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The Churchman Advertiser.

OCTOBER, 1933.

NATIONAL CHURCH LEAGUE

(INCORPORATED)

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THE CHURCHMAN

October, 1933.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Duty of Evangelical Churchpeople.

ALTHOUGH the celebration of the Centenary of the Oxford Movement has naturally received the largest share of attention in many religious circles during recent months, other interests have not been altogether ignored. As the Centenary Celebration is now over there is every hope that the attention of Churchpeople will return to those matters that really concern the future welfare of the Church of England as the chief representative of the Reformed Faith in the world. One writer has stated that there is need, after the exaggerations which characterised so much of the literature put forth in connection with the Centenary Celebration, of a " fresh study of history and a due sense of proportion." To judge from some recent accounts of the Church life of the nineteenth century the impression would be gained that there was nothing of importance accomplished except by the Tractarians and their successors. It is well that any such wrong impressions should be corrected, and it is the duty of Evangelical Churchpeople to see, as far as lies in their power, that due credit is given to the work of their predecessors both at home and in the Mission field. It is true, as has been pointed out more than once, that a great deal of Evangelical effort was expended in endeavours to save the Church from the errors and excesses resulting from Tractarianism. This deflection from their true work and their main interest was unfortunate, but the blame is not to be laid upon them. It must be placed upon those whose efforts to change the character of our Church had to be resisted. Had there been no Oxford Movement the Evangelical School would have developed normally and they would no doubt have continued, as they had begun, to introduce those changes in ritual and teaching which would have proved suitable and necessary to meet the needs of each successive generation.

Justice to the Older Evangelicals.

One result of Tractarianism was that an atmosphere of suspicion was developed and anything that seemed to savour of Rome led to

protest. Many beneficial changes which might otherwise have been easily introduced were resisted because the tendencies of the Oxford Movement were suspect. It is hardly to be expected that the historians of the Oxford Movement will give a favourable account of those who felt it their duty to oppose suspicious innovations. It must be evident to all that less than justice has been done to the great Evangelicals of the nineteenth century. There were many among them who were scholars of considerable ability, although it is true that the Evangelicals excelled most in the practical work of parochial life and in the development of Oversea missions. Their zeal was for the conversion of the world and they allowed nothing to interfere with the carrying out of that purpose. One reason for the neglect of the writings of these older Evangelicals is that they are regarded as old-fashioned, and that our new age has passed away from their point of view. This may be in large measure true, but one fact that has been made quite clear in the literature of the Oxford Movement Centenary is that its leaders were in many respects as old-fashioned as their Evangelical contemporaries. On many fundamental questions they shared the same prejudices and were unable to escape the mental environment of their age. The Tractarians had the additional disadvantage that in their regard for antiquity, their outlook was painfully limited and their knowledge inadequate, with the result that they accepted theories that more recent historical research has shown to be untenable. Their views, for example, on Apostolical Succession are not now accepted even by many who profess to sympathise with their general position.

Recalling Past Leaders.

Evangelicals have been unfortunate in not having historians to tell the story of their work during this period. The Rev. Charles Hole, a historian of no mean ability, began the History of the Church Missionary Society, but on too large a scale, and Dr. Eugene Stock took up the task and completed the history of the Society. This was practically the only record of Evangelical work until the Rev. G. R. Balleine wrote his *History of the Evangelical Party* some twenty-five years ago. This has been the chief source of information of the doings of the Evangelical School. His work was well done, but there is need now for other works to give a fuller account of the success of such men as Close of Cheltenham, Champneys of Whitechapel, McNeile of Liverpool, Stowell of Manchester, and others whose work ought to be as familiar to Evangelical Churchpeople as are the names of those who were associated with either the Oxford or the Broad Church Movement. There is also need of a writer with historical gifts who will write the history of the Evangelicals during the first thirty years of the present century. There are a host of names which Evangelical Churchpeople are allowing to fall into neglect from the lack of some record of their work. We need only mention the names of Dimock, Wace, Griffith Thomas, Watts-Ditchfield, Madden, Lefroy, Webb-Peploe and Aitken to show what rich material there is for an adequate account of the activities of

those who were proud to be known as members of the Evangelical School. Whatever divisions may have arisen in recent years among the Evangelicals of the Church they can surely unite, as heartily as the Anglo-Catholics have recently done in regard to their predecessors, in paying tribute to the memories of those who maintained their cause in the past.

The Vitality of Evangelicalism.

There is special reason at the present time for such an effort. The last Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen which dealt with the whole subject of " Evangelicalism, Yesterday and To-Day," showed the inherent vitality of the Evangelical Cause, and the grounds for regarding the Evangelical interpretation of Christianity as the best and nearest to the teaching of Christ and of the early Church. It is because Evangelical Churchmen are convinced that their conceptions of Christian doctrine and of the organisation of the Church and its Ministry are more nearly in accord with truth, with the teaching of history and experience, that they are convinced of the ultimate acceptance of their claim, however much they may fail in this generation to make it good. There are always reactions, and the reaction to Medievalism must spend itself, and then once again the plain truths of the Gospel Message will be cleared from all the subtleties of sophistry, and we may add without any desire to give offence, of superstition in which it has become involved through the departure from the high spiritual standard set up by Christ against the spirit of Jewish legalism and its representatives in modern life and thought. Such retrogression as has been witnessed in the nineteenth century constantly tends to recur and fresh Reformations are needed to restore the purity of faith. Every institution carries within it the elements of decay, and it is only by the renewal of the spiritual vitality that brought it into existence that its usefulness can be maintained. It is not too much to say that the Church is subject to this tendency and that the Evangelical School may be the means in God's hands in these coming years of a needed reformative movement.

Books Recommended for Study.

We have pleasure in welcoming and in recommending to our readers two recent books which we have no doubt will help to a better understanding of the Evangelical position and will help also to convey something of the inspiration which was the source of the achievements of our predecessors. When Evangelicals are accused of not giving due prominence to the Sacraments it is well to be able to show that their attitude towards Holy Communion is in harmony with the best teaching of the Church in all ages. This was done some time ago in the volume, *The Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion*. Canon MacKean, who was one of the contributors to that volume, has recently written *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement*, in which he shows how the leaders of the Movement departed from the standards of English Church teaching which

are to-day represented in the Evangelical position. A review of Canon MacKean's book is given in this number of THE CHURCHMAN. A review is also given of the Bishop of Barking's most useful account of *Evangelical Influence in English Life.* These two books will do much to counteract any false impressions that may have been given as to the all-prevailing power of the Oxford Movement in the Church, and will enable readers to arrive at that due sense of proportion which is one of the chief needs of Churchpeople to-day. The herd instinct seems to be specially strong in Church circles, and an opportunity for the exercise of a little independent thought and judgment in the study of these volumes ought to have a beneficial effect.

An Unnecessary Controversy.

Dr. Jarvis, the Provost of Sheffield Cathedral, recently invited a number of those who were attending a meeting of the Oxford Group Movement in Sheffield to attend a Holy Communion service in the Cathedral. For this kindly and Christian action he has been subjected to a violent attack on the part of some of the extreme members of the Anglo-Catholic party, and a lively controversy was maintained for some time in the columns of the Sheffield Press. Dr. Jarvis was easily able to defend his action and it was clear to any impartial person that the controversy was quite unnecessary. The occasion was a special one. The Group had met together and spent some time in conferring on the things of the soul and of the Kingdom of God. A desire was expressed that they might partake of the Lord's Supper before they separated and went their ways to Canada, Russia, Germany, the United States, South Africa and other parts of the world. Dr. Jarvis adopted the obvious Christian course. He says: "I therefore offered sacramental fellowship to these baptised Christians at the end of what had been to all of us a memorable occasion of spiritual fellowship. It seemed a natural sequence and the only Christian thing to do." Dr. Jarvis may rest assured that he has acted in the true Christian spirit and that all who value expressions of Christian fellowship will welcome his action. The grounds of the opposition were mainly that unconfirmed Christians were invited to the Holy Communion in an English Church. It is scarcely necessary to argue the case. It has frequently been shown that the Rubric regarding Confirmation does not apply to present-day conditions, and was only intended for those who are members of our Church. We may refer our readers to the useful discussion of the point in Archdeacon Hunkin's *Episcopal Ordination and Confirmation in relation to Inter-Communion and Reunion.* He confirms the arguments so clearly stated in Professor Gwatkin's *The Confirmation Rubric: Whom does it bind?* and he gives a number of authoritative statements made in recent days by several bishops, and supported by the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference and the Convocations of both Provinces.

OUR ANGLICAN HERITAGE.[1]

By the Rev. Canon A. J. Tait, D.D.

I.

The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot. The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places: yea, I have a goodly heritage.—Psalm xvi. 5, 6.

SEVERAL happenings of the past few months have quickened within me the desire to increase my knowledge and understanding of the religious Movements which made the development of Church life and activity a conspicuous feature of the nineteenth century, and so to grow in appreciation of the spiritual heritage into which the Church of England has entered in this twentieth century. Some of those happenings to which I refer were particularly connected with the challenge of our very right to existence, which is being constantly reiterated by representative spokesmen of the Roman Communion.

My purpose therefore for these Sunday mornings in August is to speak positively about our heritage, and our indebtedness for its enrichment to the Movements of the nineteenth century, and, if time permits at the close, to give my reasons for regarding the Roman challenge as having no true foundation.

In connection with the recent celebrations of the Centenary of the Oxford Movement I noted with interest a statement of the Bishop of Llandaff. After warning his hearers, as many of our leaders have recently done both in Pulpit and Press, that the battle in the near future will be with the forces of materialism and secularism, he said that the paramount need of the day was for consecrated men and women who know the meaning of membership of the consecrated Society. Now in the two parts of that statement of the need I see the distinctive emphases of the Evangelical and the Tractarian Movements: the Evangelical Movement stressing individual consecration to God, the Tractarian Movement stressing the meaning of membership of the consecrated Society.

I do not intend for a moment to imply that the Evangelicals had no sense or doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments; but their emphasis was on individual religion and responsibility. Nor do I imply that the Tractarian Movement did not produce consecrated individuals; but its stress was on the corporate and institutional side of religion.

As the Bishop of Truro put it, in his sermon in Lincoln College, Oxford, on the indebtedness of the Oxford Movement to the Evangelical Revival (and I could have wished that his title had been

[1] The first of a course of four sermons preached in Peterborough Cathedral during the month of August; printed in their original form except for the omission of a few sentences of immediate and local reference.

" The indebtedness of the Church of England to the Evangelical Revival "), the two Movements have stood, the one for the Prophetic Ministry, the other for the Priestly Ministry, and each must learn to co-operate with the other.

To these two Movements we must add a third, if we are to take an all-round view of the influences which have been and are at work among us, the Liberal or Broad Church Movement, led by men who fearlessly exercise the spirit of enquiry and the right of criticism, and bring traditional interpretations and current theories to the test of new discoveries, new knowledge, new thought.

My desire, then, is to bear what tribute my mind and pen enable me to each of these Movements; but before doing so I must say a word about our foundations and structure.

In the Church of England we are based on, and our building is one of, historic order, mercifully preserved to us in the great upheaval of the sixteenth century, when we had to break with the Church of Rome as the price of liberty to amend our ways and to purge our doctrines from the adulterations of medievalism. In the early years of the Oxford Movement even Pusey recognised that the English Church would never have recovered Apostolicity without the Reformation, though, as years went on, he became more sympathetic towards the Roman Church (see MacKean, *Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement*, p. 49). I bid you remember that the writings of our English Reformers are saturated not merely with appeal to the New Testament, but also with appeal to the Fathers of the Church, whom they could quote more readily than most of us could quote the Bible. The last thing that the Reformers thought of doing was to introduce novelty (though what they did was novelty indeed to the men of their time); their claim rather was that they were restoring the true tradition. Read the three prefatory chapters in the Prayer Book: the first, " The Preface," the latest of the three, the work of the 1662 revisers who gave us the Prayer Book as we now have it, showing clearly that those later Caroline Churchmen (including our great Dean Cosin) had no thought of repudiating the work of the Reformers; the other two, belonging to 1549, explaining the principles of the Reformation itself.

Yes, we are built, all the more firmly because of the Reformation, on the historic order, the historic Scriptures, the historic Creeds, the historic Sacraments. All of the historic foundation and structure is preserved among us, and is our external link of union with the past, and of our real unity among ourselves, which is apt to be pushed into the background through our fearless exhibiting to the world of relatively minor differences, relatively minor, but not unimportant differences, such as inevitably characterise self-respecting manhood that refuses to live in an ecclesiastical nursery, differences moreover which may contribute to the richness of apprehension and life.

Now I pass to the Movements of last century through which the heritage has been mediated to us. The recent commemora-

tion of the Oxford Movement makes this a fitting opportunity to take the wider view of the revival of Church life. I begin then with the Evangelical Movement, the first in the order of time in the period with which we are concerned.

The Evangelical Movement started with the Wesleys and their friends of "The Holy Club" at Oxford in the early years of the eighteenth century; and, let it be remembered, with an indebtedness (of which John Wesley could never speak too highly) to William Law, the Non-Juror, best known to us as the author of *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life.*

The Movement was religious rather than doctrinal or ecclesiastical. The leaders were not concerned with such matters as the government of the Church and the relation of Church and State; and doctrinally they were satisfied with the Articles understood in their historical and natural sense, for no question had arisen then about their being interpreted in any other. Their objective was not theology or Ecclesiasticism but personal religion. They laid themselves out to bring men back to God, to seek and to save the lost sheep, to lead men into personal surrender to the Lord Jesus Christ and experience of His constraining love, and to give to men freedom both from the enslavement of sin and from the tyranny of other men. They and their successors became more theological and controversial under the pressure of circumstances, for they got entangled in Calvinistic controversy and later in controversy for the Reformed character of the Church; and those who claim to be in their tradition to-day are concerning themselves with all aspects of Church thought and policy; but the Movement originated in relation to religion rather than theology, and it has been centred there ever since.

It was a mighty movement touching all classes of lay people from the highest to the lowest social circles; but it was unloved by the majority of the clergy, who in the eighteenth century seem to have been for the most part men without any use for religious enthusiasm. It is a profound mistake for anyone to imagine that the Evangelicals had become dominant in the Church at the time when the Oxford Movement arose (How could they be that without the clergy?) except in spiritual and philanthropic activity, and dominant in those respects they undoubtedly were. Whatever charges of laxity and worldliness may be justly brought against the clergy of the time, they may not be laid at the door of the relatively few Evangelical clergy. They were known as "the serious clergy," a sufficiently clear tribute.

It may surprise some of my listeners to hear that it was the Evangelicals who introduced the singing of hymns in Public Worship, and were pioneers in introducing early celebrations of Holy Communion. In the Parish Church of Islington Daniel Wilson established an early Celebration in addition to the midday one in 1828, and light may be thrown on his reasons by the fact that in the previous year on New Year's Day there were two hundred and thirty-eight communicants. In a book published in 1854 Arch-

bishop Whately mentions the saying of the Words of Administration once to a group of persons as a method of administering that had been for long time the custom in many churches. A symptom of slackness? Nay, rather an indication of the increase in the number of communicants. At St. Peter's, Hereford, e.g., where the Bishop refused to allow John Venn, the first Chairman of C.M.S., to employ that method, there was an occasion when the Service lasted from eleven to four. Similar witness is borne by the widespread use of devotional manuals of preparation. One of these had reached the twenty-fourth edition in 1807, another the eighteenth edition in 1819, and a third, published in 1815, reached the sixth edition in 1830. I have culled these statistics from a book that has been recently published, *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement*, by Dr. MacKean, Canon Residentiary of Rochester. Such facts do not mean, of course, that the whole Church was alive and vigorous, or that statements of there being, e.g., only six communicants in St. Paul's Cathedral on an Easter-Day, are not true: what they do mean is that the revival of which I am speaking was leading up in churches whose clergy had been influenced by it to an increase in the number of communicants and of Celebrations of Holy Communion.

II.

Christ in you, the hope of glory: whom we proclaim, admonishing every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ.—Colossians i. 27.

THE tragedy of the Evangelical Movement was that a great deal of its fruit was lost to the Church of England, largely, I believe, through the failure of the majority of the Clergy to sympathise with, and make room for, the new enthusiasm and new methods; and the lost fruit is represented to-day by the Methodist Communion.

But the Church of England retained a share, and out of that share has sprung a host of agencies for doing the Church's work, which have rendered an annual account of their activities at what was (and still are) called the May Meetings, originally associated with Exeter Hall, built in 1831 for Evangelical evangelistic work. The list of these meetings to-day includes other societies than those of the Evangelicals, but I can remember the day when it did not. Of the Evangelical achievements that which calls for specially honourable mention was the arousing of the Church to a fuller sense of its obligation to give the Gospel to the whole world of men. The already venerable Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge came under the influence of the Movement, and in 1818 became more vigorous: but even then their scope was limited to our own people overseas and to the "Natives in our Plantations." So in 1799 was founded

The Church Missionary Society with its full title, " for Africa and the East."

Evangelistic work, both at home and abroad, requires literature, and particularly the circulation and the translation of the Scriptures; so in 1799 arose The Religious Tract Society, and in 1804 The British and Foreign Bible Society.

I have been amazed by the variety of call and outlet for the Church's activity that was in turn responded to by men of the Movement. It was not that they acted as an organised Party obeying the call of a Party caucus; that was not their way of doing things: but it was through the leadership and initiative of individuals or little groups that the various agencies were set on foot.

In 1808 was founded the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and in 1836 The Church Pastoral-Aid Society for supplying workers in home parishes. And in this connection I note that the Church owes its authorised Lay Ministry to the Movement, for The Additional Curates Society came into being as a secession, in protest against the employment of Laymen for spiritual work (see Dr. Eugene Stock's *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 53, Longmans).

In 1838 arose the Colonial and Continental Church Society for our people abroad, because the Evangelicals were not wanted on the Councils of the S.P.G.

In 1844 they responded to the call of South America, that came through the heroic work of Captain Allen Gardiner: so arose The South American Missionary Society.

In 1856 they saw the needs of our seamen in home and foreign Ports, and founded The Missions to Seamen.

In 1865 Hudson Taylor heard the call of Western China, and founded The China Inland Mission, which received a great impetus in 1885 through the going forth of the Cambridge Seven, including Stanley Smith, the Stroke of the Boat, and C. T. Studd, the Captain of the Cricket Eleven, both of them fruit of the Mission of Moody, the outstanding Evangelist of the Nineteenth Century, as Wesley and Whitfield had been in the Eighteenth.

In 1876 Hay Aitken, another fruit of Moody's Mission, founded the Parochial Mission Society.

In 1880 they heard the call of India's women who could not be reached by male missionaries, and founded the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.

In 1882, under the inspiration of Wilson Carlile (yet another fruit of Moody's Mission), arose the Church Army.

This list is only representative: it leaves unrecognised the various organisations for the training of Clergy and Deaconesses, for education in Sunday Schools and Public Schools, for holiday mission work amongst children on the sea-shore and otherwise, for work among students at the Universities. Yes, and more than that, for I have not mentioned the achievements that removed some of the outstanding blots in our national life, achievements con-

nected particularly with the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, the Thorntons, Lord Shaftesbury, and other influential men who were inspired by the religion which the Movement gave to them—the emancipation of the slaves, the carrying out of which has been one of the glories of the British Navy ever since, Prison Reform, the abolition of child labour in the Factories, and general activity in the improvement of the lot of the lower classes in society.

The *Cambridge Chronicle* recently published the following extract from its issue of August 2, 1833:

"It is this day our melancholy duty to announce the death of William Wilberforce, a name with which there is probably associated more of love and veneration than ever fell to the lot of any single individual throughout the whole civilised world. At one period the sad event would have been felt as a grievous national calamity, and even now the tidings of his departure will be heard with the deepest sorrow through every part of the Empire. But he worked while it was called day, remembering that the night was coming wherein no man may work. And he was not permitted to leave the scene of his labours, till he beheld the great cause to which he had dedicated all the energies of his soul triumphant, and the fetters of the negro about to be struck off for ever. His warfare is accomplished: his course is finished: he kept the faith."

How I wish that I had time to pay honour to other leaders of the Movement, but I have not; and it fits in best with their character if I do not, for they were men who with one accord repudiated self-righteousness and shunned popular esteem. But let me say this: I know of no tonic for the spirit that is more effective than the reading of a good biography of a good man. I mention then three books which can help us to enter into the spirit of some representatives of the Movement. One is *Christian Leaders of the Eighteenth Century*, by John Charles Ryle, first Bishop of Liverpool, with an introduction by the dear old Oxford saint, Canon Christopher (Thynne). The second is one of the literary legacies of that devout scholar, Handley Moule, Bishop of Durham; it is *Charles Simeon*, in the series of English Leaders of Religion (Methuen). The third is *Henry Martyn*, by Constance Padwick (Student Christian Movement).

I pass now to a word about the message of the Movement in the days of its evangelistic fervour. What was the substance of the preaching and writing which were so mightily used for the revival of practical religion?

From beginning to end it was just a magnifying of the love and grace of God, manifested and given to man in the Lord Jesus Christ. The message was often couched in language which we would not use to-day; and it is worthy of note that it is not only the language of doctrine that gets out of date. Miss Padwick, in her *Life of Henry Martyn*, published in 1922, writes about Sargent's contemporary biography of Martyn: "Sargent's book in the religious language of 1816 is almost strange to the children of another century."

The message was also associated with some interpretations which we would reject; indeed, if we look only at the clothing of the

message we might be inclined to accept the verdict of a modern evangelist who said to me: "The old way of preaching the Gospel is as dead as a door nail." Yes, the shell of it may be, but break the shell and get at the kernel, and you will find that the essence of the message was the magnifying of the grace of God.

So they preached the corruption of human nature, and at heart it was testimony to man's entire dependence upon the grace of God for renewal unto life.

So they preached the Atonement, with crude, as I think, interpretation of the meaning of the Crucifixion, and at heart it was the magnifying of God's grace in His dealing with the fact of man's transgression, rebellion, sin.

So they preached Justification through faith alone, and it was the magnifying of the Father's love in welcoming and restoring the penitent prodigal who can do nothing to deserve such treatment, and can only return and cast himself upon the Father's mercy and love.

So they preached the recreating power of the Holy Spirit, as free in His working as the wind of heaven, a recreating which could take place at any time through the agency of the Gospel message heard or read: and it was a magnifying of the will, grace, power of God, ever ready and present to bring men to a new life.

Yes, and they preached the inseparable connection between true faith and personal holiness, testifying at once to the obligation that lies upon the life that is lived under grace, and to the certainty of its being fulfilled through faith in the sanctifying power of the indwelling Christ: and it was the magnifying of the ever-present grace of God in perfecting the good work which He has begun in us.

I bring this tribute to an end with some words from another pen: it is a statement of Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, to be found in his *Popular History of the Church of England* (John Murray). After referring to some ardent erratic spirits among the Clergy, aroused by the Movement in its earlier days, he writes:

"The greater number, loyal to the Prayer Book and its rubrics, were distinguished by the zealousness with which they discharged their duty, by the blamelessness of their lives, by their inflexible standard of right and wrong, by their love of the name of Christ, and by a deep and rich inward experience of religion. The age of practical Christianity was at hand. As men's spirits were awakened to the deeper aspects of life, and they realised God and eternity, man's immortality, sin and righteousness, they began to care for the poor, the sick, the enslaved, the ill-treated. Philanthropy dawned, but it came in the wake of a religious revival."

Those who are interested in the Missionary work in the Zenana Missions will appreciate a story by D. S. Batley dealing with the lot of Indian women. The title is *Romoni's Daughters* (Zenith Press, 2*s*. net). A vivid picture is given of the hard fate of Hindu women and the urgent need for the Gospel of Christ is forcibly shown as the only means of the improvement of their condition.

A MID-VICTORIAN HOME.[1]

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

"A LITTLE cedar-twig from the garden of your old Home which is being pulled down"; so ran the covering words which accompanied the little gift. It awoke memories, such as I have been begged more than once to commit to writing, though I do so with the greatest reluctance. The snare of autobiographies is that we neither see ourselves as others see us, and recognise not our littleness in the great ocean of human life: nor do we see ourselves as God sees us, but turn, as George Herbert says, "to a few pages in life's book," and try to make these selections do duty for the whole. Perhaps the only solution of such perplexities is to make an attempt to place our memories of the past in the context of the world to which they belonged, to disentangle, so far as is possible, what was unique and unusual from what was commonplace and typical, and in narration to observe due proportion between the two. In this way recollections of individuals become contributions to history, and history is the record of the reactions of man to the will and purposes of God.

To return then to the cedar-twig. It carried me back to the years 1860 to 1865. The tree on which it grew was set in a small garden, of about half an acre in extent, with a paddock of about three-quarters of an acre attached. The paddock served for the rudiments of cricket. The garden was of extraordinary fertility. I remember well, besides the cedar, two noble white-heart cherry-trees, a fertile pear-tree, an old acacia, a bay-tree, and other shrubs, currant-trees, black, white, and red, and on the red-brick walls surrounding the garden, peaches, apricots and greengages which duly ripened. The lawn was very small; neither croquet nor tennis had been invented. But knowing suburban gardens, as I now know them, I am amazed that a small suburban garden within ten miles of London, and tended only by an old labourer once a week, should have been so productive. But we were still separated from London then by miles of open country. Our home, a semi-detached house, stood where the Beddington Lane starts on a by-road between Croydon and Beddington. It faced a large meadow at the end of which flowed the Wandle, Isaac Walton's own beloved Wandle. Between our home and Beddington lay, first, a large mill-pond haunted by dab-chicks, and, no doubt, containing trout, though I never saw it fished; then from the mill-pond onwards we followed a lovely country lane, fragrant, as the seasons recurred, with may, briar, and honeysuckle, and still flanked by the stream. Next came a mysteriously dark and strongly redolent snuff-mill. Next, a path bordering the Wandle, from which we saw great trout lying motionless on the gravel

bottom. So we went on, past the rural post office, past a splendid avenue of Spanish chestnut trees attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, to Beddington Church, which lay just outside Beddington Park, the estate of the Carews. Such amenities, unspoiled by the builders, linking us up with English history, and adorned with all the wealth of the Surrey country-side, were at our doors, and their influences woven into our lives. The builder has effaced or is effacing them all; and in his work of destruction for reconstruction has included our old home and garden.

Waddon itself consisted of half a dozen residences, one of them a farm, where I have seen wheat thrashed out with flails, a public-house, of course, and a few cottages. Our gentlefolk all had business in town to which they went up daily. There was one Unitarian non-resident. The rest were Church folk, most of them Church-goers, dividing their allegiance between Beddington and Croydon our Parish Church, the Vicarage of which was practically in Waddon. Of Church Services something may be said presently. For the present let the Home engage our attention.

Foremost in my memories stands the *res angusta domi*. My father's income I take to have been about £650 a year, out of which, after paying rent and taxes, he had to face the expense of a household of thirteen, in which were included three servants. His pension as an ex-Chaplain of the East India Company included provision after his decease for his widow and unmarried daughters —of them there were two—two others born in England were not entitled to this provision. The sons' allowances, if he died first, ceased on their attaining the age of twenty-one. It was a handsome allowance after sixteen years' service in the East, my father's own portion, while he lived, being £1 a day. But the problem was how to feed, clothe and educate this family on £2 a day. For the cost of living—apart from rates and taxes—was not much lower than it is to-day; probably higher, for bread was dearer. Servants' wages were, however, so low as to be almost a negligible item.

Three meals a day supplied, if not our appetites, our allowance. Four-o'clock tea and supper were not. Meat appeared only at the midday meals, and for the other two we each had a round of bread with jam or salt butter, followed by as much dry bread as our appetites demanded. I can remember how during the Crimean War the bread was liable to contain horrible lumps of alum, and how during the Lancashire cotton famine we gave up butter, not at our parents' suggestion but at our own. Of the devices by which clothes chosen for durability passed in rotation down the family, it is not necessary to speak. It was on my sisters that the hardships of frocks and hats fell heavily. Durability took precedence of fashion. To the boys fashion mattered less. But even we hated the "old Trojan," nicknamed after the duration of the war of that ilk. "He," however, was unique in our wardrobe.

Another consequence of our poverty was that we gave no entertainments and consequently received few invitations. We

were not absolutely precluded from attending children's parties, but they had not much attraction for us. As soon as dancing began we had to return home, and that, supperless, unless our hostess snatched a few delicacies from the supper-table for us. On the whole, taking into account the labours and pains of a more elaborate toilet, and the consciousness of our sartorial inferiority, we found little pleasure in the few parties which we attended. In the present day much would be said of "an inferiority complex" in a family so trained. Undoubtedly we were shy in society, and found more distress than pleasure in social functions. To some extent it was probably intended that we should not grow up worldly.

It is impossible to go further in description of the Home without reference to the personalities of my father and mother, each of them typically Victorian in character, each stamped with strong and distinct individuality. If, for the purposes of this memoir, it must be that I should think and write of them as an onlooker outside the home, yet in my deepest consciousness I am aware of something that borders on treason in so doing. For they were to me, both of them, in a very true sense in place of God, devoting their whole selves to the nurture of their children in the fear of God, and counting nothing a sacrifice that might be surrendered for the welfare of the home. Let my mother have precedence.

She was rather short, of sweetest countenance, with a most winning smile, and most charming voice. Her father, a member of the Society of Friends, was Thomas Forbes Reynolds, owner of bleaching mills and grounds on the banks of the Wandle, in the parish of Carshalton. The family was wealthy, and descriptions are extant of the state in which they rode in their chariot to the Friends' Meeting House. My grandfather, a wayward and impetuous youngster, carried off a lovely girl, Frances Daniell, whom her family had good hopes of marrying into the peerage, and was wedded to her at Gretna Green. The marriage certificate and the sentence of my grandfather's expulsion from the Society of Friends for marrying out of the Society are in our possession to this day. The Napoleonic Wars, in part, and my grandfather's impetuosity not less, were responsible for decline of the business. He went to Cambridge to read for a degree in medicine, and there became the fast friend of my father, an undergraduate of Sidney Sussex College.

The Daniell relations having interests in the East India Company facilitated the sending out of my grandfather's two motherless daughters to India. Their intention was to go out as governesses, and my mother had definitely refused an attractive offer to go out with her rich relatives the Curzons, fearing "the world" into which their home would throw her. But a passage to India in those days was as good as a dowry, for India abounded with eligible bachelors, comfortably circumstanced, and backed up with pensions for widows and children. So George Knox met again Frances Mary Anne Reynolds, and married her at Cuddalore in 1844. Both

husband and wife had been bitten with Tractarianism before they left home. Two influences combined to cure them, the Episcopal condemnations of Tractarianism after Tract XC, and, far more potently, Macaulay's *History of England*, the early volumes of which my mother had devoured on her way out to India. Macaulay's *History* was decidedly the strongest of all contemporary antidotes to Tractarianism. "The Trial of the Seven Bishops" and "The Siege of Londonderry" gave to Protestantism that element of Romanticism, which, more than any other intellectual force, dominated early Victorian thought. Macaulay was a cure for Sir Walter Scott, though both were loved. Of distinctly religious influences working in the same direction mention must be made presently.

From India my mother came home at the beginning of 1855 with a family of four sons and two daughters born in nine years, and with a heart hankering desperately after her old home in Surrey. It was three years before her wish could be gratified—years spent, one in Scotland, one in York, and one in London, all to her equally years of exile worse by far than the exile of India. The county feeling, and passionate love of "the county" and pride in it were a strong force still in many Victorian hearts. In Beddington and round it my mother still had friends and kindred. The wife of Samuel Gurney, of Overend & Gurney, was a cousin. Another cousin lived at Wallington, and the daughter of a former Rector lived on at Beddington. My mother was like Naomi restored to her kinsfolk at Bethlehem, and was supremely happy when the seat which had been hers years ago in Beddington Church was by courtesy of her cousin restored to her. I can see her in it now, nestling in the corner, close to the reading-desk. The old Church, the old family seat had a grip on the hearts of devout Victorians. It is a great mistake to imagine that they did not love the Church, though there were no surpliced choirs, nor even barrel-organs in it. But again I am anticipating.

To return to my mother. Being motherless she was sent with a sister to a boarding-school, and was fortunate in her mistress. The elements of sound education, interest in good literature, sound taste and discrimination, and steady perseverance were imparted. My mother was well read, and—what matters much to a family—well trained in reading aloud. This last acquisition makes all the difference between making books appear fascinating or distasteful. My mother could make Scott's *Commentary on the Bible*, and even Daniel Wilson on the Colossians sound attractive in our ears. Naturally when she read *Ivanhoe* or *Quentin Durward* or the *Pilgrim's Progress* we were spell-bound. But though her reading voice was so musical, she could neither sing nor play, nor teach music. We grew up a completely unmusical family.

It was in the management of her home that her motherhood shone most conspicuously. In spite of weakness, which necessitated extraordinary care in diet, and confined greatly her freedom of movement, she ruled her household with management as firm as

it was gentle. Rules abounded, restrictions on times and modes of amusements, checks on appetite, on liberty of speech, and on employment of time: rules that affected the maidservants as well as the children. But the loveableness with which my mother enforced those rules, the consciousness that there was not a trace of selfishness or tyranny in her management, led to acceptance of it practically without demur. Of course being a hot-headed, quick-tempered, parcel of boys and girls we had our quarrels, but in her settlement of these there was no favouritism. She lived with us and among us, so far as her health permitted, from morning to night. She hardly ever left home; not for more than one or two nights in the year. Her rule was broken by no seaside-lodging interludes, for we never left home. No cousins intruded on the regular tenor of our routine: we had none on my father's side, and the cousins on my mother's side, being taken over by their mother to the Church of Rome were, at once and permanently, estranged from us. So the home-life established itself on our minds as an existence ordered, orderly, and unquestionable, and markedly independent—a world of its own.

On one other feature of the home-life, attributable to my mother's care, a few words must be added—that is, on its extraordinary healthiness. In an age when phthisis, small-pox, typhoid fever, and occasionally even cholera took heavy toll of Victorian homes, ours was almost immune. The family doctor meeting our nurse with her charges in the road one day, spoke almost bitterly of "that healthy family." One sister indeed lay for some weeks between life and death in an attack of bronchitis. Then my mother nursing her night and day kept the thermometer for weeks in her room at sixty degrees in a desperately cold winter. This was the only serious illness that I remember. Of ordinary children's complaints running through a family I have no recollection, saving one attack of mumps, nor of being detained from school by them. My mother had acquired, how I know not, a wholesome sanitary regimen, striking the mean between coddling and rashness, together with a strong faith in the use of castor oil. She was vigilant without being fussy, and mingled tenderness with sound common sense. The extraordinary healing touch in her hand on an aching brow I remember to this day. Nor can I doubt that her foreseeing and remedial care had behind them the guidance and wisdom that are promised to the prayerful. Her unquestioning faith in the Lord as "the Keeper" of her home rested on a solid foundation of spiritual reality.

Passing from my mother to my father I recall a sharp contrast between my two parents, on which filial respect forbids me to enlarge. My father was a man of dominant mien, of high forehead, hooked nose, flashing eyes, and forceful speech, handsome, sparkling with wit, a man who by force of appearance—apart from character—could not fail to command attention, whatever might be the society in which he found himself—a man who would stand no nonsense. A luckless tramp, who insisted on seeing "the benevolent features

of the Rector" was soon observed hurrying away as fast as his legs could carry him. My father was of Ulster descent. His father, a Knox of Prehen, as a young man evinced such sympathy with the FitzGerald rebellion, that he found it prudent to retire to Jamaica. On his way home his vessel was captured by the French, and he spent some time in a French prison. In 1804, he married Laetitia Greenfield, daughter of the Rector of Moira, a neighbour of his in his Irish life, and their son George, my father, was born in 1814. My father's first school was in France, at Bourbeurg near Gravelines, in 1823 and 1824; his second, St. Paul's, then under the brilliant High Mastership of Dr. Sleath, who numbered among his many distinguished scholars, my father's junior by some years, Benjamin Jowett. George Knox took a high place in the School, being third Monitor. But bitter disappointments awaited him. He had no mathematics; they did not form part of the curriculum of the School. At Oxford, where the lack of them formed no bar to Honours, all scholarships except Trinity and Oriel were barred against him because he was born in Middlesex. At Cambridge, his failure to take Honours in Mathematics shut him out from Honours in Classics. Being determined to take Holy Orders, he found himself shut out by lack of influence in England from all preferment. Why he did not fall back on Ireland I cannot say. Those were still the days in which an ordinand who had "influence" was ordained as a deacon to the benefice to which his patron presented him. Those who had no patron behind them fell into the ranks of the inferior clergy. They were the Curates whose assistance enabled their more fortunate brethren to hold several livings in plurality. My father was fain to be content to serve two curacies in Wales in the year 1837–8. Then came to his great joy the offer of a Chaplaincy of the Honourable East India Company, and saved him from the life of drudgery and penury that seemed to lie before him.

"The Bible became a new book to me when I was out in India," so my father said repeatedly. What he meant, I think, was this, that he had never before understood the possibilities of the corruption of human nature, nor the depths of human depravity from which the Cross of Christ delivered the Christian world. He had gone out bitten with Tractarianism. In India he passed under the influence of Calvinism, and became a staunch Protestant as became his Ulster origin. He was not alone in this experience. The East Indian Army in which he served was a veritable school of Calvinism. To understand this we have to think of the position of young men separated from home by a three- or four-months' sea journey, in easy or even luxurious circumstances, serving often in isolated stations, unsupported by any Christian public opinion, exposed to the devilry of Oriental temptations, and to the deteriorating influences of an army of occupation, before we can gauge the forces with which English civilians and officers were confronted in India. It was fatally easy for them to lose faith, morals, even decency of conduct. Yet it was under these conditions that some

of the finest examples of Christian life were brought to birth by the grace of God. While men at home were counting themselves saints and martyrs for their self-imposed austerities, some as followers of Pusey, others of Simeon or of Kingsley, all under the safe shelter of long-established Christian environment, it was in the fiery ordeal of the Indian Army and Civil Service that such men as the Lawrences, Havelock, Nicholson and Roberts were fashioned into the image of the likeness of Christ.

I do not pretend that my father ever took, while he was in India, the same prominent position that these heroes held in the army of Christ. Life at Madras was more settled; the Europeans were a strong Christian community; above all, my mother's saintly influence was a tower of strength incalculable. The young couple drew around them all that was best and purest in the life of Madras, and of their influence I heard, years afterwards, from those who had known them there. It is enough if I have suggested some of the often-forgotten sources from which the river of Victorian Church life gathered strength and volume, of which more remains to be said.

First, however, let us envisage George Knox at the end of his three-months' voyage home, landed at Gravesend in April, 1855. He is still without "influence," but the England to which he has returned is transformed for the Middle Classes by the adoption of the competitive system. He can see a prospect for his sons if he can make scholars of them. But, so far as he himself is concerned, all the old barriers hem him in on every side. Even Macaulay found that absence in India had cut him off from his old standing for a time. He complained that men had forgotten him. For my father, it was little less than beginning the world again. His short stay in Scotland led to nothing. A curacy in York led to nothing. As Senior Curate of All Souls, Langham Place, at the beginning of 1857, he found himself again in London to his joy, for he was a thorough Londoner at heart, born within the compelling echoes of Bow Bells. Unfortunately my mother detested London as heartily as my father loved it. The All Souls' curacy could not be more than a temporary expedient, till some post could be found which gave him work in London combined with freedom to make a home in the suburbs. That condition was secured by his appointment to the post of Association Secretary to the Church Missionary Society for the S.E. district in 1858. So the home at Waddon was found, the home, which, far more than my school, was to be the formative influence of my life. The school was to me, what the Greeks named it—the "*schole*" or leisure ground, the serious work of my life was done in my father's study. It was a Spartan discipline. I had rather dwell on its aims than on its methods. The immediate and foremost aim was the winning of the great educational prizes, either the Indian Civil Service or scholarships which might lead on to Fellowships at Oxford or Cambridge. My elder brother was placed at Merchant Taylors School, from which, if he won a Scholarship confined to the School

at St. John's College, Oxford, he succeeded in due course without further competition to a Fellowship of £300 a year tenable as long as he remained a bachelor. But my brother had sufficient memory of India to prefer the Indian Civil Service, in which he completed fifty years of a distinguished career with only one day's furlough, that is leave of absence, as distinguished from flying visits during his three months' holiday. All that was in the future when we settled at Waddon. What my father clearly foresaw was that it was not enough to have placed his sons at school, my elder brother at Merchant Taylors, the rest of us at St. Paul's. He must himself see to it that they won their way to the top of the School, and he must take a hand in the process. Was this possible? His duties took him daily to the C.M. House at Salisbury Square from about 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. unless he was in his district on deputation work. Evening meetings for the Society had to be attended frequently. Deputation work claimed him from Saturday afternoon usually till Tuesday morning. The margin of time available for coaching his boys was but scanty. No one but he, I think, would have imagined it possible to take in hand the tuition of three boys, attending two different schools, and of course at different stages in their school career.

The method employed was to set us down to work arranged by my father, but under my mother's superintendence if my father was from home. This work lasted from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. The schools did not overburden us with evening work. There was a margin always of time for the work arranged for us by my father, and that work was severely gone through with him in the evenings when he was at home. He was an exact scholar according to the standard of his time, and the main outlines of our tuition gave him no trouble. But he had to allow for the march of scholarship, and, being unable to afford purchase of books, contrived, in some mysterious way, to consult modern authorities at the British Museum, bringing home copious notes for our use. He taught us how to keep notebooks, how to make analyses, even, to some extent, how to distinguish between authorities. In fact, he did for us all that the best "crammer" could do, but with the important distinction, that we had to do our own share. We were not spoon-fed.

It would be of no interest to others to enumerate the books that I read under his tuition, or to tell how he compelled me to translate Thucydides and Demosthenes at sight, driving me on with his forceful impatience. But he gave me such mastery of Greek that I can remember as a boy reading the *Phaedo* in the train for my own pleasure, and devouring the *Antigone* for the sake of the argument. My father's transfer from the Association Secretaryship to the position of Metropolitan Home District Secretary relieved him of much Deputation work. He began to lay hands on all Examination papers that he could find—how I had to bully every schoolfellow who stood for a scholarship to lend me the papers he had brought back with him! The passages set in those

papers for Unseen Translation were hunted down in their several authors, they were noted in MSS. exercise books for reference. Critical papers were copied, and a vigilant watch kept on idiosyncrasies of Examiners as far as they could be traced. My father exacted much of us. He exacted far more of himself. He never allowed himself a day's holiday. He never wasted an hour. He played no games except very occasionally a game of chess. He was profoundly indifferent to all forms of sport. The only paper that was taken into the house was the *Record*, which was published thrice a week.

It might be imagined that this passion for his sons' welfare interfered with his official duties. But this was not the case. The standard of duty has always been high at Salisbury Square, and in those days when typewriters were not and clerks were few, the multiplicity of letters to be answered with the Secretary's own hand, and of callers to be personally interviewed, balanced the then restricted area of the Mission Field. My father kept himself *au courant* with all that was passing at home and abroad. His papers in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* at a later date testified to his wonderful industry and acumen. Years afterwards, two African Bishops at Lambeth assured me that there was no writer who had his grasp of the African problem. A learned exponent of Mohammedanism (Doctor S. Koelle) selected his, as the best of all the reviews of his book. I have the copy of his book, presented to my father with the inscription—" To K., who in the *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, has written so much, and it is hoped will write still more that is telling and true concerning Mohammedanism, with kind Christian regards from the Author." Venn gathered around him Secretaries of the highest standard of culture. He had at one time three Fellows of Colleges working in the office. Among these men of culture my father moved at his ease. He was well read in English and French literature. His judgments were shrewd, and his power of leading interesting literary conversation was amazing. Among the great Anglo-Indians who frequented the office my father as an Anglo-Indian was thoroughly at home. He could speak so as to command attention in Committee. If, to some, he seemed narrow and too incisive, even those who differed from him could not allege any lack of shrewdness, any suspicion of insincerity, any trace of obscurity.

The times were stirring. An Evangelical, or to speak more exactly, an Evangelistic Revival was waking up the Church from the torpor which ensued on the failure of the Tractarian Movement. There was an ardent zeal to evangelise the masses of our large towns, and Lord Shaftesbury, in 1857, carried the Religious Worship Bill, repealing the penalties imposed by Statute on religious meetings in unlicensed places. Shaftesbury was in this work supported by Tait, the newly-appointed Bishop of London. How many of the Anglo-Catholics at the White City and the Albert Hall realised that they owed their freedom of assembly to Lord Shaftesbury, and to Tait, the whilom instigator of proceedings in Oxford against

Tract XC? Tait was in the forefront of this evangelistic work, preaching in Ragged Schools, in Covent Garden Market, and even in the streets. It was he who organised the London Diocesan Home Mission, of which my father was a Secretary for a few months before he went to Salisbury Square. It was time for the Church to be stirring. Those were the days in which, on the trial of *Essays and Reviews*, Lord Westbury claimed cynically that he had dismissed "Hell" with costs. On *Essays and Reviews* followed Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and then Colenso on the *Pentateuch*. It seemed to many that the authority of Scripture was shaken to its foundation. They were the days of the Indian Mutiny. I well remember bringing home to my parents the news of the death of Havelock, which I had seen on a placard, on my way home from school. They were the great days of Exeter Hall, of the celebrated speech of Sir Herbert Edwards on the C.M.S. platform, and of Dr. Miller's not less celebrated sermon. Bishop Selwyn had roused High Churchmen to believe in missions, as he told from the University pulpit at Cambridge what he had seen in New Zealand of work accomplished under the auspices of the C.M.S. They were the days of Stevenson Blackwood's successful missions in fashionable society, and of Miss Catherine Marsh's work among Navvies. It was good to be alive in those days, and nowhere better to be alive than in Salisbury Square. In all this stir and conflict my father moved, undismayed by attacks upon the Scriptures, cautious in his relations with Revivalists. His Calvinism protected him against unquestioning emphasis on verbal inspiration, left him rather cold towards alliances of Pusey and Shaftesbury in defence of the faith, and made him somewhat distrustful of Revivalists. He concentrated his force on his proper work at the C.M.S., and on the education of his boys. One of his favourite texts was this: "Study to be quiet and to do your own business."

If it appears that this study of a Victorian Home is rather a memorial of my parents than a record of my own doings, my answer is that the achievements of a schoolboy, his prizes, his stamp-collections, his games, are passing incidents. He is being fashioned far more than he is fashioning himself. Especially is this the case when his thoughts and character are being moulded by two such personalities as my honoured father and mother.

Such an education as mine was, modern educationalists would severely condemn. They would find fault with its stern repressions, its isolation, its lack of artistic influences, its concentration upon the advancement of a career. My purpose has not been to present it as a faultless ideal, but as far as my memory goes, to exhibit it historically as a specimen of a Victorian home in the Middle Classes. It is, I think, incontestable that the shaping of the destinies of the Victorian era was largely the work of the Middle Classes. Of these, some sons attending public schools owed more to school than to home influence. So far as I was concerned, the home dominated and almost eclipsed the school. The home and day-school life was an element in the fashioning of the Victorian Age,

and my own home, in some respects very unique, was in others typical. The standard of our homes was in the main that of " my duty to God " and " my duty to my neighbour " in the Church Catechism. The interpretation was largely parental. I have tried to place on record what my parents did for me, and it is only just to their memory to add this one word. Of their eight children (there was indeed a ninth who died in infancy), none died under the age of sixty-two, several attained distinction, all grew up sincerely and devotedly attached to that type of teaching which my parents inculcated. Six of them have died in that faith. The two who remain hope, by God's grace, to do likewise. My parents planned, strove, prayed with this object in view, and would have desired no more complete answer to their prayers. Would they not have said,—nay, are they not saying ?—" Thou hast given us our hearts' desire, and hast not denied us the request of our lips."

A volume of great interest to many who are not connected with the Church of Ireland has been compiled by the Rev. Canon J. B. Leslie, D.Lit., a well-known antiquarian, who has prosecuted his research work into the records of many ancient Irish dioceses and parishes. When Dr. Bernard was Bishop of Ossory he suggested to Mr. Leslie that he should undertake the compilation of the Church Records of the diocese. It was fortunate that he did so at the time, for much of the valuable material for his purpose was destroyed in the deplorable incendiary act during the Civil Strife of 1922 when the Four Courts were destroyed and the contents of the Public Record Office " went up in smoke." Mr. Leslie had already made careful abstracts of the most important documents and his volume, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, will in future be the only source of the information which was to be found in the Public Records. The succession of Bishops and other dignitaries is traced from the twelfth century, and incidentally light is thrown upon the effect of the Reformation upon the succession, which makes it clear that the majority of the Irish Bishops did not, as Roman Controversialists maintain, adhere to the Pope's party. Many well-known men have been connected with the diocese, and among the Bishops have been many learned writers, such as Dr. O'Brien, Dr. J. H. Bernard, Dr. C. F. D'Arcy, the present Archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. J. A. F. Gregg, the present Archbishop of Dublin. Interesting particulars are given of the parishes, and the family history of many of their rectors, which show in numerous instances that the love of the ministry was hereditary. Whatever may be before the Irish dioceses in the future, this record of the past shows the faithful work of the Protestant Church in Ireland. The edition, which is well produced with good indexes and photographs, is limited to 400 copies. The price is 30*s*. net and the publishers are The Fermanagh Times Office, Enniskillen.

HOW THE REFORMATION BEGAN IN ENGLAND.

By John Knipe.

Introduction.

THE Reformation, generally considered, is a topic to-day of burning interest and exceedingly strong prejudices. I wish to deal with the subject rather as one who desires to suggest different ways of regarding well-worn facts in the light of modern research. I hope we are met with a common desire to study afresh how the Reformation appeared in the eyes of the ordinary people of the sixteenth century in England. In each country the Reformation took a different course. We are not concerned now with princes, nobles, or great folk, but with the *people* of England, their everyday lives, hopes and fears.

Another difficulty in considering this great subject is that the general facts are well known, so that if one speaks of them, it may be said there is nothing new; while if one mentions what is unfamiliar, you might say that can't be true, or you must have known it already.

Let us consider for a moment how sudden the change must have appeared in the eyes of those who watched it from the beginning. Take England in the reign of Henry VII. The Church was the greatest power in the land, the great estates of the barons had been broken up, for the Wars of the Roses dealt the Feudal System its death-blow. Those of the great nobles who had not fallen in battle had their power checked by the new Statute of Retainers. The House of Lords was much weaker, and the Church there was the predominating power. Besides the Bishops, thirty-six mitred Abbots and Priors sat in the Upper House and voted on all-important questions. Every city and town of any size was full of churches; roughly, there was a church to every five or ten streets in London; and Exeter was called "Monk Town" for the same reason; yet in a few years the essential service in every one of these churches was considerably modified in doctrine, and in practical authority the King was Supreme Head of clerks and laymen alike.

But although the Reformation seemed to come suddenly, as a thief in the night, the main causes were deep-rooted—far back in the centuries—so that actually it was very long overdue. Little had changed in Church order and discipline since the Norman Conquest. There were certain popular grievances which had become crushing burdens and gross abuses, while the Church had failed to make provision for the growing intelligence of the minds of the English people. The time which is known as "The Dark Ages" deserves the name, at least intellectually, because so few could read or write.

Those in whose hands knowledge rested, like the Key of Wisdom, locked it against any who sought to enter therein. Even the secretaries or clerks of great nobles must be taken from the Clergy, because they alone could fulfil such posts. There were a host of minor officials in Church employment, called clerks, who were not priests at all. Yet the Church stubbornly refused to allow such men to be judged for crime in the King's Courts. This was a survival of the ancient quarrel between Henry II and Thomas à Becket. By his murder the Church had won her case in the general opinion of the whole country, and Becket had some reason, because of the nature of the proceedings in the civil courts. At that time, and for centuries after, Trial by Jury was very differently regarded, the Jury themselves being considered more as witnesses for the accused person, who stood, "at his deliverance," upon their testimony of his guilt or innocence, they being chosen from the locality in which he lived. The Church desired to keep her ministers apart for her own judgment, for the sake of her good name and influence. But on the other hand she summoned the laity before her Spiritual Courts on matters of life and death; and as one king succeeded another, the exemption of the CRIMINOUS CLERKS was stretched to include no less than Seven Orders: priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, exorcists, sacristans, and even door-keepers (*ostiarii*). Indeed, any man might claim *Benefit of Clergy* who had enough knowledge of Latin to read his *neck-verse* or text from the Psalms,[1] frequently read for the edification of a lay Sheriff who himself knew no Latin whatever. Now after the Wars of the Roses bands of lawless soldiery, or "masterless men" whose lords had fallen in battle, roamed the country like wild beasts, and some of these claimed "Benefit of Clergy," whose right it was impossible to disprove. This abuse became intolerable, and at last Parliament, under Henry VII, passed an important statute, commanding that such "criminous clerks" who read the *neck-verse* should be branded in the hand by the Sheriff or Law Officer appointed, as first offenders, so that, if they repeated their crimes, they could not plead "Benefit of Clergy" a second time, but should be judged by the King's Court. In spite of strenuous opposition, this Bill was forced through both Houses, and received the Royal assent.

Another great cause of the Reformation was that terrible scourge called the Black Death, which swept away half the population of England between 1349 and 1351. The Clergy, both Secular and Religious, suffered heavily. The death-roll was so great that in many parishes no services could be held in the churches, while the loss of their lords profoundly changed the social position of the labourers and villeins, and caused the abolition of serfdom, fostering a desire for knowledge, especially of "God's Law," or The Gospel of Christ. John Wycliffe perceived this need, and he set about his famous translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate that the words of Our Lord might "comfort those who mourned and

[1] Usually Ps. 51. 1: "Miserere mei, Deus," etc.—chosen as appropriate to the occasion.

bind up the broken-hearted." After his death the priest John Turvey continued his master's work, and the whole Bible was translated by the reign of Richard II. In spite of the persecution directed against Wycliffe, headed by Bishop Courtenay of London, he had powerful protectors at Court in John of Gaunt and the Dowager Princess of Wales, Joan, called the "Fair Maid of Kent." No doubt her influence on the young King was greatly in favour of letting his people read, or hear quietly, the Gospel translated by John Wycliffe, and Richard's Queen, Anne of Bohemia, was herself a Lollard, as was one of her ladies-in-waiting, Blanche, Lady Poynings, a noble lady of Sussex. Bohemian students at Oxford carried the Gospel into their own country, where it was eagerly read up to the time of John Huss, and possibly may thus have influenced Luther.

Archbishop Arundel was a bitter persecutor of the Lollards, who were also suspected of sedition after Wat Tyler's revolt, which left many discontents. Under Henry IV Thomas Arundel obtained the infamous Statute "DE COMBURENDO HERETICO" ("Concerning the burning of heretics"), which remained upon the Statute Book of England until the reign of Elizabeth. The first martyr, William Sawtre, Priest-Vicar of St. Osyth's, London, was actually burnt at Smithfield before the Statute was passed; but after him many suffered under a law unjust as it was cruel. It gave the Bishop before whom the accused was brought absolute power to acquit or condemn him, and *no man knew his accusers* or was permitted to answer their charges face to face. He might be condemned as a heretic on such flimsy grounds as neglecting an attendance on some Holy-day, not a Sunday, styled Day of Obligation, or for listening to one of the "Poor Priests" preaching in a market-place of some town, these preachers having been founded by Wycliffe, to preach and teach the Gospel to the unlettered poor folk. If the accused failed to satisfy the Bishop or his Archdeacon, he was commanded to recant his heresy, which meant that he lived the rest of his life under a perpetual cloud of suspicion and doubt, and often was called a "Fagot-man," since the common penance was to bear a faggot on the shoulder in some public place, which was cast by the abjured heretic into an open fire, as symbol of the doom deserved by the one who had borne it.

If, however, the judged heretic refused to recant, he was handed over to the Secular Arm to be burned as the Statute directed. He had just one chance of mercy, not from the Church, but from the Common Law. For if he recanted when faced with the terrible alternative, the State was more merciful and frequently the Crown extended grace to the penitent, who was now beyond the jurisdiction of the Church. And it was unlawful by her own Canon Law for the Church to put any man to death. It was forbidden the Church, by the Civil Law, to do more than apply to the Sheriff as decreed under the Statute, which delay gave some respite to the victim.

In practice many bishops disliked proceeding to the last extremity against heretics, and preferred to use milder measures of fine and

imprisonment, and even persuasion, when they were actually desirous to be Fathers-in-God to their flock.

Broadly speaking, persecution in England for religion almost ceased from the death of Henry V to half-way through the reign of Henry VII. It was never popular in this country, and the disputes of the Succession with the Barons' Wars in the struggles of York and Lancaster gave a different occupation to men's minds, alike in Church and State. During the whole time Wycliffe's Bible was secretly read, separate Gospels being copied, or leaves of favourite passages, and passed from one to another wherever there was one found able to read them. And in certain dioceses the bishops were more willing to license portions at least of Wycliffe's New Testament. It is absolutely false to assert that his translation was suppressed. There are still to-day 170 ancient copies of Wycliffe's translation of the Holy Scriptures, in the English tongue.

But a great cause of the Reformation has a most romantic origin. In the first half of the fifteenth century a German swineherd was in the forest near his mother's house, and being of an active mind, the boy amused himself with whittling chips of wood into rough letters of his own name, and arranging them to spell "*Johann.*" Outside the house-door his mother had spread fair parchment skins to dry in wind and sun, and it chanced that a tub of purple dye was steaming near them. The boy dropped one of his letters in this tub, snatched at it, and burnt his fingers, so that the letter fell on a particularly choice piece of vellum. Horrified, he caught it up, and beheld the letter "H" marked clear on the skin.

Thus began a new page in the history of men, for the boy was afterwards known as Johann Gutenberg,[1] and from his Press the first book issued was the Bible in Latin. It can easily be seen how readily the invention of printing encouraged the Reformation in England, how this new knowledge was to widen men's minds and open their eyes to the gross abuses, the ignorance, superstitions, falsehoods and frauds practised in the name of Holy Church, to her great advantage. Especially this was true of PILGRIMAGES, which were falling into disrepute because of the childish character of the devotions practised at their shrines, and the gaudy display of rich jewels, and the covetous demands made upon the pilgrims' purses. Men were beginning to question everything taught in her name, and those to whom they had looked up before, the Religious, or

[1] Johann Gutenberg took his mother's name. He was the illegitimate son of a Canon of Mayence Cathedral, in which neighbourhood he was born. This explains some details of the story; such as his mother, whose occupation was that of one who prepared skins for parchments used for illuminating and books. Her work thus caused her to be acquainted with the Cathedral clergy, one of whom being a certain Canon Gensfleisch, from whom the boy Johann probably took his love of books, keen intelligence and aptness for mechanical learning, which was to result in the famous first printing-press known being set up afterwards at Mayence, when Gutenberg came back to reside in his native place. This further explains how the young swineherd of the forest was already acquainted with letters sufficiently at least to carve his own name.

Monks and Friars, were rather despised than respected by most people, especially in the towns.

And a very great cause of the spread of what they called in the colleges the "New Learning" was developed by that new-born passion of *Nationalism* under the Tudors. Henry VII was himself the People's King, in the sense that he must depend upon the good-will of his Parliament, and not on the caprice of a few powerful nobles. England was sick of war, desirous of peace at home and abroad, and men had more time for thoughts of philosophy and religion. The people were growing richer, and the great merchant guilds in the cities were liberal in thought and patriotic in opinion. London was to lead the way in this new feeling after the Light.

The First Great London Reformer—John Colet.

"The world is waking out of a long, deep sleep. The old ignorance is still defended with tooth and claw." These words of Erasmus describe the beginning of the conflict between the New Learning and its leaders against the Medievalists of the Church. Erasmus had come to England early in the sixteenth century, about the time of Luther's fiery outburst and the brilliant Dutchman became the close friend of men like John Colet, the great lecturer of Oxford, Linacre, Grocyn, Warham, and the young Thomas More. Erasmus made his name by his book, *The Praises of Folly*, a satire against superstition and ignorance. He and his friends upheld the teaching of Greek, of which the Church in England knew very little. The men of the New Learning learnt their Greek in Italy, where, after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, Greek scholars fled for refuge, bringing with them the treasures of Greek manuscripts saved from the Turk.

It would not be true to say that Greek was entirely unknown in the England of the Middle Ages. The great Bishop Grossetête eagerly collected Greek manuscripts which he himself translated, but he was one bishop out of the few against the many who were totally ignorant of the Greek language. The knowledge of Greek was to become the mighty weapon of the Reformation, whence sprang the desire after the New Testament.

In London there were still traces of the older Lollard beliefs. We know this from certain words of Bishop Tunstall, himself a friend of Erasmus, who said a few years later how "new arms were being added to the great band of Wycliffite heretics." Luther's protest and burning of the Papal Bull took place in 1510, and the Pope, Leo X, cursed both Lutherans and Wycliffites together. Wycliffe had attacked the dogmas of Transubstantiation and Purgatory and superstitious practices connected with pilgrimages and relics. John Colet and Erasmus together took the famous pilgrimages to Canterbury and Walsingham. Colet was disgusted with the rapacity and credulity he saw, at which Erasmus seems to have been more amused than indignant. He tells us how the Prior of Canterbury showed them the famous Shrine of St. Thomas

Becket and touched a kind of mechanical device to raise the cover of the shrine, displaying the rich jewels and gold which adorned it, gifts of pious donors through the centuries. The Prior touched the principal of these with a white rod, naming the gifts and the givers. Some of these can be seen to-day in the Regalia of the Tower of London. The wonderful ruby given by the Black Prince to Becket's Shrine was among them. It had been presented to him by Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile. Treasures like this had no attraction for John Colet, for he saw in them an emblem of the things which he most hated as great temptations, stumbling-blocks to holiness in the Church of Christ.

Now in 1512 the English Bishops became greatly perturbed by the spread of Lutherism in England, and the Convocation of Canterbury assembled in London to consider the best means which could be taken to suppress and extirpate heresy. Not only were Luther's writings coming over from the Continent, but Wycliffe's works were being secretly printed and read, for it was even becoming not a rare thing in the towns that the younger people should learn how to read and write. Besides the Bible there was a little tract of Wycliffe's written in a popular way, which was eagerly treasured and passed from hand to hand. It was called *The Wicket, or Plain Way of Salvation*, and this was the first Gospel tract known to be printed in English until John Colet himself wrote and circulated his *Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in English*, to the intense indignation of his diocesan, the persecuting Bishop Fitz-James of London. John Colet was now Dean of St. Paul's, which made him the preacher of the opening sermon before Convocation in St. Paul's Cathedral. And to the amazement of the assembled Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Proctors and dignitaries who heard him preach, " John Colet fairly lashed the covetousness, the corruption and the worldliness of the Church." The scene can be hardly imagined, for it was unique. They had come together to condemn heretics. Puffed up with their own conceit, their minds were bitter, arrogant, and their thoughts full of savage cruelty against those whom they hated. John Colet, whose life was pure in a corrupt age, whose speech was usually gentle and mild, and his opinions tolerant in matters of belief, made their ears to tingle with his outspoken condemnation of their vices and greed. They knew how the pride and avarice of Thomas Wolsey was bringing discredit upon the Church. But Wolsey was a courtier and the King's favourite. Probably it was on account of his sermon that John Colet was violently attacked and persecuted by Bishop Fitz-James, who accused him of heresy for putting the Lord's Prayer in English in the hands of the vulgar people, but Colet was protected by Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, himself a great patron of Erasmus, and by the King, Henry VIII. He founded his " School for Poor Scholars " in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's and " *Colet's Foundation*," as it was called, has endured long after Bishop Fitz-James is forgotten. The men of the New Learning were too strong to be lightly overthrown. Colet had cast aside the teaching of the Schools as taught by the Medievalists.

At Oxford he had discouraged by word and example Disputations upon trivial subjects such as "How Long did it Take the Angel Gabriel to Fly from Highest Heaven to Bethlehem?" Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, those ancient teachers of Divinity, were ridiculed by the New Learning of these scholars, *the Grecians*, as they were called. In bygone centuries—

"The school men having subtle and strong capacities, abundance of leisure, and but small variety of reading, their minds being shut up in a few authors as their bodies were in the cells of their monasteries; they spun out of a small quantity of matter, those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the human mind, if it works upon itself as the spider does, then it has no end, but produces cobwebs of learning, admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread, but of no substance or profit."

This criticism of Lord Bacon in his famous book, *The Advancement of Learning*, is a very good illustration of the great change in Thought brought about by the invention of printing, and it provides the best answer to the rather blind admiration of Thomas Aquinas and his School, whose works show an absolute ignorance of the first Principles of Science, Natural and Physical. The Church had made a wrong use of the Bible during the Dark Ages. It was supposed to contain the sum of all human knowledge and science, which explains the later absurdity of upholding such beliefs as articles of faith, contrary to Natural Law. Maintaining that the earth was flat, and that the sun went round it, was stoutly held amongst them. The Popes forbade Dissection; for Anatomy was held to be an impious and profane study.

It could not be practised by Christian men—but his Holiness commonly preferred himself to have an Arab or Jewish Chirurgeon and leech.

Decline of the Monasteries in London.

The loss of favour in which Monasteries were held is proved by the *Calendar of Wills*, showing how the bequests to the Religious Orders diminished during the last century before the Reformation. In the three periods, (1) 1250 to 1350, (2) 1350 to 1450, (3) 1450 to 1540, we note these examples among the chief Orders in London:

Charter-House: 2nd period, bequests number 31; 3rd period, 14.

Grey-Friars (Franciscans): No separate bequests in 1st period; in the 2nd, 20; in the 3rd, none.

Black-friars (Dominicans): 2nd period, bequests, 10; 3rd period, 1.

Cistercians of *East Minster*, the great Abbey called Our Lady of Grace, without the Wall near the Tower, 2nd period, bequests 7; 3rd, 2.

St. Helen's, Bishopsgate (Nunnery): 1st, 18; 2nd, 12; 3rd, none.

Minoresses (Poor Clares): 1st, 9; 2nd, 18; 3rd, 3.

Carmelites: 1st, 15; 2nd, 11; 3rd, 1.

Crutched Friars: 1st, 13; 2nd, 10; 3rd, 1.

Austin Friars: 1st, 13; 2nd, 13; 3rd, 2 (this last for Masses only).

S. Bartholomew's Priory and Hospital: 1st, 14; 2nd, 13; 3rd, 2. These are remarkable figures. You can judge from them how untrue it is to assert that the Reformation was the cause of the decay and loss of the Monasteries. The whole system was moribund.

Church and Common Law in Conflict.

Meanwhile in 1514 an event occurred in the heart of the City of London which gave an extraordinary instance of the rising tide of public anger against the cruelty and injustice of the Bishop's Court. The funeral pall of a baby became the cause of a tremendous issue joined between Church and State, a quarrel which involved the City of London and some of the greatest people of the day—Wolsey, the King, Archbishop Warham, Thomas More, and others. It is known as "The Case of Richard Hunne" (or [1] *Hunney* as pronounced)—a rich merchant of the City of London, a man who was highly respected by all who knew him, and much beloved for his goodness and charity. He was the last man whom the Londoners would have dreamed of as getting into trouble with the Church or the Law. But the Bishop was that same Fitz-James who hated John Colet and he was resolved to persecute to the death any man who showed himself as a believer in the new Liberal opinions of religious matters. Also this notorious case touched Mother Church to the quick—for it threatened her privileges, where it was evident that any bold man could assail them for the same cause if this were once allowed to pass unchallenged.

Richard Hunne was a rich Merchant-Taylor living near St. Paul's, reputed very devout, attending Daily Mass in the Cathedral, and giving large sums of money to the Church. But it was whispered that Hunne had been heard to say strange things against Pilgrimages and Relics, and in particular he had exclaimed against the sharp punishment of a woman in the Bishop's Court for some offence connected with her use of words rather slighting the famous Canterbury Pilgrimage. Now Hunne's youngest child happened to die when they were staying out of their own parish, and the Priest (Thomas Dryfield, of S. Mary Malfellow (Spittal), Whitechapel) demanded the *Mortuary* or Offering of the Deceased at the funeral, and when this was refused, he tried to seize the pall off the coffin, which the bereaved father resisted, exclaiming that his son, but a few weeks old, as being a minor, had held no goods with which to pay church dues. Doubtless Hunne thought he had given so much to the Church that this exaction should not be required of him. But the aggrieved Priest cited Hunne before the Bishop's Court. Hunne retaliated by bringing a suit against the Priest in the King's Court, as being guilty of a breach of the Statute of *Premunire*, which forbade cases against the King's lieges to be sued in foreign courts, meaning the Bishop's Court when under the Papal Authority. Bishop Fitz-James of London accused Hunne of heresy, shut him up in his

[1] *Hunne*—the doubled consonant followed by the final "e" clearly indicates two syllables—and *Richard Pace*, the diplomatist, is also written "Pacey."—J. K.

prison of Lollards' Tower, adjoining St. Paul's, and searched Hunne's house for heretic books. His officers discovered, amongst others, the Great Bible of John Wycliffe in English. Hunne was threatened with death unless he recanted, which he did, but he refused to abandon his suit against the Priest in the King's Court. What happened is rather mysterious.

Rumour suddenly spread that Hunne had been secretly murdered in the Bishop's prison (December 4—7 a.m. Monday). His friends at once appealed to the Merchant Taylors Guild for redress. So quickly was this done that within twelve hours a Coroner's Warrant discovered Hunne's body hanging from a beam in his cell. A jury of twenty-four men was empanelled to seek out the cause of death—" Suicide or Murder," which? They met and began to take evidence from sworn witnesses.

Meanwhile Bishop Fitz-James grew alarmed and he brought forward fresh Articles against Hunne which were read on Sunday, December 10, before the people at Paul's Cross. The two prison officials—Charles Joseph the Summoner and Jailer, and John Spalding the Bell-ringer—were both suspected as having been in charge of Hunne at Lollards' Tower, and so the last persons known to have seen him alive. Also Charles Joseph had absconded after taking sanctuary at Westminster, and no man knew where he had fled. On the 16th Bishop Fitz-James went through the solemn farce of " Trying the Corpse " in his Spiritual Court before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Paul's Consistory. Mr. Thomas More, one of the Under-Sheriffs of London, was present. Finding the dead man guilty of " Heresy and *Felo de se* " on December 17, the Bishop formally condemned the defunct, and he ordered the body to be delivered over to the secular arm to be burned at Smithfield. Which was done on the 20th (Sunday, the regular day of sentencing heretics). This Fitz-James did to stifle the *Premunire* Case against his Curate, and resolve the question of Hunne's body being allowed Christian burial or not. Also the Bishop preached a most bitter sermon against the dead man at Paul's Cross, telling the citizens how Hunne was a manifest heretic who hanged himself like Judas to escape being burned alive, and he threatened them with a like fate. Fitz-James wanted to get the case over before the Parliament met.

The Coroner, Thomas Barnwell, ignored the Bishop's actions and he held his Quest according to the Common Law. He heard witnesses and ordered search to be made for Charles Joseph and for his woman-servant Julian Little. John Spalding was watched. The *Premunire* Case was not dropped, for suspicion was keen against the authorities of Paul's. Chancellor Horsey was suspected because of the Bishop's proceedings. Fitz-James wrote to Archbishop Warham, who could do nothing. Mr. Thomas More gave it as his opinion that Hunne had committed suicide. Few believed this to be true.

Suddenly Charles Joseph, who had fled the day after the jury were sworn, in the night of December 21–22, was discovered in

Good Easter, a remote Essex village. He had taken sanctuary in the Priory Church! As a "sanctuary man" the case looked black against him. He was surrendered by the Prior, taken to the Tower and examined by the King's Counsel in the presence of four of the Coroner's Quest. He put forward a weak alibi. It was proved that men saw him about 7 a.m. leaving Lollards' Tower by stealth. He confessed to the murder and accused Spalding, his accomplice, as accessory before fact, and the *Bishop's Chancellor, William Horsey*, of instigating them. Joseph's cook, Julian Little, whose evidence confirmed the Summoner's, was in refuge at Bethlehem Hostel, and there examined.

The Coroner's Jury returned all three men to stand their trial for murder at the next Assizes or the King's Bench. This was about the end of February. Horsey was then arrested and put in Archbishop Warham's custody. In despair the Bishop wrote to Cardinal Wolsey to plead with the King for his Chancellor Horsey, declaring that the Summoner confessed "under durance." Parliament met (February 8, 1515) and the Commons took up the quarrel. The Lords went with the Bishop. The case grew big—not so much of Hunne as of the "Criminous Clerks." All men exclaimed against the horrid cruelty of the Bishops' prisons. Fitz-James made no plea for the Summoner or the Bell-ringer. The jurymen swore that Charles Joseph spoke "of his own free will, unconstrained." The Commons pressed a Bill depriving some Criminous Clerks of their immunity. The King was undecided, Wolsey perplexed. Henry chose a learned Franciscan, Dr. Standish, to argue the cause for the Crown. For the Commons pressed hard a new Bill to repeal "Benefit of Clergy" to all those guilty of murdering people in their own homes, in hallowed places or on the King's highway, provided the criminous clerk was not in the higher degrees of holy orders.

The physical distinction of all clerks was then the tonsure, given to all schoolboys. The Bishop of London spoke furiously against this Bill and another Bill—"an Appeal of Homicide" by Hunne's widow and children. Fitz-James called the Coroner's Jury "false perjured caitiffs."

At Blackfriars Dr. Henry Standish defended the Bill which had been dropped and Convocation called him before them in November (1515). Standish was sharply threatened by Warham as a heretic for asserting that the Papal Decree which forbade "*the conventing of criminous clerks*" before a temporal judge had never been received in England. But Standish relied on Henry and appealed to him to protect his Ecclesiastical Counsel. At Blackfriars the King met Convocation in an extraordinary Assembly of Counsels, Judges, and some of the Commons. Afterwards the Judges finally declared all clergy present at Standish's Citation were *In Praemunire*. This was at Baynard's Castle, in the yet greater assembly of clergy and both Houses of Parliament. On his knees Wolsey made formal submission to the King on behalf of Convocation, reserving the matter of "conventing of criminous clerks" for the Pope.

Then Henry answered: "We will maintain the Rights of Our Crown as amply as any of Our Predecessors. We will own none Supreme over Us, as has ever been the Law in Our Realm."

The King accepted the Submission of Convocation. He agreed to Horsey's release, and the Attorney-General entered a "*Nolle Prosequi*" [1] after William Horsey submitted to the King's justice and pleaded his "Benefit of Clergy." He was fined £600 and deprived of all his London preferments.

The King found that there was not sufficient evidence to convict William Horsey of wilful murder. The offence was reduced to allowing his servants the Summoner and Bell-ringer unlawful access to Lollards' Tower. The charge was left in the air, so to speak.

Horsey fled to Exeter and never dared show his face in London more. This case of Richard Hunne marks the end of the long tyranny of the Church in the sweeping away of the old abuses of "Benefit of Clergy" which followed in a few more years. Soon no clerk could commit murder with impunity, and the next Parliament deprived the "Courts Christian" of their right to inflict Judgment of Death on the King's lieges. Even heresy could only be punished by the Royal Assent of a Crown Writ.

[1] Annulment of Proceedings—not to stay the trial for lack of evidence, but an exercise of the Royal clemency.—J. K.

PARABLES FROM SOUTH AMERICA. By Kenneth G. Grubb. Pp. 215. *Lutterworth Press, 7s. 6d.* net.

The name "Grubb," in connection with South America, is in itself a guarantee of reliability and interest. Readers who, on this account, are attracted by the name, will not be disappointed. Yet the book is not easy to describe. It is not a record of missionary work, nor a mere description of that great land, though there are descriptions that will delight and illustrations that will attract. The author takes the reader to various parts of South America and as they journey he bases upon the things they see and hear spiritual implications and eternal truths. For example, having described the beauty of the stars in the southern hemisphere he quotes: "And the Lord brought Abraham forth and said, Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and He said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And he believed in the Lord; and He counted it to him for righteousness." "Thus was the night season transformed into a time of supreme revelation. . . . Often the night is a time of vision and revelation. . . . Who can say how often it is the case that a transaction between the soul and God, when all others are asleep, moulds the destiny of nations?"

The book has this special virtue that each chapter is complete in itself, a great boon to those who can give only occasional time for such reading.

F. B.

ST. MARY'S LOCH RE-VISITED.

By W. L. Paige Cox, M.A., B.D., Archdeacon of Chester.

THIRTY-SIX years ago the present writer contributed an article to *Temple Bar*—a magazine then popular, now extinct—describing a visit to St. Mary's Loch. Lately I had an opportunity of going over the same ground again, doing the whole journey, as before, from Moffat to Selkirk. It was naturally of great interest to me to compare my fresh impressions with the older ones, and it has occurred to me that some of these impressions might be not without interest to readers of this magazine, especially in view of the memories evoked last year by the Scott centenary. The earlier article speaks of locomotion by coach and on foot, by coach from Moffat to St. Mary's Loch, and on foot onward, with a night spent at the "Gordon Arms," by the Yarrow side to Selkirk. The recent excursion was by motor-bus, which took us easily from Moffat to Selkirk and back in a morning. The years between have marked a change here from the horse vehicle, picturesque but slow by comparison, to the mechanically propelled conveyance, rapid but not too rapid for the enjoyment of scenery.

Abusus non tollit usum. Everywhere now we are harassed by noise on the roads, in the congested city, and in out-of-the-way and even desert places. On the same tour the traveller found himself at Crianlarich, a place which, with its bare, wild grandeur, has a fascination of its own for the jaded town-worker. But, a short rest there, in breaking a railway journey, was irritatingly spoilt by the shrieking tumult and the rushing to and fro of a double procession of motor-cars, making it dangerous to life to stray for a few yards on the main road.

Now, even in these days, there are few motor-cars to be met with on the road between Moffat and Selkirk. No doubt ordinary travellers from England, with limited time at their disposal, prefer to go straight to the Highlands. Even H. V. Morton, when he was "In Search of Scotland," did not discover the Yarrow. The consequence is that it is a quite exceptionally pleasant run by motor-bus from Moffat to Selkirk, and the mode of conveyance is especially welcome to one whose pedestrian powers have been lessened by time. The relative paucity of private cars has secured that here the roads are not disfigured, as elsewhere, by gaudy petrol stations; and the lapse of thirty-six years has made no change for the worse in the general appearance of the country.

In Moffat-dale the hills are craggy and overhang the road, but after passing the watershed of Birkhill the prospect widens and becomes sylvan. Soon we catch sight of the Loch of the Lowes, and come once again to Tibbie Shiel's cottage, now enlarged, the famed resort of Sir Walter and his cronies. As we pass the isthmus, St. Mary's Loch itself opens out before us.

Our remark on first descrying the loch on the former visit was,—"There is no sun, and the light wind prevents that transparency of the surface which Scott, in his Introduction to the second canto of *Marmion*, and Wordsworth, in his Yarrow poems, had led us to expect." We had seen the swan on our way upward (to St. Mary's Kirkyard, which overlooks the loch), but it was not "floating double, swan and shadow"; and of the loch itself it could not be said that "not a feature of the hills was in the mirror slighted." The water was of a dull leaden colour, though the clouds were not low enough to obscure the bare green hills that embraced it. We noticed that the place had undergone some change since Sir Walter wrote—

> "Nor tree, nor bush, nor brake is there,
> Save where, of land, yon slender line
> Bears thwart the lake the scatter'd pine."

There is now a long fringe of wood along the northern side of the loch, in the midst of which there rises a modern hotel. This is the "Rodono," attractive-looking, as we pass it, and, we feel moved to say, pronounced to be "most comfortable" by those who have stayed in it.

The wood which surrounds the hotel gives point to what we have been reading recently in Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. From the Tweed to St. Andrews, he tells us, he had not seen a single tree which had not "grown up far within the present century."

> "At St. Andrews Mr. Boswell found only one, and recommended it to my notice; I told him it was rough and low, or I looked as if I thought so. 'This,' said he, 'is nothing to another a few miles off.' I was still less delighted to hear that another tree was not to be seen nearer. 'Nay,' said a gentleman that stood by, 'I know but of this and that tree in the county.'"

We remind ourselves here of the "large English oak-stick" with which Johnson provided himself in preparing for the Northern journey, which journey, notwithstanding his gibes at things Scottish, was the happiest episode of his life. The stick disappeared, and "so caused an ill-humour in Johnson." When Boswell would lead him to hope that it would turn up later, "No, no, my friend," said Johnson, "it is not to be expected that any man in Mull who has got it will part with it. Consider, sir, the value of such a *piece of timber here*!" His general remark was, "The Lowlands of Scotland had once undoubtedly an equal portion of woods with other countries. Forests are everywhere gradually diminished, as architecture and cultivation prevail by the increase of people and the introduction of arts. But I believe few regions have been denuded like this, where many centuries must have passed in waste without the least thought of future supply."

The Scottish people have taken Dr. Johnson's chiding in good part. His book did much to correct them of their improvidence in this regard. Immediately after the publication of the book there began a busy planting of trees, and we can see the effect of it in the

fringe of wood on the northern side of St. Mary's Loch, which has put Sir Walter's description out of date.

Curiously enough one experience of ours on the earlier visit to the loch was repeated on the second visit. The day, on the outward journey, was sombre, and the loch was slaty in hue as before. We saw the swan almost at once; though this time not one only, according to Wordsworth, but two, according to the nature of those conjugally faithful birds. For the rest, so far from there being anything to disappoint in the general aspect of the scenery by comparison with the earlier view of it, its beauty impressed us more even than as we remembered it. The neighbouring hills, though low and rounded, are varied in contour, affording inviting peeps into hidden recesses, and here and there into modes of egress northward or southward from what seems an almost enclosed area. The colour on the lower ground is exceptionally vivid, the dark Scotch firs, dotted here and there in clumps, making an agreeable contrast to the rich, bright green of the turf, while the romantic river flashes out along the way, "like a baldric thrown loose on the vale."

It is the secluded quietness of the Yarrow-side that gives it much of its peculiar charm. There are no obtrusive evidences of man's presence or handiwork. Here and there are to be noticed well-built farmsteads nestling amid their own plantations, and occasional cottages by the roadside, all presenting an appearance of pastoral and agricultural well-being and of an orderly life. The people throughout this region have a passion for fresh paint. They even paint the solid external stone walls of their houses, always choosing white or a cream colour, which harmonises with the natural features of the country. It is exactly the kind of colour-scheme which Wordsworth advocated in his *Guide through the Lake District in the North of England.*

This care for the houses extends to the gardens, and it is characteristic everywhere of the Moffat and Selkirk district that there is a flower culture among the people, which is perhaps stimulated and encouraged, as was hinted to us, by the fertility of the soil, but is manifestly the outcome of a very tender regard in this region for the loveliest of God's creatures.

The Yarrow country thus gains, rather than the reverse, in so far as it is affected by man. It is something for which we have special cause to be thankful in the case of a region so hallowed by natural beauty and by romantic and literary associations. In the earlier article reference is made to the Border ballads, of which the scene is laid to a large extent in the Yarrow and Ettrick Valleys, the two best known of these ballads being "Willy drowned in Yarrow" and "The Flowers of the Forest." The whole neighbourhood teems with memories of

> "Old, unhappy, far-off things,
> And battles long ago,"

which give a tinge of sadness to the sweet and tranquil beauty of the scenery. Wordsworth expressed this in writing his *Yarrow Visited:*

" Oh, that some minstrel's harp were near,
To utter notes of gladness,
And chase this silence from the air,
That fills my heart with sadness!

Yet, why? A silvery current flows
With uncontrolled meanderings;
Nor have these eyes by greener hills
Been soothed in all my wanderings."

The following extract from the former article may be quoted here:

" If it be true, as Edgar Allan Poe has said, that ' a certain taint of sadness is inseparably connected with all the higher manifestations of beauty,' then the

Feeling of sadness and longing
That is not akin to pain

that the Yarrow scenery inspires is but a credential of its genuine and rare loveliness.

" Certain it is that, to a unique degree, this has been a favourite and venerated resort to men whose sentiment for the beautiful has been exceptionally pure and strong. When Norman Macleod said that his highest idea of earthly happiness was to spend a long summer's day in Yarrow with a few choice friends, he was but expressing what would have been echoed heartily by men like Scott, Wordsworth, Wilson, Hogg, and not a few others of kindred mind since their day. And it is partly the consciousness that we are gazing on scenery that men we have so honoured, and whose words have so delighted us, have held exceptionally dear, that fills us with an emotion never to be forgotten when we first gaze on St. Mary's Loch and the country that surrounds it."

On re-reading this, a doubt arises in the mind whether the present generation and those to follow it will appreciate the literary associations of St. Mary's Loch as their forbears have done. Are the names in the literary world of the early and middle nineteenth century that were as household words in the youth of the elder men and women of to-day still names to conjure with? It is hardly to be expected that they should be. New names of poets and imaginative writers have come to the fore of late, known and cared for more by the young among us than by their seniors, as must inevitably be the case. We older folk are apt to think that our early favourites that helped to form our minds and delight our leisure hours in days gone by, were of a class that has been reached scarcely, if at all, since. Certainly they were periods of peculiar inspiration when Shelley and Keats and Byron and Wordsworth and Scott and Coleridge wrote, and, later, when Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, and Ruskin were pouring out the products of their thought in continuous succession to a welcoming public. If the fame of such men is dimming and they make a less appeal to the younger minds of to-day it is in the natural course of things. Walter Bagehot spoke of this in writing of the Waverley Novels as far back as 1858.

" Contemporaries," he said, " bring to new books formal minds and stiffened creeds; posterity, if it regard them at all, looks at them as old

subjects, worn-out topics, and hears a disputation of their merits with languid impartiality, like aged judges in a court of appeal. Even standard authors exercise but slender influence on the susceptible minds of a rising generation; they are become 'papa's books'; the walls of the library are adorned with their regular volumes; but no hand touches them."

Yet the Waverley Novels live, though they have not the swiftness of narrative and the predominant occupation with vicissitudes of love and sex or detective problems which many of the present generation demand in their light literature. For the reasons given by Bagehot they, or the most successful of them, must survive among the immortals. We cannot afford to lose or neglect Sir Walter. He and others of his contemporaries, like Wordsworth especially, have left us that which is a "permanent possession" of the human race, needful for the sustenance of the higher instincts of the soul; and it is a safe prediction that generations to come will venerate the places in which such men found rest and delight. There are many now, and we may be sure there will always be many, who will enter into the spirit of the lines:

> "Should life be dull, and spirits low,
> 'Twill soothe us in our sorrow,
> That earth has something yet to show,
> The bonny Holms of Yarrow!"

Any misgivings expressed after the former visit had reference to the inhabitants of the vicinity of St. Mary's Loch. The recent note about them is,—"The men are stalwart and the women strong-looking and fresh-coloured—a fine peasantry." Perhaps there is no finer peasantry, in physique and character, to be met with anywhere. One looks upon them with the greater interest in remembering that they are the modern representatives of the "Flowers of the Forest," who fell in such large numbers at Flodden.

In the earlier article I said:

"We have been told by those who should know them well that these descendants of Border fighters and minstrels are losing their taste for poetry. The songs and ballads that delighted their fathers have but a secondary interest for them compared with the intellectual entertainment they derive from *Pearson's Weekly* and *Tit-Bits*. Their life is a more prosaic one, and their tastes have by consequence become prosaic. . . . We cannot but regret that the fervour and lightness of fancy that expressed itself in the Border Minstrelsy should survive now only in the few. Still, take them for all in all, we would not wish back again those old, rough, fierce reivers and manslayers, in the place of the orderly, law-abiding men who earn their livelihood by ministering to the wants of those from whose fathers their fathers thought it no shame to steal.

"Humanity has advanced here as elsewhere. Nevertheless we cannot but wish that what was good and admirable in the characters of the original men of the 'Forest' might reappear in their more peaceable and industrious, though less high-souled descendants. The courage, the dauntless endurance of hardship, the fidelity in love, the noble generosity, the heroic self-sacrifice that beautified the life of those old days, would that we might see more of it now!"

This is pessimism to the verge of libel. The answer to it is the Edinburgh War Memorial, unique as a tribute to valour and diver-

sified national service in a great cause. The figure in the memorial from America, below, with the title beneath it of "The Call," represents the soul—the indestructible soul, we may say—of the young manhood of Scotland. To look at it is to feel assured that if a similar call came again, young Scotland would rise to it in the same spirit.

We are passionately desirous now that war shall cease, but that desire cannot secure us against the possibility of armed uprisings in unexpected quarters in transgression of that brotherliness which we are trying to promote and upon which we are relying perhaps too incautiously. Anyhow, in the time to come, there will be continual calls on the more robust qualities of character in the manhood and womanhood of Britain for the purposes of an ordered social life and for the cultivation of the arts of peace; and an older man may correct the hastier impression of his younger day by strengthening himself in the conviction that—

> "While a youth is lost in soaring thought,
> And while a maid grows sweet and beautiful,
> And while a spring-tide coming lights the earth,
> And while a child, and while a flower is born,
> And while one wrong cries for redress and finds
> A soul to answer, still the world is young!"

Some years ago Bishop Every of the Argentine wrote a book on his experiences during twenty-five years in South America. He has now written a sequel, *South American Memories of Thirty Years* (S.P.C.K., *7s. 6d.* net). For many of us, missionary work in the South American continent has a special fascination, and we have long been interested in the achievements of pioneers like Captain Allen Gardiner, Barbrooke Grubb, and Bishop Stirling. Bishop Every has had special opportunities of viewing the life of the various countries of the continent, and his account of its characteristics will be read with great interest. He explains the amazing attitude of the people towards religion, and shows some of the recent tendencies and developments, especially in regard to the difficulties arising from the new spirit of nationalism. A chapter of special interest is devoted to the work of William Morris, whose care for the children of Buenos Aires won for him a place of special influence in the life of the country. Accounts are given of some of the chief Mission fields, and a tribute is paid to the work of the South American Missionary Society. The Bishop acknowledges that he has not always been correct in his forecasts of the future in regard to the affairs in South America, but his long experience of the country gives his observations and reflections a special value; and, in spite of the difficulties he has encountered in his long period of service, he still looks forward to the accomplishment of greater things through the spread of a purer religion than that which is dominant in the South American States.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S OVERSEAS JURISDICTION.

By the Rev. F. Bate, D.D., Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society.

IT must now be generally known that, apart from his great responsibilities in connection with the metropolis, the Bishop of London has within his jurisdiction the whole of North and Central Europe. Every chaplain officiating within that area does so under a licence from London. Some of the chaplaincies are directly within the gift of the Bishop, while in others he has rights more or less clearly defined. For many years the episcopal functions have been fulfilled by a bishop set aside for that purpose, holding a commission from London. Of recent years a new step was taken: the continental part of London's responsibilities has been entrusted to a suffragan, the Bishop of Fulham, who was consecrated for that work at the request of the Bishop of London. Within the last few months a further and final step has received the approval of the authorities. When the necessary endowment has been raised, there will be created a diocese independent of London, presided over by a diocesan with powers equal to those conferred upon the Bishops of Gibraltar.

This overseas jurisdiction of successive Bishops of London is exactly three hundred years old. It was conferred by an order of the Privy Council, passed on October 1, 1633, placing all chaplains in factories beyond the seas under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London as their diocesan. The immediate cause of the order was the dissatisfaction felt by Charles I, largely at the instigation of Laud, at irregularities reported from Delft and Hamburgh, where the representatives of the Merchant Adventurers were most unwilling to approximate their Church life and services to that of the home Church. In reality the order was the climax of a long agitation and dispute in which Laud had played the leading part.

Though, by reason of this Order in Council, every English congregation overseas became part of the London diocese, the only vital consideration was the prevailing laxity, from Laud's point of view, of worship and observance prevailing among English congregations in the Netherlands.

For two or three hundred years, the merchant companies had been established in places such as Bruges and Middleburg. In both places churches had been built. Other places, such as Hamburgh and Delft, had received them later. The introduction of English and Scotch troops during and after the reign of Elizabeth produced a new kind of chaplaincy. Regiments in the field or in garrison had their own chaplains. Distinct from the troops and the merchant companies, there were many other English resident

in the towns. Some were political or religious refugees: some were business people: some were students. In 1633, for example, there were four chaplains to regiments, eleven in garrison towns, two connected with the Merchant Adventurers, and six in commercial towns. These last, under certain conditions, were paid by the Netherland States. The garrison and regimental chaplains were paid by the captains, while the Merchant Adventurers paid their own elected chaplains.

While there was no such thing as recognised organised dissent until 1672, there had been since the days of Henry VIII a fairly large section opposed to episcopacy, disliking parts of the liturgy of the Church of England, and favouring freedom of worship and discipline. The merchant class was, apparently, particularly favourable to these "independents." Many of the regiments and garrisons in the Low Countries were Scotch, and consequently also of the Puritan type. Indeed, of the twenty-three chaplains in the Netherlands in 1633, the great majority could be reckoned "independents."

From the first these English chaplains had been attracted by the local reformed Church which was governed after the Presbyterian model by "classes" exercising disciplinary and other powers. Some of the chaplains joined the Dutch classis, membership of which brought a subsidy from the Government. Others formed, on the Dutch model, an English classis exercising similar powers.

It was hardly to be expected that English Churches, modelled on such lines, would pass without protest from individual Churchmen resident in the Netherlands. Again and again protests were made, but without avail until Laud took the matter in hand. It was he who constantly urged King James I to take steps to end what he deemed to be nothing less than a scandal. The bishops were powerless: the Netherlands, as other foreign parts, was outside their jurisdiction. The King had been persuaded in 1622 to allow the chaplains in the Netherlands to govern themselves, to meet in their own classes, and to reform abuses, provided that they did not do anything directly contrary to the practice of the home Church. Hardly had this favour been granted than further protests were forthcoming in such force that the King in 1624 demanded one of two things. The chaplains must accept a moderator nominated by him, or the classes must be dissolved. A moderator sounded to them too much like a bishop. As for dissolution of the classes, that was unthinkable from many considerations. They sent across to plead their case before the King, one John Forbes, chaplain at Delft, who was kept waiting the King's pleasure through some weary months. Rumour said that James offered to create him a bishop if he would go back and rule the chaplains as a bishop of the Church of England. Forbes, in any case, was not to be won in that way.

Meanwhile Laud was making himself active in the business. He was in constant correspondence with ambassadors and others. As early as 1626 he formulated to the Privy Council a scheme for

regulating divine service in English factories and among English troops abroad. He became a repository of stories from the Continent illustrating the looseness of discipline and worship, and was constantly bringing them to the King's ear. One particular correspondent, Lord Carelton, ambassador at the Hague, urged and urged that something should be done to bring these chaplains to conformity. In 1628, Laud succeeded in securing the King's consent to "six articles to be delivered to the synod of English and Scotch ministers in the Netherlands in the name of his Majesty of Great Britain." At the same time Carelton was asked to signify to the Netherland States that the King's desire was that they should not pass any act to prejudice his Majesty's order.

The six articles were briefly as follows:

1. The chaplains must not "meddle" with the liturgy, much less publish any new liturgy or set form of prayers for their congregations.

2. They must by no means exercise the power of ordination but leave both English and Scottish to receive holy orders from their own mother-Churches.

3. They must not bring in any novelties in rites or ceremonies particularly as concerning the actual admission of lawful ministers to their pastoral charge.

4. They must not "meddle" with any point of doctrine but keep themselves to what has been established by the English and Dutch Churches.

5. The King will allow them to retain the powers given by King James—to suppress unqualified preachers, to examine and punish those who give scandal by their vicious lives, and the King asks them to make diligent inquisition after those who write books or pamphlets derogatory to the Church or State of England, and to suppress them.

6. If there is any doubt about these directions, let them go to the King's ambassador or agent: he will obtain necessary directions from his Majesty.

The chaplains concerned lost no time in replying to these articles. They pleaded their right to use whatever they found good in any liturgy provided that it did not offend the Dutch Church and was approved by the classis of which they were members. They did not propose "to leave every man to his own liberty to use what liturgy he pleaseth, seeing thereby as great, if not greater, confusion and disorder should reign amongst us after order established, as was before the erection of our Synod." They very definitely declined to surrender their power to ordain: "with good conscience we cannot omit it, nor leave it wholly to others without being guilty of neglect of the office laid upon us by Christ." Not only so; by surrendering the right "infamy and disgrace shall be brought upon us, your Majesty's subjects, as the only men in these Churches who are unworthy to enjoy the freedom, which other strangers (and, namely the French) do peaceably possess." Should they continue "a synodal body without practice of ordination, they

would be such an ecclesiastical body as is not to be found in any reformed Church in the world."

The King could present directions and articles: he could by no means enforce obedience. He had tried and had failed. Laud would not acknowledge failure. There was simmering in his mind the plan which he ultimately forced through the Privy Council. Among the State Papers of 1630 is one endorsed by Bishop Laud as "Propositions concerning the English Churches in the Netherlands." It enumerates twenty places in the United Provinces where public churches were already established, or were shortly to be allowed, for English congregations. It states that in the public worship in these churches the congregations "served God without any set form of prayer, and administered the Sacraments with conceived forms of their own." This is followed by a statement of advantages which would follow if these congregations were to be placed under ecclesiastical government and adopted the formularies of the Church of England.

The immediate occasion for further representations to the Privy Council was found in the complaints made by Edward Misselden, deputy governor of the English merchants at Delft, to Windebank, Secretary of State. Misselden, anxious to see the King's articles carried into effect, found himself opposed by the majority of the English in Delft. His complaint, printed in one of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's Reports, is typical of many that came across the North Sea:

"It hath much added to the fame of this worthy fellowship of Merchant Adventurers that besides the well-governing of this great Society, they have ever maintained the ministry of God's word amongst them, that so the young branch of the company consisting of many knights' and gentlemen's sons and others of quality, as well have good education in religion as in matters of merchandise and commerce with foreign nations. . . . Our minister here concurreth not either with the Church of England, or with the Churches under the States Government here, but is wholly for the Presbyterian kind of preaching and government of the Church: and will not preach on any solemn days, as the Nativity and Passion of Christ, the Gunpowder Deliverance, and the like, nor will use any forms of prayer, but do all after his own voluntary conceptions. Whereupon I have taken occasion lately to admonish our preacher and company, but instead of reformation of these miscarriages the minister hath made a faction to plot with our company at Hamburgh to remove me out of my place . . . I have thought it my duty to acquaint His Majesty . . . that some reverend and learned divine may be sent over to catechise these young merchants better to know and acknowledge God and their King."

The answer to that complaint was a threat that in default of reformation the Company's charter would be cancelled. The Company must not entertain any minister who had left the homeland "for nonconformity." It had never been the King's intention "that any company residing in foreign parts should exempt themselves from the government of His Church and State."

In addition to the information about conditions at Delft, there came a scandalous story of lawless proceedings at Hamburgh and elsewhere. Laud saw his opportunity. His earlier proposals were

re-presented to the Privy Council, and found ready acceptance. All factories and regiments overseas were henceforward to conform strictly to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England and to be under the supervision and jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Laud did not survive sufficiently long to see how far the order would prove effective. The Civil War, with its accompanying upheaval in Church as well as in State, introduced a factor which he had not foreseen. It naturally strengthened the position of the independent chaplains. There are existing nonconformist chaplaincies in Holland to-day which date their establishment from those troubled days. On the other hand, the authority of the Bishop of London remained, for all practical purposes, a dead thing for more than two hundred years.

THE EXISTENCE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. By H. T. Butler. *Lincoln Williams.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The author, a nephew of Samuel Butler, seeks to demonstrate the existence and immortality of the soul by many arguments and illustrations from nature. He has much to say about Instinct, which he holds to be not inherited memory but a God-given gift and a strong proof of his thesis. The book is full of interesting things, but the style is rather jerky.

H. D.

GLORIA. By Stacy Waddy, M.A. *S.P.C.K.* 4*s.*

This is a collection of Psalms, each of which is arranged as an order of service. The sub-title is "Some Psalm-visions for the Eucharist." The imagery is explained, and devotional, exegetical, and liturgical comments assist the worshipper. The general "get up" of the book, including the illustrations, does credit to the publishers.

H. D.

PROPHETS OF JUDAH, or the Background of History. By Ursula Wells, S.Th., L.T. *S.P.C.K.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

The prophetical books need the elucidation which comes from trained guidance, and we have such help in the well-printed and well-selected expositions here provided. Without endorsing all that they contain, we can recommend these illuminative studies to those who are called upon to teach as well as to those who are anxious to learn.

H. D.

A HISTORY OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. By Canon R. J. Fletcher, D.D. *S.P.C.K.* 2*s.*

The late Canon Fletcher shortly before his death compiled this history. As keeper of the MSS., and as a scholar, and as one who loved the building, Canon Fletcher was well equipped for his task and he has produced a readable and valuable handbook.

THE PAPAL BULLS FOR THE INVASIONS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

By the Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D.

THERE are many facts and circumstances common to William's invasion of England and Henry's entry into Ireland which serve to elucidate the latter. Neither of these men had any title by birth, bequest, inheritance or election to the countries they invaded and possessed as conquerors. Both of them claimed that their expedition was a holy crusade undertaken to restore to the Church of Rome a nation and a Church that had rebelled against the Pope. They both sent letters and envoys to the Pope misrepresenting the case of their opponents and setting forth with hypocritical subtlety their own pious intentions; and they both obtained from the occupant of the papal chair confirmatory letters or Bulls, with a ring as a sign of investiture in the holy office of a conquering reformer of the morals of a nation, whose chief fault in the eyes of that occupant was the independence of its Church and State. As Henry followed closely the steps taken by his predecessor, we shall consider first his invasion and the circumstances which led to the same. John of Salisbury, an adherent of Henry, and personal friend of Adrian, was sent by Henry to Rome to entreat his sanction for the King's projected invasion of Ireland (1155). Ussher (*Sylloge*, No. 46) summarised the account given of the invasion by Matthew of Westminster, Matthew of Paris and others in this manner: "Henry sent ambassadors to Rome and asked Pope Adrian to give him permission to enter Ireland in a hostile manner and subdue it for himself and *bring back that beastly people* (homines illos bestiales) to a more decent form of the faith of Christ and to persuade them to greater obedience to the Roman Church. The Pope consented and sent him a privilegium on the subject."

This statement throws a light upon the terms of the letter abusive of the Irish and fulsome to the Pope which John of Salisbury, a personal friend, presented to the Pope, and to which the Pope in his letter replied. The result was, to use John's own words, "It was at my request that Adrian *granted and gave* (concessit et dedit) Ireland to Henry the Second, King of England, to be possessed by inheritance, as his own letters testify unto this day. For all islands, of ancient right, are said to belong to the Church of Rome by the donation of Constantine." He also sent a gold ring set with an emerald, as a symbol of his investiture in the right of ruling Ireland.[1] Gerald of Wales also refers to this ring which Adrian sent by John of Salisbury to Henry in symbol of his investiture and which was deposited in the treasury at Winchester.[2]

[1] *Metalogicus*, lib. IV, last chapter; Giles, vol. V, p. 205: "*investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia.*"

[2] *Conquest of Ireland*, Rolls, v, 314: "*investiturae in signum.*"

John has represented his master's enterprise in the very best light, making him out as an enthusiast for the reformation of the lax moral and ecclesiastical condition of Ireland. It was a great opportunity for the Pope to follow up the work of 1152, when four palls had been given to the Irish Archbishops at the Synod of Kells. Hadrian's letter, which John speaks of, is undoubtedly the Bull *Laudabiliter*, commending Henry for "his purpose to extend the bounds of the Church and to proclaim to a rude and untaught (indocti et rudes) people the truth of the Christian faith, and to extirpate nurseries of vice from the field of the Lord, and for asking "apostolic counsel and favour." The Pope rings the changes on the pious Henry's alleged intention of "correcting morals and planting virtues for the increase of the Church," and emphasises "the right of the Roman Church to Ireland and all islands on which the sun of righteousness hath shone," in justification of his approval. This was the very point mentioned by John of Salisbury in his narrative. This letter was intended to be shown to the Irish. For it says, "let the people receive you with honour and respect you as Lord (Dominus), reserving the rights of the Church and the yearly payment of Peter's pence from each household." The Pope acquiesced in the King's project, but makes no feudal grant.[1]

This Bull has been questioned by some Romanists and others, because it cannot be found in the Vatican. It is given by Gerald of Wales in the fifth chapter of the second book of the *Conquest of Ireland* (Rolls edition). Gerald came over as the secretary of Prince John and so had access to all the royal and state documents. He would hardly have forged a document in favour of a king he hated.[2] It is also to be found in the *Book of Leinster* (*facsimile*, p. 228), a twelfth-century compilation. Professor Stokes [3] pointed out that according to Theiner no document earlier than 1215, relating to Ireland, is to be found in the Vatican, and demanded, if this is to be urged as proof that no Bull relating to Ireland was issued prior to that year, "what becomes of the papal claims to have ruled Ireland long before the English came at all? Such arguments are suicidal." Now Ussher's (*Sylloge*, No. 48) gives the text of a Bull sent to Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, 1179. "The truth is," as Dr. Stokes remarked, "we still possess many Bulls issued by popes about Ireland all through the reigns of Henry II and John, the originals of which have been lost from the Vatican." He refers to Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* and the *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*, of the Irish Record Office, to Alan's *Register*, the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Albus* and the *Liber Niger* of Christ Church for numerous Bulls extant in Ireland. It can also be easily proved that the papacy was accessory both before and after to the invasion. The statement of John of Salisbury, a con-

[1] Henry had merely asked for his blessing and the sanction of his enterprise.

[2] Arthur Ua Clerigh, *History of Ireland*, p. 392, gives the Latin and a translation.

[3] *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 46.

temporary writer, cannot be set aside. Bishop Creighton regarded it as alone sufficient to establish the case. The privilegium of Adrian was confirmed by a successor, Alexander III, in a letter the authority of which has been disputed. It is to be found in the *Conquest of Ireland* by Gerald of Wales (Book II, c. 5, also in his *De principis instructione*, ii, 19 (viii, 197, Rolls) where he says that "some deny its genuineness." He would hardly have said this had he forged it himself). There are, however, three letters from the same pope in the *Black Book* of the Exchequer,[1] addressed to the Irish prelates, Henry, and the Irish nobles, respectively, and written in 1172. The Pope harps on the vices of the Irish, who had "cast off the fear of God and the restraints of the Christian religion." He expresses his unbounded joy over Henry's "subjugation to his own sovereignty of that savage and uncivilised people, who know nothing of God's law." He commands the bishops to assist that noble prince in "keeping possession of the land and extirpating its filthy abominations," and to pronounce excommunication upon all obstinate rebels. In his letter to Henry he refers to the letter which Irish bishops (under the papal legate) had sent to him from the Synod of Cashel full of abuse of the Irish, because they married within the degrees, ate meat in Lent and paid no tithes, and did not give sufficient respect to the clergy. The third letter commends the prudence of the nobles in submitting to Henry—"such a devout son of the Church."

That they are not found in the papal archives, which do not contain any original document relating to Ireland before 1215, does not invalidate the worth of these documents, for there are in those archives[2] notices of the approval of subsequent pontiffs of the action of Adrian and Alexander. Sir J. H. Ramsay says there is an unmistakable reference in one instance to the terms of the Bull *Laudabiliter*.[3] Dr. Stokes, *Ireland and Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 46, also draws attention to the fact that on the second page of Theiner's *Monumenta* there is a letter of Honorius III dated January 17, 1217, headed with the words "to the Archbishop of Dublin that he may compel the rebellious Irish to return to the obedience of the King of England" (ad obedientiam regis Angliae redire), and on the previous page there are equally strong notices of letters from Innocent III, especially Nos. 136 and 137. It is also stated by Giraldus that Vivianus, the papal legate, held a Synod in 1177, in which he set sternly forth (protestatur) Henry's rights (jus) to Ireland and declared that they were confirmed by the Pope, and anathematised all rebels.[4] In the letter of complaint from the Irish

[1] *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, pp. 42–8 (T. Hearne, Oxford, 1728); Rhymer's *Foedera*, i, p. 45 (London, 1816).

[2] See *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, A. Theiner (Rome, Vatican Press, 1864).

[3] In *The Angevin Empire*, p. 6, he refers to Theiner's *Monumenta*, i, 151, a passage from a dispensation of the thirteenth century.

[4] Giraldus, *Conquest*, II, c. 19: "tam clero quam populo sub anathematis interminatione injungens ne ab ejus aliquatenus fidelitate, ausu temerario resilire praesumant."

chiefs to John XXII, 1318, the miseries of Ireland are emphatically derived from Adrian's Bull, the articles of which are referred to, and passages of which are cited. Adrian is censured for presenting Henry *de facto* with what he had no right to bestow and for his obsequiousness to an evil king. This letter sets out in dignified language the case of the Celtic chiefs against their Norman oppressors, and is an important piece of evidence for the Bull. The Pope in his letter to Edward II referred to the grant Adrian made to Henry II, saying that he encloses a copy of his letter from the Irish, with a copy of the grant Adrian made to Henry.[1] In the Parliament Roll, 7th E.IV. (1467) a statute is to be found which refers in its preamble to this donation. " As our holy father Adrian was possessed of all the sovereignty of Ireland in his demesne of fee, in right of his Church of Rome, and with the intent that vice should be subdued, had alienated the said land to the King of England for a certain rent . . ." [2] The Bull is referred to by contemporary annalists such as Dean Diceto (*Imagines*, x, 529).

Another reference is made to this donation of Adrian in a consistorial decree of 1555, erecting Ireland into a kingdom of which the Kings of England, since they had secured the dominion of it through the Apostolic See, had merely been called lords [3] (*domini*). Adrian's Bull had charged the Irish to regard Henry as their *dominus*.

The instructions of Innocent X to Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, who came to Ireland in 1645, refer to the grant of Ireland made by Adrian to Henry.[4] There was evidently a strong papal tradition [5] about this grant and letter to Henry which cannot be easily set aside, especially when confirmed by contemporary statements like those of Gerald of Wales, John of Salisbury, and the *Book of Leinster*. The fact that the Bull was given seventeen years before it was acted upon is explained by R. de Monte as due to the queen-mother's objection to her son's undertaking so dangerous an enterprise, so " the strange crusade was dropped for the time."

There are striking parallels to the circumstances that led to and the steps that were taken in this invasion in the previous invasion of England. Stigand, Harold's Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1058 had received the *pallium* from Benedict X (antipope) who was shortly afterwards deposed. This acknowledgment of an anti-

[1] The words are: " We send your majesty enclosed in these presents the above-mentioned letter directed to the Cardinals above mentioned with *a copy of the letter of grant which our predecessor Adrian addressed to Henry King of England.*"—Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 201.

[2] Hardiman, *Statutes of Kilkenny*, p. 3.

[3] Lingard, vol. V, p. 227 (Duffy); *History of England*. Bullarium R. Part V, p. 315.

[4] *Embassy in Ireland*, xxvii, A. Hutton (1873).

[5] Cardinal Baronius found a copy in the Vatican Archives which he transcribed. Dr. Gasquet (*Irish Catholic*, Feb. 12, 1909) withdrew his previous objections to the Bull. He said: " We shall here copy out of the Vatican codex the diploma given to Henry, King of the English."—*Eccles. Annal.*, xii, p. 418 (Antwerp, 1634).

pope affected not only Stigand's position, who was in consequence looked upon askance by many churchmen, but also the Church of England, which the reigning Pope regarded as schismatical. The position was aggravated by the hostility of the monks to the Godwin family, who were on good terms with the secular canons. The monks were a great help to William in consequence. Again in 1061, Earl Tostig led a party to Rome to procure the pallium for Ealdred of York. This was refused by the Pope, and on leaving Rome the party was attacked and robbed. Tostig went back to the Pope and complained so fiercely that the Pope gave the pallium, but did not forgive the insult.[1] Freeman declared that the real crime of England was its independence of Rome, and it was to punish that crime that the crusade of William was approved and blessed. "A land where the church and the nation were but different names for the same body, a land where priests and prelates were subject to the laws like other men, a land where the King and his Witan gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which, in the eyes of Rome, was more dangerous than a land of Jews or Saracens."[2] Accordingly, when William's ambassador, Gilbert, Archdeacon of Lisieux, presented himself, and laid his master's complaints against Harold and his claim to England before Alexander II, it was too good an opportunity for the extension of the powers of the papacy to be missed. The story of Harold's oath of fealty to William made over a tub in which were concealed the relics of Saints, was told; William's pious desire to teach the English obedience to the Pope and to secure the punctual payment of his dues was set forth, and his offer to hold of God and St. Peter the kingdom he hoped to win was emphasised; as the *Roman de Rou*, 11446, has it, "if God willed that he should conquer England, he would receive it from St. Peter."[3] Such was the argument conceived by the subtle brains of William and his adviser, Lanfranc, which made it appear that William was really standing as the champion of the Roman Church, only desirous of reforming the evil lives and ecclesiastical abuses of ungodly islanders. So William of Poitiers[4] (124) declares that "he intended not so much to increase his own dominion and glory as to reform Christian rites in those parts." It is certain, however, for all his specious pleas and protestations, backed up by the eloquence and determination of Hildebrand, that there was strong opposition in the Papal Court to William's projected enterprise. Hildebrand stresses this point in a letter he afterwards wrote as Gregory VII to William.[5] "I endured great infamy almost from some of the brethren, who murmured against me that I was exerting myself with so much partisanship for the perpetration

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gest. pont.*, 154.

[2] Freeman, E. A., *History of the Norman Conquest*, iii, 284.

[3] K'il Engleterre conquésist.
De Saint Pierre la recevrait.

[4] "Non tantum ditionem suam et gloriam augere, quantum ritus Christianos partibus in illis corrigere intendit."

[5] Ep. Gregory, VII, c. xxxvi (Freeman, III, 320).

of so much slaughter."[1] This shows that there were some honest Cardinals in the papal Court, who would not sanction the shedding of so much blood in the name of religion. But the horrors of an unprovoked war were not to be set against the interests of the papal see. Alexander issued a Bull declaring Harold usurper and William rightful claimant of the English throne. He also gave him a ring with a hair of St. Peter, and a consecrated banner.

> un gonfannon e un ancl
> Mult precios e riche e bel. (*Roman de Rou*, 11452.)

It would also seem that the Bull declared that the English were excommunicated from the apostle and the church.[2] It was a triumph of an unrighteous conspiracy when William invaded England with the papal blessing as the champion of the Roman see. Myriads of valiant men were slain in order that the Roman treasury should be replenished.

The same story can be told of Roman ruthlessness among other peoples, for example, the massacres of the Waldenses, of the Huguenots, of the Irish, to say nothing of the Inquisition in Spain, and the tortures and slaughter of the Knights Templars in France, for which the Pope was responsible. The Irish nobles complained to the Pope that more than 50,000 men on both sides had perished by the sword because of Adrian's Bull. Perish humanity provided Rome prevails.

STORIES AND LESSONS. THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR HOME AND SCHOOL. Part I, Genesis. By Marion Power. *S.P.C.K.* 2*s.*

It is all to the good that teachers should be acquainted with modern thought in its application to the Old Testament. But it does not follow that modern views are necessarily true. This lesson book assumes that the modern critical position as to the structure of the Old Testament is fully established and seems to imagine that children from eight to ten need to be taught on that basis. It is not difficult by distortion or disproportion to make a contrast between God in the Old Testament and in the New much to the disadvantage of the former. But we believe that there is a more excellent way, and that is to take the narratives in a much more natural and simple way than that of the highly skilled analysts of to-day, who fail to realise that they are creating in the minds of many quite as many difficulties as those which they seek to remove. And we certainly do not think that children of tender years are helped by the fashion now in vogue. This is not to say that reasonable Biblical criticism is to be despised, or that everything old is sacrosanct.

[1] A quibusdam fratribus magnam pene infamiam pertuli submurmurantibus quod ad tanta homicidia perpetranda tanto favore meam operam impendissem.

[2] Wace makes William say, after he landed, of the English :

> ke cil sunt escumengié
> De l' Apostole e del clegié.

CHURCH BRIEFS.

By the Rev. Harold Smith, D.D.

THE rubric after the Nicene Creed mentions the reading of Briefs, Citations and Excommunications. All are obsolete; so it would seem is the following sentence, which forbids the giving out of any notice not prescribed in the Prayer Book or ordained by the King or the Ordinary!

A Church Brief was a royal warrant authorising collections in churches and chapels, and in special cases from house to house, for some charitable object. (There were, however, also local briefs, granted by the Justices to deserving persons, authorising them to collect money from the charitable or to receive Church collections.) Briefs were issued by the King, the Privy Council, or latterly the Lord Chancellor. During the Interregnum such collections were at first authorised by Parliament, but later by the Council of State; from the Restoration the Lord Chancellor was again the normal authority. In ordinary cases it was usual to apply first to the Quarter Sessions, bringing evidence of damage or cost, and to send their certificate to the Lord Chancellor. The standard book on this subject, to which this article is mainly indebted, is *Church Briefs*, by Mr. W. A. Bewes (1896).

Down to the Restoration, or at least till the later years of the Commonwealth, our notices of briefs are derived from the State Papers, or from miscellaneous sources, and are probably far from complete. But from the above date many parish registers contain for a number of years a full list of sums collected upon briefs, and from 1754 we have also the original briefs preserved in the British Museum. I have seen lists in many registers in Essex, including quite small parishes; two of the earliest are at Woodford and Waltham Abbey.

(1) The most usual occasion for a brief was a fire. There was no fire insurance until after the Fire of London; the first regular fire office was opened in 1681. The oldest surviving office is the *Sun*, not later than 1710; the *Hand in Hand*, founded in 1686, is now absorbed in the Commercial Union. It was long before insurance became general in the country, and a fire might well mean absolute ruin. Hence in the event of serious fires, it became usual to apply for a brief, even when only an individual was concerned; but especially when there were many sufferers. In the earlier period the great majority of briefs were for fires; but the proportion became less as time went on. There were a number of disastrous fires in this period, over and above the Fire of London. It may be that our knowledge is greater than at an earlier period, while later on brick and tiles replaced wood and thatch. We know of many cases of whole towns, or a large part, being burnt, e.g. Nantwich 1583; Tiverton 1598, 1612; Marlborough 1653 (224 houses burnt, damage

£70,000) and 1679; Northampton 1675 (600 houses, damage £152,000); Southwark 1676; Blandford 1677 and 1731; Wem 1677; Bungay 1688; New Alresford 1690; Warwick 1694 (damage £90,000); and Buckingham 1724.

(2) At one time it was common to obtain a brief for losses at sea; this gradually died out.

(3) Some briefs were issued for the repair of harbours, e.g. Colyton or Seaton 1574; Hastings 1578; St. Ives 1586; Dunwich and Southwold 1618; Watchet 1662; Meeching *alias* Newhaven 1662; Grimsby 1663; Hartlepool 1665.

(4) But next to fires the most common occasion was the building, or more usually the rebuilding, of a church; latterly these briefs predominated. For all churches known to have been rebuilt between 1650 and 1815 a brief was probably issued; and the date of the rebuilding can be gathered or verified from this. There are many notices in parish registers of contributions towards St. Paul's Cathedral (1678); other present cathedrals include Ripon (1661), St. Albans, Llandaff (1732) and Chelmsford (1801).

(5) An object recurring from time to time in the earlier period is redemption of captives taken by Turkish or Moorish pirates (Algiers, Sallee, etc.). These pirates were a scourge for many years; it is a wonder that France or Spain did not make a determined and persistent effort to suppress them long before. This object always made a very great appeal, far more than church building or any ordinary fire. Such collections were made in 1624, 1645, 1670 f., 1680, 1692, 1700.

(6) Briefs were issued also to meet calamities of various kinds, e.g. the Plague 1625, 1665–6, and at Cambridge 1631; Teignmouth and Shaldon, burnt by the French, 1690; widows and orphans of seamen who perished in the Great Storm, 1703; cow-keepers, to meet losses from cattle disease, 1715; oyster-dredgers, loss by frost 1742; Inundation in Lancashire 1722; also at Brighthelmstone; and at Wroot 1730.

(7) A very large number of briefs were issued at the Restoration. Pepys notes June 30, 1661, "To Church, when we perceive that the trade of briefs is come up now to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them." But among them were several unusual ones: (*a*) For the Herring Fishery, to build docks, wharves, and storehouses to be filled with nets, casks, salt. Pepys was made one of the commissioners, but complains that the money was largely mis-spent. (*b*) For Philip Dandulo, a Mahometan Turk, converted to the Christian faith. Kennett gives his petition; he was the only son of a silk merchant in the island of Tzio; converted by the ministry of Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmestry, Dr. Thurscrosse and Dr. Gunning, and baptised by Dr. Gunning in Exeter House Chapel November 28, 1657. In consequence of his conversion he is unable to return to his native land (Woodford 5*s.* 8*d.*, Waltham Abbey 17*s.* 3*d.*). (*c*) Protestants in the Great Dukedom of Lithuania, now in a most lamentable and sad condition, and the translating and printing of their Bible. The translator

was Samuel Rogislaus Chylinski; Evan Tyler printed (Waltham Abbey £1 2*s.* 8½*d.*).

(8) This is only one of a large number of briefs in behalf of Protestants of other lands. One of the first acts of James I was to order a collection for the city of Geneva, recently attacked by the Duke of Savoy (Bewes, pp. 93–6). There were also collections for Protestant refugees from France, 1621 and 1627; and for ministers exiled from the Palatinate 1627–35. Above all there was the collection for the Vaudois, afterwards extended to Poles and Bohemians, under Cromwell. The total was £38,000, of which Cromwell personally gave £2,000. In 1681 came the first of four briefs for Protestant refugees from France; the first brought in £18,000, the others over £63,000. The collection for the Vaudois under William III brought in £27,600. There were also large collections for the Irish Protestants. Parish registers show how greatly these objects appealed compared with those of ordinary briefs. In 1677 there was a collection for thirty distressed Protestant ministers of Hungary, released from the galleys of Naples by the Dutch ambassador; in 1681 for ministers of Lesser Poland; in 1703 for Protestant refugees from Orange, forced by the French King to quit their native country because they would not turn Papists. In 1707–8 there was one for building a Protestant church at Oberbarmen; another in 1709 for one at Mittau in Curland; in 1716–17 for Reformed Episcopal Churches in Great Poland, Russian Poland, and Polish Prussia. Passing over a few others, this list closes with one for the Protestant colony at Philippen in Moldavia, on the River Neister 1764.

High Laver, a country parish in Essex, between Ongar and Bishops Stortford, has a very full list of briefs from 1660 to 1709, and again 1730–42. (The adjacent parish, Magdalen Laver, has a list 1678–1743.) The chief family there were the Mashams of Otes. Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island, had been chaplain to Sir William Masham, and was married in High Laver Church. The philosopher, John Locke, lived the closing years of his life with Sir Francis Masham, whose wife was the daughter of Cudworth, the Cambridge Platonist. Locke's tomb is under the south wall of the church; above it on the outside wall is his well-known epitaph. (As this is becoming faint, it is proposed to move it within the church.) Also in the churchyard is the tomb of Abigail, Lady Masham, who supplanted Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Among the lists of briefs there are several "house to house" ones, with a list of contributors. Thus on January 30, 1670–1, there was one "for the Redemption of His Majesty's Subjects taken by Turkish Pyrats." The first names are Samuel Lowe, rector, and his wife, 10*s.*; his man, Francis Patman, 6*d.*; his maid, Joan Adams, 6*d.*; Sir Francis Masham, Bart., and his Lady, £1; his man, Daniel Corbet, 1*s.*; three of their maids, 2*s.*; Robert King, his wife, and their five children, 6*s.* 6*d.*; their maid, Frances Roberts, 6*d.* The total sum collected was £3 16*s.* 6*d.*, gathered from seventy-seven persons, including labourers and "daysmen." In September,

1678, for the " Rebuilding of the Cathedral of St. Paul in London " the collection was £2 10*s.* 8*d.* from fifty-seven contributors. In October, 1680, another collection for the redemption of captives of Turkish pirates, £2 7*s.* 1*d.* was gathered from eighty-eight contributors. In April, 1695, there was one for the " Inhabitants of Warwick, their loss from fire." Sir Francis Masham was apparently away. The list begins, " Samuel Lowe, rector, £1 ; My Lady Masham, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; Mrs. Cudworth, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; Mr. Lock, 5*s.*" The total is £3 2*s.* 6*d.* from forty-nine persons in all.

Briefs were finally abolished in 1828. They had always been an expensive way of raising money, the expenses of distribution and collection, apart from legal costs, being necessarily high ; and latterly the returns from many parishes for ordinary objects were very low. An example how the expenses ate into the receipts is presented in the case of St. Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester. This church, ruined in the Siege (1648), was rebuilt about 1713 (Bewes, p. 35). The amount collected on the brief was £1,595 13*s.* 6*d.* ; but expenses ran to £546 19*s.* 10*d.*, or well over one-third. In the closing years of briefs those for churches usually brought in from £300 to £500, while expenses ran to about £230. The system was felt to have outlived its usefulness. Fire insurance was now common, and the number of briefs for fires was much less. Church building was on the increase ; but it was felt that this could best be met by subscribing to the Incorporated Church Building Society. For a number of years " King's Letters " were issued in behalf of this Society (alternately with the S.P.G. and the National Society) ; but these ended in 1853.

ON THE LAST FRONTIER. Letters of Mary Percy Jackson. Pp. 118. *The Sheldon Press.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

For a reliable, adequate and informative picture of pioneer life in Western Canada, these letters cannot be surpassed. Miss Jackson, a qualified medical practitioner, volunteering for service in newly settled areas, was sent by the Minister of Health for Alberta to a new settlement in the Peace River country where her " practice " covered about 300 square miles of a country without trains, even without roads. Her palatial shack measured 14 by 10 feet. For transport in summer she relied chiefly upon a horse. In the winter months snow-shoes, sleighs and dog-teams were called into service. In outstanding colours, she paints the picture of life-saving work among a cosmopolitan scattered community, including half-breeds mostly consumptive. Despite the difficulties and hardships, Dr. Jackson's joy of living and her joy in service is always apparent. She has much to say on the subject of the prevailing method—or lack of method—of settlement and upon the type and nationality of the successful settler. It is an admirable little book.

F. B.

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

By The Rev. F. E. Keay, M.A., D. Litt. Lond., British Chaplain, Amsterdam.

WE are living in days when a great deal is being spoken and written with regard to the Reunion of Christendom. The pressure of attack on the Christian faith makes it increasingly desirable that Christians should not be content to acquiesce in our present unhappy divisions. The goal of a re-united Church may still be far distant, but meanwhile we can do much to promote friendliness and understanding with fellow-Christians, and seek, as far as this is possible, to co-operate in efforts for the extension of Christ's Kingdom.

Living on the Continent one discovers that not only have continental Protestants generally a very small knowledge of what the Church of England is and stands for, but that most members of our own Church are very much in ignorance as to religious affairs on the Continent. Our Anglo-Catholic brethren have done much to promote friendliness with the Old Catholics and have brought about intercommunion with them. But the Old Catholics are (in Holland at least) a tiny and insignificant body, and show little sign of increasing in numbers or influence. It is really time that Evangelicals should do much more than they have hitherto done in getting into friendly relations with the great continental Protestant Churches. With this in view, it is important that we should try to become acquainted with the history, and also understand the present position of those Churches.

In Holland there are two large and influential churches, namely, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Roman Church. There are, besides, representatives of certain secessions from the Reformed Church, as well as numerous small sects. At the census of 1920 (the figures for 1930 are not yet available) the Roman Church had more than 35 per cent. of the population as its members. This may surprise many people living in England who often think of Holland as a "Protestant country." As a matter of fact there are parts of Holland that have always remained predominatingly Roman Catholic. The Roman Church in Holland appears to be vigorous and well-organised. So far as buildings are concerned (churches, schools, and hospitals), it has spread in most parts of the country and carries on active propaganda. Whether it is increasing in numbers at the expense of other churches is very doubtful. The census figures for 1930, when published, will perhaps throw some light on this.

The Reformed Church claimed more than 41 per cent. of the population in 1920, and if one adds bodies closely akin, which have seceded from it, just over 50 per cent. It came into being during the struggle for freedom against the power of Spain in the six-

teenth century in which William the Silent was the great national hero. It received its inspiration from Geneva and was formed on Calvinistic lines. Its formation and early history as a Reformed Church are very much interwoven with the national history. But though it has the most claim to be regarded as the national church of Holland, and the Queen and the ruling family are members of it, yet it is not established. It receives state aid towards the salaries of its ministers (as do other churches in Holland), but these grants are largely paid out of funds which were derived from the endowments of the Church before the Reformation.

The doctrinal basis of the Dutch Reformed Church consists of the so-called "Three Formularies of Unity." These are as follows: (1) The Confession, which has thirty-seven Articles. It was drawn up by a certain Guido de Brès, a martyr who was put to death at Valenciennes in 1567. After being accepted by many synods these articles were confirmed at Dordrecht in 1619, and again in 1816 recognised as the official confession of the Dutch Reformed Church. (2) The Catechism, which is a translation of the well-known Heidelberg Catechism. (3) The Five Articles framed by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619 in opposition to the teaching of the Remonstrants, who were the followers of Arminius. In the General Rules for the government of the Church adopted in 1816 provision was made for the maintenance of the doctrine of the Church, and a new formula for subscription was drawn up which may be translated as follows: "We accept in good faith and heartily believe the doctrine which, in agreement with the Word of God, is contained in the Formularies of Unity of the Dutch Reformed Church." This led to great discussion. Did it mean that the Formularies should be accepted *quia* or *quatenus* they are in agreement with Scripture? After long years of debate another formula was drawn up in which the subscriber is required to give his adherence to the doctrine which constitutes in its nature and spirit the essence and substance of the formularies. This also is ambiguous and the discussion still goes on. Modernists interpret the subscription as requiring adherence only to the fundamental principles of Reformed theology and claim the greatest possible freedom. The parties of the right, however, are very strong on the maintenance of the confession in letter as well as in spirit.

The government of the Dutch Reformed Church is Presbyterian, but its present form has been greatly criticised. Since 1852 the Church has been free from state control, but the number of members of the Synod which is the ultimate authority is small, and it is regarded by many as not being truly representative and as being hampered in other ways. Some attribute much of the weakness of the Church to this defective constitution. Each of the schools of thought would like to see re-organisation, but each according to its own ideas, and all attempts at reform in this direction have so far failed.

Just as no one could rightly understand the situation in the

Church of England without knowing something about its various schools of thought, so is the case also with the Dutch Reformed Church. Like many other branches of the Church it has its modernist school. This began about 1860. Among its earlier leaders were Professors Scholten and Kuenen. This school of thought is said to include somewhere about one-third of the clergy to-day. Very often the views of those who belong to this party are practically Unitarian. It passed through a negative period, when it sought to oppose the acceptance of miracles, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ, and other orthodox Christian doctrines. The results have often been disastrous in driving many to complete irreligion and materialism. At the present time the outlook is said to be more positive, and preachers of this school often speak with deep religious feeling and use much of the orthodox terminology. But there is a good deal of pantheist philosophy in their thought, and their ground is religious humanism.

A school of thought which arose earlier than this (about 1830) is the so-called Evangelical or Groningen school. Its first leader was Hofstede de Groot, a pupil of the Christian humanist Professor van Heusden, who regarded Christianity as being the education appointed by God to bring men to the highest revelation of Him. This school sought to get back to the Christ of the Gospels and to make its teaching Christocentric. But in so doing it departed from orthodox views as to the Person of Christ, and rejected orthodox views of the Atonement, Regeneration, etc. It still exists, but this group has now only a small following.

Between these liberal groups and the orthodox school stands the Ethical school. Its spiritual father was Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye, who in 1872 was a Professor at Groningen. It lays emphasis on the ethical character of the truth and on Christian life. It emphasises personal belief in Christ as a Living Saviour. Its adherents usually accept the so-called critical views of the Bible, but they are for the most part nearer to the orthodox than to the modernist point of view. They have much in common with the Liberal Evangelical group in our own Church. They are represented probably by more than a quarter of the clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The orthodox groups are organised in two societies. The Confessional Union is almost as numerous as the Ethical school. It owes its inspiration to Groen van Prinsterer. While emphasising very strongly the need of adhering to the old standards it is also keen on preserving the unity of the Church and is therefore opposed to separation. It has as its ideal a united Church for a united nation and stresses the national character of the Church as the historic church of the Dutch people. While accepting the recognised formularies it would not be opposed to their modification provided this were done by a united church in a properly constituted synod and in accordance with the teaching of Scripture. A smaller group is more rigidly Calvinist, and would rather see the Church divided than depart from strict principles. Most of the ministers

of this group refuse to use hymns in their services and sing only psalms.

A survey of parties would not be complete without some reference to those who have seceded from the Church. The earliest secession was that of the Remonstrants, who opposed the rigid Calvinist standpoint at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–19. They are nowadays a very small but intellectual group, and have drifted for the most part into extreme modernism. Other secessions in 1834 and 1887 were of those who opposed liberal tendencies in the Church. The later secession under the able leadership of Dr. Abraham Kuyper has a large following and has had many gifted men in its ranks. It has founded the Free University at Amsterdam.

It is often said that the Protestant view is more individualistic and less concerned with the corporate idea of the Church. This is only partially true. Certainly in Holland views of the Church are often very definite, though the standpoint and outlook is in some ways different from our own. The difference is specially noticeable in two directions. First, there is very little regard for the continuity of ecclesiastical succession. In Holland the Reformed Church seems to regard itself as a new beginning, having little or no connection with the Church of pre-Reformation days. Secondly, the organisation of the Church is regarded very much as a national concern. The idea of the Church universal seems to be that of a collection of national churches having little or no organic connection with one another. Even the Reformed Church in the Dutch colonies has no organic union with the Church in the homeland. Aspirations for the Reunion of Christendom therefore meet with very little enthusiasm in Holland.

In matters of worship also the outlook differs considerably from our own. Even the "lowest" type of Anglican service is regarded by most of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church as savouring far too much of Rome, and Anglicans of all schools of thought would not feel happy at a Dutch service. A strong reaction against medieval superstitions led to an excess of iconoclasm at the time of the Reformation. The interior of most Dutch churches gives one the impression that no pains have been spared to make them as ugly as possible. People remain seated for the singing and do not kneel for prayer. A few stand during prayer, but most remain seated. There seems to be little thought of worship, and the sermon occupies the chief interest. This is a carefully prepared, well-thought-out discourse, often lasting for an hour, or an hour and a half, but usually divided in the middle by the singing of a verse or two. Ministers in Holland have a fairly stiff intellectual training, and there are many able preachers amongst them. The attitude towards sacred buildings differs also from ours. I remember once the shock I felt at seeing some Dutch ministers enter a church with their hats on, smoking cigars, and also, when once present at the opening of a new church, at hearing the loud chattering amongst the congregation right up to

the time when the service began and seeing some people even reading newspapers. One must remember however that Calvinist ideas of the transcendence of God make those who hold them unwilling to think of God dwelling in a "temple made with hands," or of His presence as being in any way localised. Yet residence in Holland has made one feel more than ever thankful for our Anglican *via media*.

For outsiders to gauge the strength or weakness of another church is very difficult. It is certain that the Dutch Reformed Church provides a spiritual home for multitudes of earnest, devoted people, who are deeply attached to it. It is strong in the country districts, but in the large towns it is generally admitted to have lost its hold on the masses of the population. It is unfortunate, to say the least, that in Holland Socialism is not only largely non-Christian, but very often definitely anti-Christian. This is aggravated by the Church being closely connected with politics, and the strongest Conservative parties (in Holland there are very many parties) have Church labels attached to them. The Oxford Group movement has made some progress in Holland, but it has been welcomed by hardly any of the ministers or officials of any of the churches. In England the Keswick platform receives its chief support from Evangelicals of the Church of England, but in Holland any movement of the Keswick type has received scarcely any encouragement from ministers of the Dutch Church. It is mostly represented in so-called Evangelical Free Churches, which are nonconformist. In many orthodox circles people are very much afraid of anything which approaches to what they call "methodism." Holland has produced many able theologians, but apart from Dutch works, most of the theology studied comes from Germany. The Barthian movement is making some headway in Holland. English theology of any type is very little known.

However much our standpoint may differ in many things from that of the Dutch Reformed Church, there is very much that we hold in common and much gain would surely result from closer fellowship. It is therefore greatly to be hoped that in days to come more will be done than in the past to promote such fellowship.

P.S.—Though the figures for the whole of Holland are not yet available, those for some of the cities have, since the above was written, been published. They show a serious weakening of the Protestant position. In Amsterdam, for example, the number of Protestants (of all denominations) was in 1920 just over 43 per cent. of the population. In 1930 it was under 32 per cent. Those who were shown as belonging to no church were in 1920 about 22 per cent., but in 1930 had increased to 35 per cent. The Roman Church lost only slightly. In 1920 it claimed just over 22 per cent. and in 1930 just under 22 per cent. These figures are most significant. They emphasise the need of our stretching out brotherly hands of sympathy and fellowship towards continental Protestants.

F. E. K.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. BY W. H. MACKEAN, D.D., Canon Residentiary of Rochester Cathedral. *Putnam.* 6*s.*

I count myself fortunate in that I came into possession of a copy of this book before I commenced a month's course of Sermons on the movements which made the nineteenth century conspicuous for the revival of life and activity in the Church of England. Two Sermons on the Evangelical Movement had already reached what I thought was to be their final form; and, paradoxical as it may appear, a book entitled *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement* compelled me to make a rearrangement of my material, and to add two pages to my opening Sermon. It was on account of the first chapter which deals with the years that preceded the rise of the Oxford Movement.

Dr. Eugene Stock, who, for the purpose of writing his four-volume history of the Church Missionary Society, had made himself a master of the Church history of this period, contributed to Longmans' Series of *Anglican Church Handbooks* the manual on "The English Church in the Nineteenth Century." The reading of that book, and Mr. Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party*, and Overton's *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* had provided me ample material for speaking about the indebtedness of the Church to the Evangelicals; and Dr. MacKean's first chapter was read in time to add some telling statistics. "The small place which the Holy Communion occupied in the religious life of the Church of England before the Oxford Movement has often been overstated" (p. 27): yes, because stated without any reference to the increase in the number of Celebrations and Communicants in churches where the Clergy had come under the influence of the Evangelical Revival, the relatively few "serious Clergy." Some of us perhaps are rather weary of being told that in St. Paul's Cathedral on one Easter Day there were only six Communicants; for what had St. Paul's Cathedral to do in those days with the Evangelicals? Indeed it was only in 1858 that the revival of the Cathedral took place, and Bishop Tait secured the opening of its doors for evening services for the people in spite of strong opposition not only on the part of the Dean and Chapter, but also from such a good Tractarian as Archdeacon Denison.

The common fallacy that the Evangelicals were dominant easily produces the impression that they were responsible for the state of things which is justly condemned: and the statistics which Dr. MacKean gives of some representative Churches such as Islington, under Daniel Wilson, and St. Peter's, Hereford, under John Venn, should be made known: also the amazing statistics of the circulation of manuals of preparation for Holy Communion, one of which

had reached the twenty-fourth edition in 1807. The Evangelicals were not dominant (how could they be, seeing that they were unloved by the majority of the Bishops and Clergy?) except in respect of spiritual and philanthropic activity; and in those respects dominant they certainly were.

In the second chapter Dr. MacKean deals with the background of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Oxford Movement. The chapter is full of interest: here I only note two points which emerge again and again in the book.

The first point is the uncritical use that was made of Patristic and other quotations, and the ready way in which men fell into the snare of relying upon isolated words. I remember an occasion when I was challenged with some isolated words of Hooker. "Do you agree with them?" My reply was: "In the light of Hooker as a whole, yes, but as an isolated snippet, no." Dr. MacKean's strictures on the use that was made of the appeal to both the Fathers and Anglican Divines should be noted (see, e.g., pp. 43, 88, 102, 126, 132, 153); and when I read *inter alia* that "they forgot the cautious qualifications which our standard Divines had emphasised as necessary to an understanding of the Fathers," I am reminded of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth's words: "They (i.e. the Fathers) would not be so scrupulous in speaking on this subject (i.e. the sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Supper) as they would be, if they lived now. This is to be borne in mind in reading their works" (see his comments on *Malachi* i. 11, and *Hebrews* x. 12).

The second point is the divergence of the leaders of the Tractarian Movement from the position of the Caroline Churchmen (see, e.g., pp. 44 f., 48, 93, 156 f.). Dr. MacKean in a later chapter suggests, I think rather needlessly, that there is doubt about the precise doctrine of Archbishop Laud; and I suppose that he is referring to such subtle distinctions as are represented by the terms Virtualism and Receptionism. On the main point at issue, I consider that Laud in his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit* leaves us in no kind of doubt about his being on the side of the Reformers. He rebuts the theory of concomitance (which is necessary for any conception of Christ being present in the Elements, that claims to be based upon the literal meaning of the words of Institution) by the argument that the Sacrament is *sanguinis effusi*, and blood shed or poured forth goeth not with the body *per concomitantiam*.

The fact is that amidst all the varieties of apprehension and interpretation of the Lord's Supper, the real dividing line is the question of the relation of the Elements to our Lord. Do we associate them with the Saviour as He was on the Cross, or regard them as the tabernacle of His glorified Presence? And when I have been told that the movement towards the conception of the tabernacle was in line with the teaching of the earlier Anglican Divines I have been amazed, and I find my amazement intensified after reading the evidence that is produced in this chapter.

Chapters III—V give us a careful examination of the development of Eucharistic doctrine in a Romeward direction, reached

through individual wrestlings and controversy among adherents of the movement.

Chapter VI gives us an account of the lawsuits and trials by which the peace of the Church was profoundly disturbed.

In Chapter VII Dr. MacKean criticises the new doctrine of Pusey, as the chief authority to his party on the Eucharistic belief of the Primitive Church. It is sympathetic but trenchant criticism. Dr. MacKean examines the use of phrases such as "The Real Presence" and "The extension of the Incarnation."

In connection with the phrase "Real Presence" I am disappointed to find no reference to the change that was introduced in the Black Rubric in 1662: because that change from denial of "real and essential presence" to denial of "carnal presence" is often appealed to as an argument in favour of a change of doctrine on the part of the revisers of 1662. The answer is indirectly given by Dr. MacKean on p. 164. For the fact is that the term "real presence" had been used and could be used to express doctrine which the Reformers held, namely, that the natural Body and Blood of Christ are really present in the Sacrament in respect of grace and efficacy; and a favourite analogy used by the Reformers was the presence of the sun in grace and efficacy in, e.g., a flower. In that sense Bishop Ridley, e.g., admitted the term "real presence," Archbishop Laud likewise. The change introduced in 1662 is to be explained by the ambiguity of the term that had been used in the earlier form of the Black Rubric, and not by any doctrinal divergence. I would emphasise Dr. MacKean's insistence on the necessity of clear thinking about the use of the term and the way in which it is related. For it is one thing to believe the presence of Christ in the Spirit, it is another thing to believe the presence of Christ's Body broken and Blood shed. Moreover, it is one thing to associate Christ's presence, in any sense, with the Sacramental action; it is another thing to associate the presence, in any sense, with the Sacramental Elements.

And to return to the Black Rubric, it should be remembered that the subjects about which the predications are made are, first, the Sacramental Elements, and, second, Christ's "natural Flesh and Blood": and the change of wording from "real and essential" to "corporal" is not to be interpreted in any other relation.

For a detailed examination of this point I refer my readers to N. Dimock's *History of the B.C.P.*, pp. 44 ff., 124 ff. Longmans, Edition 1910.

In Chapter VII, under the title "Maintenance of the Anglican Tradition," Dr. MacKean gives us a summary statement of the views of representative High Churchmen, Moderates, Liberals and Evangelicals, who insisted on the erroneous features of the new doctrine, or maintained the Anglican tradition. I seize the opportunity of emphasising the value in this connection of the works of Nathaniel Dimock, which were reissued in a memorial edition by Longmans, Green & Co., in 1910.

In Chapter IX the author examines modifications and extensions

of Pusey's doctrine, with a deservedly special treatment of Bishop Gore's book, *The Body of Christ.* I venture to call attention to a point in the Bishop's statement, which particularly interests me. It is the way in which he leaps, after an interval of many pages, from the principle underlying the natural Sacraments to the principle of the Incarnation as analogous to the Christian Sacraments. I can find no analogy of principle between the kiss, or for that matter the giving and receiving of the ring in marriage, and God the Son becoming incarnate.

In the last chapter Dr. MacKean directs our thoughts to principles which must underlie sound Eucharistic doctrine. I would like to see the chapter printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated.

We are reminded of the necessity of the doctrine having a rational and true basis. Yes, indeed, for the more that appeal is made to the general sacramental principle, the less reasonable is it to treat the Christian Sacraments as additions to the things which we cannot understand and explain. Man did not devise the sacramental principle in his social relationships to add to the complexities of life.

We are reminded of the necessity of exercising care in the use of words and phrases, which cause confusion through their ambiguity or disunity through their associations. Formulas of compromise may have their value, but they lead nowhere for the purpose of mutual understanding.

We are reminded of the points of agreement among all schools of thought.

We are reminded that for a true doctrine our standard must be ultimately that of the Upper Room: and that we must keep our minds centred on personal relationship, with the action, and not the Elements *in vacuo*, as the outward and visible sign.

Finally, we are reminded of the social aspect of the Sacrament, and its bearing upon such practical questions as those of non-communicating attendance and fasting communion.

So I lay down the book; and as I do so, I am conscious of having read a work of research and thought, my sense of the high value of which I cannot find words adequately to express. And as I associate it with its companion volume, *The Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion*, edited by Dr. Macdonald, I think of the two books as destined to become classics for the history of Eucharistic Doctrine in the Church of England.

ARTHUR J. TAIT.

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF AQUINAS. By George Leet Patterson, Ph.D. *George Allen*, 21s.

In a large volume of 500 pages Dr. Patterson discusses the doctrine of God in the works of Aquinas. His discussion is careful and closely reasoned, and valuable to modern students in view of the importance attached to Aquinas by Roman Catholic theologians. It is not every mind that is capable of gripping the intellectual

subtleties of Aquinas. It is not every man who has the time for the unravelling of the knotty intricacies of his thoughts. A medieval mind in a medieval setting, amply leisured and jejunely confined to scholastic philosophy would be required. Consequently, the works of Aquinas appeal more to the Roman theologian than to the Protestant, who prefers to approach God through the world of internal experience than by logical processes and dry intellectualism, having cast off the chains of subtle dialectics with other unspiritual restrictions on his liberty of thought and action.

In his approach to the Study of God by the *via negativa*, by the determination of what He is not, Aquinas follows in the steps of Philo (to whom our author makes no reference), whose treatise, *Quod Deus Immutabilis*, with many others, abounds in negative attributes of God, the "incomprehensible," the "uncreated," the "indescribable," the "incomparable," the "uncontainable," the "inimitable," the "inexplicable," the "illimitable," the "unbribable," etc., etc. In this respect Philo gave a lead to the early Christian theologians like Theophilus, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria, who says very plainly that "we may reach in some way the knowledge of the Almighty by learning not what He is but what He is not." The other way of approach, the *via affirmativa*, or of human analogy or anthropomorphism was condemned by Philo, who declared that God is different entirely from man. But, nevertheless, he laid emphasis on those positive attributes of God, His goodness, His mercy, His royal rule, His beneficence and omnipotence, which claim the devotion, love and obedience of man. He also stressed His unity, monarchy, infinity and providence. Aquinas first discusses the negative qualities of God which involve the positive, just as the positive qualities of God involve the negative. The master he principally followed was the Pseudo-Dionysius, whose work on the *Divine Names* was well known to him, who declared, like Philo, that the Finite cannot grasp the Infinite, not because of the irrationality of the Godhead, but because of the limitations of the human intellect. There are many similar lines of thought in Philo and Aquinas in spite of the fact that the former was a Platonist and the latter an Aristotelian. But whereas Aquinas makes his approach to God by cold and hard-fast principles of logic, Philo made his by philosophy, the idealistic philosophy of his day, and consequently is less dry-as-dust, more human and inspiring, and more free to develop his mysticism, which in Aquinas is held in check, even if reluctantly, by his devotion to the cast-iron teaching of a Church which allowed no freedom to the intellect or to the soul to develop or explore in its own life for its own purposes, and held her mystics, while exploiting their experiences for her own purpose, in stern control. This is why we miss in Aquinas what is to us Protestants one of the most convincing of all arguments for God's existence—the ontological, which is based on one's own religious experience, and which is put forward with such brilliancy of imagination and style in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine. His previous studies in Neoplatonism had prepared his mind for the

acceptance of that direct intuitive knowledge of the super-sensible reality, the immediate apprehension of the Deity claimed by the mystical school, but rejected by the Aristotelian, which derived all knowledge directly or indirectly from the senses. Consequently, the perception of an infinite and Spiritual Being was held by the disciples of that school of thought to be beyond the capacity of the human intellect, which was compelled to turn for comfort to the dogmas and sacraments of the Church. However, at times human nature (including the spiritual) asserted itself, and the soul of Aquinas soared higher than his logic to a knowledge of God, not of faith or demonstration, but of vision, chiefly because there were such visions in the earthly lives of Moses and St. Paul recorded in the Scriptures. Such visions were, of course, miraculously given and Aquinas finds himself in a position inconsistent with his logic, by which such visions were ruled out as *contra naturam*. In his *de veritate* q. 12 he put this with a grim humour. "For a man *in statu vitæ* to know God *secundum naturam patriæ* is just as much *contra naturam* as it is for a babe to be born with a beard." Was he thinking of the philosopher's habit "pascere barbam"? At the same time, he allowed that the state of rapture (*raptus*) had been experienced by others, as well as by Moses and St. Paul, and, indeed, it is said that the unfinished condition of his own *Summa Theologica* was due to some strange experience which happened to himself two years before his death. The fact is, that the mind of Aquinas partly held with the Neoplatonists, and partly held with the Aristotelian school. From the latter he borrowed his theory of man's knowledge and constitution, from the former his mysticism. The gap between was filled up for him by the Christian revelation and teaching.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in this book is the Fourth, which contains a criticism of the proofs of God's existence put forward by Aquinas. There are five which represent the Deity as Necessary Being, Supreme Efficient Cause, Supreme Intelligence, Supreme Mover (Himself Unmoved) and Supreme Absolute Goodness). The two principal proofs are the cosmological and the teleological, and are generally regarded as *a posteriori*. (Dr. Patterson, however, regards the former as *a priori*, being based upon the principle of causality), while the ontological argument, which was rejected by Aquinas, is *a priori*. It had been put forward with great power by Anselm of Canterbury, who argued that God's non-existence is inconceivable, for the idea which we have of a perfect Being implies Existence. This is a subjective proof and is to-day usually expressed in this way: "We feel God, therefore He is." After all we ultimately come back to our feeling, our immediate perception, as the basis of both science and religion. And in these days when stress is laid, sometimes and wrongly to the exclusion of His transcendence, upon the immanence of God, which was overlooked by Aquinas, this is the paramount proof of His existence. As Professor Eddington says: "It was by looking into our own nature that we revealed the first failure of the physical universe to

be co-extensive with our experience of reality. The ' Something to which truth matters ' must surely have a place in reality if we are to use the term ' reality ' at all. In our own nature, or through the contact of our consciousness with a nature transcending ours, there are other things that claim the same kind of recognition—a sense of beauty, of morality, and, finally, at the root of all spiritual religion, *an experience which we describe as the presence of God.*" On the other hand, both the cosmological and the teleological arguments for the Existence of God are not by themselves altogether convincing. The argument from causality brings us back to a First Cause Uncaused of which we know nothing ; that from " the contingency of the world " brings us to a necessary ground of which we cannot say that it is one ; that from the many signs of purpose and adaptation and order in the universe may merely point to the conclusion that it has a rational First Cause that works for ends. It is the cumulative effect of these proofs that carries weight, and when buttressed by arguments from life, from conscience, and from universal consent, makes them more cogent still. Dean Inge restates the ontological argument, which we consider the most cogent of all in a form that appeals to the modern mind by bringing in the theory of " Values." We have an immediate apprehension of the intrinsic values of Goodness, Truth and Beauty (to which Aquinas makes no reference). " This apprehension is given to us. The path from the appreciation of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful to recognition of their source in one supreme Being is rather of the nature of a valid inference " than of an intuition. When we reflect upon it, we must admit that these eternal and spiritual values of the good, the true and the beautiful which Plato himself appreciated, are a testimony to God's existence. In a material universe how could truth be reached ? It is a mental and a spiritual value. Beauty also is a quality that proves the existence of a mind. It can only be created and appreciated by mind. The harmonious and inevitable correspondence of the perceiving subject and the object perceived cannot be the result of any fortuitous or haphazard arrangement. Materialism which must not draw upon any spiritual or mental quality or force, on the other hand must explain everything as due to a fortuitous clashing or concourse of atoms or whirling electrons. The apparent regulation of the universe on mathematical principles suggests that there is nothing casual in its constitution, and what then of its origin ? Both Plato and Aristotle felt that the world required a First Cause, a Maker, no matter how they described Him. We can explain a great deal from the World itself, but its beginning in space-time we cannot, and it cannot be explained if natural or known causes only are to be taken into account. The idea of God is logically necessary to round off our experience as an intelligible whole ; to take God out of human experience would be to maim and truncate it and render it an incomplete thing, whereas the idea of God gives it rationality, and, as the rational only is real, reality. We are now spiritual beings, no matter how our past may be described, and require a spiritual environment for our

further progress and evolution. Removed from such an environment we suffer spiritual death. The environment is God, Who is therefore necessary to our spiritual life. And also to our moral life as the "ought" of conscience demonstrates. No man can impose an "ought" upon another. He can only "feel" it himself in his own inner experience and soul. This sense of responsibility to a moral law and an "ought" is only in harmony with a universe that is rationally controlled and adjusted. It fits in with the condition of things here, it is an evidence of a Mind that can impose an obligation, and a proof, however indirect, of a future life. Beauty of form and colour, harmony of sound, love and life, conscience and duty, knowledge and wisdom, faith and hope—all these are evidences to the ordinary man of the Divine Mind, Architect, Artist, Saviour, that rules and loves and lives, the Source and Giver of goodness and happiness to men. And when supported by the revelation of the Divine Son, in Whose life and character were made manifest the care, sympathy and holiness of the Righteous Father, their witness to His existence should be adequate for all enquirers into truth.[1]

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

AUTHORITY AND REASON IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. Being the Hulsean Lectures, 1931–2, delivered in the University of Cambridge in Michaelmas Term, 1931. By A. J. Macdonald, D.D. *Oxford University Press.* 6s. net.

In these Lectures Dr. Macdonald makes a fresh and interesting examination of the thought of the early Middle Ages. He takes the years from about the eighth to the twelfth century and illustrates the development of thought during this period. He points out that the early Middle Ages have constantly been described as a period of decay in learning and letters and as an epoch when European intellect was quiescent and that this opinion should be abandoned, for the pursuit of learning never ceased and there was considerable activity of thought among philosophical theologians from the time of Charles the Great to Hildebrand which produced a considerable contribution to Western intellectual development. The subjects discussed at the time have long ceased to engage the attention of philosophers, but the work of Johannes Scotus Erigena, and Berengar of Tours, demands attention. The Lectures, in tracing the development and interplay of thought during the period, display its continuity with classical dialectical and with patristic theological precedents, and close with a brief survey of the later Middle Ages. They show that there was more freedom for rational investigation and discussion in this early period than European thinkers were to enjoy for several hundred years after the Lateran Council of 1215, and that Ecclesiastical tradition ultimately tightened its grip upon intellectual freedom when

[1] I would recommend to all readers of THE CHURCHMAN Robert Bridges' fine poem, *The Testament of Beauty*, which deals poetically with the whole subject here discussed.

Berengar was condemned and the first Lateran Council was held.

As the terms used during the period were sometimes ambiguous, definitions of Reason, Revelation, Tradition, and Authority are given. Reason has the three-fold meaning of common sense, the exercise of the rational faculties, and the operation of the Logos on the human mind. Tradition signified any set of ideas which had received wide acceptance, and in a narrower sense it implied the content of Conciliar resolutions. Authority, in its broad sense implied the sanction of the whole Church. In a narrower sense it was later limited to the authority of the Roman Councils sitting under the presidency of the Popes. The history of the thought of the period is in effect an account of the gradual supersession of the freedom of reason by the claims of authority. At first the relation between them was undefined. The renaissance of rational enquiry in the ninth century was concerned with the intellectual proofs of the existence of God. The account of Johannes Scotus Erigena is of special interest as it corrects the misunderstanding which has represented him as setting up reason as the chief criterion of knowledge. His ultimate criterion was reason illuminated by Divine light, hence his emphasis on intuition. The source of knowledge is God Himself and the supreme human authority is this intuition illuminated by revelation. Dr. Macdonald, who is deeply interested in Barthian studies, notes in this and other points the revival of the older methods of thought in the modern German teacher's system.

Another interesting section deals with the development of Sacramental teaching. The doctrine of Paschasius Radbert became the teaching of the Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was an innovation and was opposed by Rattram, who maintained that the consecrated elements are symbols and not the real Body and Blood of Christ. The Iconoclastic Controversy gave another example of the freedom of thought of the period. As the body of Ecclesiastical authority and tradition grew, the conflict between Reason and Authority developed, and the concentration of Authority in the hands of the Papacy developed through the appeals made to the central Authority at Rome. Thus, in the ninth century, the principle of Authority developed together with the parallel notion of Tradition. The conflict is further traced in the works of Gerbert, Berengar, and Lanfranc ; it was brought to a head in the Second Eucharistic Conference in which the protagonists were Berengar and Lanfranc. A section is devoted to the relationship of Authority and Revelation. The last Lecture gives an account of the critics of Papal authority and the later medieval compromise. This compromise between Reason and Tradition is illustrated from the writings of Thomas Aquinas. These studies form an important contribution to the understanding of a period, of which too little is known by the general reader.

THE FORMATION OF THE GOSPEL TRADITION. Eight Lectures by Vincent Taylor, Ph.D., D.D. *Macmillan.* 1933. Pp. 214. *7s. 6d.*

These lectures occupy a uniquely valuable place among English writings upon Gospel problems. They open up to English readers a field of study hardly available hitherto ; and the present reviewer has no hesitation in affirming that Taylor's *Formation of the Gospel Tradition* will be very widely read. Dr. Vincent Taylor is the well-known professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Wesley College, Headingley, and the lectures which form the volume under review were delivered in the University of Leeds last year at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the Public Lectures Committee. Readers of THE CHURCHMAN will scarcely need to be reminded of literary work by Dr. Taylor such as *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth* and *Behind the Third Gospel.*

The present study is a contribution to the solution of the problem ever before Christian people—How did the Four Gospels come to be written ? Dr. Taylor attempts to trace stages in their formation. The periods would be *roughly* (A) A.D. 30–50, (B) 50–65, (C) 65–100. (A) Recollections of the sayings and deeds of the Lord Jesus would be recounted in preaching and in worship. Most stories would be short, but for the purposes of use at the Lord's Supper the Passion Stories would gradually assume a more connected form. (B) The scattered elements of the tradition were gathered into groups. The sayings of Jesus were arranged topically for instruction and defence. (C) Gospel compilation. The name of Vincent Taylor is associated with the thesis that it was Luke who wrote the first Gospel, the volume, however, not being published till after the writing of St. Mark, when St. Luke re-wrote his first draft and dedicated it to Theophilus. The author summarises his view (and in an appendix replies to criticism of it), but his whole treatment of (C) is on the large basis of Form Criticism as a whole. The following passage, with which the writer draws his chapter to a close, is typical of his reverent treatment of the subject. " Far from losing the idea of Inspiration, we are led to see that the Spirit of God must have been at work upon a grander scale, not coercing men or using them as blind instruments, but elevating their minds to perceive, to transmit, and to interpret the best elements in the tradition. Literature has no books which can justly be compared with the Gospels, which indeed come to us from men, but in the last analysis are the gifts of God, seals of His grace and sacraments of His love " (p. 189).

But this is the final lecture. The unique characteristic of the volume is that it expounds *Formgeschichte,* or, what is styled in English, " Form Criticism." Almost the only other book in English which deals with it is Easton's *The Gospel before the Gospels* (1928), but the " Form Critics " of Germany have not been idle since 1928, and not least Bultmann's *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921) has appeared in a greatly enlarged edition (1931). Form Criticism attempts three things : (1) to classify the material according to its

form ; (2) to try to recover the original form of the material during the oral period, and (3) to seek for the " life-situation " out of which the material springs.

Professor Taylor gives the title *Pronouncement*—stories (in contrast to the terms *Paradigmen* used by Dibellius and *Apophthegmata* by Bultmann) to those Gospel stories, long or short, in which everything leads up to a final word of Jesus, which for the early Christians must have had the force of a " pronouncement." This statement would be of practical value in the life of the Christian. The Tribute Money (St. Mark xii. 13 ff.) Taylor considers to be one of the best examples. He finds at least 20 in Mark, 7 (9) in Luke's special source, and 4 (5) in Q. Bultmann rejects these stories, with few exceptions, as unhistorical, they being in his judgment only products of Christian imagination. With enthusiasm and restraint Taylor turns his own arguments upon him and makes " the critic give place to counsel for the prosecution " (p. 86).

Dr. Taylor, so far from agreeing that the stories are unhistorical, holds them to be " among the strongest and most stable elements in the Gospel tradition." Other classifications are " Passion Narratives " (chap. iii), " Sayings and Parables " (chap. v), " Miracle Stories " (chap. vi) and " Stories about Jesus " (chap. vii).

Vincent Taylor's criticism of the excesses of the Form Critics of Germany is both reasoned and caustic. " It is fair to say that the confidence with which Bultmann tells how the Markan story came into being could be justified only by the gift of omniscience " (p. 58). Again, " If the Form Critics are right, the Disciples must have been translated to heaven immediately after the Resurrection. As Bultmann sees it, the primitive community exists *in vacuo*, cut off from its founders by the walls of an inexplicable ignorance. Unable to turn to anyone for information, it must invent situations for the words of Jesus, and put into His lips sayings which personal memory cannot check. All this is absurd. . . . The one hundred and twenty at Pentecost did not go into permanent retreat " (pp. 41, 42). The basis of Taylor's work may be held to be expressed in such sentences as the following. " It is the Form Critics who raise and face the special questions which belong to any serious study of the formative process. It is of value to discuss unacceptable suggestions if only to be confronted with the necessity of seeking for answers which are better and satisfying " (p. 43). For good or for ill the Form Critics have come to stay, and those who wish to learn something of this new phase of study will do well to work steadily through this book. It is uncommonly well and lucidly written, and at every turn one is impressed with the strength and poise of its scholarship. Without a doubt account will have to be taken of this contribution by Bultmann and Dibellius. It is now possible for them to see in considerable detail the effect which their work produces upon a British scholar of powerful mind.

R. S. C.

EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE IN ENGLISH LIFE. Golden Lectures delivered in the Church of St. Margaret, Lothbury, 1932–3. By James Theodore Inskip, D.D., Bishop of Barking. *Macmillan & Co., Ltd.* 5*s.* net.

The Bishop of Barking has very appropriately used the opportunity of an invitation from the Haberdashers' Company to deliver the Golden Lectures for the year 1932–3 to give an account of the Evangelical influence in English life. During the present year much has been heard of the Tractarian Movement and its influence. It was a happy thought on the part of the Bishop to bring to the notice of Church people the achievements of the Evangelicals, not merely in Missionary work overseas but in Social Service at home and elsewhere, a work which has often been done " in face of discouragement or even actual opposition from the powers that be, or from other camps in the Army of Christ." The Bishop has strong faith in the future of the Evangelical School, and believes that it should draw a great measure of inspiration from the great work which has been accomplished in the past by its representatives. It is satisfactory to have the testimony which he expresses in these words : " A long and wide experience, with opportunities for some years past of special observation of work in various types of parishes, convinces me that the best Evangelical parish priests are unsurpassed in their devotion and self-sacrifice, and in the efficiency and reality of their work. To my mind the organisation of parishes on modern Evangelical lines offers the best prospect of evoking a wide and deep response from the people. In my opinion the Evangelicals interpret and represent the Church of England as a Reformed Church more nearly than does any other school." The Bishop's lectures include a useful survey of past religious movements in England illustrating the proper use of the term " Evangelical." He then traces the history of Evangelical teaching and shows that the primacy of the Cross in the dogmatic system of Christianity has been the central feature of Evangelical teaching. He then makes clear the Evangelical position in regard to the Church and Ministry, and shows that the teaching of such scholars as Lightfoot and Hort represents the Evangelical view, while the Tractarian theory of Apostolic Succession breaks down in the light of history and experience. A chapter on the Sacraments shows that the Evangelical interpretation of them does not fall in the least behind that of any other section of the Church. A historical section deals with John Wycliffe as the Precursor of the Reformation, and goes on to a useful explanation of the Reformation, showing that the English Church has kept close to the constitution of the early Christian Church. Some phases of religion in England in the seventeenth century are considered, and then the power of the Evangelical Revival is forcibly set out. It is shown that many of the important features of our Church life to-day are the outcome of the work of the leaders of the Revival. He brings sufficient evidence to refute the oft-repeated statement that the Oxford Movement was complementary to the Evangelical Revival. The influence of Evangelical

thought is further emphasised in an account of the great work done by William Wilberforce in the Abolition of Slavery, and a chapter of special interest contains an account of England's debt to Lord Shaftesbury for the social work which he accomplished. That work was the outcome of the Evangelical inspiration given to him in his early days by Maria Millis, the housekeeper in his early home. Her name should be a household word among Evangelicals. As the Evangelical School has been so largely associated with foreign Mission work, it is appropriate that the closing lecture was devoted to the work overseas. Evangelical Churchmen owe the Bishop of Barking a great debt for presenting such a full statement of Evangelical influence in English life, and we trust that his book will prove an inspiration to coming generations of Evangelical Churchmen to maintain and even surpass the great work of their predecessors.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Very Rev. R. H. Malden, B.D. *Oxford University Press.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

This small volume of eighty pages consists of four lectures given by the Dean of Wells, who has been moved to publish them by the interest they seem to have created. They contain a useful summary of the various stages which mark the origin and development of the Papacy as we know it; and of certain aspects of the history and position of the Church of England as these appear to the author. Though necessarily very much condensed, the book is readable and lucid from beginning to end, but it can hardly be regarded as an adequate presentation of the events it records. In the pages dealing with Elizabeth's reign there is no reference to the plots against her life which had the approval of the Papacy; what the writer says of Transubstantiation gives no true idea of what that doctrine really teaches, though he does approve its condemnation in Article XXVIII; the reference to Newman's Tract 90 would almost imply the author's agreement with his effort to make the Thirty-nine Articles harmonise with the decrees of Trent; the Papacy is said to have become, as time went on, "more selfish in its policy and more exacting in its demands. As we grew to manhood we resented them more and more," but there is no indication of the appalling doctrinal and moral corruption in the later Middle Ages which made the Reformation a necessity not only in England, but on the Continent. The references to persecution and to the Inquisition are quite misleading; and it is simply not true to say that "*If* (n.b.) the Roman Church has persecuted more than any other, that is merely because it has had more opportunity" (p. 41). We are, moreover, told that "For more than three hundred years we have found room for those who are now known as *Anglo-Catholics* and *Evangelicals*" (p. 69). Whatever may be said in regard to Evangelicals, it has been amply demonstrated that the teaching of those who are now known as Anglo-Catholics is a complete novelty in post-Reformation Anglican

theology, dating only from the rise of the Tractarian Movement. We have sometimes wondered in reading this book whether the perversity shown by the writer is due to sympathy with views which he discusses or to an exaggerated desire to appear impartial, candid and judicial. He tells us that he sometimes thinks that if he had been brought up in the Church of Rome he might have remained there, though he would have had to put up with a great deal which he disliked very much. It is this perhaps which makes him say on the first page, that if a general council of the whole Church could be held, the Pope would be the proper person to summon it, a proposition which would certainly not be everywhere accepted as axiomatic. But we think that if he possessed his present knowledge, he would soon find his way out of the Church of Rome and would emerge with somewhat clearer ideas as to the differences between that body and the Church of England. At present he seems to have a rather tepid preference for the English Church apparently because on the whole he does not know of any which works better.

W. G. J.

ANCIENT HEBREW SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOM AS INDICATED IN LAW, NARRATIVE AND METAPHOR. By R. H. Kennett. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1931. *Humphrey Milford, O.U.P.*, 1933. 6s. net.

This posthumous work was edited by Professor Burkitt, who, as he mentions in a brief preface, was the first pupil of this brilliant Hebraist. The book, including the two indexes made by Professor Kennett's last pupil, Mr. G. A. Yates, consists of 114 pages. The work is full of detail, dealt with in an interesting fashion. Professor Kennett's method is almost unique. With scarcely a reference to an author, living or dead (unless it be occasional citations from Robertson Smith or a modern traveller like Roscoe), the Professor weaves his web of Hebrew "Life and Custom" by means of about 1,400 references to the O.T. text.

Birth, childhood, education and marriage are all dealt with in Lecture I. Lecture II is upon houses and furniture, food and clothing, mourning and death. The final lecture (III) in its written form runs into 44 pages and treats of such diverse subjects as warriors, flocks and herds, hunting, agriculture, land division, workers in wood and in metal, mechanics, barbers, fullers, perfumers, physicians and administrators of justice.

In discussing the size of the ancient Hebrew family, Professor Kennett argues that the figure *seven* (mentioned in 1 Sam. ii. 5 and Jer. xv. 9) was commonly regarded as the maximum number that a woman might be expected to bear. "Jesse indeed had eight sons and . . . two daughters, but it is not stated whether they were all by one wife" (1 Sam. xvii. 12, 1 Chron. ii. 16). The present reviewer believes that in modern times the greatest number of children from a single pair is thirty (negro). Professor Kennett does not allude to the number of arrows taken in a Semitic quiver (Ps. cxxvii. 5), but we may be sure that it was more than eight or ten. In

interpreting Am. vi. 10 (" he that burneth him ") the professor rightly compares 2 Chron. xvi. 14, and holds the reference to be to the burning of *spices* and not of the corpse. An allusion is made on page 13 to ancient Hebrew kindness to children, and on page 66 to animals. There is strong reason to believe, with Kennett and Volz independently, that the sieve of Am. ix. 9 is of the sort which allowed the *grain* to pass through, holding back any stones and large rubbish collected from the threshing-floor.[1] This point involves an entire difference in the interpretation of the parable from that which has been generally held. The last lecture closes with a rather unique story of a trial by ordeal witnessed by the late Mr. Austin Kennett (Dr. Kennett's elder son), when Administrative Officer for the Egyptian Government in Sinai. A man accused of murder was acquitted after licking a spoon hot and sooty from the fire three times over, his tongue being clean and healthy by the time the spoon had completely cooled. Num. v. 11–31 provides for an elaborate trial by ordeal.

Even when the reader finds himself differing from Dr. Kennett, he realizes the power of a strong mind when directed sincerely to the interpreting of the O.T. Kennett's work and witness against sacerdotal conceptions of religion are well known. It is a matter for satisfaction that some of the lamented Regius Professor's MSS., hitherto unpublished, are being published by the Cambridge University Press at once. The volume is to include reprints of some of his smaller published writings, amongst which will appear his book upon the *Last Supper.*

R. S. C.

THE HEART OF THE BIBLE. By Jeannie B. Thomson Davies, M.A., in three volumes. Vol. I. *The Literature of the Hebrew People. Allen & Unwin,* 1933. 5*s.* net.

This is a delightful book, and in its way unique. We at least know no other which combines reading the Bible with a concurrent explanation of the passages selected. We do not mean that it is a commentary in the usual sense of the word. Far from it. Two hundred and eighty pages of fair-sized print would not contain that. Its aim is less comprehensive and simpler. This is to present portions of the Bible in the order in which they were originally written, with preceding explanations of how it was that they came to be composed at all.

Mrs. Davies is a teacher of much experience in mathematics, and evidently a Nonconformist, who has acquired a keen sense of what young people really need, and of the best manner of instructing them. This volume is the first of three, and deals with all the Old Testament as literature, regarded from the point of view of a moderate Higher Critic. It is in some ways to be regretted that she chose (perhaps under compulsion) to present the Bible extracts in the

[1] Reference may perhaps be permitted to the note on the passage in Cripps: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos,* pp. 265–9.

Authorised rather than the Revised Version, yet sometimes it is well to sacrifice meticulous accuracy, if by so doing one can get readers to understand what the Bible they use (presumably the A.V.) really means. Mrs. Davies has here given us indeed the Heart of the Bible, so far as this is to be found in the Old Testament as literature.

A. L. W.

THE SEVENTH AND SIXTH CENTURY PROPHETS. By E. W. Hamond, M.A., formerly Principal of the Jerusalem Men's College. With a Preface by Dr. Cyril Norwood. *Student Christian Movement Press*, 1933. 4*s*. net.

This is one volume of a series, parts of which have been already published, and the present writer finds it rather difficult to review one when he has not even seen the others. But it is interesting, alike in its origin and in its godfathers. For Dr. Cyril Norwood, the Head Master of Harrow, recommends it ; and the late Professor Kennett gave advice in an earlier volume. Also the author has lived and taught for some years in Jerusalem, and so is able to view his subject with rather different eyes from those of mere arm-chair critics.

This volume is concerned solely with the period of, roughly, 700–540 B.C., starting just after the death (presumably) of Isaiah, and ending with the writings of the Great Unknown, usually called the Second Isaiah, immediately before the Return. The method that Mr. Hamond adopts is to give a clear account of each part of the period, and to add long and copious extracts from the Prophet immediately under review. These extracts seem to be original and generally trustworthy translations. They have useful Notes, and excellent historical Tables are added. Candidates for examinations in this period of Bible History will do well to study this volume.

A. L. W.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Sir Charles Marston, F.S.A. *Eyre & Spottiswode*. 5*s*. net.

The opening up of Palestine and other regions in the east to the work of excavation has given an opportunity for the reconsideration of many views that have been put forward in connection with the historicity of the Old Testament. In *New Knowledge About The Old Testament*, Sir Charles Marston gives not only important information in regard to the actual work of excavation but also sets out some of the conclusions that can be drawn from it. It is well known that he has taken an active interest in the work, especially in connection with the researches of Professor Garstang on the site of ancient Jericho. He devotes his opening chapter to the geography of the Holy Land, and the second to the sources of information. In the third he considers "The First Religion and the Flood," and goes on to tell of the work of Dr. Woolley at Ur. Two chapters are devoted to the Phoenicians and Hyksos. A large portion is

then occupied with the results of the Jericho excavations and their bearings on the date of the Exodus. Sufficient information is given to show the interesting character of these results, a fuller account of which is given in Professor Garstang's book, *The Foundations of Bible History*. The date of the Exodus has been assumed by many to be 1220 B.C. Others have placed it in the year 1487 B.C. Sir Charles states his case for the acceptance of the date 1447 B.C. A number of important conclusions depend upon this date and these are stated in detail. The result of this work of excavation will have to be seriously considered in dealing with the chronology of the Biblical history.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A Study of his Social and Political Influence. By Maldwyn Edwards. *George Allen & Unwin.* 6s. net.

This book is distinctly valuable for two reasons: first, it reveals to us John Wesley's amazing activities in spheres outside his definitely evangelistic or preaching work; secondly, it gives for almost every statement made a carefully dated reference drawn from Wesley's own multifarious printed remains.

It is divided into four main sections: the first deals with Wesley's "Political Philosophy"; the second and third describe his position and action in reference to "Political Events" and "Political Movements"; the last contains an estimate of his Political influence. The book is by no means a prolonged eulogy. Frequently it takes a curiously detached position; in fact, in several instances the writer seems to go out of his way to show where he thinks Wesley's judgments and actions were wrong. This entire absence of partisanship and hero-worship certainly adds to its value.

In politics Wesley began and ended his long life (1703–91) as the strongest of Tories. To him the British Constitution and the authority of the King (as they were at the time) were sacrosanct. In his order to his preachers to abstain from all reference to politics in the pulpit, he made one exception: should they learn of any attack on either the King or the Constitution they must at once repel it. A striking example of Wesley's patriotism is found in his conduct during the American struggle for independence. At first, because he considered the claims of the colonists to be just, he strongly sympathised with them; but when war broke out he threw all his influence on to the side of the mother country.

While Mr. Edwards does not admit the claim (put forward by J. R. Green and others) that it was Wesley who saved England from a revolution similar to that which took place in France, he is quite prepared to admit that Wesley's power over the multitude of his followers during a time when revolutionary ideas were in the air exercised a strongly steadying influence.

To Roman Catholic Emancipation Wesley was bitterly opposed —though he was always courteous to individual Roman Catholics. He used to cite the decree of the Council of Constance—which has

never been formally rescinded—that " no faith was to be kept with heretics." He also felt that those who recognised the supreme authority of the Pope could feel no obligation of allegiance to a temporal monarch. Consequently he saw in every Romanist a potential enemy of the King.

Mr. Edwards' chapter on " The Abolition of Slavery " is extremely good. Into this movement Wesley threw himself heart and soul; he preached sermons, wrote many public letters and published a powerful pamphlet on behalf of the cause. " Give the credit of abolition to the Evangelicals," writes Mr. Edwards, " but remember that Wesley was their spiritual father." The following figures are another proof of his influence: the various Nonconformist bodies, including the Roman Catholics, obtained 122,978 signatures to a petition. A similar petition, signed only by Methodists, contained 229,296 names.

Wesley was an extremely keen educationist, though his insight into the nature and needs of children could not have been great; for in the original daily time-table drawn up for Kingswood School no time was allotted to play, and besides water no other drink was provided at meals. The stress that he laid upon education is proved by the fact that when the Education Act of 1870 was introduced there were no less than 910 Wesleyan Elementary Schools containing 166,405 scholars. And he did not confine his educational efforts to children; he found time to publish—chiefly for the benefit of his preachers—a Christian Library of fifty volumes, which gave in a convenient and condensed form some of the great masterpieces of literature.

Mr. Edwards next deals with Wesley's efforts in " Humanitarian Reform." He attacked the various social evils of the eighteenth century—and they were both many and great—rather indirectly than directly. By converting men and women to a Christian life he produced in them a sense of individual responsibility and this led to individual effort. Converted people had their eyes opened to social evils and their hearts fired to the alleviation or removal of these. The variety of the social evils which Wesley attacked and the number of good works he set in motion is astonishing. He was active in prison reform, he opened dispensaries for the sick, and in times of special distress he organised schemes for relief. Through the sale of his various writings he made large sums of money. In the course of his life he probably gave away not less than £30,000; while " beyond what he required for his immediate use, it is doubtful if he ever was the possessor of more than £20."

There is much more in Mr. Edwards' book to which we wish we could draw attention, but we have written enough to show what a wealth of information it contains, not only about John Wesley himself, but about the social and political conditions of England in the eighteenth century—a century in which to a large extent the seeds (both good and evil) were sown of which to-day we are reaping the harvest.

W. E. C.

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THE celebration of the Centenary of the Emancipation of Slaves in the British Possessions this year has produced a number of interesting accounts of the life and work of William Wilberforce. Among the most useful of these is *William Wilberforce: The Story of a Great Crusader*, by Travers Buxton, Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (Religious Tract Society, 2*s.* 6*d.* net). Sir Herbert Wilberforce contributes a Foreword in which he speaks of the twofold objects of the Celebration. They are to remind the world of the noble and unselfish lives of those who strove in a great cause in defiance of the forces of prejudice, vested interests, and misrepresentation. And secondly, to inform the public mind of the fact, of which it is astonishingly ignorant, that the Slave trade is by no means dead but is flourishing, either openly or disguised, in many parts of the world. This popular Life of William Wilberforce should be placed in the hands of as many readers as possible, in order that they may understand something of the heroic nature of the work of the noble pioneer who devoted his life to the great cause of the Emancipation of Slaves. Few realise to-day the difficulties that William Wilberforce had to encounter and the many disappointments he experienced until, at last, in the closing days of his life, his great purpose was achieved. Unfortunately, he did not live to enjoy the satisfaction to which he was entitled. On the evening of July 23, 1833, the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery, after many previous rejections, was read for the second time in the Commons, and on the morning of the 29th, William Wilberforce peacefully died. This record of his life explains the motives that actuated him. It is a satisfaction to Evangelical Church people to know that the early acceptance of Evangelical teaching led him to undertake this great work of Social Reform. It is sometimes mistakenly said that the interest of Evangelicals was devoted solely to their own personal salvation, but the lives of Wilberforce and of Lord Shaftesbury are a standing refutation of this calumny. The truth is, of course, that the true Evangelical inspiration leads to the application of Christian principles in every department of life, but we cannot expect the people of any generation to be so far in advance of their time as to realise all the possible, let alone the ultimate implications. It took eighteen hundred years of Christian teaching to achieve the Abolition of Slavery, although the value of the individual life was implicit in Christian teaching from the outset. Books such as this ought to enable Church people to form a more accurate impression of the real value and significance of the Evangelical presentation of Christianity.

The Bishop of Norwich has more than once dealt effectively with some of the problems confronting Christian thought to-day

in brief but convincing booklets. He recently answered the question *Does God Suffer?* (S.P.C.K., 1s. net), which has exercised many minds in recent years. He goes to the root of the difficulty, which arises from the idea that the doctrine of the Impassibility of God implies a want of love and care for human suffering.

Because man feels pain when he sees suffering, it does not necessarily follow that God must similarly suffer. The Compassion of God is a part of His Love and must be associated with His Power to heal. We cannot with our finite minds understand the full meaning of the sufferings of Christ, but it was part of the limitations which the Incarnation imposed upon the Godhead in Him. And the fact that God is eternal and that Eternity has no past nor future shows that we must realise the Perfection of God which is incompatible with the limitation involved in suffering.

The introduction of the revised Lectionary in many Churches has given an opportunity of adopting the plan of giving a brief and simple introduction before the reading of the Lessons. This practice has been found very helpful, but it requires to be carried out with considerable care in order that the statements may be clear while they are necessarily brief. The Rev. C. M. Chavasse, M.A., the Master of St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, has written a series of devotional Introductions to the Lessons of Sundays and Holy-days under the title, *The Meaning of the Lessons* (The Lutterworth Press, 6s. net). They are dedicated to the Congregations of St. Aldate's and St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, for whom they were first written and at whose request they are published. The Bishop of Oxford, in a Foreword, commends these Introductions as meeting a real need of those who are not Biblical Students, enabling them to catch the point of connection between the Lessons and the Service of the day. In a few sentences the purpose of each Lesson is explained, and in every case the brief statement is sufficient to place the hearers in touch with the circumstances indicated in the passage to be read.

The Rev. A. F. Simpson, M.A., B.D., has written a little book on *The Communion of the Lord's Supper: Its Meaning for Christian Experience* (Ivor Nicholson & Watson, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net) which we recommend very strongly to the attention of our readers. It is described as "A Study of the practice of and the teaching concerning the Lord's Supper in the first and second centuries, with a view to the discovery of its essential meaning for progressive Christian Faith." Although the treatment is brief it is full and convincing. The first part states succinctly the testimony of the Synoptic Gospels, examines statements regarding the breaking of bread in the Primitive Church, the Pauline Eucharist, the Johannine conceptions, and the Communion in the second century as given in The Didache and the writings of Ignatius, Justin Martyr and Irenæus. The second part is then devoted to the interpretation of

these sources, in order to show the significance that these things have for the Christian religious life and thought of our own time. It is satisfactory to Evangelical Church people to know that the result of this latest scholarly interpretation of the Holy Communion coincides in the main with the teaching that they maintain. For example, Mr. Simpson says: "In view of the belief that prevails in certain quarters that the Eucharistic Elements have a virtue in themselves apart from the corporate worship with which they are associated . . . it is necessary to point out that historically there is no justification for such a view in the early period." Another interesting point refers to the refusal on the part of some sections of the Church on ecclesiastical grounds to admit other Christians to their Communion. In regard to this he says: "The fundamental error underlying the exclusive policy is the mistaken theory that what constitutes Membership of the Church is allegiance to a particular ecclesiastical organisation. The real qualification is, of course, personal allegiance to Christ as Lord." These are only a few of the important points in this useful study. It covers the whole range of interpretation, and meets the theories put forward by Roman and Anglo-Catholics, showing that they do not add anything to the value which the Eucharist has as it is interpreted by Christian experience. Thus in Christian experience there can be only one type of presence of Christ, "and one cannot regard His presence at the Lord's Supper in any different sense from that in which we regard His presence elsewhere." This does not mean that the doctrine of the real Presence is untrue. "It is only a particular statement of it that we regret, and we regret it because it is without foundation in historic fact. It is Christ's presence at the meal and not in the bread or the cup that consecrates the occasion to us, as it consecrated it to the experience of the early Christians. This is the only doctrine of the presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper that may legitimately be derived from the evidence of the Christian writings of the first and second centuries." These statements indicate the sound and sensible interpretation of the Holy Communion contained in this useful study of the subject.

We have been asked to correct three misprints which occur in Mr. E. H. Blakeney's review of *The Beginnings of Christianity* on page 219 of the last issue of THE CHURCHMAN. Paul and the Players should be Paul and the Magus, *νενόμενος* should be *γενόμενος* and *πρηδθείς* should be *πρησθείς*.

The Editor regrets that he is obliged to hold over a large number of reviews of recent books.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

WINE OFFICE COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

National Church Almanack.—The National Church Almanack for 1934 will be ready early in October, and is published this year at *2d.* (post free, *3d.*). The Almanack contains the full Table of Lessons according to the Lectionary of 1871 and also according to the Revised Lectionary of 1922. The introductory matter contains notes on the Constitution of the Church, Synods, the Church Assembly, Parochial Church Councils and other useful matter. A picture of Beverley Minster serves as a frontispiece, and a brief account of the Minster explains its chief architectural features.

The Oxford Movement Centenary.—Although the actual Centenary Celebrations are over, literature on this subject is still in demand, and in addition to the books already named in this column, an important and able contribution to the study of the local point of the Anglo-Catholic controversy has been published under the title of *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement*, by the Rev. Canon W. H. Mackean, D.D., *6s.* (post *6d.*). A full review of this book appears in this issue of THE CHURCHMAN by Canon A. J. Tait.

Another publication is *Tractarianism and Episcopacy* by Bishop Knox, which has been reprinted by the Church Book Room by kind permission of the Editor of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, price *4d.*

Sunday Schools.—In our July issue we mentioned the Lesson Books by the Rev. G. R. Balleine which are now obtainable, and specially named *Christianity in Action*, 52 Lessons on Christian Ethics, printed this year. This Lesson Book, together with *Lessons from the Life of Christ*, is illustrated with stamps in colours which are supplied in book form containing enough stamps for ten children for the whole year, at *4s.* per book. Albums are supplied at *1d.* each, or, if the Church Catechism is inserted, at *1½d.* A reprint of the Rev. W. A. Cunningham Craig's Lessons for tinies entitled *The Bible Zoo* has also been published at *1s.* Stamps are supplied for this book at the rate of *2s.* per set sufficient for five children for the whole year, and albums are supplied at *1d.* The book contains fifty-two lessons for the year on the animals of the Bible, and is simply and attractively written.

It will be remembered that last year we published for the first time two Sunday School Registers. These were undated, and of the cut-class type. The smaller Register ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$) is for marking single attendances ($4\frac{1}{2}d.$ each). The larger Register ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$) is for marking morning and afternoon attendance (*9d.* each). This year in response to many requests we have decided to issue in addition three dated Registers, for morning and afternoon attendance. The following are particulars: No. 1, 18 lines ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$), $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ each; No. 2, 26 lines ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$), *6d.* each; and No. 3, 40 lines ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 12$), *8d.* each. They are dated from Advent Sunday to the last Sunday in December following (thirteen months). The Registers contain specially prepared notes for teachers, and a form of Prayer for opening and closing the school.

A useful *Admission and Probation Card* has also been issued. It can be used for marking the attendance of a new scholar for the first four weeks, thus enabling the superintendent to know whether the child is likely to

become a regular member of the Sunday School, the name being added to the Register only after the four attendances have been made. The price of the card is 2*s.* per hundred.

A new *Prayer Card* has also been issued at 2*s.* 6*d.* per hundred. A specimen will be sent on application. The card can be localised, and the name of the Church or Parish printed at the top of each at a slight additional cost. The prayers will be found helpful for the average Sunday School child.

The Holy Communion.—The Rev. A. St. John Thorpe's *Devotional Studies in the Holy Communion* has had a very wide circulation, and in addition to the paper cover published at 6*d.*, has now been issued in cloth at 1*s.* (post 2*d.*). This book is being used for Confirmation Candidates, and consists of six Sermons, which are warmly commended by Bishop Knox, who says : " Sound doctrine is the mother of true worship and of heartfelt devotion, and the relentless foe of pure superstition."

We are glad to be able to announce that the valuable series of essays entitled *The Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion* edited by the Rev. A. J. Macdonald, D.D., has now been issued at 5*s.*

Dean Goulburn's *Primitive Church Teaching on the Holy Communion* is now published at 1*s.* This was first published as an appendix to the writer's *Commentary on the Communion Office* and was written, as the author states in his preface, because since the original publication of the *Commentary* two or three practices which seemed to him wrong in principle and to have a tendency to undermine the true doctrine of the Holy Eucharist had sho[illegible] up with amazing rapidity. The subjects to which he refers are Fasting Communion, Non-communicating Attendance and previous private Confession, and these are dealt with in a practical way. Needless to say, the book is beautifully written and the tone is devotional throughout.

Communicants' Manuals.—For presentation to Confirmees we again recommend the following books : *Helps to the Christian Life* (new edition), by the Rev. T. W. Gilbert, D.D. (leather, 2*s.* ; cloth gilt, 1*s.* 6*d.* ; cloth, 1*s.* ; paper cover, 6*d.*) This manual, containing advice and suggestions on Prayer and Bible Study, and also instructions and devotions before, at the time of, and after Holy Communion, has been found a real help to the young and to the adult communicant. *My First Communion*, by the Rev. A. R. Runnels-Moss (cloth, 1*s.* net), has reached a third edition, and is a simple explanation of the Sacrament and Office together with the Service. A third edition of Canon Barnes-Lawrence's valuable manual, *The Holy Communion : Its Institution, Purpose, Privilege*, has been issued in three forms (cloth gilt, 1*s.* 6*d.* ; cloth limp, 9*d.* ; paper, 6*d.*). The body of the book is largely devotional, and some instruction on difficult points is given in an appendix. It is particularly useful for presentation to Public School boys and girls. We also recommend *At the Lord's Table*, by the Bishop of Chelmsford (cloth gilt, 1*s.* 6*d.* ; cloth, 1*s.*). The " preparation " is very practical and shows a true appreciation of the lives and thought of the younger generation. The Self-examination has three lines of thought—one based on the Fruit of the Spirit in Galatians v. ; one on the Beatitudes ; and one on the shorter Exhortation.