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THE CHURCHMAN

July, 1933.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen.

THE Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen held at St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, last April, was in many ways a remarkable gathering. In a year when the attention of Church-people is being directed to the Oxford Movement, it was good for Evangelical Churchmen to meet to set before all who are interested the debt which the Church owes to the great Evangelical Revival, and to those devoted men who led a revival of the religious life in England during the closing years of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. The Conference considered not only the great debt owed to the leaders of the past, but discussed fully the important problems which face the religious world to-day, and the help which Evangelical teaching and practice are able to offer for their solution. We regret that we are unable to fulfil our promise to give all the papers read at the Conference in this number of THE CHURCHMAN. We have been able to do so for many years past through the courtesy of the readers of the papers, but this year we found that other arrangements had been made for the publication of most of them, and we are only able to offer to our readers the papers of Preb. Hinde on "World Evangelisation" and of Mr. Robert Stokes on "A National Church." A summary of the other papers was given in *The Church Gazette* for May.

The Findings of the Conference.

These two papers will give our readers some idea of the important subjects discussed at the Conference, and the value of the contributions made to the discussion of the best methods of making Evangelicalism effective as a power in the religious life of our day. The Findings of the Conference were of special interest and for the purpose of future reference we append them.

The following Findings were agreed upon at the final session of the Conference. They are to be taken, as in previous years, as expressing the general sense of the Conference, and not as representing in detail the views of individual members.

1. The Evangelical Message is the Good News of Salvation from sin through the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ realised in a personal relationship between the individual believer and God.

2. The tradition of this Evangelical Message has been continuously maintained throughout the ages—a fact which has been largely obscured by some presentations of Church history—and was re-affirmed at the Reformation.

3. The outstanding characteristic of the Evangelical Revival was conversion through the preaching of the Gospel, bringing an assurance of Justification by Faith and peace with God; and experience shows that the Gospel has ever the same power in changing lives. The call to Evangelicals to-day is to preach the same message and to aim at the same result.

4. The new life in Christ of those who have been born of the Spirit through Faith issues in the common life of the Church, which is the whole body of those in whom the Holy Spirit dwells, and the expression of their corporate action.

5. As Evangelicals have in the past been leaders in new movements in Church life and worship, they should be prepared still to be pioneers in the endeavour to meet the changing needs of the day, provided that all expression in doctrine, ritual and ceremony conforms with and represents the truth of the Gospel message.

6. The Evangelical Revival resulted in a larger vision of Christian life and work. The Gospel was applied to the problems of Human Welfare with lasting results; and the Church was awakened to the duty of World Evangelisation. The call to-day is to press forward to an ever fuller application of the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to every department of life; and also to greater self-sacrifice and devotion in the face of the challenging need of the whole world for the Redeemer.

7. It is the ideal of a National Church to act as the conscience of a Christian nation. But the fact that the nation is not fully Christian calls for a much more intense campaign for the Evangelisation of our own land, particularly in this day of opportunity. This requires greater unity among Evangelicals as well as larger unity in the Christian Church.

Bishop Knox's History of the Tractarian Movement.

Bishop Knox's great book on the Tractarian Movement has been recognised by many competent judges as a valuable contribution to the Church history of the nineteenth century. Its special value is that it represents the Oxford Movement as "a Phase of the Religious Revival in Western Europe in the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century." No one, so far as we know, has treated the whole subject before from this point of view, and the importance of the wide background of religious thought in Europe during the early part of the last century gives a perspective of special value. It helps to place in their true position the reactionary influences at work, and the narrowing tendencies of ecclesiastical thought which resulted in the condition which Dr. Brioth in his impartial account of the Anglican Revival describes as the Static Conception of the Church. The consequences that followed from this view of the Church are evident in many of the opinions which the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church regard as truly "Catholic" although they are in reality borrowed from Romanism. There are signs that modern scholarship is breaking down the narrow Medievalism which has for so long hampered the true development of real Catholicism, and many of the party are abandoning the shibboleths which did duty with the advanced Churchmen who came under the influence of the later Tractarians.

The Unity of the Church.

As the centenary of the Oxford Movement is being used as an opportunity for an appeal to all sections of the Church for unity, it ought to be made quite plain that the principal obstacles to unity are those which arise from the teaching of those who follow that Movement. In the first place they are wedded to a theory of the Apostolical Succession as the normal method of the transmission of the grace of the Sacraments, which was unknown in the English Church for at least three hundred years after the Reformation. The theory has no foundation either in the teaching of Our Lord, or in that of the Primitive Church. This is the chief obstacle to unity, and harmony can be in large measure restored to the Church when the claims based on this theory of Succession are abandoned as untenable. Following from this theory is the sacerdotal conception of the ministry, involving belief in a change in the elements of the Holy Communion, and the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. The valuable volume on the Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion shows clearly that these are merely medieval developments, and ought to have no place in a full and true Catholicism. There is probably no more misused word in the English language than "Catholicism" and the best way to secure unity would be for all parties in the Church to join in a great endeavour to restore the word to its rightful meaning.

Lord Brentford.

Our readers will be glad to have their attention drawn to the biography of Lord Brentford which has recently appeared. It is described as *The Authoritative and Official Biography of William Joynson-Hicks. First Viscount Brentford of Newick*. It is written by Mr. H. A. Taylor, who has had access to memoranda prepared by Lord Brentford in gathering materials for his own memoirs, and he has also had the assistance of members of the family. It is a most interesting record of a remarkable career, and gives a vivid account of the many difficulties which Lord Brentford had to encounter on his way to the great position which he ultimately occupied in the government of the country. We have no doubt that some of those difficulties were due to his firm and uncompromising Protestant principles, and Churchmen owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the courage and perseverance which he displayed in defence of their cause. The National Church League has opened a Viscount Brentford Memorial Fund which gives an opportunity to all who appreciated his work to perpetuate his memory. It is proposed to raise £3,000 to provide a "Brentford" Exhibition Fund for ordination candidates tenable at a Theological College or at the Universities, and another £5,000 as a "Brentford Endowment Fund" for the advancement of the educational work of the League. Gifts may be sent to the N.C.L. Office, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

EVANGELICALISM : YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY H. W. HINDE, M.A.

WORLD EVANGELISATION.

IT would seem impossible to write a history of the Evangelical Revival without marking the fervour of Evangelicals for World Evangelisation. The spirit of the movement rendered essential Evangelistic Endeavour, and no accurate portrayal of the Revival could be given without reference to it. The issue therefore of a history of the Evangelical Revival, a few years ago, by a well-known Anglo-Catholic writer, in which reference is made to the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society, the Colonial and Continental Church Society and other such societies in a few words only, and solely, apparently, for the purpose of setting them forth as proofs of a party spirit and narrow-mindedness, seems sufficient to condemn the book as a reliable history of the movement. For the movement set in motion so many agencies, and released so much power, for World Evangelisation that it may almost be said that the effectiveness of the Revival, and of what ensued, is most clearly seen in World Evangelisation.

At the Islington Conference two or three years ago, the present Principal of Wycliffe Hall said :

“ It was the Evangelical Revival that roused this beloved Church of England from her torpor, that under God gave her the only sufficient justification for expansion—a practical Christianity deep based upon personal knowledge of the redemptive and liberating love of Christ. And a very practical Christianity it was, a Christianity that waged relentless war on the moral and social evils of the day, that worked for the abolition of slavery, the improvement of the gaols, the better education of children ; a Christianity that strove to bring back reality and reverence into the cold and formal ministrations of the Church ; a Christianity that sought to do the will of God by carrying out Christ’s last command to ‘ make disciples of all nations,’ just because it was the work that the Master Himself had come to do, ‘ to seek and to save the lost.’ ”

There, surely, Mr. Taylor has rightly gauged the spirit of the Evangelical Revival, and indeed of Evangelicalism. The inscription outside Clapham Parish Church to the memory of the Clapham Sect says they laboured “ abundantly for national righteousness and the conversion of the heathen.” It will be hard to find a single phrase representing the issues of the Evangelical Revival better than that, for it was by their labours for national righteousness and the conversion of the heathen that our Evangelical forefathers exerted that influence which we, three or four generations later, still feel.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the wave of blessing which we mean when we speak of the Evangelical Revival

was being felt throughout England, there was little being done by the National Church, or other bodies of Christians, by way of World Evangelisation. This was partly due to spiritual torpor, but also because the world was not then open as we to-day understand openness. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel could look back upon nearly a hundred years' existence, but at this time its total annual income from subscriptions and donations amounted to little more than £550, and its activities were directed primarily to Britons overseas. £550 seems very little, but whether it is so small when considered in relation to the value of money and in proportion to the opportunity then before the Church, it is difficult to say.

Knowledge of Africa was then limited to its coastline, though something was known of the Nile Valley and Mungo Park had begun to explore the Niger. Little more than the coast of South America had then been mapped, and all that was known of the western half of North America was the Pacific coast. Central, Northern, and South Eastern Asia were also practically unknown, and were under the sway of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam or some form of pagan religion. The aboriginals of Australasia and of North and South America were quite pagan, and Christianity was then absolutely proscribed in China and Japan.

Mrs. Ashley Carus Wilson in her book, published before the War, *The Expansion of Christendom*, tells us that "with the exception of European colonies in North and South America, and of apparently moribund churches in Africa and Asia, all the Christians in the world (at the commencement of the nineteenth century) were in Europe," and that not a single British missionary was to be found in any part of Asia and Africa. (It seems right here to say it is not clear whether she includes Roman Catholics.) An examination of the list of Anglican Dioceses given in *Crockford* shows that at that time there were only two Anglican Bishops outside Britain, the original dioceses of Nova Scotia and Quebec being then under the oversight of their first Bishops.

Such was the state of affairs when there dawned what the Bishop of Durham described in the last session of the Church Assembly as "the golden age of Evangelicalism." The Bishop asked at the same time what it was, in the case of the Evangelical Fathers, transformed the humanitarianism of the eighteenth century "into an aggressive and conquering passion of benevolence." The answer he himself gave was "the power of Christian conviction." Nebulous though that may be, it witnesses to the truth. They were impelled by deep religious convictions. They surveyed the world in the light of the Gospel, and they went forth in the power of the Gospel to promote and to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. With a new sense of the righteousness of God and of His redeeming love and power, their aim was, it may fairly be stated, more for the salvation of individual souls than for the resultant extension of the kingdom of God.

When it is recalled that the early Coptic, Abyssinian and other

Churches, failing to be evangelistic, lost their effectiveness, the truth is seen that a Church which does not give the message rapidly degenerates into a Church which has no message to give. It is not an unreasonable suggestion that the Protestant-Reformed Church of England was, at the period we are considering at the moment, put to the test whether or not she would pass on the message of salvation to a world lying in darkness and in the shadow of death. Had she then proved unresponsive to the Divinely given opportunity to arise and advance, neither the Church of England nor the English Nation would occupy the honourable position they do to-day in the councils of the world. The worldwide growth of the Empire is more due to the evangelistic zeal of the Church than the evangelistic activity of the Church is due to imperial expansion.

The fathers of the Evangelical Revival had no thought of imperial expansion, only of the winning of the world for the Lord Jesus Christ. The old wineskins could not contain the new wine of their evangelistic enthusiasm, and something new had to be devised. A number of Missionary Societies came into existence with a view to evangelising the world and bringing all into submission to the Redeemer-King. They were no evidence of narrow-mindedness, but of true Catholicity; even if some or all were content to define the limits of their operations.

In the founding of these Societies, it is clear that there was no thought of acting otherwise than in loyalty to the Church of England. The original constitutions show that the founders considered that with an open Bible, and on the basis of the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles, they had sure ground on which to move, and in every step they took they believed themselves to be in accord with the spirit and tenets of the Church of England. They did not think it necessary to designate their new organisations as either Protestant or Evangelical. They conceived the Church of England to be both the one and the other. The difficulty for them was to secure Episcopal recognition for what seemed wild enthusiasm or (to quote Miss Padwick's phrase in *The Land of Behest*) mad projects. And such recognition came very slowly. The Archbishops and Bishops were not seized with the same spirit of enthusiasm or evangelistic zeal. The spirit of adventure did not possess them. But on the other hand, such was the torpor of the day, they did not find sufficient cold water to damp down the fire engendered by the Evangelical Revival. It was soon seen to have within it such inherent power that no earthly force could check it, and the outlets it made for itself were allowed to have their place in Church life.

Thus it was that the Church of England passed through the testing time which came with the dawn of a day of great opportunity. The Evangelical Revival by the missionary zeal it engendered saved the Church, and released the forces which have made her, and her progeny in the Anglican Communion, a great world power.

But what were those forces released? In the first place let it

be said to be the Gospel Message itself. The founding of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, so soon after the founding of the Baptist and the London Missionary Societies, denoted what was the predominant thought and desire. As with the Church Pastoral Aid Society, established a generation later, it may be said to have sought to "make the Church efficient" to fulfil its duty to "carry the gospel" to those who know it not. It was "for Africa and the East," and that may be said to cover its activities to-day; but it must be remembered that between the time of its founding and now it has at one time or another evangelised non-Christians in all the six continents. I do not think this can be said of any other Society. In the course of its history it has done a great deal more than "carry the gospel"; it has sought to fulfil the Commission to make disciples of all nations and to teach them to observe all that the Lord has commanded. Hence it has seen diocese after diocese called into existence as a direct result of the work of its missionary agents, and may be said to have done more than any other agency for the extension of the Anglican Communion.

The first Missionary Exhibition at which the writer was allowed to take a part as a steward was in his undergraduate days, and he served in the New Zealand Court. The C.M.S. was then still carrying on work among the Maoris. It has of course now long ceased to do so. Nevertheless, be it remembered that the Society first carried the Gospel to that land, tamed a whole race and opened the way to the establishment of the Dominion. It was said on behalf of the Society at the time when New Zealand was annexed to the British Empire, that besides building churches and schools it had caused the wide observance of the Lord's Day, had reduced the language to writing and secured Bible translations, had set up a printing press and a water mill, had introduced into the island cattle and sheep and horses, and done much else to check war and cannibalism and to bring in a new state. Before the Society withdrew it could claim that sixty-six Maori converts had been ordained to the ministry of the Church of England.

Thus not only in the world-wide work of the Society to-day do we see the outflow of the Evangelical Revival, but it may be said that in such fields as North-West Canada and British Columbia (as well as New Zealand) where the work has been begun and accomplished, is the fruit to be found.

But it must not be thought that the C.M.S. alone represented that new current of missionary activity which was then set moving. The Religious Tract Society was also founded in 1799, and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1808. The Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland which afterwards became the Colonial and Continental Church Society was founded in 1823, and others inevitably followed.

If it may be said that the Gospel Message was the first force released by the Evangelical Revival, the second (and some would perhaps even put it first) was a vernacular Bible. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804 and has an amazing

record. Of the 655 languages or dialects in which the Bible in whole or in part has been issued which appear on their list of publications, about sixty only, and those mainly European, were issued earlier than the nineteenth century. The Eastern Church had relied upon the Septuagint and the Greek Testament, and the Roman Church upon the Vulgate, and had been unconcerned about translations. But the Evangelical Faith demanded for every man the right to read the Word of God in his mother-tongue, and from the first the Bible Society has co-operated with all missionary agencies in seeking to secure for every man that right.

It does not seem too much to claim that it has been through a vernacular Bible that the world evangelisation of the Anglican Church, and other Protestant Churches, has been, under God, so successful. History plainly teaches that the Bible in the language of the people establishes the teaching of the Gospel and best guarantees, in any country, the preservation of the Church through storms of persecution and its revival in times of decline. The value of the Bible Society to the cause of world evangelisation cannot be over-estimated.

Perhaps the third force released by the Revival may be said to be money. Hitherto opportunities of giving had not been many, and channels into which to direct gifts had been strictly limited. But now every new endeavour and every expansion of the work caused a new demand. The number of the givers were few at first, and always have been a minority, but the contributions of those whose hearts were touched with a sense of the love of God were made on a new and rising scale. Both the C.M.S. and the Bible Society publish a statement showing the amounts received each year from the commencement. It is interesting to notice the steady rise, and at times, mainly in consequence of new endeavours, the speedy rise. In 128 years the Bible Society received over 23 million pounds. In its first year it received nearly £700, in its second over £1,600, and the average of the last few years has been over £400,000. The C.M.S. began with receiving about £2,400 in five years and then went ahead as the field opened to the expectant vision of the Lord's people, and during the last six years has averaged nearly £450,000 of available income. This is mentioned not to represent what Evangelicals are doing or have done, for that cannot be done by citing one or two agencies alone, but as evidence of the vitality of what was undertaken as a result of the Evangelical Revival. Nevertheless, it may be permitted to add while this aspect of Christian activity is before us, that Evangelicals have never been other than a minority in the Church of England, at any rate in the period under review, yet their contributions have exceeded those who hold other ecclesiastical views. The number of parishes supporting S.P.G. and/or U.M.C.A. must exceed the number supporting C.M.S., but their united income comes short of that of the C.M.S. Evangelical fervour has always shown itself, in part, in the liberality of its gifts. Experience seems to prove that the more wholeheartedly and unreservedly the evangelical doctrines are

held, the more abundant are the contributions in aid of evangelistic work. Even to-day, it may be maintained, the more firmly are held those doctrines of grace which marked the Evangelical Revival the larger are the gifts for world evangelisation.

We have lately been hearing much in the *Church Times* about "Protestant Money-bags," and their power. Is the suggestion that all wealthy people are Evangelicals? Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, and other such places, would at once be a sufficient retort. They certainly cannot mean that the number of Protestants is so large that the aggregate funds are vast, for they are always saying we are a minority, and a small one at that. May I not quote their references to Protestant money-bags as evidence of what I say, that the Evangelical Faith releases money; that those who are moved by those doctrines which we Evangelicals hold, and regard as primary, are more ready to contribute to the point of sacrifice to the Great Cause we have at heart?

One other force released by the Evangelical Revival should be mentioned, and that is the power of consecrated lives. Indeed, this lies at the back of what has just been mentioned. The realisation afresh of what Jesus Christ did for us on the Cross of Calvary stirred up such a sense of His love that the believing heart responded with a wholehearted devotion which involved the consecration of something more than material gifts, even that of son and daughter, yea, even more still, of life itself. Constrained by the love of Christ, men and women in a great stream have gone forth to preach the Word of Salvation, counting their own lives as nothing and in so many cases laying them down "for Jesus' sake." Many have been the martyrs; many more have been those who have nobly persevered amidst untold privations, disappointments, difficulties, sufferings, and loneliness through long years. Who can estimate the wealth of their devotion or the measure of their self-sacrifice? But they would themselves account it as nothing in comparison with what they owe their Lord for the benefits of His passion.

But, again, it would be unfair to speak of the consecration of lives only in regard to those who have served overseas. How much thought, how much care, how much work, how much prayer, has been put into the cause of world evangelisation? Missionary Meetings, Working Parties, Prayer Meetings, have long been held up to ridicule and derision, but how fruitful they have been. How truly they have been animated by the spirit of the Evangelical Revival. They have afforded to the rank and file the information, the opportunity and the stimulus which alone were necessary to hearts aflame with love for the Redeemer of the world. This is an age when young life is asserting itself. Let them choose for themselves, as led by the Spirit of God, the ways in which to express their love for Christ and a perishing world, but in so doing let them also seek for grace to emulate the self-denying efforts, the steady and persistent endeavours and self-sacrificing devotion of the young men and women, and the middle-aged and elderly men and women

who have gone before, and perhaps not least the last named. It is common and cheap to make gibes at the elderly widows and spinsters, but how much, how very much is due to them for their endeavours, out of love for Jesus Christ, on behalf of world evangelisation.

It has already been suggested that the fires of the Evangelical Revival have continued to burn throughout the intervening period. They have indeed at times seemed to die down, and at others they have been again fanned into a flame. It is hard to estimate their force to-day. We have been passing through days of religious decline, and Evangelicals have shared in it. We are bound to acknowledge that, but nevertheless we may claim that something of the evangelical fervour still exists. The Bishop of Durham, to whom reference has already been made, on the same occasion spoke in what sounded like derisive terms of "the golden age of Evangelicalism, in the light of which a certain fading nimbus rests on Evangelical brows to this day." It may be it is fading. It is not for us to contradict, even if we do not agree. The outsider can best judge, but let him do it with less bias than that generally shown by the Bishop. At any rate we are grateful to him for his testimony to the fact that it does still rest on Evangelical brows.

No one who studies the overseas operations of the Church of England can suppose that to-day Evangelicals count for little in world evangelisation. Evangelistic fervour still marks that loyal section of the Anglican Church which calls itself Evangelical, and seems to mark it more than any other section.

"With one accord," the unified statement of the needs of the Church overseas put out by the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly affords us much encouragement, especially when read with enlightened understanding (it is not always plain to those who know little of the work of the Church beyond our shores). It presents in brief compass a picture of the field of the Church's work overseas. That picture shows how vast is the work of Evangelical Societies in comparison with others. There is no desire now to force comparisons, but at a time (as indeed at all times) when in the councils of the Church, Evangelicals are given so small a place, and when it seems frequently to be assumed that Evangelicalism in the Church of England will soon be as dead as the dodo, it may be well to invite a careful estimate of the share of Evangelicals in the overseas work of the Church as shown in the financial summary given at the end of the book, or in the Statistical Tables illustrating the work of the several areas. At the same time it is fair to say these figures are somewhat misleading and require explanation. The Home Secretary of the C.M.S. has been well advised to put out a statement in explanation of the £205,000 which is stated to be expended by all societies as "Agency payments" made at home on behalf of the Church overseas. The C.M.S. share in that is nearly £102,000, but it includes outfits and passages, missionaries' pensions, disablement and superannuation allowances, training of missionaries, etc. He concludes by saying the estimated expenditure of C.M.S. either

actually overseas or as an agency for overseas work comes to £402,817, not £300,880 as the statement seems to imply.

Much more might be said to show that the forces set free by the Evangelical Revival continue to progress. For instance, the remarkable measure of success which has attended the B.C.M.S. since its inception, when certain members of the C.M.S. separated themselves from the old Society and formed the new, must certainly be borne in mind. The vitality which is vigorous enough to secede when conscience demands it, and the vitality which is strong enough to progress along a God-given path in spite of the secession, are alike evidence of human zeal and earnestness and of Divine blessing.

As Evangelicals we have very much cause to thank our gracious God, and we do not doubt that if we had been more faithful we should have had much more. There are facing us, if the Lord tarry, days of golden opportunity. May a double portion of the spirit of our forefathers rest upon us, that we may emulate their endeavours, advance the cause they had at heart, and glorify our Redeemer Lord.

The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion, edited by Dr. A. J. Macdonald, has proved its value and has reached a second edition. As the first attempt to trace the Evangelical interpretation of the doctrine of Holy Communion from the New Testament to the present day, it has supplied a great need. In the cheaper form it will now reach a wider circle of readers who will appreciate its scholarly qualities. Archdeacon Hunkin deals with the Origin of Eucharistic Doctrine. The Editor traces it to the time of Berengar. Mr. T. C. Hammond deals with the Later Middle Ages, Dr. Harold Smith with the Teaching of the Reformers, Canon McKean with the English Theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dr. A. H. W. Harrison, Principal of the Wesleyan Training College at Westminster, explains the Free Church interpretation, and Archdeacon Storr gives an account of Anglican Eucharistic Theology To-day. This comprehensive treatment of the great subject should be in the hands of all Students.

An interesting little book, *The Open Road in Persia*, by the Rev. J. R. Richards, has been issued by C.M.S. (1s. net). Dr. Linton, Bishop in Persia, contributes a Foreword. Persia, at the present time, presents many difficulties and great possibilities. This account of the work is an inspiration to go forward along the open road.

Southwark Cathedral has many interesting historical and literary associations and has had a chequered history before its elevation to the position of the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Southwark. Canon Munroe has written an interesting record of its history which has been issued with an admirable series of artistic illustrations by Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons at the small cost of 2s. 6d.

A NATIONAL CHURCH.

BY ROBERT STOKES.

(Author of *New Imperial Ideals*, *The Moral Issue in India*, and *The Christian Church and the Christian State*; President of the Kensington Branch of the National Church League.)

I SHOULD like to begin by saying (1) that what follows does not profess to be a complete theory of the State, but only a few random and eclectic suggestions towards that part of a theory of the State which would concern a national Church; and (2) that I alone am responsible for the views expressed.

The primary emphasis of Evangelicalism has always been rightly laid on personal religion and conduct. But human conduct is not restricted to personal, individual conduct. It includes also group or corporate conduct, and since Evangelicalism professes to be a true presentation of Christianity it must apply to group as well as to individual conduct if Christianity itself so applies. To hold that Christianity does not apply to the whole range of human conduct, but to individual conduct only, involves one in many absurdities, of which a typical example is afforded by the conclusion that it is then impossible, on Christian principles, to condemn corporate evil conduct! Thus if I commit robbery with violence, that is a sin; but if I join with two or three others into a club or gang—provided that the objects of the club are harmless at the moment when I perform the individual act of joining it—and if the club or gang in its corporate capacity commits robbery with violence, that cannot be condemned, on this theory, as in the slightest degree wrong upon Christian principles!

But if we reject such absurdities and hold instead, with the early Evangelical leaders, that Christian principles apply to all human conduct, including group conduct, it follows that they apply to the conduct of the most important group, which is the State. But here arises the question who is to apply them, and this is the supreme and fundamental question in the relations of Church and State. Indeed this question of the relation of the Church to the corporate conduct of the State is far more difficult than the question of the relation of the State to the corporate conduct of the Church, since the interference of the State in that sphere must necessarily be largely limited in practice to (1) the defence of the rights, whether material or spiritual, of the individual citizen, and (2) the self-preservation of the State from adverse action by the Church especially in the international sphere.

The difficulty of answering the question "Who is to apply Christianity to the corporate conduct of the State?" arises from three causes: (a) the complexity of the subject; (b) the fact that both Church and State largely become different entities, according to the prevailing theories as to their nature. For example, in a

period when collectivist thought prevails, the sphere of activity of the State, together with its authority and responsibility within that sphere, are inevitably extended, and similarly with the Church in a period when High Church views are fashionable; and (c) the fact that it is possible to combine in various ways different theories of the Church with different theories of the State.

THEORIES OF THE CHURCH.

Time forbids a detailed discussion of the various theories of the Church, such for example as Calvin's Christocracy, wherein the Church, while acknowledging the Christian State as divine, has a duty to watch its corporate conduct and keep it up to the mark, minister and magistrate being thus partners, but the former acting as a check on the latter; or Luther's first theory, wherein law is a mere corrective made necessary by non-Christian conduct in the world and so of comparatively little direct interest to Christians though the Church accepts the co-operation of the State; or Luther's second theory—after the Peasant War—in which he turned to the divine prerogative of the secular authority to enforce the conditions necessary to the full Christian life and definitely subordinated the minister to the magistrate¹; or the Roman theory in its many forms.

But amid all the theories of the Church we may distinguish two broad tendencies, namely that some of the theories emphasise mainly the international, and others the national aspects of the Church. And inevitably Churches which lean upon the former, are, in so far as they so lean, driven by the sheer logic of their position to withdraw from those phases of national life which conflict with their internationality and to concentrate upon a kind of least common measure of the national life of the various nations. During the Great War the Roman Church had either to pray with both sides for victory, thus stultifying its internationalism, or else by not praying for victory withdraw from close association with what was best in the ideals on both sides and forfeit the confidence of both sides. Nor could it hope to explain the ideals of each to the other, for such explanation would have had to be made through priests of the same nationality, who would be, through that very fact, incapacitated for appreciating the other point of view. During the Great War how many Englishmen could appreciate the German belief that the best and highest future of Europe and indeed of civilisation itself, was bound up with the spread of *Kultur*, that utterly un-English and laughterless amalgam of thoroughness, meticulous scientific accuracy, and self-sacrifice for a mystically idealised conception of the German race-state? Or again, how many Germans could even imagine the Anglo-Saxon conception of liberty ordered by public opinion in an atmosphere of "sportsmanship"? More excusable, perhaps, but no less perplexed, would be their dubious approach to such speculative ideals as "self-determination"

¹ This summary of Luther's and Calvin's doctrines is mainly derived from an article by Bishop E. A. Knox in *THE CHURCHMAN* of October, 1930.

or "a War to end War." Any attempt to explain the parties to each other must merely have involved deep distrust by both, and in fact so little trusted is a thoroughly internationalised religion that the peace efforts of the Vatican were entirely fruitless and indeed only served to rouse irritation and suspicion among the Allies.

This incompatibility of an emphasised international position with the unqualified association of a Church in the hopes and struggles of a nation's inner life, is illustrated again in the new relations now subsisting between Italy and the Papal See. The Fascist ideal of the State is collectivist to the point of being deliberately "totalitarian." Hitherto the applications of this ideal have been on the whole successful and the natural limitations of the ideal will only become plain gradually in practice. But meanwhile this ideal is directly at variance with the Church's conception of her direct responsibility for morals and education. Hence has arisen constant friction. That friction has now been partially reduced by the inconsistent expedients of withdrawing the Church from the State and constituting it a foreign power, and at the same time conceding most of its claims in Italian morals and education. In return the Church is, for the moment, not pressing the unconceded claims, and not advertising the considerable abandonment by Italy of its "totalitarian" ideal. In the end those who most cherish the ideal must be the least satisfied with the Church, and their distrust must progressively increase with the increasing internationalism and de-Italianisation of the Vatican. Thus the State will be weakened, any power for good which the Church may have will be curtailed, and the energies of many of Italy's most idealistic citizens will be increasingly diverted from the ideal of a Christian, to that of a secular, State.

On the other hand, in so far as Churches conceive themselves as national they are free to identify themselves fully with all that is best in every phase of the national life if that national life is Christian; and such full identification should increase the national trust in them and therefore also their influence and opportunities for good. In a word a national Church can very largely achieve the ideal of becoming the conscience of a Christian State.

THEORIES OF THE STATE.

An exhaustive classification of theories of the State is obviously impossible, but there are at least one ancient and four modern theories which contain important elements of truth that must be gathered up into any complete theory and must be recognised by the Church.

(1) Aristotle's theory that the State arose for the sake of life, but continues *for the sake of good life*,¹ definitely extends the legitimate sphere of State action beyond that of mere defence and order, and extends it upon a principle of great elasticity. The importance of this extension lies in its almost universal acceptance to-day, but

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, I, i, 8, 1252b: *γνωσμένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὐσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.*

obviously the principle stands in need of a limiting principle (such perhaps as the inclusion of liberty among the ends comprised in "the good life") to regulate its application. It clearly covers such matters as the compulsory acquisition of lands for railways and some subsequent regulation of the railways; and since the "good life" of the citizens depends on a certain standard of morals, it would appear to confer upon the State responsibility for moral education. Here at once is disclosed a sphere of concurrent jurisdiction with that claimed by the Church and a field of potential direct conflict unless there is a satisfactory demarcation of responsibilities between Church and State. The essential point is that modern thought definitely assigns to the State, upon a principle plausibly if vaguely formulated by this theory, responsibilities within the sphere most directly and categorically claimed by the Church as its own, and even in connection with the Church itself.¹ Therefore in respect of this sphere one must coerce the other, or else Church and State must become or act as one.

(2) The *social contract theory* of the State is generally rejected nowadays as unhistorical, and as in the last resort almost meaningless since there is no consciousness of such a contract. Nevertheless it has often been conceded that this theory contains this element of truth, that the people have a fundamental "right of acquiescence" in government. How very important this right may be is illustrated in the ethical relations of the Government of India with an unworthy Indian Prince. It has been argued that the irresistible British force which supports such a Prince deprives the people of the State of their inherent right to rebel against extreme oppression and that we have therefore not only a legal right but a moral duty to prevent such *extreme* oppression.² Such fundamental moral rights and duties inherent in the relationship of the State to the citizens must be taken into account by any Church which presumes to advise or criticise or support the State, especially in times of revolution. They can be best taken into account by a Church which is intimately associated with the State.

(3) The theory of Hegel and such writers as Bosanquet (derived, through Fichte, from Rousseau), is that the State has an objective

¹ For a good statement of the position which makes this claim see Burke (*On the Petition of the Unitarians*), especially the passage in which he urges that religion is "so far from being out of the province of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care. The magistrate, who is a man, and charged with the concerns of men, and to whom very specially nothing human is remote or indifferent, has a right and a duty to watch over it with an unceasing vigilance; to protect, to promote, to forward it by every rational, just and prudent means. It is principally his duty to prevent the abuses which grow out of every strong and efficient principle that actuates the human mind. As religion is one of the bonds of society, he ought not to suffer it to be made the pretext of destroying its peace, order, liberty and security. Above all, he ought strictly to look to it when men begin to form new combinations, to be distinguished by new names and especially when they mingle a political system with their religious opinions, true or false, plausible or implausible."

² See the present writer's *New Imperial Ideals* (Murray, 10s. 6d. net).

existence as embodying the "*general will*" which is something real yet quite distinct both from the average and from the resultant of the individual wills of the citizens. Such a "real general will" has been criticised out of existence by Professor Hobhouse,¹ yet the constant belief of mankind is some reason for believing in the existence of a mystical objective reality of some kind in the State over and above the sum total of the individual citizens. A theory of what this mystical reality is will be put forward later.

(4) The theory which seems to underlie the attack of Gierke and Maitland upon the concession theory of corporations, is that there is a kind of free life inherent in all corporations, including the Church, and that this life owes nothing to the State. While Gierke and Maitland themselves would probably concede an equal measure of life to the State itself, the theory has tended in the hands of their disciples towards a very *mechanical conception* of the State and there is undoubtedly this element of truth in such views, that the actual form of the modern State is largely arbitrary and artificial, a deliberate choice or creation by human wills.

(5) Lastly, seeing that such human will is not merely exercised once for all as in the creation of a machine, but is continuously exercised in all the operations of government, there is some truth also in the view of such a thinker as Bluntschli which emphasises the *organic, psychological* nature of the State.

Before any of these abstract theories can be brought into definite relationship with the Church, they must be brought down from the realm of theory to that of concrete fact. This can best be achieved by a brief survey, from the standpoint of the Church, of some of the main facts of a typical primitive State, and of the differentia of a modern, developed State.

THE PRIMITIVE STATE.

From the point of view of religion, the important fact about the primitive State is that *it exists principally for the non-moral purpose of mere defence and survival, and therefore that it is in its nature essentially non-moral, and so needs the complementary service of a Church.* This non-moral character becomes very evident if we consider the seven most obvious characteristics of a primitive State.

(1) The first is its *necessity*. Whether the tribe arises through an enlargement of the family or not, its government owes its continued existence to the need for order and safety if the tribe is to survive at all in a ruthless world.

(2) The nature of this government is that it is a source or depository of *authority*.

(3) This authority includes an unlimited *latent power* to meet new circumstances. It is immaterial to the fact of the existence of this latent power in government whether the government is vested in a patriarchal chief or in a tribal assembly. The power is inherent in the tribe's natural right of self-preservation, which

¹ Cf. *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*.

includes the right of self-adaptation to new conditions, both external and internal. It is still by this right that a modern State regulates such new spheres as broadcasting. Here then, it may be suggested, is the answer to the question : " What is the mystical reality in the State ? " It is merely that the State is the depository of the latent power of the community, and this latent power, joined to the power actually in exercise, constitutes both legal and political sovereignty. This latent power in sovereignty is *felt* mystically or instinctively, rather than comprehended by reason ; and since it is at once indefinitely vast and unknown, yet presumably benevolent, it properly evokes both devotion and a respectful awe.

(4) The *organic, psychological* nature of the State is very evident in the personal rule of a primitive chief and in the behaviour of a tribal assembly.

(5) So also is the *artificial or mechanical* nature of the machinery of State. The custom which places important powers in the hands of a Queen Mother in Ashanti is as mechanical in its operation as the customary restriction of power to those who sit on the symbolic Stool, or as a modern franchise.

(6) A sense of *kinship* is an obviously important cohesive element in all tribal life, even helots and slaves sharing in it by a kind of adoption.

(7) The *land* of settled tribes is usually a cohesive tribal bond, but this rarely applies to the hunting or grazing lands of a pastoral tribe, the association of devotion to the land with devotion to the tribe or State being normally a concomitant of the evolution of a nomad into a settled people.

Thus though some of these characteristics may be specially easy to reinforce with religious sanctions, in themselves they are all secular and non-moral. Accordingly, such a non-moral State must stand in a fourfold need of the support and help of religion : (a) to act as its conscience, censoring (and justifying) its conduct ; (b) to reinforce its authority with religious sanctions ; (c) to promote public morals, and (d) to protect the State from religion itself, which may threaten it either by forming an *imperium in imperio* or, in the case of debasing religions or international religions centred abroad, by weakening it.

In view of these needs it is not surprising to observe that the most successful of primitive tribes and States are commonly those which, while controlling religion, most closely associate themselves with it. Such control is necessary lest the paramount end of the State, survival, should be rashly subordinated to internal, or even to mere personal considerations ; but the most successful form of control and association is often such a unity of Church and State as has existed under the priest-kings of Yoruba-land in Southern Nigeria.

THE CIVILISED STATE.

When we turn to the developed or civilised modern State we find two main classes of difference from the primitive State, but in

the nature of the State itself surprisingly little difference except in the extension of its aims so as to include "the good life." The first class of differences comprises differentiation of function in government. The State itself is more definite, as it were. Its activities have multiplied with the increasing complexities of life and most of these activities have been assigned to specific people. It is commonly larger and has passed through stages in which it has had to assimilate unruly sub-chiefs or barons, and to protect itself from powerful associations including in some cases the organised modern Church.

The second class of differences is closely associated with the extension of aims. It comprises the immense number of latent powers which the civilised State has converted into actual powers. A current example of such a development is to be seen in the Town and Country Planning Act. Another, this time in the sphere of pure law, is provided by the Statute of Westminster, which has called forth, from the latent legal potentialities of the Crown, an extraordinary power of formally dividing itself and its Dominions and receiving separate advice from each set of ministers while still retaining a formal theoretical unity. Another on a larger scale is the whole growth of the Dependent Empire, through which the British State has made itself responsible for the protection of vast regions of the East and of Africa, and for the spread of Western civilisation therein. In this latter task it has a choice of three instruments and three principles of government. It can employ its own white agents, upon the principle of trusteeship; or it can use the Princes, Rajahs, Sultans, Paramount Chiefs or other natural rulers, upon the principle of indirect rule; or, finally, on the so-called principle of "self-government," it can employ oligarchies of westernised natives, who will naturally have the real power if sham democratic institutions which only they can work are set up among people incapable of comprehending them. In point of fact all three principles are in operation, the two first on the whole successfully.

We have now reached a point where we can describe the primitive State as the depository of the collective authority, both latent and actual, of the community, a depository which is at once mechanical and psychological, which is based on kinship and sometimes also on land, which exists primarily and mainly for the object of securing the survival of the community, and in which the whole community is associated through acquiescence. With this we can compare the developed State. It is a similar depository, but more differentiated in its structure, and having a vast series of additional objects, which may be comprehended under the general aim of promoting the "good life" of the community, and in the case of some modern states, of protecting vast backward areas of the world and extending to them also the forms of the "good life" known as European civilisation. What then is the nature of this depository itself? In the strictly organic sense of the metaphor it might be described as an "organ" of the community—the community being the natural association in which man must live as a "political

animal" ¹—but inasmuch as the whole community is associated in the depository through acquiescence, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the State is the community in its collective capacity in so far as this is differentiated.

Now in all this it is clear that in the development from the primitive to the modern State, the essential nature of the State is little changed. The ends for which it exists have been extended and now include moral aims, but its essential nature remains primarily non-moral because still primarily concerned with the non-moral aim of mere survival, and it accordingly still needs the moral support and help of the Church in this primary sphere, and for the same four reasons; while in its new sphere of moral responsibilities it needs both a conscience and an adjusted relationship to a Church that takes all moral responsibilities for its province. It can achieve both by making the Church its conscience in this sphere also, and will thereby (a) obviate endless friction that must otherwise weaken both Church and State; (b) strengthen both itself and the Church; and (c) ensure that the judgment of the Church on the conduct of the State is informed and responsible.

How far can religion rightly meet this inherent State need of help and support? I would suggest that this will depend on (a) how far the religion is national and so capable of identifying itself with the life of the nation in all its phases; and (b) how far the State is Christian. If the religion is national or at least if it can sit loosely to its connections abroad, and if the State is professedly Christian, surely it is then the duty of the Church to amalgamate with the State and to become its conscience, not commanding, but exhorting it; the State still remaining fully responsible for the application of Christian standards to its corporate conduct, though guided and exhorted by the Church, for example, through its bishops in the House of Lords. The religion will then be able progressively to purify and ennoble the State's corporate conduct, to reinforce its authority, to promote the morality of its citizens, and to protect it from debasing, weakening or foreign-centred religions. By such amalgamation we may confidently expect the Church's power for good to be enormously enhanced and the State to be strengthened. It is a development to which we may invite the warm adhesion of Evangelicals in the light of the history of both the Lutheran and the Calvinistic traditions, as well as because it is the official position of the Church of England. It should derive support also from the present posture of Imperial affairs.

CHURCH AND EMPIRE.

For the Empire this is a tremendous and fateful age of transition. The Statute of Westminster has severed, at least temporarily and perhaps for ever, the major legal links with the Dominions. Here then is an extraordinary opportunity for a Church that is alive to its Imperial duty, to forge social and spiritual links such as those

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, I, i, 9, 1253a: ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον.

by which the Church once welded the Saxon Heptarchy into the Kingdom of England. Again the race problem in Africa bids fair to become one of the principal problems of the world. Here is a problem having many economic, medical, cultural, anthropological and political aspects, and fundamentally a moral problem that only the Church can solve, but it is one which the Church can only hope to solve with a knowledge of the facts that is only to be acquired in association with the State. An experiment is proposed for India which even its supporters realise *may* play havoc with the happiness of that sub-continent, whose inhabitants form a fifth part of mankind and which is the foundation of all our Empire in Asia. Moreover, the almost world-wide distrust or repudiation of democracy, and the substitution of strong executives cannot but place new strains upon so democratic an Empire.

Surely for these reasons this is emphatically not the time to secularise the Empire by adopting the proposal of an Establishment on Scottish lines that would be little more than merely nominal since outside the sphere of local government it would affect no corporate conduct. The present Establishment of the Church of England affects corporate action in local government, and to this extent it has analogy with that of the Church of Scotland; but the English Establishment has also two far wider applications. It affects the corporate conduct of the United Kingdom and of the Empire as a whole; and how active it can be in this latter regard has been recently illustrated in Kenya.

It has been suggested that there is a mighty task and a mighty duty lying ready to hand for the Church in uniting the Empire itself, and, through its association with the Empire, in working out and applying Christian solutions of the great problems of Asia and Africa. But in the mere association itself there is Christian value as well as Imperial strength, for it is impossible to exaggerate the importance in this increasingly secular world of the continuing witness of the British Empire as a Christian State—through the Establishment of the Church of England—to the truths of Christianity. Severed from each other on Cavour's specious formula of "a free Church in a free State" or on any other formula, both must be weakened beyond telling.

Together the Church and the Empire may go forward to mightier and still mightier achievements in the service of God and of mankind. In such achievements may Almighty God grant that the great coming Evangelical revival of which there are now such abundant signs throughout the country may play a part worthy of those traditions of piety, sound learning, God-given common sense and breadth of outlook upon affairs of State, which have been the glory of Evangelicalism in the past.

School Paths in Africa, by Phyllis L. Garlick (The Highway Press, 1s. net), tells of the growth and success of Missionary schools, both primary and secondary, in the African Missions of the Church.

MEDIEVAL NUNNERIES,

BY H. P. PALMER, M.A., Author of "The Bad Abbot of Evesham and other Medieval Studies."

IF we were to form our mental image of medieval nuns from Chaucer's pleasant picture of the Prioress, we should pronounce them to have been charming ladies. Madame Eglantine is in every way a delightful personage. What would we not give to hear her "sing the service divine entuned in her nose fully semely?" What a treat to watch her delicate manners at table and to notice how careful she is not to "wet her fingers in her sauce deep" and how "full semely after her meat she reaches"! At such times indeed the Prioress is radiant, "full pleasant and amiable of port," with a winsome smile, a quiet wit and a courtly grace which attract everyone. Kind she is and piteous. Verily the little dogs which she feeds on roast meat, wastel bread and bread and milk find in her a kind and indulgent mistress. Madame Eglantine must have been everywhere a welcome guest, fulfilling as she does the motto on her brooch "Love conquers all."

Chaucer's picture was probably sketched from life and doubtless in medieval England there were many nuns of this high and gracious quality—ladies who would have shone in society, but who preferred to adorn the cloister. Unhappily there were also some who were by nature unfitted for conventual life and objected to being "cribbed, cabined and confined" by a tight discipline. Some also there were, as will be seen, who brought shame and disgrace upon their profession.

Certain of the English nunneries, such as those of Shaftesbury and Amesbury, were extremely wealthy. Abbeys and Priories like these were usually of Saxon foundation and were distinctly aristocratic institutions. Fuller tells us that if the Abbot of Glastonbury could have married the Abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have possessed more land than the King of England. At Shaftesbury, the first Abbess was a daughter of King Alfred, and, in the time of Henry I, the convent owned land enough to find seven Knights for the service of the Crown. Edward I sent his daughter Mary to be a nun at Amesbury. Here too, at the close of her life, his mother Eleanor assumed the veil. She became a somewhat impossible nun, at least so Matthew Paris tells us, and tinted conventual life with a little personal colouring. She ended her eventful life as one of the sisters. Mary de Blois, a daughter of King Stephen, was Abbess of Romsey for some time.

But, if there were nunneries of wealth and influence, so, at the other end of the scale, there were many extremely poor and struggling communities. Thus, at Blackborough in Yorkshire, the annual income of one house in the time of Edward I was only forty-five pounds, out of which little sum forty-two persons were maintained.

We find other nunneries with annual incomes as low as nineteen and twelve pounds. It is clear, even with the necessary allowance for the enhanced value of money, that the nuns in these poverty-stricken institutions must have found it difficult to subsist and must often have been fed on the bread of affliction and on the water of affliction. Not unfrequently such convents shrank to the smallest proportions—just a sister or two—and their buildings became ruinous.

Normally the nuns were daughters of good families in the neighbourhood of their convents, and it was no easy matter to obtain admission even into the smaller houses. The Priory of Polstoe in the diocese of Exeter gently but firmly refused the request of Philippa, Queen of Edward III, to admit a lady whom she desired to send as a sister "wearing a secular habit." The convent pleaded the extreme poverty of their house in excuse of their refusal.

Most of the greater convents, for example those of Romsey and St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, possessed schools for "maid" children; in fact the nunneries seem to have been the girls' schools of the Middle Ages. Thus, Matilda, daughter of the King of Scotland, and afterwards the wife of Henry I, was educated at Romsey Abbey under the Abbess Christina, daughter of Edmund Ironside. In spite of her aunt's "sharp blows and detestable taunts," on emerging from the school to the throne, she bore with her a good knowledge of the Latin of the period, which she wrote with facility.

Fair Rosamund, the beautiful daughter of Lord Clifford, is believed to have been educated within the walls of Cannington Priory in Somerset. This poor girl, who became the mistress of Henry II, died when comparatively young and was buried in the church of Godstow nunnery. Faithful to her memory, her royal lover placed over her remains a sumptuous tomb "covered with a pall of silk and surrounded by ever-burning tapers."

The three vows taken by nuns at the solemn service of their consecration by the Bishop were those of due obedience, voluntary poverty and "clean chastity." Their habit and clothing, in the language of Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, was not to be "inordinate," but "formed after religion in sadness (darkness of colour) and wideness." Long trains "in mantles and kirtles" were forbidden by the Bishop and we hear elsewhere that long hair was not allowed. The nuns, when walking, were expected to assume a pensive demeanour and to go on their way with downcast head and eyes unconscious of the passers-by.

In the Brigittine monastery of Shene, and doubtless elsewhere, there was an elaborate system of signs during the silence at meals. The act of eating was represented by placing the right thumb and two forefingers joined on the mouth. Fish was appropriately depicted by wagging the hand displayed sideways in the manner of the tail of a fish. Mustard was deliciously signified by holding the nose on the upper part of the right fist and rubbing it.

Immediately after Mass, commonly celebrated before nine, a meeting of the Superior and all her nuns was held in the Chapter-

house. It was there that faults were revealed and penalties imposed. Such penalties might consist, in the case of minor offences, of abstinence from flesh for a definite period or a threefold repetition of the Psalter, but it even extended to the personal discipline of five strokes on the bare shoulders for more serious offences.

All business of importance was discussed in the Chapter-house. After this meeting the nuns proceeded to the performance of their daily duties. One or more of them attended to the cleaning and the adornment of the church, the burnishing of the sacred vessels and the folding and repairing of the vestments and coverings. Others taught in the school or instructed any pupils entrusted to the care of the convent. The Chantress and her assistants practised for the services. The Cellaress saw to the supplies for the kitchen and gave directions to the servants. The Fratress was responsible for the orderly disposition of the meals. The Infirmarian tended the sick, while the Almoneress distributed the food and clothing which were given to the poor. It is obvious that there was more specialisation in the greater houses than in the smaller, and that in the latter nuns had often to discharge widely different duties. There was always scope for the work of nuns where they were able and willing; the trouble came when they were neither the one nor the other.

Convent rule provided that, except in cases of illness, the meals could be taken only in the frater or refectory. This rule, like so many others, was frequently broken and the bishops in their visitations and injunctions were never weary of ordering its careful observance.

The work of the domestic department was often increased by the presence of ladies as paying guests for a few months or more, with the approval of the Bishop. These ladies were often attended by their "waiting-women" or maids. The privilege of taking in boarders was sometimes abused and led to trouble and scandal. We find notable cases in the Somerset nunneries. In all of them the Bishop, whose consent probably had not been asked, vigorously intervened and ordered "the burdensome retinue of boarders and their servants to be ejected." The sale of corrodies was a great temptation to a convent in want of ready money. A corrody was a grant for life of board and lodging within the convent walls, or, less usually, the privilege of obtaining rations from the buttery or kitchen. Thus it often happened that for a small immediate relief a convent was burdened for many years with the maintenance of boarders who seemed immortal. Corrodies by law and custom could be bestowed only on consent of the bishop or other recognised authority, but we find frequent references to breaches of this rule. Thus the Dean of St. Paul's, Patron of the convent of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, complained of the illicit sale of corrodies as "hurting the house and as the cause of the dilapidation of the goods of the said house."

The nuns were not wholly cloistered from the world—it was by no means for them just stone walls and iron bars, but they were

often permitted to walk abroad and even to pay short visits to their friends.

This privilege was fenced in with many restrictions, often more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Bishop Spofford, for example, warns the convent of Limebrook that for the future no sister must leave the monastery without the permission of the Prioress, nor must she go unless accompanied by another nun. Sisters, says the Bishop, must not visit towns to see "common walks, fêtes, spectacles and other worldly vanities" nor must they sleep out at night, except in the houses of their fathers and mothers.

The Bishop further enjoined that the Prioress and all the sisters when "at home" should always sleep in the dortoir or dormitory. There they should be found at their rest "at eight of the clock" and "lying in their beds clothed in their smocks girded." Curtains over the beds were not permitted. This retirement to rest took place after the service of Compline and no "secular" woman was allowed to enter the house after the knolling of the Compline bell. The nuns, however, were not "bound in slumber's chain" during the whole night, for, at midnight, they rose for the service of Matins. When that office was completed, they went back to bed. It was a charge against the Sub-Prioress of Cannington that she had absented herself from Matins and other canonical hours and had encouraged other sisters to commit the same breach of convent rules.

The privilege of leaving the walls of the convent was frequently abused. Archbishop Peckham, after a visitation in 1283, expressed his vexation that the nuns of Romsey Abbey ate and drank in the houses of lay folk and secular priests in the town and forbade this practice. At a much later date it was alleged against the same abbey that the sisters went into the town and frequented taverns without permission. So, too, the Prioress of Minchin Barrow was charged with running about the country without reasonable cause to the shame of her religion and the damage of the house. The sisters of Ilchester were accused by their Bishop of wandering about and entering the houses of people of doubtful character "to the manifest peril of their own souls."

Yet it could not be said of all nuns that their spiritual state was safe even when apparently they were sealed within the walls of their convent. The wolf was at the door and would enter if he could. How otherwise are we able to interpret the constant and reiterated injunctions by the bishops to the visitors acting for them to the Superiors to attend most carefully to "the locking of doors and the custody of the keys"?

In the case of Romsey Abbey, even the kitchen windows were at one time used for the purpose of communication with the outside world. The wife of the cook was bidden by Bishop Fox in 1507 not to carry messages between the nuns and lay persons and was also asked to prevent seculars from communicating with nuns at the windows. It was at this time that "Master Folton was personally warned by the Vicar-General that he should no way go, or send, or direct letters, messenger or sign to any of the Romsey nuns." A

similar monition was addressed to the Vicar of Romsey and two of the Chaplains received notices of dismissal. The nuns seem to have had few permitted recreations save walking and visits to friends. They were " ancillae Domini," the handmaids of the Lord, pledged to His service, whether in the sanctuary, or in the performance of good works.

Christmas and other festal days gave an opportunity of relaxations rather more exciting and exhilarating than the promenades round the garden and the occasional excursions outside the convent walls. The fact that " dancing and revelling must be utterly forborne save at Christmas and other honest times of recreation " goes to show that on certain great occasions the nuns were really suffered to enjoy themselves. Yet, even at these times, the presence of seculars was forbidden.

The nuns, as they danced together, must have thought of the distant days when " the merry bells rang round and the jocund rebecks sounded " and when they themselves were among " the youths and maidens dancing in the chequered shade." They must have contrasted those happy days with the discipline in which they were now entangled when " even laughing overmuch or out of measure dissolutely " was forbidden.

The nuns, or at all events their Superiors, were permitted to keep dogs for their recreation, as we have seen in the example of Chaucer's Prioress—one of the Abbesses of Romsey was charged with stinting her nuns to provide for her dogs and monkeys.

Pleasant living in a convent was not so easy as may be imagined. Sisters widely different in disposition and character were thrown together and disputes and quarrels often arose. An example of this unhappy state of affairs may be found in Archbishop Peckham's order that quarrelsome nuns of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre at Canterbury must live in a dark room under the dortoir till they can live at peace with one another. *Benedicta*, one of the nuns, is reported to have upset the whole house by her taunts and insults.

In similar manner, Lady Alice Gorsyn, one of the nuns in Romsey Abbey, was charged in 1527 with using bad language " in her converse with the other sisters." She was ordered " to wear a tongue of red cloth under her chin for a month if this offence were repeated."

Just as in these days the prosperity of a school depends mainly on the character and on the policy of the headmaster, so also wisdom and sense in the Superior were essential to the orderly government of a convent. The nuns themselves chose their head and the result shows that they were often gravely mistaken in their choice. The instances of corrupt and inefficient Superiors are very numerous and the bishops were constrained either to depose them or to appoint sisters as coadjutors to check their vagaries. If the difficulties were financial, the Bishop frequently nominated commissioners to set the secular affairs of the house in order and perhaps prevent the bankruptcy of the institution. If the trouble were a moral one, and really grave, the Bishop appointed a visitor or visitors to punish the delinquents. It was in the smaller houses that the evils of bad

headship were so glaring. Two prioresses of Ilchester in succession were deprived by the Bishop on the ground of their misconduct. Alice de Zerde had adopted a harsh and repellent bearing towards the sisters. Apparently caring nothing either for their happiness or the good name of the convent, she had ejected them and compelled them to beg for their bread. Alice de Chilterne, her successor, was guilty of immorality with the Chaplain and of a wasting of the goods of the house so prodigal that the sisters were again constrained to wander about the streets of Ilchester with alms-baskets. The state of affairs at Cannington Priory was even more appalling and must have startled the Bishop's commissioners who sat at the Priory in October, 1351. The revelations made on that occasion prove the complete incapacity of the Prioress, Avice de Reigners, to maintain even the semblance of discipline. It was clear that two of the nuns, Matilda Pulham and Alice Northlode, had been in the habit of admitting women of suspicious character within the convent. They had also held nightly conversations with the two chaplains in the nave of the church and in the churchyard. Alice Northlode had certainly transgressed with one of the chaplains. Both the offending nuns had been on terms far too intimate with the servants. The story revealed to the commissioners was indeed pitiful, but, bad as it was, it did not drive them to harsh or vindictive measures. The sentences passed for these violations, not only of conventual rule, but of conventual morality, will serve to show how unwarrantable are such charges against the medieval church as immurement of nuns in living tombs for unchastity. It is unfortunate that Sir Walter Scott has lent the lustre of his name to this terrible charge and even made so frightful an incident occur as late as Tudor times. We may well pass from fiction to fact with the remark that the sentences passed in the Cannington cases show the greatest consideration and allowance for human frailty and for the sins that "so easily beset." The erring nuns were sentenced to "keep the cloister" for a year and Matilda was ordered to sit last, and Alice last but one, at the services in the church and at meals.

But the revelations made at Cannington are not yet complete. There was yet a third offending nun, Johanna Tremlett by name. She too had broken a solemn vow of her profession and given birth to a child. Here again the commissioners were lenient. Johanna was sentenced to be imprisoned in a house for a year. While she was thus confined, her life was to be a mortified one and her diet spare. On three days of the week she would be supplied with bread and water only. On the four remaining days the more liberal diet of bread, soup and beer would be allowed. In a similar case at Romsey, heard by Bishop Fox's Vicar-General in 1527, the punishment of an erring nun was similar, with the serious addition of personal chastisement three times a week. If we consider the practice current in medieval times of the personal correction of ladies as revealed in the Paston letters and in Lady Jane Grey's statements at a later period, we shall be less surprised at the occasional use of such methods at the convents.

Disorder seemed indeed to have reigned supreme at Cannington. Both the Prioress and the sub-Prioress were convicted not indeed of immorality, but of serious breaches of the convent rules. The Prioress was provided with coadjutors and the sub-Prioress was condemned to be publicly rebuked by the Prioress. Troubles of like nature arose at different periods in important abbeys such as those of Amesbury and Romsey, and in the cases of these two abbeys, were traceable to the bad character and influence of the Abbesses. The spiritual needs of nuns were ministered to by Chaplains, who were responsible for offering the daily Mass and conducting "Matins at midnight, evensong and hours in their time."

Special confessors were appointed by the bishops and were chosen not unfrequently from the ranks of the friars. These confessors were responsible for "shriving" and "houseling" the nuns at "each principal feast of the year."

If we bear in mind that most of the nuns were consecrated at about the early age of seventeen and that their life was destitute of many human interests and girt in with numerous restrictions, we shall not be surprised that some of them "left their first love." It has been truly pointed out that a true judgment of the nunneries cannot be formed solely from the censures and admonitions of the visiting authorities, which are to be found in the episcopal registers. These registers say nothing about those nuns who were content with their position, would not change it, and were faithful to the high ideals of their profession. Such sisters must have been a benediction wherever they went and doubtless were often found. To such nuns as these the words of Gray may well be applied :

" Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
 Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
 Along the cool sequestered vale of life
 They kept the noiseless tenor of their way."

We must remember these sisters as well as those who had become "like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh" if we are to form any true judgment of the medieval nunneries.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE SEE OF ROME. By the Rev. C. Leopold Clarke. [192 pp.] *Protestant Truth Society*. 4s. 6d.

Anyone who wishes to examine the history of the Church of Rome within a reasonable compass could not do better than purchase this book. It is full of facts and it is reliable. If people investigated the credentials of the Church of Rome more carefully and took a general view of her policy and principles throughout her course, they would not be beguiled so easily by claims which are made with much assurance, but which fall to pieces in the light of history. Very full information is to be found in these pages and an excellent Index makes reference easy. We commend the book heartily.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL AND THE EUCHARIST.¹

BY THE REV. A. W. GREENUP, D.D.

I MAY be excused any lengthy preliminary remarks on the essential differences in character between St. John and the Synoptic Gospels, important as they are in connection with the subject under discussion, beyond the statement, which all students will acknowledge to be true, that the Synoptists' intention was to record the facts of our Lord's life within their cognisance or derived from their authorities, whilst St. John, drawing on some of the facts, is "a religious teacher who seeks to get behind the facts to their essential import," the import of the facts being always more valuable to him than the facts themselves. As Dr. Garvie says: "The book is a Janus-like reality; it is history and doctrine, fact and idea, reminiscence and reflexion."

I.

Our subject is restricted to one problem raised in connection with St. John's Gospel—the Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel. And the first thing we notice is that in it there is no account whatever of the Institution itself. How is this to be explained? Various theories have been put forward:

(1) The Eucharist had no Dominical institution, and therefore St. John does not recognise it. This argument would have more force perhaps if it could be proved that his Gospel preceded the Synoptists in point of time, a position which, contrary to tradition, has been supported by very few scholars; and modern criticism is generally agreed that the Fourth Gospel presupposes St. Mark and made use of him, also possibly of St. Luke, though there is no trace of whole incidents added by him to St. Mark in Marcan contexts. The question of Dominical institution is discussed very fairly by Dr. N. P. Williams in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, and though it does not come immediately under my subject I may be permitted to state his argument briefly. The evidence for Christ's institution of the Eucharist as a permanent rite rests on the Pauline passage in 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, the words "this do in remembrance

¹ A paper read before the North-East Essex Clerical Society. It was impossible to refer in detail to the authorities consulted, but in addition to the Commentaries on St. John by Godet, Westcott, Reynolds, Plummer and Bernard, the student may consult the following works which, amongst others, have been laid under contribution: E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel, its Purpose and Theology* (1906); C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources* (translated, 1912); R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel, its Significance and Environment* (1917); V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, iii (1920); A. E. Garvie, *The Beloved Disciple* (1922); B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (1924); E. S. Hoernle, *The Record of the Loved Disciple* (1931); also articles in the *Expositor* (8th series), and in the *Modern Churchman* for 1926.

of Me" in the Lucan text (xxii. 19, see R.V. marg.) being of doubtful genuineness: but if the words are a true *logion* of the Lord their omission in the Synoptists may be balanced by the *logion*, "Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God" (Mark xiv. 25), which passage Dr. Williams interprets as meaning that the Eucharist was the last of the symbolical foreshadowings of the Messianic banquet in which they were to engage before the crucifixion, and that the next feast would be consummated in the Kingdom of God, the Church, where Christ would still be the host, though unseen to the bodily eyes: so the saying, whilst not actually commanding a continual observance, is an affirmation that such would be the case in the new Kingdom. Such an interpretation of this *logion* requires a good deal of consideration, raising more questions than it may be able to solve, and I must not be understood as concurring with it; I only wish to draw attention to it in passing. You will find a trenchant criticism of it by Mr. Guy Rogers in the *Modern Churchman* of 1926.

That St. John had no knowledge of the Eucharist as a Dominical institution may be dismissed in view of the Pauline evidence. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xi. 23, "I received of the Lord" (EGΘ PARELABON APO TOU KURIΟΥ), not necessarily by direct personal communication, when *παρά* would be used rather than *ἀπό*, but as an ultimate source through members of the Church at Jerusalem, probably from the Apostles themselves; and *παραλαμβάνειν* is never used to denote reception through revelation. The fact of the Church being an organised society in St. John's day (however early we date the Gospel) with the Lord's Supper as one of its institutions makes the supposition that the institution of the Eucharist was unknown to him absurd. Even if the injunction, "this do in remembrance of Me" (TOUTO POIEITE EIS TĒN EMĒN ANAMNĒSIN), rests on Pauline testimony, it must rest on an established Christian practice of Apostolic authority. There is no necessity to postulate the giving of such a command after the Resurrection; or to suppose, with Dr. Gardner, that there is no historical foundation for the Pauline account, which he contends was due to the influences exerted upon St. Paul by the Eleusinian mysteries.

(2) A second theory is this. The institution being recorded in the Synoptists St. John purposely left it out, his Gospel being supplementary to them. This is in accordance with the traditional solution of the problem of the Fourth Gospel embodied in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, where there is a statement from the Outlines of Clement of Alexandria handed down from the early presbyters (PARADOSIN TŌN ANEKATHEN PRESBUTERŌN). The tradition is to the effect that John, perceiving that the external facts of Christ's life had been set forth in other Gospels, at the instance of his friends and inspired by the Spirit composed a spiritual Gospel. Eusebius himself states in his third book of the *History*, "On the order of the Gospels," that St. John wrote after the Synoptists; that he

accepted them, bearing witness to their truth ; writing to add to their record the narrative of what was done by Christ at first and at the beginning of his preaching ; and that his writing was the substance of what he had spent all his time in preaching orally. And again, to quote Eusebius' actual words : " The apostle John wrote the account of the time not recorded by the Evangelists, and the deeds done by our Saviour which they have passed by." But we cannot accept this supplementary theory as an explanation of the omission of the institution of the Lord's Supper, since there are remarkable points of identity between St. John and the Synoptists (though not proving more than derivation from a common source or sources) ; synoptic matter is repeated, and in some cases corrected. As Dr. Reynolds says : " The points of divergence have naturally created much enquiry, but the points of coincidence and identity between the Synoptists and John are still more remarkable, and deserve special attention." On the supplementary theory we should have no repetition of synoptic matter at all. Complementary, rather than supplementary, would be the correct term in view of the facts.

(3) The most commonly assigned reason, however, for the omission of the institution is that St. John desires to discourage materialistic views of the Eucharist. The history of its early abuses, the few references to it in the Epistles, and the words of our Lord : " The Spirit it is that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing : the words that I have spoken unto you, they are spirit and they are life," all lend some support to this theory, which is upheld by many distinguished authorities, amongst others Inge, von Soden, E. F. Scott, Garvie and McNeile, and none puts the case more clearly than Scott :

" One of the most striking peculiarities of the Gospel," he says, " is the omission of the all-important narrative of the institution of the Supper. In the place where this narrative stands in the other Gospels we have the scene of the feet-washing, followed by the exhortation to mutual love and service. The omission and the substitution are both significant, and cannot well be explained except in one way. With his profound insight into the spiritual meaning of Christianity John saw a danger in the increasing reverence attached to the outward rite of the Supper. The natural craving for something visible and material in religion had seized on the simple ordinance bequeathed by Jesus, and invested it with superstitious value. . . . The marked omission of the one incident which to many must have appeared the most important in the whole narrative must have been intentional. John wished in the most decisive manner to subordinate the outward rite to what was spiritual and essential."

On this view St. John was no " sacramentarian " and would not have described the Eucharist as " generally necessary to salvation," though, as we shall see later, he attached a high view to the essential values of the sacramental acts.

(4) But may we not put aside all these conjectures as to the omission and boldly say that it was due solely to the purpose which the writer says he has in view in compiling his Gospel? He expresses it thus : " Many other signs indeed did Jesus in the

presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book : but these things stand written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his Name" (xx. 30, 31). This translation may not please Classical scholars, but can be defended exegetically. When St. John wrote evidently some had difficulty in recognising Christ as Messiah and as divine : and it can hardly be contended that only the miracles (SĒMEIA) recorded in the Gospel would convince them of both these facts. But if the purpose of the whole book were to maintain this position, then we can understand the omission of the institution of the Eucharist, which would have no bearing on the Messiahship or the divinity of Jesus. Bishop Westcott seems uncertain. In his note on v. 30 he is the Classical scholar and renders, " So then many other signs did Jesus . . . but (out of the whole sum) these are written " : but in his note on v. 31 he is the exegete and renders " these things are written." I think we need a re-investigation of MEN OUN followed by DE.¹

Concluding this portion of our study attention should be drawn to the opinion of some that the original text of St. John did contain an account of the institution of the Eucharist. Edersheim suggested that a paragraph to this effect has been lost after c. xiii. 30 ; and the suggestion, which was welcomed by two or three scholars, has been revived by Mr. E. S. Hoernle in his book, *The Record of the Loved Disciple* (1931), wherein he endeavours to substantiate the thesis from calculations as to the number of letters that may have formed the average length of writing on a papyrus page. The difficulty in the process lies in the fact that it is based on conjecture, as we have no available MS. evidence. The method, however, has been applied to misplaced passages with some success in both classical and biblical books.

II.

We pass on now to the incident of the feet-washing narrated in c. xiii. Dr. Inge says : " The feet-washing is *probably* a genuine historical tradition. Whether Christ meant it to be practised sacramentally in the Church we cannot tell. St. John seems to think that he *did*." As to the incident being genuine, I think it bears traces of the eye-witness. The remark of St. Peter, " Lord, not my feet only but also my hands and my head," is so consonant with what we know of his impetuous character from the Synoptists that it alone is sufficient to stamp the mark of truth on the narrative. Its omission from the Synoptists may be explained either by supposing, with Godet, that the institution of the Eucharist was of such importance to the Church that it eclipsed the incident of the feet-washing in the oral tradition of the Last Supper ; or by sup-

¹ Since writing this paragraph I observe that Mr. Strachan in his book on *The Fourth Gospel, its Significance and Environment* has a note that " signs " probably includes more than what we call miracles, and possibly he has some such idea as mine at the back of his mind, though he does not develop it.

posing that the narrative of the strife about rank amongst the Apostles takes its place. The words of Luke xxii. 27, "For which is greater, he that reclineth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that reclineth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth," seem to be an echo of the incident. The documents used by St. Luke cannot have had an account of the feet-washing: the discourse on rank looks like an unconnected passage which he copied because desirous of preserving one of the sayings of Christ. Von Soden puts it thus: "John represents as an act what Luke represents as a word."

Before discussing the act of the feet-washing and its lesson I should like to say a word as to the intercalation of the Lord's Supper in this thirteenth chapter of St. John. Dr. Reynolds thinks that place is best found for it "in the folds and clauses of the wonderful sentence of vv. 1, 2" which reads in the R.V., "Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus knowing that his hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, He loved them to the uttermost (marg.). And during supper, etc." The Textus Receptus DEIPNOU GENOMENOU "supper being ended" is wrong, though Godet contends for it, thinking that the reading DEIPNOU GINOMENOU, which is that of the best MSS., is a correction to put the washing at the beginning rather than at the end of the Supper. It has, however, been conjectured that in v. 34, "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another," we have a direct reference to the Eucharist, instituted to the end that Christians might love one another by recalling therein Christ's love. If this conjecture be accepted, then the institution is to be placed between vv. 30, 31 and we are relieved of the thought that Judas Iscariot took part in it, though St. Luke, alone of the Evangelists, places the announcement of the treachery after the Supper. Possibly there has been some displacement in the Lucan account, which has a Marcan source; and there are strong reasons for thinking that after John xiii. 31a should be inserted cc. xv, xvi. It would take too long to set forth these reasons, which can be gathered from the latest Commentaries, but attention may be drawn to two: (1) the familiar words of c. xiv. 1, 2, "Let not your heart be troubled . . . in my Father's house are many mansions, etc.," seem to come more appropriately towards the end than at the beginning of the Farewell Discourse: (2) a point touching directly on the subject of this paper. If we place the narrative of the institution between vv. 30, 31 and then go on with the allegory of the vine we have a complete explanation of the Eucharistic ideas conveyed in that allegory, which it is difficult to connect with the sequence of thought in c. xiv.

It may be that the feet-washing is substituted by St. John for the institution of the Last Supper to show the inner meaning of the latter, to emphasise its ethical aspect as opposing the tendency of the time to materialistic views. But I do not think we need postulate such a position as this. Again let us look to the primary

purpose of the Gospel—"these things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," and consider whether this alone does not justify the account of the incident. To my mind the quotation from Psalm xli. 9 (a Messianic Psalm), "He that eateth my bread lifted up his heel against me," and the saying, "he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me" are quite in line with that purpose. Moreover, if the feet-washing is a substitute for the account of the Last Supper it is an extraordinary thing that none of the Ante-Nicene Fathers give this explanation. The only reference to sacrament that I can find is one by Tertullian, who, commenting (De Bap. 12) on v. 10, "He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet," says: "If the disciples had undergone John's human baptism, did they need also the Lord's? seeing that the Lord laid down that there is only one baptism by saying to Peter, 'He who has once washed has no need again.'" As has often been noticed, Tertullian is apt to find a foreshadowing of baptism in any New Testament phrase that alludes to water. Though Celtic and Gallican liturgies prescribe the washing of feet in connection with baptism, the rite did not form any part of the actual baptism.

The foot-washing has never been adopted as a Church sacrament, for the Lord's discourse after it, and the circumstances under which the act was done show that it was simply a lesson for the disciples in humility. They had received only John Baptist's baptism unto repentance, and it is stated that they are "clean," not by any external sacramental processes, but "by the *word* which I have spoken unto you."

"I have given you an example; that ye should do as I have done to you" (xiii. 15). The Lord does not use the word *ENTOLĒ* "commandment" but *HUPODEIGMA* and "this shows that He had set before his disciples a parallel, an example, a symbolic type of the service they were to render to one another, and was not establishing a custom or exact ordinance." Again, in v. 17, "If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them," the use of the plural *ταῦτα* does not fit in with the idea of such an institution: and lastly, had a sacrament been thus instituted we should have expected in v. 15, "ye also should do *what* I have done to you," instead of the comparative *ΚΑΘΩΣ*, "even as I have done to you." By the act our Lord wished to purge the disciples of the last remnant of a carnal Messianism, and to show them that greatness in the Messianic Kingdom consists in voluntary abasement. "He humbled himself, taking the form of a slave," to adapt words used in another connection. The discourses in cc. xiv-xvi when read in the light of the theological introduction of c. xiii. 1 (a reflection of the evangelist, not the words of the eye-witness) raise the faith of the disciples in the Person of Christ to a high degree—"Now know we that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask Thee: by this we believe that Thou camest forth from God. Jesus answered them, Do ye now believe?" (xvi. 30, 31). And so again we see how in this act of the feet-washing and the

discourses consequent on it we have an illustration of the purpose of the Gospel, "these things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

Canon Creed (*Modern Churchman*, 1926) points out that St. John's Gospel may be divided into two parts, (1) cc. i-xii, dealing mainly with the public work of Jesus and wherein the discourses are enigmatic, the sacraments being prophesied and explained—a position we shall examine when dealing later with c. vi: (2) cc. xiii-end, which deal with the inner relationship existing between Jesus and his own, where the evangelist might feel that sacramental acts and teaching would be unfitting, and so he substitutes the feet-washing for the Eucharist with a view to the teaching I have outlined above. As to the sacramental *acts* I agree with Dr. Creed, but hope to show below that there is sacramental *teaching* in the Last Discourses.

Before leaving the incident of the feet-washing I may say that I have no sympathy with Dr. Garvie's opinion when he says with reference to the Evangelist's introductory words: "Conscious of the humility of Jesus in washing the disciples' feet he 'protests too much' Jesus' sense of his own dignity, and so invests that act with an excess of condescension which robs it of its grace. It is his own theology that he transfers to Jesus' inner life." It seems to me that the consciousness of his own exalted position was exactly what added grace to his condescension: it was so all through his life and ministry. "It was his greatest act of humiliation and service," says Dr. Edersheim, "and yet He never lost in it for one moment aught of the majesty or consciousness of his Divine dignity; for He did it with the full knowledge and assertion that all things were in his hands, and that He came forth from and was going unto God—and He could do it because He knew this. Here, not side by side, but in combination, are the Humiliation and Exaltation of the God-Man."

III.

As we have no account of the ceremonies of the Last Supper in St. John the institutions of the Mysteries do not concern us. But assuming for the moment that we have the sacramental teaching of the rite in the Gospel, the question arises as to the influence of the teaching of the Mysteries or of St. John's attitude towards them.

Writers who see the influence of the Mystery Religions appeal to the similarity of language, but this appeal is discounted somewhat by the consideration that in all communities the creation of religious vocabularies is such that they pass into the common language of the people, and by the fact that the word *SŌTĒRIA*, the most prominent word in mystery vocabulary, is carefully avoided by St. John, probably because so exclusively used in his time in connection with pagan religions; indeed, the only use of the word in the Gospel is somewhat significant, it occurs in the passage *HOTI HĒ SŌTĒRIA*

ΕΚ ΤῶΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙῶΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ (iv. 22), a passage overlooked by Dr. Garvie. Of other technical terms ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ does not occur at all; ΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕΙΝ in two passages only (iii. 33, vi. 27) and there in no technical sense, whilst the noun is not used at all; ΜΕΜΥΕΜΑΙ is not found; ΕΞΗΓΕΙΣΤΗΑΙ in i. 18 is, I think, the nearest approach to the mystery vocabulary; it is used in classical writings of the interpretation of divine mysteries, but St. John may well take it over from the Septuagint, where it is used of the interpretation of the Divine will: ΕΠΟΡΤΗΣ does not occur at all: neither does ΓΝῶΣΙΣ, though if it did we could not argue much from the use of so common a word. But we cannot ignore the fact that Gnosticism was reacting on Christianity at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century; and on this point may I quote from Dr. McNeile's *New Testament Teaching in the Light of St. Paul's*? I draw attention to it because of its reference to the discourse after the Supper. "In the mystery religions," he says, "the *knowledge* of the mysteries was at least as important as sacramental communion, and the Gnostic type of thought exalted γνῶσις into a religion for the higher minds. And this struck a sympathetic chord in St. John, and found echoes in his restatement of Christianity for the men of his day, though he avoids the use of the word ΓΝῶΣΙΣ. Only in xvii. 3 is the *knowledge* of God and Christ explicitly connected with life. "This is the eternal life, that they should know Thee the only true God, and him whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ": but the Gospel is full of the thought and of the closely connected Truth or Reality. Knowledge is a grasp of reality, ethical and spiritual in its results, but arising from an intellectual acknowledgment and acceptance of the divine order of things which Christ brought and taught. Hence even in the sacramental chapter He can say, "The words which I have spoken unto you are spirit and life" (vi. 63)."

The only passage of real importance in connection with the teaching on the Eucharist that may be correlated to the Mysteries is the one relating to the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of the Son of Man, which we are to consider later from another point of view. That Ephesus was a centre of the cults and that these linked themselves with magic is well known, and it was at that place that, owing to St. Paul's preaching, "not a few of them that practised magical arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all" (Acts xix. 19); and it is not improbable that a generation later there was arising, or rather there had arisen, amongst the Christian converts a position similar to that when St. Paul ministered at Ephesus. "These mysteries," says Professor Gardner, "were never able to sever themselves from magic; that is the *mystæ* usually attached a mysterious efficacy to the mere act of partaking, apart from the motion of will and of heart which really gave it the possibility of its being efficacious"; and, as I have already said, this side of the effect of the mystery-teaching may have been present in St. John's mind as a reason for his omission of the institution of the Eucharist;

and the confusion of the physical symbol with the religious experience has been a common thing in all religions, and is evident even to-day.

But to return to our passage, vi. 52 ff. Is it necessary to derive these ideas from the Mysteries? I think not; for although the paucity of our knowledge of the Mysteries forbids us to dogmatise unduly, and it is dangerous to assume that practices and beliefs we find mentioned in late second-century authors for the first time had no existence much earlier, for example the belief that the god was eaten in the sacrificial meal; yet, in view of the Jewish tone of St. John's Gospel—a tone which has been recognised more and more of late and particularly by Jewish scholars—I think that Dr. Stanton's remark, which might be elevated into a canon of exegesis, has great force—"where ideas and forms, which might conceivably have been derived from the Gentile mysteries, might also have had a Jewish origin, the latter is clearly the more probable." Now the ideas in this passage of St. John may be traced to Jewish origins; and this is what we might expect since, as the Dean of St. Paul's reminds us, "the Jewish mind and character, in spite of its deeply religious bent, was alien to mysticism"; and again the Jewish repulsion for idolatry would certainly not lead St. John to take ideas from the mystery religions. The words may, with Hoffmann, be adequately explained by the words of institution, and by the faith in the activity of the exalted Christ—"it is the Spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing" (vi. 63). "Christianity," Dr. Gardner reminds us, "is in its main features a continuation of Judaism," and we know that sacrificial meals were customary amongst the Jews, though there was no idea of eating the Deity in them. The close connection of the Eucharist with the Passover renders it needless to go to the Mysteries for its elucidation, more particularly since the identification of Christ with the Paschal victim is prominent in St. John's narrative of the Passion. The language about "eating and drinking" would not be strange to Jewish thought, and there are many parallels to it in Jewish literature; it simply denotes the assimilation of spiritual nourishment which is received by faith, and, as the Dean says, "the sacramental teaching here (in St. John) neither supports the *ex opere operato* theory nor regards the sacrament as a mere memorial."

The attribution of the Mysteries' influence to the teaching of our passage leaves out of sight altogether the influence of St. John's own experience of life in Christ, which I believe to have been altogether uninfluenced by any environment in which he lived. That there are parallels in thought and ideas to the Mystery Religions in the Gospel may be admitted, but analogy does not involve genealogy; and a borrowed terminology was a necessity to make Christianity understood in a new world; St. Paul makes use of it but there is little of it in our Gospel, if indeed anything.

IV.

We pass on now to what is perhaps the most difficult exegetical problem of the Gospel, the bearing of c. vi on Eucharistic doctrine. The people find our Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum (at least that is how I reconcile v. 59 with v. 25) and it is there that the discourse of vv. 26-58 is delivered; and it is followed by an explanation, whether in or out of synagogue we are not told, to meet a difficulty of his own disciples. The discourse is interrupted by questions, and it is possible that v. 59 is misplaced and should come after v. 65. If so we get two classes interrupting—the disciples and the Jews—"the Jews" of vv. 41, 52 being, as so often in the Gospel, the party opposed to Jesus and to his claims, not merely inhabitants of Judæa, for the context makes it clear that here they are Galileans (vv. 24, 42). If this explanation, however, be not accepted, then the opponents here are emissaries from Jerusalem (cf. Mark. vii. 1) who would "in some measure be responsible for Jesus' loss of popularity even in Galilee."

We may summarise the teaching of the discourse in three sentences: The manna of Moses is contrasted with the true spiritual food, the bread of God, identical with Christ. Faith in Christ is the way to receive this spiritual food, the possession of which ensures eternal life. Eternal life is further described as dependent on eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ.

The discourse hangs well together, and the last part springs naturally out of the Jews' question, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" The ruling idea is that of faith in the Messiah and of life through believing in Him, a notable illustration of the purpose of the Gospel, "written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name."

Now as to the general interpretation of the discourse. Some, followed by Dr. Gore, hold it to be a prophecy of the future institution of the Eucharist. Against this we may note:

(1) the improbability of such a prophecy in connection with the historical occasion on which, according to the Gospel, the discourse was uttered. It was not an address primarily to the disciples but to unbelievers, and such a prediction could have conveyed no meaning to his enemies;

(2) the Eucharist has specific reference to the death of Christ; and He would hardly dwell on this in addressing his adversaries so early in his ministry;

(3) the tense of the verb in v. 32 is present *HO PATĒR MOU DIDŌSIN HUMIN TON ARTON EK TOU OURANOU TON ALĒTHINON*. Nor is this contradicted by v. 51, where the words *HĒN EGO DŌSŌ* are not in the best MSS.¹ Westcott's comment here is valuable: "The omission of the clause 'which I will give' turns the attention to the general action of Christ's gift rather than to the actual making of it. The special reference to the future Passion would

¹ Cp. A.V. and R.V.

distract the thought at this point, where it is concentrated upon the Incarnation and its consequences generally."

Indeed, a careful reading of the whole discourse shows that it is not predictive but indicates what men may do *now*, i.e. at the time it was delivered, to obtain life eternal.

That there is any immediate reference to the Eucharist in the discourse I believe to be unproved. The above arguments as to its not being a prophecy of the rite hold good here. But we may advance further. Throughout we have the connotation SARX and HAIMA—in the accounts of the Institution we have SŌMA and HAIMA. SARX, the body as *substance*, not SŌMA the body as an *organism*, is the word which fits in well with the rest of the discourse where nourishment is in question, and also fits in with the historical circumstances from which the Evangelist tells us the discourse arose—the miraculous multiplication of the loaves. Had there been an allusion to the Eucharist, and had St. John been working up his material with this end in view, he would have used the word SŌMA, the word used in the text of the Institution. In this connection it is interesting to observe that in Codex Bezae and one or two other manuscripts we have the unauthentic addition, traced by Dr. Chase to Syriac influence, after v. 56, "Even as the Father is in Me, and I am in the Father. Verily, verily I say to you, except ye receive the body (TO SŌMA) of the Son of Man as the bread of life ye have no life in him,"¹ a proof of the sacramental ideas attached to the discourse. But any interpretation of vv. 51–58 which teaches that the words imply a realistic doctrine of the Supper ignores the relation of the discourse to the historical situation, and to the teaching of v. 35, "he that *believeth on Me* shall never thirst"; v. 47, "he that *believeth on Me* hath everlasting life"; and of v. 63, "the *words* that I speak unto you are spirit and are life." The only way in which this argument may be countered is a purely subjective and uncritical one, by considering vv. 51–58 to be either a reflection on our Lord's teaching by the Evangelist or the interpolation of a later hand. Mr. J. M. Thompson, in an article in *The Expositor*, 1916, whilst holding that the words are merely those of an editor and not part of our Lord's saying, gives nevertheless what I think is a true explanation of the basic principle of the discourse. He says: "John" (and here I would substitute Jesus) "purposely avoids SŌMA—his meaning is more general and mystical. The Jews took SARX in a material sense. Jesus does not answer their question 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' but respects their language, making his metaphorical use of SARX plainer by adding a metaphorical use of HAIMA, and by underlining the idea of mystical indwelling." According to Mr. Thompson, the "hard saying" of v. 60 is "I am the living bread which came down from heaven . . . this is that bread which came down from heaven . . . he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." If, says our Lord, you stumble at my descent from heaven, what if you see Me ascend where I was

¹ See Westcott and Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 32.

before? The Ascension is the fitting complement of the Incarnation. The suggestion is ingenious: but I cannot accept the interpolation theory in view of what was said before as to the relevancy of the section to the motive of the discourse if taken as an entity.

The relation of the discourse to the Eucharist is thought by many to lie in the ideas common to both, the spiritual truths here presented in a general form being presented afterwards specifically by the symbolical act. So Dr. Westcott speaks of the discourse as being a commentary on the sacrament. This, however, is an afterthought in view of subsequent developments both in the evangelic narrative and in the history of interpretation. It would be truer to say that the sacrament is an illustrative commentary on the discourse. "To attempt to transfer," says Dr. Westcott, "the words of the discourse with their consequences to the sacrament is not only to involve the history in hopeless confusion, but to introduce overwhelming difficulties into their interpretation, which can only be removed by the arbitrary and untenable interpolation of qualifying sentences."

What I have said on *SŌMA* and *SARX* in this section of my paper would have to be profoundly modified were the contention accepted that these words are different translations of the same Aramaic word underlying them. The latest commentator on St. John, the late Dr. Bernard, inclines to this view, saying that the Aramaic word may be *pegar* (= Hebrew *péger*), rendered *SŌMA* three times by the LXX (Gen. xv. 11, 2 Kings xix. 35, Isa. xxxvii. 36), always in the sense of a *dead* body: "but," he says, "by the first century of our era it is quite possible that it may have been used to denote a *living* body." This is a pure conjecture to bolster up a theory that the eucharistic reference in the last part of the discourse is not to be evaded, and he cannot say more than that "the language is sacramental and was so understood throughout the second century": but in making this remark he adds, "this does not mean that a non-sacramental explanation might not be placed by a Christian reader upon the mystical phraseology of the passage. No one would deny that there may be ways of 'eating the flesh and drinking the blood' of Christ in a spiritual manner which do not involve sacramental feeding." My contention is that it is this spiritual manner of feeding, without any reference to sacrament, which is the point of our Lord's discourse.

A further point in interpretation. The persistent effort to connect the discourse either immediately or prophetically with the sacrament has led to the view that since "flesh and blood" are separated (e.g. in v. 53) we have a foreshadowing of the violent death of Christ. But apart from the difficulty of seeing how it was probable that Christ, with disputants such as He here dealt with, would adumbrate the saving significance of his death—apart from this weighty argument the language of v. 37, *TŌN ERCHOMENON PROS EME OU MĒ EKBALŌ*, "Him that is coming to Me I cannot think of casting out," denotes the continuous offering of himself

to men without any specific mediation of Eucharist. The "sign" is not the Eucharist; it is Himself (vv. 30-33).

John Lightfoot, the greatest Hebraist England has produced, in his *Jewish and Talmudical Exercitations* on St. John, illustrates c. vi from Jewish sources where the phrase "eating and drinking" is used in a metaphorical sense, and after speaking of the difficulty of those Jews who said "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" he asks, "But in what sense did they take it in that did understand it (the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood)?" and replies, "Not in a sacramental sense, surely, unless they were then instructed in the death and passion of our Saviour; for the sacrament hath a relation to his death: but it sufficiently appears elsewhere, that they knew or expected nothing of that. Much less did they take it in a Jewish sense; for the Jewish conceits were about the mighty advantages that should accrue to them from the Messiah, and those merely earthly and sensual. But to partake of the Messiah truly is to partake of himself, his pure nature, his righteousness, his spirit; and to live and grow, and to receive nourishment from that participation of him . . . these things our blessed Saviour expresseth lively and comprehensively enough by that of eating his flesh and drinking his blood."

The desire to connect the discourse of c. vi with the Eucharist has led a few writers to place its institution at the feeding of the five thousand, when "Jesus took the loaves and after giving thanks (EUCARISTĒSAS) distributed to them that were set down," on the ground that the discourse would be unintelligible unless that meal had been a sacramental one. But to most of the hearers it was meaningless, and caused a defection even amongst many of the disciples. Moreover, the breaking of the bread is omitted by St. John possibly to indicate that the feeding was neither a sacramental meal nor anticipatory of the Eucharist.

V.

The discourse of cc. xiii-xvii is, as Dr. Reynolds says, "charged with the ideas involved in the Eucharistic service," and that in an historical setting where we might expect them. The love of God shown in the work of Christ, the doctrine of the mystic union, the mutual love of disciples and other ideas involved are all highly developed in these chapters; and in particular the parable of the vine and its branches shows how communion deepens into life: "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples."

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THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

BY THE REV. R. R. WILLIAMS, M.A., Chaplain of Ridley Hall, Cambridge; Exam. Chaplain to the Bishop of Chelmsford.

A paper read at the "D" Society, Cambridge.

OUR subject is indeed a vast one. There are a large enough number of problems connected with the idea of the Church itself to occupy our attention for a considerable period, and when those problems of the nature and function of the Church are linked to those of the world, at this time almost terrifying in their number and scope, the subject begins to assume quite unmanageable dimensions. For our purpose, however, I propose to divide the subject, sermonwise, into three heads, for it seems to divide itself almost naturally into some such arrangement. First we shall consider the question of the Church's relation to the good things of this world, this world's values, which will demand some study of asceticism in its various forms. Then we will pass on to a consideration of the Church's attitude to the Civil Power: finally, we will consider the Church's attitude to the Social Order, which is a slightly different thing from her attitude to the Civil Power. In each case our method will be primarily historical, but we will also try to gather from the lessons of history some practical light for our own days.

Our first subject then is the Church's attitude to the good things of the world—if we may so far beg the question as to call them at the outset "good things." We must find a beginning for our study somewhere, and perhaps we cannot do better than to begin with the teaching and life of Jesus Himself. Jesus was a countryman, and perhaps for that reason found it easy to look on Nature as God's handiwork: the petals of the wild flowers were the raiment which God had provided for the grass of the field, the birds were the object of God's daily care. Children were sufficiently in accord with God's intentions to be taken as typical of God's Kingdom, and the parental care of Jewish fathers and mothers seemed to Jesus a fair picture of the Heavenly Father's love. He enjoyed life's good things, refused to encourage His disciples to fast, and actually was abused as "a gluttonous man and a wine bibber," which though no doubt an absurd exaggeration must have been an exaggeration of an obvious enjoyment of the simple pleasures of the table.

Yet there was another strain. He called His disciples to the most complete self-sacrifice, Himself knew what it was to have nowhere to lay His head, and finally was content to surrender His life altogether, an act of the most complete and uncompromising asceticism. But one point stands out at once. These sacrifices were demanded from Him by external circumstances. If he was to remain true to His convictions He must pay the price. This

was a very different thing from entering on an ascetic path because this world and its values were essentially tainted, or because He wished to store up merit in some other world. There was also the apocalyptic background which must be allowed to carry some weight. He clearly expected the dawn of God's Kingdom in the near future, and this would give an appearance of asceticism to His life and teaching which it would be wrong to carry over into a non-apocalyptic environment.

The early disciples were not unlike their master in their general spirit. Our chief authority, St. Paul, was a townsman, unlike his master, and we do not find the same sympathy with Nature as we find in Christ. He really seemed to think that God did not care for oxen. But in spite of this, there is a real appreciation of this world at times. "Whatsoever things are lovely" he commends to the meditation of his Philippian friends: the law written in the hearts of the Gentiles had a real value and efficacy, and if we may trust the picture of him in the Acts he would point to the rains and fruitful seasons, the food and the gladness of men's hearts as evidence of the loving activity of God. In the matter of sex, his temporary dislike of marriage is clearly occasioned by the shortness of the remaining time, and, even so, he is clearly hesitant about what to say. Once he said plainly, "Nothing is unclean in itself," and any self-sacrifice which he made or advised originated in the urgency of the mission rather than in any dislike of this world's good things. This attitude is fairly common in the New Testament, although in the Apocalypse we find a more ascetic spirit dawning: they are celibates who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth (Rev. xiv. 4).

The early Church soon developed strongly this ascetic attitude. There were several causes of this: the wave of Gnostic dualism which swept over from the East, the increasing worldliness and prosperity of the Church, the ebbing of the true spirit of self-sacrifice, for which artificial hardships were invented and substituted. Whatever the exact causes, there arose a widespread flight from the world among "those who would be perfect." Some became hermits, others later joined monasteries, many remained celibate, others took vows of silence (though Dean Inge is cruel enough to add that this form of abnegation was not common among female ascetics). Most of all they developed a morbid horror of sex. Jerome and Augustine use the most revolting language about this subject. Professor Raven speaks of "the massive evidence of ecclesiastical writings which everywhere reveal a contempt almost amounting to loathing, a denunciation ferocious in its brutality, and a pruriency which exaggerates the coarse invective of Jerome."

Against all this degradation of what most of us would consider "good things" there is little to be balanced. Clement loved Nature, Origen took a scientist's interest in the Universe. But such bright spots are rare. Professor Raven's dictum must be accepted: for these people "the Church was the Kingdom of God, the world the antechamber of Hell."

Through the Middle Ages the same attitude continued. There were some exceptions: St. Bernard welcomed the oaks and beeches as his teachers, St. Francis claimed kinship with sun, moon, earth and water, but such exceptions were few and far between. The monasteries remained as the true way of righteousness. Their asceticism was looked on as a vicarious offering, made for those who could not leave the world. The large bequests to the monasteries were efforts to assure the donor of a share in the efficacy of the vicarious offering of asceticism.

The Renaissance and the Reformation brought an end to this form of world-denial, but others were soon to follow. Innocent pleasure was the next "good thing" to be offered up. The Calvinists rigorously excluded from their lives most forms of amusement, and purged their Churches of most forms of beauty. In England the Humanist spirit of the Renaissance was to some extent carried on by the Higher Anglicans of the seventeenth century. Andrewes, Herbert and Taylor retained a real appreciation of the beauties of nature, the delights of music, and the "more noble faculties of men's own souls."

In the eighteenth century asceticism was at a low ebb, but deep spiritual insight seems to have departed at the same time. The Evangelical Revival brought its new forms of self-abnegation, and to this day various "neutral" things are considered "taboo" in some circles. Smoking, card playing, theatres are banned from some circles of the Church as ruthlessly as other more fundamental human activities have been banned hitherto. In history it has apparently been impossible for Christian folk to realise that the good things of the world, though inadequate to satisfy men's deepest needs, have nevertheless a real value, at their own level.

What is the Church's attitude to be to all this? Surely it must claim all the good things of the world as part of the Kingdom over which God rules, and to which they seek to belong themselves. The Creed professes to believe in a God who is the Maker of all things, visible and invisible—revealed and unrevealed—and in these days of increasing scientific discovery this should be a very living part of the creed. More particularly these ordinary human values, nature, art, poetry, music, friendship, amusement, should be boldly brought into the scope of our public worship. Our worship then might cease to be the barren formality which it is, and the worldly values might themselves be purified and safeguarded. There will still be the place for self-discipline—it is possible always to have too much even of a good thing—and some will feel called to concentrate much on purely religious work and activity, but it must be clear to all who come within our portals, that we stand for life, and life more abundant, a life which includes some of the things which to the ordinary man help to make life worth living.

Our next subject is the relation of the Church to the Civil Power. Again we begin with the attitude of Jesus. He might

be described as tolerating, passively accepting, the civil power. He told men to render to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, but He seems not to have set much store by the official Jewish leaders at Jerusalem. But it would be quite misleading to extract from these chance remarks and happenings a "Christian" attitude to the State. Our Lord's thought was obviously conditioned by His thought of the coming Kingdom of God. It was for this that He wished men to prepare: for the ordinary civil government He seems to have had little concern.

In the early days the Roman Empire was looked on as a protective agency. It certainly gets the best of the deal in the Acts of the Apostles. St. Paul admits that it has a useful restraining function—"the powers that be are ordained of God." Again, however, the Apocalypse shows a later stage. "Her smoke goeth up for ever and ever," the writer says with obvious exaltation, as he beholds in vision the conflagration of Rome, for Rome is already "drunk with the blood of the saints."

But for some time the loyal attitude of the Christians remained. The early Apologists claimed, "We are the best citizens of the Empire." The Epistle to Diognetus says of the Christians, "They bear their share in all things as Christians." They claimed to be to the world what the soul is to the body. Persecution made this attitude more difficult, but when Constantine recognised the Church there was again a friendlier feeling towards the Civil Authority. Constantine, in fact, as arbiter in the Church's disputes became almost a *pontifex maximus*.

The real breach between the Civil Power and the Church can be first seen clearly in Augustine's "City of God." Rome was sacked in 410, and part of the blame for it was laid at the Christians' door. Augustine undertook to defend the "City of God," by which he practically meant the Church, and contrasted its history down the ages with the City of the World, by which he practically meant the Civil Power. These applications were only suitable, so to speak, to the current representatives of the two cities. For their past history he went to the Old Testament, taking all the approved characters as inhabitants of the City of God, and all the others as belonging to the Worldly City. For the future, he went to the Apocalypse, claiming the "Heavenly" scenes for his city, and the others for the City of the World.

He had a good deal of precedent for this idea of the City of God. It was the old name for Zion: the Psalms sang her praises—"Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God"; the Epistle to the Hebrews had said, "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek the one to come"; the Apocalypse had told of the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven. But the theory had not been worked out so fully before. The two cities meant there were two loyalties, and the Christian need be in no doubt as to where his true loyalty lay. Yet the City of God needed the State to protect it, and if it was a Christian State, its duty was to assist the Church in every way. Here was the germ of the doctrine of

the Theocracy which was to have such widespread results in the next age.

Troeltsch puts down the great change, however, to almost accidental circumstances. These are, first, the division of the Church of the Imperial Period into Germanic Roman Territorial Churches, and especially the development of the Frankish Territorial Church (that is, the Church marked by the possession of land, which it held in fief from a feudal lord). Then this Church expanded, so to speak, till it included the Papacy, and eventually the Church became the ruling body of a great theocratic civilisation. Some landmarks of this process are the coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III in A.D. 800, and later the tremendous claims of Hildebrand, who claimed the right to depose Emperors. The Church became a great landowner; in fact, it would seem difficult at first to picture anything less like the little flock which began its story in Galilee. But we must not be too hard on this stage of the Church's development. Perhaps it suited the times as nothing else quite could have done: it certainly played a leading part, in fact the only part, in the great task of civilisation which had to be carried through in the Middle Ages.

At the Reformation, National States took the place of the great Universal Theocracy. Sometimes the new unit was the Nation, filled with a strong sense of growing patriotism, retaining its part, as it were, of the old Universal Church, though ceasing to have any fealty to the Papacy. This was the case in England, where Parliaments passed successive Acts of Uniformity, laying down the conditions on which the Church was to carry on its work. In Calvinistic countries, however, another goal was aimed at. Mr. Barry describes that aim as "economic collectivism under the rule of an omniscient church." Work was exalted to the honour of a sacred rite, but in practice this led to selfishness, and eventually to the evils of *laissez-faire* and the Industrial Revolution.

In England the idea was that the Church was one aspect of the State: the State, functioning on the Godward side. In practice the Established Church has usually been on the side of conservatism in politics. "Church and State" went together in the main for two centuries.

With the Industrial Revolution, the growth of big towns, and Parliamentary Government in the real sense this tended to change. A large part of the population ceased to have any vital connection with the Church as an organised body, and new churches sprang up quickly, which of course were not "Established."

That is the situation with which we have to deal to-day. Officially the State is Christian, "C. of E." But in any Government, certainly in any Parliament, there are many who would not like to be called even professing Christians. This corresponds to the situation in the country at large. But in spite of this, the policies on which the country is governed are probably more "Christian" than ever before. Some churchmen are so anxious for complete independence that they would ask for disestablishment at once.

They feel compromised by an official connection with so motley a body. But surely this is a mistake. We cannot expect the State always to act perfectly "Christianly": often we are not sure ourselves as to what is the Christian thing to do. But while there is the Establishment, the State says, as it were, "We are trying to be Christian," and those who feel that they constitute the Church must be patient, and be content gradually to raise the public opinion which eventually controls the Government. Meanwhile, too, Christians must remember that they also belong to the Nation. Christians are inhabitants of both cities, and it is the duty of Christian folk to be good citizens, even in matters which do not seem to have a *religious* reference. In the last resort, "the State cannot claim us entire." The Church might possibly, though not probably, have to disown the State for the sake of the State.

Our last question is the relation of the Church to the Social Order, which is not quite the same thing as its relation to the Civil Power. When Jesus proclaimed the nearness of God's Kingdom he probably thought of an earthly, though not a worldly Kingdom. He would envisage a social order after the heart of the great Hebrew prophets, "where justice should be throned in might and every wrong be healed." But He did not state clearly *how* it was to be achieved. He merely called men into it, and taught them to expect its speedy advent. From the spirit which He sought to invoke in His immediate followers we can see the features of the Kingdom as He envisaged it. It was, as Troeltsch says, marked by two apparently conflicting, but really united stresses: it was completely individualistic, in that it believed in the infinite value of every human soul: but it was completely universal, in that it taught a fellowship of complete love and trust on a basis of the Universal Fatherhood of God.

Within the primitive Christian Church something of this spirit continued. On the whole the early Church tolerated the existent social order, though they transcended it within their own fellowship. Inside the Christian Church there was the communism of love, and social distinctions were all but abolished. They were told to put up with the outward circumstances of slavery, for instance, but personally the slave could be regarded as a "brother beloved." They did not expect to affect the outward world. St. John tells his readers not to love the world—ordered society without reference to God—neither the things which are in the world. To him the whole world lay in the Evil One. They expected soon to be transferred to a brighter realm by the Parousia: sooner or later the elements of this world would pass away with fervent heat. As Professor Burkitt so often says, grandchildren were not expected: there was therefore little incentive to seek to reform the world as it was.

When we pass over to the early centuries of Church History we find a similar situation, with death and translation to Heaven replacing the hope of the immediate Parousia. Evangelistic work

went on, but the social order as such was left unaffected. The only difference which the Christians cared to work for in the world itself was the extension of privileges for themselves. Even after the recognition of Christianity by Constantine there was only a slight influence on the laws, of a humanitarian nature. The only opportunity for carrying out in any literal sense the Christian ethic was within the Monastic Communities. The state of the world, however, had to be accounted for somehow, and this was achieved by a borrowing from Stoicism. The world was considered as under "natural law": originally this natural law was identical with the law of Christ, but owing to the fall it had had to be modified. The result was the State as then known, in which it was impossible to live a full Christian life. The State was the punishment and the remedy for sin.

The Middle Ages present a different picture. Now the Church and the World were brought closely together, through the interpenetration of their two organisms. The new centre of civilisation, the farm with its manor, serfs, and Church, lent itself to this close interaction. Yet the Church was not concerned with any policy of social reform: it merely invented a new and more thorough explanation of things as they were. This explanation culminated in the elaborate system of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The Thomist system was briefly this. The whole of society was considered a vast organism, carefully graded, so that each member had his appropriate calling.

"The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them high or lowly,
And ordered their estate."

That would have been good medieval social theory. Its tendency was naturally conservative rather than reforming. There was another development which was important—the rise of the conceptions of nature and supernature. Nature had its place, it existed for the fulfilment of certain *ends*, but the work of the Church was to impose on nature, *supernature*. This it sought to do by its Sacraments. Thus there was no real continuity between the better aspects of the social order, and the religion of Jesus as taught by the Medieval Church.

Nevertheless, the Church was the great civilising factor, and also responsible for much charitable work of an alleviating, though not a preventive character. More than at any time before or since, civilisation was welded into a unity, and the dominant element in that unity was the historic Church of Christendom. But before this could be so, the Church had to go a long way to meet the world, in fact the Church seemed to be animated by the very principles of covetousness and domination which in its early days it decried. We certainly cannot go to the Middle Ages for an example on which to build up a modern Christian, unified civilisation.

The Reformation must now be considered. Most important perhaps of the Reformation developments is the arrival of a new type of Christianity which Troeltsch contrasts with the "Church type" by calling the "Sect type." Those who form the "Sects" are discontented with the witness of the official Church to Christianity, so they form themselves into a close community where the Gospel ideals are to be literally carried out. Often a high type of personal piety is achieved, but there is no attempt to control Society, or to inspire it with Christian principles. Against this, "the Church" is interested in numbers, and would rather have a whole country and its institutions tinged with Christianity than a few very pious groups, in the midst of an entirely naughty world.

Calvinism represented a blend of both types. It sought to govern the whole State by its policy, but also to come into exact line with New Testament Christianity. It preserved the heroic, ascetic strain, by a new form of intramundane asceticism, which consisted in the abolition of pleasure, and the glorification of hard work, thrift and large profits. It had a fine ideal for Christendom—a union of Christian nations each governed by a Theocracy—but there was too little regard paid to human values on the one hand and human weakness on the other for it to be a workable policy.

In England the importance attached to the calling continued in religious circles, but there was no thorough examination of the social order from Christian principles. It was true that the Catechism taught the young to serve God in that state of life unto which it *should* please God to call them, but there was no suggestion that the call was likely to have any very startling results. The social distinctions, involving great differences of circumstance, education and wealth remained. War was considered a righteous duty; justice remained vindictive and primitive. Not till the Christian Socialists of the last century was there a real change. F. D. Maurice and his friends were innovators when they tried to bring all commerce and industry into the obedience of Christ, an ideal which is now tacitly accepted by all intelligent Christians.

What is to be the Church's attitude to-day? The world is faced with many grave problems. Previous social and political theories are manifestly failing. New forces have come into being which seem beyond human control. Many think that the Church can now step in, and preach its Gospel as a panacea for all human woe. But here great caution, as well as great courage is needed. Behind our troubles lie great economic laws, on which Christians, as Christians, have no especial right to speak. We cannot claim to give detailed guidance to politicians and trade union leaders, and must be very slow to interfere in industrial disputes. But we must be unceasing in our efforts to spread in the world a certain spirit of love and co-operation. For this reason the missionary work of the Church remains in the forefront of her programme. Nevertheless, on certain clear issues she must make her witness, and each congregation must be trained to think Christianly about corporate matters as well as personal ones.

We would draw a final picture of the ideal place and nature of the Church to-day, in the light of the considerations of this paper. We picture the Church rapidly growing in numbers and enthusiasm, spreading all over the world. She will be very liberal in her conditions of membership. All who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity will be acclaimed its members: modern equivalents of them of Tyre with the Morians, will be once more acclaimed the freeborn sons of Zion. Gradually the social order may then be permeated with a Christian spirit. Her chief weapon will be her worship, considered in its widest aspect. Here all life's values will be recognised, worship "will spring vitally out of the sap of life." The worship of Christ, historic, crucified, risen, and active in the world will be her only regenerative force. Much will depend on the Christian character as evidenced in the members: this will involve a quick response to all the varied callings of the Spirit, not a vague influence, but the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father through the Son. Troeltsch regards the ideal as doomed to remain for ever an ideal, but we may question his pessimism. If we can share the faith of Jesus, the Kingdom may for us be ever at hand. An ideal known to be only an ideal would soon lose its power. We must believe that the Kingdom of this world really may become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.

Yet there must be a final "but." We can never be finally content with a kingdom of this world. With Barry and Troeltsch we must look for another city, one which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God. The exigencies of life and death demand an eternal Kingdom for our final goal, a Kingdom above all the "relativities" of time and space. We close with the words of F. R. Barry, who has been our inspiration throughout this study. "The Kingdom which is the goal of the Christian ethic is a good, final, absolute and eternal in the fruition of the glorious Godhead. It is a Kingdom which cannot be shaken. And this transcendent finality in the ultimate convictions of faith gives the Christian his spontaneity in welcoming the gladness of His life, his firmness in accepting its duties, his sureness of attack on its moral tasks. God for ever makes all things new, yet Himself abides for ever the same, and the Christian seeks to renew this present world, ever changing, and ever passing away, by 'the Powers of the World to Come.'"

A PHILISTINE RAID. A Tale of 1100 B.C. By Margaret Cooper, S.Th. *Thynne & Co., Ltd.* 2s. 6d.

The atmosphere of Old Testament days envelops the action of this romance, which in its course introduces much that throws light upon the Bible. It is a delightful story, based on the newer Biblical Archæology. No less an authority than Lady Flinders Petrie gives it high praise. Its price, 2s. 6d., is very low; its value, for the interest of the story and its illustrations of Eastern life and customs, very high.

MORNING PRAYER AS IT MIGHT BE.

BY "AMICUS"

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE following is an attempt to exhibit the writer's vision of a new Prayer-Book. It concerns principally the order for Morning Prayer. It does not consciously depart from the accepted foundations of piety and orthodoxy; but it seeks to embody the ideals of Christian life and experience in liturgical and sympathetic form. It is offered, not so much as a definite accomplishment, as an attempt to think out the matter afresh, to suggest the lines on which we must approach the subject, and to indicate how the advantages of flexibility and variety can be combined with the precious heritage of a liturgical ideal.

2. THE NEED OF PROGRESS.

We were taught in childhood to look on the Prayer-Book as a thing fixed for ever. It was something like the Bible. To alter one word was unthinkable. It belonged to the Reformation just as the Bible belonged to Christianity. It was "incomparable"; it could not be improved. But now we regard it as the work of Cranmer, a marvellous man, and the master of devotional prose, who thought out the entirely original idea of a daily service for the people other than the Mass, and in a few years produced, selected from existing sources, re-arranged, re-translated, added to, and cemented into one harmonious whole, our unique and priceless Common Prayer.

But though the problem was so novel and the results so magnificent, it could not be a final answer. The times were too young, the experience of the New Way too recent, the political consequences too doubtful, and especially the need of obtaining the approval of the foreign reformers too pressing, to enable the result to be a permanent achievement. When we consider that the Puritans denounced the sharing of the Liturgy by the people (save by saying "Amen") as unscriptural, that Calvin contemptuously permitted the Litany to pass as "tolerabiles ineptiæ," that the Brownists were lying in wait for the least encouragement, that the language of poetry had to be discountenanced lest plain meanings should be wrested, when we read the bitter and factious criticisms that are still preserved in Hooker's great *Apology*, we can well marvel that Cranmer and his followers built so soundly as they did. He had to produce something not too unlike the monkish Hours, not too unacceptable to Geneva and Wittenburg, not too much like Roman forms, and not too fervent for a congregation consisting of the whole population. Nowadays instead of the whole population we have the truly religious minority. We have also a

people who can all read and have some education ; and we may perhaps think that we have a higher apprehension of personal religion than our fathers of those days. We are surrounded by intense religious propaganda by every sort of sect : we have the fervid appeal of the Salvation Army, the more regulated fervour of the Wesleyans, the idealism of new movements ; and we cannot afford to be left behind. A purified Romanism is eating up our people in many places and showing its strong power of appeal when in good hands. Our Church is losing its appeal as the State Church, not that it was ever a very healthy cry. It has to attract on its own merits, and the chief practical point in question is the merit of its Liturgy. We have problems of theology, of Orders, of doctrine, of discipline : all of them important. But the one that is of overwhelming importance is the one that is largely looked upon as a closed issue, that of the Liturgy we daily use. Our general subject is that of a new Prayer-Book. But for the present let us confine ourselves to the question of a new Order of Morning Prayer.

3. MORNING PRAYER.

The Exhortation with which we are so familiar tells us that there are five elements of public worship : Praise, Thanksgiving, Scripture, and Prayer ; to all which is to be prefaced Confession of our Sins. To these five there should be added two more ; one, an Act of Introduction and Recollection, generally of a joyful kind, and the other, an Act of Fellowship. Further, the Act of Penitence should be postponed till after the Acts of Recollection and Fellowship. When the ordinary church-goer sets out for church he does not as a rule go with the thought that he wants to get his sins forgiven. If he has not done so already it is very doubtful if he effects it during the opening of the service : if he has, the opening is not in harmony with him. His first thought is that of Praise, Thanksgiving, Intercession, Instruction, and so on ; and we want to open the service in sympathy with him. The idea that we prepare ourselves for the service by confessing and receiving absolution will not bear inspection. If we are working out theology mathematically it may do so : if we are dealing with realities it will not. This will be opened more at length when we come to that subject.

The subject of Fellowship is not dealt with at all in the Preface, nor, we might perhaps say, in the whole Prayer-Book. There is singularly little in plain words to remind us that we are " members one of another." We know well the temper of mind of those who all their lives rise to no higher conception of church-going than that they are going to " sit under " somebody. Even devout communicants sometimes fail to get the conception of a Fellowship from the Communion Service itself : they look upon it as a private act of piety which has to be done to a certain extent in public. The Archbishop of Canterbury has told us that members of the

Church have less sense of Membership than the members of a football team. But is it any wonder? While the Prayer-Book ignores it, can we expect them to value it? Our hymn-books reflect the same melancholy lack. The Y.M.C.A. profess not to be a church: nevertheless they have a section in their hymn-book given to "Fellowship." All sects cultivate this feeling: in the Church alone it is absent. Even the very phrase "Communion of Saints" is only valued in connection with the saints who are no longer with us. The place for this topic in our service is surely next after the Introduction.

Next, or after the Confession, should come a section on Thanksgiving. The Exhortation tells us that we should "Render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands," but in the sequel there is nothing to correspond to this presage. True, in answer to the criticisms of the Puritans, the noble General Thanksgiving was added in 1661; (and the other special Prayers of Thanks, unofficially in 1604, and with proper authority in 1661). But, noble as it is, it does not fully answer our needs, and its optional character marks its supplementary position, while the "Amen" printed in italics shows that the congregational repetition of it was not intended. But in Scripture the place of Thanksgiving in Prayer is a very important one. "Supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks": "In everything give thanks": "In everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving." Some of the early liturgies consist almost entirely of thanks. It is the giving of thanks which melts the coldness of our hearts, and unlocks the fountain of our faith. The Catechism well points out the true interpretation of "Hallowed be Thy Name" in the words, "Who art the Giver of all goodness." We may well follow the order of the pattern Prayer, first Recollection, next Fellowship, then Thanks. We need therefore a section on Thanksgiving in this place.

After, or just before, this let us place Penitence. Notice its deferred position in the Lord's Prayer. There is a deep reason for this. We may find ourselves in sympathy with this reason as we proceed.

Then we place, as we have it in the present office, Praise and Instruction, duly mingled for our better edification. The Instruction is summed up in the Creed, and so we come to our final section, Prayer.

There, then, is our arrangement of Actions, seven in all: 1. Introductory. 2. Fellowship. 3. Penitence. 4. Thanks. 5 and 6. Praise and Instruction. 7. Prayer. These several Acts should be distinguished in the Prayer-Book that the people may intelligently follow them. One cause of want of interest in our Office is that people do not realise that there is any intentional order of subjects in it. How excellent and helpful are the stated divisions in the Roman Missal! Let us now discuss the general principles which will underlie our service, before we arrive at an actual illustration of these principles worked out in practice.

4. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

In the general construction of the service the principal innovation will be the wide use of responsive versicles. It is true in worship, as in teaching, that "There is no Impression without Expression." The parts of a service that leave their mark are those parts which the people repeat. No other parts make the same appeal. The Roman Catholics have had to alter their practice of late in this direction, giving to the people permission and encouragement to repeat parts of the Mass. The Songs and Psalms of the Old Testament were written for alternate chanting; and the fragments of a nascent liturgy which we have in the New Testament were of this character (1 Tim. iii. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 11-13). There is endless rich material in the Bible to meet the need. The Collects of the ancient Church were, we may well think, constructed to gather up the previous prayers of the people, possibly of an impromptu nature, equally probably of a responsive liturgy. We may then make an extended use of this form of devotion.

The Psalms may be used with more profit than at present. In some parts of the service they may be used with advantage to replace the existing Canticles, and their topical employment should be fostered. They are magnificent vehicles for religious expression when our hearts are in tune with them; and when they are used in the circumstances to which they apply, their effect is striking. The old Order of the Psalter is scarcely happy; the selections are much too long, and the physical effort to the singers, and the spiritual effort to the worshippers, exhaust their power of application at the beginning of the service, while the inevitable change of topics prevents them from throwing themselves heartily into each of the psalms, and the rapid tempo required does not conduce to devotion. Probably one psalm of average length would be more edifying than a greater number. The Revised Psalter is an effort to meet this want, but perhaps not wholly a happy one. The following order has been tried in actual use and seems to give us what we want.

Eliminate the psalms used as canticles, etc., and those few which are less suitable for public worship, and (following the old Order) divide the psalms for each service into two lists for alternate months. Thus, for the First Morning we should have for January and the odd months psalms 1, 2, 3, and for the even months 4 and 5; for the First Evening for the odd months 6 and 8, and for the even months 7 and 8. The option would be given of singing only a part of the psalms as appointed, or of substituting any other psalm or a hymn.

The Canticles need some alteration. Some are not in their fitting places. They need more variation; and the liberty should be given of replacing them by hymns when more suited to the Day or the Worshippers.

The Lectionary, whether the New or the Old, is scarcely satisfactory, and it will no doubt be thought out again: but this being

a matter covering a wide field, and involving no principle, we need not enter upon it.

The Anthem should be removed from its present position. Where it is, it is a definite hindrance to the spirit of prayer. The service is one of "Common Prayer." We prepare ourselves for prayer, we lead up to it as the climax of the service; and when at last we enter on it after the Creed we pay it so little regard that after a few versicles and three collects we need a change, and listen to the efforts of the choir, which are usually more musical than devotional. It subconsciously teaches us to minimise the importance of prayer. When we enter on the Act of Prayer we should continue at it with reality and fervour, and it should be the last and lasting exercise of our devotion. Where the anthem should come it is difficult to say: its place, if anywhere, should be in the Act of Praise.

The Act of Prayer also needs recasting and varying, so that we need not hear only the one form repeated every day. One such variation might well be afforded by the Litany, which is fast becoming unknown: it might be commenced shortly after the Creed, and continued through, with the omission of those parts which are not relevant. And in the printing of the Litany it would aid the understanding of it if the divisions of subjects were indicated. The suffrages are divided into distinct classes, and notes to that effect would promote the concentration and avert the weariness of the worshippers.

One aim of revision would be to remove every word from the Liturgy which savours of unreality. We have to make the service as real as it can be made. Probably the invariable use of the Magnificat savours of this fault: it cannot be the universal fact with every worshipper that he is longing for the mighty to be cast down from their seats and the humble to be exalted.

The second Lord's Prayer also does much to produce this feeling of unreality: the worshipper feels that when he has put his heart once into its petitions there is no particular reason for repeating it after the Creed.

The Seasons need to be much more strongly marked than they are. They offer a splendid opportunity for festal celebration, for variation, and for definite instruction. We need something more than one collect and perhaps different bookmarkers to mark and use them. We often lament that the Holy Spirit does not occupy a more prominent place in our people's minds; but how do we treat Him on His festival? The great Feast of Whitsuntide might well be revered by an extended treatment such as is illustrated in the sequel. We should also have a solemn Entry on the festivals with suited versicles, and we might mark them at the conclusion of the Creed.

There is a definite lack of instruction in our service. It is the supreme opportunity for the devotional instruction of the people in a liturgical form. The obvious place for this is at the end of the Act of Instruction, i.e. after the Apostles' Creed. What is

indicated can best be gathered by the examples given in the proper place. It is there suggested that the Apostles' Creed should always be followed by antiphons giving some definite teaching on the foundations of the Faith and amplified at the special seasons.

In the Creed itself, the words "he descended into hell" should, if possible, be omitted. To show that the assertion contained in the words is not called in question they could be inserted in brackets and italics, or a note could be appended to the effect that the words in question were added in the fifth century to contradict a heresy that Christ did not really die on the Cross. At the present time the word "hell" is inevitably misunderstood, a gloom is cast over the Creed, and in young people's minds the thought often arises that the Creeds are not true! We want the Creed to be a joyful exercise, and a musical setting which expressed this better than the dirge-like arrangement we are accustomed to would be an immense gain. Would that we could greatly dare and add a new clause alluding to the Ministry of the Lord. It is unfortunate that the one part of revealed religion which attracts everyone should find no place in the Articles of our Belief. How it would lighten up our Confession if we said "Who went about doing good," or "Who manifested His glory," or any words that would recall the Ministry to mind. It is a pity, too, that "under Pontius Pilate" suggests that the unwilling Pilate was the chief actor in the drama, rather than the true meaning "in the time of Pilate," emphasising the historical character of the narrative. Let us here protest against the punctuation in the Nicene Creed of "God of God," etc. If we printed "God, Of God, Light, Of Light, Very God, Of very God," it would give the laity a chance of knowing what is meant. At present they all suppose (and the clergy generally encourage the idea by their reading) that it means "super-God" or something of the sort. The printers have also done wrong in lately changing of their own motion the form "Giver of life" into "giver of life." "The Lord and Lifegiver" would be a more literal translation, and would establish the teaching that the Holy Ghost is "THE LORD" (Jehovah), and not merely "The Lord of life."

In our prayers we should make a large use of "directed prayer" with silences. This would tend to teach the people the true nature of prayer. The use of collects by themselves may even tend to teach them how not to pray, to suppose that the essence of praying is to repeat, very quickly, balanced periods in Elizabethan language. The Roman Missal, in its great Intercession for all the world on Good Friday (of which our three collects are the attenuated remains), uses this ancient plan: and in some editions explains that this usage follows the ancient custom of the Synagogue, which it also retains in connection with Confirmation.

A whole series of alternatives for the prayers after the Creed might be provided. There would be, first of all, the existing model. Secondly the Litany, somewhat curtailed. Perhaps again we might have an extended meditation on the clauses of the Lord's Prayer.

And we might also consider something like the Roman "Litany of the Name of Jesus." The story is well known of Mr. Cash and the Arab Dervish's rebuke to him for not knowing the spiritual value of a repetition of the Names of God. A Litany which kept the people in meditation on the Saviour and His excellencies might prove most valuable. We need to get away from the idea that we go to church to learn something rather than to do something.

Very great care is needed to produce a satisfactory collection of collects or devotions for use after the sermon. Does not every preacher know the wide range of topics of the spiritual life for which no provision exists in the Prayer-Book? We need for this purpose (1) an extended series of collects which while specially necessary for this occasion might also be drawn upon for other parts of the service. The collects, lovely and devotional as they are, are singularly restricted in subject-matter. There is no allusion in them to intercession for others, save in the Good Friday collects: they are mainly concerned with our own sins and dangers; and they fail us when our hearts are occupied with the great subjects of the victorious spiritual life; surrender and decision, the indwelling of Christ, the power of the Holy Ghost, the illumination of the heart, the joy of the Lord, victory over sin, assurance of salvation, the unction from the Holy One, the spirit of guidance, the consecration of the will, devotion to social service, the longing for souls, the dedication of our money, the love of Christ, and the appeal of the Cross: while their cognisance of the cry of the heathen world is of course non-existent. (2) It might also be helpful to give some suggested forms of devotional exercise suitable for following up a sermon on, say, Repentance, Saving Faith, Self-Examination, Charity, Back-sliding, Temptation, and the like. On these occasions the offertory might well be taken before the sermon, and if more suitable, the usual closing hymn omitted.

It may well be objected that what is set out above will result in too long a form of service, which would no doubt be generally the case. The remedy would be to supply alternative shortened Acts for use at the option of the minister, such as are illustrated in the sequel. Thus the Act, say, of Thanksgiving, could be extended at one season and the Act of Penitence at another. It should not be essential always to read two Lessons, especially if the sermon is going to be long enough to afford serious instruction. The aim should be to follow the psychology of the human heart. No service is too long which only suffices to express what is in the worshipper's mind; any service is too long which incorporates a single phrase which is unreal or redundant.

The thought will occur that if the Morning Prayer is made so full and deep it will be difficult to combine it suitably with the Communion Service. But, on the one hand, the Service as drawn is capable of great condensation so that it will not take up more time than can be spared before the Holy Communion. Or, on the other hand, the practice might be considered of following a twofold plan: on some days to hold the Communion Service only

—and it should be revised so as to be much more comprehensive than it is—and on other days to take a fairly long Morning Prayer, followed by a very short Communion Service, just sufficient to fulfil the actual needs of the recipients, something after the model of Cranmer's early proposals.

We now come to a revolutionary suggestion. Is the sermon in its right place? According to the Prayer-Book there is no place at all for the sermon in the Daily Office, and as a matter of fact, a sermon did not follow it in Elizabethan times. In those services in which a sermon is enjoined, Holy Communion and Ordination, it comes comparatively early in the action. The effect of placing the sermon after the prayers is to concentrate attention on the sermon and belittle the devotional climax. The orderly and psychological place of the sermon might possibly be at the conclusion of the Act of Instruction, following the Creed. This would give the Prayers the proper place in the minds of the worshippers and might tend to enhance the devotional tone of the sermon. On the other hand, this displacement of the sermon would involve other organic changes so radical as to remove it at present from practical consideration.

The last topic we have to consider is of supreme importance, and touches the vital question of the discipline of the Church. The Church of England possesses the unique and melancholy distinction of being probably the only church or sect in Christendom which possesses no system of discipline. In consequence it possesses no sense of membership. But for the vigorous good sense of the Anglo-Saxon race such a church would long ago have ceased to function. If this is the price we pay for being a State church then we might reasonably ask whether the object attained is worth the price paid. We might also on the other hand ask whether a very rigid system of personal interference is really for the good of the Church. Now it is suggested that we might find in a revised Office of Penitence a very real step towards attainment of the discipline we seek, without dispensing with the measure of liberty we so justly prize and which is so necessary for the healthy development of a free community.

When Cranmer, by implication and in fact, abolished the system of private confession and absolution, he endeavoured to compensate for its loss by a public act of confession and absolution common to all the congregation, and accordingly we have the well-known opening of our daily service. Doubtless it has humbled the heart and consoled the spirit of vast numbers. But it is not above criticism. First, it does not sufficiently distinguish between sins and sinfulness. Each needs a different form of confession and each asks for a different answering treatment. The acknowledgment and consciousness of sinfulness, together with our joy in God's atoning grace, must underlie and permeate all we do before God. It does not mark a lapse of conduct but a practice of piety. But acts of sin are not a necessity but an exception. To confess to acts of sin whenever we meet in joyful worship is to deny the

grace of God and the power of the Resurrection : it is to inculcate the impossibility of the victorious life and the unreality of our prayer that we may "live this day without sin," or of the admonition so to live that "the rest of our life may be pure and holy." And the result is that both the Confession and the Absolution take on an aspect of fatal unreality. The pious mind flits backwards and forwards between the two topics of sin and sinfulness in the endeavour to make the formulas bear a real meaning ; the sinner is not abashed as he ought to be, and the ideal of Christian victory is defaced. The public Confession ought to be directed to real specific acts of sin (as something in themselves exceptional), and the following absolution would be more real if in the precatory form (as in the Communion Office) and more Scriptural if joining the congregation with the minister in asking for the penitent's forgiveness. The present Absolution is not really an absolution at all, but a general statement ; and the exhortation which concludes it minimises the import of that statement, and is in fact often read by the Minister as if it were the more important part of the address. If the Act of Penitence came later in the service its position would be more Scriptural, and its exceptional character would be made clear. The confessions would contain a silent time for the inward act of contrition and renunciation, and should also allow of a special act of confession being made by an individual by his rising in his place, followed by a special answering act of absolution. The more serious sins, such as rightly disqualify a person from receiving the Communion, need a deeper treatment, such as is suggested in the rubrics which follow in their place. Were even one person to rise to ask the prayers of the congregation once in a year that would change the whole tone of the service ; it would give a startling air of reality to the proceedings, the worshippers would feel that God was among them of a truth, and the Confession would cease to be a subject for mild banter. Were the notorious sinner to be reconciled by a solemn act of contrition done at the Communion rail, after conference with the minister, we should find the office of a priest respected as much in the Church as it is in the Roman Communion. A *form* of excommunication we hardly need : a form of reconciliation we urgently require. Confession of sins before the congregation is frequently unedifying : confession of repentance is of the essence of the Church's healthy existence. The minister's office in private is not to extract details of sins, but to lead to true contrition and to the assurance of God's forgiveness through Christ. The clergyman who has not been taught this ministry is not trained for his office : the priest who does not know the way of forgiveness through the Cross has not learned to be a shepherd of souls. Great sins are sins against the Body of Christ, and that is no confession which is not made towards them, nor that absolution Scriptural in which they do not bear a part. Heartfelt congregational confession is vital to the life of the Church. Study great religious movements ; they have all contained this element. We talk of "the coming revival," and ask

when it will arise. It will arise when the Church confesses its sins with self-abasement. Confession can only be made definite by confessing definite sins and personal spiritual needs and decisions. There is no reason why this should be banished to casual "Missions" or outside services: if we want the Church to benefit we must make the confession part of the Church order. While there may be some who are disposed to criticise these positions on the one side or the other, perhaps there are few who would object to use the following form of service in which they are embodied.

The form of service here set forth makes no pretension to be a final form. Many pious minds and masters of assemblies are needed for so high a task as the construction of a Liturgy. It does however suggest the treatment which seems to be appropriate, and it will be honoured if it serves as a basis on which the great work can be wrought. It is intended to err on the side of excess, as it is always easier to prune than to exfoliate.

THE ORDER OF MORNING PRAYER.

(Rubric before Morning Prayer.)

Forasmuch as we all may fall into sin, and all our doings are imperfect in the sight of God, it is necessary that we should continually confess our sinfulness and humbly ask for mercy, and to this end the General Confession may suffice together with the following Absolution. But if any have an act of sin upon his conscience and may not lose his burden by this means, let him notify the priest, and, whether with ghostly counsel taken or of his own motion, let him stand up at the time of the Act of Contrition, in order that according to the form there given he may unburden his conscience and receive the benefit of the prayers of God's people. But if he be Confirmed and his offence be so grievous as to unfit him for the Communion of the faithful, let him take counsel with the priest, who shall direct him after the manner set forth in the Order of Holy Communion, that by God's mercy he may be restored to the fellowship of Christ's religion.

(Here is added a corresponding Rubric to be placed before the Order of Holy Communion.)

If any person's conscience be burdened with so weighty an offence, or if the priest perceive him to have so offended, that although being Confirmed he is cut off from the Table of the Lord, let him seek the priest and open his offence, that by his ghostly counsel and ministration he may be brought to a fit state of contrition and repentance and may be restored to the unity of the Church according to the form set forth hereafter.

It is not to be deemed necessary that he should set forth all of his offence in detail, but only so much of it as is necessary to relieve his conscience and to assure the priest that he has truly shown the grace of penitence: nor shall the priest adjudge him penitent without he perceive in him a full determination by God's grace to avoid the offence in future and to render confession and restitution to all those to whom it appertains: and the priest shall labour to bring him to a sense of God's mercy through Christ, through Whose blessed Cross and Passion pardon is freely offered even to the chief of sinners.

While it is not convenient that the penitent should disclose the sins of others, nor burden the priest with the knowledge of civil crimes, yet the priest should not adjudge him penitent who is unwilling (save for some good reason touching the weal of others) to confess his crime to a civil authority; nor should the civil powers demand from the priest the opening of those matters which he would not have known save for the confidence reposed in him.

If it is more expedient that the penitent be dealt with by a parent, or a deaconess, or other discreet and devout person, it shall suffice that the priest receive the assurance of the offender's true repentance and shall thereupon re-admit him or her to the fellowship of Christ's flock.

If any wish to put himself to penitence for faults which are private to himself, the priest being assured of his godly humility and true repentance, without further confession of his sin, shall admit him to the same.

THE ORDER OF MORNING PRAYER.

(The Response of the congregation is indicated by the preceding colon.)

ACT OF INTRODUCTION AND RECOLLECTION.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

The Lord be with you :
And with thy spirit.

(On Sundays only) :

This is the day which the Lord hath made :
We will rejoice and be glad in it.

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord :

Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem.

(Then shall follow the proper Introit if the day is a Festival.)

ADVENT.

Let us remember the Coming of the Lord :
The Coming of the Lord draweth nigh.

CHRISTMAS.

Unto us is born this day a Saviour, Who is Christ the Lord :
Glory to God in the highest ; in earth peace ; goodwill towards men.

EPIPHANY.

The Lord hath come, a Light to lighten the Gentiles :
And to be the Glory of his people Israel.

LENT.

Let us seek the Lord our God :
If we seek him, he will be found of us.
He dwelleth in the high and holy place :
With him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit.

GOOD FRIDAY.

Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us :
He is led as a lamb to the slaughter.
Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by ?
Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.
He is despised and *(Isaiah liii. 3-6, antiphonally)*.
Scarcely for a righteous man will one die :
While we were yet sinners Christ died for us.
We are redeemed with precious blood :
We have peace through the blood of the Cross.
Mercy and truth are met together :
Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.
He hath redeemed us to God out of every nation :
And we shall reign for ever and ever.
We are not our own, we are bought with a price :
Let us glorify him in our body and spirit, which are God's.

EASTER.

Christ our Passover, etc. *(The Easter Anthem)*.

ASCENSION DAY.

Thou art gone up on high :
 Thou hast led Captivity captive, and received gifts for men.
 Yea, even for thine enemies :
 That the Lord God might dwell among them.

WHITSUNTIDE.

Let us praise the Holy Spirit :
 The Lord and Giver of life.
 Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son :
 Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified.
 The Quickener of the dead :
 The Strength of the feeble.
 The Wisdom of the simple :
 The Guide of the pilgrims.
 The Light of the darkened :
 The Voice of reproof.
 The Word of forgiveness :
 Announcer of pardon.
 He keeps and he cleanses :
 He loves and rejoices.
 The Stream of our healing :
 That flowed from our Saviour.
 Glory to Father, to Son, and to Spirit :
 As it was and is now and shall be to all ages.

HOLY TRINITY.

Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God Almighty :
 Which was, and is, and is to come.
 (He hath made us unto our God kings and priests :
 And we shall reign upon the earth.)
 Blessing and glory and wisdom and power :
 Be unto our God for ever and ever.

SAINTS' DAYS.

Let us give thanks for the holy [Apostle Andrew] :
 Let us praise the name of the Lord.
 Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints :
 They rest from their labours and their works do follow them.
 Whose faith follow, considering the end of their lives :
 Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

(DAILY ORDER RESUMED).

Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness :
 Fall down before his footstool, for he is holy.
 The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him :
 Unto all them that call upon him in sincerity and truth.
 If I regard iniquity in my heart the Lord will not hear me :
 I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I go to thine altar.
 The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit :
 A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.
 God dwelleth in the high and holy place :
 With him also that is of an humble and contrite spirit.
 O taste and see that the Lord is good :
 Blessed is the man that putteth his trust in him.

Let us pray. (*All still standing.*)

O God forasmuch as without thee, etc. (*said by all*).

VENITE, OR JUBILATE (*or parts of Pss. xlii and xliii or Ps. lxxxiv or cxxii or cxxxviii. Or Hymn*).

ACT OF FELLOWSHIP (*optional*).

Let us keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Let brotherly love continue :

Let us walk in love as Christ also hath loved us.

One is our Father, which is in Heaven :

We are members one of another.

As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ :

We are all one in Christ Jesus.

Hear the words of our Lord Jesus Christ who prayed, saying, May they be one in us :

Gather us, O Lord, as the wheat is gathered on the mountains, that we may be one loaf, one flock, one body of Jesus Christ our Head.

Let us pray.

O God, who hast taught us that all our doings, etc.

(*Then may be sung Ps. cxxxiii.*)

ACT OF CONTRITION. (1)

(*Kneeling.*) Let us search our hearts that we may confess our sins to Almighty God, for he is merciful and gracious to the contrite, and will by no means clear the guilty. Known unto him are the thoughts of the heart ; and all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do. Let us hearken to the voice of God, saying,

Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image to worship it.

(*And so throughout the Ten Commandments.*)

SILENCE.

If we say that we have no sin, etc. :

But if we confess our sins, etc.

(*All.*) Almighty and Everlasting God, Who hatest nothing, etc.

Priest. Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Amen.

The Lord be with you :

And with thy spirit.

Or this. (2)

(*As in the present Morning Prayer from the commencement to the end of the General Absolution, omitting or shortening the Exhortation.*)

Or this. (3)

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

COLLECT. O God, whose nature and property, etc.

(*Or Collect for 4th Sunday in Lent ; or 12th, 21st, or 24th Sunday after Trinity.*)

Or this. (4)

(*As in Revised Prayer-Book.*)

(*If any person be moved to show his sorrow for some special sin and desire the prayers of God's people, let him rise in his place during the time of Silence or Confession, after which the priest shall pray, saying :*)

Almighty Father, have mercy upon us and especially upon this our brother who now acknowledges his fault and humbly seeks thy favour. Wash him and us through the most precious blood of Jesus Christ which cleanseth from all sin. Pardon us through the merits of our most dear Redeemer. Strengthen us against the power of the enemy. Grant unto us the joy of thy salvation : and through our past sins may we take warning lest we fall again in like manner : through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Lord, hear our prayer :

And let our cry come unto thee.

Priest. The Lord Almighty grant to you peace and the remission of all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Lord be with you :

And with thy spirit.

Our Father, etc.

O Lord, open thou our lips :

And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

O God, Make speed to save us :

O Lord, make haste to help us.

ACT OF THANKSGIVING.

(*All standing.*)

Let us remember God's mercies :

They are new every morning.

It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord :

And to sing praises unto thy name, O most high.

(Praise the Lord, O my soul ; And all that is within me praise his holy name :

Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.)

For thy mercies in Creation and Providence :

We thank thee, O Lord.

For the sending of thy Son :

We thank thee, O Lord.

For the gift of the Holy Spirit : etc.

For the spreading of thy Church : etc.

For the holy Sacraments : etc.

For the power of Salvation : etc.

For the victories of grace : etc.

For comfort in sorrow : etc.

For support in trouble : etc.

For relief in distress : etc.

For answers to our prayers : etc.

For Thy providences and deliverances :

For all the joys of life : etc.

For these and all thine unknown mercies :

We praise and bless thy glorious name for ever and ever.

Glory be, etc. :

As it was, etc.

(*All.*) Almighty God, Father of all mercies, etc.

(*Ps. lvi. 1-4. Or Ps. ciii, 1-6.*)

Praise ye the Lord :

The Lord's name be praised.

ACT OF PRAISE AND INSTRUCTION.

(*Psalms for the Day. Or Hymn.*)

(*First Lesson.*)

(*Ps. xix. Or parts of Ps. cxix. Or Benedicite. Or Hymn.*)

(*Second Lesson.*)

(*Te Deum. Or Benedictus. Or Hymn [or ? Anthem].*)

(*Apostles' Creed.*)

(*Then shall be said or sung one or more of the following antiphons :*)

PROPER ANTIPHONS FOR FESTIVALS, ETC.

ADVENT.

Behold, I come quickly :

Even so, come Lord Jesus.

CHRISTMAS.

The Word was made flesh :
And dwelt among us.

EPIPHANY.

The Life was manifested :
And we have seen it.

ASH WEDNESDAY.

Every eye shall see him :
And they also that pierced him.

GOOD FRIDAY.

Behold the Lamb of God :
That taketh away the sin of the world.

EASTER.

The Lord is risen :
He is risen indeed.

ASCENSION DAY.

Christ has entered into the holy places not made with hands :
He ever liveth to make intercession for us.

WHITSUNTIDE.

The Holy Ghost is come :
That he may abide with us for ever.

HOLY TRINITY.

Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts :
The whole earth is full of his glory.

GENERAL ANTIPHONS.

These are written that we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God :

And that believing we might have life through His name.

Jesus Christ came by water and by blood :

And it is the Spirit that beareth witness.

Quench not the Spirit :

The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace.

Hold fast the truth :

The truth shall make you free.

Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ :

He that believeth hath everlasting life.

The Son of God hath come ; and hath given us an understanding :

This is the true God, and eternal life.

This is life eternal, that we might know God :

And Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.

ACT OF PRAYER.

The Lord be with you :

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray. (*No Lesser Litany.*)

O Lord, show thy mercy upon us :

And grant us thy salvation.

(*And so forth, to the end of Morning Prayer, using the various prayers provided, unbroken by a Hymn or Anthem.*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

FAITH AND SOCIETY. A Study of the Structure, Outlook and Opportunity of the Christian Social Movement in Great Britain and the United States of America. By Maurice B. Reckitt, M.A. *Longmans, Green & Co.* 10s. net.

Owing to the serious and persistent world-wide depression of trade, and, consequently, immense amount of unemployment, the "Social Question" is a very "burning" question at the present time.

The evil is being attacked from many sides; politicians, economists and social philosophers are at work devising various remedies. Meanwhile poverty with its attendant evils increases. For it is not only material poverty, want of means to maintain physical efficiency, that is growing. Long-enforced idleness tends to loss of character, and moral as well as physical stamina becomes weaker. Where there is neither demand nor return for effort the exercise of effort tends to cease.

The Christian has, in virtue of the profession of Christianity, been rightly taught, that anything which has for its aim the welfare of humanity cannot be no concern of his. Consequently he must ask himself what he can do to help to lessen or remove the present distress. Various lines of action are being tried. One arises from a belief that the present social order is radically wrong, and that therefore we must seek to change that order; another would, while retaining the existing order, seek to remove from it various grave blemishes and serious defects; a third would be content with trying in different ways to alleviate the lot of those suffering. Each of these methods may be motivated by a Christian purpose; may be based upon a Christian faith, and may aim at a Christian object. They have all, at different times, been put into action by various associations of Christians during the last eighty years. The sum-total of these efforts might be said to constitute the "Christian Social Movement."

It is usual to date the commencement of the movement from the year 1848—the year of the Chartist riots—when F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, T. M. Ludlow and others issued *Politics for the People*, followed later by *Tracts on Christian Socialism*, again followed by *The Christian Socialist*; also the "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations" was then founded. (*N.B.*—It should be remembered that to F. D. Maurice and his immediate followers the words "Socialism" and "Socialist" meant something very different from what they ordinarily mean to day.) But as a continuous movement, and as it exists to-day, the Christian Social Movement rather dates from 1877 when Stewart-Headlam (of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green) founded "The Guild of St. Matthew." From that time

there has been founded a continuous chain of Societies, Unions, Guilds, etc.; e.g. "The Christian Social Union" in 1889, "The Wesleyan Social Service Union" in 1905, "The Church Socialist League" in 1906, "The Catholic Social Guild" (R.C.) in 1909 . . . until we come to "The Christian Social Council" in 1929 and "The British Council of the Churches for Social Questions" in 1930. Some of these societies, notably the Christian Social Union, have exercised a strong and widely diffused influence for good; others have had but a brief and somewhat stormy existence; but, taking as unbiassed an estimate as possible of the sum-total of their influences, it cannot be denied that they have sharpened the public conscience in reference to many evil social conditions; and they have certainly convinced many of the members of the various Churches in which they have arisen that their duty towards the poor was not discharged by a donation to their "alms fund," or even by a visit to the sick and needy members of their own congregation, or by a Christmas Treat to the aged poor of their own immediate neighbourhood.

Mr. Reckitt's book is one which it is somewhat difficult to appraise quite justly. He has evidently read widely in the literature of the Christian Social Movement, and in recent years he appears to have taken part in some of its activities. He makes no secret of the fact that he writes from the point of view of a partisan—that of a strongly convinced Anglo-Catholic. At the same time he frankly confesses that he has learnt much from those who think very differently from himself. He does not, so far as I remember, explicitly own to being a Socialist, but it is quite evident that his sympathies are with that party. He does not mean to be unfair, but as sympathy is one of the chief gates to knowledge, he is naturally liable to ignore, at times even to misrepresent, the work of those who, whether ecclesiastically or politically, belong to other schools of thought. Speaking of the year 1889—the year in which the Christian Social Union was founded—Mr. Reckitt writes, "while Manning was restoring the credit of Roman Catholicism with the masses by his courageous intervention in the great Dock Strike in the East End of London, the neo-Tractarians (*sic*) were meditating a new movement which should combine the 'Catholic Church' of Pusey with the 'Kingdom of Christ' of Maurice," and "to claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule Christian practice, and to study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time."

The words from "to claim" down to "the present time" stated the official principles and aims of the Christian Social Union and were printed on most of its publications. But a Society of which Bishop Westcott was the first president and of which Bishop Chavasse was one of the two vice-presidents and of whose Central Executive (I speak as a member of this for many years) Bishop Denton Thompson, Dr. Hastings Rashdall and Dr. A. J. Carlyle were members, can hardly be truthfully described as an organ of the "Neo-Tractarians." Actually it was the entirely non-party composition and aims of the Christian Social Union—both ecclesiastically

and politically—which was one of the causes of its widespread influence.

Like many other Anglo-Catholics Mr. Reckitt is evidently strongly attracted by medievalism, and consequently is inclined to view the later Middle Ages through somewhat rosy-coloured spectacles. More than once he contrasts the united and international witness which in those days the "Church" could give against the "World" as compared with the divided and partial and consequently feeble witness which small societies within the various "Churches" can give to-day. Undoubtedly, especially through monastic institutions, the Church in the Middle Ages did much to relieve the needs and lessen the sufferings of the poor. Unfortunately Mr. Reckitt and many other Anglo-Catholics in their sympathy with medievalism, forget the actual state of the Church in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, the terribly low standard of moral conduct into which not only some of its chief officers but a very large proportion of the priesthood had fallen. Far from its "Christian Witness" to the world being in any way adequate, it was actually the awakening to what real Christianity involved in conduct among large masses of the people, and their disgust at the widespread absence of this witness among the clergy, that was one of the chief causes of the Reformation.

I think also that Mr. Reckitt is inclined to overrate the influence of certain small societies within the Christian Social Movement, mostly those with a strong Anglo-Catholic and Socialistic tendency, such as "The Church Socialist League," which became "The League of the Kingdom of God," and "The Society of Socialistic Christians." Actually, I fancy, these societies have alienated rather than attracted some who might have been supporters of the Movement.

The chapter describing the course of the Christian Social Movement in the United States is very interesting, and is, so far as I know, the only account of this which has been written in England. The Movement in America has had to contend with difficulties unknown in this country, one being due to the great mixture of races, another to the still-persisting "individualistic tendencies inherited from the strong Puritanism of the earliest settlers; yet another from the large proportion of Roman Catholics—mostly either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from the Southern States of Europe. In spite of these various adverse influences the Movement has undoubtedly had very considerable success in America, and appears to be still making progress. In Mr. Reckitt's opinion the chief weakness lies here, that, while the merely ethical side has been strongly developed, its deeper theological implications have been neglected. In the words of one of its foremost workers: "In the United States the Christian Social Movement advances on the lines of decent social compunctions, humanitarian fervour, and consecrated common sense. It is ethical, opportunist, practical. Of the marvellous social implications of Christian doctrine nothing is heard."

It is in the final chapters of this book, those upon "The Elements

of a Christian Sociology for To-day," that its chief value lies. To say of any writing that it is thought-provoking is to pay it a high compliment. These chapters are certainly that. The greatest dangers and failures to-day in both Church and State arise from the want of really serious thinking—an evil which seems to be inherent in all democracies, and especially in one like our own where large numbers of the electorate are very young. Recent elections in our own country have been remarkable for the large turnover of votes from one side to another, an evidence of the want of fixed political principles and of a tendency to be governed by opportunism or by cheap and clever party cries or catchwords. Anything which will increase the sense of political responsibility and help electors to regard the duties of citizenship from the highest point of view must be commended. Mr. Reckitt's subject in these chapters is how to bring the Christianity we profess to bear upon the wider relationships of life: e.g. as citizens, in municipal affairs, as subjects, in national issues, as Christian men and women in regard to international questions. With the majority of people, as the circle of relationship widens, the exercise of their Christianity is apt to diminish. Men and women who will act as Christians in their homes are often little influenced by their religion in a parliamentary election, and still less in their attitude towards our relations with some Foreign Power.

Naturally, as an Anglo-Catholic, Mr. Reckitt emphasises the corporate aspect of Christianity. To quote his own words, "The specific and characteristic impact of Christianity upon Society will be brought to bear most truly and effectively not by any individual service, however faithful, in the realm of citizenship, formal or informal, but through the intensity, intellectual and spiritual, that springs from corporate effort and experience" (p. 266).

Evangelical Churchmen have rightly emphasised individual responsibility—in this they have followed Christ's example. But it is at least open to question whether they have sufficiently emphasised corporate responsibility, leading to corporate activity. In His creation of a society of His followers, Christ showed that He certainly did not undervalue the power of corporate action.

Mr. Reckitt rightly points out a difficulty which faces a convinced Christian citizen to-day who necessarily stands before two loyalties—his duty to the State and his duty to a corporate body representing the cause of Christ. This conflict of loyalties was, of course, very strongly felt in the earliest day of Christianity. Was it not the chief cause of the martyrdoms? To-day, through the secularising of life, this difficulty is probably stronger, in so-called Christian countries, than at any time since the conversion of the Roman Empire.

We know that from time to time proposals are made in Parliament which cannot be reconciled with Christian principles. Here comes in the value of a widespread Christian conviction; for on such occasions people are apt to say that moral or ethical questions or issues are involved. Mr. Reckitt is right in claiming that, especially in these days when various moral authorities are widely questioned, we need some far stronger authority than the merely moral.

What we need is a theological basis for conduct and action, and a theological (i.e. divine) motive and power for our conduct. History teaches us that conduct inspired by religion is infinitely more powerful and more enduring than conduct merely directed towards some ethical ideal, however lofty, but without any religious conviction. We know that there have been and still are religions whose ethical standard and ethical influences are low. This charge can certainly not be brought against Christianity. The history of the earliest days of Christianity is largely a history of the raising of the moral standard of the people among whom it penetrated. If, as many maintain, there is proceeding a gradual "re-paganising" of society, there is surely an urgent call for combined efforts among Christians not only to stay but to reverse this process. This is the Christian Social Movement that is specially called for to-day. The witness of individual Christian lives is not sufficient. For the paganising which we see to-day is not merely the paganising of a multitude of individuals; it is also the paganising of the relationships between them. We can see it in family relationships: there is more than a trace of it in education; for, in many of our schools and in our ancient universities, there is not the religious influence of the teacher upon the taught that there used to be. In the relationships of industry, of trade and of commerce, what evidence is there of any religious influence of any kind? If we could form a body of Christian men and women who would pledge themselves to "christianise" the various social relationships in which they found themselves, would not their witness, and so their influence, for good be very great?

Mr. Reckitt aptly quotes the following striking passage from one of the last works of Bishop Gore:—"Suppose one could see a vigorous supernatural fellowship of men, owning real allegiance to Christ, and while obviously imperfect, yet habitually ready to make sacrifices of their money interests or their pleasure for His Name, really practising brotherhood, really standing effectively for justice and love in all the relations of the strong to the weak . . . though the members of such a Church did not number one-tenth part of the total of professing Christians to-day, what an influence it would have!"

The Movement here described by Bishop Gore is, again, exactly "The Christian Social Movement" that is needed to-day.

From what I have written it will, I hope, be gathered that Mr. Reckitt's book is well worth reading. There is in it much with which many—especially Evangelical churchmen—will strongly disagree. At the same time there is much which is really valuable. There is no doubt of the intense belief that in real Christianity lies the only solution of the troubles of the present time. The title of his final chapter is significant—"Daylight at Midnight." There are those who declare that civilisation is crumbling. If so, it is not for the first time. It crumbled in the early Middle Ages. Then it was Christianity which stayed the ruin and accomplished the rebuilding. It is only Christianity—a real Christianity expressed in everyday conduct—that can purify and rebuild civilisation to-day.

W. E. C.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. A series of volumes edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D., and Professor Kirsopp Lake, D.D., Litt.D. Part I: Vols. iv., v. London: Macmillan & Co., 1933. Price 25s. each.

With the present volumes Part I of this immense work is brought to a close. The fourth volume contains an English translation of, and commentary upon, the "Acts," by Professor Kirsopp Lake (assisted by Dr. H. J. Cadbury); the fifth consists of additional notes, by various writers, on the same treatise. It is not too much to say that Lake's commentary is the fullest in existence; and in some ways it is the best. Nothing has been overlooked, in the editions of previous scholars or in articles contributed to learned journals (English and Foreign), though it is clear that the editorial debt to Wetstein—always printed Wettstein in this work—is not inconsiderable. The indexes, with which both volumes are provided, are on a lavish scale, and these add greatly to the value of the two volumes. In fact nothing could be better: *o si sic omnes*. To review a work of this magnitude would require a small book all to itself; the best one can do, in a limited space, is briefly to describe (some of) the main features.

Vol. IV has no separate Introduction; nor was one necessary, as this has already been given in Vols. I and II. The commentary is set out at the foot of the translation—not the A.V. or the R.V., but one specially designed for this work. It is undoubtedly a pity that the Greek text did not accompany the version; but the Editor explains that to have printed the Greek over again (for it was given in Vol. III) would have been an unwarrantable expense. The translation itself, though it lacks the note of distinction which is so characteristic of the A.V., is often very useful; frequently it does the duty of a commentary. As regards the elaborate notes, our only complaint (if complaint must be made) is that they are too diffuse; the reader, anxious to get a clear grip of the meaning of the original, is often left rather in doubt what that meaning actually is: it is difficult to see the wood for the trees. Even as it is, we are frequently switched off to excursions in the fifth volume; but in such cases we have no sort of objection to long disquisitions on points of special moment. A commentary, to be fully successful, should be brief and crisp. Now much of the present commentary may be found elsewhere; and a good deal of it is really not needed for a just comprehension of the thought of Luke. What, we are inclined to ask, is to be gained by such a lengthy disquisition on Antioch as appears in the note on xi. 19? It is no doubt interesting enough; but the information given should be sought in histories or Biblical dictionaries: a mere reference to such sources would be sufficient, not only in this passage but elsewhere. One feels too that there is a good deal of conjecture and even guesswork about some of the notes; and the student often rises from a perusal of them with anything but certainty or satisfaction. Nevertheless, a

diligent reader cannot fail to learn a great deal as he goes along, for Professor Kirsopp Lake is a suggestive writer: even when we do not agree with him, we are conscious of his learning and scholarship. On turning to the fifth volume, with its supplementary notes and excursuses, we are confronted with a great deal of matter that cannot possibly be understood unless one is a fully equipped scholar. Things are not made easy for average students by the fact that the Greek quotations are left untranslated. These supplementary notes and excursuses are thirty-seven in number; of them, nearly half are by Professor Lake. Here are the titles of some: The Ascension, Death of Judas, the Holy Spirit, the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, and the Unknown God. Nine are due to Dr. H. J. Cadbury, and every one of them displays a linguistic knowledge of the highest excellence. One could not find a more thorough discussion of the word *ὑποζώματα* than he gives us on pp. 345-54: it is practically exhaustive in treatment. Whether a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles was quite the proper place for a small treatise on matters of naval equipment, is open to question. The present writer turned with peculiar interest to Mr. A. D. Nock's excursus on "Paul and the Players," for his repute as a scholar has gone out into all the world of scholarship. This piece of work is abundantly (even overwhelmingly) learned; it reminds one of the sort of thing that Dr. A. B. Cook, of Cambridge, produces; but it leaves one with a sense of dissatisfaction, somewhere. The fact is Mr. Nock has written 24 pages, adorned with elaborate footnotes, where a couple would have been enough—that is, for the special purpose of a note on a particularly interesting episode in Paul's missionary career. *Ohe, jam satis est, ohe libelle!* we are constrained to cry, long before we have reached the end of Mr. Nock's dissertation.

It is interesting to learn that Professor Lake thinks we must abandon the late Bishop Chase's theory that *πρηνης νερόμενος* (Acts I) was an obscure medical term—*πρηθελς*. Probably he is right here. We do not feel that he is as right in his dealing with the Ascension (Vol. V, pp. 16-22); nor do we believe he is quite correct in saying that "according to Luke the risen Lord had the same body as was buried, and that it still consisted of flesh and blood"; a reference to Luke xxiv. 39 shows us that our Lord's words were "a spirit hath not flesh and *bones* as ye see me have." The difference is significant.

It would be easy to quote passages in these two volumes on which discussion might take place almost endlessly: some of the statements made are indeed provocative. But we should be ingrates if we did not acknowledge the learning and devoted care expended upon this Commentary on the Acts, which is so good and so full that it is unlikely to be superseded for the next generation, at least. It marks an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

LIVING ISSUES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By C. A. Anderson Scott, D.D. *Cambridge University Press*. 6s. net.

The reviewer's first duty towards this book is to urge everyone who wishes to gain a deeper understanding of the New Testament to study it. Its most striking feature is its suggestiveness. Passage after passage seems to gain a new significance, and this is largely due to Dr. Scott's practice of setting extracts from different New Testament writers side by side. This method shows us, for instance, how much St. Paul owes to the actual contents of the Synoptic Gospels and, vice versa, how passages in these grow in meaning when studied in the light of St. Paul's teaching. The idea, advanced by certain German scholars, that "the Christ" of St. Paul is a different person from "the Jesus," e.g., of St. Mark, is shown to be entirely untrue. Actually each conception (or portraiture) is proved to involve the other; and it is the identity of character which is so striking: the virtues of Christ upon which St. Paul insists are exactly the same virtues which stand out in the historic life of Jesus. The true relationship between St. John and the Synoptists and St. John and St. Paul is made equally clear. Dr. Scott constantly reminds us of a truth too often forgotten—that if we would really understand any great writing, we must, as far as possible, keep in mind those for whom it was originally written. The circumstances of those for whom the Synoptic Gospels were written were different from those for whom St. Paul wrote in the middle of the first century, and these again were different from those for whom St. John wrote some fifty years later.

As an example of the importance of remembering those to whom any book of the New Testament was originally addressed we may take the following: Dr. Scott is (p. 108) discussing St. John, ch. vi. We must remember that according to ch. xx. 30, 31, St. John makes a choice from the many sayings of Jesus. In ch. vi. 63, 64, Jesus says, "It is the spirit which quickeneth . . . the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life." Why was St. John careful to record these particular words? Dr. Scott believes it was because even then our Lord foresaw a temptation to put a materialistic interpretation upon His teaching concerning the partaking of His flesh and His blood. By the end of the first century what Jesus foresaw had actually happened.

Dr. Scott's explanation of the mystical element in the New Testament and especially in St. Paul and St. John is extremely clear. We commend it to those who (often with justification) are somewhat afraid of the word "mysticism." In the New Testament the "mystical" is almost a synonym for the "deeply spiritual." A "mystical union" is more than a union of both mind and feeling: it is a union of two entire personalities.

Only lack of space prevents our drawing attention to much more that is valuable in this excellent book, which, however, has one grave defect: there is no index of the New Testament quotations upon which the author comments. When a second edition is called for we hope Dr. Scott will supply this.

W. E. C.

THE GOSPEL OF DIVINE ACTION. By Oliver Chase Quick, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's. *Nisbet & Co., Ltd.* 5s.

The thesis running through this book—which is based upon a series of lectures given to clergy—is that God reveals Himself both through symbols, by which knowledge is conveyed, and through instruments which, in action, promote God's purpose.

In the preface Canon Quick thus describes his aim: "to approach certain matters of theological and ecclesiastical controversy from as great a distance as possible, and not to get too close to them in the end . . . this attempt has inevitably led me to skim with ridiculous lightness over vast fields of philosophical and historical study." This method of arriving at truth strikes us as at least strange; and one of its consequences is that it involves a degree of compression which compels the reader to accept statements which really demand detailed proof.

It is divided into five chapters thus entitled: (1) "Signs and Instruments"; (2) "Hebraism and Hellenism"; (3) "St. Paul and St. John"; (4) "Christology"; (5) "The Church and the Sacraments." It will be seen that in the last two the writer enters fields of acute present controversy. In the former of these Canon Quick discusses, among others, the Christologies of Professor von Harnack, Canon Streeter and Karl Barth; but, instead of revealing his own convictions, he seems content to advocate an inclusive point of view.

A part of the final chapter is devoted to a description of the Tractarian Movement developing into Anglo-Catholicism. In this Canon Quick notices three stages. "The emphasis of the old Tractarianism," he writes, "was on the instrumental side of sacramental doctrine. It was comparatively little interested in the niceties of ceremonial symbolism. It was afraid of the cultivation of devotional feeling." Those of the second generation "found in the Eucharist the symbol of a holy fellowship . . . for them the mystery of the actual self-giving of God to man was the cause and object of eucharistic adoration; the cultus of the Reserved Sacrament was a practice which they did not feel called upon to demand, and even viewed with distrust."

Of the present position Canon Quick asserts that "in practice the emphasis of Anglo-Catholic teaching" has "shifted altogether from the instrumental to the symbolic aspect of Catholic sacramentalism . . . the efficacy of the sheer act performed according to God's appointment in the Sacrament, has been tacitly dropped . . . even the doctrine of the real presence, jealously as it is defended, is mainly prized for its power to kindle devotion, rather than for its association with the direct efficacy of the Sacrifice of the Mass. . . ."

We shall be interested to hear what the leaders of present Anglo-Catholicism have to say to these statements. Will they say that they are examples of the dangers of Canon Quick's method as described in his preface? Will they regard them as results of "approaching certain matters of theological and ecclesiastical con-

trousery from as great a distance as possible " with the inevitable consequence of not getting " too close to them in the end " ?

W. E. C.

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONALISM : A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THROUGH THE AGES. By Norman Bentwich. Pp. 288. *George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.* 10s. 6d. net.

The Weizmann Professor of the International Law of Peace in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem gives to the world, with some amplification, the course of lectures delivered at Jerusalem in 1932, when the Weizmann Chair was inaugurated. The lectures, which are rich in ideas and threaded with lofty ideals, are designed to persuade the hearer and the reader of the supreme part which the religions of the world must take in the furtherance of world unity and peace. The subject is approached historically because the author believes that method is apposite to our time. He traces carefully the effect for peace or war of the universalism taught and furthered by Pagan worships, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, etc. He dissects the present movement towards internationalism and seeks to estimate how far the movement is affected by religious ideals. He pleads his conviction that there should be a League of Religions " parallel to the League of Nations," teaching the common brotherhood of man—the only stable foundation of Internationalism. Briefly his plea is stated thus :

" The sanction of the law of nations must be either war or morality ; and nations to-day, who have in agreement forsworn war, have not yet established the ethical foundation of their mutual relations. Our society, as Professor Arnold Toynbee says, is being ruined by sin. One of the profound political troubles of our age is that, while modern science has multiplied human contacts, and almost destroyed the old isolations of time and space which severed nations, little progress has been made in bringing international relations under the control of the moral law. The world is politically as well as economically interdependent ; what happens to-day between, e.g., China and Japan profoundly affects the peoples and the States of Europe and America. And so long as the relations between countries are not controlled by moral principles, and the nations do not hold faithfully to their solemn compacts, they threaten to ruin the peace of the world. The religions of the peoples, which alike uphold certain moral principles and share the common ideal of justice and peace, offer the best foundation for that universal moral law which must be established if civilization is to stand."

This is a book heartily to be commended to all who pray in sincerity for the peace of the world.

F. B.

A SCHOLAR'S TESTAMENT. Meditations by Adolf von Harnack ; translated by Olive Wyon. *Ivor Nicholson & Watson*. 6s. net.

Professor Harnack was widely known as one of the most learned theological scholars of his time. The volume before us—admirably produced—goes far to prove the assertion, made in the preface by an intimate friend, that “his main concern was with the life of the soul in God, in the spirit of Jesus Christ.” The contents consist of more than thirty “meditations”—we should rather term them “devotional addresses,” for each is based upon some text or passage from the Bible. They prove the immense value of the knowledge of a real scholar and thinker, when this can be applied, as it is here, in the way of practical advice to ordinary men and women immersed in the difficulties and cares of everyday life. On almost every page will be found an inspiring thought deduced from a penetrating study of the meaning of some saying of Holy Scripture.

For example, speaking on the words, “The labourers are few,” Dr. Harnack shows that the application must not, as usually, be confined to “missionary workers,” whether at home or abroad. The application is a general one, addressed to every one of us to become a “fellow-labourer with God,” to help to gather the sheaves into His barn. If we feel our unfitness for such work we must remember that “however weak the hand I extend to help my needy brother it becomes stronger as he grasps it. However meagre the love and concern which I bring to his need, when he receives it from me a ray of light is reflected upon myself.” Preachers especially will find many a helpful suggestion in this book.

W. E. C.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A CHRISTIAN. By the Right Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, C.H., D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. *Faber & Faber, Ltd.* 6s. net.

The Bishop of Gloucester has written an admirable account of the Christian religion both as to its faith and its practice. It is designed to meet the condition of thought prevailing in many circles to-day and to answer some of the problems distressing thoughtful minds. A clear statement is given of the great fundamental truths concerning our belief in God, in Jesus, and in the Holy Spirit. This is followed by a statement of the Christian faith as to the doctrine of the Trinity. The necessary symbolic element in this representation of God is compensated by its practical value as a revelation of the work of God and of His love. “The dogmatic basis of the Trinity is not something outside human life, but it is that which gives coherency to the teaching of Christianity.” The test of Faith is life, and “the dependence of the Christian life on the Christian faith is becoming more and more apparent.” There is a widespread revolt against Christian morality, and we have to assert that the basis of Christian life is not the words of Jesus but Himself, His life and example. Service, duty,

sacrifice, and love sum up His characteristics. There is no need for Casuistry: a good Christian will ask himself what would Christ do? In a chapter on the Church Dr. Headlam does away with some prevailing, narrow, and erroneous conceptions, and asserts its true character as "the union of all mankind in fellowship in Jesus Christ."
G. F. I.

THE TESTAMENT OF GLORY. By Gwilyn O. Griffith. Pp. 128.
3s. 6d. net.

IS CHRISTIANITY DONE FOR? By McEwan Lawson. Pp. 128.
3s. 6d. net.

WITH ALL THY MIGHT. By Norman Goodall, M.A. Pp. 143.
3s. 6d. net.

The Student Christian Movement Press publishes these three interesting and useful volumes. *The Testament of Glory* is a study in the Gospel of St. John and other Johannine writings, centering round the declaration, "We behold His Glory." The significance for us to-day of the fourth Gospel, written as it was in an age of foreboding and unrest, is a guiding theme. Readers will welcome this volume of thoughtful, uplifting suggestions concerning Him Who is our Glory.

Is Christianity Done For? is from the same pen that gave us *The Five Pigs*. Mr. Lawson digs below the surface of to-day's disillusionment, to inspire and encourage. He knows life for what it is, and for what it can become when a man has a real grasp of God's hand and has seen Him revealed in the face of Jesus Christ. These short chapters are full of interest and inspiration.

With All Thy Might is a study in the relation of doctrine to experience. If it is ample time that someone should point out to a generation altogether impatient of creeds that apart from dogma no religion will suffice our need, Mr. Goodall is evidently the one to do it. He touches upon four cardinal points in Christian theology, the Atonement, the Person of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, showing how some knowledge of these central dogmas may be a guide to the enlargement of our conception of religion and to the enrichment of our personal experience. He begins at the Cross (the least satisfactory, we think, of his chapters), and leads to the mystery of God. His three last chapters relate dogma to faith, to life, and to prayer. Each chapter is rich in thought and cannot fail to produce a fuller conception of the necessity and value of dogma.

F. B.

MAKING LIFE BETTER. By Edward Worcester. Pp. x + 244.
Charles Scribner's Sons, 7s. 6d.

Dr. Worcester gives to his book the sub-title "An Application of Religion and Psychology to Human Problems." In some chapters there would appear to be more psychology than orthodox

religion. The main purpose of the book is stated to be a demonstration of the possibility of delivery from the unrealised evils and misfortunes which exist only in our mind and imaginations. Put otherwise, Christianity began as a religion of health and happiness. How can that joy and well-being be recovered in this "Iron Age" of disappointment, disillusionment and fear?

Dr. Worcester would, from a very long experience, see in the application of psychology the solution of many problems. The book is uneven in its appeal. Some chapters convince and offer many useful suggestions. Others seem to be written to prove some particular theory of the author. Certain parts of the book will shock the orthodox believer. The temptation in the wilderness positively did not take place. Jairus's daughter was not dead, and the story of the raising of Lazarus is merely an acted parable. Yet he does believe in "spirit possession." The book is certainly interesting and thought provoking.

F. B.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION. By Sir Alexander G. Cardew, K.C.S.I., M.A. *Watts & Co.* 3s.

This is a very interesting and useful compendium of the history and methods of an organisation which fortunately was never established in this country. But it was for long periods a terror wherever it was set up. The author does not profess to do much more than give a clear and concise epitome of the investigations of the late Dr. H. C. Lea, of Philadelphia. He could not have gone to a better source. Lea made a most thorough and candid study of everything connected with the Inquisition, and his two monumental works, *The History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* and *The Inquisition in Spain*, are a final and authoritative source for information on the subject. As to the value of Dr. Lea's work, it may be sufficient to say that though he was not a Roman Catholic, Lord Acton, the distinguished Roman Catholic historian, spoke most highly of his book on the Inquisition, and found a place for him among the writers in the volume of *The Cambridge Modern History* which deals with the Reformation. The mercenary side of the Inquisition, a matter which is often lost sight of, is well brought out by Sir Alexander Cardew, and the value of his book is enhanced by the moderate and dispassionate style in which it is written. It is a great thing to have had the whole matter presented in so convenient a form as in this unpretending little book, which deserves a wide circulation.

W. G. J.

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THE Student Christian Movement undertook a useful task when it set out to provide teachers with a commentary specially suited to meet their needs. *The Teachers' Commentary*, edited by Hugh Martin, M.A., with Theodore H. Robinson, D.D., as Editor for the Old Testament and L. W. Grensted, D.D., as Editor for the New Testament, deserves high praise as an excellent piece of work, which is issued at the moderate figure of 8s. 6d., a sum within the reach of teachers of all degrees. The Editors have secured the co-operation of a long list of helpers, all of whom have expert knowledge of teaching work, and many of them special training in the exposition of Biblical subjects. It would be impossible to mention all who have made valuable contributions, and to discriminate where all is so good would be difficult. We can only indicate some of the special features of the work. The General Articles on the Bible are on, Why teach the Bible?; Inspiration; Miracles; Palestine: The Land and the People. Some illustrations and a General Bibliography add to the usefulness of this section. A large portion of the commentary on the Old Testament is from the pen of Dr. Theodore H. Robinson, who is recognised as one of the most competent authorities on the Old Testament. The Rev. W. E. Beck, of St. Paul's College, Cheltenham, is the writer on Jeremiah, and makes a contribution to the study of the prophet valuable alike for its information and style.

In the New Testament portion Canon C. E. Raven writes on "The Beginnings of Christian Doctrine," Canon Grensted on "The Making of the New Testament," and Dr. J. A. Findlay on "The World to which Christ came." Mr. F. J. Rae is responsible for the majority of St. Paul's Epistles.

As the Commentary is specially intended for teachers the space allotted to various parts of the subject has been determined by practical teaching consideration, and its wide use is assured from the wise method adopted, and the certainty that teachers will find in the volume in handy form the information they need to render their teaching adequate, interesting and effective.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer is as well known for his versatility as for his devotion and self-sacrifice in the cause of humanity. He is a Doctor of Theology, a Doctor of Philosophy, a Doctor of Medicine, and he is also well qualified to be a Doctor of Music. For years he has devoted himself to medical missionary work in the heart of Equatorial Africa, and in the stillness of the primeval forest between the years 1914-17, when the world was passing through the upheaval of the Great War, he devoted himself to working out the problems raised by the conditions of our modern civilisation. He is publishing the results of his reflections in a series of volumes on *The Philosophy*

of Civilisation. A second edition of the first of the series on *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilisation* has been issued in an English translation by C. T. Champion, M.A. (Oxon) (A. & C. Black, Ltd. 6s. net). In this he shows the failure of philosophy to provide civilisation with an adequate world view. In consequence the ethical ideals upon which civilisation must be based have been lost. The restoration of civilisation can only be obtained by a recovery of a world view, which will give these ethical ideals their true place and full value. Dr. Schweitzer's careful analysis of the whole situation must be reckoned with in any future philosophical treatment of the essential elements of human society.

The changing East is displayed in its rapidly altering conditions in a book which we warmly recommend to all desirous of appreciating the motives inspiring the great upheaval which has changed the face of China in recent years. A series of chapters by a group of Chinese Christians has been edited by William Lung, Professor of History, Yenching University, Peiping, *As It Looks to Young China*, S. C. M. Press (2s. 6d. net). A vivid picture is presented of some of the most important phases of modern Chinese life. The old institution of the Family which was a special feature of Chinese tradition is being broken down by the impact of the new forces in social life. The whole character of Education has been changed. Contact with the West has led to "Foreignization" and many consequent difficulties. The vicissitudes of a young man's life in search of a career is pathetically depicted in the chapter headed "The Vocation." The influence of Communism in the political life is shown to be disruptive. Some frank statements are made on the Christian Church. "The Church as an institution for worship, for spreading the Gospel, for keeping and perpetuating doctrines, has not made a definite and deep impression upon the Chinese educated class." "There is no question about whether or not the young generation needs the Church. The question is whether, in the face of unprecedented and easily disappearing opportunities, the Church is able to grasp an urgent situation and fulfil its God-given mission." This is a book to be read by all who wish to understand something of what is taking place in China.

Dr. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., has written *The History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 8s. 6d. net). As an ardent Anglo-Catholic, Dr. Simpson seeks to set the Tractarian Movement in as favourable a light as possible, from the time of Newman's going over to Rome, until the present day when the Church of England is suffering the logical consequences of the theories of the Church—its Ministry and Sacraments which came in with the Oxford Movement. Their appeal was to the Primitive Church, but unfortunately they did not go back far enough, and the period from the fourth to the eighth centuries provided them with sufficient materials upon which to base the errors in teaching and practice now bearing fruit.

Dr. A. J. Mackinnon, the author of *The Rome of St. Paul*, has just issued a companion volume, *The Rome of the Early Church* (Lutterworth Press, 7s. 6d. net), with photographs by Louis Bailey Audigier. Dr. MacKinnon has a special gift of presenting historical scenes vividly and graphically; and in this volume he tells how Christianity came to Rome and the way in which it won at last its supreme position. Readers will be specially interested in the account which is given of the Catacombs; not alone of their ancient use as burying places but of their re-discovery after centuries when every trace of them had been lost. A thrilling picture is given of the persecutions and the scenes in the Colosseum when the Christians were delivered to lions for the amusement of the populace. These are but a few of the interesting points raised in a book of unusual interest.

The second volume of Dr. A. C. McGiffert's *History of Christian Thought* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 12s. 6d. net) maintains the interest of the first volume, which dealt with the early and eastern period. This volume covers the west from the time of Tertullian to that of Erasmus. In dealing with this extensive area he has chosen the greatest names, and thus presents a clear impression of the varying elements in the different ages covered. It is impossible to do full justice in a brief notice to the merits of Dr. McGiffert's work. We can only strongly recommend our readers to study his estimates of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine in the first section to obtain a clear view of their significance in Christian thought. Similarly, in the second period, Anselm, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, are among the representative writers considered, and the main lines of their teaching are clearly set out. In this section there are also important chapters on the Sacraments, and the Church and the Papacy. The volume closes with chapters on Eckhart and the Mystics, and Erasmus and the Humanists, in both of which the beginnings of modern movements are treated. Students of Christian thought will find in this volume a valuable aid to a true comprehension of the influences that have been at work at different times in the Christian Church.

The late Bishop Knight, whose comparatively early death was a source of deep regret to Church people, gave a course of Pastoral Theology lectures at Cambridge in 1925-6. These have now been published with an Introduction by the Bishop of Durham under the title *Fulfilling the Ministry* (Cambridge University Press, 7s. 6d. net). Apart from some few points in which we are not in full agreement with the writer, we can recommend this volume to the younger clergy as an inspiring guide on many matters connected with their work. It presents the teaching of the Church of England with clearness; it explains the duties of the clergy in regard to their studies, their preaching, their pastoral work, and their devotional life with forcible and decisive emphasis. No one can read it without appreciating the high ideals set out.

G. F. I.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

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

The Oxford Movement Centenary.—In addition to the books named in the April number of *THE CHURCHMAN*, a popular book has been written by Mr. W. Prescott Upton entitled *The Churchman's History of the Oxford Movement* (2s. 6d. Postage 3d.). Although this account of the Oxford Movement is comparatively brief, it covers its development up to recent times and contains a quantity of useful information which cannot be obtained elsewhere. It answers many of the claims made for the Movement in the propaganda booklets issued in connection with the Centenary.

Two pamphlets, price 2d. each, have also been printed, one being the article by the Rev. T. C. Hammond on *The Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement* which appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN* for April, and the other a new pamphlet entitled *The Oxford Movement; A Centenary Sketch*, by the Rev. D. Taylor Wilson, Vicar of All Saints', Tufnell Park. The Rev. J. M. Hewitt, Vicar and Rural Dean of Islington, contributes a foreword in which he states: "In this brief but comprehensive statement by the Rev. D. Taylor Wilson, the history, teaching and main objective of this reactionary 'movement' towards Mediævalism are clearly set forth."

Two leaflets for insertion in Parish Magazines are also available and can be obtained for 1s. and 6d. per 100 respectively.

Sunday School Lesson Books.—In response to many requests, it is proposed to publish a reprint of the Rev. G. R. Balleine's *Christianity in Action*, price 2s., for use in Sunday School work this year. Other books by Mr. Balleine which are in print and which will be available are: *Lessons from the Hymn Book*, *The Message of the Prayer Book*, *The Young Churchman*, and *Lessons from the Life of Christ*. These are all published at 2s. each.

For younger children, the books available will be *Days in the Life of Christ and Stories Jesus Loved*, by Miss Marcella Whitaker; *Bible Tales for Little Folks* and *More Bible Tales for Little Folks*, by Mrs. Macdougall Ferguson; *Stories for the Little People in Sunday School and Home*, and *More Stories for the Little People in Sunday School and Home*, by Deaconesses Oakley and Ethel Luke. These are published at 1s. 6d. each.

Book Racks.—We draw attention to the Book Racks which we supply for the sale of literature in Church porches or parish halls. These racks have had a very large sale, and are an excellent means of advertising and circulating literature. In one district in particular, upwards of ten pounds' worth of penny and twopenny pamphlets were distributed during August and September. Two racks are now supplied, one containing space for a Parish Magazine which is suitable for standing on a table, size 22 × 12 × 7½ in., and the other, which is more suitable for showing individual pamphlets, can be placed on a wall, size 19 × 22 × 2½ in. Each rack is fitted with a strong money box, with a lock and key, in which purchasers can place the amount of their purchases. We are able to allow a discount of 25 per cent. on all supplies for these Book Racks on orders of 10s. or more, provided the pamphlets are published by the Church Book Room.

Family Prayers.—*Family Prayers* (2d.), by the Rev. A. F. Thornhill, which was originally published in the English Church Manual Series, has had a very large circulation and is still in great demand. We are constantly asked for a more strongly bound copy than the paper cover, and have now issued an edition in limp cloth at 6d. and in stiff boards at 1s.

The Holy Communion.—The Rev. A. St. John Thorpe's *Devotional Studies in the Holy Communion Service* (6d., paper cover) has also been bound in cloth at 1s. This book is being used for Confirmation Candidates, and consists of six Sermons, which are warmly commended by Bishop Knox, who says: "Sound doctrine is the mother of true worship and of heartfelt devotion, and the relentless foe of pure superstition." What Dr. Knox commends is not only sound doctrine, but Evangelical truth set forth with religious fervour and close adhesion to the teaching of Holy Scripture. These addresses are the fruit of careful thinking, knowledge of what men need as a guide, and loyal attachment to the Book of Common Prayer. We wish that similar courses may be preached in all our Churches, and these will serve as guide to the best way of treating the subject. Ignorance is the best buttress of the case of Anglo-Catholicism. When our people know the Truth they will not accept error.

The Daily Walk.—Cornelia, Lady Wimborne's *Daily Walk*, Devotions for every day of the year, is published at 5s. in dark blue cloth, and at 7s. 6d. in cloth gilt (postage 6d.). Lady Wimborne in compiling this little book had, in the first instance, the underlying thought to help those who had been joined together in matrimony to walk together in the narrow way, but it was suggested to her that the book might, with advantage, be widened in scope. In accordance with this idea, the choice of subjects was enlarged, and by not superseding, and still keeping in view, the original object, the compilation was made for the use of people in general but more especially for the young. It was felt that in putting the Bible in the hands of the young, some guidance and direction as to what they should read would be of value to them. The daily portions selected are short and adapted to the exigencies of a busy life. Above all, the extracts from the Bible have been chosen with the object of making people more familiar with the glories of the Book, both from its spiritual and its literary merit.

Elementary Bible Studies.—The Rev. A. du T. Pownall's book, *Elementary Bible Studies*, being some notes on the historical books of the Old Testament (price 6d. in paper cover), will be found a great help to those who read the Bible for their own soul's sustenance, and essential to those who expound it for the instruction of others, to have in their minds a clear-cut analysis of each book's contents. This elementary handbook supplies an admirable summary of the books from Genesis to Esther, the works of such masters of exposition as Dr. Griffith Thomas and the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan having been laid under contribution. It was originally prepared to help candidates who offer for work in the Colonies under the Colonial and Continental Church Society. Readers will do well to buy a copy. Candidates for examinations will find it invaluable.
