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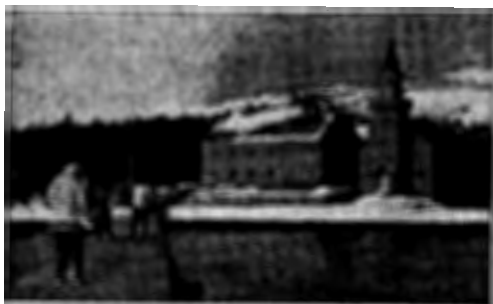
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THE CHURCHMAN

April, 1933.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen.

THE Committee of the Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen has done well in choosing "Evangelicalism Yesterday and To-day" as the general subject for this year's meeting. The Conference will be held at St. Peter's Hall on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, April 6, 7 and 8, and it is anticipated that there will be a large attendance of members. The intrinsic interest of the subject will be an attraction to many, and the Committee has succeeded in bringing together a strong platform of speakers who will do full justice to the various aspects of the subject. Evangelicalism in the past has made a valuable contribution to the life of the Church. It must never be forgotten that in the days of the high and dry Churchmanship of the eighteenth century the Evangelical leaders inspired the country with new religious life. And while they shocked by their "enthusiasm" the dull moralists of that rationalistic age, they brought to the masses of the people a fresh realisation of the meaning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Most students of history who are not blinded by prejudice do justice to the value of the work of the Evangelicals in social reform and the general improvement of the condition of the masses. The rapid industrial development of the early nineteenth century with the immense wealth that it brought to many was an impediment to the growth of spiritual religion. But it must never be forgotten that many of the great industrial magnates were amongst those who contributed most generously to the work of the Church both at home and abroad. In this they resembled the great leaders of the Clapham Sect who gave most liberally of their means to support good causes.

The Future of Evangelicalism.

The Conference will not deal solely with the influence and work of Evangelicalism in the past. There is still a great field open for the efforts of Evangelical Churchmen, and they have as valuable a contribution as ever to make to Church life. In a day when undue emphasis is being laid on the institutional aspects of Christianity

the thoughts of men require to be brought back to Christ Himself, and concentrated on His personality, His life, death and Resurrection with all their significance for mankind. It will be the aim of the Oxford Conference to bring out as clearly and as definitely as possible this teaching of the Evangelical School and the best method of applying it to the special problems of to-day. The names of the readers of papers are a guarantee that the essential elements of the Evangelical interpretation of Christianity will be ably enunciated, and that valuable suggestions will be made as to the best means of making the witness of Evangelical Church-people most effective. The work of the Evangelical Revival still goes on and its power is needed as of old in "Preaching and Conversion," in "Church Life and Worship," in thought for "Human Welfare" and in care for "World Evangelisation." Its aim is in the best sense to produce "A National Church" and "A Christian Nation." We hope to print in our next issue the papers read at the Conference on these interesting aspects of an important subject.

The Importance of the Evangelical Ideal.

This Conference may help to remove the one-sided impression that may be produced by the celebration of the Centenary of the Oxford Movement this year. Attention has been so extensively concentrated on the work of the Tractarians that it is necessary to recall people to the true relation of their teaching and work to the life of the Church as a whole. The Evangelical Revival was in the true line of succession from the great leaders of the Reformation. It represented the principles for which they stood, and the New Testament ideals which they maintained. The endeavour to represent the Oxford Movement as a continuance and development of the Evangelical Revival is a complete misrepresentation of the facts. The dread of Liberalism which inspired Keble's sermon on National Apostasy in July, 1833, and the subsequent developments under the leadership of Newman led to a conception of the Church which has proved disruptive and divisive in our Church life. The progress of the Evangelical influence was checked by this new and disturbing element. Attention was turned from the inner and spiritual interests of religion to the outward and institutional character of the Church. The result has been a conflict between the two ideals of Christianity represented respectively by Protestantism and Romanism. No one can see yet what the future will bring, but the future of Christianity in view of the development of materialism in Russia and other causes must be precarious unless there is a strong reaction towards the Evangelical ideal and the spiritual emphasis.

The True Significance of Tractarianism.

To those who study the Movements of the first half of the nineteenth century the reason of the unsoundness of the Tractarian position is clear. Their whole position is based on an untrue conception of the nature of the Holy Catholic Church. This is amply

demonstrated in Bishop Knox's great book on *The Tractarian Movement* which has just appeared. Our reviewer points out in this number of *THE CHURCHMAN* the value of this account of the causes, development and teaching of the Movement, and we recommend the work very heartily to our readers, as the most satisfactory explanation of its various phases which has yet appeared. It is shown that the Reformation was largely a movement for the emancipation of the laity from the control of the clergy. One of the essential elements in Tractarianism was an endeavour in the name of the restoration of discipline to bring the laity again into subjection to the clergy. This claim was based on the theory of Apostolical Succession put forward by Keble, Newman and their associates. Keble wrote of "the Apostolical Church" in this country, and claims were made for the Church of England as representing that Church which were narrow and intolerant, and which could not be sustained. The researches of modern scholarship have demonstrated that there is no evidence to support the Tractarian teaching on the nature of Apostolical Succession.

Views of Contemporaries on Tractarianism.

It has recently been pointed out in the *Church Gazette* that Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, showed in the early days of Tractarianism that "To say our Lord has expressly sanctioned Apostolic Succession is to make Him to say what He has not said, unless they can produce some other credible record of His words besides the books of the four Evangelists and the Apostolical Epistles. . . . It cannot be deduced from His sayings 'because the doctrine in itself bears no mark of having had Christ for its author.'" He said of the Movement as a whole: "Its doctrines resemble the teaching of no set of writers entitled to respect either in the early Church or in our own; they tend, not to Christ's glory or to the advancement of holiness, but simply to the exaltation of the clergy; and they are totally unsupported by the authority of Scripture"; and finally: "The notion of Mr. Newman and his friends that the sacraments derive their efficacy from the Apostolic Succession of the Minister is so extremely unchristian that it actually deserves to be called anti-Christian." It was also pointed out that Archbishop Whately, after a thorough examination of the claims made for this theory of Apostolic Succession, came to the conclusion that it is fallacious "to rest the powers of the ministry on some supposed Sacramental virtue transmitted from hand to hand in unbroken succession from the Apostles in a chain, of which if any one link is even doubtful a distressing uncertainty is thrown over all Christian ordinances, Sacraments and Church privileges for ever."

Views of Modern Scholars.

Modern research and scholarship have only confirmed these views of the earlier opponents of the Tractarian Movement. Several writers have shown that if the claims made for the Episcopal Succession are to be substantiated much clearer evidence is demanded than

that which its supporters can deduce from the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament. Canon Streeter in his book, *The Primitive Church*, has shown the variety of Church organisation that existed in the early centuries. Others have shown that the emphasis laid on tracing the succession from the Apostles in any primitive Church was not as a means for the transmission of grace but as a guarantee of the transmission of sound doctrine. The mechanical and almost magical view of the efficacy of the laying on of hands is contrary to the whole spiritual conception of Christ's teaching. The Bishop of Gloucester has recalled St. Augustine's view that the manual acts were in the nature of a prayer and that the succession is one of Office and not of Consecration. Dean Inge has emphasised the view that the true succession in the Church is the succession of Saints. Even High Churchmen now decline to assert that the Church confers the *power* to celebrate a valid sacrament on the clergy, though it does confer *authority* to do so. It is on the ground of the narrow and exclusive theory of Apostolic Succession that a small band of advanced Churchmen have sought to wreck the South India Scheme of Reunion. We trust that sounder views of the true nature and value of episcopacy will prevail.

Our Contributors.

We have the pleasure of offering our readers this quarter a statement on the supposed relationship between the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement by the Rev. T. C. Hammond, M.A., the head of the Irish Church Missions in Dublin. Mr. Hammond is already well known as a student of medieval theories, and their bearing upon modern religious developments. The Rev. F. Bate, D.D., has a special interest in the various phases of English Church work on the Continent by virtue of his office of Secretary of the C. and C.S. He tells the story of "How the English secured Liberty of Worship in Hamburg." The Rev. E. Hirst, Vicar of St. Paul's, Stockport, was formerly a colleague of Arch-deacon Thorpe, and shared his studies. He presents a useful study of "The Priesthood of the Laity." The historical studies of the Rev. R. Mercer Wilson, M.A., Secretary of the Religious Tract Society, are already well known to many of our readers. Wycliffe's work, with which he deals, is always of interest to those who value the early origins of the Reformation. The Rev. T. C. Lawson, M.A., contributes a useful piece of exegesis on "The Five Faithful Sayings" in St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Mr. A. E. C. Prescott is a member of the Bar who supplies some information relating to the Law regarding Tithes that will be found useful at the present time when questions are being raised in regard to them. We regret that we have not been able to give as much space as we should like to do to the review of the numerous important books that have recently appeared.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

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

THE year 1933 marks the centenary of the Oxford Movement. The famous Assize Sermon on National Apostasy was preached by John Keble on July 14, 1833. In the previous April John Henry Newman and Richard Hurrell Froude had paid a visit to Rome and interviewed Monseigneur (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman on two occasions. The object of these interviews is stated by William Palmer, and corroborated more vigorously by Froude, as being "To ascertain the terms on which they could be admitted to Communion by the Roman Church." Newman takes no notice of this contemporary evidence in his *Apologia*. He there dismisses the incident by simply declaring "Froude and I made two calls upon Monseigneur (now Cardinal) Wiseman at the Collegio Inglese, shortly before we left Rome." (*History of my Religious Opinions*, p. 33, Longmans, 1865.—This book will, for convenience, be called simply Newman in further references.) The omission is remarkable when the prefatory matter (XII—XXI) is carefully considered. But it is not the purpose of this article to cover the history of the Oxford Movement. The incident is recorded as a suitable starting-point for considering the relation between the Oxford Movement and the antecedent Evangelical Revival. Certain coincidences strike the observer. Both movements originated in a University and in the same University of Oxford. Both movements began with a close corporation of earnest men. Both of them, originally, looked for a definite movement of God through the agency of the existing Church of England. Both of them ended, in large measure, by a repudiation of the existing standards of the Church of England. Wesley had the courage to revise the Thirty-Nine Articles. The modern so-called Anglo-Catholic is striving to abolish them.

With a fairly close coincidence in the period of the century in which each movement opened (1730—1833) and the superficial resemblances indicated above it would be a comparatively easy matter to find grounds for combining the celebration of the two movements. Already voices are raised declaring that the Oxford Movement was "the completion" of the Evangelical Revival. But something besides dates and superficial resemblances fall to be considered.

After the Revolution of 1688—90 a Toleration movement began in England. This Toleration movement rapidly grew into a distrust of "enthusiasm" and "superstition." Hostility to the Church was openly avowed. Deism exalted Natural Religion at the expense of Revelation. Notwithstanding earnest disavowals of the principles of Deism the religious life of the country became

permeated with a type of doctrine that reflected something of its leaning to the Natural rather than the Revealed elements of Christianity. The famous definition of religion as "morality touched with emotion" most nearly expresses this type. The emotion, further, is only permitted to express itself in rhetoric on a purely conventional basis of "style." "Broad Churchism," or, as it was then known, "Low Churchism," was the creed of the dominant party. Its exponents boasted that they regulated their lives by "the cold light of reason." Burnet, in his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1699), is an example of the "Low Church" attitude. In his preface he hazards the conjecture that an opinion which neither "has any influence on practice, or any part either of public worship or of secret devotion," may be left to the freedom of the individual's thought. There was a distrust of so-called "speculative beliefs." Interest professed to centre on moral considerations. A strange anomaly resulted. Morals declined at the very time that emphasis was laid upon them. The driving force behind moral conduct had been seriously impaired. ἡ διάνοια οὐδέν κινεῖ "The understanding moves nothing," said Aristotle. The colour, the joy and consequently the re-action had gone out of religion. In such an environment the Evangelical Revival was born. No movement can divest itself of its environment. The suggestion is, at bottom, a contradiction in terms. It would be a movement of nothing towards nothing. That is, perhaps, the whole of the truth lying behind the earnest injunction to be abreast of the times.

The Evangelical Revival brought to a word-weary people a new motive power. It revived the truly practical which had been largely discarded as speculative. It spoke again of sin, redemption, regeneration, justification and sanctification. But it spoke of these things as realities in personal experience. That came as a great shock to the orthodox and unorthodox alike. Butler, of *Analogy* fame, sought to persuade Wesley not to preach in his diocese. Bernard, his modern commentator, with a not dissimilar outlook, says he dreaded extravagance and emotionalism. Whitefield, with his amazing histrionic gifts, would have startled Butler even more. The unorthodox found all the old bogies, that they had securely laid to rest, rising again. Revelation, despite the disadvantage that it did not happen to be written on the sky, gripped the imaginations of men. God spoke to souls. Redemption clothed itself in the garments of an actual suffering of the Son of God on behalf of actual sinners, the actual sinners listening to the message. Regeneration became a positive work of the Holy Ghost experienced in the daily lives of multitudes. Justification was the actual acceptance for Christ's sake of an individual, concrete sinner in this or that village. Sanctification was a living process, operative in living hearts. The speculative had become practical with a vengeance. Proclamation took the place of Apologetics. Aggression supplanted a cautious defence. No doubt there was extravagance. But was there no extravagance in such works as Warburton's *Divine Legation*

of *Moses* or Paley's *Moral Theology*? Yes. Extravagance in argument maybe, but no "enthusiasm." It was loudness, and forcible expression, in the new movement, that disturbed the measured calm of these dispassionate disputants. They were earnest also in the pursuit of truth, but they had caught the spirit of their opponents. They forgot, too readily, that a stately diction may conceal a real poverty of thought and that soulless indifference lay close to dispassionateness. They met the new advocacy in a spirit of cold, almost sullen, aloofness. Witness, for example, Bishop Douglas's contemptuous dismissal of the "enthusiasts." He cites passages from Wesley's *Journal* believing that he was preserving interesting relics of a passing fanaticism that would otherwise be lost. The fate he anticipated for Wesley has descended on himself. Few now trouble to study *The Criterion*, although it repays study. Thus the orthodox and the unorthodox joined in deprecating "enthusiasm." It must be borne in mind, in their defence, that the word was employed in its old sense of "God-intoxicated." The charge came from men who had experienced the later movements amongst the Friends and had learned from their fathers of Fifth-Monarchy men and others. Resistance to the established order of Church and State, under the plea of conscience, was to them a barely conceivable flight of an ill-regulated imagination. The crowds, the tumult, the insistence on an immediate inner experience, offered at least superficial resemblance to the "enthusiasts" of the past, and there were not wanting individual instances of excess to confirm the impression thus created.

It may be asked, To what did the Evangelicals run counter? The theory of the Atonement that found most acceptance is well expressed by Butler: Our Lord Jesus Christ "obtained for us the benefit of having our repentance accepted unto eternal life" (*Analogy*, Pt. II, C. 5). Butler understands by repentance "behaving well for the future" (*ibid.*). Butler was striving to erect a barrier against naturalism. Others employed his barrier as a platform. Revelation, attested by miracles, established by Divine Authority, assumed, in their hands, the character of a text-book of virtuous living. Having "been put into a capacity of salvation" by the death of Christ, we are enabled to cultivate that capacity by continual reference to God's requirements as laid down in Holy Scripture. So much depended on this cultivation it was inexpedient for anyone to venture unaided on a survey of the wide field of revelation. The Christian Church is amongst other things "an instituted method of instruction." It is the wisdom of men to imbibe the instruction it affords and submit to its deductions from Scripture. Thus emerged the idea, since made popular under the ambiguous phrase, "The Church to teach and the Bible to prove." Under the influence of concepts such as these Archbishop Magee looked with anxiety on the work of the Bible Society. According to Newman, Archbishop Whately shared this opinion. Guided by these principles Newman withdrew his name from the Oxford Association of the Bible Society. It is also, perhaps, characteristic

of him that he did not do so at once (Newman, p. 10). It is from this school, flippantly dubbed "the high-and-dry school" (the phrase is borrowed from Newman), that much of the mechanical theories of inspiration, usually attributed to Evangelicals, have come.

The Evangelical Party, in turn, became affected by the opposition that thus slowly hardened against it. Coming into an age with much talk of virtuous living and little moral power, it occupied itself with preaching a living faith in a living Saviour. In this way it recovered much of Apostolic fervour and revived much of the essential teaching of the Reformers. But, if it may be so expressed, it recovered those qualities after a piecemeal fashion. Many of the Evangelicals had a living faith but had not formulated a consistent creed. The dry powerless orthodoxy of a Church that was generally hostile to their aspirations, repelled them. They began to lay more and more stress on Conversion and less and less stress on Church Order. The "Holy Club" began with a spiritual conception similar to the famous "Whole Duty of Man"—Christ took off from the hardness of the Law given to Adam and requires of us only an honest and hearty endeavour to do what we are able, and where we fail, accepting of sincere repentance (Preface, sec. 21). Wesley substituted "Evangelical Arminianism," with its insistence on living faith, for this doctrine, but never formulated a real creed. His revision of the Articles displays a disregard of antiquity. He omits all reference to the Three Creeds as well as dispensing with the Articles on Church Authority and General Councils. Wesley was modern, with an acute perception of immediate needs. He cared little for formal presentation except in so far as it had direct bearing on the needs he felt. The unhappy conflict with the Establishment; the exclusion of Methodists from Communion in certain parish churches; the problem of meeting the urgent need for lay preachers; a host of combining circumstances drove the Methodists beyond the Church borders to develop a separate spiritual life of their own.

Meanwhile, Evangelicals remained in the Church of England. Also an Evangelical movement, for ever associated with the name of Thomas Chalmers, reinvigorated the Church of Scotland. Cowper became the poet, as Newton became the prophet, of English Evangelical Churchmanship. Here also the practical present need of souls and bodies formed the dominant idea. The early Church Evangelicals, for the most part, accepted the tenets of Calvinism, but speedily abandoned, as a body, any serious attempt at theological formulation. There are exceptions, of which Simeon is one. Later years have given English theological thought such writers as Dean Goode and Nathaniel Dimock. The Evangelicals were loyal to the Church of England, accepted her formularies, and through them imbibed much of the spirit of the Reformation. But while they were ready to praise the Reformation in the abstract and tenaciously held to the doctrine of Justification by Faith, they were not, as a body, remarkable for a study of its formulations

in the concrete. They were largely indifferent to the claim to continuity in dogma, and, indeed, in process of time, while strong Biblicists, were, so far as Bible study permitted, undogmatic. Newman could say, "It had no intellectual basis; no internal idea, no principle of unity, no theology" (Newman, p. 102). The criticism, like all Newman's criticisms, never penetrates beyond the surface. But, at the surface, it holds its measure of truth. The Universities were not Evangelical, and Evangelicals who attained to eminence in the Church only too frequently incorporated judgments and opinions of an alien character into their original creed. In 1833, and previous to that, Evangelicalism as a doctrine had become diluted and survived more effectively as a mode of action. How far all this resulted from the philosophy of the eighteenth century would open up a most interesting enquiry. Newman could write in 1839:

"In the present day mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who can set down a half-a-dozen general propositions, which escape from destroying one another only by being diluted into truisms, who can hold the balance between opposites so skilfully as to do without fulcrum or beam, who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself against being supposed to exclude the contradictory—who holds that Scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to, that faith only justifies, yet that it does not justify without works, that grace does not depend on the Sacraments, yet is not given without them, that bishops are a divine ordinance, yet those who have them not are in the same religious condition as those who have—this is your safe man, and the hope of the Church; this is what the Church is said to want, not party men, but sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging persons, to guide it through the channel of no-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No" (Newman, pp. 102-3).

Incidentally it may be observed that there is not lacking evidence of this singular feature in Newman himself. He errs in definition frequently, and by careless definition involves himself in the Fallacy of Accident. Indeed, if Newman wanted a confirmation of the prevalence of mistiness, the amazing success of the *Apologia* might have furnished it. In his assault on Liberalism Newman assures us that he abjured and denounced the proposition, "No one can believe what he does not understand." Obviously the argument depends on the meaning attaching to the word "understand." On one interpretation the proposition condemned is almost a truism. On another interpretation it would exclude belief in anything, as we do not fully understand anything. Newman opposed the proposition as stated, believing it excluded mysteries of religion. An examination of the paragraph quoted from Newman reveals the fact that the contradictions which he instances are argumentative exaggerations conceived in a petulant spirit. No sane person consciously retains contradictory premises. But lack of precision in definition creates apparent contradictions and frequently an oscillation of mind between two positions, both of which are seen to contain truth and yet cannot be co-ordinated. At the limits of knowledge this attitude may even be inevitable, but it is frequently created through loose formulation of opinions. It is impossible for the holder of any collection of belief to be, in

the strict sense of the word, undogmatic. But it is possible that the exponents of strong and genuine convictions might be, again in the strict sense of the word—incoherent. The Oxford Movement is the outcome of incoherence. The Whigs were in power. The Church had done violence to the cherished opinions of the Whigs. Evangelical Nonconformity had arisen and been greatly strengthened by the expelled or seceding Methodists. The old dream of a truly National Church had once more been rudely dispelled. Repressive measures against Dissenters had been repealed. The franchise had been enlarged. It is one of the ironies of history that Gladstone, the political star of Anglo-Catholicism, achieved fame as a political Liberal and retained his power largely through the aid of Dissenters. It is, perhaps, not so surprising that he disestablished the Irish Church. Hurrell Froude might have stood for general Disestablishment. It is more probable that he desired the complete subordination of the State to the Church. It is one of the humours of the situation that "the advanced party" was advocating a return to the Middle Ages. To the excited imagination of Keble the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics marked the prelude to Disruption and Disintegration. He called it "National Apostasy."

To anyone even slightly acquainted with the chequered story of the Episcopate in its relation to States, Keble's sermon appears as a delirium. But the enthusiasts who gathered round Keble recked little of history. The curious policy of leaping from the sixth to the sixteenth century which is still in favour in many theological colleges, hid much from their eyes. They could have gathered much even from the earlier period, but it was not the habit to do so. The modern critical examination of history was yet in its infancy and would have been regarded, most probably, as yet another instance of devastating Liberalism. Newman asked, "But is Dr. Arnold a Christian?" He meant, he tells us, who is to guarantee Dr. Arnold's interpretation? (Newman, p. 34). Though the reference is to an Old Testament problem it is indicative of an attitude of mind.

It needs to be borne in mind that however much Evangelicals may be to blame for the general inconsequence in theology, or however much they may have been infected by it, the original development of Tractarianism took course outside their borders. It has never succeeded in quenching completely the historic antagonistic tradition which is still the heritage of the Evangelical School. The pen-portraits of Newman confirm this judgment. Hurrell Froude was "a high Tory of the Cavalier stamp, and was disgusted with the Toryism of the opponents of the Reform Bill. . . . He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome, and his hatred of the Reformers" (Newman, pp. 25-4). Newman himself in 1833 "thought little of the Evangelicals as a class. (He) thought they played into the hands of the Liberals" (p. 31). Palmer, "the only really learned man" among them, and whom they failed to retain, had connection with "the high-and-dry school" (p. 40). Hugh Rose was a pronounced High Churchman, but his guidance was

soon disregarded. Keble was shy of Newman for years in consequence of the marks of the evangelical and liberal schools upon him (p. 18). Pusey came later. There is not one person profoundly influenced by Evangelical thought in the movement. Newman claims to have held Calvinistic opinions, but the depth of his early convictions may be gauged by his naïve remark that the doctrine of final perseverance meant that "The inward conversion of which I was conscious . . . would last into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory." Quite good for a boy of fifteen, but also quite like a boy of fifteen. The convert to Calvinism in 1816 became at the same time a convert to perpetual celibacy. Also he was very superstitious and used to cross himself on going into the dark. At any rate by 1822 Newman had moved from inchoate Evangelicalism and become an inchoate Liberal. As if to complete the perplexity, he emerges as a Liberal with a strong belief in Apostolical Succession and a growing reverence for Tradition (Newman, pp. 8-14). Hurrell Froude appears to have won him to Tractarianism. It is not usual to find opponents of a religious system completing it in any other sense than finishing it. From the outset it was the aim of Tractarianism to finish Evangelical Christianity. Newman made a bid to capture Evangelical support and failed. The Editor of *The Record* early perceived the drift of his letters on "Church Reform" and ended the series. Newman and Froude secured "personal influence and congeniality of thought" by breaking even with Palmer and Rose. The Liberalism against which Pusey fulminated obtained a footing within the ranks of the Tractarian successors through the influence of Gore. Ritualism has attracted some who are otherwise more remote from the original motives of the Party than the most pronounced Evangelical. The "mistiness" which Newman at once condemned and exemplified has taken a permanent hold on the new disciples of the Oxford Movement. They cling to the "Via Media" which Newman abandoned. Each member seems to find the middle way just where his fancy places it. The "safe men" all echo something of the party shibboleths. Yet as *The Church Times* plaintively declared, no voice in the recent Parliamentary Debates on the Prayer Book actually defended Anglo-Catholicism as the Tractarians conceived it. Evangelicals alone, untouched by the early manifestations, remain untouched still. There is an essential antagonism between the two systems of thought. It is impossible to fuse them. Where one flourishes the other perishes. The genius of the Oxford Movement did not lie in brightening Church Services. It is an insult to the memory of Keble, Newman and Pusey to suggest such an issue to their labours. It did not lie in Church Reform in the sense of correcting incidental abuses. No doubt, like others, individual members contributed something to these results, but as a movement it held aloof. It did not lie in great Home evangelistic or philanthropic efforts, nor yet in a devoted Foreign Mission programme. In so far as these matters express Christian sentiment in action the members of the Tractarian Party could not be wholly insensible

to their appeal. Yet it would be difficult to instance names like Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, leaders of Christian humanitarianism, among the more stalwart promoters of the new ideas.

The standing institutions of the Church of England point this moral. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in great measure absorbed any missionary spirit existing in the Anglo-Catholic ranks. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge offered an outlet for home activities. Neither of these were original enterprises, and neither of them, even to-day, can be said to be a complete expression of the ideals of the Oxford Movement. And yet when the Movement started the distraction of a protracted war troubled England no longer. There were grave problems connected with the rapid rise of the population and the alienation of masses of men from the Church, and indeed from all Christian principles. Evangelicals built Churches, started Mission Halls and Mission Societies. The little coterie in Oxford took another line. They sought to magnify the office of the ministry; to restrict grace to the Episcopal system of Church government; to dilute the Reformation principles by a new and unconvincing interpretation of the Articles and Prayer Book; to introduce a system of Church discipline that would make the parish priest an autocrat; to widen the breach between Protestant Communion and the Church of England; to secure, if possible, re-union with Rome; to substitute Church teaching for general Bible reading; to restrict to the Bishops, with the possible assent of the other clergy, all movements of spiritual reform and development; to repudiate the right of private judgment and substitute sacramental infusion of grace for the doctrine of Justification by faith; to check all free enquiry and compel the scholar to submit his findings to the assumed deliverances of the Church Catholic; to approximate the services of the Church of England to those of the Church of Rome; to create afresh the condition of a teaching clergy and a hearing laity who dare not oppose the voice of the existing Church under pain of National Apostasy. This is what Newman meant by securing theological unity. This is what Froude regarded as the true Theocratic system. Their aims were never realised. They have broken on the rock of Liberalism which they set out to blast. They have failed to reduce to impotence the Evangelical message which still proclaims a freer and a purer creed. But they have weakened the witness of the Church of England. They have diverted the zeal of many to externals which cannot finally profit. They have stereotyped division and patronised disregard to solemn obligations. They have not completed the Evangelical Revival. Thank God, they have not finished it. To join in commendation of retrogression is to clog the wheels of progress. Rather let Evangelicals take to heart the lesson of the past and build more securely even if it means that they appear to advance more slowly, until the Church recovers her lost power and rids herself of those humours which have their origin in a disordered constitution.

HOW THE ENGLISH SECURED LIBERTY OF WORSHIP AT HAMBURG.

BY THE REV. F. BATE, D.D., Secretary Colonial and Continental Church Society.

FEW things are more noteworthy than the insistent demand made throughout the ages by small bodies of English-speaking people, sojourners in strange cities and towns, for provision to meet their spiritual needs, and the efforts put forth to secure opportunities for worship in their own tongue and in accordance with their own traditions. To-day this is evidenced in all parts of the world. For a long period the only part of the world concerned was the Continent of Europe. Its proximity made it easily accessible. The Norman Conquest had brought parts of it, at all events, into intimate association with Britain and its inhabitants. Following the battle of Hastings, for five hundred years, England's soldiers, governors and others were to be found in various parts of the territory covered by modern France. Chaplains went with the armies: English incumbents occupied the parish churches: missionaries and other workers found an outlet for their evangelistic zeal among our people across the Channel.

With the expansion of England's trade in wool, tin, lead, etc., her merchants found a footing in the great trading cities, particularly of the Netherlands. For necessary co-operation and for defence of their privileges, associations of merchants were formed. The greatest and longest-lived was the Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the Netherlands and to the German cities.

The origin of the Company is wrapped in a certain obscurity. The actual title is not to be found in official use before the days of the Tudors, but long before that time charters had been granted and privileges accorded to English merchants settled in Flanders, Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. Somewhere between the middle and the end of the thirteenth century, London merchants, possibly as "The Brotherhood of St. Thomas à Becket," had been given trading facilities by the Duke of Brabant and had established headquarters at Antwerp. In response to an invitation from Louis, Count of Flanders, they moved, wholly or in part, to Bruges about 1350. In the early days of the following century Middelburg became for a time the headquarters, while in 1444 Antwerp again received them. So for the next hundred years the changes were rung; from Antwerp to Calais, back again to Antwerp, once more to Calais, back to Flanders, again to Calais, again to the Low Countries, to Emden, to Antwerp, and then to Hamburg.

The moves were dictated by varying considerations: reprisals for ill-treatment of the Hansa merchants, the support given to plotters against England's sovereign, Henry VIII's divorce proceedings, Elizabeth's espousal of the cause of Spain's enemies, and the refusal to accord to the merchants religious freedom.

From the first the merchants had stipulated that they should be granted facilities for worship. These were usually given, willingly or of necessity. In each of their early settlements, at Bruges and Middelburg, the merchants had founded a chapel to the honour of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas of Canterbury and had obtained in 1391 papal permission to "choose a fit priest of their nation, secular or religious, who may celebrate mass and other divine offices therein, and hear confessions, provided that the offerings be wholly reserved, according to the custom of the place, to the parish church." By a charter granted in 1462 to the merchants of England, resident specially in the Netherlands, provision was made that one-fourth of the confiscations and forfeitures levied by the merchant body, was to be employed in repairing and maintaining these two chapels.

The Reformation changes introduced difficulties. Generally speaking, the merchants favoured the "new religion," unwelcome to many of the ruling princes. It was partly religious difficulties that finally made Antwerp impossible and brought the Merchant Adventurers to Hamburg. "The merchants of England have of late years, upon the arrest and restraint made by the Duke of Alva, bent their trade to Emden and Hamburg." "Great shelter and encouragement" were shown to the reformers by the English merchants at Antwerp. Here and at Middelburg, Cartwright, "beloved and revered by the British merchants, had exercised a public ministry."

Driven from Antwerp in 1563, the merchants for a while made Emden their centre. Finding it not particularly convenient for their purpose, they turned their eyes elsewhere. In a charter granted to the merchants in 1564, the mention of Hamburg suggests that either merchants had already settled there or were contemplating a settlement. It was on July 19, 1567, that the Hamburg senate made a ten-years' contract with the English merchants giving them permission to reside and to trade in the city. They were given power to choose a governor, to keep courts, to decide other than criminal causes among themselves, and were granted exemption from any greater toll than that paid by citizens. The senate provided at public expense extensive premises in the centre of the town, in the Groninger Strasse, known afterwards, as was the case with the corresponding buildings in Antwerp and Bruges, as the "English House." It was a house built in 1418 by the Raths Familie von Zeven. The cloth fleet arrived in the Elbe in May, 1569. With it came Richard Clough as deputy for the company of Merchant Adventurers.

Hamburg, a free imperial city, ruled by a senate, was a member of the Hanseatic League which had long enjoyed special trading privileges in England. The rivalry between the Adventurers and the Hansa was intense. For more than a hundred years there had been on both sides successive curtailment and restoration of facilities for trade. On the other hand, it was generally recognised that the presence of the Merchant Adventurers in any city brought to the place additional trade and increased prosperity.

In religion Hamburg had gone wholly over to Lutheranism with a fanaticism that refused to tolerate the public exercise of any other variety of Christian worship. Not even to attract the English and their trade could the senate dare to depart from this established rule. Only in private was freedom of worship allowed. The Sacrament must be received according to Lutheran fashion or not at all. Under no circumstances must there be any attempt to controvert the teachings of the Lutheran Church or to spread the doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli touching the Lord's Supper. Attempts at religious innovation of any kind were banned.

From the first these restrictions were galling to members of a race that counted their freedom a precious possession. A letter from Christopher Hoddesdon, afterwards an alderman in the city of London, to Burghley, puts the position clearly :

"The Company of Merchant Adventurers here has chosen me deputy and treasurer, offices more troublesome than profitable. . . . I am the more moved to dislike the office because we cannot congregate ourselves to the service of God, nor, if any of our nation dies can we be permitted to give them Christian burial. This has come to pass only by the obstinacy of two or three wilful priests who practice here to make their power papal. But some of the chief of the town seem to be indifferent ; so I think if her Majesty send letters to the magistrates for remedy herein, we shall find it to our great comfort.

"There are here of our nation as I take it about 150 persons, of whom the greater part are young men who spend their time idly upon the sabbath day. If the matter aforesaid were reformed so good order would be taken that the time would be spent to the glory of God and profit to themselves : for there is nothing more dangerous for man than through want of prayer to unacquaint himself with God. I am the bolder to write to you that I know you take a pleasure to maintain and set forth God's glory."

Attempts were made to persuade the senate to remove its prohibition. Elizabeth sent a special envoy. Hoddesdon himself presented to the magistrates a copy in Latin of the Book of Common Prayer "whereby they may be the better persuaded of our Christianity, in order that when we come to treat thereof they may be the better mollified to grant us the use of prayer and Christian burial." The attempts failed. "The Company here has great need of her Majesty's aid ; for otherwise, by means of the outrageous railing of some of the preachers, I fear we shall in time be in danger of some spoil by the common sort."

The populace in its hostility to any form of worship not based on the Augsburg Confession was actively encouraged by Hamburg's chief pastors. There were other considerations. Trade rivalry had increased in bitterness. The Hansa merchants in London were finding their privileges in danger of extinction. So, when application was made by the Adventurers for a renewal of the agreement, they found the senate unwilling. "Ten years ago when their senate was so ready to grant privileges to your Society, they were encouraged by the hope that the Hansa merchants would obtain reciprocal advantages in England." Instead of that, their burdens had been increased. "Your abiding here must not continue beyond St. Catherine's Day next ; this will be beyond the lapse of the 11th year."

On St. Catherine's Day, 1578, the keys of the "English House" were surrendered to the senate. That same year Elizabeth cancelled the privileges of the Hansards in London.

Although the storehouses of the Merchant Adventurers were removed from Hamburg to various successive centres, Stade, Middelburg and Emden, none of these proved so convenient as the place which the merchants had left. Many of them continued, despite the royal prohibition, to trade independently with Hamburg. On the other hand, the loss of the bulk of the English trade was speedily and deeply regretted by the Hamburgers. Pressure was exerted upon the senate to conclude a new agreement even at the cost of granting liberty of worship to a non-Lutheran congregation. The senate was not unwilling, but the body of clergy for twenty years remained obdurate. The financial advantages were emphasised; appeal was made on the ground of the city's need. Not until 1611 did the clergy under Bernhard Vaget give way, after a long and stormy discussion.

"After it had been insisted upon from morning until two, and it was said among other things that if the English would not come here, our town would soon become bankrupt, we then agreed that we could put up with the English being here, and with their having their religious services in their own language behind closed doors even as it was in the days of Westphael (Superintendent from 1571-4) at the time of the first settlement of the English Agency."

In 1611 the new agreement was signed. The 18th article gave "freedom of worship without disturbance in the English language as long as nothing was done likely to cause disputes or to give public annoyance." The English were accorded also the right of burial in the churches at a cost no higher than that paid by a Hamburg citizen. The freedom thus gained has never since been lost. There were critics, particularly Schellhamer, who became senior pastor on Vaget's death. "The English are doing many things: they carry their children publicly to baptism, and bride and bridegroom are conveyed through the streets." He went so far as to declare in one sermon that "There cannot be in the hearts of the senate one drop of Christian blood to allow such things," and labelled the senators "agitators." But criticism soon died down.

The English House in the Groninger Strasse became again the headquarters in Hamburg of the Merchant Adventurers. For use as a chapel a commodious hall in the upper front part of the house was fitted up at the expense of the city. "The chapel was not large but convenient, and handsomely made up (in 1654) with pews and seats." A building was also set apart for the English pastor.

In 1612 the Rev. J. Wing, of Sandwich, was called to Hamburg as first pastor to the English merchants. Already Wing had gained experience of such work while officiating at The Hague. The appointment was made by the local residents, with the approval of the London Court, for one year only, renewable year by year. It is interesting to note that the choice of Wing followed the recognised puritanism of the agency.

THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE LAITY.

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

IN these days, the Church of England is making more and more use of the layman in her administration and organisation. Within the Parish, the Parochial Church Council represents a large and varied field of activity for the energetic and thoughtful layman. In the wider work of the Church, we see that clergy and laity sit together in the Ruri-Decanal Conference, sharing the work of the Deanery. They confer together in the Diocesan Conference and in the committees set up by that body. The House of Laity plays a vitally important part in the Church Assembly. Further, a recent measure gives the laity a voice in the choice of incumbent for their parish, and in cases where a disagreement arises, a Board of Assessors to settle the problem is constituted in each diocese, on which a proportion of laymen is elected. Although this giving of a larger place to the laity is of more recent development, it is no innovation, for the place of the laity was not lost sight of in the old days. In Church matters, Convocation voiced the opinions of the clergy, and Parliament the thought of the laity. This is still so, and it is well that the position should be maintained. The Enabling Act recognises the final voice of Parliament in many matters. If the position of the laity is so important, we ought to enquire into the subject I am venturing to bring before you, for in going back to the New Testament, its importance is plainly to be seen.

In the Gospels, our Blessed Lord is shown as inaugurating the Kingdom of God on earth. But what do we mean by the Kingdom of God? In definition, Professor Sanday quotes Dr. Hort, who said that it is "The world of invisible laws, by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures." He then goes on to say, "The 'laws' in question are a 'world,' inasmuch as they have a connection and coherence of their own; they form a system, a cosmos within the cosmos; they come direct from 'heaven,' or from God; and they are 'invisible' in their origin, though they may work their way to visibility" (*Outlines of the Life of Christ*, p. 79). Of this same matter, Canon Ryder says "The Kingdom of God is a reign rather than a realm. It is a state of things in which the will of God reigns supreme. It is an order of things which, from being inward and spiritual, tends to become outward and social, until at length it shall take possession of the entire domain in human life, and appear as a distinct epoch in history" (*Priesthood of the Laity*, p. 41). The Kingdom, then, is an inward reality which expresses itself by means of an outward and visible body, which is the Church, the company of the Baptised. "For in one Spirit were we all baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit."—I Cor.

xii. 13. Our Prayer Book speaks of us as members of that body. In the prayer of Thanksgiving in the Communion Service we say that God assures us that "we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of His dear Son." The Bidding Prayer begins, "Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world, and especially for the Church of England." We see that the Church is an inward reality with an outward expression. Inward, in so far as God inspires us from within, for we are to live "in the heavenly places" (Eph. ii. 6) where Christ is; and outward, in that we, together with those who with us seek to live in Christ, must express that inward reality to the world outside. Here is the sure foundation of our unity as believers in our Saviour. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all" (Eph. iv. 4-6).

Whilst we are thinking of Christian unity in our Lord, let us look at one or two salient passages with a bearing on this subject. In St. Matthew xvi. 18 we have Christ's words to St. Peter. "Thou art Peter (*Πέτρος*), and upon this rock (*Πέτρα*) I will build my Church." Here, the rock (*Πέτρα*) is a man making confession of Christ as the Son of God. St. Peter's reply was evidently made on behalf of the disciples, for it was in answer to Christ's asking "Whom say ye that I am?" This foundation of belief in Christ as the Messiah is central in our Faith. It is the rock on which our Faith is built. All persons who truly make this confession are "living stones," as we have it in 1 Peter ii. 5. "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." If we turn to St. Matthew xviii. 18, we notice that it was to *all* the disciples who came to Him with the question as to who should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven that He said, "What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." "What was spoken to Peter alone is now spoken to all the disciples, representing the Church" (A. Carr on Matthew xviii. 18. Camb. G.T.). St. John xx. 19-23 and St. Luke xxiv. 33, show equally that Christ gave His great commission to the whole body, and not the apostles alone. We have the same fact before us in Revelation i. 6 where the writer says that He "made us to be a Kingdom, to be priests unto His God and Father."

Seeing that we are all one in Christ and all alike priests, how, then, comes the distinction between clergy and laity? What is a layman? We often think of a layman as one who is not a clergyman. Regarding the professions, we speak of a layman as one who is not professionally devoted to a particular pursuit. In the Christian Church "Layman" is not merely a negative term, but it is one of the highest dignity and importance. The word "laity," the collective term for all laymen, comes from the Greek *λαϊκός* which goes back to the word *λαός*—people. This word is important, in

that it is the word used in the Septuagint (the Greek version of the Old Testament) for the Hebrew "am" which is used to designate the Israelites as The Chosen people of God. We may take one instance out of many. "Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the peoples that are upon the face of the earth" (Deut. vii. 6). That means a people consecrated to God to be holy as He is holy. St. Paul takes this thought and applies it to Christians as the chosen and special property of Christ. In Titus ii. 14 he says that Christ "gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works." The house of Israel was the *λαός* of God—His chosen people, and the Christian Church, in which the purpose of God finds fulfilment, is the *λαός* of Christ. Christians are "heirs according to promise" (Gal. iii. 29). This fact of being Christ's own possession gives dignity to the lives of all Christians, even the humblest. Dr. Dawson Walker emphasises this point. "It had been the privilege and the obligation of Israel, just because they were a 'people for His own possession' to keep God's law and exhibit His righteousness to the world. On the Christian, too, as redeemed and cleansed, lies the obligation to pursue with eager enthusiasm and exhibit in life the 'good works,' which God afore prepared that we should walk in them" (*Commentary on Titus*, p. 266). Layman, then, in its Christian sense is not merely a negative term for one who is not a clergyman. It is a positive term. It indicates one who is a member of the chosen people of Christ, the ideal Israel of God. It is an inspired word. "It is a word of most positive spiritual privilege. It implies the possession of the glory of covenanted access to God and intimacy with God" (Ryder, *The Priesthood of the Laity*, p. 48). This was realised when The Holy Spirit was given to the whole company of believers, for St. Peter claimed it as the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy (Acts ii. 16-21; Joel ii. 28-32). The thought of the laity as the chosen people of Christ further emphasises that aspect of oneness in Christ which all experience in union with Him. As a result, we are bound to realise that the work of Christ is the work of the whole body to which Christ gave His great commission of privilege, duty and authority, and His great endowment of power to carry it out.

Having considered the unity and equality of believers in Christ, we must now proceed to examine the distinctions found within the Body, especially that part of the Church Catholic to which we belong. The office of priest in our Church urges the questions "What is a priest?" and "What is priesthood?" At the outset, let us notice one fact. The Comparative Study of Religion shows us that one characteristic of human nature is the tendency for man to let another person perform his religious devotions for him. We see this wherever we turn, and on every hand. At this point, the priest comes in. He is the mediator through whom man can approach God. We see this in Jewish and Pagan priesthoods alike,

but not so in the Christian Ministry. Let us take three words which express the same thought. They are "Kohen," in Hebrew, "ἱερεὺς," in Greek, and "sacerdos," in Latin. These names denote one whose stated business it is to perform certain Godward acts for the individual or for the community, be they ritual or sacrificial. These priestly acts are regarded as accepted by God on behalf of the individual or the community. When we turn to the New Testament, we notice that not once is the name ἱερεὺς used to denote the Christian Minister. Christ alone is spoken of in such terms, and then as a "μέγας ἱερεὺς"—"a great priest over the house of God" (Heb. x. 21, R.V.). At other times, His office is shown as that of High Priest. Further, this office is said to be "undelimited" and "intransmissible" (Heb. vii. 24, R.V. margin) (see Griffith Thomas, *Principles of Theology*, p. 316). When this term ἱερεὺς is used of members of the Christian Church, it is used in the plural. "He made us to be a Kingdom, to be priests unto His God and Father" (Rev. i. 6). In harmony with this we have the term "priesthood" used collectively, as in 1 Peter ii. 5-9. "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (cf. Rev. v. 9, i. 6, xx. 6). It is as Dr. Griffith Thomas wrote, "The truth, therefore, is that Christianity *is*, not *has*, a priesthood" (*The Principles of Theology*, p. 316). Priestly functions in the offering of propitiatory sacrifices find no place in the scheme of the Christian Ministry. In Himself, Christ has summed up all priesthood, vicarious and propitiatory sacrifice, in His sacrifice offered once for all. The Epistle to the Hebrews shows the inadequacy of the Old Testament priesthood in mediation and atoning rites, and builds upon the High Priesthood of Christ who led His people to God and took them into spiritual nearness to the Father. We see at once by this argument that there is no room for a special sacrificing priesthood in the Christian Church.

What, then, is the meaning of our word "priest"? It is a shortened form of the Greek term πρεσβύτερος, our word presbyter. The Papyri shows us that this term was used to designate a number of offices other than that of "Elder," or even "an old man," its original meaning. In one place it is used for a civil office, in another for one holding an office like that of a mayor. We again find it used for heathen priest and Christian Minister alike. The English word "priest" has to do duty for both ἱερεὺς—sacrificing priest, and πρεσβύτερος—elder. Sacerdotal ideas and sacrificial duties as confined to the office of priest are absent from the Christian use of πρεσβύτερος. This is quite plain in our Prayer Book where the "priest" who pronounces the absolution is referred to in the form of absolution in the Daily Office as "minister." In other offices, "priest," "curate"—(the person having "cure of souls") and "minister" are used interchangeably as in the Marriage Service and in the Administration of The Lord's Supper. Priest, then, is the title used to denote the minister who presides over and instructs the Christian Congregation. It is not without importance that Dean

Stanley points out that Christian worship developed not on the lines of Jewish or pagan temples, but on those of the Synagogue, where an elder presided. Equally important, as he points out, is the fact that Christian places of worship developed on the lines of the Roman Basilica, where public business was transacted and justice administered, and not after the type of a heathen temple where the priest ministered in a place withdrawn or hidden from the people, nor yet after the type of the Temple in Jerusalem where separate places were allotted to Gentiles, Jews, Levites and Priests. Here, too, was the Holy Place for priests and the Holy of Holies where only the High Priest entered, and that but once a year. In the Basilica, the minister sat amidst the people like the Prætor of old, and from that place could "rebuke, exhort, or command with an authority not less convincing because it was moral and not legal" (*Christian Institution*, p. 228). The priestly office belongs to the whole company. In our Prayer Book we express it as such in the "Amen" at the close of the Absolutions, and in the Prayer of Consecration in the Holy Communion. We follow the line of the Ancient Liturgies which "so often assert that the laity offer the Christian sacrifice of prayer and praise equally with the officiating minister, though he is or may be the instrument by which they offer it; for it would ordinarily be inconvenient for all to speak at once in Christian worship. This fact is the rationale of the 'Amen' or 'so be it,' by which the laity audibly 'seal' the prayers and praises" (A. J. McClean, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*). As a consequence, in public worship and especially in the Holy Communion "the Congregation is not composed of spectators but of participants in the Office" (Ryder, p. 181). The Christian Ministry, then, must never be considered as an abstraction. It is always a part of, and not apart from, the Church. Of this it has been well said, "While there is a general service of the entire Church there is also a specific ministry for the purpose of order and progress, but in all this the minister is a medium, not a mediator; a mouth-piece, not a substitute; a leader, not a director" (Griffith Thomas, p. 321).

Seeing that the Church is a priesthood, a priestly body, how is this expressed in sacrifice? If by that question we mean vicarious sacrifice, the answer must be, certainly not in the Holy Communion. This is a sacrament of life. It is neither a new nor even a repeated vicarious death (Heb. x. 10). Christ died "once for all," and in the Eucharist He is not sacrificed afresh, for the offering there made is that of "a living Sacrifice" (Rom. xii. 1). The offerer brings himself as an oblation—"a living sacrifice" to God. Professor Burkitt emphasised this in his address to the Conference of Modern Churchmen (1932). Speaking on "The Reformation and Divine Worship," and instancing Cranmer's views, he said, "The only proper Christian Sacrifice to be offered to God was indeed the Body of Christ, but the Christians were Christ's Body: the Christian offering was to be not transformed bread and wine but living Christians." In the Holy Communion there is another sacrifice

of life, that of "praise and thanksgiving" (first alternative prayer of Thanksgiving) for life in Christ, because the Christian has died to sin and risen to righteousness. This offering of a life devoted to God is evidently in St. Paul's mind when he declared a longing to bring the Gentiles offering themselves to Christ as a result of his ministry of the Word of the Gospel. "I write the more boldly unto you in some measure, as putting you again in remembrance, because of the grace that was given me of God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xv. 15, 16). A living sacrifice indeed! This offering of a living sacrifice of ourselves as members of Christ's mystical body is the priestly act of the priestly people. "This is the sacrificial side of the Eucharist in the Anglican Liturgy. . . . This is a priestly act of the whole body under Christ, the High Priest of our profession, led by the Church's appointed representatives in the official priesthood" (A. C. A. Hall, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 9, p. 253). These priestly acts are based on Christ's finished work for mankind, for in Him we are "an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may shew forth the excellencies of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvellous light: which in time past were no people, but now are the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy" (1 Peter ii. 9, 10).

Does this render a ministry unnecessary or diminish anything from its importance? No, certainly not! In the early Church, there were different forms of ministries, all given by the same Spirit. May we take one instance of their enumeration? "He gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ" (Eph. iv. 11, 12). "Yet there is a clear distinction between special ministries within the Church and the general service of the whole Church; the differences in the New Testament are of gifts and functions, not of office and order" (Griffith Thomas, *Principles of Theology*, p. 314). Men were set apart by the whole body to exercise a ministry for the whole body, as were the Seven, often called Deacons (Acts vi. 1-6). Locally, Elders were appointed and set apart to preside over the missionary Churches founded by St. Paul (Acts xiv. 23). Timothy was publicly appointed to his divine task, "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (1 Tim. iv. 14). Their commission was given to these ministers, from the Church, through the existing ministry. In these appointments we see that "Spiritual qualification comes first and ecclesiastical commission follows" (*Principles of Theology*, p. 315). Further, a definite ministry is necessary for the preservation of law and order, and so in process of time the ministry of Bishop, Priest and Deacon, as we know it, came into being, and the Episcopal system as we have it in our loved Church of England became the rule, as it was found

to be the best method of government and administration. Our ministry has great dignity and responsibility. Dignity, in its representative character, and responsibility, in expressing the corporate worship and acts of the whole Body. Anyone who reads our Ordination service will see the weightiness of the charge to the minister. He is to "seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever." His task is largely twofold, that of evangelisation and edification, the building up of the faithful, in Christ. But besides the ministry of the Word, there is that of the Sacraments. In the priestly acts of the people, the minister is the representative of the people. His acts are the acts of the people, expressed by him on their behalf. Here again we see the dignity of the calling, and the responsibility involved.

How shall we sum up all this? We see the great love of God in His calling of us to Himself through the blood of Christ. We are not left outside the Sanctuary. The Veil of the Temple has been rent, and with boldness we can enter into the nearest presence of our loving Father through Christ who has opened the way. What a wonderful calling is ours to live as the Children of God! We are united to Him in our Elder Brother the High Priest, the Son of God (Eph. v. 26; Titus iii. 5; Heb. x. 22). Further, we realise our own priesthood in Christ begun in our Baptism, and fulfilled by the offering of ourselves as living, reasonable, and spiritual sacrifices to God. Further, "the Church must be animated by the thought that she is elect not for her own sake, but for the world, that her life must be a life of priesthood in the name of the heavenly Father for the spreading of that kingdom which, bringing men to Christ, brings them into that ideal sphere of the holy, the beautiful, and the loving which as yet has only consummated in the Great High Priest in heaven" (Ryder, pp. 242-3).

We can rejoice in our unity in Christ, and in the unity of our calling to service for Him in the salvation of mankind. Never let us forget our priesthood, and that our commission is to represent our Lord to the world. We must give ourselves to Him as His instruments, that through us He may act in the completion of that task of making known to the world the fact of His redemption of mankind.

JOHN WYCLIFFE'S WORK AND WORTH

BY THE REV. R. MERCER WILSON, M.A.

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OUR subject brings us back to the fourteenth century. Europe in the fourteenth century presents a picture which has more of sadness than of gladness in it. Edward III is on the throne of England; his glorious victories leave a train of misery behind them, but the war with France leads to good results in so far as it promotes the growth of national feeling and the beginnings of vernacular literature. John XXII occupies the see of Rome, but Rome is at Avignon, so to speak, for the Babylonish Captivity has already begun. The Papal claims had come to their zenith in Boniface VIII, who opened the fourteenth century with a magnificent and financially profitable Jubilee, and declared with superior audacity in his Bull "Unam Sanctam" "that it was altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall" (Prov. xvi. 18). From that time a decline may be traced in the fortunes of the Papacy. It is seen first of all in the tacit submission of Boniface VIII and his successors to the Kings of France. The Papacy becomes the creature of a civil power, and that civil power is not even an Italian government. Hence the magnificence of Avignon, while Rome, deserted by the Popes, falls into a state of anarchy, and is in danger of losing all her ancient prestige.

TWO POPES : TWO EMPERORS.

Louis of Bavaria is the Emperor, but there is a doubt about him just as there is a doubt about the Pope. When the Emperor Henry VII died there was a double election in Germany; some of the electors chose Louis of Bavaria, others chose Frederick of Austria. It was in some respects an age of dualism; after all, if there could be two Popes, why not two Emperors? If, in the one case, the resources and refinements of ecclesiastical Latin were severely taxed by the exchange of those salutations which were known as anathemas, in the other case, the war of words gave way to the war of deeds; yet it would be unfair to say that the ecclesiastics objected to bloodshed. Long before the fourteenth century one hundred and thirty-seven corpses were counted in the basilica of Liberius after the faction-fight between Pope Damasus and his rival Ursicinus, and long after the fourteenth century Lord Acton wrote of the Inquisition that "a man's opinion of the Papacy is determined by his opinion about religious assassination." Louis of Bavaria defeated Frederick of Austria and established his own claim, even though he lacked the goodwill and support of the Bishop of Rome. There was no love lost between Pope John XXII and

the Emperor Louis. The Pope excommunicated the Emperor, and the Emperor returned the compliment by declaring the Pope to be deposed for heresy, and by appointing Nicholas V as anti-pope.

FORERUNNERS OF WYCLIFFE.

The mention of heresy shows that the Emperor is not alone in his opposition to John XXII. We see the Franciscans involved in the fray. In the previous century the return to simplicity had been advocated by Francis of Assisi with a zeal which was as admirable as it was undeniable. In the words of Professor Coulton, "the story of the first Franciscans and Dominicans is one of the imperishable idylls of the world." But even before Francis was cold in his grave the glory of the revival had given place to the gloom of widespread declension. Francis's attack upon capitalism failed, and his followers often became capitalists under the disguise of destitution. The ideals of Francis were soon forgotten, and it was a very different picture that the world saw then when it beheld idleness and poverty masquerading as religious self-denial. As we read this pitiful tale in Matthew Paris, the great historian, in our own Roger Bacon, in the Italian Bonaventura, in the Spaniard Alvarez Pelayo, in the Fleming John Brugman, we can see that the few who tried to hold on to the original Franciscan ideal were indeed in a marked minority. Just as the Waldenses and the Humiliati were the precursors of Francis and Dominic, so these better spirits among the Franciscans were the forerunners of Wycliffe and Luther, and received somewhat similar treatment. The Spirituals, or "Little Brethren" (Fratricelli) as they were called, maintained that Christ and His apostles possessed nothing and that their Founder was right when he said that "naked he would follow the naked Christ." Nicholas III, in 1279 in his Bull "Exiit qui seminat," made a solemn pronouncement in their favour, which was incorporated in canon law; but John XXII, who was a financier, contradicted the solemn pronouncement of Nicholas III, and ruled in favour of the majority, declaring that to say that Christ and His apostles were devoid of possessions was to be guilty of heresy. Some of the Fraticelli were burnt at the stake for their heresy, showing that the reformation of the Church from within was a dangerous business.

THE MINIATURE REFORMATION.

It is not strange, therefore, to find some of the Franciscans taking sides with Louis of Bavaria in his quarrel with John XXII, and urging an appeal from the Pope to a General Council. William of Ockham, the English Franciscan, writes in defence of Louis, and we see his Protestantism in his declaration that Christ, and not the Pope, is the Head of the Church, and that Scripture alone is infallible. This time also witnesses the publication of the celebrated *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua, perhaps the most original political treatise of the Middle Ages. In this work, which is dedicated to Louis, King of the Romans, Marsiglio questions, among other things, the temporal authority of the Pope, the right of the priests

to punish heresy, whether St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome at all; and affirms that secular jurisdiction and temporal property belong to the Emperor. This movement, because of its anticipations of the sixteenth century, has been called "The Miniature Reformation."

WYCLIFFE'S EARLY DAYS.

Such were some of the happenings in Europe when John de Wycliffe was a baby in the nursery; and his mother, Catherine, the lady of the manor of Wycliffe, wondered, as all fond mothers do, what mark her son would make in the world. We know extremely little about his early life. He was a Yorkshireman of the North Riding, and he had all the sturdiness and independence of outlook of the Yorkshireman, as well as other characteristics, which life at Oxford did not succeed in impairing. The small manor of Wycliffe was close to Richmond, and as a boy John must have observed that the archdeaconry of Richmond was always held by an absentee, either a foreign Cardinal or Bishop or a favoured servant of the King. This evil was so general that it was before his eyes wherever he went, and we can understand the protests in his sermons against the profits of a cure being sent out of the country to an absentee cardinal.

In 1342 the fief of Richmond passed from the hands of its former lords to John of Gaunt, and Richmond became one of the titles of the house that was afterwards known by the name of Lancaster. This meant that John of Gaunt became John Wycliffe's overlord—a fact which is not without its bearing on several events in the career of the future Reformer.

WYCLIFFE AT OXFORD.

Meanwhile, the scene changes from Richmond, Yorkshire, to Oxford, where Wycliffe enrolled himself at Balliol, probably in 1345. Oxford was then little more than a huddled mass of mean houses. The streets were dark and filthy tunnels, with an open kennel or sewer in the middle. Balliol was then outside the city walls, near the Bocardo gate, and owed its origin to a penance imposed on John de Balliol, lord of Barnard Castle, for vexing the Church and the Bishop while he was hopelessly intoxicated. Part of the penance was "a sum of fixed maintenance to be continued for ever to scholars studying at Oxford." This was the beginning of Balliol Hall for sixteen poor students in 1266; it was John de Balliol's widow, Dervorgilla, who really carried out the work; the scholars were governed by rules framed by themselves, subject to her intentions, and they were presided over by a principal chosen by themselves. University democracy was much in evidence at Balliol.

MASTER OF BALLIOL.

If 1345 be approximately correct for Wycliffe's entrance to Oxford, he must have been there when the Black Death raged through the noisome alleys in 1349.

"The school doors were shut, colleges and halls relinquished, and none scarce left to keep possession or to make up a competent number to bury the dead. 'Tis reported that no less than sixteen bodies in one day were carried to one Church and yard to be buried."¹

The wonder is that pestilences did not break out more frequently. The filth in the streets, the broken condition of the sewer and pavements, the foul and begrimed waters which were used by the brewers and bakers for making ale and bread, the butchers' bones and other vile refuse which blocked the stream, the corpses of dead animals which filled the gravel pits where New College afterwards arose—these things were enough to cause a plague to wipe out both "town" and "gown" if the medieval nose had been at all susceptible. Life at the University did not become anything like normal again for three or four years, and this rude interruption may explain the late date at which Wycliffe took his master's degree. Elected Master of Balliol in 1358 or 1359, he became Master of Arts in 1361, and was instituted as Rector of Fillingham in the same year. After spending a little while there he decided that he should secure a dispensation of absence in order to study for a degree in theology. He obtained a licence for non-residence from his bishop, and it is one of the minor ironies of his life that Urban V, at the petition of the University of Oxford, grants the student, absentee-rector the medieval equivalent of a fellowship by making him a prebend of Aust in the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol. There was nothing unusual in this. Students in theology were generally beneficed seculars with a dispensation for absence. Their senior standing might be considered a guarantee for good behaviour; but the statutes, which took nothing for granted, laid it down that during lectures they should sit as "quiet as girls"²; as a matter of fact, they were often the most difficult and disorderly element in university life. Whether the future Reformer was mixed up in any College excitements, we do not know. He had his own troubles as Warden of Canterbury Hall, but we must pass over much that is of interest and greet him as Doctor of Divinity in 1372.

GROSSETESTE'S EXAMPLE.

Needless to say, he did not gain the D.D. of Oxford without becoming involved in the scholastic controversies which engaged the thinkers of his time. The University was then in a ceaseless intellectual ferment, and questions were keenly debated between the Franciscans and Dominicans. The strife between the rival philosophical creeds of "realism" and "nominalism" was unremitting; and in becoming an influential voice at Oxford, Wycliffe was indebted to those who went before him. One of his early Oxford sermons names some philosophers and theologians who had brought renown to England. This list includes the names of the venerable Bede, St. John of Beverley, and Robert Grosseteste. Grosseteste, commonly known as "Lincolniensis," the leading bishop of the

¹ Wood, *University of Oxford*, I. 449.

² Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II. 605.

previous century, was *the* power at Oxford as lecturer, chancellor, and friend of the Franciscans, and every good influence that made for liberty in the national life had his support. The independence and courage of his "sharp epistle" to "Master Innocent" gained him a European reputation. And in nothing did Wycliffe follow him more faithfully than in his constant appeal to the authority of Scripture.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE.

Even in his scholastic days he had arrived at the position that the Scriptures are supreme in all human thought. He is familiar with Jerome, Gregory the Great, John of Damascus, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura and Duns Scotus; Bradwardine and Fitzralph have their influence on him as men of his own century; among the ancients he salutes Augustine as his master, so much so that "his disciples called him by the famous name of John, son of Augustine";¹ but when all these sources are acknowledged it remains true that the chief of his authorities is the Bible, and the Bible with a preference for literal interpretation. His Biblical lectures as a "cursor," in preparation for his doctorate in theology, had been no empty form; and they are probably the basis of his earliest *theological* work, *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, which is an uncompromising defence of the inspiration and authority of the Bible, and brings him very close to the standpoint of the reformers of a hundred and fifty years later. From the third part of this work, although it belongs to later years, we can see that Wycliffe must have encountered opposition at Oxford; he asserts the right of the State over the property of the Church, he declares that only by disendowment can the Church be purified, that tithes should be withholden from bad priests; and he complains that "the man who defends the truth of Scripture suffers contumelies and persecutions."²

WYCLIFFE AS A COMMISSIONER.

Religious and political interests were closely interwoven in those days, more so than they are to-day. It was regarded by many as unsatisfactory that a French Pope should be at the head of the Church, and that so much money should go out of England for the benefit of this foreigner and his company of cardinals. The relations between England and the Papacy had been strained. In 1373 Gregory XI demanded 100,000 florins from the clergy of England for his campaign against Visconti, Duke of Milan; but Edward III already required a tenth for his French war, and the King's taxes must come first. The clergy could hardly be expected to pay both sets of taxes. It was not the first, nor the last time, that the clergy had to choose between the Pope and their own country. It was decided that a commission should be appointed to explore avenues towards a settlement in conference with three nuncios appointed

¹ Netter, *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Eccles. Cath.*, I. c. 34, p. 186.

² *Ibid.*, III. 99, 172.

by Gregory. Bruges was fixed as the place of meeting. This mission to Bruges shows John Wycliffe as a politician in the service of the King. The other commissioners included John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, who afterwards became Chancellor of Ireland and sat in condemnation of Wycliffe at the Blackfriars Synod in 1382, Sir William Burton, a layman with strong religious feelings, Juan Guttierrez, Dean of Segovia, a trusted agent of John of Gaunt, Simon de Multon, D.C.L., and Robert Bealknap, a civil servant who was afterwards made chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas and received a knighthood. They met the papal nuncios, the Bishops of Pampeluna and Sinigaglia, and the provost of St. Minion's, Valence, Giles Sancho, D.C.L. The conference did not last long. The elements of which it was composed were too irreconcilable. Wycliffe was the only theologian on his side of the commission, and there is no doubt as to his views on the subsidy to the Pope. We learn them from his *Determinatio* :

"Christ Himself is the Lord-Paramount, and the pope is a fallible man, who, in the opinion of theologians, must lose his lordship should he fall into mortal sin, and therefore cannot make good any claim to the possession of England. It is enough, therefore, that we hold our kingdom as of old, immediately from Christ in fief, because He is the Lord-Paramount, who, alone and by Himself, authorizes every right of dominion allowed to created beings."

Here is the principle that *dominion is founded on grace*, which Wycliffe emphasises over and over again. He would be no party to compromise in letting down his own country. When he found that the Crown was not in earnest, he left Bruges rather than be a party to any prearranged deal between Edward and Gregory. The negotiations were continued with some slight changes in the personnel, and the upshot of the matter was that certain verbal promises were made by the Pope, in return for which concessions he was to receive not the full subsidy for which he had asked, but a very substantial portion of it, viz. 60,000 florins. It is entirely to Wycliffe's credit that he was no party to such a disgraceful surrender to the papal claim, and quite appropriately he received no reward for his services at this time, in contradistinction from the other members of the commission.

REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES.

So much for Wycliffe's first excursion into politics. Before the commission had resumed its sittings he was back in Oxford, preaching before the University and engaged on the publication of some of his writings. He had the pleasure of crossing swords with William Woodford ("pleasure," be it said, for the Irishman's partiality for argument was strong in Wycliffe); they interchanged arguments on the limit of civil dominion and the right of the clergy to possess property. He was busy with his vast treatises on "Civil and Divine Dominion." We may read these pages as we read Plato's *Republic*, or More's *Utopia*; but, if we apply them to the immediate situation in England, we can easily see how charged with dynamite they were.

If all real dominion is founded on grace, and if mortal sin is a breach of tenure that involves forfeiture, then the arrangements of society are very far from being right, and are contrary to the law of nature, not to speak of the Church's insecurity through the widespread evils of nepotism, pluralism, absenteeism and other irregularities. No wonder there was opposition at Oxford, no wonder the outspoken Yorkshireman was accused by some of blasphemy and heresy. Coming events were beginning to cast their shadows before them.

A DISTURBANCE AT ST. PAUL'S.

After the death of the Black Prince and the end of the Good Parliament, we find John Wycliffe in alliance with John of Gaunt, proving the truth of the saying that politics makes strange bed-fellows. We can understand why Lancaster should seek the services of an outstanding philosopher and theologian like Wycliffe, but it is not so easy to understand why the Reformer should become the tool of a man with whom he had little in common beyond his hostility to the power and wealth of the hierarchy. Probably the political opportunist saw how useful the idealist would be with his pen and his voice and his University influence, whereas Wycliffe did not realise that he was but a cat's-paw in the Duke of Lancaster's game. At any rate, we find Wycliffe preaching all over London that the Church should be restored to its original poverty and that neither prelates nor priests should hold secular offices—sermons which fitted in admirably with the Duke's determination to oust the bishops from the chief offices of the Crown and get their places filled by his own satellites. Wycliffe was probably blissfully unaware that Lancaster was packing Parliament for his own ends, but others saw what was going on, and their anger had to find some expression. When Convocation met, Archbishop Courtenay singled out Wycliffe as the Duke's ally, and he was cited to appear before the bishops on February 19, 1377, in the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's. The Duke himself, with Henry Percy, the King's marshal, and four Oxford friars, accompanied Wycliffe to the Cathedral. There were unfriendly exchanges between the Duke and the Archbishop; political rumours increased the confusion with which the assembly broke up, and Wycliffe was carried off by his supporters. The comment of the chronicler is that the devil knew how to take care of his own.

WYCLIFFE'S PERSONALITY.

Whether the pictures of Wycliffe in use to-day bear any close resemblance to the man as he really was we cannot be certain, they are probably of too recent a date to be considered authentic in the full sense of the word. From verbal description we know that he was thin and worn; he must have been endowed with some real charm of manner, otherwise men of the highest rank would hardly have found pleasure in his society. But it is not easy to detect the qualities which constituted this charm. In his writings there is sound learning, intellectual fire, and a moral earnestness

that is very downright ; but there is not much evidence of a sense of humour or of those deep, personal emotions which make rough Martin Luther so human and lovable. We are conscious of an element of hardness as we read his tracts and treatises ; as far as we know, none of his family circle followed him in the path he trod, and this may help to account for it. But here and there he does paint a picture which raises a smile, as when he speaks in his *Leaven of the Pharisees* of the friars who became pedlars of knives, purses, pins, girdles, spices and silk for women, and present ladies with lapdogs, to get many great gifts in return ; or, as in his *Comment on the Testament of St. Francis*, where he describes the friar accompanied on his rounds by a scarioth or Iscariot or treasurer, into whose bag the spoils were poured, and the friar's nice scrupulosity is seen in his counting the coins with gloves on, lest he be guilty of touching filthy lucre ; or, as in his *Ave Maria*, where he upbraids the ladies for being so busy with gay and costly clothing and kerchiefs and pearls and ribbons, dancing and leaping by night and sleeping it off the next day, forgetting God and the devotion of prayers. The preponderance, however, of the intellectual and moral sides of his nature over the emotional element is noticeable throughout. Undoubtedly the blamelessness and simplicity of his private life must have given him a considerable influence in a gross and greedy generation ; when we add to this his reputation as the first scholar at his University, his zeal as a patriot, and his devotion as a Churchman, we can understand why he was an adviser of the King, a companion of nobles, the head of a party at Oxford, and the leader of a band of keen disciples at Oxford and at Lutterworth.

THE POPE *versus* THE REFORMER.

The Oxford Reformer is now within eight years of his death and fateful events take place in quick succession. The trial at St. Paul's having failed, Gregory XI issues a series of Bulls, and cites Wycliffe to appear before him in person. This was not only an attack on the Reformer, it was an attempt to override the ecclesiastical courts and the statute law of the realm, and to establish the papal inquisition in England. Gregory's schedule of Wycliffe's errors shows that the ground of the papal indictment was based on Wycliffe's *De Civilo Dominio*. Court circles should see the dangerous and revolutionary nature of the tenet that dominion is founded on grace. But theological counts are not wanting, the denial of excommunication, the attack upon the Pope's power of the keys, and, last but not least, the claim that every ecclesiastic (even the Roman pontiff) may be lawfully set right, and even impleaded by subjects and laymen. Evidently Wycliffe, if he lived in our day, would not agree with Bishop Frere of Truro as to the impropriety of ecclesiastical decisions by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But he would be in favour of disendowment, and the voluntary system in vogue in the Church in Ireland, Canada and Australia.

WYCLIFFE AT LAMBETH.

A month after the issue of Gregory's Bulls, Edward III died, and Richard II's first Parliament was in no hurry to humour the Pope's arrogance. Although Gregory's bulls were in the Archbishop's hands, the Council asked Wycliffe whether the nation was not justified in keeping back for its own defence the large amount of gold which was going out to foreigners at the demand of the Pope. £10,000 a year went to French clergy alone from English livings. Wycliffe replied that the treasure of the kingdom should not be sent away, and he based his judgment on the law of Nature, the law of the Gospel, and the law of Conscience. Nor could much satisfaction be got out of any proceedings against Wycliffe at Oxford by the Pope. The masters regent through the chancellor declared publicly "that Wycliffe's theses were true, though they sounded badly to the ear." Early in 1378 Wycliffe appeared at Lambeth, where the bishops were within their rights in trying him; but the influence and the sympathy of the government deterred the bishops from pronouncing any final judgment upon the accused. Wycliffe put in a written "Protestatio" in defence of his conclusions, but the trial was interrupted by citizens of London, who broke into the Archbishop's chapel and made noisy demonstrations in favour of the Reformer.

"L'HOMME PROPOSE MAIS DIEU DISPOSE."

A few days after this third failure to silence the fighting Yorkshireman, Gregory himself departed this life, and was succeeded by Urban VI, or rather—by the Great Schism—Urban VI, with Clement VII as Anti-Pope, ranged in full bellicosity against each other, and dividing Europe into two hostile camps. This situation deepened Wycliffe's dislike of the papacy and strengthened his conviction that an unworthy pope was an Anti-Christ rather than the Vicar of Christ. In his *De Potestate Papae* (148, 186, 212) he argues that both should hold their peace till the Church should decide—which anticipates the policy of Gerson at the Council of Constance; and adds that meanwhile "we English cannot accept either," for their rivalry shows them both to be anti-Christ. Hus of Bohemia borrowed largely and freely from this work, without mentioning the source of his indebtedness, and it was thanks to the Great Schism that the influence of our Reformer penetrated Bohemia. France and Scotland espoused the cause of Robert of Geneva, the "butcher" who took the title of Clement VII. Italy and England were in favour of Urban VI; so were Wenzel and Sigismund, and they carried their Czech subjects with them. Thus England and Bohemia were on the same side in this international quarrel, an alliance which was greatly strengthened when in 1382 at St. Stephen's, Westminster, Richard II married Anne, the sister of Wenzel, Bohemia's King. Urban VI favoured this match because he thought it would prevent Bohemia from recognising his rival at Avignon; and he succeeded far beyond his hopes or

desires. Queen Anne's retainers carried back to Bohemia the works of Wycliffe, with the result that our Reformer lived again in the land of John Hus and Jerome of Prague.

WYCLIFFE TO HUS, HUS TO LUTHER.

The greater number of Wycliffe's manuscripts are found at Prague and Vienna, usually the work of Czech scribes. Hence the picture in a Bohemian Psalter of 1572, which represents Wycliffe as striking a spark, Hus as kindling the coals and Luther as brandishing the lighted torch. In 1529 Luther wrote to Spalatin :

" I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of Hus without knowing it. With a like unconscionness has Staupitz taught them. We are all of us Hussites without knowing it. I do not know what to think for amazement." ¹

We might change the word " Hussites " into " Wycliffites," for the doctrines for which Hus was condemned and burnt at Constance in 1415 were taken almost verbatim from the works of Wycliffe. This may be seen at once when we compare Wycliffe's *De Potestate Papae* with Hus's *De Ecclesia* in parallel columns. Sentences, and even whole paragraphs, are practically word for word the same ! The picture in the Bohemian Psalter is not, therefore, an exaggeration. The influence of our Reformer outside England has been perhaps greater and more abiding than in his own country.

THE " POOR PREACHERS."

But this is to anticipate. No mention has been made of the crowning activities of his life, his sending forth of his " poor preachers " and his English Bible. Following the method of Francis of Assisi, he began to send out his " poor priests " or " itinerant preachers " before he left Oxford and retired to Lutterworth for good. To call them " poor preachers " does not mean that they were without pulpit ability, but that they exemplified in their own persons the poverty and simplicity of ministers of the Gospel. They were to go from place to place, trusting to the goodwill of their neighbours for board and lodging, armed with some of their master's tracts and sermons. Some of them were men of university standing, some were unlettered and unbeneficed clerics, for Wycliffe averred that " an unlettered man with God's grace can do more for building up the Church than many graduates." ²

SACRAMENTAL DOCTRINE.

Wycliffe was not only a patriot who objected to the Pope's interference with the internal affairs of his country, nor simply a politician who desired that through Parliament the nation should reform the Church that seemed unwilling and unable to reform herself ; he was above all a theologian who referred matters of Church and State alike to the Word of God as the supreme authority and the final touchstone. In teaching the people the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, the Lollard preachers were to denounce

¹ *Letters*, ed. De Wette, I. 425.

² *Dial.* 54.

the many grievous abuses in the Church and proclaim the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Various estimates have been made of Wycliffe's idea of the true doctrine of the Eucharist. In philosophy he was a "Realist" like Aquinas, yet he attacked the main position of Aquinas with unmistakable vigour. According to Professor Trevelyan, in his *England in the Age of Wyclif* (p. 175), "he never went farther in his depreciation of the Sacrament than the position generally known as Consubstantiation"; according to Principal Workman, he retained Transubstantiation, though not without many questionings and modifications. But Wycliffe took his stand much more openly beside the condemned Berengar. In the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* ("Bundles of Tares") we get opinions which were attributed to our Reformer by his opponents. When these coincide with statements in his own *De Blasphemia*, and *De Eucharistia*, we may be fairly certain that these impressions of contemporary adversaries are correct. The whole theory of the division of "substance" and "accidents" fell to pieces under Wycliffe's criticism. "The consecrated host which we see on the altar is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but an effectual sign."¹ According to Wycliffe, a body cannot be present unless it is present in the fullness of its attributes, having dimension, colour, smell, taste, etc., appropriate to the substance of which it is formed.

"Master John Wycliffe argued concerning the conclusions he set forth, and was impeached by various religious doctors of sacred theology. Then the same Master repeated amongst other things three opinions concerning the multiplication of body, that is to say, dimensional, definite, and virtual. The first two he declared were altogether false and impossible, but he acknowledged the third. Whence he declared that the body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar after the manner of multiplication, but that *it is there virtually to this extent as the king is in the whole kingdom.*"²

"Virtualiter," not "virtually" in the sense of "almost" or "as if," but *in working power, in real efficacy, in actual operation, by the power of the Divine Spirit.*

BERENGAR, WYCLIFFE AND CRANMER.

This is an anticipation of the sixteenth-century position both in Calvinism and Anglicanism. Jeremy Taylor developed the position that the inherent power of the body of Christ is in the Sacrament, and Calvin, in his *Institutes*,³ emphasises the same precious thought :

"Though it seems an incredible thing that the flesh of Christ, while at such a distance from us in respect of place, should be food to us, let us remember how far the secret virtue of the Holy Spirit surpasses all our conceptions, and how foolish it is to wish to measure its immensity by our feeble capacity. Therefore, what our mind does not comprehend let faith conceive, viz. that the Spirit truly unites things separated by space."

Of course, there are many passages in Wycliffe which are not at all as clear as the foregoing; his writings exhibit that healthy inconsistency which is a sign of growth; he was in many respects

¹ Conclusions, *F.Z.*, p. 105. ² *F.Z.*, p. 107. ³ Bk. IV., chap. 17.

the son of his times, and did not get quite free from the thought-moulds of his own age ; but these flashes of light are an anticipation of Cranmer and Calvin and Hooker.

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT.

The institution of the Poor Preachers, who proclaimed the Gospel without desire of gain, was meant to give the people instruction in which they were sadly lacking, but it met with opposition from the friars, who preached little but legends and insipid stories, and from the bishops, who were more concerned with other things than evangelical preaching. Wycliffe's aim was to send forth men who not only knew something of the Bible, but who knew something of the quickening power of the Word in their own lives. He shows his discernment when he says : ¹

"O marvellous power of the Divine Seed ! which overpowers strong warriors, softens hearts hard as stone, and renews in the divine image men brutalised by sin. Plainly so mighty a wonder could never be wrought by the word of a priest, if the heat of the Spirit of Life did not above all things else work with it."

The Poor Preachers had a real though limited measure of success for the flame of Lollardy burnt in several English counties and in parts of Scotland for the next one hundred and fifty years, in spite of all the official efforts to quench it, and in spite of the early discredit which they suffered through the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.

This outburst, as Principal Workman points out, was due to economic and political causes, and would have happened if Wycliffe had never lived. But it was most unfortunate for our Reformer, for it looked like a rude endeavour to put into practice his ideal theory that dominion is founded on grace, which destroys the lordship of the wicked and relieves the poor man from the necessity of paying taxes to bad rulers whether in Church or State. Whatever his share in fanning the discontent among the peasants, it is to his credit that he did not turn his back upon them after the Rising. He continued to espouse their cause, and to protest against the perpetual serfdom of the serf. In this his attitude shines out in contrast with Luther's denunciations against the peasants in Germany. The English squire's son champions the cause of the oppressed, in spite of his growing unpopularity with those in power ; the German miner's son hounds on the princes in their retaliation against the ignorant and oppressed peasants, who had been guilty of revolt.

"Against the murdering thieving hordes of Peasants [says Luther] whoever can should knock down, strangle and stab such publicly or privately, and think nothing so venomous, pernicious and devilish as an insurgent. . . . Such wonderful times are these, that a prince can merit heaven better with bloodshed than another with prayer."

From such a blot the escutcheon of our Reformer is happily free. It remains true to say that when we look for a medieval theologian

¹ Serm. IV. 265.

who raises his voice in serious protest against the wrongs of serfdom, we do not find one until we come to the heretic Wycliffe.

DID WYCLIFFE TRANSLATE THE BIBLE ?

Wycliffe's reference to the power of the divine seed of the Word brings us to the subject of the English Bible. His theory of dominion founded on grace really involved, and was bound to lead to, the democratisation of God's law, i.e. the making of a vernacular version of the Scriptures. The translation of the Bible was conceived and partly carried out between 1380 and 1384. *Wycliffe was the instigator of the plan rather than the executor of the work.* His special disciple and secretary was Dr. John Purvey. When Wycliffe was condemned and left Oxford, Purvey went with him as his secretary to Lutterworth, and there the work was continued. Walden, a Carmelite friar who was "elected inquisitor-general of the faith to punish the Wycliffites," describes Purvey as "the glossator and translator of Wycliffe, for he was the continual Achates of Wycliffe right down till his death, and drank in his most secret teaching."¹

At this point we touch ground which is perhaps more controverted nowadays than any other part of Wycliffe's life. It is not a subject for surprise that medieval apologists such as Cardinal Gasquet, Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Hilaire Belloc should attempt to show that the Church did not keep the Bible from the people, and that, therefore, Wycliffe's English Bible was a work of superfluity, if it ever had any real existence. But a recent article in the *Living Church* indicates that there are Anglican clergy who take the same view. The writer, a Rector in the Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A., asks whether there is any reference earlier than the nineteenth century to Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, because he can find none. In his article he quotes the *Constitutions* of Archbishop Arundel, passed at Oxford in 1408. The year 1408 belongs to the fifteenth century, and is only twenty-four years later than our Reformer's death.

CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE.

After speaking of the danger of mistakes being made in the work of translating the Scriptures, the Council declares :

"We therefore order and ordain that henceforth no one translate any text of Holy Scripture into English or other language into a book, booklet or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet or tract lately made in the time of the said John Wyclif or since . . . until such translation shall have been approved and permitted by the diocesan. . . ."

To any unprejudiced reader these words show a definite connection between John Wycliffe and the work of translating the Bible, or parts of it, into English ; and such was the judgment of Archbishop Arundel and the Council of Oxford. The writer in the *Living Church* gives Wilkins' *Concilia*, III, 157, as the reference for this quotation. If he had gone on another two hundred pages in this

¹ Thomae Waldensis, *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, Venice, ed. Blanciotti, F.B., 1757.

same volume he could hardly have persisted in his denial of plain contemporary evidence. For on page 350 we read a letter from the same Archbishop Arundel to Pope John XXIII, which makes the reference as clear as daylight. Oxford had been in a ferment for some time after Wycliffe's condemnation by the Synod of Blackfriars in 1382. There had been academic discussion at Oxford between 1400 and 1407 as to the lawfulness of vernacular Bibles. It was not by accident that Archbishop Arundel chose Oxford for the scene of the prohibition of English Bibles. In his letter to John XXIII in 1412 he describes our Reformer as "that wretched and pestilent fellow, of damnable memory, that son of the old serpent, the very herald and child of Antichrist," who "to fill up the measure of his malice, *devised the expedient of a new translation of the Scriptures into the mother tongue.*" That was the head and front of his offending; it also describes his share in the enterprise. Wycliffe "devised the expedient"; others carried out the work under his supervision and encouragement; his secretary Purvey did a considerable portion of it.

In line with this evidence of Archbishop Arundel is Henry Knighton's continuator. He was a canon of St. Mary of the Meadows at the same time as Hereford and Repington.

"In those days [1382] the most eminent doctor of theology . . . Master John Wycliffe translated into English (not, alas, into the tongue of the angels), the Gospel which Christ gave to clerks and doctors of the Church . . . through him it is become more common and open to laymen, and women who are able to read, than it is wont to be even to lettered clerks of good intelligence."¹

WHO ARE "THE DOGS" ?

From the Pope downwards a favourite argument of those who opposed vernacular versions of Scripture for the laity was "Nolite sanctum dare canibus." This was Innocent III's plea against the Waldensians at Metz. Wycliffe counters it by pointing out that the "dogs" are not the illiterate faithful at all, but those who disfigure Christ's teaching and are sensualists. For example, in one of his Polemical Works, *De Nova Prævaricatione Mandatorum*, he speaks of opposition against vernacular Gospels by those in authority because of the contrast afforded between the life lived by Jesus Christ and the lives lived by the priests:

"When Christ's manner of life should be disclosed, it would be clearer than daylight that they (our Pharisees and Satraps) are opposed to Him in their lives, and not Christians deserving commendation. . . . And therefore they oppose the turning of the Gospels into the vulgar tongue, so as to hide their baseness."

Buddensieg dates this tract as 1381.²

Further contemporary evidence might be quoted, but it may be summed up in the careful conclusion of Miss Deanesly on this point:

"There is more contemporary evidence as to authorship than any that

¹ Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, II, 151-2. Lumby, J. R. Rolls, Series 9, 1889.

² *Polemical Works*, I, 126, Wycliffe Society, Buddensieg, R. 1883.

could be found, for instance, to prove that Chaucer wrote the 'Canterbury Tales.'"¹

"TREVISA" SHOULD BE "WYCLIFFE" IN PREFACE TO A.V.

The mistake made by Sir Thomas More, Councillor and Chancellor of Henry VIII, when he wrote his *Dialogue* in 1528, is largely responsible for misleading many who have questioned and minimised the work of Wycliffe. Sir Thomas More took for granted that the Wycliffite Bible must have been heretical, since the ecclesiastical authorities disapproved of it; he tells us quite definitely that the heresy in the only Wycliffite Bible he had himself examined (Richard Hun's) was *in the prologue*; yet it never occurred to him that there might have been nothing to quarrel with in the Wycliffite translation of the text itself. The Constitutions of Oxford did not condemn Bibles made *before* the days of Wycliffe, and More jumped to the conclusion that the English Bibles which he had seen in some houses must have been copies of these, and could not have been Wycliffe's translation. Caxton made the mistake of attributing the so-called pre-Wycliffite medieval Bible to Trevisa. Trevisa was a "turner" or professional translator of classical works; he translated the *Polichronicon* into English, but there are no manuscript grounds for attributing to him any translation of the Scriptures. Later writers follow Caxton in this mistake, and the preface to the Authorized Version followed them all. Cranmer, in quoting precedents for vernacular versions, says:

"In our King Richard II's days, John Trevisa translated them into English, and many English Bibles in written hand are yet to be seen with divers translated, as it is very probable, in that age."

In fairness to our Reformer, the name of John Trevisa should be struck out from this preface and the name of Wycliffe inserted in its place. It was the Wycliffite version which was seen and known and used by the orthodox in some places in England, just as in Italy and in Germany orthodox nobles and convents of sisters in some cases possessed vernacular Bibles derived from Waldensian sources without any suspicion of their heretical origin.

WYCLIFFE'S ABIDING WORK.

Wycliffe's followers were hunted and persecuted by the Church authorities with unrelenting zeal, but their leader held his living of Lutterworth to the hour of his decease on the last day of 1384. Because he held this living and because he was not strangled or thrown into a dungeon or burnt alive, it has been seriously argued by some that he was neither a persecuted man nor the "morning-star of the Reformation" which many have claimed him to be. One might equally well argue that since the late Lord Acton and the late Baron von Hügel died in peace within the Roman Communion, therefore they were in all things dutiful and submissive sons of Mother Church; yet it remains true that if any priest or layman in the ordinary rank and file of membership had said or written what

¹ *The Lollard Bible*, p. 250.

they said and wrote in the way of criticism and in the way of protest, he would have shared the fate which overtook Father Tyrrell and other modernists. Wycliffe was the strongest intellectual and spiritual force in Oxford in his day ; he was held in the highest esteem both amongst the learned and amongst the masses of the people ; as one who was known to enjoy the protection of the Duke of Lancaster, he could go a long way in defiance of ecclesiastical authority with comparative impunity. To him, in spite of all that Cardinal Gasquet and other detractors have tried to say, belongs the honour and glory of the first translation of the Scriptures into Middle, as distinct from Early English. His inconsistencies are real and undeniable : He denounced absenteeism, yet he himself was an absentee Rector for some years ; he deprecated the clergy holding any secular office, yet he was himself for a while a politician in the service of the Crown. But we can understand these weaknesses. His other inconsistencies are partly accounted for by the fact that he belonged to the end of the medieval period, and the beginning of the Reformation period. None the less, he strikes notes which are by no means out of date and leaves us an example for which we can unfeignedly thank God. In use of sanctified reason, in appeal to the Word of God as the supreme and final authority, in stern simplicity of private life, in emphasis on the Christian citizen's trusteeship of his powers and possessions, in disapproval of war as an unholy and wasteful curse, in protest against power ill-gotten and ill-used, the echoes of his voice may still be heard. There is much truth in the judgment of Professor A. F. Pollard ¹ :

“ Wycliffe indeed is more representative of English theology than any foreign divine ; he anticipated practically all the Protestantism that the English Church adopted in the sixteenth century. Possibly he anticipated more ; he was not a bishop, and he did not breathe a spirit of compromise. He was perhaps more of a Puritan than an Anglican ; and he pointed to heights or depths to which the Established Church never rose or fell. But the path which he illumined was the path which England took, however much she may have stumbled on the way, and however far she may have stopped short of his ideal ; and the Morning Star of the Reformation in England was also its guiding light.”

THE RESURRECTION OF JAN HUS.

It has been said that tradition dies hard, especially a tradition which has been sanctified by self-sacrifice. Across the seas in South-Eastern Europe to-day we have an example of this in the land where, in spite of centuries of oppression, the tradition of Hus, who imbibed the teaching of Wycliffe, still lives. In the latest Year-Book of the new Czechoslovak Republic we learn from Professor Horák of Masaryk University, that of six million Czechs nearly two million changed their Church membership during the first three years after the War. Under the influence of the watchword “ Away from the Church,” some 600,000 left the Church of Rome and remained without a creed. About 150,000 joined the Evangelical Church of Bohemian Brethren from other bodies, and the Free Reformed

¹ *Factors in Modern History*, p. 103.

Church was named the Unity of Bohemian Brethren. In 1926 there was formed the "Federation of the Evangelical Churches," comprising at present Czech Churches and one Slovak Church. By reason of this movement Czech Protestantism has increased nearly 50 per cent., and in the South and West of Bohemia has reached towns and villages where previously it had no footing.

In addition to all this, the newly-founded Czechoslovak Church is the result of an effort made by Romanist priests to introduce into the Roman Church certain reforms, e.g. the democratisation of Church administration, the use of the national language in Divine Service and the abolition of celibacy. When the Vatican rejected these proposals the priests seceded from the Roman Church, and with 600,000 of the laity founded a national Catholic Church which is democratic in constitution; influenced by Catholic modernism, it is free in respect of dogma; it accepts the traditions of the Early Church and also the traditions of the Czech Reformation. Its adherents have grown to about one million. Dr. Farsky translated the Missal into Bohemian and set about to say Mass in Bohemian in St. Nicholas' Church in Prague. Crowds thronged the Church; it must have been a thrilling moment in 1919 when the people heard the words of consecration loudly and clearly spoken in their own language, and the preacher in his sermon invoked the help of Jan Hus, that Hus who was burnt as a heretic by the Church authorities of his day.

BROADCASTING THE ASHES.

Wycliffe died in peace in Lutterworth, but the Church authorities whose evils he had so glaringly exposed could not suffer his bones to rest in peace. In 1415 a committee appointed by the Council of Constance to examine the heresies of Wycliffe and Hus brought in a strongly adverse report. Wycliffe's writings, which comprise ninety-six Latin works, not counting English tracts and papers, were ordered to be burnt, and his bones to be dug up and cast out of consecrated ground. Some years later, in obedience to peremptory orders from Pope Martin V, Wycliffe's bones were disinterred, burnt to ashes, and then cast into the little River Swift, which flows under the bridge not far from Lutterworth Church. From the Swift his ashes were borne into the Avon, from the Avon into the Severn, from the Severn into the narrow seas, and from the narrow seas into the broad ocean. "Thus," says Fuller, "the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

THE FIVE FAITHFUL SAYINGS.

BY THE REV. T. C. LAWSON, M.A.

THESE occur in the Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus. They are the translation of precisely the same Greek words. The passages are (1) 1 Tim. i. 15, (2) iii. 1, (3) iv. 9, (4) 2 Tim. ii. 11, (5) Titus iii. 8. The exact translation is "Faithful is the Word." But the A.V. translates *logos* by "saying" and varies *pistos* in No. 2 to "true" and adds the pronoun "this" in four places, and "it" in one. The R.V. consistently translates "Faithful is the saying." The different versions also differ.

Jerome's Latin Vulgate is quite consistent throughout and translates each passage "Fidelis sermo," whereas Beza's Latin uses "certus" for *πistos* and adds the pronoun "hic." Calvin follows Jerome except in 1 Tim. iii. 1, where he has "certus." Wycliffe has "A True Word" except in 1 Tim. iii. 1, where he has "A Faithful Word." Tyndale, Cranmer, Coverdale, and Geneva, all have "True saying" except in 1 Tim. iv. 9, where they all have "sure saying," adding, as in Beza, the pronoun "this" except in 2 Tim. ii. 11, where they substitute "it." The Syrian version follows more closely the Vulgate by translating "Faithful" in all places, but having "declaration" in 1 Tim. i. 15 and 2 Tim. ii. 11, "saying" in 1 Tim. iii. 1 and iv. 9, and "word" in Titus iii. 8.

Weymouth translates "Faithful is the saying" in all places, but adds the pronoun "this" in the last. The Twentieth Century N.T. translates 1 Tim. i. 15 and 2 Tim. ii. 11 "How true are the words" and in the others "This teaching is reliable."

Taking all these translations together we have much vacillation except in the Vulgate, whereas the Greek words are the same in all the passages. Why then all these variations? We know that the context may demand that the same word should be translated by different words in another language in order to give the precise sense and meaning. But does the context of these passages warrant such variations? The answer to this question demands an examination of the context, purpose and occasion of the Epistles.

Neither translators nor commentators are agreed as to what the word "saying" refers to. Neither the A.V. nor R.V. gives any cue to what is the "saying" except in 1 Tim. i. 15 by use of the word "that" introducing the sentence following. Weymouth, whilst giving quotation marks to the words following in 1 Tim. iii. 1 and 2 Tim. ii. 11, gives none in the other three places. The Twentieth Century N.T. gives quotation marks in 1 Tim. i. 15 and 2 Tim. ii. 11 to the words following; and translating *logos* by teaching refers 1 Tim. iii. 1, 1 Tim. iv. 9, Titus iii. 8 to the subject of the previous verses. Conybere and Howson give the succeeding words, printing them in italics with quotation marks.

When we turn to commentators we find a like difference and uncertainty as to what the "saying" is. Some say the previous words,

some the following words except in 1 Tim. i. 15 and 2 Tim. ii. 11. Some think they are quotations from hymns or well-known sayings. Biblical Museum speaks of them as "a peculiarity," appropriate to the time when the Apostle would leave "Faithful sayings" to the Church.

Hastings, *Great Texts of the Bible*, remarks on 1 Tim. i. 15: "A series of five 'faithful sayings' or current Christian commonplaces, refers to little more than half a century. Yet able to remind them of the blessed contents of the Gospel Message in words that are the product of Christian experience in the heart of the community had been crystallised by those who have tasted and seen its preciousness . . . have had time to frame its precious truths into formulas, not merely that have passed from mouth to mouth and been enshrined in memory after memory until they have become proverbs in the community."

Bishop Ellicott, on 1 Tim. i. 15, takes much the same view as the preceding. He says: "These were no doubt rehearsed constantly in the assemblies till they became well-known watchwords in the various churches." On 1 Tim. iii. 1, he says: "The Faithful saying here refers to the wish for high and arduous work of the Church of Christ." And on 1 Tim. iv. 9 he remarks: "In this instance was that godliness, i.e. active living was profitable for all things."

Lightfoot allows that 1 Tim. i. 15 and iii. 1 may be quotations, but argues that in the other three passages the "saying" refers to what precedes, because the particle *gar* precludes any reference to what follows.

But Lock is very doubtful in all cases, for he uses the words "probably," "perhaps," "if." 1 Tim. i. 15: "probably a quotation"; Tim. iii. 1: "If these words apply to the following paragraph the variant *anthropos* would seem appropriate"; 1 Tim. iv. 9: "probably the preceding verse."

2 Tim. ii. 11: "Almost certainly a quotation. It may refer to the preceding verse, if so, probably verse 8, *gar*, verse 11, confirming the writer's appeal to the saying about the risen Lord."

Titus iii. 8: "Some refer to personal Word of God as Johannian, but it does not suit Chap. i. 3. Chap. i. 9 could scarcely be faithful according to teaching. It would be appropriate to 2 Tim. ii. 11."

The Cambridge Greek Testament indicates this want of unanimity among commentators. On 1 Tim. iii. 1 it remarks: "This formula (see on i. 15) has been referred (e.g. Chrysostom) to the words which precede, but it seems better to take it with the terse sentence which follows." And on 1 Tim. iv. 9: "It is not certain what the reference is. This formula refers without doubt to what precedes in Titus iii. 8." On 2 Tim. ii. 11: "Commentators are not agreed as to the reference of this formula here; some following Chrysostom, hold that it refers to what precedes . . . but, on the other hand, there is nothing in the preceding verses of the nature of a formula or aphorism or quotation as in such stereotyped phrases that *pistos ho logos* has reference in the other instances of its occurrences."

Whilst the words "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" do suggest a "crystallised formula" commonly spoken among the early Christians, and "rehearsed constantly in the assemblies till they became well-known watch words in the various churches" (Bishop Ellicott, 1 Tim. i. 15), and whilst 1 Tim. iv. 9 may refer to the following words, "If we be risen with Christ, etc.," as a truth handed on from mouth to mouth, it is very difficult to understand the words, "If a man desire the office of a bishop he desires a good work" (1 Tim. iii. 1), should be equally current and commonplace "saying" handed on from mouth to mouth, in the early Church, much in the same way as we speak of a man "entering the Church" who desires to be one of her ministers. Because it is only on the first missionary journey of St. Paul about A.D. 47 that we first hear of ministerial appointments (Acts xiv. 23). This leaves a period of twenty years for the office of a bishop to be so spoken of. For the pastoral Epistles date about A.D. 67. Besides, if this were the reference of the "saying," "faithful" is hardly an appropriate word to use. It might be "common," or "true," but "faithful" conveys something much more than the idea of being "true."

The translators and commentators seem to have been misled by the first occurrence of the phrase in 1 Tim. i. 15. Where the first impulse leads one to fix on the words "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" introduced by the Greek particle "that," as indicating the very words spoken. And having found one case appropriate they seem to have assumed that the formula in other places had similar local words, although they have varied as to what are the exact words. And for this reason too they have added the pronouns "this" and "it" so as to include either the preceding or succeeding words. Whereas the Greek words are uniform and demand a uniform translation, and if this be strictly adhered to, the words will be found to have a very appropriate meaning and setting in the context. The translation in each case should be "Faithful is the word" or "The Word is faithful." The article indicates that "word" is the subject, and there being no article to "faithful" indicates that it is the adjective after the verb "*to be*" understood. But the order of the words, "faithful" being first, shows that "faithful" has the emphasis which is retained by being translated in the same order.

Our next duty is to consider the translation and meaning of *logos*. Should it be translated "saying" or "word"? And secondly whether *pistos* should be translated "faithful," "true," "sure."

Logos is rendered by twenty-five or more different English words, according to the context. But for these passages the choice lays between "saying" and "word." In some fifty cases the A.V. has "saying," but in a great number of these the R.V. has "word." In many occurrences the pronoun indicates to what the "word" or "saying" refers, so that there is no difficulty in identifying them in the immediate context. If we translate by "saying" we imply that there is some definite statement, something proverbial, as is

clearly seen in other passages, e.g. in John iv. 37 introduced by the particle *hoti* "For herein is the saying true *that* One soweth and another reapeth." R.V. John vi. 60. The words are specified by the pronoun. "This is a hard saying." Rev. xxii. 6 is the nearest approach to these passages. "These words are faithful and true," but here the pronoun clearly points to the preceding verses. But in "the Five Sayings" there is the greatest difficulty in identifying the reference inasmuch as translators and commentators disagree. To arrive at a more precise meaning of the word *logos* we must compare it with two other words, *lalia* and *rhēma*, both translated "word."

Lalia, from *lalein*, means to talk, chat, babble, the mere utterance of words, without reference to thought, the employment of the organs of speech; it is therefore utterance, talk, discourse, prattle.

Rhēma is that which is spoken, a word, a saying as uttered by the living voice.

Logos is the word spoken, and as connected with the inward thought it expresses the speaker's thoughts.

Abp. Trench in his synonyms says *lalein* expresses the opening of the mouth to speak, while *legein* proceeds to declare what the speaker actually said.

Logos emphasises the thought rather than the word which expresses the thought. It differs from *rhēma*, which emphasises the words which express the thought, so *rhēma* would require particular words, but *logos* would allow for the thought to be expressed in many different words, so that in these five passages St. Paul has in mind some inner thought rather than particular words. In the use of *logos* we do not expect the express words, but the subject of the matter in whatever words it may be conveyed, so that the meaning converges on the idea of a message conveyed in the speaker's own words and not the precise words of the one who sends it.

Trench refers to the difference between *lalia* and *logos* in John viii. 43. Wherefore do ye not understand my speech, *lalia*? even because ye cannot hear my word *logos*. "It is clear (he says) that, as the inability to understand his 'speech' is traced up as a consequence to a refusing to hear his 'word,' this last, as the root and ground of the mischief, must be the deeper and anterior thing. To hear his 'word' can be nothing else than to give room to his truth in the heart. They who will not do this must fail to understand his 'speech,' the outward form and utterance which his 'word' assumes. They that are of God hear God's Word, his *rhēmata* as elsewhere (John iii. 34, viii. 47), his *lalia* as here, it is called; which they that are not of God do not and cannot hear." (Page 289.)

The term has therefore a wider meaning than the application to the actual words spoken which may be varied so long as they convey the thought underlying them. *Logos* often refers to the O.T., but the preaching of that word does not necessarily mean that the actual words are used, but only that it forms the basis; the thought is God's, but the actual words used are the speaker's own in which he clothes the thoughts.

We will trace the use of the word *logos* in the N.T. First of

our Lord, second by our Lord, third by the Apostles, fourth by St. Paul.

First, our mind naturally turns to St. John, 1st chapter. Where Our Lord is spoken of as the Word. It was a "common term in Ancient Philosophy and Theology. It expresses the idea of an immanent reason in the world." But the application by St. John is to an historical person who nevertheless as He comes into this world is the "expression of God's will and power, the outgoing of the Divine energy, life, love and light" (*Encycl. Brit.*). Philosophers to-day are trying to base Reality on thought, whereas St. John at once, as also the whole of Divine Revelation, points to a person who being Eternal is the source of all that is created, and transcends all else, and is the source of all life in men and therefore is immanent and also is the light to all men and sustains all things and therefore comprehends all within His sovereign power. He, being "the Word of the Father" and assuming human flesh dwelling among men, expresses the message of grace and truth from God to men. He came not to speak His own words, but the words of Him that sent Him. The Lord Jesus comes as the expression of the innermost thoughts of the Father and is therefore pre-eminently the Word.

Secondly, we will trace how our Lord uses the word, as embodying His thoughts in a message to the world. In Matt. vii. He speaks of the result of hearing "my words" which refer to His discourse in the previous part of the sermon as well as at other times. In another place He identifies His words with those of the Father. To His disciples He said: "If a man love me he will keep my words" (John xiv. 23-24). It is said that the people pressed upon Him to "hear the Word of God." He explains the parable of the Sower as hearing the Word of the Kingdom. "The seed is the Word of God." "The sower soweth the word." He spoke "gracious words" in the synagogue at Nazareth, and "His word" was with power. In all these occasions the word *logos* refers to the whole discourse, and not necessarily to the written word, but yet it is God's message to men based upon the written Word of God.

Thirdly, we may trace a similar use by the Apostles. The Lord gave them a commission to "teach all nations . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." "Then opened He their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures . . . thus it is written and thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations." St. Mark adds that they went forth preaching everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the *Word* (*logos*) with signs following. In their commission as recorded by the Evangelists, no definite words are given, but a general message based upon the Written Word and so comprehended in the word *logos* by St. Mark. It is quite evident that here *logos* refers to the whole Gospel message as does also St. Luke in Acts i. 1 when he

says, "the former treatise (*logos*) have I made." Here he uses the word to include the whole of his gospel, so Luke i. 2 "minister of the word." In Acts ii. 22 we have it stated that St. Peter said "Hear these words," and this is followed by a long address of seventeen verses referring to Jesus Christ, His life, death, resurrection, confirmed by references to the O.T. and exhorting His hearers to repent and be baptised. Then in verse 29 we are told that "with many other words did he testify and exhort." But in the next verse the whole is comprehended as one word. "They that gladly received His 'word' were baptised." Here again a long address of which only part is given is first described as of many words and then summarised as a "word." So that *logos* is a comprehensive term. In the same sense is the expression "Word of God" (Acts vi. 2, 4). It is not specifically the O.T. This generally comes under the term "Scriptures," but the Message of the Gospel contained in the Scriptures and confirmed by the life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. So also Acts viii. 4. Those "scattered abroad went everywhere preaching *the Word*." In verse 14 this is stated to be "*the Word of God*" and verse 25 "the Word of the Lord."

St. Peter said to Cornelius: "The Word which God sent unto the children of Israel preaching peace by Jesus Christ." In Acts xv. 7 he refers to this incident and says "that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear *the word* of the gospel."

In the same comprehensive sense it is used of St. Paul's preaching (Acts xiii. 5), "They preached the word of God." The Deputy "desired to hear the word of God" (verse 7). At Antioch He calls his message "the word of this Salvation" (verse 26).

We have various expressions all of which refer to the Gospel message as based upon the O.T. Scriptures and brought to light by the Lord Jesus manifested in the flesh. Thus we have: The Word of God, Acts xiii. 5, 44; The Word of the Lord, Acts xiii. 48; The Word of Salvation, Acts xiii. 26; The Word of His grace, Acts xiv. 3; The Word of truth, Eph. i. 13; The Word of life, Phil. ii. 16; The Word of Christ, Col. iii. 16; The Word of faith, 1 Tim. iv. 6; or more simply "The Word," Acts xiv. 23, xvi. 6, xvii. 11. This is contrasted in its source as from God and not man, 1 Thes. ii. 13, "when ye received the Word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in truth) the Word of God."

The same meaning is attached to the word in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. 1 Tim. iv. 6, "words of faith"; v. 17, who "labour in word"; 2 Tim. ii. 9, "The Word of God is not bound"; ii. 15, "word of truth"; iv. 2, "Preach the word"; Titus i. 3, "manifested His word through preaching"; v. 9, "holding fast the faithful word"; ii. 5, that "the word of God be not blasphemed."

We conclude then that *logos* is a term that comprehends the gospel message as brought in by the Lord Jesus Christ and based upon the O.T., as when St. Paul at Thessalonica "reasoned with

them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I preach unto you is the Christ" (Acts xvii. 3), and therefore does not exclude the term as used of our Lord in John i. 1 and 14; "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . The Word was made flesh."

The A.V., by inserting the pronouns "this" and "it" as limiting the meaning to a local phrase, is entirely misleading. Where it is so limited in the context the pronoun occurs in the Greek text as in Rom. ix. 9, *This* is the word of promise; xiii. 9, "Comprehended in *this* saying," see also Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6, and so in Matt. vii. 24, 28, etc. Whereas in those five passages the pronoun is absent. We therefore conclude that "the word" has a wider meaning than a local oft-repeated trite saying among the Christians.

We must now consider the meaning of *pistos*, Faithful. Beza's Latin "certus" is scarcely adequate. "Certus" is the past participle of the verb "cerno," the root meaning to separate, akin to the root of *crino*, hence to perceive, discern by a process of sifting and then to decide, decree, determine. *Certus* comes to mean something fixed, decided, settled, then sure, unerring, to be depended upon, all this carries with it the emphasis on a fact established. The idea of faithfulness is only accessory and depends upon its relation to the future as to its being faithful.

Fidelis is from the verb *fido* which is akin to the root *pith*, *peithō*, to trust, confide, put confidence in a person or promise. *Fidelis* therefore signifies the quality of trust or faithfulness, that which may be trusted, relied upon; it applies to a person and words rather than to a thing, whereas "certus" applies to things, some ascertained fact rather than persons. Hence *Fidelis* is the more suitable word.

Pistos is from the same root, it is a verbal adjective and used in both an active and passive sense. In the active sense, of persons who believe, as in John xx. 27, "Be thou not faithless, but believing"; Acts x. 45, "They of the circumcision which believed"; and xvi. 1, "a certain woman which was a Jewess and believed." Compare Gal. iii. 9, Col. i. 2. Faithful here refers to believing; 2 Cor. vi. 15. In a passive sense of persons who being persuaded are to be relied upon; such as have a clear perception of their duty and responsibility, as stewards who strictly carry out their duties and responsibilities both in respect of their masters and of his subjects committed to the steward's care. As Matt. xxiv. 45, "Who then is a faithful and wise servant whom his lord hath made ruler over his household"; xxv. 21, "faithful servant—faithful over a few things"; 1 Cor. iv. 2, "moreover it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." With this idea we may compare the title *hoi pistoi* given in Persia to a sort of Privy-Councillors, and the expression used by us "Our Right *Trusty* and well beloved," as applied to persons, it indicates that they are to be trusted, relied upon to do their duty and fulfil their promises. It is used of God with this sense and meaning. "The Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you and keep

you from evil," 2 Thes. iii. 3, where it stands in contrast with "unreasonable and wicked men" who have not faith. "Faithful is He that calleth you who will also do it" (1 Thes. v. 24). For this reason it is said that Sarah "judged Him faithful that promised" (Heb. xi. 11), "God is faithful by Whom ye were called" (1 Cor. i. 2). It is also used of Christ, who is a "Faithful High Priest" (Heb. ii. 17, Rev. i. 5, iii. 14). Of others to whom Timothy is desired to pass on the authority to teach "to faithful men" (2 Tim. ii. 2).

Of words it means that whatever they import can be relied upon, trusted, believed, as in Titus i. 9 we have "holding fast the faithful word." The only other passages where it is applied to words are those of the Five Sayings, and in two of these their reliability is emphasised by the expression "worthy of all acceptation." They have a value in themselves to be received heartily (1 Tim. i. 15, iv. 9).

In three passages the word is joined with *alēthinos*, "faithful and true." *Alēthinos* signifies that which is superior, or of a higher order, as in John vi. 32, "He is the true bread," i.e. sustains spiritual life, as ordinary bread sustains bodily life. He is the "true Vine" (John xv. 1). That is, He is the source of all spiritual vitality to those who believe in Him as the ordinary vine supplies supports to the branches. Heaven is the "true tabernacle" in contrast with the earthly which was symbolical. In Rev. xix. 11 it is applied to our Lord who is the absolute heavenly monarch over all forces of evil and will one day destroy them. Being faithful He can be relied upon and His governmental power trusted. In the same way the passages in Rev. xxi. 5, xxii. 6, "These words are faithful and true," indicate that they are words superior to all others inasmuch as they have a Divine origin. They reveal the mind and purpose of God, and being faithful they are to be trusted, and relied upon being fulfilled.

Thus we conclude that the word *logos* refers to the whole gospel message broad based upon Holy Scriptures and that this gospel message is entirely trustworthy, to be relied upon and trusted.

We need to consider some reason for the recurring phrase in these Epistles and not in the earlier Epistles. It will throw light on the subject if we visualise the condition of the Churches and the dangers to which the Christian doctrine of the gospel was exposed. Our Lord foreshadowed this state by two parables, in which Satan makes the attack from two different points. In the parable of the tares the Kingdom of God is corrupted by the introduction of false brethren; they are the tares among the wheat so visibly alike in growth and appearance that it would be impossible to remove them with safety to the others, so both must grow together to the end, when God by His angels will make a distinction. It was not long before there was evidence of Satan's activity in this direction. We have Ananias and Sapphira his wife. Then Simon of Samaria, who became a baptised member. Later St. Paul, writing to the Galatians (ii. 4), speaks of false brethren

introduced by some secret side issue to spy out their liberty in Christ. In Corinthians he says he was often in danger of these men (2 Cor. xi. 26). St. Peter also speaks of false prophets and false teachers who bring in damnable heresies (2 Peter ii. 1), St. John of "false prophets that have gone out into the world" (1 John iv. 1).

St. Paul speaks of false Apostles, deceitful workers transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ (2 Cor. xi. 13), at which he does not marvel, seeing that Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light (verse 15). Thus as our Lord in the parable traces the source of these to Satan and their end is destruction, so St. Paul here shows that Satan is the source of false brethren and their end is according to their works.

The second method of attack is foreshadowed in the parable of the leaven. This illustrates the inner secret working of corruption of doctrine. (We know that Lightfoot and others interpret this parable of the secret working of the gospel in the heart and in the world, but if so then it is the only place where leaven is used figuratively in a good sense. Our Lord used it in a bad sense when He spoke of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod.) St. Paul refers to this when writing to the Galatians. He warns them of being entangled again in the yoke of bondage of Judaism, that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump (Gal. v. 9), that is, if they admit even the necessity of circumcision for salvation they become indebted to the whole law. Nor is this leaven confined to Jewish sources. There is the false teaching of Greek Philosophy which would corrupt Christian doctrine whilst it professed to be true wisdom and made appeal to men's intellect, not in support of Christian doctrine, but in confusing the one with the other.

We have then two sources from whence Christianity was to be side-tracked: the Jewish ceremonial and the Greek Philosophy. These two are combated in the Epistle to the Colossians, where they appear to have assumed strong positions in opposition to sound doctrine. St. Paul says that in Christ "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. And this I say, lest any man beguile you with enticing words. . . . Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ" (Col. ii. 3-4, 8). It is interesting to note the characteristics of this "opposition of science falsely so called."

The word beguile, *paralogizētai*, signifies, in keeping accounts to reckon wrongly, then to cheat, in reasoning to reason wrongly and so arrive at false conclusions and fallacies and so mislead; see also James i. 22, "deceiving yourselves," if we are not doers of the word as well as hearers. "Enticing words," *pitjanologia*, means persuasive words or plausible arguments. This is characteristic of the incipient gnosticism. The word "spoil," *sulagōgōn*, signifies to spoil one of one's armour and then lead away. "Vain deceits," *kenēs apatēs*, means an empty trick, fraud, deceit, cheat. The origin of this philosophy is the tradition of men, "rudiments of the world," "rudiments" signifies the simplest elements of know-

ledge, just as the letters are the simplest elements of words so is this philosophy of knowledge. This philosophy was neither Divine nor deep in learning, but a simple unexamined trick, as the gnostic philosophy was deceitful and is met by the true wisdom of God in Christ who has thereby met all the needs of men, so also perfect salvation and restoration of men is met by Christ's death and resurrection. "Ye are made full in Him" (Col. ii. 10 R.V.). He has blotted out all the Jewish law of ordinances, and all who believe have the benefits in Christ (verses 11-14).

St. Paul meets all the gnostic teaching and Greek Philosophy by setting forth Christ as the true æon, the Head of all creation, the Firstborn of every creature, who was the instrument of the creation of all things, visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers. All these are held together by Him (i. 15 ff.).

It is not surprising that a few years later when St. Paul writes the Pastoral Epistles he should have to meet developments of this false philosophy and apostasy. By this time the Jewish trend of thought had been to accommodate itself to the Greek philosophical thought. This Jewish character is expressed in such phrases as these: "Desirous to be teachers of the law," 1 Tim. i. 7; "They of the circumcision," Titus i. 10; "Jewish fables," i. 14; "Fightings about the law," iii. 9. The gnostic character is expressed in these phrases: "Fables and endless genealogies," 1 Tim. i. 4; "Vain jangling," i. 6; "Doting about questions and strife of words," vi. 4; "profane and vain babblings, science falsely so called," vi. 20. St. Paul therefore urges Timothy not to give heed to them, to refuse profane and old wives' fables, to take heed unto doctrine, to withdraw from perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, to hold fast the form of sound words to "study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth," 2 Tim. ii. 15. To "Preach the word." To Titus he says: "Hold fast the faithful word as thou hast been taught," i. 9; "speak thou the things that become sound doctrine," ii. 1.

By this reiterated phrase, "Faithful is the word," St. Paul fastens it as a nail in a sure place upon which to hang all the truths of the gospel. It is by it that all error can be combated.

Let us consider each passage in its context.

1 Tim. i. 15: "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." Here we suggest the following translation as being more in keeping with the mind of the Apostle: "Faithful is the word and worthy of all acceptance, *because* Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." The particle *hoti* suggests a quotation and is then translated "that," but it also means "*because*" as giving a reason for a statement (though this is not indispensable to the argument). In this case the coming of Christ to save sinners is the reason why the word is faithful and worthy of all acceptance. God had fulfilled His word of promise concerning Christ in sending His Son to save sinners. Therefore it was to be relied upon and accepted.

Such a faithful word stands opposed to the unreliability of fables and endless genealogies which minister questions. It leads to a moral conduct never attained by the law. It takes the sinner and cleanses his conscience and gives him the true motive power for holy conduct. It gives the message of the way of salvation by grace and ensures the salvation of the greatest sinner. To sever from this is to make shipwreck of the faith.

1 *Tim. iii. 1*: "This is a true saying: If a man desire the office of a bishop he desireth a good work." The first sentence should stand by itself disconnected from the rest by a full stop, then beginning a new sentence. It will then read, "Faithful is the word. If a man desire the office of a bishop," etc. As already intimated, it is difficult to believe that to "desire the office of a bishop" had in twenty years become a trite saying in churches so widely apart and for the most part despised and in the midst of opposition as well as being corrupted by false teachers and false doctrine. But considering that "Faithful is the word," as a nail in a sure place, a fixed truth and kernel of the gospel, we see a close connection, because a person who desires the office of a bishop, an office that involves preaching so clear and effective message of salvation, does desire a good work in preaching that gospel. For St. Paul said to the bishops of Ephesus: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. . . . And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up and give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified" (Acts xx. 28, 32). This is indeed a good work and having for its basis the faithful word, consequently such men must be of a character in moral conduct and mental fitness as is in keeping with such a position that will not give the outsiders any cause to point the finger of scorn.

1 *Tim. iv. 9*: "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation." Here again we should translate, "Faithful is the word and worthy of all acceptation." This verse stands rightly by itself, *gar* of verse 10 connecting verse 8. It is difficult to connect the preceding or the following verse as the "saying." But there is no difficulty if we take it by itself as combating some error and uncertainty in the context. In iv. 1 ff. we are informed that some would depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils speaking lies in hypocrisy, forbidding to marry and abstain from meats, making bodily exercises the all-important thing for salvation. Timothy is to meet these by shunning these things which are no better or surer than profane and old wives' fables, and because "the word is faithful" the Apostle says that they labour and suffer reproach, because also they trust in the living God who has given such a message. So Timothy must

maintain his ministry of the word to which he had been appointed, taking heed to himself and the doctrine, verse 16.

2 *Tim. ii. 11*: "It is a faithful saying: for if we be dead, we shall also live." We again translate: "Faithful is the word," and disconnect from what follows by a full stop, *gar* of verse 12 connecting verse 10, and again we look to the context for the application. Timothy is reminded from whom and whence he received the knowledge of the Scriptures and salvation, and he is exhorted not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord nor of suffering if needs be in witnessing for Christ. He is to hold fast the form of sound words, and to be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. Endure hardness, to remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead. The word is faithful which involves our being bound up in the death, life, suffering and reigning with Christ. Let him rightly divide the word of truth and shun profane and vain babblings, for they increase to ungodliness.

Titus iii. 8: "This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly." We translate "Faithful is the word," and disconnect from the following sentence by a full stop, and *Kai* connects with verse 7. The context shows the same existence of erroneous teaching. There are those who tend to rebel against lawful authority, but the gospel as brought in by the grace of God, that regenerates by the Holy Spirit, that justifies by grace and makes us heirs of eternal life, all this is by the faithful word and must be affirmed constantly, so that those who believe should be careful to maintain good works. But foolish questions and genealogies and contentions and strivings about the law are to be avoided. These do not lead to good works. It is the gospel of God's grace alone that will lead to this, and the Gospel is the word that is faithful, always to be relied upon to effect the conversion of sinners and create a people zealous of good works. Thus these Five Sayings are not some trite common saying to be found in the same verse or immediate context, but are designed to be the centre of the great truth of the gospel message against all erroneous and false teaching and the uncertainties of Jewish and Greek gnostic Philosophy which was subverting the people and leading to rebellious evil conduct and damnation of souls. The Apostle would have Timothy and Titus rest their teaching and preaching upon the faithfulness of God's message which he sums up and reiterates in this phrase, "Faithful is the Word," and interjects into the middle of the sentence without affecting the construction, but at the same time it is the bulwark against all other teaching which differs from it. There is need to-day as always to adhere to the Gospel message as the Faithful Word.

A SUMMARY OF THE LAW RELATING TO TITHES.

BY A. E. C. PRESCOTT.

THE practice of supporting the Church by a contribution by the laity of a tenth part of their income is probably of Jewish origin. In England tithes were at first paid voluntarily, but during the later Saxon times they were given by law to the Church, and became payable only out of such things as yield with the aid of cultivation a yearly increase by the Act of God, to the ecclesiastic whose duty it was to provide in that place for the cure of souls.

The Common Law further restricted the tithe by excepting payment in the case of things *feræ naturæ*, animals kept for pleasure or curiosity, and things of the substance of the soil, such as bricks, earthenware pots, etc. In the course of time, also, monastic lands became exempted from payment, and continued so after the dissolution of the monasteries, whether they had fallen into the hands of the Crown or its grantees—in the latter case only so long as the land remained in the hands of the owner.

There are three kinds of tithes—prædial, mixed, and personal. Prædial are those which arise merely and immediately from the ground—as grain, hay, wood, fruits, and herbs; mixed are such as arise from things immediately nourished by the ground, e.g. colts, lambs, calves, chickens, milk, cheese, eggs; personal are such profits as arise from labour and industry, being one-tenth part of the clear gain, after charges deducted. Distinction, also, is sometimes drawn between “great” and “small” tithes. Great, or “rector’s,” tithes are ordinarily those of corn, hay, and wood; small, or “vicar’s,” tithes include all other prædial tithes, and also mixed and personal tithes. The names “great” and “small” are derived from the quality rather than the quantity of the tithes in the particular parish.

Owing to the inconveniences which attended the assessment and collection of tithes, resulting from the development of scientific cultivation and a greater variety of crops, voluntary agreements came to be made between incumbents and tithe-payers, whereby the former accepted (under the name of “modus”) either a capital sum or an annual payment in money or kind in lieu of the one-tenth. Such agreements, however, being voluntary, could not operate to bind the successors of the parties to them, and for this reason the voluntary system was superseded by the provisions of the Commutation Acts.

The Tithe Act, 1836, substituted as an equivalent for the tithe a rentcharge varying in proportion every year according to the average price of corn as quoted in the *London Gazette* at the beginning of the year. If the commutation was not effected voluntarily, it was to be compelled by the Tithe Commissioners appointed under

the Act. A provision was also included whereby clergy entitled to tithes could commute them for an equivalent of not more than twenty acres of land. The Act, however, did not extend (unless a special parochial agreement, approved by the Commissioners, were entered into) to tithes of fish or fishing, personal tithes other than tithes of mills, mineral tithes, or to any payment instead of tithes due in the City of London, or to any permanent rentcharge or other rent or payment in lieu of tithes calculated on the rent or value of any house or lands in any city or town, or to any lands or tenements the tithes whereof had been already perpetually extinguished under any previous Act. The Act, therefore, substituted a tithe commutation rentcharge for all tithes except those above enumerated, and any of these excepted tithes can be brought within the operation of the Act by special provisions inserted in parochial agreements.

Thus although the ancient system of tithes has become practically extinct, the property which they represented is still provided for by an equivalent in the form of a rentcharge. In 1925 an Act was passed the principal objects of which were the stabilization and ultimate extinguishment of this rentcharge. Stabilization for a fixed period ending on the 1st of January, 1926, had been ensured by the Tithe Act, 1918, the sum payable up till that date being ascertained in the method prescribed by the Act of 1836. Under those circumstances the amount of a tithe rentcharge in 1926 would have risen to £130 for every £100 commuted tithe rentcharge. On the other hand, relief in respect of rates (under the Ecclesiastical Tithe Rentcharge (Rates) Act, 1920) would have disappeared on the same date, and what the tithe-owner would have gained by the increase he would have lost in the payment of rates. The 1925 Act, therefore, stabilizes the tithe at £105 for every £100 commuted rentcharge, and requires the tithe-payer to provide an additional £4 10s. per annum towards a sinking fund designed to effect the final extinguishment of the tithe in eighty-five years. Meanwhile the statutory exemptions in respect of local rates are continued substantially the same as before.

The tithe is payable half-yearly, on the 1st of April and the 1st of October, and under the Tithes Act, 1891, it is payable only by the owner of the lands out of which it issues, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary between him and the occupier; any such contract made after the Act is void, but if it was made before the Act the occupier is liable to pay the amount of the rentcharge to the owner, in which case the latter must serve a notice of such liability both upon the owner of the rentcharge and upon the occupier, who may appear to be heard in the County Court before an order for payment is made. Payment has now, under the Tithe Act, 1925, been centralized by being transferred from the various incumbents to the Central Fund of Queen Anne's Bounty, which has statutory authority to collect and distribute the tithe, and to have the custody and investment of the sinking fund above referred to.

The method of enforcing the payment of the tithe rentcharge is provided for by the Act of 1891. Under that Act, if any sum is due in arrear for not less than three months, the person entitled may apply to the County Court (whatever the sum involved) and the Court may order that sum to be recovered. This is the only method of recovery. If the lands in question are occupied by the owner, the Court will appoint an officer who may distrain (i.e. seize a sufficient amount of goods to satisfy the debt) for the sum ordered to be paid. If there is no sufficient distress, the person entitled may proceed to obtain possession of the lands. If, on the other hand, the land is not occupied by the owner, the Court will appoint a Receiver of the rents and profits of the lands in question and of any other lands occupied and owned by the same owner in the same parish. Application to the Court for an order under the Act may be made by the tithe-owner or his agent (who need not be a solicitor), but no costs of a solicitor so applying will be allowed if the amount claimed is paid without further proceedings, nor can any sum be recovered in this way unless proceedings have been commenced before the expiration of two years from the date when it became payable.

Other provisions of the Tithe Acts are directed towards the redemption and remission of tithe rentcharges. Payment may be redeemed at the instance of either party by an agreed capital sum to be fixed, in default of any agreement, by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and provisions are included for facilitating redemption on the basis of receiving an equivalent income from Government securities. Further, it is now possible for a tithe rentcharge to be remitted when it exceeds two-thirds of the annual value of the land out of which it arises. If the County Court is satisfied that, if the sum claimed is paid, the total amount paid for twelve months before the claim was made will exceed two-thirds of the annual value of the land, it must order a remission of so much of the claim as is equal to the excess.

THE GENESIS OF GENESIS. By D. E. Hart-Davies, M.A., D.D.
James Clark & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d.

The ordinary reader will find these expositions of the early narratives of Genesis very helpful. They do not meet every critical difficulty in detail, nor are they designed to do so. But there is scarcely any question of importance which does not receive attention.

Dr. Hart-Davies rightly points out the meagreness of the evidence in support of the evolutionary theory, and in other directions, too, he shows forcefully on how flimsy a foundation many widely current views are based. He handles vital themes in a reasonable and readable way, and we warmly commend his book to that numerous body of persons who desire clear and reliable guidance upon the perennially important subjects with which it deals.

H. D.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT. By E. A. Knox, D.D., formerly Bishop of Manchester. *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* 10s. 6d. net.

The celebration of the Centenary of the Oxford Movement has called forth many publications dealing with its various aspects. Some of these are purely partisan tracts. Some are more ambitious efforts to explain the causes and development of the Movement; but they are mainly the work of those who regard themselves as the successors of the Tractarians in the modern Anglo-Catholic School. The celebration demanded a work which would set out the whole Movement from the point of view of a loyal Anglican, and Bishop Knox has provided in this volume an accurate and impartial record of the successive phases of the Movement from its inception in 1833 to the secession of Newman to the Roman Communion in 1845. Bishop Knox's gifts as a writer are well known and appreciated by a wide circle of readers, but we must say that in this study of the Tractarians he has shown himself a brilliant historian. If his long life had not been spent in the multifarious activities of the Church and the Episcopate, this volume, written at his great age, shows that he would have taken high rank among the historians of the day. It displays all the qualities of a good historian. The first requisite of the historian is a wide and accurate knowledge of the vast mass of materials with which he has to deal. This includes not merely the life and work of the chief actors and a just appreciation of their characters, but also the whole environment in which they lived and the surrounding influences that moulded their age and produced its characteristic lines of thought. The second quality demanded is an ability to select from the material provided all that is needed without superfluity to present the picture in its true perspective; and the third is power of insight to select the forces underlying the Movements of the age depicted, and to present them in their interaction upon one another, and in their ultimate consequence. All these powers Bishop Knox displays in a very high degree. The result is a history of the Tractarian Movement that must become the classic work on the subject. His past associations with Oxford have given him an intimate acquaintance with the ethos of the University at the time when, the first thrills and shocks of the new enthusiasm being over, a more critical and adequate view of the gains and losses could be taken. Time has mellowed the vista and enabled the Bishop, while admiring the abilities of the chief protagonists, to exhibit the weaknesses of their theories and the consequent disabilities which have resulted in the religious life of the country, and throughout the Anglican Communion.

The opening chapter gives an account of "The Establishment" as it was settled in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the various

changes in practice and in theory that the course of time produced, till the alliance between Church and State presented the problem to Evangelicals and Tractarians alike, "Could a Church be national without being either spiritually dead or absorbed in the Papal Communion?" A vivid picture of "Oxford Life and Thought in 1832" brings out the relations between Nationalism and Romanticism and their influence upon the "squirearchy and the clergy." A wider range of view is introduced by an account of religious movements in France and their influence on Oxford thought. It is shown that the Tractarian Movement was not an isolated one, but was part of a religious development which was widespread at the time. In French Roman Catholic circles it was partly expressed in a great desire for the conversion of England. A glance at "The Evangelicals or 'Old Contemptibles'" of the time shows, that in spite of the outside opinion of them indicated in the title, they were "progressive, associated with humanitarian reforms and worldwide missionary enterprise," while the Tractarians were "reactionary, guided by Romanticism and a desire to re-establish the rule of the clergy over the laity," a desire which was concealed "under the cloak of the revival of Church discipline." The heart of the problem is reached in the consideration of the various interpretations that were given to the clause in the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." This article was regarded as a "suppressed truth" before the Oxford Movement, and the foundation principle of the Movement was the view that the promises made by our Lord of guidance into all truth, of power to absolve or retain sins, of His continued Presence and of "sacramental grace" were "guaranteed and confirmed to the Bishops in all ages as the Divinely-appointed successors of the Apostles, and to priests ordained by those Bishops and to no others." Once this interpretation was accepted the consequences were inevitable, and Dr. Knox traces them out with unerring judgment. Keble's sermon on National Apostasy, preached in July, 1833, was the assertion of the claims of the Church as against the State with its supposed growing Liberalism, and the Dissenters, who were regarded as lacking the elementary character of Churchmanship which depended on the possession of the Apostolical Succession in the Episcopate. Stage by stage the character of the Movement was changed by the inevitable logic of facts. The theory of the "Apostolical Church" developed into an assertion of the narrow and intolerant view of Catholicism in the restricted sense of the Roman conception, then to a complete withdrawal on the part of Newman and his more intimate associates of opposition to the superstitions and errors of Rome and finally to an acceptance of all the claims of the Papacy. The authorities of the Roman Communion were from the first keenly alive to the possible advantages to be gained from the Movement, although they were undoubtedly disappointed with the ultimate result, as the perversion of Newman did not lead to any great landslide or produce any appreciable effects for the benefit of the Roman Church in England. It is a mistake to imagine that the Romanists

were mere idle spectators of what was going on in the Church of England at the time. Dr. Knox shows the various activities, both at home and abroad, that were at work, through Wiseman, de Lisle, Dalgairns, Father Dominic, Spence and others to help forward the expected disaster to the Anglican Communion when a great body of its members became Romanists. The expected dénouement never took place.

Dr. Knox has a special gift of insight into character, and an unusual power of analysis of motives. One of the chief interests of this volume is the fascinating study of the various phases in the processes of thought through which Newman passed before he finally went over. The inherent scepticism of his whole outlook is noted, and his effort to counteract it by finding some adequate Authority upon which he could rest. In a passage of special beauty Dr. Knox describes the tragic ending of Newman's Anglican career. It ends with the words: "Ecclesiastical history has many tragedies, but few which, for the bitterness they caused to the sacrificer, could be compared with the surrender of John Henry Newman at the feet of Father Dominic." One of the chief sources of Newman's weakness, apart from defects in his theological learning which could not be compensated for by the acuteness of his intellect, was this self-centred concentration. These and many other features in the subtle genius of a man whose aim, although it was holiness, resulted in an amazing self-deception, are fully set out. Equally valuable accounts are given of other actors in the tragedy. For example, Hurrell Froude, whose deleterious influence upon Newman was great, is presented in his true character as a despiser of the Reformation and all that it stood for. Others helped to increase "the encircling gloom" in which at last "Newman saw a Ghost" as a result of an article by Wiseman on the Donatists. This was the beginning of the last stage. We must leave to our readers to enjoy for themselves the immense mass of interesting details which Bishop Knox has brought together from his minute and extensive acquaintance with all the sources of information concerning the period. Many side-lights are thrown upon the scene, which have escaped the notice of other writers less fully equipped or more definitely partisan in their attitude. While firm in his own position, the Bishop gives a just and impartial estimate of the powers of the chief Tractarians and their associates. We find the results of the Movement, as far as the answer to the question of the Church is concerned, summed up in an interesting passage. "Ten years had passed since Sikes had prophesied that the revival of the Article 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church' would eclipse the rest of the Creed. For ten years the leaders of the Oxford Movement had been inculcating 'Church Doctrine.' But they had done more to confuse than enlighten the public mind. The Apostolic Succession and authority of the Episcopate had broken under their hands like a bruised reed and had pierced them. The Thirty-nine Articles, instead of being a clear exposition of Church doctrine had been expounded as meaning almost the opposite of what they seemed

to say. Rome had delivered knocks and blows which left Newman 'with a pain in the pit of his stomach.' "

Many readers will turn with special interest to the closing chapters on "The Environment of the Oxford Movement" and "Summary and Sequel." The first of these helps us to see how united and progressive our Church might have been had the original impulse of the Evangelical Revival been allowed to reach its true consummation in the religious life of the land, and if it had not been thwarted and turned into new and unfortunate channels by the theory and teaching of the Tractarians on the Church and the necessity of Apostolic Succession and Episcopacy.

Of special interest is the concluding chapter, which gives an unusually able and convincing estimate of the results of the Movement and its influence upon the religion of to-day. A fundamental principle of the English Reformation was the position of the laity. A deadly blow was aimed at it by the effort to introduce a system of discipline which meant the control of the clergy over the laity. The Tractarians failed also in that "they became, in fact, a sect and broke up the Communion of the Church of England. They tried to restore faith in the Holy Catholic Church, and succeeded in splitting the Church of England." The attitude of Evangelicals towards the Anglo-Catholic system must be determined by their loyalty to Christ; for "the Catholic System, as it is called, is not to be found in the teaching of Christ and His Apostles."

This invaluable contribution to the study of the Oxford Movement and its results affords just grounds for the refusal of those Evangelical Churchpeople who are unable to take part in the Celebrations of its Centenary.

THE PROTESTANT DICTIONARY. New Edition. Edited by Charles Sydney Carter, M.A., and G. E. Alison Weeks, M.A., B.D., LL.D. *The Harrison Trust.* 31s. 6d. net.

The Protestant Dictionary was first published in 1904 under the editorship of Charles H. H. Wright, D.D., Ph.D., and Charles Neil, M.A. Coming from the hands of such able scholars, assisted by a company of equally able contributors, the volume took its place at once as a standard work of reference. It was largely used by those who required accurate information on points of Church history and doctrine, especially on those that concerned our differences from the Church of Rome. It was explained clearly that the words "Protestant" and "Catholic" are not conflicting terms when rightly understood. "The word Protestantism stands for the return to Primitive and Apostolic Christianity." It is the reassertion of "the faith once for all delivered unto the saints." Although the work was conceived in no controversial spirit, it had to deal with matters of controversy. Its purpose was simply to provide reliable and uncontroversible information. The names of the distinguished scholars and theologians from many

of the Protestant Churches who assisted in the production of the Dictionary were a guarantee of the soundness of the learning it contained.

After thirty years it is evident that a new edition was needed. "Recent research combined with modern scholarship has resulted in fuller and more accurate knowledge on many subjects, while many events that have occurred during this period necessitated special mention and treatment." The task of revision has been assigned to the competent hands of the Rev. C. Sydney Carter and the Rev. G. E. Alison Weeks, who have been assisted by a number of able contributors well acquainted with recent developments of thought. The result of their work is to produce a reliable volume of reference which will be invaluable to students for many years to come. We are glad to notice the reference made to the loss which Evangelical scholarship suffered in the deaths of the Ven. Archdeacon Thorpe and the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, both of whom had promised their assistance in the work. The value of such a dictionary can only be realised by its use, and we have already found the accuracy and fairness that we expected in such articles as those on the Malines Conversations, the Church Assembly, Moral Theology, The Prayer Book, Reservation, Epiklesis, and a number of others which we have had occasion to consult. The editors have kept in view the needs of the scholars, who demand the results of minute research, and the general reader who is more concerned with broad results.

The volume is excellently produced on good paper, with excellent type and strong binding. There are sixteen full-page illustrations, with many smaller ones distributed throughout the text. A useful feature is a tabular view of Popes, Kings and Emperors up to the present time, with concise notes on the chief contemporary events. There is a full index, with cross-reference, and a bibliography is added to the longer articles. The volume is issued at the price of 31s. 6d., which is moderate when the amount of work involved is taken into consideration. We recommend our readers to obtain a copy, as they will find it an invaluable source of accurate information on all subjects concerned with the history and teaching of Protestantism.

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL. Vol. I. From the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. By Theodore H. Robinson, Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Cardiff. Vol. II. From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, A.D. 135. By W. O. E. Oesterley, Professor of Hebrew and O.T. Exegesis, King's College, London. *Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932.*

Such a book has long been needed, and the volumes before us, we believe, will long be used. It is a happy coincidence that one volume is produced by a minister of the Free Church and the other by an Anglican clergyman. Layman, teacher, minister and specialist

will be consulting this *History of Israel*. The two volumes may be obtained separately, and either is a cheap fifteen shillings' worth (approximately 512 pages per volume, with 11 maps in each).

All schools of thought recognise the need, in studying the Old Testament, of a running history or at least a small manual to read side by side with the text itself. At one time this was supplied for many by such a volume as Maclear's; later students used Ottley, others Foakes Jackson or Wade.

Robinson's great work is the result of years of labour of the nature styled "critical," but there will be many who will be gratified that his great exposition of O.T. history is so well balanced and (in the best sense) "conservative." In his own preface (p. x) he remarks: "It may seem to some readers that in the earlier part of the book I have given too much weight to the Biblical narratives. . . . I have not the slightest doubt that among those who in the remote past contributed to the future Israel, there were men named Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. . . ." He speaks sympathetically of Garstang's recent publication *Joshua-Judges*.

Robinson holds to the critical view which has become now well-nigh traditional that Deuteronomy, or the basis of Deuteronomy, was promulgated as a document in the seventh century B.C. He examines briefly, but definitely discards, the theory developed independently by both Hölscher and Kennett that Deuteronomy is essentially post-exilic. (See *Additional Note F*, p. 425.) Robinson's work is characterised by breadth of outlook, careful study of the Hebrew text and a wide knowledge of the work of other O.T. scholars. Inevitably there will be a number of matters upon which the reader will find his judgment differ from that of the author, at times widely.

Canon Oesterley has a difficult period as his self-chosen task. It is admitted by all that the original sources for the making of a history of the period 586 B.C. to A.D. 135, canonical and uncanonical combined, do not cover the field, and at times raise problems difficult and perplexing even more than is the case with the pre-exilic period of Israel's history. But the author tackles his task manfully, using skilfully the vast amount of modern discussion which has come into being of recent years in English and in other languages.

Dr. Oesterley in some of his first hundred pages is perhaps a trifle provocative. Interesting suggestions are that, when the first batch of exiles returned, the temple, "though in a dilapidated condition, was still standing; the altar had been used for offering sacrifices during the whole period of the Exile." There is evidence for these points, but in our opinion they are not so incontestable as is the general fact that there was a considerable Jewish population living in the land during the whole of the period. Dr. Oesterley declares "there is now no room for doubt that Ezra was Nehemiah's successor" (p. 129). At the same time the writer differs from many in that he claims that the *essence* of what is said in Ezra of himself and his work is historically true. Some would attribute him and it

to fiction. The origin of the Samaritan schism is dealt with ably ; and those who have not read the Elephantine Papyri will learn much and will have their curiosity stimulated by Additional Note C. He makes the suggestion that only the Jews of the Nile Island in the fifth century B.C. spoke Aramaic is best explained if they were in fact the second generation of those Israelite captives who were deported after the fall of Samaria to the (Aramaic-speaking) provinces of Mesopotamia. Perhaps their fathers had first moved over to Egypt in the Assyrian army of Asshur-bani-pal.

The story of the Maccabaeen revolt is fully told ; and the general historical introduction and background to the New Testament are well and interestingly given. In a word students of the New Testament (not less than those of the Old) will find an abundance of help of a general and of a detailed character as they read this comprehensive and well-written volume.

THE BUDDHA AND THE CHRIST. An Exploration of the Meaning of the Universe and of the Purpose of Human Life. The Bampton Lectures for 1932. By Canon B. H. Streeter, D.D. *Macmillan & Co.* 7s. 6d. net.

Canon Streeter explains at the outset that these lectures are not intended to be a study in Comparative Religion. Their aim is to explore whether materials afforded by such comparative study throw light on the Unseen Power behind the Universe and so can provide the basis of a working philosophy for everyday life. He has chosen for his purpose the two greatest of the world's great religions, and has paid visits to China and Japan in order to come into personal contact with people brought up in the Buddhist tradition so as to provide a sympathetic understanding of what that religion means to those who actually profess it. The outcome is a book that will not only interest all students of religion, but will also help those who are seeking to understand the various problems which to-day have to be faced by all thoughtful people.

In the opening chapter he deals with Science and Religion as two parallel avenues to a knowledge of the Ultimate Reality—a subject which he has already considered in his earlier work on *Reality*. He shows that Science is as the map of a landscape to the actual scene, or as the lines on a gramophone record to the music as heard. Religion supplies what is lacking, but Religion must not be assumed to be the Christian Religion. He therefore examines and contrasts what Christianity and Buddhism have to offer. Many in the West are to-day attracted by what they believe to be the teaching of Buddhism, and it is well for them to see the real character of that teaching and how far it falls short of what Christianity provides. The result of Canon Streeter's examination is to show that while Buddhism has many fine characteristics, Christianity holds the supreme place and provides all that is required for human needs. The account that is given of Buddhism is of special value as it is a sympathetic study of all that is best in it

acquired at first hand from Buddhist teachers. The chief interest of the book is, however, the application of the religious truths to the practical affairs of life. A great variety of very important subjects are considered and interesting light is thrown on each of them. The account of "Evolving Christianity" shows the conflicts of thought that have marked the history of the Church and have led up to the task of the modern theologian. Students interested in philosophic thought will appreciate the lecture on "Magic, Philosophy, and Religion." A more general appeal is made in the closing chapters which deal with Pain, Action and Ideal, and Immortality. In these pages many and varied questions are brought under review. For example, the contrast between World-affirming and World-denying Ethics, the relation between Psychological Research and the Scientific outlook, Reincarnation and Karma, the modern world view of immortality, and life eternal. Canon Streeter is in close touch with many phases of modern thought and he shows clearly how Christianity can meet the questions so frequently raised by doubting spirits. His aim is practical and he throws the light of the great principles represented by the ideal of Nirvana on the one hand and the ideal of the Kingdom of God on the other on the conduct of life. It is a striking and original volume, and will suggest new lines of treatment to many thinkers, as well as supplying useful information on the character and results of widely differing types of religious teaching.

THE GROWTH OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Gilbert Slater. *Constable & Co.*, 1932. 15s. net.

A great historian has said that if we would understand the age in which we are living we must study the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet we find that the majority of English people know more about Alfred the Great and William the Conqueror than they do of the men who built up the British Empire in the eighteenth century, or of the statesmen and movements which, during the nineteenth century, were responsible for the formation of the democratic constitution under which we are now living. Similarly, what often hinders an intelligent interpretation of the New Testament is that many of our religious teachers appear to know far more about Abraham and Moses and Samuel and David than they do of the religious and political conditions in Palestine between 300 B.C. and A.D. 100.

Dr. Slater's book is an excellent compendium of the history of England during the last 230 years. It is very clearly arranged, and the amount of information it contains is extraordinary. It is divided into five parts: (1) "The Eighteenth Century"; (2) "War on Two Fronts (1789-1815)"; (3) "From Waterloo to the Crimean War"; (4) "The Mid-Victorian Age"; (5) "The Last Half-Century." Each part is, again, carefully divided into chapters. In the last part these deal, among other subjects, with "The Second Industrial Revolution" (that due to the invention of the dynamo

and the internal combustion engine ; also to the results of chemical and biological research) ; other chapters deal with " Foreign Affairs " (including the Great War) : " The Development of Local Government " ; " British Industry and International Competition " ; and " The Labour Movement " .

As Dr. Slater reviews the various influences which have produced the England of to-day he does not neglect that of religion. His book opens with a valuable survey of " Religious Feeling and Ethics at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century " . He makes a careful estimate of these, again, at the close of the same century. When he arrives at the middle of the nineteenth century he deals quite fairly with the influences of both the Evangelical and Tractarian Movements. While he is careful to write as a historian and not as a partisan, he does not hesitate to point out " certain results of doctrines borrowed from mediævalism by the Tractarian Movement. "

Speaking of the stress laid by the Tractarians on the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, Dr. Slater writes, " in proportion as this doctrine is accepted it leads the cleric on to the acceptance of other doctrines which exalt his calling and mark him out as one divinely entrusted with spiritual authority over laymen, among which interpretations of the doctrine with regard to the Eucharist approximating to, if they are not identical with, the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the obligation of auricular confession, are the most important " (p. 390).

As Dr. Slater opens his book with an account of religious conditions in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, so he closes it with a brief estimate of the influences affecting religion in England at the present time. He sees two movements at work, which he names " Neo-Christianity " and " Neo-paganism " (possibly the first of these terms is not quite happily chosen). By " Neo-Christianity " he means a " Back to the Gospels " movement, of which he says, " It is somewhat timid in its manifestations. " Would that it were far less timid ! Certainly there is far too little " Gospel preaching " to-day. The evidences of this movement are far stronger in literature (e.g. in books like Dr. J. R. Glover's) than in the pulpit. " Neo-Paganism " Dr. Slater defines as " the revival of the ethics of Hellas in its finest time. " Of this judgment I would say that if it is true at all it is so among a very limited number of people.

Actually the " Neo-Paganism " so much in evidence to-day has little connection with the ethics of Plato and Aristotle or with those of the Stoics. It is rather a widespread and foolish revolt against all forms of self-discipline, and especially against such a self-discipline as a Christian life demands.

Apart from this one instance I do not know of any judgment of Dr. Slater's with which I find myself in strong disagreement.

His book is a thoroughly useful one, and for those who wish to know how the England in which we are living to-day has come to be what it is I know none better.

W. E. C.

TALMUDIC JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By Dr. A. Lukyn Williams. *London: S.P.C.K., 1933.* 2s. net.

For Hebrew students a thoroughly reliable introduction to further study of a complicated problem; and of more than usual interest to the student of the English New Testament. The object of the volume is to demonstrate that the Talmud affords trustworthy evidence to the nature of Rabbinic Judaism of the period 4 B.C. to the destruction of Jerusalem. But before dealing directly with this problem Dr. Williams devotes a chapter to a brief account of the two Talmuds, and explains the technical terms Mishna, Gemara, Haggadah and Halakah which puzzle the uninitiated. To illustrate the character of the Talmud he gives in full two translated extracts, one from the Babylonian (Berachoth ix, 2) and the other from the so-called Jerusalem Talmud (ib. iii, 3); and then he answers the question as to the permanent value of the Talmuds. Turning now to his main objective our author deals with the Talmud as evidence for the Rabbinic Judaism of the New Testament, discussing his subject under two heads: (1) evidence apart from the New Testament, (2) the witness of the New Testament itself. The sources of the evidence under the first heading are few, but satisfactory for the purpose—Josephus, the Megillath Taanith, the customs whose origin is lost in antiquity, part of Pirke Avoth and the older parts of the Jewish Liturgy. From these sources is drawn out the nature of the Rabbinic Judaism in Palestine during New Testament times, and the conclusion reached that it was “as bright and happy a religion as the world has seen.” A comparison of the teaching of our sources with that of the Talmud establishes that the outlook and attitude of Talmudic Judaism is identical with that of the Palestinian Rabbinic Judaism of the first century. In his brief chapter on the witness of the New Testament itself Dr. Williams comes to the conclusion that “to both St. Paul and our Lord the light-hearted religion of Rabbinic Judaism seemed to be wanting in depth.”

There are small misprints on pp. 16, note 2; 52, note 5. The latest critical edition of the Megillath Taanith by Hans Lichtenstein (Cincinnati, 1932) should be added to the note on p. 40. An English translation of both the Aramaic and Hebrew appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN* of 1922-3.

A. W. GREENUP.

THE MEANING OF THE REVELATION. By Mr. Philip Carrington, M.A., sometime Scholar of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and at present Dean of Divinity University of Bishops College, Lennoxville, Quebec. *S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.*

This is a very interesting and thought-provoking book. Its main object is to give a running commentary to elucidate the meaning. The author does not discuss the question of authorship, for he considers that it is sufficient for his purpose to state that “someone” wrote the Revelation about the year A.D. 95

and intended it to mean something, and his task has been to find out what he meant. Mr. Carrington considers *The Apocalypse* to be a "great monument of mystic poetry," and he is deeply impressed with the spirituality of the Visions. When the *Apocalypse* was originally written "it was naturally accepted as an account of current events and of events shortly to come to pass," but very soon the key to its meaning was lost, "and its mystic symbolism was taken as literal description." He can therefore find no support for the theory that the *Apocalypse* is merely a forecast of the main events of history, and further he shows that a purely spiritual method of interpretation fails to see that the Revelation was decidedly a message to its own age and "that a Hebrew never thought of the spiritual except as an actual living force in present history." While he pays a great tribute to the Commentary of Dr. Charles, yet he disagrees with his supposition that "the symbols of St. John must be employed by him in the same sense as they are employed by the anonymous authors of *Enoch*, *Esdras* and the rest," and therefore he refuses to bring down the meaning of the *Apocalypse* to "their level of literalism, materialism, pessimism and puerility." He believes the book to be a highly spiritual poem and capable of a high spiritual meaning throughout. Further, he considers the Mythical theory, which regards the work as a mass of contradictory fragments by various authors, unsatisfactory, for while Mr. Carrington believes that the book can be divided into "strata which seem to have been composed at different times and in different places," yet he feels sure that it is a literary unity and the work of one great genius.

In regard to the Eschatological view he maintains that while the author borrowed from the *Apocalypses* of his time their literary form, yet he has used that literary form to convey his own meaning, and that meaning is spiritual—its symbols standing for great invisible forces which are at work in human history, and it is occupied with current history of his own times. He considers therefore that the author is dealing with great spiritual realities—not abstract ideas—and that great invisible powers are at work in history, which powers are described in symbolic terms, and the determining and formative influences in the thought of the author are Jesus and the older prophets, especially Ezekiel, for as he points out "the plan of Ezekiel is the plan of Revelation."

The distinct feature of Mr. Carrington's book is the revival of Dr. Milligan's theory that the great city—*Babylon*—which is the central event of the book, is *Jerusalem*, and he brings forward many new facts to support this contention.

There is a very useful introduction dealing with the main ideas of Apocalyptic Literature and the actual commentary is divided into four parts. Chapters 1-3 are described as St. John's introduction containing his greetings to the Seven Churches.

Chapters 4-11 deal with "this age," by which is meant the first age in the world's history, in which St. John outlines the history of the world and prophecy down to the middle of the first century

A.D., an age marked by God's covenant with Israel and culminating in God's rejection of them which Jesus had prophesied in A.D. 30 and which was effected in A.D. 70. This whole section leads up to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Chapters 12-14 to verse 13 describe the birth of the Saviour and the origin of Christianity. It is interesting to note that in Chapter 12 he identifies the Heavenly woman as the Mother of the Messiah and Michael is identified with Christ.

Chapter 14, verse 14 to end, announces the final doom of Jerusalem and the final triumph of Christ and His Church and the establishment of the New Jerusalem.

The book is written in a very clear style and can be recommended as a sane and helpful interpretation of this difficult book. It has a good index which will make the book useful for reference.

THE PEOPLE OF THE MOSQUE. By L. Bevan Jones. Pp. xvi + 327. *Student Christian Movement Press*. 10s. 6d. net.

The Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore, has rendered invaluable service to all missionary students and particularly to those whose work lies among Mohammedans. This book is written at the request of the National Christian Council of India, and is intended to supply a long-felt need for a careful study of Mohammedan origins, teaching and thought. Its usefulness will be gradually increased by the projected translations into Urdu, Hindi and Bengali.

It is an age of change everywhere and not least in the Muslim world. While it would not be true to say that Mohammedans generally are looking with new and critical eyes at the faith which they profess, there are large sections of the more educated class who freely attack "not only the Christian missionary, but the antiquated mulla as well."

Here lies a great opportunity and, as Mr. Bevan Jones shows, a great danger. He pleads for intelligent use of the opportunity afforded. Much harm has been done by injudicious attacks on the personal character of Mohammed. The literature largely used by missionaries has not always been wisely planned; too frequently it has simply called forth a bitter response. The Christian doctrine needs carefully stating and in such a way as not to offend unnecessarily Muslim prejudices. Above all it is the part of the missionary to get to know individual Muslims and at all times to live the Gospel which he preaches. It is by witness even more than by preaching that conquests will be made.

For a comprehensive yet readable survey of the foundations, faith and practice of Islam, and for a reasonable and careful estimate of Islam's strength and inadequacy, we whole-heartedly commend this book.

F. B.

HE THAT COMETH. By Rev. Geoffrey Allen (Fellow and Chaplain, Lincoln College, Oxford). *Alexander MacLehose & Co.* 5s.

It is not easy in a short Notice to do justice to this apologia for the Oxford Group Movement on the one hand, or to any criticism of it on the other.

Frankly, we are charmed by the beauty of much of it, but equally we are perplexed by what appears to be its main import. It seems as though we must either espouse the Group methods or find our place among the Pharisees and hypocrites.

This new exclusiveness is bound to produce new divisions. Every Christian condemns hypocrisy, but not every Christian feels led to expose his secret shame to others, still less to regard it as a *sine qua non* that all Christians must do so.

In Chapter VIII we are told that "modern theology has taken away the reminder of the anger of God, and has pictured God as an amiable figure who is not allowed to rebuke sin and cannot heal it." This may be true, but it is untrue to suppose that all Christians are under the sway of "modern theology" and that no Christians understand experimentally the revelation of God's way of salvation in the Epistle to the Romans, where the true antidote to the error that forgiveness "costs nothing and achieves nothing" and that "we can therefore freely continue as we are" was given, once for all, centuries ago.

If the stimulating challenge of the Group Movement makes people study afresh the true groundwork of Christianity in the New Testament, much good will come. But if it aspires to take the place of the one foundation nothing but harm can result.

H. D.

THE BAD ABBOT OF EVESHAM, AND OTHER MEDIEVAL STUDIES.

By H. P. Palmer, M.A. *Oxford: Basil Blackwell.* 4s. 6d. net.

In this volume Mr. Palmer reprints several articles dealing with the life of the Middle Ages, some of which have appeared in the pages of *THE CHURCHMAN* and some in other magazines. The essays give an insight into the religious life of the Middle Ages, and, we are afraid, seriously help to dissipate the visionary, idealistic pictures drawn by partisans who would have us believe in the wonders of the age of Faith. Readers of these pages will discover much of the littleness and dissipation that marked the life of some of the religious Orders. The passions of human nature seem to have been put under little restraint by the Christian teaching which they professed. Mr. Palmer has gone in every case to original sources for his information and his narratives are clearly set out with literary charm.

Also from S.P.C.K. there come two well-printed booklets of verse: *Christ our All in All*, by Christina Rossetti, and *Selected Poems of Gilbert White*. Price 6d. each.

H. D.

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

SO many books have appeared during the last few months that we regret that we are unable to give as much space to some of them as they deserve. We must, however, draw attention briefly to the following volumes.

The Bishop of London's Lent Book this year was written by the Rev. W. H. Elliott, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael, Chester Square. The title is *The Christian in his Blindness* (Longmans, Green & Co., 2s. 6d. net). In popular style, with many striking illustrative incidents, Mr. Elliott makes a heart-searching examination of some of the chief failures of Christian people to-day, and also provides a number of useful lessons on points of Christian teaching especially in regard to the future life.

When it was anticipated by the supporters of the revised Prayer Book in 1928 that the book would be fully authorised, the English Church Union planned a Commentary on the new Prayer Book. The rejection of the book by Parliament upset their plans. They determined, however, to proceed with the compilation of a Commentary, and with the assistance of the S.P.C.K. the volume was recently issued under the title of *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion* (S.P.C.K., 15s. net). The Editorship was entrusted to Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke with the assistance of Dr. Charles Harris. They brought together a band of writers who have produced an interesting and, in some respects, a useful volume. It contains a wide variety of information regarding liturgies, but the bias of the book is strongly on the side of Anglo-Catholicism, and its historical statements and scriptural exegesis need careful scrutiny before adoption, so that Evangelical Churchmen will be chary of accepting its deductions. As a book of reference upon the Anglo-Catholic interpretation of our Prayer Book it will, no doubt, find a place on many library shelves.

Canon Peter Green has added to his books on *God The Father*, and *God The Son*, a third on *The Holy Ghost The Comforter, A Study of The Nature and Work of God The Holy Spirit* (Longmans, Green & Co., 4s. 6d.). In his usual clear way, Canon Green gives expression to his strong conviction that Western civilisation is moving towards a great catastrophe from which nothing can save it except a great revival of Spiritual religion. He deals with living problems and practical issues in seven chapters. These concern the Holy Spirit in Creation, Regeneration and Conversion, Edification and Sanctification, the Sacraments and the Church. While we appreciate much of what Canon Green says, there are in the last two chapters on the Sacraments and the Church, a number of points on which we cannot accept his views. Canon Green is always a stimulating and suggestive writer, and we value the frankness and sincerity with which he asserts his convictions.

A cheaper edition has been called for of Dean Inge's two volumes

of *Outspoken Essays* (Longmans, Green & Co., 3s. 6d. each). The characteristics of these Essays are already well known. Dean Inge expresses in them with his usual force his views on many matters of special importance. Many will welcome the opportunity of obtaining these volumes in this cheaper edition.

In 1925 Professor Y. Brilioth, of the University of Uppsala, published a book in English on *The Anglican Revival*, Studies in the Oxford Movement. Probably in view of the celebration of the Centenary this year the volume has been re-issued (Longmans, Green & Co., 5s. net). The Bishop of Gloucester contributes a Preface in which he considers the merits and demerits of the Movement. Dr. Brilioth's interesting account of the Movement has established itself as a useful presentation of the main facts and tendencies of the Oxford development written by an outsider and from a foreign point of view. The re-issue will give many an opportunity of reading a book that well merits careful study.

Another book from Uppsala is *The Mystery of The Cross*, by Nathan Söderblom, the late Archbishop. The translation is by A. G. Hebert, M.A. (Student Christian Movement Press, 2s.). It is a translation of a chapter in the Archbishop's book, *The Story of The Passion of Christ*, and is a devotional study suitable for "Holy Week and Other Weeks." These meditations upon the Crucifixion will provide much food for thought for those who are giving Addresses during Holy Week. There is a mystery in the Cross, and he seeks to penetrate it and to express a value of which no rationalistic thinking can deprive mankind.

Canon E. E. Raven, who is a brother of Canon C. E. Raven, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, has chosen an attractive title, *The Heart of Christ's Religion* (Longmans, Green & Co., 6s. net), for his survey of the central Inspiration of Christianity. Writing from his experience of practical work among men, first in Hoxton and later in Cambridge, he seeks to meet the difficulties of young people. He finds a tendency at present in the Church to over-organisation, and for the system to deaden the Spirit, so he would lead us back to Love as the inspiring power. And then he traces it through its various manifestations in individual life and character (he lays strong emphasis on Conversion) in the Church, and in theological thought.

Canon A. L. Lilley issues his Paddock Lectures given in the General Theological Seminary at New York in 1931 under the title of *Religion and Revelation* (S.P.C.K., 4s. 6d. net). He describes his subject in the sub-title, A Study of some Moments in the Effort of Christian Theology to define their Relations. He shows that the traditional view of Revelation is the classic one in the theology of Christendom, and he studies this tradition especially in St. Thomas Aquinas. The modern critical views have disturbed this classical tradition, and the impact of fresh knowledge has led to the need of some measure of adjustment. Canon Lilley's suggestion is that this adjustment may be found in regarding Revealed Truth as having more of the nature of poetic symbolism than of

the clear-cut and sufficient statements of the logical reason. His close acquaintance with the history of religious thought makes his treatment of the subject a valuable contribution to the study of some aspects of an important subject.

The Treasure House of the Living Religions, compiled and edited by Robert Ernest Hume, Professor of the History of Religions, Union Theological Seminary in New York (Charles Scribner's Sons, 12s. 6d.), is the outcome of immense industry. The author has spent seventeen years studying documents and MSS. containing the sacred writings of the world and comparing various translations, also making his own where necessary; so that we have 3,074 pronouncements gathered from the sacred writings of the world under 50 classifications. These represent exact statements from each of the world's eleven Living Religions on all the important phases of religious thought and life. It is claimed that nothing like it has previously existed, that its utility will be found to be inexhaustible, and that it will be a standard work for generations to come. The actual quotations fill 300 pages, the remaining 177 provide a scheme of reference notes, a bibliography, table of citations, and a topical index which must have entailed prodigious work but provides the student with an adequate means of tracing any of the quotations given. Agreements, rather than disagreements, have been sought, and they present aspects of the consensus to be found in the various Living Religions.

Miss Dorothy Mills, Head of the Historical Department of the Brearley School, New York, has written *The People of Ancient Israel* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 7s. 6d.). From an extensive experience in teaching the history of the ancient world to young people she has drawn up a vivid account of the heroes, prophets, and poets of the Hebrew People. As the history of the People centres round the story of their search to know the character of God, this is the central thought of the book. There are several useful maps and charts, and a reference list of Bible stories as well as a short list of books for further reading.

Last year a Committee of the diocese of St. Albans issued a book of *Outlines of Teaching Sermons* for the year. A similar book has been issued of *Outlines* for a second year (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 2s. and 3s. 6d.). They cover seven sections including God and Man; Prophetic Religion; The Making of The New Testament; The Person of Christ; The Holy Spirit; and Christian Life in the World.

The Wind Lady and The Twins (C.M.S., 2s. 6d. net) is an attractive little book written in Reginald Callender's engaging style. The story, told by a twin, has a distinct Missionary lead, and may reasonably be expected to implant the zeal-seed for foreign service in the minds of small people from the ages of seven to ten years.

An Introduction to the Christian Doctrine of God, by Canon W. J. Brown, of Wakefield (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d. net), is a simple examination of the chief aspects of the subject with special reference to the difficulties of our times. It follows familiar lines of argument.

Effective Evangelism is a new and largely re-written edition of the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher's book which appeared in 1923. He has added largely from his extensive experiences as a Missioner during the past ten years (Religious Tract Society, 3s. 6d. net).

Values of The Incarnation are the Moorhouse Lectures delivered in Melbourne in 1931 by the Rev. P. A. Micklem, D.D., Rector of St. James, Sydney (S.P.C.K., 5s. net). The author follows somewhat familiar lines in tracing out the Anticipations of the Incarnation in the Old Testament, some views in regard to it as developed in the Early Church; the Incarnation as immanent in the Creative order as well as in the Church, and in the Moral order, ending with the Anglican Tradition on the subject, and with the idea that the Eucharist is a continual Renewal of the Incarnation.

The Student Christian Movement Press has issued three books on interesting subjects. *The Faiths of Mankind* by William Paton, M.A., Secretary of The International Missionary Council (2s. 6d. net), sets out the position of Christianity in regard to some of the facts of human experience such as Sin and Suffering, and contrasts it with what has been said in Mohammedanism and Buddhism, and strongly states the case for the Christian World Mission. *Building on Sand* (1s. net), by Malcolm Spencer, M.A., Secretary of the Christian Social Council, is described as a Christian Searchlight upon the basis of our economic life. While deprecating Marxian Socialism on the one hand and Economic Nationalism on the other, the author seeks to apply Christian principles to the problems of unemployment, investments, and other matters which are causing concern to many people at the present time. A brief *Memoir of John Primat Maud, Bishop of Kensington*, has been written by Miss Maisie Fletcher (2s. 6d.). This interesting account tells of Dr. Maud's work at Leeds and Bristol, and afterwards for twenty years as Bishop of Kensington. A High Churchman of the Gore school he exhibited considerable independence of thought and action during his episcopal service.

In *Perils of the Polar Pack*, Archdeacon Fleming of the Arctic tells the story of the Rev. E. W. T. Greenshields as Missionary in Blacklead Island, Baffin Land. It is an interesting and, in places, an exciting story of the dangers of the early pioneer work in the Arctic regions.

Christian Theism in Contemporary Thought, by R. G. Legge, Vicar of St. Mark, Victoria Park, E.9 (price 2s. 6d. from the Author), is a collection of the traditional arguments for the Christian Belief in God as set forth by eminent modern thinkers, the chief objections to Theism being also considered. This is the first of a series of Christian Evidence Handbooks which Mr. Legge is compiling as the outcome of his experience in discussing with thoughtful working men the grounds of Christian conviction. He has covered a large range of thinkers and has set out their views to the best advantage.

G. F. I.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

The Oxford Movement Centenary.—A review of *The Tractarian Movement 1833-1845*, by Bishop Knox, appears in this number. It is a study of the Oxford Movement as a phase of the religious revival in Western Europe in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the Bishop's object is particularly to indicate why that Movement failed to establish its ideal of the Anglican Church in relation to the Holy Catholic Church. The price is 10s. 6d. (postage 9d.).

The article by Academicus entitled the *Attitude of Evangelicals to the Celebration of the Centenary of the Oxford Movement*, which appeared in the January number of *The Churchman* has now been published as a pamphlet at 3d. It has already had a large circulation, and we trust that it will be bought and distributed as widely as possible among the clergy and those interested. The article will enable Evangelicals to understand their obvious duty in regard to the Celebration, and we are deeply indebted to "Academicus" for the able and scholarly examination which he has made of the whole situation.

Evangelicals.—In 1908 the Rev. G. R. Balleine published *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*. This was republished a year later and again in 1912, but has been out of print for some years. We are glad to be able to announce the publication of a new impression at 3s. 6d. (postage 6d.) which contains the original illustrations of the 1908 edition and the postscripts and notes of the 1912 edition. The publication of this book is particularly useful at the present moment in view of the statements that are being made in regard to the Centenary of the Oxford Movement. It is important that Churchmen of all schools should recognise the position and true power of the Evangelical school. Mr. Balleine has produced a work valuable alike in its accuracy and its fairness, and the demand for its republication has come to us not only from the mother country but from the Dominions overseas. Mr. Balleine makes clear in his book the important distinction which ought to be observed between "low Churchmen" and "Evangelicals." He is singularly illuminating on many similar points. So clearly does he represent the respective position of the other parties in the Church to the Evangelicals that we might well describe his work as the *History of a Great Persecution*. From the days of the Oxford Methodists onward the Evangelicals were the object of disgraceful persecution and inveterate dislike. When the Evangelical preaching of William Romaine was attracting crowds to the Church where he was lecturer, the Vicar and Churchwardens locked the pulpit, and only on the compulsion of the King's Bench did they allow him the use of an unlighted and unwarmed Church. Mr. Balleine on pages 210 and 211 provides a necessary corrective to the foolish charge, so often ignorantly made, that the Oxford Movement was due to the decadence of Evangelicals.

Mr. Balleine shows in his *History* the development of the Movement which saved England in the eighteenth century from religion and produced such men as Adam, Venn, Fletcher, Newton and Scott. He deals with the pioneer work done by Evangelicals in parochial organisation, in district visiting, in the introduction of Evening Service and Early Communion, and

all the other activities which are now the ordinary features of a well-worked parish and which are assumed by the ignorant and intolerant to be the monopoly of "Catholics."

The Church Hymnal for the Christian Year.—Arrangements have been made with the Executors of the estates of Victoria, Lady Carbery and the late Lord Brentford for Lady Carbery's Hymn Book, The Church Hymnal for the Christian Year, to be handed over to the National Church League, and the transfer has now been made. Messrs. Novello & Co., Ltd., and Messrs. Marshall Morgan & Scott will be responsible for the publication as before, but all applications for grants of books should be made to the National Church League. Grants, however, can only be given in future to those churches introducing the book and they cannot be repeated. It will be remembered that the book was revised and approved by a Representative Committee of Clergy in 1917. It was compiled by Victoria, Lady Carbery, and the Musical Directors were Dr. Hugh Blair and Mr. Lister R. Peace. The collection of hymns for the public worship of the Church of England involved much patient and discriminating research. In addition to the new hymns, the book contains most of the old favourites in their original form. The arrangement follows the order of the Church's Year, and a special Calendar is provided to assist the clergy in the task of selecting hymns. The price of the Music edition with complete Index is 7s. 6d.; for choir use, 6s.; and the words only edition, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. A Children's Supplement is issued separately, Music edition, 2s. 6d.; words only, limp cloth, 6d.; paper cover, 3d.

A Popular Re-issue.—Mr. Albert Mitchell needs no introduction to our readers, and his little book, *The Faith of an English Churchman*, has a special interest as setting forth the belief of a layman of long experience in Church life on various articles of the Christian faith. It contains much in a small compass of vital significance to true interpretations of the nature of the Church and its theological foundations. It is a book of short devotional readings, with ample references to Scripture. It is an appropriate gift to the newly confirmed and the present cheap re-issue at 1s. (postage 2d.) makes it possible that it may be used largely for this purpose. The original cloth-bound edition is still obtainable at 2s. 6d. (postage 3d.).

Dr. Griffith Thomas.—An abridgment of Dr. Griffith Thomas's valuable handbook, *The Work of the Ministry*, now out of print, was issued in the United States a little time ago under the title, *Ministerial Life and Work*. This book gives substantial help and inspiration to the younger clergyman, to the Student for Holy Orders, and to the isolated Christian worker. Into it have gone the knowledge and experience gained in a long and fruitful ministry, and an intensive study of the Scriptures. The book contains the substance of addresses given at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, during the author's five years there, on the various aspects of ministerial life and service which are usually included in the term Pastoral. A number of copies of the book have been obtained from America and are on sale in the Church Book Room, price 7s. 6d. (postage 6d.).

Good Friday.—Attention is drawn to the *Addresses for Good Friday*, by the Rev. T. W. Gilbert, D.D. (post free 7d.), and to the *Form of Service for the Three Hours on Good Friday* arranged by him (2d., or 12s. per 100). Another service of addresses compiled by the Rev. H. Browning entitled *Seven Words from the Cross* (7d. post free) is also published by the Church Book Room.