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# THE CHURCHMAN

January, 1932.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### "The Churchman."

**A**T the beginning of another year we take the opportunity of thanking our readers for their past support. **THE CHURCHMAN** has its own place among the magazines devoted to the discussion of religious subjects. It represents to a large extent the thought and the spiritual outlook of the Evangelical School in the Church. We have been able to put before our readers during the past year a number of contributions from well-qualified representatives of Evangelical teaching, dealing with various phases of religious life and thought of special interest to Church-people desirous to see the maintenance of our Church as one of the Churches of the Reformation. At a time when that character is being depreciated, and indeed undermined, it is important to maintain by every means the truths embodied in the formularies of the Church of England. We hope to continue our work in the interests of loyalty to the spirit of the English Reformation. The financial difficulties of the country are affecting all sections of the publishing world, and the necessity for economy is rendering difficult the maintenance of a number of useful publications which in easier times we should regard as essential to the full educational work of the Evangelical section of the Church. We therefore appeal to our readers to give us their support in our future efforts, and to secure for us the help of others. It will be seen from the present number that we have been able to obtain contributions from a number of highly qualified writers, and we hope to maintain throughout the year the high standard which they have set.

### **A Manifesto on Eucharistic Doctrine.**

A Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine was issued during the month of October as an outcome of a conference held at King's College, London, some time previously. The purpose of the Statement was threefold. First, to prove to the world that the Church of England is not hopelessly divided within itself; secondly, to show



that reconciliation is possible and that our underlying unity is far greater than our differences ; and thirdly, to stimulate the right sort of controversy, and discourage the wrong which begins by failing even in the wish to understand what others think and feel. The document was signed by a number of Evangelical clergy as well as by representatives of the Anglo-Catholic and other sections of the Church. Considerations of space do not allow of our giving the contents of the document. Considerable discussion was raised by its statements. The phraseology of the Manifesto was evidently very carefully chosen, but it seemed to avoid any of the usual terms which indicate the chief lines of division in the past. There was therefore an element of ambiguity which allowed for different and even contradictory interpretations of the language used. This ambiguity has actually been defended as appropriate to a subject which is to be regarded of such great mystery that language fails to express the depths of the truths with which it is concerned. It is difficult to maintain this contention, although some with considerable ingenuity profess to find the same ambiguity in the formularies of our Church.

#### The Ambiguities of the Manifesto.

We all sympathise with the desire for unity among churchpeople, but it is scarcely to be obtained by the signing of a Manifesto which obviously is interpreted in widely differing senses by many of those who signed it. *The Record* in its issue of October 9, subjected the statements in the document to a searching examination, and showed some of the principal points in which it did not do justice to the distinctive teaching of the Church of England. The writer pointed out that "there is no mention of propitiatory sacrifice, transubstantiation or transvaluation, or even of the Real Presence in the elements, or of adoration. On the other hand, no phrase is used which is not compatible with these essentially false doctrines—as we hold. Instead of this our attention is concentrated on Consecration, which, according to modern teaching, is the real essence of Sacrifice." For example, the document contains the statement : "Consecration has a real effect, since the Consecrated Elements are by the will of God now charged with a new spiritual significance and purpose, being the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." There is undoubtedly a sense in which Evangelicals, who do not believe that there is any change in the Bread and Wine, could use this language, but when it is taken in connection with other expressions used, it is more than patient of the doctrine of the Real Presence, although it does not state this doctrine in definite terms. Unity on Eucharistic doctrine can be obtained by a return to the use of the language of the New Testament, or even by the acceptance of the interpretations of some of the great Anglican divines of the Reformation age, such as Hooker, whose words were accepted even by High Churchmen up to the time of the development of the Rome-ward trend.

### The Attack on Evangelical Patronage Trusts.

An attack on Evangelical Patronage Trusts has been carried on for some time by a section of the Church with extraordinary bitterness, not to say unfairness. If the Anglo-Catholics had no party trusts, they might speak on the subject with more justice and authority. If Anglo-Catholics had been careful in the past to respect the traditions of parishes, and had not deliberately set themselves to alter the whole character of the worship of parishes which had long been centres of Evangelical teaching, they might complain with more reason of the changes made in the so-called "Catholic" parishes by the nominees of Evangelical Trusts. It is an interesting fact that in many parishes where the Mass and all the array of "Catholic Privileges" have even for years been forced upon the people, there is obvious joy when the old worship of the Church of England is restored. Evangelical Trusts would not have developed so extensively as they have done, if common justice had been done to Evangelical clergy in the past, especially by some of the Bishops. It is a well-known fact that some Bishops of the Tractarian School definitely stated that they would give no appointments to the Evangelical clergy in their dioceses, and that they might look to the Evangelical Trusts for promotion. Lord Brentford in a letter to *The Times* rightly declared that "it becomes ludicrous when such declamatory terms as 'scandal,' 'menace,' 'secrecy,' 'party' and 'traffic' are being flung about generally to discredit a method of patronage which can show the record of the Evangelical Trusts."

### Protestantism.

The subject chosen for the Islington Clerical Meeting this year is "Protestantism." The subject is well timed. Prebendary Hinde in giving his reasons for the choice says that the word has been misunderstood by many, and a certain stigma has been allowed to adhere to it, and therefore "we are seeking to clothe it in its right colours and to show, that fairly considered, it represents in a positive and broadminded way the convictions based upon Holy Scripture which we hold." The papers are well arranged so as to present Protestantism in its true light, as the real succession of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, and as preserving the spirit of the Gospel, more than other forms of Christianity, which have given an undue place to institutionalism. These have overlaid the primitive teaching with ritual and ceremonial observances, and they have obscured the original simplicity of Christ's teaching with medieval accretions and superstitions. The hope for the future of Christianity is the recognition of all that is implied in the Protestant spirit, when it is recognized as the spirit of liberty and progress. Dean Inge has well said, "it is essentially an attempt to check the tendency to corruption and degradation which attacks every institutional religion."

## OUR LORD'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. CANON D. DAWSON-WALKER, D.D.

I SAY "Old Testament" in the interests of strict accuracy; but I should rather be inclined to speak more generally, and say, "Our Lord's use of the Scriptures," as indicating that portion of God's revelation of Himself which is enshrined in literature—in a book or books.

We too have for our use the same sacred writings that He had, though we supplement them by the further writings which are our record of Him, His deeds and His words. We, in the main, have for our instruction, our comfort, our inspiration, as He had, God's word written. It is the authority for our distinctive beliefs; it is part of the business of our ministerial life to read it and to expound it to others; in every generation of Christians from the beginning there are those who have found the support of life and the joy of life in devout reflection on its words.

The reading of the Scriptures and meditation on them, would, I think, without any question, be regarded as an essential part of the genuine Christian life. And so it is a matter of supreme interest for us to consider what the Scriptures were to Him Who is not only our Saviour, but our example; to learn if we can, how He regarded them, how He treated them, how He explained them; which portions of them He preferred to others, on which parts of them He seems to have relied more particularly both for the stay of His own soul and for the proclamation of the Gospel about Himself. To put it in simple and precise terms, it may be helpful to consider our Lord's use of Scripture in private reading and in public teaching, for it is in these respects that we are called in to imitate Him and to carry on His work.

In order the better to appreciate His treatment of the Old Testament, it may be interesting and useful to glance quickly at some of the methods, other than His, which have appeared in the history of the Church.

For instance, we are confronted from the very first by the method of allegorizing. This came into vogue with later Judaism, and we can see clear traces, in the writings of St. Paul, that it was adopted by the earliest Christian teachers. We see it in his reference (1 Cor. x. 4) to Christ as the rock which was said to have followed the Israelites in their wilderness wanderings, in his interpretation of the law and the earthly Jerusalem, in terms of Hagar and Ishmael (Gal. iv. 21-31). What was the purpose, and the meaning of this purpose, of allegorization? It was based on the conception of the essential spiritual worth of every part of the Old Testament, on the view that even those parts of it which seemed most matter of fact, most unsuitable for edification, were still edifying, if you only

had the right key to unlock their contents. It was really the outcome of a right instinct, and it shows us, too, how in the earliest times the interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, were free from any slavish literalness, how they moved in an air of what might be called exegetical freedom.

It was the Old Testament, so interpreted, that had fulfilled a work of world evangelization. We remember how the Jews of the Dispersion took it to the Gentile world. The Gentiles would seem to have been little impressed by the ceremonial and legal aspects of the book; but they appear to have been strongly convinced by what one may call its devotional and prophetic side. And it was in the ranks of those who had been proselytes to Judaism that the apostles and evangelists of Christianity found their most ready converts. We may indeed say that it is not very probable that the Old Testament alone would have won the Greek and the Roman world; but we may legitimately wonder whether the Gospel itself would not have been gravely hampered in its work of conversion, apart from its union with the Old Testament Scriptures.

Let us bear in mind clearly how important and how necessary, at the time, this method of allegorizing was. There is much in the Old Testament that seems, when taken as it stands, not very edifying; the slaughter of the Canaanites, the murder of Agag and his family by Samuel, the slaying of Uzzah for laying his hand on the Ark, and many other episodes that will occur to the recollection of the careful reader. The actions themselves do not seem defensible, and the God Who could permit, and even enjoin them, does not seem a very worthy or adorable person. We see clear evidence of this point of view in the attitude of Marcion. We are not concerned here with his doctrinal position as a whole, but with his attitude to the Old Testament. Following, and, exaggerating, St. Paul's antithesis between law and gospel, works and grace, flesh and spirit, Marcion suspected and disliked everything Jewish. He declined to allegorize the Old Testament and so to find it edifying. He took everything in it literally, as meaning exactly what it said, and meaning nothing more. He said that the God of the Jews, depicted in their Scriptures, was one of stern justice, and therefore anger, contentiousness and unmercifulness—the very opposite of the God and Father revealed by Jesus Christ. He made a complete antithesis between the "Just God" of Judaism and the "good" God of Christianity. He called the "Just" God of Judaism the World Maker, with the inference that the world He had made was not a very satisfactory place.

We seem to have a modern echo of this Marcionite conception in Mr. H. G. Wells' imagination of the toiling God who works with intractable material out of which He evolves a creation only as good as He can make it out of the very indifferent world stuff at His disposal.

Marcion's drastic criticism is interesting because it is a symptom of the uneasiness and restiveness felt by earnest believers with regard to the less spiritual parts of the Old Testament, the moral

difficulties which it raised, and its obsolete moods of faith. His proposed solution of the difficulty was to reject the book absolutely, to cut Christianity free from its Jewish origins. But the Church could not accept this; the book had the sanction of Christ and His Apostles. It must be retained and it must be explained in some such way as to make it acceptable to the enlightened moral consciousness. And so, as a matter of fact, the Church was pushed still farther down the somewhat slippery slope of allegorism.

When we come to the work of Origen of Alexandria we find this reduced to a consistent and well-ordered system. In his *First Principles* he sketched the system of interpretation that is usually associated with his name.

Every Scripture, he said, had three meanings :

- (i) The historical and grammatical.
- (ii) The moral.
- (iii) The spiritual.

The first of these was the food for beginners only, milk for babes. But by the third method, the mature Christian was taught to "spiritualize" any text that caused him any difficulty. By the application of each, or all, of these methods, the most unpromising and unlikely text in the Old Testament could be made to yield a truly Christian meaning, and so, the whole Bible, from Genesis to Malachi, could be regarded as speaking with one voice.

This method of exegesis has lasted for centuries, and, I dare say, can still be found existing in our midst. It always seems to me that an extreme instance of it is the fondness of mediaeval Commentators for dwelling on the Canticles, the Song of Songs, that highly realistic love poem, and finding in it an appropriate expression for the sentiments of Christ the Bridegroom and the Church His Bride.

The system has one advantage, and it has very considerable disadvantages. It has its good side in the attempt to give a value to every part of Scripture and to make it profitable for Christian usage. The disadvantages are, that it is artificial and unreal. It wrests Scripture away from its primary intention. By means of it, each text becomes a peg on which to hang various aspects of the truth, and so, each text might mean anything or everything according to the personal estimate or idiosyncrasy of its expositor. It tends to become subjective and fanciful. It was an excellent attempt to cope with a real difficulty, but it is not the method by which the Bible is going to be commended to thoughtful and instructed men.

The fact that the old difficulty is still with us is seen in the rise of Fundamentalism in America. Fundamentalism is simply the stark, unrelieved expression of an attitude with which I imagine that many people here in England are in more or less complete sympathy. It has been ridiculed, but it is not wholly ridiculous. It is simply the expression of an intense need for authority and certainty, of a very real fear lest the foundations of religion should be destroyed; a conviction that there must somewhere be an infallible authority to say to us: "Thus saith the Lord." It rises from

the pathetically earnest desire to emerge from fears and uncertainties, to arrive at some certitude as to the religious worth and value of the Old Testament.

In the light of this history and of all these recurring perplexities, it will now be almost a relief, and certainly a help, to sit quietly at the feet of the Master. He had the same Old Testament that we have. Was it to Him a source of perplexity, or was it a help and a joy? We know the answer to that question. Can we learn, then, anything about the way in which He treated it, the way He regarded it, the way He read it, that so it may become to us something of what it was to Him?

We approach this inquiry as Christian men; that is, men who reverently regard Christ as the Divinely sent Saviour of the world, God's own Son, Himself Divine. It may be that the Definition of Chalcedon with its doctrine of One Person and two Natures has not said the last word in answer to the question: "What think ye of Christ?" and we know that attempts have been made, and are still being made, to explore and to express that central mystery of His Person which we call the Self-consciousness of Jesus. Many of these attempts are so limited by the psychological and philosophical prepossessions with which their respective authors approach the inquiry, that they do not as a matter of fact carry us very far. It may be admitted, too, that the secret of Christ's personality is possibly a mystery that eludes our grasp; but it may reasonably be claimed that we are carried a little nearer to the heart of it—in other words, we are enabled to realize something about His thoughts and His outlook, if we consider His use of the Old Testament, the particular parts of it that He quoted, the occasions on which He quoted them, the way in which He used them—what He saw in them. There may be, there must be, in Him much that transcends our powers of understanding; but His use of the Old Testament cannot but reveal to us something of what He thought about God, about Himself and about His work.

This subject—His use of the Old Testament—is so large that we can only hope to touch on some of the outstanding aspects of it.

We can, in the first place, indicate generally what He as a Jewish child, brought up in a religious and devout Jewish home, would be enabled to know about the Scriptures.

We can, then, consider the actual occasions on which our records indicate that He used the Scriptures. Here we must be on our guard against illegitimate inferences, against any misuse of the argument from silence. It does not follow of necessity—especially when we consider the fragmentary nature of our records, that if there should be parts of the Old Testament to which He makes no allusion at all, that He disapproved or, as we should say, had no use for that part; but we can, I think, safely infer from His recorded quotations what parts of the Old Testament made the strongest appeal to Him; what were the parts of it which He used and on which He preferred to dwell; and, further, we can form some idea how He used it; and this, more especially when we consider His

treatment of some of the controversial questions by which He was confronted, questions about His own relation to the Law and the Temple, His own claims and His own work.

It may perhaps give point to what I am trying to say if I put at once the conclusions at which I shall arrive, even now, at the beginning, before I put before you any of the detailed considerations on which they rest.

I think we may say that He handles the Scriptures in a way peculiarly His own—quite free from traditional methods, from formalism, from Rabbinical interpretation. He treats them with the spirituality and the freedom of a Son, walking at liberty in His Father's House. In His hands, as Harnack says of His relation to the Old Testament : <sup>1</sup> " Even its dross was changed into gold ; its hidden treasures were brought forth ; and, while the earthly and the transitory were recognized as the symbols of the heavenly and eternal, there rose up a world of blessings, of holy ordinances, and of sure grace prepared by God from eternity." To somewhat the same effect Dr. Headlam says : " He is the great discoverer, who had not a relative, but an absolute insight. His teaching had its origin in the Old Testament, but continually transcends and transforms it, even when it reproduces the form of it." In other words, our Lord not only approves the Old Testament, but He improves it. It was this unique attitude of His that impressed so powerfully the minds of His hearers, compelling them to say that " He taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes " (Matt. vii. 29).

We may also say, I think, that in the Divine Library of the Old Testament, He had His own preferences, a Bible, as we might say, within a Bible. In certain instances, as we know, He criticized the teaching of the Old Testament, and set it aside, either indirectly by His silence, or directly by His own personal authority. And yet, in the main, the soul of the Old Testament, the goal and purpose of it, were accepted by Him as God's Voice, and God's way of life. He interpreted it, as I think we may reverently claim to do also, in the light of His own consciousness of Sonship ; His conviction that the God whose voice He heard as a Father's voice in His own heart, was the same God who to earlier generations of men had spoken in such tones as they were able to understand, leading them onward by their hand in the infancy of the world's spiritual life.

Returning, then, for a moment, to the history of our Lord, let us recall the circumstances in which He would come to know the Scriptures. (1) We allow, to the full, for the influences of what must have been an intensely religious home. (2) We remember that in early childhood a Jewish boy was taught the Shema or Creed : " Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One " (Deut. vi. 4). (3) We know that at the age of six the formal education of boys began, when they entered the " House of the Book," that is, the Bible, and were taught by an official of the Synagogue. It has been said that in the education of children, the Hebrews were *facile princeps* among

<sup>1</sup> *History of Dogma*, I, 42.

the nations of antiquity. There was no controversy for them about the place of religion in education ; the two were one. (4) At the age of twelve, the Hebrew boy became a " Son of the Law," and along with certain other privileges and duties, was expected to accompany his elders to the various feasts celebrated at Jerusalem. In connection with this episode in the life of Jesus, we have an interesting sidelight on His knowledge of the Scriptures ; the questions He asked, the docility of His demeanour—the amazement caused to the Rabbinical teachers by " His understanding and His answers." On this, the first occasion of contact between Jesus and the Scribes, what He knew and understood of the Scriptures aroused both their attention and their respect.

To understand the Scriptures requires thought ; and—for most of us—real thought needs something of seclusion and retirement. Here, I can only remind you, in passing, of the constant habit of Jesus to retire into seclusion for meditation and prayer. We may reasonably infer that amongst the subjects of His meditation the truths conveyed by the written word would have an important place.

And so learning, reading, thinking, praying, Jesus grew to manhood. I have no time now to make detailed reference to the circumstances of His call to public ministry on the occasion of His baptism by John in the Jordan, or to sketch even in outline the religious and social environment into which He entered. I must limit myself strictly to this immediate question of His relation to the Scriptures and His use of them.

What do we learn from the Gospel records as to His actual use of the Scriptures, so far as His recorded quotations provide us with information ? My answer to this question can only be by way of suggestion, leaving to my readers the investigation, if they are sufficiently interested, of detailed references.

We know, from His recorded words, how the great outstanding personalities of the Old Testament appealed to Him ; Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, Lot's wife, Moses, David, Solomon, the queen of Sheba, Elijah, Elisha, Jonah and others of the prophets. Beside these historical characters, we know that His mind ranged freely over Deuteronomy, the Prophets and the Psalms. A computation has been made by the late Dr. Moulton in his essay contributed to the *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (p. 475) that in the New Testament generally 25 per cent of the Old Testament quotations are from the Pentateuch, 50 per cent are from the Prophets (including Daniel), 20 per cent from the Psalms, while about 5 per cent are from other parts of the Old Testament. I think it would be found, on examination, that our Lord's own quotations conform, in the main, to these proportions.

It will be remembered that for the purpose of this investigation we have to distinguish carefully between our Lord's quotations and those which the evangelists themselves make in reference to Him. Their usage is by no means His. The compiler of the First Gospel, for example, applies Old Testament passages to Christ, in a way



of which we have no example in the Master's own recorded words.<sup>1</sup>

May I now recall to your recollection one or two—and only one or two—instances of our Lord's appeal to the Old Testament and use of its words, with reference to some of the great outstanding problems, showing how He found in its words the expression of permanent and abiding truth.

(i) Take, for example, the question of abiding interest ; that of resurrection and the immortality of the Soul. This is an interesting occasion, because, on it Jesus confidently charged His opponents with ignorance of the very Scriptures to which they so confidently appealed. They tried to pose Him, by a question as to the ultimate position of a woman, who, as the law enjoined, had had seven brothers for her successive husbands. He quoted, in reply, the passage from Exodus iii. 6, 16, the passage, known as " the Bush " : " I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living " (Matt. xxii. 32). He bases His argument for the eternal life on a God who Himself lives and who will not allow His children to die, and so He placed the argument for the immortality of the Soul on the only sure foundation on which we ourselves can confidently rest it to-day ; and He discovered that foundation in the revelation recorded in the Book of Exodus.

(ii) Take again the question of recurring interest in the religious life, the question of altar and of sacrifice. We know that in the time of our Lord, sacrifice was confined to the central sanctuary of the Temple. We also know that in His time the whole system of Temple worship was attended by extortion and the gravest abuses. He did not scruple to describe it as " a den of robbers " (Mark xi. 17), an expression which He took from the words of Jeremiah vii. 11 : " Is this house which is called by my Name, become a den of robbers in your eyes ? Behold, I, even I, have seen it, saith the Lord." The worst feature was that the bargaining of the money-changers and the noise of the animals made worship impossible in the courts of the Temple set apart for the Gentiles. This was the only part of the sacred precincts into which the Gentile stranger could enter, and it was here that " greedy and unscrupulous traders " enriched themselves at the cost of those who came to offer their sacrifices to God. The other quotation which our Lord used on this same occasion makes it clear that He did not primarily regard the Temple as a place for sacrifice, but as a house of prayer, not for the Jews only, but for all men. He quotes the words of Isaiah lvi. 7 : " Mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all peoples." Here, He saw to the very heart of the true spiritual situation and He chose the appropriate words of prophecy to express the exact truth.

(iii) It may indeed be pointed out that after cleansing certain lepers He bade them show themselves to the priest and offer the accustomed sacrifice (Mark i. 44 ; cf. Luke xvii. 11). But this was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. ii. 15, " Out of Egypt," and occasions when " that it might be fulfilled " occur.

probably in conformity with the social and sanitary legislation of the age, and, not with any particular emphasis on sacrifice as such.

(iv) It is true too that He kept the Feast of the Passover with His disciples, though it is open to question whether the Last Supper in the Upper Room was the Passover meal. If we accept the testimony of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, it certainly was not. But, in any case, His mind was not fixed on this. We see the drift of His thought rather in the passage where He says that a man should defer offering his gift at the altar till he has become reconciled to his brother (Matt. v. 24); in the passage in which He forbids men to excuse themselves from the obligations of filial piety, on the ground that their money is Corban, a gift offered to the temple (Mark vii. 11); in the interview with the Scribe (Mark xii. 28 ff.) who declared that to love God wholly, and one's neighbour as oneself, is "much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices," and so evoked the words of commendation from Christ: "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." These passages show that our Lord turned away from that sacrificial system which had usurped the highest place in Jewish religion and preferred to dwell on considerations that were purely ethical.

I have only time now to hint quickly at one other aspect of His use of the Old Testament. We see in the Temptation narrative how in the words of Deuteronomy and the Psalmist He found the answer to the suggestions of the evil one. We see in the Sermon on the Mount the way in which His principles of action transcended and superseded the enactments of the earlier law. We see, in the description of the walk to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 27), how He indicated that the Christ, crucified, was the fulfilment of Old Testament anticipation. We see how (Luke xxii. 37) He claimed to fulfil in His suffering and humiliation, the rôle of the suffering servant of Jehovah: "And he was reckoned with transgressors" (Isaiah liii. 12).

These references, and hints at further possible references, show that even when Jesus transcended the older revelation, He still emphasized and preserved the religious value of it. He put the prophets above the Law, and He interpreted the Law in the spirit of a prophet.<sup>1</sup> In His interpretation of the Old Testament, literalism, verbal inspiration, allegory find no support. It has been said that by the process of allegorizing every man seeks in the Bible his own dogmas—and finds them. It is possible to read the Old Testament in this way, and it has been done; just as the Greeks allegorized Homer, or, as we are told, reformed Hinduism interprets by Glosses the sacred books of the Hindu religions. But we find no trace of such servile letter worship in Jesus. He nourished His soul on the Old Testament, and yet, He has, not without reason, been called "its first critic." If the Old Testament is to be saved for the purpose of religious faith and religious life, it must be as consecrated by His usage, as appropriated by Him who is to us the perfect interpreter of God's mind, the perfect Mediator of God's will.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Box, in *The People and the Book*, pp. 465, 466.

## THE EASTWARD POSITION.

### A ROMAN INNOVATION IN SPAIN.

BY THE REV. THOMAS J. PULVERTAFT, M.A.

THIS article was contributed by the late Rev. Thomas J. Pulvertaft, M.A., to THE CHURCHMAN of February, 1904. That number is long ago out of print. Accordingly the article is here reprinted at the urgent request of personal friends of the late Mr. Pulvertaft who are anxious that so valuable and learned a treatise, on a matter of vital concern, shall not be lost sight of, but preserved and circulated for the wider use of students. Mr. Pulvertaft lent his own copy of the magazine to a friend in 1925, and that friend before returning it took the precaution of having a MS. copy made for his own reference. The only variation from the original print is that the various references are collected together at the end instead of being placed at the foot of each page. The extract from a private letter at the end and the note are supplied by the same friend.

IN the January CHURCHMAN [1904] Canon Meyrick wrote: "The eastward position at the celebration of the Holy Communion was unknown in Spain till the eleventh century." This statement, when repeated, usually excites surprise, and appeal is made to the very striking rubric in the Migne edition of the Mozarabic Missal—a rubric textually reprinted from the original (in more senses than one) rubric in the Ximenes Missal of 1500: "In ista Missa et in aliis non vertitur sacerdos ad populum, nisi quando dixerit. Adjuvate me fratres in orationibus vestris."<sup>1</sup> "It is impossible," say the critics, "that the eastward position should be unknown in Spain when the old service-book so strongly emphasizes the position as the only one adopted. In the Roman Mass the priest turns six times to the people, in the Spanish only once."

Pamelius (1571) is even stronger, for he says in the Mozarabic Mass there is "nulla conversio Sacerdotis ad populum. Quamdiu sacris operatur numquam se convertit ad populum."<sup>2</sup> Further confirmation of this view may be found in a manuscript volume which I carefully read, in the National Library, Madrid. Its author is Francisco de Pisa, Chaplain of the Mozarabians in Toledo. In 1593 he wrote and published, "Cum Permissu Superiorum," a compendium giving an account of the Mozarabic Mass.

The work does not exist in the library in book form, but the manuscript is exceptionally valuable, as it gives the earliest account, in Spanish, of the origin of the service-book, and the position of the writer ought to make his testimony at once important and interesting. He states: "The priest does not turn his face to the people in all the Mass. Not even when he says 'adjuvate me fratres in orationibus vestris' is he accustomed to turn, although in this

particular the Mass permits him ; before this his face is always turned to the altar, in order not to lose sight of it."

If this alone were the evidence forthcoming, it would at once be concluded that THE CHURCHMAN'S article was in error, and that, so far from its having been primitive Spanish custom to ignore the eastward position, no Church more consistently maintained it at the altar.

A careful scrutiny of the rubric and the two commentaries awakens suspicion, for it is seen that the Toledan priest asserts that a change had been deliberately made between 1500 and 1593, and in addition remarks : " Some wish to say that the custom of not turning to the people originated from the fact that anciently the altars were so arranged that the people came to be before the priest, where the reredoses (retablos) now are, as in the case to-day with the altar de prima in the choir of this holy church." This paper will show that the *obiter dictum* of the Chaplain is a statement of fact, and that the development from 1500 to 1593 is simply the natural result of a perversion of history stereotyped by the Ximenes Service-Book of 1500. It will be proved that the old manuscripts differed from the printed editions of Roman Catholic editors, and that as the primitive Liturgy came from the East—the cradle of the faith—it preserved the Eastern custom of the westward position, and that even in the Roman Church of to-day the influence of primitive Spanish custom is to be seen in Spanish founded Churches. The Mozarabic Missal, called by patriot writers a " column and cement of the faith," was the service-book of the National Spanish Church, which existed in complete independence of Rome until the close of the eleventh century. It is so called in consequence of its use by the Mozarabs,<sup>3</sup> or Christians, who lived under the protection of the Moors. The Spanish Moors, unlike their modern co-religionists, practised religious toleration, and from the time the country was fairly settled " a Christian Spaniard not only enjoyed personal liberty, but he attended the public administration of his priests." <sup>4</sup>

According to all liturgiologists, it is closely allied to the Ambrosian (Milan) and Gallican uses, and is undoubtedly of Oriental origin, coming from Ephesus through Lyons (according to some) or through Milan (according to others) to Spain.<sup>5</sup>

It is unnecessary to decide whether Lyons or Milan be the channel of the Transmission of the Liturgy, as the contending schools unite in an unquestioning belief in its Oriental origin.

It was introduced into the West in the fourth century,<sup>6</sup> and naturally would preserve the customs of the land from whence it came. St. Isidore, the great seventh-century Bishop of Seville, considerably enlarged the Liturgy,<sup>7</sup> and students of its evolution are inclined to lay great stress on his influence. It was known as his Liturgy, and even to-day it is indifferently called Gothic, Isidoran, Mozarabic.

Rome never tolerated with gladness independent uses. Under Pepin the Short (as seen in a Charlemagne decree of 789) Gaul surrendered her Liturgy, and very little of the use remains.<sup>8</sup> Gregory

VII—the great Hildebrand—determined that the time had come for the Church of Spain “to emerge from infancy and to pass to perfect age.”<sup>9</sup>

In the tenth century the Spanish Service-Book and Breviary had been declared by a Pope and Council, after examination, to contain nothing to be condemned, censured, or altered.<sup>10</sup>

In the following century Gregory wrote to a Bishop of his own name, calling the supporters of the Spanish use “wolves and poisoners.”

He recommended their persecution, even to the shedding of blood, in order that the books might be abolished and the Roman books substituted.<sup>11</sup> He gained his end in 1085, when the Council of Burgos ordered the abolition of the Mozarabic Books, and the Measure was completed in 1094 by the substitution of Latin for Gothic characters. It at once follows that if manuscripts survive written in Gothic characters, their date must be placed before the close of the eleventh century, for after that period no copyist would copy in any other letter than Latin.

By special grace the old rite was permitted to be retained in six Toledo churches,<sup>12</sup> and the priests who said the National Mass were men accustomed to say the Roman Mass. After a time the custom became almost obsolete. At the close of the fifteenth century Cardinal Ximenes regretted the decay, and determined to restore the old rite and perpetuate its use by printing the Manuscripts and appointing a chapel in the cathedral where Masses might be said.

Ximenes entrusted the task of editing the manuscript to Ortiz, with the result that the printed volume is an effort to reconstruct the old Liturgy in conformity with the Roman Missal.<sup>13</sup>

From this printed book the eastward position rubric is taken, and we have to inquire, is it taken from the manuscript, and if not, is it the record of a Spanish tradition?

In the eighteenth century a learned and honest Jesuit scholar, Father Andres Marcos Burriel, devoted himself to the task of investigating, cataloguing, and copying the contents of the manuscript rooms of the Toledan Library. By the generosity of the venerable and erudite doyen of Spanish scholars, the Rev. Wentworth Webster, the writer possesses a valuable unpublished manuscript containing reports of Burriel dated 1752, 1754 and 1756, which give detailed accounts of the progress of his work. He narrates how he copied and in some instances made facsimiles of the Gothic manuscripts used by the Ximenes editor. These manuscripts date of necessity before 1094. He records that the manuscripts “differ much in substance and order” from the Ximenes volume, “which mixes some things modern and omits some things ancient.” Of this there can be no doubt, for the printed volume contains Masses for the Festivals of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Anthony of Padua, and Corpus Christi<sup>14</sup>, festivals that arose long after the abolition of Gothic writing and the Mozarabic Missal.

Fortunately, the Madrid Library contains the manuscript volumes

by Burriel. They are clearly written, and the facsimile pages are extremely well executed. It is a pleasure to observe the care with which he carried through his work, and my detailed examination of the volumes revealed the fact that they do not contain a single rubric. The names of the Masses and Prayers are simply given, and in no instance is there one word of direction to the celebrant. This is what might have been expected in the case of manuscripts. Even the first printed Missals have scarcely any rubrics, and not until 1485 were the words and ceremonies of the Mass set out together at length.<sup>15</sup> The Ximenes Book of 1500 followed the new plan, and rubrics were added by men who knew only the Roman use,<sup>16</sup> and had perhaps some ancient traditions, more or less corrupt, to guide them in some details.

This at once disposes of the value of the rubric, relied on to prove the eastward position as the traditional use of the Spanish Church.<sup>17</sup>

The Missal is of Eastern origin, and preserves several striking Oriental peculiarities (e.g. the division of the host).

Scudamore in *Notitia Eucharistica* (p. 275) remarks: "Everywhere in the primitive Church, as still among the Greeks and Orientals, the seats of the Bishops and Presbyters were against the east wall, and therefore behind the altar. Hence the celebrant officiated with his face toward the people." The following facts prove the retention of this custom in the primitive Spanish Church.

1. Canon XVIII of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in 633, under the presidency of Isidore, now a very old man, reads: "In future, after the Pater Noster the Bread and Chalice shall be united (mixed), then the people blessed, and then only the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord received, and this by the celebrant and the Levites before the altar, by the Clergy in the Choir."<sup>18</sup> The plain interpretation of this canon is that at the benediction the celebrant faced the people, for it would certainly be strange if he blessed the people with his back towards them.

2. The architectural arrangements of Spanish Churches is in favour of the westward position being traditional. "The Coro, instead of beginning to the east of the transepts, is, like the Chorus Cantorum of the early basilicas, extended into the nave, and the central lantern tower is called the Cimborio, in memory, doubtless, of a time when it served as the Cimborium of the high altar now placed in the elongated choir, or, as it is called by the Spaniards, Capilla Mayor."<sup>19</sup>

In the old cathedral of Salamanca, dating from the eleventh century, the apse contains the altar in the middle, with seats all around for the clergy.

3. Cardinal Lorenzana, known in Spain as "the great and good Cardinal," took a deep interest in the rite, and in 1770 published in Los Angeles, Mexico, an edition of the Mass Omnium Offerentium with the title *Missa Gothica*. The Mass contains a number of prayers which I could not find in the Madrid manuscripts. At the close of these prayers the rubric reads: Quo facto dat benedictionem

in unitate Sancti Spiritus (vertat se ad populum dicendo Benedicat vos Pater et Filius).<sup>20</sup>

In his Commentary the Cardinal, discussing the non-turning of the priest to the people, says : " It is permissible to remark that only in this benediction and in the offertory, when the priest goes somewhat away from the altar, the priest turns himself to the people in the Mozarabic Mass. The principal reason of this is the antiquity of the Mozarabic rite, for in the first ages of the Church the altar was placed towards the faithful and the priest looked at the people, wherefore it was not necessary for him to turn when he saluted, as it is necessary to-day, for the people stand behind." <sup>21</sup> Lorenzana built a special Mozarabic Chapel in Toledo Cathedral where I heard the Mass ; but he did not place the altar at some distance from the east wall. In this he failed to preserve the old custom, for even now in the sister rite of Milano the altar stands at a distance from the east wall, and is censed all round by a deacon.<sup>22</sup>

4. In the edition of the Mozarabic Missal used in the Mozarabic Chapel, Salamanca, we have additional evidence. Its editor is Francisco J. Hernandez de Viesain, who was Chaplain in 1772.

In the course of his Spanish commentary he translates with approval Lorenzana's remarks, and thus shows his acceptance of their meaning.

5. A most striking and unexpected confirmation of this early custom has been brought to our notice by the Rev. W. Webster, who is as ready to give help as he is indefatigable in his efforts to elucidate truth. South America was discovered and colonized by Spain. Its churches were founded and ministered to by Spaniards full of the enthusiasm of the Golden Age of Spain, and to this day the ancient custom of consecrating facing the people is preserved in some of the churches. Not only is it preserved, but in the report (p. 876) of the Latin American Congress held in Rome in 1899 we find Papal permission for the continuance of the custom.

From this short investigation it can be concluded that the East is the source of the Spanish Service-Book ; that Spanish Churchmen before the subjection to Rome in 1085 preserved the primitive westward position at the consecration of the elements, and that in churches founded by Spaniards the custom still exists, although the founders of the churches were subject to Rome. Thus the appeal to antiquity confirms the statement of the historian of the Spanish Church and once more proves that what is Roman is not of necessity Catholic, but is merely a local development forced, it may be, on an unwilling people to further centralized domination at the expense of doctrinal truth and national freedom.

#### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Migne, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Pamelius, *Liturg. Eccl. Lat.*, vol. i, pp. 642, 643.

<sup>3</sup> Mozarab is a participial form of the verb *arb.*, signifying one who has become Arabized (Burke, *Hist. of Spain*, vol. i, p. 115 n.).

<sup>4</sup> Burke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 118.

- <sup>6</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (S.P.C.K.), pp. 90-5.  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.  
<sup>8</sup> Meyrick, *The Church of Spain*, p. 342; Burriel MS.  
<sup>9</sup> Duchesne, p. 103.  
<sup>10</sup> Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques*, vol. i, p. 268.  
<sup>11</sup> Meyrick, *op. cit.*, p. 344.  
<sup>12</sup> *Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. xxiv (Vollet), and Guéranger, vol. i, pp. 268-78.  
<sup>13</sup> Meyrick, p. 349.  
<sup>14</sup> Meyrick, p. 349; cf. Duchesne, pp. 192-204, ed. Migne, pp. 29-40, and on a similar process in Ambrosian Liturgy, Duchesne, p. 89. Hammond, *Liturgies*, p. lxxxv.  
<sup>15</sup> V. ed. Migne.  
<sup>16</sup> *Cath. Dict.*, Addis and Arnold, art. "Rubric."  
<sup>17</sup> Ed. Migne, p. 12.  
<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the character of the printed rubrics, see Migne, pp. 29-40.  
<sup>19</sup> Hefele, *Councils*, vol. iv, p. 451.  
<sup>20</sup> *Dict. Eccl. Antiq.*, art. "Church," vol. i, p. 384.  
<sup>21</sup> Lorenzana, *Missa Gothica*, p. 68.  
<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.  
<sup>23</sup> Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 204.

[Additional authority for the position of the officiating priest in primitive times is to be found in Bingham, *Eccl. Antiq.*, vol. iii, pp. 89, 90; Fleury, *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, p. 150; Guéranger, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 31; Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, pp. 204, 302, 303, 480, 485: cf. Mivart, *Essays and Criticisms*, vol. i, pp. 192, 195.]

THOS. J. PULVERTAFT.

When writing to a friend with a copy of the above article the Rev. Thos. J. Pulvertaft says: "In Barcelona the Bishop's throne is behind the Altar and in a Segovia Church I have seen the place for the consecrating Priest similarly marked."

[Note: For indication that the Westward position was probably the Gallican Use, see the *Guardian* of July 10, 1931: "A Holiday Visit to Lyons."]

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Many will welcome the appearance of the eleventh edition of Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton's *The Truth of Christianity*, which has now attained a circulation of 55,000 (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., E.C.4, 2s. net). The value of the work has been attested by all sections of the Christian Church, as is seen from the collection of testimonies from many sources prefixed to the volume. The present edition has been carefully revised, especially in the third chapter, which deals with the existence of God; the fifth chapter, treating of God's Interest in Man; the twenty-first chapter, Conformity of the Truth; and the twenty-fourth chapter, the Evidence for the Creeds in the New Testament. We are sure that in its latest form the book will continue the excellent work that it has always been accomplishing.



## THE GODWARD ASPECT OF THE ATONEMENT.

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

### PART I.

THE distinguishing mark of Modern Theology is its thoroughgoing appeal to experience. In one sense there is nothing new about this, for it has ever been the characteristic of genuine and vital religion. Long ago the Psalmist cried out, "O taste and see that the Lord is good: Blessed is the man that trusteth in him" (xxxiv. 8). Even the woman of Samaria, after our Lord's conversation with her, felt impelled to communicate to the men of her city her new experience. Having taken her at her own word, they go to the new Teacher, and finally arrive at the state when they can say, "Now we believe, not because of thy speaking: for we have heard for ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world" (John iv. 42). Unlike the Scribes, our Lord spoke with authority which the ordinary folk of His day could recognize. His teaching rang true. Those who listened to His words knew that they were the expression of "unbroken and triumphant communion with His Heavenly Father," His immediate experience of God. Thus did His teaching find a responsive echo, and those who were willing to surrender themselves to Him heard His voice and were filled with truth.

On the other hand, what is new in Modern Theology is that it claims more seriously than in previous ages that theology should of necessity be based on experience. Our doctrine of God must be founded upon the moral and religious consciousness. This emphasis on experience lays us open both to the danger and accusation of subjectivity. The present Archbishop of York in his recent charge quotes Father Herbert Kelly as once saying to him: "There used to be a thing called theology; that is a Greek word which means 'thinking about God'; it is very old-fashioned now. Now there is a thing called the philosophy of religion; that means thinking about your own nice feelings; it is very popular."<sup>1</sup> Doubtless these words are an exaggeration. Every theologian worthy of the name is concerned to show that religious experience is not an illusion,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Thoughts on Some Problems of the Day* (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1931), p. 25. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting the Archbishop's definition of religious experience which appears on the same page. "By religious experience we ought to mean an experience which is religious through and through—an experiencing of all things in the light of the knowledge of God. It is this, and not any moment of illumination, of which we may say that it is self-authenticating; for in such an experience all things increasingly fit together in a single intelligible whole." "The Validity of Christian Experience," by Dr. W. Robinson, which comes in the essays on the *Future of Christianity*, edited by Sir J. Marchant, should also be read.

but is an integral part of reality, and that his conception of God is not just simply a case of "projection" upon the unknowable, but, whilst fully allowing for its inadequacy, is objectively true. Nevertheless, this quotation has a sting in it. The tendency of the age is to make man the measure of all things. It is hard to resist the impression that an acceptance of Christian truth often depends on whether we find it agreeable or otherwise. Divine truth is regarded too much from our end, how it harmonizes with our needs and wants. Hence the strangest of all cries, "I have no use for religion." Whereas the experience of those who know is wonder and awe at the discovery that God can actually make use of them. With pain and difficulty, and above all, with reverent humility, must we endeavour to think God's thoughts after Him. Religion ultimately rests upon what He has to say, what the Lord God wills for us. We stand or rather He enables us to stand before Him. Rightly in such a subject as that of the Atonement we must be concerned with the effect that the Atonement has upon us, since we are sinners standing in need of salvation. The human side must absorb much of our attention. But if sin means anything at all we can have no adequate view of its poignancy and terror so long as our eyes are fastened upon ourselves. We learn its true significance alone when we come to see how God regards it. It follows also that the taking away of sin, the being made at one with God, cannot be estimated aright until we attempt to look at it from the Divine side. Fail we must, but in the very failure lies our hope, since we are not left to our own unaided efforts. The Holy Spirit of God will take of the things of Christ and show them unto us.

Our first consideration will be towards discovering what was our Lord's mind on this all-important subject. His whole life was lived in a Godward direction. Alone amongst the sons of men He was in constant communion with His Father, so that it was quite natural for Him to say, "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father: neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him" (Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22). Were this *logion* not a genuine utterance of our Lord, which we are convinced that it is, yet a reverent study of His life would leave us with the conviction of its absolute truth.

It is necessary, however, to define our attitude towards the Gospels, wherein is disclosed to us the mind of Christ. St. Mark is our oldest Gospel, having been written probably between A.D. 65 and 67. Canon Streeter would place it as early as A.D. 60.<sup>1</sup> Our next source is a document often referred to as Q, which is used both by the author of the First Gospel and St. Luke, though it may be they had different versions before them. These references contain for the most part sayings of Jesus. The version or versions of Q used by our first and third Gospels may have been in existence in A.D. 67 and 68. Each great Church may have had its version of Q,

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1925).

e.g. Rome, Antioch, Cæsarea and Jerusalem. Streeter considers that there was an overlapping of Q and St. Mark; if, however, St. Mark did make use of Q he must have trusted to memory, and never once have referred to the written source. Granted that St. Mark used a version of Q, then this version may have been in existence by A.D. 50. That St. Luke had access to another source, or sources, called L quite as primitive as St. Mark and Q, we may accept after reading Streeter's great work, though we need not endorse the particular form in which he gives his theory.

St. Matthew also has a special source alongside of St. Mark and Q. Concerning this source, namely M, it must be considered on its own merits, though so far as our Lord's words are concerned, as a rule it seems to be authentic.<sup>1</sup> A few words must be added to define our attitude towards the Fourth Gospel. Elsewhere we have tried to show that it is the inspired interpretation of a disciple of Christ who knew His mind and heart as few, if any, had ever known Him. To illustrate and interpret the Lord's teaching recourse may be made to St. John's Gospel.<sup>2</sup>

A second consideration must be borne in mind. We must never lose sight of the Jewish background of the Lord's teaching. Not only must we remember that He accepted the Old Testament Scriptures as bearing witness to Himself, but also that some of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Jewish writings may not have been unknown to Him, and that at any rate the ideas expressed in them were current amongst His hearers. They formed part of the religious make-up of His contemporaries. The Rabbinic Literature must also be used. This has been rendered accessible in Strack and Billerbeck's monumental work of four volumes consisting of a commentary on the New Testament illustrated from the Talmud and the Midrash. Unfortunately it is a very expensive work, and has not been translated, but in Mr. Montefiori's book, *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings*, important passages from it are translated and sometimes criticized. Far more stress should be laid on the Jewish setting of the Lord's teaching than has hitherto been the case. "When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law" (Gal. iv. 4), "of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3).

First and foremost our Lord identified Himself with the suffering servant of Isaiah. Isaiah lii. 13-14 must be continually before us as we think of our Lord's mission and work.<sup>3</sup> In St. Luke xxii. 37 our Lord expressly declares this identification: "For I say unto

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, S.P.C.K., 1920; *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, by P. P. Levertoff and H. L. Goudge, pp. 127-8.

<sup>2</sup> *The Atonement in History and in Life*, a Volume of Essays, ed. by L. W. Grensted, pp. 154 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Attention should be drawn to *The Riddle of the New Testament*, by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, and Noel Davey (London, Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1931). They show how a Messianic background pervades St. Mark's Gospel as well as the miracles, parables, and aphorisms. They imply the presence of the Messiah and His Kingdom.

you, that this that is written must be fulfilled in Me and He was reckoned with transgressors." Previous to our Lord no one had conceived of the Messiah as suffering for His people. It is true that Mr. Montefiori makes the statement that the sufferings of the Messiah for the sake of His people were not unknown to the Rabbis, but he adds that the passages in which these allusions occur are a good deal later than A.D. 30.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Professor Jeremias of Berlin maintains that before Christ, Isaiah liii., and probably Psalms xxii, xxxi, lxix and Zechariah xii. 10 ff., were interpreted in esoteric circles as referring to the Messiah, although the conception of a political Messiah was the prevailing view.<sup>2</sup> This latter opinion is not generally entertained by scholars, but as far as our purpose is concerned, we can leave the question undecided, provided it is allowed that our Lord identified Himself with the suffering servant of Isaiah.

Turning now to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, let us note the Godward aspect of the servant's sufferings. Unfortunately there are many exegetical difficulties in this poem which necessitate caution, but in the main they hardly affect our point. In verse 4 the exclamation is made, "surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows, yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted." Then in verse 5, following Mr. Cripps' translation, "But pierced he was because of rebellions that we had committed, he was crushed because of our iniquities, upon him was the chastisement which was to produce our welfare, and it is with his scars that there has come about healing to us."<sup>3</sup> Here make their appearance, whether for the first time or not does not signify, the ideas of vicarious punishment for another's sake. This is further illustrated by the words at the close of verse 6, "while Yahveh on his part has caused to rest upon him the iniquity of us all." Verses 10 and 11 are obscure, and there are grave reasons for suspecting that the text is corrupt, but at least they contain the view that the servant's sufferings were in accordance with the will of God, and also an allusion to his vicarious suffering. He will make many righteous by instruction in the will of God and by example in constancy: "while it is he who will carry their iniquities" (verse 11). Once more he is spoken of as bearing the sin of many (verse 12), and the poem closes with his making intercession for the transgressors. Dr. Skinner rightly says, "the essence of the servant's sacrifice lies in the fact that whilst himself innocent he acquiesces in the Divine judgment on sin, and willingly endures it for the sake of his people."<sup>4</sup>

These conceptions, we submit, must have a place in any true doc-

<sup>1</sup> *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1930), p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Theologie*, Zweiter Band, Der Erlösungsgedanke (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1929), s.s. 106, 117.

<sup>3</sup> *The Atonement in History and in Life*, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, Chapters xl-lxvi (University Press, Cambridge, 1898), p. 134.

trine of our Lord's Person and work. However hard it may be to us modern people to make them our own, we must not pass them by or try to explain them away. If, as we believe, our Lord, in communion with His Father, and from the study of the Old Testament Scriptures, learnt to know the nature of the Messianic office and work, and His own vocation and ministry, then we must read His actions and sayings in the light of the famous fifty-third chapter of Isaiah.

For us the first decisive fact in our Lord's life is His Baptism. Its significance lies partly in its being the inauguration of His public ministry, when, the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon Him (Mark i. 10) gave Him the spiritual assurance from His Heavenly Father that He was called to be the Messiah. The temptations in the wilderness which followed can only be interpreted as signifying the decisive rejection on our Lord's part of all political views concerning the Messiah.<sup>1</sup> But we must not overlook the fact, and this has an important bearing on our subject, that the baptism of John to which He submitted Himself was a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. Here let us follow the excellent note on the significance of our Lord's Baptism given in Archdeacon Rawlinson's commentary on St. Mark. With him we believe that our Lord as the Messiah identified Himself with a sinful people. "Woe is me, for . . . I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." The Lord could echo the second part of Isaiah's confession, if not the first; like Daniel, He will have confessed "the sins of His people," with whom He felt Himself to be identified; and who should confess penitence for the national sins, if not the Messiah? <sup>2</sup> Here at the Baptism, if not before, did our Lord begin to realize that on Him was being laid the iniquity of us all.

Now we must beware of confining our Lord's ministry and teaching within too narrow limits, but at the same time all that we know of the suffering servant of Isaiah was fulfilled in Him. Where was Jesus to be found? Amongst the lost, the forsaken and the suffer-

<sup>1</sup> This is surely a more adequate explanation than that given by the late Dr. Rashdall in his famous Bampton Lectures, who maintains that the account of the temptation hardly implies a consciousness of Messiahship. Is he also justified in saying that if we accept as historical the scene at Cæsarea Philippi our Lord cannot have definitely taught His own Messiahship up to that moment? The very question our Lord put to His disciples, "But who say ye that I am?" (Mark viii. 29) implies their previous training and instruction on His part. His great concern was that they should have sufficient trust in Him when He should unfold to them the true view of Messiahship, that the Son of Man must suffer, that it should not be an offence unto them. There is no reason to hold with Dr. Rashdall that the account of the voice at the Baptism must be coloured by later ideas, or that Jesus only accepted His own identification with the Messiah at a late date, and then too with reluctance. Cf. *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology* (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1925), pp. 251-6. Cf. "He was, in vicarious love, being numbered with transgressors in sharing the baptism of repentance, though Himself sinless."—*The Christian Doctrine of the Godhead*, by Dr. A. E. Garvie (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1925), p. 80.

ing. He identified Himself with them to such an extent that He was called the Friend of Publicans and Sinners (Matt. xi. 19; Luke vii. 34). The reproach was brought against Him that He consorted with them (Mark ii. 16; Matt. ix. 11; Luke v. 30). His purpose in life was to seek and to save those that were lost (Luke xix. 10; cf. Matt. xviii. 12 ff.). Montefiori makes the striking statement

" that a teacher should go about and associate with such persons, and attempt to help them and 'cure' them by familiar and friendly intercourse with them, was, I imagine, an unheard-of procedure. That the physician of the soul should seek out the 'sick' was a new phenomenon. According to the Rabbis, the visitation of the bodily sick was an obligation and a duty of the first order. But the seeking out of the morally sick was not put on the same footing, nor, so far as we can gather, was it practised. Here Jesus appears to be original."<sup>1</sup>

In this respect our Lord was already numbered with the transgressors. All through His life He was saving others, though He spared not Himself. His miracles were not performed without cost to Himself, "virtue went out of them," and the author of the first Gospel (Matt. viii. 17) quotes Isaiah, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses."

But what is most noteworthy is our Lord's "sore amazement" and "heaviness of soul." Rudolf Otto says, "there is more here than the fear of death; there is the awe of the creature before the 'mysterium tremendum,' before the shuddering secret of the numen."<sup>2</sup> But it is not only in the garden of Gethsemane that the death which our Lord was to die was a burden on His heart. How impressive are the words "He set His face towards Jerusalem" ! The Transfiguration would seem as if it were sent to support the Son of Man in the great load He was called upon to bear. St. Luke records that Moses and Elias appeared "and spake of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem" (ix. 31). "But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished" (Luke xii. 50). *Πῶς σννέχομαι* "oppressed, afflicted," as Klostermann rightly says, "Gethsemanestimmung," and Dr. Plummer, "the prospect of His sufferings was a perpetual Gethsemane."<sup>3</sup> W. Bauer has in his edition of the Ignatian letters a special note on the great desire for martyrdom in the early Church, e.g. Ignatius writes to the Romans:

"I write to all the Churches, and I bid all men know, that of my own free will I die for God, unless ye should hinder me. I exhort you, be ye not an unseasonable kindness to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread [of Christ]. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre, and may leave

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *The Idea of the Holy* (University Press, Oxford, 1923), E.T., p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Lukasevangelium* (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1929), *Zweite Auflage*, S. 141, and *St. Luke. International Critical Commentary*, p. 334.

no part of my body behind, so that I may not, when I am fallen asleep, be burdensome to any one. Then shall I be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not so much as see my body. Supplicate the Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice unto God." <sup>1</sup>

How different then is our Lord's attitude! It can only be explained by His knowledge that the time was coming when in the fullest sense "the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all."

We must now consider the great passage to be found in St. Mark x. 45, and also in St. Matthew xx. 28. "For the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many, *καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.*" It is the latter part of the sentence which demands the most careful study.

Before considering the meaning of these words we must notice that their genuineness as an utterance of our Lord has been assailed on two grounds.

First, they do not occur in St. Luke, but what he says in xxii. 27 is probably nearer the actual words of our Lord, "For whether is greater he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth."

Secondly, Wellhausen says that they do not fit in with *διακονῆσαι*, "minister," for that is "to serve, wait at table." The step from serving to the giving up of the life as a ransom is a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος.* <sup>2</sup>

Now in answer to the first objection we see no reason to put aside the Marcan saying which also satisfied the author of the first Gospel. But Streeter gives another reason. He considers that St. Luke had access to another written document which he prefers to St. Mark, and his preference is for this source as a whole, not merely for particular items in it on account of their intrinsic merit. Now although the non-Marcan version is a fuller and more interesting version, there are cases where the contrary seems to be true; among these Streeter quotes the saying in Luke about salt (Luke xiv. 34; cf. Mark ix. 49, 50), Mark's long discussion of divorce (Mark x. 2-12) with the single verse in Luke xvi. 18, and the two versions of the saying contrasting the Rulers of the Gentiles and the Son of Man (Mark x. 42-5; Luke xxii. 25-7). In all these cases Mark's version including the ransom passage is the more vigorous and interesting. <sup>3</sup>

The second reason given by Wellhausen for rejecting the ransom passage is not at all convincing. The whole context has to do with ministering and also with death; Mark x. 45 follows the request of

<sup>1</sup> Ign. ad Rom., iv. Cf. Tert. ad Scap., v. Euseb. H. E., vii, 12. W. Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia* (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1920), S.S. 247, 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Evangelium Marci*, S.S. 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 210. The late Dr. Burney in his book on *The Poetry of Our Lord* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 64, 65, gives this passage (Mark x. 38 ff. = Matt. xx. 22 ff.) as "the most striking example of the continuous use of this form of parallelism . . . where we have four synonymous couplets combined with one (the third) antithetic and one (the sixth) synthetic."

the mother of Zebedee, and her ambition expressed in the desire that her sons should sit, one on the right hand, the other on the left in the future Messianic kingdom. This called forth the indignation of the other disciples, and then it was that our Lord pointed out the true conception of greatness as embodied in His life work and teaching. Mark x. 45 is in perfect harmony with this.

Accepting this saying as proceeding from our Lord's lips, let us now inquire what we are meant to understand by it. Its reference to His death is quite clear. And here let us note the intrinsic difference between the death of Christ, the ransom, and the death of His disciples. The Master gives His life, the disciples on the other hand must lose their lives. In the one case the Lord lays down His life of His own free will. In the other, when the time comes for the servant to die, no choice is given to him but to submit.

Dr. Wendt interprets the idea of the Lord's life being given "as being a ransom for many" as implying that the Messiah gives His own life in order to free many others from a state of servitude, and he would explain this on the analogy of Matthew xi. 28-30, that is the condition of oppression and servitude on account of earthly sufferings, and also specially on account of death. For as the Messiah He was called "to proclaim release to the captives, receiving of sight to the blind, and liberty to them that are bruised" (Luke iv. 18, 19). Thus did He procure for His people the inward deliverance from the pressure of sufferings by setting them the example of His own course of action. But Wendt obviously feels that he has not accounted for the nature of the service rendered by the Messiah, the how and the what, in other words the point of the expression "ransom." To whom was it given? He considers that this question should not be raised, and states that it is unnecessary to interpret in all relations such a figurative conception as that of ransom, in its application to an event bearing upon the establishment of the kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup> Now we believe that Wendt's view is an entirely inadequate explanation. It is quite true that Jesus by the grace of God did taste death for every man (Heb. ii. 9), and did deliver those who through death were all their lifetime subject to bondage (ii. 15). The fear of death before our Lord's life on earth, and in the immediate centuries succeeding, was very widespread in Palestine and the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> But our Lord distinctly says :

<sup>1</sup> *The Teaching of Jesus* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1896), E.T., vol ii, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca (Ep. lxxxii) writes: "For we believe too throughout many of the stories about death. Many thinkers have striven hard to increase its ill repute: they have portrayed the prison in the world below, and the land overwhelmed by everlasting night, where

'Within his blood-stained cave Hell's warden huge  
doth spread his mighty length on half-crunched bones,  
and terrifies the disembodied ghosts with never-ceasing bark.'

Even if you win your point and prove that these are mere stories, and that nothing is left for the dead to fear, another fear steals upon you. For the fear of going to the underworld is equalled by the fear of going nowhere."



“ Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul : but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell ” (Matt. x. 28 ; Luke xii. 4, 5). Fear of judgment to come made men afraid of death, and they were afraid of the judgment because of sin. Wendt’s view is a *ἕστερον πρότερον*. We may then say that the Son of Man gave His life as a *ransom from sin* which as a result freed men from the fear of death.

Can we content ourselves with saying, as many do, that our Lord was stating the purpose of His coming in order to free men from the thralldom of sin, and restore their broken fellowship with God ? All this is true so far as it goes, but if we could forget the twentieth century and its preoccupations, and endeavour, if possible, to realize their full meaning, the words “ as a ransom for many ” would still obtrude themselves on our notice. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah must be in the background of our thoughts. Once more let us emphasize the fact how prominent the thought of guilt is in that chapter. We venture to say that if we are to be faithful to the leading ideas of the suffering servant of Isaiah, it is not only true to say that Jehovah wishes His people to draw near to Him, and longs to draw near to them, but also that on account of their guilt He could not draw nigh unto them. It was alone by virtue of the suffering servant bearing the transgression of His people that fellowship between Jehovah and His people could be restored.

The meaning of the word “ ransom,” *λύτρον*, is best explained not only by appealing to its usage in the Septuagint but even more to such a book as the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. In the martyrdom of Eleazar (4. Macc. vi. 27 ff.) : “ Thou knowest, O God, that though I might have saved myself, I die in fiery torments for Thy law’s sake. Be merciful to the people and be content with our punishment on their behalf. Make my blood a purification for them and take my life as a ransom for their life.” We may compare with this xvii. 22, which speaks of the Martyrs’ heroism : “ They became as it were a ransom for our nation’s sin, and through the blood of these righteous ones and their propitiating death, the Divine Providence preserved Israel which before was evil entreated ” (cf. i. II, xviii. 4, and 2. Macc. vii. 33, 37). Hence in our opinion the ransom given by our Lord has a distinctly Godward significance.

We have still to ask ourselves the meaning of *ἀντί πολλῶν*. *Ἀντί* is used of set purpose and must be distinguished from *ὑπέρ* which St. Mark does use when he quotes the Lord’s words after He had given the cup to His disciples at the Last Supper : “ This is my blood of the covenant which is being shed for,” or, “ on behalf of (*ὑπέρ*) many ” (Mark xiv. 24). *Ἀντί* cannot mean anything else but “ instead of ” or “ in place of.” So *ἀντί πολλῶν* must be translated “ instead of many.”

“ Many ” is an echo of Isaiah liii. II, 12. The contrast being between Jesus, the Son of Man, as distinct from the others, the community. Thus did the Son of Man give His life a ransom in

the place of the members of His Messianic Kingdom. What they could not do He did in their stead.

Here it is advisable to mention a difficulty which has been urged with particular sharpness by the late Dr. Rashdall.

“ In the two parables of the prodigal son, and of the Pharisee and the Publican, we have the fullest expression of this fundamental idea that God forgives the truly penitent freely and without any other condition than that of true repentance. . . . There is not the slightest suggestion that anything else is necessary . . . the actual death of a Saviour, belief in the atoning efficacy of that death or any other article of faith . . . the truly penitent man who confesses his sins to God receives instant forgiveness.”<sup>1</sup>

We must demur to this usage of our Lord's parabolic teaching. No one parable was ever intended to convey the sum and substance of Christ's teaching concerning His Heavenly Father and His dealings with mankind. Each parable is intended to embody one leading thought to which everything else is subsidiary. The details should not be pressed but used only in so far as they throw light on the main idea or truth which the parable was meant to enforce. In the story of the prodigal son we have portrayed God's gracious love towards the repentant sinner. None the less it is on the passive side not on the active side of the Divine Love that the stress is laid. Not for one moment would we minimize the beauty of this “ exquisite parable,”<sup>2</sup> but the uniqueness of Christ's revelation, the core of the Gospel, does not lie here but in the truth that it is God Who always takes the first step. “ If a man moves an inch God moves an ell to meet him ” was a saying current amongst the Rabbis, but the wonder of Christ's Gospel is that the conditional clause is abolished. God did not even wait for men to move an inch. God in the Person of His Son has Himself taken the initial step and gone into the far country, and at infinite cost to Himself made the misery and wretchedness of His prodigal child all His own, and thus brought Him back to Himself. This is in part suggested by the two parables which precede the parable of the prodigal son, the shepherd seeking the lost sheep, and the woman hunting for the missing coin, and also in part by the parable or allegory of the wicked husbandmen :— “ He had yet One, a beloved Son : He sent Him last unto them, saying, they will reverence My Son ” (Mark xii. 1-12 ; Matt. xxi. 33-46 ; Luke xx. 9-16). The famous saying of St. John iii. 16, “ God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son,” is only another way of expressing the greatness and costliness of the Divine gift of salvation, and is not a truth superimposed upon the original Gospel ; these words contain the Gospel.

We must linger for a few moments on the words of the Last Supper, which has ever been the central rite of the Christian Church. Fortunately for our purpose we need not enter into the many controversies which have gathered round it. Our chief concern is with St. Mark's account of the words spoken by our Lord after the giving of the cup, “ This is my blood of the covenant which is being shed

<sup>1</sup> *op cit.*, p. 26. <sup>2</sup> This is what Montefiori calls it, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

for many" (xiv. 24). The phrase "blood of the covenant" is taken from Exodus xxiv. 8: "And Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the people, and said, behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words" (cf. Zech. ix. 11). And although the word "new" read by some ancient authorities before "covenant" (cf. R.V. margin) was not actually uttered by our Lord, yet the words of Jeremiah xxxi. 33-4 were probably also in His mind. A new relationship between God and man was entered upon by the Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ—on the manward side forgiveness, sin being blotted out and remembered no more, perfect communion and fellowship with God, and on the Godward side this is rendered possible by the perfect surrender of Christ's life sacrificed for us men and for our salvation, in other words, "His blood which is being shed for many." Again in these last words we are reminded of Isaiah liii. 11, 12, which connects them with the famous ransom passage; thus on the eve of His Passion our Lord knew that, in the words of the Consecration Prayer of our Communion Service, He was about to offer up "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."<sup>1</sup>

We must now conclude with the cry of dereliction from the Cross, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" (Mark xv. 34), which is a quotation from the twenty-second Psalm. Here is the climax of the Atonement, and on Him was laid the iniquity of us all. No theology can plumb the depths of these words. Speaking in human language, here was the heart of God broken, the meeting-place between time and eternity was found, and the sacrifice for sin was made. We are irresistibly reminded of St. Paul's words, which are the best commentary on this subject, "Him who knew no sin He made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in Him" (2 Cor. v. 21).

God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> Both Feine (*Theologie des neuen Testaments*, S. 153) and Holtzmann (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*, Erster. Band, S. 369) consider that the words cannot be explained apart from Isaiah liii. 11, 12, though the latter holds that they are an editorial addition in a Pauline sense to the original words of Jesus. But we see no reason to deny their genuineness any more than do Rawlinson and Dalman, and we gather also B. W. Bacon (cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 206).

The Rev. S. Richard Cripps, M.A., B.D., has issued as a booklet his chapter on "The Prophets and the Atonement," which appeared in *The Atonement in History and in Life* (S.P.C.K., 1s. net). A critical examination is made of Isaiah lii. 13 and liii., and other relevant prophetic literature. This scholarly study of a portion of a most important subject should be useful to those who wish to understand how far a vicarious or substitutionary Atonement is found in the prophetic writings.

## MILMAN AS A HISTORIAN.

BY THE REV. L. ELLIOTT BINNS, D.D.

IT is almost exactly a century since Milman made the first announcement of his having undertaken the serious study of ecclesiastical history. "I have begun a *History of Christianity*," he wrote to a friend on his fortieth birthday early in 1831, "but whether I shall continue it in defiance of episcopal fogotry and such incendiary proceedings I have scarcely determined." He then added,—the remark leads to the observation that his knowledge of the past was greater than his powers of prophecy,—“However, I suppose in these regenerating times Bishops will not last long. How many of them must put on their wigs the wrong way, in trembling anticipation of the approaching crisis!”

Henry Hart Milman was at this time Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, and in addition Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. He had been born at 47 Lower Brook Street on February 10, 1791, and was the youngest son of Sir Francis Milman, Physician to George III. The Milmans were an old Devonshire stock, and Sir Francis had had as his immediate ancestors, "scholars and country clergymen," men who had been "content to live their quiet life, to discharge the uneventful duties of their station, in that picturesque fringe of broken ground which lies between Dartmoor and the Channel."<sup>1</sup>

After some years at a preparatory school Milman, at the age of eleven, was admitted to Eton as a King's scholar. Dr. Goodall was then Headmaster, and under him and his successor, Dr. Keate, Milman seems to have been perfectly contented. This was probably because there had already manifested itself that "inexhaustible interest in literature and desire for scholarly attainments" which was to characterize him to the end of his days. In due course he went up to Oxford—"the most beautiful place I ever saw," he calls it in a letter to a sister—and became a member of Brasenose. His university career further revealed the possession of gifts far beyond the ordinary; for in addition to a brilliant first, he gained the Newdigate, the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse, as well as the Essay Prizes in both English and Latin. The poems which received such recognition were well above the standard usually attained in such effusions, and his "Apollo Belvidere" in particular showed genuine feeling and power. At any rate its fame was wide enough to attract the attention of the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, who announced that

His lines on Apollo  
Beat all the rest hollow  
And gained him the Newdigate Prize.

Whatever else they had done for Milman his years at Eton

<sup>1</sup> *Henry Hart Milman, D.D.*, by Arthur Milman, LL.D., p. 4.

and Oxford had given him a taste for all that was best in literature and a refined judgment which sometimes found it hard to put up with inferior productions. It is characteristic of him that when he had at last completed his *History of Latin Christianity*, a task which involved many years spent in the company of writers of very inferior Greek and Latin, he should turn for relief to "his old friends the great classical writers."

It is perhaps of interest to notice that during his time at Oxford he wrote a play, a tragedy named *Fazio*, which was sufficiently well thought of to be produced on the stage under the title of *The Italian Wife*. Such was the state of the Copyright Laws that the author's consent was not asked for before the appearance of his play, and indeed, owing to the change in the title, he was for some time not aware that his work had been so honoured.

In 1816 Milman was ordained by Bishop, later Archbishop, Howley, and after a curacy of only a few months was presented to the living of St. Mary's, Reading. The care of an important parish, however, did not have the effect of drying up the well-springs of poetic composition, for during the early years of his incumbency he wrote three religious dramas, *The Fall of Jerusalem*, *The Martyr of Antioch*, and *Belshazzar*. His fame as a poet was soundly established by these plays, which in their day enjoyed a considerable reputation, and when in 1821 he offered himself for the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford he was duly elected. He seems to have had some fears that the competition of another young Oxford poet, John Keble, might endanger his chances. But Keble was not yet known as the author of *The Christian Year* and did not offer himself; his own turn was to come when on Milman's resignation in 1831 he succeeded to his office.

But even the composition of religious dramas and the delivery of sermons did not exhaust Milman's extraordinary literary powers. In addition to these onerous occupations he entered at this time upon a connection which was to end only with his life, he began to write for *The Quarterly Review*. The first contribution which came from his pen, it may be worth while to mention, was on "Italian Tragedy"; this appeared in the October number of 1820. His last was published in July, 1865, about three years before his death, and its subject was "Pagan and Christian Sepulchres."

It was Milman's known connection with the *Quarterly* which led Byron, quite wrongly, to include him amongst those whom he accused of being guilty of the attack on Keats which had appeared in its pages.

"Who kill'd John Keats?"  
 "I," said the Quarterly,  
 So savage and Tartarly;  
 "'Twas one of my feats."

"Who shot the arrow?"  
 "The poet-priest Milman  
 (So ready to kill man),  
 Or Southey or Barrow."

Possessed as he was of such varied, and if one may say so, such popular gifts, and backed by no little influence, it might have seemed that Milman would not long remain a mere parish priest. Unfortunately by a bold, but from the standpoint of promotion, an unwise, adventure into the paths of theological learning, he aroused such criticism that it was not until 1835, when Sir Robert Peel offered him the rectory of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to which there had just been attached a prebendal stall in the Abbey, that his unusual powers, both as a writer and as a preacher, received any ecclesiastical recognition. The occasion of his awaking the suspicions of the godly was quite a simple one. He was asked to contribute a volume on "The History of the Jews" to Murray's *Family Library*, and determined to write it as he would have written the history of any other people. In particular he endeavoured to depict the characters of the Old Testament as living human beings, instead of the lay figures to which generations of pious readers had become accustomed. The attempt was praiseworthy, but sadly premature. The religious world in 1830 was not prepared to welcome the description of Abraham as a "sheikh"—to give one instance of Milman's "modernism"—and the daring author was denounced as a dangerous innovator. Henceforth, for years, the path of promotion was closed to him.

The *History of Christianity*, to which reference was made above, was intended by both author and publisher to be a vindication of the substantial orthodoxy of the former. It was accordingly arranged that it should make its appearance in the same series as its notorious predecessor had done. Before, however, the work was ready the *Family Library* had ceased to exist, and it was as an independent publication that it finally came out in 1840. The full title of the volume was the *History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire*, and it deserves attention, not so much for its own sake, but as the predecessor of the much more ambitious *History of Latin Christianity*. This great work, however, did not see the light until many years later; three volumes being published in 1854 and the same number in the following year. By this time Milman was Dean of St. Paul's.<sup>1</sup>

Though Milman may not have shared the high ambition of Macaulay, who desired for his *History* that it might "for a few days supersede the last fashionable novel on the tables of the young ladies," yet his reputation as an author and the vastness and importance of his subject no doubt justified him in the anticipation that his work would receive notice favourable enough to recompense him for his long and tedious labours. His most ardent expectations must have been realized, for from its first issue until almost our own day the *History of Latin Christianity* has earned,

<sup>1</sup> When in 1911 the Deanery was offered to its present occupant, Mr. Asquith made a graceful reference to its high literary traditions and to the need for reviving them. He mentioned in this connection the names of Milman, Mansel and Church: see Inge, *Assessments and Anticipations*, p. 33.

both as literature and as history, the highest commendation. Dean Stanley declared it to be "a complete epic and philosophy of medieval Christianity"; J. A. Froude went so far as to see in it "the finest historical work in the English language"; whilst a greater historian than either of them, Bishop Stubbs, declared that the treatment of German Church history was "lucid, eloquent, touching." When in 1900 Milman's son, as an act of filial piety, compiled the Memoir of his father upon which I have largely drawn, he affirmed that the *History of Latin Christianity* had "taken rank as one of the standard works of English literature," and as recently as 1913 Mr. G. P. Gooch in his learned volume, *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*, could still regard it as one of "the outstanding achievements of the early Victorian era" and as relieving England "from Newman's reproach that she possessed no ecclesiastical historian but Gibbon."

Milman had prepared himself for his gigantic task, for such it was without any question, by bringing out an edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in which he incorporated many additional notes, some original, some borrowed from Guizot. This edition held its place until Bury's magnificent achievement rendered all other editions obsolete. Milman regarded his own history as in part a supplement to Gibbon, in part a correction of him. The conjunction of these two great historians at once calls to mind the different fate which has befallen their writings. Gibbon is still read; but Milman's fame, like "a lingering star with lessening ray," seems in danger of almost complete oblivion. No longer does the proud but bashful schoolboy receive his just reward in terms of Milman, nor stagger back to his place borne down by the numerous volumes in their seemly leather binding. The volumes of Milman now find themselves, in dull and faded cloth, slumbering on the shelves of the second-hand bookshop, where their serried ranks afford a sad but significant proof of the passing of yet another great reputation.

Macaulay and Froude appear quite frequently in cheap reprints; Milman, save for the inclusion of *The History of the Jews in Everyman's Library*, seems never to have received even this tribute. Still more galling to those who value his work is the fact that a hasty perusal of the Bibliographies appended to the several volumes of the *Cambridge Medieval History* failed to discover even a mention of his name. This sudden and almost complete loss of reputation is surely a thing to be regretted, even if one cannot subscribe to some of the exaggerated opinions, for as such they are now revealed, quoted above. For as literature alone Milman deserves to survive.

In claiming this merit for Milman I do not, of course, wish it to be inferred that I regard him as standing absolutely in the first rank among writers of history. The unevenness of his style makes such a claim impossible of maintenance. But among its constituents are undeniable brilliance and immense vigour, a species of majestic velocity which saves it from ever becoming either pompous or pedestrian. Mingled, however, with passages remark-

able for power and refinement are others which can only be described as crude and unpolished. Much of the merit of his prose style Milman undoubtedly owed to his vivid use of the poet's imagination, which from time to time flames out in noble and exalted rhetoric. It was this feature of Milman's style which attracted Archbishop Whately and disposed him to include a long extract from Milman's Bampton Lectures in the *Elements of Rhetoric*. This passage (vi, p. 267) describes the supposed effect upon the mind of a simple Christian missionary of his first encounter with one of the magnificent cities of Syria or Greece.

Regarded as a whole the *History of Latin Christianity* deserves praise as a spirited account of the growth and decline of the most important of medieval institutions, the Papacy. If it is a little uncertain in the opening stages and shows signs towards the end of the author's weakening grasp, the middle parts are strong and vigorous, and effectively recall to life the happenings of departed days, both in their splendour and in their gloom. They show a complete mastery of what the Professor of Modern History at Cambridge has well termed "the principal craft of the historian—the art of narrative."<sup>1</sup>

Lecky declared his admiration for Milman by placing him in the very select class of historians who have combined in a large measure the three great requisites of knowledge, soundness of judgment, and inexorable love of truth. This is just allocation, for Milman undoubtedly possessed all three. Knowledge was certainly his, and in his capacious mind he stored up facts with a wide comprehensiveness such as has not often been exceeded even by historians of a higher reputation. This knowledge he acquired by a first-hand study of the original authorities, for Milman was no mere compiler, content to make use of the researches of others, and in spite of his finding medieval Greek and Latin very little to his liking—not every century can produce writers such as John of Salisbury—his close following of the authorities was as sedulous as that of any disciple of Ranke. That the facts as he saw them were not always such as they appear to be to later workers in the same field cannot be denied; to admit this, however, is not unduly to blame Milman, for no man can be expected to surmount the necessary limitations of his times. Since the *History of Latin Christianity* was written the number of authorities at the disposal of the student has increased enormously, as also their accessibility. Judged by any reasonable standard Milman's knowledge was adequate to his task, and no one but a Madame du Deffand could call him superficial, though doubtless that lady, since she abandoned her reading of Gibbon for this fault, would not have acquitted him of the charge.

So too in regard to soundness of judgment and respect for truth. These he held in a close union which was never threatened by fear of divorce. His passion for truth was indeed such that no consideration would have drawn him into abandoning its pure

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *Chio, a Muse*, p. 14 in the original edition.



and austere language in order to adopt the easy dialect of compromise. It was no mean achievement, in an age when the Papacy was beginning afresh to be feared—Cardinal Wiseman's famous Pastoral Letter *Ex Porta Flaminia* had been published in October, 1850—to write so fairly and so fearlessly of the Roman Church. Milman here showed that he was capable of reaching the lofty standard which Sainte Beuve postulated in his ideal critic; he seldom failed to put himself in the place of those of whom he was writing and as the occasion required could be *tantôt pour Argos tantôt pour Iliou*.

Together with a penetrating judgment Milman possessed, what is by no means its universal accompaniment, the power of formulating his conclusions in a manner at once succinct and impressive. Considerations of space have not permitted me to quote examples of Milman's style, but the following short extract, dealing with the attitude to be adopted by the historian towards the superstitions of the age which he is studying, seems to me so happily to exhibit these qualities in conjunction, as to warrant its inclusion. "History, to be true," he writes, "must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and, though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philosophy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal, motive of human life" (*Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 82).

The fundamental cause of Milman's comparative failure to produce historical work which would stand the test of time, as that of Gibbon has done, is undoubtedly to be sought for in the fact that he tried to cover too much ground. If we include the *History of the Jews*, as we certainly should, among his historical works, we find that the fortunes of the People of God are traced out from the dawn of civilization almost to the Reformation. No man, not even a German professor, could hope to master all the authorities for so vast a period or devote to them that profound research which the scientific study of history now demands. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the *History of Latin Christianity*, to which, as the crown of his work, I shall confine my criticisms, a number of actual errors of fact, as well as instances of defective judgment, so far that is as judgment is concerned with the relative importance of particular movements or events.

The errors of fact are the mistakes to which a scholar is prone who, working indeed on original authorities, yet from weariness or hurry fails to read them with sufficient care. One interesting example of such a failure is the statement (vol. iii, p. 360 in the original edition) that Abelard, at a certain epoch in his career, was recalled to his native Brittany owing to "a domestic affliction, the death of his beloved mother." The actual cause, however, was not her death, but the expressed wish to say farewell to him before she followed her husband's example and entered the religious life. This mistake was pointed out by reviewers, and in later editions (e.g. the third, to which my own references are made)

Milman altered the phrase into the rather lame statement: "a domestic cause, the invitation of his beloved mother" (vol. iv, p. 343). In a similar manner the speech denouncing the papal legates to the Albigenses (vol. vi, p. 13) is attributed to St. Dominic, whereas a reference to the original authority—Jordanus, *Vita S. Dominici*, c. i, n. 16—shows that it was actually delivered by the saint's companion, Diego de Azeveda, Bishop of Osma.<sup>1</sup> Again the account of St. Dunstan (vol. iv, pp. 25 ff.) contains a number of misstatements. Writing as he did before Bishop Stubbs had exposed the unsatisfactory nature of the authorities for Dunstan's life, Milman could be pardoned for a too trustworthy acceptance of them, since he was not a specialist in the period; but some of his errors are due, not to the too close following of the authorities, but to variation from them.

Some of the Dean's mistakes are surprising, and can only be explained as due to that possibility of error which dogs even the most careful scholar, a kind of "blind spot" in the brain. Freeman, who regarded himself, in spite of the palisade at "Senlac," as the High Priest of the Temple of Accuracy, once even accused him of deriving Rheims from St. Remigius. As Milman, in his school-days, if not later, must have read the Second Book of Cæsar's *Galic War*, and as editor of Gibbon must have known of Julian's camp at Rheims long before the birth of the Saint,<sup>2</sup> the mistake is truly a strange one. Yet the accusation appears in a letter to Dean Stephens who has printed it in his biography of Freeman.<sup>3</sup>

The other class of shortcoming is the failure to recognize the outstanding importance of certain movements and events. As an instance of this I would cite the inadequate treatment of the heresies of a Manichean type in vol. iii, pp. 442 f. Milman, in my judgment, shows a lack of sympathy with the Albigenses and too ready a tendency to accept the testimony of their opponents: "they were," he says, "if their accusers speak true, profligates rather than sectaries." Quite so. But did their accusers speak true? It must be remembered that for their beliefs and practices little other account has been allowed to survive than that which comes from hostile or interested witnesses. The Albigenses were certainly very much more or very much less than mere profligates, even according to their enemies. The account of Abelard, to which reference was made above, besides being not entirely trustworthy in some of its details, is as a whole not entirely worthy of its fascinating subject. One might have imagined that Milman's own liberal views would have disposed him to be sympathetic with one who was struggling to purify, so he claimed, the prevailing and traditional faith. Such, however, is not the case. Was it,

<sup>1</sup> I have already pointed out this error in the second edition of my *Hulsean Lectures, Erasmus the Reformer*, p. 124, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii, p. 276 in Bury's edition.

<sup>3</sup> See *Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman*, by W. R. W. Stephens, vol. ii, p. 315.

one wonders, because all unconsciously he was trying to show, as in the earlier *History of Christianity*, that he was himself much more orthodox than many had supposed him to be ?

But the most patent failure to grasp the significance of an event is displayed by the almost complete neglect of the great Council gathered in Rome by Innocent III in 1215, and known to history as the Fourth Lateran. This council, to quote what I have written elsewhere, "as it was the most largely attended so it was the most important of all the Councils of the Middle Ages : in fact it would be no exaggeration to say that it was the most important assembly of the Roman Communion before the Counter-Reformation."<sup>1</sup> Yet Milman considered that a bare paragraph was all that was called for ; though he was quite willing to enter into a good deal of "secret history"—of very doubtful value—concerning the fortunes of Raymond of Toulouse who attended it (vol. v, pp. 342 ff.).

These are deficiencies of method. In addition to them there is evidence of a quite serious deficiency in sympathy, a deficiency indeed which Milman shared with all the historians of that epoch—a lack of real depth of thought. As a body they were strong in narrative and descriptive powers ; but they seemed content to skim the surface of history rather than plunge into its depths. Outward events and spectacles aroused their keenest interest ; the hidden motives which inspired them, the unseen currents by which they were controlled, especially if they were of a philosophic nature, leave them cold. Dean Church in his delightful essay on Milman,<sup>2</sup> whilst attributing to him the high gifts of "imagination and insight, fearless courage, the strongest feeling about right and wrong, with the largest equity," yet had to confess that he failed to exhibit "a due appreciation of the reality and depth of those eternal problems of religious thought and feeling which have made theology." It is interesting to notice that even Creighton has had the same accusation—that of caring for the external rather than for the inward, theological side of the Church's history—brought against him. One might have thought that in the case of Dean and Bishop alike, the necessity of preaching Sunday by Sunday, during many years of their lives, to an ordinary congregation, would in some measure have supplemented what was originally a temperamental defect. But the accusation is probably just as applied to them both, and is perhaps covered by the more comprehensive charge which Newman once brought against the whole Anglo-Saxon race ; "It is not easy," he declared pathetically, "to wind up an Englishman to a dogmatic level."

The above reasons, however, are not in themselves sufficient to account for the neglect of Milman in recent years. Such neglect is largely due to a general attitude of mind on the part of those who have been the leaders of historical studies in this country for

<sup>1</sup> *Innocent III* in "Great Medieval Churchmen Series," p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> This Essay has been reprinted in *Occasional Papers*, vol. i, pp. 155 ff. (Eversley Edition).

the last few generations. Their efforts have implanted in their disciples a deep distrust of any writer of history who shows literary qualities.

An attempt to consider the worth of Milman as a historian thus raises the whole question of the end of historical study. Since the days of Freeman, who is commonly supposed to have held that a manuscript was only valuable when it had been printed, there has been a striking change, mainly under German influences, of the attitude of scholars in this matter, and historical research unless it results in the discovery and publication of fresh material tends to be regarded as having missed its mark. An insistence of the importance of discovering fresh material is, of course, very praiseworthy, but too strict an insistence upon it may lead to stagnation, to the production of numberless elaborate and carefully documented essays which no one, except a few specialists, will read or care to read.

Among the most useful, and certainly among the most interesting, of the works of the historian are studies on a considerable scale by a single hand. But the vast accumulation of authorities, even of printed authorities alone, together with the mass of monographs, now makes such works physically impossible within an average life-time. No man could cover more than a small period as the latest scientific scholar would have it done. Future historians will more and more have to imitate the methods of the laboratory and entrust much of the detail of their work to pupils and assistants. Certainly if they hope to cover more than a limited field, they will have to make a fuller and freer use of the results of other workers. It is probable that two distinct types of historical student will eventually emerge and definitely be recognized—the type which gives itself up to research pure and simple, and the type which correlates and presents the results of the labour of others. It is hardly necessary to insist that scholars of the latter type must themselves have served an apprenticeship as “hewers of wood and drawers of water.”

When all is said and done it must be recognized that very different qualities are called for in, say, the editor of a manuscript and the author of a continuous history covering a long period. The number of scholars who possess both sets of qualities is bound to be small. In this connection one is reminded of Macaulay's opinion that Niebuhr would have been “the first writer of his time if his talent for communicating truths had borne any proportion to his talent for investigating them.” We shall need specialists, therefore, not only in periods and subjects, but in methods and functions as well. When Lord Acton made his famous attack on Creighton's historical standpoint and conception of the task of the historian,<sup>1</sup> he warned him, in words which had

<sup>1</sup> The attack was made in a review of vols. iii. and iv. of Creighton's *History of the Papacy* in the pages of the *English Historical Review* of which Creighton was the editor! The latter was at first considerably upset by this unexpected difference, but his sense of humour came to his rescue and he

almost a sinister ring,<sup>1</sup> that "Studious men who (had) grown grey with the dust of papal archives (were) on the track behind him." But Lord Acton failed to realize that these pallid scholars often become content with the mere accumulation of material, and are apt to descend to the grave leaving behind them nothing beyond a reputation for vast learning and a few thin volumes of collected essays and reviews.

But there is some excuse for them. Ruskin once affirmed that nature is "always mysterious, but always abundant." A similar combination of abundance and mystery is only too familiar to the historian, for the multiplication of material, instead of simplifying his task, seems often to render it more complicated. The mystery is deepened and not dispelled. At the same time the collection of material must go on, for in fresh material adequately apprehended, lies the only hope of a more complete understanding, not only of events but of the motives which prompted them. How often does the historian find himself baffled in the search for the motives which may have inspired a particular course of action by the inability to discover, with any exactness, what actually occurred? But to the end many problems will remain without solution, for truth has obscurities which are irremediable, and increased knowledge of the past does not inevitably carry with it a clearer view of events.

The effect of the discovery of fresh material is often, by a natural sequence, the promulgation of fresh theories; but the pioneer must never lose sight of the possibility of his materials being of more value than his theories. It is not always the new theories which are of value in themselves, but the collection and arrangement of the facts which support them. The theory may be disproved, but the facts, if they have been faithfully and accurately presented, have permanent value. This is what the scientist means when he admits that although Newton's explanation of the Law of Gravitation may no longer be accepted, his work has not lost its "descriptive" value. This knowledge should be a consolation and an encouragement to the faithful student both in natural science and in history.

The parallel which I have thus drawn between the scientific and the historical student is in accordance with the prevailing tone among those who are leaders in historical studies. I am a little inclined to suspect, however, that among their followers there is, combined with much ardour, a failure to recognize the limitations of the scientific method as a model for the historian. For one thing the scientist can obviously be no complete guide since he is little, if at all, concerned with the inner significance of phenomena; to the historian as to the philosopher this is their chief interest. Furthermore, the amount of certainty which can be obtained by the methods of the scientist is greatly exaggerated by those who

suggested, in a letter to Mr. R. L. Poole, that he ought to add a note to the review to the effect that "The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in the above article."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Trevelyan has assured us that Acton dearly liked "to make your flesh creep" (*Chio*, p. 51). Have we here an instance of it?

have no first-hand acquaintance with them. A distinguished contemporary physicist has admitted that even in the most exact of the sciences we are compelled to face the surprising fact that "we have no infallible criterion of truth and no infallibly true theories."<sup>1</sup> After all it is in mathematics alone that we can get complete certitude, and there only because we are dealing with abstractions. The more concrete things become, the more they become incapable of certainty, because time and change at once enter in. In mathematics the ground and the consequent are simultaneous and no succession of cause and effect need be considered.

Certainty is the ideal end of the historian, but generally he has to be content with probability. There is a distinct danger that the scientific historian may, in his quest for absolute certainty, demand more than evidence can possibly afford him; he may arrive at the stage which aroused Anatole France's playful jibe and be incapable of accepting anything as true unless it took place in a laboratory. The historian, no doubt, would be glad to have before him the sworn statements of all the principal actors in an event which he is considering; but even if he had such evidence, he would still find much room for the exercise of his imagination.

Since problems in history are not to be solved merely by evidence, it is necessary for the historian to possess, in addition to the ability to collect and weigh it, a trained and disciplined imagination. If he have it not, no amount of labour or research will compensate him for the deficiency. Imagination properly used is

" a spell  
To summon fancies out of Time's dark cell,"

but the need for training and discipline is obvious though sometimes ignored. The unrestrained imagination is apt to wander too far from the evidence, and indeed sometimes to become a substitute for facts which are actually ascertainable. One calls to mind in this connection the famous flight of fancy in Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *St. Francis of Assisi* in which he describes the last homecoming of the saint to the city of his birth. "His heart rejoiced," writes Mr. Chesterton, "when they saw afar off on the Assisian hill the solemn pillars of the Portiuncula" (p. 167). Upon this collection of astounding misstatements one cannot do better than quote Dr. Walter Seton's comment: "It may be observed that the Portiuncula is not on a hill, that it was then surrounded by a forest, and that it has no solemn pillars which could be seen afar off, especially by a man who was nearly blind!"<sup>2</sup>

But imagination is of service to the historian, not only for the reconstruction of the sequence of outward events, but also as an aid to the perception of the thoughts and motives of those who

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Wood, *In Pursuit of Truth*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> In *St. Francis of Assisi: Commemoration Essays*, p. 223. Dare one suggest that Mr. Chesterton has confused the Portiuncula with the Church of St. Francis which now crowns the hill of Assisi!

took part in them. It is here that the mere worker in archives is often deficient. He is prone to lose touch with the world of men around him ; and it is in this world, after all, and not in libraries, that things actually happen. The scientific historian may garner an immense harvest of facts ; but he is in danger of having only a vague conception of the mysterious workings of the human mind. In this connection I believe that the new psychology, used with becoming caution, may furnish the historical student with valuable clues to the motives of his actors.<sup>1</sup>

During the last few paragraphs we have been gradually approaching the great question, so frequently and so fiercely debated, as to whether history is a department of letters or of science. The debate is really futile, for it must be realized at length that history belongs exclusively neither to science nor to literature,<sup>2</sup> and that from each of them the historian must be prepared to learn his lesson. In the collection of his material he must be a scientist ; but in arranging and presenting it to his readers he must be, so far as in him lies, a literary artist. Profundity of research must be crowned by lucidity and precision of style.

The older historians by their descriptive writings—Thackeray once said that Macaulay would travel a hundred miles to make a single line—produced books which were worth reading for their own sakes, simply as literature. In their desire to demonstrate beyond all doubting that history is a science some recent historians seem to think it necessary to banish from their pages all charm or skill which would in the least make men suspect that it was a branch of letters.

In consequence of this there has arisen a school of writers of history and biography who are to be distinguished from the older writers of historical fiction, more by the claims which by inference they put forward and the form in which their works appear, than by any greater regard for the facts as they are known to scholars. Their method would appear to be to choose, on artistic or commercial grounds, some subject or character ; to arrive at a conception of it which appeals to them ; and then to select and arrange their material according to its suitability to their scheme.<sup>3</sup> Such a treatment undoubtedly leads to clear and persuasive writing, and the historian, faced by conflicting pieces of evidence which seem to make a clear presentation, nay even a consistent theory, out of the question, may well envy them the easy grace with which, unencumbered by any excessive burden of knowledge, they lightly

<sup>1</sup> I may perhaps be allowed to refer to my own attempt to apply such theories to the mysterious case of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg in my recent volume on *Innocent III*, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Bryce once remarked that one might just as well argue whether the sea was blue or green, since it is sometimes one, sometimes the other.

<sup>3</sup> Wilfred Ward wrote some very wise words on this temptation in his *Last Lectures*, p. 155. "The artist's gift may tempt the biographer to form a fancy picture which is easier to paint and more effective than the truth because it ignores some of the perplexing and apparently contradictory evidence in the documents."

skip over too obtrusive facts. But a warning is necessary, a warning which is the more urgent in view of the wide circulation which such productions, thanks to skilful "puffing," not infrequently obtain. The writer who follows the primrose path of his own devising may indeed be a more seductive guide than one who is laboriously endeavouring to make his way across "the rugged acres of history"—to use a phrase coined by Yorke Powell. It is the latter, however, who alone has seen the real end of the journey, the goal of the genuine searcher after truth.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt to bolster up a reputation which is not worthy of survival is a vain task, since any success which may attend it will inevitably be as transitory and as delusive as the apparent renewal of life which night, by its enfolding darkness, seems to bring to dying embers. But I do not believe that such a result will follow the attempt to bring Milman into renewed prominence; for in Milman we have a historian who combined, in no small degree, the virtues of both the scientific and the literary historian. He had an adequate conception of his responsibilities and duties as a scholar and writer upon a great theme; his style is attractive; and he was at pains to discover his facts. In spite of certain defects, to which attention was drawn above, his work deserves a higher consideration than it has received of late. Some of its qualities seem to entitle it to a lofty position among historical writings; it is as a whole, fair and tolerant to all views; there is nothing else, on a similar scale, which covers the same large field; while apart altogether from its historical merits, it has literary merits which ought to be sufficient to save it from oblivion. For the historical student a new period of life would demand a new edition, annotated as Bury annotated Gibbon. But such an edition should not be beyond the powers and the patience of some of our younger scholars, and to carry it out adequately would be to lay the foundations of an almost unrivalled knowledge of medieval history.

<sup>1</sup> Parts of the above paragraphs are based on pp. vii. f. of my volume *Innocent III*, to which reference has already been made.

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Mr. G. Herbert Capron has written a short essay *Before Times Eternal*, which is described as an "Attempt to explore something of the Nature and Eternal thought of God as the Background against which alone can be seen, in its true proportion and value, the foreground of His earthly Manifestation of Himself in the Person and Redemptive work of Jesus Christ." He shows some of the mistakes which are to be avoided if we are to reach a true conception of God. We must attempt the seemingly impossible and try to think of God in terms of God, and not merely in terms of Man. His setting forth of the revelation of Christ in the light of the unfathomable depths of God's Being provides stimulating thoughts which the earnest student will be glad to follow out.



## THE MEANING OF BAPTISM AND ITS RELATION TO INFANTS.

BY THE REV. G. W. NEATBY, Vicar of St. John's,  
Highbury Vale.

*A paper read at Dean Wace House, E.C., on November 2, 1931, in connection with The Young Churchmen's Movement.*

IT is perhaps strange, at first sight, that the subject of Christian Baptism should often arouse sentiments remote from Christian charity. This can only, I think, be accounted for by the fact that both parties in the controversy feel that they are witnesses for vital truth. The Antipædobaptist feels that he is witnessing for the vital necessity of individual, personal faith; the Pædobaptist that he is called to maintain the social and corporate character of Christianity. If we cannot come to an agreement, can we not at least respect one another's convictions? Can the Antipædobaptist not refrain from a supercilious affectation of superiority, expressed in such epithets as "infant sprinkling"; and cannot the Pædobaptist, less guilty in this respect, so far as my experience goes, seek a deeper realization of the scripturalness of his own position? I propose to divide my remarks into three divisions, The Meaning of the Rite, The Subjects of the Rite, and the Language of the formularies of the Church of England.

### I. THE MEANING OF THE RITE.

Many of you will probably have noticed that in most disputes as to Baptism, the question most hotly argued is that of the proper subjects; and possibly of the mode of Baptism. I have, however, long been convinced that this is to invert the correct order. The first and most important question is the significance of the Rite. I have a vivid recollection of a visit paid me by a good "Open Brother," while I was conducting a Mission at Liverpool, during the Great War. He seemed very anxious to embroil me in a discussion on the subject of Baptism, with a view to showing me the falsity of my position. I suggested that we might profitably begin with the question, What is the *meaning* of Baptism? leaving to a later stage the question of the proper subjects of the Rite. To my simple question, What, in your view, is the meaning of the Rite of Baptism? he immediately replied, "It is a public confession of my faith in Christ." I asked him what Scripture he was prepared to adduce in support of his statement, and after some hesitation he replied that he could not at that moment think of one. Now I am bold to say, following, I think, Dr. Dale of Birmingham, that Scripture nowhere presents either Baptism or the Lord's Supper as "Confessions" of anything. I do not, of course, mean that there is no element of confession involved, but that the main purpose of the Rite, in either case, is not confession.

The first thing to notice, as Dr. Griffith Thomas has pointed out, is that Baptism is something done to me, not something that I do: and something done with a view to the *Future*. He says:<sup>1</sup>

1. In general, the idea is purification, or washing, a symbolical or ceremonial purification.

2. Then each of these has a specific purpose in the washing, it is "with a view to" something (*eis*). The Jewish Baptism was with a view to Temple membership and worship: the Baptism of St. John was with a view to repentance and the coming of the Messiah; Christian Baptism was with a view to relationship with God in Christ.

3. A further characteristic is that of separation or designation for a specific purpose. Thus, the Jews used washing for the purpose of hallowing or consecrating their priests and Levites (Exod. xxix. 1, 4; Num. viii. 14), and so we read of "the water of separation" (Num. xix. 9). In the same way, the Israelites are said to have been baptized, that is separated, designated, separated for Moses (1 Cor. x. 2).

4. Thus, blending the word "Baptism," "Washing," and the preposition, *eis*, "with a view to," we arrive at the thought of "washing with a purpose." The general idea is purification, the specific idea is designation.

Bearing in mind this thought of Baptism being "with a view to," let us take, as an example, the first (historically) mention of Baptism in the New Testament. In St. Luke iii. we have an account of St. John the Baptist's dealing with those who came to him. Says one writer, a "Plymouth Brother":<sup>2</sup>

"If we are to understand Baptism as set forth in Luke iii., we must carefully note John's attitude and also his words. He addresses those who came to him as a 'generation of vipers.' Yet he does not on this account refuse to baptize them, but he is very careful to tell them the responsibility that attaches to baptism and that nothing less than fruits meet for repentance will suffice. This produced certain questions from three different classes—the people, the publicans, and the soldiers. And both the questions and the answers bear upon practical conduct. John answered their questions and then proceeded to baptize them. Two statements seem to indicate that he baptized them all: He says, after having baptized them, 'I indeed baptize you with water,' and it is recorded 'when *all* the people were baptized.'

"From these plain facts do we not learn: (1) That the baptism signified a renunciation of their old life and a determination to live an amended one. (2) It was certainly not because they had been living an exemplary life, for John addresses them as a 'generation of vipers.' Nor are we told that they were sent away to live an amended life and then come and be baptized. The narrative implies that they were baptized there and then, and verse 21 supports this view, for they were all baptized *before Christ*. Consequently, there could not have been any interval worth speaking about, if any at all."

Once more, in the second chapter of the Acts, verse 38, we have the words of St. Peter to those who, pricked in their hearts, cried out, "Men, brethren, what shall we do?" "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, with a view to the remission of sins." And in Acts xxii. 16 are recorded the words of Ananias to the convicted Saul of Tarsus, "And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on His name" (R.V.). Now, whatever these words may or may not mean, they connect Baptism with something future. The

<sup>1</sup> *The Principles of Theology*, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> *Household Baptism*, by Russell Elliott.

three passages together suffice to show that Baptism marks the close of one state of things and the entrance upon another. It may be well, perhaps, before leaving this part of my subject, to remind you that Baptism is clearly connected here and elsewhere in Scripture, with the *Remission of Sins*. St. Peter says, "Repent and be baptized . . . for (or with a view to) the remission of sins." If possible, the language of Acts xxii. 16 is stronger still. Indeed, so strong is it, that a short time ago, an Evangelical and "Fundamentalist" Churchman told me that he wished it had never been written. Such is the unfortunate tendency, even in "Fundamentalists," to try and make Scripture conform to our notions, rather than to mould our thoughts by Scripture. "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins"; not, be it noted, as a confession that your sins have already been washed away! The main difficulty for us Evangelicals, in such passages, is that we have it fixed in our minds that individual dealing with God, and the spiritual cleansing which is between God and the soul, is the only thing of any moment. We brush aside, all too often, the fact that, in Scripture, there is always in view, a visible Church, or sphere of administration which, though never fully corresponding to the spiritual ideal, is never divorced from it. At the risk of shocking some of you, I would say that the High Churchman has been God's witness, often unconverted and carnal, it may be, but still a witness to Sacramental and Church truth, as certainly as that the Evangelical has been God's witness to Gospel truth.

The significance of the words, both of St. Peter and Ananias, is sufficiently clear. It is quite plain that Baptism, in both cases, was a shaking off of the old associations and the entrance into a new sphere altogether. Nothing more and nothing less than this, was the reason for the primitive habit of speaking of Baptism as "Regeneration." By it, outwardly and visibly, the candidate stepped out of the old conditions into new ones altogether. He was henceforth pledged to walk in newness of life.

Again, Baptism is connected with the Death of Christ and our union with Him in it. In Romans vi. the Apostle appeals to it, not to faith or conversion, as an absolute barrier to any continuance in sin.

"Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into (or unto, with a view to) His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism unto death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

Notice carefully what he does *not* say. Our Antipædobaptist friends sometimes say, "You have died with Christ by believing in Him; and now you must be buried with Him in baptism." But this, let it be stated emphatically, is *not* what St. Paul says! He says that we were buried with Him by baptism *unto death*, not because we were already dead with Him. Baptism, as one has truly said, is "a Gospel picture." It represents that moment when we

touch Christ, so to speak, in His life-giving Death. Cf. 2 Kings xiii. 21 : " And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men ; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha : and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet." Once more, in Galatians iii. 27, we read : " As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." It is clear, surely, that Baptism effects something ; and does not merely witness to something already effected. To " put on Christ " is something outward and visible. It is nothing less than the " Sacramentum " or oath of allegiance.

## II. THE SUBJECTS OF THE RITE.

We now come, in this necessarily meagre and hasty survey of our subject, to the question of those who should be the subjects of the rite. As to the obligation resting on adult converts, there is no controversy, so it need not detain us. The question before us is Infant Baptism. Our Antipædobaptist friends say, " Can you give us one unmistakable text explicitly asserting the duty of baptizing infants ? " To this I reply, quite cheerfully, " No, I cannot." But this by no means settles the subject. The argument from silence is notoriously a two-edged weapon. A thing may be passed over in silence because unknown, or because well known. The question I should be disposed to ask is, " Is the principle expressed in Infant Baptism a Scriptural principle ? " In other words, Are the children regarded in Scripture as being, for the purpose of religious rites, one with the head of the house ? Put the question in this way and the answer is not doubtful. Noah and his family, Abraham and his son, the Philippian jailer and his household, are all instances of what we may call the federal principle. But for the sake of clearness, I will adduce certain reasons, *seriatim*, for my faith as to the right of Christian households as such, to Baptism.

I. *The Historical Argument.* Some time ago, a pamphlet was lent to me by a friend in which the historical argument was stated with great cogency. The pamphlet is, unfortunately, out of print. The opening sentence was, as nearly as I can remember, this : " If Infant Baptism be, as our Baptist friends assert, an innovation upon the practice of the Apostles, how is it that no record exists of such an innovation, and still more, of the uproar which such innovation would have caused ? " Of course, if the practice were familiar to the Apostles, all is plain and easy. We know, from the writings of Tertullian, about a century from the Apostles, that Baptism was the prevailing custom. Justin Martyr speaks about A.D. 150, forty-eight years after the death of St. John, of persons sixty and seventy years old, who had been " made disciples to Christ in their infancy." The only form of " making disciples " is Baptism. I confess that it is to me impossible to imagine so great an innovation unrecorded in history.

2. *What the late Dr. Griffith Thomas calls "the exact relation of unconscious childhood to the Atonement of Christ."* <sup>1</sup>

Dr. Thomas says :

"Whether we think of children dying or living, the fact is the same ; what is the spiritual position of these infants to our Lord ? Surely the truth is that all children are included in the great atoning sacrifice, and belong to Jesus Christ until they deliberately refuse Him. This is the great spiritual fact at the root of the practice of Infant Baptism. It is our testimony to the belief that childhood belongs to Christ and has its share in the great redemption. We baptize a child not in order to make it Christ's, but because it already belongs to Him by the purchase of His Sacrifice on Calvary. It would surely be strange if our Lord had no place for unconscious childhood in His plan of mercy and love for the race, for in view of the fact that so many die in infancy, perhaps at least half the human race, it is surely impossible to think that they can be ignored entirely, and attention concentrated not on children but adults, with, it may be, experience of sin and wandering before receiving His love and grace."

In close connection with this thought is the attitude towards babies adopted by the Blessed Lord Himself. There were, apparently, those who thought that Divine blessing could only reach adult persons. Disciples were even then rebuking those who brought their babies to the Saviour.

The late Mr. Spurgeon once preached a sermon entitled, "Children brought to Christ, not to the font." But the implied antithesis is false. It would be as pertinent and equally question-begging, to say, "Grown men and women brought to Christ, not to the baptism." The fact is that we bring our children to Christ in the very act of bringing them to the font, there to give them the outward sign and seal of blessing. If babies can receive blessing from Christ, they must surely be fit recipients of that blessing's outward seal and pledge. As the late Bishop Chadwick so well says : <sup>2</sup>

"Since children receive the kingdom, and are a pattern for us in doing so, it is clear that they do not possess the kingdom as a natural right, but as a gift. But since they do receive it, they must surely be capable of receiving also that sacrament which is the sign and seal of it. It is a startling position which denies admission into the visible Church to those of whom is the kingdom of God. It is a position taken up only because many, who would shrink from such avowal, half-unconsciously believe that God becomes gracious to us only when His grace is attracted by skilful movement on our part, by conscious and well-instructed efforts, by penitence, faith and orthodoxy. But whatever soul is capable of any taint of sin must be capable of compensating influences of the Spirit, by Whom Jeremiah was sanctified, and the Baptist was filled, even before their birth into this world (Jer. i. 5 ; Luke i. 15)."

3. *The Analogy of Circumcision.* That there is an analogy is certain, from Col. ii. 11, 12 (R.V.):

"In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ ; having been buried with Him in baptism."

<sup>1</sup> *The Principles of Theology*, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositors Bible*, St. Mark, p. 273.

And again, in Rom. iv. circumcision is the seal of the righteousness of faith given to Abraham and to his infant son. Whether or not, the analogy of circumcision be enough from which to deduce Infant Baptism, it is at least sufficient for ever to discredit the argument that the unconsciousness of a child is a necessary bar to its receiving a sacramental rite. But as a matter of fact, circumcision involves the whole principle of what we may call the "federal" relations of children to the head of the house. And the "Baptist" position involves the supposition that Christianity stands in complete isolation from all that has gone before! It would be generally admitted that in the Old Testament the household bore a federal relation to its head, in matters of religious observance. Where, in the New Testament, can it be shown that this principle, pervading as it does all God's dealing with His saints of old, is abrogated in Christianity? It is not, I think, too much to say, that most of the objections levelled against Infant baptism, are equally valid against Infant circumcision.

4. *The Baptism of Households.* It is usually objected, by our "Baptist" friends, that we cannot prove that there were infants in the households mentioned in the New Testament. I am reminded of what an eminent Baptist Minister said to a friend of mine in connection with this point. He said: "I not only think it possible, but highly probable, that there were children; but it is not absolutely certain, so I do not baptize infants." Now, while I should, of course, agree as to the high degree of probability, I should not rest my case upon it. My contention is, that Household Baptism has a perfectly definite meaning, apart from any question whether there were children in the particular households mentioned in New Testament history. It is the assertion of the solidarity of the Christian household as such. It is the witness to the "federal," or corporate aspect of Christianity. And this "federal" principle is enunciated by St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. There, the children with the responsible head of the family were sheltered by the blood in the land of Egypt; and passed through the Red Sea into liberty. And this federal principle is seen also, in the fact that the children are addressed in the Epistles as forming part of the Church of God.

5. *The Great Baptismal Commission* (St. Matt. xxviii. 18). Literally, "Disciple the nations, baptizing them, etc." Speaking to Jewish disciples, had the Lord said, "Circumcising them," no question as to infants could have arisen. Commenting on this passage, Dr. Griffith Thomas says: <sup>1</sup>

"Baptism was therefore associated with discipleship, and as little children can become disciples of Christ and enter into true relationship with God, we can readily see that the Article is abundantly warranted in speaking of Infant Baptism as 'most agreeable with the institution of Christ.' We baptize both adults and infants with the purpose of their coming into possession of everything implied in the name of God. They are thus designated for the purpose of receiving and experiencing, not as already in possession."

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic Faith*, p. 167.

## III. THE LANGUAGE OF OUR FORMULARIES.

I must not omit the consideration of this question, as for many it constitutes the real difficulty. It is fairly common to hear it said, "I do not object to the baptism of infants, what I object to is certain expressions in the Office for Baptism in the Prayer Book." The expression to which most objection is taken, in modern times, for the Puritans and Calvin raised no objection to it, is, "Seeing, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, etc." Before considering these words in detail, a word or two may be interesting concerning them. First, no expression used in the Prayer Book is stronger than those used in Holy Scripture; and it is surely allowable to place the same meaning on an expression found in the Prayer Book as we place upon the same expression when we find it in Holy Writ. Second, the words under consideration were used, not only by our own Reformers, but by Puritans and Continental Reformers of whose robust Protestantism there can be no doubt. In this connection I will quote from Dr. Dyson Hague's *Protestantism of the Prayer Book*, p. 79:

"They are found in services compiled by men flatly opposed to Popery, and if any interpretation can be given to them but the Roman, it must be given. They are words, moreover, which are found elsewhere in ultra-Protestant formularies, and employed by men of most Protestant prejudices. They are precisely similar, for instance, to those employed by one whom no one ever suspected of Popish proclivities, John Calvin, in his catechism: <sup>1</sup> and they may be employed by any who really believe in the power of God to receive as His own disciples the little infants."

Now what do these words really mean? Speaking roughly, there are three possible interpretations.

1. The literal, or what is known as the *opus operatum* theory. That is, that all the baptized are, by that outward act alone, and irrespective of all conditions, born again, in the fullest possible sense of that term. This is the doctrine of Rome; and is radically different from the doctrine of our Reformers. As this is so clearly shown in Dr. Mozley's *Baptismal Controversy* and in Dr. Goode's *Effects of Infant Baptism*, I may pass on to the second, viz.

2. The view usually known as "Charitable Hypothesis," defended ably by Dean Goode, both in his work already cited; and also in letters written at the time of the Gorham Judgment, to a public man whose name escapes me at the moment. Indeed, it is clear, as Dr. Goode points out, that only on such an hypothesis is a Prayer Book for Christians possible. The Book of Common Prayer assumes that those who use it are what they profess to be, i.e. Christians in deed and truth. As such, we bring our children to Baptism and ask for certain specific blessings. Having prayed in faith, we believe, according to the Lord's sure word, that we receive the things we ask; and proceed to give thanks for them. In other words, the thanksgiving for the regeneration of our children is the language of faith's reckoning.

<sup>1</sup> See Mozley on the *Baptismal Controversy*, part ii, chap. vii.

3. There is a third view, maintained by Mr. Dimock, by which the words are understood in a sacramental sense simply. Mr. Dimock maintains that this was the primitive and also the Reformation usage in connection with sacramental language. This means that, in receiving Baptism, we have received the sacramental sign and seal: and are thus "sacramentally regenerate." We may or may not have received the Thing signified. So in the case of a bank-note for five pounds. When I receive the note, I may quite correctly be said to have five pounds; and in another and equally real sense, I am not possessed of five pounds, until I have presented the note and received the gold.

Either of the two latter explanations of the words is, in my judgment, perfectly true and legitimate, being complementary, not mutually exclusive. The controversy is not now a burning one in the Church of England, as it once was. The controversy has shifted to the other sacrament. In that connection, we have a classic instance of the well-known use of sacramental language for the Thing signified. I refer to the words,

Hail! Sacred Feast, which JESUS makes,  
Rich Banquet of His Flesh and Blood.

These words, as is well known, were written by a Nonconformist and are used by those who are as far as possible (if not too far) from any "High Church" doctrine of the Sacraments.

There is one difficulty remaining; and I, for one, see no reasonable way out of it. I refer to the "promiscuous" baptism of all and sundry. This practice is condemned by the Church herself, we must remember. It is an abuse, arising largely from an accumulation of circumstances over which we, at least, have no control. It is a practice condemned by the *Church Times*, to its credit be it spoken; and those who seem least to mind it, are Evangelicals. Bishop Gore has some very valuable words on this subject. He says:

"The Church does not baptize infants indiscriminately. She requires sponsors for their religious education; and the sponsors represent the responsibility of the Church for the infants who are being baptized. It is not too much to say that to baptize infants without real provision for their being brought up to know what their religious profession means, tends to degrade a sacrament into a charm. On this point we need the most serious reflection."

Any who have tried to enforce discipline in this matter, will probably agree with me, that, short of a universal exercise of discipline, impossible in the divided state of the Church, we must be content to use the occasion, for a real instruction as to the solemn facts set forth in Baptism. The only alternative, is a universal refusal to baptize, thus cutting off the innocent with the guilty.



## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

BY THE REV. R. F. WRIGHT, M.A., LL.B., Vicar of Spring Grove, Middlesex.

ONE day when looking for books in a library which specializes in Missionary literature, I asked the librarian whether anything had been published on the contribution of Christian Missions to International Peace. My question seemed to cause some little surprise, and when I added that Missions had surely helped to stop war and so bring peace, I was met with the rejoinder, "But why?" Why, indeed! This is not the time or place here to discuss the theological or international implications of the Gospel, but if the "Good News" were not intended by God to make men love one another and so turn their swords into ploughshares; if the Lord Jesus were not to be the Prince of Peace in the fullest meaning of those words, then my reading of the New Testament is entirely wrong.

In the present study it will be our purpose to trace the influence of Christian Missions in establishing peace among the nations of the non-Christian world. It may be well, however, to meet at the beginning, an objection which will surely be raised. "Has not the preaching of Christianity often brought the sword?" Our answer will be a definite denial. That men, devoid of the Spirit of Christ, have used the occasion as an opportunity of strife, cannot be disputed, but the two factors remain separate, and should not be confused.

Now all peace efforts, if their fruits are to be permanent, must begin with the individual, for peace, like growth, comes from within: it cannot be imposed from without. The success or failure of the League of Nations will depend upon the will to peace among individuals. Herein lies the greatest contribution of Missionaries, for we believe that it is the Gospel which not only gives and demands the ideal of World Brotherhood but alone can supply the spiritual force to bring it into an accomplished fact. That our Missionaries have been ambassadors of peace cannot be denied; but from the very nature of the case, neither can their influence be easily tabulated. It may be that the best evidence is that which comes from soldiers and government officials.

Lord Roberts has been credited with the remark that one Dr. Pennell of Banu was worth more than a battalion of soldiers. But written evidence is not lacking.

Some few years before the Great War a letter was circulated privately among the officers of His Majesty's Forces, signed by three of the Field-Marschals, urging soldiers to remember when abroad among non-Christian people, that they were representatives

of a Christian country and that they should do all they could to help the Christian Missionaries because

"already the results of Christian Missions in many places are very striking. For instance, in the Uganda Protectorate there is now a prosperous and *peaceful* community of nearly 90,000 Christians where not one existed thirty years ago and where unutterable atrocities were of daily occurrence; whilst on the North-West Frontier of India the *pacific influence* of Missions among the fierce Pathan tribes has been of incalculable value to our Government."

After the experience of those devastating years 1914-18, the following note was added to the above and signed by Field-Marshal Haig, Plumer and Robertson, and Generals Horne and Rawlinson.

"We heartily endorse this letter. It was written before the great world war. . . . The experience of those intervening years of strife gives added emphasis to the truth of the statement which the letter contains. The passions from which war springs are not dead. There is only one hope of peace on earth and goodwill among men, and that lies in nations framing their ideals and their policy . . . on the teaching of Jesus Christ, the world's only social hope and the *sole promise of world peace.*"

From the soldier we turn to the diplomat.

Viscount Bryce, a great authority on legal and scientific subjects and British Ambassador at Washington from 1907-12, has asserted that

"the one sure hope for a permanent foundation of world peace lies in the extension of the principles of Jesus Christ to the ends of the earth."

Viscount Gladstone, Governor-General of South Africa 1909-14, in writing about the Missionaries, said:

"the value of their work and influence is beyond words. . . . They not only spread the light of Christianity, but among the natives they are the great *humanizing factor.*"

Dr. Cheng Ting Wang, one of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries of the Versailles Peace Conference, has asserted that "we believe in Christianity we find mutual confidence, mutual service and mutual love."

These and a great many more lay testimonies to the humanizing efforts of Christian Missionaries may be found in a little book published in 1927 by the National Laymen's Missionary Movement. Let us not be tempted to think lightly of the work of the simple evangelist, for without it world peace will never come.

From that part of Missionary effort which has created a purer and more peaceful atmosphere and a will to peace among the less civilized inhabitants of the world, we will pass on to consider "tribal arbitration."

With the growth in civilization and education among the more backward races of the world, greater unity and national consciousness will naturally assert themselves and the tribe will be merged in the nation, the community will give place to the country: and so that part of the Missionary's opportunity for tribal arbitration will pass to the League of Nations. But the contribution of

Missions in this respect, although limited, has not been unimportant in the past.

In the midst of barbarous tribes whose only law was that of murder and plunder, the Christian Missionary was often called upon to make peaceful arbitration between warrior tribes. To make this point clear and more interesting it may be well to quote from the biography of a remarkable woman—Mary Slessor of Calabar—the Dundee factory girl who became the most outstanding woman Missionary of the last century. For the fascinating story of her life and work, the reader must consult Mr. W. P. Livingstone's biography. It is only one phase of her work which concerns us here.

In the year 1888 she was the only white woman among the savage tribes of Okoyong. Here she started her brave work and laboured among them till the day of her death. Her profound knowledge of the native life and language, her self-denying labour of love and wisdom qualified her in a unique way to act as their arbitrator. On one occasion news was spread abroad that two tribes were about to fight. She proceeded immediately to the scene of action and although her heart was beating wildly, she stood between the opposing forces until each side had piled up their arms on the ground some five feet high. She was constantly present at tribal palavers. On one occasion she sat for ten hours arbitrating between two sections of the Okoyong people, amidst war-like chiefs, well armed and well attended with warriors ready to fight to a conclusion. But at the end of the day, this simple woman summed up the case, gave her judgment, a freeman from both sides came forward and she administered the native oath. The atmosphere then cleared and the whole company, abandoning their suspicions, gave themselves up to merriment and fun, and Mary returned home, a four-miles' journey, tired but happy. Space does not permit of a detailed account of the peace mission which Mary Slessor conducted; how she insisted that the savage chiefs of Okoyong should accompany her to king Ego of Calabar, unarmed, and with expressions of goodwill make terms of peace and trade.

So remarkable was her genius for settling native disputes that her peace efforts were recognized by the British Government.

"At a great gathering in the Goldie Memorial Hall (Duke Town) a little wrinkled woman in straw hat, old cotton dress and list shoes sat on the platform with her face buried in her hands, too overcome at first to reply to those who had spoken only in just appreciation of her great work. 'Who am I that I should have this?' she asked. 'If I have done anything in my life it has been easy because the Master has gone before.'"

She received the royal decoration of the Silver Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

Let it not be assumed that this is an isolated instance in the history of Missions. Tribal arbitration by Missionaries has not infrequently played an important if unrecorded part. From Africa of the last century turn to China of the present. Sir John

Jordan (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking from 1906-20), writing in 1917, said :

“ It is simply marvellous the influence that Missionaries have had during the recent troublous times of the last five years. There have been cases in which Missionaries have been called in to mediate frequently between opposing armies, and averted considerable bloodshed. . . . Apart from their medical, educational and evangelistic work, they render services of untold benefit to the Chinese people in all the great natural crises through which China passes.”

This may sound less romantic than the story of Okoyong, but it is none the less important. However, tribal or internecine warfare must eventually disappear and give place to central government even among the most backward nations of the world. But as the child races grow into adolescence to take their places amongst the great powers, will they regard their neighbours as brothers or enemies ? Everything will depend upon the attitude of the greater powers during these intervening years. One thing is certain. The future peace of the world will be greatly influenced by the fact that in the historical background of the nations will be seen against the horrors of warfare and the lust of conquest and mutual suspicion, the light of a loving and self-sacrificing service of men and women, who, without force of arms or hope of worldly gain, came to preach peace, heal the sick and teach the child. This has already been recognized by both governments and natives. It has been officially stated that

“ to the Missionaries, indirectly, Uganda owed its discovery. To them . . . it owed its first industrial work, carpentry, brick-making, printing, and also the cultivation of coffee and other products. By them the language was first reduced to writing and almost all available literature in Luganda is the result of Missionary labours.”

The official *Handbook of Uganda* for 1920 proceeds by paying a high tribute to the Medical and Educational Missions and the influence of Bishop Tucker and his successful efforts with the Christian chiefs in abolishing slavery. “ Many barbarous and superstitious practices have been abandoned and the social life of the native has been appreciably raised.”

At the annual meeting of the U.M.C.A. in London this year, a native clerk in Rhodesian Government Service addressed the audience in these words :

“ My fathers, my mothers, my sisters and my brothers, I ask leave to address you in this way, for I and my native brothers and sisters, my parents and their people owe everything under God, to you. Your Missionaries taught us to read and to write, gave us education and the love of Jesus Christ.”

Until recently, practically all education in Africa was in the hands of the Missionaries. In India, the value and extent of the educational work is on a different scale but equally important. Lord Reading, who was Viceroy and Governor-General of India

1921-6 and who is not a member of the Christian Church, has written :

“ Every administrator in India must acknowledge that the educational system of India was created and developed by the Missionaries . . . that the human contacts of one race and colour with another race and colour, which are creating a new India, were the direct result of the preaching and the practising of the brotherhood of man by the Missionaries.”

Of the female population, 21 per 1,000 are literate ; but of the Christian females, the percentage is ten times as great. There are more educational Missionaries in India than evangelistic.

What has been said of educational work is equally true of Medical Missions. Few things more effectively make for true brotherhood than practical sympathy, and it must be readily admitted that the tendency to suspicion, antagonism and warfare has been greatly reduced by the establishment of Christian doctors, Mission Hospitals and dispensaries in the poorest and most remote parts of the non-Christian world. Education and Medical Science must, like the Gospel, be International.

We believe, we are sure, that in the future Peace Conferences of the whole family of nations, in which the younger nationalities will take an increasingly important part, the contribution of Christian Missions will not be forgotten.

Africa, China and India have been quoted and doubtless they are among the most important of the non-Christian races, but an interesting illustration, hitherto unpublished, may be taken from South America. In the early years of the South American Missionary Society's work among the Chaco Indians of Paraguay, Mr. W. Barbrooke Grubb, one of the most intrepid and far-seeing Missionaries of the last century, initiated the “ Indian Co-operative Society.” It came about in this way. The question of food both for the native Christian and the Missionary was becoming acute as food had to be brought up from the river at great cost and difficulty. When home on furlough Mr. Grubb suggested to the Home Committee that if the Society could provide fifty head of cattle, these would increase and the proceeds would help to buy land for the Indians. The committee in effect said that it would involve “ Missionary Trading ” and to this they could not assent. However, in the end Barbrooke Grubb got his cattle and with the increasing profits a considerable amount of land has been bought for the Indians, for whom it is held in trust by legally appointed Trustees under the Indian Co-operative Society, which is really a branch of the South American Missionary Society, until such time as the natives can take it over for themselves. The rules allow any Indian to settle on the land and he is not obliged to become a Christian, though he usually ends in that condition ; but he has to behave properly. Thus the natives have carefully selected land, not granted as a gift to a dying race as in some other parts of the world, but held with title-deeds as the possession of a virile and intelligent and self-supporting people under the Trusteeship of a Christian organization. When we remember that a considerable

part of the wars of the world have been caused by the question of the possession of land, it will be seen that even this small contribution of the Missionary is not without its value in the peace of the world. But it is significant in foreshadowing Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant of 1919 regarding Mandated territories. In that article of the Covenant it is laid down that

“to those territories which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.”

Accordingly, the League has entrusted these peoples to the more advanced nations as Mandatories, and this sacred trust forms part of the Versailles Treaty of 1919; but a generation before, a humble Missionary had put into practice something very similar if not identical.

In the past, Christian Missions have contributed much to the peace of the world among the backward races in preaching peace and the need of a new birth; in tribal arbitration; in dissipating suspicion and hatred, by means of such good works as Education and Medical Missions; in setting an example of the sacred trust of mandated territory.

The challenge before the Church of Christ to-day is: Are we ready, with the same devotion and the same self-sacrifice, to bring to bear upon the nations of the world, the Mind of Christ, for “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee”?

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SOME MASTERPIECES OF THE THEATRE. By W. J. Walkerdine.  
*Mitre Press.* 5s.

It is encouraging to find that there are audiences willing to listen to lectures on Tragedy, ancient and modern, and assuredly there will be many readers who will appreciate their presentation in book form.

The author defines Tragedy as the history of a moral crisis, revealing and developing character. This he illustrates from Sophocles and Shakespeare, giving an analysis of the action and characters (1) in the *Electra*, showing “the glory of decision”; (2) in the *Antigone*, “the importance of right thinking; in *Hamlet*, “the danger of hesitation”—though we are still left much in the dark as to exact character which the poet intended to portray in the Prince of Denmark.

We cannot but agree with the author that such ancient literature is much more wholesome and ennobling than most of modern fiction and drama.

## WESLEY AND IRELAND.

BY THE REV. PATRICK K. HORAN.

THE well-known Irish writer, D. L. Kelleher, in his book entitled *The Glamour of Dublin*, makes a reference to John Wesley, "the great, gloomy Evangelist," as he describes him. In a brief impressionistic note concerning Wesley's visit to the old Lutheran Preaching House at the corner of Talbot and Marlborough Streets, Dublin, Mr. Kelleher quotes the great Itinerant as writing among the first entries in his *Journal* for Ireland,

"At least ninety-nine in an hundred remain in the religion of their forefathers; nor is it any wonder."

Here this Irish Roman Catholic places a full stop, producing thereby such an ambiguity as to be unjust to the spirit and message of the Founder of Methodism.

Readers of Wesley's *Journal* are familiar with the words that he wrote under date of Saturday, August 15, 1747, almost a week after his arrival in Dublin.

"I stayed at home and spoke to all that came; but I found scarce any Irish among them. At least ninety-nine in an hundred of the native Irish remain in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England. Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists generally live and die such, when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and Acts of Parliament."

There spoke not only the shrewd observer and discriminating scholar but the generous lover of the souls of men. Truly this was a man who could, with all sincerity of heart and honesty of purpose, preach on the Catholic Spirit.

Almost two years after this entry with reference to the native Irish, he penned in Dublin, on July 18, 1749, his *Letter to a Roman Catholic*, which is surely one of the most beautiful and graciously Christian contributions to the controversy. His whole soul, it is evident, was animated with a desire to do good to all men, and the voice of a saint and a scholar speaks with touching Christian charity and courtesy in every line of that noble and appealing epistle so eloquent of a truly Christlike spirit.

"I do not suppose," he writes in the course of the *Letter*, "all the bitterness is on your side. I know there is too much on our side also. So much that I fear many Protestants (so called) will be angry at me, too, for writing to you in this manner; and will say, 'it is showing you too much favour; you deserve no such treatment at our hands.'"

"But I think you do. I think you deserve the tenderest regard I can show, were it only because the same God has raised you and me from the dust of the earth, and has made us both capable of loving and enjoying Him to all eternity: were it only because the Son of God has bought you and me with His own Blood. How much more, if you are a person fearing God (as without question many of you are) and studying to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man?"

Wesley adds in the gentlest fashion: "Come, my Brother, and let us reason together."

He had strong convictions, and was fully assured in heart and mind of the truth of the doctrines he preached, yet he knew how to speak the truth in love, a by no means common accomplishment, especially in that age. His tender regard for all men, his gracious attitude to Roman Catholics did not prevent his endeavouring to show them the grave errors in their teaching and practice. As evidence of this fact we have the testimony of his long and extraordinarily active life and ministry. In his second letter to Bishop Lavington (1750) concerning this very point we read:

"It is true that for thirty years past, I have 'gradually put on a more catholic spirit'; finding more and more tenderness for those who differed from me either in opinions or modes of worship. But it is not true that I 'reject any design of converting others from any communion.' I have, by the blessing of God, converted several from Popery, who are now alive and ready to testify it."

It may be said in all truthfulness that John Wesley summed up the chief reason for the failure of the Reformation in Ireland when he wrote:

"The Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and Acts of Parliament."

From the beginning of the Reformed Church the attitude of dislike and hostility manifested by the clergy and laity generally towards the native Irish, their language and customs, alienated the people from the Reformed Faith. The Gaelic tongue was proscribed and the Gospel preached in a language not "understood of the people." Nor would the responsible authorities of the Reformed Church in Ireland countenance the use of Gaelic in the worship of the Church. The famous scholar and divine—James Ussher—who was Primate of all Ireland in the seventeenth century, described preaching and catechizing in the Irish tongue as "castles in the air."

Something of the profound and far-reaching importance and effect of this hostile attitude to native culture may be gauged from the fact that even at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth out of a population of five millions about four millions still spoke the Gaelic language.

In the earlier years a Wesley would have understood and acted in the best interests of the Kingdom of God.

Dr. Bedell—that saintly English Bishop of an Irish diocese—a contemporary of Ussher, realized something of the significance and portent of the grave spiritual conditions and said that the Roman priests had the advantage "of the language, the possession of the people's hearts."

In this connection one is reminded of St. Luke's account of St. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem. It is a vivid picture the sacred writer draws for us. Paul stood on the stairs of the castle after his arrest and "beckoned with his hand unto the people" and



“spake unto them in the Hebrew tongue. And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence.” Therein lies a parable of tremendous significance.

At a time when they were despised, their customs ridiculed, their ancient laws mocked and their language regarded with contempt, the priests of Rome spoke in that language to the hearts of the people, holding them against the Reformed Faith, so poorly represented indeed that the Reformation became identified in the minds of the Irish people with anti-nationalism, oppression and tyranny. The English-speaking preachers, therefore, were looked upon not as heralds of the Gospel, but as emissaries of despotism and pillars of the new Imperialism. The pity of it all, and the tragedy for two nations whom God surely meant to be the truest of friends when He encircled them with the mantle of the sea and drew them close together.

In the darkness, however, there shone light though ineffectual. Dr. Bedell loved the people. He was a true Bishop and shepherd of souls. He had a zeal for the extension of Christ's Kingdom in Ireland and laboured much to bring the Gospel to the people. In this, however, he was not encouraged but actively and unceasingly opposed. His very devotion in the service of Christ became an object of suspicion and ill-will. This prelate secured the assistance of native Gaelic scholars in translating the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular, but having completed his holy task and labour of love the strongest opposition came from the Irish Primate and Archbishop Laud. As a result the MS. remained unprinted for half a century.

In the meantime Rome was strengthening her hold upon the affection and loyalty of the race. The Reformed communion stood aloof as a small, select company, an alien and unsympathetic group. Rome, on the other hand, was quick to seize this opportunity and so “lengthened her cords and strengthened her stakes” throughout the land. Thus she has made “Faith and Fatherland” a symbol of passionate loyalty among Irish folks across the world. The Evangelical Revival came with a different spirit, but too late for the majority of the race. The evil had been wrought, and the iron was entered into a nation's soul.

Wesley himself was not, of course, familiar with the Gaelic tongue, but the catholic spirit of this great, little man communicated itself to his Preachers—the saddle-bag Itinerants of Ireland. By reason of this fact they were enabled to reach many souls who would otherwise have remained unsought and untouched.

It is certain that the Father of Methodism would not have found himself in agreement with an Act passed in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII which provided that “all spiritual promotions should be given only to such persons as could speak the *English tongue and none other.*”

Gideon Ouseley—that wonderfully Apostolic Preacher of early Irish Methodism—was a most eloquent and appealing Gaelic speaker. He writes during the year 1800 :

"The Roman Catholics attended us from place to place; nor could any person prevent them from coming out to hear us. The fame of Irish speaking has spread through all the country, as we speak some Irish every night. Numbers of convictions and conversions took place."

The late Rev. Wm. Arthur—best known perhaps for his strangely moving book *The Tongue of Fire*—was a biographer of Gideon Ouseley and tells, among many others, one incident which shows the influence which the Gaelic preaching of the Methodists exercised even at such a late date.

"As the shoeless creatures, who had been praying and making offerings (at the holy wells), perhaps for the forgiveness of sins, perhaps for the recovery of a sick cow, straggling in little groups along the road, they would expect to exchange a courteous 'God save your honour!' with the gentlemen on horseback; but were probably surprised when the horses were reined up, and 'broadcloth' began to talk to 'frieze' in the kindest tones and in the best Irish. They did not suspect heresy in that tongue; indeed, probably, they believed that Satan himself could never speak it. Therefore their ears were open. They were told of One who loved the like of them so much that He came from heaven to seek them, and that He would forgive all their iniquities and heal all their diseases.

"They fell on their knees, smote their breasts, and with uplifted hands and streaming eyes called upon God. They would almost adore us," says Graham (companion of Ouseley). "We had hard work to prevent them from kissing our feet."

The later tragic history of Ireland might well have been written along different lines had there been, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such men as those to speak to the heart of the Irish Celt. But alas! the reformed Church of that age in Ireland knew not the day of its visitation nor the things which belonged to its peace.

Some words of Wesley himself addressed to his preachers may well be remembered in our own days:

"You have nothing to do but to save souls. Therefore, spend and be spent in the work. And go always not only to those that want you but to those that want you most."

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*The Speaker's Bible* has already provided preachers with a most useful type of commentary in which are brought together the results of much of modern scholarship. The last volume issued deals with the first ten chapters of St. John's Gospel. It contains a useful introduction by Dr. J. A. Robertson, and the sub-sections on such subjects as Law and Grace, the Nature and the Worship of God, and From Faith to Certitude, are ably considered by Dr. J. H. Morrison and Dr. W. M. Grant. The notes on the various chapters supply a quantity of useful material drawn from many sources and adequately supply a preacher's needs. An index of volumes of sermons and other references is added, making the volume a valuable addition to any library.

## BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

*THE Life of John Henry Bernard, Professor, Prelate and Provost*, has been written by his friend and pupil, Dr. Robert H. Murray (S.P.C.K., 10s. 6d. net). Dr. Murray has presented a fascinating picture of Dr. Bernard through the course of his brilliant career, first as a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and then as Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity, which office he continued to hold for twenty-three years even after he was called to fill the important post of Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in the year 1902. Nine years later he became Bishop of Ossory, and four later he was elected to the Archbishopric of Dublin, which is probably the most influential position in the Church of Ireland. When Dr. Mahaffy died in 1919, strong pressure was brought to bear upon the Archbishop to accept the office of Provost of Trinity College, and this post he held till his death in 1927. In all these important positions he exercised a widespread influence. As a Professor in the Divinity School he helped to form the character of a great number of Clergy, not alone of the Church of Ireland but of the Church of England, as more than half the students in his time took Orders in England. There was always an uneasy feeling that Dr. Bernard's views were not in line with those of the great majority of Irish Churchmen who are strongly Protestant. Dr. Murray acknowledges that Dr. Bernard was attracted to the Catholic aspect of Christianity, and his close association with leaders of the "Catholic" Movement in England, and his invitation to some of them to preach in St. Patrick's Cathedral, tended to increase the distrust which culminated in his failing to secure re-election to the position of Diocesan Nominator for the Diocese of Dublin. His appointment to Ossory was by the Bench of Bishops, and it is significant that although he received a large proportion of the Clerical vote in the first election by the Diocese, he did not receive a sufficient share of the Lay vote to be elected directly. The Church of Ireland has always been strongly Evangelical and Protestant; largely through the close contact of its members with the Roman Church and their intimate acquaintance with the aims and methods of that Church. Although Dr. Bernard, as his letters from Russia show, was in all essentials a Protestant, he did not show himself to his fellow-countrymen as clearly in that character as they desired. It may have been due to this that in the negotiations in connection with the National Convention he was unable to persuade the representatives of Ulster to acquiesce in his schemes to maintain the unity of Ireland under one government. Dr. Bernard's eminence as a scholar has been widely acknowledged, although he has left no great outstanding work associated with his name. He was largely engaged with the technical work of editing which, although it requires close and careful research, makes no wide popular impression. His two volumes of sermons, *From Faith to Faith* and *Via Domini*, appealed more to students and thinkers than to the general public. His *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*

issued in 1899 for the Cambridge Greek Testament was valued for its scholarly work, but his views on episcopacy did not command general assent. He edited the Second Epistle to the Corinthians for the Expositor's Greek Testament. His greatest work as Editor was his Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel of St. John in *The International Critical Commentary*. It did not appear until after his death, and was well received by scholars as a work of great value. Reserved in manner and somewhat severe, he was rather respected than loved by all except those who came into intimate relationship with him, and over them he exercised the strong fascination indicated by Dr. Murray. Dr. Murray's biography throws considerable light on an important period of Irish history and the part which a leading Irish Churchman played in it.

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The Venerable W. S. Kerr, Archdeacon of Dromore, has written an interesting historical study of *The Independence of the Celtic Church in Ireland* (S.P.C.K., paper, 2s. 6d., cloth, 3s. 6d. net). Thoughts of Irish Churchmen are turned to the coming of St. Patrick to Ireland by the celebration of the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the event this year. Roman Catholics in Ireland have endeavoured to claim that St. Patrick undertook his mission to Ireland at the request of the Pope, and claim in consequence that their Church alone represents the Church in Ireland. Protestants, on the other hand, have always held that there is no evidence to show that St. Patrick had any papal commission whatever; but, on the contrary, many facts go to show that he could not have received such a commission. The Archdeacon of Dromore in his clear and convincing examination of all the authorities, contemporary and otherwise, shows that there is no foundation for this papal claim; and as he says, "the proofs that can be given that the Celtic Church for over two centuries from its foundation by St. Patrick did not recognize any such supremacy are clear, abundant, and convincing. For a much longer period than this, Celtic Christians, and British Christians in communion with them, maintained staunchly their independence. There is evidence that the opposition in some places continued in Britain until the ninth century and longer." The Dean of St. Patrick's, Dr. H. J. Lawler, one of the foremost authorities on early Church history in Ireland, in a Foreword to the volume supports the Archdeacon's view; he writes: "He gives to those who are interested in the history of the Church, a most valuable book. He tells us that St. Patrick came to Ireland as a missionary, without sanction from the Pope; and he points out that the Christians in Ireland, up to the twelfth century, refused to submit to papal mandates. I believe his argument is sound." The Archdeacon submits the earliest biographies of St. Patrick to careful examination, and shows that all the authorities up to the beginning of the ninth century—that is for nearly four and a half centuries after St. Patrick—show no acquaintance with the legend of a commission from, much less a consecration by, the Bishop of Rome. He goes on to deal with the long-continued

struggle over Easter and the form of tonsure which constituted the chief elements in the dispute between the Celtic Church and the Roman Church in Britain. The process by which the Roman customs ultimately prevailed is explained, but he shows that the records given of the controversy utterly fail to indicate any consciousness of the jurisdiction by divine right or infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. Special attention should be directed to the chapter on Fictions and Forgeries in which the later Lives of St. Patrick are described as a bewildering jungle of hectic and lurid fabrications; contradictions abound, since each new writer felt free to improve on his predecessors. Dr. Bury said "the medieval hagiographer may be compared to the modern novelist; he provided literary recreation for the public and he had to consider the public taste." And the public taste could swallow many absurdities, such as the tale that St. Patrick had only to lift his hand in the dark and his fingers were transformed to lighted candles. Such futile concoctions show the nature of these Lives. The papal jurisdiction in Ireland was not set up until the twelfth century, and the change was mainly due to foreign influence, the Danes and the Norman Conquest. The Archdeacon clearly proves his case, and shows that Ireland, neither then nor now, owes any allegiance to the Papal See.

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*Essentials of Faith and Prayer*, by Canon J. B. Lancelot, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d. net), is practically the substance of Courses of Addresses suitable for Confirmation Candidates on the Creed and The Lord's Prayer. The Preface says that they have been used in the Church before a mixed congregation and we are sure that many older people will value the instruction that is so clearly given in these pages. The six Addresses in the first part on the Essentials of Faith begin with an explanation of the meaning of Faith and go on to explain Belief in God as Father, in Christ as Man and then as Son of God, in the Holy Spirit, and finally on faith in the Hope of Immortality. In each of these sections the Christian faith is briefly but effectively set out, at the same time with necessary warnings against ephemeral phases of thought that may for a time be disturbing. The second part is an analysis of The Lord's Prayer, explaining each clause in the light of Christian need and experience. The chapter on "Daily Bread" explains the place of petition for the necessities of bodily life, and leads on to the thought of spiritual needs. Forgiveness is emphasized as the exemplification of the Christian spirit. The closing chapters on "Lead us not into Temptation" and "Deliver us from Evil" are a practical summary on the conduct of life and our relationship to God. Many will be glad to have such a useful statement of sound teaching on the chief elements in Christian life.

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Dean Inge has issued through Longmans, Green & Co. a selection of important passages from the Bible under the title of *Everyman's Bible* (price 7s. 6d. net). The selections are arranged under

four heads. The longest of these is Part I, which displays the character of God. It opens with the passages in Genesis narrating the Creation and joins with them selections from the book of Job and the Psalms. The character of God as Judge, as Father, as Protector, as Unchanging is indicated from other passages, and God as Love, Might and Spirit, mainly from New Testament passages. The second Part deals with the Life of Christ and the Parables. The third treats of the Christian graces, and the fourth of the Christian experience. It is needless to say that the passages are chosen with excellent judgment and form a useful guide to the study of special subjects in the Bible. To each section a brief introduction is prefixed, and to the whole volume a general Introduction in which the present position of Bible study is indicated and important information helpful to the Bible student is summarized. The book is intended for devotional reading, and useful hints are given on the best method of using it. It will not prove a substitute for the whole Bible to those who are in the habit of daily reading through the Books of both Testaments, but it will certainly be useful to those who wish to gain a clear view of Bible teaching on some of the most important truths intended to be taught by Revelation, and it may lead some who have enjoyed and benefited by the selection to go on to a more thorough study of the Bible as a whole. The volume may in this way be a helpful and attractive guide to many.

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The Rev. Frank Ballard, M.A., issues through the Student Christian Movement Press an interesting study of St. Paul's life and character under the title of *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of St. Paul* (4s. net). The first part is entitled A Study in Religious Experience, and brings the account of St. Paul's early life into relationship with our present-day thought. It explains the forces at work in the development of St. Paul's character, and the circumstances which led to the supreme moment in his life. The nature of his conversion is explained in the light of our modern thought. The constructive period of St. Paul's life is seen in his work as the missionary to the Gentiles. His message was Love. "It was not orthodoxy or valid sacraments or priestly privileges or any such thing, but just love." The second part is entitled Practical Problems and Difficulties, and gives some illustrations of St. Paul's sufferings and of the difficulties and practical problems with which he had to contend. They are considered in a modern spirit, which brings home to us their bearing on the life and thought of our own day. This study of St. Paul is specially attractive in the freshness of its outlook and should take its place with the already extensive literature on the great Apostle's work.

G. F. I.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE NATURAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL. By John Oman, *Principal, Westminster College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.* 18s. net.

Dr. Oman has undertaken a survey of all the elements which go to make up a true foundation for a philosophy of religion. The extent of his researches and the varied character of his knowledge, his powers of analysis, and his skill in detecting sources of error as well as of illustrating the true method by references to many different fields of literature, all go to the production of a work which leaves the ordinary student with a sense of wonder at the vastness of the task and the success with which it is accomplished. His purpose is to show that a philosophy of religion to be adequate must take account of all the facts of environment, but environment must not be limited to the Natural or that of which the senses take cognizance, or Natural Science can analyse. It includes the Supernatural, yet "there is no possible study of anything apart from the Natural, and least of all religion—not only has religion to do with our relation to all environment, but that by its view of the Natural the quality of religion is determined, even if it be also true that the view of the Natural is determined by the conception of the Supernatural." It is this indissoluble connection of the two spheres which is the main and guiding thought of Dr. Oman's consideration of the wide field which he covers.

The subject is divided into four parts. The first explains the Scope and Method of the Inquiry. Various theories as to the nature of religion are considered, and a clear distinction is drawn between the "holy" and the "sacred." The former is "the direct sense or feeling of the Supernatural" and is akin to Otto's conception, with the sense of awe predominating. The "sacred" is "its valuation as of absolute worth" and only "a reality having this absolute value is the religious Supernatural."

The first necessity is an examination of "Knowing and Knowledge," and this forms the subject of the second part. An interesting analysis is made of four types of knowledge: awareness, apprehension, comprehension and explanation, and a vivid illustration drawn from the Poet's and the Child's awareness and apprehension. The Form of Perception, Sensation, Value and Validity are considered, and the various sources of error made clear. Any judgment is rendered false if subjected to misleading limitations.

In the third part the difficult problems of "Necessity and Freedom" come under review. The conflict of views as represented in theories such as Kant's noumenal and phenomenal world, the claims of science which are greatly diminished from the old infallibility; Darwinism, Pantheism, the Cartesian Method, Rationalism and Romanticism are in turn examined and their adequacy or inadequacy tested. All thinking, feeling and acting must be in

accord with the highest environment, and only then can there be true freedom.

Part Four treats of the relation of the "Evanescent and the Eternal." This embraces the great problems concerning the relationship of the Natural to the Supernatural. History and experience contain many warnings against the failure of endeavouring to know a higher environment by learning to live rightly in it, which is the aim of religion. This is the greatest of all experiments—"the endeavour to live rightly in our whole environment—natural and supernatural, the seen and temporal and the unseen and eternal"; and there is a growing knowledge of a higher environment. Religions are classified according to certain definite principles, and they are dealt with under explanatory headings: The Primitive, covering Animism, Magic and Primitive Monotheism. The Polytheistic, where Gods are Anthropomorphic inferences, and property and civilization are associated with Polytheism. The Mystical, of which there are two types, the chief being "redemption by absorption into the Supernatural." The Ceremonial-Legal, which has shown that "what protects, in time imprisons," and Jesus was faced with "a situation in which the external legal embodiment of religion had to be destroyed if the spirit of religion was to be saved." Later, Judaism and Catholic Christianity have a more elaborate ceremonial-legalism than any other form of religion. And even then there is "more of the shell than of the kernel." The Prophetic, Jesus overcame "the idea of the moral order of the universe as the equivalence of action and award; the putting of ceremonial observances on a level with moral fidelity; the sense of the holy as awe, not moral reverence; the dividing of life into sacred and secular." This is seeing the eternal in the meaning and purpose of the evanescent. Thus the Natural and Supernatural are one harmonious whole, and man's life is most fully satisfied when it reaches out with growing knowledge to the highest environment.

Dr. Oman's great work will be read and re-read by students who aim at grasping all the elements necessary in a true philosophy of religion.

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THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER IN ENGLAND. By E. Margaret Thompson. [Pp. x + 550. With two illustrations.] *S.P.C.K.* 21s. net.

A comprehensive history of the Carthusian Order in England has long been needed, and it can be said at once that the need has been well supplied by the present volume. Fortunately for the author, it was not an insuperable task to compress the necessary material into one book, for the Order never spread very widely in this country and the records are often scanty. The solitary ideal of the Carthusian never appears to have found much favour in England. At the most there were only nine houses compared with the far larger number belonging to the better-known monastic Orders. The Cistercians alone possessed seventy-five houses and the Benedictines far surpassed this number. Yet it was the one Order which could boast as no other one could, "Never reformed because



Paulinus of York (p. 115) effected very little for the conversion of Northumbria and East Anglia ; this was done by Aidan and Felix respectively. Paulinus' disconnected work in the north was ruined after his retirement in 633. The influence of the Greek Liturgy was surely present at Rome long before the time of Pope Zacharias (741-52) (p. 133). Paschasius Radbert did not uphold the eucharistic doctrine accepted in his day (p. 241). He was an innovator even in the teaching of the Benedictine houses.<sup>1</sup> Professor Laistner translates "Chorepiscopus" as "Choir-bishop" (pp. 243, 258), whereas that functionary was a kind of "suffragan" in the modern Anglican sense, with special duties in the country around an episcopal centre. On p. 254 the teaching on dialectics assigned to Raban Maur was derived from Augustine. The statement that no metaphysician appeared in this epoch save John the Scot, entirely overlooks Frédégise of Tours, and Candidus of Fulda. Professor Laistner would have been saved from this remark if he had consulted the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, a most valuable series of studies, which he does not appear to mention.

There are some very loose expressions which require attention, viz. : p. 149, "his first care had needs to be to reform . . ." ; p. 172, "recourse was had to" ; p. 192, "he knew much more than a smattering." We note that he does not accept (p. 238) Bastgen's conclusion on the authorship of the *Caroline Books*, which assigned them to Alcuin.

But these matters should not prevent any student from buying this valuable book. Reading it as a whole, we have little but praise for it.

THE DAWN OF INDIAN FREEDOM, with a Foreword by the Archbishop of York. By J. C. Winslow and V. Elwin. *George Allen & Unwin*, 1931. 4s. 6d.

THE MORAL ISSUE IN INDIA. By Robert Stokes, with an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.I.E., LL.D. *John Murray*, 1931. 1s.

The Archbishop of York says : "I wish to make it clear that I am neither commending nor criticizing the contents of this book otherwise than as a contribution to the English understanding of the Indian mind. But for this, which is the first necessity, I believe that it has a peculiar value." The caution expressed in these words is necessary. As a description of Mahatma Ghandi's teaching, and especially of the non-resistance or non-co-operative principle and movement, *Satyagraha*, the reader will learn much of one phase of contemporary Indian thought. But the attitude of the writers is one-sided, and certain omissions indicate a certain prejudice.

It has become clear that Ghandi does not by any means carry with him the whole of the best elements of Indian opinion. That

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. J. Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, and *The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion*.

never deformed"; and it provided the most spectacular resistance to the will of Henry VIII. The Carthusian ideal was isolation and withdrawal from the world in a sense far more complete even than that which ordinary monastic practice involved. Each occupant of a Carthusian monastery had his own two cells or rooms and his own small garden, and in these he had to spend his time in meditation, reading and prayer. He only met his fellow-monks on Sundays and certain festivals. The community life which was so marked a feature of ordinary Benedictine monasticism was almost entirely absent. One consequence of this was that the Carthusians never fell to be a prey to many of those evils which in the later centuries of the Middle Ages marred the first splendour of the ideals of St. Benedict.

Yet to the uninitiated the Carthusian monastery would appear to be very similar to any other religious house, for even their compact little cells were ranged round a large cloister, as can be seen from the plan of Mount Grace Charterhouse, which the author has included in her book. She has also made clear what is not always known, that very often each cell was built by a particular founder and frequently endowed as well. Thus Sir William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, helped to build five cells, if we understand aright a rather ambiguous statement on p. 174, in the London Charterhouse. The head of each house was a prior but, as the writer is careful to point out, as the supreme authority in the Order was the General Chapter and not the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, they never were classed as alien priories.

The author has set out to write a careful account based on accurate research of each of the nine English houses. Naturally such a method does not produce a book very easy to read, but it provides the type of work that is required. The volume is divided into three sections, the first dealing with the French origins of the Order, the second with the English Province, and the third with the "English Carthusians under the Tudors," which latter part is mostly concerned with the final scenes of the dissolution of their houses. This arrangement, though satisfactory, gives a rather disproportionate amount of space to the closing years of the Order in England. This, no doubt, is due partly to the amount of material available, particularly in the form of correspondence, dealing with the surrender of the various houses. To these final accounts the writer has succeeded in imparting a somewhat apologetic character based obviously on her profound sympathy with misfortune. At the same time one wonders that, if the writer were describing the events of Mary's reign, the Protestant martyrs, whose sufferings were even more prolonged, would evoke the same amount of sympathy. We are inclined to doubt it. The martyrs of change always seem so much less attractive than the martyrs for the established order of things. We feel, therefore, that the author for an historical work has allowed her obvious sympathies to be far too obtrusive, and thus tending to defeat her own object. The Carthusians were not the only noble martyrs in the sixteenth century. Yet it is easy to understand that feeling of real affection for the Carthusians which

the writer displays. They maintained the purity of their ideals long after the other monastic Orders had evinced obvious signs of compromise and decay. They never invented excuses for avoiding the rule against eating meat and they abandoned the system of oblates when the evils incurred became known. To the end they remained faithful to their rule and so merit the admiration which consistency rightly receives.

The book is equipped with an adequate Index, though we note the absence of a Bibliography, which omission, however, is somewhat rectified by the author's habit of giving references for most of her statements.

C. J. O.

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SOCIAL SUBSTANCE OF RELIGION. By Gerald Heard. *George Allen & Unwin*, 1931. 10s. 6d.

The sub-title indicates the nature of the book—"An Essay on the Evolution of Religion." Religion is the product of the human mind; it is not in any sense revealed. Hence, readers of this journal will not find much which is related to Christianity, and nothing which concerns Christ, the revealer of the Word of God. The whole book is of the earth earthy, but for those who are interested in the development of human consciousness and of civilization as a purely human study, Mr. Heard has many novel and instructive things to say. He faces the problem of man's unhappiness, and scans the field of biological and anthropological inquiry in order to define it. The conflict in man's soul is not due to the restrictions placed upon him by society, but to the taking of a wrong turning away back in his primitive cultural development. The result is a fissure in human consciousness. Objective and subjective are not properly synthesized. The subjective is without mind and the objective without power.

In the course of tracing the process Mr. Heard sweeps the whole field of history East and West. He says that the sense of property is very rudimentary. He maintains that a matriarchal preceded a patriarchal organization of society. The family is not the essential group. Religion arises from association in a small group, and psychology is wrong in regarding it as the projection of the unappeasable desire of the individual. It was an initial mistake in the attempt to reach a real goal. The true idea is to make contact with the eternal life of the race. Man must remerge in the group, not emerge from it as an individual. Cultural progress begins with the individual's acute sense of loneliness.

The food instinct predominates over sex instinct in the apes, and the latter has become intensified since the period of the anthropoids—a healthy criticism of Freud. So Mr. Heard makes a shrewd hit at some modern claims to license. We may add that we have long thought that the aspiration to "go native" did poor justice to the apes. Among the anthropoids companionship, not erotic passion, is fundamental. In the human epoch religion was defined and rationalized with the attempt to ensure physical life by life-giving physical practices, and man passed out of the monthly orgy "puri-

fied, blessed and at rest." Here was the prelapsarian paradise! So we get erotic religion. But this proves unsatisfying, and the ascetic movement sets in, accompanied in its early stages by matriolatry, and then magic, followed by survivalism. Sex now becomes pleasure without excitement. Superstition is not the depth of stupidity, but a bad answer to vital facts.

The history of Israel and Judaism is briefly sketched in the light of these assumptions. The conflict of loyalties between family and group, Church and State goes on, and rushes the individual headlong into asceticism. John the Baptist, not Jesus, is the real founder of Catholicism—another shrewd observation. Civilization will take a new line when, if ever, the Jew settles down. The Gospel has nothing to do with orthodoxy; the real problem is not the credibility of the creeds, but the applicability of Christian ethics. The Christians of the Gospel failed when the agape was crushed out by growing episcopal organization. In the original small Christian group of about a dozen was to be found the joy of Eden. The church of the Empire was no more than the ecclesiastical aspect of imperialism.

Catholicism lays emphasis upon the mother-god, whereas the Muhammedan of the desert and the Protestant of northern Europe stress the father-god. The field of the group was being recovered when Holy Communion replaced the Mass. But the Protestant "Communion" has not gone far enough. If the agape should be revived the spirit of the Gospel would return. The individual must be placed back in the group, where energy can escape and be re-charged by the group. The Moravians and Quakers showed the way, but their effort has broken down. Yet the love-religion is coming back and asceticism has failed. The stress should be laid on compassion not *libido*. Economic communism has already revealed its psychic unsoundness. The individual must return to society, then society becomes the race, "the race is re-united with life, and life is one with the universe."

Thus in spite of many accurate observations on the course of religious development on its human side, all Mr. Heard has to offer is God in the group, as Mr. Birch Hoyle has pointed out. This will not help the Christian.

A. J. M.

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UNIVERSITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. By Ernest Barker. *Student Christian Movement Press*, 1931. 3s. 6d.

This excellent little book, by the Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge, provides pleasant reading not only for teachers in the universities, but for all interested in higher education and in our national institutions. It is inspired by a healthy English feeling. Professor Barker praises merits and puts his finger on weaknesses. He also clears away some popular misunderstandings. He draws attention to the provincialism of modern universities. One of the many benefits offered by a university education should be contact with students from other parts of the country. In Liverpool or Manchester or Birmingham this is almost

entirely wanting. The solution, of course, lies in the development of the hostel or college system, and the transference of Liverpool men to Birmingham and Manchester men to Reading. The modern tendency to specialization is being overdone, and Professor Barker does well to point out that a good "Pass" course such as exists in Scotland or London affords a better training for an Elementary or Secondary Schoolmaster than a highly specialized course in one subject, "such as Chemistry." On the other hand, the specialized course is of the utmost value to the student entering industry. Professor Barker has something to say about the limitations of a don's life, but he does not suggest a remedy. That surely lies in insisting that before a teacher takes up his life-work at the university he should spend some years away from it, doing a piece of work not necessarily connected with his own subject. The system whereby the brilliant young graduate is appointed to a Fellowship or Lectureship immediately after taking his degree, breeds not only the hot-house atmosphere noted by Professor G. M. Trevelyan, but also a narrow self-centredness which sometimes results in the careless performance of duties. Twenty years ago in a certain famous university the undergraduates in a certain faculty were not taught at all, they were not even guided, and much valuable talent was allowed by those responsible to flounder about without being developed. The author gives deserved praise to the university presses, but he has not noticed the disquietening commercialization of these presses. A private publisher is quite justified in refusing a work which may cause him loss. On the contrary, the university presses exist primarily to promote learning, yet to-day they are preventing much valuable work from seeing the light by refusing to publish what will not be a commercial success. It should be possible to run a university press as a whole, so that the popular works carry some of the less popular by their profits. Professor Barker utters a warning against the increase of university education beyond the point at which the nation can absorb graduate students into useful occupations. That is an important element in the unrest in modern India; and in the West we stand in danger of the "intellectual proletariat," which "is the seed-bed of revolutionary movements." He disposes of the notion that Oxford and Cambridge are the "homes of the rich." The assisted students in these universities are only 2.4 per cent. below that of the modern universities, in spite of the fact that Oxford and Cambridge receive no grants from local authorities. He utters a caution against the extension of extra-mural work, but again he does not go far enough. There is no longer any need to divert university funds towards extra-mural scholarships and bursaries; and with the development of the B.B.C. and cheap editions of the best authors, the extension lecture system is no longer required, especially as the universities need every penny of their funds, for their own intra-mural use. He closes with an admirable tribute to the "Evangelical Tradition" in the Student Movement.

RABBINIC LITERATURE AND GOSPEL TEACHINGS. By C. G. Montefiore, Hon. D.Litt. (Oxford), Hon. D.D. (Manchester). *Macmillan & Co.*, 1930. Pp. xxii + 442. 15s. net.

Here is a book for the scholar, the preacher, and the layman who wishes to understand the Bible better. Dr. Montefiore is known everywhere as a truly religious, genially human scholar, and as a patron of scholarship. Last year he was the elected President of the British Society of Old Testament Study. He, a liberal Jew, was the first scholar to receive the distinction of the honorary doctorate of Divinity of Manchester University.

As Dr. Montefiore explains in his Introduction, his new work is a supplement to his *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (the second edition of which was published in 1927). To be sure, Christian scholars have made attempts to collect illustrations from Rabbinical sayings, but there is nothing really convenient for English students, and the volumes designed by the lamented Jewish Christian Hermann Strack and carried to completion by Paul Billerbeck exist only in German, and have the disadvantage of being almost too conscientiously thorough to be a handy help to busy people. Dr. Montefiore, the liberal Jew, devotes his labours to elucidating the spiritual and ethical teaching of the gospels, and he is able to give many illustrations actually not to be found in Strack-Billerbeck. And all the while Dr. Montefiore presents the material in a clothed and charming form embodying the results of his long years of interest in the subject. It is not to be expected that a Jewish writer will always agree with Christian workers in the same field, but with a rare generosity this author suggests that "in my occasional quarrels with S.-B. and other Christian writers, they may be more in the right than my spectacles enable me to see and to believe." Needless to say a great part of the value of the book is that it is the only such treatise written by a Jew.

Let me quote a few parallels almost at random. St. Matt. vi. 13 (*Lead us not into temptation*). "O lead us not into sin, or transgression, iniquity, temptation, or shame; let not the evil inclination have sway over us . . . let us obtain this day, and every day, grace, favour and mercy in thine eyes." (Jewish P.B., but cf. Berachoth 60b.) On St. Matt. vi. 34 (*Sufficient unto the day*). "The woe of the hour is enough. One trouble at a time." (Berachoth 9b.) Here is a comment on St. Matt. ix. 11 (*Why eateth your master with publicans and sinners?*): "That the physician of the soul should seek out the 'sick' was a new phenomenon. . . . The great significance and importance of this new departure and its effects are obvious." The value of the comment on St. Matt. xv. 11 (*That which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth the man*) is that there is no parallel to this saying of Jesus.

Then there are the interesting explanations of Rabbinical doctrines, as e.g. that of *Kawwana*, i.e. "intention" or "devotion" (pp. 184 ff.). "He who prays must direct his heart" (Berachoth III, 4). "God said to the priests . . . you must bless in devotion of heart so that the blessing may be fulfilled unto them" (Tanbuma,

p. 197a). Such teaching reminds us how great was the gulf between pure Rabbinic doctrine ("Pharisaism" at its best) and anything pagan or savouring of the *ex opere operato* ways of the mechanical Romanist.

The volume would serve well the student who is desirous of being introduced in an interesting fashion to the doctrines of the early Judaism such as the sanctification (profanation) of the Name, "the good" ("or evil") "nature," "measure for measure." And meanwhile the great figures of Rabbinical Judaism—Rabbis Akiba, Hillel, Shammai, etc., are, through their cited utterances, becoming more and more real beings from the past.

Value has been added to *Rabbinical Literature and Gospel Teaching* from the fact that the learned author has secured some useful collaboration from Mr. Herbert Loewe, Lecturer in Rabbinical Hebrew at Oxford, and just recently brought back to his old university as Lecturer in Rabbinics and Talmudic in Cambridge. Material from his hand is interspersed in many parts of the volume.

I notice but one allusion to the Holy Spirit, and some illustrations of the Eucharistic phraseology of the Gospels would have been welcome. The book is confidently recommended as indispensable to the libraries of the Theological Colleges of all denominations.

R. S. C.

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THOUGHT AND LETTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE, A.D. 500-900. By M. L. W. Laistner. *Methuen*, 1931. 15s.

Professor Laistner and Messrs. Methuen are to be most warmly congratulated on the appearance of this important and excellent book. It fills a gap in English literature of the Early Middle Ages, and forms a noteworthy contribution to reviving mediæval studies. Historians, philosophers, theologians and men of letters will all find valuable material here, and the way is shown to many sources which cannot otherwise be discovered without laborious research. Not only is the course of thought and of letters clearly traced, but the relative value of the historical, philosophical, theological and poetical writers of the period is appraised. No student of the Middle Ages can afford to omit reading this indispensable work.

Having said this, it is necessary to suggest certain emendations and corrections for a second edition. Is Professor Laistner quite sure that Manicheism was of little moment in western Europe, apart from N. Africa (p. 39)? Was Augustine's theory of Predestination quite so rigid as our author alleges (p. 41)? Were the monasteries the sole repositories of culture and education after Cassiodorus and in the Caroling period (pp. 73 and 161)? He does not appear to have paid sufficient attention to the cathedral schools. Moreover, were the studies in the monasteries of the sixth century wholly theological (p. 96)? On p. 82, the "tropological" interpretation of Scripture should be contrasted with the "moral" interpretation, not equated with it. The statement (p. 106) that Patrick's influence in Ireland was small, appears to have been made without due consideration of the late Professor Bury's book.

is the first qualification to be remembered when reading this book. Secondly, no tribute is paid, as it should have been paid, to the magnificent work of the British civil and military administration in India since 1858. No unprejudiced person who has lived and worked and travelled in India can have failed to observe the results of the unselfish, high-principled, and "Christian" labour of the Indian Civil Service in that land. It is time that this work should receive a more fair estimate at the hands of Christian writers. It is no excuse to protest that the Indian reader does not like it. No permanent gain will be won for him by encouraging him to think ungraciously of his benefactors. Due merit can be attributed to the administration in India, without in any way denying that we have made mistakes, and without denying the right of the peoples of India to a progressive advance towards self-government.

The writers of this book have no doubt absorbed Ghandi's spirit, and so far as that Mahatma's teaching is concerned with spiritual and moral issues nothing but appreciation can be shown towards it. But when this great Indian prophet and his admirers deal with political and administrative questions their limitations at once appear. The Mahatma, like the writers of this book, is in a hurry. That is a fatal defect in statesmanship. He and they have overlooked the fact that if non-resistance and non-co-operation have won certain victories, that has not been solely on account of the ideals behind them or the methods employed. It has been largely due to the fact that agitation which promises a swift remedy of real or imagined evils will always receive a large amount of vocal and active support. But does it last—and can such movements continue to be controlled for good? This is very doubtful. Already *Satyagraha*, as this book makes clear, has got out of hand, on certain occasions. It is still more clear that the movement could, and probably would, easily be turned against its leaders, if ever they secured the complete fulfilment of their demands, and if, as would certainly be the case, it was found that such a development did not at once introduce the millennium into India.

Mr. Winslow and Mr. Elwin are ardent admirers of the "Catholic" movement. They see much in Ghandi's teaching which corresponds with these sympathies. Hence a certain bias in the book. They refer repeatedly and rightly to the need for India's unity. Yet, when they call the Christian Church to advance this cause, they pass over without reference the great achievement already made towards unity among the Indian Christians of the South, by the Re-Union Scheme there. Is the silence of these writers due to the fact that their ecclesiastical prejudices are offended by the union of the Anglican Church with their Free Church brothers?

A healthy and necessary corrective to Mr. Winslow and Mr. Elwin's book is supplied by Mr. Stokes' pamphlet. If his phraseology is at times perhaps too strong, that does not detract from the importance of what he says. He pays a fair, and in these days, much needed tribute to the work of the Government of India and



of the provincial governments. He issues wholesome warnings against the evil results for India which would follow upon any hasty concession to the demands of the advanced reformers. Anyone who is inclined to accept with enthusiasm the conclusions of a book like *The Dawn of Indian Freedom* should read Mr. Stokes' pamphlet before making up his own mind on the questions involved.

A. J. M.

JOACHIM OF FLORA. By Henry Bett, M.A. *Methuen*, 1931. 6s.

Readers of Mr. Bett's valuable little book on John the Scot (Camb. Univ. Press, 1925) will welcome his contribution to Methuen's new series, "Great Churchmen of the Middle Ages," edited by Dr. Binns. English readers have not had an opportunity before of learning much about Joachim of Flora, the apocalyptic writer of the twelfth century. Students of prophecy, of the dispensation of the Spirit, and of the Second Advent will welcome this book. Joachim was the first writer on these matters, of whom we have any knowledge, since the days of the Montanists in the second century. Mr. Bett thinks that some of his doctrines may have been influenced by his contact with the Greeks of eastern Europe. He "had a considerable reputation as a prophet in his life-time." Beginning as a Cistercian, he founded the abbey of S. John of Flora, which became the head of a new order of some thirty or forty houses, mostly in Italy. In the sixteenth century they were absorbed by the Cistercians, Carthusians and Dominicans. His writings are marked by loyalty to the Papacy, in contrast with the critical and hostile attitude adopted by his followers in later times. Joachim died in peace in 1202, but many of his successors suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. He was "a gentle, humble, kindly man," devoted to simple works of charity and sharing in the menial work of his monastery.

Joachim's influence on later times was exerted not through his abbeys, but through his writings, in which the apocalyptic note is always present, sometimes striking fantastic tones. Not until some fifty years after his death did his writings begin to create excitement. They were popular with the Franciscans, and Mr. Bett sketches the dispute between that order and the University of Paris. The teaching of Joachim, popular among some of the Friars, gave the seculars a *casus belli* against them. Joachim's ideas contributed to the rise of the "Spirituals," a development which divided the Franciscans in two. It was prevalent among the Fraticelli, Flagellants, Beghards, Bequines and the Brethren of the Free Spirit. Rienzo was attracted by it; it was not unknown among the Hussites of Bohemia, and through Telesphorus influenced Savonarola. The attacks upon the Papacy in the spurious Joachite writings made Joachim popular among the Reformers, and Mr. Bett traces similar ideas in Schelling and the modern Russian writer Merezhkovsky. The fact is, of course, that the notion of a third and final dispensation under the ægis of the Spirit is a notion which has never for long been absent from European religious thought, since the days of Montanus.

From one point of view it is the belief of the Church. Although no doubt the teachings of Joachim long remained current among the pre-Reformation sectaries of southern Europe and Germany, there is no need to trace its influence beyond them. Similar ideas have broken out again among the Second Adventists of modern times, without any direct connection with Joachim. A. J. M.

CHALCEDON. By J. S. MacArthur, B.D. S.P.C.K., 1931. 6s.

There is no end to inquiry into the first five centuries of the Church's history, and Chalcedon has become a dead-end to British scholarship. Yet great tracts of unexplored country this side of Chalcedon, in the field of historical theology, await investigation by British scholars, who continue to neglect the Middle Ages.

Mr. MacArthur has packed a great deal of information into a small compass. He reviews the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. Although clearly influenced by Dr. Bethune-Baker, he does not altogether accept that scholar's findings, and so the Nestorian question is again "as you were." The crux of the matter lies in the interpretation given of *hypostasis* by the contending parties. If, as Mr. MacArthur suggests, contrary to Dr. Bethune-Baker, Nestorius used it in the sense of *ousia*, does that not draw him much closer to Cyril than our author allows? He has some interesting comments on Nestorius's eucharistic doctrine, a matter already dealt with in a recent volume entitled *The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion* (Heffer). Eutyches receives more fair treatment than some writers have assigned to him, and the asperities of Cyril's temperament receive well-deserved rebuke. The Chalcedonian definition made no new contribution to Christology, but it adequately combated views attributed to Nestorius and Eutyches. This is a fair judgment. But it means, as Mr. MacArthur points out, that it was not definitive—Monophysitism remained, and developed into Monothelitism.

The last chapter contains an excellent review of modern literature on the subject. On the other hand, we must suggest that it is hardly historical to speak of an appeal to Rome (p. 38) as though Rome were already recognized as a doctrinal tribunal. Nor is it accurate to describe Celestine or even Leo I as "Pope." Celestine's action may have been high-handed and therefore pope-like, but with Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch still vigorous, no hegemony of the Roman Church and its bishops was yet recognized. Even the action of Leo I did not loom so largely in its own day as in later times when it has been interpreted through the spectacles of later papal supremacy. A. J. M.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By T. Herbert Bindley, D.D. Methuen & Co., Ltd. 6s. net.

It has been recognized in recent times that a knowledge of the period preceding the time of our Lord as well as of the elements of the contemporary life are necessary to a correct understanding of many points in the New Testament. Research has opened out for

us a period almost entirely unknown, and has brought to light a somewhat extensive literature that illuminates many passages in the New Testament. Canon Bindley has brought together in this volume an immense amount of information derived from many sources, and he provides a useful list of books for those who wish to prosecute their studies further. He explains the social and educational conditions in Palestine, and then gives a brief but interesting and adequate account of some of the chief books in Palestine literature. These include the Wisdom Books such as *The Wisdom of Sirach*, and the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the Apocalyptic books such as the *Books of Enoch*, the *Book of Jubilees*, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *The Sibylline Oracles*, *The Psalms of Solomon*, and *The Assumption of Moses*. This section of the work will be found specially useful to students. The remaining chapters deal with varied subjects; the meaning of the term "Messiah" is explained; a fresh account is given of the Jewish Sects—the Scribes, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. The story of the Septuagint is told; a description is given of Galilee; the origin of the Canon and of the Apocrypha is explained; an interesting account is given of Time, Travel, and Letter-writing in New Testament times, and a chapter is devoted to our Lord's use of the Old Testament. A mass of information is collected in these 170 pages which will greatly help students to a better understanding of the New Testament.

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JESUS AND THE GOSPEL OF LOVE. By Charles E. Raven, D.D.  
*Hodder & Stoughton, 1931. 15s.*

People with sensitive temperaments will avoid reading this latest book by Canon Raven. But those who enjoy literary and theological fisticuffs will find several hours of enjoyment provided by this racy book. We might perhaps recommend unreservedly Canon Raven's trenchant writing, if it were always based on knowledge, and if he had the seemliness not to complain when others hit back. "My general results have been attacked, but by assertion and abuse, not by argument," he says, in the preface of his new book. Is Canon Raven never abusive? Let us see: "These little twisted people who set themselves to sneer at the genius and patronize the saint reveal only too clearly the derangement of their own characters." *These little twisted people*—what a phrase to apply to Swinburne, Voltaire, Anatole France and H. G. Wells, all names mentioned by Canon Raven in this context! "Mr. Murry has no right to ignore . . .," "Mr. Robertson (J. M.) possessed the type of ingenuity familiar to us in the underworld of Premillenarianism or of British Israel!" Yet Dr. Raven has the hardihood to inform his readers that "the devil's weapons of sarcasm and superciliousness will not help us." Really, if he would take a little of his own medicine he might find less to complain of in his critics.

But Canon Raven's arrogance becomes even more ludicrous when he is weak in the legs of knowledge. We note that he is

content to quote Loisy and Gardner on the Eucharist. He is not acquainted with the most recent literature on the subject produced by British and Continental writers. Like some other gifted writers who attempt weightier writing, he is caught tripping over the history of the Middle Ages, on which he pronounces with as much confidence as on the Patristic era, which he has thoroughly made his own. We are reminded of the horrors of papal iniquity in the ninth century, when, on the contrary, papal statesmanship and integrity upheld the alliance with the Carolings. He meant to refer to the iniquity of phases of papal history in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He repeats the worn-out statement concerning "the darkness of Carolingian times," and we are informed that it "was not until after the Cluniac revival and by work like that of Lanfranc at Bec that an interest in doctrinal questions was revived." These two statements are as full of errors as a scrap-heap is of rubbish. Reference to Lane Poole's *Illustrations of Medieval Thought and Learning*, to the writings of De Ghellinck, and the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, not to mention the fifth and sixth volumes of Neander's *General Church History*, would have shown how far from being dark these early centuries were. The Cluniac revival was not a revival of learning or of interest in doctrine, but of monastic discipline. The revival of learning in the eleventh century took place in other Benedictine abbeys, at the cathedral schools, at centres like Tours, and above all at Liège and Worms, where the renewed study of canon law left its mark on the reformed Papacy. While it is true that Lanfranc revived learning at Bec, and afterwards in England, it is not true that he had any great interest in doctrinal questions. He was a grammarian and a lawyer, not a theologian and a thinker, and even in the Berengarian controversy he played only a secondary part.

But it is when Canon Raven dismisses the teaching of Barth and Brunner with a couple of pages of Philistine scorn, punctuated by one or two footnotes, that we find it most difficult to maintain patience. If Dr. Raven had taken the trouble to read the German editions of these writers, where alone their ideas are adequately set out, we should feel that he was entitled to his opinion, even though we should still regret his trenchant criticism of a school of theologians and philosophers who have done more for the revival of religion in half a continent than the Liverpool school can ever hope to do in half a city. When he says, "For the English reader Barth *The Word of God and the Word of Man* and Brunner *The Theology of Crisis* are a sufficient introduction," he is either misleading his readers, or hiding his own lack of knowledge behind an admonition. When Sir Edwyn Hoskyn's translation of Barth's commentary on the Romans, and a Scottish translation of his first volume of the *Dogmatik* appear, and when we have secured a translation of Brunner's *Der Mitler*, English readers will perceive what a very unsafe preceptor Canon Raven can be. We are told that Barth's system expresses "the despair of a disillusioned and war-weary

generation." The truth is that Barth's teaching was well developed before 1916, when to any observer in Central Europe the Central Powers were certain of victory, and were by no means war-weary. The charge that to the Barthians "God is wholly and solely transcendent" has already been described by Dr. Brunner as "non-sense" (*The Word and the World*), and in *Zur Lehre vom Heiligen-geist*, Dr. Barth has more than answered his critics on this point, besides confuting the charge that in his teaching there is no "indwelling of the Spirit." If Canon Raven had digested certain passages in the *Römerbrief* on freedom and election, he would have avoided the remark that "such teaching . . . is simply a restatement of Calvinistic orthodoxy in its rigid form." His suggestion that all the Barthian tenets belong to fundamentalism is almost malicious, and is not in any sense tempered by the qualifying clause at the beginning of the passage. The truth is that Barth and Brunner, like Gogarten and Thurneysen, accept the assured results of modern scholarship, psychology, biology and astronomy with as much zeal as Dr. Raven himself, but they more wisely maintain that religion begins where these end. Sir James Jeans has just said something very similar. If Canon Raven finds the Swiss teaching "riddled with inconsistencies," that is because he has had no training in the dialectical method, although he unwittingly pays it a tribute by praising John the Scot. The Scot maintained as consistently as any Barthian that God is unknowable by the mind of man, and when Canon Raven says that "anything less like the faith of Jesus or the evidence of the New Testament can hardly be found in Christian history," and bases his contention on the fact of the Incarnation, he is in the bonds of his own merely human conception of Jesus. The Incarnation took place just because God is unknowable by man, and solely because the revelation must be made through a human person, to meet man's incapacity for direct knowledge of God. It was a revelation of certain qualities of God in a human personality, and the truth of the matter was expressed by Jesus when He said, "No one knoweth . . . the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him."

Canon Raven alleges that the Barthian teaching is a creed of despair. We reply that Canon Raven's own creed is one of unbelief. That is the inward meaning of his hurried search along the by-ways as well as the highways of modern knowledge. He has spent much time in the silent watches by the study lamp: has he yet been smitten on the highway at noon by the vision of the divine Christ? If so, he would not call the Barthian Christology Apollinarian, and set up against it his own Adoptionism. We should avoid such an interrogation of a soul obviously in trouble, which has not yet found peace, if Canon Raven would learn to show a similar consideration for the spiritual struggles of others. Away in Germany there is a little calm man, who kisses his children "Good night!" when they come to say "Good morning!" on their way to school. In term-time at 7 a.m. he is in his lecture-room, opening his teaching with a hymn,

and then going straight to the hearts and souls of 700 students. His books have been translated into many languages, and the student assembly of Bonn is multiplied a thousand-fold. Up in the Alps at Zurich there is another quiet forceful spirit, with a countenance refined by classical study, and an eye which has also seen the vision. He also counts his class by the hundred. These two men are to-day supplying mankind with the Evangel, the "message" for which Canon Raven was asking the clergy of Liverpool around the year 1923, and it is a pathetic tragedy that now the message has been delivered, the distinguished author of this book turns from it without even listening to it, and tries to hinder others from receiving its Light, Life and Love!

But Dr. Raven is not at the end of his pilgrimage, and we shall yet see him appraising the merits of Barth and Brunner, and perhaps supplementing their deficiencies from his own keen brain. We see hope for him in the fact that many of his statements have already a Barthian ring. Like the Swiss doctors, he stresses the need for theology, and condemns the anti-intellectuals. Like them he admits that with Christ "a new thing has come into the world." The Incarnation "is the crucial event in an age-long activity." Like them, he allows that we "cannot know immediately." There is a paradox of growth, and "God alone is the gardener." Most of all, in the statement that "creation and revelation are not two conflicting movements, but one" do we hear the note of the new Evangelism. Like it, he admits that dogmatic expression is necessary. We have not the same confidence in his judgment when he says that the concepts of Goodness, Truth and Beauty have been replaced by Light, Life and Love. If so, this does not necessarily indicate progress. It is a return to Fichte's mysticism and terminology.

However, in this book Canon Raven's theology has taken a great leap forward. The section in which he accepts the historicity of the Fourth Gospel will be accepted with grateful appreciation by many readers. They alone make the book worth while. Possibly he will now be able to give us a real contribution on the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. We looked in vain for it in the *Creator Spirit*, but with the problem of S. John settled for our author, he should now be able to proceed. He will find assistance in Barth's latest pronouncement. What he has not yet realized is that the gospel of the Jesus of history is finished, and modern man is asking for something much more. Jesus, approached from the merely human side, does not take us very far. We must let Him approach us from the divine side, and then behold our God. Modern man, in his religion, wants God, not human knowledge or its fruits, not even when they are summed up in the Jesus of history. Canon Raven's fundamental theological mistake is revealed in the teaching that Christianity is a revelation of the true character of the natural, not an intrusion of the supernatural. If this be so, then Christianity is merely natural science, and we shall find its true character in biology and chemistry, physics and astronomy. It is just because

Christianity is an intrusion of the divine that it has the power to lift men up and inspire them with faith, which is vastly more than the hope offered by the Jesus of history theology. When a man realizes that God comes seeking him, he goes "homing" to the Father's call, the more easily since that call is uttered in the Word which is Christ, and is heard in the soul by the indwelling Spirit of God. We are not alone in our response, the Spirit of God is in us and with us—that is Barth's message and Brunner's teaching.

A. J. M.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CURE OF DISEASE. By George S. Marr, M.A., B.D., M.B., D.Litt. *H. R. Allenson, Ltd., Racquet Court, E.C.* 5s.

The object of the author is to establish the position the Church should adopt with reference to the cure of disease, in obedience to the command of Jesus—"Preach the gospel . . . heal the sick," which command was given through the disciples to the whole Church of Christ. Religion and Medicine before the time of Christ—our Lord's ministry of healing and the healing work of the Disciples and St. Paul, are carefully discussed, and we are taken through successive periods of history—the first Three Centuries and the progress of the healing art—from the time of Constantine to the Reformation. This is followed by an interesting summary of movements since the Reformation for the cure of disease. A chapter is devoted to the influence of mind upon body, and the final chapter—on "Conclusion"—is important, and the author being both a clergyman and a physician, is well qualified for the task he has undertaken and carried out so effectively. The index greatly adds to the utility of the volume.

S. R. C.

VITALITY. By Malcolm Spencer, M.A. *London: Student Christian Movement.* 3s. 6d.

This book will be found decidedly out of the ordinary. One of the Appendices sets out the aims of what is known as the Auxiliary Movement. This is a fellowship of men and women who desire to understand the Christian Faith; to live the Christian Life; and to find the Christian Way. Its members desire to commit themselves to God and to each other in a common effort to put into practice certain Affirmations or articles of faith which are succinctly stated. In another Appendix will be found "Four Services of Thanksgiving," to be used either for private or corporate prayer.

The earlier chapters of the book aim at defining what is meant by God's Vitality and showing how it reaches men, and it is described as an invitation and a guide to a greater vitality and joy in living. It has been written with the conviction that for many "life is sadly impoverished compared with what it might be."

We remember a certain Curate's egg and the young Ecclesiastic's historic description of it,—“parts of it are excellent!”

S. R. C.

## CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

**Confirmation.**—A Confirmation Address by Bishop Knox has been added to our Confirmation series, and is published at *9d.* per dozen or *4s.* per 100. The Address has been republished in response to several requests and will, we feel sure, be much appreciated.

We have received from the Church Missionary Society, a copy of a recent publication of theirs entitled *The Merry Mountaineer*, by R. W. Howard, Head Master of Liverpool College. The title is a very fitting one for the story of Clifford Harris of Persia, and gives a true description and glimpse of the vivid character of the young missionary who gave his life for the Persians. Cheerfulness and courage are the keynotes of the character portrayed in the book, and most interesting are the vivid descriptions of his romantic campaign of unselfish service and teaching among the villagers round Isfahan, in the intervals of a busy school routine. The book is an inspiration to all who read it, and is a very fitting gift to confirmees. It is published at *1s.*

**Evangelical Doctrine.**—In our advertisement columns will be found an advertisement of *The Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion*, edited by Dr. Macdonald, Rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West (*7s. 6d.*). We strongly recommend this book. It is a volume of historical and doctrinal essays of unique value and importance. It is marked with true scholarship, and the reader is directed to first-hand sources of information both in general at the close of each essay and in detail in footnotes. It is not too much to say that this book should not only be in the library of every Theological College but in that of every minister of religion.

**Missionary Books.**—The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society have sent us three missionary books for young people which we have pleasure in commending. *Chopsticks*, by F. I. Codrington (*2s. 6d.*), which has reached its third edition, has the following new features: a coloured frontispiece, a number of extra illustrations, and a foreword by Lady Hosie; *Priceless Jewel*, by D. S. Batley (*1s. 6d.*), is a good story of missionary adventure in India; and *Birds of a Feather*, by A. M. Robinson (*1s. 6d.*), is an interesting and well-illustrated story of one term's jolly doings at a home school for children of missionaries.

**The XXXIX Articles.**—The Rev. C. M. Chavasse has written a pamphlet entitled *The XXXIX Articles as the Faith of the National Church*, which is published by the World's Evangelical Alliance at *3d.* The pamphlet is a valuable one, and in a short space gives the history, the value and the teaching of the Articles in clear and concise paragraphs. The greater part of the pamphlet deals with the question of the real issue now at stake, the Assent to the *Articles* and Revision.

**Famous Men.**—Under the editorship of Sir Harry Johnston, a new series of books is being published by Messrs. Collins at *3s. 6d.* each. The series is as follows: (1) *A Book of Great Authors*, (2) *A Book of Great Voyages*, (3) *A*



*Book of Empire Builders*, (4) *A Book of Great Travellers*, (5) *A Book of Empire Heroes*, (6) *A Book of Great Sailors*. The first volume gives short sketches of the lives of ten famous men, including Homer, Virgil, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton and Lessing. The second volume has six short biographies, including Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain Cook and Captain Vancouver. The third has eight sketches of the lives of eminent men, three of whom are Peter the Great, William Pitt and Bismarck. The fourth volume contains short stories of the adventures of eight great travellers, including Alexander Kinglake, Frederick Selous, Harry Derwent and Marianne North. The fifth contains sketches of the lives of eight empire heroes, including Livingstone, Stanley and Sir Francis Younghusband. The last volume gives the principal events in the lives of eight great sailors, including Columbus, the two Cabots and Martin Frobisher. The books are attractively got up and are brightly written. They are rich in educational value.

**Oxford Movement Centenary.**—A series of "Tracts for the Times" particularly suitable for insertion in parish magazines during the coming year has been published by the "Conference of West of England Clergy in the dioceses of Exeter, Truro, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury." No. 1 is in the form of questions and answers as to what the Oxford Movement is, and what is the outcome of the Movement. No. 2 gives extracts from the writings of the various founders of the Movement, and is entitled *The Founders of the Anglo-Catholic Movement Tread the Way to Rome*. No. 3 consists of extracts from Froude's diary and Newman's *Apologia*. No. 4 is a statement of Newman's attack on the XXXIX Articles. No. 5 is a statement as to John Keble's position, particularly in regard to the famous Tract 90. No. 6 takes for its title *The Oxford Movement and Holy Scripture*, and is divided into two sections: 1, *The Bible is supreme over the Church*, and 2, *The Bible is supreme over tradition*. The Tracts are published at 1s. per 100, post free.

**Parochial Church Councils.**—The following forms and books have been issued by the Church Book Room: *The Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure*, with complete Text, Introduction, and Notes, by Albert Mitchell, 1s.; *The Enabling Act*, with complete Text and the Constitution of the National Assembly of the Church of England, with Notes, Introduction, and "Ladder of Lay Representation," and other Appendices, including Diocesan Conferences Regulation, 1922, Representation of the Laity Measure, 1929, etc., by Albert Mitchell, 1s.; *Parochial Church Councils*, a leaflet for distribution amongst P.C.C. members, by Albert Mitchell, 3s. per 100; *Parochial Electors' Roll Book*, containing 100 sheets and with alphabetical index cut through, 3s. 6d.; *Application for Enrolment on Church Electoral Roll*, 1s. per 100; also printed on card for Card Index System, 1s. 6d. per 100; *Notice of Enrolment of a Non-Resident*, 10d. per 100; *Notice to Cancel Entry in another Parish*, 10d. per 100; *Notice of Removal to another Parish*, 10d. per 100; *Notice of Revision of Church Electoral Roll*, 1d. each, 9d. per dozen; *Notice of Annual Parochial Church Meeting*, 1d. each, 9d. per dozen; *Notice of Joint Meeting for electing Churchwardens*, 1d. each, 9d. per dozen; *Notice of Parochial Church Council Meeting (for Church Door)*, 3d. per dozen; *Notice of Parochial Council Meeting with Agenda*, 1s. 6d. per 100; *Form of Parochial Voting Papers*, with space for 20 names, 2s. 6d. per 100; 40 names 2s. 6d. per 100; *Electoral Roll Sheets*, 2s. per 100; *Nomination Forms to Diocesan Conference*, 6d. per dozen; *Nomination Forms to House of Laity*, 6d. per dozen; *Nomination Forms to Parochial Church Council*, 1s. per 100. Sample packets of the above leaflets and forms can be supplied on application, price 3d. post free.