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The Churchman Advertiser.

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1938.

" Can we whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Can we to men benighted
The Lamp of Life deny ? "

If you only realized, or could visualize the unparalleled sufferings of the peoples where this Society extends sustenance ! ! But do you—can you ?

An old Chinese proverb says—
" What the ear hears is not what the eye sees "
but we picture in brief words for you, the appalling destitution, poverty and suffering of our fellow human beings in the Near East, whom we aid through the Christian generosity of our Subscribers.

THOUSANDS OF REFUGEE ARMENIANS IN SYRIA STILL NEED ALL THE COMPASSIONATE RELIEF WE IN GREAT BRITAIN CAN BESTOW. NO WORDS CAN ADEQUATELY CONVEY THE HEART-RENDING PICTURE OF

BLIND, PARALYZED, CRIPPLED AND CONSUMPTIVE ORPHANS, THE HELPLESS OLD MEN AND WOMEN, THE HOMELESS, THE WIDOWS WHOSE MEN-FOLK WERE SLAUGHTERED IN THE MASSACRES.

With God's help we try to appease their sorrows. Their cry goes up to Heaven and out to you. For His sake, please heed their pleading. Gifts most gratefully received

Armenian Massacre Relief

at the office of

Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society

Ald. HARRY FEAR, J.P., *Hon. Treasurer.*
Rev. S. W. GENTLE-CACKETT, B.D. *Secretary.*

9P, TUFTON STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1

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THE CHURCHMAN

July—September, 1938.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Reformation and the English Bible.

THE celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the Reformation and of the order in council for the setting up of a Bible in English in every parish in the land has been very successful in attracting public attention to the great influence the English Bible has had on our national life. There can be little doubt that the more solid and reliable elements in the English character may be traced to the fact that since the Reformation, until quite recent years the Bible has been the one book which was almost universally known and revered in Great Britain and a large part of Ireland. The English Bible has had due meed of recognition from all quarters, so far as its incomparable literary value is concerned. Government Reports, Educational authorities, the newspaper Press, literary men and persons of eminence in every walk of life have testified to its value and charm as literature, and to the impoverishment which declining familiarity with its contents inflicts upon our speech and writing. But its chief value is in its effect on the religious life of those who study its precepts and seek to obey them. A vigorous, growing and influential Christian life, it is hardly too much to say, can only be developed by a knowledge of and reverence for the Scriptures. To recall this truth has been the object of these celebrations; but they will only attain their object fully by a widely spread revival of the habit of Bible reading. The practice will well repay those who adopt it.

Lawful Authority.

The Report of the Archbishop's Church and State Committee which in prospect aroused many needless apprehensions and on publication disappointed most of them, has received fresh attention through the adoption by Canterbury Convocation of the cumbrous and unconstitutional "Interim Proposal" which it contained. Whether by design or accident, the effect of the Proposal, if adopted, would be to confer on the Bishops a quasi-legal power to vary the requirements of the Book of Common Prayer without having first to obtain the sanction

of Parliament. The Royal Commission of 1904-6 pointed out that the Acts of Uniformity bind Bishops as well as other clergymen, and consequently they have no rights inherent in their office in virtue of which they can change what has been constitutionally enacted by process of law. The fact, however, that the declaration of assent made by every clergyman prior to ordination or to institution contains the words, "and I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority," has raised the question in some minds as to what is the "lawful authority" referred to. The answer would seem to be "the authority of law"—the same process of law which prescribed the use of the said book and none other. What the law has enacted the law only can vary. The Interim Proposal is, however, that the two Convocations should, with the approval of the Church Assembly, adopt a Synodical Declaration to the effect that the Bishop of the Diocese shall, subject to certain conditions, which are set out in full, be deemed to be the "lawful authority" to which obedience is pledged. The objections to such a course are fairly obvious, and have been forcibly stated by the Bishop of Norwich, but one of the chief is that the procedure proposed runs counter to that of the Enabling Act which was passed by Parliament at the request of the Church less than twenty years ago. The Convocations have, in spite of this, approved the Proposal, though it is very doubtful if it will find much favour outside certain clerical circles. The moral authority and influence of Convocation has never stood very high and is not likely to be enhanced by this action following so soon upon its approval of the Report of the Conference at Bucarest. A body which can profess to equate the doctrinal system of the Orthodox Eastern Church with the plain declarations of the 39 Articles has little claim to respect either for impartiality or soundness of judgment.

The Doctrinal Report.

As our April number was taken up with the papers read at the Oxford Conference, we were compelled to leave over any mention of the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Doctrine. The object of the Commission is expressed in the terms of reference which were :

> "To consider the nature and grounds of Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of existing agreement within the Church of England and with a view to investigating how far it is possible to remove or diminish existing differences."

The Report is an interesting document and will take its place among similar productions as a record of the views of those who took part in its production. We hope to deal fully with the subject in a later issue.

THE BLANK BIBLE.

THE curious and entertaining paper here reprinted is taken from a little book called *The Eclipse of Faith* which, first published in 1852, by the year 1860 had reached a ninth edition, but has now been long out of print. The author of the book was Henry Rogers, a theologian and scholar of great repute and influence in his day. Rogers (1806—1877) who was a Congregational minister and a voluminous author and editor, held in succession various academic offices, among them the Professorship of English language and literature at University College, London. He was a man of wide culture and reading, and deep personal piety. As a Christian apologist he followed the tradition of Bishop Butler. The *Eclipse of Faith* is an acute criticism of the many forms of scepticism prevalent in his day. It called forth a reply from Francis W. Newman, brother of the Cardinal, which was followed by a rejoinder, *The Defence of the Eclipse of Faith*, in 1860. There is a good account of Rogers and of his work in the Dictionary of National Biography.

W. G. J.

I thought I was at home, and that on taking up my Greek Testament one morning to read (as is my wont) a chapter, I found, to my surprise, that what seemed to be the old familiar book, was a total blank; not a character was inscribed in it or upon it. I supposed that some book like it had, by some accident, got into its place; and without stopping to hunt for it, took down a large quarto volume which contained both the Old and New Testaments. To my surprise, however, this also was a blank from beginning to end. With that facility of accommodation to any absurdities which is proper to dreams, I did not think very much of the coincidence of two blank volumes having been substituted for two copies of the Scriptures in two different places, and therefore quietly reached down a copy of the Hebrew Bible, in which I could just manage to make out a chapter. To my increased surprise, and even something like terror, I found that this also was a perfect blank. While I was musing on this unaccountable phenomenon, my servant entered the room, and said that thieves had been in the house during the night, for that her large Bible, which she had left on the kitchen table, had been removed, and another volume left by mistake in its place, of just the same size, but made of nothing but white paper. She added, with a laugh, that it must have been a very queer kind of thief to steal a Bible at all; and that he should have left another book instead, made it the more odd. I asked her if anything else had been missed, and if there were any signs of people having entered the house. She answered in the negative to both these questions; and I began to be strangely perplexed.

On going out into the street, I met a friend, who, almost before we had exchanged greetings, told me that a most unaccountable robbery had been committed at his house during the night, for that every copy of the Bible had been removed, and a volume of exactly the same size, but of pure white paper, left in its stead. Upon telling him that the same accident had happened to myself, we began to think that there was more in it than we had at first surmised.

On proceeding further we found every one complaining, in similar perplexity, of the same loss ; and before night it became evident that a great and terrible " miracle " had been wrought in the world ; that in one night silently, but effectually, that hand which had written its terrible menace on the walls of Belshazzar's palace, had reversed the miracle ; had sponged out of our Bibles every syllable they contained, and thus reclaimed the most precious gift which heaven had bestowed, and ungrateful man had abused.

I was curious to watch the effects of this calamity on the varied characters of mankind. There was universally, however, an interest in the Bible now it was lost, such as had never attached to it while it was possessed ; and he who had been but happy enough to possess fifty copies might have made his fortune. One keen speculator, as soon as the first whispers of the miracle began to spread, hastened to the depositories of the Bible Society and the great book-stocks in Paternoster Row, and offered to buy up at a high premium any copies of the Bible that might be on hand ; but the worthy merchant was informed that there was not a single copy remaining. Some, to whom their Bible had been a " blank " book for twenty years and who would never have known whether it was full or empty, had not the lamentations of their neighbours impelled them to look into it, were not the least loud in their expressions of sorrow at this calamity. One old gentleman, who had never troubled the book in his life, said it was " confounded hard to be deprived of his religion in his old age " ; and then another, who seemed to have lived as though he had always been of Mandeville's opinion, that " private vices were public benefits," was all at once alarmed for the morals of mankind. He feared, he said, that the loss of the Bible would have " a cursed bad effect on the public virtue of the country."

As the fact was universal and palpable, it was impossible that, like other miracles, it should leave the usual loopholes for scepticism. Miracles in general, in order to be miracles at all, have been singular or very rare violations of a general law, witnessed, by a few, on whose testimony they are received, and in the reception of whose testimony consists the exercise of that faith to which they appeal. It was evident that, whatever the reason of this miracle, it was not an exercise of docile and humble faith founded on evidence no more than just sufficient to operate as a moral test. This was a miracle which it could not be denied, looked marvellously like a " judgment." However, there were, in some cases, indications enough to show how difficult it is to give such evidence as will satisfy the obstinacy of mankind. One old sceptical fellow, who had been for years bed-ridden, was long in being convinced (if, indeed he ever was) that anything extraordinary had occurred in

the world ; he at first attributed the reports of what he heard to the " impudence " of his servants and dependents, and wondered that they should dare to venture upon such a joke. On finding these assertions backed by those of his acquaintance, he pished and pshawed, and looked very wise, and ironically congratulated them on this creditable conspiracy with the insolent rascals, his servants. On being shown the old Bible, of which he recognised the binding, though he had never seen the inside, and finding it a very fair book of blank paper, he quietly observed that it was very easy to substitute the one book for the other, though he did not pretend to divine the motives which induced people to attempt such a clumsy piece of imposition ; and on their persisting that they were not deceiving him, swore at them as a set of knaves, who would fain persuade him out of his senses. On their bringing him a pile of blank Bibles, backed by the asseverations of other neighbours, he was ready to burst with indignation. " As to the volumes," he said, " it was not difficult to procure a score or two ' of commonplace books,' and they had doubtless done so to carry on the cheat ; for himself, he would sooner believe that the whole world was leagued against him, than credit any such nonsense." They were angry, in their turn, at his incredulity, and told him that he was very much mistaken if he thought himself of so much importance that they would all perjure themselves to delude him, since they saw plainly enough that he could do that very easily for himself, without any help of theirs. They really did not care one farthing whether he believed them or not : if he did not choose to believe the story he might leave it alone. " Well, well," said he, " it is all very fine ; but unless you show me, not one of these blank books, which could not impose upon an owl, but one of the very blank Bibles themselves, I will not believe." At this curious demand, one of his nephews who stood by (a lively young fellow) was so excessively tickled, that though he had some expectations from the sceptic, he could not help bursting out into laughter ; but he became grave enough when his angry uncle told him that he would leave him in his will nothing but the family Bible, which he might make a ledger of, if he pleased. Whether this resolute old sceptic ever vanquished his incredulity, I do not remember.

Very different from the case of this sceptic was that of a most excellent female relative, who had been equally long a prisoner to her chamber, and to whom the Bible had been, as to so many thousands more, her faithful companion in solitude, and the all-sufficient solace of her sorrows. I found her gazing intently on the blank Bible, which had been so recently bright to her with the lustre of immortal hopes. She burst into tears as she saw me. " And has your faith left you too, my gentle friend ? " said I. " No," she answered, " and I trust it never will. He who has taken away the Bible has not taken away my memory, and I now recall all that is most precious in that book which has so long been my meditation. It is a heavy judgment upon the land ; and surely," added this true Christian, never thinking of the faults of others, " I, at least, cannot complain, for I have not prized as I ought that book which yet, of late years, I think I can say, I loved more than any other possession on earth. But I know," she continued, smiling through

her tears, "that the sun shines, though clouds may veil him for a moment; and I am unshaken in my faith in those truths which have been transcribed on my memory though they are blotted from my book. In these hopes I have lived, and in these hopes I will die." "I have no consolation to offer to you," said I, "for you need none." She quoted many of the passages which have been, through all ages, the chief stay of sorrowing humanity; and I thought the words of Scripture had never sounded so solemn or so sweet before. "I shall often come to see you," I said, "to hear a chapter in the Bible, for you know it far better than I."

No sooner had I taken my leave than I was informed that an old lady of my acquaintance had summoned me in haste. She said she was much impressed by this extraordinary calamity. As, to my certain knowledge, she had never troubled the contents of the book, I was surprised that she had so taken to heart the loss of that which had, practically, been lost to her all her days. "Sir," said she, the moment I entered, "the Bible, the Bible." "Yes, madam," said I, "this is a very grievous and terrible visitation. I hope we may learn the lessons which it is calculated to teach us." "I am sure," answered she, "I am not likely to forget it for a while for it has been a grievous loss to me." I told her I was very glad. "Glad!" she rejoined. "Yes," I said, "I am glad to find that you think it so great a loss, for that loss may then be a gain indeed. There is, thanks be to God, enough left in our memories to carry us to heaven." "Ah! but," said she, "the hundred pounds, and the villainy of my maid-servant. Have you not heard?" This gave me some glimpse as to the secret of her sorrow. She told me that she had deposited several bank-notes in the leaves of the family Bible, thinking that, to be sure, nobody was likely to look there for them. "No sooner," said she, "were the Bibles made useless by this strange event, than my servant peeped into every copy in the house, and she now denies that she found anything in my old family Bible, except two or three blank leaves of thin paper, which she says she destroyed; that if any characters were ever on them they must have been erased, when those of the Bible were obliterated. But I am sure she lies; for who would believe that heaven took the trouble to blot out my precious bank-notes? They were not God's word, I trow." It was clear that she considered the "promise to pay" better by far than any "promises" which the book contained. "I should not have cared so much about the Bible," she whined, hypocritically, "because, as you truly observe, our memories may retain enough to carry us to heaven" —a little in that case would certainly go a great way, I thought to myself —"and if not, there are those who can supply the loss. But who is to get my bank-notes back again? Other people have only lost their Bibles." It was, indeed, a case beyond my power of consolation.

The calamity not only strongly stirred the feelings of men, and upon the whole, I think, beneficially, but it immediately stimulated their ingenuity. It was wonderful to see the energy with which men discussed the subject, and the zeal, too, with which they ultimately exerted themselves to repair the loss. I could even hardly regret it, when I considered what a spectacle of intense activity, intellectual and

moral, the visitation had occasioned. It was very early suggested that the whole Bible had again and again been quoted piecemeal in one book or other ; that it had impressed its own image on the surface of human literature, and had been reflected on its course as the stars on a stream. But alas ! on investigation it was found as vain to expect that the gleam of star-light would still remain mirrored in the water, when the clouds had veiled the stars themselves, as that the bright characters of the Bible would remain reflected in the books of men when they had been erased from the book of God. On inspection, it was found that every text, every phrase which had been quoted, not only in books of devotion and theology, but in those of poetry and fiction, had been remorselessly expunged. Never before had I had any adequate idea of the extent to which the Bible had moulded the intellectual and moral life of the last eighteen centuries, nor how intimately it had interfused itself with habits of thought and modes of expression ; nor how naturally and extensively its comprehensive imagery and language had been introduced into human writings, and most of all where there had been most of genius. A vast portion of literature became instantly worthless, and was transformed into so much waste paper. It was almost impossible to look into any book of merit, and read ten pages together, without coming to some provoking erasures and mutilations, some *hiatus valde deflendi*, which made whole passages perfectly unintelligible. Many of the sweetest passages of Shakespeare were converted to unmeaning nonsense, from the absence of those words which his own all but divine genius had appropriated from a still diviner source. As to Milton, he was nearly ruined, as might naturally be supposed. Walter Scott's novels were filled with perpetual lacunae. I hoped it might be otherwise with the philosophers, and so it was ; but even here it was curious to see what strange ravages the visitation had wrought. Some of the most beautiful and comprehensive of Bacon's Aphorisms were reduced to enigmatical nonsense.

Those who held large stocks of books knew not what to do. Ruin stared them in the face ; their value fell seventy or eighty per cent. All branches of theology, in particular, were a drug. One fellow said that he should not so much have minded if the miracle had spunged out what was human as well as what was divine, for in that case he would at least have had so many thousand volumes of fair blank paper, which was as much as many of them were worth before. A wag answered, that it was not usual, in despoiling a house, to carry away anything except the valuables. Meantime, millions of blank Bibles filled the shelves of stationers, to be sold for day-books and ledgers so that there seemed to be no more employment for the paper makers in that direction for many years to come. A friend, who used to mourn over the thought of palimpsest manuscripts—of portions of Livy and Cicero erased to make way for the nonsense of some old monkish chronicler—exclaimed, as he saw a tradesman trudging off with a handsome morocco-bound quarto for a day-book, " only think of the pages once filled with the poetry of Isaiah, and the parables of Christ, sponged clean to make way for orders for silks and satins, muslins, cheese, and bacon ! " The old authors, of course, were left to their

mutilation ; there was no way in which the confusion could be remedied. But the living began to prepare new editions of their works, in which they endeavoured to give a new turn to the thoughts which had been mutilated by erasure, and I was not a little amused to see that many, having stolen from writers whose compositions were as much mutilated as their own, could not tell the meaning of their own pages.

It seemed at first to be a not unnatural impression that even those who could recall the erased texts as they perused the injured books—who could mentally fill up the imperfect clauses—were not at liberty to inscribe them ; they seemed to fear that if they did so the characters would be as if written in invisible ink, or would surely fade away. It was with trembling that some at length made the attempt, and to their unspeakable joy found the impression durable. Day after day passed ; still the characters remained ; and the people at length came to the conclusion that God left them at liberty, if they could, to reconstruct the Bible for themselves out of their collective remembrances of its divine contents. This led again to some curious results, all of them singularly indicative of the good and ill that is in human nature. It was with incredible joy that men came to the conclusion that the book might be thus recovered nearly entire, and nearly in the very words of the original, by the combined effort of human memories. Some of the obscurest of the species, who had studied nothing else but the Bible, but who had well studied that, came to be objects of reverence among Christians and booksellers ; and the various texts they quoted were taken down with the utmost care. He who could fill up a chasm by the restoration of words which were only partially remembered, or could contribute the least text that had been forgotten, was regarded as a sort of public benefactor. At length, a great public movement amongst the divines of all denominations was projected to collate the results of these partial recoveries of the sacred text. It was curious again, to see in how various ways human passions and prejudices came into play. It was found that the several parties who had furnished from memory the same portions of the sacred text, had fallen into a great variety of different readings ; and though most of them were of as little importance in themselves as the bulk of those which are paraded in the critical recensions of Mill, Griesbach, or Tischendorf, they became, from the obstinacy and folly of the men who contended about them, important differences, merely because they were differences. Two reverend men of the synod, I remember, had a rather tough dispute as to whether it was twelve baskets full of fragments of the five loaves which the five thousand left, and seven baskets full of the seven loaves which four thousand had left, or vice versa : as also whether the words in John vi. 19, were " about twenty or five and twenty," or " about thirty or five and thirty furlongs."

To do the assembly justice, however, there was found an intense general earnestness and sincerity befitting the occasion, and an equally intense desire to obtain, as nearly as possible, the very words of the lost volume ; only (as was also, alas ! natural) vanity in some ; in others, confidence in their strong impressions and in the accuracy of their memory ; obstinacy, and pertinacity in many more (all aggravated as

usual by controversy), caused many odd embarrassments before the final adjustment was effected.

I was particularly struck with the varieties of reading which mere prejudices in favour of certain systems of theology occasioned in the several partisans of each. No doubt the worthy men were generally unconscious of the influence of these prejudices; yet, somehow, the memory was seldom so clear in relation to those texts which told against them as in relation to those which told for them. A certain Quaker had an impression that the words instituting the Eucharist were preceded by a qualifying expression "and Jesus said to the twelve, Do this in remembrance of me," while he could not exactly recollect whether or not the formula of baptism was expressed in the general terms, some maintained it was. Several Unitarians had a clear recollection that in several places the authority of manuscripts, as estimated in Griesbach's recension, was decidedly against the common reading; while the Trinitarians maintained that Griesbach's recension in those instances had left that reading undisturbed. An Episcopalian began to have his doubts whether the usage in favour of the interchange of the words "bishop" and "presbyter" was so uniform as the Presbyterian and Independent maintained, and whether there was not a passage in which Timothy and Titus were expressly called "bishops." The Presbyterian and Independent had similar biases; and one gentleman who was a strenuous advocate of the system of the latter, enforced one equivocal remembrance by saying, he could, as it were, distinctly see the very spot on the page before his mind's eye. Such tricks will imagination play with the memory, when preconception plays tricks with the imagination! In like manner, it was seen that while the Calvinist was very distinct in his recollection of the ninth chapter of Romans, his memory was very faint as respects the exact wording of some of the verses in the Epistle of James; and though the Arminian had a most vivacious impression of all those passages which spoke of the claims of the law, he was in some doubt whether the apostle Paul's sentiments respecting human depravity, and justification by faith alone had not been a little exaggerated. In short, it very clearly appeared that tradition was no safe guide; that if, even when she was hardly a month old, she could play such freaks with the memories of honest people, there was but a sorry prospect of the secure transmission of truth for eighteen hundred years. From each man's memory seemed to glide something or other which he was not inclined to retain there, and each seemed to substitute in its stead something that he liked better.

Though the assembly was in the main most anxious to come to a right decision, and really advanced an immense way towards completing a true and faithful copy of the lost original, the disputes which arose, on almost every point of theology, promised the world an abundant crop of new sects and schisms. Already there had sprung up several whose names had never been heard of in the world, but for this calamity. Amongst them were two who were called the "Long Memories" and the "Short Memories." Their general tendencies coincided pretty much with those of the orthodox and Rationalists.

It was curious to see by what odd associations, sometimes of contrast sometimes of resemblance, obscure texts were recovered, though they were verified, when once mentioned, by the consciousness of hundreds. One old gentleman, a miser, contributed (and it was all he did contribute) a maxim of prudence, which he recollected, principally from having systematically abused it. All the ethical maxims, indeed, were soon collected; for though, as usual, no one recollected his own peculiar duties or infirmities, every one, as usual, kindly remembered those of his neighbours. Husbands remembered what was due from their wives, and wives what was due from their husbands. The unpleasant sayings about "better to dwell on the housetop," and "the perpetual dropping on a very rainy day," were called to mind by thousands. Almost the whole of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were contributed, in the merest fragments, in this way. As for Solomon's "times for every thing," few could remember them all, but everybody remembered some. Undertakers said there was a "time to mourn," and comedians that there was a "time to laugh"; young ladies innumerable remembered there was a "time to love"; and people of all kinds that there was "a time to hate"; everybody knew there was a "time to speak"; but a worthy Quaker reminded them that there was also a "time to keep silence."

Some dry parts of the laws of Moses were recovered by the memory of jurists, who seemed to have no knowledge whatever of any other parts of the sacred volume; while in like manner one or two antiquarians supplied some very difficult genealogical and chronological matters, in equal ignorance of the moral and spiritual contents of the Scriptures.

As people became accustomed to the phenomenon, the perverse humours of mankind displayed themselves in a variety of ways. The efforts of the pious assembly were abundantly laughed at; but I must, in justice, add, without driving them from their purpose. Some profane wags suggested there was now a good opportunity of realizing the scheme of taking "not" out of the Commandments, and inserting it in the Creed. But they were sarcastically told that the old objection to the plan would still apply; that they would not sin with equal relish if they were expressly commanded to do so, nor take such pleasure in infidelity, if infidelity became a duty. Others said that if the world must wait till the synod had concluded its labours, the prophecies of the New Testament would not be written till some time after their fulfilment; and that if all the conjectures of the learned divines were inserted in the new edition of the Bible, the declaration in John would be literally verified, and that "the world itself would not contain all the books which would be written."

But the most amusing thing of all, was to see, as time made man more familiar with this strange event, the variety of speculations which were entertained respecting its object and design. Many began gravely to question whether it was the duty of the synod to attempt the reconstruction of a book of which God himself had so manifestly deprived the world, and whether it was not a profane, nay, an atheistical, attempt to frustrate His will. Some, who were secretly glad to be released from

so troublesome a book, were particularly pious on this head, and exclaimed bitterly against this rash attempt to counteract and cancel the decrees of heaven. The Papists, on their part, were confident that the design was to correct the exorbitancies of a rabid Protestantism, and show the world, by direct miracle, the necessity of submitting to the decision of their church and the infallibility of the supreme Pontiff; who, as they truly alleged, could decide all knotty points quite as well without the Word of God as with it. On being reminded that the writings of the Fathers, on which they laid so much stress as the vouchers of their traditions, were mutilated by the same stroke which had demolished the Bible (all their quotations from the sacred volume being erased), some of the Jesuits affirmed that many of the Fathers were rather improved than otherwise by the omission, and that they found these writings quite as intelligible and not less edifying than before. In this, many Protestants very cordially agreed. On the other hand, many of our modern infidels gave an entirely new turn to the whole affair, by saying that the visitation was evidently not in judgment, but in mercy; that God in compassion, and not in indignation, had taken away a book which men had regarded with an extravagant admiration and idolatry, and which they had exalted to the place of that clear internal oracle which he had planted in the human breast; in a word, that if it was a rebuke at all, it was a rebuke to a rampant "Bibliolatry." As I heard all these different versions of so simple a matter, and found that not a few were inclined to each, I could not help exclaiming, "In truth the devil is a very clever fellow, and man even a greater blockhead than I had taken him for." But in spite of the surprise with which I had listened to these various explanations of an event which seemed to me clear as if written with a sunbeam, this last reason, which assigned as the cause of God's resumption of his own gift, an extravagant admiration and veneration of it on the part of mankind—it being so notorious that those who professed belief in its divine origin and authority had (even the best of them) so grievously neglected both the study and the practice of it—struck me as so exquisitely ludicrous that I broke into a fit of laughter which awoke me. I found that it was broad daylight, and the morning sun was streaming in at the window and shining in quiet radiance upon the open Bible which lay on my table. So strongly had my dream impressed me, that I almost felt as though, on inspection, I should find the sacred leaves a blank, and it was therefore with joy that my eyes rested on those words, which I read through grateful tears: "The gifts of God are without repentance."

The name of Canon R. H. Sheppard is intimately associated with the work he accomplished at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and an interesting account of his years there has been written by the Rev. R. J. Northcott, one of the clergy of the Church. *Dick Sheppard and St. Martin's*, with an introduction by the Rev. Pat. McCormick (Longmans Green & Co., 3*s.* 6*d.* net), is a tribute to the personality of a man who endeared himself to a wide circle of friends, and it tells of the services which he rendered to many of all classes who realized the depth of his love and sympathy with all forms of distress.

THE REFORMATION.

By the Rev. A. J. MACDONALD, D.D.

THIS article is being written in a west country village where I am in sight of the Castle, the Church and the Priory. The Castle and the Church are still functioning as in mediæval times, but the Priory is a ruin. All this symbolizes the origin, course and result of the Reformation in England, and to a greater or less extent, according to circumstances, in other lands. In Scotland the cathedrals are in ruins as well as the abbeys, a significant fact indicating that the Scottish Reformation was more than a national revolt against foreign ecclesiastical domination; that it was also a radical attack against the mediæval theory of local Church organization. The Scottish Reformation, like the Swiss and to a less extent the German, attacked the mediæval Church at both ends, it struck at papal administration at the centre, and at episcopal organization at the circumference. In England and Scandinavia the bishops were left untouched, and so the cathedrals were not gutted as north of the Tweed, but the English abbeys were ruined, because the monks were the militia of the Papacy.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the mediæval system of Church organization was a thousand years old. Before the time of Gregory the Great, it was by no means certain that the Church in Europe would become organized as a single hierarchy with the Papacy at the head. Indeed there were at least two periods in later centuries when the European authority of the Papacy was threatened by the civil power. Charles the Great at the beginning of the ninth century might well have set up in Germany a Church independent for all practical purposes of the Papacy. The theory and practice of the territorial Church, the *Eigenkirche*, of Teutonic tradition, might have become the model for the rest of feudal Europe. This was prevented by the coronation of Charles by Leo III as Roman Emperor on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. Again, when the Hildebrandine Papacy was attacked by the Franconian Emperors, the whole question of Church and State was discussed in favour of the secular view by over sixty civilian writers. If the imperial principles of the civilians of Ravenna had been successfully asserted against Gregory VII and Urban II, the kings of France and England would almost certainly have shaken off the ecclesiastical hegemony of the Papacy, and the Church in Germany, France and England, would have been organized, on what we should call to-day nationalist lines. The attitude of William the Conqueror and Lanfranc as well as that of Philip I of France to Gregory VII showed clearly what was practically possible. It was not that the western emperors and western kings sought to imitate the Caesaropapism of Justinian and his successors at Constantinople, by introducing

an ecclesiastical system which placed the head of the Church either at Rome, Rheims or Canterbury under orders from the monarch, even in doctrinal matters. Western monarchs of the Middle Ages dabbled little if at all in Church doctrine. What they resented, and in England with increasing intensity as the centuries proceeded, was the interference by a foreign authority with the legal and financial administration of the realm. The attitude of William II and Henry II in the disputes with Anselm and Becket revealed tendencies in English policy which were not uprooted when the English Church leaders, supported by the Papacy, secured Pyrrhic victories in those disputes. When England became the financial milch-cow of the Papacy in the time of Henry III, during the death-struggle of the Papacy with the later Hohenstaufen Emperors, and again in the reigns of the three Edwards, when the Avignonese sojourn of the Popes enabled English money to be used to equip the French kings against English arms, the attitude of Parliament, towards papal taxation and appointments to English benefices, by means of which the flow of English money to the papal coffers was facilitated, clearly showed that the day would come when an English king would have the support of Parliament in severing the connection of the English Church with the Papacy. All this lies behind Henry VIII's legislation in the Parliament of 1529-36.

A similar tendency caused the rise of Gallicanism, a spirit of national independence, in the French Church, assisted by the French monarchy. But in France the bishops played a much more definite part than in England. In mediæval Germany the bishops had been to the fore in the struggle with the Curia, but here the question turned on the dispute between Emperor and Pope, and not on the question of a German national Church. If the German bishops frequently took an independent line, it was generally upon questions of local and transient importance, and by the time the Reformation came, the quarrel between Pope and Emperor had long been settled in favour of the Pope. Yet, the question of finance remained, but there was no Parliament to take up that quarrel as in England, and the episcopate did not imitate the example of the Gallican Church of France.

Another feature in the mediæval dispute of the Papacy with the monarchs and governments of western Europe was the question of legal appeals to Rome. At a time when the interests of justice, and the maintenance of civil peace demanded increasing efficiency in the administration of the King's courts, efficiency and reform were both hindered by the practice by which appeals not only in specifically ecclesiastical suits, but also in suits which concerned property, finance and sometimes life itself, could be lodged at Rome. If Roman law had remained the sole legal code for western Europe a clear understanding, expressed in the form of a Concordat might have been arrived at between the Papacy and the civil authority in the different western lands. But on the one side the growing *corpus* of Canon Law, and on the other the prevalence of local national codes, Carolingian and Saxon, Norman and Lombard, accentuated the clash between the national courts of law and the appellate jurisdiction of the Papacy. The tension in England was especially acute, because Roman Law possessed little

influence here, and the development of English case or common law, and also of principles of equity, caused the papal legal interference to be more acutely resented than in countries where the Common Law was practically non-existent.

Of these two factors—finance and law—finance supplied the sharper irritant in the relations between the mediæval western governments and the Papacy, and finance was to play an even more dramatic part in the immediate causes of the Reformation. Mediæval economics had broken down. The manorial system, in which agriculture was organized, became obsolete, when the tilling of the fields was largely exchanged for sheep-farming, and the enclosure of small holdings in big estates, followed upon the great development of the woollen and cloth trades. Rents fell in value, and the owners of great estates found that the profits of sheep-farming were being absorbed by the new merchant class. Moreover, increased material wealth led, as always, to a fall in the value of money. This was repeated in later centuries when the gold of California, Australia and South Africa, sent up the price of corn. Where were King and magnates to find means to counterbalance the fall in the value of the currency? The Church lands offered an obvious source of relief. The obsolescence of the monastic system, and the secularization of monastic life, gave moral justification to the secularization of the abbey lands. The Church itself felt the same need of new sources of revenue, and although in England and Germany, the cathedrals and parish churches obtained little benefit from the redistribution of monastic property, the Papacy found its own means of replenishing its coffers.

The Papacy was faced by a double financial burden. Not only had money fallen in value, as well as become more difficult and expensive to collect, but the extensive building policy of the Renaissance popes increased enormously the demand for it. Hence the resort to the old mediæval system of indulgences. These had been sold since Crusading times, but then it was to finance the public policy of the Church. Now the system was developed and more widely applied in order to secure money for the private interests of the Popes—the rebuilding of Rome, the adornment of churches and palaces, and the maintenance of the luxurious lives of the Popes and cardinals. Tetzel's commercial travelling in Germany touched off the explosive tendencies in Luther's mind.

Another factor contributing to the complicated revolution which we call the Reformation was the quickening spirit of Nationalism. Yet this factor, like some others, must be appreciated with caution. For nearly five hundred years nationalism had been the practical expression of political organization in the greater part of western Europe. In theory Europe was organized as a political whole with the German Emperor at the head. But this was no more than theory—a dream, a figment which caused the internecine wars between Pope and Emperor, resulted in German resources being wasted by useless campaigns in Italy, and hindered the appearance of German national unity until the days of Bismarck. Indeed, Hitler is still struggling with the ill-effects of this ancient chimera. The Roman Empire was revived on Christmas Day

800, when Leo III placed the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, mainly in the interests of the Church, and especially of the Papacy. The Papacy had a claim upon the Eastern Emperors at Constantinople for support against the Lombards, or indeed against any other European depredator. As this was not forthcoming, the Curia created its own Emperor, in the West, on the theory of the old Roman Empire, of which the Byzantine Emperor was the effective heir. But the successors of Charles the Great, whether Salian, Saxon, Franconian, or Hohenstaufen Emperors, never became more than spectacular figure heads of the polity. Any attempt to interfere with the Kings of England or France would have resulted in the end of the western Empire long before Napoleon finished it off at Austerlitz in 1806.

To a superficial observer the conflict between Emperor and Pope fills the stage in the history of Europe in the Middle Ages, but careful students know that the central limb of mediæval history is the record of the gradual welding together of England and France on a larger, and of the Scandinavian kingdoms on a smaller scale, and of Spain and Portugal at a later date—all upon nationalist principles, and in pursuit of nationalist aspirations. It is true that the immediate causes of war between these territorial and ethnic groups were frequently dynastic rivalries and ambitions. Yet unless the quarrelling kings had been able to carry first of all the baronage, and then the yeomen and townsmen with them, there would have been no battles of Crecy and Agincourt, and no careers for Bayard and Du Guesclin. The dynastic wars of the western kings helped in the development of nationalism in western Europe. Growing divergencies of race—and we need not quarrel with Mr. Julian Huxley or Mr. Marion Crawford, provided they will allow for historical influences—the growing divergencies of language, and the fixed barrier of geography all contributed to foster the national spirit and idea, long before the sixteenth century dawned. Internally the process was carried on as the monarchy in western lands gradually overcame the centrifugal influence of the feudal baronage. Monarchy became the centre of national cohesion. The early rise and steady development of nationalism in mediæval Europe explains why England failed to implement the victories of Edward III and Henry V in France, why the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were welded into modern Spain, and why, because the attention of German Emperors was deflected across the Alps, away from the national interests of Germany, that area of western Europe remained incohesive, the sport of Austrian, Spanish and French interference, as well as Italian, right down to the late nineteenth century.

Many text-books of history are content to enumerate the developing spirit of nationalism in the sixteenth century as one of the features or causes of the Reformation. No doubt that estimate is true, but it was only partially true. Nationalist tendencies were strong in France and Spain, but the Reformation failed to establish a footing in the former, and never properly got its toe across the threshold in the latter. On the contrary, in the original terrain of the Reformation—Germany—nationalism was weak. Yet undoubtedly the quickening of the rate in the national pulse in England, Scotland and Switzerland—if we may

in a general way apply the term to the steady republicans of that land—was largely responsible for the success of the Reformation in those areas—the causes of this we shall touch upon in a moment. In the meantime another factor, which has been too hastily appraised as a fundamental element in the rise of the nationalist spirit, and of which the Reformation was an expression, must be noticed. It has been too hastily assumed that the discovery of America, and the lifting and broadening of the European horizon, resulting from that enterprise, was one of the causes of the Reformation. But again this historical opinion must be accepted with reserve. Spain and Portugal benefited at first more largely than England by the fruits of naval and mining enterprise in the Americas, and yet no Reformation appeared in Spain. The discovery of America never affected Germany, the original home of the Reformation. If English independence and Nationalism were quickened, as no doubt they were, by the rapid absorption of the spirit of adventure, born of the discovery of America, yet this took place at a later stage of the English Reformation, in the reign of Elizabeth when the results of the Reformation were already won, and were being organized and conserved. Indeed it is an interesting historical speculation whether the Reformation might not have been hindered, if not entirely prevented in England, if the commercial results of the discovery of America, or more accurately the transference of Mexican and Peruvian silver to Europe, had begun on a large scale in the first, and not in the second half of the sixteenth century. The English King and magnates would not have been so strongly tempted to reimburse their depleted coffers by appropriating Church lands. Certainly in Spain, there was never any necessity to touch the treasures of the Church, while every year the galleons sailed, laden with riches, from Mexico and South America.

To return to our brief, in the sixteenth century on the secular side Nationalism was well organized in western Europe, and the glowing picture of a mediæval Roman Empire, so gaudily painted by Lord Bryce, had long been proved to be a mirage, the creation of excited, if hopeful, imagination. What the Western nations did feel as a straight-waistcoat to their development was the still existing mediæval hegemony of the Papacy, and against this reactionary hindrance the national spirit in Germany and England undoubtedly revolted. Here, of course, the secular difficulties, created by papal interference with law and finance, merge in the religious problem, which was the main question at issue, but it is sufficient at the moment to observe that during the Conciliar Movement in the first half of the fifteenth century, when an attempt was made by churchmen to reform the Church in head and members, the national tendency was so strong that the Councils of Pisa and Constance were organized for voting purposes on national lines. There were Italian and Spanish units as well as French and German in these councils. However, the Papacy was quick to make use of this national organization of the councils, and at Basle and Florence defeated the reform programme by bringing to an end voting by nations, and by packing the Italian delegation in order to outvote the rest. Moreover, national rivalries at this and earlier councils, helped to defeat the aims

of reform. But if nationalism was muffled in the councils, yet its assertion there was symptomatic, and it is not surprising that it asserted itself in the next century successfully in Germany and England in the teeth of the Papacy, when local interests in church affairs as well as secular administration were successfully asserted as of more importance than the central interests of the Roman Curia.

One other matter must have attention before we turn to a sketch of the religious and intellectual significance of the Reformation—I refer to the humanist movement, the so-called Renaissance. Now, it is patently clear that the Renaissance, by itself, could not have inspired the Reformation, and that, on the contrary the Reformation was very much more than a humanist movement. The chief centres of humanism were Italy and France, as Dr. Funck-Brentano has recently again reminded us, and the Reformation in Italy never secured more than a foothold; and in France, in spite of Huguenot gallantry, it was finally suppressed, until quite modern times, to the limits of an obscure Protestant sect. In England the humanism of Colet and More hardly went further than the expression of a certain discontent, limited to certain individuals, with the life and teaching of the Church, and when the Reformation appeared here Sir Thomas More was found to be on the side of reaction. In Germany humanism certainly played a part in the development of men like Reuchlin and the knightly pamphleteer von Hutten, but the divine discontent which flamed up in Luther's heart was not originated by humanist studies. The strongest humanist influence in Germany was no doubt that of the Dutchman Erasmus, and Luther was never sure of him. Luther was never a Grecian in the humanist sense, although he learned Greek for the translation of the New Testament. He had been trained among the Augustinians as a schoolman, and a scholastic he largely remained to the end. Calvin in France in early life started out on a humanist career, and published a work on Seneca, but there was little humanism behind the *Institutes*, beyond knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, which formed his great literary contribution to the Reformation.

The chief humanist scholar to exert an influence upon the Reformation was Erasmus, whose Greek Testament work undoubtedly attracted the attention of students back to the primitive teaching of the Gospels, just as his zeal for S. Jerome, and other early writers quickened contemporary interest in patristic study. In later years Erasmus was a critic of the Reformation, though he never became an active opponent. Greek studies at Oxford and Cambridge, under Colet, Grocyn and Linacre, assisted by Erasmus at Cambridge, certainly laid the foundation for the acceptance of Luther's theological teaching, and at Cambridge a coterie of young Grecians who met at the White Horse Inn, near St. John's College, became known as "the Germans." But the sobriquet applied to them is significant. They were dubbed "Germans," that is to say Lutherans, and not Grecians or humanists. Although it is often contended that the Renaissance paved the way for the Reformation, and that the Reformation was no more than the theological expression or share of the Renaissance, that opinion cannot be accepted if it means that the Renaissance made the Reformation

inevitable. The fact remains that without the voice of Luther, and the constructive brain of Calvin, even the humanist work on the Greek Testament would have resulted in no more than an official edition of the Greek text issued at Rome, to take its place beside the Vulgate. About the age of thirty there appeared to be every reason to suppose that Erasmus would perform this task at Rome, under the aegis of the Cardinal of S. George. He was deflected by the invitation of Henry VIII to England in 1509. If this had been the story of the Greek New Testament in the sixteenth century, then its influence would have run to ground in the main stream of secular classical study which never succeeded in re-orientating human thought in Italy. In France a hundred thousand copies of Erasmus's Greek Testament were rapidly sold, yet the Reformation failed to establish a footing there. It appears to be a more credible conclusion that the leaders of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland made use of the humanist study of the original Greek and Hebrew writers of the Bible, in order to substantiate the new ideas which they were propagating, although their followers, especially in England, as the writings of Ridley and Cranmer, Latimer and Hooper show, were no doubt prepared for the Lutheran and Calvinist teaching by the new methods of Greek Testament study. This is a distinction which should be observed. Humanism, even when applied to the Bible text did not create the Reformation, but at the second stage, the work of Erasmus, Reuchlin and others, prepared the minds of readers of Luther's works for the reception of Reformation principles.

The influence of Erasmus was not confined to Greek Testament and patristic studies. His satirical writings, especially the *Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Moriae*), like the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, attributed to von Hutten, was a scathing criticism of the contemporary Church, and its bishops and clergy, monks and friars. Yet this kind of work had appeared before in ecclesiastical literature. The labours of Jerome painted a similarly lurid picture of the Roman clergy in the fifth century, and Peter Damiani did the same for the clergy of Italy in the eleventh century. Erasmus' work was read with interest and approval at Rome, especially in the circle of Leo X, and in England, Sir Thomas More was an enthusiastic reader, indeed he had some hand in the drafting of it. But again, the criticism of contemporary church life and teaching which Erasmus sustained throughout his career should be estimated rather as an expression of the wave of general discontent with religious conditions, which then manifested itself in western Europe, and formed favourable soil upon which the Reformation might fructify. That it confirmed the Reformers in their convictions there is no doubt, and doubtless, also, it played its part in bringing about the Counter-Reformation, when too late the Papacy began to set its house in order. Yet as a symptom of the condition of European opinion on the Church and its personnel in the sixteenth century, the satire of Erasmus is of sharp significance. It was one of many symptoms—local resentment of papal legal and financial administration, growing nationalism, the displacement of scholasticism by humanism—all indicating the same disease. Europe was wearied by mediæval theories of life and thought,

and was awaiting the Leader who should show the way to new life. So far as these criticisms were working also in the mind of Luther, to that extent they may be regarded as causes contributory to the Reformation, but they are better appraised as symptoms which rendered it necessary, and made its success certain.

It is hardly urgent to examine in detail the theological and ecclesiastical changes effected by the Reformation, derived from the teaching of Luther and Calvin. The Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith struck at the mediæval theological system as a whole. Man is saved by faith alone, and faith is a gift of God. Nothing that man can do, no matter how good, merits reward by God. Only the work of Christ was meritorious, and by faith in Christ alone can man share in Christ's merits. This was, of course, a revival of the teaching of St. Paul and of Augustine, though with a more complete depression of man's part in the process than either Paul or Augustine ever taught. The mediæval theory, splendidly systematized in the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, allowed full scope for human action and responsibility in man's relationship with God, but in practice it was vitiated by the penitential system which resulted in ordinary people attaching an exaggerated importance to good works, not the good works of the Gospel—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance—but the payment of money for the endowment of Masses, or the building of churches and priories, all in the form of fines for sins committed; and all rather of a physical than a spiritual character. The effect upon piety and holiness in individual life was disastrous. Works of piety declined into mere commercial transactions. Moreover, even the mediæval theologians saw the weakness of the whole system, and attempted to bolster it up by the theory of the treasury of merits created by the virtues of the saints. But by this device they really gave their whole case away. Ordinary human merits were confessed to be hopeless, and the saints must be called in to clear the account. The Lutheran doctrine of faith as trust in God through Christ, not only lifted the spiritual outlook of men to a higher level, but it supplied an effective instrument for the reform of personal conduct, by demanding that the possession of justifying faith must be proved, and therefore accompanied by a good life; in other words, by sanctification.

In the wake of the Lutheran teaching came the Calvinist idea of the sovereignty of God, with an exaggerated notion of the effects of divine omniscience—the doctrine of election. In the hands of less capable exponents the doctrine of election declined into mere theological determinism, and ended in fatalism. If you were one of the vessels of wrath, why worry, you could do nothing to improve your hopes, God had not merely abandoned you, but pre-destined you to damnation. But this rule of thumb was as little characteristic of Calvin's theology as the seventeenth century disparagement of works of charity and piety was of the fundamental Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. Predestinarian Calvinism, and so-called Orthodox Lutheranism were alike destined to enter the limbo of worn-out ideas into which original Lutheran and Calvinist teaching had driven the mediæval theories of merit and good works.

Luther's greatest achievement was to liberate the individual conscience in its relationship with God. Each man must settle his own account with God, assisted, but only assisted by the teaching and ministry of the Church, and looking to the Bible as the final instrument of authoritative guidance. Of course, neither Luther nor Calvin, nor the English reformers set up the letter of the Bible as the source of authority. The idea of verbal inspiration came later, and was a perversion, like the Calvinist doctrine of election, of an earlier principle of reform. The original Reformation idea was that the conscience of the penitent reader possessed the guidance of the Holy Spirit in his use of the Bible.

The revolutionary character of the Lutheran principle of justification was at once apparent. It involved the overthrow of the mediæval authoritarian view of religion, and in western Europe men turned aside from the mediæval Church in order to obtain un-hindered and unembarrassed access to God, in worship and personal life. The right of private judgment was established, and the significance of that principle for the future religious and political thought of Europe hardly needs emphasis. In its train followed not only the establishment of the Protestant Churches, but the revival of the humanist movement in the eighteenth century, when scientific thought laid the foundations for its triumphs a century later ; and also, the appearance of democracy in the seventeenth century, as the practical political ideal of the future. We may note in passing that Calvin himself was no democrat, and upheld the aristocratic idea as the best principle of political organization.

The Reformation was a great liberating movement in politics as well as religion. Yet there again, it operated upon ground which had been prepared. The mother of organized European political democracy was of course, the English Parliament, which finally established its influence during the struggle with the Stuarts in the seventeenth century, but the political structure then erected was grounded upon a foundation, which had been gradually prepared in England from the days of Edward II, even if we look no farther back in the history of Parliament. In that development the English Church played its part, as the late Miss Clarke, in her book *Mediæval Representation and Consent*, has again recently shown. An equal if not a larger part was played in the development of democracy by the theological principles set out by Calvin. His fundamental theory of the sovereignty of God aimed a blow at all previous ideas of sovereignty, ecclesiastical and political alike. The episcopal system went down before it in Switzerland and Scotland, and the Presbyterian organization of the Church carried democracy a stage farther by extending the idea of representation from the central authority, whether National Church assembly or Parliament, to the localities. The part played by the Presbyterian principle during the struggle of Parliament with the Stuarts needs no emphasis here.

Moreover, the influence of the Reformation upon subsequent political development was not confined to that exerted by Calvin's Presbyterianism. An equally powerful influence was exerted by the principle of Independency, which first appeared in practical form in the Congregationalist communities, and sprang from Lutheranism. This

represented a direct adaptation to small local units of the Lutheran principle of private judgment, first to Church organization, and then to political ideas and practice. It assisted in strengthening the conceptions of representation and consent. Local feeling and expectation must be represented in the governing body, and the representatives were responsible to their constituencies for their conduct in Parliament.

Thus the Reformation was a vast liberating movement, which secured freedom for individual thought and action, not only in the sphere of religion both in theory and practice, but it cleared the air for the rapid development of political liberty, and all the results of scientific discovery. If the Reformation had not followed close in the wake of the Renaissance it is doubtful whether the advance of science would have been assisted by the work of Kepler, Laplace and others in the eighteenth century. The attitude of the Roman authorities to Galileo and Giordano Bruno gives support to this suggestion. It may well be that some of the methods of the Reformers, and much of their mood might have been other than they were, as Erasmus more than once declared with reference to Luther. It is certainly true that the practice of toleration of individual liberty of thought was only gradually established in the churches of the Reformation. But the fundamental principle of the Reformation—justification by faith—set forth by Luther, released a stimulating principle of liberation, which was bound to issue in toleration sooner or later. Upon the recognition of that principle depends and has depended all real advance in human thought and life, even though periods may occur when in order to preserve or re-establish the conditions of orderly life, individual freedom must be inhibited for a time by the will of the exponent of some form of dictatorship. But dictatorship is never more than a temporary expedient for preserving or re-establishing the conditions of individual liberty.

The question may be raised : What was the connection of Henry VIII with the English Reformation in the light of what has already been set forth ? Let it be observed that Henry VIII, the life-long friend and correspondent of Erasmus, was a consistent opponent of Luther. Those facts supply the key to an estimate of his work. Henry was never a Reformer, even though he sanctioned the publication of the English Bible in 1538. The *Six Articles* of 1543, which re-emphasized the "real presence," Communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, vows of chastity, private masses and auricular confession, clearly indicate that Henry and his episcopal advisers never contemplated a reform of mediæval doctrine or worship. His anti-papal legislation, passed by the Parliament of 1529-36 represented the last stage of the mediæval revolt in England against papal influence in law and finance, a revolt which had been working up from the time of Henry III, expressing a desire for national independence of papal secular interference, which was as old as William the Conqueror. The so-called divorce case, which was really a nullity case, and not one of divorce at all, was indeed, more than a mere incident in the royal policy. It touched off high-explosive in the King's mind, much as Tetzel's indulgence campaign did in the mind of Luther. It is certain that if Henry had

possessed a male heir by Catherine of Aragon, the nullity case would never have arisen, and it is probable that the breach with the Papacy would not have come in his reign, although there are indications that Henry would have pressed for a reform, under the guidance of men like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, not only of the internal condition of the English Church, but of its relation with Rome. But Reform in England might well have been carried out along the lines of the Counter-Reformation, which began with the first session of the Council of Trent in 1545. The most significant incident for the Reformation in England in the time of Henry was his marriage with the Lutheran Anne Boleyn, and the birth of Elizabeth, who imbibed the religious convictions of her mother's circle. Her half-brother Edward VI was, of course, a far more zealous Reformer than Elizabeth ever became, but the reaction under Mary, and the struggle of Elizabeth with the Catholic party, prove conclusively that the English Reformation owed its success to the more moderate policy of the great Queen, who for over forty years held steadily along the lines of religious reform laid down by Cranmer and Ridley and other scholars of the English Reformation, men, who, while imbibing the theological principles of Luther, looked rather to the organization of the patristic church for the model of the reformed Church in England. Episcopacy, which Luther allowed to slide away was preserved ; the door to Genevan influences was finally closed, and Canterbury was established as the head and symbol, comparable with Rome on the one side and Geneva on the other, of a new type and temper of ecclesiastical organization and life in Europe. Hence the abbeys disappeared finally in England, but the cathedrals remained, while in Scotland both abbey and cathedral disappeared.

We have received ENGLAND : BEFORE AND AFTER WESLEY, by Dr. J. Wesley Bready, author of the two admirable " Lives " of Lord Shaftesbury and of Dr. Barnardo. Pressure on our limited space compels us to hold over a review of this new and valuable work. In the meantime we commend it as the most important book on the origin and influence of the Evangelical movement in English life which has appeared since Mr. Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party*. It is indispensable for any full understanding of the Evangelical movement, as well in regard to its future prospects as to its past achievement.

In a series entitled " Life in Other Lands " the Student Christian Movement Press publishes two volumes by Miss Hebe Spaull. They are written on original lines ; one tells the story of France, its government, its religion, and its problems. The other deals similarly with the United States of America, and few books are better adapted to give to people—and especially to young people—a clear and vivid impression of life in these lands.

THE CHURCH OF FINLAND.

I. THE LAND AND THE FAITH.

By the Rev. T. E. N. Pennell, M.A.

THE first view which a visitor gains of Finland, if like myself he sails to Helsinki, is one that impresses itself on the imagination and memory. There must be few entrances to any European country comparable to the island-strewn sea of the south-west. After a dull voyage from England, it was in startling contrast that Helsinki appeared white and shining across the blue waters under a sky full of the sunshine of a July morning. The red rocks near at hand, the wooded coast-line, the harbour seeming to run into the very heart of the town—these gave a welcome and a promise that later memories have not belied.

Finland is a country of pleasant surprises for the traveller. Its size is astonishing, more than half as big again as Great Britain. The southernmost point is about on a line with the extreme north of Scotland, and from there it stretches to the Arctic. But so far from there being perpetual ice and cold, the summer is one of glorious sunshine. The clear skies of Europe remain scarcely troubled by clouds, the nights even in Helsinki are little more than a brief twilight, and the temperature remains at a level which in England is associated only with a heat-wave. Naturally this is only in the summer months, and the winter is very different : but from June to August, and in part in May and September also, there is idyllic weather. The present writer has the recollection of a morning of sunshine, bathing in the brown waters of the Gulf of Bothnia not far short of the Arctic Circle—and that at the very end of August.

To its clear skies must be added the attraction of the countryside itself. Finland is one vast forest. Those who have learnt to love trees —the lovely clean bark of the birch, the warm sweet breath of the pine—find themselves at home. The wood is everywhere. Fields and farms there are, but fewer and smaller to the centre and north : boulders crop up in the midst of wheat, the trees press around, as if grudging the land to cultivation. The vast chains of lakes, 60,000 in all, seem themselves to be snatched from the forests which begin again at the water's edge. Down the rivers one sees perpetually timber floated or towed—in single logs dashing through rapids, drifting slowly along a timber-marked channel in the broader slower stretches, towed in bundles or a great triangle on the lower waters, waiting in vast islands on the lakes of the north.

The wealth of Finland is in the forests. In minerals the country is poor. There are a few nickel and copper mines, but practically no coal

or iron. Some granite is exported. But it is the timber that counts. The Finns themselves make good use of it. Wood is the universal building material and the universal fuel. Apart from perhaps half a dozen towns, houses even in the very centres of administration are of wood, whilst in the country a brick or stone structure is rare indeed. As late as 1890 it is said that there was no corner in Helsinki where four brick edifices met. Birch logs keep the great cylindrical stoves burning from September to May, and they are piled behind the locomotives of all but the fastest trains. But still more, wood is the country's great export—as timber or as one of its multifarious derivatives, paper, cellulose, ply-wood, bobbins and so on, even as linoleum. England above all is dependent upon Finland for her supplies of these things.

A useful handmaid of the timber is the water supply and power. It is just over a hundred years ago that the first mill was established in Tampere, dependent upon the different levels of two adjoining lakes. Tampere to-day is the great industrial centre, "the Manchester of Finland" as the people love to call it—though a city more unlike Manchester could scarcely be found. Its population is not great, some 60,000 (the total for the country is some three and a half millions), but even so it is astonishingly clean and attractive considering its factories. Partly this is due to the lakes and the trees, but partly also to the use of water-power. Tampere is being repeated in what are often yet only industrial villages, such as Mänttä, where the lakes supply power to a vast cellulose undertaking. Water, too, is the source of cheap electricity. The lovely falls of Imatra have been despoiled for this purpose, and shortly the rapids of the Oulujoki will succumb to the same need. The visitor, however, will notice the water most of all as a means of transport, and that not for goods only but for himself. Again and again he will have to take to one of the little white lake steamers. "At such times the loveliest mode of travel is by water. The shores blossom and the transparence of the green lends to the air a special appearance. The road, too, along which one travels is new and original for every traveller, innocent of the touch of any preceding voyager. No dust raised by others, no annoying intruders from the roadside; and those who chance to be making the journey together in the same boat are in some manner humbler to each other when resting on the mysterious element. For a moment they are removed from the soil of earth" (Sillanpää).

The Finnish character is perhaps to be glimpsed through two of their favourite words:

(*a*) "sisu," an untranslatable term, signifying determination and persevering energy. It is a word that spells successful effort, but also it leaves room for slowness and sometimes for casualness.

(*b*) "sauna," the Finnish steam bath. It is a stimulating experience to sit near the roof of the bath-house and feel the purifying blast of steam from the stove of hot stones, hastening the circulation meanwhile with the "vahti" or whisk of green birch twigs. And then, if possible, a plunge in a lake! It is typical of Finland's thorough and passionate seriousness.

Early and Mediæval History.

The origin of the Finns is lost in antiquity. They give an impression of a Mongol strain in their facial appearance, but this, authorities tell us, is a false deduction. A certain relationship exists with the Hungarians ; recently an exchange of visitors has kept this bond before the minds of both peoples. But the real links are with the Teutons and Scandinavians. In character and outlook they are more congenial to the English than the nations of central Europe. And this impression of kinship has its justification in Christian history. No Englishman can come to Finland unmoved by history, for it was an Englishman, Henry, who first brought the Gospel to her shores. This was in connection with the Swedish crusades of Eric IX in 1156. Henry's work lay in the west in the neighbourhood of Åbo (Turku), until he met a martyr's death. One of his immediate successors, Thomas (*c.* 1220-45) was also an Englishman. Whilst naturally he was, like Henry, mainly a missionary, he did no little to organize church life in the south-west, as for example in the matter of church taxation and a commencement to the lofty pile of Åbo cathedral. The orthodox church was meanwhile active in the East, working from Novgorod, but the significant activity came from the West by these two Englishmen.

Until the early nineteenth century the country was part of the kingdom of Sweden, rising to the status of a duchy in 1551, and a grand duchy in 1581. Indeed, the influence of Sweden has lasted until almost the present day. Swedish has in the past been the official language and Finnish the tongue only of peasants. With the rise of nationalism Finnish came into its own—though the cause was sung to victory by Runeberg in Swedish—until it now threatens to oust the other language altogether. Still there is a strong Swedish-speaking minority, and their importance is out of all proportion to their numbers ; one-tenth of the population, they supply one quarter of the university students. Their chief centres are in the south and west, where the old aristocracy still survives. Amid the humble homes of the fishermen and the effects of the nineteenth century, there can be seen the traditional manor-houses with their white painted furniture, tall tiled stoves and fine linen.

To return to history. Beginning with the thirteenth century there ensued to the missionary activity a time of growth for Finland both as church and people. Åbo held a position of ecclesiastical, military and political eminence from the first : the cathedral was consecrated in 1300, and until 1819 the town was the capital. Commerce sprang up with the Hanseatic towns and a charter was granted by Gustavus Vasa in 1525. Christianity slowly spread its customs, education and doctrines in the course of a long fight with heathenism. Its quality may be judged by the churches it has left—small steep-roofed stone buildings, humble compared with the magnificence of the Continental and English Gothic architecture of the period, yet in their castle-like strength witnessing to the good fight of faith. The Dominican liturgy was introduced in the early fourteenth century, and many mediæval songs are preserved in the *Piae Cantones* (1582). Bishop Lehtonen

sums up in the character and achievements of the Middle Ages as follows :

(*a*) Nationhood ; a unity of thought and ideals was achieved.

(*b*) Scholarship ; men from Finland made their mark on the Continent, especially in the University of Paris.

(*c*) Abuses were not present to the same degree as in other countries, though superstition was rife.

The Reformation Period.

The Reformation took place under Luther's influence. It began in Åbo with the work of Peter Särkilahti (1523-*c.* 1529), and followed much the same course as in other northern countries. All relations of the church with the Pope were broken off and the external administration was transferred to the king, i.e. the king of Sweden. By the Diet of Vesterås in 1527, part of the church property was restored to the crown and the nobility, and an order was made that God's Word was to be preached unalloyed. At this time too, the vernacular began to be used in the Swedish congregations. Martin Skytte, bishop of Åbo from 1528 to 1550, was a Dominican monk, but he had a sympathy for the Reformation and sent students to Wittenberg. Amongst them was one Michael Agricola, and he is the great figure of the Reformation in Finland. His statue stands along with the more well-known figures of Luther and Melanchthon in the Great Church in Helsinki, and a church in the town is called by his name.

Agricola, who became bishop of Åbo, carried through the change-over to Lutheranism, though in a very moderate fashion. Certain customs were retained, such as Saints' Days, honour to the Virgin, elevation at the Mass and the more important canonical hours. But Agricola insisted on the supremacy of the Bible and the doctrine of salvation by grace : he commended prayer and Bible-reading and rejected formal piety and papalism. The use of the vernacular in worship is due to him, and also the publication of the first books in Finnish—an A B C book, a Catechism, a Prayer Book (1544), a Finnish New Testament (1548), a Finnish Mass (1549), a Manual and a translation of the Psalms and of parts of the Old Testament. His Prayer Book contained the doctrine of purgatory, prayers for the dead and homage to the Virgin. Personally he was noted for his life of prayer and for the pastoral care he gave to his people.

The Reformation had many difficulties to face in the later sixteenth century—the attachment of the people to the old ceremonies, the inability of the clergy to teach evangelical doctrine satisfactorily, the attempt of John III to introduce the Roman liturgy and Jesuit activity. Unfortunately the bishop of the time, Ericus Erici (1583-1625), was a weak character. But by the Synod of Upsala in 1593 the evangelical character of the church was securely established : the Confessio Augustana and the three creeds were taken as the basis. Ericus Erici is not wholly to be condemned, for from him came such

important contributions to the life of the Finnish Church as a compound of Evangelical Church Law (1571), a Finnish Hymn Book (1580, 1614), a Ministerial Hand Book (1614), and a Scripture Commentary.

The Period of Orthodoxy.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have for their history the confirmation of the Reformation settlement. There is little in the way of outstanding men or events, but a quiet deepening of life and culture continued. Swedish-born bishops were appointed—there was still only the one See of Åbo—and J. Gezelius, father and son, are notable names : they were in office from 1664 to 1718. Lehtonen characterizes the period under three heads :

(*a*) Confirmation of the evangelical consciousness amongst the clergy ;

(*b*) Consummation of the Lutheran denominational State, but without prejudice to the independence of the Church ;

(*c*) Progress in education. People were taught to read by the clergy, and stocks are shown in various old churches formerly used for the punishment of the dullard and the idler. Instruction was given in the catechism at village inspections by bishop or minister, and at marriages and baptisms. The University of Åbo was founded in 1640 by Per Brahe and continued till the nineteenth century as the only university, when a great fire caused removal of capital and university alike to Helsinki. The Finnish Bible was issued in 1642.

From this time the great square wooden churches of the Finnish countryside began to be built. Typically the bell-tower is a separate structure. These churches are the more remarkable in that they were put up by the people themselves, without an architect or skilled direction. They testify to the progress of the faith and its contact with the lives of increasing numbers.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

Finland all this time was a part of Sweden. Thus a third of the army of Gustavus Adolphus was composed of Finns. By the Peace of Fredrikshamn in 1809, however, Russia gained control—a control lasting till 1917. There had been long wars between Sweden and Russia, of which the castle of Olavalinna at Savonlinna is a reminder. Its massive walls and towers rising from the lake justify its claim to be the strongest fortress in Northern Europe. Built to protect the frontier it was taken and re-taken by Finland and Russia to the end of the eighteenth century.

Alexander I wisely allowed Finland to continue as a grand duchy with autonomous rights, except in international affairs. It was during this Russian period that Finland introduced her monetary system, universal suffrage, the secret ballot and her one chamber Diet : economic and cultural life advanced steadily. There was persistent pressure from

Russia, so that even apart from more recent events its name earned the hatred of the Finns. They steadily refused to be assimilated, and Russia could never utilize them in its armies for foreign service.

Nationalism came to the fore, stimulated by three very different men—Porthan, a professor in Åbo ; Lönnrot, the poet of the national epic, " Kalevala " ; Snellman, the statesman patriot. Along with the nationalistic spirit, Finnish as a language came into its own again. In 1841 it was first taught in all the lower schools, Swedish remaining the State language. Then in 1902 it was given equality with Swedish, and a double set of names sprang into existence. This continues still, and except in parts where only one language is spoken, everything—street-names, notices, menus, etc.—appear in both Swedish and Finnish. In accordance with a law of 1906, 16,000 families changed their Swedish names into Finnish. The strife between the languages is not yet ended. There are now three universities in the land—State universities at Helsinki and Åbo, and a private Swedish foundation also in Åbo. At Helsinki instruction was given in both tongues until September 1937, but from that time onwards Finnish only is to be used. Still Swedish predominates in certain districts, notably round the coast, and these parishes form a separate diocese in the see of Borgå. Meanwhile, in the break-up of Czardom in 1917, Finland had declared her independence, which was acknowledged by all the powers. A brief and bloody struggle took place in 1918 between Red and White armies—which has left its mark in a voluntary military force in addition to the regular conscripted army—and the Finns regard this as the decisive crisis of their freedom. The hero of the hour was General Mannerheim. The autonomy of Finland was thus secured, though East Karelia remained and remains under Soviet Russia.

Finland was admitted to the League of Nations in 1920. The first question decided by that body was the ownership of the Åland Islands, to which both Finland and Sweden laid claim. The bitterness aroused has now died down, and the decision that gave them to Finland has not had its equity queried.

These events of the nineteenth century had their counterpart and also something of their support in the great revival movements of the time. Local stirrings, influenced by German pietism, and of an ecstatic nature, had taken place in the eighteenth century, but the big revivals only came later.

(*a*) Pietism. The leader was Paavo Ruotsalainen (1777-1852). Great numbers were influenced, especially amongst the peasantry and more recently amongst the students. The characteristic stresses are somewhat those of Keswick. Conversion is an " awakening," and emphasis is laid upon its corollaries in practical living. The meetings are of a Quaker type but (as always in Finland) with many hymns. The movement has been important as a social force, it has helped the nationalist cause and it has been connected with the establishment of People's High Schools after the Grundtvig pattern.

(*b*) The followers of Renquist (1789-1866). The movement is practically confined to Karelia in East Finland. Extremely Puritan in its first outlook and habits, it is still somewhat ascetic. Not many young

people are attracted, but there is still enthusiasm and power. It lays great emphasis on prayer and temperance.

(*c*) The Evangelicals, originated by Hedberg (1811-93). Their strength and individuality were once so marked that a schism from the Church of Finland was a threatening possibility. "Prayer-houses" of the movement are to be found in big numbers, especially in the centre and south-west. The characteristic doctrines are something of a modification of Luther's justification by faith. The universality of God's grace is fundamental: through baptism comes new birth, though salvation is accomplished by the Holy Spirit and faith. The joy of Christianity and the importance of missionary activity are marked features.

(*d*) The Laestadians, now divided into four groups. The founder, Laestadius (1800-61) did a great practical moral work amongst the Lapps. His movement is mystical and attaches great significance to life in the body of Christ's disciples. Differences between the groups are not great: some are more broadminded than others, some more keen on foreign missions; all stress salvation within the community.

All these movements have remained within the bounds of the visible church, stirring and enriching its life. Between them they affect practically the whole country. "All the most characteristic traits of the Finnish people, as pensive wistfulness, introspective devotion, unremitting endurance under suffering, have been sanctified in these movements by the Spirit of Christ."

Another nineteenth century incident should be mentioned. Apostolic succession was preserved through the Reformation period and was unbroken until 1884, when all three bishops died. In this situation, when it was not possible to obtain the assistance of bishops from outside to continue the succession, the oldest theological professor, Granfelt, was commissioned to ordain a new archbishop. Though personally reluctant he felt constrained by the situation, and Archbishop Renvall was appointed to Åbo. Recently episcopal consecrations have been with the co-operation of a bishop from Sweden, so that in time the Apostolic Succession will be claimed again by the whole episcopate.

Church Organization.

Strong democratic tendencies are everywhere evident. The country became a republic in 1919, and the legislative power is vested in a Diet and President. The highest executive power is held by the President, who is chosen for six years. The present President, Kyösti Kallio, is elected for the term March 1937 to March 1943. The Diet, composed of two hundred members, is elected by universal suffrage. Many, it is said, would wish for another form of government: the number of members of the Diet and the party divisions seem equally over-large and clumsy. But the spirit of democracy is strong and will not be foregone. More than half the land is in private ownership, mostly in small holdings; the State comes next with 39 per cent. Joint stock companies have some 6 per cent., and communities (including churches) but one per cent. Co-operative enterprise again is

powerful: everywhere one sees the signs Valio (dairy produce), Elanto (clothing, etc.), and S.O.K. (i.e. the English C.W.S.), and there are various others.

So, too, in the Church of Finland. It is a State church but it possesses autonomy in matters of faith and order. The chief authority is the Church Assembly, which consists of the bishops, thirty-five clergy and fifty-two laity, together with representatives of the State Council, the High Courts, and the Theological and Legal Faculties of Helsinki. Bishops are elected by the clergy, and any man may be chosen even though not yet ordained: this possibility actually arose a few years ago. The three names at the head of the poll are put before the State President, who normally nominates the first. There is a long and useful tradition that professors from the theological faculties have often been appointed. The parish clergy and organists are elected in much the same fashion. Applications are made by any who wish, when a vacancy occurs: of these applicants three are chosen (in the case of a vacant rectorship) to conduct a service and preach a trial sermon. The congregation votes, every confirmed person having a single vote, and those over forty or with ten years' experience of married life having a second vote. The bishop usually appoints the one at the head of the poll. Should none of the three please the congregation, they can invite a fourth, whom they wish, to stand for election: but his appointment depends upon his polling a clear majority over the total votes for the others.

Training of Ordinands.

There are no separate theological colleges, and the course is therefore taken wholly at the university. Five years are spent in the study of theology, in which a considerable knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is required. Opportunity for practical experience is also given. Then comes ordination (there are no separate orders of priests and deacons), and two years as an assistant, working as and where need requires but without a permanent appointment. At the end of this period and the passing of a pastoral examination, he is free to apply for a permanent post as assistant curate. Only after ten years and a minimum age of twenty-eight can he apply for an independent charge. No exceptions are made at any point of this system: instances exist of middle-aged men undertaking this thorough course of training.

Women have also the possibility of studying theology and proceeding to ministerial work: they act as assistants in certain parishes, but they are not ordained and they do not minister in the church services.

Church Finances.

Income is mainly derived from a church tax, collected by the State from every confirmed member. This amounts to but one half per cent., as against a ten per cent. State tax, and a five per cent. municipal tax. There are of course, allowances of a certain sum free of tax and

a graduated scale. Contrary to previous practice, clergy also now pay the church tax.

Salaries are, on the whole, fair. (The English pound is at present worth 225 Finnish marks.) In the country (and most parishes are of this type) a rector will receive about 60,000 FM, and a curate about 40,000 FM a year, each having in addition a house and land, and the latter bringing in possibly 20,000 FM a year in rent : a further reckoning is the fees for the registration of births, marriages and deaths ; these are considerable. A small parish with only one minister will be worth perhaps, 36,000 FM, with the same extras as above. An increase in salary is given according to the years of service in a parish. During the first two years after ordination, whilst still without a permanent appointment, the salary is 24,000 to 36,000 FM. In Helsinki church office fees are considerable, some 40,000 FM a year in each parish, so that a rector all told there has at least 100,000 FM annually. In contrast, bishops and theological lecturers and professors, paid by the State, have relatively small incomes and not infrequently have to eke them out by other means.

Present-day Activities.

Finland, during the last century and more particularly since her independence, has been a progressive country. She led the way in conceding women suffrage and representation, and it is noteworthy that it was gained without agitation. In Helsinki she has shown what can be done in the reduction of noise : the use of horn, whistle or bell is prohibited. In the arts Sibelius has made her famous internationally in music, Saarinen in architecture and Nurmi in athletics. She is, too, exceedingly prosperous. She can pay her debts in a fashion no other European country can imitate. There is no unemployment, but rather a shortage of workers—and that in a country where women seem to work on a practical equality with men.

At the same time, Finland has a long lee-way to make up. Many features leave much to be desired in ideals and still more in practice, e.g. the speed and comfort of railway transport, the road surfaces. Still more, the standard of social life ought to be higher than it is. Finland boasts that she has no slums. True, she has none of the evil quarters of London or Manchester. The workers' suburbs are not merely tolerable but often decent and (at least in Helsinki) even beautiful. *But* the workers' apartment houses consist of flats, of from one to three rooms : the average number in a family is five. There is no half-holiday in the week, and insurance has only begun with a 1937 law. Still, Finland is doing much economically and socially. Less than one per cent. are illiterate.

Present-day activities of the Church are numerous and varied, There is no need to detail the different societies, for they cover much the same ground as the corresponding organizations in England and, indeed, were largely founded under English influence or even (like the Finnish Bible Society in 1812) under English auspices—John Paterson in the instance mentioned. They witness to a living and

vigorous Christianity concerned with home and foreign missions, children and youth, students, seamen, prisoners, industry, settlement work. Specific mention may be made of a few :

(*a*) The Christian Association of the Youth of Finland, i.e. Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. With a similar constitution to its parent in England, this association has remained not merely in close touch with but dominated by definitely Christian and evangelistic aims. It seeks primarily the ends of faith and devotion.

(*b*) The Deaconnesses' Homes in Helsinki, Oulu, Viipuri and Sortavala. The deaconness is a valued assistant. Some are nurses simply, but others do Sunday School and pastoral work. Their services are far more widespread than their namesakes in England, though Finland has nothing corresponding to such lay women workers as Church Army sisters.

(*c*) The Central Federation for Parish Work, begun in 1920, aims at a closer fellowship and co-operation between parishes. The Christian Press Bureau, dating from 1919, centralizes and propagates articles concerning Church matters.

Special attention is paid to the task of winning youth for the Church. Naturally the towns offer more possibilities here than the country. Amongst the clergy staffing any one of the enormous parishes of Helsinki there is a pastor specially appointed for youth. Church clubs are devoted to adolescent needs, in which social amenities are provided and evangelistic and devotional efforts made. During the months of June to August activities are centred upon a home in the country or preferably on an island in the neighbourhood of Helsinki. A Finn makes a summer home his first luxury, and the Church homes are appreciated by young men and girls alike. They stay as long as they wish at a very cheap rate, the upkeep of the home being really the concern of the congregation as a whole. During the day they are at work in the town, but are able to reach the home at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each evening ends with a hymn, talk and prayer, led by the youth pastor.

The Oxford Groups have entered Finland recently and have at least caused comment and discussion. A few groups have been formed, and some prominent churchmen like the Bishop of Tampere have given their support. There is division : those in contact with them testify without exception to blessing, others suspect a tampering with the Lutheran heritage.

Other Religious Bodies.

Complete toleration exists by the 1923 law of religious liberty. With this, however, 96-97 per cent. of the whole population belongs to the Lutheran church ; that is to say, it is Lutheran by confirmation and not by parentage only.

A diminishing remnant belongs to the Greek Orthodox church. Proselytizing efforts were made during the period of Russian rule,

but without much success. Their chief strongholds to-day are a church in Helsinki and the monastery of Valamo, a group of islands on Lake Ladoga. This monastery has wide estates and great fame from 1550 until this century, and its treasures reveal its great past. Now numbers have greatly fallen and pilgrims hardly come. Largely the lovely islands are a tourist attraction. The monks wear black cassocks and flowing black capes, with Russian boots : their flat-topped hats have a long black veil. Mostly the hair is left uncut, and this falls in long locks over their shoulders. The present writer stayed some days in Valamo and enjoyed the beauty of the island scenery, and the singing of the choir at the great church. The services are of the usual Orthodox type, and in some respects still carry their ancient meaning of mystery and worship. But they evidently had little significance for the congregation, who had no part in them and moved about their own business or devotions paying no attention to readers and choir. Nor did the monks themselves appear more interested : perhaps a score of the few hundreds were present in the church ; many were in the monastery courtyard gossiping during the services. The lack of aim and power was very striking in contrast to the Finns. By a decree of 1925 all members of the Orthodox Church must be Finnish citizens, but those of Valamo were evidently of Russian extraction—and so too, most of the Orthodox folk in Finland. Nevertheless they are given full rights by the Republic. Their bishops are elected by a Synod and appointed by the State President in exactly the same way as those of the Church of Finland, and they receive a part of the Church taxes out of all proportion to their numbers. In the centre of Finland some have been affected by the Laestadians, and attend both the Orthodox services and the Laestadian meetings : this paradox naturally can have no permanence.

Other sects—Roman Catholics, Methodists, Pentecostal Christians, etc.—are very small indeed. Together with such other bodies as the Jews and those who belong to no faith at all they number just over two per cent.

Relations with the Church of England.

A feeling of kinship with other Lutheran churches has long been realized. Regular sessions are now held of the Lutheran bishops of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In the consecration of the Lutheran bishop of Esthonia, the Archbishop of Upsala and the Bishop of Tampere took part.

Conferences with representatives of the Church of England culminated in the agreed statement of 1934.

> " All the delegates of both Churches recommend that gradually the ministry should be unified by each taking part in the other's consecration ; that we grant the members of the Church of Finland the right to communicate in the Church of England : and we recognize the possibility of members of the Church of England communicating in Finland without making any recommendation ; and that we look forward in the future to mutual

conference between the Church of England and other Churches in communion with it."

"We are of opinion that both Churches hold the most fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith."

There has been only one Finnish consecration since 1934: an invitation was sent to England for an English bishop to take part in it. Reply came too late. There have been several English consecrations in the same period. Finnish bishops are willing to come. Have we reciprocated this expression of Christian fellowship from Finland?

(*A concluding article will deal with the Worship and Life of the Church of Finland.*)

INDIA CALLING. Charles Winsland, B.D. *Allenson.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

This little book is a veritable *multum in parvo*, and should be of almost invaluable use to the student of India's needs. It covers a vast range of subjects both religious and social, whilst its survey of the Simon Report is most helpful. The author evidently loves India and desires the best for that great land. His love has not blinded him, but is like a searchlight focused on both India's beauty and her sore distress. The chapters on India's religions, or at least three of them, are most illuminating. One is glad that the position of the Anglo-Indians has been brought to light. These people deserve both sympathy and practical help.

It is obvious that only Christ can unite the peoples of that vast land, and one lays down the book with the prayer that in Him India may find her soul.

The questions appended to each chapter make the book especially suitable for Study Circles and Missionary Study Groups.

E. H.

A fascinating brochure is provided in *St. Paul's Cathedral, London Then and Now* by Arthur E. Henderson, F.S.A., R.B.A., F.R.I.B.A. (*S.P.C.K.*, 3*s.* 6*d.* net). The author, with the aid of a number of admirable drawings and photographs, traces the history of the various buildings that have occupied the site of the Cathedral. The earliest was a Temple of Diana, which was later incorporated with an Anglo-Saxon Church. A great fire in 1087 gave the Normans the opportunity of erecting the great edifice which stood with many additions until the great fire of 1666 enabled Sir Christopher Wren to design his great masterpiece. Mr. Gerald W. Henderson, Sub-Librarian and Keeper of the Muniments of the Cathedral contributes a Foreword in which he pays tribute to his namesake's knowledge and technical skill, and comments on the value of the book as showing the glory of old Saint Paul's.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN GERMANY.

By GERTRUDE FARION.

IT is by no means easy for the British observer to grasp the significance of the Church controversy in Germany. The totalitarian claims of the State are as foreign to his way of thinking as the specific difficulties of the Churches which are faced by them. Only a certain acquaintance with the history of the Church in Germany, the traditional solution of the problem of Church and State, and of the position of the Churches immediately after the war, can enable him to see the present conflict in its proper setting.

The first thing to strike the student of the Church situation in Germany is the lack of unity within the Church, which is a direct result of the development the Reformation took in that country. It is still a controversial point among scholars whether Luther judged the situation correctly and furthered the cause of the Reformation most effectively, by endeavouring to secure the support of powerful princes such as Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Some would argue that, had he not turned his back on the rising peasants in 1525, it would have been possible to found a real Church of the people (*Volkskirche*) instead of a Church of the princes, and that it is the most urgent task of the present day, if the Evangelical Church is to survive at all, to form a true Church of the people. Such considerations *ex post facto* seem, however, to be of little value. The fact remains that Luther did consider the territorial princes as decisive factors in his Church policy and consequently developed his conception of the prince as *summus episcopus* in his territory, which led to the insertion of the famous clause *cuius regio eius religio* into the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

This provision was to have the most far-reaching consequences. First, the decision whether the Reformation was to be accepted at all in a certain State was placed entirely into the hands of the princes, leaving their subjects no influence whatsoever. This is in itself a gross violation of the principles of the Reformation. Thus, when the times of the Counter-Reformation came, Catholic princes were enabled to stamp out the Reformation throughout their territory, no legal protection being provided for their Protestant subjects. This happened in Bavaria during the reign of Maximilian (1573-1651), who had been educated by the Jesuits at the university of Ingolstadt. Hence, though we may be accustomed to think of Germany as a mainly Protestant (or,

as the Germans would have it, an Evangelical) country, we should not forget that the percentage of Roman Catholics (in Germany they are called simply Catholics) is comparatively high. Some of the larger States such as Bavaria and Baden are preponderantly Catholic, while Prussia, at least in its central parts, Saxony and Hanover are Evangelical.

Secondly, owing to the fact that the territorial princes were left the choice as to which Church of the Reformation they would adhere, a second division was added to the first, which sadly affected the power and unity of the Evangelical Church in Germany: the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, before which all other denominational differences within the Evangelical Church appear insignificant. This difference is one in faith as well as order. The Lutherans, who consider the Augsburg Confession of 1530 as their profession of faith, belong to an episcopal church, which up to very recent times was supported by the State. On the other hand, the Reformed, adopting as they did the Heidelberg Catechism of definitely Calvinist and Zwinglian views or a similar profession of faith, placed all authority in the Church itself.

It is true, an attempt was made in 1817 to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches by force, in the so-called United Church of Old Prussia. As, however, its name implies, this union only affected the older parts of Prussia, leaving the more recently acquired, such as Hanover, and the other German States entirely out of account. To the present day, there are twenty-eight Evangelical Churches in Germany with a membership varying from 19,898,531 (Prussia) to 331,304 (Oldenburg), presenting a most suitable target to a State, whose whole aim appears to be co-ordination and centralization.

The problem of the relation between Church and State was solved in a different manner in the different Churches. According to the Lutheran theory, the supreme power in the Church was vested in the territorial princes, to whom the *superintendents* and *general superintendents* were responsible. The connection between Church and State was at all times very close and can be traced throughout all the vicissitudes of Prussian history with its strong emphasis on the unity of throne and altar. The State was looked upon as the natural protector of the Church, and Christian service often as identical with service as a citizen. In support of this view, theologians would quote Romans xiii. 1, and the way was open for Church sanction of all actions of the State.

In this connection, a doctrine developed in the Continental Churches, the so-called "theology of orders," gains an added importance. With an almost instinctive distrust of the materialism implied in the traditional Catholic doctrine, developed by Thomas Aquinas, of the graduated hierarchy of Nature and Supernature, and its consequences as regards the respective positions of Church and State, the Reformers substituted for it "the fundamental contrast between faith in God and faith in the Self as two completely different attitudes."[1] The spiritual and the temporal spheres were, in theory at least, com-

[1] *Christian Faith and the Modern State*, by Nils Ehrenstrom, p. 110.

pletely separated. In practice, however, a certain *modus vivendi* had to be devised, and the doctrine of the orders was developed to meet the demands of the situation. This doctrine is based on the distinction between the orders of creation, such as the family, of preservation, and of redemption; or, in other words, between God the Creator, who created the world, God the Preserver, who is at work in nature and history, and God the Redeemer, whose sphere of action is the Church. According to this theory, the Church belongs to the order of redemption, which is ruled by the law of grace. But opinions are divided as to which order the State belongs to. Some would assign it to the order of creation together with the family, and as such it would share in the dignity of the Gospel itself as a direct manifestation of the Divine Will. Others would regard the State merely as a provision of God against evil, necessitated by the fall, and as such as essentially sinful. According to this view it would belong to the order of preservation.

To the British reader this may appear a very irrelevant distinction. It has, however, proved to be of the utmost importance in recent times, because it has served to emphasize the difference between those who are willing to render to Caesar the things which are God's, and those who would wish to preserve the fundamental tension between the Church and the State, the temporal and the spiritual power. The whole development of Protestantism in Germany has tended to blur the line of demarcation between that which is due to God and that which is due to Caesar, a line that is even at its best not more than faint. Professor Piper's remark, " The actual problem of German Protestantism is, To what extent can Christianity attain a national form without losing its universality and absoluteness?"[1] throws an interesting sidelight on the Church situation in Germany.

The nationalistic tendencies within the Evangelical Church in Germany were strengthened by the marked emphasis laid upon what Continental thinkers call the " historical moment." It is impossible, they would argue, to serve God in the abstract. He places us into concrete situations in order to test us. They are of His own making, and He means us to work in and through them. Each concrete situation, as it arises, is God-given, and to do our duty in it as best we can, is identical with performing God's will. His call comes to us through the orders in which He has ordained that we should live, the family, the nation (*Volk*) and the State. By serving these to the utmost of our powers, we serve Him best. It can easily be seen that an argument on these lines pushed to the extreme must result in a destruction of the entire Christian ethic and a dissolution of the original tension between the Church and the world. It is, therefore, important to realize that there exists a strong movement in Continental Protestantism which would consider the State as belonging to the order of preservation, not as an absolute but a relative order, whose very existence is a proof of the depths into which man has fallen and whose claims can at any moment be overruled by those of the Church.

The whole development of Protestant thought in Germany has led on the one hand to a complete separation of the Church and the

[1] *Recent Developments in German Protestantism*, S.C.M. Press, 1934, p. xv.

State as two distinctly different spheres, and on the other hand to an identification of Church and State, which has all but emptied the Church of its true meaning. The lack of interest taken by Continental Churches in social problems, which struck the Anglo-Saxon members of the Oxford Conference, has its origin in the doctrine of the respective duties of Church and State, the dispensation of social justice belonging to the sphere of the State, while the easy acceptance of National Socialism by the majority of the German clergy is only a result of the previous identification of Church and State. With the spiritual heritage that is its own, Protestant theology on the Continent had only one choice, that of becoming " eschatological," or merely apologetic of the *status quo*.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that these theological distinctions were of any general importance in the years that followed the war. There were few periods in the history of the Evangelical Church in Germany in which organized religion was at a lower ebb. This situation is illuminated by the fact that, according to the Weimar Constitution of 1919, religious instruction in schools was no longer compulsory, and the decision whether children should attend Scripture classes was either entrusted to the parents or, in the case of older pupils, to the children themselves. Thus a generation grew up, a large proportion of which was unacquainted with or even hostile to the Christian faith, while only a small but keen minority endeavoured to lead a Christian life.

But the official as well as private disregard of Christianity did not exclude an ever-growing interest in things of the spirit. In fact, the urge towards religion was very strong indeed in the post-war years. The materialism and scepticism of the age could not satisfy the longing for something higher. It is a reason for profound contrition that the Evangelical Church in Germany was not able to satisfy these desires. It had no message to give to the thousands who came back from the War, weary and disillusioned. Nor was it prepared to welcome those who had suffered at home and continued to suffer through the occupation of the Ruhr, the inflation, and prolonged periods of unemployment. The multitudes that might have filled the churches in Germany were attracted by one or the other of the many pseudo-creeds, mostly of political colour, which our prolific age offers in such abundance. That the uneducated masses should accept a party programme as their gospel is easy to understand. That numbers of educated and highly trained people should have accepted it demands an explanation.

This explanation lies in the fact that alongside the Protestant and Catholic traditions in Germany a third *Weltanschauung* or creed had arisen which proved to be a most serious rival. As a result of the Reformation which left Germany with a large Roman Catholic minority as well as a considerable number of regional Churches, a division of Germany not only in the field of faith and order but affecting all departments of life, in fact the entire historical and political outlook of the nation, ensued. It is seldom realized in England that there existed, and still exist in Germany two different traditions side by side, the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic. Both were within limits justified,

both were taught in schools. Not only did the treatment of mediæval history or the account of the Reformation differ according to the religious belief which determined the survey, even after the foundation of the Second Reich by Bismarck in 1871, members of the two Churches viewed each other with distrust. The Evangelical north would never trust the Roman Catholics, who, as they believed, were dissatisfied with the Reich Bismarck had founded, nor could the Roman Catholics forgive Bismarck his betrayal of the ancient ideal of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, by founding a Reich which did not include Austria and had a Protestant at its head. It is true, efforts were made by the Roman Catholic community to play their part in the Second Reich. The Centre Party proved one of the strongest supports of the government throughout all the vicissitudes of the pre-War and post-War periods. A signal success was won in 1917, when the law against the Jesuits, which dated from 1872, was repealed, the Roman Catholic Count Hertling was appointed Chancellor to the Protestant Emperor William II, and the leader of the Centre Party, Peter Spahn, took over the Ministry of Justice. During the Republic Roman Catholic influence steadily increased, and in 1925 a Roman Catholic politician contested Hindenburg in his candidature for the office of Reichspresident. It is, however, interesting to note that during the election the ancient religious difference was revived, which proved that the unity achieved in the political field was only skin deep.

The real integrating power in Germany after 1870 was what has been called the "Third Confession,"[1] which consists of a strange blending of philosophical, poetical, and genuinely Christian elements, and traces its origin as far back as the eighteenth century. It draws on the idealism of Kant, Fichte and Hegel as well as on the humanism of Goethe. Ardent patriots like Langbehn, the author of the Rembrandt-German, unknown outside the limits of the national community, have contributed to it as well as thinkers of world-wide reputation, such as Nietzsche. This new conception of the world is essentially heroic. It regards man primarily as a fighter, who can only fulfil his destiny by fighting evil and doing good. He is at the same time servant and master of the universe, which he serves best by revealing its secrets. He is the never-resting wanderer over the face of the earth, ever dissatisfied with his achievements and ever setting out on new quests. He may bow his knee before a Higher Power, but this would resemble rather the obeisance of a mighty noble before his liege lord than the prostration of the creature before its Creator. Above all, he is sure that his aspiration will win for him the crown of glory at the end, a prize which he claims as his due and by no means considers as a gift of grace. The hero of Goethe's poem Faust is the prototype of this ideal, which is in all essentials a revival of the Pelagian heresy to which some specifically German traits have been added. Moreover, it was a national ideal, and with its heroic conception of life admirably suited to the mentality of the Second Reich with its recent acquisition of power.

[1] Waldemar Gurian: *Der Kampf um die Kirche im Dritten Reich*, p. 16. Vita Nova Verlag, Lucerne.

The loss of the War led to an added emphasis on the nationalistic elements of this *Weltanschauung*, which influenced the traditional Lutheran Christianity to a far greater extent than has generally been realized. Professor Piper sums up the situation most shrewdly in the passage quoted above. Here again, as in the political field, Germany has lagged far behind her more fortunate Western neighbours. She has failed to develop a Church, which, while showing all essential features of true Christianity, yet expresses to the full her own national characteristics, as e.g. the Church of England does in so remarkable a measure.

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, a struggle was going on between Lutheranism and the neopaganism described above. It was the Evangelical Church which compromised again and again. In particular the left wing of the clergy, the so-called liberals, endeavoured to unite their nationalism with the Christian faith. In order to attract that part of the educated population which was drifting into a cultivated paganism, they added to the Gospel message ideas which were of a totally different origin. The writer knows of an instance when, in 1918, two texts were given to each candidate at confirmation, one chosen from the Bible and another from literature. Such instances could easily be multiplied. Sermons were introduced by the recital of poems whose poetical and sentimental value was certainly beyond reproach, but the very choice of which proved that the spirit of the world was entering the Church. It is, therefore, not surprising that these pastors should not have hesitated to accept National Socialism with all its implications.

It is not within the scope of this article to describe the phenomenon of National Socialism in full detail. It may suffice to say that like all totalitarian creeds it has the tendency to organize man in all his activities, in his work, his recreation, his family life, and even in the most sacred of all spheres, in his religion. As far as the Church is concerned, the totalitarian ideal is expressed in the slogan : One Reich, one Volk, one Church ! At the outset it was generally believed that one Church could only mean one Christian Church. Not only did the party programme lay down that National Socialism stood on the foundation of " positive Christianity," Hitler himself had subsequently stressed the point in April 1933 in Potsdam. There is every reason to believe that the creation of a national Church which would embrace both the Evangelical and the Roman Church was certainly at one time at the back of the minds of those in power. This plan would, however, have met with such opposition that it was speedily set aside. But what meaning could " One Church " have then ? To-day it may be supposed that after the serious opposition of the Churches in face of all endeavours of the State to co-ordinate them, the " One Church " of the Nazi ideology may well be a pagan Church not worthy of the name, built of the material described above.

One Reich, one Volk, one Church ! was a very attractive and well-timed suggestion. What could be more reasonable, it was argued, than that the political unity which had been achieved should find its perfect expression in a united Church ? The very existence of twenty-eight

regional Churches as well as that of the Catholic Church was a denial of all the principles of National Socialism, which derives from the racial unity in which it believes the demand for unity in all departments of life. From the outset, it was obvious that the appeal for a united Church would not meet with any serious objections from that section of the clergy who had been accustomed to thinking in terms of the Church national rather than in terms of the Church universal. Any objections that might exist were all the more easily met by pointing out the astonishing successes achieved by the party in the political field.

In fact, there already existed a strong group within the Evangelical Church, the German Christians, who preached a strongly nationalized version of Christianity, styling themselves " the stormtroopers of Christ in the struggle to destroy physical, social and spiritual misery."[1] One of their pamphlets contains the following sentences which will shed some light on the type of their Christianity. " We reject the spirit of Christian cosmopolitanism. We want to overcome the dangerous phenomena such as pacifism, internationalism, Freemasonry a.s.o. originating in it, by our belief in the national mission laid upon us by God."[2] The spirit which dictated these words was not altogether alien to a number of Evangelical clergy, and it is no mere coincidence that the Church elections of July 1933 were prefaced by Hitler with the following words : " It is natural that, in the interest of the rebirth of the German nation, I should wish the new elections by their results to support our new national (Volks- und Staatspolitik) policy. . . . The attainment of this end cannot be guaranteed by the forces of a religious petrification, which turn away from this world and attach no importance to the events and phenomena of the age. It can only be realized by the forces of a living movement. I see these primarily collected in that section of the Evangelical Church people who, as German Christians have consciously accepted the National Socialist State."

One Reich, one Volk, one Church ! In terms of the National Socialist ideology, a united Church would mean a racially pure Church. The extension, however, of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service which had originally only affected civil servants, teachers, lawyers, to the Church ministers proved to be a stumbling-block to many, and it was here that the first signs of opposition appeared. As early as September 1933, the theological faculty of the University of Marburg warned the Church against admitting race and nationality (Volkstum) as criteria of eligibility to her pale, lest " the reverence for the Creator be supplanted by the reverence for the creature."[3]

In four great waves the authorities attempted to unite the Evangelical Churches, or in other words to integrate the Church into the State. These efforts are marked by the names of Reichsbishop Mueller, Dr. Jaeger and Dr. Zoellner. They were only in part successful. A

[1] Fritz Lieb : *Christ und Antichrist im Dritten Reich*, p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

[3] Fritz Lieb : *Christ und Antichrist im Dritten Reich*, p. 57.

small but determined minority resisted. In this study we are not concerned with all the details of this struggle. It may suffice to recall a few outstanding events : the establishment of the Confessional Church in deed though not yet in name at the Barmen Synod in January 1934, the following synods in Westphalia and Berlin in March 1934, the meeting of the representatives of the different denominational groups and free synods at Ulm in May 1934, where the Confessional Church was formally established, and the synod at Oeynhausen. Each of these meetings was an answer to some form of coercion by the State, which a considerable minority of ministers of the Church deemed an intolerable interference into matters strictly clerical. Their protest, though at first loud, has gradually become fainter and fainter. To-day, it is scarcely audible. It is still there, however, in spite of cruel persecutions.

It has been asked why a minority should so persistently refuse the offers made by the State, a State, it must be emphasized, whose general policy is generally approved of. The answer to this question is, to my idea, that they realize the tension that exists between God and Caesar and endeavour to render unto God the things which are God's. At bottom, the struggle within the German Church is one between the two trends in German Protestantism described above, between those who hold that the State as a Divine creation has claims to the unreserved allegiance of its subjects, and those others who recognize the State as belonging to this world and therefore not exempt from moral judgment. It may not even be saying too much, if one adds that the present struggle is a direct outcome of the weakness in the Lutheran position, which did not succeed in establishing a workable relationship between the Church and the State. Though the question remains, whether a stable relationship between the spiritual and the temporal power is possible or even desirable.

One fact, however, emerges clearly out of this extremely complex situation and that is the rebirth of the Evangelical Church in Germany. As Dr. Kuenneth has it : " To understand the significance of the Confessional Church and its great synods means realizing that, in these times of violent upheaval in the Church, a discovery of undying importance was made, the discovery of the unique reality of the Church."[1]

[1] *Wort und Tat*, February 1936.

We have received from Messrs. Thynne & Co. three pamphlets :

The Sword of the Spirit is by Dr. D. H. C. Bartlett and is characterized by the author's pungency of phrase.

Is There a Key? by Rev. A. Frank Evans, deals clearly with problems of interpretation in connection with Revelation.

Who Founded the Church? by Janette Steer, has as its subtitle : " An argument and its logical conclusion." We are not impressed by the logic.

THE SOJOURN OF THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT

And Its Relation to Secular History.

By the REV. C. CAMERON WALLER, D.D.
Principal of Huron College, Canada.

WHILE much has been written in recent years about the condition of things in Egypt during the sojourn of the Israelites in that country and the identification of the Pharaohs of Joseph and of the oppression and Exodus with different monarchs, a good deal of uncertainty and of obscurity has surrounded the subject, partly because of the incomplete character of the ancient records, and partly because of different schools of interpretation of Biblical chronology.

Many have insisted that the children of Israel were in Egypt four hundred years, while others set the time at two hundred and fifteen years, and obviously the difference of two centuries makes a tremendous difference.

Now we have the claim based on Professor Garstang's investigations at Jericho, corroborated by Sir Charles Marston, that the date of the fall of Jericho must have occurred about 1400 B.C. The reason for this is that the scarabs of Egyptian kings found in the tombs of Jericho terminate in the reign of Amenhetep III, 1413—1377. A series of some eighty scarabs of various Pharaohs were found in the tombs, but none later than the date of Amenhetep III. The evidence of the pottery discovered in Jericho corroborates the dates of the scarabs.

The list of the Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty is as follows :*

Aohmes I	1573—1560 B.C.
Amenhetep I ..	1560—1539 „
Thotmes I	1539—1514 „
Thotmes II	1514—1501 „
Thotmes III.. ..	1501—1447 „
Amenhetep II ..	1447—1423 „
Thotmes IV ..	1423—1413 „
Amenhetep III ..	1413—1377 „
Akhenaten	1377—1361 „

If these be correct, the fall of Jericho occurred in the reign of Amenhetep III, 1413—1377. The Exodus occurred forty years before in the reign of Amenhetep II who reigned from 1447—1423. This forces the period of Joseph back into the time of the " Middle Kingdom," which brings us up to a point where it is absolutely necessary

* *The New Knowledge About the Old Testament*, by Sir Charles Marston, p. 116.

for us to make up our minds as to the Biblical interpretation of the length of the sojourn in Egypt.

THE DURATION OF THE SOJOURN IN EGYPT.

By Genesis xv. 13—Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them—four hundred years.

This is often taken to mean the affliction in Egypt was to last four hundred years. The Hebrew text as we have it makes a pause before "four hundred years," which refers to the time of sojourning, as well as "affliction."

Exodus xii. 40, LXX version.—The sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt AND CANAAN was four hundred and thirty years.

Galatians iii. 17.—The Covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul.

St. Paul makes the Covenant promise to Abraham four hundred and thirty years before the giving of the law at Sinai.

Lastly, Genesis xv. 16.—In the fourth generation they shall come hither again.

Jacob	Judah
|	|
Levi	Zerah
|	|
Jochebed	Zimri or Zabdi
|	|
Moses	Achan

Joshua vii. 1, 1 Chronicles ii. 4-7.

Moses died one month before the entrance to Canaan; Achan less than a month after. The four hundred and thirty years between the Covenant of Abraham and the Giving of the law at Sinai divides exactly into two hundred and fifteen years in Canaan, and two hundred and fifteen years in Egypt.

Genesis xii. 4.—Abraham was seventy-five when he entered Canaan and one hundred when Isaac was born—Genesis xxi. 5.

He sojourned 25 years in Canaan and begat Isaac.
Isaac sojourned 60 years and begat Jacob.—Genesis xxv. 26.
Jacob sojourned 130 years when he entered Egypt—Genesis xlvii. 9.
Total .. 215 years.

If Israel spent four hundred and thirty years in Egypt and the Bible figures are correct (which we contend they are), the Mother of Moses must have been some two hundred and fifty-five years old when Moses was born, for Levi, the Father of Jochebed, died at one hundred

and thirty-seven, some ninety-four years after Jacob and his sons entered Egypt. Moses was eighty at the time of the Exodus, which makes the whole interval between the death of Levi and the birth of Moses somewhere about two hundred and fifty years.

We conclude, therefore, with Josephus, the late Sir William Dawson and others that Israel was in Egypt only two hundred and fifteen years. Counting back from the Fall of Jericho, this brings us into the "Middle Kingdom" which, according to the Cambridge Ancient History, terminated within a few years of 1580 B.C.*

The Exodus took place in the reign of Amenhetep II, 1447—1423. Two hundred and fifteen years takes us back to 1663—1638 as the time during which Jacob came into Egypt. Joseph was thirty-nine when Jacob came into Egypt and one hundred and ten when he died, fifty-four years after Jacob. Taking the earliest possible date for Jacob's entering into Egypt as 1663, this would bring us to 1592, or twelve years before the termination of the "Middle Kingdom" or Hyksos Dynasty. If we take the later date, 1638, it brings us to 1567, or thirteen years after the King arose who "knew not Joseph," which leads us to the conclusion that the Exodus occurred fairly early in the reign of Amenhetep III; in fact, there is no very obvious reason why Moses and Aaron should not have appeared at his court at the beginning of his reign and demanded the release of their people.

THE HYKSOS DYNASTY.

The following notes on the Hyksos Dynasty are gathered from the Cambridge Ancient History, volume I; direct quotations are indicated by inverted commas.

> "The Hyksos conquest was the greatest national disaster that ever befell the Egyptians until the Assyrian conquest a thousand years later. Its memory was never forgotten and it left on the minds of the Egyptians an enduring hatred of the Asiatics."
>
> "The Hyksos were doubtless chiefly Semites of the northern Syrian type."
>
> "It was to the horse and chariot as well as to superior weapons that the invaders owed their victory."

When we come to enquire into the duration of this Dynasty, the names of its Kings in historical succession and the possible identification of the Pharaoh of Joseph, we are confronted with apparently insurmountable difficulties, but accepting as reliable the dates of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the conclusion already drawn from the Biblical chronology, we can find some corroboration from what is known of the general character of the Hyksos period from Egyptian records with the impression formed of the character of the Pharaoh of Joseph and the Egyptian monarchy described in Genesis, and, similarly, from what is known of the Eighteenth Dynasty compared with the picture which we gather from the earlier chapters of Exodus. Anything revealed as to the character and customs found in Egypt recorded in the Book of Genesis belongs, on the view advocated, to the Hyksos Dynasty, and anything revealed in the Book of Exodus concerning Egypt and its Kings belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

* *Cambridge Ancient History*, volume 1, page 315.

If it be correct that the Hyksos period lasted some two hundred years, and it cannot have been much less, and the Israelites left Egypt in the reign of Amenhetep III, our Biblical records in Genesis and Exodus probably stretch over the whole of the two Egyptian periods, of the Hyksos and the Eighteenth Dynasty, for Amenhetep III was the last but one of the Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and his successor, Akhenaten, reigned some sixteen years.

In religion, the Hyksos Kings were monotheistic. The religion of Egypt at the time of the plagues was definitely polytheistic. It is stated in the Cambridge Ancient History that, with the above exception, monotheism was unknown to the native religion of Egypt. The story in Exodus definitely presents the struggle between the Israelites and the Egyptians as a religious conflict. Moses goes to Pharaoh and requests him in the name of the Lord to let the people go three days' journey into the desert to sacrifice to the Lord their God (Exodus v. 3). When Pharaoh proposes that the Israelites should perform their religious rites in Egypt, Moses refuses on the ground that the thing they would sacrifice was the object of Egyptian worship (Exodus viii. 26).

The abomination of the Egyptians " is their idol, the Sacred Bull."

In the Genesis story, Chapter XLI, Pharaoh himself (verse 38), says to his servants, " Can we find such a man as this in whom God's spirit is ? " and again (in verse 39), " since God has caused thee to know all this." This would not exclude some idolatry amongst these Hyksos Kings, though there is no mention of anything of the kind, but we find, Jacob, on his return from Syria, carefully collecting all the idols from among his family and burying them (Genesis xxxv. 2-4).

Rachel, Jacob's favourite wife, born in Syria, stole her father's sacred images, so that apparently, while the Syrians recognized one supreme God, they were not entirely free from idolatrous worship.

It is quite evident from what is known of the Hyksos Kings that part of their unpopularity was due to their religious worship, which differed from that of the Egyptians. Thus, when the new king arose that " knew not Joseph," and the Hyksos Kings were driven out and the old Egyptian idolatries were restored, the Israelites would be very unpopular with the Egyptians, and the Israelites, in their turn, as the oppressions continued, would almost certainly become contaminated with Egyptian idolatry.

This we know to have been the case, and when Moses disappeared for forty days during the sojourn in Sinai, two months after the Exodus from Egypt, Aaron makes the golden calf, attempting to symbolize the proper worship of Jehovah under the most popular idolatrous emblem of Egypt.

St. Paul in Romans directs our attention to the significance of the conflict in Egypt. Romans ix. 17, " The Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, ' even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew in thee my power and that My name might be declared throughout all the earth '."

In regard to the plagues, it is quite easy to see their religious significance in relation to Egyptian idolatries. The God of the Hebrews

is, indeed, in every direction more powerful than the gods of the Egyptians.

The fragmentary character of the records of the Hyksos Dynasty must, in part, be accounted for by their great unpopularity in the succeeding Dynasty. Evidently their records were largely destroyed. Manetho gives the names of their first Kings : Salitis, Bnōn, Apakhnas, Apophis, Iannas, and Aseth. There were certainly several Kings of the name of Apophis, or, in Egyptian, Apopi.

There were two, Yekeb-hal (" Jacob is god ") and Yekeb-ba'al (" Jacob is lord "). We are strongly tempted to suggest that these persons were named in honour of Jacob. Was the mourning of the Egyptians for Jacob emphasized in Genesis l. 3 and 9-10 for the sake of Joseph, or had the venerable patriarch so impressed the Egyptians and the Hyksos Kings that they named their sons in his honour? When Jacob was introduced to Pharaoh, he blessed him. In New Testament times, it is asserted that, " without contradiction, the less is blessed by the better " ; from the oriental viewpoint, Jacob was a greater person than Pharaoh.

We do not know the name of the last King of the Dynasty, but that he came to an end shortly after the death of Joseph seems practically certain, and in that long period of some one hundred and sixty years the movement began which reduced the Hebrew immigrants from the proud position which they had occupied as the honoured guests of the Hyksos Kings to the miserable position of serfdom depicted in the earlier chapters of Exodus. Between the expulsion of the Hyksos and the birth of Moses there was a period of eighty years, and Moses was eighty years old when he returned to Egypt to deliver the people. The period thus falls into two equal parts. The more intense persecution with the effort to annihilate all the male children began shortly before the birth of Moses.

We must not, however, forget that we have twenty-seven years of the reign of Amenhetep II in which to place the Exodus, and at present it does not seem possible to fix the dates much more closely than that. If we accept as certainly fixed the accession of Aohmes I as 1573, and assume no interval between that event and the expulsion of the Hyksos, we might reason thus : Aohmes is the King who arose who " knew not Joseph," therefore Joseph was dead. He died at the age of one hundred and ten. He was thirty when he stood before Pharaoh and his father did not come down to Egypt till sometime in the third year in the famine, that is, nine years later (Genesis xlv. 6). Therefore, Joseph was going on for forty when Jacob arrived.

The children of Israel were two hundred and fifteen years in Egypt, and for seventy years were under the protection of Joseph, which leaves one hundred and forty-five to the Exodus, which brings us to 1428, that is to say, in the reign of Amenhetep II, but five years before his death.

This constitutes an independent corroboration of Sir Charles Marston's presentation of the evidence for the date of the Exodus, working back from the destruction of Jericho, which seems eminently satisfactory.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE FOCUS OF BELIEF. By A. R. Whateley, D.D., Rector of Harford, Devon. *Cambridge University Press.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

In his Preface, by no means easy to follow, for Dr. Whateley's style is almost as obscure as his subject is abstruse, he says : " I have tried to trace the course of several convergent lines of thought that lead, in and for my own mind, to an absolutely focalized view of the Christian creed. My mind has followed spontaneously an ideal of simplicity, unification and concentration, to which not a few others, I suspect, are also groping. This essay in focalization relates to our understanding of faith no less than of its doctrinal content. If the object of faith should prove to be, in respect of its intellectual commitments, not many things but one inclusive thing : in other words, if ' Redemption ' (including all that it directly presupposes) be in itself not a composite but a single idea, then two results should accrue. First, we may expect to find this one dominant idea a master-key for the interpretation of all Christian—and ultimately of all religious—truth. Secondly, faith itself must surely prove far easier to understand and justify than when, however concentrated upon God, it is more or less dissipated. Among the items of God's revelation, its own function being simplified and centralized, its relation to reason and the will assumes a new lucidity." The work as a whole may thus be represented by the thesis as set forth in these words as a deep study of the essence of Christianity and of the problems connected with it. The style is dignified if lacking lucidity and directness of expression.

In sixteen chapters this thesis is elaborated and they are all good, even if we do not see eye to eye with the author ; and what is more important even if we have not the time at our disposal which would be required even by a complete perusal of this work without any criticism. He discusses science, philosophy and faith ; ethics, theology and faith ; the truth of the idea of God ; the content of the idea of God ; faith and the Will ; faith and reason, faith and intuition. Salvation and the fundamental idea of death ; salvation and the response to the human will ; the atonement as the rationale of Divine Forgiveness ; the Atonement as Sacrifice, and the Divine victory over evil. These and many other kindred topics are discussed in an interesting and illuminating manner. His remarks on Sin are sound. Sin is wrong doing *in its character* as committed against God. " Sin itself," he remarks, " is congenital, therefore racial " (p. 96). There is nothing so much our own as our sin. It is essentially personal on the side of the sinner, and yet the absoluteness of sin as sin remains. Original sin even where it automatically expresses itself in action, cannot be personal as between man and God, and is therefore not by itself truly sin. But by virtue of it sins are sins. This central sinfulness, or perverted nature, in each of

us is truly racial; for the individual is racial. It will be remembered that Aristotle described man as a social (political) being. This view of sin, set forth fully in the reviewer's *Atonement and Modern Thought* (pp. 1-61 : " Sin and Atonement ") is psychological as well as philosophical, for if the true solidarity of mankind is to be represented by the Atonement, it is because there is a true solidarity in its sin. As to the Atonement itself, Dr. Whateley follows the Swedish writer, Dr. Aulén, who distinguished three views : the " Abedardian," sometimes called the " subjective " view, the " Latin " held by Anselm and other mediæval writers, and the " classic," attributed to Luther and certain Fathers, which Dr. Whateley adopts. The " Latin " view includes a number of theories, conservative and modern, but all characterized by the postulate in some form, of an *active*, or at least positive, part played by the humanity of Christ in the Atonement, such as representation, universal manhood, and the " strange modern theory of the Perfect Penitent." This type includes Anselm and the Reformers, except Luther. The classical view he maintains is the doctrine of the New Testament and of the earlier Fathers and Luther; it accepts the Atonement as the direct undivided act of God, including Christ in His Divine Nature. The human nature is the medium or instrument, not the agent or co-agent. This stands in contrast to the double or broken act implied by the interposition of a Mass-offered Sacrifice, or the plea of perfect human righteousness. What if this be really God's own theory? he asks. This seems to cut at the root of the hypostatic or personal unity of the Christ, both Son of man and Son of God in one Person, and opens into a large field of theological debate and discussion, although the writer appears to eschew controversy. Herein we consider that the value of this work largely lies, not in this that it is a real contribution to any constructive system, but in this that it provokes theological thought and challenges philosophical enquiry.

There are those who would not accept the epigram " the one absolute focus is the Cross," but who would prefer to say that the one absolute focus is the Incarnation. The supreme fault of the work, if one can speak of fault in connexion with so well written and conceived a study, is its Barthian sympathy. Warned of Barthian lines of thought the reader will find much that will help and interest him in his own search for a unification and concentration of the Christian creed. The question raised by the writer is whether " Redemption," and all that it implies, is itself not composite, but a single idea; in fact, the dominant idea of Christianity, and consequently the master key of all religious truth. This is the writer's own conclusion. He does not work up to the belief in God or the Gospel. He posits both from the outset. He pleads for a more adequate sense of the transcendence of God (p. 2). As regards the immanence of God he seems not to like the idea. He says, " Goodness perishes continually in this life, in human characters. It is the tragedy of the Fall that it does. But a God immanent in the ruin would be a greater tragedy still. As to the Holy Spirit he asks : " Is not the Holy Spirit essentially God in us? " He says the presence of the Holy Spirit is rather transcendent *a tergo* than immanent. It is so utterly deep as to be not so much within as beneath. He seems

trying to express the idea so finely expressed in St. Patrick's breastplate about the Christ :

Christ be with me,
Christ within me,
Christ behind me,
Christ before me,
Christ beside me,
Christ to win me.

On considering the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its relation to Theism he leads to the Trinitarian doctrine. But his formula will not be grasped by every one. He says : " In brief, Christ is God on the Church's side of its Godward relation ; the Holy Spirit is God on the individual's side of this Christward relation." In a word, " Christ is in Heaven, we and the Spirit on earth." We are thus led to the Trinitarian doctrine (pp. 156 f.). This is a fine section. He insists upon the distinction of the Divine Persons in the Godhead, and upon the Unity in the Godhead, and that therefore we must think of God as *super-personal.* How effectively the late Primate D'Arcy used that word when writing about the idea of God ! " Persons," our writer says, " are the highest forms of finite reality, but God Himself is above all forms in His creation. When we say God, we utter the one final term of Being, the prius and the key to all those terms with which our philosophy seeks to build up its idea about God." We have no space for further quotations, but enough has been said to whet the reader's appetite for more. Therefore let him purchase a copy of this thought-provoking and inspiring book.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE SON OF MAN. By Rudolph Otto : Translated by F. V. Filson and B. L. Woolf. *Lutterworth Press.* 15*s.*

Rudolf Otto is known to English readers as " the prophet of the Numinous." He produced a work some years ago—*Das Heilige,* translated into English under the title, *The Idea of the Holy. The Times* said he was, " one of the most distinguished of German theologians, and was also an authority of the first rank on Indian philosophy and mysticism." The German work *Reich gottes und Menschensohn* was specially revised by him just before his lamented death in 1937. He had not the happiness to see his fine book in English. The format of the work is excellent. It also is distinctly interesting ; but it is not as well documented as it should be. One most important quotation from Celsus has no reference !

Its publishers declare that " it is probably the most original and profound book of its kind published for many years." Describing Jesus as one of the itinerant preachers of Galilee after J. Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth* (1929) (p. 253). " A wandering Galilaean Rab and preacher was a common sight, and specially known by the title of Galilaean itinerant." Like every other Rab or preacher he had a following of

regular and casual disciples. He was an itinerant preacher of eschatology. He says Celsus states that preachers of this sort were found in Syria, and that prophets declared " I am God or the servant of God, or a divine Spirit." At the very outset of the work the humanitarian position is put forward. He proceeds on his way to attempt to show that the leading ideas of our Lord were rooted in the distant past, Indo-Iranian. The book is to be regarded, therefore, as a study in the history of religion. The clue he follows is Iranian. He devotes a large space to the ancient Iranian influences, Zoroaster and Asura from whom an important conception of the Kingdom was derived, he holds. He also traces the Jewish line of development, and discusses the implications of the Son of Man and the suffering servant of Jahveh in relation to what Jesus said of Himself. He finds the plainest and most direct clues to the teaching of Jesus in *The Book of Enoch*, and considered that the religious circle in which Jesus moved was conversant with the ideas and sayings of that book. But as preached by Jesus the Kingdom of Heaven becomes charged with extraordinary vitality and urgent power. The question is, does or did the writer, Dr. Otto, succeed in his enterprise? Was he successful in his attempt to rediscover the original, the authentic gospel; and stripping off all the accretions of later ages to set the historical Jesus in his own proper environment? There have been many other attempts to explain the " historical Jesus " as the outcome of human speculation, but they have all signally failed to account for the origin of a faith and the establishment of a church which conquered the Roman empire almost without raising a hand, altered the whole spirit of the ancient world and absorbed its best philosophy into its theology.

As to the question : " Was Jesus the Christ of God? " (p. 159), he says, it is not a question raised by the history of religion, but a question of faith and therefore does not arise in our investigation, which will proceed along religio-historical lines. For us, therefore the issue is, Jesus was conscious of a mission ; was that consciousness Messianic in character? and, if so, in what sense? That was the issue the writer set before himself and his readers. But the vital issue for Christians and Churchmen may surely not be evaded in this cavalier fashion. We are not Unitarians. Our Lord was more than a prophet of the Enoch type, far more than " an evangelist who was also an exorcist."

Dr. Otto discriminated between passages in the gospels which he regarded as " undubitably genuine " and passages which he considered interpolations of the Church in the interests of his own particular theory. He says, " A circle of people like the disciples of an itinerant rabbi were strongly impressed by him. The impression grew into the conviction that the rabbi was exalted from death to God (although the rabbi himself never said or thought of it, for the relevant words are supposed to be products of the theology of the Church)." Here we note that " supposed to be " does duty for " proved to be " ; but no scientific mind can regard these terms as equivalent. The extreme critical school has this kind of mentality, but it is sophistry not science. To resume, " As a consequence the Church appears to have come to the further conclusion that he must be the Son of Man (although the rabbi

is supposed always to have spoken of the Son of man as someone other than himself!" "Supposed" again; the most superficial study of the Greek text will show that this supposition cannot stand the test of honest criticism. With regard to those passages which give full expression to his claim to the status of the Son of Man he says such an expression was unavoidable in a situation like that before the Sanhedrin (p. 227). Here Jesus confessed himself to be the Messiah and the Son of Man. These words are not due to an invention of the Church at a later date. He says from the point of view of the Church they are impossible in their present form, because they include a view which Jesus accepted but which was not fulfilled. As they were not fulfilled, he goes on to say, they proved embarrassing to the Church, and accordingly St. Luke in his account of that interview with the Sanhedrin broke off at the real point, viz.: "Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting and coming on the clouds of heaven" (p. 228).

He has a chapter on the Last Supper, sacramental eating, later developments, etc. He is obsessed with the notion that any interpretation of our Lord's actions or words not fully and immediately grasped by his disciples, must be more or less a corruption. This is surely unphilosophical, for it would lead to the conclusion that the first hearing of every Gospel would have also to be the last; that no advance in the understanding of the philosophy, say, of Kant or Hegel, Plato or Aristotle, would be possible, beyond what their contemporaries thought; or that such advance must be a perversion of truth. Whereas it is well known that men of genius are never so well understood by men of their own generation as by those of succeeding generations, and that ideas are best realized and understood through what they develop later than through what they seemed to signify at first. His form of celebrating the Lord's supper would not commend itself to Church of England readers (*see* p. 330). He adds useful appendices. In one he institutes a literary comparison between the preaching of Jesus and the Book of Enoch which offers some interesting points. But it is as absurd to argue that the preaching was borrowed from the book as it would be to argue that our Lord borrowed many of his sayings from the writings of Philo—a Greek of Alexandria and a contemporary—which are amazingly similar in thought and form. Thoughts and words belong to one's literary environment, and do not necessarily imply any borrowing or even connection. To the reviewer the best section in the book seems to be "The Son of Man as the Suffering Servant of God" (c. xi.), which he himself elaborated in an article published in the *Expositor* (October, 1917), under the title, "The Servant: in Isaiah and the New Testament."

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

REVOLUTIONARY CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY, FASCISM AND COMMUNISM. By Roger Lloyd, Canon of Winchester. *Student Christian Movement Press.* 5s. net.

Canon Lloyd has performed a useful service in directing the attention of Christian people to the problems with which they are

face to face to-day in the development of the Totalitarian States on the Continent of Europe. Many know in a vague way the general principles of Fascism, Communism, Bolshevism and Nazi-ism, but they do not fully understand the underlying theories on which these various systems are based, nor do they fully understand how they stand in regard to the Christian Faith and the claims of God upon men. These are the subjects with which Canon Lloyd deals in this instructive volume.

In the first chapter he describes the conditions prevailing in this "Day of Revolution. There is a clash between hostile and incompatible ideologies. There are three main theories at work: the new Imperialism represented in Fascism and National Socialism; the second is Communism represented in Bolshevism; the third form of revolution is the Christian religion. One of these three paths mankind must tread," and the author emphatically claims that the Christian is the only way. It is a choice between Christ and chaos, for "the Totalitarian State, in both its Communist and Fascist forms, embodies a way of life and an attitude of mind which are emphatically destructive of Christianity." The second chapter explains "The Spirit of Totalitarianism." It implies that renunciation is the supreme ethical good and this means the subjugation of personality. The theories of Marxist Communism based on dialectical materialism are set out. In like manner the underlying principles of Fascism are detailed, and it is shown that its aim is "nothing less than the rooting out of personality in every nation where it comes to power." There are some who claim that Christianity must ally itself with one or other of these systems, on the left or on the right. Canon Lloyd denies this absolutely and points out the Christian *via media*. The Totalitarian path leads to the service of Anti-Christ. Christianity shows the more excellent way. Love is the supreme ethical good, and every man and woman born into the world is of infinite worth. Christ's method was to deal with men and women individually, and the Christian revolution can only be achieved by individual conversions. "The Church has to win the world to the values set upon life by Jesus Christ." "The Christian warfare has only two weapons, the prayer and the love of Christians for their Father, and in Him for each other." This inspiring book should be read by all who wish to understand the world forces of our day, and the true attitude of Christians in regard to them.

ENGLAND: THE NEW LEARNING. By L. E. Elliott Binns, D.D. *The Lutterworth Press.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

In connection with the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the Reformation, Dr. Elliott Binns gave a course of four lectures on "England and the New Learning," at Zion College. These have now been published and will be welcomed by the wide circle who appreciate the historical work of their author. At the outset he discards the old view that the revival of learning began with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, as the Renaissance was of long and slow

growth and was long in evidence in Italy. Particulars are given of many of its representatives in England in the early period. A chapter is devoted to Oxford and the work of Colet and More. Another chapter tells of the efforts of Fisher and Erasmus at Cambridge. The Fourth chapter deals directly with "The New Learning and the Reformation." Dr. Binns does not consider that the New Learning was a primary cause of the Reformation in England, but it played an important part in making the causes fully operative, by the creation of an atmosphere, by its effect upon individuals, and by providing as a method the appeal to sound learning. Papal prestige was undermined, the rigidity of authority was relaxed, and the appeal to reason destroyed the system of the Schoolmen. These lectures provide an excellent introduction to the study of an interesting period.

IS NOT THIS THE SON OF JOSEPH? By Thomas Walker, D.D. *James Clarke & Co.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

In the preface of the Report of the recent commission on "Doctrine in the Church of England," the Archbishop of York, as chairman, affirms that he wholeheartedly accepts as historical fact the birth of our Lord from a Virgin Mother. The author of the present book does not agree. Like some of the members of that commission, he holds that: "A full belief in the historical Incarnation is more consistent with the supposition that our Lord's birth took place under the normal conditions of human generation." It would be useless to ask: "Which was first, Adam or his mother," because people who argue like that accept very little that is in the Sacred Record. Dr. Walker argues throughout from the light of Jewish culture. The approach is in some respects new, but all the old, familiar arguments are here in a new guise. His line may be fairly indicated by the sentence: "In their original form the Virgin birth stories may have been intended to set forth not virgin, but legitimate birth." Dr. Walker notes that the Markan tradition about Jesus: "Shows no knowledge of any miraculous peculiarity about his birth. The people of Nazareth, who knew him, are represented as saying in great surprise as (? at) his exceptional gifts, Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary." In view of this statement is it not curious, to say the least of it, that the Tübingen critics, who made Mark the latest of the Synoptists, argued that he knew the story of the Virgin Birth, basing it on his softening down of Matthew's expression: "Is not this the carpenter's son" (Matt. xiii. 55), into: "Is not this the carpenter?" (Mark vi. 3). It is true that St. John does not refer to the Virgin Birth, but Polycarp, his disciple, tells us (through Irenaeus) that John was a keen antagonist at Ephesus of Cerinthus, the earliest known impugner of the Virgin Birth. And when St. John writes (i. 14) the words: "The Word became flesh" he surely implies something more than an ordinary birth. We believe, unlike Dr. Walker, that the birth stories of St. Matthew and St. Luke are indubitably genuine parts of these Gospels and it is certain that the chapters relating to the Birth are found without exception in every unmutilated copy of the Gospels.

A. W. PARSONS.

THE ROAD THAT WAS MADE. By L. Firman-Edwards, B.A., M.D. *James Clarke & Co.* 5s.

This is described by the author himself as a philosophical study of the nature of reality by an ordinary fellow who has done some reading, and has tried to do some thinking for himself. He has written this book as a challenge to the basic conception of our modern views of life and of the aims of our existence. He believes that "the fall of man" is a fact to be faced and not a legend or ecclesiastical theory of sin. But Evangelicals will find many grave departures from the truth. For example it is stated on p. 175 that at the Reformation "the traffic in Masses for the dead" led to a denial of any sacrificial aspect in the Eucharist and there is a note which quotes in proof of this aspect: 1 Cor. xi. 26; Heb. xiii. 10 and 15; 1 Peter ii. 5! Elsewhere he writes of the Sacrament of Confirmation and Extreme Unction and also remarks: "A Requiem is one of the most wonderful experiences that the practice of the Christian religion in the Catholic way can offer." There is much in the book that is good but we put it down with a sigh saying: "This is *not* the road that was made."

A. W. PARSONS.

THE EARLY LIGHT-BEARERS OF SCOTLAND. By Elizabeth M. Grierson. *James Clarke & Co.* 6s.

This book is excellently conceived and beautifully illustrated. It is an account of the early Scottish saints from St. Ninian of Whithorn, A.D. 360—432, to St. Magnus of Orkney, who died in 1115. There is a short but not very complete bibliography. Miss Grierson does not seem to know King's *History of the Church of Ireland* which contains so much about St. Patrick, nor does she refer to his life by "Father" Malone, or even to *The Writings of Patrick* by C. H. H. Wright, D.D. St. Patrick is included because one tradition says that he was born in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. Such saints as Columba, Cuthbert, Adamnan and Margaret, to name four of the greater ones, as well as a number of lesser ones, are described in this book, which is written simply enough to be understood by children and graphically enough to be appreciated by older people.

A. W. PARSONS.

SOMETHING NEW IN IRAN. The Rev. J. N. Hoare. *C.M.S.* 1s.

This record of achievement and opportunity under the new era in Iran is an inspiring contribution to missionary literature. The study is written in a popular style and its closely printed pages are full of vital information on a fascinating subject. Mr. Hoare briefly traces the distant past of the Christian Church of those Aryan peoples before the wave of Moslem invasion swept over their land in the seventh century. Of the new liberating movements introduced by the present Shah it is said that they are "opposed to ignorance, but not to

religion" (p. 32). Christians have found a new freedom under the religious liberty now granted to all; yet it is not always easy for people to confess Christ. Certain chapters show that the power of the Cross has not diminished in effecting salvation, and that the Bible as God's word is no less an influence than heretofore in bringing men to Christ apart from human agencies, "Probably more than fifty per cent. of Christian converts were influenced in the first place by reading the Bible" (p. 51). The discouraging side is not hidden, for it is frankly recognized that some men have failed to live by their new faith. "The chief difficulties in Iran are marriage, money, and fear of man—much the same problems that we face in England" (p. 60). The book records how the Church is developing and aiming at unity. The writer pleads for support in prayer for the Church which will occupy a strategic position in those parts. The map printed at the end of the book shows that position as in close proximity to Afghanistan, Arabia, Irak, Turkey and Soviet Russia. Those interested in missions and contemporary movements in Iran should not fail to read the book.

E.H.

RELIGION IN TRANSITION. Edited by Vergilius Ferm. Pp. 266. *George Allen & Unwin Ltd.* 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

The editor is persuaded that one of the chief characteristics of this age is the stress and strain upon the spirit of man, leading to unusual spiritual questionings and, for sincere men, a deep testing of the deepest foundations of their being. Believing this he has thought it wise to let six chosen, and in his mind, representative men tell of their questionings, doubts, and ultimate convictions. Totally dissimilar, their stories have abundant interest for thoughtful, earnest seekers. S. Radhakrishan writes of his "Search for Truth." C. F. Andrewes tells of his "Pilgrim's Progress." G. A. Coe lets the reader see his "Own Little Theatre." Alfred Loisy, one of the most interesting, traces his journey "From Credence to Faith." James H. Leubu, on very different lines, shows "The Making of a Psychologist of Religion." Edwin D. Starbuck tells of "Religion's Use of Me." Not only one would care to be considered as an orthodox Christian, but each has searched for the Pearl of Great Price.

THE SOUL OF NIGERIA. By Isaac O. Delano. Pp. 252. *T. Werner Lawrie Ltd.* 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

The expectations raised by the prospect of a book on Nigeria written by a cultured native are hardly fulfilled. The volume contains a vast amount of interesting material and in some directions throws penetrating light upon the past, present and possible future of one particular section of Nigeria. It fails to satisfy possibly because of its lack of order and more probably because so much is not personal

experience but merely gathered from reports. The author has critical and useful comments to make on education and religion though some of his criticism will strike the European reader as being somewhat misplaced. His appreciation, too, of the Government officials is not altogether happy though he has learnt to assess British administration. One passage must be quoted: "Without any written agreement our trade dealings were pure before the advent of the present civilisation. Without giving a receipt our money was as safe in the hands of our elders as if it were in the Bank of England. Our women married with a full sense of responsibility. . . . We have ceased to be African and we can never be European. Our minds are hybrids of black and white. Isn't it a pity?"

Careful readers will notice the author's contradictory statements concerning his father's age.

SEEING THE REVELATION. By W. F. Roadhouse. *Thynne & Co. Ltd.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Roadhouse expounds the Apocalypse upon a principle, which he expresses thus: "Frankly, nothing could be more clear than that all sections of Revelation are concurrent, contemporaneous and coterminous." With this key he unlocks the mysteries of this book, which he describes as "the most amazing, marvellous, surpassing piece of literature ever composed." There are 275 pages and a number of illustrative charts. Mr. Roadhouse is severely critical of many who have essayed to elucidate the Revelation, and many cherished opinions fare badly at his hands.

TESTAMENT OF A WAYFARER. By George Norville. *James Clarke & Co. Ltd.* 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

We are getting a little tired of the kind of book that attacks nearly all the established doctrines of Christianity, without giving us anything better in its place. There is nothing that is new in *The Testament of a Wayfarer*, and, frankly, we can see no reason for its publication. Its sub-title is "A Business Man's Thoughts on God, Religion and Life."

THE ROYAL GATE. By Flora A. MacLeod. *S.P.C.K.* 3*s.* net.

This "Handbook for Beginners to the Science and Art of Prayer" contains much that is helpful and beautiful, but it is spoilt by its advocacy of methods of devotion, which savour more of mediævalism than of the sound teaching of Scripture and the Prayer Book. Those who regard the S.P.C.K. as representing the Church of England as she really is will lose their confidence in the venerable Society, if she continues to sponsor this sort of thing.

A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS. E. Morton and D. Dewar. *Thynne & Co. Ltd.* 5*s.* net.

Of deliberate choice and for conscience's sake, many men have trodden the hard road. Of such was the Rev. Dr. Harold Christopherson Morton, whose biography appears under the title " A Voice Crying in the Wilderness." It is truly a human document compiled by Mrs. Morton and Mr. Douglas Dewar. The Rev. G. Kirby White has contributed a Foreword and the Rev. G. Carter an Appendix. The authors had no lack of material to draw upon, and the Biographical Sketch which takes up Part I quotes freely from correspondence and published material. Parts II, III and IV deal with Dr. Morton's struggle against Modernism within the Wesleyan Methodist body, the foundation of the British Bible Union, and the internal troubles which precluded the union of Methodism. The title is very apt, for such a voice was Dr. Morton's. Many will welcome the study, not least Mr. Morton's friends and those who came under the influence of his ministry, which was outstanding from both a preaching and a pastoral point of view.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES, AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS IN THEIR HISTORICAL SETTING. By F. J. Badcock, D.D. pp. xii + 246. *S.P.C.K.* 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Dr. Badcock's careful and reasoned study is not for the ordinary reader, who would find it difficult to follow the very detailed argument that such an essay necessitates. Those who do give attention to the work will appreciate the scholarship and judgment exhibited and the light thrown on many difficult and debatable issues. Theological students, for whom the book is primarily intended, will gain much in many ways from its pages. More mature clergy will find it a valuable book of reference in their study of the New Testament writings, even though they may not find it possible to follow the author in all his suggestions and deductions as he re-dates St. Paul's Epistles. The indices and map add value to the book as a reference volume.

THE BOOK OF THE CROWN. By Henry J. Baker. pp. xvi + 166. *Thynne.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

One of the many books owing their existence to the Coronation of King George VI, *The Book of the Crown* has already served its purpose. Based chiefly upon the actual Coronation Service, it seeks to point the moral and spiritual significance of its varied details and to draw men's attention to their own Royal lineage, as sons of the King of Kings, and to the heavenly crown to which all may aspire. The author, a speaker at Keswick, has done well what he proposed.

The Significance of the Cross, by the Rev. Edwin Hirst, M.A. (The Church Book Room, 6*d.* net), is a series of seven addresses on the Atonement, which will be found useful for preparation of devotional addresses. They contain in brief form the essential points for an understanding of the Message of the Cross.

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THE Student Christian Movement Press issues a number of books of great interest on a variety of subjects that have a practical bearing on problems of to-day. Among those dealing with psychological questions is Dr. Cyril Valentine's *Psychology and Modern Life* (1*s.* 6*d.* net). It contains a series of lunch-hour talks given at a City Church and deals in a practical and effective way with some common troubles of life. The subjects are : Avoiding a Nervous Breakdown, Fitting in with Other People, Making the Best of Marriage, Facing Up to Life and Death. They contain much valuable advice for the daily round of life.

Another book of a similar character is by Lennard F. Browne, M.D., Physician to the Tavistock Clinic. The title is *Every Day Relationships*, and the advice given is practical and valuable (1*s.* 6*d.* net). The chapters are four Broadcast Talks recently given under the title " Personality and Progress." The subjects are Family Life, Youth, Marriage, Old Age and the Years Between, while a fifth chapter is devoted to Answers to Questions.

In their Religion and Life series, a second edition is issued of Nicholas Berdyaev's *The Fate of Man in the Modern World* (1*s.* net). This interesting book, which deals with the great problem of the effect of modern life upon man's personality, should reach a much wider circle of readers in this cheaper form. The well-known Russian author has an original, arresting, and stimulating point of view.

Dr. Adolf Keller has written " a spiritual interpretation of the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences " under the title of *Five Minutes to Twelve* (2*s.* net). This commentary on the work of the Conferences gives an excellent idea of their main purpose and of the conditions with which they had to deal. The title suggests that the hour is already " five minutes to twelve," in the religious situation of the present world, and that the time is short for the Christian forces to face the issue. He sets out the final and urgent messages of the Conferences against the background of the present world and as facing the world's promise of a new order, and he also considers all that the Church of Christ has to offer. Dr. Keller's ability in surveying world conditions is so well known that there is no necessity to commend at any length this valuable survey.

The Achievement of Personality in the Light of Psychology and Religion by Grace Stuart, M.A., B.Litt. (5*s.* net), is a survey of modern psychological theories which will be found of special interest to general readers. She deals with the views of some of the leading psychologists and shows their inadequacy, especially when they ignore religion as a superfluity. Mrs. Stuart shows that religion is the great essential, and that it provides the most important elements in the organization of

personality, supplying the need for love, the need for significance, the need for security, and the need for God, " to make possible an endless growth in goodness and love and an endlessly renewed self-losing and self-finding." Professor Grensted contributes an Introduction in which he commends the book as an interpretation of the whole psychological movement in a simple and untechnical manner of special usefulness to students desiring to understand the whole scheme.

The Rev. Alan Richardson has written an introduction to the recent criticism of the Synoptic Gospels under the title, *The Gospels in the Making*. Mr. Richardson represents the attitude at present so popular of being extremely critical and reducing to a minimum those things which may be deemed as proven. The result is that he rejects much that was formerly received and finds even in our earliest authority St. Mark, a considerable amount of interpolation. Some of the Gospel received its fixed and final form largely owing to the exigencies of preaching and apologetic at a very early date. He observes that the employment of form-criticism demands great caution, but that it has performed a useful service in some ways. At the same time, it is probable that some of the more advanced views on form-criticism will have to be modified. His conclusion is that we can no longer hold the old-fashioned views of the Gospels, but rather that they tell us what the earliest communities of Christian disciples believed about their Lord. They are primarily witnesses of a faith and only secondarily witnesses of a history. The historical element is overlaid by theological interpretations. Students will be interested to learn from this book some of the theories of recent criticism.

The White Lectures delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral were this year devoted to *Our English Bible*. They are published by Longmans, Green, and Co., 2*s*. 6*d*. net. The Archdeacon of London explains that the lectures were in connection with the fourth centenary of the Reformation. The opening lecture was by Dr. Inge on What England owes to the Bible. The Second, by Canon Alexander, on the Revival of Learning. The third, by Canon Storr on William Tyndale and the First Printed English Scripture. The fourth, by the Rev. A. H. Wilkinson on Miles Coverdale, Translator and Bishop. The fifth, by Canon Anthony Deane, on the Authorized and Revised Versions. The sixth, by Dean Matthews, on The Bible, and the Living Word of God. The lectures form a very interesting and instructive souvenir of the Reformation Celebration.

Messrs. James Clarke and Co., have issued in their Challenge Series, *The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul*, by John Baillie, D.Litt., D.D., S.T.D., *The Church and the Churches*, by Karl Barth, and *The Essentials of Life and Thought*—lectures arranged by the Union of Modern Free Churchmen. Each volume is one shilling net. They deal with questions which are exercising the minds of people in all the Churches to-day concerning God, the Bible, What Christianity Really Is, and the Problems of Unity in the Churches. This last is the subject specially dealt with by Professor Karl Barth and it represents a point of view that will increasingly demand attention in the consideration of Reunion.