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# THE CHURCHMAN

September, 1911.

## The Month.

**Retrospect.** THE present number of the CHURCHMAN completes the first year of its issue under the joint control of the present Editors. This fact, coupled with the general quiescence that rightly broods over the holiday month of August, makes it not unfitting that we should devote a little space to the interesting topic of ourselves, our contributors, and our readers. For ourselves, we have only to express our grateful appreciation for help ungrudgingly afforded from many sides. Our publisher, our printer, our reviewers, our regular contributors, have done all in their power to assist us and to lighten the task of editorial responsibility. The comments of contemporary magazines and newspapers have been all that we could wish, and we are especially obliged to the two papers with which we are more closely allied—the *Record* and the *Church Gazette*—for the loyal support contained in their pages. Space forbids a further enumeration in detail, but we gladly say of all that the treatment meted out to us—as well by those who disagree as by those who agree with us—that it has been uniformly fair and invariably courteous. For this we extend our cordial thanks to all concerned.

**Our Critics.** It must not be inferred from the foregoing words that we have given universal satisfaction. We have not. During the past twelve months we have received various private letters, expressing candid views sometimes about ourselves, sometimes about our contributors. To some—not all—

of these we have replied with appropriate explanations. In sundry cases the point of the criticism has been that the articles accepted and printed were inconsistent with the past history and principles of the CHURCHMAN. It may, therefore, perhaps remove any misapprehension on this point if we take the present opportunity of saying that we do not conceive it our duty to admit articles of only one point of view concerning the various problems of life and thought that clamour for attention. We are faced to-day by questions of philosophic thought, of critical scholarship, of historical research, and of ecclesiastical government, on which Christian men in general, and Churchmen in particular, hold divergent views. Within limits—of which limits, we must ourselves, so long as we are entrusted with editorial control, claim to be the sole arbiters—we gladly welcome discussion from all points of view, of these controverted topics. The expression of our own views, and of the principles for which we wish the CHURCHMAN to stand, will be found in the opening monthly notes of each successive issue.

This general statement as to principle may be of <sup>Our</sup> <sub>Contributors.</sub> interest to those who have felt called on to criticize our methods. We have now a word to say to those who kindly help us by their contributions. It is this: that we have to think of the wishes of our readers as well as of the special objects of particular writers. It is not a wholly imaginary supposition that some scholar may write a careful article on a topic profoundly interesting to himself; a friend of similar enthusiasm, but opposing views, must take the lists at once against him; the attacked one, in the fair interests of truth and in the vindication of all right reason, claims the right of swift and copious retort. Now, an interchange of this kind may be of the highest interest to the writers concerned. But to the general body of our readers it is not so; and we, editorially, have been told that it is not. With all respect, therefore, and gratitude to those who are willing to honour our pages with the fruits of critical research and of exact thinking

on particular topics, we must, in such cases as those portrayed above, call a halt, in the interests of our general readers. We wish to reach the highest standard of excellence in the matter that our pages contain, but they are hardly suitable for prolonged discussions such as are more fittingly enshrined in the "Transactions" of a learned society.

In this connection a word may be said about the **Discussions.** "Discussions" inaugurated by us some months ago. We hoped in this way to provide ample means for the discussion of controverted topics by those keenly interested, without the necessity of encroaching on the space devoted to articles of general interest. We felt, however, and still feel, that these discussions should not become interminable. We laid it down, therefore, that any comments must come in the number *immediately* following that in which the original article appeared, and that after the writer criticized had had his opportunity for reply in the again succeeding number, the matter, so far as the CHURCHMAN is concerned, must, for the time being, drop. We think this rule is fair, and we have tried to maintain it, with the result that we have had to send back certain comments—some because they arrived too late, some because they were meant to carry on the topic after the original writer had had his reply. We must again call attention to our rule, and respectfully ask our contributors to support us in upholding it. Comments on matter contained in any one month—say, August—*must* reach us not later than the 15th of that month, in order to secure publication in the September number. Arriving later than that, they are useless for publication in the "Discussions" section of the magazine.

In connection with the subject of Eucharistic  
 "A  
 Sidesman's"  
 Contribution, Vestments, we are glad to call the attention of our readers to something that may be of real service.

Many who have had no opportunity of making a special study of the topic are somewhat puzzled by the references

to the various judgments of the Privy Council, and are hazy about the precise relation which the findings of that Council have to the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. In the August number of the *Church Gazette* there is an article on "The Illegality of the Vestments," under the signature of "A Sidesman." A prefatory note explains that the writer, owing to the attempted introduction of the vestments in the Church at which he attended, drew up a statement of the matters at issue for the information of the People's Warden. We cordially commend it to those of our readers who may be glad of such help. It is a clear, convincing, and thoroughly fair presentment of the present condition of affairs. It declares the law, and emphasizes the obligations that lie on all loyal members of the Church of England so long as the existing law remains unchanged. The writer has done good service in publishing a statement so clear in expression and so sound in principle.

Two considerations occur to the mind in connection with the recent thirty-sixth Keswick Convention, both of them linking it on with modern tendencies and movements :

Keswick  
Convention.

I. In the Church at large, using the term widely, there is a tendency to a broader Catholicity—a sense that more is to be gained by union than by separation, a readiness to recognize as members of "the Holy Catholic Church" a wider circle than of yore. "Keswick" is in line with this tendency. There Churchman rubs shoulders with Baptist, Presbyterian with Friend; and together they seek God. If the truth were told, each betrays a lurking feeling for teachers whom his orthodoxy normally bars him from hearing. Men to whom "steeple-houses" should be an abomination flock to hear Anglican dignitaries; others to whom Westminster Chapel is taboo, gladly sit at the feet of Dr. Campbell Morgan, revelling in his penetrating Bible studies. It is true that the movement is less frankly inter-denominational than Edinburgh, Baslow, or Swanwick—that is to say, men do not speak out their characteristic

tenets with such openness as at those conferences. There is an unwritten rule that men keep to what all those on the platform hold in common, avoiding the specific points on which they differ. There may be loss in this; but there is great gain in the brotherly spirit which enables a multitude of four or five thousand Christians, called by many names, to meet together to meet God as "all one in Christ Jesus."

2. And what is the aim of these gatherings?

"Practical  
Mysticism."

Let us borrow a phrase from Rev. E. S. Woods' "Modern Discipleship," recommended in these notes last month for holiday reading: "St. Paul," we read on p. 79, "was one of the greatest of the mystics. But he was" [why that "but"? Why not "and he was"?], "if I may use the paradoxical expression, a very *practical mystic*." Well, the first Keswick Convention, in 1875, was summoned "for the promotion of *practical holiness*." The whole movement was really the nineteenth-century outburst of the "mystical element of religion," which is always present in the Church, but which tends at times to come to the fore with a kind of corporate "subliminal uprush," such as the psychologists describe in individual lives. The Dean of St. Paul's, reviewing Miss Evelyn Underhill's "Mysticism" in the columns of the *Record*, has urged that Evangelical Churchmen ought, by virtue of their interest in spiritual religion, to study the mystics. Surely we ought! In the great classical days of mysticism—in the third, the fourteenth, and the seventeenth centuries—mysticism had its natural home where religion was then for the most part centred, in convents, cloisters, and hermits' cells. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when religion tends to manifest and nourish itself in corporate gatherings—congresses, conferences, and the like—it is not to be wondered at that the mystical union with God through Christ should be sought, and in multitudes of cases found, in conventions, such as that which we are considering. Whether for social work at home, or for missionary work abroad, a deeper spiritual life is called for. At

Keswick many have learnt secrets of "practical mysticism," which they are working out all over the world. Whether there or elsewhere, ought we not to be seeking till we find, not a blessing, but Him who blesses?

One or two clergymen, whose names are other-  
 The Bishop  
 of Hereford, wise unknown to us, are reported to have celebrated  
 "Masses of Reparation" in connection with the recent action of the Bishop of Hereford. It is difficult to find suitable terms in which to characterize their action. To us it seems a definite prostitution of the Sacrament which our Lord ordained. Whatever those concerned may have thought of the Bishop's action, it is surely no remedy to use the same Sacrament for purposes of reply. It is difficult to dissociate it from partisan retaliation. But further, this later action raises in a more acute form than ever the question with which the Bishop's service compelled all thinking Churchmen to deal—the real relations of the Church and Nonconformity. The chief factor in that question must ultimately be that which deals with the ministry. The other three members of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, though they present difficulties of considerable gravity, are gradually coming into the category of agreed things, and will, we are optimists enough to believe, ultimately commend themselves to the great body of pious Free Churchmen. With the ministry it is entirely different, and an almost ultimate problem seems to be facing us.

The Ministry. The Christian Church exists, amongst other things, for the purpose of overcoming the difficulties that face it. If we believe that it would be a good thing for the Church and the world that the whole body of Christ's disciples in this land should live in corporate unity, it is our business to be deterred by no difficulty from working and praying to that end. But we can neither work nor pray intelligently unless we have carefully studied the facts. In brief notes like these it is impossible, and it would be unwise to attempt any

such study, but perhaps one or two things can be wisely said. It seems to be perfectly clear that we need to study again, in the light of modern needs and of modern scholarship, the origins of the ministry. Lightfoot and Hatch and others have done that in the past, and there are living scholars who are doing it to-day ; but the task is by no means complete, and the majority of us have neither had the time nor the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the assured results. And, further, we have most certainly not yet arrived at the position when we can with any confidence talk of assured results at all. Much work has to be done and much careful inquiry made before we can wisely dogmatize.

Our distinguished namesake, the New York *The First Step. Churchman*, of July 29, contained an article criticizing not very favourably the general teaching of Canon Hensley Henson, and the article was headed : "Theories of the Ministry neither make nor mar Reunion." The last clause of that article put the point which we regard of the utmost importance, and seems somewhat at variance with the title. We quote it in full :

"Theories of the ministry cannot produce the convictions that are leading to the establishment of better relations between a divided Christendom. What is involved, and what is needed at present, is not so much the construction of new theories or the introduction of old doctrines of the ministry, as the bringing of all doctrines and theories into subordination to Christ's words and commands. His work must be done as He directed it should be done, under the terms of such devoted personal loyalty and faith that the idiosyncrasies of historic communions can be forgotten and forgiven in an overmastering enthusiasm to carry out to-day Christ's mission to mankind, and to realize the brotherhood of Christians as the supreme law of all His followers."

Precisely so. Christ's words and commands must control. We must look to His teaching and to that of the primitive Church for guidance in the matter of Church organization. Then, and not until then, we may formulate our theories. Could anything be more unprimitive, more uncatholic, more

contrary to the spirit of the Master, than a "Mass of Reparation"? Doubtless those who proposed these "Masses" believed that they were doing God service, but we do venture to ask them to test their action by the standard which the above quotation suggests.

We are much struck by the phrase "the *Idiosyncrasies*, idiosyncrasies of historic communions." It is a bold one for a paper which so good a Churchman as Mr. Silas McBee edits. We have too often taken for granted the notion that only Nonconformity has idiosyncrasies. Is it possible that some things which in the course of centuries we have come to look upon as principles and cherished convictions are, after all, in the light of New Testament teaching, only idiosyncrasies? If so, however dear to us, they must go, in the greater interest of the corporate life of the whole company of Christian people spread throughout the world.

We have referred to Canon Henson's views, *Canon Hensley Henson*, and without necessarily committing ourselves to all that he writes, we believe that he is entirely wise when he warns us that the exclusiveness of the Church of England may rob her of her opportunity. If to be exclusive and to be distinctive is our duty, we must be content, whatever the consequences. But we must see to it that we do not allow mere idiosyncrasy to masquerade as duty, and prejudice to hinder the possibilities of real progress. We have a glorious heritage, a grip on the land that no other community can approach to, a pastoral ministry which, with all the faults of the working of the parochial system, is still the most used ministry amongst us, and an opportunity in lands beyond the sea unsurpassed by any Church or nation. We must not fail of our opportunity. We have somewhat laboured the subject because we believe it is entirely worth while. We have not dogmatized, we have only tried to set our readers thinking. The result of the thinking will not come to-morrow or the day

after, but it will come if we only think boldly and strongly enough. We leave the question by allowing Canon Henson to put it in his own form in words which we quote from the *Church Family Newspaper*, words which we venture to heartily commend to the thought of our readers :

“Thus the Church of England, as the mother Church, as national, as liturgical, as zealous for Christian education, as pastoral, has much to bring into the common stock of Christian life. Will she debar herself from using her historic endowment to the common advantage in order to claim an exclusive authority, which neither her circumstances nor her principles really admit, and which the vast majority of English-speaking Christians must necessarily deny? That, at the present moment, is the preliminary question which English Churchmen have to answer before they can advance to the practical matters included in the project of reunion.”

As these lines are being written, the whole  
Industrial  
Unrest. country is passing through a period of industrial  
 unrest such as few of us can remember. We trust  
 that ere they are read the worst of the crisis may have passed. What is the lesson which we should learn from the times in which we live? First and foremost it is this : We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, even in this Christian land, the teaching of our Lord does not control our economic life. The struggle of life is still selfish, still too much concerned with the welfare of self and too little with the welfare of others. We must not, of course, enter into the merits of the various disputes ; there is almost certainly right and wrong on both sides. We must only attempt to state principles. Philanthropy has failed ; Acts of Parliament have failed, and failed badly ; the teaching of altruistic philosophy has failed—everything has failed but the Gospel, and that has never had a real chance. It has been partly our fault. It must be our fault no longer. We must study and we must teach, and we must, above all, practise “applied Christianity.” The men have grievances, the masters have difficulties, and the community in practice ignores both until its own comfort or its own food-supply is in jeopardy. The Gospel makes its appeal first to the individual, and through

him to the multitude. No Christian can rest content with his own living wage until other men enjoy a living wage as well. The economic problem may take long to solve, but the principle is clear, and the selfish point of view must go, and we must be the first to forsake it ere we decry it to others. As it goes in ourselves, men will be more ready to listen to our Gospel because they will see that it "works" in us, and there will be an opportunity of telling men of the redeeming power of the Death of Christ, with acceptance when they see that redemption means for us more than a religion—it means a life. The best advertisement of our faith lies in the lives of its adherents, and we must confess that social and individual selfishness has advertised it badly. The study of the social problem is a good thing, and we must give ourselves to it. The practice of individual and social righteousness is a far better thing, and to that we must devote ourselves as never before, that the secret of society may be solved in the Gospel of Christ.



## The Ethics of Disendowment.

By P. V. SMITH, LL.D.,  
*Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester.*

THE article by the Rev. C. F. Russell on "Endowments and Disendowment" in the July *CHURCHMAN* professed to discuss the topic of our Church Endowments and the policy of Disendowment dispassionately and in all their bearings. But, without much supplement and some correction, it cannot be admitted to have placed the whole case fairly before its readers. It was not a very happy way of introducing the subject to instance the endowment of a sinecure wardenship of a charity hospital from a work of fiction, as if it were a fair specimen of the actual endowments of our hard-worked Bishops and clergy; nor to quote, and adopt as unanswerable, the words of Dr. Forsyth about men of personal honour and uprightness in the "Catholic, Orthodox, or Established" Churches losing their sense of social justice, and being incapable of grasping the just thing when a question arises which threatens the interest of their Church; as if the same charge might not, with similar or far greater truth, be brought against equally upright men in the Nonconformist bodies, when a question arises which involves the relative interests of those bodies and the Churches against which his accusation is levelled. And the same one-sided method of dealing with the question runs through the whole article. The writer is correct in asserting that Disendowment is not necessarily wrong from an ethical point of view because it would cripple the Church. But he is mistaken in assuming that those who ground their opposition to it on its baneful consequences, regard those consequences as determining its ethical complexion. They would either say that, in the abstract, it is neither right nor wrong, and is therefore to be advocated or resisted according to its practical results; or else that it is ethically wrong in the abstract, but that its inevitable evil effects alone make opposition to it worth while. This is not an immoral position, as it is called in the article.

The worst that can be said of it is that it is a non-moral attitude ; but such an attitude may, from a practical point of view, be in the highest degree justifiable and proper. A line of policy may be quite moral and just ; but if it is inexpedient, and will be harmful in its effects, it cannot be rightfully adopted, unless to abstain from it would be clearly immoral and ethically wrong.

Mr. Russell is, however, quite right in pursuing the ethics of the subject further, and he puts forward the following thesis as exhausting all that can be said on the subject :

“ (a) The endowments of the Church of England were given to it in the past ; (b) therefore they are its lawful possession in the present ; (c) therefore it would be an act of robbery to deprive the Church of them now or in the future.”

Before proceeding to pull to pieces this syllogism of his own creation, he proceeds to discount its value, and, in fact, the value of any assertion that Disendowment is morally wrong, or, in other words, unjust, by dwelling on the fact that a large number of honest and upright persons—to wit, in the Nonconformist bodies—hold a diametrically opposite opinion. But the existence of conflicting views on the morality and justice of a particular claim or line of action is a universal incident in every cause which comes before our judicial tribunals ; and it no more precludes one side of the Disendowment question from being morally right and just, and the other from being wrong and unjust, than it prevents a plaintiff or defendant, as the case may be, having the right on his side in a stoutly-contested law-suit. The divergence of opinion is, of course, due to the fact that, on one side or the other, there is either a misconception of the law or an imperfect knowledge of the facts, or both. On the question before us Mr. Russell makes no serious effort to grapple either with the law or the facts. He asserts, though he does not attempt to prove, that the “therefore” in both the second and the third clauses of his syllogism will not stand ; and that consequently the syllogism cannot be sustained. But he ignores the possibility of Disendowment being proved to be immoral and unjust by quite a different line of reasoning. Because it is easy to knock

down the nine-pin which he has himself set up, he appears to assume that no argument of any stability or value can be urged against that policy. A little consideration, however, will show that this is far from being the case.

What is the true test of the morality and justice, or otherwise, of Church Disendowment? We must, doubtless, admit that the question cannot be decided off-hand on abstract principles. We cannot affirm that all appropriation or diversion of property is robbery, and that, therefore, Disendowment under all circumstances is necessarily wrong. But, on the other hand, we cannot admit that because the possession of property depends upon law, and the Legislature has absolute power to make and unmake laws, therefore, if Parliament enacts that the Church shall be disendowed, the process must necessarily on that account be moral and just. A popular Legislature, no less than an individual despot, may act in a tyrannical, unjust, and wicked manner. The true test of moral and just dealing on the part of a community as regards property is that all individuals on the one hand, and all corporations or institutions on the other, shall be treated alike in reference to it. There need not, and there cannot, be the same law for private property and for religious, charitable, and other public property. But justice is violated if one individual is treated differently from another in respect of his property; and justice is equally violated if one institution is treated differently, in respect of its property, from another of a similar class, or having similar objects. We have, therefore, to inquire, not what is the correct abstract law as regards property in an ideal community, nor even what is the general law of property in our own land at the present time, but what are the principles of our existing law as to religious and other charitable property. These may be summarized as follows: (1) Although the acquisition of property by a charitable institution is subject to certain restrictions from which the acquisition of private property is exempt, yet, when it is acquired, the title to it rests on the same basis, and is as secure as the title to property in private ownership. (2) In particular, the length of

time of actual possession which confers an indefeasible title, however irregular or unlawful the origin of the possession may have been, is the same in both cases. Thus, if the trustees of a charity encroached on a common, and held the encroachment without interruption for twelve years, they would obtain an absolute title to it in precisely the same way as an individual squatter would do. But (3) the holding or application of charitable property will be altered where (a) the property cannot be applied to the purposes of the charity for which it is held; or (b) those purposes have ceased to exist; or (c) the property is largely in excess of the amount required for fully carrying out those purposes; or (d) the general good of the community requires that the property should be diverted to some different purposes. On the other hand (4), if some of the members of a charitable institution, or of the recipients of an endowed charity, secede from the institution, or dissent from the regulations by which the charity is governed, they have no claim to carry off a share of the property of the institution or charity, unless they can bring the case within one or other of the subheadings of principle (3).

The ethics of Church Disendowment must be tested by these principles. If the process is in conformity with them, it is moral and just. If it is not, it is immoral and unjust. Let us, then, apply the test. We note at the outset that principles (1) and (2) sweep away the first two parts of Mr. Russell's above-quoted syllogism. The ancient endowments of the Church, to which alone Disendowment is proposed to be applied, are her present lawful possession, not because they were given to her in the past, but because she can show a title to them of many centuries—longer, in fact, than can be shown to any other public or any private property in the realm, except certain Crown lands. This does not, of course, preclude the sentimental argument derived from the fact that her possession of them had its origin in voluntary gifts.<sup>1</sup> But her legal title to them would be the

<sup>1</sup> The voluntary origin of the title is only denied by those who have never studied the subject. On June 17, 1895, when the Welsh Disestablish-

same, however they were in the first instance acquired. No doubt this title does not prevent Church endowments from being taken for public purposes like any other property ; but they can only be justly so taken upon the same terms as any other property. Mr. Russell actually compares the Disendowment of the Church to the compulsory acquisition of private land for a public purpose. Of course, much glebe land throughout the country has already, like other land, been so acquired, and the Church has in consequence been deprived of it. But in all cases of such compulsory acquisition, whether from the Church or from any other owners, the estimated market value of the land, together with an additional 10 per cent. in consideration of the surrender of it being compulsory, has been paid for the land ; and it is idle to adduce a transaction of this kind as bearing on the question of confiscating Church endowments without any sort of compensation. The real crux of the question, however, lies in the application to it of the various alternatives of principle (3). And here it is important to emphasize a fact which is constantly forgotten or overlooked, and which is obscured by the inevitable necessity of using in reference to the subject brief and concise, but none the less inaccurate, language. We commonly talk of the ancient endowments of the Church and of disendowing the Church, and, so long as we do not lose sight of the actual truth of the matter, it is convenient and, in fact, almost

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ment Bill of that year was in Committee in the House of Commons, an amendment was moved with a view to preserving to the Church in Wales all private Church endowments, whatever might be their date, and not merely those of recent origin. But Mr. Asquith, who was in charge of the Bill, declared that this amendment could not possibly be accepted, since the effect of it would be to leave to the Church the whole of the tithe. "It was," he said, "an arguable position to take up, that although tithes became a compulsory tax after a certain date, they were originally a voluntary obligation, and were given by private persons out of their own resources ; and, if the amendment were adopted, it might be contended, and it might be open to a court of law to say, that practically the whole revenue of the present Established Church passed to the representative body of the Disestablished Church." (Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Fourth Series, vol. xxxiv., col. 1284).

necessary, to do so. The usage is, therefore, maintained throughout the present article. But, strictly speaking, the Church of England herself does not possess a penny of ancient endowments. They were all given to bishoprics, or to cathedral bodies or monasteries, or to parochial benefices or other local Church dignities or offices. Those given to monasteries, including about one-fourth of the tithe of the whole country, were, as we know, confiscated at the Reformation. The remainder—namely, the old episcopal, cathedral, and parochial revenues—are what we mean by the ancient endowments of the Church, and it is these of which it can be truthfully affirmed that no other property in the realm is held by a better title. How, then, do the various subheadings of our principle (3) apply to these endowments, when viewed in their true light? Their alienation cannot certainly be justified under either of the subheadings (*a*) and (*b*). Without pursuing the interesting inquiry of how far the present tenets and practice of the Church of England correspond with her early tenets and practice at the time when the bulk of these endowments were given, and before she assimilated the medieval errors and ceremonies of the Roman Church, these endowments are at present used for the maintenance of her worship and doctrine as legally settled at the Reformation. It is idle to pretend that her title to them is prejudiced by the deliberate and lawfully effected alteration of her standards of doctrine and worship more than three centuries ago. It was enacted by Parliament in 1844 (7 and 8 Vict., c. 45) that where no particular doctrines or opinions were expressly laid down in the deed of trust under which a Nonconformist chapel was held, a usage of twenty-five years should be sufficient to establish the tenets and practices which might lawfully be taught and carried on therein. The bearing of subheading (*c*) on the question requires, however, more detailed examination. We had an object-lesson in reference to it a few years ago in Scotland, when the highest court of the realm decided that the bulk of the Free Church of Scotland, by forming with the United Presbyterians a new combined Church, had forfeited all right to

the endowments of the Free Church ; which, therefore, belonged to the diminutive minority who had declined to join in the movement. But it was obviously unreasonable that this minority should retain the whole of these endowments, which were largely in excess of its wants ; and, therefore, a perfectly moral and just Act of Parliament was passed to effect an equitable division of them between the majority, which had technically forfeited them, and the minority, which had retained a legal right to them. The circumstances of the Church of Ireland in 1869 were very different ; but still, so far as the mere alienation of a portion of its property was concerned, it was possible to argue that, considering how small a fraction of the population of Ireland was included in its ranks, its endowments at that time were out of proportion to its requirements. And when we look at our English ecclesiastical endowments in their local and specific aspect, we see that the principle of alienating charitable property when in excess of the requirements of the object for which it is held, has already been largely applied in their case. Through the instrumentality of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, considerable portions of the old endowments of bishoprics and cathedral bodies have been diverted to other purposes. But these have been invariably Church purposes, such as the endowment of new sees or of new parochial benefices or curacies, and, quite recently, the provision of pensions for aged incumbents. In fact, what is known as the doctrine of *cy près* has been applied. That doctrine is recognized in our law as properly regulating every alteration in the purposes of a charitable endowment which is called for or justified by any of the subheadings of principle (3). The new purposes should bear as near a resemblance to the old purposes as the circumstances render possible. No serious departure from the old objects is permissible where adherence to the principle of *cy près* is practically possible. While, therefore, our principle (3) (c) justifies the readjustment and redistribution of our Church revenues, as occasion requires, it does not justify their alienation from Church purposes. And no loyal Churchman would admit that this alienation is justifiable

under subheading (*d*) on the plea that in the interests of the community these revenues could be more beneficially devoted to some non-Church objects.

As to principle (4), one would have thought that this was too self-evident to need any comment, were it not that Mr. Russell in his article seriously propounds the exact contrary. Just as he puts into the mouths of Churchmen a weak argument on which no serious defender of Church endowments would ever think of relying, so he makes Nonconformists advance a claim which is wholly destitute of any foundation of justice or equity. According to him, they demand that inasmuch as their various bodies are co-heirs with the Church of England of the earlier National Church, these bodies are entitled to some share in the gifts which the devotion of our forefathers bestowed on that early Church. The first observation to be made upon this demand is that it is no more just and reasonable than would be the demand of a number of Nonconformist seceders from one of their bodies to take away with them a part of the property belonging to the body from which they seceded. But the next observation is that no one but Mr. Russell has ever heard of any Nonconformists putting forward this demand, and we may shrewdly suspect that those who do so exist only in his own imagination. The claim, as he formulates it, no doubt involves partial Disendowment of the Church; but it is not a claim for Disendowment in the sense in which that word is generally understood. It is a claim for concurrent endowment, which has always been regarded as a very different thing. Concurrent endowment was seriously proposed in 1869 during the passage through Parliament of the Bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Church of Ireland. Considering the small fraction of the Irish people who were members of that Church, there was some ground for arguing that her revenues in equity ought to be shared with the religious bodies to which the large majority of the people belonged. But it was Churchmen who put forward and urged this policy. The Nonconformists would have none of it. The Roman Catholics abstained from supporting it,

probably from the fear of provoking a storm of Protestant fanaticism which might have wrecked the Bill altogether; and so the confiscated revenues of the Church of Ireland have been expended on secular objects.

This disposes of Mr. Russell's fanciful suggestion that the objection of Nonconformists to concurrent endowment arises from their knowledge that it would certainly be rejected by Church-people. It was not on this account that the Welsh Disestablishment Bills of 1895 and 1909 expressly provided that the Church endowments which were to be confiscated should be devoted to charitable or public purposes of a secular character. We may be perfectly certain that if the Disestablishment and Disendowment on this side of St. George's Channel is again seriously proposed, concurrent endowment will not be part of the scheme of its promoters, and will be rejected by them if it is suggested from the side of the Church. The Disendowment, not merely of the Church, but of Religion, has always been, and will always be, their fixed policy. It is therefore of little, if any, practical utility to discuss the alternative policy of concurrent endowment; and yet a brief consideration of it, as an abstract question, may not be inopportune. Tried by the ethical principles which we have laid down, it certainly cannot be pronounced, under present circumstances, to be just or equitable. It would only become so, if the body of Church-people in the country were to become so attenuated in numbers that the Church endowments were in excess of their spiritual needs, as was the case with the remaining adherents of the Free Church of Scotland when the bulk of that body had joined the newly-constituted United Free Church.

As between man and man, therefore, it would not at the present time be an ethical proceeding; and, considering that we Church-people of the present generation are in a sense trustees of the ancient Church endowments, not only for ourselves, but also for posterity, we have no right to consent to the allocation of any portion of them to the maintenance of a different standard of religious doctrine and worship, unless we are compelled to

do so. But if we are reduced to choosing between the alternatives of concurrent endowment and Disendowment in the only sense in which, *pace* Mr. Russell, that word is seriously used, then unquestionably, even as Church-people, but still more as citizens, we shall, as in 1869, pronounce for concurrent endowment. For, just as Archbishop Benson declared that he would prefer the establishment of a non-episcopal Christian body to no establishment at all, so we cannot hesitate in preferring concurrent endowment to the disendowment of religion. Both processes, as we have seen, would, under present circumstances, be ethically inequitable; but concurrent endowment would not, like Disendowment, be a direct act of dishonour to God Himself. Mr. Russell, like many others, appears to have very hazy ideas on this aspect of the question. He is correct in laying down that there may be cases of secularization of religious property which are not sacrilegious or impious, and in a note he expresses the opinion that there is a good deal to be said in favour of secularizing a portion of the tithe. He does not explain why; but we may conjecture that it is because, in other countries, a portion of the tithe was originally devoted to the support of the poor. This, however, was not the case in England, except so far as it indirectly resulted from the gifts of the tithe, in many cases, to monasteries which, while they existed, gave relief on a bountiful scale to the poor. But if he had this in mind, he forgot that the monastic tithe, amounting to about one-fourth of the whole, was almost entirely secularized at the Reformation. With this unexplained exception, however, he makes no attempt to define what are the legitimate cases of secularization, or to ascertain whether the present application of the process to our Church endowments would fall within them. Let us endeavour to supply his omission. Religious property may be secularized without injustice and without sacrilege—(1) When it is held for religious purposes unlawfully, or, in other words, without a legal title; (2) when it is not required for religious purposes; and (3) when its secularization would clearly and directly benefit the cause of religion itself.

No one who has any elementary knowledge of the subject will for a moment pretend that our ancient ecclesiastical endowments fall within category (1). If they did, it would, of course, be quite unnecessary to pass an Act of Parliament to disendow the Church. The process could be effected by the rightful owners of the endowments taking proceedings to recover them in our courts of law. Again, it cannot be contended that these endowments come within category (2) as not being required for religious purposes, when we remember the additional millions of pounds which are annually contributed for Church work alone to supplement the revenues derived from them, and when the cause of religion as a whole is clearly not over-endowed or over-supplied with money. No; if the secularization of our Church endowments is to be justified at all, it must be under heading (3). This heading contains a sound principle, which, however, must be applied with caution. It certainly will not justify the Pecksniffian proposition that the secularization of religious property is lawful because it is good for a religious body to be poor, and, still less, the application of this proposition to the Church of England alone among all the religious bodies of the country. Genuine examples of its true bearing are, indeed, to be found, where a strip of a consecrated churchyard is thrown into a public highway with the result, among other things, of making the access to the church more convenient; or where a church in a depopulated district is pulled down and its site sold for secular purposes, and the proceeds of the sale are utilized for the erection of a new church in a recently-developed quarter. But there is no analogy between cases such as these and the secularization of religious property without any countervailing advantage to religion. Such secularization would not be a religious, but an irreligious, act. The iniquity of it is aggravated by the fact that, although the Church is no doubt the National and Established religious organism, yet the property to be thus dealt with is not national property, but is the property of the Church, or, more accurately, of the various ecclesiastical corporations in which it is vested, quite as much as the property held

by other religious bodies is their property. But even if it were national property, the character of the act would remain the same. The treasures of our National Gallery are unquestionably national property, and Parliament might alienate them without any violation of the code of ethics, and devote the proceeds of their sale to other purposes. But no one could pretend that this would not be an inartistic proceeding, indicating, to say the least, a callous indifference on the part of the nation to art. And similarly the confiscation to secular purposes, however beneficial and excellent, of endowments devoted and applied to the maintenance and furtherance of religion, whatever else it might be, would unquestionably be an irreligious proceeding. It would be an avowal, before God and man, that the nation regarded the material and intellectual objects, to which the endowments were to be diverted, as of greater public importance and benefit than the moral character and spiritual life which they had been originally intended, and had hitherto been employed, to promote. Woe to the English people if this ever represents their settled conviction and becomes their deliberate policy!

As things are at present, Disendowment and concurrent endowment, whether in Wales or in England, would alike be contrary to true ethical principles. But, of the two unjust and inequitable proposals, concurrent endowment would be the less objectionable, since it would demonstrate that the nation, although repudiating certain principles of the Christian religion to which we attach great importance, yet adhered to that religion as a whole, in the different forms in which it is presented by the various existing Christian bodies.



## Who were the Pharisees?

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF JUDAISM IN THE TIME  
OF CHRIST.

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THE two centuries that immediately preceded the rise of Christianity marked, perhaps, the most active and fruitful period of development in the history of Judaism. This is the period which saw the rise of the Apocalyptic movement, with its vast eschatological system that was essentially bound up with the doctrine of a future life, and the belief in a judgment after death, with rewards and punishments. It was also during this period that Messianic hopes and ideas were most active and alive in the popular consciousness, and found manifold and often conflicting expression. It was a period, too, marked to an extraordinary degree by divisions within the Jewish body. The parties within Judaism, as we meet them in the pages of the New Testament, emerged during this period—the Pharisees and Sadducees, to which we must now add the Essenes and Apocalypstists.

Who were the Pharisees? It is absolutely necessary that we should form some clear conception of the origin, essential character, and aims of this great party, if we are to gain any just and adequate idea of Judaism in the time of Christ.

The Pharisees were a religious party—not a sect—who appear to have been well organized, and who were drawn mainly from the ranks of the scribes. The Pharisees first appear in history under that name in the reign of the Maccabean Prince, John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.). Henceforth they take a prominent and influential part in the public life and affairs of the people, until the annihilation of the national life in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 135).

Ever since the time of Ezra, the “scribes,” or teachers of

the Law, had been active in the Judæan community. They were a class of *litterati* devoted to the study and exposition of the Law. Ezra himself is described as "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses" (Ezra vii. 6).

It is not impossible that the mysterious "Great Synagogue" of later tradition may be a picturesque term for describing the line of these earlier *Soferim* ("scribes"), beginning with Ezra and coming down to the time of Simon the Just in the days of Alexander the Great. There were undoubtedly guilds of "scribes" in the Persian and Early Greek periods;<sup>1</sup> these seem to have been originally distinct from the guilds of the "wise," whose spirit is expressed in the Book of Proverbs; though later the two became one—sage and scribe are identified in Sirach (Ecclus. xxxviii. 24 *et seq.*; cf. vi. 33 *et seq.*, ix. 14 *et seq.*, xiv. 20 *et seq.*). We must not think of these earlier "scribes" in connection with the synagogue. That institution came later (probably after the Maccabean Revolt, 167 B.C.). But almost from the very first, as soon as the work of Ezra was completed, there were, no doubt, organized priestly or scribal schools where the Law was studied and taught; and these scribal schools, which were largely juristic in character, developed the oral tradition.

The schools and the activity of the scribes, of course, went on long after the rise of the Pharisaic party, and we find Pharisees and scribes mentioned side by side in the New Testament. They were intimately connected, but still distinct. It is clear, however, that most of the members of the Pharisaic party belonged to the class of scribes; though not all scribes were Pharisees, nor all Pharisees scribes. The relations between them have been well described by the writer of the article, "Scribes and Pharisees," in the "Encycl. Biblica" (col. 4322):<sup>2</sup>

"The object of the Pharisees," he says, "was clearly to live according to the Law which the orthodox scribes interpreted. It follows, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the "company of scribes" (*συναγωγή γραμματέων*) mentioned in 1 Macc. vii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Professor J. D. Prince.

that, from the very inception of the Pharisaic party, its leaders must have been orthodox scribes. As the Sadducees also followed the written Law, there must also have been Sadducee scribes as well; and it is highly likely that there were also scribes who belonged to neither party. This explains the distinctive expressions 'scribes of the Pharisees' (Mark ii. 16; Acts xxxiii. 9); 'the Pharisees and their scribes' (Luke v. 30), from which it is evident that not all the scribes were Pharisees. It is probable also that some of the Pharisees—owing no doubt to lack of education—belonged only nominally to the scribal class, and practised blindly the precepts laid down for them by their scribal leaders. At the time of Jesus we almost always find scribes in judicial positions; thus, wherever high-priests and elders are mentioned, the scribes are generally included, without, however, any specification as to whether they belonged to the Pharisees or the Sadducees, or whether they were merely neutral scholars' (*cf.* Matt. xvi. 21; Mark xi. 27; Luke ix. 22)—'the elders [*i.e.*, members of the Great Sanhedrin] and the chief priests and the scribes' (Matt. xx. 18); 'the chief priests and scribes' (Luke xx. 1) . . . 'with the elders' (Matt. xxvi. 57; Acts vi. 12); 'the scribes and elders.'"

The Pharisees were thus closely associated with the orthodox teachers of the Law. But they were in no sense a purely academic association. They were for a long period the party of progress within Judaism; they fought strenuously and passionately—if not always wisely—for great causes, and won them. They championed the cause of pure monotheism against the Hellenizing movement; they built up religious individualism and a purely spiritual worship; they deepened the belief in a future life; they carried on a powerful mission propaganda; they championed the cause of the laity against an exclusive priesthood; they made the Scriptures the possession of the people, and in the weekly assemblages of the Synagogue they preached to them the truths and hopes of religion out of the sacred books (not only out of the Pentateuch, but also out of the Prophets and Hagiographa). In marked contrast with those of the Sadducees, their judgments in questions of law were, as is well known, of a mild and compassionate character. When it is realized how they spent their energies without stint in the work of instructing the people in the *Tôrā* (Law-Scripture), and in bringing religion to bear upon popular life, their enormous influence with the people generally—to which Josephus testifies—is hardly to be wondered at. Josephus

says (Ant., xviii. 1, 4) that the Pharisees led the people, compelling even the priestly aristocracy to yield to them. "Practically nothing," he says, "was done by them (the Sadducees); for whenever they attain office they follow—albeit unwillingly and of compulsion—what the Pharisees say, because otherwise they would not be endured by the people."

Pharisaism may, perhaps, best be described as a militant type of asceticism. In their personal standard of life the Pharisees retained the ideals of the earlier ascetic *ḥasidîm* (pious). They, in fact, were the successors of the *Assideans*, mentioned in 1 Macc. as strict observers of the Law (ii. 42), and abstainers from things unclean (i. 62 *et seq.*).

The very name *Pharisee* (Aram. *Perîshā*, pl. *Perishayyā*) suggests this connection with asceticism. It apparently means "one who separates himself"—viz., from things and persons impure. The abstract noun *perîshûth* occurs in the Mishna with the meaning of "abstinence," or "self-restraint." Though the name seems to have been given to them by outsiders, it was commonly used without any offensive sense. Josephus, for instance, calls himself in his Life a Pharisee. Their own name for themselves was *ḥabērîm*, "associates," or members of a brotherhood. This association, or *ḥābārā*, which probably was already organized in the New Testament period, was a league that pledged its members to the strict observance of Levitical purity, to the scrupulous payment of tithes and other dues to the priest, the Levite, and the poor, and to a conscientious regard for vows and for other people's property. It included priests and Levites who wished to carry out with scrupulous regard the dictates of the Law and the obligations especially of Levitical purity, and also laymen who wished to live like observant priests. It must be remembered that there were, during this period and later, large numbers of the descendants of Aaron who were careless and indifferent about such matters. "A true Pharisee observed the same degree of purity in his daily meals as did the priest in the Temple," says

Dr. Kohler, though Büchler would deny that this was true of the Pharisees in the time of Jesus.

In manifold ways the influence of the Pharisees made itself felt upon the religious life and institutions of the people. The observance of the Sabbath and holy days was invested with special sanctity in the home. As at the sacrifices in the Temple, wine was used in honour of the day. *Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy* was interpreted: *Remember it over the wine*, and was embodied in the ceremony of *Kiddûsh*, or *Sanctification*.<sup>1</sup> They made the observance of these days popular, and succeeded in imparting to them a character of domestic joy. Whereas to the conservative priesthood such occasions were regarded mainly as Temple festivals, the Pharisees strove to bring them into the common life of the people. Their influence on the Temple services were also of a democratic character. They introduced the recitation of daily prayers beside the sacrifices (*Tamid*, v. 1), and founded the institution of the *Ma'âmādot*—*i.e.*, the deputation of lay-Israelites which was present in the Temple at the daily sacrifice. It will be remembered that for the purposes of the daily sacrificial worship the priesthood with the Levites was divided into twenty-four courses of service, each course taking its turn for a week in the Temple service. For the same purpose the lay-Israelites generally were divided into twenty-four courses, "each of which had to take its turn in coming before God [in the Temple] every day for a whole week, by way of representing the whole body of the people, while the daily sacrifice was being offered to Jehovah."<sup>2</sup> But for obvious reasons it was manifestly impossible for the whole division of lay-Israelites to be present at one time in Jerusalem; and so a deputation actually represented the whole body; while those who had been left behind in the towns and country districts assembled in the local synagogues (at the time when the sacrifice was being offered in the Temple) and engaged

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this interesting ceremony (over a cup of wine and broken bread), cf. "The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue" (Pitman), by Dr. Oesterley and the present writer (pp. 346-351).

<sup>2</sup> Schürer, "Hist. Jewish People" (E. T.), iii. 275 *et seq.*

in prayer and the reading of Scripture (see *Taanith*, iv. 2). They also proclaimed the doctrine that the priests were but the deputies of the people.<sup>1</sup> "While the Sadducean priesthood," says Dr. Kohler, "regarded the Temple as its domain, and took it to be the privilege of the high-priest to offer the daily burnt-offering from his own treasury, the Pharisees demanded that it be furnished from the Temple treasury, which contained the contributions of the people (*Sifra*, **13**, 17; **128**, 18)." Further, they secured Temple sanction for certain popular customs which were not enjoined in the Law.

Such was the great festival of the water-drawing at the Feast of Tabernacles, when a libation of water was brought in procession from the Pool of Siloam to the Temple and solemnly poured on the altar. It was probably regarded originally as symbolical of rain. During the feast, which lasted seven days, the libation of water was made each day at the time of the morning sacrifice, and it is to this custom that Christ implicitly refers in John vii. 37: "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink." This was one of the most popular of Temple ceremonies, and the Mishna, referring to it and its accompaniments, says: "*He who has not seen the joy of the water-drawing has never seen joy in his life.*" The Pharisaic institution of the *Tefillin*, or phylacteries, on the head and arm seems to have been devised as a counterpart of the high-priest's diadem and breastplate, and to have been regarded as a consecration of head and arm; and in the same way the *mezuzā*, or door-post symbol, was regarded as symbolizing the consecration of the home. Both observances were, of course, derived from the text of Scripture (Deut. vi. 8, 9, xi. 18, 19), and, doubtless, originally had talismanic associations. But these were forgotten.

The Pharisees also infused new and more specifically religious ideas into the observance of the old traditional festivals. One of the most significant of these was their doctrine regarding the Day of Atonement. They boldly transferred the atoning power

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mishna, "Yoma," I.

from the high-priest to the day itself, so that atonement might be effected apart from sacrifice and priest. The one indispensable condition was true repentance. Similarly, the New Year Festival became the annual Day of Judgment; and the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, became the Festival of Revelation, or Giving of the Law. They also improved the status of women, relaxing the rigour of the old laws of purification, and by the institution of the marriage document protecting the woman against arbitrary divorce. Their general aim, apparently, was to invest the woman in the home with as much dignity as possible. In consequence they enjoyed, as Josephus tells us, great popularity with the Jewish women (*Ant.*, xvii. 2, 4). Among their other great achievements they fixed the Canon of Scripture, and built up the Synagogue Service and Liturgy.

The enormous influence of the Pharisaic party on the religious life of the Jewish people in Palestine is thus clear, and it undoubtedly operated in the time of Jesus and the Apostles. In the Synagogue and outside the Temple it was supreme. Even within the Temple it made itself seriously felt. But, as Chwolson in his masterly essay "*Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes*"—which ought to be studied by all serious students of this period who read German—has made exceedingly probable, the Pharisees did not secure full control of the Temple ritual till the two decades that preceded the destruction in A.D. 70. Thus, in the time of Christ, the Temple service was conducted in accordance with the old priestly tradition mainly. Both the Sanhedrin and the Temple were still dominated by the priestly aristocracy. This comes out very clearly in the details of the trial of Jesus, as narrated in the Gospels. The procedure adopted violated the canons of the criminal law accepted by the Pharisees. It is clear enough from the Gospels, indeed, that the chief actors in the tragedy were the members of the high-priestly party.

The Pharisaic ideal was the exact opposite of what is understood by "progress" in the modern world. While in modern life the tendency is to secularize ever more and more

all departments of human activity, the Pharisees consistently strove to bring life more and more under the dominion of religious observance. But observance—and ceremonial—was valued mainly because of its educational worth. By carefully-formed habits, by the ceremonial of religious observance, religious ideas and sanctions could be impressed upon the people's mind and heart. But the outward was subordinated to the inward. Thus, in the prescriptions that occur in the Mishna and Tosefta regarding prayer, the necessity of conscious direction of the thoughts to the objects of the prayer (Heb. *Kawwānā*) is insisted upon. Nor is it clear that the Pharisees put all the requirements of religious observance on exactly the same level, and made no distinctions. The essential marks of their piety are well summed up in a Talmudic passage as follows: "*Three distinguishing characteristics mark the people of Israel—compassion, humility, and the practice of benevolence (acts of kindness)*" (T. B. *Yebamoth*, 79a).

So far I have attempted to describe Pharisaism on its best side, and I think that its positive and permanent achievements justify the description that has been given. But there were Pharisees and Pharisees. There was an extreme and fanatical section to be found, I think, among the School of Shammai, which was open to the charge of formalism and hypocrisy. Pharisees of this school were severe and exacting in their requirements, and bitterly narrow and exclusive. It was against this section, I think, that the polemic in the Gospels was primarily directed. Jesus denounced this hypocritical section of the Pharisees. The Talmud also denounces them. But, on the other side, were the mild and peace-loving disciples of Hillel.

A brief examination of one of the Gospel accounts of the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees will serve to illustrate what has been said. That Jesus came into conflict with the scribes and Pharisees is attested very clearly in the oldest tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. Two specific instances of great importance are given—viz., the question of vows (a son, by pronouncing the word *korban*, being permitted to relieve

himself of the duty of helping a parent (Mark vii. 6-13), and the question of ritual purification—hand-washing before meals (Mark vii. 1-5). To the accuracy of both these accounts strong objection has been taken on the Jewish side, it being alleged that the Pharisees could never have tolerated such a breach of the moral law as neglect of duty to parents on the ground of tradition; and, further, that the laws of purification did not apply to the ordinary layman in daily life at all, but only on the rare occasions when he visited the Temple. They were “only obligatory upon priests during their time of service, or upon laymen during the rare and brief occasions when they visited the Temple.”<sup>1</sup>

It will not be possible for me, in the space at my command, to enter into a full discussion of the issues here raised. I can only indicate what seems to me to be the true view regarding one of them—viz., the question of ritual hand-washing before meals in the time of Jesus.

It is noticeable that the rebuke by Jesus of the Pharisees, as described in Mark vii., is directed against a hypocritical section (ver. 6, “you hypocrites”). These are represented more especially by “certain of the scribes which had come from Jerusalem”—*i.e.*, probably a deputation of the Shammaite party. It is notorious that the Shammaites (members of the party of Shammai, the opponent of Hillel) were rigorous to excess in their requirements, and were the champions of a narrow and exclusive form of legal piety. Their influence, up to the time of the catastrophe of A.D. 70, seems to have been in the ascendant; but later, the peace-loving and milder party of Hillel triumphed, and the oral law (embodied now in the oldest parts of the Talmud) was revised in accordance with Hillelite views. It is probable that in the time of Jesus the question of ritual hand-washing was a party one, and that Jesus Himself strongly opposed the Shammaite view. In fact, the impression

<sup>1</sup> Montefiore, *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1903. For a full and learned discussion of the laws of Levitical purification, see Büchler, “Der Galilaische ‘Am-ha-arez.’”

all departments of human activity, the Pharisees consistently strove to bring life more and more under the dominion of religious observance. But observance—and ceremonial—was valued mainly because of its educational worth. By carefully-formed habits, by the ceremonial of religious observance, religious ideas and sanctions could be impressed upon the people's mind and heart. But the outward was subordinated to the inward. Thus, in the prescriptions that occur in the Mishna and Tosefta regarding prayer, the necessity of conscious direction of the thoughts to the objects of the prayer (Heb. *Kawwānā*) is insisted upon. Nor is it clear that the Pharisees put all the requirements of religious observance on exactly the same level, and made no distinctions. The essential marks of their piety are well summed up in a Talmudic passage as follows: "*Three distinguishing characteristics mark the people of Israel—compassion, humility, and the practice of benevolence (acts of kindness)*" (T. B. *Yebamoth*, 79a).

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himself of the duty of helping a parent (Mark vii. 6-13), and the question of ritual purification—hand-washing before meals (Mark vii. 1-5). To the accuracy of both these accounts strong objection has been taken on the Jewish side, it being alleged that the Pharisees could never have tolerated such a breach of the moral law as neglect of duty to parents on the ground of tradition; and, further, that the laws of purification did not apply to the ordinary layman in daily life at all, but only on the rare occasions when he visited the Temple. They were “only obligatory upon priests during their time of service, or upon laymen during the rare and brief occasions when they visited the Temple.”<sup>1</sup>

It will not be possible for me, in the space at my command, to enter into a full discussion of the issues here raised. I can only indicate what seems to me to be the true view regarding one of them—viz., the question of ritual hand-washing before meals in the time of Jesus.

It is noticeable that the rebuke by Jesus of the Pharisees, as described in Mark vii., is directed against a hypocritical section (ver. 6, “you hypocrites”). These are represented more especially by “certain of the scribes which had come from Jerusalem”—*i.e.*, probably a deputation of the Shammaite party. It is notorious that the Shammaites (members of the party of Shammai, the opponent of Hillel) were rigorous to excess in their requirements, and were the champions of a narrow and exclusive form of legal piety. Their influence, up to the time of the catastrophe of A.D. 70, seems to have been in the ascendant; but later, the peace-loving and milder party of Hillel triumphed, and the oral law (embodied now in the oldest parts of the Talmud) was revised in accordance with Hillelite views. It is probable that in the time of Jesus the question of ritual hand-washing was a party one, and that Jesus Himself strongly opposed the Shammaite view. In fact, the impression

<sup>1</sup> Montefiore, *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1903. For a full and learned discussion of the laws of Levitical purification, see Büchler, “Der Galiläische ‘Am-ha-’arez.’”

is almost irresistible that the denunciations of the Pharisees occurring in the Gospels are directed primarily against a Shammaite section; and that the incident described in Mark vii. is an episode in the controversy between Jesus and the Shammaites. In confirmation of what has been said regarding the party-character of the point, it is interesting to note that, according to the Talmud (T. B. *Shabbath*, 14*b*), the duty of ritual hand-washing formed one of the "Eighteen Articles" which the Shammaites forced with such violence on the Sanhedrin in the stormy years that immediately preceded the conflict with Rome in A.D. 66-70.<sup>1</sup>

The great danger essentially inherent in a legalistic religion is undoubtedly that of formalism, externalism, unreality; and this defect unquestionably manifested itself in certain parties within Pharisaism. But the Pharisaic religion never failed to produce genuine examples of profound piety, while its positive achievements in the domain of religious institutions were astonishing.

Pharisaism was essentially legalistic in character. To the Pharisee the Law and its prescriptions were the supreme embodiment of the Divine Will and Divine Revelation. Jesus differed from the Pharisees in attaching less importance to the letter of the Law. The Pharisaic attitude, while not deficient in inward strength and religious conviction, was bound to be somewhat unsympathetic to those who remained outside the Law's pale. A Jewish scholar<sup>2</sup> has said: "Only in regard to intercourse with the unclean and 'unwashed' multitude, the '*am-ha-'arez* ('people of the land'), the publican and the sinner, did Jesus differ widely from the Pharisees." This difference, however, is really fundamental. Such a transcending of the

<sup>1</sup> That the neglect by Jesus' disciples of the practice of ritual hand-washing was not a departure from general lay usage may be inferred from the Gospel account itself. No protest was raised against it, apparently, till a deputation of scribes from Jerusalem arrived on the scene; and what they objected to was that a teacher—a Rabbi—should permit His disciples to neglect the rite.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. K. Kohler in the "Jewish Encyclopædia," ix. 665 (s.v. "Pharisee").

letter of the Law involved ultimately its supersession. But in Palestine, at any rate, the hostility of orthodox Pharisees seems first to have been aroused only when a section of the Christian sect became avowedly and explicitly antinomian in the person of Stephen.



## Authority in Religious Belief.

BY THE REV. C. LISLE CARR, M.A.,

*Rector of Woolton.*

OUR Lord promised His Church that the Spirit of Truth should guide His followers into all the Truth. But every one of His promised blessings is mediated through some agency. The food convenient to us comes through farmer and through merchant, health through the doctor's skill, peace through text or hymn ; and guidance in intellectual matters has its own agency which the Spirit of Truth uses to lead believers into all the Truth. This agency—in other words, the seat of authority in religious belief—is a subject which needs much discussion at the present day. It is entirely denied by some ; it is located by others in different places, and in varying form ; but for every Christian, while the ultimate authority is confessed to be the Holy Spirit, the means which He uses to express His guidance to mankind needs definition if there is to be confidence in personal faith. Without definite expression in words, there is no doubt that for the average Englishman of to-day no authority is admitted, except that of his own judgment. He claims a right, which he believes with confident certainty to be unassailable, to decide for himself what he shall believe. He may gather his creed from many religions and from many climes. He may collect from all the faiths about which he has ever heard a little here and there, and will generally express the conclusion that all religions have a great deal of good in them, but that none has any right to compel his allegiance. Or he may limit

his selection. He may approve certain passages from the Bible— or instance, the Sermon on the Mount, or St. Paul's lyric hymn of love. He is not unwilling to admit within his circle of possibilities a few clauses from the Creed, but the rest he claims the right to ignore. The ethics of Christianity will be admitted as admirable and, indeed, compelling, but its doctrines—more particularly the doctrine of Sin and Atonement, of Baptism and Communion—he passes by as unnecessary and unconvincing.

Now, this claim to a personal amount of sufficiency which makes his judgment alone authoritative in matters of belief, arises in theory from the inferences that religion is human in its origin, and that revelation has not taken place. It would be impossible for such a line to be maintained by a thinker who has once admitted the historical fact of revelation. The interference amongst humanity of God Himself, and authoritative declarations emanating from God, could never be ignored, and would admittedly transcend all human speculation. But, as we know, for the past seventy years there has been a repetition in a new form of teaching which has periodically emerged in different shapes through all the ages of human history. Through the false application of the truth of evolution, through false inferences from the investigation of other religions, through false proportion in the presentation of the immanence of God, men have come to believe that St. Paul's words that "we are not sufficient to think anything out for ourselves" are untrue. If, indeed, religion were man's proud invention, if its progress be due merely to advancing development in civilization, if all thought and worship be still offered to an unknown God who has never broken the silence of Eternity, and never by whisper in a prophet's ear, or Incarnation in a human form unfolded some fragment of His appalling nature, then the seat of authority is man himself, and while he profits by past experience, he has himself the right of determining what and how he shall believe.

Yet on the other hand the factor of the human element and the powers of man's mind are to be reckoned with in their

proper place as an agency of the Divine Spirit. "In the image of God made He man." The human intellect works in its tiny sphere on lines that lie parallel to, and not across, the lines of God's processes. "I believe because it is impossible," is hopeless pessimism, denying God's supreme gift to the man He made. The mind that admits the Divine supremacy will never find God's action mathematically contradictory to what mankind confesses to be the highest. "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him," and to the God-fearing that secret is expressed in terms that do not contradict our own best thought :

"It was my duty to have loved the highest :  
It surely was my profit had I known :  
It would have been my pleasure had I seen.  
We needs must love the highest when we see it."

We shall need to find the place of private judgment amongst the Spirit's agencies for guiding men into all the truth.

But when we turn from this claim to absolute independence in the selection of belief and unbelief, and concentrate our attention upon those who are convinced that God has revealed Himself, and that the revelation that He has made compels attention and devotion, we find an acute difference of opinion as to where exactly within the Christian circle the commanding authority is to be sought. To what voice are we to listen? Amongst the clamouring voices for our attention, whence sounds that dominant call which shall control with certainty our thoughts and life?

The answers to this question fall on the whole into two groups: one school of thought finds in the Church, another in the Bible, the seat of authority in religious belief.

This generalization, like all other generalizations, is not wholly true. No believer in the authority of the Church would ignore the Scripture; no Protestant can escape the influence of the history and experience of his fellow-Christians. Yet, though that must be said, the line of demarcation is fairly clear, and it may, at any rate, be maintained with confidence that the

emphasis of the one side is laid primarily on the Church, and of the other on the Bible.

The one school, then, seeks its authority in the Church. This you will remember is the position taken up by John Henry Newman in his "Apologia." After portraying the dark side of human life, he goes on to say that "there is nothing to surprise the mind, if God should think fit to introduce a power into the world, invested with the prerogative of infallibility in religious matters. When I find that this is the very claim of the Catholic Church, not only do I feel no difficulty in admitting the idea, but there is a fitness in it, which recommends it to my mind."

Now, we must confess that there is a vast attractiveness in this theory. We see that everywhere—a notable instance is foreign missionary work—God uses human agency. It seems congruous to his other actions that He should entrust religious truth to a body of men, with confidence that they would keep it pure, and with authority to hand it on from generation to generation. The history of the Jewish Church furnishes an immediate parallel.

But one obvious difficulty confronts us at once. What do we mean by Church? The Roman cuts the knot by the proclamation of the Infallibility of the Pope. What Rome believes, the Church teaches. It is a simple method, but a method whose results, whether in doctrine or in practice, do not commend themselves to mankind.

For us the question remains unanswered. "From 451," wrote Professor Sanday, "the Christian world has been so broken up that the movement of the whole has practically lost its containing unity. After that year it seems to me difficult to collect what could really be called Catholic." Our great Apologist, Bishop Jewel, could go no farther than the first six centuries in his investigation. The question is, then, one of extraordinary difficulty. If we proceed on the lines of Newman argument that it is reasonable that authority should be entrusted to a concrete body of men, then it is no less unreasonable that

for so many centuries their voices should have been utterly divergent, and that the leadership of the largest united body should have guided men into the darkness and superstition which has unfortunately characterized long periods and spacious parts in the Roman Communion.

Moreover, the parallel of the Jewish history is not complete. They did not start with a Bible in their hands, such as was granted to the Christian Church within a century of its Founder's birth. The problem cannot be treated fairly if the Bible is ignored.

Hence arises the well-worn and much-abused formula, "The Church to teach, the Bible to prove." So far as this maxim is used positively, it is an obvious truism which is not worth quoting. Of course it is the function of the society of Christian men to teach. Naturally the Bible is used as a storehouse of supporting proofs. But if the smallest suspicion of negative limitation enters into the use of the formula, then it becomes altogether false. There is a further error in this cheap truism. For what is the Church to teach? It is to teach the Bible. The tutor of the novice is the man who speaks for the society; the textbook which he holds in his hand, from which his lesson is taken, which remains when he goes, which he will never master to the full himself, is the Bible.

Yet on the other hand, this search for authority in the Church itself is not only attractive, but, despite its difficulty, is, in its proper place and proportion, true. The traditional interpretation which we inherit, or which we receive from parents and pastors in our youth, can never be evaded or entirely forgotten, for behind it lies the Spirit. The Creeds and formulæ of each Communion represent even more than the priceless treasure of the long experience of Christian men. We believe in the Holy Ghost, and we believe that there has been no age so dark and no century so hopeless as to stifle His voice. In many places and in many manners He has spoken to the society which the Lord founded, and His message can only be neglected at our peril.

We turn now to the other side. The second school would say that they find in the Bible the seat of authority sufficient for them. If we are Churchmen we are right in claiming the Bible as the final authority. Listen to the voice of our Church : “ It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God’s Word written,” “ Although the Church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation ;” and again, “ Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation : so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.” Even the Creeds are to be believed, “ for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.”

But when all this has been said, it merely brings us face to face with a fresh difficulty. From the earliest times the risk of allowing the human intellect to run riot over the Bible has been a serious one. In the Second Epistle of St. Peter we are warned that no Scripture is of private interpretation ; and private interpretation, whether of schools or of individuals has led to infinite variety of teaching and thought. Since the Reformation we have seen Christendom split into innumerable sects, and where there were but two great divisions—the East and the West—in the older days when the Bible was neglected, there are now a thousand differing and conflicting communities. It may be granted freely that our manifold varieties are far better than a dead uniformity. But it is merely the choice of two evils, and there is no reason why uniformity should be dead. It is a fact which we must face, if variety is ever to be replaced by unity, and if authority is ever to call men with a clear and certain voice, that the study of the Bible alone has not been an unmixed blessing, and that it lies at the root of a great many instances of heresy and schism. No one will be so foolish as to imagine that in this year when we are celebrating the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version, anyone would be so benighted and

foolish as to say one word against that priceless Book which kings and statesmen, no less than saints and philosophers, have combined to praise. We long to see it studied more. There lies the message of the living God, and for national prosperity and individual happiness it holds the keys. Yet the Bible alone, while containing all things necessary to salvation, has not proved by itself, used without interpretation or limitation, an authority in religious belief which has made for unity.

If a missionary were evangelizing some heathen race, he would not put into their hand, as a guide to their doctrines and practices, a volume of the Bible, without key, commentary, or limitation. He would of course give them the Bible, but he would limit it by presenting them first with fragments of it, probably the Gospels; he would summarize it by teaching them the Creed; he would comment on it, by explaining texts. In short, the authority which he would spread before them would be the Bible, interpreted and summarized by the Church, and approved by the human conscience.

Thus each of those factors, which are usually appealed to as final authorities—the intellect, the Church, the Bible—is not in itself adequate or effective as a sole guide to our beliefs.

Where, then, are we to find authority? It lies in the Spirit of God. He uses not one channel but three. His expression is, as it were, the resultant of the action of three forces—the Bible, the Church, the intellect. Over-emphasis on anyone of these three, or an ignoring of any one of the factors has led, and still leads, to error. The freethinker has concentrated on the intellect, and so has come to grief; the Catholic on a higher thing, the Church. He has failed, but his failure has not been altogether ignoble, and in failing he has done much good, for his eyes were after all toward God. The Protestant, concentrating his gaze upon the Bible, has made the noblest error, but he has failed, as the infinite divisions of Christendom testify. One-sidedness, even though that side be Church or Bible, cannot satisfy the Christian ideal, for His servants are "those who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth."

Nor is it enough to hold two of these factors alone. The ascetics neglected the human intellect, and thus followed a world-shunning and isolated life, which removed blessings from mankind, and which was contrary to the secure judgment of the human race, and which has made men realize with that certain intuition, which is one of God's gifts to the race, that if the asceticism of a Simeon Stylites is Christianity, then Christianity is not for them. There is a mysticism which is excellent; but that other mysticism, which leads dreamers away from action and sends them to sleep "unhelpful from the storm behind the wall," and properly makes men despise their religion as ineffective and visionary, arises from the neglect of the working of God's Spirit in the human mind.

If we are to be clear as to that compelling voice which is to dictate our hopes and fears and trust, we must hold together these three methods by which the ascended Lord still works.

At the back stands, secure, serene, and final, the Bible, the Word of God. But it is a Bible which we study with glad acceptance of the help, the interpretation, the limitation, which the Church of God with experience growing from age to age, and the ever-present Spirit's guidance has put upon it. The word Church will mean first the voice of Christendom still undivided, and, in later days, the voice of that branch of it to which we belong, whose union with Christ is proved by its fruits. Thus we have in the greater matters of doctrine the Bible summed up in those Creeds, which are almost to a word the utterance of an undivided Church, while, in the lesser matters of order, practice, and worship, we follow with loyalty the interpretation of Scripture with which our Anglican Communion, in Prayer-Book, in Article, and in the writings of the great Fathers, whom these last four centuries have produced in England, has ordained for us.

And all this we shall pass under the review of our no less Divine power of intellectual apprehension. We shall not expect to understand everything, but we shall expect, and rightly expect, to find that nothing runs contrary to those clear great

outlines of right and wrong with which the human conscience has been furnished by its Maker. We shall never "believe because it is impossible." Where things seem impossible, we shall understand that there is some mistake either in our interpretation of Scripture or Creed, or of our own thought, and, humbly on our knees, as believers that God has revealed Himself, we shall seek the truth.



### Dr. Gairdner on Lollardy.

By G. G. COULTON, M.A.

DR. GAIRDNER, after a long and distinguished career as public archivist, has earned the respect even of those who least agree with him by a series of learned and suggestive pleas at the bar of history. In a review of the first two volumes of his "Lollardy and the Reformation" (CHURCHMAN, April, 1909), we spoke plainly of what seemed to us the author's bias, and have therefore the greater pleasure in acknowledging a feature which lends special interest to the third volume. The author not only begins with a very full introduction in defence of his general point of view (to which we shall presently recur), but has published a long list of errata and cancel pages for his first two volumes, thus creating a precedent of a kind only too rare in the annals of English history. Even Macaulay paid far too little attention to very important rectifications of detail which his "History" called forth; and Froude, though he set an admirable example by depositing much of his MS. material in the British Museum, was undoubtedly loath to confess publicly certain errors which he could not have undertaken to justify in the face of later evidence. More than one Roman Catholic, while daily casting his little stone at Froude, is even less willing to withdraw misstatements than he. We do not happen to know of any English historian who has published so frank and prompt a series of *retractationes* as Dr. Gairdner, and we

cannot help thinking that his courage is here thrice blessed. He has earned the personal respect of every honest reader ; his third volume must now command even more serious attention than its two predecessors ; and (most important of all) he has set an example which should bear as precious and as lasting fruits in English history as Anglo-American arbitration seems destined to bear in world-politics. Nor do we here applaud Dr. Gairdner merely as an indirect way of exalting our own party opinions against his. He holds his ground firmly on all essential points, as those who least agree with him will admit that he had a right to hold it in the present state of historical controversy. But from under these, his main opinions, he has fearlessly cut away more than one prop which criticism had shown to be unsafe ; and most readers will, like ourselves, feel at once rebuked and cheered by this proof of moral courage. Here and there (to express a personal opinion) we might have wished that the changes had been greater. We cannot help feeling, for instance, that on p. 370 of vol. i. Dr. Gairdner still leaves his readers under an impression most unfair to Wycliffe and to Tyndale ; for the translation "*Search ye* the Scriptures" (as opposed to "*Ye search*") has not only the authority of Augustine, but that of the Roman Catholic (Douay) version and of Cornelius à Lapide, the standard Roman Catholic commentator of the seventeenth century ; it seems, therefore, quite gratuitous to charge its adoption by our Authorized Version to the account of Lollardy. But we gladly refrain from looking Dr. Gairdner's gift-horse too closely in the mouth, and congratulate him whole-heartedly upon the example he has set to future historians.

His personal *apologia*, also, is most interesting. "For myself," he writes (p. xi), "I was brought up outside of all the orthodoxies, and for half my life what I now feel to be the vital doctrines of Christianity, acknowledged all the world over, were certainly quite unintelligible to me, and accordingly incredible." From this state of mind, Dr. Gairdner has gradually moved into, and settled in, the High Anglican

position. He has every right, therefore, to emphasize the important fact that his present views are the fruit neither of conservatism nor of deference to current fashion, but of mature thought. Moreover, attentive readers will probably concede his plea that many passages of his writings which have commonly been taken to betray a leaning towards Romanism do, in fact, show no more than his anxiety to do even justice. He believes that the Romanist view, resting as it does upon a long tradition, lends itself more than the Protestant view to misconception by readers who have never studied the medieval mind—that is, to what must necessarily be the large majority of English readers. He therefore constantly says in effect: “Before you condemn this word or that action, try to put yourself into the speaker’s or doer’s point of view. I myself hold, with the ordinary Englishman, that the Reformation was in the long-run rather a success than a failure. But, in order to judge this fairly, we must ask ourselves how far the men of the sixteenth century could be expected to foresee, even dimly, that which we see clearly enough when we look back. More may have judged rightly *for his time*, and Tyndale wrongly, even on those points where the reading and thinking world agrees now with Tyndale.” All this is very true, up to a certain point; yet, at best, it is only a half-truth, and Dr. Gairdner seems to exalt it into a whole truth. It is roughly true of persons, but not of institutions. In judging between More and Tyndale, personally considered, we can scarcely help deciding that the Romanist was, on the whole, a greater and better man than the Protestant. We might here and there go further than this, and grant that More sometimes showed wise conservatism in rejecting innovations where Tyndale was rash in accepting them, even though time has abundantly justified such innovations—in other words, that Tyndale beat More on these points merely by a lucky fluke. But the argument fails us when we come to compare two conflicting ideals of ecclesiastical policy, over a period of more than five centuries. So wide a generalization permits the accidents on either side to neutralize each

other; the ideal which has come definitely to the front after five centuries is the ideal which was originally and essentially superior—or, at least, the burden of proof weighs very heavily against anybody who would maintain the contrary. And we think that Dr. Gairdner is unintentionally unjust to the Reformers' ideal. We willingly grant what he says on p. xlii, that the doctrine of Justification by Faith, in the narrow sense given to it under stress of controversy by most of the first Reformers, probably finds as few hearty believers nowadays as the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation. But the new doctrines had an elasticity denied to the old traditions; and, when we penetrate down to the core of this theory of Justification, we shall find in it that strong conviction of the soul's *direct* responsibility to its Maker which has been the inward strength and the outward weakness of Protestantism. It has given free play to the sectarian spirit; but it has given equally free play to the undying spirit of all true religion. Dr. Gairdner very justly repudiates the sectarian spirit; we gladly admit that his is essentially a Catholic mind, in the sense of the Apostles' Creed; yet we feel that, in all this matter, his judgment has been warped by circumstances.

This comes out most clearly in his definition of *heresy* and his use of that word. The late Canon Bigg, among others, complained of his employing it habitually as it was used in the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. To this Dr. Gairdner now replies (Introd., p. xiii) that he and Canon Dixon "agree in the use of the word 'heretic' in its strictly historical sense; that is to say, we call those persons heretics who were called heretics by their contemporaries." And he takes Canon Bigg to task for speaking of the word as a "nickname," seeing that it was first used by St. Paul. Yet surely we can only get at the "historical sense" of a word by observing how it has been used through *all* periods of history, and especially at the time when it was first introduced. The context in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus distinctly implies that he connected the word with factiousness and contentiousness about small things; there is

nothing there to show that he conceived of a body of Orthodox from whom none but heretics presumed to differ. On the other hand, as time went on, it was inevitable that the Orthodox should take this or some similar word for a party catchword, just as the Greek saved himself a great deal of trouble by lumping all non-Greeks under the general name of "barbarians." Few words have had a more tainted history than "heresy," if it is to history that we must look. Several propositions advanced by St. Thomas Aquinas were formally and officially condemned as heretical after his death. St. Vincent Ferrer taught publicly and daily that all were heretics who adhered to a different anti-Pope from his own—a condemnation which included his far greater sister-saint, Catharine of Siena. Franciscans were officially condemned as heretics, and burned in due course, for adhering too closely to the original rule of St. Francis, after the majority had drifted into laxer ways. Long before Wycliffe's time "heretic" had become in fact, as Canon Bigg contends, a nickname; and Dr. Gairdner has scarcely more "historical" support for calling Tyndale a heretic than for calling the ancient Egyptian writers and artists barbarians. The Greeks, who are our chief masters in the history of those times, did indeed call them so; but why should we wilfully adopt their narrow outlook, even if the word had not changed its connotation since then?

Nor does it seem possible to maintain his repudiation of the term for himself. It is true that no sensible English Roman Catholic would publicly apply such a name to Dr. Gairdner if he could help it; but foreign Romanists, who are the overwhelming majority, might not be so squeamish, and even the Englishman might be driven in logic to call our author by the same plain name which is applied to Tyndale throughout this learned work. They might distinguish (as they often do) between *formal* and *material* heresy; but even this distinction would not really avail. Dr. Gairdner is evidently misled here, as in other places, by the pleas of modern Romanist apologists. "I am happy to say," he writes, "I know several Roman

Catholics, some of them even divines of high standing, who, I think, value my friendship as I do theirs. They do not avoid my company as they ought to do if they considered me a heretic in the same sense as Bilney was. . . . My Roman Catholic friends may indeed consider my opinions heretical. . . . But that is something different from looking upon me as a heretic, which I trust I am not." This trust, we fear, would be as dismally disappointed in any time of real stress as was Mr. Lacey's naïve hope that Rome would face facts in the matter of Anglican Orders. Some at least of the Roman Catholic divines of high standing who, in friendly intercourse, had encouraged their Anglican friends in such hopes proved, at the pinch, as impenetrable to fact and logic as the rest. Even Father Rickaby, the authorized apologist of the Catholic Truth Society, when stripped of his pleasant phrases, gives Dr. Gairdner but cold comfort. He would place him among Jews and Infidels ("Persecution," p. 4; "Oxford Conferences," p. 7). In this inferior class, Dr. Gairdner's legal privileges before a Roman tribunal would be in inverse proportion to his religious dignity. Before God, indeed, he would have no hope of salvation; even his good works would not avail him without the Orthodox Faith. But before the human tribunal he would be comparatively safe. Never having known the truth, he could not be burnt as a rebel against it; nor would it be just, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, to force him into the true fold by torture or fear of death (though accredited casuists of the seventeenth century would decide otherwise). But even St. Thomas would not allow Dr. Gairdner to hire an Orthodox servant, or rise to rule over a Roman Catholic in the Record Office; "for this would result in scandal and peril to the Faith" (*Secunda Secunda*, Q. VIII., Art. X.). The Church, standing towards him in the position of master to slave, might, without injustice, dispose of his property (*ibid.*). He might be silenced by brute force, lest he should shake the faith of true Catholics (*ibid.*, Art. VIII.). According to a constitution re-enacted by the Ecumenical Council of Basle, he would be compelled, by pecuniary fines or

more forcible means, to attend, with other *infideles*, the annual sermon preached for his conversion. All these things were once commonplaces of Roman Catholic discipline; they have never been officially retracted, and there is nothing but the sense of expediency to prevent Dr. Gairdner's friends from reviving this legislation at any time, just as they revived obsolete errors about Anglican Orders when the conjuncture was felt to require such a resurrection.

Moreover, even Father Rickaby's pleasant assurance, upon which we have hitherto built, is not true. Dr. Gairdner has not even the comfort that, being for Church disciplinary purposes a Jew or Infidel, he therefore cannot be condemned of formal heresy unless he invents or follows some religious faction which will make him a heretic even within his own sect. Father Rickaby, though he has published a translation of St. Thomas Aquinas and bases his apology upon St. Thomas, yet forgets a great deal of St. Thomas in his apologetic pamphlet. For the saint, in a later section of the same discussion (only a few pages after the passage quoted by Father Rickaby), proceeds to an exposition which cuts the Jesuit's ground from under his feet. (*loc. cit.*, Q. XI., Arts. I., II.). Aquinas plainly treats *all baptized Christians* as distinct from Jews and Infidels, and therefore as amenable to Roman Catholic penal jurisdiction. All such may pardonably err on a minor point of faith until they have been told that this point has been finally decided by the Church—that is, of course, by the Roman Church. When once they have been told of the Church's decision, then they must accept it without demur; henceforward he who rejects is a formal heretic. Therefore Dr. Gairdner, as a baptized Christian, who knows perfectly well the decrees of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, who has heard a good deal of the arguments upon which those decrees were based, and who yet persistently rejects them, can find no real excuse in St. Thomas, who says distinctly: "After [any doctrine, though once indeterminate,] had been decided by the authority of the Universal Church, then whosoever should pertinaciously

contend against such a decision would be counted as a heretic." Nor can we plead that St. Thomas could not be expected to foresee a state of society in which baptized Christians would be born and brought up in unorthodoxy, and therefore (as Father Rickaby puts it) "no sons of hers [the Roman Church] nor subjects, in any external, visible order." Hundreds of the slaughtered Albigensians must have been born in unorthodoxy, and sucked in anti-Romanist doctrines with their mothers' milk; therefore the "born heretic" as opposed to the "born Catholic" existed in Christendom under St. Thomas's eyes; yet the saint, with all his meticulous distinctions and subtle refinements, has not a word to say in favour of such persons. Moreover, it may be pretty safely asserted that, for at least a couple of centuries after the Reformation, no orthodox theologian of mark ever ventured to interpret Aquinas in the sense in which Father Rickaby, for very shame of modern civilization, must needs attempt to interpret him nowadays. Bishop Simancas of Zamorra published in 1569 a "Handbook for Judges" in cases of heresy, which became a standard work, and was reprinted under the patronage of Cardinal Chigi at least as late as 1692. The book swarms with references to children of heretics, but (we believe) without a single hint that such could claim impunity from the Inquisition. On the contrary, he says: "It will afford a presumption [of heresy] against the son of a heretic, that he was brought up in his father's house;" and below: "A still stronger presumption is taken from his education, which doubtless fashioneth men's manners; for if anyone have been educated with heretics, it will be strange if he have not been defiled by them" (edit. 1692, p. 496). He constantly refers to Lutherans, but gives no hint of any such exception in their favour as Father Rickaby vainly imagines. He would very likely have given Dr. Gairdner a fair hearing, and then patiently explained the true Catholic doctrine; but next must have come the plain question: "Will you now recant?" A steady refusal at this point would have left the just judge no alternative but to condemn his prisoner as a pertinacious heretic.

Dr. Gairdner would vainly plead, in the words of his Introduction, "I protest that in mind I am not at all sectarian, if I know myself truly. And if my sole object is to seek for truth so far as my limitations will permit me, then I am not a heretic at all, but a real Catholic, refusing to be bound by any school." Words as true and as earnest as these have been pleaded over and over again by men who have yet gone to the stake. No official decree of the Pope or of the Congregations has ever retracted the horrible doctrines of medieval intolerance; even within our own memory the Roman Catholic Primate of England could write that an appeal from Rome to History was a treason and a heresy; Dr. Gairdner's very protest stamps him as a Protestant.

We have dwelt at this length upon a single point because it seems to us a principal and essential part of Dr. Gairdner's historical creed. His life's work of calendaring sixteenth-century State Papers has familiarized him more than any living man with the seamy side of Protestantism at its most troublous period. On the other hand, his impressions of Romanism seem to have been derived less from medieval sources than from personal intercourse with prominent modern Romanists, who have grown up in ignorance of much that still remains the unrepealed law of their Church, and who naturally keep in the background a great deal even of that which they know. In modern England and America we see the religion of External Authority under its mildest and most civilized forms, as the State Papers of the sixteenth century show the religion of Private Judgment in its most rudimentary and barbarous condition. We feel that Dr. Gairdner still recognizes this distinction but imperfectly, and therefore that his essential honesty of purpose fails to save him from a strong historical bias. But in this third volume Dr. Gairdner is far more upon his own ground than in the first two; and for this reason, if for no other, we have read him with far greater pleasure.



## Studies in Romans.

BY THE REV. W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS, D.D.

### I.—THE PURPOSE.

**W**HY did St. Paul write the Epistle to the Romans? It was not to a Church of his own founding, nor was it to a place with which he was personally acquainted. The Christians there were possessed of a quite definite spiritual experience (chap. xv. 14), who might therefore be thought to be independent of his teaching, and yet it is to such a Church that he sends his most elaborate Epistle.

The variety of views among even the ablest commentators on this subject of the purpose of the Epistle is striking and perplexing. Some think that the purpose was polemic, in view of the Apostle's recent controversies with the Judaisers. Others are of opinion that he had an apologetic aim, endeavouring to vindicate his position, and to obtain the support of the Church of Rome. Others, again, consider that the main object of the Epistle was didactic without any personal or polemical object. Then again, some writers emphasize chaps. i.-viii. as containing the heart of the Epistle, and indicating the Apostle's main and supreme purpose. Others, however, lay stress on chaps. ix.-xi. as revealing the very core of this great writing. Amid these conflicting opinions we may almost despair of arriving at a proper conclusion, and yet we will again make the attempt to discover the purpose of St. Paul in writing one of the most important of his Epistles.

The Apostle at the time of writing Romans was just closing his work in Asia Minor, and the time seemed to have come to review and discuss the general position in view of his completed tasks and the circumstances awaiting him in Jerusalem. He was naturally, and rightly, desirous of winning the sympathy of the Roman Christians for his Gospel, and for his plans in furtherance of it. He wished to obtain their support for the

further operations contemplated by him, and so he writes this comprehensive letter, stating fully his position. It is scarcely possible to omit the further consideration that he evidently looked forward to serious difficulties, and even dangers, in Jerusalem, and that this might therefore easily be his last Epistle.

One crisis in his strenuous life was over, but another was now upon him. The problem of the Gentile reception of the Gospel had necessarily forced the doctrine of Justification into prominence, and that had been definitely settled in connection with the Churches of Galatia, but now Jewish unbelief was becoming specially prominent. The relation of the Gospel to the Jews and the Gentiles respectively was pressing upon the Apostle. To the Gentile he had preached a free, full, and universal message, and yet there was the enigma of Jewish unbelief and rejection facing him and his fellow-Christians. How was it that in spite of everything the Jews were still rejecting Jesus Christ? St. Paul could not, and had no wish to, ignore the Jew, and now he takes up the great question of the relation of the Jew to Christ and His salvation. He points out that the Gospel was for the Jew "first," and yet "also to the Greek," and that though the Jew is now outside the Gospel, owing to his rejection of it, there is a future for him which is divinely certain and assured. He desired to show Gentile believers in Rome and elsewhere that his Gospel did not ignore the Jew, but that, on the contrary, it regarded him as either occupying a definite place in the Christian Church, or else as constituting a large unbelieving section outside it. Sanday and Headlam thus clearly and convincingly state the problem which faced the Apostle after his victory over the Judaisers in Galatia :

" This battle had been fought and won ; but it left behind a question which was intellectually more troublesome—a question brought home by the actual effect of the preaching of Christianity, very largely welcomed and eagerly embraced by Gentiles, but as a rule spurned and rejected by the Jews—how it could be that Israel, the chosen recipient of the promises of the Old Testament, should be excluded from the benefit now that those

promises came to be fulfilled. Clearly this question belongs to the later reflective stage of the controversy relating to Jew and Gentile. The active contending for Gentile liberties would come first; the philosophic or theological assignment of the due place of Jew and Gentile in the Divine scheme would naturally come afterwards. This more advanced stage has now been reached. The Apostle has made up his mind on the whole series of questions at issue, and he takes the opportunity of writing to the Romans at the very centre of the Empire to lay down calmly and deliberately the conclusions to which he has come" (Introduction to "Romans," p. xliii).

In view of these important considerations, it will be readily seen that chaps. ix.-xi., which deal specially with the subject of the Jew, are an integral and necessary part of the Epistle, and in our judgment no view of the Apostle's purpose in writing Romans can possibly be right which ignores or minimizes the importance of this section, which is essential to the true understanding of his attitude. In some respects the closing verses of chap. xi. are the culminating part of the Epistle. God's attitude to the two divisions of mankind, Jew and Gentile, is there stated with special reference to the future salvation of both. Indeed, the entire Epistle is full of "the Jewish question," as may be seen from the earliest reference in chap. i. 2, and a careful study of the allusions in chaps. ii., iii., iv., xiv. and xv.

The peculiar position of the Apostle at the time of writing, as he reviews the past and anticipates the future, enables us to understand the absence of controversy in this Epistle, as well as the conciliatory attitude, and the didactic and apologetic elements which are all found combined herein. Both of the great doctrinal sections, chaps. i.-viii. and ix.-xi., are absolutely essential to the full understanding of the Apostle's purpose, and there is no necessary contradiction between the various elements of the apologetic and didactic which are found in Romans, for, as Dr. Denney well says, these are not by any means mutually exclusive. Dr. Barmby ("Pulpit Commentary," p. 10) rightly remarks that this Epistle is

"In its ultimate drift a setting forth of what we may call the philosophy of the Gospel, showing how it meets human needs and satisfies human yearnings, and is the true solution of the problems of existence, and the remedy for the present mystery of sin. And so it is meant for philosophers

as well as for simple souls ; and it is sent, therefore, in the first place to Rome, in the hope that it may reach even the most cultured there, and through them commend itself to earnest thinkers generally."

Dr. Elder Cumming some years ago (*Life of Faith*, Sept. 19, 1894) made a suggestive contribution to the consideration of the purpose of Romans. He thought that we have in it the record of the personal mental history of the Apostle, in which, after his conversion, he worked his way from the old Jewish standpoint to his standpoint under the Gospel. In writing he takes himself as a representative of all his fellow-countrymen who had accepted Christ, and, putting his own process of thought into general terms, makes it applicable to all. As he went along, working from principle to principle in his own case, he discovered that the Gentiles also had had to face the same problems, and go through with necessary modifications the same process. Hence, Dr. Cumming argues, the entire Epistle bristles with personal allusions which we can read between the lines, and for the same reason the Apostle is never really out of sight of Jewish questions. And so, as the light into which he himself came was clear and cloudless, he endeavours to lead all his readers into the same. Dr. Cumming points out that it is not without weight that in the closing chapter we have more information given about the family and relatives of St. Paul than in all other places put together. In Rome itself there were three kinsmen, who had been converted to Christ while he himself was still a persecutor (vers. 7, 11), and in Corinth there were three other kinsmen who joined him in greeting relatives and others in Rome. So the man Paul "really pervades the whole Epistle ; going back over the road he once trod so slowly and carefully, and taking us with him as our guide."

We believe that this suggestion is a very fruitful one, and may well prove the unifying factor which will bring together the various elements in the Epistle which, if considered by themselves, do not satisfy all the requirements of the situation. The contents of the Epistle seem to fit this view and to open the door to a number of difficult places, especially the references to

sin, righteousness, union with Christ, the fight with self, and the law; the references to "Abraham our father," and the touching personal mention of Israel and his brethren according to the flesh. When thus considered, we can the more readily understand the fulness and depth of meaning of the Apostle's significant phrase, "My Gospel," for Romans then reveals to us what the Apostle himself had received, what he was proclaiming, and what he wished to commend to Jew and Gentile everywhere as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."



## A Seventeenth-Century Irreconcilable.

BY THE REV. G. S. STREATFEILD, M.A.,  
*Rector of Goddington.*

A RECENT number of THE CHURCHMAN contained an interesting sketch of the character and career of the saintly Archbishop Leighton. A short account of the Archbishop's father, though less edifying, may be no less interesting to the readers of the magazine.

In Alexander Leighton, the writer of "Sion's Plea against the Prelacy," we have a notable specimen of the Puritan controversialist. A Scotchman by birth, a Presbyterian by education and conviction, he was a man of one idea; his energy was directed towards one supreme object. Wholly persuaded that episcopal government is contrary to the Divine will, he set himself to convince his fellow-citizens that the State must inevitably suffer shipwreck, and sink beneath the waters of Divine judgment, unless episcopacy were seized by the strong hand of the law and thrown overboard.

A glance at Leighton's portrait will show to some extent the man he was. Stern, implacable, morose, is the countenance that looks out upon you from a rare print. A massive lower jaw may remind of his great contemporary, the Earl of Strafford, and is suggestive of drastic measures pursued with no unnecessary scruples. A high and narrow forehead, set off by

strongly-curved eyebrows placed rather high above the eye, prepares you for bigotry, while deep wrinkles tell of the patient toil with which the literature of Christendom, reformed and unreformed, has been ransacked for his controversy. In a contemporary document he is described as a man of low stature, with fair complexion and yellowish beard.

It must not be supposed that Alexander Leighton represented in his own day the spirit of the Liberation Society or had any leaning towards religious equality. Toleration in any shape or form was to him an object of scorn. According to his reading of the New Testament, the Presbyterian form of government had received the Divine sanction, and the first duty of the State, therefore, was to establish and uphold it. Had he presided over a High Commission Court, it would have been with a severity more merciless than that of Laud. In our estimate of the man, however, we must bear in mind that he represented no inconsiderable a section of the English people. Fifty years earlier Thomas Cartwright had vehemently, even savagely, upheld the cause of Presbyterianism, and in fifteen years from the appearance of "Sion's Plea" the cause for which Leighton contended was, for a brief space, enthroned in a Parliament that decreed death to those who should deny the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and imprisonment to those who should question the obligation of Infant Baptism, the strict observance of the Sabbath, or the doctrine of election. It is but fair also to Leighton's memory to recall the fact that he was trained in the school of Knox, and came from a land where even such a loving spirit as that of Samuel Rutherford had accepted the belief that "Prelacy and popery wither as in a land of drought, except they be planted beside rivers of blood."

In Leighton's attack upon the Bishops, moreover, we cannot deny that, as a conscientious objector to their office, he was not without provocation. Time-serving, covetousness, arrogance, were far from uncommon in the episcopate of that period. The system of persecution, inaugurated by Whitgift in the Court of High Commission, was becoming intolerable under Laud. Moreover, the Puritanical sentiment of the country was wounded

by the introduction of practices regarded with good reason as un-Anglican, and by the discouragement given to exposition of Scripture. Even moderate Churchmen ventilated their grievances on this score. Thomas Fuller, for example, who could truly say of himself that he was "not bred on Mount Ebal," complains somewhat bitterly of the infrequency of preaching, the desecration of the Lord's Day, the multiplication of ceremonies, and the Romeward bias of thought.

Leighton's first published work, "*Speculum Belli Sacri*," was issued in 1624. This was a loud and violent plea for declaring war against Spain. In 1628 he entered on a still more congenial task by undertaking to be spokesman of his friends and fellow-thinkers in their hatred of prelacy. Parliament was to be petitioned on the subject, and to Leighton was entrusted the work of drawing up the indictment against the Church of England. The petitioners, five hundred in number, included members of Parliament. Having obtained the signatures, Leighton withdrew to Holland, that he might print without interruption. So assiduously did he toil that in a few months his work issued from the press a volume of three hundred and forty-four pages, and in the form of a long controversial treatise rather than that of a Parliamentary petition. It was entitled, "An Appeal to Parliament; or, Sion's Plea against the Prelacy."

No sooner did a copy come into the hands of Laud, then Bishop of London, than steps were taken for the apprehension of the author, and on February 17, 1630, he was seized, hurried to Newgate, and thrown into a cell, which he describes as a "nasty dog-hole full of rats and mice." In the following June the Star Chamber pronounced sentence, which, whatever it may have been to contemporary thought, must appear to us inhuman in the last degree. He was condemned to be degraded from his Orders, to pay a fine of £10,000,<sup>1</sup> to be set in the pillory and whipped at Westminster, to have one of his ears cut off and his

<sup>1</sup> This, like many of the fines imposed, was nominal, the amount merely serving to mark the degree of the offence.

nose slit, and to be branded with S.S. (sower of sedition). At some future time he was to be taken to Cheapside to be whipped again, to lose the other ear, and then to be imprisoned for life, or during His Majesty's pleasure.<sup>1</sup> On November 26 Leighton underwent his terrible punishment with indomitable courage, though not without some self-glorification. From Westminster he was conveyed back to Newgate, where he was destined to spend the next ten years of life. Leaving poor Leighton for the present, we turn to the book which brought him into such a plight.

On the title-page are quoted the words recorded in Luke xix. 27 : " Those mine enemies which would not that I should raigne over them, bring them hither and slay them before Me." The title-page is followed by a double frontispiece, which, to some extent, prepares the reader for what is coming. Omitting details, we only give the prominent features. On the Bible, as its base, stands a massive candlestick with lighted candle. Clutching at the upper part of it, with intent to remove it, are two hands, one from either side, branded with the mark of infamy, implied in the words *scelerata manus*. Beneath is a third hand that keeps the candlestick in its place, in spite of Bishops and High Commission Court. The power of Parliament is represented by two citizens holding drawn swords, and from whose lips proceed the two mottoes, *Manet ultio* and *Manet insuperabile verbum*. On the opposite page the author gives way to his fancy, and visualizes the desire of his heart. Head-long from a ruined tower half-a-dozen Bishops are being hurled to the ground, and their fate is celebrated in the following couplet :

" The tottering Prelats with their trumpery all  
Shall moulder down like elder from the wall."

In an " Introductory Epistle " the House of Commons is exhorted to be of good courage and undertake the removal of the " master-plague " of England—" the domineering national

<sup>1</sup> The second part of the sentence was not carried out. In 1640 Leighton was released by the Long Parliament, and received a grant of £6,000 as compensation for the treatment he had received.

sin" of episcopacy. Should not everyone bring some water to quench the fire? "Behold, Right Honourable, wee bring one Bucketfull taken out of the Christalline sea." They must not be deterred from the work by unworthy fears. "'Fear not, have not I commanded you?' saith our King. Let the righteous be bold as Lyons, and the wicked will flye when none persueth them." No wonder the task appeared difficult and dangerous: "They are the sonnes of Anack for strength (and so are they indeed the sonnes of that monstrous giant the man of sinne); they are deeply rooted and strongly guarded with Amalekites, Hittites, Jebusites, etc.—that is, Atheists, Papists, Arminians, carnall gospellers, Protestants at large, the openlie prophane, and with all the enemies of the Church and Commonwealth, and with all the bellie-serving crew that depend upon them." They have further with them "the counsell of Achitophel, the courting of Shebna, the roaring and braving of Goliah, the cruel pride and vanitie of Haman, the flatterie of Amaziah, the falshood of Shemaiah, the bloody cunning of Doeg, and if, in this height and might they be incountered, they will rage like the roaring of the sea and teare like a bear robbed of her whelps." He fairly warns the country that "the Lord will never leave smiting us, till we smite that which smiteth His honour." They are to strike neither at small nor great, but at these troublers of Israel: "Smite that Hazaell in the fifth rib; yea, if Father or Mother stand in the way, away with them."

Addressing himself to the main argument—What business, he begins by asking, have Bishops in the Church of Christ? where is their *locus standi* in the Word of God? Directions are given as to the minutest details of tabernacle and temple; shall He not have a word to say of bishops and Archbishops? "Would He remember the barrs of the Ark, and pass by the Pillers of the Church? Would He appoint the least Pins of the house, and forget the maister-builders? Would He mention the snuffers of the Lights, and passe by the great Lights themselves? or would He there remember the besoms and ashpans, and here not once mention Bishoppes and Archbishoppes?" Such function-

aries are, to begin with, superfluous: "It cannot be said of those Bishops as our Lord said of the asse, 'The Lord hath need of them.'"

But graver charges than that of mere superfluity must be brought against the prelacy. Popery and episcopacy are almost identical. The primacy of Abbot at Canterbury is little better than "the perheminence of Peter" at Rome; an Archbishop, equally with the Pope, is an embodiment of Antichrist. Indeed, prelacy, as anterior to the papacy, must be regarded as the root-mischief; and prelacy is the life and strength, as it was the original source, of popery. His deliberate conclusion is that prelates have grown worse as time went on, and that those of his own age were more corrupt than any before them. Comparing Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, with the primates of his own acquaintance, he declares that "neither was his pompe so gorgious, his attendance so great, nor his furniture so glorious, neither his servants such roarers, his traine so carried, nor his lettany so stuffed, both for matter and manner with Popish devices, nor the ordinances of God so overlaide with the rubbish of Romish ceremonies. . . . For civil combustions, for bloody braules among themselves, for tyranny over kings and people, for destruction of the state, for vexing, pininge and bloody bouchering of the saints, for letts and impediments of all good in Church and Commonwealth," Leighton's contemporaries had no equals in the past.

There is no crime that may not be laid to the charge of the Bishops. These "bloodie beasts" are guilty of "swelling pride, averice, sweareing, forswearing, and simonie, of prophanenesse and atheisme;" while, to crown the list of indictments brought against this "trumpery of Antichrist," a Bishop's cook avers that all the noblemen's houses that ever he had lived in were "ranke Puritanes to his master's house." It is impossible to touch pitch without being defiled. As a consequence, every office of the Church must be abolished. Chancellors, Archdeacons, churchwardens, sidesmen are one and all "chips of that ould block Antichrist," while the eminently respectable parish clerk, so

indispensable to our grandfathers, is summarily dismissed as "a holy-water dish-clout."<sup>1</sup> It is all very well to say of the Bishops that "some be quiet and harmlesse men—give them ease and bellie-timber, and they will do no hurt. . . . How can you gather grapes of thorns? Indeed, they might prove cedars and palmes if they were transplanted, but so long as they remain in that cursed field, as a reverend man said well, the best proves but a bramble."

Against the revival of pre-Reformation ceremonial Leighton inveighs, it is needless to say, with extreme violence. But his wrath is equally kindled against things accepted by the most moderate section of the Church. The sign of the Cross is without shadow of doubt the "mark of the beast"; Confirmation is nothing less. Kneeling to receive the Sacrament is the "revived spawn of the beast"; the churching of women is "an unholy ceremony"; the practice of retiring into the chancel for part of the service is an apish imitation of the Levitical priesthood, while the eastward position is grimly suggestive of dissension between minister and people. The Thirty-nine Articles, the Books of Homilies, and the Liturgy are "stuffed with gross, absurd (if we say not) blasphemous untruths," especially the service-book, which is "raked out of three Romish channels."

Corrupt to the very core themselves, they corrupt and endanger the State. Taking a brief review of English history, Leighton traces every reverse and disaster to the influence of the Bishops. To punish the superstition of Saxon Kings in maintaining episcopacy, the Danes were let loose on the land. The "intolerable tyrannie" of the Normans was the Divine judgment on Edward the Confessor's partiality for the clergy. In the Wars of the Roses, God was avenging the persecution of the Lollards. Glancing at his own times, he makes out his indictment in similar terms. "Decimating sickness, plaguey sores" do their deadly work, not because insanitary conditions

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the fact that one of the chief duties of the pre-Reformation parish clerk was to convey the holy water from house to house on Sunday. On this account he was known as *aqua bajularius* (water-bearer).

reign supreme, but because Bishops flourish and Arminianism is in the ascendant. And why do children fail to fulfil the hopes of their parents, but that "they come forth from the womb to be crossed in their baptism and bishopped in their confirmation," and are thus sent forth into the world bearing the mark of the beast. Drought and flood and murrain alike are judgments on a land that supports episcopacy, and has thus entered "an unholy league with the beast of Rome." Leighton fairly warns the Parliament of England that backwardness and inaction on their part will provoke still sterner vengeance. Let them take the matter in hand without more delay, lest (in the grossly anthropomorphic language of the time) "God go back to fetch a greater blowe."

One serious cause of offence was the great wealth of the episcopal body. The use that Leighton would have made of it is scarcely to the credit of so root-and-branch a reformer; for it is deliberately suggested that these princely revenues might be profitably removed into His Majesty's keeping. Still more astounding is the hint given to the nobility, that as the "Bishops possess too much of that whereof they have too little," they may well take something for themselves. We can only infer that the uncompromising but inconsistent Radical was thus making a bid to the Crown and to the Upper House for support to his revolutionary schemes.

Leighton settled in London, having taken the degree of M.D. at Leyden, but was interdicted from practice by the College of Physicians as being insufficiently qualified. The powers that be might rob him of his practice, but he has his revenge with the pen, using such knowledge of medicine as he has to expose the iniquity of prelatical government, and demonstrate the proper method for its treatment. With the confidence of superior wisdom he can liken the Bishops to the king's evil, leprosy, small-pox, and plaguey sores. They are not mere surface-boils, that yield to "maturing cataplasms"; they are "knobs and wens and bonchie popish flesh," which demand the free use of the knife. On the other hand, Presby-

terian discipline is the panacea for every evil: "This is the only best physitian for the purging out of peccant and pertinacious humours, the only chirurgian for wounds and festered sores, and an exquisite bone-setter for fractures or luxations. This is Christ's own key that shutteth out enemies and entertaineth freinds."

Leighton, as we have seen, was a man of one idea. In all literature it would be difficult to find a treatise in which reason and argument play so small a part; but there can be no question as to the vigour with which he could express his thoughts. There is a raciness in the language, a grotesqueness of illustration, a freshness of personal conviction, which prevent our author from being dull, even when his matter is most devoid of life and interest. Grave as is the subject that he takes in hand, he adopts the most unconventional style, and talks of "the pickle that the clergy had put the state into," complains that the Bishops are "haile-fellow-well-mette" with the Jesuits, brands the whole episcopal bench as "the halting Tom of the state," and when he has to translate *domini fac totum* into English, does it in the three syllables, "don-do-all."

If Leighton thirsted for revenge it came in the significant fact that in the very year—1640—of his release from Newgate, Archbishop Laud, his persecutor, was committed to the Tower; nor could it have added to the comfort of the Archbishop to hear that (by a master-stroke of irony, shall we think?) his palace at Lambeth had been turned into a gaol for Royalist prisoners, with Leighton himself as their custodian. The irony of history was further illustrated in the fact that this uncompromising Presbyterian's eldest son, the amiable and learned Robert Leighton, eventually took Anglican Orders, and became an Archbishop in the very land where his father had imbibed so ill-starred and disastrous a prejudice against episcopal government.<sup>1</sup> This humiliation Alexander Leighton did not live to see. He died

<sup>1</sup> Having received deacon's and priest's orders in 1661, he was appointed forthwith to the See of Dunblane, being translated to the Archbishopric of Glasgow in 1670. His experience of the episcopal office, as is well known, was not a happy one.

insane at the age of seventy-six in the year 1644, the very year that witnessed the execution of Laud.

The book which has been the principal subject of this paper, "Sion's Plea against the Prelacy," is the chief monument that this sturdy Puritan left to posterity. That it is a monument of sectarian rancour in its bitterest mood has been shown in the preceding pages. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that it attests a lofty resolution, a singleness of aim, and unflinching courage, worthy of a better cause. It should further be recorded that in private life Leighton was amiable and courteous; nor, so it is said, was he ever heard to speak of his persecutors save in terms of compassion and forgiveness.



### The Missionary World.

THE Universal Races Congress, held in London from July 26 to 29, has been an occasion of great interest, and will probably bear useful fruit. Fifty countries were represented, and no less than twenty Governments officially recognized the Congress. The active membership reached the high total of 1,200, whilst some 900 persons further subscribed for all the papers issued in connection with the proceedings. The large volume of papers on inter-racial problems, written by experts from every land, and issued privately to active members, contains a good deal of valuable information and opinion based upon it. Probably this volume will have more permanent value than the discussion at the Congress itself. The papers cover a wide range, dealing with conditions of progress, problems in inter-racial economics, peaceful contact between civilizations, the modern conscience in relation to racial questions (especially the negro and the American Indian), and positive suggestions for promoting inter-racial friendliness. Papers upon the Jewish race and upon the negro race in the United States of America are specially worthy of attention, and, though in many of the

papers the claim of Christianity is ignored, we note with thankfulness here and there an attitude distinctly favourable to Foreign Missions. For instance, Dr. Caldecott, Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College, writing avowedly as "a Christian believer," contributes a noteworthy paper on "The Influence of Missions," in which he makes a fine appeal for religious liberty. Two principles he lays down :

"That no Government shall disturb the political situation by including in its programme the propagation of its own religion, as distinguished from its maintenance."

"That no Government shall refuse to its subjects freedom to hear religious messages, or prevent them from accepting them if they so desire."

It is interesting to find the proceedings of the World Missionary Conferences at Edinburgh quoted as an assurance that liberty will not be misused. Professor Caldecott writes :

"This very subject engaged close attention at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last year, which devoted a whole section of its proceedings to the relations of Missions and Governments ; its decisions are marked by great considerateness, and Missionary policy is sure to be guided by them in the future, so that respect for government, loyalty, and patriotism will find every support from missionaries of religion in whatever land they work."

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The *Contemporary Review* for August opens with an article, by Sir H. H. Johnston, on "Racial Problems and the Congress of Races." The experienced African administrator has much of interest to set forth, but when he passes from races to religion we find ourselves constrained to active dissent. That a common inter-racial religion is needed, and that it is provided in Christianity, is true ; but Christianity is not what Sir H. H. Johnston conceives. He sees an ethical brotherhood, the beliefs of which are reached "step by step along the paths of science," giving logical proof that it *pays* both individually, socially, and nationally to be good. He says :

"If some such Inter-Racial Congress as that which is now meeting in London could define a religious basis, such as the Christianity of Christ, on which all nations and civilized races could agree (as they may agree on a universal language, weights and measures, currency, quarantine regulations, scientific nomenclature, an international code of law), and on this basis

regulate their inter-racial, international dealings; then in their own homes and local temples they could still continue to carry on other forms of worship of Divine, human, animal, vegetable, or meteoric attributes (one word, 'Divine,' covers all these phases of life and energy), such as were not inconsistent with the principles of the basic religion. There could still survive the stately ritual of the Latin Church, the beautiful service of the Anglican Cathedral, even the more reasonable practices of Jain Buddhism and the prayers to Allah, as seen through the mental vista of pure-minded Moham-medans."

It is the old offer made to the early Christians in Roman days. At the cost of their life-blood they refused. The "Christianity of Christ" is nothing if it is not all.

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In a corner of the *L.M.S. Chronicle* the following suggestive petition appears :

"Prayer is asked that the laymen of Great Britain may give that initiative, enterprise, business capacity, statesmanship, and strong financial support so vitally needed in the present unparalleled world-wide opportunity."

The Missionary cause needs help from every class. But few would contravene the statement that its greatest need to-day is sustained support from the ablest and best laymen in the Church. We need their administrative ability, their business training, their skill in organization, their experience in investment and high finance, even more than we need their subscriptions and donations. We need the keen layman, charged with authenticated Missionary facts, and inspired with devotion to his Master in our central and local Missionary Committee-rooms, and on our Missionary platforms; we need him for the efficient conduct of Missionary work in our parishes, and especially amongst men like himself; we need him in Parliament and in diplomatic circles, where Missions and Governments meet; we need him in the home professions, where he is a powerful, because an unexpected, ally; we need him at the Universities and medical schools and training colleges; in the Army and Navy; in the Civil Services at home and abroad; and in the merchant's office, wherever trade extends throughout the world. We need him, not as "second best" to his clerical brother, but because he has a service to render, which is great

and peculiarly his own. That many laymen recognize and respond to this call is shown by the remarkable list of laymembers of the C.M.S. committees given in this month's *C.M.S. Gazette*. But there are literally thousands of God-fearing Church-going laymen whose great gifts are not laid under contribution yet. The Missionary Societies are beginning to recognize that this is so, and channels of hopeful access are being made. Various phases of Missionary service have leaped forward into developed life from time to time. It may be that the laymen's day has dawned. If Foreign Missions sorely need them, it is certain likewise that laymen need that enlargement and quickening which ever come from contact with the great Missionary enterprises of the Church.

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Dr. Campbell Morgan, in a recent sermon, has been contrasting the two great publishing houses near the heart of the City of London—that of the *Times* newspaper, surmounted by the figure of Father Time and a clock, and that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, bearing on its façade the text, “The Word of the Lord endureth for ever.” He pointed out that the newspaper was a record of the practice of Time. The Bible was a revelation of the principles of Eternity. But he went on to suggest that there should be the closest inter-relationship between these two. It was John Wesley who once said: “I read my newspaper to see how God is governing the world.” It would be well if the close connection between current political events and the march of Missions were more generally recognized. “What have newspapers to do with Foreign Missions?” The question was asked by a new student in an enlightened Missionary training centre, on hearing that a “Newspaper Missionary Prayer Meeting” was a much valued regular event. It might be worth while in certain parishes to see how the idea would work. The laymen who are steady readers of the *Times* or other daily papers would readily be drawn to make contribution by brief summary of some foreign situation, and some of the Missionary editors are

alert enough to publish articles on work in countries before the public mind. In the August number of *The Bible in the World*, for instance, there is an extremely interesting article on Morocco which fits in well with current events.

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Missionary diagrams are easily capable of misuse, and may be so constructed as to hide more than they reveal. But when they are used rightly, and kept on lines of broad simplicity, they produce a deep impression on many minds. In the August number of *The Foreign Field*, the organ of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a series of striking diagrams is given to illustrate the necessity and the possibility of the evangelization of the world in this generation. Some of them are on familiar lines ; and others appear to be quite new. They are all capable of easy enlargement, and would be useful for showing at a Missionary meeting. It would be an excellent plan to ask a group of young people in some parish to enlarge them to scale, and then get some of the seniors briefly to speak upon them. Such a meeting, followed by a time of intercession, would be likely to effect more than the most eloquent address from a stranger. Out of the twelve diagrams or tabular statements only one contains direct reference to the Church which issues them.

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Under the title "Thirty-Three Years Late" there is a suggestive note in the *Mission-Field* of the S.P.G. The Vicar of a country parish writes :

"Herewith I am sending you a small but very interesting contribution to the S.P.G. Its interest lies in the fact that it represents the contents of two missionary boxes sent out in the year 1878, one containing 2s. 1d., the other 7d.! They were found among about a dozen empty missionary boxes, put away on the top shelf in a room which I use as a box-room. As you may imagine, it caused me great astonishment to find that two of them held money. I only wish the find had been a more substantial one. I do not know who was Vicar here thirty-three years ago ; it was before my immediate predecessor's time."

It is highly possible that much larger sums than the above would be found in similar places if proper search were made.

Few realize the care that is needed if missionary boxes are to be really well worked. Not only may actual coin be allowed to lie within them undiscovered, but the boxes themselves have considerable value, and ought not to be kept out of use. Every year what Mr. Wigram used to call "sacred money" is spent in renewing them. The last S.P.G. Report for 1910 shows an expenditure upon Missionary-boxes of over £230; the C.M.S. Report for 1909-10 shows that, including collecting-books and bags, the Society had to spend over £380 in boxes for the use of its collectors.

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The study textbooks for winter use are now ready. Children aged from eight to twelve are well provided for in "Talks on David Livingstone," a series of six outline lessons by Mr. T. R. W. Lunt, the C.M.S. educational secretary. This sixpenny book will be found simply invaluable. It is full of inspiration; it appeals with reticence to true instincts in boys and girls; it has a healthy bearing upon general character and home-life as well as on Missionary service, and it will be found as helpful to the teacher as to his class. A fascinating African modelling outfit, with packets of coloured plasticine, materials for making African huts, a relief-map of Africa, outlines for colouring, etc., and full instructions, can be had for 1s. 6d. net., by post 1s. 10d. A large wall-map of Africa, on a strong brown paper, which can be worked on with chalk or paints, can be had for 3d. net, postage 1d., and a small bust of David Livingstone for modellers to copy from can be had for 1s., post free 1s. 4d. If we are not mistaken, the children set to work on this textbook are going to have "the time of their lives."

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The senior textbook, by the Rev. Donald Frazer, of Livingstonia, is called "The Future of Africa." It is uniform with the "Desire of India," the "Reproach of Islam," and "The Decisive Hour of Foreign Missions." Study-circle leaders who have read it pronounce it to be full of interest. It follows singularly well upon last year's textbook, utilizing the

sense of responsibility generated by Dr. Mott's burning words. Special interest also attaches to a study of paganism, after the previous studies of the great book-religions of the East. The various Missionary societies—including the C.M.S.—are issuing the usual set of Outlines for use in registered study-circles. The *Record* is also, as for the last three years, publishing a weekly series which has already begun, and is taking the opportunity of working out the close relation of the C.M.S. to all the interests of Africa. In this way it is hoped that study-circles may make a larger contribution than ever to actual Missionary work. For the Missionary study of the Bible a valuable little book, by the Rev. T. Walker of Tinnevely, has been issued. The title is "Missionary Ideals," and the price is 1s. net. The great past of Missionary study-circles points to a greater future. In many places—notably in Scotland—a special effort to prepare leaders adequately is being made. We note also that the S.P.G. has now formed a regular study department, and is rapidly developing on excellent lines.

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The influence of the Edinburgh Conference is appearing in the Annual Reports of some of the Missionary societies. The Friends' Foreign Mission Association, for instance, in its report "The Vision and the Call," prefaces its various sections by striking extracts from the Edinburgh Reports, and carries the spirit of "Edinburgh" through all its records. The popular report of the C.M.S., "The Story of the Year," which is issued a little in advance of the larger Annual Report, sets forth to show the share of the C.M.S. during the year in the work discussed at Edinburgh. The summaries are grouped round the first three of the Conference Reports, which form a striking centre for current incidents and aims. We see from the *C.M. Gleaner* that "The Story of the Year" (which is sent free to all subscribers of 10s., and which can be bought for 6d.) is suggested as the textbook for use in the monthly meetings of the Gleaners' Union branches throughout the winter. Thus the influence of the great Conference lives on.

A further indication of the out-working of Edinburgh Conference ideas is found in the prospectus of the Hartford School of Missions, affiliated with the Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut, U.S.A., of which Dr. W. Douglas Mackenzie, Chairman of the Commission on the Preparation of Missionaries, is Principal. The School, which is interdenominational, and is open to men and women alike, already offers advantages in specialized Missionary training in advance of any available in Great Britain; but its career has only just begun, and further courses are to be added as needs arise. Special facilities are offered to Missionaries on furlough. It is interesting to note, in an article in the *C.M. Review* for August, that the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, of Cairo, has been spending part of his "Wanderjahr" in Hartford, studying Arabic and Islamic Theology under Professor H. B. Macdonald. This is sufficient testimony to the high standard of teaching in the school. The Principal, who has many personal links with Great Britain, will do his utmost to secure the fullest possible advantages for Missionary candidates or Missionaries on furlough, who desire to avail themselves of the School. Particulars can be had on application to him direct.

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The Report of the Nurses' Missionary League for 1911 shows that that much needed but unobtrusive organization is doing excellent work. Leading members of the medical and nursing professions are to be found amongst the vice-presidents or on the committee, and the membership amongst nurses is steadily increasing, 1,117 being enrolled as home members, and 467 as volunteers for the Foreign Field. Twenty-two members of the N.M.L. sailed during last year. Although there are now 298 trained nurses working abroad, the needs of Mission Hospitals are largely increased; therefore the societies do well to welcome cordially an ally which is increasingly gaining access to the great Home Hospitals, and establishing personal and spiritual links with women who may be called one day to offer for Missionary work.

G.

## Discussions.

### "THE SACRAMENTAL PRINCIPLE."

*(The Churchman, August, p. 588.)*

IN this thoughtful and thought-exacting article Dr. Whately contrasts the "Sacramental principle with the abstract spirituality that would dispense with sensuous presentation." "The sense of the need of objectivity," he says, "is deeply rooted in the heart of man. And without the Sacraments we should miss just that objective presentation of the object of faith which meets that peculiar need."

On the other hand, there are passages in which he seems fully to recognize that the objectivity which is the common desire of man is not necessarily a sensuous presentation, but that spiritual objects, which are not mere "abstractions," are directly grasped by our spiritual faculties, and, further, that it is to the "spiritual man" alone that the Sacraments of Christ are in any way related.

Even among the heathen, though the desire for objectivity is wont to express itself in various forms of idolatry, we find that it can be met without any external presentation. The Zulu gives a distinct objectivity to his conscience. He believes that there is a "bad man within him" who speaks in a loud, blustering voice, telling him he would be a fool not to indulge his appetites whenever he can. And there is also a "good man," who in a quiet little voice would check this indulgence with the reminder: "You know you ought not to do this." A mere psychologist might say this is only an instance of subjective suggestion, but we would rather recognize in it the voice of God still remaining in the Zulu, though he has lost the knowledge and even the name of any supreme Being.

At a higher level we find this yearning for an objectivity, which only a person can satisfy, in the cry of St. Philip: "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." But the answer given him points to no mere visual representation of his Master. His Person, at that time veiled in the flesh, supplied no "visible focus" to his disciple. Not till that veil was removed, and the Comforter came and took up His abode within him—the "inborn Word"—did he receive fully the grace and truth now revealed in the transfigured "memory-image" of the whole life and work of his Master—not till then did he see the Father and was satisfied. It is such a comprehensive and spiritual memory-image of Christ and His grace which the participation of the Lord's Supper continually revives to the strengthening and refreshing of our souls. And we teach our children to shut their eyes when they pray, in order that they may not be hindered, by the sight of external objects, from realizing the presence of the invisible Father.

"Choose to believe, not see: sight tempts the heart  
From sober walking in true Gospel ways."

Unhappily, the name of "Sacrament" given to the Lord's Supper has been narrowed down to denote that which is only a part of the original institution—the outward sign of an inward spiritual gift to the individual. Then the principle of this is called the Sacramental principle, and finally taken as the basic principle of the whole institution. The result of this has been to put almost out of sight the primary and essential characteristic of our Lord's Sacraments—viz., that they are social rites, forming, as Dr. Whately says, "the main pillar of corporate Christian life."

It is that Christ is our Passover which is the ground of our Feast. At that Feast of the Jews He took two of its elements—the same that Melchisedek, His nearest type, had used in his priestly ministrations—and transferred them from the memorial of the redemption of the Jews from their bondage in Egypt to the memorial of our Redemption by Himself from the bondage of sin. The one loaf broken into fragments, and distributed to the company of His disciples, and the cup of blessing shared by all. These represent the *nexus* of the New Covenant, which Christ substituted for the old: That as we partake in common of the life which He laid down for us, so must we lay down our lives for the brethren. As God loves us, we must love one another.

F. A. LE MESURIER.

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("The Churchman," August, p. 622.)

As G., in "Missionary World," on p. 622, notes with approval Bishop Montgomery's article on "China" in *The East and the West* for July, it might be well to draw your readers' attention to the way in which he states statistics of the missionary forces working in that Empire.

"Rome leads; the Anglican Church is last." "And what is the inference for us Anglicans? First, to be united among ourselves; next, to be quite sure about our own principles, and not to be ashamed of them or to minimize them," etc. "Small as is our body anywhere, we can never resign our Catholic foundation and order; to us they are vital," etc.

Now, as Bishop Montgomery is Secretary of the S.P.G., his calm assumption to speak for the whole Anglican communion in China ought not to pass without mention—that whilst, as the S.P.G. Report for 1910 shows, it supports, in North China and Shantung together, 15 European and 7 native clergy, 20 lady-workers, and 21 schoolmasters, or a total of 63 agents, the C.M.S. Report, 1909-10, shows 1,080 agents at work in various parts of the Empire, with an expenditure of £50,719.

Doubtless the forces working under the two Bishops of the

Protestant Episcopal Church of America form an addition to the "High" Anglican body in China; but surely it is hardly fair that the only mention of C.M.S. in a long article is this: "I understand that the great C.M.S. Missions in South China have done excellent educational work."

Of the S.P.G. work, the Bishop says: "It is not easy to deepen Christian life and to give full attention to solemn and frequent services, and at the same time to be fully aggressive. But both duties are imperative." Here we get an insight into the kind of effort in which all Anglicans are exhorted to be united and of one mind with the Bishop and his Society.

Perhaps C.M.S. supporters may be allowed a mild protest!

CHARLES RAY.



## Notices of Books.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT. By J. E. C. Welldon, D.D., Dean of Manchester. London: *Smith, Elder and Co.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

In this book we have three lectures which Bishop Welldon recently delivered in Manchester Cathedral. They attempt, he tells us in the preface, to deal with their subject in as impartial a spirit as possible; but in this it cannot be said that they have succeeded, although we are grateful for the emphasis on some points which are not always remembered. It is good, for instance, to be reminded that it is by present conditions, and not by past history, that the Establishment will be judged. "However ancient and honourable may be the history of the Church, she will not survive, nor will she be worthy to survive, as a national institution unless she subserves, and is recognized by the nation at large as subserving, a valuable national purpose in the present day" (p. 8).

The first lecture is entitled "Considerations affecting the Existence of a National Church," and the conclusion reached (p. 19) is, "that the right or wrong of an established and endowed Church depends upon circumstances; there is no absolute right or wrong." This view is opposed, on the one hand, to the early opinion of Mr. Gladstone in "The State in its Relations with the Church," and, on the other, to the doctrine of the Liberation Society. It is in dealing with the latter that Bishop Welldon's first defect from impartiality is noticeable. What are we to say of a lecturer who interprets that doctrine of "the entire independence of the Church of Christ" to mean that it is "wrong that a Christian citizen should carry the principles which govern his life into the affairs of State" (p. 26), and that sometimes a citizen "must act independently of creed or Church" (p. 26)? It is not surprising that he finds it easy to refute such a caricature of the Liberationist view; but something more than this is needed to prove the desirability of a National Church. The rest of the lecture criticizes the freedom of the self-styled

Free Churches, and the Bishop argues that their name is not warranted, inasmuch as they are admittedly subject to the ordinary law of the land in matters in which property is concerned. One might as well find fault with the name of English freedom (as opposed to conditions in the Congo) for the same reason.

The essential conditions which justify the existence of an established and endowed Church are laid down in the second lecture. It must "be numerically and influentially far stronger than any other religious body in the nation"; and it must "be broadly sympathetic with the temper and current of the national religious life" (p. 72). The writer points out that the second condition presents an ideal towards which we should all strive. It is, therefore, all the more unfortunate that the earlier part contains another instance of prejudice. Fifteen pages are occupied in showing that opposition to a National Church was not involved in the original principles of Nonconformity. One wonders what is the relevance of this. It is surely conceivable, and, indeed, likely, that the moral sense of Nonconformists will alter as time passes; and one would have thought that a member of a Church which, not so very long ago, condoned the slave-trade would scarcely regard an opinion in morals as necessarily condemned by its novelty. It is true that the possibility of this is suggested: "It is not my wish to blame them, if the process of learning has been slow, and is still incomplete" (p. 62). But, unless the writer has rejected this view, it is difficult to understand why so much is made of the fact, or why it is subsequently referred to again and again (pp. 85, 130).

The last lecture deals with the probable consequences of Disestablishment. In the Bishop's judgment, such an event would not greatly quicken the spiritual life of the Church of England as a whole, nor would it tend towards Reunion. It would certainly not give greater liberty to extreme Ritualistic clergy. On the other hand, the work and interest of laymen would be much increased, and there would be gained the power of self-legislation. The summing-up is clearly favourable to Establishment. Probably too much is made of the State connection "guaranteeing" religious instruction and worship throughout the land. Even an established Church depends for its clergy on voluntary service; and no one really believes that if it were disestablished the clergy would care for the rich and neglect the poor. It is not the Church's endowments which explain modern missions or work in slum parishes. It will surprise many readers, also, that so little is said with regard to the Church's power of self-government.

The book is worth reading, but enough has been said to show that the argument needs careful scrutiny. The price seems excessive for a volume of 132 pages.

C. F. R.

THE REVELATION OF THE SON OF GOD. By E. A. Edghill, B.D. London: *Macmillan and Co.* Price 3s. net.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1910-11, "printed as they were originally written, not as they were actually delivered." The first lecture discusses the rival appeal of philosophic reason and mystical religion to the Roman citizen, and classes Christianity among the religions. The second is called "Miracle and Character," and takes up the modern position that miracle is

to be accepted because it illustrates the power of a Christ already acknowledged to be Divine. We like the effective criticism of the reasoning of Mozley, and, to some extent, of Illingworth. The third lecture shows the identity of the Pauline Christ, the Lord, and the Johannine Christ, the Word, and the fourth discusses the place of the Creeds. Here the main attack is directed against the close of Dr. Denney's "Jesus and the Gospel," and, while we should be disposed on the whole to side with Mr. Edghill, we are not sure that he really grapples with the feeling that lies behind Dr. Denney's suggestion, nor could we give an unqualified assent to his statement on page 150 that "The Creeds, in fact, express not so much what we believe as what we wish to believe." Nevertheless, we are grateful to Mr. Edghill for a thoughtful and stimulating book. May we suggest the addition of an index of authors quoted?

TRUTH IN RELIGION. By Dugald Macfadyen, M.A. London: *Macmillan and Co.* Price 4s. 6d. net.

The author describes his book as "brief essays, consisting largely of notes written in trains and on the backs of agenda papers in committee-rooms." It therefore exhibits something of what Dr. Sanday once called "scholarship in undress," and gives us something like a series of notes from a scholar's diary. But this almost adds to the great value of the work. The main subject of the first part is "the historical method in religion." The development of this has shown clearly that the facts of religion must no longer be confined within the categories of science or philosophy. Religion has its own categories, and its manifestations in all ages and places must be estimated and compared by reference to them. From this follows the second part of the book. The essence of religion is conscious relationship between personal man and a personal God. The fundamental thing, therefore, is religious experience. This is illustrated by apt quotations from the mystics and others, and the moral and psychological problems which it raises are discussed. The highest type of experience is that of the Christian saint, and hence the book closes by drawing out from many points of view the truth that "The Gospel is Jesus Christ." Those who are interested in the writings of Eucken will be glad to have the long note at the end, appreciating and criticizing his position.

NATURAL CHRISTIANITY. By the Hon. W. H. Fremantle, D.D. London: *Harper Bros.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

The Dean of Ripon has been searching for reasons to explain the undeniable fact that organized religion has at present largely lost its hold alike on the mass of our working people and on educated men. He thinks that one reason is that Christianity is wrongly presented to them. Too much has been made of the function of public worship. We ought rather to show that Christianity is the only really "natural" thing, and to present the appeal of the "Gospel of the Secular Life." This is the link which binds together the discussions on rather disparate topics which make up the book. They range from the Persons of God and of Jesus Christ, through almost the whole field of Christian doctrine, to such practical questions as the proper relations of Church and State, and in each case the Dean has tried to avoid theological language, and to talk "naturally" to "the man in the street."

BIBLE STUDIES IN OUTLINE: ST. MARK'S GOSPEL. By Miss G. A. Gollock. London: *Longmans*. Price 1s.

It is hardly necessary to say much about this book. It is a reprint of the Studies which appeared in the *Record* in the winter of 1910-11. The authoress has attempted to apply, in a modified form, to the Bible the methods of combined study which have been so fruitful in spreading missionary knowledge in the last few years. Canon Barnes-Lawrence, after experience of "four Circles, differing in knowledge, in leisure, and in other respects," writes: "The result has exceeded my expectations."

THE PRISON MINISTRY OF ST. PAUL. By T. W. Drury, D.D., the Bishop of Sodor and Man. London: *R.T.S.* Price 2s. 6d.

A truly delightful book. A series of meditations on the characters of some of the men with whom St. Paul came into contact during his imprisonments at Rome, and on some subjects suggested by their relations to him, such as Sacrifice, Sympathy, Healthfulness, and Social Life. The method is expository, and, by a careful bringing together of apposite passages, Dr. Drury has managed to construct a vivid picture of those years of ministry, which was "unhindered" though "in a chain."

SOME PRINCIPLES OF LITURGICAL REFORM. By W. H. Frere, D.D. London: *John Murray*. 1911. Price 5s. net.

A valuable contribution to the present discussion of Prayer-Book revision. Dr. Frere is courageous and thorough enough to raise some of the most important issues, and to treat them with learning and decision. Many of his suggestions for enrichment and alteration of existing services, increase in the number of intercessions, provision of Proper Psalms for Sundays, compression of redundancies, etc., appear to us excellent. Even the more controversial and tentative suggestions concerning the structure of the Holy Communion Office would probably commend themselves to most students and moderate Churchmen. Whether there is much likelihood of their being generally acceptable to the mass of Churchmen is a more difficult question.

At any rate, the book is one to read. Only in a few matters do we find ourselves out of sympathy with the writer. We fail to understand why he should be so eager to restore the Prayers for the Departed in the Burial Service. It seems clear that the vast majority of English Churchmen, both lay and clerical, would be opposed to such restoration. Nor do we agree with Dr. Frere's repeated strictures on the translation of the Collects. Indeed, we hold the view which he somewhere dismisses, that "Cranmer and other translators were masters of rhythm," and, moreover, that the English Collects are in many cases improvements on the Latin originals. The suggestion of a fixed Easter is attractive, but would no doubt have to encounter very strong opposition from many quarters.

THE FAITH OF A MODERN CHRISTIAN. By Dr. James Orr. London: *Hodder and Stoughton*. Price 5s.

Dr. Orr is a doughty defender of the faith. He combines with accurate scholarship and temperate statement, a great "awe" of God's Word. He writes on Holy Scriptures, the Problem of the Old Testament, the Gospels

and Modern Criticism, Miracles, the Incarnation, the Teaching of Jesus, the Cross and the Resurrection, Jesus and Paul, the Early Church, Protestantism and Romanism, Christianity and Modern Science. He concludes with a chapter on the present outlook. The chapters are short, and the method of presentation clear, and specially suited to the "man in the street." He encourages the study of the Word by giving frequent references to be verified, and we are sure his book will confirm the faith of many. He is not "modern" in the sense of the "Modernists," but he is the convincing exponent of a Gospel that is never out of date.

**NON-CHURCH-GOING: ITS REASONS AND REMEDIES. A SYMPOSIUM.** Edited by W. Forbes Gray. Edinburgh and London: *Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier*. 1911. Price 3s. 6d. net.

An interesting, if saddening, collection of papers, by various well-known people, on the causes of the present decline in church and chapel attendance. The writers, who include Sir Oliver Lodge, the Rev. Prebendary Carlile, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, and others, have much criticism to offer of accepted theology and Church services. Their constructive suggestions are of less value. The book, however, is timely enough. There is no doubt that, in some way or other, the Church, and, indeed, Nonconformity also, stands in great need of a forward movement if the masses of the people are not permanently to drift into agnosticism.

It is always something to see ourselves as others see us, and these papers may enable Churchmen to catch a glimpse of themselves through the spectacles of some of the leaders of the people.

**A GOSPEL MONOGRAM.** Arranged and written by Sir W. J. Herschel, Bart., M.A. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 5s. net.

The "Monogram" is the fruit of many years of patient toil. On the left-hand page is printed the complete text (R.V.) of the Four Gospels in parallel columns; on the opposite page appears the Monogram, or continuous arrangement of the whole Gospel story (omitting parallels). The author appears to have done his work with great care and much ability; it will be welcomed by many who wish to read the whole of our Lord's life, as we possess it, in an uninterrupted narrative.

**CONFIRMATION: A MANUAL FOR CANDIDATES AND TEACHERS.** By L. M. Bagge, with a Preface by the Rev. Canon Aitken. London: *Robert Scott*. Price 1s. 6d. net.

This book consists of lessons originally given in a Norfolk village to a class of boys and girls varying in age from fifteen to twenty-one. They are nine in number, the first two dealing with Preparation and Baptism, the next four with Our Threefold Vow, whilst a lesson on Prayer, with two on the Lord's Supper, close the series. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Dean Vaughan's book on Confirmation, and Canon Barnes-Lawrence's lectures, and also to the Bishop of Durham's little book, "The Pledges of His Love." The teaching follows similar lines to these, and may be safely commended to all Evangelical clergy. Canon Aitken writes an

appreciative preface. The writer points out the quasi-sacramental character of Confirmation, and rightly reminds us of its other Prayer-Book title, "The Laying on of Hands," which associates it with the New Testament ordinance. He emphasizes the value of Confirmation as a time of systematic teaching, a time of decision, an opportunity for renewing old vows and making a fresh start, a pledge of God's favour, a means of being filled with the Holy Spirit, a gateway to Holy Communion. He dwells on Baptism as the seal of the Christian covenant, a covenant which, though conditional, yet is presently real in the blessings of pardon and adoption which it brings. We think the *solidarity* between parent and child might have found more adequate expression here. Under the vow of faith, Christian faith is rightly shown to embrace three elements—the belief of the mind, the trust of the heart, and the act of the will. The personal character of the last clauses of the Apostles' Creed, as describing the present activity of the Holy Spirit, is touched upon. We wish the writer had added to his excellent little chapter on Prayer the great principles of prayer which underlie each clause of the Lord's Prayer as explained in the words of the "Desire." . . . The two closing chapters on the Lord's Supper are a model of plainness in their teaching. All the chief points in the service are dealt with simply and clearly, and the actual feeding upon Christ in His Sacrament is not lost sight of. Perhaps it might have been a little more *boldly* taught, as the Fathers of the Reformation would have taught it, rather as a mystery the manner of which we do not attempt to explain than as a mere "figure" or "acted parable." Here we should go further than Mr. Bagge has done.

THE SEVENFOLD UNITY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. London: *Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

This little work of the Bishop of Vermont contains the substance of a series of addresses given at Retreats in the autumn of 1910. The addresses are based upon St. Paul's seven unities contained in the opening verses of the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians. The addresses are an endeavour to treat the subject of the Reunion of Christendom from its spiritual side. Throughout, the writer emphasizes the Incarnation and the Fatherhood of God as the basis and motive of unity, rather than the Cross. He claims that the unity of the Body is a unity external as well as internal, for that is the law of the Incarnation. But that unity is not uniformity, for "unity, not uniformity, variety with harmony, we see to be the law of Christ's Church." Our true attitude is "an inclusive catholicity." "We should welcome, (not merely tolerate), diversity or manifoldness in gifts, powers, offices, views—so that they be not contradictory but supplementary." The writer quotes frequently from Dean Armitage Robinson's beautiful little book, "The Vision of Unity," and has drawn much from its spirit. In dwelling on the work of the Holy Spirit as the principle of unity, he is careful to add, "God is not tied to the means of grace to which He ties us." "The Spirit's influence extends beyond the Body in which the Spirit dwells." "As we ourselves become more spiritual, we draw more closely to others." And the One Hope, as St. Bernard taught in his thoughts of Heaven, is not an individual but collective hope. "I know not, oh, I know not, what *social*

joys are there." The Eucharist itself, a common sacred meal, is the expression of the corporate life and hope of Christ's disciples.

It is, perhaps, hardly to be expected from a booklet which deals with a subject so often touched upon before, perfect freshness of treatment, and sometimes the work seems a little commonplace, perhaps from very familiarity. But its spirit is excellent, and it will serve the cause of unity. We think it would have served that cause even better if the Cross, rather than the Incarnation, had been set forth as the secret and motive of unity. To the Bishop of Vermont the Fatherhood of God is "the motive and power of missionary activity." The history of the early centuries hardly bears that out. The One Atonement, and the Love of the Father which it revealed, were then, and have been ever since, the motive-power of missionary service. Again, the One Lordship of Christ, dealt with here, is an exaltation won through His Cross, and not merely or chiefly by His Incarnation (Phil. ii. 8, 9). The exaltation springs out of the Rejection, the victory is the fruit of the Passion, the sovereignty of life is the reward of the Death. "God hath made that same Jesus—*whom ye crucified*—both Lord and Christ."

ON EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By the Rev. N. Dimock. Memorial Edition. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

This volume deals with the introduction into the Church of the full teaching that the body and blood of Christ are objectively and locally present in, or under, the forms of bread and wine in the Eucharist, and that, consequently, these material elements are worthy of adoration. Mr. Dimock gives a few quotations to show, what he has amply proved elsewhere, that such Eucharistic adoration is not the teaching of the Reformation Divines. His main object, however, is to deal with the common Tractarian assumption that such adoration, with its underlying doctrine, has been in place in the Church almost from the very first. The assumption is shown to be completely untenable by means of numerous and carefully-arranged quotations from the Fathers, mainly of the first four centuries. On page 83 there is a striking quotation from Cardinal Newman bearing on this subject: "In truth, scanty as the Ante-Nicene notices may be of the Papal Supremacy, they are both more numerous and more definite than the adducible testimonies in favour of the Real Presence." More than half the book is taken up with appendices, which are mines of learning. Special attention may be called to the fourth, on "Interpretative Dicta of the Fathers," which shows what the Fathers really meant by the hyperbolic language which is sometimes triumphantly quoted as demonstrating beyond doubt their belief in a real objective Presence. Thus Augustine, "Solet autem res quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari. . . . Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus." We can only urge everyone to study carefully what Mr. Dimock has to say.

THE CHRIST IN HOLY COMMUNION. By Rev. T. A. Gurney, M.A., LL.B. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 1s. net.

We cannot do better than follow this leader in these five illuminating chapters.

MOMENTS WITH THE SAINTS. S.P.C.K. Price 1s. 6d.

Some of their sayings for each day in the year. Catholic and well chosen so far as they accord with God's Word.

**GOD'S ADVERSARY AND OURS.** By Rev. L. G. Buchanan. London: *Marshall Brothers*. Price 1s. net.

A Life of Faith booklet, written in crisp, clear, and convincing style on our "duty to the devil."

**PROMISE AND PROPHECY.** By G. W. West. London: *Marshall Brothers*. Price 1s. net.

An intelligent and thoughtful booklet of the same series as the foregoing, tracing in Holy Scripture the promises of God from Abraham's call to Christ's Second Advent.

**THE WISHING GAME.** By Dorothy Rylands. London: *C. J. Thynne*.

An excellent book for boys and girls, full of great aims, good thoughts, and wise counsel. It is in narrative form, and takes the attention while it trains the soul.

**ON SEA AND LAND.** By H. W. Case. London: *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.* Price 5s.

A narrative of experiences during the visitation of Christian assemblies in the West Indies and British Guiana. Bristol's share in the old slave-trade, and the Wall of Pioneer Missionaries find a place in the story. The writer has the gift of racy narration, presents us with delightful pictures of people and insects, and has a real love for the propagation of the Gospel. The book is a Christian record, but is without a dull page, and out of 159 pages there are 79 illustrations.

**ROBERT MURRAY M'CHEYNE.** Edited by J. C. Smith. London: *Elliot Stock*. Cheap Edition, 2s. 6d. net.

An illuminating biography of a holy man. Much of the matter appeared in the *Scottish Reformer*. To read this and Dr. Bonar's work is to gain an inspiration from an inspired life. A clergyman's wife asked a lady to pray for her boy. "I will pray that he may be another M'Cheyne," was the reply.

**AT WORK.** Edited by Mrs. Hayes. London: *Marshall Brothers*. Price 2s. 6d. net.

These are a series of letters from Marie Elizabeth Hayes, M.B., missionary doctor at Delhi. A short and a strenuous life was hers. "One of the choicest spirits with whom it has been my privilege to be associated during my twenty-eight years of service out here," writes Rev. S. S. Allnutt. Archdeacon Wynne writes a foreword full of praise and thanksgiving.

**THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.** By H. M. Tirard. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 3s. 6d.

The eminent Dr. E. Naville writes an introduction, in which he describes this book as in many respects a truthful representation of the faith of the ancient Egyptians. "It presents a picture of all the phases of the future life which the deceased had before him." He expresses his astonishment and admiration at Mrs. Tirard's profound knowledge of the Book of the Dead, and while congratulating her on her work, bids us take her as a guide.

**JUDGE FAIRLY.** By Rev. W. Lockett. London: *C. J. Thynne*. Price 1s.

A reply to J. Faa Di Bruno's "Catholic Belief." The writer, who is versed in the Romanist controversy, exposes the fallacies of a book much in vogue among the Roman Catholics, and with fidelity and courtesy brushes away its specious arguments.

**THE STORY OF THE GLORY AND OTHER POEMS.** By J. Boyd. London: *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.*

The writer has the gift of musical versification, and his theme is the glory of the Christ. The poems range widely and are full of truth and charm.

**COME YE APART.** By Archdeacon Wynne. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 2s.

"Quiet day" addresses given to Irish clergy, and delivered in the course of a period extending over twenty years. Full of wise counsels, suggestion, and spirituality.

**CHARLES WATERS.** By R. S. Latimer. London: *Sunday School Union*. Price 2s.

The subject of this well-written biography is the founder of the International Bible Reading Association. Sir F. F. Belsey writes an introduction in high praise of this able, high-minded, earnest soul.

**STEPS IN CONSECRATION.** By Rev. J. Mountain, D.D. London: *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.* Price 1s.

The teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject of consecration to God, which Christians should read.