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

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_churchman\\_os.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php)

# The Churchman Advertiser.

JANUARY, 1934.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND COMMENTS .. .. .	83
Reunion. Church and State. The Significance of Establishment. Confession in the Church of England. The Ministry of Recon- ciliation. The Rejected Prayer Book Again.	
THE CHURCH AND THE PROPHETS. By the Most Rev. Charles F. D'Arcy, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Armagh .. .. .	87
THE POSITIVE MESSAGE OF THE REFORMATION. By Canon W. H. Rigg, D.D. .. .. .	94
SOME DEVOTIONAL NOTES ON 2 TIMOTHY ii. 1-15. By the Very Rev. LeB. E. French, M.A., Dean of Clonfert .. .. .	108
ARCHBISHOP CRANMER. By the Rev. E. Hirst, M.A. .. .. .	114
THE FUTURE LIFE AS VIEWED TO-DAY. By the Ven. W. L. Paige Cox, M.A., B.D., Archdeacon of Chester .. .. .	128
AN INTERESTING CENTENARY. By the Rev. F. Bate, D.D. .. .. .	133
THE WITNESS OF JOB TO JESUS CHRIST. By Wilhelm Vischer. Translated by the Rev. Allan Ellison, B.D. .. .. .	138
REVIEWS OF BOOKS .. .. .	151
Boniface the Eighth. The Archæology of Herod's Temple. Essays in Construction. Great Christians. History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. The Romance of Parish Registers. The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement.	
NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS .. .. .	160

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# THE CHURCHMAN

April, 1934.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### Reunion.

THE Movement for the Reunion of the Churches seems to have slowed down considerably during the last year or two owing to a variety of reasons. Foremost among these reasons is the growth of the spirit of Nationalism which has developed so strongly through the exigencies of the political and economic situation. The Movement in South India is, however, slowly going forward in spite of the keen opposition with which it has been met by some sections of the Anglican Communion. Conferences are still being held between the representatives of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, but there seems to be little to report and the advance seems to make small progress. The prevailing tendency to regard the Church from the Institutional point of view presents the chief difficulty. It appears to indicate that the whole subject must be viewed from a fresh aspect and this has been suggested in several quarters recently. Various Movements are showing that there is an essential unity of all Christian people quite independent of the particular form of ecclesiastical organisation to which they may belong. As long as the chief emphasis is laid on methods of Church government the difficulties in the way of reunion seem to be insuperable. If the approach is made from the side of the common loyalty to Jesus Christ, there is hope that a new spirit will be infused into the endeavour to draw together the Christian people of the world into that unity which it is becoming more and more evident is absolutely necessary if Christian influence is to exert its full strength upon the perplexing problems that are before us in every land.

### Church and State.

The Relationship of Church and State is still a subject of discussion in many quarters although the forecasts of the Findings of the Commission appointed by the Archbishops which appeared in some of the daily papers have proved premature. The Commission is still engaged in its task and is possibly finding considerable

difficulty in reconciling the conflicting views that are being put forward. The great majority of English Churchpeople have no desire for disestablishment. They have still less wish for disendowment, for they recognise that it would deprive large sections of the community of the spiritual opportunities at present provided for them. It is perhaps unfortunately true that the Church is living at present in far too large a measure on the generosity of the past. The incomes of the clergy in a very large number of parishes are derived from tithes and from endowments provided by generous Churchmen in days gone by, when the duty of supporting the ministry of the Church was more keenly recognised than it is at present. There is little hope that a disendowed Church would be able to maintain effectively the present parochial system. It is very difficult in many places even now to provide the stipends of the assistant clergy, although this is one of the most pressing needs of to-day. Those who are advocating disestablishment should recognise the dangers to the spiritual life of the country that may result from the achievement of their wish, for a large measure of disendowment must almost inevitably follow the severance of the present relations of Church and State.

#### The Significance of Establishment.

This is not, however, to be regarded as the chief disadvantage that may arise from the severance. At present there is some recognition that ours is a Christian State. Disestablishment would be the formal recognition that the State no longer regarded Christianity as the foundation on which our national life is based. This is a matter of serious import in days when Christianity has been definitely rejected in at least one land, and when atheistic Communism is seeking to destroy the Christian basis of life wherever it can assert itself. England has always held a unique position among the nations as representing the nearest approach to the ideal union of Church and State. As Lord Selborne said in his *Defence of the Church of England*—a book that deserves attention in the midst of the present discussion: “The Establishment (so understood) of the Church of England grew up gradually and silently, out of the relations between the moral and physical power natural in an early stage of society; not as a result of any definite act, compact, or conflict, but so that no one can now trace the exact steps of the process by which the voluntary recognition of moral and spiritual obligation passed into custom, and custom into law.” This intertwining of the religious and civil life of the people is an heritage which cannot lightly be abandoned, or dissolved on the specious ground that the Church is in fetters and must have spiritual freedom. There has been nothing in recent years to warrant the demand for disestablishment. Many people do not recognise that the Churches which are described as “Free” are bound by legal enactments and have to comply with Trust Deeds that are documents relying upon the authority of the State.

### Confession in the Church of England.

A persistent effort has been made for some years to spread the practice of Sacramental Confession in our Church. In some parishes candidates are required to make their confession to the priest before their Confirmation, and they are expected to continue to go to Confession as a regular practice. It is scarcely necessary to point out that these requirements go far beyond anything that can legitimately be deduced from the references to Confession in the Prayer Book. These references are familiar to all instructed Churchpeople and only provide for the very exceptional case of sick persons whose consciences cannot be quieted by any other means than opening their grief to a discreet and learned minister of God's Word. It appears from some recent episcopal pronouncements that regulations for the hearing of confessions are to be laid down as though the regular hearing of them was a recognised part of the ordinary routine of a clergyman's parochial duty. No unbeneficed clergyman is to be authorised to hear confession until he has been three years in Priest's orders. In order to become expert in the duty a candidate for the office of Confessor is to undergo a course of instruction, and supervisors are to be appointed to test the candidate's qualifications before the authorisation of the Bishop is granted. It is said that these regulations are not to be taken as authorising any teaching about Confession and Absolution which goes beyond or conflicts with that given or implied in the Book of Common Prayer. The whole scheme seems contrary to the spirit and even the letter of the Prayer Book. Our Reformers were familiar with the evils of the Confessional, its weakening effect on moral character, the power that it gave to the Priest over the lives of the people, and its assertion of the need of priestly mediation, and they wisely discarded the practice.

### The Ministry of Reconciliation.

These pronouncements on Confession give a special significance to the Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen which is to be held at St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, on April 16, 17, and 18, when the subject to be considered will be "The Ministry of Reconciliation." The Letter of Invitation to the Conference says:

"The parish clergyman finds himself to-day called upon to deal with a very great number of people who seek for spiritual direction and the assurance of forgiveness. The War and its after-effects have gravely affected the religious and moral outlook of thousands, and to-day a much less reticent generation is much more ready to discuss its intimate problems. There are many systems and theories that claim to give relief to consciences, but the essential question is the problem of sin and reconciliation with God. It is in view of this urgent situation with all its pathos, its need of wisdom and its hope, that the Oxford Conference of Evangelical Clergy and Laity proposes to discuss the subject of 'The Ministry of Reconciliation.'"

The discussion has been arranged so as to give a full survey of the subject both from the historical and theological points of view and will embrace the consideration of the Evangelical interpretation of the Doctrine of Atonement, the development of the "Confessional" in history, the teaching of our Prayer Book on Confession, the latest developments of psychological research in its bearing on confession and sharing and the practical duties of the parish clergyman in dealing with souls feeling the need of assurance of forgiveness. The Conference promises to be of unusual interest, and a large attendance is expected.

#### **The Rejected Prayer Book Again.**

It is unfortunate that the Primate in his call to prayer for rain should have taken the opportunity to couple together the prayer in the Book of Common Prayer and that in "the Revised Book of 1928" as if they each had equal authority. There is no objection in itself to be raised against the prayer in the Book which was rejected for a second time by the House of Commons in 1928, for it is almost exactly the same as that in the Book of Common Prayer; but this very circumstance is an evidence that there was no need to mention it at all. It would appear as if the Primate was specially anxious to give a fillip both to the sales and to the use of the unauthorised book by a gratuitous advertisement when occasion offers; and loyal Churchmen may well feel regret at its introduction in this way. It is not a welcome task to offer criticism on the form of a Call to Prayer for a need which is felt throughout the country, but if references of this kind are made by Bishops and Archbishops, and are not from time to time challenged, it may be supposed that the opposition to the 1928 book is dying out. In the light of subsequent events it may safely be said that the opposition is as strong now as ever it was.

## THE CHURCH AND THE PROPHETS.

BY THE MOST REV. CHARLES F. D'ARCY, D.D., Lord  
Archbishop of Armagh.

*A paper read before the Norwich Diocesan Branch of the Central Society for Sacred Study. January 8th, 1934.*

THE two elements in the religious life of mankind presented by these words may be sharply contrasted, or combined in a higher synthesis. In the tremendous rebuke, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee," we have the contrast; in the tender lament which follows, "How often would I have gathered thy children together!", we have the possibility of the synthesis proclaimed.

The prophetic element is awakening, often startling, sometimes shattering, and ultimately creative: the ecclesiastical is conservative, traditional, organising, and tending sometimes to immobility and lack of spiritual life: yet both are necessary.

The history of Israel reveals the essential quality and the interrelation of the two elements with far greater distinctness than does the history of the Christian Church. Perhaps the earlier religions share also in this characteristic. In Egypt Akenaton was certainly a prophet in the true sense. His work was opposed and destroyed by the power of the priesthood. In Persia, Zoroaster was a great prophet, and succeeded in capturing the credence of his people until a fiercer prophet arose in the person of Mohammed and swept them into the vast whirlpool of the Moslem faith.

In Israel, prophecy reached its purest, highest, noblest and most enduring attainment. The vision of God came to man in the manner which has kindled faith and hope in souls capable of discerning it throughout all ages ever since.

Amos, the shepherd of Tekoa, stirred by the luxury and oppression in Israel, and filled with the sense of God, His unity, His greatness, His righteousness, proclaimed the doom of those who break the Divine Law, no matter how they may offer worship to God. He knew that it was the call of God which sent him forth on his mission. When Amaziah, the Priest of Bethel, commanded him to return to his own country of Judah, and prophesy no more in the King of Israel's sanctuary, the prophet's reply was, "I was no prophet; neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdsman, and a dresser of sycamore trees; and the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said to me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel."

These words prove the nature of the call which sent forth the man to the work of his life. It was the clear conviction in his own soul as to the holiness of God, and the needs of the people of Israel, and also the intense realisation that the man to whom this revelation had been granted must surely be God's appointed messenger to His people.

Amos may stand as the representative of those souls who, all down the centuries, have seen the vision of God, and heard His call ; and, apart from the church order of their time, have gone forth with a message from Him to stir the hearts of men to fresh faith and to spiritual renewal.

Next to Amos I place the great prophet Isaiah. Here again the nature of the call which sent the prophet forth upon his mission is clearly declared. He was worshipping in the temple, and was, it would seem, at the threshold, that is, at the entrance to the sacred building. A sense of sin was upon him, and, it may be, he did not venture to go further. Then was granted the vision of God. He says : " I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." That is, the robe of the Divine figure, flowing downwards, spread out over the floor of the temple. With this imagery, I would compare the cry of the Seraphim, " the whole earth is full of His glory," or, as it is literally, " the fulness of the whole earth is His glory." As the mighty robe covered the floor, so does the universe in all its fulness manifest His glory.

Poised above it were the Seraphim, each with six wings, two veiling the face, two hiding the feet, and the other two supporting the figure. And, with alternate cry they uttered the ascription : " Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts. The fulness of the whole earth is His glory." And, beneath him, Isaiah felt the foundations of the threshold shaken at the voice that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.

So far the man's attention had been occupied with the details of the vision. Then, with sudden realisation, his thoughts turned in upon himself. He was unclean, unfit for that holy presence. " Woe is me," he cried, " for I am undone ; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips ; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts." Stricken through by the consciousness of his sin, he felt himself unfit for that holy presence. It condemned him utterly. Conviction of sin was the first result of the vision of God. But sincere confession brought the message of forgiveness, " Then flew one of the Seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar ; and he touched my mouth with it, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin is purged." It was pardon freely given to the penitent soul.

Then was heard the voice of the Lord saying, " Whom shall I send, and Who will go for us ? " and quickly came the answer, " Here am I, send me." In recording this vision, the prophet affirms his commission. It came directly from God, conveyed by a special experience. Isaiah most clearly shows that, by a revelation, God had singled him out, and set him on the work of his life. He was not the agent of the ecclesiastical system. He was a man to whom had been granted a vision of God which had sent him forth.

These two instances are surely characteristic of the prophets of Israel. And, let it not be forgotten that the great prophets of

Israel were supremely the teachers of the human race in the things of God, and in preparation for the coming of Christ.

When we turn to the New Testament we find something very similar. John the Baptist was not the accredited agent of the Jewish Church. It is quite clear that the authorities did not make up their minds as to his mission. They did not accept him. It was of his work, and their failure to recognise it, that our Lord said, when challenged by the Chief Priests and elders, "I also will ask you one question which, if ye tell me, I likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things, The baptism of John, whence was it? From heaven or from men? And they reasoned with themselves saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why then did ye not believe him? But if we shall say, From men; we fear the multitude, for all hold John as a prophet. And they answered Jesus and said, We know not. He also said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." And, arising out of this came the solemn words, "Verily I say unto you that the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not; but the publicans and the harlots believed him, and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterwards that ye might believe him."

John the Baptist was the forerunner of the Lord, and the prophetic character which marked his ministry was certainly preparatory in relation to the ministry of Christ. This is clear in every reference. That Christ our Lord was Prophet in the highest sense of the word is a commonplace of the traditional interpretation of the Gospel account of His life and labours. With Him also we find that the Jewish Church showed its wonted hostility to a prophetic ministry. Nor did our Lord fail to show to them the terrible nature of their fault. "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye witness to yourselves that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers!" And this tremendous utterance ends with the appeal and lamentation, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

This great passage and many others express the certain fact that the official Church set itself in definite opposition to the prophetic ministry of Jesus, a fact which is manifested in its full awfulness in the betrayal, condemnation and death of our Blessed Lord. This fatal opposition of the Church of the time to the greatest of all prophetic ministries, this failure, through official blindness, to discern the spiritual glory of the Lord, stands as a warning to all the ages.

This tremendous revelation of the fatal effects of the blindness

to spiritual reality which results from a privileged official rule regarding itself as the sole representative of the Divine authority, stands as a great warning. Like the men of old, it is quite easy for us to-day to say to ourselves, in effect if not in words, "If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets."

Here is also a demonstration that it is not God's way to confine the agency of His quickening Spirit to any one system or company of men, no matter how influential and authoritative it may seem to be. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth, so is every one that is born of the Spirit." In history, one tremendous tragedy of the spiritual world after another can be traced to forgetfulness of this truth. When, as at times in the history of the Christian Church, we see earthly ambition or greed seizing the machinery of administration, we are shocked to find that power was used to put down movements towards reformation, and to destroy genuine spiritual effort. Think, for example, of Pope Alexander VI, the monstrous Borgia, burning alive Savonarola, who, whatever errors of judgment he may have fallen into, was a sincere and whole-hearted servant of God and a witness, in that dark age, to holiness of life.

When we follow the stream of time as it flows through the centuries of Christian history, we find that, at epoch after epoch, prophetic teachers arose, moved by the call of God, and kindling, for their own ages, afresh, the sacred fire of the Spirit in human hearts.

Such was John, known to the world as St. Francis of Assisi. The name Francis was given to him in his youth, it is said, because of the French gaiety of spirit which always animated him. This joyous quality of soul remained with him to the end. Turning aside from worldly prospects by no means despicable, he renounced all worldly ambitions, embraced a life of poverty, and went forth as a witness to the power of Christ to change human nature, and to give an unfailling spring of spiritual power and gladness independently of all material conditions. That witness of his has never lost its power, even among those who do not follow his ways. Francis had the wisdom, unusual among prophetic souls, of coming to terms with the highest authority of the Church in his time. He had indeed the rare opportunity of having to deal with the strongest and most clear-sighted of all the medieval Popes. Innocent III, under whom the papacy attained its greatest power and prestige, while always insisting on the supreme authority of the Roman See, was a man of great wisdom and breadth of vision. To Francis he first gave a verbal approval—no doubt it was a test—and then, at a later time, an official recognition which was of immeasurable advantage to the movement. Would that the authorities of other times had shown equal wisdom!

Martin Luther was certainly one of the mightiest prophets of all time. Son of a working miner, he had yet from his youth the deep

sense of spiritual values, which enabled him to become a man of learning, a thinker, and a mystic. Going to Rome, he was deeply disappointed, finding there a spirit of worldliness and even unbelief. It was indeed an awful time. The succession of the Roman Pontiffs of that age—Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Julius II, Leo X—stands alone in history. Except for the debased period of the tenth century, when there was neither learning nor morality, there is no such record of infamy. Three out of the five popes I have named were monsters of iniquity. Of the other two, Julius was a great prince and a cruel soldier, with no claim to spiritual religion, Leo was a brilliant pagan. As the visitor to Rome watches the penitents ascending the Santa Scala on their knees, thought goes back to Luther, who, tradition reports, seemed to hear, as he was making the same penance, a voice which said: "The just shall live by faith." That, some think, was the true turning-point of his life. The career of Luther, with its strange lights and shadows, is one of the most wonderful in the history of human souls. However we may criticise some of his actions, we feel, as we read and think of him, that he was indeed a prophet, one of the mightiest the world has seen. His influence survives to-day, not only in Germany, but in the great churches of the Scandinavian lands.

The Reformation period turns our thoughts also to Calvin and Zwingli. The former certainly a theologian of great and penetrating insight, as we must admit, no matter how we may dissent from some of his conclusions; the latter an influence of more moderating spirit.

These great prophets of the Reformation, while their actions divided the Church, certainly were the saviours of it, in the providence of God. For it was from them that the Church of Rome itself received that tremendous shock which produced the counter-reformation.

The Anglican Church has also had its prophets. Wicliffe, the forerunner of the Reformation, a school-man and yet a great spiritual force. To him, very largely, the Church of England owes its less theoretical and more biblical character. And since the Reformation, England has been the scene of very notable movements of a distinctly prophetic nature. George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, who set out, Bible in hand, inveighing against formalism and conventionality in religion, practising the simple life, showing his advocacy of primitive simplicity in curious ways which excited the ridicule of the world, yet full of love to mankind, and inspiring many of those beneficent and charitable movements which have marked the religious life of the modern world.

Above all in the later history of English religion must be set John Wesley. In him met influences derived from the old High Anglican tradition and also from the more revolutionary genius of European reformers. It was the reading of Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans which brought about in him that vivid sense of the pardoning love of God which sent him forth on his mission. A new power manifested itself, which swept aside ecclesiastical

traditions. The churches were closed to him. Open-air meetings became the rule. For half a century he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to vast multitudes. Sometimes 20,000 people would wait patiently to hear him. He travelled 250,000 miles, usually on horseback, and preached 40,000 sermons. He wrote books to instruct his itinerant preachers. His literary industry was prodigious. The profits from the sale of his works amounted to £30,000, all of which he gave away in charity. Moreover, unlike many intense minds, he had a wonderful breadth of view. He held that the heathen, if they feared God and used the light they had, would be saved. He hoped to meet Marcus Aurelius in heaven. As to the setting up of a separate church organisation, he hated the very thought of it.

Since Wesley's time there have been many prophetic movements affecting the life of the Anglican Church: the Evangelical movement, the Oxford movement, the mission of Moody and Sankey, in which American methods were combined with the spirit of the Wesleyan tradition; the Anglican Mission movement, of which Canon Aitken was the most outstanding personality; the Salvation Army, which united its evangelical fervour with a mission for the saving of the miserable, the socially depressed; and the Church Army, which has proved a very valuable auxiliary to the Church in reaching those of our people who have drifted away from the regular ministrations of religion. And now has come the Group Movement, as it is called, which begins at the other end of the social scale.

All these partake of the character which I venture to describe as *prophetic*. None of them sprang from spiritual sources which are of the recognised order of the Church. Every one of them was marked by the activity of men of great spiritual insight and courage, men who did not wait to be called and sent by the regular ministerial organisation of the Church. In relation to every one of them, it will be found that such recognition as they received was given with hesitation, and often with unwillingness. Yet from them there has flowed into the Church a stream of new life and a renewal of religious faith.

Summing up then all the evidence of history, it would seem that the words of our Lord against Jerusalem, "Thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee," stand as a warning for every age. Yet, let us pause and consider. We cling to our accustomed ways. We resent revolutionary movements. We do not like to see the institutions under which we have grown up attacked, and their imperfections exposed. We love the settled order, the recognised authority. This conservative attitude of mind is one of the great safeguards of ordered life. In our religious life, it is specially valuable and important. It makes for that good and settled tradition which keeps human life within the bounds of sanity, which teaches reverence and secures stability. And there are no more important elements than these—*reverence* and *stability*.

In our life as Churchmen and Christians, these things are of immeasurable importance.

How then can we keep the Order of the Church and yet not lose the inspiration of the prophets? The answer is not easy.

Perhaps I may remind you of the words in which Canon Streeter sums up his investigation of the state of things in the Primitive Church. He writes: "Whatever else is disputable, there is, I submit, one result from which there is no escape. In the Primitive Church there was no single system of Church Order laid down by the Apostles. During the first hundred years of Christianity, the Church was an organism alive and growing—changing its organisation to meet changing needs." "Uniformity was a later development." "The first Christians achieved what they did, because the spirit with which they were inspired was one favourable to experiment." "It may be that the line of advance for the Church to-day is, not to imitate the forms, but to recapture the spirit of the Primitive Church."

Yes. Let us try to recapture the spirit of the Primitive Church. If we can do that we shall go a very long way towards overcoming the opposition of the organised Church to the prophetic ministries which spring up from time to time. The ministry of the prophet was a recognised element in the religious life of the earliest Christian age.

And this, I think, may be said for the Anglican Church, even in the past, and still more in our own time. She does not kill the prophets, she criticises them: she holds aloof: she observes them. And then, in time, when this stage is passed, she finds something to learn from them. This is certainly true of the ministry of John Wesley, of the Evangelical Revival, of the Oxford movement. Perhaps, if I may venture to suggest it, she may even learn something from the Modernist movement, from Karl Barth, and from the Groups.

May God help us to hear His voice however it may speak to us!

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SCIENCE, RELIGION AND MAN. By the Rev. W. J. J. Cornelius, D. Litt. Pp. 387. *Williams & Norgate, Ltd.* 15s. net.

In the midst of his work as vicar of a busy town parish, Dr. Cornelius has found time to write a book of considerable size which he offers to those who, for various reasons, are unable to study deeply the problems of origins and developments as they affect human life. He writes as one convinced that certain concepts must be accepted by the Churches. There is law and order throughout the universe: evolution is the process by which life advances: by slow development and selection progress is made from rudimentary life to the complex, from brute to man; man is not the result of a Divine arbitrary fiat and instantaneous action. On the other hand he pleads that the Bible does not contradict acknowledged scientific data and that, tested by the sciences, there is evidence of super-human knowledge and wisdom.

On the whole, Dr. Cornelius has done well the task he proposed.  
F. B.

## THE POSITIVE MESSAGE OF THE REFORMATION.<sup>1</sup>

By CANON W. H. RIGG, D.D., Vicar of Beverley Minster.

LAST year those in authority asked us to join with our brethren belonging to other groups in our Church in celebrating the Centenary of the Oxford Movement. Some of us responded to that invitation. Although we did not attend the Choral Eucharist in York Minster, yet we were present at the service immediately afterwards, when the sermon was preached by our own Archbishop, and also at the afternoon meeting. The York Evangelical Diocesan Association took for their subject in 1933 different types of Christian piety, and many of us listened with very great interest to one of the resident Canons of York Minster as he expounded to us, from an inside knowledge, the Tractarian type of piety. Without, we trust, compromising our position, we showed a Catholicity of spirit, which we hope will bear fruit in days to come.

1934 is also an important year, quite as important as was 1933, if not more so, in the history of the Anglican Church. Four hundred years ago the Act of Supremacy completed our separation from Rome, and, with the exception of a short interlude under Queen Mary, our Church took her place alongside the Reformed Churches of Christendom.

Furthermore, our Church is, by implication, a Protestant Reformed Church. By the Act of Settlement the Sovereign of this country must be a Protestant, and he must be in communion with the Church of England as by law established. It is interesting to notice that in 1608 "Papists, Protestants, Puritans, Brownists" are mentioned together, and the word Protestant is used strictly of those belonging to the Church of England in opposition to Puritans as well as Romanists. Archbishop Laud did not disdain to use the word at his trial.

"Nay, my lords, I am as innocent in this business of religion, as free from all practice, or so much as thought of practice, for any alteration to Popery, or any way blemishing the true Protestant religion established in the Church of England, as I was when my mother first bare me into the world."<sup>2</sup>

The late Bishop Stubbs, one of the greatest historians our Church has ever produced, repudiates in one of his visitation charges the idea of the name of Protestant as being a mere name of negation, as well as the notion that the maintenance of Protestant negation is the whole or the most important part of our religious work and history. He continues, "I should unhesitatingly reject

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the Annual Conference of the York Evangelical Diocesan Association, held in St. William's College, York, on January 22, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *William Laud*, by W. H. Hutton, p. 209.

the theory that regards Protestantism by itself, either at home or abroad, as a religious system devoid of spiritual constructive energy."

What after all is the meaning of the word, and when was it first used? Following the late Professor Gwatkin<sup>1</sup> it comes from the Latin word "protestari," a post-Augustan word found in Quintilian and frequent in law, and means "to profess," to bear witness openly (or declare). It has no inherent negative force as a protest against something, though it is often used as a declaration that the speaker's meaning has been misunderstood. So then, the word itself has already something positive about it. If we adhere to the meaning of the term it is a witness to some truth.

Let us now pass on to its historical origin. In 1529 the Diet of Speyer was held, the Roman Catholic delegates far outnumbering the Lutherans who were numerically in a very weak position. At the very outset the Emperor Charles V, through his commissioners, declared that a particular clause in the ordinance of 1526 should be rescinded. This clause provided that the word of God should be preached without disturbance, and that until the meeting of a general Council to be held in a German city each state should so live as it hoped to answer for its conduct to God and to the Emperor. The Emperor's decision was upheld by all the Roman Catholics who were present. Further measures were passed, the upshot being that everywhere the medieval ecclesiastical rule would be restored and ultimately the Lutheran Churches would be crushed.

It was this ordinance which called forth the celebrated Protest, read in the Diet on April 19, 1529, after all concessions had been refused, from which the name Protestant emerges and first makes its appearance on the stage of history.

It is interesting to see the form the protest of the Lutherans took. When forced to make their choice between obedience to God and obedience to the Emperor they were compelled to choose the former; and they appealed from the wrongs done to them at the Diet, to the next free General Council of Holy Christendom, or to an Ecclesiastical Congress of the German nation. The political side was uppermost in the usage of the word as there is no mention here of any particular doctrines, only an assertion of the liberty of particular Churches, and "Protestants" at first meant Lutherans as opposed alike to Roman Catholics and Zwinglians, and for some time the Lutherans both in Germany and our own country were designated as such. A further development took place, due partly to the Roman Catholics in labelling as "Lutherans" all those whom they deemed heretics, but also to the heretics themselves in adopting from the Lutherans the common name of Protestants. The unifying principle was the consciousness of a common cause against Rome. That is the justification for the common view held by the clergy, though we do not think it is so

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings, Vol. X, Art. on "Protestantism."

extensively shared by the laity of our Church, that Protestantism is merely a negative term and nothing more.

The late Aubrey Moore, a contributor to *Lux Mundi*, and whose early death was one of the greatest losses our Church sustained during the latter part of the nineteenth century, adopts a three-fold attitude towards the Reformation. First, the Papist view; secondly, the Protestant view, and third, the Secular or Sceptical view. Under the second heading he allows that many and widely different views are included, but then he utters these significant words :

“ Still it is quite possible to single out a representative point of view which may rightly be called the Protestant view, and which, speaking generally, for in detail they differ widely, is the point of view of our own Church and of the German Lutherans. The Protestant view of the Reformation regards it as a return to Biblical Christianity, to the simple and pure doctrine of the Gospel, divested of all which Protestants regard as a later addition, as the ‘ ordinance of men,’ and as a disfigurement of the primitive type of religion.”<sup>1</sup>

Speaking for ourselves, living as we do in England, Protestant is not a word of which we may be in the least ashamed, provided that it is not understood to mean one who protests against not error merely but any practice which though innocent in itself is followed by the Roman Catholics, nor a narrow persecuting type of religion. Protestantism represents something very positive. Were we living in Germany, it would be better to call ourselves “ Evangelisch,” and probably avoid the word “ Katholisch,” and in the Creed use the words “ Allgemeine Kirche ” which would not exclude our Roman Catholic brethren from the Church of Christ, and at the same time expresses our allegiance to Christendom as a whole.

The Reformation, like any other movement in history, has its weak side, but to call it a “ Defamation,” or even to apologise for it, is to fly in the face of history. Professor Hamilton Thompson, in *Essays, Catholic and Critical*, says : “ Contemptuous references to ‘ the so-called Reformation,’ implying that it was a mere illusion, are out of date. They have never carried weight with serious historians, nor have they improved the credit of those who have indulged in them.” And although it does not bear directly on our subject, yet in view of much that appears in the daily Press, we should like to make a further quotation from the same writer.

“ The adverse verdict which has been passed upon the Reformation in the light of social and economic changes which accompanied and followed it depends upon a romantic and sentimental conception of the Middle Ages which is at variance with fact. In the breaking up of the medieval polity the Reformation took a prominent part, but as a consequence, not as a cause of a tendency which was present in every department of life and thought.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation* (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1890), pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays, Catholic and Critical*, S.P.C.K., 1926, p. 346.

Let us now come to closer grips with our subject. Looking at religion as a whole there seem to be two tendencies at work, simplification and enrichment, both having their advantages and both their dangers. Taking the dangers first. There is the simplicity of the Gospel, but it may be so simplified as in the end to deprive it of all power and appeal, and reduce it to a pale and thin abstraction. To use an illustration. Some are so busy in stripping the Christian Religion of all accretions that they remind us of a man engaged in peeling an onion; he goes on stripping it of its outer coverings in his efforts to reach the centre, and at length discovers that nothing is left.

On the other hand, enrichment or perhaps inclusiveness may be pushed to such an extreme as to do irreparable damage to the religion concerned. The original message may be so overloaded with extraneous matter that it is almost lost sight of owing to the mass of detail surrounding it. You cannot see the wood for the trees. Besides this, religion being essentially life, it must adapt itself to its environment, speak a language understood by the people of the age to which it appeals, enter into their modes of life, deal with their problems, sometimes by way of challenge, at other times by meeting their deepest needs and highest aspirations. Nevertheless, in the laudable effort to meet all these claims and demands, a particular religion may assimilate elements alien to its true nature and character. Instances could be drawn from a study of comparative religion showing, as e.g. in the case of Buddhism, how the impact of a particular age and people has transformed the religion involved beyond recognition, or if this needs some qualification, into something quite different from what its Founder intended it to be.

The advantages of simplicity in religion are not difficult to see. The good news it contains should be presented in such a manner that men of good will, whatever be their calling or station in life, be they educated or otherwise, may be in a position to make the proper response, their attention being drawn to the essentials. Thus are they helped to know the truth, and the truth shall make them free. True simplicity need not be poverty stricken or bare; in fact, it should be the very reverse. A simple fact or principle, by virtue of its very power to enter into every situation confronting mankind, reveals the wonderful resources it has at its command. Still more when it elevates and transforms those who adopt it.

If we were asked wherein lay the originality of our Lord's teaching, we do not think it would be right to say that He gave us truths about God never given before to mankind. Historically it is not correct to say that He was the first to proclaim the Fatherhood of God or God's love to mankind. His uniqueness lies in another direction. Although in line with the Prophets of Israel He taught the Holiness and Majesty of God, yet Fatherhood was the essential characteristic of the most High God in His teaching. God is Master of His world, and in His dealings with men possesses absolute authority over them; at the same time His love of and

goodness towards them are unbounded. In their attitude towards Him, while full of the deepest awe and reverence, yet childlike confidence in Him is the great essential. With regard to our Lord Himself, alone amongst the sons of men He lived in unbroken communion with His Heavenly Father, not fitfully, but at all times, and on every occasion. His life was characterised, not by getting His own way, but by doing the will of His Father.

Only one side of the Lord's uniqueness has been touched upon, but we have brought this forward to show the gain of simplicity. Other religions, notably the Mystery Religions, have more than hinted at the existence of a Supreme Being with benevolent intentions towards its worshippers ; in any case, as anyone can read for himself, the most prominent figure of a particular Mystery Religion is full of pity and sympathy for the sorrows of those initiated into his or her mysteries. In our Lord's time in the Roman world, Syncretism was rife, that is to say, alongside of the particular god or goddess believed in and adored, other gods could be accepted. A man might be initiated into more than one Mystery Religion. This so-called catholicity of outlook, and it is not difficult to see that the Apologist of the Mystery Religion would make this claim, is more than counterbalanced by the confusion that it produces in the minds of the ordinary folk. It imperils, nay, it destroys the belief that the world is ruled by one Holy Righteous Will, Whose essence is love. The man who entrusts himself to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has nothing to fear. Demons may be many in number, but their power is limited. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father's knowledge. The very hairs of our head are all numbered. There need be no cause for anxiety provided that we seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.

Now it may be asked, what has all this to do with the positive message of the Reformation ? Whatever may be our views on the controversies which divide Christendom to-day, what has hitherto been said will meet with the approval on the part of all devout Christians. This may gladly be admitted, but our point is that a situation arose not altogether dissimilar to the one soon after Christianity began her career, at the time of the Reformation, and we venture to think has not altogether passed away, when in the interests of a real living faith a policy of destructive criticism was and is necessary. To the religious man the pulling down of religious belief for its own sake must always fill him with the gravest possible concern. He only pursues it for the sake of truth, and in order that the essentials of religion may shine forth all the more clearly, undimmed by the traditions and distortions of men.

The real affirmation of the Reformation, to quote Dr. Lindsay, "is that Christ fills the whole sphere of God," and the Reformers do not recognise any Theology which is not a Christology. The real faith, the faith which is trust, the divine gift which impels us to throw ourselves upon God, gives us the loving assurance of a living God who has revealed Himself and manifests to us His

loving fatherly heart in Christ Jesus, that is, the Christian religion in its very core and centre. "Here in Christ," cries Martin Luther, "I have the Father's heart and will, coming forth in love for my salvation; and the heresy of heresies is that which separates the mind and disposition of God from that of Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

It is very interesting to compare this with a passage which comes in a remarkably fine novel published last year called *A Watch in the Night* written by Helen C. White. She records a memory of her principal character, Jacomo, of how when he was a child,

"he had asked his tutor where all the world was before God made it, and the man had answered that it was nowhere, and then he had asked where God was if He was not sitting up there in the blue sky, when He made the world and the sky above it, and his tutor had answered that God was in no such place but only in Himself, for He had made time and space, too. Even now he remembered how his head had grown dizzy, and how, frightened of all those things which his tutor had said were beyond a child's comprehension he had run to his mother where she sat sewing among her maids, and had hidden his head in the folds of her heavy dress, clutching fast to one of her knees. He remembered how firm her knee had seemed as he sobbed against it, and how she had taken him into her lap and held him tight, until he had felt her tears like rain on his hot cheeks. So now in the night he turned in his great need to her who had held the dead Christ in her arms, and he asked the Mother of God to stand between him and that great mystery beyond."

Now this may be taken very seriously in spite of its occurring in a modern novel. The authoress has given a very sympathetic and faithful transcript of the religious life of the time just after the death of that great and wonderful Saint, Saint Francis of Assisi. The Reformation, of course, took place some centuries afterwards, but the teaching the quotation conveys would be held by countless souls at the time when Martin Luther lived. It is not difficult to imagine the comments he would make. We can imagine him saying, "I sympathise with the poor child, and as a grown man such questions and others raised by the Scholastics have made me feel dizzy and thrown me into a state of utter bewilderment. When I think of God I am terrified beyond measure. All is dark. It is in Jesus Christ, His dear Son, I behold His gracious countenance. I bury my face into the folds of His humanity, and then I feel He grips me and assures me that the God who made me is a God of grace. In my need I turn not to the Mother of God but to the Christ Himself."

This quotation of Helen White's is a good illustration of the need for the negative element to be brought out in the Reformation for the sake of emphasising the simplicity of the manifold grace of Christ. When the soul in her great need turns to the Mother of God, this implies an utter failure to grasp the real meaning of the Incarnation which was to span the vast gulf which lies between God and man, and to see in the perfectly human life of Jesus of Nazareth the Father's heart, His purpose and His grace.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 472, 473, 430.

In Tennyson's well-known words :

" For wisdom dwelt with mortal powers,  
Where truth in closest words shall fail,  
When truth embodied in a tale  
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

And so the Word had breath, and wrought  
With human hands the creed of creeds  
In loveliness of perfect deeds  
More strong than all poetic thought."

From the positive view of Evangelical Religion it was necessary to lay violent hands upon teaching which directed men's affections to our Lord's Mother, to the Saints and veneration of relics, inasmuch as these diverted men's minds from the Christ Himself.

Here in passing may we just make a comment on a position advocated by Dr. Edwyn Bevan in his most admirable book on *Christianity*? He states in his chapter on the Reformation that the Invocation of Saints in Heaven may be shown to be consonant with New Testament ideas of intercession. "The common Protestant argument, that Jesus is the one Mediator, is clearly wide of the mark, since if this meant that a Christian should not ask the prayers of anyone but Jesus, it would rule out his asking the prayers of a living fellow Christian, a practice which the New Testament sanctions."<sup>1</sup> But our reply begins with a question. Is it so wide of the mark? since even Dr. Bevan has to allow that "the worship of Saints in popular Catholicism has in practice often differed little from polytheism." Practices which so easily lapse into superstition are condemned by that very liability. But further, you are dealing with the unseen world, and when the Christian is on his knees his whole attention should be concentrated on God, on God in Christ, and the unseen dead as viewed in Christ. Do the unseen dead know what is going on in this world? We do not know. Being with Christ doubtless they are praying for us, but they will do this without our asking. The Reformers were right in emphasizing the fact that we should direct our thoughts in our worship to God as revealed in Christ, that we should make our confession of sin to Him, and to Him alone, and that our Communion should be with Him and with Him alone. In our opinion we Evangelicals are not doing wrong in copying their example and imitating their reserve and still more that of the New Testament.

Now Martin Luther was neither a Philosopher nor, in the sense that Calvin was, a Theologian. He was a Christian prophet, a man who did not arrive at truth after having carefully thought it out and surveyed it from different angles, but rather by intuition. The truth came to him in flashes. He would reach the heart of a problem in moments of extraordinary insight, but there was nothing systematic about his thinking. Narrow and one-sided, he often failed to see the logic of his own position. In certain respects he resembled Jeremiah. Both men were reformers, not by choice but

<sup>1</sup> *Christianity*, The Home University Library (Thornton Butterworth, London, 1932), p. 163.

because in their hearts there was as it were a burning fire shut up in their bones which they could not contain (Jer. xx. 9). Both were men of strife and contention to the whole earth, and here again not by choice but predestinated by God. Sensitive and affectionate, they both became, when the occasion demanded it, like walls of brass. Most of all were they like each other in fulminating God's wrathful judgments and witnessing to His covenant of grace. In spite of his inconsistencies, both moral and spiritual, Martin Luther was essentially the greatest religious force of the Reformation of the first generation, though Calvin was probably the finest figure and the great constructive genius of Protestantism in its second phase. Without necessarily subscribing to his particular views, we in England do less than justice to one of the finest figures the world has ever seen. Before passing an opinion upon him let a man read the chapter on Calvin in the *Cambridge Modern History* on the Reformation, written by the late Dr. Fairbairn, and he will probably feel that his views concerning the great Reformer will need to undergo some revision.

Reverting to Martin Luther, the service it seems to us that he performed for Christianity is that he proclaimed to an age which had wellnigh forgotten it that the Christian Gospel is a Gospel of grace. In much of his thinking Luther was a Medievalist through and through. With many he shared the view before his conversion that God was over and against him. God was the sternest of Judges. Luther relates that when he was a boy in the parish church his childish imagination was inflamed by the stained-glass picture of Jesus, not the Saviour but the Judge, of a fierce countenance seated on a rainbow, and carrying a flaming sword in His hand. Being very introspective, he would be called in modern psychological language an Introvert; his attention was directed inwards to his own feelings—the state of his mind and conscience. Enthroned within him was the moral imperative or conscience whose demands were of so august a nature and whose deliverances so little accorded with his own desires that he could only ascribe them to one source, one source only, and that was God. As Karl Holl, in one of his most penetrating studies on Luther, sums it up, Luther's religion is "Gewissensreligion," a religion of conscience.<sup>1</sup> Not being a philosopher Pantheism possesses no attractions for Luther. He is too alive to the tremendous gulf existing between the creature and the Creator to believe that the oppositions between them can be reconciled and overcome in an All-embracing Unity. Thus we can understand Luther's attitude towards God. He approaches Him entirely from the moral side. The more he tries to meet the moral claims, the commands of God thundering within his own soul, the more he feels his utter inability to meet them. Nay, rather with his increased insight into the will of God, sin has a stronger hold of him, it grows in his endeavour to resist it, and thus the wrath of God flames upon him. There stands over

<sup>1</sup> *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, 1. Luther (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1927), p. 35.

against him God in His awful Majesty and Power, his dread and terrible antagonist. At last he is reduced to a feeling of utter helplessness and misery, having tried every avenue that was then known to him to find a way of escape, to satisfy the just and inexorable demands of God, but "the 'Holy' does not grow in man's garden." It was for this reason Luther became a monk, so that by a life of extreme self-denial, asceticism, prayer and good works he might change God's attitude towards him, a guilty sinner.

Then, one day, as he was reading the Epistle to the Romans in his cell his eyes were opened, and the revelation came to him which entirely changed the course of his life, and incidentally of Europe as well! The truth flashed upon him that the righteousness of God could only become his by trust. Not the mere assent of the understanding to certain truths about God and His revelation but the conviction that by placing himself in the hands of Christ as his personal Saviour, he was accounted righteous, and thereby entered into living fellowship with God. No longer was he under law, but under grace. Merits, indulgences, penances, profit and loss account did not come into the reckoning at all. The faith which makes us throw ourselves upon Christ does not involve a life of ease and quiet, as Luther has expressed it so well, "It is a living, busy, active, powerful thing, faith; it is impossible for it not to do us good continually. It never asks whether good works are to be done; it has done them before there is time to ask the question, and it is always doing them."<sup>1</sup>

Now we are not prepared to stereotype Martin Luther's experience and make it normative of Christian experience, but we believe the heart of his message is fundamentally true, especially if we bear in mind his pregnant remark that God's wrath is the mask of His love, and that, as he recognised afterwards, all this opposition of God is really battering the soul into such a state that she may see her utter need of Him, and helplessness without Him, and that only in Him and through Him can she be lifted up to those heights which God, because He is God, requires her to reach. We cannot live before God without forgiveness of sin. To quote Holl again: "Thus does Luther see through the darkness and storm of the Divine wrath right into the loving will of God; he perceives as he wonderfully expresses it, 'under and above the "no" the deep secret "yes" which God speaks to him. Unter und über dem Nein das tiefe heimliche Ja.'"<sup>2</sup> Canon Ottley, formerly Principal of Pusey House, has truly said: "Martin Luther recalled men's minds from a false to a true conception of faith; from blind and mechanical reliance on a complex system to simple trust in a living person, the Divine Christ."<sup>3</sup> That is the great positive message of the Reformation.

We must now pass on to the second great truth which is imbedded in Protestantism, though like Christianity herself centuries

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Methuen & Co., London, 1896), Vol. ii, pp. 217, 218.

were necessary to realise its implications. Luther, and here surely he was not alone, together with all the Reformers, appealed to the individual conscience. In the last resort for the individual the right, or better, the duty of private judgment, is of paramount importance. That does not imply that the individual can believe what he fancies, or that he does not accept any authority whatsoever, but in the last resort the Christ of the Creeds is not his Christ until he receives Him.

The Reformation did not solve the problems between reason and authority, freedom and order, and the individual and society. These are burning questions to-day, and by no manner of means can it be said concerning them, in spite of loud voices to the contrary, that the last word has been uttered. So then, when others far more competent than we are in dealing with these subjects have failed, it would be the height of unwisdom to suggest any solutions of our own. Before, however, settling any difficult question, two things are necessary; first, to examine our own pre-suppositions, and secondly, to try to possess as far as possible all the relevant data without which no true and proper judgment can be formed.

Very often it is taken for granted that if God has revealed Himself to man it can only be through an infallible Church or an infallible Book. The Reformers denied that the Church required a visible head, and that throughout the ages it had been kept immune from error. Unfortunately the exigencies of controversy drove them to take up, what we believe to be, an entirely untenable position, namely, to stake their all on an infallible Book. In fairness to them it must be remembered that this was not just simply a dogma. They believed in the Bible because, when they read it, it bore witness to its divine character in their own hearts by the witness of the Holy Spirit, *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*. In this respect we are sure they were on the right lines; where they went astray was in the assumption that because God had spoken to them in the Bible, or, if you prefer, that because in the Bible they found the words of eternal life, this great discovery of necessity involved the belief in the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures, or that every part of it is equally inspired.

Bishop Butler's warning must always be borne in mind.

"Since, upon experience, the acknowledged constitution and course of nature is found to be greatly different from what, before experience, would have been expected, and such as, men fancy, there lie great objections against: this renders it beforehand highly credible, that they may find the revealed dispensation likewise, if they judge of it as they do of the constitution of nature, very different from expectations formed beforehand."<sup>1</sup>

His position is "of what inspiration, or revelation, would or should be we are bad judges. To say beforehand how God will reveal Himself is beyond our competence to decide." As it has been wittily summed up: "We may not argue that, because we think it ought to be so, because we should like it to be so, because

<sup>1</sup> *Analogy*, ii, iii, § 5.

it would be very convenient in many ways if it were so, therefore it is so." <sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Reformers provided us with very valuable data for arriving at the truth, previously ignored by the Medieval Church. We have already stated that the ultimate court of appeal, though not of authority, which can only be God Himself, is to the private judgment of the individual. Let us reiterate the warning that the handing over of responsibility for arriving at the truth must be left to the individual's own conscience, he cannot delegate it to any human authority. This does not imply that he should ignore the experience of the Christian Church understood in its widest sense, but it does mean that he is not under obligation to accept unconditionally the statements of other human minds, even though these minds may make divine claims on behalf of their assertions. What he must do is to make a humble submission to God's will, and to go where the Truth leads him. Should the Truth, as he believes it, lead him into the Roman Catholic Church, it can only be by an act of private judgment that he accepts her claims in preference to any others.

In appealing to the Bible, and refusing to recognise tradition, the Reformers asserted a principle which must never be forgotten. The acid test for the Christian is whether a particular doctrine is in accordance with the mind of Christ. Certainly if it is contrary to His spirit it must there and then be rejected; it has already pronounced its own condemnation. The objection may be made that tradition often helps us to arrive at the meaning of a particular saying of our Lord's on the ground that those living nearer the New Testament times are in a better position to know what He meant than we are. Our reply to this is in the negative. A study of ancient writers, notably the Fathers, indicates, as Newman saw, that they were by no means agreed on Christian doctrine, and further, that, when they became Christian, they brought their heathen past with them which often affected their apprehension of the Gospel. It was a saying of a very great Church historian, we believe it is Harnack, that only one person understood St. Paul in the early Church, and that was Marcion, and he did not understand him! After all, for the first century we must go back to the original sources, which is, of course, what every secular historian does in studying a particular epoch, movement or person. Tradition need not be ignored provided that it is not taken at its face value, and that it undergoes a very critical examination. Nevertheless, it was a step of capital importance when the Reformers insisted on men going back to the original sources, and, though they may have sometimes handled them in an arbitrary fashion, that is only another instance of their sharing the limitations of their age just as we do ours.

When we hear it said in influential quarters that the ages which settled the Canon of Scripture should determine our outlook on

<sup>1</sup> *Catholicism and Christianity*, by C. J. Cadoux (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928), p. 107.

Christian doctrine and practice we cannot help thinking of Professor E. F. Scott's answer, "The Church in the end selected those writings which had selected themselves." Three great positive results flow from the Reformers' insistence upon private judgment and their appeal to the Bible.

Sooner or later toleration was bound to make its appearance. Now we must be perfectly fair. Neither Martin Luther nor Calvin were tolerant as we deem tolerance to-day. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 has been hailed as the birth of religious liberty; but as Professor Pollard has urged in the *Cambridge Modern History*, "it is mockery to describe the principle which underlay it as one of toleration." "Luther enunciated the principle of religious liberty, of individual priesthood. But he and his followers imposed another bondage, which went far to render this declaration ineffectual."<sup>1</sup> Yes, but the seed had been sown. If men and women are allowed to think for themselves, they are bound as time goes on to agree to differ. Furthermore, by appealing to the Bible, and in particular to our Lord Himself, with His definite refusal to apply force in the furtherance of His kingdom, it being partly for that reason He went to His cross, men came to see that the only weapon by which Christianity can be advanced is love. We who are sons of the Reformation repudiate with all our hearts the policy of persecution. Our opposition to Rome is not merely on religious grounds, from a religious point of view she must be given free play, but also from the uncomfortable conviction still prevailing amongst us, which we would gladly have removed, that were the influence of the Roman Church to be paramount in any country she would still persecute those who disagreed with her, since, so far as we know, she has never officially renounced the policy of persecution. Underlying the Protestant view of toleration there is a deep religious conviction that Christ's kingdom can only be advanced by spiritual means. Truth, although it may take a long time in overcoming error and falsehood, yet because it is of God must prevail. It does require much faith to launch the Christian religion on to the world, and to believe that by its own inherent power and beauty it will win men's hearts, but experience proves that whatever setbacks Christianity may sustain, yet, because she is true, she has nothing to fear provided that those who belong to her are true and loyal to Christ. It is because we believe in Christianity that we know she can be left to take care of herself, if only those who belong to her let the Christ work in and through them.

Secondly. The Reformation has indirectly made the Church more Catholic in the widest sense of the word. Priesthood is not confined to a particular class; it belongs to all God's people. Sacrificial terms are not avoided in the New Testament, but they are not used of any particular rite nor are they applied to any particular body of men within the Christian Society. Order there must be in the Christian Church, and we who belong to the Anglican Church consider that episcopacy is the best form of government, and we believe that it is the best guarantee of Christian unity. But to relegate those

<sup>1</sup> The *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. ii, pp. 277, 278.

belonging to certain Christian bodies to God's uncovenanted mercies and make out that their sacraments are invalid since they do not possess what is called the Apostolic Succession and are not governed by Bishops is to read into the New Testament what is not there. To adopt such a position must fill a man with intense sorrow, at least, if he holds it with an air of triumph he has to that extent departed from the spirit of Christ. One of the positive results of the Reformation is that it has delivered us from the belief that the organisation of the Christian Church is of primary importance and has relegated it to a position of secondary significance. It is interesting to note that Dr. Bevan, in the book already quoted, says :

"For Catholics it is a matter of faith that the system of the second century goes back in essentials to Jesus Himself, and had obtained ever since there was a Church at all: all bishops derived their authority by transmission from bishops ordained by one of the Twelve or by St. Paul. This cannot be proved from the New Testament and other Christian documents of the first century. . . . Those, however, who form their theories on the documentary data of the first century alone, apart from Catholic belief, practically all come to the conclusion that the Catholic system of the second century was not original, but a development of the third and fourth generation."<sup>1</sup>

Precisely, unless it can be proved that in our original sources, above all, in the mind of Christ, Episcopacy and all it involves are *essential* to Christianity, we have no right to take up any different attitude.

Modern scholarship, which is indifferent to any particular views held by the Reformers and is simply concerned with truth, support them in their main contention, and we may welcome their conclusions that the Christian Church is not tied down to any particular system of organisation.

Thirdly. One of the great and most important differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is the adoption on the part of the former of the double standard of life. It makes its appearance very early in the Christian Church. In the *Didache* occurs the exhortation: "If thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord thou shalt be perfect; if not bear as much as thou canst." There is a higher standard to which the Saints of God will conform or endeavour to imitate, and there is a lower standard which is all that can be expected of the average man. This is a tremendously difficult problem, and we are bound to admit needs to be faced far more seriously than it has been by Evangelical writers. Any parish priest with some experience in dealing with souls will know how difficult it is not to lower the Christian standard, but that if he pitches the standard too high he may be making it quite impossible for the ordinary man in the world to be a Christian.<sup>2</sup> Is not accommodation of some kind necessary? Otherwise vast numbers of men and women will be altogether alienated from Christianity. On the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>2</sup> As a Bermondsey lad, many years ago, asked the writer of this article, "Mr. Rigg, do you think that if I kept all the Commandments but two, it would be all right?"

principle that half a loaf is better than none at all, is it not advisable to adopt the principle of accommodation? This is the line of policy openly embraced by the Roman Catholic Church, though whether we can be quite content with Dean Inge's statement of her position when he says, "The Roman Church, which takes human nature as it is, accepts the fact that many Christians do not feel called to be perfect,"<sup>1</sup> is more than doubtful. Not thus can she be so summarily dismissed. For those who wish to pursue the subject further we would recommend Dr. Kirk's fifth lecture in his book on the Vision of God.<sup>2</sup> At the same time we believe that the Reformation was right in asserting that Christianity recognised only one standard, "Be ye perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect," and in refusing to deal with human nature as it is since the human nature concerned is the human nature which has undergone regeneration effected by the Spirit of God.

Whatever forms the double standard has assumed at the present time there is no doubt that during the sixteenth century it had taken on a most reprehensible form typified by the altar-piece at Magdebourg which made such a lasting impression on Luther. It represents a great ship sailing heavenwards, no one within the ship but priests or monks, and in the sea laymen drowning, or saved by ropes thrown to them by the priests or monks who were safe on board.<sup>3</sup> To live the highest life men and women need not feel that they must live either the celibate life or go into a monastery or nunnery. Every calling in life should be looked upon as a vocation, and strictly speaking the distinction between sacred and secular, however convenient it may be to preserve in certain respects, does not really exist. A man may be called to live the single life, and does he refuse, for him it is sin; another is called to the married state, then for him it is the Call of God to embrace it with all its joys, yes, and its responsibilities as well.

This paper does not profess to be exhaustive, but it must now be brought to a close. It is, however, by emphasising the positive side of Protestantism that we shall best be preserving her true spirit. Without subscribing entirely to the following analogy, since, whether we be Protestants or Roman Catholics humility becomes us all, yet it is well to remember that, should the electric light fuse, farthing dips are infinitely better than nothing at all. So then, unless we both preach and live out what is best in the Protestantism of the sixteenth century it means that the electric light has failed, and I for one would far rather have the farthing dips of Roman Catholicism than the appalling darkness of negation. One side of the great positive message of the Reformation cannot be better summed up than in Luther's opening words concerning Christian liberty, "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none: a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone."

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems* (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. London, 1930), p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, p. 1928 (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

## SOME DEVOTIONAL NOTES ON 2 TIMOTHY ii. 1-15.

A Paper read at a Meeting of Clergy in January, 1934, by the  
VERY REV. LE B. E. FRENCH, M.A., Dean of Clonfert.

THE Pastoral Epistles are Pauline, whether actually composed by St. Paul or not. The second epistle to Timothy in particular seems to many unmistakably a genuine letter of the great Apostle to the young overseer of the Church at Ephesus. It "contains numerous personal details which are too trivial to have been invented." It is possible that "some of Paul's notes to his fellow-workers were expanded by later writers into the Church manuals we now possess"<sup>1</sup>; but as regards this epistle a fairly recent commentator says, "If this is not the genuine work of St. Paul, a natural and intimate letter to his friend, disciple, and successor, then we have a performance which it would be impossible to match in the whole record of 'pseudepigrapha,' and difficult to parallel in the best achievements of modern literary art."<sup>2</sup> It is with only a short extract from the epistle we are now concerned. The opening words of the verses under consideration are closely connected with what has been already written. St. Paul has exhorted his "beloved child" in the faith and delegate in his apostolic office to zeal and courage and faithfulness to his commission: "Stir up the gift which is in thee through the laying on of my hands. For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness, but of power and love and discipline (or 'moral influence.') Be not ashamed therefore of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner," etc. "Hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me. . . . That good thing which was committed unto thee guard through the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." Timothy appears to have been of a timid disposition. He was not a man of a robust constitution, and his "often infirmities" may have caused a certain inertness which at times perhaps led to an appearance of slackness in duty. And so the Apostle further charges him to "strengthen himself in the grace that is in Christ Jesus." (The verb is probably in the Middle Voice.) The inference usually drawn from such language<sup>4</sup> is perhaps confirmed by 1 Corinthians xvi. 10, "If Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear." In the verses which follow St. Paul treats in several figures of the character and the work of the "man of God" who is the "Lord (Christ's) servant." Both these titles are applied to Timothy in these epistles, and it is obvious that the Apostle is addressing him throughout not merely as a baptised

<sup>1</sup> Peake's Commentary, *The Pauline Epistles*.

<sup>2</sup> R. St. G. Parry.

<sup>3</sup> Farrar; so also A. E. Burn and H. L. Goudge in *New Commentary*, "the 'discipline' is that of others as well as of self."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 Timothy iv. 14.

disciple, but as the duly commissioned servant of God. It is in the hope that we who have been called to "the same office and ministry appointed for the salvation of mankind" may profit by a "devotional" study of this passage that I venture to expand and apply to ourselves some of the thoughts suggested by St. Paul's words.

(1) Timothy is pointed to the example of a *soldier* in his devotion and disinterestedness. "Suffer hardship with me as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No soldier on service entangleth himself in the affairs of this life; that he may please him who enrolled him as a soldier." The minister of Christ is a *soldier*. He is bound by the solemn oath—the "sacramentum"—of his ordination vows. Hardness ("suffer hardship with me") is his daily portion. A life of ease and luxury and self-indulgence is unbecoming all who have at their Confirmation pledged themselves to "continue Christ's faithful soldiers and servants unto their lives' end";—"Nay, I will drink His cup; my vow is taken";—but, above all, in the ordained servants of God devotion and disinterestedness are looked for as a matter of course. The soldier forsakes home and loved ones and the ordinary comforts of life at the call of Duty. His motto is, "When Duty calls or Danger, be never wanting there." It is said to him, "Go, and he goeth; Come, and he cometh"; "Theirs not to make reply, theirs not to reason why." Even so the faithful minister is obedient. He "reverently obeys" those to whom is committed "the charge and government over him." He leaves it to God to order his course. His life is a continual oblation upon Christ's altar, and his burnt-offerings are offered only in the place which the Lord his God has chosen. The late Dean Farrar said, "My strength during all my life has been precisely this, that I have no choice. During the last thirty-six years God has twelve times changed my home, and fifteen times changed my work. I have scarcely done what I myself would have chosen. The support of my life is to know that I am doing what God wishes, and not what I wish myself." When a relative of mine<sup>1</sup> was ready for service in the Mission field the Church Missionary Society asked him to which country he would prefer to go, Africa or North-West America. He replied, "Certainly not North-West America," but a man was so badly needed in that unattractive sphere of work that he was sent to labour within the Arctic Circle, and there for many years he "suffered (much) hardship," "as a good soldier" of Christ. The soldier "does not entangle himself with the affairs of this life." Even so the true minister concentrates his energies upon his calling, "that he may please Him that enrolled him." He does not greatly care whether he pleases others or not. Regard for human opinion is a great snare. We need constantly to bear in mind the warning of the O.T. prophet, "Cease ye from man in whose nostrils is breath,"—a fleeting, evanescent thing like breath! I remember hearing the late Bishop Archdall<sup>2</sup> say in an address to his clergy, "I have reached a time of life in which the fear of man has very little effect upon me."

<sup>1</sup> The Ven. T. H. Canham, D.D., late Archdeacon of Yukon.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Killaloe and Clonfert, 1897-1912.

He clearly implied that this state is not easily reached. But perhaps some of us are more "easily beset" by the desire for human praise or esteem. We have all, at any rate, to watch against the sin of those who "loved the glory of men more than the glory of God." The temptation unduly to regard human opinion besets us in subtle ways. We dread perhaps what we call "trouble in a parish," and covet the reputation of "getting on well with" our people. Certainly it is our bounden duty to "set forwards quietness, peace, and love" among them. Certainly too "the Lord's servant must not strive, but in meekness correct them that oppose themselves." This advice is given to Timothy, but "quietness" in a parish is sometimes merely another name for stagnation, and when we read the Acts of the Apostles we see that wherever St. Paul went there was a row.

(2) Timothy is reminded also of *the discipline of the Athlete*. "If a man contend in the games he is not crowned, except he have contended lawfully." Here we have St. Paul's favourite metaphor. Elsewhere, we know, he uses it of all disciples, as in the Epistle for Septuagesima Sunday. Some of us have had some little experience of athletic training in the past. We look back wistfully to days "in the distance enchanted" when "not a feverish minute strained the weak heart and the wavering knee," when we were content to deny ourselves not a little in the hope of winning the prize; but perhaps we do not always remember that the Christian minister or pastor or priest should live a "regular" life. A clergyman's wants should be few. "The simple life" is for him the normal state, for his own sake, and "that he may make both himself and his family wholesome examples to the flock of Christ." He exercises strict discipline in Eating and Drinking, in Smoking, in Recreation. A Mission was held in one of our parishes some years ago, and afterwards a lady who stayed in the same house as the Missioner said he was "a greedy man; he wanted something of everything that was on the table." I know not whether this criticism of one unknown to me even by sight was justified or not, but does it not, to use an appropriate metaphor, "leave a nasty taste in the mouth"? We remember One Who taught His hostess that His wants were easily supplied. "A few dishes or even one would suffice." St. Paul practised severe self-discipline for his own sake; "I beat my body black and blue, and drag it as a conquered slave, lest by any means after that I have preached to others I myself should be rejected." We find it hard to realise that one "to whom to live was Christ" needed this mortification of the flesh, but every now and then some shameful record shows what cause the preachers of the Gospel have for unceasing watchfulness, "lest on the eternal shore the angels, while our draught they own, reject us evermore." I have referred to Recreation,—a subject on which there is room for much diversity of opinion and practice, and will now only recall something related of Bishop Fraser, of Manchester, one of the most devoted and respected bishops of Queen Victoria's reign. When he was a country parson he brought two horses to the forge. The

smith, recognising their quality, asked if he intended to hunt with them. "Yes," he said, "I can find time for it, and the exercise will do me good." The smith replied that if the Vicar hunted he could not go to Church; Mr. Fraser never again rode to hounds.

A clergyman should practise discipline *in the arrangement of his time*. A man once excused himself to Mr. Spurgeon for not praying much by saying he "had not time." "After all," said Mr. Spurgeon, "you have just as much time as anyone else; it is only a question of how you use it." This could not be said with truth to everyone, but most of us can as a rule dispose of much of our time as we please. Perhaps some of our leisure time might with advantage be given more to prayer. Self-discipline too may be exercised in the cultivation of *our minds*. The author of that notable book, *John Inglesant*, is reported to have said that its object was to exalt the unpopular doctrine that a man's first aim should not be the good of his neighbours, but his own culture. "Man is an artist working at himself." A verse in the Epistle to the Hebrews may enforce this truth, at least if we adopt the reading of many ancient authorities, "Ye have your own selves for a better possession and an abiding one."

(3) The Apostle notes also *the diligence of the Gardener or Harvestman*.<sup>1</sup> "The husbandman that laboureth must be the first to partake of the fruits." He applies to God's servant the word by which our Lord describes His heavenly Father in the allegory of the true Vine, "My Father is *the husbandman*"; even as elsewhere St. Paul calls himself and his fellow-workers "labourers together with God," and those among whom their ministry was exercised "God's husbandry." The word translated "laboureth" implies "toil to weariness." It is found several times in St. Paul's writings; e.g. 1 Timothy v. 17, "the elders that *labour* in the word and teaching." Dr. Hatch showed, it may be admitted, in his Bampton Lectures that, at all events in later days, teaching was not expected from all the presbyters, but we may doubt whether this was the case in N.T. times when there could not have been many presbyters in any particular area. They were elders from Ephesus, where Timothy was now in charge, whom the Apostle exhorted to "feed the Church of God"; and in the verse before us he perhaps meant merely that some "toiled" more than others in preaching and catechising. We must not greatly press the force of a single word, unless indeed we believe in Verbal Inspiration, but that St. Paul uses this word with a sense of its proper significance is rendered probable by its conjunction in other places with "*μόχθος*." In two of his undoubted epistles he says to the Thessalonians, "Ye remember our *labour and travail*, working night and day, . . ."; "neither did we eat bread for nought . . ., but in *labour and travail*, working night and day." He refers to the hard work of twisting and twining in his hands in his trade as a tent-maker the coarse goats' hair and other materials.

<sup>1</sup> So Weymouth; cf. Farrar, "the toiling husbandman has the first claim to a share of *the harvest*."

Is our work "*Κόπος*"? Are we "husbandmen that labour," "Fishermen that toil all" the day, if not "all the night"? Insurance companies are said to recognise that the ministerial profession is conducive to longevity, and I have known this attributed to a clergyman's "quiet, easy life." We may feel this to be unjust, but perhaps we have cause to pray that we may "live more nearly as" we sing—

"As labourers in Thy vineyard, still faithful may we be,  
Content to bear the burden of *weary days* for Thee;  
We ask no other wages when Thou shalt call us home  
But to have shared *the travail* which makes Thy kingdom come."

The saintly Edward King, bishop of Lincoln, had one word framed over his study mantel-piece,—"*Κόπος*." It may sometimes have sounded a note of reproach to his clergy who visited him.

We encourage ourselves now and then with the words of a "free-thinking" poet :

"With aching hands and bleeding feet  
We dig and heap, lay stone on stone;  
We bear the burden and the heat  
Of the long day, and wish 'twere done.  
Not till the hours of light return,  
All we have built do we discern."

But what if the leaders of Free-thought and Agnosticism know more of "aching hands and bleeding feet" than the ministers of Christ?

(4) Lastly, the charge is given to be "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, *handling aright the word of truth*." The exact force of the metaphor in this verse is not clear. Two other translations are given in R.V. margin. The verb employed is a rare word, and is found in the LXX, in Proverbs iii. 6, "He shall *direct* thy paths." It meant literally "cutting stones square to fit." St. Paul means, we may suppose, that the "diligent" and "approved" workman exercises *discrimination* in his use of "the word of truth." By this expression he doubtless denotes *the Christian message*, and this is a message which centres in Christ, Who is "the Truth." He speaks of his "gospel" in v. 8, and we see that it was based upon Christ,—Christ Incarnate (as the conjunction of the two sacred Names, Jesus Christ, perhaps indicates), Christ Crucified, Christ Risen. In the first epistle he reminds Timothy of "the mystery of godliness"—the divine secret now revealed concerning the human and glorified Christ. So also when he briefly recapitulates to the Corinthians "the gospel which he preached unto them," it is clear that it was a message concerning the crucified and buried and risen Christ. St. Paul would have had little use for the moral essays and historical lessons with which too often "the hungry sheep" have been "fed" (?) since his day; nor would he have cared for juggling with such texts as "top-not come down," though his love of allegory might have made him patient of a discourse upon "Nine and twenty knives." He would have rivalled the late Bishop Chadwick<sup>1</sup> in his scorn for the class of sermons which may be

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, 1896-1916; a keen debater in the General Synod of the Church of Ireland.

described as "pseudo—politico—economic." And he had no more doubt that the Church had a "pattern of healthful words,"<sup>1</sup> a "good deposit" of doctrine, "committed" especially to the "stewards of the mysteries of God," which was to be "guarded through the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us," than St. Jude had that it is the duty of all believers "to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints." Few scholars, I imagine, agree with Dr. Gwatkin's interpretation of v. 13: "Timothy is not told to keep an existing creed, but to make an outline for himself."<sup>2</sup>

It is noteworthy that, as in the words which immediately follow the passage upon which these simple notes are based, wherever in the N.T. the future of the Church is forecast she is almost always represented as engaged in a contest with false doctrine.

"Rightly to divide the word of truth"; to be ready to give milk to the babe, nourishing food to the young Christian, and strong meat to the full-grown; this requires not only careful preparation of sermons, but constant study and much prayer. We remember the Bishop's address to the candidates for the Priesthood, which we owe to Archbishop Cranmer, in which they are bidden "continually (to) pray to God . . . that by daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures, they may wax riper and stronger in their Ministry." We should be among those entrusted to our care "*Prophets*,"—forth-tellers of truths learned in solitary communion with God, as Moses learned long ago. Again a verse from the Epistle to the Hebrews may help us: "See that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount."

In v. 7 St. Paul says, "Consider what I say." Few of us can do this without shame and deep humiliation, certainly not he who now speaks, and who fears that he may pass judgment upon himself. "No branch of palm I merit, no street of shining gold." Well, "if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart and knoweth all things." And does not what St. Paul goes on to say suggest the antidote for all that may depress us? "Consider what I say; *for the Lord shall give thee understanding in all things.*" Here is the remedy for all causes of Failure; here the spring of Hope for the time that is left to us; here the source of Wisdom and Strength. Yes; all are here; "Consider what I say,—the Lord."

<sup>1</sup> The *New Commentary* gives a different interpretation of 2 Tim. i. 13: "Represent wholesome teaching received from me," etc., and quotes Parry, "Seldom has a text been more consistently mishandled." But is this the force of "ἔχει," "hold in thyself a pattern of," or "hold thyself as a pattern of"? cf. "pattern" in 1 Tim. i. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Church History*.

## ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BY THE REV. E. HIRST, M.A., Vicar of St. Paul's, Stockport.

AT the pivot point of every great movement, we usually find one man who stands out head and shoulders above the rest. So it was in the English Reformation. On its political side was King Henry VIII. At the very centre of that movement, on its religious side, we find Archbishop Cranmer. "The cause of the English Reformation was twofold, political and doctrinal." May we briefly survey that twofold reason for the breach with the past? In reality, it was a return to a truer conception of the Apostolic Faith as set forth in the New Testament. At points, the political and doctrinal merge into each other. They were never far separated, for Church and State were almost equivalent terms.

"The torch of the Church's spiritual life, at the close of the Middle Ages, was burning very low." A glimmer showed here and there. Some glorious buildings grew up in that age, and other forms of art left to us from that period show that they sprang from a body of men not devoid of spiritual ideas. But the other side is patent. The higher clergy were marked by their secular character. They often were more of statesmen than ecclesiastics. They held practically all the important offices of the realm, and, merely, for business capacity. That age produced neither an Anselm nor a Hugh of Lincoln. Simony was rife everywhere. Indulgences produced laxity of character. Plurality in the holding of offices was usual. Cardinal Wolsey held the sees of York and Winchester. He farmed out those of Bath, Worcester and Hereford, to foreign prelates, was Abbot of St. Albans, and at the same time, he held the office of Lord Chancellor. The ecclesiastical courts were open to innumerable abuses. Anyone holding even a minor ecclesiastical office could claim Benefit of Clergy, and so avoid trial in the secular courts, no matter what the offence might be. This, as well as the privilege of "Sanctuary," almost invalidated the civil law. There were far too many clergy—monks, friars, chantry priests (whose main duty was the saying of solitary Masses), and parochial clergy. Their main concern was liturgical and ceremonial, not pastoral. Preaching was almost non-existent. "The monks had lost their opportunity and were of very little use in the educational cause. English folk liked neither the idleness of the monks nor the covetousness of the higher clergy and the deep abuses which pervaded religion." Above all, the constant appeals to Rome, and the interference of the Pope in domestic matters, made stable government impossible. In addition, the presence of many monks in the monasteries, who acknowledged no power other than that of the Pope, meant a divided authority in the land. The King was king over a part of his people only. These forces, in addition to the fact that a large part of the national revenues went into the Papal coffers, emphasised the necessity of a stable supreme authority in the land.

The inevitable result of these evils, and of this negligence in spiritual matters, was ignorance and superstition on the part of the people, which were exploited to the full. Meanwhile, events on the Continent, and domestic problems at home, hastened a breach with the past. The world was opening up in voyages of discovery. Luther was challenging Papal authority in Germany. The spirit of Italian Humanism—the Renaissance—issued in a revolt against Medievalism. In England, the revival of Greek learning issued in “the search for the plain meaning of the New Testament instead of the fanciful interpretations of the Schoolmen,” whilst study in Latin “had substituted the study of Cicero for that of Duns Scotus.” This is clear from the writings of Colet, More, and Erasmus, the Oxford Humanists. Their influence in returning to the Christianity of the Apostles, and the banishing of superstition, the worship of relics and such like, cannot be over-emphasised. The forces which led to the Reformation, both in its political and religious aspects, converged into three streams which eventually united.

They were, first, an Anti-Clerical movement, expressed by Chaucer’s satire, and by legal efforts to exclude clerics from secular offices. Second, an Anti-Papal movement, brought about by the degeneracy of the Papacy, unjust extortion, greed, and unfounded Papal claims bolstered up by forged documents. Third, a doctrinal revolt begun by Wycliffe, continued by Huss and Luther, and strengthened by the publication of the Greek New Testament. Although Lollardry had been driven underground in England, it had not been extinguished in spite of the terrible measures used against it. The fullness of the time had come. As Canon Carnegie says, “Communities which had grown up under Papal Guardianship began to organise their own spiritual and material resources, on independent lines, and chafe against outer tutelage.” The failure of the medieval Papacy, with its grand ideal, is perhaps the greatest failure of the Christian era. We may summarise the position in the words of David Ogg. “At the beginning of the sixteenth century there existed in England a church which, while still an integral part of European Catholicism, had acquired a certain amount of independence from Rome.”

It was into this atmosphere, political and spiritual, that Thomas Cranmer was born on the 2nd of July, 1489. His family was of some standing, though not of either wealthy or noble descent, taking its name from Cranmer, a Lincolnshire manor. Its arms, a chevron between three cranes, seems to be an Heraldic pun on the name, signifying a lake which abounded in cranes. The family eventually migrated into Nottinghamshire and had lands at Aslacton, where Thomas, the future Archbishop, was born. He was the fifth child of a family of seven. His early education was harsh and severe and may have been obtained at the grammar schools of either Grantham, Nottingham, Newark or Southwell, probably the last. He was also allowed to follow field sports, developing some skill in shooting and hawking. At the same time he learnt to ride.

This ability was maintained so that even as Archbishop he could mount the roughest horse that came into his stable. His father died when Thomas was but ten years old, and at the early age of fourteen years he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge. Here he followed the usual course of academic study which was largely confined to logic and the teaching of the Schoolmen. At that time, Greek learning was discouraged by the Roman Hierarchy as the language of the schismatic East. In 1510 or 1511, he took his B.A. Then, forsaking the past, he launched out into the study of Erasmus and the best Latin authors. Later, he studied the writings of Luther. On being elected to a Fellowship of his college, he studied theology until he took his doctor's degree in 1523 at the age of thirty-four. During this period his biographer tells us that "considering what great controversy was in matters of religion—and forasmuch as he perceived that he could not judge indifferently in so weighty matters without the knowledge of Holy Scriptures—he applied his whole study, three years, to the said Scriptures." In later years, this store of learning stood him in great stead, for when King Henry consulted him on any matter, information was at hand. By his marriage to his first wife he lost his Fellowship, but on her early death he was re-elected. After his ordination in 1520 promotion came to him early. As an examiner we learn that he was most conscientious. He sought to raise the standard of biblical knowledge by questioning the candidates from the Scriptures. If they were not sufficiently versed in the subject, he would not let them pass. The Friars disliked this, for their study lay principally in the Schoolmen. Cranmer's learning must have been great, for Wolsey sought to remove him to his own new foundation at Oxford. These sidelights show us a careful, discriminating, devout student, trained in God's Sacred Word, having a keen insight in discerning the false from the true, and the base from the good.

We must now turn to the period when Cranmer was called upon to fulfil more public duties; in particular, to his relations to King Henry VIII, who had ascended the throne in 1509 at the age of eighteen years. When the two first met, Henry was involved in the maze of negotiations with the Pope for the annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. That marriage and its ramifications were like threads woven into Cranmer's life. Important as was this matter as the occasion of the English Reformation, it is false to speak of it as the only cause. There is evidence extant which proves that the possibility of a breach with the Papacy and the turning of the English Church into a separate Patriarchate was known at Rome in 1527. Further, it was not merely Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn which urged him, nor yet as Hilaire Belloc would have us believe, Anne Boleyn's determination to be queen, that lay behind it. Henry knew that a male heir to the throne was a necessity for the continuation of peaceful rule, or at least an atmosphere in which England could flourish. Unfortunately, Catherine could not give the King that male heir. So, whilst we hold no brief for Henry's actions, we must be fair. It seems that

his scruples about the validity of his marriage to Catherine were not feigned. It was an age of superstition, too. Further, he had been intended for the ministry and knew that the marriage was within the degrees prohibited not only by the Church but by Scripture, in spite of the Pope's dispensation to allow it. When on his death-bed, his father, Henry VII, had actually urged him not to complete the union with Catherine, although he had planned the marriage when Henry was but twelve years old, on the death of his eldest son Prince Arthur, who had previously married Catherine. Archbishop Warham had protested against it in spite of the Papal dispensation.

Further, doubts as to Princess Mary's legitimacy had been expressed by both countries when Henry sought to marry her first into the Royal House of Spain and then that of France. Such unions within the prohibited degree were condemned by the Schoolmen. Thomas Aquinas, Henry's favourite author, was definite on the point, even to denying the Pope's power to overrule Scripture. Henry also knew Leviticus xx. These doubts seemed to have taken shape as early as 1524, and from records it seems that Anne Boleyn did not appear at court until 1527. The coveted decree would have been given by an accommodating Pope. Such a decree as Henry desired had been given to his own sister as well as to Louis XII of France. The Pope, however, was at the moment under the power of Charles V, who was Catherine's nephew. He (the Pope) feared deposition, for he was aware of the knowledge which Charles possessed. He himself was guilty of simony and, further, had used forged documents to cover up a defect in his birth. Henry was determined. He tired of the Pope's evasions and procrastinations and rejected, along with other expedients, the Papal suggestion of taking a second wife whilst retaining the first. A man of Henry's sagacity was not likely to be silenced by the repetition of a very doubtful measure. He wished there to be no doubt as to the lawfulness of his heir.

In the midst of all this uncertainty a chance meeting of Cranmer with Doctor Edward Fox, the King's almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, his secretary, brought him to the King's notice. In conversation with these Cranmer expressed his opinion that the matter should be taken from the lawyers and submitted to the divines of the Universities. He took his stand on Scripture, concluding that the Bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with God's Word. Aquinas had stated this principle before. It was Cranmer's definite opinion also. Nor need we think it strange, for on his own confession he had begun to pray in private for the abolition of the Papal power in England as early as 1525. The opinions of the Universities were collected. It has been suggested that wrong methods were used both by Charles on the one hand and Henry on the other. Yet, when one sees that, on the whole, the Protestant Universities were less inclined to favour Henry than were the Romanist, it seems that the verdict for Henry was largely an honest one. The outcome of the difference was the overthrow of

the Papal supremacy by Parliament and Convocation alike. Let it here be said that the Convocation recognised the King as Supreme Head of the Church of England (*quantum per Christi legem licet*) and that the Clergy made their Act of Submission in 1532 during Warham's Archi-episcopate, not in Cranmer's time. Gardiner, too, who later was Cranmer's great enemy, had no small share in these decisions. Warham died on August 22 of the same year—1532.

At that time Cranmer was acting as Henry's agent to the Emperor Charles V. Whilst in Germany he had married the niece of Osiander, the German divine, as his second wife. This was not the action of a strict medievalist. It was charged against him later as adultery. Yet his action was honourable in an age when many ecclesiastics were not careful of their honour in such matters. The King passed over Gardiner and chose Cranmer as Archbishop. Never did a man accept so high an office more unwillingly. His consecration by Papal Bull was on March 30, 1533. Prior to his consecration he made a public protestation on the subject of the oath of fealty to the Pope. He maintained that he did not intend to bind himself to do anything contrary to the King and the commonwealth of England. His enemies have made much of this action. At his trial, it was brought in as proving his guilt of perjury. The guilt evidently lay in honestly declaring his intentions instead of keeping them secret. It has been said that an examination of the oath which he took will prove that the decided declarations of fealty to the Pope usually inserted in the Episcopal Oaths were not contained therein.

Cranmer's first duty was to examine the marriage tangle, and on the 23rd of May, 1533, he declared Henry's marriage with Catherine to be null and void. Convocation had previously assented to two propositions. First, that the Pope had no authority to have sanctioned such a marriage between a man and his deceased brother's wife, when the previous marriage had been consummated. Second, that the marriage of Arthur and Catherine had been so consummated. In the decision, Convocation must share either praise or blame with Cranmer. Next, he declared the marriage with Anne Boleyn as valid. This marriage had taken place privately without Cranmer's knowledge, at about the end of January, 1533. It is believed that Doctor Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, officiated at the ceremony. The Pope did not take this at all kindly. An attempt was made to heal the breach, but it failed owing to the hasty action of the Cardinals in Rome. The final break with the Papacy was the passing of the Act of Supremacy in 1535. Thus was the Nation delivered from the Roman bondage by a Prince who, right up to his death, belonged to a Church which, in all external essentials but obedience to the Pope, was Roman Catholic.

We cannot follow in detail the problems of Henry's reign, his matrimonial difficulties and his disputes with those who refused to acknowledge the Act of Supremacy. One point must be mentioned, for Cranmer had to take a part in it. Henry's alliance with Anne

was not destined to last. All went well for a time. But her very light-heartedness aided the Queen's downfall, laying her open to suspicion; and she, too, failed to bear Henry the coveted son. Further, the Continental powers never recognised her as queen. She was charged with treason, given a mockery of a trial and sent to the block. The marriage was then declared to be no marriage, and once again the King was free. The proceedings of the examination are a tangle. But, as Pollard says, "monstrous as it seems from the point of view of justice and equity, the divorce of Anne Boleyn was probably legal." Cranmer's task was unenviable. On the evidence produced, in which the Queen confessed lawful impediments to her marriage, though firmly denying certain charges against her character, the Archbishop had no other course than to declare the marriage null and void, as indeed it was on the basis of Roman Canon Law. The Queen had favoured the Reformers. Her fall spurred the Romanists to renewed efforts in stemming the tide of reform.

The Act of Supremacy put a two-edged sword into Henry's hand. It gave him temporal and spiritual authority alike. Cranmer hoped for its use in one direction—Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, in the very opposite direction. Both were equally emphatic on the subject of the Supremacy. Authority there must be, but it was more and more realised that as the authority of Scripture had been acknowledged in the matter of Catherine's marriage and other matters, the Supremacy had to be shared with the Scriptures. Consequently, reform in doctrine was ultimately inevitable, even though that logical outcome was delayed until the next reign.

Cranmer's heart was set on reform, particularly the publication of an English Bible. The reforming movement was more in the succession of Wycliffe's teaching than Luther's. Cranmer, and those with him, even as Wycliffe had done, looked to the State to reform a corrupt Church. It was the only political theory of the time. They gradually receded from the doctrine of the Mass, as Wycliffe had done, but the King kept a balance, first leaning to one side, then to the other. We see this in the various translations of the Bible, first sanctioned and then condemned. One translation remains, that usually known as Cranmer's Bible, because he wrote the preface. By royal command it was ordered to be placed in every parish church. This is the "Great" or "Chained" Bible which we read of and sometimes see in churches. It was Tyndale's uncompleted translation, the rest being Coverdale's work. Tyndale had translated from the Greek and Hebrew, not from the faultily translated Vulgate. One wishes that both our Authorised and Revised versions were as near to the original in certain parts, as was Tyndale's. It was the very accuracy of the translation of certain words which aroused opposition. "Presbuteros" was translated "Elder" instead of "Priest," "Ekklesia" as "congregation" instead of "church," "Metanoia" as "repent" instead of "do penance." The tide of reform ebbed and flowed. Advance was

made in the publication of the famous "Ten Articles," whilst the later "Six Articles" were reactionary. These latter had penalties attached to the breach of them, but they were not uniformly enforced or Cranmer would have suffered. The same tendency is seen in "The Bishop's Book" which leaned to reform, and in "The King's Book," which was conservative in outlook. In this latter exposition of the faith the King took a lead, writing part of it himself. He also presided at the meeting which authorised its use. As a next step the superstitious use of images and relics was forbidden. Purgatory was discountenanced. One liturgical gem comes from that period—our matchless English Litany. Its publication in 1544 showed that change would come in the substitution of the mother tongue for Latin. This admirable expression of religious devotion has become part of our very composition. We turn to it again and again to express our inmost desires and aspirations. That it now stands almost as Cranmer penned it is an imperishable monument to his saintliness and devotional spirit. Thus, we see the movement going slowly ahead. Cranmer had little or no part in the abolition of the monasteries or in the abolition of the chantries. He did, however, protest to the King against the misuse of the confiscated revenues, pleading the educational cause.

During the latter part of Henry's reign, Cranmer was the victim of many envious and subtle plots. The wily Gardiner was concerned in them all with Bonner of London as his henchman. Henry protected Cranmer throughout with a whole-hearted loyalty. As Pollard says, "Faithless to many, to Cranmer the King was true unto death." On one occasion he thus spoke of Cranmer in terms of highest praise to those who plotted against him, "I would you would well understand that I accounted my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholding by the faith I owe to God; and therefore whoso loveth me will regard him hereafter." The King was a keen judge of character and he knew that his Archbishop was his truest friend. A man of singleness of purpose, devout, without ambition in politics, and pursuing an even course in his life. When dying, Henry turned to his Archbishop. On his arrival the King could no longer speak. When questioned in the matter he gave Cranmer assurance by an affirmative grasp of the hand, that he trusted in the Lord and Christ's mercy. Thus, he died.

The doctrinal position was but little changed at Henry's death. Protestant theology had not entered the King's heart. He merely "substituted a royal for a Roman Catholicism." "To the end of his reign Henry VIII was burning people for denying transubstantiation, while he executed others for denying the Royal Supremacy." As for Cranmer, he had not yet reached the doctrinal position which he later held. He denied transubstantiation, but held to a Real Presence. We know that for years he had been quietly working in various ways upon drafts of liturgical and doctrinal reforms, all

to be used later. With Henry's death, we pass the first phase of the Archbishop's work.

With the accession of King Edward VI we find the stage all set for doctrinal reform. By the late King's will the government was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency. Cranmer's name headed the list, but we know that he had no taste for politics. The Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, better known as "Protector Somerset," was appointed Protector by the Council in the King's minority. It was a popular election. His rule was mild and tolerant, for he was a man of large and noble ideas. After Somerset's fall, the rule passed into the hands of Northumberland, whose policy was pursued with intolerance and tyranny. He used the reforming tendency for his own ends.

Three features of the reign must be noticed. First, the authority of the secular power. In this reign the power of the Royal Supremacy reached its highest mark. The bishops had to take out new commissions from the King, authorising them to hold their respective offices. The government then took reform in hand on the lines Wycliffe had urged. This may seem a strange procedure to us, but, let us remember that the same pressure of the secular powers was felt in Roman Catholic countries, also that Convocation voiced the opinions of the clergy only, while the laity—the main body of Church people—were not represented. Further, the outlook of that day on administration in general being what it was, the Reformation was only possible through the Royal Supremacy. The second feature was the substitution of the use of English for Latin in the Church services. The third feature was the growth of Protestant influences, which fostered and led to further reform.

The steps towards doctrinal reform now command our attention. But it will be necessary for us to realise that Cranmer and most of the Reformers had not yet made up their minds on all matters. They were in a state of flux. Of his mental and spiritual progress Cranmer was not afraid to write "I was many years in divers . . . errors as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the Mass, of pilgrimages, Purgatory, pardons and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome. . . . But after it had pleased God to show unto me, by his Holy Word, a more perfect knowledge of Him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance." In 1547 the First Book of Homilies was issued by Royal authority as a guide in preaching. This was a work on which Cranmer had been engaged for a few years. It expressed no views on the Holy Communion. By the same authority, a copy of Erasmus's Paraphrase of parts of the New Testament was ordered to be placed in every church. Princess Mary took part in the translation. The Epistle and Gospel in the Mass were to be read in the vernacular. The superstitious use of images and pictures was denounced.

The following year saw further advance in the Order of Communion. This was the outcome of Convocation's decision that the

Communion should be administered in both kinds. It was a Communion service in English added as an appendix to the Latin Mass, and contained a number of new features drawn from the "Consultation" of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne. The next step was the authorisation of the First Prayer Book in 1549, which was made the only legal Service Book in England. There were many changes in it. It was in English. The Communion Office showed a marked departure from transubstantiation by its omission of vital points of the Sarum Mass. Sacrificial Vestments were made optional, as was Private Confession. Still, far as the New Prayer Book went, the clergy of the old order, Gardiner in particular, read the old teaching into it. The trend of doctrinal reform was clear to those who would see, and the opponents of the Book saw it clearly enough. English was substituted for Latin. All readings in church were from the Scriptures, and to the Scriptures the framers of the Book appealed for confirmation of the changes that were made. One "Use" was prescribed in the place of the many and varied "Uses," prevailing throughout the country. The primitive idea of Communion was restored to its proper place, and the sacrificial aspect of the Mass found little or no place in the service. The consecration prayer clearly emphasised the completeness of the sacrifice on Calvary, "Who made there (by His one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." Further, all the services were made congregational.

The logical outcome of the changes was a new Ordinal. No longer were the ministers regarded as Sacrificing Priests. They were still regarded as ministers of the Sacraments having powers of Absolution, but stress was laid on the prophetic office of preaching, and on pastoral care. Later, again a logical outcome of the changes, the "Altar" was omitted and the "Table" or "God's Board" substituted. It was very soon obvious that the New Book was not sufficiently explicit. This is quite clear from the wordy conflict that took place between the imprisoned Gardiner and Cranmer on the subject. We know that quite early Cranmer began to make notes with a view to revision. At the same time, he sought criticisms of the Book from the Reformers, both English and foreign.

The Second Prayer Book of 1552 made a distinct departure from the past. The Communion Service was as unlike the Mass as possible. In fact, the name Mass was omitted. The old Canon or Consecration Prayer was divided into four separate parts. The Benedictus and Agnus Dei were omitted for obvious reasons, as also were prayers for the dead—the "Bidding" was, and still is, for prayer for the "Church Militant here on earth." Cranmer's own words are worthy of quotation on the doctrine involved in the new Communion Service. "They (the Papists) say that Christ is corporally present under or in the form of bread and wine. We say that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually, but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine. He is spiritually and corporally present in Heaven." It has often been

said that Cranmer was over-influenced by the foreign Reformers. It is more than probable that Cranmer had a direct influence on them. There is evidence which points to this influence in the case of Peter Martyr's views on the Real Presence.

Bishop Gibson writes of the "too-pliant Archbishop." But whilst admitting the influence of the foreigners as we must do, the influence was much less than some would have us believe. Cranmer never went far enough for the Zwinglians. At the same time he dissatisfied the Lutherans with his views on the Holy Communion. He was thoroughly English, and in his extensive travels in Europe had had opportunity to investigate, weigh and balance the movements towards reform, and measure the strength of Rome. Above all, we owe a debt of gratitude to Cranmer as leader of the Reformers, that the Church of England retained the threefold order of the Ministry. Bishop Short's words do not appear to be too strong. "The admirer of our episcopal church must, under God, thank Cranmer that his parliamentary interference saved our apostolic establishment. . . . So far then, from blaming the Archbishop for his manner of reforming by legislative enactments, we must consider that the existence of our establishment in its apostolical form is owing to this very circumstance." Doctrinal reform had reached its limit, so may we now survey the progress of the Reformation in King Edward's short reign?

God's honour was no longer usurped by the worship of images. The Mass had become the Communion, and in this, God's love and honour again were vindicated, as not requiring a repetition of Calvary in constant sacrifices, for He had accepted the "one full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction" of Christ's atoning death. Thus, the doctrine of salvation in Christ alone was set forth. The services were in the mother tongue. Superstitious worship and belief in Purgatory being exposed as false, the people were freed from ignorance and doubt concerning the future life. In the permission of the clergy to marry, England obtained what has been a blessing in many ways, the wholesome atmosphere of the English rectory and vicarage.

The sands in the hour-glass of Edward's life were running low. History tells of Northumberland's plots to secure power for himself by passing over Mary, and securing the succession for Lady Jane Grey, who was married to his son, Guilford Dudley. This scheme meant the setting aside of Henry's will, the violation of an Act of Parliament, as well as passing over the Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Jane's mother. Edward was eventually won over to this succession by the Duke, who afterwards subdued the Council by threats of treason. The document which had been drawn up in favour of Lady Jane, was then signed by the judges and lawyers who composed it, and by the greater part of the Council. Cranmer's name headed the list as the King's first subject. In reality, he was the last to sign it. Those who charged him with a betrayal of his oath to King Henry because of this, either forgot or ignored the facts. At first he refused to sign, because of his pledged word

to Henry, and demanded an audience with the King. This was refused for a time. The Archbishop, who never was a politician, was kept in ignorance of the Duke's threat and plots. He still refused to sign, and at last, when he eventually saw the King, he remonstrated with him on the subject, and held out until the King seemed to cast a reflection on his loyalty, appealing to him that he be not "more repugnant to his will than the rest of his Council were." He then signed the document. But all the plans failed, and Mary succeeded.

With Mary's accession we enter upon the last phase of Cranmer's career. The flood-gates of persecution were soon to be opened wide. The Archbishop could expect no mercy from Mary, even though he had once saved her from danger. She immediately set out to restore the Papal régime. At this, many of the foreign reformers fled, but Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer stuck to their posts. Early in the reign rumour was rife that Cranmer had restored the Latin Mass in Canterbury Cathedral and that he had offered to say Mass before the Queen. With almost reckless daring he indignantly repudiated the slander in a declaration which ended with an offer to prove that the Prayer Book was purer in doctrine as based on Scripture than any service book used in England for a thousand years.

Charged with treason, he could have been put to death for his part in the transfer of the crown to Lady Jane Grey. Although he pleaded guilty and was condemned, his life was not taken, but he was imprisoned for six months. Spared from the block, his death was planned as a penalty for heresy.

He was soon in prison again. We know the story of his sufferings from imprisonment, cruel persecution and his mockery of a trial in which he persistently refused to acknowledge the Papal authority. His judges cited him to appear in Rome within eighty days. In a letter to the Queen he consented to this, but afterwards appealed to a General Council as an authority above that of the Pope. Yet his confinement in prison continued, and we see the mockery of it all when he was condemned for wilful absence from Rome. He was then deprived of his office, degraded, excommunicated, and delivered to the secular power with no permission to appeal against the sentence. His actual degradation, in which Bonner delighted like a fiend, makes abominable reading. When in prison Cranmer was continually refused the assistance of his friends who would have aided him. Confinement took its toll from him, for he was not in good health at the time.

The Archbishop stood in the very centre of the Doctrinal Reformation in England, and to strike a vital blow at the movement, nothing was more desirable than his recantation. By subtle plots, by suggested promises of life and greater honours, by flattery and entreaty, at last Cranmer fell. It was a terrible fall. But in the signing of those recantations which were dictated to him, the discredit falls more on the dictator than the subscriber. Life was never intended to be given to him. We know his remorse when

he realised his betrayal of his faith. With all care, preparation was made for the final scene. From his place of confinement he was taken to St. Mary's, Oxford, and met at the door with the chanting of the *Nunc Dimittis*. He was then set before the people. Dr. Cole delivered a not unmerciful sermon, and ended by asking the congregation to pray for a contrite sinner. Rising from his knees, Cranmer made his last defence. How very different from what was expected! After thanking his hearers for their prayers he, too, prayed what has been described as "the last and sublimest of his prayers." He then offered Godly exhortations to all, recited the Lord's Prayer in English and made a confession of his faith, repudiating transubstantiation and denouncing the Pope as Antichrist.

His humiliation was now turned into a triumph. Out of his misery he rose like the true man he was. He was rushed to the stake, nay he rushed his murderers to it, for "so quick was the martyr's step," writes Mason, "that the others could scarcely keep pace with him." Bound to the stake after he himself had stripped off his upper garments, he saw the flames lighted, and thrusting his right hand into the fire, the hand which had signed his recantations, he said with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." The burning of his hand first was his own voluntary recantation of those recantations which had been drawn from him by falsehood and trickery when his body was weakened by confinement in prison, and by persistent persecution. Thus, he died, a martyr for truth, suffering for his opinions. His death was no defeat. It was a victory.

Having briefly pursued Cranmer's history, we now may seek to form some estimation of his character. He has been both reviled and lauded. On his appointment to Canterbury, Erasmus spoke of him as "a professed theologian, and a most upright man of spotless life." Of his saintliness, his simplicity, his peerless honesty and kindness, there is evident proof. None but a man of transparent honesty could have written to a woman of Queen Mary's character as did Cranmer when asking her clemency in what he described as "mere heinous folly and offence in consenting and following the testament and last will of our late Sovereign; which will God knoweth, I never liked." Of his scholarship there is proof in his writings and in the Articles of Religion which he framed. Of his saintly spirit, the Book of Common Prayer is sufficient proof. Of its style Dr. P. Dearmer has written, "Fortunately, the main part of the English Prayer Book was written by Archbishop Cranmer, the greatest master of English prose before Hooker, Donne and Milton." Of his power as a preacher his contemporaries bore testimony, and they tell us of the wonderful effect his sermons produced upon his hearers. He was no weakling in the hands of a powerful king. Of that there is abundant proof. Think of his outspoken criticism of the Six Articles, in spite of the King's determination to have them authorised. Again, there is extant a copy of the "Bishop's Book" with emendations in Henry's hand and

Cranmer's plain answers to them. These alone show quite clearly that the Archbishop was no flattering courtier but one accustomed to speaking his mind, even to a Tudor. Almost unaided he stubbornly resisted the Act of the Six Articles. He alone pleaded to Henry for Anne Boleyn, speaking of her in high terms, at a time when his course of action put but a step between him and death. He went so far as to remind the King that he, too, had offended God. He alone pleaded for Thomas Cromwell, whom he once told that the Court was setting an evil example. He intervened likewise for Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More who denied the Royal Supremacy. He successfully intervened on Princess Mary's behalf when the King ordered her to the Tower for refusing to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy. On that occasion the King warned the Archbishop that he would repent of his interference. On another occasion he intervened for Somerset during his trial, so much so, that the judges hesitated in their course. He effectively opposed the powerful Northumberland when Bishop Tunstall was charged with High Treason. The charge was laid aside, and the Prince Bishop was only deprived of his See. These and other like actions, were not the deeds of a weak man, the tool of a powerful king. We see how he forgave those who betrayed him to the unscrupulous Gardiner, who repeatedly plotted his fall. His spirit of forgiveness became almost a byword. Men said, "Do my Lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and you make him your friend for ever." His hospitality was almost boundless. In an age when religious toleration was almost unknown by Catholic and Protestant alike, Cranmer displayed clemency. This is shown in his efforts to win over the condemned. In this way he spent twelve months in trying to win Joan Bocher, but failed. Of this humility there is abundant proof, as in his letter to Gardiner saying, "I would that I, and all my brethren, the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves the Apostles of Jesus Christ; so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so in deed." If we are inclined to judge him harshly for apparent contradictions in his writings, let us remember that he was made Archbishop before his ideas were fully developed, and that he was cradled in the church from which he had the courage to come out. "He was a man who had the honesty to grope his way into fuller light, and to cast aside his earlier opinions and confess that he had changed his mind on many subjects. How few men have the courage to do this!"

Regarding his submission to the will of the two kings in certain matters, which seem to us unaccountable, we must remember his difficulty, in which, as Pollard tells us, "Like all Anglicans of the sixteenth century, he recognised no right of private judgment, but believed that the State, as represented by monarchy, Parliament and Convocation, had an absolute right to determine the national faith, and to impose it on every Englishman." It was an Erastian outlook, but "His Erastianism rose to the height of a great spiritual principle."

“ All . . . authorities had now legally established Roman Catholicism as the national faith, and Cranmer had no logical ground on which to resist.” “ His earlier ‘ Recantations ’ are merely recognitions of his lifelong convictions of this right of the State. But his dilemma on this point led him into further doubts, and he was eventually induced to revile his whole career and the Reformation.” But at last, his loyalty to God and the truth prevailed, and for that he suffered.

What is our debt to Cranmer, either directly or in part? An open Bible. The clasps that fastened the Bible were not unloosed by weak hands. Freedom from superstition and the fears of Purgatory were the gift of the Reformation. He set us a great example which we ought to follow in seeking the reunion of Protestantism. He made a noble attempt to attain this end, although, through no fault of his own, the plan failed. A noble life is also set before us. To him we largely owe our Liturgy and exposition of the faith in the Articles of Religion. Above all, we are indebted to him for that boon which is ours, and which was the very pivot of the doctrinal Reformation in England, the substitution of the Communion—the Koinonia—for the Mass.

A METHOD OF PRAYER. By H. W. Fox. Pp. 94. *Student Christian Movement Press.* 2s. net.

The devout can hardly complain of lack of assistance in their desire for deeper communion. This little book, alone, offers invaluable help. Mr. Fox uses as the basis of his suggestions the famous work of Madame Guyon, by means of which so many were brought to a realisation of God's abiding presence. Prayers will not fail to be more real and more effective if use is made of this guide.

F. B.

THE WILL TO LOVE. By Canon W. E. Lutyens. *S.P.C.K.* 2s. 6d. cloth, 2s. paper.

Love is the spring and motive of the Divine action in all its dealings with man; and of the Christian life in all its manifestations. Love is the distinguishing characteristic of the saints. Love alone gives meaning to life. This series of meditations in prose and in verse will help many. They relate the deepest things of the soul to the duties and needs of every day.

They breathe a very beautiful spirit. No one can read them without learning afresh the lesson that “ God is Love,” and that “ if God so loved us we ought also to love one another.” It is the lesson that the world needs and that we all need.

H. D.

## THE FUTURE LIFE AS VIEWED TO-DAY.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE VEN. W. L. PAIGE COX, M.A., B.D., Archdeacon  
of Chester.

“I came that they may have life.”—St. John x. 10.

DO we believe in a life after death? If so, what does the belief mean to us? Is there a general belief in a future life? If so, what effect does it have on conduct? These questions are not very easy to answer. Formerly everyone—every professing Christian at any rate—believed in a hereafter, with the alternatives of heaven and hell, though heaven and hell were conceived in more or less materialistic terms. Heaven was a state of unending happiness in delectable surroundings, such as those portrayed in Martin’s pictures, and hell was a place of unending torture of a quasi-physical kind. These ideas—of hell particularly—were derived partly from paganism and partly from a misreading of Scripture, especially in the Apocalypse. It is better understood now that the Apocalypse, written in a time of severe persecution, and so laying special stress on the “last things,” is largely symbolical. When rightly interpreted, this portion of Holy Scripture is as profitable for doctrine as ever, but it is recognised now that the most matured teaching of the Bible on the life to come is to be found in the Gospel and Epistles of St. John.

There are some who will remember when there was a wide recoil from the old doctrine of hell with its endless flames. There was a doubt in many minds whether such a doctrine could be reconciled with the character of God as a God of Justice and Mercy. Evidently the popular view needed to be corrected and even the doctrine taught in high places. An advance of teaching was required, and, as is customary, those who were pioneers of the advance had to suffer for it.

One of these was Frederick Denison Maurice. He was Professor of Divinity in King’s College, London, and in 1853 published a volume of *Theological Essays* in which he dealt with the difficulties which hinder the acceptance of faith in Christ. Amongst other things he said that “eternal life” and “eternal death” as spoken of by Christ had been seriously misunderstood, and that the word “eternal” had not precisely the same meaning as “everlasting,” and was used by Christ primarily to denote a quality of life rather than the mere duration of life.

The general teaching in these essays was not approved by the authorities of King’s College, and they deprived Maurice of his professorship. The students at the College took a different view. They made it plain that the Professor had a message which commended itself to the younger generation, at any rate, and when

<sup>1</sup> The transcript of a sermon preached in substance in Chester Cathedral.

Maurice left they gave him a handsome present of books. These books descended to Maurice's grandson, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, who is known to us in Chester, and General Maurice told me not long ago that he offered the books to the present authorities of King's College, London, and that they accepted them gladly.

Later than this, within living memory, Archdeacon Farrar, as he was then, attracted much attention by a series of sermons on the life to come, which were afterwards published under the title of *Eternal Hope*. The book had a wide sale and is still in circulation, but it is probably unknown to many of the present generation, and, learned and eloquent though it be, would hardly be looked upon in any quarter now as saying the last word on the difficult questions with which it deals.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever have been the causes of the change, the old crude and materialistic view of the hereafter has gone, and it is difficult to say what is now commonly believed. Perhaps there is a vague general notion of retribution and of happiness in a future life, but it is probable that this does not largely influence conduct. The thought of a life to come is crowded out of the minds of many by their interest in their material surroundings and by a preoccupation with the things of the passing hour.

The test of the belief or disbelief comes in the crises of life. An ominous thing in these days is the comparative frequency of suicide. Every now and then we are startled and shocked by hearing of some person, holding perhaps an honoured position, who has put an end to his own life. We are shocked because we take it as showing that, such as the man was, conforming perhaps to the ordinary usages of religion, his religious faith was lacking in the power to sustain him in adversity. Suicide, we are told, is much more common among men than among women, more common among cultured than uncultured people, and among townfolk than those living in the country. To take one's own life is a crime in the eye of the law, to be prevented whenever possible; any attempt at suicide, if unsuccessful, being punishable. Formerly, when suicide occurred, a special punishment was inflicted on the body, which was to be buried at a cross-road with a stake driven through it. This barbarous statute was repealed as late as 1823.

It is to be remarked that the State takes the same view of suicide as the Church. Our Service for the Burial of the Dead may not be read over persons who have laid violent hands on themselves. There are certain phrases in the service which render it entirely inappropriate in such cases; for instance, in the form of "committal"—"It hath pleased Almighty God of His great Mercy to take unto Himself the Soul of our dear brother here departed." A usual thing now at an inquest is for the suggestion or suspicion of criminality to be removed by a verdict that the person who took his own life did so while of "unsound mind." It is a merciful and charitable usage, intended perhaps primarily to remove the impression that no

<sup>1</sup> There is some cautious language on this whole subject in the chapter on "The Life Eternal" in Bishop Westcott's *The Historic Faith*.

sort of religious service would be proper when in such a case the body is committed to the ground. It is a just pronouncement in probably many cases, because extreme trouble or great physical infirmity may unhinge the faculties and sap the power of self-control. It is significant too of the tacit judgment of those who deliver such a verdict as on behalf of the State, that only those of "unsound mind" could commit the failure of duty, as Socrates deemed it, of laying down the trust of life except at the bidding of Him who gave it.

It is argued at times, and may be at the back of the minds occasionally of devout Christians, that in cases of incurable disease involving prolonged torture, there is justification for ending the torture when the prolongation of life can do no good to the sufferer and can only cause distress to those who minister to him. There is much—very much—however to be taken into account on the other side. God has wonderful ways of producing good out of evil. Even in a case of extreme pain there may be a process of soul-purification going on rapidly as a direct result of the "affliction," which is "but for a moment," as St. Paul viewed it. Not a few who have had the privilege of ministering to the sick have noted this pronounced and rapid advance in faith and patience, and the Apostolic saying has thus been illustrated to them that "the more the outward man decayeth the more the inward man is renewed day by day." Who can estimate too the moral and spiritual benefit to watchers by the sick as they exercise the Divine compassion and helpfulness to which they are called? The strain is great, no doubt, but so is the compensation. "Souls grow white as well as faces in these holy ministries."

The other test of faith comes when friends are taken from this world. Sometimes there is rebellion and the refusal to be consoled, with its clouding effect upon the life. In numerous cases, however, there is wonderful resignation in times of bereavement, and Christian hope is exercised almost as a matter of course. By some indeed the temptation is felt to resort to those who hold out the promise of communication with the departed by the methods of what is called Spiritualism. This is represented in such quarters as something advanced and novel, towards which all should be moving. As a matter of fact, however, it is a reactionary movement. It is the old necromancy—enquiry of the dead—formerly a common heathen practice, condemned in several passages of the Old Testament. We have cause to be gentle in our judgment, as God would be, of those who in the stress of great grief are moved to try to learn thus what is the present condition of those they loved. The Church, however, must teach expressly and firmly that God's children may not seek knowledge of the unseen apart from Him and by means which He has not authorised.

All this throws us back more and more on Christ as the very Word of God, the Speech of God to us on the things that are really needful to the settlement of faith. When we turn to Christ we find that the life to come is central in His teaching and impregnates the whole of it. It is always assumed as a fact and is always associated with the thought of God. So it is with us

when we think rightly about God. We see that belief in God and belief in a future life for man go inseparably together. God being what He is, the Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Love, it is inconceivable to us that He could have made man, with such possibilities of development morally and spiritually, unless He had intended him to survive the life on earth, so limited as it is at the best. We cannot indeed affirm that man is naturally immortal: all we can say, judging from his higher capabilities, is that he is potentially immortal. And with the Christian revelation before us we can see how that potentiality may be made actual in Christ. Christ Himself represented that as the object of His mission: "I came that they may have life, and that they may have it more abundantly."

Christ had not much to say about modes of existence in another state of being. He discouraged speculation and questioning on this and similar matters which are beyond us now. If He was asked, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" he swept aside the irrelevant and emphasised the essential thing by saying, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." Similarly, to the question, "Are there few that be saved?" His reply to the enquirers would be, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate."

Christ indeed did utter some very grave and even terrible warnings about retribution and possibility of loss in a life to come, to the extent of what St. Paul spoke of as "eternal destruction from the presence of God." But in our thought of the hereafter He would have us concentrate on the vital necessity of our entering into the closest fellowship with God, especially as mediated in Him. "Believe in God," He would say; "make good your faith in God by the constant endeavour to grow into His likeness; believe also in Me, in whom you see the Father; imitate Me; learn of Me; become one with Me in spirit and life; take from Me personally and directly the life which I came to give, and then it will become veritably yours, your hold on it will be assured, you will foretaste it."

There are qualities in the life eternal which cannot be perceived, and felicities which cannot be appreciated, in the life of sense. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. But God hath revealed them unto us by the Spirit." It comes of our spiritual fellowship with God. "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee the only true God, and Him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Such knowledge leads to sameness of nature, so that we may see things which God sees, and even possess things, as by prospective right, which God possesses, entering with ever deepening and enlarging views into the treasures of the true and good and beautiful as existing in God; "for if children, we are then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified with Him." For thus through Him and in Him we learn the law of life through death.

Here then is the final answer to all enquiry, the final check to all undue speculation about the future for others and for ourselves. We are to trust God.

Are our friends taken from us? The response of faith must be :

" I know not where His islands lift  
Their fronded palms in air :  
I only know they cannot drift  
Beyond His love and care."

And for ourselves there must be no agitation of the soul about what the life beyond may have in store for us. Any such agitation will die down as we deepen our fellowship with God, and look at all things from the standpoint of our vital union with Him. It will be sufficient for us to be "persuaded" with St. Paul that "neither death nor life, nor things present nor things to come shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

OXFORD AND THE GROUPS. Edited by R. H. Crossman. Pp. 208.  
*Basil Blackwell.* 5s. net.

THE MEANING OF THE GROUPS. Edited by F. A. M. Spencer, D.D.  
Pp. 170. *Methuen & Co.* 5s. net.

As far as literature is concerned, the Oxford Groups are well to the front. Few movements can have produced in so short a time such a wealth of writing.

For those who would know what cultured and devout men and women are thinking about the movement, *Oxford and the Groups* and *The Meaning of the Groups* will afford ample material. The former volume is the product of Oxford. Each writer has an official post in the colleges. With the exception of the Rev. G. Allen, who is a Group leader and writes the first chapter, and Professor Grensted, who is responsible for the final summing up, all the essays are critical, if helpfully so. While recognising the sincerity of purpose and the many achievements of those associated with the Groups, there are many things that the writers either fear or would see altered.

The second book is a symposium to which people of varied types have contributed. Some bless, some condemn. Some see in the Groups abundant hope for the future if the Churches are sufficiently wise: some see positive danger to the religious life of the community. Possibly the best chapter in the book is that by Dr. C. E. Raven, headed "Paul planted, Apollos watered," in which as a friendly critic he pleads for recognition by the Groups that there are other fields and other workers, that there is room both for the passion of the Apostle and for the scholarship of the men of Alexandria.

Both books are well worth reading.

F. B.

## AN INTERESTING CENTENARY.

BY THE REV. F. BATE, D.D.

THIS year the church generally known as "The Embassy Church," Paris, will celebrate its centenary and so bring to an end one hundred years of eventful history. The story of its origin and early years reads almost like romance.

There have been English chaplains at work in Paris, as in other Continental cities, almost from the day that England was represented at the various Courts. Invariably a chaplain was attached to the ambassador at Paris and held English Church services in the embassy itself. There remains, for example, a letter written by the Bishop of Oxford (John Fell) to Sir William Trumbull in 1685, where he expresses a hope that the ambassador's chaplain, Mr. Holy, will endeavour to render himself serviceable "by diligent performance of the offices of piety in your family and giving assistance to those of our nation who will want sober advice in the time of health and much more in that of sickness." It was not, however, until after the Napoleonic wars that attempts were made to hold services in other buildings than the embassy. Perhaps the first to attempt these outside services was Edward Forster, who at one time shared with the famous Sydney Smith the preaching in the pulpit of the Berkeley, Grosvenor, Park Street and King Street chapels. Almost immediately after the peace in 1815, he took up his residence in Paris and succeeded in securing the use of the French Protestant Church of the Oratoire where until 1827 he held English Church services. For some years he held, at the same time, the appointment as Embassy Chaplain. Forster has secured a place in national biography by his "editions" of standard authors and by his *British Gallery of Engravings*.

Before Forster's death another remarkable man had commenced work in Paris. He was Lewis Way, a great protagonist on behalf of the Jews. Macaulay produced the gibe: "Lewis Way loves a Jew, the Jew the silver spoons of Lewis Way." Way appeared in Paris in 1823 as a purchaser of the Hôtel Marbœuf, where he immediately established Church of England services in a large gallery, as a chapel for the British Embassy and for the English residents generally. Here one Easter, to a congregation of nearly 500, Charles Simeon preached and helped to administer communion to over 200, among whom were Prince Leopold and the Duchess of Somerset.

The third outstanding figure, and one who made the Embassy Church possible, was Michael H. T. Luscombe. Luscombe was a graduate of St. Catherine Hall, Cambridge. After ordination he served a period as curate of Clewer. In 1806 he was master at the East India Company School in Hertfordshire and assistant curate of St. Andrew's, Hertford. About 1819 he removed to Caen in

Normandy where he continued his work as a schoolmaster. While there he had sufficient opportunity to become acquainted with the condition of English Church life on the Continent of Europe and to be made aware of the great need for adequate episcopal supervision. Nominally, since 1633, the whole of Europe had formed part of the diocese of London. In actual practice, it was no man's concern. Few clergy held a bishop's licence; none was subject to real supervision; confirmations were almost unknown and everywhere was laxity of practice.

Luscombe began to explore possible remedies and succeeded in securing the interest and help of Archdeacon Hook and his son. They suggested to the authorities that for the continental work of the Church, there should be appointed and consecrated a suffragan bishop to the Bishop of London. After considerable discussion the Bishop of London, Peel, Canning and others concerned decided against the proposal, chiefly on the grounds that the French Government might regard such an appointment as a "piece of unwarrantable intrusion."

Finding this avenue blocked, W. F. Hook turned his thoughts in another direction. Recalling the consecration by Scotch bishops, in 1784, of Dr. Seabury, the first American bishop, he suggested similar procedure in this case. After prolonged correspondence it was agreed to consecrate Luscombe as missionary bishop to the British residents in Europe. With the tacit consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Peel and Canning, Luscombe was consecrated by the Scotch bishops on March 20, 1825. The Letters of Collation delivered to him contained this commission: "He is sent by us, representing the Scotch Episcopal Church, to the continent of Europe, not as a diocesan bishop in the modern or limited sense of the word, but for a purpose similar to that for which Titus was left by St. Paul in Crete, 'that he may set in order the things that are wanting' among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and to these may be added any members of the Episcopal Church of America, who may choose to be resident in Europe."

Following his consecration he took up residence at Paris and undertook work as chaplain. He was, in more than one way, the direct successor of Edward Forster. He became responsible for English Church services in the French Protestant Church of the Oratoire. He succeeded Forster in 1828 as Embassy Chaplain and continued morning service in the ballroom of the Embassy. Then he determined to erect a church that would more adequately meet English needs than the Protestant Church hitherto used. In 1833 he purchased the site in the Rue d'Aguesseau of the present Embassy Church for Frs. 15,000 and took over a mortgage upon the land for Frs. 25,000.

The next year at a cost of £6,000 he erected the church, with a body capable of seating 450, an ambassador's gallery, and two other galleries capable of accommodating 150 people. At this time there were said to be 10,000 British people in Paris. Without doubt

Bishop Luscombe proposed to recover the money he had expended from the finances of the church. Bishop Luscombe ministered in the church from 1834 until his retirement, owing to ill-health, to Switzerland twelve years later. How far he was recouped for his outlay is very uncertain. The finances of the chaplaincy were probably very good. All who occupied seats in the body of the church paid one franc admission. The British Government, for part of the time at least, made a grant of £300 a year. Expenses were not very heavy, the most serious item probably being £30 a year set aside to pay an organist.

When he felt that the time had come for him to retire, Bishop Luscombe is said to have offered the church to the British Government for an annuity of £1,000, but his offer was declined despite the fact that the Bishop of London had urged the Earl of Aberdeen to make the purchase. When again Lord Cowley and the Earl of Aberdeen pressed Sir Robert Peel to reconsider the matter, the Government declined, so Luscombe sold the church to the Rev. William Chamier, a descendant of Daniel Chamier, the Apostle and martyr of the Protestant Church of France in the early seventeenth century. Chamier agreed to pay the Bishop an annuity of £1,000 a year and to take over the Frs. 25,000 mortgage. From a worldly point of view he made a good bargain, for two months later Bishop Luscombe died at Lausanne. Chamier ministered in the church until his health gave way in 1857, when it became apparent that he would have to discontinue his ministrations. As soon as the British Ambassador heard of the possibility of Chamier's retirement he entered into negotiations for its purchase. He was told that Chamier was too ill to attend to business and that in any case the church had already been sold to an American, Dr. Evans, acting on behalf of a religious body in the U.S.A. The Ambassador, Earl Cowley, was however insistent, and finally persuaded Dr. Evans to surrender to the British Government the right of purchase. In March, 1857, Earl Cowley signed an agreement to purchase for a price of £9,000, which would include £3,000 in connection with a mortgage. The church was repaired at a cost of £460 and arrangements were made for the continuation of the services. It was agreed to abandon the entrance charge but to substitute a charge for seats in the galleries, calculated to produce £200 a year. For the moment the services themselves were to be continued by Chamier's assistant until the Foreign Office could appoint a chaplain.

Then came a crushing blow. The Lords of the Treasury had advised the purchase of the building. The actual agreement for purchase had been signed and a payment of £2,000 had been made on account. Suddenly in the late summer, Earl Cowley was hastily informed that the House of Commons had refused to vote the money for the purchase of the Church. He was instructed to close the church at once and to make arrangements for its sale.

It transpired that few voices were raised in the House of Commons in support of the proposed vote, whereas a great many members objected. It was pointed out that the nation was unable to set

apart more than £10,000 for the provision of religious instruction for the poor at home. Extremists urged that "gentlemen who went to reside in Paris ought to pay for their own place of worship"; that the majority attending the Embassy services "were dressed out in a manner almost exceeding anything which was to be seen in London." In their ignorance members used such phrases as "Noblemen and squires living in palaces at Paris," "drawing large revenues from home." More to the point was the objection that by purchasing the building the Government would not be increasing church accommodation in Paris but rather decreasing it, for by closing the room in the Embassy itself they would be reducing the number of seats available for worshippers.

It is not difficult to guess something of Earl Cowley's disappointment. He recognised that it was impossible to think of raising in Paris from English people who were not wealthy so large a sum as £9,000. Every possible means was attempted: suggestions were made even of a lottery. Ultimately it was decided that nothing was possible except the sale of the building. Consequently there appeared in *Galignani's Messenger* for the month of October the following advertisement: "To be sold, the chapel in the Rue d'Aguesseau, built by the late Bishop Luscombe."

Apart from the Embassy Church there were in Paris at that particular time four centres for English Church worship. At the Marbœuf Chapel, Bishop Spencer, formerly of Madras, was carrying on the work initiated by Lewis Way. The Rev. Dr. Hale was holding services in a French Lutheran Church, L'église de la Rédemption. The Rev. Archer Gurney had commenced, in a disused gymnasium, services which Dr. Pigou described as being "feeble imitations of the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church and serving only to provoke the ridicule of Roman Catholics." Lastly on the invitation of Earl Cowley the Colonial Church and Schools Society (now the Colonial and Continental Church Society) had recently hired a building in the Rue de l'Arcade and had just appointed as permanent chaplain the Rev. E. Forbes, incumbent of St. George's, Douglas, Isle of Man.

There was, however, great need to preserve to the English Church a building such as that in the Rue d'Aguesseau, specially erected for its services. Behind the scenes great efforts were being made to find a solution of the financial difficulty. The Bishop of London was ceaseless in his efforts to preserve the church. He solicited the help of the Hon. A. Kinnaird and through him of the Committee of the C.C. and S.S. On the invitation of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Bishop of London, an influential meeting met in February, 1859, at the house of the Hon. A. Kinnaird, to devise plans for raising the required amount and to secure the church in the Rue d'Aguesseau for Evangelical worship. As a result of this meeting the Committee of the C.C. and S.S. commissioned the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Lord H. Cholmondley and its Secretary, Mesac Thomas (afterwards the first Bishop of Goulburn), to visit Paris for the purpose of meeting a body representative of the residents and to become acquainted with all the possibilities of local support.

Eventually the Committee of the Society empowered the Bishop of London to offer the Lords of the Treasury £7,000 for the building. That offer was not accepted. Finally, they empowered him to agree to the price of £9,000 originally asked.

Almost the first contributions towards the cost was a gift of £100 from Queen Victoria. Among others who gave liberally were the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Lord H. Cholmondley, R. C. L. Bevan, Lord Calthorpe, Earl Radnor, the Marquis of Cholmondley, Sir R. P. Glyn, the Earl of Roden, and Lord Radstock. About £2,000 was raised among the British in Paris.

The Committee decided to transfer the Rev. E. Forbes, recently appointed to take the services in the Rue de l'Arcade, to the Embassy Church which was reopened for Divine worship on May 29, 1859, the preacher at the opening services being the Rev. Prebendary Burgess.

Mr. Forbes continued his work, interrupted only by the Franco-Prussian War, for twenty-one years, leaving Paris to become Vicar of St. Olave's, Old Jewry, London. His successors, including the Rev. H. Gill, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ormsby, Dr. H. E. Noyes, the Rev. A. S. V. Blunt, the Rev. W. Marshall Selwyn and the Rev. Walter Green, have contributed richly and each in his own way to the life and well-being of the church which begins its second century under a chaplain newly appointed, the Rev. R. S. Lound. He will no doubt fully maintain the fine traditions which his predecessors have established.

STUDIES IN THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By H. Erskine Hill, D.D.  
*Elliot Stock. 2s. 6d.*

The Introduction to these studies gives the author's point of view. He believes that St. John is the author of the Fourth Gospel, and that he is "an honest man truthfully relating the sayings and doings of his Master."

He does not believe that St. John's motive is "an attempt to explain away the mistaken sayings of our Lord about His immediate Coming by changing the true accounts of His Words as given by Synoptists into fabricated accounts which put into the mouth of Christ words which the author knew He never uttered."

"It is hard to find a motive for the supposed action of the Evangelist. We are left with but little ground for faith if we have to choose between accepting synoptic accounts of predictions which were falsified by events and speeches put into the lips of Jesus by a writer who knew that they were not genuine."

Dr. Hill believes that the coming of the Lord is a spiritual coming. From this point of view he gives us delightful descriptions of, and comments on, some of the most familiar scenes in the Gospel. Quite apart from his views upon the Advent these sketches are well worth reading.

H. D.

## THE WITNESS OF JOB TO JESUS CHRIST.

By WILHELM VISCHER

Translated by the Rev. Allan Ellison, B.D., Rector of Washfield, Tiverton.

(Concluded from p. 53)

### INTRODUCTION.

[In presenting the second part of Herr Vischer's paper I wish to correct an inaccuracy in the Introduction to the first part on p. 40.

The settlement of Bethel near Bielefeld, which has grown in course of years to a small town, was originally, and still is, a settlement for the care of epileptic patients, and is under the direction of Dr. F. von Bodelschwingh. Round this have grown up various institutions for education and social service, large establishments of deacons and deaconesses, and also various schools, including a theological school, or seminary, numbering now some 200 students preparing for the ministry of the evangelical churches. This last has been, up to the present, a free establishment, independent both of Church and State. Von Bodelschwingh has brought there certain teachers, of whom the author of this paper is one, with the desire to give to the teaching a strong infusion of the Barthian theology. But this has only partly been accomplished, and, owing to the troubles in the German Church the position is now difficult and uncertain. In their struggle for freedom and a Scriptural Faith our evangelical brethren in Germany have much need of our sympathy and prayers.—A. E.]

**B**EFORE the answer can be given to Job's question it is necessary that the conversation with the "friends" should be carried, more distinctly than has yet been the case, beyond the putting of a question which is merely personal or private. Where we are dealing practically with the question of God, our concern is with God and the *individual*. But when we are concerned practically with *God* and the individual, we have to deal with the *whole* fact that God is Lord, with His complete Lordship, that is, with the *Kingdom* of God. Is the world God's good realm? Is it good because God's good Will prevails throughout it? And is God the Righteous Lord of the World in the sense that He righteously assigns reward and punishment, and works out the correct harmony between morality and fortune, moral-religious effort and happiness? Or is the world good because God is good to it; because it is the object of His goodness which fundamentally has nothing to do with good and evil, fortune and ill-fortune, reward and punishment, advantage and disadvantage?

In this direction, after the course the conversations have

hitherto taken, the question as propounded needs to be further extended.

CHAPTER 20.

The immediate occasion for this is given by Zophar, who says to Job : " If you cannot recognise the law of recompense in your personal life, then look at the course of the world : there you will soon discover that the Godless man has his due reward meted out to him."

CHAPTER 21.

Job takes up the challenge, and begs his friend to hear how very " comforting " are the views of the fortune of the God-fearing and of the Godless which have come to him from his own observation.

" Mark ye well my words and—be astonished ;  
Wherefore do the wicked live and thrive,  
Flourish to old age and have good fortune ?  
For truly there are those who say to God,  
Avant ! We have no wish to know Thy ways.  
What is the Almighty now, that we should serve Him ?  
What profit is it if we call upon Him ? "

Look now ; have not such people often good fortune in their hand ?

Not always. Job does not mean to assert that. In many instances Godlessness can come to a bad end. But in any case God will not enter into any agreements with us as to what is righteous and what is not.

" Shall any teach God knowledge,  
Seeing He judgeth those that are on high ? "

One man dies richly satisfied with the good things of life, another with hungry soul. Both lie side by side in the dust. There is very little of comfort in all this.

CHAPTER 22.

" *What profit is it now to be God-fearing ?* "

That is, according to Job, the point of view of the ungodly, from which they often get on better in the world than persons who allow themselves to be hindered by respect for God. Thereby the connection of piety with good fortune is overthrown, and a blow struck at the root of the whole doctrine of recompense. Indignant and almost in derision Eliphaz exclaims :

" Can ought in Man bring any gain to God ?  
No : the All Wise is wholly Self-sufficient.  
What gain to the Most High if thou art righteous  
What profit is thy pious walk to Him ? "

Cease this folly. Take the only possible view, and admit that thou hast deserved the punishment which has overtaken thee. Put thyself into a right relationship with God, *to thine own advantage*, then it shall be well with thee (v. 21).

The fundamental idea upon which, with many fine and deeply thought words, the speeches of the friends are built up, could not be more clearly expressed. "Be not downhearted: thou hast been such a good man that matters cannot go altogether ill with thee." So said Eliphaz in his first words in Chapter 4. And from those first sentences, with which he endeavoured to comfort Job, right on to his last words in which he lays against him an accusation of unheard-of wickedness, and beseeches him, now at last, for his own advantage, to yield himself to God, the same fundamental thesis is built up with admirable skill. The friends construct their edifice not only with wood, hay and stubble, but also with gold, silver and precious stones. But anyone who has heard the sceptical question of Satan as to the "for nought" of genuine piety will not allow himself to be deceived by any recondite meanings: the kernel, the very axiom of the theology of the friends is just that *not for nought*. And if in the conversation of these wise men on earth we hear the echo of that dialogue in Heaven; if we hold fast the original question, and mark closely how the friends justify the declaration of Satan that no man is pious "for nought," but that every man seeks thereby his own advantage, while Job holds firmly against all temptations to God's pledged word for him, that he is God-fearing "for nought," solely for God's own sake—then we have got hold of the Ariadne thread to guide us through the labyrinth of the speeches.

#### CHAPTERS 23-27

There are certain indications which awaken a doubt as to whether in these chapters, as they have come down to us, every word stands in its proper place. It appears as though what Job says belongs in part to the mouth of the friends. The symmetry of the conversation is upset; and we ought perhaps to endeavour to restore the original arrangement. But any such attempt must in no case be based upon the misconception that Job maintains, in contradiction to the friends, that it ever finally goes well with the ungodly. That would be a one-sided distortion of his meaning. Job does not by any means dispute, any more than does the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, the consistent administration of the Divine Righteousness. He only disputes the proposition that men can establish the righteousness of this administration through the course of the present world. God has indeed His standards of righteousness, but we do not know them. That is the meaning of Chap. 24, v. 1. "Why is it, seeing times are not hidden from the Almighty, that they which know Him see not His days?" A half-darkness, a twilight lies over the world. It is the convenient hour for the whole crew of those who avoid the light, for murderers, adulterers and thieves, for the removal of landmarks and violent taking of pledges. Job proceeds to unfold a staggering picture of the life of the underworld of wickedness (chap. 24, vv. 5-12). God appears to take no offence thereat (v. 12 b).

Bildad opposes with the questions, "Upon whom does not God's

*Light* shine?" And "Who is *clean* in the glare of *this* Light?" With these words he has once more and finally summed up the view which the friends take of God and of the world. It is their last word.

But Job is not able to regard the world as a thing so utterly clear; to him Nature is something monstrous. With a shudder he looks upward and downward into its abysses. Far down on the shores of the infernal regions the very shades tremble at the look of God, the realms of the dead lie naked before Him.

"The northern night He stretched above the void,  
The ponderous Earth He hangeth upon nothing,  
The pillars of the Heaven shake and totter,  
And tremble at the breath of His reproof.  
Ocean's proud waves he smiteth in His power,  
His hand hath shattered the old sea serpent.  
Lo! these are but the borders of His ways;  
And we have heard the whisper of His Word,  
But His full thunder who can understand?"

And yet even though for Job everything is shaken, though all certainties and established beliefs are overthrown—that he is a Godless evil doer, as the friends suggest, he can never admit. "How could a hypocrite have his *desire* in God?"

In chapters 29 to 31 he gathers together in a great final speech all that he has to say. The customary view of this is that he depicts first his former happiness, then his present unhappy state, and that he finally maintains that he has not deserved this reversal of fortune. In reality, however, the matter is for Job something entirely different from fortune and misfortune. He describes the peace and the honour of his life, which have now been taken from him.

"Once were the days when God protected me,  
When His bright candle shined upon my head  
And by His light I found my way through darkness,  
When I was in my days of autumn ripeness  
And God's good secret was upon my tent;  
The days when the Almighty was yet with me."

That confidential walk with the hidden God was the secret of the deep peace and honour of his life. He was a confidant, a "friend" of God, like Abraham. And just as this honour gave Abraham an exaltation which the people among whom he lived recognised and deeply respected, even beyond the circle of his family and household; so that the Hittites said, "Thou art a prince of God in our midst"; so too, all people, his own children and servants, old and young, in the council chamber and the market-place, regarded Job with the deepest respect (chap. 29, vv. 6-25).

But just because his honour rested wholly and alone in the friendship of God it was wholly broken and shattered in the moment when God abandoned him (chap. 30).

"Thou hast become my cruel enemy,  
And persecutest with unsparing hand (v. 21)  
Mine honour is dispersed upon the winds (v. 15)

And younger men, whose fathers I had scorned  
To place in charge of dogs to guard my flock,  
Now laugh at me" (vv. 1-15).

What is the reason that Thou hast let me fall? Have I broken friendship with Thee? Have I trodden under foot Thy holy commandments? That cannot be the reason. I am not conscious of any such transgression.

To establish this Job sets forth a confession, which may be compared with a passage from the Egyptian Book of the Dead: "That which a man says when he arrives at the Hall of Even Justice, when he is purified from all the evil which he has done, so that he may behold the faces of the Forty and Two Gods who are therein." Where the heart of the dead man is then weighed in a balance, in the other scale of which lies the feather, the token of Truth.

"Let me be weighed in balances of Justice,  
That God may fully know my innocence."

With this test of conscience Job endeavours to establish that his own sense of right is like an accurate balance.

"I made a faithful covenant with my eyes  
That never would I look upon a maid,  
Have I despised the cause of my manservant,  
Or of my handmaid, who to me complained?  
Has not the God Who made me made them both,  
And One Creator formed us in the womb?  
Have I enjoyed my good things to myself,  
Or have I failed to share them with the orphans,  
As though we lived not of one Father's care,  
Who holdeth them in life as He doth me?  
Have I made gold my hope, my confidence?  
Have I beheld the sun or moon in brightness  
And dared to bow my head or kiss my hand?  
Or have I gloried in my foe's misfortune?  
Do my own fields cry out or make complaint  
Against their owner? Do the furrows wail  
Because I took their increase without payment,  
Or swelled with pride in days of harvest joy?  
To Heaven's High King I now submit my cause,  
Here is my signature, my Cross, God give the answer."

With a Cross, the last letter of the alphabet, Job has signed his confession.<sup>1</sup> As with a formally signed petition he requests a hearing of God. With impatient attention he awaits the indictment, he will wind it round his head like a turban and draw near to God like a prince.

Job has now finally appealed against the idea of God held by the wise men to God Himself; he has appealed against the God Who is the embodiment of a juristic Law, and as Whose advocates Job's opponents have put themselves forward, to God his Friend. To the thesis that good is an absolute Law, and that God, Man and the world are good in so far as they correspond to this Law, he has

<sup>1</sup> "Tav," the final letter of the Hebrew alphabet, our letter "T," means "a Cross."—A. E.

opposed the counter thesis that we are concerned finally not about good, but about Him Who is good, Whose goodness lies in the fact that He is good to His creatures, without His being obliged thereto by any law. That likewise the reality behind the world and Man's life is not a law but the personal *Truth* of the Creator. In that Job *trusts*. That is his *Faith*, a faith which the satanic attacks of his so-called friends, though these were carried out in their speeches with the weapon of apologetics, and directed against him with a craft alike subtle and persevering, could not rob him of.

"Of the power of his valiant Faith  
The fury of the tyrant could not rob him."  
SCHILLER (*die Bürgschaft*).

All that men could say about God is now exhausted. The conversation can only be continued now, and brought to a conclusion by the intervention of God Himself, with His own Word. To that end all now presses, since Job's answer to the question, Is this man really true to God? has been changed into the question of faith in God's own Truth.

But is there perhaps still some theological or philosophical thought remaining which gives the answer to Job's question? It looks almost as if there were, when now in

#### CHAPTERS 32 TO 37,

a new speaker, Elihu ben Barachel, confident of victory, comes upon the scene. He himself is so fully convinced that he has got the decisive word, that he formally throws down the gauntlet to the three grey heads, who in their wisdom have not found the obvious consideration which may stop the mouth of Job. The idea which he lays down, with many words and a good deal of repetition, is this: It is through suffering God opens the ears of His own, when they harden themselves against Him: He adopts compulsion to convert their souls when estranged from Him. That is a thought well worth taking to heart, but it is not the answer to Job's question. In the first place it is no new thought: the friends, as well as Job himself, have already expressed it. But there is another and weightier consideration; namely that this explanation does not fit the matter of Job's sufferings, because in this case God expressly has *not* sent the sufferings in order to convert the soul of a man.

The temperamental and thoughtful character of the speech of Elihu should not prevent an attentive reader from observing that here a man is speaking who has not been a close listener, and who has not understood what the real subject matter of the previous speeches has been. Has the author of the speeches of Job and of his friends himself added the Elihu speech, in order to warn against all such attempts to outbid the friends of Job and to refute Job himself with apparently new arguments and apparently deeper considerations? He might thereby in any case have alike warned the comprehending reader and brought the uncomprehending upon slippery ground. But it is certainly more prob-

able, even on grounds of style, to assume that the Elihu speech is the work of a different man, who simply and honourably intended to put forward thoughts which had not occurred to the first thinker. Anyhow, no one in the book takes any notice of Elihu. The God speech, and the conclusion, are just as if he had not spoken at all.

The case is similar, and yet in another sense different, as regards the hymn about the unsearchableness of Wisdom in

#### CHAPTER 28.

This now occupies a position in Job's final speech, but has distinctly the appearance of an interpolation, and is not motivated by the context.

Man searches out everything. Under the surface of the Earth, upon which the corn is peacefully ripening to harvest, there are deep shafts in which men hang on ropes and delve into the bowels of the earth, out of which they bring sparkling gems from the everlasting night to the light of day. But Wisdom—where is it? It is not to be found in the land of the living. Death and the abyss say, "We have only heard the fame thereof."

God alone knows the way of it and where its seat is. He provided and used it for His work of Creation. And to men He says:

"Behold the fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom,  
And to depart from evil is Understanding."

This is the foundation, the very axiom, of the Old Testament Wisdom literature (cf. Prov., chaps. 1-9). And it is certainly not inappropriate to remind both parties, Job and his friends, that the final ground of things is not to be discovered. And yet—have they not actually thought of that, have they not said it over and over again themselves? And has it not been seen that the unfathomableness of Wisdom is for Job no comfort? How can he live of an unfathomable Wisdom? Does he wish at all to discover Wisdom, the Eternal, the Beyond, the Absolute? It is *God* he wants. In his heart an abyss has broken out which cries out for God, and which can only be stilled through the abyss of the Heart of God. "Abyssus abyssum invocat" (Ps. xlii. 7). No word about Wisdom, and no word about God—even though it were the deepest—only God Himself can give Job the answer.

#### CHAPTERS 38, 39.

"Then the Lord answered Job from out the storm."

The whole speech consists of a series of interrogative sentences which set forth the glorious wonder of the world and the inexhaustible wonders in the world. What is the new thing here? Have not Job and his friends also spoken of this with a wealth of words? Certainly. The new thing is quite simple, that God Himself now says it. And He says it so as to make it clear that the whole world is a thousandfold great question which God propounds and to which God alone can give the answer. For He Himself is the significance

of the question. Knowest thou Me? He asks through all. Knowest thou My everlasting Power and Godhead? Canst thou see My invisible Being? That is not a secret which one can betray to another. No, neither through physics nor metaphysics, neither through an apologetic nor a dialectic theology. That is no world-riddle which is there to be solved. That is a thousandfold great marvel, through which God gives Himself to be known as "He Who Is," namely as the Unknown God. No one knows the things of God without the Spirit of God. Just when He reveals Himself in Truth as *our* God, as the Friend of Job, then is His revelation of Himself the abyss which no man can fathom. "O the depth of the riches both of the Wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor? Or who hath first given to Him and it shall be recompensed to him again? For of Him and through Him and to Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever. Amen" (Rom. xi. 33-36).

So too Job, after God has spoken, lays his hand upon his mouth, and gives to the Lord alone the glory.

Beside these general considerations there is, however, in the questions of God a special feature which is of great significance for the solution of their meaning. We must notice what are the marvels God brings forward and what it is in them that He calls attention to. First of all He points to the Earth. It is the youngest of the heavenly bodies. When it came to be a world the morning stars sang together and all its older brothers and sisters, all the sons of God shouted for joy. And then the sea. When it was born and broke forth, as it were, from the womb of its mother, the Creator wrapped it in clouds as in swaddling clothes and set it its bounds. "Hitherto and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." To God therefore the sea is not a monster, but as it were a helpless infant, or, shall we say, a proud hot-blooded animal, which, however, hearkens to the word of its Lord? The ways in the depths of the ocean, the gates of Death, the portals of darkness, the dwelling of the light, the chambers of the snow, the granaries of the hail, these all are closed and hidden from mankind, but they stand open for the great Lord of the rich dwelling, Who has ways everywhere, Who has no lack of means, and Who uses them as it pleases Him. Man may think it aimless or useless—God does not administer His world from the point of view of aim or advantage. "He causeth it to rain in a land where no man is." Is not that useless? Because Man has tilled some fields, and tamed some species of animals, and put them to his purposes, he fancies the whole world is a kind of stable, for the special benefit of a Darwinian farmer! If it really were so, how superfluous would be the whole golden superabundance of the world. In reality of the inexhaustible riches of Creation only a very small part can be comprehended from the standpoint of utility. The most beautiful, the mightiest and the merriest of the animals are there obviously for God only, because He delights

in them and takes pleasure in providing for them. He gives to the lion his blood-stained prey; to Him the young ravens call when they have nothing to eat. He gives to the wild goat its agility, and the hinds calve without the help of a farm servant. Truly the stubborn ass has been subdued through blows, so that he carries burdens for Man, but his wild cousin, in the merriment of unbridled freedom, laughs at the city crowd and hearkens not to the scolding of any driver. He needs no man to take him where dry thistles grow; on the high mountain pastures he seeks his succulent fodder. How fine it would be if the farmer could make the wild aurochs his servant and harness his mighty strength before the plough; then would he make furrows in the soil of the valley and merrily draw the heaviest burdens! Just try it! And then the sturdy ostrich, one need only look at his flattened head, at the end of his preposterously tall neck, to notice that God has given him but little brains. In a moment, however, when he starts off, he mocks both horse and rider. And his Creator takes His delight in this, and appoints even the Sun, with its many occupations, to hatch out the eggs for the thoughtless bird, in order that its kind may not die out. And then the lordly and noble horse, which even in the form of the poorest hack is not easily overridden, when he scents the battle neighs and paws the ground. Who understands the hawk, as he hovers in the air? The eagle soars to the loftiest heights in order to spy out her prey, and on the precipice, where no man can reach, she builds her eyrie. She is no barndoor fowl whose eggs we may take. Her young ones suck up blood, and where the carcass is there is she.

If anyone has not yet noticed what the poet means by these wonderful sketches of the animals, it must begin to dawn upon him when he comes to the picture, alike witty and marvellous, of Behemoth and Leviathan in

#### CHAPTERS 40 AND 41.

In passing on to these chapters our experience is somewhat like what comes to us when, on a visit to Hagenbeck's menagerie, we pass from the sea lions and giraffes to that part of the garden where an antediluvian landscape is furnished with the great saurians. Here are very different specimens from the hippopotamus and crocodile. Behemoth, the primeval beast, is "the beginning of the ways of God. Canst thou catch Leviathan with rod and line? Canst thou play with him as with a bird or put him into a cage for thy little girls?" A fine business it would be for the fishmongers if they could cut him to pieces, take him to market, and put him up for sale! But not for that was he created. For what then? Psalm civ. tells us—"Leviathan Thou hast made there to sport with him (lesachak-bo)." And similarly the Septuagint version says of Behemoth, God created him in order that the angels may play with him. Is not the world also, according to the Proverbs (Prov. viii. 22-31), a playground of the Wisdom of God? Has not Wisdom, which He employed in the beginning of His ways as the foundation

principle of His Creation, played before Him day by day in joy and merriment, played upon the whole circle of His world?

“*Status mundi in Dei laetitia fundatus est*” (Calvin on Ps. civ. 31). The world as it is is based upon God’s delight, upon His freedom, high as Heaven, above all our conception and comprehension. Not aim and not advantage, but God’s free, happy goodness is the meaning and cause of the world. That is what the God speeches of the Book of Job proclaim with incomparable cheerfulness, as the answer to the dark ponderings of the human heart.

And it is just this happy message of the free Goodness of God which is the answer to the question of the whole book. The question was propounded from Heaven, “*Thinkest Thou that Job fears God for nought?*” The attempt to answer it has been changed to the counter question addressed to Heaven, “*Is God Righteous? What is the nature of His Righteousness?*” The answer is, God’s Righteousness is beyond law and beyond reckoning, untrammelled by considerations of reward and punishment, actually and absolutely *for nought* (*chinnam*), it is the supreme marvel that the free Will of God is directed toward the creature and directs the creature toward Him: “*I will thee and will that thou shouldst will Me.*” There is no law over the Righteousness of God; it is His freedom to enter into relationship with another and take another into relationship with Him. It creates the righteousness of the creature, which is nothing else than this being brought into relationship with God. Alike the vindication of God and the vindication of the world and of Man take place through God’s free goodness. None is good but God only. All else is good in so far as God wills to be good to it. He reveals His goodness through the fact that He is kind to the unthankful and the evil (Luke vi. 35). Why? For nought! The right of the matter is solely His free good Will. “*Have I not the right to do what I will with my own? Is thine eye evil because I am good?*” (Matt. xx. 15).

#### CHAPTER 42.

The conclusion is therefore that God alone possesses Right and no one else. Job himself does not:

“*I know in truth that Thou art the Almighty,  
And that from Thee no thought can be withholden;  
But I presumed to speak of that I knew not,  
Of things too wonderful, beyond my knowledge.  
Therefore I bow before Thee and repent  
In dust and ashes.*”

So God, and God alone, is finally justified over Job, as he sits among the ashes—Glory be to God in the Highest!

To God *alone* be glory. By the brightness of this light His servant on earth is illuminated. God testifies that in the man whose character is attacked, to whom nothing now remains but the despairing cry after God, He has more good pleasure than in the apologists who are so sure of their matter. “*Job, My servant, shall*

pray for you ; only for his sake do I spare you, because ye have not spoken of Me the thing which is right, like My servant Job."

As a token of this justification the Lord turns the captivity of Job and blesses his new state more richly than the first. His flocks and herds are doubled, and he is given once more seven sons and three daughters. The first he named after the gentle dove, the second after the sweet cassia, and the third from the beauty of her dark eyes. And in all the land were found no fairer women than the daughters of Job. After living a further 140 years, and seeing his children and his children's children, Job died, old and full of days.

This conclusion, which is closely connected with the initial paragraphs of the story, has, after the spiritual turn given to the problem through the speeches, a remarkable force.

Bernhard Duhm thinks that the poet has affixed this conclusion to the fine old story "with the same regard to his readers which appears now and then to have influenced Shakespeare, causing him to incorporate in his plays such extracts from the sources from which he drew his material as do not in all cases exactly fit."

We may put the matter thus: This conclusion coming after the speeches, has practically a Shakespearian touch. But far more truly it has a genuinely Israelite and biblical touch, and may be compared with the empty tomb of the Crucified One in the Gospels. The realistic earthly conclusion of the Book of Job points strongly to the lesson that the practical decision whether God is really God, that is to say is *our God*, falls *in the present life*. Faith lives of the reality of communion with God in the practical things of this earthly life ; either God is here and now my God, Victor over sin and death, or He is not my God. That is, as we have seen, entirely the faith of the Job speeches.

We might well say that this conclusion to the story, coming after the speeches, has the effect of a type or parable. The reinstatement of Job's life is like a type or foreshadowing of the Resurrection of the Crucified ; somewhat as the Epistle to the Hebrews regards the result of the temptation of Abraham. Abraham had shown himself ready to offer up Isaac to God ; "accounting that God could raise him up even from the dead, from whence he did also in type receive him back."

The Septuagint translation moreover, probably following some old Targum, adds to the conclusion of the Book of Job the note : "It is, however, written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord will raise from the dead."

Taking all into consideration we conclude that the Book of Job points beyond itself. The fundamental question whether there is a man who fully corresponds to the good Will of the Creator and justifies His work of Creation, the book has referred back to God. The speeches of the man Job—of this the author leaves the reader in no doubt—are not the answer which must come from mankind in order to justify God's Word of Honour. Rather they are a cry, a prayer, a testimony and also a promise that One cometh Who gives

to God the answer for all. So the Book of Job points beyond itself to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, Who, as the Servant of the Lord, remained true even to death.

At the very moment when He is setting out upon His life's way the Tempter is at His side, and offers Him the whole world as a reward if He will consent not to give glory to God only. Then says Jesus to him, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." Then the devil leaveth Him.

But at the time when Jesus began to show His disciples how He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed and on the third day rise again, the Tempter spoke to Him through Simon Peter, to whom a few minutes before the Father in Heaven had entrusted the good confession of the Church, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. And this very Peter took Jesus and began to rebuke Him and said: "Be it far from Thee, Lord: this shall not be unto Thee." But He turned and said to Peter, "Get thee hence, Satan! thou art an offence to Me; for thou suggestest not the thing which is of God, but that which is of men."

Then, when the feast of unleavened bread was near, which is called the Passover, and nought but the fear of the people now restrained the high priests and scribes from laying hands upon Jesus, Satan entered into Judas, called Iscariot, who was of the number of the Twelve. And he went and communed with the high priests and the chief of the people as to how he might betray Him to them. And they were glad and covenanted to give him money. And he promised, and sought opportunity to betray Him to them without tumult.

And even when Jesus, forsaken by all, hung upon the Cross in the direst pain, the Tempter still left Him not alone. Through His sympathy with His own, and the scorn of the chosen people, he called to Him, "Come down from the Cross, save Thyself and us." But He endured in steadfast obedience to the very last, when He, with the question of Job upon His lips, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" gave His life into the Father's hand.

That is the answer unto salvation for all who believe—believe with a genuine faith as Job believed. "The Cross of Christ is but an involution<sup>1</sup> of the Riddle" (Wellhausen). And just for that reason it is the "Yea" and "Amen" to the Faith of Job, the triumph over the principalities and powers of Doubt, and the Victory over all assaults of the Tempter for all those who thereon believe. Yes, they believe that they are justified through the obedience of the One, Who suffered for their weakness, Who was delivered for their offences and raised again for their justification. He has vindicated God's Word of Honour, and the Father has set His seal to the answer of the Son, in that He has raised Him from the dead, and given Him power to justify the many through His obedience.

<sup>1</sup> "Potenzierung." Involution, raising to a higher power, a mathematical term.—A. E.

But anyone who thereon believes must not fall under the delusion that he, as a Christian, in contradistinction to Job, has already broken through from faith to sight. Those who believe in Christ stand even now in the midst of the battle of Faith, it may be in darkness and perplexity, in conflict and suffering. It is for them to endure until the Lord returns again in glory.

“ Be ye also patient ; stablish your hearts,  
For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.”

So James, the Brother of the Lord, comforts and warns the faithful.

“ Take, my beloved brethren, for an example  
Of suffering and of patience the old Prophets,  
Who in the Lord’s Name unto us have spoken.  
Behold we count them happy which endure.  
Ye have heard of the patience of Job,  
And have seen the end of the Lord,  
The Lord is pitiful and of tender mercy.”

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OUTSPOKEN ADDRESSES. By Percival Gough, M.A. *Allenson*.  
2s. 6d. net.

With what subjects are these “ Outspoken Addresses ” concerned? In what sense are they outspoken?

To the first question let a few of the titles give an answer: “ The Guidance of Christ.” “ Science and Religion.” “ The Nature of the Presence.” “ The Cross.” “ An Ideal Church.”

To the second, an answer is not altogether easy.

From the point of view of their style, quite frankly the outspokenness is too often hidden in sentences which are obscure and difficult to understand. They lack the directness and clarity which compel attention and carry conviction to the mind.

As to the subject-matter, Evangelicals will not be carried off their feet by anything especially audacious in the opinions advanced.

They will certainly not endorse everything that is said. At the same time they will find themselves in agreement with Mr. Gough’s main position.

We commend the last address—“ An Ideal Church ”—from which we will quote a few lines. “ My ideal for the Church of England has always been that of a Church whose spiritual foundations were so well and truly laid that she could, alone among all other churches, afford to be widely and wholeheartedly tolerant.”

He speaks of the “ crises ” which recur in the history of the Church of England, and thus contrasts the Church of Rome: “ There cannot be a crisis in a Church whose external system is rigid, or, at any rate, there cannot be any signs of a crisis, for the system will prevent the inner life from exhibiting signs of unrest. If such there be, the system will strengthen itself by all manner of means and ceaselessly proclaim its success and unbroken unity. That, of course, is always the sign of unrest and the true mark of its suppression.”

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**BONIFACE THE EIGHTH, 1294-1303.** By T. S. R. Boase. *Makers of the Middle Ages.* Pp. xiii + 397. Frontispiece and map. *Constable & Co.* 15s. net.

A series which purports to present to the modern world an account of the outstanding personalities and formative influences of the Middle Ages is certainly to be welcomed. For much new information has been made available in recent years and its popularisation is now urgently needed. Not that the present series is popular in the ordinary sense of the term; but if this volume, the second of the series to be issued, is to be a standard for the future, then these volumes will undoubtedly make a powerful popular appeal. Primarily, however, they are obviously intended to be substantial contributions to historical knowledge, being based on careful research and adequate documentation.

The subject chosen for the present volume is certainly an attractive one. Boniface was undoubtedly one of the outstanding characters of the late Middle Ages. How far he was actually a "Maker" may be disputed, for the impression conveyed by the present book rather tends to picture him as the energetic preserver of established rights, power and privileges than a creative genius. But his forceful and energetic character and his resolute assertion of uncompromising claims makes it almost impossible for him to be excluded from such a series.

Two widely different aims dominated the career of Boniface. The greater and more creditable of these was his resolute maintenance of the full papal claims. The sonorous phrases of his famous Bull *Unam Sanctam* come down to us even to-day with something of the original thunder clinging to them. No one could have pitched higher the claims of the Roman See. But in spite of it all his life was a tragedy and no amount of glamour can conceal the fact. He lived at the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. He epitomises the age of the great popes, but he comes almost too late. Innocent III might thunder and men might tremble; but the thunder of Boniface seems almost like stage thunder against the accumulating forces of nationalism. Men began to estimate with a more critical acumen the real consequences of papal displeasure. The writer brings out well the degree of respect which the great leaders of the time paid to papal protests. It was unfortunate for Boniface that he had to deal with powerful forces which until his reign had been only slowly coming to maturity. The value of the present work, however, lies not merely in its clear delineation of the forces with which Boniface had to contend but in its picture of the man. In these pages we can see the fierce old Pope not as the history books generally depict him but as a man with many sides to his character. For it is easy to criticise and even to condemn such popes as these, but we must be just to

them. Boniface was a man of his age as is well shown by the second great aim of his career. Alongside of his official attitude as the guardian of papal rights we must place his persistent effort to augment the family fortunes. At times it is difficult to grasp which of the two aims seemed to him the more urgent. But the fact that they both existed in the same man adds a certain piquancy to his life. He was not so bad as he has often been painted; the writer makes this quite clear and produces evidence which is on the whole convincing. Boniface was so placed that he had to fight hard to attain his ends and fighting was not uncongenial to him. But he was no aggressor, attempting to blaze new trails of ecclesiastical authority. His attitude was defensive rather than aggressive. As the author says, Boniface was not uncritical of the Church, and even in the case of heresy, so long as it did not disturb the organised life of the Church he does not seem to have worried about it overmuch, though this, of course, may have been due to a certain obtuseness to the intellectual atmosphere of his time. This attitude is well shown in the historic dispute between the Conventual and Spiritual Franciscans, in which he is credited with rebuking the former with the blunt remark "they do better than you."

These considerations, however, cannot hide from us the fact that such a character was ill fitted to be a true "successor of the Apostles." His violence of temper and overweening desire to aggrandise his family do not go well with his exalted position. No doubt when one considers the dangers that beset the Church on many sides such a Pope was not without his uses, as Philip IV of France found to his cost. But it is a high price to pay for the preservation of an essentially spiritual religion.

This book with its studied moderation, and its careful adhesion to documentary evidence, will well repay the most exacting study, and we are grateful for its appearance.

C. J. O.

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THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF HEROD'S TEMPLE. By F. J. Hollis, D.D.  
*J. M. Dent & Son, Ltd.* 18s. 6d. net.

Jerusalem, situated on a hill, must have been a wonderful sight in the days of Jesus with the vast Mount on which the Temple was built towering high above it. Where the Temple was and what it was like is the theme of this very scholarly and illuminating book. Modern excavations on the actual site of the Temple have produced a great deal of information and thrown a new light upon the details of the massive pile of buildings erected by King Herod on the Temple Hill. But even so, as Dr. Oesterley points out in the Foreword to the book, "experts have not yet been able to construct a plan of the Temple with architectural precision." The reason for this is that it is difficult to reconcile the chief ancient sources, Josephus and the Jewish Tractate Middoth in the Babylonian Talmud, with the archæological evidence. Josephus studied more to magnify the King's work than to give exact details, while the Jewish Tractate appears to have been religious in purpose and only gives

the measurements of the sacred courts, and, with one or two exceptions, completely ignores the great buildings which were erected around the inner Temple. Dr. Hollis feels that reliable information can be obtained from both these ancient sources provided that due allowance is made for a possible bias and inconsistency in each case, and if their account of the buildings and courts is carefully compared with the findings of exploration in the Haram esh-Sherif it is possible to offer a reconciliation between them and to make a fairly accurate plan of Herod's Temple.

A point which is emphasised is that the Temple with its surrounding buildings was a citadel capable of a prolonged defence when attacked, and this explains the large area of the Platform as it now exists. The Temple was a fortress and it was planned to be of sufficient size to garrison an army of defenders.

The position of the Holy of Holies and the great altar of sacrifice is carefully considered and conclusive reasons are given for upholding the ancient Jewish tradition that the Holy of Holies was built on the sacred rock and that the altar was placed in the threshing floor of Araunah, which is held to have been "on the fairly level hill-top surrounding the sacred rock but not on the rock itself." On these assumptions both Josephus and Middoth can be used to construct a plan of the Temple. Moreover, if the altar had been set up on the sacred rock, the Temple would have stood to the west of the Rock es-Sakara, and, as Dr. Hollis points out, this would have required enormous substructures at least 40 feet deep to carry the west end of the Temple and still deeper ones for the Porticoes in the Outer Court, and there is no trace of these to-day.

Another important question raised in this admirable book is the axis of the Temple and its Courts. Dr. Hollis offers reasons for supposing that Solomon's Porches stood originally where the east wall now is and that Solomon's Temple was erected with its axis at right angles to the Porches. If this is so, then the Temple stood with its axis at right angles to a line of direction from the sacred rock to the Mount of Olives, quite regardless of the fact that the direction of the Porches as a base line was not to north and south. The reason for this, he holds, was due to an ancient tradition of the sanctity of the Mount of Olives originally connected with Sun-worship. After the exile the Temple was built due east and west, no doubt to avoid any reference to Sun-worship. This offers an interpretation of the tradition preserved in the Palestinian Talmud Tractate Sukkah which reads "Our Fathers in this place stood with their backs to the Temple and worshipped towards the Sun, towards the east, but we belong to the Lord and our eyes are directed towards the Lord." That is to say in the second Temple they worshipped facing towards the Temple with their backs turned to the rising sun. This also seems to explain the curious gamma-shaped extension of the altar which Dr. Hollis contends was to the southward and eastward and required to bring the altar into the correct position on the new axis of the Temple.

It is true that in the plan of the Temple offered in this book the

Courts appear to be askew, yet they fit into the area which is known to be ancient in the Platform of the rock. Herod found the position of the Temple fixed, but the position of the walls built by him was largely determined by the configuration of the ground and the valleys above which he constructed his walls. In this reconstruction, with the Temple placed over the sacred rock, the buildings are found to fit the bedrock of the hill. In the arrangement of the Courts, the author has been able to show that the animals required for the sacrifices could be easily driven to the place of sacrifice without having to go up large flights of steps.

The position of the various Courts and the approaches thereto are carefully explained, and the book has a large number of illustrative plates which are of tremendous help to the reader to depict the wonderful pile of buildings which existed in the days of our Lord.

At the end of the book a new translation of the Mishnic Tractate Middoth with very full notes has been added and this will be a great help to students of the Mishnah.

In conclusion it must be said that Dr. Hollis has rendered notable service by this contribution to the archæological and architectural study of the ancient Temple and is to be congratulated on the excellence of the book. It is well written, well documented, attractively produced, illustrated with clear drawings and is provided with a good index of subjects. It will be of great interest to all who are keen to depict the scenes of our Lord's life on earth.

T. R. B.

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ESSAYS IN CONSTRUCTION. By W. R. Matthews, M.A., D.D.  
*Nisbet & Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.*

The Dean of Exeter's aim in this volume is to help the general reader, to interest him and to stimulate him to reflection on some of the ultimate problems of life. As he truly states: "One of the achievements of the Reformation—perhaps the greatest—was to destroy the idea that the clergy had the sole right of teaching divine truth and that it was the part of the layman to accept what he was taught." One of the difficulties of our day is, however, that the language of the theologians and philosophers has no apparent connection with the ordinary thought of the average layman. Such terms as: "Reality," "The absolute," "The altogether other," "Givenness," "Numinous," and other current expressions of the experts convey no idea whatever to the general reader. Any thinker who can enable a preacher or teacher to bring the ideas represented by these terms into some sort of connection with the thoughts of the people will perform a useful service. Dr. Matthews may help in this volume to produce some such result by leading laymen to face the ultimate problems of religion, but we fear that his efforts will be confined in their effect to a small number of the thinking laity. The confusion of thought at present existing allows many misconceptions to prevail as to the true nature of Religion. The Psychologists desire to treat it as an

illusion ; the idea of God is merely a " projection," or a " Father fixation." Dr. Matthews makes clear the necessary distinction between mere illusion and symbolical knowledge. Much of our religion has to be expressed in symbol, and while illusion is simply error, " Symbolical knowledge is truth expressed in images which are inadequate but not completely misleading." We have to recognise the truth that " the native language of religion is symbol " ; and Dr. Matthews is probably right when he says : " Perhaps it would have been better if dogmatic theologians had read more poetry." There are two realms of existence that require examination ; that of Nature and that of Value. In Nature the fact of evolution has often been confused with theories about its causes, but it is not opposed to the idea of teleology and a creative mind ; in fact it may be a most impressive witness for belief in God. Yet there is a realm of value into which evolution does not enter, and a man's place in this may be described as that of a Son of God. When Dr. Matthews turns to the examination of Historical Religion, he is faced with the question of the Personality of Jesus and His Finality as a Revelation of God, and with the whole problem of the Virgin Birth. He holds that " it is possible to believe the essential doctrines of the Christian faith while doubting or rejecting the Virgin Birth." He points out that the idea that the supernatural Birth of Christ was necessary in order that the inherited guilt of original sin might not attach to Him implied that original sin is propagated entirely by the male sex, and that the Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a kind of wild logic which only succeeds in removing the difficulty one stage further back. He maintains that there is a religious value in the Virgin Birth. The problem of evil has, he says, been the cause of more defections from religion than all the writings of the atheists. It involves the question " What is the world for ? " and leads on to the thought of the Victorious God, so that the Christian Message is a Gospel of Redemption and has its centre in the Cross, so that " when Jesus on the Cross as God and man ceases to be preached, the Gospel evaporates." It is not easy to follow the argument of the chapter on Magic, Rhythm and Sacrifice. The concluding chapters on Immortality and the Resurrection, in which he says " that if the belief in the Resurrection were abandoned Christianity would cease to exist," lead on to an assertion of the culmination that will come when the Christian Church has achieved its full stature, and the creative power of the Gospel has seen its widest scope. For those who desire an interesting and valuable survey of some of the most important tendencies of modern thought in relation to the Christian Faith, we can recommend the careful study of these essays of Dr. Matthews.

GREAT CHRISTIANS. Edited by R. S. Forman. *Ivor Nicholson & Watson.* 8s. 6d. net.

The lives of prominent Christians can serve the useful purpose of indicating the chief features of any age of Christianity. In the

selection of forty Great Christians to represent the last fifty years, the editor of this volume has been guided by a desire to be as nearly all-embracing as possible, to show how many-faceted our Christian religion is and to give the portraits of those for whom the sympathetic draughtsmen could be found. No doubt, as he says, a different selection could easily be made, and Evangelical Churchmen could have suggested a number of names beside that of the Bishop Chavasse who is the only Evangelical clergyman represented. Among the laity who have been more or less associated with the Evangelical School are Dr. Barnardo, Sir Edward Clarke, and Lord Russell of Liverpool. The advanced School of English Churchmanship has secured a full measure of representation in this selection. It includes Father Dolling, Bishop Gore, Canon Scott Holland, Bishop King, Lord Phillimore, the Rev. A. H. Stanton, and Bishop Weston. Other types of Churchmanship are represented by Miss Lily Dougall, Donald Hankey, Studdert Kennedy, Bishop Lightfoot, Forbes Robinson, and Bishop Westcott. Nonconformity is also strongly represented. Feminine activities are remembered by such names as Mrs. Catherine Booth and Miss Josephine Butler, and in the poetical world by Christina Rossetti. Dr. Clifford and C. H. Spurgeon represent the Baptists, Sir Robertson Nicoll represents the Presbyterians, Dr. T. Hodgkin the Quakers, Dr. R. W. Dale and Joseph Parker the Congregationalists, Hugh Price Hughes the Wesleyans, while other representative names are C. T. Studd, one of the Cambridge Seven whose self-sacrificing missionary work is well known; Margaret MacDonald, wife of the present Premier; Hale White, the author of *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford*. The Roman Catholics are Lord Acton, Baron Von Hügel, and Father Tyrrell, none of whom can be regarded as typical representatives of the orthodox Roman system. These names indicate the intellectual, spiritual, and social activities of their time, and show that there was in it a vigorous Christian life although it expressed itself in such a variety of forms. It is difficult to say if the next fifty years will produce as many outstanding examples of Christian influence, but we trust that the period will be marked by a considerable effort to secure a larger degree of unity in Christendom, and a more successful application of Christian principles to all the spheres of life. These records are well and sympathetically written and should provide preachers with a supply of illustrative matter for their sermons.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. Edited by Walter Alison Phillips, Litt.D., Volume I: The Celtic Church. *Oxford University Press*. 3 Vols. 31s. 6d. net.

In the year 1929 the General Synod of the Church of Ireland passed a resolution desiring that a strong body of professional historical Students should compile a standard history of the Church of Ireland with special reference to the origins and the continuity of its Faith and Order. The present work is the outcome of this

resolution. Last year, when the Church of Ireland celebrated the fifteen hundredth anniversary of St. Patrick's coming to Ireland, there were many discussions as to the authenticity of the history of St. Patrick, and it was hoped that a record of the early history of the Irish Church would settle many controversial matters, and that a standard history of the Church of Ireland would represent the general consensus of scholars. The present volume, which has been issued under the general editorship of Dr. Walter Alison Phillips, Lecky Professor of Modern History in the University of Dublin, is mainly the work of three Irish scholars who have already made their reputation as students of the early records of the Irish Church. Canon J. E. L. Oulton, Archbishop King's Professor of Divinity, contributes the opening chapter on the Church of Gaul. Canon Newport J. D. White, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, contributes the chapter on the Teaching of St. Patrick. The remaining five chapters on Pre-Patrician Christianity, The Mission of St. Patrick, Constitution and Character of the Irish Church, The Mission Work and Expansion of Celtic Christianity, and Services and Ritual of the Celtic Church, are the work of the Rev. J. L. Gough Meissner. Canon Oulton's chapter is a clear and adequate statement of the main features of the origin and growth of the Church in Gaul and its relations with the Papal See, its forms of worship, and its creed up to the fifth century. Canon White, in his chapter on the Teaching of St. Patrick, examines the various documents that give evidence of St. Patrick's teaching, and show his adherence to the great essential Articles of the Christian Faith, while at the same time there is no evidence of later doctrinal developments such as Transubstantiation. In fact, there is little reference to the Eucharist in contrast to the disproportionate position that it had in the minds of those who accepted that dogma. St. Patrick probably used a liturgy of the Gallican type, and the liturgy of the Church of Rome was not accepted in Ireland until the seventh century, so that the Roman conception of the nature of the Presence of the Lord at the Eucharist was not exactly that of the modern Roman Church. The doctrine of Purgatory and the use of Indulgences were unknown in St. Patrick's time. The Virgin Mary is not once named by St. Patrick. He also knows of no Intercessors for Sinners save Christ and the Holy Spirit, and this fact is a sufficient condemnation of the practice of the Invocation of Saints. The Veneration of Relics, of Saints, and of pictures is intensified in a society in which magic is allowed to control action. The conclusion is that St. Patrick's personal religion was so pure and intense that we can say with confidence that he was as free from superstition as any man of his age. It is clear that St. Patrick taught none of the doctrines which are distinctive of the modern Roman Church in Ireland.

When we come to the chapters of the Rev. J. L. Gough Meissner; which deal with the major portion of the period, we cannot ignore the fact that his work has given rise to keen controversy in Ireland. Mr. Meissner, who has already written a history of Celtic Christianity, has adopted certain views as to the influence of Scottish Christianity

upon Ireland which are regarded as distinctly original. They run counter to the views that have been held by a number of earlier Irish scholars, and some of those who cannot accept his theories complain somewhat bitterly that they should be laid down in the official history of the Church of Ireland. Mr. Meissner regards the Christian community of St. Ninian which existed in the neighbourhood of the Roman walls in North Britain as having exerted extensive influence in Ireland, and that Ninian was responsible for the founding of the greater part of the Christianity of that land. It is said that the evidence for this is inadequate, as the sources of information date from the twelfth century, and that Mr. Meissner's deductions from the identification of place-names with St. Ninian are largely fanciful. Authorities like Dr. Bury, Dr. Todd and Dr. Reeves differ widely from Mr. Meissner, but it must be recognised that there are considerable differences of opinion even among these scholars. Mr. Meissner tends to minimise the work of St. Patrick, and it is maintained that this is contrary to the bulk of the evidence. It is contended also that Mr. Meissner has given much too great weight to less reliable authorities of a later date, and that his obsession with the Ninian Church has coloured all his writing, with the result that his picture of St. Patrick and the early Celtic Church is unreliable. These questions of scholarship will have to be settled by the competent scholars, and no doubt, the whole subject will be discussed more fully in the near future. In the meantime, it seems regrettable that a work which was intended to be the standard history of the Church of Ireland should be received with so much controversy and should not commend itself to those who have made a special study of the period.

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THE ROMANCE OF PARISH REGISTERS. By R. W. Muncy, M.A., Chaplain and Master at the Imperial Service College, Windsor. With a Foreword by the Bishop of Norwich. *Lincoln Williams, Ltd.* 6s. net.

The sense of tradition so lamentably lacking in the youth of to-day is well served by this most entertaining and instructive little book. It tells of the Jewish genealogical registers as well as those of the Greeks and Romans, and later of the Monastic registers, and the parochial registers of Spain in 1497. English registers begins from the Injunction of Cromwell of 1538, which ran: "That every parson vicare and curate keep one boke or register . . . which boke ye shall every Sondag take furthe and in the presence of the said wardens . . . write and recorde in the same all the weddinges christenynges and buryenges made the hole weke before." For the omission to do so a fine of 3s. 4d. was extracted "to be employed on the reparation of the same church." The Author roams freely over the country in his selection of interesting and amusing entries, and must be especially commended for his condensation of historical matter into nine chapters. It is a great pity that the excellent idea of including a list of printed parish

registers (presumably for the use of genealogists) was not checked. Apparently the list is meant to contain all published registers of Baptisms, Burials, and Marriages, but being somewhat well acquainted with the counties of Durham and York, we notice some omissions, and doubtless there may be others from the remaining counties. The registers omitted from the list are: Co. Durham; Gainford (Elliot Stock, 1889); Castle Eden (Dur. and Northm. P.R.S., XXIX); Whorlton (*Ibid.*, XIX). Co. York; Calverley (S. Margerison, 1880). With regard to the registers of St. Ken, Cornwall (p. 27), which were burnt in 1923, Messrs. Phillimore did not transcribe the baptisms and burials, and, as is their custom, only published the marriages. It is possible that the Bishop's Transcripts are extant, but the note relative to a modern transcription is misleading. Pickhill, Co. York, is again mentioned as "Prickhill," and Kirky Hill should read Kirkby Hill. With regard to "Curious Surnames" (p. 57) that of Hodgeskin means relative or kin of Hodge, i.e. Roger, and Grissel is doubtless the common old name of Grisel (diminutive of Griselda), while Easter was a common spelling of Esther. Feminine Christian names are in use as surnames at the present day, viz. Rose, Muriel, and Marga(e)ry, for example. We are sorry to spoil the Author's obvious suggestion in his mention of "Easter Christmas," but this bride undoubtedly bore the name of the Biblical book.

Mr. Muncy does not mention the latest "romance," namely the return to the parish of Poslingford, Suffolk, of the first volume of its registers which for a great number of years has been reposing in, and believed to be appertaining to, the parish of Heybridge, Essex. This volume of Poslingford dates from 1558. Meanwhile, the next book dating from 1678 was thought to be the earliest record extant in that parish. Want of space forbids details of these interesting facts. Mr. Muncy's book should prove a stimulation to the study of the interesting records of the past preserved in so many parishes.

M. S.

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THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. By William George Peck. Pp. x + 346. *Scribners*. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Peck has been in Anglican orders only five years, coming as a convert from Methodism. He is to-day an Anglo-Catholic rector, known in many quarters as a lecturer on social and religious subjects. He is evidently an industrious worker and reader, and himself persuaded of what he writes. This volume contains some useful information but is too obviously a case of special pleading. It does not convince one that social reform owes or will owe any great debt to the Oxford Movement. There have been and there will be individual social reformers owning allegiance to Anglo-Catholicism: there have been and there will be greater numbers in other branches of the Church.

F. B.

## NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

MRS. J. B. T. DAVIES, M.A., has completed the third volume of her series, "The Heart of the Bible." The subject of the volume is *The Literature of the New Testament* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 5s. net). Mrs. Davies is an experienced teacher and brings her educational methods to bear upon the explanation of the origin and development of the New Testament writings for the benefit of those who desire to know the views of modern scholars on the subject. For this purpose she regards it as necessary for those who would read the New Testament right to know the events which took place during the first century both in Palestine itself and in the countries at that time most closely connected with Palestine, as well as something of the religious ideas which ruled the minds of the inhabitants of those countries. A brief but clear account is given of the historical background, including the years of upheaval and of the persecution of the Christians. As the earliest writings of the New Testament are those of St. Paul they are treated first, and his problem of reaching the heathen world is dealt with. Long passages are given to illustrate the various points of his teaching, and they serve to illustrate many phases in the life of the Church of the period. The synoptic problem is dealt with in an interesting way, and the views of scholars are clearly set out. Selections from the Q Document are given, and the relationship of these to the other material used by Matthew and Luke is indicated. Attention is given to the special Lukan tradition, as it contains elements not found in the other Gospels. The special characteristics of St. Mark are shown, and the point is emphasised that he wrote "for suffering men and women, to incite to faithful endurance." The later literature of the persecutions covers the Acts of the Apostles, some portions of Matthew, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of the Revelation. The latest literature of the New Testament is represented by the Fourth Gospel, the letters of St. John and some of the other epistles. The method of the book will prove helpful to those desirous of understanding the results of recent scholarship in regard to the New Testament.

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Among the books suitable for Lent are Miss Evelyn Underhill's *The School of Charity* (Longmans, Green & Co., 2s. 6d. net), which is the Bishop of London's Lent book for this year. It is the first time that he has selected a member of the laity, and he has chosen one who is known as an exponent of mysticism. The chapters are described as "Meditations on the Christian Creed" and follow the line of the Nicene Creed. They proceed from the ruling fact of religion, the Reality and Nature of God, and go on to consider the revelation of these in human life, and then the kind of life that they demand from us and make possible. She says of these meditations that if they seem to dwell "too exclusively on the

inner life and have no obvious practical bearing on the social and moral problems which beset us, let us remember that such a retreat to the spiritual is the best of all preparations for dealing rightly with the actual."

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*Watchers By The Cross*, Thoughts on the Seven Last Words, by the Rev. Peter Green, M.A., Canon of Manchester (Longmans, Green & Co., 3s. 6d. net), is a most helpful selection of passages from addresses which he has given for twenty-two years in succession at the Three Hours' Service in his own Church. The passages show the Canon's gift of bringing out the wide variety of lessons to be derived from each of the Words, and his power of using impressive illustrations. There are some points on which we cannot agree with the Canon's views, but on the whole they will be found thoroughly Evangelistic, and essentially sound in the great fundamentals. It is impossible to select any passage for special mention, but his treatment of the Fourth Word will be found specially helpful.

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Dr. Hubert L. Simpson's *Testimony of Love* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. 6d. net) will prove a useful and suggestive series of addresses on The Seven Last Words, and preachers will find in them real inspiration for their Good Friday addresses. We naturally turn to the Fourth Word as the most difficult, and find, as we expected, that his treatment of it is especially helpful. There is something direct and forceful in such a sentence as "The League of Nations threatens to crumple up like an addled egg in the hairy paws of Mars, and the laughter of devils echoes round the world."

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*Theodore, Bishop of Winchester*, is a Memoir of Frank Theodore Woods, D.D., written by his brother, E. S. Woods, M.A., Bishop of Croydon, and F. B. Macnutt, M.A., Provost and Archdeacon of Leicester (S.P.C.K., 7s. 6d. net). It is a tribute written in a spirit of love and appreciation of one who advanced to a high position in the Church, dealing with his work in the threefold character of Pastor, Prophet and Pilgrim. Those who knew him in his earlier days recognised him as a keen and spiritually-minded worker of strong Evangelical sympathies. Those sympathies are not easily shed and they remained with him to the end of his life, but as with many other Evangelicals who are advanced to positions of prominence in the Church, they became overlaid in the course of time with other sympathies developed from contact with those who pay great deference to the episcopal office and by means well known to themselves secure a place of influence from which they can further their own aims. Few men are strong enough to stand against the forces of their environment, and thus it happens that some who begin an episcopal career as strong Evangelicals are led almost without recognising it themselves to adopt an outlook that at one time would have appeared strange to them. It is a significant fact that those

members of the episcopate who opposed Prayer Book revision were not men who had been closely associated in their earlier days with the Evangelical tradition, but men of a more independent outlook who recognised the mistakes that were contemplated and that are now obvious even to those who at the time favoured some of the extreme features which were proposed. Bishop Woods passed out of a somewhat narrow type of Evangelicalism and with a sense of the dignity of the episcopal order derived probably from those with whom he was cast, left his Evangelicalism behind him and became a protagonist of the more popular forms of Christianity which were occupied with Social Problems and the relationship with foreign churches. In these directions he did useful work and had the reward of the popularity which such work brings. The greater portion of the book is occupied with the record of his work as Bishop, and among his achievements was the division of the large diocese of Winchester, which meant a break with the old associations of the See with Farnham, and a pleasant side of the Bishop's character is seen in the farewell proceedings on leaving the old episcopal residence. The record bears ample testimony to the zeal and activity of the Bishop and it will be treasured by his many friends in memory of their happy associations with him.

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*Ask What I Shall Give Thee.* Compiled by the Rev. Thomas S. Hall, B.D., with a Foreword by the Most Rev. C. F. D'Arcy, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh (The Church Book Room, London, 2s. 6d.) This selection of Prayers is admirably arranged and shows the wonderful variety of applications that can be made of the Lord's Prayer. The Prayers are arranged for four weeks, and the selection has been carefully made from a wide range of sources, including ancient liturgies and the best modern collections. The value of the book will be best proved by its use, and we can strongly recommend it to our readers.

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*After The Celebration of the Oxford Movement: Some Considerations*, by W. Emery Barnes, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge (Bowes & Bowes, 6d. net), is a booklet which ought to be widely circulated and read as it is a most useful corrective of much of the teaching of the Oxford Movement, and exposes the errors of modern Anglo-Catholicism. It gives the correct interpretation of Church of England teaching on several important points, including the true significance of the Holy Communion.

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*Codex Sinaiticus* (Lutterworth Press, 1s. net) contains Dr. Tischendorf's interesting story of his adventures in connection with the discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* which has recently been purchased for the British Museum. It is one of the romances of the Bible Story. Dr. Tischendorf's argument on the authenticity of early Christian Manuscripts is added, and the whole makes a most useful booklet.

## CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

**A Great Bishop.**—Many friends will be glad to learn of the re-issue by the Church Book Room of the Life of *Francis James Chavasse*, Bishop of Liverpool, by Canon J. B. Lancelot, at the popular price of 3s. 6d. (postage 6d.). This edition is identical in type and illustrations with the original edition, except that it is on smaller paper and a third of the price. Thus this handier volume brings the message of the Bishop's character and words within the reach of a wider public. Canon Lancelot in his Preface to the edition says that when he started at the request of the family to write this memoir he received three messages from outside. The first was: "He was the people's Bishop: see that you make it the people's book"; the second, "Remember we want to see his *soul*"; and the third, "I am sure that your book will be rich in an affectionate understanding." Canon Lancelot has very adequately produced a biography which covers the three points named to him, and has included a considerable quantity of quotations from the Bishop's journals and letters which reveal the man and his essentially spiritual nature. A number of excellent portraits and other photographs are included, and the book will be appreciated and found lucid and readable by all those who can admire a noble life spent in the service of God and man.

**The Confessional.**—The practice of auricular confession is being pressed very strongly in the Church to-day as a normal part of the life of the devout Christian. Manuals and leaflets are being published and widely circulated in a number of parishes. One leaflet which has been sent to us states that "If your conscience is troubled by your sins the Prayer Book urges you to make your confession in the presence of a Priest because he has authority from God to give you Absolution if you are penitent." The pamphlet contains a list of a number of sins which the penitent is instructed to read and meditate over. He is then told: "When you are tired, stop, and say the prayer at the top of the last page. On another day go on with the questions where you left off last time." After this meditation he is instructed to go to the Priest, kneel down in the appointed place and commence his confession with "I Confess to God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of heaven, and before you, Father," etc. Some of the questions which are asked are, of course, quite unobjectionable; some, however, as for example on the seventh commandment, are undesirably suggestive, and some deal with comparatively trivial matters such as "Have I stayed too long in bed in the morning?", "Have I taken more than I ought to eat?"

In view of this literature, information on the subject should be circulated, and we recommend Canon Meyrick's excellent pamphlet, *The Confessional* (3d.), an essay written by him some years ago. The fourth impression of this is now in print with a Preface by Dean Wace. Canon Meyrick's method of dealing with the question is the historical one, and shows that the purest and noblest ages of the Church were entirely free from the benumbing influence of auricular confession and absolution, and that the latter system does not help towards a religious life but is destructive of manliness of character and delicacy of feeling, deposing the conscience which is given by God as His guide to each man and woman, and enthroning in its place another authority which paralyses the rightful authority. Canon Meyrick was an able scholar,

a loyal member of the English Church and an experienced parish priest, and his condemnation is not that of a partisan. Other leaflets on the Confessional obtainable from the Book Room are *Shall I Go to Confession*, by Dr. Griffith Thomas (*id.*), *Confession* in the Church Leaflet Series ( $\frac{1}{2}d.$ ), and *Auricular Confession*, by Archdeacon Thorpe (*id.*). For those who wish to study the matter further, we would mention the Report of the Conference held at Fulham Palace in 1901-2, edited by Dean Wace. This contains the Minutes of the Conference and the evidence brought forward. Some second-hand copies are obtainable at the Book Room, price 1s. (post 4d.). There is also Bishop Drury's *Confession and Absolution*, a few second-hand copies of which are obtainable, price 3s. post free. Bishop Drury's sub-title to his book is *The Teaching of the Church of England as Interpreted and Illustrated by the Writings of the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century*, his object being to illustrate the formularies of our Church from the writings of the men who were most concerned in compiling them. The book contains an Index of authors quoted, Scripture Texts, and also a general Index.

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**Martin Luther.**—We are glad to be able to announce the republication at 1d. of Dean Wace's address on *Martin Luther : His Part in the Reformation*, which was originally given at a meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, under the auspices of the World's Evangelical Alliance at the 400th Anniversary Commemoration of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. The pamphlet is well printed in a good type, and is suitable for sale in our Book Racks. The first page of the cover contains an excellent photograph of the Dean.

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**The Catholic Faith.**—This manual of instruction for members of the Church of England by the Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., a new impression of which was published in 1929 when the book had reached a circulation of 50,000, is again practically out of print and a new impression is called for. The manual (published in paper cover at 1s. 6d.; cloth boards 2s. 6d., postage 5d.) represents an endeavour to answer two questions: (I) What is the Church of England? (II) What does the Church of England Teach? The answers to these questions are found, first, in the Prayer Book and Articles considered in their plain and obvious meaning. An attempt is then made to indicate the fundamental principles of the Church of England, to show how those principles are expressed in the formularies of doctrine and worship, and to point out what the principles imply and involve in the life of those who are bound by them. It is also shown that the Prayer Book and Articles need consideration in the light of their origin and compilation, and in view of the circumstances which gave birth to their present form. The Church of England formularies are thus seen to be the direct outcome of great movements of thought and life in the English nation. The book, which is divided into three parts—The Catholic Faith and Individual Life; The Catholic Faith and Church Life; and The Catholic Faith and Current Questions—will be found of use to all Church people wishing to know what it means to be a Christian in association with the Church of England; what is involved in belonging to that body of Christians which is called by the title; and by what arguments they may be able to justify their position whenever required to do so.