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The Churchman Advertiser.

JANUARY, 1936.

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THE CHURCHMAN

January, 1936.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"The Churchman."

THE opening of another year gives us an opportunity once again of thanking our readers for their support in the past. We value the kind messages which are sent to us from time to time indicating that our efforts on behalf of Evangelicalism in the Church of England are appreciated. We are encouraged to ask for the continuance of that support, and to request the further favour of the assistance of our readers in making THE CHURCHMAN more generally known, and in securing for us an increase in the number of subscribers. THE CHURCHMAN fills an important place in our Church literature. Every section of the Church has some special organs through which its point of view is set out, and for many years THE CHURCHMAN has represented Evangelical opinion. It has maintained the Evangelical outlook, and sought to express the Evangelical attitude towards the various problems of the day as they arise. It is important that there should be such an organ as THE CHURCHMAN, in order that the Evangelical position may be strongly maintained with all the aid that the latest scholarship can give. During the coming year many problems of great importance to the welfare of the Church will have to be considered, and we are arranging that these will be dealt with in a way that will guide thought and action. The principles of the Reformation require as full a measure of support as ever, in view of the constant attacks to which they are subjected.

The South Indian Church Union Scheme.

The Scheme for the union of the Churches in South India has met throughout with the most virulent opposition from the Anglo-Catholic party. They seem determined to frustrate by every means in their power the desire of the Christian peoples of that region to bring to an end the existing divisions, and to form a united Church which will be able in the fullest measure to advance missionary work among the vast non-Christian population. The latest attack on the Scheme is in a leaflet issued by an advanced Churchman, whose aim is to prejudice the Diocesan Councils in India when the Scheme comes before them. The Bishop of Dornakal, who is one

of the warmest supporters of the Scheme, and is in a special position to know the advantages that will be gained from unity when it is accomplished, has met the challenge in a very effective manner. He trusts that the method of propaganda adopted by the extremists will be denounced by all fair-minded people, as degrading the character of the sacred assemblies of the Church. One point of the attack is based on the assumption that the Church of England is committed to a particular theory of episcopacy and that the members of other churches must be compelled to accept this theory before there can be any union. The writer must know very little about the Church even in this land or he would recognise that there are thousands of Evangelical Churchpeople who do not accept the Anglo-Catholic view of episcopacy, and no one dares with any hope of success to question their right to their place in the Church. Evangelicals are convinced that they hold the true view of episcopacy, and look forward to the time when it will be generally accepted.

Other Points of Objection.

Every point that could be urged in objection to the Scheme has been raked up, and the bitterness of the opposition is seen in the nature of some of the points that are raised. For instance, it is objected that the word " Priest " does not occur in the Scheme but only " Presbyter." The Bishop's answer is that in the Scottish Liturgy authorised in 1912 the word " Priest " does not occur. " Presbyter " is used throughout. No one who knows the character of the Episcopal Church in Scotland will regard this as " suggesting a compromise of essential principles," yet this is the accusation that is brought against the supporters of the South Indian Scheme. Dr. Azariah points out the support that has been given to the Scheme by the Lambeth Conference and says that their lead is to be followed rather than that of any individual with no responsibility for his statements. The Bishop closes with an appeal which should touch the hearts of all who are interested in the future of Christianity among the Indians. He says : " We appeal to all men of good will not to lend themselves to acts and words which will drive the infant Anglican Christians of India to doubt all ecclesiastical authority, and specially the authority and guidance of successive Lambeth Conferences and of our own Indian Episcopate, and to lead us into worse evils than those from which they wish to save us." Evangelical Churchpeople may soon be driven to some drastic action to show that they are not and will not be held bound by any Anglo-Catholic theories of the episcopate.

The Church of England in South Africa.

Our readers are probably aware from many sources of the events that have been taking place in connection with the Church of England in South Africa. The Church of the Province of South Africa is distinctly Anglo-Catholic in character. The members of the Church of England in South Africa are strongly Evangelical, and

cannot submit to the jurisdiction of the episcopate of the Province. Actions are pending in regard to a number of points mainly concerned with the financial claims that are in dispute. A short time ago it was hoped that a happy solution had been reached in the proposal that a Bishop should be appointed to afford episcopal ministrations for the Church of England congregations. For some unknown reason this scheme, which had been regarded with favour by the highest authorities, was dropped, and nothing more was heard of it. It seemed the best method of solving the difficulties of the situation, and there is much speculation as to the reasons why it was suddenly rejected. The suspicion naturally is that the Anglo-Catholics have been at work again, and have so far succeeded in postponing so desirable a settlement. It has come to light that the names of the clergy who are working in connection with the Church of England in South Africa have been removed from *Crockford's Clerical Directory*. We are glad to know that through the action of members of our Home Church, this omission is to be remedied and that the names will be restored in the next issue of the *Directory*.

The Church Struggle in Germany.

The conflict between the rulers of the Totalitarian State and the Confessional Church in Germany continues without intermission, and in the last few weeks has become more acute. Herr Kerrl, who has been appointed the Minister for Church Affairs, has evidently been stirred up to take some decisive action in order to bring the Confessionals into subjection. The position is somewhat complicated, but the leaders of the Confessional Church have taken a firm stand and have announced their determination that they will not accept any pronouncement on the part of the State which is in the nature of an interpretation of the Gospel. In order to limit as far as possible the influence of his opponents Herr Kerrl has confiscated some of their funds, has threatened to dissolve their organisations and has forbidden the publication of any of their literature. By an edict he has forbidden any Church group " to exercise administrative functions such as the appointment of pastors and other spiritual office holders, the examination and ordination of theological students, the levy and administration of Church taxes and other moneys, the issue of instructions for collections in connection with parish gatherings and the summoning of synods." The sympathy of Evangelical Churchpeople will be whole-heartedly extended to their brethren in Germany who are making so vigorous a struggle for the freedom of the Gospel. Their needs will be remembered in prayer.

Italy and Abyssinia.

Christendom has been shocked by the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy. As a member of the League of Nations, Italy was pledged to have no recourse to war as a means of settling disputes with other nations which are members of the League. In spite of this

solemn engagement and without any declaration of war the Italian troops entered Abyssinian territory and by means of the latest mechanical devices of warfare have been endeavouring not only to terrorize the natives of the country but also to destroy their towns by incendiary bombs. Although the campaign has already been carried on for a number of weeks the Italians have achieved very little success. The character of the country and the unexpected rains have held them up and the work of conquest appears to be a more serious task than they contemplated. In the meantime by means of sanctions the League of Nations has shown its disapproval of Italy's disregard of its obligations. Christian opinion has been strongly expressed and practical help has been given to Abyssinia for the relief of the wounded by providing ambulance equipment. There has been general surprise that the Pope has made no pronouncement on the action of the Duce. When it comes to practical action in the interest of the moral welfare of the world the claims of the Papacy seem to fade away if it is inconvenient to assert them. The whole situation shows that there is little hope for the future peace of the world unless the principles of Christ become the guiding rule for nations as well as individuals.

Our Contributors.

The publication of the *Life of Archbishop Davidson* has been one of the outstanding events of the last quarter. Dr. Bell's monumental work has been received with a unanimous chorus of praise, both for his skill in dealing with the voluminous material at his disposal, and for the way in which he has presented it. We have asked Bishop Knox to write upon the Life, and we are glad to present to our readers an article on it which we are sure will be read with the greatest interest. It contains some personal touches which will be especially appreciated. The significance of the Reformation cannot be too frequently emphasised. In the skilled hands of Mr. Albert Mitchell the subject receives the most adequate treatment. Mr. Guy Johnson's historical studies are well known to a wide circle, and we welcome his article on " John Calvin " as a very useful contribution to the better understanding of that great leader of the Swiss Reformation. Mr. Johnson continues in this article the interesting contribution which he made to *Œcumenica* on Calvin and the Church of England. The Rev. Edwin Hirst, M.A., Vicar of Portwood, Stockport, writes on " Church and State," and presents a number of points which it will be well to bear in mind in connection with the publication of the Report of the Archbishops' Commission which is expected shortly. In our Review of Books considerable space is given to the *Life of Bishop Gore* which supplements in some respects the *Life of Archbishop Davidson.*

RANDALL DAVIDSON, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

By G. K. A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester, 1935.

Oxford University Press. 2 volumes, Oct., 1428 pages. London: *Humphrey Milford.* Price, 36*s.*

A Review by the Right Rev. Bishop E. A. Knox, D.D.

The Biography.

BISHOP BELL has deserved well, not only of the Church of England, but also of that far wider circle, religious and secular, to which the memory of Archbishop Davidson is of profound interest. Of very few persons, not excepting even Sovereigns and Statesmen, could it be so truly said as of Randall Davidson, *humani nihil alienum a me puto.* (*Nihil*, with the exception, perhaps, of extreme Protestants.) Davidson loved men, and was never happier than when conversing with them. The course of his life was so ordered that for nearly sixty years he was in close touch with the leaders of the nation from the Sovereign downwards. He kept careful and well-ordered records of all his interviews and correspondence. The natural result was that his biographer had to work through, summarise, select, and present to the public, gleanings from an extraordinarily wide field of material, and so to present them as to make the result readily intelligible to ordinary readers, picturesque, truthful, and serviceable for future historians. How Bishop Bell achieved this task amid the incessant and exacting duties of an important episcopate, in the short space of five years, is difficult to understand. Perhaps the explanation is that he had been trained in diligence and method in the capacity of Chaplain to the late Archbishop. At all events he has produced what may fairly be called a monumental work, and produced it with the fairness, considerateness, and good taste which were characteristic of the subject of his biography. It is difficult to praise the book too highly. It is written in an easy fluent style. The necessary explanations are given clearly and concisely. The mass of material is so handled as to produce a vivid, life-like portraiture. Dates are abundantly supplied. No one can read the life without knowing the manner of man that Davidson was. Bishop Bell loved and honoured his chief, yet knew that mere hero-worship would do his memory more harm than good. He has not been afraid to criticise, though never satirically or maliciously. His book deserves, and we venture to add, is likely to take, a very high place among biographies. His subject was great, and he has done justice to it.

While thus whole-heartedly commending the book, we do not, of course, mean that we as unreservedly commend the policy pursued by Archbishop Davidson. Bishop Bell quotes an estimate contributed by Bishop Gore, which expresses our own attitude to

Randall Davidson's work: "Only the future can decide whether the almost absolute mastery which he won in the counsels of Bishops—both those of the Church of England, and those of other lands—was wholly good for the Anglican Communion" (II, 1159). Indeed we shall be obliged to express our conviction that, in some respects, the policy pursued in the twenty-five years of his Primacy was far from beneficial to the Church, though we can add quite honestly with Bishop Gore that the mastery "was gained and deepened to the end in the main by the grand and stainless character of the man." But our criticisms may be reserved to take their proper place in the review of his life.

Davidson up to His Ordination.

Starting then from the Scottish home, which was no mere shadowy memory to him, but, as it is with many Scotsmen, a dominating influence in the background of his whole life, we find the future author of Prayer Book Revision saying at the age of seven, "What do you think that those English have done?" His cousin replied that she could believe anything of them. Randall said: "They've altered the Bible!" He had just seen for the first time the Prayer Book version of the Psalter—the Scotch using the Old Testament version. Randall and Kate both vowed they'd "never use the Prayer Book version after that." It was no mere accident that the two Archbishops who promoted Prayer Book Revision in 1927, were both Scottish Presbyterians by birth. They never had the training in devout reverence for the Book of Common Prayer which was the heritage of Anglican Churchmen of all schools in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

Though Davidson, true to his Scottish nature and upbringing, was a diligent sermon-taster, and in after life spoke of the sermons and lectures which he attended at Oxford as "touching the religious note" which was, after all, the deepest in his life, yet he passed both through Harrow and through Oxford, and through the terrible accident by which he nearly lost his life, without the profound religious experience which characterises the almost contemporary life of Bishop Gore. The Harrow of those days was the Harrow of Dr. Butler, of Westcott and of John Smith, a combination of religious influences almost, if not quite, unique in Public School experience, but, though Davidson engineered himself, with a diplomacy worthy of his later days, out of Watson's into Westcott's house, he passed through Harrow without being really scorched, as Gore was, by Westcott's prophetic fire. His academic career was marred by the effects of his accident, and it was a lifelong disappointment to him that he failed to obtain the First Class for which he had hoped, and for which he was qualified, in the Modern History School. That he sought, and that I declined to give him and Crawfurd Tait, the "coaching" at Addington which they desired of me, was one of the great blunders and lost opportunities of my life, all the more poignant since the biography reveals how eagerly Davidson was at that moment desir-

ing such tuition. His training for Holy Orders under Dean Vaughan at the Temple, was for him, as a *Public School boy*, the normal Ordination training of those days. But there can have been few of Vaughan's Ordinands to whom Vaughan wrote at parting in the terms in which he wrote to Davidson: "I had got to think of you as one who could feel as I felt, and who *anticipated* half of my thoughts ere they were uttered." It would probably have been of value to Davidson in after life if his first curacy had not been prematurely terminated by his being summoned to take the place of Archbishop Tait's Chaplain: the post which practically determined the rest of his career.

Davidson at Lambeth and Windsor.

A singular and interesting comparison and contrast might be drawn between the influence exercised by Archbishop Tait in the seventies, and his Chaplain Davidson in the same office in later years. Archbishop Tait was certainly the more dominating influence of the two: he counted for more in the national life. The Church of England was immensely stronger in his day than in our own. Statesmen consulted Davidson, but they were swayed by Tait, who was naturally more conspicuous when Bishops were far fewer, and counted for more in public estimation. A slight, but significant, instance from my own experience confirms this opinion. Having occasion to call on Archbishop Tait, I was asked by Davidson as Chaplain, to fill in the time of waiting for my appointment by going through a big scrap-book of cartoons of Tait from old numbers of *Punch*. Tait was constantly appearing in *Punch*, far oftener in his few years than Davidson in the twenty-five years of his primacy. Tait was, even as Primate, the awe-inspiring Headmaster, whose dignity dominated Church and State. His ecclesiastical policy was almost the reverse of Davidson's. It was as Tait's Chaplain that Davidson wrote to the notable ritualist, S. F. Green of Miles Platting, the letter which Bishop Bell describes as "prophetic of the issues which it was Davidson's task to try and get the Church to face for many years to come." "My dear Sir," wrote Davidson to S. F. Green, "your letter just received makes it clear, if I understand you rightly, that no authority, ecclesiastical or civil, exists, to which you would feel yourself at liberty to defer with respect to the practical action which you found upon your own interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric." This letter written in 1882 may be set by the side of one written in 1927 by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks to Archbishop Davidson: "I should have gone a long way in the cause of peace if you had been able to say to me—'Of course this is a concordat which will be carried out in the letter and in the spirit on both sides. . . . We, as Bishops give you a frank assurance that not only will we not consent to going any further, but we will use our utmost endeavours to deal with men who in the future may really be considered as defying every law, canonical, ecclesiastical, or political.'" It is the fashion to speak of the failure of Archbishop Tait's policy.

But after it had been reversed for forty-five years, the reversal left the old difficulty precisely where it had been in Davidson's youth, or even in a worse position. Davidson could not guarantee that even the revised Prayer Book would bring the contumacious to order.

On December 3, 1882, Archbishop Tait died, and Davidson, after a short continuance in office as Chaplain to Archbishop Benson, was carried off by the Queen to be Dean of Windsor and Domestic Chaplain. "The Dean was an irresistible Dean; not because he fought (he never fought), still less because there was anything dramatic about him (he was never dramatic), but because he was so cool, and Scotch and right, and always to the point." It hardly requires to be said "that the charm of his wife (Edith, daughter of Archbishop Tait), made him doubly irresistible." Into his ministrations in the Castle we need not here enter, except to note the courage with which, for her own good, he withstood the Queen on the question of her publishing memoranda in continuance of *Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands* (I, 92 etc.). That incident was the more noteworthy on account of Davidson's careful avoidance of all unnecessary friction, and should be classed with other occasions of his facing unpopularity (I, 490 and 550)—a side of his character seldom recognised. Yet it was there, and peacemaker as he was, he was no coward. The true importance of the Dean's new position lay in his influence on ecclesiastical appointments, and still more in the degree in which he became the trusted counsellor of Tait's successor, Archbishop Benson. Under Benson the policy of opposition to Ritualism was changed for a policy of toleration, notably of course, in the matter of the trial of Bishop King of Lincoln, who might not unfairly be described as the first Ritualistic Bishop. A series of judgments, chiefly by the Privy Council, had declared the Ritualists to be wrong in their contention that they were true law-observers, and Protestants the real law-breakers in the Church. It would have taxed the ingenuity even of Archbishop Benson, lover as he was of pageantry, of study of archæology and obscure chronicles, to have judged that all churches *must* use lighted candles by daylight for Holy Communion, all clergy use the mixed chalice, and the Eastward position. Even he could not maintain the position for which the Ritualists contended, yet he found it possible, with the help of his coadjutors, to decide that the ritualistic practices examined were not necessarily *illegal*, and that they could be tolerated though certainly not enforced. This was a turning-point in English Church History. It was the abandonment of the principle of Uniformity, and of "the intent that every person in this realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship."[1] This principle was abandoned in favour of elasticity of worship. What was Davidson's share in the formulation of this judgment? The biography does not enable us to answer this question precisely. But it reveals (1) hat Davidson

[1] Act of Uniformity of 1662.

" was the constant correspondent and friend of Archbishop Benson, who was at that time engaged in the Lincoln case " (I, 139), and (2) that Davidson was " intensely and whole-heartedly in favour of the *toleration* line and determined to use every possible opportunity in favour of it " (I, 131). It seems to be a fair historical inference that as far back as 1888, Davidson had completely abandoned the position of Archbishop Tait, and thrown the whole of his already potent influence on the side of *toleration* of some ritualistic innovations. It is fair, however, to Davidson to add that the Episcopal veto on prosecutions to which Tait clung with much tenacity did, in fact, make room for a pernicious diversity of use in different Dioceses, and had the effect of making the Bishop prosecutor, Judge, and Father in God of his own clergy—an intolerable combination of functions. Tait must not be absolved from his share of blame.

It is interesting to note that Bishop King's appointment was largely due to Davidson's influence, who pleaded that out of five simultaneous appointments, it was only fair that " the High Church party should have one representative " (I, 175) and balance Bishop Bickersteth's appointment to Exeter, the latter being all the better fitted because " the narrow Evangelicals regard him as too lax and wide in his sympathies." It would be difficult to find in the whole biography a single evidence of any sincere attempt on Davidson's part to appreciate the position of Protestant Churchmen. They were always to him, as they were to the Queen, objects of something like aversion. It was an error for which in the end he paid dearly.

Davidson as Bishop. His Views on Episcopacy.

During Benson's primacy, which lasted from 1883 to 1896, Davidson was promoted in 1891 to the Bishopric of Rochester, and in 1895 to the Bishopric of Winchester. His last speech in the Lower House of Convocation as Dean of Windsor was a successful protest against the appointment of a Committee of the House to examine the teaching of the volume of Essays called *Lux Mundi*. The appearance of that volume was another milestone in English Church History. It divided the High Church party into two sections, and in one of these placed it under the dominating influence of Hegelian Philosophy. It was, of course, consistent with Davidson's principle of toleration to make room for this new departure from the lines of old-fashioned orthodoxy. But he can hardly have foreseen the troubles which it was to cost him in less than a quarter of a century. It would be absurd to blame him for this lack of foresight. On the other hand it was another warning, and an unheeded warning, that the Church of England needed nothing so much as the establishment of legal authority that could command public confidence in its wisdom and its fairness. The ordinary layman was once more scandalised by the helplessness with which the ark of the Church drifted in the troubled seas through which it was passing. The officers

seemed to have little control of mutinies in the crew, and no charts to guide their course. To the officers the ordinary layman appeared to be no more than an ignorant landlubber. "The ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind; so we let her drive" (Acts xxvii. 15).

Passing by Davidson's Rochester Episcopate (1891–5) which was sorely troubled by illness, we come towards the end of his Winchester Episcopate (1895–1903) to the violent attack of Sir William Harcourt upon the Bishops for neglect of their duty to the Church. We pause here in our review of Davidson's ecclesiastical policy because we are conscious that in our concentration on this side of his activities we are giving a very inadequate idea of his conception of episcopal duty, and of his attempt to carry out his ideal, expressed in his own words (I, 317 ff.):

"Besides a Bishop's duties to the parishes in his Diocese, a Bishop is, and not less rightly, expected to be giving time and thought to a whole multitude of central things in the life of the nation or the Church, things quite other than Diocesan. . . . He is set in this peculiar office, which has its duly assigned niche in our national history past and present, to be in some sense your representative and mouthpiece for dealing with moral as well as with religious questions in the public life of England. To give practical examples of what I mean. When questions directly affecting the affairs of the clergy or the system of our Church Schools, or the observance of Sunday, and so forth, are under discussion, it is expected as a matter of course that the Bishops should take an active part. But in my judgment they are not less truly called upon—especially while they have a place in the National Legislature—to accept and use their responsibility in other matters which concern the social and moral health of our citizens and their children, say the protection of infant life from cruelty and wrong —or such amendment of our prison laws as shall make them remedial as well as punitive, or provision for the cases of workmen who are injured in the discharge of duty—or enactments for checking commercial immorality —or arrangements for promoting the health of shop assistants. Bishops, in short, are entrusted, as I believe, with a place in the Legislature, not only for what are technically called Ecclesiastical questions, but for whatever things directly concern the moral life and the social well-being of the English people."

Davidson—the Statesman Primate.

Such being Davidson's view of the duties of the Episcopate it is needless to say that, especially after his promotion to the Primacy, social questions occupied a very large share of his time and attention—and not only social questions but purely political as well. He loved the House of Lords: he loved the Athenæum Club, where he held long conversations with men of eminence in the political, literary, and artistic world. The simplest proof of the extraordinary width of his interests may be gained by Bishop Bell's account of a *sample* day (II, 867 etc.). We begin with a wedding, of course after dealing with the day's correspondence. From the wedding we pass to the Cabinet meeting, where the Archbishop dissuades the Government from using the British Museum to house the Air Force during the War. The Cabinet meeting is followed by a visit to Lord Rosebery in distress over

the death of Neil Primrose. The conversation is religious and afterwards political. At three o'clock Davidson is at Lambeth (presumably to sign letters). At half-past three he is in the House of Lords. Behind all this is a background of conversations with Dr. Henson, whose promotion to the Bishopric of Hereford is being severely contested. Long, long into the night did such conversations last. It was extraordinary that Davidson's health stood the strain of the work. Nor was he a mere busybody in other men's matters. His marvellous memory, his shrewdness, his versatility of intellect made him an adviser of more than ordinary value. Perhaps the supreme test of his political influence is to be found in the debate on the Parliament Bill in the House of Lords in 1911. Of that debate Lord Morley has left the following record:

"The speeches that followed (Morley's), though some were made by leading men, were in the strain of altercation, hot or cold, rather than serious contribution. The one most reassuring for the Ministers of them all, took no more than three or four minutes. It fell from the Primate—the head of the hierarchy, who have their seats not by descent or birth, nor by election from Scotland and Ireland, nor by political or secular service—a man of broad mind, sagacious temper, steady and careful judgment, good knowledge of the workable strength of rival sections." He goes on to say how the Archbishop in a few words, impressed the House with the real gravity of the situation, and practically, on Lord Lansdowne's admission, decided the issue.

It has seemed to be bare justice to Davidson's memory to interrupt our story of ecclesiastical strife with mention of the far wider activities that engaged his attention. It was, perhaps, during the War that his political experience and influence were of greatest value to the nation.

"His refusal to be carried away, whether in ultra-nationalism or ultra-pacifism, begat confidence in his judgment. There was something massive about him, massive and true. And throughout four and a half years on the repeated and solemn occasions on which he had to address the whole people at, or through, special services, he spoke the brave, strong, heartening words of a Christian Bishop. He said nothing common or mean—nothing vindictive. On the contrary, he did not hesitate, in the very midst of the conflict, to utter his protest against actions and speeches, which seemed to him unworthy of the traditions of his country. . . . Certainly he was far better known and more fully respected when the Armistice was signed than he had ever been before" (II, 1152).

Davidson's Church Policy.

While trying to do justice to Davidson's lofty conceptions of the duties of the Episcopate, and to the respect which he won by his endeavour to discharge the social and political responsibilities which he believed to be incumbent on him, we cannot help wondering whether he fully realised that the ecclesiastical difficulties which were his first care were not easily compatible, as a mere question of time, with the secular causes into which he

threw himself so heartily. He was conscious that his training and experience, his marvellous memory and his diplomatic ability enabled him to deal swiftly and successfully with emergencies, as they presented themselves. But was he fully conscious that he had ascended the throne of Augustine in a moment of spiritual and theological difficulty such as none of his predecessors had faced, a time when these problems were sufficient to tax the whole energy of a trained philosopher or theologian? The problems dividing the Church at the beginning of the twentieth century were not superficial but fundamental. They were such as these: the relation of the Church of England to the Church Universal: the relations between Church and State in questions spiritual as well as temporal: the authority of Scripture, and specially of the Old Testament as compared with the New. To such problems as these Davidson brought no special theological training, no first-hand study of philosophical or juristic education: no more than bare outlines of historical and liturgical tradition. He brought invaluable common sense, and skill in picking the brains of men more learned than himself. But it may be questioned whether he ever realised to the full the seriousness of the controversy into which he was drawn. He was apt to regard ritualism as the fruit of romanticism, an outgrowth of Sir Walter Scott's novels, his favourite literature to the end; but while romanticism popularised ritualism, the roots of ritualism were deeper far. Davidson despised Puritanism as an outworn creed, exploding occasionally in anti-Roman demonstrations, but of the deep roots of the anti-clerical spirit in English History and of their meaning he had little conception. The Church of England, when he became Archbishop, was called to a decision whether it would or would not renounce Protestantism, and turn its back on the Reformation. The effect of Prayer Book Revision as Davidson presented it to the nation, was to remit this problem to a majority of the Parish Council in each parish, with such assistance as the Bishop of the Diocese chose to give it.

Two biographies appearing contemporaneously with Archbishop Davidson's bring into strong contrast his attitude to the problem with that of the two Anglo-Catholic leaders, Bishop Gore and Lord Halifax. Gore was the philosopher, prophet and theologian, Halifax the statesman, of the Anglo-Catholics. The lives of both were practically contemporaneous with Davidson's. Both were in antagonism with him, Gore more especially. Yet both seemed to Davidson indispensable, men who must be retained at any cost. Gore and Halifax display, in a striking manner, their wholehearted devotion to their cause, as against Davidson's, to some extent necessary, dissipation of his energies. The study of the three lives together throws a flood of light on the secret of the success of Anglo-Catholicism, and enables us to form a clearer estimate of Archbishop Davidson's career than we can gather even from Bishop Bell's excellent biography. Of Lord Halifax's life, we have only the first volume, carrying us down to 1885. But it goes far enough

to illuminate the difficulties of ritual with which Davidson was called to deal. Gore's life helps us to understand the difficulties of Davidson's long Archiepiscopate, and that from more than one point of view.

The first and sharpest contrast between the two men is presented by the conditions under which Halifax became President of the English Church Union in 1868, while Davidson was still Dean of Windsor. The nobleman, who had been chosen playmate ! (if the Prince of Wales could be said to have had any playmates) of the future King Edward, his close friend and his Groom of the Bedchamber, by accepting that Presidency renounced the brilliant Parliamentary career that was almost his right, to become the leader of a little Society which then could not count more than 2,300 members. It was a great renunciation inspired in him by the belief that " the Body and Blood of Christ were present under the Sacramental veils by virtue of Consecration," there to be worshipped and adored, and that it was his duty to do all in his power to support the clergy, who seemed to him to be persecuted for trying to express the same faith by liturgical symbolism, such as lighted candles, vestments, incense, and reservation of the Sacrament. This love of symbolism had proved to be no mere love of display or expression of eccentricity. There had been a time when the Tractarian leaders, and notably Pusey, had strongly disapproved of ritualism as mere indulgence in finery : and not without reason. We read of clergy got up in cassocks and tall hats at Wantage, or of Hawker of Morwenstowe " stalking about his parish in a claret-coloured suit, a blue jersey, and a brimless pink hat," or of the aping of Roman priests in Mass which amused Newman when he had joined the Church of Rome. But the day of these frivolities was passed. Ritual, auricular confession, fastings, scourgings, monastic vows, profession of nuns, worship of the Reserved Sacrament, invocations of the Virgin Mary and of Saints, were found to hang together and to be parts of a " way of salvation." The result on the whole was a defiance, or even a detestation, of Protestantism and of the Church order of England. It was a repudiation of the authority of the State in things spiritual, and from this point of view provoked the hostility of Bishops, of statesmen such as Sir William Harcourt, and of devout church-goers, who saw their churches turned into " Mass-houses " and profaned by intrusion of " idolatrous images." The forces arrayed against the Ritualists, even at the time of Davidson's appointment to Canterbury, seemed to be overwhelming, and he had not been in office a month when a deputation of a hundred M.P.s waited on him to insist on the suppression of Ritual. To this deputation he made his answer concerning some of the more extreme churches : " I say to you deliberately in my view of such cases tolerance has reached, and even passed, its limits. The sands have run out. Stern and drastic action is, in my judgment quite essential " (I, 399). Yet at the end of Davidson's term of office no stern and drastic action had been taken. Some, nay, almost

all of the practices which he definitely forbade in his last year at Winchester (I, 338) would have been tolerated under the Revised Prayer Book. Whence this victory of the cause which seemed at his accession to be threatened with extinction?

While it would be grossly unfair and contrary to fact to lay the whole blame for the success of Anglo-Catholicism upon Archbishop Davidson, yet he was mainly responsible for the policy adopted during his Primacy. That was his fate as Archbishop. From his life, especially as read with the others that we have mentioned, it is evident that his mistakes lay in supposing (1) that a spiritual court commanding the obedience of Anglo-Catholics could be devised without surrendering the connection of Church and State, and (2) that the Anglo-Catholics could be bought off by acceptance of a portion of their demands. For the first of these errors there was hardly any excuse. Twice already Davidson had seen refusal of obedience to courts which were wholly spiritual, if, as in common parlance, "spiritual" and "clerical" are identical. Archbishop Benson's decisions on the Lambeth Judgment had been disobeyed, and so had the opinions of Archbishops Temple and Maclagan on Reservation and Incense. Yet in his last Charge as Bishop of Winchester, Davidson expressed his approval of Archbishop Benson's scheme for reform of Ecclesiastical Courts, which included the reference of all points of doctrine or ritual to the decision of the whole English Episcopate specially summoned for the purpose.

The Anglo-Catholics were certain to refuse obedience even to the unanimous Episcopate on the ground that the Bishops were of State-appointment, and if one Bishop dissented and took their side, to exploit this one Bishop's action to the utmost. This is precisely what they did in the matters of incense and reservation. The liberty accorded in the London Diocese was claimed by extremists in all other dioceses as the rightful heritage of the Church. The consensus of the Episcopate was not to be had without a Pope to shape and to enforce it. Unfortunately Davidson was not really disposed to correct even excesses of ritual. In spite of what he had said in April, 1903, to the Parliamentary deputation of the necessity for "stern and drastic" action, we find him writing in February, 1904, to Bishop Gore (I, 455): "I regard the growth of a loyal spirit as far more valuable than the mere pruning of eccentric men." There is a distinct change of tone here, and the whole purpose of the letter is to glean proofs of loyalty wherewith to repel the threatened Parliamentary inquiry. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Irregularities he went further, even so far as to say that "a Court dealing with matters of conscience and religion must, above others, rest on moral authority if its judgments are to be effective. As thousands of clergy with lay support refuse to recognise the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee, its judgments cannot be practically enforced." On Davidson, as Archbishop, must rest no small share of the responsibility for discrediting the authority of Ecclesiastical

Courts. He intended, no doubt, to devise some form of Ecclesiastical Court which could be represented as wholly spiritual, and yet have behind it the power of the State to enforce its decrees. But no self-respecting State would have consented to enforce judgments of the Church in blind obedience to its commands. The only alternative was to place the Church on a purely consensual basis, and to get rid of the State connection altogether. Davidson had really no well-thought-out policy of Ecclesiastical Courts. Thirty years have passed since the Royal Commission recommended that they should be reformed. They are unreformed still. Davidson's other great error, shared by most of his episcopal brethren, was that of regarding what were called extreme practices as a bundle of disconnected items, of more or less serious gravity, some of which could be allowed, while others were refused. It seemed possible by diplomatic bargaining to compound with the bulk of the clergy to reject certain practices on condition that others were allowed. They might have the Eastward position and vestments, if they would give up incense and reservation.

The same policy was followed by the Royal Commission which drew its celebrated line of deep cleavage between the churches of England and Rome, and placed some practices on one side of the line and some on the other. No doubt there were clergy open to this form of liturgical chaffering. Others there were like Bishop Gore, who were prepared to obey, or even enforce, episcopal regulations with full purpose of "squeezing" the Bishops to obtain further concessions. But always behind these was the determined body of extremists, who found in the complete Catholic system the true way of holiness, the only way of sanctification to which the Church had lent its authority. It did not trouble them that this way was almost identical with the Roman way. Some believed Rome to be in error and prayed for her repentance. Others waited only in the Church of England till by a corporate act she should return to the Roman obedience. But all of them agreed that they must insist on all that the Church—as they interpreted it—required, vestments, incense, adoration of the consecrated elements, masses for the living and the dead, auricular confession, penance, and vocations to the monastic or conventual life. There was no bargaining with these men, no Church of England Court that they would obey. Davidson left them, not merely unshaken, but far stronger than at the time of his accession to the Primacy. His friendship with some of them was so close that he could hardly be unaware of their aims. But he was very careful to abstain from the kind of step which would have alienated them. His Kikuyu decision was not very different from that of the consultative Lambeth Committee, of which it was said that "they came to the conclusion that the service at Kikuyu was eminently pleasing to God, but must on no account be repeated" (I, 708, note).

Prayer Book Revision.

So we pass to the great design with which the name of Davidson will always be associated, his effort to secure for the Church an alternative Prayer Book embodying his ideal of "elasticity of worship"—the very negation of the Reformation attempt to secure Uniformity in all public services of the Church of England. On the whole Dr. Bell gives us the story fairly, but not quite as fully as we could have wished. We seem to miss clear apprehension of errors in the earlier stages of the adventure. The summary of reasons for its failure is very straightforward. But we could have desired a more detailed account of the preparatory steps, which exhibit in a remarkable degree both Davidson's determination to secure his end and the adverse forces which he overlooked. We start from the intention to substitute a new Rubric for the Ornaments Rubric—an intention never fulfilled. The Anglo-Catholics saw to that. Then came the long, long, "wanderings" of revision of the Prayer Book in the four houses of Convocation of Canterbury and York, and the unsuccessful attempt to bring the Houses into agreement. The hope of getting a new Prayer Book in response to Royal Letters of Business addressed to the Convocations failed. But the great transformation of the voluntary Representative Assemblies of the Church into the statutory Church Assembly was really the greatest and most lasting of all Davidson's achievements. It was a measure quite remarkable enough to secure his memory as a Church Reformer for all time. Then followed the steady pressure of the alternative Prayer Book through the Church Assembly and through the Diocesan Conferences, partly by insisting that there was no other means of restoring order in the Church, and partly by explanations that unpopular expressions were patient of some other interpretation. In the latter of these two devices Davidson was badly "let down" by the Evangelical Bishops, who were quite out of touch with the strong Protestantism of which they ought to have been exponents. Their responsibility for the final fiasco was very great. They paid far too dear a price for an illusory peace. However, they *seemed* to remove the most formidable of all obstacles, and that obstacle was discounted. Even Nonconformist opposition was discounted by securing public support from some eminent Nonconformist leaders. It only remained to enlist the aid of "a good Press" for the new venture, and a better Press few proposals of the Church have ever had. Victory seemed to be absolutely assured.

What then had Davidson overlooked? Where did his well-laid plans go astray? He overlooked the smouldering discontent in hundreds of parishes into which Anglo-Catholic incumbents had ruthlessly forced their ritual, remorselessly turning a deaf ear to all protests, and not caring if they emptied their churches. He overlooked the unpopularity incurred by the Episcopate for its failure to repress these innovations. He rated far too low the numerical strength of devout Protestants, of whose existence he

seemed hardly aware. He overlooked the extraordinary conservatism of "the Churchman who never goes to Church," but firmly declares that "he will not have the Prayer Book changed to please the Papists." Davidson never understood the Englishman's love for the Prayer Book. The public never heard the carping criticisms to which the Book was subjected in the Convocations; they were not interested in the "Grey" and "Green" and other productions of fanciful liturgiologists, but they were strong in their belief that their Prayer Book was being altered with the deliberate intention of undoing the work of the Reformation. Presently it transpired also that a Bishop (Weston of Zanzibar) had telegraphed to the Pope from a meeting of 16,000 Anglo-Catholics in the Albert Hall "humbly praying—that the day of peace with Rome might quickly dawn," and that neither the Archbishop nor the Convocations had publicly rebuked this publicly expressed desire for reunion with Rome. Nay, it was first whispered, and presently admitted, that conversations with a view to ultimate reunion were being conducted at Malines with the sanction of both the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury. All these were public facts which could not fail to influence the House of Commons when its consent was demanded to the Revised Prayer Book. The final stage was reached when it was found that the innovations proposed included provisions for "reserving" the consecrated elements "perpetually," under conditions it is true, but already more than 1,000 clergy had publicly announced their determination of disregarding these conditions. The book, in fact, comprised all that Lord Halifax and his friends regarded as the very core of all their faith and practice, though fenced with futile and irritating precautions and restrictions. Bishop Bell (II, 1354) suggests some reasons why the Book failed to pass the House of Commons. The real reason was that which he places first—national antagonism to Popery. Reactions in favour of Rome had, in effect, captured the Councils of the Church. They failed to capture the great Council of the Nation.

It is the acid test of Davidson's archiepiscopal policy that he bequeathed to the Church in the last meeting that he attended of the Church Assembly a Commission "to inquire into the present relations of Church and State." His great object had been by diplomatic manœuvres to prevent any secession of the Anglo-Catholics from the Church. He was successful, but at the cost of imperilling the bond which in fact holds the various sections of the Church together. What schisms and ruptures threaten the disestablished Church, it passes the wit of man to foretell. They cannot fail to be manifold and far-reaching in their consequences to the Empire as well as the Nation.

Modernism.

We must perforce deal much more briefly with the other great trouble of Davidson's primacy, the trouble of Modernism. It occupies a considerable space in Bishop Bell's records, and centres chiefly round the name of Bishop Gore. In his Essay in *Lux*

Mundi Gore had not hesitated to question the historic value of the Old Testament, especially in the matter of miracles. Our Lord's references to those miracles he explained by regarding the references to them as expressions of His Manhood, so humbled that He spoke to men of His time as a man of His time, veiling for this purpose His Divine Omniscience. But when sundry clergy, and notably Dr. Rashdall, Canon Sanday and others, expressed disbelief in such miracles of the New Testament as our Lord's Virgin Birth, His Resurrection and Ascension, Gore was profoundly disturbed.

Davidson had scarcely been enthroned, when he received a letter from Gore, asking for something to be done in Convocation by way of a declaration or otherwise to make it very clear that the Bishops did not connive at the practices of the clergy, who openly recited the Creeds in Church, while in their publications they questioned or even denied the facts asserted in the Creeds. Davidson, who had not forgotten the Convocation declarations concerning *Essays* and *Reviews*, and concerning Bishop Colenso, advised caution, and for a while staved off the project, but only for a while. Gore returned to the attack more insistently in 1914, on the publication of a book by J. M. Thompson, Fellow and Dean of Divinity at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1914. Gore was so troubled that he wished to resign if some decisive action were not taken at once. He went to see Davidson, and found him equally opposed to making any declaration, and even ready to resign his Archbishopric, if Gore's motions were passed. Davidson was obdurate against petitions signed by Churchmen of all shades of opinion including 45,000 Evangelicals. Those were the days of Dean Wace's prominence in Convocation. Of course Gore had to give way to Davidson's threat of resignation and to modify the resolutions for which he had clamoured. A compromise was reached by substituting a declaration affirming that " denial of the historical facts contained in the Creeds went beyond the limits of legitimate interpretation," and " gravely imperilled the sincerity of profession which is plainly incumbent on the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments." But a clause was added declaring that the " Convocation was anxious not to limit the freedom of thought and inquiry whether among the clergy or laity." As the declaration was eventually accepted by both parties to the dispute it is hardly necessary to inquire which of the two was the gainer. At all events both resignations were averted, and the War turned all thoughts for a while into other directions. Before the War was over, however, the appointment of Hensley Henson to the Bishopric of Hereford in 1918 threatened another crisis. Gore was once more upon the war-path. But on this occasion Davidson obtained from Henson, by prolonged conversations, a definite statement that those who supposed that he disbelieved in the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection were misinformed, and once more Gore's threats of resignation were withdrawn. In view of Dr. Henson's strenuous advocacy of Disestablishment to-day, it is interesting to note that but for

the protection afforded by the Establishment he would not have had the remotest chance of being made a Bishop. In a self-governing Church he would have been fortunate to escape being unfrocked for heresy.

Education.

We have not space for recounting the story of the Education Problem, of Birrell's Bill, of Runciman's compromise, of Fisher's strenuous endeavour to bring about agreement. Briefly it may be said that Davidson was more anxious to secure some sort of religious instruction in all schools, than to maintain the retention of Church Schools. He had never been an incumbent, and only for a few months a curate. He seemed quite unable to realise how dearly Churchmen, especially in Lancashire, prized their Church Schools. This story ends with a resolution passed by the Committee of the National Society in Davidson's presence, and to his keen disappointment "requesting the authorities of the Church to abandon the policy of negotiation for the surrender of Church Schools."

The Conclusion.

Here we must close our review. If we have ventured to criticise frankly Davidson's Ecclesiastical policy, we have done so with a consciousness that he was called to face problems such as no other Archbishop had to encounter, and not without profound admiration for his personal character. He gave himself wholeheartedly to his overwhelming task with sincere conscientiousness and earnest endeavour to win the blessing that belongs to peacemakers. Unsparing in his labours, unfailing in courtesy, unbounded in sympathy, guided by genuine unaffected piety, consistent in aiming at, and maintaining, the highest ideals, "a wholesome example to Church and nation in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity and in purity"; making his home to be, to all guests from all parts of the world, the perfection of a beautiful and godly home, he fully deserved the admiration and affection that he won, and passed from this world full of days, honours, and overflowing love and devotion. No Archbishop before him did more honour to the throne of Augustine, or raised it to higher esteem in the National and Imperial life by his personal character. What we have written in criticism of his policy, in no way detracts from our profound respect for that character or from our high esteem of the great gifts which he brought to the service of our Church, and used with unstinting self-devotion.

THE REFORMATION.[1]

By Albert Mitchell.

The Era of the Reformation.

THE Chronology of the Reformation is difficult. The Reformation hangs upon the Renaissance, but is not its child. In a sense we may say that the Reformation was born of two parents, the Greek Testament and the Printing Press. In 1440 Gutenberg invented printing from movable types, and set up the first printing press. In 1455 the first Bible was printed in Latin. And in the providence of God the Greek Testament was recovered for the Church just at the time when the printing press was invented; the great pivot upon which the recovery of the Greek Testament turned being the date 1453, the fall of Constantinople before the attack of Mohammed II, which broke down the Eastern Greek kingdom, and scattered the Greek scholars into the west.

The Ottoman foothold in Europe had been secured in 1358 under Orchan. During the century that followed, the steady weakening of the Eastern Empire resulted in the gradual passing of Greek scholars across the Adriatic. A Greek Chair was established at Florence in 1397; and in 1438 there were five hundred Greeks at Ferrara for the Council of that year. But the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II ended both the Byzantine Empire and Byzantine learning. In the library of Nicholas V (Pope 1447–55) there were 824 Latin MSS. and 352 Greek MSS., but beyond the celebrated Codex B there was little New Testament Greek. Much the same was the case elsewhere. Lincoln College, Oxford, acquired a Greek MS. of the Acts and Catholic Epistles about 1483 and the text of the Gospels in 1502. Ximenes in Spain published the Complutension Polyglot Bible (in Hebrew, Greek and Latin) in 1522, the printing having been commenced in 1514. But his action was anticipated by Erasmus, who produced his Greek Testament in 1516. The Hebrew Old Testament had at some time previously been printed for the Jews; and the Latin version had then been sixty years in print. The Renaissance can be dated with reasonable fairness by the two events, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the discovery of the New World in 1492. But it would be hard to give a date for the Reformation. Yet I repeat that in a sense it was born of two parents, the Greek Testament and the printing press. So long as the circulation of the Scriptures was limited by the work of the Scriptorium in the monastery or of the private scribe often suspect of heresy the cost was prohibitive. The change wrought by the printer may be gauged by the prices charged for the English Prayer

[1] Based upon the substance of a lecture delivered in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Monday evening, March 4, 1935, to Leaders of the Crusaders' Union and Senior Crusaders; but revised, and extended by the addition of matter omitted for lack of time.

Book of 1552—2*s.* 5*d.* in quires (2*s.* second impression); 3*s.* 4*d.* in parchment (2*s.* 8*d.* second impression) and 4*s.* in leather (3*s.* 4*d.* second impression). Certain copies of Tindale's New Testament sold for about 3*s.* (30*s.* or more in to-day's values) and in 1552 a copy is said to have cost 22 pence. Bibles were, of course, more costly. And so long as the student had no appeal from the Latin versions of the Scriptures theology remained constricted by Roman law. With access to the original tongue of the New Testament thought was liberated and theology emerged from bondage.

The Geographical Extent of the Reformation.

The Reformation practically affected Western Christendom only. The East was cut off altogether by the Turks, and the Slavonic North-East depended on the Greeks, and was not directly touched. But the old Western Roman Empire was affected, with the Scandinavian North and Germany, Poland in part, and the outlying States on the Baltic. The Mediterranean lands were but little touched: there it reached only the *intelligentsia*, and gained no firm hold. The Spanish Inquisition was set up in 1480–1, and was introduced also into the Spanish possessions in Italy; and the rest of Italy was no better off. The Germanic Reformation, usually associated with the name of Luther, affected Northern Germany, Scandinavia, Finland and the other Baltic regions. The Helvetic Reformation, of which Zwingli was the earliest outstanding leader, swept over Switzerland and touched parts of Southern Germany, the Low Countries, France, Hungary, and Poland, and Scotland. The English Reformation had a character of its own: in its earlier phases it was not without affinity with the Germanic, but later it approximated more to the Helvetic; but throughout it was national, and harked back to influences that preceded the Continental beginnings. The Counter-Reformation which took its inspiration from the Council of Trent (1542–3, 1545–7—Bologna—1550–1–2 and 1561–2–3), and its instruments from the ranks of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534–40, found its field primarily in the possessions of the House of Austria and spread more gradually over Southern Europe.

The Prelude to the Reformation.

The necessity for reformation commenced very early; we can almost say at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 315, when Constantine established his claim to the Roman Empire. For, from the moment that Christianity became fashionable, the court religion, the religion of the Emperor, the seeds of decay were sown. The controversy between Arius and Athanasius in the fourth century, though it led to the assertion of the true doctrine of the Church in creed, also set in motion other movements that began to corrupt the practice of the Church. I sometimes think that the devil, having failed at the Council of Nicea (325) to corrupt the creed of the Church, turned his attention to the ritual and

ceremony of the Church, and found he could be more effective in working evil thereby. After the death of Athanasius, about 367, came the growth of the Papacy in worldly power. From Gregory the Great in 590–604 to Gregory VII (whom we know better as Hildebrand) in 1073–85, there was a steady progress upwards in power, and the establishment of the Roman Church as a worldly, temporal power. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council decreed the doctrine of Transubstantiation as part of the creed of the Church.[1] (You must remember that Transubstantiation does not exhaust the doctrine of the Real Presence, but Transubstantiation is the logical result of the doctrine of the Real Presence. A study of the accusations made against the Reformers reveals that they contained a double indictment, that they denied both the Real Presence and Transubstantiation.) During the whole of this period there was a steady decay of faith and of learning, and that was due to the closing of the Scriptures. The Scriptures existed only in a dead tongue, and were not in the vernacular.

Even in the Dark Ages the existence of various bodies, as the Cathari and Albigenses, pilloried by the authorities as heretics and Manichæans—an accusation always to be received with caution—witnesses to the earnest struggles of often ignorant people after better things. And we have one very important piece of evidence in the long history of the Vallenses or Dalesmen of the Piedmontese valleys who were certainly in existence in the eleventh century, and under the later names of Vaudois and Waldensians have survived through bitter persecution to the present day and are essentially orthodox. In the twelfth century Peter of Lyons (*c.* 1160), surnamed Waldo, attached himself to them, and some time thereafter the " d " found its way into their name and led to confusion. At one time the Vaudois claimed spiritual descent from Claudius, Bishop of Turin in the ninth century and even asserted continuity with the teachers of the fourth century, the time of Athanasius. But since the Vaudois or modern Waldensians have definitely adopted presbyterian [2] principles they have become shy of emphasising pre-Reformation origin. But in the fourteenth century they spread over Europe in the guise of pedlars, and even of Friars Predicant, and may have influenced the English country-side and prepared it for the later Lollardy. The Dominican house of Edington had a Vaudois prior, who was in the service of Edward II as chaplain or confessor.

[1] The doctrine of transubstantiation is found long before 1215: it was introduced into England by Lanfranc soon after 1066. It was a product of the West, but it spread to the East and there displaced the older doctrine of Augmentation traceable to John Damascene (otherwise Al Mansur) *c.* 730.

[2] The question whether the earlier Waldenses (Vallenses) were presbyterian or not is in doubt. The early Bohemian Brethren (Moravians) received their episcopate from Stephen, a Waldensian who claimed (and was believed by them) to be an apostolic bishop. There certainly was some distinction between Senior Elders and younger elders: but a committee of the Lambeth Conference has reported against Moravian Orders, or at least declared that they are " not proven."

John Wycliffe.

The great "Morning Star of the Reformation" was John Wycliffe. Born about 1324; Master of Balliol College, 1360; Rector of Lutterworth, 1374; he died ten years later. In 1380 he produced the New Testament in English, and the Old Testament followed from his "School." His leading disciples and coworkers were Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey. Wycliffe's version was the first in English. Before his day there was (except some partial Anglo-Saxon versions prior to the Norman Conquest) no part of the Scriptures available in English except the Psalter (notably Richard Rolle's, 1349).[1]

Wycliffe's teaching is very obscure. The extraordinary thing is that we cannot find very clearly what many of these early people taught. Most of their emphasis was on conduct and morals—a significant indication. Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) said he never did hate sin before he was taught by Wycliffe.[2] But it is perfectly clear that Wycliffe denied Transubstantiation, and said that the Presence of the Lord in the Sacrament was to be taken figuratively. What remains of his sermons and teaching indicate that he probably held Protestant doctrine, and there are constant references to the Holy Scriptures, the Gospel, and the work of our Lord Jesus Christ. We can judge better of his doctrine by his disciples. Walter Brute, 1392, gives definite witness to the doctrine of Justification by Faith, the free Grace of God, and the fact that Christ fulfilled the law for us. So we may reasonably take that as a summary of Wycliffe's teaching.[3] Another of Wycliffe's disciples, Peter Payne (otherwise Peter Clerk, or the clerk) was Master of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, but fled to Dresden in 1411, and two years later went to Prague, where he taught in the University and attained great influence in the Hussite camp.

John Huss.

For in Bohemia, Wycliffe's doctrine had roused John Huss, who was burned at Constance in 1415. Bohemian students were at Oxford in 1390. In 1467, the Hussites or Bohemians broke away from the Roman Church altogether, and started a ministry of their own, and an episcopate. From the Hussite Church, and the evangelical views that began to spread, came the Gospel message of Martin Luther. In 1609 nine-tenths of the Protestants of Bohemia were Hussites, when they joined forces with the Lutherans. But the battle of the White Mountain in 1620 broke them.

Martin Luther.

Martin Luther was born in 1483. He died in 1546. Of all Luther's ninety-five theses, scarcely more than one is doctrinal.

[1] For fuller treatment of this point see my article "The Growth of the Bible in English," in the *Church of England Year Book for* 1936.

[2] "For Oldcastle died a martyr." Epilogue to Henry IV., pt. 2.

[3] In the Lollard conclusions presented to Parliament in 1394 there is a reference to the "Pretended miracle of the Sacrament of bread."

All relate to abuses of the Church, penances and indulgences. But at the bottom Luther's inspiration was spiritual. These are his own words:

"Then I began to understand the justice of God to be that by which the just man lives by the Gift of God, namely by faith, and that the meaning was that the Gospel reveals that justice of God by which He justifies us beggars through faith, as it is written, 'The just shall live by faith.' Here I felt myself absolutely born again; the gates of heaven were opened, and I had entered Paradise itself."

"He has delivered, purchased, and won me, a lost and doomed man, from all sins, from death and the devil's power."

"Now therefore those tyrants and gaolers (sin and blindness) are all crushed, and in their place is come Jesus Christ, the Lord of Life, righteousness, all good and holiness, and He has snatched us poor lost men from the jaws of hell, won us, made us free, and brought us back to the Father's goodness and grace."

That was the spirit that lay behind Luther's work for the Reformation.

Ulrich or Huldreich Zwingli.

And if we turn to the other great movement in Switzerland, we have the words of Ulrich Zwingli, although he, just like Luther, makes his public theses purely upon temporal and political grounds. He says: "Christ, Who offered Himself once, is for ever a perfect and satisfactory sacrifice for the sins of all believers, from which we conclude that the Mass is no sacrifice." Again he speaks of "the greatness and freedom of God's mercy." "The Gospel is nothing but the Good News of the grace of God; on this we should rest our hearts." Again: "That in the Holy Supper the very body of Christ is present to the eye, contemplation, and beholding of faith: that is that they which give thus to the Lord for the benefits given to us in His Son, acknowledge Him to have taken of His very flesh, in it verily to have suffered, and verily to have washed away our sins in His blood, and so all things done by Christ to be made to them, in the beholding of faith, as it were present." Again, you see, it is the spiritual conception of the Grace of God. Zwingli was born in 1484, took his M.A. degree at Vienna, was ordained priest at Constance in 1506, appointed Chief Pastor of Zurich in 1518, and died on the battlefield of Kappel in 1531.

John Calvin.

John Calvin (born at Noyon in 1509 and qualified as a lawyer in 1532), who organised the Helvetic Reformation, was more of a law-giver than a theologian, but even he says, as Dr. Fairbairn translates him, that "if man was to be saved God must save him. . . . God did it all. We had no merit, and He had all the glory."[1]

In 1549 in the Consensus Tigurinus (Zurich) Calvin's system was recognised by the Swiss. But with the Peace of Augsburg

[1] Calvin joined William Farel at Geneva in 1536, and died in 1564.

in 1555 the progress of the Continental Reformation was checked by the establishment of the doctrine of *Uti possidetis*; whereby the position was, so to say, petrified on the basis of *Cujus Regio ejus religio.*

The Reformation in England.

While the Reformation on the Continent was largely stemmed as a result of the Peace of Augsburg, in England things were a little different, for many reasons, amongst them the following. We had the Anglo-Saxon tradition from the first lingering among the people with the sacramental doctrine of Ælfric; the infiltration of the doctrines of grace in the hidden teaching of the wandering predicants, and the leavening of the country-side and the back streets of the towns with Lollardy. And the killing off of the nobility and gentry in the Wars of the Roses, and the rising of the new middle class changed the balance of power. The Tudor kings crushed feudalism, and cultivated the mercantile middle class on whom they relied.

William Tindale.

In 1483 William Tindale was born. He graduated at Oxford in 1512. In 1525 he brought out an octavo edition of the New Testament, and in 1536 he was strangled and burned at Vilvorde in Belgium. And the same year the King ordered Bibles to be set up in the churches. No more dramatic evidence could be given of the fact that God buries His workmen but carries on His work. In the very year that the first man who gave the printed Bible in the English tongue was burned, the Royal order came for the Bible to be set up in the churches. The permanent endurance of Tindale's work is shown in the Revised Version of the Bible, 1881–4. Sixty to seventy-five per cent of the words are the very words of Tindale.

The printing of the Scriptures in English was the basic fact of the English Reformation without which it could never have reached the hearts of the people. Tindale had followers in the good work, but he was its hero. Nothing exasperated the Marian persecutors more than the constant appeal to the Bible of the lay folk haled before their tribunals.

The Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The Henrician part of the Reformation was very largely legal and political and centred round the Restraint of Appeals to Rome and the Submission of the Clergy in 1534; and the doctrinal issues did not fully emerge till Edward VI's reign, and then they were grouped round the English Prayer Book. The next great pillar of the Protestant Reformation, after the Bible, was the Prayer Book of Edward VI. After a short tentative service for the people's Communion in both kinds in 1547, the First Prayer Book was put out in 1549. It was not very popular and was never reprinted. But the Second Book (1552), more carefully revised, " faithfully and

godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect," was received with alacrity and went into eight editions: it was maintained by a strong minority in Mary's House of Commons and in its secret use focused the faithful during her reign: and was re-enacted under Elizabeth in 1559 with three specified alterations "and none other or otherwise"; and has subsisted without grave changes down to our own day. The English Prayer Book was popularly referred to as "the Communion Book"; and it may almost be said that the English Reformers wove all their distinctive teaching round the great "Sacrament of our redemption," and made their witness to Christ's propitiatory sacrifice the keystone of their position. In 1571 the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were issued "for the establishing of consent touching true religion." [1] In one sense the Reformation was thus formally complete: although the aftermath of the "diversities of opinion" continued for at least a century, and Cranmer's scheme for the settlement of the Ecclesiastical Laws was never proceeded with. For the English Reformation owes more than can be expressed to the genius of Thomas Cranmer, last of the Schoolmen, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the chapter house of St. Stephen's on March 30, 1533, and burned at Oxford on March 21, 1556. Nor must we forget due tribute to the quieter labours of Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop consecrated under the new order in 1559, in consolidating the work of his martyred predecessor, in co-operation with Queen Elizabeth and her other advisers.

The Causes of the Reformation.

But the Reformation, whether on the Continent of Europe or in England, was really one, although in accentuating its causes we linger specially upon the story of our own land. Those causes were:

1. *Economic.* The wealth of the Ecclesiastical Corporations, the lands in their hands, and the pressure upon the growing population, made an economic difficulty that brought out the need for Reformation.

2. *Political,* hanging on the economic. The Ecclesiastical Corporations were great territorial magnates who never died. There was a continuity of policy and polity on the part of those great Ecclesiastical Corporations that made a steady pressure in opposition to progress.[2]

3. *Moral.* The morals of the Middle Ages were very bad, which was largely due to the immunity of the clergy from the national

[1] Be it always remembered that the Articles explain the Prayer Book, and not *vice versa*!

[2] We must not wholly forget the echoes of the Continental conflicts between Guelf and Ghibelline, and between Canonists and Civilians, which reached even to England. Nor must we overlook the fact that in the English Parliament the "lords spiritual" just outnumbered the "lords temporal"—a really serious political danger. While death-bed gifts and priestly influence had resulted in the vesting of a disproportionate extent of the lands in ecclesiastical hands.

laws; and the term "clergy" was widely construed, anybody who could get a little office in the Church was included.

4. *Social.* The dominance over the laity through the Confessional corrupted the moral relations between the Confessor and the confessing. And the relentless persecution of the Lollards (or Wycliffites) touched the life of the homely people at many points.[1]

5. *The Increase of Knowledge or Education.* This centred in the Greek Testament and the translations of the Scriptures, issued through the printing press. Eyes were opened to the weakness of the foundations on which ecclesiastical authority rested.[2]

6. *Increased Comity of Nations.* The commerce and travel due to the increased knowledge of the world. England's insularity limited the Reformation movement, but it also concentrated it; and so it is that it can be said that the English Reformation was really, at the bottom, more thorough-going and permanent than that on the Continent.

Principles and Characteristics of the Reformation.

Let us look for and recognise the principles or characteristics of the Reformation.

1. First and foremost, *The Appeal to the Bible as God's Word written.* Men set up the Word of God, God's Word written, now becoming known to them, as the Authority against all the ecclesiasticism of the day. They tested the Pope and they tested the priest by his conformity to the Bible, and found him wanting. That was the outstanding principle upon which the Reformation was built.

2. *Deliverance from the Terrible Burden of the Confessional.* Liberty of conscience. There can be no liberty of conscience when the confessional exists. That led to

3. *A Limited Freedom of Speech.* "The liberty of prophesying," the power of the pulpit. But it was a long time before even the "reformed" people realised the consequences in freedom of speech.

4. *Individual Faith.* The doctrine of justification by faith alone can be set up next to the supremacy of God's Word written, as the next pivot upon which the Reformation turned, in England and on the Continent. Man is justified by faith, apart from the deeds of the law. "By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." That cut right through all the priestcraft and ecclesiasticism, and it was the second of the great keynotes of the Reformation. It was the key to the abolition of the confessional; it was because a man believed that he was justified by faith in God, through God's gift of grace, that he threw aside the confessional.

5. That all meant that there was *a Realisation of the Grace of God*, which bringeth salvation, and has appeared to all men. Salva-

[1] William Sawtre, priest of St. Osyth, London, was burned in 1401; and many others suffered death or humiliation.

[2] Much was due to John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's 1504–1519.

tion was God's gift, not something man could earn. That was a revelation, and new life to the people of the sixteenth century. It was the opened Bible that brought this about.

6. With that came, *a Revolt against the Mass-miracle*, varying in degree, but one in principle.

7. *The Value of the Individual Soul.* That was very slowly realised, and even after the Reformation people still believed that the Community had the power to coerce the individual, but the realisation of this value was nevertheless one of the characteristics of the Reformation. It was partly affected by, and reciprocally affected, political conditions, and the political liberty that we have to-day we owe to the Reformation. It was the religious Reformation that made the possibility of not only religious freedom but political freedom to-day; and that was recognised in the earlier centuries, and we ought to recognise it to-day.

8. The crown and aim of the Reformation was the establishment of *the Personal Relationship between God and Man.* Religion begins with a personal relation between a personal God and the individual man, and until that takes place the man does not begin to be religious. That fact revolutionised belief, conduct, and morals; because a man who realises that the essence of his religion is that he is brought into fellowship with God, can never be the same as he was before, either in belief, or in the standards by which he works his life.

Some Cautions.

If the appeal of the Reformation is to God's Word, the obligation to study and read God's Word must be foremost in our minds.

And let us remember the saying that "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." We are up to-day, as they were in the sixteenth century, against the confessional and the Mass. In the sixteenth century the confessional and the Mass were in possession, and it was persecution for anybody who stood out against them. To-day they are striving to get back into possession, yet people are disposed to stand back and sheer off from controversy.

Liberty of speech, individual faith, the realisation of God's grace, all impose upon us the necessity for witness. "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me." The duty of witnesses to-day is to preserve the teaching of the Reformation. The sum of it is that the essence of religion is fellowship between God and man, the fellowship for which man was made in the image of God, a fellowship broken and marred by sin, a fellowship that can be restored only by the act of God Himself. And God *has* restored it. For "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the Word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. We then, as workers together with Him,

beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." Could you have a more perfect exemplification and paraphrase of the whole Gospel, and the grace of the Gospel, and the life of the Church, than those wonderful verses ?

Yet it may be said that the Reformation was not complete until there came the Evangelical revival of religion. For mere nominal Protestantism, without the positive evangelism that was reasserted in the Evangelical Revival, will never save a soul. But the great thing is that God loved, God gave, God's grace saves, the work of Christ is done, Christ bore our sins that we might go free, and God in Christ forgives us, and we in Christ regain fellowship with God. That is the message and the principle and the teaching of the glorious Reformation, that was the greatest event in history since the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ.

JOHN CALVIN.

By W. Guy Johnson.

IN an essay published some ten years ago,[1] Dr. W. R. Matthews, now Dean of St. Paul's, wrote:

"The critical point in the life of Calvin is the year 1536. In that year he published the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and almost at once stood out in the public eye as the leading intellect of the Reforming movement. In the same year he took up his abode in Geneva, from which city, with one short interval, he was to exercise a growing and determinative influence on the thought and politics of Europe."

The memory of Calvin has suffered much in modern times, and a revulsion against what is often erroneously supposed to be his teaching has created a prejudice of which one result is that the really great work which he did for Protestant and Reformed religion is largely forgotten. Dr. Matthews's appreciative words are a welcome contrast to the general tone of reference to Calvin which is to be found in much popular writing, and suitably introduce this effort to recall his memory in 1936, four hundred years after the *Institutes* appeared in their earliest form.

It is a misfortune that the name of John Calvin has in the popular mind been associated almost exclusively with a harsh and repellent form of the doctrine of predestination, and also with one of the great tragedies of history, the burning of Servetus. This is the more unfortunate because not only has it obscured the real character of the man and the magnitude of the work he accomplished, but also because any censure due in respect of either point, is to be extended with hardly an exception to every one on either side who took part in the great religious struggles of the sixteenth century. As to predestination there was no difference between Calvin's teaching and that of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas on the one hand and that of Luther and the Reformers generally on the other. If some of his successors have carried the doctrine to illegitimate extremes, he is not to be blamed for their excesses. With regard to the trial and execution of Servetus, it met with almost unanimous approval at the time; and we must remember that it was Calvin who pleaded for a more merciful form of death and that his appeal was refused. Moreover, it is too often forgotten that Servetus had been previously tried and condemned to be burnt by the Roman Catholic authorities at Vienne, but that he escaped from prison and fled before the sentence could be carried out. In consequence, he was burned in effigy by the Church. When, later, the Town Council of Geneva had sentenced Servetus to death, word came from Vienne demanding that he be handed over to the Church authorities there, that they might burn him

[1] *Social and Political Ideas of some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation.* Ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, 1925. Article "John Calvin," by W. R. Matthews, D.D.

in execution of the sentence previously pronounced by them. We may be pardoned for wishing that the request had met with a different reception, for then Servetus would have been remembered only as one of the innumerable victims of the insatiable cruelty of the Roman hierarchy. As it is, the odium of this solitary instance of death for heresy in which Calvin was concerned has been used to cloud his reputation and to outweigh all the horrors of Albigensian, Waldensian, Huguenot and other massacres for which the Church of Rome has to answer at the bar of history.

John Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy on the 10th of July, 1509, the year in which Henry VIII ascended the throne of England. In that year Luther, a Professor at Wittenberg, had reached the age of twenty-six and was to fasten his ninety-five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in that town only three years later. Calvin thus belongs to the second generation of the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century. By the time that he was able to take any intelligent interest in it, the Reformation was well on its way and most of the pioneer work had been done. His father, an ecclesiastical lawyer, whose skill in legal and administrative work had won for him social recognition and good professional standing, came from a family which for generations had found occupation as boatmen on the Oise at a village near by. Little is known of his mother, who died before any of her children reached maturity, except that she was a good and devout woman of earnest piety of the medieval type. Noyon is an ancient city of no great size, which was from the early part of the sixth century until the French Revolution, the seat of a Bishopric and was mainly under clerical influence. In situation it is about sixty miles to the north of Paris and so was well within the sphere of influence of the capital.

Calvin's father was ambitious for his children and determined to give them the best education possible. There was a reputable school at Noyon to which the young Calvins were sent, and at an early age John, by his eagerness and industry, gave promise of the qualities which marked him so conspicuously throughout his life. In another respect his school life was a forecast, for his power of forming friendships can be seen in his associations with the sons of the noble family of Hangest, lords of Montmor, and with others. In 1523, when he had just passed his fourteenth birthday, he was sent by his father to the University of Paris, accompanied by three of his friends of the Montmor family. Two years previously, when scarcely twelve years of age, he had been appointed to a chaplaincy attached to the altar of La Gèsine in the Cathedral of Noyon, which though it is an example of a widely spread system of corrupt administration of ecclesiastical affairs, yet on occasion found a measure of justification as a means for providing for the education of promising youths who were intended for the priesthood. Other similar benefices were added later, the duties, of course, being performed by deputy. Dr. Williston Walker in his excellent *Life of Calvin* says: "He doubtless received the tonsure—the only sign of membership in a clerical order which Calvin ever attained in the Roman Church."

The University of Paris in which he now became a student had long been reputed the most eminent seat of learning in Europe, though at this time it had not maintained the intellectual leadership for which it had once been famed. The New Learning of the Renaissance did not find a kindly welcome within its walls, although the more rigid advocates of medieval orthodoxy were less able than they wished to prevent entirely its invasion. The conditions of student life in the Universities of the Middle Ages were such as to make it incredible that any considerable proportion of the youths should survive, or surviving should emerge with any intellectual vigour or enthusiasm left in them; the coarse and scanty food, the subjection to vain, ignorant or brutal masters, the want of sanitation and the ignorance of elementary rules of health, told hardly on the majority; and though Calvin was in some respects exempt from the worst of these evils, yet the severity of his studies and the neglect of proper care undoubtedly laid the foundation of that persistent ill-health which hampered him through life. This accounts for his frequent fits of irritability and caused his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-five. For a few months he enjoyed at the Collège de la Marche the instruction in Latin given by Mathurin Cordier, who was probably the best teacher of that language and one of the most capable educationalists to be found in France at that time. On Calvin's transference to the Collège de Montaigue, he lost this influence. Its principal was Noel Béda, a conservative theologian of ability, and a determined opponent of all reform in the doctrine or usage of the Roman Church. It is not without interest to note that the principal in Calvin's time was no weak and insignificant champion of the medieval theology taught at the Collège de Montaigue. Erasmus had studied within its walls nearly twenty years prior to Calvin's entering it, and Ignatius Loyola became a student there just as Calvin was leaving. Calvin was a hard and unremitting student during all his years at Paris. He was greatly attracted by the writings of Erasmus and of the humanists generally; he was a diligent student of the Fathers, and as a matter of course he was trained in all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy. His memory was so retentive that all that he had read was at all times at his command, and in addition he had that clarity of mind and logical precision of thought that seem to be the special characteristic of educated Frenchmen. Moreover, he had a personal attractiveness of no common kind, for though of relatively humble birth we find him on terms of close and intimate friendship with a large and growing circle of persons of social, professional and academic distinction, which can in no other way be explained. The grave, reserved and rather dour person, subject to fits of nervous irritability, and impatient of contradiction, exhibited as the portrait of Calvin, has a measure of truth during the height of his controversies and anxieties at Geneva, and before his influence there was well established, but it does not represent Calvin's character in essence or as a whole. Gravity and seriousness could not but characterise a man to whom the fear of

God and the sense, not only of His love, but of His awe-compelling sovereignty and majesty dominated every thought, but the tenderer and more human qualities which give graciousness and winsomeness to a man's personality were there as well, or he would not have inspired the devotion with which he was regarded by his followers. Moreover, we have it on the testimony of Beza that—" With regard to his manners, although nature had formed him for gravity, yet in the common intercourse of life there was no man who was more pleasant."

His undergraduate course in the Faculty of Arts, to use the modern form of expression, was completed at about the beginning of 1528, and a change was then made in the direction of his studies by his father's insistence that he should now turn from the study of theology to that of law. The reason probably was that his father, who had quarrelled with the Cathedral Chapter at Noyon, thought that the legal profession offered better prospects for a youth of good ability than the Church at that time seemed likely to provide. Calvin seems to have raised no opposition to his father's wishes and he proceeded to the University of Orleans, since Paris had no teacher of jurisprudence comparable with Pierre de l'Estoile, the leading lawyer of France who, with seven other " doctors," of whom he was by far the most noted, was then teaching at Orleans. Here in a freer and more liberal atmosphere than that of Paris, Calvin gave himself to this new and attractive subject of study with such ardour that he increased the dyspeptic disorders which troubled him so seriously in later life. Law, however, did not entirely absorb his energies. For he continued to prosecute the classical studies to which he had been drawn while at Paris, and the thoroughness of his work is shown in his commentary on Seneca's treatise on clemency, which he published in 1523, after he had returned to Paris on the death of his father. It was a work of great erudition and it showed that—

" From the point of view of scholarship the young author had nothing to fear. Written in a Latin style of singular clarity and brilliancy, with not a little of the lawyer's sense for lucid presentation and cogent argument, his book showed a range of reading almost marvellous in a man of Calvin's years." [1]

When this book was published the author of it had not reached his twenty-third year. It is important to remember, as Dr. Matthews points out, that Calvin was, besides being a Biblical scholar, a humanist and a lawyer:

" He was a humanist. All the greater Reformers were to some extent children of the new learning, but none had perhaps so clear a right in the family as he. Calvin's most permanent contribution to literature is to be found in his commentaries on Scripture. They bear the marks of one who had learned in the school of classical studies to interpret the meaning of an author and to consider the circumstances in which he wrote. And he was a lawyer. It is to this, perhaps, that we should attribute the less attractive

[1] Williston Walker, *John Calvin*, p. 59 (Putnam's, London, 1906).

elements found in his thinking. His theology is legal, and his mind is clear rather than capacious, ruthless in logic rather than rich in reflection." [1]

To somewhat the same effect, Dr. Fairbairn wrote:

" His early humanism made him a scholar and an exegete, a master of elegant Latinity, of lucid and incisive speech, of a graphic pen and historical imagination. His juristic studies gave him an idea of law, through which he interpreted the more abstruse notions of theology, and a love of order which compelled him to organise his Church." [2]

A vast amount of discussion and research has been expended on the subject of the date at which Calvin's " conversion " took place, into which it is unnecessary to enter here. Calvin himself is reticent on the subject. In the introduction to his *Commentary on the Psalms* he says: " And since I was too obstinately devoted to the superstitions of Popery to be easily extricated from so profound an abyss of mire, God, by a sudden conversion, brought my mind to a teachable frame." There is no indication in his book on Seneca that this had happened so early as 1532, when that work was published, though the deep sense of moral values which seems to have been with him from childhood, is plainly evident. Nor could it have been much later than the following year. Dr. W. Walker makes the highly probable suggestion that Calvin's " sudden conversion " had as an important factor—perhaps even as its central experience—" the recognition of the Scriptures, and of the Scriptures alone, as the very voice of God." That this was henceforth the dominating note in Calvin's life and writings his whole subsequent career gives ample proof. It was a time of great agitation. The Lutheran Reformation had found a prompt and ready echo in other countries, not least in France, though owing to the " Gallican liberties " the French monarch and people had not so great a sense of grievance as was felt elsewhere. The Reformed teaching had, however, received an eager welcome in many places, and there were already in Paris and elsewhere actual congregations of Evangelical believers who had entirely severed themselves from the Roman Church, and with some of these Calvin appears to have come into close relations, in particular with the much respected merchant de la Forge. These Evangelical associations on the one hand, and the writings of Erasmus and other contemporary humanists on the other, must have had a great if unconscious influence in diminishing the strength of his convictions long before he himself actually took the decisive step of renouncing his connection with the Church in which he had been reared. In 1533, conditions in Paris seemed favourable to the spread of the Reformed opinions, provided no very definite occasion was given to alarm the conservative advocates of the medieval system. But just such an occasion presented itself to Nicholas Cop, a friend of Calvin, at that moment appointed to the Rectorship of the University. He had to give an inaugural address and he delivered one of a very high moral tone, but leaning strongly to the toleration of humanist and reformed opinion. It is

[1] *Op. Cit.*, p. 195. [2] *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, p. 363.

stated that Calvin was the author of this address. Among modern authorities on Calvin there are great names on either side. Fairbairn takes his authorship for granted (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*), but the evidence is not completely decisive. The result of the address showed a greater strength among the opponents of reform than had been anticipated, and both Cop and Calvin found it necessary to leave Paris, to avoid being arrested on the charge of heresy.

Between the end of 1533 and March, 1536, when the first edition of the *Institutes* was published at Basel, Calvin had a period of wandering from place to place seeking a home where he might in quietness and safety devote himself to a life of scholarship. There is no precise account of his movements during this time; but the appearance of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* at the end of it shows how intensely he must have been occupied and how much he had developed his views, if such a word can describe convictions held with the whole force of his being. The *Institutes* are well worth reading, though there is much in them that sounds strangely to modern ears. His reverence for Scripture and his certainty that it is the very Word of God speaking to us, we may prize even though his use and interpretation of particular passages may not be ours. The treatise, though small in comparison with what it afterwards became through successive revisions and additions, is an astonishing production for a young man only twenty-seven years of age. Its knowledge of Scripture, its grasp of fundamental truth, its wide range and its coherent and systematic presentation of Christian doctrine, at once placed its author in the forefront of the leaders of reform. The work was prefaced by a courageous and dignified letter to the King of France presenting the work as a defence of the Reformers against the calumnies that were being hurled against them. To quote Dr. Fairbairn again, this letter "is one of the great epistles of the world, a splendid apology for the oppressed and arraignment of the oppressors. It does not implore toleration as a concession, but claims freedom as a right."

Calvinism as expounded in the *Institutes* does not exhibit the harsh and rigid doctrine of predestination, reprobation and the corruption of human nature that, to many people, is associated with it. For example, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* "Calvinism" is defined as "The doctrines of John Calvin, the Protestant Reformer, particularly his theological doctrines of grace, in which Calvinism is opposed to Arminianism"; and it adds the so-called "Five points of Calvinism"—viz. Particular election. Particular redemption. Moral inability in a fallen state. Irresistible grace. Final perseverance. But divine predestination and election and the consequences to be deduced therefrom were not the sole, nor were they the primary, theological conceptions in Calvin's mind. His main and absorbing interest was concerned with the majesty, righteousness and sovereignty of God. In Him everything, material, moral and spiritual, found its centre, to Him all things witnessed, on Him all else depended. The cause of God only and it alone, was worth living, working and fighting for; and his passionate

conviction, utter sincerity and tireless energy compelled the respect even of those who were only in part prepared to follow him or who thought that at times he was too ready to identify the cause of God with his own plans. Richard Hooker, the great opponent of those Puritans who sought to bring Elizabethan England under the stern rule of the Calvinistic system, yet wrote of the founder of that system as

" incomparably the wisest man the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. . . . For though thousands were indebted to him as touching Divine knowledge; yet he to none but only to God, the Author of that most blessed fountain, The Book of Life."

And a much later writer, Dean Hook, who had little leaning towards Calvinism, wrote:

" When our countrymen, however, were brought by circumstances under the influence of Calvin, we are not surprised if, while they deplored his intolerance, they were fascinated by his genius and learning. The third edition of his *Institutes* had been published in 1559, and the charm of his style, the profundity of his remarks, together with his intimate acquaintance with Scripture, rendered it influential wherever it was read."

Calvin's great service to the Reformation was that with characteristic lucidity and precision of statement, he brought its theological principles into systematic order, showing their connection and relation to each other and their entire dependence on Holy Scripture. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is no mere academic theological treatise, for its primary purpose is the application of the principles with which it deals to the practical daily life of every Christian man both as an individual and as a member of the Christian community or church. Mark Pattison writes of him:

" The distinction of Calvin as a Reformer is not to be sought in the doctrine which now bears his name, or in any doctrinal peculiarity. His great merit lies in his comparative neglect of dogma. He seized the idea of reformation as a real renovation of human character. While the German Reformers were scholastically engaged in remodelling abstract metaphysical statements, Calvin had embraced the lofty idea of the Church of Christ as a society of regenerate men. . . . The Protestant movement was saved from being sunk in the quicksands of doctrinal dispute, chiefly by the new moral direction given to it in Geneva." [1]

With this purpose in view, it is no matter for surprise that Calvin's writings were read widely, and influenced deeply the men of his time, as they have influenced men right down to our own day. Their influence upon the English Reformers was as great as upon others, though it was not the originative nor the dominant influence. Calvin, as we have seen, did not belong to the first stage of the Reformation. He was only nine years old when Luther nailed his ninety-five Theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. Cranmer was already Archbishop of Canterbury, a theological scholar of distinct repute and in his forty-fourth year when Calvin was a young man of twenty-four. And during the period between Luther's dramatic challenge and the preparation of the English

[1] *Essays*, Vol. I, " Calvin at Geneva."

liturgy and Articles of religion Cranmer had been quietly and steadily maturing his position. This must be borne in mind when we are told that the English Reformers and the compilers of the English Liturgy were Calvinists. So far as the doctrines of predestination and election were concerned, Calvin's views were equally those of the German and English Reformers. Not that they necessarily accepted all the consequences deduced from it by Calvin, but that they had all equally entered upon the common heritage of Augustinianism which was both explicit and emphatic upon this dark and insoluble mystery. Indeed, the late Canon J. B. Mozley, at one time Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, after an acute and exhaustive discussion of the Augustinian doctrine, wrote: "I see no substantial difference between the Augustinian and Thomist, and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination," and adds that the same "checks and cautions" which Augustine and his followers in the schools appended to their doctrine were appended by Calvin, just as much as by them.

In regard to this doctrine, the Church of England in Article XVII, while affirming it, is careful to go no further than the text of Holy Scripture plainly warrants, and only indirectly alludes to the question of reprobation. That Article, moreover, points to the danger of "curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination"; and it concludes that "we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture." Now God's promises as generally set forth in Holy Scripture contain many other teachings about God than the mere fact of His Sovereignty and all-prevailing Will; and if we are not to empty the whole matter of moral content they teach emphatically the responsibility of each man for the wrong that he does. It is easy enough so to state the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination as to make it appear that God is the author of evil, a conclusion from which Calvin himself would have shrunk with horror. The subject, from its very nature, confronts us with difficulties and with contradictions which it is beyond the power of our limited mental faculties, in this stage of our being, to reconcile. On none is it more important to remember the warning of Richard Hooker: "Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High . . . He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few." At the same time it must not be supposed that the difficulty is merely a religious or theological one. It confronts the philosopher as well as the theologian, and an age which has seen the rise—through the growth of materialistic science—of an influential determinist philosophy, can hardly dismiss predestination with contempt.

After the publication of the *Institutes* Calvin left Basel for Strassburg, but being compelled to make a long detour he passed through Geneva, intending only to stay one night. That city had recently taken steps which logically and inevitably led it to the side of the Reformation, though without any such intention on the

part of the citizens whose main desire was freedom from the power of the Bishop and the House of Savoy. But the banishment of the Bishop, who was the sovereign ruler, and an alliance with the "Reformed" city of Berne, led to unanticipated results; and Guillaume Farel, the fiery French preacher of reforming doctrines, had been doing his best to bring the Genevans to both Protestantism and to decency of moral life. It is not clear to which of these the citizens objected most, but object they did, and Farel found the task beyond his powers. Hearing of Calvin's presence in the city, he went and earnestly adjured him to stay and aid in the difficult endeavour. "Farel kept me at Geneva," Calvin said, "not so much by advice and entreaty as by a dreadful adjuration, as if God had stretched forth His hand from on high to arrest me." The task was hard and uncongenial; but if God had set it before him, he must not shrink. In this way his connection with Geneva, which with one brief interlude lasted for the remainder of his life, was begun.

It was a curious situation at Geneva. The citizens, having banished their Bishop, had been induced to vote *nem. con.* their desire to live in the holy evangelical law and Word of God, "as it has been announced to us, desiring to abandon all masses, images, idols, and all that which may pertain thereto." Thus far had the stirring and fiery preaching of Farel brought them. But he was quite unable to furnish the organising power necessary to bring order out of the ecclesiastical confusion that resulted from the departure of the Bishop, who represented the sole authority in matters of religion and morals. To that authority the Town Council regarded itself as succeeding, and before Calvin arrived there, it had already issued a number of disciplinary ordinances forbidding blasphemy, oaths and card-playing, regulating the sale of intoxicants, and ordering brides to cover their heads. He was therefore, not the originator of the rigorous disciplinary system with which Geneva is associated. He built upon it and made it a practical force. It is not possible here to describe the early efforts of Calvin and those who worked with him in the endeavour to build up a City of God among the wayward inhabitants of this strangely circumstanced town, with its complications of politics, internal and external, and its confusions of religious aims and purposes. It is probable that the reformers, Calvin especially, did not in their ardour and zeal make sufficient allowance for the immaturity and uncertainty of these recent adherents to the party of the Reformation, for the result of their efforts was that within less than two years, Calvin, Farel and Coraud were ordered to leave the city. Their aims had been nobly high. Their personal characters, their absence of self-seeking and their indefatigable labours could not be gainsaid. But they had forced the pace; their impetuosity was that of youth and inexperience. If they had failed it was a failure which carried no taint of disgrace. They were bitterly disappointed at the failure, but did not abandon hope that God would ultimately bring about, possibly through other agents,

the purposes for which they had laboured in the conviction that they were His.

When his expulsion from Geneva became known, Calvin received from Martin Bucer, the spiritual leader of Strassburg, a cordial invitation to make that city his home. The place offered all that Calvin desired, a place where he could, among learned and spiritually minded friends of reforming principles, continue his studies and find opportunities of usefulness. After some hesitation he decided to accept the invitation, again as a call from God, and for the space of about three years he worked happily, though at times under conditions of severe poverty, ministering to a congregation of French refugees who had settled in Strassburg, lecturing in theology and continuing his studies. Here he issued in 1539 a greatly enlarged edition of the *Institutes* besides doing other literary work. It seemed indeed that he had finally found his settled home and vocation, when another and not very welcome call to return to Geneva came. Things in that city had not gone well since his strong and vigorous personality had been removed. The friends of the Reformation there had more than once suggested his return, but now there came something in the way of a formal invitation from the Pastors at Geneva, and this was strengthened by a request from the same Council that had three years before ordered his expulsion. Hooker puts the matter very tersely:

> " The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all craved Calvin. The next day, a general convocation; they cry in like sort again all, ' We will have Calvin, that good and learned man, Christ's minister.' This," said he, " when I understood, I could not choose but praise God nor was I able to judge otherwise than that this was the Lord's doing and that it was marvellous in our eyes." Hooker sententiously adds: " The other two whom they had thrown out together (with Calvin) they were content *should enjoy their exile.*"

We must remember that during the interval Calvin's reputation and importance had grown very greatly. The Genevans, too, had no doubt learned something in his absence. The prospect of this return was not attractive, for Calvin knew the forces against which he would have to contend, but if it was God's will that he should return, that was all that mattered; and after much hesitation he once more broke up his home and returned to the city where his spirit had been so deeply wounded. To understand adequately the nature of the task which was before him, we should have to know a great deal of the previous history of Geneva. Mark Pattison in his essay, *Calvin in Geneva*, doubts that the moral corruption and political turbulence of the people was worse than in other Swiss cities of its size. This is not saying very much for them, for Switzerland was a great recruiting ground for the mercenary armies of the Continent, and the result was a serious lowering of the morale of the people. The evils which war brings in its train are greatly accentuated when soldiers fight, not from patriotic motives but for the pay and plunder promised to them by those who will make the highest bid for their services. And Switzerland was peculiarly

affected in this way. We need not suppose, however, that the Genevese were sinners above all men, though their standard was not very high. It is sufficient to remember that with them liberty, civic, political and personal, was a passion. They had had to struggle long for their independence and were determined to retain it. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that their Protestantism was a consequence and not a cause of their successful struggle with their episcopal and ducal rulers. It was for liberty and not for religion they had fought. It is obvious that a people who had always shown themselves impatient of restraint would not readily submit themselves to the discipline proposed by Calvin in furtherance of a religion with which they were only in partial sympathy. This was one of the causes of his banishment at the end of the first period of his residence there. But he must have made a real and deep impression, and there must have been many who longed after righteousness in Geneva, or he would never have been recalled; for it was fully known that he was determined to promote the knowledge of the Gospel and to bring men's daily lives into conformity with its demands. His aim was to establish an ecclesiastical constitution which would make the city of Geneva a model Christian community. And though his ideal was not fully realised, as it never can be in a community which is composed of imperfect and erring men and women, yet he succeeded. It has been well said: "He did much more than describe a virtuous society—he created one."

Calvin re-entered Geneva in September, 1541, and for the remainder of his life that city was to be his home and the sphere of his work. It was, except for the final years, a period of unremitting labour and of violent controversy and strife. It was in this period that the tragedy of Servetus took place, a matter which has been used to bring upon his head alone the blame for an action which was not his, though he and nearly everyone else at the time approved it. His special part in the unhappy business was to plead that Servetus might have a more merciful death, though, alas, his request was denied. But the controversies and labours were not unfruitful. He established an ideal of civic and personal righteousness that has had no parallel elsewhere except, possibly, in the early days of the New England settlements. He established a system of compulsory education which gave every citizen the privilege of learning and the opportunity for scholarship. He made Geneva the seed-plot whence came the clergy who were to fill the pastorates of the Reformed congregations springing up everywhere in France; and they were trained in a manner which made them not only heroic and devoted pastors at a time of appalling danger, but formidable defenders of the faith whoever might be the opposer. And he afforded an example of complete devotion to the will of God. The wealthy burghers of Geneva had to respect the sincerity of one who, even in his last illness, refused to allow them or the City Council to pay his doctor's bills, and who doubted whether he ought to draw his not very considerable stipend during illness as he was then unable to perform the duties of his office.

This paper may well close with two testimonies to the character of Calvin as it impressed itself on those who had the opportunities, afforded by close and intimate association, of observing him. Theodore Beza concludes his *Life of Calvin* with the words:

" Having been a spectator of his conduct for sixteen years, I have given a faithful account both of his life and of his death, and I can now declare that in him all men may see a most beautiful example of the Christian character, an example which it is as easy to slander as it is difficult to imitate."

And, perhaps, more impressive because of its dignity and restraint is the testimony of the City Council: " God gave to him a character of great majesty."[1]

[1] Considerable use has been made in the latter part of this paper of my article " Jean Calvin et L'Eglise Anglicane " which appeared in *Ecumenica* in July, 1935. W.G.J.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND THE POWER OF THE GOSPEL.[1]

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THE short story of the Pre-Reformation Catholic Church sketched in the October CHURCHMAN is sufficient to prove that the ground was not *altogether* unprepared for the sowing of the Reformation "seed." God had not left Himself without numerous "witnesses" to the pure faith of New Testament Christianity even during those darkest ages of the Church's history. The Spirit of Truth and Purity was always active in baptising multitudes of sincere believers into the "One mystical Body" of Christ's Universal Church. But until the Reformation, for the most part, the true members of Christ were perforce practically compelled to remain in communion with an increasingly corrupt *outward* visible organised Catholic Church—the authorised doctrines of which, or at least many of them, were either contrary to Scripture or had no warrant of Scripture. At the Reformation the Reformers threw off the domination of the Church of Rome so that they could recover their freedom to profess a Scriptural Faith and to propagate it zealously. They then restored a Scriptural doctrinal basis for their separately organised visible National, or regional branches of the Catholic Church.

The Reformation Movement, in its doctrinal aspect, stands therefore not for mere destruction, but rather for restoration and construction. It has been tersely expressed that it was "the reaction of Christianity as Gospel against Christianity as law" (Ullmann). Certainly it demonstrated in a marvellous way both the power of the Gospel, to restore the purity of the true Catholic Faith, and also the creative and converting power of the Spirit of God which was so fully evidenced in the response to the Gospel messages proclaimed by the Reformers. There is little doubt that the main cause of the corrupt state of the Medieval Church was the ignorance of Holy Scripture. In spite of the good work achieved by such agencies and Societies as the "Brethren of the Common Lot" and the Mystics on the Continent, and the Lollards in England; the lay people generally in England were almost entirely ignorant of the Bible, except possibly for a few short extracts to be found mixed up with the "uncertain stories and legends" (which Cranmer refers to, in *Concerning the Service of the Church*) in some popular book of devotion. There was no authorised translation of the Bible in English, and the versions attributed to Wycliffe had been condemned as heretical. In fact, in spite of the statements of modern Roman apologists, like Cardinal Gasquet, there is little doubt that the Medieval Church had deprecated, if not actually forbidden, the

[1] The second of four lectures delivered at Dean Wace House, 1935.

study of the Scriptures by the laity. The possession of the Scriptures in English was usually regarded as a sign of heresy. Before what was known as " Wycliffe's " translation, there were very few copies of the Bible in English, and undoubtedly the general ignorance of the Bible caused the decline of faith and morals and of spiritual religion. As early as 1229 a Roman Council of Toulouse had forbidden the laity " to have the books of the Old and New Testament, except perhaps if anyone wishes to have for devotion the Psalter or Breviary for the divine office or hours of Mary." S. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century complained of inexperienced priests who could not speak Latin and " very few of whom have learnt Holy Scripture." We have no evidence that things had improved in this way in the next two centuries. Yet Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of Paris University in the fifteenth century, left the laity to their sole instruction and directed the common people " to seek the law from the mouths of the priests," because they had " neither the wit nor the learning to read the Scriptures " themselves.

Sir Thomas More had defended this withholding of the Scriptures declaring that " they were of necessity kept out of lay people's hands " because of the " false translations " that were abroad. Latimer immediately retorted : " You say you condemn not Scripture, but Tyndale's translation, but ye have condemned it in all other common tongues, so that it is plain it is the Scripture, and not the translation ye bark at, calling it new learning." Probably Dr. Coulton's careful statement brings us as near the truth on this much controverted question as we shall get. His conclusion is that while " the best medieval writers knew their Vulgate very well, the priests knew nothing outside the Service Books. A few of the richest and best educated of the laity possessed French or English Bibles or Psalters, but the ecclesiastical authorities opposed the desire for vernacular translations and such Bibles were either condemned or regarded as heretical."

But in spite of this deplorable lack of Scripture knowledge, there were apparently, at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, earnest efforts made by means of the pulpit to overcome the increasingly prevalent corruption and vice. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century this powerful influence of preaching was terribly neglected, although previously it must have been a very real force. For Dr. Owst, in his recent valuable researches on the use of the medieval pulpit, shows that " fiery and eloquent preachers denounced with apt illustration, invective and satire the moral abuses and evils, the self-indulgence and luxury of their day." And he declares that " the pulpit records of these days, reveal a Church striving by word of mouth, however fitfully, to curb wild passions and vicious habits, to educate the masses in a higher way of life, to reunite a discordant Society in brotherly love and common service, to establish, according to its lights, a city of God upon earth in every home and community."

As we glance later at the transforming power of the pulpit as

used by the Reformers, we are surely justified in asserting that the main reason of the practical failure of its vigorous use in these former centuries, was the general ignorance of the Scriptures as the one great regenerating influence. Erasmus felt that the better knowledge of Holy Scripture was the only remedy for the corrupt state of the Church and for the degenerate lives of so many of the clergy. Therefore he wished the Scriptures to be translated into every language. There was, he declared, only " one anchor " which could save the Church and that was " the heavenly Word which issuing from the bosom of the Father, lives, speaks and works still in the Gospel."

But the study of the Scriptures, which Erasmus so strongly advocated, soon led the Reformers to see the necessity of proceeding on the pathway of reform further than he himself was prepared to travel. Reformers, both in England and on the Continent, at once recognised that the purification of the Church required more than the mere removal of moral abuses and of crude and ignorant superstitious practices. They saw that it needed also the rejection of doctrinal beliefs which had no warrant from Holy Scripture. It was in fact this very study of Holy Scripture which at length gave men courage to break away from the false and corrupting teaching and practices of the Medieval Church. And we must not underestimate the conspicuous courage involved in such a momentous step. For undoubtedly Medieval Catholicism was, as a system, very strongly entrenched. It possessed great strength from its unity, its perfected organisation, its practically unchallenged philosophy of life, and its great wealth and privileges, its far-reaching temporal powers and above all its exclusive supernatural claims. For the Medieval Church, we must remember, was a very real force in the life of the people, since they very generally believed in the exclusive claims to supernatural power advanced by the clergy. Moreover, they feared to disobey those who could withhold Indulgences and Absolution, and thus virtually close the gates of heaven against the sinners and disobedient. We must not forget that God was in those days regarded rather in the light of an awful angry Potentate needing to be propitiated with an indefinite number of pilgrimages, fasts and penances and masses, than in that of a loving Father longing to pardon penitent sinners on the merits of Christ's one sufficient Sacrifice for sin. It is this mistaken view of God which must be the explanation of Luther's early " agony " of soul in his desperate efforts to discover a " gracious " God.

But although the Medieval Church was apparently so strong and entrenched, the elements of its strength proved to be the seeds of its weakness, because they were maintained mainly on the unstable foundations of ignorance and fear. Consequently when the Renaissance spirit of inquiry and investigation, combined with a serious study of the Scriptures, proved that the extravagant spiritual and temporal claims of the Pope had no Scriptural or historical basis, there was first a rude awakening, and then a widespread repudiation of papal ecclesiastical authority.

In considering the sources for the English Reformation it is important to estimate the influence of the earlier Lollard Movement. For instance, we must ask the question, Was Lollardy a practically extinct and spent force in the early years of the sixteenth century? Or was there a considerable body of secret Lollards which formed the fertile soil that produced the large party of later doctrinal Reformers? Henry Knighton's "Continuator" in the beginning of the fifteenth century, tells us that the Lollards were "then held in such great honour and had so multiplied, that you could hardly see two men passing in the road, but one of them shall be a disciple of Wycliffe." Even if this be an exaggeration, it is sufficient to show the importance of the Movement at that time. Evidently, in spite of their severe persecution under Henry IV, the Lollards continued to be very numerous, and to hold their secret gatherings for worship. There must also have been a goodly number of them in 1449, or Bishop Pecock would not have troubled to confound their heretical teaching in his book the *Repressor of overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*. Persecutions for Lollardy also continued even to the early years of the next century. The Movement, it is true, had been largely driven underground, but evidently it had by no means been stamped out. Bishop Tunstal told Erasmus in 1525 that Luther's teaching was merely the revival of Lollard views—there was, he declared, "nothing new in it; it simply put new weapons in the hands of already existing bands of Wyclif heretics." Moreover, the fact that over 170 manuscript copies of Wycliffe's condemned hand-copied translations of the Scriptures have survived, is sufficient evidence of the numerous and widely scattered followers of Wycliffe's teaching. And we may reasonably conclude that this teaching persisted to the time when the later Reformation movement had begun. Dr. Gairdner has declared that the Lollards remained a latent power in the land and that "they mingled with and domineered over the Reformation, though they did not bring it on." Even if we may question the truth of the first statement, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the last; (that Lollardy did not "bring on" the Reformation) since the early doctrinal Reformers seem to have had no direct association with Lollardy or its teaching. The scanty evidence we possess, points to a considerable number of secret disciples of Wycliffe's teaching who were still flourishing in England at the time of Luther's revolt, and of the revived study of the New Testament in England. This revival began with Dean Colet's lectures on St. Paul's Epistles and with the publication of Erasmus's Greek New Testament in 1516. Foxe tells us that in 1520 and 1521 heresy was spreading widely "in divers and sundry quarters of this realm," and he adds that "this was before the name of Luther was heard of, in these countries among the people." He says these people received the name previously applied to the Lollards, i.e. of "known" or "just-fast" men, and that their teaching was that of the Apostles, and had been received of a great number long before Luther's day. He adds that the Church of England before his own days, "had not lacked great

multitudes who tasted and followed the sweetness of God's Holy Word," and that " the fervent zeal of those days seems much superior to these our days and times," for " the Word of truth did multiply exceedingly among them." Evidently therefore in England, as well as among the Mystics and " Brethren of the Common Lot " on the Continent, there were numbers of earnest seeking souls who were preparing the soil for the revival of true spiritual religion. Undoubtedly these humble " known " men would welcome the new movement for doctrinal reform and help to swell the ranks of its adherents, even though they apparently did not contribute any of its outstanding pioneers.

There is ample proof that in its main essential doctrines, Wycliffite teaching definitely anticipated the special doctrines and principles of the later Anglican Reformers. For example: in its insistence on the reading of Scripture in English, the denunciation of pilgrimages, of the invocation of Saints and of the doctrine of the Real[1] or corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

There is also little doubt that the movements for doctrinal reform in Germany and England were at first closely allied. But it would not be accurate to say that the English Reformation was entirely dependent on the Lutheran, since, apart from these secret Lollards, or " just-fast " men, there was a rising body of young scholars at the Universities, keenly anxious for a religious reformation, even before Luther's teaching had touched England. English Protestantism was not, as Cardinal Gasquet asserted, entirely of foreign or German origin, for Tyndale was at Cambridge deep in his study of the Scriptures being " further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word "—before any Lutheran writings had reached England. He undoubtedly owed his own " conversion " to his earnest, careful and fearless study of Holy Scripture, for which probably Colet's lectures on St. Paul's Epistles and certainly Erasmus's Greek Testament had inspired him. " In such a conflict of human opinions," Erasmus had said " to what refuge shall we flee sooner than to that truly sacred anchorage of Evangelical doctrine? "

But apart from this native origin, the writings and teaching of Luther undoubtedly exercised a profound influence on the English doctrinal reformation. A goodly company of young English " Lutheran " scholars, like Barnes, Bilney and Fryth, were diligently studying the Scriptures at Cambridge; and the secret dissemination of Tyndale's New Testament after 1525 gave a great stimulus to the movement. The evidence is somewhat conflicting, but it is fairly sufficient and conclusive enough to enable us to affirm that Tyndale must have visited Luther at Wittenberg while on the Continent engaged in translating his New Testament; and that in this task he had Luther's Bible before him. But while he made use of this, he certainly maintained a complete and scholarly independence in his translation, as " his style and interpretation throughout are

[1] At this date the terms "Real" and "Corporal" were practically synonymous.

his own." The same can be asserted regarding his doctrine of the Eucharist, which was not Lutheran, but that of a Spiritual Presence only, to the faith of the recipient—" We have Christ present in the inward eye and sight of faith (says Tyndale). We eat His body and drink His blood, that is, we surely believe that His body was crucified for our sins and His blood shed for our salvation." Barnes and Coverdale, and probably Rogers, were however wholeheartedly Lutheran in their views, although Cranmer, who had married the Lutheran Osiander's niece, always denied that he ever held the Lutheran teaching of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. An unprejudiced reading of his *Catechism* makes it rather difficult to accept this repudiation. But throughout the latter part of Henry VIIIth's reign Cranmer maintained the closest relationship of friendship with Melancthon and other leading Lutheran theologians, while the " Ten Articles " of 1536 owe much to the teaching of the Augsburg Confession, and to Melancthon's *Apology* for it. The " Bishops' Book " of 1537 was also based largely on Luther's *Catechism*.

The insincere " Conferences " which Henry VIII encouraged for political reasons in 1538 and 1539 with the Lutheran " Envoys " or " Orators," produced no religious Concordat with Lutheranism, although they resulted in the publication of the " Thirteen Articles " of 1538. These Articles, which are based on the Augsburg Confession, were a useful quarry from which our Reformers drew, for their forty-two Articles of 1553. In these indirect ways the English doctrinal Reformation owed a certain debt to the parallel Lutheran movement in Germany; but the influence was greater and the contact closer, under Edward VI, with the Swiss Reformers. But we must not forget that during Henry VIIIth's reign the attempts at a doctrinal Reformation were only fitful and tentative and largely unofficial. Certain moral reforms were effected and the more glaring abuses and superstitions removed, owing to the Renaissance movement; and the " political " Reformation was achieved by the legal or political separation of the Church of England from Rome, but that was all. Henry had no desire to move from the doctrinal teaching of medieval Catholicity—" Our King," said Hooper, " has destroyed the Pope, but not Popery." Or as Cranmer more carefully expressed it, " the darkness and blindness of error and ignorance that came from Rome still remained, and the Bishop of Rome was not clean gone out of England as soon as the laws were made against his authority, but still remained by his corrupt doctrine." After the passing of the " Six Articles " Act in 1539, Luther summed up Henry's position as that of " wanting to kill the Pope's body but keep his soul."

It is therefore not till the accession of Edward VI that the English doctrinal Reformation, as a National or State Movement, really begins. As we have seen, the beginnings of this truly spiritual movement were manifest many years earlier, when a number of ardent young scholars found peace and assurance of salvation through reading St. Paul's Epistles. Circles of eager Bible students, including Tyndale, Fryth, Stafford and Bilney, were formed at the

Universities, and even an "obstinate papist" like Latimer, was converted through hearing Bilney's "Confession." "He smelled the Word of God," he tells us, and thus "forsook the School authors and such fooleries."

But this spiritual revival was bitterly opposed by the Church authorities and Tyndale soon found that "there was not room in all England" for him to translate the Scriptures into English. When at length he had finished his great task, and sent his New Testament from the Continent in 1525, it was diligently sought for and destroyed as heretical. The progress of the spiritual awakening therefore under Henry VIII was only secret, fitful, and uncertain; but under Edward VI full liberty was at once granted to all to read the Scriptures in English; and the Council, led by the Duke of Somerset and Cranmer, vigorously pushed on the doctrinal Reformation. We should never forget that it was through this freedom to study, and this direct appeal to, the Scriptures, that the doctrinal Reformers discovered the pure message of the Gospel. It was the clear teaching of the Scriptures which showed them the medieval errors which had obscured the glorious light of gospel truth—"After it had pleased God," said Cranmer, "to show unto me by His Holy Word a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of Him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance." It is well here, I think, to say clearly that it is solely because of this strong appeal to the teaching and supreme authority of Holy Scripture, that we value the work of the Reformers. We do not worship them, or think them immaculate or infallible. We revere and honour them because we regard the Scriptural Truths which they emphasised and reasserted as of vital importance for the spread and safeguarding of real spiritual religion. And it certainly was this appeal to the Scriptures which constituted the great power of the Gospel at the Reformation. And we may also add that it was in England (as it had been in Germany by Luther), the reassertion by the Reformers of the great Pauline teaching of justification by faith alone, which constituted the power of the doctrinal Reformation. For the doctrine of the "Sacrifice of the Mass" had, in effect, denied the perfection of the completed sacrifice for sin which Christ offered on the Cross. It had made man's salvation depend on priestly mediation and not on God's free grace. The Anglican Reformers emphasised the truth "By grace ye are saved," not through sacraments or Church or penances, but through faith. As Bishop Hooper expressed it in his *Brief Confession of Christian Faith*: "I do believe that Christ's condemnation is mine absolution, His blood is my cleansing by which only I am washed, justified, purified and cleansed from all my sins, so that I neither receive, neither believe any other purgatory either in this world or in the other, but only the blood of Christ by which we are all purged and made clean for ever."

It was the expounding of this Scriptural Gospel-message by the Reformers which accomplished such a great spiritual revival; and

we may also say that this result was most conspicuously achieved by their preaching. For this was not only popular, but it was practical, persuasive and penetrating. Its novelty startled, convinced and captured the people, because Erasmus had declared, shortly before this time, that " there was not a sermon once in six months calling on people to repent." In 1535 the Archbishop of York had declared that there were not twelve people in all his diocese who " could preach a sermon, and that many churches had not heard a sermon for years." But people now flocked to listen to the Reformers. Wherever John Bradford preached, we are told, " the people crowded eagerly around him and drank in his message. He always knew how to adapt his eloquence to the understanding of his hearers "—a lesson which many modern preachers might well learn ; " he had a humble and melting spirit and will be in a man's bosom ere he be aware and willingly win him from himself to Christ." Dr. Rowland Taylor's preaching so changed the little Suffolk township of Hadleigh that soon " it was rather a University of the learned than a town of clothmaking and labouring people." Latimer also was a most practical preacher, who very rightly expected profession to be accompanied by practice, since " in his eyes sin was worse than error and a pure life of more importance than a mere orthodox Creed." . . . We are told that his preaching " left certain pricks and stings in the hearts of the hearers which moved them to consent to the doctrine." And we are not surprised to hear it when we listen to the startling way he dared to reprimand even bishops : " Who," he asked when preaching to Bishops at Paul's Cross, " is the most diligent prelate in all England that passest all the rest in doing his office ? I will tell you, it is the Devil ! Of all the pack of them that have cure—the Devil shall have my money ! for he ordereth his business. Therefore you unpreaching prelates learn of the devil to be diligent in your office. If you will not learn of God, for shame learn of the devil."

Preaching of this direct character is not likely to send people to sleep !

This is the effective type of preacher which we need to-day. " None," it is recorded, " except the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart, went away from Latimer's sermons which were not led with a faithful repentance of their former life, detestation of sin, and moved into all godliness and virtue."

But the Reformers did not expect that corrupt and unscriptural, but well-entrenched and popular, medieval doctrines, would be permanently corrected merely by a spiritual revival, which, however genuine and widespread, might prove but transient. They therefore aimed at making the Reformation of doctrine and devotion secure and permanent, by the authorisation of a Scriptural Confession of Faith and a Scriptural standard of public Worship. In the issue of the Forty-Two Articles of 1553 a definite standard of doctrine for the Reformed Church of England was set forth. This not only reasserted the Catholic teaching of the Creeds, but also claimed to teach nothing which could not be proved by the most

certain warrants of Holy Scripture. By this crucial test specific medieval and Roman doctrines such as the invocation of saints, purgatory, sacrifices of masses and transubstantiation were discarded as " blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," or as simply " repugnant to the Word of God." A declaration was also made that the Church of Rome had erred not only in " its manner of living, but also in matters of faith." It is important to bear this definite assertion of our authorised doctrinal text-book in mind, in view of an amazingly unhistorical attempt which is now being made to declare that the English Reformation was solely concerned with the mere repudiation of Papal Supremacy, and did not concern itself with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Where such an opinion or statement is not due to mere ignorance, it is a deliberate and dishonest attempt to confuse the real doctrinal Reformation Movement with the mere legal and political breach with Rome effected by Henry VIII's determination to be " master in his own house," and not let the Pope occupy the " ground floor." The words of one modern prominent scholar will serve as an illustration of this deliberate perversion of history: " Our quarrel with Rome is not concerned either with rules or ceremonies or doctrine but with jurisdiction " (Prof. Relton). Surely an elementary knowledge of history should be sufficient to disprove the theory that the Protestant Reformation was limited to the mere rejection of Papal power and authority, which was accomplished when Henry VIII was proclaimed " Supreme Head of the Church of England." The real Reformation was carried out and defined by the " Forty-Two Articles of Religion," and its doctrinal basis was again settled and confirmed by the issue of the " Thirty-Nine Articles " of 1562.

With reference to this latter specifically " Elizabethan Settlement " of Anglican doctrine, we must also notice an ingenious attempt which certain recent theologians have made, to assert that the change of language concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist in Article 28 of 1562 had the effect of restoring and safeguarding " Catholic doctrine " on this subject, which had been seriously jeopardised in the 1553 Confession. It is asserted that the wording of this Article underwent changes of " such magnitude," that we are seriously told that the opinions of Cranmer and Ridley on the Eucharist have only an " historical interest for us," and cannot be regarded as even a " contemporaneous exposition " of our present Article on the subject. It is perhaps sufficient to say that a careful examination of the doctrinal views and statements of Archbishop Parker and the leading Elizabethan bishops and theologians will show that there is not a shadow of foundation for such misleading and erroneous assertions. Cranmer and his brother bishops were insistent on their rejection of the " Sacrifice of the Mass " as " the oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and dead." And similarly Archbishop Parker in the ninth of his " Eleven Articles " of 1561 declared that " the doctrine which maintaineth the Mass to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and dead, and a means to deliver souls out of Purgatory is neither agree-

able to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic." Again Cranmer did not deny a Presence in the Lord's Supper, but asserted it was not localised in the elements but " spiritual " to the faith of the recipient. Article 28 of 1562, which is supposed to have made changes of " the first magnitude " in Reformed doctrine, also definitely states that " the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby it is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." And this is exactly Cranmer's teaching ! The injunction which Cranmer inserted in the 1552 Communion Service, " Take and eat this and feed on Him in thy heart by faith," was also retained by Archbishop Parker and the Elizabethan revisers in 1559 ; and its teaching was confirmed by the greatest Elizabethan theologian, Richard Hooker —who declared : " I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ when and where the bread is His body or the cup His blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them."

Of equally permanent worth for the English Reformation was the compilation and issue of an authorised form of liturgical worship for the English Church. The publication of the Book of Common Prayer revolutionised worship, for it meant that people, whose hearts and lives had been transformed by the Gospel message, declared to them from God's Word, were no longer content to offer their prayers and praises to God by deputy in a dead language " not understanded of the people." The effect of these largely meaningless, mechanical and unprofitable services had been, that spiritual darkness was rapidly covering the land and the people. As Dr. Coulton expresses it : " The Church against which the Reformers protested was one in which the laity at large had never known why they believed, and seldom even what they were supposed to believe." But now in this new Book of Devotion, which the Reformers drew up, all the " dark and dumb ceremonies " of medieval times, which, as Cranmer says, " had much blinded the people and obscured the glory of God," were " clean swept away " ; and nothing, as he also says, " was ordained to be read " but " the very pure Word of God or that which is agreeable to the same." For, as he finely adds, " Christ's gospel is not a ceremonial law, but a religion, to serve God, not in bondage of figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the spirit."

As we have seen, it was the free and fearless appeal to the clear teaching of Scripture which gave us this definite doctrinal and liturgical basis for the Reformed Anglican Church ; and it was this same appeal which taught the Reformers three vital and all-important truths—

(1) It taught them the right of immediate access of the seeking sin-burdened soul to God. It emphasised the truth that the believer can enter into the " holiest of all " through the blood of Christ. In experience, it proved that God can and does speak to any seeking soul through His Word without the intervention of priest, Church or sacrament. This was, we must remember, a novel and startling

truth at that time. For men had long been taught that only through the Sacraments of the Church, dispensed by a duly ordained priest, could there be any hope of salvation. People were now freed from a very real and terrible dread—that the clergy by withholding from them the Church's sacraments might consign them to eternal perdition! Spiritual life and health now no longer consisted in a blind obedience to the commands and laws of the Church, since Scripture showed that " every man had to give an account of himself to God " and that priestly mediation was not really necessary. And this great discovery meant also (2) that God's grace and salvation were not tied to priestly channels or even to the ordinances of baptism, Absolution or the Eucharist. Men, as Luther, Bilney and Latimer discovered after much distress of soul, are justified by grace through faith, independently of priests or sacraments. This we may truly say, was the great Scriptural reassertion of the Reformers. For as Bishop Barnes well puts it: " The essence of Sacerdotalism is the belief that the priest has spiritual powers, which other believers do not possess. He is the Vicar of God and not merely the representative of the congregation."

The natural corollary of the reaffirmation of this fundamental truth was the assertion of:

(3) The equal priesthood of all believers, and therefore the right of private judgment in matters of conscience. This meant in practice that the humble sincere Christian believer enlightened by the Holy Spirit is as much " infallible " as a Pope.

The Reformers emphasised the value of the individual soul in God's sight, and this Scriptural doctrine had a direct result in the overthrow of despotism. For if Christ has made all believers free, they should be free to assert their rights in the government of their country. If every individual soul be of equal value in God's sight and of infinite value, then it should also be of equal value in the eyes of an earthly ruler or Dictator.

It is not altogether out of place here to utter a warning against the fiction that the Middle Ages were the days of " purest faith," devotion and piety and true righteousness. So that in those " glorious " days the Church always " protected the weak against the strong," and was a great patron of learning and education and stood forth as the protector of the poor and oppressed. And it is now often added that this " ideal " social condition was destroyed by Protestant " vandals " and " capitalists " by their theories of individualism and competition. History will not support such a gross misrepresentation of facts. It would be far more true to say that the Middle Ages was a time of blind acquiescence, than of faith—an age of gross superstition and ignorance—an age when usually the poor were fleeced by the rich and powerful nobles, and ecclesiastics, and were exploited for the aggrandisement of popes, prelates and abbots.

But these great truths of Scripture reasserted by the Reformers, produced liberty of thought and this in its turn very soon led to freedom of conscience. And these Reformation blessings soon

resulted in progress instead of the stagnation which had been so conspicuous of the last century and a half. For once men were freely allowed to think without incurring the ban of " heresy," a sincere thirst for knowledge and truth was soon promoted. For although the Renaissance Movement had failed to satisfy the sin-burdened and distressed conscience, it had directly stimulated this sincere desire for Truth. And this aim had also led the Reformers to probe and " prove all things " and to " hold fast only to that which was good." Such a pure disinterested motive is the secret of all advance and progress whether in religion, science or historical research. And as we, like the Reformers, seek to follow Him, who is the Truth, we too shall be led into fuller and clearer knowledge of His Word and Will for mankind. For we too are persuaded with John Robinson of Leyden—the pastor of the " Pilgrim Fathers "—that " God hath still more light and truth to break forth from His holy Word."

CHURCH AND STATE.

By the Rev. Edwin Hirst, M.A., Vicar of Portwood, Stockport.

THE Christian Faith is universal in its implications. We believe that this is true because God broke into history in a unique manner at Our Lord's birth. In Him, God gave a fuller revelation of Himself than He had previously communicated to His creatures. Christ's call was to "whosoever willeth." He would compel no one, but there was a confidence in His heart that His mission would not fail. "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." [1] St. Paul was fully aware of the universal implications of faith in Christ. He saw that it would leap over all barriers both of race or status. "Ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus." [2] This Faith incorporated all men into a fellowship, and as Canon Barry has said, "fellowship is, in the nature of it, inclusive; for it is essentially God-centred, and, as centred in the Universal, embraces all mankind in its horizons." [3] From this point of view, a hasty glance would seem to exclude any thought of a vital connection between a national state and the Church. Indeed, should a search be made through the New Testament, no trace of any notion of a National Christian Church will be found. One wonders how St. Paul would have acted under Constantine after the Edict of Milan, A.D 313, when Christ, or Cæsar, ceased to be alternatives.

The aims of Church and State are not by their nature opposed to each other. "Salus populi suprema lex"—"The well-being of the people is the highest law"—is a maxim which both can accept. The Christian aim for "the development of a society composed of perfected men and women" [4] is not hostile, but complementary to that of the State. History and the development of mankind have shown us the beneficent effects in a state which has sought to recognise the supremacy of Christ's religion.

In a consideration of the relationships of Church and State within the bounds of our own land, it is impossible to fix any definite date which marks the commencement of that connection. There is a chain of connection, linking the two together, throughout English history. It is found alike in the British, the Saxon, the Norman, the Medieval, the Reformation, and the Modern periods. No act can be traced which first brought them into connection, for the two have grown together side by side. Our Church's heritage dates from antiquity, and of its connection with the State Canon Carnegie says that "during the earlier and more formative period of its history its life was conterminous and closely intervened with that of the English people." [5] The conversion of these islands to

[1] S. John xii. 32.
[2] Gal. iii. 26.
[3] *A Philosophy from Prison*, p. 89.
[4] Inge, *Lay Thoughts of a Dean*, p. 359.
[5] *Anglicanism*, p. 5.

Christianity differed in process from that of the ancient world. The Report on Church and State plainly states that our " Christianity . . . spread downwards, not upwards, as in the Roman Empire." [1] The normal procedure was the conversion of the kings, as kings, and their subjects usually followed. At a very early period, dioceses were usually co-extensive with the Kingdoms. " Bishops sate as civil magistrates on the same bench as the ealdormen and sheriffes, the priests along with the reeves. The Church was not regarded either as servant or master of the state ; indeed we find no mention of the terms ' Church ' and ' State ' ; for these were but regarded as two functions of the same body." [2] This idea of the dual functions of the same body has been maintained from the earliest times. By State, then, we mean the nation as a political organisation, and by Church we mean the nation as a religious organisation. In a nation where the basis of life and administration is Christian, it is not unreasonable to look upon Church and State as one and the same thing, for they are but different parts which belong to one complete whole. A nation with its conscience thus quickened and its worship thus directed will be able to play its part in the extension of Christ's universal kingdom, contributing to the Fellowship in Christ which must be the rallying-point of Christian endeavour.

There have been other programmes promulgated for the regulation of the relationship between Church and State. The Roman Catholic is Theocratic in ideal, insisting on the Church having a large part in temporal affairs. This ideal largely evolved through the legacy of the Cæsars falling to the lot of the Bishop of Rome at the breaking up of the Roman Empire. At one time, it seemed that the joint rule of spiritual and temporal power might succeed, but the human element, and the growth of national consciousness in Europe contributed to its collapse.

Under the Erastian programme, the Church is conceived of as a state department, being almost entirely under the dominance of the secular power. The Russian Church under the Tsars was an instance of this method in working order.

Independency maintains that the Church should be entirely apart from the State. It is claimed that her life should be free and unfettered and that she should legislate solely for the ordering of her own life and that of her members.

The English Church adopts neither of these three theories. The first implies a supremacy of the clergy over the laity, a theory which Englishmen have stoutly contested. The second is equally objectionable, for it but reverses the order of the first. Independency implies isolation, and such an ideal cannot be effective if a Church is to touch national life at every point and express that national life in its religious capacity. In the pursuit of the complementary aims of Church and State, each have mutual obligations. Hence it cannot be expected that the Church should be free to act independent of the will of the nation.

English Church History shows that the Church has shared the

[1] p. 6. [2] Harwood, *Disestablishment*, pp. 18–19.

life of the nation. The partnership of St. Aidan and St. Oswald is not an isolated instance of the co-operation of Church and State for national well-being. It occurs again in King Alfred in his work of restoration on the conclusion of the Peace of Wedmore. This is emphasised in his code of law which began with the Decalogue. "In this code of laws the essential religious nature of the man came out; the Teutonic customs were given a Christian colouring; crime was identified with sin; justice meant for him not simply the old Teutonic custom, but moral right." [1] Another instance is in the work of St. Dunstan and King Edgar. The decision of the Synod of Whitby modified this work, and gradually, under foreign influence, the Church began to look to Rome for leadership in spiritual matters. The English Church accepted the principle of the spiritual headship of the Pope, but no student of history could say that the extravagant claims made in the name of that headship were meekly accepted. Englishmen knew the difference between deference and obedience. Many measures aimed at minimising Papal power, foreshadowed the ultimate severance of the English Church from the Papacy. The issue was finally settled by the Act of Supremacy which swept away every vestige of authority previously accorded to the Papal See. "Rome and England went apart absolutely as from that day, and it cannot be wrong therefore to say that the constitutional difference between the two Churches lies in this—the Christian Prince recovers the place of rule and exercises the authority of rule theretofore exercised (we say usurped) by the Pope." [2] Great as was the change initiated by Henry VIII, he created no new Church. His leaning was toward the old faith in which he died. What he did was to assert the Royal Supremacy of the Christian Prince, as against the Papal Supremacy previously exercised from Rome. It was thus that he brought "the spirituality" and "the temporality" under one headship. The language of the statutes of the period make this plain, speaking as they do of "the Realm and Church of England." These changes were wrought by King and Parliament together, Convocation accepted the Act of Supremacy which established the monarch as "Supreme Head of the Church of England," adding the qualifying clause, "as far as the law of Christ permits." The procedure may seem a strange one in these democratic days, but the unquestioned political theory of those days was that "the state, as represented by the monarch, parliament, and convocation had an absolute right to determine the national faith and impose it on every Englishman." [3] The inevitable doctrinal reformation which followed could not have transpired without the support of the Royal Supremacy. It is an important fact to bear in mind, and it must "never be overlooked that the English Reformation was pre-eminently a movement of the laity, as expressed by Parliament." The successive stages of the Reformation right up to the

[1] Patterson, *A History of the Church of England*, p. 46.
[2] Dibdin, *A Christian State*, p. 9.
[3] A. F. Pollard, "Cranmer," *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

time of Queen Elizabeth, as expressed by Parliament, show " that the laity all along have taken a very definite part in the Reformation Settlement." [1]

Article XXXVII defines the meaning of the Royal Supremacy, whether it be under the name of " Supreme Head," as used by Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary (until her marriage to Philip of Spain), or " Supreme Governor," as used by Elizabeth. The sovereign performs no strictly spiritual act. " We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments," states the Article. Their prerogative is " that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal." On her succession after the Marian reaction, Elizabeth established no new Church under the changes which were made, she merely re-established the old principle that the Sovereign should be the fountain of law in his own realm. The basis on which the assumption was made is that the Nation and the supreme authority in the Nation are alike Christian. The Nation does not give a mere external recognition to the Christian Faith, but implicates itself with that Faith and professes to be guided by its standards. This is to be noted in various connections. The Coronation Oath and the conditions of succession to the Crown have Christian safeguards. The actual ceremony of Coronation is full of Christian meaning. It is performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury who is the first Peer of the Realm. Parliament begins each sitting with prayer. The King's speech asks for Divine help and guidance. The implication is noticeable in the Churching of the Judges. In these, and in many other ways, the Realm is committed to Christian principles, and the presence of non-Christians in Parliament does not affect this. Consequently, if the State is so implicated with the Christian Faith and its standards, it is not inconsistent for the State to express its faith in one set form as it does in the Church of England.

With a National Established Church, Church and Realm alike have mutual ties and obligation. Each accepts what limitations may be involved, for the sake of the mutual advantages which both enjoy. The Church exists for the service of men, and the Realm as a whole reaps the benefit. By this system there is no risk of a supremacy of the clergy over the laity, nor that of the laity over the clergy. The rights of both are maintained under the Royal Supremacy. This is most desirable, for the New Testament shows us that the government of the Church is vested in the Christian community, which is the principle underlying the doctrine of the Priesthood of the Laity. In this maintenance of the rights of both Clergy and Laity under the Royal Supremacy, it seems that " it is not the Princedom, but the Christianity, which is the point of the Royal Supremacy." [2] The voice of the Clergy is heard in Convocation, which is exclusively their province. The Laity has a partial voice in the work of the Church Assembly. But, as the

[1] Griffith Thomas, *Principles of Theology*, p. 466.
[2] Dibdin, *ut supra*, p. 17.

Bishop of Norwich says, " Our Prayer Book sets the English style of outlook and access towards God and the English standard of duty to God and neighbour. And it does all this not only for Churchmen. It marks the type of English devotion and English character over a far wider range." [1] This being so, the Laity has a right to be heard, and the Church of England upholds this in assuming that the nation professes the Christian Faith. As Sir Lewis Dibdin says, " the will of the people . . . is to be heard, sometimes by way of veto, sometimes by way of consultation, whether that will be expressed by a King, or Parliament, or by any other form of Government." [2] The Crown is the administrator of matters both ecclesiastical and civil. There is no question of the State making and publishing Church Laws. Its duty is to interpret and administer the laws as they are stated in Statute and Canon—a function of rule. All that the Crown claims is " the power of preventing the Church from being compelled to accept anything that a majority of the clergy might sanction, and also to prevent the laity being compelled to accept an interpretation being put upon the formularies of the Church which is regarded as untrue to the doctrinal and national position of the Church." [3] The Royal Supremacy is valuable as being the focus point of authority, and the ultimate court of appeal. It is true that the Church has her authority from God, but in administration it is necessary for clergy and laity alike to remain subject to the law as it stands. The law has the authority of the Parliament of the Christian State, and so in all matters of judgment and administration, ecclesiastical as well as civil, every Churchman must have the right of appeal to the King as supreme.

Following the final rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by Parliament in 1928, demands have been made in certain quarters for an alteration of the existing relationships between Church and State. It seems strange that this should be so, for Parliament acted within its acknowledged rights, as the Enabling Act fully recognises. Further, as worship has effects in the lives of worshippers, the State has a duty to discharge in determining the character of the national worship. The demands for a revision of the relationships between Church and State are a thorough policy of Disestablishment on the one hand, and on the other hand, a proposal that Establishment in England be re-modelled on the lines of that in Scotland.

There is a fundamental difference between the two establishments. Both in England and in Scotland the voice of the laity was heard in the Reformation. When the two Churches emerged from that movement, however, each had a different Church Order. Both claimed to be a part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and both were Protestant. The English Character stands out in the English Reformation, for " institutional continuity on its outer side, intense traditionalism on its inner—these are master features of

[1] *The Nation and the Nation's Worship*, p. 21.
[2] *ut supra*, p. 17. [3] Griffith Thomas, *ut supra*, p. 467.

English life in all its chief aspects and activities. It is on the latter that chief stress must be laid; the former is its outcome and expression. The Anglican Church has maintained its institutional continuity by virtue of its strong traditionalism, by virtue of the instinctive reverence with which its members have all along been disposed to regard the teachings of past experience."[1] This "traditionalism" is evident in the maintenance of the Episcopal form of Church Order and also in the Liturgy, which, whilst rejecting certain parts, incorporated so much of the old services. These were retained, because, as the preface "of Ceremonies" says, "they pertain unto edification." The same principle is preserved in the prerogative of the laity to exercise a measure of control in the Church through Crown and Parliament rather than through an exclusive department like Convocation.

The leader of the Scottish Reformation was John Knox, whose leanings were definitely towards Genevan standards. After much internal trouble and a measure of English interference, Scotland emerged from the Reformation committed to Presbyterianism, and with the self-governing Congregation as the unit of the Church. It must also be remembered that the Scottish King and the Scottish Parliament have migrated to London. Further, Establishment in Scotland seems to be a national recognition of religion rather than identification as it is in England. Perhaps, more important still, there is the large part which the Scottish laity play in their Church government. The Elders have great powers committed to them, both spiritual and temporal, such as no body of English laymen exercise. It is true that the Church is free to legislate in matters of worship and doctrine, of government and discipline, but its boundaries are rigidly defined on all sides, making it a freedom within limits. The three outstanding features of the Church of Scotland are the Presbyterian form of government; the large part allotted to the laity in the Kirk Sessions, the Presbytery and the General Assembly; and the self-governing Congregation which appoints its own minister. It is said that a large part of the troubles which have arisen in that Church were due to difficulties about patronage. The principle now adopted is that asserted in the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560, and which states: "It appertaineth to the people and to each several congregation to elect their minister."

Freedom within the Establishment on the pattern of that enjoyed within the Church of Scotland is not the freedom which has been demanded by some within the Church of England. Their type of freedom would reduce the Christian State to a secular body which gives a mere recognition to the Christian Faith, and at the same time would make the Church of England into a sect rather than a National Church.

Such a position is most undesirable. The Church, as the Nation on its religious side, has a great part to play. There is a large body of men and women whose names are not on the Electoral Rolls, and yet are Churchmen, and Churchwomen. The Church

[1] Carnegie, *Anglicanism*, p. 9.

has a duty towards them and must provide them with a spiritual home. It is well to remember Archbishop D'Arcy's words to his Diocesan Synod in 1928. " Some theorists, in order to throw discredit on all this, call it Erastian. Calling names is always a stupid form of argument. But Erastianism is really not the correct description. Call it organic, and the relation of Church and State in England becomes clear."

The Establishment has been a great blessing to the nation in securing the services of the Church for all people, and the Church is National because of the Establishment. Our Parish Churches are still the Churches of the districts they serve. Everyone may use them who wills to do so. Each baptised Christian is a potential member of the National Church, whether he exercises his personal privilege or no. The use of this privilege is his personal affair. At the same time it should be emphasised that the duty involved in the possession of a privilege cannot be lightly passed over. Further, the Clergy may be called upon for ministration by all. This is clear from the charge given at Ordination and on the admission to the " cure of souls."

In spite of abuses which may creep in under this system, the Establishment stands above all as a national testimony to God. The Realm needs a Church to function as a conscience for the political unit. A definite moral influence is thus brought to bear upon all standards of life. Men's minds are enlightened that they may distinguish the false from the true. Thus, they are enabled to exclude from their religion all that is base and unworthy. These are no mean principles, but weighty ones in the administration of the affairs of the Realm. They help in striving for the ideal that all Christian people within the Realm should assist in making the State in every detail a truly Christian Realm.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES GORE: A GREAT ENGLISHMAN. By G. L. Prestige, D.D. *William Heinemann, Ltd.* 18*s*.

Bishop Gore was one of the outstanding figures in the Church life of the last fifty years. His scholarship, combined with the spirituality of an intensely devout temperament, gave him an almost unique influence, especially in the University of Oxford during the closing decades of the last century and the opening years of the present one. He has been fortunate in his biographer. Dr. Prestige exhibits a deep devotion to the Bishop and shares the ideals and aims to which he devoted himself with so much energy during his long life. The sincerity and conscientiousness of Gore's character won for him the respect of all classes of Churchpeople however much they may have disapproved of his whole ecclesiastical outlook. Dr. Prestige expresses throughout his volume his intense admiration for the Bishop in every aspect of his life, work and character. While there are many who are thus prepared to acknowledge the saintliness of Gore's life, they feel at the same time bound to be quite frank in the expression of their disapproval of the whole ecclesiastical outlook which he represented, and they feel that his influence on the Church of England has had many effects which must be deeply deplored. Towards the close of the Bishop's life the tendencies which he had fostered and that owed probably more than can be measured to his direction and support had gone far beyond anything of which he himself could approve. Some of his severest criticisms were devoted to those Anglo-Catholics who, forgetting the allegiance due to their own Church, looked to the Church of Rome for their ideals and their inspiration. They adopted not merely Roman phraseology, but some of the medieval practices in worship and teaching of that Church which are absolutely foreign to the whole character of English Christianity. It was Gore who fostered the conception of the Church and of its "Catholic" character which ultimately led on to these excesses, and while he himself expressed his strong dislike of them, he cannot be freed from the responsibility of fostering the spirit out of which they have developed.

We have always felt that there was a somewhat abnormal element in Gore's constitution from the confession which he made in his boyhood days, when he read the account of the conversion of a Roman Catholic priest to Protestantism. "When the boy read in this book a description of confession and absolution, fasting, the Real Presence, the use of incense and similar matters, he felt instinctively and at once an attraction for this sort of sacramental religion." This, he said, was "the religion for me." It recalls the confession of Newman's early days that he instinctively crossed himself in the dark. Why this form of religion should be described as "sacramental religion" is difficult to understand, but the incident shows that Gore had from his earliest days a bias for the form of religion which is so incorrectly designated as "catholic."

His career at Oxford was brilliant and gave him at once a special prestige which he used to the full for the advancement of his special religious predilections. Even at this time he felt some nervousness as to the doings of the Ritualists. Before his Ordination he writes : " Though I believe I am quite what people call a High Churchman, and don't see the possibility of being anything else, yet I have felt more and more in the last three years that the Ritualists, as people call them, are very injudicious and even offensive and arrogant—which again, feeling as strongly as I do with them, in the main may make it a little difficult to act." In spite of this hesitation, we cannot forget that at a later period when some of the Bishops showed a disposition to resist the Ritualistic innovations, it was Gore who gave the advice—" squeeze the bishops." At Oxford he was one of a small group which wielded for many years an enormous influence not alone on the University but upon the Church through the University. So influential did this group become that they seemed to possess almost unlimited powers in the disposal of posts of importance and of influence. They endeavoured to make their particular type of churchmanship the standard for the whole Anglican Communion, and they succeeded to such an extent that Gore's teaching became the fashion for all those who wished to be thought to be in the first rank of correct churchmanship. They showed the consciousness which they had of their superiority to all those who did not accept their special views, and succeeded in giving the impression that they and they alone could be regarded as the representatives of the true character of our Church. This influence remained so long unbroken that it helped to colour the whole life of the Church, and still is represented in clerical circles which have not freed themselves from the Oxford sentiment of Gore's day.

Gore's writings had immense influence and were probably among the most widely read theological books of their day. Some of them are of great use to Christians of all the Churches, but some of them in which he deals specially with the ministry and the sacraments do not commend themselves to large numbers of Christians. The weakness of his theories in these books is becoming more widely recognised, as is shown by the criticism of them in some recent works. The fundamental weakness is one of which Gore himself warned others to beware. It is difficult to understand how his own intellectual acumen could have failed to recognise the fact. We are told that " he detested the easy assumption which artificially, though often unconsciously, solidifies conjecture into fact." Yet in his writings on the ministry and sacraments this is the very mistake into which he falls. In reviewing New Testament evidence, he draws some conclusion with an introduction that it is probable, or that it may be safely conjectured or that the evidence goes to show, and after an accumulation of these probabilities which may or may not have a solid basis he commences to build up his special theory as if his premises had been founded on a sure basis of fact. The result was that in regard to such important elements of our religion as the transmission of grace he arrived at conclusions that were completely

out of harmony with Christian experience. This also set his attitude towards the Free Churches. His insistence at conferences on his views of episcopacy made any advances towards reunion with the non-episcopal churches impossible. Archbishop D'Arcy in his autobiography has given one instance of Gore's influence when at the Lausanne Conference of 1927 he prevented the adoption of any report on the subject of the ministry. From his views of these questions his whole life's efforts received their chief impulse. He sought to make the Prayer Book and its service square with them. Lights, vestments, incense and all the accessories of the Mass were in his view legitimate. " We might have got a reasonable use of incense and a reasonable use of reservation, if people had made any genuine attempt to keep within the reasonable limits of the Prayer Book." Yet it is difficult to see how these things can be brought within the legitimate use of the Prayer Book. At the time of the revision of the Book in 1927 he was opposed to the small group of Anglo-Catholics who wished to reject the revision proposals on the ground that they did not go far enough and did not allow of the whole " catholic " ritual according to medieval usage.

It was inevitable that a man of Gore's eminence should be called to the episcopate. Yet he never seemed quite happy in the episcopal office. He was appointed to a bishopric with an Evangelical tradition and Protestants were naturally disappointed. The biographer tells us that " members of the extreme Protestant party were furiously indignant." They may have felt that there was unfairness in appointing a member of the extreme Anglo-Catholic party organisation to the episcopate when any of the more pronounced members of their own party were rigorously excluded from the office. On the division of the diocese of Worcester he chose Birmingham, and although it might not seem the appropriate sphere for a scholar, the radicalism of his political outlook brought him into sympathy with many in a city that was the centre of those political views. His move to Oxford seemed appropriate as he was once again in an intellectual centre, but there was apparently not much contact with the University, and other elements in the diocese made difficulties for a bishop holding Gore's political opinions. A good deal of the more or less secret history of the Church and the relationships of some of its leaders is given in this volume and provides an interesting commentary on many of the developments of those years. Threats of resignation were not unknown, and at last, as a result of the decision that the franchise of the Church should be thrown open to the unconfirmed, he resigned the bishopric of Oxford in 1919. The following years seem to have been among the most congenial of his life. He had the prestige of his episcopal position, of his scholarship and of his reputation for saintliness, and he was sought after for all kinds of purposes and objects to which he might be induced to lend the weight of his name. He desired to study and to gather up his thoughts for his three volumes on the Reconstruction of Belief. He had opportunity to indulge his desire to travel and had several interesting tours in the east in which he came into touch

with some of the leaders of the Churches in Egypt and Palestine. He evidently found himself more at home among episcopally organised bodies in these more primitive lands than among the Free Churchmen of his own country.

We must not omit a reference to the fact that Gore lent all the weight of his influence to the endeavour to introduce the monastic system into our Church. It was mainly due to him that the Community of the Resurrection was founded and this order has been very largely the means of introducing Anglo-Catholicism into distant portions of the Anglican Communion. Whatever advantages there may be in a sanely ordered community life, there are strong objections to any system that sets up a distinction between "the religious" as they are technically described and ordinary Christians.

As to Bishop Gore's connection with the Malines Conferences, we can only surmise that Archbishop Davidson became somewhat timorous on account of the impetuosity of Lord Halifax, who seemed prepared to run headlong into the arms of Rome and to be willing to make any concession asked for by the representatives of the Roman Church, and he asked Gore to attend in order to act as a brake on the headlong progress, and this he seems to have done effectively to the great annoyance of Lord Halifax.

LIFE OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON. A TRIBUTE ON HIS JUBILEE, 1885–1935. By Percy Colson. *Jarrolds, Ltd.* 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

This Life of the Bishop of London by Mr. Percy Colson has been written in popular style and furnishes an interesting narrative. It is described as an authorised biography and a tribute on his jubilee, 1885–1935. The author had some difficulty in persuading the Bishop to allow his life to be written, and having overcome this reluctance he paints the portrait of his subject in glowing colours. He feels he has not captured fully the Bishop's personality. "His character has that great virtue which, of all qualities, is the most difficult to convey—perfect simplicity. There is nothing so subtle as simplicity." Everyone will acknowledge the great charm of the Bishop's manner, his genial personality and the unselfishness to which his biographer pays special tribute. His popular gifts have attracted great crowds to hear him preach and in his younger days in the parks of the East End he achieved a great reputation as an exponent in popular terms of the Christian faith at open-air gatherings. There are still many who feel that the Bishop's most effective work was done in the East End of London when he was Head of the Oxford House and Rector of Bethnal Green. He was appointed to succeed Dr. Creighton as Bishop of London in 1901. He had been one of Bishop Creighton's Suffragans as Bishop of Stepney. The author tells the reason of his appointment. "The Church was just recovering from the tumult into which it had been thrown as a result of Tractarianism and its controversies with the Evangelical Party. To this state of affairs Ingram owed his appointment to the Bishopric of London. A man of tact was needed who would con-

ciliate and sympathise with all shades of opinion. A very High Churchman or an Evangelical would have been fatal. Ingram, while himself brought up at Keble, in the Tractarian school, was broad and tolerant. He felt that in the Communion of the Church of England there was room for all shades of opinion ; that the whole was greater than any part. He was first of all a Christian and afterwards—very much afterwards—a theologian." The author adds: "A better choice could not have been made, as we shall see." This is an opinion with which large numbers of Evangelicals will not altogether agree while they admire many of the Bishop's excellent qualities and appreciate the measure of sympathy that he has shown to Evangelical Churchmanship. There is little doubt that his own sympathies lie with the advanced Churchmen, and that they have secured a position of greatly increased influence in the diocese of London largely through the Bishop's appointments and his fostering care for their interests. It is not too much to say that Evangelical Clergy have been treated with sparse generosity in the appointments to important positions of influence and emolument. A writer on the Diocese of London recently remarked that in the new areas for which the Forty-five Churches Fund is providing, Evangelicals have only a small number of the districts placed in their charge. The Bishop probably does not realise that his efforts at conciliation are sometimes regarded more as a display of genial weakness than of gentleness, and that some of his statements to Evangelical gatherings are of a nature that may lead to accusations of inconsistency when they are compared with some of those made at Anglo-Catholic gatherings. There is a sense in which it is good to be all things to all men, but there is a danger of it leading to an air of insincerity. As to the actual work of the biographer he shows himself to possess the striking gift of journalistic instinct in noting the most popular items to record. He is heartily in sympathy with the Bishop's ecclesiastical views and shows his sympathies somewhat obtrusively. There is, however, one paragraph with which many will find themselves in full agreement. Mr. Colson is writing of the recalcitrant clergy who refused to obey the Bishop's ruling in regard to Reservation. They said that they refused to recognise the authority of the Church of England. The author goes on to say: "What they omitted to quote in their letter was some clear authority which justified them in refusing to obey their Bishop to whom they had taken oaths of obedience—a point which is often puzzling to straightforward laymen who consider, perhaps foolishly, that solemn oaths are binding, and who cannot understand why, since their consciences refuse to allow them to obey him, they choose to remain in the Church of England and accept their salaries."

This somewhat cursory biography will be read as an interesting account of the Bishop's many activities and interests, his world tour and other travels, his prowess at golf and tennis, his skill as an angler, and all the other outward features of a very full and busy life.

HIGHWAYS AND HEDGES. THE CHURCH'S CALL TO EVANGELISM. Fifteen Sermons by Eminent Preachers. Foreword by the Rt. Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley, D.D., Lord Bishop of Leicester. Edited by the Rev. Alfred Thomas, M.A. *Skeffington & Son, Ltd.* 5*s.* net.

The Call to Evangelism has met with considerable response throughout the Church. Any help that may make that response more effective is to be welcomed. This volume of striking sermons has been inspired by the Call of the Archbishops' Committee on Evangelism, and the publishers hope that these addresses by representative preachers of different schools of thought will prove rich in suggestion and inspiration at this particular time. The Editor of the volume, the Rev. Alfred Thomas, M.A., Vicar of St. Barnabas, Jesmond, is to be congratulated on the production of the volume and its contribution to the Evangelistic effort. The Bishop of Leicester, who is Chairman of the Archbishops' Committee, writes a Foreword in which he tells of the progress of Evangelism. The Way of Renewal has had a greater influence than has been generally realised, and the Oxford Groups have also helped, but it is in the parishes that the strongest efforts have to be made, and the Communicants in our Parishes have to take their part in it. The Editor's Preface calls attention to the dearth of Evangelistic sermons, and says the aim of the volume is to expound the main aspects of the Gospel as far as possible in sequence. They are prayerfully designed as appeals to both heart and mind by the help of the Holy Spirit, and they are conceived in the might of a cultured Evangelism.

The opening sermon is by the Bishop of London, and he deals in a characteristic way with "The Necessity for Humility." The Bishop of Barking follows on "The Good Shepherd's Knowledge of His Sheep," and then Bishop Welldon takes up the subject of "National Conversion." Canon Buchanan, the Secretary of the Archbishops' Committee, writes from his wide experience of Evangelistic work on "The Urgent Opportunity of Evangelism." Among the other Evangelical contributors are the Rev. C. M. Chavasse, M.A., the Master of St. Peter's Hall, who deals clearly with the central theme of "The Cross and Forgiveness." Canon Goddard's subject is "The Divinity of Christ"—the Foundation Truth of the Christian Faith. Dr. Freeman Irwin deals with some conditions of modern thought in "The Mind of Christ and our Modern Life." The Rev. J. M. Hewitt, M.A., Vicar of Islington, writes effectively on "Sin's Wages and God's Gift." Dr. Hart-Davies brings out several interesting facts in connection with "The Vision of God in Nature, Grace, and Glory." The Rev. Bryan Green, B.D., has for his subject "The Knowledge of God, of His Power and Living Presence" and his contribution has a strong personal note. The closing sermon is by the Editor and is a clear statement on "The Folly of Unbelief." Those who are taking part in Evangelistic work in response to the Call to Evangelism will find this volume very suggestive both in regard to the range and variety of the subjects treated and the methods adopted in dealing with them.

THE ATONEMENT. By the Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, C.H., D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 5*s.* net.

In this volume the Bishop of Gloucester gives three lectures, delivered at King's College, University of London, as Frederic Denison Maurice Lectures. He was evidently led to the choice of his subject by the fact that he contemplates writing a larger work on the whole subject of the Redemption of Mankind, and Maurice's book of sermons, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice,* provided a link with the foundation of the lectureship. The present volume is a preliminary statement to give readers an opportunity for criticism. Every interpretation of the Atonement is in some respects inadequate. It has mysterious elements which are beyond man's full comprehension, yet in every age theologians have sought to give a systematic interpretation, and these have been inevitably coloured by the thought of the age in which they have been produced. The Bishop says that the one thing clear about the doctrine of the Atonement is that there is nothing clear. It is usually said that there are three types of belief on the subject, the Bishop says it would be more correct to say that there are almost as many theories as there are theologians who have discussed the subject, so that to lecture on the doctrine represents " a task of great difficulty and one that has become more difficult at the present day." Views that a short time ago were regarded as finally condemned reassert themselves, and recent authors have maintained the view of substitutionary expiation, and the classical theory set out by Dr. Aulen, Bishop of Stroegness, in his book, *Christus Victor.* The Bishop deplores the extraordinary dogmatism which seems to obsess some theologians, and finds it strange that the advocates of the different theories should be so completely confident that they are right and that everyone else is wrong. Anyone who is not willing to accept their theory in its logical completeness is described as a Mediating theologian and " there is no more opprobrious epithet." In the face of the three great rival theories the orthodox, the classic, and the rationalist, the Bishop proceeds to his own line of treatment, and he believes he has adopted the right method of presenting it. He commences with " The Life and Teaching of Our Lord." His examination of the Gospels leads him to the view that the whole life and work of our Lord was part of the Redemption. He was the Messiah and therefore the Redeemer. He revealed in Himself the Love of God for the sinner, and the Cross was a revelation of this divine love. Our Lord conceived of His death as sacrificial, but a sacrifice might be a covenant sacrifice, or a peace offering, or a piacular sacrifice, and in a sense we have to determine how it was a sacrifice for sin. In summing up he says: " The Atonement which reconciled man to God was the whole life and work of Christ: His teaching, His revelation of the Kingdom, His foundation of the Church." There is no transaction or arrangement, it is the power of love, and the Cross as a revelation of love and sacrifice summed up His work. The next chapter on " The Teaching of the Apostolic Church " brings out more clearly our Lord's teaching. Redemption is primar-

ily the work of the Father, but no theory of Atonement separating the work of the three Persons of the Trinity can be considered sound. Christ's work was a victory over sin and death, and sacrifice is a part of the ultimate nature of God. The co-operation of man in the work of his own redemption is necessary and although the initiative is with God, the aim and purpose of His method was to restore man through himself. In what did the efficacy of the sacrifice of the Cross consist? It was a sacrifice of love and obedience and therefore a great act of self-sacrifice. The Cross was a revelation of the Love of God, and that revelation of divine love had everywhere overpowered the forces of evil and brought to an end the kingdom of evil. It had thus brought salvation to man; salvation from the power of evil, salvation from his own sins, salvation from the reign of law, and salvation from the terror of death. But none of this is effective unless mankind accepts the gift which is offered, and co-operates with Christ. The subject of the third lecture is "The Atonement in History." In this the Bishop traces some of the theories that have been held, and devotes his attention particularly to the teaching of Athanasius and, as is fitting, he devotes some attention also to the teaching of F. D. Maurice in *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*. In his closing words the Bishop indicates that the Cross was a propitiation for sin, and therefore Christ died for our sins and bore the whole weight of our sins upon the Cross. This interesting treatment of the subject seems to close in an intentional vagueness and we are left wondering exactly what "propitiation" means, and what exactly is denoted by the "weight" of our sins. The method by which many dissociate any transactional idea from the Atonement is by emphasising that Christ is at once, One with God in His redeeming act, and One with those who are in Him by faith.

THE CREED AND ITS CREDENTIALS. By Lumsden Barkway, Bishop of Bedford. *S.P.C.K.* 3s. net.

At the request of the Church Tutorial Classes Association, the Bishop of Bedford has written this short commentary on the Creed. It is very largely a popular treatment suitable for those for whom it is intended, and as there is a series of questions for Study Circles its intended use is indicated. The opening sections are treated on similar lines to most other works on the Creed, and deal with the great facts up to the Resurrection of our Lord. In regard to the remaining sections many will feel considerable doubt as to the views put forward by the Bishop. He describes one section of the Holy Spirit's work as having "special efficacy ecclesiastically," and follows this with the comment, "only in the Church are the full treasures of His Truth and Grace to be found." The interpretation of these words depends upon the interpretation given to the word "Church." When we turn to the section on the Holy Catholic Church we find that the view taken of it, is that of the High Anglican. It must teach the doctrine taught by the Apostles, it must have the same form of Ministry as the Apostles, and must be able to trace

that Ministry back in unbroken succession to Apostolic times. He then goes on to give his views on the Ministry. There are three possible conceptions of the Ministry; that of the Nonconformists, which he says, maintains that no particular form of ministry is essential for the Church. The second is the intermediate view held by those who believe in episcopacy as the best form of Church government but who do not attach any specifically doctrinal significance to it. The third view, which he calls the positive, is the High Church view " and among Anglicans its most honoured and influential exponent was Bishop Gore." In this conception of the Ministry, " Ordination is a sacramental act, divinely instituted and therefore indispensable, conveying special Grace for the Ministry; Bishops, who have received their Office by succession from the Apostles, are the necessary agents of Ordination; Apostolic Succession so understood, is necessary for the authority of the Ministry, the visible unity of the Church, and the validity of the Sacraments." It has frequently been pointed out that this view of the Ministry is untenable as it lacks any adequate foundation in the New Testament and in the history of the Early Church. Among the supporters of the intermediate view are Dr. Streeter who has shown in his scholarly work, *The Primitive Church*, that there were different forms of Ministry and different systems of Church government at the end of the first century. The Bishop of Gloucester is also quoted as " among the most eminent supporters " of this view. We believe that this is the view which will commend itself more and more in the scholarly interpretation of Christian origins. It is impossible to deny that if the Holy Spirit guided the Church to a form of Ministry that was specially suitable for those past ages, the same Spirit can guide the Church to forms of government suitable for days yet to come. The Bishop of Bedford says that the writers of the New Testament " took for granted many facts which we would give a great deal to possess." Many modern writers take for granted as facts much which is not in the New Testament and cannot be deduced from it. As the Bishop says, these New Testament writers " do not quote any command of Christ or injunctions of the Apostles in favour of any particular system of Church government." It seems obvious that if any system of Church government were so essential as the upholders of this view of Apostolic Succession maintain, there would have been some direct command or injunction concerning it. The Bishop refers more than once to a prejudice which he says there is in regard to institutional religion. The chief objection is to this narrow interpretation of the Church.

BARON D'HOLBACH: A PRELUDE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By W. C. Wickwar, M.A. *London: George Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.*

There are so many books dealing with the forerunners of the Revolution, such men as Diderot, d'Alembert, Voltaire, and Rousseau, that it is a little surprising that no adequate treatment—

in England, at least—has been forthcoming, at any rate for many years past, of one of the greatest, Paul d'Holbach. Mr. Wickwar's volume supplies what publishers like to term "a felt want." He divides his book into two parts; the first (d'Holbach's life) he calls an essay in reconstruction; the second (d'Holbach's work), an essay in criticism. At the close of the volume he gives us a brief "summary," which is rather too brief; a "conclusion" (dealing with Atheism and Revolution); Notes to the various chapters and sections, which affords a useful bibliographical clue; three appendices, and a fairly good index.

D'Holbach, though he passed his working life in France, was not a Frenchman born, and that is why it is so interesting to trace his influence on the thought of his adopted country. Others were better gifted with the arts of self-advertisement, but behind the scenes no thinker was more influential than this German. His Paris *salon* was famous, and there, thanks to an ample income, he was able to entertain many of the best wits of the time. Nor was his hospitality confined to Frenchmen: Garrick, Horace Walpole, John Wilkes, and many another were welcomed at his social gatherings, where everybody was encouraged to be frank in his criticism, and nobody was refused a hearing because his views were unpopular or unorthodox. It would have been strange if things had been otherwise, for d'Holbach's own opinions were truly revolutionary: was he not one of the first exponents of dogmatic atheism? His most important books were not published under his own name, nor would it have been prudent for him to have allowed his doctrines so to appear. As it is not likely that these works are familiar generally, their titles shall be given here: (1) *Le Christianisme dévoilé*, 1761; (2) *Système de la nature*, 1770; (3) *Politique naturelle*, 1772, and (4) *Morale universelle*, in 1776. The first of these is the one dearest to the heart of the sceptic, for in it d'Holbach attacks religion as "immoral" and proclaimed himself a thorough-going unbeliever. Apparently there have been six editions of this challenging work in English, the first not long after d'Holbach's death, the last about fifty years ago: significantly enough, it was edited by Bradlaugh. Ten years ago the first translation in Russian was issued at Moscow; no doubt it would be hailed there by the anti-God brigade as unanswerable. Besides these four "opera majora," d'Holbach wrote an immense number of other books, as well as articles and pamphlets; these are duly registered in Mr. Wickwar's excellent Appendix B.

Much as we may resent d'Holbach's attack on religion, much as we dislike his thorough-going materialism, much as we regret the fact that his published opinions, subversive in so many ways, must have powerfully helped to bring about the Revolution, with its logical sequel the Terror, we must admit that a great deal of his social and political teaching was and is valuable, and still well worth study; and it seems clear enough that the brutality and cruelty of the extreme Revolutionary party, when it seized power, would have found in him a determined foe. He was a kindly, generous man,

deeply concerned that people should have justice, and be happy; in which respects we might say that he had the *anima naturaliter Christiana*. It is not altogether surprising that he rounded on the Christian religion as he saw it; for think what it had become in the hands of Church and State! A caricature of the Gospel.

But we must leave our readers, who desire to know more about d'Holbach and his circle, to study Mr. Wickwar's book, which is a little masterpiece, alike in its criticisms and interpretations, and (above all) in the admirable way in which are woven together illuminating extracts, from the French originals, into a single consistent whole. This bit of work was not easy, but it has been done with unfailing skill.

E. H. B.

THE NEW TESTAMENT (OR COVENANT) OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Translated by the Rev. E. E. Cunnington, M.A. *Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

The July, 1934, number of THE CHURCHMAN published a review of Cunnington's translation of the New Testament. Now the work has appeared in a further revised form.

The "Revised Version" of the Authorised Version of the Bible has been printed for half a century. It may be a fact that during this time it would have become more widely used if it had been a more *accurate* revision, and, further, if it had done more to simplify the really difficult passages of the Bible. Cunnington's is a revision in every sense. A good translation does away, to a real extent, with the need for a Commentary. (For many years the Germans, in commentary-making, have saved space by printing at the head of a commentary not Luther but an accurate and clear version made by the commentary author.) In this connection, notice such renderings of Cunnington as "And his master (not *the lord*) commended the dishonest steward" (St. Luke xvi. 8); "Till I come, apply thyself to the public reading" (not reading—which might mean *study*), 1 Tim. iv. 13; and the like.

Romans v. is a difficult and test chapter. Notice verse 13: "As far as there was law, there was sin in the world; but sin is not accounted where there is no law." And again verse 16: "And the gift has result, not like that which came through one man's sinning; for the judgement sprang from one trespass unto condemnation, but the free gift from many trespasses unto a declaration of righteousness." But Cunnington has appended more of his brief exact notes to this chapter.

The translation has the authority of true scholarship, careful and unbiased. The work is also obviously sincere and devout. The size of this handy volume is as in the previous edition; the Introduction has been abbreviated, and the Appendices slightly enlarged. The brief appendix upon "Titles of Christian Ministers" contains facts little realised by the average Churchman, still-less by those committed to the doctrine of Succession. (Cunnington quotes "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.")

Half a crown is a price absurdly small for a book which is the outcome of what must have been a life-study.

R. S. C.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By N. Bishop Harman. *George Allen & Unwin.* 5*s.* net.

It is with great pleasure that we call the attention of our readers to this volume. It is not because we find in it any new or startling contribution to a problem as well worn as it is important that we commend it. The relationship between religion and science is scarcely touched upon; and, if we have any quarrel with the author it is that he seems too much to assume that these two forces should be kept in watertight compartments in life, and that there is no need for either to encroach upon the other. We commend the volume rather because here a man of science and culture sets forth clearly and simply his religious convictions for the benefit of those, like the lady mentioned in the Introduction, who find it hard to believe how a scientific man can also be religious. Dr. Harman, however, has a message for many others besides the sceptic; and no thinking Churchman should fail to give this book his serious attention. One cannot help feeling that, though the conception of Christianity may lack certain elements that are dear to the heart of more orthodox believers, a place should certainly be found for such thinkers as Dr. Harman in the Church of England; and we are brought vividly to realise, in at least one passage (p. 47), the harm that is being done by the misguided pronouncements of some of the more extreme Anglo-Catholics. Dr. Harman quotes from a statement issued by certain clergymen recently in the popular Press: "We proclaim that the Catholic religion is divinely revealed and essentially a religion of authority."

"Such pronouncements," the author comments, "may be expected from the Papal Church; but what are we to think when beneficed clergy of the Church of England—adopt the same attitude?" Need we assure Dr. Harman that such views do not represent the considered attitude of the Church of England, and would be disclaimed not only by Evangelicals and Liberals, but also by many Anglo-Catholics as well. As a matter of fact, Dr. N. P. Williams, who may be taken as representative of a large body of Anglo-Catholic opinion, has recently stated that the Church of England differs fundamentally from the Church of Rome on the subject of the nature of authority.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GIAMBATTISTA VICO. By H. P. ADAMS. *George Allen & Unwin.* 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Students of philosophy or of eighteenth-century history will welcome a book in English—long overdue—on Vico. Giambattista Vico was certainly one of the greatest thinkers of his day in Italy, and Mr. Adams traces the development of his thought with great care and insight. Vico was a historian and a poet as well as a

philosopher; and this volume does full justice to the two former aspects of his work. But it is as a philosopher that the Neapolitan is remembered to-day. His most remarkable contribution to philosophy was his theory of knowledge which prefigured that of Kant; but the Naples of the eighteenth century was very different from the Germany of the nineteenth; and it is not surprising that, living in an entirely unscientific atmosphere, Vico should have tended to exalt imagination and memory above minute and exact analysis. It is a pity that a work of such importance should be marred by misprints, especially in regard to dates. On page 47, 1884 for 1684 is fairly obvious, but on the frontispiece 1774 instead of 1744 might lead the unwary to suppose that Vico lived to be a centenarian.

HOT-HEARTED. By F. I. Codrington. *C.E.Z.M.S.* 2*s.*

Though issued by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the stories in this book are also the fruit of the work of other societies, and give living pictures of the building up of Christian work in many parts of China. It is mainly the work of native Christians which is recorded. Once having learned for themselves the joy of loving and serving Christ, they are truly "Hot-hearted" in their efforts to share this blessing with others. The book is full of interest from beginning to end, from the Foreword by Lady Hosie to the story of the nameless heroine who became "The Leper's Biblewoman."

HOW TO USE THE BIBLE. By John W. Coutts, D.D., *S.C.M.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

We have read a large number of books on Bible Study, but this book takes an original line. After an excellent chapter on: "Why we should read the Bible," Dr. Coutts discusses God's ways of speaking to us, taking Psalm xix as a witness that He speaks through Nature; Psalm cxix is then adduced as evidence that He speaks through Law, and Psalm li as proof that He speaks through conscience. God also reveals Himself through events (1 Kings xxi); through inspired men (Amos); through Jesus Christ (Luke vii, 36–50); through lives inspired by the Living Christ (Romans xii), and through "picture writings" in a time of trouble (Rev. xix). A useful little book.

A. W. P.

TREE LORE IN THE BIBLE. By Lonsdale Ragg, D.D. *S.P.C.K.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

We greatly welcome this little volume by the Editor of *The Tree Lover* Quarterly Magazine. It discusses and examines references to the trees of the Bible in about one hundred and forty places in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and in fifty places in the New Testament. Dr. Ragg is a dendrological expert and his special knowledge has enabled him to put the somewhat scattered and

scrappy information in Bible dictionaries and travellers' tales about the Holy Land into a very compact and readable form. We like his chapter on "The Tree of Life," while such important trees as the Fig and the Olive have chapters to themselves. There are eight illustrations and three indices. A wealth of Tree Lore in about one hundred pages. We shall expect to hear of a demand for a larger edition.

A. W. P.

DR. BARNARDO. By J. Wesley Bready, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. *George Allen & Unwin.* 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Twelve thousand copies of this excellent book have already been sold. This is a cheap edition and it is marvellously cheap, since it must remain the standard life of the great physician, pioneer and prophet for many years to come. A book with over 270 pages and thirty-six illustrations, with a characteristic preface by A. A. Milne, is worthy of a very wide public, and it will be a very great pity if the faith of the publishers in the selling qualities of this book, which has led them to publish it so cheaply, is not rewarded by the reading public. Evangelicals will find it worth while if only for its first chapter on "A great awakening," in which Dr. Bready pays a great tribute to the Evangelical Revival. Readers of THE CHURCHMAN will readily recall its author's thrilling and brilliant biography of Lord Shaftesbury, which is still published at 7*s.* 6*d.* It is a great story of a great Christian told vividly and well. We commend it most warmly.

A. W. P.

GOLD BY MOONLIGHT. By Amy Carmichael. *S.P.C.K.* 5*s.*

We congratulate S.P.C.K. and the gifted authoress on this, the latest Dohnavur book. It is enriched, that is the word, with a series of photographs from the Austrian Tyrol, and the Bavarian Highlands, and, unless our memory is at fault, from Switzerland. The reproductions have been done by the Vandyck Company. Miss Carmichael's method is to comment on each of the beautiful photogravures, and her comments are deeply spiritual. We can imagine no better Christmas gift for those who have been walking in the dark valleys where the sun has hidden his face. Read the chapter on "Rough Water" and travel on then to "The Shining Summit" and on to "The Last Mile." The book is further enriched with a number of Dohnavur songs. Its authoress has travelled oft in the realms of gold, and the gold of her land is good.

A. W. P.

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THE Church in The Modern World is the title of the book containing the Addresses given at the Cromer Convention last June (S.P.C.K., *2s. 6d.* net). The opening address is by the Archdeacon of Warwick. This is followed by the three addresses given at the morning assemblies. The first is by the Bishop of Chelmsford on " The Nature of the Church." The leading thought is of the Church as " A Fellowship which is the Body of Christ and His Instrument of Expression in the World." It is optimistic throughout. Canon Guy Rogers dealt with " The Church and the Clash of World Forces," and the leading thought is : " The Impact of the Church upon the World of National, Political, and Economic Forces." It is a general survey of democratic and other movements of the day in relation to Christianity. The third address by Prebendary Cash is on : " The Church and its Task To-day," the leading motive being : " To permeate with Christ's Spirit the whole life, individual and corporate, at home and abroad." It is a stirring appeal for Christian advance. The addresses at the evening assemblies were by the Rev. G. F. Allen on " Personal Experience," by the Bishop of Croydon on " Live in the Fellowship," by the Bishop of Knaresborough on " Taking up the Cross," and by the Rev. Canon Buchanan on " Receiving Power for Witness." These are all animated by the same purpose, to enable Christians of every class to undertake thoughtfully and prayerfully their duties as members of the Church. The Bible Readings were given, as usual, by Archdeacon Storr. His addresses are always an outstanding feature of the Cromer Convention. The three addresses this year were on " The Divine Ideal of Unity," " Fellowship in the Spirit," and " The Temple of the Lord."

There is probably no subject of greater interest to Christian people at the present time than the duty of the Church in regard to the social and moral condition of the world. There are many books written to show the responsibility of the Church for the redemption of our social system and bringing every aspect of life under the control of the Kingdom of God. The chief purpose of Canon F. R. Barry's recent work, *The Relevance of the Church*, is to show how the Christian community can carry out God's purpose of redeeming the world. A smaller book on a similar subject has been written by Canon C. E. Hudson. It is entitled *A Preface to a Christian Sociology* (George Allen & Unwin, *4s. 6d.* net). This is a very clever book, and it is intended to represent the Anglo-Catholic solution of our problems. In his view, Christianity has been content in the past century to regard the function of religion to do the ambulance work. The Church has now to insist that the conditions themselves shall be changed, and that before society can act rightly it must get back to its natural environment which is God. He quotes the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford as saying that this implies that the

unity and sanctity of the Church must take precedence, not necessarily of direct Evangelisation, but certainly of any attempt to help the world in other ways. (This is evidently Canon Barry's introversion.) The book is written for those who are facing the fact that a large part of our civilisation is based on pagan assumptions and principles, and yet complain that the working out of these principles and practice does not produce the Fruit of the Spirit in human relationships. He conceives the Middle Ages to have represented the ideal Christian conditions, and that an intensive effort should be made to restate and adapt traditional Catholic principles to new conditions. Luther and Calvin seem to have been largely responsible for the failure of Christianity to deal adequately with social problems. There is, apparently, only one adequate basis for a Christian sociology, " The Church's instrument for the furtherance of God's purpose, is the Sacramental system."

The Mass is the drama of the perfect state, and every piece of Eucharistic action and symbolism bears eloquent witness to that truth. Indeed, there is and can be only one Eucharist, one Eternal Offering, in which Christ and His church are the Ministers, and our Eucharists are the translation into terms of time and space of that Eternal timeless Oblation. This is the Anglo-Catholic's solution of all our problems. Protestantism, of course, has evolved no philosophy of leisure. It is supposed to fail, even to grasp the meaning, of present conditions, much less to provide a solution for them. In spite of this, we are convinced that readers will gain an amount of valuable information from this book, and will at any rate be able to estimate the failure of all humanitarian and materialistic endeavours to solve our problems.

Ever since Sir George Adam Smith published his works on the Hebrew Prophets the attention of Bible Students has been turned to them with fresh interest and more complete understanding. His great achievement was to exhibit the Prophets in the light of the conditions of their own day, and to show how their various lessons could be most effectively applied to the conditions of the life of our own time. His volumes appeal specially to Clergy and Teachers, and there has always been room for the work of those who will explain in a concise way to the general reader the results of his extensive researches. The Rev. Henry Cook, M.A., has undertaken a task somewhat of this nature in his *The Prophets of the Bible* (Student Christian Movement Press, 5*s*. net). The author has preached many times on the Prophets, and has found them a constant source of pleasure and inspiration, and he has sought to pass on to others his own delight in their work. He has set the Prophets in their true historical background the better to bring out their distinctive messages. He also presents their personal characteristics and notes their literary form, and so he answers his question, " The Canonical Prophets. Who they were, and What they said." The opening chapter is a general introduction in which the modern view of prophecy is clearly set out. In Part I, the

Prophets of the pre-exilic period are considered. The characteristics represented by Amos, the representative of Justice and Judgment, and Hosea, the representative of the gospel of Love, are indicative of the method and treatment. He finds in Isaiah the statesmanship of Faith, and Jeremiah, Individualism in religion. To him, Jeremiah is the first of the canonical prophets. He is the prophet who sowed the seeds of universalism in religion, and placed institutionalism in its secondary position. In Part II, we have consideration of the exilic period with an interesting account of Ezekiel and the foundations of Judaism, and of the second Isaiah with the Evangel of the Exile. The third part gives the characteristics of the post-exilic period of Hebrew prophesy. A historical introduction gives the chief facts and prepares the way for an account of Haggai and the rebuilding of the Temple, the visions and dreams of Zechariah, the New Reformation represented by Malachi, and the work of the remaining prophets Obadiah, Joel, and Jonah. The author has succeeded within the compass of 214 pages in giving a vivid, clear, and comprehensible statement of the representatives of one of the most important phases of Jewish history. For students and teachers the book should prove a perfect boon.

The Roman Catholic Church takes elaborate pains to give publicity to any cases of Protestant Clergymen becoming Romanists. It is sometimes thought that the number of Romanists who join the Anglican Communion is very small. It is in reality much larger than many are aware. Mr. Albert Close has issued through the Protestant Truth Society a list of 662 Priests who have left the Church of Rome. We are told that over three thousand Priests have renounced Rome since A.D. 1800. Mr. Close has devoted considerable time to the collection of the material for this list.

It is the custom of the Church of Rome to assert that only ignorant and immoral Priests ever leave her fold. The names on Mr. Close's list amply disprove this statement. Going through the list we find many well-known names such as that of Father Thomas Connellan who bore such faithful witness in Ireland for so many years. Among the Spanish converts are Cabrera, afterwards Bishop of the Reformed Church, and Palomares, the story of whose conversion is a remarkable one, and whose work in Seville is well remembered to-day. There are in addition numbers of Clergymen who went over to Rome and afterwards returned. Such men as Alfred Fawkes, Arthur W. Hutton, and Arthur H. Galton. It is said that there are numbers of Roman Catholic Priests, both on the Continent and in this country, who would be willing to join the Church of England if the opportunity offered and the necessary financial support were obtainable.

The Rev. T. W. Pym, in *Our Personal Ministry* (S.C.M. Press, 4*s*. net), has written "A Book for the Clergy as Consultants and Advisers." The jacket of the volume says that Mr. Pym has made this subject peculiarly his own and that out of his wide experience

he offers guidance that will be welcomed by many Clergy and Ministers, " both by those who find this aspect of their work particularly difficult, and by those who feel they have not yet taken the fullest advantage of its opportunities." Evangelical Clergy may find some useful suggestions, but they will have to use the book with considerable care as Mr. Pym definitely regards Confession to a Priest as a normal part of his work, and gives minute details as to preparation for Confession, even as to the exact place where the penitents are to kneel. Two chapters are devoted to Preparation for Marriage. Mr. Pym has adopted the view that it is the duty of the Clergyman to speak to those about to be married on the relationship of married life. There are many still old-fashioned enough to believe that the doctor is the best person to consult on such matters. No doubt books of this kind are well intentioned, but we fear that in the desire to be psychologically correct their authors are disposed to go beyond what is necessary, and to lay down rules that are not always applicable. Those who wish to adopt the rôle of Confessors will doubtless find instruction for their purposes in this book.

West Africa was the first scene of the work of the C.M.S. It has continued to be the scene of some of the most wonderful romances of Missionary work. Miss Phyllis L. Garlick has written an account of the Mission under the title *With the C.M.S. in West Africa* (1s. net). Prebendary Cash contributes a Foreword. He asks : " Have we the imagination to grasp the big thing that the C.M.S. have done in West Africa ? " In less than a century this Mission field has given six Bishops to the Church from its African people. The Dark Continent has become a Land of Promise. A mixed community of slaves has become a Church : a people who once were cannibals are leading the way in African Evangelism. To-day, Sierra Leone and Nigeria have a self-supporting and self-governing Church which raises annually for Church purposes some £73,000. Miss Garlick describes the work of the C.M.S. in West Africa as " an epic of partnership." European Missionaries have joined with the Africans in building up the Church. The dominant figure is Crowther, the slave boy who became a Bishop. After an interesting account of his life, we are taken to Sierra Leone, the land of freed slaves, where C.M.S. has established the educational centre of Fourah Bay College where African Candidates for the Ministry are trained. Then an account is given of the Yoruba country where the Lagos book-shop plays a useful part in disseminating Christian literature. In 1933 12,412 Bibles, and 4,532 Prayer-books were sold. Northern Nigeria presents also many interesting features as Christianity there comes into contact with Islam. There are signs that the Moslem opposition is weakening. Equally interesting is the account of the work in the Niger diocese. The closing chapter on " The Adventure of Working with God " is a further call to partnership in a great work which is not of human devising but is rooted in the nature and purpose of God.

Martyrs of Jesus, by Edward T. Stoneham, is the story of " the Sussex Martyrs of the Reformation." It is issued by the Sussex Martyrs Commemoration Council in association with the Protestant Reformation Society with which Mr. Stoneham is connected. The Hon. Lancelot W. Joynson-Hicks contributes a Foreword in which he expresses gratitude to the author, " for the research and erudition which he has unstintingly given to place on record all the available facts and information concerning these great heroes of the past." He pays a tribute to the Martyrs who gave their lives and made their sacrifice that those who followed them might enjoy the benefits which by their very sacrifice they denied themselves. He quotes from his father, Lord Brentford's book, *The Prayer Book Crisis*: " The senseless bigotry and merciless cruelty of the wholesale persecution (of the Marian inquisition) defeated its own object, and left a detestation of the principles of a Church which could so forget the elementary teaching of the Gospel of Christ which endured for generations." The account refers to the various places in which the Martyrs suffered, such as Brighton, Steyning, Chichester, Lewes, and East Grinsted. Memorials have been erected in various places to commemorate these Martyrs. Some interesting quotations from the *Confessions and Trials of the Sussex Martyrs* are given, and an appeal is made that we should stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. The sufferings of the Martyrs for the Reformed Faith in this country are too often forgotten, and such a reminder of them as is given in this book is very valuable.

The Centenary of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society is stimulating fresh activities in the various departments of the Society's work. For many years the Recruits' Branch of the Society has been engaged in enlisting the support of young people in Home Missionary work among the children in poor and slum parishes. They already support sixteen workers in such parishes, and through the Fresh Air Fund provide in addition the means for taking some 6,000 each year to Camp for a week's holiday. As part of their Centenary effort they are hoping to support an additional Worker, and to this end a booklet, *In England—Now*, by Miss Constance E. Boyle, is issued (1s. net). It relates in an interesting way much of what has been already done, with details of some of the Camp work. The need for the work is as great as ever, and we trust that the Recruits will receive all the support which they require. Mr. Hugh Redwood, whose name is associated with accounts of work in poor districts, has written a Foreword, in which he expresses a doubt whether even the most generous supporters of such work are able to judge of the value of Camps and Holiday Centres as spiritual seed ground. He is convinced of the lasting results of such work, of which he has had considerable experience, and adds: " I do not think it possible for anyone to read these chapters without a desire to have some share in the work which they describe."

Dr. R. P. Wilder has devoted nearly fifty years to work amongst students in various parts of the world, and has exercised a very widespread influence. He has yielded to a request to publish some of his addresses, and they have been issued in booklet form by Simpkin Marshall, Ltd—*Christ and the Student World*. They deal with subjects of practical importance, such as the Fight for Character, Bible Study, Prayer, and Guidance. Their message is direct and is given with many interesting illustrations calculated to win the attention of students.

Canon C. V. Pilcher, D.D., Professor of the New Testament in Wycliffe College, Toronto, has written a small booklet on the Lord's Prayer as *The Prayer that teaches To Live* (S.P.C.K.: Paper, 1*s*.; cloth, 1*s*. 6*d*. net). He deals with the opening words of the prayer " as the portal to the Presence Chamber of the King," and then goes on to consider its contents under the headings—The Prayer of Love, of Surrender, of Co-operation, For the Present, For the Past, and For the Future. These are his six stars in the constellation of this supreme prayer, and he closes with a summing up of the whole spirit of the prayer.

The Rev. A. E. Hughes, M.A., Vicar of St. James, Clapham, paid a visit to the East in the early part of last year, and issues through Thynne & Co., Ltd., an account of his tour under the title *A Visit to Bible Lands* (9*d*.). In his party was Mr. Campion, a member of his congregation, who took a number of excellent photographs which are reproduced and give additional interest to the narrative. Brief notes are given on the various places visited, and special attention is paid to the scenes of our Lord's life and to places associated with Biblical history. Mr. Hughes had also the pleasure of visiting that wonderful place, Petra, which as he says " passes description." Mr. Hughes has the gift of presenting in a few words the main features of the many interesting places which he visited, and both those who have visited the Holy Land and those who have not had that privilege will find much to interest them in this short record of an interesting tour. He finds the religious condition of the Bible lands makes a striking appeal for greater Christian effort in Missionary work.

What is Life? by W. J. Still (Thynne & Co., Ltd., 3*s*. 6*d*. net). This book opens with an examination of the general aspect of life, and goes on to consider the religious aspect with various theories that have been put forward. Eastern beliefs are briefly considered, and Christianity's message is set out. The remainder of the book deals with special aspects of Christianity, and is illustrated by charts representing some of the theories advanced.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

7 WINE OFFICE COURT, LONDON, E.C.4.

N.C. Almanack, 1936.—Members are reminded that the National Church Almanack for 1936 is now ready, price 2*d.* It is hoped that the Almanack will be widely circulated this year. It contains valuable information on Church matters and is especially useful to members of Parochial Church Councils.

Eastward Position.—The Article by Bishop Knox entitled *The Meaning and Importance of the Position of the Celebrant in the Office of Administration of Holy Communion*, which appeared in the last number of THE CHURCHMAN, has been reprinted in pamphlet form, and can be obtained from the Book Room, price 3*d.*

Parables of Judgment.—Canon J. B. Lancelot, Vicar of St. James's, Birkdale, has just published through the Church Book Room *Parables of Judgment* (2*s.* 6*d.*). This is an attempt to emphasise the judicial element in fourteen of the Gospel parables. Canon Lancelot's writings are well known, and this book will make a particularly useful Christmas or New Year's gift. This time last year Canon Lancelot published through the Book Room a manual entitled *The Transfiguration* (1*s.* 6*d.*) and the second edition of his " Life " of *Francis James Chavasse* (3*s.* 6*d.*) was also published by us.

Sunday School Prizes.—A list of books suitable for gifts and Sunday School prizes has just been published as a guide to those who are unable to call at the Book Room and select books from the shelves. Copies will gladly be sent on application. The list contains a careful selection of over 2,000 books which can be recommended. A Vicar has just written as follows : " Thank you so much for such a lovely selection. Please file that list as I may trouble you again in my new Parish." A special feature is the publication of two attractive *Certificates of Merit* drawn from a special design, price 3*d.* and 6*d.* each. A new General Catalogue of publications of the League and list of books for theological students and others is in the press.

" Church and Life " Series.—New additions to this Series are *The Priesthood and the Laity*, by Canon A. W. Parsons, and *Tips and Tipsters*, by Canon H. Frazer. The first of this Series is entitled *The Evangelical as a Churchman* by the late Canon Dyson Hague, D.D., a large number of copies of which have been sold. Price 2*d.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* per dozen.

" Is it True ? " Series.—The following additions to this series which we hope will be published before the end of the month are : *Is it True : That God Calls for Worship ?* by the Rev. E. Hirst ; *That the Bible is the Word of God ?* by the Rev. I. Siviter ; and *That the Gospel meets Human Needs ?* by the Rev. J. Edmondson. These are issued at 1*d.* or 7*s.* per hundred.

Rome.—The Rev. C. C. Dobson, Vicar of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Hastings, has issued a second edition of his pamphlet, *The Founding of the Church of Rome*, price 4*d.* The article originally appeared in THE CHURCHMAN for

October, 1932, and was subsequently issued in pamphlet form. The story Mr. Dobson seeks to unravel in his pamphlet reveals St. Paul as the true founder of the Church of Rome, and suggests that St. Peter arrived in Rome during the absence of St. Paul on his journey in the West, and found the Gentile Church presided over by Linus, the first Bishop of the Church already consecrated by St. Paul. Mr. Dobson quotes authorities, and has written an illuminating and interesting booklet.

A Reprint.—*My First Communion*, by the Rev. A. R. Runnels-Moss, price 1*s.*, has been reprinted, with a commendatory notice by Bishop Knox. This will be the fourth edition of this useful little manual.

Parochial Church Councils.—As preparation is now necessary in view of the forthcoming Elections to Parochial Church Councils, readers are invited to write to the Church Book Room for particulars in connection with this matter. Special attention might be drawn to the *Enabling Act* with complete Text and Representation of Laity Measure 1929, with Notes and other Addenda, including Diocesan Conferences Regulation 1935, and the *Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure*, with complete Text, Introduction and Notes, the Introduction and Notes in each case being by Mr. Albert Mitchell. They are issued at 1*s.* each. Sample packet of the leaflets and forms published by the Church Book Room will be sent on receipt of 3*d.* post free.

The Tractarian Movement.—Bishop Knox's study of the Oxford Movement entitled *The Tractarian Movement 1833–1845* has been issued in a new cheap edition at 5*s.* No one could more effectively deal with the Tractarian Movement. The Bishop's great age gives him contacts with the Oxford of past days which lend interest and weight to his treatment of the subject; while his own learning and strength of conviction and character greatly enhance the value of his estimate and his criticism. The Bishop opens his subject with a useful chapter on the State Church under the Tudors, Stuarts, the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverians.

Confirmation.—Attention is drawn to the Class Notes published by the Church Book Room for distribution to Confirmation candidates. These are perforated and the series are suitable for circulation before, during and after the classes commence. *Confirming and Being Confirmed*, by the Rev. T. W. Gilbert, D.D., will be a help to adult candidates for Confirmation who need a full and arresting account of the nature of the promise they are about to make. It will supplement the teaching which they have received in their classes. It is also a help to the clergyman in the preparation of his candidates. *The Christian Fellowship*, by the Rev. C. H. E. Freeman, contains twelve talks on preparation for Confirmation, and as stated by the Bishop of Worcester in his preface: "They are unusually valuable, and will enable not only inexperienced clergy, but those of some standing in the ministry, to give solid and well-illustrated teaching to their candidates." Both books are published at 1*s.* in paper cover, 1*s.* 6*d.* cloth (postage 2*d.*).

Dr. Griffith Thomas.—A reprint of Dr. Griffith Thomas's little manual, *The Essentials of Life*, has been published at 1*s.*, with a Foreword by the Rev. J. Russell Howden, who states that he is sure it will be profitable to many that this little book of studies has now been given to the Church.