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

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

The Churchman Advertiser.

JANUARY, 1930.

Spanish & Portuguese Church Aid Society,

CHURCH HOUSE, DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

Chairman of Committee . . . W. H. Patchell, Esq.

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

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

CONTENTS.

THE CHURCHMAN

January, 1930.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"The Churchman."

WE are glad to say that in the last few years there has been a considerable increase in the circulation of THE CHURCHMAN. We are grateful for this evidence of the appreciation by a wider circle of readers of our efforts to present the claims of Evangelical Churchmanship in the manner best calculated to meet the demands of modern scholarship and thought. We are convinced that the Evangelical interpretation of Christianity is the highest and the best. It fulfils all that the teaching of Christ and His Apostles set out as contained in the records of the New Testament. It avoids the errors which have crept into Theology and Church life through false lines of development. It requires of all who accept it strenuous efforts, especially at the present time, to secure a wider advocacy and a more vigorous presentation to the intelligent and reading classes of the community. We therefore appeal to our readers to help us to increase the usefulness of THE CHURCHMAN by aiding us to obtain a still larger circulation. We appeal especially to the Evangelical clergy to give us their help in extending the influence of Evangelical Churchmanship in this way. With a larger circulation we should be able to increase the size of our "Evangelical Quarterly" and to add to its value as a means of advancing Evangelical interests and scholarship.

The South India Church Scheme.

The South India Scheme of Reunion has produced a considerable quantity of literature of various kinds during the last quarter. The lines of the controversy which has been aroused by the Anglo-Catholic Party are now clearly defined. The issues are chiefly concerned with the character of the ministry. The rigid theory of Apostolical Succession championed by the extremists among the Anglo-Catholics has had to meet the severe criticisms of some who are themselves strong High Churchmen. Dr. Palmer, who was until recently Bishop of Bombay, has taken a lively interest in the negotiations, and an active part in the conducting of them. In a letter to *The Times* he answered the objections raised by those

who threaten our Church with disruption if the scheme is carried through. Those who understand the position of small and scattered Christian Communities divided by sectional differences which prevent inter-communion, in the midst of a vast heathen population will sympathize with the keen desire to remove all hindrances to complete unity and full co-operation. Dr. Palmer's plea for the ministry of the united Church has been frequently quoted, but it bears repetition. "Our Lord said about a divine law, the law of the Sabbath, that 'the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath' and declared those guiltless who broke it because they were hungry. How much more reason will the South India Church have to make exceptions to the ecclesiastical rules about the qualifications of ministers, on behalf of men through whom God has converted thousands of Indians, and who will by that time have come into one body with our Church in India, thus repairing some of the rents in the Lord's body."

We hope that the knowledge of those familiar with the situation in South India will prevail over the theories of those whose outlook is limited by Western conditions.

The Bishop of Madras on the Proposals.

One of the most useful books dealing with the South India Proposals is *Church Union in South India* by Dr. Waller, the Bishop of Madras (S.P.C.K., 2*s*. net.) His chief aim is to tell the plain story of the various stages in the negotiations and more particularly to convey an impression of the atmosphere in which they were carried on and of the circumstances of Christian work in India, which explain so many points that would otherwise be obscure. He makes clear the high ideals which inspire the movement. It is not, as has been suggested, a mere effort to secure economy and to avoid waste and overlapping. The comity of missions has already done much to secure those ends. The Churches are seeking reunion in order to give its full expression to an already existing unity. As it is expressed in the Basis of Union, "The uniting Churches are assured that the unity for which Christ prayed is a unity in Him and in the Father through the Holy Spirit, and is, therefore, fundamentally a reality of the spiritual realm. They seek the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. But this unity of the Spirit must find expression in the faith and order of the Church, in its worship, in its organisation and in its whole life." The Bishop of Madras answers all the questions which are raised by opponents of the Scheme. He avoids any statements of a controversial character in order that his account of the proceedings may be given in the same spirit as that in which the negotiations were conceived and carried through. We recommend our readers to study this full, clear and convincing statement, and if they do so we have no doubt that they will agree with the Bishop and his fellow workers that "on union depends Christ's promise of victory." His supreme anxiety is that critic and friend alike should realize the facts of the situation.

Communion or Sacrifice.

In the last number of THE CHURCHMAN we drew attention to the Archdeacon of Chester's valuable pamphlet, *The Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*. A second edition has now been issued with an appendix containing important additional matter, and answering some criticisms. The errors in the Vulgate translation of such passages as Hebrews i. 3 and x. 11, are more completely exposed by reference to the works of recognized authorities on New Testament language and exegesis. The view put forward in some recent books of a "timeless" conception of Christ's self-offering is examined. The meaning of the phrase is difficult to determine. "Does it mean that the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is Eternally happening because, as some express it, it took place in a 'timeless' world? If that is so, would not the same be true of any other of Christ's actions or experiences on earth?" Christ is said to be for ever pleading His death: must this not mean "to placate or propitiate the Father—to make some favourable change in the Father's attitude towards us"? Of this there is no hint in the Bible, and a warning is given against such expressions as Wesley's "Still His prevailing death He pleads" and Dr. Bright's

> And having with us Him that pleads above,
> We here present, we here spread forth to Thee,
> The only offering perfect in Thine eyes,
> The one, true, pure, immortal Sacrifice.

The emphasis on the idea of sacrifice and its association with the Mass destroys the true character and significance of the Lord's Supper. The Archdeacon hopes that "the result of the discussion, in course of time, will be that devout and thoughtful people throughout the Anglican Communion will begin again to claim boldly that the Church of England instituted a forward movement for Christendom—in theology, in worship, and in ethics when it turned the Mass into a Communion."

Disestablishment.

An attempt has been made to start a campaign for the disestablishment of the Church on account of the rejection of the revised Prayer Book in the House of Commons. Although the effort has not met with much success—largely because the common sense of the English people recognizes that the issue has not been legitimately raised, it is well that the case for Establishment should be succinctly and clearly stated. The Bishop of Norwich has done this in a pamphlet—*Disestablishment and the Prayer Book*—in which he has the support of the late Earl of Meath in a characteristically straightforward letter and of Viscount Brentford in an equally forcible Foreword. The Bishop states his case with his customary moderation, but does not hesitate to claim that our English standards are Christian standards, and that this is in large measure due to the position of the Church of England as an Established Church. "The

Church of England, national and established, by its very existence, utters a protest against the unfortunate tendency to draw a sharp line between the sacred and the secular; it openly emphasizes the truth that all life, public and private, with its manifold opportunities 'stands upon holy ground.'" "The fellowship between the nation and the Church of England is not to be hastily and irremediably broken because just now the relation has been strained."

Editorial Note.

The statistical study of the Anglican Communion and the Non-Episcopal Churches by the Rev. Thos. J. Pulvertaft with which the present number of THE CHURCHMAN opens will, we believe, be found specially useful in view of the discussions on reunion, and more particularly on the South India Scheme. Mr. Cope's interesting article on "Monastic Charity and Poor Relief in Early Tudor England" throws an illuminating sidelight on some of the claims made for the usefulness of the Monasteries. Dr. Rigg's special studies on St. John have been a frequent feature in THE CHURCHMAN. In his treatment of "The Johannine Commission" he brings his knowledge to bear on a problem of great practical importance at the present time. Much attention has recently been given to the interpretation of the Revelation of St. John, and we are glad to be able to give our readers the benefit of the ripe scholarship of Dr. Montgomery Hitchcock on these various modern views. Mr. John Knipe's historical studies have proved a source of interest to a large circle of readers. His psychological study of the Gunpowder Plot in the article "Conspiracy and Conscience" opens up an aspect of Roman Catholic designs in the seventeenth century, of which we may be able later to give some further account. There is no subject of more absorbing interest to Evangelical Churchmen than the Bible. Canon Stuart Clark in "Evangelicals and the Bible" discusses the various problems connected with the subject in a spirit which we are sure will appeal to our readers. Dr. Limmer Sheppard deals with an important aspect of Confirmation, which deserves special attention at the present time in "The Vital Link in the Church's Sacramental System." Among our reviews a special mention must be made of Dr. Rigg's criticism of Archbishop Bernard's great commentary on St. John, and of the notice of the Archbishop of Armagh's recent valuable contribution to the study of Modern Thought. We regret that limitations of space have compelled us to hold over a number of reviews of important books which have recently appeared.

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION AND THE NON-EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.

A STATISTICAL STUDY.

By the Rev. Thos. J. Pulvertaft, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's-at-Kilburn.

MANY years ago the writer was placed in charge of a flourishing Temperance Society and was handed the Pledge Roll. On analysis he found that the total was by no means representative of membership, for the Roll had not been revised for many years and there were a large number of duplicate signatures of those who had broken their pledge and signed again. Later he was asked to make a statistical survey of a group of Churches, and wrote to the Clergy in charge for the average number in attendance at the Sunday and Weekday services. On analysing the figures he was impressed by the difference between them and his own observations. Inquiry discovered that in the opinion of some of the Clergy "average attendance" meant adding together the largest number present at a service during the year and the smallest congregation. Dividing the sum by two, the average attendance was easily secured!

Wherever we turn in the pursuit of accurate figures in connexion with Church attachment we are met by difficulties. Take the case of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. In the last published American statistics of Membership of the American Churches, we have the membership for 1926 given as 1,859,086. With the exception of the Roman Church the other figures profess to state the number of enrolled members and we naturally took the figure as denoting this fact. A well-known annual, *The Churchman's Year Book for* 1929, says: "There are about 4,500,000 adherents, of whom 1,200,987 rank as communicants." We are informed (*Review of the Churches*, July, 1929) that between 1916, when the number returned was 1,092,821, and 1926, the Protestant Episcopal Church changed its basis of computation of membership from Communicants only to Communicants plus all those whose names are on the Baptismal Rolls of the parishes. And last year when an inquiry was made by a Commission into the state of the dioceses in some eastern districts, the numbers were considerably reduced.

If we turn to the Mission Field we find similar perplexities. Take the proposed Union of Churches in South India. The totals given are:

	Communicants.	Other Baptized Persons.	Unbaptized Adherents.
Anglicans	106,362	228,142	61,379
Wesleyans	17,187	82,727	11,642
South India United Church .	43,749	138,042	49,644

A glance will prove that the ratio between the figures given for the three Churches points to differing policies. Further examination of the details will make plain that local conditions to some extent account for the contrasting figures, for in the Diocese of Dornakal there are 29,000 Communicants, 74,000 Other Baptized Persons and 54,000 Unbaptized Adherents, whereas in the Diocese of Madras there are 12,000 Communicants, 38,000 Other Baptized Persons, and no return of Unbaptized Adherents. We mention these two sets of facts to prove the difficulties that await any effort to prepare comparative statistics.

A further complication arises when we consider the lands where there is a religious census and those where there is not any such census taken by the State. An eminent Antipodean Bishop has said that "the Church of England is the Residuary Legatee of all Australians who have no religious connexion." This may be true of Australia and other Dominions, but of Ireland it certainly is not true, for there, on the part of the vast majority, Membership of the Church indicates more than a nominal attachment to the Church. The following figures, which make no claim to infallibility, are the result of an inquiry into the returns made in some instances by the State, in others by the Churches concerned, and in some cases by an attempt to estimate the truth—as far as it can be gathered between conflicting returns. The most recent review of the Religions of the World is to be found in Slosser's *Christian Unity, Its History and Challenge*; but in spite of the manifest care evidenced by the compiler, in very many instances corrections are necessary.

Let us first review the Protestant English-speaking world.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.

		Communicants.	Census.
England and Wales	pop. 37,886,699	2,715,571	—
Scotland . .	,, 4,882,497	50,206	—
Ireland . .	,, 4,228,553	—	502,939
Canada . .	,, 8,788,483	—	1,407,939
Newfoundland .	,, 263,033	—	84,665
Australia . .	,, 6,262,720	—	2,372,995
New Zealand .	,, 1,344,469	—	514,607
U.S.A., say .	,, 94,820,915	1,200,000	—
Totals . .	158,477,369	3,965,777	4,883,145

In the Official Returns, *Church of England Year Book* (1929), we learn that the Church population of eight dioceses in Australia is 910,444 and the number of Communicants in these dioceses is 115,186. These vary from 5,573 out of a Church population of 153,285 in Perth to 29,832 out of a Church population of 31,905 in Bunbury. With these figures there must be something wrong, which we do not feel competent to remedy.

Non-Episcopal Churches.

	Membership.	Census.
England and Wales :		
Baptist	417,527	—
Congregational	451,000	—
Methodist	1,133,343	—
Presbyterian	85,109	—
Scotland :		
Baptist	23,079	—
Presbyterian	1,299,183	—
Methodist	16,499	—
Ireland :		
Presbyterian	—	425,623
Methodist	—	50,217
Canada :		
Baptist	—	421,731
Presbyterian	—	1,407,944
Methodist	—	1,159,458
Congregational	—	30,730
Newfoundland :		
Presbyterian	—	1,876
Methodist	—	74,205
Australia :		
Baptist	—	99,542
Congregational	—	75,513
Methodist	—	632,629
Presbyterian	—	636,974
New Zealand :		
Baptist	—	19,926
Congregational	—	7,977
Methodist	—	112,344
Presbyterian	—	299,545
United States America :		
Baptist	8,440,922	—
Disciples of Christ	1,377,595	—
Lutheran	5,258,623	—
Methodist	8,070,619	—
Presbyterian	2,626,284	—
Reformed Bodies	617,551	—
Congregational	881,696	—
Other Protestant Bodies	1,733,000	—
Totals	32,432,030	5,456,234

It must be remembered that the Lutheran figures embrace Members enrolled as well as all those entered in Baptismal Registers.

South Africa.

The position in South Africa presents peculiar difficulties, as the returns are incomplete and in some cases the coloured population is included with the white. The following represent the totals of the figures for Cape Colony, the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Whites and coloured are classed together :

Dutch Churches	1,090,809
Anglicans	613,026
Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, etc.	1,336,010

It will be seen that the Non-Episcopal Protestants outnumber the Anglicans by nearly four to one.

The Continent of Europe.

The Church of Sweden is Episcopal and is in communion with the Lutheran Non-Episcopal Churches. It is recognized by the Lambeth Conference as an Episcopal Church. *De facto* it is in communion with the Church of England, but the question of *de jure* communion has been challenged by a number of Anglo-Catholics. It is practically coterminous with the Kingdom and has a census membership of about 6,000,000.

The Non-Episcopal Churches of the Continent have their main strength in Germany, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland, and their total census returns exceed 50,000,000.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above figures may be summarized:—Omitting South Africa, the Anglican Communion has in the English-speaking lands a communicant membership of 3,965,777 and an adherent census of 4,883,145. These figures do not overlap. The Church of Sweden has a census strength of 6,000,000. The Non-Episcopal Churches in English-speaking lands and in Europe have a membership of 32,432,030 and a census adherence of about 5,456,234. These figures do not overlap. It is evident that a correct proportional comparison of these figures by reducing in some way or other the census to membership and communicant status is impossible, for the factor of 2·8 adherents for every member breaks down when tested in different lands. If an opinion can be formed on the figures it may be stated that roughly the Anglican Communion represents, at most, in the countries under review one eighth of the total Protestant forces.

The Mission Field.

In spite of all the efforts to standardize Missionary returns, anyone who examines those that have been made is at once struck by facts similar to those we have shown to exist in the South India returns. They are incomplete, the tests are not the same, and when we compare authorities we find considerable variation. Roughly, and we cannot say that it is more than roughly, it is estimated that there are attached to Anglican Mission Centres in Africa about one-sixth of those attached to the Missions of Non-Episcopal Churches. We confess that after struggling with the figures provided in books of reference and in Missionary literature we are totally unable to come to any more definite conclusion. It may be that our estimate of the relative strength of Anglican Missionary effort is too high—but one of the greatest needs of the statistics of Missions is a survey of African work and its codification.

When we turn to India the Government Census supplies us with a basis, but we have not deducted the British element in India from the direct fruit of Missionary work. The British-born residents in India numbered 115,000 at the last census.

There were at the last census 533,000 adherents of the Anglican Communion in India and 1,360,000 adherents of Non-Episcopal Churches. In Ceylon there are 44,000 Anglicans and 30,000 Non-Episcopal Christians. In China, out of a total Protestant population of 790,000, Anglicans numbered 53,387. In Japan there are 23,000 Anglicans to 260,000 Non-Episcopal Christians. In Korea 2,857 Anglicans to 94,000 attached to the Non-Episcopal Churches. Other interesting figures are, in Formosa there are 8,200 Presbyterians, in Malay 4,000 Non-Anglicans and 5,000 Anglicans, in the Dutch West Indies a population of 470,000 Protestants, in the Philippine Islands 2,000 Anglicans and 31,000 Non-Anglican Protestants.

It may be said that we have not considered the various Archipelagoes and the West Indies. The figures are very difficult to correlate and as regards the West Indies, we found it impossible to place any reliance on the statistics brought to our notice.

It is generally estimated by Missionary Authorities that the work of Anglican Missions judged by mission workers and native adherents represents about one-eighth of the total Mission work maintained by the Churches of the Reformation.

Two closing observations may be made.

(1) Compared, as far as comparison is possible, it will be seen that the Anglican Communion in English-speaking and Protestant lands represents about one-eighth of Reformed Christendom. The same proportion, broadly, is reflected in Mission work. In discussing all questions of Reunion the relative strength of the Churches concerned must be borne in mind, and it is clear that no sphere of work gives a better opportunity for Anglican statesmanship to make itself felt than the South India area by reason of the number of Anglicans and the position of the Anglican Church.

(2) On a review of the figures quoted it will be concluded that the Communicants in the Church of England and the Church in Wales with their forty-nine dioceses outnumber the Communicants in the more than 250 other Anglican dioceses. No more fallacious basis of growth and comparison can be found than by numbering dioceses, for they vary in size from a diocese with but four to five or six clergy to the Diocese of London with its more than 1,200 Clergy. The path of a statistician is full of pitfalls and an amateur cannot altogether escape them. He can only do his best with the material at his disposal and the present writer has striven to present the figures in an impartial manner. He hopes that some trained statistician will endeavour to place all the facts and figures before the Christian public, for it is essential, that when comparisons are made of the world position of the Anglican Communion and other Communions, a true statistical basis should exist. As it is, all kinds of loose statements are being made and there is no trustworthy compilation that will enable them to be tested.

MONASTIC CHARITY AND POOR RELIEF IN EARLY TUDOR ENGLAND.

By F. D. Cope.

THE contention often maintained by Roman Catholic historians that it was the Dissolution of the Monasteries which, by abolishing the monastic "dole," created the need for a system of poor relief in this country, has long held the field. During the present century, however, there has been on the part of an increasing number of historians a reaction against this view. The researches of writers like Professor Savine, R. H. Tawney, G. G. Coulton, and others have disclosed the existence of a state of affairs rather different from that hitherto supposed. The main opinion held by these newer expositors is that monasticism had begun to decline in its duty to the poor long before the Dissolution loomed into view; that, at the time of its occurrence, the monasteries were in such an effete condition as to be practically useless as instruments of social amelioration. The mere mention of dates alone lends some colour to this idea. The first measure relating to the provision of relief for the poor was passed in 1388 (12 Richard II, c. 3 and c. 7). The Dissolution did not take place until 1537. What was happening in this interval of over 150 years?

To answer this question it will be necessary to trace briefly the history of attempts to institute poor relief. Until the fourteenth century almost all charitable endowments had been in the hands of ecclesiastics—chiefly monastic. From this time onward, however, there was a growing disinclination to leave them solely in the care of the Church. Secular claims and interests were beginning to come to the fore; and, in addition to the interference of the State, the gilds had gradually evolved systems for providing for their own poor. Referring to the gilds of this period, Professor 'Ashley says:

". . . the various associations began to provide lodgings for destitute members; and from hiring a couple of cottages they proceeded, with the help of legacies for the purpose, to erect almshouses with accommodation for a dozen or more members." [1]

"Beginning, probably with the religious gilds, the practice of maintaining almshouses spread to the crafts. During the course of the fifteenth century all the more important companies in London erected such establishments. The inmates appear at first to have been given nothing but shelter; but further bequests enabled them to receive a regular weekly allowance." [2]

The Act of 1388 is regarded by many as the first English poor-law, for it did what the monasteries had failed to do, differentiated between the impotent poor and the sturdy able-bodied beggars who wandered at large, a curse to the country. But its provisions

[1] *Economic History and Theory*, Book II, ch. v, p. 325.
[2] Ibid., p. 326.

—especially that restricting the labourer to his village—were too severe to be enforced. Indeed, all the earlier poor relief methods were far too repressive in character. And the great growth of poverty which characterized this period called for further and more discriminating measures. In 1495, therefore, an Act was passed which reduced the penalty for vagrancy to three days in the stocks. This was followed in the same year by another, which enabled more consideration to be shown to certain classes of beggars, who were given permission to beg from place to place. In 1531 this principle was extended, licenses to beg being issued. It was not, however, until the year of the abolition of the smaller monasteries (1536) that there came the first systematic attempt to raise funds for poor relief purposes. These were raised by means of a rate collected by the Churchwardens of each parish. This (in theory) was optional, but in practice pressure was put upon those parishioners who objected to paying. Thus, from the time of the Peasants' Revolt until Elizabeth, there was a series of poor-law enactments which in practice met with varying success. It should be noted that this development of schemes for providing poor-relief was mainly secular in origin. The Church at this time falls into the background as an institution for relieving the poverty which was the curse of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This is surprising when it is remembered that " Catholic " apologists, both of the Roman and Anglo varieties, have long belauded that aspect of medieval life which found its expression in monasticism. They have painted in rich and glowing colours the idealism of the monastic life; the saintliness of the monks, who, in the seclusion of the cloister, kept alive the spirit of culture and learning inherited from the defunct Roman Empire. Above all, they praise their kindness to the sick and poor as an attempt to put into practice the social implications of the Gospel of Christ. This view of monasticism has been carefully fostered by such writers as Cobbett, Father Gasquet, Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton, the latter of whom so picturesquely describes the monasteries as " The inns of God where no man paid, that were the walls of the weak," and would have us believe that the Dissolution let loose upon England the floodtide of a relentless social tyranny. This view of the functions of the monasteries and of the effects of their dissolution has, in fact, little or no historical foundation. It is perfectly true that, in their early days, the monasteries did render very valuable services to both the spiritual and the material sides of the life of the community. As in all human achievements, however, there followed a period of stagnation and decay. This, coupled with the growth of secular institutions, rendered the need for monasticism less real. Long before the Dissolution we find that the ideals of piety and self-abnegation which had animated the earlier monks had largely disappeared.

On the material side also, there was a rapid decline.

" Everywhere as the period progresses," says Snape in his *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, " we see a withdrawal of the monasteries

from an active share in the management of the sources of their income. The practice of farming everything out grows more and more common . . . in every direction the same thing went on; tithes were farmed out, mills were farmed out, every source of income was transferred to the hands of some outsider and the monks simply subsided into the position of men receiving rents" (ch. III, p. 94).

Such was the condition of a monastery like Battle Abbey, which, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, owned twenty-two manors, twenty-one of which were let out for cultivation by tenant farmers. As landlords, the monastic establishments were, alas! no better than the secular folk. Against the picture of the monks as " . . . the shaven men, that had been quaint and kind " drawn for us by the imagination of G. K. Chesterton, must be placed the contemporary opinion of Sir Thomas More. " Holy men enclose land, convert arable to pasture, claim villeins, turn copyholds into tenancies at will." [1] And again,

" The view sometimes expressed that the religious houses had been easier landlords than the lay owners into whose hands their estates passed, though it can occasionally be corroborated from the complaints made by tenants to the Government, scarcely seems, as yet, to be satisfactorily proved." [2]

An interesting example of the enmity which existed between the laity and the monastic orders is given by Froude in his *Annals of an English Abbey*. Briefly, the matter was as follows. The Abbot of St. Albans demanded that the townsmen should full their cloth and grind their corn at the monastery, at fees to be fixed by him. This tyranny they resented and on presenting their case at the secular courts, it was lost, with the result that they had to " purchase forgiveness by a present of wine." An incident of this kind shows the attitude of the laity towards the monks.

In regard to almsgiving it must not be forgotten that the amount distributed by the monasteries was really very small in comparison with their incomes. In the case of a large establishment like Bolton Priory, only $\frac{1}{280}$th to $\frac{1}{170}$th of the income was given in alms, and even if such items as tips to the servants of the great men who were frequent visitors to such establishments, be included, the amount expended was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total income.[3] And, even if the food and agricultural produce distributed to the poor be included, as well as actual cash, the results do not appear to show any very great munificence on the part of the monks. Another point which is frequently overlooked is that many of the monasteries were holders of money and land bequeathed to them by will on condition that they distributed a certain sum yearly to the poor. This was not a voluntary self-denial. It was a disbursement of funds earmarked for a specific purpose, which, if used for any other, would have been a breach of trust. Of the spontaneous charity which has endeared the memory of the monks

[1] *Utopia*. Quoted by Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 382.

[2] *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 380–81.

[3] Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, quoted by Snape in his *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (pp. 112–13).

to successive generations, there is not so much evidence as might be desired.

From the time of the Black Death, changing social conditions and fluctuating prices had possibly something to do with the decline of monasticism. Even, however, when due allowance is made for these factors, the fact remains that there was an all-round falling-off in monastic efficiency which continued right up to the Dissolution. On the eve of this event, however, the monasteries still remained a potent material force. Their financial position, in particular, was in many cases very strong. It is calculated that in 1535 their annual net temporal income was £109,786; and the net income from all sources exceeded £136,000.[1] To bring these figures to modern value (pre-war) they must be multiplied by about twelve. Measured in terms of modern value, therefore, the monasteries were worth an annual income of over one and a half millions; and by the same measure their total capital was in the region of twenty millions.[2]

Such wealth was bound to attract the avaricious attentions of those who had tasted the riches to be obtained from sheep-farming, for it is unfortunately true that those who planned the Dissolution were not actuated solely by ideas of reform. The age was one of rapid commercial expansion, and such is rarely one in which the element of greed is lacking.

Were, however, the monastic landlords any better than those who despoiled them? The evidence available certainly does not suggest that they were. Besides, the monasteries had been founded for a specific purpose, and now that the need for that purpose had largely vanished, or had passed into other hands, their continued existence could no longer be justified on the grounds of public utility or of spiritual value. It had grown beyond their power to ameliorate the social conditions of early sixteenth-century England. By the indiscrimination of the little charity that was disbursed they stimulated beggary rather than relieved want. As Professor Ashley remarks, "The Dissolution,—for the method of which no language of condemnation can be too strong—had at least this good result that it abolished a number of centres of pauperization."[3] And the fact remains, unwelcome though it must be to the admirers of medieval monasticism, that the monasteries had degenerated into huge corporations which possessed land and money to an extent altogether out of proportion to any service that they rendered to the community. Nor did this apply to the monasteries alone among ecclesiastical foundations. Even so ardent a Roman Catholic apologist as Mr. Hilaire Belloc makes the significant admission in regard to this period:

"that all over Europe not only monastic revenue, but the whole economic framework of ecclesiastical endowment was out of gear. . . . The revenues

[1] Savine's *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, p. 100.
[2] Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 310, note 5.
[3] *Economic History and Theory*, Book II, ch. v, p. 317.

of a bishopric, of a parish church, of a monastery, even of a hospital or college, had come in an increasing number of cases to be a dead piece of wealth which the laity as well as the clergy of the day regarded not quite as we do stocks and shares, but almost as unspiritually." [1]

The growing unpopularity of the monks with the commercial classes, from whom the nobility of Tudor England were recruited, made them an easy object of attack. Among the lower classes, too, the reverence for monasticism had waned. The day had passed when the monks could command the awe of a superstitious and ignorant peasantry. It is very significant that, during the reaction under Mary, no attempt was made to restore the monasteries, or to revive monastic charity, or to restore the monastic lands to their former owners. This alone shows that the love for the old religion did not stretch to the point of relinquishing material gains. Most of the money went to found great families like the Russells and the Cavendishes.

This must be the answer to those who maintain that the Dissolution was a national disaster; or who would seek to defend the monasteries on the ground of their services to the poor. It is true that the Dissolution was often cruelly and clumsily carried out, and that thereby much suffering was caused to many of the evicted monks. But the methods by which the Dissolution was carried out can be held no excuse for the uselessness of the monasteries.

To what, then, must be attributed the great growth of poverty and social ills which occurred contemporaneously with the Dissolution? The answer is to be found in the changing economic and social conditions of the times. Feudalism, which had been for centuries the structure of medieval society, had received its deathblow and was giving place—in many cases had given place—to the social system under which we live at the present day. The chief difference in the change from medieval to modern is to be found in the changed tenure of land, which became valuable as an instrument of production and an investment for money rather than as a source of men and materials for war. Under feudalism each man, be he lord or peasant, had his appointed place in society, with appropriate rights and duties. "The lord," said Beaumanoir the medieval jurist, "is quite as much bound to be faithful to his man, as the latter is bound in regard to his lord." [2]

The gradual disintegration of feudalism changed this ideal. Personal service and dependence upon one's superiors gave place to the cash nexus and a greater sense of independence on the part of the individual.

In our own country, this change was complicated by the problems involved in the rapid growth of the wool trade, as unemployment was greatly increased when arable land was turned into pasture for sheep, much fewer persons being engaged on a sheep farm than in agriculture. From the time of Edward III the production of wool had been the staple English industry. During the

[1] *How the Reformation Happened*, ch. iv, pp. 111–12.
[2] Quoted by Hattersley, *Short History of Western Europe* (ch. v. p, 70).

latter half of the fifteenth century there had occurred a further development. England now exported great quantities of woollen goods as well as the raw material. Its growth may be gauged by the fact that in 1354 the exports of cloth amounted to 5,000 pieces ; on the accession of Henry VIII (1509) it had risen to 80,000, and rose to over 120,000 at the end of his reign. This increased production of wool meant that more pastures must be found, and, for that, land divided on the old feudal system of strips was useless. Hence, to provide new pastures, sheep-farmers, seized with a " get-rich-quick " spirit not peculiar to their age, began to enclose the waste lands which had belonged to the village communities for generations. These, as well as arable lands, were turned into sheep pasture with all speed.

In a few instances, these enclosures were to the benefit of the peasantry but, on the whole, they were inimical to their interests. The peasants were despoiled of their lands ; and rents were raised. The immediate effects of these changes was to cause a great increase in poverty. Whole families were evicted from their holdings and much suffering resulted. Sir Thomas More in the first book of *Utopia* tells us :

" Your sheep . . . which are usually so tame and so cheaply fed, are now, it is said, so greedy and wild, that they devour men and lay waste and depopulate fields, houses and towns. For in those parts of the realm where the finest and therefore the most costly wool is produced, these nobles and gentlemen, and even holy Abbots, not satisfied with the revenues and annual profits derived from their estates, and not content with leading an idle life and doing no good to the country, but rather doing it harm, leave no ground to be tilled, but enclose every bit of land for pasture, pull down houses and destroy towns, leaving only the church to pen the sheep in." [1]

The class above the peasants, the yeomanry, corresponding to our middle classes, then, as now, the backbone of the community, were also badly hit by the enclosures and rising rents. Bishop Latimer, in his first sermon preached before King Edward VI, has left us an interesting record of this class. " My father was a yeoman," he said, " and had no lands of his own ; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled as much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep and my mother milked thirty kine. . . ." Later in the sermon he told of the great increase in rents, so that " he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year or more."

When the evil effects of enclosing and rent-raising became apparent, several Acts of Parliament were passed to prohibit it. In 1504 the matter was dealt with in a Royal Proclamation, further legislation being passed. As a result of an inquiry held in 1517 measures were taken against land-owners who enclosed their lands. The results, however, were slight. Fines were levied on the offending land-owners, but the law tended to degenerate into a means of raising revenue, rather than a bar to further enclosing.

Contributary causes of the great increase in poverty were the

[1] Richard's translation into Modern English, p. 13.

bad harvests of the first two decades of the sixteenth century, which caused an increase in the price of wheat and rye. In addition, there were the repeated debasement of the coinage, the heavy taxation, due to war, and the glut of gold and silver from the New World.

The growth of luxury and extravagance among the upper classes also made the problem more difficult. The desire for a more luxurious standard of living led to exactions on the part of those who rendered no useful service to the community, and were a hindrance to the national well-being. Beggary at one end of the social scale and parasitism at the other, in Tudor England, divided class from class in a manner of which we can have no conception at the present day.

" Now there is a great number of noblemen, who not only live idle themselves like drones on the labours of others, as for instance the tenants of their estates, whom they squeeze to the utmost by raising their rents (for it is the only economy they know of, being otherwise so extravagant as to bring themselves to want), but also carry about with them a huge crowd of followers who have never learnt a trade for a livelihood." [1]

It was to these social and economic changes, especially the sheep farming, that the poverty and vagrancy of the early sixteenth century were due; and not as successive generations of partisan historians have tried to maintain, to the effects of the Dissolution. This false impression would never have arisen, but for the habit of blackening everything connected with the advent of Protestantism in this country, and making it out to be an unmitigated curse both to the nation and the individual. This has led to the confounding of a religious with an economic revolution. These, as Professor Tawney points out, were brother and sister, not parent and child.[2] The transfer of the monastic lands immediately after the Dissolution possibly accentuated for a time the prevailing social distress, but it is doubtful whether it had any long standing effect of this kind when once the new conditions had adjusted themselves.

There is thus no proof at all for the long-exploded dictum of Cobbett that " viewed merely in its social aspect, the English Reformation was in reality the rising of the rich against the poor." As Dr. Coulton remarks, it " will not bear even a moment's comparison with the facts of medieval history." [3]

No doubt to the monk, despoiled of the shelter of the monastery, to the corrodian deprived of his pension, the Dissolution must have been staggering. It must have seemed a veritable *Dies Irae*, as indeed it was of the narrow world bounded by the monastic walls. But to the larger nation to come, the land of Shakespeare, Drake and Burleigh, it was but a stage in the progress toward the contentment and prosperity of Elizabethan England.

[1] More's *Utopia*, Richard's translation into Modern English, pp. 10–11.
[2] *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 382.
[3] *The Medieval Village*, p. 379.

THE JOHANNINE COMMISSION.

By THE REV. W. H. RIGG, D.D., Vicar of Beverley Minster, East Yorks.

AT the Lambeth Conference of 1930 the question of the union of the Anglicans of South India with the United South Indian Church will come up for consideration. Its importance for our Church is so great that Bishop Gore very truly considers that it constitutes a "crisis or judgment for Anglicanism." [1] One of the rocks on which the proposals may suffer shipwreck is, that in the interim period, when not all the Ministers shall have received episcopal ordination, the principle of the apostolic succession will have been violated.

In face of this possibility Bishop Gore goes so far as to say, "At least we must ask of hitherto non-episcopal Protestants that it has been the constant belief of Catholics that the threefold ministry is the only valid ministry of the Church, which has descended in orderly and legitimate succession from the Apostles, and that its recovery, where it has been lost, is the necessary condition of union." [2] Dr. Gore is of course speaking for a particular group within the Anglican communion, not for the Anglican Church as a whole. It is possible, however, that those who think with him may control the ecclesiastical situation, so that it is incumbent upon those of us who do not feel able to take such a rigid attitude towards our separated Brethren to re-examine our views of the Christian Ministry, and to challenge, if need be, his view of the Anglican Settlement, which is that "the principle of the succession in the ministry from the Apostles is as essential a part of the Divine plan as the Creed or the Sacraments, and is in fact rooted both in the historical tradition of the Church and the New Testament itself." [3] In this article it is not proposed to write against Dr. Gore's position as a whole, but rather to consider one of the great texts of the New Testament, the interpretation of which must determine to a very considerable extent our conception of the Christian Ministry.

ST. JOHN XX. 21–3.

Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent Me, even so I send you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained. (R.V.)

These words were addressed by the Risen Lord to His disciples on the evening of the first Easter Day. Some there are, like Dr. Cadoux in his learned work on Catholicism and Christianity, who

[1] Cf. The Church Overseas, July 1929. *The Proposal of Union in the South Indian Church*, p. 195.

[2] Ibid., p. 201. [3] Ibid., p. 203.

would not allow that they were spoken by our Lord at all. He rejects them on three grounds. (1) They rest solely on the testimony of the Fourth Gospel. (2) They are post-resurrection words; and the post-resurrection period was from an early date utilized as a convenient blank to which the pious imagination could refer all sorts of later rulings for which the Lord's express sanction was desired. (3) They harmonize far better with the mind of the Church in A.D. 100 than with the best-attested other teaching of Jesus.[1]

To those who accept these reasons it is of course quite unnecessary to consider the Johannine Commission. According to them it is the product of the Christian Church or consciousness, and, however early it may have arisen, it loses its value as an authentic utterance of the Incarnate Saviour. We believe that there are Anglo-Catholics who are dubious about the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and even hesitate to ascribe the Gospel to an eyewitness. They would adopt, we imagine, a position somewhat similar to that of the late Baron von Hügel, but valuable and helpful as was that great writer, it was just on the very question of religious authority and its relationship to the mind of Christ, that we found it most difficult to understand him, not to speak of following him.

We, on the other hand, place very great value on the testimony of the Fourth Gospel. We are convinced that it was written by one of the Lord's own immediate followers. The latest commentator on St. John's Gospel, Archbishop Bernard, does not hesitate to attach the highest value to the sayings of Jesus as handed down to us in the Fourth Gospel. Further, the reserve shown by the Evangelist in his accounts of the appearances of the Risen Lord leaves with us a deep impression that, both as a witness and an interpreter, he may be implicitly trusted, and the interpretation we place upon this great Commission will, we hope, be found to harmonize with the rest of the teaching of Jesus.

The first question we must endeavour to answer is, to whom were the words addressed?

The late Bishop Westcott denied that they were addressed exclusively to the Apostles. He has had many followers in our own country. On the other hand Bishop Gore [2] and others, amongst them the late Dr. Bernard, would maintain that the words were addressed to the Apostles alone.[3]

If St. Luke's account of the first Easter is combined with that of the Fourth Gospel, we seem forced to conclude that there were others present besides the Apostles. After the Lord had made Himself known to the two disciples at the breaking of bread at Emmaus He vanished from their sight, forthwith they rose up and

[1] *Catholicism and Christianity* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928), pp. 413, 414.

[2] Cf. *The Church and the Ministry*, 3rd ed., p. 229.

[3] Cf. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), Vol. ii, pp. 676, 677.

returned to Jerusalem, " and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them " (St. Luke xxiv. 33).[1] Dr. Bernard's comment on this is that we must not assume " that John in his report of the same incident implies either (*a*) that others besides the Apostles were present when Jesus began to speak, or (*b*) that His commission was not addressed exclusively to the Apostles even if others were there." [2] In reply to (*a*) the Evangelist was, as Dr. Bernard allows, most probably acquainted with St. Luke's Gospel as well as with St. Mark's, and unless there is evidence to the contrary it is natural to assume that if others besides the Apostles were present in the upper room they were present when Jesus began to speak, especially as the doors were shut for fear of the Jews. With regard to (*b*) St. Thomas was not present, and of course Matthias had not yet been elected to fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot, so that it was anyhow to a truncated body of the Apostolate that the Commission must have been given, even assuming that it was addressed to the Apostles, and the Apostles alone. But supposing that the recipients of the Commission were confined to the inner circle of Christ's disciples, why, we ask, should it not be given to them *as representing the whole Church*? It is a striking feature of the Fourth Gospel that " the Twelve " (cf. vi. 67, 70, 71, xx. 24) are never addressed as Apostles but always as " disciples." Excluding chapter xxi., which is an Appendix to the Gospel, the word *μαθητής* or *μαθηταί* occurs very nearly seventy times, but with the exception of St. John xiii. 16, where it is used in a general way, the word *ἀπόστολος* never occurs at all. After the defection of many disciples on account of the hardness of the Lord's teaching (vi. 60) it comes generally to be used of those belonging to the inner circle of the twelve disciples. Yet the singular noun is applied to Joseph of Arimathæa (xix. 38), who was not one of the twelve, and in xx. 30 the disciples appear to include all those who were eyewitnesses of the signs of Jesus.

Even more important is it to notice who the disciples were. It is not sufficient to say that those who were present in the Upper Room that first Easter evening and received the Commission were confined to the twelve. They were men who were regarded by our Lord as unreservedly belonging to Him. Of them the Saviour said, " Ye are clean," and the added qualification, " But ye are not all clean," was no longer applicable on the evening of the first Easter Day, since Judas Iscariot had gone to his own place. The recipients of the great Commission were likened unto the branches abiding in the Vine, they were abiding in Christ and Christ in them. These disciples were men known to Christ as those who would keep His words, men chosen by Him out of the world, and entirely distinct from it (xv. 19; xvii. 16). It may be true to say that these ten men represented the Catholic Church, but more so still that they represented that Church as she was meant to be according to the mind of Christ, who, seeing the end

[1] Possibly amongst these women should be included, cf. Acts i. 13, 14.
[2] Ibid., Vol. ii, p. 676.

from the beginning, saw in them already what they were capable of becoming. Thus the successors of the Apostles who received the Easter Day Commission must also be men abiding in Christ, keeping His words, in the world yet not of it. Strangely enough, in books on the origins of the Christian Ministry this side of the question has not received the attention it deserves, and yet it is the most essential side of the Christian Ministry. If such terms as valid or invalid are to apply to Holy Orders, and we may be very doubtful as to their application in this connexion, it is in this direction that we should look rather than in any other.

Let us now consider the nature of the Commission itself. The Lord Himself says, "Peace be unto you" (xx. 21). This is no ordinary salutation. It is distinct from that in which the Saviour had said the same words. On that occasion it was the peace of reassurance (xx. 19). It is His peace which He now bestows on them, a peace the world cannot give, and which is inseparably bound up with Himself, His own peace (xiv. 27). Then the Risen Lord continues, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you" (xx. 21). Two different words are used for the double mission conveyed in this verse. The mission of the Father entrusted to the Son, and the mission of the Son to the disciples. In the first the perfect tense of *ἀποστέλλω* is used, in the second the present tense of *πέμπω*. We may give the usual meaning of the Johannine perfect, permanence and completion. Christ has completely finished the work He has been given to do (xvii. 4). That purpose for which He had been sent on earth He had perfectly accomplished. From another point of view, when He was glorified it had only just begun. Behind His disciples He was ever working, His mission would continue, He would be ever coming to them, ever sending them. Perhaps that is the reason why two different words are used for "sending." Dr. Bernard objects to a distinction being made between the words as over-subtle. We are doubtful whether it is possible to provide an exact and exclusive definition of the words, yet coming as they do so closely together it is difficult to avoid feeling that some difference must have been intended. Might we suggest that they emphasize the immediateness of the Son's mission? To Him the Father gives the Spirit not by measure (iii. 34), whereas it is through Christ the disciples are sent by the Father, and being but men they must ever be limited in their capacity to receive the Spirit, and in their power of witnessing to His grace. Thus is their mission incomplete in contrast to the completeness of the Only Son.

"And when He had said this He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." A symbolical action which is highly suggestive accompanies the bestowal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. As the Fourth Gospel opens with words reminding us of the book of Genesis, the first Creation being placed side by side with the New Creation which came with the advent of the Word made flesh, so here at the close of the Gospel it is in symbol recorded that man, formed of the dust of the ground, needs the

breath of the Spirit of God in order to become spiritually alive Gen. ii. 7; Is. xlii. 5; Wisd. xv. 11). The New Life was given by Christ's bestowal of the Spirit, who is the breath of the Church's life (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 9 ff.), the quickener of her activities, the inspiration of her message.

"Receive ye the Holy Spirit." For our purpose the word "receive" is most important. Both Bishop Westcott and Archbishop Bernard are most emphatic that the word chosen for "receive" does not imply the merely passive receiving of a gift, but also a responsive effort on the part of him to whom it is offered. If an examination is made of the occasions upon which the word "receive" is used in the Fourth Gospel, their conclusions are amply justified, and this we submit must govern our interpretation of the power to remit and to retain sins. It is only in so far as a man has appropriated the gift of the Holy Spirit, and received Him into his own life, that we may dare to speak of his having authority to declare or withhold God's pardon. The giving of the Holy Spirit is dependent upon belief in Christ (vii. 39): "But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believed on Him were to receive." The words "believed on Him," *πιστεύσαντες εἰς ἀυτόν*, convey more than mere believing in certain statements about our Lord, namely, reliance upon Him, full self-committal to Him. Many on earth were in contact with Christ, but did not receive Him, only those who "believed on His name" were regarded as receiving Him, and to them, and them alone, did He give the authority to become children of God (i. 12). They are distinct from the world. Those very men to whom the Commission was given, Our Lord had previously prayed for to His Father that He would give them another Paraclete that He might abide with them for ever, even the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive, not possessing the power of spiritual discernment (xiv. 16, 17). As Dr. Bernard says in commenting on this passage, "It would not have been said to the 'world,' *λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον* (xx. 22). That gift could be received only by spiritually minded men."[1] This being so, what happens in the case of those who, having received the Johannine Commission, so far as the outward words and form are considered, yet are not spiritually minded men? No answer is left to us but to say that whatever may be the case in the eyes of the Church on earth they have received no authority whatsoever from God.

We must now consider the substance of the Commission. "Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." This promise must not be taken by itself, but should be judged in the light of the other promises given in this very Gospel. Familiar as some of them are, they bid us rise to such heights of faith and confidence that we who are called to be the ministers and stewards of the mysteries of God can but feel how utterly unworthy and inadequate we are for what God has called us to be and to do. "Ye did not

[1] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 546.

choose Me, but I chose you, and appointed you, that ye should go and bear fruit, and that your fruit should abide: that whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He may give it you" (xv. 16). "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto the Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask anything in My name, I will do it" (xiv. 12–14). "And in that day ye shall ask Me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, if ye shall ask anything of the Father, He will give it you in My name. Hitherto have ye asked nothing in My name: ask and ye shall receive that your joy may be fulfilled" (xvi. 23, 24). These great promises are conditional. In so far as the disciple is in union with Christ, and his will is His will, it may be said that he prays the prayers of Christ, Christ prays in him.[1] "If ye abide in Me, and My words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you" (xv. 7; cf. 1 St. John v. 14, 15). In his first epistle St. John says: "Whosoever is born of God sinneth not" (1 St. John v. 18; cf. iii. 9; 2 St. John 9), and "whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not" (1 St. John iii. 6). The oneness of the believer with Christ is hereby indicated. The more he abides in Christ the less he sins, though under present conditions, he must ever be confessing his sins (1 St. John i. 8–10), his sin is ever before him, but the Christian disciple, as he surrenders himself more and more to his Master, bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. x. 5), can re-echo the words of St. Paul: "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). By virtue of this oneness with Christ, and in the power of the Divine Spirit, he may remit sins or he may retain them. When the Lord said to the man sick of the palsy, "Son, thy sins are forgiven" (St. Mark ii. 5), certain of the Scribes objected that Christ was exercising a prerogative belonging to God alone. This is the view of the Old Testament (cf. Exod. xxxiv., 6 ff.; Is. xliii., 25 ff.; xliv. 22), and even the Messiah, so the Rabbis taught, did not possess the power of forgiving sins.[2] Our Lord claimed this power inasmuch as the Father had given Him authority to execute judgment because He is the Son of Man (St. John v. 27), and in His own case He did nothing of Himself. "As I hear, I judge: and My judgment is righteous: because I seek not Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me" (v. 30). Being the perfect organ of the Father, He could mediate forgiveness to every contrite sinner who came seeking for pardon. He possessed that perfect insight which did not judge according to the appearance but judged righteous judgment (vii. 24) and could say to the impotent man, "Behold,

[1] Cf. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Martin Luther, Tersteegen, Johann Arndt are conscious when they pray that prayer is a gift of God. He is praying within them. Their experience coincides with St. Paul and St. Augustine. Cf. Heiler, *Das Gebet* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1923), pp. 224–8.

[2] Cf. Strack und Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Band I, "Das Evangelium des Matthaüs," p. 495.

thou art made whole : sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee " (v. 14).

It was this gift of insight which the Lord possessed through the perfect correspondence of His life to the Father's will and purpose, and His complete sympathy with fallen mankind, which He bestowed upon His disciples that first Easter Day, though they and their successors must often have sadly confessed that it was marred by lack of faith, by sin and want of love on their part. The unworthiness of the minister does hinder his insight into the true state of the man who comes to him to unburden the secrets of his soul, and thereby he may be prevented from knowing whether he should assure him of, or withhold from him, the Divine forgiveness.

It is important to observe how this Commission was exercised in the Apostolic age. Whenever the disciples rose to preach they knew that they had not to trust to their own eloquence and ability but spoke in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor. ii. 4). After St. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost his hearers were pricked to the heart, and in answer to their question, " What shall we do ? " he replied, " Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost " (Acts ii. 38). They, then, that gladly received the message were baptized, doubtless there were others who did not accept it. Those who repented and accepted Christ as a result of the Apostles' teaching, their sins were remitted ; those who did not accept the offer of salvation, their sins were retained, they remained in their sin. St. Paul's experience was the same. He writes to the Corinthians that " the word of the Cross is to them that are perishing foolishness ; but unto us which are being saved it is the power of God " (1 Cor. i. 18). " For we are a sweet savour of Christ unto God, in them that are being saved, and in them that are perishing ; to the one a savour from death unto death ; to the other a savour from life unto life " (2 Cor. ii. 15, 16).

Whenever a man hears the Gospel preached by a genuine disciple of Christ, if he has not already given himself to Christ, he comes to the parting of the ways: either he is being brought to the Saviour, and thus are his sins being remitted (cf. Acts x. 42, 43), or he may harden his heart, and thus are his sins retained, and the most terrible part of it is, the more he resists the appeal of Christ, the harder his heart becomes, and the more fixed is the retention of his sins. He, indeed, becomes tied and bound by the chain of his sins. His last state is worse than the first.

The apostles and disciples, instructed by the Holy Spirit, exercised this power of remitting or retaining sins. St. Peter retained the sin of Ananias and Sapphira when he saw that they had lied to the Holy Ghost, and kept back part of the price of the land (Acts v. 3, 9). St. Paul also informed the Corinthians that when they were gathered together, he being absent in body but present with them in spirit, they were, in the name of the Lord Jesus and with His power, to hand over to Satan a notorious evil-

liver with a view to the salvation of his spirit in the day of the Lord Jesus (1 Cor. v. 1–5). But these incidents do not prove that this power was confined to the apostles as distinct from the Christian community, but rather the reverse, since St. Paul censures the Corinthians for not having taken action (cf. verse 2). They should have had enough insight to have taken it upon themselves to excommunicate the grievous offender without the necessity for the apostle's intervention.[1]

We have an instance of the remittance of sins in the second Epistle to the Corinthians (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 1–11). It is almost certain that he is not the person referred to in 1 Cor. v. 1–5. Dr. Gore in commenting on this passage says, " St. Paul exhorts the congregation to receive back their penitent brother; and again taking the initiative upon himself, speaks of himself as forgiving ' in the person of Christ ' the sin he had before ' retained.' "[2] But the Apostle is pleading with them, and when he beseeches them to forgive the offender he adds by way of parenthesis (verse 10): " If I have forgiven anything." He has indeed had cause to exercise the virtue of forgiveness, as the offender had done him an injury (cf. vii. 12); he had " in some outrageous and public manner defied the Apostle's authority."[3] Of all men St. Paul had cause to withhold forgiveness, but no, he had taken the whole matter to the Lord, and " in His presence " (better than " in the

[1] Dr. Gore, in *The Church and the Ministry*, op. cit., p. 237, note 1, says: " St. Paul seems to imply that the Corinthian Church, endowed as it was with the gift of ' government ', could have removed the evil doer out of their midst by the disciplinary authority belonging to the community; cf. ver. 13." " But," he adds, " probably only the Apostle could inflict the physical punishment; see Alford, in loc." This does not seem to us to be the case. Those who fall away from Christ or are cut off from Him, *ipso facto*, belong to the kingdom of darkness over which Satan rules (cf. St. John xii. 31; xvi. 11). More important for our purpose is it to note that the discipline exercised by the Church must have been modelled after the Jewish Synagogue. It is possible that in our Lord's lifetime two kinds of exclusion from the congregation took place, either without or with the infliction of the anathema (cf. Schürer, *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (E.T.), Div. ii. Vol. ii, p. 61). In the New Testament the lighter form, that is to say temporary exclusion from the congregation, as practised by the Christian Church in 2 Thess. iii. 14, and presupposed in 2 Cor. ii. 6 ff., may be referred to in St. Luke vi. 22; St. John ix. 22; xii. 42; xvi. 2. The severer form (cf. Ezra x. 8) is not found in the New Testament, but the anathema is mentioned (cf. Acts xxiii. 12, 14; Rom. ix. 3), and St. Paul says of him who loves not the Lord, " Let him be anathema " (1 Cor. xvi. 22; cf. Gal. i. 8, 9). Johannes Weiss considers that the handing over to Satan is nothing else but the anathema, that is, the severer form of excommunication (cf. *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1925, 10. Auflage, pp. 130, 131). One of the great differences between Jewish and Christian procedure consisted in the fact that in the former the powers of excommunication were administered by means of appointed officials, whereas in the latter they were in the hands of the Christian community as a whole (so Schürer and J. Weiss).

[2] Op. cit., p. 237.

[3] Cf. *International Critical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, by Dr. A. Plummer (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), p. 225.

person of Christ ") knew that Christ had forgiven him. The Apostle had exercised the gift of discernment. He had remitted the man's sin, but even so he desired the Church to forgive also and to act with him.

One more instance must be given. In his first letter to Timothy, St. Paul writes that he has delivered unto Satan Hymnæus and Alexander that they may learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. i. 20). Dr. Lock thinks that the action of the whole community is not excluded: there would be no need to repeat all the details to Timothy.[1] Be that as it may, St. Paul is writing to a leader of the Christian Church who by his very position would be expected to take the initiative, and should there be some who had turned aside and deserted the faith (cf. 1 Tim. i. 6), Timothy, St. Paul's own son in the faith, must not hesitate to take action. " Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery " (1 Tim. iv. 14). The real medium for the reception of the gift bestowed upon Timothy was the word of God proceeding from the mouth of the Christian prophets on St. Paul, himself a prophet (cf. 2 Tim. i. 6; Acts xi. 27; xiii. 1; xxi. 10; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; xiv. 29; Eph. ii. 20; iii. 5; iv. 11), in comparison with which the laying on of hands takes quite a subordinate place.[2]

May we now state the conclusions to which we are led by the evidence of the New Testament? The Johannine Commission is not an official gift bestowed upon an order of men, but it is a prophetic gift given by the Risen Lord to His disciples and through them to His whole Church. This gift can only be exercised by men abiding in Christ and dependent upon His Holy Spirit. We have seen that in the proclamation of the Gospel by men called of God and living in the power of the Holy Spirit sins will be retained, sins will be remitted.

We have also recognized that the Christian community can, in dependence upon the same Spirit, either exclude from or restore to the Christian fellowship those who belong to them, confident that their action, in so far as it is in accordance with the Divine will, will be ratified in heaven.

There remains the case of the individual who wishes to confess his sins, as one Prayer Book expresses it, " to a learned and discreet Minister of the word." Are we to deny him this privilege? Certainly not, provided it is made clear that when a man makes use of private confession it is of a voluntary character, and is, in itself, of no more value than a true confession of sin made to Christ alone and not in the presence of a third person. If, however, it is urged, How are we to know whether our own penitence is sincere or not? and therefore it is safer to resort to a Minister, we reply that because a man has been episcopally ordained, that does not

[1] Cf. International Critical Commentary. The Pastoral Epistles, 1924. p. 20.

[2] Cf. J. Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1911), p. 49.

of necessity imply that he is a person properly qualified to judge concerning a man's penitence. This difficulty of judging our own penitence implies that what is required of an ordained Minister of the Gospel is that he should possess the gift of discernment, and this he can only claim by virtue of his dependence upon Christ and in reliance upon the Holy Spirit. This gift he cannot receive merely officially, it must be personal as well. Many years ago the late Bishop Chavasse, when Principal of Wycliffe Hall, told some of us in his study that he had heard confessions the recital of which made his blood run cold. Men turned to him for help because they were convinced that he was an ambassador on behalf of Christ; both by his life and conversation God was speaking through him (2 Cor. v. 20). Were he to tell them that their penitence was insincere they would have searchings of heart and no rest until they had heard from his lips "The Lord hath put away thy Sin." [1]

It is this prophetic side of the Johannine Commission which we have emphasised, and although for the purpose of regularising it, for God is not the author of confusion but of peace (1 Cor. xiv. 33), Episcopacy is the best method of administration and of preserving the unity of the Christian Church, unless the Church as a whole and her leaders in particular are depending on and being filled with the Holy Spirit that Commission is not being exercised. If our contention is a sound one, seeing that the Johannine Commission has been so abundantly manifested in the Churches of Southern India, much as we revere Bishop Gore we believe that the policy he advocates will be disastrous to our Church and to our common Christianity.

[1] The Minister of God's word must satisfy himself as far as possible that the penitent intends to make restitution (where necessary) and to lead a new life.

The first Walter Seton Memorial Lecture was delivered at University College, London, by Mr. Harold E. Goad, O.B.E., M.A., Director of the British Institute at Florence.

Among Dr. Seton's many interests was a devotion to Franciscan studies. He was Honorary Secretary during the last five years of his life, of the English Society of Franciscan studies. It was appropriate therefore, that Mr. Goad should choose as the subject of the First Memorial Lecture, *The Fame of St. Francis of Assisi.* He gives an account of the varied characters throughout history who have been attracted by Francis, and an estimate of the source and extent of his influence on them. Special attention is drawn to the work of Sabatier, to whom is largely due the interest taken by Protestants in the Life of St. Francis. The Lecture is both a fitting memorial to Dr. Seton and a valuable summary of the place in history of the great Saint of Umbria. (University of London Press, Ltd. 2*s.* net.)

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.

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

THE Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John is to many a sealed book, full of enigmas, strange numbers, symbolical figures, mystic matters and violent contrasts, with which human conjecture has been busily employed through all the centuries.

It recalls the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, being written and conceived in the same style. There are many works written in a similar style, but vastly different, for they have not the same Divine authority in Jewish literature. Such were composed in times of national distress, and constituted attempts to offer an answer to the problem of the Psalmist (lxxiii), why the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer in this world of God's, if God is Almighty.

The object of the Book, like that of Daniel, is to throw light upon the problems and processes of natural and spiritual life. "Apocalyptik" differs from prophecy in this, that its subject is *scenes*, while prophecy consists of *messages*. Here St. John saw visions full of symbolical shapes. He relates his experiences which are for every age and place. The work is one: it is a revelation not Revelations, and is to be read as a continuous whole, as Dr. Swete has shown in his excellent commentary. It is written by the same hand, traces of whose peculiar Hebraistic idioms are found in every page. As Dr. Charles has shown in his *Studies* it is a magnificent film for the spirit, warning and appealing; revealing and concealing.

It grows in interest and intensity as we turn over its mystic pages. The scenes are marshalled with skill; painted with an art that makes its subjects live before us; and presented with a realism, now awful and now inspiring. We see the angels move and speak; we hear the shouts of the conqueror, the screams of the vanquished, the lamentations of the despairing, the voices of the heavens, the songs of the saints, and the anthems of redeemed humanity.

Many and conflicting have been the interpretations of it. In the first centuries of persecution the Christian teachers found in it a representation of the struggle between the Church and the Empire. When the Empire had been converted it resolved itself into a mystical narrative of the world-long struggle between good and evil. Augustine in his *City of God* develops this idea of God's guidance of His Church all through the ages. The Thousand Years' reign (xx. 3) and Antichrist (xiii.) presented the Church with problems to which various ages offered various solutions. The Thousand Years have been explained literally and historically by Irenæus; spiritually by the Alexandrian teachers, mystically by Augustine, and each school is represented to-day. One Greek commentator

Andreas (sixth century) combined the three methods. There is undoubtedly an historical background to the work; there is also much that is allegorical, symbolical, and cryptic in it; and the underlying principles of God's will, power, and righteousness can only be spiritually discerned, for they are Spiritual.

The problems presented by Babylon and the first and second Beasts, solved in the early centuries by persecuting emperors and pagan Rome, afterwards created a controversy between the Reformers who followed the Franciscan Abbot Joachim's (1202) identification with papal Rome, and the Jesuits who found the key in the future or the past. Ribeira the Jesuit (1601) declared that John foresaw only the nearest future and the last things, nothing between; and relegated Antichrist to the remotest period. Alcasar (1613) argued that the Apocalypse fell into three parts, the first, iv.–xi., dealing with the Church's conflict with Judæism which it conquered, and the second, xii.–xix., its conflict with paganism, the third, the closing chapters, dealing with the present triumph of the Church. Bossuet following on the same side referred the portions containing these controversial matters to the period of persecution under the Roman empire (*cc.* v.–xix.). In England, Sir Isaac Newton and Whiston were interested in the Apocalypse and found minute fulfilments of it from the days of Domitian to their own. The French Revolution gave a fresh zest to its study. At the present time some writers (principally German) find more interest in what they describe as its sources than in its subjects. Archbishop Benson saw in it a Christian philosophy of history, and others, following Eichorn, find in it a drama of the progress of the Christian faith. Some of these interpreters have seen some side of this many-sided book whose symbolism permits a latitude of interpretation.

Following a time standard, there are three systems of exegesis: (1) the Preterists, who see the references to the past, the closing scenes of the writer's life, or of the pagan empire of Rome; (2) the historical school, who find it a continuous history of what has happened, and is happening, and a prophecy of what shall happen; (3) the Futurists, who apply its predictions to the events to precede or follow the Second Advent of Christ.

Looking at the Book, we find that it arose out of an historical situation, the need of the seven Asian Churches for consolation and advice in a time of peril. The word *tribulation* (θλίψις) occurs four times in it. John is their companion in *tribulation*. He consoles them by giving them the hope of final victory and approaching glory. The whole work might thus be taken to be a sermon in pictures on the text of Paul and Barnabas, "we must through many tribulations enter the Kingdom of God" (Acts xiv. 22). See vii. 14: "these are they who come out of the great tribulation and have washed their robes," etc. Any doubts of God's power or will to save, he removes by making them fall back upon God, *The All-ruler* (παντοκράτωρ). The question of Divine Omnipotence, which some raised during the War, was raised then and answered,

in a manner that suits every age and every circumstance and place, and Church, and soul. Nine times the writer used this word, only once elsewhere in the New Testament, though found in Amos and Hosea, with deliberate intent. The word is rendered " Almighty," but means Ruler of all things. Here, then, is the answer to the question, " Why God permits such things to be." Because He is the Universal Ruler, things must move, if not presently, at least finally, according to His will. Good must eventually triumph over Evil, and after the destruction of the evil the Kingdom of His righteousness must be ultimately established. The same idea of Divine omnipotence is safeguarded by the use of the expression " it was given (*ἐδόθη*) to him " or " to them," i.e., Divine permission was given, e.g., to " the fallen star " to have the key of the Abyss (ix. 1), also to the " locusts " and " scorpions " (ix. 3) to do hurt, and on the other hand " it was given " to the Bride the Lamb's wife to adorn herself (xix. 8). This formula " it was given," one of the keynotes of the Book, used some twenty times in *cc.* vi.–xx., safeguards the Omnipotence of God. If the Churches of every age would but take this great thought to heart, they would discern His coming in every trial of the Father. For He is " He who is, and who was and *who is coming* " (*ἐρχόμενος*), another of John's peculiar formulæ (i. 3, 8). The last participle being timeless, expresses the fact that He comes in the great upheavals and revolutions of Church and State as well as in the orderly progress and development of the Church and the world.

To interpret the drama aright we must begin with the historical background of the nascent Church in its incipient struggle with imperial Rome which it was destined to conquer under God. Then we note in the Book many timeless expressions, timeless because they can apply to every time, e.g., vii. 14, " These are they who *come* " (*ἐρχόμενοι*), i.e., those who in every age come out of the great conflict, for in every age there are critical times for the faith ; and xiv. 13, " Blessed are the dead who die (*ἀποθνήσκοντες*), (*i.e.*, in every age) in the Lord." The tense is timeless for the sense is continuous. The epistles are addressed to the Churches of every locality and generation. They are seven, a number that signifies completeness, universality, catholicity. They comprehend every variety of Christian life and religious experience, the humble and the proud, the devoted and the selfish, the spiritual and the worldly, the feeble and the strong. And they blend admonitions with encouragements, warnings and conditions which shall be to every Church of every age and place, that is to be. The application of the lessons of the Book is accordingly continuous, and catholic. Every age and every Church must receive these words as addressed to them. This universal feature of the Apocalypse distinguishes it from the purely national apocalypses of the Jewish Church, and is the seal of its inspiration. And finally, we must look for the complete and spiritual fulfilment of the words and scenes of this mystic roll in the future.

In our exegesis of the work we must not overlook the writer's

predominant line of thought, the spiritual. It was from above that he beheld the things on earth. His was the same eternal problem of suffering and sorrow that we have, while the current affairs of his time gave him his background. He is dealing with the various vicissitudes of Christian folk in the world, and because he regards them from the vantage-ground of heaven, he is enabled to discover in them the real principles that are embodied in the progress of human life and the process of the suns. If he contemplates the heaven from the side of the earth, he regards the earth from the side of heaven. Thus he was enabled to see with an intensified insight into human affairs as they appeared to God, and into heavenly matters as they appeared to an inspired man, to see the heavenly beauty of goodness and the earthly ugliness of sin.

In his symbolical visions he describes in concrete images the spiritual wickedness in high places which St. Paul mentioned, and also the glory of the Christ, which all Christians desired and desire to behold. And behind the fleeting episodes of human life, the floating opinions of men, the changes and chances of time, he, looking from above, saw—as with the rays of an intense penetrating and prophetic light—the spiritual and eternal principles of God's righteousness and love contending with the spiritual but non-eternal principles of evil and hate. And thus to the apocalyptic or unveiling vision of the seer, the inner working, the secret meaning of the universe were disclosed by the Spirit of God.

This is the clue that we are to follow as we endeavour to thread our way through the mazes of this mystic scroll. And as we keep the standpoint of the writer before us we shall see a new light upon the dark page. The prophecy of the Beast is applicable to the Neros and Domitians of every age ; while every period of spiritual progress and light may be identified with the thousand years (an indefinite period) of saintly rule. We shall also be able to see the Lord's reason for giving such an unveiling of the inner principles and motives and tendencies to his disciple, to be communicated through him to the faithful of all time. Man has many desires, many yearnings which all mean something and must in some way be satisfied. One of these yearnings is for light on the future. How was God to satisfy such a yearning without forestalling the regular development of events ; or discouraging his own faithful servants by what would bring them sadness or sorrow ; or encouraging them so greatly by the prospect of future glory and victory as to induce present inactivity and a dangerous sense of security ? He moved aside the veil for his servant to have a fleeting glimpse of the Divine power and purpose that have been working and worked out in the universe and the life of man from the beginning, but in enigmatical forms and mysterious images which baffle curiosity, but satisfy the believing who cannot but derive help and comfort from its pages in all earthly vicissitudes and troubles. For here is God's response to man's desire for light on the future. Sufficient has been said to give an impression of the

real and spiritual unity of this great drama and to show that it is not the least interesting and edifying of the books of the New Testament.

Following this line of interpretation we cannot regard the allegorical figures of the first and second Beasts and others (*c.* xiii.), as exhausted by any concrete examples of hideous cruelty, immorality and godlessness in the past. No doubt they were the Beasts of the Apocalypse for their own age. But the type has reappeared in every successive age, just as the contrasted types of goodness and godliness have. The Beast, whose number is enigmatical, 666, and surely not intended to serve as a puzzle for the ingenious, is the particular world-power of any particular age which identifies itself most thoroughly with that movement against God, virtue and religion, which has been engineered in every successive age by the hostile spirit, the enemy of God and man. In these days Soviet Russia best answers to this description, and Communism which supports it and heals its deadly wound is the second beast (xiii. 11). The very methods of both the beasts have unfortunately for many helpless sections of humanity been permitted to be put into force in the last couple of years. The peculiarity of the strange number 666, is, that it can be made to correspond with most names, and so it supports the contention that there are such Beasts in every age and all fall short of completeness, the success they aim at, the number six denoting incompleteness, and here it is three times repeated for emphasis. And in connection with the first Beast is another terrible allegorical figure—the great Impure one, the Mystery-city of Babylon, undoubtedly the capital city of the world-power represented by the first Beast, for she is seated on a *scarlet*-coloured beast, doubtless to be identified with the wild beast from the sea (xiii. 1, 14; cf. xix. 20); i.e., the world-power regarded as an enemy of Christ and the Church, and ruling by brute force (Swete).

And this figure recalls various terrible happenings in Petrograd, Moscow, and other cities as well as in pagan Rome. The consolation offered by the prophet to every age is that the power to hurt of such a state must be finally overcome.

Another much-discussed figure is the Rider of the White Horse (vi. 2), who carries a bow and receives a conqueror's crown. He is not to be identified with the Rider of the White Horse in xix. 11 ff. whose name is the Word of God. As Dr. Swete said, "the two riders have nothing in common beyond the white horse; the details are distinct," and a vision of the victorious Christ would be inappropriate at the opening of a series which symbolises bloodshed, famine and pestilence. Rather we have here a picture of triumphant militarism. This was made clear to everyone in the world-famous film of the Four Horsemen.[1] It was Conquest or the Lust of Conquest attended by his servants, war, death and famine that was answerable for the Great War.

Under the allegorical form of armed "locusts" and "scorpions"

[1] Directed by Rex Ingram, son of the writer.

(*c.* ix.), other hostile forces are represented who were permitted to harass the human race for a time. The Parthians, the Huns, Vandals, Goths, and various swarms of ruthless invaders might be brought under this category. Of the present era the conduct of the Turks in Armenia would place them in it. The allegorical figure with which the second portion of the Book opens in *c.* xii. —the woman clothed with the sun and crowned with the stars attacked in her travail by the *red* dragon, and delivered eventually of a male child is another problem. What the writer thought it meant we cannot say. Many suggestions have been offered such as, the Blessed Virgin and the Christ, and the Church and Christ, inasmuch as "the Church is always bearing." An early commentator said that the woman was the Ancient Church of the prophets and apostles, which was always in a state of unhappy eagerness and restless desire until it saw that the Christ had taken His humanity from her nation. But as this woman was afterwards persecuted for her faith in Christ (v. 13), she is not to be identified with the Jewish Church which rejected Christ, but with the Church of the prophets and apostles who believed in Christ who were Jews indeed, but were rejected by the Jewish Church. It is more likely the "City of God," as Augustine saw, that is here represented, which safeguards the truth of the Incarnation, and which produces sons of Christ and so to use St. Paul's figure, begets men "in Christ." Another symbolical figure of the Church is the *Bride* (xix. 7) arrayed simply in a robe of fine linen, representing the righteousness of the saints; and in xxi. 2, the New City Jerusalem, also called His Bride, representing a holy city and a pure woman as finally triumphant over the wicked woman and the evil city of Babylon. These, and the four living creatures of *c.* vi., and greatest of all, the Lamb-like figure of Christ in v. 6. with seven horns denoting the completion of his power, and with seven eyes expressing the fullness of his illumination, are the most striking symbolical figures of this wonderful work, in which every detail has a hidden meaning, e.g., the numbers, the stars, stones, colours, horns, eyes, linen—all are intended to suggest a moral or spiritual equivalent. The mystic number "three" is the signature of the Divine, "four" is the signature of the creation, four angels, four living creatures, four winds; seven of perfection, seven spirits, seven churches, seven angels, seven lamps, etc. Twelve is the signature of the people of God, His elect; ten means a perfect whole, e.g., ten commandments; five, a relative imperfection; and six, failure to reach completion, also a symbol of human power (Gen. i. 25).

The Book opens with a prologue (*cc.* i.–iii.) containing the Vision of Christ and the seven letters to the seven churches. This is followed by seven chief visions:

1. The Seven Seals and Trumpets (*cc.* iv.–xi.).
2. The Woman and her Child (*cc.* xii.–xiv.). The dragon and the beast.
3. The seven vials containing the seven last plagues (*cc.* xv.–xviii.).

4. The warrior and the two beasts (*c.* xix.).
5. The thousand years' reign followed by the overthrow of the dragon (*c.* xx.).
6. The New City (*c.* xxi.).
7. The New Life (*c.* xxii. 1–5).

These visions are followed by an epilogue (*c.* xxii. 6–21). There seems to be an orderly progress and a dramatic development in the stages and scenes of this work which gives it the appearance of an organic whole.

Mr. Albert Mitchell is recognised as one of the leaders of the Evangelical members in the Church Assembly, and has won for himself a position of influence by his intimate knowledge of the history and doctrine of our Church. In a short account of *The Faith of an English Churchman* (Longmans, Green & Co., 2*s.* 6*d.* net), he has given an outline of doctrine specially designed for the instruction of the younger generation. In simple form he explains some of the fundamental teaching of our Faith, and deals with some deep problems in language that has the merit of the lucidity which is produced by clarity of thought. Illustrated by ample Scriptural references taken chiefly from the American Standard Version of the Bible, he commences with the Fatherhood of God, and proceeds by well-ordered gradation to the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Holy Spirit, the Divine Sovereignty, the Flock of God, the Word and Sacraments, the New Birth—and Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Personal Religion, the Ministry, the Mission of the Church, Forgiveness—and Some Results, the Unseen World, and the Returning Lord. Although each chapter is brief it goes to the heart of its subject, and especially in those portions on which division of opinion is greatest, leaves no doubt of the author's position and the strong Scriptural foundation on which it is based. It is essentially an Evangelical book and will be welcomed by Evangelical Churchpeople as a clear exposition of Evangelical teaching.

CONSPIRACY AND CONSCIENCE.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

By JOHN KNIPE.

A Contemporary Judgment.

IN a seventeenth-century account of the Gunpowder Plot the writer, a good man unknown, whose conscience was plainly perplexed by the cold-blooded proceedings of the conspirators, as well as shocked and horrified, makes a psychological reflection which while it is quaintly worded is almost modern in its shrewd analysis of motive, consent, and action.

He says: "There are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to States and Governments than those that the name of religion is made to patronize, for when that does head and manage the party as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it does inspire those that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate zeal and an ungovernable violence."

Here he shows that a Religious Motive demanding rebellion in its own interest, dignifies actual Crime, and takes away the moral restraint of religion from the criminal, and still worse his devout instincts become so perverted that he sins deeper by his exceptional violence than the common thief, cut-throat or murderer who offends by custom and habit. This is Motive or Cause leading to Consent founded on Fallacy which the chronicler defines thus: "They then rebel with authority and kill with a safe conscience and think they cannot do amiss as long as it is to do God service."

So Religion, as a moral influence, is lost on such minds. What check is left? Not natural affection, for "The brother will then deliver up the brother to death . . . and the laws of nature which are of themselves sacred and inviolable shall, in such a case be despised and lose their authority."

This comment was penned when the memory of the notorious attempt was fresh in the public mind, and the writer seems to have been a Londoner from the way he writes of the events connected with the plot. He returns repeatedly to stress such scruples or hesitations as he thinks he can discover among the conspirators and their friends. He wonders if one had openly refused after he shared the fatal knowledge whether it might not have forced the rest to abandon the attempt altogether. I have been able to trace some facts which have been before rather overlooked, incidents which throw some light on this very question. It was not left out of his scheming by the chief conspirator:

Robert Catesby. The Brain of the Plot.

All accounts agree it was "Catesby's Conspiracy" and Guy Fawkes, a soldier of fortune, simply obeyed Catesby's orders, and was hired as an expert "sieger," one of the many discontented English Roman Catholics who took service under Spain in the Low Countries. Catesby was a very remarkable man and the Roman Catholic writers paint his portrait in dark colours, even blackening his character for years before his treason. He was born in 1573, at Lapworth in Warwickshire, of an old Roman Catholic family, his father Sir William Catesby a devout gentleman who was always in trouble as a noted recusant, his mother Anne daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton. Robert, who was the only surviving son, went for a time to Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford, favoured by the recusant gentry, who withdrew their sons after a year or two's residence, to escape the obligations of the Supremacy Oath. Young Catesby, by the best accounts, then went on to the Jesuit College at Douai. Sir William was forced to compound his recusancy fines at one-fifth of his income in 1585, and harshly imprisoned with his friend Sir Thomas Tresham at Ely in 1588. On plea of ill-health he obtained some indulgence from the Queen.

Robert is accused by Father Gerard, S.J., of being "very wild and he kept company with the best noblemen and wasted a good part of his living." Marriage in 1592 may have steadied him, for he was very happy in his home, and a devoted husband to his wife, Catherine Leigh of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire. As he was only nineteen, the marriage with their neighbour's daughter was probably arranged, for the following year he inherited from his grandmother the fine estate of Castleton. While his wife lived Catesby kept quiet, but she died after the birth of his second son. The elder boy died in infancy, and in 1598 old Sir William Catesby's death removed the one person who might have controlled Catesby's headstrong disposition. 1601 saw him hotly engaged in the Essex Rebellion, and inciting his friends the Wrights, Francis Tresham, Thomas Winter, and John Grant of Norbrook, all fiery and turbulent young men of good family and Jesuit supporters.

Catesby was captured, badly wounded and sent to the Tower. He might have been executed, but Elizabeth was merciful, though she exacted a heavy fine of 4,000 Marks (£3,000) and Catesby had the mortification of seeing 1,200 Marks of his fine bestowed by the Queen on Bacon. To raise such a sum he was forced to sell Castleton Manor, and employed the good offices of his friend Thomas Percy, steward or agent to the Earl of Northumberland. Catesby left the Tower not only poorer in estate but embittered and brooding over his misfortunes.

He plotted ardently with the Jesuits in connection with the Secret Mission to Madrid, and persuaded his great friend Thomas Winter of Huddington to accompany Father Greenway (whom we shall find very prominent later on) to the Court of Spain, where they were introduced by Father Cresswell, another Jesuit. The

mission was financed by Lord Monteagle and helped by Tresham, who had also been recently fined for his rebellion, but Father Garnet and Catesby were the instigators.

An invasion was planned for the following spring, with a rising at home. Elizabeth's death spoilt the plot, for Philip III preferred the chances of a stable peace with James. Among those " principal Papists made sure during the Queen's sickness " mentioned in the King's Proclamation, we read that Robert Catesby of Ashby St. Ledgers, Northampton, was imprisoned in London to prevent trouble ; he was released at the peaceable accession of the King of Scots.

He was living with his widowed mother in her house, which would come to him by reversion, but Ashby St. Ledgers was Lady Catesby's dower. There were quarrels when her restless son sold other reversionary property, for Catesby was obliged to meet fines and he certainly financed Jesuit missioners and other priests. He was now deeply in with malcontents and had meditated a powder plot to get rid of Elizabeth, having seen a Papal Brief in which the Pope bade them see the Succession secured to a Roman Catholic prince, and " desired when it occurred to be informed of the death of that miserable woman " (the Queen).

Christopher Wright returned from the Second Secret Mission to Madrid, where he almost certainly met Guy Fawkes, sent by Sir William Stanley and Captain Hugh Owen with the connivance of Father Baldwin. Both emissaries were coldly rebuffed by Philip III, who had already asked King James to receive a special Embassy of Peace. (1603, May.) And at home the Roman Catholics declared they would wait and see what were the new King's intentions towards them.

Mr. Thomas Percy had gone privately to Holyrood and returned cock-a-hoop, swearing loudly that he had the own assurance from the royal lips that the odious Penal Laws should be recalled, and Roman Catholic grievances amended. This promise given before his accession may or may not be true. It seems that James did give some general, and probably vague, assurances of future favour, but for the precise terms as stated we have only Mr. Percy's word. He was a boaster and not of a veracious manner of talk.

However, some colour was given to his confident assertions by the fact that Mr. Thomas Percy was given a Court position. He was appointed to a coveted vacancy in the " Gentlemen Pensioners in Ordinary," a royal bodyguard of gentlemen in residence, which was highly privileged and whose Captain was Percy's cousin, the Earl of Northumberland. Further, his noble relative did not think it necessary to administer the usual Oath of Supremacy, knowing of course the scruples of his Catholic cousin. And Mr. Catesby was now interested in his family affairs, for he was arranging the marriage of a younger Robert, his son, a child of eight, with Mr. Percy's daughter, and this betrothal strengthened an old friendship.

But before long it was rumoured that the King was completely under Cecil's influence, angry at the " Extremist " Policy of the

Jesuit Party, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and alarmed too by their attempts to convert his Queen, Anne of Denmark. The Bye and the Main Plots caused ill-feeling. Recusancy fines were heavy, and still worse, they were "farmed out to approved persons," which meant more oppression. The Penal Laws were to be again enforced.

Perhaps Catesby was not surprised when, about June, Percy galloped headlong up the private road to Ashby St. Ledgers, burst into his friend's presence, raging against James's perfidy and swearing he would kill the King with his own hands. Catesby remained calm as he listened and let Percy rage and stamp. Over the porch at the Manor there is still an ancient half-timbered room called "The Plot Room." This may have been the place where Robert Catesby reasoned with Percy saying coolly: "No, no, Tom, thou shalt not venture to small purpose, but if thou wilt be a traitor thou shalt be to some great advantage." At which suggestion Percy calmed, and seeing his friend recalled to common prudence Catesby, smiling, whispered in his ear: "I am thinking of a most sure way and I will soon let thee know what it is."

This is the first definite hint of their conspiracy and Roman Catholic historians point out that Catesby himself was one "who possessed a magical influence over his friends," to whom his purse was always open, "gallant, charming, brave to a degree, zealous and even pious, yet with something of the wild, lawless and blood-thirsty spirit of the half-tamed savage." He was in fact a "throw-back." "Of commanding stature, and great bodily strength," an accomplished swordsman and rider, he was "slender and well-proportioned" for his six feet in height, "with a strikingly beautiful face and captivating manners." At this time "he kept and maintained priests, and laboured to win many to the Catholic Faith and received the Blessed Sacrament every Sunday. . . . He was so liberal and apt to help all sorts it got him much love."

This is the frank testimony of Father Gerard, S.J., an honest and devoted priest who nevertheless instinctively distrusted Catesby and dreaded his superhuman power over his companions.

Brooding over the Papal charge to keep out a non-Catholic, Catesby's logic argued that "if it were right to keep him (James) out, it were right to put him out." He foresaw that Percy's forebodings were likely enough, but he needed to take counsel with a more prudent friend of better judgment, and "at Allhallowstide" (October 31) he sent an urgent messenger to Huddington with the request that both Thomas and Robert Winter would come to meet him, in London, "where he, and other my friends, would be glad to see me." Robert Winter simply declined, and probably he dissuaded Thomas, who writes: "I desired him to excuse me; for I found myself not very well disposed; and which had happened to me never before, returned the messenger without my company. Shortly, I received another letter, in any wise to come."

mission was financed by Lord Monteagle and helped by Tresham, who had also been recently fined for his rebellion, but Father Garnet and Catesby were the instigators.

An invasion was planned for the following spring, with a rising at home. Elizabeth's death spoilt the plot, for Philip III preferred the chances of a stable peace with James. Among those " principal Papists made sure during the Queen's sickness " mentioned in the King's Proclamation, we read that Robert Catesby of Ashby St. Ledgers, Northampton, was imprisoned in London to prevent trouble ; he was released at the peaceable accession of the King of Scots.

He was living with his widowed mother in her house, which would come to him by reversion, but Ashby St. Ledgers was Lady Catesby's dower. There were quarrels when her restless son sold other reversionary property, for Catesby was obliged to meet fines and he certainly financed Jesuit missioners and other priests. He was now deeply in with malcontents and had meditated a powder plot to get rid of Elizabeth, having seen a Papal Brief in which the Pope bade them see the Succession secured to a Roman Catholic prince, and " desired when it occurred to be informed of the death of that miserable woman " (the Queen).

Christopher Wright returned from the Second Secret Mission to Madrid, where he almost certainly met Guy Fawkes, sent by Sir William Stanley and Captain Hugh Owen with the connivance of Father Baldwin. Both emissaries were coldly rebuffed by Philip III, who had already asked King James to receive a special Embassy of Peace. (1603, May.) And at home the Roman Catholics declared they would wait and see what were the new King's intentions towards them.

Mr. Thomas Percy had gone privately to Holyrood and returned cock-a-hoop, swearing loudly that he had the own assurance from the royal lips that the odious Penal Laws should be recalled, and Roman Catholic grievances amended. This promise given before his accession may or may not be true. It seems that James did give some general, and probably vague, assurances of future favour, but for the precise terms as stated we have only Mr. Percy's word. He was a boaster and not of a veracious manner of talk.

However, some colour was given to his confident assertions by the fact that Mr. Thomas Percy was given a Court position. He was appointed to a coveted vacancy in the " Gentlemen Pensioners in Ordinary," a royal bodyguard of gentlemen in residence, which was highly privileged and whose Captain was Percy's cousin, the Earl of Northumberland. Further, his noble relative did not think it necessary to administer the usual Oath of Supremacy, knowing of course the scruples of his Catholic cousin. And Mr. Catesby was now interested in his family affairs, for he was arranging the marriage of a younger Robert, his son, a child of eight, with Mr. Percy's daughter, and this betrothal strengthened an old friendship.

But before long it was rumoured that the King was completely under Cecil's influence, angry at the " Extremist " Policy of the

Jesuit Party, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and alarmed too by their attempts to convert his Queen, Anne of Denmark. The Bye and the Main Plots caused ill-feeling. Recusancy fines were heavy, and still worse, they were "farmed out to approved persons," which meant more oppression. The Penal Laws were to be again enforced.

Perhaps Catesby was not surprised when, about June, Percy galloped headlong up the private road to Ashby St. Ledgers, burst into his friend's presence, raging against James's perfidy and swearing he would kill the King with his own hands. Catesby remained calm as he listened and let Percy rage and stamp. Over the porch at the Manor there is still an ancient half-timbered room called "The Plot Room." This may have been the place where Robert Catesby reasoned with Percy saying coolly: "No, no, Tom, thou shalt not venture to small purpose, but if thou wilt be a traitor thou shalt be to some great advantage." At which suggestion Percy calmed, and seeing his friend recalled to common prudence Catesby, smiling, whispered in his ear: "I am thinking of a most sure way and I will soon let thee know what it is."

This is the first definite hint of their conspiracy and Roman Catholic historians point out that Catesby himself was one "who possessed a magical influence over his friends," to whom his purse was always open, "gallant, charming, brave to a degree, zealous and even pious, yet with something of the wild, lawless and blood-thirsty spirit of the half-tamed savage." He was in fact a "throw-back." "Of commanding stature, and great bodily strength," an accomplished swordsman and rider, he was "slender and well-proportioned" for his six feet in height, "with a strikingly beautiful face and captivating manners." At this time "he kept and maintained priests, and laboured to win many to the Catholic Faith and received the Blessed Sacrament every Sunday. . . . He was so liberal and apt to help all sorts it got him much love."

This is the frank testimony of Father Gerard, S.J., an honest and devoted priest who nevertheless instinctively distrusted Catesby and dreaded his superhuman power over his companions.

Brooding over the Papal charge to keep out a non-Catholic, Catesby's logic argued that "if it were right to keep him (James) out, it were right to put him out." He foresaw that Percy's forebodings were likely enough, but he needed to take counsel with a more prudent friend of better judgment, and "at Allhallowstide" (October 31) he sent an urgent messenger to Huddington with the request that both Thomas and Robert Winter would come to meet him, in London, "where he, and other my friends, would be glad to see me." Robert Winter simply declined, and probably he dissuaded Thomas, who writes: "I desired him to excuse me; for I found myself not very well disposed; and which had happened to me never before, returned the messenger without my company. Shortly, I received another letter, in any wise to come."

Thomas Winter of Huddington, Catesby's Dearest Friend, and Mr. John Wright.

It is evident from "Winter's Confession," which he was compelled to write at length, that he knew nothing then of Catesby's schemes. But he suspected some rash enterprise and he was considered to be the longest headed man in the "Extremist" Party. He knew several languages, "was a reasonable good scholar," and he was reputed to be careful and considerate. He was either a convert or one who had become a "practising Catholic." He was unmarried and lived at Huddington with his brother. Winter was a trained soldier and had fought against Spain in the late reign. He was a man of the world and his devotion to Catesby did not blind him to his friend's over-sanguine temperament. How Catesby wore down Thomas Winter's reluctance the Confession relates thus: "At the second summons I presently came up and found him with Mr. John Wright at Lambeth," (this John Wright had been also out for Essex, being a most quarrelsome man, slow of speech and quick to draw sword) "where he broke with me how necessary it was not to forsake our country, for he knew I had a resolution to go over (i.e. to the Netherlands) but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with my utmost endeavours."

Winter showed some impatience. He replied that he had "hazarded his life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion wherein he might do service to the Catholic Cause; *but for himself he knew no mean probable to succeed.*" His plain speech to Catesby, which I have italicized, shows Winter's prudence, and being said openly before John Wright glanced at that rash gentleman's notorious readiness to espouse any sort of rising. It is clear that Catesby wanted John Wright there as a witness, and Winter's reply showed that he was aware of the subtle intention to compromise him thus in Catesby's schemes.

It was a duel of wits and Catesby dropped his subtlety in a quick, confident appeal. "He had thought of a way to deliver them from all their bonds and without any foreign help to replant again the Catholic religion." Smiling triumphantly and filled with enthusiasm, Robert Catesby paused a moment, while he and Wright watched Thomas Winter's perplexed and doubting face. Winter did not speak, and Catesby told him sharply, "It was to blow up the Parliament-house with gunpowder." Winter's first emotion was not horror, but sheer amazement. He gasped and stared at Catesby as if he could not believe his ears. But Catesby added: "In that place have they done us all the mischief and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment." His lodging stood on the river-bank and Winter's eyes may have turned to that Palace of Westminster marked out for destruction. "I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit (idea)" he has written. He began to discuss the scheme. He showed no anger and felt none and he gave no sign of fear, being cool as Catesby and Wright, and his more practical nature began to balance the chances of success or

failure. Truly it "struck at the root" and would cause general confusion and changes, but, if it should fail as most similar schemes "miscarried," the scandal would be so great "that their religion would be injured, and not only enemies, but friends would with good reason condemn them." There is less to be said for Winter than for the rest since his own words show that he knew how others would regard the plot, though he told Catesby blame would follow failure.

Catesby answered by the common sophism: "The nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy." He asked Winter if he would give his consent. And never was that extraordinary persuasion of Catesby's more in evidence than in Winter's unhesitating reply: "Yes, in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it I would venture my life." It was the response of personal friendship and the devotion of a man to his friend rather than zeal for religion which brought Thomas Winter to consent. He proceeded to point out obvious difficulties; a house must be hired next the Parliament-house, they wanted "one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like."

"Let us give an attempt," replied Catesby; "and where it fails pass no further." He was stayed by Winter's argument, fearing lest their religion should be injured. "They would leave no peaceable and quiet way untried . . . you shall go over and inform the Constable (of Castile, Juan de Valasco) of the state of the Catholics in England, entreating him to solicit his Majesty, at his coming hither, that the Penal Laws may be recalled and we admitted into the rank of his other subjects." Winter, who spoke Spanish well, readily agreed, but Catesby directed him also to "bring over some confident (trustworthy) gentleman, such as you shall understand best for this business (mining)." "And he named unto me Mr. Fawkes."

Guy Fawkes of York.

The son of a Protestant Consistory Court Registrar at York, Guy Fawkes, whose mother was left a widow early and remarried to a Mr. Bainbridge of Scotton, was converted by his Roman Catholic stepfather and left England in his twenty-first year to take the Spanish service in Flanders. He was almost unknown in his native land except to the Jesuits and a few more. But Christopher Wright had probably heard of Fawkes as a distinguished soldier in Madrid, and there is little doubt but that Fawkes was recommended to Catesby as just the man required for a risky enterprise by Catesby's confessor, Father Greenway, who was Fawkes' old schoolfellow. Winter's Mission to the Constable of Castile failed. He passed on his message through his intermediary, Captain Hugh Owen, and received a civil perfunctory answer. Owen, privately questioned at Dunkerque by Winter, told him it was vain to expect help from Spain, now resolved on peace with James. Winter, hinting at a Roman Catholic rising, asked carefully about Mr. Fawkes, of whom he had heard "good commendations," and Owen praised his skill as a sieger and promised if Winter did not see

Fawkes then in Brussels, " he would send him shortly after to England." This proves that Winter was authorized to offer Fawkes high pay. The shrewd Yorkshireman would not be likely to return after years of absence without good reason. Winter went to Ostend and waited two days to see Sir William Stanley, and became his guest for some days hoping to meet Fawkes, and " asked of his sufficiency in the wars." The Spanish service was then a famous training for engineers, and Stanley " gave very good commendations of him." Just as Winter was departing Fawkes arrived, and though Winter prudently only said " some good friends of his wished his company in England " he invited Mr. Fawkes to talk with him further in Dunkerque. Fawkes probably got a hint from Stanley, for he followed Winter to Dunkerque two days after and consented to return with him. But Winter, still prudent, declined to satisfy his curiosity, saying no more than that there was " a resolution to do somewhat in England, if the peace with Spain helped us not, but as yet resolved upon nothing."

At Greenwich they took a two-pair of oars and rowed up to Lambeth, where Catesby received them in his lodging, " the beginning of Easter term."

" Good words," replied Winter moodily to his friend's eager question : " What news from the Constable ? "

Catesby did not trust Fawkes at once, but he engaged his provisional services until Mr. Percy should arrive in town. Early in May, " whether sent for by Mr. Catesby or on some business of his own, up came Mr. Percy." Possibly he had business over the Earl's rentals. He cheated Northumberland scandalously and oppressed his tenants to give Catesby the money for the Plot Fund.

Percy saluted " our company, (Catesby, Winter, John Wright and Fawkes)," and his first words were : " Shall we always, gentlemen, talk and never do anything ? " The others looked at Catesby, who took Percy apart and explained a scheme was on foot, and we trace Winter's mind in the resolve then made to bind themselves by an Oath of Secrecy, within the next two or three days. Behind the Church of St. Clement's Danes the five met in a mean lodging frequented by passing Jesuits, and in an upper room, probably a garret reached by a trap-door, " upon a Primer " swore each other to the Oath generally supposed to run thus :

" Ye shall swear by the Blessed Trinity and by the Sacrament ye now purpose to receive never to disclose directly or indirectly by word or circumstance the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave."

After which they went into the adjoining room, where the priest was vested and ready, and they heard Mass and made their communion.

One is thankful to know of the priest, Father Gerard, whom they all knew, that as Fawkes confessed under torture : " He knew not of our intentions." After which they five retired to their " empty room " and " Then did Mr. Catesby disclose to Mr. Percy,

and I together with Jack Wright tell to Mr. Fawkes the business for which we took this oath which they both approved."

CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT (born 1571), John's younger brother, was brought in " a fortnight after Candlemas," Winter's account says; when the five plotters were desperately digging at the mine through the 3 ells thickness of the old Palace wall. " And soon after we took another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecy." (Fawkes' Confession. But both the Wrights had died then at Holbeach.)

ROBERT KEYES, a Jesuit convert whose father had been a Protestant clergyman, was Christopher's friend. " A grave and sober man of great wit . . . his virtue and valour were the chiefest things . . . his means were not great." His wife was governess at Turvey, Bedfordshire, to the children of Lord Mordaunt. Winter says: " About a month before Michaelmas." And he explains they hired Catesby's lodging at Lambeth, being conveniently opposite to Percy's in Whynniard's Block; to store the powder and wood and convey it by boat to that " house by the Parliament," and now Catesby chose " to be keeper thereof . . . Keyes as a trusty honest man."

But there is some discrepancy in Winter's dates. His own brother ROBERT WINTER joined reluctantly, frankly hating the whole black business. Although sworn like the others he refused stoutly to handle the powder and I suppose he was only admitted because it endangered the plot to leave him out, since Catesby often conferred with Thomas at Huddington. Robert Winter's share was little more than Misprision of Treason, until he took up arms.

THOMAS BATES was Catesby's devoted old servant and retainer. This humble serving-man has the distinction of being the only one of the band who protested he thought it was wrong. He went on errands and did his master service but grew uneasy and suspicious. Finally, Catesby and Winter observed it.

At his lodging in Puddle Wharf Catesby called Bates and asked him plainly before Winter what he thought they did that he eyed them so suspiciously and strangely. Bates blurted out he feared theirs was some dangerous matter about the Parliament house since he had been sent to get a lodging for his master hard by. This was " the baker's house " in Whynniard's Block which Catesby tried vainly to get.

Now both Catesby and Winter were desperate men. Bates was commanded by his master on peril of his life to repeat the Oath, but his horror and distress on learning what it meant was so great that Catesby sent him to confess himself to Father Greenway. And Bates swore that the priest both quieted his scruples, assuring him it was a meritorious deed, and bade him be faithful and secret.

Although Catesby was satisfied that Bates would not betray him, he saw there might be difficulties with others and as expenses were increasing he resolved to obtain what he called " the

resolution of the Case" from his friend Father Garnet, Provincial of the English Jesuits.

Father Henry Garnet and Catesby.

It was not until 1605 that Recusancy fines were higher than in the old Queen's days, and both Cecil and the King were against putting the priests to death. Judges on the Western Circuit who hanged a few of them were forbidden to proceed to such extremities in future. "God, the priests swarm!" wrote Cecil. It cannot be truly said that Roman Catholics were prevented from attending Mass, since almost every Roman Catholic house was open to the priests, and many gentlemen kept chaplains such as Grant of Norbrook, Abington of Hindlip, Lords Vaux, Mordaunt, Staunton and Arundel, the Digbys, the Littletons, the Wrights, the Winters, while Father Garnet's great friend Mistress Anne Vaux "kept White Webbs Enfield Chace at her own cost" to house Jesuits day and night.

It must be remembered in fairness to the Government that Recusancy fines then were no more thought of than Supertax is now.

Father Garnet went to and fro unmolested, and Catesby had no difficulty in finding where he was and arranging for a private interview on a question of conscience.

The Secret Meeting at the House in Thames Street. June, 1605.

It is of course absurd to suppose that Catesby's own conscience was troubling him so late. Poor Father Garnet was simply an unlucky tool for a thoroughly unscrupulous man. He was in an awkward fix, for as he admitted: "I dare not inform myself of their affairs because of the prohibition of Father General (Parsons) for meddling in such affairs." Rome's official attitude was a cold hostility, passive and not without hope since many Peers and Councillors were Roman Catholics or sympathizers. Garnet had been in England since 1586 and had watched many plots fail. Probably the interview was at night and Catesby would come by boat from Lambeth. Garnet liked a glass of good wine, "excellent claret and some sack," and since Catesby made it clear he was not consulting his friend "*Sub Sigillo Confessionis*," but informally, desiring merely to have his opinion, it is very probable they were at supper. "To his fast friend he opens the Case as far as it was fit and the other willing to know it." For Catesby contrived to assume a careless curiosity as he put his momentous question; in that quiet house "on Saturday after the Octave of Corpus Christi."

Catesby's Question.

"*Whether for the good and promotion of the Catholic Cause, the necessity of time and occasion so requiring, it be lawful or not, amongst many Nocents, to destroy and take away some Innocents also.*"

Garnet tumbled into the trap. "In truth I never imagined anything of the King's Majesty nor of any particular and thought

it an idle question." But this assurance rings false, for Garnet could hardly suppose that Catesby sought him out in private to ask an idle question! And he replied at once: "That, if the advantage were greater on the side of the Catholics, by the destruction of the Innocents with the Nocents, than by the preservation of both it was doubtless lawful."

But Catesby had some lingering doubts on the subject, and warming to his favourite casuistry Garnet proceeded: "That if, at the taking of a town possessed by the enemy there happened to be some friends, they must undergo the fortune of war, and the general and common destruction of the enemy."

Then Catesby smiled and nodded assent. And Garnet, whose keen wits seem to have been suspiciously clouded hitherto, became thoroughly alarmed when "I saw him when we had done make solemn protestation that he would never be known to have asked me any such question as long as he lived." Stupefied and perplexed the Jesuit stared at Robert Catesby who pressed his hand, called his servant and was gone out leaving Garnet to wonder. "After this I began to muse what this should mean and fearing he should intend the death of some great person . . . I would admonish him. This I did after at the house in Essex."

SECOND INTERVIEW BETWEEN CATESBY AND GARNET AT FREMLAND, ESSEX. JULY, 1605.

"He came," continues Garnet, "with my Lord Monteagle and Mr. Tresham. Walking in the gallery with him alone, my lord standing afar off, I told him (Catesby) upon that question lately asked . . . I wished him to look what he did if he intended anything. That he must first look to the lawfulness of the act itself, and then he must not have so little regard of Innocents that he spare not friends and necessary persons for the Commonwealth."

Catesby "offered to get leave from a third party to tell Garnet his plans," but the latter declined. He was forbidden to listen and "I told him what charge we all had of quietness and to procure the like in others." (A reference to the Pope's directions.)

"Oh, let me alone for that," said Catesby carelessly. "Don't you see how I seek to enter into familiarity with this lord?" And he turned aside to speak with Monteagle.

Garnet inquired of Monteagle "if Catholics were able to make their part good by arms against the King?" Monteagle gave a vague reply. He said the King was generally "odious to all sorts."

These private interviews with Catesby were that "general knowledge of the plot" to which Garnet confessed at his execution, he was guilty.

FATHER GREENWAY VISITS GARNET AT FREMLAND. (JULY.)

But Catesby had been alarmed by Garnet's suspicions. He was bound to have the "resolution of the Case" to persuade Sir Everard Digby, the adopted brother of Father Gerard. Soon afterwards Father Greenway, confessor to Catesby, Winter and

probably all the first seven plotters, rode over to Fremland, sought Garnet in his inner room and begged his fellow priest to hear him " not in confession but by way of confession." Panic-stricken Garnet refused. He guessed shrewdly that Greenway came from Catesby and bade him keep his penitent's secrets to himself. Greenway said the penitent desired to hear Father Garnet's judgment. This fairly scared poor Garnet who stuffed his fingers in his ears ! Greenway's agitation grew until he almost wept as he entreated Garnet to listen, for he knew no other way of seeking counsel in a matter which might injure the faith.

According to Garnet, his fellow Jesuit strode up and down, beseeching and arguing, appealing to his pity in a case which so troubled his own conscience ! Of course Father Greenway was an excellent actor and this Garnet must have suspected, but he wearied of the priest's importunity and suggested Greenway should simply tell him in confession. But Greenway answered it was not his fault that he should so confess it. And at last he prevailed on Garnet to hear him since his risk would be no greater than his fellow priest's, and possibly Garnet thought the matter would not turn out to be so perilous, as his own fears. Greenway, having wrung the reluctant consent from his Superior, swiftly informed him of the plot.

Father Garnet probably was, what he says, simply aghast at such wickedness. He pointed out the common ruin in which all concerned would be involved, and their own danger as directors to these conspirators if their Superiors knew. " The Pope will send me to the galleys ! " wailed Garnet.

Greenway was now quite cool and composed. He agreed and thought that only an urgent appeal to the Pope would save them all. A long and anxious conversation followed and it was decided that Greenway should inform Catesby how Father Garnet forbade the design as cruel, sinful and wicked and the Pope would be certain to condemn it. After which Father Greenway rode quietly back to tell Catesby how Garnet was effectually silenced, being guilty of Misprision of Treason unless he broke the Seal of Confession.

Little Catesby cared what Garnet thought. He had gained his ends " the resolution of the Case " and he reported to the rest that such was the answer given in casuistry by the Father Provincial.

Any weak scruples of conscience would be lulled. And except Robert Winter, the seven confederates were too deeply engaged to be troubled in mind, and too far under the domination of Catesby, whose leadership excelled them in energy and administrative ability, while Fawkes and Winter had the callous temper of soldiers to whom the suffering of the unsuspecting citizens and courtiers was merely the stern fortune of war.

It was not from them but from late comers and innocent friends that the danger lay which threatened Catesby's Conspiracy. He and his friends were to be deceived, waiting in a false security, having reached that dead calm of the Conscience, that " Meridian of Evil, wherein once a man has deliberately chosen his path he is left alone to pursue it unto the end."

EVANGELICALS AND THE BIBLE.

By the Rev. Canon Stuart H. Clark, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of Tonbridge, Kent.

THE distinctive place which the Bible holds in the doctrine and worship of the Church of England is familiar ground to all. The formularies bear constant and unvarying witness to its unique authority. But there are special reasons, both in history and in individual experience, why the Evangelical School must *maintain* this witness in our modern world. Other schools of thought find much of their stability and strength in Church order, or in human thought; but for Evangelicals, their past traditions, present experience and future hopes gather round the Bible. When "Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hands" the Evangelical Reformation was already on its way; and the whole history of Protestantism records the protest of their spiritual Fathers, not primarily against specific errors, but on behalf of (*pro*) the supremacy of the Word of God.[1] Their very life is at stake if they let slip this mooring. For Evangelicals, the Bible contains the Word of Life.

I

But nowadays we are witnessing the neglect of it on many sides. The Board of Education Committee has told us that the Bible is less widely read and less directly influential in our life and literature to-day than at any time since the Reformation.

If anything can summon Evangelicals to unity amongst themselves, an authoritative generalization of this kind should do it. The present generation of Evangelicals have behind them an early training in the Bible whose fragrance will abide with them through life. But it is not always so with their sons.

It is probable too that we are witnessing a great return to Roman ideas of the Church and Sacrament, largely through disuse of the Bible by the average layman. Rome has always disparaged the use of the Bible by her people, for purposes of her own. With deep sagacity Rome knows that man will always demand some support and guide *outside* himself; and, withdrawing the Bible, offers itself and its priesthood. England is getting ready rapidly for that doctrine and discipline, when the Bible is neglected or denied. Sons of the Reformation will desire to restore an intelligent and affectionate use of the Bible to the English people, as one great barrier against Rome, and the modern movement in that direction.

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss here the reasons for modern neglect. It is, no doubt, largely due to excess of new

[1] Cf. Dean Wace, *Principles of the Reformation*, pp. 3–23.

light pouring in from every side; and in that light the old familiar paths have a strange look. It is the simple truth that young and old alike are being subjected to a new and severe trial of faith. It is inevitable in a time like ours of intellectual ferment and change, in many ways similar to that portrayed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Bishop Westcott suggests. Our task, therefore, is to secure and present some coherent and steadying view of the Bible true alike to the old and the new.

The Conservative and Liberal attitude of mind stand facing each other, and it would not be difficult to support the contention that the thoroughgoing Conservative and thoroughgoing Liberal positions are equally impossible. On one side, Liberals must admit that there *is* some permanent residuum, some definite sacrosanct area of truth on which Christianity must stand, if it is to be the Christianity of Christ. That area, of course, needs careful definition, but its very existence cannot be denied. But some thoroughgoing Liberalism has given just offence by refusing to acknowledge any ultimate of truth, any irreducible minimum of Christian Faith, and has tossed every belief into the crucible of modern thought, from which has emerged a religion something less than Christian.

On the other hand, new knowledge has come to light, and in so far as it is truth, it has come from the God of all truth and cannot be denied. The duty of the true Conservative is, first, to assure himself how far modern knowledge is true,—much of it is partial truth or even private opinion,—and then to see how far it is really inconsistent with the old. But the thoroughgoing Conservative has given just offence by refusing to acknowledge frankly the possibility of new light upon the sacred page, and by declining the imperative duty of finding, when necessary, its candid reconciliation with the old.

As usual, it is the extremists who trouble us, men who will not even try to disentangle those elements of truth which give strength and permanence to each position, and strive to unite them in the higher synthesis of the 'truth as it is in Jesus.'

"Alike from stubborn rejection of new revelation, and from hasty assurance that we are wiser than our fathers,"

"Save us and help us, we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord."

II

The ultimate problem of all life in its last analysis lies in the relation and interaction of the human and the divine; and this is especially true of spiritual life in all its forms. To put it broadly, "How much of God, and where?" "How much, and what of man?" in all our spiritual strivings. Probably, in the ultimate they may prove to be one, but the division is clear according to the teaching of Our Lord. Caesar and God have, for purposes of thought at least, distinct problems and areas of obligation, though in practice they so often run up into one. It is the final problem of man himself and his history, of Christ, of the Church and of Sacrament, and,

especially for us, here and now, of the Bible. What is of man, and what is of God, and how do they combine?

There are three views of inspiration which we must consider:

(i) God pours into the minds of men His Divine thoughts and messages in a *definite* form.

This view involves verbal inspiration and all its points of weakness and of strength. Like Dr. Pusey, some cannot at once reject, with ease and certainty, verbal inspiration. The same God who set fast the strong mountain made the tiny flower blossom on its slope. Are only the great outlines of truth in the Bible true, while its details are wrong? Is harmony perfect while its notes are false? Bishop Westcott's love of precision and accuracy has taught us to find profound spiritual truth in enclitics, and aorists and arrangement of words. All this and much else may make us not quite so certain of the position which throws verbal inspiration finally away. Still there is much against it which need not be urged here. Literalism is not the best interpreter of genius, in religion, or in any other sphere.

(ii) On the other side, there is the view of inspiration as a great stream of Truth, Beauty and Love, pouring out from God, impinging on human life, and caught by all those human minds and souls that are sensitive to Divine movement. Consciously by prophets; less consciously perhaps by poets, artists and philosophers, truth is expressed by them all for humanity at large. This view will not distinguish between the inspiration of the Bible or of Browning. It is merely a matter of degree and of expression. Each man receives into himself some part of the great stream and expresses it aloud for men. This view is very widespread and may prevail. Anyway, we shall have to reckon with it. The great difficulty in it is to maintain any standard which can gauge the sincerity of the man, and his spiritual quality, i.e., his nearness to God. We shall require something to correspond with the canon of scripture, some general 'Christian Consciousness,' which can test the revelation by the norm. It may be argued that that consciousness exists to-day, as it existed once; that true inspiration will still, in Coleridge's memorable phrase, "find" men; that it is capable of development, and is qualified to recognize the spiritual values of modern inspiration while refusing it perhaps to the older forms. In any case, we do well to keep this view in sight, and watch whither we are being led by the modern mind.

(iii) A third view stands between these two and seeks to conserve the element of truth in both. It combines the frank acknowledgment that God has infused into the minds of men of spiritual quality all down the ages His own thoughts and messages, with the belief that, in *the case of the prophets*, their expression of that thought and message was uniquely and perfectly adequate *for that generation*. This statement gives ample space for the second view and for its full measure of truth. God is ever moving down the corridors of time, in the long story of man, and seeking interpreters, who in articulate forms will truly reveal His character, and justify His ways.

And it also finds room for the first view, when we maintain the rare spiritual quality of those men who were specially chosen down the ages to interpret the Divine character and working with accuracy and even with perfection in the clear language of the Holy Scripture.

Into the atmosphere and environment of each age God spoke through His servants the Prophets, choosing those verbal expressions of current speech which would with greatest precision convey His exact meaning to their understandings. Verbal inspiration had vital value in those days. Only in some such way as this can we give any vital significance to the words of Our Lord when He said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot (yod) or one tittle (penstroke) shall in nowise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." But we must be on our guard when we apply those phrases to other and later times, lest we fail to catch their truth. They will need interpretation in the light of thought and scholarship, as they reconstruct past ages before our eyes. We desire to suggest that this may be the true story of the interaction of the human and the Divine in the Holy Scriptures.

III

But first of all it may help us to recognize the strength and weakness of the Catholic mind and the Modernist mind in regard to this. Catholic witness seems always to lay stress on the Divine side of life, but often refuses to carry it through in all its fullness to the human side. Baptismal regeneration, to the Catholic, is just emphasis on the Divine operation in answer to faith and prayer; but he may often neglect to carry it out logically by insistence on the human side in true conversion of heart and life. His thought in Confirmation is the Divine interference at the laying-on of hands; but he may not always insist with equal emphasis on the absolute necessity of simple Christian character which alone can give reality to the Holy Spirit's gifts. His whole conception of the Church is that it is Divine, united to the Lord by indissoluble links of Apostolic Succession, making its character heavenly and its ministry of the Divine order; but he is not always careful to see that the theory is always justified by the actual facts of Church life on its human side. Let us be ready to acknowledge our lasting debt to the Catholic conception of Christianity, in that it has kept alive and aflame the Divine origins of our birth and life; even though we may not feel that the necessary implications of that truth have been as impressively emphasized in the human lives of all its members, as they might have been.

On the other hand, the Modernist movement seems to begin at the human end, but often fails to reach up to the divine. Bishop Gore's indictment of modern criticism justifies the old contention that emphasis on the human Christ does not lead to the doctrine of the Lord of Glory. Some Modernists stop short in their argument, and refuse to follow reason into the realms of faith. They fight

shy of the realms of the supernatural, and this is the preconception which makes most of their human learning so vain.

If this be true of these schools of thought, there is all the more need, when many minds are obscured and confused, for Evangelicals to keep a clear and simple path. At all costs we must preserve both elements in their true relation, and see that neither of them is lost. Evangelicals have to maintain strenuously the objectivity of Divine Revelation, as the utterance of God Himself, and to bear clear witness to the fact that His message to mankind suffers no distortion by the admission of a human and infallible element *throughout*. On the other hand, we have to permit full play to the reality of the human element, lest we refuse new light, and, worse still, lest the human side of God, which is Christ, be overlaid and lost.

IV

Can we then present our case which will point the true relation and interaction of God and man in the inspiration of the Holy Book?

First, can we really uphold Amos when he says, "Thus saith the Lord," and claim that this is the very voice of God at the lips of Amos in the language of his time?

Let us put it thus. We begin with God. He wants to speak to a generation, and He chooses His instrument, a man of the time. Language is part of the atmosphere into which God speaks with a human voice, and He must use it *as it stands* to convey His will. Every phrase in the language has its own value in expressing exactly or otherwise that Will. One phrase will let the light clearly through without distortion, another will slightly misrepresent the truth, another will be opaque, and let no light through at all.

Can we then agree in saying that God the Holy Spirit moved holy men to speak that exact phrase which *to that generation* let most light through? If so, then the message, and its vehicle in words, were true, perfectly true, as far as human expression could be, for that time.

This will present serious difficulty to many minds. For instance, they will recall expressions of violence in the mouths of Psalmist and Prophet, and even Apostle, which seem far from the Spirit of Our Lord as we have learnt to know it. But it is significant that strange parallels can be found on the lips of the Perfect Man, as reported in the Gospels (e.g., Matt. xxiii. 32, 33). Is it not at least possible that such directness of speech may be according to the truth of things as they really are *sub specie æternitatis*? Then too, there are probably elements which belong to floating tradition and to old ethnic religion, but are we committed to belief in them because they were used to illustrate or convey the truth to that generation? We still speak of the sun rising without renouncing Copernican astronomy. The use by St. Paul of the story of Hagar may not be readily intelligible to us, because our minds move in other categories of thought, but it was illustrative and perhaps conclusive to minds of that time, and was chosen for that purpose.

This position secures the reality of the objective Revelation of God as clearly distinct from the subjective religious conceptions of men. Here is the crux, and we ought to face it. Is the movement in the speech of these holy men from the Holy Ghost? "*Thus saith the Lord.*"

And secondly, there is the other side. Times change. Words lose and change their significance in one generation, how much more down the ages? We have to reconstruct the past, its language, its thought, and the whole environment of the age. Otherwise our interpretation of the old oracles in modern times may be hopelessly at fault. For our own sakes we must study the past, and use all the modern light that scholarship and thought has thrown on life. Only in this way can the full message of our Father to his modern children through His ancient prophets be clearly known.

We can illustrate in a simple way the danger of reading modern conceptions into ancient truth. No aspect of God was more familiar to Our Lord than "the Father." It was the warp and woof of His teaching. But He was thinking, and so were His hearers, of oriental fatherhood. The grave and reverent senior was an object of awe and reverence to the whole family. His lightest will was law, but there was a gracious familiarity no doubt which expressed the love of the father's heart.

The Fatherhood of God has amazingly gripped our age, but in a different sense from that intended by Our Lord. We have now, generally speaking, a view of Almighty God as an indulgent Father, rather careless about righteousness, if He can magnify His love. It may be true to say that an average modern father presents no adequate parallel to the reality of the Father God; and it is certainly arguable that the Lord might have treated otherwise the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God to enforce the truth about God had He lived in modern days. Surely then we must reconstruct the past, if we are to arrive at the truth. This is only by way of illustration. The point is that we have all only one aim in view, that is to find out the true message of God to *our* generation as we study His Word; and if we are to succeed, there are two principles which we must preserve intact.

(i) We have to recognize that the utterance of God was as clear and distinct to that generation as words could make it, that verbal inspiration in that day was a reality, that the Holy Spirit did move holy men to speak what, and as, they did, under the conditions of the time.

(ii) It is our peremptory duty through study to reconstruct that age under the guidance of the promised Spirit, if we would reach the truth for ourselves. We need to recognize that *as it stands* it may not convey the final truth to modern ears, that there is more light yet to break from the Word of God from such study, and that there is need of constant reinterpretation in the highest service of truth as it is in Jesus.

These principles seem to give space for the final truth that the Bible is the Word of God, which must still stand as the main

mooring for our troubled days. It is impossible, we submit, for Evangelicals to admit categorically any principle involving a human and fallible element which has to be reckoned with at every point of our doctrine and worship. Confirmation candidates, thus instructed, find the ground rocking under their feet, and soon lose sense of the certainties of faith. In saying this we are not confusing the heavenly treasure with the earthen vessel which has preserved it for us; we are only complaining of a theory which assumes throughout that the earthen vessel has disfigured and spoiled the treasure. The word of St. Thomas à Kempis is as necessary as it is heartening for our day and generation: "He to whom the Eternal Word speaketh is set free from a multitude of opinions." But alongside of this comes the direct challenge to reconstruct the past of Bible history with thought and devotion, so that we may find for ourselves the exact truth that will still be our comfort and stay in this late day.

V

Let us here deal with a difficulty which will suggest itself to some minds at this point. Let us imagine a perfect reconstruction of some age in atmosphere, environment and language, and let us assume, according to our theory, that we have the authentic voice of God speaking some exact message through His prophet of that time. Here is then, *ex hypothesi*, a perfect revelation of the character of God as He desires it known. Years pass, and another age and another voice are equally clear and final in their revelation of an unchanging God. But when we compare these revelations, we notice a new accent or some new feature, or even some apparent contradiction which is vaguely disquieting; and at first sight we feel the night is settling down on us again as impenetrable as ever.

Still, there is no real need to despair either of our faith or of our principles. The new feature is showing a new fact of the character of God which earlier Revelation did not give. The differing accent is reflecting the special needs of the age to which He is speaking either in judgment or in mercy. The apparent contradiction may be due to the limitations of those to whom He spoke and their incapacity to bear a fuller revelation. The principle of progressive revelation is amply justified both by our common sense and in the Bible itself. A simple illustration of this will make this clear. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was a marked moral advance on the savagery of old days, when two eyes and several teeth were regarded as the natural and legitimate satisfaction for the wrong. But Our Lord did not deny the reality and moral value of the old command when He moved on to a new revelation of the character of God and said, "Resist not evil." Both were true expressions in their time and place of the will of God. The apparent contradiction finds an equally simple explanation to our common sense in the progressive education of free and fallen man, whose faculties were so impaired that they could not bear the undimmed

light. Revelation is only the divine side of education on its moral and spiritual side; and education is always progressive as man is able to apprehend the wider truth.

We are well aware that this does not cover the whole ground. There is a growing modern conviction that the testimony of "the free conscience of the Christian man" is the *sole* final arbiter of what is really the authentic voice of the Spirit speaking through the lips of men of old time. This is profoundly true, but needs serious qualification. It seems to solve quite easily the main difficulty, but it raises three more. (i) The convictions of the individual 'Christian man' must be corrected by the witness of the whole Church, or we are landed in sectarian individualism. (ii) His 'conscience' must be educated as well as satisfied. The moral judgment needs as much training as the mind, and how else or better than by the conception of progressive revelation of truth in the Bible down the ages *not* distorted by men. (iii) As for the word 'free,' it must not always be assumed that freedom is truth. We are only *free* to think God's will. Christ had man's freewill, yet, "the Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father doing." The Church, the Bible, and the Holy Spirit are all necessary for the true exercise of the "free conscience of the Christian man."

Our theory has within it perhaps the seeds of reconciliation between ancient truth and modern light if we keep carefully to the ground chosen by God Himself in His Word. The Bible has no purpose or desire to teach truth other than that which deals with its own concern, the Fellowship between God in heaven and His dear sons on earth. We shall not expect to find there scientific or biological exactness; all such reference was given in the language and thought of its own day as men were able to bear it.

Scientific accuracy in ancient days would only have added confusion and darkness. To give an illustration: "Thou hast made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved" simply could not have read for 2,000 years, "Thou hast made the round world move so fast that it cannot stand still." The second statement is the truth, the first is not; and we must admit it without dismay. Bishop Gore argues cogently that Darwin would have given no shock whatever to the Church of the fourth century. It was not necessarily lack of faith in God and His Word that led St. Augustine to regard the picture of earth in the first chapters of Genesis as allegory and not history. In the same way it surely may be held that the picture of Heaven as described in the last chapters of the Revelation is imagery, and not literally true in precious stones.

VI

It is possible to maintain that this was Our Lord's attitude to the Bible. The word "It is written" seems to have had oracular authority with Him. Surely He asserted the principle that the Divine Voice was heard distinctly at the lips of men. This needs

no illustration. It stands firm in detail, and in grand outline all through His teaching. The old Word of God was never to be lost or overlaid. He came not to destroy but to fulfil.

But a new fulfilment was at hand. The old Will of God was to be given deeper meaning and wider scope in His new day. For instance, the old commandments as to the Sabbath, which were the exact Will of God for the childhood of the race, were to be revised in the new light he brought. He would even break the actual commandment in order to let loose its spirit, and so fulfil it, i.e., fill it full of new meaning and power.

The two principles which we are maintaining seem therefore to find ample justification in the teaching and practice of Our Lord. And He bids us specially rely on the Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth, new and old. We watch the Holy Spirit at the very first, in the Acts and in the Epistles, unfolding and interpreting the meaning of Christ's mission. And as we are loyal to Him, we may expect the same guidance to-day.

If, then, this is our conviction, we shall maintain the accuracy and inspiration of God's Word as perfectly adequate for its time, and the truest possible revelation of the Father's Will to the people of that day.

This might come to be regarded as the first charge on the Evangelical tradition. God has not given a revelation of Himself which is not legible or intelligible to ordinary men, as some higher criticism endeavours to prove. If that were so, we say it reverently, it would not be our fault if none of His children in the distant land of earth find their way home to their Father.

But, on the other hand, that Revelation once given to the saints by Christ Himself is not merely a static deposit of the past, but vastly dynamic as the years unroll. We have to cling closely to what Canon Oliver Quick, in his *Testing of Church Principles*, calls 'the Evangelical facts.' These concern our very life. But the interpretation of these facts will find new expression from age to age. We must abide by the responsible guidance of the Holy Ghost to the Church of every age. These have been sad days when the new Evangelical and the older form take opposite sides, one saying, " I am led by the Holy Spirit," and the other, " I am led by Christ," even though both think that they are consciously and absolutely loyal to the truth they see. That way lies dishonour and death to the cause, and sorrow to the Lord. Certainly there can be no distinctions in the Holy Trinity responsible for the divisions of men. Here is the call for devotion and sense, and love among ourselves, in fulfilling our Lord's own Prayer, " That they may be one, even as We are One."

The fact remains that multitudes of Evangelicals, quite familiar with problems of thought, find no difficulty whatever in reconciling in their own soul-life the apparently conflicting truths. They do it in some such way as is suggested here. They read the Bible as the oracle of God, and find they have everything to gain from close study of the Word in the exact setting of the past. The tragedy

of our time is that Evangelicals cannot make their contribution to the welfare of the nation, because they are broken and discredited through controversy as to the meaning and interpretation of the Bible. Other societies of Evangelical tradition besides the C.M.S. are becoming the victims of disruptive thought. Can any effort be too great to secure some comprehensive view of things which may lead us into peace, and then on to power? Cleverly devised formulæ will not do it. Only the Spirit of God, inspiring each, can lead us moderns into full truth as it is in Jesus, through the Holy Word.

But the future lies with the truth therein revealed. Modern criticism has given us back a Bible with surprisingly few changes, and with enhanced spiritual value in many ways. Our work now is to get beyond prolegomena, down to its heart, and explore and explain its undying message to the world.

Herbert Thorndike is an obscure divine of the Caroline and Commonwealth period who would have probably remained in his obscurity were it not that he was a supporter of Laudian ideas, and advanced a number of opinions for which Anglo-Catholic apologists search with unwearied diligence in order to prove that the views of their party were held in the Church of England in the seventeenth century. They are able to find isolated instances of prayers for the dead, of the practice of private confession and similar particularities, and on these they appear to base the theory that these were the general teaching and the normal features of the life of the Church. A well-known volume on the history of the Church in the seventeenth century has made the most that is possible of the few instances which the writer has been able to gather. Canon Lacey, for whose industry and ingenuity most readers have a great respect, has been set the task of writing Thorndike's life for the S.P.C.K. series of "English Theologians" (6s. net), and he has made the best of a dull subject. He gives a careful analysis of Thorndike's writings and makes due apology for their circumlocution and tediousness as well as for the various inconsistencies which he displayed in the different circumstances in which he found himself in the course of his career as he passed from the period of Anglican ascendancy under Charles I to the time of its submergence under the Commonwealth and the return to prosperity with the Restoration. Much of Thorndike's teaching has little bearing on the problems of to-day, and he is never likely to have much influence on modern Church thought, and except for antiquarian interest his works are not likely to be consulted by any but the curious student.

THE VITAL LINK IN THE CHURCH'S SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM.

By the Rev. W. J. Limmer Sheppard, D.D., Rector of Myland, Colchester.

THE norm of Holy Baptism, both in Scripture and in the Church's system, is that of the adult, and it is on this that her statements of doctrine in the latter part of the Catechism are based. She there makes it quite clear that of the baptized person is required the double condition of Repentance and Faith before he can be admitted into the Church of Christ.

This still obtains in any place where the Gospel is first preached, but, where parents are themselves Christians, Infant Baptism is the natural corollary, yet only on the condition of the provision of Sponsors. The Sponsors at Baptism, as Bishop Moberley stresses in his Bampton Lectures, do not merely "stand for" the child, as the common phrase goes,—though they *do* this, by answering in his name,—but they also stand for the Church in her corporate capacity, and thus undertake personally to see that the child shall be taught the meaning of Repentance and Faith (with their consequent, Obedience), so to ensure that, when the "years of discretion" (the period when the Baptismal vows are thoroughly understood) arrive, Confirmation will follow. Hence the final charge to the Sponsors in the Baptismal Service, "Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the Bishop, to be Confirmed by him."

Now it is at Confirmation that the genius of the Church of England is so strikingly Scriptural, as well as almost unique. In the Greek Church Confirmation may be administered directly after the Baptism, and in the Roman Church seven years later, as if only the act of laying on of hands were of any importance. But the Church of England calls for much more; she demands reality; she makes the condition of Confirmation to consist of "discretion," in the sense of a spiritual understanding, and, as a result of that, she requires from every Confirmee the solemn and public acceptance of the conditions of an Adult Baptism, i.e. the profession of both Repentance and Faith. But where these exist, not as a mere statement with the lips, but in all heart sincerity, there you have the personal acceptance of Christ, that spiritual change which we call Conversion. How wholly Scriptural! How absolutely clear and definite! The now understanding person must experience Conversion, and must openly and publicly declare his Decision for Christ. It is this fact—the definite Conversion of the person about to be confirmed—which is *the* vital link in the Sacramental System of the Church of England.

But if this vital link is missing—if a person, unable or unwilling to make this public declaration, is therefore not Confirmed—what

then? Then the Church definitely repudiates the already baptized person as not being a Christian at all. And this she does by shutting out that person from the Holy Communion (see rubric at the end of the Confirmation Service)—the great privilege and the outstanding means of grace for the true disciple of Christ. Why? Because where there is no personal acceptance of Christ, no real Conversion to God through Him, there can be no true discipleship and therefore no right to partake of the Holy Communion. The Church actually declares this Sacrament to be "necessary to salvation," so that, in thus excluding from it, she makes it plain that in her view the person excluded is unsaved, or, as she puts it, not "in a state of salvation"; she treats him as outside her fold—in fact, as a heathen. Her view with regard to the baptism of such a person is exactly that of St. Paul toward the rite of circumcision, on which the Jew relied as *his* credential of salvation, namely, that where the demands of God are not complied with, the circumcision becomes uncircumcision (Rom. ii. 25), since the one thing that matters is whether the person is a "new creature" in Christ Jesus (Gal. vi. 15).

Nor does the Church thus exclude—as thousands mistakenly suppose her to do—because of the absence of the outward form of Confirmation, i.e., the act of laying on of hands. She carefully distinguishes between the letter and the spirit of the Ordinance. The rubric referred to above makes this quite clear. For by this rubric even an unconfirmed person may be admitted to the Holy Communion, provided that he be "ready and desirous to be Confirmed," that is, be spiritually ready because truly converted; in other words, *the* thing that matters is the condition and state of the heart of the Confirmee—whether there be the real acceptance of Christ, and therefore the true relationship to God.

Nothing, surely, could be plainer. It is because Churchpeople do not grasp the continuity of their Church's thought and teaching in this matter, and do not ascertain the reasons for and the meaning of her rubrics, that they constantly overlook this most important necessity of Conversion; so important that, where it is absent, the Church reckons the Baptism at an unconscious age as having become valueless, and holds the baptized but unconverted person to be in the position of an unbeliever. Conversion, then—let me repeat—is the vital link in the Church's Sacramental System, without which it simply falls to the ground and becomes meaningless.

This great necessity of Conversion remains true, whichever of two diverse views of Infant Baptism may be held. There is the view that in the unconscious infant, in response to the vicarious faith of its parents or sponsors, there is in Baptism implanted the seed or germ of spiritual life. Assuming this view, the undoubted fact remains that in a large majority of cases there is no evidence, in after years, of a real spiritual life, as should be the outcome of the development of this implanted germ, which must, therefore, be considered as latent or dormant since the Baptism. Obviously,

then, the need for all such persons is an awakening of the soul, and such a definite turning to God as is meant by Conversion. Bishop Moberley, who held strongly this view of Infant Baptism, declares his intense belief in the necessity of Conversion; he says, "I hail the preaching of Conversion as a great need of these unspiritual times," and proceeds to explain that by this he means "such a preaching of Conversion as might, by the blessing of God, be not unhelpful towards wakening up the beginnings of that personal faith and repentance—that conscious and willing faith and repentance—which, alike in the baptized and those who are not yet baptized, leadeth the way unto salvation."

Or there is the view that, while God does admit an unconscious infant to the benefits of that salvation which is by faith in Christ, yet such admission is provisional, insomuch as, when the child becomes a conscious and responsible being, the conditions of Infant Baptism are no more applicable to it than would be the garments of its infancy, and hence there must of necessity be manifested that personal faith and obedience, without which the Baptism of infancy is as if it had not been. So that, in this view also, Conversion is still the outstanding necessity. My point is that, by whatever avenue of belief in Infant Baptism you may approach it, Conversion is still the vital link in our Sacramental System.

But I would not be supposed by any means to tie the experience of Conversion to the period of Confirmation. There are undoubtedly many cases in which Conversion has taken place before Confirmation has even been thought of, and others in which the Conversion has taken place so gradually, and by such imperceptible steps, that it would be impossible for the person to name the day, or even indicate the approximate date, when it took place. The passing of the soul from death unto life, which takes place at Conversion, may indeed be the work of a moment, but it may not always be a conscious moment. My contention is that Conversion must take place at Confirmation, unless it have taken place previously, otherwise Confirmation becomes merely a meaningless form to the person Confirmed.

This all-important fact of the necessity of Conversion before Confirmation has a very practical bearing upon (1) The Confirmation Class, (2) The Confirmation Candidates, and (3) The Confirmation Service.

(1) *The Confirmation Class.* At every Baptismal Service the Sponsors are duly reminded that their duty is to see that the child is taught, not only the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, but "all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health," which must of necessity include personal Decision for Christ; also the child is to be "instructed in the Church Catechism," which sets forth the essentials of a true Conversion—Repentance and Faith, followed by Obedience. But scarcely any Sponsor in the present day discharges this duty to the child. In olden days some care was taken to ensure the fitness of persons coming forward as Sponsors, all such being examined

by the Vicar and Churchwardens, in the presence of the congregation before the Baptism took place, to see whether they themselves knew the Catechism in which they were to see that their god-child was instructed. But nowadays the most unfit persons may come to a Baptism as Sponsors, and there is no means of testing or refusing them. It would be an enormous gain if some rule were laid down to ensure, at least, that every Sponsor was a Communicant. When persons, themselves unconfirmed, and therefore reckoned by the Church as unbelievers, come forward and promise that the child shall make that Decision which they themselves have never made, it is no wonder that the whole atmosphere of many a Baptism is that of obvious unreality. The inevitable result of this state of things is that not one child in a thousand comes forward for Confirmation with the least shadow of preparation having been given by the Sponsors. Hence the enormous importance of the Confirmation Class, where the whole work neglected by the Sponsors must be done by the Incumbent, if it is to be done at all, and the Candidate adequately prepared for the solemn rite.

Yet even here, alas! how often is the great opportunity let slip, and the whole instruction based on the assumption of the Candidates being already Christians, when no real Decision for Christ has been made, and no Conversion has taken place. In a clerical discussion on this subject some years ago, a well-known Evangelical leader actually contended that so long as the candidates were decent and moral young people, nothing further should be required! I have asked candidates, who were prepared elsewhere, whether in the preparation any instruction had been given on the way of salvation, and received the answer that they had heard nothing about it! A man, who was once a cathedral choir boy, told me the other day that at his Confirmation the Bishop's only requirement was belief in a Supreme Being! Apparently, therefore, a Mohammedan would have been accepted for Confirmation!

Can anything be more important than that in the Confirmation Class absolutely clear instruction, on the basis of the Catechism, should be given as to the meaning of Decision for Christ and the nature of Conversion?

(2) *The Confirmation Candidates.* When this "vital link" is clearly understood, it becomes obvious that "years of discretion," rightly interpreted, does not apply to any age in years at all, but that the phrase points to the time, early or late, when the spiritual understanding of this vital truth has come about. A Missioner whom I know, told me he was horrified at a certain Mission, at the close of the Children's Thanksgiving Service, by the Vicar first telling the children that if they did not now come forward for Confirmation they were everything that was bad, and then ordering all to be seated while the curate went round and took down the name of every child over twelve, with a view to being prepared for Confirmation! Yet how many candidates are presented every year on this same absurd principle? It is, of course, true that a child of twelve *may* have sufficient spiritual understanding to accept

the Saviour, but such cases are exceptional. When, therefore, children are presented on the "age" basis, very many are far too young to have any actual experience of a spiritual change; no one can be present at a Confirmation where such children are presented without surely feeling distressed at their listlessness and inattention, which indicate only too plainly that they are simply bored by the whole thing!

A Church newspaper recently pointed out that in 1927 there were 213,040 persons Confirmed, and that there had been an average of 200,000 Confirmees for many years; yet the Easter Communicants in 1927 only numbered 2,309,978. Why do these masses of Confirmees drift away? One of the great reasons is that in so many cases the "vital link" of Conversion had not been assured, and, as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, the ties that should have bound them to their Church and to its Lord gave way. The result is that everywhere there are crowds of Churchpeople who have never understood, because they have never been taught, the great truth of Conversion, and therefore have no personal experience of it in their own lives. In the Parochial Mission of the present day what Missioner has not found that, while an occasional outsider may be reached, the majority of those brought to accept Christ are regular members of the Church, and very frequently Communicants too? The Mission has simply done for them the work that should have been done at their Confirmation. Hence the need for Parochial Missions is still as urgent as ever, since they carry out the task which the present Primate described some years ago in that strikingly true saying—"The Church must evangelize herself."

Where an Incumbent is not satisfied as to the Conversion of any candidate, the Confirmation of that candidate should undoubtedly be postponed, until this vital link is assured. Can any greater wrong be done to any person, of whatever age, than to present him or her for a Rite the great essential of which is entirely absent, to say nothing of cases where the person has been left in complete ignorance even of what the essential is?

(3) *The Confirmation Service.* If the position set forth in this article were generally recognized, would it not make a vast difference to some of our Confirmation Services? One has been to such which were cold and formal to a degree, and where the whole impression given was that of a mechanical performance, to be got through as rapidly as was decently possible. But to what a high spiritual level such a service would be lifted, if everyone present understood that the candidates had all professed their Decision for Christ, and were standing there to make their public confession of their recently accepted Lord!

And what a theme, too, would thus be provided for the Bishop's address! A Bishop, a personal friend, told me once that one of the ablest men on the Episcopal Bench had confessed to him that he was in despair over his Confirmation addresses; that he found it impossible to interest or impress ploughboys; and that often when he returned home from a Confirmation he could almost weep!

But if the Confirmation were looked on as their first great confession of Christ by the young people gathered before him, it would seem as if any Bishop must rise to such an occasion, and could speak to them, however simply, of the great step they had taken and of what their new discipleship of Christ must mean to them. Only the essential is, of course, that the preparation of the candidates should have been such as to mean their real Conversion to God before they came to their Confirmation.

Again, how much force would be added to the whole Service if the practice of some Bishops were universally adopted, the Bishop calling on each candidate by name from the lists previously supplied to him, and each rising one by one to make their confession in the answer "I do." Then one can picture the Bishop afterwards passing to the church door, and there, as the newly Confirmed passed out, taking each by the hand, with some brief word of fatherly greeting or blessing, such as the Confirmee would never forget. It might add ten or fifteen minutes to the length of the Service, and to the Bishop's labours, but would it not be well worth while, for the impression thus made upon the young souls, who had just confessed their Lord?

We hear much to-day of "The Way of Renewal." I venture to assert that one of the great lines along which renewal of the Church's spiritual life would come is the recognition of Conversion to God as the vital link in the Church's Sacramental System.

"The County Authologies," issued by Elkin Matthews & Marroh, Ltd., under the general editorship of Mr. R. Pape Cowl, M.A. (3*s.* 6*d.* net each), represent something of a new departure in selective literature. They make an attempt to survey and illustrate the debt of English literature to the scenery and special genius of individual counties in the British Isles. In his general preface, Mr. Cowl gives an interesting account of the rise of regional literature, as it has been described, and shows its characteristics and its value especially for the young, by bringing literature into relation with familiar scenes and objects. The three volumes already issued are *Yorkshire in Prose and Verse* by G. F. Wilson, *Derbyshire in Prose and Verse* by Thomas Moult, and *Lanarkshire in Prose and Verse* by Hugh Quigley. In each case the selection of passages represents a wide range of interests and the introductions bring out with clearness the respective characteristics of the contribution of each district to our literature. The volumes are well printed and well bound and should prove attractive to wide circles of readers.

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

A VERY hearty welcome will be given to the Biography of *Bishop Stirling of the Falklands*, by Canon Frederick C. MacDonald, M.A., O.B.E. (Seeley Service & Co., Ltd., 10*s.* 6*d.* net). The Bishop's early career was a record of heroic work among a people so low in the human scale that Charles Darwin did not believe that they could ever be raised above their degraded condition. Thc story of Captain Allen Gardiner and his tragic death in an endeavour to inaugurate missionary work among the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego is well known. When Stirling went out in 1862 he had to commence at the beginning and lay the foundation. Keppel became the head-quarters of the Mission, but he took up his lonely post as "God's Sentinel" at Ushuaia. Admiral Kennedy, recalling those days, said: "If ever a man deserved the Victoria Cross that man was Bishop Stirling, for he carried his life in his hands, and the chances were all against his ever returning to civilization." As a Bishop he had to supervise the work of chaplains and missionaries over almost the whole South American continent. His early experiences enabled him to give inspiration to other pioneers like Mr. Barbrooke Grub, of whom he is reported to have said, "If that young man lives he will become the Livingstone of South America." After a life of many adventures, he retired in 1900 and was appointed Canon of Wells and Assistant Bishop. At home he maintained his ardent advocacy of the claims of South America, which are sometimes neglected amid the calls for help in other parts of the Mission Field. He died in 1923 at the great age of 95, and striking testimony was borne to his life and work, which Canon MacDonald sums up in the appropriate description in the title of the book: "The Adventurous Life of a Soldier of the Cross whose humility hid the daring spirit of a hero and an inflexible will to face great risks." Such a life is an inspiration and a call to workers for the Mission Field.

The Bishop of Chichester has written an interesting book. *A Brief Sketch of the Church of England* (Christian Student Movement, 2*s.* 6*d.* paper, 4*s.* bound) is full of valuable information about "Its History, its Outlook, its Organization, and its Relation with other Churches." It answers many questions which Churchpeople are asking in regard to some of the characteristics as well as the anomalies of our Church system. His purpose is briefly stated—to give an accurate account of the growth, character and organization of the Church as it exists to-day. There is no other small volume that gives this information in so accessible a form. Dr. Bell touches upon many points upon which there is wide difference of opinion. His emphasis is frequently not that which Evangelicals would make. If in this notice a number of these are pointed out, it does not imply that the value of his Sketch of the Church is not appreciated, but

rather to show the validity of the Evangelical view of the same situations and problems. In his brief outline of the earliest period of the Church he follows some historians who have not done adequate justice to the share of the Celtic missionaries in the foundation of Christianity in this island. His account of the Reformation shows in the main a just appreciation of the importance of that "greatest event in the history of the Church since the days of the Apostles." It has been pointed out that his use of the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant" are in keeping with the erroneous practice fostered in some modern Anglican literature which ignores the fact that the true contrast is between Catholic and non-Christian. We are Catholic because we are Protestant. Thus Cranmer is contrasted with "Bishops with Catholic sympathies." Our Church is said to have "made good its right to be both Catholic and Protestant," and the Oxford Movement is said to have "re-awakened the Catholic ideal." This popular misuse of the word "Catholic" does grave injustice to a word of splendid import, and to Protestantism which claims to represent the great principles of true Catholicism, in contrast with the accretions of Roman, Anglo-, Neo- and Pseudo-Catholicism.

Dr. Bell pays a just tribute to the work of the early Evangelicals. There were among them "splendid philanthropists," "great preachers and saints," "tireless and most generous champions of the missionary cause." This is accompanied by the usual reference to their narrow views. "Almost their sole doctrine was a zealous but narrow Gospel of the Atonement." Whatever its defects it produced a type of character and an intensity of devotion to our Lord which it would be well if the Church could recover in these days of a "Catholic revival," and a religious laxity in some measure due to the divisions which that revival has brought into the Church.

In a reference to the surprise caused by the rejection of the revised Prayer Books by the House of Commons in 1927 and 1928 he justly observes: "It is generally agreed that those portions of the revision which caused this startling rebuff were those which had to do with the Order of Holy Communion, and the Communion of the Sick (Reservation)." On several points it is impossible to agree with his statements on the interpretation of the Prayer Book. He suggests that Anglo-Catholics may be equally loyal as others to the Book of Common Prayer. The question is—are they? There is a significance in his quoting Dean Church's description of the XXXIX Articles as a "makeshift." The Articles are not popular at present in some Church circles. The reason is not far to seek.

The larger portion of the book is devoted to an excellent account of the modern developments in the Church. Useful information is given on the Cathedral system, the Parochial system and Patronage—without any of the animadversions on Party Trusts with which the Diocese of Chichester has lately been associated—the constitution and work of the Church Assembly, the meaning of

Establishment, and the Royal Supremacy. Space does not allow of comment on the " Centralizing Tendency " at work in the Church. He wisely deprecates disestablishment. He explains the work of those mysterious bodies the Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty. Dr. Bell has taken a prominent part in the reunion movement, and we should have been surprised if it had not received special mention in this work. Everyone reads with interest his contributions to this subject, and the chapter in this volume is of special value.

Under the title *Sign-Posts* the Rev. W. E. Beck, M.A., Principal of St. Paul's Training College, Cheltenham, has written a most useful series of " Studies for Adolescent and Adult Classes " (St. Christopher Press, 4*s.* net). Mr. Beck has many gifts as a teacher which are seen to full advantage in the striking treatment of important subjects in these studies. He arouses interest at the outset by the originality of the impression which he creates, and he maintains it throughout by the admirable variety of his illustrations. There is a fascination in his presentation of familiar truths in fresh lights, and unexpected turns of thought keep the attention of the reader alert. With this series of studies in his hand a teacher cannot fail to give Bible Study a new meaning to his class. It is impossible to make a selection for special mention, but the titles of some of the studies will give an idea of the originality of the treatment : " Making a Name " deals with the life of Absalom, " Are we downhearted ? " with Elijah, " No Surrender " with Job, " Introductions " with St. Andrew, " Bethlehem calling the World " with the Christmas Message. In all there are thirty studies, and we recommend them strongly to those who are seeking freshness and life in their presentation of old truths.

The Christianity of To-Morrow is a subject of supreme interest to us all. Dr. J. H. B. Masterman, Bishop of Plymouth, has written a book with this title (Cassell & Co., Ltd., 7*s.* 6*d.*), in which he gives an account of the present problems which face the Christian Churches and of the methods by which they can best be solved. It is a general survey of the main features of the thought of to-day, of the tendencies at work in every department of life, and an analysis of the Christian forces which are needed to secure the victory of Christ. Christians must not fear new knowledge, but must be prepared to use it. The chief foe is materialism and this can only be overcome by a more profound realization of the truth presented by Christ. Christianity must assume a fresh character of adventure, and with a stronger faith go out to meet indifference and carelessness. Christianity alone brings an adequate explanation of the universe, and of man's place and purpose in it. Although the Bishop criticises Evangelicalism as distrustful of innovations and as appealing to the traditional conservatism of the English character, he can scarcely realize its present attitude when he says

that its danger is that "it may find its bond of union in negations rather than in affirmations." He says that "Protestantism may be seen at its best in Scotland," and he must recognize the debt which all the Churches owe to the scholarship and spiritual insight of Scottish theologians. Evangelicals are more akin to them than to the theologians who are burdened with those traditions of the past which are a hindrance to Christianity in facing the needs of the future. There is so much that is stimulating in the book that we have not dwelt upon the points in which we differ from the author.

The Adventure of Youth, by Sir Arthur Yapp, K.B.E. (Longmans, Green & Co., 2*s*. 6*d*. and 4*s*. net.), is a book which everyone can read with pleasure. Sir Arthur's long association with the youth of many lands in his work for the Y.M.C.A. has infected him with a delightful spirit of optimism. It has also given him the gift of expressing his views in a popular and attractive way. He has had experience of life in many directions and in many parts of the world, and he gives for the benefit of others the conclusions which he has formed. The six parts of this book are styled The Adventure of Youth, of Manhood, of Sport, of Service, of Youth Overseas, and The Adventure of Adventures. The spirit of adventure appeals to the young, and Sir Arthur shows how this spirit can be guided into the best channels, and the wonderful results which can be produced by courage and perseverance in following the highest and the best. The imagery of sport is used with good effect to express and emphasize some of the best lessons in life. The opportunities for youth both at home and overseas are explained, and sound advice is given to parents in the selection of the careers of their boys and girls. Sir Arthur's extensive travels in various parts of the world are drawn upon for suitable and impressive illustrations. The closing part deals with the service of Jesus and is a powerful and appropriate appeal to the growing religious feelings which he discerns among young men. Striking instances are given of Christian heroism which are an inspiration to others to follow in the footsteps of the Master.

The lives of two prominent ministers who accomplished great work in the service of Christ have been written by sympathetic hands. Mr. Henry Martyn Gooch, the General Secretary of the World's Evangelical Alliance, has given in *William Fuller Gooch: A Tribute and a Testimony*, a son's warm appreciation of his father's life and character. Mr. Fuller Gooch was a familiar figure on the platform of many societies which brought together members of the various Churches for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and was always a vigorous and acceptable speaker. In the record of his life we have a striking example of the power of early influences, and of the guidance of an earnest Christian mother. Mr. Fuller Gooch's work at Norwood, where he founded the Lansdowne Hall, and for many years directed its varied activities, exercised a wide influence

on the religious life of the district. But he was also an extensive traveller, speaking for the Evangelical Alliance and other organizations in various parts of the world. He was a strong supporter of the Bible Society, of which he was a Life Governor, and of the Religious Tract Society, of Dr. Barnardo's Home, and many other religious and philanthropic associations, to all of which he rendered valuable service. After his home-call on November 29, 1928, there were testimonies from people in many spheres of Christian activity to the help which they had received from his life and teaching. Mr. Martyn Gooch has done well to write this record as " A Tribute and a Testimony " to his father.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., have issued a life of *F. B. Meyer, Preacher, Teacher, Man of God*, by A. Chester Mann (3*s.* 6*d.*). It gives a full account of the many-sided activities in which Dr. Meyer engaged during a long and exceptionally busy life. His qualities are thus summed up : " In spirit and demeanour he belonged to the Victorian era, exhibiting its benevolent mien, its shy affability, its assured peace without a touch of self-complacency, its unfailing courtesy, its suggestions of reserve of power. In him, the lamb and the lion were combined." Dr. Meyer had the unusual experience of resigning two pastorates: one at Regent's Park, and the other at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, and of resuming them again at a later date. But he was of a roving spirit, and his chief work lay in addressing Conferences and Conventions in various parts of the world. He was an incessant traveller, and visited every part of the world. He was a constant visitor to America, where he was closely associated with the Northfield Institution founded by D. L. Moody. His activities were unabated till the end, and he was a welcome speaker at great Nonconformist functions right up to his last address in City Road Chapel, close to the spot where John Wesley, himself a traveller of wide experience, established his head-quarters. Mr. Mann writes as an enthusiastic admirer of Dr. Meyer and conveys his enthusiasm for a great worker to his readers.

The Bishop of London has issued the addresses which he gave at his last Lent Mission in the East End of London, under the title *Why am I a Christian?* (Cassell & Co., 3*s.* 6*d.*). He explains that while he was in America addressing students he found that many of them had been told to wait till they were nineteen years of age, and then to choose their religion. It was therefore necessary to deal with the question, " Why be a Christian at all ? " and as many in this country require similar instruction he gave this series of apologetic addresses during his Lent Mission. They are full of reminiscenes of the Bishop's experiences in many parts of the world, but more particularly in the East End of London, where as Head of Oxford House and Rector of Bethnal Green he did effective work for Christian evidence, especially in the open-air gatherings in Victoria Park. The addresses are reminiscent of the style and

method of those old days, when he met objections with the direct and popular answers which suited his audience. In these addresses he meets the popular objections to Christianity, and many will find useful material which can be effectively used for the same purpose.

The Student Christian Movement has issued *Treasures of the Dust*, by Dr. M. Van Rhyn, Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht (4*s*. 6*d*. net). It is excellently translated by Winifride T. Thompson, and it gives an account of "The New Testament in the Light of Recent Excavations." The volume brings together a mass of interesting information of great value to students of the New Testament. It tells of the discovery of the "New Sayings of Jesus" by Messrs. Grenfell & Hunt, of the researches of Professor Deismann, the results of which are familiar to English readers in his great work *Light from the Ancient East*. Fresh light is thrown on many texts from these discoveries. An interesting example is given: "If Jesus spoke the words translated 'This is My body . . . this is My blood' in Aramaic, He cannot have used the auxiliary 'is,' because its equivalent does not exist in Aramaic. This point is not without influence on the authority of the Catholic interpretation of the words used in the Communion Service." The spirit of the author may be judged from his words, "In the study of the New Testament, historical research which lacks any living relation to Christ is *a priori* doomed to barrenness." Altogether it is a volume of unusual interest and valuable instruction.

It is incumbent on churchpeople to study the proposals for the reunion of the Churches in South India in order that they may be familiar with the points over which no doubt keen controversy will rage until the Bishops at the Lambeth Conference in July express their opinions upon them. The following books will be found useful. The Official Scheme is issued by S.P.C.K. (1*s*. net), with a long title indicating the Churches concerned in the *Proposed Scheme of Union*. The best general account of the whole situation and of the progress and nature of the negotiations is by the Bishop of Madras, *Church Union in South India*, The Story of the Negotiations (S.P.C.K., 2*s*. net). This gives the "atmosphere" in which the whole movement has been conceived and carried to its present stage. A very clear and succinct statement, also of special value, has been drawn up by four representatives of the Missions or Missionary Organisations concerned—the Rev. Joseph Muir of Scotland, the Rev. W. J. Noble of the Wesleyan Church, the Rev. G. E. Phillips of the L.M.S., and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Palmer, lately Bishop of Bombay. The title is *Why South India Churches are Considering Union* (Hodder & Stoughton, 6*d*. net). Dr. Palmer has also written a pamphlet, *Watersmeet*, for the "Faith and Order" Series, in which he gives "A Description of the Proposed Union of Churches in South India" (3*d*. net). Any of these books can be obtained from The Church Book Room, Dean Wace House, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. G. F. I.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

ARCHBISHOP BERNARD ON ST. JOHN,

THE LATEST COMMENTARY ON ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL. By Archbishop J. H. Bernard. International Critical Commentary. *T. & T. Clark.* 30*s.*

The number of books and articles on the Fourth Gospel which have poured forth from the press in recent years is legion. Yet the words of Dr. Sanday in 1904 on Bishop Westcott's famous commentary on St. John, so far as Great Britain was concerned, still held good until the appearance last year of the latest addition to the volumes in the International Critical Commentary series: "I believe that in spite of the lapse of time Dr. Westcott's commentary remains, and will still for long remain, the best we have on the Fourth Gospel." [1] Perhaps even now the majority of scholars will maintain that the older work has not been superseded, but they will admit that the new commentary on St. John's Gospel by Dr. Bernard, Archbishop of Dublin, who died in 1927, is worthy to be mentioned with the older one. The editors of the International Critical Commentary showed great judgment in asking Dr. Bernard to perform the sacred task of expounding the meaning of the most spiritual of all the gospels. His scholarship and wide range of knowledge were unquestioned, and still more his intensely reverent mind and deep spirituality marked him out as an interpreter of the gospel whom we could safely follow, and one who could help us to understand afresh its message of eternal life through faith in and reliance upon Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

Nearly a hundred and eighty pages are devoted to introductory questions. Nothing is said about the unity of the gospel: this is a serious omission in view of the partition theories advocated by many present-day scholars, and in a standard work of this size this subject should have come up for consideration. On the other hand, dislocations of the text are advocated, e.g., chapters v. and vi. are transposed. Chapter vii. 15–24 is reckoned to be out of its place and is made to follow immediately after chapter v. In the discourse in the upper room, chapters xiii. 31–38, xiv., should come after chapter xvi. Some rearrangement of chapter x. seems also to be imperative. Other minor rearrangements are suggested. The reasons brought forward by Dr. Bernard are not new, but they are very forcible. Nevertheless, his caution must be borne in mind, namely that we cannot expect logical sequence such as would be appropriate in a philosophical treatise (p. xxi.; cf. pp. 485, 493). The authorship, structure and historicity of the gospel and its

[1] *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), p. 14.

relationship to the other New Testament writings come in for treatment.

The conclusion arrived at, based mainly on the evidence of Papias, is this, that there were two Johns at Ephesus, John the Apostle and John the Presbyter. To the first Dr. Bernard would ascribe the Apocalypse (p. lxviii), and to the second the gospel and Johannine epistles. " John the Presbyter was the writer and editor of the Fourth Gospel, although he derived his narrative matter from John the son of Zebedee. John the Presbyter, in short, is the *Evangelist*, as distinct from John the Apostle, who was the *witness* to whose testimony the Evangelist appeals (xix. 35; xxi. 24)" (p. lxiv). Most emphatic is he against the view that St. John ever endured " red " martyrdom, and his objections on this point seem to us most convincing. Where, however, he earns our gratitude most is in his strong insistence on the historical value of the gospel: " The Evangelist intended to present narratives of fact, of the truth of which he himself was fully persuaded " (p. xc), though he rightly qualifies this statement by the remark that " it is not always easy to disentangle John's commentary from his report of the Lord's words " (pp. cxiv, cxvi). " John is not only an historian, he is an interpreter of history " (pp. xc, cix). He criticizes those who, like von Hügel and Loisy, would maintain that the book's method and form are prevailingly allegorical, and rightly warns us that we must distinguish between allegorical teaching and teaching by parable, but we wish that he had pursued the subject a little further. Against Dr. Bernard we hold that one of the chief characteristics of the gospel is its love of symbolism, but this is quite compatible with a very high estimate of its historical value. Contrary to the prevailing opinion amongst scholars Dr. Bernard sees no design in the writer's usage of the numbers seven and three, and even when they do occur in the structure of the narrative, he considers that their presence is due to accident rather than to any set purpose. Instead of allowing that there are seven similitudes by which Jesus describes Himself in the Fourth Gospel, beginning with " I am " (vi. 35; viii. 12; x. 7–11; xi. 25; xv. 1; xiv. 6), Dr. Bernard contents himself with quoting viii. 18: " which brings the number of these Divine Pronouncements up to eight " (p. lxxxix), but the last is a pronouncement and not a similitude.

A chapter is devoted to the Fourth Gospel in its relation to the Synoptics. In Dr. Bernard's opinion St. John most certainly uses St. Mark, and most probably St. Luke, or perhaps we should say Q, but was not aware of the Matthæan tradition as distinct from that of St. Mark (p. xcvi). St. John corrects the Marcan tradition, but Dr. Bernard should have discussed the theory started by Schwartz, and recently advocated by Windisch,[1] that the Fourth Gospel was written with the avowed object of replacing all the other gospels in existence. Doctrinal subjects claim a place, such as the Christology of the Gospel, the authority of the Old Testament, Life and Judgment, the Kingdom of God, the New Birth, and the Eucharist.

[1] *Johannes und die Synoptiker* (J. C. Hinrich, Leipzig, 1926).

Of the last he very truly remarks that a Eucharistic reference in John vi. 51*b*–58 is not to be evaded, and that also in xv. 1–12, allusions to the Eucharist are to be found.

The commentary itself extends to 714 pages, including special notes on points arising from the text. We should have liked room to have been found for a special note on prayer in the Fourth Gospel, not that Dr. Bernard has refrained from commenting fully on those passages where our Lord speaks on prayer (cf. pp. 397–9, and especially on cxvii). Heiler has justly complained in his great book on prayer [1] that even in large works on the Theology of the New Testament prayer finds almost no place, and in a commentary on St. John, Dr. Bernard would have rendered an inestimable service to his readers had he collected together all the passages on prayer, and unfolded the principles which govern its practice, and which in the case of our Lord lead us into the very Holy of Holies. It also does not seem to have occurred to him that our Lord's delays (cf. ii. 4 ff.; vii. 8 ff.; xi. 6, 7) might be explained as due to His waiting on His Father's will, and doing nothing without His guidance.

Something must be said regarding the methods pursued by Dr. Bernard in expounding the sacred text. He informs us that he has found the writings of Ignatius, Justin and Irenæus more valuable than any of the set commentaries by the Fathers: Ignatius for his theological presuppositions, which are markedly like those of the Fourth Evangelist, Justin and Irenæus for their use of the gospel, which is often of great value in bringing out the original meaning (pp. clxxxvi, clxxxvii). This procedure is characteristically Anglican, and Anglican at its best. Later on he says, "its appeal to the twentieth century cannot be unfolded until the lesser task has been in some measure accomplished, of setting forth its appeal to the second century." Several times in the commentary itself he warns us not to import into the gospel the controversies and doctrines of the Fourth Century (cf. notes on x. 30; xv. 26; xvi. 28; xvii. 12), but we often miss the question in the commentary which the reader should be asking himself: Why was this particular incident chosen? The Evangelist says quite clearly that he had a definite purpose in view, and that many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book (xx. 30, 31). The selective process was at work. The gospel was written partly to strengthen the faith of Jewish and Greek Christians, of whom there must have been many at Ephesus, the home of the Evangelist. To a certain extent Dr. Bernard allows this in the Introduction, and says that in the doctrine of judgment and of life expounded in the Fourth Gospel, "The Evangelist is at once Hebraist and Hellenist" (p. clxi; cf. clxvi). But apart from the hymn to the Logos in the Prologue, the suggestion that the Evangelist must continually have had Greek readers in mind rarely obtrudes itself in Dr. Bernard's commentary.

The religious-historical school represented by Bauer, Bousset, Heitmüller, Loisy, and which, we may be quite certain, will be by

[1] *Das Gebet* (E. Reinhardt, München, 1923), p. 5.

Bultmann in his forthcoming commentary on St. John's Gospel, adduces parallels from Iranian and Mandaean writings, as well as from Hellenistic literature, to prove the syncretistic character of the Fourth Gospel. Their concern is to show that the original gospel of Jesus has been transformed in the process of transplantation from Jewish to Greek soil. What we should like to have in English is a commentary which, while fully recognizing that the gospel was written at a transition time in the history of Christianity, maintains that it remained true to the spirit and teaching of its Divine Founder; thus we could have been carried a step farther than that intended by Dr. Bernard. We should then be in possession of a commentary which, besides expounding the teaching of St. John, would also demonstrate how the gospel serves as a model of the way in which we should present Christianity to the men of our day, not by whittling down the Faith, or by adopting a reduced form of Christianity, but by using the thought forms of the present age, and employing them in such a manner as to enable our contemporaries to see the simplicity, the depth and the wonder of the Incarnation. Keeping within the strict limits of a commentary this should, of course, be done more by way of suggestion, than of direct argument.

Dr. Bernard follows a line of his own in his treatment of the miraculous element in the gospel. He does not view with favour the assertion that it reveals, in contrast with the other gospels, an enhancement of the miraculous. Some instances, e.g., the healing of the nobleman's son (iv. 46–54), the healing of the impotent man (v. 2–9), and the stilling of the storm (vi. 15–24), he would almost decline to include in the category of the miraculous. A non-committal attitude is adopted towards the raising of Lazarus: he is quite clear in his own mind that the narrative of chapter xi. describes a remarkable incident in the ministry of Jesus, but he would allow that there was room for the hypothesis that Lazarus was raised from a death-like trance by an extraordinary effort of will and exercise of power by Jesus, adding, however, the caveat, "But he is a bold dogmatist who, in the present condition of our knowledge, will venture to set precise limits to the exercise of *spiritual* force even by ordinary beings, still less when He who sets it in action has all the potentialities of the spiritual world at His command" (p. clxxxvi).

Dr. Bernard's comments on chapter xi. are full of insight. The congruity of the characters of Martha and Mary, as suggested by the account of them in St. Luke x. 38f. with what St. John tells in this chapter of their demeanour, is noted. The full force of those pregnant words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life" (verse 25), is brought out. The difficult words, "He groaned in the spirit, and was troubled" (verse 33, cf. verse 38), are carefully explained. In these verses a very strange word is used which in classical Greek means "to snort" like a horse (cf. St. Mark i. 43; St. Matt. ix. 30). He "roared at them" would not exactly convey the sense, for that would suggest violence of speech or of command. But it is nearer its primary meaning than "strictly charged them." Dr. Bernard

would retain the old translation, " He groaned in spirit," only it must not suggest the groaning of one in sorrow. The groaning was like the tears and shuddering, the outward and bodily indication of a tremendous spiritual agitation and effort (pp. 392, 393). Various explanations of verses 41 and 42 are given in which our Lord thanks His Father for having heard His prayer. Dr. Bernard thinks that perhaps verse 42 might be taken as a comment or interpretative gloss of the Evangelist rather than as a saying of Jesus. He considers that more probably the text is corrupt. " In one uncial (H) there is a variant reading which we take to represent the original . . . because of the multitude standing by I do it, that they may believe that Thou didst send Me." The words of verse 41 were the inmost expression of His personal life. While in verse 42 He speaks of the purpose with which He is about to perform the sign that will convince the unlookers of His Divine mission. Dr. Bernard admits that the attestation of the particular reading he adopts is undoubtedly weak. We prefer, however, to retain the old reading. It was a real thanksgiving, and, further, it enabled the bystanders to understand the true source of Christ's power, which came not from Himself, but from Him who sent Him.

Certain criticisms have been passed in this review on Dr. Bernard's commentary. Let us end on the note of thanksgiving. What better memorial to a great Archbishop can be found than these two volumes which he has left as a legacy, not only to his own generation, but to many generations to come! Some of us at the Holy Communion on St. John's Day will pause at the words, " And we also bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear," and add silently, " and especially for J. H. Bernard, Archbishop of Dublin."

W. H. RIGG.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH ON THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK.

THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK IN THE MODERN WORLD. By C. F. D'Arcy, Archbishop of Armagh. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 6s.

We are living in an age of restless searching and the old paths are being abandoned. The Library of Armagh has over its door the Greek word meaning a " Healing Place for the Soul," and now the philosopher Archbishop of Armagh has popularized the contents of the volumes that have placed him in the first rank of contemporary thinkers. He has done this so successfully that no one of average intelligence need be afraid of inability to understand his book, for it is written in lucid English with an absence of technical phraseology. And we shall be greatly surprised if it does not bring health to the souls of many in distress and confidence to those who cry, " Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief." As Dr. D'Arcy says, " we dare not abandon the Faith which has nourished the best in human life, nor the Hope which, kindled by that Faith, has enhanced all human values for so many generations."

Scientific knowledge and its applications to human needs are the greatest characteristic of our age. Science has advanced so rapidly in every direction, that its wonders have become commonplace and we are scarcely aware of the revolution they have worked. It ministers in amazing fashion to our comfort, our amusements and our necessities. Men have got into the unconscious habit of thinking that Science is upon the Throne occupied in the minds of our fathers by God. But reflection shows us that Science is only classified knowledge, and applied Science the application of this knowledge to human service. Back of it all lies the mind that knows, and the conception that force and matter can explain everything has been abandoned by all thoughtful scientists. Christianity offers us an outlook which is the most precious of our human possessions, and because Dr. D'Arcy is convinced of the Truth of the Faith he has written this book to help others to share his conviction. He is very sure of God. The great philosophic conceptions of the day make it plain that we cannot explain the universe without including those elements which we call mental, moral and spiritual. The development of religion from its primitive forms to Christianity bears testimony to man's quest for God and to his belief in a spiritual interpretation of nature. Monotheism has become the only possible Creed for the thoughtful modern man, and this Monotheism as revealed in Christianity is profoundly ethical. " It is Monotheism which enables us to speak of conscience as the voice of God." The writings of the Old Testament have an intrinsic quality in their doctrine of God that places them on a different plane from the myths of other peoples. They prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah.

Science steps in and says law is everywhere, and " the God Who seemed to shine forth from the universe has disappeared, and cold, mechanical necessity has taken His place." This is the conclusion drawn from the study of theoretical science, but when we study its practical application we see how man can use this knowledge and bend it to his own ends. He masters Nature and makes it obey him. And the uniformity of Nature which seems so relentless in its working is the very ground of man's ability to use Nature for his benefit. Man can control the forces to an amazing extent, and if God be Spirit, then He can use these same forces for the fulfilment of His ends. Man's guidance of Nature is not inconsistent with the steadiness and trustworthiness of Nature's Law, and why should we exclude God from governing Nature for the well-being of His Children ? In a very striking argument he shows that prayer for earthly benefits is compatible with what we know of God and Nature, and there is no reason to abandon belief in Miracles at great turning-points in human history.

The Archbishop proceeds to expound briefly the idea of Evolution and to show how it has really proved a benefit to Christian thinkers. It is a view of Nature which shows that the creative process is not only in harmony with the results of scientific research, but also affords a larger and grander interpretation of the religious

experience of mankind. We think of God working continually in His creation—a thought expressed in St. John's record of our Lord's saying, " My Father worketh hitherto and I work." " To the unity of the Creator corresponds the unity of His work. And, as this unity is traced throughout the whole, we find creation rising, stage after stage, height after height, until it culminates in a spiritual order crowned by the advent of the Perfect Man."

In discussing the Incarnation we see the Archbishop at his best. He acknowledges that miracles alone cannot prove our Lord's Divinity—they are an element that adds emphasis. We find an answer to our questions in the consideration of these elements. " First, in the perfection of His humanity ; secondly, in His revelation of God ; thirdly, in His victory through death and resurrection. These are elements which can be proved and tested to-day quite as well as in the beginning. They need no critical examination of texts, no elaborate investigation of sources, no dogmatic system to support them." Dr. D'Arcy examines the three elements and concludes : " Only the perfect humanity can reveal the Divinity." We have been thrilled on reading the pages which lead to this conclusion. For us the force of the argument is irresistible.

The rest of the volume is occupied with the examination and discussion of various themes, such as " Immortality," " The Trinity," " Divine Suffering," " Prayer and Sacrament." All well deserve the most careful study, and if here and there some readers cannot accept his theories of Grace, all will see that he has much to say in his support. We are not quite happy in his doctrine of God as Super-Personal and do not see our way to adopt his view of the objectivity of time in contrast to the subjectivity of space. It is possible to produce equally good authorities on both sides, and at a time when we are told it is essential to assume not four but six dimensions, it is certain that finality has not been reached. The more we know the more wonderful this Universe becomes, and our idea of God as Mind becomes the greater. But nothing has ever been discovered or thought that adds to the Christian conception of God as Love, and the beautiful meditation on the Lord's prayer with which the book closes leaves us in the presence of our Father Who loves and cares for us. We sincerely hope that this book will have the circulation it deserves, and will be placed in the hands of thoughtful young men and women disturbed by what is known as Modern Thought and current scientific theories, as well as of those who are called to be teachers of others. Its sanity, its lucidity and transparent honesty make it invaluable to those who seek Truth and strive to follow its leading.

SEEKING AFTER GOD.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTS OF THE GRÆCO-ROMAN WORLD. By S. Angus, D.D. *John Murray.* 15*s.*

We understand that it is impossible to understand any great movement of thought unless we are familiar with its background.

Past generations saw in Christianity a religion so immensely superior to its environmental creeds that comparatively little notice was taken of them. To-day we are apt to run to the opposite extreme and conclude that Christianity borrowed at will from the Mystery Religions, and by so doing entirely changed its original character. No one has any doubt that syncretism, or the adoption of what was popular in non-Christian beliefs, has had an evil influence on the development of "Catholicism," when Catholicism means the adaptation of Christianity to the sub-Christian conceptions that were taken into its belief and worship, but this is very different from asserting that the New Testament and Primitive Church taught something like a congeries of doctrines that were derived from the mystery and other religions.

Dr. Angus in this study in the Historical Background of Christianity covers a wide field and at times becomes diffuse in his presentation of his argument. The book would have borne judicious pruning and a more careful focusing. Nevertheless, it is a work brimful of information and calculated to steady the minds of students who have been led astray by the confident assertions of secularist writers and, we regret to say, of some Christian teachers. We are brought by him into the welter of beliefs in the Mediterranean world when our Faith appeared on the scene, and we are shown how Christianity met and overcame a philosophy which had no spiritual urge behind it, and creeds that in their multiplicity attracted the affection of millions. At times it seems to us—with the necessary differences—that our Lord came into a world very like that in parts of the United States, where every imaginable form of human aspiration finds expression in a religious creed. Due credit is paid to Stoicism and Platonism for their contribution to ethical and philosophical thought, and Dr. Angus is right when he concludes that in Greek philosophy "the soul loves and seeks God rather than God seeks and loves the soul." The revelation of a seeking God and of Love revealed in His Son changed the whole orientation of thought.

A great part of the book is taken up with a discussion of Sacramental ideas—in fact, it may be said to form the centre of the work. Controversy always tends to overpress logic and isolate truth, and in the discussion of the Sacramental we have always to bear this in mind. The natural bent of thought is to concentrate in the concrete and to associate with it the end as well as the means—which it really is. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to see how the symbol is identified with what is symbolized. "Irenæus, contending for the orthodox view of the resurrection of the flesh, as against the Hellenic doctrine of the immortality of the soul, adopted by the Gnostic Docetists, discovered an ingenious argument for his cruder doctrine in a magical doctrine of the Eucharist." We cannot dissociate the minds of Christians from the prevailing thought, and yet we do not go as far as Dr. Angus when he writes: "It was the whole mentality of the ancient world, which Christians shared with Pagans, which forced this missionary faith to equip

itself with what were regarded as the essentials and tokens of a religion in that age: miracle, secrecy and sacrament." The Christian view of these three as narrated in the New Testament is in striking contrast not only to the environmental view of Paganism, but to many of the magical ideas that we find in the early Fathers. It was natural when the Christians were largely recruited from the Greeks, that the sterner Hebraic element was at times forgotten. It was never forgotten by the writers of the New Testament.

We are convinced that the Dominical Institution of the Sacraments of the Gospel is of much greater importance than Dr. Angus believes. It is perfectly true that all life is sacramental, but the history of the race shows that there is a false as well as a true Sacramentalism and, the fact that our Lord definitely instituted two Sacraments and two only, has a lesson of the greatest importance for His followers. They maintain the essential simplicity of the Christian Sacraments and close the door to developments that may be explained on historical grounds but have no real New Testament support. Dr. Angus discusses many of the views associated with the Lord's Supper, and is by no means satisfied with Dean Inge's dictum " We should abstain, I think, from speculating on the effects of the sacraments, and train ourselves to consider them as divinely ordained symbols."

We commend the description of the teaching of St. Paul and St. John to our readers and the clear distinction between justifiable and unjustifiable inferences from their statements. There is much wisdom in the saying: " With his profound insight into the spiritual meaning of Christianity, John saw a danger in the increasing reverence attached to the outward rite of the Supper. The natural craving for something visible and material in religion had seized on the simple ordinance bequeathed by Jesus and invested it with a superstitious value." We have to be on our guard against the invasion of this superstitious value while placing the Scriptural value on what our Lord ordained. And the chapter on " The Place and Function of Sacrament " is specially helpful in this respect.

The book as a whole is full of admirable expositions of ancient beliefs and their efforts, successful and unsuccessful, to find a lodgement in the creed and worship of Christianity. The study of " The Religious Quests " shows us that the human mind in all ages remains practically the same in its outlook and desire to subordinate the unseen to the seen, and in its liability to run into extremes which the sanity of Primitive Christianity avoided, and it would be well for us if we could return to that sane spontaneity which made the Faith what it was in its conquest of the world.

THE WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

OUR NEW RELIGION. By the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. *Benn.* 6*s.*

We have long desired a book on Christian Science which would give facts that cannot be disputed, set forth its history and teaching in a manner that can be understood by the average reader, and have the whole subject treated intelligibly by a competent writer. This asks much, for we have generally found that competent scholars who have for themselves inquired into the history and intellectual basis of Christian Science are so unable to understand its hold on human thought, that they do not treat it seriously, and the average man when he studies a little of the " classic " " Science and Health " is so bewildered that he lays it down with surprise that anyone should be misled by it. And yet a movement that has 2,386 churches and societies, delivers in a year 3,649 lectures with an attendance of 2,900,926 persons, cannot be ignored. And we are told that a new Church is opened every four days. It is possible to be a Christian Scientist and remain attached to other Churches. " The flaming core of undivided enthusiasm is surrounded by a wide penumbra, shading off by imperceptible degrees into the darkness of unbelief."

Mr. Fisher has performed a public service in going so thoroughly into the origin, character and progress of the movement. Naturally it had its origin in the United States, and equally naturally it has spread to England. It has made little progress in Latin lands, and in spite of the great vogue Spiritualism has had in Spain, it has not taken root there. Our author attributes its unattractiveness to the acuteness of the Latin mind, swift to defect lack of logic, but we think that in countries where Lourdes and Loretto, miraculous images and other healing shrines flourish, those who would be attracted by Christian Science find what they need already provided. Mrs. Eddy has a certain amount of psychological and medical support for her position, in so far as modern therapeutics insist on the duty of having the mind healthy, if the body is to be cured of its infirmities, and religion, the strongest emotion known to humanity, if centred in a belief of the goodness of God, will do more than many physicians for the restoration of health. Is it unfair to add that medical science has not provided us with cures for some of the commonest of our ills—*e.g.* a cold—and in the failure of the science comes the chance of the pseudo-science. And it is hardly too much to say that one result of modern progress has been to make us all more sensitive of the ills of the body than our fathers were.

Mr. Fisher reviews the subject under three heads: The Prophetess, the Creed, and the Church. The life of Mrs. Eddy needs to be read to be understood. She had in combination the qualities which have made America what she is—belief in herself and good business instincts. We can see her in misfortune and in prosperity, we find her to be of the masterful type of women and able to attract to her help those who were born organizers. Little by little she

became a power. "She founds a college, a church, a world organization, newspapers. She writes the Bible of the New Faith, and, by every art and device known to the ambitious ecclesiastic, the pushing publisher, the advertiser of medical wares, secures for it a wide and lucrative circulation." And in consequence of human credulity and the latent belief in the minds of men and women that God is good and does not wish His children to suffer, her name is honoured by hundreds of thousands of well-meaning people who have no knowledge of her second-hand inspiration and curious past.

The Creed is analysed as based on three fundamental maxims:

God is all in all,
God is good, good is mind,
God spirit being all, nothing is matter,

"propositions, which, as the authoress observes, may be equally well understood if they are read backward, which mathematically proves their exact correspondence with truth!" A one-sided idealism runs through all her teaching, and those who have had a metaphysical training know what is involved in doctrine of this type. In Mrs. Eddy's case it led to a belief in witchcraft, and, strange to say, there is for her at work always and everywhere evil of a spiritual character, which gives rise to the ills to which flesh is heir and impedes the triumph of the true faith. In the description of the Church we have an account of a meeting evidently written by one who attended, and, to its readers, it shows how human weaknesses can be exploited for what they wish to possess. But we must close by recommending all our readers who are brought into contact with Christian Scientists to buy, read and master the contents of this sane and extremely able volume.

PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. By W. Fearn Halliday. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

On the jacket of this thoughtful volume we read, "We must understand the necessity of Redemption in a deeper way—this book shows us the way." We do not agree with the last sentence, for although Mr. Halliday has much to teach us on the human side, we believe that the Divine side of Redemption is not more fully elucidated by modern psychology. How God works in the hearts and minds of men will be better understood after the study of the book, but the amazing love of God, that wondrous love which gave His Son to die for us, does not become any the more wonderful in its highest and deepest aspects, because we have a fuller knowledge of the needs of human nature which are met by that Love Divine. Redemption certainly becomes more wonderful when we know the depths of man's unconsciousness and their influence on the behaviour and thought of men. Provision is made for all, but the Provision

itself in the Christ of God has no fuller light shed on it than is found in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

Mr. Halliday has written the best book on Psychology and Religious experience that has passed through our hands. He knows his subject and is perfectly familiar with the writings of his predecessors. He is aware of the claims made for the Science by those who find it to be the most destructive weapon for the overthrow of Religion, and is able to show that it is no such thing. As he says, " we are living in an age of peculiar psychical unrest, and the religious mind will not deem it apart from the providential ordering of God that important psychological discoveries should give the key to the allaying of that unrest. It may well be that it is God's will that, for our special stage of development, we should be forced into a deeper comprehension of what personal reality is through a religious interpretation of the new psychology." This interpretation is the object of the book, which is specially written for Christian ministers and for all those who have responsibility towards those who are striving to know themselves and God.

Mr. Halliday has no difficulty in disposing of the common notion that God is a projection without objective reality. He truly says, " One might say that reality comes to the psyche through the process of projection much as light comes through a window with a bull's eye in it, but one has to remember that it is reality which comes, even though its aspect within the psyche may be as unilluminating as the filtered light." The reality demanded by the life interest must have two qualities—it must be personal and it must be permanent. " And it is precisely here that religion meets the demand for reality, for religion interprets the universe in terms of what is personal and permanent. It regards all meaning as meaning for persons, and looks upon personality as the source of all judgment of worth. It is therefore, religion alone that makes life intelligible, and that comes to be perceived as philosophically and psychologically necessary."

Having laid down his first principles, Mr. Halliday proceeds to discuss many of the innumerable problems raised by the idiosyncrasies, the illusions and self-deceptions of humanity and the remedy religion has for them. As we read his pages we are brought face to face with our own experiences, and see what mistakes we might have avoided in dealing with individuals had we only known something more of the obscure workings of the mind and the way in which good people are led astray. Naturally the endless questions concerning sex are raised, and we may at once say that unlike other books on the subject they are treated with a reticence and restraint that at once win our approval. It is impossible to avoid a discussion of one of the strongest and most insistent elements in human nature, and it is equally impossible to avoid seeing the subtle way in which it influences imagination and controls much activity. The distinction he draws between physiological and psychical sex can never be forgotten. " Physical passion in itself, and by itself, comes to be seen as the servant of psychological sex—that is of

affection with the sense of value in it, which is that without which life would have no colour, no beauty, no passionate loyalties, and without which religion itself would lose its dynamic."

We cannot follow Mr. Halliday through his illuminating chapters in which he analyses motives, and proves beyond a doubt that the weaknesses which we discover in others and know to exist in ourselves are very often due to hidden motives, that require to be faced and put in their proper place. We have been specially impressed by his criticism of true and false sympathy and learn that nothing worth doing can be done without sacrifice, when we wish to help. But the book must be read to be valued, and the more honest the reader is with himself the more highly he will esteem " Psychology and Religious Experience."

THE ROSETTA STONE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE ROSETTA STONE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. *Religious Tract Society.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Religious Tract Society is to be congratulated on the publication of this learned and, at the same time, most readable book on one of the greatest historical treasures in the Museum of which we are all proud. Its commanding position in the centre of the Hall and the romantic associations that are bound up with it, make it an object of mystery and wonder to the ordinary visitor and an inspiration to the scholar. No man is better fitted to tell its story than Dr. Budge, and here we have a full account of its accidental discovery, and of the way in which it found its resting-place in London, where, in the words of Major-General Turner, written in 1812, it remains " a most valuable relic of antiquity, the feeble but only yet discovered link of the Egyptian to the known languages, a proud trophy of the arms of Britain (I could almost say *spolia opima*) not plundered from defenceless inhabitants, but honourably acquired by the fortune of war." Much has happened in the past century, and the Major-General would be surprised to learn what we now know of Ancient Egypt!

We have in these pages a full account of the method by which the Inscription was deciphered, and even those ignorant of languages can follow, in detail, how step by step the hieroglyphs yielded up their secret, and a new instrument of knowledge was given to scholars. We have translations of the " document " and the hieroglyphs are printed so that we can find a clue for ourselves to their meaning, and follow the work of the interpreter. We even become familiar with the meaning of some of them before we read the translation, and in this way time passes unobserved, so absorbing is the study, which under less competent guidance would soon be wearisome. The account given of the early efforts to decipher hieroglyphs is fascinating, and shows how wrong men may be in their guesses in the dark. The names of Young (the Englishman) and Champollion (the Frenchman) will be always associated with the scientific work

that opened a new world of knowledge to the modern student. The Old Testament references to Egypt can now be understood as they never have been by Christians, and as Dr. Budge says in his Preface, " the historical foundations of the tradition of the Exodus, and of the story of the wanderings in the deserts parallel with Egypt, declare themselves. The historical inscriptions of the new Kingdom throw great light on the intrigues which the Hebrew and Egyptian kings carried on against Babylonians and Assyrians, and help us to realize the political condition of Palestine and Egypt when Isaiah was hurling his denunciations against the Hebrews, and prophesying the downfall of their heathen allies." And we owe this knowledge to the clues given in the Rosetta Stone—an illustration of which, with twenty-two other plates, adds to the value of a book that might easily have been dull, but is full of interest to the reader who is not dead to the romance of scholarship and its great strides during the last century.

ORDINATION, CONFIRMATION AND REUNION.

EPISCOPAL ORDINATION AND CONFIRMATION IN RELATION TO INTER-COMMUNION AND REUNION. By J. W. Hunkin. *Heffer.* *2s. 6d.*

There is nothing more difficult than for an honest student of Church history to put himself in the position of English Churchmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The situation in the Church of England has changed so greatly and its outlook has been so transformed through the upholders of the Oxford Movement insisting on its premises being accepted as part of the conditions of the Church holding together, that we forget the past and its non-insistence upon what is now deemed to be a necessity by large numbers of Churchmen. Therefore, we welcome the volume in which Archdeacon Hunkin, with a wealth of quotation and an abundance of testimony, shows that the place given to Episcopacy as a necessary condition of " valid " ordination and the position of Confirmation as a completion of Baptism and its absence an insurmountable barrier to the reception of Communion, have nothing to support them in the pre-Tractarian activities and outlook of the Church as a whole. True, a writer here and there may dwell on the necessity of Episcopal ordination, but he is out of the main stream of Anglican tradition, which highly esteems Episcopacy but does not confine the channels of Divine Grace to those who are set aside for the office and work of the ministry by non-Episcopal Ordination.

The avowed object of this book is Christian Reunion. " With, or without, precedents we shall go on." Although the dead hand of the past does not bind us, it is of great assistance to know what the outlook of the Church has been before the trend of thought turned the attachment of many Churchmen from their non-Episcopalian brethren to those of the Church of Rome and the Greek Church. . . . In a word, the pre-1662 attitude was a frank recog-

nition of the sisterhood of the Continental non-Episcopal Churches and a readiness to accept their ministries as real ministries of the Word and Sacraments. Hooker summed up the position when he wrote, " there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop." Even John Forbes of Aberdeen in 1629 wrote : " Ordination by presbyters is valid in those Churches in which there is no bishop or where he is not orthodox but known to be a heretic and a wolf." And Laud wrote : " The succession which the Fathers meant is not tied to place or person, but is tied to the ' verity of doctrine.' . . . So that if the doctrines be no kin to Christ, all the ' succession ' become strangers, what nearness soever they pretend."

In 1662 the Ordinal Preface received its present form, but no one who knows the political circumstances of the time will be surprised to learn that Cosin did not hold the narrow views attributed to him by some, and that Bishop Burnet stated that the Act of Uniformity fixed what was formerly more at large that no one who had not episcopal ordination could hold an ecclesiastical benefice. The evidence cited by the Archdeacon proves beyond a doubt that until the rise of the Tractarian Movement the Church of England by its principles and by the opinions of nine-tenths of her great divines was in favour of the cultivation of a spirit of brotherly communion between the National Church and the foreign non-Episcopal churches. Even after the rise of that movement Archdeacon Hunkin proves that the exclusiveness now so loudly proclaimed found no support from our greatest teachers and leaders. We sincerely thank the author for the conspectus of evidence he brings to our notice on the subject of the breadth of opinion held by the Church on the non-necessity of Episcopal Ordination to real ministry of the Word and Sacrament. When he discusses the teaching of our Church on the subject of Confirmation, he has no difficulty in showing that the view of Baptism being completed in Confirmation has behind it no real authority from the Fathers of our Church. We earnestly hope that all interested in Reunion will have this book by them to refute the statements so confidently made by men who are obsessed by the idea that rigidity of " order " is the foundation law of the Church of Christ. As our author well says, " the final goal is a kingdom in which perfect unity has been obtained through perfect freedom." And to quote the late Dr. Bigg " though freedom is not a good thing in itself and absolutely, it is yet the indispensable condition of all human excellence."

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

THE CHRISTIAN TASK IN INDIA, Edited by the Rev. John McKenzie, M.A., Principal of Wilson College, Bombay. *Macmillan.* *7s. 6d.*

This book is written by men and women who have spent long years in different parts of India, and are well acquainted with its

manifold problems, both religious and civil. Its tone is sympathetic towards India's ideas and prejudices. Its tribute to the work done by the British administration is adequate. One of the most impressive features to be seen in India, North and South, is the vast humanizing influence exerted by the British Raj in that land—roads, railways, telegraphs and telephone communication, electric lighting, hospitals, the administration of justice, no less than the labours of the missionary, have played a striking part in the uplift of India. The late Mr. J. C. Adam, Public Prosecutor of Madras, used to say that crime in that city had vastly diminished since the streets were lighted by night. Recent reforms are a guarantee that our policy of Indianization of the administration is being sincerely carried out. The writers of the fifteen chapters of this book show that the same policy is being pursued by the missions. For many years this has been the aim of the Christian Church, and Mr. Winslow (p. 18) only gives voice to the well-established policy of the majority of the missions when he says that " the Christian task is not to carry to India Western culture or Western civilization. . . . It means (p. 24) the building up of a Christian worship which shall clothe in Indian forms the liturgical heritage of the Church universal." The Bishop of Dornakal's statement (p. 29) is a cogent comment on these remarks : " Surpliced choirs in Gothic edifices, with pews and benches, and organs and harmoniums, appear to be essentials of urban churches. Not so in the villages," and he describes the rural customs in vogue. The present reviewer was asked to wear a heavy western chasuble in the oppressive humid heat of Madras. It is refreshing to hear that the Indian Church authorities take a different view of these irrational anti-Indian practices. For example, of far more value is the work of Indian lyrical evangelists (pp. 113 ff.). The present reviewer saw a vast Tamil congregation sitting spellbound as one of these " apostles " sang the song of the Incarnation and Redemption, like an Indian Caedmon, accompanied by pipe and tom-tom.

But caution is necessary, and it is a characteristic of the writers of this book, although some shallow criticisms of St. Paul and St. Peter's directions to women appear on page 44. Wherever the women of India are oppressed they must be rescued, but the introduction of certain phases of Western " feminism " would simply undo the work of Christianity. The Bishop of Dornakal (p. 27) draws attention to " wholesale criticism of rural churches " which " is often the result of ignorance on the part of those confined to urban areas," and indeed certain glimpses of a highbrow attitude are not wanting in one or two of the urban contributors to this book. Practical questions receive full treatment. The Census official of the Mysore State, himself a Hindu, is quoted (p. 32) as to the " enlightening influence of Christianity." Dr. Higginbottom of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute of the American Presbyterian Mission, points out (p. 161) that defective farming methods cause an annual loss to India greater than the cost of the

British administration. The introduction of vocational training in village schools (pp. 71 ff.) will do something to amend this evil. The ex-Bishop of Bombay (Dr. Palmer) and other writers stress the need for reunion among the Churches, and give full support to the South India scheme. Vocational training, reunion and co-operation between the missions, in educational and medical work, like the splendid women's hospital at Vellore, indicate that modern missions fully realize the adaptability of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to India's varied needs.

A. J. M.

OLD TESTAMENT

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF AMOS. Edited by Richard S. Cripps. *S.P.C.K.* 1929. 15s. net. Pp. xviii + 365.

This work is much more than a commentary on the text of Amos, the understanding of which necessitates the examination of recent theories on eschatology, prophetic inspiration and the institution of sacrifice. On these subjects Mr. Cripps has illuminating discourses in his Introduction. Grossmann's view of a general Semitic eschatology is subjected to a searching analysis, with the result, in our editor's judgment, that it is doubtful whether there was any developed eschatology at all in early Israel: the genesis of prophetic inspiration is examined, with the conclusion that in Amos we have a new order of prophecy in which the older prophetic ecstasy falls into the background: questions arising out of the institution and purpose of sacrifice have a prominent position throughout the book, and Mr. Cripps upholds the view that it was not to be considered an essential element of true religion. In a chapter on Prophecy in Assyria and Egypt we have brought together material which will be new to most English readers; and Eduard Meyer's theory that the Hebrew prophets worked on material already before them in Egyptian documents, or from Egyptian sources, so that their prophecies are to be regarded as directly dependent on these foreign elements, is carefully examined, the differences, particularly in their moral content, leading to the conclusion that the one is in no way dependent on the other. Mr. Cripps, however, is not unmindful of the great debt owing to the critics whose view he combats, since they have "enabled us to appreciate the distinction, the *unique* greatness, of the prophets of Israel."

In other chapters of the Introduction are dealt with the usual historical, critical and literary problems discussed in connection with any book of the Bible. No difficulties are overlooked, the discussions are scholarly, and the conclusions the result of a careful weighing of the available evidence.

The text on which the Commentary is based is that of the Revised Version, but where necessary the Massoretic Text is emended with a consequent new translation, the reasons for these changes

being justified in the notes. A little more boldness with regard to textual emendation (e.g., on iv. 3, viii. 8) would have been welcome. Difficulties of exegesis are fairly encountered, and there are forty pages of additional notes on the text which contain valuable matter. These, together with the four Excursuses, appeal to experts rather than the general reader, who, as the editor suggests, will acquire a working knowledge of the Book of Amos by a use of the main body of the notes and some chapters of the Introduction. In using this commentary both the scholar and the tyro will have at hand an indispensable help to Old Testament studies.

A. W. G.

THE PENTATEUCH AND HAFTORAHS: HEBREW TEXT, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY. Edited by Dr. J. H. Hertz: Genesis. *Oxford University Press*, 1929. Pp. xvi + 544. 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Chief Rabbi having felt the need of a popular commentary in the Pentateuch and Haftorahs—the lessons from the Prophets read in the synagogue immediately after the reading of the Torah—has edited the first volume on Genesis, with the corresponding Haftorahs, for use amongst English-speaking Jews. The Hebrew text and a translation into English, following mainly the Revised Version, are placed in parallel columns, accompanied by short notes at the foot of the pages. These notes follow interpretations which are traditional among orthodox Jews; and it is interesting to note Dr. Hertz's attitude towards the so-called Higher Criticism:—"My conviction that the criticism of the Pentateuch associated with the name of Wellhausen is a perversion of history and a desecration of religion, is unshaken; likewise, my refusal to eliminate the Divine either from history or from human life" (p. vii). Valuable for the readers of the Hebrew Bible are the pages on the cantillation of the Torah and of the Prophets arranged by two competent musicians. The work will interest Christian readers, who may gather from its pages expositions on many points of Jewish Theology, e.g., on Evolution, the Fall of Man, the Binding of Isaac, etc. The note (pp. 416 ff.) on Christological References in Scripture is what might be expected from a Jewish commentator. Throughout the book are references to Rashi (A.D. 1040–1105), whose exposition of Genesis has lately been translated into English with a running Commentary by J. H. Lowe (London, 1928), a work to which students of Rabbinics are greatly indebted. Other Jewish commentators and the ancient versions are not neglected; and we have quotations also from modern Christian writers on the sound Rabbinic doctrine "Accept the true from whatever source it come."

PIONEER PROPHETS—MOSES TO HOSEA. By Ursula Wells, S.Th. *S.P.C.K.* 1929. 3*s*. 6*d*. net. Pp. xiv + 147.

This volume is one of a series entitled *The Church Teachers' Library* and is evidently based on lessons given by the writer to a

class of elder girls. It is lacking in originality, except in a comparison of the calls of Moses and Paul with that of Sundar Singh, though it betrays a conscientious and wide reading of Bible Dictionaries, Introductions and Commentaries. It gives one the impression that its compilation was a delightful adventure by the author; and that its freshness could not fail to have captivated the interest of those who received the teaching. The list of books to which the author acknowledges her indebtedness shows the standpoint to be that of a moderate higher criticism, and no account is taken of the growing conservative school; this will not detract, however, from the main interest of the book, which will serve the purpose for which it was written.

GENERAL.

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. W. E. Daniels, Vicar of St. George's, Deal. London: *Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Daniels needs no introduction to readers of THE CHURCHMAN, and this volume, an addition to "The People's Pulpit" series, which includes such notable preachers as Dr. R. J. Campbell, Bishop Hensley Henson, the Bishop of London and Dr. R. C. Gillie, will be welcomed by many friends who value his ministry. The first sermon was preached on the eve of the Archbishop's Conference with his clergy on Renewal. There is an account of past revivals, and Mr. Daniels speaks of Wycliffe and then of the Renaissance and all that followed in the religious life of England. He thinks we never give the Puritans their due,—that we look at defaced churches and the strict sabbatarianism which even forbade men to play a game of chess—that we think of Cromwell in Ireland and the execution of Charles the First, and that "we never look upon the other side," and then he shows that other side, and goes on to tell of Richard Baxter, John Milton, John Bunyan and "the many great authors of those Puritan days." Of the Oxford Movement Mr. Daniels says: "If only they had rallied to the trumpet call and stopped half-way, leaving us with our surpliced choirs, better-ordered and more frequent services and better music, how thankful we should have been, and the present controversies of the Church would never have arisen." Mr. Daniels is nothing if he is not courageous, and he does not hesitate to pronounce the National Mission "a grave disappointment." This we fear is only too sadly true, and Mr. Daniels' picture of the present state of things is painted in lurid, but not too lurid, colours. The other sermons are equally arresting and effective, alive with Bible truth, and we hope the reception of the volume will be such as may encourage Mr. Daniels to try again. By the way, there is an excellent portrait of our friend on the paper "jacket."

S. R. C.

THE LIFE OF BROWNLOW NORTH, B.A. By the Rev. Kenneth Moody Stuart, M.A. London: *Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Brownlow North passed away in 1875, consequently he is hardly even a name to the present generation of Christian people. But he had a remarkable career and did a wonderful work as an Evangelist. He came of a distinguished family and at one time he was the heir-presumptive to the Earldom of Guilford. His father was the Rev. Chas. Augustus North, Prebendary of Winchester, and among his friends at Oxford was Archbishop Tait, who in after years welcomed him at Lambeth Palace. Up to the time he was 44 years of age he lived a wild, Godless life. Then came his conversion, and then began a period of some twenty years during which he was used of God to turn many to righteousness. His work was mainly carried out under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, with which he became associated. There are some graphic stories told in these pages which give us a sympathetic portrait of a man who was really a great preacher, cultured, earnest, eloquent and convincing, and any record of Revivals would be incomplete that contained no account of Brownlow North's untiring activities. It was a disappointment not to find a portrait—it would have added to the interest of a truly inspiring record. We observe that the publishers have reprinted a considerable number of Mr. North's writings, which we commend to those engaged in Evangelistic work.

S. R. C.

HE HEALED THEM ALL. By Georgina Home, M.A. London: *Robert Scott.* 5*s.* net.

A volume of addresses or sermons by a lady is not a very usual literary production. These are modestly described as "Meditations," and they are introduced and commended by Mr. J. M. Hickson, who is so well known in connection with Spiritual Healing. Miss Home has taken our Lord's miracles of healing and given us a short discourse on each. Although she includes the raising of Jairus's daughter, we observe she omits the raising of Lazarus and the widow's son of Nain, and we wonder why. However, the volume will be welcomed by those who realize that there are possibilities in which, as yet, many good Christian people do not believe. Is it because they cannot bring themselves to believe that they still dwell in the land of impossibilities? Incidentally, the book serves to remind us how much of the ministry of Jesus was a ministry of healing. If all this miraculous element be eliminated from the Gospel narratives, what would be left? And yet some would discredit most, if not all, of these stories of wonderful power!

S. R. C.

LIBERATION. Address by Dr. Stanley Alfred Mellor. *London: Constable & Co., Ltd.* 10s. net.

A posthumous volume of sermon-essays. The author had a brilliant career at Oxford and later at Harvard, where he took the doctorate in Philosophy. Returning to England he entered the Unitarian ministry. After charges at Warrington and Rotherham he removed to Liverpool, where for ten years he exercised an immense influence and gathered round him many eager and adventurous minds at Hope Street Church. The brilliance that reveals itself in these addresses is undoubted, and it is impossible to deny one's sympathy with a profound thinker in his arduous and impassioned quest for truth, but the story of his life and much that is written in these pages stir one's compassion. By a strange coincidence we had just put down Dr. Maltby's recently published "Significance of Jesus." Noticing that one of Dr. Mellor's discourses bore the same title we turned it up. It was indeed in strange contrast with the "live" Christianity of Dr. Maltby's treatise. He is not sure "that Jesus Christ has or is going to have any peculiar significance in this world of to-day or in the new world of to-morrow." He thinks "the great masses of mankind care not a scrap about the man of Nazareth." All this seems to us sad in the extreme. One is compelled to admire the intellectual courage and the transparent honesty of the man and the candour with which he discussed many of the innumerable difficulties with which religiously minded people are beset. How many will have the patience to wade through these 335 closely-printed pages we do not know. The limits of time and space prevent our going more fully into some of the points on which he touches.

THE LIGHT OF THE MORNING. A Book for Growing-up and Grown-up Girls. By E. Gwendolyne R. Swain. London: *Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd., Whitefriars Street, E.C.4.* 4s. net.

Perhaps the highest praise we can accord to this work is to say that the review copy has just started out on a circular tour among the members of a confirmation class in a rural parish. The authoress has had considerable experience of work among senior girl-students; she understands them, anticipates their criticisms, appreciates their difficulties and at least one "mere man" with prayerful interest, who has watched four girls growing up and meeting such difficulties, has read Miss Swain's forceful appeal and useful advice, with very real appreciation. In the opening chapters the redemption that is in Christ Jesus is expounded and illustrated by a familiar chapter of Old Testament history—Crossing the Jordan ("a twofold *crisis*") and Life in Canaan ("a twofold *process*"). After this, however, the larger part of the book is devoted to such important considerations as Bible study, amusements, Sunday, money, dress, growing-up and the choice of a career, and the opinions expressed and the advice given are characterized by sound, sanctified common

sense and loyalty to Christ. Miss Swain's writing is often picturesque and her admiration of F. W. H. Myers' elegant verses is revealed by quotations from "*St. Paul.*" Her book is admirably adapted as a gift-book, and both she and the publishers are to be congratulated.

HOSPITAL SKETCHES. Edited by H. C. G. Herklots, M.A. *London: C.M.S. House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.* 1*s.* net.

Mr. Herklots contributes an Introductory Chapter, entitled "The Doctor on his Rounds," and the little volume gives us a series of pictures in which we see the medical man on his rounds in many lands—in India, in the land of the Medes and Persians, in Nigeria, in China, in Africa. One chapter is contributed by a Chinese, educated in America, who, having contracted leprosy, now helps in the C.M.S. Leper Hospital at Pakhoi. It is touching to read his graphic description of "the tragic horrors of leprosy," but it is good to know that modern methods of treatment are doing much to mitigate these horrors, in a way he well describes as "miraculous." The death-rate has, in recent years, fallen from 15 per cent. to 4 per cent. These chapters show what wonderful things are happening in every direction to the bodies and souls of those who have been fast bound in misery and sin. It is terrible to remember that the selfishness and worldliness of Christians in the homeland prevents the development of these gracious ministries.

S. R. C.

Miss Marjorie Bowen has published another historical book, entitled *The Third Mary Stuart* (price 18*s.*). This is a sympathetic history of Mary II from the time when she was born in 1662 to the time of her death at the early age of thirty-two. Miss Bowen has collected some extraordinarily interesting documents, some of which are given in this book in their original spelling, and in an appendix she gives the correspondence between James II and his daughter in which he gives reasons for his conversion to the Roman Catholic Church, and in which he tries to persuade her also to join that Church. Mary's replies show how deeply she appreciated the difference between the unreformed and the reformed Churches, and her argument, though concise, is clear, and clearly shows the strength of her convictions. The book contains some excellent reproductions of portraits and views of the Royal residences of the time.

We are glad to see that the R.T.S. are continuing to re-issue a number of historical stories of Reformation times which have been out of print for some years. The latest issue is *From Dawn to Dark in Italy*, by E. H. Walshe, which was originally issued under the title of *Under the Inquisition*. This book, besides being of considerable interest, contains valuable information as to the Inquisition in its mode of procedure. It has also some excellent illustrations. The other books in this series which are recommended are: *Under Calvin's Spell; Crushed yet Conquering: A Story of Constance and Bohemia; The Spanish Brothers;* and *Dr. Adrian: A Story of Old Holland*, by Deborah Alcock; *The White Plumes of Navarre: An Historical Romance*, by S. R. Crockett; and *Midst Many Snares*, by Laura A. Barter Snow. The books are all published at 3*s.* 6*d.* each net. (Postage, 6*d.*)

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

Dr. Griffith Thomas.—The name of the Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., holds an honoured place in both England and Canada. From the time when he was Vicar of St. Paul's, Portman Square, London, he was in the forefront of Biblical and Theological teachers, and it was not surprising that he should be called to responsible teaching work in Oxford, and later in Toronto. His new book, *Principles of Theology*, which is now published, was completed shortly before his lamented death, and contains a lifetime's work on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The treatment is thorough and exhaustive, while the general plan is characterized by all the clearness of arrangement which was so marked a feature of all the writings of Dr. Thomas. It is not too much to say that no student of the teaching of the Church of England can afford to be without this volume, whilst it will be indispensable for all who wish to know something of the traditional standpoint of the Anglican Church on all the great doctrines of the Christian Faith. The author's many writings have made his name well known to the Christian public and the influence of such of his books as *The Catholic Faith* and *The Work of the Ministry* has been far-reaching, but important as all his previous writings have been it is no exaggeration to say that all his earlier work is surpassed by the volume now published. The book is edited by the Rev. T. W. Gilbert, D.D., Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury, who was with Dr. Griffith Thomas at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and the price is 12*s.* 6*d.* net. (Postage, 9*d.*).

A new impression of *The Catholic Faith* has also been published, making the total issue of this book fifty thousand. It is issued practically in the form in which it was finally revised by the author a year or two before his death, the only alterations being a note and a few additions to the list of books which are recommended for further study. The prices remain the same, viz. paper covers, 1*s.* 6*d.*; stiff boards, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Another work by the same author which was found particularly useful last year in the discussions in regard to the 1928 Prayer Book is *A Sacrament of our Redemption*, 1*s.* net paper covers; 2*s.* cloth. The purpose of this book is to show the meaning of the Lord's Supper as revealed in Holy Scripture and stated in the Prayer Book and Articles.

Representation of the Laity.—A new edition of Mr. Albert Mitchell's "Red Book" on *The Enabling Act* is now ready, price 1*s.* net. The pamphlet has been very much increased in size and now contains, in addition to the Enabling Act, a useful and historical Introduction, Notes, the new Measure for the Representation of the Laity, Diocesan Conference Regulation, the Ladder of Lay Representation and the Interpretation Measure, 1925. The pamphlet is different from Mr. Mitchell's other book, *The Parochial Church Councils Powers Measure*, which has reached its fourth edition, and which is also 1*s.* net.

Reunion.—In view of the discussions on the subject of Reunion which are now taking place the Literature Committee of the League has thought well to reprint as a 2*d.* pamphlet an article by the Rt. Rev. J. M. Harden, D.D., now Lord Bishop of Tuam, which appeared in THE CHURCHMAN magazine for April, 1922, entitled *A Modern Theory of Confirmation.* The pamph-

let is printed with the consent of Dr. Harden exactly as it appeared in THE CHURCHMAN, and we feel sure that it will be a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject.

The "Hail Mary."—Archdeacon Thorpe has written another pamphlet in addition to the others which have been published in the Prayer Book Teaching series. The present pamphlet is entitled *The "Hail Mary"* and is issued at 2*d*. net. The object of the pamphlet is to draw attention to the advent of this hymn in the English Church and the increase of its popularity in Anglo-Catholic Churches. The Archdeacon deals with the hymn section by section and points out the error of its teaching. The pamphlet is a very useful warning, and we hope it will be circulated largely.

Missionary Publications.—Two new Missionary books have just been issued which will be a welcome addition to our Sunday School Prize lists this season. Both are also acceptable gift books. *Blazing New Trails*, by Archer Wallace, contains fifteen true stories of courageous men who endured privations and dared death in the endeavour to bring light to heathen souls. It is a book which appeals to hero worship. The other book is *An Eskimo Village*, by S. K. Hutton, and is a vivid picture story of life and work among the Eskimos. Both are published at 2*s*. 6*d*. net. (Postage, 4*d*.)

The C.E.Z.M.S. have just published *Foreshadowings*, by Mrs. Eleanor Pegg (price 2*s*. 6*d*. net). Mrs. Pegg has unrivalled knowledge of the life of the women in India and also the customs of the various races to be found in that vast country, having been herself a Missionary. Miss Mary Sorabji writes of the book, "The author succeeds wonderfully in giving to the reader a life-like presentment of India's daughters as they live, move and have their being to-day in various parts of the Motherland." The book is written in the form of short stories, or "pen-pictures" as the author calls them, and there are some excellent illustrations from photographs. Mrs. Pegg states that all her stories are founded on fact and we trust that the book will have a large circulation. It will be extremely useful, apart from its Missionary object, in bringing this large part of our Empire home to us.

Gift Books.—*Keep Climbing*, by the Rev. J. Cocker, of New Zealand contains twenty-five stories of great men and heroes. They are specially addressed to growing boys and girls and will provide speakers with many capital illustrations. Those who know Mr. Cocker's other books, *The Date Boy of Baghdad* and *Winning from Scratch* will be glad to know of this new book. It is published at 3*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. J. R. Miller's devotional book, *Secrets of a Beautiful Life*, has now been published at 3*s*. 6*d*. net cloth, 5*s*. net cloth with gold edges, completing its eighteenth edition and its 52nd thousand copies. The book is nicely bound and is suitable for presentation. It is marked by the same beauty and tenderness of expression that characterizes Dr. Miller's works.

A beautiful illustrated book of talks with boys and girls, entitled *The Spider's Telephone Wire*, by the Rev. David Millar, of Melbourne, has just been published by Messrs. Allenson, with thirty-seven illustrations in colour and monochrome by Mrs. Otway Falkiner. There are twelve chapters in the book, dealing with such subjects as Self-control, The Lamp of Truth, The Gramophone of Life, etc. The letterpress is excellent in its form and in its teaching and the pictures add to the beauty of an excellent production. It is suitable as a gift for boys and girls from seven to ten years of age, and is published at 6*s*. net.