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The Churchman Advertiser.

JULY, 1928.

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THE SPANISH & PORTUGUESE CHURCH AID SOCIETY endeavours to help the work of the native Evangelical Churches, whose members are unable to accept the unlawful terms of Communion imposed by the Church of Rome. Their work is self-denying and progressive. In town and country they have congregations and schools, and conduct Mission Services. Never at any time were the countries so open to their efforts, and they report sympathy where they formerly met open opposition and persecution. Spain and Portugal were for centuries closed to the circulation of the Scriptures. Through the influence of the printed page and faithful Evangelistic efforts the Churches have come into existence, and all who have visited them testify to their zeal and devotion.

CONTRIBUTIONS, which are urgently needed, will be gratefully received by W. J. MacANDREW, Esq., Hon. Finance Secretary; or by the Rev. THOS. J. PULVERTAFT, Editorial and Consulting Sec., Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.

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THE CHURCHMAN

July, 1928.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Rejection of the Prayer Book Measure.

AFTER two days' strenuous debate the House of Commons on June 14 rejected the revised Prayer Book Measure by 266 votes to 220, a majority of 46. In December the previous Measure was rejected by 240 to 207, a majority of 33. This second decision has been received with warm approval throughout the country, except in circles of the ecclesiastical character in which episcopal influence prevails. The previous decision was attributed to misunderstandings and misapprehensions as to the character of the proposals on the part of the Commons. There can be no misapprehension on the present occasion as to the significance of the vote. The House of Commons as representing the nation has declared that the tendencies represented by the revision are away from the standards of Church of England teaching and worship maintained since the days of the Reformation, and that the changes proposed in the revised Book are contrary to the spirit of that great movement which definitely placed our Church at the head of the Protestant Churches of the world. There is no doubt that Parliament was also greatly influenced by a belief that the new Prayer Book would not bring peace to the Church, and that it would not prove an effective instrument for the restoration of discipline by the Bishops. This "lapse towards Rome," as it was described by *The Morning Post*, was regarded, in view of the Malines Conversations and other movements of a similar kind, in the light of a stage towards further assimilations to the Church of Rome, with a view on the part of some to ultimate reunion with, or rather submission to, the Papal See.

Truth and Consistency.

When Emerson wrote that "with consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do" and "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," he cannot have meant to imply that greatness of mind and soul is indicated by the alacrity with which "statesmen, philosophers and divines" can change their views. A capacity for performing intellectual somersaults seems rather to indicate a condition of instability that in the majority of people would be indefensible. If anyone were to declare that an object which has undergone no change was black yesterday, and to-day is white, and to-morrow may be grey or green, we naturally question the mental

processes by which these conclusions are reached. A jesting Pilate may not wait for an answer when he asks the question, "What is truth?" but in matters of religion serious people cannot declare that doctrines and practices which have been held for a considerable time to be essential elements of truth can suddenly without any adequate reason or any revolution of thought be treated as errors to be denounced and discarded. Yet something similar to this has occurred in the process of revising our Book of Common Prayer. Teaching and practice which have again and again been pronounced by the Bishops and by the Houses of Convocation as essential to the maintenance of the truth have been flung aside, and those denounced as erroneous have been accepted and adopted.

The Inconsistencies of Bishops.

When a Bishop who, with an unusually well-developed gift for denouncing the weaknesses and failures of any portion of the body politic, has employed his powers with marked effect in exposing the unrepresentative character of the Church Assembly suddenly becomes its champion, and declares that any opposition to its decisions is an insult to the Church and must lead to complete severance between Church and State, we naturally wonder whether sound reasoning or passion joined with prejudice is the cause of the rapid and unexpected change of attitude. When brilliant powers of invective are invoked to discredit opponents as "illiterates," as associated with an "underworld," as representatives of "Corybantic Christianity" and of "unimaginative Fundamentalism," it is obvious that the "sweet reasonableness" of the Father in God has been for a time overlaid by the ardour of the polemical protagonist of a faction.

When another vigorous member of the Episcopate can be one of the strongest advocates of alternative Communion Services to-day, we can only express astonishment when we read his equally vigorous statements of a couple of years ago that "unity could only be attained by the acceptance of one national rite," or his even more forcible declaration: "It is difficult to conceive a more complete failure in statesmanship than the proposal to stereotype the two parties in the Church of England by allowing disunion in exactly the service in which most of all we should be united."

Worship and Experience.

The character of two of the claims which have constantly been made in support of the new elements introduced into the worship and teaching of the Church by the revision of the Prayer Book has frequently been exposed, but the continued reiteration of them requires a constant exposure of their real significance. One is the claim that the Book brings into the Church's worship "movements of thought and spiritual experience which have marked its growth as a living body" and that it makes public worship correspond with the life and experience of the people. There are no doubt portions of the Book which are more in harmony with the needs of Churchpeople than the corresponding parts of the old Book.

There would have been no need for revision if a greater degree of elasticity had not been required. But there are other portions of the new Book which cannot be defended on these grounds. These portions are marked by the spirit of reaction. They are retrogressive. They tend to medievalism. They reject the fundamental principle of the Church of England—the appeal to Holy Scripture. They raise the question of the wisdom of accepting everything that meets the needs of any religious experience, without examining whether that experience is sound and healthy, and whether the means of satisfying it is in harmony with the teaching of Christ. Every error that has crept into the Church has been the outcome of an effort to gratify some similar experience, but the result has frequently been disastrous to the purity of the Christian Faith.

Lessons from the Past.

The history of the Middle Ages amply illustrates the growth of error in the Church. The adoption of apparently innocent and even helpful practices, the assumption of the truth of doubtful propositions, prepared the way for the full-blown system of medievalism. The claims made for the successors of the Apostles led to the enormous increase in the powers of bishops and priests which ultimately reached their fullness in the papal endeavour to control the spiritual and temporal concerns of the world. The primitive conception of the confession of sins as a wholesome discipline developed into the system of the confessional which made the faithful dependent upon the priesthood for their welfare in this world and the next. The distinction between venial and mortal sins gave rise to the belief in purgatory, the sale of indulgences, the offering of propitiatory Masses and all those medieval features of Church life which are opposed to the teaching of Christ. All these could no doubt have been justified by contemporaries on the ground that they found a place for "movements of thought and spiritual experience which marked the growth of the Church as a living body." Possibly they may have made public worship correspond with the life and experience of the people. But the Reformation showed that the experience was neither sound nor healthy and that the method of satisfying it was contrary to the teaching of Scripture and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The same test must be applied with the same sincerity and earnestness to-day, if the Church is to be saved from similar disastrous developments.

An Imaginary Comprehensiveness.

The other claim constantly advanced for the revised Prayer Book, and more especially for the alternative forms of Communion Service, is that the comprehensiveness of the Church is thereby increased. At first sight this may seem to be so, as a greater variety of worship is permitted, but this is only a superficial view. We have already dealt at some length with this point and we can only now remind our readers that in the Book of Common Prayer there are a number of matters which are left to the individual worshipper

to interpret for himself. He is for example not tied to any one view of the nature and method of the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion. In the new Book the presence is associated definitely with the Elements of bread and wine and the method by which the association is produced is implied. It is hoped in some Church circles that the new Communion Service will in the course of time replace the old one. If this takes place it is obvious that the boasted comprehensiveness will be gone, and the Church's teaching narrowed to one theory of the presence of Christ. This is one example of a number that might be given, but it is sufficient to show that those who are putting forward the plea of increasing the comprehensiveness of the Church are misleading the ignorant and unwary. The inevitable consequences will be the same as past history has shown in the process of the development of erroneous teaching and practice.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks' New Book.

One of the many points of value in Sir William Joynson-Hicks' *The Prayer Book Crisis*, which is reviewed at length in this number of THE CHURCHMAN, is that it sets out in clear and unmistakable language the true significance of present tendencies in the Church. The style of criticism to which the book has been subjected shows that its statements of fact are incontrovertible. Prejudice and passion may be invoked against them, but these cannot alter the foundation truths of the Reformation. The principles of the Reformation may be described for partisan purposes as out of date, and as the obsolete remnants of remote and forgotten controversies. Such statements can only be regarded as the effort of the weak and partially educated to ignore truths that they find disagreeable when courting popularity among those like minded with themselves. The maintenance of truth is the first duty of Christians. It is a special obligation laid upon Bishops, who at their consecration promise to be ready "with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same." We have the spectacle in the Church to-day of Bishops maintaining and encouraging teaching and practices which their predecessors of only a few years ago denounced as erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word. Sir William Joynson-Hicks shows in his valuable account of the doctrine of our Church the process of departure from New Testament teaching.

Reunion in Scotland.

Scotland is leading the way to reunion in the homeland. Already the reunion movement has achieved notable results in Canada. The Methodist Churches are rapidly approaching the final stages of reunion in the British Isles. These are gratifying indications of the development of the new spirit in our religious life. The impetus given to the reunion movement by the Great War led many to hope that progress would have been rapid. There was hope at one time

that the Church of England and the Free Churches would come together. The movement towards unity in the mission field, which dates back to Kikuyu, led many to believe that the ground had been cleared for immediate advance. The great need of to-day is a combination of the Christian influences of the world to meet the situation revealed by the World Call. The religious conditions in Asia and Africa point to the urgency of a great united movement on the part of all the churches of the Reformation. The present position is disappointing. The whole movement has received a grievous set-back. The blame for this must be laid upon the section of our Communion which has set up indefensible claims for the ministry based on an obsolete theory of Apostolic Succession. Evangelical leaders have been so fully occupied with other matters, that they have not given the attention which it deserves to this subject of supreme urgency and importance. Events in the mission field will undoubtedly soon compel renewed efforts to secure unity based on the wide grounds of spiritual experience and modern views of Church organization.

The Home Missions Problem.

The Moderator of the Church of Scotland at the closing session of the recent Assembly referred to some aspects of the subject which deserve wide notice and full consideration. He called up a vision of a Scottish National Church which would include in its membership " every branch of the Church of God in the land which had its roots in Scottish soil and its place in Scottish history." The door of the Mother Church, he said, would never be closed against any of her children or neighbours, and they were ready to confer with any who would confer with them. He went on to speak of yet another dream, of " a great British Church whose bounds should be conterminous with the Empire and whose Christian influence should mightily affect the whole world." They should continue to cultivate the larger catholicity in thought and devotion which well became every member of the body of Jesus Christ. This is the spirit which gives hope of a real advance in the near future of a great unity which will impress the non-Christian and semi-Christian world. At the same time he pointed out a danger which faces all sections of the Church in the home mission problem. " It would avail them nothing adding to the Church in heathen lands if they lost as many of their own people at home." It is this fact that emphasizes the need of greatly increased support for the work of such organizations as the Church Pastoral-Aid Society in our own land, and of the Colonial and Continental Church Society among our own people throughout the Empire.

The Future.

While there is much discussion as to the effect of the rejection of the Prayer Book Measure on the future of the Church, there is general agreement that a deep and widespread revival of religious life is one of the greatest needs at the present time. Many of the

matters which are now arousing controversy and dividing Christian people would pass out of sight, if there were a great awakening to the spiritual power of the Gospel, and a return to the simplicity of an intense devotion to the person of Jesus Christ. Evangelical church-people have a special responsibility and an almost unrivalled opportunity of showing the power of their faith and love by a great forward movement for the deepening of spiritual life at home, and for renewed enterprise in the advancement of the Kingdom abroad. The Church must get on with its real work. We look to those in authority to give a strong lead in self-sacrificing efforts.

Editorial Note.

We are able to offer our readers in this number some interesting personal reminiscences of Bishop Chavasse by Canon Ffrench of Clonfert, who was a student at Wycliffe Hall nearly forty years ago. They give an insight into the Bishop's character and methods of work, and reveal something of the secret of his influence. The study of "The Jurisdiction of the Primate in the Middle Ages" by Mr. H. P. Palmer discloses some aspects of Church life in pre-Reformation days which are not, as a rule, brought to light by historians of the period. Dr. Harold Smith in "The Future Revival" briefly analyses the origin and influence of some past revivals in the Church, and offers some important suggestions as to the line of the future revival which may confidently be anticipated. In "Gaul and Spain as Spheres for Work in the Days of Paul," Dr. Montgomery Hitchcock provides one of his useful studies of New Testament times. His extensive acquaintance with classical literature enables him to throw interesting sidelights upon the conditions of life and thought in the period with which he deals. A subject of practical importance to the parochial clergy is dealt with by the Rev. G. P. Bassett Kerry in "The Training of Young Life for the Service of the Church." His experience of work in several parishes of widely varied character gives his suggestions for developing the usefulness of young people for the work of the Church a special value. "John Wycliffe," by John Knipe, is the first part of a fresh study of "The Morning Star of the Reformation." The writer has a special gift for setting out the salient features of great characters of past ages. The Rev. T. C. Hammond is well known as a student of many phases of Roman Catholic doctrine. His recent booklet *Does the Doctrine of Transubstantiation involve a Material Change?* is an important contribution to a discussion in which the Bishop of Gloucester and the Warden of Keble have been involved. The article on Mr. Hammond's essay shows the strength of his contention and the sound knowledge on which it is based. A well-known reviewer contributes an article of lighter character which will appeal to lovers of fiction and especially to those who experience the fascination of the detection of crime provided in detective stories.

THE LATE BISHOP CHAVASSE.

By the Rev. Le B. E. French, Canon of Clonfert.

"ESPECIALLY Francis James Chavasse." It is safe to say that in many churches this addition has been silently made to the Eucharistic commemoration of God's departed servants within the past couple of months. All over the world there are not a few who rise up and call him blessed. Others will tell of his work for twenty-three years as second Bishop of Liverpool, and his share in the building of the great Cathedral now rising on the bank of the Mersey, which might almost be described as his monument, and beneath whose shadow, in "The Founder's plot," his body rests. The present writer met him only once after his elevation to the episcopate, but had the great privilege of knowing him well in earlier days as Friend, Preacher, and Teacher. In casting "at his feet one flower that fades away," it will help to conciseness if I arrange a few reminiscences under these three heads.

(1) In my first term at Oxford, nearly forty years ago, I was given an introduction to Mr. Chavasse, who at the time was Principal of Wycliffe Hall, a Theological College for graduates of any University. His kindly welcome cheered me much at a time when I was as a stranger in a strange land, and from that day he proved himself a friend indeed. This was characteristic of him. He always had a personal acquaintance with a very large number of undergraduates in the various Colleges, and never missed an opportunity of getting to know one, or showing him any kindness and hospitality possible, or of bringing good influence to bear upon the young life around him. Almost every term he and Mrs. Chavasse (a daughter of Mrs. Maude who wrote the Confirmation hymn, "Thine for ever") had drawing-room meetings in their house which were addressed by well-known speakers of the Evangelical school, such as Bishop Knox and Colonel Seton Churchill, and attended by men from every College and of all social grades. I remember to have seen the heir to a well-known Irish peerage at one. On Sundays at 9 p.m., after a hard day's work, it was his custom to deliver a lecture of an informal kind, though carefully prepared, to any members of the University who cared to attend, and "the Iron Room," which was placed at his disposal, was generally full; and any afternoon one called at Wycliffe Lodge (the Principal's residence) one would meet a few of the many undergraduates who from time to time found it a pleasant rendezvous. Mr. Chavasse had no official responsibility for any of these. His work among them was voluntary, and in addition to his duties as Head of a Hall. There was little that was attractive in his appearance, except the engaging smile which now and then lit up his habitually grave countenance. "His bodily presence was weak," and few in those days would have expected him to live to the age of eighty-one. His manner was nearly always serious. Yet it is hardly an

exaggeration to say that all who knew him loved him. He attracted others by " the beauty of holiness," and was immensely respected by leaders of schools of thought widely different from that with which he was associated for his transparent goodness and intense devotion to duty. There is reason to believe that his appointment to the see of Liverpool, which to himself was unexpected and unwelcome, was largely due to the influence exerted in high quarters by Canon (now Bishop) Gore. This appointment was only accepted after consultation with " eight of his wisest friends " who agreed in regarding it as a Call of Duty. It ought perhaps to be said that, though he held his own " Evangelical " views with strong conviction, and always expressed them with scholarly precision of language, he was not, strictly speaking, a party man, and he deplored any exhibition of what might be called an unfair partisanship. I remember him saying, " The Church papers make me sad," and how he mentioned in explanation that the current issue of the *Guardian* reported *in extenso* a sermon by Dr. Gore on some special subject, and the *Record* one by a well-known Low Church preacher, " but," he said, " neither paper makes any allusion to the other sermon." When a reference was made at table to the " extreme views " of Dr. King, the famous Bishop of Lincoln, Chavasse at once remarked upon his saintly character and the good influence he had exerted upon many when he was a Canon of Christ Church. In illustration of the gravity of his own manner it may be mentioned that a favourite sentence of his at parting was " God go with you." One felt instinctively that there was nothing formal or affected in this. One came away from his presence with a sense of a benediction following.

(2) As *a Preacher* he was earnest, forceful, and direct. He used the simplest language, and always showed the divisions of his sermons, like Spurgeon, upon whom I imagine he had modelled his style. In term time he always preached on Sunday evenings at St. Peter-le-Bailey, where he had formerly been Rector. This was a happy arrangement for the clergy of this Church, and in a better sense of the word it was happy for the large congregation which filled it, among whom there was always a good sprinkling of undergraduates. Many will gratefully remember those sermons as long as life shall last. Probably too some who have since become of note in the Church have taken them as models for their own discourses. In this pulpit he was at his best. He did not perhaps appear to such conspicuous advantage at St. Mary's (the University Church) or in College Chapels. The sermon always lasted just half-an-hour, and never seemed long. It almost always followed a particular plan. First, there would be a short, pithy sentence which would arrest attention. Then a sentence or two to " picture the scene " or elucidate the context. The subject would then be treated under four heads. At the close would occur some words which would recall the brief introduction. This orderly arrangement made his sermons easy to store in the mind. He used few metaphors, but many illustrations, often drawn from history or

biography or tales of the Saints. He always preached, at least on these Sunday evenings, in the " extempore " manner, but used a few notes. We of the University had the advantage of hearing now and then the ablest preachers, e.g., Archbishops Benson and Temple, Bishop Boyd Carpenter, Bishop Welldon (then Head Master of Harrow), Cosmo Lang (now the Archbishop of York), Canon Knox-Little, and, greatest of all, Charles Gore. (Canon Liddon died shortly before I " went up.") No one would place Chavasse on a level with these as a pulpit orator, but as a preacher to an ordinary mixed congregation in a parish church he appeared to many without a rival. His simplicity of style and language was not due to ignorance, but to careful preparation. It is probable that this simplicity, coupled with his humility, often veiled from others his fine intellect and sound learning. Though he spoke with great fluency he never willingly did so literally " extempore," and hereby a tale may be hung. On one of the occasions that he visited Dublin to conduct a " Quiet Day " he stayed with the Archbishop, Lord Plunket, whose hospitality he greatly enjoyed. He had not expected to be called upon for more than his set addresses, and was rather taken aback when more than once the Archbishop asked him to speak without preparation at some social gathering. This gave him the impression that the Irish clergy must be very ready speakers.

(3) After I had taken my degree I spent a year at Wycliffe Hall. It is no purpose of these reminiscences to describe the life there, but only to illustrate what manner of man the Principal showed himself to be upon closer acquaintance. The days were fully occupied from Early Chapel at 7.30 a.m. till the last Service at 9 or 9.15 p.m. Mr. Chavasse had the assistance of a Vice-Principal and Chaplain, but he left little for them to do. As a teacher he was particularly interesting and helpful in the daily Greek Testament lesson before breakfast, and in his addresses at a special Service on Friday afternoons. He was full of short pregnant sayings, e.g. " God's bidding is God's enabling " ; " We are men of power as we are men of prayer " ; " Praying will keep you from sinning, or sinning will keep you from praying." He laid the utmost stress upon the necessity of maintaining after Ordination regular habits of devotion, and pointed to the example of men like the late Mr. Moody and the Swiss Pastor Oberlein, who were powerful preachers because they were mighty in prayer. He insisted on the duty of careful preparation of sermons. " Always prepare your sermons, at all events, till you are sixty." " If you preach exactly the same sermons as you did ten years before, there is something wrong." " In preaching," he said, " you are not to be like Abraham, who ' went out, not knowing whither he went.' " On the other hand, he thought it unreasonable to believe that a carefully prepared sermon had done its work when it was preached once. Other words of advice were, " Aim at preaching ' ex tempore,' but not till you are master of the situation " ; " Always choose the subject and text of the coming Sunday's sermon early in the week, and at the close

of the week write fast, with your people before you." "Throw your strength into a few things." He taught a very high standard of Pastoral Visiting. "The glory of the Church of England," he said, "is the parochial system." "Visit at all times, in all weathers, and in all states of health." "If your work is in a town never rest satisfied with less than forty visits paid in the week; if in the country, with less than twenty-five." (He had no experience of amalgamated parishes in Ireland!) He held that a clergyman could not know his flock too well, or they him. Once he said, "I feel still the thrill of indignation I felt when, early in my ministry, I heard another clergyman say that in these days our people know too much about us. They cannot know too much about us. If they do, there is something wrong." One address on "The clergyman in his home" was particularly impressive. A few sentences still live in the memory. "Do not emulate the Hall." "The doubtful novel will find no place on your table." "There must be nothing in the home to over-awe the humblest parishioner, nothing to offend the taste of the most fastidious critic." Another piece of advice was, "Be moderate in your wearing of jewellery if" (with a marked emphasis on the word) "you see fit to wear any." He gave also daily lectures on books of the New Testament, the history of the Prayer Book, Confirmation Classes, etc. I do not recall any address on Catechizing, but I do remember a suggestive hint when he was giving advice as to how to become an "extempore" speaker. "Listen, when you can, to an experienced teacher taking a class in the Day School. It will teach your brain to work quickly." He said there were three books which would help us to become good judges of character, viz. the Bible, *the Pilgrim's Progress*, and Shakespeare's historical plays. In his personal habits he was the soul of method. He was always an early riser, and every day had its appointed duties for each quarter of an hour, except for a brief interval in the afternoon. "Live by rule" was his advice, and he certainly practised it. Early in my own ministry in the King's Co. I was visited by an Oxford rector who remarked on the way "Chavasse sits at his desk to read, like a grown-up schoolboy." Others would wonder how he ever found time for study. "Live by rule" was the explanation. "It makes me ashamed," a friend once said, "to see all that little man gets through." How did he manage it? He lived by rule. His annual bill for books must have been large, as it was his habit to give one to each member of the Hall at the end of term.

Among the books in my own study the following were presents from him: Dale on *The Atonement*, Godet's *Defence of the Christian Faith*, and Archbishop Trench's *Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*.

Some of his pupils have been called to positions of great influence. Among those who are still with us may be instanced the Archbishop of Melbourne and the Bishop of Leicester (late of Peterborough), whose claim upon the gratitude of the present writer is that he taught him to ride a bicycle.

It was during a short visit to the Isle of Man that I had the happiness of meeting Dr. Chavasse after he became Bishop. He was characteristically spending his hardly-earned holiday in taking charge of a country parish in the north of the island. His family were with him in the charming rectory. After luncheon he gave up his share in an expedition that had been planned for the afternoon in order to talk to me. He was impressed by what I told him of the size of an Irish country parish. When I remarked that his own work must be arduous, he admitted that this was so, but added, "It is very happy work." He spoke of his clergy as a devoted body of men, but surprised me (for I had not expected so much confidence), by saying "Unfortunately a few are not up to the mark." I understood him to mean, "from the intellectual standpoint," but perhaps I was wrong. He then said, "I hope after a little we shall be able to remedy that"; a remark which illustrates the power of patronage possessed by an English Bishop, and which might also serve to reveal the latent strength which his gentle manner concealed. When I rose to leave the expected invitation came, "Shall we kneel down?" Some sentences in the prayer that followed are not forgotten, but they are not for repetition, even though the writer has no fear that any who may read his words will wish to "turn and rend him." Though letters have passed between us since I never met him again. Now he has passed over, and it may well be that here and there among those who have learned from him to live close to the Unseen World may be one whose ears have caught some faint echoes of the trumpets sounding on the other side. And assuredly many will long cherish with affection and reverence the memory of that quiet, strong personality, as of one who "allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

During the coming twelve months Spain is certain to be much in the public eye, as the National Assembly prepares a new Code of Laws which will—if adopted—still further limit the existing tolerance in that kingdom. The Rev. Alex. Stuart, who for many years has worked as a missionary in Spain, gives a description of Romanism in that land in his book, *In Darkest Spain* (*Marshall Bros.*, 3*s.* 6*d.*). Taken as a whole, we believe that the volume accurately depicts popular religion in the home of the Inquisition, and many who read it will be distressed by the perversion of Christianity outlined. Bigotry, intolerance and worship indistinguishable from idolatry, are united with superstition incredible to most English Christians. When we contrast Rome as seen in England with what Mr. Stuart outlines, we see how the environment of English Protestantism has changed the ancestral religion of the Mediterranean peoples. The book makes interesting—if sad reading.

THE JURISDICTION OF THE PRIMATE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By H. P. Palmer, M.A. (Oxon).

IN the Middle Ages the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury was one of peculiar difficulty. He was brought into very close touch with the Crown, and collisions might easily have occurred over such questions as, for example, that of the taxation of the clergy. A state of active warfare did, in fact, actually exist between Edward I and Archbishop Winchelsea and it arose mainly from this cause. On the other hand the Primate might incur unpopularity in the country, if he were called upon to be one of the King's principal ministers. Nor were the Crown and the masses the only factors to be reckoned with; the Pope had also to be considered. For him the Primate had to exact subsidies from the clergy. Nuncios were repeatedly sent from Rome with importunate demands for their expenses, but to collect them usually required the services of the Archbishop. Papal bulls, briefs, dispensations, provisions flowed in a continuous stream from the Curia to the Primate, to be forwarded by him to the bishops. To the Court at Rome, with its wire-pulling and intrigue, its bribery and corruption, the bishops and others frequently appealed, and the Primate was put to great expense to maintain defending counsel there. It was Archbishop Peckham who complained of the plotting of his enemies against him at the Curia, and Henry Chichele was not the only Primate who cowered beneath the breath of the man who was regarded as lord and master of all.

With his own bishops the Primate's relations were often exceedingly strained. Peckham counted his years of office as those of his bitterness; beneath the archi-episcopal mitre, blazing with gold and jewels, there lay a crown of thorns. In England the Archbishop was regarded as the ultimate authority in all ecclesiastical disputes. These he had to decide in accordance with the Canon Law, and we find his "official" and his proctors commonly possessing the doctorate in this faculty. To the Primate's Consistory Court, or Court of Arches, were referred, among much other business, innumerable appeals from the decisions of the bishops, so that all the suffragans were obliged to retain standing counsel to represent them there. If he reversed the judgments of the lower courts, the Archbishop risked the ill-will of the bishops, who showed it by putting him to the utmost trouble and inconvenience. The scope of the jurisdictional powers of the Archbishop can best be illustrated by means of one or two examples; these will also show the kind of resistance which was often experienced.

John de Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1302 to 1329, was a prelate who had been in the service of the Crown in the time of Edward I. Like other bishops who had been trained in

the Civil Service, he had the wider outlook which came from a knowledge of men, and he was conspicuous for kindness and benevolence. Possessing these cardinal virtues, he won the affections of his flock, but he was far too slack and easy-going in matters of discipline. Dozens of men in lesser orders, some with only the "first tonsure"—men consequently unable to conduct services—were allowed to take and hold livings, which were then placed, often for many years, under the care of badly paid "capellani" or "hedge-parsons." One of the archdeacons of the diocese, appointed before he was even a deacon, spent years abroad, presumably studying the Canon Law, but certainly in the enjoyment of the emoluments of his office. During this time and afterwards, he evidently renounced every outward and visible sign of the clerical profession, for when, at last, as still a deacon, he took the oath of obedience to the Bishop, he was charged "to use vesture and tonsure, shoes and riding apparel as becometh an archdeacon, to carry himself as such, and to present himself in due course for Priest's orders."

The relations of de Drokensford himself were promoted to some of the best offices in his patronage. Nepotism on the part of the bishops, however, was so common that it seems to have been regarded as but an amiable weakness incident to the episcopal character. But when de Drokensford nominated Ivo de Berkeley, a young boy, to a stall in the cathedral church of Wells, serious opposition was encountered. Why, asked the people, had the Bishop violated the law in a style so wholly flagrant? Just because Ivo was the son of Maurice de Berkeley, and grandson of Thomas de Berkeley, the great warrior who lived in such splendour at Berkeley Castle, and in whose veins ran the blood of the Conqueror himself!

An appeal against the appointment was lodged in the Court of the Archbishop, who happened to be Robert Winchelsea, a man as unlikely to be intimidated by wealth and power as the sun to be moved from his course. He cancelled the appointment, and the vacated canonry became a lapsed piece of patronage in the gift of the Chapter, which, however, failed to exercise its right. Thereupon the Archbishop appointed his own Dean of Arches, thus swelling the long list of the non-resident staff of the Cathedral, the majority of whom were pluralists and aliens appointed by the Pope.

An Archbishop interfered again with the affairs of the Chapter at Wells in 1350. It must be remembered that disputes between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter were frequent; that of 1350 concerned the jurisdiction claimed by the Dean and Chapter over the city, or by the Chapter alone during a vacancy of the deanery. It was during such a vacancy that Bishop Ralph demanded, under threat of excommunication, this jurisdiction, and he instructed his commissaries to cite before them several vicars and women of loose character, whom they were to charge with immorality. The Treasurer of Wells Cathedral and the Archdeacon of Wells instantly appealed to the Primate against Ralph's usurpation of the Chapter's

rights, and they obtained a mandate directed to Ralph and his commissaries forbidding them to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Chapter. The mandate was sent to the Treasurer, whose duty it became to deliver it or to show it to the Bishop. The latter was then residing at Wiveliscombe, some thirty miles from Wells, and thither the Treasurer repaired with the document on the day after he had received it. He found the house in a state of siege, for Ralph had doubtless been warned by a previous messenger. In vain did the Treasurer hammer on the door; he heard people moving about inside, and doubtless tittering, but no one paid him the slightest attention. At length, *fessus rerum*, "sick of it all," he drew the mandate from his pocket, and, standing on the doorstep, cited, in a loud voice, the Bishop before the Archbishop's court. The Episcopal register fails to give us the sequel of this story; like Miranda, we are "left to a bootless inquisition."

It often happened that monasteries were charged with paying a starvation wage to the vicars appointed to the livings in their gift, and sometimes they were ordered by the diocesan to increase it. In a fourteenth-century case at Taunton the Bishop was passive and the sufferer appealed to the Primate. The Chaplain of the Chapels of Taunton St. James and Staplegrove was paid, partly in tithes and partly in oblations, by the Priory of Augustinian Canons, which had been founded at Taunton in 1127. The oblations consisted of allowances of bread and beer, which were sent to the chaplain from the convent. In 1353, under the chaplaincy of William atte Hall, these allowances were suddenly withdrawn. After petitioning in vain for redress, the chaplain appealed to Bishop Ralph, but got nothing save silence or sullen indifference. Weary of delay, he scraped together a few marks and laid the case before Archbishop Simon Islip. The latter's official wrote to Ralph, instructing him either to do justice to the chaplain within fifteen days or to send the Prior and Canons to the Court of Arches. The Bishop, taking no advantage of the opportunity thus presented of doing justice himself, replied that the convent officials had been cited to appear as directed. The Episcopal register does not take the matter further, though perhaps the record may exist among some manuscripts elsewhere.

Another aspect of the Archbishop's jurisdiction was seen when he thought it necessary, in the interests of religion or morality, to take the initiative himself. Thus he is found ordering in the dioceses of his province processions for fine weather or to avert famine, for the victory of Edward I over the Scots or the success of Henry V in the siege of Rouen, or for the peace of the Church; or he is granting an Indulgence, or breathing out threatenings of excommunication against "sons of iniquity" who would not pay their mortuaries, or bitterly complaining of the encroachments of lay courts in matters ecclesiastical. He invariably issued notices of the meetings of Convocation, at which proxies were then allowed.

Crusaders were under the direct protection of the Church, which collected a tax of one-tenth on movable goods, known at first as the

"Saladin tithe" and later as the "subsidy against the Saracens and Turks." This helped to pay expenses, and, though sometimes diverted by the Crown, was usually devoted to the cause so dear to Christian hearts. The tournaments of the thirteenth century were responsible for the death or mutilation of many of the flower of the English knighthood and nobility. They were accompanied by a profuse expenditure on magnificent tents, galleries, pavilions, silks, cloth of gold, and on feasting. The accoutrements of the contending knights and of their steeds were the richest that money could buy. Thousands of spectators were present, and riot and dissipation prevailed. With a full knowledge of these evils, Archbishop Peckham forbade any Crusader to take part in a tournament held at Westminster, and, when one was arranged at Bangor, instructed the Bishop to take similar action. Apart from the mortality caused by these contests, the injuries received by those who survived and the waste of their resources made them, declared Peckham, "helpless to fulfil that obedience to the Cross to which Crusaders were pledged."

Another example of the Primate's intervention arose from the economic effects of the Black Death. This pestilence had thinned the numbers and increased the wages of ordinary workpeople, and the Statute of Labourers was but a vain attempt by the Government to deal with the situation. The clergy had suffered similar losses, but had not received a similar rise of salary. Their stipends had often amounted to no more than £25 per annum, expressed in present values, and now they flatly refused to engage in parish work for such a pittance. They sought, instead, the appointments of the chantry priests, vacant also by death. There was, in fact, a clerical strike. Archbishop Islip determined to deal with the matter. In a pastoral letter sent to the Bishops for circulation in their dioceses, he denounced the clerical strikers as "grasping and covetous," adding still stronger expressions. He ordered that priests unwilling to be "passing rich" on £30 a year should be suspended from office, unless they handed any balance they might have above that sum to the Fabric Fund of the Cathedral of their diocese. But the Primate could no more stay economic facts with his pastorals than could Mrs. Partington keep back the waters of the Atlantic with her broom. With the numbers of the clergy so reduced, the chaplains were masters of the situation; they had only to stand firm, and when their modest demands were met, their services were secured.

Sometimes the Archbishop's intervention took the form of the exercise of his power of visiting the dioceses within his province, in order that he might correct errors and abuses overlooked by the Bishops, who had a wholesome dread of the sharper eye of the Primate. Notice of the visitation was given in the monastic, the collegiate, and the six other most important churches in each archdeaconry, and caused many a shiver among those concerned. Before the arrival of the Archbishop in great state and majesty, complaints had been lodged, citations made, and convenient centres selected

for the consideration of the cases presented to him. Thus we find Courtenay holding his visitation for the diocese of Bath and Wells at Taunton Priory and being entertained by the Lord Prior of that institution.

The events occurring in the course of the archi-episcopal visitations first to be mentioned are drawn from the registers and correspondence of Peckham, one of the two notable friar Archbishops in the reign of Edward I, a man human enough, in spite of his severity, to enjoy an occasional run with the hounds. Visiting the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, he complained that vice was prevalent and was not corrected by the Bishop, Roger de Longespee, who lived away. He wrote to him and ordered residence, declaring that the rite of confirmation was neglected; he required him to find a Bishop with a good knowledge of the native tongue—not a Frenchman like himself—to make the round of the diocese and discharge this duty. In the course of the same visitation, a lady, the wife of John de Pensford, took advantage of the presence of the Primate to unfold her domestic griefs; she sought a divorce on the ground of her husband's misconduct. Medieval divorce was equivalent to what would usually now be termed judicial separation,[1] and it could be granted only by the Church. The Archdeacon of Stafford was ordered to try the case, and the Prior of Stafford to absolve the peccant John de Pensford, provided he made his wife a sufficient allowance.

Peckham's visitation of the diocese of Chichester revealed more than one instance of the "rank corruption" which, "mining all within, infects unseen." Serious charges of immorality were made against the rector of Hame, probably by his parishioners. This clergyman had previously been reprimanded for similar conduct and had vowed reformation. The register tells us, however, in very plain language, that he had "turned like a dog to his vomit." Cases of this kind are now generally penalized by deprivation, but they were so frequent in the Middle Ages that this punishment was rarely inflicted. Bishop Foxe, minister of Henry VII, reflected mournfully that, both within and without the monasteries, clerical immorality almost passed belief, and yet he declared that he had never, for this reason, deprived a clergyman of his living. The rector of Hame was not deprived, but was ordered to spend three years in pilgrimages; he was allowed only the equivalent of the modern £150 a year from the income of his cure, the remainder being apportioned between the curate-in-charge, the Church expenses, and the poor. In the same diocese the Archbishop found a formidable indictment against the Prior of Hastings, and ordered an inquiry.

In the diocese of Worcester, Peckham attempted to deal with pluralism. This evil was rampant in the Middle Ages; it gave

[1] The rarer cases in which actual annulment of marriage was sought were decided by an appeal to the Pope himself. Such a petition is quoted in the register of Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter. Clement VI granted the request with the word 'fiat.'

riches in possession to the well-born and influential, who handed over the care of their livings to poverty-stricken hacks. Giffard, Archbishop of York in the reign of Henry III, complained that Rogo de Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, held no less than thirty benefices. In the time of Edward III, Pope John XXII tried to strangle this hydra-headed monster, but though his efforts met with some success, it soon rose to life again and always remained a grave scandal. Peckham tried constantly to check this exploitation of the revenues of the Church, and prefaced his entrance on the Worcester visitation with a notice that all pluralists were to appear before him. They were to be accompanied by parishioners of credit—churchwardens had not then been invented—but whether he was able to convert them into penitents we do not know. The higher clergy and some of the parish priests had incomes we should think enormous, but their underlings and the lower clergy generally were paid an insufficient wage and their poverty was the principal reason which induced so many of them to join the standard of rebellion at the time of the Peasants' Revolt.

In the course of this visitation the Archbishop was treated with every kind of contumely and insult. While he was being entertained at the Abbey of Alcester, some of the inhabitants of the town described as " sons of inquity," attacked his party with swords and clubs, and raised the " hue and cry " with which it was customary to pursue rogues who were fleeing from justice. The Primate excommunicated the unknown culprits and summoned them to appear before him, but they were probably as elusive as many other excommunicates. Nor was this the only occasion on which Peckham was subjected to insult. In that same year, 1283, he was engaged, with several of his colleagues, in the consecration of the Bishop of Rochester. At that solemn office, he tells us, " John, a monk and sacristan of Westminster, transformed into an angel of Satan and daring a crime of the greatest magnitude, violently hurled a roll at our face, aggravating his crime with manifold insult."

Peckham's Worcester visitation brought to his notice " repeated scandals and contumacies " on the part of the Priors and other officials of both Gloucester and Malvern Priories. The offences must have been of extreme gravity, for the Primate instructed the Bishop of Worcester " in all churches and solemn places of his diocese to denounce the wrong-doers as excommunicated with ringing of bells and lighting of candles." Later, in a letter to all the bishops of his province, he repeated the excommunication of the offending members of Malvern Priory. He ordered that no payments should be made to them and that no one should associate with them in " buying and selling, eating or drinking, or any kind of communication." They were ordered to appear before him, when the excommunication was probably removed, on their promise to perform a severe penance.

Peckham's visitation of the Salisbury diocese in 1286 brought a stern sentence on Sir Osbert Giffard, who was charged with the abduction of two nuns from Wilton Abbey. Like Marmion, this man had violated every canon of knighthood and had put his order

to an open shame ; he was bidden to restore the nuns to the Abbey and never again to enter the precincts of a convent. On three " solemn days," barefoot, and wearing only shirt and breeches, he was to be fustigated three times round Wilton Church, then, in like manner and as often, round Shaftesbury Church, and then, on two occasions, round the market-place of Salisbury. No longer was he to wear the gold spurs of knighthood, nor were the bardings of his horse to be tricked with gold ; he was to be clad only in sad-coloured clothes of a russet hue, and was to go on pilgrimage for three years to the Holy Land, and to all these penalties the Bishop of Salisbury was to add others.

Peckham was not the only Archbishop to experience unpleasant incidents during his visitations. The proud and haughty Courtenay, Primate under Richard II, met his match in Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, who greatly resented his interference, and ordered his people not to obey him. Determined not to be balked, Courtenay sent an archdeacon and two canons, accompanied by a small escort, to call upon Brantyngham, in due form, to permit a visitation. They endeavoured to do so, but received a warm reception. They had ridden, they reported to their master, almost to Clist, the manor at which the Bishop was then residing, when they met a menacing multitude of clerks and laymen armed with weapons of every kind. Thinking discretion the better part of valour, they turned and fled, but the Bishop's servants pursued them, threatening them with a ducking in the river and even with death. At Topsham they were confronted with three of the Bishop's esquires, who made them show their letters of citation ; these they tore in pieces, forcing one of the archdeacon's escort to eat the seal. Brantyngham yielded, however, and the visitation passed to a peaceful conclusion.

Simon Mepham's visitation of Bath and Wells in 1331 led to a serious quarrel between him and Bishop Ralph. Several unpleasant incidents led up to this rupture, which eventually involved an appeal to the Pope. The two prelates were guests of Glastonbury Abbey. The Archbishop alleged that Ralph's clerical and lay attendants tried to break open the door of the chamber in which he lodged, and had inflicted on him " many enormous insults and violences " ; he indicated one Roger Brekebeke, a clerk, as the ringleader. In acknowledging the Archbishop's mandate and declaring that it should be published, Ralph, as might have been anticipated, said that Brekebeke could not be found. At Glastonbury Ralph held an inquiry in person, and at Wells another by his official. The witnesses were of the Bishop's own party ; they agreed in stating that the cause of the slight friction was the action of the Primate's doorkeeper in trying to shut out an esquire in the service of the Bishop, when he was following his master into the chamber. Mepham maintained, however, that there was a serious scuffle and that his servants were actually assaulted ; he was on the spot and should have known.

The Primate had ordered the Bishop to inflict certain penalties on Ela Fitzpaine, who was convicted of adultery. This woman was

the wife of Sir Robert Fitzpaine, a distinguished warrior living near Taunton. Mepham complained later that his mandate had been slackly executed, and he bade Ralph, under pain of suspension, apprehend the sinning lady or cause her to be cited by proclamation in certain churches. Ralph's characteristic inability to find persons wanted by the Archbishop was again in evidence, for he declared that his clerks had toiled all night in the execution of the Primate's orders but had been unable to find the woman or even to trace her.

Writing from Corscombe, the Primate had yet another complaint to make. Certain persons of the diocese of Bath and Wells, "filled with Satanic frenzy," were striving by threats and plots to worry and intimidate witnesses who had given evidence at his visitation and the proceedings which followed. The Bishop promised to inhibit those guilty of such practices, but within a few weeks of this reply, he despatched a procuratorial letter, sealed by the Papal Nuncio in London, to Dr. Robert Wygornia. This letter instructed Wygornia to act as the Bishop's counsel in an appeal to the Pope against the Archbishop, against whom he was to lodge a complaint "concerning his manner of visiting the churches in the diocese of Bath and Wells and other injuries and troubles caused to the Bishop and his said churches."

In conclusion, a brief account of a combination between Pope and Archbishop, which was too much for even the undaunted Edward I, may be of interest. It has been stated that the Archbishop's relations with the King were sometimes strained. This was certainly the case between Edward and Peckham and between the same king and Winchelsea. The latter resisted what he thought to be the excessive contributions to taxation demanded of the clergy, and was ignominiously worsted in the encounter. The former attempted to "visit" the royal chapels; Edward objected, and here also was successful. When, however, the King, at his wits' end for money, and unable without it to withstand the enemies of his country, abstracted the "Saladin tithe" for the services of the State, the Pope and Peckham, fighting together against him, were too much even for his resolute spirit.

Martin IV, who, in his short pontificate from 1281 to 1285, excommunicated two great princes, told Peckham to warn the King to restore the money. Unless he did so, said the Pope, he and his country would be made to feel the full weight of his displeasure. Peckham sought an interview with Edward, whom he found surrounded by his advisers. He demanded the restoration of the money and a promise to abstain from similar conduct in the future. The King, with the thoughtful gravity habitual with him, listened "silently and reverently," afterwards taking counsel with his ministers. He then quietly replied that the "Saladin tithe" had already been restored, and that he would never infringe the rights of the Church.

THE FUTURE REVIVAL.

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MANY are now looking for a new revival of religion in this country. The main grounds for this expectation are three: (1) Such a revival seems absolutely necessary if Christian religion—at least except in the form of vague Christian sentiment on the one side or of Romanism on the other—is to be preserved in this country. (2) Such a revival is almost due; it is now nearly a century since the beginning of the Oxford Movement, which is usually dated as in 1833; and nearly two centuries since that of the Evangelical Revival. (3) In the luxuriant growth in recent years of various new religions and religious philosophies there seems clear recognition of the need of some religion, combined with great dissatisfaction with the existing religion of the Churches. Some think that this points to the end of institutional religion; but I doubt the permanent survival of any other: history is against it.

It thus seems worth while to examine (1) the antecedents of these two previous revivals, and (2) the present-day features which will probably determine the character of any future one.

There is, however, a very marked divergence in the antecedents of the two above. We can see two or three elements which largely prepared for the Oxford Movement or determined its character; all these were in rapid progress when it started. On the other hand, the Evangelical Revival, while of course adding new factors, was largely based on an element of English Christianity which seemed dead or dying, but which proved a permanent element, well alive beneath the surface. The difference here forbids us to attach too much importance to present-day developments; these may possibly not determine the future, but prove merely a backwater.

The Oxford Movement had several antecedent influences: (1) The previous High Church movement has been so overshadowed by it as to be commonly ignored. We constantly find all nineteenth-century development of Church life credited to the Oxford Movement, whereas examination of dates shows many to have started much earlier. The movement did not get much beyond Oxford till the "forties"; new developments or revivals before that date are not due to it, though it may have contributed to some of the later ones. The work of Bishop Wilberforce has overshadowed the earlier work of Bishop Blomfield. There was nothing sensational or enthusiastic about the earlier movement, but much solid work was done, e.g., the foundation of Colonial and Indian bishoprics, apart from two earlier Canadian ones, starts in 1815. The office of Rural Dean was revived by Bishop Marsh both at Llandaff and at Peterborough. The two old Church Societies, S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., took a new start; new ones, as the National Society and the Church

Building Society, were founded. The first systematic steps to divide ancient parishes and to build new churches belong to this period. The "Waterloo churches" were indeed built by a parliamentary grant, but the impetus came from leading Churchmen. The support of Evangelicals must not be ignored, but the leadership necessarily came from the High Churchmen. In particular Evangelicals did much towards the founding of the Indian bishoprics; they are responsible for various parochial developments, including the introduction of evening as distinct from afternoon services. A good account of the period preceding the Oxford Movement is given in Overton's *Church in the Nineteenth Century*.

(2) The Romantic Movement with its new interest in everything medieval and its revolt from modern (eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century) conditions. The tendency, still present, to idealize the Middle Ages had its beginning then. Scott's poems and novels did much in this direction; see Overton, pp. 205–7.

This influence was largely independent of the former. The "orthodox" looked back to the Fathers and the Caroline divines, but had not much interest in the Middle Ages. (They of course totally rejected all modern Roman developments.)

(3) The Oxford Movement was immediately called forth by alarm at the growth of Liberalism, both political and religious. There had been strong criticism of the Church by some of the promoters of the Reform Bill; the bishops had been told to set their house in order. It was this more than anything else that called forth the assertion of Church principles just then. This dread of Liberalism, however, has not proved a permanent element; it ceased as regards political Liberalism when Mr. Gladstone became a power, and the opposition to religious Liberalism, while still existing, is very different from what it was in the days of Pusey and Liddon. The new Prayer Book shows that Anglo-Catholicism can accept a much larger amount of Liberalism.

Very different is the case of the Evangelical Revival. This may be dated from the appearance of the group of Oxford "Methodists"; but as a permanent force on distinctive lines it is best dated from 1738, when Wesley and Whitefield started preaching. The remarkable thing here is that man after man about the same time, but mostly quite independently, took up the new ideas and outlook. Henry Venn, of the C.M.S., in his life of his grandfather, the elder Henry Venn, points out how much was independent of Wesley's direct influence, which does not account for the work of (e.g.) Romaine, Grimshaw, Berridge, or Walker of Truro. When once the movement was well under way, it is easy to understand how clergy impressed with the need and seriousness of true religion gravitated to those of like mind, "the serious clergy," but it is remarkable that so many should have appeared as upholders of the same ideas almost if not quite independently.

When we look at the theology of the movement one thing stands out clearly—it was essentially the old Puritan theology,

which we should never forget was also essentially that of the Reformers and the Elizabethans—of Whitgift no less than Cartwright. Fuller greatly dislikes the way in which the Laudians gave the name of " Puritan " to all who simply held to the old theology, not distinctive of Puritans proper. Of course Evangelicalism or Methodism was more than a mere reproduction of Puritanism; Overton (*Church in Eighteenth Century*, II, 60) points out a number of differences. But some of these did not hold good of all, and others (especially political ones) sprang from the altered circumstances of the times. In theology they were essentially one. But there is one important difference of balance. The Puritans were almost exclusively Calvinists, associating Arminianism with Popery. The great majority of the earlier Evangelicals were also Calvinists, some of them very strongly so—Whitefield, Berridge, Romaine, Toplady. Among the Puritans there was only one definite Arminian—John Goodwin; but among the Methodists these views were held by the Wesleys, and hence stamped on the society founded by them. Hence arose an unedifying controversy. Wilberforce also was no Calvinist. But this difference is one of balance or of proportion, and does not definitely separate Evangelicals from Puritans. Arminianism had a place, even though only a small one, among the Puritans; Calvinism had a very large place among the Evangelicals.

Now at the time when the movement began, one would have thought Puritanism to be dead, or at least dying rapidly. The *spiritual* descendants of the Puritans are the Evangelicals; but their *historical* descendants were the Latitudinarians or Low Churchmen. It is usual to trace these back to Hales and Chillingworth; this may be their remotest source, but it is not the main one, which is among the Cambridge Platonists and others who like them had been trained under Puritan influences, but rejected Puritan narrowness and dogmatism. These conformed at the Restoration without to any great extent sharing High Church views; there was nothing false to their principles here. It is a bad mistake to run these men down indiscriminately; there were many devoted men among them, such as Tillotson and Patrick. Burnet's *Pastoral Care* leaves a high impression of its writer. But in the Georgian period things went rapidly worse; there is a very long drop from Burnet to Hoadly, both Low Church and Whig bishops. Nor were the Nonconformists markedly better; Arianism and Socinianism were gaining ground among them even more than in the Church. So no one could have expected a revival of Puritan theology. The event shows that such ideas were still strong beneath the surface; they now welled up almost simultaneously in very different parts. But there was nothing obvious, nothing in the general set of thought, to lead men to anticipate this.

So while in the one case antecedents and growing influences can easily be noticed, these are practically imperceptible in the other case. This great difference makes it impossible to be confident that any examination of the influences and characteristics of the present

day will give sure guidance as to the line a future Revival is likely to take. Yet it seems worth while to consider such possible clues.

It would seem that we shall find a better clue in the new religious and quasi-religious movements of the present day than elsewhere. If we look at present-day ideas and tendencies apart from these, our conclusions will be very different ; but these surely give us a better clue to a future *religious* movement. There are many of these of one kind or another. Some are merely additions to or excrescences on orthodox Christianity, such as Spiritual Healing or British-Israelism. Others are unorthodox forms of Christianity, such as Christadelphianism, Russellism, Seventh-Day Adventism. Others are new cults, more or less philosophical, with a varying Christian flavouring, strong in some representatives, weaker in others, e.g., Christian Science, Theosophy, Spiritualism. They differ greatly not only in their views and character, but also in the type of mind to which they appeal. Some find their adherents mainly among the uneducated or half-educated; others also among the highly educated. But they unite in expressing dissatisfaction with the regular religious ideas and practices, " the religion of the churches." Can we trace any common factor which may be expected to recur in any future Revival of religion ?

In my opinion two such factors can be traced : (1) The spirit of revolt from the commonplace, traditional, current and orthodox. This spirit is always influential in any new movement. There is in it not merely dissatisfaction with the old and craving for novelty, but also a sense of adventure, with a feeling of intellectual or moral superiority. This is at least as strong now as ever, and it will certainly be great in any new revival ; its adherents will feel that the spiritual world belongs to them, that they alone have laid hold of new truth.

(2) But a second factor seems also discoverable. There is in at least the bulk of these no great amount of criticism, at least not of self-criticism. There may be criticism enough of the traditional and orthodox, but it stops there. The new ideas are commonly accepted largely on authority—it may be of the founder or of some exponent or expert. Evidence in their favour is seldom critically sifted, but usually accepted at once at its face value. They may criticize traditional interpretations of Scripture, but their own are usually regarded as self-evident.

There is therefore some probability that the new revival will share these two characteristics. The former is indeed common to all new Movements ; the latter, though probably the reverse of what we should expect if we looked at the present state of things generally, yet seems a common characteristic of recent religious and quasi-religious movements.

From these results two further considerations suggest themselves. (1) The future Revival will probably not be brought about by deliberate actions of the Churches nor with official patronage ; nor will it probably come on the old regular lines. It is acknowledged that Missions no longer have the effect they once had. Then they

appealed largely by their novelty and so to speak irregularity; there was an element of curiosity or of adventure in attending, sometimes with the feeling of superiority to old-fashioned prejudices. Now they are quite regular and well organized, and people largely attend because it is expected of them, or to oblige. This accounts for the comparative failure of the National Mission some years ago; it was far too official, pressed by the authorities, talked of in churches for months beforehand; nothing spontaneous about it. Further, it ran straight upon a rock marked in all good recent charts—the paucity of really capable missioners. The official mind expected that nearly every clergyman would be so qualified after some instruction from, e.g., an "Archbishop's Messenger"; this was never likely and did not prove correct.

But there is consolation here for some of us. If we older and cautious men set ourselves against the Movement when it comes, not recognizing its value because alive to its extravagances or one-sidedness, no harm will really have been done—possibly more good than if we were suspected of promoting or patronizing it.

(2) Criticism is rampant just now, especially in the sphere of religion. There is no finality in Bible criticism, nor in Christian doctrine. Whatever position we may think to hold fast, we find others abandoning it as untenable. This might lead us to expect everything to go in a few years. But the study of these new religious systems shows that criticism does not go for much with the supporters of any of them. Nor will it probably stand in the way of a Revival, or have much place there.

The Church Assembly has issued a volume, *The Protection of our English Churches* (2*s.* 6*d.*), being the Third Report of the Central Council for the Care of Churches, with a brief foreword in the form of a Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury. For the most part all who love our churches will agree with the advice given, and will realize what has to be done to enable us to preserve for posterity the treasures we possess. The Chancel ideals of the Committee are not ours, and the illustrations supposed to command our approval do not always do so, but they can be forgotten by those who wish to see churches made meet for the worship of God and the strange fittings and decorations that are popular in some quarters reduced to a minimum. No clergyman who is intent on improvements should leave unread this volume, and every incumbent pressed to give permission for memorials should make a point of studying what is said on this subject. The "Don'ts" of the Archdeacon of St. Albans ought to be framed in every vestry as the commandments of churchwardens!

GAUL AND SPAIN AS SPHERES FOR WORK IN THE DAYS OF PAUL.

By the Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D., Rector of Tolleshunt Knights, Maldon.

THERE is no reason why St. Paul's original desire to visit Spain (Rom. xv. 24, 28) should have died a natural death. Of all the provinces of the Empire to which the Apostle seems to have limited his work, no other offered the same facilities and opportunities to one who desired to lay a new Christian foundation. Gaul, of course, offered an attractive sphere of work. Massilia (Marseilles), an ancient Greek city with offshoots along the coast of Spain, spared by Julius Caesar to become a centre of Helleno-Italic culture in the West, added Roman civilization and the Latin language to its own Greek, on the southern coast. It was easy of access by road or sea, as the great high-road, the Via Augusta, ran along the coast of Italy through the Riviera to it, then to Narbo, across the Pyrenees into Spain, down to Tarraco and Carthago Nova, and there was connected with a road to Baetica, ending at Gades (Cadiz). Travelling by this road one might go from Rome to Gades with comfort and security. Massilia could also be reached by sea in a couple of days from Ostia. Two hundred miles north of Massilia was the more important Lugudunum (Lyons) at the confluence of the Rhone and Avar, the centre of the Gallic road-system, the headquarters of the Roman army, where the national concilium, or Féis, of the Gallic tribes was held yearly. A little lower down the river lay Vienna, a Gallic *municipium*, and rival of Lugudunum, which was a Roman *colonia*. In the year after Nero's death (A.D. 69) this long-standing feud broke out into open war, in which Galba gave his support to Vienna.[1] The people of Lugudunum made an appeal to the Roman army for help, when they were besieged. Another pathetic appeal was made by the Christians of both these cities, more than a century afterwards (A.D. 177), describing the horrors of the persecution. The only rivalry that existed then between these cities was in zeal for witness to Christ, which made them refuse to obey the orders of that inconsistent philosopher Marcus Aurelius to worship the pagan gods, in which he himself did not believe. Southern Gaul was never more prosperous than in the days of Nero. Lugudunum alone offered a contribution of £30,000 to rebuild Rome after the fire of A.D. 64. "There was an immense marine trade, an active internal navigation, and the towns reached a great size, and were

[1] Tacitus (*Hist.*, I, 65). The Lugdunenses described the provincials of Vienna as "foreigners and enemies"—"cuncta illic externa et hostilia, se coloniam et partem exercitus"—whereas they were a Roman colony and part of the Roman army.

inhabited by a dense population." [1] Here was a finer sphere for an Apostle than any in the East. St. Paul would hardly have overlooked its advantages to himself as a writer, an orator, a Roman citizen, and a Greek philosopher. No city could have offered him greater opportunities than Massilia, which was connected by long-standing ties with Ephesus,[2] his old sphere of work. It was a centre of education and refinement for the native tribes and made the Galatae "Philhellenes," as Strabo says.[3] The city of Nemansus (Nîsmes), on the farther side of the Rhone, was Latin in speech and Roman in constitution and custom. It replaced the canton of the Volcae, and helped to Romanize the south of Gaul. Strabo says (IV, i, 7) that many of the Volcae here adopted Roman style in speech and life, and some had the Roman citizenship. St. Paul could have made his way in both cities, and also with the Celtic natives, who resembled in friendliness and hospitality the Galatians, among whom he had worked in the East. And yet the only evidence—which is after all an inference—for his work there is the note in 2 Timothy iv. 10, "Crescens has gone to *Gallia*," the reading of ℵC., whereas *Galatia* is the better supported reading. It may, however, refer to Gaul just as much, if not more than to the eastern province. Galatia is the name Polybius gives to Gallia Cisalpina (II, xxiv, 8; III, xl, 3; III, cxviii, 6), and to Gallia Transalpina in II, xxii, 6. Strabo, in III, ii, 2, says—"the Celts whom they call Galatians" (*Γαλατικοί*), writing of the countries in the west. In III, ii, 8, he calls the people of the Pyrenees *Γαλαταί*. Josephus, Diodorus, Plutarch, and other historians call Gaul *Γαλατία*. Lightfoot's argument, that *Γαλλία* was not used for two centuries after Christ, is answered by Strabo's use of *Γαλλικόν* (195) for *Γαλατικόν*. Even if *Γαλατίαν* be the correct reading in 2 Timothy iv. 10, it was the current Greek name for Gaul in the first and second centuries (Ramsay), and its form may be explained by the close proximity of *Δαλματίαν*. *Γαλλίαν* is also the form used in the letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (177, Euseb., *H.E.*, V, i). But *Γαλατία* was used of European Gaul for years after that. Lightfoot gives instances in various writers.[4] We are, therefore, justified in considering the claims of Gaul in this passage, especially when Eusebius, an earlier authority than our oldest manuscript of the New Testament, in *H.E.*, III, iv, has *κρίσκης ἐπὶ τὰς Γαλλίας στειλάμενος*—an expression which can only apply to the provinces of Gaul. There may be, therefore, more in the tradition that Crescens (a Roman name) was the founder of certain churches in Gaul than Prof. W. M. Ramsay allows.[5] It

[1] Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 137.

[2] Strabo, IV, i, 4, mentions that there was a temple of the Ephesian Artemis there, and that the colony of Phocæans inquired at Ephesus for advice before they founded Massilia, and made Aristarche, an Ephesian lady, their priestess. [3] IV, i.

[4] Galatians, p. 4. Julian, Libanius, Ammianus, etc.

[5] Hastings, *D.B.*, ii, 89. He is claimed as founder of the Churches of Vienne and Mayence. The name Crescens is given by Tacitus, *H.*, i, 76, among the freedmen of Nero, and the centurions (*An.*, xv, 11).

would have been strange for Paul, if he had been released, to have overlooked the opportunities presented by southern Gaul. He could have made an entrance at Massilia where Strabo says people wrote *Ἑλληιστί*; and where many Roman students (*φιλομαθεῖς*) preferred to finish their education rather than in Greece. Strabo, in the same context (IV, i, p. 181), says there were public sophists and physicians in the cities of Gaul. Among the rhetoricians (mentioned by Juvenal, i, 44, and Suetonius, *Calig.* 20) and philosophers Paul would have met foemen worthy of his steel. Having won his footing in Massilia, he would have passed on to Nîsmes, thence to Narbo, whence he would have made his way by coasting vessel or by road to Tarraco, where his Roman citizenship would have had weight.

It would, of course, have been equally possible for St. Paul to have worked Spain from Gaul as Gaul from Spain. Probably he might have intended to do the latter. For Spain, covered with Roman colonies and thoroughly romanized, presented still greater facilities for his method of operations than Gaul, with its few Latin cities. Since its subjugation in 19 B.C. by Augustus, Spain had rest until the Vandal invasion of A.D. 409. No province was more happy and prosperous, or more receptive of Roman influence than Spain. As Orosius, a Spanish historian of the early part of the fifth century, says, "the whole of Spain reclined in eternal peace"; and Velleius Paterculus (ii, 9), a contemporary of Strabo, declared that it was even free from brigands. Its three divisions, Tarraconensis, Baetica and Lusitania, contained between them twenty-six Roman colonies and thirty municipia in the days of Augustus. In the days of Pliny (iii, 7. 18) Baetica and Tarraconensis had 354 cities and Lusitania forty-five. It was in Roman colonies like Philippi that Paul had found his greatest success; and as he made the limit of Roman territory the limit of his work, he would not have failed, if he had the opportunity, to visit the most Roman of the provinces, especially as he must have made considerable progress in Latin through intercourse with his Guards. This is a point to be emphasized. At the end of his two years' "free custody," he would have an almost intimate knowledge of the mind and training of the Roman soldier, having been daily in charge of a fresh guardsman for that period; not to speak of his two years' term of incarceration in Caesarea (A.D. 57–9) under Roman officers. He was by this time, accordingly, familiar with the soldier's tastes, ambitions, and ways of looking at things and saying things. The men he was mostly in contact with were the Praetorian guardsmen, the flower of the Roman army, especially selected from Italians who spoke Latin. Etruria, Umbria, ancient Latium, and the original Roman colonies,[1] for all provincials were excluded, supplied their finest manhood for the Emperor's protection, and the defence of the State. These men would talk about their strange prisoner to one another, so that his bonds in Christ

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.*, iv, 5. See article in *Expositor* by present writer on the Latinity of the Prison Epistle. October, 1924.

became known through the whole brigade of guards, and to all the others (soldiers or people connected with the camp or corps).[1] He would mark their expressions, and hear their explanations of the Roman army methods. He would be attracted not only by the splendour of the men themselves, but also by their shining equipment and arms. Their armour would suggest the Christian panoply; their expeditions and campaigns the Christian warfare. In his presence the men would mount and relieve guard, remove and put on their equipment, and burnish their armour. There are a number of Roman military terms *στρατολογεῖν*,[2] *στρατιώτης*,[3] *στρατεία*[4] *στρατεύεσθαι*,[5] in the Pastorals, as well as in the Paulines, which show Paul's appreciation of the Roman soldier. It is very probable that the number of military colonies in Spain, as well as the general peacefulness of the province, would have attracted his steps thither.

Other considerations would also have prevailed with him. The Spanish people were anxious to improve themselves and to move with the times. They wished for prosperity, and they chose deliberately the best way to secure it. They adopted everything Roman: dress, language, and the worship of the Emperor. And if the Romans had accepted Christianity in those early days, they would doubtless have followed suit. However, they must have adopted Christianity very early, if we are to accept the statement of Irenaeus, as we must. Writing towards the end of the second century he appealed to the fact that the churches in the Spains (*ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις*) [6] and the Kelts [7] held the apostolic tradition (*Adv. Haer.*, I, x, 2)—the reference being to Baetica, Tarraconensis and Lusitania. Strabo shows how keen the Spaniards were on advancing and improving themselves. He wrote, "The Turdetani, and especially the people of Baetica, have become so completely romanized that they have even forgotten their own native tongue, and most of them have become Latins, and have received Roman colonists, so that they are almost Roman." [8] He singled out such cities as Pax Augusta among the Celts, Augusta Emerita among the Turduli and Caesar Augusta among the Celtiberi, and other colonies as showing the change. The tribes who have adopted the Roman fashion are called togati, and among these are the Celtiberi, once the fiercest of the natives. The whole trade of the cities of Baetica was with Italy through the Straits; and cities like Carthago Nova kept Rome supplied with precious metals, oil, wine and corn. Thus completely pacified, romanized, and civilized, the people became devoted to the arts of peace and learning. They sent to Rome rhetoricians, philosophers and poets. The cities be-

[1] Phil. i. 13.
[2] 2 Tim. ii. 4 (hapax).
[3] 1 Tim. ii. 41 (not in Paulines).
[4] 1 Tim. i. 18; 2 Cor. x. 4.
[5] 1 Tim. i. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 7; 2 Cor. x. 3.
[6] Pliny, *H.N.*, iv, 22: "Omnes Hispaniae," the three Spanish provinces.
[7] The people who lived near Marseilles were so called by the Massilians.
[8] III, ii, 15.

came famous for luxury and letters. Gades (Augusta Julia) became one of the wealthiest and most luxurious cities of the Empire. In fact, it had become world-famous in the days of Martial[1] (A.D. 40–102). Juba, King of Mauretania, considered it an honour to hold the duovirate there, where there were 500 opulent members of the equestrian order. Even in the days of Horace rich Spanish sea captains were conspicuous in Rome. According to Pliny a citizen of Gades went to Rome just to see the great Livy. It is probable that St. Paul or his companions were brought into touch with some of the Spanish merchants, who had their warehouses and offices in the city, just as Roman companies had their agencies in Spain. It is most likely that many of the ships, to whose constant passing along the western shores of Spain and Gaul and Mauretania Pliny refers, had been built in the dockyards of Hispalis and Gades. But the Spain of Paul's day was equally famous for the literary attainments of its sons, as for the variety and rich abundance of its minerals, home products and exports, and its commercial enterprises. We have here a greater number of distinguished historians, poets and philosophers, chiefly from Baetica, than in any other Roman province. Martial, in an early epigram (i, 61), mentions a few of the most celebrated:

Duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba

and he proceeds to mention Canius of Gades, Decianus of Emerita, and Licinianus, a fellow-townsman of Bilbilis. Ovid was the pupil of Porcius Latro, a poet from Corduba, and also a rhetorician. Junius Gallio of Corduba, and Sextilius Hena, the friend of Cicero, were also Spanish orators. Hyginus, head of the Palatine library under Augustus, was a Spaniard. Seneca, the rhetorician, was also of Corduba. He was the father of Seneca the philosopher, and grandfather of Lucan. His own style is simple, but the style of his declamations is epigrammatic and rhetorical. That style considerably influenced Lucan's and the younger Seneca's, who was also mastered by his phrase. Epigram was also the strong point of Spain's greatest poets—Lucan, whose best work is in his single lines, many of which have been singled out by Quintilian and Martial. Seneca, the philosopher and dramatist, Nero's tutor, whose writings contain many parallel expressions and similar sentiments to St. Paul's, was also from Corduba in Spain. He also excels in pointed epigram. Columella, of the same age, and of Gades, was a writer on agriculture. But Quintilian (A.D. 35–88), of Calagurris, the son of a Spanish rhetor, and a personal friend of the Emperor Galba and his successors, is referred to by Juvenal as the model rhetor in a corrupt age (vii, 186; vi, 280), is addressed by Martial as "Glory of the Roman toga" (ii, 90), was the preceptor of Pliny (II, xiv, 9), the very prince of pleaders, speakers, teachers, a purist in style, who recalled men from the imitation of Seneca to the study of Cicero. It would be indeed strange if St. Paul or his companions had not made the acquaintance of some

[1] De Gadibus improbus magister (Mart., i, 41).

one of these Spanish speakers or writers, or others of the same Spanish school. The worship of the Emperor, encouraged by the State, and welcomed by the people, was more real here than elsewhere. An altar was set up to Augustus at Tarraco, in commemoration of his mercy and kindness to the people. After his death the people claimed the right to erect a temple to him, which was not then the expression of mere adulation but of real feeling. Others were erected at Corduba and Emerita to him, and these temples became the seats of the provincial councils. Here was the most suitable soil for the gospel of the Divine Lord and Saviour. Men who could so spontaneously worship a dead benefactor, could easily be induced to worship the living and Divine Christ.

Furthermore, there were, without a doubt, many Jewish traders and tradesmen in the wealthy cities on the coast of Spain. Their skill in labour and finance would have made a way in Spain. Wherever business was done on a big or small scale, that required either minute attention to small details, or wide commercial knowledge, the Jew would naturally be found. The Jew was wherever money was to be made, and wherever money was, and there was plenty of gold and silver in Spain, as the Jews knew full well for many years past. "Now Judas," we read in 1 Maccabees viii. 1–3, "had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and what they had done in Spain for the winning of the mines of silver and gold that are there." This historian here refers to the Punic War, but chiefly to the Spanish mines, which would have delighted the heart of the Jew. Moreover, their Semitic neighbours, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, had founded colonies and settlements in Spain, and Jews would have gone with them as slaves or freemen. Handsome Jewesses would also have accompanied the expeditions. The eastern and southern coasts especially would have offered many advantages to the Jew for trade and business, and in the Roman cities and provincial towns the moneylenders would have a rich harvest. The Edict of Claudius in A.D. 52 would have made many Jews seek a temporary home in the west as well as in the east, in Spain as well as in Greece. When St. Paul made up his mind to visit Spain and expressed that intention (Rom. xv.), he must have known that there were compatriots there, and also synagogues, where he could commence his work of the evangelization of a new district. Spain also offered a welcome to every form of religion, especially to the Oriental mystical cults. At Valentia, Cybele and Attis had a college of Dendrophori. At Olisipo (Lisbon) the mother of the gods was worshipped. The sacrifice of the bull to Cybele in the Taurobolium is mentioned. Isis (the Egyptian) also shares the honours with Cybele, and her worship was popular among the women in the larger towns, chiefly owing to the connection between Africa and Spain. At Tarraco and Valentia she was the patroness of a college of slaves, and at Acci she was the protector of maidens. The purificatory rites, the elaborate ritual and evening services appealed to many. The Syrian moon-goddess, Astarte, is said to have been worshipped

under the name Salambo in Hispalis and Malaca. There was a Mithraeum in Emerita, showing that the worship of Mithras was carried on; and the Basilidean form of Gnosticism, according to Jerome, "laid waste the whole province between the Pyrenees and the ocean" till it came to a head in the days of Priscillian (385), the first Christian to be executed for his religious views by Christians(?). The Ephesian Artemis, as the patroness of Massilia, had her votaries in the Massiliot colonies on the east coast; for example, at Hemeroscopeum there was a temple called Dianium by the Romans. In addition to these objects of worship we have the Roman divinities, chiefly Juno and Diana, the Roman emperors living and dead, and Roma. There were also native divinities of various kinds. All this has been mentioned to show that when an open door was offered to so many various cults, there would have been no opposition to Christianity, which was not persecuted in the days of Nero. It would have attracted many inquisitive people, and also sincere inquirers, some of whom would have held to it with the staunchness for which the Spaniards of those days were remarkable. One may safely say, that St. Paul would have made every inquiry about the province before he contemplated working in it. And if foreign merchants, strangers and even slaves could have introduced their divinities, without let or hindrance, into the province, why should not he have done so? He would have been attracted partly by its importance, partly by its proximity and accessibility. That it was the most important province might easily be proved, both for its teeming population, its wealth, and its fine Roman cities. The breath had scarcely left Nero's body when the Spanish legions created Galba, who was governor of Tarraconensis, Caesar, "showing that a princeps could be made elsewhere than at Rome" (Tacitus), and also the importance of the province dotted over with Roman colonies, the former sites of Roman camps, populated with Roman veterans and their children, among whom the Roman citizenship of Paul would have won an entrance for his message, which was well calculated to win its way to the intellect and heart of men, whose passion for God and truth was not satisfied by the old Roman superstitions revived by Augustus, and the old Roman pantheon, whose domination was even then threatened by the Oriental cults already mentioned. Another point of great importance to a traveller like St. Paul was, that Spain was easy of access by road or sea. Plutarch, in his *Life* of Galba (7), says a messenger brought news of Nero's death in Rome to Galba, who was at Clunia in Spain, 330 miles from Tarraco, in seven days. He would have travelled by the fine road that left Tarraco for Bracara in the north-west. That would have taken him three days, while the distance between Ostia and Tarraco—a comparatively safe voyage between March 5 and November 11—could be covered in four days. Pliny remarked that sails of Spanish flax brought Spain within four days of Italy.[1] Although Tarraco had no harbour, it was well situated for the journeys of

[1] Pliny, XIX, 9.

the prefects to and from Rome. The centre of the Imperial cult, the winter residence of the governors, with its *ara Augusti*, and temple to Augustus and to Rome, graciously permitted by Tiberius to be erected, it would have been a likely station for Paul to commence his work. Martial (x, 104) describes the course of his little book from Rome to Bilbilis, his native town. First he would sail to Tarraco, and then post to Bilbilis, which was reached on the fifth day's travelling by land. It was 224 miles by road from the Tarraconis arces to Bilbilis, and this was not considered fast travelling. There was an excellent government posting system all through Italy and the provinces, which provided at regular intervals means of conveyance for officials. Trading companies also had their own staff of carriers, and private establishments looked after the needs of individuals. Travelling by sea and land since the pirates, of whom Paul's Cilician countrymen were easily first, and brigands, of whom the Spanish natives were chief, had been put down, was a comfort. One could travel fast or slow, to suit one's wishes. Caesar once accomplished a long hilly journey at the rate of 100 miles a day. Others, like the Plinys, preferred a slower rate, while they read, or dictated, or slept in their carriages, for the inns were as bad as the roads were good. Cicero wrote, read and dictated when travelling, see *Att.*, v, 16, where he writes on the road "in cursu" and *Att.*, v, 17, "This letter I dictated 'sedens in rhaeda' (sitting in the car)." When Paul preferred to go by land from Troas to Assos (Acts xx. 13), it does not mean that he walked, although Sophists like Aristides preferred to go on foot, for his time was short, and driving was quite a cheap way of travelling then. As it is by no means certain that he could walk any distance, it is possible that he purposely chose an exhilarating drive in the country to an unpleasant sea journey. Indeed, like Cicero, he may have had a bad crossing. In a letter to Atticus he said, "We preferred to make our journey (iter facere pedibus) by land, as we had had a wretched crossing." [1] Had Paul reached Spain he would have had plenty of accommodation in the various towns and villages and also had good roads. Polybius (iii, 39) describes the beginning of this road-system in the days of Scipio. After the government had laid the main roads up and down and across the province, the neighbouring municipalities were bound to lay down any other roads they required, and also to keep all roads in repair, and supply the Imperial posts with their excellent Asturian fast-trotting horses. In his days of captivity in Rome there was much to keep Spain before his mind. The very towels and napkins he used were of Spanish flax. The woollen garments he would wear in winter, his paenula or cloak may have been made of Spanish wool which was imported into Italy by the Spanish *centonarii*. His table may have been furnished with the pickled mackerel and tunnies of New Carthage, Spanish mullets and oysters, Spanish wines and bread of Spanish corn. His bedding, too, was probably of Spanish esparto grass, widely used for ropes. He had spent a long and weary time

[1] Catullus, xii, 14.

in collecting a few pounds for the poor Jews in the East. Here was a country with a more generous and trustworthy people and much wealthier. The riches of Spain, its auriferous streams, its silver mines and its gems, would be an attraction. A Jew would appreciate the value of pearls. Most of the precious stones of Revelations xxii. 19–21, were plentiful in Spain. Martial has many allusions to the jasper, the amethyst, and the sardonyx. Sapphires, lapis lazuli, agates, rubies, garnets, pearls and turquoises, etc., were in abundance. His guard's sword-blade may have been tempered in the river Salo. The very *as* he gave for his milk was of Spanish copper, and the *denar* he paid for his lodging of Spanish silver. And whenever an *aureus* passed through his hands he may have fingered Spanish gold. All these considerations may have helped to make him fix his mind upon a visit to Spain.

The statement in the Muratorian Fragment (A.D. 170, *circ.*) that Paul did set out to Spain is supported by the conduct of a contemporary, Apollonius of Tyana, whose life has been recorded by Philostratus. Apollonius visited Rome in A.D. 66, and Nero, on leaving for Greece, gave orders that no philosopher should be allowed to teach in Rome. In consequence Apollonius, who had been released after his trial before Tigellinus, turned westward to Spain. "He intended to see Gades, for he heard some report of the philosophy of the men in those parts and of their proficiency in religion. All his friends followed in his train, highly approving both of the journey and their master." Why should not St. Paul have visited Spain on his release from his first imprisonment?[1]

[1] At another time I hope to be permitted to set forth my reasons for believing in that release.

What lies Beyond, by the Rev. Wm. C. Proctor, F.Ph. (Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1s.), is a series of Scriptural Questions and Answers on the Subject. Concisely and clearly the teaching of the Old and New Testaments is set out, and it is illustrated by numerous passages from well-known authors.

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THE TRAINING OF YOUNG LIFE FOR THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

By the Rev. G. P. Bassett Kerry, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of Braintree.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor to write an article on some branch of Parochial work. After some thought I have chosen that which I feel to be the most important of all our work to-day, viz., that amongst our Young People, those over school age, say between 15 and 25. I can only write of what I know from experience; but, contrary to what is often said, I believe that never were young people more ready to respond to real sympathy, and to a clear call to service for the Master. There must be real sympathy, and a real desire to see things from their point of view. Their outlook is quite a different one from that of a generation ago. Good folk then would have been shocked at the dress and freedom of speech of our young people to-day. We have to remember the new environment in which they have been brought up, and to realize that things which seem strange to us are quite natural to them. The freedom of to-day, however, has its dangers; and our younger folk have, I think, a much harder fight in many ways than their parents had at the same age. Human nature, however, remains the same; and the natural inclinations of the heart, with their special temptations, are the same; and if we feel that some safeguards have been broken down by the freedom of intercourse since the War, then we must realize that our younger folk need our sympathy and help and guidance more than they otherwise would. I believe they are ready to respond to such when wisely given.

There is one other point I would urge. We are constantly told that, if we want to reach our younger people, we must cater for their amusements, and seek to influence them in this way. I would say at once, from my experience, that while we must not neglect this side of things, and while we must be interested in all that concerns young lives, yet we do not thus win them for the service of the Church. Worldly methods—whist drives, dances, and such like, ostensibly to get money for Church needs, are doing immense harm to the Church's spiritual work to-day, and are a sign of weakness and failure, and I am sure our young people feel that there is "a more excellent way" than this.

I have chosen as my subject "The training of young life for the service of the Church." This word "service" is one to conjure with to-day. If we want to hold our young people we must give them something to do. We must give them some outlet for their energies, and make them feel that they are wanted by the Church, and can be of some use. Their feeling is expressed by the words of their hymn, written by a leader of the Young Life Campaign:—

"We who are young are the hope of the future,
We who are young must be willing to share
All that our nation demands of our service,
All that our young hearts are able to bear."

Then, when the call and claims of Christ and His Church are put before them, and they feel that He, too, needs their best; and when they see that He is a great reality to their leaders, they will go on to say:—

"We who are young are the hope of the future,
We who are young must take Christ as our King;
Never ashamed to confess Him to others,
Never afraid of the Cross it may bring."

In our work amongst our younger folk there are two main ideas to keep well to the front. We must seek to give outlets for their abounding energy, and we must keep our work on a high level of spirituality. We must "Seek first the Kingdom of God." We must let them see that if they want to do real work in the world, as followers of Christ, they must be "out and out." There must be no doubt as to "Whose they are, and Whom they serve." They must be ready to "endure hardness, as good soldiers of Christ." The leader who wants to win them for the service of Christ and the Church must himself be unmistakably consistent and sincere, and a real "man of God." The young people of to-day have no use for anything that savours of unreality.

Now let me turn to some methods of "Parochial Work" by which we can give scope to their energies, and which I hope are not too commonplace. Of course if we want to hold our younger people, we must begin with them at a much earlier age than that we are considering. I give some ways which we have proved to be successful.

1. We have found a "Young People's Demonstration" to be of great advantage in bringing before our Churchpeople generally the work done amongst the young. The first year, our Demonstration filled to overflowing the largest public hall in the town. The next year we repeated the programme the following night, and both times the hall was filled. We had, taking part in it, our Church Day Schools, both elder children and Infants; our Sunday Schools likewise; our Choir Boys; our Guides, Scouts and Brownies; Band of Hope; Young People's Missionary Union; G.F.S., and Bible Classes. Their programme consisted of Songs, Action Songs, Recitations, a Missionary Sketch, a varied display by the Scouts, Drill and Ambulance by the Guides, and Maypole by the Infants. As each party came upon the platform, one of its members stepped forward and announced what it stood for, and the work it was doing.

We kept the right tone throughout. We began with a hymn by the united performers; we had a short talk in the middle; and we ended in the same way each year with the hymn "Lord, it is eventide," and prayer, and last of all, "God save the King." These demonstrations not only gave our young people something to do, but let them feel they were materially helping the funds of their different organizations.

2. The Guides, Scouts, Brownies and Cubs are appealing very greatly now to our young folk. These organizations give them

"something to do." The most important matter in these is to get the right leaders, who are capable, loyal to their Church, and with high ideals. I would emphasize the word "loyal," otherwise catastrophe may ensue, especially if the Scouts run a Band! The value of Church Parades must not be overlooked, and we should make our regular Church folk feel they are doing a real service to the Kingdom of God by giving up their seats to the young people on the Parade Sundays. We should make the Service itself as impressive as possible, as for instance, by receiving and giving back the Colours. In addition, it is a great thing to get the elder Guides and Scouts to come together, in the early morning of their Parade Sunday, to the Holy Communion. There are many other ways in which the services of the elder Guides and Scouts can be welcomed, by getting their help at the various Parish functions. At present our Guides have undertaken to be responsible for part of the churchyard, to keep it in order, and make it bright with flowers; while the Scouts are earning money for their Summer Camp by cutting regularly the Vicarage lawn!

3. We must give our younger people an important place in our Church Services. In a large Children's Service on Sunday afternoons we let the children take as much part as we possibly can. They have their own sidesmen, and we have variety. The Rev. G. R. Balleine's small book of Children's Services, published by Murray, is up to date and useful; and we also use "Hymns for Church and Home," which has the best of our Church Hymns, and also several short services. This is obtainable from Rev. A. G. Dodderidge, of Stannington Vicarage. We use the small penny Gospels for Scripture, and the children read the passage themselves, alternately boys and girls. When we have read through the Gospel we give the little books to them. We let the children also repeat with us many of the prayers. Occasionally we take a good gramophone to the Service, and give the children some sacred music. They are all registered as they enter the church.

4. In this article, however, we are mostly concerned with the elder ones—the "young people." Our best opportunities are in the Church Services. Our various organizations should have their Corporate Communions. It is an inspiring sight to see a large number of these present together on the first Sunday of the month, at the early Service; and this corporate "Remembrance" is of real help and encouragement to them. With us, the evening Service is largely adapted to these young people, for they are present in such large numbers, but otherwise it is well to have a special Service for them once a month.

The most important Service from their point of view in the whole year is that on the first Sunday evening of the New Year. It is about thirty years ago now since I was present at one of the breakfasts given by Dean Lefroy to the younger clergy of Norwich. He strongly urged us to make much of this Sunday evening, when young people were more impressionable, he said, than at any other time in the year. For thirty years I have advertised this

special Service, and have preached a "Mission Sermon," followed by what I call a "Consecration Service" of about half an hour. Never has a first Sunday evening passed during these thirty years without several young lives being won for Christ. There are many working now at home, and in the Mission Field, who have found Christ as personal Saviour on a first Sunday evening of a New Year. I would strongly urge all who are seeking to be "soul-winners" to make full use of this golden opportunity. Here would I say, that if we want to see real "Conversions," we must aim at them, and expect them, in humble dependence upon God's Holy Spirit.

5. Another most successful way of training our young people for the service of the Church is by means of gatherings run upon "Christian Endeavour" lines. We call our own gathering the "Young Communicants' Guild." Some may prefer the more up-to-date word "Fellowship" to Guild. About fifty of our Communicants, between 15 and 30, are linked together in it, and meet every Monday throughout the year. This is much better than giving up for the summer. They run the gatherings themselves. They have their own Chairman. They themselves take the intercessions, and Scripture Union portion. They sing solos, and are very fond of choruses. They read papers themselves, and at times get other folk to come and address them. They work entirely on spiritual lines. In addition, they have their Tennis Club, and other interests, and help in Sales of Work, etc. They also help in open-air work during the summer months. This Y.C.G. is a capital training ground for Sunday School Teachers and Church Workers. The Secretary has just become a Parochial Lay Reader. In one similar organization, which I know well, four of its members have become Captains in the Church Army.

6. This leads me to speak of the Church Army, which may be of the greatest help in a Parish, by giving young people an outlet for their activities. We have a Church Army Worker in the Parish, and under her lead we circulate about 1,060 Church Army Gazettes every week. This is largely done by our young people. I cannot too warmly commend this excellent little paper, at the moderate cost of a halfpenny. It has a true Gospel ring about it. It has excellent and striking full-page pictures, which are "silent Sermons," and it is so attractively edited that it is read where no other religious periodical would be read. Some of our workers go round to the public-houses on Saturday nights, and sell it to those assembled there, and it is welcomed. Our young people help to take this, week by week, into over a thousand homes.

Again, we owe very much to the Church Army "Week-ends." From time to time we send a small band of our young people to the Headquarters in Bryanston Street. Here they are led to give their testimonies, and to speak in the open air in Hyde Park, and to seek individually to bring outsiders in to the Gospel meetings. I have been amazed at the way the Church Army Leaders have helped our young and nervous workers. I know nothing like

their methods, and thank God for them. A good many of our young folk go away to some neighbouring parish by chars-à-banc to a Church Army Rally on Easter Monday, Whit-Monday and other times, and are encouraged in the Master's service themselves, and encourage others. We have our own enthusiastic Rally early in the year, and invite others to come to us. The Church Army is a valuable help in real spiritual work to our younger folk.

7. We find the "Missionary Service League" of the C.M.S. another outlet for service. The Romance and Reality of Missionary work will always appeal to young people, if facts are put before them, and if they are trained to look upon Missionary work as "the foremost work of the Church." Once a month is given up by the members of our Y.C.G. to the wider organization of the M.S.L. They have their own stall at the annual Sale of Work. The most important bit of work in connection with Missions Overseas is done by some of our keen young men. In the autumn they have a set of slides from the C.M.S., illustrative of some mission field. They prepare carefully the accompanying lecture, and then go round to different parishes and villages, where invited by the clergy, to give their lecture to meetings of adults or children; and they take with them, where necessary, their own lantern, sheet, etc. The lecture is divided usually into three parts. One will speak on the country and its people, another perhaps on the customs and religions of the country. A third will speak of Missionary work carried on, and will end with an appeal for prayer and interest and help. To hear a keen Missionary talk from three young men is something out of the common, and arouses much interest. In country parishes this is a bit of work of real value.

8. We should, I am sure, try to impress upon our young people, whom we are seeking to train for the service of the Church, the stewardship of money. Our failure to do this is a source of great weakness and loss to the Church. The duty of systematic and proportionate giving is one which we ought courageously to put before them. To spend several shillings a week on cinemas, chocolates and smoking, and to give a penny in church on Sundays, is all too common among our young folk to-day, who have not had put clearly before them the duty of maintaining their Church Services, and their privilege of helping on God's work in the world. They would not think much of a cinema for which they had only to pay a penny, or even a halfpenny, and they cannot value aright a religion which costs them nothing, and a Church where everything is done for them, so that they think they are doing a favour by coming to church at all. This is the more so, since they are often told that Christianity has, as its basis, self-sacrifice.

We need a revolution in our teaching about the responsibility and privilege of "Christian Giving," and our young people would, I am sure, appreciate this, and it would give them another outlet for service.

What I have written concerns largely a country manufacturing town, with a parish of about 8,000, with no residential people, but

an unusual proportion of young people, engaged in factories and in shops. Many of the things I have said, and suggestions I have made, would not be suitable to other parishes of a different character. Other methods would have to be adopted. The "Crusader" movement gives great scope for any young folk who have a real love for Christ, and who want to reach a class of boys and girls who would never be reached by Sunday Schools. The Summer and Winter Camp movement, such as is carried on by Dr. Fothergill, is reaching a class otherwise largely untouched, and is training many for the service of the Church. I know of others who have been successful in inviting young people for "Fireside Talks" in a quite informal way.

There is abundant scope for our efforts to reach younger people to-day, and they are ready to be helped and influenced, if only they see that those who are out to help them are themselves absolutely sincere and whole hearted, and if they give Christ's call and claims with no uncertain sound, and keep a high spiritual ideal, and are not afraid to demand from them true service which cannot be given without cost and effort.

The Altar on the Hearth, by the Rev. George Townshend, Canon of Clonfert (The Talbot Press, Ltd., 2*s.* 6*d.* net), is a book of prayers and meditations which, as Bishop Plunket says in his Introduction, fills a gap because it "strives to uplift the everyday life of home and family towards a definitely spiritual plane." Canon Townshend emphasizes the truth that happiness is only to be attained through conscious communion with God, and he illuminates it and illustrates by a collection of prayers dealing with the needs of life on many sides. They are full of spiritual insight and of deep sympathy with sorrow and suffering.

Messrs. Thynne & Jarvis have issued a verbatim report of the 101st Islington Clerical Conference under the title—*Evangelicals in the Church of England* (1*s.* net). Those who heard these papers will be glad to have them in this permanent form, and those who did not have the privilege of being present at the Conference will be well advised to read this account of the past work, future prospects and aims of the Evangelical School. It ought to prove an inspiration to fresh effort in the service of Christ, and in consecration to the spread of the Gospel.

Messrs. Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis issue a third volume of Sacred Poems, by Miss E. Leifchild Hurrell (1*s.* 6*d.* net). Dr. Schofield commends them as illustrating the passages of Scripture on which they are based, and being thus invaluable for reference. The poems are inspired by a spirit of deep devotion.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, 1320(?)-1384.

THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

THE CHURCH IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND.

By John Knipe.

THE Coming of John Wycliffe into public life in the England of Edward III's reign has a striking parallel in the ancient Hebrew prophecy: "But the Lord from the North has raised One."

The prophet is speaking of the dearth of spiritual religion; a man should come from the North, sent by God in pity of their need. The North is a symbol of strength and of freshness, and like the breath of the north wind, the Messenger should revive religion from the dead formalism of outward observance until it became something alive and throbbing, something which hurt, something which men cared for, something which would be of supreme importance in the life of the nation.

That is an epitome of the influence of John Wycliffe upon England. He, too, came from the North, that hardy, rugged North which breathes the spirit of independence and is no lover of forms. The studious, long-headed, resolute Yorkshireman who shook the land with the power of his doctrine, was not in his youth, not filled with its heady passion, fiery ardour and impatience, for it was in the sober time of ripe middle age that John Wycliffe was called to be a public servant, and from what is recorded he seems never to have doubted or hesitated in response to that summons, just as he never sought advancement or favour, simply accepting each fresh responsibility men offered him. He was a born leader of men. Christendom was passing through days of much evil. The Popes in succession preferred to live in luxury at Avignon, enjoying the soft Provençal climate and the security of their lives under the protection of the French kings. From Clement V in 1305 to Gregory XI in 1377 the pleasant dalliance of each Pontiff and Curia in the Midi is curiously styled the "Babylonian captivity" by the chroniclers.

At any rate, the Papal Court were most willing captives! Catherine of Siena had a hard job when she undertook to persuade the Holy Father to return to Rome. She spent some time in Avignon alternately wheedling and bullying the weak old man in her ultra-pious fashion. The reluctance of Pope Gregory in 1377 shows how low an ebb the Papacy had reached in the preceding years.

Naturally the sloth and indifference to spiritual concerns which marked the Avignon sojourning had its reaction in England. Bishops and abbots lived in palaces and manors with their armed retainers, more like great nobles than Churchmen.[1] They had become in very truth "Lords over the flock," while the parochial

[1] The word was then used in the sense of ecclesiastic.

clergy or "seculars" were ignorant men, often of peasant stock, some unable to do more than to read their Breviaries and mumble their masses, existing on a miserable "pittance," defrauded of their tithes by the system of absenteeism and barefaced robbery called "Appropriations"—to which reference will be made in chronological order in the following reign of Richard II, when the scandal was properly denounced—notably in 1381.

Worst of all, the good name of the Church was disgraced by a horde of idlers in minor orders, Ostiaries (doorkeepers), Exorcists, Lectors, Acolytes, Sub-deacons, who lived by knavery, often as licensed thieves and beggars, under the protection of the Church, those "Criminous Clerks" who escaped the King's justice and cheated the gallows with the profane mockery of the "Neck-verse," the muttered phrase of a Latin Psalm, commonly the Miserere. These masterless rogues were too leniently dealt with in the diocesan tribunals or "Courts Christian," whose judgments were notoriously corrupt. A modern historian dryly commented that it had become a favourite topic of discussion among the laity by the fourteenth century to speculate on the chances of a defunct archdeacon getting to Heaven. Some indeed thought he had little hope of Purgatory even! They were not uncharitably minded towards archdeacons as men; they were repelled by the horrible traffic in livings, and the avarice of the Courts over which the archdeacon presided as the responsible official. Chaucer reflected scathingly on the "archdeacon's curse:"

> "'I have,' quod he, 'of summons here a bill
> On pain of cursing look that thou be
> To-morn before the archdeacon's knee
> T'answer to the Court of certain things!
>
> "'May I not ask a libel (leave), Sir Summ'ner,
> And answer there by my Procurator?'
>
> "'Yes,' quod the Summ'ner, 'pay anon, let see,
> Twelve pence to me and I will thee acquit.'"

These lines from the *Canterbury Tales* tell us what Chaucer thought of the blackmailing practised by the Summoner or archdeacon's tipstaff.

William Langland, in his poem "The Vision of Piers Plowman," tells how "Lady Meed" (Bribery) corrupted the Church.

> "Ye deans and ye sub-deans, now draw you together,
> Archdeacons, officials and registrars all,
> Be saddled with silver, our sins to allow,
> Adultery, divorces, and doubling of debts,
> And payments for bishops that visit abroad." (Passus, II.)

The laity were "polled and peeled"—taxed and skinned—by every kind of ecclesiastical exaction, so that one wonders how men paid the King's taxes, extra heavy from the cost of the French Wars, when the Church took its toll in Peter's Pence or Rome-Scot, "Voluntary" Papal Offerings, Probate, Tithes, Parish Fees,

Masses for the Dead, Church Dues paid to absentee Rectors, Mortuaries or funeral takings (either the pall or its equivalent in coin), Pilgrimage Fees, Pardons, Indulgences, Reliquaries, Roods, Shrines, Miraculous Images and Holy Wells, Festival Lights and Votive Candles and Offerings, and Licences for purposes both holy and unholy; the worst example being the "Stews of Southwark" (houses of ill-repute), which contributed annually a large sum to the coffers of the Bishop of Winchester, this money being reckoned as a regular source of his income, and the episcopal conscience being unperturbed. Turning to the Convents, we find that the great Abbeys imposed Feudal Dues, besides Pasture, Corn and Mill Rights, as at St. Albans, where the monks kept the Common Millstones in the Cloister "to witness that none might grind his corn save at the Abbey Mill." The Monasteries sent round their "Limitors"; members assigned a certain beat in which to beg for alms from all who lived within that "limit." This seems to have been a practice confined to the Mendicant Orders.

"'I am Wrath,' quoth he; 'I once was a friar,
And the convent-gardener, to graft young shoots.
On "limiters" and "lectors" such lies I engrafted.'" (P. Plowman.)

And of course the begging friars demanded and got food and lodging gratis. In a rough, homely fashion they were preferred to monks who lived aloof from their fellow-men. The friars cheated and lied, they were greedy and often idle, but they told good stories, imposed light penances, and were equally at home with small and great. Chaucer's Friar, who turns the cat off the settle before he sits down, lets us know at once he took the cosy corner by the fire when he visited the sick.

"'Thomas,' quod he, 'God ease you! Full oft
Have I upon this bench fared full well.
Here have I eaten many a merry meal.'"

He proceeds to flatter the goodwife, whom he embraces as his "sister dear," and tells her he

"Saw not this day so fair a wife
In all the church, God so save me!"

The furious husband listens to the Friar, who orders his own dinner at the wife's invitation, speaking with mock modesty thus:

"'Have I naught of a capon but the liver?
'And of your soft bread [wheaten loaf, then a dainty] naught but a shiver [thin slice]?
And after that a roasted pig's head?
(But that I would no beast for me were dead).
I am a man of little sustenance.
The body is aye so ready and penible
To wake, the stomach is destroyed.'"

He does not get his tit-bits, for while the wife goes off to the kitchen, he offers absolution for money, and the sick farmer turns on him in a rage until the serving-men rush into the room and drive the friar out.

It tells a sad tale for the state of institutional religion when men like Chaucer's greedy Friar were the spiritual guides of the people. And the poet in his famous poem has followed the custom of contemporary satirists, for "the hero of a story of gallantry is generally a churchman" (*vide* "The Reeve's Tale"). The acknowledged authority on the Middle Ages, Mr. Trevelyan, has observed: "It was inevitable . . . when such an enormous proportion of the people was bound by religious vows of celibacy, and had at the same time the professional right of entry to families, that the peace of households should be frequently disturbed."

There is one fine character portrait of a churchman in Chaucer that in fairness should be mentioned, his "Poor Parson." The description is one of such beauty that it seems as if the poet was describing not only his ideal, but someone who resembled an acquaintance; possibly, even, a near friend.

"But rich he was of holy thought and work.
He was also a learned man, a clerk. . . .
Benign he was and wonder diligent,
And in adversity full patient:
And such he y-proved often sith
Full loth were he to cursen for his tythes [curse, excommunicate].
But rather would he give, out of doubt,
Unto his poor parish'ners about."

Chaucer tells us that instead of excommunicating his flock for non-payment of tithe, the "Poor Parson" gave alms to those who defaulted if he doubted that they could pay him.

"Wide was his parish and houses far asunder
But he nor left not, for rain or thunder,
In sickness nor in mischief, to visit
The farest in his parish, much and light [often]."

In the mirror of the good man's example is shown what others failed to do. Now the poet changes his tone to a sharper key:

"He set not his benefice to hire,
And left his sheep encumbered in the mire,
And ran to London, unto Saint Pauls
To seeken him a chantery for souls."

Here Chaucer scourges the common practice of appointing an underpaid substitute or vicar, while the rector bribed the Consistory officials of the Bishop of London in order to get for himself the sinecure of some well-endowed Chantry or private Chapel, founded by a rich merchant or noble with a fixed stipend to pay a Soul-Priest to sing a daily mass for the dead benefactor. He refers, obviously, to the notorious "Pardon Cloister" of Old Saint Paul's Cathedral; it filled one side of a large quadrangle and was a regular mart for traffic in Masses and Pardons, the side wall being covered with the most gruesome pictures of souls in the torments of Purgatory and Hell. This cloister became an object of peculiar odium to the Londoners and it was pulled down at the Reformation (1548),

" Or with a brotherhood to be withhold
But dwelt at home and kept well his fold,
So that the wolf nor made it not miscarry;
He was a shepherd and no mercenary."

The poem is attributed to the latter half of the century, but the abuses which Chaucer exposes so mercilessly are more sharply satirised by William Langland in his " Vision of Piers Plowman," which is of much earlier date. Some have thought that the original of the " Poor Parson " was John Wycliffe himself, and we know that both he and Chaucer had the same royal patron, John of Gaunt. Certainly Chaucer must have known Wycliffe. And with this comparison in mind one may grasp some idea of the life of the age in which both lived, a vision of the past which can only be caught in glimpses from contemporary writers, the close of the brilliant epoch of Chivalry and the transition to the slow progress of English civil liberty and the final abolition of serfdom.

Early Life of Wycliffe. He becomes a " Poor Scholar of the Halls."

The year of his birth is unknown and the date can only be inferred by what he has stated in his own writings and certain documents and official records at Oxford. It used to be supposed that he was born in 1324, but careful examination suggests that the actual year was either 1320 or a little earlier. His portrait at Knole is that of a man of sixty or more. His birthplace was Spresswell, a hamlet in the North Riding of Yorkshire, near Old Richmond. It is curious that there should have been any doubt of the locality, for the village of Wycliffe is only half a mile distant. His family seem to have been poor relations of the Wycliffes of Wycliffe, who from the time of the Conquest were lords of the manor and patrons of the living.

He came therefore from pure Saxon stock and his kin were an old gentle family of Yorkshire franklins. There are local allusions in his works, and he was familiar with the traditions of the countryside and very proud of his Northern origin.

There was some connection between the Wycliffes of the Manor and their powerful neighbours the Balliols of Barnard Castle on the Tees. As a lad young John Wycliffe seems to have attracted the notice of the Castle ; possibly the eager boy knew the lord's chaplain through the village priest of Wycliffe, who was very likely his tutor, and from whom he could learn elementary Latin grammar. It does appear that his parents dedicated him almost from his birth to the priesthood and that he went to Oxford about the age of fourteen.

Balliol College was founded for the education of poor scholars. It is almost certain that young Wycliffe was nominated to a vacancy there through the goodwill of the family patrons. In 1361 a William Wycliffe, Fellow of Balliol, was presented to Wycliffe living by John Wycliffe of Wycliffe, which shows a link between the Manor and Barnard Castle.

Boys who were educated as clerks often travelled in the care of " Bringers of Scholars," who were a licensed escort attached to

the Universities. There were also the public carriers between the villages and the towns; but young Wycliffe probably rode to York with the Balliol retainers, while the guest-houses of the numerous monasteries would be preferred to the wayside inns for a night's lodging. He reached Oxford and was entered as a poor scholar at Balliol Hall about 1335, if we accept the most likely tradition. When the Yorkshire lad rode into the city of his dreams his keen eyes, accustomed to the far spaces of the dales and moors, would note eagerly the Five Halls of the existing University. His own future residence, Balliol, was the oldest foundation, for it dated from 1260; next was Merton, 1274; Exeter, 1314; Oriel, 1324, and University, 1332. The word "College" was not used in the modern sense. Students were divided into those who had "determined" or taken their B.A. and mere lads who studied in a kind of Grammar School or Gymnasium. These boys were also included as members of the University, which made the famous Archbishop, Fitzralph of Armagh, protest it was a scandal, when students were below the age of fourteen. He was Chancellor of Oxford from 1333 to 1347. Wycliffe would attend some of his lectures after he "determined in Arts."

Queen's Hall was not founded until 1340. The Head of each Hall was called Warden or President, and the scholars were divided into "Nations," Northerners and Southerners, "Boreales and Australes."

Of course Wycliffe was enrolled as a "Borealis," which was the Party which maintained the right of national self-government. The head of each Nation was the Procurator, hence Proctor.

The curriculum of studies was spread over roughly four years; and they kept more or less to the older divisions of the Trivium and the Quadrivium of the Seven Liberal Arts, which were compulsory at Balliol Hall, and until 1340 the Fellows were not allowed to take degrees in Divinity. "Men were not then misers of their time." Ten years' study was an average residence, and the quiet, busy life of the mediæval University appealed to those of peaceful but not rigidly ascetic turn of mind, men who enjoyed the scholar's intercourse with each other and disliked the gossiping seclusion of the cloister, with its narrow interests and monotonous services. Convents had grown rich and degenerate; the Halls were modern, full of fresh life and vigour, the wax scarce set on their charters. Thus in Wycliffe's day the membership roll had swollen to the number of over thirty thousand resident scholars and clerks of the University. All study was in the Latin tongue. Greek was unknown, except to a very few (Roger Bacon had been learned enough to read Greek), and French was generally spoken by the Dons and men of good birth. The chief study of the Trivium was *Logic*, comprising Grammar, Dialectics and Rhetoric, and the principal author was Aristotle. Metaphysics, or "Speculative Logic," was included, and the students were termed *Logici*. The great aim was to train minds for those public "Acts of Disputation" which were a sort of intellectual tournament, the delight and pride of the learned.

Wycliffe had a natural bent for Rhetoric, and he soon proved himself both a ready writer, speaker, and an insatiable reader. Virgil, Priscian, Donatus and Terence were read in Grammar; Boethius in Logic. From the Trivium he passed to the branches of Physics, with Geometry, Music, and Astronomy; these were classed as the Mathematical Sciences, while Chemistry and Physics were reckoned a branch of Natural Philosophy, which seems rather an odd classification to modern minds. Of real Science in its present meaning they knew almost nothing. The order was fixed, but they seem to have continued with advanced courses in the Three Philosophies after determination, and sometimes postponed studying subjects in the minor Arts until they had taken the B.A.

Wycliffe had a versatile intellect: he was much interested in the various branches of Mathematics.

"When I was still young I addicted myself to a great variety of favourite pursuits, I made extensive collections from manuals on optics, on properties of light."

Possibly he knew the first scientist of the day, Thomas Bradwardine, the theologian and astronomer, who was then living in Oxford (1349).

Having taken his M.A., Wycliffe decided to "incept" in Theology, then called the "Queen of Sciences." The Divinity degrees were the highest, and he could only gratify his passion for study by becoming a clerk. Theology was not read at Balliol, and the endowment for the "poor scholars" was barely sufficient to maintain "the many students and clerks in residence . . .; each received only eight farthings weekly, and as soon as they became Masters in Arts they had immediately to leave . . ." (Incorporation Bull, Archives of Balliol, 1361).

Wycliffe could not take his Divinity degrees at Balliol—for though six Fellowships were founded in 1340 whose holders must "incept in Theology within thirteen years," he had not the requisite means to live as a Fellow, and probably was not more than nineteen when he "incepted in Arts." After, he seems to have entered at Merton to read for the B.D. All this early part of his life is very obscure, but his name appears on the Rolls of Merton Hall, in 1356, as the Seneschal, and he must previously have been a Fellow. Some have thought that a namesake is meant (as will be seen in another incident); the tradition of Merton has always declared from the first that the "John Wyklif" on the Hall register was the Reformer. It was so believed a few years after his death, and it was a current practice for students to reside in different Halls at various epochs.

All we know of him is that he was acknowledged to be a man of upright character and pure life. He has left no account of any spiritual experience or conversion, and his motive for choosing to be a "secular clerk" was certainly not that of "a fisher of men." He was simply an orthodox Divinity student when he listened to the first lectures on the Sacra Pagina (Holy Writ) delivered by some young clerks holding the B.D. who were known as *Biblici*, the preliminary Course being styled the Biblical. They taught the study of the Vul-

gate and its Expositio, or Interpretation with Glosses. All mediæval Bible study was a development of Glosses. They knew nothing of Hebrew or Greek Testament. There was no Historical Criticism and little Exegesis. Learned discussions followed the lecture proper on questions shaped as " disputational excursus."

But from these lectures, dry as sawdust though they were, Wycliffe drew the inspiration of his future life. He was powerfully attracted to the deeper study of Holy Scripture as the source of religion, and as the supreme authority in faith and morals. The Avignon Popes were heartily despised in England and the vices of their Court inevitably discredited the Vicar of Christ. It was John Wycliffe who first perceived that the true standard of the Church should be the Evangelical doctrine. He was struck by the coldness shown towards the practical teaching of the Gospels. About this time he was probably ordained, at least when he took his B.D. The Systematic Course followed after he had taken his " Bachelorship " of the Sacred Page. The text-book *par excellence* was the " Sentences " of Peter Lombard (and the higher degrees in Divinity were held by the lecturers or *Sententiarii*); next they ranked Aquinas, his " Summa," the writings of Bishop Grossetête, and the Fathers, especially Augustine, with exhaustive study of Canon Law. Wycliffe also took Civil Law and Jurisprudence (especially Roman Law). In fact there was hardly a branch of known learning that he did not master and he finally " incepted in Divinity as Licentiate of Theology " about 1345.

Lecturer in Divinity and Philosophy, 1345–66.

The whole character of Wycliffe's tracts, pamphlets and larger works is so based upon the authority of Holy Scripture that his lectures must have breathed the same spirit. We know that he turned aside from the " wearisome reiterations of the schoolmen," who wasted an incredible amount of time in trivial and childish speculations; one Disputation seriously discussed " How many angels could stand on the point of a needle ? " and another theologian propounded " How long did it take Gabriel to fly from Heaven to Our Lady in Nazareth ? " The hair-splitting of Glosses encouraged such subjects. Thus upon Oxford, where the spirit of inquiry was stirring, the vigorous lectures of the keen Yorkshire mind, trained as well as acute, came like new wine pouring into the cracking wine-skins of the schoolmen; instead of their idle fancies Wycliffe challenged the thought of his age to a sense of values; of the Church, of Worship, of Loyalty human and Divine, of Social Order and of Individual Responsibility. At this period he kept strictly within the bounds of Catholic dogma. He expounded and discussed but did not denounce or condemn; only his point of view differed from other lecturers.

That the University was proud of Wycliffe cannot be denied by his enemies. Fellow and Seneschal of Merton in 1356, he was made First Fellow and then Master of Balliol by 1361. There are four documents referring to him as " Magister seu Custos Aulae de

Ballioli," by which authority he took possession of the Abbotesley living, presented to the Hall by the patron, Sir William Fenton, to augment the endowment of the poor scholars, who henceforth received the sum of "twelve farthings weekly."

In May of the same year he accepted the Balliol living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, and at once resigned his Mastership. But he remained one of the "Magistri Regentes," members of the University Council, and he does not appear to have resided at his Cure, for the Account Books of the new Queen's Hall have an entry of his payment for renting a room in 1363, and in 1368 the Acts of the See of Lincoln record how the Bishop granted Wycliffe's request for two years' non-residence in order to study Divinity, which seems to imply that he was then reading for his D.D., though this is uncertain. He retained his vote and University privileges but the stipend of his Cure afforded him the necessary means of living or he could not have continued to study in Oxford.

In December, 1365, his friend and fellow-scholar, Archbishop Islip, nominated him to be Warden of his newly-founded Canterbury Hall. This is now generally accepted, since the "John of Wyclyve," parish priest of Mayfield, does not appear to have been of sufficient prominence to fill the post, and he remained in possession of Mayfield until 1380, when he was given the adjacent living of Horsted Keynes and died a Prebend of Chichester in 1383. The only reasons for supposing he was the real Warden of Islip's Hall are, that the Archbishop dated his Charter from his Mayfield Manor, and was thinking of endowing his foundation with that revenue, and the spelling of the name as "Wyclyve." But Islip described his nominee as "Magister in Artibus," and he would choose a prominent lecturer in theology. There had been trouble over the mixed foundation of Canterbury Hall, which was originally intended for four of the Benedictines of Christ Church, Canterbury, and eight secular clerks; that is, eleven scholars and the Head. Woodhall, the first Warden, was a quarrelsome monk, and the eight seculars disputed his authority, while the usual jealousies divided regulars and seculars. Archbishop Islip therefore changed his foundation; deposing Woodhall and expelling the monks, he nominated Wycliffe and three other secular clerks.

In appointing Wycliffe as his new Warden, Islip stated that he was chosen for his great learning, his fidelity, discretion and diligence, and a life without reproach in the eyes of all men.

Chaucer's final description of the Clerk of Oxenford justly applies to John Wycliffe in 1365, the prime of his life:

> "Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
> And gladly would he learn and gladly teach."

(To be continued.)

DOES THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION INVOLVE A MATERIAL CHANGE?

THE Rev. T. C. Hammond, who took a first in Metaphysics in T. C. D., has written an able pamphlet on the above subject.[1] It is a logical and courteous analysis of certain statements on the subject of Transubstantiation by Rev. B. J. Kidd, Dr. Headlam (Bishop of Gloucester) and Sir Henry Slesser. All three concur in reading into Transubstantiation a non-materialistic view. Mr. Hammond joins issue with them on this point, and has no difficulty whatsoever in exposing the erroneous character of their statements, and disposing of their arguments. His essay is a model of restrained reasoning, form and thought being under complete control. But for a delicate sarcasm occasionally scintillating in a passage of condensed matter one would not perceive that it was a controversial pamphlet. It is couched in the language of a professor, but it is easily followed as Mr. Hammond glances through the principal passages in Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas that bear on the subject.

The statements he confutes so signally are briefly these: (1) Dr. Headlam's "The substance in Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophy does not mean the material constituent of a thing, but the essence or idea of it—that which makes it to be what it is—and it is not, therefore, in itself a material term. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was introduced [*sic*] by St. Thomas Aquinas, in order to correct the materialistic views then prevailing, and, at the same time, find a justification for the cult of the Sacrament which was at that time developing. I have no doubt that it is often interpreted by less instructed persons in a material sense."

(2) Rev. B. J. Kidd's (writing on the statement forced from Berengarius) "It was a crude attempt to secure some real meaning to our Lord's words of institution by the doctrine of a *physical* transubstantiation or change. But the Schoolmen now came forward with a subtler defence in their philosophy of Reality. Using 'substance' not of the material thing as it affects our senses, but as the equivalent of 'essence,' the Realists held that the 'substance' of a thing is not only that which makes it to be what it is or gives it reality, but also that which exists independently of its outward manifestations. Hence the doctrine of a *metaphysical* transubstantiation was adopted."

(3) Sir H. Slesser's "The doctrine of Transubstantiation, which received its final form at the Council of Trent, was not an affirmation that the properties in the Sacrament suffered any material change on consecration, but was in reality directed against that view."

[1] *Does the Doctrine of Transubstantiation involve a Material Change?* T. C. Hammond, M.A. Church Book Room. Price 6*d*.

We shall allow, for argument, that the Aristotelian philosophy (adopted by Schoolmen) underlies the theory of Transubstantiation. But where did Bishop Headlam get the idea that "substance" in Aristotle means the "idea" of a thing? It was not in Aristotle. See Ritter and Prellers' (*Greek Philosophy*) note (p. 315) on a passage in his "Metaphysics." "There are two things in definition, the genus and the differentia; two things in substance, matter and form." See also Schwegler's *History of Philosophy* (p. 107). "Pure form exists not in the kingdom of definite being: every given being, every individual substance, everything that is a *this* is a compound rather of matter and form." Aristotle used a word meaning "combination" (i.e., of matter and form) as the equivalent of "substance." Since "form" is the pure "idea," apart from matter, when it is combined with "matter" and forms a "substance," "substance" cannot be defined logically as an "idea." "Matter" is not so easily got rid of by Bishop Headlam. A change of substance which Roman Catholic theologians,[1] well qualified to speak on this subject, assert takes place in transubstantiation, implies of necessity (if the Aristotelian metaphysics is followed) a change of the "matter," and is therefore a material change, and this involves a materialistic manducation.

Thomas Aquinas follows Aristotle. "Matter," he writes, "is potential being, while form is the actualization of that being, and the *substance composed of the two*, is actually existent through the form." Discussing the use of "substance" by the Schoolmen, Mr. Hammond states that the word "substance" is never used for a concept or idea by them. "Substance," in either sense of primary or secondary substance, is applied to actual existences only.

"Flesh" surely is not an "idea." Thomas Aquinas used the word "flesh" in connection with the Sacrament. In his *Summa Theologica* (Q. 73, 4) he quotes with approval the statement of John of Damascus: "For the Damascene says that it is called a communion because we communicate by it (the Sacrament) with Christ (*Orth. Fid.*, ix. 14), and because *we share in His flesh* and divinity." The same Damascene wrote, "this body and blood of our God of which we partake is broken, poured out, eaten and drunk." By endorsing the statement of the Damascene that "we participate in the *flesh* of Christ" Aquinas admits a manducation other than spiritual.

Again Thomas said: "There is no *matter* underlying the sacramental species except that of Christ's body" (*S.*, III, Q. 77, 5), and illustrates the change by the change of material parallels, air and fire. He also said, "matter is part of substance." According to Dr. Headlam this would mean that "matter" was a part of an "idea," or of its "form"! Being "formless," according to Aristotle and the Schoolmen, we are curious to know how it developed "form" and became an "idea."

Again Thomas distinguishes natural or "formal conversions" from the conversion of bread into the body of Christ. In the former

[1] E.g., Dr. Di Bruno, *Catholic Belief*, p. 70.

the subject remains, and in that subject different forms succeed each other. But in this "subject passes into subject," while the accidents remain, and hence this conversion is termed "substantial." By the Divine Power, which does not presuppose matter but produces it, this matter is converted into that matter and consequently this individual into that. "The change takes place in the primary subject (i.e., in the matter), which is the principle of individuation" (*God and His Creatures*, IV, 63).

Accordingly, transubstantiation is the change not of one "idea" into another but of one material substance into another material substance (*pace* Bp. Headlam).

Again, Thomas excludes the soul from his theory. The whole substance of the bread is changed into the substance of the Lord's Body, the soul being present only by the doctrine of concomitance. He even contemplates the absence of the Lord's soul, if the elements were consecrated while the Lord is supposed to be in the tomb. He also speaks of the *dimensions* of the Lord's Body in the transubstantiated bread (*God and His Creatures*, IV, 63). Thomas Aquinas had a very material idea of the resurrection body. "While the corruption shall be taken away, the substance of flesh and blood remains." "The corporeal matter of original creation cannot be annihilated and therefore must be subject to changes" (*God and His Creatures*, IV, 63). If Dr. Headlam is right in regarding substance as an "idea" and saying that "transubstantiation does not imply any belief in a physical or material change of the elements," what has become of the substance, the corporeal matter of the Lord's flesh and blood into which the corporeal matter of the bread is changed? Has it become an "idea"? And what then of the corporeal matter of the bread; has it too been spiritualized away? Assuming that the theory is correct, how do the accidents retain their nourishing qualities? Not by Scholastic philosophy, but by the miraculous power of God, according to Thomas. "The power of God can produce the effects of any secondary causes whatsoever without the causes themselves."

It is certainly news that Thomas Aquinas, who was born in 1224, introduced the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which was established by the Lateran Council of 1215.

The position of Aquinas on the subject of "material substance" may also be ascertained by his allusion to a passage in Augustine, where he speaks of the "corporeal substance" of the water of baptism penetrating to and purifying the soul (*S.T.*, Q. 73, 4). So he would, by analogy, speak of the "corporeal substances" of the bread and of the Body into which that bread was changed. Speaking here of the spiritual force in the two sacraments, he says, "A virtue consists in *material* and form together."—"Virtus constat in materia et forma simul." Can it be possible that he was able to drop the matter so completely out of his system as Dr. Headlam would have us believe, when he has to employ it in an efficacy?

Cardinal Cajetan, who wrote a commentary on the "Summa" of Thomas, gives a spiritual interpretation of John vi. 23. But he takes

the eating in a threefold sense: spiritualiter, sacramentaliter and *realiter* (actually). "Unless ye shall *actually* (realiter) have eaten the flesh of the Son of Man in the Sacrament of the host, and have drunk His blood in the Sacrament of the cup, you have not the life of the Spirit in you." The Council of Trent, which met twenty-one years after his death, in its VIIIth Canon on the Eucharist, declared, as its answer to the Reformers' positions, that "if anyone said that Christ is only eaten in the Eucharist in a spiritual way (spiritualiter) and not also in a sacramental and real (realiter) manner, he was to be anathematized." *Realiter* is opposed to *spiritualiter* and implies in the true being of its corporeal substance. Berengar declared that the very mention of the *spiritual* feeding on the body of Christ excited the Roman people to fury. "Really" is opposed to "virtually" by Scotus. "The sacraments do not contain grace *realiter* but *virtualiter*," he declared (XI, ii, 3, p. 566). Durandus, writing after Aquinas, says, "at the utterance of these words (of institution) the bread is divinely transubstantiated into the *flesh*." Nicolas de Lyra still later says, "the bread is the true body which came from Mary which is made by divine power by the conversion of the substance of the bread into the true body of Christ." Is it not absurd to say that such a body cannot be eaten in a corporeal or material way? and that there is not a material change when the bread passes into a real and not a *docetic* body? And it must be eaten in a material fashion unless that body passes into spirit—a change which Aquinas says is impossible. Very reasonably Mr. Hammond concludes his article by declaring that he has "shown that the alleged contrast between a 'physical' and a 'metaphysical' theory of Transubstantiation is a figment of the Anglo-Catholic mind, and therefore the view of a non-material change by which the consecrated elements are removed into the spiritual realm, if it is attributed to the Schoolmen, is nothing more than a deduction from false premises" (p. 41). Rev. B. J. Kidd's statement that Cranmer did not oppose metaphysical transubstantiation but physical transubstantiation cannot stand examination. Cranmer opposed the prevailing Roman theory of transubstantiation.

His words in his preface to his Reply to Gardiner on the "roots" of error in the doctrine of Transubstantiation are well known. They were written in 1550. In that reply he says: "The papists do teach that Christ is in the visible signs. The truth is, He is *corporally* neither in the bread nor wine . . . but is *corporally* in Heaven, and *spiritually* in his lively members" (p. 54). "They say that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine. We say that Christ is not there corporally nor spiritually." So we do not see how Dr. Kidd can say that Cranmer held that He was there "metaphysically." In their canons on the subject the Council of Trent anathematized designedly the views of Cranmer (*Sess.* XIII, 1551). "If anyone denies that the *whole Christ* is contained under both forms and under every part of each form, in the venerable Sacrament, let him be anathema." The whole Christ implies His complete humanity as well as His divinity. We have referred to

Roman authorities as better qualified than Doctors Headlam and Kidd to interpret the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation. Dr. Di Bruno, in *Catholic Belief*, p. 70, says: "There are two things in all bodies, the outward qualities, such as smell, taste, shape, colour; and the *substance*, wholly imperceptible to our senses. We know that in each body there must be the substance, or that underlying thing upon which the accidents rest, and that the substance is the essential part in a body; but of the nature of substance itself we have only a very imperfect knowledge."

Now it is this theory of substance and accidents that underlies transubstantiation. Modern metaphysics rejects that theory. But modern writers have no right to read modern views of substance into the writings of Aquinas, the Schoolmen, Cranmer or Roman Catholic divines, who are bound to hold the view as stated by Di Bruno. And it is transubstantiation based upon such a view of "substance" that we have to consider. We cannot idealize away the supposed substrate of any perceptible quality such as smell. Has "thought" a smell? Has an "idea" a taste? Metaphorically they have; but metaphysically they have not. To say that a smell exists only in an idea is to say that it only "exists in imagination." Without calling in the aid of philosophy, the experience of every-day life or common sense shows the fallacy of such an assumption. The antithesis of mind and matter will always remain, no matter what we do to identify them. And Cranmer did not attempt to identify them as far as we know. Thus we may fairly say that this attempt to spiritualize or idealize away the "matter" of the Sacrament as conceived and expressed by the Roman Church in order to make it more acceptable to members of the Anglican Church is doomed to defeat itself and may be likened to the attempt to weave spiritual ropes out of metaphysical sand.

F. R. M. H.

LIVES ENSHRINED IN LANGUAGE. By the Rev. T. Stenhouse, Ph.D., Vicar of Mickley. *Newcastle-on-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Co., Ltd.* 5s. net.

This is the second and a considerably enlarged edition of an interesting study in the sociological aspect of words. In most languages, ancient and modern, there are certain words in general use which have been derived from the name of some person and the name has come in some cases into quite general use, throwing many sidelights on history, as well as on manners and morals. As Dr. Stenhouse reminds us, the number of such words is constantly increasing. A glance at the Indices shows in how many broad fields the author has ploughed, and how much he has turned up will be seen by looking up the names in the body of the work. Those who are interested in such subtle studies will revel in these pages.

S. R. C.

THE FASCINATION OF CRIME.

By "A Reviewer of Fiction."

THE Nation is becoming less and less criminal. Our prisons are emptying and our treatment of delinquents becomes more humane. The aftermath of the Great War, to the surprise of prophets, who based their predictions on psychology and experience, has not brought us a great wave of crimes of violence. We have developed new methods of crime and have made use of modern inventions to facilitate wrongdoing. Occasionally we are startled by the effrontery of criminals who successfully dare publicly to commit robberies that seem almost incredible. Such events are rare, and our murder statistics prove that the most heinous of all crimes (except high treason), in the eyes of the law, has not as many votaries in proportion to population as it had in the past.

In the United States of America the contrary is the case. There crimes of violence and murder are so frequent that they appal English readers of the American Press, and the statesmen of that Republic are much perturbed by the lawlessness of the people and the sympathy of great numbers with crime. There it is possible to organize campaigns of violence for political or personal ends and for a series of terrible offences to be committed before any one is brought to justice. At times, something like a reign of terror prevails, and cities witness outrages on order that are inconceivable to the inhabitants of Great Britain. Crime has decreased in Great Britain ; it increases in the United States, and many reasons have been given for the contrast. In both countries prosperity has advanced, and crimes induced by misery and poverty tend to diminish, but whatever be the cause in the United States, murder is committed with a frequency that makes sociologists tremble as they see the decay of respect for law and the falling off in regard for the value of human life in the minds of certain sections of their people. It may be that climate has something to do with this, or that as American legislation very often lays down the ideal and not the attainable, there has come into being an ignoring of law that carries with it psychological consequences evidenced in crime waves.

Whenever an outstanding crime is committed in England and a mystery lies behind it—whether it be the mystery of the identity of the criminals or the means by which the crime was wrought—the Press seizes the opportunity to make a " feature " of the occurrence. The placards specialize on it, and the public as a rule talk about it to the exclusion of more serious topics. The less criminal the nation is, the greater the fascination of the crime for the citizen. All classes are touched by the infection of interest, and the many descriptive columns feed and excite that interest. It would almost seem that the more strange the experience, the greater the attrac-

tion, and the cleverness or otherwise of police work draws forth comments from those who appear otherwise incapable of deductive or inductive reasoning. There is a morbid and unwholesome side to the business, but humanity has always found in crime something that touches the emotions and calls forth responsive interest. The great dramatists base their plays on crime, and much of our literature is concerned with its commission and detection. Motives are laid bare and sympathy with the criminal is often produced by the brilliancy of the artist in words. But as a rule the greater the writer, the less he strives to make us feel that the criminal is ordinary, and that it is through some misapprehension or lack of repression that he commits the crime. Very little interest is taken in the lunatic who kills—great interest is centred in the ordinary man or woman who under the impulse of strong temptation or emotion kills. Perhaps some of this is due to the fact that most people realize that they, under certain circumstances, " but for the grace of God " might have yielded to criminal impulses, for in addition to the fascination of the unusual there is a certain underlying sympathy for the poor fellow who has yielded to strong temptation.

But we are not concerned with the crimes that occur, but with the crimes that have not been committed. Detective literature is of comparatively modern growth. It has in one form or another found a place in all literature, for the unveiling of the detection of a tragedy has in it the seeds of a detective story. Probably the weird tales of Edgar Allan Poe have been not only the forerunners but the parents of most of our present-day detective tales. Never, however, have yarns spun by clever writers on imaginary crimes had so great a vogue. They pour from the press by the hundred, and are probably the most widely read form of fiction. A Prime Minister on a journey buys it, a Bishop is known to be a constant reader of detective tales, and very often we have found men of the highest intellectual achievement half apologetically confess that the fiction which pleases is that dealing with the mystery of crime and its elucidation. A very large proportion of the detective stories read in England comes from America, where perhaps the ordinariness of crime may make the study of the imaginary offences and their detection a relief to minds that are distressed by the chronicle of undetected guilt. Hope springs in the human breast, and the fact that in the pages of a novel the Crime Club or the solitary criminal is brought to book serves as a solace for the reader.

But this will not explain the enormous public that reads American, French and English crime fiction. A visit to any great circulating library will prove that stories of this class are the most widely read, and the publishers' lists confirm the impression. The popularity of Sherlock Holmes gave birth to a host of imitators, but the long story is the most popular, for it maintains the mystery to the end, although some authors have lately taken the unusual step of showing how the crime was committed, and then they give an account of the futile efforts of investigators to discover the criminal, until at last the man is brought to justice. And we also have the

resources of science brought to bear on the detection of the guilty. No better proof can be given of the idolatry of science and popular belief in its infallibility and power to solve all questions in heaven and earth and out of them than the popularity of those writers who make a speciality of utilizing the scientific sleuth with his equipment of blood tests, finger-prints, photographs and analytical chemistry. It is all very wonderful, but even science has its limitations, and scientists do not know everything. Yet the atmosphere of knowledge in the books has its own appeal, and the great mass of readers to-day have just that smattering of science which enables them to guess what will take place and thereby enhance their own self-esteem. For all who read these books know the self-satisfied feeling that comes from the successful detection of the criminal before the curtain is raised, and the even greater satisfaction that follows the clearing of the innocent. We are all sufficiently British to think that it is far better that many guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer.

When we look down the list of the successful writers of detective tales we find among the names eminent King's Counsel, authors who have achieved success in other departments of literature, and men of affairs. Ladies, too, have done well in this department, and their books sell by the tens of thousand. It is true that the law in a great many of the tales makes the legal profession angry, and one of the most distinguished lawyers of our acquaintance mournfully told us that he had to abandon detective stories in favour of Wild West tales, as he could not tolerate the ignorance of the detective stories, whereas he had no test for the truth or falsehood of the exploits of cowboys where law was rudimentary and mistakes did not matter. Perhaps we find in his remark an explanation of the vogue of the books we have in mind. Readers are attracted by the skill of the minds that work ingeniously through apparently insoluble mysteries or are intrigued by the physical exploits of those who manage to shoot their way through odds that are all against them. It is the old story. Those who know least of mind are attracted by clever tales, and those who are least acquainted with the life of the daring brawny revel in their performances. The root fact remains that the sensational has an appeal which cannot be ignored, whether it be the appeal to the admiration of the man who works through to the discovery of the criminal or the muscular hero with marvellous eye and incredible "drawing power" when he uses his revolver.

By far the ablest of the recent detective stories we have read is one that leaves the reader completely at sea until he reaches the end of the book. Its construction is worthy of the great ability of the writer, who has been a distinguished public servant and publicist. In the early chapters we have a picture of the circumstances under which a murder is committed, and we enter upon the events that follow with just that "impossible of solution air of mystery" that makes us keen to see what has really happened and how it occurred. And all through the book we are puzzled by these chap-

ters, that seem to have no organic bearing on all that happened and yet provide a clue to the innocence of the accused. The literary skill shown in the writing of these preliminary pages is very great, and the artistry of the gaps in knowledge bewilders.

We have a young detective taking counsel with an old past master in the craft, and here we are brought into surroundings that really puzzle and confuse thought. So many people pass before our eyes, and so contradictory are the deductions naturally drawn, that we do not know " where we are " as to the murder. We have finger-prints and physiological facts brought to our notice. Very soon we are convinced that one of the accused is innocent, but how can he clear himself in the face of the evidence that makes him certainly guilty as far as facts disclosed warrant a conclusion? The other accused has no place in our sympathy. Her guilt is manifest. Everything except the strange atmosphere of the early chapters points to her guilt, and the fairest of Judges, the most painstaking of Counsel, as well as the Jury, are all convinced that she had done the deed. As far as we can see the Court details are accurate, and our legal friend will find no flaw in the proceedings from Coroner's Court to the dread sentence. Within the law all steps are taken and the inevitable conclusion is reached.

But is it the right ending of the process? Here the writer enters upon an unusual tract of country. The young couple happily married are settling down when occurrences of the most extra-ordinary character bring to them a repetition of what took place in the past. They and every one else are bewildered, and only by great exertion and the use of every possible method of investigation are they able to get on the track of the real criminal, who confesses his guilt under an hallucination. It is all amazingly clever and well constructed. The reader is held entranced by the *dénouement*, and nothing appears impossible in the tale. Everything slips into its proper place, and events are seen in their true perspective. No wonder the book has enjoyed a very large sale.

But what is the secret of its success? In the first place, the crime committed removes from society a most offensive character, but we are not for a single moment led to conclude that thereby it is excusable. On the other hand it must be punished, for even the most innocent may suffer under similar conditions. Then the young police sergeant has his chance, and we are induced to hope he will succeed and thereby be enabled to marry the girl he loves. A love engagement between two most excellent young people calls forth our human interest, and when the young man is arrested our sympathy goes out to him. The physiological facts disclosed are not horrible, but so ordinary that the merest tyro can understand them and make him feel that the young man will be acquitted. As for the woman, no one can like her, and whether in the village, in London or in the dock, her character warrants belief in her guilt. And the surprise at the end comes without in any way taking from the self-esteem of the reader. How could he possibly imagine what he had been given no reason to believe? It is one of those unex-

pected endings that in their naturalness bring no astonishment when all is known, but in their very fitness there is the apology for ignorance because the essential motive has not been disclosed!

Are statesmen, bishops, professional men and the great multitude to be condemned for their attraction to detective yarns? We do not think so. If they show how crime is committed and make play of the professional crime detecter, they almost invariably discover the criminal and show the futility of his misplaced ingenuity. They amuse without boring; they interest without taxing the intelligence. Some have to be condemned by their subject-matter being nasty, but the majority avoid the themes of the fiction that is a curse to society because of its pollution of the mind by authors with the muck-rake. Crime fascinates, and it is to the benefit of the State that its attractiveness is killed among those who might imitate it by the certainty of detection. The criminal is shown to be up against all the best instincts and skill of a self-protective society; and this is something to the good.

EVOLUTION AND WAR. By Reginald Cock, M.R.C.S. (Eng.). *London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, E.C.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

It is refreshing to find some one who has a right to speak, challenging what is loosely called Darwinism. The author goes even further than this—he boldly dedicates his book to the fundamentalist, Wm. J. Bryan, round whose opinions circled, in 1925, the famous Evolution trial at Dayton, Tennessee. How far it is true to say that to-day "the vast majority" of clergymen accept the theory of organic evolution, is hard to say. It is rather a sweeping statement which we are inclined to question. In contrast with the doctrine of uniformity—held by all evolutionists—the author stresses the fact that the Bible teaches that in a bygone age, called "the beginning," something took place which is not now taking place—"the essential idea is that creation is a completed work and is not now going on." He proceeds to examine the theory of Natural Selection—the crux of Darwinism. Here and in other chapters he has given us a scientific study in which technical terms are so carefully explained that the ordinary reader can follow him in his task of demolishing this "theory." There are some hard nuts for the Darwinians to crack! But to Dr. Cock, so far as we know, belongs the credit of having been the first to relate this theory to the subject of War. His proposition is that "if Evolution is a fact, then War is a biological necessity"—and this is the culmination of a forceful study of a subject that is constantly being brought before us, often with the calm assumption that there is nothing to be said on the other side and that it is rank heresy even to suggest that it may not be true. Mr. Bryan described Darwinism as "a cruel and heartless theory according to which the strong kill off the weak." S. R. C.

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

THE Bunyan Centenary is producing a number of interesting books dealing with the life and work of the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. There is probably little room for further research in regard to his career, as the ground has been so fully covered in the works of George Offor and Dr. John Brown, but there is room for a brief and sympathetic study of the character of Bunyan's writings and the influence which they have acquired in all parts of the world. Archdeacon Buckland has filled the required need by his book just published by the Religious Tract Society, *John Bunyan: His Life and Work* (2*s.* 6*d.* net). The account of Bunyan's life is succinct, and clears away several misrepresentations which used to be conventionally repeated, though without foundation. He accepts Bunyan's estimate of his own depravity as given in *Grace Abounding*. Many have regarded it as the outcome of the rigidity of his stern Puritanism. His service in the army, his conversion, his spiritual struggles, his ministry, and his imprisonment are traced out. The account of Bunyan's chief work, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, illustrates its qualities as a work of imagination and of spiritual power. Its simplicity in dealing with profound mysteries is shown. Thomas Scott, the well-known Commentator, wrote a series of explanatory notes on it of which one of his poor parishioners said, when asked if he understood the story, "Oh, yes, sir, and I hope before long I shall understand the notes." An interesting account is given of the numerous languages in which the R.T.S. has issued Bunyan's allegory. The general reader will find all he wants to know of Bunyan in this sympathetic record of his life.

The Rev. C. Sydney Carter is already well known as a writer on important aspects of the history of the Church of England, and more especially on those periods when the principles of the Reformation became the accepted teaching of our Church. His Studies in the Elizabethan Religious Settlement and in the teaching of the Caroline Divines published under the title *The Anglican Via Media*, and his *The English Church and the Reformation* are authoritative and accurate statements on the position of the Church of England and its attitude towards other religious systems. He has added to these a new work on *The Reformers and Holy Scripture*: A Historical Investigation (Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd., 2*s.* 6*d.* net). Dr. T. W. Gilbert, Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury, contributes a Foreword, in which he explains the fundamental character of the Reformation. It was an appeal to the Bible as the source of religious authority. During the last sixty years there has been a vast accumulation of knowledge both in literary and in scientific circles which has caused men to challenge many hitherto accepted standards. The modern world is built upon the work of

the Reformation; it is therefore incumbent upon us to see how the Reformers treated the Bible. He recommends Dr. Sydney Carter's examination of the way in which the Bible was regarded by the leaders of the Reformation. It shows that in spite of many differences on points of minor importance there was an unhesitating belief that the Bible spoke as the voice of God to the souls of men, because it brought Christ before their mind and conscience. The Bible was an agent—not an end in itself; it revealed "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

The four chapters of the book deal with the four chief matters which have been a cause of dispute throughout the history of Christianity, but never more so than at present. They are Inspiration, Authority, Supremacy and Sufficiency, and Interpretation. Each of these is carefully examined. The various theories that have been held in regard to them are explained and the views of the Reformers, English and foreign, are illustrated by brief quotations from their works, and by necessary explanations. Full references are given in every case, so that the book is a valuable handbook to the writings of the great Reformers. It is shown that the Reformers had a thorough belief in plenary inspiration, though some of them on the Continent were rather free in their criticism, and Luther himself was at times inconsistent in the application of his views. On the whole "the attitude of the Reformers towards the Word of God was no mere Bibliolatry, but a strong conviction that the Eternal God spoke to them through the Scriptures concerning Himself and their salvation." They rejected the methods of interpretation of the Schoolmen as inadequate, and did not allow the value to tradition which the Church of Rome claimed for it. He closes with a strong plea for the Bible, which is its own best defender, and he believes that in spite of the attacks upon it from many sides to-day it will prove its power as in the past to sanctify lives and beautify character.

The question of the disestablishment of the Church has been raised in somewhat unexpected quarters as a result of the action of Parliament. It has not, however, so far been taken seriously, yet at any time it may become a subject of pressing importance. We may be called upon to decide if there is sufficient cause for an alteration in the present relationship of Church and State, and if the advantage to either the one or the other will justify separation. The Rev. Alfred Fawkes, M.A., who is known to our readers as a frequent contributor to THE CHURCHMAN, and whose writings are always full of interest as well as instruction, has dealt with this question in a book published by Mr. Basil Blackwell at Oxford: *Shall we Disestablish?* (price 2*s.* 6*d.*). He does not hesitate to say some home truths to those whose "prejudice and passion" may make the question one of practical politics. "It would be a discredit to the officials to whose presumed moderation and wisdom the care of the Church has been entrusted." He traces the series of "stunts"

that have led to this situation, and plunged us into a state of unreason which may involve not only religion but learning, culture and civilization, for disestablishment would throw us back fifty years. Not the least of the evils caused by the New Prayer Book proposals is the temper of mind which views the action of the House of Commons as an intolerable insult. The establishment of the Church in England is difficult to define, though we can all appreciate its nature. Mr. Fawkes finds in Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, "one of the masterpieces of the eighteenth century," the leading authority on the subject, and in Bishop Thirlwall's *Charges* written around the time of the disestablishment of the Irish Church another which is scarcely second to it. He draws a number of important points from both of these to show the significance and value of the establishment, and the destruction that would be wrought by disestablishment and its accompanying disendowment. Thirlwall's answer to those who thought that these were the way to liberty was, "I believe that the kind of liberty which they desire would be a grinding tyranny and the worst calamity that could befall the Church," and again in speaking of ecclesiastical courts he points out "how dangerous it would be to entrust an ecclesiastical tribunal with the administration of justice; how surely the divine would get the better of the judge." The final result of disestablishment in Thirlwall's opinion "would be the disruption of the Church into two or three sects, one of which would sooner or later be merged in the Church of Rome." After an analysis of the changes which the Church has undergone during the last fifty years—a progressive deterioration, side by side "with a rank growth of ecclesiasticism, centring in the Eucharist"—Mr. Fawkes gives his opinion of the Church Assembly which has precipitated the present crisis. "It represents so small a proportion of its constituents, and its constituents form so small a section of the nation, that it is difficult to take it seriously as a representative body, in however loose a sense we use the word." He adds to this a consideration of the characteristics of the clerical mind, which lacks vision and the sense of balance and proportion, so that the atmosphere of the sacristy overflows into and poisons the Church. The real issue raised in Parliament was not that of State versus Church, but in the words of the Cambridge Divinity Professors in a letter to *The Times* on February 5, 1928, "In some of the provisions of the Revised Prayer Book the people of the Church of England scent a form of religion which their forefathers at the Reformation repudiated. They do not want it for themselves or their children. This is the really spiritual issue; and on it the majority of the House of Commons gauged the spiritual conviction of the English Church better than the majority of the Bishops and the Church Assembly have hitherto done." Mr. Fawkes has brought together a number of fundamental considerations in relation to disestablishment, and has illustrated them by reference to the special issues upon which the subject has recently come within the range of thought and possible action.

Professor C. C. J. Webb, M.A., F.B.A., Oriel Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion in the University of Oxford, has written an interesting book on *Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement* (S.P.C.K., 6s. net). He takes the opportunity offered by the centenary of the Movement "to review the philosophical principles which seem to have underlain the religious teaching of the Tractarian divines." He regards Newman, although the man of greatest genius among its leaders, as not even typical of it. The elusiveness of his point of view has rendered him a puzzle, yet to him the Movement owed its glamour. Professor Webb does not discuss the influence of the Movement on ecclesiastical theory. He recognizes the difficulty of separating the philosophy of religion from dogmatic theology, but it is obvious that in the Movement everything rested on its ecclesiastical theories, and to ignore them is to omit the treatment of the essential elements which constituted it. Its essence was a theory of the Church. Its teaching turned on its theory of Apostolical Succession. The authority of its claims was based on the transmission of grace through the episcopate. Any treatment of the Oxford Movement which ignores these essential features must necessarily be inadequate and partial. Yet on some of the other points which marked the difference between the Evangelical and the Tractarian positions Professor Webb has many interesting things to say. Neither side was at the outset influenced by the theories of Evolution and of Biblical Criticism which came later. It is even doubtful if the philosophy of either Kant or Hegel had much influence on its leaders. Coleridge was the exponent of Kant to his time and the direct line of his influence is through Frederick Denison Maurice and the Broad Church School. The general but incorrect use of the word "Catholic" instead of "Roman Catholic" as the title of the system opposed to Protestantism has probably to be tolerated for the sake of convenience even in books written by scholars. Professor Webb uses the terms in this way when indicating "the main difference between the respective ideals of Catholicism and Protestantism." Although his own sympathies are obvious, the account he gives of Protestantism need not make us ashamed. It abolished the dual standard of morality when it got rid of the monastic system—a system which was in reality largely pagan in its origin. Reference is made to "the extraordinary chastity of Catholic Ireland." No one wishes to take credit from the Irish peasantry for any virtues they possess, but this oft-repeated statement of the chastity of the Irish, based largely on the small number of illegitimate births, has to be modified considerably by remembering the powers exercised by the priests in the past in compelling the marriage of the parties. The condition of the Irish who are to be found in the slums of great cities removed from direct contact with a village priest reveals a different state of things. Protestantism has been favourable to freedom, to intellectual progress, and to the application of moral principles to every department of life.

Dr. Brilioth's interesting book, *The Anglican Revival*, lays emphasis

on "moralism" as the characteristic of English religion, but this cannot be claimed as the monopoly of the Tractarians. They misrepresented the Evangelicals as holding a view of the Atonement which led to antinomianism. The Tractarians regarded the Incarnation as the central fact of their faith and they represented the Evangelicals as placing undue emphasis on the Atonement to the neglect of the Incarnation. It is more correct to say that they held that there could have been no Atonement without the Incarnation, and that the Atonement was its necessary completion. In fact, they presented a more complete faith. The Tractarian view of justification was based on the infusion of the life of the risen Christ through the Sacraments, while the Evangelicals taught that it was by the imputation of the merits of Christ's death and passion to the believer. This view has the advantage of being scriptural, of following the succession of teaching through Luther from St. Paul, and it has also the advantage of corresponding with the Christian experience, on which all theology must in the last resort be founded. Baptismal Regeneration as taught by the Tractarians had no foundation in experience or in Scripture. The distrust of feeling which was so prominent a characteristic of the Tractarians may have arisen from their dislike of the Evangelical emphasis on it, but more solid grounds than this were needed to justify their prejudice. The account which is given of Newman's teaching on the nature of faith reminds us that his invention of an "illative sense" has met with no acceptance by thinkers. In view of the later developments of Anglo-Catholicism, Evangelicals may feel assured that their conception of Christianity is at once more scriptural and more spiritual.

The Rev. Clement Rogers, Professor of Pastoral Theology, King's College, London, recently provided some useful small books on Christian evidence for those engaged in meeting attacks on our faith. These were based on his experience as a lecturer in Hyde Park, and are very useful in meeting the popular objections of the man in the street. He has now written a larger book to serve as "An Outline of Popular Apologetics" and the title is *The Case for Christianity* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 12*s.* 6*d.* net). His eight years' experience of being heckled every Sunday afternoon in Hyde Park for an hour or so has well qualified him with knowledge of the type of objections generally raised against Christianity and of the best method of meeting them. The book is divided into two parts. Part one deals with "Christian Life and Religion" in four chapters entitled, The Things that Matter, The Verdict of History, The Trustworthiness of the Records, and The Person of Christ. Part two treats of "Christian Theology and Philosophy," and the chapters are, Creation, Order and Design, Conscience, and Christian Theism. While the treatment is on popular lines, Mr. Rogers provides ample references and quotations from the works of the most authoritative writers and in this way supplies a quantity of information of unusual usefulness. It is just the kind of material

that is of value to speakers and teachers who have to deal with the difficulties which are raised by young people to-day. After an examination of the various views that are current, he proceeds to give the verdict of history on Christ and the Church. He shows that the New Testament record has stood the test of the most critical examination, and answers objections raised by modern writers as to the personality of Christ. These chapters give an interesting insight into the psychology of present-day thinkers. The second part leads us to the problems of science and philosophy. Creation raises the interpretation to be placed on the theory of evolution. Order and Design demand a statement in modern form of the old argument which has not lost its value. Conscience opens up all the ethical problems which are of such interest to-day. Christian Theism shows the need for a philosophy of life. Some special characteristics of to-day are dealt with in a series of appendices. The Uneducated Mind reveals the prevailing incapacity to think logically. The Test of Chance deals with some of the arguments of plausible rationalistic publications. The Mind of the Crowd explains the mentality to be encountered in Hyde Park. One of the chief uses of the volume will be to give students a general impression of the outlook of the modern opponent of Christianity, and of the methods which have been found most valuable in approaching the type of mind revealed and the difficulties put forward. Without expressing complete agreement with all that is advanced, there is so much of great value in the book that it deserves wide circulation, and should prove a useful guide for Christian apologists.

A little book of unusual character called *Morals for Ministers*, by R. E. X. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 2*s*. 6*d*. net), will be found interesting and instructive by the clergy. The writer has a wide experience of the difficulties and temptations of the ministerial life, and lays a critical but friendly hand upon the foibles, vanities, eccentricities and weaknesses of ministers. His thrusts are at times both searching and amusing, and much may be learnt from his well-meant advice. A painful picture is drawn of the position of the man who enters the ministry from wrong motives. A special danger is the familiarity with sacred things which makes "the means of grace tend to become the instruments of his work rather than the food of his soul." The law of loving our fellows is sometimes hard to fulfil. "To love those who love us is joy: to love those who hate us is pain: we cannot have any delight in their fellowship. It racks love to stretch it to those we do not like. . . . The experience of this pain is the highest element in Christian love: it is to share God's love for the ideal of man's life and God's suffering in his shortcoming." Humility is a vital part of Christian life, and ministers generally have too little of it. The bias of human nature is for a man to think well of himself. "Prominence in concerns which people respect and revere makes it in many ways easy for him to think himself more important and virtuous than

others. Humility in ministers thus comes to be as rare and unnatural as pearls in oysters." Many shrewd things are said on preaching, and the pulpit methods of preachers. Some, to give themselves an air of originality and to impress their personality on others, "wear their forelocks long and toss them about in the pulpit," but "a sermon that draws attention to the preacher is likely rather to obscure than to display his Master's glory." A chapter on "getting into the newspapers" deals with the instinct for self-advertisement and "the chronic itch for notoriety." Another on "Being Over-occupied" draws attention to the activities which leave little time for thought and sermon preparation. It is good to learn that the author has only known one minister who might be really described as lazy. The danger is rather of being overworked. A minister's temper has often no more than two outlets, his sermons and his family. The consequences are illustrated effectively. The tendency to depression is analysed and remedies suggested. Politics in the pulpit is fairly considered. The need of money by those in the worst paid of all professions may lead to difficulties, though "ministers of religion are not generally money lovers." A closing chapter on Scribes and Pharisees is severe on those who desire to be seen of men, who dearly love to have D.D. after their name, and who adopt an intellectual pose.

The C.M.S. Story of the Year 1927-8 is issued under the title *Team Work*. The writer's name is not given, but he, or she, is to be congratulated on the freshness with which a familiar subject is treated and on the excellent choice of impressive incidents and quotations with which it is illustrated. It is interesting to learn from Mr. Wigram's Foreword that since the World Call "many Church people who formerly held aloof from the missionary enterprise have come to see it in a new light, and have felt a quickened sense of responsibility." In the summary of impressions in the last chapter, three special facts are noted: first, the variety of the work, there is scope for all kinds of workers and the team is incomplete if any one class is lacking; secondly, there is a note of urgency, doors of opportunity are open wide; and thirdly, the world is changing, "peoples once primitive advance in all directions, the isolated lands of yesterday are entering the world's industrial life, while some of the oldest systems and ideas are in the melting-pot," yet one thing remains—the figure of the changeless Lord, Christ Jesus. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is never out of date, for Jesus is alive. His promises hold good and as the Captain of the team He is calling for those who will follow Him. It is impossible to give any adequate impression of the series of pictures of the work that is presented. It is full of variety and interest and should be read by all. An idea of the earnestness of the people in West Africa is given in the account of a C.M.S. anniversary at Ole, where two representatives were invited from each church, "but whole congregations arrived, and at least 3,000 were present instead of the mere 200 expected."

An aspect of life in East Africa and the influence of the rapidly increasing European population is indicated in a quotation from Archdeacon Mathers, who speaks of the "officials, engineers, and business men who are hardly ever influenced spiritually and who, when they come to a township like this have lost desire or are too shy to come to a service. Something more should be done for the whites, if only for the natives' sake." In the Near East, Islam is undergoing rapid changes and the lands are open to the Gospel as they have never been before. India presents a great variety of problems, but the chief is that it is impossible to use the immense opportunities which are constantly opening up and some of them are slowly but surely closing. Of China and its condition of chaos it is difficult to gain a clear impression, but there is great hope that out of the present turmoil a fresh impetus will be given to the work of Christ throughout the whole country. Japan offers a field for wonderful advance, "yet C.M.S. has not been able to send out one man recruit for eleven years." These slight glimpses of the varied activities of the Society and the needs that are presented are a call to increased effort in obeying the command of our Lord to teach the nations.

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. publish a sermon by the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, D.D.—*Freedom Within the Church* (1s. net). It is a sequel to a previous sermon, *Catholicism with Freedom*, and is an appeal especially addressed to Liberal Churchmen to extend toleration to all developments of teaching and worship as incident to the full expression of Christianity. Whatever sympathy may be extended to such an appeal, we must remember that in worship those forms are preferable which allow the largest number to take part, and those are most objectionable which tie down the worshippers to special interpretations and thus narrow the Church. The same is true of formal statements of doctrine. To make fundamental the tenets of a party is to do away with the legitimate comprehensiveness of the Church. This is the tendency of Anglo-Catholic exclusiveness. Like Rome, it claims toleration for itself when it is not strong enough to enforce its claim, but when it has power it shows its true colours, and declares that those who differ must find their spiritual home elsewhere. This exclusiveness would be the ultimate result of the acceptance of the revised Prayer Book. It is the aim of some to make the alternative Communion Service the one form to be used in the Church.

G. F. I.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE PRAYER BOOK CRISIS. By the Right Hon. Sir William Joynson-Hicks. *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

No one who knows the burdensome character of the duties of Sir William Joynson-Hicks can fail to wonder that he has found time to prepare a book dealing with an historical subject and its present-day incidence. We do not think that any other country can give the object lesson of such keen attachment to devotional religion as is afforded by the pages of this book written by a Cabinet Minister. It is a proclamation to the world that Christianity still has a deep hold upon men in the highest position in English life. And if it were only for this striking fact, the book should be read with sustained interest.

But it is something more than an indication of the governing principles in the life of a public man. It is, in our opinion, the very best short history of the Prayer Book that has passed through our hands. It is well proportioned, well balanced and well written. Its meaning is never ambiguous, and its history is true, in the best sense, for history written by a partisan is apt to mislead. Instead of so doing, all the facts are put in perspective and the general impression is that which was current in the minds of all prominent Churchmen from 1552 to the rise of the perverted ingenuity that gave birth to Tract XC and has ever since been such a distressing feature in English Church life. It has to be said with pain that there has arisen a school of Churchmen who are masters in the art of making documents say the exact opposite of what they were intended to mean, and on isolated passages divorced from their context and natural significance building up a theory that will not stand examination. The striking quotation from the late Dr. Swete is a summary of what all the expositors of the Prayer Book prior to the Tractarian Movement would have said concerning the Book: "The Communion Service of 1549 was, as a whole, a revised Sarum; it belonged to the Roman family of liturgies. This can scarcely be said of the present English liturgy; while it makes large use of Sarum and other ancient materials, in its structure it follows an order peculiar to itself. In other words, it heads a new liturgical family, and one which has already taken root, in slightly divergent forms, wherever the English tongue is spoken. There is no reason why English churchmen should regret the fact, or pine for a restoration of the Roman Mass."

This cannot be said of the Composite Book. There is a distinct return in the structure of the Communion Office to the Roman Rite. It is true that we have some features that are more Eastern than Roman, but the doctrine that is explicit in the 1928 use is undoubtedly that which was read into the 1549 use in antagonism to the wishes of Cranmer. And this false teaching lies at the root

of the whole medieval doctrine that was jettisoned at the Reformation. The second part of the book shows how such a change became possible in 1928. With fullness of knowledge the beginnings and growth of the Reactionary movement are traced, and step by step the weaknesses of the Bishops are made so plain that no impartial reader can fail to see that at the root of the present lawlessness lies the prime source of the evil—the unwillingness of the Bishops to grasp firmly the nettle, and in consequence they have been so badly stung that they became inoculated against feeling the poison. It is a sad story of the growth of error and the belief that minimizing words would stay the plague. We have reached a stage in which Tract XC has become the text-book of the lawless, and the most startling of its propositions have been adopted by Episcopal Revisers.

The Chapters dealing with the Ritualistic Aggression and the Royal Commission show clearly the growth of the movement to 1906 when the Commission reported that "the nation has a right to expect that in the national Church the services shall be conducted according to law." What was to be done to secure this and restore law to the Church? The Commission gave the answer, "Suppress the graver irregularities; make room for irregularities that are the natural growth of the efforts of a Church to accommodate itself to modern needs in so far as the changes are non-significant of doctrine." We are then led through one of the saddest stories in the history of our Church. One by one when the claims of Anglo-Catholicism became stronger and more insistent, the Bishops yielded to them until they produced a Book that surrenders to the lawless the chief points they claimed, and opened the way for a still further prosecution of their demands. The Deposited Book is analysed and its real teaching laid bare. And this is put forward as an adaptation to modern needs by reverting to medieval days! The movement to which it surrenders is clerical, and it is proposed to sacrifice the laity for the relief of the clergy. We regret we cannot say more on a book that is full of teaching and will, unless we are greatly mistaken, have an ever-increasing influence in the Church and Nation that are awakening to the value of their Protestant heritage, which is in danger of being taken from them by the policy of those who desire peace among the clergy at the expense of truth and the highest interests of the laity. We are grateful to Sir William Joynson-Hicks for so stimulating a study of past and contemporary history.

THE SON OF MAN.

THE SON OF MAN. By Emil Ludwig. *Ernest Benn.* 15*s*.

Tabloid biographies are fashionable. Emil Ludwig is the Strachey of Germany, and his works on William II and Bismarck make excellent reading. The same may be said of his Napoleon, whom he does not so well understand. But he had undertaken a task beyond him when he sat down to write a Life of Jesus with

the title "The Son of Man." It appears that he is a Jew, and no one can deny that he has an admiration of sentiment for the greatest son of his race. He draws a picture divorced from theology of a man who is without all the qualities of greatness that made Him a power in His lifetime, and throughout the centuries that have followed the strongest influence in the history of the world. We have sought a psychological explanation of the contrast between the strength of his other works: the weakness of this, and think we find it in a reaction from the megalomania which afflicted modern makers of history and the quiet, steady, purposeful perseverance in His mission of the Carpenter of Bethlehem. And we admit we may be wrong, for we have no information of the date of the writing of this book, which may have been prior to that of his other books, for the author has protested against the almost contemporaneous publication of his works in England. At any rate there is a strain of almost condescending sentimentalism in pages that are not without ability and never rise to the height of the great task that he has set himself.

The book starts with a theory, "The author does not meddle with theology; that arose later, and he does not pretend to understand it. He tells the story as if the tremendous consequences of what he describes were unknown to him—as they were unknown to Jesus and unwilled. The book therefores ignores the interpolations in the Gospels, whether made retrospectively to show the confirmation of ancient prophecies, or prospectively to provide support for the still youthful Church. Much has been omitted because modern research has rejected it as spurious." The absence of a theology in a Life that describes One whose whole thought was rooted in God is as much a theology as the most dogmatic of assertions. As we read the book we saw at once that Herr Ludwig has made arbitrarily and without regard to any of the prevailing theories selections from the records as they fall in with his ideals. He ignores the Fourth Gospel, yet when he chooses, he quotes from it. Mark and Matthew are his authorities, and he rejects their narrative when it suits his purpose. He has his own ideas of what history should be and he acts upon them when he professes to write history. Take for example one sentence: "Joseph dies, and at nineteen the eldest son has to share with his mother the responsibility for the care of the younger children." In St. Luke we have a glimpse of our Lord at twelve, but where does Herr Ludwig find the age "nineteen"? Here is a picture of the first miracle at Capernaum—drawn from the Gospel he rejects: "With masterful gesture, such as no one has seen him use up to now, he tells the slave to bring the six pitchers which are kept for the storage of water, and to fill them afresh. When this has been done, he orders them to draw out some, and bear it to the cook (who knew nothing of the matter). All look at Jesus, then at the cook; for he, amazed, stands in the doorway calling for the bridegroom: 'Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine

till now.' Once more they stare at Jesus, who has been strong enough, through the wall, to make the cook out there believe what, from within, Jesus has willed him to believe. He must be a wizard!" A German Jew may believe this hypnotic theory—not any straightforward reader of the narrative.

When we read the concluding pages we understood why St. Matthew had been selected as a chief authority to the neglect of St. Luke. We had imagined it was on account of his writing the Gospel for the Hebrews, but we were wrong. We find the explanation in the closing pages: "A fifth theory is that of those who say that no one has ever died after only three hours on the cross; that the Nazarene's disciples have revived Jesus from apparent death, and have got him away into safe hiding. The priests go to Pilate, berate him for being so pliable, and foretell a peck of troubles, now that the prophet's followers have been allowed to steal the body, in order to tell the people that their Master has risen from the dead. But the women, who love him, believe that in waking dreams they have seen the risen Jesus in the flesh." The Fourth Gospel introduced again, and what he chooses he takes from the First! Surely history is not so written. We have noted a number of historical errors in the book which we do not print. And this work is published as a masterpiece of biography and printed day by day in a journal with a wide circulation! It certainly is news to those who know the Gospels, but it is neither news that is true nor news that is even good journalism—for good journalism does not give its readers what can be proved wrong by resort to the sources of the biography, which are in the hands of all educated people who have any regard for the history of the greatest revolution wrought in history.

MODERN PROBLEMS.

HAVE WE LOST OUR WAY? By Quo-usque. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

The writer of this book is a well-known Nonconformist publicist who has been distressed by certain aspects of contemporary life. Some of his chapters will strike the reader as written in reaction from war conditions and cannot fail to appear extreme, but the book constitutes a warning that Churchmen as well as Nonconformists should take to heart. He tells us that to-day Protestantism takes up no decided attitude to anything—meaning thereby any moral problem. This is too severe a condemnation, for those who hold very strong opinions, at times indistinguishable from eccentricity, consider all who do not share their feelings without moral sense. But he is perfectly right when he denounces the Modern Novel in its present attachment to the conclusions of the Vienna school of psychologists. We are in reality never sure of the character of any new work of fiction until we have read it to the end, for writers believe the public expects sex excitement as a reward for patronizing an author. He tells us that there is "plenty of healthy fiction, but the misfortune is that many clean novels

have nothing to recommend them but their cleanliness—they are often stupid, illiterate and far removed from the realities of life." The public reads more fiction than anything else, and the death of Stanley J. Weyman reminds us how few are the writers who are clean and at the same time attractive in every respect.

He devotes a chapter to the New Youth in which he says: "Personally I don't care twopence about the Pope, but I always defend him when I hear angry Protestants run him down." And this from a man who tells us the fault of Protestantism is to be neutral on great questions! It is only the way of our author, who finds it hard to be neutral about anything. He sympathizes with the desertion of the Churches by the young people of to-day, and he naturally blames the preachers. It may safely be said that at no time was so much being self-denyingly done for young people in connexion with the Churches, but it is open to question whether much of the work is calculated to foster the habit of Church attendance or to do much more than improve their self-respect and teach them to play the game. But the Church of Christ has a higher mission than this, as Mr. F. A. Atkins indicates—the name of the author is an open secret—when he says the youth of to-day is afraid of shouldering responsibility and entering upon engagements which demand sacrifice. Attachment to a Church means this, and this is the source of much that is deplorable. But we are not among those who hold that our young people are incurably wedded to self-indulgence. They have the excellencies their fathers and mothers possessed, but they need drawing out. We have not yet discovered the way to appeal to them. Certainly by giving something for nothing is not the way, and that is the plan too often adopted and commended. Even in the twentieth century the Choice of Hercules has to be made, which in Christian language means the Cross must be taken up and the Master must be followed. We have only alluded to a few points in a book that will win approval even though at times it may excite strong opposition.

ADULT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

THE TEACHING CHURCH. By the Bishop of Manchester, and others. *S.P.C.K.* 3*s*.

We are told on all sides that the clergy have not been educated sufficiently to face the intellectual problems of the age, and that the pew has outrun the pulpit as far as secular knowledge is concerned. At the same time it is said that the average layman is so ignorant of the real character of the religion he professes that he is a worshipper who does not think, and is obsessed by a theology fifty years old. Bad indeed must be the condition of religion if this be true. We do not believe one or the other proposition, but this does not mean that it is well for the laity to rest content with the religious knowledge they possess. And we may add that we believe that it would be for the spiritual well-being of congregations if there were more teaching and less exhortation "to be good" in

pulpits that too often depend for their Sunday messages on a few stock ideas that are popular with keen advocates of social service and a better-world-to-live-in.

The Adult Education Movement and the Workers' Educational Association are efforts made to spread knowledge among the people. They are both successful although they only reach a certain number of men and women who are keen to increase their knowledge. In the Church we employ in voluntary work our young men and women, who, if they had been engaged in secular self-advancement during their leisure hours, would naturally gravitate to the educational centres. This at once cuts from regular attendance at Adult Classes a considerable number of our best people, and, unfortunately too, they are just the section that would profit most from such training. Difficulties are made to be overcome, and if there be a general desire to improve the mind, it will be found possible to combine receiving knowledge and imparting instruction. The Church Tutorial Classes have undoubtedly done good work, but more is needed, and this admirable little volume makes plain the task that lies before the Church and gives specially good information on method. Not every parish can supply a teacher and students, but this does not imply that every parish has not some one or other who may be led to train his or her mind in contact with other minds under competent instructors. The enormous preponderance in Universities and Secondary Schools of Science students brings us face to face with a one-sided training that turns the mind from those values which are permanent and have most influence on character. As Dr. Temple says, such persons may be brilliant in their own departments, "but in relation to problems of good and evil, right and wrong, they are in the mental condition of children. Their instincts are sound enough, but they have not exercised their minds in relation to judgments of value as distinct from observations of fact and resultant inferences." And the prevalent scientific outlook of the trained is fast becoming that of the majority of the untrained who begin to think. It is absolutely necessary to lead these men and women to the sense of the higher values.

We have seldom read a better diagnosis of the general thought of average people on religion than that given in Mr. Cockin's masterly description of the adult to-day in his attitude to the Christian religion. We accept it broadly, as it fits in with our experience, and we believe that it will open the minds of many to the real conditions that are only vaguely perceived by Clergy and Bible Class leaders. If the facts be as stated, guidance is imperative, and the best way of giving this guidance must be sought. The spread of well-conceived efforts to educate adults in Religious Knowledge is something greatly to be desired, and because this book is a vade mecum giving useful hints and admirable syllabuses and abounds in shrewd common sense we hope that it will be widely read. It is a call to meet a need that must be met if Christianity is to retain its place among those who are not afraid to think and not ashamed to kneel.

A WORKER FOR PEACE.

J. ALLEN BAKER. A Memoir by Elizabeth Balmer Baker and P. J. Noel Baker. *The Swathmore Press, Ltd.* 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Allen Baker's name was well known at one time in connection with the work of the London County Council, and with movements in the House of Commons and elsewhere for better international relationships. An interesting and sympathetic account of his career and his aims is given in this volume. In his business life he was a successful manufacturer who came from Canada to England, and introduced machinery for the industry of confectionery and baking. In visiting bakehouses " he was horrified at the conditions which he found. Night-baking with intolerably long hours, the workers sleeping in their kneading-troughs, the kneading done with bare feet, no proper ventilation or sanitary arrangements, cockroaches, mice, and sometimes even rats in untold numbers—these were things that seemed to him as wrong and dangerous to the public as they plainly were to the workers themselves." The work of the firm met a need, and Mr. Baker was soon able to devote himself to that social and religious work which was the main interest of his life. He married Miss Elizabeth Balmer Moscrip, the sharer of his interests and the part author of this memoir. They were members of the Society of Friends, and on settling in London took an active part in the Adult School Movement. It was his interest in social problems that made him pass from private to public work. In 1895 he was elected to the L.C.C. and was an active member of the Progressive Party till 1907. His work was largely connected with the tramway systems, which were to render to the working classes those social services for the sake of which he had helped to build them up. In 1907 he was elected to Parliament and immediately began his work for international peace and goodwill with which his name is most intimately associated. As a Friend he held with passionate conviction the doctrines of the Friends about the use of force. War, he held, never achieves the purposes of those who start it. It never leads to justice, and he devoted himself to the encouragement of international arbitration. He believed that the influence of the Churches could be organized for purposes of peace. One of the most interesting episodes of his life was his audience with the Kaiser in Berlin in 1909. In his account of the conversation he records that tears were on both their cheeks as he told the Kaiser that he was the man to lead the people to see that the teaching of Christ made the use of force in war impossible. As they parted the Kaiser said, " I shall never forget the lessons you have given me to-day." His work for " The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches " continued right up till the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. A Conference was actually being held at Constance when the War began. It was a deep blow to all its members that hostilities were begun. On reaching home " the sense of failure and disaster overwhelmed him, and for an hour he wept as bitter

tears as a brave man ever shed. 'They've beaten us; we were too late.' Those opening days of war had changed his life. Those who knew him best said that he never had quite his old buoyancy again." He took an active part in the formation of the Friends' Ambulance Corps, and after four years of strenuous work he died suddenly on July 3, 1918. Thus ended a life devoted to high purposes with unselfish and self-sacrificing devotion. Such high principles in public life deserve recognition. Whatever the apparent failures, work such as this for righteousness can never really be in vain. It is an inspiring example for others.

FIVE DEANS.

FIVE DEANS. By Sydney Dark. *Jonathan Cape.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Sydney Dark is nothing if not readable. His Essays in this book are written with an ease and verve that compel readers to go through them from beginning to end. It may be unfair to suggest that after or before, when the subject was in his mind, penning *Twelve Bad Men* he determined to select five Deans of the Church of England and with one of the five representing his own ideals, to show that the remaining four for one reason or another might be classed with the Bad Men—some of whom found their badness not in their lives but in their opinions. We are not one whit behind Mr. Dark in his praise of Colet and confess that we have sometimes thought that had he lived forty years later he would have been found in the ranks of the Reformers, for his love of Scripture, his genuine humanitarianism and broad outlook, would have found him a place midway between Erasmus and Cranmer, with a leaning to the sound learning for which Cranmer stood in the reconstruction of our Prayer Book. Mr. Dark will disagree, but then he cannot help so doing.

As regards Donne and Swift, we cannot look upon them as in any way typical Churchmen. Donne was anything but what he ought to have been before his ordination, and it is hard to see in him more than a clever professional man. Mr. Dark likes him no more than we do, and cannot refrain from the comment that by "his orders the aldermen were given seats in the choir of the Cathedral, and no doubt this step had a second importance in proving the Dean's essential Protestantism." Of course, this is only natural for the author, who cites Donne as an example of others who in the post-Reformation Church proved that the Reformation had failed." "The prelates of the reformed Church were eager in their subservience to a foolish and vicious king to an extent that would have outraged the great medieval ecclesiastics." This may be so, but were they on the whole more slavish in their subordination than medieval ecclesiastics were to wicked Popes? We do not think so. Swift has always been an enigma. Of his brilliancy there can be no doubt. He was the prince of satirists and a man whose *saeva indignatio* found expression in words that have never been surpassed for their biting sarcasm. He wrote

great books and wrote coarsely. He hated humanity, as is seen in his best-known book, but he had more than gleams of self-sacrificing generosity in his complex nature. For us Swift was a madman who knew that he was the victim of an incurable disease, and this is the clue to the many extraordinary incidents in his life. Most of his contemporaries considered him a man of genius and owed him many a debt. As we have gazed upon his name in the Admission Book of Trinity College, Dublin, we have often thought that the strangeness of the man was not so much due to faults of will, as to the latent lunacy that made him such a mass of contradictions. After all, we cannot judge lunatics by ordinary standards.

The two concluding studies on Stanley and Inge are most attractive in their presentation of men whose ideals Mr. Dark hates. They are a complete contrast to the characters of Donne and Swift, and Mr. Dark finds in both of them traits which are influencing the Church of England to-day. Stanley, broad-minded and tolerant, ready to make the Church of England as comprehensive as it possibly can be, but at the same time super-Erastian, excites our author's anger. But he is fair enough to condemn the unfairness of the petition which endeavoured to have him excluded from the list of Oxford University preachers. In spite of all he did for Westminster Abbey he comes in for censure. We meet the well-known story of Pius IX in 1866 saying to the Dean, " When you meet Pusey give him this message from me—that I compare him to a bell which always sounds to invite the faithful to Church and itself remains outside." We wonder what the present Pope thinks when he reads the lists of Anglo-Catholic converts to his Church !

In his sketch of Dean Inge Mr. Dark strives to be fair and there is no vitriol in his article. He admires his great ability, but pictures him more at home in a City banquet than in an ecclesiastical Assembly. He amuses himself at the expense of the Dean's journalistic proclivities. " The pious dean, the learned dean, might have remained unregarded outside ecclesiastical circles, but a gloomy dean was certain of a nation-wide fame." He forgets in his criticism of some *obiter dicta* of the Dean that he has succeeded better than most publicists in interpreting the thought of the average educated Englishman. On his theological opinions he writes, " He certainly does not deny the facts of the Virgin Birth and the Empty Tomb, but he regards them as of a quite secondary importance." We think that this is the reason why so much of the Dean's references to miracles is misunderstood. We remember hearing the Dean say publicly that if he did not believe in the Divinity of our Lord he would tear at once his clerical collar from his neck. He is accustomed to read history in the light of philosophy and does not sufficiently allow philosophy to be the interpreter of history instead of being its reconstructor. In an age when reason is put in a back seat by the popular preachers of superstition, the Dean is a useful corrector of this *Zeitgeist* in ecclesiastical circles, and we do not at all accept Mr. Dark's dissection of the profoundly true

apophthegm, "The true is what I choose to believe, and if I choose persistently enough I can make it so." How often have we vainly tried to overcome prepossessions accepted as dogmatic truths by those who hold they must believe true, what they have chosen to accept as final truth! No man has given more matter for partial criticism than the Dean, and we are glad that Mr. Dark turns from somewhat rasping criticism to an appreciation of a side of the Dean's character which is known to all his friends. There is a gentle Dean full of sympathy and humanity, and it is this that has made him so beloved by his friends and trusted by his inner circle of acquaintances. We confess to frequent disagreements with the Dean's opinions, but when we are most angry our wrath dies away as we recall his *Speculum Animae* and his *Personal Religion.* We promise all who read this volume on Deans some interesting hours as well as some moments of intense irritation due to the calm sense of superior Anglo-Catholicism that runs through every chapter. We wish that Mr. Dark understood what the Church of England has stood for since 1558 until the rise of the sect within the Church that commands his admiration.

BIBLE STUDIES.

OLD TESTAMENT SCENES AND CHARACTERS. By John Edgar McFadyen, D.D. *James Clarke & Co., Ltd.* 6s. net.

Professor McFadyen continues in this volume the work which he has been carrying on in his previous books, *The Approach to the Old Testament* and *The Use of the Old Testament,* of showing "the value of Old Testament narrative for the people of to-day." It is primarily intended for teachers and preachers, and shows them how to use the old narratives in the light of modern criticism. He insists on the importance of a knowledge of the historical setting of each scene, but at the same time points out that these are not the things that matter most. "The supreme thing is the religion, the life, the spiritual force, that is there—the things that make for character, that contribute to moral efficiency, that promote the welfare of men and the Kingdom of God." He first deals with the fascinating story of Joseph, and brings out its wonderful lessons of God's providential dealings in the lives of men. Equally interesting is his treatment of Moses, and, though not so fully, of incidents in the lives of Saul, David, Solomon, Nehemiah, Ezra, Isaiah and several of the minor prophets. The lessons drawn in each case are very practical and have a direct bearing on the problems of to-day. Reference is made in various sections to the treatment of passages in his previous volume, *The Use of the Old Testament,* but these do not altogether account for the omission of some incidents on which Dr. McFadyen's views would be interesting. How, for example, should a teacher deal with the Egyptian plagues, the dividing of the Red Sea, the statement that God hardened Pharaoh's heart? What he has given us is so practical and helpful, we cannot help wishing that he had given us more.

THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By Arthur Cleveland Downer, M.A., D.D. *London: Chas. Murray, 11 Ludgate Square, London, E.C.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Dr. Downer has already proved himself, by his treatise on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, to be a competent and painstaking scholar, and this latest work from his pen is further proof of his erudition and original method. While recognizing "the influence of St. Paul upon the Epistle" he rules out the Pauline authorship as "improbable" because of "the diction, the style, the manner of thinking, the unlikeness of a great part . . . to his thought." He inclines to the authorship of Apollos since "no other name suggested appears more probable than his," and he proceeds to show that he possessed the very qualifications required for the production of such a composition, and that most probably he was largely influenced by Priscilla. Those who have suspended their judgment will certainly agree with Dr. Downer when he says: "Whoever it was that composed this great Epistle, he was surely inspired by the Spirit of God; and no question of its canonicity need arise in the discussion of the authorship."

Interest, however, mainly circles round the princple of interpretation adopted by Dr. Downer: "It is that interpreting the Epistle we must adopt the strictly Hebrew point of view, not confounding the purely Hebrew readers, to whom it was addressed, with the mixed Church of Jews and Gentiles, the 'Christian' or 'Catholic' Church, as we are accustomed to call it." The rest of the book is given up to the application of this principle to the interpretation of the letter. On every page—indeed in every line—there is evidence of the care and accuracy that are characteristic of all Dr. Downer's work, and new light is thrown on the meaning of many passages. When we turn, for example, to the passage from Chapter XIII, 10–13, "We have an altar," etc., we get an excellent example of how the principle works in the interpretation of verses of which many laboured explanations have been proposed. Our author discusses some of these and disposes of them as "strained endeavours to make that cohere which is essentially incoherent, and to reduce to orderly sequence that which is illogical." He then shows that "when we come back to the Hebrew point of view, the difficulty disappears." Here is the "application." "The 'we' implied in ἔχομεν ('we have') is not 'we Christians,' but 'we Hebrews.' Ἔχομεν does not mean 'we have *now*,' that is, at the moment of inditing the Epistle, but as we find it in the pages of the Old Testament." Here and elsewhere Dr. Downer's method cuts the ground wholly away under the foot of Sacerdotalism. The exigencies of space forbid our going further, but we warmly commend this illuminating exposition of one of the most important New Testament writings.

S. R. C.

CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY.

CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY—THE ANNUAL, MAY, 1928–29. *Blackwood.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

It has been the custom during the discussion of the Prayer Book to allude to practices of the Scotch Church, and writers have not always been careful to distinguish between the Church of Scotland which is Presbyterian and the Scottish Episcopal Church which is in the Anglican communion. The latter Church is primarily responsible for the form which the Composite Book takes, as the side-lines and manner of arranging alternatives have been taken from it. We have found practices attributed to the Presbyterian Church that have no place in it, but are found in the Episcopal Church, and we have statements made of what is not found in the Presbyterian Church applied to the Scotch Episcopalians. It is well then that we should have a work by the little band of Presbyterian Liturgiologists, or as they have been called Presbyterian High Churchmen, describing their aims and objects.

In order to understand the situation in the Presbyterian Church as it contrasts with that in the Church of England, it must be remembered that all Presbyterians reject the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry. In Anglican quarters this is the key of all their teaching, and if it were absent much that is now a matter of controversy would have the sting taken from it. The attitude of the writers of this volume is made plain. "The Christian Minister is not a priest in the sacerdotal sense of the word. He is the leader of the worship, the organ of the universal priesthood; and all alike approach God and make their offering to Him through the One Divine and Heavenly Priest." "The primary attitude of heart and spirit to which we are called is that of humbling ourselves before the mercy seat as sinners in need of pardon, and of offering the sacrifice of a broken and a contrite heart." "Confessing our sins to God, we plead His forgiving love as revealed in Christ Jesus. We come through Him Who has offered the one eternal Sacrifice, and through Him we receive the assurance of pardon and peace. So we are led by our great High Priest up the three great steps—in Dante's striking image, the stained and spotted step of human sin, the blood-red step of His own precious blood, the pure white step of His Spirit's cleansing power—up to the Holy of Holies of our God. This is the true Absolution, not in the words of man, but according to the promises of God, confirmed and sealed through Jesus Christ our Lord." Would that this were the teaching of Anglo-Catholicism!

Prayers for the dead are supposed to be offered. What is done is to thank God "with solemn hearts for all they have been and are, beseeching Him to keep us knit with them in fellowship of spirit, and to bring us with them to His eternal rest and joy."

We have been told that Reservation is practised in the form of Extended Communion. When we read the facts we find that no such thing is done! What takes place is Clinical Administration

preceded by the Communion Service. This is quite a different Rite and Ceremony to what is known in England as Extended Communion. But in an anonymous volume a "Service" is provided for administering the Elements consecrated at a Forenoon Service at the Afternoon Service without a new Consecration to those who are sick or otherwise prevented from attending the forenoon Celebration. "It is now your privilege to be received into the same Communion, that, partaking of these holy things, ye may be nourished unto everlasting life."

It is true that in some of the Service Books the Invocation of the Holy Spirit is used in the Prayer of Consecration, and that following His call to bless the gifts "after a brief pause, knowing that here and now, if anywhere or at any time, our prayers will be heard at the throne of grace, we make further remembrance of those dear and near to us." There can be no objection to the practice, "but we have no authority for asserting that prayer offered at any one time or occasion is more likely to be heard by our loving God."

We were surprised to find the expression "the Table Gesture." In our ignorance we supposed that it meant Genuflexion after the Consecration or bowing to the Holy Table. It really means the posture of the Communicants in receiving—walking, standing, sitting or kneeling—"an exact repetition of the gesture used at the original institution is impossible." There are tendencies at work in the Scotch Church that seem to us strange, but they are explicable owing to the attraction of the growth of Anglo-Catholicism and the desire to revive features in the ancient liturgies. But when the Priest is not in the service and the doctrine of Transubstantiation or anything akin to it is not taught—the meaning of what takes place is entirely different. Everything must be judged in the light of history and environment. When this is done Anglo-Catholic or Composite Book apologists will find little to cheer them in this Report. With the Priest out of the picture analogies fail. And that is the distinguishing feature of Scotch Presbyterianism, that with all its heart disowns sacerdotalism.

"AFFIRMATIONS."

We are living amid great themes discussed in small books, but one of the most striking issues of our day is the series entitled "Affirmations," published at a shilling by Ernest Benn and edited by the Bishop of Liverpool. As is well known, the Liverpool Church Congress had as its subject "The Eternal Spirit," and the papers read aimed at showing the manifold operations of the Spirit of God in every department of life and in the Universe at large. "Affirmations" are written by men who "set out to examine the incentives that draw them, the ideals that inspire and direct them, and the powers that enable them, in whatever labours they impose upon themselves, or find imposed on them. They would, if possible, discover or verify the source of these powers, incentives and

ideals." Accordingly we have as Chairman of a small Committee the Bishop of Liverpool, and as General Editor of the series, Dr. Percy Dearmer, who are responsible for books that are in some cases avowedly Christian, in others not avowedly Christian but at least having some of the Christian spirit, all honestly saying what they think regardless of agreement or disagreement with their fellow-contributors. We are not going too far when we say that at no other period of Christian history could such a collection under such auspices have appeared. It is an index of the thought of the time. And the question arises, are they calculated to win men to Christ and find them with Him within His Church? We are not prepared to answer this, having read the six volumes before us.

The contents may be judged from their titles and authors:—*Energy, Human and Divine*, by the Bishop of Liverpool. *The Ascent of Man*, by A. A. Milne. *Life as Material*, by R. Ellis Roberts. *The Sin Obsession*, by Percy Dearmer. *Mind and Reality*, by Viscount Haldane. *God is Love*, by the nonagenarian, whose mind is still active, Canon J. M. Wilson. No one can possibly agree with all that is written, yet all have something to say that is worth attention. We specially recommend *Mind and Reality*, which is a philosophical discussion insisting on the spiritual nature of the Universe. These books are hardly everybody's food, and it would occupy too much of our space to express assent to or dissent from their contents, but they present problems that must be faced and met by all who are in the position of leaders of thought in Modern England.

THE ONE GREAT REALITY. By Louisa Clayton. *London: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., Paternoster Row, E.C.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

These studies all deal, directly or indirectly, with the greatest of all the fundamentals of our religion, namely the being and character of God, His reality, His Fatherhood, His Son, His Spirit, His Word, His Church, His Kingdom, etc. These points naturally introduce a great many important considerations with which the authoress deals very fully and very helpfully. What is sometimes called "speculative theology" finds no place here—all the way through the appeal is to the Word and to the Testimony.

ETERNAL REALITIES OF THE PRESENT LIFE. By Louisa Clayton. *London: Marshall Brothers, Paternoster Row, E.C.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

A companion volume to the foregoing, warmly commended by Mr. Russell Howden in a brief but appreciative Foreword. The plan of the author is "to show how God is carrying out His Eternal purposes in our present life . . . the fullness of present blessing," and this she has done with the same fidelity to Scripture that is characteristic of her previous work.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

The Prayer Book.—Two important articles which appeared in the April number of THE CHURCHMAN have been reprinted in pamphlet form at 3*d.* each. The first, *The Protestant Reformed Church of England: An Historical Retrospect*, by Professor W. Alison Phillips, M.A., Lecky Professor of Modern History in the University of Dublin, is particularly useful in view of the recent discussion on the meaning of the word "Protestant," and shows from the historical point of view the correct interpretation of the term and its application to the Church of England. The second pamphlet, *The Malines Conversations*, by the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, M.A., is of particular value, as in it will be found a useful history of the genesis of the Conversations and their significance for our Church.

Two publications of special importance have just been issued by the Church Book Room. The first, entitled *Does the Doctrine of Transubstantiation involve a Material Change?* by the Rev. T. C. Hammond, M.A., T.C.D., is written to remove the idea that the English Reformers in the XXXIX Articles condemned popular misconceptions of the teaching of the Church of Rome, but not the philosophically grounded and attested teaching of that Church. Mr. Hammond gives a carefully reasoned account of the real meaning of the Scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The second pamphlet is entitled *The Holy Communion in the New Testament*, and is written by the Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D., formerly Donnellan Lecturer in Dublin University. The object of this pamphlet is, to quote from the preface, "as certain persons have published statements declaring, without proof, that the Consecration Prayer in the Revised Prayer Book is more scriptural than that in our present beloved book, it seems necessary and expedient for the clearing up of this matter to set forth carefully the various passages in which the New Testament refers, or appears to refer, to the Holy Communion." Dr. Hitchcock gives us a very reasoned and interesting document which we hope will have this effect. Again to quote from Dr. Hitchcock's preface, "A great Irish Bishop used to say when challenged with quotations from the Fathers, 'Let us go back to the Grand-fathers—the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament.' This we hope to do carefully and prayerfully, with fidelity to the Scriptures, which can stand by themselves, without the prop of traditions often uncertain, seldom accurate, and generally biased, and therefore needing most careful sifting." Both pamphlets are issued at 6*d.* net.

Two pamphlets have also been issued under the titles of *The Worship of the Sacrament*, by Bishop E. A. Knox, D.D. (1*d.*), and *Criticisms on the Consecration Prayer in the New Prayer Book*, by Canon Brooke Gwynne (6*d.*). This pamphlet specially deals with the point of difference as to whether or not the alternative Consecration Prayer is in clear and full accordance with the teaching of the New Testament and with the soundest learning of the present day. It explains how much depends on a right use of such New Testament terms as "memorial" and "bless," and has some illuminating observations on the "Epiclesis," or Prayer for the influence of the Life-giving Spirit on the Elements, as well as on the worshippers, for which there is no authority from Scripture or from the usage of the earliest centuries.

Private Prayer.—At the request of several members of the National Church League, a new edition of the Rev. Henry Wright's booklet, *Secret*

Prayer: A Great Reality, has been issued by the Book Room at the price of 2*d.*, making the sixteenth edition. The author arranges his suggestions for making secret prayer a great reality under three headings: (1) Preparation for Secret Prayer; (2) The Act of Secret Prayer; (3) Our conduct after Secret Prayer. We feel sure that this exceedingly helpful and suggestive booklet will be found of real service.

Church Booklets.—The following have been added to the Church Booklet series (1*d.* each, or 7*s.* per 100): *Fasting Communion*, by the Rev. J. Russell Howden, B.D.; *Should the Vestments of the Roman Mass be used in the National Church?* by W. Guy Johnson; *Protestant and Catholic: Can we be both?* by the Rev. Prebendary E. A. Eardley-Wilmot, M.A.

The Bible.—Messrs. Thynne & Jarvis are re-issuing a number of Bishop H. G. G. Moule's books at the price of 3*s.* 6*d.* each. The volumes already issued are *Ephesian Studies*, *Colossian Studies*, *Philippian Studies* and *Veni Creator*, "Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise."

In addition to the above books a series of Dr. J. R. Miller's *Devotional Hours with the Bible* are also issued at 3*s.* 6*d.* net. The first volume issued is *Spiritual Studies in the Acts, Epistles and Revelation.* This will be followed by *The Book of Psalms*, *The Gospel by John*, and *The Synoptic Gospels.*

Gift Books.—Messrs. Methuen have issued at 3*s.* 6*d.* a series of historical novels by Miss Marjorie Bowen. The first three, *I Will Maintain*, *Defender of the Faith* and *God and the King* have been issued for some little time, and recently *William, By the Grace of God* has been added. Miss Marjorie Bowen's books on the struggle for freedom in the Netherlands are of absorbing interest and cover an eventful period of history in the form of a story which is both instructive and interesting.

Theosophy.—Theosophy seems to attract a large body of young people and in answer to many enquiries we are able to recommend an excellent little book by Miss M. Carta Sturge entitled *Theosophy and Christianity: A Word to Western Theosophists* (2*s.* 6*d.* net). The author treats the Theosophist teaching respectfully, allowing it to speak for itself as far as possible; then shows what elements in it are compatible with Christianity, and what are not. She specially writes for Western minds, to whom Theosophy is presented in a very different manner from that in which it is given to the Indian, and she succeeds in making clear what are the real and essential differences between Theosophy and Christianity. The book is divided into two parts—(1) The scheme of the universe according to Theosophy, and (2) Theosophy in its religious aspect and its contrast with Christianity.

A smaller pamphlet by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, D.D., entitled *Modern Theosophy Tested* (price 3*d.*) can also be thoroughly recommended. Dr. Tisdall's pamphlet is clear and concise and deals with the principal points of Theosophical teaching. In an appendix he gives a reprint of two articles from *The Times* on *Theosophy in India* and *The Theosophical Society in India; Order against Mrs. Besant in the Madras High Court.*

Early Church History.—So many inquiries are being made as to the way Christianity came to England, and particularly of the influence of St. Augustine, that mention may be made of a small pamphlet entitled *A Short Sketch of English Church History* by the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft (price 2*d.*) which contains some interesting and instructive paragraphs on the period before Augustine's landing. A larger and more exhaustive book can be obtained at 3*s.* 6*d.* (postage 3*d.*), and is entitled *The Christian Church in these Islands before the Coming of Augustine*, by Bishop G. F. Browne, late of Bristol.