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The Churchman

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Editorial.

FEW Reports presented to the Church Assembly have received such wide publicity as the recent Report of the Commission on Evangelism. It has created tremendous interest in all sections of the Christian Church and presents a challenge which may have big repercussions. There is no question that it is opportune, the situation which confronts the Church is, from one point of view, desperate, but, from another, as seen by those who have implicit faith in the power of the Gospel, a moment of glorious opportunity ; in either case, it is an urgent call to Evangelise.

By the kindness of the Chairman of the Commission, the Bishop of Rochester, we are able to give our readers the benefit of reading two very important statements on the subject, the Chairman's introductory letter to the members of the Commission and his masterful speech in the Church Assembly on the occasion of the presentation of the Report. We believe they will be found of valuable help in discussions on the Report.

Dr. Sydney Carter has often contributed to *The Churchman*, and we are grateful to him for his article in this issue on Archbishop Usher.

It is our policy to do all we can to encourage scholarship among younger Evangelicals. Therefore, we are glad to include in this number, two contributions from the younger writers. The Rev. D. Webster, who is on the staff of St. Helens Parish Church, has written on, " The Achievement and the Technique of Missions in the Middle Ages ", and the Rev. W. J. Sawle, Assistant Secretary, N.C.L., has given us an Essay on, " Christian Unity : The Church Visible and Invisible ".

We should like to take this opportunity of expressing our thanks for the willing help that we always receive from our Reviewers. Their reviews of the latest books are much appreciated by our readers and are considered by many to be one of the most useful features of the Magazine.

The Report of the Commission on Evangelism.

By The Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Rochester.
Chairman of the Commission.

I.

February 1st, 1944.

The Chairman's Introductory Letter to the Commission.

My dear Fellow-Member,

Our terms of reference are as follows :

> " The Assembly, recognising the urgent necessity for definite action, requests the Archbishops to appoint a Commission . . . to survey the whole problem of modern evangelism, with special reference to the spiritual needs and prevailing intellectual outlook of the non-worshipping members of the community, and to report on the organization and methods by which such needs can most effectively be met."

Our first task must be to agree upon

A Definition of Evangelism.

The Resolution, quoted above, pre-supposes that the Church has a clear-cut idea as to the meaning of Evangelism. This is far from being the case. Much time will be saved, much loose speculation prevented, and much futility avoided, if first we can arrive at a true understanding of Evangelism, and then allow that knowledge to shape our discussions and to test the relevance of our proposals.

The Archbishops' Committee of Inquiry on " The Evangelistic Work of the Church " (which reported in similar circumstances, at the conclusion of the last war, in 1918) framed the following definition of Evangelism :

> " To evangelise is so to present Christ Jesus in the power of the Holy Spirit, that men shall come to put their trust in God through Him, to accept Him as their Saviour, and serve Him as their King in the fellowship of the Church."

The definition could hardly be bettered. But it requires to be understood, and then to be implemented. After the last war, the " Inquiry " (quoted above) and all subsequent " Calls " and " Re-calls " to Renewal and Religion, manifestly failed in their *primary* purpose of Evangelism. Otherwise, we should not now find ourselves the members of yet another Commission on Evangelism, called into existence with a note of urgency that sounds like an S.O.S. The reason for the failure of the Church to evangelise is equally obvious. Post-war theological thinking was saturated with Christian humanism. Jesus Christ was presented as the Example and Teacher, following Whom men were exhorted to trust in the love of God, to save themselves, and to serve the world in the fellowship of the Church.

Evangelism, therefore, was largely interpreted as making people interested in religion; and as a call to social reconstruction—as is shown by the prevalence of the nonsensical phrase, "The Social *Gospel.*"

It is true that the arousing of the nation to a consciousness of God, and the bringing in of a better Christian order of Society, both fall within the scope of our Commission.

The former is the necessary preparation for Evangelism. The latter is the equally necessary result of Evangelism. But neither of them is Evangelism itself.

Now that a second war upon the heels of the last has utterly discredited the dreams and doctrines of Christian humanism, we are in a better position (than in 1918) to realise this salient truth.

Evangelism, the Proclamation of Good News.

Evangelism, according to Scripture, is the Proclamation of Good News.

The very term "Gospel" was coined to describe the heralding of the Good News of restoration, to captives in exile (see Isaiah xl, 9, and lxi, 1.)

Professor C. H. Dodd has shown conclusively in his lectures, "The Apostolic Teaching," that *preaching* (or heralding) the Gospel has, in the New Testament, a meaning distinct from *teaching* the Faith, or *instruction* in the good life. GOOD NEWS must connote the announcement of something beneficial to us that has happened *apart from ourselves.* The Good News of the Gospel is the proclamation of what God has wrought on our behalf—apart from man, and impossible for man to achieve himself.

Good news can only be accepted by man, and then passed on to others. Good News for man cannot be anything manufactured by man. Hence, the purpose of Evangelism in our definition, "that men shall come to put their *trust* in God *through Christ.*"

Incidentally, Good News pre-supposes bad news if the Gospel is refused. This "fearful" truth has been largely forgotten or ignored, with a consequent loss of urgency and appeal in our modern presentation of the Gospel.

The Good News of Salvation.

The grand Scripture word for the content of the Evangel is SALVATION.

It would be folly to change the word because it may sound strangely in the ears of a generation that does not read the Bible. All that is required is to explain its meaning, more particularly in the light thrown upon it by the study of psychology.

Salvation is to possess the assurance of restored relationship with God by actively trusting in the At-one-ment accomplished for us by the death of our Saviour.

Thus "to accept Christ as Saviour" is an act of the whole man. It is an act of the will as well as of the mind; which explains St. Paul's oft-repeated phrase of "believing *onto* Christ" (*eis* with the accusative —movement towards).

As such, Salvation includes the three-fold saving (past, present, and future) of Bishop Westcott's teaching.

We are saved from the guilt of sin which haunts us (*Past*).

We are saved from the power of sin which frustrates us (*Present*).

We are saved from the death of sin which makes life futile by divorcing it from eternity (*Future*).

Salvation from Sin.

SIN, or that which separates from God, can be termed self-centredness.

CONVERSION is (by an act of the whole man) to become, either by gradual growth or by a sudden change, God-centred through Christ.

The result is the Salvation of personal wholeness.

United to God in Christ, man becomes himself a unity, instead of remaining a disintegrated personality. "Mr. Polly was not a man. Mr. Polly was a civil war."

United to God in Christ, man becomes adjusted to, and one with, his environment and his fellows.

United to God in Christ, man gains a purpose in life that is one with Eternity itself.

In recent years the popular mood has swung back from ethical to dogmatic Christianity.

Moreover, the disillusionment of the peace years leading to another war, and the general disquiet occasioned by widespread moral degeneration of every kind, has shattered that complacency characteristic of the past quarter of a century which boasted its immunity from a sense of sin. People, even now, may not call it sin; but they are terribly aware of frustration or futility or moral defeat, which is the same thing.

But even if there was to-day little sense of sin, the years between the wars have exposed the betrayal of immortal souls for whom Christ died, when the Church acquiesces in such a disposition, and suggests, instead, that other aspects of the Eternal Gospel should be emphasised such as the call to social service.

Salvation from Sin *is* the Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour, and there is no other.

Our inquiry, therefore, must very largely concern itself with the question how to bring home to the consciences of our countrymen the fact and the meaning of sin, from which Christ saves.

In Apostolic times the urgency of the Gospel appeal was the expectancy of the immediate return of our Lord. In the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century the urgency of the Gospel appeal was the fear of Hell fire. In both cases the presentation of the Gospel met with astonishing success.

After the last war, the Report of the Archbishops' Committee of Inquiry on "The Evangelistic Work of the Church" declared that "the strongest appeal to-day, certainly to the younger generation, is the appeal to service, to adventure."

The worse than barren result of the attempt thus to short-circuit the doctrine of original sin (in which we have been forced to believe once more) should save us from making the same fatal mistake.

We may not proclaim the immediacy of the Second Advent, nor believe in literal flames of eternal torment. But that in no way alters the basic facts of a God to Whom we are accountable, of Judgment, and of Hell. The issue before humanity is still, literally, one of Life or Death; and the Evangel is the Good News of Life—abundance of Life, both here and hereafter. The appeal to service, however fine, requires to be deepened into a passionate concern for the welfare of immortal souls, if *it is to possess converting power.*

Before our Commission can confront its task, it is essential that we should, first, discover what is Evangelism according to the words and ministry of Christ and His Apostles. When we are agreed upon this fundamental, we shall then insist that the same Gospel is the one required for our times, and for all time; and we shall pray that God will show us how it can be brought home to the minds and consciences of our generation. In doing so, we shall find that all the other manifold and important aspects of Evangelism will fall into their proper place.

Christ's Evangelistic Inquiry.

In order that we may get back to the Gospel itself, can we do better than adopt for our inquiry the plan which Christ Himself has given us in the Parable of the Sower, as the explanation, of His own Evangelistic ministry.

Following out the thought of the Parable we discover the true pattern of Evangelism, as follows: —

1. The Sower, representing the human agents of Evangelism, those "who present Christ Jesus in the power of the Holy Spirit". These are:
   (1) *The Clergy*, requiring Preaching Power and Spirituality. There is also the need for Ordinands to have had actual experience in Evangelism.
   (2) *The Laity*, requiring Instruction in doctrine, and also Training in the technique of Evangelism.
2. The Soil, representing the hearts of men. The soil needs preparation if a generation that has lost its sense of God-consciousness is to "put their trust in God through Christ". Such preparation involves:
   (1) *A General Campaign to*:
      (a) Reinstate Christianity in home-life, national education, industrial and social relationships.
      (b) Restore confidence in the Bible as the revealed truth of God, and to encourage its reading and study.
      (c) Revive Church worship and Sunday observance.
   (2) *Special Propaganda*, utilising the great modern agencies of propaganda—the Press, the Films, the Drama, the B.B.C.; and setting up publicity centres.
3. The Sowing of the Seed, Evangelism proper; *i.e.*, appealing to men "to accept Christ as their Saviour". This involves:

(1) *Evangelism in the Parish.* Evangelism is not so much a specialised ministry as an attitude of expectance towards the whole of a parochial ministry.

(a) As regards the clergy, it introduces an Evangelistic concern into the handling of the Occasional Offices, into preaching, teaching, Confirmation preparation, into the purpose of parochial organisations, and into visiting and personal contacts. Speaking generally, the urgent need is for a revival of the Ministry of the Word.

(b) As regards the laity, their recruitment, training and use is essential. The experiment of Evangelistic " Companies " or Bands.

(2) *Central Organised Efforts.* Camps, House Parties, and At Homes; School, University, and Parochial Missions; Chaplains for Youth Organisations and Factories; the Church Army and Preaching Communities; Central Evangelistic Councils.

4. GARNERING THE FRUITS into the *Fellowship of the Church*—so that men may " serve Christ as their King in the fellowship of the Church ". To fulfil this essential:

(1) The Worship of the Church must be seen to offer a true reality of communion with God and with fellow-Christians.

(2) The Church must build up Christians well instructed in faith and morals, and such as will attract by the testimony of their lips and of their lives.

(3) The Church must provide worth-while opportunities of Christian service.

(4) The Church must be missionary hearted, giving corporate testimony to its Christianity by—

(a) A zeal for Missions Overseas.
(b) A deep concern for the application of Christian principles in politics, industry, and social life.

N.B.—This raises the important question as to the co-operation of the Churches in Evangelism.

On the one hand, the nation can only be re-converted by a united national effort.

On the other hand, it is essential for each Church to offer converts the Fellowship of its particular Communion.

Is the solution—(a) Parallel Evangelistic Campaigns?
(b) An Evangelistic Committee of the British Council of Churches?

It will be seen that by thus following out our Lord's presentation of Evangelism, under the analogy of Sowing the Seed, all the multifold aspects of Evangelism find a place—*and their right place.*

II.

November 14th, 1945.

The Chairman's Presentation of the Commission's Report to the Church Assembly.

In presenting the Report of the Commission on Evangelism, I am handicapped, not only by my own obvious inadequacy, but by a heavy sense of responsibility. The very subject of the Report "the modern problem of Evangelism," makes it quite the most important document this Assembly has yet been called upon to consider.

Therefore, though no one is more conscious than I of its many shortcomings; I would plead that the Assembly should concentrate on its main issues, and not on what I would ask you indulgently to regard as its relatively small blemishes. Moreover, the Report has already received a publicity and aroused an interest that is quite remarkable. Many eyes, even beyond this country, are turned upon this Assembly to-day, and by this debate they will judge the Church whose representatives we are. It is not so much the Report that is being judged to-day, but this Assembly, by our handling of the Report, and the action (or no action) we take upon it.

Some secular (not Church) leaders of our national life have indeed surprised me by regarding what is in this Report as "the Church's last chance." Though I would not go as far as that myself, it remains true that after all the expectation the Report has already aroused, it would be a disaster if it were pigeonholed, and went the way of so many of its predecessors.

We should be the more encouraged to take action from the fact that "Towards the Conversion of England" has received an impressive and unsolicited testimonial from "The Thinker's Forum," which has actually considered it worthy of an attack of eighteen pages, called "Anglican Shipwreck" (price 6d.). This means that, despite any faults and weaknesses which may call for discussion, the Report has already led off with a blow that has made the Devil put up his fists. And if I may for a moment copy St. Paul and descend to the language of the ring, it remains for this debate to follow up with a swing to the jaw, and with the full weight of the Assembly behind it.

What is Evangelism?

Towards the Conversion of England has also received severe, if in my judgment somewhat muddled, criticism from the *Christian News Letter*. I take comfort from the thought that, on the same grounds, the *Christian News Letter* would have quarrelled violently with St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; seeing that of the twenty-seven names to whom the Apostle sends greetings in the last chapter, over half of them were those of slaves. If I now attempt a short answer to the criticism, it is that thereby our minds may be cleared as to what Evangelism really means, and what exactly was the task with which the Commission on Evangelism was entrusted. The real point at issue between the *Christian News Letter* and *Towards the Conversion of England* is contained in the challenge which the Letter flings down. I will quote it in full to show that I am dragging nothing out of its context: "There are those who maintain that in our

present society, or at least in large areas of it, a man *cannot* [*note the italics.* C.R.] find his human fulfilment, nor discharge his responsibility to God, in his daily work. That is an assertion so decisive in its consequences that it must either be successfully refuted or be allowed to govern our whole outlook on Evangelism. What is the good of converting a man if, when he is converted, he cannot live as a Christian ? The Gospel is addressed to human persons, and in so far as a man ceases to be a free and responsible person [*e.g., a slave* ? C.R.] the Gospel loses its meaning."

I accept the challenge. I would declare my unfaltering conviction that the very essence of the Christian Gospel is that the power of Christ in human life is adequate to meet the contemporary situation, *whatever it may be.* " I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Further, I would assert with confidence that the adequacy of the power of Christ has been abundantly attested from the first days of Christianity, with its Christian slaves in Caesar's household, and its Christian soldiers in the Praetorian Guard, right down the centuries, yes and in our own days, in those shining Christian lives which have shone out from darkest circumstances, such as many of us here have known and reverenced. St. Paul did not wait till slaves were emancipated, before he converted slaves in Caesar's household. Either the assertion of the *Christian News Letter* is rank heresy ; or else the Christian Faith is a lie, I have no Gospel to preach, and I resign my orders to-morrow. Mind you, though I am getting old, I have knocked about in my time and I have seen life in the raw more than most. It does not take the *Christian News Letter* to inform me of the urgent necessity and duty of the Church resolutely tackling the problem of what Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr calls " moral man in immoral society," or what the *Christian News Letter* describes as the " divided mind," and the " tension of living simultaneously in two different worlds."

But as the Commission made clear by its quotation from Archbishop Temple's Penguin Special, " *Christianity and the Social Order,*" which introduces our whole Report, there is a difference of function between " making men Christian," and " making the social order more Christian." Let me give you the quotation : " If we have to choose between making men Christian [*that is one thing.* C.R.], and making the social order more Christian [*that is something else.* C.R.], we must choose the former [*it comes first.* C.R.]. But there is no such antithesis." No there is not ! We must do both. " Making the social order more Christian," is a duty laid on the Church, and it is to work towards the Kingdom of God. " To make men Christian " is also a duty laid on the Church, and it is *Evangelism,* and it comes first in order of importance. Our Commission, therefore, while it thoroughly apprehended the importance of Christianising Society, did not consider this impersonal task could be rightly understood as Evangelism, any more than Religious Instruction is necessarily Evangelism, however essential for Christianity. Evangelism, according to the definition we adopted, is the *personal task* of presenting Christ Jesus to men, women, and children, as their Saviour and King. It is " to make men Christian."

Some of you may have read the lecture on *Religious Experience*

delivered last June on his 80th birthday by Professor C. C. J. Webb, the former Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion at Oxford. He asserts that the very essence of the Christian religion is the believer's personal experience of the Presence of the Ever-Living Christ. Such religious experience, he insists, is no mere subjective activity of the human Spirit; it is the impact upon our consciousness of Objective Reality, God Himself, Who is always revealing Himself, and cannot be known or experienced except through His own act and initiative. There you have set forth with authority the purpose of Evangelism. It is the Good News of God, Who reveals to us His Nature and His work. It is, moreover, the Good News of how God has intervened, and is intervening, to save and empower men and women, who can only accept (but never merit) that wholeness of personality unified in Christ, which has been wrought for us, and apart from us. This, then, is this Gospel which the Church seems to have mislaid for a time, and which our Commission were unanimous in declaring must again be preached in the power of the Holy Spirit.

The Problem of Modern Evangelism.

From what I have tried to say about the meaning of Evangelism, we should begin to realise what it is exactly that constitutes the "problem of modern evangelism."

1. There is of course the magnitude of the task before the Church. It is impossible to exaggerate the gulf that divides the Church to-day from the life and thinking of ordinary English people; so that our first finding had to be that "the situation calls for no less than the conversion of England to the Christian Faith." *But that is not the real problem.*

2. There is, also, the difficulty of the task. It is more formidable than that which confronted the Early Church, or confronts the Church in missionary lands to-day. For though all down the ages the heathen may have ignorantly worshipped an Unknown God; they have yet been acutely conscious of a Power higher than themselves. To-day, we confront a new phenomenon: a generation that has lost God, and a whole dimension of life—the spiritual dimension. Half our countrymen are "worse than heathen," in that they believe in nothing, not even in themselves after a second world war in thirty years. *But that, again, is not the real problem.*

3. The real problem concerns the Church, as Christ's Agency for Evangelism. There are two questions that must be asked in this connection.

(a) How far is the Church implicated in the situation? The *Christian News Letter* states: "The Churches are part of the civilisation which is collapsing, and must acknowledge that their own secularisation, supineness and unfaithfulness have largely contributed to the collapse." Do you endorse this judgement.

(b) Then, also, does the Church possess the spiritual resources that will enable it to rise to the magnitude and difficulty of the task? This issue was raised by Lord Elton (a valued member of the Commission) at a mass meeting of the C. E. M. S. November 1944. "Can anyone (he asked) imagine such a commission in the early

days of Christianity—those days of confidence and conquest." ? There were Commissions, of course, both at Antioch and Jerusalem to plan Evangelism among the Gentiles. But such Commissions to plan the strategy of conquest, were vastly different from ours which faced in the Church itself both a manifest lack of evangelistic zeal, and also a widespread ignorance of the content of the Gospel.

Our days are *not* days of spiritual confidence and conquest. *And that is the real problem.* For remember, in the eternal counsel of Almighty God, the preaching of the Gospel by the Church is as necessary for His purpose of the redemption of the whole creation, as was the Cross of Christ itself.

Look then at our days :

1. *There are the clergy.* From a variety of causes (most of which demand our intense and understanding sympathy, and also our help) great numbers of them are suffering from an acute sense of frustration. Their condition could not possibly be described as confidence for conquest. Rather it approximates to the fourth Mortal Sin of the Middle Ages—Accidie. Chaucer calls Accidie the " Rotten-hearted sin" (the heart taken out of you). According to the Septuagint translation of Isaiah lxi : 3, it is the " spirit of heaviness." The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* sums it up as follows : " Briefly it was the state of mind of a monk who had mistaken his vocation."

2. *There are our Church Congregations.* With conspicuous exceptions, the majority of them seem to be so lacking in warmth and vitality that their neighbourhood is not aware of them, and simply counts them out in the ordinary life of the community.

3. *As for the Worshipping Community in general,* the clergy and laity rub shoulders daily with non-worshippers. But they display so little real belief in the supernatural, that they possess no Gospel to proclaim.

No ! the problem is not the 90% outside the Churches. These grand English people who have come victoriously, and at so great cost, through two world wars in a generation ! St. Paul would have regarded them as fields white already unto harvest, and as the most promising sphere in the world for the operation of the Gospel. The problem of modern Evangelism is the 10% inside the Churches, who are half-converted and ill-instructed Christians. As our Report says, they " present a *field* rather than a *force* for Evangelism."

The Spirit of the Age.

What then ails the Church ? What is the cause of its spiritual anaemia ? It has succumbed to the malady that has always threatened the Church from the days of the Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia. It has become infected with the Spirit of the Age, and so has lost its vision, its vitality, and its spiritual authority.

The *Christian News Letter* describes the spirit of the age as the belief in " salvation through knowledge " both of the individual and of society ; and then (with great respect to the writer, whom I honour) the letter, by several loud sneezes, shows that it has itself caught the prevailing influenza of " salvation through knowledge ".

Your commission termed the spirit of the age : " the original sin

of Humanism " : " that view of life which sees in man (not God) the source of all meaning and value ". May I say quite frankly how much I wish that, to avoid all possible misunderstanding, we had adopted the phrase suggested in the News Letter—the original sin of " *self-sufficient* Humanism ". Thereby we should have shown that we were not referring to the " God-regarding " humanism of such Renaissance humanists as Colet, Erasmus, and More, and its doctrine of : " Man the measure of all things ", or " People matter ", as the B.B.C. would say. At the same time I am bound to claim that our use of the word was accurate and correct. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the term *Humanism* (as also its cognate *Humanitarian*) seems to have been first coined and originally used in the early years of the 19th Century, to denote " belief in the mere humanity of Christ ". Thenceforth, it seems generally to carry with it the implication of God being left out, and to signify " thought or action concerned with merely human interests (as distinguished from Divine) ".

However that may be, few, I think, will dispute the fact that the Church has lately become disastrously infected with the spirit of this self-sufficient Humanism, or dispute the assertion of Mr. C. S. Lewis that " For the last fifty years, theology has concentrated on this life, rather than on the next, and on man, rather than on God ". In a word the Church recently has become increasingly Pelagian—that heresy, which the late Dr. N. P. Williams (formerly an honoured member of this Assembly) described as having " originated in our island and may be said to be endemic in it ".

Pelagianism teaches that " human nature is capable of working out its own salvation unassisted ". Such a rational morality obviously makes a strong appeal to the common-sense, self-reliance and self-respect of the English. But equally obviously there is no need for the Gospel, when Everyman is not only his own Adam, but his own Redeemer.

It is Pelagianism that has encouraged the comfortable belief in the automatic progress of man towards perfection ; to which history gives the lie.

It is Pelagianism that has given rise to the preaching of the so-called " Social Gospel ", whereby a more Christian Social order was to make men Christian. We certainly have to-day a vastly more Christian social order than we possessed a century ago. Yet historians, such as Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, can speak of " Christian England " a hundred years ago, while to-day we " recognise the urgent necessity for definite action " towards the conversion of England.

Most tragic of all, it is Pelagianism that has evoked into being the remarkable number of substitute religions which have sprung up in recent years. The outstanding characteristic of them all is their promise of immediate contact between individuals and the Unseen. They have come into existence because of the failure of the Church to preach and communicate the Gospel it was expressly founded to mediate.

The First Requisite for Evangelism.

From all this it follows that the first requisite for evangelism, is for the Church to recover its vision of God, and its sense of the reality of

the Unseen. Only so can it regain the confidence for conquest of the Early Church. We need, not so much *great* faith in God, as faith in a *great* God.

The ordinary man's conception of God has been described as "a blank with a question-mark in the middle." The conception of God of the ordinary Christian is largely anthropomorphic. Man to-day makes God in his own image. God is what we think He is, and what we believe God ought to be. But to quote once more Professor C. C. J. Webb: "It is inconceivable that God should be known or experienced, except through His own act". God is a God of Revelation; and Christianity is God revealed in Christ. Now a God of Revelation is a God who takes the initiative and intervenes—even as He has proved by the Incarnation and Atonement.

Therefore it is (as the Conclusion of the Report emphasises) that Evangelism begins with a downward movement of God to men. All through the war we have been asking the wrong question: "Is there a movement of people back to God?" The question should rather be: "Are there signs that God is moving?" But once we believe in a God Who moves, then at last confidence and conquest are ours; and all our planning for Evangelism must start here. There can be no hope of successful action "towards the conversion of England", until England has become a network of Parish Prayer Meetings, and of Prayer Circles of every description, to "move the Hand, that moves the world, to bring salvation down". But once we believe with all our heart in a God Who moves towards men, then we have a Gospel! then we have Good News to proclaim!

Two Stages in Evangelism.

This will explain why all through our Report your Commission has distinguished between two stages in Evangelism.

The first and prior stage is that of *Preparing for the Gospel*. It is often called "indirect Evangelism", and it can be impersonal in its operation. It consists in preparing the soil for the reception of the seed; and its purpose is to create that sense of need which shall respond to the Good News of how God can satisfy every need.

The second stage is the actual *Presentation of the Gospel*. It is direct evangelism. It is the *personal* appeal by one to another to accept Christ as Saviour and King; and it consists both in sowing the seed, and in reaping a harvest.

As we have already seen, this prior stage of preparation is required before the Church can become evangelistic. Only when the Church renews its vision of God, can it preach the Gospel with confidence for conquest.

This prior stage of making men aware of God, is also one which a missionary Church must undertake if it would evangelise. Your Commission has dealt at some length with all that is involved in preparing the soil of human hearts for the reception of the seed. The reason is because the materialistic outlook, and the mechanised thinking of our machine age, presents the Sower with something like a concrete pavement to break up, rather than the merely trodden earth of the pathway in the Parable.

Preparation by Preaching.

The normal preparation of the Gospel, round which all other necessary processes gather and take their shape, is Prophetic Preaching, namely, the authoritative declaration of " the great and everlasting things that matter "—God, Judgment to come, and Eternal Life.

Prophetic Preaching has been defined as " relating the mind of God to the will of the hearer, through the heart of the preacher ". A Prophet, therefore, is one who has a first-hand knowledge of God, and a first-hand knowledge of man. There are, thus, two notes in his preaching, one Divine and the other human—(1) the message comes with the authority from God, and (2) it applies the truths of God to contemporary life.

Are the truths of God proclaimed to-day with an authority that can declare : " Thus saith the Lord " ?

Dr. L. P. Jacks in his " Confessions of an Octogenarian " (published during the war) describing how he has been the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* since 1900, makes the following observation : " Among the thousands of articles that have been offered me on the fundamentals of religion and the essentials of Christianity, I could only count on my hands those that have dealt with immortality ". Listening to sermons confirmed his impression that " the practice seems to be not indeed to disavow immortality, but to keep it in cold storage for funeral occasions ". " And yet," he continues, " the central theme of the New Testament is immortality—not of everybody and anybody, but of believers in Christ as risen from the Dead ". Hard upon the heels of these reflections of an unorthodox Christian thinker, there appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* of October 7th, 1944, that Article in " Menanders Mirror ", entitled " Empty Pews ". The fact that it had to be reprinted in pamphlet form, and ran into edition after edition, entitled it to be called the laymen's verdict on the present-day pulpit. The verdict was that one chief reason for sparse congregations is that they get nothing when they come to Church, no Eternal Message, but only little homilies on current topics.

The other note in prophetic preaching is its understanding of human need. The Message of God must be relevant to contemporary life. It has been said that the business of the theologian is not to prove the faith apart from life, but to show how the faith interprets contemporary life. This is still more true of preaching. Perhaps the outstanding contribution to religious thought of Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr, is his teaching that all our modern " secular " problems are at heart theological, and can only be solved as such. And in his *Beyond Tragedy*, he has a sentence which gives, graphically, one essential for the preparation of the soil for the reception of the seed : " One of the most fatal sources of self-deception in the ministry is the proclamation of great ideals and principles, without any clue to their relation to the controversial issues of the day ".

There will be a response to the Gospel, in proportion as we convince men of their need for the Gospel.

Modern Media of Propaganda.

But in these days when 90% of the population are outside our Churches, and when their thinking and living is entirely secularised,

something more is required, to bring home spiritual and Eternal truths, than Prophetic Preaching, whether by the spoken or the written word.

Modern minds are mass-produced. And the chief educators which mould thinking and behaviour, are the great modern agencies of publicity—the cinema, radio, drama, the Press and organised advertising.

Not unnaturally, the newspapers have given great prominence to the assertion of our Report that all these modern agencies should be employed for Christian " propaganda "—to use the word in its right sense of the " dissemination of truth ". Not unnaturally, also, great misunderstanding has been caused thereby. It is objected that it would be very wrong for the Church thus to " condition " people's minds. It would not attempt to do so. It would, however, try to put the other side to the materialism which now holds the entire field. Thereby, it might be a little easier for men and women in Great Society to make a free choice, instead of being the passive products of a uniform and secular mould.

Also, it must be understood that the purposed use of such agencies would be to prepare men's minds for Evangelism. We never regarded them as being evangelism itself, or taking the place of the direct and personal appeal for man's acceptance of Christ. The stark fact is that these modern agencies of propaganda are, to an extent that is gravely disturbing, the sole educators of masses of people to-day. Are we to surrender them to the forces of secularism and often of evil, or are we to " baptise " them into the service of Christ, as Gregory bade Augustine when asked what was to be done with the heathen temples of Kent.

Of course, we should all agree that it would be ridiculous to ask the Church to spend a million pounds during the next five years in advertising the Gospel in every way possible. But why ridiculous? Only ridiculous because the Church with all its commitments could never dream of such an expenditure for such a purpose. Not ridiculous from the assured results that would thereby be achieved. Why, even from the lowest and financial point of view, the adventure would reap a harvest. For the Church will never get the funds it needs so sorely simply by tapping people's pockets, or even by educating them in the duty of giving ; but only by touching their springs of action and changing their hearts. It is the converted Churchman alone who knows the gladness, as well as the duty, of sacrificial giving.

The Mobilization of the Laity.

There is no need to delay you on the second stage of Evangelism, evangelism proper, or the actual presentation of the Gospel for decision. The Report can speak for itself on this matter. There is, however, one warning that I would utter. The main contention of our Report is that " without the participation of the laity, the conversion of England is impossible " ; and that before the Church can evangelise, there must be the recovery of the Apostolate of the Laity. Lay Evangelism is undoubtedly our Lord's plan for spreading the Gospel. Indeed, He commands it. The reason is not far to seek. The laity permeate every section of society. Moreover, their testimony is more readily listened to by their fellows, than that of professionals. Thus

your Commission is convinced that: " England will never be converted until the laity use the opportunities for evangelism daily afforded by their various professions, crafts, and occupations ". That is to say, we have not to send forth labourers into the harvest. The labourers are already there, all over the field; but they are not labouring. Why? There are two reasons.

For the past century, an increasing sacerdotalism has tended to magnify the priestly office by inhibiting the laity from exercising their inalienable right of Apostleship, as the royal priesthood.

For the past century also, an increasing self-indulgence, which has grown with the growth of facilities for luxury, has inclined the laity to be only too ready to be warned off the course of exacting Christian endeavour.

The result has not only been that breach between lay and clerical Christianity which so weakens and paralyses contemporary religion; but the laity are now either disinclined to answer the call to fulfil their duty, or else, when they do, they find themselves wretchedly equipped for the task.

My warning, therefore, is that it will take immense effort, and a long time, before the evangelising of England by the laity can become really effective. I was impressed, for example, by something Field-Marshal Montgomery said to me the other day. He declared that England will always have to fight long wars, as long as she remains unprepared for war. In the last two wars, he pointed out, it has taken three years before our armies could be mobilised, trained and equipped, really to begin fighting. We cannot, therefore, begin too soon to mobilise the laity, to equip them by Schools of Evangelism, and to train them in " Cells ", for the work of evangelism. It is not long before converted men and women can give, with effect, their simple testimony to the revolution Christ has wrought in their lives, their homes, and their social relationships. But it must be some time before they are competent to lead " Cells " or conduct discussion groups.

We are bound to face the fact that there are years and years of lost opportunity to make good, when the finest material possible was allowed to go to waste.

Beginning With Me.

There I must leave the matter in the hands of Assembly. But in so doing, I would venture to impress upon all members the personal responsibility they cannot evade, in accepting the Report and recommending it to the Church at large for study and action; or would it be better described as " study *in* action "? Quite undoubtedly, the conversion of England can only be attempted by a revived Church. But the Church is not something separate from the individuals who compose its Body. Moreover, the spiritual temperature of the evangelistic zeal of ordinary Church people cannot be expected to rise higher than that of the members of their Assembly, their accredited representative. What is your reaction to the call of the Report for the recovery of the Apostolate of the whole Church, clergy and laity alike? If you yourselves are not prepared to evangelise, who else will, and why should they? I wonder, for example, if all members of the House of Clergy know what it is to have been used by God to bring a soul to that

new birth of which our Lord spoke to Nicodemus. I feel bound to ask the question, for I have known so many parish priests who, throughout their whole ministry, have never knelt by the side of a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, as they accepted Christ Jesus as their Saviour and King, and then witnessed the miracle of a changed life which conversion effects.

In the same way, I wonder if every member of the House of Laity is prepared, quite naturally and simply, to tell their friends " what Jesus Christ means to me, personally."

As, therefore, we receive this Report, " Towards the Conversion of England ", we need to make our own the prayer of the United Church of China in their five years campaign, 1930-1935, " O Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning with *me* ". " Take *my* lips and speak through them, take *my* mind and speak through it, take *my* heart and set it on fire, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

Archbishop Usher.

By The Rev. Sydney Carter, M.A., D.D., F.R.Hist.S.

BISHOP BURNET, a junior contemporary, pays the highest possible tribute to Archbishop Usher when he declares that "he was one of the greatest and best men that the age or perhaps the world has produced."

James Usher, who was born in Dublin on January 4, 1581, was descended from an English family of Neville's who settled in Ireland at the time of King John. One of his ancestors, in accordance with a common custom of the day, on becoming a gentleman-usher to the Court, changed his name accordingly. James's father was one of the Six Clerks in the Court of Chancery, and as his Mother was a Roman Catholic, James received his early instruction from two blind Aunts who gave him the best possible foundation by steeping him in the knowledge of Holy Scripture. Neal asserts that he was the first student to enter the newly founded Trinity College, Dublin. But in any case, as a boy of 13, he was one of the first scholars to be received there. At the age of 14 he received his first Communion and was always a strict observer of the Lord's Day. He spent considerable time in studying the Roman controversy, but was unable to convert his Mother to the Reformed Faith.

He graduated B.A. in 1597 and M.A. in 1600. His father sent him to London to study law, for which he had a great dislike, and so on his father's death in 1598 he forsook it and concentrated on Divinity. He became 'Catechist' and Fellow of Trinity College in 1600 and joined in the appointment of Henry Alvey as Provost to succeed the well known Walter Travers. Both these men were contentious Puritans and disloyal to the discipline of the English Church and so, with several others who made themselves too troublesome in England, they were 'shipped' to Ireland to contaminate and disturb the Irish Church. Usher soon demonstrated his vocation, and even as a layman he was chosen to preach before the Government. Shortly after he obtained a dispensation and was ordained deacon by his uncle the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1601, before he had reached the then canonical age of 21. In 1603 he was appointed Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral in which post he preached most zealously and faithfully. Already a diligent student, he frequently visited Oxford and Cambridge in order to consult the famous libraries there. In 1607 Usher took his B. D. and was appointed Professor of Divinity in Dublin University, where he lectured regularly for 14 years. He was then engaged in studying and arranging the Canons of the early Church Councils. In these visits to England he became acquainted with the learned men of the day like Bishop Davenant, Sir H. Savile and the celebrated jurist and writer, John Selden, whom, at his death, Usher declared to be "so great a scholar, that himself was scarce worthy to carry his books after him."

In 1609 Usher was offered the provostship of Trinity College, but declined it for fear it might 'hinder his studies.' In 1612 at the age of 31, after submitting two learned Latin treatises, he was awarded

his D. D. degree. In 1614 he married the daughter of Dr. Chaloner and the one child of this marriage - a daughter- survived him.

In 1615 the Irish Convocations met and issued 104 Articles of Religion. Usher took a leading part in drawing them up and they passed the Irish Parliament and were approved by the English Privy Council and were ratified in the King's name by the Lord Deputy Chichester. Some of these Articles were more like Homilies and they included the rejected 'Lambeth Articles' of 1595 and were strongly Calvinistic. One of them also definitely denounces the Pope as Antichrist. A cleavage was thus introduced in their respective Confessions of Faith between the Churches of England and Ireland. In 1610 Usher was chosen Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University and again in 1617. It was at this time that he was slandered as a 'Puritan' to James I. But after several interviews with the King, combined with the strong recommendation of the Lord Deputy and the Council, James was soon able to correct this false report, and he was so pleased with him that in 1620 the King appointed Usher Bishop of Meath, and in the same year he was asked to preach before the English Parliament at Westminster. With the King's special permission, Usher spent much time away from his diocese in order to do research work in England for his "Antiquities of the British Church". He wrote learned and powerful treatises in defence of the English Church and engaged in public disputations with prominent Romanists and especially with W. Malone, an Irish Jesuit. In one of these he succeeded in converting the Earl of Peterboro', a blessing which earned the enduring gratitude of his widow. James I., just before his death, in January 1625, appointed Usher Primate of Ireland and Charles I. rewarded him for his great services with a gift of £400. The Irish Church was at this time in a decaying and lamentable condition of poverty and also in very great danger from the ceaseless hostile activities of the Roman priests, many of whom were plotting to restore their religion by means of a Spanish invasion. This anti-Protestant feeling was fostered and fanned by the recent forcible 'Plantation of Ulster' with Scots Presbyterians. The accompanying expropriation of the Irish landholders had naturally caused great discontent. The Papists were very active and evaded the penal laws and expected a full toleration for their worship. The Acts against this worship had been suspended and the Papists had even begun to interfere with and interrupt the Church Services. The Church party were alarmed and the Irish Archbishops and Bishops drew up a solemn Protest against granting any specific Indulgence to the Roman Catholics as involving them in the "grievous sin of Popery" by abetting the "idolatries" and "abominations of Popery". This was signed by Usher and 11 other Bishops in 1627. They were prepared to connive at the Romish worship by recusants but not to legalize it. The Romanists however continued boldly and defiantly establishing their own worship, seizing churches, erecting new monasteries and exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This open defiance of the law led Charles I. to send a letter reproving the Irish Bishops for their self-seeking and negligence. It was probably at this time, when Usher was in England, that the King said to him of his own accord, in the presence of the Duke of Buckingham, that "he had never loved Popery in all his life, but that he never detested it before his going to Spain." Usher himself, was,

however, ceaseless in his efforts to convert the Popish recusants on the one hand and to win over the Sectaries on the other.

During the period of ' Absolute Rule ' 1628-40 Usher carried on a long correspondence with Archbishop Laud and tried to secure him as Chancellor of Dublin University, regarding him as a staunch Protestant, while Laud certainly did not class Usher with the Puritans whom he was then doing his best to silence and proscribe. It was during this tyrannical dictatorship of ' Thorough ' in Church and State, that Lord Strafford, as Lord Deputy, reported to Laud the deplorable plight of the Irish Church and urged that its doctrine and discipline should be exactly conformed to that of the English Church. Consequently in 1634 the Irish Convocation was forced to accept the English 39 Articles and this change, in effect, negatived the Irish Articles of 1615 and they were no longer imposed on the clergy ; although the attempt at the same time to supersede the Irish Canons by the English, was unsuccessful. Although this reform was achieved against, at that time, the real wishes of Usher and the Irish bishops, by an Absolutist ' Hitlerite ' method of intimidation, there is little doubt that it was beneficial to the Irish Church that its official doctrines should not be compromised by extreme Calvinistic teaching.

In 1640 Usher went with his family to England in order to continue his literary labours and, owing to the horrors of the ensuing Irish massacre of Protestants and the resultant Civil War, he was never able to return to his native land. He was thus in England through the critical and stormy period of the Long Parliament which culminated in the outbreak of the Civil War. He remained faithful to his friend Strafford and refused to advise Charles to sign his death warrant, and in fact courageously reproached the King for doing so. He was the bearer of Lord Strafford's last message to the imprisoned Archbishop Laud and he attended Strafford on the scaffold and was greatly impressed with the Earl's pious and Christian demeanour throughout this terrible ordeal. As a result of the Irish Rebellion Usher lost his Irish homes and nearly all his property and his cattle were confiscated. He was reduced to great straits and even forced to sell his plate and jewels. By way of compensation, in 1642 Charles nominated him to the See of Carlisle, but the Parliament soon seized all the episcopal lands, and Usher went to Oxford to pursue his studies in that congenial centre of learning, and while there he frequently preached before the King. In July 1643 the Parliament invited him to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but the Archbishop, unlike his friend John Selden, refused to attend, because this Synod had been prohibited by royal Proclamation. In retaliation the Parliament confiscated his valuable Library at Chelsea. It was during this time of national distress that Usher formed a strong friendship with Dr. Henry Hammond and corresponded much with him on theological subjects. By 1645 Oxford was no longer a ' haven of refuge ' for the Royalists and so Usher migrated to Cardiff where he was able to remain for nearly a year quietly carrying on his studies. But the tide of War again overtook him and in his escape from Cardiff he was captured by a band of the Parliamentary forces and roughly treated, while his valuable books and manuscripts, which he had been collecting for 20 years, were seized. He was able to obtain shelter with Sir John Aubrey at St. Donate's and later, to his great joy, most of his

books were recovered. On the final defeat of the Royalists he was compelled to leave Wales and take refuge in London with the Countess of Peterborough, whose husband Usher had reclaimed from Popery over 20 years earlier. The Parliament severely questioned him, but at length suffered him to retire to Rygate with the Countess, and he frequently preached there in the parish church. In 1647 he was allowed by Parliament to minister as Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, a post to which he had been appointed, and which he occupied for nearly 8 years. It was here that he enjoyed the friendship of the future Lord Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale. On March 25th, 1649, Evelyn records " I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days)—in the morning the Archbishop of Armagh that pious and learned person Usher, in Lincoln's Inn chapel. " Usher took a prominent part in the negotiations in 1648 between the Parliament and the King at Newport, I. W. and even persuaded the King to suspend episcopacy for 3 years and then to limit the Bishops' sole power of ordination by requiring the consent of the presbyters. But this proposed compromise was abortive since the Parliament insisted on the complete abrogation of episcopacy.

In 1646 the Roman hierarchy had sent 100 priests, as soldiers, mostly in the Parliament's Army and others in the King's, to disseminate their doctrines and so overthrow the Church of England and the Protestant monarchy. These priests, as Evelyn records, in his Diary, were " to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine among us".[1] The Romanists however realised the sincerity of Charles' attachment to the Protestant Faith and they were undoubtedly well aware of the solemn Protestation which Charles had made 3 years before when Usher preached before him in Christ church, Oxford. Charles had suddenly interrupted the service just as he was about to receive the Holy Communion, by declaring " My lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver, and may I so comfortably receive the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Protestant religion as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth without any connivance of Popery."

Usher would never in any way acknowledge Cromwell's usurped government and it was only with great reluctance that he obeyed the Protector's summons to visit him, when Cromwell discussed with him the prospects of the Protestant Cause in England and abroad. The Protector also at this time granted the Archbishop a 21 years' lease of the lands belonging to his See of Armagh, which Usher accepted as rightly his. But this grant never materialised and it was later refused to his daughter on grounds of ' malignancy. ' Later on Usher paid another visit to Cromwell to solicit some small liberty of conscience for the deprived episcopal clergy. He found the Protector having a boil on his chest dressed, and Cromwell is reported to have remarked "If this core were once removed I should soon be well. " " I doubt," replied the Archbishop, " the core lies deeper, there is a core in the heart which must be taken out or else it will not be well. " Cromwell answered, " Ah, so there is indeed. " Usher's special mission to the Protector ended in failure and he remarked soon after that " some men had guts, but no bowels. " It was on this occasion that Usher made

1. ' Diary " April 18th, 1686.

a singularly accurate prophecy. " This false man " he said, " hath broken his word with me; he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long. The King will return though I shall not live to see it. " But in his prevision regarding the ecclesiastical future, Usher was not so accurate. Shortly before this, he had told his friend, John Evelyn, who visited him at Rygate in August, 1655, that " the Church would be destroyed by the sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Popery. " [2]

Usher was now nearing his 75th birthday and he realised that his earthly pilgrimage was closing and set his mind entirely on the " things which are above. " On the night before his death he visited and comforted a dying lady, and then on March 21st, 1656, he died suddenly of pleurisy. His last words were " O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission. " So generally revered and respected was he, that Cromwell ordered his burial in Westminster Abbey with a public funeral which was attended by a vast concourse of people. Even the use of the proscribed Church of England Burial Service was permitted. It was a remarkable testimony to the conspicuously upright and consistent Christian character of Usher that in a turbulent period of such marked and acute religious and political divisions, he should in so signal a manner have won the esteem of all the bitterly contending parties.

Usher was a life-long student and his munerous learned treatises and his great scholarship made him celebrated throughout all Europe. He was specially keen on the revival of patristic studies about which he wrote to Oxford University in 1626. He was a great believer in the appeal to antiquity as the surest way of refuting Roman errors and corruptions. His magnificent library was bought by public subscription and presented to Trinity College Dublin. He published his first book in 1613 to prove that there had always been a Visible Church of true Christians untainted by Romish errors. It was a sort of continuation of Bishop Jewel's ' Apology ' to bring down the evidence to the Reformation period, although Usher went no further than the close of the 13th century. He defended the Albigenses and Waldenses from the slanders of Roman Catholic writers. In 1631 he wrote a Life of the unfortunate 9th century French monk, Gotteschaleus who was condemned for heresy on account of his extravagant predestinarian views and was at last refused Christian burial. But this revival of the predestinarian controversy found no favour with Charles I. The next year Usher published his learned research work on the " Religion of the Ancient British and Irish Churches " in order to show that their doctrines differed from those of the Church of Rome as set forth in the Council of Trent. In particular he denies that they upheld the doctrine of purgatory and he proves that the Irish Church did not teach transubstantiation since its clergy, as late as 1384, affirmed that " the body of Christ in the sacrament of the Altar was only a looking glass to the body of Christ in heaven. " Usher shows that a married clergy was the rule in the Irish Church till the 13th century and that these early Irish priests regarded Christ, and not St. Peter or the Pope, as Head of the Church, and that the Irish clergy were prepared to resist papal decisions, and that the Archbishop of Armagh did not receive the pall from Rome. Usher thus proved that the ancient historic Church

2. Evelyn's Memoirs 1. 294.

of Ireland was not Roman in origin or teaching and he asserted that up to the 12th century Ireland enjoyed a greater reputation for learning than any other country. Usher followed up this treatise seven years later with what was probably his magnum opus—" The Antiquities of the British Churches, " which he had commenced 20 years earlier at the request of James 1. Bishop Burnet speaks of Usher's " great and vast learning " and his biographer describes this work as a " monument of human learning. " In it he begins with the first introduction of Christianity into the British Isles and carries it on to the close of the 7th century, dwelling fully on the Pelagian heresy.

During the Commonwealth period Usher employed his leisure in completing his famous " Annals of the Old Testament " which was published in 1650, but he did not live to finish his " Ecclesiastical Chronicle " from the destruction of the Temple to the 4th century. The ' Annals ' furnished the supposed dates of the World's history which are still printed in our Authorised Version.

In his theological position Usher displayed the open and teachable mind of a careful student and thinker. In early life his support of the Lambeth Articles marked him as an extreme Calvinist, but further study and association with different minds greatly modified these rigid views and led him practically into a middle charitable position between Calvinism and Arminianism. His strong friendship for Archbishop Laud and his efforts to get him appointed Chancellor of Dublin University, prove that he had forsaken his narrower earlier opinions. His sermons also show that he held " Universal redemption " most strongly and clearly, and repudiated the doctrine of absolute reprobation and ' irresistible grace.' In fact not only Richard Baxter, but strong Arminians like Hammond, Gunning and Herbert Thorndike, all testify to Usher's rejection of extreme Calvinistic views of divine grace. His views on the Sacraments followed the teaching of our English Reformers. His statement on baptismal regeneration has been often quoted, when he declares that " baptism is not actually effectual to justify and sanctify until the party do believe and embrace the promises. " It is " a seal of the righteousness of Christ to be apprehended by faith if the infant live to years of discretion. . . we can make no comfortable use of our baptism administered in our infancy until we believe. " [3] Usher regarded the Sacraments as ' signs and pledges ' and he stressed the fact that in the Holy Communion the ' real presence ' was not to be found in the outward symbols but in " the mind of the worthy recipient. " The oppressive use of episcopal power by Archbishop Laud during the period of ' Absolute Rule ' had rendered episcopacy odious to many and it led to a popular clamour for its abolition. Usher was appointed by the House of Lords on a Committee to consider ' innovations ' in religion and he submitted a compromise by advocating the appointment of a suffragan bishop for each rural deanery who should be guided in his actions by a monthly synod of his clergy, while an annual Synod of suffragan bishops and specially chosen parochial clergy was to advise the diocesan bishop. This solution of course pratically reduces the bishops to the level of mere presidents of ecclesiastical Synods. It was designed as a substantial concession to allay the animosity which had been stimulated by 12 years of tyrannical episcopal rule. It agrees however with Usher's tract " The reduction

3. *Cf.* Moule " Outlines of Christian Doctrine ", p. 246.

of episcopacy to its ancient model," published in 1641—it is asserted without the Archbishop's consent. The four propositions concerning ecclesiastical discipline in this Tract agree in the main with the Church government laid down by John Knox and the Presbyterians. But at the same time, as an answer to the 'Root and Branch' Bill then before Parliament, Usher published a tract maintaining the apostolical origin and establishment of bishops. But in this period of sharp adversity Anglicans were apparently ready to make considerable sacrifices if only episcopacy were maintained. Thus Baxter declared that "it was very easy for moderate men to come to an agreement and that the Reverend Primate of Ireland and myself had agreed in half an hour."[4]

A few years later during the negotiations over the abortive 'Treaty of Newport,' Usher made his oft-quoted declaration -that "a bishop differed in degree but not in order" from the presbyter and that consequently in places where "bishops cannot be had, the ordination of presbyters stands valid," although he considered such Churches without bishops to be "much defective in their government, except the Churches of France being under a popish power are more excusable in that defect than the Low Countries which live under a free State". But Usher adds "for testifying his communion with those Churches which I love and honour as true members of the Church Universal I do profess that with like affection I should receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers if I were in Holland as I should at the hands of the French ministers if I were at Charenton."[5] Usher declared that the "intrinsical power of ordaining proceedeth not from jurisdiction but only from order, the Bishop having no higher character of order, though he hath a higher degree, i.e., a more eminent place in respect of authority and jurisdiction in spiritual regiment." "Ordination" Usher declares, "in case of necessity might be devolved to Presbyters." But, he added "yet on the other side, holding as I do, that a bishop hath superiority in degree above presbyters you may easily judge that the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from their bishops cannot possibly be excused from being schismatical." And, like other prominent Caroline divines, notably Bishop Joseph Hall, Usher clearly distinguished between the foreign Reformed divines and the English, Irish or Scottish presbyterians who had deliberately rejected episcopacy where it was practised in a pure form. He was not prepared to condone or countenance such unnecessary and culpable schism. Even so, he charitably concludes "for the agreement or disagreement in radical or fundamental doctrines not the consonancy or dissonancy in particular points of ecclesiastical government is with me (and I hope with every man that mindeth peace) the rule of adhering to or receding from the Communion of any Church."[6]

Usher was blessed with a strong constitution, which enabled him to devote many hours a day to study. He rose at 5 a.m. in the summer and 6 a.m. in the winter and his living was very simple, although he was "given to hospitality". In his devotional life Usher was most strict and regular. Prayers were at 6 a.m. and there was a full service in his Chapel before dinner and supper and prayers concluded the day at 8 p.m. He had the greatest reverence and esteem for the

4. "Life and Times" 2. 217-8. 5. "Life and Times" 2. 206.
6. Elrington "Life of Usher", p. C. I. iii.

Prayer Book. He was evidently of a very sweet and gentle temper, and the two words 'meekness and longsuffering' would probably best sum up his general disposition. "If", he declared, "good people would but make goodness agreeable, and smile instead of frowning in their virtue, how many they would win to the good cause"—wise advice which Christians of all generations would do well to follow. Certainly Usher himself was never a sour faced 'miserable' Christian. "If" he said, "you have entirely devoted yourselves to the service of God, what reason have you to be melancholy, when none have more cause to be cheerful than those who lead a holy and virtuous life", "sincere Christians may and ought to rejoice and show themselves cheerful." Burnet gives a most attractive picture of Usher as a truly consecrated man and a most lovable personality. "No man," he says, "had a better soul or a more apostolical mind, for passion, pride, self will or love of the world seemed not to be so much as in his nature. He had all the innocence of a dove in him and he had a way of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived. He spent most of his time in these two best exercises, secret prayer and dealing with other people's consciences." But he adds in all frankness, that "he was not made for the governing part of his function. His soul was too gentle to manage the rough work of reforming abuses, therefore he left things as he found them and suffered long standing abuses and corruptions in the Church to continue unreformed." [7] Such testimony is general. Collier, who disliked Usher's affection for the foreign Reformed Churches and his opinion that bishops and priests are only different degrees of the same order, confesses that "he was a genius, a person of indefatigable industry and in his life altogether regular and unblemished." [8] The Puritan historian, Neal, also calls Usher "one of the most learned men of his age," and says "he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory and above all he was a most pious humble exemplary Christian." [9]

Throughout his life Usher was a most diligent preacher and his episcopal motto was "Vae mihi, si non evangelizavero." He had an impressive and persuasive style of delivery and preached extemporaneously relying merely on a few headings, but with frequent Scripture proofs and references. Although most zealous to defend Church teaching against Papists and Puritans he had no love for controversy, especially in the pulpit. His rules to his ordinands are most practical and valuable and equally as appropriate to-day as they were three centuries ago. His final warning to these young men that a minister's 'walk' is far more important than his 'talk' will never be out of date—"Above all," urged the Archbishop, "you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the Gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as by precept, for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine." [10]

After his death there was a most discreditable attempt by Dr. Peter Heylyn to slander the Archbishop as being unfaithful to Church of England teaching, but this libel was very ably and convincingly exposed and refuted in a 'Vindication' written by his grandson.

7. "Life of Bishop Bedell," p. 86-7.
8. Eccles. Hist. viii. 395.
9. "Hist. of Puritans," 2. 88.
10. Elrington, "Life of Usher", p. 287.

The Achievement and the Technique of Missions in the Middle Ages.

By The Rev. D. Webster, B.A.

THOSE who study the Middle Ages are liable to be carried along on a swift tide of romantic fascination or else to yield to the strong current of biassed criticism. The period presents the student with a vivid appeal, but at times repels him by scenes of corruption. For this reason it is more than usually difficult to view its history with balance and to remain appreciative as well as scrupulous. We see the nemesis of the one assessment in the barren rationalism of the eighteenth century which scorned the Schoolmen and had not heard of Thomas Aquinas, and of the other in the extremes of the later Oxford movement which, influenced by the novels of Scott, regarded our period as the Golden Age, almost infallible in its practices and ideal in its social and ecclesiastical structure.

Eor the purpose of this paper, we take as our datal terminals the years 500-1500 which Prof. Latourette calls the "thousand years of uncertainty." Though much of it is dark, it was a great millenium which bridged the end of the ancient world of Graeco-Roman culture and the dawn of the modern age, abounding in its widened geographical and scientific horizon, the birth of industry and the development of the liberal outlook on life. It saw the break-up of the Roman Empire, an unprecedented traffic of shifting populations and tribes over the face of Europe and Asia, the rise of a new religion, soon to become almost universal, as Moslem armies advanced in ruthless conquest, and towards the end, it brought in a great revival of learning.

The fortunes of Christianity varied from century to century and in different areas. On the whole it was a period of expansion, though there were severe losses owing to the spread of Islam, some of which were permanent, but the chief characteristic, especially in the west, was integration. There was a reciprocal interplay between Christianity and its environment, but whilst the Church did respond to certain practices pagan in their origin, baptising them into Christ, in much the same way as is being done in S. Africa and parts of India to-day, yet its own influence was dominant. All the main "forms of the Church" (to use Fr. Hebert's phrase)[1] both primary and secondary, had been settled in the first five centuries by Creeds and Councils and in this later era we see them being worked out. Through all its vicissitudes the Church outlived the surrounding social and political decay, it proved itself adaptable to changing circumstances, it propagated the faith, sometimes with reserve but often with zeal, and it retained in varying degrees that spiritual vitality which was the lifeblood of the Body. For, even in the years of lowest decline and indifference, the student can discover some pioneer missionary or group of brethren labouring devotedly in a forgotten corner of the world.

To complete this introductory survey, mention should be made of the changed background against which the Church stood at the

beginning of the sixth century and of the new mainspring of evangelistic power. In the early years the Gospel was spread throughout the Empire and the Nearer East by the Apostles and by itinerary prophets. Rapid and widespread was their success and in less than three centuries the accepted religion of the whole Empire was that of the Galilean Carpenter who had been crucified under a Roman Procurator. When, however, early in the fifth century Rome was sacked and the Empire began to crumble, the Church, whose fortunes had been all too closely interwoven with those of the State, now had to stand independently, and the great Bishops of Rome, Leo in the early fifth century and Gregory at the close of the sixth, set splendid examples of leadership and vision and were surely sent of God for such a time as this. Moreover the Church had to face a situation changed in every aspect, for the invading conquerors were either pagans or (in the case of the Goths)[2] Arian heretics, and the tribes which had for centuries menaced the eastern boundaries of the Empire, many of them adherents of the Zoroastrian religion of ancient Persia, were naturally antagonised from the outset by the established religion of the power which had kept them at heel. If the Church was to survive, therefore, let alone to spread her message, she had to evangelise; and the statesmanship of Gregory the Great is seen in his grasping this, and consequently sending his missionary band to England under Augustine in 597.

From this follows the second observation, about the mainspring of missionary energy. In the earlier part of our period there was much independent missionary effort as we see, for example, in the exploits and ambitions of Patrick and the Celtic mission from Iona two centuries later, but it was inevitable if there was to be order, discipline and regularity in worship and belief that there should be some centre of unity and organisation. This was the supreme role which the Bishop of Rome fulfilled, for the Church which was quartered in the ancient capital had inherited the genius of the Empire it replaced. As Dean Rashdall says, "It was not by theology but by law that Rome ruled the Churches of the west."[3] The results were not always all that might be desired, but without that strong arm in those dark, confused centuries of unrest, the faith they inherited and passed on might have suffered more severely. Accordingly in the later years both missions and missionaries kept in ever closer touch with Rome, and usually received encouragement and help. Examples of such contact may be seen in the cases of Wilfrid in his work in the Low Countries (678), Boniface the Apostle of Germany (719) and the Dominicans and Franciscans of the thirteenth century. The verdict of history will probably have to regard such centralisation as preferable to an independence which would undoubtedly have involved isolation and possibly grave irregularities in days when distances were greater far than now, and communications fewer. Moreover we shall see, when we later consider the mediaeval technique, that there was room for much individual initiative and free enterprise despite Papal supervision.

This changed situation with its new demands brought about a transformation of the Monastic ideal. In the earlier period it had been regarded as a salutary escape from a wicked world, and its activities had been entirely confined to the deepening of personal devotion,

mostly in solitude. It was Benedict who at the outset of this period revolutionised its fundamental concept, and embodied a communal ideal in a rule which completed the earlier one of Basil and formed the basis of Monasticism and each revival throughout the whole of this millennium. And many monks instead of being lonely mourners in the desert now became carriers of the Christian message, planting it in lands which at the end of the era were to become the foremost nations of the modern world. On the other hand it must not be thought that Monasticism itself ever became really missionary-hearted. The chief aim of almost all within the walls of a monastery was their own salvation, to attain which was still a lifelong task of personal devotion ; and even in the "schola caritatis" of St. Bernard the compassion felt for one's neighbour could only be expressed outwardly in almsgiving.[4] Nevertheless such missionary activity as there was, and it must not be minimised, sprang from monasteries, and the missionaries were monks living by a rule of life.

For obvious reasons it is impossible even to summarize the course of the Church's expansion during a thousand years within the limitations of this paper. We must therefore content ourselves with following the path only in one or two directions, and noting certain conclusions with interest. The movement in Europe as a whole travels first north-west and then north-east. Thus in the sixth century there is the conversion of the Franks following that of Clovis their king, in the sixth and seventh centuries that of the Angles, Saxons and Celts in Britain, in the eighth the Rhine Valley as a result of the work of Willibrord and Boniface, and in the eighth and ninth centuries came the conversion of the Central European Saxons and Slavs and the peoples of the Balkans. The eleventh century saw Danes, Norwegians and Magyars coming into the Church, and a mass movement in Russia ; in the twelth century mission work was going on in Poland, E. Germany and Sweden, and the following century in the Baltic, during which the Prussians were (somewhat characteristcally) forcibly baptised. Finally the fourteenth century completed the conversion of the Russians and the evangelisation of Estonia. Though the pace at which the Gospel spread was leisurely, nevertheless it made its way steadily and stablished itself throughout the whole of Europe, giving meaning to the later mediaeval expression " Christendom. " But hasty critics must remember that these were all uncharted forest lands in much the same condition as Central Africa when the pioneer missionaries set foot there in the last century, and it is unfair to make a detrimental comparison with the Pauline missions which were confined to the Roman civilisation in its peak period, and had the benefit of fine roads, frequent transport and continual commercial intercourse ; nor should it be compared with " the great century," as Latourette calls the nineteenth, when communications were very much more efficent both by sea and post.

We will select four phases of the mediaeval missionary movement as illustrations of progress and the type of work and approach : the evangelisation of Britain, missions to the Far East, work amongst the Jews, and the Church's reaction to Islam.

The details of the evangelisation of our own land are too well known to need repetition here. There had certainly been a flourishing Church in Britain during Roman times, presumably an offshoot of that in Gaul,

for there is record of the martyrdom of St. Alban in 304, of British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314, and of help given by Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes in stamping out the Pelagian heresy a few years later. But Christianity must have been throttled by the heathen invasions of the fifth century. It was soon to return, however, with very great force in two almost concurrent waves which eventually became united. The first was the mission of Augustine, who landed at Thanet in 597. This was official and organised. The party was received by King Ethelbert, given a house near the stable-gate at Canterbury and allowed to build a church which they dedicated to St. Martin. The king was baptised the following summer, Augustine was consecrated Bishop of the English by Virgilius of Arles, and according to Bede, 10,000 were baptised at Christmas. In 601 Gregory sent reinforcements, of whom Mellitus was consecrated Bishop of London, Justus Bishop of Rochester, and later Paulinus missionary Bishop of the North.

The other wave was more mobile and not in the least continental; its origin was Ireland which had been evangelised by Patrick in the fifth century. One hundred years after his death, Columba, who had been born in a Christian home of royal stock, and had founded many monasteries in his own land, set sail for Britain and in 562 founded that renowned monastery and training centre for missionaries at Iona. From it went missionaries to England, and henceforward link after link is swiftly forged on to the long chain. First there was the conversion of Oswald who eventually became King of Northumbria and sent to Iona for a missionary bishop to teach his people. In 635 Aidan was consecrated at Iona for this purpose and given his headquarters in the island of Lindisfarne. At first Mercia remained closed to the Gospel, but after the death of King Penda the Faith spread rapidly in central England and Essex, inspired by the leadership of Finian, Aidan's successor, and Cuthbert, also from Iona, later bishop of Lindisfarne.

Agreement with the Roman Church in the south was reached after some difficulty at the Synod of Whitby in 664, the great benefit of which was the organisation and consolidation which came about under Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury 668-90. Thus was completed the conversion of England in less than a century without force or interference from abroad, and in an even shorter interval England had become the spring-board for missions to the Continent. There was a purity and vigour about this primitive "Anglicanism" which expressed itself evangelistically, sending forth bands of missionaries continually. And it is interesting to note that when the Scandinavian kings at last became Christian, it was from England that they accepted the Gospel, because from England they had no political fears. It would be well to bear this in mind when examining the success or failure of many missions to the east in a later period and in forming missionary policy for our own times. The people of other lands cannot but connect the religion of the west with its political, social and economic system, particularly if they themselves experience its injustice.

The second phase we have chosen concerns the spread of Christianity to the Far East. In earlier centuries this had been partially accomplished by minority groups with no endorsement of the government. The great stronghold of the Faith was the Tigris-Euphrates valley, but the heads of Churches were always under the control of

non-Christian rulers. Wars between Rome and Persia had weakened both sides and prepared the way for Arab conquest and the expansion of Islam which was to play havoc with this area. Most of the missionary effort had come from heretical bodies, the chief being the Jacobites, Monophysite in their doctrine, and the Nestorians, whose missionary energy was considerable ; but more than in the west, they depended on the initiative and ability of the Catholicos, the Nestorian Patriarch. Their main opportunities came through contacts on the trade routes, especially among the mercantile classes - hence their journeys to the Far East and the foundation of Monastic schools, partly for training missionaries. In the ninth century there were Christians in Chinese Turkestan and in 1009 the Metropolitan of Merv wrote to the Catholicos about the conversion of " the king of a people called Keraits ", reporting the belief of 200,000 of them.[5] This is supposed to be the factual origin of the Prester John legend.[6] The Catholicos instructed the Metropolitan to send " a presbyter and deacon with furnishings for an altar. " This is one of the many depressing episodes of the Middle Ages which show up what appears to be almost indifference and the extraordinary lack of proportion in distributing man-power, in recognising a need, and by meeting it enthusiastically transforming it into an unprecedented opportunity.

In India Christianity was established before the close of the 5th century but it had unfortunately grown into a distinct caste with little influence. Marco Polo mentions Christians in charge of a Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur in the thirteenth century, and on the west coast ; [7] and we have sparse accounts of Franciscan baptisms a few years later. Apparently the Church there endured, but with no permanent vitality.

China presents a scene more interesting and encouraging. An inscription of 781 tells how Alopen had brought the Scriptures in 635 and how the Gospel had spread under the patronage of the Emperor.[8] The eighth and ninth centuries produced a Christian literature in Chinese, but Buddhism, Taoism and especially Confucianism were pre-eminent. In 987, however, a foreign monk found no Church there at all, probably the result of the proscription of Christian and Buddhist monks by the Emperor Wu 'Sung in the previous century (845). But the sweep of the Mongol hordes over the whole of Asia brought a religious crisis to China and the greatest of all opportunities for the Christian Church had she been united and eager and strong enough to seize it. Whilst the Great Khan at Karakorum in the north had scornfully dismissed the mission which the Council of Lyons had sent in 1245 under the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, very different was the open-minded attitude in China itself, and Khubilai Khan showed great respect for Christianity. Nestorian monks were active in his dominions ; in 1287 / 8 they sent a diplomatic mission to make contact with the Christian powers of the west, visiting Rome, Paris and Bordeaux, and indeed as Latourette remarks " Christians were so important in the China of the Mongols that a government bureau was established to supervise their monasteries and rites."[9] But here again, an opportunity of incalculable significance was frittered away carelessly. In 1269 Maffeo and Nicolo Polo arrived at Acre with letters from Khubilai Khan to the Pope, asking for one hundred teachers in the science and religion of Europe. Two Dominicans were spared from the vast regiment

of the west and they turned back frightened before they had been long on their journey.[10] In 1278 a rumour that Khubilai had been baptised led the Pope to send a group of five Franciscans to China, but all trace of them is lost, and it is not known whether they even reached their destination. In both his books, "Then and Now" and "World Church", Prof. John Foster draws poignant lessons from this tragic failure of the Mediaeval Church. For despite the glamour which surrounded the Church in the west in the thirteenth century, her weakness through lack of unity and lack of zeal was becoming apparent in the east. Thus the Mongols became followers of Islam, when they might have been, and indeed wanted to become, disciples of Jesus, had the Gospel been brought to them by an enthusiastic and undivided Church. Moreover the effect of the Great Schism of 1054 on missionary expansion in the Middle Ages can hardly be over-estimated.

The most thrilling part of the story is the advent of John of Montecorvino,[11]a Franciscan, and the first missionary of the Roman Church to reach China, bearing letters from the Pope to Khubilai. By 1305 a Church was built and in the next year another; the New Testament and Psalter were translated into the language of the Tartars; soon there were 6,000 converts and John was made Archbishop of Calambruc. Other bishops also were appointed but few arrived. In 1342, a Papal legate and a party of clergy visited Calambruc, were given a great State welcome, and found a Cathedral and many flourishing Churches. But the fruits of this harvest were not to remain long, and with the break-up of the Mongol Empire, their expulsion from China (1350-75) and their replacement by the Native Ming dynasty, the great Church in that country perished and all further Christian efforts failed until the Jesuit missions of the next era.

Thirdly, we will glance briefly at the work among the Jews. It is well-known that their lot was unhappy in the extreme, and Scott in "Ivanhoe" gives a true picture of the average Jew and his treatment by Christian prelates. In Gaul they had been faced with the alternative of Baptism or banishment, and they had suffered violence in Visigothic Spain and often enslavement. But above the popular clamour and the expressions of hatred there were occasional voices sounding a more Christian note, and successive protests against cruelty were made by Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville and Bernard of Clairvaux, the supreme figure of the twelfth century. It is perhaps surprising to discover that converts were both numerous and persistent. Thus we read of the opposition of William Rufus to Christian Jews, and in 1232 we hear of a House of Converts founded by Henry III in London.[12] In the fourteenth century there was a Dominican mission to Jews in Oxford, and from 1408-16 Vincente Ferrer, also a Dominican, won thousands to the Faith south of the Pyrennees. The thirteenth century attitude seemed to hover between severity and tolerance. In 1245 a Papal edict empowered the Friars to enter Jewish (or Moslem) quarters and compel them at least to listen to Christian sermons. At the same time, St. Thomas Aquinas distinctly taught that the Church should not interfere with the property of unbaptised Jews, though she could prevent them from corrupting the faith of Christians. But the end of the fourteenth century saw the end of toleration in

Spain. This, however, was not so everywhere and the judgement of Foakes-Jackson is that they were no worse off than other members of Feudal society.[13]

Before considering the missionary technique of the period, one further paragraph must be added about the Church's reaction to Islam, though the larger part cannot be called evangelistic. The Arabs outgrew the original prodigious strength of their new religion in less than a hundred years, and their threatening advance was checked at the Battle of Tours in 732 when they were utterly defeated by Charles Martel. Luxury, moral decay, disunity and inter-marriage brought a steady decline in the eighth and ninth centuries and at the same time, as Latourette points out, Christianity was displaying remarkable powers of recuperation, all the more remarkable when we recognise the tremendous losses of territory the Church had suffered through the Arab advance. But Latin Christendom met Islam with its own weapons and stemmed the incoming tide by three military campaigns. The first followed up the victory of Tours and took Charlemagne into Spain. Mediaeval legends are full of tales of his Knights and their contests with the Moors—that is the setting of the famous Chanson de Roland, the first great poem in French. But not until the capitulation of Granada in 1492 was the power of Islam finally driven from Spain. The second campaign was in Sicily. There had been toleration under the Normans (1061-91) and under the sceptical Emperor Frederic II, friend of Moslem and Christian alike, but towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Arabs had disappeared as a distinct race. The third and greatest campaign was the Crusades. These were not for the spreading of Christianity or for the re-conversion of Islam, but for the rescue of Holy Places and the defence and protection of Eastern Christians against the Moslems. Their contemporaries cannot be blamed for not recognising the fact, but the judgement of history must be that the Crusades were more of a hindrance than a help, not least because they were organised by the Church, manned very largely by ecclesiastics and initiated by a Pope, Urban II. The Moslems naturally identified Christianity with Imperialism, forgetting their own manoeuvres of previous centuries, and were shocked by the dissolute lives of the Templars in their midst. It was not until the thirteenth century that a new attitude was born towards Moslems and they were approached evangelistically by St. Francis and his followers. He organised three missions ; shipwreck spoiled the first, and illness the second, but in 1219 he came to Egypt and achieved his life's ambition by preaching before the Sultan. He had great influence with the immoral army, but little success among the Moslems themselves. His followers persevered, preaching in Syria and Tunis, and a little group was martyred at Morocco in 1219. The Dominicans likewise responded to a worldwide call which they recognised to include the Moslems also.

We are now in a position to examine somewhat briefly the missionary technique, which of course varied very widely at different stages in the era. But the supreme emphasis of the Middle Ages was corporate ; unlike our more recent forefathers they wrestled with the problem of community and related it to the presentation of the Gospel in a way almost forgotten and ignored until the present century and the con-

temporary reaction from individualism and humanism. Thus all missionary effort was the outcome of the Monastic system, whose ideal was re-shaped and broadened by Benedict, purified but narrowed halfway through the period by the Cluniac revival, and finally adapted to a new situation by the Friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis in their rather different spheres of work. The Friars still lived a communal life as brethren, fratres, and worked communally, but now their primary aim, indeed, their raison d'être, was evangelistic. Dr. M. A. C. Warren quotes Hubert de Romanis who, writing in 1277 a commentary on the rule of St. Dominic, says :— " Our Order has been founded for preaching, and for the salvation of our neighbours. Our studies should tend principally, ardently, above everything, to make us useful for souls. "[14] Each Order was a community itself, as was each monastery, but unlike the Desert Fathers of an earlier age, their concept of community was in ideal, at least, an inclusive, not an exclusive one, and their work was creative. Thus it was that the monasteries and the Cathedrals became centres of Christian community life, round which sprang up towns and cities. And throughout the whole of Europe there was the sense of belonging to a yet greater community, that of the Catholic Church, gloriously visible and indissolubly united in the person of the Bishop of Rome. The importance of the Papacy cannot be exaggerated in this respect because, whatever its failings, it fought valiantly to maintain the independence of spiritual authority, and it was the symbol of a community which surpassed national and racial frontiers and of ideals above the control of the State. Nor should it be forgotten that in the Middle Ages the Papacy was not the monopoly of those of Italian birth ; there was a long run both of German and French Popes, and in 1154 our own Nicolas Breakspear became Adrian IV. There was therefore no room for individualism whether on the part of the preachers or the converts ; no newly baptised neophyte could fail to realise the greatness of the Church into which he was being admitted.

But the centralisation and control which we have noticed was not altogether totalitarian, and there was room for individual enterprise and experiment. Gregory the Great gave Augustine much freedom both in organizing the English Church, distributing his subordinates and even in adapting the liturgy. He tells Augustine he need not feel himself slavishly bound to every detail of the Roman rite, and instructs him in these words :— " If you have found anything in the Roman, Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things."[15] How different is this from the spirit of certain twentieth century Anglicans in their attitude to India, for example, and to the rigidity of our inherited forms of worship ! A second illustration of such freedom may be seen in the methods of Boniface, one of the greatest missionaries of all time. In his labours in Germany he was the first to use the services of women, a surprising innovation at such a time ; and he succeeded in gathering a very gifted band of helpers around him. (But except in the case of the Moravians, we hear no more of women missionaries until the nineteenth century.) All the time, however, he was in official touch with the Pope, with English Bishops and Abbesses

interested in his work, A third example of initiative comes from the work of Ramon Lull, who was converted from an immoral, amorous life in 1263, by a vision of the agony of Christ on the Cross. He established a missionary school on the island of Majorca where he was born, learnt Arabic in order to evangelise the Moslems, lectured on it at Paris, and urged the Pope and Cardinals to found similar schools for that purpose.

Another point of technique was the indigenous Church with its own native ministry. Once the Church had been planted the influence of the foreign missionary was usually kept at a minimum, as for instance in Ireland.[16] The prevailing conditions in each Province and Diocese were the responsibility of the Bishops concerned. This system certainly gave rise to some of the corruptions which detract from the glory of the Middle Ages, but there were those who were far-seeing, and England can boast of Bede who urged the Archbishop of York to teach the clergy more thoroughly,[17] of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253) and of Archbishop Peckham whose manual was published in 1281 and is full of ideas for disciplinary reform and improvement.[18]

Two further points remain in connection with technique. The first relates to the manner in which Christianity spread. The movement was normally geographical and the Gospel passed from frontier to contiguous frontier, to use Latourette's phrase. This is what one would expect, as travel was arduous. The carriers of the message were generally the people most recently won, and the means were, as we have seen, monastic. The share of the Papacy seems to have diminished roughly in proportion to the distance from Rome. The monasteries, moreover, had a smaller share in the conversion of Scandinavia than in that of England or Germany, but the reason for this was that the revival associated with St. Dunstan did not lead to the type of monastery which nourished the missionary passion. When the Gospel first reached some pagan area, the usual process was the response of a few individuals to the preaching of the monks, or the tales of the merchants ; these minorities would often be persecuted for a time, but in the next generation there would follow a mass movement when conversion would be largely by groups and whole tribes or kingdoms would become Christian corporately.[19] Some missionaries cultivated the technique of going to the leaders first ; Patrick, Columba and Augustine all approached the king, and Boniface formed the habit of addressing the upper classes first because the masses would follow their leaders. We must remember however, that at no stage in this period did conversion have quite the emotional and individualistic significance which it has since acquired, chiefly through the preaching and experience of Wesley. In our period the outward was expected to precede the inward, whereas to-day the reverse is the case and baptism has accordingly lost much of the significance it once had. A detailed study of the meaning and implication of conversion at different periods would be of great interest and value.

The last point of technique which we have time to notice is that the Christianity which was propagated in strangely diverse ways was always creative. Not only did it create and weld together new communities all over the changing surface of Europe and Asia, but it related itself to every aspect of Mediaeval life more completely than we can readily imagine to-day. There was not the minute division of labour we now

know; the monks themselves living under the rule of Benedict, and later the Cistercians, had so much manual work each day; they dug, they built, they read, they wrote, and in Ireland, they became famous for their illuminated manuscripts. Their study likewise was of all knowledge, free from artificial divisions into branches or faculties. At Iona learning and scholarship were encouraged alongside of missionary work, and it was because of the intellectual attainments of certain Christians nurtured in the monasteries that such strong Christian influence was brought into the court of Charlemagne, and that of Alfred on a smaller scale. And it would surely be true to suggest that it was because of the Christian influence on labour in monastic circles, that Christian principles pervaded the commerce and the guild system of the later middle ages. The Gospel was creative in other directions also, and we read of the Pope in response to Charlemagne, sending experts from Rome to found schools of music at Metz and St. Gall. Centuries later, the Franciscans, who of all the Orders were least concerned with the intellect and gladly left scholarship for their Dominican counterpart, were not long in recognising its indispensability and produced from their ranks Bonaventura, afterwards known as the Seraphic Doctor, professor at Paris, and a little later Roger Bacon of Oxford, who spent £2,000 on research and became the first great modern scientist. Thus the Gospel made its impact on every branch of life and labour, learning and art, as well as on each section of the community. Christianity in the West at any rate had become the basis both of society and culture, and had brought into being what we have since called Christendom. This was the magnificent achievement of what I think may only questionably be termed "the thousand years of uncertainty", and the gains which were made in that indeterminate millenium were to become the basis of the unprecedented expansion which still lay ahead.

1. See "The Form of the Church": A. G. Hebert.
2. Illustrated, for example, in Kingsley's "Hypatia".
3. Cambridge Mediaeval History, vol. vi. p. 585.
4. "The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard": E. Gilson, p. 74.
5. "World Church": John Foster, pp. 73, 75.
   "The History of the Expansion of Christianity" K. S. Latourette, Vol. 2, p.276.
6. Legend tells of his appearance at Rome in 1122. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, Art. "Prester John".
7. Latourette *op. cit.* p.283.
8. *ibid.* p. 277.
9. *ibid*, p. 331.
10. "Mediaeval People": Eileen Power (Pelican edition), p. 50. She adds: "The Dominicans may have been profound theologians, but they were somewhat chicken-hearted adventurers. . . . Assuredly St. Francis crows over St. Dominic somewhere in the courts of Heaven; his friars never feared for their skins".
11. *ibid.* p. 65.
12. Latourette *op. cit.* p. 217.
13. "Introduction to the History of Christianity, A.D. 590-1314": F. J. Foakes-Jackson, p.342.
14. "The Calling of God": M. A. C. Warren, p. 56.
15. Bede's Eccl. Hist. xxvii. Quoted in "Then and Now": John Foster, p. 115.
16. Latourette *op. cit.* p. 18.
17. *ibid.* p. 350.
18. See "Church Life in England in the 13th Century": J. R. H. Moorman, passim.
19. Latourette *op. cit.* pp. 15-17.

Christian Unity: The Church Visible and Invisible.

By The Rev. W. J. Sawle B.D.

THE aim of this essay is to examine the old distinction between the visible and invisible Church, and to relate it to the vexed question of Christian unity in the hope that some further light may be shed on this subject. Through the centuries, while other doctrinal matters have received a more or less official explanation, the nature of the Church, its authority, its organisation and the conditions of union within its borders, have incessantly cropped up, never to receive any official answer.

In the days of James I, Dr. Field, Dean of Gloucester, wrote " the consideration of the unhappy divisions of the Christian world, and the infinite distractions of men's minds, not knowing, in so great variety of opinions, what to think or to whom to join themselves (every faction boasting of the pure and sincere profession of heavenly truth, challenging to itself alone the name of the Church, and fastening upon all that dissent, or are otherwise minded, the hateful note of schism and heresy), hath made me ever think that there is no part of heavenly knowledge more necessary, than that which concerneth the Church. For, seeing the controversies of religion in our time are grown in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few have time and leisure, fewer strength of understanding, to examine them ; what remaineth for men desirous of satisfaction in things of such consequence, but diligently to search out which, amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that blessed company of holy ones, that household of faith, that spouse of Christ, and Church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of truth, that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgment."[1] Richard Hooker, too, penned words which are ever relevant to our situation, " For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God, mystical and visible, then between the visible, sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed. "[2]

One thing is both fundamental and clear, viz., that the assumption of unity is valid. If, of course, this be not the case, then all trouble and difficulty are spared, and the problem is very much one of our own making ; but the one thing which the Christian conscience resolutely refuses to admit is that Christ is divided, and Christian experience continually justifies this belief. There is between Christians of all denominations a sense of fellowship in the things of Christ, which only the wilfully hardened cannot appreciate.

And the New Testament gives point to all this. It is quite clear that our Lord founded a society, the purpose of which was not so much that of being called out of the world, but of being summoned as an assembly or congregation for the purposes of fellowship and worship.[3]

And those who are summoned together hear, in the first place, the call of God and, because of that call, are able to enjoy fellowship with other believers similarly called.

The Church of Christ is thus a holy society of which all the members are in immediate union with the Saviour through the Holy Spirit. Further point is given to this by the use of analogies such as a vine,[4] a temple,[5] and a living body,[6] as well as the great picture of the Church as the spouse of Christ[7]—an analogy derived from the closest and most intimate union of human nature to express the intensity of the union between the Saviour and His Church. Noteworthy, too, is that in which the bond of unity is compared with the relations between the Persons of the Godhead.[8] There is no doubt at all from the New Testament as to the existence of such a society, a company of believers united in one Body of which Christ is the Head, and of which the Holy Spirit is the Life.

Christian experience reminds us only too often that this sacred body is, in our present condition, not distinctly visible as a society. The true Church of Christ in the world at every moment, and at this moment, is not a definitely visible body, since its members are united to Christ by spiritual bonds not open to our observation, nor can it be discerned in its entirety within the limits of any organisation. And again,

> " Part of His host have crossed the flood,
> And part are crossing now ".

Hence the distinction, legitimately drawn, between the visible and invisible Church. To the latter alone does the designation of " ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC " properly belong. As Luther declared, " Belief in ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC CHURCH is an article of faith and not of sight. "[9]

Practical problems of great importance arise with the attempt to assess the character and position of the visible communities within Christendom. Always in the New Testament the word " church " is applied to separate communities of Christians and, as Dean Henry Wace observed, " In point of fact, as the history of the New Testament advances, we find the Christian community composed more and more of a number of distinct societies, each with its special characteristics, its individual life, its peculiar corruptions and heresies and dangers. In so far as they were uncorrupted they were animated by one truth, and they were united in one bond of charity, but they still appear in inspired language as distinct communities, and the "Church" as a single visible society on earth is not so addressed or spoken of by the Spirit of God. "[10]

Some have argued that this reformed distinction does not harmonise with the writings of the Fathers of the first four centuries, even though Origen refers to the " Church properly so-called " and Jerome and Augustine distinguish the real Body of Christ from His visible and nominal Body. This objection loses much of its force when we remember that in those early days it was in some sense possible to speak of one visible Church on earth. Not until the 16th century had the Christian situation so degenerated as to cause the reformed distinction to crystallise. Language which was admissible and practically true in

those days, is both inapplicable and irrelevant in an entirely different situation.

And the Reformation was surely such a different situation. "The Church" was a great name to conjure with, for around it had been gathered authority of almost every kind. The Roman Church had not only acquired vast temporal influence, but had so gathered around her the sacred associations of the true Church, that the vital question of the conditions of salvation were at stake when the Reformers made their protest. They had little difficulty in appealing to the true Church as distinct from the then visible Roman Church, and the New Testament was certainly behind Luther in his doctrine of justification by faith, by which was smashed for ever the Roman claim to spiritual authority. To quote Dean Wace in illustration of this point, "The primary work of the great Reformer was to establish Christian liberty on the basis of the assurance of salvation through direct union with Christ. He recalled the primitive truth that the Word on God's part, and the faith evoked by that Word on man's part, placed the soul in direct communion with the Saviour; and however important, and in ordinary circumstances necessary, other things might be, yet the Christian could, in the last resort, dispense with them all for the purpose of his salvation. Once regenerated by the Divine Word and united with Christ, no human or ecclesiastical power could separate him from his Saviour, and the Church might excommunicate or burn him without any risk to his ultimate salvation. The word of the Saviour, promising him forgiveness, justification, and salvation, had made him free; and though he was the more bound to use his freedom for the good of his fellow-Christians, and in communion with them, no act of theirs could separate him from the true Body of Christ, if his own faith remained true and firm." [11]

This emphasis is more than necessary to-day, for "the noble, and alas too fruitful error" — to use Archbishop Benson's words — "of arraying the visible Church in the attributes of the Church invisible" dies hard. Ideas of the Church as "the extension of the Incarnation" need to be qualified by this wholesome Reformed distinction; otherwise there occurs that mischievous error, of identifying Christ with the visible Church, into which much modern liturgical study appears to have fallen.

On the other hand it must also be strongly maintained that this distinction does not preclude recognition of visible societies as founded by Christ, and dependent for their organisation and their laws upon His will. The Church our Lord Himself founded was, in the nature of the case, visible. But this by no means necessitates the confession of visibility as an essential and permanent characteristic of that Church which is His Body. True believers in Christ, as long as they are in the flesh, are visible, and are required by Christ's ordinance to maintain the closest possible visible unity with each other. For this purpose the Lord has established the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, for we are so made that we need Christian fellowship. It is in this context that the words of Calvin concerning the visible Church, are to be understood, "there is no other means of entering into life unless she conceive us in the womb and give us birth, unless she nourish us at her breasts, and, in short, keep us under her charge and

government, until, divested of mortal flesh, we become like the angels. For our weakness does not permit us to leave the school until we have spent our whole lives as scholars. Moreover, beyond the pale of the Church no forgiveness of sins, no salvation, can be hoped for . . . . and hence the abandonment of the Church is always fatal." [12]

Is this doctrine of any value to-day, especially with so much talk of reunion? For evangelical Churchmen Article XIX provides a valuable starting point for discussion. "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith." The visible Church is a community, having as its principle of unity, faith centred in Christ; its standard of teaching is the Word of God, devoid of all accretions and additions: and the Sacraments are duly[13] ministered.

The history of evangelical Churchmen abounds in illustrations of the teaching of the Article. We have always found ourselves in sympathy with those Free Churchmen whose faith is based upon the pure Gospel of our Blessed Saviour. At times, indeed, our fellowship has expressed itself in a manner which has caused great consternation in some circles. Kikuyu, and the Scheme for Union in South India, are apt illustrations of this. Is it not because the question of reunion is, for us, lifted entirely into a moral and spiritual sphere, that matters of organisation and debatable technicalities are relegated to a secondary place? Finding our unity in Christ Jesus through a Christian experience which knows no denominational barriers, being derived from the Scriptures and confirmed by the gracious work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, we are able to make a lasting contribution to heal the wounds which have rent the visible Church of Christ and marred its witness to the world. Some words from a sermon preached by Bishop Joseph Hall from Canticles vi: 9 on the beauty and unity of the Church form a fitting conclusion.

"My dove, my undefiled is one . . . . What is it here below that makes the Church one? One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. 'One Lord'; so it is one in the Head: 'One Faith'; so it is one in the Heart: 'One Baptism'; so it is one in the Face. Where these are truly professed to be, though there may be differences of administrations and ceremonies, though there may be differences in opinion, yet there is 'one Dove': all those are but diversely coloured feathers of the same Dove. What Church therefore hath 'One Lord', Jesus Christ the Righteous, one faith in that Lord, one baptism into that faith, it is the 'One Dove of Christ.' To speak more short; one faith abridges all. But what is that one faith? What but the main fundamental doctrine of religion necessary to be known, to be believed unto salvation. . . . . But if from particular visible Churches . . . you shall turn your eyes to the true inward universal company of God's elect and secret ones, there shall you more perfectly find . . . 'One Dove' . . . . Oh! blessed unity of the saints of God which none of the makebates of Hell can ever be able to dissolve."

1. *Field of the Church*, Vol. i., p. xix.
2. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity* (ed. Keble and Paget), Book iii, ci : 9.
3. So Hort in *The Christian Ecclesia.*
4. John xv.
5. Ephesians ii. 19f.
6. Ephesians iv. 16.
7. Ephesians v. 25.
8. John xvii. 20ff.
9. *The Church and Her Doctrine, p.* 246.
10. *ib.* p. 250.
11. *ib.* p. 260.
12. The Institutes, Book iv, ci. 4.
13. The word " duly " (recte) is concerned more with the moral and spiritual qualifications for the administration of the Sacraments, than with outward order (rite). *Principles of Theology*, p. 271.
14. *Works of Bishop Hall*, Vol. v. pp. 275-6.

Book Reviews.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PIETY.

By W. K. Lowther Clarke. S.P.C.K. 10/6 160*pp. With illustrations.*

As Editorial Secretary of the S.P.C.K., Dr. Lowther Clarke has had access to a large number of documents and records, which he has made the subject of diligent research. On resigning his office, he gives us some results of his studies. Its purpose, he tells us, is to contribute to the history of that Society, by summarising the books published by it in the eighteenth century and by telling the story of its Secretary for the greater part of the first half of that period, Henry Newman. The rest of the book consists of a number of separate studies of interesting personages and phases of Church life in and about the period : the author confesses that he sometimes goes outside the century of which his title speaks ; as, for example, in the chapter on " English Church Life in 1850."

The opening chapter represents the first part of his main purpose. Under the title " Pastoralia," with sub-headings such as " Churchmanship," " Church Services," " Home Life," etc., it places on record the titles and purposes of a great number of publications, and indicates the impressions gathered from the author's researches. The main result appears to be that, in his opinion, Church life, and individual spiritual life, were not altogether at so low a level at that time as some accounts have represented them to be. So far as the records of the S.P.C.K. show (which are all that he is immediately concerned with), " the one thing we shall not find," he says, "is any spirit of complacency." Manuals explaining the Church service imply " a very high level of devotion." Churchgoing on Sunday was represented primarily as a duty ; " there was no thought of making services ' attractive '." Some quaint touches appear here and there. An Irish Archbishop attacked " that *subsaltory* way of delivery, that rises like a storm in one part of the period and presently sinks into a dead calm that will scarce reach the ear," and pleaded for a revival of " that almost antiquated exercise of expounding the Holy Scripture to your congregation." Such counsels are not out of date to-day !

At the same time, Bishop Gilbert Burnet deplores the bad state of the Church, and the ignorance of candidates for ordination, and the neglect of pastoral care ; and expresses the opinion that " one cause of the growing atheism and impiety here and in Europe " was " the low opinion of the clergy," owing to their worldly lives. And the author himself acknowledges that in the Prayer Book religion he has described " the emotions were, if not starved, at least not adequately fed."

An especially interesting point of detail, for Evangelicals, appears in the following sentence in the section on Holy Communion—" As regards doctrinal emphasis, I can find no sign of any belief in the Real Presence in the form often taught to-day ; the entire emphasis is on the reality of the Gift."

For Henry Newman, the Society's secretary from 1708 to 1743, Dr. Clarke has a profound admiration. The story of his life and work, and of his relations with the family of the Du Quesnes, occupies two chapters, with numerous extracts from private correspondents, sometimes illustrating contemporary life; giving glimpses, for example, of events connected with the accession of George I and George II. Next follows a chapter on the Charity Schools. Perhaps it is rather surprising to find one on the Homilies in a book with this title, but it will do good by calling attention to the real value of "these famous but largely unread" exhortations. The rest of the book is taken up with the separate studies already referred to.

These are upon subjects of a varied character. Many readers will find them the most interesting part of the book. For instance, we have the vivid picture of a dispute connected with a Suffolk Grammar School; the story of Patrick Gordon, naval chaplain and F.R.S., whose book "was apparently the first attempt to arouse interest in Missions among the members of the Church of England," and who "must have contributed greatly to the stirring of conscience which led to the foundation of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G." Dr. Bray, Bishop George Horne, Good Mrs. Trimmer, and Mrs Ewing are among the other subjects of these pleasant and informing chapters. The description of Church life in 1850 has some startling facts about simoniacal transactions; some of the other advertisements in *The Ecclesiastical Gazette* of the period are entertaining. Here is one which illustrates the author's own sense of humour. He asks, "Was the applicant who wanted a curacy where he may have a chance of "conforming to the liturgy' a simple soul or a humorist?" It looks as if history is repeating itself a century later! A Society calling itself "The Church Association," mentioned in this chapter, is plainly shown, by the context, to be unconnected with the one now known under that name.

A feature of some of these later chapters is the shrewdness of their concluding sentences, which sometimes seem purposely to modify a one-sided impression which might be derived from their contents. It is interesting to note this feature in a chapter on Mr. Brocklehurst of Lowood, a character in *Jane Eyre*, a clerical schoolmaster and apparently an Evangelical—of a severe type—who is treated with some severity in this description of him, though there is an admission that Mrs. Gaskell said a good word for him, and that improvements were introduced. In his closing words Dr. Clarke adds a mitigating circumstance which he felt should in fairness be reckoned with.

He has plainly endeavoured to be fair; nevertheless, here and there one wonders whether there is an unconscious bias against Evangelicalism. Or is Dr. Lowther Clarke occasionally confusing it—as so many have done—with Low Churchism? On p.138, he speaks of Dickens' first period of writing (apparently in the 1830's) as falling "within a time of unchallenged Evangelical supremacy." The Rev. G. R. Balleine, in his "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England," declares that the widespread idea that on the eve of the Oxford Movement (*viz.*, just at the time referred to by our author) the Evangelicals were dominant, "has arisen through confounding them with their opponents, the Low Churchmen" (mark the word "opponents"!) Conceivably, this may account for a few isolated items in the present volume.

It must be admitted that a chapter recording an Evangelical protest against the S.P.C.K. reveals that this contained some absurdly exaggerated criticisms which do not at all correspond with any Evangelical teaching to-day. But, on the whole, one doubts whether Evangelicals have had a fairly proportioned amount of attention in this book. The very nature of Dr. Clarke's inquiry may partly account for this impression. He deals, in the opening chapters, entirely with the S.P.C.K. and its associations; and possibly Evangelicals had not the same closeness of connection with the Society that others had. Still, there were assuredly Evangelical clergy of a more attractive type than Mr. Brocklehurst; and if our author can go outside his main subject to trounce Mr. Brocklehurst, it would have been nice to find him giving us one of his delightful portraits of one of these—or, let us say, one of the notable laymen of the period (neither Wilberforce nor Shaftesbury appear in the Index).

It remains to notice the series of eight interesting plates, with seventeen items—reproductions of old portraits, and of Prayer Book illustrations, etc., which throw visual light on the educational and ecclesiastical outlook of the times.

W. S. HOOTON

REASONING FAITH.

Canon T. C. Hammond, M.A. 5/-. *I.V.F.* 275*pp.*

The Inter-Varsity Fellowship is to be congratulated upon having secured a new book on Apologetics from the fertile mind of Canon Hammond. Those who have read his former books will look forward to finding illumination and spiritual profit in *Reasoning Faith*, and they will not be disappointed; for here we have the author at his best, his wide scholarship and philosophic thoroughness finding full scope for their exercise in this congenial subject.

The treatment is original and thoroughly modern, for whilst Canon Hammond insists on the value of standard works such as Paley's Evidences, he devotes himself here to meeting the chief objections raised against the Christian religion during the past 40 years. These are fairly faced, carefully examined and fully answered.

They are divided under the headings of Philosophic, Scientific and Historical Objections, and a section is given to each.

In the first section he deals with Materialism, Agnosticism and Pantheism including Behaviourism. He puts down much popular Agnosticism to intellectual indolence. He writes, " We all like to be relieved of the obligation to work. This particular temptation is most insistent when we are asked to work our minds." When intellectually lazy persons encounter a difficulty, " we are not surprised that it is impatiently rejected, labelled ' metaphysics ', and left there." Far different from this is the author's own style, for every objection is patiently and carefully examined and no difficulty shirked.

The section closes with a brilliant chapter on *The Epistemology of Bertrand Russell* in which he subjects the assertions of this " recent pilgrim to the shrine of philosophy " to " searching analysis in which fallacies and assumptions are exposed, with fairness and courtesy but with ruthless and penetrating logic."

The second section will be specially interesting to all students of science. It begins with a discussion of that ambiguous expression " the scientific outlook ", and thus devotes itself to the theory of evolution. The author criticises " the popular delusion that the world is divided into two classes, scientists who face facts, and believers who shut their eyes to them." He proceeds " The scientist who clothes himself in a linen overall and examines a retort tube is the embodiment of impersonal reason and strict impartiality. The clergyman who puts on a linen surplice or a black gown is, on the other hand, the embodiment of ill-regulated prejudices and refined popular superstitions."

On this reckoning Canon Hammond, who is impartial reason personified, should surely find his place among the " scientists " !

His examination of the theory of evolution and the objections based upon it is painstaking and thorough, and he is always careful to understate rather than overstate his case. He deals with the ideas of " creative " and " emergent " evolution, and with the evidences of palaeontology and embryology, with abundant quotations from standard works. He reaches the conclusion that the Bible account of Creation depends "on great general principles which science in its own sphere confirms " and " utters nothing that science is able to contradict ". As to evolution " there is no form in which it can be presented, in loyalty to observed facts, which excludes Design ", and this can better be explained by the existence of " an ordering Mind ", than by attributing it to a mystical internal ' Force ', or a personalised ' Nature '.

The final section is devoted to modern efforts, including " Form criticism ", to explain away the supernatural elements in the Gospel story. One objection after another is shown to be fallacious, and the older and more objective manner of dealing with the evidence is proved to be the more satisfactory.

The book requires and deserves some hard thinking, but it has the advantage of going to the root of the scholarly arguments upon which popular objections are founded and meeting them on their own ground. Holy Scripture is always treated with reverence and the general result is greatly to strengthen faith. It abounds with dry humour, is well printed and produced, and marvellously cheap at five shillings. G.T.M.

THE DIVINE AND HUMAN ENCOUNTER.

By Emil Brunner. pp. 151. 8/6 *net.* *S.C.M. Press.*

The announcement of a translation into English of another work by Dr. Brunner will arouse interest not only amongst the devotees of the Barthian theology, but also amongst a still wider public who desire to keep abreast of the best thought of our time. The lectures here printed were delivered as far back as 1937 in the University of Upsala in Sweden, and were to have been published in England in the following year, only the outbreak of war frustrated the attempt. The main theme of these lectures, which Dr. Brunner admits to have been suggested to him by a Professor of the University, is concerned with the objective and subjective in Christian Faith. Or, to put it in another way, " the central theme of this slim volume," as the Translator says, " can be simply stated : When God meets man, Christian truth comes into being ". The whole problem, therefore, is to be viewed not as a general philosophical problem but essentially as a theological one. It is to the mind of the Author essentially a matter of Biblical truth. Any conception of the apprehension of revealed truth as an intellectual process savours too much for him of Greek philosophy which is inevitably alien to the Bible, since he is careful to point out it is written throughout by Hebrews to whom such processes were entirely foreign. The appeal then is to the Bible for " is it not very obvious that the Word of God is what is objectively given, while faith is the subjective appropriation of what is given " ?

We cannot pursue the subject of Objectivism and Subjectivisim, though on the former subject Dr. Brunner has a good deal to say on the Authoritative aspect of the Roman Church with which Evangelicals will find themselves in sympathy. So much in the history of the Church has arisen from " man's sinful, anxious nature " seeking deliberately for an objective authority for his faith and thinking that he can only find it in a society claiming a monopoly of grace and complete authority. Naturally, he tends to carry the argument further than many Anglicans will be inclined to go ; but this does not affect the main argument of the book.

Actually,its main theme turns very largely on the Author's conception of Biblical truth on the one hand, and Doctrine on the other. He emphasizes what presumably most Christians would agree with, the distinction between belief in mere doctrine and a living faith in a Redeemer. He pours rather excessive scorn on doctrines which are only intellectually apprehended. But that is very largely because he has a very clear conception of faith as an active, living response of the whole personality of man. " We are beginning to suspect why in the Bible the word " truth " appears in what is for us a strange context with the words " doing " and " becoming ". Faith, which appropriates God's self-revelation in His Word, is an event, an act, and that a two-sided act—an act of God and an act of man. *An encounter takes place between God and man.*"

The same idea of Divine activity lies behind what Dr. Brunner has to say in his chapter on " Truth and Doctrine " on the Work of the Redeemer. He takes his stand on what he regards as the true Biblical doctrine of Christ in which is seen the fact that " The Incarnation as such is not the pivotal point of the Biblical Revelation, but rather the work of the Redeemer. Jesus Christ did not come merely to come, but He came to return ". And he immediately adds that " the Bible guides us to ponder less the secret of the Person of Jesus than the mystery of His work ". Many will be inclined to agree with this ' non-Incarnational ' theology. He adds : The Person of the Mediator must also be understood as an *act* of God, namely, as His coming to us in revelation and redemption." The argument was all the time in the realm of action. Right at the end of the work, Dr. Brunner states : " The truth of which the Bible speaks is always a happening and indeed the happening of the meeting between God and man, an act of God which must be received by an act of man. The truth acting—this is the characteristic unphilosophical, non-Greek way in which the Bible speaks of truth."

This is not a book, of course, which will win universal assent from all English Christians, but it is a stimulating work. Like all Brunner's books, it provokes the reader to much thought and drives him back upon the Johannine saying of Christ, " Search the Scriptures ". The main theme is undoubtedly one that is often in danger of being forgotten. Men to-day all over the world need to be brought face to face with God who is also their redeemer and will one day be their judge. That doctrine needs to be proclaimed and this book will help greatly in its proclamation.

C. J. OFFER.

THE FORM OF THE CHURCH.

By A. G. Hebert. pp. 126. 8/6 net. Faber and Faber.

A new book by Fr. Hebert is always something to be awaited with real interest. Ever since his *Liturgy and Society* appeared any book by him is sure of a wide welcome from readers not limited to any one Church or any particular school of thought. He has, we believe, become a favourite writer with Free Churchmen, great as their divergences of opinion and practice may be, as witness Jenkins' *The Nature of Catholicity*. Indeed it was a perusal of this book and the jotting down of observations upon it which led directly to the writing of the present work. Consequently, many will turn to this book with keen anticipation, and though they will meet with much with which they cannot agree, they will at least admire the learning and candour of the writer.

Naturally, the Author writes from the Anglo-Catholic standpoint, but he always displays great variety and considerable breadth of view. Whatever he has to say he says with moderation and a persuasiveness which attracts even those who most radically diverge from his opinions. And this applies to the present work with its intriguing title. Its main theme can best be stated in the Author's own words : " Just as it is necessary to discern behind the order of creation the Creator who gives to it its form, so behind the form of the Redemption we must discern the Person of the Son of God ; it is He Who is *The Form of the Church*. Bibles, Creed, Sacraments and Apostles exist only on His account, that we may come into contact with Him. He is the Form into whose image men are transformed when they are redeemed and sanctified." In elaborating this theme the Author has much that is illuminating to say on God the Creator, Redemption and the Church, Unity, Holiness, Catholicity and Apostolicity. And on all of them the Author writes with freshness, vigour and originality. Many, for instance, will turn to the chapter on Unity, knowing the writer's standpoint on this vital subject, to see what line he takes. And in this connection he has much to say that is helpful. " It is always wrong to think of living books by means of metaphors derived from inorganic matter or from machines ; limbs of books and twigs of plants cannot be " welded " or " fused together ", but must be placed in such position that it is possible for them to grow together. So it is with societies of men, which are constituted as such by their respective forms." And he agrees that " all the Christian denominations have the traditions and customs within which their characteristic types of life have grown up." He rejects the idea that when agreement on all the great doctrines of the faith has been reached, differences on lesser things such as the Church and the Ministry, if they exist, are only superficial. He is probably right here in ascribing importance to these aspects of the problem because, until agreement is reached upon them, differences will continue to exist. And he is surely right in saying that " before there can be true reunion, there must be a revival of *koinonia* within each of the Churches which are to come together." Then again, on the surface anyway, we should agree with the writer when he says : " By sacrificing truth for the sake of unity, we do not get a real unity. When we put Truth first ; we find that the Truth has power to unite." Indeed there is so much that is good even on the thorny problems of re-union that one could go on quoting. But there are other statements we do not like so much. Is it a *sine qua non* that " it is round Rome as the centre that Christendom must some day be reunited " ? For that matter why must there be one centre only ? Why not several *foci* of reunion—Rome, Canterbury, Alexandria ? Of course, the crux of the problem is to be found, so far as the ministry is concerned, in the chapter on " Apostolicity " where, again, he has much to say of a mediating character, including a good deal that is well worth noting, such as his remarks on the Lord's Headship of His Church addressed as much to the Pope as any Free Church minister !

In one respect, this work serves very clearly to reveal some of the ruling ideas of those who are so extremely critical of any practical schemes of re-union. In that respect the book makes a very useful contribution. It deserves to be read, particularly by those who will at the outset be more inclined to disagree, both with the Author's main outlook and with his main contention. C. J. OFFER.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PRAYERS.

By Wilton Rix. S.C.M. 3/6.

This book of corporate and private devotions has been carefully prepared and the author (who is a Free Churchman) gratefully acknowledges his debt to those who all the way down through the ages, have led their fellow-Christians in prayer, praise and thanksgiving. It is divided into three parts of which the first is the most important, for it is concerned with Prayers and Devotions for a Week's Retreat. It is excellent in its general arrangement and its choice of subjects and, in the opinion of the Reviewer, it supplies perhaps the greatest spiritual need of English Free Churchmen to-day. In recent years they have produced many theologians of the highest standing, most of their ministers are good preachers with many social gifts, but they have made little progress in the underlying principles of Divine Worship and comparatively few of them have learned the supreme value of Quiet Retreats and Ordered Meditation. It may be that this little book will do for the denominations what Acts of Devotion and similar books have accomplished for the members of the established Church. The prayers are gathered from wide fields, liturgical and otherwise. The plan for each day begins with Adoration, then passes to Penitence and ends with prayers for the Church and the World. Each of the six sessions carries some aspect of the Creation and of the Revelation in Christ.

The second and third Parts of the book contain Public and Private Prayers and Thanksgivings for various occasions and in connection with special services and functions.

J. W. AUGUR.

GREAT CHRISTIAN BOOKS.

By Hugh Martin. S.C.M. Press, Ltd. 6/- *net.*

The purpose of a book of the kind that Dr. Martin has given us is twofold : it seeks to call, or re-call to our minds certain books which have won a place among the classics of Christian literature ; and it provides an introduction to each, with a view to stimulating the reader to become acquainted with the books themselves. This two-fold purpose Dr. Martin admirably fulfils. The books chosen are not exactly what we should have expected from the title. We should, for example, hardly have looked for Browning's " The Ring and the Book " in the same category with William Carey's " The Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens ". But it is the privilege of an author to decide on what subjects he shall write, and we have no quarrel with anyone who attempts to rescue Carey's " Enquiry " from the oblivion into which it is in danger of falling, partly because it is not easily obtainable, and partly because it does not directly serve the purpose of a book of devotion. It is, however, an amazing production as coming from a village shoemaker who had little education but what he could acquire for himself ; and it is a witness to the unquenchable thirst for knowledge, the careful attention to detail, the passionate zeal for the conversion of the heathen and the powers of plodding, persistent work, which marked all his subsequent labours in India and gave him a foremost place, as an Evangelist an organizer and a philologist, among missionary pioneers and educationalists of modern times.

As to " The Ring and the Book ", somewhat incongruously juxtaposed to the " Enquiry ", Dr. Martin's lucid appraisal and analysis will certainly encourage some readers who, like the present reviewer, have more than once vainly attempted its eight hundred and fifty pages, to renew their efforts with greater hope of success.

The other five books discussed are more in line with what we might expect in a selection of this kind : St. Augustine's " Confessions " ; " The Letters of Samuel Rutherford " ; Brother Lawrence's " The Practice of the Presence of God " ; Bunyan's " The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come " ; and Law's " Serious call to a Devout and Holy Life ". The introductions are judicious and discriminating and furnish the reader with a useful guide. In that to the " Confessions ", Miss McDougall's penetrating reminder is quoted and is worth noting " the true subject (of the ' Confessions ') is not the wanderings of Augustine, but the love of God." We cannot, however, forget that beside the Augustine of the " Confessions " there was Augustine the rigid theologian whose encouragment of the persecution of heretics is, as Dr. Mart in points out, a lasting blot on his memory. He was a uncompromisinge predesti-

narian, going to the full as far, if not beyond, anything that Calvin ever wrote; and it was he who taught that unbaptized infants could never enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Augustine was a great saint and a great thinker—the greatest, it has been said, between St. Paul and Luther—but he lived in the latter half of the fourth century and the earlier half of the fifth, and was unable to shake off the prevailing influences of his times.

The Letters of Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661) are somewhat exotic for these days, their emotional and often ecstatic language being of a pattern unfamiliar to us; but it was familiar enough in Scotland among the Covenanters of the 17th century and there is abundant evidence that they helped to sustain the faith and stimulate the hopes of those brave and devout men who were being persecuted even to the death for maintaining the rights of conscience and, as they put it, "the Crown Rights of Jesus Christ". We may think them fanatical, and their consciences unduly tender, but they have left us an example of inflexible courage, unimpeached integrity and entire absorption in the fear and love of God.

Brother Lawrence (1610-1691) a contemporary of Rutherford, but in another land, was of the same spirit though its manifestation was of a less fiery and energetic kind. Nicolas Herman was born at Lorraine of peasant parentage; he records his conversion at the age of eighteen, but it was not until he was forty that he entered the Carmelite Order as a lay brother in the Paris monastery, taking the name of Lawrence, and was put to work in the kitchen. He spent the next forty years of his life here, the last ten being given to lighter duties. Amid the uncongenial tasks of a monastery kitchen, he walked joyfully and humbly with God, endeavouring to practise always the consciousness of His abiding Presence. If "the rythm of adoration and work" can be maintained in such circumstances, there can be none where it is impossible. Difficult it may be, but the difficulty lies usually more in ourselves than in our circumstances.

> "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves. . . ."

Of the Pilgrim's Progress not much need be said here except to wish that so accessible and readable a book were more read at the present day than it is. Dr. Martin's introduction gives ample reason why it should be. Bunyan was a master of simple easy English and the interest of the story carries us easily from stage to stage as it proceeds; while the lessons which Bunyan would impress upon us are so plain and obvious that the dullest readers can hardly miss them. "Christian," who is portrayed as a pilgrim, is a man in deadly earnest as he advances towards the Heavenly Kingdom. Our Lord did not indulge his followers with any easy-going view of what discipleship meant. It would tax all their energies: they were to strive, to watch, to pray, to labour; and Bunyan drives this lesson home in the Pilgrim's Progress.

Law's "Serious Call" has the same purpose as its companions in this group, but its method and appeal are different. It draws upon reason, common sense and logic more than upon the emotions. "Now let any one but find out the reason why he is to be strictly pious in his prayers and he will find the same as strong a reason to be as strictly pious in all the other parts of his life." "If we are to follow Christ, it must be in our common way of spending every day." The conclusion is inexorable and we cannot escape it. Law is addressing those people—and their number in his day was very great—who are careful to attend Church on Sundays, while at all other times they live as loosely and carelessly as do those who never pray or see the inside of a Church at all. A book which profoundly influenced such men as John and Charles Wesley, Whitefield, Thomas Scott, Henry Venn and Samuel Johnson, must, as Dr. Martin says, clearly be a remarkable book. Let us take Dr. Johnson's testimony: "When at Oxford I took up Law's *Serious Call*, expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found it an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion after I became capable of rational enquiry." Law's line of argument and his intense earnestness are as much needed in our day as in his, though we have to adapt a good deal of what he says to suit our changed circumstances and social conditions.

Dr. Martin has given us a good book and introduced us to a noble company. We cordially commend it and hope that it will have a wide circulation. W.G.J.

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