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THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1905.

“DO WE BELIEVE?”¹

THE proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* have done well to publish in book shape a selection from the extraordinary correspondence that deluged the Editor's box day by day for the last three months of 1904. In a note to this suggestive volume they inform us that at least nine thousand letters were received on this great question, and that if these had all been printed, together with the sermons to which they gave occasion, the total would have occupied two thousand five hundred columns of their journal!

The fact is unique; not only in English journalism, but in all literature. A great secular London “daily” suddenly became a confessional box; the world at large was invested for the nonce with the functions of the Confessor, and into its listening ear was poured this stream of heartfelt utterance—the cry of faith, of doubt, of despair. The most intimate perplexities and doubts were unfolded without reserve, and without shame or shyness. In no country in the world save one that is convincingly and honestly Protestant would this correspondence have been possible. Is it imaginable in Spain or Italy or France? We doubt very much whether even in the United States the *New York Herald* would have anticipated the wants of the mass of its readers by opening its columns after this fashion. Here, and here alone, such a correspondence is possible; and, much as there is to pain in this letter or that, the great outstanding fact is the correspondence itself, with all that it implies. Spiritual independence is the Briton's birthright; we have handed it

¹ A record of a great correspondence in the *Daily Telegraph*, with an introduction by W. L. Courtney, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.

over to our kinsfolk across the Atlantic, but we won it for ourselves. The result, of course, as this correspondence shows, is the utmost variety of religious belief or unbelief: in this volume there is nothing of sameness or uniformity; but if that fact may be deplored by the sincere Christian, it is far more than balanced by the gain to the national conscience. It is this spiritual independence, this right of private judgment, which is the correlative, and indeed the foundation, of that individualism which underlies our imperial prosperity. Two other facts are worth notice. One is that the bulk of these letters are written by men, not by women; the other is the vast preponderance of faith over unbelief.

This remarkable series was initiated by a letter from "Oxoniensis," complaining that the proceedings of the Church Congress, then just about to meet in Liverpool, were vitiated and rendered practically useless by its tacit assumption that we are all Christians. But, "Do we believe?" What is the good of discussing conclusions if the premises are rotten? The Church Congress says: "We believe." Well, the test is simple: Religion necessarily issues in Morality, and the particular morality inculcated by Christianity is summed up in the Sermon on the Mount. Measure, then, the morality of the nation against the morality of the Sermon, and it will be found not merely unlike, but antithetical. Its ideals are the very opposite of Christ's. What possible right have we, then, to the name of Christian? *Do we believe? What do we believe?*

I am not concerned to decide between the Bishop of London's view that this letter was "an attempt to make us practically ashamed of the Gospel of Christ," and the Dean of Westminster's, who is "grateful to the writer" for the personal form of his inquiry, and not less for his reserve in limiting its range. The really important question is whether "Oxoniensis," whatever his motive, is entitled to contrast the morality of those whom he defines as "the men and women of the world" with that of the Sermon, and then to ask: "Do we believe?" The truth is that the same Sermon makes it perfectly clear that discipleship to Christ, with its obligations of obedience to the laws of the kingdom, constitutes a real severance from "the men and women of the world." We are free to confess that these persons may to-day constitute the bulk of what is termed Christendom, but we much doubt whether they themselves would assert that they represented the Christianity inculcated by Christ. The real question at issue is not whether Christianity is a fraud, but whether the "men and women of the world" who bear the name first given at Antioch to men and women who emphatically were "not of the world" are

not frauds? And to this question, we take it, there can be but one answer.

But assuming for the moment that “Oxoniensis” is correct in his identification of Christendom and Christianity, he makes a not unusual mistake as to the character of the precepts in our Lord’s Sermon on the Mount. He points to such words as, “Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain” (Matt. v. 39-41). Now, I have often wondered what the results would by this time have been had the men and women “not of the world” literally and invariably translated such precepts into practice. I am disposed to think that the world, which has always bowed to the might of meekness, would long ago have admitted the reality, and have bent to the supremacy, of the kingdom of God. Such speculations, however, are needless. It is clear, as more than one correspondent urges, and as Archbishop Magee admitted, that foreign politics could not be conducted on these lines. “Homo” calls them “sweet, impossible counsels”; “Wheat and Tares” is bold enough to say that the ideals of the Sermon are for us to love, but not for us to follow: as if it were possible to love without attempting to follow.¹

But simply to say what might have been, and there to stop, is to “make us practically ashamed of the Gospel of Christ,” and to relegate the kingdom of God to the region of mere ideas. The mistake of all these writers, and of that large number of persons whom they represent, is to consider the precepts of the Sermon so many universal absolutes, and as literally binding as the precepts of the Decalogue. Of course, they are nothing of the kind. They are paradoxical in form, and purposely so, with a view to arresting attention. The command, “Be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect,” has for its object the setting up as an ideal the love which never fails. Its absolute realization in every, or indeed any,

¹ Some years ago one of my congregation was preaching in the open air. On the outskirts of the crowd stood a shady-looking individual, much dilapidated and without a coat. Like “Oxoniensis,” this man presently challenged the speaker’s honesty, telling him that he was a fraud: “Jesus Christ said, Give yer coat to ‘im as ‘asn’t one. Now, I ain’t got a coat, so give me yourn.” My friend at once responded by taking off his coat, which was as promptly put on by the other, who said as he went off: “Well, I’m a Catholic, but I ain’t got no prejudice.” My friend came home in his shirt-sleeves, not quite at his ease in mind or body, conscious that he had done a stupid thing, and presently asked my opinion about it. With such a questioner I felt it sufficient to point him to the maxim, “He that hath *two* coats, let him impart to him that hath none!”

disciple is impossible; but, nevertheless, every act prompted by love is the act of a son of God, a following in his Father's steps, an approximation, however faint, to God Himself. And this is the key to Christ's teaching. It may please some of the writers to the *Daily Telegraph* to represent our Lord as a Socialist, bidding the general renunciation of property; but that is a mere caricature of His teaching. In the Sermon on the Mount the kingdom of God is seen as a great social order; its supreme law is the law of love, for love is the solution of all social difficulties. The special cases drawn by Christ are simply so many ideal illustrations of how that law operates in the most homely situations. Had "Oxoniensis" understood this he would not have scolded "the men and women of the world," or have mistaken Christendom for Christianity.

Turning to the second part of the volume, we come to the letters classified under the head of "Unfaith." Of materialism, pure and simple, there is but little. Lady Florence Dixie, challenged to give her "valuable and courageous opinion," writes a letter upon the question which certainly deserves the latter of these epithets. But such writers appear to be as destitute of philosophy as they are of faith. Really thoughtful minds cannot be purely materialistic. It is seen with increasing clearness that matter is always synthetic with spirit, and that each acts and reacts upon the other. This has been well put by Schopenhauer: "Realism" (materialism), he writes, "which commends itself to the crude understanding by the appearance which it assumes of being matter of fact, really starts from an arbitrary assumption, and is therefore an empty castle in the air; for it ignores or denies the first of all facts—that all we know lies within consciousness. For that the *objective existence* of things is conditional through a subject whose ideas they are, and consequently that the objective world exists only as idea, is no hypothesis, and still less a dogma, or even a paradox set up for discussion; but it is the most certain and the simplest truth."¹

It is too much to hope that unbelief will not find new weapons wherewith to assail Christianity, but the old ones are certainly not merely old, but somewhat rusty. Spencer and Haeckel alike are behind the times, and it is comforting to find so strong an authority as Sir Oliver Lodge speaking of them both in the *Hibbert Journal* as "stranded by the tide of opinion, which has begun to flow in another direction." But, we repeat, there is little of this pure materialism in evidence in the "Do we believe?" discussion; on the con-

¹ "World as Will and Idea," Book I.

trary, there is everywhere evidence of a deep longing for something that materialism cannot give. Some of the writing, indeed, is intensely pathetic; as, for instance, that of "Anxious" on p. 257, which we subjoin in its entirety:

SIR,—I shall be very grateful if some one of your correspondents will help me. I am longing to know and find God. I feel as if I am in a dark, dark room, groping for someone I am told is there, and I grope on and on, and always grasp thin air.

How can I find Him, and be quite, quite sure that I have found Him?

I hear of people who say they receive great comfort from the Holy Communion, so I stay this service, but I am confident I receive no benefit.

I pray (because I read that if we do His will we shall know it) against fierce temptation, but the temptation remains; so what can I conclude but either there is no God or, if there be, He will have nothing to do with me? "Etoniensis" seems to have first believed because he found his prayers were answered. Mine are not, so that road is cut off. I feel if I do not soon find help I shall give up, and, as it appears a fact that we never stand still, I suppose I must drift to the bad.

ANXIOUS.

We remember being struck at the time by the way this letter was answered. Its deep human note struck a responsive chord; the replies were many, but they did not appear likely to be of much use to "Anxious." There was no appeal to Scripture, no pointing to the Atonement, no statement of God's way of salvation; but "Anxious" was bidden to "cheer up," or "grin and bear it," or "look at the bright side of life"—all of which poor Anxious had doubtless tried before he wrote his letter.

On the whole, this volume is stimulating and full of encouragement, though I lay it down with a feeling of disappointment that there were so few letters from the abler pens of those who have found God in His Son. Possibly, however, they did write and their letters were not inserted. In any case, it is clear that "Unfaith," so called, is far less prevalent than is generally supposed; and that, while there is plenty of "Doubt," there is far more "Faith." The following lines, culled from an American college magazine, appear to set forth the mental attitude of multitudes towards the things unseen and eternal—men who are "feeling after God if haply they may find Him," men who are on the way to faith, though not yet sure of its foothold—and they may fitly conclude this article:

A fire-mist, and a planet,
A crystal, and a cell,
A jelly-fish and a saurian
And caves where the cave-men dwell:
Then a sense of law and beauty
And a face turned from the clod;
Some call it "evolution,"
And others call it "God."

A haze on the fair horizon,
 The infinite tender sky,
 The ripe rich tracts of the cornfields,
 And the wild birds sailing high;
 And all over upland and lowland
 The charm of the golden rod:
 Some of us call it "autumn,"
 And others call it "God."

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach,
 When the moon is new and thin,
 Into our hearts high yearnings
 Come welling and surging in:
 Come from the mystic ocean,
 Whose rim no foot hath trod:
 Some of us call it "longing,"
 And others call it "God."

A picket frozen on duty,
 A mother starved for her brood,
 Socrates drinking his hemlock,
 And Jesus on the Rood;
 And millions who, humble and nameless,
 The straight hard pathway plod:
 Some call it "consecration,"
 And others call it "God."

A. E. BARNES-LAWRENCE.



HORT'S "CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA."

IN 1897 there was published the "Christian Ecclesia," a course of lectures on the early history and the early conception of the Ecclesia by the late Professor Hort, a book remarkable alike on account of the man, the method, and the conclusions. It is difficult to explain why this book should have apparently made so little impression, and that Evangelical Churchmen have seemingly been so slow to appreciate the magnificent support which it gives to their position in regard to the essential nature and character of the Church and the ministry. It is in the hope of drawing attention again to its claims and its timeliness, in view of the great controversy with sacerdotalism in our Communion, that I venture to point out briefly some of the salient points in Dr. Hort's position.

With Hort the love of truth was the master passion. He was dominated by a consuming desire to be perfectly fair and accurate in all that he wrote. This led him to write and rewrite; and after all his revision, still dissatisfied, he shrank from publication. Hence it has been that most of his books have only appeared since his death; but they have been found

so complete and so carefully prepared that they have suffered little from the disadvantages of their posthumous publication. Moreover, Hort was scrupulously careful lest he should overstate his case or fail in justice towards an opponent. He was remarkably free from prejudice and partiality. These characteristics of the man give unique weight to his testimony and his conclusions.

In the "Christian Ecclesia" he proceeds by the method of an exact, painstaking, and dispassionate discussion of all the passages in the New Testament relating to the Church and the ministry. The work is purely Biblical in its scope. All external considerations are disregarded. The author labours to detach himself from every conception drawn from later sources, and to maintain throughout a rigorously impartial attitude. This appears at the outset in his choice of the term "Ecclesia," in preference to "Church" or "Congregation," which was selected, he tells us, in order "to avoid ambiguity," and "to eliminate all associations connected with the institution and doctrines of later times." No method could be better adapted for the elucidation of truth. In the hands of one so pre-eminently just and accurate it affords the highest guarantee for the soundness of the conclusions arrived at.

1. THE NATURE OF THE APOSTOLATE AND ITS RELATIONS TO THE ECCLESIA.—Having justified his choice of the word "ecclesia," Dr. Hort proceeds to discuss its significance in the Old Testament and in the Gospels, and is led to note "the true continuity" of the Ecclesia of Christ with the Ecclesia of the Old Covenant. He is thus brought to an examination of Christ's words to St. Peter in Matt. xvi. 18, in which the Christian Ecclesia is first mentioned—words which, he affirms, were not spoken to Peter exclusively, but to him as the spokesman and interpreter of the other disciples. "It was no question here of an authority given to St. Peter. . . . Still less was it a question of an authority which should be transmitted by St. Peter to others. The whole was a matter of personal or individual qualifications and personal or individual work. The outburst of keenly perceptive faith had now at last shown St. Peter, carrying with him the rest, to have the primary qualifications for the task which the Lord contemplated for him."

It was, Hort points out, the combination of intimate personal acquaintance with the Lord, and this living faith in Him which Peter manifested, that constituted "the qualifications for becoming the foundation of the future Ecclesia. In virtue of this personal faith vivifying their discipleship, the Apostles became themselves the first little Ecclesia, constituting a living rock upon which a far larger and ever-increasing

Ecclesia should very shortly be built slowly up, living stone by living stone, as each new faithful convert was added to the society."

Hort maintains that "wherever we find disciples and discipleship in the Gospels, there we are dealing with what was a direct preparation for the founding of the Ecclesia. . . ." "Not only was discipleship the foundation of Apostleship, but the Twelve who were Apostles were precisely the men who were most completely disciples."

"The exact relation of the Apostles to the Ecclesia" is regarded by Hort as "a fundamental part" of his elucidation of the nature of the Ecclesia. Accordingly, he devotes the second lecture to the discussion of this relationship. Our Lord, he shows, had a twofold purpose in the setting apart of the Twelve: first, that they should be with Him; secondly, that they should go forth to preach and work. The first is discipleship, involving "personal nearness to Himself," a "direct, personal discipleship," and as such "incommunicable." The second is Apostleship, the going forth as Christ's heralds and witnesses to make known what they had seen and heard. The latter is dependent upon the first. "Discipleship, not Apostleship, was the primary active function, so to speak, of the Twelve till the Ascension, and, as we shall see, it remained always their fundamental function." Hort shows that throughout the Gospels they are generally called Apostles only with reference to the first typical mission upon which they were sent, and that the name "disciples" predominates. So it was at the Last Supper, when the Twelve sat "as representatives of the Ecclesia at large: they were disciples more than they were Apostles."

In like manner, in the renewal of the Apostolic mission after the Resurrection, the Apostles "represented the whole Ecclesia of the future," and it was to them, as such representatives, that there were given the Lord's assurances and charges as to the gift of the Spirit, the remission and retention of sins, Christ's universal authority and His abiding presence. So Hort maintains that in these words, which are continually cited as the basis of sacerdotal claims transmitted from the Apostolate to the Episcopate, there was no exclusive prerogative given to the Apostles.

The original mission of the Apostles "was strictly confined to Judæa," but after the Resurrection there was given to it a universal range. The going forth of the message of salvation is set forth in wholly impersonal terms; "nothing connects the Apostles themselves with it but the single saying, 'Ye are witnesses of these things,' a saying which perfectly well admits of meaning no more than that the fundamental testimony of

'these things' was to be given by the Apostles." Thus the universality of the Apostolic mission is connected with its second characteristic, its work of bearing witness. "This comes out with especial clearness in St. Peter's address to the brethren respecting providing a successor to Judas (Acts i. 21, *et seq.*). This is the one essential condition mentioned, to be a witness of the Resurrection. . . ."

"This mark of Apostleship is evidently founded on direct personal discipleship, and evidently it is incommunicable. Its whole meaning rested on immediate and unique experience, as St. John says (1 John i. 1). Without a true perceptive faith, such a faith as showed itself in St. Peter, all this acquaintance through the bodily sense was in vain. But the truest faith of one who was a disciple only in the second degree [that is, of one who had not the same intimate personal relations with Christ which the Twelve had], however precious in itself, could never qualify him for bearing the Apostolic character."

"Apart from this unique function of being witnesses of the Resurrection, it is difficult to find in the New Testament any clear definition of the Apostolic office from the records of the time between the Resurrection and the Ascension."

Referring to 1 Cor. xii. and Eph. iv., Hort says: "In both lists Apostles and prophets come first, two forms of altogether exceptional function—those who were able to bear witness of Jesus and the Resurrection by the evidence of their own sight—the Twelve and St. Paul—and those whose monitions or outpourings were regarded as specially inspired by the Holy Spirit." And, again, he says: "In the true sense there were no Apostles but the Twelve and St. Paul." "The Apostles were essentially personal witnesses of the Lord and His Resurrection."

Moreover, Hort maintains that the Apostles had no formal commission of authority, nor did they make any claim to such authority. "We hear nothing of any formal assertion of authority, either by St. Peter himself, or by the Apostles generally, or by the Apostles and brethren together." "There is, indeed, no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority for government from Christ Himself. Their commission was to be witnesses of Himself, and to bear that witness by preaching and by healing." "The authority they exercised was moral, rather than formal." "Round this, their definite function [of bearing witness to Christ] grew up in process of time an indefinite authority, the natural, and right, and necessary consequence of their unique position . . . but it came to the Apostles by the ordinary action of Divine providence, not by any formal Divine command." Their authority grew out of "the uniqueness of their position and

personal qualifications." "The government which they thus exercised was a genuine government—all the more genuine and effectual because it was in modern phrase constitutional; it did not supersede the responsibility and action of the elders or of the Ecclesia at large, but called them out." Hort has thus convincingly shown that the theory of "Apostolic succession" has no footing in the New Testament.

2. THE NATURE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—Hort not only shows that what is unique and peculiar in the Apostleship—namely, the special personal relations of the Twelve and St. Paul to the Master—was temporary and incommunicable; he also conclusively establishes that what was fundamental in the Apostolic office is that which is common to all Christians, and forms the basis of the Christian Ecclesia—namely, discipleship to Christ, personal faith in Him. "The discipleship which accompanied our Lord's ministry contained, though in an immature form, precisely the conditions by which the Ecclesia subsisted afterwards: faith and devotion to the Lord, felt and exercised in union, and consequent brotherly love. It was the strength, so to speak, of St. Peter's discipleship which enabled him, leading the other eleven disciples, and in conjunction with them, to be a foundation on which fresh growths of the Ecclesia could be built." "They themselves [the Apostles] constituted the foundation [of the Church] in the sense which the Gospels led us to recognise the chosen band of intimate disciples, the first rudimentary Ecclesia, on which the Ecclesia of Palestine was first built, and then, indirectly, every other Ecclesia, whether it had or had not been personally founded by an Apostle."

The Ecclesia is built upon faith in Christ. The Church is the fellowship of all who believe in Him. This is true alike of the one universal Ecclesia and the local or partial Ecclesiæ, the one Catholic Church and the many Churches, as of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, and Antioch. But do these local Churches make up the one universal Church? This is a crucial question. Hort's answer is positive and radical. They do not. Discussing the teaching of the Ephesians, in which, he says, the idea of the whole Ecclesia as one is first definitely expressed, Hort observes that "it is important to notice that not a word in the Epistle exhibits the one Ecclesia as made up of many Ecclesiæ. To each local Ecclesia St. Paul has ascribed a corresponding unity of its own: each is a body of Christ and a sanctuary of God; but there is no grouping of them into partial wholes, or into one great whole. The members which make up the one Ecclesia are not communities, but individual men. The one Ecclesia includes all members of all partial Ecclesiæ; but its relations to them all

are direct, not mediate." Again, he says: "The universal Ecclesia and the partial Ecclesiæ alike were wholly made up of men who had each for himself believed, whose baptism was for each the outward expression of what was involved in his belief, for his past and for his future, and who had a right to look on the fact that they had been permitted to be the subjects of this marvellous change as evidence that they each had been the object of God's electing love before the foundations of the world were laid." Compare this statement of the Cambridge professor with the definition given in the Whit-Sunday Homily: "The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people."

3. CHURCH OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT.—Professort Hort can find no ground in the New Testament for any *ius divinum* of Church order: "At every turn we are constrained to feel that we can learn to good effect from the Apostolic age only by studying its principles and ideals, not by copying its precedents." Again, he says: "There is no trace in the New Testament that any ordinances on this subject [of Church organization] were prescribed by the Lord, or that any such ordinances were set up as permanently binding by the Twelve, or by St. Paul, or by the Ecclesia at large. Their faith in the Holy Spirit and His perpetual guidance was too much of a reality to make that possible." He points out that "the true way, the Apostolic way, of regarding offices and officers in the Ecclesia is to regard them as organs of its corporate life for special purposes; so that the offices of an Ecclesia at any period are only a part of its organization."

The Ecclesia itself is the source of all authority. It is to the whole body, and not to any class or order of men within it, that Christ's commission and authorization were given. "The work of the Ecclesia in relation to the world is itself a missionary work; and it is to the Ecclesia itself as the missionary body that Christ's charge (Matt. xxviii. 19) is ultimately addressed." "These last words (John xvii. 18) bring out the purpose of the Ecclesia in God's counsels. It is to draw the rest of mankind to its own faith and love; to carry on a work of salvation in the power of salvation wrought by its Head: 'As Thou didst send Me into the world, I also sent them into the world.' The whole Ecclesia shares alike in that transmitted mission." Dr. Hort examines carefully every passage bearing upon this question. It was, for example, "to the Ecclesia at large that the letter [of the Apostles and brethren at Jerusalem to the Antiochian Church] was addressed." When Paul and Barnabas go forth from Antioch, "it is the members of the Ecclesia itself that

dismiss them." "The mission is from the Christians of Antioch." From St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders Hort infers that "the appointment came from the Ecclesia itself." Referring to the seat of authority being vested in the whole body of the Christian people, and not in any order, Hort says: "The very origin and fundamental nature of the Ecclesia as a community of disciples renders it impossible that the principle should rightly become obsolete."

Hort carefully distinguishes between functions and offices. The former are inherent in the body itself; they are fundamental. The latter are the mere external forms through which from time to time the functions are exercised, and are variable. The fundamental functions he makes to be two—that of oversight and that of service. "These two functions are to him [St. Paul] the main outward manifestations that the community of saints was indeed an organized body, needing and possessing government on the one side and service on the other. It would matter little how many offices there were, with or without titles—two or three or twenty. That was a matter of external arrangement which might vary endlessly according to circumstances; the essential thing was to recognise the need of the two fundamental types of service."

The functions are Divine gifts—the bestowal of the Holy Spirit upon individuals whom He endows with capacities for service and for oversight. The offices are adaptations of existing human institutions. "In the Apostolic age we have seen," Hort says, "that the offices instituted in the Ecclesia were the creation of successive experiences and changes of circumstance, involving at the same time a partial adoption, first of Jewish precedents by the Ecclesia of Judæa, and then, apparently, of Judæan Christian precedents by the Ecclesiæ of the Dispersion and the Gentiles."

As to the mode or the office of ordination, no rule is laid down. Hort affirms that "nowhere in the New Testament have we any information about the manner in which elders were consecrated or ordained [the exact word, Hort adds, matters little] to their office." The four passages of the New Testament "in which laying on of hands is connected with an act answering to ordination" do not warrant a larger inference than that "Jewish usage in the case of rabbis and their disciples renders it highly probable that (as a matter of fact) laying on of hands was largely practised in the Ecclesiæ of the Apostolic age as a rite introductory to ecclesiastical office. But, as the New Testament tells us no more than what has been already mentioned, it can hardly be likely that any essential principle was involved in it. It was enough that an Ecclesia should, in modern phrase, be organized, or,

in the really clearer Apostolic phrase, be treated as a body made up of members with a diversity of functions; and that all things should be done decently and in order."

One is tempted to refer to other points in this suggestive volume; but enough has been said to indicate its character and value, and to stimulate, I hope, in the minds of many an earnest purpose to study it. It is an irenic book. It is only upon the line of the great principles it contends for that Church union is possible. These principles must eventually prevail. A great advance towards the unification of Protestant Christendom will have been made when all see, as Professor Hort saw, "the futility of endeavouring to make the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place, thus turning the Gospel into a second Levitical code. The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind; but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the Ecclesia itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedents on the one hand and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the Ecclesia, and of every Ecclesia, is not a law, but a history."

J. P. SHERATON.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH SUSSEX.

PART II.

IN 1070 Stigand was succeeded by LANFRANC, the Norman Abbot of Bec, and it was during his primacy that Domesday Book was completed, wherein, *inter alia*, the landed possessions of the See of Canterbury are scheduled. Under the heading "Terra Archiepiscopi" are entered brief descriptions of the acreage—or rather hidage—the nature of the lands, the churches, and mills, the tenants, the number of the villeins, and the value for taxing purposes both "T.R.E."—in the time of King Edward—and at the date of drawing up the survey. Here and there we find glimpses of ancient customs, little personal notes, and a variety of matter interesting to the historian, the economist, and the antiquary. The Sussex manors in the possession of the see are recorded as Malling, Odintune (an unidentified locality), Stanmere, Paghams, Tangmere, Loventune (Lavant), Petchinges (Patch-

ing), and Terring (West Tarring). Some of these names of the great manors included by implication other smaller places, but it will be noticed that Slindon, by no means unimportant, and Hamsey are missing. Both of these had been granted away at the great redistribution of the Conquest, Slindon to Count Roger de Montgomery, Hamsey to William de Warenne, Lord of Lewes and son-in-law of the Conqueror. It is somewhat remarkable that such places as Lindfield and Mayfield have no mention among the Archbishop's possessions. Doubtless they were of comparatively recent origin as clearings from the vast Weald, but it is difficult to believe that at the time of Domesday's compilation they were of insufficient size or value to merit mention therein. Another parish not mentioned in Domesday as a possession of the see is Edburton, near Beeding, some few miles north of Shoreham. Yet it is, and has been for centuries, a *peculiar* of Canterbury. The place itself is nowhere entered in the great Book of Survey, though two place-names in the parish are mentioned, Perching and Trailgi (the modern Truly). Yet Edburton possesses an ancient church, consisting of chancel, nave, and a low tower at its west end, a church which, there is little doubt, is as old as Domesday, since its font, circular, arcaded, and made of lead, is of early Norman character. In the main the edifice is of Early English style. In 1319 William de Northo founded a chantry on the north side of this church.

Among the items of information which Domesday supplies in connection with the archiepiscopal manors is the reference to the valuation of "pannage." In the Middle Ages, when so many swine were kept, and such quantities of bacon and ham consumed by all classes, "pannage," which was the turning out swine to feed in the forests, and the modus of payment for it, was a matter of great importance. At Pagham, Domesday tells us, the manorial tenant could turn out to feed in the forests one hog out of every seven he possessed, and it adds "similiter per totum Sudsex," a note of great interest. Little less important in mediæval days was the part played by the mills throughout the country. At Malling, according to the same record, there were eight mills, the manor being scattered and containing just as many vills. Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to the usual connection which a Primate must have with so important a portion of his province as the county of Sussex, had other concern with it. He had the superintendence of the removal of the episcopal seat of Sussex from Selsey, where twenty-two Bishops had sat, to Chichester, thenceforth to be the centre of the diocese. In addition, the Pope entrusted him with the business of determining the legality of Ægelric's election to the Diocese of

Sussex. The result of his inquiry was that the election was pronounced to have been uncanonical, for reasons that do not appear; and the venerable Ægelric was deposed, albeit he was, according to contemporary historians, "a man very skilled in the laws of the land and in interpreting ancient customs." Such was his reputation in those matters, that, when a meeting of notables, cleric and lay, had met on Penenden Heath to discuss alleged encroachments on the rights of the See of Canterbury, Ægelric's attendance and advice had been so much a matter of importance that, worn with sickness and old age, he was conveyed thither in a horsed vehicle.

In 1093 Lanfranc was succeeded in the primacy by ANSELM, one of the best of men and of Archbishops—so much so that Dante, exclusive as he was, admits him into Paradise. Alien as it was to his temperament, his life as Archbishop was a continual strife with his fierce Norman Sovereigns, who endeavoured to infringe or curtail the ecclesiastical power. In this connection William of Malmesbury tells us that, almost alone among the Bishops, Ralph of Chichester "stood up boldly for Anselm against William Junior." In 1094 we find Anselm in Sussex, Rufus having summoned him, with other Bishops, to Hastings, in order to give his blessing to the army assembled there preparatory to the invasion of Normandy. Availing himself of the long spell of waiting necessitated by contrary winds, Anselm consecrated the great church of Battle Abbey, then approaching completion, and the next day consecrated Robert Bloet as Bishop of Lincoln. Albeit the Archbishop found William II.'s successor little more pliable, he yet approached him sufficiently in season of mood and occasion to obtain from Henry I. a restitution to the see of the Manor of Slindon, that appendant vill to Pagham which, after belonging to the archbishopric for more than 360 years, had been detached from it at the Conquest for bestowal upon Roger Montgomery. This restitution was additional to that of the whole temporalities which the late King had seized in 1097. Three years after this Anselm died at Canterbury, and was succeeded by RALPH or RODOLPH, a Primate who possibly had a more particular association with Sussex than many of the Archbishops, since his brother, Seffrid I., was Bishop of Chichester. In 1121 he was at South Malling, doubtless on a visitation of the diocese, on which occasion he gave a confirmatory charter to the monks of St. Pancras' Priory, a monastery lying under the southern walls of Lewes—a charter remarkable as including among the possessions of that house the churches of Tangmere and Lavant, appendages of that Manor of Pagham devised by

Wilfrid to Canterbury, and included, as we have seen, among the Archbishop's property by Domesday. Since we find these churches again in the possession of the see in subsequent centuries, it must be supposed that this charter—and a similar one granted by King Stephen—refers to a temporary alienation. About the same time this Archbishop granted also to the monks of St. Pancras the useful if prosaic present of 36 *summa*, seams, or horse-loads of beans annually from his Manor of Pagham. This unit of measure, the horse-load, was equal to 8 bushels, and is very suggestive and reminiscent of the days when so much traffic and transport was effected without wheeled carriage, but on horseback.

WILLIAM CORBOYLE, the succeeding Primate, does not appear to have had any more particular connection with Sussex than that involved in the usual visitations. But THEOBALD, who attained the primacy in 1138, has left record of various associations of his name and deeds in the county. He was particularly concerned in the reorganization of the Benedictine College at Malling. At an uncertain date, but probably in the year 1150, he consecrated the re-erected church, and by a contemporary deed endowed it with all the tithes of corn, hay, lamb's-wool, cheese, pigs and goats, and other tithable articles, in his whole Manor of Malling and its vills, and he directed that the tithes of corn and hay should be cut and carried for the canons by his own people when they harvested his. By another deed, "for the love of God and the good of his soul and those of his predecessors," he gave "as a perpetual alms to the church and canons of the Blessed Michael of Malling" the tithe of the "pannage" money, together with "pannage" for twenty-four hogs in his Forest of the Broyle. This so-called forest, once the forest of the Saxon Kings, was an unenclosed tract of ground of several thousand acres in the parishes of Ringmer and Framfield, consisting of woodland and waste of the Weald, and harbouring, according to the tradition of early Stuart times, hardly fewer than a thousand deer, both red and fallow.

While still in Sussex the Archbishop confirmed by deed the grant of Sompting Church to the Templars' preceptory in the west of the county. He also about the same time addressed a letter of remonstrance "to his dear daughter Adela," widow of the Earl of Warenne, about "the astonishing complaint" of the monks of Lewes that she was withholding those tithes of her domains "which they had always without dispute possessed." "Wholesomely advising and admonishing" her, he ended his epistle with the stern warning, "Otherwise we cannot be deficient in doing them that justice which we owe to all." But the Countess remained

obstinate—and abroad—and never confirmed the charters of the monks or rendered them their dues of tithes.

In the year 1161 Theobald was succeeded by THOMAS BECKET, a prelate who had had a previous connection with Sussex by reason of his having been Dean—probably the first Dean—of the College of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings. This college, whose origin was of great antiquity, was a free or exempt foundation, and as a consequence frequent disputes arose with Bishops and Archbishops attempting visitation, as we shall see later on. During his primacy Becket was doubtless resident upon occasion at some of his Sussex manors, and it was probably at one of these visits that he bestowed upon the canons of St. Michael at Malling his manse there. Becket's secretary, Herbert de Bosham, was a Sussex man, and was present at the dreadful scene of the Primate's assassination. He was made a Cardinal by Pope Alexander III., and wrote a life of the Archbishop. In connection with Archbishop Becket and Sussex we must not neglect to notice that he introduced the fig-tree at Tarring, where it still flourishes to-day.

RICHARD, Becket's successor, appears to have had but little concern with Sussex, but we find that the Templars obtained from him a confirmation of a gift of land, tithes, and pasture at Sompting, on some occasion when he was visiting his *peculiar*s in this county, probably while sojourning at the neighbouring Tarring. In 1175 he was at Malling, and in the college church there he consecrated Odo Abbot of Battle.

BALDWIN and REGINALD, succeeding Archbishops, have left little record of association with Sussex, but HUBERT WALTER, who attained the primacy in 1193, appears in one connection at least with the county; for in 1199 he was at Shoreham, at that time a seaport of some importance. On this occasion he was in the train of King John, whose Chancellor he was, and who granted a charter of certain immunities to the citizens while he was staying at this little Sussex port; a charter whose conclusion makes it as “datum per manum Huberti cancellarii nostri.” John was a much-travelled monarch, and as his Chancellor the Archbishop doubtless accompanied him on many of his journeys; while in 1206 the King was the guest of the Archbishop at Malling. Two years before this the Primate had obtained a royal charter for a fair and a market in his Manor of Pagham. It was in John's reign, too, that the Archbishop appears (from an Inquisition Post Mortem) to have possessed land at Seaford, for a certain William de Safford is returned as holding half a knight's fee—about four plough-lands—there as tenant of the Archbishop. Hubert Walter is said by historians to have been

one of the best men of his time, "as Primate, Legate, Chief Justiciary, and King's Vicegerent." His Chancellor, Simon de Welles, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, in his will left 100 marks for a chantry in commemoration of this prelate.

To Hubert Walter succeeded STEPHEN LANGTON, a Primate so little to the liking of King John that he violently opposed his election, and to such an extent that the Pope excommunicated the King for his obstinate resistance to his nominee. During his primacy Tarring was superseded as a residence for the Archbishops when sojourning in the extreme west of their *peculiar*s; for, having conceived a strong liking for Slindon, Langton built there a palace, or at least a mansion, sufficiently commodious to accommodate a "humble servant of God"—for such was the superscription of archiepiscopal letters. In the ninth year of his primacy it appears that some of his Sussex tenants were smitten with a Crusading fervour—the fourth Crusade being then in its inception—for we find a Patent Roll of Henry III. granting safe conduct for the Archbishop of Canterbury's men of his Manor of South Malling, "si sint ad fidem Regis et cruce signato in pectore ad eundem cum Rege in subsidium Dei et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ."

In 1223 Langton was at South Malling, and while there he ordained the payment of 4 marks from his Manor of Framfield to the sacrist of St. Michael's College. When again visiting his *peculiar*s in 1228 he was taken ill at Slindon and died there. He was succeeded in the primacy by RICHARD WETHERSHED, an Archbishop who seems to have been mainly concerned with Sussex by reason of the difficulties in which he was involved by the disputes of his tenants in Pagham with the Bishop of Chichester's men in Aldingbourne. At that time Ralph Nevill was the diocesan, and his interests in his various manors were zealously served by his steward, a certain Simon de Senliz, many of whose interesting letters have come down to us. From them it appears that in the matter of one of these disputes he wrote to the Bishop: "As to the pasture which the men of our Lord of Canterbury claim for themselves in your Manor of Aldingbourne, I have spoken with the Lord of Canterbury himself, whose answer was shallow and feeble (*cujus responsio fuit tenuis et debilis*). Wherefore, if you please, get ready our Lord the King's writ to appoint an attorney, so that I may be your attorney to make the boundary between him and you."

The result of the line of action indicated in this letter appears to have been that a perambulation of the disputed land was ordered to be made, but, very rightly, not by the prejudiced Simon, as he fondly desired, but by "good and lawful men of the country." Upon which the Archbishop

wrote direct to Bishop Ralph in these terms: "Richard, by the grace of God, etc., to his venerable brother Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, etc. You remember that you stated in our conference that there was a dispute between our men of Pagham and yours about certain boundaries, asserting that our men would be by no means content with old boundaries, on account of which, thinking that some small matter was comprised under the name of boundary, as a ditch or such like, we conceded that these boundaries should be defined by royal command; but since we have since learned by our bailiffs for certain that the matter is not small, but rather great, concerning things in peaceful possession of which the Church of Canterbury has stood for a hundred years and more, I cannot without heavy loss endure that the business should proceed for the present. Since you will have obtained the royal writ for perambulation by lawful men, we affectionately beseech your brotherhood that you will give orders to the sheriff to forbear to use the writ until we have had other conference upon it."

What was the upshot of this matter does not appear. It does not seem that any serious rupture occurred, but that a certain coolness resulted in their relations is probable, if we may judge from a letter which the astute Simon de Senliz indited to Bishop Ralph, urging him to *offer* hospitality to the Archbishop, who was about to visit the neighbourhood. The letter is worth quoting at length, translated from the Latin: "To his reverend Lord Ralph, by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester, his devoted Simon de Senliz greeting, due obedience and reverence in all things. I am informed that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury about this coming Lent will come to Malling, and will go on one day from Slindon as far as his manor of Tarring, on the morrow being about to come to your manor of Preston, and to tarry there for one night, but he will provide himself there out of his own means, and wishes to accept nothing of yours; therefore, if you please, it would be as well that you should write to him that he should reside there at your cost, since I know well he by no means wishes it, but yet it will be to your honour, although he will by no means take anything from you. If you please, I will pay attention to him, so that it shall turn to your advantage and honour, and you may know for certain that as long as he has sojourned at Slindon attention was paid to him competently in presents from your manors of Aldingbourne and Amberly." History does not narrate whether the Bishop acted on the worldly wisdom inculcated by his steward.

On the death of Archbishop Wethershed the monks elected Ralph of Chichester as his successor; but the Pope refused

his consent, nominally because the Bishop was too much of a courtier, but actually, there is little doubt, because he feared he was a patriot before a prelate, and likely to prove too little docile to Roman intervention. Innocent III. therefore conferred the archbishopric on EDMUND, a distinguished preacher. His memory is chiefly connected with Sussex by reason of his friendship with Richard, Bishop of Chichester—better known as St. Richard—whom he made his Chancellor. As Lord of Tarring as well as Archbishop, he was concerned in a dispute between the Vicar of that parish and the monks of Sele as to the expenses of collecting and storing the tithes of Durrington, a chapelry of Tarring, a moiety of which Robert Savage had given to the Priory of Sele. After due inquiry, it was determined by the Primate that the tithes of the whole parish should be collected and stored in a barn standing in the churchyard of Durrington at the joint cost of the parties concerned, the corn when threshed to be equally divided, the costs of the whole business being shared equally. In 1234 this Archbishop was at Malling, when he granted an indulgence of forty days to all contributing by alms or prayers on the spot to the erection of Bayham Abbey, a beautiful Premonstratensian house of religion in the parish of Frant. Four years later he was concerned in a suit with William de Whithampton, Vicar of Heene (another chapelry of Tarring), who claimed the advowson of the church. The Archbishop in opposing this denied it to be a church, maintaining it to be a chapel dependent on the mother-church of Tarring, without right of baptism or sepulture. The Vicar alleged baptism to be usually administered, but admitted that no right of sepulture existed. Judgment in this matter was deferred, and no record exists of the ultimate result. About this time the Archbishop came into ill-odour with the King, and in 1240 he retired to the Continent, ultimately dying in exile in 1242 at Pontigny. In his will he bequeathed a goblet to Richard of Chichester, “my beloved Chancellor, whom I have long heartily loved.” In the year 1246, after being canonized by the Pope, his remains were translated, Richard journeying from Sussex to be present at the ceremony. In so great affection did the Bishop hold the memory of St. Edmund that he erected a shrine to his honour in the north part of his cathedral at Chichester, and left directions in his will for his own body to be buried in proximity to it.

St. Edmund was succeeded by BONIFACE, a Prince of the House of Savoy, who had been elected to the see even before its vacation by means of his strong Court influence, he being an uncle of Henry III.'s wife. He became associated in several ways with Sussex. Early in his primacy he rebuilt

the church of Framfield, a Wealden village, a subinfeudation of Malling. This church is of the later Early English style; but many of the features even of this date have been altered or replaced by Tudor and later additions, such as the east window of the chancel, which is now of early Victorian date. Gone, too, is the ancient chancel screen, which, as described by a comparatively recent writer, was an old screen of carpentry panelled to the height of 4 feet, above which an open arcade of carved and traceried work carried it to about 12 feet of total height. The doorway of the rood staircase and a few of its steps are still to be seen to the north of the chancel arch, which is lofty and well proportioned. Arcades of four bays divide the nave from the narrow aisles, the piers being octagonal, capped by abaci with the scroll moulding, above which rise chamfered arches and subarches. At the end of each aisle is a chantry with a hagioscope, giving a view of the chancel altar. In the chancel, piscina and aumbry occupy the usual position in the south and north wall respectively. The tower is quite modern, the old one having fallen in 1667. In this church thus rebuilt, and rededicated to St. Thomas Becket, Boniface shortly afterwards held an ordination. Again in 1257 he visited his Sussex *peculiars*, and there is a record of his sojourn at Slindon. Three years later he was at Mayfield, and there by deed endowed the vicarage with altarage, tithes at Hyordherst, arable land, and 7 acres of wood, engaging also to supply books and vestments, while the Vicar was to provide lights and other necessaries. In 1254 the Archbishop obtained a charter for a market and fair at Wadhurst, and another for the same privileges at Mayfield in 1261. In days when so much trade and commerce was transacted in fairs and local markets that a special court called *Piedpoudre* was instituted to try offences therein committed on the spot, the tolls accruing to the Lord of the Manor were of some considerable value. Although St. Richard of Chichester appears to have had a real regard for him—so much so that he desired him to be executor of his will—Boniface was by no means a popular Primate. To this—in Sussex at least, still the most wooded of English counties—may have contributed the great waste which he made in the woods of his manor, with the attendant strictness of supervision by his bailiffs and parkers of the amount of *house-bote* and *hedge-bote* to be taken by the tenants. These words indicate the wood allowed by custom of the manors to tenants for the erection and repair of their houses—so largely built of wood in the Middle Ages—and their hedges. In conjunction with the Prior of Lewes, he instituted a suit against Robert de Denton and other land-holders in the valley of the Ouse to

oblige them to repair the banks of the river. But by evidence produced it appeared that by custom the tenants of the Archbishop in Malling, of William de Warenne in Piddinghoe and Meeching—*hodie* Newhaven—and of the Prior in Southover, had been wont to repair these embankments time out of mind.

Boniface, who died in 1270, was succeeded by ROBERT KILWARDBY. In the first year of his primacy he visited his Sussex *peculiar*s, and resided for a time at Mayfield. He early became involved in dispute with Sir Richard Waley and Joanna his mother, who held lands of the Primate at Tarring and elsewhere; and in 1273 the King (Edward I.) issued a writ to the Sheriff of the county to take the manor into the King's hands pending a settlement of the question. An amicable termination was ultimately arrived at, and particulars of the whole question may be found on a Patent Roll of the fifth year of Edward I., in which very interesting details on the manorial customs and the prices of various articles of rural use and produce in the lordship of Tarring are contained. In 1278 Kilwardby was created a Cardinal, and "gat him into Italy" (as Somner says), where he died.

(*To be continued.*)

RELIGION ON BOARD SHIP.

"RELIGION is out of place on board ship" was, not so long ago, a common saying even in the Royal Navy and amongst intelligent men, who were themselves worshippers of God, afloat as well as ashore. This did not mean that the regulation Sunday service was not good for naval discipline, but that personal devotion to a living God and Saviour, with special spiritual nourishment, were for the shore, and not for ship life. If there were any truth in that adage, then no baptized boy should have been sent to sea, and no baptized man should have served on board ship.

It was, no doubt, a practical outcome of the thought that "Religion is out of place on board ship" that "the custom of the service" forbade men afloat kneeling in individual prayer daily, or communicants "showing the Lord's death," even when there was a clergyman on board. True, on Trafalgar Day, 1870, the Admiralty issued an excellent circular requiring monthly administrations of the Lord's Supper on board that fourth part of His Majesty's ships which carry chaplains. Old prejudices, however, die hard, and this one

still obtains, at least in the mercantile marine, and even amongst some shore clergymen, who otherwise faithfully minister afloat. So that a glance at the practice of the sea as to Holy Communion may not be without some helpful lessons even now for devout sailors serving at sea, as well as for clergymen officiating on board ships at anchorages.

It is not easy to treat with due deference such pleas for withholding the paten as well as the cup from laymen on board ship as :

1. That there are no communicants on board merchant ships. Then, are all the religious officers and seamen Quakers? or have all the sailor societies, Church and Nonconformist, been failures? or have their teachers failed to teach their converts the Lord's command given the same night in which He was betrayed?

2. That some persons on board live foul lives, or are drunkards, or have impure tongues, etc. Are there no such people in parishes on shore, and do churches on shore withhold the Holy Communion from communicants because of such parishioners?

3. That the clergyman has no personal knowledge of communicants on board ships only a few days at the anchorage. Is the Holy Communion withheld from strangers at seaside churches in the season, or from commercial travellers on their travels? Merchant sailors are commercial travellers by sea, and their profession makes them always strangers wherever they go. Are stranger communicants on the waters to be penalized as no church dreams of penalizing strangers on shore?

4. That many religious seamen are Nonconformists. Are Nonconformist ministers or laymen on their travels repelled from the Lord's Table in the Churches of England abroad or at home? The rule that communicants of the Church of England shall either be confirmed or desirous to be confirmed does not apply to those who are not members of that Church.

5. That the accommodation of a cabin on board ship is not appropriate to the celebration of so great a mystery. Do the great missionary societies withhold Holy Communion from their native converts on the plea that there is not always a cathedral or other stately architectural building at hand for the purpose?

The Lord's command is clear. When He gave it He foreknew all difficulties. He laid no such restrictions as to places or appliances, and He gave no authority to withhold from communicants the means of obedience to His command. Sailors claim as their birthright every spiritual privilege which the Master has given to His Church to dispense.

Not only before but after the Reformation it was the practice—at least until the Commonwealth took from sailors the Book of Common Prayer—where a clergyman was present, for the Holy Communion to be administered to communicants on board ship. And it was only a revival of an ancient custom of the sea when this right of seamen was partially conceded to them in the nineteenth century.

The pre-Reformation practice, as given in the “Memorials of Richard I.,” edited by Bishop Stubbs, vol. i., p. 144, was expressed in the Articles of Agreement, when a great expedition left Dartmouth for Lisbon, in the reign of King Stephen, in 1147. Each ship was required to have a priest, and the same religious observances as in a parish on shore, whilst everyone shall “confess” (join in some prayer to God) daily through the week, and shall communicate on Sunday.

After the Reformation the practice at sea is illustrated in “Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, A.D. 1576-8,” edited by Rear-Admiral R. Collinson, C.B. At p. 122 we find that Frobisher started on his second voyage of discovery, from Blackwall to Gravesend, on Whit-Sunday, 1577, where next day, “On Monday morning, the 27th of May, aboarde the *Ayde* we receyved all the Communion, by the Minister of Gravesende, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards nighte we departed to Tilburie Hope.”

During Frobisher’s third voyage, with fifteen vessels, in 1578 (pp. 252 and 273), we find that “Mayster Wolfall, a learned man, appoynted by his Majesties Councell to their Minister . . . made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundrie other times, in severall and sundrie ships, because the whole company could never meet together at any one place.”

Whilst “ploughing a furrow round the world,” in 1578, Captain Francis Drake, in the *Golden Hind*, had to execute a mutineer at Port Julian, in South America. “Hakluyt’s Voyages” goes on to record: “This being done, our Generall (Drake) made divers speaches to the whole company, perswading us to unitie, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receive the Communion” (from Mr. Fletcher, our minister), “as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his businesse.”

Only occasionally was this practice observed at sea after the Commonwealth. And in the first half of the nineteenth century the Holy Communion was very rarely administered

by chaplains in the Royal Navy. And even now communicants on board four-fifths of His Majesty's ships rarely have the opportunity of showing the Lord's death before their shipmates.

That more frequent opportunities of receiving the Holy Communion is a felt want amongst men-of-war's men is shown in the Naval Church Society's "Church Organization in the Royal Navy," published in 1881. This book consists of a prize essay, and sixteen other essays and papers by naval chaplains, officers, and seamen. A chief petty officer writes: "It would surprise many, no doubt, to hear that on the Lord's Day, in harbour, a few in simple faith would get leave to land, and go aside into the mountain, taking their Bibles, and obtaining a loaf and wine, remember their Lord and Master in His death, in obedience to His own gracious command, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I.' Oh, how true! We have had blessed seasons together, and realized God's own words. . . ."

"On our passage home from China we broke bread in the boatswain's store-room. We had a little wine given us by a Christian Lieutenant (who, I trust, is now with his Lord), who went down in the *Eurydice* when in sight of home. There, on the mighty ocean, a few sailors met and remembered Jesus and His death. Twice we had the blessed opportunity to do so on our passage home. Our Lord said, 'If ye love Me, ye will keep My commandments'; and 'Do this in remembrance of Me' is His commandment. Did we do wrong because there was no ordained clergyman present? 'Who shall condemn? It is God that justifieth.'"

The Naval Church Society does not endorse these practices, "but as such things exist, they deem it well that they should be publicly known."

Similar irregular practices are not unknown in the mercantile marine. In "Religion off Soundings," published by the American Seamen's Friend Society, New York, an ex-captain writes: "On a long voyage, when we had several professed Christians on board, the question of the Lord's Supper pressed upon my mind. I began to feel that we ought to manifest our unity by having fellowship in the breaking of bread, remembering our Lord's death, according to His command. Diligent study of God's Word convinced me that under the circumstances of our long exile from organized gatherings of Christians, it was our duty and privilege to observe this ordinance. After much prayerful consideration, and with some timidity at the thought of so great an innovation in sea life, I invited all who had confessed Christ to meet

with me to partake of the Lord's Supper. . . . Several such seasons have been observed since, on other voyages, and always with the consciousness of the Lord's presence and blessing."

Referring to the ordinary Divine worship at sea, the same writer says: "A captain who is diffident can conduct service without embarrassment by reading the prayers of the Episcopal Service. He should carry a good supply of Prayer-Books to sea with him, and encourage the crew to join in the responses."

Whatever may be thought of men-of-war's men or of merchant seamen taking upon themselves to administer the Lord's Supper to one another in the absence of clergymen, the practice at least evidences an earnest desire to partake of that holy ordinance. The responsibility for the irregularity must in some degree be shared by those who do not arrange for the legitimate gratification of a sacred craving for Holy Communion with their Redeemer as appointed by Himself.

During nineteen years (1844-1863) of life actually on board Her Majesty's ships, half of which were served in vessels bearing resident chaplains, the writer had but two opportunities afloat of receiving the Holy Communion.

A frigate, without a chaplain, manned by 250 men, was for five years (1852-1857) in the Pacific Ocean, and was twice visited by shore-going clergymen, but never by a naval chaplain. There was a small prayer-meeting every night for five years in a warrant-officer's cabin, besides the usual Sunday service for "all hands"; but there never was an administration of the Lord's Supper on board during her five years' commission.

During the Russian War, in a line-of-battle ship, with 750 men and a resident chaplain, due notice was, with the captain's permission, given at a usual Sunday forenoon service that on the following Sunday it was proposed "to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." But just before the morning service on the appointed Sunday the chaplain received a message from the captain requesting him to omit the administration, as he thought they were not in a fit frame of mind to receive it. No doubt the captain spoke for himself as to his own state of mind; for the mischief was that captains thought that their own personal participation was imperative at all public services, though all captains are not necessarily communicants, whilst their respect for the Lord's Supper forbade them personally receiving it unworthily. So the "religiously and devoutly disposed" men of the 750 in that ship were for three years deprived of the Holy Communion on board.

Yet one officer in that ship invited others to meet with him in his own cabin to partake together of the Lord's Supper without the presence of a clergyman, notwithstanding that there was a resident chaplain on board.

That there were administrations of the Holy Communion by naval chaplains in a few ships was some evidence that there were no insuperable difficulties against its celebration in all vessels which had resident chaplains. In that same Baltic Fleet, in 1855, the Rev. R. Noble Jackson, M.A., chaplain of H.M.S. *Hastings*, administered the Holy Communion on board from time to time. At a celebration in August of that year, a few days before going into action to bombard Sveaborg, there were twenty to thirty officers and seamen at the Lord's table. Amongst those joint-partakers were Captain (afterwards Admiral and K.C.B.) Crawford Caffin, Captain (afterwards Admiral, Right Honourable, First Naval Lord, and G.C.B.) A. Cooper Kerr, Lieutenant (Commodore) James G. Goodenough, Lieutenant (Admiral) Philip H. Colomb, Lieutenant (Admiral) J. D. McCrea, Paymaster (Paymaster-in-Chief) C. S. Giles, Midshipman (Admiral) Noel Digby, and the Rev. W. R. Jolley, M.A., afterwards tutor to the Royal Princes, etc.

It is highly probable that there was hardly a ship in that great Baltic Fleet, small or large, in which at least the minimum of these communicants might not have been found had the Lord's table been spread before them on board their several vessels. Yet, though the fleet was fairly provided with chaplains, not half a dozen ships' companies ever saw this witness for Christ during the whole war. Where there is a will there is a way. If there be any real difficulties, it is the province of the "handy man" to overcome them by ready expedients.

Wherever it is possible to publicly conduct morning or evening prayer it is possible to administer the Holy Communion—in an African hut, an Indian wigwam, a sick room, or even on board a merchant ship, a fishing vessel, a barge, a lightship, or an emigrant vessel. All sorts of moral difficulties were pleaded against chaplains giving the Holy Communion on board His Majesty's ships, till on Trafalgar Day, 1870, the Admiralty ordered it to be administered monthly. The imaginary difficulties then vanished like smoke. People who could disobey the Master's own command issued "in the same night in which He was betrayed" dare not disobey the Admiralty instructions, and now every naval chaplain afloat administers the Holy Communion regularly on board his ship.

No doubt many seamen would much prefer to meet their

Lord in His own special ordinance in a cathedral or a church rather than in a sick room, a hut, a wigwam, or a ship, a fishing vessel, a barge, or a light vessel. But no man receives the Holy Communion for himself alone. It is also a witness, just as public prayer is a witness, an epiphany. We "show the Lord's death" to our shipmates better openly on board our own ships in the usual place "where prayer is wont to be made" rather than in a hole-and-corner way in a private cabin, or by going ashore to a landsman's church. He is equally present to the individual believer wherever He is approached in prayer. But the witness to the whole crew is more feeble when individual seamen go ashore to meet their Lord than when they witness for their Divine Master amongst their comrades afloat on board their several vessels at the anchorage.

Equally to the Lord's Supper applies the Apostle's injunction: "I desire, therefore, that the men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and disputing"; and the Psalmist's words: "If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me."

"We are as near heaven by sea as by land."

A COMMANDER, R.N.

(To be continued.)

"CHRISTIAN CHARACTER."¹

WHAT doctrine must be the fruit of experience and the motive or inspiration and guide of conduct was a favourite thesis of Bishop Westcott. To-day the attempts to separate Christian principles from a belief in the facts of Christian history, or the contents of the Christian revelation, and to divorce Christian conduct from a belief in Christian dogma, are manifold and of various kinds. One result of a study of this thoughtful book will be, we trust, to show that such attempts are not only illogical, but are doomed to failure. As Dr. Illingworth says in his preface, one result of a study of history is to show that "the fundamental nature of the Christian character, as exhibited by its best representatives, has always remained the same. And that character has been essentially dependent upon belief in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Creed."

¹ "Christian Character," being some Lectures on the Elements of Christian Ethics, by J. R. Illingworth, M.A., D.D. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1904.

And to-day we have to meet a further charge, namely, that “Christian ethics are inadequate to modern needs”—in other words, that the ethical principles of Christianity, as these are found in our Lord’s sayings in the Gospels, or as they are explained and expanded in the apostolic epistles, while no doubt excellent for the conditions which evoked them, are altogether insufficient to meet the much more complex, and in every way different, circumstances of to-day.

Here, then, are two great objects: (1) to prove that Christian ethics can no more be accounted for apart from Christian doctrine than fruit can be accounted for apart from the tree (with its life) which produced it; and (2) to show that Christian principles, if studied with care, are a sufficient guide to conduct under all conceivable conditions. These are the objects of Dr. Illingworth’s work—“to recall the continuous claim of Christianity to be the adequate goal of all human desire, and this only on account of its further claim to be a Divine revelation” (p. vi).

“Life the End of Christian Ethics”: such is the title of the first chapter; and by “life” is meant “the life which is the practical outcome of belief in the Incarnation.” So the assertion of Christ “I am come that they might have life,” finds its echo in the words, “I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me”—the typical Christian experience. And this “life” is continually contrasted with “death.” “As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.”

But besides life and death there is a third great entity, whose presence and power in human nature is confessed in the words, “The sting of death is sin.”

If now we look within ourselves we feel that death in any form is not only abhorrent, “there is something in it which is unnatural.” Our instincts and our aspirations are for a richer, larger, fuller life.

Dr. Illingworth then proceeds to show that so far as by repentance and the power of the Christian spirit sin (*vide* especially pp. 10 *ff.*) is overcome, the body, instead of being an enemy, becomes “a spiritual organ, an instrument of righteousness.” There comes a consecration of the whole nature, and human life is “the condition in which a person (and personality is ultimately spiritual) can exercise his energies in the fullest degree.”

Further, true life involves a development of the two aspects of personality, the individual and the social. As an individual, man must “fulfil his function,” which is that which he alone can do, or can do best. As a social being, man has not only a duty towards others, he is dependent on other persons, and “when we probe the need of dependence upon other persons

to its utmost depth, we are carried in the last resort to the infinite Personality of God" (p. 8). So the essential condition of man's realization of himself is in union with God. From this it follows, that as "life" consists in union with God, who is Eternal, this life is itself eternal. But this life is not only eternal in time, it is eternal in *quality*, and from this conviction issues the corollary that man cannot neglect this world for the other, because "eternal life is operative within him here and now."

Such is, very briefly, the argument of the first few pages of this extremely suggestive and, I venture to add, eminently practical book, which in one sense is a treatise on Christian ethics, while in another, and equally true, sense it is a treatise on the Christian philosophy of life. But this philosophy is based on the *facts* of human experience, which a deep study of human nature show to be in exact correspondence with the assertions of revelation as found in the teaching of our Lord.

To the teacher and the preacher this book will be extremely useful. The true work of the teacher is to set men to investigate, the chief work of the preacher is to produce conviction. There is no more important subject of investigation than human nature, or human personality, including, of course, its capacities and aspirations. One of the chief evils of to-day is a conscious or unconscious acceptance of a materialistic philosophy of life, in one or other of its various forms; and the practical result of this evil is in the materialism which has invaded every class of life, and which tempts men to believe that life *does* depend upon the abundance of the things possessed, whence we have the frightful competition, as well as the seeking after luxury, which in different ways are making any higher or true life impossible.

This book will enable the teacher to show quite scientifically that the materialistic philosophies are false, because they do not account for all the facts of human nature: they do not account for its highest faculties and capacities; and if we would judge correctly of anything, we must surely judge it where and when we find it at its best.

We have briefly indicated Dr. Illingworth's philosophy of life; it would be an instructive study to show how far it is in agreement with the *final* philosophy of the late Professor Huxley, as outlined or foreshadowed in his last lecture, upon "Evolution and Ethics." For materialism, or, rather, its exposition in conduct, is very nearly akin to the "Cosmic" process of the survival of the (materially) strongest, which Professor Huxley admitted is not only insufficient, but must actually be overcome, if the best and highest natures and conduct are to be produced. They demand not only the

recognition, but the exercise, of another force in the world—viz., the “ethical.” They demand actually more, for they demand a recognition of some source, and constant means of supply, of this ethical power.

It would also be instructive to show how entirely Dr. Illingworth’s philosophy leads to the conclusion of the late Dr. Hort, that “the Christian life is the true human life, and that Christians become true men in proportion as they live up to it; and also that the right relations between members of the Christian society are simply the normal relations which should subsist between members of the human race.”¹

Chapter II. is upon “Character the Condition of Life.” Here, again, the Christian teacher will find a very useful refutation of a false idea which, at the present time, is producing a rich crop of evil. During the first half of last century Christianity was preached almost exclusively as a message to the individual. Since then there has been a reaction, and the “social” side of Christianity has been, possibly, over-emphasized. This may be one wave of an influence which has in varying degrees come over civilization—I mean the “socialistic.” Now, an exclusively “socialistic” philosophy of life loses sight of *all* the facts of life as much as does a materialistic philosophy. For experience teaches us that “the Christian life must begin with the reformation of the human will”; hence the futility of the action of those “secular philanthropists who appear to think it possible to renovate society in the mass by the improvement of its education, or the amelioration of its conditions of existence” (p. 23). Those who are trying to work for Christ in our large towns know only too well the evil results of that popular hallucination—that true and thorough social reform can be effected otherwise than through the reformation of individual lives. As Dr. Illingworth says, “Christianity is fundamentally and essentially social. But society consists of individuals, and those individuals are sinners, and sin has its seat in the central function of our personality—the will. Any attempt, therefore, to improve society which does not begin with the will, and consequently with the individual, is either ignorantly superficial or consciously hypocritical” (p. 24). Thus a true and adequate view of sin—and the clearness and thoroughness of Dr. Illingworth’s teaching upon sin is one of the many excellent features of his book—will not regard it, as there is at least some danger of its being regarded to-day, “as the breach of an impersonal law.” For “behind the moral law there is, in the Christian view, a person, and a person who

¹ “The Christian Ecclesia,” p. 228.

loves us ; and sin, therefore, in the last analysis, is a wounding of love, and as such must, when realized, involve emotional¹ regret" (p. 26). The presence of this emotion "cannot fail to accompany the conviction that God is love, and its presence is intimately connected both with the humility and the intensity of the Christian character. For humility has a more important place in the Christian than in any other scheme of life . . . it is not primarily connected with our relation to other men, but with our relation to God, and springs from an intellectually true view of that relation" (p. 27).

I have given this somewhat lengthy extract as an example of what readers will find throughout the book—*i.e.*, not merely a description of the Christian virtues as factors in the Christian character, but clear and intelligent reasons why the essential Christian virtues are the product of an essentially Christian Power, inspiring and ruling life. The whole of this chapter will repay the closest study, but I must pass on.

At the opening of Chapter III., which is upon "Discipline the Means of Development," our attention is called to the fallacy in the contrast which is often drawn "between self-sacrifice and self-development as ethical ideals," and thus we are led to investigate the true place of asceticism in Christianity. From the important place, and rightly so, which the body occupies in Dr. Illingworth's treatment of personality, and from his strong teaching upon Christianity being for the whole man, this subject naturally occupies a prominent position in his argument. He rightly lays stress upon the usefulness of a wise measure of asceticism, which, "in Christianity is never an end, but always a means to an end."

In this chapter, as in the last, we have some striking deductions of the necessity of the practise of certain virtues—*e.g.*, prudence and love—simply from the right conception of the Christian's relation to God. After speaking of voluntary self-discipline, Dr. Illingworth goes on to treat of "that other discipline which comes to all of us without our seeking—sickness, pain, bereavement, and sorrow," which he regards as "an indispensable means towards our real end, which is the formation of a character in union with God," and he rightly points out that their value for this purpose will, to a great extent, depend upon the spirit in which they are borne.

Chapters IV., V., and VI., upon "Faith and Hope," "Love," and "The Cardinal Virtues," which together describe

¹ The meaning of the word here is explained by the entire context, which I have not space to give.

“the positive content of the Christian character,” we must not stay to examine, though in each will be found an abundance of helpful teaching. The same may be said of the following chapter upon “Prayer.”

Chapter VIII. deals with “Sacraments.” We notice at once the absence of the definite article, and this absence must be constantly remembered as we read the chapter. Dr. Illingworth commences by pointing out that “prayer in the Christian religion is further assisted by Sacraments; and that not accidentally, but essentially, because it is the religion of the Word made flesh, and therefore necessarily sacramental (p. 145). He then proceeds to show how our increasing knowledge both of the history of religion and of comparative religion has revealed to us “how very prominent a place Sacraments and sacramental rites have occupied in the earlier and simpler religions of the world, especially in the form of sacred ablutions and sacred meals. . . . Thus, the sacramental principle is as old as recorded religion, and Christ, whilst simplifying its application, consecrated it afresh” (pp. 145, 146).

What is the reason for this universal sacramentalism in religion? It is because our body is a part of our personality; in fact, even prayer—the most spiritual of all exercises—“can only find expression through the agency of nerves and brain”—part of the material of which our bodies are composed. Then it must be recognised that the body is not only the *minister* of the spirit; the condition of the body *affects* our spiritual condition. This “intimate implication” of body and soul proves “the fitness, not to say the necessity, of the Incarnation.” We think Dr. Illingworth is quite right when he says that “no increase in the spirituality of our religion can supersede its necessity for sacramental expression and support.” There is a proof of this in the way in which efforts after the purely spiritual have, in certain Christian bodies (*e.g.*, Quakerism), shown a tendency to pass into the purely intellectual (*e.g.*, Unitarianism).

We are then reminded, and quite truly, that “all union with God must start from the side of God. We can only respond to a Divine invitation. This, therefore, is the significance of Sacraments. They come to us ordained by Christ as man, and administered by the human society which as man He founded. They appeal to each individual as a Divine commandment, coming from without and from beyond himself. And though their object is to convey to us spiritual grace, it is to convey it by bodily means, as to beings whose bodies have an essential part to play in its acceptance, as well as an essential need to be consecrated by its effect” (p. 149).

We have quoted this paragraph at length because in it, as in a great part of this chapter, we think that in his treatment of "Sacraments" Dr. Illingworth has, at least, laid himself open to serious misinterpretation—to being charged with maintaining views which we cannot think that he really holds. He is so anxious to lay stress upon the sanctity of the human body, upon its importance, upon its effect on the spirit, that we think he fails to emphasize sufficiently the other side of our nature. We are not unaware of the recent "trend" of science to assimilate "matter" and "force"; and the effects of this tendency may, we think, have led our author perilously near being held to attribute to Sacraments an efficacy in themselves which probably he would really repudiate. We do not like the phrase "ordained by Christ as man"; there is a suspicion of its being equivalent to "that which is material being ordained by One who is material," a suspicion which seems to be also suggested by the words which immediately follow—"administered by the human society which as man He founded."

He next considers "the place which Sacraments occupy in the development of the Christian character," and he assumes that "the vast majority of Christians have always been, and still are, agreed in regarding Sacraments as means or instruments of grace, and in using them as such. It is when we attempt to define what may be called the secret of their operation, the precise degree or kind of grace which they convey, or the precise method in which they convey it, that divergent theories begin to arise" (p. 149). We do not wish to be hypercritical; but, again, we think the terms "precise degree" and "precise method" are not wisely used, especially when we remember the following words (which occur on the very next page): "The Christian Sacraments are practical things; they exist to be used, and their importance for us consists in their use and not in their explanation." The antithesis here suggested does not seem to be either true or fair; there surely may be a sound explanation which yet does not necessarily define the *precise* method, still less the *precise* degree, or, more probably, which may define the method without presuming to define the *degree*.

But more than this: these last words we have quoted seem to suggest something perilously near the doctrine of the *opus operatum*, and that in a form which even the Council of Trent did not venture to insist upon, since it felt the need of explaining the phrase as not abolishing the necessity for personal faith (p. 150).

For the same reason the words, "though their object" (*i.e.*, that of Sacraments) "is to convey to us spiritual grace, it is

to convey it by bodily means,” are open to at least serious misunderstanding. If these words mean that God has attached a spiritual blessing to certain actions (*e.g.*, devout reception of the elements in the Lord’s Supper), of which actions personal obedience (to a Divine commandment), springing from a real and true personal faith in the goodness and wisdom of God, is an essential factor, then I agree. But would not this truth have been better thus expressed, that, through personal faith, certain Divinely ordained materials (the sacramental elements) are made the means—*i.e.*, the channels—to their recipients of the communication of a blessing? We may also note in passing how inimical under any interpretation is Dr. Illingworth’s teaching to “non-communicating attendance.”

It is very difficult to compress further Dr. Illingworth’s already more than sufficiently compressed writing; but had we possessed the requisite space we should have liked to examine the whole of the long paragraph on p. 151, where he deals with the “appropriate spiritual context” of Sacraments—a phrase whose meaning he does not make sufficiently clear. We believe that had he simply retained the well-known words of the Catechism—that a Sacrament is a means whereby we receive an inward and spiritual grace, guarded by the two definitions about personal requirements (of those who come to be baptized and to partake of the Lord’s Supper), he would have found, we feel sure, that the sacramental teaching of the English Church was quite in agreement with his own excellent teaching in the earlier chapters of his book.

One more criticism: On p. 149 he uses the term “divergent theories” (*sic*), and on p. 150 he says, as we have above noticed, “their importance for us consists in their use and not in their explanation.” But, firstly, would not “doctrines” have been a more appropriate word than “theories” to use in connection with “Sacraments”? And surely “whatsoever is not of faith is sin”? And does not the whole of his book show that Christian conduct is bound up with a right doctrine of human nature? Secondly, had Dr. Illingworth continued his long quotation from Hooker, “E.P.,” lvii. 5 (pp. 153, 154), into the first words of the next section—“there have grown in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong to each Sacrament”—he would hardly have written, “their importance for us consists in their use and not in their explanation.”

Had we not already exceeded the space allotted to us, we should have wished to point out many useful thoughts in

the two remaining chapters, upon “Mysticism” and upon “Christian Life Supernatural.” If we cannot commit ourselves to agreement with everything in the first—an adequate criticism of which would demand a lengthy excursion into the psychology of Religion—we can, at least, strongly advise our readers to make a careful study of it. What Christian mysticism is at its best is admirably thus described: “A man may desire God, and even endeavour to keep His commandments or do His will, without having as yet attained thereby to any consciousness of a Divine response. But as soon as that consciousness comes, whether in prayer, or sacrament, or sense of providential guidance, and faith begins . . . to be confirmed by experience, the resulting state may be called mystical, since it involves a conviction of personal communion with God, of contact, in one degree or another, with Divine reality” (p. 180).

The final chapter, upon “Christian Life Supernatural,” is one of the best in the whole volume, and to the preacher, who has to combat and to show the insufficiencies in the materialistic and naturalistic philosophies of the day, it should prove extremely useful. Dr. Illingworth points out the “tendency in the modern atmosphere to regard man’s ethical development as simply natural, in the sense of being due to the normal operation of his ordinary faculties,” and, further, that “naturalism, strictly speaking, is neither more nor less than materialism . . . but it has widely overflowed its banks, with the result that many Theists, and even Christians, are unconsciously biassed by naturalistic tendencies, which they have not consistently thought out” (p. 193). On the other hand, “the term ‘supernatural’ appropriately describes the Christian life and character as being grounded on the Divine forgiveness of sin, sustained by the indwelling presence of the Divine Spirit, and guided to a union with God, which can only come about as a Divine grace or gift” (p. 192). These extracts are examples of the good things which this chapter contains.

As I close this short notice I am conscious that I have done but scant justice to a very valuable book, a book in which the Christian minister, who has, by the help of the Divine Spirit, to deal with the many present practical difficulties of “life,” will find immense help. To those who may be induced to read and study this book I would give one word of caution—it seems to be much easier to read and to understand than, I believe, is really the case. I began by a quotation from Bishop Westcott: I would conclude with another—viz., his warning as to the difference between writing which is “lucid” and writing which is “simple.” The

admirable clearness of Dr. Illingworth's style may tempt all but the most careful readers to fancy they have far too easily mastered all he has to teach them.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.

SOME EARLY CHRISTIAN ORATORIES.

IN the sixth century a party of Christian missionaries from Ireland landed on the Cornish coast, either at Pendinas, where the town of St. Ives now stands, or on the banks of the Hayle Estuary. They began to preach in the neighbourhood, and their memory is perpetuated by the churches they founded and consecrated, churches whose direct successors remain to this day.

One of these early evangelists was Gwithian, who built near Godrevy Point, within sight of the waves breaking on the shore, a tiny place of worship, and bestowed his own name upon it. Probably he ministered within its walls to the simple people who gathered round him until a tragic end came to his career.

Tewdwr, the heathen chief who ruled over that part of Cornwall, put him and several of his companions to death, but speedily a dire vengeance befell the tyrant. As an old writer explains: "This is a parish much anoyde with the sea sande which flyeth at a low water with the winde out of the choaked hauen into the Lande, swallowinge vp much of the lande of the inhabitants to their great impoverishment." Tewdwr's low-lying territories, unprotected by cliffs, and his royal castle were overwhelmed, and have never been seen again.

At a later period Gwithian's church shared in the general desolation of the coast, when houses and pasture-lands were buried in the sand, but it was not forgotten; its site was well known, but it was confidently believed that there were no remains of buildings. As a fact, the buildings were in existence, but they were hidden by the towans. In 1834 the sand was dug out, and the little church again brought to light.

Let us recollect that the spot was a hallowed one; those drifts of golden sand had preserved it from desecration. It was the nucleus of the parish, for the church then in use was the successor to Gwithian's own little temple, only removed to another site for convenience and safety; yet the ancient stones claimed no reverence from their discoverer, and he degraded them to the purposes of a pig-sty. In the vestry

of the church at Gwithian two drawings are preserved, showing the appearance of the chapel at this period.

J. T. Blight, in his "Churches of West Cornwall," gives its dimensions—viz., length, 48 feet 11 inches; width of nave, 14 feet 4 inches; width of chancel, 12 feet 2 inches; and height of walls, 5 to 7 feet.

But the traveller who makes his way to the spot and expects to see walls and roof of ecclesiastical design will be disappointed. He might wander for a long time over the sandy tract—a kind of plateau among the towans—overgrown with yarrow and bird's-foot trefoil, or stroll along the bank of a tiny stream which makes a line of deeper verdure through the plain, and nourishes beds of blue brook-lime and yellow mustard, before he would discover and identify a low hillock, and on it a slightly depressed oblong space of sand, having at one end a tiny bit of wall 2 feet or so in height; for this is all that remains of St. Gwithian's Chapel, certainly one of the most ancient places of Christian worship in the land, if not the very oldest; the little buried oratory at Perranzabulo may or may not be earlier. Only two architectural details were noted when the building was laid bare: the chancel was narrower than the nave, and there were no carved stones of any sort. As St. Pieran's contained some slight mouldings, the absence of ornament at St. Gwithian's may point to its greater antiquity. Human bones have been found in the sand round about the church, and a few yards nearer the sea a towan, taller than its neighbours, rises against the sky, and is locally said to cover many houses overwhelmed in a sudden dust-storm. The shifting sands are now bound together by the *Arundo arenaria*, or sand-rush, which makes a foundation for other plants and grasses, so that in course of time the barren land is converted into pasture.

A few miles further down the coast, in the parish of Zennor, the Gurnard's Head thrusts a spur of dark rock into the Atlantic, and on the north side of the point, just where it juts out from the mainland, some fragments of an ancient oratory are to be seen. From its site the cliffs drop sheer down to the clear green water, and on the land side the moor, covered with heather and granite boulders, stretches far and high. The old woman in a cotton sun-bonnet who constituted herself our guide for half a mile along the footpath and over the "stone hedges" from the hamlet of Treryn to the headland, with the assurance that we could not discover the track alone, did not apparently find that many of the tourists whom she guided thither were interested in the "li'l chapel," for she said nothing about it until questioned on the subject, when she was able to point out the site. We saw a tiny parallelogram marked out by a mound 2 feet high,

covered with heather and closely-packed thrift. At the west end lay two loose irregularly-shaped lumps of granite, and at the east end a slab of the same material, traditionally said to be the original altar-stone, and also the burial-place of certain drowned sailors. The latter is by no means an unlikely tale, for until well on in the last century drowned persons of unknown name were buried in any convenient spot on beach or cliffs, and a place such as this, already provided with traditions of sanctity, might well appear especially suitable. A century ago the site was called Chapel Jane, and it was the custom to make a pilgrimage to it on the parish feast-day—the Sunday nearest to May-day—which seems like the survival of a very old practice.

As to the saint who ministered here and his disciples, history is silent. Perhaps the latter came from the hamlet above, where a farmhouse, a hotel, and a few cottages cluster together as if for protection from the furious gales that sometimes sweep over the highlands of Zennor.

Our guide told us that twenty years ago no one came to the Gurnard's Head; now there is seldom a day without visitors, who drive over from Penzance and St. Ives. Even in winter many come to enjoy a fine sea; but the little chapel, lying just off the beaten track to the headland, is unvisited, save by the bees and butterflies, which drink honey from the heather-bells. There it has stood for unknown ages; there its remains will probably linger, clinging so closely to the side of the cliff as to be almost one with the living rock, protectively clothed with the same vegetation, drenched by ocean spray and mountain mists, until some landslip or mighty convulsion of Nature rolls chapel and cliff together into the sea below.

Still further westwards on the isthmus connecting Cape Cornwall with the mainland, and on the right of the road leading to the headland, stands a small stone building with gable ends and apparently in a good state of repair.

If the casual tourist should take any notice at all of this tiny edifice he would probably suppose it to be a cattle-shed, but this is where tradition has placed St. Helen's Oratory.

It is such a spot as the primitive saints loved, for they thoroughly appreciated the beauties and loneliness of wild Nature. The Land's End, the reef of rocks called the Longships, where the lighthouse of the same name now stands, the two detached Brisons, gray in the sunshine, black in shadow against the shimmering azure, were in full view; the sound of breaking waves was never absent. But the "horrid forms in which the rocks appeared," to use the words of an eighteenth-century historian, did not disturb the lonely dweller at St. Helen's. The seaward end of Cape Cornwall—"that tremendous precipice which common mortals scarcely visit without

a degree of dismay"—rose higher than the isthmus, and was a shelter from the greatest fury of gales off the sea; landwards there was the moor, covered with a thick mat of gorse and purple heather. In the neighbourhood the miners, delving from time immemorial for copper and tin, gave scope for missionary effort, as they do still, for even now in the depressed state of their industry the water in little Porthleden Cove, close at hand, is stained red from the tin works, and by hill and vale are chapels of denominations enough to suit every phase of even a Cornishman's religious nature. County histories and guide-books for the last hundred years quote the name of *Parc-au-Chapel* as applied to the field in which the shanty stands, but a lad whom the writer questioned on the spot denied all knowledge of such a name. The dimensions of the oratory were 45 feet by 12, so that it closely approached *St. Gwithian's* in size. Sheep graze in the field once the chapel yard, and from the modern, well-preserved look of the little building it is impossible to doubt that it has been used for farm or domestic purposes within the memory of man, though no such use is made of it at the present time.

To live where there is neither a road nor a tree, "but only my Maker and me," was the desire of the recluse, call him what you will—saint, hermit, missionary—who in a far back age mortified his flesh and nourished his soul in the tiny dwelling wedged into a cleft of the *Pembrokeshire* cliffs, and now called *St. Govan's Chapel*.

Doubtless the holy man saw visions and dreamed dreams as, with the sounds of many waters for ever in his ears, he watched the Atlantic—in sunshine stretching away blue and smiling to a far-off horizon, and in storm churning itself into foam along the rock-bound coast, where headland and bay, headland and bay, succeeded each other until all were lost in distance, while above the gray cliff towered high in solemn loneliness and echoed the scream of the sea-birds.

Of course, disciples visited him, walking for the purpose long miles over the grassy waste on the cliff top. Women came oppressed with the cares of life, but as eager to minister to the lonely man of their substance as to gain benefit from his exhortations or taste the healing waters of his sacred well. Children were brought to receive his blessing, and men, emotional and fervent, came to sit at his feet and learn how to bear on the torch of Christianity to later generations, and in time add their names to the long roll of Celtic holy men.

Since those primitive times the chapel has been rebuilt, but it is not known exactly when this was done. Up to the year 1840 patients were visiting the well close by, and leaving behind them the sticks and crutches which they no longer required.

The only approach to the cell has always been by a flight of steps cut in the face of the cliff; they remain to this day, somewhat broken and worn, but no one uses them except occasional tourists who drive over from Pembroke and climb down to inspect the chapel. It is 20 feet long and 12 feet wide. A tiny cell opens from it. According to tradition the hermit was on one occasion pursued by a demon; he fled for refuge to this fissure in the cliff, when the rock opened to receive him, and held him enclosed until his pursuer had departed, when it opened again to let him out, but has ever since retained the impression of his body.

There is no St. Govan among the Welsh saints, and so conjecture has run riot in the endeavour to find a named and dated inhabitant for the chapel. The wildest of all the traditions connects it with Sir Gawain, King Arthur's nephew, "the reckless and irreverent knight, who, too blind to have desire to see, wearied of the quest of the Holy Grail, but found a silk pavilion in a tent and merry maidens in it, and so his twelvemonth and a day were pleasant."

Surely it can only have been in a repentant old age that Gawain sought the retirement of this wild spot.

"On the island or peninsula north of St. Ives standeth the ruins of an old chapel, wherein God was duly worshipped by our ancestors, the Britons, before the church of St. Ives was erected or endowed." Thus far the somewhat imaginative historian of the eighteenth century. Nothing certain is known of the foundation of this chapel, but as St. Nicholas, to whom it was dedicated, was the patron of sailors, it was probably intended for the use of sea-faring men. A great part of the old town stands on the narrow neck of the long headland, called from time immemorial the "Island"; the chapel is at the seaward end, perched among the granite crags at the highest point. Below it grassy cliffs slope steeply to the tumbled rocks, where the league-long rollers of the Atlantic roar and thunder. Perhaps that quaint old writer William Lambarde's description of the remains of a chapel near Hythe may fitly be applied to St. Ives, for he says: "Although it may now seeme but a base Barn in your eie, yet was it sometime an Imperiale seate of great estate and maiestie. For it was Saint Nicholas chappell, and he in Papisme held the same empire that Neptune had in Paganisme, and could (with his onely becke) both appease the rage and wallowing waves of the Sea and also preserve from wrecke and drowning so many as called upon his name." And therefore this was one of the places (as the poet said)

"Where such as had escaped the sea
Were wont to leave their gifts."

The little chapel was used as a place of worship up to the

eighteenth century, when, probably about the year 1738, it was rebuilt as a look-out for coastguard men and pilots, and so continued until recently, when it was taken down, and the site is now marked by an untidy heap of bricks and mortar and by two short sections of stone wall built between the granite boulders, and forming with them a stout rampart on the seaward side; but still the spot is invariably called St. Nicholas' Chapel.

It is seldom, indeed, that there is not a bronzed and weather-beaten fisherman squatting on the top of the wall and sweeping with keen gaze that blue expanse of ocean from far-off Trevoise Head to the nearer Carthew Rocks.

In 1649, when the chapel was in its prime, Godrevy Point, the opposite horn of the bay, was the scene of a historic wreck, when the ship containing Charles I.'s treasure was lost on its way to France, and almost every winter adds to the long, long tale of loss of life and property on the submerged reefs and rocky headlands that fringe the coast.

At present the Admiralty are the owners of the chapel, but they are proposing to hand it over to the Borough of St. Ives free of charge; and as the stones taken from the ancient structure have been preserved, it is not improbable that they may be replaced as far as possible in their old positions, and that there may again be a chapel of St. Nicholas on the island.

L. E. BEEDHAM.



THE MONTH.

NOT the least important and significant event of the past month has been the reduction in price of the *Record* from threepence to a penny. We congratulate our contemporary on its enterprise and true statesmanship in taking this very welcome step. For the first time the great body of Evangelical Churchmen have a weekly penny paper of their own, and in these days of cheap publications this fact will count for a great deal. Such a paper has long been needed—one that at the popular price of one penny would do for a wider circle of Evangelical and Moderate Churchmen what the *Record* has done at a higher price for the necessarily smaller constituency that could afford a more expensive paper. The first numbers of the new issue promise well in interest, variety, and helpfulness, and we wish the venture a large and increasing circulation. It is sometimes said that Evangelical Churchmen do not realize the value of the Press to the extent that others do, both inside and outside the Church of England. We hope that whatever truth there may be in this allegation will at least in part be removed by a hearty

response to the enterprise of the *Record*. At any rate, the clergy have now a fine opportunity of bringing before their people an effective means of spreading the truth and combating error in the spirit of Christian courtesy, fair-mindedness, and loyalty to the great foundation principles of the Church of England. The daily papers and the monthly magazines are among the most potent influences of the present day, and we could wish that the large body of Moderate Churchmen were more fully alive to the opportunities within their reach of doing good service by the circulation and recommendation of these forms of periodical literature.

No less than seven Bishops have recently been appointed (six English and one Welsh), and of these the only confessedly Evangelical is the clergyman appointed to the See of Llandaff. One of the six English Bishops would perhaps be correctly described as an Evangelical Broad Churchman, and the other five are High Churchmen of varying types. It is impossible to consider that this predominance of High Church appointments is either fair or wise. Evangelical Churchmen have a right to a fuller representation than this, and such a one-sided policy on the part of the Government bodes no real good to the Church of England. Not merely on the ground of right and justice to Evangelicals, but in the best interests of our Church, there ought to have been a more even representation. It is scarcely wise, to say the least, to appoint definite and pronounced High Churchmen to the episcopate at a time when the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline is seeking to devise means whereby ritualistic excesses can be reduced and brought to an end.

The completion of the Birmingham bishopric was worthily crowned by the enthronement of Bishop Gore last month, and we congratulate Birmingham Churchmen on the possession of a diocese of their own and on the commencement of a diocesan life so full of interest and helpfulness. Bishop Gore is wisely imitating the prescient statesmanship of the late Bishop Ryle of Liverpool in deferring to the next generation the work of providing a great cathedral for Birmingham. Bishop Gore rightly said that there is very much work that must precede that effort. Church extension, enlargement and deepening of the work of the Church, the multiplication of living agents and buildings, the furtherance of Church education, an increase of clergy, are all matters calling for immediate and careful attention, and, as the Bishop remarked, this will be work enough for the generation immediately in front of Birmingham Churchpeople. We cannot help feeling profound satisfaction at this welcome

testimony from such an unexpected source to the wisdom of Bishop Ryle. It is not so long ago that serious reflections were cast upon Liverpool, and upon its first Bishop, because a cathedral was not made the first and most important work of the new diocese. Time is the great arbiter and revealer, and now Birmingham, under a very different Bishop, is to follow exactly the same course as Liverpool in almost identical circumstances. In this connection we cannot help adding our warm congratulations to Birmingham on the appointment of Canon Denton Thompson as the Rector of St. Martin's. He will worthily maintain the Evangelical traditions of the parish church, and will prove a tower of strength to the Evangelical cause in the great Midland Metropolis.

The Bishop of Birmingham, on the occasion of his enthronement, put forth a very suggestive idea in the course of his speech in reply to the welcome given to him by Dr. Dale's successor, Rev. J. H. Jowett, the able and popular Congregational minister of Carr's Lane Chapel. Bishop Gore does not think it possible at present to attempt any large schemes of Christian reunion, but he considers that there are two lines of reunion which can and should be furthered. The one is fellowship in schemes of philanthropy and civic progress, and the other, upon which we wish specially to dwell, is fellowship in the common study of the origin and meaning of Christianity. Here are the Bishop's own words:

"What I want, so far as I may be allowed as a humble scholar to administer to it—what I should like to do is to bring together men of different kinds and different points of view, like Sir Oliver Lodge and Mr. Jowett, and a great number of people who are interested in these religious questions, in order that we may meet freely face to face with one another, get to know one another better, on the ground on which we stand, for I am quite sure we are in a time of transition, and that the lines both of union and division in the future are not altogether those which have prevailed in the past. It is in this freedom—in the fellowship of a common study of what our religion means—that I see the great forces of reunion in the future."

We believe this valuable suggestion is capable of very wide application, and is likely to have far-reaching results. We all know how much the Church of England is indebted to the scholarship of men like Dr. Dale, Dr. Fairbairn, and a host of other able writers, especially from North of the Tweed. And we cannot be unmindful of what our own scholars—Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, and Sanday—have done, and are doing, for the Nonconformist and Presbyterian Churches. If we add to all this the profound influence of German theology and the freshness and force of many American contributors to Christian literature, we can readily see what materials are at hand for the realization of Bishop Gore's idea. These separate schools

of theology should be brought together on some such lines as those on which Dr. Sanday has been working for years in Oxford, and on which the Society of Historical Theology has also been working. We should like to hear of and record other efforts in the direction of this fellowship of common study. We believe it would go far towards Christian reunion if we were enabled to understand more fully our bases of agreement, and also the conscientious grounds of our differences.

The Torrey-Alexander Mission in the Albert Hall is drawing to a close as we write, and shows no signs whatever of any diminution of interest. The crowds are as large as they were during the opening week in February, and the fact that day after day and night after night for two months thousands of people have gathered together to hear the simplest of Gospel addresses is a strong testimony to the firm hold that religion has on large numbers of people. Of the direct spiritual results of the Mission it is obviously not the time to speak, but we believe that among the most important and far-reaching results will be a repetition, though perhaps on a larger scale, of what took place during the Moody and Sankey Missions. The greatest effect will be to give a strong reminder to many parishes of the imperative need of evangelistic effort. That this lesson is being taught by the Torrey-Alexander Mission is already evident. The *Guardian*, in reviewing Dr. Torrey's last book, says:

"It reminds us that we ought to be far more evangelistic than we are. There are evidently fields white to harvest of which the ordinary methods of the Church of England take no account."

We are very thankful for this testimony. It is possible for a Church to pay disproportionate attention to spiritual life and culture, and to forget the claims of "them that are without." A ministry that is not evangelistic ceases to be, in the full New Testament sense, "evangelical," for the essential and inevitable expression of spiritual life is evangelistic effort for the unsaved. Neither can there be any doubt of the large numbers of the unsaved who attend our regular Church services. We hope, therefore, that the Torrey-Alexander Mission will lead to a wide adoption of evangelistic effort in connection with our ordinary services. We have all the materials at hand—buildings, choirs, and ministry—and what we need is a fuller realization of the imperative necessity of the ministry being a soul-winning ministry and the Church a soul-winning Church.

In this connection we are glad to see renewed attention being given to the fact that in many places our evening

service is not adapted to popular use by those who are unaccustomed to the Prayer-Book. The Head of the Oxford House, Mr. Woolcombe, has been calling attention to this fact, and the *Guardian* endorses his view, and urges the necessity of some well-considered attempt to relax the stringency of our present rules. Some modification and popularization of our services are absolutely imperative if we would attract the working people to our Churches. Adjustment will of course be difficult, and will only be accomplished by much wisdom and willingness to yield on both sides; but the object aimed at—the evangelization of multitudes now in every sense outside our Church—is of such primary importance that we are confident that the problem will be faced and solved in the true spirit. Great Nonconformist missions in populous districts on popular lines, in Churches which were formerly almost moribund, show what can be done given the right man and the popular service. We do not for an instant see any reason why the Church of England should not adapt herself to these new conditions, and gather into bright, popular, and yet perfectly reverent and devotional services a large number of people who are now never found within the walls of their parish Churches. We look with hope to the report of the Bishop of London's Evangelistic Committee, which was appointed at the last London Diocesan Conference, for we are convinced that along the lines of simple, popular, earnest, evangelistic services will be found the solution of the great problem of the non-attendance of the masses at Church.

One question of deep interest in connection with the Welsh Revival and the Torrey-Alexander Mission is the relation of revivalism to a particular theology. It is a simple fact, explain it how we will, that revivalism has invariably been associated with what is now often called "an old-fashioned theology." The names of Wesley, Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Finney, and Moody suffice to show this, and the question is whether this is necessarily the case, or whether revivalism and the simple preaching of the Gospel are compatible with what is generally known as a broad or "liberal" theology. There can hardly be any question that "liberal" theology and evangelistic work have not generally been found together, and it is equally certain that liberal theology has never yet appealed with any force to the great masses of people such as were gathered to Moody and Sankey's meetings, and are being attracted to-day in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large centres to Dr. Torrey's meetings. The old position, rightly or wrongly, has a strength that the new one has not yet shown, even if it possesses it. These

facts are worthy of the most careful consideration, and unquestionably call for the most earnest thought of all preachers and teachers. What is it that attracts men and women? Is it not the old Gospel of redeeming love and grace, the need of a Saviour by reason of an awakened conscience and a broken heart? Is it not because the preaching of the atoning sacrifice of our Lord gives immediate pardon and peace? At any rate, this *is* a Gospel, it is something that *can* be preached, and the results are seen with signs following. This constant association of revivalism and missions with a simple evangelical theology of sin, salvation, and sanctification, is a call to everyone to inquire as to the explanation, and we believe that the more inquiry is made the more it will be found that the old-fashioned three R's—Ruin by the Fall, Redemption by the Blood, and Regeneration by the Spirit—are at the very heart of the Welsh Revival and all the remarkable attendances at mission services throughout our country.

The "Official Year-Book of the Church" (1905), is always welcomed with great interest, for it shows, as perhaps nothing else can do, the remarkable extent of the work of the Church—so far, at least, as it can be tabulated in statistics. The voluntary contributions of Churchpeople for various objects in connection with the Church during the year ending last Easter amounted to no less than £7,811,673 12s. 5d. This was made up as follows: For general purposes, such as home and foreign missions, philanthropic, educational, and charitable work, £2,323,649 2s. 2d.; for various parochial purposes, £5,488,024 10s. 3d. The amount given for foreign missions was £818,351 16s. 3d., and voluntary subscriptions for the support of Church schools amounted to £452,536 17s. 6d., while a further sum of £170,873 6s. 3d. was expended on the erection of new schools or the enlargement of existing buildings. These sums are, of course, exclusive of anything in the nature of Government grants, and do not even include the contributions of Churchmen to such interdenominational societies as the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. These huge amounts clearly indicate the enormous resources of the Church of England, and show that, in spite of all the untoward features connected with ecclesiastical strife and religious indifference, there is a quiet work going on in multitudes of parishes, which means Christian liberality and service on a truly large scale. A Church that can contribute nearly eight millions per annum to Church work has almost untold possibilities within her, and the consciousness of this should encourage us to still greater efforts. Notwithstanding the vast sums

indicated by the above-mentioned figures, there can hardly be any doubt that Churchpeople have not come within measurable distance of the limits of their powers of giving. Less than one million for foreign missions is really ridiculous when we try to realize what this means from each parish of our land. Whilst we therefore thank God and take courage, in view of the splendid results recorded in the Year-Book, we must not fail to insist upon further progress, especially in the work of home and foreign evangelization. It will be seen that the funds raised locally for parochial purposes are more than double those that are devoted to general purposes. We believe that a reversal of these proportions would indicate a still fuller, stronger, and more vigorous standard of Christian living and service.

It was with great satisfaction that Churchmen heard last month that the Church Congress is to be held after all. Weymouth and the Bishop of Salisbury have come to the rescue. In spite of all the criticism that the Congress has incurred of recent years, it would have been a matter of regret if the meeting had been suspended this year, for a large number of Congress attenders are probably in favour of an annual rather than a biennial gathering. At the same time, we welcome the criticisms of the Church Congress recently put forth by the *Record*. The reforms advocated are certainly sweeping, but they appear to us to be worthy of most careful consideration on the part of those who are responsible for the gathering. It is pointed out that the Church Congress is not a growing institution, and that the attractions or otherwise of the Congress town have much to do with its success. The Congress programme, too, is usually devoid of originality, and many of the same subjects are discussed year after year. It is therefore urged by the *Record* that a permanent organization should control the Congress, that the afternoon meetings should be reduced to a minimum, that the cost of membership should be lessened, and that everything possible should be done to link on one Congress with another. We feel sure that these proposals will receive the earnest attention of Archdeacon Emery and his colleagues, for everything that will make the Church Congress a growing success and an increasing influence for good in the Church of England is to be welcomed. Meanwhile, we wish all possible success to this year's Congress at Weymouth. It may not be a large gathering compared with some of the former ones, but we feel sure that nothing will be wanting on the part of the people of Weymouth and the Diocese of Salisbury to make the gathering noteworthy in the annals of the Church Congress.

The foundation of the Sees of Birmingham and Southwark has naturally called renewed attention to the need of the increase of the Episcopate, and we shall not cease to regret that the occasion offered in connection with these new dioceses was not utilized for the purpose of making the English Episcopate approximate more closely to the primitive ideal. It is evident to all that as our Church is an Episcopal Church, the episcopal form of government should be realized in its best possible form, and this means in the first place an increase in the number of Bishops. We shall probably all agree that this increase will best be met by the creation of new sees rather than by the multiplication of new suffragan bishoprics. The primitive Bishop was not the Bishop of a large, unwieldy diocese, but, as Dr. Sanday said some years ago in the *Expositor*, he was more like the rector of one of our old parish Churches. If the Church of England is ever to return to that ideal, from which she has probably departed further than any other Church, a start must be made somewhere, and it is for this reason that we should have welcomed such a commencement with Birmingham or Southwark. This, however, is no longer possible, and it remains for Churchmen to face the problem afresh, and to discover the best means of realizing the primitive conception of the Episcopate. A recent proposal to divide the Diocese of Norwich and to create a bishopric for Suffolk is a step in the right direction, and we hope that the movement will be prosecuted to its completion. It is simply impossible for a Bishop to be a father in God to his clergy under the present conditions, and the consequence is, as Mr. de Winton said in the Canterbury House of Laymen on February 16 last, we have at present the spectacle of "an Episcopalian Church worked on purely Presbyterian lines." He might almost have said on Congregational lines. If, as we firmly believe, Episcopacy is of the *bene esse* of the Church, then the Church's "well-being" demands that our Episcopacy should be as effective and vigorous as possible. As the *Guardian*, discussing this subject, well said, we have gone away from the principle of Cranmer, who attempted to form counties into dioceses, and if we could only return to this idea, and also develop it into further schemes of subdivision, we should be doing great service to the efficiency of the Church of England. It is well known that Church life and work have developed whenever there has been a subdivision of dioceses and a creation of new sees. Liverpool and Newcastle are two out of a number of testimonies to this effect, and so we believe it will be with Birmingham and Southwark. The further we can extend the principle of subdivision, the more vigorous

will be the life and the more efficient the work of the Church of England.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—*The Editor is always glad to consider manuscripts with a view to their publication in THE CHURCHMAN. All communications should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope for the return of manuscripts that cannot be used.*

Notices of Books.

A History of the English Church. V. The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (1558-1625). By W. H. FRERE. London: Macmillan and Co. Pp. xiii+413. Price 7s. 6d.

This fifth volume of the new "History of the English Church" has been awaited with some eagerness, the sixth having already seen the light a year ago. Mr. Frere is widely known as an ecclesiastical antiquary, and his pages are packed, as might be expected, with a great deal of information, including much about the Recusants and Nonconformists. The plan of the work precludes footnotes, so that matter which ought to be put into notes is often inserted in the text, and there can be no doubt that the narrative suffers in consequence, conveying the impression that the author's interest in the events of the time is the interest of the antiquary rather than of the historian. An account of the same period given in Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," two volumes of which are devoted to the biographies of Archbishop Parker and his four immediate successors, is decidedly inferior to Mr. Frere's in some respects. Dean Hook had strong prejudices, which he was accustomed to express freely, and sometimes he makes his readers very angry. But there is life and movement in his story. His historical characters, instead of being mere names, are felt to be real people of flesh and blood, about whom it is impossible to be coldly critical. It is just this touch of nature that the volume before us wants, and we do the author no injustice in remarking that it is impossible to tell from his pages how far he sympathizes with the Reformation. He is certainly not enthusiastic, nor is there here any recognition of the fact that doctrinally it was a return to the primitive model. The description of the form of faith and worship established at Elizabeth's accession as "a modification of the *Edwardine religion*" can only be called grotesque. Equally odd is the suggestion that the Bill for enforcing subscription to the Articles only received the royal assent because the Queen "was meanwhile making such an arrangement herself with Convocation as would supersede in part the action of Parliament." She was, Mr. Frere adds, "quite able to appreciate the humour of such a situation, and to enjoy such a means of getting her own way at Parliament's expense." What Mr. Frere is pleased to call "the humour of such a situation" happens to be purely imaginary, the truth being that he has made a serious mistake in his account of the circumstances on the previous page.

It has been said that the shape which the Reformation in England took was due to four people—viz., Henry VIII., Cranmer, Somerset, and Elizabeth. To these should be added the names of Thomas Cromwell and William Cecil. A glance at Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy will show that, with two or three exceptions, the statutes of her father's reign then revived after their repeal by Mary were passed between the years 1531 and 1539, when Cromwell was in power. The statutes in question regulate to this day the relations between Church and State, and are a standing witness to Cromwell's far-seeing wisdom. How great a share Cecil had in the control of ecclesiastical matters may be seen from the State Papers and the published volumes of the Hatfield House manuscripts. We agree with Mr. Frere in believing it to have been a fortunate thing for the Church of England that the Queen and Cecil shared between them the guidance of affairs, and that "the decision rested in no more than two pairs of hands, each of which played into the other, and was master of its own craft." There were, it may be admitted, drawbacks in the predominance of the political element. But if the Reformation in this country had not been mainly the work of the Government, it is at least possible that it would have gained no permanent footing here. The preservation of Episcopacy, a Book of Common Prayer which links us to the Christendom of the distant past, the existence of a national Reformed Church, were secured to us by the action of English Sovereigns and statesmen, whom we need not hesitate to recognise as instruments under Divine Providence for the attainment of these ends. What would have happened if Mary had lived thirty years longer, or Elizabeth had died young? The cautious and (as some complained) temporizing policy that marked the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was purposely adopted in the hope of gaining over all sections of her people. Though this was in part frustrated, we are apt to forget how large a measure of success was really achieved. Let it be remembered that the whole adult population of the country had been born and bred in the Roman communion, yet the Recusants never numbered more than a few thousands. All the rest conformed, and even the extreme Puritans did not actually separate from the Church until later on. At the time when James ascended the throne, notwithstanding all the controversies still raging, the state of Church attendance was sufficiently remarkable, as may be seen by the returns from the dioceses in the autumn of 1603, a summary of which Mr. Frere gives. The total number of Recusants at that date was 8,570, while "the communicants were over 2,250,000—that is, over 250 for every parish." Assuming these figures to be correct, they contrast strangely with the condition of things in our own day, when the population is six times as great. The last issue of the *Church Year-Book* gives the figures for 1903, the number of communicants being estimated at 2,123,551. Three centuries ago the returns for Durham diocese showed 67,000 communicants, while in 1903 they exhibit a total of 48,000. It is true that a second diocese has been carved out of Durham, but nowhere has the population increased so largely as in the North, and we draw attention to

the above facts as proving that the Reformed Church was in a very real sense the Church of the nation at the accession of James.

Room might well have been found in this volume for a chapter on life in the provincial towns and country districts, with notices of some of the many excellent persons in a private station who adorned the Church of that age by their piety and good works. The quarrels of rival factions occupy rather too much space. London and the Universities were not the only centres of influence, and religious energy found other outlets besides priest-hunting and pamphleteering. There were country clergymen also who distinguished themselves in various departments of literature, amongst whom were Hakluyt and Purchas, Robert Burton and Giles Fletcher. Sir Henry Savile, the editor of "St. Chrysostom," was in deacon's orders, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the general standard of scholarship and culture was very much higher than it is sometimes supposed to have been.

Notes on the Church in Wales. By the Ven. W. L. BEVAN, Archdeacon of Brecon. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 64. Price 1s.

This compact booklet is one of the publications issued by the Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction, by way of answer to some statements of Liberationist speakers in advocating the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The question may come to the front again at an unexpected moment, so that it is well to be forearmed with arguments. But, apart from their polemical purpose, Archdeacon Bevan's "Notes" will repay perusal for the sake of the information they contain about the present condition of Welsh dioceses. Reforms, financial and administrative, introduced by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners subsequently to 1831, proved a great advantage to the Welsh Church. Details are given of the progress made in the last seventy years in the formation of new parishes, increase of clergy, and provision of church accommodation. The results are certainly most remarkable, especially in the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's, where the population has grown by leaps and bounds, and it is much to the credit of the Churchpeople of the Principality that they should have proved such liberal givers. Archdeacon Bevan refers also to some episodes in the past history of the Church which are the subjects of misconception, explaining what the facts were. Speakers or lecturers on the defence side will find in these pages plenty of good material for use.

The Life and Work of the Rev. E. J. Peck among the Eskimos. By the Rev. ARTHUR LEWIS, M.A. With eighteen illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xvi + 350. Price 6s.

There are parts of the world in which missionary work is carried on under circumstances that evoke enthusiasm at home, and possess attractions for missionaries themselves. The Eskimo country, on the other hand, must be as uninviting a field of labour as can well be imagined, and nothing but a very real love of souls could induce men to confront the peculiar trials of that desolate region. The complete isolation of a worker in Arctic scenes, the depressing surroundings, constant exposure to cold and hunger, are some of the things which render it a daily necessity to "endure hardness." Mr. Peck went out in 1876 as an agent of the

Church Missionary Society, with the object of devoting himself permanently to the evangelization of the Eskimos, and is still ministering among them. This record of his experience is a record of true heroism and devotion, besides containing an excellent account of the people, who are scattered over a wide and thinly-populated area. Those to whom we are introduced here are almost exclusively the inhabitants of the central division on the eastern shores of Hudson's Bay and Cumberland Sound, the Moravian and Lutheran Missions being located further northwards. Few persons can read this narrative without being moved by the exhibition it affords of the power of the Gospel.

The Secret of a Great Influence: Notes on Bishop Westcott's Teaching. By Mrs. HORACE PORTER. With a chapter on Bishop Westcott's Commentaries, by the Rev. ARTHUR WESTCOTT. London: Macmillan and Co. Pp. vi + 240. Price 3s.

Mrs. Porter's outline of the salient features of Bishop Westcott's teaching is illustrated by numerous extracts from his writings. It would be better if these selections had been arranged in order one after the other, prefaced by a general introduction, instead of being mixed up with the compiler's remarks, and the book suffers from the excessive superabundance of the laudatory epithets that crowd its pages throughout. Mr. Arthur Westcott contributes a paper on his father's characteristics as a commentator, in the course of which he mentions that the Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews is regarded by many as his greatest expository work, and was particularly dear to its author, being the last that he was able to complete before his elevation to the Episcopate. The references are useful.

Forgotten Heroes. By Rev. C. J. CASHER, D.D. London: Charles J. Thynne. Price 1s. net, cloth.

The second edition of a series of sketches of some Italian, Spanish, French, and Waldensian reformers and martyrs. It was well that these truly heroic spirits should be brought again to our notice. The sketches are interesting and popular. This would make a useful gift-book.

Some Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 6d. net, paper; 1s. net, cloth.

A reprint of three lectures delivered in Westminster Abbey, together with a sermon preached at Cambridge, and some words spoken at the London Diocesan Conference. Dean Robinson's principal aim is to "assert the high value of the exposition of the Catholic Faith which is offered to us in this great Confession, and to distinguish between that exposition and the guarding clauses which accompany it." He therefore proposes to preserve the exposition of the Faith and to release it from the minatory clauses which he considers so gravely discredit it. The Dean fully realizes that the prospect of any such legislative change is not hopeful, and, with a view to the possibility of a relief to conscience in the meanwhile, he considers that it is the function of the Ordinary to intervene. It may be doubted whether Dean Robinson has not somewhat extended the idea of the power of the Ordinary, but we cannot help welcoming this

little book as a timely and valuable contribution to the great controversy on the use of the Athanasian Creed.

The Clergy List. Kelly's Directories, Limited.

The new edition of this valuable directory is as welcome as ever. In addition to the alphabetical list of clergy, with its personal and biographical information, the book contains a mass of most valuable information on questions connected with the Diocesan Organizations, Societies, and Charities of the Church of England and the Colonial Churches. Its convenient size and very moderate price combine to render the *Clergy List* one of the most useful of our clerical directories.

Church Work. By Rev. BERNARD REYNOLDS. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 5s.

While there is not a little of practical interest and value scattered up and down its pages, we cannot help feeling disappointed with this book as a whole. For a handbook on Church work it is very incomplete, and, making every allowance for the author's prominent position in the field of education, we cannot but think that ten chapters on education out of twenty-two in the whole book give an entirely disproportionate attention to this branch of Church work. The book seems to lack that direct personal touch with parochial and pastoral affairs, which is essential in all discussions of Church work. There is an air of remoteness from the realities of pastoral life which does not tend to help the clergyman or the layman. For instance, the chapter on men's work is largely taken up with an account of brotherhoods, especially those of the Cowley Fathers and the Community of the Resurrection. About men's services and other methods of work among men nothing is said. In the same way the ministry of women is almost entirely confined to the work of sisterhoods and deaconesses. A chapter on "The Church and Commerce," while containing some very useful and practical counsel, is surely only very indirectly a part of "Church work." On the question of temperance Prebendary Reynolds takes what may be called a moderate position. We should question whether very many practical, earnest Church workers among the poor would consider it "an axiom suggested by those who have experience of the worst drinking dens of the East of London that a public-house rightly conducted may be an advantage to the neighbourhood" (p. 206). At the same time, the author speaks the sad truth when he says that the greatest hindrance to improvement on temperance lines is "the difference of opinion amongst those who are most anxious for it" (p. 211). The book contains nothing about the thousand and one practical parochial methods and opportunities for work among laymen and laywomen that might have been given for the guidance of those for whom this series of books is intended. The author's extreme ecclesiastical position may perhaps be understood by the fact that, as an Appendix, there is a long and very sympathetic account of the well-known Kilburn Sisterhood.

The Training of the Twig. By Rev. C. L. DRAWBRIDGE. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 3s. net.

The author's purpose is to deal simply and popularly with the rudiments of the science and art of the religious education of children. The book is intended for parents and teachers, and it discusses in the course of sixty-four brief chapters various topics connected with the subject. It is the work of one who thoroughly knows his subject, has studied child-nature to real purpose, and has made use of the best modern authorities on teaching and child-training. The style is clear and pithy, the differences of type help to impress the truths conveyed, the binding is novel and attractive, and altogether this is just the book for all who have to do with the training of young children. It may be specially commended to workers in Sunday-schools.

Not Left Without Witness. By Rev. JOHN BLACKET. London: Elliot Stock. Price 6s. net.

There is a great deal that is most useful and valuable in this book, though we feel the author's figures are too numerous and too large for his canvas. It is impossible to discuss adequately within the limits of this volume so many profound subjects. There is also here and there a remoteness from present aspects of controversy, as seen, for instance, in the discussion of Darwinism in its original form apart from Weissmann's modification, and also in the references to Strauss and Renan. At the same time, there is a mass of apt quotation and much forcible discussion with reference to the fundamental Christian evidences. As a popular discussion of several aspects of the theistic controversy clergy will find this book of real value. It shows wide reading and keen argumentative power, and cannot fail to render genuine service to the cause of Christian truth.

Present-Day Problems. By F. E. SPENCER, M.A. London: Skeffington and Son. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Of the eight studies contained in this book three have already appeared in our pages. The remaining five deal with "The New Testament and Modern Thought," "The Wars of Jehovah," "The Christian Study of the Book of Judges," "The Authorship of Deuteronomy," and "Isaiah." Mr. Spencer is always fresh and interesting, and his well-known book on the Pentateuch prepares us for the line he takes in these studies on subjects connected with the Old Testament. His criticisms of some modern theories of Deuteronomy and Isaiah are very forcible, and, in our view, entirely satisfactory and convincing. We could wish nothing better than that younger clergy and laymen who are impressed by certain modern higher critical views would face Mr. Spencer's arguments. This is a distinctly interesting and useful book.

Lay Hold on Eternal Life. By Rev. C. R. DAVEY BIGGS, D.D. London: S. C. Brown, Langham and Co., Limited. Price 1s. 6d.

A series of twelve addresses to children on "What we may learn from a Penny." There is very much that is fresh and helpful in Dr. Biggs' addresses, though we should have liked a little less of the catechetical and

a little more of the illustrative in his method of teaching. As the addresses read they appear to us here and there to be somewhat dry and technical, and in great need of the illuminating power of incident and illustration. We cannot accept several points in Dr. Biggs' doctrinal and ecclesiastical position, and we particularly regret that such interesting, telling, and practical counsels to children should be associated with the recommendation to bow always at the mention of the name of Jesus, to make the sign of the Cross at the end of the Creed, and, above all, with what seems to be the recommendation of children's attendance at Holy Communion. We notice, too, that Dr. Biggs considers that the "N" or "M" of the first answer to the Catechism is a short way of saying "Nicholas" or "Mary," representing the patron saints respectively of boys and girls. We are not at all convinced that he has real authority for this curious view, or for his fanciful and erroneous inferences drawn from it.

Good Friday. By ARTHUR J. GAMMACK. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Addresses from the Seven Words on the Cross abound, and it might almost seem as though nothing else could be said on so familiar a subject; but the author of this little book—an American clergyman—manages to give some very helpful and suggestive meditations on the Seven Last Words "in their significance for life." Our Lord's utterances are "viewed as exclusively as possible in the self-imposed limitations of His humanity"; and this being so, the teaching necessarily deals with the human side of His life. This is good and helpful so far as it goes, but it is impossible to forget that our Lord when on the Cross was not merely and simply Man, and His utterances when rightly interpreted must include much more than the limitations of His humanity. The book also contains a Good Friday address to children. The style is terse and the teaching practical and helpful.

Collects (Selected). London: Bemrose and Sons, Ltd. Price 6d. net.

A selection of Collects almost entirely taken from the Prayer-Book—containing one for each day of the month, with some additional Collects of a general kind. The type is good and the appearance of the page attractive. Just the book to put into the hands of the newly confirmed as an aid to private devotion.

RECEIVED.

The Journal of Theological Studies (January), *Blackwood's Magazine*, *The Canadian Churchman*, *The Sunday at Home*, *The Leisure Hour*, *The Boy's Own Paper*, *The Girl's Own Paper*, *The Bible in the World* (British and Foreign Bible Society), *London City Mission Magazine*, *Indian Witness*, *Grievances from Ireland* (National Protestant Federation), Nos. 1 and 2, and the Church Missionary Society's publications for April.