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Clio Observed: A Survey of Recent Literature in Ecclesiastical History

JOHN GORDON ROWE

THIS survey article hopes to convey information about recent publications in such a way as to persuade as many as possible to read the books for themselves. In an age of little time and even less leisure this is no easy task. Perhaps it will be helpful to begin with that area of historical studies which touches us most closely.

I. CHRISTIANITY IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Until quite recently, our knowledge of Canadian history advanced in bits and pieces. In some instances, this took the form of biography, e.g., T. R. Millman's studies of Jacob Mountain and Charles James Stewart. Often it pursued some particular theme: S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, 1948) and W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto, 1955). Now the threads of previous research have been drawn together in H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1956). The broad patterns of Canadian church history are before us: the rivalry between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; the intimate connection between politics and religion which may be studied further in J. S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West* (Toronto, 1959) and C. J. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education* (Toronto, 1959); the longing for church union, induced by a medley of motives, theological and otherwise; the sectarian protest against establishments of any kind, even the Free Church variety. The publication of Walsh's work marks the coming of age of Canadian church history. When we recall the great role played by Christianity in the growth of this nation, this development may be justly described as long overdue.

In the United States, the discipline of church history, though young, waxes mightily. Gone is the old denominational history where all too often the past pandered to the prejudices of the present. In its place have come such scholarly works as J. T. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931* (New York, 1951), and A. R. Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia, 1955). For the history of Presbyterianism, there is the group of interesting essays edited by G. J. Slosser, *They Seek a Country* (New York, 1955), and the document collection by

M. W. Armstrong and others, *The Presbyterian Enterprise* (Philadelphia, 1956). Most striking are *Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee, 1956) and *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1956), both by John Tracy Ellis, who projects lucidly the tremendous growth of Roman Catholicism in America during the last century. By way of a thematic approach, mention should be made of A. P. Stokes, *Church and State in the United States* (New York, 1950), or the valuable work of R. M. Miller, *American Protestantism and Social issues, 1919-1937* (Chapel Hill, 1958). However, in American church history, all roads lead ultimately to William Warren Sweet. *The American Churches, An Interpretation* (New York, 1948), the slim volume of essays, *American Culture and Religion* (Dallas, 1951), and *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840* (New York, 1952), do much to place American Protestantism firmly within its historical setting.

After Sweet, whither? Studies in denominationalism or in the sociology of religion? New interpretations such as J. C. Brauer's attractive *Protestantism in America* (Philadelphia, 1953) or the disquieting analyses provided in W. Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (New York, 1955), will always be welcome. For the general reader, however, the way forward will lie in such works as W. L. Wolf, *The Almost Chosen People* (New York, 1959), a moving record of the spiritual development of Abraham Lincoln.

II. PURITANISM

As a bridge between the New World and the Old, what can serve better than Puritanism? Our contemporary understanding of Puritanism stresses, first of all, its diversity. Within Puritanism we find such repellent buffoons as Hugh Peter, whose life is ably recounted in R. P. Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan* (Urbana, Ill., 1954) as well as the noble Richard Baxter. The best of recent work on Baxter is G. F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge* (London, 1951). For the development of Congregationalism, the same author's *Visible Saints* (London, 1957) is indispensable. Secondly, new emphasis is placed on the mystical elements in Puritanism, and it is now quite clear that Puritanism is the rock from which Quakerism is hewn. See in this connection, Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Westminster, 1948), and the splendid new edition of the *Journal of George Fox*, edited by J. L. Nickalls, with the assistance of G. F. Nuttall and H. J. Cadbury (London, 1952). Then too we have a new conception of the dynamic character of Puritanism and (dare we say it?) its catholicity. If Puritanism held to *sola scriptura* and assurance gained through conversion, it eschewed total depravity and double predestination, conjoined faith and reason, made faith a work and divine grace something to be pursued. The Puritan lived in no parson-ridden society. Rather, he was sceptical of witchcraft and devoted to science, secular music and conjugal love. Was Puritanism directly connected with the growth of capitalism and thus a stop on the

road to secularism (as suggested by Troeltsch, Weber and Tawney)? W. Schenk, in his *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution* (New York, 1948), is resolutely negative. On the other hand, D. B. Robertson, *The Religious Foundations of Leveller Democracy* (New York, 1951), and W. Haller, *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (New York, 1955) emphasize the powerful contribution made by Puritanism in the development of liberal attitudes. Little wonder today that Puritanism's children in the eighteenth century proved to be *both* evangelicalism and rationalism. Here the works of G. R. Cragg are useful: *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660-1688* (London, 1957) and *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (London, 1950).

Note that this powerfully optimistic movement produced at its close its own greatest critic. Perry Miller's *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1949) provides a sobering image of a prophet crying in an American wilderness of complacent materialism.

III. ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY

For Pre-Reformation England, we are fortunate to have a new survey by W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), an excellent introduction to the world of Wycliffe, Walter Hilton *et al.* For the sixteenth century, our attention goes first to the Roman Catholic Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1950-1954). This vigorous fusion of interpretation and research is marred by a lack of historical perspective, a somewhat injudicious use of sources and an almost total failure to get inside of those Englishmen who were avid in that age for reform and regeneration. As an antidote, there is always the brilliant sketch by F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1953). As for Thomas Cranmer, interest never fails. G. W. Bromiley in *Thomas Cranmer, Theologian* (London, 1956) tries not altogether successfully to convince us of the truth contained in the title. Other English Reformers have been honoured recently with good biographies: A. G. Chester and H. S. Darby on Latimer and J. G. Ridley on Nicholas Ridley. For the liturgiologist, there is the new book by C. W. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers* (London, 1958), an original work but to many unconvincing.

Beyond these, there is the great theme of the formation of Anglicanism in the face of an emergent Puritanism which could see little in the Establishment beyond an unfortunate mixture of popery and the Gospel. This process may be traced in H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (London, 1958), and L. B. Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics* (Princeton, 1953). P. M. Dawley's *John Whitgift and the English Reformation* (London, 1954) though brief is extremely well written. An essential dimension to this great subject is revealed in C. Hill, *Economic Problems in the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (London,

1956). For the national church after the Commonwealth, the basic study is R. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (Westminster, 1951). To this should be added B. H. G. Wormald, *Clarendon; Politics, History and Religion* (London, 1951). G. Every, *The High Church Party, 1688-1718* (London, 1956), is reliable and readable. The seventeenth century offers rich scope for the biographer. M. F. Reidy and P. A. Welsby have written on Lancelot Andrewes, H. P. Thompson on Thomas Bray, Edward F. Carpenter on Thomas Sherlock, Thomas Tenison and Henry Compton, and G. V. Bennett on White Kennett. L. G. Locke's study of Tillotson (Copenhagen, 1954) is a "must" for preachers.

Will the controversy over Anglican doctrine of church and ministry in the sixteenth and seventeenth century never cease? Among the recent contributions are N. Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (London, 1956), and the all too brief treatment in E. R. Fairweather's *Episcopacy Re-asserted* (London, 1955). In this connection, H. F. Woodhouse, *The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, 1547-1603* (London, 1954) is a useful compendium of opinions.

A special word must be reserved for Norman Sykes whose labours have done much to rescue the eighteenth century from the slanders of Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. His recent studies include *From Sheldon to Secker* (London, 1959) and the great biography of Archbishop Wake (London, 1957). For intellectual history, R. N. Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1954) is a monograph of outstanding value. In the vast domain of Wesley studies, a translation from the German of the great biography of Martin Schmidt is in the offing. A. P. Whitney, *The Basis of Opposition to Methodism in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1951), is an excellent contribution to a delicate problem. R. M. Cameron, *The Rise of Methodism* (New York, 1954), is a good source book. F. A. Norwood, *Church Membership in the Methodist Tradition* (Nashville, 1958) is a splendid and useful study. For the subsequent effects of Methodism on British society, the many works of R. Wearmouth are essential. Other aspects of the great evangelical revival have been much studied of late, usually in the form of biographies. G. C. B. Davies, *The Early Cornish Evangelicals* (London, 1951), and L. E. Elliott-Binns, *The Early Evangelicals* (London, 1953), will serve as an introduction to what is rapidly becoming a veritable school in historical studies.

In the nineteenth century, J. C. S. Nias, *Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter* (London, 1951) and G. C. B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter* (London, 1954) deal (among other things) with one of the more interesting incidents in the Oxford Movement. The biography, *Dean Church* (London, 1958), by B. A. Smith forms a pleasing introduction to the Movement's best historiographer. The best study on F. D. Maurice remains A. R. Vidler, *Witness to the Light* (New York, 1948). L. E. Elliott-Binns, *English Thought, 1860-1900: the Theological Aspect* (London, 1956) is a reliable work.

For the twentieth century, there are already many studies. Varying in quality but not in interest are the biographies of Cosmo Gordon Lang by J. G. Lockhart, William Temple by F. A. Iremonger, and Cyril Foster Garbett by C. Smyth. E. K. H. Jordan, *Free Church Unity* (London, 1956), is excellent. Even more important is J. W. Grant, *Free Churchmanship in England, 1870-1940* (London, 1955). For a general survey there is the new work by Horton Davies, *The English Free Churches* (London, 1952). A short work by E. I. Watkin, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950* (London, 1957), is excellent.

IV. THE REFORMATION: PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC

There is little doubt that we are weak in our understanding of the two centuries preceding the Reformation. Passing by the larger syntheses of an older generation (a new edition of Imbart de la Tour is in progress) which are now only more or less satisfactory, attention should be called to the article by W. K. Ferguson, "The Church in a Changing Age," *American Historical Review*, LIX (1953-1954). Beyond this, the reader might begin with the splendid work of G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (2nd ed., Paris, 1949), and W. Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism in 1378* (London, 1948), the latter giving much insight into the destructive effects of nationalism in the late medieval period. From here, he might pass to that seedbed of the Reformation, Bohemia, to read F. G. Heymann, *John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, 1955) and Peter Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren* (The Hague, 1957). Then, he might go on to the Conciliar Movement, which is receiving renewed interest. The truly superb monograph of B. Tierney, *The Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (London, 1955), deserves a wide circle of readers, and J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (London, 1959), is a feast of learning. As for that biblical humanism which came to such noble expression in Erasmus and others, our reader will be well advised to consult the pertinent sections of the great work of F. Hermans, *Histoire doctrinale de l'humanisme chrétien* (Tournai, 1948).

At the centre of the sixteenth century stands the figure of Luther. He is no longer the Luther who was so dear to liberalism—the apostle of modernity, liberty and individualism. He is now a paradox. The rebel against medieval religion remained a child of the Middle Ages. The prophet against a decadent ecclesiasticism became a churchman, the founder of a new scholasticism. The apostle of a purer church proved unwittingly the cat's paw of princes. What other life tells us so much about the nature of Protestantism, its grandeur and its misery? Satisfactory biographies are hard to find. R. H. Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York, 1950), is to be preferred to R. H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York, 1957). The publication in translation of the older work of H. Boehmer, *Martin Luther: the Road to Reformation* (London, 1957), gives much insight into the changing

fashions in Luther scholarship, a phenomenon investigated by E. W. Zeeden in his *The Legacy of Luther* (London, 1954). Roman Catholic investigations of Luther are improving in delicacy of treatment and objectivity of judgement. The chapters by E. de Moreau in Volume XVI of the great Fliche-Martin-Jarry *Histoire de l'Église* (Paris, 1956) are a good example of this welcome trend.

Of the many recent studies in Luther's doctrines, only a handful may be cited. The work of Swedish scholars is presented in E. M. Carlson, *The Reinterpretation of Luther* (Philadelphia, 1948). R. Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* (Philadelphia, 1953), and G. Wingren, *Luther on Vocation* (Philadelphia, 1957), are good studies. F. E. Cranz, *An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law and Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), is outstanding for its lucid treatment of a difficult subject. Readers should be reminded that there is a new translation of Luther's works appearing under the direction of J. Pelikan. Perhaps as companions to these volumes one might cite E. G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London, 1953), and H. Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought* (St. Louis, 1958).

With Calvin, the monumental biography by E. Domergue remains in French. There is, unfortunately, no comparable treatment in English. T. H. L. Parker, *Portrait of Calvin* (London, 1954), is thin stuff. The new translation of E. Stickelberger's *Calvin* (London, 1959) provides a popular biography which is refreshingly enthusiastic. As for his teaching, A. M. Hunter, *The Teaching of Calvin* (2nd ed., London, 1950), is a poor book, and A. Dakin's *Calvinism* (London, 1940) is brief, little more. For a more extended treatment, there are the great work of F. Wendel of Strassbourg, *Calvin: sources et évolution de sa pensée religieuse* (Paris, 1950), and the comprehensive, but readable, discussion provided by W. Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin* (Philadelphia, 1956). Two studies, one by T. H. L. Parker, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God* (Grand Rapids, 1958), the other by E. A. Dowey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* (New York, 1952), deal with the crucial point in Calvin's doctrine. Paul van Buren, *Christ in Our Place* (Edinburgh, 1957), is a readable and competent study of Calvin's teaching on the Atonement. For those who like provocative writing, T. F. Torrance, *Calvin's Doctrine of Man* (Grand Rapids, 1957) is certain of effect. The list of monographs, including those by such excellent scholars as H. Quistorp and R. S. Wallace, is almost endless. Any mention of Calvin must perforce include mention of Servetus. R. H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic* (Boston, 1953), is definitive. In this connection, one should refer to the standard work of J. Lecler, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris, 1955), and to E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945-1952). There is still no adequate edition of the *Institutes* in English. However, the *Library of Christian Classics* is devoting an entire volume to Calvin's biblical commentaries, and the result is wonderful testimony to Calvin's power in exegesis. In conclusion, there is the much discussed book by J. T. McNeill, *The History*

and *Character of Calvinism* (New York, 1954). For its learning and breadth of judgement there can be only praise. Yet the work rests uneasily in this reader's hands owing to a certain diffuseness and uncertainty in dealing with theological matters.

It is still not easy for the general English reader to lay hold of many satisfactory works on Zwingli. O. Farner, *Zwingli the Reformer* (New York, 1952), is a brief study by the leading authority in the field. With regard to Martin Bucer, G. J. van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas* (Assen, 1954), shows why this great liturgical scholar was so dear to Thomas Cranmer.

A special word on Anabaptism. The old interpretation, derived from Reformed and Catholic authorities alike, was that Anabaptism was a lunatic fringe movement whose most characteristic expression was the apocalyptic horrors of Thomas Munzer and his colleagues at Münster. The unremitting labours of American Mennonite scholars and the German savants on the Täuferakten Kommission are gradually revising this picture. A good modern interpretation of Anabaptism may be found in the splendid commentary provided by George Williams of Harvard in the pertinent volume of the *Library of Christian Classics*. As regards individual works, pride of place belong to the beautiful biography by H. S. Bender, *The Life and Letters of Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, Ind., 1950), and F. Littell, *The Anabaptist Vision of the Church* (2nd ed. rev., Boston, 1958).

For works dealing with the Reformers as a whole, despite a turgid style, R. E. Davies, *The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers* (London, 1946), is adequate and should be read in conjunction with W. A. Mueller, *Church and State in Luther and Calvin* (Nashville, 1954) and J. K. S. Reid, *The Authority of Scripture* (New York, 1957). T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church* (Edinburgh, 1956), affords a stimulating point of departure for general studies in the theology of the Reformation. W. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation* (London, 1955), is an original work on an important topic.

In the field of historical studies dealing with the Catholic Reformation, there is an intensified interest either in local history or in some of the movement's leaders. An example of the latter would be R. M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoletto* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). However the chief event of late is the publication in translation of the first volume of H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1957). The riches of this volume are many and varied. For those interested in that most characteristic of all institutions of the Catholic Reformation, the Society of Jesus, there are the many popular studies by James Brodrick. His *St. Francis Xavier* (New York, 1952) is worthy of special praise.

Many scholars continue to try their hand at short treatments of the Reformation as a whole. The works of R. H. Bainton, Norman Sykes and G. L. Mosse are reliable and complement each other. Especially attractive is the essay of E. Harris Harbison, *The Age of the Reformation* (Ithaca,

1955). On a larger scale, H. J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era, 1500-1650* (New York, 1954), is the best thing of its kind.

Sooner or later most Protestant church historians succumb to the temptation of producing a work on the significance of the Reformation for the contemporary church and world. J. S. Whale, *The Protestant Tradition* (London, 1955), for all its vigour, is weakened by a failure to keep abreast of the latest research. By way of contrast, there is W. Pauck, *The Heritage of the Reformation* (Boston, 1950), a group of distinguished essays touching upon not only the Reformation but also the subsequent history of Protestantism.

For the history of Roman Catholicism after Trent, space limits us to four works. Owen Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman* (London, 1957), is a much needed investigation of the idea of doctrinal development. E. N. Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Church* (Chicago, 1954), is a useful doctoral dissertation. A. R. Vidler's study of Lamennais, *Prophecy and Papacy* (London, 1954), offers much insight into one of the basic dilemmas in modern Catholicism while E. E. Y. Hales, *The Catholic Church in the Modern World* (New York, 1958), will offer food for thought on the resurgent power of the Roman Church.

V. THE MIDDLE AGES

What better introduction here than the Venerable Bede? There is a new edition in *Everyman* with an introduction by David Knowles. As a companion to this, there are many sprightly volumes of E. S. Duckett. Her latest is *Wandering Saints of the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1959). For the friar movement in the High Middle Ages there is also a new edition of the *Little Flowers of St. Francis* in Penguin. R. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government* (London, 1959), is most valuable and D. L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (London, 1952), is an excellent study of a great Franciscan prelate. The same high level of scholarship adorns research into the Dominicans. W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), is one of the finest monographs to appear in recent years, and the accomplished J. H. R. Moorman has contributed *The Grey Friars in Cambridge* (New York, 1952). Yet all this is mere prolegomenon to David Knowles, whose final volume in his *The Religious Orders in England* (London, 1959) has just appeared. Here is fairness, sincerity and lucidity. No romanticism mars this writing, and no polemic either. Knowles is neither Gasquet, the dubious apologist, nor G. G. Coulton, once described as the best controversialist this side of the Antichrist. "Behold, a greater than Solomon is here."

The problem of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* continues to attract the attention of the finest scholars. M. Pacaut's *Alexandre III* (Paris, 1956) fills a large gap. There is a new edition of H. X. Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme Politique* (Paris, 1955). The most recent contribution is a highly controversial study

by N. F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089-1135* (Princeton, 1958). The great revival in the study of canon law continues to bring forth much fruit: B. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), and two works by W. Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism* (London, 1949) and *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), are among the ripest and richest. For life on the parish level, G. H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London, 1954), and C. E. Boyd's forthright *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, 1952) are illuminating to our understanding. Overshadowing all these, however, is the publication in translation of the first volume of G. Schnurrer's great work, *Church and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Paterson, N.J., 1956). For intellectual history the general reader will still find F. B. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., New York, 1954) useful. Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought*, recently published in *Penguin*, is a good survey while Ewart Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas* (London, 1954), is an excellent collection of documents with commentary. No discussion of the Medieval Church is complete without reference to heresy. The Cathari seem to hold the centre of attention. Most easily accessible is S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichae* (Cambridge, 1947). However, the definitive treatment remains A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953).

In concluding this brief survey, it is to be observed that 1954 produced many works dealing with the schism of 1054. Perhaps the most useful of these was S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (London, 1955). As for the child and heir of Byzantine Christianity, the Russian Church has received increasing attention in the last generation from such writers as G. P. Fedotov, G. Vernadsky and N. Zernov. The last-named has written an excellent introduction in *The Russians and their Church* (London, 1954). To it may be added S. Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity* (Philadelphia, 1950), and N. Gorodetsky, *St. Tikhon Zadonsky* (London, 1951), a work highly recommended to those interested in Russian spirituality. Books on Christianity in contemporary Russia remain as controversial as ever. See M. Spinka, *The Church in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1956).

VI. PATRISTICS AND MISSIONS

We have deliberately left patristics and missions to the end. In no other areas of church historical studies is the current situation more removed from "Business as usual" or where the trends in current research are so fruitful for contemporary faith and practice. The increasingly tenuous connection between the Church and contemporary western civilization, the longing among all Christians for unity and for a solution to those problems of authority which plague a divided Christendom—all these urge us towards the study of the Early Church. New editions and translations appear on all sides. Of the latter, *Sources chrétiennes*, *Ancient Christian Writers* and *The Fathers of the Church* are good examples, although preference might be exercised in the above order. As regards the volumes of the *Library of*

Christian Classics, the felicity of its selections as well as the excellence of its translations and notes should make it required reading for all literate Christians. To the much used one-volume collections by H. Bettenson and T. H. Bindley may now be added E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority* (London, 1952), and J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius* (London, 1957), a splendid collection of translations under a most misleading title.

J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1958), has replaced the earlier work by Bethune-Baker. On a much grander scale is H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956 f.). Other reliable studies on general topics are J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950), R. L. P. Milburn, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* (London, 1954), and S. L. Greenslade, *Schism in the Early Church* (London, 1953).

The sixteenth centenary of Augustine's birth elicited a plethora of tributes, of which H. Marrou, *St. Augustine and His Influence Through the Ages* (New York, 1957), is a good example. R. W. Battenhouse edited *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (New York, 1955), a book which will please those who think that liberal Protestant interpretations are fruitful for Augustinian exegesis. Only the highest praise can be accorded the great study by W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (London, 1952). The fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon was also observed by the publication of many books. R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London, 1953) is a good study, but it will be overshadowed unfortunately by the three volumes of essays edited by A. Grillmeier, *Das Konzil von Chalcedon* (Würzburg, 1951-1954). Some of the essays in these volumes will take permanent rank among the finest produced by patristic scholars in this century.

For the earlier Fathers, E. F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (London, 1957), is a concise study. As for Origen, what better introduction could be found than the translations of the *Contra Celsum* (London, 1953) and of *Origen's Treatise on Prayer* (London, 1954) by H. Chadwick and E. G. Jay respectively? For Irenaeus, there is the monograph by G. Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation* (Edinburgh, 1959). No survey dealing with the second century can, of course, ignore the problem of the ministry. K. M. Carey edited a group of essays, *The Historic Episcopate* (London, 1954), to which E. R. Fairweather has written a reply (*supra*). The work of A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession* (London, 1953), is distinguished by its treatment of the problem of the succession lists. For a brilliant study by a reformed divine, there can be little improvement on T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* (Edinburgh, 1955). Approaching the problem of authority from a different perspective is E. Flesseman-van Leer, *Tradition and Scripture in the Early Church* (Assen, 1954). This solid piece of research exhibits an extreme rigidity which fails to appreciate the dynamic character of the Christian tradition in the second century. At this point mention should be made of the masterly study by O. Cullman, *Peter* (Philadelphia, 1953). For those who wish to join the milling throngs digging

under St. Peter's, J. Toynbee and J. W. Perkins in their *The Shrine of St. Peter* (London, 1956) prove admirable *ciceroni*.

For the problem of church and state, S. L. Greenslade, *Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius* (London, 1954), is a brief introductory study. Even more attractive is R. M. Grant, *The Sword and the Cross* (New York, 1955). A compelling theological interpretation of the problem is offered by E. Stauffer in his *Christ and the Caesars* (London, 1955). Constantine continues to vex our understanding. Perhaps A. Alföldi has provided the answer in his *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (London, 1948).

The truly great problems remain: Gnosticism and the Hellenization of the Gospel. For the first, there is a magnificent bibliography to which H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston, 1958) and R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem* (London, 1958) are recent additions. For the second, to the great names of Harnack, Bauer and Bultmann we now add M. Werner for his *The Formation of Christian Dogma* (London, 1957). Many reviews, especially those issuing from English preserves of establishment and orthodoxy, were written in the withering tone reserved for that which is not only distasteful but also telling. Perverse the book certainly is, and when the end is reached we are hard put to it to decide whether we have read a "tract for the times" by a liberal Protestant theologian or rather a sincere attempt to render intelligible the dogmatic development of Christianity. Nonetheless, this inspired fantasia on the thought of the Early Church must receive the closest study. By way of opposing viewpoints, G. Dix, *Jew and Greek* (Westminster, 1953), deserves only passing notice. Utterly different is H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth* (London, 1954). This book is exquisitely written. How the cadences which conclude each chapter with the Trinitarian formula will remind the musician of the trill climaxes of a Mozart concerto! Here is a systematic attempt to prove the priority of Catholic Christianity to heresy and Gnosticism. His arguments have great power. Nevertheless, there is an apologetic tone which endows the triumphs of orthodoxy with an unhistorical inevitability.

All this is supremely important. Yet just how important is not clear to all. Philip Carrington in his *The Early Christian Church* (London, 1957) judged the problem of Hellenization to be beyond the scope of a work which runs to a thousand pages. Thus, for all its interest, his book is a bitter disappointment, all the more because it comes from a scholar whose discussion of the problem might well have been magisterial. The question which Werner and others are debating and which Carrington refused to consider is really this: What is Christianity and what is it not?

Turning to missions, the last decade has seen an almost incredible accretion of an already formidable bibliography. The denominational approach continues to be popular. R. G. Torbet, *Venture of Faith* (Philadelphia, 1955), is devoted to the activities of the American Baptists. Three volumes of W. C. Barclay's *The History of Methodist Missions* (New York, 1949-1957) have appeared. Much too has been done with societies. H. P. Thomp-

son, *Into All Lands* (London, 1951), is a reliable account of the S.P.G. H. J. Cnattinguis, *Bishops and Societies* (London, 1952), is the fascinating account of the growth within a national church of a true missionary consciousness. Best of all is N. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1954). With regard to specific areas of missionary activity, for Africa there is the standard work of C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1949–1955), and this work should be read in conjunction with the anthology edited by Horton Davies and R. H. W. Shepherd, *South African Missions* (London, 1954). Recent works on China and India—L. M. Outerbridge, *The Lost Churches of China* (Philadelphia, 1952), P. A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats* (Princeton, 1952), and L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1956)—have elicited mixed reactions but are worth reading for all that. For a general survey, E. A. Payne, *The Growth of the New World Church* (London, 1955), is satisfactory. Of special merit is K. S. Latourette, *The Christian World Mission in Our Day* (New York, 1954). This is a brief but excellent contribution in a field which this celebrated American scholar has made uniquely his own and one which reveals its author's abilities not only as a student of the past but also as a prophet of the future.

Closely allied here is the Ecumenical Movement. B. Sundkler, *The Church of South India* (London, 1954), is a fair-minded review of the developments leading to union. A readable history of the Movement as a whole is found in N. V. Hope, *One Christ, One World, One Church* (Philadelphia, 1953). R. Rouse and S. C. Neill are joint editors of *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* (Philadelphia, 1954). The essays in this volume are admittedly uneven, but the contribution made by J. T. McNeill is particularly outstanding. W. R. Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations* (New York, 1952), is a rewarding treatment of the rise of ecumenism out of the missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. The World Council of Churches increasingly attracts the attention of historians. G. K. A. Bell, *The Kingship of Christ*, published in *Penguin* (1954), is the best short survey available.

VII. SYNTHESSES

Inevitably, the question arises: Where is the larger synthesis? We live in an Alexandrian age. Criticism has replaced creation. The triumphs of the Muse are often preserved in such monumental creations as the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, or the new work edited by T. Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, to mention only two which are even now in the process of publication. Perhaps the modern historian is wary of the works which range widely (and wildly?) over the vast reaches of Christian history. Many and grievous are the dangers. R. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (New York, 1950), is an unfortunate work which tells us more of Knox than of Luther, Wesley, and Fénelon. T. M. Parker, *Christianity and the State in the Light of History* (London, 1955), avoids

all difficulties by keeping to a fairly superficial treatment. More will be gained from J. B. Morrall and S. Z. Ehler, *Church and State Through the Centuries* (London, 1954), a good collection of translations from the Roman Catholic point of view. H. R. Niebuhr and D. D. Williams edited *The Ministry in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1956); yet this is only a collection of essays. On the other hand, J. T. McNeill, *A History of the Cure of Souls* (New York, 1951), fails through lack of definition.

What is to be made of C. Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York, 1950)? A truly magnificent command of the material is hampered by a failure to ask the right questions and to abide patiently the answer. What was the meaning of freedom in the Middle Ages and what were its true sources? What do we mean by "sacred" and "secular" in medieval civilization, and what was the true meaning of the tensions which marked relations between church and state in the later Middle Ages? Will secularism suffice as an answer? Or consider K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York, 1953). This condensation of an overwhelming amount of material into one large volume has rightly received the admiration of all, and in criticizing this work one cannot but feel impertinent. Yet wherein precisely does its value lie? As a textbook for students who will be hopelessly intimidated by the sheer mass of material, unrelieved by that vitality which comes only from an intimate knowledge of the sources? As history? Here the theological convictions of the author cannot be ignored. The great theme, the grand conviction, is indispensable in the writing of great history. However, there are convictions and convictions. Some illuminate and others blight both analysis and understanding. With Latourette, vast areas of ecclesiastical history are beyond his appreciation, with the result that his judgements are often superficial and moralistic. In short, what can a book such as this do but give a new lease on life to those pernicious survey courses, conducted *à l'Américaine*, which have been the refuge of the time-serving lecturer and have rendered church history a tedious bore in so many schools of theological learning?

Textbooks as such are not bad. J. H. Nichols, *A History of Christianity, 1650-1950* (New York, 1956), is a good volume, complete and lively in its presentation. Perhaps Latourette's *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age* (New York, 1958 f.) will escape the above criticism. Then too a Trevelyan may arise to raise church history to undreamed of heights. Failing this, it may be suggested, unfashionable though it be, that what we need is not the larger synthesis but better monographs. We need studies, limited in scope, but profound in depth, employing the historical method at its richest and yet most disciplined, utilizing at the same time all the resources of literary art in order to communicate the truth of the past to the present. How else will we come to understand that the study of history is an essential part of our equipment as Christians? How else will we learn that the final meaning of history is beyond history, that "Here is no continuing city, here is no abiding stay" (T. S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral*)?