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THE CHURCHMAN

April, 1929.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Future of the Revised Prayer Book.

OWING to the illness of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the discussion by the Bishops of their future course of action in regard to the revised Prayer Book has been postponed. It is said that they will not meet until June. This period will give an opportunity for a fresh consideration of the whole situation. We are all desirous of a happy solution of the difficulties which have been created by the endeavour to secure the use of the Book after its rejection by Parliament. We hope that no attempt will be made to continue the disregard of law which has led to so many strong protests against the proposals of the Bishops. The revised Prayer Book has never been popular, even among those who voted for it, and we still urge the policy of endeavouring to secure a compromise so as to secure the use of the large portions of the Book which will be generally acceptable to the great majority of Churchpeople. The revisions of the Prayer Book which have been adopted by other portions of the Anglican Communion show that it is not impossible to secure general agreement in the adoption of those moderate changes which are necessary to bring the Book into harmony with present-day requirements. This quiet period of reflection will, we hope, be fruitful in the production of some plan to provide the desired elasticity in our worship while maintaining the principles of our Church, as a Church of the Reformation.

The Disestablishment Campaign.

Meanwhile a number of proposals have been made which demand the careful attention of Churchpeople. The Bishop of Durham, with more than his usual impetuosity, has endeavoured to launch a violent campaign in favour of disestablishment. His plea is that Parliament cannot be allowed to fetter the spiritual freedom of the Church. There might be considerable force in this plea if Parliament were endeavouring to do so, or were exceeding the powers of which the Bishop was himself one of the most eloquent defenders when, as recently as 1923, he wrote the words:

"There is nothing unworthy or invidious in the fact that the Prayer Book is a schedule of an Act of Parliament. Parliament is no contemptible or incongruous source for the system of national Christianity. There can be no more august exponent of Christ's religion than Parliament. No lesser authority would suffice for the purpose of establishing any system as legally binding on the entire community; no more venerable authority is in existence."

The endeavour to arouse enthusiasm in favour of disestablishment has failed. Churchmen realize the disastrous effects which it would have not merely on the Church of England but on the religious life of the country, especially in the country districts, and in the slum areas of our large towns, where the ministrations of the Church are only maintained with difficulty at present. The situation does not demand disestablishment.

Sir Lewis Dibdin on "A Christian State."

Sir Lewis Dibdin has issued in a pamphlet entitled *A Christian State* two letters which appeared in *The Times* dealing with facts of English history that show the true nature of the Establishment of the Church and at the same time reveal the indefensible character of the proposals of the Bishops. He lays down the principles governing a Christian Church in a Christian State. He shows the extent of the control which the State can exercise in the affairs of the Church. He answers effectively the objection that the English State may no longer be regarded as a Christian State, and then deals with the claim that the House of Laity represents the Christian laity of England. He says, "As one who has been throughout identified with the business of the Church Assembly, I think, and I hope I am justified in saying, that we do represent the most instructed laymen of the Church of England, but that we represent that laity as a whole is simply not a fact." The point, however, with which he chiefly deals is "whether the condition contained in the Enabling Act that no measure should pass without the assent of the two Houses of Parliament should be disregarded by the Bishops," and in regard to that he is emphatically of opinion that the conscience of the country is shocked by the thin and futile arguments used "and not less so by an open flouting of the conditions of the Enabling Act to which Bishops along with other Churchmen joyfully agreed." He has little sympathy with the effort to raise a campaign in favour of disestablishment.

The Precedent of the Church of Scotland.

A small group of Churchmen have set themselves to secure the removal of the conditions accepted by the Church when it agreed to the Enabling Act. They think that "spiritual freedom" can be obtained without disestablishment, if Parliament will grant to the Church of England the terms recently granted to the Church of Scotland. They plead for "a Free Church in a Free State" and say

that if the Church of Scotland since 1921 can be both established and free the same principle is applicable to the Church of England. This claim has been examined by several writers from different points of view. Lord Cushendun pointed out the difference in the position of the laity in our own Church and in the Church of Scotland. Professor Carnegie Simpson, in a criticism of the scheme, has shown several important differences in the situation of the two Churches. He noted that a mass of English Churchpeople feel that "some kind of Parliamentary control, however criticizable in theory, is the only available safeguard against an uncontrolled Clericalism." He did not think the movement would "take on" with the Church generally or with the nation, unless in it the voice of the laity were given full constitutional place. He also thought that "if the Church of England expects Parliament to meet it reasonably and understandingly in this matter, then it should act constitutionally towards Parliament." The fact is, that both the plea for disestablishment and this revolt against any Parliamentary control are striking evidence of the failure of our Church, especially in recent years, since the development of Anglo-Catholicism to maintain its hold on the people of England. The advanced Churchmen cannot convert the people to the ecclesiasticism which they call Christianity, and they resist the authority of the laity of the country which demands Christianity in the National Church.

"Lambeth and Reunion."

Recent events have shown that the problem of reunion with the non-Episcopal Churches is now one of practical importance. Some decisions will have to be made by the authorities of the English Church within the next year or two. Lord Hugh Cecil's theory that our Church is more nearly allied to the Orthodox Church than to any other body of Christians, will not be accepted by any large section of Churchpeople. Events in the Mission field point to union with the Evangelical Communions, with whom we have much in common. Evangelical Churchpeople have a special interest in this question, and it is well that they should make their views known. The Cheltenham Conference has in the past given a strong lead in the reunion movement. It is therefore altogether fitting that those responsible for the Conference should make arrangements for expressing the views of Evangelical Churchmen on the present situation. The Committee has therefore arranged for a meeting of the Conference to be held at St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, on April 10, 11 and 12, under the chairmanship of the Rev. C. M. Chavasse, Principal of St. Peter's Hall. The general subject will be "Lambeth and Reunion." The Programme has already been drawn up and issued. It covers the main points on which controversy is strong. The Speakers are well known and representative of the chief interests involved. We hope that a large number of our readers will arrange to be present. We also hope to be able to print a number of the papers in next quarter's issue of THE CHURCHMAN.

Editorial Note.

In the present number of THE CHURCHMAN we are able to present a number of interesting subjects. The use of "Voluntary Clergy" has recently been strongly advocated. The Rev. J. D. Mullins, D.D., considers the problem in regard to the Prairie and the Bush, and gives our readers the benefit of his long experience in connection with the work of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. The Rev. F. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D., is well known to our readers as a writer of interesting points of scholarship. His Historical Parallel between the Trials of St. Paul and Apollonius will be of special interest to students of the classics. Canon ffrench's account of Church Life in Ireland during the "Troubles" is a revelation of the conditions under which the Irish Clergy carried on their work during a period of exceptional difficulty. Mr. John Knipe concludes the interesting study of John Wycliffe and His Times, which have thrown into strong relief the character and work of the "Morning Star of the Reformation." The Roman Catholic Church is making the utmost use for propaganda purposes of the Centenary of "Catholic Emancipation," as they describe the repeal of the laws restricting their civil rights. Mr. J. W. Poynter points out the real significance of the restrictions placed on Roman Catholics, and the grounds for their removal. In recent years Sunday School Work has received widespread attention. New methods have been adopted, and many changes made for the more efficient training of teachers and the practical application of the results of psychological study. The Rev. F. Boreham deals with "The Origin, History and Aims of the Sunday School" from several points of view. A re-statement of the position of Evangelical Churchmen is needed at times. A refreshing reminder of "What Evangelicals stand for" is given by Canon Bothamley of Durham. Our article on Parochial Work this quarter is by the Rev. H. A. Eyton-Jones, Vicar of St. John's, Walthamstow, who tells of some of the results produced in his parish by the power of prayer.

SPARROWS IN THE ORGAN. Thirty-eight talks with Boys and Girls. By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D.D. London: *H. R. Allenson, Ltd.* 3s. 6*d.* net.

Dr. Alexander has already established his reputation as a preacher who makes an appeal to the children. After the Scottish custom he gives them five minutes on Sunday morning. He certainly maintains his reputation, for here are nearly forty delightful "talks," short but very much to the point, and the point always a good one, and be it noted not half a dozen points, just one and no more. Splendid! Every preacher should forthwith possess himself of this useful bundle of material.

"VOLUNTARY CLERGY" ON THE PRAIRIE AND IN THE BUSH.

By the Rev. J. D. Mullins, D.D.

THE problem of supplying the ministrations of the Gospel to scattered communities of our fellow-countrymen overseas is one that ought to exercise the minds of Churchmen far more than it does. Few people know the extent of the problem, fewer still its urgency. The Fifth Report of the Missionary Council, issued in 1927, lifted the veil of ignorance of the facts for a great many people, but even it could not supply the imagination necessary to enable the Home Church at large to grasp its import and rouse itself to tackle the problem in earnest. A certain interest was aroused at the time, but is already dying away. Some parents, whose sons or daughters have gone out to the Dominions or other lands, learn from their letters about their spiritual destitution, drop their former apathy and become impotently indignant that the Church does so little for those dear to them. Amongst those who lack that personal touch, the subject moves few to enthusiasm or effort.

Let us review the facts briefly. All over the Dominions, and indeed in most habitable portions of the globe, our people have gone to settle or to live for prolonged periods for purposes of trade or the like. The older and larger communities are supplied with clergy and services maintained by the inhabitants themselves. Many others receive these ministrations with aid from the Dominion Churches or from England; but newer and smaller centres arise as migration proceeds. The villages scattered over the Canadian prairies, the group settlements and bush homesteads in Australia, the smaller stations in India, and the British trading colonies in innumerable ports are typical of these. Taking the world over, there are literally thousands of these smaller centres and of thinly settled areas which rarely or never get a service or a visit from a clergyman, where the young are brought up with little or no religious instruction and where the settlers either lapse into a pagan godlessness or fall a prey to some form of superstition or heresy.

To meet their spiritual needs, even to a far less degree than is thought essential in the homeland, would need the provision of many hundreds of clergy, and of enormous sums to maintain them until their people could do so. With the ranks of the home clergy so grievously depleted it is obviously impossible to supply the men from England.

The Rev. Roland Allen has come forward with a remedy: Let one man in each hamlet or village community be ordained and empowered to administer the sacraments, and let him do so voluntarily whilst continuing his ordinary avocations. Mr. Allen seems

to consider this plan a reversion to the apostolic method, forgetting that the elders set apart by the apostles were to be, as a rule, what Mr. Allen calls "stipendiary." St. Paul's whole argument in I Corinthians ix. 1–14, goes to show that the manner of life followed by himself and Barnabas was the exception, not the rule, and his final dictum is emphatic: "Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel."

But there are more weighty objections to the plan. First, it presupposes that the people to be reached are devout Christians, eager to welcome and attend such ministrations. As a matter of fact, they are samples gathered from our own people at home. As Horace says: "Those who cross the seas, change their skies but not their characters." In other words, on an average about one person in ten would go to public worship with fair regularity, whilst a much smaller proportion could be described as devout believers. The rest, if described on their immigration papers as "C. of E.," range from those who at home drop in at their parish churches occasionally to those who only know the inside of the building when constrained to enter it for baptisms, weddings or funerals. In only too many of these scattered communities the very desire for spiritual things has grown tepid from lapse of time, if it was ever ardent. Let us assume, however, that there remains a nucleus of earnest souls in such a spot, and that one is found amongst them ready to administer the sacraments to the rest. Mr. Allen's scheme makes no provision for bringing the other types into the fold of Christ, for awakening the careless, reclaiming the prodigals, converting the unbelievers, or teaching the younger generation as it grows up. It does not even provide spiritual teaching for the faithful few. The only answer Mr. Allen can give to this objection is that his "voluntary clergy" would no doubt read morning or evening prayer, and that these services include the reading of Scripture! In other words, they are not to be a teaching ministry, but just performers of services and administrators of sacraments. Allowing for the existence of a faithful few who would benefit by such a ministry, what would become of such a Church when they had died or moved away? What about the "C. of E." churchfolk? What of the younger generation, brought up without Christian teaching? St. Paul's conception of the ministry is wholly different from this: "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine" . . . or again, "How shall they believe in Him of Whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?" What Church has ever continued to exist, much less to evangelize and expand, without a preaching ministry?

In the foregoing, we have assumed, as Mr. Allen does, that it would be usually possible to find in any such community a man, or perhaps more than one man, who would be willing to undertake to be the ordained minister to the rest. The contrary is my experience, extending by observation and inquiry over twenty-five years. It is the rare exception to find a man who has sufficient standing, education, and Christian courage to accept such a position. To be

sure, Mr. Allen's plan demands no more education than is necessary for reading a service and enough instruction to enable the celebrant to perform certain acts correctly. As an Anglo-Catholic clergyman said in Marylebone recently: "Any fairly educated server knows enough to be able to celebrate." But to state the proposition in such terms is to condemn it. I repeat, for any reasonable form of religious leadership it is hard to find the man. Many a group settlement or similar centre is composed entirely of the labouring class; many again have no member whose churchmanship rises above the census "C. of E." standard.

As an illustration of my contention, during my Australian tour in 1919 I was asked to take an afternoon service at a community-hall in Gippsland. I found that the people received a visit from a clergyman about once a month. After the service, observing that two men in the congregation were wearing Masonic emblems, I tackled them. I argued that they were no doubt used to performing ceremonies in their lodge: why should they not between them run a regular service? But no, they could not be prevailed upon. They excused themselves, and were plainly dismayed at the idea. In Saskatchewan, some years ago, Bishop Lloyd propounded a less exacting plan: let a committee of, say, seven men be jointly responsible for maintaining services in the absence of a clergyman. But even that method was not taken up warmly, and soon fell through in the few places that tried it.[1] I admit that in places like some Indian stations, where there is a local official of standing, such as a magistrate or even a schoolmaster, who is also a devout Christian, he might be found willing to act, and perhaps even now does conduct services, just as some ships' captains do; but such exceptions do not break the rule and are not numerous. It is the official position which carries the day, not the "voluntaryism."

Furthermore, the overseas British settler, or, at any rate, the overseas British Churchman, does not take kindly to ministrations conducted by a neighbour with whom he may have at other times business dealings, and possibly competition. Thus in a Bush area in New South Wales I met with a case where services, conducted by a settler, described to me by the nearest clergyman as qualified and suitable, were not welcomed by other settlers. The objection has nothing to do with ordination, for it seems to have equal force against even clergy who have taken up land and become settlers. In three cases known to me, one in Western Canada and two in Africa, clergy who had homesteaded found the services they conducted were not popular with their neighbours. On the other hand, the average settler, in Western Canada at least, is quite willing to welcome a "preacher" who comes from elsewhere and whose function, so long as he is in the place, is definitely religious. Thus throughout Canada Divinity students are employed with acceptance

[1] Since writing the above I have seen in the *Canadian Churchman* that the Rev. L. J. Hales, of Vanderhoof, B.C., being removed to another station, prevailed upon a body of four residents to continue holding services regularly in Vanderhoof. This is an almost unique exception to the general rule.

as additional missioners in the long summer vacations, and missions by Church Army captains have proved successful.

The root of all this problem lies in the condition of our homeland. If Great Britain were a land of earnest faithful Christians, then her sons, when they went forth to new countries, would carry their religion with them, as indeed did the Puritans driven out by the persecutions of Archbishop Laud. Whether by means of a stated ministry or by free co-operation with each other, they would maintain the public worship of God and would find means to teach the Gospel to their children. Here and there, if one only knew, groups animated by this spirit may possibly be doing the same thing to-day as was done three centuries ago in New England: if they were the rule, the problem would not exist or would be easily solved.

For the present distress a locally born or locally trained ministry should be encouraged in the newer parts of the Dominions, both by the Church which is more firmly established in the older and more settled areas, and by the Church at home. The short-service system, by which men ordained in England undertake to serve in the Dominions for a limited period of years, may afford those who volunteer for it valuable experience, but that experience is gained at the expense of the pioneer districts they serve. Their ministry is exotic and if it preponderates in any diocese must give the Church in that region the character of an alien.

In the early stages of the settlement of any overseas area it is inevitable that the clergy, like the settlers themselves, should come from elsewhere, and the Mother Country should take her full share in supplying the ministry as she does the other new inhabitants. But as a generation begins to spring up native to that region the ideal should be to try to discover candidates for the ministry amongst the younger folk.

The S.P.C.K. has long since encouraged the growth of a local ministry by offering some bursaries for colonial-born Divinity students for training in approved local theological colleges. The system might well be extended and also copied by the Dominion Churches. The sturdy spirit of self-help which the oversea settler develops makes it possible to train candidates for the ministry at much less cost than at home.

Similarly, and on a larger scale, the Colonial and Continental Church Society has for more than twenty years sent out considerable numbers of carefully selected young men from England to be trained in Western Canada or in Australia, so that they may become acclimatized to the region where their future ministry is to lie and also be further tested before being launched upon it. Going into areas where the other inhabitants are also new-comers they are not liable to the stigma of being imported, and by the time they are ready for ordination they are not distinguishable from their flocks in outlook and local patriotism. Moreover, having been sent out young, they have it impressed upon them that the new land

should be their home. As a fact, many who went out in this way as much as twenty years ago are still in the field.

When all this is done, however, there still remains the wastage of man-power and of means arising from overlapping with other non-Roman denominations, with the result that in some parts two or three churches are competing for a population which might support one, while other places are left untended and unevangelized. The union of Churches is in the air, and in my opinion the solution of this world-wide problem is in some concordat or form of co-operation with the other Protestant Churches. From several great mission fields there has come a demand that Christian converts should be formed into one national Church, unfettered by the controversies and interests which divide Western Christendom. A remarkable article, making a similar appeal for a National Church of Canada, recently appeared in the *Canadian Churchman*. The conditions, of course, are not parallel. In the mission fields, when once the Western missionary element is eliminated, there is no history of past feuds to embitter the discussions about Church Union: in the Dominions and amongst British settlements generally the heritage and traditions of the past still hold good. The trend towards unity exists, as was shown by the still recent amalgamation in Canada of the Methodists with a large section of the Presbyterians, though it seems to have been too hastily consummated, and by similar movements in the United States. It is to be feared, however, that the time is not ripe for the formation of a National Church of Canada, or even for any working arrangement between the Church of England in Canada and the United Church. In Australia the idea of a rapprochement between the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, which was broached about twenty years ago, seems not to have been revived, and certain discussions on the subject of Church Reunion have a merely academic air. The chief hope for the future evangelization of our fellow-countrymen overseas is that the fire kindled by the Jerusalem Conference of last Easter may be caught by British Christians overseas and draw them to united efforts for the spiritual care of their far-off unshepherded brethren.

WHY SHOULD I READ THE BIBLE. By the Rev. C. Owen French, M.A. London: *Chas. J. Thynne and Jarvis, Ltd.* 2s. net.

A posthumous collection of seven sermons on the Bible preached in Pudsey Church, Yorks, in 1926. These plain talks will be welcomed by those who were privileged to hear them and by all who are anxious to see the more significant facts about the Bible set out in a lucid and orderly fashion, by a conservative student.

S. R. C.

THE TRIALS OF ST. PAUL AND APOLLONIUS—AN HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

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

THE story of Apollonius, a travelling philosopher who visited Rome in A.D. 66, and was banished the same year by Nero, and then departed to Spain, and was afterwards tried both privately and publicly by Domitian, is told by Philostratus. Philostratus was a distinguished professor in Athens, who claims to have received papers said to have been written by Damis, the friend of the philosopher, from his patroness Julia, the wife of Severus. He began the work "in honour of Apollonius" about A.D. 215. This *Life* presents many contrasts with the life of St. Paul, but the trials show interesting parallels. We are not concerned to prove the facts of the life of Apollonius, but we may presume that Philostratus, a courtier and a literary professor, would have been careful about the setting of the trial scenes, which he describes, and which help us to reconstruct in a measure the first and second trials of the Apostle. Apollonius, of course, as a revolutionary philosopher, appears to us to stand in a very different position to the Emperor from that of St. Paul. But the latter had been born and educated in Tarsus, a centre of stoical philosophy deservedly suspect in the eyes of Nero and Domitian. And we cannot say whether Nero would be influenced by that fact or not. Philostratus says he had "nothing in common with philosophy." Nero feared philosophers as revolutionaries, and on his leaving Rome for Greece issued an order for philosophers to leave Italy. Some time before that order Apollonius was journeying to Rome, but was warned at Aricia that philosophy was taboo there. He discussed Nero with his informant, who said: "Here you come with a band of philosophers, and you do not know that Nero has guards at the gates to arrest you all before you enter the town." "The Emperor fights like a gladiator, aye and kills his men, and drives a chariot." "It would be a pleasant thing," said the sage, "to see Nero turning into the plaything of man. Plato said man was God's plaything." "If you should be arrested and put to death the sight would cost you dear." "Nero," he added, "would devour you up raw." That expression throws light upon Paul's saying in 2 Timothy iv. 17, "I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion," lions being called "raw devouring" (*Il.*, 5, 782). Addressing his followers, the sage spoke of "the beast" that is called a tyrant. "I know not how many heads [1] it has. *Lions* and panthers and wild beasts do not devour their mothers, but Nero has been filled with such food." After they had entered the city they were accosted by a stroller who sang airs from the *Oresteia*

[1] Apoc. xiii. 1; xvii. 3, *seven* (Rome, *Cic. Att.*, vi. 5, 2).

and *Antigone* and other dramas in which Nero acted, giving all the Neronian turns and trills, and when they declined to assist him, departed denouncing them as enemies of the divine voice and guilty of sacrilege against Nero, who was, as Paul says, a sacrilegious matricide (1 Timothy i. 9), where the reference must be to Nero, the "matricide" of that era, a name he detested. In consequence of the rascal's charge the sage was summoned before Telesinus the Consul, who eventually gave him permission to teach in the temples. But in consequence of the behaviour of a brother philosopher, who was expelled from Rome, the sage was placed under observation. We can imagine Paul and his friends, after his first release, subjected to the same espionage. "All the eyes with which the government sees were turned upon him, his discourses, and his silences, his sitting and his walking, what he ate and with whom, whether he sacrificed or not, all was reported." Philosophers were living "dangerously." As a result of the observation, it was reported that the sage had said "pardon the gods for taking pleasure in buffoons" (iv. 44), a parallel expression to "the acting of liars" (1 Timothy iv. 2)—for which Tigellinus arrested the sage on a charge of "sacrilege against Nero," Nero being noted for his love of acting, "ille scenicus."[1] Tigellinus did not, however, wish to take proceedings against him, but put in force Nero's order against philosophers. Accordingly, the other turned his steps to the west, the land bounded by the Straits, for he had heard of the philosophy of the men in that district and their progress in religion (iv. 47).

This passage throws light upon the Spanish journey of the Apostle. He also having been to the east would travel to the west, and would find a good opportunity for preaching and teaching there. At Gades Apollonius heard of Nero's victories at Olympia and strove to enlist people in the cause of Vindex, Galba's ally. He was Vespasian's friend, but the foe of Domitian. The story of his relations with that tyrant throw a light upon the legal procedure which was doubtless in vogue in Paul's day. Apollonius was in Ephesus inciting the youth to rise against the tyrant, and intriguing with people in Rome on behalf of Nerva. He was too cautious to put anything on paper, considering epistolary correspondence unsafe, as many had been betrayed by their slaves, friends, and even wives, for "in those days no house could keep a secret" (vii. 8). At last the spies are rewarded. The sage was overheard addressing a threat to a statue of the tyrant, "Thou fool, thou knowest little of the fates or necessity. The man that is destined to succeed thee, though thou put him to death, will come to life." Euphrates, his enemy, under the guise of a friendly visitor, informed the tyrant of this terrible utterance. Domitian sent an order to the governor of Asia to have the sage arrested and brought to Rome. The latter, anticipating his arrest, went by sea from Ephesus to Corinth, as Paul used to do, and from Corinth sailed to Sicily and Italy, on the fifth day reaching Puteoli, as Paul had done (Acts xxviii. 13). There in Cicero's villa, Cumanum, a friend urged him not to go to Rome.

[1] Tacitus, *An.*, xv. 59.

"There are two kinds of tyrannies," he said, "one kills without trial, the other uses legal forms. The first is like furious wild beasts, the second like subtle beasts. Nero is of the impetuous type, Tiberius of the crouching type. Nero put to death men not expecting it; Domitian kept his victims long in terror." Nero would thus be the "lion" as he is described in 2 Timothy iv. 17, and Domitian the panther.

Apollonius would not listen to his friend who said, "Your coming here is the beginning of your *trial* (*ἀγων*, cf. 2 Timothy iv. 7). This is to be put down to the *soundness* [1] of your mind" (262). A dissertation on reason (*νοῦς*) and conscience (*σύνεσις*) follows, with which compare the connexion of both in Titus i. 15.

Arrived in Rome, he found a friend in the Praetorian Prefect Aelianus, as Paul is supposed to have found in Burrus. Aelianus made things easier for the sage. His conduct in exerting his influence to save Apollonius both before and after his arrival in Rome throws light upon the reading in Acts xxviii. 16, the "centurion delivered the prisoners to the commandant of the camp," here the general of the Praetorian brigade. The prefect ordered the sage to be arrested and brought before him. The sage told him he was meditating an escape to a place where there was neither *indictment* (*endeixis*) nor prosecution, but thought it a treacherous thing to shun his defence (*apologia*)—two expressions which throw a light upon the Pastoral passages, "Alexander laid many mischievous *charges* against me" (*enedeixato*), and "in my first defence" (*apologia*) (2 Timothy iv. 16, 17). The accuser is accordingly the presenter of the indictment (*ho endeiknumenos*). Such was the part played by Alexander. This cannot refer to the first trial of Paul, for the charge sheet, the *elogium*, on which no serious charge was entered, could not be altered after the signature of Festus. In those days Nero showed judgment and justice in the domain of jurisdiction, however great a sinner he was in other spheres of life, as even Suetonius allows. He would have acquitted Paul if tried before him; but he would have possibly required his withdrawal from Rome, as he never cared for philosophers. He did not persecute Christians as Christians. The occasion on which Alexander showed himself so hostile to Paul was in the preliminary investigation of the case before the Roman prefect in the course of the second trial. Alexander, as the composer of the charge against Paul, also replied to Paul's speech, "He was excessively hostile in his reply to our (Luke's and mine) speeches" (2 Timothy iv. 16). (*Antestē tois logois* is a legal expression.[2]) When Apollonius was brought before the prefect he was accused of being a wizard, *goēs*—a word that only occurs in 2 Timothy iii. 13 in the New Testament—and after some passages between the sage and his accuser, the prefect ordered the latter "to reserve himself for the imperial

[1] *τὸ . . . ὑγιαῖνον*, cf. *ὑγιαίνοντες λογοι*, 2 Timothy i. 13.

[2] Of replying to a statement by opponent in court of law, e.g. "*defensio cui resistam*" (Cic., *In Verr.* ii. 5, 1); "haec cum posceret Sthenius *vehementissime restitit*" (*ibid.*, ii. 36, 88).

court." Having summoned the accused to his private court he informed him that the Emperor wanted to pronounce him guilty but wished to do so by a legal method. "The counts of the indictment against you are various. You must make your *apologia* about these, but let not your *speech* (*logos*) slight the Emperor." The prefect then withdrew and sent an order that the sage should be lodged in the "Free Prison" until the Emperor interviewed him before his trial (vii. 20, 276). "I order you," he said, "to keep this man under arrest." On entering the prison, the sage said, "We have come to one who is inflated [1] with pride and folly." In the prison he met various people charged with various offences whom he proceeded to console. One of these he suspected of being a spy. After some four days a message came that the Emperor would see him at noon the next day. At dawn a clerk of the court arrived who said: "It is his majesty's orders that you attend the court about noon; you are not to make your defence yet. It is only a private interview." When he withdrew the sage began to speak of lions and their tamers in a way that recalls 2 Timothy iv. 17, the reference being to Domitian, for he was suggesting "a curb for despots," while his friend Damis spoke of the "Lion in Aesop." At noon the clerk arrived for him, and four guardsmen escorted him to the palace. On his way he made several remarks about courage, discipline, and soldiers that recall St. Paul's words. Aelianus the prefect ushered the sage alone into the presence of Domitian who called him names, "wizard," "impostor," "money-grabber," and told him to begin his defence whenever he wished. The other replied, "You do me greater wrong than the malicious informer (*sukophantes*), as you have made up your mind to believe his false charges." Then began Domitian's bad treatment of the man, who was finally, after many indignities, "*bound* and thrown among the vilest *criminals*" (vii. 34). Compare Paul's complaint, "I suffer hardship unto bonds as a *criminal*" (2 Timothy ii. 9). Such was "the preliminary stage of the defence" (*proagôn tēs apologias*) made in private, the *praejudicium*, or examination previous to the trial. But it does not correspond to "my *first* defence" of Paul, for after that we have reason to believe that Paul was set at liberty; while after his investigation Apollonius was thrown into prison to await his trial. There seems to have been some controversy regarding what ensued. Philostratus says there were "malicious detractors" who said that he first spoke in his defence, and afterwards was in prison, where his hair was cut, and "they forged a letter from the sage composed in the Ionic dialect begging his life and liberty from the tyrant." This charge is interesting in view of the theory that the Pastorals are fictitious works. They are not the kind of letters people would invent. The sort of letter that we can conceive would be a forgery would be one intended to undermine the influence of the apostle, like this letter mentioned by Philostratus, or one intended to magnify him unduly. The Pastorals do neither.

After some days Apollonius had a visitor who came to advise

[1] The same expression in 1 Timothy vi. 4, "puffed up."

him how to get free, but had to pay for admission into the prison (vii. 40). It is probable that Onesiphorus, who had much trouble in finding St. Paul (2 Timothy i. 16), had not only to seek him diligently, but also to oil the palms of the jailors to gain admission to him. This man asked Apollonius what it felt like to be in bonds. Paul too felt the unpleasantness of his bonds in his second imprisonment (2 Timothy ii. 9), but was consoled because "the word of God is not bound" (*dedetai*). Some time after a messenger arrived to say, "The King releases you from these bonds upon the recommendation of Aelianus, and allows you to lodge in the free prison until the case (*apologia*) is heard." The sage was welcomed by his former acquaintances, saying how much he had helped them by his counsel. We can well imagine that Paul was a comfort to his fellow-prisoners.

The sage told Damis, his companion, to go by land to Puteoli "and I shall make my defence (*apologia*) on the day appointed." In prison he met a youth, who told him he could only keep his honour "by offering his neck to the sword," a similar phrase to Romans xvi. 4 (Phœbe's letter). The sage replied, "Should not slaves be obedient to their masters?"[1]—an expression in Titus ii. 9, but in a very different sense. The boy's answer would have pleased the apostle—"But I am *master* of my own body."

Book VIII opens with the scene in the court where the sage is making his defence or apology. We may presume that Philostratus, a courtier and literary professor, would have been careful about its setting. It may help us to understand the procedure in the trials of Paul. The Emperor is described as too busy with the case to take his meals, handling the little book (*biblion*), the brief of the depositions, in angry perplexity. The sage looked more like a man going to lecture than "*one on trial for his life*"—another pastoral phrase.[2] The clerk of the court orders the sage to plead against his accuser before the emperor as judge. Before his admission to the court he was searched, to see that he brought no amulet, or book (*biblion*), or tablet (*grammateion*) into court. In 2 Timothy iv. 13 Paul asks for his *biblia* and *membranae*,[3] the former probably his longer writings of papyrus and the latter his shorter ones, or his writing materials of parchment.[3] The sage is asked how long his speech is to last. "How much water will you require?"—a reference to the *clepsydra* or water clock. He answered, "Until the Tiber is drained!" The court was arranged as for a public oration. The Emperor sat on the tribunal, many of the élite were there, as the judge wished to have many present at the conviction of the sage for complicity in Nerva's plot. The sage is brought in, and is ordered by the accuser, who like Alexander in Paul's trial, "pressed very hard" upon the defendant, to look towards "the God of all mankind," whereupon the latter lifted his eyes to the sun! The

[1] Titus ii. 9.

[2] τετέλεκα—my trial is over. This metaphor in Classics, e.g., Eurip. Or. 868, Anotoph, W. 375.

[3] Also called prigillares, writing-tablets; membranam poscis (Hor., S. ii. 3, 2); crocea membrana tabella (Juv., vii. 23); see Mayor's note.

accuser requested the judge not to give the accused his full time, for he would choke them by much talking. "I hold this brief (*biblion*) with the charges, let him answer seriatim."

The accuser then put the questions which the sage answered, and in his turn, did not make the usual speech, but demanded evidence, proof of the charges. This appeared to confuse the accuser, although outside the court the freed men of Euphrates, the enemy of the sage, were standing. They had come with the fee for the accuser and a report of the sage's speech in Donia. But like St. Paul on his first trial, the sage had no witnesses for his defence, and no friends to support him. He had sent Damis away for safety on a journey. However, the Emperor acquitted him of the charges, but said he would have to wait for a private interview with him. The narrative then loses its natural simplicity and becomes unsatisfactory. It contains a speech against sophists, who taught religion for money, and an account of the sage's escape from the court to Greece, from whence he visited Ephesus and Crete. When he arrived among his friends and they asked him about his defence (*apologia*), he said, "I have made my defence and we have gained the day." [1] Now we can imagine Nero saying to Paul on his first trial as Domitian says here to Apollonius: "I acquit you of the charges." There are some interesting parallels in this trial to Paul's. Apollonius said to Domitian, "Who is to be my advocate when I am on my defence? If I call upon Zeus they will say I am a *magician*, but he, O King, will be my helper in my *defence*" (*apologia*). Compare Paul's statement, "The Lord was my advocate (*parestē*) and gave me strength" (2 Timothy iv. 17). There is a distinction in this passage between "*witness*" and "*advocate*." *No* witness appeared (*paregeneto*) [2] for him; but he had an advocate.[3] In the course of the written speech Apollonius describes sorcery as "false-wisdom," with which compare 1 Timothy vi. 20—"falsely-called knowledge"—another of the many Aischylean words in the Pastorals. He attacked sorcerers as a profession of money-grabbers. All their ingenious devices are for the purposes of gain, and to this end they play upon the ruling passion of their victims. "What sign of riches about me makes you think that I am a student of this *pseudo-science*? Why, your father praised me as superior to money." This indictment of false teaching for money recalls many rhetorical passages in the Pastorals, especially those in which the false teachers are said to regard religion from a mercenary standpoint (1 Timothy vi. 5), and 2 Timothy iii. 2–6, where "impostors" and "money-grabbers" are denounced for laying their spells upon silly women. Domitian had called the sage an "impostor" and a "mercenary magician." Such *magicians* are only mentioned in 2 Timothy iii. 13, in the Greek Bible (*goētēs*)—another parallel.

As regards the charge on which we believe Paul was re-arrested,

[1] "In my first apology, no witness appeared for me, but all forsook me" (2 Timothy iv. 16).

[2] See Aischylus, *Eumenides*, 309; also Ovid, *M.*, ii. 45, "testis adesto."

[3] Cf. "*adsto advocatus*," Plaut., *Cas.* iii. 3, 4. Aischylus, *Eum.*, 65, where Apollo says to Orestes, "I shall be your guardian, standing beside" (*parestos*).

and tried for *majestas*, the passage in 1 Timothy i. 8–10, in which "impious matricides" are mentioned, would be quite sufficient, if reported by a delator. Apollonius was brought to trial before Nero for a much less offensive expression, also in the plural, "buffoons," and was again tried on a capital charge before Domitian for another expression an informer reported. The whole passage, indeed (1 Timothy i. 8–10), might be a character sketch of Nero, true in every particular of him, but it was his crime of matricide that should have been buried in silence. There was probably only one matricide still unpunished in the empire—the Emperor. To be suspected even of such a crime was fatal. Among the prisoners Apollonius met was one who lived on a lonely island and was suspected of being a "matricide." To name the Emperor's crime was therefore to indict him, and to court death.[1] It was the one action of his life that he could never forget. He sought the help of spiritualists to pacify the ghost that ever haunted him. When he visited Greece he avoided Athens, where the Erinyes had taken up their abode after the vindication of Orestes for the same crime. Delphi was despoiled and ravaged by Nero because the Oracle said that Orestes and Alcmaeon had cause for their matricides, but made no attempt to excuse his. Juvenal, afterwards, took up the same parable. Nero was held back from initiation at Eleusis because of this matricide. Tacitus (A., xv., 67) says that, when Subrius Flavus, one of Piso's conspirators, said he hated him when he became, among other things, "a matricide," nothing in the whole conspiracy so affected Nero. It was to justify his deed that he used to play the part of *Orestes the matricide*, and to represent Agrippina, his mother, as indeed she was, a Roman Clytemnestra. Witty epigrams were made and inscribed on walls with reference to his crime in spite of all his precautions. He banished an actor who referred merely by gestures, representing drinking and drowning, to the murders of Claudius and Agrippina, as he said, "Farewell father, farewell mother."[2] The *delatores* were spying and reporting in every part of the empire with greater zest after the burning of the city and the Pisonian conspiracy. And Nero had issued an order that every case brought up by a *delator* should be one of *majestas* or treason (Suet., 32).

Now here only in the Greek Bible have we the words for *matricide* and *patricide*. And the word is *mētraloias*,[3] used in the *Eumenides*, 148, etc., of Orestes in a passage which must have been often quoted in connexion with Nero.

Chorus: We drive the *matricide* from these abodes.
Apollo: What? Him who slew her who her husband slew?

and was probably quoted by him as furnishing some pretext for his crime, for Agrippina murdered Claudius. At all events, any *delator* could make a charge against the writer of such a passage,

[1] Suetonius, *Nero*, 21, "cantavit Oresten matricidam."
[2] Suetonius, *Nero*, 39.
[3] The word also means mother-beater (Plato, *Phaedo*, 114), but the reference is plain, although the form may have been used for ambiguity.

and claim a reward for his information. That Alexander may have been a Christian makes no difference. Tacitus says that after the fire many Christians were informed against by others and were convicted on their information, *indicium* (A., xv. 44). Clement of Rome (i. 5) also remarked that Paul suffered "because of envy" (not necessarily Roman). The very word *indicium* underlies the Greek *enedeixato*,[1] the correct word for laying information or making an *endeixis* against another. That Alexander acted as a *delator* may also be inferred from the reference to his *reward* for which he was working, the rewarding of informers being a principal feature of the procedure of delation, and on a vast scale, if the accused had sufficient assets. Cossutianus and Eprius, who accused Thrasea, obtained fortunes, and Publius Egnatius, the friend and betrayer of Barea Soranus, pro-consul of Asia, A.D. 64–66, is described by Tacitus in words that recall Paul's description of the false teachers. "He professed the dignified character of a Stoic; and had trained himself in demeanour and language to exhibit an ideal of virtue. In his heart, however, treacherous and cunning, he concealed greed and sensuality. As soon as money had brought these vices to light, he became an example warning us to beware just as much of those who under the guise of virtuous tastes are false and deceitful in friendship as of men entangled in falsehoods and stained with infamies."[2] Alexander was, according to Paul and Tacitus, another informer, "Animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam occultans, falsus et amicitiae fallax." Now whether or not Nero, the Lord of the Roman empire, could reward Alexander out of Paul's assets, because they were small, Paul's Lord "shall surely reward him according to his deeds" (*v.* 14). There is Pauline irony here, for the reward, though different from Alexander's expectations, would be appropriate. Compare Ovid (*Met.* viii. 503), "receive the reward for your deed," "cape praemia facti," i.e. death. The warning of Timothy,[3] "Against whom do thou also be on thy *guard*" (*v.* 15), would lead us to infer that Timothy was in danger through his ignorance of Alexander's real character as spy and informer. Like Euphrates in the case of Apollonius and Egnatius in the case of Barea, he may have been acting ostensibly as a friend of Timothy in order to obtain material for an accusation against him. Horace warns his friend against the slanderer in similar terms, "Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane, caveto" (*Serm.*, i., 4, 85). He is black; Roman, do thou beware of him.

It is very probable, then, from all the technical terms used in connexion with Alexander,[4] that he had acted as a *delator* against Paul, and consequently we may conclude that the apostle was tried and executed on a charge of *majestas*, or high treason.

[1] Pollus, viii. 49, speaks of the informer as *endeiknumenos* and his information as *endeixis*.

[2] Church and Brodribb, *Ann. of Tacitus*, xvi. 32.

[3] Timothy was evidently imprisoned for complicity in Paul's crime, but afterwards released, as we learn from the Lukan postscript to Hebrews (xiii. 23).

[4] antestē, *enedeixato*, apodōsei, *phulassou*, etc.

CHURCH LIFE UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

By the Rev. Le B. E. ffrench, Canon of Clonfert, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Killaloe.

THE Emerald Isle has always been a "distressful country." To those who know her best the "tear in her eyes" is more evident than "the smile." Certainly it has been so of late years. Some of us on this side of the Irish Sea believe that the majority of English Church people have even now little idea of "the great fight of afflictions" through which their "brethren 'neath the Western sky" have passed. This is largely due to the fact that many of the outrages which a few years ago were of daily occurrence were not reported in the English Press. That some of those in high position in the English Church did realize the state of things was indicated to the present writer by a kind letter he received in the spring of 1923 from the Archbishop of York, now Archbishop-designate of Canterbury, in which his Grace expressed his warm admiration for the clergy in the south and west of Ireland who remained at their posts under such trying circumstances. It was shown also by a letter from the late Bishop Chavasse in which he asked one of his former pupils if he would like work in England, "if it would not be forsaking your flock in their time of need." A few personal reminiscences will show something of the "afflictions" and "fears" out of which we have been "delivered."

In the closing years of the British occupation we became sadly used to lawlessness and violence, which were justified by many under the dignified name of War. One Sunday I noticed a fresh grave close to one of the churches I was then serving in a large amalgamated country parish, and was informed, upon inquiry, that the body of a murdered constable, a member of the Roman Church, had been buried there. A short time before one of the same force had fallen to the assassins' bullet in another parish well known to me, the fatal shot having been fired from a small wood in which I have waited for pigeons in happier days. About the same time a young Yorkshireman, a "black and tan" (so called), who had served in the Great War, and became a parishioner of mine when he joined the Royal Irish Constabulary in Co. Galway, met his death in an ambush shortly after he had been moved to Belfast. On another Sunday I met unexpectedly two British officers at luncheon in the house of a well-known Irish nobleman, whose hospitality I habitually enjoyed between services in different churches some miles apart. A week or two later we were grieved to hear that one of them had been, with his wife, laid low by another ambush outside a country gentleman's gate when returning from a tennis party. A gentleman of high social position known to me when my work lay in the King's County was shot from behind a hedge as he was driving to his home where his family were waiting

for him. In this case it is probable that some private spite was responsible for the murder. Among others to whom death came in this awful form was a lady of singularly amiable disposition, one who by her personal charm and character worthily upheld the traditional fame of Erin's daughters, and who was godmother to one of my children. It is fair to say that it was not she whom the assassins wanted to kill, but her husband, whose crime, like that of the officers and policemen already mentioned, was that he wore His Majesty's uniform. But the fact that she happened to be in the direct line of fire did not keep them from discharging the fatal volley. Of course, many other instances of " murder most foul " might be given, but this article is concerned only with persons and localities known to the writer.

The Treaty which was signed in December, 1921, was greeted by the greater part of the Press outside Ireland with an almost universal chorus of jubilation. Some of the old loyalist party who were left in this country cherished the fond hope that they had found an end of troubles. Others waited in suspense, and soon a fresh orgy of outrage and bloodshed began. It is easy to be wise after the event, but a serious defect in the agreement reached was the removal of the British troops, and the disbanding of that splendid body—" robur et æs triplex circa,"—the Royal Irish Constabulary, before a fresh force had been created, or any measures taken to insure the maintenance of law and order.

When the ægis of British authority was removed, the exodus of the landed gentry which had been in progress for some time was greatly accelerated, and in some cases this led also to the departure of a number of Protestant families who had been dependent on them. The congregation of the chief church under my charge was greatly diminished. When " the big house " in the parish was closed it was almost immediately seized by some thirty-five Republican soldiers, who retained possession for some months until they were dispossessed by the Free State troops. A few of the " Irregulars " were also quartered in " the Forester's Lodge," close to the chief avenue. Some of my flock were much alarmed by this invasion, especially during the first week, when a constant stream of motor-cars carrying armed men was passing among them. Three police-barracks in the parish were destroyed, and our school had to be closed, as the teacher's house was twice raided, and she was obliged to leave by the threat of worse things to come. Her offence was that she was married to a Sergeant in the R.I.C., who fortunately had found a haven of refuge in another part of the country. Happily no blood was spilt among us, though there were a couple of murders in adjacent parishes. These crimes are not to be laid to the charge of the irregular soldiers. One at least was entirely due to an agrarian dispute. The victim was a local landlord of the Roman faith who was shot on his way to Mass one Sunday morning because he had refused to part with his land. A similar fate had a couple of years before met another local gentleman for an identical reason. Throughout the country outside

Ulster the trouble was (as I often wrote at the time to friends in England) political and agrarian, and not religious. It is true that a few churches were burnt down or maliciously injured, but this was due to the wave of lawlessness which swept over the land, and was the work of " certain vile fellows of the rabble " who were out to do what mischief they could, and in some cases were actuated by private animosity. One of the churches destroyed was a very favourable specimen of an Irish country church. It was full of memorials of a noble family rightly held in the highest esteem by all classes. The Roman Catholic population for miles round were indignant at this wanton outrage, and their aged priest in that parish was moved to tears when he called upon the Rector to express his regret and sympathy. The Free State Government gave large compensation, and it is pleasing to relate that a beautiful new church has been erected on the site of the old, which was consecrated by the Bishop of Killaloe in September, 1926. At this time bands of men were roaming the country, demanding food, and sometimes shelter at night. One afternoon a Roman Catholic neighbour called at the Rectory who mentioned that he had left twenty-five men feeding in the house of his nephew, with whom he lived. Shop-keepers and others had constantly to supply provisions in this way, and one of my parishioners had to put up a dozen men for a night. Personally I had nothing of which to complain, and, though I often awoke in the early hours and wondered if we should be raided, we were not molested in any way.

Some of my brethren were not so fortunate. The aged Dean of Clonfert had some unpleasant experiences. When the raiders visited him they took all his clothes except an old knock-about suit, and also his gold watch. When informed that a particular box contained the Communion plate of the church they left it alone.

Sometimes the marauders were only searching for arms. As a rule they offered neither violence nor insult to those who yielded them peaceably, but it was trying for ladies to have the rooms in which they were in bed searched by masked men. A hot-tempered friend was rash enough to threaten his midnight visitors with a revolver, and received a severe beating for this. One fear that often obsessed me in the night was that I should hear next morning that " the big house " had been burnt down, like so many in our neighbourhood and elsewhere. Fortunately this catastrophe did not happen, and the owner has been for some years living in his own home again. When the Republicans took possession of it I called, and was courteously received by a junior officer, wearing a belt of cartridges, as the Commandant was not at home. A young man carrying a blunderbuss watched us from a window. After some little conversation I thought it wise to ask permission to call on a Protestant family who had been ejected from their dwelling, and had taken refuge in the house of the former steward, who had found it convenient to return to Scotland. This was at once granted, and the officer accompanied me through the large carriage-yard,

which was full of motor-cars which had been looted from far and near. Young men of " the Irregulars " looked on, who might have thought it their duty to inquire my business had I been unattended, but they would not have interfered with me in any other way.

A common feature of the country at this time were the pits which were dug in fields close to the public road. These were called graves, and were intended to convey a warning to some landlord or tenant who had a large farm, or perhaps more than one, and showed himself reluctant to divide his land, as to the fate he might expect. This attention was paid to Roman Catholic holders of land quite as much as to Protestants. A minor form of outrage which caused much annoyance was the blocking of the main roads in order to impede the movement of the regular troops. Sometimes this was done by building a wall, but generally by the felling of large trees in such a way that they lay directly across the roads. At one time no less than eight of these obstacles blocked the road to our market-town, about six miles away, but they were quickly removed. One road which was to me almost daily " the path of Duty " had a large beech tree across it for about a month. I used, with considerable difficulty at first, to lift my bicycle over the tree, but my wife and family had to make a " détour " of several miles when driving our humble pony carriage in that direction.

To have one's letters censored by a self-constituted authority, and to receive them stamped with the words " Passed by the I.R.A." (Irish Republican Army), was an indignity too small to ruffle anyone's temper.

One day, while the Republicans were in possession, I called at the Forester's Lodge to ask the officer in charge if he would kindly exert his authority in a particular way. (It must be remembered that Law and Order had ceased to exist.) I had to make my way along a barbed-wire entanglement to a door which had never been kept closed to me when some Scottish Presbyterians lived there. Upon knocking, I was confronted by a youth, not in uniform, who leaned out of a window and levelled a double-barrelled pistol on full cock at my face. He made no response to my request to see the officer, being evidently uncertain how to act. I mentioned my name, but this meant nothing to him, which showed he was one of divers who came " from far." I then said, " I am the Protestant clergyman," whereupon, with the innate courtesy of the Irish, he lifted his cap, though he did not lower his weapon. He then instructed me where to go. My interview with the officer was brief, and did not lead to much practical result, but I was received in the politest possible manner, and possibly had I not called more damage might have been done among us.

Before our police-barracks had been destroyed half a dozen of these troops came to live in one of them. A false report reached me that two of these were Churchmen, and so I called at once. Here also the officer, who was scarcely more than a boy, and was of the uneducated class, met me courteously, and kindly promised, " If I have any of your Church I will let you know." This was

not altogether an impossible supposition, for here and there a stray member of the Irish Church was to be found among the Irregulars. When a little later a small body of Free State troops were quartered in the parish there was one of our way of thinking among them, so that the green uniform was regularly seen at the Church services. He assured me that he never suffered the slightest unpleasantness on account of his religion, and the first time I called to see him his superior officer actually ran to find him. Officers and men always "saluted the cloth" when I met them on the road, and though, owing to diminished numbers and the danger of being out at night, meetings and classes had to be abandoned, my work was never, even in the worst times, in any way interfered with, and my neighbours of the Roman Church, many of whom were Sinn Feiners, never failed to show me and my family the greatest courtesy and kindness. A few years before, when my son had made the supreme sacrifice in France, and while the Union Jack was flying at half-mast in the Rectory garden, the first to call to express sympathy was a local tradesman whose attachment to the cause of Sinn Fein was undoubted. This, of course, implied a pro-German bias. Such apparently inconsistent conduct is not surprising to those who know "the people of the land." However low in the social scale he may be, the Irishman who is not a gentleman is not true to the breed. When lawlessness was at its height, and while the church in the next parish was a blackened ruin, we carried out extensive repairs to the fabric of the most distant church under my charge, all of which were done by Roman Catholic workmen.

Much more might be said to illustrate both the perils and amenities of the days now happily past, but if this article is to be kept within reasonable limits I must content myself with relating two further incidents, with one of which I was not concerned. A brother-clergyman, who had formerly lived in the Rectory which was my home during the years of warfare, has special cause for thankfulness. He was riding a motor-bicycle along a country road at night, and was dressed for the part, when some men sprang from a hedge and pulled him down, under the impression that he was a District Inspector of Constabulary who was "wanted." He told them who he was, but "they gave no credence unto his word," and would undoubtedly have carried out the sentence they had been sent to execute were it not that on searching him they found both a gold presentation-watch and a silver cigarette-case inscribed with the name he had given them. They then apologized, and were as affable as circumstances permitted. The moral of this true story appears to be for a parson, Stick to your clerical collar!

My last reminiscence is to me a particularly pleasing one. Before the flag of Britain had been lowered in Southern Ireland, and while our little barracks were still standing, the Roman Curate with whom I was on friendly, though not intimate terms, stopped me one day in the village street. After we had shaken hands he surprised me by saying, "I want to speak to you about that young

Scotsman." He referred to a young man who had formerly served in the Navy, and had been in the battle of Jutland, but who had lately joined the R.I.C., and so was " a black and tan." He, as the Curate informed me, was thinking of joining the Church of the majority. Of course, as I at once surmised, there was a girl in the case. I must confess that I had not previously heard of the contemplated change of religion, and I thanked the Roman priest warmly for being the first to mention it. He said, " I would not like to do anything without letting you know," whereupon I assured him that he would have " nothing to do " if I could prevent it, and I then wended my way to the barrack in no hopeful frame of mind. Only too often " the black-blue Irish hair and Irish eyes," and other charms of Irish girls are far more persuasive than the strongest theological arguments. Was not this the reason why the English settlers long ago became " more Irish than the Irish " ? Happily the " young Scotsman " was not deeply in love. At least, no other reason is apparent for the readiness with which he promised to take no further step on his Romeward journey until he had talked over the question with his family in Scotland, whom he was soon to visit on his annual furlough. The Church of Rome did not on this occasion gain a proselyte, but the courtesy of one of her clergy must be acknowledged in chronicling this fact.

The land now has rest, and the Church of Ireland, which claims to be the true Catholic Church of this island, though others see in her only the Church of the English Settlement, faces the future with hope and confidence. She has not come unscathed through the years of trial. Her numbers have greatly decreased, and her children are to a large extent impoverished, though, if report be true, she has not lost in prestige. But she feels that she has a mission to fulfil, and humbly she believes, " God is in the midst of her ; she shall not be moved."

SUNSET AND SUNRISE. Thoughts upon Death and the Future Life of the Soul. Compiled by Cecilia Lady Boston. London : *H. R. Allenson, Ltd.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

A Foreword is contributed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hook, D.D., formerly Suffragan Bishop of Kingston (who, by the way, is incorrectly described as " Sometime Bishop of Southwark " !). He commends it as " an invaluable help to those, both lay and clerical, whose blessed lot it is to minister to the sufferers of life." The passages have been well selected in a truly Catholic spirit. Here may be found quotations from St. Francis de Sales, Wesley, Faber, Kingsley, Keble, Bickersteth, John Bunyan, Browning and many others, representing very varied types of religious belief and expression. The result is an anthology well suited as a handbook for Sick Visiting or a Bedside Manual.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, 1320(?)–1384.[1]

THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

By John Knipe.

III. THE RECTOR OF LUTTERWORTH, 1374–1384.

Friendship with John of Gaunt begun at Bruges, July, 1374.

GREAT complaints had been made against the Pope's disregard of "Provisors." A Peace Conference had been called with France at Bruges and Edward seized the opportunity to appoint a Royal Commission to negotiate with the Pope (July 26).

The names read in order, "John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, John Wycliffe, Doctor of Theology (the date of his degree is unknown), John Guter, Dean of Segovia (Castile) (Gaunt's private chaplain), Simon Multon, Doctor of Laws," and three laymen, Sir William Burton, Robert of Bellknap, Judge, and one John of Kenyngton.

On the 27th Wycliffe embarked at London, and he was in Bruges until September, 1375 (or at least so it appears from the Records). It must have been to him a very important and significant fourteen months. And it is certain that then began his political and personal friendship with John of Gaunt, the strong man of those feeble years of a great reign. When we tread the cobbled narrow ways of Bruges beside those sluggish canals it is strange to think of the bygone wealth and importance of the chief mediæval town of Flanders, a Free City with a population of 200,000 souls. The Archbishop of Ravenna headed the Papal Envoys with four others. Charles V of France sent his brothers, the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, to confer with Lancaster, Archbishop Sudbury and the Earl of Salisbury.

As to the Peace Conference the Chronicler wrote: "Their (the French) thoughts were craftily running . . . not on peace but on war; the English trusted everything to the Duke's wisdom and gave themselves up to carousals and amusements" (Walsingham).

Small wonder the Congress broke up "without conclusion of peace." The Pope made some concessions by which the *status quo* of benefices remained untouched. Wycliffe was given a prebend's stall (November), which he resigned the same month, as a sinecure.

The Black Prince died in June, 1376, and September saw John of Gaunt firmly in the saddle and William of Wykeham banished from Court for corruption when Chancellor, and his Temporalities confiscated. On the 22nd Alan of Barley was sent to Oxford with a writ to Wycliffe summoning him to appear before the Privy Council. We know he stayed in Gaunt's palace at the Savoy, and probably the Duke needed his advice on Church Reform. Bishop Trillek of Rochester "told Wycliffe in great excitement that his Theses had

[1] A continuation of an Article which appeared in The Churchman for January, 1929.

been condemned by the Pope." The attack seems to have been due to his unsparing attacks on the abuse of Papal excommunication. Parliament complained of Garnier in a long Memorial to the King, calling him an enemy alien with a great City house, who sent 20,000 marks annually to a Pope on French soil. They objected to Deaneries and preferments held by foreign Cardinals. Edward replied evasively, but Garnier was expelled the following year, which the Commons neatly suggested, being the King's Jubilee, was a proper occasion for Ecclesiastical Reforms!

Convocation met in February and, moved by William Courtenay, Bishop of London, the subsidy was refused until Winchester was allowed to take his seat. Then Courtenay seized the opportunity of Wycliffe being the Duke's guest to cite him before Convocation on a heresy charge. Walsingham writes: "Too late the Bishops roused their father the Archbishop, as one from a deep sleep, as a lord stupefied with wine, or rather as a hireling drunk with the poison of avarice, to recall the wandering sheep . . . for cure, or if need be, that the knife should be used. The Archbishop, though he had planned to spend his days in good things . . . not liking to be publicly known as one who had abandoned the sheep-folds, sent to invite this prodigal son to answer" ("*Chronicon Angliæ*"). Whereby it does not seem the monk showed the Archbishop much respect.

Walsingham writes: "Many great lords . . . or more rightly, I should call them devils, embraced his mad doctrines, . . . and protected him with the secular arm. . . . He drew after him many citizens of London. . . . He was an eloquent man, and pretended to look down on worldly possessions as things transitory. . . . He ever ran from church to church and scattered his mad lies in the ears of many."

The First Appearance of Wycliffe before Bishop Courtenay, St. Paul's, February 19, 1377.

This well-known event ended in tumult as it began. Courtenay, sitting in state among prelates and nobles in the Lady Chapel, heard some uproar and saw an excited mob pressing into the Cathedral. Dr. John Wycliffe had come escorted by John of Gaunt, his host, and Lord Percy the Earl Marshal. Five Friars, Bachelors of Divinity, followed the Duke their Patron, ready to defend Wycliffe. But Gaunt's retainers forced a passage roughly, which provoked the Bishop to affront Lancaster. This incident roused Percy's Border temper and in the Lady Chapel he bade Wycliffe to sit, saying: "He had need of a soft seat, having so many things to answer." Courtenay ordered Wycliffe to stand while his Cause was tried. In his long thin black gown and narrow girdle, his head erect and his eyes keen, the spare form and flowing beard made John Wycliffe a striking figure; he stood motionless and the eloquent lips were silent and compressed. High words passed between Duke and Bishop; taunts and threats, even it was said Gaunt muttered he would drag out the proud prelate by the hair of his head! With cries of "Shame!" the citizens surged into the Chapel and surrounded

Courtenay as he retired before nine to his house in the Precincts. He dared not charge Wycliffe before Gaunt and he had avoided the necessity of bringing forward his evidence. Courtenay and other Bishops wrote a lengthy accusation to Pope Gregory XI, who had solemnly entered Rome in great pomp on January 17, and he issued Five Bulls against Wycliffe from the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore (dated May 22).

THE BULLS OF GREGORY XI: THEIR ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, JUNE, 1377.

Three Bulls were sent to the Primate and the Bishop of London, the fourth to the King, and the fifth to the Chancellor and University of Oxford. Their language is too verbose for quotation except an occasional word. The Archbishop and the Bishop of London are charged "with plenary powers" to inquire privately whether certain 19 Theses[1] in the Schedule appended are Wycliffe's actual opinions. If so they should imprison him until further instructions from Rome. The Bishops are rebuked as "watchmen negligent and slothful," for "the evil had been felt at Rome" first. (This explains Bishop Trillek of Rochester's heat.) "John Wycliffe, Rector of Lutterworth and Professor of the Sacred Page, had dared to assert opinions utterly subversive of the Church." If he attempted to save himself by flight the accused was to be cited before the Pope. They are to warn the King and his lords of these dangerous subversive errors. Edward himself was requested to support the Bishops. Oxford was rebuked and bidden to seize Wycliffe's person and deliver him to the Primate.

DEATH OF EDWARD III AT THE PALACE OF SHENE, JUNE 21, 1377.

The King was dying when the Bulls arrived, and the First Parliament of Richard II proposed to forfeit Papal Provisions and to expel all foreign priests during the War and use their revenues. John of Gaunt and the Council consulted Wycliffe in person and he wrote a long pamphlet denouncing "the avarice and corruptions of the Papacy."

EDWARD STAFFORD SENT WITH BULL TO OXFORD, DECEMBER 18, 1377.

Oxford was enraged by the Pope's interference and the attack on her famous son. Archbishop Sudbury was obliged to write to the Chancellor that "no violent hands would be laid on Dr. Wycliffe" and he promised that University Privilege would be fully respected.

WYCLIFFE'S SECOND APPEARANCE BEFORE THE BISHOPS, LAMBETH CHAPEL.

The date was probably early in March, 1378. Wycliffe was alone, but not treated as a prisoner. He put in a written defence,

[1] The order of the 19 Theses condemned is not Wycliffe's arranging, but Rome's.

defining his Theses. Towards the end of the Inquiry, when with shouts the Londoners broke in to save him, Sir Henry Clifford, Chamberlain to the Princess Joan of Wales[1] (Richard's mother), brought an order from her that " they should abstain from pronouncing any final judgment on the accused." She was of course Gaunt's mouthpiece, and, the Chapel being in a tumult, gladly the bewildered Archbishop gave way. Walsingham breaks out furiously against the boastful cowardice of the Bishops, " as if they had no horns to their mitres ! " Word came how that Gregory XI died on March 27 and his Bulls of course became void. The charges against Wycliffe touched more on Church Property and her Temporalities than matters of Faith.[2]

Wycliffe renounced Politics for Church Reform. The Poor Priests.

He had already started his famed Preaching Order of Itinerant Clerks at Ludgarshall and the Bishop of Lincoln sanctioned their preaching. The tract " *Why Poor Priests have no Benefices* " explains his Ideal of Evangelical Poverty, and fear of Simony. For their training he wrote " *The Six Yokes.* " Their watchword was " God's Law " (Gospel). Barefooted, with long russet gown, leather girdle and long staff, he sent them forth all over England. They were not bound by Final Vows, like the Mendicant Orders. Under an enlightened and simple Pope Wycliffe might have been a second Saint Francis. He hoped at first that the new Pope Urban VI would inaugurate a New Era. But the Great Schism broke out and the French Cardinal chose Robert of Geneva (Clement VII) at Avignon. England recognized Urban, and Wycliffe called both rival Popes " Anti-Christs." From now dated his thunder against the degenerate Friars, and his tract " Of the Pastoral Office." He had formerly called them " Men very dear to God " and " would have nothing to do with the monks-possessioners " (Walsingham). He saw as Rector how they trafficked in sin and how " they beset the dying bed of the noble and wealthy in order to extort secret bequests from their fears of guilt or superstition " (Matthew Paris).

Wycliffe published Theses against Transubstantiation at Oxford, 1381.

Suddenly Oxford was startled by Twelve Theses against Transubstantiation signed by Wycliffe with an open Challenge to Public Disputation. He asserted that the consecrated Host was only a Sign of Christ present not to the bodily eye but by Faith. He main-

[1] She favoured Wycliffe, but her name is in the Pope's Bull, so she could hardly have been an avowed follower. I can find no evidence for the story that the Black Prince refused to see her when dying because she was a heretic.

[2] They concerned principally his theory of " Dominion on Grace " ; the Conditional Rights of Property and Inheritance being put foremost to alarm the King and his Council. But he had assailed the Abuse of Excommunication, as applied to Secularization of Church Endowments.

tained that the Dogma, as also the terms Identification and Impanation, cannot be shown to be Scriptural. The sensation his Challenge caused was tremendous. Chancellor William De Berton called quickly a Conference of Doctors who declared that two of the Theses were "erroneous." Mandate of Prohibition was served on Wycliffe, who was found quietly teaching in his lecture-room in the Augustinian Monastery.[1] He was surprised and replied that neither the Chancellor nor the Doctors could refute his Theses. He appealed to the King. "Like a heretic, leaning on the Secular arm," the Chancellor commented. John of Gaunt hurried in great concern to silence Wycliffe and warn him the King must reject the appeal. Here their friendship ended, for the Duke would not touch any dispute of the Sacrament of the Altar. Wycliffe retired to Lutterworth and published "*The Wicket*"—his great English tract. It was read secretly up to the Reformation. He followed it with his Confession of Faith, "*De Sacramento Altaris.*"

(The Duke of Lancaster was then eager to satisfy the clergy who had just paid the unpopular Poll Tax.)

Translation of the Bible. The New Testament.

There is something sublime in Wycliffe's resolve, in spite of the danger in which it involved him, to give the common people the Bible in the Mother tongue. "The worthy Realm of France has the Scriptures in the French Tongue," he wrote.

Probably he began with the Gospels, and he translated from the Latin Vulgate. His clear-cut, nervous sentences are the finest beginnings of fourteenth-century English prose. There is no evidence whatever that any book except the Psalter then existed in English, and only Gospel portions.

The Old Testament.

John Purvey, his assistant, helped in the great work, and his friend Nicholas of Hereford translated the Old Testament as far as the Book of Baruch, III. 20 (Bodleian Library). This is attested by the clerk who continued his work.

The murder of Archbishop Sudbury by Wat Tyler's mob gave Courtenay the Primacy; however, the King's marriage to Anne of Bohemia in January, 1382, brought Wycliffe a fresh friend at Court.

The Lollard Persecution, 1382–4. The Earthquake Synod (May 21).

Courtenay waited for the Pallium in May and at once called a Provincial Synod in Blackfriars. Ten Bishops and fifty Doctors and Bachelors were carefully chosen to condemn Wycliffe's tenets. But to their astonishment and alarm, when they took their seats the Chapter House was shaken by an earthquake and for the third time the London Assembly was thrown into disorder. Courtenay, being a zealot, refused the proposal that the discussion should be suspended and adjured them "to purge the realm of heresy as the Earth is

[1] Wadham College is on the site.

purging itself of noxious vapours." He proclaimed a Procession of Penitence in which high and low, rich and poor went barefoot to St. Paul's, were met by the Bishop of London and Cathedral clergy at the door, and heard Dr. John Cunningham preach a sermon at Paul's Cross calling " ten of Wycliffe's Theses heretical and fourteen erroneous."

The Primate then sent Solemn Mandates to his Commissary, Peter Stokes, the Carmelite Friar at Oxford, and to the Bishop of London for all Suffragans of the Province. Both Mandates prohibited utterly the condemned Theses on pain of the Greater Excommunication.

The Primate moved in the Lords that a Royal Ordinance should enjoin the Sheriffs to seize and imprison without trial or witnesses all such preachers, their patrons and followers as the Bishops should denounce. He attacked hotly the " Poor Priests." It was the most flagrant violation of Magna Carta and all Constitutional Rights of the King's subjects. This infamous Decree was never passed by Parliament, yet Richard allowed it to be included among the Statutes of the Realm (May 26). It gave unheard-of powers to the Bishops. Courtenay's vehemence carried his point, and styling himself " Grand Inquisitor " he obtained a Royal Patent " Out of Our zeal for the Catholic Faith " (June), by which the King's vassals were forbidden on pain of forfeiture to support the preachers. However, in this Royal Patent the Bishops' powers were limited to their own officers, who might arrest and detain those accused. The word " Recantation " occurs for the first time. The Primate turned on Oxford, where Nicholas of Hereford had preached in Wycliffe's defence. The University was literally in arms against Stokes, who dared not for his life publish the Mandate before Dr. Repyngton's Corpus Christi Sermon. Chancellor Rygge was Wycliffe's friend[1] and he delayed the Ban, which was treated with levity when it appeared. Stokes begged for his recall; " I do not know what will happen further," he wrote to Courtenay—and the clank of armour in Repyngton's lecture-room drove the Friar away, dumb, and he fled to London. The state of the roads being good, Brother Stokes was able to arrive in London that night. Here a fresh surprise awaited him; Chancellor Rygge had been seized with panic also, and he had arrived at Lambeth first. He was forced by the King's Council to submit to Courtenay and asked pardon on his knees, William of Wykeham interceding for him.

Sent back to Oxford with fresh Mandates, the Chancellor had courage to suspend one Crumpe, an Irish Cistercian, who had publicly called Wycliffe and his friends " heretical Lollards." This is the first instance of the word.

Submission of Oxford. Expulsion of Wycliffites.

Courtenay got a Crown Warrant forbidding the molestation of Crumpe and ordering a search for Wycliffe's followers and the books of Wycliffe and of Hereford. John of Gaunt protected such men as

[1] They were together at Merton, some say.

would submit, and the Londoners saved Aston from the Bishops. Hereford and Repyngton were twice cited before Courtenay (at Blackfriars and at his house near Oxford). The second time he postponed a hearing and cited them at Canterbury for July. They did not appear and he excommunicated them.

Hereford went to Lutterworth, where Wycliffe was calmly translating the Bible. He approved his colleague's resolve to appeal to Rome. The New Testament was completed amid Courtenay's "sound and fury." But Richard was highly displeased with Oxford and sent two Royal Mandates to Rygge. Wycliffe, Aston, Hereford and Repyngton were banished within seven days from Oxford. Crumpe was restored to the Schools.

Wycliffe Cited for the Third Time. The Oxford Synod.

It is now generally accepted that Wycliffe did appear before the Primate at Oxford, prepared to die. Except Hereford all his friends had recanted and been reconciled. The contemporary Knighton admits that Wycliffe called Transubstantiation "a modern error." He rebuked Courtenay to his face for encouraging the lying tales of the Friars. Tradition says Wycliffe finally uttered the words "The Truth will prevail."

He went out unharmed, for Parliament had met and Courtenay dared not touch Wycliffe. The Commons had denounced the "Royal Ordinance" and demanded its repeal, "to which we gave no consent nor ever will consent" (Cotton MS.) (November).

Wycliffe's Closing Years and Death.

Protected by the Commons, Wycliffe lived peacefully at Lutterworth, revising the Bible and writing to the last. Courtenay heard, doubtless with satisfaction, that the brave Rector had a stroke of palsy at the end of 1382. He lived two more years and wrote a strong protest against the Papal Crusade of the warrior Bishop Spencer. John Purvey quietly worked with him, and a curate, John Horn, took duty when needed. Wycliffe had the comfort of knowing that the Commons and Lay Peers had checked Courtenay's persecution. The Poor Priests preached unmolested, and at Court Queen Anne herself read his New Testament, while her servants and others carried his entire writings to the Prague University. To this we owe their existence.

The end came suddenly in a second stroke at the Mass on Innocents' Day, when Wycliffe was carried speechless from the church. He died on December 31, 1384. "God buries His workman and carries on his work."

The Message Lives.

Outwardly Archbishop Courtenay was triumphant, for although the Commons promptly annulled the "Royal Ordinance" which gave him inquisitorial powers, he silenced Oxford, which fell back into the dry-as-dust orthodoxy by which all progress and freshness of thought was forbidden in her Schools. But the power of the

Papacy was shaken by the Great Schism, and the ignominious failure of the fighting Bishop Spencer in his Flanders Campaign brought about his public disgrace and reflected grave discredit on the Primate's approval of the Crusade. Then men remembered the burning protests of Wycliffe, then they perceived clearly how evil had been the influence of the Church corrupted by avarice and ambition. Gradually Cambridge rose to take the lead which Oxford lost for centuries. Meanwhile the "Lollards," as they were derisively nicknamed, carried on Wycliffe's work. John Purvey quietly finished the revision of the entire Bible which was sold in portions, copied, passed from hand to hand. More than one bishop was found who was willing to license the Gospels to persons in his diocese, and Archbishop Neville of Raby is said to have been himself one of the "Poor Priests." Whether this is true or not, he certainly allowed the Wycliffe Bible to be privately circulated in the Northern Province. Deprived of support in Parliament, Courtenay had no jurisdiction to interfere with the Primate of York, in licensing such books as he thought fit. By degrees the "Poor Priests" became known as the "Poor Preachers" and under local protection they were received gladly, more in the villages and country-places than in the towns, while slowly and surely their quiet influence broke down the tyranny of the Courts Christian. Men learned that true religion did not consist in mere ceremonies, or outward observances, that God's pardon could not be purchased in pounds of wax-candles; changed lives deprived the infamous Summoner of his blackmail, and his former victims no longer feared "the archdeacon's curse." The venial Friar had yearly a decrease in sinners who sought an easy shift without repentance, the Pardoner lost his market for relics of "Pigge's bones"; Indulgences fell into disrepute; everywhere a new force was stirring men to consider critically the ancient frauds of a corrupt Church, the while secretly "Thy simple ones" met in barn and homestead to read "God's Law," for "the threatenings" were stopped for a time, even as Wycliffe had prayed.

The Decree of the Council of Constance (1415) was not executed until 1428, when, though the River Swift received his ashes, the senseless barbarity which insulted Wycliffe's bones could not root out his memory from the minds of his countrymen, who cherished his disciples for his sake.

Archbishop Courtenay had a very fine funeral; and was speedily forgotten, since he left nothing of note and few men cared to remember him, but the name of John Wycliffe, the "Evangelical Doctor," lived as a household word, which neither friends nor enemies could forget, and his name, like our forefathers, we hold dear to-day.

THE CENTENARY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

By J. W. Poynter.

DURING the spring of this year occurs the hundredth anniversary of the passing of the "Catholic Emancipation Act," by which the Roman Catholics of these islands were freed finally from the penal laws under which they had lain for two centuries and three-quarters. Naturally, the centenary will be celebrated with great zeal by the Roman Catholic community. Indeed, not only will the occasion be celebrated with rejoicings, but there is evidence that it may be made one for advancing demands for further financial assistance for Roman Catholic schools at the hands of the State: a demand amounting practically to one that those schools shall be provided compulsorily by the public authority, at the public expense, although they will not be under public control. As the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham said (see *The Tablet* newspaper, December 29, p. 899) in his Advent Pastoral: "Finally, if this is not too wild a dream, dare we not hope and pray that the chivalrous sympathy of our fair-minded fellow-countrymen may go out to us Catholics on the occasion of our forthcoming centenary? A hundred years ago their tolerant English spirit led them to remove the ban which had hung over our religion in this country for wellnigh three hundred years. Might not Parliament now graciously resolve to avail itself of this fitting opportunity to complete our release by emancipating our education also, and thus put us on a level of equality in this matter with all other sections of the community? Towards us Catholics, a religious minority, who have suffered much in the past for our Faith, this would indeed be a magnanimous act worthy of a great and enlightened people. To Catholic parents it would be an inestimable boon to know that the Education Department of the Government, when reasonably called upon to do so, was obliged by law to provide, at least on lease, suitable buildings for the elementary education of their children by Catholic teachers under due Catholic supervision and control."

Without going into any aspects of the vexed "education question," one may make note of declarations such as the foregoing, the logic of which is that the religious liberty of Roman Catholics is not complete until their sectionary schools are provided at the expense of the public purse while not being controlled by the public authority; and that the centenary of the 1829 Emancipation Act would be a suitable time for "a great and enlightened people" to make that liberty complete by such a system of endowment. Evidently the Emancipation centenary is to be a time for seeking material gains as well as for rejoicings. However, this is not the place to go into such aspects: for the subject of this article is mainly historical.

The centenary not only is historically interesting, but also has significance which in some respects may be in danger of being overlooked when, as in these times, controversies, formerly highly exciting to the public, tend to fall into neglect. The Roman Catholics, of course, will depict the Emancipation Act simply as the placing of them on a footing of equality after a long period of iniquitous penalization. This, however, is an imperfect appreciation of causes and effects. True, the penal laws were very drastic, and, from the point of view of abstract liberty, seem to have been outrageous, especially in the case of Ireland, where they applied to the religion of the majority of the people. In England, Roman Catholics became, relatively soon, a small minority. To quote the able Roman Catholic writer Mr. Denis Gwynn : [1] " The penal code, which in Ireland failed to achieve its object in spite of its complete and elaborate system, had in England practically accomplished its purpose ; and even the small remnant of Catholicism which survived around the old families who adhered to the faith was continually diminishing, through the operation of various laws which gradually undermined the hereditary property of the Catholic families, and through the continual desertion of individuals under pressure of a social ostracism which did not cease even after the process of relaxation had begun." The number of Roman Catholics in England and Wales " appears, by the returns made in the House of Lords in 1780, to have been 69,376." [2] Sir George Savile's Relief Act of 1778 had removed some of the severest of the penal laws imposed on Roman Catholics after the Revolution of 1688. An oath of allegiance was framed which numbers of Roman Catholic aristocrats and gentlemen found acceptable to their consciences. All participation in the public life of the country, however, was barred against them. In the internal economy of even this small Roman Catholic body there were vexatious disputes. Those concerning the rights of jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic were largely settled by a Bull of Pope Benedict XIV in 1753 ; but even thereafter the laity tended to be " minimist " as to Papal authority. English Roman Catholics, then, were reduced to a small, divided body " of dependants gathered around the aristocratic families."

The difference between the position of Roman Catholics in England and in Ireland, under the penal laws, is, in fact, the clue to some important historical problems. In England, Roman Catholics were gradually but surely dying out. In Ireland, they were the great majority of the population. In England, Roman Catholics were simply dissenters from the accepted religion of the nation of which they formed part. In Ireland, however, the penal laws, besides being imposed on the majority, had the added element of racial antagonism. To quote Professor Lecky : [3] " [The penal code] was not the persecution of a sect, but the degradation of a

[1] *The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation* (London, 1928), p. 3.
[2] Husenbeth, *Life of* [the R.C.] *Bishop Milner*, p. 91.
[3] *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892), i. 169–70.

nation. It was the instrument employed by a conquering race, supported by a neighbouring Power, to crush to the dust the people among whom they were planted." The significance of the distinction between Roman Catholicism in England and in Ireland must be stressed; for the fact is that Roman Catholics in England not only undoubtedly owe to their co-religionists in Ireland their own emancipation from the penal laws, but also probably they owe to them the very existence of any Roman Catholics (except isolated individuals) in England now.

The very severity of the penal code makes it easy to depict it as mere wanton persecution of long-suffering Roman Catholics by triumphant Protestants; or, in Ireland, as a combination of that and racial dominance. Indeed, that is the picture which is constantly put forward by Roman Catholic advocates. For example, in a leaflet annually distributed broadcast to the onlookers at its "march from Newgate to Tyburn in honour of the Catholic martyrs executed under the penal laws," the Guild of Ransom says: "They were no traitors. They were martyrs in the cause of Faith and Freedom, and deserve the homage, not only of their Catholic brethren of to-day, but also of every man, whatever his views on religion, who holds that the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns had no right to enforce conformity with the Established Church by the prison, the rack, the halter and the knife. . . . Newgate was not the only London prison which, in the days of persecution, was crowded with prisoners for conscience' sake." In short, the penal laws were simply the cruel Protestant oppression of the consciences of Roman Catholics.

Such a view does not go deeply enough into the problem. Laws of so drastic a nature must have had grave occasion for their enactment. We must, then, look at the roots of things. Accurate history depicts not effects only, but also causes.

The Reformation was a break with a politico-religious polity founded on a theocratic conception centring in the Papacy. To quote Mr. Hilaire Belloc: [1] "The world upon which the Reformation fell, and which it in part destroyed, was the creation of the Catholic Church acting as a leaven for fifteen hundred, as a world-wide authority for a thousand, years." That is to say, the political system of mediæval Europe was bound up with the Papal supremacy. Mr. Belloc, of course, looks at that fact from the Roman Catholic point of view, which idealizes [2] the mediæval system as "happy because it was in tune with itself," as contrasted with the "new, uneasy and unhappy thing," Protestantism. However, that is his personal interpretation. As to the broad fact, that the Papal supremacy was an integral and dominating part of the mediæval political system (whether or not it was desirable it should have been so), he is, of course, however, quite right. What, then, follows from

[1] *How the Reformation Happened* (London, 1928), p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19 (Yet—pp. 23 and 29–30—he admits that the Middle Ages were chaotic: "It was all peril, all conflict, and all recurring imminence of disaster; the final catastrophe just barely staved off time after time.")

that fact? Surely, that liberation from the Papal theocracy must necessarily have been a process of battle.

The essential principle of that theocracy was expressed in 1302 by Pope Boniface VIII in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, which, besides defining, as an article of faith, that "it is a necessity of salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff" (a declaration which Roman theologians interpret as having reference only to spiritual matters, and not to politics [1]), also laid down that "there are two swords, the spiritual and the civil, and both are in the power of the Church: the first to be wielded by the priests, and the other by kings and magistrates, but at the beck and permission of the priest." That is,[2] "the Bull also proclaims the subjection of the secular power to the spiritual as the one higher in rank. . . . This is a fundamental principle which had grown out of the entire development in the early Middle Ages of the central position of the Papacy in the Christian national family of Western Europe." As a natural consequence of that state of affairs, religious dissent was regarded as the worst of crimes, and was minutely searched out and relentlessly repressed. "The duties and powers of inquisitors are minutely laid down in the [mediæval] canon law, it being always assumed that the civil power will favour, or can be compelled to favour, their proceedings. Thus it is laid down that they 'have power to constrain all magistrates, even secular magistrates, to cause the statutes against heretics to be observed,' and to require them to swear to do so; also that they can 'compel all magistrates and judges to execute their sentences, and these must obey on pain of excommunication'; also that inquisitors in causes of heresy 'can use the secular arm,' and that 'all temporal rulers are bound to obey inquisitors in causes of faith.'" [3] Obviously, release from such a system must needs have been by way of struggle. That, when the penal laws against Roman Catholicism were first imposed by Queen Elizabeth, the imposition was in self-defence against the above system, is patent upon the face of things, and nowhere clearer than from statements of her opponents. For example, Cardinal William Allen, the founder of the Douai College for training priests for the English mission, published in 1584 his attack on Elizabeth's government: *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques*. As to his view of tolerance, it is unmistakable: [4] "Queen Mary against the Protestants executed only the old laws of our

[1] See *The Catholic Encyclopædia* (New York and London, 1912), xv. 126: "The translation by Berchtold of the expression *humanæ creaturæ* by 'temporal authorities,' is absolutely wrong."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary* (London, 1928), p. 457.

[4] *Defence* (Manresa reprint, London, 1914, two vols.; i. 49–50; this reprint has a preface by Cardinal Bourne, who in no way opposes, therein, any of Allen's principles). By the way, in regard to Queen Mary's burnings, Mr. Belloc (*How the Reformation Happened*, p. 151) says: "Had Mary lived we do not know how much longer the persecution might have continued, nor what further number of victims it might have made. I suggest that they would have been at least double in number before the repression had had its final effect."

country, and of all Christendom, made for punishment of heretics, by the canons and determination of all Popes, Councils, Churches and ecclesiastical tribunals of the world, allowed also and authorized by the civil and imperial laws, and received by all kingdoms Christian besides; and who then hath any cause justly to be grieved? Why should any man complain or think strange for executing the laws which are as ancient, as general, and as godly against heretics, as they are for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or thieves?"

It is true that, previous to the Reformation, the civil powers had frequent conflicts with the Papacy. The *spirit* of Henry VIII's statute of the Royal Supremacy was by no means new. "The same spirit declared itself publicly and legislatively in the Constitutions of Clarendon, A.D. 1164; and again A.D. 1246; in the Statute of Carlisle, A.D. 1297; in the Articles of the Clergy, in the Statutes of Provisors, A.D. 1350, A.D. 1363, and A.D. 1389; of Mortmain and of Præmunire, A.D. 1391–2." [1] However, so long as the Papal Supremacy was recognized as a part of Europe's religion, such conflicts were merely matters of limits of jurisdiction of Popes and Kings. The mind of the people remained unliberated. Clearly, only a deadly struggle could lead to the liberation of the European mind from the mediæval theocracy. The conflict having begun, it would necessarily develop by the enactment of penal laws. This is regrettable, but its cause must be sought in the mediæval polity which regarded religious dissent as a capital crime, and the obedience of the civil rulers to Papal canon-law as a duty. A foremost English Roman Catholic author [2] has put the position succinctly; "The Church and the Empire—an ecclesiastical order with its own courts, jurisdiction, properties, immunities, facing a secular order with its tenures, claims, ambitions; and above each its crowned representative supreme: such is the shape into which Christian society falls during the Middle Ages."

The position, then, *in general*, was that, if the mediæval theocracy was not to be permanent—if, that is, the mind of Europe was to achieve the right of private judgment, and thus to make progress, —a deadly struggle was unavoidable. The position, *in particular* (that is, in regard to England), clearly was that the penal laws against Roman Catholicism were imposed in self-defence. It is argued, indeed, by Roman Catholic critics of Queen Elizabeth, that, by her policy of separation from Rome, she herself was really the rebel, by placing herself in antagonism to the age-long polity of Europe! What is that, however, but to say England had not a right to self-government? Having asserted that right in the religious field, she was clearly under the necessity of passing laws to defend it. As Cardinal Hergenröther [3] said: "It was the universal conviction, not alone of the Catholics of England but of all the Catholic nations of Europe, that she thereby [i.e., *Elizabeth*, by

[1] Bishop Ch. Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus* (1857), p. 186.
[2] Canon William Barry, *The Papacy and Modern Times* (London, 1911), p. 20.
[3] *Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat* (English trans. 1876), ii. 389.

siding with the Reformation] forfeited all claim upon the English Crown, and that her subjects were no longer bound by the oaths taken to her." On that assumption, Pope Pius V, in 1569, declared the Queen deposed. " He releases her subjects from any oath of fealty they had taken to her, and from all obedience and submission to her whatsoever. Those who obey her and her laws are bound and implicated in ' the like sentence of anathema.' "[1] The terrible struggle went on, undecided, for 128 years: from Elizabeth's accession and assertion of English independence, till the flight of James II in 1688. It involved penal laws in England and Ireland; civil wars; foreign attacks (the Armada of Philip II being the chief); plots of all kinds; and, finally, the fatuous effort of James II to restore Roman Catholicism by the stealthy assertion of his prerogative: an effort which cost him his throne.

The terrible nature of the struggle cannot be denied. We have quoted Lecky as to how in Ireland it involved a deadly racial war. However, is it not a fact that the Popes regarded Ireland as a basis of attack on England? To quote a Jesuit writer:[2] " On December 1, 1571, the Cardinal Secretary wrote to his chief representative in Spain, the Legate Cardinal Alessandrino, saying that the Pope had heard with pleasure of Stukely's plans [to invade Ireland for war on England], and that if the King did not wish to involve his own name in supporting these plans, the Pope would allow them to be started in his, always recognizing that the responsibility for action must rest entirely (*in tutto et per tutto*) with the King." The tragic story of the penal laws cannot be denied, and it was especially tragic in Ireland, as being the story of an attempt to repress the religion of the majority of the people; but the fact remains that, by Roman canon-law, a religious question had been made inseparable from politics. Ireland was a part of Elizabeth's dominions; the Pope had declared her deposed, and had made it a duty to rebel against her; Ireland was used as a jumping-off ground for attacks on England; can it be denied, then, that the prime cause of the penal laws was the Papal claim to dominate States, depose monarchs, and foment war against dissenters?[3] Moreover, if the penal laws in these islands against Roman Catholicism were terrible, what of the penal laws against heretics in Roman Catholic countries: " laws as ancient, as general, and as godly against heretics, as they were for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or thieves "? (as Allen expressed it). What of the Inquisitions? What of Alva?[4]

[1] Addis and Arnold, *Cath. Dict.*, 265.

[2] Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., *Eng. Caths. in Reign of Eliz.* (London, 1920), p. 195.

[3] It is sometimes argued (for example, in *The Universe*, November 30, 1928, p. 11) by Roman Catholics that Pope Pius V's Bull deposing Elizabeth was suspended by Gregory XIII. The fact is, he declared that " it always obliges her [Elizabeth] and the heretics; as for the Catholics, it obliges them in no way, while affairs stand as they do; but will only do so in the future, when the public execution of the Bull can be made " (Pollen, *Eng. Caths.*, 293–4). In short, Elizabeth remained deposed, but Roman Catholics could pretend to be loyal until treason was likely to succeed!

[4] Pope Pius V urged Alva to invade England; but Alva knew better! (Pollen, p. 144.)

However, the penal laws were tragic, and in course of time came the question of their repeal. As we have seen, by the end of the eighteenth century the Roman Catholics of England had become negligible in numbers. In Ireland, however, they formed the majority of the people. By the end of the eighteenth century the time was ripe for the repeal of the penal laws. In England, not only were Roman Catholics few in number, but also they were divided in opinion, the aristocratic laymen tending to minimise Papal power. Those laymen tried in every way to conciliate the English Government. They were willing to allow the State to have a right of veto on the selection of individuals for Roman Catholic bishoprics. They were ready to pledge themselves to support the Established Church as a national institution.[1] By the Relief Act of 1791 many penal laws were removed; but Roman Catholics still remained legally excluded from the public life of the country.

The full emancipation was brought about by the agitation initiated by a few *laymen* (the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, scared by the French Revolution, were timid of all agitation), and forced to a conclusion by the "legal illegality" of Daniel O'Connell's "Catholic Association."

O'Connell based his demands on the rights of liberty of conscience. In fact, Roman Catholic Emancipation was really a logical development of the Protestant principle of that liberty, triumphing over vested interests. True, the Duke of Wellington supported Emancipation in 1829 only as the alternative to civil war. None the less, logic is logic, and the logic of the British and Protestant principles of liberty and private judgment must eventually be adverse to penal laws in matters of religion. Only in stress of deadly struggle can they be justified; and the aim must be towards toleration and freedom. Daniel O'Connell, in fact, appealed to a *Protestant* principle when he demanded Emancipation in the name of "universal liberty." That is not a *Roman Catholic* principle: for, even so recently as in 1888, Pope Leo XIII declared:[2] "Justice itself forbids, and reason forbids, the State to be godless, or to adopt a line of action tending to godlessness: namely, to treat the various religions (so-called) alike, and to bestow upon them equal rights and privileges. Since, then, the profession of one religion is necessary to the State, that religion must be professed which alone is true" (i.e., Roman Catholicism). And: "Although, in the extraordinary condition of these times, the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, she does so not because she prefers them in themselves, but as deeming it expedient to permit them until, in happier times, she can exercise her own liberty."

Roman Catholics, in short, in celebrating the centenary of their emancipation, are celebrating a development (however gradually

[1] See the R.C. Bishop Ward's *Dawn of the Catholic Revival* (1909), for details of this "minimisation."

[2] Encyclical *Libertas Præstantissimum Donum*; see English translation in *The Pope and the People: Select Letters of Leo XIII* (London, Catholic Truth Society, 1913), pp. 117–18, 125.

realized) of the logic of the Reformation. The long centuries of intolerance made the full realization of the rights of freedom of conscience a slow and difficult process; but nevertheless it was always implied in the logic of Protestantism, whereas, on the other hand, on Papal principles the only thing essentially wrong about the penal laws was that they were enacted *against*, and not *by*, Roman Catholics: and the Roman Church still holds to the principle of such laws if directed (when "expedient") against heretics. In celebrating their emancipation, would it not be good for our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to aspire for a time when their own Church will abandon principles of (not merely *dogmatic*, but—as an ideal at least—even *State*) intolerance?

The Islington Conference held last January dealt with a subject of supreme interest to Churchpeople at the present time. Under the title "The Spirit and the Churches" the Conference considered the movement towards reunion and the needs of the Mission Field. The divisions of the subject at the morning session were "Jerusalem 1928 and Edinburgh 1910," "Jerusalem 1928 and Lambeth 1920," and "Jerusalem 1928 and Lausanne 1927." These were in the competent hands respectively of the Rev. E. F. E. Wigram, the Rev. C. H. Boughton and the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft. At the afternoon session the subjects were "The Holy Catholic Church," which was ably treated by Archdeacon Thorpe; Episcopacy, on which the Rev. G. T. Manley wrote with his usual ability; and "Intercommunion," which was in the hands of the Rev. J. P. Thornton-Duesbery. The closing paper, on "The Basis of Holy Scripture," was given by the Rev. S. M. Warner. This valuable series of papers, together with the Presidential Address by Prebendary H. W. Hinde, has been issued by Messrs. Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd., at the small cost of 1*s*. Many of our readers will no doubt desire to have these papers in this permanent form.

Mr. J. Ellis Barker has made cancer a subject of special study, and has already published the results in a number of volumes dealing with health questions. He now adds a further study: *Cancer, the Surgeon and the Researcher* (John Murray, 7*s*. 6*d*. net). As cancer is becoming the great human scourge, any help to its alleviation is welcome. Sir Arbuthnot Lane warmly commends Mr. Barker's work.

THE ORIGIN, HISTORY AND AIMS OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

By the Rev. F. Boreham, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, New Catton, Norwich; late of the Boys' School, Mienchow.

An Address given at the Conference for Sunday School Work at Dean Wace House on October 13, 1928.

THE religious teaching of children is not a peculiarity of the Christian Faith. It is common among all the ancient religions, Mahommedans, Confucianists and Hindus.

For the first Christian Sunday School we need not go outside the pages of the Gospel, where we read that "They brought little children to Him that He should touch them, and He took them up in His arms and blessed them." It is characteristic and important to notice that the contact was a personal one, and we are not even told of any instruction given at all.

The Christian Church from the earliest times has recognized the duty of bringing the children to the knowledge of Christ, but it has not always carried out this duty with thoroughness and efficiency.

Charges were given by the Bishops and decrees issued by Councils from time to time urging the Parish Priests to teach the children in the faith. Here, for instance, is an extract from the Decretals of Gregory IX, Bishop of Rome, 1227 to 1241:—

"Let every Parish Priest have his Clerk to read the Epistle and Lesson, a man able to keep school for teaching boys the Psalter and singing, and admonish his parishioners that they send their sons to church to learn the faith and that the Priest may chastely educate them."

Thus there grew up the Parish, or Canonical Schools. Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, 1538 to 1584, did much to revive this custom, and ordered every Parish Priest to catechize the children in Church.

A nearer approach to the idea of the modern Sunday School arose under the influence of a French Curé, Mgr. de la Chetardye, Curé of St. Sulpice, Paris, who bethought him that the vacant hours of Sunday night might well be used for instructing the youths of his parish, whose disorderly behaviour on that day was a public scandal. The thought took shape in a Christian Academy conducted by St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle and his brethren of the Christian Schools. Here some 200 young men and boys were taught, not only religion, but the three R's, and even geometry and drawing. The movement did not last. It appears to have died out after three or four years and left no successors to carry on the work.

The next outstanding figure is the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, Vicar of Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire, who afterwards became one of the prime movers in the Unitarian Body. He held Sunday Classes in his Vicarage at Catterick for the religious instruction of the young people of his parish.

Up to this time we have noticed that the principle is acknowledged by the Church as a whole that youth should be instructed in the Christian Faith. But for the most part it was carried out perfunctorily by the Parish Priests or not at all. There were certainly Charity Schools and Grammar Schools and the Monastic Schools for the training of Monks, but all these were limited to a very select few.

Individual enthusiasts saw the need for a more wide and thorough teaching of children in order to reclaim them from the ignorance and loose living among which they were growing up. But the movements which they inaugurated were scattered, spasmodic and shortlived.

In the year 1780 there came a turning-point, and it is at this time that the history of Sunday Schools as we know them really begins. In fact it may be justly claimed that it is through the Sunday School movement, started by a consecrated servant of God, that the great increase in education in the last century originated.

There was at that time in the city of Gloucester a clergyman named Thomas Stock, Curate of the Church of St. John the Baptist. He took into collaboration Robert Raikes, son of the proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, who afterwards inherited that business. Thomas Stock and Robert Raikes together opened four schools in Gloucester for instruction on Sunday of children who would otherwise be roaming the streets and getting into mischief. Although the Rev. Thomas Stock appears to have been the prime mover, he was survived by Robert Raikes who, through his connection with the press, had a wide influence and was able to inaugurate a national movement which led to the establishment of the National Sunday School Union.

The first object of the Sunday Schools was religious and moral instruction, for which purpose reading lessons formed a part of the curriculum, the New Testament being the customary primer.

It is surprising to find that the first Sunday School teachers were paid, and we may still read the contracts made between the promoters and the teachers stating the terms of the agreement and the salary paid, sometimes reaching the figure of £6 a year.

The reason why the schools were started on Sunday was a very simple one, namely that nearly all children went to work in field, factory or mine, almost as soon as they could walk. But Sunday was a free day, the only free day in fact, and doubtless the youngsters, having no organizations or recreations to keep them employed, except the revels of the street corners, caused no little concern to the more sober inhabitants by their effervescence of animal spirits which had been tightly suppressed for six long days.

The need of some such movement for the improvement of the mental outlook of children was pressing in the extreme. The state of England at the end of the eighteenth century can only be described as rotten. There were no roads, no sanitation, no police. The military were used to quell riots or disturbances on a large scale, and minor delinquencies, however numerous, were carried

on with impunity. The Parliament was a farce, Local Government did not act, and society as a whole was corrupt. A great need called forth a great remedy, of which the Sunday School Movement formed no unimportant part.

The rapid growth of the new movement may be traced to at least three causes which are here mentioned in order from the more remote to the more immediate.

First, there was the solemn warning presented by the French Revolution. The Bastille fell in 1789 and France went shuddering through the Reign of Terror. The whole of Europe reverberated with the mutterings of the distant storm. A wave of revulsion swept over England amounting in some cases to fear. Something, it was felt, must be done to reclaim the masses, to educate the "lower orders," and the Sunday Schools were greeted by many as a means of preventing a catastrophe such as our neighbours were experiencing.

The Industrial Revolution in England had brought about a great change in the social conditions in that it had swept great numbers of people from rural districts into the rapidly growing towns, where mills, factories and mines were calling for more "hands" to meet the demands of a swiftly growing trade. England was fast gaining that monopoly of the world's trade in coal, iron, cotton and textiles, which it held for nearly a century, and the price it paid was fast-growing towns, over-crowding of new populations attracted from the country, child labour, in fact a rank growth of slums and all the evils which the word suggests. Thinking people and all interested in the welfare of their kind were deeply concerned at the increasing menace, and especially at the prospect of the children growing up among such evil conditions. Naturally enough these people welcomed the opportunity which the Sunday Schools afforded of improving these conditions.

Above all other causes which increased the growth of Sunday Schools was the great revival known as the Evangelical Revival. This movement, if not the Mother, was certainly the Foster-Mother of the Sunday Schools, adopting with whole-hearted devotion a child so much after her own heart. An awakening not only of faith but of practical service had followed the work of John Wesley. Earnest Christians, with a newly born zeal and devotion, were looking round for outlets in practical service for their newly awakened fervour. As Lord Shaftesbury said, "I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements have sprung from them" (the Evangelicals). For the Evangelicals faith became a great dynamic with an unceasing energy devoted to human betterment. Their love to God was expressed in their love and service for their fellow-men.

Among the many names of the early supporters of this movement is that of Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, a woman of outstanding gifts and dominating personality, who devoted herself to the cause of reclaiming the child, and education among "the lower orders." Being herself the mother of twelve, she may be expected to know

something about children. Mrs. Trimmer edited a magazine called *The Guardian of Education*, and wrote numerous books for and about children with the aim of promoting their general welfare and education. It happened that Mrs. Trimmer was a personal friend of Queen Charlotte, and she was enabled to enlist the Queen's enthusiastic patronage in this cause, which in its turn, led to the interest and support of many people in the highest circles of society.

Time will not allow us to mention more than a few of those whose interest and devotion helped in the growth of the Sunday School movement. One little incident, however, which introduces two most important personalities may not be omitted.

The first is Hannah More, who was at one time the mistress with her sister of a private school in Bristol. A visit to London and a seat at a theatre led to a close acquaintance with David Garrick, the famous actor. The friendship led on to an introduction into the literary circle of which Dr. Samuel Johnson was the central star, and Hannah More became one of the much talked of "Blue Stocking Circle." The death of David Garrick, and afterwards of her father, led to Miss More's return to Somerset, where she became settled at her charming cottage "Cowslip Green" in the Mendips. At this delightful home Hannah More one day entertained visitors, no less than the great William Wilberforce and his sister. The proposal was made that William Wilberforce should visit the famous cliffs of Cheddar, and in the afternoon he set out on his journey. Late in the evening he returned, saddened and oppressed. A meal could not tempt him to eat and the enlightening conversation of his hostess could not cheer him. It transpired that he had not visited the beauty spot he had been asked to see, but had spent many hours among the villagers and mining people of the places he had passed through, noting with deep distress the squalor, ignorance and viciousness of their environment. After describing his experiences of the afternoon he exclaimed, "Something must be done for Cheddar." A further consultation led to the plan being formed of starting Sunday Schools, which, be it noted, were almost unheard of and certainly a new thing in Somerset at that time. "Madam," said Mr. Wilberforce, "if you will be at the trouble, I will be at the expense."

Hannah More and her sister set to work in this thankless task, meeting with equal courage the scoffs of society and the scowls of the poor.

Within ten years they had established Sunday Schools in 12 villages where 30 teachers were at work teaching more than 3,000 children the elements of religion, reading, sewing and spinning. In the course of twenty-five years' steady work more than 20,000 children had passed through the schools organized by these two consecrated women.

John Wesley has already been referred to and the great impetus given to Sunday Schools by the Revival connected with his great name. There was one occasion when John Wesley and William Wilberforce met in Hannah More's cottage, and the tale that the

walls of "Cowslip Green" could unfold would have much to do with the Sunday Schools which were rapidly increasing in number and usefulness.

It must not be imagined that Sunday Schools were welcomed by the country. There was strong opposition on the part of employers and even from the parents of the very children they were designed to help. Many were the difficulties which the pioneers had to face.

Here, for instance, is an extract from a letter which Hannah More wrote to William Wilberforce:

"A great many refused to send their children unless we would pay them for it, and not a few refused because they were not sure of my intentions, being apprehensive that at the end of seven years, if they attended so long, I should acquire a power over them and send them beyond the sea."

Again, in one parish this was the obstacle:

"A farmer of £1,000 a year let us know that we should not come there to make his ploughmen wiser than himself. He did not want saints but workmen. His wife, who, though she cannot read, seems to understand the doctrine of philosophical necessity, said, 'The lower classes were *fated* to be poor, and ignorant and wicked, and that, wise as we are, we could not alter what was decreed!'"

The difficulties were somewhat overcome when it was clearly understood that there was nothing to pay and that no ulterior motives were at work.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the Sunday Schools were a recognized part of the education (such as it was) that was provided for the children of the country, and the figures relating to Sunday Schools were included in the statistics of the nation's education. The Report of the Manchester Statistical Society (1834–5) states that "the number of children attending these (Sunday) schools is very considerable, being half as many more as those attending all the other schools put together. That, taking into account the miserable state of dame and common day schools which are attended by two-thirds of all the children of the lower orders who are under course of daily instruction, it may be well doubted whether the instruction at Sunday Schools, inadequate as it may appear, and as it really is, be not yet the most valuable that at present exists in the Borough for the children of the lower classes of the people."

The Day Schools of that time were for the most part a scandal, doing more harm than good. Here for instance is a description of a school of that time:

"There is a school in the court, attended by about fifty scholars, held in a room twelve feet square and eight and a half feet high, which is the sole dwelling of the schoolmaster, his wife and six children. The unwholesome condition of the air under these circumstances may be easily conceived. The mode of payment to the teacher of this school is remarkable and characteristic. A kind

of club, which does not consist exclusively of the parents of the scholars, meets every Saturday evening at a public-house, when, after some hours spent in smoking and drinking, a subscription is raised and handed over to the schoolmaster, who forms one of the company and who is expected to spend part of the money in regaling the subscribers."

Mill-owners and factory employers often maintained Sunday Schools for their child-workers.

The Supplementary Report of the Factory Commissioners tells of one employer who has built a school in which 640 children are instructed on Sundays in reading, writing and arithmetic, with a library attached to it, where the operatives read after the conclusion of their work.

For the most part such a proceeding was excellent. It was generally approved and applauded. But here is another aspect of the question in a letter from Robert Southey to Lord Shaftesbury written in February, 1833:

"MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—

"There is one thing connected with these accursed factories which I have long intended to expose, and that is the way Sunday Schools have been subservient to the merciless love of gain. The manufacturers know that a cry would be raised against them if their little white slaves received no instruction and so they have converted Sunday into a SCHOOL DAY, with what effect may be seen in the evidences.

"This is quite a distinct question from that of the good or evil to be expected from Sunday Schools as originally intended and existing in most places . . . but the Sunday School of the factories is an abomination and is an additional cruelty, a compromise between covetousness and hypocrisy."

It was reported authoritatively in 1836 that in Birmingham "Sunday Schools have to this day been the principal means of diffusing education." In Stockport there was a great Undenominational Sunday School with four auxilary schools which gave religious instruction and teaching in the three R's to 5,000 boys and girls.

As time went on and schools increased under private and philanthropic effort the Government was led to take a first step towards providing a National System of education. The first step was a great one for those days though it seems small enough now. A Government Grant of £20,000 was made towards the funds of the two Societies which were responsible for the majority of schools for the poor. As child labour was more and more restricted and the national conscience more and more aroused to the needs of childhood, the National System increased, until in 1870 the Education Act was passed, bringing the "School Boards" into being and making some sort of education compulsory for every child. Since that time Sunday Schools have come to be regarded as a kind of superimposed system, as a voluntary addition to a compulsory education. But let it not be forgotten that the Sunday Schools

were the root, the original stem, from which the elementary education of to-day has sprung forth.

The National System has tended more and more to become undenominational, even with a tendency towards resentment of Church influence in any official way, and with growing inroads of secularism and socialism. But this system has had the advantage of large Government grants, first-rate and up-to-date equipment, modern and beautifully designed buildings, and thoroughly well-trained teachers.

On the other hand the Sunday Schools, speaking generally, have had to be content with cast-off, or condemned buildings, inferior equipment, curtailed finances and voluntary teachers with little or no training. Yet the Sunday School movement has grown, not only in England but in other lands. In 1924 at the World Conference of Sunday Schools it was reported that there were then 29 million children attending the Sunday Schools of the World with three and a half million teachers. Twelve thousand new schools are being opened every year and half a million new scholars admitted annually.

Sunday School teachers have, therefore, nothing to be ashamed of. The Past awakens pride in the achievements and thanksgiving for the devotion of the founders of this movement. The Future calls for deepened consecration to our Lord and a fuller concentration on all that can add to the efficiency of the Sunday School.

In the past the Day Schools were inspired by the Sunday Schools. Now it is time for us to take a lesson from them. No pains are spared to make the buildings bright, cheerful and healthy. The books and equipment are such as to awaken the happy interest and comfort of the children, while the teaching is based on the study of the child, his nature and his needs. All that Froebel, Montessori and other leaders have contributed to teaching method is brought to bear on this important subject, and changes, with the hope of improvement, are continually tested.

All these are things which we cannot afford to leave out of our Sunday School System. The future of the Church depends largely upon the Sunday Schools of to-day, while from the point of view of Evangelism, it must be borne in mind that more than 52 per cent. of all the conversions that take place occur between the ages of 12 and 17, the age when the Sunday School should be doing its best work in the child's life.

There can be no such thing as mass-production in Sunday School, or any other spiritual work. It is a matter depending entirely upon personal influence. The School is the teacher. The personality of the teacher, his earnestness, conviction and devotion are the most important contributions that he can bring to the success of this work, and, given these, the material surroundings are certainly of minor importance. The good teacher will not be so good as to regard such things as regularity, punctuality and attendance at the Preparation Class as unimportant, but will regard these as essential parts of the work of a teacher.

As it has been in the case of all great teachers and all good educational systems, so in the Sunday School all our methods must be based on a careful and sympathetic study of the child, and not merely of " The Child " in a theoretical sense, as of some general but unreal being. The teacher must study that particular child in his or her class which he desires to win. Child study is carried out best, not in the study, but in the home, the playground, or the class-room when the school is not in session. Here personal contacts are made and influences forged closer and stronger than those made in the teaching of the lesson. Lessons will then be chosen and prepared with the child who is to listen always in mind, and systems of grading carried out to meet the needs of the child and not the convenience of the system.

As to buildings and equipment, it is easy to set up ideals, but not so easy to realize them. Most Sunday Schools at present have to make shift in unsuitable buildings, and through lack of funds have to do without the equipment which is regarded as necessary. At any rate the ideal must always be kept in mind as an attainment to be sought, and no means neglected which can help towards the healthiness, beauty and comfort of the room and its furniture. We dare not be content to allow the teaching of the love and goodness and beauty of God to be permanently connected in a child's mind with dinginess, discomfort and dullness.

All that can be done by bright music, pictures, flowers and tidy arrangements must be done to bring about an atmosphere of happiness, reverence and spontaneous worship in the school.

DISCUSSION. QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS.

1. Have the provisions of State Education fulfilled the aims of the early promoters of Sunday Schools ?

No. The Sunday Schools were founded for the teaching of Christianity and in the schools of the National System there is not enough definite teaching of Christianity.

2. What justification is there for continuing Sunday Schools in modern times ?

1. To make up the deficiencies (from the point of view of Christian teaching) and counteract the bias of the day schools.
2. To make up for the lack of teaching in the homes of the children.
3. To provide for the moral and spiritual welfare of children.
4. To bring the children into PERSONAL touch with Christ and to lead them to definite conversion.

3. What are the special needs of Sunday Schools in view of modern progress in Education ?

1. Personal conviction in the teacher.
2. Careful training in teaching.
3. Attractive surroundings in school.
4. Suitable Lesson Books.
5. Insistence on attendance at preparation classes.
6. Equipment must come up to highest modern standards.

4. How can deficiencies of equipment be overcome or counteracted ?

There was not time to discuss this question. Hints as to an answer will be found in the paper.

WHAT EVANGELICALS STAND FOR.

By the Rev. Canon W. Bothamley, M.A., Vicar of St. Nicholas, Durham, and Hon. Canon, Durham Cathedral.

An Evangelical is a person with an Evangel. He is not a person with a grievance, nor an antipathy, nor a church, nor a tradition, he is not a person distinguished by a lack of something. He is precisely a person with Good News, Good News which he has taken to himself, and Good News which he lives to impart to all others.

His Evangel is that he has experienced a change of heart. It is not a growth, it is a change and a discovery, not an attainment but an obtainment. It consists of three things, a knowledge of Forgiveness, the power of a New Life, and a personal knowledge of God. The experience may have come suddenly or very gradually, but it is not a growth, it is a Gift. It springs not from his native strength of character, but from the gift of God. It is so great, so infinite, that he knows it can bear no comparison to anything he can have done to deserve it: it must be of God's free mercy. He does not know anything about God's rejection of men before their birth, but he is ready to believe that God's choice of him must have sprung from some cause greater than anything existing in himself. This change, situated at the very centre of his being, is so radical that he welcomes the phrase "New Birth," which exactly describes it. And as this change is the newest thing there is, so he soons discovers that it is the oldest. His Bible lives and glows. Its words have become realities. Sin has become sinful and loathsome; holiness has become actual and glorious; the Knowledge of God has passed from a phrase into an experience. Prayer has become intercourse, Bible-reading the divine message, worship the proper exercise of his spiritual powers. He knows now what the early Christians called their "illumination." He is careless about persecution, he is in love with all the world, he longs to pass on in turn the Good News to all men. He feels that if only he could make them know what he knows, the Cross would draw them as a magnet, and all life's problems would be solved. The Epistles become instinct with life to him. Those paradoxes which perplex the commentator lose their difficulty to him; for the paradox is his experience. Perhaps in course of time he becomes ordained and is known as an Evangelical Clergyman. What will he stand for?

1. First, this New Life through Christ will be to him the measure of all things. Every book and periodical and sermon and teaching and ministry will be measured by it. Those which breathe the secret of his life will be treasured, and those which have it not will lose all their attraction for him.

2. He will have no difficulty about dogmatic Orthodoxy. His

new life is bound up with the divinity of Christ and His objective Atonement: the power in him is the power of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity wants no philosophical resetting to meet his rational demands. The Virgin Birth needs no apology or explanation: he can think of no fitter way for the Lord of Glory to come on earth.

3. When we come to Holy Scripture he finds himself ready to believe every word of it. It lives and burns and glows. It is alive where other books are dead. It is his chart and compass, his guide book to eternal life. He reads therein at every chance. Perhaps, like some known to the writer, he reads it to the exclusion of all else for many years. Its very words have an authentic power denied to any lesser writings: "there is no sword like it." But now suppose that he has some education and follows out the problems raised, in course of time he may find that there are difficulties in the simple faith of his childhood. He has been taught that the Scriptures are unlike all other books, that they contain from first to last, not only the thoughts and message of God, but even the exact expressions which God has willed; that there can be, in the original, no error of thought or fact, of exposition or expression; the *obiter dicta* and the clearest teachings are alike perfect and exact. But it is gradually borne in upon him that there are definite difficulties in this view. Without giving a credulous adherence to the vapourings of unbelieving critics, or being shaken at the account of miracles, however strange, he finds that there are inconsistencies, minor contradictions, surprising turns of expression, immodest phrases not to be taken on christian lips, mathematical difficulties inherent in the narrative, difficulties connected with the Canon—these perhaps the most insuperable of all. What then will he do?

He may on the one hand resolutely close his mind to these considerations and take them for the temptations of the devil; he may consider that the Saviour's use of the Old Testament has settled the matter and that he is bound by his faith to refuse to exercise his reason on the matter, and he may decide to believe that an unwavering faith in the full and verbal inspiration of every word of the Bible is the only sure rule of faith. Or on the other hand he may consider that his reason is God-given, and that he is bound to follow every light on so vital a matter, and he may come with reluctance to a somewhat different conclusion. We have as a matter of fact both these types of Evangelicals with us to-day, and it is this difference of belief which is doing so much to wreck the party. Personally I ask whether it is impossible to join conference with a view of coming to some better mutual understanding. But in any case we may say that Evangelicals are agreed that the religion we want is the religion of the Apostles, that the words of those who had companied with the Master Himself must be more worth attention than all the writings of those who followed later, that the words of eternal life must be sought in the New Testament or nowhere, and that any doctrine or practice definitely contra-

dicted by the apostles and incompatible with their solemn teaching cannot be the mind of Christ, and that their authoritative words have a power and an appeal which we seek in vain from all sources of lesser origin.

4. The Evangelical clings to the Doctrine of Grace. He has a sense of forgiveness and acceptance, an experience of the power which has come upon him, and he dare not say this is his doing or his merit. Far from that, he glories in the thought that it is the gift of God. Grace means to him, (1) that both his forgiveness and his new life are free and utterly irrespective of his merits. His old dead life is so distasteful and despicable that it is impossible to think of it as having merited this marvellous gift. So he praises the absolute freeness of the gift of God. (2) Secondly, just exactly because this new thing came to him who did nothing to deserve it, so he rejoices in the thought that it may come to all, for all stand on the same level of merit and deserving. (3) And thirdly, the doctrine of grace teaches him that these transcendent gifts came to him by an inward contact of the soul with Christ, not by the word of a priest, and that his new life is a thing directly between himself and his Saviour, which external things may help or hinder, but in the last analysis is conditioned only by his inward faith, that is by the reaching out of his spirit to the eternal spirit of Christ in God. Here in one monent is solved for him the whole question of all those fancied ways of acceptance through works of hardship, merit or of priestly mediation. He wants nothing of them, for he has Christ, and to have recourse to them is to insult the Christ who lives for ever in his heart.

This faith of his is essentially bound up with the doctrine of the eternal Sacrifice. He has found peace "through the blood of the cross," and he is not minded to let it go in obedience to modern fashions. When he is told on high authority that the notion of vicarious atonement is old-fashioned, that the only Evangel is that God is love, that Christ did not die the just for the unjust, that atonement only means "at-one-ment" (in light-hearted disregard of the words it translates), that the confutation of verbal inspiration has left him without a support for his out-of-date ideas, then he is not moved. He remembers how he fell at the cross as a guilty hell-deserving sinner, how the Spirit humbled him and raised him up, how he entered into the joyful slavery of the Saviour's service, and he is not minded to surrender the realities of the spirit for the law of a carnal commandment. He is not surprised that those who evacuate the cross are ignorant of the meaning of his experience of "assurance," that they substitute the law of works for the law of liberty, that they seek in vain to call on every mundane motive for enforcing morality rather than set the spirit free to walk in newness of life, and that while they are even found to scoff at Evangelicals as "saints" they at another time ask why it is that the old-time type of saints is no longer to be found among them.

5. In the Church he is met by teaching like this: that Grace indeed is free, much freer and more abundant than he has ever

thought, that God does not wait on some fancied frame, but bestows this very grace on every single infant who is baptized with proper words. He would that it were so. Nothing would please him better. Right gladly would he give up his life like a second Xavier to sprinkling the unconscious infants of the heathen world, by stealth if needful, that they might have the gift. But simple observation cannot but make him doubt whether this is so. But he is told, this undoubted grace they receive in baptism is grace in the form of a seed, it lies hard and fruitless in the soul till wakened, like the farmer's sowings, into active life. It needs the sunshine and the rain of Confirmation, Eucharist, self-examination, and constant moral struggle, a struggle which must go on with fallings and risings till the hour of his death, uncertain to the last whether the culture of the seed has been a failure or success. He listens in amazement, and when he asks where this is found in Scripture, is referred to the words of St. John, " His seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin." So that whereas St. John spoke of a seed that saves from sin, this is used to justify the conception of a seed which leaves the soul in sin till it matures and ceases to be a seed. Or perhaps he is bid to " work out his salvation with fear and trembling," a counsel which seems to him to be somewhat out of its context and to have received a twist which the apostle never gave it. It seems to him that this teaching, while rendering lip service to the expression " grace," so ingeniously inverts the matter that it reduces the sphere of the spiritual life from faith to works, that it exanimates all the teaching of the liberty and love of the New Life, and that for practical purposes it leads back the soul to Judaism and retraces all the steps of that painful journey by which St. Paul emancipated himself (and taught us to triumph in the same path) from the bondage of a Judaism which had been tried and failed to a Christianity which was a regeneration and a victory. And he observes with sadness that those who teach the Christian life of struggle lean to the side of worldliness and selfish pleasure, and refuse to back him up in his crusade for temperance and unworldliness while stigmatizing him as an antinomian. And he likewise sees, but without much surprise, that the people who so pervert Scripture seem to value the writings of the fathers more than the Scriptures, that while they meditate in the one they use the other as a miscellany of texts among which they hope to find some here and there to support their notions. Hence the dreadful motto, to be shunned like the plague, " The Church to teach : the Bible to prove."

6. The Creeds of the Church he accepts with all his heart. But he ever bears in mind that they are epitomes of doctrine, not norms of saving faith. It may be written over all of them, " The devils believe and tremble." Saving faith may exist where the niceties of the Creeds are undistinguished. They are not a compendium of saving faith, they are a hedge to guard wandering feet from false beliefs, a hedge rather than a road. But saving faith is not theological faith, nor faith in one's forgiveness or salvation ; it is not faith in a text of Scripture or faith in one's final perse-

verance; it may co-exist with assurance or it may walk in darkness and have no light: but the faith which saves is faith in Christ: it is but the eye which sees, the ear which hears, the hand which stretches out and makes contact with and loses itself in the ever blessed Christ the eternal Son of God.

7. What shall we say of the Ritual of the Evangelical? The writer's feeling is that we may find reason to retrace our steps upon this point. There has been a tendency to confound ritual with ritualism, to fear the stately, to seek to exhibit our liberty by our casualness, our spirituality by our haphazardness, our inspiration by our lack of dignity, our assurance by our want of preparation, and even sometimes by our slovenliness. But is there really any connection between this method of improvisation and the freedom of the Gospel? Between the absence of ritual and the presence of the Spirit? Is it certain that stately and dignified proceedings must necessarily be unspiritual? It is a question of time and circumstance, of proportion and occasion. No one was more alive to these thoughts than our beloved Bishop Chavasse, none more free and rejoicing in ordered dignity than Bishop Moule. What we cannot do with is the ritual which symbolizes the wrong doctrine, as so much that is pressed upon us does; or the ritual which is so exaggerated and pompous, or again so mechanical and meaningless that it distracts or repels the worshipper, or in which the service of the heart is subordinated to the fulfilment of a performance.

8. Episcopacy he finds practically established from apostolic times, but neither enjoined in Scripture nor even primitive at Corinth, where it was not till the second century. He might believe in the essential external unity of the Church mediated through bishops under the Papacy, if it corresponded to spiritual facts. But alas, it is far otherwise. What he does find, laid down with crystal clearness in Scripture, is that the holy man is born of God and the unrighteous man is not. Deep calls to deep, and while he finds in every communion men to whom God has given "the like gift as He did unto us," who is he that he should withstand God? To him every Churchman, Dissenter, Roman Catholic, and Quaker who dwells at the Cross in love divine is a true brother in the church whose confines encircle humanity and whose walls exclusive and inviolable reach even unto Heaven.

9. The Holy Communion is his sacred meeting-place with the Saviour. There he kneels before the Cross, hears our Saviour's cries, sees Him crucified afresh, finds his heart's desire of contrition and amendment, drinks deep into the love of Christ and the power of the Holy Ghost, holds fellowship with the holy brotherhood, and carries thence deep within his heart into a Christless world the very presence of his Lord and Saviour. The Holy Service is so unique that he is glad to set aside a special place, a special ritual to mark the solemnity of its observance. Perhaps he can find sympathy for those who wish to mark it also by a separate robe and many such-like things which he eschews as savouring too much of Rome. No value placed upon the sacrament exceeds the

judgment of his heart: but what he cannot do with is the doctrine which excludes, which says " This grace you receive here and not elsewhere," for he lives on Christ at all times in his heart by faith. For him the sacrament does but exhibit and persuade to the communion which he ever seeks to live by. He receives Christ, not from the priest but in the spirit, not in the hand but in the heart, not through manducation but by faith. He has a doctrine of intention, but it is the intention of the worshipper, not the priest. He cannot bear the word Validity. No sacrament can be invalid. He does not believe that the Lord inspects the pedigree of the celebrant before imparting Himself to humble hearts. And where the doctrine of an exclusive priesthood turns the friend into a ruler, the inspirer into an autocrat, the minister (or " servant ") into the magnate, the presbyter into the prelate, the shepherd into the drover, then indeed he feels that the spirit of the brotherhood which Christ came to found has sadly taken its departure.

10. The Ministry therefore is not a priesthood but an eldership. All are priests, and the minister is an elder among them. It is his to be the servant of all (as " minister " denotes), the leader of a joyful band, the example for willing learners, the inspirer of the army of the Lord; but the man of magical exclusive powers or arrogant autocracy, this he can never do with.

11. With these principles it cannot be expected that he will take kindly to the Roman Catholic Confessional. His life in Christ is too direct to welcome the interference of a third party. His life of prayer is deeper than anything that strangers may meddle with. His confession to God too constant, detailed, and humble to benefit by a recited catalogue to an official priest, his conscience too sensitive through constant kneeling at God's awful judgment seat to benefit by the interrogation of a fellow-sinner. The Blood of Christ is his refuge and his peace, the assurance of the Spirit of God is his inward absolution.

But perhaps he covets for himself the power for good which the Confessional seems to promise, or covets for his flock the safeguard and nurture which it offers to provide for them. Then he considers that the mechanical submission of the actions of the penitent to the external judgment of the priest is a poor substitute for the freedom of the spirit and the conscious walk with God. He does not find the practice inculcated in the Acts; in the Epistles he finds it denied in the directions for preparation for the Holy Communion (where it is written " Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread "); in history it was unknown to Basil, to Chrysostom, to Augustine; nor does he find that those countries in which the Confessional has had full sway have risen in morality above those countries excommunicated by Rome where Christians have not been denied the exercise of their spiritual manhood and womanhood. The fact is that the Confessional cannot be exercised without a spiritual weakening of the patient, a moral lesion of the conscience. It is precisely the analogue of a surgical operation. In extreme cases it is indeed essential; there are crises of the soul

where nothing but a full confession will save the life and purge out the foul and deadly humours which are poisoning the soul. But the most skilful operation leaves an essential weakness, and it can never be with the penitent as it was before. While as for frequent and regular confession, so definitely dis-commended, among others by Canon Body, we can only liken the result to the analogous effect of a monthly operation on the human body. The priestly penitent will inevitably be led to substitute the lower and external requirements of his confessor for the sterner justice of the court of conscience, and when the priest is satisfied and has pronounced his absolution no longer to ask himself whether he has failed of God's approval.

Thrice unhappy however is the unspiritual man who has cast away confession to a priest and not found confession to his Maker, who abuses the doctrine of the Spirit by yielding to the license of the flesh, who is neither examined by a priest, nor examines himself before God : better for him any form of religion, however external and elementary, which leads him to the Cross, than the free forms of the law of liberty, issuing but in spiritual death.

12. It is sometimes laid to the credit or the reproach of Evangelicals, as the case may be, that they attach more importance to Missionary Work than to the work at home. This is hardly true. They do not think that the soul of a black man is more valuable than that of a white man, nor are they specially anxious to evangelize the ignorant or uncivilized. But to them " all souls are Mine." Their motive for seeking the heathen abroad is the same as that for the heathen at home. It is the winning of precious souls to Christ. But if they have a preference for the Mission Field it is the thought that those who have never heard have a priority of claim over those who have had endless opportunities ; and their faith is justified by the results in all the regions beyond. And we are sure that the time is swiftly coming when the blood and treasure poured out on foreign missions will bring a reflex blessing to the homeland great beyond what most would dream. It may well be that therein lies the ultimate solution of the insistent problem of Home Reunion.

13. Confirmation is to the Evangelical a time of the utmost importance. It is to him a solemn Rite which nothing will justify a candidate from receiving unless he be truly converted to God. To him it is not a charm, not something that will turn a careless child into a godly, not a mechanical imparting of the Holy Ghost, but a solemn and conscious dedication of himself to a life-choice for God : and in that great profession, coupled with the receiving of the Apostolic sign, he indeed expects to receive from God His wonted gift. And therefore he seizes on this opportunity to lead the candidate to a full decision for Christ and a consciousness of his acceptance. He does not therefore welcome candidates till they are reasonably old enough to make a life-long choice, until in fact they have left the age of childhood and commenced that of adolescence. But yet, and this is purely the personal opinion of the

writer, one asks oneself many times what reason is there why a godly child should be turned from the Table of the Lord? If it were in the writer's power to decide, he could not find it in his heart to do so. Why should not the pious child at quite an early age be solemnly admitted on the recommendation of parent or teacher, say to the Easter Communion, and by degrees more frequently? Why should he be prevented from forming an early habit of communicating till old enough for the detailed and comprehensive teaching of the Confirmation Class?

14. As to Schism, the Evangelical has, we hope, a lively sense of its disaster, and if wanton, of its sin. But church unity is not the last word of all to him. There are worse things than the weakness, worry and scandal of Schism. There are unlawful terms of communion. And even as his fathers found courage to leave the unity of the Papacy, so his allegiance must be first to Christ and after to his beloved Church. To him the great orthodox churches not of his communion are bodies which God has owned, and he is sorely tried by narrow principles which forbid a recognition even in circumstances of urgent need. It is quite possible that here the reactions of the problem in the Mission Field will bring a great reward by setting the home problem in its true light.

15. To sum up all, the Evangelical is a spiritual man. He lives for spiritual ends. He believes in spiritual means, spiritual ministry, spiritual men, and spiritual measures. If it be objected that a ministry or school founded on such narrow principles can only be the church of the minority, he cheerfully replies that with God quality is more than quantity, intensity more than extension, that three hundred true soldiers are worth more than ten thousand feigned ones, that the work of the Church is a Fight with hard blows borne to rescue souls, and that the toleration or patronage of a worldly public is not worth having: and in this faith he takes the part of poverty and toil, well content if he can carry at the last sheaves from the harvest field which he may lay down with joy in the day of final ingathering at the Master's feet.

THE ULTIMATE EPOCH AND OTHER ESSAYS. By A. J. Hubbard, M.D. *Longmans.* 1928. (Pp. vi + 120.) 6*s*.

It is indicative of the increasing interest which the laity is taking in theology, that these four Essays come from the pen of a layman. The first (50 pp.) is by far the best. It contains a valuable study of our Lord's attitude to the use of self-interest. From Christ's refusal to use self-interest as a motive or as compulsion, the author concludes that this attitude must be the dominating factor in the Ultimate Epoch, which he sees already foreshadowed. The remaining Essays are interesting, but the conclusions drawn are very much open to criticism; it is not to be expected that critical problems which have exercised the best brains for generations, will be solved as easily as the author maintains. G. H. W.

PRAYER AND SPECIAL CAMPAIGNS IN PAROCHIAL LIFE.

By the Rev. H. A. Eyton-Jones, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Walthamstow.

IN obedience to the Editor's request I am writing an article on an aspect of Parochial Life. I feel that many others could have done it far better than myself, but the call has come and I must obey.

One of the greatest difficulties with which one is faced in parochial work to-day in large and growing parishes is that of relating the actual to the ideal. The tendency to substitute quantity for quality, or volume for value is everywhere apparent. It is the impact of the idea of mass production. It is reflected in the forms to be filled, it is found in the common estimate that a parish or a parson with numerous activities is achieving greatly. It is part of the make-up of a busy world. It is certainly a protest against inertia, a proof of zeal, a demonstration that the Church is not lost in thought while the legions of modern men and women thunder by and are lost. It asserts the admiration of machinery, the appreciation of departmental organization, the adoration of method. The danger is to secure machinery without driving power, organization without achievement and method without results.

Compare the cut of a modern aeroplane to that of the earlier efforts; the modern aeroplane is clearer cut, excrescences are shorn off, the aim of rapid movement is remembered. This contains a lesson to be remembered in parish work. But it is not only in the existence of cumbrous and unwieldy machinery, it is in the lack of driving power that modern Churchmanship is so painfully conspicuous. The *Great Eastern*, that first attempt at the mammoth liner, was useless, so was broken up because she lacked in engine power. Her engines were unequal to her bulk. The Church to-day in the parish attempts a great deal, and makes but little headway through the stormy and tempest-tost waters. Is it that her engine power is lacking?

The sources of material power are deep hidden or unseen. Coal and oil come from the depths, winds and electricity are unseen, and gravitation, the power that makes effective water power, is an unseen force.

The trouble is with ourselves and our arrangement of time, and our lack of practical faith in what we believe. In Acts vi. we read that the apostles would not minister to tables, for they must give themselves to prayer and the ministry of the Word. So they appointed the deacons, and the significant result of their faith in spiritual methods is recorded in the increase of the Church.

When I went to my present parish we were faced with an ugly situation. There was, it is true, a beautiful new church, but a

debt of £5,000 lay on it. The people were poor, though the population of 20,000 was large, and set in a district of many open fields was bound to increase. The parish, too, had done its best and was weary; the diocese had done its best and had other claims; charitable donors all over the country had done their part and felt that they had given their share. But the debt remained, and within about two months of my institution £1,000 had to be found to pay the builder's bill. It was plain something special must be done. So we prayed.

We organized a whole day of Prayer, commencing with Holy Communion at 7 a.m., other services being held at 11 a.m., 3 p.m., and 8 p.m. Closing prayers were held at 10 p.m. The rest of the day was broken up into sections of a quarter of an hour each, and people signed a rota in the porch and came to pray in silence for a quarter of an hour; thus every section was taken up. We prayed really, continuously, intensely throughout the day. It was a real day with God. I put papers in the Church with a suggested outline of Prayer. We did not only pray for money; and suitable addresses were given at the services.

This is our outline Scheme of Prayer:—

SUGGESTIONS FOR PRAYER.

"Ask and it shall be given you."

1. *For the Parish.* For a great vision of God and great power of the Holy Spirit to come upon the Vicar and Staff, Church Council, Choir, Sunday School teachers, leaders, our congregation. That the whole parish may be moved and that men, women and children may see God's Glory, and the Duplex Scheme be a great success. That the sick may be healed if it is God's will, and that all sufferers may be comforted and led to know God's will and rejoice in it. For all needed workers. That we may be taught of God to pray. That our debt may be speedily cleared away. The money needed for the completion of the church supplied; that the money needed for the verger's cottage may be obtained, and all our financial needs may be met. That all our needs spiritual and material may be met by God. *Thank God* for His help in the past and present; for our beautiful church and our Spiritual privileges.

2. *For the Diocese.* That the bishops and all the leaders of every parish may receive a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and be led into the fullness of the blessing of Christ, and into a complete knowledge of God and His Truth. That all needed courage, wisdom, and means be supplied for the extension of God's Kingdom. That all needed clergy and workers be supplied. *Thank God* for what the diocese has done for us, and for God's work throughout the country.

3. *For the Locality.* For God's blessing on our town, civil leaders, spiritual teachers, charitable enterprises, building schemes, relief—that all may be done on Christian principles. *Thank God* for good people and good things.

4. *For our Nation.* National Church, Church Assembly (Church reform and Prayer-book revision), King and Parliament, improvement of national ideals, better observance of God's day. C.P.A.S., etc. *Thank God* for our national heritage, church and state.

5. *For the World.* Christian world work, especially C.M.S., Colonial and Continental, home and abroad. India, China, Japan, Africa, British Empire and Colonists, that the Gospel may come. *Thank God* for the wonderful growth of Missionary work during the last century, for the devotion of missionaries.

6. *For Ourselves.* That our needs, and those of our loved ones, may

be supplied—our own lives full of love to God and others. That we may each one rise by Faith and Prayer, and Bible Study and service, to our high calling in Christ. That any sin which spoils our lives may be removed, and any evil habit overcome. That we may rise to our highest possibilities in Christ, and that Christ may be able to enter and dwell in our lives with all His power. *Thank God for personal blessings of all kinds.*

You will see our prayers cover a wide range and are not merely selfish. And God answered. The builder's bill was delayed through no action of ours by a fortnight, and when it came the money was there to pay it. By the time I had been in the parish twelve months over £3,000 had been raised.

We had many other whole days of prayer. Just before my second anniversary I felt that we must pray for the whole debt to be cleared by that date if it were God's will. We united in prayer for this object, and as I sat in the vestry on a Saturday two days before the anniversary the balance of the money came in. We did indeed thank God on that day. God had wonderfully answered our prayers. It had appeared a rash action to some, and inviting unbelief, but faith comes from trusting God and putting Him to the test in the matter of His Promises.

We have other methods of Prayer. Special prayer in the Sunday services, prayer meetings for extemporary prayer which I believe are a wonderful way of stirring up young Christians to pray, and I know that our people prayed privately. This scheme can be used, praying each week day for one section, as a private prayer plan.

If you look at the list of subjects for Prayer you will notice that we pray for the locality, i.e. our town, and our nation. The time came when we found ourselves face to face with a great difficulty, which was God's opportunity to answer this prayer and to make us pray more earnestly that in the answer we might save our town and nation.

In the autumn of 1927 I heard that land was being acquired for a Greyhound Track within my parish, and a company was being floated to build and manage the track. I reasoned with the owner of the land, but he refused to stop the sale, saying it was too late. I then went with a prominent local layman and we together reasoned with the owner, but he proved adamant. We then decided that we should take action. I consulted the rural dean, and with his consent convened a meeting of local clergy in my parish hall. I got in touch with the Nonconformists and got their leaders to send an invitation to their ministers and leading laymen to come. I invited several town councillors known to myself, and we got several headmasters of schools and representatives of local football and cricket interests. The result of our conference was that we passed a resolution against the proposed track, we formed a committee to see what could be done, and we called on the Town Council to call a Town's Meeting of Protest. My layman friend acted as Chairman of the Committee and I acted as Secretary. Our Committee grew and represented one great interest in the

town after another—the allotment holders, the property owners, the Chamber of Commerce, Toc H, the Salvation Army, etc., etc. The interest of the local paper was secured and they gave us splendid support, while letters and articles were written to point out the dangers of such a track.

Letters were sent round to every place of worship and each congregation was asked to express its opposition and to offer prayer against the evil. In my own Church I preached a special sermon and asked the congregation to stand in silent protest—which they did with only one exception.

We also sought advice and co-operated with the National Emergency Committee which had been formed.

We had a day of Prayer at our Church and every meeting of the local committee was opened and closed with prayer.

At first the Urban District Council were not very favourable and told us that it was not their business to call a Town's Meeting of Protest, but as we were well-known citizens we could have the use of the Town Hall free to call our own Protest Meeting. But gradually the tide turned, and when we informed the Council how the track could be prevented by the plans being turned down, under the Town Planning Act, the whole Urban District Council, with only one dissentient, turned down the plans. The Town Hall was packed for the Public Meeting of Protest and there was an overflow of 800 in another building. Powerful speeches were delivered by local people, the chair being taken by the Chairman of the Urban District Council, and Mr. Joe Compton spoke. He is the M.P. for Gorton, the district where the Bellevue Greyhound Racing Track, the oldest greyhound racing track in England, was situated. Both meetings passed unanimous votes against the greyhound racing track and later a petition with over 14,000 signatures was obtained. Prayer, co-operation and education had killed the greyhound racing track, and though there were men of title and wealth on the Walthamstow Greyhound Racing Company, we had won.

From our Church, too, was inaugurated an educational campaign which stirred the town and persuaded both our Members of Parliament to vote against the New Prayer Book. Here again we had a whole day of Prayer, besides other opportunities for Prayer. And here we see another striking answer of one item on the Prayer Scheme.

Since then, in autumn, 1928, a campaign against Sunday games in our parks and public spaces has been victorious. I was asked to put the case before the Ruridecanal Conference, which opposed the extension of Sunday facilities by 74 votes to 7, and Nonconformists also acted and the Urban District Council turned down the proposal.

We have also moved to secure for playing fields a great stretch of ground. Besides these campaigns we have had a number of special parochial efforts. Two missions have been held, which have been richly blessed of God in uplifting Christians and bringing

souls definitely into the Kingdom. A wonderful missionary exhibition, under the auspices of the C.M.S., has just been held, at which 1,200 to 1,400 were present. We had over seventy stewards and real enthusiasm has been generated. Again, on the verge of these efforts we had a whole day of Prayer.

One of our school teachers in the Sunday School, who had been a boy in our Sunday School, heard the call to the Ministry and is now training in Canada, and is doing very well indeed.

A number of our young people have been definitely converted to God and they help us by speaking in the open air, teaching in the Sunday School, and other forms of witness.

We are now working and praying for the building of a new Sunday School, as our present schools are full to overflowing, and a great new area of our parish has been built on, while other building is proposed. A site has been promised as a gift, and over £1,000 given and promised for the school and church hall already, but a large balance is still needed and time presses. A parish one mile broad by a mile and a half long is no easy problem to tackle when it has a large and growing population. I have only one curate and two lady workers, and apart from the Church Pastoral-Aid Society I would be without help.

We have terrible poverty among our people and problems of drink and vice, but there are many bright spots. One poor woman whose husband was all wrong got matters put right by prayer and came and told me. Many other wonderful private answers have been given.

I feel very unfit to write about Prayer, because we have not done many things we should have done, but we feel in Prayer we have touched a secret spring of divine fruitfulness that has watered our dry land, and we pray God that by His Grace we may enter into the whole of our inheritance. God grant that in our parish and throughout our land and the world there may be a mighty revival of true religion.

It is surely by bringing prayer into our organizations, by relating the actual to the ideal in the sense of bringing our needs into touch with God that our work can be done. Christianity is Christ, and it is not by the wisdom of men but by the power of God that our Church shall do great things. We have had many signal answers to our prayers, but I believe that God has stirred us up that we may have many more.

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

THE Cromer Convention of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement held in June last year marked a further stage in the development of an organization whose work must be of interest to all church people, and especially to members of the Evangelical School. Dr. Binns in his book *The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England*, published last year by Messrs. Methuen and Co. in their series of volumes dealing with "The Faiths," gives a brief account of the origin and early days of the Group Brotherhood. It began in Liverpool where three of the local Evangelical clergy "felt that some action must be taken to arouse Evangelicals to a sense of the dangers they were in through their internal divisions and through their failure to understand the needs of the times." This was about the year 1905. Joined by three others and known as "The Six" they expressed their views at various gatherings. "The points upon which they were most insistent were the need for some kind of positive policy in place of negations with which the older generation of Evangelicals seemed to be satisfied, the desire for fellowship, and the demand to be allowed to think things out for themselves, and not merely to repeat the old formulæ."

For eighteen years the groups remained a private, almost a secret, organization, meeting in small numbers in various parts of the country and holding each year conferences of all the members. By means of these conferences a spirit of fellowship and brotherhood was fostered which made "Groups" a thing almost unique.

A change in the character of the Movement came in 1923. "Events in the Church at large, the creation of the Church Assembly, the rapid spread of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, and above all misunderstandings and disputes among Evangelicals themselves, together with the realization that secrecy meant suspicion and distrust on the part of those outside, caused the Movement, at a Conference at Coleshill in June, 1923, publicly to declare its principles and to invite application for membership."

Since then the Movement has grown in numbers and last year held a most successful Convention at Cromer. Canon Storr in a small booklet, entitled *The Splendour of God*: The Message of Cromer, 1928 (S.P.C.K., 1s.), has summed up "the message and spirit of that wonderful gathering" in order to give a wider circle some idea of its character and value. The Conference was, he says, "an attempt to obtain a new experience of God." The title "The Splendour of God" was intended "to suggest that there were hidden in God beauties and truths which we should do well to explore."

He explains the method of that exploration set before the Conference. It is necessary to correct untrue or inadequate views of God. True views come to us through many sources. Science contributes its share. Human experience reveals the Living God moving in the hearts and minds of men. "God's greatest splendour is the splendour of love." Love means self-sacrifice, and God is not

indifferent to the pain and sorrow of the world. Suffering comes through sin and Calvary is the result of sin. Christ is our Leader in a great campaign, and we must follow him in the work of building the Kingdom of God. The World Call is a summons to renewed effort to meet the new opportunity. Our resources for this enterprise are those in Christ Himself, and no one can set limits to His power. It will be seen that the aim of the Convention was intensely practical. It was a call to service for the glory of God.

Students of English history are familiar with the career of William III after he came to the throne of England. They have learned the events of his Irish campaign from the graphic pages of Macaulay. Our latest historian, Prof. G. M. Trevelyan, has reminded us of the significance of the conflict. " In the year 1690 Ireland was the pivot of the European crisis. The fate of Britain depended on William's campaign, and on the fate of Britain depended the success or failure of Europe's resistance to French hegemony." On that success or failure depended also the future of Protestantism and Romanism. The Jesuits would have gained the power they sought in European politics if William had suffered defeat. This was not the first contest William had engaged in with France and the Roman Church. He had learnt in his early days the dangers with which he was surrounded. With this portion of his life many may not be so well acquainted, and will welcome the important study of the first twenty-four years of the Prince's life which Miss Marjorie Bowen has given in *William Prince of Orange* (The Bodley Head, 18*s*. net). This is the first of three volumes in which Miss Bowen intends to give an account of William III's life based on a fresh examination of all the authorities and of the reliable sources of information. We shall look forward with interest to the succeeding volumes.

The story as told by Miss Bowen is full of dramatic interest. The birth of the infant prince after the death of his father ushered him into a scene of conflicting interests, where his mother the daughter of Charles I of England was opposed to her mother-in-law, and both to John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary, who was determined that the Stadtholdership of the Princes of Orange should never be revived. For twenty years John de Witt dominated the life of the young Prince, directing his education, choosing his tutors and endeavouring in every way to bring him to realize the subordinate place which the Grand Pensionary had arranged for him to play in the future of Holland.

The character of the Prince under this tutelage is developed before us. It was strangely different from all that the Grand Pensionary planned. From almost his earliest days William displayed an uncanny appreciation of all that was intended and of his own position. He adopted a reserve of manner which concealed his inmost thoughts and feelings. He submitted with good grace to many of the indignities heaped upon him. But with extraordinary cleverness he learnt the mysteries of statecraft, and when scarcely 18 he made his first step towards the assertion of his position when

he assumed the presidency of the Assembly of Zeeland as premier noble of the Province. His popularity with the people was immense, and this action was soon followed by others equally pleasing to the people. John de Witt was defeated and showed his anger. "At twenty years of age William had his affairs entirely in his own hands, was answerable to no one, and had taken his part in public life and among the councillors of his country."

At this time Louis XIV of France and Charles II of England had united in the infamous Treaty of Dover in the design of destroying the Dutch Republic. They endeavoured to buy William off, but he refused to desert his country and, when the campaign began, as a youth of 21 he was placed in chief command of the forces that resisted the invasion. Miss Bowen tells with graphic power the story of those strenuous years, in which the Prince rose superior to every calamity and by his courage and perseverance inspired the people to desperate resistance. They opened the sluices and flooded some of the most valuable portions of their territory. He led sallies upon the forces of the French king. By his resistance he gained time to secure allies and to place Louis XIV in comparative isolation.

The narrative breaks off at an interesting point in the taking of Bonn, which was the turning point in the war—"the Kings of France and England paused to contemplate their amazing antagonists; the genius of William III had overturned all their designs." The volume is well illustrated with portraits of the chief personalities. There are ample notes and an excellent index.

Missionary literature has acquired a new power in recent years. The problems with which writers have to deal have widened the scope of their treatment until they range from high and abstract theories of the Philosophy of Religion to the details of the presentation of Christianity to meet the needs of individual souls, and to deal with conditions of life in various parts of the world. Mr. W. Paton's *A Faith for the World* (C.M.S., 2*s.* 6*d.* net) is an excellent example of this modern type of Missionary book. His purpose is "to set out the main elements of the case for the Christian world mission, and to show some of the principal tasks which are bound up with that mission." Incidentally it helps to bring home the message of the Jerusalem Conference. Having made his claim for Christianity as a universal religion, he states its message and sets it out in contrast to those of other universal religions. Jesus Christ supplies what the others fail to give. His message is for all men and for every department of life. The Living Society of the Church is the means of spreading the message. Its primary duty is Evangelism, by every means it can adopt, Education, Medical work, Newspaper propaganda. It must embrace the whole of life. "Field, Factory and Workshop." It must face the problems of colour and caste, and it must faithfully apply the principles of Christ in every sphere of conduct. This comprehensive survey of the whole Missionary field should be read by all who wish to appreciate the greatness of the present opportunity and the best means of using it.

Students of the Sacraments will be interested in Canon A. L. Lilley's *Sacraments*: A Study of Some Moments in the Attempt to Define their Meaning for Christian Worship (Student Christian Movement, 4*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*). Canon Lilley's treatment of the subject is not along either usual or conventional lines. Having arrived at the conception of Religion as "our spiritual apprehension of Reality," in which he includes the most intimate and most sustained communion, he shows that this communion must be through symbols, either "the immediate mental symbols which we call words or those intermediately sensible symbols which we call Sacraments."

He examines the views of some of the great theologians on the significance of the sacraments. St. Augustine, "the most influential and representative theologian that Christianity has ever produced," distinguishes between the symbol and the reality and for him "the Sacraments are only an acted word." Passing over the teaching of Hugh and Richard of St. Victor we come to the new theological era of St. Thomas Aquinas. Here "symbolism" gives way to "instrumentality" and with it the errors expressed by Transubstantiation and by such phrases as "the Sacraments contain grace."

In later scholastic discussion mechanical views were developed, and even magical conceptions are found. Canon Lilley is anxious to show the influences "correcting the tendency to magical conceptions from which sacramental practice is never wholly free." The Reformed Churches have maintained symbolism and there must be a frank return to symbolism in its widest range.

On Mr. H. R. Allenson's list of new books there are three which I have found of special interest. The Rev. John E. McIntyre, M.A., has written a series of "Studies in Practical Religion" with the title *The Idealism of Jesus* (6*s.* net). While he recognizes that Christ is sufficient for every new need of Western civilization he has doubts if the Church is adequate for the new needs of the world. He desires to bring the Church from the isolation of these days to the main tide of life, and to attain this purpose he has written these essays, in which life is viewed from the standpoint of the Gospels. They are divided into three sections. Expositions, Experiences, and Enlargements. The presentation is thought provoking and critical of many old points of view, but if the new generations really require new presentations of the old truths we must be prepared to learn how to satisfy their needs. Yet we can hardly follow an idealism that goes so far in emphasizing the duty of kindness as to say "a pure Christianity would not tolerate prisons. If people were to waken up to what 'seven years penal' means, the daily hourly torture of it, there would be no more of it." It may be useful to show that Christian experience is not completely dependent on historical assumptions, yet it is going too far to maintain that Christian faith can be independent of historical facts. "God's future, we see in the light of Christ, is an organized society of loving persons," and it is good for us to have that vision constantly before

us and to strive eagerly to attain to it, but meanwhile there are the actual conditions of life in the midst of which we have to live.

In *The Eternal Quest* (5s.), by E. A. Wanderer (Rev. W. A. Elliot), we have "an illuminating piece of apologetics." The Wanderer tells "How I wandered in the Wilderness of Life and how I found Religion." With the aid of other wanderers he argues out the many problems with which we are faced in life, and shows how by processes of reason he is led on through belief in Eternal Energy to the great fundamentals of Christian faith, and through the doubts raised by some aspects of scientific teaching to a clear and reasonable faith in the Cross.

"It was this Cross that kept Christianity alive through the dreary centuries of the Dark Ages, and that keeps it alive to-day. Misrepresentation and misunderstanding have done their worst, animalism and selfishness have done their best to tear the Cross of the Crucifixion out of life; but that's the only kind of Christianity that keeps the world agoing." So many points of view are presented in these interesting chapters that a preacher or teacher is equipped with a knowledge of the difficulties which present themselves to the minds of young thinkers, and is provided with useful suggestions as to the best method of meeting these difficulties.

A Belfast paper, the *Northern Whig*, has followed the example of *The Times* and publishes an article weekly on a religious subject. The writer of these articles is the Rev. Douglas M. Joss, M.A., of Rosemary Street, Presbyterian Church, Belfast. He has issued thirty-three of them in book form and calls the volume *Springs of Water* (5s. net). They are well described on the jacket as "fresh in outlook, lit with apt illustration and each bearing a message that gets home." Mr. Joss has a combination of qualities that make him successful in this class of composition. He has a keen sense of a suitable subject with a direct bearing on Christ's value for human life; he presents it from a fresh view-point, clothes it with appropriate imagery or allegory and adds a wealth of illustration gleaned from all sorts of sources. The result is a series of papers that grip the reader till he has read through them all. It is a book full of suggestion for those who have to make addresses.

The friends of Sir George King owe a debt of gratitude to Archdeacon Buckland for the charmingly written biography which has been published by R.T.S. (5s. net). Archbishop Davidson in the Foreword describes Sir George as "a noteworthy example of the best type of English Protestant," and those who knew him best know how much of real piety, genuine Christian enthusiasm, learning and self-sacrificing service are connoted in the term. The Evangelical School in the Church lost one of its ablest representatives by his death. His convictions were based upon a solid foundation of sound learning, and his character had its inspiration in the records

of our Lord's life, of which he was an ardent student. Many of us will remember him best as a loyal and generous friend.

Claud Corfield, The Chronicle of a Busy Life, by his Wife (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., 10*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* net), is a tribute to the memory of a well-known clergyman whose work at Heanor in Derbyshire for twenty-five years, and at Taunton in Somerset for another fourteen, represented the best activities of the parochial clergy in the organization of the work of large parishes and specially in the care of the young in Day Schools and Sunday Schools. Canon Corfield was a keen worker and had the joy of seeing the work at Heanor develop until the Church had obtained a strong hold on the district. At Taunton he carried on the work he loved among the young with the same good results. This biography gives an intimate insight into the life of one whose " character and ideal of life may be summed up in the words Service, Love, Purity."

A small but interesting book published by Messrs. Simpkin Marshall, Ltd., is *In Christ's Heaven,* by Dennis Stoll (2*s.* net). It is a young man's endeavour to answer a friend's five questions: What is God like? What is a Christian? Why does Evil exist? Does the Church preach Christianity? and Where are the dead? The effort is a serious and earnest one and commands respect for its reverence and sincerity. He goes to the heart of the matter every time. God is like Jesus. The Christian finds his life in Christ. Faith is the essence of his life. He has no concern with superstition and useless ceremony. Freewill lies at the root of the mystery of evil. The Church, he fears, does not represent Christianity. He tells the story of the reply of Erasmus to the Canons of the Chapter of Strasburg Cathedral who told him that only those with at least fourteen noble ancestors could be admitted:—" Then Christ Himself could not have been received into the Chapter unless He got a dispensation from this rule." He adds, " One cannot help feeling that Jesus of Nazareth might be extremely uncomfortable in many of the places of worship erected in His name."

Christ and the World's Unrest, by Harry T. Silcock (The Swathmore Press, Ltd., 2*s.* 6*d.* net), is the Swathmore Lecture for 1927, which is an annual lecture on some subject relating to the message and work of the Society of Friends. With many interesting references and facts drawn from many sources it illustrates that Christ Jesus alone can solve the world's problems.

G. F. I.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A GREAT BIOGRAPHY OF LUTHER.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION. Vol. III. By James Mackinnon, D.D. *Longmans.* 16*s.*

As Dr. Mackinnon unfolds the character and teaching of Luther we are more than ever impressed by the wide range of our author and the impartiality of his judgment. There was need for a fresh study of the life and times of the great German, for his enemies have endeavoured in recent years to depreciate the man and to condemn the Reformation which he led as a Deformation. With all the facts before him and a unique knowledge of the period as well as of the men with whom Luther was in conflict, Dr. Mackinnon gives a reasoned account of the processes of thought and the various conflicts in which his hero was engaged. For Luther, in spite of the unfavourable remarks made on his impetuosity and violence of language, is the hero of the period, and under God the Reformation owed more than can be estimated to his courage, outspokenness and development of thought and activities as the movement progressed. Dr. Mackinnon enables us to see him as a man who had the faults as well as the virtues of his age. He could be coarsely vituperative and at the same time tenderhearted. He could write language capable of being distorted into the exact opposite of his meaning and, at the same time, claim to be judged by the entire context of what he had written. And we have often wondered how many men even of our modern times could afford to have their most private and confidential letters written during the stress of a great controversy published to the world. For we must never forget that Luther was engaged in a life-and-death struggle and had many adversaries to face and overcome. He was human through and through and had he not been the man he was, he never could have accomplished his task.

The present volume deals with the period 1521–9, and begins with his semi-imprisonment in Wartburg and ends with an account of the Sacramental controversy that disrupted the Evangelical party. It has a definite bearing on the movements of thought in our own time, and for this reason demands close attention. We see Luther placing too much reliance on Princes and too little on Democracy. But he was compelled to make his choice, and when he had made it he stuck to it with characteristic obstinacy. He had to contend against the outlook of Erasmus, who is not so highly placed in contrast with Luther as he is by Dr. Binns, whose knowledge of the German leader is by no means equal to his acquaintance with the work of Erasmus. It is plain to us that had Erasmus had his way, there would have been no permanent Reformation. The power of the Papacy would have been strong enough to divert its tendencies into other directions, and it would have shared the fate that Roman Modernism met

in our lifetime. Something more than humanism was needed to shake the world and give a new orientation to Christian life and work. Erasmus never could have done this, and much as we admire in the present age the wonderful skill and versatility of Erasmus, we see clearly from the pages of Dr. Mackinnon that he would have become one of the many scholars the Papacy writhed under and afterwards found a way of placing *hors de combat* as far as the Roman steam-roller was concerned. Erasmus had been displaced by a bigger personality as the leader of an international movement. Theology had taken the place of humanism in the interest even of a large section of the cultured class, whose idol and leader he had hitherto been. It was developing a driving force which humanism lacked. Conviction always goes much farther than the balancing of opinion.

But most Churchmen will be attracted by the Sacramentarian controversy, which continues to our own day. The issues between Luther and his Evangelical opponents are identical with those on which the battle is knit to-day. Luther was fully in accord with modern Protestants in the rejection of the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry. He rejected transubstantiation and, convinced of the literalness of "This is my Body," he advanced the theory of Consubstantiation, which has to modern minds all the difficulties of Transubstantiation with added difficulties of its own. He had to face Zwingli, whose early teaching was certainly hardly distinguishable from the view that the Lord's Supper was a mere commemorative service, and while he later held a more mediating view he never abandoned his hostility to an objective presence in the consecrated Elements. Luther held in his conciliatory formula that while the body of Christ is present essentially and in the Sacrament, he waives all discussion on the mode of its presence, "whether bodily or spiritually, naturally or supernaturally, spatially or non-spatially." His opponents could not accept this and held to their view that Christ is only present in a spiritual sense. The bodily presence, as Luther understood it, could not be harmonized with the spiritual view as Zwingli conceived it. Moreover, the Swiss theologians objected to such terms as "essentially and substantially present," "as unbiblical and likely to mystify and mislead the simple believer and lead to a crass notion of the presence." Luther still held by certain mediæval conceptions, and Zwingli gave expression to his definite view when he wrote, "We confess that the body of Christ is present in the Holy Supper, not as body nor in the nature of body, but sacramentally to the mind which is upright, pure and reverent towards God."

We have said enough to show the value of this masterly and invaluable volume, which we trust will be read by all who wish to understand what the Reformation meant and how far its teaching must be upheld in our own day. Ignorance is the foe of Truth, and Dr. Mackinnon dispels much popular opinion concerning the real character of the Reformation.

JESUS OF NAZARETH.

JESUS OF NAZARETH. By Charles Gore, D.D. *Thornton Butterworth. 2s. 6d.*

To write the Life of the Saviour in fifty thousand words demanded rare gifts, if the result was to be successful. We have had many Lives during recent years and all seem to leave on the mind a feeling that the best life is still the account given in the Four Gospels without any addition whatever. And so it is in the minds of the majority of those who have essayed to present to us a true picture of Him Who spake as never man spake and revealed the highest holiest manhood in deeds of love. We have had a Jew of Genius giving his idea of what Jesus of Nazareth was, and in the end we felt that He had been entirely misunderstood. Dr. Gore, fresh from editing the New Commentary, undertook to contribute to the Home University Library a volume that would present to modern minds Jesus as He was seen to be in the background of history. We have here given a picture of the times in which men looked forward to His coming and are told " Neither their [the Sadducees] repudiation of the Messianic hope nor the Pharisaic acquiescence in keeping it in abeyance satisfied the people. Their hearts were full of resentment against the foreign rule, they were always looking for the Christ to deliver them. Galilee especially teemed with sedition, and the upper party of the Zealots which gained the upper hand in the last days before the destruction of Jerusalem [A.D. 70] was already in existence. One of the apostles of Jesus belonged to it." Into this environment Jesus was born and in it He grew to manhood. To understand the contrast between the success of His ministry in Galilee among the common people as contrasted with the bitter hostility in Jerusalem it is necessary to bear this in mind.

He preached in Galilee and His ministry is enthusiastically described by Bishop Gore. He attacked the respectable sins of the hide-bound Pharisees who had accepted an exacting standard of behaviour. He recognized no difference between respectable and disreputable sins. " Nothing is more evident than that in his eyes the love of money, selfishness, contempt of others, pride, uncharitableness, are at least as bad as violence or adultery or fornication. He refused to regard any class as hopeless. It was this optimistic sympathy that inspired confidence and when it was seen to have a saving power it was followed by the ordinary men and women as something that came from God. His Gospel was pre-eminently for the poor and oppressed and was calculated to give offence to the rich, the highly respected leaders of religion and the privileged classes." This is perfectly true from one point of view—it did give offence, but it also attracted, and we wonder whether among the Apostolic band itself there was a greater proportional disparity between the comfortable and the impoverished members of that body than in the general society outside. Running through the exposition of our Lord's teaching, as presented

by the Bishop, is the feeling that riches and even respectability are something condemnatory. Everything depends on the meaning assigned to the words, trusting in riches and pride in respectability are what work harm, not the things in themselves.

Dr. Gore writes with all his wonted force in support of the trustworthiness of the Gospels. When he discusses the miraculous element he rightly calls the stress laid on the disservice of miracles as a part of the Gospel story that this is the language of reaction. "In the New Testament miracles, as such, are not regarded as proofs of anything more than superhuman agency which may be evil as well as good." "For us the illusion of miracles may be dispelled and the faith still remain. Such a hypothesis seems to me to be most improbable in any general sense. The main obstacle to faith in the good tidings of God, which is associated with the name of Jesus, is the obstinate appearance of indifference to moral considerations in material Nature." We believe that the Bishop is right and agree entirely with his view that "the belief in the resurrection as a physical fact must be taken to be part of the fundamental faith that there is in the universe material and spiritual, only one Lordship, and that the God, who is justice and love, is the only Lord."

We cannot do more than allude to the remarkable closing pages that sum up the argument of the book. He pleads for real earnestness in forming and holding convictions and concludes by asking, "Is the Figure in the Gospels, then, Human and Divine and the true record of history? 'Oh yet consider it again.'" The book, though small in size and in some respects by no means free from imperfection, especially in its view of the Church, is a convincing argument for the acceptance of the Truth of the Incarnation.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER ON REUNION AND OTHER CHURCH PROBLEMS.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH. By the Right Rev. A. C. Headlam, D.D. *John Murray.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Headlam has done well to bring together in one volume a number of his sermons on current Church problems which have to do with the building of the Church at home and abroad. When a man of his independent virility and downrightness speaks his mind, few will be found to agree with all he says, and it would be easy to convict even him of a change of front on some subjects. The main ideas running through these extraordinarily suggestive addresses will win the approval of all who wish to see the divisions of Christendom reduced in number and the Great Church of Christ made what it ought to be—a Church united in its hold of Primitive Catholicity and free from the excrescences and perversions with which the Church has overlaid, in some of its branches, the Gospel of Christ. Dr. Headlam again and again speaks of one of the most distressing characteristics of the Church life of to-day, viz. "the

little stress that is in many quarters laid on the virtue of solid learning." We agree entirely with this, but we do not think that the general body of the laity wish to hear from the pulpit "the difficult problems of theology and philosophy discussed with soberness and thought and learning." And when we say this we observe the limitation "soberness and thought and learning." How many men at any period of the history of the Church were able to do this? What proportion of the laity can follow a theological or philosophical discourse unless it is preached by a master of lucidity? No: the laity expect to hear from the pulpit discourses that prove the preacher to have a background of learning, to have him make the best use of the talent God has given him, but they do not wish to see the Church emptied by the adoption of the Professor's rostrum by the preacher of Christian truth. There is a real difference between the two conceptions, but to a man of Dr. Headlam's erudition and easy gift of making plain hard conceptions, it may seem impossible for him to think that all men cannot do what he accomplishes without apparent effort.

It is hardly too much to say that the basic principle which Dr. Headlam adopts in his approach to all questions is defined as follows: "The great mistake that the Christian Church has made from the Middle Ages to the present day is to have attempted to define dogmatically what no human language can define and what it never has been intended that the Church should define." He makes this remark concerning the theories current in regard to the Eucharist, but the same thought underlies his approach to Orders and all other problems that divide equally honest Christian men into separate groups or Churches. Get together, avoid theories and see how the life thus engendered by closer union with one another and with the Great Head of the Church will express itself. He is pragmatical in his philosophy of practice and believes that the best results can come from acting on commands and allowing the consequences to correct wrong thinking. He has a vision of the Anglican Communion as comprehensive and held together by the Spirit rather than by the letter of Formularies, and thinks that the same may be true of the great united Church of the Reformation. The matter is not easily solved, for we cannot isolate fact from its relations and there is a conviction in the minds of most of us that Truth must be held wherever it is seen. We are aware of the many metaphors concerning Truth, its many facets, and its change of form according to the angle of approach. But there is a wrong angle which distorts perspective; and it is possible to see a facet out of relation to the whole crystal and to be hopelessly misled. And is it not true that the great obstacle to Reunion is a question of the character of "the Commission of Christ" with which is involved the whole conception of Church, Ministry and Sacrament? If this be true, then before we can arrive at union we must come to an agreement on this central point, otherwise we shall have worse chaos in fifty years after union. We are at one with the aspirations of Dr. Headlam, we find ourselves in agreement with most of his

postulates, and we are unwilling in a brief review to point out details from which we differ, but greatly as we value this very striking work—and we have read it through and have re-read much of it —we are convinced that there must be agreement on what constitutes the Commission of Christ before we can have any Reunion worth possessing. The Church of England in its present divided state is not a good omen for the peace of a much wider communion not knowing what it holds on so crucial a matter. We have grown into our confusions; that is no reason why we should wish to hand them on to others!

CHRISTIAN ART.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN ART. By Percy Gardner, F.B.A. *John Murray.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Gardner is one of the best living authorities on Greek Art, whose principles he loves and admires. He has written most instructively on the great temples and sculpture of Hellas, and he sees to-day everywhere a conflict between Christianity and Art, or, to be more accurate, an estrangement. This is not confined to Protestantism; it is equally widespread in Roman Catholic countries. No one who moves in Art circles is unaware of the new Paganism that has taken possession of so many artists, and we are in a backwater compared with what was done for religious art in the last century. The book is not so much an exposition of remedies, but is a preparation for a better state of relations and offers counsel that affects rather the temper of artists than the character of the art produced. It is charmingly readable, and its style is that form of art which conceals art, for it is never laboured, but always, even when most discursive, delightful to the eye and ear. "Mysticism is a sort of protoplasm of all religions, beginning with the vague feelings of adoration and awe which come upon men in the presence of God." He distinguishes between personal and collective mysticism, and goes on to tell us "there is a deep meaning in the saying of Goethe, that miracle-working pictures are generally wretched works of art." The supernatural virtue in them has no relation whatever to their artistic excellence. The same may be said of miraculous images which share with pictures a talismanic virtue associated with religious belief. All who have watched a crowd of devotees awe-struck before the well-lighted black images of the Latin countries know this, and in spite of the quotation, "I am black but comely," the artistically inclined will find neither beauty nor artistic merit in these images. He discusses what Blake and Watts have done for religious art in England, and rightly tells us that the works of Blake will appeal only to a few. We confess we lost almost all our admiration for Blake when we inspected the recent exhibition of his work in the Tate Gallery, whereas the pictures of Watts in the same gallery give us on every visit a deeper sense of the religion that lies behind them.

Dr. Gardner is convinced that a revival of religious art can only

come from a general revival of religion. The age is materialistic and is reflected in its art. These contentions have much to commend them for acceptance, but the ways of genius are not marked by general statements or historic precedents, and there may be in our Art Schools to-day men who are apart from the spirit of the age and ready to give our time the lead it needs—not the lead of the unintelligible drawings that attracted so much interest in last year's Academy, but pictures that speak straight to the souls of men and guide them to the Highest. The closing paragraph in this book, that will be enjoyed by all who read it, summarizes his thought and outlook. "Therefore, until I am better instructed, I shall hold that as the root principles of Christianity are eternal, and need only to be adapted to the intellectual and social conditions of the new age, so the principles of art as set forth by the great sculptors of Greece, the Gothic architects, the painters of the Renaissance, are good for all time, and need only modification and modernization in order to be a light for the present, as they have been a light to the past." This is true, but they will have to be baptized with the Christian spirit and indwelt by the inspiration of Christian ethics.

VISCOUNT SANDON ON "ENGLAND AT WORSHIP."

ENGLAND AT WORSHIP. By Viscount Sandon, M.P. *Hopkinson.* 5*s.*

Viscount Sandon has an hereditary interest in the work and worship of our Church. By family association he has been connected with the work of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society, and this volume proves him to be a man who has at heart the best interests of the National Church. It is well that we have men of his stamp in Parliament, where they voice the opinions of the laity and prove that the charge of political Churchmanship cannot be thrown at them by sneering critics who cannot see any good in anyone or any cause that does not commend itself to their minds. In this book he discusses the general state of the Church of England and its influence on the Nation, and devotes considerable space to the problems raised by the Deposited Book and its rejection by Parliament. He is deeply distressed and impressed by the failure, after more than thirteen hundred years of Christian teaching since the landing of Augustine, of the forces of organized Christianity to retain their influence on more than ten per cent. of the population of London. "Perhaps one of the main psychological objections to the new Prayer Book has been the attempt therein to establish and constitute the advance towards Rome of doctrinal beliefs and towards a religious outlook which pinnacles doctrine as the key-point of Christianity." Doctrine has its place in Christianity, but everything depends on what that doctrine is. We find that Viscount Sandon himself very strongly holds doctrinal positions, but this is very different to the medieval doctrinal system taught by Anglo-Catholics as essential Christianity.

Viscount Sandon sees the hope of the future in Home Reunion. He tells us very clearly that there is no hope whatever of Reunion with Rome, and says of Malines that the Anglican nominees "appear

to have, to all intents and purposes, completely capitulated on the Papal Supremacy issue and virtually on that of Transubstantiation. One might be led to suppose that Vatican suzerainty was laid down by our Lord in the Bible!" These may seem harsh words, but they are the opinion of many close students of current events. Referring to the Headship of the King in the English Church, we are told that although the title has been long surrendered, the Royal Supremacy provides a sort of Chief of Staff, and this is a vital factor in any Church of which the State takes cognizance. It would be impossible to class the author as an Erastian, but there is something worth considering in the conception of the Primate as the Head of the work of the Church of England, and from the State point of view as a Chief of Staff appointed to maintain and advance the Church life in the Nation which considers the Church to be national. As long as Church and State are united, the State has responsibilities for and obligations to the Church. And we all wish to see the Church nation-wide, embracing all who profess and call themselves Christian and follow the Saviour.

To most readers the third part of the book, consisting of reflections on the attitude of the House of Commons towards the Deposited Book, will be of surpassing interest, for we have here for the first time a candid review from the inside of the motives that led to the rejection of the Book. We have reason to believe that he is right when he says that the greater part of the absentees from the division lobbies consisted of opponents of the Book, and that the rejection of the Book carried with it the approval of the great majority of Churchpeople. Written before the new Episcopal proposals had been outlined, he is silent on this part of the subject, but from what he has told us there can be no doubt as to his root and branch hostility to them, for he comments very severely on the wild words written after the rejection by Lord Selborne and others. We hope that the book will be read, as it ought to be, by all who wish to know what an able and independent Member of Parliament thinks of our contemporary religious life and the effects on it of the attempts of the Bishops to force the Deposited Book on the Church.

BARON VON HÜGEL.

READINGS FROM FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL. *Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*
LETTERS FROM FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL TO A NIECE. *Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Von Hügel is a mystery to us. We read his philosophical reflections and arguments on theology, we are profoundly impressed by his religious spirit and we are suddenly pulled up by something that shows him to be, in spite of all his speculative freedom and apparent Protestantism, a Roman Catholic who found help and comfort in the modern practices of that Church. Perhaps his ancestry—Presbyterian on one side—accounts for much, but the riddle lies deeper. He was ready to a certain point to use his intellect without restraint. He and Tyrrell were the closest of friends. The hour came when they parted company, and in the end von Hügel

dies a submissive son of the Roman Church, whereas his friend received something like clandestine burial rites. Human nature is something we cannot fathom; and the power of Rome over the human conscience is incalculable.

No one who has read von Hügel doubts his honesty and sincerity. He is transparently open-minded and at times daring in his speculations. Few who have studied him are without gratitude to him for help on difficult problems, and the contents of these two volumes which were for the most part already familiar to us, give a very good idea of his ruling thoughts and his great charm. Here is just one passage that shows what the reader may expect in the Readings: "All religion will ever, in proportion as it is vigorous and pure, thirst after an ever-increasing Unification, will long to be one and to give itself to the One—to follow naked the naked Jesus. Yet all the history of human thought and all the actual experience of each one of us prove that this Unity can be apprehended and developed, by and within our poor human selves, only in proportion as we carefully persist in stopping at the point where it can most thoroughly organize and harmonize the largest possible multiplicity of various facts and forces." Tough reading—but then all philosophy and high theology are tough.

The Letters to Mrs. Greene are simpler and less theological. They range over a wide range of subjects. His plan for her was to fulfil the ideal he set before him. "I want to prepare you, to organize you for life, for illness, crisis and death." "Live all you can—as complete and full a life as you can find—do as much as you can for others. Read, work, enjoy—love and help as many souls—do all this. Yes—but remember: Be alone, be remote, be away from the world, be desolate. Then you will be near God!" Mrs. Greene became a Roman Catholic after her uncle's death. Would she have become one if he had survived her? We do not know, for von Hügel never sought to make converts to Rome.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE. By C. H. Dodd. *Nisbet & Co.* 10s. 6*d*.

Professor Dodd faces frankly from the standpoint of one who accepts the critical view of the origin of the Old and New Testament, the questions raised as to the authority of Holy Scripture. Many who read his book will find themselves unable to agree with his description of the evolution of Monotheism among the Israelites; and for our part we are not convinced that the theories he holds will stand the test of future discussion. But we know that they broadly represent the opinions of the majority of university and theological college teachers on the subject. On the New Testament he is more satisfactory, but even here his views will be subject to modification by more complete knowledge. In both the Old and the New Testament criticism is more subjective than many believe, and as we look back upon the past history of criticism we have little faith in the

permanence of much that is now accepted as the assured result of the application of new methods of inquiry. On the other hand, the Synoptic question has changed profoundly the outlook of even the most conservative writers on the way in which the Gospels were composed, but reflection has taught us that we are not so much concerned with the inter-relation of the Gospels as with their content. Mr. Dodd tells us that the authority of our Lord as a religious Teacher must be estimated on principles that are applied to the prophets. "He lived intensely in a particular historical situation, and the relevance of His teaching to that situation is part of its eternal significance. He dealt not with general abstractions, but with issues which the time raised acutely for the people to whom He spoke. He dealt with them not as an opportunist, but radically, and with the profound simplicity that comes of complete mastery of the problem. We have not to face these identical issues, and we cannot always apply His words strictly to ourselves; but the response that Jesus made to the issues raised for Him challenges us to be satisfied with no solutions of our own problems which have not the same quality. To attempt to free His sayings from their relativity to the particular situation is often to blunt their edge rather than to bring out their universality."

There is truth in this, but the principles underlying His sayings are applicable for all time. Human life, no matter how changed the environment in which it is lived, has to face the problems met by our Lord, and the universality of His teaching is best appreciated by those who are "up against it" and see in a glance what He means them to do. If we are Christians, we have to acknowledge the supremacy and uniqueness of the authority of Christ; and if the Bible fails to show us what He thought and did, then we have no real objective basis for our faith. His authority and the authority of the Scriptures are not divorced from life, and it is in living we find their dynamic strength and transforming power. Professor Dodd has many most suggestive passages in this able book, and we find ourselves agreeing heartily as well as disagreeing equally heartily with him. His last sentence gives his position: "If the Bible is indeed 'the Word of God,' it is so not as the 'last word' on all religious questions, but as the 'seminal word' out of which new apprehensions of truth spring in the mind of man." Everything depends on what is meant by the words in this quotation. The Bible is more than a seed from which things grow—in many ways it is the developed fruit that feeds our souls. Our author ascribes too little to the message of the Bible as the definite revelation of the mind of God.

DR. HAROLD SMITH'S *MAGNUM OPUS*.

ANTE-NICENE EXEGESIS OF THE GOSPELS. Vol. V. By Harold Smith, D.D. *S.P.C.K.* *7s. 6d.*

The more we use Dr. Smith's remarkable volumes the more useful they become. Before they reached us we were accustomed to turn up passages in our Commentaries and read Patristic extracts

much abbreviated and often little informing. A clever writer makes use of a striking sentence, and we judged the value of the comment from the sentence. Now all this is changed. We refer to the translations by Dr. Smith, we see the passage in its context and are able to compare it with the remarks of other Fathers. Consequently the judgment we reach is our own and not the echo of the opinion of one who quotes partially. As we use the book the Fathers become to us more real, and we have classified them roughly in our own mind, as far as their particular gifts are concerned. We have placed a value on their comments that guides our exegesis, and this has saved us from pitfalls. And we owe this first-hand knowledge to the patient erudition of an Evangelical scholar who maintains the Evangelical tradition of attachment to the Bible. In this, the penultimate volume, we have extracts from Patristic comments on the Gospels, which begin at Matthew xxi. 23–7 and end Matthew xxvi. 36–46. The genius of Origen still shines, and we are much impressed by the way in which he discusses Scriptural problems. Often we think we are reading a contemporary exposition. We hope that this book will find a place on the shelves of serious Gospel students. It is a mine of valuable instruction.

MODERN TIBET.

THE LAND OF THE LAMA. By David Macdonald. *Seeley Service.* 21s.

All who are interested in Missionary work should read this volume, which is by no means a book on Missions. It gives a plain, unvarnished account of the habits and religion of a people that has been isolated by reason of its dwelling on the roof of the world. It shows us the growth of superstition in the human heart and mind and the consequences that result from false beliefs influencing conduct. It is one of the most instructive human documents that have come under our notice, and proves beyond a peradventure that man needs something more than his own unaided reflection to rise superior to these human weaknesses that make him the prey of false beliefs. And we have the endorsement by the Earl of Ronaldshay that Mr. Macdonald is trustworthy. He knows no other man who possesses quite the same qualifications for writing the book. His knowledge is first hand. He knows the language as well as the people. "The serious student—and in particular the anthropologist—will find in the book a mass of information of real value; the general reader a story of lively and absorbing interest." The present reviewer cannot pronounce on the accuracy of the details—he can say that no recent work of its kind has had for him so fascinating a store of information.

We have a full description of the inhospitable character of the country and a brief history of its relation with India and China. We learn just what we need to know about its Government and the chapters dealing with Religion are lucid and illuminating. Buddhism followed a belief which was shamanistic, devil worship

pure and simple. To-day the earlier form of religion persists in many remote districts, and the Lamaist creed and ritual absorbed and retains much of its predecessor's outlook. Demonology prevails and black magic is practised. "Bon [the name of the early belief] worship was invariably celebrated at night. The rites were performed in gloomy caverns, the altar and the celebrants being lighted only by the fitful flames of a dim fire. The service ended in the most revolting and depraved orgies." We read that the beginning of modern Lamaism incorporated much of the old faith and that its main prop is the monastic system, which Mr. Macdonald fully describes. We have pictured to us the famous "wheel of Life" which is copied and taught by the itinerant lamas. One-sixth of the whole population consists of Lamas or monks who undergo a strict training from early years. Some lamas study a medicine which is to us as revolting and absurd as any empiricism can be. Weird and wonderful are the theories on which the strange treatment is founded. Four hundred and forty diseases afflict mankind, and for all there are charms and spells. In spite of the doctors the race persists and perhaps this is the best proof of its hardiness. We read of the extraordinary customs associated with birth, marriage and death, and we are brought right into the centre of the everyday life of a country that is probably the most mysterious in the world. It may never have any great influence on international life, but it has an attractive power on a great number of minds. Some day it will become the field in which Christian teaching will be sown, and then it will be better known to all who wish to see the conquest of superstition by the Cross.

A LITURGICAL STUDY OF THE PSALTER. By Cuthbert C. Keet, B.D., Ph.D., with a Foreword by the Rev. Canon G. H. Box, M.A., D.D. *George Allen & Unwin.* 10*s.* 6*d.* (Pp. 192 + 4 Illustrations.)

Critical and devotional interest in the Psalter grows apace. This book will appeal to those who are following the recent trend of criticism, and to those for whom the Psalms are simply the "Hymns Ancient and Modern" of the Jews. Professor Box's Prefatory Note to the book is in itself enough to revive interest in the Psalter—a most profitable and fascinating branch of O.T. study for the general reader. Dr. Keet takes account of all recent work, and gives us a clear and penetrating study of the background of the Psalms. He is not concerned so much with pre-Exilic questions as with the use which the Jews themselves made of the Psalms. The reader will find helpful information on the Temple-choirs, the liturgical settings of the Psalms, and their position in the ancient synagogue. The treatment is scholarly, yet not too technical, and the author deserves our gratitude for this welcome addition to our growing literature on the Psalter. A careful study of the book will prepare the reader for a more intelligent appreciation of that up-to-date English Commentary on the Psalms which is now long over-due. G. H. W.

THE REBUILDING OF THE CHURCH. By J. F. Mozley. *Robert Scott*, 1928. (Pp. 189.) *7s. 6d.*

Here is a book which shows evidence of very extensive reading and much thinking. The problems investigated cover very wide ground, and often force the author to make sweeping statements where we should prefer more detailed treatment. He admits the necessity of such a society as the Church, but feels that the gulf between the Church and the world, wide enough in the early stages of the Church, is now widening more and more. An easy-going tolerance, bad "New Psychology," the cheap newspapers, and the cinema, are all contributing to this. So the Church must be rebuilt. For this new Church Mr. Mozley defines a standard of catholicism, in which there are to be universality of excellence, the inclusion of every kind of good, especially moral good. He finds the present churches, Latin, Evangelical, and Church of England, all lacking in some measure, particularly the Roman Church, which he trounces enthusiastically. Our National Church, he says, has sacrificed truth to comprehensiveness. The principles of the new Church are to be Liberty, Spirituality, Loyalty, all pervaded by what he calls a New Puritanism. This Church will come, so the author firmly believes, but he looks to the younger generation to bear the main share of the task of realizing it. G. H. W.

THE SOUL OF THE BANTU. By W. C. Willoughby. *Student Christian Movement.* 15*s.*

The writer describes this book as a sympathetic study of the magico-religious practices and beliefs of the Bantu tribes of Africa, and he writes from a first-hand knowledge of his subject through his personal contact of twenty-five years in Africa. He, however, does not take the whole of the subject he suggests in his description, but only that part which treats with ancestor worship, and he leaves the many other "practices and beliefs of the Bantu tribes" for another volume on Nature worship, high gods, taboo and magic. In the present volume we are taken step by step through the various phases of the subject the author has chosen, and he invites us to accompany him on an investigation into the study of the tribal conception of life, law, religion, custom, and folklore which he made during a quarter of a century of work and travel among the tribes between the Vaal and the Zambesi, during which he was in constant touch with old native men and women all over the country who were steeped in the collective impressions of their own communities. In doing so, we acquire an intelligent comprehension of the true inwardness of the Bantu religion and their way of thinking of the incarnate soul and the discarnate spirit, the modes of ancestor worship, the way the spirits of the dead are thought to reveal their will to the living, and the character and extent of the influence of the gods upon the everyday life of the people.

The book is furnished with an ample general index, and an index to the clans, tribes and localities mentioned, and also to the books

referred to. The book is not one to be disregarded or ignored by anyone interested in the study of customs or folklore.

A TAOIST PEARL. By A. P. Quentin. London: *S.P.C.K.* 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

A fascinating Missionary apologetic. The attractive art pages, based on Taoist emblematical designs—seventeen in all—are explained in an introductory section, and very interesting they are. As for the story itself, it is a distinctly affirmative answer to the question, "Are Missions any good?" More than that—the book is an attempt to portray Taoist life and thought, in the hope of making it more widely known, for it is probably the least understood of the religions of the Far East. Finally, the portrait in these chapters is that of one of whom it could be said, "It was good to live with him." Mr. Siao's was a life lived in the consciousness of the Divine nearness, and he carried about with him, in the ample folds of his Chinese dress, a Bible to which he was constantly referring, as to a final Court of Appeal. It is a wonderful memoir, of a man both great and good. There is an Appendix in which the writer has given a useful outline of the principles and practice of Taoism, as it was in the past and as it is to-day. S. R. C.

A CERTAIN PRIEST. By the Rev. Bernard M. Hancock. London: *George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

"Retreat Meditations" based on St. Luke's Gospel. Mr. Hancock tells in his "Explanation" how, on very short notice, he went to conduct a Retreat at Shillingstone, near Blandford, armed with a few notes on the back of an envelope and Dr. Alfred Plummer's "great commentary" on St. Luke's Gospel. One of his suggestions was that "all were to receive from one another, and all contribute to one another." This book is one result of this "co-operative retreat," as Mr. Hancock aptly calls it—and a very useful result too. It can hardly fail to help those who have been called to the sacred ministry to examine themselves and then, as the author says, "return to Jerusalem with great joy," that is back to the allotted sphere—"to our Jerusalem, where there are those who fail or deny the Master; where we have failed with this one or that; where, like the disciples, we have our enemies." In a note on reading aloud there are some excellent hints. Altogether a most useful book. S. R. C.

THE WIDOW OF THE JEWELS. By Amy Carmichael. London: *S.P.C.K.* 2*s.* net.

Miss Carmichael's name is quite enough! The latest addition to the Dohnavur Books and the story of Linnet's experiences and conversion, so gracefully told and so effectively illustrated, is sure of a welcome and should serve to stimulate Missionary fervour—a commodity with which we are by no means overdone!

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

William, Prince of Orange.—Miss Marjorie Bowen has written a new book entitled *William, Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England : His Early Life,* illustrated, 18*s.* net (postage 9*d.*). Miss Bowen has written a number of historical novels and romances, and not the least are those which treat with the struggle for freedom in the Netherlands. The period is one which the authoress has made peculiarly her own and the present book is the result of years of interest in the subject. It is an account of the childhood and youth of a man who by reason of his position and his character has constantly occupied the attention of his followers, has been extravagantly lauded and fiercely slandered. English historians have written of William III as King of England, but seldom shown him against his Dutch background, and seldom without a reserve even in their praise, and this Miss Bowen endeavours to rectify, very successfully, in her very interesting and painstaking study. The volume now issued only carries us up to the end of William's twenty-third year, but two more volumes are to follow describing the rest of his life. Miss Bowen's intention was to gather together in one volume the very scattered material relative to the life of the Prince, which has not been presented before in a sequence in English, and to present a portrait of William III in his youth—an intention admirably fulfilled. The book is one which will be valued on account of its vivid description of the life and manners of the period. It shows evidence of considerable research, is well documented, and is successful in depicting the confused atmosphere of the time.

Those of our readers who have not read Miss Bowen's historical novels on the period are recommended to do so. They are : *I Will Maintain ; God and the King ; Defender of the Faith ; Prince and Heretic,* and *William, By the Grace of God,* are all published at 3*s.* 6*d.* net each (postage 6*d.*). There is another exceedingly useful and instructive historical essay by Miss Bowen entitled *Luctor et Emergo : The State of England at the Peace of Ryswick,* which is recommended. The essay contains an account of William III gathered from the material in Miss Bowen's works. It is published at 1*s.* 6*d.* post free.

Religious Novels.—Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. have just published two books of a religious nature which we are glad to be able to notice in this column. The first, entitled *Shoddy,* by Dan Brummitt, is one of the best religious novels that has come to our notice. The scene is laid mainly in America, the hero being a boy born in a mining centre of Lancashire who migrated early to the States, working his way through one of the Universities there and eventually becoming a Bishop of the Methodist Church in America. The story contains a great deal of extremely interesting matter and will well repay reading.

The second book, entitled *The Gulf of Years,* by Watson Griffith, is of quite a different type and deals particularly with Faith and Faith-healing. The scene is also laid in America. The text of the book is given in an extract from a speech by Sir William Osler in January, 1901, which forms an introduction, the purport of which is that faith is the great lever of life,

without which men can do nothing. Both books are published at *7s. 6d.* net each (postage *6d.*).

Church Accounts and Schedules.—Many inquiries have been received of late for an Account and Schedule of Church Property, commonly called a "Terrier." Mr. Albert Mitchell has very kindly prepared a form, which is printed and published by the Church Book Room, price *1s.* net (postage *2d.*). This is supplied in an endorsed envelope, and we feel sure that it will be found of very great use by Churchwardens and others.

Intercommunion.—The article on *Intercommunion*, by the Rev. J. P. S. R. Gibson, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, which appeared in THE CHURCHMAN for January, has now been issued in pamphlet form, price *2d.* It was felt that this article would be of considerable value during the next few months, in view of the many discussions that will take place on the subject before the Lambeth Conference next year.

The Sung Eucharist.—Archdeacon Thorpe has written an extraordinarily valuable pamphlet entitled *The Anglo-Catholic Sung Eucharist*, which has been published by the Church Book Room, price *2d.* net. This pamphlet is written in the Archdeacon's clear and forcible way against this growing practice, and we trust it will have a large circulation, particularly in districts where the Sung Eucharist is superseding Morning Prayer.

A Christian State.—Sir Lewis Dibdin has answered some of the Bishop of Durham's special pleading in regard to Disestablishment in two able articles which appeared in *The Times*. These have now been issued in pamphlet form, price *6d.* net (*7d.* post free), and will form a treasure-house of valuable historical information on the position of our Church in regard to the State.

New Folk Runes.—A series of excellent simple children's posters, as they are described by the publisher, is being issued on a thick board, size $12'' \times 10''$, in beautiful design and colouring, price *1s.* each. The four now published are:—*The Children's Beatitudes*, a copyright publication, here illustrated for the first time; *My Creed*, some favourite verses: "I will be true for there are those who trust me," etc.; *A London Litany*, in praise of the blessings of our corporate life, a new publication, not done in any other form; and *Motherhood*, lines issued by permission of the author, Miss Evelyn Underhill. They would make very attractive additions to the walls of school or playroom.

The Tomb and Life Beyond.—Messrs. Elliot Stock have just published a booklet entitled *The Tomb and Life Beyond in the Light of Bible Lands*, by the Rev. J. Politeyan, B.A., F.R.G.S., price *1s. 6d.* net (postage *2d.*). The subject matter of this book was originally one of a course of lectures given on various Biblical subjects at the Palestine Bible Schools which have been organized by several rural deaneries in the South of England and conducted by the author. The lecture has been published in book form in response to many and repeated requests, and should prove comforting and helpful to its many readers. This all-important subject is treated entirely from an oriental standpoint.