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

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND COMMENTS	247
The Resignation of the Primate. The New Archbishop of Canterbury. The New Primates and the Future of the Church. Other Episcopal Appointments. The Lambeth Conference and Reunion. Church and State. The Bunyan Tercentenary. Cheltenham Church Congress. St. Peter's Hall, Oxford. Women's Work. Editorial Notes.	
THE BUNYAN TRICENTENARY. By the Ven. A. R. Buckland, M.A.	254
THE TRANSFIGURATION. By the Right Rev. E. A. Knox, D.D.	261
THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL. By the Rev. W. Wilson Cash, D.S.O.	269
THE MEDIÆVAL PARISH PRIEST. By H. P. Palmer, M.A.	278
THE REFORMED ATTITUDE TO ROMISH RECUSANTS. By the Rev. T. C. Hammond, M.A., T.C.D.	287
ST. PAUL'S SECOND IMPRISONMENT IN ROME. By the Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D.	295
MAKING USE OF OPPORTUNITIES. By the Rev. C. C. Dobson, M.A.	302
BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS. By G. F. I.	307
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	313
Art and the Reformation. Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation. The Holy Spirit. Spiritual Direction. The Faith that Rebels. The Evangelical Movement in the English Church. The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit. Ideas and Ideals. Antenicene Exegesis of the Gospels, etc.	

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THE CHURCHMAN

October, 1928.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Resignation of the Primate.

ON November 12 the Archbishop of Canterbury will close the active work of his long career. For thirty-seven years he has been a Bishop, holding the see of Rochester from 1891 to 1895, when he was translated to Winchester. He succeeded Archbishop Temple at Canterbury in 1903. During this period the character of the Church of England has probably changed more considerably than during any period of equal length since the Reformation. Anglo-Catholicism has advanced both in numbers and in daring until at the present time its adherents consider themselves safely entrenched in the Church and many of them boldly declare that they hold practically all the distinctive doctrines of the Church of Rome except the supremacy of the Pope. Dr. Davidson has never been regarded as a sympathizer with the views of this party, yet it has been mainly during his primacy that this radical change in the Church has taken place. We do not wish to attribute to him an undue share of the blame for allowing this alteration in the character of the Church to take place. Most of the Bishops must share it. A firm stand against the Romanizing tendencies would have been effective in checking them. Some exercise of influence in appointments to positions of importance, some sympathy shown to the Evangelical School, some encouragement to those who stood for the defence of the Church against the encroachments of erroneous doctrine would have gone a long way to preserve the Reformed character of the Church. We recognize the many qualities of statesmanship which the Archbishop has shown, but we cannot acquit him of the responsibility of neglecting the just claims of the old Evangelical School.

The New Archbishop of Canterbury.

If the advance to which we have referred has taken place under an Archbishop who has had little sympathy with the movement, what is to be said of the prospects under the new Archbishop? Dr. Lang is generally regarded as much more sympathetic with the position of the Anglo-Catholics than his predecessor. Some have gone so far as to say that the appointment of the new Archbishop marks the beginning of a new era in the Church, when it will move

still farther away from the foundation principles of the Reformation. If this should unfortunately turn out to be true, it will be disastrous not alone for the Church of England and the Anglican Communion throughout the world but also for the nation and for our Empire. The strength of British character has been built up on loyalty to the Bible, and on the intellectual and spiritual freedom which Protestantism has made the chief characteristic of the British race. Any return to medievalism under the encouragement of an Archbishop of Canterbury who sympathizes with medieval conceptions of the Church, its ministry and its Sacraments, will alienate still further the great body of the laity which has recently shown that no departure from the principles of the Reformation will be tolerated in the National Church. Whatever great qualities of intellect and soul the new Archbishop may have, any lack of sympathy with the aspirations and rights of the laity of the Church will increase the breach between the clergy and the laity which has developed in recent years. The present condition of the Church requires that loyal churchmen should make it quite clear that they will resist any attempt to restore medieval errors of any kind in the Church.

The New Primates and the Future of the Church.

The appointment of Bishop Temple as Dr. Lang's successor in the see of York continues the High Church succession in the northern primacy. Strong representations were made to the Prime Minister that the situation created by the Prayer Book controversy could be ameliorated by the appointment to York of a man with less pronounced views than Dr. Lang. The Prime Minister did not however see fit to pay any attention to these representations and both Archbishops will now be representatives of the more advanced churchmanship which seeks to introduce into our Prayer Book features which were discarded at the Reformation. The new Archbishop of Canterbury is an advocate of the adoption of the Communion Service of the Prayer Book of 1549, and the new Archbishop of York was one of the chief protagonists of the Grey Book; we cannot therefore look forward to the exercise of their influence in the maintenance of peace in the Church through the acceptance of a Prayer Book revised in harmony with the Scriptural basis of our Present Book. Protestant and Evangelical churchpeople must continually exercise the vigilance which is the price of security. There is constant need for a strenuous educational campaign in order that churchpeople may fully understand the teaching of our Church. The reproach is often levelled against Evangelical churchpeople that they are not as well instructed in the doctrines of their Church as they ought to be. This is a reproach that should be removed by the simple process of giving no ground for it. The National Church League and other organizations have in recent years provided an abundance of literature explaining true Catholicism—which is the Protestantism of our Church—and it is essential that this literature should be widely circulated and carefully studied.

Other Episcopal Appointments.

The appointment of the Bishop of Chelmsford to succeed Bishop Temple as Bishop of Manchester will restore to the industrial centre of the North of England a Bishop with Evangelical sympathies. Dr. Warman has had considerable experience of Church life in the North, and he understands the strong hold which Evangelical principles have on the people of Lancashire. His experiences at Truro and at Chelmsford will have shown him the importance of maintaining the Church of England in its true breadth and freedom.

The Rev. Canon H. A. Wilson is to be Dr. Warman's successor at Chelmsford. This appointment will continue the Evangelical succession which has existed in this diocese since its formation in 1914. Canon Wilson is widely known through his work in connection with the Cheltenham Conference. The Conference has been one of the chief means of bringing the subject of Reunion before the Church. It has forcibly indicated the true lines on which any movement towards unity must proceed, and Canon Wilson, as Chairman, has been one of the chief inspiring influences of the Conference. His well-known book, *Episcopacy and Unity*, is a careful study of the attitude of our Church towards the Non-Episcopal Churches since the time of the Reformation. It gives the true perspective of the place of episcopacy; and the author's knowledge of the subject ought to be of great value at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 when the Bishops are considering again the problems of reunion.

The Lambeth Conference and Reunion.

The Lausanne Conference and the recent Conference at Jerusalem have revived interest in the question of the reunion of the Churches. It is well that churchpeople should understand the situation which the Bishops will have to face at the Lambeth Conference in 1930. The decisions at which they arrive during their sessions will be fraught with consequences of unusual importance for the future of the Anglican Communion. The movement towards reunion has advanced much farther in the mission field than is generally recognized at home. Already practical steps have been taken in India and other places for the formation of United Churches. The national movements in various lands have given strength to the desire to have indigenous Churches free from the lines of division in Western Christendom. The Non-Episcopal Churches have found little difficulty in joining in these movements. Many of our Church of England missionaries are also anxious to take their place in these Churches. The question of episcopacy is here as elsewhere the practical obstacle. The native Churches are willing to adopt episcopal government, but not with the implications of the rigid theory of Apostolical succession held by a section of our Church. If the Bishops at Lambeth are influenced by this section, we may

see the reunion movement go forward without us, for already there is in many places great impatience at the long delay. The result in a short time will be that there will exist in large portions of the mission field strong Roman Catholic missions, strong united churches formed by the Protestant Churches, and a remnant of Anglicans without any recognized place, which will be ineffective as a Christian force till it disappears, as it must finally do in the march of events.

Church and State.

A determined effort has been made by some churchmen, including certain of the Bishops, to make the decision of the House of Commons on the revised Prayer Book a test of the relations between Church and State. They are determined to see in the House of Commons' vote a challenge to the authority of the Church in spiritual matters. It was nothing of the sort. It was simply the veto of the representatives of the people on the introduction of teaching and practices which were rejected by the Church when the present relation of Church and State was entered into, between three and four hundred years ago. It was probably also a vote of want of confidence in the competence of the Church Assembly adequately to represent the Church, and of distrust of the capacity of the Bishops to carry out the restoration of order. While no one will question the authority of the Church over the spiritual welfare of its members, when that authority finds its proper expression, it is equally clear that there is an ultimate authority which rests with the State. A Mohammedan land may, for example, decide what form of religion it will tolerate if any, and a Christian State has power to decide what forms of religion will be allowed. In countries under the influence of the Roman Church any form of Evangelical religion may be banned, but we have not arrived at this condition of affairs in England. Every form of Christianity is allowed. The State has merely said that in the Established Church there shall not be those features which were rejected in the past and are now brought forward by the Church Assembly, which is not regarded as adequately representing the Church.

The Bunyan Tercentenary.

The Tercentenary of John Bunyan will be celebrated in November. As the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he occupies a unique position. His great allegory is a classic of our literature, but it is much more. It is a work of high spiritual import, and has proved an inspiration to Christians of every age since it was written. It has had a special value among converts in the Mission Field and missionaries have frequently borne testimony to the help it has given to those newly won to Christianity. The Religious Tract Society has placed the Christian community under great obligations for the numerous translations which it has produced. In upwards of one hundred and twenty languages and dialects the Society has already helped to issue it. Those who know the scarcity of suitable

literature to place in the hands of many of the native races appreciate the boon which the translation of this book of unflinching popularity and usefulness is to those responsible for the instruction of native Christians. The Society has also performed a useful service in bringing out a special tercentenary edition well printed and illustrated at the small cost of sixpence. It has already had a wide circulation and we hope that it may find its way into the hands of many of the younger generation who are not as familiar with this great work as their forefathers were. We are glad to see that Churchmen are taking part in the celebration. It is fitting that they should do so on many grounds, and not least as a reparation for the treatment which Bunyan received during his lifetime from the Churchmen of his day.

Cheltenham Church Congress.

The subject of the Church Congress to be held this year at Cheltenham under the presidency of the Bishop of Gloucester is "The Anglican Communion: Past, Present, and Future." In view of the recent debates on the Prayer Book and of the various theories of the position of Anglicanism, the discussions should be of special interest and value. The "Notes on Congress Subjects" issued by the Congress Committee states some of the questions which it is the aim of the Congress to answer. They include: What is the past history of our Church? What is the state of our Church to-day? What is the significance of the great spiritual movements within our Church? To what extent can the Christian faith meet the challenge which comes from the criticism of to-day? What can our Church achieve in the days to come by the goodness of God? These are all matters of moment, and the speakers chosen to deal with them are scholars well known throughout the Church. The Reformation will naturally take an important place in the Programme and, we trust, will be treated with the seriousness that is due to "the most important event in the history of the Church since the days of the Apostles" as it has been well described. A place on the Programme is given to the Evangelical Movement, and in the hands of the Rev. C. M. Chavasse it will receive adequate treatment. The relation of our Communion to other Churches, especially in the Mission Field, will also be considered. It is a subject in which both the Bishop of Gloucester and Canon H. A. Wilson are specially interested and, indeed, have in a sense made their own.

St. Peter's Hall, Oxford.

Some time before his death Bishop Chavasse put forward a proposal that Evangelical churchmen should found a College at Oxford. He pointed out that in the centre of Oxford they hold a strategic site in St. Peter-le-Bailey Church, the rectory and garden, with Hannington Hall and the school and playgrounds behind it. Here, he said, is the nucleus of a new College with space to erect buildings, and with additional ground attainable if needed. A

movement has been set on foot to carry out the Bishop's scheme as a memorial to him. An Evangelical College at Oxford in the centre of the intellectual and spiritual young life of the country ought to make a strong appeal to all sections of Evangelicals. St. Peter's Hall is to be opened this autumn as a Hostel under the care of the Bishop's son, the Rev. C. M. Chavasse, who has resigned the living of St. Aldate's while retaining that of St. Peter-le-Bailey, in order to devote himself to the interests of the new College. An appeal made in *The Record* for contributions from twenty thousand Evangelical churchmen, of sums varying from £1 to £1,000, has been taken up, and one contributor has made a challenge to contribute £1,000 if nineteen others will give the same sum, and also a further sum of £100 if ninety-nine others will contribute the same amount. A total sum of £150,000 is required and it ought to be easily raised if the advantages of a College under Evangelical auspices in the University are realized. This is a great opportunity and one not to be lost. We earnestly hope that there will be a generous response and a suitable memorial raised to the memory of a Bishop who did so much for the Evangelical cause in our Church.

Women's Work.

Attention has recently been specially directed to the work of women in the Church. Canon Raven in his book, *Women and Holy Orders*, has made a strong plea for the admission of women to the full ministry of the Church "as a matter of theological principle, even more than of justice and expediency." The Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at its last meeting considered the ordination of women for their ministry and decided in favour of it. The order of deaconesses has already been revived in our Church, and many women are doing useful service as members of it. It is doubtful if the time is yet ripe for the radical change implied in the ordination of women for the priesthood. There is at the same time large scope for the work of educated women in whole-time service for the Church, and this scope must constantly be enlarged with the increasing share which women are taking in every department of life. The Evangelical School has always sought to make use of the special gifts of women. The Mildmay Deaconesses and other organizations have done much to develop these activities, but it is felt that more use should be made of women who have had educational advantages. We do not want nuns bound by vows, but the Evangelical School must provide opportunity for University and other women with educational gifts to exercise their powers to the full. The Church Sisters, who have recently removed their headquarters to the Church Sisters' Training Centre at Putney Heath, have for some years been seeking to meet this need. The course of training now provided is up to the highest standards. It answers all the requirements of educated Evangelical women desiring to devote themselves to Christian work.

Editorial Notes.

We are glad to be able to publish the interesting and suggestive discussion of the Transfiguration by Bishop Knox, whose pen shows no sign of weariness or loss of incisive vigour in spite of his advanced years. The Rev. W. Wilson Cash, as the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and a prominent contributor to the debates at the Jerusalem Conference, writes with unique authority, and his remarks on the subject of Reunion which lay outside the province of Jerusalem will attract wide attention. No better commentator on the Bunyan Centenary can be found than Archdeacon Buckland, who has written an admirable study on the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress* which the Archdeacon did so much to circulate when Secretary of the Religious Tract Society. It is probable that many will preserve the valuable paper by Dr. Montgomery Hitchcock on "St. Paul's Second Imprisonment in Rome," for it is part of a connected study now being made by the writer on the influence of St. Paul's stay in Rome on his language. It may well be that this study will change critical opinion on the date and authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. Mr. H. P. Palmer gives us a glimpse of the life of "The Mediæval Parish Priest," and his well-documented article is the fruit of personal research among unpublished documents. The able and learned Superintendent of the Irish Church Missions shows how baseless is the contention that Queen Elizabeth persecuted as bitterly as her sister Mary, and his facts in "The Reformed Attitude to Romish Recusants" cannot be challenged. The narrative of a novel method of winning interest in the local Church and its message by the Rev. Cyril Dobson will, we trust, lead many to follow his example. Our Reviews are unusually varied and call attention to books that deserve reading.

THE BUNYAN TRICENTENARY.

BY THE VEN. A. R. BUCKLAND, M.A.,

Archdeacon of Norfolk and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.

JOHN BUNYAN was baptized at Elstow Parish Church on November 30, 1628. Presumably he was born a few weeks earlier. And now, after a lapse of three hundred years, peoples of many races and many tongues, all the world over, are calling to remembrance the man and his work. Look at it how we may, this fact is remarkable, and seems to call for some explanation. When John Bunyan's friend, Charles Doe, in 1691 published "Thirty Reasons why Christian people should promote" the circulation of Bunyan's works—particularly in the folio edition—he had mainly in mind contemporary readers. But, with a boldness which some may have deemed ludicrous and others improper, he looked much farther ahead. "If," he says, "God had not put it into the heart of some Christians or Church to preserve the Epistles of the Apostle to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians and others, we in this age of the world should in all probability never have known that there ever were any such Christians and doctrines . . . for God mostly works by second causes." On this he proceeds to ask, "Why should any Christian people, that have reason to reckon themselves obliged herein, set themselves aside from communicating to other Christians and the ages to come the gospel labours of so eminent a minister [John Bunyan] as God so graciously honoured and assisted them with?" "The ages to come"—a bold assumption, and, although three hundred years may seem too short a space as yet to warrant a claim that the hope is fulfilled, it fully justifies Charles Doe's endeavour. But for his zeal many of the lesser-known works of Bunyan might long ago have passed from the knowledge of all save the curious in seventeenth-century literature.

But Charles Doe's reasons will not of themselves suffice to explain the present world-wide regard for Bunyan. They are touched in part by the personal interests of one who, if Bunyan's friend, was also a publisher, and not wholly free from the guile popularly, no doubt unjustly, associated with that occupation. He chants the advantages of his folio edition with a fervour not entirely divorced, we may suppose, from a reasonable desire to come home over the enterprise. But the larger reasons he advances—Bunyan's piety, his power as a preacher, his disregard of worldly gain, his prison sufferings, his profit to the "many thousands" who "had the soul benefit and comfort of his ministry to astonishment"—even these without fuller explanation will hardly account for the fact that Bunyan is a greater person to-day than when he died in August, 1688. Much that Charles Doe alleges on behalf of Bunyan might, indeed, have been urged with some justice on behalf of contemporaries, whose names, if not forgotten by all save a few, at least have no

world-wide significance. Perhaps, too, we are justified in doubting whether Doe's enthusiasm was shared by many of his time, even amongst those who bought the folio edition. Southey long ago pointed out that, if either Bunyan himself or his own admirers had anticipated the breadth or the duration of his fame, they would doubtless have given us more details of his life and circumstances.

In seeking for ourselves an answer to the question we are at once faced with the doubt whether the present fame of Bunyan must be traced mainly to the character and experience of the man, or to his works, or to the man *plus* his works. To put the question in another way, would Bunyan be remembered if he had never written the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Grace Abounding*? Or, would the *Pilgrim's Progress* have retained its hold on public favour if it had appeared anonymously? Would it have fared better than *The Whole Duty of Man* if its authorship had been assigned at one time and another to half a dozen persons? But this doubt is, after all, unlikely to arise in many minds. With most of us the man and these two of his books are inseparable. *Grace Abounding* is one way of recording Bunyan's own spiritual conflict; the *Pilgrim's Progress* is another. That imagination is called in to help in one telling of the story does not destroy its personal character. We think of the man and the book together, and this whether we pass with him through the throes of the long-drawn spiritual conflict, or are following the adventures of his Pilgrim. The personality of the man, then, as well as the merit of his works must be counted as playing each a part in making his fame.

But the personal history of John Bunyan, apart from his own works, would not have kept his memory green. It is in many ways an interesting history. But it is doubtful whether in any single detail it could not be matched. His rise from lowliness and poverty to fame can be paralleled without difficulty within the ministry of the Church of England. His change from a vicious life to a life of faith is not more remarkable than that of John Newton. His appearance as an author is not more surprising than the development of "the old African blasphemer" into the author of *Cardiphonia* and the *Authentic Narrative*. With some readers the story of his spiritual conflict would be less impressive than that of Thomas Scott in his *Force of Truth*. But perhaps the case of "holy Mr. Gifford" more fitly marks the insufficiency of the life-story alone to account for Bunyan's position. For Gifford's career was more romantic than that of Bunyan, and his conversion hardly less remarkable. Any history of the English Baptists must find a place for Gifford; but, if he had never ministered to the anguished mind of Bunyan, he would have been little more than a name, interesting as his story is. Gifford had been a Major in the Royalist army, and had remained true to the cause after the failure. When, in 1648, civil war again broke out, Gifford took part in the Kentish rising, and was captured when Fairfax defeated the Royalists at Maidstone. Gifford, with eleven others, was condemned to death. The night before the day appointed for his execution, his sister was allowed to visit him in

prison. She found the sentinels asleep, and urged her brother to escape. Apparently there was a good deal of laxity, for his fellow-prisoners were too far gone in drink to join in the attempt. Gifford got safely away, for three days lay hiding in a ditch, was then helped by friends to travel in disguise to London, and so later came on to Bedford. He took up life there as a doctor, a calling which seems then to have been open to any person of sufficient assurance. His escape from death in no way changed his character; he was a drinker, a gambler and an openly profane person. He hated his old enemies so deeply as to contemplate the murder of a leading Puritan of Bedford just because he was a Puritan. One night he lost £15 in gambling, but, whilst revolving desperate thoughts, took up a book by Robert Bolton.¹ His attention was arrested, a conviction of his parlous state grew within him. After a few weeks of spiritual conflict he reached a condition of assurance and peace which was never lost. Regarded for some time (like Bunyan) with hesitation, he was afterwards chosen as pastor of a little flock by a group which included the very Puritan whose murder he had planned.

The claim of the man as well as the book, and the man with the book, is obvious in the matter of *Grace Abounding*. For it is the period of Bunyan's life so closely packed with spiritual conflict which most compels attention. If some observers make much of his imprisonment—whilst often exhibiting a curious disregard of like sufferings inflicted by sympathizers with Bunyan upon other folk—with many minds it is the long and agonizing conflict that rivets attention. This is very marked in the Lives of Bunyan which are written without party or ecclesiastical feeling. It can be found in Southey and in Froude. The fact invites attention. For it is easy to see that Bunyan's story might be dismissed by some as morbid and melancholic. Religious mania is not a highly exceptional form of mental trouble. A hostile critic might be expected to find a hundred reasons for setting the story aside as merely recording the experiences of an unbalanced mind. Yet this is not the reception with which the book meets. The man's story lays hold even of the unsympathetic reader. It is so simple, so manifestly the outpouring of a mind which not only found relief in making full confession, but honestly hoped thereby to help other people. In its artless way it surpasses artistry. Its dramatic situations are not worked up to, but confront one with developments which fiction would have avoided or treated after a different fashion. We are never tempted to think

¹ Robert Bolton, according to Anthony à Wood, was "a most religious and learned Puritan," a man of good family and of many parts. But when in 1602 he obtained a Fellowship at B.N.C., Oxford, he was reputed to be a "swearer, a Sabbath-breaker and a boon companion." After narrowly escaping perversion to Rome, he became a changed man, was admitted to holy orders, and was speedily made Rector of Broughton, Northamptonshire. There he gained great repute for piety as well as learning. "He was so famous for relieving afflicted consciences that many foreigners resorted to him, as well as persons at home, and found relief." His *Instructions for the Right Comforting Afflicted Consciences* was published in 1631, the year of his death. The learned and gentle Rector of Broughton became through Gifford a helper of Bunyan.

of Bunyan in the way in which we view a hero of romance ; we are always conscious of dealing with a man who wrote down things that had happened.

It is much the same in the case of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The man and the book go together. It may very well be that many of those who read the book in other tongues than our own know little or nothing about the author. And yet, as they are, in a very large measure, people associated with or attracted to the Christian Church, most of them may be told something about the man who wrote the story. With ourselves the man and the book are always joined together. The simplest reader, learning but a little about John Bunyan and his history, seems at once to assume that the Pilgrim is Bunyan himself, and is not at all put off when, from people and events of ordinary life, the traveller moves into the realms of sanctified imagination. Just as nobody supposes that *Grace Abounding* could have been written had Bunyan not passed himself through the struggles described, so nobody thinks that Bunyan would have written of his Pilgrim if he had not himself felt the burden of sin, faced the very kind of tempters and temptations noted in the story, and found at last such joyful assurance as his Pilgrim reached.

But here we touch the fringe of another question. Has Bunyan's conversion always been viewed aright ? His early sins have, we know, been measured in different ways. On one side the anxiety to magnify an undoubted work of grace, to show by example how fully Christ can " save His people from their sins," has led to a rather distorted view of Bunyan. He has been pictured only as an abandoned youth, plucked from a dissolute and disordered life like a brand from the burning. On the other side we are invited to think of the low moral standard of his times, and to view him as quite a decent young citizen, who has written himself down as worse than he was. The truth seems to lie between the two extremes. He was not as black as by some he has been painted. He was not in childhood, youth or early manhood an utter ignoramus, knowing nothing of God or of the Gospel. He went to school ; he went to Church ; he must have heard the instruction of Puritan army chaplains ; as a young married man he became an eager reader. In a licentious age he was neither a fornicator nor an adulterer ; he was neither, we should judge, by habit an idler nor a thief. Before Bunyan was dead traducers sought to blast his reputation by false accusation. He met them openly. Now posterity has sometimes unveiled in ruthless fashion the personal lives of the famous. But nothing has been revealed to make us think less of Bunyan. Endeavours to make sport of the man over the matter of his trade, or of his little learning, or of his early attempts at verse, have been many ; but time has left the character of the man just where he left it himself.

But with all this it is plain that the young man Bunyan, when at sixteen he joined the Parliamentary forces, was in a parlous state. As a boy he " had but few equals . . . both for cursing, swearing, lying and blaspheming the holy name of God." Later on he became a " ringleader of all the youth that kept me company in all manner

of vice and ungodliness." Indeed he charges himself with having "let loose the reins to my lusts, and delighted in all transgression against the law of God." That apparently might cover anything and everything of which youth is capable. But Bunyan's own repudiation of the sin of fornication is so definite that it must extend to his earlier years wherein he otherwise went astray so fully. His sins were no doubt deemed small offences by many of his time. It was not an age in which foul speech, or contempt of the Lord's Day, or youthful disregard of law and order were made much of. It is plain, however, that Bunyan had started on the way that might have led on to a wholly corrupt and dissolute life. And in after-years he saw this so clearly that the sins and offences of his youth appear in their true colours. He views them from the light of a man's experience and a godly man's convictions. He knows that such a boyhood, and such a youth as his had been, might, unchecked, have grown into a dissolute and hopeless manhood. Viewing it so, he has no temptation to find comfort in the reflection that he was no worse than many other young people of his age.

Whatever we may think of Bunyan's early faults, it is clear that he was never one of those who have sinned in blind ignorance, nor yet of those who sin without reflection or remorse. He himself leaves us in no doubt about this. For, even in the childhood which he reprehends, he says that "the Lord . . . did scare and affright me with fearful dreams, and did terrify me with dreadful visions." Further, he was "greatly afflicted and troubled at the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell fire." In the midst of his "many sports and childish vanities" he was "overcome with despair of life and heaven." As he grew into youth he declares that he forgot these experiences, so that "heaven and hell were both out of sight and mind." Yet at this very time he was so far from being utterly reprobate that the sight of "wicked things by those who professed goodness" made him tremble and his "heart to ache." His providential escapes from death he notes as leaving him "more and more rebellious against God"—and rebellion implies remembrance. Indeed his early years, treated as he himself treats them, suggest the misdeeds not of a wholly vicious and careless boy and youth, but rather of one who sinned against some measure of light. No wonder, then, that, when his young wife led him to reading the two good books her father had used, they begat in him "some desires to religion," and led him to habits of Church-going. The young man who, in that age, was conscience-smitten on hearing a sermon in Church on Sabbath-breaking was no case-hardened offender. So, much about the same time, the voluble swearer, who was rebuked by a woman, herself "a very loose and ungodly wretch," and thereat was "put to secret shame," as he thought, "before the God of heaven"; who so pathetically wished that he might be a child again, so that a father might "learn" him to speak "without this wicked way of swearing," he could have been no utterly careless and indifferent soul. A sinner he was, who certainly as he says "knew not Jesus Christ," but hardly one of those who have never had light and have long ago lost a sense of sin.

This view of Bunyan prepares us in some sort the better to understand the duration and the strange complications of his spiritual conflict. Those periods of most agonizing perplexity, spent in wrestling with some promise or warning in Holy Scripture, those occasions when "peace would be in and out sometimes twenty times a day; comfort now and trouble presently; peace now, and before I could go a furlong, as full of fears and guilt as ever heart could hold"—those times may best be understood by keeping in mind the earlier life, the boyhood's fears, the conscience that could not be drowned in the folly of youth, the temperament that found satisfaction for a time in assiduous churchgoing, the intelligence that had yielded to guidance from the *Practice of Piety* and the *Plaine Man's Pathway*.

It may be argued with reason that this Bunyan has a wider appeal to man than the Bunyan who is thought of merely as a ribald tinker, reft from wholly sottish contempt of God to paths of righteousness. For the vast majority of those into whose hands his books come are not of the hopeless and utterly depraved class. The devout reader sees here a closer relation to actual life. As for others, they may be persons who, if careless, perhaps even reckless and of irregular habit, are still not without moments of reflection, of repentance, of yearnings—perhaps vague, fitful and unenduring—towards better things. Another class may be persons who are neither plainly of religious nor of irreligious habit; who form perhaps a large proportion of our own population. Now both these latter classes may find in Bunyan a figure of some kinship with themselves. He would have understood their lapses and their stirrings of conscience. He would have felt for them because, like himself, so many of them would have had no definite religious training or example in childhood, possibly no parental restraint in youth. These, in fine, would be won to the books in no small degree because of the books' witness to the man, and to a man whom they could understand.

The appeal of Bunyan may be looked at in another way. Here indeed is a religious teacher, and one most desperately resolved on expounding theology as it concerned the saving of men's souls and their duties in life. But, in his best known works, he does not teach it in the manner of text-books. Despite the resolute will of his characters to improve the occasion, and upon the smallest provocation to deliver little homilies, his lessons are taught rather by the characters themselves than by their disquisitions. Whether in the *Pilgrim's Progress* or in the *Holy War* his sinners and saints make themselves plain before our faces. In many cases we recognize them off-hand; we have met them in life; we know how exact is the character-sketch, despite the passage of time and the changes of custom. That is why Bunyan is read, and read to profit, whilst many other works designed to alarm the ungodly or instruct the anxious, works by more learned men, have long ago passed into oblivion.

And here perhaps is a suggestion or a warning to preachers. Bunyan's more definitely theological works, though full of carefully compiled matter, are, in effect, forgotten. The books that are full of

life remain. In like manner the sermon that is only a brief theological treatise quite possibly leaves the minds of many hearers to wander at will over thoughts that have no relation to it, whilst the sermon that touches life, through observation of character and by illustration from fact and experience, though perhaps inferior in structure and in diction, wins and holds attention. Bunyan's purely doctrinal and expository works will, for this reason, repay study. Few preachers will cram as much clear-cut theology and as many supporting texts into a sermon as Bunyan did into the parts of a narrative or a treatise of a sermon's length. But he always joins them on to life. Herein he might with much advantage be followed. But the following will call for the exercise of a quality which Bunyan possessed in a pre-eminent degree. He was an accurate observer. He saw what men did ; he saw also why they did it, and knew the thoughts that lay behind the actions. Even so the wise and purposeful teacher of to-day will see that he instructs out of a divinely ordered text-book, the Holy Scriptures, but that he also relates his teaching to the circumstances of his times and his people. And this he should largely do, not from second-hand knowledge, not with illustrations culled from the stores of other men, but from personal and thoughtful observation of life. Here Bunyan was most eminently successful. It may well have been that his great hold as a preacher—for in his day he was, in his own land, as great as a preacher as now he is as an author—was due not only to the fervour with which he unfolded the Gospel but also to the sureness of touch with which he dealt with mankind.

Yet so far as the world-wide fame of Bunyan goes, we must deem it to rest on a simple thing most wondrously well set forth—the plain demonstration that man needs a Saviour, that his Saviour can be found by the man that seeks Him, and that this Saviour is indeed able very completely and triumphantly to “save His people from their sins.”

THE TRANSFIGURATION.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND E. A. KNOX, D.D.

DR. SANDAY, commenting on Schweitzer, speaks of the Transfiguration as "a ratification of the past and a foreshadowing of the future." It will be useful before commenting on these words or on the meaning of the Transfiguration to fix in our minds carefully the exact sequence of the events in that marvellous experience. For this purpose the account given in St. Luke will be found to be more exact in detail than the corresponding narratives in St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is enough to note the fact without attempting here to explain it.

THE ORDER OF EVENTS.

Our Lord took with Him Peter, James, and John, and went up on to the mountain (probably Hermon) to pray. While He was praying His countenance was changed, and His raiment became white as a sheet of lightning. Moses and Elijah in forms of glory were conversing with Him concerning His departure, which He was about to accomplish in Jerusalem. His disciples, who had been overwhelmed with sleep, woke up and beheld His glory and the two men who were standing with Him. As the men were in the act of withdrawing, Peter said to Jesus, "Sir, it is good for us to be here, let us make three booths, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah," hardly conscious what he was saying. But as he spoke there was a cloud and it overshadowed them, and they were terrified as they entered into the cloud. And there was a voice out of the cloud, saying, "This is My Son, My chosen: hear ye Him." And in the utterance of the Voice Jesus was found alone. And they kept silence and told no one in those days what they had seen!

From this account, as given in St. Luke, it is abundantly manifest that the part played by the disciples was that of witnesses attesting the reality of the experience, but, as confirming its reality for Jesus, not as deputed to proclaim it to others. From the other gospels it is certain that their silence was not optional but strictly enjoined by Jesus. Therefore all explanations of the Transfiguration as meant to confirm the faith of the disciples are undoubtedly erroneous. A great part of the occurrence took place while they were overwhelmed with sleep, and the subject of the conversation of Jesus with Moses and Elijah can only have become known to them through their Master, at some later period. Even when they woke it was only just in time to see that the gathering was at an end. Even then they were so startled and confused that they hardly knew what they said. That which called them to full consciousness was to find that they were entering into a cloud. Taught by the Old Testament they were aware that they were passing into the Shechina, sinners passing into the presence of God. This was an

experience quite other than that of the changed countenance, or the lightning splendour of the raiment of Jesus; quite other than the glory resting on the forms of Moses and Elijah. From these manifestations they were passing into the "exceeding glory" of the Divine Presence. From that glory came the voice proclaiming Jesus to be the chosen Son of God. When the voice ceased Jesus was found alone. He raised them from their prostration and calmed their fears. They looked around. No one was there but Jesus and themselves. Awestricken they willingly observed the silence enjoined on them. What had happened they could not know till Jesus rose from the dead.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

must be sought then in the experience of Jesus, not in that of the disciples. To say this is at once to imply that there was in the Person of Jesus a real need for the spiritual reassurance which was thus ministered to Him. We enter on holy ground, and we enter with the fullest admission that our powers are insufficient for the task before us. The mere fact that Jesus Christ was perfect God as well as perfect man at once places His mentality beyond all human measurements. On the other hand, we must not so think of Him as to imagine that the temptations with which He was confessedly assailed were unreal, and that His Divinity made them battles fought with blank cartridges, mere parade-ground exercises. There was an element even in His perfect Being to which these temptations were powerfully addressed; His victories over them were real victories after hard-fought battles, and He, though perfect at each stage of the conflict, was further perfected by the things which He suffered. We are therefore justified in believing that the Transfiguration was no mere display of that hidden glory by which Jesus was always encompassed in virtue of His Divinity, but a sublime answer to intensely fervent prayer, which prayer was prompted by a real sense of need. The battle-ground of the Transfiguration was as desperate as that of the Temptation in the wilderness, and hardly, if at all, less desperate than that of Gethsemane. Jesus encountered on all three the same foe, and though He was God, for our sakes entered into the field of temptation as we are called to enter into it. But whereas in the other two conflicts there is a background of angelic aid, in this we have in the foreground representatives of "the assembly and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in Heaven"—not, of course, as mediators in any sense between Him and the Father, but as part of that cloud of witnesses, whose hope and faith would have been wrecked if Jesus had been defeated. The Transfiguration, let us repeat, was purposeless, if it was not a succour given in answer to the prayers of a really tempted Jesus.

"A RATIFICATION OF THE PAST."

The Galilean ministry of Jesus was drawing to an end. We are apt to imagine that this ministry was foredoomed to failure. But

there is nothing in the Gospels to justify this supposition. On the contrary Jesus entered on a work rich in promise of a great national conversion. Already the preaching of the Baptist had met with a marvellous response. There went out to him in the wilderness "Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the country round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." The religious and political leaders of the nation, Pharisees and Sadducees were there. Representatives of the Roman dominion, tax-gatherers and soldiers, hung upon his words, seeking to be prepared for the Kingdom of God. There was in all Palestine but one opinion that the Divine forerunner of the new age was heralding the Messiah. Even the horribly licentious court of Herod was aroused to a sense of sin. Into this heritage Jesus entered, attested by the Baptist, as the Lamb of God, as one whose shoe's latchet he was unworthy to unloose, as the Baptizer Whose baptism would be with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Behind all these multitudes, recipients of a wave of profound but possibly transitory religious impression, and behind the Essenes, the first great social reformers, behind also the hotheaded and too often bloodthirsty zealots, there lay "the meek upon earth," the pious homes of such men as Joseph and Zachariah, ripe to receive the message of a Saviour from sin. These "looked for the fulfilment of the Messianic promises at the hands of some great human figure who should work marvels and redeem the Jews and the entire world from slavery and misfortune by his supernatural power" (Clausner's *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 228). We may go further than Clausner and may say that they were prepared for the advent of the redeemer-God, and accepted Jesus as the promised Redeemer.

Who shall say that all these hopes were from the first illusory? True it is that there was a Divine necessity for the Cross, but was there also a Divine necessity that Israel should cry "His blood be on us and on our children," or that the superscription of the Cross should be, "Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews"? To assert this is to say, to all appearance, that there was no possibility of the fulfilment of the hopes expressed in the words: "How often would I have gathered thee, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." It is, at least, not inconsistent with the gospels to believe that the door was still open for a great national repentance, and for a dissociation of Israel as a nation from the guilt of the Crucifixion. If so, we may regard the Galilean ministry of our Lord as He Himself regarded it, as the culmination of a Divine call to Israel to take its part as a nation in the work of human redemption. Jesus was the beloved Son, Whom the owner of the vineyard sent to gather from the husbandman the fruit of the vineyard. When Jesus began to teach and to preach the door was still open. By the time of the Transfiguration it was practically closed. But of all the multitudes who had heard the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables, who had seen His mighty works, who had fed on the loaves and fishes, how many were left who accepted Him as Messiah? The twelve—and one

of these was the traitor: a few households here and there whose doors were still open to Him. But how few! "The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head." Even the Baptist had sent to ask whether he was the Messiah. With the Pharisees He had finally broken by His words declaring all meats clean. Herod Antipas, the murderer of the Baptist, was thirsting for His blood. The great crowds who would have taken Him by force and made Him a king had all deserted Him. A fugitive almost, now on the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and now in the province of Herod Philip, He saw before Him, not only the Cross, but the Cross to which His own nation nailed Him. Surely, as a Missioner Whose mission had been rejected, as a Patriot Who saw His people finally doomed, Jesus had need of a time of prayer, of uninterrupted prayer, of prayer into which the inner circle of His disciples could not enter. For this prayer, that He might commune with His Father on the refusal by Israel of the Mission that had begun so hopefully, our Lord retreated to the natural sanctuary of Mount Hermon. "It" (that is His journey), says Sir George Adam Smith, "became the occasion of His resolution to return to meet the Jews, and the death which lay ready for Him in their hate. . . . The scenery had already been consecrated by the crisis and turning of a soul, by the hope which another exile had seen break through His drenching sorrow, like as the sun breaks through the mists and saturated woods of the hills around.

" . . . From the land of Jordan
 And the Hermons, from the hill Mizar,
 Deep unto deep is calling at the noise of the waterfalls;
 All day breakers and billows are gone over me.
 With a breaking in my bones my enemies reproach me,
 While they say unto me all the day, Where is thy God?
 Why are thou cast down, O my soul?
 And why art thou disquieted within me?
 Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise Him,
 Health of my countenance and my God!"

Jesus prayed, not because He would turn back from His appointed task, but for reassurance that He was executing it in conformity with the Divine will. At His Baptism was confirmed and approved His long abstinence from any public ministry. In the forty days of solitary communion with God that followed were set aside the temptations (1) to exercise His Divine powers for bodily indulgence; (2) to exercise them for gain of public notoriety; (3) to exercise them in such a way as to make the Kingdoms of the world subservient to the setting up of the Kingdom of God. It was this last resolution that was most costly. Had He yielded to it He could have carried His nation with Him. But He had resisted the attempt to *force* Him to be a king. He had preferred all that this choice involved. He had accepted rejection by Israel, friendship with publicans and sinners, the doom of a death which humiliated Godhead itself with the curse of the Cross—He was staking all that is dear to man, all that makes life worth living. Was all this according to the Father's will? Was there

no other way out? no honourable alternative? Once more He sought in prayer Divine ratification of His choice.

THE FORESHADOWING OF THE FUTURE.

In the process of this communion with God, while His disciples slept, Jesus was drawn out of this world of space and time into the confines of the region of the world of spirits, the realm of the blessed dead. "His face became other." "His raiment shone with the brilliancy of lightning." How could these experiences have become known? We may refer to the glory which shone from the countenance of Moses when he came down from the Mount. It still lingered though it was fading, but lingered sufficiently to need a veil to cover it from the eyes of beholders. Though the disciples did not wake till the manifestation was almost at an end, they were bewildered even by its passing splendour. It is usual to describe the event as miraculous or supernatural, and this is a true description as against those who treat the Transfiguration as a dream. But it is not true if it means that the world known to our senses is the only real, or even the most real world that exists. When Stephen stood before his persecutors, "they saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." There can be no question that this was an actual experience. Not less is it certain that on multitudes of death-beds of saints a glory from the world beyond has shone out. The faces of the departing have "become other," and they have told us how near to them was the world into which they were entering, and how they have seen into "the land of far distances." It is not strange that the glory resting on Moses and Elijah should invest the whole of our Lord's person, and be reflected on His raiment.

These external features of the Transfiguration yield, after all, in importance to the significance of His passing for a while without death into the world of the departed. Here, it is natural that the two, who conversed with Him, should be two of those on whom the hand of death never rested—Moses, "who fell asleep by the kiss of God," and whose body could not be found, and Elijah, who was translated into Heaven. How the disciples recognized them we are not told, nor can conjecture help us. They were present conversing with Jesus on "the departure which He was about to accomplish in Jerusalem."

We can—without irreverence—form some impression of the lines which their discourse must have followed. For behind these two were all the great company who died in faith, not having seen the promises, but having embraced them from afar. Martyrs who had laid down their lives in defence of the truth, who had endured imprisonment, torture, and violent deaths, as well as all the rest of the company of the faithful, were at hand—in glory, and yet not perfected. They were not perfected, for things in heaven as well as things on earth were waiting for the reconciliation of the Cross. It is surely by no accident that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has closely associated all these with Jesus,

“ Who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the shame.” As against all the humiliation of the past and the agony of the Crucifixion there stood out in glory all that the Lord was to win by His death—the defeat of death and sin, the opening of the gates of Heaven to the King of glory, the session of redeemed Humanity in the Person of Christ at the right hand of the Father. Oh ! how utterly unequal is our cold, dull imagination to conceive the wonders of that marvellous converse ! How little can we know of the glory of the redemption of the world ! When we think of these things even the brilliancy that lit up that dark night on Mount Hermon fades into insignificance. No power but the infinite Love of God could achieve it. No nature save the Divine could bear the fulness of that unspeakable joy which the departure in Jerusalem was about to accomplish.

JESUS ONLY.

“ Now I saw in my dream,” says John Bunyan, “ that these two men went in at the gate : and lo ! as they entered they were transfigured : and they had raiment put on that shone like gold. There were also that met them with harps and crowns and gave them to them ; the harps to praise withal and crowns in token of honour ; then I heard in my dream, that all the bells in the city rang again for joy ; and that it was said to them, ‘ Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.’ I also heard the men themselves that they sang with a loud voice, saying ‘ Blessing, honour, glory and power, be to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.’

“ Now just as the gates were opened to let in the men, I looked after them ; and behold, the city shone like the sun, the streets also were paved with gold, and in them walked men with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands, and golden harps to sing praise withal.

“ There were also of them that had wings ; and they answered one another without intermission, saying, ‘ Holy, holy, holy is the Lord.’ And upon that they shut up the gates, which when I had seen, I wished myself among them.”

So far, our study of the Transfiguration has placed us in the spirit where John Bunyan stood, peering, as it were, into the gates of the golden city. “ And upon that they shut up the gates, which when I had seen, I wished myself among them.”

But the Transfiguration does not end there. It carries us far into the very heart of the City, into the presence of the King. “ There came to pass a cloud and overshadowed them. And they feared as they entered into the cloud.” It was no dream of future glory that could have sufficed to carry Jesus through the remainder of the journey. Be the vision never so splendid

“ At length the Man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day.”

The experience vouchsafed to Jesus, not yet glorified, was far beyond any Vision. It was the experience of entry into the

Father's Presence, and the sound of the Father's voice : " This is My Son, My chosen : hear ye Him."

The disciples we are told " entered the cloud with fear," when it had passed they were found prostrate, with their faces to the earth, not daring to rise till Jesus lifted them up and reassured them. Then looking round they saw no one save Jesus only. Erect, undaunted, nay, even elated, He passed into His Father's presence, and received as the seal of approval on the choice that He had made, the enheartening words : " This is My Son, My chosen." Dare we compare things infinitesimally small with things infinitely great? If we dare do so without irreverence, there are those who can call to mind a moment when the training of boyhood and youth being completed, and life's work and vocation entered upon, a father's approval, not easily nor cheaply bestowed, rang in our ears in accents unforgettable, " I am proud of you to-day, my son." At that moment we entered, so it seemed, into an inheritance better than any earthly riches, better than the applause of any by-standing crowd. On that day and in that hour, we *found ourselves*, we saw in a flash the joy of having fulfilled the life-dream of him whom on earth we revered most. He who has found himself has found the best of all treasures.

Could there be anything in the life of Jesus at all corresponding to this experience? Our first impulse is to say decidedly, " No." Having firm and strong faith in the Godhead of our blessed Lord, we shrink from the idea of any growth or development in His Personality. But we find that in so doing we are conceiving a Being Whose manhood was real, and yet was not subject to conditions of time. With what confidence can we defend this assumption? If our Lord was subject, as He undoubtedly was, to conditions of space, was his manhood not, like ours, subject to conditions of time? He grew in stature and in wisdom. He *grew* even in favour with God—not because at any moment aught less than the fullness of the Father's favour rested on Him, but because increasing years increased His capacity to appreciate the length, breadth, depth, and height of that surpassing love. Surely each prayer, each holy meditation, each act of loving service was for Him, so to speak, an entrance further into that Holy of Holies. As he grew in knowledge of His Father, He grew in knowledge of Himself. The purpose of His Mission developed; His holy Name " Jesus " assumed fuller meaning. Those who had borne the name before Him were Saviours of Israel, but He, cost what it might, was called to be the Saviour of the World—yes, even if it cost the humbling of His Divine Sonship to the shame of the Cross. Now, on the eve of the Transfiguration—with Peter's confession, " Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," ringing in His ears—He had at once and plainly foretold His crucifixion. He had determined to lose His life, that He might save it. He had renounced the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of the whole world, but he had found Himself and saved Himself. This was the meaning of the voice heard on the Mount of Transfiguration.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

This study of the Transfiguration is incomplete without reference to the very difficult words: "There are some of those who stand here who shall not taste of death till they see 'the Son of Man coming in His kingdom'" (St. Matthew); "the kingdom of God having come in power" (St. Mark); "the kingdom of God" (St. Luke). It might be satisfactory to interpret this prophecy of the day of Pentecost, or of the spread of the gospel, were it not so nearly connected with the words: "Of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He cometh in His own glory, and that of the Father, and of the holy angels." The close proximity of these words seems to confine any fair interpretation to the second coming of our Lord. The connecting of the two passages gains for us two points of real importance: (1) The refusal of the critics to believe that our Lord at this time prophesied His resurrection as well as His death is overthrown; for if He was to die, He could not come in glory without rising from the dead. (2) The certainty that the Transfiguration formed part of the gospel narrative during the lifetime of that generation. The words could not have been inserted into, or preserved in the Transfiguration narrative, had the whole of that generation passed away before the Gospels were committed to writing. These are two points of real importance. On the other hand, those who refuse to believe that even as touching His second coming our Lord could have uttered any words that are not to be literally accepted, seem bound to insist that the "coming of our Lord in glory," of one verse bears, and bore in His mind, a different meaning from the "coming of the kingdom of God in power." Some refer it to the Transfiguration, to which it could have been more easily referred, if we had read in any of the gospels, "Till they have seen My Glory." It is a possible, though difficult interpretation, and it seems doubtful whether it would have been accepted, except under the compelling influence of a presupposition.

Others find it compatible with full belief in our Lord's Godhead, and in His absolute truthfulness, to hold that while on earth, He looked forward to a shorter interval than that which has actually occurred between His resurrection and His second coming. The time which, as it passes, seems to us as long, will, in retrospect, be short indeed. Our time-measurements have no place in the world of Eternity. As the rise and fall of ancient Empires, the whole shaping of ancient history prepared the way for the first coming of our Lord, so it seems most certain that the course of this world is now being ordered to find its culmination in the second coming. The first coming took the world by surprise; yet it happened in the fullness of time. In like fullness we expect that second coming, which will overtake the world with like suddenness, and like confirmation of the overruling Providence of God. So we pray, "Thy kingdom come." So will that prayer be answered one day before the lips that framed it have grown cold in death.

THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL.

BY THE REV. W. WILSON CASH, D.S.O., Secretary of
the Church Missionary Society.

ABOUT thirty years ago the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement adopted as its slogan "The Evangelization of the world in this generation." These words had a wide interpretation and they were criticized in some quarters, but they served the purpose of fixing the attention of the Church upon the great unfinished task before it. By 1910 the situation abroad had so developed that it was decided to call a United Conference in Edinburgh. Out of this remarkable gathering there sprang a Continuation Committee and a group of missionary statesmen, the most prominent of whom was Mr. J. H. Oldham. Four years later when war broke out it looked as though missionary co-operation was permanently shattered, but the events of those terrible years of conflict only showed more clearly how God had led the Church to draw together in co-operation in 1910 in preparation for the war days when missionary work was in danger of collapse in many lands.

After the war it was necessary to review the whole situation, and if possible to re-establish those links of fellowship with German and other continental societies that had been snapped from 1914 to 1918.

In 1920 the old Continuation Committee came to an end and in its place was set up the International Missionary Council. A survey of the previous ten difficult years showed some notable achievements by this co-operative body, the most outstanding of which was the securing of liberty of conscience in all mandated territories. The post-war conditions both in the political and the religious spheres made co-operation even more essential than before. Through the League of Nations the world was organizing itself internationally. Serious problems affecting missionary work were from time to time under discussion at Geneva, and if the Church was to make any appeal it must be in a position to speak unitedly.

For six years the newly formed International Missionary Council perfected its organization, studied the changing conditions and quietly laid its plans for the gatherings at Jerusalem. In 1926 the Committee of the Council met at Rattvik in Sweden and there, after an exhaustive inquiry, decided to call the Council together in 1928. When the Conference met in 1910 in Edinburgh the great majority of the delegates were from what are called the sending countries, and representatives of eastern lands were very few indeed. In the intervening years remarkable changes had taken place in the growth of young Churches in Asia and Africa. At Rattvik it was at once found to be impossible to hold a conference in any sense similar to Edinburgh. To do so would have been now a retrograde step. Churches in China, Japan, India and elsewhere were to a large extent

self-governing and self-supporting bodies. This new situation demanded not only recognition by the Committee but a bold and courageous policy that would bring all the younger Churches within the Council's deliberations. It was therefore decided to double the size of the Council, thus enlarging the membership to about two hundred. It was further agreed that half of the delegates should be members of the young Churches, nationals from Eastern lands, and that they should be invited to Jerusalem upon a basis of equality with their Western brethren.

The ensuing two years, 1926-28, were spent in the detailed planning of the Council. The National Christian Councils in Asia and Africa were asked to send delegates. A large fund was raised, chiefly by Dr. Mott, to enable the young Churches to send their representatives. The German Hospice on the Mount of Olives was placed at the disposal of the Council for the meetings, and huts and tents were erected as sleeping quarters. In the meantime the programme was being minutely considered both in America and England. The subjects for discussion had to be kept within reasonable bounds, otherwise the value of the Council would have been dissipated by a diffuse discussion of many matters. It was finally decided to restrict the work to a few outstanding subjects of world-wide importance. The principal ones were the Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems, religious education, the relation between the younger and the older Churches, the Christian mission in the light of race conflict, Christianity and the growth of industrialism in Asia and Africa, and the Christian mission in relation to rural problems.

In preparation for the consideration of these subjects papers were written by a number of experts and circulated to delegates. The late Canon Gairdner wrote a treatise of outstanding value on Islam, and among other writers there were Dr. Rufus Jones of America, Mr. Oldham, Mr. John Hope, a member of the negro race in America, Dr. Jesse Jones and Dr. Mott. Before the first session opened every delegate had had the opportunity of reading these carefully written papers. The meetings thus commenced with much preliminary preparation having been done.

Over fifty nations were represented at Jerusalem and all the main branches of the Christian Church, with of course the exception of the Church of Rome, which always refuses to take any part in such gatherings. The British Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa all sent delegates. There were Germans and French, Swedes and Dutch, British and Belgians, as well as members of other European countries. Asia was represented by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Burmese, Indians and others. Africa sent Bishop Howells, a native of Nigeria. From Uganda came Mr. Sirwano Kulubia. Egypt and the Sudan both sent delegates. and in this gathering all parts of Africa met probably for the first time. The Anglican Church formed a powerful group, headed by that great leader in the missionary cause, the Bishop of Salisbury. The Bishops of Manchester, Uganda, Persia, Egypt and Palestine were present.

All the leading missionary societies of the West sent representatives, and in addition to these there were co-opted on to the Conference such experts as Mr. H. A. Grimshaw, Chief of the native labour section of the International Labour Office, Geneva; Dr. Hocking of Harvard University; Dr. Jesse Jones of the Phelps Stokes Commission; Mr. R. H. Tawney of London University; Dr. Atkinson, the secretary general of the Continuation Committee of the Stockholm Conference of 1925, and Dr. Ispir, professor of Bucharest University.

It is difficult to single out personalities in so unique a gathering of world leaders, but perhaps the most remarkable group was that composed of women of the Orient. Their picturesque costumes immediately attracted attention, but their contribution in discussions was one of the big fruits of the Conference. They spoke in fluent English, and they always spoke to the point and never failed to command the close attention of all present.

In preparing for the Conference the language problem had to be considered, and arrangements had been made for the translation of speeches, but throughout the meetings hardly any interpretation was necessary. Every one seemed to speak English with remarkable ease. Dr. Mott was the Chairman throughout the Conference, and in his opening address he reminded us of God's purposes for the world. "We represent," he said, "not so much Churches or Societies as great fields of work." Dr. Mott has been a prophet among all the Churches for more than a generation. He has led the missionary cause in vision, plans and policy for many years. It fell to his lot to chair the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, and it was out of a rich experience that he called upon us to keep our faces Godward. He knew the difficulties of so mixed a gathering and the perplexities and the problems before us, and he rightly placed in the forefront of all the spiritual resources available through prayer. Delegates were asked to keep one hour free, from 9-10 every morning, for personal and private prayer. The spacious grounds on Olivet were ideal for meditation, and every day we scattered over its slopes after breakfast with Bibles tucked under our arms, and in surroundings so sacred we prayed and waited upon God for guidance and help. Many delegates attended one or other of the devotional meetings arranged before breakfast, and again there was no desire to talk or to give addresses. Every one felt the need of prayer and in a wonderful way the spirit of prayer was poured out upon us. Every day half-way through the sessions all work was suspended and we gave ourselves to prayer. These meetings were generally thrown open and each prayed in his own language. It is no exaggeration to say that the Conference was prayed through innumerable difficulties, until Christ's presence was so manifest that all felt a spiritual unity that only comes through the illuminating power of the Spirit.

Dr. Speer opened the discussion on the Christian message, and he struck the right note when he spoke of Christ as the sufficient, absolute and final Saviour of the world. "To-day," he said, "there is a great body of conviction behind this statement," and one had

only to look round the assembled people to realize that through missionary work there had come to the Church a new evidence for Christianity, an evidence born of the spiritual experience of Christ's saving power in the lives of men all over the world.

For two days the message was considered. Many points of view were put forward more or less related to the background investigations on the non-Christian systems. One startling fact emerged that while Christian missions are making inroads into these systems, yet secularism from the West is making a far greater impression upon the East than the combined forces of the Church. The message therefore had to be related not only to these other religions but also to a changed condition in Asia and many parts of Africa. Materialism in life combined with agnosticism in faith is regarded by many, who formerly were Buddhists, Moslems and Hindus, as the essence of civilization to-day and the necessary path to national progress.

The missionary therefore in considering his message is increasingly concerned with a secular way of life, and this is becoming a greater obstacle to Christianity than the old faiths once so stoutly defended. Thus in Turkey, for example, the battleground has completely shifted from the old orthodox Islam to a new mentality through which the Turk regards all religion as the superstitions of derelict faiths, of no concern to the State and with little value for modern requirements. The attack upon Christianity is therefore not based upon the denial of a divine revelation, but upon the way of life the Christian faith expounds. Eastern people see in Christian character not the spirit of Christ but a Western domination which seeks an overlordship in the rest of the world. Delegates from China and India therefore emphasized the life of love and the reproduction of a Christ-like character as the first requisite in the message. The Christian life cannot be divorced from the message, and the wave of secularism can only be met by a new devotion to the claims of Christ upon us. It was both an illuminating and humiliating experience to see the West through the eyes of some of the best thinkers of the East. There is a paganism of the Western world which has to be faced if the East is to find in Christ the highest and the best that life can offer. The speakers as they followed one another brought home to us anew that the missionary task is world-wide, and includes our own countries as well as those on the other side of the world. This secularism so dominant at present does not fill the whole picture. There is a heart-hunger for God in many lands, and we were reminded of this by an Indian who said what we need in India is not only "Christ of the Indian Road" but Christ of the Indian heart. What in religion are men searching for in these days of change and transition? There is no doubt, as many Asiatic delegates affirmed, that the East is looking for a religion that brings with it spiritual experience and makes God not a theory for discussion but a reality in facing the complex life of to-day. It was a Chinese who said, "Christianity when lived can produce all the values of other faiths. China is seeking for a reality upon which it can anchor its individual and social life, and this we find in Christ." One speaker

quoted Mr. Ghandi as saying, "Christians should live more like Christ," and asked what difference it would make if Mr. Ghandi became a Christian. This was answered by Dr. Stanley Jones, who said, "If Ghandi became a Christian it would meet his deepest longings and his search for God. In Christ he would combine certainty with sympathy." Later on the Bishop of Manchester referred to the same question and said, "If Ghandi became a Christian he would have *found* God and peace, and his Christianity would affect his whole social policy." These contributions to the discussion led us deep into the heart of our message, and in the findings which were adopted we read, "Our message is Jesus Christ. He is the revelation of what God is and of what man through Him may become. In Him we come face to face with the ultimate reality of the universe; He makes known to us God as our Father, perfect and infinite in love and righteousness; for in Him we find God incarnate, the final yet ever unfolding revelation of the God in whom we live and move and have our being."

When some one asked, "What has Christianity done for the East?" it fell to the lot of the women of the Orient to answer the question. They faced it from the standpoint of the practical application of our faith to the emancipation of women. A Chinese woman said Confucius argued that the ignorance of woman is her virtue. Christ has brought to us equality of the sexes with one moral standard for both. A Japanese told us that "neither Shintoism nor Buddhism nor Confucianism ever gave woman a place in life. Only Christianity has done this." A young Korean woman made a great impression upon the delegates. She lifted the discussion up to the place of Christ in womanhood. Her words are worth noting: "It was only as the message and life of Christ was brought to Korea that the women of Korea found that life had a value."

For two days these workers from many lands looked out upon the world and sought to gain a new vision of the faith "once delivered to the Saints." It was no wonder therefore that the debate was wound up upon the note of a universal faith. The last speaker expressed the conviction of the whole Conference when he said Christianity is either truth or nothing. It is either for all or nothing at all. The uniqueness of Christ was again emphasized. "Only a fulcrum outside the world can lift the world," and this fulcrum is Christ, calling to us all for a new loyalty to Him and for a more heroic interpretation of the Gospel.

With all the inspiration of our message brought home to us afresh through the manifest presence of Christ in our midst, we turned the following day to consider the relation between the younger and the older Churches. These Churches are the visible expression of a message that has won a place in many nations, and a right understanding of the problem must mean more effective service for the Kingdom of God. A band of pioneer missionaries in the first instance is sent out say from England. Funds are supplied from home and in course of time converts are formed into a new Church. They multiply and from their number men are ordained. They are taught

to give to their Church, and the next stage comes when money is supplied both from the young Church and from home also. The period of infancy in a native Church passes and these Christians grow into a vigorous youth. The old tutelage has gone. No longer can the missionary dominate the situation. The Church in the mission-field asks for self-control, for equality in council and for freedom in its growth and development. What has the home Church to say about it? Can we deny to these young communities that liberty that we in the English Church wrested from Rome at such cost? What is the apostolic principle underlying this problem? We met in Jerusalem from both East and West and we faced these issues together. The new nationalism to-day coloured the outlook and policy of delegates from more than one country. A national form of Christianity occupied a much bigger place in their thinking than any policy for the Church universal.

Where China or India fear politically the strong hand of England, there in much the same way the Church fears an ecclesiastical control over their religious life. The demand put forward was for an indigenous Church. A Chinese delegate defined this by saying, "By indigenous we mean a Church congenial to Chinese life and culture. We seek for the co-operation of missions in attaining this, but a mission can only be regarded as a temporary organization. The relation should now be between the Church at home and the Church in the field. The missionary may have a permanent place in China, but if so it must be a place under the control of the Chinese Church." From Japan we were reminded that this demand for independence did not mean that there was any anti-foreign or anti-missionary feeling.

Great stress was placed upon the need of a trained native leadership, and again and again missionary societies were urged to bend all their energies to this end. It was an Indian who gave balance to the discussion by reminding us that a native Church is a part of the Body of Christ, and the emphasis should therefore be upon interdependence rather than independence. Instances were given where a Church had lost its power of initiative through a prolonged Western control, and one speaker said that the dependence of the native Church upon the West after a certain stage is reached becomes a positive hindrance. A Korean pleaded for more sympathy from the older Churches and for a simplification of Church organization suitable to Korean conditions. We were frequently reminded that only qualified men and women were wanted in the mission-field, and more than one Oriental speaker gave the impression that in some cases missionaries from home were not always the right sort, and these young Churches asked for the power to send back to England any missionary they felt was unsuitable. It was a novel experience to some in the Conference to be told that a missionary's work and life should be within the control of the young Church, and that a society should only send a worker abroad after obtaining the sanction of the Church in the field. Mr. Kulubia, a Uganda Chief, spoke of the Church in Uganda built up by the Church Missionary Society, and said

that many of the difficulties mentioned by Chinese and others did not exist in his country because policy was not dictated from outside but from within the body of the Church itself. His tribute to the far-seeing policy of C.M.S. leaders was a refreshing interlude in a critical debate.

When Western speakers entered the discussion they spoke of the need of shifting the emphasis in missionary policy from paternalism to partnership. One delegate told the story of a small girl who was trying to persuade her father to consent to something. When she failed to gain her point she said, "Daddy, you will not give way to my point of view because I am not financially independent." Many of the young Churches feel that their point of view would receive much greater attention if they were not financially dependent upon Churches in the West.

Out of this discussion emerged the most vital problem of all in the relation between East and West. To devolve responsibility upon native Churches, to give them self-control and independence is not after all an insuperable difficulty and is already being done in many countries. But these things are only stepping-stones to the demand for freedom from our ecclesiastical systems. One speaker said, we are not interested in your denominational differences and we want a united Church in our country. The whole debate seemed to me to lead to but one logical conclusion—that having granted to native Churches independence, nothing can prevent their seeking and obtaining a new unity that may or may not conform to our own particular ecclesiasticism. In China the United Church formed by the amalgamation of Presbyterians and Congregationalists has a communicant membership of over 120,000, while the total Anglican Church membership for all China is less than 30,000.

Reunion was considered to be outside our province at Jerusalem, but the young Churches represented there knew nothing of watertight compartments labelled Stockholm, Lausanne and Jerusalem. For them the great problem was how to form united national Churches, and they made it abundantly clear that while they would go patiently they would not wait for ever in the hope that the West would give a lead to them on reunion. There were unmistakable signs that patience is running out and many of these Churches have decided to join forces. This they hope may be done with the goodwill of the West, but they will not allow the road to reunion to be permanently blocked because Western Churches cannot agree. These young Churches think they can agree, and before very long they will go ahead with us if possible, but if not in spite of us. One delegate said bluntly, "We will wait until Lambeth 1930 but no longer." Thus a discussion which began by seeking to define an indigenous Church ended upon the only possible note if we are to face facts at all. We sin in fettering our denominations upon the East, and the East knows it and has determined to end it.

In this connection the findings on this subject have a significance which should not be overlooked by evangelicals. "This statement would be seriously incomplete without reference to the desire which

is being expressed with increasing emphasis among the younger Churches to eliminate the complexity of the missionary enterprise and to remove the discredit to the Christian name, due to the great numbers of denominations and the diversity and even competition of the missionary agencies now at work in some countries. It is fully recognized that it is not the function of the International Missionary Council to pronounce upon questions of ecclesiastical policy. At the same time the Council is only performing an inescapable duty when it appeals to the older Churches to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards the longings expressed by the younger Churches for a more rapid advance in Christian reunion." Two sessions were devoted to industrial and rural problems. Seventy-five per cent. of the world's population live in rural areas and apart from the great currents of life. These peasant folk often have a civilization of their own, and the problem as it faced us at Jerusalem was whether this civilization shall be Christian or secular. Take India for example : ninety per cent. of the people live in villages on the border-line between poverty and starvation. They are mostly in debt, illiterate and live under bad housing conditions. Into their midst comes a messenger of the Gospel. What has Christianity to say about the people's social welfare ? No Church can satisfactorily be built up which ignores great social evils and which does not seek to bring the Gospel to bear upon housing, poverty, child labour and insanitary conditions of life. The study of the place of the missionary in such an environment produced some practical points. Missionaries have too often occupied large towns to the neglect of rural areas. When work has been established in villages mission organization has been too expensive for village life and too foreign, thus making rural work depend upon foreign support when of all others it ought to be self-supporting and mainly carried on by voluntary peasant help. Missionary educational systems have too often trained village boys for town posts, and have thus helped to swell the number of the unemployed would-be government officials. Training work in rural areas has often been done in town institutions, and the pastor or catechist when located to a village has found little in common with his flock.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of all was that our evangelism has too often ignored the social needs of the people. The appeal of this session was for the training of pastors for rural areas in rural areas, for a recasting of our village school system and the development of vocational schools. Most of the Eastern countries are faced with the task of building up a rural community Christian life.

The day we discussed the race problem has left memories that for some of us are ineffaceable. A negro from America, a South African, an Indian and a delegate from the Philippine Islands were the principal speakers. They spoke with deep emotion yet in a calm moderate and restrained manner. Here were men who had suffered from a white domination and who had felt the barrier of colour throughout their lives. They told of the two standards for whites and blacks in the U.S.A., of the colour bar bill in South Africa and of the vested interests of American financiers in the Philippines.

In South Africa, we were reminded that Islam is making converts from Christianity because of the race question. Mohammedan propaganda to-day is largely based upon the claim of Islam to a brotherhood that is more genuine than Christianity. "Join Islam," they say, "and protect yourselves against the West." What struck me most was the fact that these men, feeling as they do, could speak without a single trace of bitterness. They were Christian men and their faith had removed all bitterness, but the lesson of it was that while these men as Christians can live above the unfairness and injustice of race differences there are millions who are not Christians and who, feeling as strongly, cannot rise above their sense of wrong. It burns within them and nothing but Christianity can meet their need. The discussion was wound up by an Indian lady who said, "We must solve the problem in our own lives by a desire to know our neighbours."

I come back in closing to the Home Base. Every country to-day is becoming a home base and we in England are chiefly concerned with our own problems. There is no short cut to the solution of any of the big issues raised at Jerusalem. There is certainly no paper scheme or organization that will meet the need. We are brought once more face to face with the fundamental fact that spiritual life is the only way out. Revival in England is the great need. The home Church does not respond to world service because the level of spiritual power is so low. There is in so many quarters a lack of spiritual certitude in the universal message of Christ. Jerusalem said, "Our message is Jesus Christ," and if this is so, the Church is faced not only with a common task but a common loyalty to our Lord as Master and King.

Much of the fruit is lost and the vitality of the Church lowered through our divisions. Co-operation in missionary service does demand therefore a new discovery of the spirit of Jesus. Either we believe that unity of the Spirit is an attainable ideal or we deny that Christ's prayer that we all may be one has any answer. Jerusalem stands for co-operation not because it is sound policy but because unity is of the mind and will of Christ.

The challenge of the Conference to the Church at home is for a quickening of spiritual life, for a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit and for a frank study of the situation. Open doors abroad and a deep hunger for God are proofs of the work of the Spirit. This is a day of God. Will the Church see the signs of the times and gird itself to the great task before it?

THE MEDIÆVAL PARISH PRIEST.

By H. P. PALMER, M.A.

THE mediæval clergyman of a parish, when he was a rector, received the entire ecclesiastical income of his cure, but when he was a vicar, the tithes on the corn crops, wool and wine, the most important part of the revenue, went to the monastery, cathedral, or collegiate church to which the rectory had been given. The parson, whether rector or vicar, might, in exceptional cases, be learned in the philosophy of his days, in Latin, in Canon Law, in liturgical knowledge. On the other hand, he might sink below the level of the bucolic clergy of the seventeenth century described by Macaulay. It was certainly the rule that the men of parts and ability gravitated into the Civil Service and were often rewarded with the highest posts in the Church. The parson of the parish might be a scion of the aristocracy, in which case advancement was a certainty; he might be the son of a serf, when it was at least a possibility. Indeed the ranks of the clergy were recruited from all orders and degrees of men. Most of them had picked up some little knowledge of Latin at the Cathedral, Gild, and Grammar Schools which were scattered through the country more widely than is usually supposed. The episcopate was of opinion that an insufficient number of the clergy went to the University, and Archbishop Chicheley, writing to the other bishops, deplored this fact, and suggested that preferment should be offered only to graduates.

The country clergyman was often, though by no means always, a man of small means and had to tend his cattle, feed his flock and look after his poultry to eke out his maintenance. He usually got on well with his congregation if he were not too exacting in the matter of his tithes. He was sometimes rather inclined to poaching, and a man, who, like one of the parsons described in the Paston Letters, stole swans, was unpopular with the magnates of his district.

The parson's every-day appearance was regulated by Canon Law. His hair must be cut close, his ears visible, and his tonsure must be of becoming width. His clerical coat or cassock must be neither too long nor too short, reaching, however, at least to the ankle. Many of the clergy set these regulations at defiance, at the cost of severe rebukes from their diocesans.

The "village preacher's modest mansion," smaller probably than that of a town incumbent, consisted of a hall, two rooms and a kitchen; there were also a dairy, stable, cattle-sheds, a garden, and some glebe. Here, then, the vicar lived and plied his many avocations. Let us hope that Halévy's description of a French curé of modern times could often be applied to him: "He loved his little church, his little village, his little parsonage. He was there alone in quietude, doing everything himself, constantly along roads and lanes, exposed to the sun, beaten by the wind and the rain. His body had hardened itself to fatigue, but his soul had remained sweet and tender. When the vicar mounted

the ladder to pale up his fruit-trees, he saw from the top of the wall the tombs over which he had said the last prayers and thrown the first offerings of earth. It was then that mentally he said a short prayer for the dead. He had a deep and a simple faith."

The patrons who appointed to vacant livings were the King, the Bishops, the Deans and Chapters of Cathedrals, Monasteries, Collegiate Churches and many members of the aristocracy. The income of a vicar depended on the original ordination (or arrangement) or on custom, and might be revised, and in fact often was revised, by the bishop. At an early period, payments were often made partly in kind; for this system full payment in money was eventually substituted. The ordination of St. Mary's Vicarage, Taunton, was originally determined by the fact that the patrons, the Prior and Chapter of the Augustinian Canons, lived less than half a mile from St. Mary's Church and goods could easily be delivered at the Vicarage. The Vicar of St. Mary's received weekly from the convent twenty-one loaves of bread, seven loaves made of choicer flour, twenty-eight loaves of fine wheaten flour, forty-two flagons of ordinary ale and seven flagons of a stronger brew. Towards meeting his other expenses, he was given fifteen marks yearly and the keep of his horse was provided. For the worthy sustentation of this animal, six loads of hay and seven bushels of oats were considered necessary. The Priory could not provide horse-shoes, but allowed the Vicar two shillings a year for this expense. As this sum, expressed in modern values, is about four pounds, we may judge that the Vicar and his steed were expected to do a good deal of travelling. The provision for the Vicar seems extremely liberal. Allowance, however, must be made for the fact that he had to maintain a resident curate. Even so, the Vicar's house must have been a paradise of cakes and ale.

The livings in England varied greatly in their income. Many were far in excess of a present value of a thousand a year, and a Paston letter, written in 1464, speaks of "good benefices and rich parsonages." There were also very poorly paid incumbencies with incomes of twenty shillings yearly or even of ten marks. Expressed in modern values, such livings were worth about forty pounds a year. These tiny incomes escaped taxation, which was normally exacted only from those which exceeded ten marks. A parson with a more competent salary found himself exposed in all directions to raids upon his resources. He was taxed, at varying intervals, by Convocation, on behalf of the Crown, with resulting demands for tenths of his income as subsidies and with tenths for Crusades, known as the "Saladin tithe" or the "Subsidy against the Saracens and Turks." There were also subsidies for the Pope, and irritating and frequently recurring charges for expenses of Papal Nuncios, who seem to have been as exacting as the "daughters of the horse-leech." The machinery for gathering in all these charges was set in motion by the bishop, who appointed collectors from among the regular and secular clergy. They had the utmost difficulty in obtaining the money. The Crown had to write again

and again to the bishops for arrears, expressing wonderment at the delay, often to be told that only trifling sums could be squeezed out of the delinquents. Edward II and his advisers, desperate men in a desperate case, condescended to every form of entreaty and cajolery.

The parson was also liable to procurations due to the Archbishop, the Bishop, or the Archdeacon on the occasions of their visitations. Grievous as were all these drains on his income, he had often to face still more serious charges. The parishioners, it is true, were liable for the upkeep of the main body of the church and for the original provision of the vestments, service-books, and ornaments, but the Vicar was compelled, in most cases, to face the cost of keeping the chancel in repair, as well as of maintaining in due order the necessities when once they had been given. It is no wonder that the wind sometimes whistled through the broken glass of the chancel windows, that the roof leaked, that the canopy over the altar shocked those who saw it, that the vestments were old, threadbare and moth-eaten, the pyx and font without locks, and the service-books torn or dog-eared. There were still further charges on the Vicar and these must have amounted to a good deal in the course of a year. It was his duty to pay for the processional candles, the incense and the bread and wine for the Eucharist at Easter and at other times. Moreover, the poor and suffering expected, and usually received, alms from him. He was charged with the duty of hospitality and did not always "eat his morsel by himself alone." In fact, there had been a primitive division of the tithe between the parson, the fabric fund of the church and the poor—the tradition of which always lingered.

Commissioners appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter visited the churches belonging to them in 1330 and 1331, and they can hardly have been satisfied with what they found. At Clyst Hydon, for example, there was no surplice fit to be seen, the Missal was worn out, and the processional cross and all other ornaments were in bad order. At Buckerell the whole fabric of the church seemed tottering to its fall, while the service-books were superannuated and inadequate. Colyton was under the care of a leprous vicar, who insisted upon being present at the services. At Shute, a chapelry of his parish, there was no gradual, a bad antiphonal and a poor manual. At Perranzabuloe, where St. Perran died in 549, the inhabitants were in the habit of carrying, even to distant places, the supposed relics of the saint. In spite of the special sanctity of this church the visitors found much of which to complain. Surplices, funeral pall, ordinal and Paschal candlestick were past service, the pax-board was without its painting; and the font, the ivory pyx and vessel for consecrated oil were destitute of locks. Reliquary, lantern and nuptial veil were conspicuous by their absence, and the solitary little window in the chancel had no glass. At St. Breward, the parishioners collected one-tenth of the vicar's income, with which they were under obligation to repair the chancel and to provide the vestments

and books and to maintain them in good order. It may be mentioned that the bridal veil formed part of the belongings necessary to a church. The account given in Grandisson's register of the parlous condition of fabrics, chancels, ornaments, service-books and vestments may remind us that, at a later period, and especially just on the eve of the Reformation, great improvements were effected. Before Tudor days, Churchwardens became a recognized institution. In various ways, among them by their management of endowments of live stock such as cows, sheep, bees, and their sale of rings and clothing presented by parishioners, a regular income for current expenses was assured. Moreover, the Gild system was introduced into parochial life and was a great help to Vicar and Wardens. Gilds of "yonge men," "maydens," "hogglers," "tokers," "websters," brought in their annual contributions. No longer was there any difficulty in paying for such items as "4 tapyrs against Vitsunday," "mending of the clock," "the frair's fee for preaching," and in meeting many other working expenses trifling in themselves, but in the aggregate quite considerable. The personal popularity of the incumbent was certainly a determining factor in the rise or fall of voluntary contributions.

The tithes levied on the various products, animate or inanimate, of the lands or waters in the parish, gave the bulk of the clerical income. This, however, was considerably increased by marriage, churching and burial fees, as also by Easter dues, by oblations on Christmas Day and on the anniversary of the dedication of the church, and by special Masses offered for the souls of the dead. The mortuary, or second best beast of a deceased parishioner, was due only to rectors. Excellent arrangements were usually made by the bishops to provide for vicars incapacitated by age, illness or other disabilities from continuing their work; but the provision had in all cases to be taken from the income of the living.

The mediæval church bore imprinted upon it the clearest testimony to the belief that a mysterious change known as Transubstantiation was brought about in the Blessed Sacrament after consecration. If proof were needed, it is to be found in the fact that the reserved Sacrament enclosed within the ivory pyx hung under a canopy over the altar with a light ever burning before it. During the season of Lent the chancel was concealed by the "velum quadragesimale," a curtain parting it from the church. Throughout this period, moreover, the statuettes of the saints were veiled. When it was necessary to bear the Viaticum to the sick and agonizing, the priest was commanded to go on his way vested in surplice and stole and attended by a server carrying a light within a lantern and ringing a bell, to stir the devotion of the people. Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, saw reason to complain that these regulations were completely ignored by many priests in his diocese. "We are heart-broken and horror-stricken," he says, "at such negligence."

In the case of a small parish, the parson probably had little or no help except that of a clerk. When he ministered to a village of some

size he was helped either by a curate or by the chantry priests attached to the church or to the parish. At North Curry, near Taunton, the vicar was assisted by the priest of a gild chantry, as well as by the priest of a private chantry. There was also at North Curry, as early as 1314, a mediæval sacristan, the record of whose duties was found in the "Liber Albus" at Wells by Hugo more than fifty years ago. It was his duty to knoll the bell at daybreak, matins and all the canonical hours, and to sound the ignitgium or curfew. He carried water and other necessaries to the clergy at Matins, Mass and Vespers, so that probably he had received "the first tonsure." He possessed the guardianship of the church, vestments, ornaments, relics and churchyard. In those days thieves were much in the habit of breaking through and stealing valuables from the churches. Consequently Domerham, the sacristan, and his successors slept in the building. His remuneration included common of pasture on North Curry Moor and a great Christmas feast, consisting of two loaves, one of wheaten, the other of barley bread, ale without stint, a dish of beef with mustard, a good dish of "waceroude," with half a hen and cheese. On the occasion of this feast, the sacristan was furnished with two candles, each half a foot in length. He was bidden to invite his friends to "this feast of reason and flow of soul," and they were all to drink ale merrily until the two candles, one after the other, were consumed. The expiring flicker of the second candle was perhaps coincident with the draining of the last drop of ale.

There is no doubt that the services in the greater provincial churches were frequent, and that on Sundays and festivals they were celebrated with great splendour. By ancient custom and an ordinance of Henry Chicheley, who occupied the see of Canterbury for nearly thirty years in the reign of Henry VI, it was determined that the nine priests of the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Taunton were under obligation to be present at all the principal services in their church. These priests consisted of the Vicar of the parish, his curate and seven chantry priests, in addition to whom probably there were two deacons and two sub-deacons. There are known also to have been two parish clerks, who are often alluded to in wills of the period.

The Vicar and priests of the church, vested in their surplices, were ordered to assemble daily at the time of the first Mass to be celebrated at the fifth or sixth hour in the morning, and alternately in the choir, to say Matins and the other Canonical Hours together. They were also then to be celebrating their own masses successively and in due order. The Mass of the Blessed Virgin was to be offered in the chapel dedicated to her honour daily, except on Sundays and on festivals, when it was to be sung in the choir by the Chaplain of her Chantry.

The beautiful Church of St. Mary's was seen at its best on these sacred days, when High Mass was celebrated with all its accompaniments of plaintive music, lights and ritual, at the High Altar. The beauty of the scene at the extremity of the church

must have been the greater for the dim obscurity of the nave and aisles of the venerable edifice. While the celebrant and his deacon stood before the altar, the other priests of the church were seated in the choir.

Visitors to Norman and Breton churches must often have noticed a large lectern standing in the choir and bearing the Musical Score. Round such a lectern were grouped the "clerks" and musicians of an English mediæval church, and they were doubtless supported by others sitting in the rood-loft or elsewhere. It can be imagined how impressive to our ancestors was the whole scene when the service was celebrated with devotion and reverence. They were in an atmosphere charged with awe and mystery—in their midst was the divine essence—the anointing spirit hovered over them, they sat in heavenly places.

Parishioners, many of them greatly attached to the services of the church, naturally expected that the ministering priests should show their own appreciation of them. Those of the parish of St. Mary were deeply pained to report to Bishop Bekynton, at his primary visitation held in 1427, that the priests of the church seemed to have no sense of the solemnity of the occasion at any of the services. On the contrary, instead of being in their places at the early services, they were wandering aimlessly about the church or strolling in the churchyard. Even at High Mass itself, some of the priests vexed the congregation by peering through the windows or round the pillars of the church, satisfied with catching fragments and snatches of the service. The parishioners declared in their representations to the Bishop that they had remonstrated with the Vicar and the other priests in vain; nothing could induce them to perform their duties faithfully. The Bishop, in a missive approving the action of the parishioners, threatened with immediate citation before him and with excommunication, priests who had thus "crept, intruded and climbed into the fold," only to betray their trust, unless they immediately proceeded to keep the rules which governed the conduct of the services.

The functions of the mediæval vicar were mainly Sacramental or concerned with the other services of the church. It was also his duty to hear the confessions of his parishioners, some of whom were much more remiss than others in approaching the priest for this purpose. Due confession and penance were, however, obligatory at the beginning of the season of Lent, in preparation for the Easter communion. It then became a task of the utmost urgency to the parson to shrive his flock. Confessions were to be absolute self-revelations. "Men were exhorted to remember," in the words of a discourse of the period, "the shame that is to come at the day of doom to them that be not penitent in this present life, for all the creatures in heaven, and in earth, and in hell, shall see all that they hid in this world." This function of confessing and absolving was fenced in by numerous restrictions. The parish priest had no power to absolve in certain cases, known as reserved cases. These included violations of the rights and

liberties of the cathedral church, perjuries at Assizes or elsewhere, where death or disherison resulted from the crime, homicide, assaults on priests, and violation of the persons of nuns. These cases were dealt with by confessors nominated and armed with this special power by the bishop. There was moreover an annual selection of confessors in the different rural deaneries for the lay people. Such permission to confess to others than the parish priest was doubtless granted to relieve the minds of those who, for some personal reason, were unwilling to confess to their parish priest. Special Confessors were also chosen for the clergy. Friars of all the different orders received episcopal license to hear confessions. If the literature of the period may be trusted, many of them were pleasant confessors to deal with. The picture drawn by Chaucer of a friar represents him as "an easy man to give penance," and as recommending "silver to the poor friar" as a sure means of atonement for sin. The parson's office as confessor and his natural jealousy of interference must often have made him resentful of the intrusions of others on his domain.

The friars were not the only visitors who taxed the pecuniary resources of the vicar's congregation and possibly his own patience. Brethren of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit at Rome might arrive, armed with papal and diocesan authority and ask the alms of his people. These brethren were forbidden by the bishop to exhibit relics or any similar "trash" (*frivola*). Such foreign visitors were not unusual, but there might sometimes be a little variation. An English monastery in difficulties about raising funds for a new church, might be empowered to lay their unanswerable case before the people and see what their eloquence would bring in.

Preaching in the Middle Ages never occupied the position it has held since the Reformation, and the parish priest did not preach nearly so often as in the days when a sermon is described by Shakespeare as a "saw" drowned in the winter season with "coughing." By a constitution of Archbishop Peckham, the clergyman of every parish was bidden to instruct the people four times a year in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins and the seven sacraments. That bishops had to remind every parish about this rule through the rural deans, would appear to show that it was not always obeyed. Such preaching as there was probably catechetical rather than in the form of a connected discourse. It should be added that the Friars were often engaged as "special preachers" and received substantial fees amounting in some cases to as much as eight guineas expressed in modern values.

It is obvious that a teacher of religion should himself live a life illustrative of his doctrine. Existing documents prove that the character of many beneficed clergy left much to be desired. Concubinage was frequent, but far worse than this were the numerous cases of adultery and incontinence which prevailed. These are attested by the registers of Archbishop Peckham and other prelates and were usually very lightly punished. Grosstête, Bishop of Lincoln, complained in 1244 of priests who did not say the Canonical

Hours, or, if they said them, did so without devotion or sign of devotion, kept concubines, committed perjury, and were much in evidence at Miracle plays and May Day celebrations. Moreover, although they would not do their duty themselves, they declined to allow others to do it for them. They refused to permit the friars to preach in their churches, or to hear confessions. On the other hand, they admitted hirelings to their pulpits, preachers, to use the Bishop's own words, "who only preach such sermons as may best bring in money."

As is only too well known, gross abuses have existed in the post-Reformation church in connection with appointments to livings. Yet these, scandalous as they have been, are utterly eclipsed by those prevalent in the mediæval church. In the reign of Henry III, pluralism reached an appalling height. The son of the Earl of Gloucester held thirty benefices. Giffard, Archbishop of York, declared that William Percy held many churches, although not in priest's orders, and that he ran after the Court, and filled many offices forbidden by Canon Law. Pope John XXII, by a constitution known as "Execrabilis" from its opening word, strove to remedy the evil by declaring void all the benefices, save one, held by a Pluralist. The result was temporary confusion. Many villages were left without a priest, others with an alien "who knew not the bleat of his flock." Even after this drastic measure, pluralism continued to flourish, though with clipped wings, licenses of plurality were granted, and, even in the days of Henry VII, we find priests in possession of several livings. The holding of church preferment by aliens was an abuse which Edward III made great efforts to suppress—it was still an outstanding evil at the time of the Reformation.

The appointment to livings of minors, acolytes and sub-deacons unable to take up parochial work, and sometimes receiving both the cost of their early education and its continuance at Oxford, Paris, or Rome from the ecclesiastical income of their parishes, was as harmful as it was common. Thus Everic de Orchard was nominated in 1411, while still a child, to the rectory of Orchard Portman. He was placed for six years under the tutorship of the Vicar of Stoke-sub-Hamdon, who had also to arrange for the services of the church. Such a bestowal of a living on a child required a papal dispensation and cannot fairly be said to have been common. The "license to study," which followed Everic's six years of private tuition, did not need the Pope's intervention. It was granted by the Bishop, doubtless when the juvenile rector had reached the age of fourteen and could become an acolyte. For this license he had to say a hundred Psalters. "Licenses to study," with the absence involved, were sometimes granted for a period extending from three to seven years. More usually, however, they were annual, but were constantly renewed year after year. Capes quotes the case of a family called Pykesleigh, beneficed in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Three brothers of this name, all in minor orders, were continually asking for and obtaining renewals

of "licenses to study." It is needless to multiply instances. The episcopal registers teem with them, but the granting of a license to the rector of Curry Rivel at the prayer of no less a person than the Black Prince deserves to be noticed. de Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, a man far too easily wheedled into giving "licenses to study," found reason to complain that the absentees often abused their privilege, wandered about and behaved unseemly, while "the care of souls was neglected, the services deteriorated, and hospitality perished." The absenteeism of the parochial clergy was increased by licenses given them to enter, sometimes for a year, into the households of families of rank or even into those of Abbots and other dignitaries. The spiritual duties of these roaming clergy were undertaken by members of a class of clergy known as "Capellani." These men were the more illiterate members of the clerical profession. These "shreds of the linen vestment of Aaron" were the ill-paid hacks of the wealthy mediæval church; they sometimes had only the income of Goldsmith's Vicar of Auburn without possessing his virtues. One such chaplain figures in the visitation of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter already referred to. He seems to have been the Don Juan of his district, and as may well be imagined, the equipment of his church was but "a beggarly account of empty boxes." This chaplain must have shared the opinion expressed in a line quoted in *Piers the Ploughman*, "Omnis iniquitas quantum ad misericordiam Dei, est quasi scintilla in medio maris."¹ Many of the clergy were illiterate. They were sometimes examined on being appointed to livings, and, if they knew little or nothing, a curate was nominated by the bishop and the vicar went on his travels in pursuit of knowledge. It is impossible to enter at greater length into the many causes which crippled the efficiency of the church and made parsons lesser lights than they should have been. It may, however, be added that the system under which the bishops were often great ministers of state, and rarely, sometimes never, entered their dioceses, was in every way injurious to priests and people. Under this system the ceremonial duties were performed by a suffragan, while the corrective and judicial powers rested with the absent bishop's official. Thus personal pastoral sympathy and influence were lost, the bishops' manor-houses tumbled into ruin, and worse than all, their flocks were lost in the wilderness, by them neglected and unfed.

Great blemishes then there were in the English parochial system. The Church was unquestionably "an ambassador in bonds." Yet this must not blind us to the fact that not a few of the parish priests, like Chaucer's "poor parson of a town," lived a "life unspotted from the world." Such men were not mere exponents of a doctrine often intricate and obscure, nor were they only the priests of a ceremonial religion. On the contrary, they tried to be, and actually were, "able Ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit, for the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."

¹ All iniquity is to God's mercy but as a sunbeam on ocean's bosom.

THE REFORMED ATTITUDE TO ROMISH RECUSANTS.

BY THE REV. T. C. HAMMOND, M.A., T.C.D.

CÁRDINAL BOURNE'S recent pronouncements concerning Roman Catholic sufferers in the reign of Elizabeth and his protest against the Bill of Rights with its safeguard of Protestantism for the throne, opens up an interesting study.

There have been many replies on points of detail to the Cardinal's statements. It is proposed in the following brief inquiry to approach the problem of restrictions on Roman Catholics from the purely historic standpoint.

Viewed after this fashion it is necessary, in the first instance, to point out that it is impossible to isolate the sixteenth century, and still more the reign of Elizabeth.

Every age enters on its inheritance with the implications resident in past experience. Even in revolution the new movement starts out of its existing environment and must of necessity reflect some of its characteristics.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne the restraint of heresy had become a duty laid upon princes. Ever since the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, Canon Law reserved to the Church the right of judging in all cases of heresy and imposed upon the State the duty of regarding its decisions and punishing malcontents. As far as can be traced it would appear that the death sentence for heresy had been imposed on the Continent since the beginning of the eleventh century, although Blötzer questions the validity of such action (see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 28). Dr. Gwatkin maintains that "So far as the systematic destruction of the records allows us to judge, there may have been many more heretics burned in the thirteenth century than in the sixteenth" (*Church and State in England*, p. 118). It was not, however, until the opening of the fifteenth century that Convocation secured that the statute *De Haeretico Comburendo* should be placed on the English Statute Book. At this period begins that direct assault upon distinctively speculative opinions similar to those held later by Protestants, which ran its melancholy course and culminated in the horrors of Mary's reign. William Sawtre was charged with holding that the consecrated wafer "was then both very bread and the very body of Christ; the material bread had not ceased to exist, but had become the bread of life." Sawtre was executed in anticipation of the new Act nine days before it received the assent of Henry IV. Thus the right and obligation of the State to take cognizance of heresy was established and enforced by statute in England one hundred and thirty years before the breach with Rome in the days of Henry VIII. The evil influence of this decision persisted until

1612, when Bartholomew Legate was burned at Smithfield with the consent of Bishop Andrewes. The trial and punishment of witches continued until the eighteenth century.

In estimating the conduct of Elizabeth, Cardinal Bourne and his fellow-apologists fail to make sufficient allowance for the mental and moral effect of a long training in habits of State persecution. The recognized sanctions of a legal code operate to secure an internal as well as an external conformity. Frequently that line of State conduct which has its origin in expediency acquires, through time, a regard from the populace as a measure of pure and strict justice. How much more is this likely to prove the case when State enactments are procured at the express wish of religious leaders and commended by the voice of ecclesiastical authority. A temper of mind is created which renders the removal of statutes not only impolitic but distinctly injurious.

In the case under consideration people had been trained for centuries in the idea that matters of religious belief were so intimately bound up with State-craft that an imperative duty rested on princes to check with fire or sword any aberration from the accepted standard of orthodoxy. This fact has been elevated, in Cardinal Bourne's communion, into a conventional defence of the rigours of the Inquisition. We are counselled, by competent writers, to remember that in "the ages of faith" an assault on assumed Christian verities would be regarded as a graver offence than the circulation of false coins. The great authority of Aquinas may be invoked in support of such a position. In so far as the argument holds, it presents, on its other aspect, a grave problem for the exponent of religious liberty.

In the history of the world, liberty and licence lie perilously near together. Cardinal Bourne and Roman Catholic apologists generally ought to display a greater tenderness towards those whom the unhappy precedents of orthodox predecessors bound with the withes of religious intolerance. Every virtue has its aping vice. If to-day a virtuous tolerance finds her graces mimicked by the courtesan indifference, we may well pause to consider the effect of unrestricted freedom on those who had been taught to identify zeal for religion with the periodic combustion of heretics. Perhaps, after all, the first step towards a higher ideal may be found in the fact that under Mary the combustion had ceased to be sporadic and became monotonous.

In addition to the mental attitude created by years of acquiescence in a penal code, there must be considered the existing evidences of unremitting diligence in its enforcement exhibited by the surrounding Papal lands. In the Netherlands, the cruelties of Alva. In France, the Imperialistic repression of heretics, issuing in the scandal of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. In Spain, the ever-increasing activity of the Inquisition. All these called aloud that religious toleration meant religious extinction. Not only was the spirit of retaliation sadly roused by these drastic inflictions, but, in view of the close relations existing between England, France

and Spain, prudence seemed to demand that protective measures savouring of the same relentlessness should be adopted.

When due weight is given to these general considerations, the judgment of a modern historian does not seem so very unreasonable. Dr. Ingram writes: "If we remember that Elizabeth made no examination into conscience, but, at the most, required an outward conformity, and if we compare her conduct with that of contemporaneous sovereigns, we are constrained to acknowledge that the compulsory uniformity of the reformed government of England was the most wonderful and sudden advance in humanity recorded in history" (*Rome and England*, p. 223).

Much dispute has attended the attempt to fix the number of sufferers who might be credited with laying down their lives in connection with religious questions. Dr. Gwatkin writes: "There were two executions for religion (sectaries—not Catholics) under Northumberland, forty or fifty (nearly all as traitors) in the forty-five years of Elizabeth, nearly three hundred in the last four years of Mary" (*Church and State*, p. 192n). Charles Butler in his *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics* would have it that the researches of Dr. Milner had raised the number to 204. Soames, in his *Elizabethan Religious History*, accepts the figure 180 as correct, "as the numbers, though supplied by a Romanist, are not disputed by a Protestant opponent." Soames, however, fails to notice that any Roman Catholic suffered except as a traitor and therefore feels no necessity for discrimination. His admission only amounts to the statement that as a matter of fact there were 180 executions of Roman Catholics.

Unfortunately Dr. Gwatkin affords no clue to his principle of discrimination, and it would be necessary to examine every case in detail in order to justify his analysis.

The statement must merely stand, therefore, as expressing the judgment of a careful and critical historian.

But the very largest figure affords little evidence of wholesale persecution. The list, as given in Soames, shows no execution for twelve years; thirty-six in the critical year of the Armada, eighteen as the next highest total in 1591, and then a further decline to eleven. Each year from 1582 to 1603 registers at least one execution. The twelve previous years gives a total of ten. Compared with the steady average of between seventy and eighty for each of Mary's four years of heresy-repressing the contrast is significant. If the statement of Roman Catholic apologists be admitted that two-thirds of the people were attached to the papal side on the accession of Elizabeth, or even if a powerful minority were thus affected, it becomes impossible, on the evidence of these figures, to hold the theory of a general vendetta against supporters of the Roman Catholic faith. The bare recital of the facts suggests that the repressive measures against Roman Catholics were designed to curb disaffection rather than to exterminate a religious party.

The impression thus gained is further heightened by a most

instructive parallel. A comparison between the reigns of Elizabeth and Mary offers conclusive evidence of the distinction already drawn. The treatment meted out to Sir James Hale supplies a pertinent example. That distinguished judge was singularly free from any participation in the plots against Mary's accession. Testimony to his loyalty is borne by the Chancellor, Gardiner, who arraigned him. Yet he is cited before a tribunal for administering the existing laws against nonconformity in religion at the very opening of Mary's reign (see account in *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. III). Elizabeth, on the contrary, is most careful to observe all existing regulations until further order shall legally be taken.

Mary, in order to secure the freedom necessary for the repression of heresy, revived three heresy Acts: 5 *Ric. II*, St. 2, c. 5, which provided that sheriffs were to apprehend preachers of heresy; 2 *Henry IV*, c. 15, which empowered any particular bishop to convict of heresy in his diocese and issue forth his precept to the sheriff to burn the person he had convicted; 2 *Henry V*, c. 5, which ordered magistrates to assist ordinaries in extirpating heresies.

Elizabeth, on the contrary, reserved by Act of Parliament the term heresy to those departures from received doctrine which were called heresy by the authority of the canonical scriptures, or by the first four General Councils or any of them, or by any other General Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical scriptures, or such as shall hereafter be declared heresy by Parliament with the assent of Convocation. In addition the administration of the law was placed in the hands of duly appointed Commissioners and not committed to the discretion of individual bishops.

Thus at the very commencement of her reign Roman Catholics were excluded from the category of heretics. In the words of Professor Maitland: "Obstinate heresy is still a capital crime; but, practically, the Bishops have little power of forcing heretics to stand a trial, and, unless Parliament and Convocation otherwise ordain, only the wilder sectaries will be in danger of burning" (*Cambridge Modern History*, "The Reformation").

It is not without significance that the first attempt to modify the existing savagery of religious persecution received a rude repulse at the hands of the most Catholic Queen Mary. It is even more significant that the revived Reformation witnessed a second effort at modification. Moreover, the cause of death in Mary's reign is set out unequivocally and is plainly religious. Cranmer, for example, incurred the Queen's displeasure for his ill-judged acquiescence in the scheme that sought to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. But, although imprisoned for this offence, he was not condemned to death for it. The very year that witnessed a pardon for the survivors of Wyatt's rebellion is marked by an outbreak of violent hostility to religious leaders, known only as such. The conditions of trial were those prescribed for the trial of heretics, and bishops and priests were degraded from their offices before being handed over to the secular power. It would be tedious to repeat what is

so well known, yet it is advisable to recall that the "Articles, jointly and severally ministered to Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer by the Pope's deputy," contained the following sentences: "Thou hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the Altar; that in the sacrament of the Altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine; that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead."

These are articles touching speculative religious opinions and therefore, as they are articles of condemnation, it is necessary to hold that men arraigned on such charges were convicted on account of their religious beliefs, and died as the direct consequence of repudiating certain points of doctrine that had no bearing on any political question and no connection with any treasonable practices.

Cardinal Bourne urges that Mary was only carrying out the ancient laws of England. In so far as the statement is true, it throws into yet bolder relief the exact nature of Mary's procedure. The war against the dead, of which Foxe complains, compels attention to the fact that Queen Mary was determined that there should be no mistake as to her attitude. She was consumed by a fierce, overmastering desire to free the land of the stain of heresy. Notwithstanding the fact that the Bill to revive the Heresy Acts, abolished in the reign of the Protector, was rejected by the Lords in 1554, her morbid spirit gave her no rest. The measure was re-introduced and passed in her third Parliament. No further evidence is needed to prove that the sanguinary Treason Laws, with their wide range, did not satisfy Queen Mary's purpose. Mary, then, is seen as bent on reviving the anti-Lollard blood lust. Elizabeth appears as mitigating its severity.

One last contrast may be instanced. Five bishops were burned at the stake by Mary, two were compelled to recant, and at least three were refugees in a foreign land. No bishop suffered the extreme penalty under Elizabeth. Only one fled abroad. The most that any bishop suffered was a period of imprisonment. Most of the nonconforming prelates were ultimately permitted to live in honourable retirement. Elizabeth sought to make the way easy for outstanding nonconformists.

But if there is thus manifested an anxiety to moderate the severity of existing penal enactments, especially as they tended to bear heavily on the supporters of the Roman Catholic faith, how is it possible to account for the 180 or 204 actual executions?

The answer to this question demands most careful distinction. Many suffered in the reign of Elizabeth because of their enthusiasm for the texture of a religion that had interwoven its strands in the political web of nations. If a martyr means a sufferer for a definite principle, then many in Elizabeth's reign were martyrs. At the same time, it must be admitted there were no martyrs who went openly to their death in defence of a particular religious tenet. Every man who died, died under the old statutes framed in pro-

papal days for the protection of England from domestic upheavals and foreign intervention. Even the new Acts against the importation of Papal Bulls and reconciliation with Rome could, in the circumstances of the Papal aggression, be paralleled in earlier history. The feature that adds poignancy to the situation is that every sufferer was a martyr not only to a now discredited but to a lost and unholy cause. A leader of the religious opinions they died to serve could write many years after concerning the occasion which brought them to the scaffold: " Catholics have dared to profess their allegiance, and solemnly abjure the deposing and absolving powers without even consulting Rome or regarding its former vain pretensions and unchristian condemnation. The spirit of 1778 snapped the chains of Papal tyranny. When their social and political principles are concerned, English Catholics will never again be ill-advised enough to resort to any foreign country for direction " (Sir John Throckmorton, *Letters to English Catholics*). Cardinal Newman could quote with approval, in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, the fact that Urban VIII bewailed with " tears of blood " the conduct of his predecessors towards the English throne. The famous Dr. Doyle could protest to Lord Liverpool that he scarce knew whether to laugh or to weep at the absurd arguments with which Boniface VIII supported his deposing pretensions.

But the claims thus vigorously and sometimes contemptuously repudiated constituted a real problem for the distracted Roman Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth. Many of them were brought to the scaffold, not because they held speculative opinions on Divine Revelation that separated them from the established religion, but because they were bound in conscience to an outworn autocracy. They yielded their lives not for religion but for Hildebrandism.

Elizabeth could afford to be gentle towards recusants, so far as gentleness found interpretation in her times. She was forced to fight for her very life against papal reactionaries.

Paul III urged the Emperor to take up arms in favour of Mary on the ground that Edward VI could not succeed to the English throne, having been born when the country lay under a papal Interdict. At the very moment of Elizabeth's accession Paul IV was urging the plea that Ferdinand's election as Emperor was invalid because Lutherans took part in it. On February 15, 1559, this Pope declared in a Bull that princes guilty of heresy are deprived of all lawful power by the mere fact of their guilt. And this at the moment when the Royal Commissioners were acting with marked leniency towards the priests of the Roman Communion in England and were smoothing the way towards the acceptance of the Oath of Supremacy. The old problem of the *imperium* against the *sacerdotium* had hardened into its new phase of nationalism against papalism and England became the cockpit of the contending parties. Contemporary evidence establishes this fact. Father William Watson published a tract in 1601 in the name of the secular priests of England, in which he protests that " None

were ever vexed simply for that he was either priest or Catholic, but because they were suspected to have had their hands in some of the said most traitorous designments." The tract contains the following remarkable appeal: "We desire you, by the mercies of God, to take heed of novelties and Jesuitism, for it is nothing but treachery, dissimulation, ambition and a very vizard of most deep hypocrisy." Charles Butler, even when he condemns Watson's denunciations of the seminary priests, is compelled to acknowledge that "A general and explicit disclaimer, by the English Catholics, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of the Pope's deposing power, would have both lessened and abridged the term of their sufferings" (*Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*, Vol. I, App., p. 361). The explanation of the severity which glutted the scaffold lies here. The Pope preferred to embroil the nations and sacrifice the lives of his devoted adherents rather than abate one jot of his arrogant claims.

The fact that John Felton has been chosen by authority as an example of the Elizabethan martyrs serves to establish finally this position. John Felton has been beatified.¹ His claim to martyrdom resides in the fact that he published Pope Sixtus V's Bull deposing Elizabeth, posting it on the Bishop of London's palace gates. Sir Edward Coke's comment on this action is sufficient to acquit Elizabeth of any charge of direct religious persecution in promptly punishing it. "The publishing of this bull by a subject against his Sovereign (as appeareth by that which hath been oftentimes said) was treason in the highest degree, by the ancient common law of England; for if it were treason to publish a bull of excommunication against a subject thereof, as it was adjudged in the reign of King Edward I, *a fortiori* it is treason in the highest degree to publish such a bull against the Sovereign and monarch herself" (Sir E. Cokes, Reports, Cawdrey's Case).

Edmund Campion's case is somewhat different. He seems to have been actuated by a more genuine desire to restore England to the Roman Catholic religion by persuasive measures. Yet here the scales were weighed heavily against him by the actions of his spiritual director, the Pope of Rome. He reached England a year after Sanders had raised the papal flag of revolt in Ireland. He reached England in the company of an avowed traitor to the Crown, the celebrated Parsons. He had secured with Parsons a modification of the Bull of deposition by which, while it still bound heretics, it was relaxed in favour of Roman Catholics for the present necessity. He came to the country in disguise and passed himself off as a jeweller. He visited country houses with Parsons, and the latter, two years afterwards, declared to Tassis, the agent of Philip II, at Paris, that the information he had gathered while dealing with cases of conscience in England led him to declare that the Roman Catholics were prepared to throw in their lot with Spain. Campion himself had little aversion to religious persecution. He could write: "For a few apostates and cobblers of theirs burnt, we have bishops, lords, knights, the old nobility." With

¹ By Pope Leo XIII.

damaging circumstances wholly against him, Campion found himself unable to reject the papal claims to the deposing power and suffered for his adhesion to the Papacy and for refusal to take an oath which, on Butler's admission, has since been taken by multitudes of devout Roman Catholics. He was arraigned, not under a Heresy Act, but under an old statute of treason passed in Edward III's reign, a statute which Mary found incompetent for her purpose.

But what of the present disability which affects a king of England who changes his religion and abjures Protestantism?

The answer must be that papal pretensions still render this safeguard of liberties a necessity. The ultramontanist that brought English Roman Catholics to the scaffold triumphed at the Vatican in 1870. There has been no formal renunciation of the deposing power by the Papacy. It is true that under the influence of Gallican sentiment the oath of allegiance was fully taken from 1778 to 1825, and that the action of Roman Catholics at that period secured to them the honourable position they now hold in the political world in England and Ireland. But Cardinal Newman can remind Mr. Gladstone that the Irish Bishops who went furthest in their denunciation of the Pope's Infallibility and his deposing claims, were not in the confidence of the Vatican. He can twit the existing government with failure to inquire as to the real sentiments of the Papacy at the fountain-head itself, the Pope. He can even boldly declare that no pledge is of binding force in these matters to which the Pope is not a party. In the matter of physical persecution, as distinct from simple excommunication, G. H. Joyce, S.J., can write with approval in 1911: "The question has been raised whether it is lawful for the Church not merely to sentence a delinquent to physical penalties, but itself to inflict those penalties. As to this, it is sufficient to note that the right of the Church to invoke the aid of the civil powers to execute her sentences is expressly asserted by Boniface VIII, in the Bull 'Unam Sanctam.' This declaration . . . is held by theologians to be theologically certain. The question is of theoretical, rather than practical, importance, since civil governments have long ceased to own the obligation of enforcing the decisions of any ecclesiastical authority" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII, 266). Lest too much comfort be drawn from the alleged academical character of this discussion, it must be borne in mind that another article by Blötzer in the same compendium reminds us that prior to the blood-trail of the Inquisition "There were already, it is true, Canonists who conceded to the Church the right to pronounce sentence of death on heretics; but the question was treated as a purely academic one" (*Ibid.*, VIII, p. 28).

Since Rome refuses to accept the principle of national Churches and abides tenaciously by rights which plunged Europe in blood even in the days of dawning liberty, it is surely not impolitic to retain a provision which obviates the raising of an issue that would imperil the stability of empire and the safety of its subjects.

ST. PAUL'S SECOND IMPRISONMENT IN ROME.

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(I) THE ACTS AND THE APOSTLES.

BEFORE he was brought to Rome, St. Paul's plan had been to visit Spain after Rome. He often spoke of his intention to visit Rome, which had been frustrated from time to time, just as Cicero was prevented from undertaking journeys he had planned. But Rome was not the real objective of his journey. Like a true architect he would not build on another's foundation (Rom. xv. 20), a sentiment that would be appreciated by Romans, whose early legend of Romulus was connected with another's foundation. When referring to the same project in 2 Corinthians x. 16, he said he would not glory in another's "line" (*canon*). The Romans might be disappointed to think that Rome was not the real goal of his journey, but would be flattered by hearing of his "intense desire to visit them these many years" (Rom. xv. 23). Although neither he nor any other apostle had founded the Church of Rome, he wished to confirm it (i. 11). Luke quotes his saying, "after I have been there (Jerusalem) I must also see Rome" (xix. 21), so that his intention was well known, but he had not yet had the opportunity. His resolution is fixed, but not the time. "Whensoever I shall take my journey to Spain. For I hope *on my way through* to see you, and to have a send-off from you on my journey there" (xv. 24). Here he used a term that would have recalled Polybius' description (iii. 68) of the legions that passed through Rome on their march to meet Hannibal. He also glances at the Roman custom of escorting distinguished people to their offices. The word also conveys the temporary nature of his visit; and that his sphere of action lies beyond. When he has handed over his collection in Jerusalem he says, "I shall make my way back through you to Spain." He thus speaks twice of the visit he has planned to Spain, and neither passage can be treated as an interpolation. To prevent the Romans being jealous he said he would come to them in the fullness of the *blessing* (*eulogia* of the benefit for the poor Jews in 2 Cor. ix. 5) of Christ. He had said nothing about this visit to Spain in the words quoted in Acts xix. 21, possibly because he did not wish to create bad feeling, as the Ephesians would have been more jealous of this visit to Spain than the Romans would. There was keen competition between the eastern and western markets of the Empire, and the Romans naturally favoured the romanized west above the hellenized east. This may be the reason why there is no record of the visit to Spain. We have to take into account not merely the jealousy of Gentile and Jew, but also that of Greek

and Roman. The intense feeling against the Greeks in Rome and romanized districts was reciprocated by the Greeks.

The situation when Paul wrote Romans xv. was this. His face was set towards Jerusalem but his intention was to return and visit Spain, taking Rome on the way. So far he says he has, while preaching the Gospel, "proceeded from Jerusalem round about even to Illyricum," meaning that he has so far attended to the eastern and now would attend to the western portion of the Empire. The question is, would Paul, whose purpose was held up by two periods of imprisonment, have carried it out when released?

There are reasons for holding that he was not executed at the end of the first. The Acts ends on a note of confidence—a ringing sentence in Greek—"teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus with complete liberty of speech and without hindrance." It is hard to imagine that at the end of that period of two years not only his liberty but his life was taken away, and the event was not thought worthy of mention. That it was a pleasant and not a tragic ending we may infer from the silence. If liberty ensued, the author, who was meditating another work (Acts i. 1, meaning "the first treatise," not "the former"), need not have mentioned it; as it would be understood that he was reserving his notice; but if death followed, there would be no need for silence, and one short sentence would be sufficient. St. Luke halts, like writers of serials, at a point where the situation is pregnant with movement and interest.

Then his clear-cut period of two years—"and he abode *two whole years* in his own hired dwelling" (Acts xxviii. 30)—implies that after that time he had moved out of it. Where?—that is the question. We have other exact periods of time in the Acts, e.g. "after two full years" (xxiv. 27). In all these places the aorist denotes that the period mentioned terminated and another began. The precise measurement of the time denotes that something happened. What? What would a Roman infer? Release. In the *Hecyra* of Terence a woman exclaims, "I endured him for two complete years" (*biennium perpetuum*). She says nothing about release. But it is inferred. So here we can infer release.

It would not only have made a splendid ending to the hero's life, but also an inspiring conclusion to the Acts, if the writer had concluded the story of the doings and sufferings of the Apostolic Church with an account of Paul's martyrdom, which would have suitably followed that of Stephen and James. Such a climax would have been in harmony with the artistic sense of Luke; but the climax he offers is uncontrolled liberty of speech. What we think happened was this:

When released, conditionally upon leaving Rome, Paul would have had Luke's attendance to some port. Then Luke withdrew to Philippi, and Paul was on his way to rejoin him when he begged Timothy to remain in Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3). This would leave time for a visit to Spain or Gaul. For we cannot believe that Paul, if he gained his freedom at the end of this precisely defined period,

would no longer have felt the urge to preach in the parts beyond, where no one had yet preached, or to lay new foundations. If he had failed to carry out this purpose how is the triumphant note of 2 Timothy iv. 17 to be explained: "So that through me the message might be completely given and all the nations might hear"? Paul was remarkable for tenacity of purpose, as in the case of the collection. He would see this plan through, and if he did not, would not speak of it as completed. The expression "all the nations" has the same force as the "race of mortals" or the "human race," which Tacitus used of the peoples of the Empire—e.g. where speaking of the fire and the massacre of the Christians, he says they were "condemned owing to the hatred of the human race for them" (Annals XV, 44), an expression which would include the western half of the empire as well as the eastern. On what principle are we to exclude the former from Paul's summary?

In his captivity there was nothing to damp his hopes. Towards its close he requested Philemon to get him a lodging. In Philippians ii. 17 he referred to his death as a remote possibility—"Even supposing¹ that I am offered up," which he rejects a few lines lower down. "But I am assured in the Lord that I myself shall also shortly come" (v. 24. See also chap. i, 19, 25, and Col. iv. 7). The ending of the Acts agrees with the Captivity Epistle, but not with 2 Timothy.

Again, the encouraging words of the Lord to Paul: "Cheer up, for as thou didst testify concerning me in Jerusalem, thou must *in like manner* testify in (unto) Rome." As this message in Acts xxiii. 11 implied a deliverance from the Jews, why not a similar deliverance from Romans? His first testimony was made before a tribunal; why should not his second be? The Greek phrase implies similarity of witness. This appearance of Jesus dispelled the gloom of Paul and also his anticipations. The message also discounts the argument based upon Acts xx. 25 against the second imprisonment. Surrounded by weeping friends and weeping himself Paul said, "I know that you shall no longer see my face, I mean all of you." It is argued that Paul says here that the Ephesians will never see him again. Supposing the words may be so read, why might he not have been mistaken? Would not the Lord's message have put a different expectation into his mind? In his letters to Philemon and Philippians he afterwards expresses hope of release. Which expectation was frustrated—the first ambiguously reported by another person once, or the second plainly expressed by himself and much nearer the event three times? The second is logically weightier. Furthermore, the Greek words do not mean what they are said to mean. The sentence is not precise. Compare 1 Corinthians xv. 52, "We shall not all sleep." This does not mean "None of us shall sleep" (2 Thess. iii. 2); "faith is not the gift of all" does not mean "faith is the gift of none," but of some. "Not again you all shall see my face" means "Some of you shall not see me again."

¹ See Jebb, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (p. 296), on this phrase.

Against this one ambiguous saying is to be set many optimistic ones—e.g. Philippians i. 19, "I know that this will turn out to my salvation"; the words in Job (LXX) xiii. 16, that express Job's certainty of the vindication of his character. So far we have seen nothing to make the apostle give up his project. He may have changed his plans in going to the east before the west, but this does not imply that his plan of visiting the west was completely dropped.

(2) SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

The situation in 2 Timothy, however, is quite different. The apostle has no longer his personal liberty. He is in Rome, but in a different locality, where his friend Onesiphorus found him after great difficulty. He is in need of comforts, is loaded with a heavy chain, but is without his cloak and books and tablets, which he had in his first captivity, in disgrace and a public prison as a *criminal*, such as a man charged with treason would be classed. What occasioned this alteration in condition? A legal process called *endeixis*, instituted by one Alexander against him (iv. 4), which is not to be rendered, "Alexander did me much evil" (A.V., R.V.)—a mistaken interpretation based upon the LXX of Genesis I. 15; but Luke would have put that differently (see Acts ix. 13). The verb used here (*enedeixato*) is the correct term for laying information before a magistrate against a person (see Pollux VIII, 49); "the *informer* is he who lays the information before the magistrate." The similar action taken against Paul's contemporary, Apollonius, for treason and impiety to the Emperor was introduced by an *endeixis*, and his defence or trial was called *apologia*, as Paul's is here. As Apollonius was thrown into prison "among the *most criminal*," so was Paul treated as a *criminal* here. It is no wonder that he is no longer cheerful, but he shows the same philosophic spirit of resignation. "I am reconciled.¹ The race is ended."

Verses 14-17 of chap. iv. imply acquitted after the first trial and a second trial. Paul has been in a reminiscent mood all through. He here relates certain details of his first trial which must have been known to Timothy in order to dispel his fears regarding the second. In our letters we often comment upon incidents known to both parties. We are not always giving news. What is the meaning of "At my first trial (*apologia*) no one stood by me (as witness), but the Lord stood beside me (as advocate) and gave me power, and I was delivered from the mouth of the lion"? It surely does not refer to a preliminary *actio* of the first or second trial, but the trial at the conclusion of the two years mentioned in Acts, for a postponement of the case could not be described as a deliverance from the lion's mouth, as he would be still within the lion's reach. Here Paul stresses his isolated condition at the first trial in order to encourage himself and Timothy now when he has only Luke of the old band with him. We can set out in parallel columns the accounts of the

¹ See *Eurip. Bacch.*, 284. Probably used in double sense: "I am resigned" and "I am offered."

two trials Paul has already stood. They balance each other in a remarkable way. Even to the wishes.

THE FIRST TRIAL.

In my first trial no man stood with me (as witness), but all forsook me. May it not be laid to their account. But the Lord stood beside me (as Advocate) and strengthened me, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion that through me the gospel might be fully proclaimed, and all the nations might hear (*vv.* 16, 17).

THE SECOND TRIAL.

Demas forsook me. Only Luke is with me. Alexander the coppersmith laid many criminal charges against me. The Lord shall reward him according to his works (of whom do thou beware, for he greatly withstood our words). But the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work and bring me safely into his heavenly kingdom (*vv.* 9, 11, 14, 15, 18).

Verses 16 and 17, giving the summary of the first trial, are just another of Paul's many digressions. The present situation recalls the previous. Here, however, Luke is with him, and has assisted him at his trial—at the first trial no man stood with him—for Alexander fiercely opposed *our* (a word Paul never used of himself, and so implies Luke's advocacy) arguments. Then the Lord delivered him out of the mouth of the lion, Nero, in order that he might preach the Gospel to the whole Roman world, western as well as eastern. Now he will deliver him from every evil work of Alexander and bring him into His Kingdom. The passage contains—another of Paul's figures, noticed by Irenaeus—hyperbaton or misplacement. The words "*I was delivered* out of the mouth of the lion" (*v.* 17) have been attracted from their proper place after "the Lord gave me power" to the following "*he shall deliver me,*" both terms being used together in 2 Corinthians i. 10: "He delivered us and shall deliver." The verb "give power" is not followed by "in order that" in the New Testament, but "deliver" is. That the words "the Lord shall deliver me," etc., belong to the Alexander passage is clear from the exact *parallelismus*, even clearer in the Greek:

"The Lord will reward him according to his works." "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work." This study in contrasts belongs to the Alexander passage. Many discordant notes in the last page of the Pastorals may be resolved by this explanation of a second trial. The preliminary character of the second is required to explain other points. We have similar preliminary trials in the *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus, for Paul has not yet been sentenced. He knew it would not be long delayed. So he added the postscript to a letter he had already written to Timothy, adding some news and comments, and urging him to "hurry," "hurry before winter." There must have been something said at the preliminary trial to convince him that the final stage would not take place before that winter. He may also have required his books and notes for that final examination.

There is, therefore, an interval of some four years between the acquittal of iv. 17, "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion," and the hour of his dictating the words "The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work" (iv. 18)—an hour when Paul could truly say "my life work has been accomplished." The gospel has been fully and widely preached, and *all the nations*, that is the western as well as the eastern portions of the Roman empire, have heard. This could not have been said of his evangelistic ministry in the empire before work in the western—the predominantly Roman portion—had been undertaken.

Many other features in the Pastorals fall into line with this suggestion. Alexander's appearance on the scene shows that it was a new trial. "He fiercely opposed *our* arguments." There would be no point in referring to such hostility at "the first *apologia*," when Paul was without Luke's help, and when the apostle was tried concerning specific charges entered upon the charge sheet or *elogium*. It was through Alexander's information that Paul had been arrested, and brought a second time before the court. His activities are still to be feared. Timothy is therefore warned. It is possible that it was due to Timothy's indiscretion that Paul was in his present trouble. Timothy was rated for many things, but chiefly for his petulant tongue (1 Tim. v. 1). In his first letter Paul had said (i. 20), "Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I am handing over¹ to Satan, that they may be taught not to blaspheme." Some tactless remark or action of Timothy regarding that remark incensed Alexander.

That this was the man is most likely. He had the motive and soon gets the opportunity. In 1 Timothy i. 20, there was no need to mention his trade, as he is coupled with Hymenæus, a well-known leader of the opposition mentioned in both letters (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17). But in the second passage his trade is specified to prevent confusion with another innocent Alexander. We have a parallel case in Acts x. 17 and 33. In the former reading, "the house of Simon"; in the second, "the house of Simon the Tanner." Alexander's chance came. Just before the words which provoked him was a passage which could be construed into a personal attack upon the emperor (1 Tim. i. 8-10). That contains, among many other opprobrious epithets which fitted Nero like a glove, the one word he abhorred of all words—"matricide."² There are many instances in which his anger fell heavily upon men who alluded to his crime by word or deed; even Delphi was punished severely because of the oracle's reference to it. Now if Apollonius was impeached for high treason and impiety against Nero for saying "pardon the gods for taking pleasure in buffoons," a satirical remark about Nero (Philostratus iv. 47), how much more likely would Paul be charged with that offence, for saying that the law was not made for a righteous man like him, but for an unrighteous man like Nero, who had broken every law in the Roman calendar, and yet claimed as emperor to be above the law (*lege solutus*)? In

¹ Epistolary aorist.

² Only here in the Bible.

the days when "no house would hold a secret," when epistolary correspondence was dangerous (Philostratus), when Tacitus declared there was no liberty even to converse, when even Apollonius was afraid to commit his thoughts to paper, the apostle courted death when he wrote that passage. Alexander the informer would not perhaps get the reward other informers got, for Paul's estate was small; but the Lord, if Nero would not, would see to it that he did get a reward—a truly Pauline remark.

THE LIFE ETERNAL HERE AND NOW. By Alexander Nairne, D.D.
Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

The Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge has done in this volume what it would be well if scholars did more frequently. He has shown the bearing of the results of philosophical and theological scholarships on the practical life and thought of the plain man who cannot enter into the deep problems of learning, but desires to live his life in the light of the best knowledge. He follows the course of Old Testament thought and shows its development in the New Testament, and its consummation in the Johanneine writings. Its chief interest turns on the true significance of the words "Eternal Life" as used by St. John. To know the Father is eternal life, but "that eternal life is here and now, and always and everywhere." It is a spiritual state. We find spirit transforming the common things of experience. "We do not destroy the mansion of the senses in order to pass into the mansion of the Spirit: we only lay aside its fancies. The main reality is that the Father's house is all that is and was and ever will be, and we are, very simply, at home there." The way to this experience is indicated in the words, "No one cometh unto the Father but by Me." The Incarnation, and Sacrifice on Calvary mark steps in the ways of "going to the Father," of which the final stage is "that they may be perfected into one." This is an interpretation needed by those overwhelmed by bereavement, for it puts before us another view of death and enables us to pass out of death into life, here and now. Around this central theme are grouped a number of others, which will well repay careful thought. They may not be easy to grasp because some of them concern the ultimate problems of philosophy, but on all of them there is something interpretive drawn from many sources—the Cambridge Platonists, Shelley, and a number of modern writers.

MAKING USE OF OPPORTUNITIES.

BY THE REV. C. C. DOBSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Hastings.

THE Editor has asked me to write an article, giving some account of our parochial work, and more especially of the permanent exhibition of sacred and missionary models maintained by the church on the sea-front for visitors to Hastings. The parish has, from its situation and history, afforded exceptional opportunities of witnessing in more ways than one, and it is only in a spirit of humility, and a deep sense of thanksgiving to God, that I accede to his request, in the hope that our experiences may prove helpful, and a stimulus to others. Some of the opportunities afforded to St. Mary-in-the-Castle Church are unique, and could not be imitated by others, but few churches probably exist, which do not provide opportunities of some sort. It is often not the want of opportunity that is lacking, but the failure to see and utilize it. Some, however, of the open doors which we have entered, can, I feel sure, be entered by others in their own spheres.

St. Mary-in-the-Castle Church lies nestling in the Cliff on the sea-front at Hastings, with the ruined Castle towering over it on the Cliff above. It was built a hundred years ago to replace the ruined church lying within the Castle walls above it. For the purpose of building it, the Cliff, much of which had crumbled since the castle was built under William the Conqueror, was levelled down, and the church erected in circular form, the nave nestling in the hollowed-out rock, and its huge circular gallery resting on a shelf of rock behind and above it. Its situation at once reminds one of its mission, to build upon the Rock of Ages.

In former years there were few other churches in the town, and a substantial population resided around it. With such famed preachers as Thomas Vores and Frederick Whitfield, the hymn-writer, it drew crowded congregations, and filled a big place in the Evangelical world. But times have altered. Other churches have been built, and its surroundings have become largely shops, or boarding-houses. To-day its mission is largely to the holiday visitors to the town. This has been recently realized, as well as the fact that in numberless unnoticed ways the church could be made to appeal to visitors. There was its situation on the sea-front, and its unique shape and construction. Behind it was the Castle, with its romantic story of its first church, deanery, and college of Canons. There King Rufus held his court, and Archbishop Anselm fearlessly denounced to his face the sins of the court. There Anselm consecrated a Bishop of Lincoln. There Rufus defied the Pope by degrading a Bishop appointed by the Pope. There Thomas à Becket presided as Dean over the College of Canons, and at a later date an Archbishop of Canterbury defied King Henry III, and made an entry "by stealth" into the Castle, for the purpose of excom-

municating some of the Canons, who resisted his authority. There a band of the clergy broke into the Castle dungeon, and rescued a prisoner condemned to death. After giving him sanctuary in the church for a week, they smuggled him across the channel to France, and safety.

These and other facts were entirely unknown both to the congregation and visitors, and the first duty consisted in making the story known by means of an attractive illustrated booklet. Such a handbook, moreover, could be made to speak a message besides giving bare facts. The condemned prisoner, for instance, and his rescue, sanctuary, and ultimate escape, constituted a parable.

Here may I suggest that in hundreds of ancient churches much may be done to create an interest, both among the congregation and visitors, by a careful setting forth of facts concerning the church and its history. Old registers contain abundant material of all sorts, from which lessons may be drawn. A small leaflet in the Porch should be available for every one who enters, together with a box for missions. In our own case the history of the ancient parish has provided numberless pulpit illustrations and references, and has created an evergrowing interest, and is drawing visitors in increasing numbers, besides having awakened a new-found love among the residents.

The most precious possession of the church, however, was never realized until a few months ago, and now draws literally hundreds of visitors to the Church during summer, namely, a spring of water flowing directly out of the rock.

When the Church was built a hundred years ago, this spring was carefully preserved. The wall of the church was built against the Cliff at this point, and the water, collected in a small rock cavity, was utilized to supply the church's needs. The gallery rests upon this rock so that the water flows out actually in the Church under the gallery. No one, however, realized the symbolic beauty of the possession, namely, that every child was baptized with "living water" from the rock, and that it symbolized the work of the Church, to offer "the Living water" to the souls of men. Hidden away in the dark under the gallery, its very existence was almost forgotten, and its surroundings became the dumping-ground of the rubbish of the Church. Recently, however, I was led to draw attention to its symbolism. Every one then wanted to see it. The rubbish was cleared away, electric light installed, and the rock basin formed into an attractive grotto with ferns and evergreens.

Its very story was seen to constitute a parable. On Calvary the "Fountain for sin and uncleanness" was opened. Over it was built up the Christian Church. But somehow gradually formalism, priestcraft, and materialism largely obscured it, and the simple spirituality of the early church was lost. Then, in the middle ages, the dust and rubbish of superstition, worship of images and relics, sale of indulgencies, and false teaching marred it. With the Reformation came an awakening. The rubbish was cleared away,

and the "Water of Life" was once more offered in all its purity to mankind.

More recently the public analyst was asked to analyse the water of our spring, and he pronounced it a pure and wholesome spring for drinking, and rich in minerals. These again were analysed, and another parable unfolded itself. The very minerals prove to be symbolic.

Sodium reminds us that the Water of Life makes men the salt of the earth. "Have salt in yourselves," said Our Lord.

Calcium suggests the generation of heat, and the Water of Life infuses the warmth of divine Love into the soul.

Magnesium suggests electric energy, attractive power, and brilliant light. The Water of Life energizes in the Master's Service, makes us attractive to others, and constitutes us lights in the world.

Iron reminds one that Christ can strengthen the will to resist evil.

Finally, Silica, the transparency of every jewel, is a reminder, that those who drink of the Water of Life become God's Jewels.

Over the spring hang two texts: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." "Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but whoso drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."

Every week, and on Sundays, visitors view this spring, drink its waters, and learn its lessons.

I now turn to a unique work, which experience has shown can probably be widely imitated in various forms, and seems to open a new door for evangelistic and missionary effort. The whole story of our exhibition of sacred and missionary models is one of miraculously answered prayer.

Right in front of the Church, actually on the parade, is a block of buildings. Every one strolling along the parade passes either in front or behind these buildings. In this block of buildings was a small chapel, which came to an end. We managed to secure it on lease. In winter time it is used for general church purposes, but the main purpose we had in view was to open it during summer as an exhibition and Christian literature depôt.

At the outset we decided that it should be run on faith, no charge for admission being made, and no one should be asked to give or buy anything. Three anxious problems faced us at the start: Would people visit it? Would we meet expenses, estimated at £2 10s. per week? Would we find workers to carry it on all through the summer? Then there was the question of models. The missionary societies were of course able to help us in this direction, but, apart from their help, some of an evangelistic character were also needed. While thinking over the plan I received a letter from Rev. Evan Hopkins of Eastbourne, saying he had at his disposal a large model of Herod's Temple, made by an uncle, and asking if I could suggest a use for it. He knew nothing of what was in our mind, but this gave us a start. My knowledge of the Garden Tomb, Jerusalem, enabled me to make an attractive model, which

tellingly illustrates the whole story of the Resurrection. A relative found in her cupboard a small box containing some little Chinese figures. They proved to be a Chinese funeral procession, and, tastily set out, they tell of all the false ideas of the Chinese regarding death and hereafter. A visit on my part to the catacombs at Rome resulted in a model of a section, which speaks of the simple faith, heroism, and martyrdoms of the early church. A visitor, seeing this model, sent me a set of linen sheets containing diagrams and illustrations of the tablets and inscriptions.

Passing casually through Bristol I found, in an old curiosity shop, a beautifully made and costly model of ancient Jerusalem, which I was able to secure. I cannot regard it as chance that the one person in the country, who so specially needed this model, should have been the one, who thus so apparently casually came across it. It has proved of never ceasing interest, and even a child can speak about it to visitors giving simple facts, whereas, for the deeper student, it enables lectures on excavation work at Jerusalem, and recent discoveries, and developments in the city, to be given. The story of Passion week can be told from it with vivid reality. Besides these models of an evangelistic character, a few missionary models from societies have brought the work of the foreign field to the notice of visitors.

Besides the models a few tables of carefully selected literature, both missionary and evangelistic were provided, and the Christian Colportage Society, whose agent attends weekly, was given a special table. Coming to the three problems which faced us at the outset : the depôt was placed in charge of Miss Waller, Sister of the Bishop of Madras, and round her have gathered a band of workers who have never failed. Two and sometimes three are on duty every morning and afternoon. Workers, who shrink from speaking in the ordinary way, have found they can do so with a model to help them, and many have thus gained confidence. As regards finances, the estimated cost of £2 10s. per week was to be met by a box for depôt expenses, placed near the door, and a small profit on literature. The sales, however, were never to be pressed, and the box was to remain quite unobtrusive. The first year saw a profit of 2s. 4d. Last year some £10 was sent to Missions, and this year a larger profit seems assured.

Finally, the question as to whether visitors would enter, has found its answer. Figures, based on counting on certain days, show that the first year about 15,000 visitors entered. Last year the total was some 20,000, and this number has certainly been exceeded this year. Seven hundred and fifty-one entered on Easter Monday alone.

A volume might be written about the conversations held with visitors, and the work done. These have included christian scientists, spiritualists, Jews, attracted by the models of Herod's Temple and the Tabernacle, agnostics, and Roman Catholics, etc. Tracts suitable for these, and for different forms of religious doubt or difficulty, are always available.

By this effort we have proved that people can be won through the eye ; that those who will not stop, and listen, at an ordinary open-air service, will listen, when there is something to look at, and when definite knowledge is to be imparted. Although it is true that the situation is specially exceptional for such an effort, yet we feel sure that in any place, where people are at leisure, or are sight-seeing, or have any time on their hands, such an effort can succeed. I know of several historic churches, visited annually by thousands of sightseers, where such a small exhibition would do good, and add to the interest of the visitors. Even where models cannot be used, opportunities exist of getting the right kind of literature into people's hands. In our case the Scripture Gift Mission has kept us well supplied, and it has been a real eye-opener to find how many Bibles are purchased, or Gospels accepted free, and asked for. Large numbers of Yiddish Gospels have found their way into the hands of Jews, and many Roman Catholics have accepted portions of Scripture.

In every watering-place every form of show and worldly amusement is offered to visitors. Why not offer something of a higher kind of the description of our Exhibition. If I can afford any guidance, I shall be only too ready to reply to any who care to write to me.

A PIONEER MISSIONARY AMONG THE MAORIS, 1850 TO 1879. Being the Letters and Journals of Thomas Samuel Grace. New Zealand: *G. H. Bennett and Co., Ltd., Palmerston North.* (London Agents: *Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The glory of children are their fathers! The publication of these memoirs is overdue, but it is fortunate that at last they have been printed so that the Christians of New Zealand can read the story of these devoted pioneer-missionaries, and that friends, too, of the C.M.S. may be reminded of men and women whose names are in danger of being forgotten. Mr. Grace, who came of Huguenot stock, gave up a lucrative business to study for Holy Orders and was ordained in 1848 to the Curacy of Tideswell, in the Peak district. He had offered himself to the C.M.S. and soon after he was "Priested" he and his wife set out for New Zealand, where they arrived on the 9th of July, 1850, and where they worked with untiring devotion, courage and patience, until his death in May, 1879. He was the first white man to establish himself in the centre of the North Island, and those who affect to think that missionaries have "a good time" will find in these pages the story of a strenuous life, full of difficulties and dangers. In 1865 Mr. Grace narrowly escaped a cruel death when his beloved friend the Rev. C. S. Volkner was murdered. This record of service is worthy of a place among many well-known chronicles of lives spent in devoted witness for the Master. There are fifteen portraits and illustrations which add to the interest of the book.

S. R. C.

BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS.

I MENTIONED in my notes in the July number of THE CHURCHMAN one of the books issued in connection with the observance of the Bunyan Tercentenary—Archdeacon Buckland's interesting account of Bunyan's Life and Work. As the actual date of the commemoration will be in November, and probably a number of my readers may be preparing to deliver addresses or sermons on the occasion, it may be useful to draw attention to some other books on the subject. The best known authorities on Bunyan are George Offor and Dr. John Brown. Those who require merely a brief sketch of his life will find all they need in Dr. Brown's article in *Chambers' Encyclopedia*, or in the somewhat fuller outline in *Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English Literature* (vol. I, p. 719). Southey's Edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with a Life of John Bunyan is well known from Lord Macaulay's famous essay on it. There are also a number of well-known sermons and addresses dealing with the characters and incidents in Bunyan's works which will provide fruitful suggestions. A useful study of Bunyan, mainly on the literary side, is James Anthony Froude's volume in Macmillan's "English Men of Letters" Series. He bears strong testimony to the influence which Bunyan has exerted on religious life and thought. He speaks, for example, of Bunyan as the man "whose writings have for two centuries affected the spiritual opinions of the English race in every part of the world more powerfully than any book or books except the Bible." Of *The Pilgrim's Progress* he says: "This book is wrought into the mind and memory of every well-conditioned English or American child, while the matured man, furnished with all the knowledge which literature can teach him, still finds the adventures of Christian as charming as the adventures of Ulysses or Aeneas. He sees there the reflection of himself, the familiar features of his own nature, which remains the same from era to era. Time cannot impair its interest, or intellectual progress make it cease to be true to experience."

Of books on Bunyan recently issued, one of special interest is *John Bunyan*, by R. H. Coats, M.A., External Lecturer in English Literature, University of Birmingham (Student Christian Movement, 2s. 6d. net). Mr. Coats leaves on the reader the impression that to write of Bunyan is a real joy to him. He has entered into the spirit of the Puritan so thoroughly and sympathetically that at times he may appear a little biased against the Royalists and the Church party; but much may be forgiven in this respect, for no one can be proud of the attitude of the Churchpeople of the time, although every allowance must be made for the heat of reaction after a period of humiliation. We can well sympathize with those who feel indignation at the treatment which Bunyan received. I have heard a well-known Churchman say more than once that

his blood boils every time he thinks of Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment—spent during the prime of his manhood. The six chapters of Mr. Coats' book have suggestive titles: "Brazier of Bedford," "Wrestler with God," "Pastor and Preacher," "Dreamer of Dreams," "Writer of Books" and "Then and Now." These provide in themselves an indication of Bunyan's career. Mr. Coats points out an unusual quality in Bunyan's work as a writer: "Jesus of Nazareth, besides being much else, was the supreme allegorist of human history. Spiritual truth lurked everywhere around Him in the homeliest and most familiar guise. It was impossible for Him to watch the hen gathering her chickens under her wings, or to notice the sower casting seed into the ground, or the fisherman hauling in his nets, without discerning a deeper significance in all these things. It is not too much to say that no one has ever entered into this aspect of the mind of Christ more fully than John Bunyan. To him also it came as a kind of second nature to speak the truth in parables." This is one of many delightful touches in this book. He notices also Bunyan's knowledge and use of the Bible and shows how wide and accurate it was. He quotes the testimony of many authorities on the various aspects of Bunyan's writings. Coleridge, for example, knew "of no book he could so safely recommend as *The Pilgrim's Progress* for teaching and enforcing the whole saving truth according to the mind that was in Christ Jesus." The closing chapter provides a contrast between the characteristics of the thought of Bunyan's day and of our own time. Whatever changes there are, "Bunyan has rendered this incomparable service to all benighted travellers through the darkness of this world, that he has made shiningly clear to them the way that is called the Way of Holiness."

Quite a different impression is left by the Dean of Winchester's book on Bunyan in the People's Library (*John Bunyan*, by W. H. Hutton, D.D., Dean of Winchester: Hodder and Stoughton, 2s. 6d. net). It is not, I hope, unfair to this volume to say that its general tone suggests that its appearance is due to the desire of an enterprising publisher to add to a series of cheap books one on a subject of current interest and that in the choice of an author he was influenced more by the reputation of the writer than by any special interest he had in the subject. Dr. Hutton's attitude towards Bunyan and those associated with him is almost entirely unsympathetic throughout. He is an ardent apologist for the Royalists and the Church party, and everything that can be said in defence of their treatment of the Puritan pastor is carefully put forward. Bunyan himself is described as "an inspired yet ignorant and prejudiced tinker." Some of his religious experiences are accounted for thus: "So strong is the power of the human imagination that he who seriously expects to see miracles does not long expect them in vain." Occasionally a good word is spared for him, thus: "Indeed, Bunyan as a man seems to have been, as one might fancy from the cheery tone of his most famous books, a popular personage. Hardly

ever do his enemies (excepting the opposing sect) throw a hard word at him." Every excuse is made for the magistrates who had to try him. They treated him with great leniency. It was Bunyan's own fault that he would not accede to the devices they contrived to save him from punishment. The latent hostility to the Puritan is seen in many passages. For instance, what is the meaning of the sentence, "Bunyan the writer is immortal, Bunyan the man only memorable"? Substitute for Bunyan's name that of any great writer, such as Shakespeare, Milton, or Coleridge, and what meaning would the criticism have?

But Bunyan was a Puritan preacher, and his life and work in that capacity are to be disparaged as far as possible, while the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress* must be grudgingly admitted to the ranks of genius, in spite of the unfortunate fact that he was a Puritan leader. Here is another instance in which the writer's bias is displayed. Do we, he asks, "delight in Bunyan's Christian because he is selfish and wishes only to save his own soul"? This is manifestly unfair to Christian, as every unbiased reader can see from reading of his efforts to induce the people of the City of Destruction to accompany him. Are we to assume that he should have remained in that city rather than set out because he could find no one to accompany him but Pliable? It gives, however, opportunity for a characteristic remark about Bunyan. "He was certainly a thorough Protestant, and that may mean a thorough individualist, but quite certainly that is not the reason why his book is so universally beloved." All this is unneeded and beside the point. There are a number of digressions which have not a very intimate bearing on the life of Bunyan, but serve to indicate the writer's interest in a variety of subjects. On the whole, it is regrettable that a prominent Churchman of the twentieth century should write an account of a Puritan author of the sixteenth century with so little sympathy and toleration.

Mr. J. R. Clark Hall has written a book which will appeal to all Evangelical Churchmen: *Is Our Christianity a Failure?* (Marshall Brothers Ltd., 3s. 6d. net.) If any criticism may be offered, it would be as to the choice of the title. It is unpopular now even to suggest that Christianity has failed, as so much has been said on the subject; and the usefulness of this book may be marred by being placed in the category of works that have since the War emphasized the defects of the Churches. But Mr. Clark Hall's book has a positive character and contains many valuable suggestions for the strengthening of Christian power in the coming age. Although all the Christian communions contain members who are examples of high Christian virtue and purity of living, yet he is convinced that "the success of a Church as a corporate body depends not only on the virtues of its members, but also on the purity of its doctrine." He examines Roman Catholicism and shows its weaknesses, especially in countries where it is in the ascendency. The endeavour to combine Anglo-Catholicism and Protestantism in our own Church

must be a failure, as one or other must in the long run prevail. Anglo-Catholicism has altered the character of our Church, and yet, from a spiritual point of view, it has failed. After fifty years of its work, and more particularly in London where it has been specially favoured by the present Bishop for quarter of a century, the late Bishop Weston of Zanzibar, at an Anglo-Catholic Congress in 1923, expressed the opinion that London was more pagan than Zanzibar. He says further: "It cannot be maintained that commercial ethics, or the morals of society, or the respect for law and order are on a higher level now than in the times when we had no Church claiming infallibility or offering the other great spiritual advantages which Anglo-Catholicism professes to give to its adherents." In fact, the theory of mental reservation and intellectual dishonesty, sometimes perhaps unconscious, have lowered the standards of morality in several directions. There has been a growing tendency on the part of the Bishops to favour the Anglo-Catholic party and to give Evangelicals the cold shoulder. "Episcopal preferment in certain dioceses seems to be reserved almost exclusively for Anglo-Catholic priests, infraction of the law of the Church of England not being considered a bar to promotion, while clergymen who continue the practice of Evening Communion, or still worse, who introduce it, are severely left alone." He is quite frank about the failures of Protestants. With the highest form of Christianity they do not live up to their beliefs. They lack brotherliness. Some of the unloveliness of the Roundhead clings to them. They underestimate the present life in their emphasis on the life to come. He quotes Canon Baines: "There is nothing so dead in the whole religious world as a dead Evangelical; others have various paraphernalia wherewith to retain a semblance of life; we have not." Among the useful suggestions which he makes for the advancement of Evangelical interests is one of special importance—the providing of convalescent homes and similar institutions where their own people could be treated amid religious surroundings similar to those to which they have been accustomed in their own homes. On the intellectual side Evangelicals must take a far greater and more intelligent interest in matters of doctrine. Many of them are strangely uninformed with regard to these matters. Much more must be done to provide for the education of Evangelical candidates for ordination. There are many other important matters dealt with by Mr. Clark Hall; but, as I hope all my readers will study and take to heart his valuable criticisms and suggestions, I must be content to pass over his useful notes on eucharistic doctrine, and his estimate of the revised Prayer Book, and will close with a mention of his defence of Evangelical Churchpeople from the charge of being partisans and extremists. It is the members of the Episcopate who have changed their views about matters such as reservation within the last twenty years; and, when Bishops call us and the Romanizers extremists, the term may be justified in regard to the latter, as they have moved farthest away from the old standards of worship; but it is quite unfair to call those extremists who have simply continued to adhere to those

standards, or who have adopted some of the practices of the Oxford School which seemed to conduce to reverence of worship. As to partisanship, "it is not an evil in itself, except in persons in certain positions such as that of a bishop or a judge; it is a positive virtue compared with the mugwumpery of the indifferent."

I had intended to deal at some length with Mr. Fitzgerald's interesting life of Bishop Ryle. (*A Memoir of Herbert Edward Ryle, K.G.V.O., D.D.*, sometime Bishop of Winchester and Dean of Westminster, by the Rev. Maurice H. Fitzgerald, with an Appreciation by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Macmillan & Co., 15s. net.) The volume has, however, been so extensively and so favourably reviewed that it is not necessary to do more than to commend it to my readers as the biography of a Bishop who had an influential share in the life of the Church during a period of special importance. The Archbishop refers to him as "pre-eminent in lucidity of quiet thoughtfulness and Christian common sense." His genuineness as a Christian, his scholarship, his humility, his gifts as a teacher, and his power of making and keeping friends, are all brought out in this volume. His devotion to his father, the great Bishop of Liverpool, is recorded; and, although he did not follow his father's lines as a strong Evangelical Churchman, he was always on the side of the Reformation and used his influence to support the principles of the Reformers. Like many others, in his later years he adopted the policy of seeking to find some line of compromise with the advanced school, and did not realize the impossibility of working with men who have deliberately set themselves to undo the work of the Reformation. The definite line which he took in regard to illegalities on his appointment to Winchester is condemned, but the Church would be in a happier condition to-day if the other Bishops had followed his lead and had adopted his policy. The failure of his health cut short his major activities as a Bishop and arouses sympathy, but Westminster proved a niche where his energies found appropriate scope.

The Rev. Alfred Thomas, M.A., F.R.S.L., Vicar of St. Barnabas', Newcastle-on-Tyne, has published a volume of vigorous and striking addresses on some of the most urgent questions of the day under the title *The New Paganism and Other Present-Day Perils and Problems* (Robert Scott, 3s. 6d. net). Dr. Stuart Holden in an appreciative Foreword speaks of Mr. Thomas in enthusiastic terms: "The gifted author of these pages is a man with a message, and a man in downright earnest in regard to those vital things in belief and behaviour upon recognition of which the well-being of the Nation depends. While his heart is fixed as to his personal convictions and determinations, his mind is open, alert, discriminating in its observations of life." Mr. Thomas deserves this commendation, for he exhibits courage and clearness in the denouncing of some of the worst evils from which our land is suffering at the present time. The mad lust for pleasure, the craving for material posses-

sions, immodesty in dress, drink, gambling and impurity, are shown up in their disastrous effects. The cause of peace appeals strongly to him, and he has some pertinent things to say on the duty of supporting the organizations which have for their object the prevention of war. On the drink traffic and the Sunday question he is as equally outspoken. "The present disregard of the Sunday dates noticeably to the arrival of the bicycle and the motor-car, more especially to the latter. The richer members of the community by reason of their Sunday motoring, golf and tennis have set an unworthy example, and those lower in the social scale, as always have not been slow in following suit." It is those who have leisure to play games on weekdays who are the worst offenders in the turning of Sunday into a day of pleasure. The working man realizes what it means for his class if the Sunday is devoted to amusements. It means employment seven days a week. A sermon on "Rotary and the Radiant Life" shows the width of Mr. Thomas's interests. He is in touch with many aspects of the life of the busy northern town where he lives and where he has worked so devotedly for many years. Many will find his broadcast address on "The Duty and Privileges of Church-going" very useful. It brushes away the subterfuges by which members strive to excuse their absence from worship, and shows the responsibility and duty that rests upon Christian people of regular attendance at Church. The last address on the reunion of the Churches is a fitting conclusion to a volume that is marked by definiteness of view and strong, sensible arguments in defence of the Christian attitude in some of the familiar situations which we have all to face in life.

The *Pilgrim's Progress* has been found to lend itself to dramatic presentation, and many of its lessons may be enforced by securing a number of young people to take the various parts. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin published a Dramatised Version of Certain Scenes set out in the actual words of Bunyan. This version has been arranged by Mr. Wilton Rix (Paper, 2s. ; Cloth, 3s.) and it has already proved its effectiveness in a presentation at a Christmas Festival in his Church at Ealing. Mr. Rix says that the work "lends itself naturally to be made into a play and pageant, for it is written in that form." Adequate instructions are given as to the dress of the characters, the space required and the various entrances and exits of the performers, together with the words of the hymns and psalms sung during the proceedings. It is a complete guide for any who may wish to make a fruitful venture.

G. F. I.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

DR. COULTON ON "ART AND THE REFORMATION."

ART AND THE REFORMATION. By G. G. Coulton. *Blackwell.* 25s.

It is generally believed that the destruction of the Monasteries and the ideals of the Reformation proved the death-blow of Gothic development and were responsible for the decay of religious Art. Like many other legends of Medievalism it is the fruit of dreaming "what ought to have been" and finds support in a work that has the charm of literature without a true historical basis. Montalembert's *Monks of the West* has popularized this notion, and although Lord Acton's criticism of the book has robbed it of its value among students, it still has weight among the apologists of Medievalism. We do not think that it can survive the searching commentary of Dr. Coulton, who shows that the author misrepresents and misunderstands the evidence on which he bases his conclusions. But Dr. Coulton does much more than destroy a legend. With that fullness of knowledge we associate with him, and a ripeness of judgment that seldom errs, he takes us step by step through what we may call the art workshops of our great Cathedrals and Churches—proving that they were built very much as they are built to-day by professional architects and workmen who know their work, organized into guilds of one kind or another. An occasional Monk had the genius for design and some of them worked on the buildings. Is it not so to-day when we read of the clergy designing their Churches and some of them working with their own hands in the erection of parochial buildings? The human activities remain much the same throughout the ages and men specially gifted will find an outlet for their gifts when opportunity arises.

Dr. Coulton reviews the evidence on which the fable is based and shows us that the facts prove the opposite to the conclusion drawn. He tells us that the Rules of the Orders blocked the way to the Monk becoming an all-round artist. He might wander from his monastery and do work of this description, but all medieval moralists state that this is ruinous to the soul. Even the famous letter of St. Bernard condemning the extravagances of early twelfth-century monastic art gives no evidence whatever of the monks themselves being artists. As a final argument that the Reformation had nothing whatever to do with the decay of Gothic architecture and general monastic art, he asks how it is that the monks, after the Reformation in those lands, Italy, Austria and Spain, did nothing as artists, and whatever work has been done has been done by laymen? As a matter of fact, popular belief has been founded on fancy, and after the exposure in this masterly work we do not believe that it will have a long life. The chapters dealing with the lay artists and the order of Freemasons make fascinating reading

—the pleasure of which is increased by the beautiful illustrations. We see them undergoing their training, moving from place to place in companies and taking a real pride in their work. Here and there the artistic gifts of the masons show themselves in sketches that have survived, and some of these drawings are spirited and beautiful. The trade of the masons, like all other occupations, had class distinctions, although their differentiation was never exactly defined. But the skilled student can discover much, and can see how a particular band of specialist workmen wandered from place to place in a district and left their mark upon the Churches.

When we leave the general question of who did the work and get down to details of the work, we are impressed by the lack of uniformity of symbolism. There is in reality no science of symbolism, for it is made clear to us that chance analogies, the peculiar point of view of the artist and the imagination of the writer who interprets the symbols determine their meaning. These chapters have made plain to many the puzzles that confronted them in medieval buildings and the varieties of meaning given to what to the untutored eye seem to be identical symbols. One of the most interesting sections deals with the clothes or want of clothes worn by those represented as rising from the dead in the Dooms. As is well known in medieval times, people slept naked, and in one Doom they are seen hastily clothing themselves. As for the Church being the poor man's Bible, it generally had in medieval times chronicled on its walls episodes in the lives of saints, and only occasionally do we obtain any biblical information. Purgatory is a great favourite for those who designed decorations on walls and in windows, and some of the illustrations in this book are very far removed from what we know to be biblical teaching.

What killed Gothic Art—the Renaissance or the Reformation? Gothic Art had reached, even before the Renaissance, a stage that made itself powerless to persist in the face of the Renaissance. It is absurd in Dr. Coulton's opinion to insist that our Gothic cathedrals are the natural and inevitable expression in stone of the Christian faith in its Roman Catholic form, and that no other form of Christianity could have created it. The art arose at a period when Roman Catholicism was the religion of the people who built these edifices, and they utilized it for their religious ends. We know the economic reasons that led to their erection, we know the changes that led to the cessation of this work, and we know little of the work that it displaced. There can be no sectarian ring-fence round Gothic art, with a sectarian turnstile for admission. In Westminster Abbey or one of our cathedrals, or sometimes at Mass in France, there is a glow of feeling and a rush of thoughts which warm and illuminate like sunshine. We are wrong if we do not welcome these things; but we are wrong also if we identify them too closely with the Christian religion. They may help us to worship God in spirit and in truth; but, on the other hand, they may stand between us and God. They were not there in the earliest days; the best of the primitive Christians did without them. We have simply

sampled one of the most attractive and informing books on Art and Religion that has been published in our days. We hope that it will be very widely read.

THE TRINITY AND THE INCARNATION.

ESSAYS ON THE TRINITY AND THE INCARNATION. Edited by the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, D.D. *Longmans.* 21s.

This is undoubtedly an able book that will be much discussed by theological students. For the most part it is theological and philosophical, but one of its most important sections is the treatment of "Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background," which is written by Mr. A. D. Nock. We have no hesitation in saying that it is the best and most concise treatment of a subject that has been interpreted in different ways by men apparently equally familiar with the facts. Here we have all relevant facts treated with discrimination, and the true place given to the factors that influenced from without the development of primitive Christianity. Take for example Mithraism—which has been brought in as *deus ex machina* to solve difficulties presented by the simple Gospel story. He puts the cult in its proper place and proves that it has had very little influence on the growth of the Christian institutions. He shows that, by invoking Mithraism to explain away what is known, we are arguing from the unknown to the known. Obscurity overshadows our slight knowledge of the cult. Rites and their meanings cannot be analysed like a mineral—"all our indications of origins have only in a certain degree a claim to general validity." This caution must always be borne in mind.

The Essays are sound in their Christology and are opposed to Adoptionism in every shape and form. They accept *ex animo* the Divinity of our Lord and believe that the doctrine of the Trinity is true. We were much impressed by the apparently early Binitarianism of the thinkers in the Primitive Church, but see with the writers how, when once the Trinity was accepted, it made plain obscurities. Dr. Kirk maintains that the New Testament writers had not fully made up their minds "whether they would interpret Christianity in a binitarian or trinitarian sense." It would seem to us, that, just as St. Thomas never fully faced the fact of the Incarnation, until he came face to face with the Risen Lord, so the New Testament writers in their Christocentric thought were so intent on establishing our Saviour to be Lord of all good life and the Incarnate Son of God, that they did not concern themselves with the relation of the Three Persons in the Godhead. We make a grave mistake if we expect to find in the New Testament the developed content of a modern Theological Exposition of the Godhead. It is latent in the thought of the writers, who are not troubled about its expression.

The more we reflect on Christian Origins the more convinced we are that Hebrew Theism and the Sacred Books of the Jews played a much more important part in the formation of the mind of the

Church than the syncretism which arose from contact with the Gentile World or even from the importation into the early Church of Pagan ideas, which were ruthlessly opposed by the primitive Church. The discussion of the later Development of the Doctrine of the Trinity is an historical *résumé* presented with clearness and accuracy.

The Rev. F. H. Brabant writes two chapters, one of which can be understood by most students for it contains an extraordinarily lucid exposition of the relation between Augustine and Plotinus. It will make many understand somewhat of the teaching of the Neo-Platonist, who is more often invoked than studied. The second, on "God and Time," takes the reader into the most abstruse problems of modern philosophy in its treatment of real time. Mr. Brabant does all that can be done to make the conception of "real time" intelligible; but, after reading more than once what he has written with such pains, we seem to understand it, but somehow we cannot make it clear to our friends. This is not the fault of the Essayist but of the difficult nature of the distinction between the conception of Real Time and Clock Time. It may be heresy, but it is true that many thinkers fail to see the difference and cannot place time and space in different categories. They remain Kantians in spite of themselves. They may excite the pity of the more modern, but their poor intellects cannot rise to the subtleties of the expositions of Bergson and his school.

Professor Hodgson is good but somewhat jerky in his treatment of the Incarnation, and at times postulates what we wish to see treated at greater length. We have only incidentally alluded to the Essay of Canon Narborough on the Christ—a very able and heart-moving piece of work. For our part we consider this in many respects the most valuable of "the group mind" works that have recently appeared, and shall consult it again and again to clear our own mind and to receive guidance for our thought.

THE HOLY SPIRIT.

THE HOLY SPIRIT. By A. J. Macdonald. *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 3s. 6d.

Mr. Macdonald has done a useful piece of work in writing this popular handbook on "the Holy Spirit"—a subject that necessarily demands the attention of Christians. In his Foreword the Bishop of Liverpool heartily commends the book, and, having read it, we endorse the well-deserved praise given to it by Dr. David, for it is at once balanced and thoughtful—free from the over-emphasis that leads to Tritheism and from the vagueness that makes the Holy Spirit an intangible something that ought to be revered but cannot be described. There is a real danger of invoking the Holy Spirit without in any way giving a connotation to His work in our hearts and the Church and the world. We can never forget that in Scripture the co-equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son is taught. "The individual Christian life

is incomplete, indeed it has not begun, until it has been brought under the direct influence of this same divine Person, who brings to bear upon it His own self-consciousness, self-directed power, accompanied sometimes 'with signs following,' and always with the capacity for the development by the individual of spiritual qualities hitherto lying dormant."

The Book is divided into two main Parts. The first deals with "The Doctrine of the Spirit in the New Testament." This treats of the teaching of our Lord and the New Testament writers as well as the activity of the Spirit in the Apostolic Church. It concludes with the bearing of the teaching on the personal life. We agree with nearly all Mr. Macdonald writes, but we fail to find authority for the statement "the apostolic Church regarded the episcopal function as being specially authorized by the Holy Spirit." It is true that he seems to recede from that position in the sentences that follow, confining the statement to the general assertion that the ministry is regarded as specially endowed by the Holy Spirit for the performance of its duty.

The Second Part deals with the later development of the doctrine, and here we have an account that is at once accurate and non-technically written so that the average Christian reader can follow it with understanding. The story of the great conflict on the Procession of the Spirit is lucidly told and its effects on the unity of the Church are set forth. The closing chapter deals with the Spirit in the Church and the World to-day. Reference to the Epiklesis could hardly have been avoided in a book published by the S.P.C.K. and we are glad to find it guarded and qualified. He urges his readers to distinguish between the spiritual presence of our Lord offered to us from across the veil and the spiritual grace offered to us by the Spirit of God who indwells the Church and the believer—"a spiritual presence offered to us in the realm of the seen, on this side of the veil. It is a manifestation of the Immanent God." It will be seen that Mr. Macdonald is a cautious writer who in this book weighs his words and does his utmost to make his readers realize the blessing God gives us through His Spirit.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

SPIRITUAL DIRECTION. By Canon T. W. Pym. *Student Christian Movement*. 5s.

On no subject is so much nonsense written as on Psychology. The more dubious the conclusions of the New Psychology, the more readily are they pressed into the service of the advocate for or against religious views and convictions. We have read most of the recent works on the subject, and when we have stripped them of their jargon and got down to bed-rock we do not find ourselves much the wiser. Mental Pathology is the basis of most of their conclusions and the science of healing, or in the case of psychology, the description of morbid states, is taken as the basis for the treatment of the normal. We receive from time to time letters from

the unbalanced—the victims of obsession—and if we used them to interpret the meaning of the ordinary correspondence that passes through our hands we should soon find ourselves in difficulties. Not so with our New psychologists. They revel in the abnormal and turn round to say “you’re just like that,” and at once treat all men as if they were diseased.

Canon Pym is different. He knows what the mind of the healthy man is and the way in which character is built. In this book he discusses the use and abuse of spiritual direction and the Confessional. And he has made up his mind on the subject. Spiritual direction in which a man subjects himself to the conscious direction of another on those matters which should be his own choice weakens his will and does him harm. The Confessional with its priestly absolution does not lead to the strengthening of what is best within us, but rather weakens it. The claim of the average Priest to be a Father Confessor is bad all round, and the penances imposed go no distance in giving a man that hatred of sin and that reliance on God for support in His temptations that he should have. All this and much more is set forth with great clearness and apt illustration by our author who deserves to be listened to as coming from a man of ripe experience who knows his subject.

Birth Control has unfortunately come from the doctor’s consulting room to the sitting-room and is freely discussed by those least fitted to advise. The subject has to be faced by the Clergy, and here again our author writes with wisdom and balance. When he comes to deal with the Devotional life we do not know whether to admire more his spiritual earnestness or his balanced wisdom in treating the pitfalls into which so many fall. All he says merits close attention, and in our opinion this is the best of the three books Canon Pym has written on the relation between Psychology and the moral and spiritual life of the average man or woman.

THE FAITH THAT REBELS.

THE FAITH THAT REBELS. By D. S. Cairns, D.D. *Student Christian Movement.* 8s. 6d.

It is plain that we are reaching a new stage in the discussion of the Biblical Miracles. The work of Dr. Tennant showed that there is no inherent improbability in the occurrence of the miraculous under the circumstances revealed in the Bible. No longer does Science profess to be omniscient and the Laws of Nature are seen to be laws that operate not in a closed Universe as was proclaimed, but in a Universe in which its Creator still may bear a part. If the Universal Frame has behind it and within it a Universal Mind, then the discussion of the truth or untruth of the Miraculous Element in the Bible must be decided on grounds other than those demanded by the conception of a closed Universe in which God has no part. The idea of Evolution has made a great change in the Paleyan argument, but there is higher teleology which has to be borne in mind, and this is in no way opposed to the dominant

view in scientific and philosophical circles of evolution being useful as a working hypothesis that explains satisfactorily many of the phenomena that are unfolded to us by the progress of modern thought and research.

Dr. Cairns rebels against the closed Universe idea and finds in modern therapeutics and faith healing a presumption in favour of the miraculous cures in the life of our Lord. These recent acceptations of the power of mind over matter are only analogous to, not in any way identical with, the New Testament miracles, which *prima facie* result from the perfect correspondence of the Mind of Christ with that of God and the possession of a Power that others do not possess. It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion from the Gospel record, and it may reverently be said that only through the miraculous could our Lord have commended His Messianic and Divine Mission to His contemporaries. The New Testament miracles are perfectly natural when taken in connection with their environment, and when we consider Who our Lord is what would appear extraordinary finds its true place as what might have been expected in the account of His life. "These signs are integral parts of the revelation. They are revelations of the ideal purpose of God for mankind, and therefore of His character. They must therefore necessarily influence our idea of God. Inasmuch, also, as they imply the coming into the order of nature of powers that cannot be explained in terms of mere nature, they must inevitably affect our whole conception of the world. And, finally, as they are works wrought through the Perfect Man, and are meant by Him to be imitated by imperfect men they must affect our conceptions of the possibilities of man, and the possibilities and range of prayer."

Dr. Cairns makes much of the saying of Lord Kelvin that, from the point of view of science, every free human action was a miracle. It cannot be explained in scientific terms. And if this be the case and God exists in, through and above the universe, and man is the highest in the scale of created beings, we cannot be surprised that, when His Son became incarnate, Miracles occurred. The more we study the history of humanity and inquire into whatever progress has been made, the more deeply we are convinced that mind and conscience have had a part to play which cannot be explained in terms of mere naturalism. Dr. Cairns makes this plain, and the passages he quotes from advanced thinkers on this point well deserve renewed consideration. "The world of Nature is in comparison with God nothing, and He alone is the Almighty Lord." This is the conclusion we reach in reverent examination of what God has wrought in Nature and in Revelation. The work of Dr. Cairns in revolt against materialism and its corollaries is an inspiration to Faith. No one can explain everything, but our author has gone a long way to demonstrating the essential reasonableness of Christian faith—Trust in One Who knows, loves and gives His best to aid man to be like the Son of His love.

THE EVANGELICAL SCHOOL IN THE CHURCH.

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By Leonard Elliott Binns, D.D. *Methuen & Co., Ltd.* 5s. net.

Dr. Jacks suggests in the general preface of the series, "The Faiths, Varieties of Christian Expression," of which this book forms part, that each author represents the views of the particular section to which he belongs. Dr. Binns, in the opening of his own preface, wishes to make clear to his readers that he has never desired to function as "a strong party man" and he therefore doubts his qualifications for writing the present volume. It is probably not altogether to be unexpected that, while every other portion of the Christian Church is represented by a whole-hearted and convinced adherent of it, the writer who deals with the Evangelical School of the Church of England should be careful to explain in what sense he will allow himself to be described as an Evangelical, and should thus assure himself of the right to criticize freely and fully all sections of Evangelical Churchpeople, but more especially the older Evangelicals whose views never fail to receive a large measure of adverse handling from those who claim to represent the Evangelical succession.

Dr. Binns, as an experienced writer, has naturally produced an interesting book; but it lacks the full-blooded enthusiasm which we should just for once like to see in an Evangelical writer. The weakness of Evangelicalism in the Church of England to-day is that every successive generation of Evangelicals is so conscious of the failures and shortcomings of its predecessors that it has no capacity for hero worship except for outsiders, and no enthusiasm for its past achievements. Anglo-Catholics hold in high esteem Pusey, Liddon, and a host of others. Broad Churchmen treasure the memory of Maurice, Kingsley, Stanley and many more; but the Evangelical School is almost apologetic when speaking of men like Simeon, or Close, or McNeile, in older generations, and practically blushes when it has to own men like that intellectual giant, Dean Wace, or Dr. Griffith Thomas of later date, while its nineteenth-century scholars like Goode, Vogan, Dimock and Litton are known only to a few. They may be reminded of Macaulay's well-known saying when praising the people of Londonderry for their commemoration of the heroes of the famous siege, "A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

The reason is not far to seek. Modern thought has advanced so much that some of the views of the older Evangelicals are "old fashioned" and "out of date." So are, in many cases, the views of the older representatives of the High and Broad Church parties. Yet that does not prevent their followers to-day holding the memory of their predecessors in reverence, and doing credit to themselves by remembering the work which they accomplished. Evangelicals bring discredit on themselves and on the Evangelical name by the

readiness with which they are eager to disown or speak slightly of their predecessors, or to ignore their work—when they are aware of it, which is not always the case. At least the practical reforms effected by the Clapham Sect and by Lord Shaftesbury should rouse whole-hearted enthusiasm in Evangelical ranks.

It is also the custom now to belittle the older Evangelicals for their lack of culture and artistic taste, for their disregard of learning and intellectual pursuits. No doubt these were serious defects, but the law of compensation brought its advantages. If the cry of the Evangelicals was "Come out from among them and be ye separate," and if they shared in the Puritan sternness, their intensity was needed to arrest attention, and to turn people to thoughts of heaven. Their ambition was to save souls and everything was laid aside to secure the eternal salvation of the greatest possible number of people. It was a one-sided life, no doubt, but it was inspired by the highest ideals and noblest purposes. It led to the self-sacrifice which made the Church Missionary Society the most powerful evangelizing agency in the Church of England, and developed those powerful agencies for good, the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, as well as other organizations which have uplifted humanity. Dr. Binns does indeed recognize the power of the Evangelicals at the beginning of the last century. He says, "Certainly the general awakening of the whole Church of England was due very largely to the Evangelicals, who in zeal and diligence far surpassed the members of all other schools. 'The deepest and most fervid religion in England,' wrote Liddon, 'during the first three decades of this century was that of the Evangelicals.'"

For the first time in a history of the Church an account is given of the origin and growth of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement. This is the awkward name of an organization of younger men who met informally for eighteen years as the Group Brotherhood, and in 1923 "came into the open" as a definitely Liberal Evangelical Society. It has attracted to itself a large number of younger clergy, and there is strong hope that it may prove of great value to the Church of England, if in the course of its reaction against what its leaders consider the narrowness and ignorance of older Evangelicals, it does not pass under the influence of an extreme Liberalism, which can have no connection with any distinctive Evangelical doctrines. Every Movement must move, but the important question is the direction of the movement. Anglo-Catholicism moves towards Romanism and Ultramontaniam; Liberalism moves towards Rationalism, and the extremes of Modernism. Evangelicalism moves, but whither? The faults of Evangelicalism are here, as elsewhere, faithfully depicted. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend," and Evangelicalism has many such faithful friends. They go out of their way to quote the criticisms of the members of other Schools of Thought against the old leaders.

Dr. Binns has given us a critical analysis of Evangelicalism as it has been, as it is, and as it may be. It is interesting and characteristically faithful to the Evangelical tradition of depreciating

Evangelicals, and not even the work of the Liberal Evangelicals escapes. Their volume of Essays, *Liberal Evangelicalisms*, is compared with the *Essays Critical and Catholic* of the Anglo-Catholic party, and it is found thin and superficial. It does not bear comparison with the other for depths of thought or weight of scholarship. It may all be true; but it makes at least one member of the Evangelical School long for a *History of Evangelicalism* which will narrate the work of the Evangelical clergy and laity with an enthusiasm that will stir the blood and rouse us to further and greater efforts for the Evangel which we proclaim. Who will write of the good work of men whom we read and many of whom we have known, and many of whom we have loved? Men such as, to take a few names at random: Bishops Bickersteth, Ryle, Straton, Moule, Chavasse, Watts-Ditchfield, Denton Thompson; Deans Lefroy, Barlow and Wace; Archdeacon Madden, Canons and Prebendaries Hay Aitken, Hoare, Stowell, McCormick, Webb-Peploe, Fleming; and preachers, teachers and workers like Pennefather, Gordon Calthorp, Bullinger, and a host of others, whose praise ought to be in all the churches.

THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. By H. Wheeler Robinson. *Nisbet*. 10s. 6d.

The debt we owe to the historic discussions of the Divinity of our Lord is appreciated when we consider the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit. "The so-called 'Macedonian controversy' . . . is to be regarded rather as an appendix to the Arian controversy than as an independent issue. Thus the *homoousia* of the Spirit is asserted as a necessary consequence of the *homoousia* of the Son, and not as a result of any adequate independent inquiry based on the work of the Holy Spirit." During the present century the place of the Holy Spirit in Christian Theology is receiving great attention, and Dr. Wheeler Robinson makes an important contribution to the subject in the "Library of Constructive Theology." He writes with clearness, but the many aspects of the Revelation of God in Scripture, Church and Experience, as well as in Nature and Life, compel him at times to tackle great themes that cannot be treated simply. Therefore we have found the book stimulating to thought and occasionally demanding reading and re-reading of its paragraphs. For the most part the book is philosophical, and the historical and scriptural references must be considered merely illustrative of the positions adopted. It is necessary to bear this in mind if the value of the book is to be appreciated and criticisms that might otherwise be legitimate are to be laid aside.

Dr. Robinson first considers the Holy Spirit in the Bible, and here we find his treatment disappointingly brief, but it would be unfair to blame him for this, as the plan of the book excluded full discussion. Writing of St. Paul he says, "No mere historical figure of the past could ever have entered into the Apostle's thought and

experience as did the living Christ. If the Lord gave personality to the Spirit, the Spirit gave ubiquity to the Lord. . . . The glory of the Bible doctrine of the Holy Spirit is that it compels us to seek its meaning in the larger book of human history and human thought to which all the nations of the earth contribute." The main book is divided into three parts: "The Approach through Experience," "The Work of the Holy Spirit," and "The Holy Spirit and the Godhead." It will be seen that practically all the problems of modern thought arise in one form or another under these comprehensive headings, and that anything like a review in the short space at our disposal is impossible.

We therefore confine ourselves to what is said on the Holy Spirit and the Church, and the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures. On the first of these themes we find little to criticize. "However earnestly we may desire, however diligently we ought to seek, the unity of the Church in both faith and order, we must not forget that the unity so emphasized in the New Testament is that of a common purpose, rather than of a common organization. . . . In terms of the Christian Faith we may say that the unity of the Church is measured by the degree to which it is animated by the spirit of the Cross. This is the will of God which Jesus made His own will. This is alike the law of divine and human conduct." His remarks on the supernatural character of the Church are well balanced and he has a warning sentence on the spirit in which ecclesiastical controversies are conducted. This is a test of our real membership of the Church.

We cannot say that his treatment of the inspiration of the Scriptures is as satisfactory as the impression made on our mind by the rest of the book. We realize the great difficulties under which he writes and are in agreement with his conclusions on the progressive revelation of God. "It is difficult to see how there could be a revelation mediated through human experience which did not employ the contemporary methods of human composition for its record." He classifies, after Otto Ritschl, theories of inspiration: that which emphasizes the message without emphasis on the written record; that recognizing the Scriptures as God's Word expressed with varying degrees of clearness; verbal inspiration as held by Calvin and as held by some Lutherans in a stricter sense. The distinction between the first and last two is the allowance for the existence of the human element in the former. He turns from considering these views to the co-ordinate appeal to the witness of the Holy Spirit to the authority of Scripture. He quotes sympathetically the late Dr. Denney, who wrote: "The witness of the Spirit by and with the word in the soul does not guarantee the historicity of miraculous details, but it does guarantee the presence of a supernatural element in the history recorded. It bars out a criticism which denies the supernatural on principle, and refuses to recognize a unique work of God as in process along this line." We are well aware of the difficulties involved in this paragraph, and Dr. Robinson concludes that in the Scriptures "the human

element runs all through, but the divine is manifest in the human, even as it was in the Incarnation itself." But was not the human element in the Incarnation perfect?—is it so on the reasoning in this chapter in Scripture? There is much we should like to quote and notice in this volume which will be read by students everywhere, as it is one of the best modern attempts to deal philosophically with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and is written throughout with a reverent piety that compels approval, even when we disagree with the author.

DEAN RASHDALL'S ESSAYS.

IDEAS AND IDEALS. By Hastings Rashdall. *Blackwell*. 6s.

These Essays and Addresses represent the mind of the late Dean Rashdall, whose reputation has increased since his death. He held definitely by the central Truths of Theology, but went his own way in their interpretation. He was an idealist with a strong dislike of mysticism, pragmatism and pantheism. Unless we bear this in mind we shall not interpret him as he wished to be understood. At times we think that he misunderstands mysticism, through his belief that what is opposed to rational observation and cannot be classified in experience must be ruled out of thought. Generally speaking this is so, and much mysticism is simply the reiteration as direct revelation of what has been learned from other sources. It is a kind of auto-suggestion based on belief that holds the mind at other times. On the other hand, the mysticism which all Christians recognize is the result of personal communion with God in prayer. We cannot pray without having mystic communion with God. Dr. Rashdall also hated the pragmatism of the schools that asserted there is no moral essential difference between right and wrong and that rightness and wrongness depend on the consequences of actions. There is no essential difference for them between "a burnt child dreads the fire" and "it is wrong to lie." He asserted the supremacy of conscience—of the moral sense. Then, as regards pantheism, his keen intellect understood that the trend towards an excessive immanentism inevitably developed a pantheistic conception of the Universe. All these aspects of his teaching are seen in *Ideas and Ideals*, which fairly represents his mind. We do not think that his statement of the doctrine of the Atonement covers the entire ground, and are not quite sure that Dean Inge and he are so opposed on the "Idea of Progress" as the reader of the Essay may conclude. Dr. Rashdall manages to score many points against the Dean. His description of the Scholastic philosophy is a much-needed appreciation of the greatness of some of the men who gave an intellectual foundation to the Christian outlook—mistaken though that outlook was in some respects; and the papers on Modernism, Tyrrell, and Newman are admirable. Many who will not be interested in his discussion of the Rights of the State, Church and Individual, will read with pleasure and profit his paper on the Validity of Religious Experience. How many,

we wonder, will equally appreciate the discussion of Bradley's *Metaphysic*? Taken on the whole, there is more strong meat intelligibly put before readers in this book than in many large volumes.

PATRISTIC GOSPEL EXEGESIS.

ANTE-NICENE EXEGESIS OF THE GOSPELS. Vol. IV. By Harold Smith, D.D. *S.P.C.K.* 7s. 6d.

We can only apply one adjective to the Fourth Volume of this remarkable work. It is stupendous both in the range of its quotations and the thoroughness with which it has been carried through. And there is at least one more volume to follow! Canon Streeter said at the Farnham Conference that, with a good index, it is possible to make the Fathers prove anything. As we read the earliest expositions of difficult passages in the Gospels, we met with exactly the same diversity of opinion as is expressed to-day. But the comments are of surprising point and are in many instances modern. The greatness of Origen is evident to the reader; and the characteristics of the Fathers are brought out in the passages quoted. We read with interest the mystical interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan, and noted with equal interest the varying views held on the subject of Divorce and Re-marriage. It seems to us that a preacher in search of hints for sermons will do much better in reading for himself the full patristic passages in Dr. Smith's volumes than in studying them mutilated and secondhand in the notes of commentators. The more we study the volumes the greater our admiration for their author and the deeper the sense of our indebtedness become. He is a scholar of whom the whole Church of England may well be proud.

“AND SHE AROSE.” The Story of the Work of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Year 1927-8. By A. M. Robinson. London: *C.E.Z.M.S.*, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2. Price 1s.

“*And She Arose*” is the arresting title of the short story of the year's work of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, and it is easy to understand the choice of such a name when one thinks of the enormous progress made in recent years by the Women of the East. Though so much remains to be done, yet the story of what has been accomplished in this brief survey of the work of one Society alone justifies the comparison suggested of the maiden raised from the sleep of death by our Lord, and the awakening of the souls of Women, held in bondage for centuries by heathen customs and religions, now rising from the sleep of ignorance and degradation to heights undreamed of but a few short years ago. It is the day of opportunity, and the Report constitutes an urgent call for more service and greater sacrifice on behalf of our Sisters in the East.

From the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2) we have received the following story books: *The Hundred-Surname People*, by M. E. Boaz, price 2s. The queer-sounding title is best explained by the phrase "The common people heard Him gladly," and the book gives some very interesting stories of Christian work amongst ordinary Chinese people, with some incidents from the terrible civil war. Our thoughts have been much with the Chinese people of late, and these true tales of everyday experience are of absorbing interest. *Some Women of Sindh*, by Dr. R. H. Western (2s.), is very charmingly written, and contains a series of graphic pictures of Indian women and children who came as patients to the Mission Hospitals at Sukkur and Larkana. The stories, which depict some quite lovable characters, show also the many and varied difficulties of race and caste, of ignorance, superstition and custom, with which a missionary doctor in India has to contend. *Prickly Pears*, by A. M. Robinson (1s. 6d.), is a delightful gift book for a child. It is the story of the transformation of two "prickly" little characters, through the influence of a dream, into something much more lovable than the spiky, thorny plant to which they had been likened. *Dust of Gold*, by M. E. Hume Griffith (1s.), is an account of the work of the C.E.Z.M.S. among the Blind and Deaf of India, China and Ceylon. It is appalling to think that there are, according to the last census, over 128,000 deaf-mutes in India, and only four or five educational institutions to deal with them. The C.E.Z.M.S. were pioneers in this work, and this short report of the origin and growth of this remarkable work, with its plain tales of the awful sufferings of these afflicted people in heathen lands, will surely touch the hearts of those most indifferent to the claims of ordinary mission work.

The Macmillan Company, New York, publish "A Study in the Social Resources and Limitations of Religion in Modern Life" by Reinhold Niebuhr (8s. 6d. net) under the title *Does Civilization need Religion?* The present and the past of Christianity, especially in relation to its influence on social problems, are examined with considerable care, and the failures to ameliorate oppressive conditions traced to their causes. Catholicism took over the imperialism of the Caesars. After the Reformation, Protestantism was content with individualistic ethics "which is so dear to the heart of the commercial classes, and so unequal to the moral problems of a complex civilization in which the needs of interdependence outweigh the values of personal religion." Is the same ethical impotence to be shown in the face of future social complexity? The answer to this question occupies several interesting chapters, and the radical changes are indicated for the transcending and transforming of the world. Many of our Western ideas must be abandoned if Christianity is to be a world force. There is freshness and suggestiveness in many of the ideas in this volume. The writer is sincere in his desire to make Religion the power it ought to be in the control of every relationship of human life.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

DEAN WACE HOUSE, WINE OFFICE COURT,
FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

The Church Congress.—As in previous years, the League has arranged for a large stall at the Church Congress Exhibition, to be held this year in the Winter Gardens, Cheltenham, during Church Congress Week, when publications of the League and books recommended by the Committee will be on sale. Clergy and other members are specially invited to visit the stall (in Block R) to inspect and purchase the literature on view. The Exhibition will be open from Saturday, September 29, at 3 p.m., until Friday, October 5. A number of the publications of the League will also be on sale on Monday, October 1, at 5 p.m., in the Supper Room of the Town Hall, Cheltenham, at the Reception by the President, the Rt. Hon. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bart., M.P.

Sunday School Lessons.—A new series of Sunday School Lessons for Children from 4 to 7 years of age has been published by the Church Book Room entitled *Stories for the Little People in Sunday School and Home*. The Lessons are by Deaconess B. Oakley and Deaconess Ethel A. Luke, the Principal and Tutor of the Church Sisters' Training Centre, and have been written in response to many requests from Superintendents, Teachers and others. In addition to the Teacher's story there are suggestions for the Superintendent's talk, hymns, prayers, pictures, expression work, and for a typical lesson. An album containing fifty-two original designs, giving illustrations of some outstanding point in each lesson, has been published in connection with the above Lessons, and is issued at 4d. each. The suggestion is that the children should either copy the design on pieces of paper, or colour the designs in the album with crayons or water-colours. A Star Register is provided in each album for marking attendance, and simple prayers for children are also included. This album should be a great help to both teacher and children in connection with expression work, which plays such an important part in Sunday School teaching.

The series, which was published in quarterly parts last year entitled *Sunday School Lessons on the Collects, illustrated from the Epistles and Gospels*, by the Rev. Dr. Flecker and the Rev. L. E. Roberts, for Seniors and Intermediates, is now obtainable at 1s. 6d. the set.

The Rev. G. R. Balleine's Lesson Books, obtainable from the Church Book Room, are now as follows: *Lessons from the Hymn Book*; *The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*; *Boys and Girls of the Bible*; *The Acts of the Apostles*; and *Jesus Christ and Ourselves*, the last being the new Lesson Book for this year. These are obtainable at 2s. net. Stamps for the last-mentioned book, consisting of an entirely new set of pictures specially painted for the series, will be published in books as usual, each book containing sufficient stamps for ten scholars for the year at 4s. per book. *The Children of the Church* is obtainable at 1s. 6d. net.

In addition to the above the Church Book Room has also published a manual for adolescents entitled *The Complete Christian*, by the Rev. Cuthbert Cooper, at 2s. net. This book contains full Lesson Notes for a year's Bible Class of adolescents; and the course touches the salient points of the Christian religion as taught by the formularies of the Church. The Bible,

the Life of Christ, the Creeds and the Christian Life form the main skeleton. The lessons are rather more than outlines, and are calculated, even in the hands of an unskilful Bible Class Leader, to stimulate thought on points where Christianity touches the modern life of young people. The book is original, suggestive, and wide in outlook; and the Lessons on the Christian Life are a unique feature.

Family Prayers.—The Rev. A. F. Thornhill's *Family Prayers*, published originally in the English Church Manuals Series, was recently issued at 2d. net. To meet a demand the manual is also published in limp cloth covers at 6d., and in stiff boards at 1s. net. This little manual aims at providing a simple form of prayer for busy households. The services are brief and broken up into separate acts or parts of worship, such as confession, praise, thanksgiving, prayer, or intercession. The pamphlet has had a very large circulation in the past and we are assured that in its new form it will meet a great need.

A third edition has also been published of another little book of Family Prayers entitled *About the Feet of God*, by Canon Price Devereux, price 2d. This little book contains prayers for a week. All the collects are short and simple, and many of them are from the Book of Common Prayer. The booklet has been specially prepared as an outline of daily devotions for use in the home or in the school.

Private Prayer.—Mention was made last quarter of a new edition of the Rev. Henry Wright's booklet, *Secret Prayer A Great Reality* (2d.). The author arranges his suggestions for making secret prayer a great reality under three headings: (1) Preparation for Secret Prayer; (2) The Act of Secret Prayer; (3) Our Conduct after Secret Prayer. We feel sure that this exceedingly helpful and suggestive booklet will be found of real service.

A new edition of *A Girl's Week of Prayer*, by the late Miss E. M. Knox, Principal of Havergal College, Toronto, has just been published at 2d.

A cheaper edition at 5s. net of *The Daily Walk*, a Book of Devotions for every day in the year, by the late Cornelia, Lady Wimborne, has recently been issued. The volume contains a passage of Scripture, prayers, and a hymn for every day and, having in mind that modern life often leaves but little time for devotional practices of any kind and that the portion allotted for each day must be short if it is to be useful, the daily portions selected are short and adapted to the exigencies of a busy life. The extracts from the Bible have been chosen with the object of making people more familiar with the glories of the Book both from its spiritual and literary merit. The book is also published at 7s. 6d., 10s. 6d. and 12s. 6d., and the postage on any of the copies is 6d.

Catalogues.—A new List of Publications issued by the Church Book Room has just been published, and also a Short List of Books suitable for Sunday School Prizes, which has been compiled as a guide to those who are unable to call at the Book Room and select books from the shelves. The books recommended in this list have been carefully read with a view to recommending books of merit; and, as it is often impossible for clergy and others to spare the necessary time for a careful selection from the ordinary publishers' lists or booksellers' stocks, it is hoped that a need which is often felt has now been met. Copies of these lists will be sent on application.