered in Bristol Cathedral on Christmas Eve 1922.

Yet another aspect of the varied life of the Church is represented in the latest volume of " The Living Church " Series. Indeed the Series would have been incomplete without a volume on Mysticism. The subject has been receiving considerable attention in recent years and a number of prominent writers have devoted much time to the study of it. Among them none is more favourably known than Miss Evelyn Underhill. Her works are among the most authoritative, and *The Mystics of the Church* (James Clarke, 6s. net) in this series provides within the limits allowed an account of some of the vast company of mystical saints " whose greatness is most closely connected with their dependence on, and contribution to, the family life of the household of faith." Beginning with Mysticism in the Bible and in the early Church she passes to the great period of mystical experience in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to the period of St. Francis and his followers. The fourteenth century was the age of the English mystics, Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Julian of Norwich. The two Catherines, of Siena and of Genoa, bring the record down to the sixteenth century, when Mysticism was strong in Spain, with St. Teresa as one of its outstanding personalities. In the seventeenth century France becomes the scene of their work, but severe discrimination is made here regarding some who have been regarded as true mystical types. Among Protestant mystics Boehme, Fox, William Law and Henry Martyn find a place. The last chapter on Modern Mystics gives brief but interesting accounts of several whose names are not familiar, and ends with Sadhu Sundar Singh. These particulars give some idea of the scope of a work of interest on a subject of importance.

The second edition of Dr. E. J. Bicknell's *Theological Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles* (Longmans, Green & Co., 15s. net) will find a place on the shelves of many who cannot follow his

teaching on important points of doctrine. The volume is already favourably known for its use of methods of exposition unfamiliar to earlier writers. The new portion of the present edition consists of a fuller treatment of the uses of the Reserved Sacrament and an additional section explaining the Enabling Act. While Reservation for the sick is defended, extra-liturgical uses of the reserved elements are strongly condemned as practices not of the Catholic Church but of the Counter-Reformation, and as having no authority in Scripture or primitive custom. Evangelical Churchmen cannot, however, accept his teaching on the real presence on which the practice of reservation must ultimately depend. He rejects the Roman explanation of the presence in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and is obliged to fall back upon a vague and altogether nebulous theory of an association of the personality or perfect humanity of Christ with the material substance of bread and wine. The usual analogy, utterly false in all essential features, of the connection of the Divine and human in the Incarnation is introduced. Perfect manhood is not a mere material substance. There is really no rational explanation of the theory of the Holy Spirit coming down on material things. Grace is in every aspect the touch of personality with personality. There is no such thing as the merely receptionist view.

Students will find Mr. Rawlinson's *Commentary on St. Mark* in the Westminster Commentaries (Methuen & Co., 16*s.* net), a storehouse of information on the various modern theories as to the origin and purpose of the Gospel. It differs somewhat from the other volumes of the Series, which is intended for English readers unacquainted with Greek, by dealing more fully with points of critical and historical interest. The study of the relations between the Synoptists, and their common relation to "Q" and its variants, has become so complicated as to have passed out of the sphere of those who are not experts. The latest developments of these theories are somewhat bewildering, and when applied to particular passages leave a vague sense of uneasiness as to what the original text may have been, and what authentic value it may have. There seems no possibility of scholarship emerging from its present condition of conjecture on numerous points of interpretation and transmission. It is satisfactory for the ordinary reader that the great majority of those who are engaged in these researches can assure us that the spiritual value of the records is unimpaired, that we may confidently rely upon the presentation of our Lord as the Incarnate Son of God, and that the teaching of our Creeds represents still the facts as contained in the New Testament. Mr. Rawlinson as an Anglo-Catholic emphasizes this spiritual value, sometimes indeed in a way that does not appeal to Evangelical Churchmen.

All who are interested in reunion will find the recently issued account of the Proceedings of Joint Conferences held at Lambeth

Palace 1921–1925 a useful book of reference. It is issued by the Oxford University Press under the title *The Church of England and The Free Churches*, and is edited by Dr. G. K. A. Bell, Dean of Canterbury, and the Rev. W. L. Robertson, Secretary of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England. Probably readers of THE CHURCHMAN are already familiar with many of the documents. They have appeared at intervals and represent various stages in the discussions which have been carried on since the issue of the Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People. They mark an important era in the relationship of the Churches, and though for a time the Conferences are suspended, we hope that there will be developments favourable to unity in the near future. The Editors express a hope that the publication of the documents will lead to increased interest in Christian Reunion, and increased reflection among the rank and file on all sides. It is probably true that the leaders on all sides have outstripped the pace of the great mass of the people. It is the duty now of clergy and ministers to bring the facts of the present situation before them, and so prepare the way for further progress. Among the documents is " A Short Memorandum on the Safe-guarding of the Evangelical Principles of the Reformation." This was accepted by the Joint Conference and shows that a firm stand is being made for the fundamental teaching of all the English Churches as based on Reformation principles.

The Epistle to the Ephesians has a volume to itself in *The Speaker's Bible* (The " Speaker's Bible " Offices, Aberdeen, 12*s.* 6*d.* net). This is in itself an indication of the fullness of the treatment. The introductory matter is short, occupying only 7 pages, so that the comments on the text fill 440 of the 480 pages in the large quarto volume. The remaining part has the usual useful list of Commentaries and Sermons on the Epistle. These, as is natural in the case of such an important portion of the New Testament, are particularly numerous. We naturally turn to some of the best known texts to see how they are treated. In every case there is some thought valuable to preachers, and suggestive for development. There is much that is corrective of some conventional views and misleading interpretations of portions of the Epistle. The treatment of the first part of the fourth chapter is as useful a test as could be desired, and here preachers of very different Churches and Schools of thought will find the essentials of Christian unity clearly set out. The practical instructions in the latter part of the Epistle lend themselves to the emphasizing of ethical lessons, and here again excellent use is made of the opportunity. With such a book in the preacher's hand there is the best material available for the most useful type of teaching on both the doctrinal and the practical sides of Christianity. Those who have the previous volumes on their shelves will not omit to add this to their number.

G.F.I.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

CANON H. A. WILSON'S NEW BOOK.

THE MASTER AND HIS FRIENDS. By H. A. Wilson, M.A. *Longmans.* 5*s.* net.

Canon Wilson is master of a style and charm which cannot fail to fascinate young people. He has attempted a task that had many pitfalls and was calculated to task the ability and sympathy of the most accomplished writer. He has avoided the dangers and attained a success that is a source of pleasure to all who have valued his contributions to our Church life. It is by no means easy to tell the story of our Lord as a connected record to children, who ask many questions that cannot be answered. The author must have the child mind as well as the perception that will bring him straight to the centre of the secret of the Master. He must, in other words, love children and love their Saviour. And the chief characteristic of *The Master and His Friends* is the freedom with which Canon Wilson moves in an atmosphere inspired by love, devotion and reverence. We see the Saviour as He went in and out among men, we understand why children loved Him, and we find ourselves drawn closer to Him as we follow Him in His daily work. We quote the exposition given by Thomas of our Lord's reply to Peter's assertion, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." "The Master said that what Peter had said was true and that the Spirit of God had taught Him that wonderful thing. And wonderful it is beyond all thought. To think that our Master, Who has been our Friend all this time, is the Son of God! It explains many things I could never understand. It explains the Master's power and wisdom and tender love. But I am dazed to think that the Son of God is my Friend. I had often thought that perhaps it might be and the others had thought the same. But it was only dear Peter who dared to say what we all thought." This seems simple writing, but read it again and again and it will be found to be a guide to much that lies behind the Gospel story. We hope that Canon Wilson's book will be widely read and will find a place in all Sunday School Libraries.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

SCIENCE, RELIGION AND REALITY. Edited by Joseph Needham. *S.P.C.K.* 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

In the space at our disposal it is impossible to review this extraordinarily stimulating and informing volume. Probably it will be considered with the striking work of Canon Streeter on the "Four Gospels," the most important theological work of the year. And we are inclined to believe that the more it is read and considered the deeper will be the impression made by it upon the minds of scientists and theologians. The book is unlike any other book

we have read. It is not an apologia for Christianity or a defence of the supremacy of science. It is a clear setting forth by men who are masters in their own domains of the present position of knowledge and of the conceptions that govern the minds and outlook of theologians and scientists. We do not believe that there are many men who are capable of pronouncing a verdict on the value of all the contributions. Even the versatile Dean of St. Paul's, who supplies a summary and criticism of the chapters, admits that more than once he is outside his sphere of knowledge and his capacity for thought. And where Dr. Inge fails very few will succeed. Let it not be imagined that the book is hard reading from cover to cover. We frankly admit we found some of the chapters extremely hard work to plough through. But what we found difficult others will find easy, and what was familiar ground to us must of necessity be fallow ground to others, for the aim of the book is to present fairly what has been achieved by the most modern minds in departments of thought so different as Anthropology and Relativity, History and Bio-Chemistry, Psychology and Religious Philosophy. And the general effect of the book is to make the reader feel, even if he does not understand, that science and religion both bring him into the presence of realities that are equally real, and cannot therefore be contradictory the one to the other.

We have had our ideas of the age of man and his development upon earth transformed by the increased knowledge we possess of his history and strivings after God. He has always looked outside himself to a Power not himself which controls human destiny. We may or may not accept all that is written on magic—in fact, we have conflicting views of its character presented to us, but we clearly see the difference between the magic that terrorizes and the religion that uplifts. We appreciate the place the medicine man plays in primitive religions, and are now able to understand how he has won his position. But back of everything there is a sense of communion with that which is unknown. We may not accept the account of the Numinous which is so ably presented, for we have doubts of the permanent hold of the so-called non-rational element of religion on men who believe that there is mind behind all things as well as a sustaining Spirit, and our sense of the Numinous is determined rather by the limitations of our minds than by the impossibility of rationalizing what is not understood. Could we see and know as God we should find that the non-rational is essentially rational. We learn that the old gibes against the miraculous are unwarranted and that miracle is just as credible as the other factors in Divine revelation. The universe is not closed and self-sustaining in accordance with the laws we have discovered and described. There is a great beyond in the Divine thought and activity which we have not explored, and one day we shall know as we are known.

Lord Balfour has written one of his charming essays as a Preface, and as we read it we are aware of the folly of thinking that we can

build belief in God on so-called gaps in knowledge or comprehension. " Unexampled invasions of the physical sphere by the spiritual are not indeed to be lightly believed. But they are certainly not to be rejected merely because historians cannot bring themselves to accept the ' miraculous.' " Dr. Brown on the New Psychology has much to say that is worth pondering. When we once grasp that " Truth, as truth, is certainly beyond time," we are on the way to intellectual peace as we find our rest in the Eternal who is timeless and spaceless, yet pervades all space and time—a Person whose personality touches and intermingles with ours. It is sufficient to add that the papers are written by Earl Balfour, Dr. Malinowski, Dr. Singer, Dr. Aliotta, Mr. Eddington—one of the greatest original philosophers of our day—Mr. Needham, Dr. Oman, Dr. William Brown, Professor C. C. J. Webb, and Dr. Inge, to prove that the book is not as other books—a work to be taken up, read, laid down and forgotten. It will be useful to the man who understands even half its contents as long as he is able to think and value the clear thinking of others.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH'S CHARGES.

THE NATION AND THE CHURCH. Six Charges by Bertram Pollock, Bishop of Norwich, K.C.V.O., D.D. *John Murray.* 5*s.* net.

The Bishop of Norwich has joined with his brother Bishops of Gloucester, Manchester and Southwark in publishing his views on the present situation in the Church in a series of Visitation Charges. He approaches the subject from his own distinctive point of view—" as one who is detached from all party allegiance," and although his views are intended primarily for his own diocese they are of general interest. He deals with many of the most urgent problems of the day, and treats them in a judicial spirit. His main theme is the peace of a National Church in a Christian Nation. This leads him to the consideration of what constitutes a Christian Nation and then to the essential characteristics of a National Church. These are treated with special reference to our own country, and the Bishop appears as a strong supporter of the teaching and traditions of our Church as represented in the Reformation Settlement, although he regards the actual term as an unfortunate one. He dislikes the " tone of sharpness " which it suggests. Yet he is himself quite definite in his disapproval of those " who regard the Reformation as a misfortune in the life of the Church of England." He expresses himself equally strongly regarding those who declare their assent to the Prayer Book and yet " make little of their adherence to the form in the Prayer Book prescribed, because they attest it with a presupposed background of other Church teaching and use which does not happen to be alluded to in the declaration and, so far, as they think, invalidates it." He gives a clear explanation of the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Law in regard to the interpretation of documents concerning the teaching of the Free Churches, and shows that the

section of the clergy who object to Courts which are not spiritual pay little attention even to such a " strictly spiritual Court " as that which pronounced the Lincoln judgment, when the decisions are not to their taste. His criticisms of the National Assembly and the effects of the Enabling Act on the Church are given in a judicial spirit. He fears the narrowing influence of some of its enactments. Nothing is to be gained from approaches to Rome in regard to reunion unless we are prepared to submit to the Pope. The hopes entertained for unity with the Free Churches have been frustrated—for a time—by the difficulties of the problem of Episcopacy. The Bishop sees that questions concerning marriage have in other ages and other lands led to collisions between Church and State. He recognizes the possibility of similar dangers in England, and suggests that civil marriage should be adopted as a universal requirement, leaving those who desire it to add the Church Service. In his Charge on the Doctrine of the Church of England, he gives some much-needed guidance as to the connection between life and doctrine, the true method of dealing with our social problems, the limits of comprehension, and reasserts the supremacy of the Bible as an essential characteristic of our Church. Many will welcome the wise guidance given by the Bishop on so many important aspects of life in Church and State.

BISHOP BOYD CARPENTER'S BIOGRAPHY.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM BOYD CARPENTER. By H. D. A. Major, D.D., Principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford. London : *John Murray.* 16*s.* net.

Those men who came under the influence of Bishop Boyd Carpenter have been eagerly awaiting the appearance of Dr. Major's biography of the great preacher.

A reputation for pulpit eloquence has its own drawbacks, and as we read in the preface " of the great prelates of the Victorian Age, Blomfield, Tait, Temple, Benson, Lightfoot, Westcott, Magee, Creighton, none was quite as distinguished for pulpit eloquence and personal charm as William Boyd Carpenter." Dr. Major fears that we may suppose that his hero was not distinguished for anything else, and for that reason perhaps he stresses the Bishop more as man of affairs and man of letters than as pulpit orator. Some of us may feel that Dr. Major has barely proved his point. We do not think that we desire a biography of Dr. Boyd Carpenter because he excelled as leader of men or master of literature. Those who never heard him preach will wonder why we thought so highly of him, for the printed page cannot preserve the beautiful voice, the charm of manner, the smooth delivery of perfect sentences, the smile at times lighting up his expressive face. A very vivid account by a Nonconformist minister of a sermon preached by the Bishop in Christ Church, Harrogate, recalls to me the last time the Bishop addressed his Good Friday Men's Meeting in the Leeds Town Hall. Looking from behind the Bishop on the sea of faces

I realized how the orator had charmed his audience—the scenes shown on the screen evoked little interest, the large hall and the wide world outside were alike forgotten—men who were not regular churchgoers were mesmerized as the Story of the Passion was told anew to them by the greatest orator of his generation.

It is rather sad to read through the book and realize that the Bishop found himself unable as life went on to identify himself with the Evangelical party. Dr. Major says, " It was this inner spiritual experience, combined no doubt with the study of the psychology of religion and the historic evolution of religion, which transformed Boyd Carpenter theologically from a traditionalist Evangelical into a Modernist mystic." Some prefer to say that in Bishop Boyd Carpenter we see taking place what more slowly has been taking place among Evangelicals—the effect of the renaissance—and many who do not call themselves " Modernist mystics " approve of the Bishop's prediction, in 1898, that the time is coming when Anglicanism will be—

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

The spirit of the Bishop may reconcile the spiritual experience of a great thinker like Dr. Major with that of men who can still pay tribute to their Evangelical forbears as guides who brought them to Christ.

Dr. Major's book devotes a few pages to the Bishop's early life and ministry—wisely stressing the lifelong pastoral care devoted to the confirmation candidates prepared by him during his years at St. James', Holloway, and at Christ Church, Lancaster Gate. By page 25 comes the elevation to the episcopate. Various episodes in episcopal work are recorded until page 65 is headed " Farewell to Ripon."

Chapter IV. is valuable as giving us some idea of the Bishop as a Biblical student and exegete. The next chapter seeks to show the injustice of the saying, " Whatever Boyd Carpenter may be, he is no Churchman," and it is particularly interesting as showing not only the Bishop's comprehensiveness, but also his fear that " the victory of extreme men is the ruin of institutions." We commend what Dr. Major records on this latter point, as some of us can see this danger looming very large in the Church of England to-day—especially among those that have got nearer the Alps even than Malines, which they probably consider still in the " Low Country."

Chapters follow entitled " As Preacher," " As Theologian," " As Pastor Pastorum," " As Man of Letters," " As Court Chaplain." One extract from the Bishop's lectures must be repeated here : " The New Testament gives to us the picture of the Christ without ; the religious consciousness of Christendom bears witness to the Christ within ; in the Gospels we have the Christ of history ; in the souls of Christians we have the Christ of experience. We meet

thus a consequence of fact and experience. It is not a proof, if you will; it does not banish all questions; it does not solve all difficulties; but it is the drawing together of two facts which are enough to evidence the presence of a great religious power in the world, which unite together the greatest fact in human history with an inward spiritual force, a unique fact with a continuous experience."

The closing chapter ("As Mystic") is beautifully written by an admirer, who lays it as a wreath on his grave along with tributes from four who knew and loved him well.

The book will be valued as an interesting biography of a Bishop who ministered to Queen Victoria and her generation.

W. L. P. F.

A MAYNOOTH PROFESSOR.

REMINISCENCES OF A MAYNOOTH PROFESSOR. By Walter McDonald. *Jonathan Cape.* 18*s.*

This is one of the most illuminating books on the position and policy of the Roman Catholic Church, and as we lay it down we wonder how many English Churchmen or Anglo-Catholics understand the marvellous organization and the subtle skill with which that Church is ruled. It has an uncanny way of discerning the minds and hearts of those who are in rebellion against its dogmas or discipline, it knows when and how to strike, and, what is more amazing, how to wait patiently until death removes from the ranks of its clergy men who are rebels at heart but will not take the step of leaving her. Whether it be a Bishop in Italy or a Professor in Maynooth the policy is the same. "He can be trusted to remain in the Communion and not do anything to cause a scandal. Therefore let him stay and death will mercifully free us from taking a stand in public against him. We can place his books on the Index, refuse publication to his writings and confine his influence to the narrowest possible limits." And so Rome works, and after death occasionally we are let into the secrets so carefully hidden from the outer world.

Walter McDonald was a man of great ability and considerable independence. He was no Modernist—in fact, he was opposed to what is known as Modernism in the Roman Church. He had the Protestant approach to the discussion of all theological and ecclesiastical problems. He was more interested in their truth than in their authoritative claims. He was, as far as we can see, in the main orthodox from the Roman Catholic standpoint, but he based his conclusions on grounds very different to those accepted by his fellow-professors. He hated shams and humbugs, and wished everything to be open and above board. He saw the growing rift between scientific fact and Roman Catholic teaching, and he wished to reconcile the Church and Science. He tells us frankly that Salmon's great work on "The Infallibility of the Church" has never been properly answered, and he hates what he considers the duplicity of the Roman Church in its dealing with Irish problems. Head of

the post-graduate class in Maynooth he might have been expected to exercise a great influence on the best minds of its students, but the tragedy of his life is that in spite of all his gifts he seems to have had but little following. As we read his pages and saw the intrigues that preceded the appointment of Professors, and the neglect of strong men who knew their work, we read a lesson to ourselves, for Churchmen are sometimes more ready to pay lip service to scholarship than to honour scholars by placing them in the positions where they may exercise their talents to the best advantage.

Dr. McDonald cannot have been always an easy colleague or subordinate, but he always faced facts and never ran away from them. The picture he gives us of the inefficiency and motives of policy that govern the hearing of appeals to Rome shows clearly that Rome has not changed, and justice in the Vatican is determined by expediency more than by equity and fair play. No one who has any real interest in Ireland or the Church of Rome can afford to neglect this volume of frank reminiscences that shed more light on the weaknesses of that Church than scores of controversial articles. We hope that no Anglican Churchman will ever be able to write truthfully of his Church as Dr. McDonald has written of the Roman Church.

BUTLER OF TRINITY.

HENRY MONTAGU BUTLER: Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1886–1918. A Memoir by his son, J. R. M. Butler. London: *Longmans.* 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

This account of Dr. Butler's life as Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, follows and completes Mr. Edward Graham's story of his days at Harrow as Headmaster, and will be welcomed alike by those who knew him personally and those to whom he was only a well-known and greatly honoured name. Mr. Butler has succeeded in giving a very clear and distinct impression of his father's personality, his wide sympathy, his passion for beauty and for righteousness, his fine scholarship, breadth of view and genial humour. The tributes from friends which are brought together in the last chapter make it quite clear why he was so greatly loved and so widely respected. A man so sane in judgment, so solid in ability, so dominated by a sense of duty, and placed in so commanding a position, must have exerted an influence hardly dreamt of even by those who knew him best. Besides a wealth of quotations from Dr. Butler's letters, we are given a brief selection from some of his "Poems"; and the transition from "The Last Sardine" and "In Memoriam" of a pet, but not very reputable, dog named Jet, to some of the more serious verse is almost startling; but the scholar could unbend when writing for his grandchildren. The book, which is well illustrated by a number of delightful photographs, is interesting and stimulating, and should be read.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BISHOP.

JEREMY TAYLOR. By W. J. Brown, B.D. English Theologians Series. *S.P.C.K.* 6*s.* net.

Canon Brown's note on one of the early editors of Jeremy Taylor is "Heber's Protestant bias is only too evident." Of the treatment of the English theologians in this series it can truly be said, "the bias is only too evident." Taylor lived during times of sharp controversy, and every allowance must be made for the influence of his environment. He came under the influence of Laud and owed much to his patron. They were both opposed to Puritanism, but they were equally opposed to Romanism, and to everything approaching it. They would certainly have little sympathy with the modern Anglo-Catholic attitude towards the Church of Rome. The older Tractarians appealed to the Anglican divines in support of their views. The Anglo-Catholics now are not satisfied with the views of these divines, and endeavour to represent them, if possible, as almost in complete agreement with themselves, or if this is impossible, as being defective in "Catholic" teaching.

In the present case we are told that Taylor rejected Purgatory, but he would have expressed himself differently if he had lived in the twentieth century. He spoke almost flippantly of extreme unction. Yet the gist of his remarks is the very reasonable statement, "No sensible man can think that any ceremony can make a spiritual change, without a spiritual act of him that is to be changed." This has also a practical bearing on Taylor's teaching on the Real Presence. He says, "Water is the symbol of purification of the soul from sin, and bread and wine of Christ's body and blood. Therefore the symbols and sacraments receive the names of what themselves do sign." He is condemning the doctrine of transubstantiation, and makes clear that "the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ after a Sacramental, that is, in a Spiritual, real manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of His passion." He explains further that by "spiritually" the Romans mean "present after the manner of a spirit," by "spiritually" we mean "present to our spirits only." "We by 'the real spiritual presence' of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace." Yet we have no doubt that the propagandists of the Anglo-Catholic school would represent Taylor as holding the Real presence in the sense in which they teach it. Taylor's condemnation of the Romanists would, however, apply to them: "their way makes His body to be present no way but that which is impossible and implies a contradiction." Canon Brown regards Taylor's view on the presence as "not entirely consistent," and adds, in the misleading terms now used, that he inclines to Virtualism rather than Receptionism.

This is one example of the attitude of the writer towards Taylor's

teaching. It represents in the main the method adopted in this series towards our older divines.

A GREAT JEWISH SCHOLAR.

THE GLORY OF GOD ! By Israel Abrahams. *Oxford Press*, 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

" Comparatively few persons in any country are fully qualified to estimate Dr. Abrahams' scholarship, which had made his name known all over the world." These words occur in the *Times* appreciation of Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature at Cambridge University until his lamented death on October 6.

It was in 1902 that Dr. Abrahams succeeded Dr. Solomon Schechter at Cambridge. Here he was revered and loved by all—Christians and Jews; theologians and historians; intellectuals and mystics, for he was not merely amazingly learned, but a religious and human layman. " He explained Judaism to the Christian and Christianity to the Jew." Not only had he his classes of Christian and Jewish ordinands who were reading for the Oriental Languages Tripos, but week by week at the college of his adoption—Christ's—in the rooms of the University Reader in Aramaic he expounded Talmud to a class of Christian theological lecturers. Should he at any time be absent from the proceedings of the Cambridge Theological Society, or from the Seniors' weekly discussion under the presidency of Professor Burkitt, we soon found we needed him to give us a Rabbinical parallel or to enunciate a point of Jewish theology. How he could bring his Jewish lore to bear upon the study of the New Testament is known by those who have on their shelves his " Pharisaism and the Gospels," Vols. I and II (reviewed in the *Churchman*, October, 1924); " Cambridge Biblical Essays " (Swete, 1909), containing Abrahams' Essay on " Rabbinical Aids to Exegesis," or " Permanent Values in Judaism " (see the *Churchman*, October, 1924)—to enumerate but a few of his almost endless original researches.

He was appointed to give the Schweich Lectures before the British Academy in 1922; he lectured in Jerusalem; and was many times called across the Atlantic to deliver courses.

How many of Abrahams' diverse gifts appear in his last book, published just before his death, *The Glory of God!* In a special sense the title itself can well be associated with the writer. His life was lived " to the glory of God." On p. 63 Abrahams quotes a Rabbinic commentary on Psalm xxiv. 1: " No man shall exercise eyes, hands or feet, except for the glory of his Maker." This is the Jewish counterpart of " Take my hands, and let them move at the impulse of Thy love." His old pupils will hear his voice as if still living, always so eloquent upon the Rabbinical doctrine of the " Sanctification of the Name " (Kiddush hasshem) (p. 66). " It is left to us to vindicate God's love for His world and His hope in us. We must be ever ready. There is no other time but here and now. . . . Man must not waste his opportunities. He must ever be

ready to receive the vision, in a sense to deserve it by surrendering himself when the vision is offered " (pp. 87, 88).

We Christian teachers and sermon writers might do worse than read the original researches and the spiritual homilies of surely the greatest British Jew theologian of the twentieth century—and not least this very readable treatise " The Glory of God ! ".

R. S. C.

JESUS IN THE GOSPELS.

THE FIVE PORTRAITS OF JESUS. By W. M. Clow, D.D. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 6s. net.

The name of Professor Clow always recalls his truly masterly book, *The Cross in Christian Experience,* a book which has laid countless readers under a great debt of gratitude for its wise, stimulating, and uplifting addresses on various aspects of the Atonement. It is because Professor Clow set himself such a high standard in that book that we always approach one of his new volumes with keen anticipation. It must be said at once, however, that the book before us is not likely to dislodge the above-mentioned work from the pre-eminent place it has so long occupied, and this for more reasons than one. In the first place, Dr. Clow is here dealing with a subject other than those matters connected with the Cross of Christ, which he analysed in such a searching way. He is here concerned to depict in broad outline the differing conceptions of our Lord as they appear in the synoptic Gospels, in St. John, in the Epistles and in the Book of Revelation. The subject, therefore, trenches on some of the problems connected with the authorship of the books of the New Testament and also with the general question of Biblical interpretation. For this reason, therefore, there will undoubtedly be differing views of the value of what Professor Clow offers us. Speaking generally, however, every reader will appreciate most deeply the five portraits of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God the Father, the Risen Lord, the Divine Redeemer, the Everlasting Priest and King. Moreover, we would draw attention to Chapter VII which recalls something of the best and most typical of the work that Dr. Clow has ever written. In some respects, therefore, the book is what we looked for, but it is because it is not all that we looked for that we venture to offer a few criticisms.

In the first place we are a little repelled by the frequent use of expressions which convey the impression of mere sentimentality. It does not seem true to fact that when Christ cried out " If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink," it was a " pathetic cry " (p. 94) any more than we agree that when Christ said " I am the light of the world," He said it looking " upon them all with a patient wistfulness " (p. 96). Then again we find a little contradiction in the references to Isaiah liii. On p. 34, for example, it is stated that the " Old Testament Scriptures gave no hint of a crucified and risen Messiah," but on p. 237 we are told that the prophecy

of Isaiah "disclosed a despised and rejected, a suffering and a sacrificed, Messiah," whilst on p. 240 it is said that Isaiah liii "had its first reference to the Hebrew people." The prophet foresaw the Hebrew people in his vision, as the suffering servant of God, through whose service and sacrifice the Kingdom of God would come. Again, on pp. 236–7, we are told that in the prophecy of Isaiah He (i.e. Christ) found the true portrait of the Messiah. The references show that Professor Clow has not made his position clear on this point.

But there will be a much wider difference of opinion with regard to the slight discussion on our Lord's "progressive recognition of His own personality, and consequently of His relationship to God" (pp. 241–2). Is it correct to say that our Lord's Baptism and His Transfiguration were "progressive recognitions of His own personality, and consequently of His relationship to God"? and was it only in Gethsemane that Christ "became certain that His death on the Cross was the cup which His Father had given Him to drink"? (p. 242). We have only to look back to Dr. Clow's treatment of the portrait of Christ in St. John's Gospel to see a completely different point of view. He accepts the Baptist's eulogium of Christ (p. 87). Nathanael's greeting of Christ (p. 88), and also the interview with Nicodemus with the references to the new birth, the power of the Holy Spirit, and the reference to the Cross, though we are not sure whether Professor Clow means St. John iii. 16 to be St. John's own "absorbing message regarding the work of Christ," or whether he thinks them to be the words spoken by "Jesus sitting at night with Nicodemus." But surely this is enough to show that we have not to wait until late in our Lord's Ministry before He recognized the implications of His personality, or before He knew that Calvary awaited Him.

There are one or two minor criticisms we have to offer. There is a sentence or a few words wanted at the bottom of p. 230, for there is no sequence in the paragraphs, whilst there is an obvious slip in putting Philip for Thomas on the top of p. 110, and there is the misprint of 'lorn' for 'lone' on p. 138.

It will be evident that we have mingled feelings with regard to the latest book of Professor Clow. The volume contains a great deal which will be found eminently useful and suggestive, but parts of the book give the impression of having been written in haste and require more revision.

T. W. G.

ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

THE SPIRIT OF JESUS IN ST. PAUL: A study in the soul of St. Paul based upon the Corinthian Letters. By W. W. Boyden, M.A. Introduction by Prof. W. Menson, D.D., and Foreword by Prof. J. E. McFadyen, D.D. *James Clarke & Co., Ltd.* 6s. net.

This small volume is one which merits the careful study of every thoughtful reader of the New Testament. The writer takes

the two Epistles to the Corinthians as his starting point, and endeavours to show, from the record of St. Paul's dealings with the Corinthian Christians what the essential truth of our Christian faith is, and also where the energizing power of Christianity lies. It is a thought-provoking book, and one which should do a great deal to recall men to the fundamental fact that Christianity is primarily the action of the Spirit of Christ working in and through the redeemed Christian. There are one or two paragraphs we should like to have seen differently phrased, and we certainly do not approve of the references to God's Spirit as " it." The book, however, is one to be bought and studied.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER'S NEW BOOK.

JESUS CHRIST IN HISTORY AND FAITH. By the Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, C.H., D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. *John Murray.* 6*s.* net.

The eight lectures delivered at Harvard University on the William Belden Noble Foundation by the Bishop of Gloucester are contained in this volume. They follow as a natural sequence on the Bishop's earlier volume *The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ.* The main subjects are the later ministry of our Lord, His death upon the Cross, the Resurrection appearances, the Virgin Birth, and the theological questions regarding " the relation of the historical Christ to the Christ of faith." Such a volume has special usefulness at the present time. In recent years we have had the various theories put forward by the Liberal and Eschatological Schools, as well as the conflicting views of the Religio-historical School as to the interpretation of our Lord's person and teaching. At the same time the critical examination of the sources and text of the Gospels has raised questions in the minds of students as to the authenticity and value of portions of the record. In view of these conditions it is of the utmost importance that some one well qualified by scholarship should state as clearly as possible the views which may be firmly held as a result of, and indeed sometimes in spite of, these inquiries. It is satisfactory to find that Dr. Headlam, with full knowledge of the modern movements, rejects all the modern novelties, and accepts the orthodox view of the ancient creeds of the Church. He examines the historical authority for our Lord's Ministry and he finds the records authentic and trustworthy. They " will stand the test of a fair critical examination, and may be used with confidence if with discretion." He traces the course of the life of Jesus and of His teaching, dealing with many questions—critical, psychological and ethical—as they arise. He then deals with the Personality of Jesus, showing that we reach " a point where we must either distrust our testimony or admit the supernatural," and he gives his reasons for adopting the second of these positions. The facts relating to the death of Jesus, his Resurrection, and the Virgin Birth are then examined at some length, and a useful summary of the results of the best scholarship is given.

The fundamental question to which all the previous study leads is "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He?" and here the value of Christ in human life is emphasized. The final chapter is on the Christian Church, and although there is not the same definiteness of views as in the previous lectures, he is quite clear that the definite purpose of Jesus was to found His Church. This outline does not represent the Bishop's close touch throughout with the varied phases of modern thought. The lectures should have a reassuring effect upon any who are disposed to be sceptical as to the value of the Gospel records or the Personality and power of Jesus. His work of revelation and of atonement are clearly presented in a coherent scheme of which all the parts are congruous. Dr. Headlam does good service to the cause of orthodoxy in these lectures.

THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE.

THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE. Up to the End of the Pelagian Controversy, Historically and Dogmatically Considered. By Ernest Jauncey, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Brotherton, Yorks. *S.P.C.K.* 14*s.* net. Pp. vii. + 299.

The chief aim of this work, which is the first of two volumes to be issued, is to provide a text-book for the rather advanced theological student. When reading for the Durham B.D., Mr. Jauncey found no suitable first-class work on the subject of Grace, a doctrine set for special study in Theology at Durham, and also at Oxford, and so he decided to try to fill the gap. At the same time he has endeavoured, by translations and explanations, to make the work suitable for a wider circle of readers, so that those who have an interest in theological discussion can easily apply themselves to a historical and dogmatic consideration of so important a subject as the doctrine of Grace. The general reader can rest assured that he will find this volume most interesting.

This first volume reviews the subject up to and including the Pelagian Controversy. After a discussion of the word "Grace," Mr. Jauncey in successive chapters traces the ideas current in Pagan thought, in Jewish literature, in New Testament times, in the Early Christian Church, and finally during the Pelagian Controversy. He hopes, in a second volume, to extend the investigation to Semi-Pelagianism, the Scholastic system, the Reformation Theology, and onwards to discussions in modern times.

The best work in this volume is undoubtedly contained in its last two chapters, which deal with the Early Church and with the Pelagian Controversy. The ground is very well covered. Particular space—over a hundred pages—is naturally given to the Pelagian Controversy, partly because of its interest and importance, and partly because of the fact that, in the University Courses, the Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine are set as the special subject. The account given is full, thorough, exhaustive, and at the same time quite interesting.

Less satisfactory treatment is given in the other part of Mr. Jauncey's volume. The period between the Testaments, on which so much has been written in recent years, scarcely receives adequate handling. Nor is the handling of New Testament doctrine really convincing; some matters seem insufficiently investigated. Mr. Jauncey, in our opinion, does not accurately explain St. Paul's doctrine of justification; and the angelic salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary is loosely handled. At various points there is too much following of the lines of Roman Catholic exposition, and in some passages too much assumption concerning the place of sacraments in the conveyance of divine grace.

Though this volume will scarcely meet the full extent of his need, it will certainly prove useful to the advanced theological student, and in particular Mr. Jauncey deserves our thanks for his historical review of the Pelagian Controversy.

PUNISHMENT.

PUNISHMENT, HUMAN AND DIVINE. By W. C. De Pauley. *S.P.C.K.* *7s. 6d.* net.

The theory of punishment is one which must sooner or later force itself upon the attention of every reader of the Bible. We may have no abstract ideas on the subject, and we may be little moved by the speculations of ancient and modern philosophers on this topic, but, sooner or later, we are compelled to face the matter by the central fact of our faith, viz. the Atonement. It is this which makes the theory of punishment so important to Christian people, and it is this fact which will command a ready circle of readers for the thoughtful book before us. Mr. Pauley has gone to the writings of such men as Plato and Plotinus, and to others such as Augustine, John Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and Hobbes, and has extracted from their works some of their salient teaching about punishment. As one reads the various chapters it becomes apparent how much the writers were the creatures of their own age, and how the most eminent of men were limited by the conceptions of their own time, and the statement is as true of Plato as of Augustine or of Anselm. The value of the book to the Christian reader, however, lies in showing the relation of human theories of punishment to all that is involved in the Atonement, and the two chapters on "Grace and Punishment" and "The Atonement and Punishment" sum up some very helpful truths on this great topic.

AN INTERESTING NOVEL.

THE RING OF STRAW. By Lady Norah Bentinck. *Hurst & Blackett.* *7s. 6d.* net.

We have been surprised by not seeing more notice taken of the very remarkable story, *The Ring of Straw*, written by a Roman Catholic, who gives documentary proof of the official way in which the Roman Church is accustomed to treat those who contract "mixed marriages." The book is, we believe, founded on fact, and we are

able to vouch for the accuracy of the documents quoted, for we have seen them. It is sad to think that in the twentieth century any organization calling itself Christian can so relentlessly and pertinaciously persecute those who do not obey its commands which are unsupported by Scripture or the law of the Primitive Church. The hero suffers terribly, and we at times grow angry with his docility and neglect of obvious duty. But his warped mind finds it easy to do what would be impossible for many of stronger fibre. The book is an *exposé* of the disciplinary action of Rome, and as such deserves reading. Apart from this the story is attractive, and we feel at times its author has her eye on matters that have entered into her soul.

ROME'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

THE GIANT MASQUERADE. By Frank C. Raynor. *Morgan & Scott, Ltd.* 6*s.* net.

In a hurrying age when every moment of time seems taken up with the things of the present, we are often apt to forget the past and to accept things and institutions as they appear to-day without considering their history. There is a real peril in this, for we may quite likely find that we are giving our support and approval to some that in the past have by no means worked for the benefit of mankind. Such an institution is the Roman hierarchy, and for the information of this generation a vivid sketch of the Roman plan of campaign through the ages has been given us in *The Giant Masquerade.*

In a comparatively small compass we have set before us the long but tragic story of how, when after a struggle of three hundred years the Church had succeeded in leavening the world, the world had its revenge by in turn leavening the Church, and causing the self-styled Vicar of Christ so far to forget that His Kingdom was not of this world as to make "Temporal Power" the supreme goal. Very ably are the strivings of the Papacy after this world-dominion traced, especially where it comes into conflict with the "Holy Roman Emperors," from over the Alps, and though the Papacy temporarily proved the victor, yet "not only had the Church lost its original brightness but, in its warped and darkened imagination, it had so distorted the Holy One of God that it almost lost its Christ." Very few books close with such a beautiful Epilogue as that in which the reader is led to realize that the only hope of the world to-day is to be found in Christ and in the adoption of His teaching as revealed in the Sermon on the Mount.

The volume makes most fascinating reading, and from start to finish there is not a dull page. Evangelicals will appreciate the way in which the struggles of true spiritual religion are emphasized, for a religion which can be visualized is always much easier to propagate than one that definitely appeals to the spiritual in man. "How much easier to see a throne than to perceive a spiritual presence!"

The book is one that may well be recommended to those who, being members of the Church of England, yet hanker after Rome either because of the comfort it professes to give to souls in doubt, or because it claims to possess a greater weight of authority than our own church.

R. M. M.

SHORTER NOTICES.

The Ethics of the Gospel, by F. A. M. Spencer, B.D., M.A. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., *7s. 6d.* net), is a systematic examination of the principles of New Testament teaching, and their application to the problems of our present-day life in the light of modern theories of ethics and psychology. The survey is a very complete one, and is made with a full knowledge of the latest literature on each aspect of the subject. The undertaking is no easy one and indicates a grasp of philosophy and theology that is far beyond the range of the ordinary student. The author passes from the foundations of ethics, as expressed in the terms " the Kingdom of Heaven " and " eternal life," to the moral principle of love, and then applies all that is signified by these to the practical concerns of life in the proper interpretation of the non-resistance of evil, the right use of riches, the true view of marriage, the real nature of asceticism, and on to the spiritual problems involved in the nature of sin. The social aspects of the Gospel, the character of the Church, the appeal of Jesus are all considered, and he concludes with an examination of philosophical theories in the light of the Gospel ethics as represented in the teaching of Kant, Utilitarianism, and Ethical Idealism. The whole work gives the student a conspectus of modern thought in relation to the application of the Gospel, which will serve as a guide and a basis for more detailed examination of the numerous books on special aspects indicated in the text and in the notes. As an introduction to a subject of unusual importance at the present time it has special value.

The Rev. Clement F. Rogers has had considerable experience of open-air work, and he has turned it to good account in recent publications containing hints and instructions for those engaged in similar work. He has now published a volume of *Lectures in Hyde Park* (S.P.C.K., *2s.*). They deal with the question " Why we believe in God ? " He covers ground well known to students—the archæological or first-cause argument, the Argument from Order and Design, the Moral Argument, and the Argument from Revelation and History. To each of the lectures a series of notes is added which should be specially useful to those dealing with the subject. They suggest a number of useful books of reference. We have not noticed any references to the works of Archbishop D'Arcy, whose writings on this subject are among the most useful of modern presentations.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

DEAN WACE HOUSE, WINE OFFICE COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

The Reformation.—We are glad to be able to announce the publication in pamphlet form of the paper on the study of the Reformation by Professor W. Alison Phillips, which appeared in our October number under the title of *What happened at the Reformation.* The whole essay is an object-lesson to students as to the method of such study, and we heartily recommend all our friends to read and re-read this most interesting and instructive account of the essential facts of the Reformation period. We hope that it will have a large circulation. It is issued at 6*d.* net.

The Rev. C. Sydney Carter has completely revised and considerably added to the original text of his valuable book on *The English Church and the Reformation,* which is now reissued at 5*s.* net. The new edition contains several interesting illustrations. In addition to the matter which has been added in various parts of the book in the light of the most recent knowledge and research is an important chapter summarizing the main results of the English Reformation.

Sunday.—The Rev. S. Harvey Gem has published as a pamphlet his article *Do We value our Sunday ?,* which appeared in *The Churchman* some short time ago. The article is a valuable one ; and, in view of the necessity for the preservation of our English Sunday, its production is timely. It is issued at 2*d.*

Bible Class Material.—*The Complete Christian.* These Lesson Notes for Bible Classes, by the Rev. Cuthbert Cooper (2*s.* net.), will, we think, supply a need which has been long felt. Constant applications have been received by the Church Book Room for a book of this character suitable for adolescents. This particular course touches the salient points of the Christian religion as taught by the formularies of the Church. The Bible, the Life of Christ, the Creeds and the Christian Life form the main skeleton. The lessons are rather more than outlines, and are calculated, even in the hands of an unskilful Bible Class Leader, to stimulate thought on points where Christianity touches the modern life of young people. The book is original, suggestive and wide in outlook, and the lessons on the Christian Life are a unique feature.

Children's Services.—The Book Room has just published under the title of *Young People's Services* three Forms of Service, with prayers for special occasions, by the Rev. Robert Bren, Vicar of Christ Church, Malvern. The Services have been very carefully compiled and special attention has been given to the selection of the prayers. The three forms are quite separate and distinct in style, and can be used on alternate occasions. With the Services a *Litany for Thankful Hearts* is included, a *Litany for the World,* and several alternate Psalms. The Services are printed in stiff paper covers at 2*d.* net., or 12*s.* per 100, or in duxeen covers at 3*d.* net., or 18*s.* per 100. The duxeen covers are durable and will stand considerable handling.

Good Friday.—Inquiries are constantly made for an Evangelical Service which can be used on Good Friday in Churches where it has been the custom to hold what is known as the Three Hours' Service ; and it has been impossible to recommend any particular form now in use. The Book Room has just

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Bible Readings.—For some years a very valuable book of Bible Readings with Hymns for every day in the year, entitled *Daily Help for Daily Duty,* has been out of print; but, through the generosity of a member of the Commitee of the National Church League, it has been found possible to publish a new edition with eight fine reproductions of well-known pictures, which add to its attractiveness as a Gift Book. The volume contains carefully selected Scripture Readings, suitable alike for private meditation and for family worship. The compiler's endeavour has been to include a short Scripture Reading of about twelve, and where possible, consecutive verses, which should be a source of help, guidance and encouragement for the battle of daily life, and of comfort and consolation at times of trial and affliction. In addition to the Readings a Hymn appropriate to the passage is given. The present edition is issued in three styles: Leather Gilt Presentation Copy at 7*s.* 6*d.* net., Leather Gilt at 5*s.* net., and Cloth at 3*s.* 6*d.* net. Another valuable book, somewhat similar in character, has been published by Cornelia, Lady Wimborne, under the title of *The Daily Walk,* a Book of Devotions for every day in the year. This is published at 7*s.* 6*d,* 8*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.* 6*d.* and 12*s.* 6*d.* This volume contains a passage of Scripture, Prayers, and a Hymn for every day, and, having in mind that modern life often leaves but little time for devotional practices of any kind and that the portion allotted for each day must be short if it is to be useful, the daily portions selected are short and adapted to the exigencies of a busy life. The extracts from the Bible have been chosen with the object of making people more familiar with the glories of the Book both from its spiritual and literary merit. Postage on either book is 6*d.*

Prayer Book Revision.—Canon Dawson-Walker's paper, which was read at the Conference of the Yorkshire Evangelical Union at Sheffield last June, *The Position of Evangelical Churchmen,* has been issued in pamphlet form at 2*d.*, or 12*s.* per 100. This paper particularly deals with the question of Prayer Book Revision, and is published as an addition to our *Prayer Book Teaching Pamphlets,* as it was felt that a clear, concise, yet comprehensive statement of the kind would be invaluable for general use. The author gives a short sketch of the history of the present Revision and the examples of Ireland and Canada, and then goes on to deal with the decisions of the Houses of Clergy and Laity. We are also glad to announce the publication of a pamphlet by Bishop Knox, which he has entitled *Wake up, England! The Reformation is at Stake,* at 1*d.* or 7*s.* per 100 for distribution. Many requests have reached us for a short statement on Prayer Book Revision suitable for general circulation in large industrial or country parishes, which would be easily read and understood by those who have not been able, from their environment or for other reasons, to study the question at any length. The particular points in the present proposals for Revision which would make the Church of England a half-Romanized Church, are strikingly brought out, and a useful comparison is made between the Church of England Catechism and the Douay Catechism. Special terms will be quoted for large quantities. A special inset edition for Parish Magazines has also been prepared and is issued at 2*s.* 6*d.* per 100, post free.